By E. G. J. AMOS and R. E. M. WHEELER

Dover was the Dubra or Dubrae of the Romans. Were the similarity of name not itself enough, the witness alike of the Antonine Itinerary and of the Peutinger Map is clear. At Dubra-if that be the nominative case of a name which survives only in the dative or ablative, Dubris-the Notitia Dignitatum places a fortress of the Saxon Shore, garrisoned by an auxiliary regiment of milites Tungrecani, of Belgic origin. This former sister-fortress to the great castle which 12 miles away still towers over the marshes of Richborough has vanished from the surface as completely as its garrison. The visitor to Dover will find no vestige of Roman fortification. Indeed he will find hardly a trace of the long lines of the medieval bulwark which succeeded it, save in a few pleasant street-names. The changing and increasing needs of the busy Channel-port have swept both away in turn. And other factors have ensured that the process of change shall be peculiarly drastic and complete. On a sheltered inland site, such as that of London or Lincoln, Chichester or Chester, it is easy to trace a certain orderliness of structural growth which even the slovenly opportunism of our early medieval town-builders could not completely disguise. At Dover, no such evolutionary sequence is manifest. The form of Dover has been determined from time to time by the ever-changing form of its restless, tide-harassed harbour. Even the bare plan of the medieval town, covering some 16 acres of the more habitable area beside the Dour, is now in great part lost beneath fresh streets and houses new. Nor can we suppose that medieval Dover preserved any simulacrum of Roman Dubra. The twisted course of the medieval defences bore no resemblance to Roman planning, and at no point has it been shewn that the medieval work overlay the Roman. We must look elsewhere for our evidence.

Of scientific excavation within the town of Dover there

has been none. But chance-discoveries and intermittent observation have been successful in accumulating a modest quantity of disjointed information which is worth putting on record, if only as a stimulus to future effort. This information may best be tabulated with reference to the plan (Pl. iv).¹

(1) Near the parish church of St. Mary, walling has been noted at and close to the site of Biggin Gate. It contained 'bricks of an extraordinary size intermixed with stone.' Something of the same sort was observed about 1831-2 a little east of this at Eastbrook.² Whether this wall was Roman or medieval, the description does not indicate.

(2) At various times the remains of a Roman bath-building have been found under the west end of St. Mary's church, and extending both north and south of it. In 1778-9 the Rev. John Lyon saw parts of a narrow passage and four rooms, one or perhaps two provided with hypocausts and flue-tiles and another with ducts for water. His very summary plan suggests two periods of Roman work. Some of the tiles bore the stamp CL'BR, showing that the building (or at least its material) was officially connected with the *Classis Britannica* or the Channel Fleet. During the restoration of the church in 1843, Canon Puckle found under the three western bays of the nave, at a depth of 4 or 5 feet, 'a fine open space of Roman concrete, the bottom of a system of baths which, entering at the south-west, crossed the nave and both aisles and passed out into the churchyard on the north side.' Again, in 1897, during excavations carried out at the base of the west tower in connexion with the reparation of the structure, a hypocaust with soot and wood-ashes was observed.³

(3) About 50 yards south-west of St. Mary's church is a site which was once the vard of the Royal Oak hotel and has since been built over successively for the Metropole Garage and the Plaza cinema. Here, near the rear of the Metropole hotel, a huge chunk of Roman masonry, built of ragstone, flint and tufa with white mortar, was brought to light. The masonry lay on a thin layer of Roman made-ground overlying the clay, and along the south side of the site on this level were Roman sherds (mostly third or fourth century), tiles, etc., and much burnt clay. At the south-west corner of the former yard, a petrol-pit was cut into a tufa-faced wall with a 2 inch offset, but did not expose its depth or width. The mass of the wall was a jumble of Roman oddments, and there were bits of coloured wall-plaster, Roman mortar, red and white, grooved tiles and the like, including one tile with $\frac{m}{2}$ (Classis Britannica), the CL reversed as on a tile from Pevensey. The insertion of a petrol-pump near the New Street entrance showed that the

^I In the following pages, all the information not otherwise ascribed is derived from personal observation by Mr. E. G. J. Amos, who has also provided the photographic illustrations.

