

**BODIAM CASTLE  
ROBERTSBRIDGE EAST SUSSEX  
CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN  
for THE NATIONAL TRUST**



**Drury McPherson** Partnership  
*Historic environment policy and practice*

LDĀ DESIGN



**BSG** | ecology



making sense of heritage

Part 1: UNDERSTANDING AND SIGNIFICANCE

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**Drury McPherson** Partnership

23 Spencer Road  
Strawberry Hill  
TWICKENHAM  
TW2 5TZ

Tel: +44 (0)20 8894 6247

Email: [pdrury@dmpartnership.com](mailto:pdrury@dmpartnership.com)

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In November 2014, the Drury McPherson Partnership (DMP) was commissioned by the National Trust to produce a Conservation Management Plan for Bodiam Castle and estate. The plan was prepared by a multi-disciplinary team, led by Paul Drury and Michael Copeman of DMP, who were responsible for project management, historic environment issues and editing the text. LDA Design (LDA) took the leading role in relation to landscape issues and master planning, supported by BSG Ecology and Royal HaskoningDHV (hydrology). Wessex Archaeology reported on object conservation. A new metric survey of the castle was commissioned from James Brennan Associates.

The overarching purpose of the plan is to help sustain (and, where appropriate, further reveal and reinforce) the identified significance of the heritage asset in any management, repair, alteration or development project. Its key aims are to ensure the spirit of place is safeguarded and celebrated; to bring together existing knowledge and research into a comprehensive understanding of the history and significance of the site in context; and to use this understanding to inform and develop appropriate management policies, including a research strategy.

The plan is in three parts. *Part 1: Understanding and Significance* is an account of the history and development of the castle and setting and an assessment of its cultural heritage values, culminating in an overall statement of significance. *Part 2: Issues and Policies* considers the issues affecting the building and site and makes strategic recommendations to address them, with a suite of management policies. *Part 3: The Gazetteer* comprises data sheets for each room and space, documenting their historical development, current form and the significance of individual elements, in a format that can be updated to record changes as they occur and as new discoveries are made. Appendices include phased plans of the castle and parish, a compendium of historic views and technical reports.

The vicinity of the castle, between the River Rother and the Kent ditch, has been inhabited from Mesolithic times. There was a late Iron Age settlement near Sandhurst and a Roman settlement, probably a port associated with the iron-working industry of the Weald, where a major Roman road from Rochester to the ironworks of the Weald crossed the Rother. The medieval estate of Bodiam probably originated in the mid-late Saxon period, re-emerging from the larger estate of Ewhurst as a separate manor by the 12th century. Its centre was near Court Lodge, and it became the principal manor of, successively, the de Bodiam, Wardedieu and Dallingridge families.

Bodiam Castle was built c1385-93 for Sir Edward Dallingridge, a successful career soldier turned politician and courtier. The surviving fabric of the castle is almost entirely primary and the designed landscape in which it is set either contemporary or very nearly so. Research for this plan has revealed that they were established in a pre-existing manorial landscape, and that there was a preliminary phase of building on its moated island probably not long before the final form of the castle building was fixed.

Dallingridge's family held the castle until 1470, after which it descended in the Lewknor family until the 17th century, latterly divided between co-heirs. There are remarkably few documentary records of the castle during this period, when it seems to have been, at best, a secondary residence. The estate was bought in 1623 by Sir Nicholas Tufton, 1st Earl of Thanet, who never lived at Bodiam; his son, the 2nd Earl, sold the estate to Nathaniel Powell in 1645. It seems to have been partly dismantled by the early-mid 17th century.

The castle was bought in 1723 by Sir Thomas Webster of Battle Abbey. By the later 18th century, it was renowned for its picturesque qualities, attracting many artists including JMW Turner. The castle and a few surrounding acres were bought in 1829 by John 'Mad Jack' Fuller of Rosehill, who actively conserved the ruins for their scenic value. In 1864, it was bought and repaired by George Cubitt (1828-1917). George Curzon, Marquess of Kedleston (1859-1925) acquired the castle in 1917 and undertook extensive consolidation and restoration. He left it to the National Trust on his death in 1925 and the castle and its grounds have been open to the public continuously since 1926.

The heritage significance of Bodiam Castle is recognised by its statutory listing at grade I and the designation of the castle, moat and their immediate setting as a Scheduled Monument. The castle is of exceptional heritage significance for an unusually wide range of reasons. The fabric of the castle is ruined, but what survives is largely unaltered since its original construction. It has remarkable formal architectural qualities and it is one of the earliest buildings in Britain that was consciously planned as a great residence as well as a defensible one. The setting of the castle includes the remains of an elaborately contrived, designed medieval land- and water-scape.

The site has important below-ground archaeological deposits, including the Roman settlement area and the landscape archaeology. In the public consciousness it is an iconic English castle and a major tourist destination. It has ecological importance for its bat habitats and for the bryophyte and lichen habitats on the castle walls. The estate includes floodplain grazing marsh, species-rich hedgerows and habitats for badgers, herpetofauna, nesting and foraging birds, aquatic and grassland invertebrates, fungi associated with veteran trees, and fish and dormice. The castle is also significant in the early building conservation movement, for the repairs carried out for John 'Mad Jack' Fuller, George Cubitt, and particularly Lord Curzon and his architect William Weir.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 The purpose of the conservation plan

1.1.1 In November 2014, the Drury McPherson Partnership (DMP), in conjunction with LDA Design, was commissioned by The National Trust to produce a Conservation Management Plan for Bodiam Castle. The four main objectives of this plan are:

- Understanding the place
- Assessing its significance
- Defining the issues affecting the place and its vulnerability to harm or loss
- Developing an overall vision for the Castle and setting out policies for its future management and development.

1.1.2 The plan was prepared by a multi-disciplinary team, led by Paul Drury and Michael Copeman of DMP, who were responsible for project management, historic environment issues and editing the text. LDA Design (LDA) took the leading role in relation to landscape issues and master planning, supported by BSG Ecology and Royal HaskoningDHV (hydrology). Wessex Archaeology reported on object conservation. During the course of the work, James Brennan Associates was commissioned to produce a new metric survey of the castle, which has greatly aided our analysis of the fabric.

1.1.3 The plan is intended to be a working document that responds to changing circumstances. As such, it is anticipated that new information about the site and buildings in their context will be added as it comes to light, and policies periodically updated in response to greater understanding and new or changing issues affecting the buildings and spaces.

### 1.2 The structure of the plan

1.2.1 The conservation management plan is structured in three parts:

- ***Part 1: Understanding and Significance:*** comprising an account of the history of the castle and its landscape setting, with an analysis of the buildings and site and their evolution; and a *Significance* section that assesses the cultural heritage values attached to the place, culminating in an overall statement of significance.
- ***Part 2: Issues and Policies:*** comprising a discussion of the issues affecting the building and site, strategic recommendations to address them, and a set of management and development policies.

- *Part 3: The Gazetteer:* comprising data sheets for each room and space, documenting their historical development, current form and the significance of individual elements.

1.2.2 In order to produce a concise and readable narrative, much of the detailed description and discussion of specific details of the building and its development is placed within the gazetteer. Early images of the castle are listed in Appendix C, and statutory list descriptions in Appendix D. The evolution of the parish and its environs is illustrated on a series of maps based on the First Edition 25" OS Map; these are at Appendix F, with extracts included in the main text. Appendix G comprises floor plans of the castle, with missing areas reconstructed (also included at small scale in the main text), and a set of annotated elevations of the principal standing walls, with interpretation superimposed.

1.2.3 The evolution of the landscape, manor and castle of Bodiam is described in six principal periods, subdivided as follows:

**Period 1 Pre-medieval**

Period 1.1 Prehistoric

Period 1.2 Roman

Period 1.3 Post-Roman

**Period 2 Early Medieval to 1377**

Period 2.1 The emergence of the late Saxon landholding

Period 2.2 The medieval manor before 1377

**Period 3: Sir Edward Dallingridge and his heirs: 1377-1470**

Period 3.1 1377-1385: The putative moated house

Period 3.2 1385-1393: The construction of the castle

Period 3.3 1396-1470: Sir John, Dame Alice and Richard Dallingridge

**Period 4 Post- medieval decline: 1470 - 1723**

Period 4.1 1470-1623: Lewknor and Rigby

Period 4.2 1623-1645: Tufton

Period 4.3 1645-1723: Powell

**Period 5 Rediscovery and reinvention: 1723 - 1925**

Period 5.1 1723 - 1829: Webster

Period 5.2 1829 - 1864: Fuller

Period 5.3 1864 - 1916: Cubitt

Period 5.4 1916 - 1925: Curzon

**Period 6 1926 to present day: the National Trust**

### 1.3 Sources and abbreviations

- 1.3.1 The form and evolution of the castle has been analysed principally on the basis of detailed inspection of its fabric by the authors and with reference to the Northwestern University/University of Southampton survey data; and the extensive range of published and secondary unpublished ('grey literature') material about the castle. A new metric survey commissioned by the Trust from James Brennan Associates has proved invaluable in this task.
- 1.3.2 Analysis of the landscape is based largely on site inspections and historic map regression and analysis. Of the limited early documentary material relating to the castle, much is available in transcriptions or published sources, referenced through the text. In both locating and interpreting relevant and additional material, we have been guided and assisted by Christopher Whittick of the East Sussex Record Office.
- 1.3.3 Site visits were made between January and November 2015.
- 1.3.4 National Trust staff have been consulted throughout the development of this plan, both through the project board chaired by Neil Walters and more widely. Two consultation sessions, primarily for local stakeholders and National Trust staff, were held on site on 23-24 June 2015. Further consultation with the Trust took place through the latter part of 2015, and with Penny Copeland (University of Southampton), Matthew Johnson (Northwestern University), Matthew Champion and others into 2016.
- 1.3.5 In references to documentary sources, ESRO is the East Sussex Record Office; TNA is The National Archives. The Victoria County History: Sussex is cited as VCH *Sussex*, followed by the volume number and date. Otherwise the Harvard system of references has been used in the footnotes for secondary sources and grey literature, with a bibliography at the end of the text. The latest quinquennial survey of Bodiam Castle, prepared by Thomas Ford and Partners in 2013, is referred to as QQ 2013.
- 1.3.6 Throughout the plan, levels are referred to in the form '0.00m AOD', meaning Above Ordnance Datum, based on mean sea level at Newlyn.

### 1.4 Spellings

- 1.4.1 Several names associated with Bodiam, as is frequently the case in English, have been spelled differently over the years, most notably Dallingridge: as Dallingrygge, Dallingrigge etc. The spelling of the names Wardedieu and Lewknor are also variable. For consistency, we have

adopted the spellings used in the National Trust's most recent guidebook, rather than to suggest that a particular spelling is more or less correct. For the field to the north-west of the castle, variously called The Doke, Doakes Field and Dokes Field, we have adopted the latter.

## 1.5 Acknowledgements

1.5.1 We would like to thank the following:  
Christopher Whittick, for his great help, and knowledge freely shared, on the history of Bodiam; John Dines for making available his research and knowledge about his home, Bodiam Mill; Graham Peters, for generous access to Court Lodge; Gordon Winchester, Rector of Bodiam; David and Barbara Martin, particularly for assistance with the buildings; Matthew Johnson, Penny Copeland, Kris Strutt and the team at Northwestern University and the University of Southampton, for providing data from their research project in advance of publication, and their time, generously given in engaging with the production of this Plan and input into it; the Bodiam Committee, and in particular Vivienne Coad, its outgoing chair, for her assistance and hospitality; George Bailey, Will Past, Lance Woodman and all the staff at Bodiam for their assistance, hospitality, and engagement; and the regional staff of the National Trust, particularly Neil Walters and Nathalie Cohen

1.5.2 Illustrations are generally by the project team unless acknowledged in the caption. We are particularly grateful to the East Sussex Record Office, the British Library and the Society of Antiquaries of London for allowing this limited reproduction of material from their collections without further charge.

1.5.3 For the maps, the following acknowledgements variously apply:

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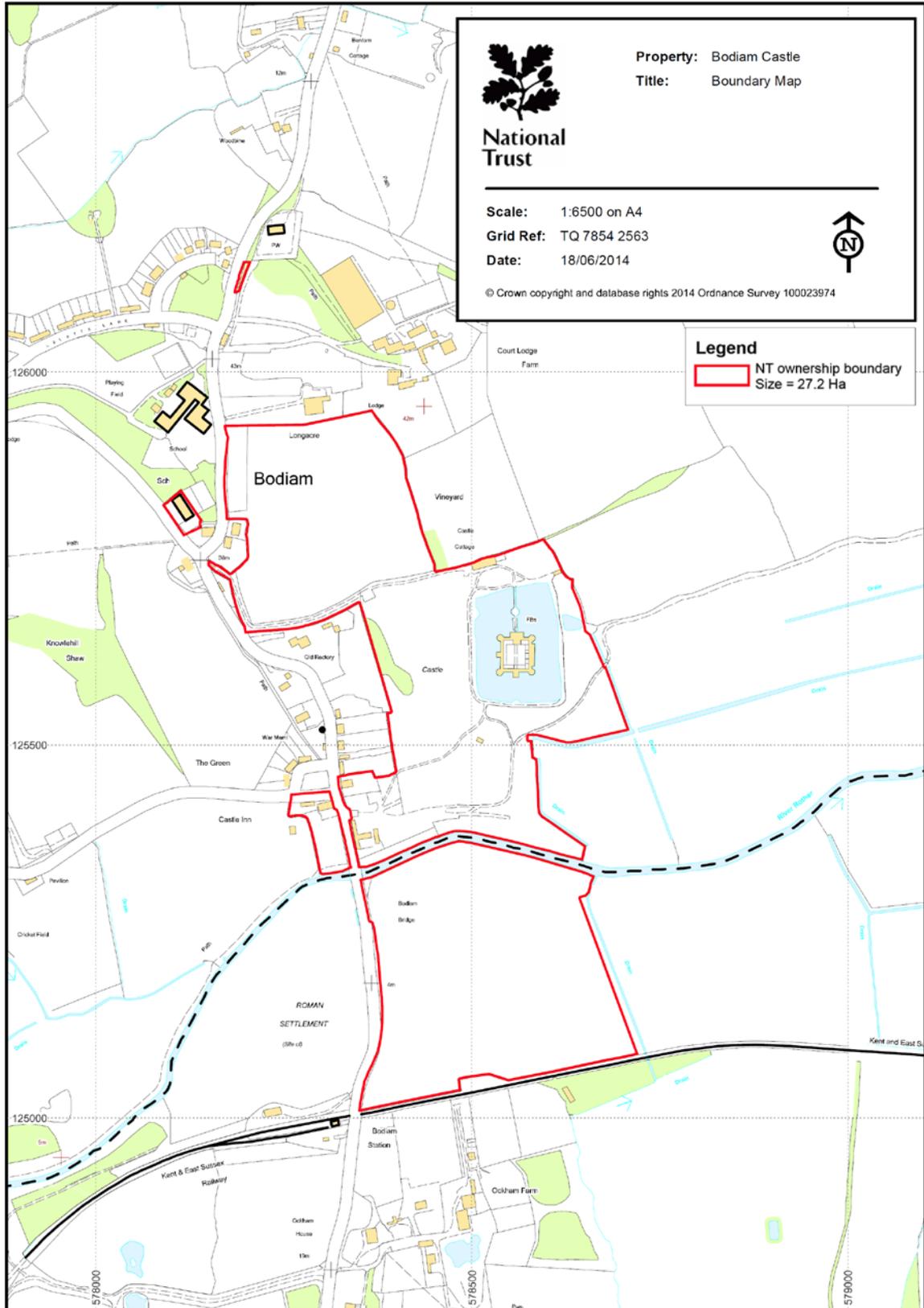


Figure 1 Site plan showing NT ownership outlined in red

## 2 UNDERSTANDING

### 2.1 Introduction

#### *Location*

- 2.1.1 The land that eventually formed the early estate and later parish of Bodiam occupies a particular place in the landscape, between the valleys of the Rother to the south and its tributary the Kent Ditch to the north (Appendix F: Maps 1-5; Fig 5). The land rises from the valleys to form a narrow plateau on which Bodiam Church and Court Lodge (the manor house) stand. At this point, the Kent Ditch turns north and the width of its valley narrows, with the wider landscape between the two streams continuing to rise westwards, the slopes below the plateau dissected by small side valleys flowing to the two main streams. South of the wide valley of the Rother, the land also rises to a dissected plateau. Approaching up river, Bodiam at the confluence of the Kent Ditch and the Rother marks a point of arrival and landscape transition. The castle stands on the south-facing side of the valley, at 9m AOD. To the north, the land rises to 43m AOD at Court Lodge. To the south, it rises to 55m AOD on a ridge running east-west between Ewhurst Green and Snagshall.
- 2.1.2 Bodiam Castle overlooks the Rother valley, approximately 18km inland from its present mouth near Rye. The castle and moat form a terrace partly cut into and partly extended beyond the south-eastward facing slope of the hillside below the manor house and church, but just above the floodplain, overlooking the crossing at Bodiam Bridge. There are springs to the north-west of the castle which provide water for the moat, in addition to those within the moat itself.
- 2.1.3 When the Castle was built in the late 14th century, the meadows and marshes were probably susceptible to tidal flooding as far as Bodiam. The river east of the bridge was still ‘the salt stream’ in 1476<sup>1</sup> and Leland called it ‘brackish’ c1540.<sup>2</sup> The Rother here was navigable, at least for small river craft, as far as Robertsbridge Abbey, about 4km upstream, although Bodiam Bridge seems always to have been the usual limit of navigation. By 1737, navigation to the forge on the abbey site was by way of a cut (canal).<sup>3</sup> Maintaining that navigation necessitated building a lock c1770, prompting the townspeople of Robertsbridge unsuccessfully to petition for its extension to the town.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (2), 27

<sup>2</sup> Toulmin Smith 1909, 63

<sup>3</sup> Huntington Library, Archive of Webster of Battle Abbey, 72/41, 72/9, 71/24, 71/30

<sup>4</sup> Huntington Library, Archive of Webster of Battle Abbey, 72/26/1

*Geology and topography*

- 2.1.4 The underlying geology (Appendix F: Map 1- Prehistoric) is formed by the sandstone of the Ashdown Beds, which provided the building stone for the castle. The large-scale landform is dissected by east-west valleys, the plateau between them being capped by the Wadhurst Clay (mudstone) deposits which historically provided a source of iron ore nodules. An east-west fault just to the south of the Castle has brought down blocks of Wadhurst Clay, with a small inlier of Tunbridge Wells sandstone. On the triangular spur of land between the Rother and the Kent Ditch, the Ashdown beds are only covered by the Wadhurst Clay deposits above the 30m contour, on the top of the ridge on which Court Lodge stands. As the spur descends, the Ashdown beds are overlain by the Pleistocene First Terrace gravels, with a larger exposed area of head covering the lower slopes. These substrates all develop soils lighter than those on the Wadhurst Clay, and so would have been more attractive to early agriculture. By contrast the soils of the south bank of the Rother are formed directly on the Wadhurst Clay beds, as are those of the north-western, upland, part of the parish.
- 2.1.5 The sediments in the flood plain are of particular importance. Bodiam is at the interface between the middle and lower courses of the Rother, where a relatively steep gradient (1:438) gives way to a virtually planar flood plain at c.2.25m AOD, while the sub-alluvial surface deepens dramatically (although the bottom of the channel has not yet been located). These deposits offer the potential to understand the paleo-environmental history of the eastern Weald from its emergence from the most recent glacial episode about 12,000 years ago, to the effects of prehistoric and historic land use.<sup>5</sup>

*Objective*

- 2.1.6 The objective of this section is to provide a narrative ‘model’ for the evolution of the place in its landscape and social contexts, drawing on a wide range of sources from landform and geology to historic documents. The model is intended to be the best fit with the range of evidence available to us. It should be developed and corrected as further information becomes available and research is undertaken.

## **2.2 Period 1.1: Prehistoric**

- 2.2.1 The wide valley of the Rother as far as Bodiam can be seen as the western extremity of the landscape of Romney Marsh, the point of transition between peri-marine or near coastal deposits downstream<sup>6</sup> and inorganic valley deposits upstream. Knowledge of the prehistory of the High Weald is mostly derived from the fossil pollen record and valley sediment

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<sup>5</sup> Pope in James & Whittick 2008, 53-69; see also Pope 2009

<sup>6</sup> Tidal alluvium exists approximately 4.5 km to the east, showing the influence of past coastal inundation

stratigraphies, which suggest that the wider landscape surrounding the Rother valley was naturally dominated by mixed deciduous woodland including oak, lime, ash and some elm, while the floodplain was dominated by hazel, with some areas of alder.<sup>7</sup> There is some evidence of the use of this landscape by Mesolithic hunter-gatherers by about the middle of the fifth millennium BC, including the find of a tranchet axe<sup>8</sup> (Appendix F: Map 1, P3) low on the valley slope, and a flint arrowhead (P4) on the ridge.<sup>9</sup>

- 2.2.2 In the vicinity of Bodiam, a thick (c2.2m) layer of freshwater organic alluvium, with peat including branches up to 60mm diameter occurring both as lenses and amorphous beds in a matrix of fibrous clay, was laid down in the valley<sup>10</sup> above the earlier Holocene successive sand and clay alluvial deposits. The peat represents an alder carr<sup>11</sup> environment in the flood plain, typically with braided river channels across the valley floor. Where exposed below the west end of the former mill pond, a sample from near the bottom of the deposit (0.74m AOD) gave a calibrated radiocarbon date of 2500-2205BC,<sup>12</sup> while a sample from 1.8m AOD gave a date of 2050-1730BC, and another from a borehole further east of 2455-2200BC,<sup>13</sup> suggesting (albeit from locations on the edge of the valley rather than in its centre) that the peat formation began around the late Neolithic and was sustained until the early Bronze Age.<sup>14</sup> People were certainly exploiting the local landscape in some way, evidenced by two Neolithic flint axes (Appendix F: Map 1, P1, P5) and another not closely dateable (P2) found during ploughing.<sup>15</sup>
- 2.2.3 In 1836, an oak dug-out canoe was found in the ‘black mud and sand which forms the bed of the Rother’, in deepening the channel near Bodiam Bridge. Since this channel is medieval and later (see Section 2.6), it is likely that the canoe was associated with the peat deposit. It was 19’ 6” (5.95m) long, 4’ (1.22m) wide in the midships, with both ends ‘similarly rounded, and narrower than the middle’. It had ‘two thwarts on the inside, for the purpose of strengthening the bottom, or to give a firmer footing to the rowers’.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Summarised in James & Whittick 1988, 14 – 15 with references

<sup>8</sup> An axe formed from a flake struck from a flint core

<sup>9</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000, 26

<sup>10</sup> Seen at about 1-2m deep near Bodiam Bridge: Barber 1998, Worrall 2003; Pope 2009

<sup>11</sup> Dominated by alder, with some willow and silver birch; Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009, 31

<sup>12</sup> Beta-121616, originally published as 2550-2195

<sup>13</sup> Scaife & Copeland 2015, 5

<sup>14</sup> Barber 1998, where the deposit there was truncated by the cut for the Mill Pond in the late 14th century; Scaife & Copeland 2015 describe the full sequence further east under the millpond

<sup>15</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000, 26

<sup>16</sup> Cotton 1836, 55. It was ‘decayed and blackened...perfectly entire when found, but fell to pieces in the attempt to remove it.’ The remains were ‘preserved in one of the rooms on the west side of the castle court, for the inspection of the curious’. It was similar to, but smaller than, that found at North Stoke, Sussex, in 1834 (Phillips 1836)

- 2.2.4 While there is no direct evidence for early settlement in the immediate vicinity of Bodiam, the lighter soils of the eastern end of the peninsula, between the streams and particularly the more extensive south-facing slopes, would have been conducive to localised, perhaps ephemeral, agriculture. Pollen analysis suggests arable cultivation by the end of the phase of peat formation, although not in proximity to the castle site.<sup>17</sup>
- 2.2.5 The peat is overlain by progressive, incremental deposits of blue-clay alluvial sediment, representing a slow, continuous transition to wet herb fen and ultimately floodplain grassland, as the braided channels of the carr tended to coalesce into a single stream. Pollen and plant macrofossils show that this sedimentation is associated with much more open conditions on the valley sides and rapid decline of lime and other tree species, pointing to large scale woodland clearance, causing more rapid run-off of water and a consequently more vigorous fluvial regime. There is little doubt that the cause is anthropogenic, representing large scale agricultural expansion during the early to middle Bronze Age,<sup>18</sup> but alongside arable land and open grassland, woodland, now dominated by oak and hazel, was still an important component of the local landscape, and remains so.
- 2.2.6 Towards the south side of the flood plain, the Roman deposits rest on at least 0.3m of blue-grey alluvium,<sup>19</sup> including an ‘ebony black tree trunk or plank’, the latter consistent with being carried down on a stream which by the Roman period, and probably for much longer, was close to the south side of the flood plain (see Section 2.3). Subsequent sedimentation, resulting in brownish to yellowish clays, accumulated over the Roman occupation horizons through the medieval and early modern periods, although the rate has been steadily slowed by active flood defence and drainage schemes limiting overbank flooding and silt deposition.
- 2.2.7 To the north-east of the Kent Ditch, the land rises steeply to a summit at about 68m AOD, on the edge of a plateau capped with Tunbridge Wells Sand. This point, on which St Nicholas’s church, Sandhurst, stands, provides virtually 360° views over a very wide area; by contrast the Bodiam ridge at Court Lodge only rises to about 44m AOD. To the west of Sandhurst church, a probable quarry pit and gullies associated (only) with Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (LPRIA) grog-tempered pottery (date range c50BC-70AD) have been found in archaeological evaluation,<sup>20</sup> suggesting (in the area examined) rather sparse activity. However, the curving course of the Roman Road (Section 2.3.3; Appendix F: Map 2 and Fig 2) suggests that it locally respected a pre-existing landscape

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<sup>17</sup> Scaife & Copeland 2015, sample from the top of the peat in the millpond borehole

<sup>18</sup> Scaife & Copeland 2015

<sup>19</sup> Lemmon & Hill 1966, 94-5

<sup>20</sup> Martin 2012

feature, which to the south-east is still continued by the surviving northern boundary of Old Place.<sup>21</sup>

- 2.2.8 Despite the strategic location, there is no evidence to suggest a conventional hill fort at Sandhurst,<sup>22</sup> but rather boundary features substantial enough to have influenced Roman and later utilisation of the landscape. The location certainly warrants further investigation, not least given the likelihood that although pre-existing features influenced the detailed course of the Roman road, occupation did not continue into the Roman period.

### 2.3 Period 1.2: Roman

- 2.3.1 The use of the landscape around Bodiam first comes into relatively clear focus in the Roman period. The Roman road southwards from Rochester into the Wealden iron-producing area crossed the Rother at Bodiam, where there was a settlement on the south bank with substantial masonry buildings (Appendix F: Map 2). There is a putative LPRIA or more likely early Roman cremation cemetery on the opposite side of the valley, while on the south side, beyond the settlement, industrial sites have been found close to the road line.

#### *The road and its associated features*

- 2.3.2 The general course of the Roman road from Rochester south to Beauport Park and the ironworking sites of the Weald is well-established,<sup>23</sup> and work over the past 50 years has clarified its route through Bodiam. A tendency towards frequent changes in alignment, often to avoid steep slopes, is typical of this route across irregular terrain dissected by steep valleys, with limited potential for sighting over long distances. Its construction materials, sandstone, iron ore and typically iron slag, emphasise its association with the industry.
- 2.3.3 The road (Appendix F: Map 2 and Fig 2) approaches the Kent Ditch from the direction of Sandhurst, where David Staveley has elucidated its course down to the Kent Ditch, deviating from a direct sight line in order to achieve an easier descent from the plateau.<sup>24</sup> The curve in one section of its course is unusual and suggests, as noted, influence from a pre-existing landscape feature.

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<sup>21</sup> The drive present on the 1878 OS map, which appears to continue the line in a clockwise course around the summit, cuts across straight field boundaries themselves probably post-medieval

<sup>22</sup> But a late iron age hill fort or defensive site is not impossible here, more precisely defining the eastern limit of the 'hill fort zone' of west Kent and Sussex from east Kent which lacks them: see Cunliffe 1982, fig 18

<sup>23</sup> Margary 1965, 212-228; Darrell-Hill 1959-60, 32

<sup>24</sup> Staveley 2010, a geophysical survey of the line through Sandhurst and Bodiam kindly made available by Brian Powell

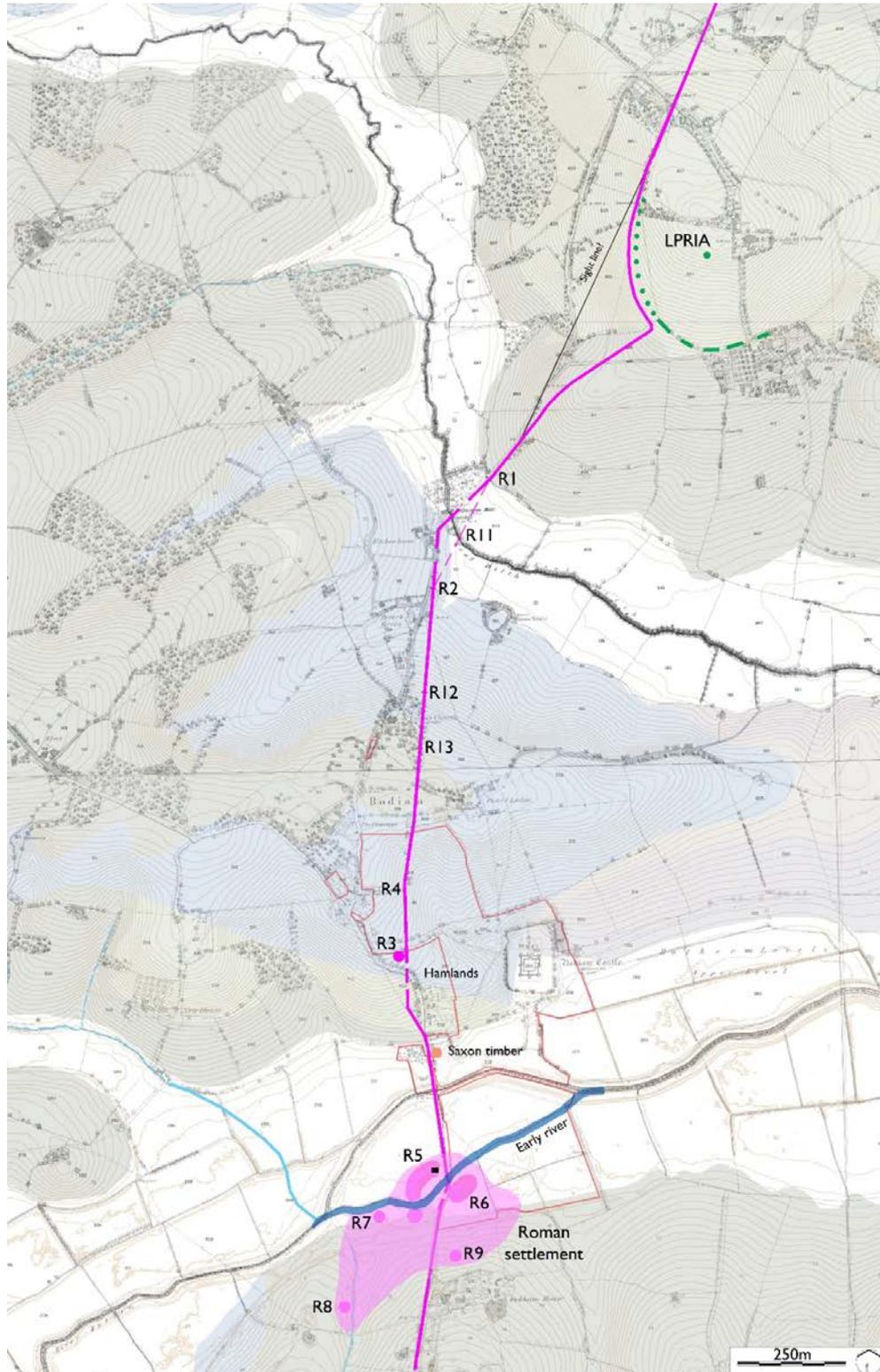


Figure 2 Extract from Map 2, Romano-British; 1959 settlement excavation shown in black

2.3.4 The road has been recorded, and remains visible, in section where it is cut by the mill overspill stream (the so-called ‘Old Kent Ditch’) east of Bodiam Mill, at R1. Here the gradient of the Kent Ditch valley levels out, at a point where the valley floor narrows between spurs of high ground, similar conditions to those at Bodiam Bridge on the Rother but on a much smaller scale. An early road was superseded by a wider one (c8m)

which covered it, and then probably by a third, at higher level partly under the present road bridge abutment. This is not surprising at the foot of the slope, on the flood plain, but the courses all overlap, suggesting minor if numerous deviations from the course. The road has been seen again in section at R2,<sup>25</sup> adjacent to the modern road, and a direct course between the two has been suggested, supported by ‘iron cinder in the banks of the stream’ at R11.<sup>26</sup> This, however, would negate the benefits of crossing almost at right angles, then running south on the shoulder of the high ground to R2. The record at R11, and other observations of slag south-east of R1, may relate to an industrial site in the vicinity (the Wadhurst Clay covers the north valley slope here). Roman pottery has been found behind the mill, like the road buried under c1.5m of alluvium.<sup>27</sup> Equally, the course across the valley bottom may have varied over time.

- 2.3.5 The road was found by probing and excavation north-east (R12) and south-east (R13) of St Giles’ churchyard in 1960 and confirmed by geophysical survey in 2010,<sup>28</sup> here surfaced with ‘iron ore’ rather than the usual slag. The line is close to the boundary between a field and a shaw extant in 1730.<sup>29</sup> However, there is no reason to doubt its origin, if not its surface, since this line agrees with the twin ditches of a road, revealed by geophysical surveys,<sup>30</sup> descending the valley slope through Dokes Field, with a change of angle near the centre. A slight change of direction around the narrow plateau between the two valleys is to be expected, given the difficulty of sighting over it.
- 2.3.6 The Roman origin of the lower course through Dokes Field is supported by finds of Roman iron production slag and roasted sandstone in rabbit spoil.<sup>31</sup> It has been presumed that the alignment continued south and turned to join the line of Bodiam High Street, but the post-Roman development (Section 2.4) suggests that it continued a little further before turning back along the line of the surviving footpath, to stagger the steep descent towards the causeway crossing the flood plain.
- 2.3.7 Potentially the earliest clear evidence of people living near the river crossing at Bodiam,<sup>32</sup> tantalisingly limited, comes from the discovery, in building the new rectory in 1902, of perhaps five ‘cinerary urns’

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<sup>25</sup> Cornwell 2010; Miles 1964; Lemmon 1960-61, 26

<sup>26</sup> Lemmon 1960-61, 26

<sup>27</sup> *Ex inf* John Dines, present owner of the mill

<sup>28</sup> Darrell-Hill 1959-60, 33-4; Staveley 2010, Section 2

<sup>29</sup> ESRO AMS 6454/6/1, between M and S

<sup>30</sup> Staveley 2010 for the northern section; Cornwell 2010 and Barker *et al* 2015, figs 30, 44, for Dokes Field

<sup>31</sup> But Roman slag heaps were quarried for road metalling down to the 19th century: Cleere & Crossley 1995, fig 22

<sup>32</sup> Geophysical survey west and north-west of the moat has shown up a few weak anomalies, not obviously related to Roman or later alignments, which could represent traces of early land use: Barker *et al* 2015

containing cremated human remains (Map 2, R3 and Fig 2).<sup>33</sup> The only survivor, in the NT collection, is a small hand-made jar in a shell-tempered fabric, for which a date of c50BC-50AD was suggested. More recent examination has identified it as East Sussex Ware and extended its date range through the Roman period,<sup>34</sup> but cremation burials are rare after the second century.<sup>35</sup> Its proximity to the Roman road suggests a post-conquest date. This putative cremation cemetery, of unknown extent, is sited well up the valley slope, in a position that would be highly visible if marked in a relatively open landscape.

2.3.8 The causeway across the flood plain is assumed to be Roman on the basis of a metallised surface of 'iron ore' c50mm thick resting on sandstone blocks, found in 1960 at a depth of about 0.9m<sup>36</sup> in the verge and extending under the present road, as well as the proximity of a Roman settlement whose remains (at R5) are covered by the same depth of alluvium. The earliest clearly-defined river channel yet known was on the south, at which the causeway and road continuing southwards markedly change their alignment. The latter makes it highly probable that the Roman crossing (perhaps a timber bridge) was at that point and that the channel was indeed towards the south side of the flood plain in the Roman period.

2.3.9 The Roman road passes up the valley side diagonally across the contours, following the existing road. After a short section in which the modern road runs slightly off the likely course in a hollow way, its line (from adjacent to R10) is continued by a surviving track and footpath, and from near Brasses Farm, by the modern road towards Staplecross.

#### *The settlement*

2.3.10 A Roman settlement existed on the south side of the Rother valley, around the putative bridge at the southern end of the causeway across the marsh.<sup>37</sup> Two scatters of Roman pottery and especially building debris were found in 1959 after deep ploughing to 0.35m (Map 2, R5, R6).<sup>38</sup> Limited excavation (at R5)<sup>39</sup> revealed a buried turf line at about 0.6m, below which stratified Roman levels extended down to about 1.35m, where bluish alluvial clay (including at least one 'tree trunk or plank') was encountered. Towards the middle of the stratified sequence were building remains including a tile paved floor, and low plinth walls (not mortared), evidently carrying a timber superstructure with wattle and daub infill and a tiled roof. This structure or structures, for which no coherent plan

<sup>33</sup> Whistler 1940-41; the date suggested by E C Curwen. Not a first-hand description and the discovery of other vessels was reported only on local information

<sup>34</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (2), 113

<sup>35</sup> The other, much less likely, possibility is that it is Early Saxon

<sup>36</sup> Darrell-Hill 1959-60, 32-3

<sup>37</sup> Lemmon & Hill 1966

<sup>38</sup> More pottery, including medieval, was found later (SMR TQ72NE31); James & Whittick 2008, 51

<sup>39</sup> Marked by a black square on the map

emerged, had burned down, with much charcoal, burnt daub, and falls of tiles, but activity resumed afterwards.

- 2.3.11 Somewhere close to the excavation (within R6) there must have been a mortared masonry building which had probably survived as a ruin above the ‘turf line’ until covered by alluvial deposits, for the plough at  $\approx 0.35\text{m}$  (well above the buried turf line) disturbed tile structures. The presence of combed box flue tiles and *tegulae mammata* of two sizes, as well as [roof] *tegulae* and *imbrices*, suggest that the, or a, masonry structure here was a bath-house. The tiles include several stamped CL:BR, for *Classis Britannica*, the Imperial British Fleet, and bloomery slag indicates a connection with iron working. The pottery and coins suggest that use of the site was concentrated in the second and third centuries, as with most Wealden sites,<sup>40</sup> although a first century origin is likely and continuation into the 4th century possible. Notable finds<sup>41</sup> include a small statuette of Mercury and a face pot,<sup>42</sup> but taken as a whole the finds do not suggest a temple. Since slag metallurgy, while normal, was not the earliest surviving material everywhere, there is no need to see the road as following the settlement; their origins are likely to be contemporary.
- 2.3.12 Subsequent fieldwork has given some idea of the extent of settlement, with Roman building material found at R8 and R9, the former including a rectangular soil mark interpreted as a substantial building.<sup>43</sup> This, with the landform, begins to suggest the potential extent of the site (Appendix F: Map 2), on the slightly higher ground within the valley floor and extending up the valley slopes, and partly on the north side of the early channel, confirming the impression from the excavation that part of the settlement actually lay within the flood plain. The shallow valley to the west (at R9) has produced surface finds of slag, pottery and tile, interpreted as a bloomery site, and R7 tap slag, a fragment of tuyere, and bloomery slag (in discrete locations), with second century pottery.<sup>44</sup> Beyond the settlement to the south, at R10, large pits attributed to ore extraction underline the industrial character of the area<sup>45</sup> on the Wadhurst Clay south of the Rother. The settlement was confined to the south side of the valley; on the north bank only a ‘relatively unabraded’ fragment of *imbrex* tile has been found, in alluvium.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Cleere & Crossley 1995, 57-60

<sup>41</sup> Lemmon & Hill 1966, pls IIB, IVA

<sup>42</sup> See Braithwaite 1984 for the type; Bodiam p108 and fig 7.3, the westernmost example from the south coast and possibly made in Canterbury; they are not specifically associated with religious sites

<sup>43</sup> The suggestion that site 9 may be a villa (James & Whittick 2008, 16) is unlikely in the context of the rest of the site, which probably had other masonry buildings (mansio? temple? commandant’s house?)

<sup>44</sup> [www.wirdata.org](http://www.wirdata.org), accessed November 2015, sites Bodiam 1-2, located by the NGRs given rather than directions, which place them to the east rather than west of the station

<sup>45</sup> James & Whittick 2008, 50, SMR TQ72SE 46

<sup>46</sup> Barber 2007a, 6, 11, in the ‘Rose Garden’ opposite the Castle Inn

*Conclusions*

- 2.3.13 The settlement (in Ewhurst rather than Bodiam parish) has been plausibly interpreted as an inland port connected with the iron industry of the Roman Weald. Tiles stamped CL:BR, found at many sites including this one, strongly indicate that it was managed by the *Classis Britannica*. In the Roman period, the Rother joined a channel which flowed out to the sea at the north-east corner of Romney Marsh, under Stutfall Castle/*Portus Lemanis*, which has also produced CL:BR tiles. Reconstructed as a Saxon shore fort, it was abandoned around the middle of the fourth century, earlier than other Saxon Shore forts, perhaps because of the unstable geology of the site.<sup>47</sup>
- 2.3.14 The singular nature of the known Wealden settlements, a mixture of industry with high-status facilities, notably bath houses, and the apparent absence from the area of other, ‘civilian’ sites focused on agriculture, supports that view. The eastern Weald landscape, particularly, appears to have been managed as an Imperial estate for the production of iron. This obviously involved sites where ore nodules were mined and smelted, and bloomery sites, where the raw blooms were hammered into usable iron. In the likelihood of its having a bath house, Bodiam compares with Beauport Park and Garden Hill. With seemingly residential areas on the lower ground separated from industrial areas up the slope, it also compares with Beauport Park and Bardown.<sup>48</sup> Although the location of the site fits with a role as a port, it seems, on the limited information available, to have had much in common with these other larger sites in the area, from which the industry was presumably managed.
- 2.3.15 The great demand for charcoal, over a period of centuries (certainly from the first to the third), does, however, suggest that large areas of the landscape were managed as woodland to supply it. That seems to be the principal reason for the absence of the patchwork of either urban or villa, primarily agricultural, settlement characteristic of the Romano-British countryside, or, indeed, of any settlement not connected with ironworking, even from areas of relatively light soils. Taken with earlier evidence for extensive woodland clearance in the first millennium BC (Section 2.2), there is a distinct possibility of reversion of some formerly cleared areas on this margin of the High Weald to managed woodland, but the fluvial silt record suggests continuity rather than major change. The Roman Weald, particularly the eastern part, can reasonably be seen as a highly specialised, state-run, industrial landscape.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Rippon 2002, fig 6.7; Eddison 2000, 48-52

<sup>48</sup> Cleere & Crossley 1995, 70-79

<sup>49</sup> Cleere & Crossley 1995, 68-9

## 2.4 Period 1.3: Post-Roman

- 2.4.1 The post-Roman period in the Weald is even less visible than in most other areas. The iron industry was already in decline in the 4th century, so overgrown coppice or other managed woodland would become dense within a few decades. The more substantial of the Roman settlement buildings became ruinous, and the ruins covered by silt before they could be totally robbed of usable tile and stone.
- 2.4.2 It is nonetheless clear that the Roman road remained visible and in use, for otherwise it would not have survived to influence the medieval communication and settlement plan, and it has remained in use, with only local deviations, down to the present day. It is notable from the map sequence (Appendix F: Maps 2-5) that, in the vicinity of Bodiam, the precise course has survived primarily at the causeways across the wet valley bottoms. Some evidence of this comes from roundwood alder timbers, aligned north-south and possibly forming part of a revetment, associated with leather and animal bones, found within alluvium at about 3.3m AOD opposite the Castle Inn, in the northern edge of the floodplain. The timber produced a calibrated C14 date in the range 550-660AD,<sup>50</sup> that is to say in the latter part of the early Saxon period. Associated plant remains 'indicate vegetation that is common on disturbed ground that is frequently associated with occupation' including nettle seeds, which may indicate nitrogen rich soils resulting from human and animal waste, while the charcoal was derived from hedge, woodland and damp ground species.<sup>51</sup>
- 2.4.3 Some caution is needed in the interpretation of this material, from a small, wet sondage. But, if taken at face value, it suggests that the place where the Roman road crossed the Rother valley, and to which it was probably navigable, was of some significance at the time, perhaps associated with exploitation of this landscape, for the pollen record suggests that arable agriculture has been present continuously in the vicinity since at least the Early Bronze Age, although its scale has varied.<sup>52</sup>

## 2.5 Period 2.1: The emergence of the late Saxon landholding

- 2.5.1 Medieval Bodiam originated as Boda's *hamm*,<sup>53</sup> 'land hemmed in by water or marsh', one of many *hamm* place-names around the Rother levels associated with promontory sites on both the Kent and Sussex sides of

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<sup>50</sup> Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009, 10, 25; at 95.4% confidence

<sup>51</sup> Lucy Allot and Rob Scaife in Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009, 24

<sup>52</sup> Caitlin *et al* in Johnson forthcoming

<sup>53</sup> Gelling & Cole 2000, 53; *contra* Mawer & Stenton 1930, 518, who interpret it as a *hām*. The word was used in place names throughout the Anglo-Saxon period so is not diagnostic as to date of foundation of places incorporating it

the river. In the immediate vicinity, Northiam, Ockham and Padgham<sup>54</sup> on the south bank are likely to be of similar derivation, each on rising ground between small side valleys of the Rother.

