



<http://kentarchaeology.org.uk/research/archaeologia-cantiana/>

Kent Archaeological Society is a registered charity number 223382

© 2017 Kent Archaeological Society

WILLIAM STUKELEY'S KENTISH STUDIES OF ROMAN AND OTHER REMAINS

PAUL ASHBEE

William Stukeley (1687-1765) was a pioneer unmatched in the history of archaeology, noted for his work on Stonehenge and Avebury, as well as his obsession with the Druids. It is not generally appreciated that he made major excursions into Kent and that in his published works, and many surviving papers, there are details of the principal Prehistoric, Roman and Mediaeval monuments of the County, as seen by him during the earlier years of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, his closest friends were John Gray, the Canterbury physician, and, from about 1721, Lord Winchelsea, of Eastwell Park. Two members of his antiquarian circle, Sir John Elwill and Sir Samuel Lennard, resided at Beckenham and West Wickham respectively, while another, Hercules Ayleway, wrote from 'Merriworth Castle'.

Stukeley (**Plate I**) studied medicine at Cambridge and later in London, at St Thomas's Hospital. He spent seven years in practice in his native Lincolnshire, at Boston, returning to London in 1717. His countryside tours and antiquarian interests, led to the detailed appreciations of Stonehenge and Avebury, their supportive landscapes and allied monuments, made between 1718 and 1724, for which he is justly famous. In 1717 he became the first Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London and wrote in the Minute-Book that 'Without drawing or designing the study of Antiquities or any other science is lame and imperfect'. After his death, Richard Gough (1780, 373) wrote that 'If any man was born for the service of Antiquity, it was Dr Stukeley' and, at Avebury, nearer our time, O. G. S. Crawford (Crawford & Keiller 1928, 211) said: 'Let us once for all pay a tribute of esteem and gratitude to Stukeley's memory'.

Besides prehistoric monuments, Stukeley made a considerable contribution to Roman studies (Haverfield & Macdonald 1924, 75-9; Birley 1961, 15-17), and numismatics (Evans 1864, 7). He had a prescient appreciation of mediaeval buildings (Watkin 1985, 51), and



A formal portrait, in oils, by an unknown artist, of William Stukeley during the 1720s. In the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London and is here reproduced with their kind permission

was particularly sensitive to the then unspoiled nature of England's landscapes and countryside. His medical studies led him to write upon the spleen and gout and, in later life, after taking Holy Orders in 1729, he preached upon healing. Diverse matters, which were the business of the Royal Society, electricity, earthquakes, eclipses, turbinate water-wheels, zoophytes and corals, claimed his attention. He saw Stonehenge and Avebury, and other stone circles, as temples and furnished them with ministrants, the Druids. In later life, he developed an eccentric Druidical mythology which fuelled the mystical William Blake, and led to the Ancient Order of Druids, which became the benefit society in 1833. His notions are still with us each year at Stonehenge. In the realm of Roman studies, poor Stukeley was the victim of the forgery by Charles Julius Bertram, domiciled in Copenhagen, of an account of Roman Britain, allegedly by Richard of Cirencester (Piggott 1986, 119-22). This contaminated developing Romano-British archaeology until well into the nineteenth century and fragments remained upon our Ordnance Maps until the 1950s (Crawford 1955, 166; Rivet & Smith 1979, 184).

Stukeley's work has never been lost sight of, for not only were his views regularly cited but some of his papers were published. John Nichols (1745-1826) included letters (Nichols 1817-31, 769-82) in his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812-15) and *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (1812-15). These amplified the material relating to Stukeley and his friends that had appeared in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (1780-90). Later, three volumes of the Surtees Society were devoted to a further selection. The three volumes, *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley M.D. and the Antiquarian and other Correspondence* were edited by William Collings Lukis (Atkinson 1976). They are Surtees Society volumes LXXIII (1880); LXXVI (1883) and LXXX (1887). The first is the autobiographical common-place book and correspondence, while the other two contain material ordered by counties, Kent being LXXVI (1883), 224-38.

An insight into Stukeley's contributions to the study of Roman Britain was given by Francis Haverfield (1924, 75-9) in the first of his Oxford Ford Lectures, delivered in 1907. Emphasis was given to the confusion arising from Bertram's forged *De Situ Britanniae*, which was examined in detail by Henry John Randall (1933; 1936, 120-40) in his *Splendide Mendax* essay. Indeed, so all-pervasive was this spurious source – Gough, Roy and Roach Smith had accepted it without question – that an appendix was included in the recent examination of the place-names of Roman Britain (Rivet & Smith 1979).

Alexander Keiller's excavations at Avebury (Smith 1965) were guided by Stukeley's plans, drawings and records. To this end Keiller had obtained various manuscripts as these had conditioned H. St. George Gray's planning of the great circle and excavations into the massive ditch (Gray 1935; Burl 1979, 61-7). Stuart Piggott, from 1933 to 1938 (Daniel & Chippindale, 1989, 25-7) worked with Keiller and appreciations of Stukeley led to two essays, 'Stukeley, Avebury and the Druids' (Piggott 1935) and 'Prehistory and the Romantic Movement' (Piggott 1937). These show, respectively, how fieldwork became almost a mystical religious tract and that nascent romanticism was a potent factor. These Avebury essays led to the definitive biography *William Stukeley an Eighteenth Century Antiquary* (Piggott 1950; 1985, revised & enlarged ed.) and within the details of the tours listed in it, the nature of Stukeley's Kentish excursions, made on horseback (Moir 1964, 47-57), can be seen.

Stukeley's preoccupations with the Druids have been detailed by Kendrick (1927, 9-12), who saw him as furthering a cult, and Owen (1962) who considered his speculations in the light of their effects upon English literature. Stuart Piggott (1968; 1985) placed him firmly within the European romantic movement and detailed his contribution to the national myth. Subsequently, he (Piggott 1989) outlined Stukeley's contribution to emergent field archaeology (Ashbee 1972) before his immersion in religious conjecture.

The revised edition of the definitive biography included new sources which amplified the nature of Stukeley's work at Stonehenge and Avebury as well as his sad involvement in the Bertram forgery (Piggott 1985). A postscript used further emergent sources which revealed something of the origins of his theology and gave further insights into the motivations of Charles Julius Bertram (Piggott 1986). An interest in Kent becomes apparent when the reconstructed tours are scrutinised.

William Stukeley's publications reflected his wide interests (Piggott 1950, 205-5). Of particular note are: *Itinerarium Curiosum Centuria I* (1724); *Stonehenge, a Temple restor'd to the British Druids* (1740); *Abury, a Temple of the British Druids* (1743) and *Itinerarium Curiosum Centuria II* (1776, post.). He had intended a *History of the Temples of the Antient Celts* (1723) which would have included material relevant to Kit's Coty House and Julliberrie's Grave (Piggott 1985, 88; Ucko *et al.* 1991, 74-98). *Itinerarium Curiosum I* (IC (i), 1724) contains twelve engravings of Kentish sites and monuments as well as the Kentish section of the *Iter Romanum V* (pp. 113-26), dedicated to Lord Winchelsea of Eastwell Park, while the map of England (Tab. LVI) shows Stukeley's concept of the county in

Roman times (**Fig. 1**). *Itinerarium Curiosum II* (IC (ii), 1776) is a collection of plates, without accompanying text, eighteen of which depict further Kentish sites and monuments.

William Stukeley's work, notably in Kent, should be seen in the context of the perceptual climate of his age. His early appreciations of antiquity, landscape and nature are in the traditions of *The Picturesque* (Hussey 1927), from the Italian term *Pittoresca*, a subject as seen by a painter. His drawings of Kit's Coty House and its environs employ its modes, as does some of his descriptive prose (Moir 1964, 48). This is difficult to disentangle from the later *Romantic* movement (Clark 1928, 66-91; Piggott 1937; 1985, 156-8) which had at its heart appreciation of the *Gothic*, the ruins of the many ecclesiastical establishments remaining from the sixteenth century. Stukeley's illustrations of Kentish buildings of this kind illustrate his considerable insight into this aspect of antiquity (Watkin 1983, 51; Piggott 1985, 31).

William Stukeley's Kentish Friends

The plates (*Tabulae*) of *Itinerarium Curiosum I* (1724) were dedicated to various of Stukeley's friends (**Appendix 1**). Those pertaining to Kent include four in the county, John Gray MD, of Canterbury; Sir John Elwill of Langley Park, Beckenham; Sir Samuel Lennard of West Wickham Court, and Heneage Finch, the Fifth Lord Winchelsea of Eastwell Park, near Ashford.

John Gray of Canterbury, to whom a map of the city is dedicated (IC (i), 96), was a life-long friend whom Stukeley had met at Cambridge (SS (i), 1880, 41, 41n, 50, 50n; SS (ii), 1883, 358). He was the son of Mathias Gray, an Alderman of Canterbury, and was admitted to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1706. He returned to his home city where he practised medicine until his untimely death in 1737. Stephen Gray, also of Canterbury, the pioneer electrician (DNB, xxiii, 20), whom Stukeley described as '.....a very ingenious man, well vers'd in Philosophy, Astronomy, Optics, Mechanics &c.' was his uncle. Of the nephew he wrote (SS (i), 1880, 41): 'John Gray, of our College, my Junior, who studyd Physick, a lad of very good parts & Industry, with whom I was particularly acquainted, since took his Batchelor of Physics Degree, and now practises at Canterbury his Native Country'. Besides medicine, William Stukeley and John Gray had a mutual interest in ancient remains. Indeed, it is likely that Stukeley, on his Kentish tours in 1722 and 1724, stayed with him. He would have had a base and local guidance for his work in Canterbury, while Richborough and kindred places were at no great distance. Of

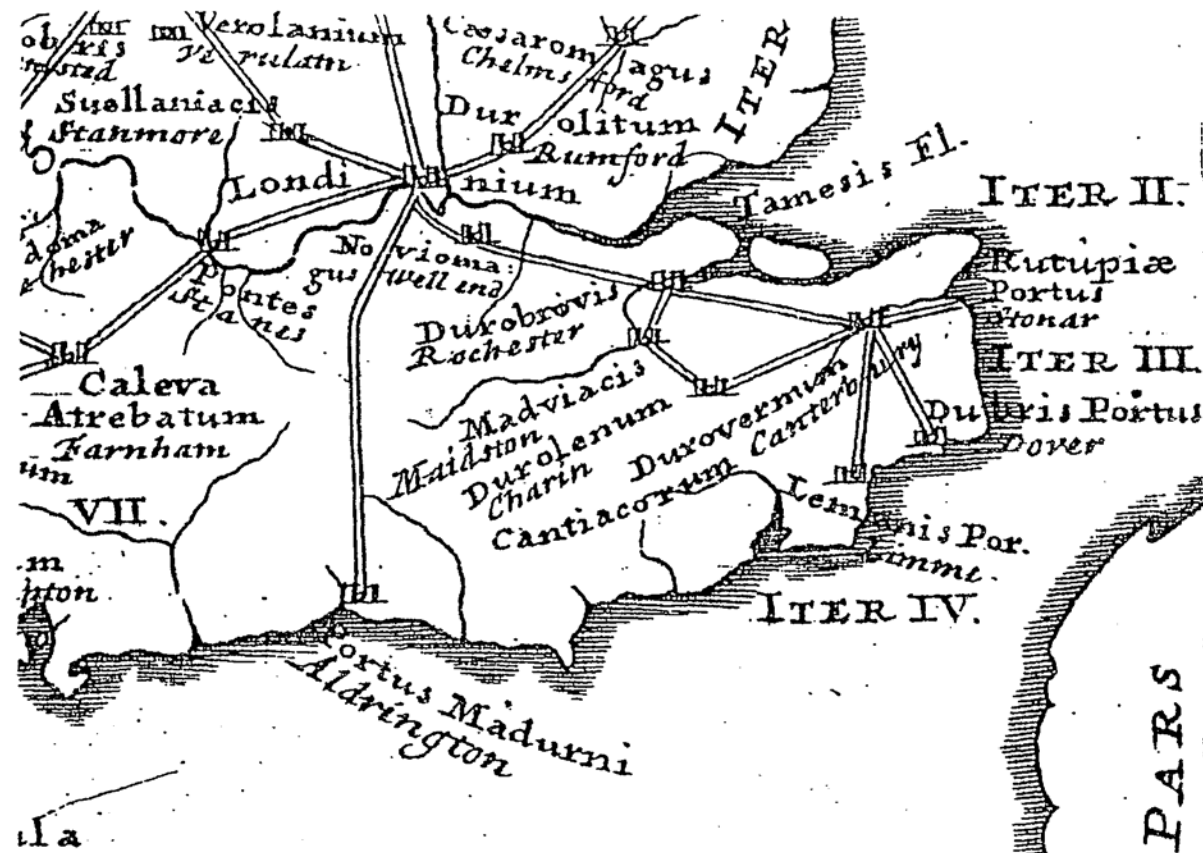


Fig. 1 William Stukeley's vision of Roman Kent. His 1722 journey into the county was the conclusion of his *Iter Romanum*, the subject of a complete map of England and Wales (IC (i), 1724)

John Gray's antiquarian activities, William Gostling (1774, 11) wrote '.....the old arch of Worthgate, of the same structure as Riding-gate appears to have been, but with one arch only, which was preserved by Dr. Gray, a late eminent physician of our city'. A footnote in a later edition (1825, 11, fn.7) notes its Roman brick construction, its removal to a garden in Lamb Lane and later use as a gateway to Lee Priory, at Ickham.

