

Dear FRIAS fellows and colleagues,

Please find attached some reading material for the next session of the HUMSS colloquium on 25 November. I will be presenting research-in-progress that relates to my project “Tangible Pasts: Literature, the Material Histories of Antiquarianism and the Global Imagination, 1720-1820”.

Here is a short abstract of my talk:

This paper presents research-in-progress on some of the ways in which cultural concepts of history and practices of historical inquiry changed in the early eighteenth century as antiquaries and literary writers turned their attention to the material, tangible past. During this period unprecedented efforts were made by antiquaries to preserve, exhibit and study systematically material artefacts and historical monuments. Meanwhile, the much improved transportation system boosted the growth of domestic tourism. My paper explores how influential antiquarian and literary writers, such as William Stukeley and Daniel Defoe, attempted to establish the historical contexts of many newly discovered, material vestiges of the past by ‘emplacing’ these artefacts. I use the term ‘emplacement’ to refer to rhetorical and pictorial practices that tethered the historical meaning of a specific artefact to the local landscape in which it was embedded, as well as to the distant places to which this artefact was linked in antiquarian debates. My paper shows that for Stukeley and Defoe thinking about the past as a phenomenon that could be conceived in spatial rather than primarily temporal terms raised a number of important questions: How do objects ‘materialize’ different pasts and different models of history? How do processes of locating an historical artefact – and locating this artefact vis-à-vis a subject – translate the temporal into the spatial, or the spatial into the temporal, as one form of distance shifts into another? How do certain literary and antiquarian practices produce – and how are they in turn produced by – different geographical scales of historical thought?

I am attaching short excerpts and illustrations from two works by William Stukeley (1687-1765). William Stukeley was a leading figure in literary-antiquarian debates in the first half of the eighteenth century. He carried out pioneering fieldwork at Stonehenge and many historians refer to him as the ‘father’ of modern archaeology. The publication of *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724) marked the rise of the literary-antiquarian genre of the ‘domestic tour’ – a compound of travelogue, chorography and guidebook that familiarized readers with the landscape, antiquities, and customs of their compatriots in other parts of the country. *Stonehenge: A Temple Restor’d to the Druids* (1740) presents the results of Stukeley’s fieldwork at Stonehenge and suggests that Stonehenge had been erected as a place of worship by ancient British druids.

In my talk, I will draw on Stukeley’s works to illustrate some of the central research questions that I’m trying to answer, and I will offer my own take on the attached excerpts and drawings. However, I am also hoping that these materials will speak to the research interests of many current fellows and facilitate our interdisciplinary dialogue: Stukeley’s texts and drawings can be inserted into a variety of scholarly debates that foreground, for instance, interfaces between literature and science, cultural concepts of space and place, travel literature as a genre, antiquarian practices like cataloguing & list-making, the classical sources of eighteenth-century historiography, the construction of scientific and cultural authority, etc.

I am greatly looking forward to your comments and suggestions,

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ITINERARIUM CURIOSUM.

Or, an ACCOUNT of the

ANTIQUITYS

AND REMARKABLE

CURIOSITYS

In NATURE *or* ART,

Observ'd in TRAVELS thro'

GREAT BRITTA N.

Illustrated with Copper Prints.

CENTURIA I.

By WILLIAM STUKELEY, M. D. CML. & SRS.

*O Patria, O Divam domus, Albion, incluta bello!
O quam te memorem, quantum juvat usque morari
Mirarique tuæ spectacula plurima terra!*

L O N D O N:

Printed for the AUTHOR, MDCCXXIV.



ITINERARIUM CURIOSUM, &c.

ITER DOMESTICUM. I.

I, fuge, sed poteris tutior esse domi. *Mart.*

To MAURICE JOHNSON, jun. Esq;
barister at law of the inner-Temple.



THE amity that long subsisted between our families giving birth to an early acquaintance, a certain sameness of disposition, particularly a love to antient learning, advanced our friendship into that confidence, which induces me to prefix your name, to this little summary, of what has occur'd to me worth mentioning in our native country, HOLLAND, in *Lincolnshire*. But chiefly intended to provoke you to pursue a full history thereof, who have so large a fund of valuable papers and collections relating thereto, and every qualification necessary for the work. That these memoirs of mine are so short, is because scarce more time than that of childhood I there spent, and when I but began to have an inclination for such enquiries: that the rest which follow are grown to such a bulk as to become the present volum, is owing to my residence at *London*. Great as are the advantages of this capital, for opportunities of study, or for the best conversation in the world, yet I should think a confinement to it insupportable, and cry out with the poet,

Invideo vobis agros, formosaque prata.