- 2.5.2 The *hamm* of Boda occupied the promontory between the Kent Ditch to the north and the River Rother to the south (Map 3), which form natural boundaries. On the west, a continuous run of enclosure boundaries ascends from the Kent Ditch to just south of the watershed (Fig 3), where it joins a small watercourse flowing southwards down a side valley, until this meets a stream flowing east-west, which later partly formed the north boundary of the medieval Bodiam Park. Through the park the line has been lost, but it is picked up again by the boundary between the park and land given to Robertsbridge Abbey in the 13th century, where it passes through the meadows on the north side of the Rother. With two exceptions (considered below, 2.6.11-12), this line is perpetuated in the boundary of the manor as first partially mapped in 1671, and the parish as fully mapped in 1839.
- 2.5.3 The unimpeded course of the artificial sections (i.e. those not directly related to topographical features) of this western boundary suggest that it is early, when the line could be simply defined, without reference to a complex, evolved (and still relevant) pre-existing pattern of land division, rather than threading through assart and woodland boundaries. While tied to a natural feature of the landscape, the side valley and stream, the underlying logic of the remainder seems to be that it approximately reflects the course of the Roman road through the centre of the estate, about 1.5km west from it. It also coincides with the eastern end of the near-flat section of the ridge which forms the watershed to the west, in contrast to the ridge rising up from the confluence to the east. Thus the early landholding of Boda's *hamm* can be identified as the peninsula between the two streams, defined westwards largely by an unimpeded land boundary anchored to a natural feature. It is nonetheless tied clearly to the physical shape of the land, and embraces cross-sections of all the resources and different soil types that the local landscape had to offer.
- 2.5.4 The northern boundary of this landholding, the Kent Ditch, formed the boundary between the Saxon kingdoms of Sussex and Kent, which consistently follows river valleys. It may have been established on this line by the mid-8th century.<sup>55</sup> The western, land, boundary of Bodiam forms part of the hundred boundary, between Staple Hundred (in which Bodiam lies) and Henhurst Hundred to the west, roughly in the centre of the northern boundary of the Rape of Hastings (Fig 4). While the Rapes

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<sup>54</sup> Gelling & Cole 2000, fig 12; Mawer & Stenton 1930, 520; others like Udiham may belong to the group but the derivation from either *hamm* or *hām* is unclear from later forms of the names

<sup>55</sup> Gardiner 2003, 154-6

are a post-conquest innovation,<sup>56</sup> the origin of the notably small hundred divisions is less clear.

2.5.5 Bodiam, extending to about 1500ac/600ha, by 1066 formed part of the late Saxon manor of Ewhurst, on the south side of the Rother.<sup>57</sup> However, Bodiam's boundaries suggest that it originated as a discrete entity that became attached to Ewhurst, rather than being carved out of it. The west boundary of Bodiam, and that of the remainder of Ewhurst, meet the Rother in very different locations, rather than there being a continuous boundary across it.<sup>58</sup> There is no trace of any continuation of Bodiam's distinctive west boundary south of the Rother or, for that matter, north of the Kent Ditch, despite the approximate coincidence of the boundary between Sandhurst and Hawkhurst.

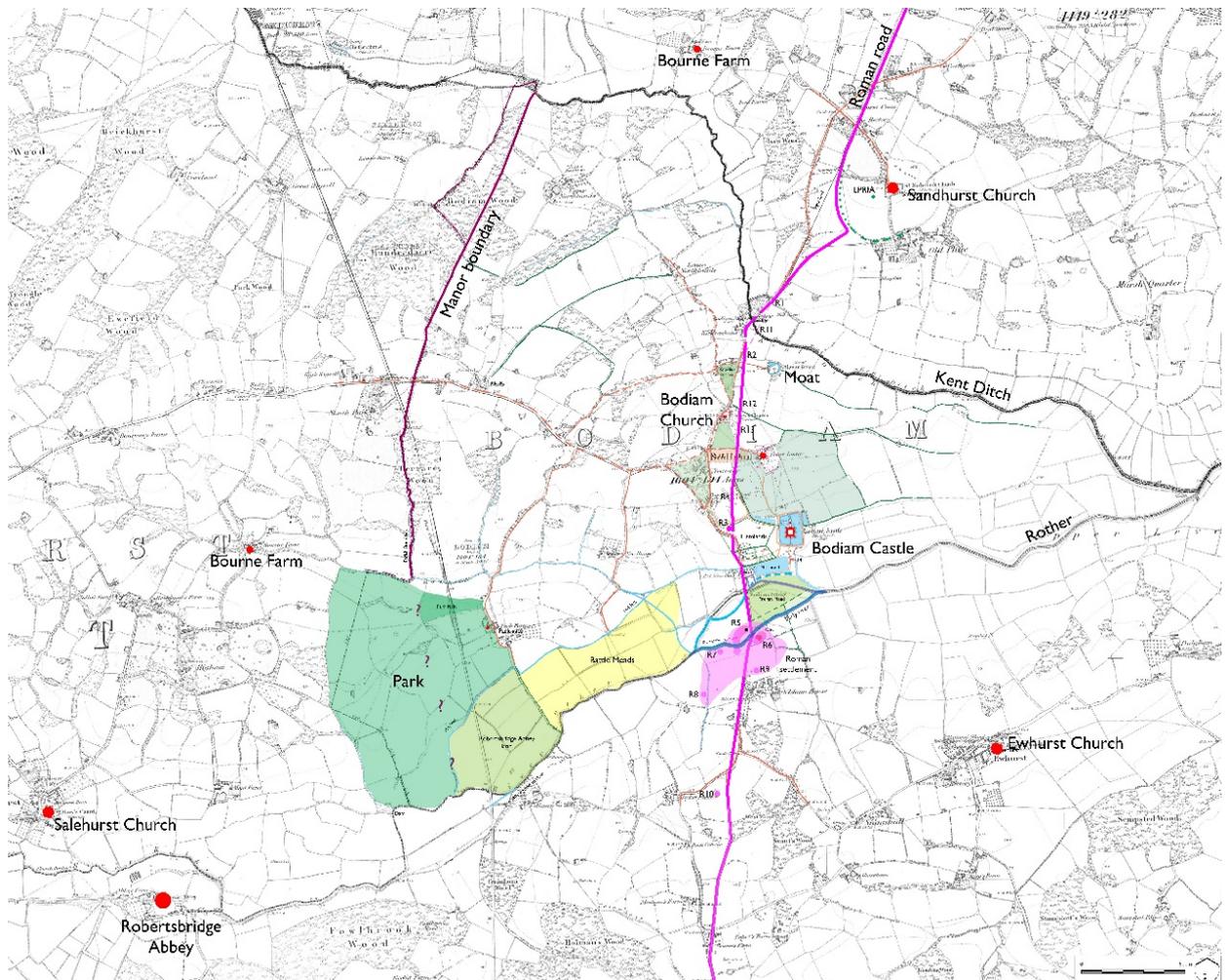


Figure 3 The parish of Bodiam: Principal Roman and medieval features in their local context; First Edition 6'' OS map base

<sup>56</sup> Mason 1964; Jones 2003, 173

<sup>57</sup> VCH *Sussex* 9, 266-7; the extent of Ewhurst (c.5850ac/2365ha) included other Domesday manors, but together with Bodiam may suggest the extent of the *parochia* of its putative minster church (see 2.6.7 below)

<sup>58</sup> As shown on the Tithe Map, 1839: ESRO TDE 99/1; Robertsbridge Abbey (Fig 3) is just west of the Ewhurst boundary south of the river

- 2.5.6 By the 9th century, re-colonisation of Romney Marsh seems to have been well in hand,<sup>59</sup> and it seems likely that most of the *hamm* settlements along the edge of the marsh and its associated river valleys (Rother, Brede) were established in or by that century, or early in the next. One might go further to suggest that they may reflect a coherent first phase of resettlement of this landscape; many seem to have been small farms which were later absorbed into larger estates with *hurst* place names (Ewhurst, Salehurst) which relate to the inland, upland characteristics of those places, rather than marginal, low-lying ones.

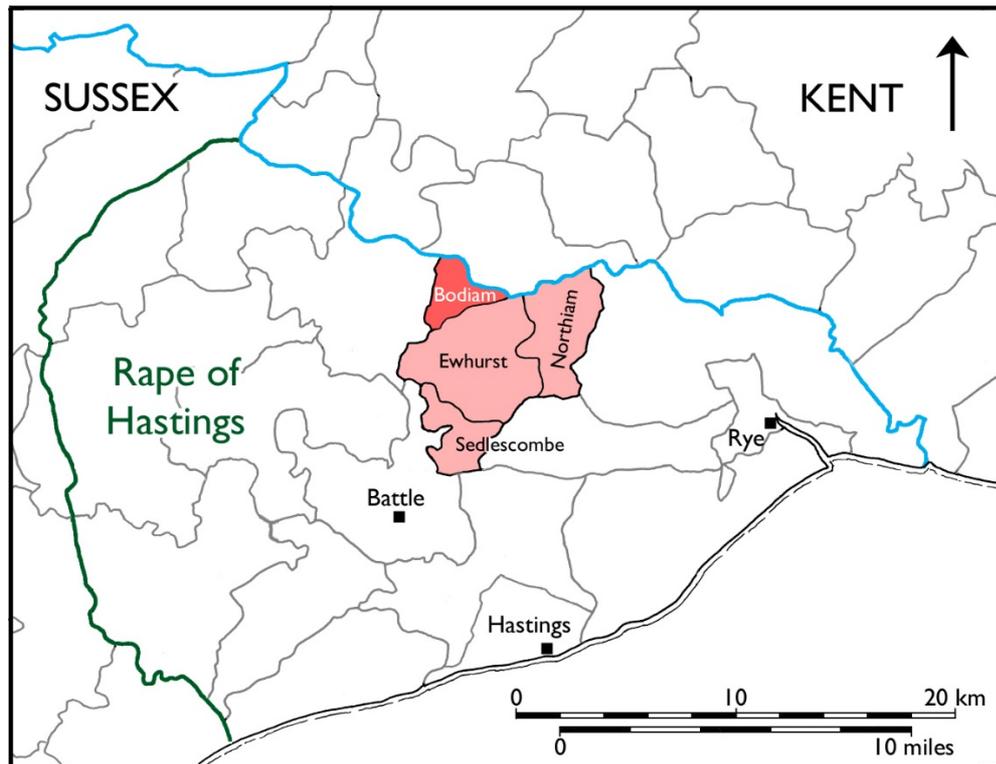


Figure 4 The Rape of Hastings, showing Bodiam parish at its full (early modern) extent (red), in Staple Hundred (light red); other hundred boundaries shown in outline

- 2.5.7 The broader economic picture in Sussex is relevant, with rising population in the course of the 10th century, increasing division of land, and the emergence of towns, including Hastings. The formation and definition of the larger estates, here (from Domesday Book) certainly by the middle of the 11th century, can be seen as representing the assertion of property rights over the whole landscape, rather than discrete areas on the valley margins. This of course is a tentative view of the early medieval development of the local landscape, which needs to be tested through fieldwork, and by trying to understand the settlement and manorial pattern of the surrounding parishes.

<sup>59</sup> Rippon 2002, 96; but what of the effect of Viking raiding?

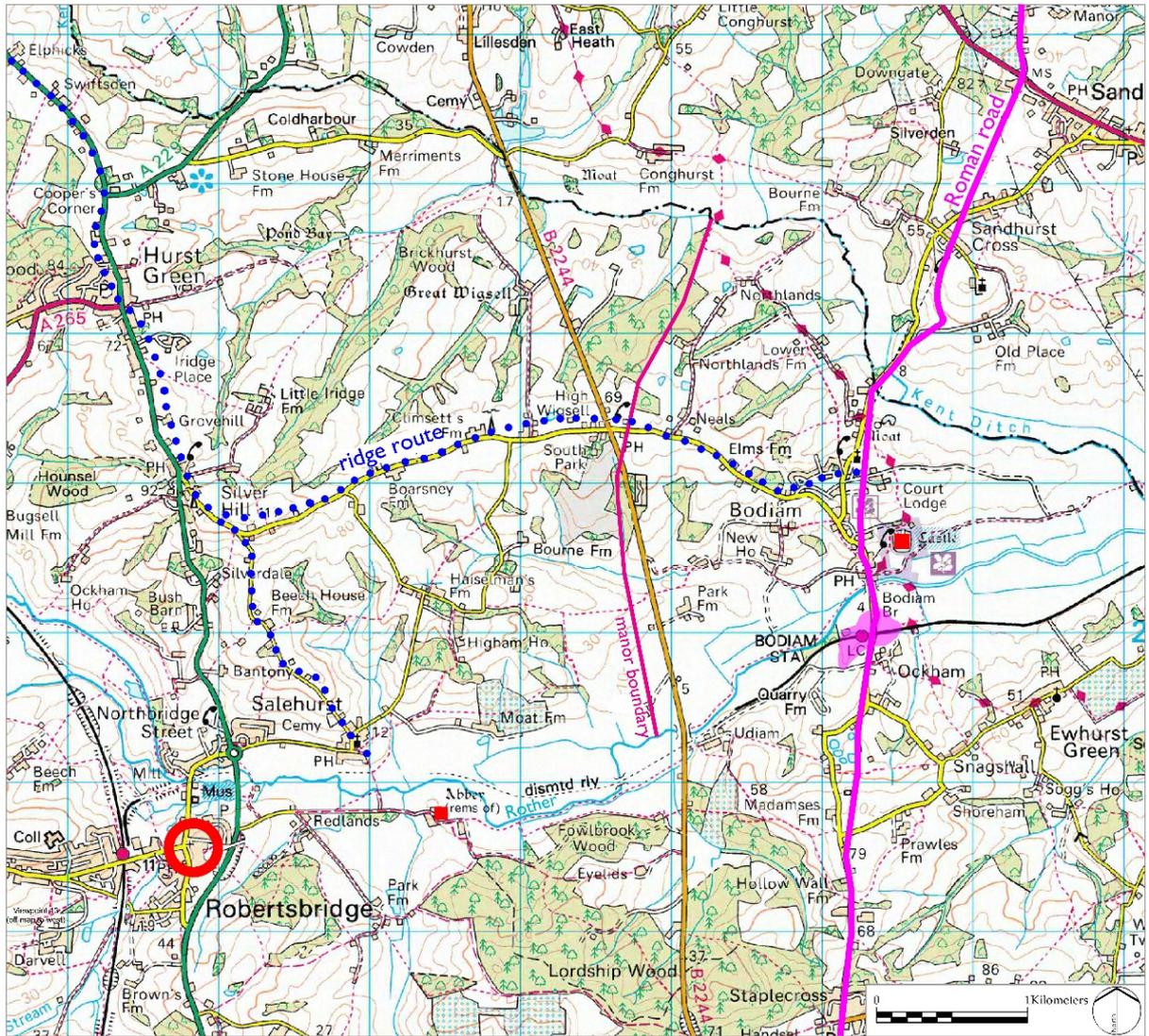


Figure 5 Bodiam in context: The ridge routes from the north-west to Bodiam and Salehurst, the Roman road and settlement, the manor (and later parish) boundary between the Rother and the Kent Ditch, and the c1176 ‘new town’ of Robertsbridge in Salehurst parish, circled red (see p2 for OS copyright information)

2.5.8 The Roman road crossed the holding at the ‘neck’, heading south towards the river crossing in the vicinity of the extant Bodiam Bridge, and ultimately perhaps surviving because its route ran in the general direction of Hastings, one of the *burhs* founded in the late 9th or early 10th century within the territory of the *Haestingas*, itself attested by the late 8th century.<sup>60</sup> The other evident through route, from the west, follows very closely the watershed or ridge between the Rother and Kent Ditch, typical of early routes through the Weald and likely itself to be of early medieval origin (or indeed earlier still).<sup>61</sup> It survives essentially as the modern road, which closely follows the watershed west to Silver Hill, where it is joined by the ridge route from Salehurst; it continues north towards the Bewl Valley, the line of the modern A21 (Fig 5). This

<sup>60</sup> Gardiner 2003, 157-9. The route was reflected through the west of the parish by the 1841 turnpike, Junction Road

<sup>61</sup> There is nothing in the topography of the direct crossing of the ridge route and west estate boundary to suggest their relative chronology

suggests the possibility that prior to the construction of *Ponte Roberti* c1176,<sup>62</sup> Bodiam was a favoured crossing point of the Rother in approaching from the north-west as well as the north-east. The functional centre of the early holding seems likely to have been on the end of the ridge on which the two through routes meet, in the vicinity of Court Lodge,<sup>63</sup> the putative site of the early medieval manor house whose centrality to the landscape and road pattern is obvious. Subject only to tree cover, the site provides a 180° panorama of the peninsula between the two streams and the land beyond, while the land below, east of the Roman road, would have been attractive for early cultivation (Section 2.1.4). It may be relevant that the earliest recorded name of Coopers Field, centred about 300m south of Court Lodge, is *Hamlands*.<sup>64</sup>

## 2.6 Period 2.2: The medieval manor before 1377

### *The descent of the manor*

2.6.1 At the Norman Conquest in 1066, what was to re-emerge as the manor of Bodiam lay in the north-western corner of the large estate of Ewhurst (Fig 4), held of King Edward by Aelfer.<sup>65</sup> After the conquest, William granted it to the Count of Eu, from whom in 1086 Osbern held Bodiam of the manor of Ewhurst, as 1 hide<sup>66</sup> and 3 virgates. The entry goes on to state ‘*it always lay in Ewhurst [lands]; the Hall was there*’.<sup>67</sup> This emphasis on its feudal dependency on Ewhurst may suggest that the matter was contested (hardly surprising in the light of the landscape evidence), and soon afterwards, by 1093, Bodiam was held by Osbern of the Count, of the Honour of Hastings, in chief.<sup>68</sup> Osbern had sub-tenants Roger (half a hide) and Ralph (2 virgates). On the demesne there was one plough<sup>69</sup> and a half, and 7 villeins and 10 bordars with three and a half ploughs.

2.6.2 Roger de Bodiam, perhaps the grandson of Osbern [fitz Hugh], in 1166 held four knight’s fees in the Rape of Hastings; one was Bodiam and his other holdings were scattered across the Rape.<sup>70</sup> He was succeeded by William, thence his son Henry, who by about 1211 had been succeeded in turn by his son, also William,<sup>71</sup> whose sister Isabel married William de

<sup>62</sup>Harris 2009, 12; the name (which Christopher Whittick observes should be *Pons Roberti*) first recorded in 1176

<sup>63</sup> Taking its name from the place where manorial courts were (much) later held

<sup>64</sup> *Hamlands otherwise Watermans* in 1608; Johnson *et al* 2000 (1), tenement P6/31

<sup>65</sup> VCH *Sussex* 1 (1907), 406b

<sup>66</sup> A hide was nominally 120 acres of land, but this was essentially a fiscal rather than areal measure. Normally there were 4 virgates of a nominal 30 acres to the hide, but in the Weald there were 8 virgates of a nominal 15 acres, so Bodiam was assessed as 1⅓ hides: Searle 1980, 51

<sup>67</sup> In Morris’ translation, 1976, p20a. The VCH implication of a hall (in the legal sense) at Bodiam is a misreading; we are grateful to Christopher Whittick for drawing our attention to this

<sup>68</sup> See below, 2.6.13, Battle Abbey Chronicle (Searle 1980)

<sup>69</sup> ie plough team

<sup>70</sup> Hearne 1771, 66. Bodiam was called a fee in 1314: ESRO AMS 679/2/5. For his other known holdings see Johnson *et al* 2000 (1), 29

<sup>71</sup> The sequence is given in Kingsford 1925, 67

Sywell (in Northamptonshire) in that year.<sup>72</sup> William (II) confirmed his grandfather's grant of land called *Bredesbroc* to Robertsbridge Abbey (Map 3), presumably at some time in the later 12th century. On the death of his brother William de Bodiam, after 1230, the Sywell family appear to have acquired the manor, but elucidation is complicated because they called themselves both de Bodiam and de Sywell. Henry de Sywell added to the demesne by purchase and exchange in 1251, 1258 and 1259.

2.6.3 In about 1264, one William de Sywell was named Lord of Bodiam and entitled to the wardship and lands of John son of William de Bodiam. In 1271, he acquired 65 acres of land in Peasmarsh, and in 1274 bought a further large holding, continuing the consolidation of the family's holdings in Bodiam. Around 1275, Henry Lord of Bodiam granted 6 shillings of rent from a meadow called *Bordesnyse* to Robertsbridge Abbey for the soul of his brother William.<sup>73</sup> Henry probably died in 1275 and was succeeded by his brother Henry de Sywell, who died shortly before 1287, when the male line seems to have died out; his widow recovered dower, and the manor was conveyed by Henry de Sywell to Sir Henry Wardedieu.<sup>74</sup>

2.6.4 Henry, who was lord in 1314, settled it on his son Master Nicholas, who, with his brother Richard, was holding Bodiam in 1320.<sup>75</sup> Nicholas was dead by September 1330, when his son John's wardship (with custody of the manor of Bodiam) was rented by his overlord John Duke of Brittany at the handsome sum of £26.10.3 per year.<sup>76</sup> A fine, but damaged, brass in Bodiam church, of c1360-70,<sup>77</sup> identifiable only from its heraldry as a member of the Wardedieu family, is likely to be of John Wardedieu, whose daughter and heiress Elizabeth married Sir Edward Dallingridge in 1363, and through whom Dallingridge inherited the estate on John's death in 1377.

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<sup>72</sup> Presumably the William mentioned in the grant and confirmation in widowhood (so 1219-46) by Alice Countess of Eu to Battle Abbey '*of the way to the meadow of Bodibam [Bodiam] and the land of Rette [Rat in Battle] which they have of the gift of William de Bodibam*'

<sup>73</sup> Kingsford 1925, 120

<sup>74</sup> VCH *Sussex* 9 (1937), 262-3; Sir Henry had probably married a Sywell heiress, being Lord of the Manor of Sywell (Northants) in 1286. The surnames of these people seem to be interchangeable; their seals call them de Bodiam, despite the fact that the charters call them de Sywell (Our thanks to Christopher Whittick for this observation; see Johnson *et al* 2000, 29). For more details on the de Sywell/ de Bodiam family and their holdings see Johnson *et al* 2000, 29-30

<sup>75</sup> ESRO AMS 679/2/5. We are grateful to Christopher Whittick for this reference

<sup>76</sup> ESRO SAS/A/1. We are grateful to Christopher Whittick for this reference and comment

<sup>77</sup> Kent 1949, Series A; D'Elboux 1943

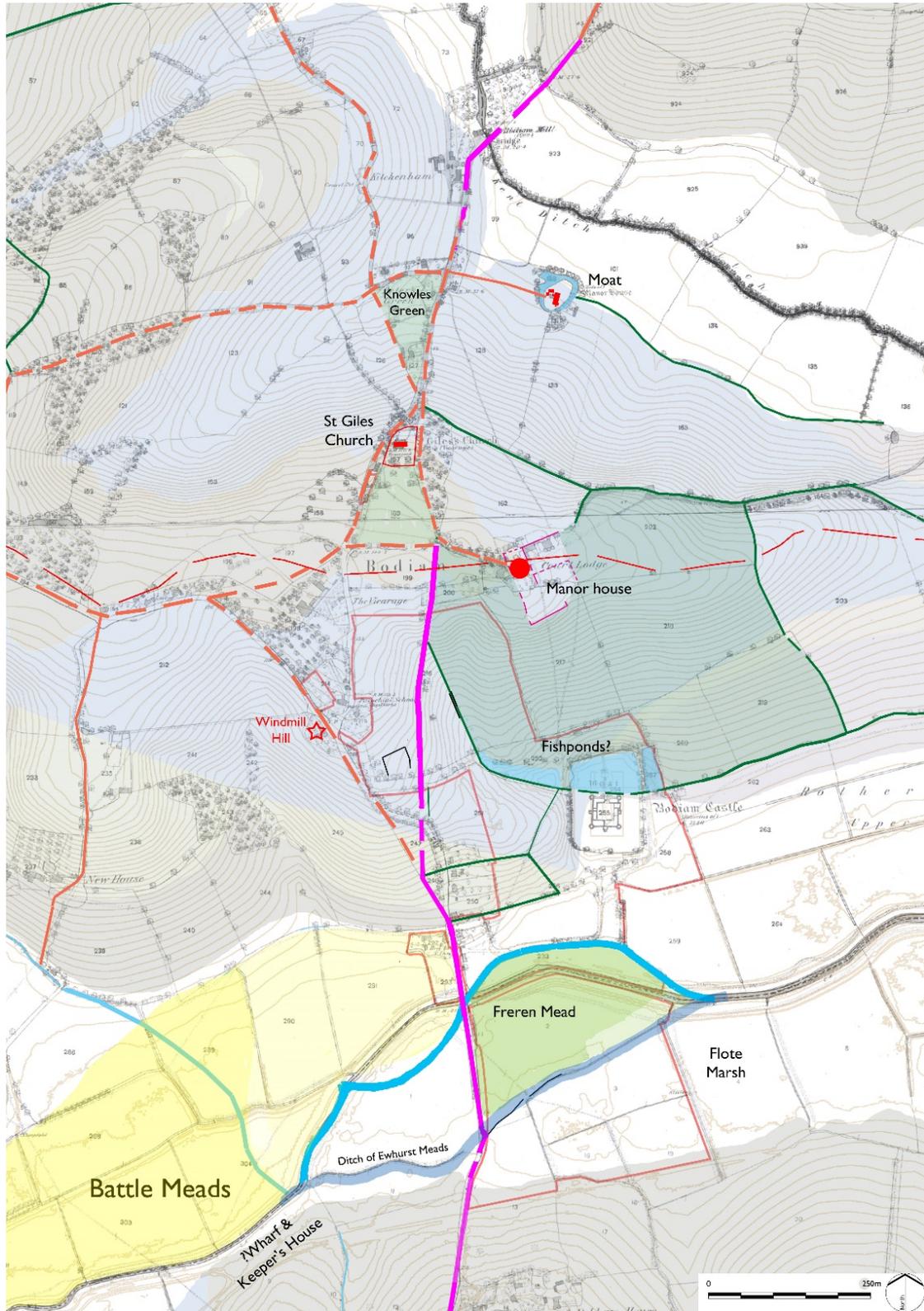


Figure 6 Extract from Map 3, Early Medieval Bodiam; the watershed is shown as a red dashed line

2.6.5 Thus during the formative period of medieval Bodiam during the 12th century as a manor held directly of the Honour of Hastings and a parish in its own right, we know that Roger de Bodiam had significant holdings elsewhere in the Rape, but took his name from Bodiam. It can therefore be presumed to be the caput or principal estate and residence of the de

Bodiam family. After the estate came to the de Sywell family through marriage in the 13th century, they seem to have adopted a dual identity and residence, building up their demesne holdings in Bodiam. While the Wardedieu family also had lands in Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutland and Kent, the Wardedieu brass in Bodiam church indicates that at least one member of the family was buried at Bodiam, with the implication of at least periodic residence.<sup>78</sup>

*The emergence of the parish of Bodiam*

2.6.6 When the College of Hastings was founded, or quite possibly re-founded, c1090 by Robert Count of Eu, the prebend of Ralph Tayard was endowed with the church of Ewhurst, the chapels of Wilting, 'Vilesent,' Hollington and Bodiam and the burial fees of the inhabitants of Bodiam due to Ewhurst church, a house in Hastings Castle and a garden outside its bailey. This is known from a confirmation of the grant by the founder's grandson early in the 12th century, indicating that the same arrangements pertained at that time.<sup>79</sup> The advowson of Bodiam remained with Hastings College until its dissolution in the 16th century.<sup>80</sup>

2.6.7 Neil Rushton<sup>81</sup> suggests that the endowments of the Hastings College prebends may reflect the system of minster- or mother-churches with dependent chapels serving large *parochiae*, which had institutional recognition by the 10th century, but originated in the large early Saxon estates typically of the 7th and 8th centuries (in the marginal landscape of the Weald, probably rather later). The minster system gradually broke down during the 11th century, as seigneurial chapels and churches were built by landholders and gained autonomy and rights.

2.6.8 The circumstances of the building of the Bodiam chapel are unknown, the only clue being its location (Appendix F: Map 3 and Fig 6). It is not in intimate relationship with the putative centre of the early estate. It is suggested (below, 2.6.31) that a small triangular green developed as short-cut desire-lines linked the route from the west with those leading north and south. The church occupies the northern tip of what originally was probably a shared space, which suggests that the provision of a chapel could have been a shared enterprise of the tenants of Bodiam, with or without the assistance of Aelfer or his predecessors, who, by 1066, treated Bodiam as part of their Ewhurst demesne,<sup>82</sup> or indeed of the mother church. Bestowing Bodiam chapel on a prebend of Hastings College c1090 supports a pre-conquest origin for the chapel, which legally

<sup>78</sup> Possibly in his daughter and her wealthy husband's household after her marriage in 1363?

<sup>79</sup> 'Collegiate churches: Hastings', VCH *Sussex* 2 (1973), 112-117. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=36639&strquery=Bodiam> Date accessed: 06 December 2014.

<sup>80</sup> VCH *Sussex* 9 (1937), 264; it was granted to Anthony Browne in 1547

<sup>81</sup> Rushton 1999, esp 140-44 and fig 5

<sup>82</sup> See 2.6.1 above. On the range of potential origins see Blair 2005, esp 372-4; also p395 for the connection of church foundations to village (here perhaps estate) communities rather than as adjuncts to manor houses

would have been considered a ‘field church’ (ie one without burial rights);<sup>83</sup> but most likely an origin still within the 11th century.<sup>84</sup>

- 2.6.9 The transition of Bodiam church from a dependent chapel served by a priest from the mother-church at Ewhurst to a separate parish church with full burial rights took place at some time after the early 12th-century confirmation charter to Hastings.<sup>85</sup> The dynamics doubtless owed much to the rise of the de Bodiham family, whose main landholding the parish encompassed. Because the ecclesiastical interests in both Ewhurst and Bodiam were in the hands of Hastings College, it had little to lose by the transition. By 1292,<sup>86</sup> Bodiam was taxed as a vicarage, so was clearly established as a separate parish, confirmed in 1319: ‘For the vicarage of Bodiam which is assessed at 6 marks, for which the tenth is 8s’, an assessment nonetheless contested by the Dean and Chapter of Chichester on grounds of poverty.
- 2.6.10 These changes are relevant to the date when the parish boundaries (and thus the right to tithes) became fixed. Once the Counts of Eu had granted secular and ecclesiastical interests in Bodiam (and Ewhurst) into separate hands in the late 11th century, one might expect the western boundary of Bodiam parish with Salehurst to remain fixed, based on the manorial boundary then pertaining, or substantial changes to be the subject of agreement or dispute between the parties, but evidence for the latter does not survive.<sup>87</sup>
- 2.6.11 There are two areas in which the manor and parish boundary significantly deviated from the primary western boundary of the early holding (identified in Section 2.4 above). The first is the inclusion in both of a block of land west of the north end of the early boundary, known in 1671 as ‘Bodiam Meads’,<sup>88</sup> and then consisting of woodland with a couple of assarts. It looks like a separate smallholding or tenement carved out of woodland, whose western boundary, fixed along a stream by 1839, in 1671 also included small parts of the adjacent far bank. By that date, it was part of the estate of Great Wigsell in Salehurst. The Bodiam demesne ended, until mid-17th century sales, at the putative early boundary of the estate. Bodiam Meads seems to be an early intrusion into land that otherwise had become the Fee of Wigsell by the mid-12th century.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Blair 2005, 144, citing Aethelred’s laws of 1014

<sup>84</sup> When small local churches and chapels proliferated

<sup>85</sup> But almost certainly within the 12th century, given later ecclesiastical resistance to the creation of new parishes

<sup>86</sup> Peckham 1943, 321; TNA, E189/18

<sup>87</sup> In the absence of a medieval episcopal archive. Since the right to the great tithes of Bodiam and Ewhurst remained with Hastings, changes to the line of the Rother (2.6.18 *et seq*) made no financial difference

<sup>88</sup> 1671 Map, schedule; it was a freehold subject to a quit rent; on the map of the Great Wigsell estate of 1685 (ESRO, AMS 5765) it is called Bodiam Croft

<sup>89</sup> VCH *Sussex* 9, 221

- 2.6.12 The other major change was at the southern end, where the medieval park boundary appears to reflect the erased original manorial boundary, but set about 400m westwards. In 1839, the west parish boundary through this area was recorded on the Tithe map as three straight, but, save for one short section, arbitrary and undefined lines, although the apex of two of them touches the western boundary of the former park (Appendix F: Map 5). This is the result of a dispute between the incumbents of Salehurst and Bodiam parishes being settled by an arbitration in 1836.<sup>90</sup>

*The Battle Abbey lands*

- 2.6.13 The Bodiam estate had substantial resources of meadow, liable to flood, along the Rother and to a lesser extent the Kent Ditch. Their ability to supply hay proved attractive to Battle Abbey, and fortunately the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey* survives to shed light on their early acquisition of parts of it, on the Rother. From the *Chronicle* we know that the Osbern of 1086 was Osbern fitz Hugh, who before 1093 ‘gave out of his own demesne and with the agreement of his lord William Count of Eu and the confirmation of King William, thirty acres of meadow (measured by the Norman measure) from the home farm of his manor called Bodiam, some seven miles away from the church [of Battle], partly as a gift for the salvation of himself and his family, partly a sale, accepting fifty shillings in payment; the meadow is to be held in perpetuity by the church of Battle...’<sup>91</sup>. Emma, wife of Osbern, also gave Battle six shillings worth of land in Bodiam, and a mill near Criel in Normandy, again before 1093, making clear that Osbern and his wife had greater holdings of Count Robert of Eu,<sup>92</sup> and that she was an heiress in her own right. Nothing is said of its location, but the value suggests it was perhaps around 5 (Norman) acres in extent.
- 2.6.14 The approximate location of the land is identifiable principally from the labelling of land on the 1671 map of the then remaining demesne land of Bodiam manor.<sup>93</sup> The land shown in yellow on Map 3 (Fig 6) is defined to the south by the river and to the north by boundaries identifiable from agreements in 1386-7 in connection with Dallingridge’s mill leat;<sup>94</sup> after the Dissolution was held by the Culpeper family. It amounted in 1688 to some 65 English acres. The Norman acre was locally variable even in the 19th century, but the most common measure seems to have been that of central Normandy, equivalent to 8172 sq m or 2.02 statute acres,<sup>95</sup> making the 65 acres approximately equivalent to the two gifts.

<sup>90</sup> Vivian 1953, 51. We are grateful to Christopher Whittick for this reference

<sup>91</sup> Searle 1980, 86

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 123 esp n 1 which corrects the date in VCH *Sussex* 9 (1937), 262, n3; Robert was dead by 1093 and Abbot Gausbert by 1095

<sup>93</sup> ESRO AMS 5691/3/1

<sup>94</sup> Whittick 1993, 119

<sup>95</sup> Moisy, 1887, 9

- 2.6.15 The *Chronicle* returns to Bodiam during the abbacy of Walter de Luci (1139-71), noting that, because the meadow purchased of Osbern was ‘some little distance’ from Battle, it would be advantageous to put it ‘in the custody of some one of the faithful who might have a house near it. But...there was no place where a habitable house could be built on the property because the meadow is so wet. Eventually an agreement was reached with a knight, Robert Borne, who lived near the meadow, to give a piece of his demesne land next to the meadow to God and St Martin in free and perpetual possession.’ Borne granted a way through his fief as his father had done, so that the hay could be carried to Battle; the Abbey paid 6 shillings and iron leg pieces of armour.<sup>96</sup> ‘There remained a bit of land lying between the meadow and the Keeper’s House. This was ideal for the brothers’ dealings, providing a dry landing place for goods shipped up for their use by boat’. Borne gave them this land in return for 10 shillings paid to the father Robert and one gold piece to his son Ralph. The agreement was intended to resolve problems of harassment in crossing their neighbours’ land. However, the confirmation of the original grant by Osbern, the son of Osbern fitz Hugh in 1109 included an acre to take care of the meadows (*ad prata custodienda*), so the *Chronicle* here seems to have been recording past events.<sup>97</sup>
- 2.6.16 The holding to the north-west of Park Farm, in Salehurst parish, is Bourne Farm on the 1st Edn 6” map (Fig 3), suggesting that Bourne’s land might have been in the south-eastern part of Salehurst parish. But by 1211 Ewhurst was held of the Count of Eu by Stephen le Borne,<sup>98</sup> and in the first decade of the 13th century Ralph le Borne granted the overlordship of part of Freren Mead (Map 3) to Robertsbridge Abbey, indicating that the family had holdings in the vicinity of Bodiam Bridge.<sup>99</sup> The keeper’s house and the Battle Abbey wharf therefore most probably lay on the south bank, where the high ground comes close to the stream.
- 2.6.17 The Bodiam meadows were an important part of the endowment of Battle Abbey. The burgesses of Battle were each obliged to provide two days customary labour (31½ men) each summer in mowing and turning the hay, and customary labour also conveyed 80 cartloads of it to Battle, under the oversight of the Cellarer, all being given meals and other provisions.<sup>100</sup> By 1440-41, this was commuted to a money payment of 1d per household, but in 1478-9 this was not levied and the meadows let to a farmer. The Cellarer also accounted for occasional receipts from selling a second crop of hay from the meadows, or for the pasture of the meadow after cutting, as well as the cost of cleaning ditches around the meadows,

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<sup>96</sup> Searle 1980, 255-7

<sup>97</sup> Huntington Library, Archive of Webster of Battle Abbey 42/1041, with thanks to Christopher Whittick

<sup>98</sup> VCH *Sussex* 9, 266

<sup>99</sup> James & Whittick 2008, 23; and see below

<sup>100</sup> The accounts for 1435-6 refer to 32 acres in the great meadow of *Bodyhame* and 22 acres in *le Lye*. Searle & Ross 1967, 116

mending a (minor) bridge within the meadow with hurdles, and mending the roads between Battle and Bodiam to allow the carts to pass.<sup>101</sup>

*The river, bridge and Freren Mead*

2.6.18 The earliest known course of the Rother in the vicinity of Bodiam Bridge is clear on Lidar images (Fig 7), part has been recorded in geophysical survey, and sections formed field boundaries recorded by a 1779 estate map.<sup>102</sup> As late as 1945 air photos show a drain, the relict of the back channel which the early course became, intact west of the causeway and as a dark mark in the grass to the east of it, parallel to the then boundary ditch. It is, however, the Lidar image that most clearly illustrates the nature of the underlying feature, a substantial channel with raised banks to both sides.<sup>103</sup>

2.6.19 The embanking of the sides of the stream suggests that this channel was functioning into the medieval period, even if of much earlier origin (and apparently the course in the Roman period: Section 2.3). Whether the channel was moved northwards by natural forces, a dramatic weather event, or deliberately diverted to bring the river to the Bodiam side of the flood plain next to rising ground, is as yet unclear. The even curves of the river as it stood in 1385 look very much like man-made diversion (Map 3 and Fig 6); but when?



Figure 7 Lidar image of the earlier channel of the Rother, flanked by banks (lighter tone), which brought the stream to the south side of the causeway (LIDAR Composite (November 2013) © Environment Agency)

<sup>101</sup> See Searle & Ross 1967, *passim* but esp 28-31

<sup>102</sup> ESRO, BAT 4421/14

<sup>103</sup> The early channels show very clearly on the national Lidar map: <https://houseprices.io/lab/lidar/map>

- 2.6.20 A bridge is first mentioned at Bodiam about 1230, when Ralph de Borne granted a meadow to Robertsbridge Abbey ‘which lies by Bodiam Bridge under *Echene*’ and a further 2 acres in the same year.<sup>104</sup> The land concerned was Freren Mead, which Christopher Whittick has shown lay south of the river in its 1386 course, before Dallingridge moved the river somewhat southwards again (see Section 2.11). The earlier course, on the opposite side of the flood plain, originally formed, at least in its western part, the south boundary of Robertsbridge’s land, Freren Mead.<sup>105</sup> In the c1230 grant of part of this meadow to the abbey, it is referred to as being ‘next the ditch of Ewhurst Mead by the Rother’, which seems to be a reference to the older course of the river, by then a back channel. By the early 13th century, therefore, the course had (been) shifted, confirmed not least by the fact that Freren Mead was regarded as being in Ewhurst rather than Bodiam.
- 2.6.21 The survival of the back channel probably explains the presentments at the Robertsbridge Court Leet between 1550 and 1553 that the road between the *two* bridges at Bodiam was out of repair.<sup>106</sup> The large sub-rectangular sunken area within the Ewhurst demesne of Freren Mead, with the enclosures to the east, *Flote Marsh* and *Flote Field*,<sup>107</sup> by its scale seems more likely to imply not a dock, but another meaning of *flote*, as a particularly low-lying area of marsh frequently or permanently flooded.<sup>108</sup>
- 2.6.22 Maintenance of the bridge appears to have been the responsibility of Battle Abbey, with the costs of substantial repair to the timber structure recorded in the Cellarer’s Rolls for 1369-70 and 1371-2.<sup>109</sup> This responsibility was presumably associated with the Abbey also holding land to the west of the causeway (light yellow tone on Fig 6), cited as the western abuttal of a deed of 1410 relating to the Bodiam float, unless simply to ensure that its hay could be carted across the river.<sup>110</sup>
- 2.6.23 Bodiam appears to have been the normal head of medieval navigation, presumably by lighters or barges from Rye. Battle Abbey used it as such in the 12th century (2.6.15), and a commission in 1313 stated that the river was obstructed by ballast dumped by shipping as far as Bodiam Bridge.<sup>111</sup> Nonetheless, there are occasional references to navigation as

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<sup>104</sup> Aldridge & Clarke 2001, 20; James & Whittick 2008, 23

<sup>105</sup> In James & Whittick 2008, fig 11, the old course corresponds to the division between the blocks held by Swift of and not of Robertsbridge; the eastern part of the strip was eventually taken into Ewhurst demesne

<sup>106</sup> James & Whittick 2008, 23, 35

<sup>107</sup> Very clearly visible on the topographic survey: Barker *et al* 2015, 19; James & Whittick 2008, 35

<sup>108</sup> See *Peening Flote*: Eddison 1995, 152

<sup>109</sup> Searle & Ross 1967, 64, 68; the reference of making 4 hurdles for the Bodiam bridge in 1275 probably relates to a minor bridge within the meadow, over a drainage ditch; the similar entry for 1440-41 specifically refers to ‘making 2 large hurdles for the bridge in *Bodyham* meadow’ (ibid, 43, 130). Reference to a temporary bridge necessary to give access to Battle Abbey land during the construction of Dallingridge’s watermill in 1386 is no doubt connected with building the leat (Aldridge & Clarke 2001, 21)

<sup>110</sup> James & Whittick 2008, 35; the Abbey was presumably considered the owner of the causeway.