Sir John Elwill of Langley Park, Beckenham, now known as Park Langley, was the subject of the plate of Rochester Castle, the first of the Kentish monuments to be drawn in 1722 (IC (i), 1724, 6). John Elwill had married the daughter of Humphrey Style and Langley Park was in dower to him. Upon the death of his father in 1717, he succeeded to the baronetcy shortly before Stukeley returned to London from Boston. Stukeley visited Langley Park in 1718 and recorded that he made a sketch of '...Lady Elwill's house at Langley' (SS (ii), 1888). There are also undated drawings of heraldic shields (Bodleian Lib., MS Top. gen. e.61, ff. 55, 66) which are recorded as 'Langley, Kent' (Piggott 1950, 215). These are from the wealth of heraldic devices of the Style family which were a prominent feature of the old, unrestored, Beckenham church. When Stukeley left London for Grantham in 1726, he listed 'Sr John Elwell of Langley, Kent' as one of the 'gentleman acquaintances' that he was sad to leave behind (SS (i), 1880, 131).

A near neighbour of Sir John Elwill was Sir Samuel Lennard of West Wickham Court. Stukeley dedicated his plate of Faversham Abbey (IC (i), 1724, 27) to him and made drawings of the wealth of Lennard arms and quarterings in West Wickham church (Bodleian Lib. MS Top. Gen. e.61, ff. 55-66), which he did not date. Despite, presumably, a visit, or visits, to West Wickham by Stukeley, Sir John does not appear as prominent in the London circle. However, when, in 1726, the move to Grantham took place, he was itemised in the common-place book, as one of '... 3 baronets, near neighbours, Sr John Elwell, of Langley, Kent; Sr Saml. Lennard of Wickham; and Sr. Nich. Carey of Bedington...'. Beddington, near Croydon in Surrey was *Bedington*, also at no great distance from London, while Sr. Nich. Carey was of the Carew family occupying, the largely rebuilt, Beddington House, in Beddington Park.

The considerable *Iter Romanum* which is the principal part of *Itinerarium Curiosum I* (1724), together with a plate (Tab. 98) of Folkestone, as well as the Prospect of Kit's Coty House Kent, Oct 15 1722, in *Itinerarium Curiosum II* (1776), were dedicated to Heneage Finch, Fifth Earl of Winchelsea (1657-1726), of Eastwell Park, near Ashford. He was a friend and patron of non-jurors, those clergymen

who after 1688 refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, as was Thomas Thynne, First Viscount Weymouth (1640-1714). At Thynne's instigation, as they shared antiquarian interests, he had undertaken excavations into Julliberrie's Grave, the long barrow which stands above the River Stour at Chilham, in 1702. This work was described in unusual detail in a letter to Archdeacon Batteley (Nichols 1822, 96-7), which has been, since that time, regularly referred to (Thurnam 1868, 176, fn.6; Jessup 1937, 126; Ashbee 1970, 5). It was not, however, until the death of his famous literary wife Anne, notable for her long poem *The Spleen* in 1720, that his antiquarian endeavours became all-absorbing. It was in 1720 that Stukeley records in the Abstract of his life (SS (i)), 1880, 49-58) that 'He had contracted friendships with the great Thomas, Earl of Pembroke, whose antique marbles at Wilton he drew out; with the learned Heneage, Earl of Winchelsea, & in general with all the virtuosos in London....'.

Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea was then more than sixty years of age but despite the disparity, Stukeley being thirty years his junior, a close friendship developed. Warmth and affection are apparent in the many letters regarding various arrangements, and local researches, that Lord Winchelsea wrote from Eastwell Park. Not only did he take part in Stukeley's fieldwork at Avebury and Stonehenge, he was, in 1722, a founder member of Stukeley's Society of Roman Knights, taking the title *Cyngetorix* and, in 1723, a Fellow of the reformed Society of Antiquaries of London. Apart from his excavation of Julliberrie's Grave, early in the century, and the various references to local researches, the disinterment of urns, prehistoric and Roman, and the pursuit of the course of Roman roads, little is known of Lord Winchelsea's antiquarian activities. Nonetheless, he emerges as experienced and in advance of many of that time. It seems likely that he was attracted by Stukeley's amiable personality, energy, knowledge and skill.

At the outset, Lord Winchelsea's letters to Stukeley are prefixed 'Sir', the usage of the age, but soon 'Dear Druid', 'My dear Druid' and later 'Most venerable Druid and my dear Doctor' are the rule. Besides the letters (Nichols 1817-58, 769-82; SS (ii), 1883, 228-32) there are the various references to Lord Winchelsea in Stukeley's common-place book, diary and other papers (SS (i), 1880, *passim*). The letters, mostly from Eastwell Park, and the notes that Stukeley customarily made, provide a number of insights into their joint activities in Kent and elsewhere. He was in Kent (Piggott 1985, 162) for at least the first part of October 1722, and it is likely that the figures in some of the drawings are of Stukeley and Lord Winchelsea. Moreover, at the end of this Kentish journey, to be discussed in

detail, Stukeley stayed at Eastwell Park. A letter from Lord Winchelsea (SS (ii), 1883, 228):

'To Dr Stukeley, next door to Powis House, in Ormond Street, London'
Eastwell, Octbr 20th 1722

Sir Nothing could so much atone for your leaving us [his Chaplain, Mr Creyk, was his companion] so soon as letting me hear from you. I was extremely pleased to learn by your very obliging, entertaining, and instructive letter, that after doing penance here, by what you saw and observed in your way, the journey must have been very agreeable to you; and that you are, after all your toils, arrived in good health, and are in safe harbour before the rough season of the year is come....'

In this letter there is a statement of an intention to dig for urns and to 'view the Kit Coty House'. Undoubtedly the Medway megaliths (Ashbee 1993) were discussed at length for Stukeley had sought permission to section 'this grave' (the long barrow) seemingly along the lines of what Lord Winchelsea had dug in 1702 at Julliberrie's Grave, indeed, he appears to have consented to undertake the operation and wrote 'Perhaps I shall get it done, but I doubt it cannot be while I am present, for want of time. I am glad you think this work strengthens my conjectures concerning Julabury's grave.....'. The monument was, in that year, much in mind. A year later he wrote to Stukeley saying:I have been at Julaber's Grave, which I formerly measured only by my paces but I have now taken it with my measuring chain, and have all its dimensions very right; and I took its bearings with my compass, and from the top of it I have drawn out a prospect of the country' (Nichols 1817-58, 769; Piggott 1985, 57).

On September 30 1726, Lord Winchelsea died at Eastwell Park and his loss was mourned by Stukeley and the antiquarian circle. Samuel Gale, the first Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries of London, wrote to him at Stamford on 30 March 1727, deplored his absence from the capital and lamented '....the fatal loss of so many of our Society, who by their works rescind the world from death and are themselves made immortal. O Winchelsea, O Talman the first the father of antiquities'.

Hercules Ayleway wrote a detailed letter to Stukeley, from Merriworth Castle, March 25 1722, regarding his visit to Kit's Coty house (SS (ii), 1885, 225). It is a valuable document in that it was a competent report upon fieldwork (Ashbee 1993, 72) in an area that Stukeley visited later in that year. It was carried out at his request. Presumably they had met, perhaps in London, at some earlier juncture. Ayleway wrote:

'Sir According to your orders I have taken notice of two antient monuments neere Alsford, in south Kent, about two miles from the river Medway.....they are called by the names of the Upper and Lower Kitt's Cotty house' [and at the considerable letter's conclusion there was:]

'from your ashured Servant and brother Hercules Ayleway'

He was undoubtedly puzzled by much that he saw but, notwithstanding, in terms of the eighteenth century, his observations were those of one versed in antiquities and able to observe. One wishes that more were known of him as he emerges as an able member of the Stukeley circle and as one glad to assist the researches.

William Stukeley's journeying in Kent

Although he had made incidental visits before and was to make others, Stukeley's three principal tours into Kent were in 1722, 1724 and 1725, largely the years he was busy at Stonehenge and Avebury. The 1722 visit, during the first half of October, was the conclusion of his *Iter Romanum* (IC (i), 1724, 113-26). This was a pursuit of Roman roads, mostly between London and Lincoln, the last part of which took him down to Dover. While some of his earlier tour records may be no more than what might have been written by any gentleman with antiquarian interests (Piggott 1985, 39), the *Iter Romanum*, and the subsequent visits, were accomplished field archaeology (Ashbee 1972, 49-51). His 1724 excursion was also in the first half of October but that of 1725 occupied the later days of May and early June. From dated drawings, notes and incidental references in his journals and published works it has been possible to reconstruct a framework for these (Piggott 1985, 161-7).

Stukeley's excursions into those parts of Kent at no great distance from London appear to have been after his return from Boston in 1717. He had settled there to practise medicine in 1710. In 1716, however, he produced 'An account of Richburrough Ruins' (SS (ii), 1885, 224). Although brief, with the possibility that certain details were from Batteley (1711) or Plot (1714), it has a freshness and grasp that suggests personal observation and measurement. Thus an excursion from Boston, perforce via London, is not impossible. In 1718, however, he went to Greenwich where a view from the north-east was drawn (Bodleian Lib. MS Top. gen e.61, f.21v). In the same year, he visited Sir John Elwill at Langley Park, when he sketched 'Lady Elwill's house' and drew the heraldic shields in the old Beckenham parish church (it was rebuilt in the nineteenth century, Homan 1984,

35). A stay with Sir Samuel Lennard at West Wickham Court in 1718 accounts for the drawings of heraldic shields in the church close by.

Although the tours can be largely reconstructed from Stukeley's dated drawings, there is a wealth of detail regarding Kent contained in the concluding section of the 1722 *Iter Romanum* (Stukeley 1724, 113-26). The drawings of that year show that he was in Rochester on 4 October and drew the castle. It is likely that he had left London at least two days earlier, as fieldwork was undertaken on the way. It should not be forgotten that Stukeley's *Iter Romanum* was a journey undertaken in the steps of the Antonine Itinerary (Rivet & Smith 1979, 150-80). He followed the Watling Street over Shooter's Hill and thought of Northfleet as the site of a Roman town. East of Crayford the agger had been visible but, after Dartford, he lost its line in a wood near Southfleet. At Rochester, he noted Roman masonry by the bridge and Roman cut stone in buildings close by the cathedral.

While at Crayford, Stukeley had speculated upon the possibility of a branch road to Maidstone and, eventually, Lympne (*Lemanis*). Following the comments upon Rochester, there are passages about Maidstone and beyond, to Charing. The details suggest the possibility of an earlier, personal, more leisured, visit. He wrote 'We must now according to the *Itinerary* leave the Watling-street, and go to Maidston. The road hither passes by that famous british monument call'd Kits-coty-house'. The first part of the Rochester-Maidstone-Hastings route (Margary 1948, 212-28) is indicated and Maidstone is considered as *Vagniacis* (Rivet & Smith 1979, 485). He records that 'about 1720, they dug up several canoos made of hollow'd trees in the marshes of the river Medway above Maidston' and that 'one is usd for a boat to this day'. Also seen was '... in the hands of Dr. Dodd a british coyn of electrum found at Addington near Malling, anno 1720, in the foundation of a stonewall; on the concave side a british horse rude enough, the convex was plain'.

From Maidstone he considered that the *Itinerary* led to Charing, thought to be *Durolenum*. His justification was that Charing was upon a spring of the Len. However, the watershed between Len and Stour is Lenham. Although 'Roman antiquities are found all about', he could not find the site of the town. Lord Winchelsea continued work in this area a year later and felt that he had found something of the line of the Maidstone-Kingsnorth-Lympne Roman road (Margary 1948, 228-43) on Charing Heath (Letter to Stukeley, 12 Oct 1723, Nichols 1812-37, 775). Despite his error regarding the rivers, Stukeley made a brief appreciation of the chalk North Downs and the course of the Len through sandy, undulating, terrain. He concludes by affirming that this 'excursion with Antoninus' was designed to 'conduct travellers the nearest way to the portus Lemanis'.

From Rochester, Stukeley followed the Watling street directly to Canterbury, stopping, however, at Faversham where on 5 October he drew the remains of the abbey. The final ten miles to Canterbury appear to have been completed that day and he remarked how, at Boughton, the tower of the cathedral was in the line of the Watling street and that 'both together make a fine show'. At Canterbury he presumably stayed with John Gray and explored the city in his company.

Canterbury captivated Stukeley and he comments upon its remains and ruins in substantial, lively, detail:

Here are many remains of roman buildings, many made of roman materials in the saxon times. Many antiquities found in digging about the hop-grounds. Your lordship (Lord Winchelsea) has quantities of them. The city is strongly wall'd about and many lunets or towers at due intervals, a deep ditch close underneath, and a great rampart of earth within.