Virg.

I envy you your fields and pastures fair.

which engages me to make an excursion now and then into the country; and this is properly taking a review of pure nature. for life here may be call'd only artificial, especially when fix'd down to it: like the gaudy entries upon a theater, where a pompous character is supported for a little while, and then makes an *exit* soon forgotten. My ancestors both paternal and maternal having lived from times immemorial in, or upon the edges of our marshy level; perhaps gave me that melancholic disposition, which renders the bustlings of an active and showy life disagreeable. The fair allurements of the business of a profession, which have

B

been

been in my road, cannot induce me wholly to forsake the sweet recesses of contemplation, that real life, that tranquility of mind, only to be met with in proper solitude. Where I might make the most of the pittance of time allotted by Fate, and if possible doubly o'er enjoy its fleeting space. I own a man is born for his country and his friends, and that he ought to serve them in his best capacity, yet he confessedly claims a share in himself; and that in my opinion is enjoying ones self. not as the vulgar think, in heaping up immoderate riches, titles of honour, or in empty, irrational pleasures, but in storing the mind with the valuable treasures of the knowledge of divine and human things. And this may in a very proper sense be called the study of Antiquity.

*Of the study
of ANTIQUI-
TYS.*

I need not make an apology to you, for that which some people of terrestrial minds think to be a meagre and useless matter; for truly what is this study but searching into the fountain head of all learning and truth? Some ancient philosophers have thought that knowledge is only reminiscence; if we extend this notion no further than as to what has been said and done before us, we shall not be mistaken in asserting that the past ages bore men of as good parts as we: enquiry into their thoughts and actions is learning, and happy for us if we can improve upon them, and find out things they did not know, by help of their own clue. All things upon this vobular globe are but a succession, like the stream of a river, the higher you go, the purer the fluid, less tainted with corruptions of prejudice or craft, with the mud and soil of ignorance. Here are the things themselves to study upon, not words only, wherein too much of learning has consisted. If we examine into the antiquities of nations that had no writing among them, here are their monuments, these we are to explore, to strike out their latent meaning, and the more we reason upon them, the more reason shall we find to admire the vast size of the gigantic minds of our predecessors: the great and simple majesty of their works, and wherein mainly lies the beauty and the excellence of matters of antiquity. But more especially 'tis not without a happy omen, that the moderns have exerted themselves in earnest, to rake up every dust of past times, mov'd by the evident advantages therefrom accruing, in the understanding their invaluable writings, which have escap'd the common shipwreck of time. 'Tis from this method we must obtain an accurate intelligence of those principles of learning and foundations of all science. 'Tis from them we advance our minds immediately to the state of manhood, and without them the world 5000 years old would but begin to think like a child. Nothing more illustrates this than looking into the comments that were wrote upon them 200 years ago, voluminous enough, but barbarous, poor and impertinent, when compar'd to the solid performances of learned men since, whose heads were enrich'd with an exact search into the customs, manners and monuments of the writers. Hence it is, that history, geography, mathematics, philosophy, the learned professions, law, divinity, our own faculty and the muses in general, flourish like a fresh garden richly water'd and cultivated, weeded from rubbish of logomachy and barren mushrooms, gay with thriving and beautiful plants of true erudition, inoculated upon the stocks of the ancients.