² Puckle, Arcb. Cant. xx, 129; Batcheller, Guide to Dover (Dover, 1828), p. 152. A solid wall found on the sea-front, between Butchery Gate and Snargate, must have been the sea-wall of the medieval town. About too yards of this wall are known to exist in Townwall Street, where the medieval masonry is still carried on an old arch over the Dour.

⁸ J. Lyon, Arcb. v, 325, and Hist. of Dover (1813), i, 11; Puckle, Arcb. Cant. xx, 120; and information from the verger, Mr. Mathews, who saw the discoveries in 1897.



[Photo. Amos & Amos

STATUE OF A NYMPH, FOUND UNDER ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, DOVER Height, 3 ft. 10 in.

(Dover Museum)



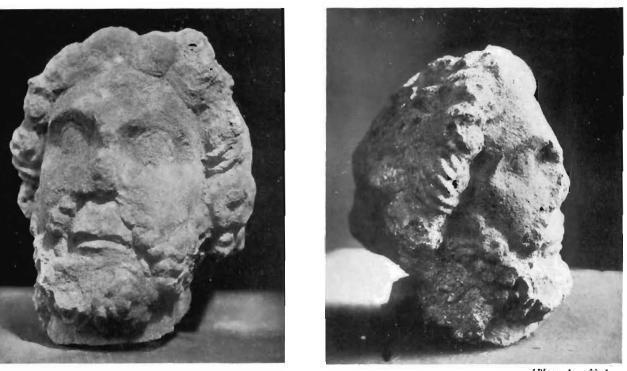


Photo. Anios & Anios

Head of late second or early third century type, found built into an ancient wall near queen street, dover $Height, 7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

(Dover Museum)

Roman debris reached the clay here at a depth of 9 or 10 feet. Subsequently, when the cinema was built, its sloping floor was carried down to the back of the tufa wall, but this was not then adequately observed. From the spoil, however, were recovered upwards of a dozen tiles with the CL.BR or C. kBR stamp; in one case the stamp occupied a circular field on the tile.

(4) Market Square, north side. Little is recorded from this side. The most important discovery—an early grave-slab with Runic inscription, possibly of the seventh century 1—lies outside our scope. But about 30 yards up Cannon Street, on the east side, under the premises of Messrs. Goulden and Winds, the process of deepening a cellar brought to light much mortar, Roman potsherds and rubbish and, at one place, flint boulders in white mortar, almost like a floor. Something like this is said also to have been found at the corner house a little further up the street, by St. Mary's church.

(5) In 1881, when the east end of the great collegiate church of St. Martinle-Grand, on the west side of the Market Square, was demolished and the Carlton Club built, remains of a Roman building were found and were thought (without reason or probability) to have formed a part of the baths discovered beneath St. Mary's, 130 yards away. Rooms with concrete flooring and good flint walls and hypocausts were uncovered, and a few vards further north, on the western fringe of the Market Square, a tessellated pavement is recorded at a depth of 10 feet.² An interesting bit of sculpture, now in Dover Museum, was found lying on one of the floors first mentioned. This is an undraped female figure, about three-quarter life-size, in oolite, with face, arms and feet destroyed (Pl. i). It stands leaning slightly forward with legs crossed and arms (apparently) stretched out. The head is wreathed, and drapery hangs round the left leg. It is good work of its kind and may be called either a Venus or, with greater likelihood, a nymph; but it was probably mere decoration rather than a cult-statue. Many other objects, including building-debris and several CL'BR tiles, have been found here and hereabouts. Mention may be made of a ring of base white metal bearing a sard intaglio set in a collet of gold and engraved with the Greek letters HPAKAIAHC and a horse.3

(6) In 1915, at the corner of Market Lane and Queen Street, the Golden Canister grocer's shop and the two next houses were rebuilt. At a distance of 14 yards up Market Lane was found the north side of a wall, faced with blocks of tufa and chalk laid in black-speckled white mortar. The core of the wall consisted largely of re-used Roman building-material rather poorly mortared—bits of concrete, tufa, chalk, flint, tiles, iron, slag, etc., and a bearded head, of oolite, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The head (now in the Dover Museum) is of fair workmanship; the arrangement of the moustache is unusual, and the head is probably a portrait of late second century date (Pl. ii). The wall was 6 feet thick as preserved, but its southern face had perished. It ran westwards under the adjacent premises. Its base was not

- Arch. Cant. vili, 174. Arch. xxv, 604.

