

# Wenceslaus Hollar: Portrait of a Traveller

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In a period of prolonged social and political upheaval, the itinerant Bohemian printmaker Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677) became one of the most significant artists of the 17th century. A quiet observer of life who took pleasure in the beauty of small and unremarked upon things, Hollar’s art is almost entirely free of the tensions that divided so many European societies in his time.

## Origins and early years

Born in Prague, the capital of Bohemia (in the modern Czech Republic), Hollar forged a career that took him far from his homeland. At the age of 20 he set out to pursue the uncertain life of a travelling artist during the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48). As he moved west through the German states, Hollar would have encountered scenes of devastation, though almost no evidence of this is found in his art. With an aversion to the violence that formed the subject of many of his contemporaries’ work, Hollar set about recording the sights and costumes that he encountered along the way. From his drawings he later made etchings including a series published in Cologne in 1635, *Amoenissimæ Aliquot Locorum in Diversis Provincijs Iacentiu[m] Effigies* (Delightful Likenesses of Some Places Lying in Various Countries) (fig 1). That suite of 24 prints charts his travels over a period of seven years from Prague all the way to Amsterdam where he encountered the ocean for the first time – much, evidently, to his delight (fig 2).



Figure 1  
Wenceslaus Hollar, Title Plate: *Amoenissimæ Aliquot Locorum in Diversis Provincijs Iacentiu[m] Effigies* (Delightful Likenesses of Some Places Lying in Various Countries), 1635, etching, only state, Mackelvie Trust Collection, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, bequest of Dr Walter Auburn, 1982.



Figure 2  
Wenceslaus Hollar, *Zuyder Zee*, 1635, etching, only state, from: *Amoenissimæ Aliquot Locorum in Diversis Provincijs Iacentiu[m] Effigies* (Delightful Likenesses of Some Places Lying in Various Countries), Mackelvie Trust Collection, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, bequest of Dr Walter Auburn, 1982.

Following Hollar's departure from Prague in 1627, his career divides into four main periods: Germany (1627–36); England (1636–44); Antwerp (1644–52); and his second English period (1652–77). The last of these was interrupted by a six-month stay in Tangier in modern Morocco in 1669.<sup>1</sup>

Hollar's movements were often driven by necessity: as war and civil conflict consumed first Bohemia, then Germany and England in turn, he was forced to move in search of safety. Equally, Hollar sought the security of a stable market in which he could practise as an artist and provide for himself and, from 1641, his wife and children.

Hollar's second English period, marked by the decline of traditional aristocratic modes of patronage, coincided with the rapid growth of the publishing industry. Illustrated books charted the growth of cultural, scientific and geographical knowledge during that time. Hollar worked for leading figures in the industry and produced images that enabled readers to encounter that which was distant or had not survived recent wars or natural disasters. Hollar's prints were widely collected during his lifetime and his vast body of work has remained an important source of visual information for scholars of the 17th century.