O/BRITAIN. If ruminating upon antiquities at home be commendable, travelling at home for that purpose can want no defence; 'tis still coming nearer the lucid springs of truth. The satisfaction of viewing realities has led infinite num-

I T E R I.

numbers of its admirers, thro' the labors and dangers of strange countrys, thro' oceans, immoderate heats and colds, o'er rugged mountains, barren sands and deserts, savage inhabitants, and a million of perils: and the world is fill'd with accounts of them. We export yearly our own treasures into foreign parts, by the genteel and fashionabl *tours* of *France* and *Italy*, and import ship-loads of books relating to their antiquities and history ('tis well if we bring back nothing worse) whilst our own country lies like a neglected province. Like untoward children we look back with contempt upon our own mother. The antient *Albion*, the valiant *Brittan*, the renowned *England*, big with all the blessings of indulgent nature, fruitful in strengths of *genius*, in the great, the wise, the magnanimous, the learned and the fair, is postpon'd to all nations. Her immens wealth, traffic, industry; her flowing streams, her fertil plains, her delightful elevations, pleasant prospects, curious antiquitys, flourishing citys, commodious inns, courteous inhabitants, her temperate air, her glorious show of liberty, every gift of providence that can make her the envy and the desirabl mistress of the whole earth, is slighted and disregarded.

You, Sir, to whom I pretend not to talk in this manner, well know that I had a desire by this present work, however mean, to rouse up the spirit of the Curious among us, to look about them and admire their nativ furniture: to show them we have rarities of domestic growth. What I offer them is an account of my journeyings hitherto, but little indeed and with expedition enough, with accuracy no more than may be expected from a traveller; for truth in every particular, I can vouch only for my own share, strangers must owe somewhat to informations. I can assure you I endeavor'd as much as possibl not to be deceiv'd, nor to deceive the reader. It was ever my opinion that a more intimate knowledg of *Brittan* more becomes us, is more useful and as worthy a part of education for our young nobility and gentry as the view of any transmarin parts. And if I have learnt by seeing some places, men and manners, or have any judgment in things, 'tis not impossibl to make a classic journey on this side the straits of *Dover*.

Thus much at least I thought fit to premise in favor of the study of antiquitys. And wth particular deference to the society of *British* antiquarys in *Londou*, to whom I remember with pleasure you first introduc'd me. Since for some time I have had the honor of being their secretary: to them I beg leave to consecrate the following work. To the right honorabl the earl of *Hartford* the illustrious and worthy president, the right honorabl the earl of *Winchilsea*, *Peter le Neve*, esq; *Roger Gale*, esq; the illustrious and worthy vice-presidents; and to the learned members thereof. Then lest I should fall under my own censure pass'd upon others, that know least of things nearest them, I shall deliver my thoughts about the history of *Holland* before-mention'd, which may serve as a short comment upon the map of this country which I publish'd last year, with a purpos of assisting the gentlemen that are commissioners of sewers there, tho' it is of such a bulk as cannot conveniently be insert'd into this volum.

If we cast our eyes upon the geography of *England* we must observ that much of the eastern shore is flat, low ground; whilst the western is steep and rocky. This holds generally true thro' out the globe as to its great parts, countrys or islands, and likewise particularly as to its little ones, mountains
and