On 6 October, he drew the Worth Gate, viewed the castle, which he compared with Rochester, while seeing a relationship with the Wincheap Gate. The Dane John caught his eye, as did a similar mound, outside the city wall (Urry 1948). At the Riding Gate he noted part of the Roman arch, and of the arch of the postern with Roman building material in the wall close by, and stated that 'Hence the Watling-street passes directly to Dover, over Barham downs'. The road to Richborough issued from an East Gate and close by was the remains of St Augustine's Abbey. Here he was enthralled by the porch where Augustine and his successors were buried, by St Pancras church of Roman bricks, with close by it a chamber said to have been Ethelbert's pagan chapel, and by St Martin's church, at no great distance, which he saw as built for the most part of Roman bricks or tiles. He saw a small remnant of St Gregory's chapel and in the great cathedral he identified the worn area around where St Thomas Becket's shrine had stood and described the ornate tomb of the Black Prince as 'a noble monument of brass'. His drawings of St Augustine's are dated the 6 October, that of St Martin's church was presumably drawn on the same day, while a general map of Canterbury is dated the 5 October.

Leaving Canterbury, he followed the line of the Roman road to Richborough which he drew on 7 October. Passing Wingham, he recorded 'a very large barrow of celtic make, by the road side, call'd the mount', adding that there were several more in the parish. At Richborough he thought the Roman port and city had been at Stonar, with the fort as the station of the garrison. He was impressed by the site, considering it as '...a most noble remnant of roman antiquity',

and noted the walls, possible gates and a great foundation which he said: 'seems to have been a Pharos, or lodging for the commanding officer'. The eastern side of this Saxon Shore fort, encroached upon by the river, and later the railway (Frere & St Joseph 1983, 78) may have only just fallen when seen by Stukeley. The 'castrensian amphitheatre of turf' was noted as was the soil of the neighbourhood: '....it is of gravel and sand, and has been long plow'd over'. On the same day, 7 October, he rode on, via Sandwich and Deal, to Dover.

The bricks of Sandwich were similar to those of Richborough and Stukeley espied '...two roman tumuli' before Sandwich gates as well as, south of the town: 'six large and broad celtic tumuli equidistant'. He also records that he '...rode from Sandwich as far as Hithe upon the brink of the shore or cliff, in sight of France all the way'. Sandown, Deal and Walmer castles were remarked upon but one feels that he was especially excited by the barrows that he saw on the high chalk downs, inland from St Margaret's at Cliffe. He wrote:

I saw in two places a great number of littl tumuli of unequal bulk close by one another, and between Hardres and Chilham and other places. I know not that such have ever been taken notice of, the peopl say they were burying places of the Danes, probably digging into them might give us some satisfaction. I believe 'em celtic, because I saw many sorts of them, and such as appear on Salisbury-plain.

Stukeley arrived in Dover, *Portus Dubris*, on the evening of 7 October. He considered it: 'a most romantic scituation' and observed that it is: 'a great valley, and the only one about this coast where water is admitted inwards of the cliff, here very high: and a running brook discharges it self into the sea. The water formerly came a good way higher up, and made a large port, and they have found anchors above the town'. It was thought that the Roman city was south of the river and that the beach was the harbour in Caesar's time. It seemed to have been an 'oblong square' and walling was still standing. The Watling Street, from Canterbury, entered at the Bigin Gate. He was impressed by the antiquity of Dover's churches, especially St Margaret's, the collegiate church, and recorded the priory's remains as a farm house. Snargate Street, almost beneath the cliff, also caught his attention. He considered Dover Castle the strongest place in the world and surmised that the Roman fort might have been upon this hill. The Roman bricks and tiles in the fabric, particularly those turning the arches, of the church of St Mary-in-Castro were, one senses, spectacular. It was, however, the *Pharos*, at the west end of the church, which was the nonpareil of his journey. A general view and a section were drawn (IC (i), 1724, Tabs XLVI, XLVII) and it was emphasised that 'On the

other high cliff opposite to this beyond the town, has been another Pharos; some part of the bottom part of it is still left, call'd the devil's drop, from the strength of the mortar. Others call it Bredonstone. Here the new constabl of the castl is sworn'.

From Dover, Stukeley rode on to Lympne, *Portus Lemanis*, the remains of the Roman fort, now called Stutfall Castle, which lie below the escarpment where they have been tumbled by landslides, on 9 October. He recorded that 'Beyond Dover southward the cliff is exceedingly high to Folkeston. In the road two great roman barrows, which will be eaten away in a few years by the sea'. Beyond, the high chalk cliffs came to an end and there was low ground leading to Romney marsh. He drew this coastal vista (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XCVIII), calling it a 'View of Folkston-LAPIS TITULI'. He noted the 'Castle Hill' camp and was sceptical regarding the bones of Danes in the charnel house at Hythe and did not visit it, and was disappointed in that he found no trace of Roman work at Saltwood Castle.

At Lympne the Roman road from Canterbury was seen as ending at what Stukeley termed '....the tatter'd roman walls' and there was speculation regarding Stane-street, which he considered signified *via lapidea*, a stone road. The walls enclosed an area of about twelve acres. No trace of a ditch could be seen, but there was a stream, with its source by the church at the top of the hill. The walls were about twelve feet thick, and the remains of bastions of ragstone, bound by layers of bricks or tiles, were noted. The course of the wall was clear on three sides but at the south, to seaward, it was levelled to the ground. Here and there pieces of wall were recumbent while some standing parts were cracked '...thro' the whole solid thickness', although still ten or more feet in height. A gate was discernible on the eastern side, while the Roman town, as distinct from the fort, he considered to lie east of the churchyard. An old man, George Hunt, who lived in the farm house close by, told Stukeley that he had found coins and that when the embankment was breached the sea had lapped the bottom of the hill.

At Lympne, on 10 October 1722, William Stukeley's ITER V, dedicated to Lord Winchelsea, came to an end. Kent was its concluding section and he records visits to: '...35 roman stations, many camps and other things of highest antiquity'.

When he left Lympne, Stukeley struck across country to Barham Downs where he drew a square earthwork, which he termed 'Caesar's Camp' (IC (ii), 1776, 53) and the view from a 'Roman tumulus upon Watlin street' (IC (ii), 1776, 55); both drawings are labelled 10 Oct 1722. From there he continued to Chilham where, from Julliberrie's Grave (Jessup 1937; 1939) he drew the landscape that saw 'Caesar's

passage over the Stour'. Thereafter it seems likely that, alone or with Lord Winchelsea, he made his way to Eastwell Park (see Lord Winchelsea's letter to Stukeley, 20 October 1722) where he stayed before setting out for Aylesford, to view Kit's Coty House and its fellows before returning to London.

Three drawings of Kit's Coty House and its fellows are dated 15 October 1722. There is a general view northwards which shows it and the remains of its long barrow, the Lower Kit's Coty House (Ashbee 1993b) and the Coffin Stone (IC (ii), 1776, 31); close studies of the Kit's Coty Houses, Upper and Lower (IC (ii), 1776, 32); a view from Kit's Coty House, with the long barrow and the monument in the foreground (IC (ii), 1776, 53). There is also an undated drawing with the profile of the Kit's Coty house long barrow on the horizon and the ruined chamber of the Lower Kit's Coty House, in the foreground. It seems likely that the work on Blue Bell Hill was aided and expedited by the detailed letter by his friend, Hercules Ayleway, from Mere-worth Castle, dated 28 March 1722, which he had received earlier in the year. Earlier still, on 20 December 1720, Lord Winchelsea had sent to him a piece of stone from Kit's Coty house and a fossil oyster shell from Maidstone (SS (i), 1880, 68). Furthermore, Stukeley returned a year later, presumably to complete this work, for a diary entry records 'Oct 16, 1723. At Kits Coty House. Lay at Aylesford. Made drawings and measurement of these monuments'.

Although the 1724 excursion into Kent can be reconstructed in outline, Stukeley left London early in October and returned on or about 20 October, the dated drawings are at odds with the distances involved. There are neither notes nor narrative but, notwithstanding, the dates and places convey possibilities. His first recorded Kentish date, 6 October, is attached to his notes on *Noviomagus* (Bodl. Gough Maps, 229, 38). In the *Iter V*, the account of the 1722 journey, he thought of *Noviomagus* as near Wellend (Welling) or Crayford, or perhaps even Northfleet. Thus, presumably, he undertook fieldwork with a location in mind. Stukeley's notion regarding Crayford has survived the years and the name, which can mean 'new place' or 'new market' has, indeed, been located at Crayford and attached to a substantial Roman settlement (Rivet & Smith 1979, 428).

A day later, on 7 October, Stukeley drew the Roman wall at Rochester (IC (ii), 1776, 30) which is only about sixteen miles, a comfortable ride. However, a drawing of the turf-clad amphitheatre at Richborough (IC (ii), 1776, 56) is also dated 7 October. The distance from Rochester to Richborough is, via the Watling Street and Canterbury, almost forty miles. A day later, perhaps 8 October, is possible as the 'Prospect of Dover' from a point upon the Western Heights, is

dated 9 October. Indeed, even this adjustment of the dates could be questioned for it is unlikely that Stukeley would have passed through Canterbury without calling upon John Gray. From Dover he could have made his way to Chilham where he drew a 'Prospect' of the nature and siting of Julliberrie's Grave on 11 October (IC (ii), 1776, 56). From here he could have gone, again, to Eastwell Park where Lord Winchelsea would have welcomed him. On 14 October he drew a view of Charing (Soc. Ant. Lond., Roman Prints, iii), which is unpublished, was at Malling Abbey on 17 October (IC (ii), 1776, 97) and finally returned to London via Eltham, where he drew the Palace, also on 17 October (Bodleian Lib. Top. gen. d. 14, f.15v). From Malling to London, via Eltham, could have involved almost thirty miles on horse-back, a not un strenuous undertaking.

Stukeley's descent into Kent in 1725, at the end of May, has, from the dated drawings, the look of an expedition from Eastwell Park. As in the previous year, he may have been, at least in part, accompanied by Lord Winchelsea. On 24 May he drew Julliberrie's Grave from the *Woolpack Inn* (IC (ii), 1776, 57) and was at Richborough on 27 May. Two figures, as in 1724, appear in the Julliberrie's Grave drawing and thus, in the intervening time, Stukeley may have been in Canterbury with John Gray. At Richborough he drew a view of the fort from the amphitheatre. From Richborough he rode down to Dover, retracing the route taken in earlier years. Here he drew a view of the town, which was unpublished. Other, undated, drawings in the posthumous *Itinerarium Curiosum II* (1776), could have been drawn as supplementary material on this journey. He arrived in Dover on 29 May and on the 31st he was on Barham Downs where he drew a vista of the Watling Street. From here it was fifteen miles across country to Eastwell Park. On the 5 June he rode out from Eastwell to Wye where he made a study of the Downs, perhaps for comparison with Wiltshire's chalk country. As he returned to London, via the foot of the North Downs, ascending them at Blue Bell Hill, he made yet another study at Aylesford which he also dated to 5 June.

Leaving London in early July, Stukeley rode via Dunstable and Derbyshire, up to Hadrian's Wall. He returned, via Durham and the heart of England, late in September. Lord Winchelsea wrote to him on 18 October mildly chiding him for his four months absence but, at the same time, appreciating his tireless pursuit of antiquities. It is likely that the general plan of this exceptional journey was discussed, presumably at Eastwell earlier in the year.

In his reconstruction of Stukeley's journeys and fieldwork Stuart Piggott (1985, 164) is of the view that, in 1725, a drawing of the Downs, near Eastwell, was made, although it is dated 28 May 1726.

Indeed, he considers 1726 as an error for 1725. To leave Richborough, where he was busy on 27 May, and ride to Eastwell to be there on 28 May, and then proceed to Dover the next day, while possible, would have been an impracticable use of time and horses. Thus it is likely that Stukeley visited Lord Winchelsea at Eastwell in 1726 and, on 28 May in that year, drew a 'View towards Eastwell from near Wye'. This notion is strengthened by the fact that views of Deal, Walmer Castle and other sites in their vicinity, are dated to 29 May 1726, a day later. On the view of Eastwell from Wye, Stukeley wrote 'The last of my expeditions' and thereafter there were neither tours nor excursions to Stonehenge and Avebury. There is also the likelihood that he realised that Lord Winchelsea was ailing, for he was to die on 30 September of that year.

During the last months of 1726, still a young man of thirty-eight, Stukeley effected his contemplated move to Grantham, in Lincolnshire, and subsequently took Holy Orders. To judge from a letter (from Samuel Gale, then in Greece, 30 March 1727) the loss, by death, of various friends, and notably Lord Winchelsea, may have finally moved him to act upon his yearning for the countryside and to leave London.