² Bavington Jones, Dover.

³ For the buildings, see Arch. Journ. xxxviii, 432, and Arch. Cant. xx, 120, both far too scanty. For the statue, see Arcb. Cant. xviii, 202, with date of discovery wrong. For the ring, see Arcb. Journ. xxi, 263, xxxi, 355, and Ephemeris Epigr. iii, 146.

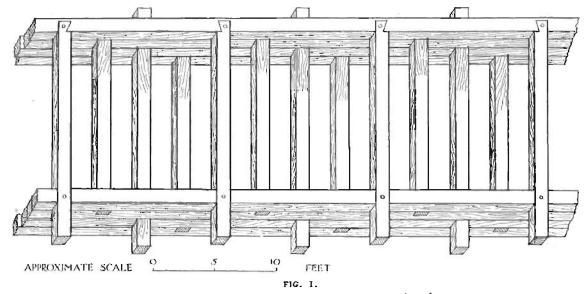
revealed since it descended below the maximum depth of the cuttings (10 feet). A compact wedge of earth, sloping southwards, with Roman debris (including a CL BR tile) lay against its southern face, and over this a great mass of blown sand, through which has been cut an old well, built of chalk, and other structures.

The same tufa- and chalk-faced wall was also found in making a manhole in Market Lane itself, and on the east side of the Lane in digging a petrol pit.

(7) About 40 yards further east and 23 yards up Gaol Lane, during the digging of a drain for a Labour Exchange (once Bacon's, the clock-maker, and now Thomas's, the ironmonger), 'a mass of Roman material was found from $I\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the pavement to a depth of 6 feet. It consisted of bits of Roman tiles, white and pink mortar or concrete, chunks of ragstone and tufa, a squared block of oolite, many flints and pieces of chalk, together with oyster and other shells. The material all seemed loosely mortared together; at the time it was doubtful whether the remains were part of a wall or merely tipped rubbish. In the light of the subsequent discoveries of the wall off Market Lane (just described), it is evident that the trench in Gaol Street had cut into a continuation of this wall, which was of somewhat similar construction. If this identification is, as it may well be, correct, then a length of 50 yards of this substantial, if somewhat loosely built, wall can now be inferred. It would seem to be of Roman date; its Roman materials are not determinate, but the wedge of Roman debris against it is suggestive.

(8) In 1923, on the south side of the Market-place, under the Duchess of Kent public house at the point where it adjoins the London and Westminster Bank, at the western corner of King Street, a wall or platform of masonry about 31 feet high, built of flints, chalk, tufa and greensand stone with good mortar, was found parallel to the east wall of the Duchess of Kent, i.e. running roughly north and south to a distance of about 15 feet back from the north face of the building. The width of the wall was not ascertained ; about 18 ins. of it were shorn off in the side of the trench. The surface of the natural clay-and-flints, on which it stood, here sloped eastwards towards King Street, and was covered with sandy silt, pebbles, rounded chalk, and Roman tile and potsherds with rounded edges, all consolidated by water-action into a compact mass. Over this, and sloping eastwards in conformity with it was a layer of black peaty soil, with Roman bricks, etc., (including a CL'BR tile) still sharp and unworn. Above this again was a wedge of sand, thin towards the Roman masonry but thickening eastwards towards King Street. Over the whole was made-ground.