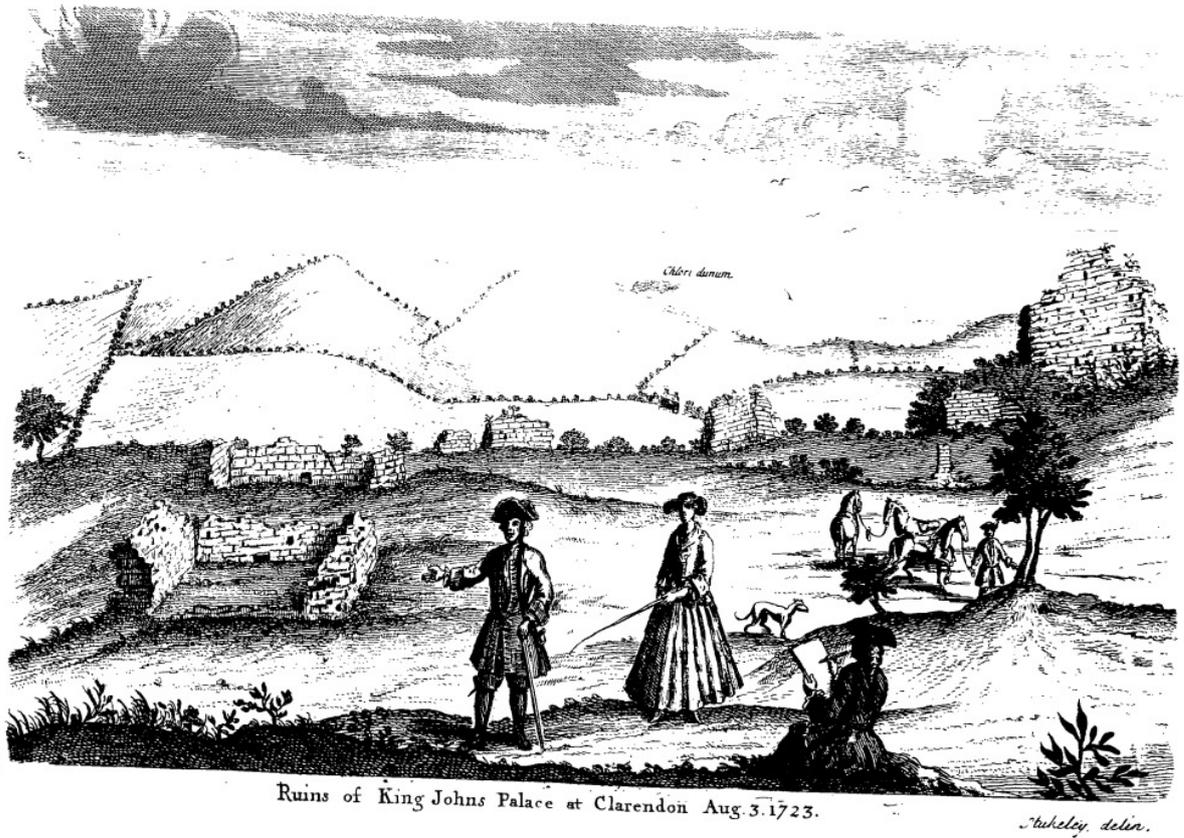


Fig. 1 William Stukeley, 'Ruins of King Johns Palace at Clarendon', *Itinerarium Curiosum*