Stukeley's later Kentish concerns

More than a decade later, in October 1747, Stukeley returned to London and the living of St George's, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, the gift of the Duke of Montagu. There are two entries in his diaries which indicate excursions into those parts of Kent at no great distance from London and one, surprising, note of a barrow-opening much further afield, near Richborough. Other visits may have been undertaken of which there is no record. On 9 October 1752, he records a visit to Lesnes Priory (Abbey), at Erith (SS (II), 1883, 233); in 1759, on 17 September he 'Rode to Westram' and made notes upon the church (SS (ii), 1883, 237) and, finally, during January 1763, he wrote (SS (ii), 1883, 238): 'By Richborow, in Kent, dug up a barrow, found two elegant fibulas made in gold and glass work, and a string of beads, evidently British'. This last is surprising as Stukeley was in his seventies and Richborough was, in eighteenth-century terms, a considerable distance from London. There is the possibility that this barrow, probably Saxon, was one of the considerable number dug into by the Rev. Bryan Fausset, in East Kent (Jessup 1965, 44; Hawkes 1990), between 1757 and 1773. Lesnes Abbey (SS (ii), 1883, 233-6) was visited again in 1753 and Stukeley published 'An Account of Lesnes Abbey, 12 April 1753' in 1755 which was followed more than

a decade later by the 'Account of LESNES ABBEY, at ERITH, in Kent, founded by Richard de Lucia, Lord Chancellor and Chief Justice to Henry II', which, together with some observations upon the destroyed sanctuary church at Worcester, was in the first *Archaeologia*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1770 (Evans 1956, 147).

At the outset of the last year of his life, 1765, Stukeley called upon his friend of many years, Bishop Warburton. His object was the possibility of preferment to a prebendal stall at Canterbury, likely to become vacant. Although John Gray and Lord Winchelsea may account for aspects of his considerable interest in Kent, one feels, especially when reading the County's section of the *Iter Romanum*, that he found especial qualities in its unspoiled intimate and variegated, antiquities, geology and topography.

The Margate Palstave hoard

Among Stukeley's unpublished and undated drawings is one of a bronze palstave hoard (Fig. 2) from Margate (Bodleian Lib. MS. Top. gen. B.53, f.32v). A detailed account of its discovery was included in the History and Antiquities of the Isle of Tenet (Thanet), by John Lewis (1736, 137). he wrote:

Betwixt this place [Daundeleon, TR 353695] and the Sea were found AD 1724 by William Castle, who occupied a small Farm here, as he was digging a Sea-gate, or a Way thro' the Cliff into the Sea, to fetch up Oore or Waure for his Land, XXVII such instruments as I have described in the adjoining Plate lying all together about two Feet under Ground, so that it is a little strange, that they were not before this discovered by the plough. They were of mixt Brass, or what they call bell or Pot-metal, of several Sizes, and somewhat different Shapes, but on both Sides alike, as they are here represented. The largest of them were 7 Inches one quarter long, and 2 Inches three quarters broad at the bottom the lesser ones were 5 Inches in Length and 2 Inches and one half in Breadth at the Bottom. Two of them had Ringles on one Side about the middle, which is the thickest or deepest part.

It is not known whether Stukeley and the scholarly, painstaking, John Lewis (Shirley 1951) ever met but there was a copy of the first, 1723, edition of the *Antiquities of the Isle of Tenet* in Stukeley's library (Piggott (ed.) 1974, 459). Of note, however, is the fact that Stukeley in February, 1725/4, had discoursed to the Society of Antiquaries of London on the use of bronze axes, distinguishing the socketed from the flat and palstave forms (Evans 1956, 80). He considered them as '....British and appertaining to the Druids, that they were fixed occas-

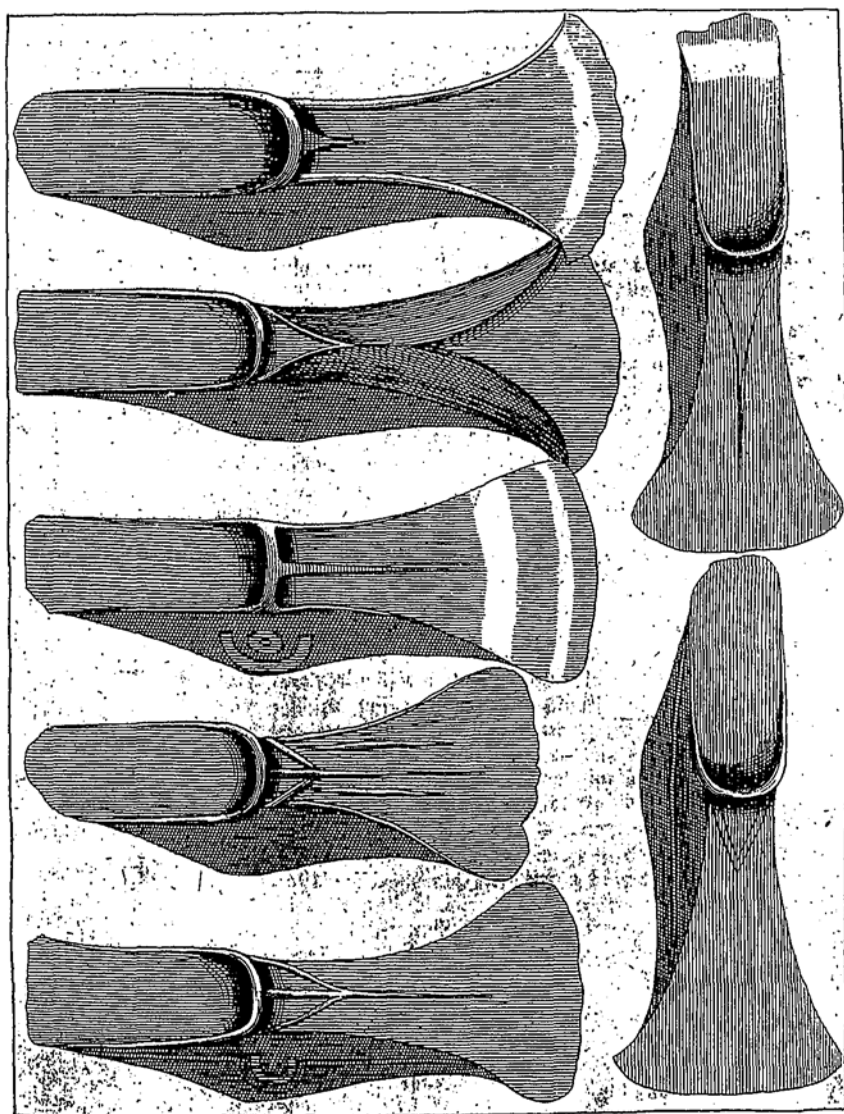


Fig. 2 The hoard of Bronze Age palstaves found at Margate in 1724. John Lewis's illustration was probably taken from Stukeley's drawings

ionally upon the end of their staffs which they commonly walked with to cut off the boughs of Oak and Mistletoe in their religious services. At other times they put them in their pouches and hung them to their girdles by the little ring or loop'. Presumably, he saw and drew something of this Margate palstave hoard, perhaps at Canterbury, when he was in Kent during October 1724. Lord Winchelsea could have been the intermediary (Lewis 1736, 27). Their number and character could have been thought supportive of his developing Druidical notions and his drawing of a Druid, adapted from Rowland's, showed a palstave slung from his girdle (Stukeley 1740, Tab. I; Piggott 1985, 103). Druids, however, were not mentioned by Lewis (1736, 137-8) who saw these palstaves as Roman military tools for sharpening stakes.

A hoard of palstaves, comparable with the twenty-seven from Margate, was found at Birchington, some two miles distant, early in the twentieth century. Fourteen were in a Deverel-Rimbury globular urn which was encountered in a brickfield, some 3ft below the surface (Powell-Cotton & Crawford 1924; Jessup 1930, 100; Rowlands, 1976, 246, Pl. 10). This hoard has given its name to a type (Rowlands 1976, 32), also encountered in hoards at Goudhurst, Hayling Island and Burnham. Some of the broad-bladed Margate palstaves (Lewis 1736, opp.137) have ribbed motifs below their stopridges and two have loops. They are clearly to be associated with this distinctive Birchington series.

Stukeley's notices of incidental Kentish discoveries

A small number of entries in Stukeley's diary, made after his return to London in 1747, refer to Kentish antiquities. They are, however, no more than the records made for other counties and reflect his omnivorous antiquarian interests. Nonetheless, his publications display, more than anything, an interest in field monuments rather than incidental antiquities. If anything, a slight bias towards Roman matters is detectable which is not surprising when the stimulus given by Bertram's spurious itinerary is remembered. It should not be forgotten that, despite a certain caution, the forgery was, in many parts, so good as to be convincing. There were communications to The Society of Antiquaries of London which, during its nascence in the eighteenth century, was referred to as the *Antiquarian Society*. This term prefaces each entry.

In March 1757, Stukeley learned of and saw a silver coin hoard (numismatics were an abiding interest) from Lydd. He wrote 'Some fair silver coins of King Harold produced, 1000 of them found at old Lydd, in Kent, near old Romney, part of the king's military chest

carried off on loss of the battle' (SS (ii), 1883, 236). A letter from Mr Jacobs (sic) of Faversham, received in February 1759, in Stukeley's words gives '.... an account of the tessellated Roman pavement found (in 1758) at Canterbury, with a drawing of it. Above, a (brass) coin of Carausius, Providentia Aug., and a Valens'. Also a body, presumably a skeleton, was dug up '....near Barham downs, his iron spear and sword without a cross bar, a necklace of glass beads about his neck' (SS (ii), 1883, 237). This was clearly an Anglo-Saxon grave, comparable with the many investigated by Bryan Faussett referred to above. Mr Jacobs was the Faversham antiquary and naturalist Edward Jacob (?1710-88), notable for his *History of the Town and Port of Faversham* (1774), local botanical works and the geology of the Isle of Sheppey (Smith 1837, *passim*).

An error of place is involved in a note for March, 1759. Stukeley wrote 'At the Antiquarian Society. A drawing of the head of a magnificent crosier, copper double gilt, found in digging at Wrotham, in Kent, which no doubt belonged to some archbishop whose manor it was.' W. C. Lukis, the editor of the Stukeley diaries and letters for the Surtees Society (ii, 1883, 23), corrected this in a footnote extracted from the minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries of London, dated 8 March 1759: 'Dr. Milles (Jerimiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, President 1768-84) exhibited a drawing of the head of an archbp's crozier which had been dug up by a labourer in May 1752, in grubbing a hedge in the vicarage garden, at Wesham, in Kent. The central part exhibited a crucifix and at the foot thereof two arms erect branch out with figures on them, emblems of the four evangelists, and on each side of them are represented John and the Virgin Mary, or probably two Marias. The metal of which it is made is deemed to be brass, and is double gilt, and was formerly adorned with precious stones. It has a socket in order to its being fitted into a staff. Lukis added that in the index the place is written Westram, which must be Westerham. Indeed, almost into the present century, this contraction was frequently used (Scott Robertson 1892, 298). He added that the object was probably a processional cross rather than a crozier.'

Stukeley's last Kentish diary entry was for December 1761. He wrote 'At the Antiquarian Society, I as senior member took the chair, and read on a gold British coin found at Sandwich, with a Δ [delta] on the reverse, supposing it struck by Dunwallo, a famous King and legislator' (SS (ii), 1883, 238). He had prepared twenty-three plates of the coins of those he considered to be ancient British kings and, as John Evans (1864, 7) tartly remarked, uninscribed coins do duty as those of Dunwallo and other Gaulish personages. His notebooks on coins, however, go back to 1720 and, despite lapses, there is much

that has stood the test of later, and even modern, research (Piggott 1985, 141-2). He had intended a *Medallic History of the Antient Kings of Britain* and the engraved plates, published posthumously by his son-in-law Richard Fleming, depict many inaccurately.

William Stukeley's Kentish Drawings

William Stukeley's Kentish drawings, the engravings in *Itinerarium Curiosum I* (1724) and *II* (1776) (Appendix I) are, apart from his unique records of Stonehenge and Avebury, among the most informative of their kind. His visits were made before the increase of population, the extensive turnpiking of roads and the growth of towns that took place in eighteenth-century Kent. Thus there had not been the damage to monuments, resulting from these factors, noticeable a century later. The same can be said of the unpublished drawings (Appendix 2), which include a wealth of heraldic devices unmodified by the spate of church restoration that marked the nineteenth century. The published engravings, eleven of which appeared in 1724 (IC (i)) and eighteen in 1776 (IC (ii)), depict thirty-five subjects. The seven prehistoric monument depictions are four of Kit's Coty House and its analogues and three of Julliberrie's Grave. Roman sites, and patent remains, predominate, there are fourteen portrayals, and they reflect Stukeley's Kentish section of the *Iter Romanum* (1724, 113-26) which was the prime reason for the 1722 descent into the county. They reflect his route, discussed above, which was Rochester, Canterbury, Richborough, Deal, Dover, Lympne and Barham. Kent's wealth of mediaeval monuments stirred a latent chord in his wide-ranging, intricate, psyche (Piggott 1955, 24) and to this we are indebted for the illustrations of the remains of Rochester Castle, Faversham Abbey, St Augustine's Abbey, St Gregory's church and St Martin's church at Canterbury, the church in Dover Castle and Mallington Abbey. A map of Canterbury (IC (i), 1724, 96) is relevant to Roman remains, likewise the Mediaeval ruins and churches, while there are spirited views of Deal, Dover and Folkestone, which reflect his pre-occupation with topography and the character of England's countryside.