<sup>111</sup> Lower 1857, 296; James & Whittick 2008, 16

far as Salehurst and Robertsbridge Abbey.<sup>112</sup> The trade in firewood, principally to Flanders, was significant.

*The moated site near the church*

2.6.24 To the north-east of the church is an oval moated enclosure, almost on the valley floor of the Kent Ditch, its southern side cut into the rising ground of the valley slope. The moat has a wide arm extending north-westwards along the valley, and the entrance was by a bridge from the west, from which a gravel path led to the porch of the house. Excavation<sup>113</sup> revealed a house with a central open hall c10.2 x 7.6m internally, flanked by a parlour cross-wing on the south and a service bay with central passage to an external path on the north, with a porch to the west door of the hall cross-passage (Fig 8). The excavator considered it 'typical of upper vernacular and lower manorial houses'; interestingly, its hall was slightly shorter and a little wider than that of the Castle, 12.2m x 7.3m internally.

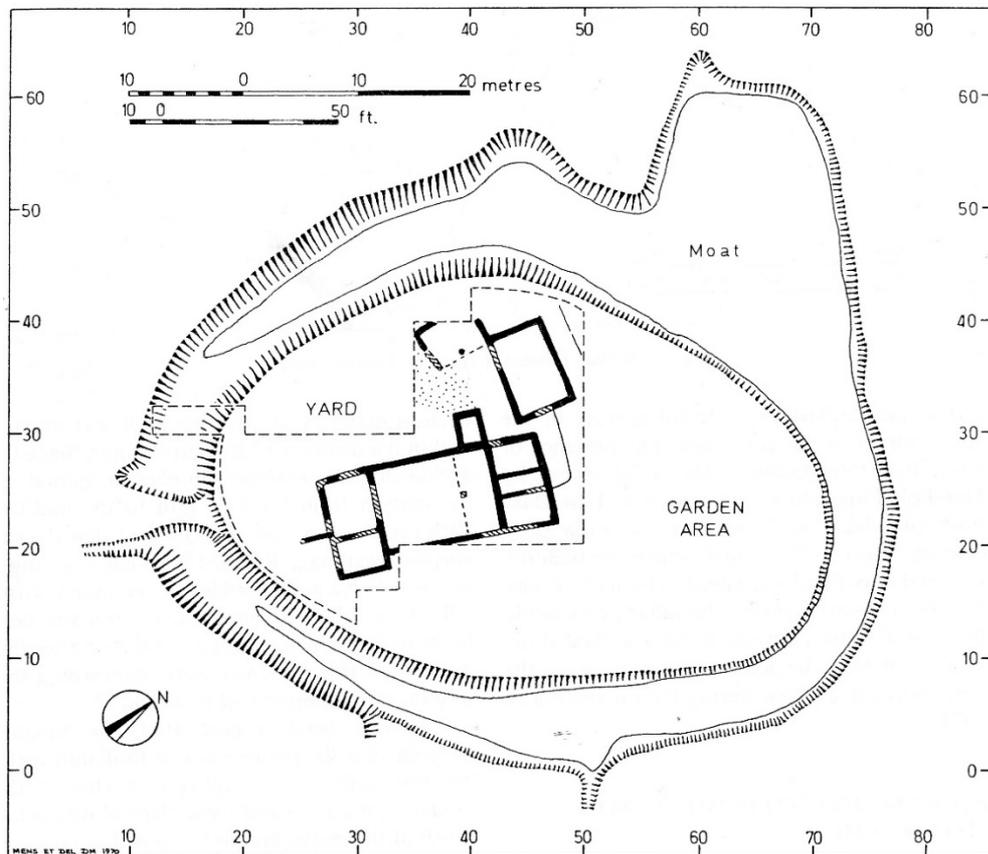


Figure 8 The moated site at Bodiam (Martin 1990, fig 8; *Courtesy David Martin & Sussex Archaeological Society*)

2.6.25 A putative detached kitchen lay just to the north-west, linked in turn to a further small structure interpreted as a stable. The buildings were of timber-frame construction, of which the drystone plinth walls of limestone rubble survived; the house was roofed in West Country slate,

<sup>112</sup> James & Whittick 2008, 18

<sup>113</sup> Martin 1990, 97-101

the putative kitchen with nibbed clay tiles. The eastern part of the island was not excavated, but reasonably presumed, on building layout, to be a garden, without substantial building remains.

- 2.6.26 The service bay had foundations of sandstone rather than limestone rubble, suggesting either that they were an addition, or more likely a break in construction, since there was no sign of a predecessor. Otherwise, apart from a post-pad in the line of the putative hall screen, the evidence strongly suggests a single phase of building activity, although the moat ditch was recut at least once.<sup>114</sup> After a period of use, the building seems to have been left to deteriorate rather than dismantled, with the pottery louvers of the hall roof being found smashed on the floor; at some point, there was a localised fire in the parlour cross wing. Pottery was sparse, but suggests that the site was occupied between the late 13th and mid-late 14th century; an Edward III penny was little worn, ‘possibly lost before the end of the 14th century’<sup>115</sup> and a 14th-century French jetton was also present.



Figure 9 The moat in 1730, shown in conventional form, with enclosure and building to the south-east (ESRO AMS 6454/6/1)

- 2.6.27 Putting the site in its landscape context (Fig 6), the entrance was reached by a lane between an enclosure on the road frontage (part of parcel K in 1730; see Fig 9) and another to the south recorded in 1671, but lost by 1730 (Map 5). The lane itself was an eastward continuation of that defining the north side of Knowles Green (Map 3). The field to its north-east (U) was *The Court Meade*, that to the south-east *The Lodge Benten*,<sup>116</sup> and that to the south-west *The Benten next the Moat*. The small enclosure

<sup>114</sup> *ibid*, fig 9

<sup>115</sup> *ibid*, 104-5, 108

<sup>116</sup> From *bent*, a place covered with grass, open field, unenclosed pasture: *Shorter OED*, p215

adjacent to the moat is shown with a (conventional) building in 1730. By 1839, it was a 'Lodge and Yards',<sup>117</sup> presumably a cart lodge, reached by a track from Court Lodge to the south, the direction from which the moat is currently entered. The origins of this agricultural activity associated with the site (continuation or resumption) are unclear.

2.6.28 There has been much speculation about the origin and demise of this house and its relationship to the Castle, the most recent being that it was the dwelling of Richard Wardedieu, younger brother of Nicolas who held the manor until c1330,<sup>118</sup> and perhaps continued to be occupied by a cadet branch. This is plausible, and prompts a further speculation that the clearance of land on the north-facing slope of the valley, around and to the east of Knowles Green, and strongly suggested by the principal southern field boundary (Fig 6; Map 3), was associated with it, for which a date around 1300 would be entirely reasonable. On the demise of the junior line, the land seems to have been absorbed into the demesne lands of the manor.<sup>119</sup> It is also likely that the site was scavenged for materials when the castle was built, for slates, pegtiles and 'Flemish bricks' of the kind used on the moated site were utilised in its construction (see 2.10 below).

2.6.29 In the wider context, the site belongs within the peak period for moat construction between the late 13th and late 14th centuries, and lies within a region (Kent/Sussex) in which they are not uncommon.<sup>120</sup> Locally, others are known in similar locations near valley floors, for example Moat Farm in Salehurst.<sup>121</sup>

*The medieval landscape before Dallingridge*

2.6.30 We have suggested above that the earliest arable land of Bodiam manor was likely to be on the peninsula to the east of the Roman road. The peninsula was, at least in the early modern period, characterised by the absence of woodland or tenements and large principal fields to the south of the land potentially associated with the moated site (Fig 6, dark green boundaries; extract from Map 3). This was fringed on the river frontages, especially to the Rother, by valuable and extensive meadows and marshes, retained in the demesne rather than (like that to the west) granted to religious houses.

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<sup>117</sup> Tithe apportionment, ESRO TDE 99/1, Parcel 42A

<sup>118</sup> Martin 1990, 97

<sup>119</sup> The later access to the site from the south would fit with this, as would the continuing presence of agricultural buildings close to the moat

<sup>120</sup> See eg Le Patourel 1981, 7 and fig 3 for national distribution; Eric Johnson in Johnson *et al* forthcoming for the Weald. Moat from lies 800m east of Salehurst Church, see Fig 5

<sup>121</sup> Jones 2003, fig 14.1 provides a distribution map; Old Conghurst in Hawkhurst, just over the Kent Ditch north-west of Bodiam, is also relevant



Figure 10 The Fair Fields (O, N) and Court Lodge in 1730 (*ESRO AMS 6454/6/1*)

- 2.6.31 Where the two through roads met, early short-cutting across then unenclosed land seems to be the underlying cause of the Roman road from the north diverting west of the church to link to the route to the west (Fig 6; extract from Map 3; the footpath completing the course is shown on the 1671 map). The road from the river seems similarly to have developed a westward branch, the two links and the original Roman road thus defining a roughly triangular area between them. The lower part of the link from the river, taking off from a facet of the Roman road, survives as a footpath providing a pedestrian route up the hill. Rather later, the north-south road link was moved to higher ground to the west (Appendix F: Map 4) and later still, for foot traffic at least some time after 1671, part of the northern link was lost.
- 2.6.32 The site of the manor house at this date is assumed to remain in the vicinity of Court Lodge, where medieval building remains have been found beneath the 'Gun Garden' (2.11.9). West of the manor house was the Old Fair Field,<sup>122</sup> no doubt the site of the Market and Fair granted to Dallingridge in 1383; in 1730, the field between it and the church was the New Fair Field (Figs 10, 38), where the Fair was held until the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>123</sup> This area, and its relationship to the drive from Court Lodge, still gives the impression of a village green. However, it was not, at least by the 16th century, technically common, or manorial waste, but part of the demesne land of Bodiam. Sixteenth century holders of the Barony of Hastings claimed all roadside waste in the Rape, save for that in the hundreds of Gostrow and Foxearle, as waste of the Rape. By then, only a narrow strip of roadside waste along the western edge of this area fell into this definition. The northern part was leased to the parish

<sup>122</sup> So named in the 1730 survey of the demesnes and the 1839 Tithe Award

<sup>123</sup> Bleach 1990, 266-70

officers in 1588, but the whole strip was considered part of the glebe by 1839 (Map 5).<sup>124</sup>

- 2.6.33 Geophysical survey suggests a branch off the Roman road, across Dokes Field, aligning on the visible terrace skirting to the south of the small valley with springs to the north-west of the castle moat (Fig 6). Its line picks up again in the dam impounding the south side of the pond to the east of the moat, and continues through the landscape eastwards as the boundary, historically between arable land on the slope and flood plain meadow at the foot of it. It is now followed by a track on its south side, and the 1730 map shows it continuing much further east as a lane between two hedges (Appendix F: Map 5), supporting its antiquity. All this suggests that, prior to the construction of the castle, this route formed both a boundary and a route to the extremity of the agricultural estate. The siting and alignment of the castle and southern part of the moat seems to have been set perpendicular to it.
- 2.6.34 With the major boundary between the moated manor house and Court Lodge, and another long sinuous boundary linking them to the east, these features provided the large scale landscape framework into which the late 14th-century castle was introduced. This space (shaded green on Fig 6) provided the setting for the manor house, and may well have had something of a park-like character, that is to say, predominantly pasture with some standard trees. It seems likely, too, from the subsequent form and development of the castle moat and water features, that the natural valley was modified and dammed to contain fish ponds, later incorporated within and influencing the form of the northern part of the moat and its flanking water features (Map 3 and Fig 6). William de Sywell claimed to have lost fish worth 10 marks (£6.13s.4d) from an (implicitly substantial) fishpond in 1264, during disturbances in the Barons' War.<sup>125</sup> Topographically, given the springs and its elevation above the flood plain, this would be a good place for it. Environmental evidence is consistent with this interpretation. Pollen from a core within the 'small moat' (east of the castle moat) showed a seamless transition from muddy depression with ephemeral standing water, in dense alder woodland, to a proper pond of standing water, accumulating oak and hornbeam pollen consistent with parkland or managed woodland.<sup>126</sup>
- 2.6.35 These developments probably took place close to the time when the 'Roman' north-south road was diverted westwards (Fig 38, Map 4). The U-shaped enclosure located by geophysical survey towards the south end of Dokes Field (Fig 6) could be a manorial pound, although rather

<sup>124</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (2), 102-3 and Appendix 2, P6/25, 26

<sup>125</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000, 32; de Sywell's loss of both timber and fish implies from a park or something like it

<sup>126</sup> Catlin *et al* in Johnson (ed) forthcoming

large.<sup>127</sup> The larger triangle created by the diverted road may initially have been an unenclosed green, like the small Knowles<sup>128</sup> [later Peter's] Green towards the Kent Ditch, although it was developed with tenements, including the vicarage, by 1671 (Map 5).

- 2.6.36 Beyond this focal point, the pattern of allotment of the heavier land to the west of the north-south route, at greater elevation, is rather different from that of the peninsula. Although the 1671 map covers only parts of the area, it confirms the generality of the picture visible on the Tithe Map of 1839, save that by then some hedges extant in 1671 had been removed to create larger fields. The pattern is of incremental clearance and assarting (Maps 4, 5), in which significant blocks of woodland still remain. The principal divisions tend to radiate south-westwards and north-eastwards from the putative common or green, into the land north and south of the road leading westwards along the ridge.
- 2.6.37 Some, at least, of the manorial tenements either side of the road to the west probably (from their plans) relate to early holdings of manorial tenants, with one once-substantial holding on the north side, which the lane from Knowles Green bounds. Others holdings were, from their plan form, added to comparatively narrow assarts along the road frontages. In the case of Neals (Map 5), access to the backland involved a lane running behind presumably pre-existing frontage plots. Several of the frontage tenements remained as small individual holdings as late as 1839. It is entirely possible that prior to the general population peak around the early 14th century, more of these small plots had houses within them. Within a dispersed settlement pattern typical of the Weald, this rather marginal area does seem to have been a relatively early focus of settlement, but only fieldwork is likely to shed light on its origins.
- 2.6.38 Otherwise, west of the triangle at the junction of the main roads, large blocks of land are defined by access lanes extending north and south from the road. Enclosure of the northern part of the parish seems to have begun with assarts at Knowles Green, linked to the estate centred on the moated house, and the starting point for a meandering lane which then served the much larger, and successive, blocks of Lower and Upper Northlands, which had their own farmsteads only after the division of the estate and its demesne in the early 17th century.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> The 'open' end would be closed by hurdles when in use. The deflection of its east side respects the Roman road, presumably still in use

<sup>128</sup> So named on ESRO AMS 5691/3/1

<sup>129</sup> There is sufficient evidence on which to base a more extended discussion of the sequential development of this western land, but (without systematic fieldwalking) nothing much to date it.

## 2.7 Period 3: Sir Edward Dallingridge and his heirs: 1377-1470

- 2.7.1 The Dallingridges had modest origins as freeholders from Dalling Ridge in Ashdown Forest, but rose during the course of the 14th century, with the benefit of a series of judicious marriages, to knightly rank, based at Fletching. Edward Dallingridge (c.1346-1393) inherited the manor of Bodiam through his marriage in 1363 to Elizabeth, daughter of John Wardedieu, who died in 1377. His own father Roger, who had improved the family's wealth by a judicious marriage to Alice Radingden, died in about 1380. Alice died before 1362, by which date Roger had married another Alice, widow of Sir Thomas St Maur; she was still alive in 1401.<sup>130</sup>
- 2.7.2 What is known of Sir Edward Dallingridge suggests that he was a man of considerable ambition, which took him from the ranks of the Sussex gentry to that of leading courtier. His father Roger had connections to the royal household and Edward entered military service at the age of thirteen with King Edward III's army in France in 1359-60. Dallingridge fought in numerous campaigns over the next thirty years and also accompanied several royal diplomatic missions as part of their great knightly entourage. He was widely travelled and is known to have visited, in one capacity or the other, Scotland, Italy, France and possibly Ireland and the Low Countries.<sup>131</sup> He is associated more with the notoriously brutal 'free company' captain Sir Robert Knollys, whose castle of Derval (Loire-Atlantique) may in a general sense have influenced the design of Bodiam,<sup>132</sup> and whose arms appear on its postern tower. In addition to money made from the ransoms and prizes that were central to soldiering at this period, Dallingridge was also paid substantial sums as a military retainer to several leading noblemen,<sup>133</sup> and most significantly, in 1377, he inherited his father-in-law's extensive land-holdings, concentrated in Sussex and the Midlands.
- 2.7.3 Thus, on his return to England in 1377,<sup>134</sup> Dallingridge was already a very wealthy man. Since we do not know exactly when Dallingridge returned, it may be a coincidence that Edward III died in June of the same year, but Dallingridge evidently made sure of his place in the new regime during the subsequent minority of Richard II. He rapidly achieved considerable eminence at court, making use of the network of influential contacts he had made on the continent, balancing loyalty to the king and to his principal patron, the Earl of Arundel, the greatest magnate in the region.

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<sup>130</sup> For the rise of the Dallingridge family see Saul 1998; Woodger 1993b seems to confuse the two Alices

<sup>131</sup> Spencer 2014, 86-7; Nigel Saul, 'Dallingridge, Sir Edward (c.1346-1393)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64921>, accessed 3 June 2015]

<sup>132</sup> Curzon 1926, 54; a quadrangular castle on a flat site, surrounded by extensive waterworks, largely demolished in the 16th century (MH PA00108610) but there is a 14th century MS illustration

<sup>133</sup> Spencer 2014, 92

<sup>134</sup> Spencer 2014

Dallingridge was a significant figure in Sussex, representing the county in Parliament ten times between 1379 and 1388, and he was variously responsible for the coastal and harbour defences of Rye, New Winchelsea and elsewhere. He was appointed to the King's Council 1389 and briefly, in 1392-3, Keeper of London.<sup>135</sup>

- 2.7.4 Dallingridge was recorded as being in possession of Bodiam by 1378.<sup>136</sup> After inheriting most of his father's estates c1380, he was raising funds from the sale of his wife's property in the Midlands in 1381<sup>137</sup> and concentrating his landholdings in Sussex. In 1383, he obtained a grant to hold a market and fair at Bodiam; in 1385, a licence to crenellate his manor house of Bodiam; and in 1386, a licence to divert the course of the Rother to his watermill. Together, these indicate a programme to develop Bodiam as the capital manor of his Sussex estates, both an economic centre and a visible statement of his lordship.
- 2.7.5 It is now evident that the construction of buildings on an island within the moat, and presumably the moat itself (Period 3.1) predated the architecturally-unified castle (Period 3.2), although the similarity of the masonry used in a surviving element of the early phase (3.1) does not suggest a significant lapse of time between the two. It could well suggest an initial, more modest ambition on his initial inheritance around 1377, which after 1380 morphed into a decision to build the castle.

## 2.8 Period 3.1: The putative moated house

### *The earthworks*

- 2.8.1 We have suggested above (2.6.33) that the so-called 'cascade', the northern part of the castle moat and the 'little moat' to its east, most likely originated as a series of fishponds utilising the shallow valley which defines the north side of the spur facing eastwards along the Rother valley. It is certainly clear that the north front of the island and the regular moat that surrounds it (on the east, west and south) were set at right angles to the pre-existing route through the landscape, whose course was determined towards the west by a natural valley and continued eastwards by the boundary (and track) still in use, creating the outline that exists today.
- 2.8.2 The geology of the castle area is complex (Appendix F: Map 1), but direct evidence is limited, notably to Ashdown formation sand being found at the bottom of the cistern in the south-west tower at c4.75m AOD.<sup>138</sup> In the north-east corner of the island, the structures seem to have been cut

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<sup>135</sup> Spencer 2014, 91; Woodger 1993a

<sup>136</sup> Thackray 1991, 11

<sup>137</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (1), 31

<sup>138</sup> By David Martin in (re)excavating the cistern, July 1970; drawn section in his records

into lacustrine or spring-valley silts formed in the Roman period or later,<sup>139</sup> consistent with our understanding of the pre-castle landscape. The new moat was partly cut into the spur, and partly formed by using the spoil to embank the south and east sides. It and the quadrangular castle within are aligned almost exactly north-south, but appropriating the putative earlier fish pond means that the axis of the northern part of the moat, beyond the north front of the island, swings westwards to align on the ‘Gun Garden’, and so retains a spatial relationship to the putative pre-existing manorial centre at Court Lodge. The resulting basin is about 164.5m by 107m, and about 2.1m deep, its water level in 2015 being at 7.05m AOD. The rectangular island which the castle walls now clasp is 0.2 ha, roughly 56m from north to south by 52.1m east to west.

- 2.8.3 The use of ground-penetrating radar within the castle by the University of Southampton<sup>140</sup> has produced results, summarised here in Figs 11 and 12, which contribute to establishing both its internal arrangements and its evolution, but the results need to be treated with caution in the absence of archaeological evaluation.

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<sup>139</sup> Scaife & Copeland [2015], Borehole A1, shown on the basement plan, Fig 14

<sup>140</sup> This aspect of the work in Barker *et al* 2015, fig 54, has been superseded by resurvey early in 2016

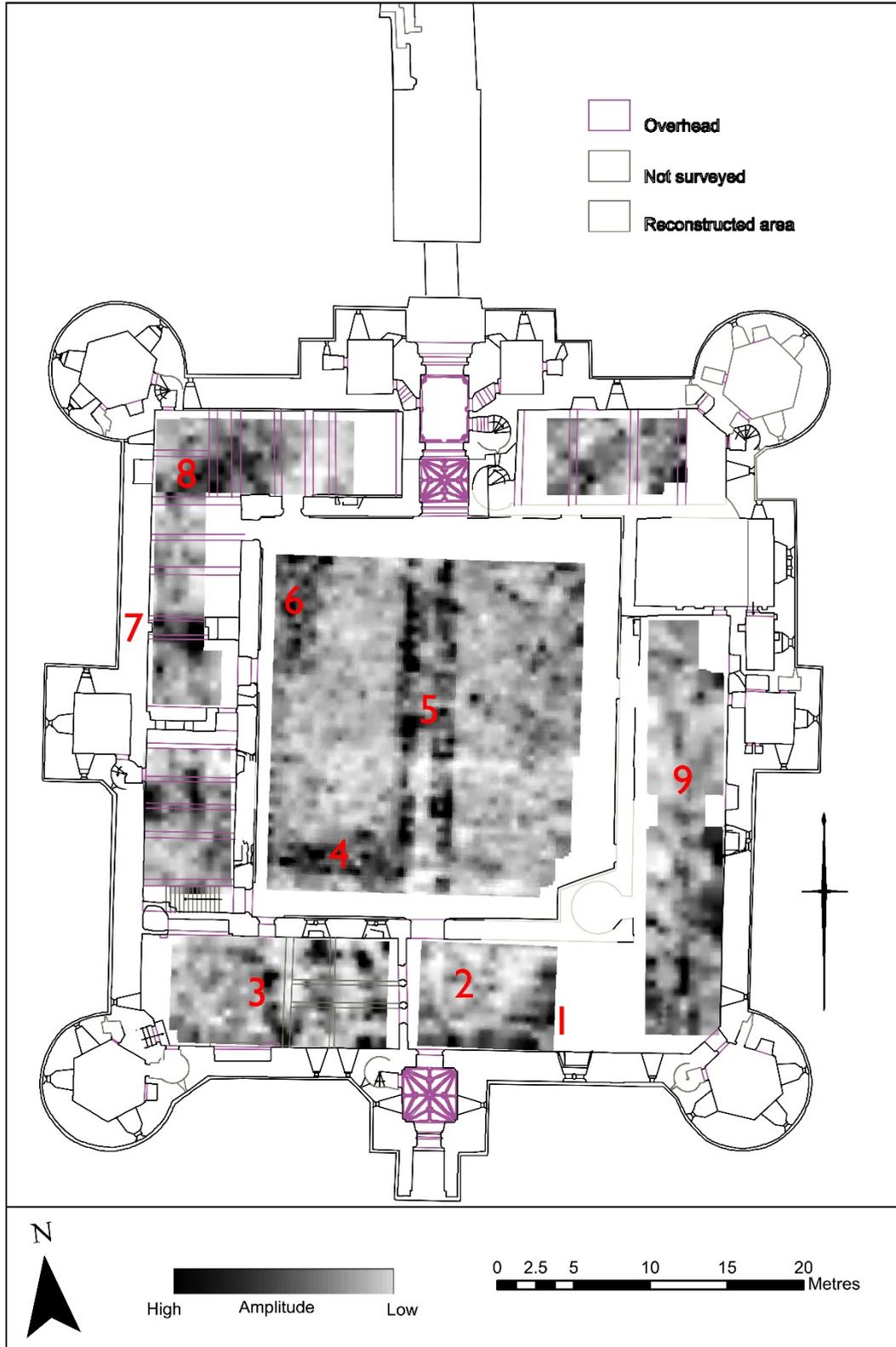


Figure 11 Ground penetrating radar results within the castle, 2016, at high level; the north-east and east range areas are at high level within the basement area (*University of Southampton; numbers added*). The deposits in the east range basement are disturbed at this level, particularly by the modern drain 9 down its spine. The strength of response and persistence in depth of features marking the path across the courtyard (5) is probably due to metal features. The path existed by 1782 (Fig 50)

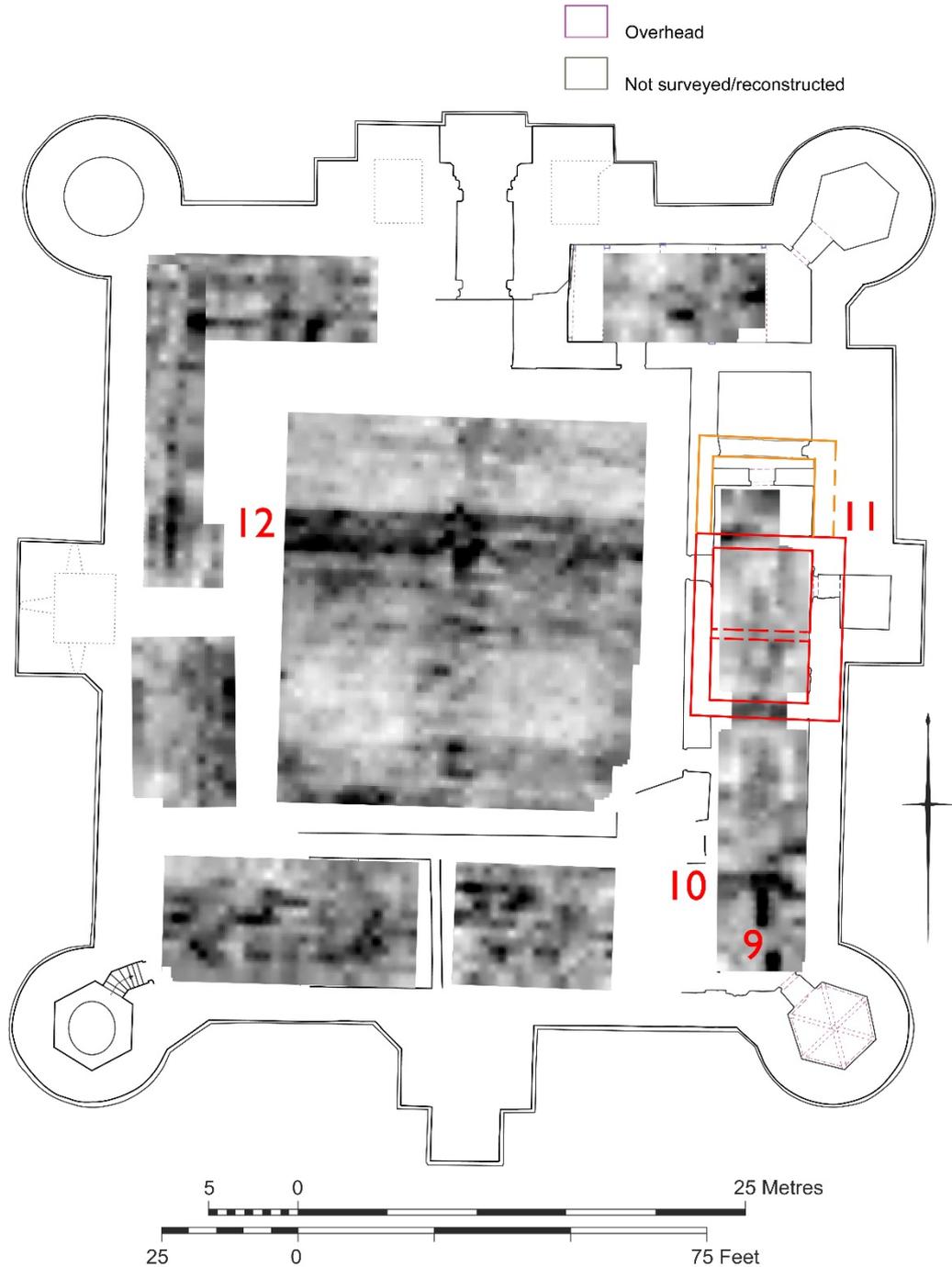


Figure 12 Ground penetrating radar results within the castle, 2016, at lower level: 1.62-1.73m below courtyard level, 0.77-0.88m below basement level in the east and north-east ranges (*University of Southampton, with early structures and numbers overlaid*). The outlines of the successive early masonry structures are shown in red and orange, as on Fig 15, in the context of the anomaly 12 on the same alignment. The anomaly 10 is the foundation of the wall between rooms 0.12 and 0.13, cut by the modern drain 9.

*The first phase of building on the island*

2.8.4 In the middle of the east side of the castle basement is a masonry structure about 9m by 5.7m internally (Fig 13; plans, Figs 12, 15), built of the same local stone as the substantive castle, of squared rubble laid in narrow courses. Its exposed north and south walls are about 0.9m thick, and the west was clearly similar, being visible at the south end despite

being embedded in a later castle wall, itself much rebuilt in the 19th century. The east, outer wall was thicker, at about 1.7m. Although in incorporating it into the later castle, the cut for the doorway to access Room 0.9 was made good, its south side remains essentially that of a rough cut, and the east face of the Period 3.1 wall is abutted by the south wall of the later east tower. The primary structure is truncated just below ground floor level of the Period 3.2 castle.

- 2.8.5 The only architectural feature to survive adaptation as part of the substructure of the castle is an off-centre rectangular corbel on the east wall, about 0.5m wide, above which is the scar of a cross wall, presumably carried on an arch sprung from the corbel. Its presumed twin on the west wall has apparently been removed by a castle phase window, but the window and flanking masonry have been refaced (or rebuilt) to both sides. A doorway is possible to the south, where the wall is damaged, as is one in the north-west corner where the wall is lost above ground.<sup>141</sup>

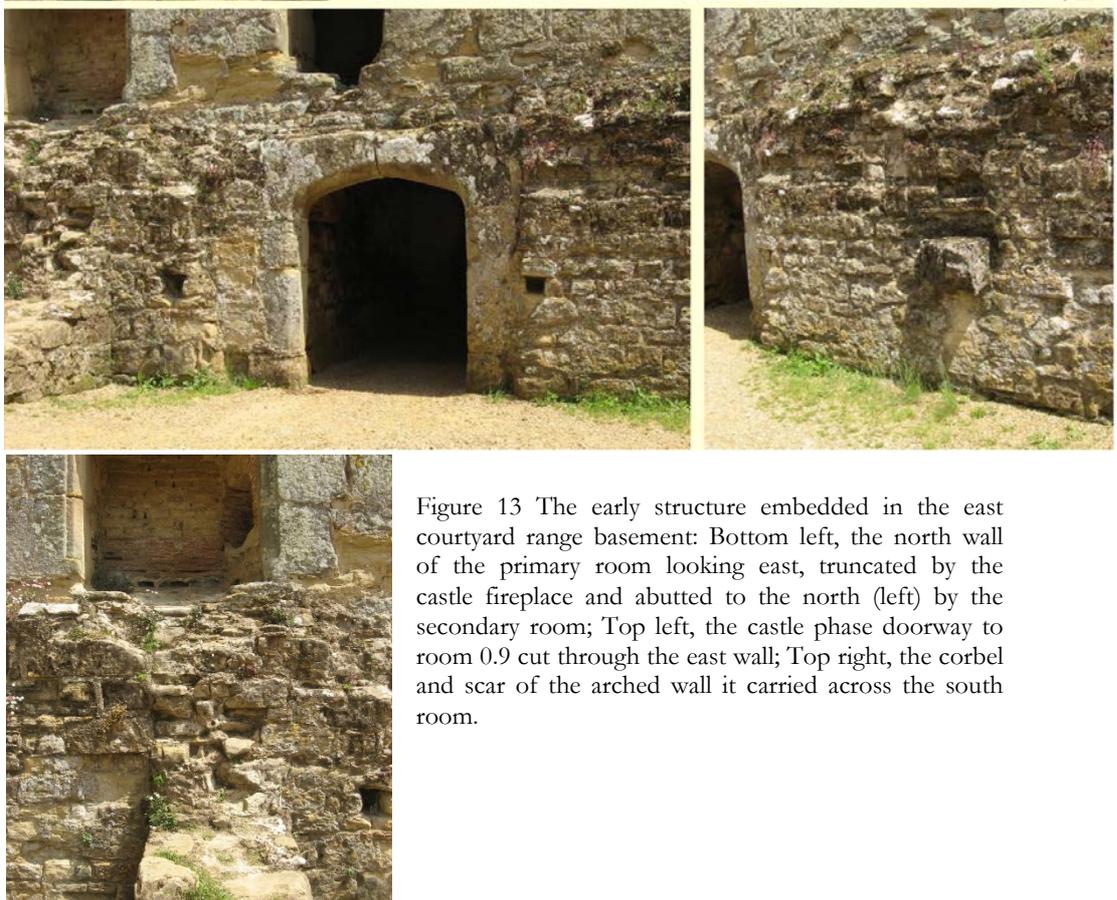


Figure 13 The early structure embedded in the east courtyard range basement: Bottom left, the north wall of the primary room looking east, truncated by the castle fireplace and abutted to the north (left) by the secondary room; Top left, the castle phase doorway to room 0.9 cut through the east wall; Top right, the corbel and scar of the arched wall it carried across the south room.

- 2.8.6 A room about 4.4m long was butted against the north side of this structure, in identical construction so presumably very soon afterwards. Again, it has no surviving architectural features; the north wall and most of the west wall were demolished to make way for the Period 3.2 castle phase. The east wall is postulated as the same thickness as the others, on

<sup>141</sup> The foundations of both north and south walls show clearly on the low-level GPR survey plan, Fig 12

the basis of a straight joint in the east substructure wall of the later chapel, exposed in plan, but the visible surface is entirely modern rebuilding, so this interpretation is uncertain.

- 2.8.7 These structures clearly predate the castle, being demolished to its ground floor level to allow incorporation into its sub-structure and (in the case of the north wall) demolished to basement floor level to accommodate the chapel. The standard ‘castle-type’ windows and doorways are all cut into its fabric. But although about 2° off the alignment of the east curtain, the structures nonetheless closely relate to the outline of the moat island and are therefore most likely to be contemporary with or subsequent to its initial formation. Although not part of a masonry structure running the length of the island, they nonetheless determined the width of the castle’s east range into which they were incorporated; and that is also very similar to the width of the north and west ranges.
- 2.8.8 To the south of this structure, in room 0.13, a borehole showed above grey silt (?make-up) a sequence of chalky rubble, gritty disturbed material and brickearth, in all about 80mm thick. This would be consistent with bedding layers for a Period 3.2, castle, floor at c7.2m AOD (the same as room 0.23 and about 0.15m above moat level), and the ‘occupation layer’ above it, c100mm thick and containing occasional charcoal, as filling the space left by robbing a stone floor. It included fern and ivy pollen, leading to a conclusion that it formed after the abandonment of the castle. A similar borehole to the north, in room 0.5, revealed an anthropogenic layer containing ‘brick’<sup>142</sup> between c6.7-6.85m AOD, significantly below moat level, overlying the Roman period or later silts which here form the ‘natural’ deposits of the island.<sup>143</sup> These deposits (apart from the ‘occupation layer’) therefore need not pre-date the construction of the castle; but they are equally not inconsistent with less substantial buildings pre-dating it, with a slightly lower moat level. Only excavation can provide an answer.
- 2.8.9 The wider context revealed by GPR at low level, at around 7m AOD, is particularly intriguing (Fig 12). This is just below Period 3.2 basement level (7.2m AOD); the basement below the services (Fig 15, Room 0.2) has dropped out of the picture, as has the wide cross wall foundation in the west range between Rooms 1.26 and 1.27 (Fig 11:7). The foundations of the early masonry structures embedded in the east range remain visible, along with that of the Period 3.2 east basement cross wall between 0.12 and 0.13 (Fig 12:10). The clearest feature is a high amplitude anomaly c2.5m wide, with very sharp edges, sharing exactly the alignment of the earliest masonry structure, centred on the same line as its (much thinner)

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<sup>142</sup> Perhaps shorthand for ‘ceramic building material’. Medieval brick was used in the castle only for the backs of two fireplaces in the upper levels of the south-east tower and one in the postern tower, but flat roof tiles were used generally for firebacks and had been in general use in the area for more than a century.

<sup>143</sup> Scaife & Copeland [2015], Boreholes A1 and A2, shown on the basement plan

north wall. It looks remarkably like the foundation of a substantial wall, comparable to the upstanding east wall of the earliest structure (c1.7m wide above ground). It does not, convincingly, cross the site of the later west range. If these thick walls were intended to meet at a right-angled corner, as the plan suggests, then the partly upstanding thin north wall of the primary Period 3.1 structure should have anticipated a decision instead to add the projecting room to the north.

- 2.8.10 The area to the north of the putative thick wall gave a consistent low amplitude response; but to the south is a zone of mixed responses about 5m wide. The south side of this aligns with the wall formerly carried on an arch across the early structure. Could the GPR responses relate to a timber-framed range behind the wall? Until these features can be physically evaluated, further speculation is probably unwise. But the evidence is not inconsistent with a Period 3.1 precursor to the castle on a rectangular courtyard plan, south of the putative wall, to which the partly upstanding early masonry structures are spatially related.
- 2.8.11 Evidence for the raising of the southern moat bank east of the bridge<sup>144</sup> may be associated with this putative early phase. The raising was [tentatively] dated by just ‘two small sherds of [unspecified] 15th century pottery’, and being a section *along* the cut-back north face, the height of the addition was not clear; but the lower as well as the upper bank levels sloped up to a bridge abutment in its present location. A borehole through the south of the moat bank supported two potential phases of the bank, locating a possible sloping surface about 1m below existing ground level. Previously this was a damp to wet habitat,<sup>145</sup> consistent with its edge of floodplain location before the marshes were drained (Map 3).
- 2.8.12 To summarise, the embedded early masonry structures and related deep features located by geophysics suggest that the choice of a site for a new moated house<sup>146</sup> or ‘proto-castle’ predated the decision to build the extant castle. On present limited evidence, we do not know whether they formed part of a mixed stone and timber-frame building that was seriously advanced, or simply represent a false start before being overtaken by a more ambitious objective. But an initial concept of Bodiam as a substantial moated house in a low-lying location would fit comfortably into a local context established by the early 14th century. For example, the earthworks of Mote Place, Iden, for which licence to crenellate was granted in 1318,<sup>147</sup> are of comparable scale, and those of Great Wigsell, Salehurst, include a larger island set to one end of an artificial lake. It is the coherent architectural statement of the castle,

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<sup>144</sup> Stevens 1995, 4; 1999; no further details of pottery given

<sup>145</sup> Catlin *et al* in Johnson (ed) forthcoming

<sup>146</sup> There is of course a possibility, however remote, that this phase originated under the Wardedieu tenure

<sup>147</sup> Gardiner & Whittick 2008. Interestingly Dallingridge acquired the adjacent manor of Iden (not Mote) in 1383: *Cal Patent Rolls Richard II 1381-5* (1897), 273; VCH *Sussex* 9 (1937), 153

rather than the location, form and scale of its earthworks, which sets Bodiam apart from such precedents, and looks forward, locally and notably, to Herstmonceux.<sup>148</sup> Nonetheless, better understanding this pre-castle phase should be a priority for research excavation (and further geophysical work), for it goes to the heart of the ‘story’ told about the castle’s origins.

## 2.9 Period 3.2: The construction of the castle, c1385-95

- 2.9.1 The exact circumstances and the reasons behind Dallingridge's decision to erect a new castle at Bodiam remain a matter for conjecture. Building a castle was a vastly expensive undertaking, but it was a means of displaying and securing on the national and regional political stages the status he had achieved during his military career. The castle would have marked its owner as a local magnate and also as a member of a national elite. Bodiam was an established manorial *caput* and at the centre of Dallingridge's largest Sussex landholding, with the benefit of good transport and trading links to the continent via the Cinque ports (his ship *The Trinite* was based at Winchelsea),<sup>149</sup> but it seems almost certain that the siting of the castle, and the putative moated house whose conception perhaps preceded it, was influenced by aesthetic considerations.
- 2.9.2 The design of the castle and its watery setting were not unique at the time, and may indeed have been quite typical, but their survival with so little later alteration is wholly exceptional. The extent to which it was a primarily military building, the end of one tradition, and a great house, the start of another, has been the subject of intense debate, in which historicism has sometimes obscured history and interpretation has clouded analysis of the material remains. Because it has survived as it has, Bodiam is the document that should inform our understanding of its contexts rather than *vice versa*.
- 2.9.3 Bodiam is a quadrangular stone castle set in a roughly rectangular moat, beyond which a series of associated ponds, particularly a very large millpond to the south-west, contributes to a consciously aesthetic setting for the building. The seigneurial park lay, separately and distantly, to the west. Court Lodge, the manorial centre at the time of the castle's construction, probably continued to provide many of the service buildings and facilities, effectively the outer bailey or *curia*<sup>150</sup>, when the castle was occupied.
- 2.9.4 The terms of the licence to crenellate obtained by Dallingridge in 1386 are explicit. It was granted ‘that he may strengthen with a wall of stone

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<sup>148</sup> We are grateful to David Martin for information about and comparable plans of these sites

<sup>149</sup> Woodger 1993b

<sup>150</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000, 32

and lime, and crenellate and may construct and make into a castle his manor house of Bodyham, near the sea, in the County of Sussex, for the defence of the adjacent country, and the resistance to our enemies...'<sup>151</sup> The pre-castle building phase suggests that he had already created a new, wonderfully scenic site for a new house, without its defensive qualities necessarily being at the forefront of his decision. Defences were certainly needed on the Sussex coast, following French raids in 1377 and 1380, when Rye and Winchelsea were burned, and, as noted, Dallingridge had official responsibilities in this area. He himself was wounded in a raid on Eastbourne in 1380. Whether turning the moated house site at Bodiam into a castle was entirely a practical response to this need is more questionable.