(9) In 1908, during drainage works at the south end of Church Street (i.e. close to the north-east corner of the market-place), a massive wall, about 12 feet thick, built of flint with occasional green sandstone and only a few bits of tile and hard white mortar, was found. It rested on the natural surface of clay and flints at a depth of about 8 feet, and rose to within 2 feet of the surface. The wall ran from the direction of Igglesden and Graves' to Packham's corner, but was only seen at one point, where a trench cut through it. On the south (Castle Street) side of the wall only modern made-ground was noticed, but on the north (Church Street) side there was a great medley of Roman material—many cartloads of flints, squared tufa, green sandstone, squared chalk, Roman concrete, a piece of an oolite column,



ROUGH SKETCH OF FRAMEWORK (? SLIP-WAY OR QUAY) FOUND IN 1855-6 UNDER THE FORMER CASOMETER, EAST OF MARKET SOUARE, DOVER

wall-plaster, a piece of large millstone of Andernach lava with mortar adhering, much Roman pottery, and tiles (both roofing and other) of which three bore respectively the stamps CL . . . , CL BR, and /ND (Pl. iii). This thick layer of debris extended N.W. for about 50 yards and then thinned out by the passage adjoining St. Mary's church. Midway, opposite the back entrance to Lloyd's Bank in Church Street, the deposit deepened into the natural clay-and-flints to form a rubbish-pit or midden, which contained fragments of Roman pottery and glass, two bone pins, pieces of iron-work, burnt slabs of sandstone, charcoal, and shells of oysters, limpet, mussel, cockle, winkle and whelk. Near by, opposite the N.E. corner of Messrs. Igglesden and Graves' premises but on the E. side of Church Street, during the connecting of a house-drain, a tufa-faced wall running approximately N. and S., possibly Roman, was cut through. It rested on a thin slab of green sandstone.

(10) At a distance of 130 yards east of the Market Square stood until recently (on the former site of Peter Fector's house and garden) a gasometer which has now been replaced by the garage of the East Kent Car Company. When the gasometer-pit was dug in 1855-6, it was found that, at a depth of 20 feet, the whole area—100 feet in diameter—was crossed by a remarkable framework of massive oak timbers. As recorded in a printed lecture, given in 1857 by Col. Edward Knocker to the Dover Museum and Philosophical Society, there were two timber walls running east and west across the pit; the eastern end, which was slightly higher than the other, was also slightly wider, the mean width being 15 feet. These walls were each composed of four massive oak beams of about I foot scantling, placed one above the other and therefore forming a solid wall rather more than 4 feet high. At II foot intervals each pair of beams was braced by a transverse timber, usually affixed by halving on one side and by dovetailing on the other, with hardly any use of bolts or pegs (Fig. 1).¹ The whole of the interior of this framework was packed with shingle, which was not otherwise found on the site. The extent of the structure is not known beyond the limits of the pit, for the shafts sunk recently in the construction of the garage on the site (which had, incidentally, been raised 3 or 4 ft. since 1856) penetrated to a depth of As found, this only 16 feet and therefore did not reach the timbering. structure-whether quay or causeway or slip-way-was embedded on its north side in bog-earth and on its south side in sand. The bog-earthor, rather, alluvium mixed with Roman debris-has been found (during the sinking of a well) to continue northwards into Dolphin Lane, and when the offices of the adjacent Phoenix Brewery were built it is said that a log-canoe was discovered. Canon Puckle, too, records the finding of mooring-rings, piles, groins, etc., in this district.² In spite of much vagueness, it is sufficiently clear that in ancient times much of the land in the vicinity of Dolphin Lane was under sea-water; and it requires no great feat of imagination to suppose that the timber framework was either that of an ancient quay flanking a small harbour at this spot, or of a slip-way descending into it. Timber-quays of the Roman period, somewhat similarly constructed, have been found on the north bank of the Thames immediately

¹ Adapted from R. Turner, The Graphic ² Arch. Cant. xx, 129 Guide to Dover, 1913-1915.

PLATE III.



A. TILE STAMPED CL(assis) BR(itannica), FOUND IN MARKET LANE, DOVER About 3



[Photo. Amos & Amos

B. TILE STAMPED \overrightarrow{AND} (? Anderida) OR, LESS PROBABLY, \overrightarrow{AVB} (? Dubra), FOUND IN CHURCH STREET, DOVER About $\frac{1}{2}$ above London Bridge; and the depth of the Dover structure, combined with the occurrence of Roman potsherds apparently in association with it, leaves little doubt as to its Roman date.