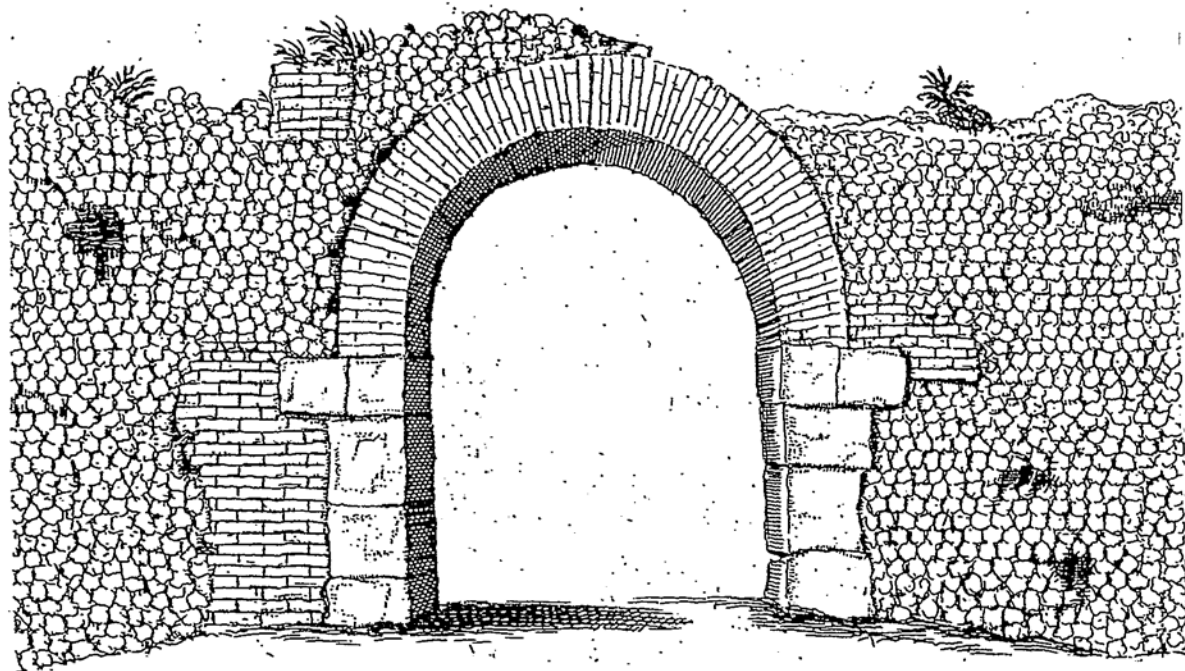
The 'Prospect of Kit's Coty house' of the 15 October 1722 is basically Stukeley's appreciation of a relict landscape, comparable with his Prospects from Stonehenge (1740, Tabs. VIII, IX, X). The original field drawing is in the Bodleian Library (MS Top. Gen. b.53 f19v) and it was from this that the published plate was constructed. Kit's Coty House, with its long barrow, is the distant focal point, the Lower Kit's Coty House, reconstructed as a cove, has been inserted

(Ashbee 1993b) and the Coffin Stone is indicated. It could be contended that Stukeley and Lord Winchelsea, to whom the plate is dedicated, knew the area well and that it is essentially accurate. The landscape had changed little when set against the finely engraved first edition of Kent's OS Maps in 1819, was readily recognisable in 1944, and still survives in some part today. Stukeley's notions regarding coves is the substance of his second plate (IC (ii), 1776, 32.2d), the structure of Kit's Coty House and the bizarre reconstruction of the Lower Kit's Coty House (Ashbee, 1993b). The 'Prospect of the Country from Kits Coty house 15 Oct 1722' is a reversal of the original plate (IC (ii), 1776, 31.2d). Kit's Coty House and its long barrow, with attached stones including that called 'The generals Tomb', in the foreground with the related monuments, lower down the hillside, in their appropriate places. The final plate (IC (ii), 1776, 34.2d) portrays from the south, the Lower Kit's Coty House. It can be seen as clearly a fallen rectangular chamber (Ashbee, 1993a, 72-82). Not all the stones have been drawn, only eight are shown, which is puzzling as Aubrey had recorded 13-14 great stones. Those on the southern side, the foreground, could be side-stones and are prone. On the northern side two substantial stones stand and the larger ones behind them may have been slipped cover-stones. At the eastern end a massive lozengiform boulder, inclined at about 45 degrees, may have been a portal stone or a façade remnant. There are tenuous traces of a barrow but, otherwise, the field is ploughed to the hedgerow of the road. From this drawing it is clear that Stukeley's notion of this fallen chamber as the remains of a cove was an exercise of his enthusiasm. The Upper Coty house, A, is skylined on the upper hill-slope and the long barrow is substantial. There is ploughing clearly shown and it seems likely that stones were being unearthed from the ditch (IC (ii), 1776, 33.2d) during the earlier eighteenth century. They could have been dragged down the hill to the copse where a number remain even today.

Julliberrie's Grave is the vantage point for Stukeley's initial depiction of this long barrow (IC (ii), 1776, 54). His object was, one suspects, despite the title 'Caesars passage over the Stour by Chilham and Julabers grave', the landscape rather than the barrow which has been contracted to construct an appropriate drawing. Nonetheless, he noted the traces of Lord Winchelsea's excavation of 1702 and the thrown down northern end, which trails down the slope. The drawing was dated 10 Oct 1722 and when Stukeley returned to Kent in 1724, the long barrow, which had been further surveyed and measured by Lord Winchelsea in 1723, was the subject of a careful portrayal of its setting and character (IC (ii), 1776, 56.2). This presentation and that

Worth Gate (*a Roman Work*) Canterbury
6, Oct 1722.

54



PAUL ASHBEE

Fig. 3 William Stukeley's elevation of the Roman Worth Gate, at Canterbury, 6 October 1722 (IC (i), 1724, Tab. LIV, upper)

made in 1725, a Prospect, with Julliberrie's Grave in the middle distance, made from the Woolpack inn, in Chilham (IC (ii), 1776, 57.2d) are clearly comparable with those of the long barrows in the vicinity of Avebury (Stukeley, 1743, Tab. 22) also drawn in 1724. In 1725 he was at pains to show the northern end truncated by the digging back of the southern side of the Stour, for chalk. Although Stukeley's notes pertaining to the Kit's Coty House area and Julliberrie's Grave have not been found, it is not unreasonable to consider that these sites were seen as the outlying examples of what he had, at much the same time, encountered at Stonehenge and Avebury.

Stukeley's illustrations of the remnants at Roman sites and installations in Kent were, with minor exceptions, geared to the last part of his *Iter Romanum*, undertaken in 1722. Not all were, however, executed in 1722 and it seems that the subsequent visits, in 1724 and 1725, followed much the same route and thus the records of 1722, incorporated in the *Iter Romanum* were amplified.

In 1722, Stukeley (1724, 113) saw Rochester's Roman wall and wrote '....near that angle below the bridg encompassd by the river, is a large piece of Roman building of the wall, made of rubble-stone laid sloping side-ways, here and there Roman bricks, houses are built up on it, and 'tis broken thro' for a passage, in the inside much flint'. This walling was drawn on 7 October 1724 and labelled as 'A Piece of the Roman Wall at Rochester'. Something of its construction can be seen, houses are at the rear and the passage is clearly visible.

As has been indicated, Canterbury aroused Stukeley's latent mediaevalism, but, nonetheless, he sought out and drew specific details remaining from the erstwhile Roman city. He went to the Worth Gate (IC (i), 1724, Tab.54) on 6 October 1722, saying that it was '...partly wall'd up, 'tis under the castle. This is entirely a roman work, the semicircular arch is of roman brick, beautifully turn'd, the peers of stone, the thickness of it is three roman feet, I suppose this the original gate of the roman city'. (See Fig. 3). He compared it with the Newport Gate at Lincoln which he had drawn on 3 September 1722, which is the lower illustration on the plate. Gostling (1825, 26) recorded the dimensions of the Worth Gate, the radius of the arch being 12ft 3½ in., and Frank Jenkins (1968) bared the great blocks of stone, the jambs, which he found on the southeastern side. The Riding Gate also caught Stukeley's eye and he said (IC (ii), 1724, 116) that it had been 'built evidently in the place of the roman one, for there is part of the roman arch, and the peer of one side still visibl, but much lower than the present gate and in a yard close by is part of the arch of a posternthese arches are of roman brick and there in the wall here and there some more fragments of the roman work'. He inset an

illustration of the Riding Gate, emphasising these features, into his map of Canterbury (IC (i), 1724, Tab. 96), which largely depicts mediaeval monuments but includes these Roman gates and the Roman barrows, Dane John being labelled 'the Mount'.

Richborough impressed Stukeley (1724, 118) and he made four drawings, three of the castle, as he termed it, and one of the castrensian amphitheatre. His first was a bird's-eye view from the north, which anticipates subsequent oblique air-photographs (Frere & St. Joseph 1983, 78), which he entitled 'Richborow Castle of the Romans 7 Oct 1722' (IC (i), 1724, Tab. 97). It shows the vegetation-clad walls 'in some places still about 25 or 30 foot high', the cruciform foundation and the amphitheatre. The brick bonding course of the walls are emphasised. Cultivation brackets both the fort and its interior (Fig. 4). Further drawings are a 'View of Portus Rutupiae from Sandwich 7 Oct 1722', which shows something of the fort's siting, the Stour, the sea and distant Thanet (IC (ii), 1776, 35.2d). A closer, but rather schematic, lower presentation: 'South West view of Richborough Castle', presumably also drawn in 1722, has a fore-ground of standing corn, unusual in October. Although Stukeley's plate of 'The Remains of the Castrensian Amphitheater at Richborough Castle Oct 7 1724' shows a substantial bank, flat-topped, with a mounted and two figures on foot contemplating the interior, he records (1724, 119) that it has been long plow'd over, that we need not wonder 'tis so level'. A century later it had been further flattened and an excavation revealed Roman walling apparently around it (Roach Smith 1850, 52, 161-72). Stukeley's plate (Fig. 5), however, depicts a Class II henge (Atkinson et. al. 1951, 82) with double, opposed, north-south entrances. Roman reuse of such monuments is well attested, Maumbury Rings, near Dorchester (Bradley 1975), of the same size, is a good example. The possibility that the Richborough amphitheatre, now reduced to little more than an ephemeral outline, is a reused henge need not be entirely dismissed. Indeed, temples were sited close by which could denote a measure of continuity (Jessup 1970, 166, fig. 54).

As he passed by Deal, while riding from Sandwich to Dover, Stukeley pondered upon Caesar's first expedition to Britain (... 'tis the first place where the shore can be ascended north of Dover) and felt that traces of his camp(s) would have been obliterated by subsequent developments. Nonetheless, it is manifest that an examination of the landings of 55 and 54 BC was contemplated, for he wrote (1724, 120) 'But of this affair of Caesar's I reserve to myself another opportunity of speaking, when I shall expressly treat of his expedition hither.' To this end he prepared a hypothetical plan 'Caesars camp at Deal, in his