- 2.9.5 Building at Bodiam may also have reflected, more subtly, political considerations. John Goodall<sup>152</sup> suggests that Sir Edward Dallingridge was making a diplomatic gesture by building his castle, not at his historic family seat of Fletching, but well away from the power bases of his political adversary, John of Gaunt, and his patron, the Earl of Arundel, in the Rapes of Lewes and Pevensey. Coulson<sup>153</sup> suggests that the castle's military aspects were intended to be clearly recognisable as more symbolic of power than militarily practical, establishing Dallingridge's status without antagonising his rival or patron, perhaps another aspect of the same political manoeuvring.
- 2.9.6 It is now widely agreed<sup>154</sup> that licences to crenellate could be more symbolic than literal by this date and that it was neither necessary to obtain a licence in order to build a fortress, nor to carry out the specific provisions of the licence, although at Bodiam the presence of earlier structures does tend to support one of its terms. A great deal has been written about the meaning of the word 'castle' in this and other coeval contexts. If there is a consensus, it is that the specific, military, or defensible meaning of the word as used today is narrower than it was in the medieval period, when it could refer to a fortress, fortified or walled town, village or military encampment, or to something better described as a seigneurial great house, like the modern French 'chateau'.<sup>155</sup> The wording of the licence was presumably based on Dallingridge's petition, and framing it in terms of defence of the realm would have provided a suitably dutiful rationale; to build a castle at his own expense was a significant gesture of loyalty. However, it is hard not to see what he actually built as primarily an enhancement of his own social and political status.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Translation given in Curzon 1926, 26-7

<sup>152</sup> Goodall 2011, 314-7

<sup>153</sup> Coulson *passim* but see eg Coulson 1992, 71, 82-3

<sup>154</sup> Coulson 1979, 1992, Liddiard 2005, 43-4

<sup>155</sup> Wheatley 2004, 19-43

<sup>156</sup> Coulson 1992, 96-8, 103-5

- 2.9.7 The traditional construction dates of c1385-95 have been determined largely on the grounds that this period of ten years,<sup>157</sup> between the licence to crenellate granted to Dallingridge in 1385 and the first mention of the castle in official records in 1395, is a reasonable minimum for the work involved. We suggest below (2.10.20) seven years as a minimum, assuming the moat earthworks already existed. If Dallingridge could mobilise the resources necessary to proceed with all practical haste, a building period of 7-10 years suggests that the castle was effectively complete by the time he died in July or August 1393.<sup>158</sup> His son is first recorded as being in possession of it in 1395.<sup>159</sup> No building accounts or other evidence to corroborate the construction date has survived, so the possibility that it was begun in the early 1380s, in advance of the licence, commissioned or more probably justified as a reaction to the French raids, cannot categorically be ruled out.
- 2.9.8 Construction joints show how the castle superstructure was built in stages, but consistent mason's marks suggest that a single workshop was involved. This supports a compressed building programme. There was only one major change of intent during the works, namely the decision to extend the main gate passage southwards to unify the north courtyard elevation; but the failure to set the hall door on axis, resulting in the hall footprint being a parallelogram, might imply haste. A start on building the mill leat, pond and mill in 1387 (verified by agreements with neighbours in 1386-7) indicates that they were pursued in parallel with the building of the castle.
- 2.9.9 Considered in terms of its military capabilities<sup>160</sup>, Bodiam would have been of limited use in the defence of the coast. It is situated away from the potentially strategic bridge (well beyond the 200m regarded as effective for bows or cross-bows, for example), nor does it guard an important harbour. Although Bodiam lies close to a major north-south route of Roman origin, by the 14th century its importance had diminished as that through Robertsbridge grew (Fig 5). Bodiam may have been vulnerable to raiders from the sea, but it is unlikely that a major force would have taken this route from the coast to London or Canterbury.
- 2.9.10 While many of the castle's 'military' features, such as gun-loops and ring-bosses in the gateway vaults, may not have been of great practical use, Bodiam is undoubtedly a fortified and defensible secure dwelling. This may perhaps be seen in the context of the civil unrest that followed the so-called Peasants' Revolt in 1381 and ongoing rivalries between regional

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<sup>157</sup> Coulson 1992, 68, suggests eight seasons of masonry work were required after the moat had been dug

<sup>158</sup> ODNB, *op cit*

<sup>159</sup> Curzon 1926, 28. Johnson's suggestion (2014, 16) that the castle was complete by 1388 'if not several years earlier' now seems untenable

<sup>160</sup> See, most famously, Coulson 1992

magnates. Dallingridge would hardly have wished to suggest that he was vulnerable to such local difficulties in seeking a licence to crenellate.

- 2.9.11 Even if it is not a primarily strategic, military building, Bodiam falls clearly into the family of quadrangular English castles built at the same period that includes Shirburn, Oxfordshire, seemingly Bodiam's closest comparator, licensed in 1377;<sup>161</sup> Sheriff Hutton (c1380s); Bolton (c1390s), both in Yorkshire, and Donnington in Berkshire (c1385). Some of them have a rather clearer military rationale than Bodiam, but they demonstrate the increasing importance of domestic architecture (as well as function) within an apparently secure and defensible shell. Whilst elaborate waterscapes have much earlier precedents, such as Leeds (Kent), Kenilworth (Warwickshire), Caerphilly (Glamorgan) and in the Low Countries, they are increasingly being identified as having existed around many English castles of the 14th and 15th centuries. Moreover, Dallingridge would probably not have recognised a particular distinction between English and continental European architecture, and it is likely that searching further, among, for example, the moated castles of the Low Countries, may be fruitful.
- 2.9.12 The designer of Bodiam was sophisticated and highly experienced, familiar with military and structural engineering and high architectural fashion, but no wholly reliable attribution to an individual has been made. Identifying an 'architect' in the modern sense is complicated by the way in which major buildings seem to have been designed at this period. The design and construction of buildings for the state had become the responsibility of a group of men, nominally master masons and carpenters, but in practice architects appointed to the crown, who not only designed buildings, but in varying degrees supervised the work of those responsible for individual buildings (who might now be called the 'job architects'). The masters not only designed buildings (producing drawings to be carried out on site), but also acted as consultants, supervising individual masters of works, thereby disseminating and influencing architectural fashions and technology to the royal circle and beyond. Nor should the client's role be under-estimated, particularly in a building whose complex planning in places surely reflects the structure and needs of a particular household.
- 2.9.13 The most important royal master mason of the late 14th century was Henry Yvele (c1325-1400),<sup>162</sup> who, as head of the King's Works, is likely to have been known to a leading crown servant such as Dallingridge. (Yvele, indeed, supervised a contract at the Tower of London in 1389.)<sup>163</sup> Yvele almost certainly designed the West Gate (1379-80) at Canterbury,

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<sup>161</sup> But caution is necessary given the extent of its rebuilding: Emery 2006,156

<sup>162</sup> Christopher Wilson, 'Yvele, Henry (d. 1400)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30220>, accessed 3 June 2015]

<sup>163</sup> Harvey 1987, 363, 365

which has close affinities with a number of castle gatehouses in the south-east of England. He acted in a supervisory role at Cooling Castle (c1380) built near Rochester for another successful soldier with connections at court, John de Cobham. He can plausibly be associated on stylistic grounds, or through their owners, with work at Arundel, Sussex, the seat of Dallingridge's principal patron (c1380), Saltwood Castle, Kent (1385-94) and above all Shirburn, built for another soldier of fortune, Warrin de Lisle.

- 2.9.14 At the very least Bodiam shows the clear influence of the King's Works of this period and of Yvele (particularly West Gate, Canterbury) in the confident handling of masses, manipulations of scale, especially of the round towers, and in details such as the hexagonal tower chambers, gun-loops and gatehouse vaulting.<sup>164</sup> Bodiam cannot be attributed definitely to Yvele, but, whatever its authorship, by including clear architectural references to the King's Works, Dallingridge was making explicit his status as a courtier in a way that would have been immediately recognisable to his peers and rivals.
- 2.9.15 For all the threats from foreign invasion, assessment of military effectiveness, echoes of medieval romance and reminders of places we know Dallingridge to have visited, we cannot know exactly why he built the castle as he did, nor how he and his contemporaries viewed the landscape around it, as militarily vulnerable, as wilderness to be conquered, or as a scene of beauty. We can say that whatever the intentions of its builders, in its siting, its construction, its composition and its proportions, Bodiam Castle was conceived as a sublime, awe-inspiring work of architecture that would leave no-one in any doubt as to the pride and magnificence of its lord.

## 2.10 The form and planning of the castle

### *Introduction*

- 2.10.1 This section is an attempt to analyse the construction of the castle, its planning, and use, through careful observation of the surviving fabric. The results are shown in a site plan (Fig 14) and a sequence of floor plans, in which what can be reconstructed from evidence is shown superimposed in grey on the structure as it now exists (reproduced here at small scale as Figs 15-19). These are supported by a sequence of external elevation drawings and annotated rectified photographs of the internal wall elevations, on which historic floor and roof levels are superimposed (Appendix G); references to them are prefixed by 'E'. More detail for each historic space appears in the gazetteer. Each historic room has been numbered, with a prefix (0, 1, 2, 3) for each storey upwards from the basement.

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<sup>164</sup> Goodall 2011; comparison of mason marks across the different sites might be fruitful: see 4.10

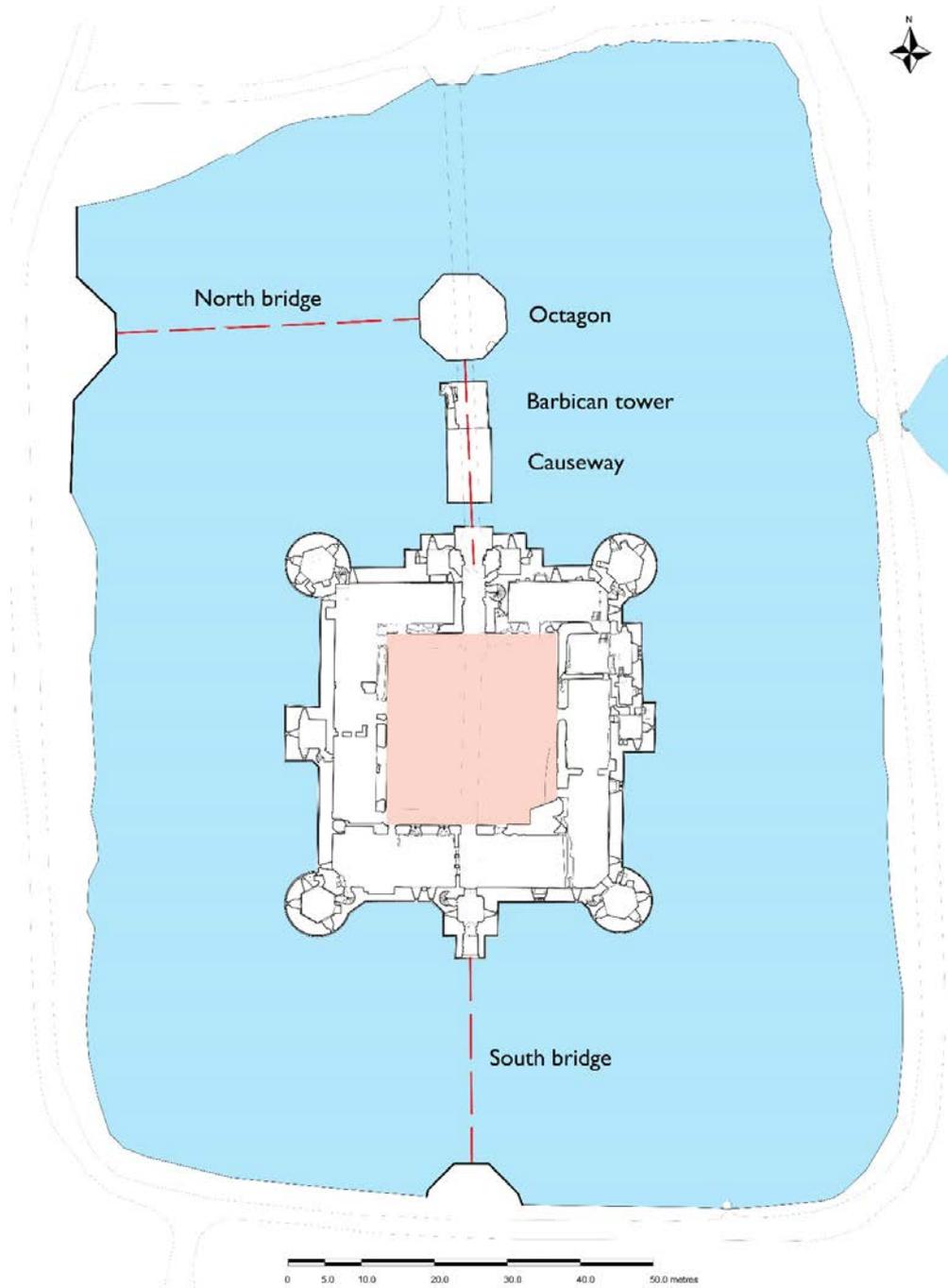


Figure 14 Bodiam Castle in its moat (based on a survey by James Brennan Associates)

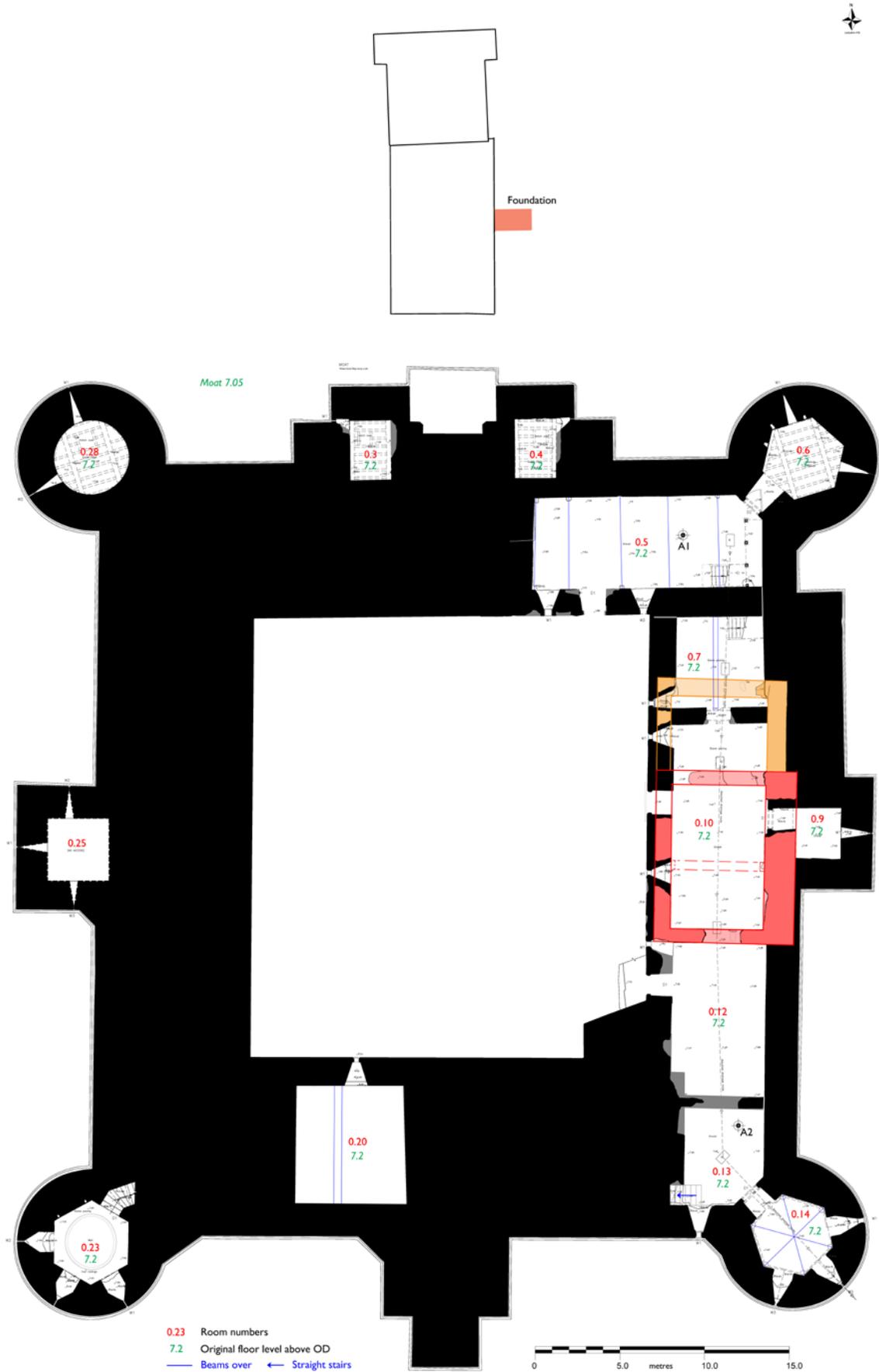


Figure 15 Bodiam Castle: Basement plan (based on a survey by James Brennan Associates). Early masonry is shown red (primary) and orange (secondary); reconstructed lines and walls in grey tone

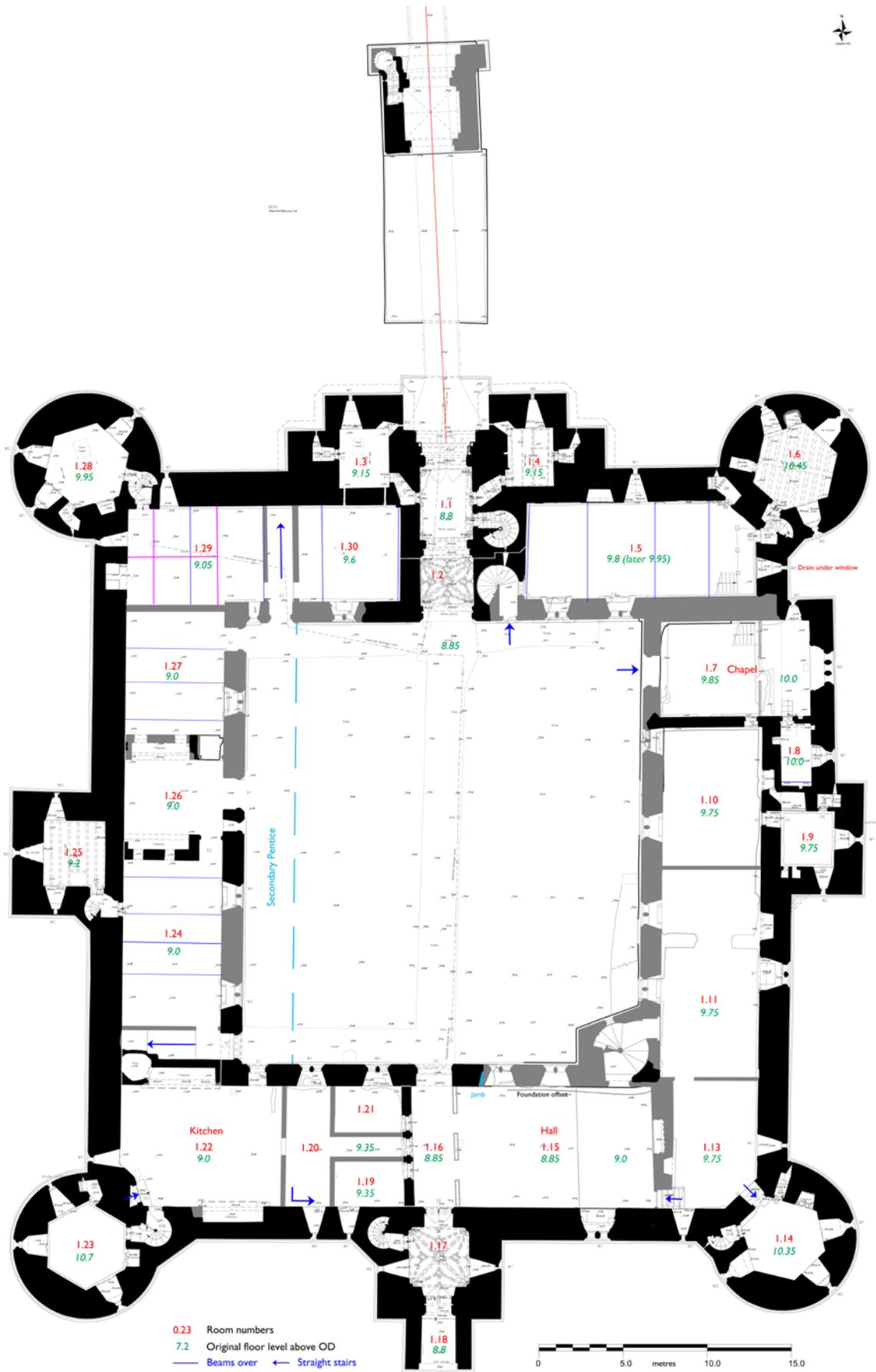


Figure 16 Bodiam Castle Ground Floor Plan (based on a survey by James Brennan Associates); reconstructed lines and walls in grey tone



Figure 17 Bodiam Castle First Floor Plan (based on a survey by James Brennan Associates); reconstructed lines and walls in grey tone

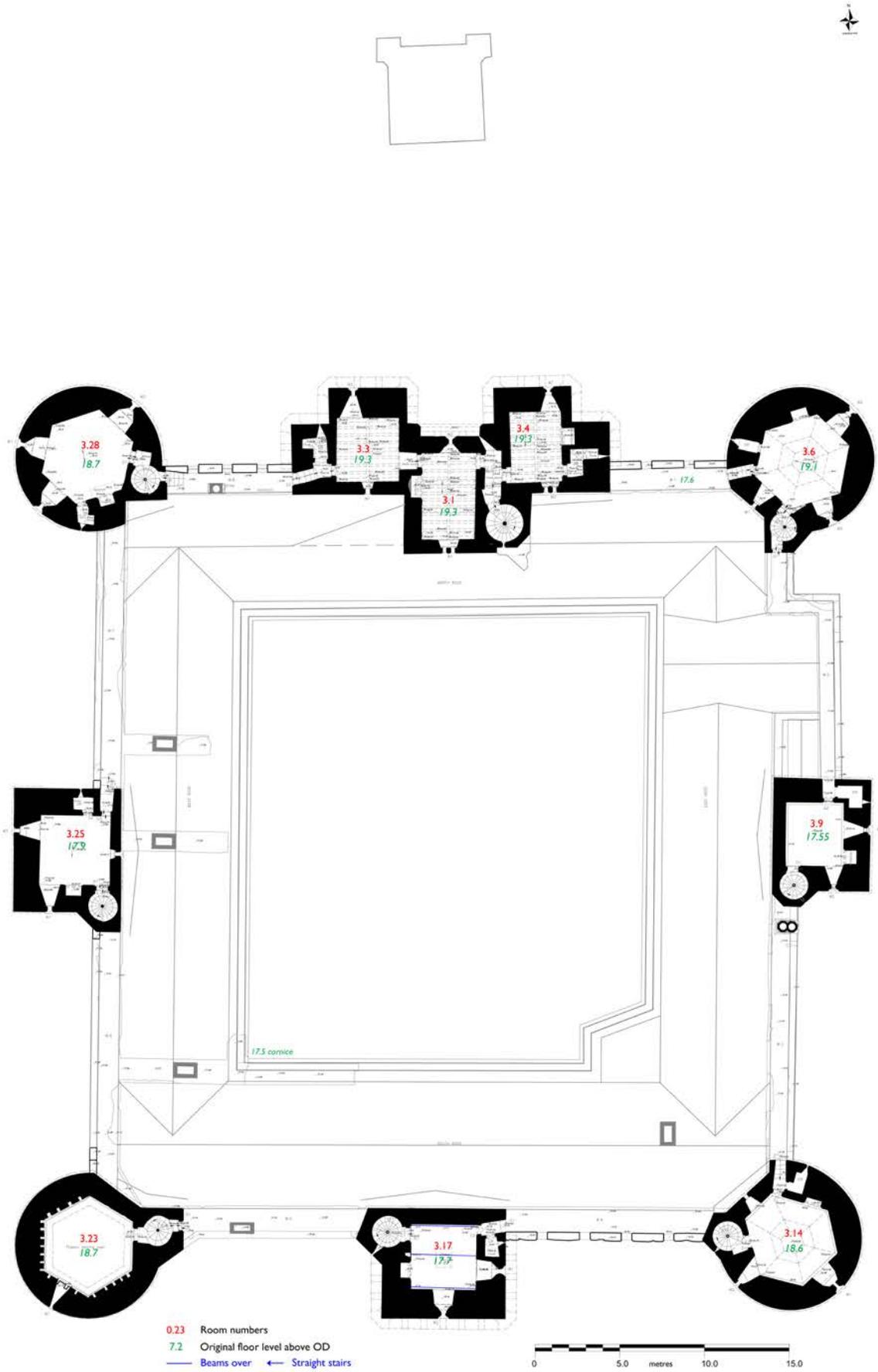


Figure 18 Bodiam Castle Second Floor Plan (based on a survey by James Brennan Associates); reconstructed lines and walls in grey tone

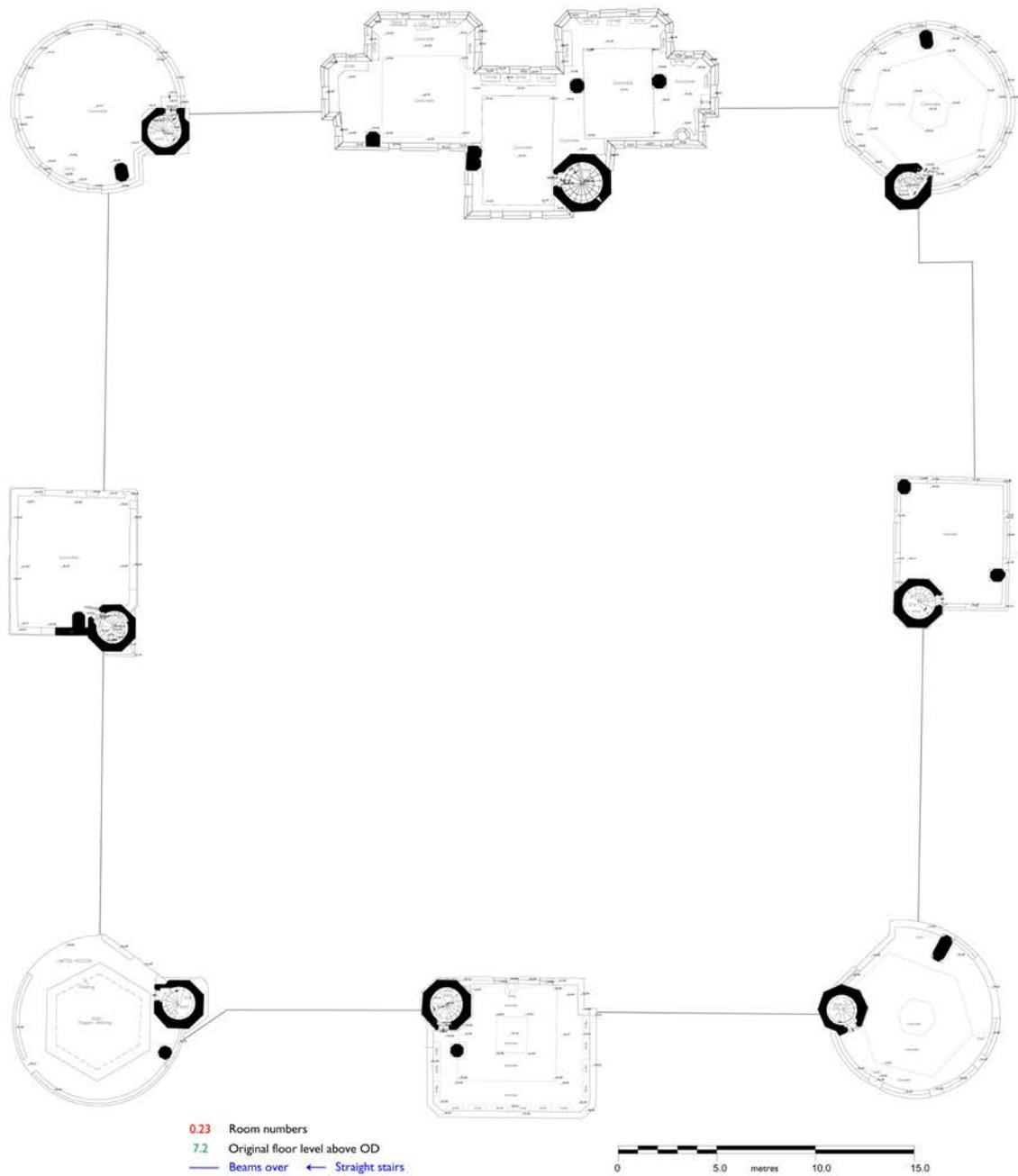


Figure 19 Bodiam Castle Third Floor Plan (based on a survey by James Brennan Associates); reconstructed lines and walls in grey tone

*Materials*

- 2.10.2 The castle is principally built of local stone from the Ashdown beds, a durable, but relatively easily worked, sandstone. The site of the quarry is unknown, but, by 1730, stone was dug locally to the north-west of the castle, in an open pit which remains (Appendix F: Map 5).<sup>165</sup> This is just within the boundary of the Wadhurst Clay which overlies the Ashdown beds, presumably because the stone was better, if unweathered. Other pits are visible in the same geological relationship, including in the shaw south-east of the church, and along the road from the west (see Map 5). Very slight variations in colour probably indicate different building seasons and beds, rather than different sources. The external facings of the castle are mostly coursed squared blocks, tending to rubble at low level on the west. This and the visible tool marks suggest that some areas, at least, were intended to be ‘flushed up’, with the implication of limewash overall. The remaining courtyard walls are faced with coursed squared blocks. Internal wall faces are mostly of rubble, clearly intended to be plastered. In the north-west corner of the courtyard buildings, some areas of thin plaster remain.
- 2.10.3 Clay roof tiles were used to form the firebacks to the hearths; on edge, they resist heat very well and many show signs of it. West Country slate fragments were used to wedge up masonry joints, for example, in the north doorway of the cross-passage.<sup>166</sup> Both were in common use locally when the castle was built and those used in the construction, mostly broken, may be reused from other buildings. Some have been found in the moat around the building, implying use on castle roofs, but the evidence (2.10.30) suggests that most were near-flat and leaded. Oyster shells were also used to wedge up stone joints, for example, in the latrine doorway to 2.17.<sup>167</sup> Flemish type bricks were used for the firebacks to rooms 2.14, 3.14, 3.17 and 2.23<sup>168</sup> and a few have been found in excavation, although their use was incidental. But coloured glazed floor tiles of Flemish technique were used on the floors of some of the principal apartments, certainly including the chapel (see 2.10.77).

*Plan and exterior*

- 2.10.4 The castle comprises a single courtyard within a curtain wall rising from the moat via a shallow battered plinth. The curtain walls are 13.15m from moat level to parapet copings and 2.2m thick at the bottom, on the east partly clasping the wall of an earlier structure. The depth of the footings varies from 0.6 to 0.9m below the bed, on which they were laid completely dry. There has been very little differential movement,<sup>169</sup> suggesting a firm geological bed for the foundations despite their shallow

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<sup>165</sup> Called ‘*The Stone Pets*’ on the 1730 map, ESRO AMS 6454/6/1

<sup>166</sup> Holden 1989 shows their distribution in Sussex.

<sup>167</sup> We are grateful to Penny Copeland for drawing our attention to this, and to the external finish (2.10.2)

<sup>168</sup> And possibly a few others deeply robbed out, including 1.14

<sup>169</sup> Coulson’s ‘none’ is an exaggeration, but the structure is, as he says, certainly a credit to the technical skill of its builder

depth below the moat. The central island, barbican and octagon by which it was accessed were encased by stone revetments, battered inwards. The moat banks were not revetted in stone other than at the bridge abutments.

- 2.10.5 There are round (drum) towers on the corners, square towers at the centre of the west and east sides, a principal gatehouse with portcullises at the centre of the north side, and a secondary, postern gate-tower at the centre of the south side. The round towers are c.8.7m in external diameter. The gatehouse and postern tower are crenellated and machicolated; the other towers and wall walks have, or had, crenellations with very wide merlons. Those from the wall-walks are largely lost and those to the towers mainly 19th and early 20th century restorations using stones found on site. The theme of crenellation was continued at a decorative scale in the diminutive parapets of the small flat roofs over the stair turrets,<sup>170</sup> and in the miniature battlements to the caps of the hexagonal chimneys. These now mostly survive on the towers, but originally also enlivened the profile of the wall walks (a pair survives on the east).
- 2.10.6 Most of the external windows are small lancets or square-headed openings. All the windows on the west and north elevations, seen from rising ground, are of this form. By contrast, the east elevation, and the east end of the south elevation, seen from the marshes and meadows of the river Rother below, have some larger windows. On the east, a large three-light traceried window lit the projecting chapel, with two-light lancets to each floor of the principal apartments to its south. The hall, at the east end of the south elevation, had a large two-light mullion and transom window to the high end. Except for narrow slits to latrines and cellars, all the windows have the sockets of ferramenta remaining, and internal rebates for shutters often retaining the evidence of pintles, but few show overt evidence of primary glazing in the form of glazing grooves. The large lights of the chapel provide a notable exception, but their absence from the smaller domestic window lights does not necessarily imply the absence of glazing.
- 2.10.7 Bodiam is a relatively small castle, but its exterior is notable for its manipulation of scale: its visual impact is magnified by the use of purely architectural effects. Its towers and curtain wall are monumentalised by the use of disproportionately small windows on the elevations facing upslope, and its overall mass is exaggerated by its reflection in the moat, which the shallow plinth barely interrupts.

*The bridges*

- 2.10.8 The approaches to the castle from the moat-banks as constructed (Fig 13) were via timber trestle bridges of which nothing may now be seen above water, except the stone abutments from which they sprang on the moat

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<sup>170</sup> Coulson 1992, 57 describes them as ‘dummies’, which is perhaps to miss the point

banks. The principal approach was a dog-leg from the west side of the moat to an octagonal platform in front of the two-story barbican tower, and thence through the tower to the gatehouse. The secondary approach, from the south, was directly from the southern bank of the moat to the postern gate. The form of the bridges is known from Curzon's excavations of 1919-20,<sup>171</sup> and more recent archaeological excavation and analysis.<sup>172</sup>

- 2.10.9 The timber cill-beams of the northern bridge, revealed when Curzon drained the moat, were laid directly into trenches in the moat bottom, and remain *in situ*. Re-excavation by David Martin in 1970<sup>173</sup> showed two phases in the evolution of the western abutment: firstly, a simple trestle bridge from a stone-revetted bank to the octagon; and second, the construction of the projecting masonry abutment and modification of the end of the trestle bridge to include a lifting section that closed off the rest when raised.
- 2.10.10 The foundation for the postern bridge seems to have been constructed to the same plan as the final version of the northern bridge, with a southern lifting section adjacent to a stone-revetted abutment, so presumably at about the same time; it had no preliminary or interim form. Unlike the western bridge, its trestle cills had been raised on stone bases, compensating for the greater depth of the moat here whilst ensuring that both bridges, if built of standard pre-fabricated trestles, were at the same height when they reached the castle.<sup>174</sup> There was no lifting section at the castle end (see 2.10.49).

*The Octagon, Barbican and the final approach to the gatehouse*

- 2.10.11 The primary form of the Octagon, a solid masonry platform, is uncertain, as is its precise function. It can be interpreted as an intermediate defence on the way across the moat and as a stage on the ceremonial approach to the castle. All but the most honoured guests may have dismounted here.<sup>175</sup> Coping-stones found when the moat was drained indicate that both it and the western bridge abutment and its flanking revetment walls had parapet walls. The base of a latrine projecting on the north-east side suggests that it was intended to be manned.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> See plans at end of Curzon 1926 for details

<sup>172</sup> Curzon 1926, 89-92; Martin 1973; Rigold 1975, 77, 99

<sup>173</sup> Described in Martin 1973

<sup>174</sup> Three timbers were found *ex situ* by contractors clearing the silt from the moat: Martin 1973, 15-17

<sup>175</sup> Coulson 1992, 89

<sup>176</sup> Martin 1973, 16, fig 6

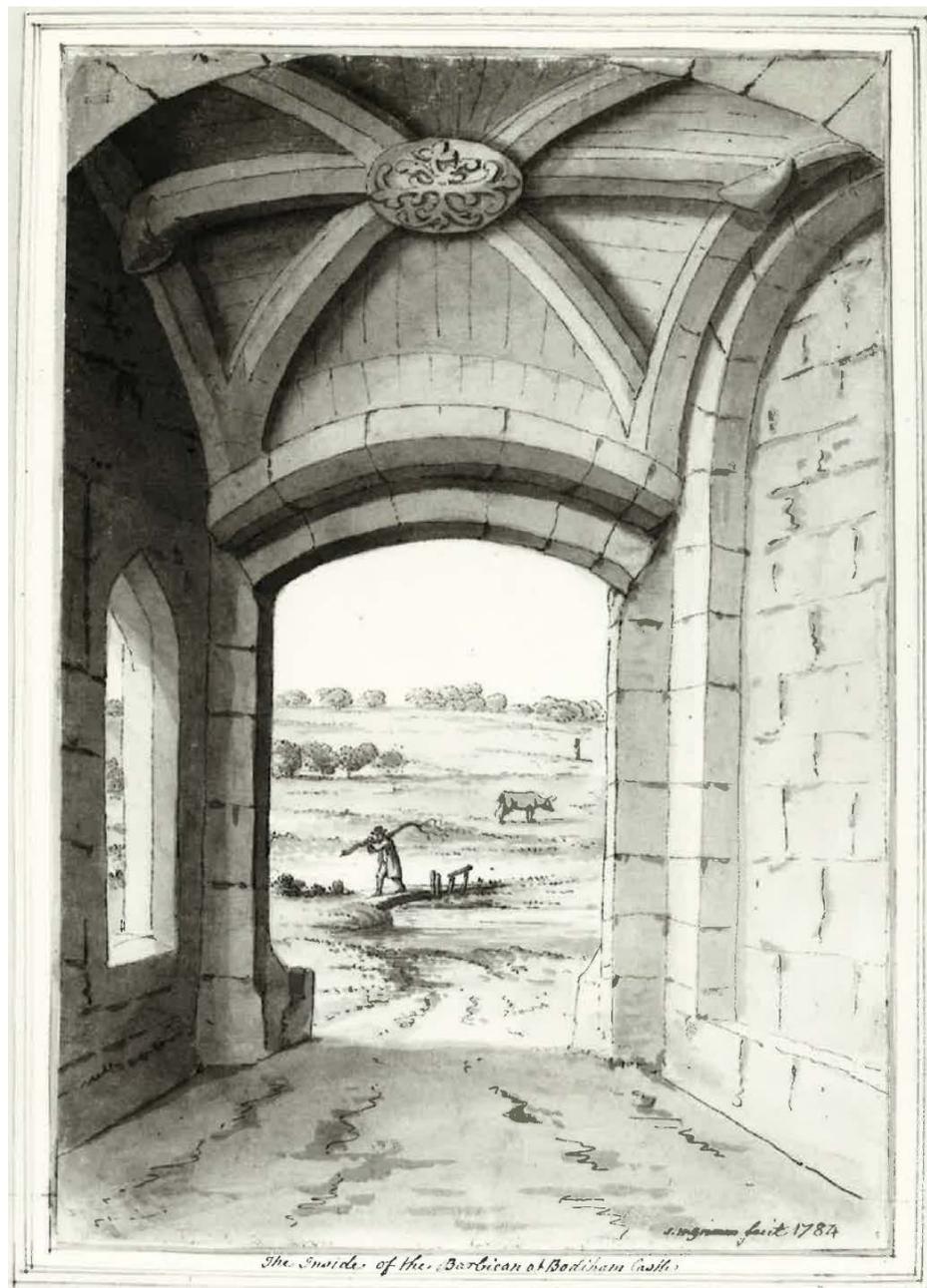


Figure 20 *The interior of the Barbican at Bodiam Castle* (S H Grimm, 1784) © The British Library Board, *Add MS Burrell*, 5670, f7)

2.10.12 The barbican was an outer, two-storey gatehouse, of which only the lower half of the west wall now remains. The base of a stone newel staircase to the north-west corner, entered via a rib-vaulted passage, and the remains of a latrine chute to the east side, confirm that there was an upper chamber which would have housed the gate keeper and the mechanism for the portcullis, whose groove is evident in the jamb of the northern entrance arch. In plan, the entrance is a scaled-down replica of that to the castle gatehouse, which suggests that its north elevation as a whole was of similar form, with machicolations between the flanking square turrets. However, there is no evidence for gate pintles, so, unless the bridge from

the octagon was capable of being raised, the portcullis was the only barrier to passage through the gatehouse.

- 2.10.13 The lower storey of the barbican tower was intact until the late 18th century, but the circumstances of its loss are unknown. A watercolour of 1784 (Fig 20) shows the (near-square) barbican passage complete, its high rib-vaulted ceiling having a central foliate boss and the remains of two others against the east and west walls; a similar boss survives in the stair passage 2.1.2 in the main gatehouse. Although rather simpler than the vaults to the main gatehouse and postern, it was unusually decorative for a merely defensive out-work and perhaps highlights the ceremonial aspect of the approach to the castle. A blind arch in the east wall (only) presumably reflects the fact that it did not have to accommodate an intra-mural stair passage. It is also clear that by 1784, ground level through the passage had been reduced to its present level, exposing foundation blocks to the southern archway; originally it, and presumably the octagon and bridges, were paved at the same level as the main gate passage, c8.8m AOD.
- 2.10.14 The barbican tower was originally built free-standing, on axis with the Octagon and the centre of the north gateway of the castle, but this axis is aligned about 2° west of the axis of the castle itself (Fig 16). The extant stone-walled causeway, and the answering stone abutment projecting forward from the main gatehouse, belong to a second phase of work, abutting and over-riding the primary structures; but since the same masons' marks occur on the masonry of the barbican and the causeway, and the workmanship is identical, this must represent a change of mind. The causeway was built on the axis of the castle, and so the route to the castle gate lies diagonally across it. There is little to suggest the intended form of the primary connection; postholes in the moat bottom flanking the causeway share its alignment, so are more likely to be scaffolding (the long walls were presumably raised to a parapet like the Octagon) than an earlier, temporary structure. In the final arrangement, there is no evidence (such as rebates or slots in the stonework) that the short bridges between the octagon and barbican, and barbican and gatehouse, could be lifted.<sup>177</sup> It is possible that these changes are connected with the decision to extend the castle gatehouse southwards, including a third portcullis, reducing the need for further barriers here. The only clue to the earlier connecting structure is masonry projecting from under the east side of the causeway,<sup>178</sup> which might be related to the kind of substantial bridge trestle that could accommodate a lifting section.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Martin 1973, 20

<sup>178</sup> Martin 1973, 21-2; fig 4, F23

<sup>179</sup> The bridge between the barbican and gatehouse was replaced with solid fill at a much later date; and for unknown reasons, the timber trestles of the main bridges deliberately removed: Martin 1973, 22.