(11) At the junction of Saxon Street and St. Martin's Hill (i.e. at the eastern end of the Folkestone road), opposite the Red Cow inn, a tufa wall, apparently only one foot thick, was found during the laying of drain-pipes. All the ground on the east side of the wall was 'made,' whereas that on the west side was natural. The material is consistent with a Roman date; but Roman walls only one foot wide are rare, and tufa was used freely at Dover at least as late as the Norman period (St. Martin's-le-Grand and Dover Priory).

(12) In Albany Place, on the west of the town, a dug-out was made in 1918 about half way down the road on the west side. Bits of Roman pottery, tile, tufa, etc., were found from a depth of 2 feet below the road to the maximum depth of the cutting, 11 feet. On the western side, this ' made' soil rested against a slope of clay and chalk, which may have been merely the side of a pit but suggests the possibility of a ditch running in a southerly or south-easterly direction, towards the edge of the cliff, where, at the top of Adrian Street, Roman pottery has been found on several occasions.

Let us now review this patchwork of shreds and tatters, and see whether anything like a convincing pattern can be made of it. One useful fact is clear at the outset. If we exclude the doubtful fragment of wall far to the north, at the end of the Folkestone road (No. 11), and the timber quay or slipway to the east of the river (No. 10), all the Roman structural remains hitherto noted in the valley of the Dour fall within a compact and fairly well defined area This area extends from the vicinity of Cowgate, Prince Street and the eastern part of New Street on the west to Gaol Lane, the western half of the Market Square and the western part of Stembrook Street on the east; and from the northern side of St. Mary's churchyard on the north to a line just north of Queen Street on the south. From east to west the area measures about 430 feet, and from north to south about 550 feet. It covers therefore nearly 51 acres, which may be compared with the 5 acres of the Saxon-shore fortress at Richborough as originally laid out.

It may be possible, with the help of the more recent observations recorded above, to define this area of occupation yet more closely. The most southerly, or seaward, structure which may be ascribed to the Roman period is the 50-yard length of thick wall found to the north of, and

nearly parallel to, Queen Street. In ancient times a great bank of blown sand had accumulated against its southern At what period this accumulation occurred we face. cannot say, but the southern face of the wall seems to have perished before it was thus covered, and a well and other structures of uncertain but fairly ancient date had been built into the sand, which had therefore preceded them. This heavy layer of sand has been observed at many points between Market Square and Snargate Street-at the eastern corner of Queen Street, in Last Lane, King Street, Chapel Street, and Snargate Street itself-whilst, as a further indication of the comparatively early date of the drift, it is noted that the medieval crypt of St. Nicholas in Bench Street is built on it. The evidence thus enables us to say that the whole area between the Roman wall in Queen Street and Snargate Street lay under sand by the middle ages. Patches of sand, blown perhaps from old sandbars to the east rather than to the south, are occasionally observed to the north of the wall, as on the Carlton Club site in the Market Square; but there can be little doubt that the line of the wall marks a partial break in the drift, and that the barrier was therefore present at a relatively early date. Moreover, the wall itself seems to have borne certain of the characteristics of the Saxon shore. Its original width, in the absence of its southern face, is not known, but it was certainly more than 6 feet. In Roman building such a thickness is abnormal save in defensive works. It was built of re-used Roman material, including a sculptured head of late second- or early third-century date. It was therefore constructed not earlier than the latter part of the Roman period; and the use of old building-material and sculpture finds an easy parallel in the Saxon-shore defences of Richborough and Lymne. The northern side of the wall retained its facing, which included, incidentally, much of the tufa that was always dear to the heart of the Roman builder; and the contrast between the well-preserved northern and the perished southern face of the wall at once recalls the common contrast between the inner and outer faces of a Roman fort-wall: the inner comparatively sheltered and further preserved by the accumulation of occupation-earth against it, or even by a protective bank; the outer exposed to the