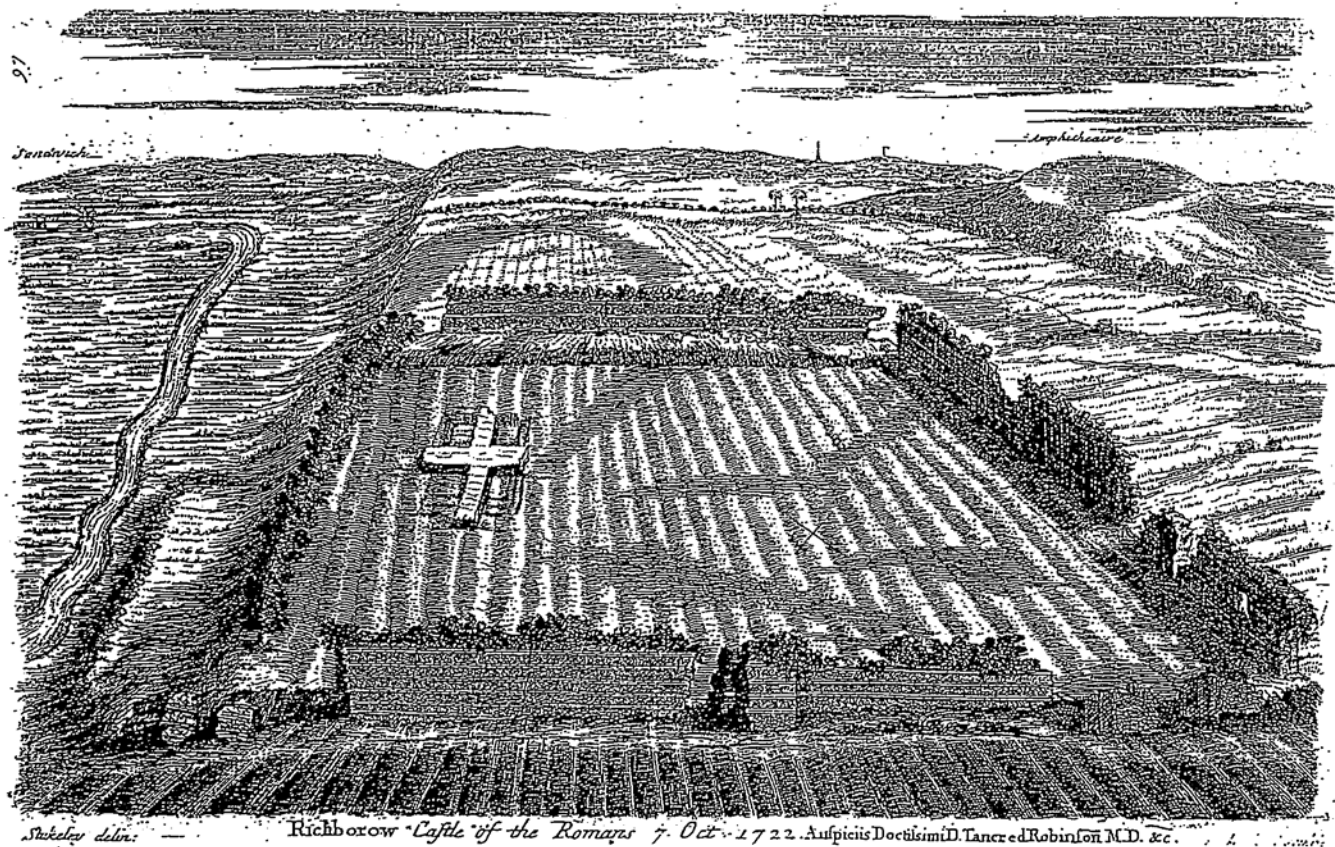


Fig. 4 The bird's eye view of Richborough, 7 October 1722, as seen from the north (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XCVII)

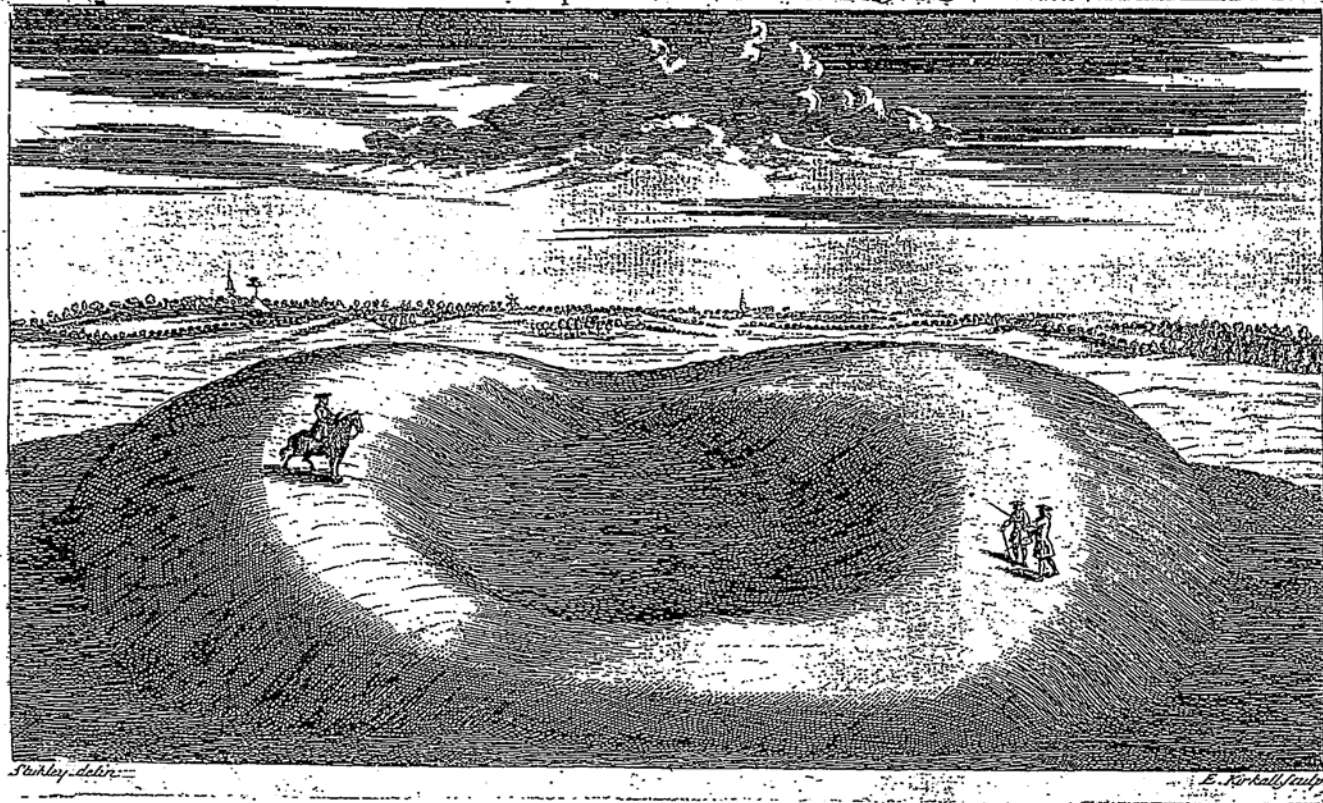


Fig. 5 Richborough's amphitheatre, 7 October 1724 (IC (ii), 1776, Tab. XXXVI)

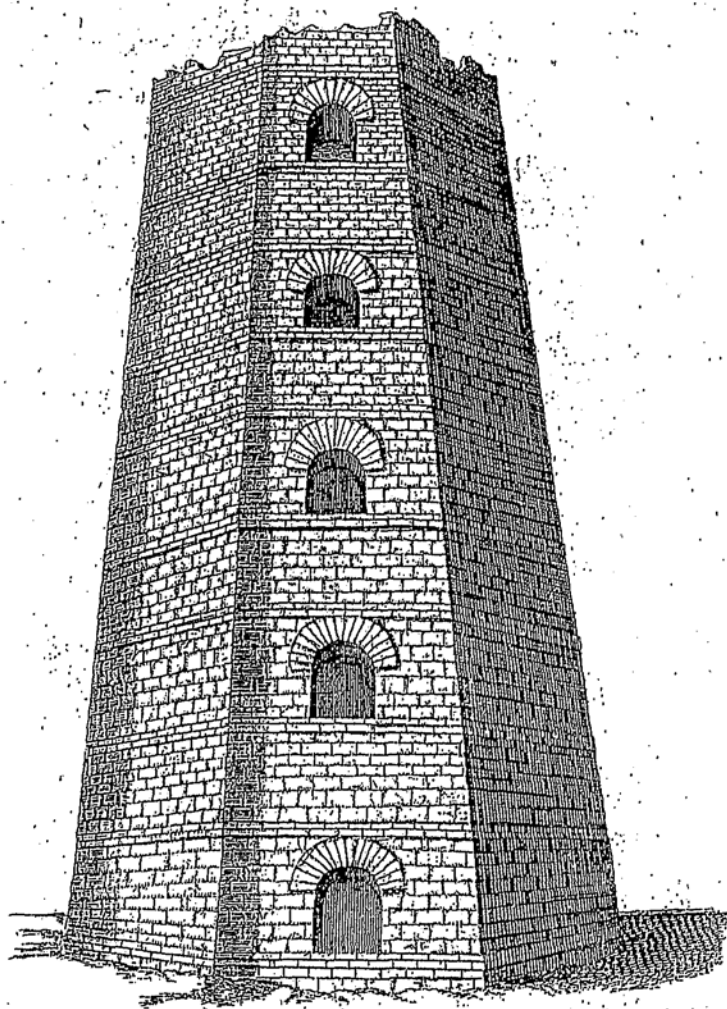
first expedition into Britain', dedicated to Lord Winchelsea (IC (ii), 1776, 52, 2d). It seems likely that the Stour, seen from Julliberrie's Grave, where Caesar might have crossed and camped (IC (ii), 1776, 54, 2d) was intended for such a work as was the perspective of 'Caesars Camp upon Barham Down drawn 10 Oct 1722'. This last appears as a possible small square enclosure of the *viereckschanze* series (Zürn 1971).

The eastern Roman *Pharos*, within Dover Castle, stands to a height of some 60ft, of which only about 12ft is of Roman structure, the remainder being apparently mediaeval additions. It had seemingly a stepped outline and an original height of almost 80ft. Antiquarian feeling, not entirely absent during the Middle Ages (Mann 1932), may have guided this early restoration which made it into a campanile. Stukeley reconstructed its Roman appearance (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XLVI) and his engraved plate 'THE ROMAN PHAROS AT DOVER CASTLE 8 Oct 1722' restores the stone facing, the brick bonding courses and the tile-arched windows (Fig. 6), while underestimating its height. Another plate, 'The Ichnography & Section of the ROMAN PHAROS in Dover Castle' details the octagonal plan and nature of its construction. An undated engraved plate, 'The Appearance of the Roman DUBRIS' (IC (ii), 1776, 38, 2d) shows the fort from the eastern heights, with Watling Street and the river, flanked by the *Pharos*. One more, 'The Appearance of Dover at the time of Caesars Landing', may have been intended for the study of that event.

Stukeley saw Stutfall Castle's ruined state as resulting from deliberate slighting '....tis the effect of design and much labor' (1724, 125) and his engraved plate 'LEMANIS Portus 9 Oct 1722' shows something of the cataclysmic landslips that comprehensively changed the fort's character (Fig. 7). It seems likely that this had already happened when Leland noticed it (Toulmin Smith (ed.) 1909, 65), almost two centuries before Stukeley came on the scene. Originally it was probably rectangular in plan like its compeers (Detsicas 1987, 29, fig.5) and was originally sited upon a Wealden Clay height, close to its interface with the Greensand. Despite the evolution of Romney Marsh (Coleman & Lukehurst 1967, 11; Cunliffe, 1980) it is likely that this position carried, from the first, the seeds of its downfall and distortion.

Enthusiastic mediaevalism was a feature of Stukeley's sojourn in Stamford (Piggott 1985, 121-3). There he constructed a garden Gothic Temple of Flora, complete with stained glass windows. The *Itinerarium Curiosum I* (1724) was, however, one of the first works of its kind, to contain plans and prospects of mediaeval buildings.

THE ROMAN PHAROS IN DOVER CASTLE 8 Oct. 1722.



*Quia olim Romanis navigantibus facem præbuit
Pharon in Castro Dubriensi Rog. Gale Arm.
consecratum posuit W. Stukeley 1722.*

Stukeley delin.

R. Kirkall scul.

Fig. 6 William Stukeley's depiction of the Roman *Pharos* in Dover Castle, 3 October 1722 (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XLVI)

Among these the Kentish series are outstanding in that they were executed, with one exception, in 1722, when he was primarily concerned with the closing episode of the *Iter Romanum*.

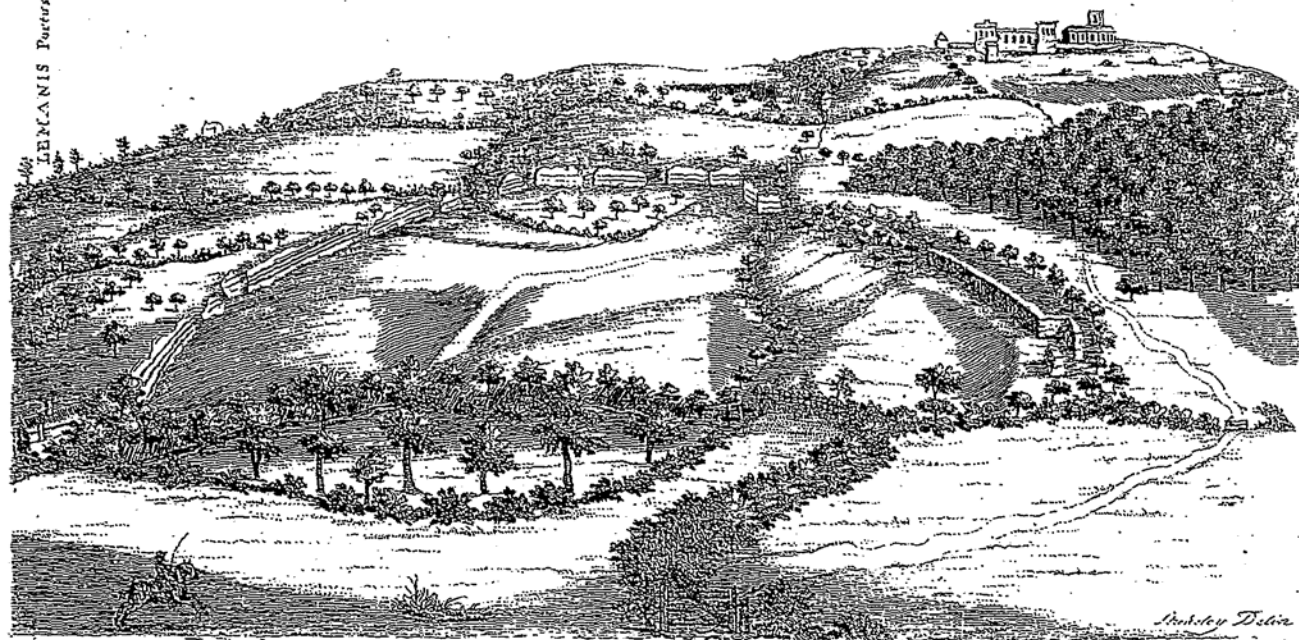
Rochester Castle, its keep and curtain wall, was the subject of an impressive engraved plate (IC (i), 1724, Tab. VI) and Stukeley was greatly concerned regarding the Medway's erosive powers (1724, 114) as walling had already been brought down. At Faversham (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XXVII) he found only two gatehouses, the hall having been demolished some forty years previously (1724, 115). Stephen, and his family, were buried there and he notes how the lead coffin was sold and the king's remains thrown into the Thames.