*The process and sequence of construction of the castle*

2.10.15 The curtain and towers, including the entire northern gatehouse, were begun first, although the integral provision of windows, doors, latrines and fireplaces in the curtain makes clear that the complex plan was determined from the outset and carried through with little deviation. In the curtain walls, faced externally mostly in coursed squared blocks, the principal construction divisions are horizontal. On the east and south elevations, the first break is at c9.4-9.5m AOD, corresponding with the first internal offset in the east range (see E7), the level down to which the Period 3.1 structures were demolished. This is also the level at which the circular internal plan of the north-west tower basement (0.28) gives way to the hexagonal plan of all the other towers at all levels, suggesting that within this first level, it might have been a prototype. Other than that, the hexagonal interiors are a notable feature, associated, like the gatehouse ring-bosses, with the King's Works, and also seen in the north-east tower of the almost contemporary Cooling Castle, the design of which is known to have been supervised by Henry Yvele.

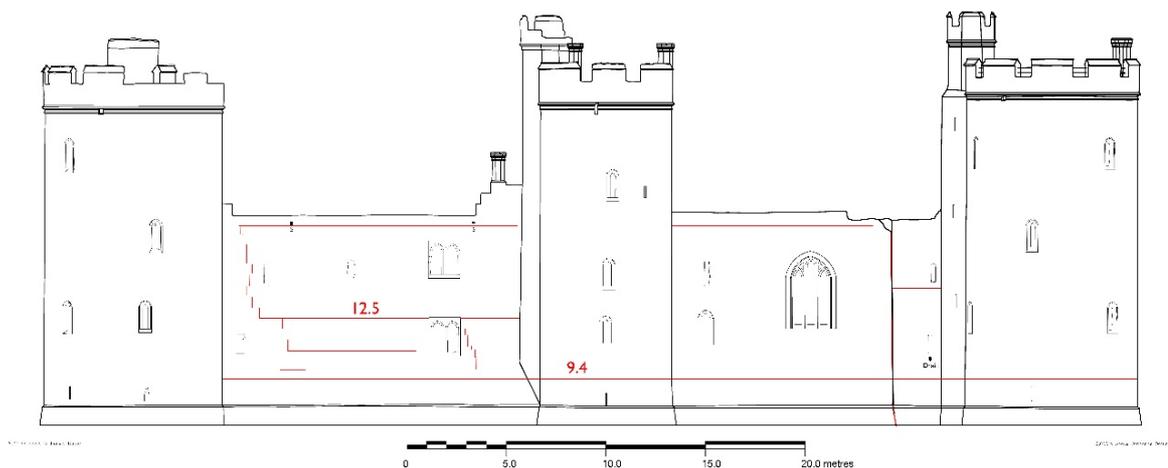


Figure 21 The east elevation of Bodiam Castle, showing some of the more prominent construction joints

2.10.16 The next break on the east elevation (Fig 21) is at 12.5m, corresponding with an internal offset at the heads of the ground floor windows, but substantially below first floor level in the east range. The level varies – 12.6m on the north elevation, 13.2m on the south, 13.5m on the west. The next stage reaches around 17m AOD, which approaches wall walk level. Above this there must have been another stage to completion, making four in all.

2.10.17 Vertical construction joints are visible within these stages, where masonry courses of different heights meet. Most are concealed at internal angles, but a few appear in the middle of sections of the curtain, for example through the second stage west of the postern tower. They probably indicate junctions between the work of different gangs of masons, each of

whom was drawing on their own stockpile of stone.<sup>180</sup> Most junctions, however, are close to towers and, rather than being confined within a stage, some extend vertically beyond the second stage. The second stage of the south-west tower reaches 14.5m, implying that it (and probably others) was brought up in advance of the walls.



Figure 22 The NE corner of the chapel. The north wall abuts the east below the platform; over-rides it through the lower stage above (1; the back of the recess caused by its removal has been built out in modern work), and bonded with it above (2)

2.10.18 Internally, the chapel walls seem to have been begun a season behind the curtain. At basement level, the north wall of the chapel abuts the first stage of the curtain, and the chapel's west wall abuts its north wall.<sup>181</sup> But having been begun in the second stage, the north wall seems to have been carried up initially in advance of the curtain, which thus appears to have wrapped around its east end.<sup>182</sup> In the third stage and above, both were

<sup>180</sup> Champion 2016 is likely to shed light on this

<sup>181</sup> The south wall also abuts the curtain, but a part of the curtain formed by a section of phase 1 wall

<sup>182</sup> The plan of the end of the lost wall is shown clearly on J Tavernor Perry's plan (1864, rev H Sands 1925; ESRO, Acc 3693 [3]), before modern consolidation.

bonded together (Fig 22). The south chapel wall is integral with the adjacent curtain and room 1.8, and at its west end retains the reveal of a window in the courtyard wall to the south. This part, at least, of the courtyard wall was at best begun only a season behind the curtain and carried up in parallel with it.

2.10.19 Elsewhere, however, there seems to have been less co-ordination and one clear change of intention from the moment the courtyard wall was begun. The range defined by the north courtyard wall, effectively the western continuation of that of the chapel, including the added inner bay of the gate passage, abuts the primary gatehouse through two storeys, which had been built fair from courtyard level. Their designs conflict, leading to the tower stair window having to be lit from a borrowed light into the added north-east range stair. The cusped window in the ashlar face of the gatehouse south elevation was blocked (its lower part could have been retained as an internal window) by the room (2.2) added over the gateway extension. It is clear that the original intention was to have a recessed façade to the gatehouse down to courtyard level, and that these conflicts arose from a change of plan (E14) to form a continuous north façade to the courtyard.

2.10.20 At the south-east corner of the courtyard, enough remains to show that the masonry of the inner angle, represented by the foot of the stair tower, was integral with the east wall of the hall, and it with the cross wall on the north side of 0.13, but neither of the latter was bonded to or in any way reflected on the curtain. They lagged behind the curtain, but the latter was not necessarily complete before they were begun. However, the masonry cross wall defining the north side of the kitchen was not bonded to either the curtain or the courtyard walls,<sup>183</sup> nor were those defining room 1.28. It seems inescapable that these three were built after both curtain *and* courtyard walls were complete. However, and especially in the light of the fact that the floor frames in the west range were contemporary with the cross walls (2.10.22), it is evident that, like the lack of bonding at many of the internal angles of the exterior elevations, this reflects an approach to the construction of massive walls, rather than later intervention.<sup>184</sup> If the curtain and gatehouses were completed in a minimum of four seasons (stages 1-4), then depending on how far the courtyard lagged behind, at least two more seasons (stages 5-6) would have been needed to complete the masonry, the final one including the un-bonded cross walls.



Figure 23 The ‘most conspicuous’ mason marks noted at the castle by Lord Curzon (1926, 112)

<sup>183</sup> Matt Champion, pers comm, notes that this, but not the other two, cross-walls has very few mason’s marks. But it is largely built of rubble, and the ones that do occur match the small triangle on the adjacent north wall of the kitchen

<sup>184</sup> Justified by the lack of differential movement after six centuries

- 2.10.21 The exterior and the courtyard windows are generally of contrasting style, plain flat or pointed heads externally, cusped heads internally. Curzon thought this suggested that the courtyard windows were of later date, but, since there is no sign of intervention, it seems clear that the severity, simplicity and even consciously archaic detailing of the exterior was intended for architectural effect, adding to the impact of entering the more domestic courtyard. Both sets of windows suggest standardisation that would have been more efficient in the fabrication of windows in the mason's lodge in advance of each building season, even if it resulted, in the courtyard, in window seats in service rooms. The entry door to the hall was clearly retrofitted into a space left for it, wedged up with slate in the joints; but otherwise shows no sign of alteration, and the rere-arch was built with the wall. These features support an emphasis on efficiency, if not haste.
- 2.10.22 On the north and south walls of rooms 1-2.24 it is clear that the upper part of the inserted cross walls followed, or was contemporary with, the laying of the first floor framing, the impression of the timbers being clearly preserved. In the building sequence, this is the first evidence (in stage 6) of carpenters working on the courtyard ranges alongside and integrated with the masons; most of the floor and roof frames were retrofitted to the masonry. This was in contrast to the gatehouse and towers, where the builders followed the normal practice of building in the framework as the work proceeded.<sup>185</sup> Once the courtyard cross walls were up, the roof frames were laid and the building covered in. At least another season (stage 7) would have been necessary for finishing – plasterwork, flooring, doors, glazing.
- 2.10.23 In summary, assuming that Dallingridge had no problem in funding and resourcing the building of the castle, the evidence of the visible construction stages suggests that it could have been built in as little as seven years, assuming that the earthworks were complete. Ten would not be unreasonable. The gatehouse, a separate entity in planning terms, was clearly prioritised and could have been usable in half that time.

*The courtyard and internal plan*

- 2.10.24 The domestic apartments are arranged on two principal storeys around the four sides of the courtyard, in what was to become the conventional arrangement. The door to the screens passage is almost directly opposite the main gate, with the great hall to its east and the kitchen and services to its west, in a south range that is about 1m wider than the others.<sup>186</sup> The high end of the hall connected via a stair with the principal apartments in the east range, which terminated in the chapel and its associated spaces in

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<sup>185</sup> Another difference is that within the towers, putlog holes tend to be very evident, but hardly ever appear in the courtyard ranges

<sup>186</sup> The modern path between the doors is clear on the geophysical survey (Fig 12), and may mask traces of an earlier one

the north-east angle of the court. These two ranges (Fig 24, 2) formed a self-contained house arranged primarily on a linear plan, probably with no internal communication with the remaining ranges.<sup>187</sup>

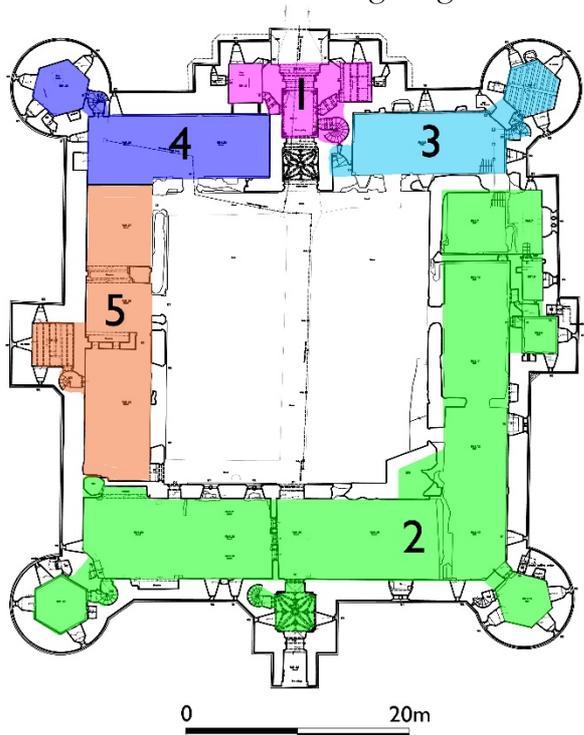


Figure 24 The principal divisions of the courtyard accommodation, lacking intercommunication

2.10.25 The main gatehouse (Fig 24, 1) dominates internally as it does externally, answered by the smaller, but still machicolated, postern gate tower on the same axis. The main gatehouse interior does not communicate with the flanking sections of the north range (3, 4), which in turn were probably not interconnected. The north-east range seems to have provided large high status lodgings, one perhaps for Sir Edward's step-mother (2.7.1). Service functions predominated in the west range (5), with a mix of uses in the north-west range (4). Thus the courtyard buildings, although architecturally integrated, were divided into five functional sections, between which communication was possible only via the courtyard (eventually with a pentice linking the doors along the west side) or along the wall walks and over the flat roofs. Interestingly – and probably an indicator of lower status – the principal stairs to ranges 4 and 5 were steep, straight timber flights, rather than the generous stone newel stairs of ranges 2 and 3.

2.10.26 The surviving fabric makes it clear that within a broadly formal, restrained and regular composition, the function and status of each part were expressed through architectural detail such as window design, with two-tier transomed windows to the higher-status (and higher-ceilinged) first floor chambers, and lights without transoms to the ground floor, possibly

<sup>187</sup> See 2.10.81 for the possibility of a link to the chapel

influenced by one of the most prestigious 14th century domestic ranges in England, the upper ward at Windsor castle (1359-69, architects John Sponlee and William Wynford).<sup>188</sup> However, the tendency towards standardisation of windows at each level suggests that this should not necessarily be taken as reflecting the status of individual rooms; and their presentation to the courtyard was probably influenced by a desire to compose and unify the facades (cf Windsor) rather than functionality alone.

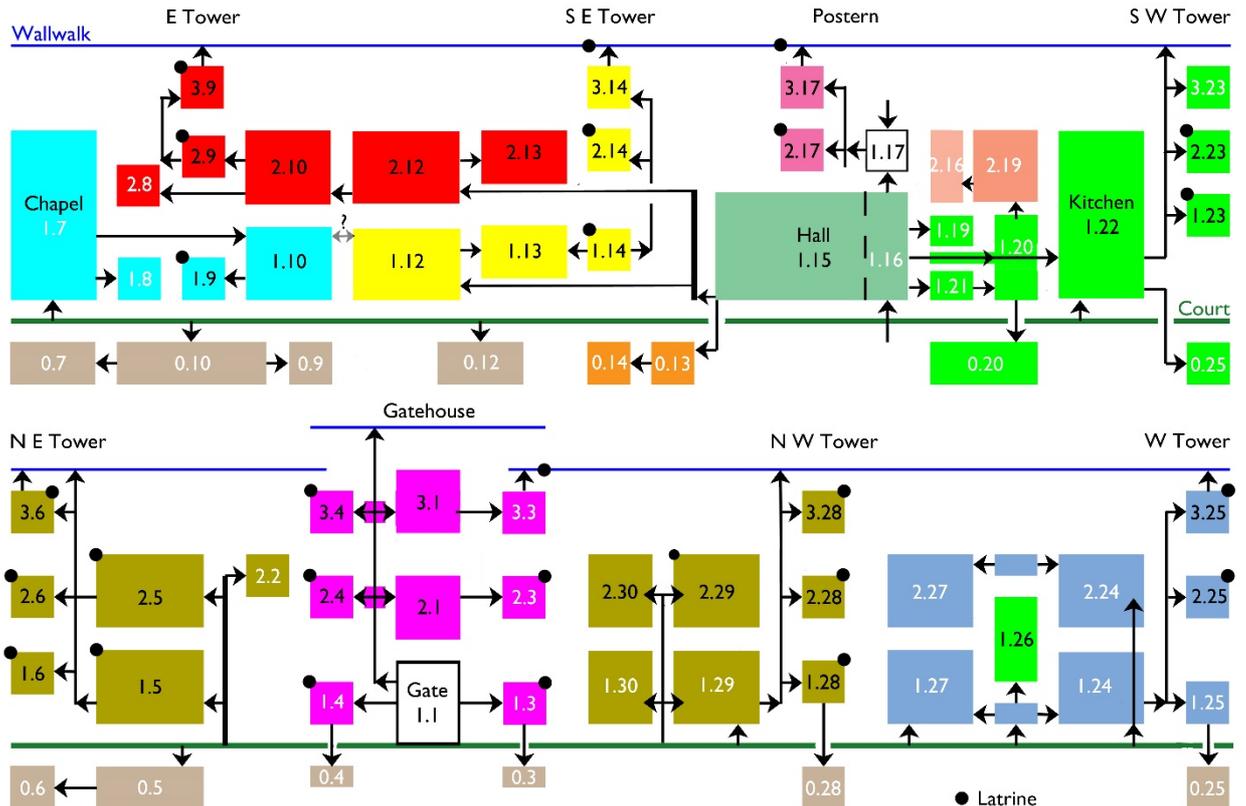


Figure 25 The planning of the castle (developed from Faulkner 1963, fig 11). Room numbers in black denote heated spaces; white, unheated spaces. Arrows point in the direction that doors opened.

2.10.27 The destruction of so much of the courtyard elevations is a grievous loss, but the spaces and their uses in the principal house (Fig 24, 2) can be identified on the basis of what remains and established conventions, while the rooms in the gatehouses and towers survive (save for floors and roofs) in almost their primary form. Where internal divisions do not survive, the numerous fireplaces, windows and latrines in the exterior walls, along with more subtle clues like the evidence for structural timberwork which once engaged with the masonry, provide a great deal of information. On this basis, the planning of the castle at room level can be suggested diagrammatically (Fig 25) with relatively few uncertainties.

2.10.28 Some consistent design and construction traits also help. In the courtyard ranges, fireplaces are either in the curtain wall or in cross walls, not the

<sup>188</sup> Goodall 2011, 314

courtyard wall; perhaps for aesthetic reasons, to keep a crisp parapet line, and perhaps also to keep smoke out of the courtyard. The demolished east wall of the hall, both from its thickness and this general trait, can be assumed to have had fireplaces in the east face and, on that basis, all the rooms in the east range would be provided with them. Equally, the chamber over the services (2.17), defined by timber-framed cross walls, was not heated. Apart from the chapel, it seems that masonry cross walls were only used for specific, functional reasons; to contain fireplaces, in the basements where timber would rot, and for the showy three-door screen to the services in the screens passage (but not the wall above it). Building only perimeter and chimney walls in masonry remained common in high status domestic building in and beyond the 16th century: it has no negative implications for the status of rooms divided by (here substantial) timber-framed internal walls.

- 2.10.29 The structural carpentry was fitted, as noted, largely within a completed masonry shell (except for some of the cross walls), contrary to the usual practice of building in floor (and often roof) frames as the work proceeded. All the main walls were so thick that the tying function of floor and roof frames (like the bonding of angles: 2.10.20) was hardly necessary. But it means that there is very limited evidence of their detailed form, and what there is points to diversity rather than consistency in the framing of floors. Whether this was due to different teams of carpenters, deliberate design decisions, or the need to utilise available timber, we do not know.

*The courtyard and tower roofs*

- 2.10.30 In contrast to the floors, the courtyard range roof timbers seem to have been framed on plates with their upper surfaces consistently at  $\approx 17.5\text{m}$  AOD, which corresponds to the top of the surviving fragment of cornice moulding in the south-west angle of the courtyard.<sup>189</sup> The level is evident, for example, in the sockets cut for bridging beams in the west tower (E5) or the top of the surviving plaster on the west side of the gatehouse (E22). The wall tops rarely survive to this level except where they continue up as towers. The best evidence for the roof framing is on the east face of the west tower (E5), where sockets cut for the bridging beams indicate that, at the bearing ends, they were  $\approx 300\text{mm}$  wide x  $350\text{mm}$  deep, laid out (here, but not consistently) so that there was one either side of a masonry cross wall. The space between was divided into equal bays normally in the range of 4-4.5m, confirmed in room 2.5 on the north side (E6). Bridging beams not against cross walls had braces down to wall posts extending 1.8-1.9m (6ft) below the soffits, and so in two-storeyed spaces avoid coinciding with windows, whose heads they would foul. Their positions are evident only where shallow trenches had to be cut to fit the posts of trusses presumably prefabricated, as usual, on the ground. In the kitchen (1.22), over the wider span (7.2m compared to

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<sup>189</sup> The cornice is at 17.527m; consistency seems to be  $\pm 30\text{mm}$

6.2m elsewhere), the trusses were closer (3.3m), but this could simply reflect the division of a given space into three bays where two would have been impractical. The wall posts here and in 2.17, so perhaps in the south range generally, were only 1m deep. The known truss positions (Fig 17) show that the east and west range roofs were structurally subservient to the north and south range roofs.

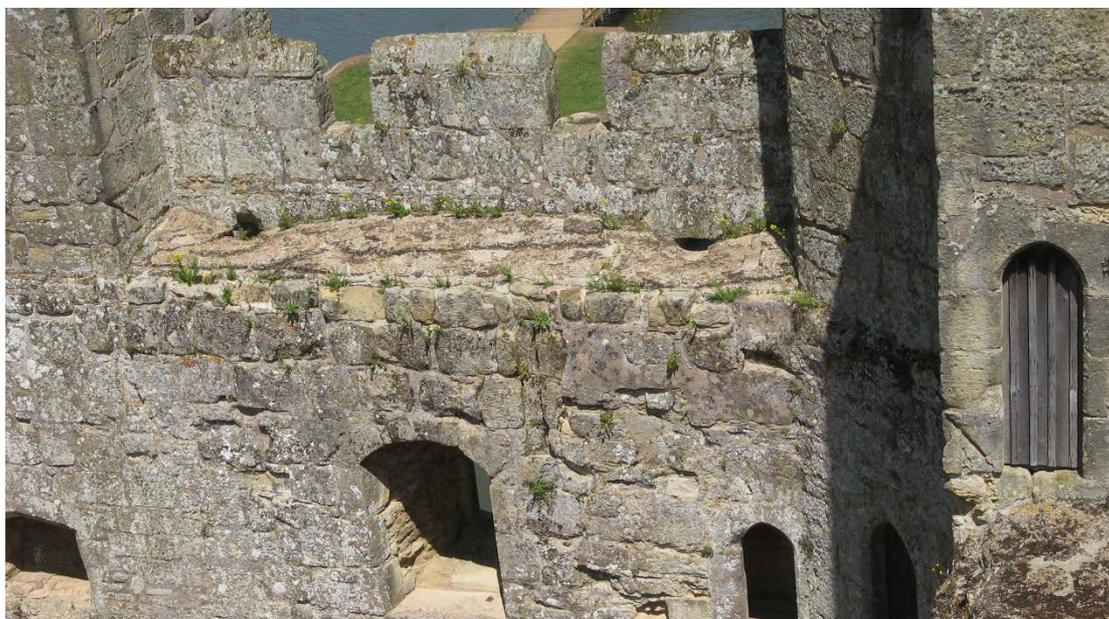


Figure 26 The north-east corner of the courtyard ranges, showing truss positions indicated by wall post slots, flashing lines, and drainage across the wall walks to a pair of drains under the parapet

- 2.10.31 Chases in the walls, some still containing lead, relate to flashings weathering the upturned edges of roofing lead. This is evident from their height above the bridging beams, the variation in pitch (many are flat) and from the overlaps. Moreover, they are not consistently present – hardly at all on the east and south ranges, stopping above the west wall of the hall in the latter (E8) – and their detail varies considerably. This suggests that they were retrofitted where simply turning lead up against the wall face covered by a mortar fillet did not keep the water out, or when roofs were re-leaded. On the splay against the NE tower, timbers seem to have been let into the wall to fix the flashing or otherwise repair the roof (E7A).
- 2.10.32 Such evidence as survives suggests the main roofs rose towards a central ridge, and there is a long-established interpretation that they were lead-covered, at a pitch of between 3° and 6°. The clearest expression of this is on the south end of the central block of the main gatehouse, where the duo-pitch roof, with slopes at 6°, met the parapet (Fig 27). That roof form over the north courtyard range is consistent with the horizontal flashing line on the south face of the north gatehouse (E14), effectively on the ridge line, and the pitch indicated by its western return (E22). However, the other flashing lines would be equally consistent with the back gutters of steeply-pitched hipped roofs over each structural compartment, familiar from French *chateau*.



Figure 27 The south abutment of the central block roof of the north gatehouse, showing chase for roof leadwork

2.10.33 The use of shallow flat roofs suggests that the bridging beams were cambered or cut to follow the roof pitches, with rafters spanning from ridge to plate, or perhaps with a purlin, carrying boarding for the lead covering. Above room 2.30 (E6), a chase seems to have been cut into the wall in the plane of the roof, in line with the top face of the bridging beams. Back gutters had to be provided against the towers, building up on the basic framing; these are most obviously reflected in flashing lines on the west and north towers (E5, E6). The roof framing sat above the curtain wall head, and flashing lines at  $\approx 47^\circ$  on the tower returns (Fig 26) reflect the resulting upstand along the inner edge of the wall walk. The lead would logically have been carried over the wall walks, to discharge via spouts under the parapet. Where not lost in modern repair, there were normally two such drains to each section of curtain between towers, presumably fitted with lead spouts (see E1-E4). The internal court gutters must have been similarly treated.

2.10.34 The evidence thus points to the courtyard ranges being roofed to a common pattern, with the small room 2.8 having its own duo-pitch shallow roof, as the flashing line on its south wall demonstrates. The wall walks, interrupted by the towers, would be easily linked across the leads, to man the walls (if only for show) and for communication; and as in Tudor and Stuart houses, the leads would be ideal for exercise and enjoying the view. Three latrines adjacent to 3.3, 3.9 and 3.14, but accessed directly from the leads, suggest that considerable activity was anticipated.

- 2.10.35 There has, however, been a tendency to assume that the hall and chapel had steeply-pitched roofs.<sup>190</sup> Technically, this is not impossible, with timber-framed or single block masonry gables to the chapel and west end of the hall (as well as not blocking the wall walks, the uniform level of surviving wall heads, including the east wall of the chapel, militates against any tall, substantial gables having existed at Bodiam). But a steep roof to the hall would confine circulation on the roof past the south tower to a very narrow gutter on the north side; and the evidence of the truss layout points to the south range roof being constructed continuously across the range. There is, however, a distinct possibility that the chapel was emphasised by a steeply-pitched roof, which would explain slate debris from the infill of the cellar under it, and indeed in modest quantity from the moat silt.
- 2.10.36 There has been similar debate – again turning on the question of slate from the moat – about the smaller tower roofs. There is no physical evidence for their roof forms, other than the stair turrets with continuous stone corbelling presumably for timber joists and lead. The layout of the access stairs is, however, telling. The S, SE, E, and NW ones have doors facing along the wall head, so would be compatible with a steep roof rising from the inner face of the walls; but progress around the parapet would be limited by chimneys on the SE and E towers. The SW, W and NE tower stairs would, however, exit into the face of such a roof. There is no logic to the division, so it seems safe to conclude that all are likely to have had flat roofs, although a lantern to the south-west tower, serving the dovecot (3.23), is possible.

*The gatehouse*

- 2.10.37 The gatehouse appears to be an apparently uncompromising expression of military purpose and physical strength (Fig 28). Whether it would have been effective in conflict is perhaps less important than its overwhelming architectural impact. It is the focal point in the castle's composition, symmetrically placed at the centre of the north elevation; taller, broader and more elaborate than anything else visible from beyond the moat. It appears from the north as two linked towers each stepping forward to flank the gate, although in plan the gate-house tower is T-shaped with a stair turret to the south-east corner. It rises to crenellated battlements, the external faces having machicolations projecting on over-scaled corbels. From the north, they are linked by a full-height, recessed archway, concealing machicolations behind, which frames and emphasises the heraldic reliefs above the gate, presumably originally coloured. These comprise the shields bearing the arms of [Edward] Dallingridge, flanked by Wardedieu, for his wife Elizabeth, and Radynden<sup>191</sup> for his mother Alice, his sources of inherited wealth, surmounted by a helm with the Dallingridge crest.

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<sup>190</sup> Eg Curzon 1926, 104; the generally reliable restoration in Goodall 2011, 316, avoids the question

<sup>191</sup> Otherwise Radingden. De Bodeham has sometimes been suggested in the past

- 2.10.38 There are small lancet windows to the upper floors, curiously at first floor level both placed to the west side of each tower rather than handed, disturbing the otherwise symmetrical composition. The feature that has caused most debate is the array of gun-loops. There are two pairs facing north from ground floor level, towards the bridge, of the standard inverted keyhole type commonly used after about 1370. Two others face each other across the front of the gateway, of a ‘dumb-bell’ pattern which tended to be rapidly superseded by the ‘standard’ form,<sup>192</sup> while two standard ones point diagonally north-westwards from the first and second floor stair lobbies, towards the bridge. The combination of types is entirely consistent with the date of the building.
- 2.10.39 It has been suggested<sup>193</sup> that the position of the gun-loops means that they were of little practical use, and that therefore they are primarily symbolic of military power rather than usefully defensive. That they were intended to demonstrate knowledge of emerging military technology is clear enough. The northward-facing ones indeed seem to be singularly ill-aligned and too constrained within to be of serious use. However, the two flanking the gate and the two aligned on the bridge from higher levels would provide good spots from which to aim a hand cannon on anyone on the platform outside the gate or the western bridge respectively. The size of the openings is such that it would be unrealistic to have mounted anything much larger here.<sup>194</sup> If this interpretation is accepted, the symbolism, like the use of crenellation, was perhaps intended to emphasise and magnify a limited (perhaps unreliable) practical purpose.
- 2.10.40 The gatehouse provided entirely self-contained accommodation on three storeys, with no internal connections to the courtyard accommodation and only one doorway to the main wall walk. Its roof platform is about 0.5m higher than those of the corner towers, and the scatter of chimneys and the exit from the main stair west onto the roof over 3.1 leave no doubt that it was a leaded flat, framed like the floors below, which as noted provides the clearest evidence for the form of such roofs at Bodiam.<sup>195</sup> The main entrance passage (1.1) is two bays deep, the shallower inner bay (1.2) being an addition made as the north courtyard range was completed. The primary passage had portcullises to its inner and outer arches, with a pair of gates within the outer portcullis. A third portcullis was added with the extension on the courtyard side, and

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<sup>192</sup> At Castle Rushen, Isle of Man, the middle section of the late 14th century curtain (not precisely dated) has the dumbbell form, the latest section the standard form (Drury 2012, Section 5.5). Matt Champion (pers comm, Feb 2016) suggests that the dumbbell openings show evidence of ‘modern (C18th/ C19th) mason’s chisels on their stonework – particularly their upper sections’, but (from the interior) the stone blocks are certainly primary and the openings are constructed quite differently from the inverted keyhole form examples, which have a lintel block like a slit window. The combination of types is neither unique nor unexpected at this date

<sup>193</sup> Coulson 1992, 79-83

<sup>194</sup> Coulson (*ibid*) suggested one (presumably that in 1.4) may have been used to fire a small cannon to welcome important visitors in a suitably martial manner

<sup>195</sup> The roof is now concrete, above a 1937 timber roof, exposed internally

unusually gates were hung inside it, reflecting the arrangement on the north side.<sup>196</sup> Both bays formerly had rib-vaulted ceilings: that to the outer (north) bay has largely been lost, but sufficient remains to show that it was almost identical to the surviving, southern vault. The bosses and half-bosses (to the walls) are pierced in what are known as ring-bosses or *meurtrières*. These are small and probably decorative, or at least symbolic of defensibility rather than militarily functional. They were also, perhaps more significantly, a resonant architectural motif first used in the Cradle Tower of the Tower of London (1348-55), but widespread in gatehouse passages of the late 14th century and strongly associated with the influence of royal masons, including Henry Yvele.<sup>197</sup> Since the portcullis chamber above has a fireplace, the openings in the vault were presumably accessible (if at all) through hatches in the floor over the vault,<sup>198</sup> rather than permanently open.



Figure 28 The gatehouse from the north

2.10.41 The portcullis grille to the outer (north) arch partly survives. It is made of oak, visibly iron-clad in its lower part, terminating in the usual iron spikes. Its construction is such that it must have been built in as the stonework went up, and this conclusion is consistent with C<sup>14</sup> dating demonstrating that the timber is of a date range consistent with the construction period of the castle.<sup>199</sup> It is therefore one of a very small number of mostly 14th century portcullis grilles to survive in Britain, one of which, at Hever

<sup>196</sup> The sockets for the pintles are clear despite modern making good

<sup>197</sup> Goodall 2011, 284

<sup>198</sup> As in the 13th century gatehouse at Tonbridge Castle: Martin & Martin 2013, 258

<sup>199</sup> Timber grown AD 1280-1410 with 94% probability: Bridge in Martin & Martin 2005, who provide a very detailed record and analysis of the structure

Castle, is very similar in both form and date.<sup>200</sup> Coulson and others have noted that there is no evidence for the normal locking bars to the main gate behind the portcullis.



Figure 29 (Left) foliated boss in first floor passage (cf Fig 20); (right) slot through the south wall of 1.3

2.10.42 Substantial, symmetrical rooms (1.3, 1.4), each with a latrine, are entered by short passages off the gate passage. Although unheated, their position suggests gatekeeper's lodgings, the gun loops giving a good view of the gateway. The rooms were originally about 5.5m high. This may simply be an unavoidable consequence of the height of the vaulted gate passage; both have sockets cut for secondary joists for a ceiling,<sup>201</sup> at a height more appropriate to their size, 2.72m above present floor level.<sup>202</sup> Beneath the floors are shallow cellars (0.3, 0.4), originally no more than about 1.7m high, but each lit and ventilated by a slit in the flank wall. These are now, and probably always were, accessed by trap doors in the (reinstated) timber floors. The cellars, and the height of the rooms themselves, suggest an additional or occasional use of 1.3 and 1.4 for receiving and storing supplies.

2.10.43 A third doorway in the east wall of the gate passage leads to a steep stone newel stair to the upper floors. The entry passage, like those to 1.3 and 1.4, is vaulted with cross-ribs, and that motif is continued through the upper stair lobbies (2.1.2, 3.1.2) and latrines, with a foliated boss at the intersection of the cross ribs of the stair passage at first floor level (Fig 29). This treatment indicates the relatively high status of the tower lodgings. The stair lobby at each floor gives access east to a heated chamber (2.4, 3.4) with a latrine beyond, and west to a larger heated chamber (2.1, 3.1) over the gate passage, which, at first floor level over the vault (2.1), contained the mechanisms for raising and lowering the main portcullises. Beyond is an inner chamber (2.3, 3.3), unheated, but with a latrine. On the second floor this room gave access down a short stone stair to the wall walk. Its latrine was accessed from a lobby at the head of this stair, beyond the door from the room, and so was probably

<sup>200</sup> Martin & Martin 2005, 8; to their examples can be added the outer gatehouse of Castle Rushen, Isle of Man, again from the late 14th century (Drury 2012, Section 5.5)

<sup>201</sup> Three joists of small scantling (c100mm wide) spanning N-S

<sup>202</sup> The rough and ready ply ceiling in 1.4 utilises these sockets

intended primarily to serve people on the wall walks. The latrines to the first and second floor levels contrast with all the others in the castle, which are large enough only to sit down and close the door. The rib-vaulted passages leading to these are spacious enough to justify the description of garderobe or wardrobe.

- 2.10.44 The upper gatehouse rooms were each lit by a small lancet on the north elevation. Room 2.1 was originally also lit by another window on the south, with a cusped head, but this was either blocked or (like the stair light) partly became a borrowed light when the gatehouse was extended southwards (see E14). At second floor level, all three rooms were also provided with similar southern windows, facing the court, of which those to the centre (3.1) and eastern (3.4) rooms were two lights wide. These larger windows emphasise the status of the top floor lodging, and within it, the primacy of the two heated rooms (3.1, 3.4), although it is the first floor which has a floriated boss to the stair passage vault. Rooms 3.1 and 3.4 have sockets for inserted ceiling joists, at 2.77m and 2.95m to the soffits respectively.
- 2.10.45 The use of these lodgings is a matter of speculation, but it was usual for the constable of the castle, its guardian when its lord was not present, to reside in the self-contained accommodation of the gatehouse. Officers responsible for the administration of the household and the estate were also frequently housed in the main gatehouse, with the advantage that, with two portcullises, the outer could be opened, but the inner kept closed, limiting visitors' access only to the gate passage and its stair. The particular attributes of administrative quarters, like a vaulted strong room or an evidence room, are not present, and indeed are identifiable elsewhere in the castle,<sup>203</sup> but one feature suggests that this arrangement was utilised as a security measure. The south wall of 1.3 has two carefully constructed slots connecting it to 1.30 (Fig 29), through which, for example, money payments might be passed.<sup>204</sup>
- 2.10.46 Its self-contained rugged form (and, to be entirely subjective, 'masculine' interior spaces) can be seen as part of the symbolism of a castle having a great tower as a place of last resort (with all portcullises and both gates closed), even if its practicality is questionable. More relevant, perhaps, is how the gatehouse tower developed in the next century, in buildings like Oxburgh Hall, containing high-status private lodgings stacked one above the other. Indeed gatehouses at the centre of the entrance range of courtyard houses tended to grow in relative scale through the 15th and early 16th centuries.

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<sup>203</sup> See Brears 2011; the cellars under the gate lodge floors here are low, damp and under wooden floors, so hardly comparable with the stone vaulted chambers he cites at, eg, Castle Rushen; but 0.14 suggests a strongroom (see 2.10.55) and 1.9 an evidence room (see 2.10.73)

<sup>204</sup> The blocking of the south end is modern; they are quite different from putlog holes in the walls

*The entry*

2.10.47 The hall (1.15) was entered conventionally via a wide doorway<sup>205</sup> on the south side of the courtyard, opposite the gatehouse, leading into a screens passage, with an exit<sup>206</sup> in the opposite wall via the postern gate passage. While the two gate passages are on the axis of the courtyard, the hall door is displaced west of centre, so that the west wall of the hall is skewed between its doors and the hall side of its east wall is parallel. The most obvious explanation is an error in setting out the door from the courtyard. A timber screen can be presumed, defining a passage (1.16) centred on the doorways. A trace in the GPR plot (Fig 11:2) suggests that it continued the line of the reveal of the north doorway, making the passage c2.5m wide. A cut recess at floor level in the north wall (E9), purpose unknown, would thus adjoin it on the east, while a blocked socket in the jamb of the south door (E8) may directly relate to it. The timber west wall of the hall above the service doors rose from the centre of the masonry screen below, its line evident from a sinking for the head and a blocked socket for its substantial rail at the same level as a similar one in the kitchen (E8). A gallery over the passage is highly exceptional before the mid-15th century,<sup>207</sup> but highly likely here since the timber wall could have been set, like the east wall of the kitchen, to provide a continuous face on the hall side if it were visible as such, rather than centrally on the masonry below. A gallery might also help explain why the fireplace opening in 2.17 was later crudely cut through to open near its floor level on the north side (see E8).<sup>208</sup>

*The postern tower*

2.10.48 As well as an exit from the hall, the postern gate provided a secondary, pedestrian, entrance direct to the hall and services, reached by a bridge from the south side of the moat. That it was much more than a service entrance, however, is suggested by the heraldic relief on the south consisting in three shields. The outer ones are now blank (although perhaps originally painted). The central, *couché* (i.e. tilted, as carried by a mounted knight) shield and the helm above it bear the arms and crest of Sir Robert Knollys, with whom Dallingridge served in France, although it is not entirely clear why he wished to display this connection so prominently. The internal gate passage (1.17) is vaulted in a similar, but not identical, design to the main gate passage. The internal gate passage (1.17) is vaulted in a similar, but not identical, design to the main gate passage, springing from attached angle shafts moulded into the corners of the passage. Although on a smaller scale than the north gate, this results in a richer effect, again underlining that this was much more than a mere service door.

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<sup>205</sup> It has a moulded surround with double ogee and hollow chamfer

<sup>206</sup> Its principal designed purpose, the door opening outwards

<sup>207</sup> Wood 1965, 144

<sup>208</sup> The blocking is early 19th century, as is the blocking of the small socket east of the south door. See 2.12 for the evidence for late structures in this area.



Figure 30 The postern tower from the south, with the roof line of the outer chamber conjecturally restored in white outline, together with the (certain) original floor level

2.10.49 The security of this ‘back door’ has been much debated. It is clear that the section of the bridge adjacent to the bank could be raised. The bridge landed in an outer chamber (1.18), certainly part of the primary build, since the battered plinth does not continue behind it,<sup>209</sup> and originally with its floor at the same level as the gatehouse, marked by offsets in the east and west walls. The zone of a flat roof is clear (Fig 30) even if the

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<sup>209</sup> Martin 1973, 17

details are not.<sup>210</sup> Its externally-rebated entrance looks intended to be closed by a pivoting section of the bridge, but there is no evidence for a mechanism. The foundation of 1.18 was not solid, and the foundation walls have vertical inner faces formed of large blocks, but again there is no evidence for a lifting floor over the pit, beyond another rectangular recess in the main wall face.<sup>211</sup> Without either, the structure would appear as an open porch of distinctly domestic implication. However, gates opening outwards onto the bridge are a possibility, with modern mortar potentially concealing robbed pintle holes top and bottom.<sup>212</sup> Within, the outer entry to the tower proper was fitted with a portcullis, and the rebate of the doorway within it is 120mm, sufficient for substantial doors.<sup>213</sup>

- 2.10.50 A stair turret on the north-west corner of the tower gives access to a first floor portcullis chamber (2.17), with a fireplace<sup>214</sup> and latrine. Above is a similar heated chamber, which gives access to the wall walk to the east; its latrine is accessed from the passage leading to the wall walk rather than from within the chamber. It is 5.6m high, with inserted sockets for bridging beams (3.43m to soffit) for what was probably an (unlit) storage loft. The stair rises to the (modern, concrete) roof, with machicolations around the south, east and west sides; the parapet has lost its crenellations. Both chambers are likely to have provided lodgings for household officers.

#### *The hall*

- 2.10.51 The hall is of relatively modest size (c7.2m by 14.2m, including the screens passage) for its date and status,<sup>215</sup> open through two storeys with a clear height of c8.65m, standing between the service rooms to the west and the residential spaces to the east. Its proportions, c2:1, were common in the 14th century and came to dominate in the 15th.<sup>216</sup> It was lit by a two-light mullion and transom window at the east (high) end of the south wall, with a window seat whose threshold, even allowing for a dais, would be c0.75m above floor level, requiring steps up to it. In the north wall, the jamb of a window survives at the west end in altered form, with a splayed reveal formed by a thin facing applied to what seems to be the cut-back opening for an earlier window, the reveal below being infilled in the same build (Fig 31). This seems to be one of the few signs of late medieval

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<sup>210</sup> It could have been very plain as outlined, or provided with a coping or parapet not bonded to the main wall, whose good ashlar begins immediately above the zone of a timber and lead flat roof.