## Hollar's self-portrait of 1649

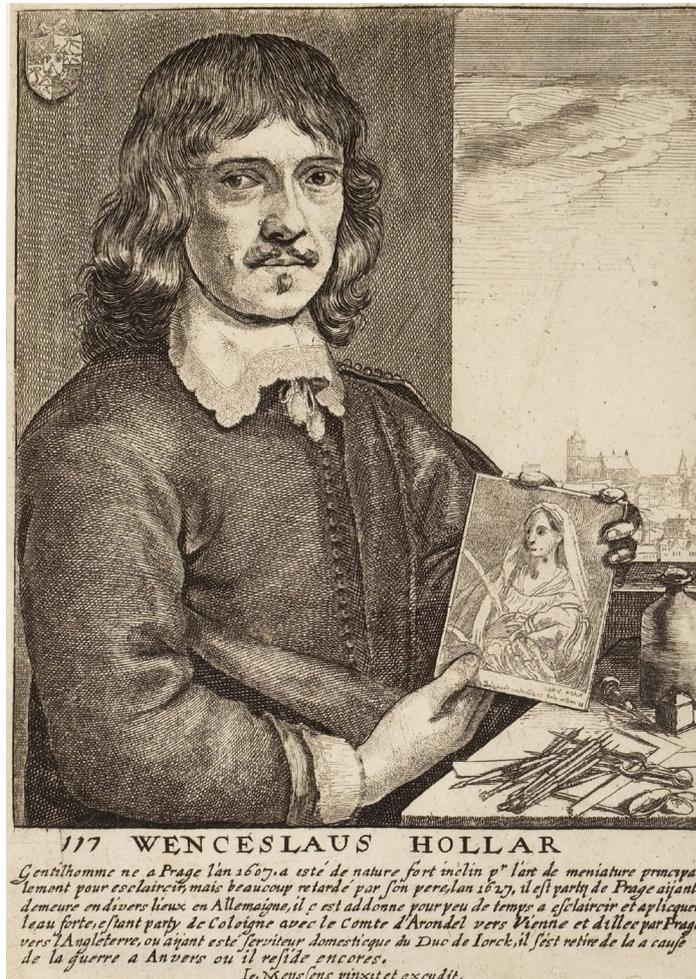


Figure 3  
Wenceslaus Hollar after Johannes Meyskens, *Wenceslaus Hollar*, 1649, etching and drypoint, fourth state of five, from: *Image de Divers Hommes d'Esprit Sublime* (Portraits of Various Eminent Gentlemen), Mackelvie Trust Collection, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, bequest of Dr Walter Auburn, 1982.

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*Gentilhomme né à Prague l'an 1607, a esté de nature fort incliné p<sup>r</sup> l'art de miniature principa-  
lemont pour esclaircir, mais beaucoup retardé par son pere l'an 1627, il est party de Prague aijant  
demeuré en divers lieux en Allemagne, il s'est addonné pour yeu de temps à esclaircir et appliquer  
l'eau forte, estant party de Cologne avec le Comte d'Arondel vers Vienne et d'elle par Prague  
vers l'Angleterre, ou aijant esté serviteur domestique du Duc de Lorck, il s'est retiré de là à cause  
de la guerre à Anvers ou il reside encorés.  
Le. Meyskens pinxit et excudit.*

In his etched self-portrait (fig 3) of 1649 Hollar identifies himself as both traveller and exile, as well as an artist of repute.<sup>2</sup> The carefully selected visual elements form a comprehensive narrative about Hollar's origins, his place in the social hierarchy and his artistic attainments. The accompanying inscription provides a short but detailed biography of the artist to that date and is one of the few substantial and reliable contemporary accounts of his life and career.

Hollar etched this print for a series of 100 portraits titled *Image de Divers Hommes d'Esprit Sublime* (Portraits of Various Eminent Gentlemen), published by Johannes Meyskens in Antwerp in 1649. That series continued a tradition of publications which celebrated prominent figures in society and Hollar's appearance in it is testimony to the esteem in which he was then held.

Meyskens' project was prompted by an earlier series by Anthony van Dyck, later known as the *Iconography*, in which artists also featured (fig 4).<sup>3</sup> Van Dyck initiated the *Iconography* with a group of etched portraits in the early 1630s, but it was only published in a standard format of 100 plates in Antwerp in 1645–6.<sup>4</sup>

Though smaller than Van Dyck's prints, Meyskens' follow the same format: half-length portraits in three-quarter profile, often against a simple background and with a blank



Figure 4  
Anthony van Dyck, *Pieter Brueghel*,  
1630–40, etching and engraving,  
fifth state of six, Auckland Art Gallery  
Toi o Tamaki, purchased 1956.

space at the bottom of the plate reserved for an identifying inscription. Meyssens was not alone in mimicking the formal elements of Van Dyck's portrait series which rapidly became something of a pattern book that other artists drew on to inform their own work.<sup>5</sup> Each of the nine plates that Hollar etched for *Image de Divers Hommes* show Van Dyck's influence and five are after portraits by Meyssens that may have been painted specifically for Hollar to copy.<sup>6</sup> Van Dyck had worked in a similar way, painting portraits in grisaille (tonal painting in grey or brown) which selected printmakers then copied in engraving.<sup>7</sup>

While Van Dyck's inscriptions generally include only the name, profession and hometown of the sitter, Meyssens' prints provide detailed biographical information. In addition to the short biography, Hollar's self-portrait print carries the Latin inscription 'Ie. Meyssens pinxit et excudit' (Joannes Meyssens painted it and published it). While the inscription makes it clear that Meyssens painted the picture from which Hollar then created this print, an analysis of the composition gives good reason to suppose that Hollar collaborated with him in the choice of motifs.