· Ale

weather if not to the sea itself, and more readily attacked by the stone-robbers of later ages. Only the seeming inadequacy of the mortar in the core of the wall might appear to suggest a medieval rather than Roman builder. On the other hand, medieval mortar was normally good, whereas Roman mortar, as in the walls of Caerwent, was sometimes spread in intermittent layers in such a manner as to leave much of the rubble of the wall ungrouted. Such a wall, exposed to sea-weather, would rapidly disintegrate. On the balance of probability—we cannot say more—the Queen Street wall is more likely than not to have been the seaward rampart of the Saxon-shore fortress.

On the eastern side of the area, one landmark seems to be vouchsafed to us. It is difficult not to regard the inchoate mass of masonry, found at the junction of Church Street with the Market Square—some 12 feet thick as preserved, and associated with masses of Roman building material, etc.—as a fragment of the Roman defences. If so, it may have been a part of a bastion, since the thickness of the unfaced fragment is greater than that of the normal Saxon-shore rampart. Its central position in the eastern side of our Roman area suggests that it may even have been a part of a gateway. But the evidence is very slight, and the suggested possibility does not easily explain the adjacent fragment of tufa-wall (see above, p. 49) —unless, indeed, the latter was actually a part of the curtain of the fortress.

Admitting therefore that the 'bastion' or 'gateway' is the veriest hypothesis, we may note that a line drawn tentatively through it at right angles to the Queen Street wall passes through or close to the substantial piece of Roman masonry found under the eastern wall of the Duchess of Kent public house on the south side of the Market Square. Little is known of this masonry; but the ground immediately to the east slopes away from it, was under water (see above, p. 52), and was presumably therefore outside the Roman defences.

On the northern side the Roman defences cannot have stood far to the north of the Roman building under St. Mary's church (No. 2), if the low-lying fields between the churchyard and the Dour were as marshy in Roman times as they were for a long period prior to 1800. The only structural evidence which may have a bearing upon the problem is the tough fragment of masonry found long ago near the Biggin Gate (No. 1). If this was not a part of the medieval wall, it was probably a relic of its Roman predecessor. The details, however, are too badly recorded to support definite conclusions.

On the western side, the limit of Roman building (as known to us) is marked by the tufa-faced wall, substantial but of unascertained thickness, at the southwest corner of the former 'Royal Oak' yard (No. 3). The wall had an offset on its eastern side and ran approximately north and south. But further details of it are badly needed. Meantime, the apparent absence of Roman structures to the west of it, and its suitable distance from the Church-street 'bastion,' suggest the possibility that it may be a relic of the western rampart but fall far short of proof.

Whether or no the defences of the fortress followed in detail the lines which, on very inadequate evidence, we have tried to visualise for them, the evidence is at least adequate to show that Dover of the Saxon-Shore lay in or about the Market Square, on the western bank of the Dour, So far we have depended solely upon archaeological evidence-mostly recovered by a single observer within the last twenty years. But Mr. A. W. Clapham has pointed out a particle of documentary evidence which is relevant to our problem and happily supports our general conclusions. It is said that Eadbald, King of Kent, before 640 founded a monastery ' in the castle of Dover,' and it has been assumed that this monastery is represented by the surviving Saxon church of St. Mary, amongst the castle buildings on the Eastern Heights. But the structure of St. Mary's-in-Castro cannot be earlier than the end of the tenth century; nor is there a shred of evidence or likelihood that as early as the seventh century a ' castle ' of any kind existed on that site. Indeed, a reference to a 'castle' at Dover in the seventh century can only be interpreted as a reference to the remains of the Roman fortress; and that fortress, built, as abundant evidence seems to show, in connexion with the Channel Fleet, must have been placed within effective distance of the harbour—i.e., somewhere on the site of the medieval