<sup>211</sup> Martin 1973, 17

<sup>212</sup> Good for resisting entry but easily blocked against a sally, if this was ever intended

<sup>213</sup> *Contra* Coulson 1992, 70; the inner door from the hall has a rebate of c80mm, not both doors

<sup>214</sup> Turned around probably post-med, and restored in the C19, apparently by Fuller, probably contemporary with the brick floor over the vault

<sup>215</sup> Hence antiquarian sources tend to refer to other rooms at Bodiam of similar footprint as 'halls', but they were only a single storey high

<sup>216</sup> See Grenville 1997, 107-9, using data from Wood 1965

alteration. Its position confirms that there were two windows in the north wall.<sup>217</sup>



Figure 31 The remains of the altered window in the hall

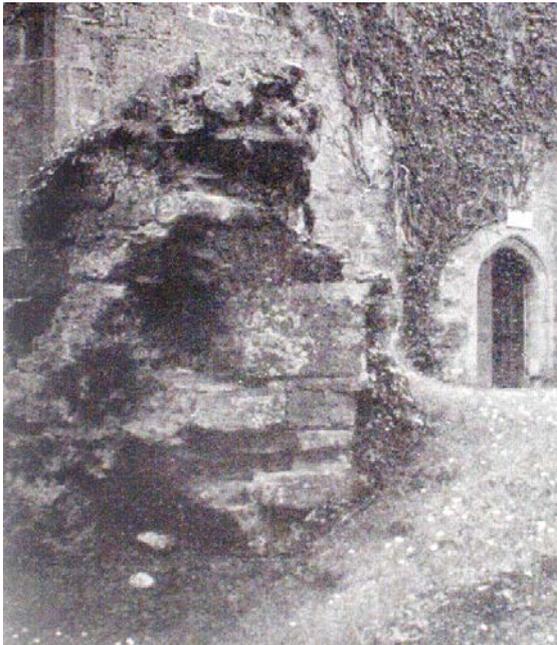


Figure 32 The base of the stair showing broken treads rising to the left/ anti-clockwise (Johnson 1913; *by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London*)

2.10.52 The hall had no basement, but a solid, presumably tiled, floor.<sup>218</sup> The position of the south window suggests a very deep eastern dais (c4.5m)

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<sup>217</sup> As stated by Cotton 1836, 19, but his engraving shows the extant stub wholly covered in ivy. The secondary work is heavily 'restored' but it seems unlikely to be wholly an antiquarian concoction

<sup>218</sup> Superficial excavation (Barber 2007b) showed that the north wall rises from an irregularly wider foundation; this is normal construction and its plan, swelling towards the east, makes clear that it is not the

embracing it, which would leave a ‘square’ space between the dais and the screen. The east wall, whose foundation shows that it reconciled the skewed plan of the hall to the orthogonal one of the east range, is thick enough to contain fireplaces, the usual purpose of masonry cross walls in the building, and there is little doubt that it did so on the east (in 1-2.13).

2.10.53 The question, however, is whether it accommodated an end wall fireplace to the hall, or whether there was a central, open hearth, despite the small size of the space and the likelihood of a shallow pitch roof. End wall or dais fireplaces are rare in medieval (or indeed Tudor) English halls, though Wood identifies some exceptions and, insofar as they were adopted at all, date mostly from the end of the 15th century onwards.<sup>219</sup> The hall in the late 14th century keep at Castle Rushen, Isle of Man, has one, but the circumstances are special; the room could as well be seen as a great chamber at the start of the best apartment, and there was certainly a conventional hall in the bailey.<sup>220</sup> They are, however, the norm in the *salles* (*grande, haute* or *basse*) of French buildings, with which Dallingridge was certainly familiar,<sup>221</sup> and as a result common in Scottish ones. The question must remain open, but in this small hall fully subsumed into the range, and given its exceptionally deep implied dais, there could well be a departure from the norm.

2.10.54 In the south-east angle of the courtyard is the foundation of a large newel stair tower. Entry was from a door off the dais, and an early photo (Fig 32) confirms the weathered evidence of the site that it wound anti-clockwise, the first tread placed to allow the door to open inwards. A chord across the surviving interior face, measured in 1922, allows the radius to be calculated as 5’ 6” (1.68m), which is very generous, but fits the available footprint. The cross passage and hall floor was at about 8.85m AOD, the dais therefore at about 9m, but the floor level of the ground floor rooms in the east range was at about 9.75m AOD. This required a landing after 3 or 4 rises, which would achieve the necessary 90° turn to enter room 1.11, or carry on through another 360° upwards to enter the first floor at the same point, at 13.3m AOD. Whether the turret continued upwards to serve the roof is unknown, but it would certainly have been lit by windows to the courtyard.

#### *The hall undercroft*

2.10.55 There was another connection from the dais of the hall, through the south end of the east wall, down a stair to the basement room 0.13, which was defined northwards by a cross wall whose foundation survives, and which corresponds to a bulge in the surviving core of the hall wall

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wall of a basement. A high-amplitude GPR response across the SE half of the hall (Fig 11: 1) probably represents stony fill in building up the platform

<sup>219</sup> Wood 1965, 53; and for example at Orpington ‘Priory’, rebuilt in the late 15th century for the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury: Emery 2006, 384-6; Tim Tatton-Brown, pers comm

<sup>220</sup> Drury 2012, Section 5.3

<sup>221</sup> See, eg, Girouard 2000, Ch 2; Knollys’ lost castle at Derval probably conformed to the French norm

foundation,<sup>222</sup> indicating that they were contemporary.<sup>223</sup> The present (modern) steps partly conceal the stubs of stone steps built into the south wall of the hall (E8). Room 0.13 gave access to the lowest room in the south-east corner tower, 0.14, in plan a hexagon with the surviving springing for a rib vault. Curzon found ‘quite a number of the rib-stones of the vault...and the central keystone, with an iron ring attached’.<sup>224</sup> The quality of these two spaces, the only basement rooms lit by formal windows, especially the vaulted one, sets them apart from the basement cellars to the north. There seems little doubt that 0.14 was a treasury or strong room, and 0.13 also used for the storage of high value goods – the wine cellar for the high table?

*Service spaces west of the screens passage*

2.10.56 The south range beyond the screens passage was divided vertically by a timber-framed partition whose outline remains on south and north walls (E8, E9), defined by a substantial bridging beam at first floor level, above (and on the north, below) which the line is defined by a heavy rail set into the walls. To the west was the kitchen, open through two storeys; to the east, spaces on three levels. Curzon records that he found (although probably incomplete) the masonry west wall of a cellar, which his dimensions<sup>225</sup> and plan place under the timber wall above. The GPR data (Fig 11:3) suggests a wall further west, at least in the centre; if correct presumably defining a stairwell or hatch to give direct access from the kitchen. The cellar was lit by an extant window in the courtyard wall. Its floor level (fully revealed by Curzon and the cellar then mostly backfilled) is uncertain, but from his description is unlikely to be lower than *c*7.2m AOD, about 0.15m above moat level,<sup>226</sup> giving a clear headroom (except under the beam) of *c*2m.

2.10.57 The presence of the cellar meant that all three doors from the screens passage were entered up two steps (E26, 27), which explains the elevated thresholds. The three doors follow convention, the central leading to a passage to the kitchen (stepping down to 9m AOD): the others should lead to the pantry (from where bread was supplied) and the buttery (drink). The ground floor space was also divided on the bridging beam, with a window to either side, uncomfortably close to the floor and, curiously for service spaces, on the north side with window seats, apparently standard to the courtyard at this level.<sup>227</sup> The two rooms to the east, entered from the hall, were obviously the pantry and buttery, but one cannot be certain which was which. The window position in the cellar suggests that it was entered from the north side, and thus that 1.21

<sup>222</sup> The upper part of this wall was rebuilt in 1967: Bodiam Management Committee minutes, June 1967

<sup>223</sup> A doorway though this wall is possible, as a ‘service route’ into 0.13. See Fig 12:10 for its foundation

<sup>224</sup> Curzon 1926, 107

<sup>225</sup> The precise ones at Curzon 1926, 155 are to be preferred

<sup>226</sup> Curzon 1926, 108

<sup>227</sup> The outline of the partition is especially clear on the north side. Curzon is the origin of the idea of a stair from the hall, but in his case to a ‘minstrel’s gallery’: 1926, 108

might be the buttery, with potential cellar access through a trap door in the floor.

2.10.58 At a floor level of c12.5m AOD, defined by its bridging beams, was a substantial room (2.19), whose height (5m to the roof plate), pair of 4-light windows with seats on the courtyard side and lancet in the south wall seem to suggest high status, despite it being unheated other than by proximity to the kitchen. That the eastern opening on the north side was a window matching its neighbour seems clear from the outline of its (removed) western jamb blocks down to cill level (E9). However, the rough jambs now in the opening could well be part of a later, roughly-built fireplace utilising the window embrasure, although much disturbed in consolidation.<sup>228</sup> Faulkner suggested that this room continued over the screens, and was the great chamber, reached from a stair against the south wall of the hall;<sup>229</sup> but it leads nowhere, from the wrong end of the hall.

2.10.59 A more rational route to the chamber (and a hall gallery beyond) would be a stair from the space (1.20) beyond the pantry and buttery, as a variation on the common arrangement of a fourth door from the screens. The remainder of 1.20, the same width as the screens passage, seems from the plan to have been a servery or ‘surveying place’, which would have a serving hatch from the kitchen.<sup>230</sup> The upper room might be a solar over the services;<sup>231</sup> but perhaps the ‘high status indicators’ are not all they seem, simply the use of standard elements at each level. The window seats would be about 1.4m above floor level, even less useful as such than the ones close to the floor below. But, as a high-windowed space adjacent to the kitchen, it could accommodate lower-ranking members of the household, or indeed make a good dry larder. The two are not mutually exclusive.

2.10.60 The great kitchen was a full height space whose courtyard wall survives almost complete, with a large mullion and transom window above the external doorway, which has a moulded surround. There are also small windows in the south and west curtain walls. The wide hearths to the south and north walls, with flues in the thickness of the walls, differ in detail, belonging respectively to the beginning and end of the

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<sup>228</sup>The fireplace interpretation follows Thackray and others in all but its date; there is no evidence of primary fireplaces in the courtyard walls, and a section of the window cill is reset in the bodging of the external face. A suggestion that the cill might have been lower and thus that it lit a stair to the upper chamber (Penny Copeland, pers comm), is difficult to reconcile with the evidence of the inner face, or the functioning of the putative buttery (1.21) below. The evidence for late use and change to this area is gathered together in Section 2.12

<sup>229</sup> Faulkner 1963, 232 and fig 10; he followed Curzon (1926, 108) re the position of a stair, though Curzon thought (as we do) that there was a gallery over the screen

<sup>230</sup> A suggestion we owe to Jonathan Foyle, cf Gainsborough Old Hall, where the servery was formed by infilling a space between the main block and an apparently detached kitchen, c1480: Emery 2000, 242-50

<sup>231</sup> In the houses of the Archbishops of Canterbury, there seems to be an association between the word ‘solar’ and an unheated room over the services, with rooms at the high end being called ‘chambers’: Pearson 1994, 35

construction stages. The chimneys are lost. The joggled arches supported on corbelled brackets have also been lost, along with the hoods they supported, leaving only the relieving arches spanning the openings. Their general form can be reconstructed from a single surviving jamb to each, both with lamp brackets that were not mirrored on their opposite sides. The two hearths seem to have had specialised uses. The northern, larger one, with a heavily burnt tile fireback, looks like a roasting hearth. A small oven in its west jamb provided minimal provision for baking: it was probably a pastry oven.<sup>232</sup> While in plan looking like an afterthought, involving a projection on the north side of the wall,<sup>233</sup> its integration with the tile fireback and the relieving arch over the oven door make clear that it is part of the original construction. The southern hearth lacks the standard tiled fireback, and reddening of the stone is sporadic; it seems to have had some construction within the opening, suggesting boiling places or stoves.

- 2.10.61 The basement level (0.23) of the south-west tower (7.2m, perhaps originally 7.05m AOD with the kerb upstanding) is reached down a short flight of steps from the kitchen and is occupied by a large oval cistern. Its masonry walls bottom at 4.7m AOD, on the Ashdown Beds, the lowest 0.3m of the walls being small stone laid with open joints.<sup>234</sup> Moat and well water level is currently 7.06-09m.<sup>235</sup> Curzon's conclusion that it was spring-fed direct from the bedrock should be correct, since the observation was made while the moat was drained; but the level of water in the cistern inevitably rises through percolation to that of the moat when it is full, for the well walls and surrounding material are permeable.
- 2.10.62 A newel stair, slightly larger than those in the other corner towers, serves the rooms above. To accommodate the steps directly from the kitchen down to the cistern, the angle between the tower and the south curtain has been spanned to house the stair rising to the hexagonal chambers (1.23, 2.23) to the ground and first floors. Both were heated and have latrines, following the same pattern as those in the other towers. Given that they are accessible only from the leads or the kitchen they presumably served its officers, or other officers of the household.
- 2.10.63 The stair rises to the wall walk and the upper chamber of the tower (3.23), which was a dovecote lined with stone nesting boxes, lit by a single slit opening in the south wall (Fig 33). Its floor (where the valuable manure would have collected) was perhaps covered with lead to avoid seepage into the lodging below. This combination of living quarters, dovecote and well is most unusual, but the lack of evidence for openings

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<sup>232</sup> For their use see Brears 2012, 125

<sup>233</sup> Which would have been concealed under the stair in 1.24

<sup>234</sup> Curzon 1926, 102, gives the depth as 10ft below the kerb, with a stiff clay puddle

<sup>235</sup> Details taken from an excavation record drawing by David Martin, July 1970

other than the narrow slit, and the surviving primary nest boxes,<sup>236</sup> make clear that the dovecote is a primary feature. Dovecotes were a customary feature of lordly residences, of both economic and symbolic importance, but were, for practical reasons, usually individually-prominent buildings or features within the ancillary parts of the castle or manorial complex. A lantern on the roof seems likely, but the slit could have served as the birds' access.



Figure 33 The west face of the dovecote, showing primary nest boxes (weathered) at the base, 19th century rebuilding above. The floor framing was supported on the offset at the bottom of the picture

#### *The east range apartments and chapel*

2.10.64 To summarise, the east range was the chamber block linked to the hall, arranged on two levels, both accessed from the stair tower off the hall dais, and both related, in different ways, to the chapel closing the north end of the range. It is therefore interpreted as housing the principal apartments, used primarily by the lord, his family, and senior members of his household, and for the entertainment of guests of similar rank. The upper level was the taller and more prestigious, about 4.2m clear, with a shallow, but almost certainly exposed, roof, compared to about 3.55m on the ground floor. Below were storage cellars about 2.25m high, accessed and lit from the courtyard; there is no reason to think that there was any internal connection.

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<sup>236</sup> The upper levels are much restored

- 2.10.65 The basement structure was formed in part from the phase 1 building (Section 2.8). Its primary and secondary north walls were largely demolished,<sup>237</sup> to be replaced by the substructure of the chapel wall, while its southern was retained; the east and west walls were largely incorporated in the substructure of the curtain and courtyard walls respectively, which were extended to the north and south. The resulting central room, 0.10, was provided with an off-centre door flanked symmetrically by two windows.<sup>238</sup> This led to 0.7 to the north via a wide doorway built integrally with the wall of the chapel, and lit by a very small window set against it; and 0.9 to the east, the lowest level of the east tower, accessed by a similarly wide doorway cut through the early wall and lit from a slit facing the moat.
- 2.10.66 To the south, 0.12 has a separate entrance from the courtyard and a small window to the north, utilising the available short section of courtyard wall. The central section of the wall between 0.10 and 0.12 is missing, but the separate external door to 0.12 does not suggest that the lost section contained a doorway.<sup>239</sup> The wall defining 0.12 to the south has been noted above; the internal angle between the west courtyard wall and the projection of the east wall of the hall into the range survives on the remaining (fragile) block of masonry. These spaces, together with 0.5-6, provided secure (if not very dry) storage for provisions for the castle, and indeed for anything else best kept safe from theft.
- 2.10.67 The basement floors were probably at  $\approx 7.20 - 7.25\text{mOD}$ , the modern paving of rough Horsham stone slabs in 0.7 reflecting part of the original finish found in clearing the cellar in 1967.<sup>240</sup> This level would place the chamfer stops on the tower room doorways (at present barely exposed) in the usual proportionate relationship to the floor. Ground floor level was at about 9.75m (from fireplace hearths and thresholds in the curtain). Other than in the chapel, there is no evidence for the floor framing, and little space above the offset for it, and it is possible that common joists about 150mm deep simply spanned the 6m between the offsets, giving headroom of about 2m in the basement stores. This is consistent with a suggestion, at the west end of the north wall, that the joists were trimmed around the arch of the window of 0.10 (E10, E25). A spine beam partly supported on posts is also possible to break the span.

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<sup>237</sup> The eastern half of the primary wall was left standing to  $\approx 0.5\text{m}$ , presumably related to fit-out

<sup>238</sup> The section of wall south of the doorway is unusual in that the west face lacks the large block (re) facing with a chamfered plinth, visible to the north; this is due to re-facing, probably by Fuller (2.19) who rebuilt the window arch. The window location differs from ESRO Acc 3693 [4] (see below), but is consistent with the (generally less accurate) plan in Cotton 1836, and seems to be in its correct position, although the inner face of the wall was rebuilt by Curzon.

<sup>239</sup> One is shown on ESRO Acc 3693 [4], a plan by J Tavernor Perry updated by H Sands (1864/1925), west of centre where medieval masonry remains partly *in situ*. In the plan in Curzon 1926, it had shifted to the centre, where the wall is lost to floor level. A door is possible here, but not proven (see also 2.8.5).

<sup>240</sup> Bodiam Management Committee minutes, June 1967; they were instructed to be set slightly lower than as found, but this does not seem to have happened.

- 2.10.68 The chapel nave floor differed in having a clear socket for a north-south spine beam (E24), breaking the span of joists to 2.75m or less, and indeed evidence for a second beam being inserted under the joists to its east, most likely as a repair. This substantial structure allowed the floor over 0.7 to be finished with ceramic tiles (see below).
- 2.10.69 First floor level can be established at about 13.3m, again from hearths and thresholds on the curtain, but there is no evidence whatever of the floor framing, not least because the construction stage offset is well below the bearing level of the floor other than in the arch over the east window of 1.11 (E7).<sup>241</sup> Assuming the same construction as the floor below, it would give a clear height of 3.7m on the ground floor, compared to 4.2m on the first. It seems much more likely, however, that there were bridging beams supporting bays of common joists.
- 2.10.70 If the horizontal divisions are clear, the vertical divisions are rather less so, given the loss of the courtyard wall and partitions. The thin masonry wall between 0.12 and 0.13 did not continue upwards. Its location and its alignment on the phase 1 wall to the north are in conflict with the continuation of the north wall of the hall eastwards in timber framing, evidenced at high level by a corbel in the curtain (E7) and the need to resolve the junction of the south and east range roofs.
- 2.10.71 Assuming a roof between the known cross-walls defining 1.10 and 1.11 of 5 bays each of about 4.15 m, based on the precedent of the west and north-east ranges, suggests a position for the partition defining the south side of 1.10 (and 2.10 above) which fits agreeably between the fireplaces on the east curtain wall (E7). The putative bay layout also, by analogy with the west range, suggests first floor courtyard window locations; but in the absence of evidence for the framing of the first floor, the window layout at ground floor level remains unclear, especially since the only known window, to 1.10, is hard against its north wall.
- 2.10.72 On this basis, 1.11 on the ground floor can be seen as a high status room with a fireplace exceptional in its context and a large window with a seat, facing outwards across the landscape (as well as being lit from the courtyard). This should be the parlour, with a low (entry) end and a high (fireplace) end. Room 1.13 seems to provide an inner chamber, but interestingly the door from the tower lodging 1.14 opens *into* it, down 3 steps (from 10.35m AOD). A door between 1.11 and 1.13 seems highly likely; but the direction of the door from 1.14 does suggest the use of the tower stair as a means of accessing 1.14 and 1.13 (as well the similar lodging 2.14 above, both with a fireplace and latrine) *from* the roof. Above is a top floor heated lodging through which the east wall walk could be

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<sup>241</sup> The offset must have been built up to carry the joists, but any trace has long since fallen away

accessed (3.14), with a latrine just outside the door. There was no communication between this tower and the first floor of the east range.

- 2.10.73 The northern room, 1.10, was entered from the chapel, and there is much to suggest that it was the chaplain's lodging. The jamb of a window at the north end of the courtyard wall survives, suggesting another to the south. The ground floor of the east tower (1.9) is entered from it, and provides a latrine, but is otherwise most unusual. From the back of the hearth on the east wall of 1.10, a flue is connected to a large void in the tower chamber wall. It has been suggested<sup>242</sup> that this may have been a means of heating the tower room, which indeed it probably was, with a closing wall of stove tiles<sup>243</sup> or an equally thin, heat-transmitting alternative under the extant relieving arch, to provide background warmth, but no open flame. Opposite is a pair of stone cupboards, rebated for doors, set into the wall. This looks like an evidence room for the safe keeping of documents. Whether 1.10 and 1.11 communicated is unknown, but they need not have done.
- 2.10.74 The first floor was, from its location and outlook over the Rother valley, the most important residential suite, with the unusual characteristic of privacy, entered only from the stair from the dais, and with a single 'back stair' onto the leads. Room 2.11, answering the parlour below, should be the great chamber and 2.10 Dallingridge's bedchamber, with 2.13 providing a second inner chamber to the suite. An unheated, single bay ante-room is possible at the head of the stair. While answering the fireplace and window directly below, and both being exceptional in size, the additional moulding and embattled cornice to the fireplace leave no doubt that this was the more important room of the two, and indeed the most important one the building, and this is reflected – advertised – by the more elaborate double chimney stack rising from the parapet.<sup>244</sup>
- 2.10.75 The inner chamber, 2.10, has an internal window, reaching almost to floor level (E24, 25) looking into the nave of the chapel. Adjacent, with a similar internal window, 2.8 should be a private pew or oratory overlooking the high altar. Room 2.9, also opening off the inner chamber, looks like a heated study; what would later be called a closet. Entirely speculatively, these might reasonably be seen as predominantly female and male domains respectively. From here, a spiral stair leads to 3.9, a

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<sup>242</sup> Curzon 1926, 131

<sup>243</sup> A possible example was indeed found by Curzon (1926, 96) in the moat 'just to the east of the south abutment' of the south bridge: illustrated and described (but not identified) by Myres 1935, fig 1, P21. The (then) surviving part was 'unsymmetrical' but the upper element is now (2015) disassociated or missing. Stove tiles at this date typically have a conical body transitioning to a square mouth: for the type see Hurst *et al* 1986, fig 114.364. The NT catalogue (NT/BOD/C/97) suggests an alternative interpretation as an alembic; in the current absence of the crucial 'unsymmetrical' upper part the question must remain open.

<sup>244</sup> Both fireplaces are primary elements of the fabric, as is the stack which rises from a chamfered base like the others. The stack does not block the wall walk, but stands very close to one end of it, against the east tower; and in any event the roofs were only a step up from the walk, and had to be used to pass behind the tower. There is, in summary, nothing to justify assertions that these are later, inserted features

rooftop lodging with a fireplace with a latrine just outside it, which also provided a private back stair into and out of the principal suite.

- 2.10.76 The chapel terminates the east range, extending through two domestic storeys. Its east end (and the outer wall of 1.8 and 2.8) extend beyond the general line of the curtain and the early wall which it incorporates, presumably to achieve the correct orientation with a large and externally prominent east window.<sup>245</sup> That the main entry was from the centre of the courtyard wall is evident from the narrow window of the cellar 0.7 below being squeezed against its south wall. Entry was necessarily up a short flight of steps, into an interior dominated by the three-light east window. But a window over the west door is inevitable, within the upper tier of courtyard windows. There was also a small window in the north wall at low level, adjacent to the altar. The two high-level internal windows originally of two trefoil lights in the south wall,<sup>246</sup> one clearly related to the nave, the other (from the oratory) the sanctuary, enabled the elite occupants of the best apartment to participate in services, since at this time the laity only rarely took communion. This arrangement developed in the next century into domestic chapels with galleries, their occupants segregated by rank.



Figure 34 Chalk tracery from the head of the chapel screen

- 2.10.77 Internal floor level was  $\pm 0.1$ m higher than the ground floor of 1.10 to the south, and stepped up again to the sanctuary ( $\approx 10$ m AOD) on clay fill (E24, 25).<sup>247</sup> This occupied a third of the interior, the nave two-thirds, divided by a finely wrought traceried screen of chalk (Fig 34).<sup>248</sup> Parts of this were recovered by Curzon from the basement below, together with Flemish ceramic tiles (cream and dark green) which would, in the then current fashion, be laid in geometric patterns. The tiles would have been

<sup>245</sup> Repaired by Cubitt (Section 2.20); Thackray 1991:42; Curzon 1926 103

<sup>246</sup> This wall has one of the few areas of visible putlog (scaffold) holes, other than in the tower rooms

<sup>247</sup> Bodiam Management Committee Minutes 1967

<sup>248</sup> Curzon 1926, 104, 'a few [pieces] bearing signs of colour'. The position is fixed by the edge of the masonry base and the position of the doorway to 1.10; the division of the space into three is unlikely to be a coincidence.

laid in mortar over rough boarding.<sup>249</sup> An elaborate pitched roof of three bays would be expected, reflecting the division below. The richness of colour and texture of paint, glass and textile can now only be imagined.

- 2.10.78 In the south wall of the sanctuary is a cut back piscina with double chamfer mouldings, adjacent to the door to the sacristy (1.8). Lit by a small window, it has the remains of an aumbry (cupboard) in its west wall. Thin walls to the back of the fireplace in 1.10 and the 'stove' in 1.9 would provide background warmth for the good of the contents. From the chapel nave, adjacent to the screen, a door led into what is likely to have been the chaplain or clerk's chamber 1.10, considered above.

*North-east range and tower*

- 2.10.79 The spatial arrangement of the north-east range is relatively clear. There is a basement store 0.5, like those in the east range, entered by a door in the middle of the south external wall, flanked not quite centrally by two small windows. From this opens 0.6, the basement of the north-east tower, with two ventilation slits overlooking the moat. A doorway (of which two jamb blocks survive: E23) presumably reached by external steps (like the chapel) provided access from the courtyard (c8.85m AOD) to a lobby, from which opened a ground floor chamber (1.5, 9.8m AOD). The lobby continued as a stair rising through 360° to a first floor chamber (2.5, 13.3m AOD), both these large chambers thus being of similar height to the east range rooms. The stair then continued up to a low room over the extended gate passage (2.2, c14.75m). The stairwell is of slightly more generous radius than that immediately to the north, serving the gatehouse (c1.2m compared to 1.05m), but significantly it had much shallower steps (200mm rise compared to 270mm). It would have been lit from the south.

- 2.10.80 Each of the principal chambers had a window, fireplace and latrine in the north (curtain) wall, a window in the east wall, and would have had two larger windows in the south (courtyard) wall obviously related to the layout of the bridging beams of the first floor. The ground floor chamber had a sink or basin set in the reveal: the characteristic drain under the cill is clearly visible inside and out. The north-east tower stair connected both chambers, as well as serving a stack of three hexagonal tower lodgings (1.6, 2.6, 3.6) each with a fireplace and latrine, and providing access to the east wall walk and tower roof. Of the tower chambers, 2.6 (on the first floor) is notable for the doorway being rebated for doors on both sides, suggesting that it was intended to be particularly secure. The north wall walk was directly connected to 3.6 by a separate mural stair.

- 2.10.81 These are substantial apartments reached by a generous stair, which could have provided accommodation for dependent households of the lord's

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<sup>249</sup> Rather than, as has been suggested, they were used to pave the utilitarian basement, quite wrongly called the 'undercroft' and now with an entirely inappropriate section of fake medieval decorated tiles

family or high-status visitors and their entourages. The layout provides a good deal of flexibility in use; only in the case of this tower and its opposite number to the north-west can the leads be accessed from the stair without passing through the upper room, and uniquely here that upper room has its own route to the leads. The plan suggests that the tower stair served as a back stair to the much larger one to the west of the principal rooms, but it made all these rooms accessible from the ground floor, each other, and the leads without compromising their privacy. In terms of circulation within the range, there is one uncertainty – was there a door between the ground floor room and the chapel? It is possible, but had one existed, the wall would be more likely to have been demolished to its jamb than following the construction joints.

- 2.10.82 Above the gate extension was the small portcullis chamber (2.2) serving the extended gate passage below, and presumably lit in the same manner. It was only about 2.5m high (assuming a floor at the same level as 2.1) and would necessarily have contained the portcullis mechanism. Its west wall does not survive above floor level, so there is no evidence for a conventional doorway, which would need a timber stair to address the 1.75m drop to room 2.30. There is enough masonry to show, however, that there was no masonry stair partly embedded within the wall. The lodgings to the west of the gatehouse are different in character from those to the east, and there is no obvious need for it.
- 2.10.83 The evidence on the north wall east of the gatehouse (E6) for the structural arrangements of roof and floors is both plentiful and disparate, and its interpretation in part problematic.<sup>250</sup> The roof is straightforward – three bays, the intermediate trusses evidenced by rebates cut for wall posts rising from corbels (damaged but extant), doubtless carrying braces, and the surviving socket for a bridging beam against the gatehouse. The first floor zone is about 0.4m deep, between the offset in the curtain (below which wall post rebates extend, but with no corbels), and floor level evident from doors and the hearth. The wall posts should represent floor bridging beams, set between 2.7m and 4m between centres, the variation probably because the wall posts must fall between windows on both walls. They fall so as to frame two window bays on the south wall. The thin lintel of the rere-arch of the north window, its head coinciding with the base of the floor zone, suggests a ceiling between the bridging beams. This rational explanation, however, leaves out two large sockets for beams cut into the north wall within the floor zone. There may have been others simply resting on the offset on this side, and the most obvious explanation is that they represent a replacement of the original floor.

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<sup>250</sup> The anomaly was noted by Curzon, 1926, 128

2.10.84 Much the same sequence of replacement seems to have happened at ground floor level, where three disparate large sockets cut into the wall in the floor zone, above a substantial offset, are unrelated to a set of corbels carrying wall posts (and doubtless braces), in some cases also marked by the usual rebates, although here about 0.35m wide, cut into the walls. The bays are irregular, explicable by the posts on the south side being necessarily positioned in relation to the piers between the windows and door at this level. The replacement floor was set c150mm above the original, evidenced by trimming to allow the west door to open (E 23), and necessitating a step down to the stair (E7). The primary use of heavy internal framing using corbels under the wall posts is unique to the north-east range. Despite the evident status of the upper rooms, such capacity for heavy loading suggest that at least occasional need for safe storage space within the castle walls was foreseen.

*The north-west range and tower*

2.10.85 The junction between the west and north ranges was defined by a substantial timber-frame wall extending the north face (above first floor level) of the north courtyard wall to the west curtain. Its position is clear on the curtain, not only from a substantial socket for the first floor bridging beam, but also from the differing layout of floor and roof framing to its south (where it matches the rest of the west range) and north (E5). Within the north-west range, there was a similar major timber-framed wall east of the doorway from the courtyard. The plinth of the curtain is cut away to house it, in line with the socket above, and it is continued upwards by a partition c0.25m thick, marked by the boundaries of the surviving plaster, and terminating in a rebate cut for a bridging beam at the head.

2.10.86 By analogy with 1.24 (see below), a stair should rise from the courtyard door, allowing access to rooms right and left both at the foot and head. A first floor bridging beam close to the west side of the partition (as in 1.24), and anomalies on the geophysical survey which seem to define the flooring of 1.29 both south and east (Fig 11:9), support an inference that it did. At first floor level, this arrangement provides two rooms, both heated, the western (2.29) with a latrine accessed through the reveal of a window in the curtain; they could have been used as a lodging with outer and inner chamber, or separately. The east room (2.30) had a roof truss defined by a rebate for the wall post, slightly off centre (because of courtyard fenestration?). On the west the socket for a bridging beam is evident at the corner of the tower, the walling above carried on a corbel; an intermediate truss can be presumed bearing on the corner of the courtyard wall. Floor level can be fixed at c13.15m AOD by the base of surviving plaster (a notable characteristic of these rooms, which suggests that they remained roofed rather longer than most others), giving a clear height of 4.35m.

- 2.10.87 The first floor framing, in bays between bridging joists, was not wholly regular, and was independent of the partition (E6). The central beam is the one against which the stairwell was trimmed. There are two bays to the east, the outer one wider, apparently to avoid bearing over the window, and two similar bays to the west of the centre. Interspersed with these are sockets for two flattish bridging beams, probably associated with a similar section spine beam in the west wall (E5). Like the rooms to the east of the gatehouse tower, this is most easily explained as a replacement of the floor over 1.29.
- 2.10.88 On the ground floor, 1.30 to the east was well lit through a window with a reveal taken down to floor level that partly survives, but the space is unheated and without a latrine. Nonetheless, the north wall retains some of its plaster and it was fitted with a timber floor suspended at c9.6m AOD.<sup>251</sup> The plinth in the curtain to the west of the gatehouse seems to be a relic of the first building stage, but in this room it is partly cut down, while on the south wall, an offset was added as far as the line of the timber partition (E11). The projecting pier in the north-east corner is to enclose the entrance passage to 1.3, as the plan illustrates. The holes connecting this space to 1.3 have been noted (2.10.45); this might be the Steward's Room but if so the lack of heating is surprising.
- 2.10.89 Room 1.29 to the west was rather ill-lit – two small windows in the curtain and probably another by the door from the courtyard. In the west wall is a large stone recess which Curzon identified as ‘a double mural latrine with two separate shoots, connected with one of which was found a stone drain’ leading from the east.<sup>252</sup> It does not resemble any of the many latrines in the building, so perhaps it housed a sink? Lack of light precludes significant sub-division of the space, and a service use seems likely. The room provided the route to the stair giving individual access to three storeys of hexagonal lodging rooms in the north-west tower (1.28, 2.28, 3.28), each with a fireplace and latrine, as well as to the north wall walk and tower roof. A cellar, circular in plan, is (and probably always was) accessible by a trap door in the (modern) floor of 1.2.

*The west range and tower*

- 2.10.90 The west range is divided into three spaces by two masonry walls<sup>253</sup> with large ground floor hearths in the central space 1.26; there are no ‘domestic’ fireplaces. Evidence for floor and roof framing is particularly comprehensive on the curtain wall (E5), showing the roof divided into three bays in the south room (2.24) and two in the north (2.27). The bridging beams of the first floor are closely-spaced, mostly about 2m apart, and curiously the positions of the beams nearest the cross walls suggests that they were set out in relation to the opposite faces of the

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<sup>251</sup> It is just possible that there is a low basement waiting to be excavated here

<sup>252</sup> Curzon 1926,109-10

<sup>253</sup> The northern one certainly rises from a solid foundation about 1.3m deep: Fig11:7

walls.<sup>254</sup> They, and the floor joists,<sup>255</sup> were built in as the work proceeded, and include the trimming for a steep timber stair (51.5°) against the south wall, with the first bridging beam trimming the stairwell (Fig 35).<sup>256</sup> The framing of an enclosure around the stair head can be identified from timber sockets at first floor level in the south and west walls (E21, E5). North of the stair, three of the first floor bridging beams were later reinforced with wall posts (and presumably braces) set on corbels cut neatly into the west wall, one being cut into the tower door head. The layout of the floor framing and its relationship to the partition forming the north end of the range do not suggest a similar stair leading up from the doorway at the north end of the range.

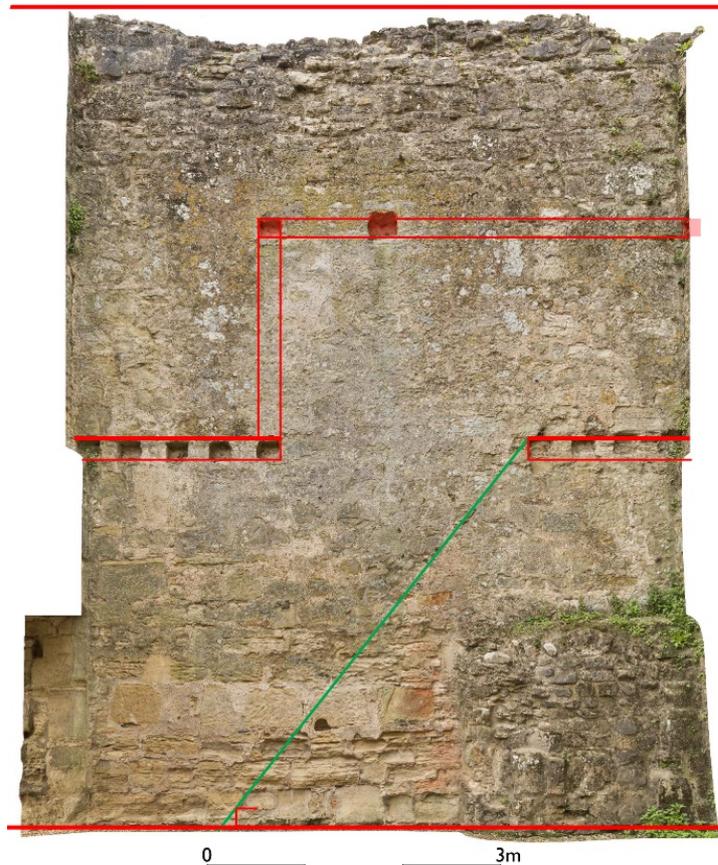


Figure 35 The south end of room 1.24, showing the site of the stair and its enclosed head. The projection at bottom right is the oven in the kitchen

2.10.91 It is certain that the central space, 1.26, was open to the roof since there is no impression of floor framing visible on the north and south walls. The space was entered by a large moulded doorway, flanked by a small cusped window. From here doors opened *into* the flanking rooms, 1.24 and 1.27; both could also be accessed directly from the courtyard at opposite ends of the range. The plan repeats at first floor, save that entry was only from the stair to the south. To make sense of the first floor

<sup>254</sup> Both of which about the side walls; but so does the kitchen wall

<sup>255</sup> About 230mm wide x 150mm deep (9 x 6") @ 450mm (18") centres

<sup>256</sup> First identified by Curzon, 1926, 141

doors and to reach 2.27, there must have been a gallery (2.26) between the doors, across 1.26. The disturbed masonry at the door thresholds is consistent with that, but there is no physical evidence for a balustrade or partition.



Figure 36 The north (left) and south (right) faces of the wall between rooms 1.26 and 1.27

2.10.92 The hearths are at the core of antiquarian uncertainties about the use of this range. Their stone arches are (early) 19th century, replacing collapsed relieving arches. The north hearth was originally closed at the back like the south, both had west jambs against the curtain, now partly fallen away, and both had shallow arches (not hoods) facing into 1.26 with relieving arches above, the abutments surviving. The south hearth has a tiled fireback below the lower of two relieving arches in the thin back wall, the upper one visible from both sides<sup>257</sup> and the lower only from the north (E20, E19; Fig 36). There are two (similar, but not identical) rectangular openings at hearth level, formed in tile but with stone surrounds on the hearth side. The eastern one has a head significantly burnt on both sides, along with the face of the wall above it on the south (room) side. The north hearth was similar (E17, E18), but with a lower arch (springing at 1.4m rather than 1.75m above floor level), below a relieving arch, the eastern abutment of which survives above the springer for the arch proper (E18). The back wall is lost, but there are jambs of low level openings, here not inset but corresponding with the jambs of the hearths; the northern one projected  $\approx 0.15\text{m}$  into room 1.27 (E5). As with the south hearth, there was a high level relieving arch to back wall, springing from the topmost block of the door jamb (E17). The purpose of the relieving arches in the back walls of both hearths was presumably so that the masonry below was non-structural, making the fire holes though them easy to adjust and renew. The hearths are integral with the

<sup>257</sup> It springs on the east from a particularly deep jamb block of the adjacent doorway, cut for the purpose

cross walls, and, as noted, although the cross walls are not bonded to the side walls, they are nonetheless late in the primary construction phase rather than subsequent interventions.<sup>258</sup>

2.10.93 The bases of many medieval ovens have survived to be excavated precisely because they were at or near floor level. Examples include the bakehouse area at Northolt Manor, with an oven about 2.3m in diameter, with an adjacent masonry base probably for a flue, dating from c1350-70.<sup>259</sup> At Grove Priory,<sup>260</sup> the floor of the late-13th to mid-14th century bakehouse was dominated by a large oven. At Pontefract Castle,<sup>261</sup> the late-14th century kitchen built against the curtain had two ovens, slightly elevated above the floor, perhaps near the beginning of a trend towards them being at a more convenient waist height, with ashpits below. In use, ovens were heated by lighting a fire inside, and the ashes raked out before the bread or pastry was placed inside. In many if not all of these examples, the smoke escaped into the room and out through the roof. However, the new bakehouse and brewhouse built in 1378-81 by William of Wykeham at Bishop's Waltham Palace, Hampshire, had a pair of ovens opening just above hearth level from the back of a shallow fireplace, through a pair of relieving arches set under an overall relieving arch (Fig 37). This is similar both in date and concept to the arrangements at Bodiam, although at Waltham only fragments of the actual mouths of the ovens, formed in pegtile, have survived on the inner face at low level. The building that survives was much altered c1440 when a dormitory lodging space was created on the upper floor.<sup>262</sup> The offices constructed at Stirling Castle c1500 in connection with the great hall also include a bakehouse, with two ovens opening from the back of a hearth at floor level.<sup>263</sup> At Newark Park, Gloucestershire, built c1550, a small primary oven at the base of the kitchen fireplace jamb was superseded by one at higher level.<sup>264</sup> While found earlier (not least in the kitchen at Bodiam), the higher level and a chimney to take away the smoke became universal by the 16th century.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> *Contra* Goodall 2001 who noted that the hearths are 'certainly not 14th century... kitchen later... one detail suggests that the area incorporated a staircase entered from courtyard door at ground level. Both doors on the upper floor face inwards'

<sup>259</sup> Hurst 1961, 243-6

<sup>260</sup> Baker 2013, 150-152, 320 and fig 9.19

<sup>261</sup> Roberts 2002, 32 *et seq*

<sup>262</sup> Hare 1988, 227, 236; 2015, 17-18. For the medieval brewhouse generally, see Brears 2012, 87-101

<sup>263</sup> For the context see Fawcett 1995, 39-45

<sup>264</sup> Rodwell & Bell 2004, 204 for the building and basement kitchen fireplace; the two successive ovens in the left jamb have been revealed by works by the NT; seen by PD September 2015

<sup>265</sup> Brears (2012, 121) suggests that most medieval 'ovens' at ground level were actually boiler furnaces, as we suggest here for one set, as part of a brewhouse which could include a malt oven as well as the copper



Figure 37 The bakehouse hearth at Bishop's Waltham Palace, Hampshire, 1378-81, showing relieving arches to accommodate the mouths of a pair of ovens. The ovens projected beyond the gable wall, under a pent roof; ground and floor levels were drastically reduced c1440

2.10.94 While one hearth is therefore likely to have served ovens, it is worth remembering that a bakehouse was often associated with a brewhouse, as at Bishop's Waltham Palace in 1378-81. Such an association would suit arrangements here, and does not preclude some use of the hearths for cooking, particularly the higher, southern one. The sense that the ground floor rooms within the west range were service spaces is reinforced by evidence of knives being sharpened on the south-west jamb of the door from 1.24 – 1.26 (as in the kitchen), and particularly by evidence for a pentice along the west side of the courtyard, linking all five service doors. Its northern end seems to be represented in the GPR survey by Fig11:6, over which soil and/or rubble is shown piled in 1782 (Fig 51). Chases for its lead flashing are visible on both surviving sections of wall (E5),<sup>266</sup> but its negative impact on the architecture alone makes pretty clear that it was secondary. Sockets in the exterior wall of 1.21 and 1.21a suggest a timber-framed accretion there too (E16), but this was probably much later.

2.10.95 The first floor is reminiscent of the large, minimally heated spaces associated with Tudor and Stuart houses which probably housed lower ranking travelling staff particularly on royal progress.<sup>267</sup> They occur earlier, however, being formed over the bakehouse and brewhouse at Bishops Waltham c1440 (see above) and here might accommodate a travelling household. The strengthening of the upper floor over 1.24 might even point to a later use for storage.

2.10.96 The west tower, accessed from 1.24, has three square chambers reached from a newel stair (turning anti-clockwise) in its south-east corner. The ground floor one (1.25) is unheated, with no latrine, so not a standard lodging and presumably a service or store room. Below was a cellar lit by

<sup>266</sup> The southern section is a widened joint now infilled with stone slips; the northern section shows more clearly prior to repointing on Historic England 'red box' photo 5715\_072

<sup>267</sup> Drury & Smith 2010, 68-9

three slits, presumably accessed by a floor trap (and filled in modern times). The upper two lodging chambers (2.25, 3.25) fit the norm; heated, with latrines and lancet windows, and access to the north-west wall walk through the upper one.