The composition of the self-portrait shows the influence of Van Dyck's portraits in oils and print; however, there is a certain lack of confidence about the figure of Hollar as realised in this print. The figure does not show the *sprezzatura* (ease of manner) of Van Dyck's aristocratic sitters – a fault that may lie with Meyssens as a portraitist, but which may also reflect Hollar's personality. Despite levelling his gaze at the viewer, the artist appears diffident, almost cautious, as he offers an example of his art for our inspection.

### Hollar the gentleman

The 42-year-old Hollar is elegantly attired in a buttoned doublet of dark fabric (probably black) and has a cloak or coat thrown over his shoulder; a dainty white collar, trimmed with lace, is tied at his throat (fig 3). He wears his hair long, as was the fashion at the time, along with a neatly trimmed and curled moustache and a tiny imperial beard. Hollar was evidently a man of some style and his choice of dress is an important element of the message of this print: that Hollar is a man of society rather than merely a manual worker. Indeed, Hollar's costume is almost identical to that worn by the exiled King Charles II in the portrait of him which Hollar etched in 1650 (fig 5). By identifying himself sartorially with the social elite, Hollar was advancing a claim for respectability at a time when the stigma of manual labour and craftsmanship still coloured perceptions of artistic endeavour.

Such prejudice had social implications for a practicing artist at a time when European society was strictly hierarchical and status was largely determined by birth. Hollar was fortunate to be born the son of a knight of the Holy Roman Empire and he emphasised his genteel origins in this print by including the coat of arms he inherited from his parents (fig 6).<sup>8</sup> Hollar's father, Jan (died 1630), was knighted by Emperor Rudolph II in 1600, adding the noble 'von Prachna' to his surname. While Hollar was in the Earl of Arundel's retinue in Regensburg in October 1636, Emperor Ferdinand II confirmed the artist's hereditary status



Figure 5  
Wenceslaus Hollar, *Charles II*, 1650,  
etching, Mackelvie Trust Collection,  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, bequest  
of Dr Walter Auburn, 1982.



Figure 6  
Hollar's coat of arms.  
Detail of figure 3.

with letters patent.<sup>9</sup> As markers of identity and rank, coats of arms were carefully regulated and in England a special court headed by the Earl Marshal – Hollar's patron the Earl of Arundel – was responsible for their correct use.

The use of coats of arms as personal identifiers was common in 16th-century portraiture and the practice continued well into the 17th century. In many early portraits the coat of arms often appears to be floating on the picture plane and is sometimes accompanied by an identifying inscription. In the self-portrait, Hollar's coat of arms casts a shadow on the wall from which it is shown suspended by a ribbon. In this way the coat of arms continues to function as an identifier of Hollar's inherited social status while also forming part of the fictive three-dimensional space where he is depicted and in which we find other motifs which are keys to Hollar's identity.

One account of Hollar's career noted that the emphasis he placed on his inherited social status meant that he would not have been a servant to the Earl of Arundel in a conventional sense. Rather, Hollar cultivated and exploited for his own ends the traditional modes of aristocratic patronage of the arts.<sup>10</sup> Not long after arriving in England, Hollar began producing prints which were not related to his place in Arundel's household. This indicates a measure of independence from the Earl of Arundel that was in keeping with Hollar's status as a gentleman. Among those prints is the panoramic view of Greenwich, 1637, which Hollar dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I.<sup>11</sup> The relationship that Hollar cultivated with the Royal Family seems to have resulted in his appointment to the household of the young Duke of York (second in line to the throne), most likely as a drawing-master, and that is recorded proudly in the biographical inscription below this portrait.