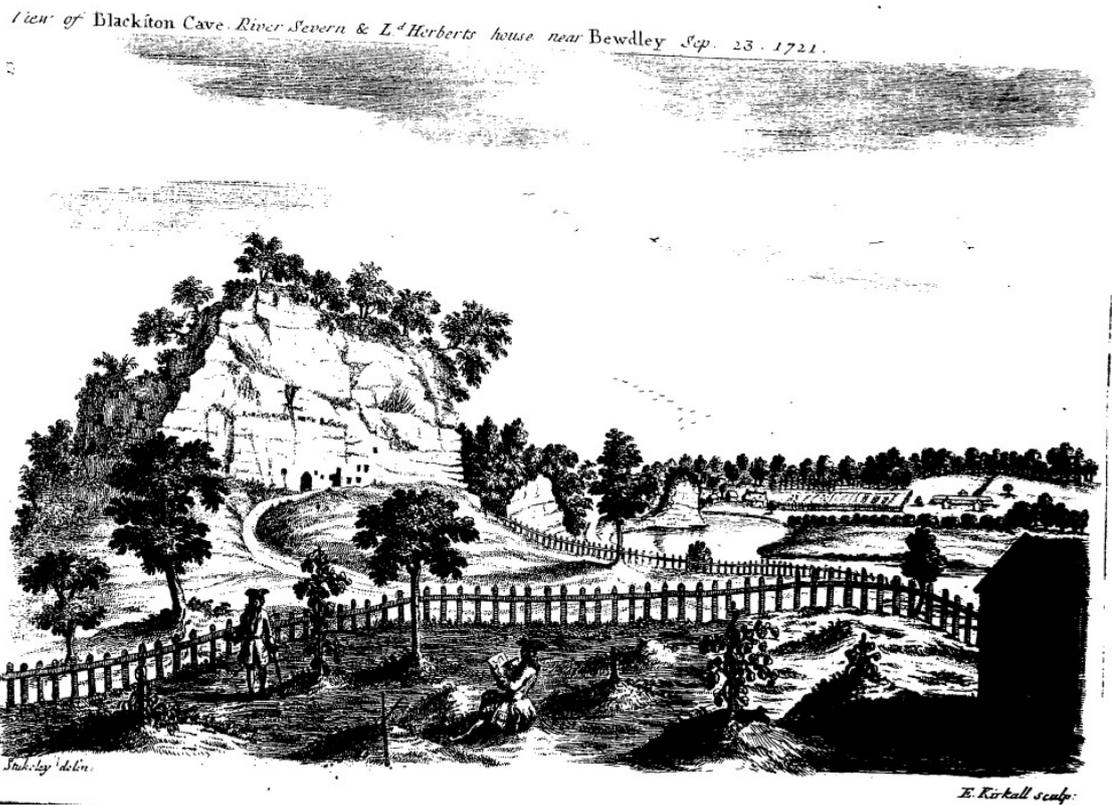


Fig. 2 William Stukeley, 'View of Blackston Cave', *Itinerarium Curiosum*

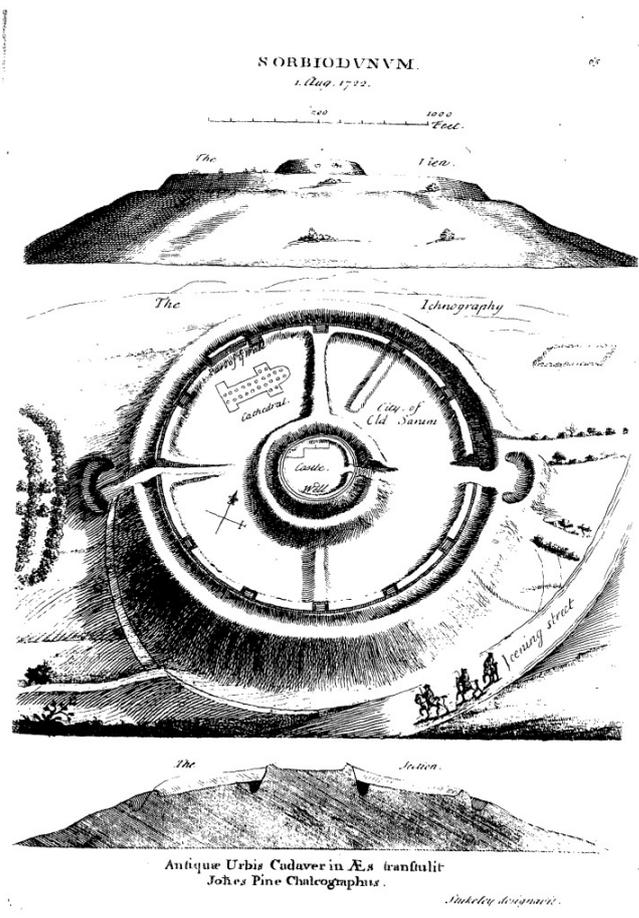


Fig. 3 William Stukeley, 'Sorbiodunum', *Itinerarium Curiosum*

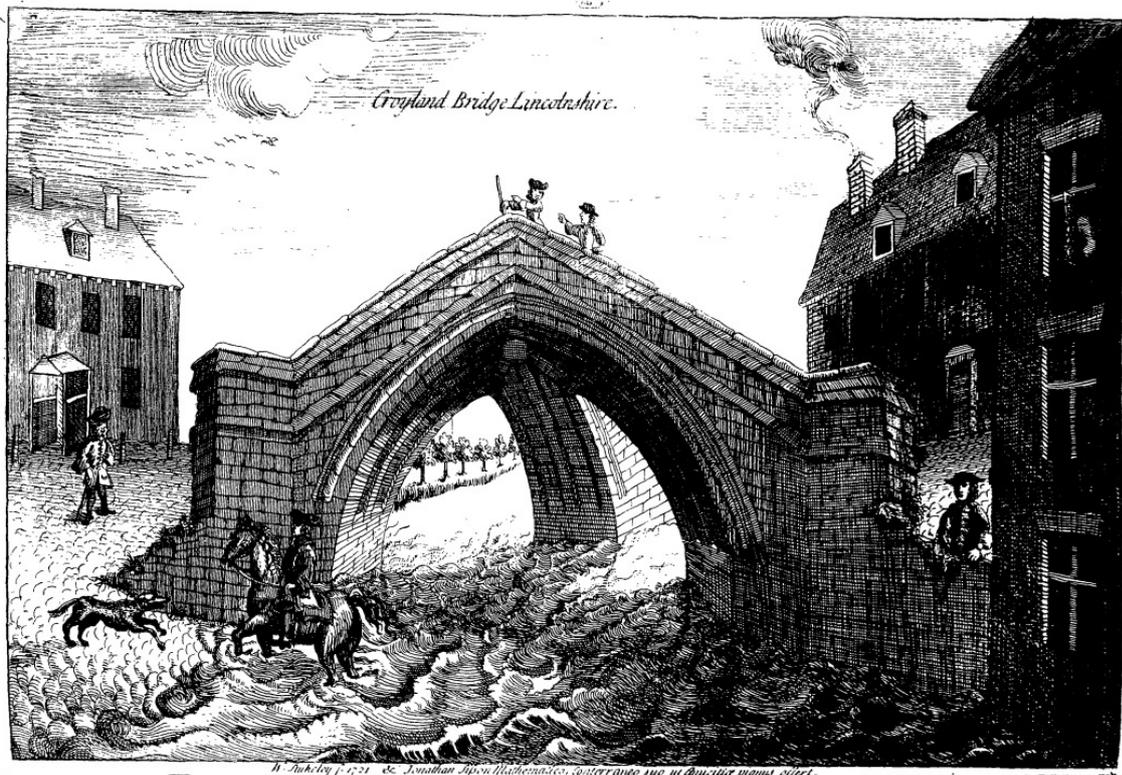


Fig. 4 William Stukeley, 'Croyland Bridge Lincolnshire', *Itinerarium Curiosum*

S T O N E H E N G E

A

T E M P L E

R E S T O R ' D

T O T H E

British DRUIDS.

By *WILIAM STUKELEY*, M. D.
Rector of *All Saints* in STAMFORD.

—*Deus est qui non mutatur in ævo.* MANILIUS.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *W. INNYS* and *R. MANBY*, at the West End
of *St. Paul's*.

MDCCL.

D E S C R I B E D.

II

tour fills the eye in an astonishing manner. TAB. V. is the front prospect from the entrance of the avenue. The stone that leans o'er the high altar appears thro' the grand or principal entrance: because we stand upon lower ground. If the reader pleases to cast his eye upon Plate XII. there 'tis represented in orthography, (to speak technically) as here in prospect. Hence by this method of comparing the designs together, we may, without confusion, gather a true notion of the work. *Stonebenge* is a good deal more in diameter, than the outside of *St. Paul's* cupola. And from a comparison of these two buildings, I was able to judge of the vanity of the architect of *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, who in order to degrade the *Pantheon*, (whilst he was imitating it) boasted, he would set the *Pantheon* 200 foot high in the air, meaning the cupola there. But the architect of the *Pantheon*, *Valerius Ostiensis* (had