*Endnote*

2.10.97 This interpretation of planning and use depends substantially on our interpretation of construction methods and sequence (2.10.15). Although exceptional in some ways, the planning of the south and east ranges, particularly, appears to have followed the fundamentals of medieval house planning. Other hypotheses considered in discussion, including that the hall originally extended through all or most of the south range, have been tested and, though ultimately discarded, led to new observations and insights which are included and acknowledged.<sup>268</sup>

2.10.98 Anomalies and uncertainties nonetheless remain. For example, in relation to the west range, if it accommodated kitchen offices, what were they, and why was there no internal connection with the kitchen itself? One answer may well be that Bodiam was a place where the model of a compact courtyard house was being worked out: in that instance, as the need for such a connection emerged, it was answered by a pentice. Bodiam had about 70 rooms (including cellars). It was a large and complex house, but we have none of the detailed inventories even of comparable houses which enable the depth of understanding of houses of similar scale from the 16th and 17th centuries. Further investigation, including excavation, could reduce uncertainties about physical form (although many, particularly about the roofs, will remain), but the ways in which it was used, or intended to be used, will inevitably remain less clear to us, and may have been far from fixed in the minds of its designers.

## **2.11 The castle in its landscape setting**

*Concepts*

2.11.1 Bodiam Castle is set in an elaborately contrived, designed landscape, one created, as will be shown, within a pre-existing framework. Many other castles of this period are known to have had comparable settings, often dominated by water.<sup>269</sup> There is increasing evidence that such landscapes were regarded as an integral part of castle design by the late 14th century, with wealthy commoners and lesser aristocrats emulating the great magnates. Among the most famous ‘waterscapes’ are two at important royal castles, which Dallingridge may have known: Leeds (Kent), dating from the 1280s, but where the watery setting was emphasised in the rebuilding of c1380-1400; and Kenilworth (Warwickshire), similarly substantially rebuilt in the last quarter of the 14th century for John of

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<sup>268</sup> Our thanks particularly to Matt Champion, Nathalie Cohen, and Penny Copeland for challenging inherited (and emerging) interpretations

<sup>269</sup> Liddiard 2005, 98, 115-6

Gaunt.<sup>270</sup> Dallingridge may well also have been familiar, at least by reputation, with the Duke of Burgundy's great castle and pleasure grounds at Hesdin (Picardy), rebuilt in the 1380s and including a fantastic park with real and mechanical menageries, which, significantly, displayed the duke's wealth and magnificence in the context of diplomatic and ceremonial entertainment for visitors from across Europe.<sup>271</sup> Shirburn (see 2.9.11) also had a waterscape setting with close affinities to that at Bodiam.

2.11.2 Detailed research into the designed settings of castles of this period has been limited and comparatively recent, but, while waterscapes (in particular) doubtless had some practical functions in terms of both defence and work (fish-farming and powering mills), their complexity and extent indicate that their aesthetic, ceremonial and symbolic aspects were central to their creation. Thus, these settings were not simply intended to be appreciated for their aesthetic qualities in the modern picturesque sense, but rather as materialisations of the social and chivalric status of the lord, articulated in the ritualised entertainment of honoured guests.

2.11.3 We know from documentary sources that the way in which guests were received by the lord was of considerable social, and particularly chivalric, importance, the degree of ceremony by which they were conducted into a castle being proportionate to the rank and standing of the guest. It was time-honoured courtesy that the most honoured guests would be joined on their approach, sometimes over long distances, by their host. The castle might be admired at various points from a distance and the final approach to the castle across the bridge was the culmination of this ceremonial progress.

*Placing the castle in the landscape*

2.11.4 There are two aspects to the placing of the castle in the landscape: first, long views of it and from it, its place in the wider landscape seen from outside and appreciated from inside; and, second, its placing in relation to other elements of medieval Bodiam, both pre-existing and newly-formed to complement it. Views of and from it are closely associated with questions about how it was approached and entered, both ceremonially and functionally.

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<sup>270</sup> Goodall 2011, 236-7; 291-7

<sup>271</sup> Farmer 2013

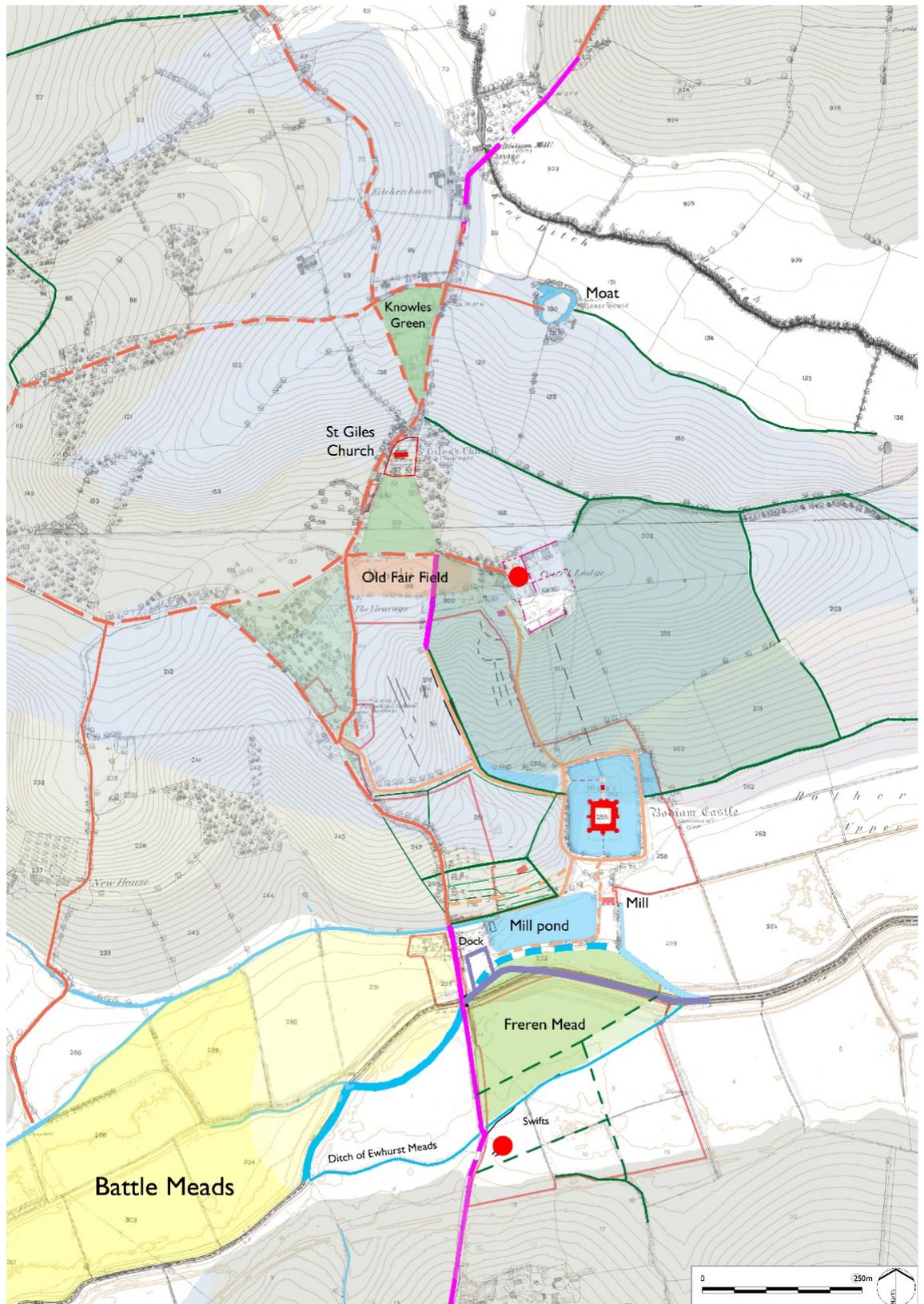


Figure 38 Extract from Later Medieval phase map (Map 4) showing the vicinity of the castle and Court Lodge

2.11.5 The castle is set into a spur or knoll projecting beyond the general line of the north side of the Rother valley, above the flood plain, so ideally placed to be seen, to announce its presence, in approaching Bodiam up

the Rother from the east. This is at first sight an obvious place for a castle to deter incursions from the coast up the Rother valley; yet a closer look shows that the large windows of the best apartments and chapel in the east range all face in that direction. Before early modern tree planting, they would have been seen on the approach by river and, perhaps more importantly, the apartment windows provided long views outwards down the valley as far as the Isle of Oxney. The leaded flat roofs, of course, would have provided even better views, and the castle can be admired to great advantage from the ridge to the south of the valley, on which Ewhurst stands. From the top of the postern tower, it is possible to see traffic on the B2244 bridge crossing the Rother. When the river was a more open and 'working' landscape, it is likely that there could have been views along the Rother valley upstream of the castle as far as the parish boundary. However, Robertsbridge Abbey, which was associated with the Dallingridge family and the burial place both of Sir Edward and of Sir John, his son and heir, in 1408, would have been out of sight unless its church had a tall tower or spire.

- 2.11.6 The precise placing of the castle within the pre-existing medieval landscape was governed by more local factors, considered generally in Section 2.6, particularly the evolution of the Roman and later road lines, the location of Court Lodge as the putative early manorial centre, and the likelihood that the 'cascade' valley was already adapted for fish ponds, with a boundary and lane following its south side.

*The Gun Garden and Court Lodge*

- 2.11.7 The northern side of the moat faces west of north, and so addresses the ridge on which Court Lodge stands, and in particular *The Gun Garden* (so called in 1730, when it was an orchard) in front of it (Fig 38). This is an earthwork platform roughly 66m x 15m, terraced about 1.6m above the hillside at its outer (southern) edge. The RCHME<sup>272</sup> suggested that a shallow scarp running from east to west roughly half-way down the hillside towards the castle was associated with the platform above. This seems unlikely as it spans a field which existed in 1839, but not in 1730, when it formed part of a much larger one, South Hill. The terrace seems to be a lynchet of quite recent date, caused by the field extant in 1839 having earlier, after 1730, been divided into two.
- 2.11.8 Excavation of sections through the earthwork in 1961<sup>273</sup> revealed a dry stone foundation wall 'at the edge of the embankment', similar to those found on the moated site near the church (Section 2.2) at about 1m deep. Two 'floors' were found to the north, of smallish stones and gravel over 'much larger nodules', petering out where they met sandstone bedrock dipping southwards. To the west of the axial main trench, a hearth of 'yellowish firebricks...identified as Dutch, and probably early 14th

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<sup>272</sup> Taylor *et al* 1990

<sup>273</sup> Darrell-Hill 1960-61

century’ was found. Impliedly over all the structures was ‘a mass of tiles...as also quantities of charcoal and ash’. Finds comprised ‘a few pieces of late 13th century pottery’ and part of a cast bronze vessel. Not surprisingly, given the depth of the drystone walls, anomalies mapped in geophysical survey <sup>274</sup> largely reflected the physical form of the earthworks, the magnetometer survey including possible walls.

- 2.11.9 In the absence of detailed records, <sup>275</sup> any interpretation must be provisional. Rather than the structure being set on the earthwork, it seems more likely that it was built *on* a terrace cut into the slope, perhaps necessitated because it was an expansion of a building complex already extant immediately to the north. The present earthwork terrace, burying the structural remains, could then be seen as an adaptation of the building platform after its demolition. When this happened is a matter of conjecture; the pottery is dated to the late 13th/ early 14th century,<sup>276</sup> but the destruction deposits are notably similar to those of the moated house site, even down to a bronze vessel fragment. That would place them in the late 14th century and, if the pottery found is really almost a century earlier, it could date the construction of the putative building range. Putting this into the context of Court Lodge as surviving and as depicted in 1730, the alignment of the building/ terrace is close to the dominant alignment of the farmstead buildings and enclosures behind it to the north, sufficient to suggest an association, while the terrace and other earthworks emerge as forming the south-eastern perimeter of a clearly-defined site.
- 2.11.10 It is therefore plausible that the transition to earthwork terrace relates to the construction of the castle in the late 14th century. The platform, scheduled<sup>277</sup> as a ‘pleasaunce’, a garden and viewing platform, is ideally located for viewing the castle in its landscape. The relationship of the terrace to the north side of the moat, so that the viewer appears to address the castle square on, with a clear axis to the octagon, itself on an axis shifted westwards from that of the castle itself, strongly suggests that the two are, in some form, contemporaneous.
- 2.11.11 Nonetheless, the likelihood of occupation before the construction of the castle, that the fair and market granted in 1386 was held on the putative green adjacent to it, and that the *curia* remained at or reverted to the site (in the form of Court Lodge), points to continuity of this location as the practical focus of the manor.<sup>278</sup> The problem of the lack of support facilities for the castle – stables, barns, etc – or of buildings associated with the running of its agricultural estate, suggest that all of these

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<sup>274</sup> Barker *et al* 2015, esp 28-9, 40-1; Johnson *et al* forthcoming

<sup>275</sup> Records in Battle Museum: 5511 which would warrant examination

<sup>276</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (2), 92

<sup>277</sup> See Appendix D

<sup>278</sup> The castle was identified separately from the site of the manor in the inquisition of 1443: see 2.11.43

functions remained in the enclosures in the vicinity of Court Lodge, although behind the false summit on which the Gun Garden terrace came to be sited.

- 2.11.12 The ‘gun’ in the name remains problematic. The action during Buckingham’s rebellion (Section 2.12) could have used artillery. There is not known to have been any fighting during the civil war around Bodiam, but that is not to say that the site was never considered for, or even used as, a gun emplacement. However, both stone and iron shot have been recovered from the castle moat.<sup>279</sup> Most likely the name originated as a romantic allusion when the feature became part of the garden of Court Lodge during its occupation by Samuel Hyland (1645-93; 2.16 below), when it may, indeed, have been physically adapted.
- 2.11.13 Viewing-points, in various forms, are found at castles and great houses in the later the medieval period and beyond, usually in association with designed landscapes or notable views. The term *gloriette* (the derivation of which is contested), in contemporary (and rare) medieval usage seems to have implied both recreation and richness.<sup>280</sup> At Leeds Castle the *gloriette* (c1280-1300) was a building adjacent to the main castle, on a separate island in the moat-lake. The *gloriette* at Hesdin was either a tower, or an elaborate room within it, on the curtain wall above the moat, overlooking both the park and the inner bailey.<sup>281</sup> Perhaps the most significant later medieval English example of a retreat in a landscape dominated by water is the *pleasaunce* at Kenilworth, built in 1414 as part of John of Gaunt’s palatial rebuilding of the castle.<sup>282</sup>
- 2.11.14 Whilst such designed settings are associated with the ‘Spenserian fantasy’ landscapes<sup>283</sup> of the 16th and 17th centuries, the RCHME concluded that Bodiam was created no later than the 15th or possibly the very early 16th century, and no evidence had been found to exclude the possibility that both the castle and its designed setting are essentially contemporary, indeed, quite the contrary, given the Castle’s later history. The one thing that is reasonably certain is that it was to form part of a late 17th-century garden at Court Lodge (Section 2.16).

#### *The ponds*

- 2.11.15 The immediate setting of the castle comprises not only the moat, but also the water- and earth-works to its east and west, as well as the Mill Pond, considered below. All would have added to the distinctive character of the castle’s setting, dominated by sheets of water at different levels,

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<sup>279</sup> In the NT collection at Bodiam: stone shot 170mm (7in), iron shot 80 (3¼ in) and 95 mm (3¾ in); in addition to which Curzon (1926, 158) notes three others (stone, 2 ¾ in, 3 in; iron, 4¾ in)

<sup>280</sup> Ashbee 2004; for Leeds, see 26-28

<sup>281</sup> Ashbee 2004, 32; Farmer 2013, 107-9

<sup>282</sup> Goodall 2011, 98-100, 291-7, and *passim*

<sup>283</sup> Taylor *et al* 1990, 157

especially when seen from the north-west or the putative viewing point at the Gun Garden.

- 2.11.16 The ‘cascade’ valley has been considered above (2.6.34); there is certainly a terraced path on the south, although the RCHME suggested ‘traces of terraced walkways on both sides’.<sup>284</sup> The divisions within it are largely modern (c1970)<sup>285</sup> and, although it holds water, the interpretation as a cascade is unproven and indeed unlikely. The truly odd thing is that the castle bridge abutment aligns on the valley rather than a path to the side. But the effect on exit, of one’s path being continued by a water feature, especially when the conditions were amenable to reflection, could have been striking.
- 2.11.17 To the east of the moat is the so-called Little Moat, since it follows not only the alignment of the eastern moat embankment and the boundary leading eastwards, but was formed by the same ‘cut and fill’ process so that the south and part of its east sides are retained by substantial banks cross the lower end of the cascade ‘valley’. The northern end has been infilled with rubbish and debris during the tenure of the Trust.<sup>286</sup> If it had a practical function in the castle period, this is unclear, although continued use as a fish pond is perhaps the most likely.
- 2.11.18 Geophysical investigation to the north-east of the moat revealed only possible drainage gulleys running towards the moat. In the area to the south-east of the moat, medieval stone revetting walls or structures against the current Trust site boundaries have been postulated on the basis of geophysical survey results (Fig 39),<sup>287</sup> but a borehole produced only the expected natural sequence of silts overlying the Bronze Age deposit.<sup>288</sup> The anomalies are most likely due to recent dumping of silt excavated from the moat, and/or upcast from cleaning the drainage ditches; until recently this area was very wet.

#### *The mill and the river*

- 2.11.19 The site of an early windmill is suggested by the name of a copyhold tenement, *Windmilhil*, at the top of the hill climbing up from the bridge (Fig 6), comprising two small irregular enclosures, one on either side of the road, recorded in 1671 when the eastern one (G1) had a small cottage.<sup>289</sup> While the name could merely relate to the locality, the hill was called Knowles Hill,<sup>290</sup> so the western enclosure (G2) should be the actual site of a potentially early manorial mill.

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<sup>284</sup> Taylor *et al* 1990

<sup>285</sup> Will Past, now facilities manager, remembers the central raised area being created with moat silt

<sup>286</sup> Taylor *et al* 1990. 155

<sup>287</sup> Barker *et al* 2015, 43, on the basis of the GPR survey

<sup>288</sup> Scaife & Copeland 2015, Borehole C

<sup>289</sup> ESRO, AMS 5691/3/1, tenement G, each enclosure of about 1 rod.

<sup>290</sup> John Knowles was noted as the former owner of Cooper’s Field in 1608: Whittick in Johnson *et al* 2000, P6/32

- 2.11.20 However, Dallingridge obtained a licence, enrolled on 30 February 1386, to divert a watercourse from *Dalyngreggesbay* in the vill of Salehurst to power his watermill at Bodiam.<sup>291</sup> The position of the ‘bay’ or dam was identified by Christopher Whittick, together with the leat which followed in substantial part the boundary between his demesne and the land of Battle and Robertsbridge Abbeys, with which he concluded agreements in 1386 and c1387. Its course is shown on Map 4 (Appendix F and in part on Fig 38).<sup>292</sup> Water diverted from the Rother was supplemented by the brook north of the park, draining much of the manor (and beyond) below the watershed.
- 2.11.21 The mill pond by the castle, now called the ‘Tiltyard’<sup>293</sup> following Lord Curzon’s erroneous interpretation of it, remains a major feature in the landscape. Its original western limit is shown on the 1st Edition 25” map, confirmed by an excavation just within it in 1998, its base there being at c2.5m AOD, cut into peat.<sup>294</sup> Early clay silt (or lining?) yielded just one sherd of contemporary pottery; at a higher level, a rough alignment of water-rounded flint, shelly limestone and granite boulders, from the mixture probably once ship’s ballast, parallel to the north bank, may be connected with the entry of the leat at this corner. Their source was presumably vessels in the adjacent float (see below). Higher levels of silt yielded pottery apparently dropped into water, and building materials (including West Country slate) like those of the castle, suggesting that material was being discarded into this end of the pond during the early 16th century. Curzon scoured and land-drained the unfilled section to the east; a cable trench parallel to the south side revealed mostly sterile yellow clay just below the topsoil, thought to be natural, but again possibly a lining since the valley peat deposit and overlying silt was not found.<sup>295</sup>
- 2.11.22 The mill itself must have stood against the dam at the eastern end of the pond, at its northern end since there remains a deep ditch extending to that point, parallel to the dam, which provided its tail race. There is no reason why the mill and pond, whilst having a primary functional purpose, could not also have had an aesthetic purpose in contributing to the setting for the castle,<sup>296</sup> or indeed a military purpose in defending it.
- 2.11.23 In 1410, Robertsbridge Abbey granted to Sir Edward’s widowed daughter in law Alice a lease for 60 years of ‘a parcel of meadow (1.5ac), part of a ....meadow called Frerenmede in the parish of Ewhurst, together with the whole new course of water of the new river there...’.<sup>297</sup> Internal evidence suggests that the grant was retrospective, and that the diversion

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<sup>291</sup> Whittick 1993

<sup>292</sup> With some minor adjustments

<sup>293</sup> Whittick 1993

<sup>294</sup> Barber 1998 at TQ 7837 2543; the excavation was for a sewage treatment plant

<sup>295</sup> Grant 2009, 10-11

<sup>296</sup> See for example, Liddiard 2005, 2007.

<sup>297</sup> James & Whittick 2008, 24

had been undertaken by Sir Edward Dallingridge not long after the building of the millpond dam. The site is obvious from Appendix F: Map 4 and Fig 38, and explains the angular course of the later channel, the ‘new river’, in this area.

- 2.11.24 The eastern end of the old course was retained to accommodate the tail race which discharged into it, and its position makes clear that the mill pond bank was built hard up against the course of the river as it then stood. The retained section was described as ‘a water-course leading from the mill-shot of Bodiam to the salt stream’ in a 1476 grant by the Abbey of land in Freren Mead on both sides of the (new) river, that is to say severed by it, from which we know that on the expiry of Alice’s lease, the land south of the Mill Pond did not run with the castle.<sup>298</sup>
- 2.11.25 By 1410, but again probably created as part of Sir Edward’s grand plan, there was a float or dock on this new channel, against Bodiam High Street. The bounds of Freren Mead described in 1567 include ‘and the Flote in parte and the highway there in parte West’<sup>299</sup> placing it against the road frontage. It, or its associated land, extended northwards as far as Summers, the southernmost tenement on the east side of the road, to the west of the mill pond, for its owner was presented in 1607 for encroaching on the float; but the dock had gone by 1671.<sup>300</sup> The position of Summers (see also 2.11.32) suggests that it was itself a relatively late addition to this landscape, on a site where, when the mill pond and float were fully functioning, and service access needed to the Castle, one might expect open space. The earliest pottery from the plot dates from c1500.
- 2.11.26 The reason for diverting the stream (for a second time) may have been the vulnerability of the mill pond embankment, or specifically to create space for the float and a quay,<sup>301</sup> the latter role continuing down to at least the late 19th century. The present ground levels in this area between the mill pond and the river are, however, the result of 20th-century make up, more than 2.2m deep east of the NT shop,<sup>302</sup> now with a flood bank and wall on top.
- 2.11.27 These changes left the road crossing the river obliquely, and thus its bridge vulnerable both to the current undermining its foundations and to damage from barges denied a straight passage colliding with the structure. It was rebuilt in 1702 and 1726, but, within 20 years of the present structure being built in 1797<sup>303</sup>, the north-east pier had been undermined to a depth of a foot. In 1817, the problem was finally addressed by

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<sup>298</sup> James & Whittick 2008, 24

<sup>299</sup> D’Elboux 1944, 33, parcel 93

<sup>300</sup> ESRO, AMS 5691/3/1

<sup>301</sup> Called the public wharf in 1829: ESRO, QAB 3/1, p53

<sup>302</sup> Grant 2009, 15 and fig 2

<sup>303</sup> ESRO, QAB 3/1, p52; the designer was R Louch, County Surveyor, also recorded on the date stone in the west parapet

realigning the channel on its present course, to pass perpendicularly under the bridge, involving a new cut some 300m long, not without protest from adjoining owners and occupiers.<sup>304</sup> Previously, the course east of the bridge was awkwardly angular;<sup>305</sup> while to the west, it had struck sharply southwards, the Castle Inn plot coming to a point.<sup>306</sup> The old western course is visible on the 2012 topographic survey<sup>307</sup> and shown on Appendix F: Map 4 and Fig 38.

*The frontage tenements and plots*

- 2.11.28 The evolution of the land between the castle and the north-south road (Fig 38) is problematic, despite both earthwork and geophysical survey data, and will remain so until some excavation is undertaken. Nonetheless, a tentative analysis can be offered. The four long tenement plots are, on close examination, not quite what they seem. The northern one, historically Copthall, seems to be an addition to the group, carved out of the field to the north,<sup>308</sup> which was left with a curious triangular corner projection as a result. Its eastern boundary lines are quite different in form (two ditches) from the others in the geophysical results, and deviate from their alignment (Fig 39). The block of three plots to the south seems to be divided by a lane above the southern one, giving access to the space to the east as well as the plot to the north.<sup>309</sup> That space to the east has been, from geophysics, the scene of a great deal of activity, including what are interpreted as kilns or furnaces.
- 2.11.29 Putting all the geophysical results together (Fig 39) emphasises its concentration in that space, against the eastern boundary of the plots and the field to the north, despite some scattered anomalies westwards, and a probable building (m41-2) within the central plot. It also suggests that the activity took place when the moat, as well as those containing boundaries, was already extant. Curving features probably beneath the ‘activity’ look related to moat construction. It could represent a ‘works compound’ for the castle, the ‘kilns’ (concentrated along, but outside, the common plot boundary) resulting from iron and lead working, or it could be later; only excavation can tell. But the access to it seems to have been by the lane between the plots, and activity to be contained largely to the north-west of the lane, making it no earlier than the plots and moat that define it.
- 2.11.30 The boundaries defining this block of plots seem to be the earliest medieval topographic features in this area. The east boundary is parallel to the Roman road, so was laid out when that line was still in use (compare Figs 6, 38). The south boundary is represented by Dallingridge’s

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<sup>304</sup> ESRO, QAB 2/1, report and sketch plans by John Cowper, County Surveyor, 12 July 1817; Q/AB 3/1, p53. We are especially grateful to Christopher Whittick for copies of these documents

<sup>305</sup> ESRO, BAT 4435/26, 1811 map

<sup>306</sup> See ESRO, AMS 5691/3/1 (1671), 6454/6/1 (1730)

<sup>307</sup> Barker *et al* 2015, 19

<sup>308</sup> A view shared by Johnson *et al* 2000 (2), 60

<sup>309</sup> Curved ditches m18, 19; r38

mill pond, and essentially follows the edge of the flood plain. Crucially, the north boundary is cut by the High Street and should predate it.

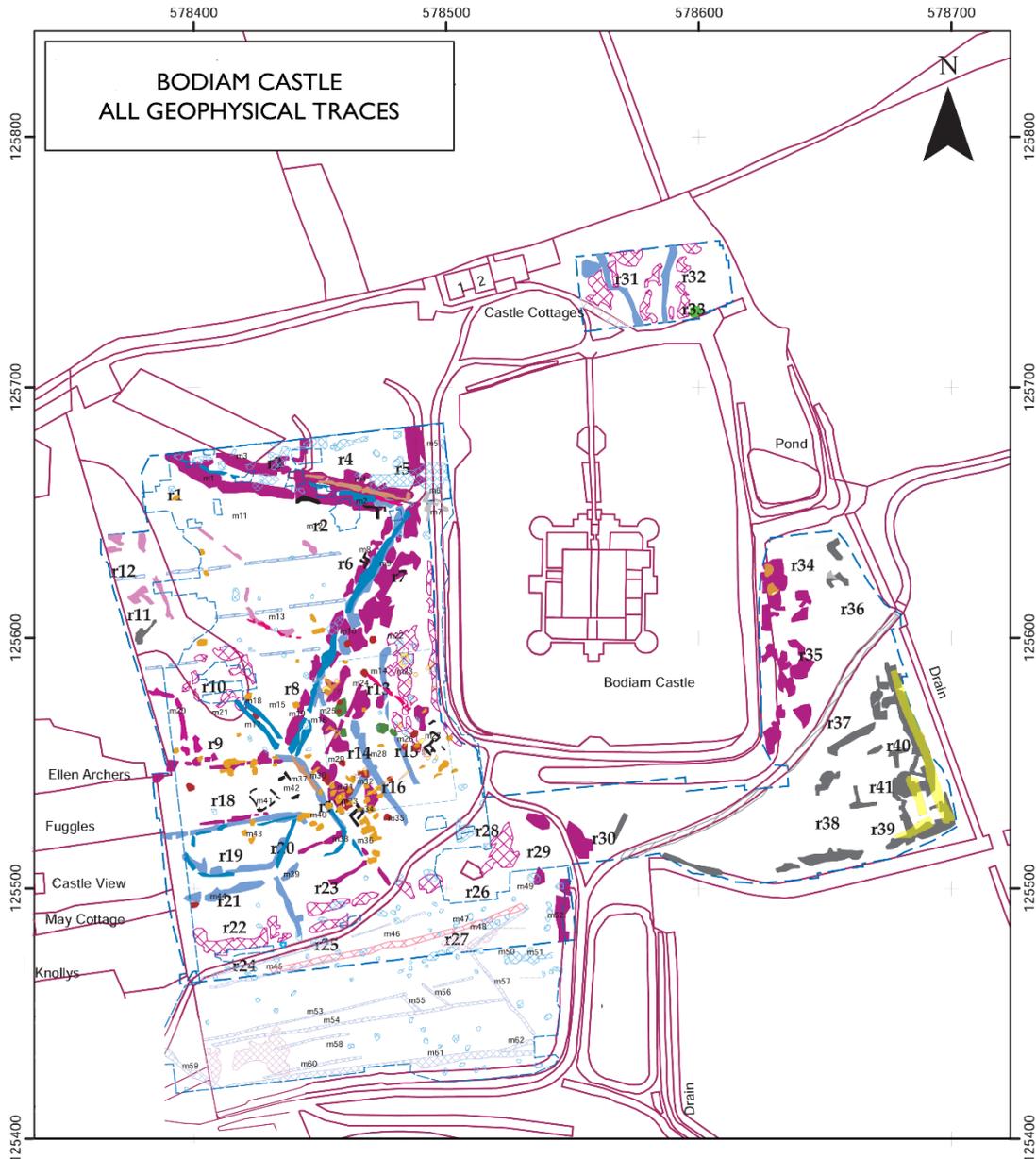


Figure 39 All geophysical results from the immediate castle environs superimposed (*Northwest University/University of Southampton with additions*)

2.11.31 By 1671 (Fig 40), the four long plots were known as (from north to south) Cophthall, Smiths, Brooks and Groves, the latter by then having been truncated eastwards. They were then defined westwards by the current line of the highway, now at least severely hollowed, and so easing the gradient up the hill; and the buildings all related to that frontage line. There has been no archaeological investigation within these plots, but one historic frontage building (of the three extant in 1671) survives, on the plot formerly Cophthall<sup>310</sup> and now known as Ellen Archers. This is a rare

<sup>310</sup> A copyhold of Bodiam Manor in 1671, with a quitrent of 4 shillings a year; descent traceable from 1608

survival of a small two-bay hall house, dated by David and Barbara Martin to the opening years of the 16th century.<sup>311</sup>



Figure 40 Tenements near Bodiam Bridge, 1671 (ESRO AMS 6591/3/1); A, Summers; B, site of the *flote*

2.11.32 To the south, and actually in the flood plain, is a smaller plot, a freehold tenement of Bodiam manor traceable from 1607 called Summers,<sup>312</sup> west of the mill pond, probably bounded by its leat to the north and by the float or land associated with it to the south, since its tenant was presented in 1601 for encroaching on the float. This is the only plot within which any excavation has been undertaken. Trench 1 on the south, just within its boundary (as it stood in the 19th century), showed alluvium, disturbed, but incorporating material from the late 15th century onwards. Trench 2, within the plot, revealed a substantial hollow with shallowly sloping sides within the alluvium, interpreted as a channel, but quite possibly, for example, a pit dug for daub. Its fill contained late 15th to early 16th

<sup>311</sup> ESRO HBR 1/147 (2007) for which we are grateful to David Martin; correctly identified in Antram & Pevsner 2012, 136, but not in the statutory list description.

<sup>312</sup> Area 1r 15p; 1shilling quit rent; Whittick in Johnson *et al* 2000, P6/9

century pottery and other detritus.<sup>313</sup> The ceramic evidence makes pretty clear that domestic activity on this tenement began c1500, which is almost certainly when it was first defined as such.

2.11.33 Summers of course differs from the plots to the north by being of a different size and topographic location (flood plain rather than valley side). Like Cophall to the north, it seems to be an addition to the earlier group of three, probably at much the same time, given the date of the surviving building. The three tenements between them should be earlier in origin, and the enclosure in which they stand could be earlier still, but only archaeological investigation is likely to date their origin. The tenement names suggest that they relate to people or families recorded in the 15th century, but families can be established a long time and tenements can change their name.<sup>314</sup>

2.11.34 In summary, the group of tenements around the bridge is likely to have its origins before or by the 15th century, and to have grown about 1500. It included the Castle Inn, on a plot which existed as a copyhold by 1559, later called Groves otherwise Harmers, and extended to the river, the plot truncated in 1817.<sup>315</sup> A watching brief on new drainage<sup>316</sup> revealed little more than 19th century raising the ground level for the present building. But by 1671 the group seems to have been in decline. Watermans house seems to have been lost from C2 in or by 1626, and Brooks had lost its house after 1645, being forfeited on account of dilapidations in 1671.<sup>317</sup> Two other plots on the west side of the road frontage, whose size and location suggest they once carried houses, were then similarly vacant.<sup>318</sup>

#### *Approaches to and setting of the Castle*

2.11.35 It is possible to draw these threads together in a tentative summary of how the castle was approached (Appendix F: Map 4 and Fig 38). The formal approach across the moat was by a bridge from the west, via a terrace on the south side of the ‘cascade’ which (in contrast to the north bank) is clearly a substantial earthwork.<sup>319</sup> It therefore seems to have been the main approach from the west. In Dokes Field, the twin ditches of a branch off the north-south Roman road skirt the west side of the shallow valley in which the ‘cascade’ was formed, and so appear to continue the

<sup>313</sup> Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009, 30-31 and supporting detail

<sup>314</sup> For example part of Freren Mead was granted to one Thomas Groves of Bodiam in 1475 (Kingsford 1925, 154). The field to the north (now Cooper’s Field, Fig 38, F) defined by a line from the north-east corner of the enclosure containing the plots more or less perpendicular to the valley/ cascade, was described in 1608 as a message and land called Waterman’s tenement, and was divided in 1626 when the smaller (and spatially distinct) part (C2), subsequently known as Freehold Croft, was sold separately from the field. Like Groves, the record of one John Waterman as a Bodiam resident in 1461 might be related to it (Whittick in Johnson *et al* 2000, P6/32).

<sup>315</sup> Whittick in Johnson *et al* 2000, P6/24; AMS 6692/1/2 per C Whittick; in 1851 land towards river was used as a wharf. For the truncation see 2.11.27

<sup>316</sup> Barber 2007, 7-9

<sup>317</sup> Whittick in Johnson *et al* 2000, P6/31

<sup>318</sup> 1671 map, ESRO, AMS 5961/3/1, plots B2 (*Gaffords*) and E2, both held with other plots with houses

<sup>319</sup> As the geophysical results support, especially resistivity survey: Barker *et al* 2015, fig 40; see also Fig 37

terrace route (and the boundary on which the castle was aligned) northwards. This route down through Dokes Field provides an impressive, unfolding approach to the castle as it appears at the foot of the long valley. It seems likely that this 'branch' in fact reflects the diversion of the north-south highway westwards, to its present course. The space west of the branch shows geophysical anomalies suggesting linear cultivation features parallel to it; these and at least one (boundary) ditch, also occur on the same alignment in the eastern side of the field,<sup>320</sup> establishing a 'grain' in the landscape which essentially matches the axis between the octagon and the centre of the Court Lodge platform (but which may be due to the general 'grain' of the landscape). Later cultivation furrows trend east-west across all these features including the Roman road, and clearly post-date them. Pottery found in excavation in the field extends down to the 15th century and may be relevant to dating the transition.<sup>321</sup> An approach through Dokes Field is consistent with the extant drive from the diverted north-south highway being part of the same project, linking the head of the 'cascade' with the routes beyond the castle curtilage.

- 2.11.36 Another connection more directly with Court Lodge is possible. There is a hollow way west of the platform, cut through the crest of the slope, which trends towards the west side of the moat and the polite entrance. A section cut across this in 1961<sup>322</sup> revealed 0.5m of grey silt, overlain by a metalled road with a rough drain in the centre under a foundation of large stones, covered by a metalling of sandstone and ironstone grouted with clay. Under this was a Romano-British jar rim. The structure was (wrongly) identified at the time as part of the Roman road, despite it being 'carefully repaired' over a water pipe of 1905. West of Castle Cottage, the metalled surface of a 'road' was trenched in 1959, and appears to extend to, possibly beyond, the entrance to the original bridge to the octagon.<sup>323</sup> This would provide a more direct link between the 'viewing platform' and the Castle, but not in a straight line down the slope; the hollow at the north end trends westwards towards the boundary with Dokes Field, which has parallel banks and a hollow towards the southern end which shows in the contours.<sup>324</sup> Though old, therefore, whether it was in contemporary use with the castle or later we do not know.<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Barker *et al* 2015, 30 (magnetometer in the west of the field) and 440 (resistivity in the eastern part). This is not a region of 'ridge and furrow' cultivation; vines or hops are possibilities (Matthew Johnson)

<sup>321</sup> Cornwell 2010, 6

<sup>322</sup> Lemmon 1960-61, 26; later sources confirm that this was west of the platform, there is an inconspicuous cut on the east

<sup>323</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (2), 94; thought in 1959 to be the Roman road. It appears to show in the resistivity survey: Barker *et al* 2015, fig 40

<sup>324</sup> We are grateful to Gareth Clay, LDA Ecology, for spotting the parallel banks within the hedgerow

<sup>325</sup> At its north end a probable building, not appearing on any map, was found in the geophysical survey: Barker *et al* 2015, fig 32; marked in red on Fig 37 here

2.11.37 Secondary access via the south bridge of the castle seems likely to have been from Bodiam High Street north of the float (before the creation of Summers), along the north side of the mill pond (where a terrace still exists) as far as the end of the frontage plots, then ascending to the south-west corner of the moat. The moat earthworks, with a steep bank south of the bridge abutment, preclude a direct southern approach. An alternative, along the embankment around the south and east sides of the mill pond, is possible, to the west of the mill, thence following the modern path. A minor route around the west side of the moat linking the two bridge abutments then seems likely, and there is a hint of this in a high resistance area located by geophysics.<sup>326</sup> An alternative, possibly later, service access is suggested by the lane between the tenements, and provides another potential insight into the activities south-west of the moat. In terms of land use, the field between the manor house and the castle probably remained as wood pasture.

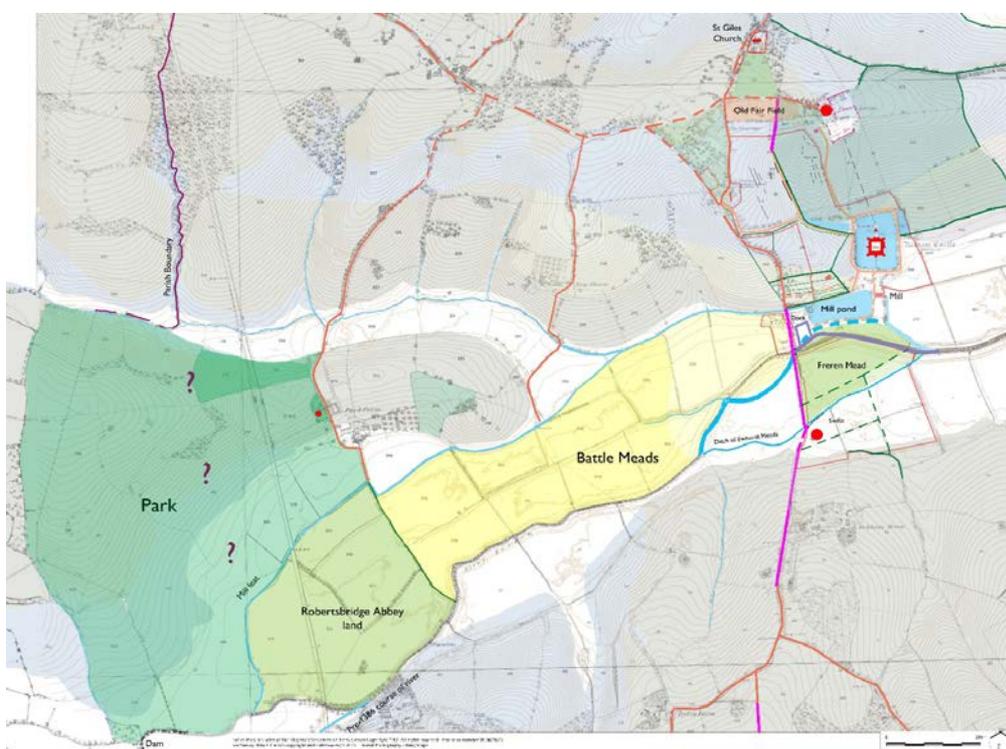


Figure 41 Extract from Map 4: Bodiam Park in relation to the castle; the Park Gate was in the vicinity of the red dot

### *The park*

2.11.38 The park was in the south-west of the parish, and its extent is shown on Appendix F: Map 4 and Fig 41. In 1598, the copyhold tenement ‘Tomsetts’ was described as ‘at Parkgate’,<sup>327</sup> which locates the entrance to the park on the opposite side of the lane leading from the main road west to Salehurst down to the Rother. Park Field (so called in 1839 and shown in dark green on Map 4/ Fig 41)<sup>328</sup> seems to define its northern extent,

<sup>326</sup> Barker *et al* 2015, fig 35, resistivity survey

<sup>327</sup> ESRO AMS 6692/1/2; we are grateful to Christopher Whittick for this reference

<sup>328</sup> Tithe Map and Award, ESRO TDE 99/1, 2

and ‘Park Brook’ to the south seems to border it. The earliest documentary reference<sup>329</sup> to the park, in 1386-7, identifies the land beyond (north of) the river adjacent to the west end of Dallingridge’s new mill leat as being part of it.<sup>330</sup> These pointers suggest that the park was partly defined by watercourses to the north and south, as well as through the southern part of its western boundary, which survived into the 19th century on a continuous, sinuous course. The park thus appears to have been of c180 acres,<sup>331</sup> which agrees with that of the area called ‘*Parklands*’ (including 45ac of meadow) at the formal partition of the manor in 1622.<sup>332</sup> It had been called ‘*the Parke of Bodyham*’ in 1567,<sup>333</sup> so was presumably disemparked in the intervening period.

- 2.11.39 The western part of the park appears to represent an incursion beyond the original estate/ parish boundary, into Salehurst (Section 2.6). In the absence of any references prior to Sir Edward Dallingridge’s ownership, it is difficult to sustain an earlier origin for this ambitious creation on what was the margin of the demesne (and probably quite marginal woodland).

#### *St Giles’ Church*

- 2.11.40 St Giles’ church is of early origin (2.6.8), but heavily ‘restored’ in 1843-56.<sup>334</sup> While the grounds for the attribution of the lower part of the west wall of the tower to the 12th century are equivocal, it is the earliest element of the standing fabric, and there was certainly a stone church by 1264, when arms, armour and other goods in it were stolen when its door was broken down in disturbances during the Barons War.<sup>335</sup> The first masonry building was probably a simple two-cell structure. Early views suggest that the church reached its apogee during the 14th century, with the addition of north and south aisles and the development of a bellcote within the west end of the nave into the curious rectangular tower.