## Hollar the artist

If Hollar's costume and coat of arms were intended to send a particular message about his social status, the artist did not hesitate to identify his profession: a large number of tools that he required for his work are depicted on the table to the right of him (fig 7). In this respect, Hollar's self-portrait differs markedly from most of those portraits of artists found in Van Dyck's *Iconography*, where artistic attributes – such as paintbrushes – are few and far between.<sup>12</sup> While Van Dyck's series sought to advance the place of artists in society, it pointedly did so at the expense of direct references to their craft.<sup>13</sup> It seems unlikely that Van Dyck's programme was lost on either Hollar or Meyskens. Rather, comfortable in his genteel status, Hollar may not have felt the need to suppress references to his manual practice.



Figure 7  
Hollar's printmaking tools.  
Detail of figure 3

The tools found on the table include those conventionally used in the graphic arts (a set square, ruler, dividers) as well as those peculiar to the printmaker: needles of varying breadths, an engraver's burin (the pommel-handled instrument) and a bottle of acid.<sup>14</sup> It is worth noting that the lone burin is placed in isolation from the etching needles, highlighting Hollar's mastery of the difficult technique of etching and the limited, remedial role that engraving had in his work. From what is known of Hollar's technique, all that is missing from the tabletop is the wax with which he built raised edges about the plate (to contain the acid) and a feather with which to brush its surface while the acid etched the design.<sup>15</sup>

In the etching process the surface of a polished metal plate (traditionally copper) is first covered with a thin layer of acid-resistant paste before the design is drawn with a needle. Acid is used to etch the design into the plate where the needle has exposed the metal. Once the plate has been cleaned, a thick ink (the consistency of shoe-polish) is rubbed into the etched lines before the surface is carefully wiped. A sheet of damp paper is placed on top of the plate and together these are sent through a rolling press that forces the ink onto the paper. Hollar exposed his plates to acid more than once, biting lines of varying depth which then printed in differing strengths, creating subtle gradations of tone.

The presence in the portrait of the tools of Hollar's art is intentional. Placed close to his hands and so decidedly manual, the detailed illustration of his tools should be read as a declaration of Hollar's pride in his work and his acknowledged skill as a master of his art – celebrated here in a publication identifying men of renown.

In one of the more remarkable features of the self-portrait, Hollar presents for inspection an example of his work. He holds in his hands a copper plate etched with the image of *St Catherine of Alexandria* (fig 8) after a painting by Raphael.<sup>16</sup> This illustrates an undated print that Hollar made in Antwerp, probably from a drawing that he created while living in London. The Latin inscription (in reverse: ex *Collectione Arundel[iana]*) shown on the depicted plate tells us that Raphael's original was in the Earl of Arundel's collection.



Figure 8  
Etched plate with Raphael's  
*St Catherine of Alexandria*.  
Detail of figure 3.

The appearance of Raphael's *St Catherine* in this self-portrait is not incidental. From his vast body of work, Hollar chose to identify himself alongside Raphael, whose universal fame as one of the greatest masters of the Italian Renaissance would not have been lost on shrewd print collectors. Moreover, the presence of an image belonging to the Earl of Arundel advertised Hollar's intimate knowledge of that collection and his ability to reproduce works from it at the very time that it was being broken up for sale by the exiled countess. Finally, the choice of an icon-like image of a saint in the context of largely Catholic Antwerp is pointed: whereas in Protestant England Hollar's *St Catherine* would have been perceived as a reproductive print of a painting by a famous artist, in a Catholic community it retained religious significance. Indeed, it may even point to Hollar's own religious convictions, which possibly underwent a significant change around this time.<sup>17</sup>

### The biographical inscription

Hollar's name appears in very few historical documents and much has had to be deduced from the place names and dates found on his prints – particularly before he was employed by

the Earl of Arundel in 1636. The inscription on this print is therefore one of the most important contemporary accounts about Hollar's life and has been translated as follows:

Gentleman, born in Prague 1607, was naturally much inclined to the art of the miniature, especially illumination, but was much discouraged by his father. In 1627 he left Prague living in various places in Germany, and devoted himself for some time to illumination and etching. He left Cologne with the Count [Earl] of Arundel to Vienna and then via Prague to England, where having been domestic servant of the Duke of York, he retired on account of the war to Antwerp, where he now resides.<sup>18</sup>

It is particularly revealing that Hollar is identified as a gentleman before all else. Just as he retained a keen sense of his identity as a native of Prague, Hollar was evidently proud of his genteel origins. His father's opposition to Hollar's chosen career may have reflected the lowly status of artists in that period – a role unsuitable for the son of a knight of the Empire.

The details recounted in the short biography highlight Hollar's connections to both the Earl of Arundel and the Royal Family. But by 1649 Arundel was dead and the Royal Family was in exile following the execution of Charles I early in the year. Doubtless there was still cachet attached to Hollar's associations with the displaced elite, albeit few direct financial benefits.

Despite being resident in Antwerp at the time that the self-portrait was made, the view through the window behind Hollar is of part of the Hradčany Castle in Prague, in particular the great tower of the Cathedral of St Vitus and the two spires of the Basilica of St George (fig 9).<sup>19</sup> Forming a part of the royal castle, the Cathedral was the coronation church of the Bohemian kings. Standing well above the other buildings in the Hradčany Castle – itself raised on a hill overlooking the rest of the city – the silhouette of the Cathedral would have been familiar to all who knew Prague in the 17th century.<sup>20</sup> Hollar continued to identify as a citizen of Prague and as a Bohemian throughout his career, often signing his prints as such. The distant view of the Hradčany Castle points not only to Hollar's origins but also to his physical distance from his homeland.



Figure 9  
View of the Hradčany Castle,  
Prague. Detail of figure 3.





Figure 11  
Wenceslaus Hollar, *The Waterhouse by Islington*, 1665, etching, first state of two, Mackelvie Trust Collection, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, bequest of Dr Walter Auburn, 1982.

## Tangier: Hollar's last adventure

In 1669 Hollar petitioned Charles II for permission to join the king's embassy to Tangier in North Africa. England had received the colony in 1662 as a partial dowry payment when Charles II married Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess. The king and his advisors hoped that the new territory would be profitable but they soon discovered that the harbour was inadequate, the Moroccans were hostile and the old Portuguese fortifications were in poor condition. The king's embassy was intended to broker a treaty for peace and trade with the Moroccan sovereign, but the ambassador – the Earl of Arundel's grandson – was fearful for his safety and refused to venture into the Moroccan interior, so no agreement was ever reached.

Figure 12  
Wenceslaus Hollar, *West Front of Tangier Castle*, 1669, etching, only state, Mackelvie Trust Collection, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, bequest of Dr Walter Auburn, 1982.



With spasmodic conflict between the English settlers and the Moroccans, Hollar arrived in Tangier to find himself once again in a war zone. His role was to accurately record the settlement and its fortifications and he produced numerous drawings from which he later etched a total of 15 plates (fig 12). The plates are carefully labelled with keys to identify the relevant landmarks, all of which were rechristened with appropriately English names

following the departure of the Portuguese. Some of Hollar's views show the troops who defended the doomed colony and, as one author has remarked, Hollar's depictions of soldiers going about their duties gives him an 'unacknowledged status as Britain's first war artist' (fig 13).<sup>21</sup>

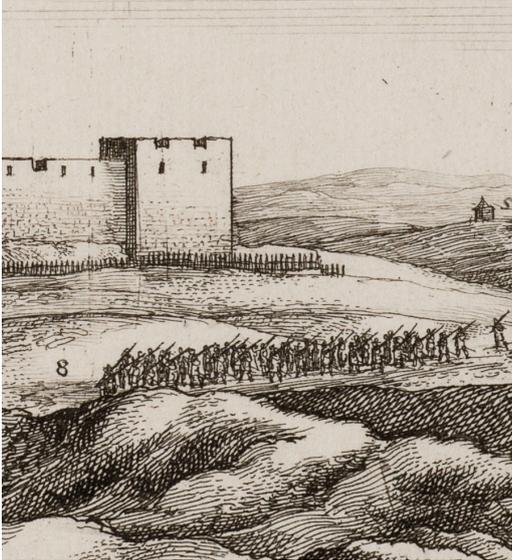


Figure 13  
Soldiers marching near the West Front of  
Tangier Castle. Detail of figure 12.