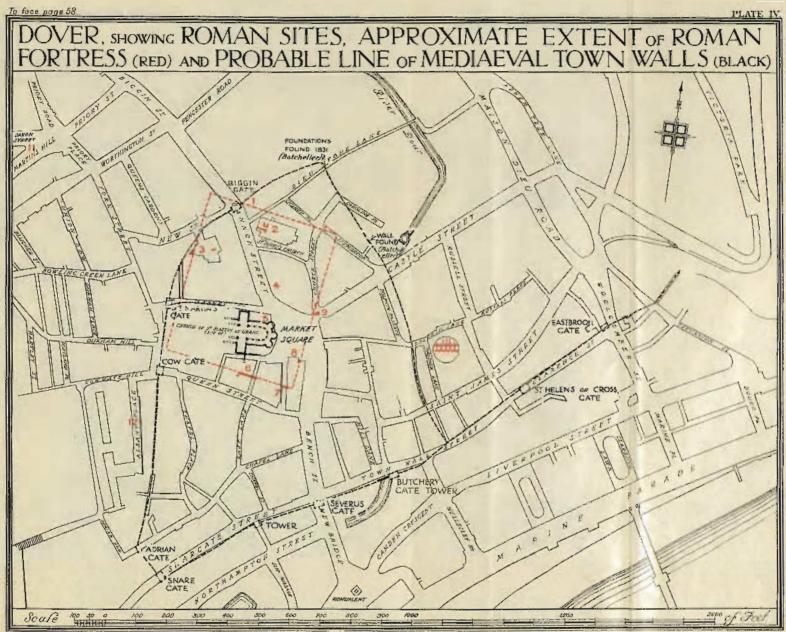
town.¹ Here, in fact, was an early Saxon foundation, that of St. Martin's-le-Grand, of which the re-built Norman church still yields stubbornly to the modern builder on the western side of the Market Square.² The church lay within the area of intensive Roman occupation, and well within our conjectural limits of the Saxon-Shore fortress. It is consistent with all the evidence, therefore, to suppose, with Mr. Clapham, that King Eadbald's church was the first church of St. Martin's; and, as slight confirmatory evidence, the discovery of a tombstone with cross and Runic inscription of early Saxon date near the east end of St. Martin's (No. 4, above) points with probability to the early Christian use of the site. Confusion between the Roman 'castle' and the Norman castle on the Eastern Heights seems, however, subsequently to have arisen. According to Tanner, Wictred King of Kent moved the monastery from the castle to the town in 696, and hence rose the church of St. Martin. This may be dismissed as a late attempt to bring the medieval castle 'into the picture' long after the Roman fortress had been forgotten.

The total disappearance of the Roman defences is not difficult to explain. In Roman times they seem to have looked eastwards upon a small lagoon or harbour, formed by an expansion of the Dour and perhaps aided artificially by a timber-framed quay on its southern side. After or during the Roman period the sand, shingle and river-silt gradually clogged this harbour and the seaward approach to the fortress. When the medieval builders arrived, the old site was obsolete. It was now beyond the reach of shipping, and it was in any case too small. Roman Dover had been a useful sign-post for channel shipping, and possibly a permanent station of the Channel Fleet. But Roman traffic, orientated, perhaps, rather on the Rhine than on the Boulogne-Calais coast, had made primarily for Richborough or London. Part of the Claudian army may have landed at Dover in A.D. 43. Nevertheless pottery and

¹ One writer has questioned whether the place had any walls in Roman times, thinking a supposed fort on the Castle Hill enough defence. But the existence of that fort is doubtful, and, if it existed, it was too far off to help in days before artillery; so exposed a site as Dover Harbour must have had its walls ' (Haverfield, in an unpublished note).

note). ² See Arcb. Cant. iv, 1. A fragment of the church can be seen behind the Carlton Club.

coins earlier than the end of the first century seem to occur there rarely or not at all, and the development of the place must have waited until the second or even the third century. The comparative frequency of fourth-century coins suggest a more definite occupation in that period, coincident with the regime of the Saxon-Shore. To the end, however, Dubra remained a small military or naval station. It gave no anticipation of the importance of medieval and modern Dover as the bridgehead of the Calais-crossing.



(Based upon the Ordnance Survey map by permission of H.M. Stationer, Office.)