he been alive) would have told him, that the vastness of the diameter in these cupola's is lost by the very height. Whatever we would have admired, ought to be preserved as the largest dimension. Therefore *Valerius*, with admirable judgment, has made the outward breadth of the *Pantheon* one fifth part completely longer than its height, taken in front; but if we measure it sidewise, taking in the portico, the breadth to the height, is more than 6 to 4. By this means the wonder of the *Pantheon*, the curve or arch 150 *Roman* feet in diameter, remains. So the curve of *Stonebenge*, which is above 100 *English* feet, appears extraordinary large and well proportion'd, upon a height of 18 foot, which reaches to the top of the outer cornish; that of the inner cornishes is but 24 foot high, at a medium. For the cornishes of the inner part of *Stonebenge*, or that which *Webb* calls the cell, are not all of equal height, of which in proper place. Thus both parts of the wonder is preserv'd, the greatness of the circuit of the whole work, the greatness and height of the parts that compose it; the height being one fourth of the diameter. The greatness too of the lights and shades in *Stonebenge*, as well as their variety arising from a circular form, gives it all possible advantage, and makes it deserve the appellation of,

Deorum gloriosa domus,

as *Theocritus* and *Heredotus* generally call temples. And its situation is correspondent to the antient notion. *Pausanias* praises the *Tanagrei* in *Beotia*, for having their temples in clean and distinct area's, distant from profane buildings and traffic.