Hollar's return voyage to England in December 1669 was truly his last great adventure: Hollar's ship, the *Mary Rose*, was attacked by Algerian pirates north of Cadiz. The captain of the *Mary Rose*, John Kempthorne, fought off six Algerian ships, eventually forcing their retreat – a feat for which he was knighted. The fierce battle was waged over two days and Hollar only narrowly escaped death or a life of slavery.<sup>22</sup> Whether because of advancing age or the traumatic experience of his return voyage from Tangier, Hollar is not known to have travelled abroad after this date.

Like the artist himself, Hollar's prints have travelled far and can be found in collections around the world. The Mackelvie Collection at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki holds more than 400 prints by Hollar, most of which were bequeathed in 1982 by Dr Walter Auburn. Auburn's judiciously assembled collection charts each of the main periods of Hollar's career and enables detailed examination of the extraordinary sequence of events that shaped the artist's life and drove him to become one of the greatest printmakers of his age.

## End notes

1. Various authors have given the length of Hollar's stay as either 12 months or a year and a half. However, it seems that he stayed for less than six months, leaving England on 23 July 1669 before returning at the end of the end of December in the same year. For the date of Hollar's departure from England see E M G Routh, *Tangier: England's Lost Atlantic Outpost, 1661–1684*, J Murray, London, 1912, p 99. The return voyage in December 1669 is detailed in the inscription on Hollar's print *The Mary Rose in a Sea Battle*, 1670. See Simon Turner and Giulia Bartrum, 'Wenceslaus Hollar' in F W H Hollstein, *The New Hollstein: German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400–1700*, Sound and Vision and the British Museum, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel and London, 2009, pt VII, no 2131; and Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677)*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, no 1247.
2. An earlier self-portrait from 1647 is more conventional and does not include the biographical details found in the 1649 portrait. See New Hollstein, 'Wenceslaus Hollar', pt III, no 985; and Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, no 1420.
3. See Ger Luijten, 'The Iconography: Van Dyck's Portraits in Print' in Carl Depauw and Ger Luijten, et al, *Anthony van Dyck as a Print Maker*, Antwerpen Open and Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Antwerp and Amsterdam, 1999, p 88.
4. As above, p 87.
5. As above, p 88.
6. The four other etchings after paintings by Meyskens are the portraits of Hendrik van der Borcht the Younger, Adam Elsheimer, Jacob van Es and Bonaventure Peeters. Hollar etched the portrait of Hendrik van der Borcht the Elder after a painting by Van der Borcht the Younger, Stefano della Bella after a painting by Nicolaes van Helt Stockade, and Johannes van Balen and Adriaen van de Venne after two self-portraits. See the New Hollstein, 'Wenceslaus Hollar', pt IV, nos 1052–1060.
7. See Luijten in *Anthony van Dyck as a Print Maker*, pp 81–5. Simon Turner suggests that Meyskens' untraced painting of Hollar was also in grisaille. See New Hollstein, 'Wenceslaus Hollar', pt IV, no 1058.
8. Jan Hollar's coat of arms shows the hill at Prachna below two fleur-de-lis (heraldic lilies). The elder Hollar married Margaretha, daughter of David Löw von Löwengrün und Bareyth, who was raised to the nobility in 1594. Löw's quartered coat of arms occupies the space around Jan Hollar's shield.