At Canterbury the then (1722) remains of St Augustine's Abbey attracted Stukeley and he considered the two remaining gates as 'very stately'. He drew the half of St Ethelbert's tower which, with some remnants of the nave, still stood and showed something of its erstwhile splendour. It was a hundred feet in height, had six storeys with massive square turrets topped by octagonal lanterns and was lavishly ornamented with arcading and interlacing round-headed arches. The whole southwestern part fell of its own volition on 16 October 1822, the remainder being reduced to rubble, by use of a battering-ram, two days later. The engraved plate (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XXIV) is entitled 'The Ruins of St Augustins Church in the Porch of which the English Apostle was bury'd now called Ethelberts tower at Canterbury Oct 6 1722'. Another plate (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XXV) shows, in the upper half, 'A View in St Austins Monastery Canterbury' which looks to the west towards the cathedral. It depicts the Fyndon and Cemetery Gates, as well as the Ethelbert tower remnant with the east window of the Abbot's Chapel fronting it. In the foreground is the outline of the cloisters. Below, left, is the remains of St Gregory's chapel, which stood by Northgate Street, and 'The Heathen chappel of Ethelbert', St. Pancras' chapel largely built of Roman bricks and within which a house stands. St Martin's church, the southern elevation, is the lower half of an engraved plate (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XLVIII) which is entitled 'St Martins Church near Canterbury where K. Ethelberts Queen us'd to goe to Christian Service'.

At Dover, Stukeley espied, within the castle, the then roofless church (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XLVIII), built largely of Roman materials, by '...Lucius an antient king of the Britons and first christian. Bishop Stillingfleet thinks he's no romantic person, but reign'd in Kent and Sussex'. Edward Stillingfleet (1635-99), Bishop of Worcester had been a Canon at Canterbury in 1669 at which time he may have seen the building. The engraved plate depicts the church of St Mary-in-Castro from the southwest; the later windows are emphasised as are

99.
LEMANIS Portus 9 Oct. 1722.

Dr. Francis Floun Barr. M.D. Tabulum del. W. Stukeley.



PAUL ASHBEE

Fig. 7 Lemnis Portus, 9 October 1722. William Stukeley thought that its irregular condition was the result of slighting (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XCIX)

the Roman tiles, still visible today, in the walls. In the background, at the western end of the church, stands the *Pharos*. The masonry and brick bonding courses are regular and unblemished but Stukeley says (IC (i), 1724, 121) that '....'tis so much disfigur'd by new daubing with mortar, casing and mending'.

A lively drawing, which one suspects has not suffered greatly at the hands of the engraver, depicts 'The Court of Malling Abby 17 Oct 1724' (IC (ii), 1776, 97.2d) and was executed as he returned to London in that year. The two figures contemplate the remnants of the domestic range while Gundulf's ruined tower is in the background to the right.

Four of Stukeley's engraved plates of Kentish subjects cannot be subsumed beneath the headings proffered above. There is the map of Canterbury and three Prospects which portray Deal, Dover and Folkstone. His map of Canterbury (IC (i), 1724, Tab. XCVI), noted above and which carries an elevation of the Riding Gate, bears the Roman and Mediaeval monuments, appropriately labelled, that excited him in that city. Roman roads and their directions are indicated, various unlabelled churches are in their places as are some of the Roman barrows. 'A Prospect towards Deal from ye Barrow South of Walmer Castle' (IC (ii), 1776, 37.2d) has the barrow (Stukeley, 1724, 120) in the foreground, Sandown, Deal and Walmer castles line the 'naked level coast' while Deal is a coastal hamlet. Stukeley considered that Caesar had landed between Walmer Castle and Deal in 55 BC and it seems likely that the plate was intended for his work on this event. Ramsgate cliff in the far distance and indication of the Wantsum Channel, the northern boundary of the level coastal plain, support this apparent intention. 'The Prospect of DOVER 9 Oct 1724' is from the Western Heights. Dover Castle is detailed while the town, with churches and other ancient structures, is behind what appears to be a substantial shingle bar. It is likely that the drawing, the basis of the engraved plate, may have been inaccurate for even an indication of the eighteenth-century harbour is absent. Comparison should be made with Roman *Dubris* and Dover at the time of Caesar's landing (IC (ii), 1776, 38.2d; 40.2d). The 'view of Folkston' (IC (i), 1724, 98), thought by Stukeley to have been the 'lapis tituli of the Romans', is shown at the end of the line of chalk cliffs with the lower land, to Hythe and beyond, as a background. His comments are incidental (1724, 123) and it was undoubtedly the dramatic coastal panorama that moved him to record it.

ENVOI

When appraising William Stukeley's work in Kent, it is far from easy

to extract reasons for what appears to have been an exceptional interest in the county. In terms of the general patterns of his undertakings, the 1722 tour was the natural conclusion of his *Iter Romanum V* (IC (i), 1724), while the subsequent visits, in 1724 and 1725, could be thought of as consolidation, in terms of what had been seen, drawn and assimilated. In this vein there is also his intention to investigate the nature of Caesar's initial, 55 BC, landing at Deal ('But of this affair of Caesar's, I reserve to my self another opportunity of speaking, when I shall expressly treat of his expedition hither' (IC (i), 1724, 120)). There is also the possibility of personal relationships drawing him into the county. John Gray, of Canterbury, was a long-time friend, while Lord Winchelsea was both admirer and close friend. Sir John Elwill and Sir Samuel Lennard were members of the circle who resided in Kent, at no great distance from London. Richborough and Dover were, however, almost as distant from London as Stonehenge and Avebury.

Stukeley's visits to Kent were undertaken while he was busy at Stonehenge and Avebury, and before his great journey up to the Roman Wall. His drawings of the stone-built long barrow remnants on Blue Bell Hill, not to mention, for example, his likening of Kit's Coty House to Avebury's Cove (Ashbee 1993b), as well as his concern with Julliberrie's Grave, show that he recognised monuments comparable with those of Wiltshire, yet at a remove therefrom. Indeed, it was in 1723 that Stukeley made a draft of his projected book, *The History of the Temples of the Antient Celts* which would have included his fieldwork on Blue Bell Hill and at Chilham (Piggott 1985, 88). 'Celtic' was the general term for things pre-Roman (used instead of *Ancient British*). Stukeley's work is thought of as, for the most part, pertaining to prehistory, his considerable contribution to embryo Roman studies has, with the exception of Haverfield's notice (1924, 75-9), been overlooked and is yet to be evaluated. His Kentish drawings and comments are ample evidence of this dimension of his interests and it was in July 1722, the year of his first visit, that his enthusiasm led to the formation of the antiquarian club, the Society of Roman Knights, where he had the name *Chyndonax*, the Druid. This club was expressly for the study of Roman Britain. In the same year he drew for us a remarkable record of the mediaeval monuments of Rochester, Canterbury and Dover, for he had, for his time, an unusual appreciation of the intrinsic nature of mediaeval architecture (Piggott 1976, 119) and was the first to publish plans of such buildings (Watkin 1980, 51). Yet in 1723, in an exhortatory address to his Roman Knights he was to attack and condemn those who had turned to 'Gothic Remnants'. Also to be taken into consideration is his

delight in the English countryside, shown by his comments upon the North Downs and the various landscape drawings.

As his biographer has said (Piggott 1985, 155), Stukeley's character presented a puzzle, even to his close friends. This quality remains to this day, despite analyses of his work and writings. He had great pleasure from the wide circle of his friends and therein may lie a possible explanation for his concern with Kent. John Gray at Canterbury, and the old Lord Winchelsea, emerge as having given him considerable emotive support, while Kent had for him a significant series of impressive monuments, 'Celtic', Roman and Mediaeval, integral to his diffuse, sometimes divergent, interests. Indeed, this pioneer Kentish archaeological fieldwork in city and countryside is, like his many accomplishments, an enduring memorial to the endeavours that have given so much to succeeding generations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ashbee, P., 1970, *The Earthen Long Barrow in Britain*, London (2nd ed. 1984).
- Ashbee, P., 1972, 'Field archaeology: its origins and development', in (P. J. Fowler ed.), *Archaeology and the Landscape, Essays for L. V. Grinsell*, London, 38-74.
- Ashbee, P., 1993a, 'The Medway megaliths in perspective', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, cxi, 57-111.
- Ashbee, P., 1993b, 'William Stukeley, the Kit's Coty House and his coves', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, cxii, 17-24.
- Atkinson, R. J. C. et al., 1951, *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon*, Oxford.
- Atkinson, R. J. C., 1976, 'Lukis, Dryden and the Carnac Megaliths', in *To Illustrate the Monuments, Essays on Archaeology presented to Stuart Piggott* (J. V. S. Megaw ed.), London, 112-24.
- Batteley, J., 1711, *Antiquitates Rutupinae, Oxoniae*.
- Birley, E., 1961, *Research on Hadrian's Wall*, Kendal.
- Bradley, R., 1975, 'Maumbury Rings, Dorchester: the Excavations of 1908-13', *Archaeologia*, 105, 1-97.
- Burl, A., 1979, *Prehistoric Avebury*, New Haven & London.
- Clark, K., 1928, *The Gothic Revival*, London.
- Coleman, A. M. & Lukehurst, C. T., 1967, *East Kent*, British Landscapes through Maps, the Geographical Association, Sheffield.
- Crawford, O. G. S. & Keiller, A., 1928, *Wessex from the Air*, Oxford.
- Crawford, O. G. S., 1955, *Said and Done*, London.
- Cunliffe, B. W., 1980, 'The evolution of Romney Marsh, a preliminary statement', in *Archaeology and Coastal Change* (F. H. Thompson ed.), London, 37-55.
- Daniel, G. & Chippindale, C. (eds), 1989, *The Pastmasters, Eleven Modern Pioneers of Archaeology*, London.

- Detsicas, A. P., 1983, *The Cantiaci*, Gloucester.
- Evans, J., 1864, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, London.
- Evans, J., 1956, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, Oxford.
- Frere, S. S. & St. Joseph, J. K. S., 1983, *Roman Britain from the Air*, Cambridge.
- Gostling, W., 1774, *A Walk in and about the City of Canterbury*, Canterbury.
- Gough, R., 1780, *Anecdotes of British Topography*, ii, London.
- Gray, H. St. George, 1935, 'The Avebury excavations, 1908-1922', *Archaeologia*, 84, 99-162.
- Hawkes, S. C., 1990, 'Bryan Faussett and the Faussett Collection: an Assessment', in *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, A Reappraisal* (E. Southworth ed.), Nat. Museums & Galleries on Merseyside.
- Haverfield, F., 1924, *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (ed. Macdonald, G.), Oxford.
- Homan, R., 1984, *The Victorian Churches of Kent*, Chichester.
- Hussey, C., 1927, *The Picturesque*, London.
- Jacob, E., 1774, *History of the Town and Port of Faversham*, London.
- Jenkins, F., 1968, 'The Roman Worthgate at Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxxiii, 273-5.
- Jessup, R. F., 1930, *The Archaeology of Kent*, London.
- Jessup, R. F., 1937, 'Excavations at Julliberrie's Grave, Chilham, Kent', *Antiq. Journ.*, xvii, 122-37.
- Jessup, R. F., 1939, 'Further excavations at Julliberrie's Grave, Chilham', *Antiq. Journ.*, xix, 260-81.
- Jessup, R. F., 1965, *The Story of Archaeology in Britain*, London.
- Jessup, R. F., 1970, *South-East England*, London.
- Kendrick, T. D., 1927, *The Druids*, London.
- Lewis, J., 1736, *History and Antiquities.....of the Isle of Tenet [Thanet]*, in *Kent*, London.
- Lukis, W. C. (ed.), 1880; 1883; 1887, *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, M.D. and the Antiquarian and other Correspondence*, The Surtees Society, LXXIII; LXXVI; LXXX (SS (i), 1880; SS (ii), 1883; SS (iii), 1887.
- Mann, J. G., 1932, 'Instances of Antiquarian Feeling in Medieval and Renaissance Art', *Arch. Journ.*, LXXXIX, 254-74.
- Margary, I. D., 1948, *Roman Ways in the Weald*, London.
- Moir, E., 1964, *The Discovery of Britain, the English Tourists*, London.
- Nichols, J., 1780-90, *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, London.
- Nichols, J., 1812-15, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, London.
- Nichols, J., 1817-58, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, London.
- Owen, A. L., 1962, *The Famous Druids*, Oxford.
- Piggott, S., 1935, 'Stukeley, Avebury and the Druids', *Antiquity*, IX, 22-32.
- Piggott, S., 1937, 'Prehistory and the Romantic Movement', *Antiquity*, XI, 31-8.
- Piggott, S., 1950, *William Stukeley: an Eighteenth Century Antiquary*, Oxford.
- Piggott, S., 1968, *The Druids*, London (revised edition, 1975).