Stonebenge is inclosed within a circular ditch. After one has pass'd this ditch, says the right reverend annotator to *Camden*, he ascends 35 yards before he comes at the work itself. This measure is the same, as that which *Webb* calls 110 foot, the diameter of the work. For the area inclos'd by a ditch, wherein *Stonebenge* is situate, is in diameter three times the diameter of *Stonebenge*. See the *Plate* of the *area*. XXIII. Therefore the distance between the verge of the ditch within side, quite round, to the work of the Temple, is equal to the diameter of the Temple. The reader remembers what I promis'd, about the scale or measure whereby this work and all others of the Druids, is form'd; that 'tis the old *Hebrew*, *Phanician* or *Egyptian* Cubit, which compar'd with the *English* foot, amounts to 20 inches and $\frac{1}{4}$. Therefore I have drawn the ensuing comparison and proportion, between our *English* and *Hebrew* Scale; which is to accompany us in the future description. TAB. VI. the scale of cubits and feet compar'd. That I might not be suspected to favour an hypothesis, I produce other peoples measures, where I can find them in print, provided they be done with tolerable judgment and accuracy; for both are necessary in our case, with proper allowance. 'Tis not to be suppos'd, that in this work, the minuteness and extreme curiosity of *Desgodets*, with which he measur'd the remains of old *Rome*, is expected, or even possible. For tho' the stones are not chizel'd and squar'd, to such preciseness, as *Roman* works are; yet they are chizel'd, and are far from rude. Nevertheless every body has not skill,

Please read from here



TAB. XXIII.

TAB. VI.

skill, properly to measure them. For they are much impair'd by weather: much is knock'd off by wretched hands. Those stones that stand, are luxated various ways, by time and their own weight; by silly people digging about them, and by the unfortunate colony of rabbits lately translated thither. So that we may well say with *Claudian*,

*Seram ponderibus promis tractura ruinam,
Pars cadit assiduo flatu, pars imbre pereja
Rumpitur, abripuit partem vitiosa vetustas.*

I was forc'd to make many admeasurements and repeated, before I could obtain an exact ground-plot; and it requir'd much consideration to do it, and to find out the true scale by which it was compos'd, the Druid cubit, which they brought with them from the east. Therefore by the annexed scales, TAB. VI. which I have contriv'd to answer all lengths, the reader will most perfectly understand the subsequent description, and see the truth of my assertion: and may from thence be enabled to measure any other like works, in our islands, which I have not had the opportunity of viewing. It was the eastern way, in laying out a building, to use a staff of 6 cubits long. This was of a convenient, manageable length; and its divisions being half a dozen, suited well a reckoning by duodenaries. Thus in *Ezek. xl. 3, 5. Apoc. xxi. 16.* the angel that laid out the temple of *Solomon*, is described, as having a reed of 6 cubits (a measuring reed or cane) in his hand. This being the universal and first measure of antiquity, was in time spread all over the world. In particular, it became the *decempedum* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; the common measuring standard. But 'tis remarkable, they alter'd the divisions, thinking it more artful and convenient to have them in less parts: and instead of 6 cubits, they made it consist of 10 feet. And by time and change, the whole measure became somewhat alter'd from the primitive. For the *Greek decempedum* was swell'd somewhat too long, as the *Romans* diminish'd theirs a little. *Ezekiel's* reed is our 10 foot and 4 inches; 400 cubits is the *stadium* of the ancients, or furlong, 700 feet.

When you enter the building, whether on foot or horseback and cast your eyes around, upon the yawning ruins, you are struck into an extatic *reverie*, which none can describe, and they only can be sensible of, that feel it. Other buildings fall by piece meal, but here a single stone is a ruin, and lies like the haughty carcase of *Goliath*. Yet there is as much of it undemolished, as enables us sufficiently to recover its form, when it was in its most perfect state. There is enough of every part to preserve the idea of the whole. The next
TAB. VII. *Plate*, TAB. VII. the peep (as I call it) into the *sanctum sanctorum*, is drawn, at the very entrance, and as a view into the inside. When we advance further, the dark part of the ponderous impost over our heads, the chasm of sky between the jambs of the cell, the odd construction of the whole, and the greatness of every part, surprizes. We may well cry out in the poet's words

Tantum Relligio potuit!

if you look upon the perfect part, you fancy intire quarries mounted up into the air: if upon the rude havock below, you see as it were the bowels of a mountain turn'd inside outwards. It is pleasant likewise to consider the spot upon which 'tis situate, and to take a circular view of the country around it. For which purpose I have sketch'd the following prospects, taking in the country almost round the circumference of the horizon. This Use there will be in them further; if ever it happen, that this noble work should be destroy'd: the spot of it may be found, by these views.