9. The grant enabled Hollar to style himself 'Prachenberger von Löwengrün und Bareyth' and, it seems, combine the coats of arms of his parents. In the version found in this print, Hollar's father's arms are shown inescutcheon as a small shield placed over Hollar's mother's arms. In the context of English heraldry this arrangement is unusual as the paternal arms would normally take precedence; that is, feature as the larger shield. In his self-portrait print from 1647 (New Hollstein, 'Wenceslaus Hollar', pt III, no 985), Hollar initially used the same coat of arms as in this print, but altered the arms in the second state to show those of his father alone. See Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p XXIII.
  
10. See Antony Griffiths and Gabriela Kesnerová, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Prints and Drawings*, British Museum Publications, London, 1983, p 31.
  
11. See New Hollstein, 'Wenceslaus Hollar', pt I, no 246; and Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, no 977.
  
12. The portraits of scholars and rulers in the *Iconography* are generally identified by the appropriate attributes, including books and armour.
  
13. See Mathew Norman, 'The Corporate Man: The Image of the Artist in Van Dyck's Iconography' in *Artiface: Artists' Portraits in Prints*, ed David Maskill, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Wellington, 2005, pp 7–9.
  
14. Hollar evidently used the engraver's burin to remedy errors and improve lines made using the etching process. In a letter to Hendrik van der Borch the Elder, Hollar remarked that an unfinished proof had not yet 'been touched by the needle', obviously referring to the burin – an instrument with a sharp, v-shaped tip with which lines are cut directly into the plate without the aid of acid. See Francis C Springell, *Connoisseur and Diplomat: The Earl of Arundel's Embassy to Germany in 1636*, Magg Bros, London, 1963, note 110, pp 159–60. Denkstein suggests that the small box on the table may have held ink while the oval forms may be seashells for holding watercolour washes. See Vladimír Denkstein, *Hollar Drawings*, Orbis, London, 1977, p 13.
  
15. The English writer George Vertue recorded Richard Symonds' observations of Hollar's technique: Symonds described how Hollar built a 'verge' of wax about the edges of the plate in order to hold the acid, then stirred the acid with a feather (to prevent bubbles forming on the surface of the plate) for about 15 minutes during which the etching took place. See Springell, *Connoisseur and Diplomat*, note 110 and footnote C, pp 159–60.

16. The original painting has not been traced but Raphael's very similar painting *La Velata*, c1516, is in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence.
17. The English writer John Evelyn recorded that Hollar was converted to Roman Catholicism during his time in Antwerp. See Robert J D Harding, 'Hollar, Wenceslaus (1607–1677)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13549>, accessed 30 Oct 2012. Evelyn's claim is not certain, but Hollar is known to have been a practicing Roman Catholic during his second English period. His religious persuasion before that date has been the subject of much discussion.
18. Griffiths and Kesnerová, *Wenceslaus Hollar*, p 76. In the poor original French the inscription reads: 'Gentilhomme ne a Prage l'an 1607. a esté de nature fort inclin pr l'art de miniature principalement pour esclaircir, mais beaucoup retardé par son pere, lan 1627, il est party de Prage aijant demeure en divers lieux en Allemaigne, il c est addone pour peu de temps a esclaircir et aplicquer leau forte, estant party de Coloigne avec le Comte d'Arondel vers Vienne et dillec par Prage vers l'Angleterre, ou aijant esté serviteur domesticque du Duc de lorck, il s'est retire de la a cause de la guerre a Anvers ou il reside encores.'
19. This view of the Hradčany Castle from the east is very close to that found in Hollar's panoramic drawing *General View of Prague from the Petřín Slope*, 1636 (Prague, National Gallery), and possibly derives from preparatory sketches for the same.
20. The silhouette of the Cathedral changed during the course of the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the building was sympathetically 'completed' with the westward extension of the nave, terminating in two prominent towers. The ornamental 16th-century copper roof of the great tower was left intact.
21. Richard T Godfrey, *Wenceslaus Hollar: A Bohemian Artist in England*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994, p 27. In 1683, on the order of the king, Tangier was evacuated by the English and the town and harbour were destroyed in a series of planned explosions.
22. Refer note 1.

## Further Reading

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