- Piggott, S. (ed.), 1974, *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons, 10, Antiquaries*, London.
- Piggott, S., 1976, *Ruins in a Landscape*, Edinburgh.
- Piggott, S., 1985, *William Stukeley: an Eighteenth Century Antiquary* (Revised & enlarged ed.), London.
- Piggott, S., 1986, 'William Stukeley: new facts and an old forgery', *Antiquity*, LX, 115-22.
- Piggott, S., 1989, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination*, London.
- Plot, R., 1714, 'Letter to Royal Society, giving an Account of Roman Antiquities about Richburrow', *Miscellanies on several Curious Subjects*, London, 45.
- Powell-Cotton, P. H. G. & Crawford, O. G. S., 1924, 'The Birchington Hoard', *Antiq. Journ.*, IV, 220-24.
- Randall, H. J., 1933, 'Splendide Mendax', *Antiquity*, VII, 49-60.
- Randall, H. J., 1936, *History in the Open Air*, London.
- Rivet, A. L. F. & Smith, C., 1979, *The Place-names of Roman Britain*, London.
- Roach Smith, C., 1850, *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lympne, in Kent*, London.
- Rowlands, M. J., 1976, 'The Organization of Middle Bronze Age Metal-working', *British Arch. Reports*, 31, Oxford.
- Scott Robertson, W. A., 1892, General Index to Vols. I-XVIII of *Archaeologia Cantiana*, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xix, 1-313.
- Shirley, J., 1951, 'John Lewis of Margate', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxi, 39-56.
- Smith, I. F., 1965, *Windmill Hill and Avebury, Excavations by Alexander Keiller, 1925-39*, Oxford.
- Smith, J. R., 1837, *Bibliotheca Cantiana*, London.
- Stukeley, W., 1724, *Itinerarium Curiosum Centuria I*, London (IC (i)).
- Stukeley, W., 1740, *Stonehenge, a Temple restored to the British Druids*, London.
- Stukeley, W., 1743, *Abury, a Temple of the British Druids*, London.
- Stukeley, W., 1770, 'An Account of Lesnes Abbey, 12 April 1753', *Archaeologia*, I, 44-8.
- Stukeley, W., 1776, *Itinerarium Curiosum Centuria II* (post.) London (IC (ii)).
- Thurnham, J., 1868, 'On ancient British barrows, especially those of Wiltshire and the adjoining counties, Part I, Long barrows', *Archaeologia*, XLII, 161-244.
- Toulmin Smith, L., 1909 (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland*, IV, London.
- Ucko, P. J. et al., 1991, *Avebury Reconsidered; from the 1660s to the 1990s*, London.
- Urry, W., 1948, 'Salt Hill: a lost Canterbury Tumulus', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxi, 141-7.
- Watkin, D., 1983, *The Rise of Architectural History*, London.
- Zürn, H., 1971, Die Keltische Viereckschanze bei Tomerdingen, Kreis Ulm (Württemberg), *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, XXXVII (Pt II), 218-27.

APPENDIX 1

WILLIAM STUKELEY'S PUBLISHED KENTISH DRAWINGS

Itinerarium Curiosum Centuria I, 1724 and *II*, 1776 (post.) (IC (i), 1724; IC (ii), 1776.)

Aylesford IC (ii), 1776

- 31.2d *A Prospect of Kits Coty house Kent Oct 15 1722* dedicated to 'Illustrissimo Heneagio Comiti Winchilsea Animi fortudine & erudutine singulari plusquam titulis nobili. Antiquitatem hanc D. Ws. Stukeley' and engraved by E. Kirkall.
- 32.2d *Kits Coty house 15 Oct 1722. The N. E. Prospect* (above), and (below) *The Lower Coty house*. It is labelled Stukeley delin. and E. Kirkall sculp.
- 33.2d *A Prospect of the Country from Kits Coty house 15 Oct 1722.*
- 34.2d *View of the Ruins of the Lower Coty house. A, The Upper Cotyhouse*, undated, but 1722 or 1723.

Barham IC (ii), 1776

- 53.2d *Caesars Camp upon Barham Down. Drawn 10 Oct 1722*; labels W. Stukeley delin. E. Kirkall Sculp.
- 55.2d *View from a Roman tumulus upon the Watlin street by the Mill on Barham downs 10 Oct 1722*, labels W. Stukeley delin. E. Kirkall Sculp.

Canterbury IC (i), 1724

- TAB XXIV *The Ruins of St Augustins Church in the Porch of which the English Apostle was bury'd now called Ethelberts tower at Canterbury Oct 6 1722. Dedicated to her Grace the Duchess of Ancaster*', label V der Gucht Sculp.
- TAB XXV *A view in St Austins Monastery Canterbury; St Gregorys Chappel; The Heathen chappel of Ethelbert 6 Oct 1722*, label Harris sculp.
- TAB XLVIII (lower) *St Martins Church near Canterbury where K. Ethelberts Queen us'd to goe to Christian service. Dedication: 'Erudito viro Amicissimo Johi Hardy de Nottingham Tabulam hanc revet W. Stukeley'*, label I. Harris sculp.
- TAB LIV (upper) *Worth Gate (a Roman work) Canterbury 6 Oct 1722. Dedication 'Stukeley delin. & Amicissimo Conterraneo Maurito Johnson Ar Interioris Templi JC offert'*; label E. Kirkall sculp.
- TAB XCVI *DUROVERNUM 5 Oct 1722, a map of Canterbury with inset The old Roman Watling Street Gate now Riding Gate. Dedication 'Collegae charissimo Johi Gray MD Civitate fra dd W. Stukeley'*, label I. Harris sculp.

Chilham IC (ii), 1776

- 54.2d *Caesars passage over the Stour by Chilham and Julabers grave drawn 10 Oct 1722*, labels W. Stukeley delin. and E. Kirkall sculp.

- 56.2d Prospect of Iulabers grave 11 Oct 1724, labels Stukeley delin. and E. Kirkall sculp.
 57.2d Prospect of Iulabers grave from Chilham May 24 1725 This drawing is taken from the Woolpack Inn. A. Iulabers grave, labels Stukeley del. and E. Kirkall sculp.

Deal IC (ii), 1776

- 37.2d A Prospect towards Deal from ye Barrow South of Walmer Castle, labels Stukeley delin. and Toms Sculp.
 52.2d Caesars camp at Deal in his first Expedition into Britain. Dedication 'Illustrisimo Henagio Comiti Winchilsea Militiae Caesareae Specimen d.d. Guliel Stukeley', labels Stukeley design and Toms Sculp.

Dover IC (i), 1724

- TAB XLVI *THE ROMAN PHAROS IN DOVER CASTLE* 8 Oct 1722, dedication 'Quae olim Romanis navigantibus facem praebunt Pharon in Castro Dubriensi Roge. Gale Arm. consecratum posuit Ws. Stukeley 1722', label E. Kirkall sculp.
 TAB XLVII *The Ichnography & Section of the ROMAN PHAROS in Dover Castle*, dedication 'Tabulam Architectonicam Duo Jacobo Thornhil Equiti, ad Rem Pictoriam Servienti Regio DD Ws Stukeley', label I V der Gucht Sculp.
 TAB XLVIII *The Old Church & Roman Pharos in Dover Castle* 8 Oct 1722 (upper), *St Martins Church near Canterbury* (lower), with dedication and labels.

Dover IC (ii), 1776

- 38.2d *The Appearance of the Roman Dubris*, labels Stukeley delin. and Toms Sculp.
 39.2d *The Prospect of Dover* 9 Oct 1724, labels Stukeley delin. and Toms Sculp.
 40.2d *The Appearance of Dover at the time of Caesars Landing*, labels Stukeley delin. and Toms sculp.

Faversham IC (i), 1724

- TAB XXVII 5 Oct 1722 *Prospect of Feversham Abby where K. Stephen was buried*, dedication 'Duo Samueli Lennard Barr. to Tabula Votiva', label E. Kirkall sculp.

Folkestone IC (i), 1724

- TAB XCVIII *View of Folkston – LAPIS TITULI*, dedication 'Stukeley d, &c Nobilissimo Comiti Winchilsea d.d.'

Lympne IC (i), 1724

- TAB XCIX *LEMNIS Portus* 9 Oct 1722, dedication 'Dno. Hans Sloan Barrrt. M. D. Tabulam dd. W Stukeley', label Stukeley Delin.

Richborough IC (i), 1724

TAB XCVII *Richborow Castle of the Romans 7 Oct 1722*, dedication 'Auspiciens Doctissimi D. Tancred Robinson M.D. &c.' label Kirkall Sculp.

Richborough IC (ii), 1776

35.2d *View of Portus Rutupiae from Sandwich. 7. Oct. 1722* (upper); *South West view of Richborough Castle* (lower), labels Stukeley delin. and E. Kirkall sculp.

36.2d *The remains of the Castrensian Amphitheater at Richborough Castle. Oct 7. 1724*, labels Stukeley delin and E. Kirkall Sculp.

Rochester IC (i), 1724

TAB VI *Rochester Castle 4 Oct 1722*, dedication 'Duo Johi Elwill Bar. dd. W. Stukeley'.

Rochester IC (ii), 1776

30.2d *A Piece of the Roman Wall at Rochester 7 Oct 1724*, labels Stukeley delin.; Toms Sculp.

West Malling IC (ii), 1776

97.2d *The Court of Malling Abby 17 Oct 1724*, labels Stukeley delin. Toms Sculp.

APPENDIX 2

WILLIAM STUKELEY'S UNPUBLISHED KENTISH DRAWINGS

Aylesford

- 1) 16 Oct 1723. *At Kits Coty House. Lay at Aylesford. Made drawings and measurements at these monuments* (Diary, i, 26; SS (ii), 233).
- 2) 5 June 1725. *View of the Downs* (Soc. Antiq. London Roman Prints, iii).

Barham

- 31 May 1725. *View of Watling Street from Barham Downs* (Soc. Antiq. London Roman Prints iii).

Beckenham (Langley Park)

- 1) *Sketch of Lady Elwill's house, 1718* (Diary, i, 27; SS (ii), 1883, 233).
- 2) *Drawings of heraldic shields in church, 1710-20* (MS. Top. Gen. e. 61, ff55, 66).

Belvedere

Lesnes Abbey, undated (MS. Top. eccles. D. 6, ff.51v, 52).

Canterbury

- 1) *Roman Gate, 6 Oct 1722* (MS. Top. gen. 653, f44).
- 2) *St Martin's Church, undated* (MS. Top. eccle. d. 6. f.4).
- 3) *St Gregory's Church, undated* (MS. Top. eccle. d. 6, f.5).

Charing

14 Oct 1724. *A view* (Soc. Antiq. London Roman Prints iii).

Deal

- 1) *View of Deal, Walmer Castle &c., 7 Oct 1722* (Soc. Antiq. London Roman Prints, iii).
- 2) *View of Deal, Walmer Castle &c., 29 May 1726* (Soc. Antiq. London Roman Prints iii).

Dover

- 1) *Two views, 7 Oct 1722* (MS. Top. eccle. d. 6. f.31v).
- 2) *Views of Dover, 29 May 1725* (Soc. Antiq. London Roman Prints, iii).

Eastwell

28 May 1726. *View towards Eastwell from near Wye* (Soc. Antiq. London Roman Prints, iii).

Eltham

17 Oct 1724, *Eltham Palace* (Top. gen. d. 14, f.15v).

Greenwich

- 1) *Northeast view drawn 1718* (MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f.21v).
- 2) *Drawing of Vanbrugh's Castle, 18 Aug 1722* (MS. Top. gen. d. 14., f.55; Cragg MS, 2).

Margate

Hoard of bronze palstaves (MS. Top. Gen. b. 53, f32v; Lewis, 1736, 137).

Richborough

27 May 1725, *View of Staner (Richborough) from the Amphitheatre* (Soc. Antiq. London Roman Prints, iii).

West Wickham

Drawings of heraldic shields in church made 1710-20 (MS. Top. gen. e. 61, ff. 55-66).

Wrotham

Roman camp at Borough Green, plan, undated (Gough Top. Gen. 24, f.9).

Wye

5 June 1725 *View of the Downs* (Soc. Antiq. London Roman Prints, iii).