TAB. VIII. TAB. VIII. north prospect from *Stonebenge*.

TAB. IX. TAB. IX. south-west prospect from *Stonebenge*.

TAB. X. TAB. X. south-east prospect from *Stonebenge*.

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Wadeley. d.

A peep into the sanctum sanctorum 6 June 1724.

The *vallum* of the ditch which incloses the *area*, or court, is inwards, and makes a circular terras; walking upon which, we take the foregoing prospects. The lowest part of the *area* is towards the entrance. The tops of all the circumjacent hills, or rather easy elevations, are cover'd o're, as it were, with barrows, which cause an agreeable appearance; adorning the bare downs with their figures. And this ring of barrows reaches no further, than till you lose sight of the temple, or thereabouts. Stand at the grand entrance by the stone that lies upon the ground, and the view of the temple presents itself as in the Vth Plate, the front prospect of *Stonehenge*. Directly down the avenue, TAB. V. to the north-east, the apex of an hill terminates the horizon, between which and the bottom of a valley you see the *Curfus*, a work which has never yet been taken notice of. Being a space of ground included between two long banks going parallel east and west, at 350 foot distance, the length 10000 feet. This was design'd for the horse races and games, like the *Olympic*, the *Isthmian*, &c. of the *Greeks*. But we shall speak more particularly of this afterwards. In the valley on this side of it, the strait part of the avenue terminates in two branches; that on the left hand, leads to the *Curfus*; that on the right goes directly up the hill, between two famous groups of barrows, each consisting of seven in number. The farthest, or those northward, I call the oldest king's barrows; the hithermost are vulgarly called the seven king's graves.

If we walk a little to the left hand, TAB. VIII. is presented. See the TAB. VIII. northern long barrow: on this side of which, the eye takes in the whole length of the *Curfus*. Many barrows at the end and on both sides of it. That mark'd P. was open'd by my Lord *Pembroke*, those mark'd S. were open'd by myself. What was discover'd therein will be treated of hereafter. Further to the west, the highest ground of that spot whereon *Stonehenge* stands, eclipses a distant view, and *there* are the nearest barrows planted with rabbits, which do much damage too at *Stonehenge*, and threaten no less than the ruin of the whole. Upon the *vallum* of *Stonehenge* is one of the stones there, which seems to be a small altar, for some kind of libations, and at the letter A. the mark of a cavity; of which more particularly, in the next page. The next or south-west prospect, TAB. IX. from *Stonehenge*, takes in the country from TAB. IX. *Berwickbarn*, and my Lord *Pembroke's* wood of *Groveley*, to *Salisbury* steeple: a chain of barrows reaching a 6th part of the whole horizon. Many from the great quantity of these sepulchral *tumuli* here, injudiciously conclude, that there have been great battels upon the plain, and that the slain were bury'd there. But they are really no other than family burying-places, set near this temple, for the same reason as we bury in church-yards and consecrated ground. *Salisbury* steeple seen from hence, brings to my sorrowful remembrance, the great *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, whose noble ashes are there deposited. He was patron of my studies, particularly those relating to *Stonehenge*. Virtue, piety, magnanimity, learning, generosity, all sublime qualities recommended and added to his illustrious descent. Glorious it will be for me, if these pages live to testify to another age, the intimacy he was pleas'd to honour me with.

————— *quis talia fando*
Temperet a lachrymis—————!

In this Plate, the reader may remark another of the cavities within the *vallum*, to which that corresponds on the opposite diameter before hinted at.

The south-east prospect finishes the circle, TAB. X. looking towards the TAB. X. valley southward, where the rain-water passes, from the whole work of *Stonehenge*, the whole tract of the *Curfus* and the country beyond it, as far as north long barrow; and so is convey'd into the river *Avon* at *Lake*. That road between king barrow and the seven barrows is the way to *Vespasian's* camp and so

E

to