- 2.11.41 The chancel of St Giles’ is built of the large Wealden sandstone blocks characteristic of the upper parts of the castle. The ‘lancet’ windows in the south wall have a simple chamfer and external rebate; the central one is *in situ*, but the eastern one seems to have been reset, slightly displaced upwards and to the east (Fig 42), reflecting the sedilia installed within. These windows recall the simplicity of the external fenestration of the

<sup>329</sup> The date of 1176 quoted in Mawer and Stenton 1930, 518, with a reference to the Black Book of the Exchequer, is probably an error for a July 1376 reference to a ‘pound’ in an agreement for the sale of timber (TNA, E36/266, f47). Curzon (1926, 23) was probably chasing the same hare raised by Prof A E Levett. There is nothing in the Pipe Rolls for 1175-7. We are grateful to Christopher Whittick for resolving this conundrum.

<sup>330</sup> Whittick 1993, 120

<sup>331</sup> Calculated from the tithe awards for Bodiam (ESRO TDE 99/1) and Salehurst (ESRO, TDE 86/1, parcels 1477-1482)

<sup>332</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (1), 35; Huntington Library, Archive of Webster of Battle Abbey, 58/1646

<sup>333</sup> D’Elboux 1944, 130, parcel 295, the land south of the leat mentioned in 1386-7; and 131, parcel 299

<sup>334</sup> See [http://www.sussexparishchurches.org/spc\\_V31/east-sussex/15-east-sussex-a-d/122-bodiam-st-giles](http://www.sussexparishchurches.org/spc_V31/east-sussex/15-east-sussex-a-d/122-bodiam-st-giles) accessed 17 April 2015, and refs quoted

<sup>335</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000, quoting TNA JUST 1/1207 mm2d, 12, 12d; now published in Stewart 2013, 71-2, 77. The implication being that the manor house was of timber and so less secure

castle and are likely to be of broadly the same date, rather than the early 13th-century date assumed by the restorers, who re-fenestrated the east wall accordingly. The priest's door into the chancel has a segmental head, again paralleled at the Castle, although here in a different stone, and the doorway could well be inserted.

- 2.11.42 There is no evidence of a direct connection to Dallingridge, but in 1382 Henry Wardedieu, at the time of his death vicar of Mayfield, left 6s 8d to the '*novo fabricae*' of the church of Bodiam, indicating that work was then in hand.<sup>336</sup> Whether this was the work that has an architectural connection to the castle is unknown, for, despite restoration, there were evidently several phases of 14th century work to the building.



Figure 42 Windows in the south wall of the chancel, St Giles' church; original position of east window arrowed

*The wider estate*

- 2.11.43 The first overall assessment of the demesne that survives dates from the death of John Dallingridge's widow, Alice, in 1443, and relates to the holding in which she had a life interest (but not necessarily the entire manor).<sup>337</sup> It lists the castle, the manor (Court Lodge), the lands, the mill (that below the castle) and quitrents:

In the castle is a site which is worth nothing beyond costs  
 In the manor there is a site which is worth nothing beyond costs  
 300a arable worth 4d an acre  
 200a marsh at 6d  
 40a meadow at 20d  
 a park which is worth 30s beyond the upkeep of the animals  
 30a wood at 2d  
 a water-mill worth 20s beyond costs  
 £12 rent of assize

<sup>336</sup> Lambeth Palace Library Reg Courtenay f201, 10 July 1382, proved 7 August 1382. Henry also left a long double gown to Robert Wardedieu. We are grateful to Christopher Whittick for these details.

<sup>337</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000, 32; translation courtesy of Christopher Whittick. The disparity with the 1645 demesne of 1207 acres (*ibid*, 36) is unexplained, even taking into account the 180 acre park (see 2.11.38)

## 2.12 Period 3.3: 1393 - 1470: Sir John, Alice and Richard Dallingridge

- 2.12.1 Sir Edward Dallingridge died in the summer of 1393<sup>338</sup> and was succeeded by his son Sir John, also a courtier, MP and royal ambassador. Sir John married Alice, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Powick, Worcestershire, and widow of Thomas Boteler of Sudeley, Gloucestershire. Boteler died in 1398 and Alice married Sir John Dallingridge in 1406, holding in dower the family seat of Sudeley and other manors. Sir John died childless two years later. His estates passed to Alice for her lifetime, entailed at her death successively to his cousins Richard and William, sons of Sir Edward's younger brother Walter. Alice was chatelaine of Bodiam until her death, and it seems to have been her principal seat, although she spent much time at court.<sup>339</sup>
- 2.12.2 Richard Dallingridge inherited Bodiam on Alice's death in 1443. He was employed in the service of the Fitzalan family from 1417, when he accompanied John Arundel on Henry V's invasion of Normandy. By 1432, he was Constable of Arundel Castle.<sup>340</sup> He died childless in 1471, by then described as 'of Limbourne' (Hampshire), having outlived his brother. His estates, including Bodiam Castle, then passed to his sister Philippa and, through her second husband, Sir Thomas Lewknor, to his descendants.
- 2.12.3 In this period there is little in the surviving fabric to suggest major change. Whether now or in the following decades, there is evidence of some major repair to the floor structures of the north-east and north-west ranges, to repairing or renewing the lead on the roofs, including the selective introduction of flashings turned into the walls, providing a raking strut to support a roof truss over the kitchen, 1.22 (see E9), and to reinforcing the floor over 1.24, although this latter may reflect changing function rather than decay. These structures would not be expected to fail quickly, and the evidence of major and expensive repair provides the best evidence we have of the castle being maintained over a long period. There is very little sign of architectural change beyond the likely enlargement of the windows on the north side of the hall (2.10.51), and a pentice along the west side of the courtyard (2.10.94), but a floor tile fragment of 15th century type, quite different from the primary tiles, suggests some internal updating (Fig 43), as does the high cill of the altered hall windows, implying panelling below.<sup>341</sup> Nonetheless, it seems questionable whether Richard Dallingridge made much use of Bodiam as a residence.

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<sup>338</sup> Spencer 2014. Last mentioned 1 July 1393: Woodger 1993a

<sup>339</sup> She served Catherine de Valois and later the future Henry VI: Griffiths 1981, 52, 56 (with thanks to Lance Woodman for this reference)

<sup>340</sup> See Saul 2009, 131 for his career

<sup>341</sup> See Gazetteer, **1.15** and **1.16**, including David Martin's noting signs of a timber lining to the doorway from the courtyard



Figure 43 The corner of a high quality floor tile (about a quarter of a quarry originally c230mm square), mottled green glaze over cream slip; the nail hole in the top left-hand corner points to Flemish manufacture (NT/BOD/C/179)

### 2.13 Period 4: Post-medieval decline: 1470 – 1722

- 2.13.1 From the late 15th century until the modern period, with the exception of the ‘siege’ of 1483 (see below), there is a remarkable absence of documentary evidence about the castle. It may be inferred from this that at some point, quite probably by the early 16th century, the castle ceased to be a major residence, but the reasons for, and date of, its abandonment are undocumented.
- 2.13.2 The division of the manor and castle lands between a succession of heiresses after 1543 meant that Bodiam ceased to be the centre of a major estate and, for the next three centuries, it was peripheral even to the landholdings of which it was a part. The development of Court Lodge as the principal dwelling, probably by the early 17th century, could indicate that the castle was already decayed, or simply that it was impractical or uncomfortable. The pattern of descent may explain why its owners chose to live elsewhere and it was never modernised or transformed into a country house like so many comparable places, yet neither was it demolished for its materials, or used as a farmhouse as might otherwise have been expected.
- 2.13.3 In the present state of knowledge, we can only speculate about the reasons for this, which may in any case have been a matter of omission rather than intent. That the Bodiam landowners had other houses would not have precluded modernising the castle, but it may not have been particularly practical or desirable to do so. Numerous commentators have pointed out the number of latrines, but these all discharged into a moat which seems to have had very little water-flow. One of the most characteristic improvements to old castles, such as Shirburn or Leeds, and a key feature of the next generation of castle-houses such as Herstmonceux (c1440s), was to form large, outward-looking windows. This may have been an insalubrious prospect at Bodiam, but no more so than many houses still being built with latrines discharging into moats.

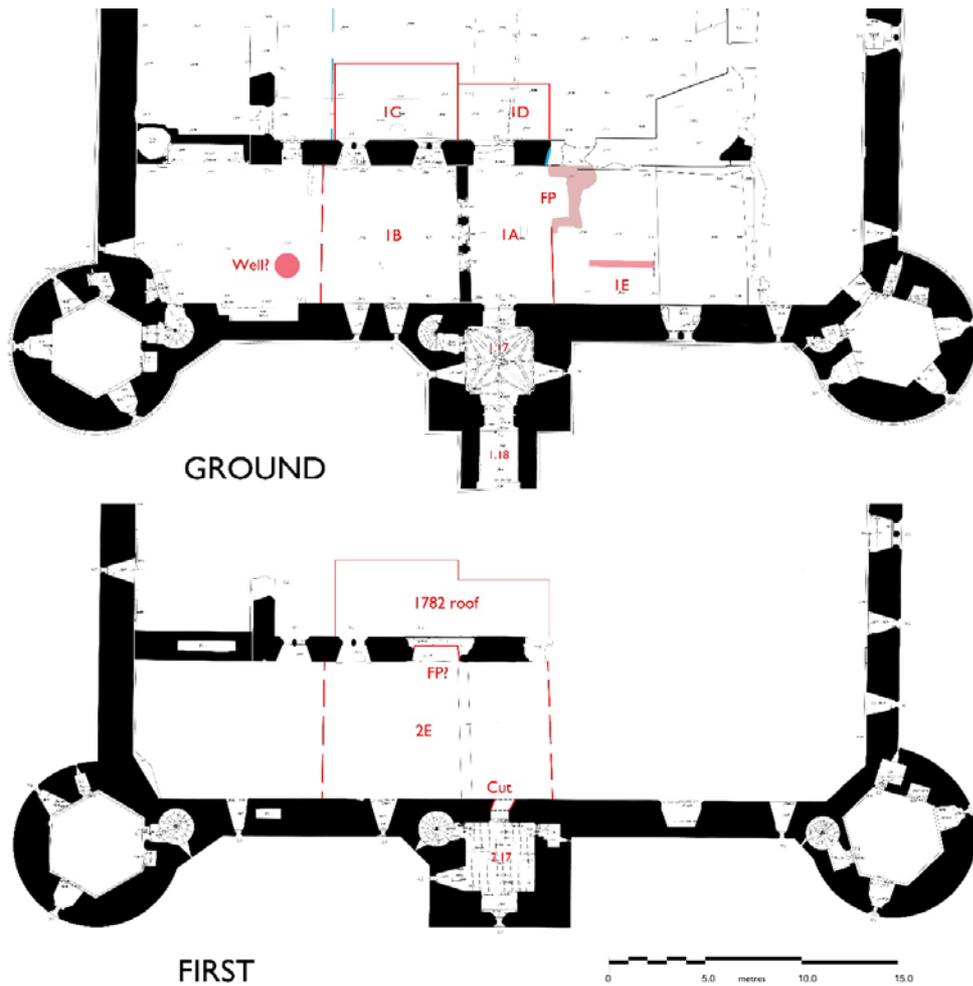


Figure 44 Evidence for post-medieval alterations and additions to the medieval south range

2.13.4 There is some evidence, as one would expect, that abandonment was gradual. The gatehouse is likely to have remained in use longer than most other accommodation, being self-contained and relatively easy to maintain, but, apart from inserted timbers apparently connected with ceilings in some rooms, there is no surviving evidence of interventions. The survival of plaster in the adjacent north-west range (but nothing else) suggests that it, and the north-west tower, may also have been roofed longer than the remainder.

2.13.5 The postern tower would have been easily maintained, and may have been occupied as part of a dwelling which included the centre of the south range. The base of a fireplace, formed of recycled rubble, whose plan also suggests that a small oven opened from its north-east corner, has been excavated (Fig 44), built at right angles to the north wall of the hall.<sup>342</sup> This implies a room 1A, east of the surviving services screen, and suggests another to the west (1B) on the site of the medieval services. A strong geophysical anomaly (1E) may represent another post-medieval structure against the south wall. A room or rooms above (2E) is

<sup>342</sup> See above; Curzon 1926, 81; and for the latter Barber 2007b; it can be made out as a weak anomaly on the GPR survey, Fig11: 2

suggested by a probable fireplace in the medieval north wall, converted from a window embrasure. The back of the fireplace to 2.17 was cut through into the site of the putative medieval hall gallery floor level, perhaps to connect to its flue or merely to provide a low, awkward internal connection.

- 2.13.6 There is little to date this crude partial reuse of the south range. Two sherds of probably 17th century pottery were found in excavation, with later material. The east walls of 1A and 1D coincide with the eastward limit of survival above ground of the north wall of the range, and this section, as far as the south-west corner, is the only part of the courtyard wall to survive above plinth level. This does suggest that demolition of the courtyard walls took cognisance of it, and its presence also helps explain why the relatively fragile stone services screen also survived, encapsulated in later constructions. The two-cell lean-to hovel (1C, 1D), visible in front of the hall door in Lambert's 1782 view of the castle interior (Fig 51), was part of the last iteration of this structure. Its smoking chimney tells us that there was still some element of a dwelling within the range itself.<sup>343</sup> Timber sockets in the north face of the wall (E16), and a high amplitude anomaly in the GPR data, confirm its extent within the courtyard (Fig 12:4), by 1782 a vegetable garden. By 1825, memory of this dwelling had perhaps gathered myth: 'Adjoining the kitchen, and within the entrance to the south front, are the remains of a wooden hut, formerly occupied by a noted smuggler'.<sup>344</sup> There was a well in the medieval kitchen (a yard to the cottage?) 'now filled with rubbish'.<sup>345</sup> Most visible traces of this structure were removed or obscured by Fuller in 1829 (see 2.19).

## 2.14 Period 4.1: 1470 - 1623 Lewknor and Rigby

### *The estate*

- 2.14.1 The Lewknor family were large landowners in Sussex, well established elsewhere. Bodiam, considered an unhealthy location, seems at best to have become a secondary seat. Sir Thomas Lewknor's son Sir Roger (I) (d.1478, described as 'of Dedisham') inherited, and is recorded as the castle's owner in 1473.<sup>346</sup> His heir was another Sir Thomas Lewknor (1456-1484), described as 'of Trotton'.<sup>347</sup>
- 2.14.2 Sir Thomas Lewknor (II) supported the Lancastrian cause and took part in the 'Duke of Buckingham's rebellion' in 1483, soon after Richard III came to the throne. A commission was issued to the king's men in the

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<sup>343</sup> Its position does not coincide with the excavated hearth; if it is not artistic licence the fireplace shown would be in the medieval screens passage.

<sup>344</sup> Rouse 1825, 124

<sup>345</sup> Rouse 1825, pl 55 and p124; approximately located on Fig 44 but not located in the GPR survey

<sup>346</sup> Curzon 1926, 31

<sup>347</sup> Thackray 1991, 21

county to ‘besiege the castle of Bodyham which the rebels have seized’.<sup>348</sup> The castle appears to have been surrendered peacefully and a Yeoman of the Crown, Nicholas Rigby, was appointed constable in 1484 ‘with the keeping of the park’.<sup>349</sup> Rigby's tenure was brief and Sir Thomas's attainder was reversed by Henry VII after the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, but Lewknor did not live to enjoy his reinstatement. His successor, another Sir Roger Lewknor (II) died in 1543, following which the estate passed to his three daughters by his second wife Elizabeth,<sup>350</sup> whereafter (until 1636) ownership was held in three, and from 1588 two, shares.<sup>351</sup>

- 2.14.3 It has been suggested<sup>352</sup> that the castle could have been dismantled after the division of the estate or soon afterwards. There is no physical or documentary evidence that this was the case, but nor is there any firm evidence that the castle was ever fully inhabited, or even served as the manor house, after this date. None of the various references to the manor and estate refers explicitly to the castle, which Leland described as ‘*an old castel cawled Bodiam*’ c1540.<sup>353</sup> This is not, of course, conclusive evidence that it was *not* extensively occupied, but the possibility must be allowed that the dismantling of the castle could have begun in the early 16th century. This, indeed, might be the reason for ‘castle’ building materials appearing in deposits in the west end of the mill pond around the early 16th century;<sup>354</sup> on their way out rather than in?

#### *The mills*

- 2.14.4 The date when the Castle mill went out of use may (or may not) be related to the origin of Bodiam Mill, on the Kent Ditch stream, which operated until 1916 and was demolished in 1935. It stands on the county boundary, between the manors of Bodiam and of Betherinden in Sandhurst. It was powered simply by damming and embanking the stream so that a long narrow ‘pond’ formed behind it, with a contemporary overflow loop to the east (in Sandhurst parish). The first reasonably certain reference to it is in a lease in 1557 of land in Betherinden manor, including ‘a wood next to the mill’<sup>355</sup> and, in 1567, property including a water mill in Bodiam (clearly this one) was bequeathed to Herbert Pelham.<sup>356</sup> Its ownership through most of its history was oriented towards Sandhurst. It probably served Bodiam once Dallingidge’s mill ceased to operate; but cause and effect is unlikely, since the 1567 survey of Robertsbridge manor refers to Freren Mead being bounded north by

<sup>348</sup> Curzon 1926, 31 quoting Calendar of Patent Rolls 1476-85

<sup>349</sup> Curzon 1926, 32. The ‘Bodiam Mortar’ (Smith & Brown 1989) seems too late to relate to these events

<sup>350</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (1), 34-5. Curzon (1926, 34) states that he was described as ‘Knight... of Bodiam’ in an Inquisition of 1558

<sup>351</sup> *ibid.* 34

<sup>352</sup> *ibid.*, 33

<sup>353</sup> Toulmin Smith 1909, 68

<sup>354</sup> Barber 1998b, 2-4

<sup>355</sup> ESRO, DUN 26/23, courtesy of John Dines who made available his detailed history of the mill; available on subscription at [www.bodiam-mill.net](http://www.bodiam-mill.net)

<sup>356</sup> Holgate 1927, 8-9

the land of the Lord of Bodiam called *Milpond* and east by a dyke running from a place called the *Mylshete*.<sup>357</sup>

## 2.15 Period 4.2: 1623 - 1645: Tufton

### *The estate*

- 2.15.1 Sir Nicholas Tufton, later 1st Earl of Thanet, bought much of the Bodiam estate in 1623, including the Castle, following formal partition of the manor. In 1629, he conveyed this as a jointure<sup>358</sup> for Margaret, wife of his son John, who inherited the Thanet title on his father's death in 1631, and between 1636-9 acquired the remaining share in the manor. He was not, however, to hold it long. A fierce Royalist, he led a rising of Sussex men in 1642, but was quickly defeated at Haywards Heath. Much of his property was confiscated and he was fined £9,000 by Parliament in 1644. Presumably in consequence of this, he sold the manor of Bodiam to Nathaniel Powell and Peter Farnden, ironmasters, on 7 March 1645 for £6,000.<sup>359</sup>
- 2.15.2 Several early historians of the castle (Cotton, Lower and Sands)<sup>360</sup> suggested that it was dismantled as a punitive action by soldiers under the command of Sir William Waller, immediately prior to its sale by Thanet, in c1643. There is no evidence for this theory, which relied on the belief that Royalist descendants of the Lewknor family retained an interest in Bodiam. Lord Curzon convincingly refutes this narrative, suggesting that it may have arisen from confusion between Bodiam and Amberley castles.<sup>361</sup>
- 2.15.3 Numerous castles, were, of course, slighted at this period (that is, intentionally ruined by order of Parliament, to render them militarily useless), but Bodiam is not mentioned in the relevant parliamentary (or any other) records of the period. The curtain walls remained (and remain) almost entirely intact, and the moat does not appear to have been drained. In other words, the castle's defensive capabilities, such as they were, appear to have been untouched. Slighting could, in some circumstances, also mean that a castle or other building was merely rendered uninhabitable, but there was usually some strategic or political purpose behind such an action, and again, no such purpose has been identified or proposed in relation to Bodiam. If any inference may be drawn from the official silence about the castle, it is that it was neither strategically nor politically significant. Only one event might be linked to a precautionary rendering of the place indefensible, the crude cutting

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<sup>357</sup> D'Elboux 1944, 32-3, parcel 93

<sup>358</sup> Provision for a wife after the death of her husband

<sup>359</sup> Curzon 1926, 38-40; Johnson *et al* 2000, 36-9

<sup>360</sup> Curzon 1926, 71

<sup>361</sup> *ibid.*:43-4

away of the top of the portcullis in its raised position,<sup>362</sup> redolent of a parliamentary order to make Bolsover Castle, in reality (also) a secure house, incapable of defence by removing its strong doors.<sup>363</sup> Nonetheless, we can speculate that it was either unoccupied, or that its occupation was informal or *ad hoc*, as appears to have been the case by the 18th century.

- 2.15.4 One consequence of the divided ownership and management of the estate as tenanted farms was the provision of farmhouses and barns on the principal blocks of demesne land. Sir Ralph Bosville, who from the formal partition of the manor in 1622 had sole possession of the lands not acquired by Tufton – Grovelands, Parklands and Upper Northlands – in 1626 invited tenders for leases and several of the aspiring tenants undertook to build farmhouses.<sup>364</sup> This is presumably the origin of New House Farm, Park Farm and Upper Northlands Farm respectively, and the other major farmstead, Lower Northlands, probably originated around the same time.

*The marshes*

- 2.15.5 Draining the marshes and meadows of the estate were in prospect in the early 17th century; a lease of 1608 provided for re-entry should this take place.<sup>365</sup> A scheme was presumably implemented not long afterwards, for the boundary ditches to the south-east of the castle, forming part of the regular layout of drainage ditches stretching eastwards, were part of the boundary of the lands attached to the castle in the division of the estate in 1640.<sup>366</sup> Boreholes in the field immediately to the south-east of the moat showed a long history of use as pasture.<sup>367</sup>

## 2.16 Period 4.3: 1645 - 1723: Powell

- 2.16.1 The estate, as noted, was sold in 1645 to Nathaniel Powell of Ewhurst, a lawyer and ironmaster and a member of a consortium of investors that included Peter Farnden of Sedlescombe. By 1646, Powell was sole owner of the castle and a relatively small area around it, but it is clear that Powell's interests were commercial, and his approach to the estate has been described as ‘asset stripping.’<sup>368</sup> Powell built a house, Ewhurst Place, on the north side of the road through Ewhurst Green, overlooking the castle (Appendix F: Map 5; the earlier house was probably on the

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<sup>362</sup> Martin and Martin 2005, 9-10

<sup>363</sup> See eg Drury, 2014 and the extensive literature on William Cavendish and Bolsover

<sup>364</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (1) 35. The lands were formerly managed from Sandhurst

<sup>365</sup> TNA C2/JASI/B26/33, quoted in *ibid*, 22

<sup>366</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (1) 35, 37; (2), 22

<sup>367</sup> Above the standard peat/ silt deposits (see 2.2). The geophysical anomalies (Fig 39) might suggest use as a fold yard (Catlin *et al* in Johnson *et al* forthcoming), clearly within the 17th century boundary drainage ditches; perhaps more likely they represent spread upcast from them

<sup>368</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (I), 38

opposite side of the green).<sup>369</sup> It has been suggested that, given the way Powell exploited his other assets, this was a possible context for quarrying the interior stonework from Bodiam Castle; but what survives of the house is of brick. More credible is the idea that, because the castle was visible from Ewhurst Place, the shell of the ancient building was retained as a visual feature.<sup>370</sup> In any case, the fact that Powell lived and continued to live in nearby Ewhurst strongly suggests that, even if the castle was habitable at this date, he did not buy it with the intention of occupying it.

2.16.2 Nonetheless, between the abandonment of the castle as a major residence, at whatever date that occurred, and the date of the first visual representations of the ruins in the later 18th century, a good deal of stone disappeared from it, notably most of the interior courtyard walls. However, as Coulson writes ‘only the most conveniently accessible stonework has been taken, namely most of the northern Barbican, much of the domestic ranges and all of the parapets of the curtains except for the north and south-east [now reset]. The destruction has been mild and freestone detail has not generally been wrenched out. The towers have largely been spared...’<sup>371</sup> He points out that the ‘dainty and attractive stair turrets are intact and most of the elegant chimneys’. In other words, it is remarkable how little was quarried, generally with an eye to preserving the external envelope and picturesque skyline, arguably the result of its owners having an interest in their views of it.

2.16.3 The castle was not subject to hearth tax in 1662, although this could mean it had two or fewer flues.<sup>372</sup> This allows for the possibility that something like the cottage shown in the 18th century prints could have functioned within the curtain walls, but nothing like the medieval mansion or a substantial house.



Figure 45 The castle as shown on the 1671 and 1730 estate maps, ESRO AMS 6591/3/1; AMS 6454/6/1

<sup>369</sup> A fragment now survives, re-converted from agricultural use, clearly the remains of a substantial double pile house but in its visible elements at least, built of brick, not stone

<sup>370</sup> See BL Add MS 5670 f11, no 20, 1784 by S H Grimm

<sup>371</sup> Coulson 1992, 68

<sup>372</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (I), 39

2.16.4 A map of Bodiam manor in 1671 (ESRO AMS 5691/3/1) includes a drawing of the castle, which lay outside the area surveyed. The familiar elevation with three towers is shown, but with no other detail except for rendering to indicate stone. A path or track from the present north-west gate, in the position of the extant entrance lane ('coach road') on the south side of Dokes field, is indicated (Fig 42).

#### *Court Lodge*

2.16.5 We have suggested that the pre-castle manor house was in the vicinity of Court Lodge, continued to support the castle during its active use, and remained the manorial *curia*. Here we consider the evidence for the form and evolution of the place in the early modern period and its relationship to the castle.

2.16.6 In 1609, Thomas Levett, who owned a half-share in the demesnes, obtained an assignment of the lease of the other half share of a messuage and barn [Court Lodge], Eastlands and Castle Lands, including the castle, giving him effective control of that holding. It was included in the lands acquired by Sir Nicholas Tufton in 1623. After his speculative purchase of the Thanet estate in 1645, Powell almost immediately (on 18 March) sold The Court Lodge of Bodiam, and Court Lodge Farm, with 240 acres, to Samuel Hyland, then a London distiller.<sup>373</sup> Hyland died in 1693, 'of Bodiam in the County of Sussex Esq', with substantial landholdings in the area, leaving the estate then in his own occupation in Bodiam and Ewhurst to his son Nathaniel.<sup>374</sup>

2.16.7 *Graphic sources:* The first sketches of Court Lodge appear on the 1671 and 1730 estate maps (Fig 45). The 1671 map shows, as a thumbnail sketch, the west front of a two-storey building, with large gables to the north and south, and a smaller projecting gable between them, clearly the porch in which a door and window are roughly sketched (Fig 46). The 1730 map shows the house in south elevation, as a double-pile, and has a separate vignette of the west front, with a classical doorcase to the porch, shown in the centre, but with two bays of windows to the north, the outer gothic (like the one over the porch door), compared to one to the south (also Fig 46). Nonetheless, a drawing by S H Grimm, 1784, titled '*Bodiam Place: North Front*' (Fig 47) can be identified as the west front of Court Lodge by its Doric porch, prominent stack aligned on it and the combination of gothic and mullion windows forming a distinctive ensemble. This antiquarian drawing reveals the extent to which the 1730 map-maker idealised and classicised the actual building, moving the porch to the centre, compressing the two bays of windows to its north, and adding more classical detail than seems likely.

<sup>373</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (I), 37; Huntington Library, Archive of Webster of Battle Abbey, 59/1589. We are grateful to Christopher Whittick for discussion of this point

<sup>374</sup> TNA, Prob 11/415. John Hyland of St Saviour Southwark, distiller (d1694) was presumably related, perhaps his brother: TNA, Prob 11/419



Figure 46 Court Lodge as depicted from the west in 1671 (left); and from the west (centre) and south (right) in 1730; ESRO AMS 6591/3/1; AMS 6454/6/1



Figure 47 S H Grimm, *Bodiam Place: North Front* (actually Court Lodge, west front), 1784 © *The British Library Board, Add MS Burrell, 5670, f5*

2.16.8 In showing the house in elevation, the 1730 plan obscures its footprint, but this is sketched, complete with porch (and two northern extensions) on the 1839 Tithe Map (Fig 48), although by then its rebuilding (obviously in phases) may have been under way. Neither the 1730 nor 1839 map is precise as to building and garden footprints, since their primary purpose was to map and measure agricultural land, but the latter places the house with its south and west walls more or less coinciding with the existing house, which concurs with site evidence.

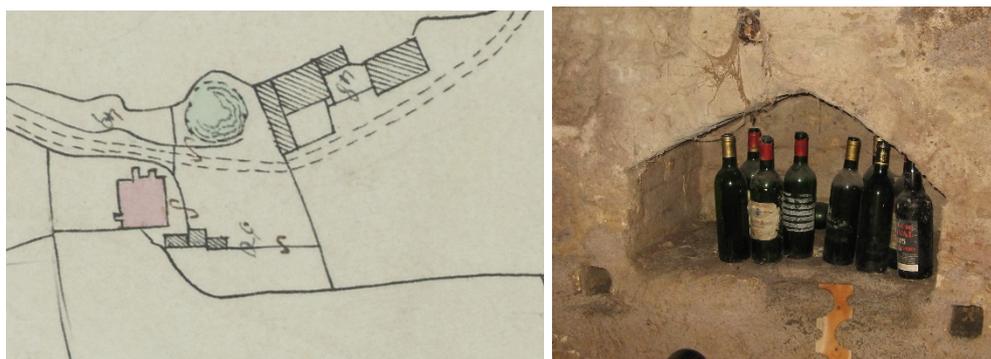


Figure 48 Left, extract from the Bodiam Tithe Map, 1839 (ESRO, TDE/99/1); Right, a keeping place in the cellar of the present Court Lodge, the 'flat four-centred' arch turned in brick

- 2.16.9 *The house*: The most informative drawing, by Grimm (Fig 47), is inevitably the latest. The principal walling material was stone, large rectangular blocks like the castle at low level, rubble above; which agrees with the 1671 sketch showing its walls lined out as masonry; the red colour is used on the map to indicate houses. The use of red for the stacks and roofs in 1730, however, in distinction to the walls, can be taken as indicating brick and clay tile respectively. A projection at the south end is presumably a buttress, rather than the stub of a lost range.
- 2.16.10 The west range seems to follow the basic form of a hall house, with the porch providing entry into what was by then (and perhaps had been from the outset) a lobby entry and ground floor hall, rather than cross-passage and open hall, with services to the south and the parlour to the north. That would suit the two storeys of heavy timber casement windows to the centre bay and also the eastern bay, the lower ones under segmental relieving arches. By 1784, some lights had been blocked. There is no reason to doubt the 1671 depiction of gables over the rooms north and south of the hall. The classicising porch doorway with a round head springing from impost, set in a rectangular frame flanked by what seem to be Doric pilasters on pedestals carrying a cornice rather than full entablature, suggests 'artisan mannerism' and modernisation of a structure with constrained height. The cornice was continued across the elevation by a band course. There is no sign of the extensive classical veneer (including corner pilasters) implied by the 1730 map illustration, nor seemingly room for its mullion windows to be two lights high.
- 2.16.11 The porch upper window fits into the type (two lights wide, transom, heights variable) still evident on the south courtyard elevation of the Castle, but lacks cusping and spandrel sinkings to the head (perhaps lost over time or missing through artistic inaccuracy). The north rooms have three-light windows with sharply pointed heads, similar to the exterior windows of the castle (although none is three lights wide, and none obviously missing, unless from the Barbican). These windows are clearly medieval, and most likely late 14th century on their similarity to those in the castle; but are they (and the stonework of the house) *spolia* from it,

variously mangled through reuse and decay, or was this a medieval building?

- 2.16.12 The latter is unlikely, primarily because the house lies to the west of the area defined and subdivided by boundaries on a more or less consistent alignment related to medieval features, and follows a quite different alignment from them (see Fig 38 and Appendix F: Maps 5, 6). But the *spolia* may be from medieval buildings of the *curia* rather than the castle, if any weight is placed on the putative minor differences between them and the castle courtyard windows. The proportions, plan and disparate fenestration of the building nonetheless suggest an origin in the late 16th or early 17th century and a modernisation in the mid-late 17th, rather than a single building phase.
- 2.16.13 If there were two phases, the rear pile should belong to the second, producing the square plan which became common from the mid-17th century. This phase certainly included thin brick (like Powell's house at Ewhurst Green), quantities of which are reused in the present house. It incorporates a cellar towards the east side of the south front, of stone rubble incorporating thin brick, originally entered at the same level from the north. In the east wall is a niche or keeping place with a 'flat four-centered' head turned in thin brick, consistent with such a date (Fig 48). Grimm also shows a panelled chimney stack, and the 1730 map view shows the band course continuing across the whole of the south elevation, suggesting that it was a unifying feature (Fig 46).



Figure 49 The Court Lodge garden: from ESRO AMS 6454/6/1

- 2.16.14 *The Garden*. The 1730 map (Fig 46) shows the porch approached through a walled forecourt (from the dark green colour perhaps with grass plats). The low stone wall which flanked this on the south in 1839, and is probably that shown in 1730, survives, along with the stub of its return

northwards (again extant in 1839), which contained double gates in its centre facing the Old Fair Field. The parcel south of it and the house is shown with what appears to be a raised walk along its west and south sides, with a small gazebo or garden house on it, in the corner, with a red tiled roof. A stone wall retaining this walk on the west, continuous with the forecourt wall, survives for much of its length, still retaining earth, but the walk now levelled across the garden. This is clearly a polite garden, and its south-west corner extended out across the steep slope into Dokes Field, where a steep artificial bank remains. To the west of both was an orchard (from the map convention), with a field gate in line with the forecourt gate.

2.16.15 To the south (Z on Fig 49) was a much larger orchard, called *The Gun Garden*, the putative medieval pleasance or viewing platform related to the castle (see Section 2.11). The east end of the 1730 garden walk coincides with the axis of the terraced platform within parcel Z, and so with that of the octagonal platform in the castle moat. To the west, the platform is flanked by a hollow way cut through the crest of the slope.<sup>375</sup> The relationship is unlikely to be accidental, given that the orchard was still called the '*Gun Garden*' in 1730. While the garden with a walk gives good views across the valley, it is necessary to move closer to the crest, towards the platform, to see the castle as a whole. Whatever its origins, therefore, the platform seems to have been used (although no longer by 1730) in conjunction with the Court Lodge garden. Taken as a whole, all this would be consistent, like the later elements of Court Lodge, with a date in the mid-17th century.

2.16.16 *Conclusions:* Court Lodge before rebuilding in the mid-19th century originated as a stone house, probably built in the late 16th or early 17th century, with *spolia* either from the castle or just possibly the *curia* on the site to the east. It seems to have been built artlessly with whatever material was to hand. The reunification of ownership of Court Lodge in 1609 provides a potential context for its construction. Its primary form and modest size, coupled with its use as a tenanted farmhouse, make conscious evocation of an imagined chivalric medieval past highly unlikely. But retaining these elements in a building modernised and extended in the mid-17th century as a gentry house in such an evocative location, with a garden linked to the viewing platform overlooking the castle, makes much more sense, an intention to display the antiquity of the place and its associations with the castle, a common conceit which still influenced Stuart buildings.

2.16.17 Thus the evidence suggests that, in the mid-17th century, the message of 1609 became a more substantial house, of 5-6 rooms to each floor, in a designed setting, rather than merely the residence of a tenant farmer.

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<sup>375</sup> A shallow one to the east is due to a footpath shown on the 1st Edition OS 25' map and is probably 19th century

Hyland's ownership would fit with the architecture and the polite garden shown on the 1730 map, but, by the time the map was made in 1730, Court Lodge was again a tenanted farmhouse. The 'Gun Garden' was by then an orchard, but it seems likely that the name arose in Hyland's time, adjacent to the then surviving terraced garden, suggesting that its present form may owe something to 17th-century landscape gardening.

## **2.17 Period 5: Rediscovery and reinvention: 1723 - 1925**

2.17.1 By the start of the 18th century, the castle had ceased to function as the centre of a manor or landholding. We do not know the condition of the buildings. The graffito 'JCB 1691' on the first floor of the postern gate suggests that this space was accessible (unsurprising, since the passage below was and is vaulted), possibly even roofed, as late as this, but the fact that a cottage was constructed in this area does not suggest that much of the medieval structure was habitable. By the second half of the century, the castle began to attract educated visitors, rediscovering their own ancient history in the same way that classical Rome had been rediscovered by gentlemen on the Grand Tour a generation or two earlier. To these visitors, it was the antiquarian and picturesque qualities of the castle, along with medieval abbeys and prehistoric standing stones, which came to be appreciated.

## **2.18 Period 5.1: 1723 - 1829: Webster**

2.18.1 The castle and its estate were sold in 1723 to Sir Thomas Webster Bt. of Battle Abbey. Webster owned huge estates in Essex, Surrey and Sussex. He had bought Battle Abbey with 8,000 acres in 1721. The Ewhurst estate that included Bodiam extended to 800 acres. He also bought Robertsbridge Abbey with 1,100 acres in 1726 and 486 acres at Fairlight in 1733. These estates were rich in timber and included ironworks at Battle, Robertsbridge and Etchingham. He thus owned three great medieval monuments in this small area of Sussex, and chose to retain the medieval fabric of Battle, suggesting some degree of liking for such buildings, but Sir Thomas is not particularly known for his antiquarian interests.

2.18.2 The Battle Abbey and Ewhurst estates (including Bodiam) were settled on Sir Thomas's son Whistler Webster in 1733, who retained them when he succeeded in 1751. Sir Whistler Webster does not seem to have had any interest in the ancient buildings he inherited and is thought to have pulled down part of Battle Abbey. Whistler died in 1779 and the title and Sussex estates passed to his brother Godfrey (I), who himself died in 1780 and was succeeded by his son Godfrey (II). Like his uncle, he had little affection for old buildings and wanted to demolish Battle Abbey, which

had, fortunately for posterity, had been left to his aunt for her lifetime, and so survived.

2.18.3 In 1730, the map of the Court Lodge estate was made, showing the castle, again, outside the area surveyed and rendered iconographically, and on this occasion with improbable pennants flying from the three towers, the central one shown as the tallest (Fig 45). The first extant engraving to show the castle in any detail was made by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck in 1737.<sup>376</sup> The castle is clearly a ruin with plant growth evident in the towers. The print includes an historical description reflecting the emerging antiquarian interest in the site (Fig 50). This is also the first depiction of the causeway on the north side of the barbican, although it seems probable that this had been in place for many years. Several other prints of the last quarter of the 18th century reflect appreciation of the ruins for their picturesque and antiquarian interest and show the castle prior to the 19th century restorations. A series of drawings by Grimm and Lambert (1784) include one of a cottage at the centre of the hall range in the courtyard of the castle, from which a vegetable plot was tended (Fig 51), and another of the barbican with the vaulted internal passage intact (Fig 16). The cottage may have been the relict of long domestic usage of this area, but, by 1823, only traces of it remained (2.13.4). In contrast to the maps of 1671 and 1730, the tastes of the later 18th century mean that these prints may have emphasised decay and ruinous aspects of the castle.

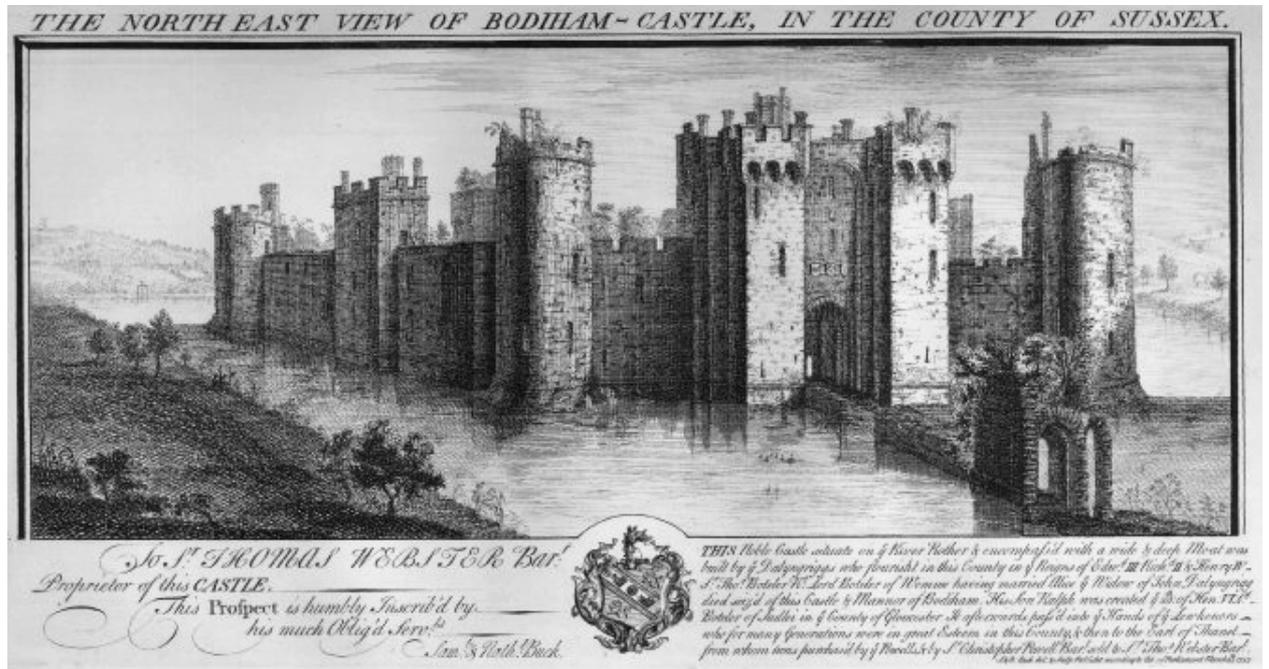


Figure 50 Bodiam castle depicted by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1737

2.18.4 The first antiquarian description of Bodiam dates from 1788, when Lord Torrington tried to see ‘the remains of the square castle at Bodiam’ and

<sup>376</sup> The BM has the original drawing behind the engraving, 1981,1212.33.2

found it locked and inaccessible. He wrote that: ‘This castle belongs to Sir Godfrey Webster, who has locked up the gate leading to the interior of the square and from narrowness of possession does not allow a key to any neighbour; tho, surely a proper inhabitant would secure and preserve it and get a livelyhood (or at least much support) from us, castle hunters. So I cou'd only walk around the little lake that washes the building and adds much to the curiosity and safety of the building’.<sup>377</sup> Whether the occupants of a few years earlier had left or were in informal possession, is not known.



Figure 51 Bodiam Castle: The interior of the courtyard, cultivated as a vegetable garden, looking towards the hall door, J Lambert, 1782 © *The British Library Board, Add MS Burrell, 5676, f3*

2.18.5 ‘Enigmatic features’<sup>378</sup> shown on an 1811 map of Castle Field appear to show three graves with head crosses and foot markers, with possibly a fresh grave to the west and perhaps some demarcation of the plot to the south. There are precedents at known prisoner of war camps, for example Portchester Castle (Hampshire) with burials just inside the fort wall, probably dating from the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-49), cut by (Napoleonic period) latrine pits.<sup>379</sup>

<sup>377</sup> Thackray 1991, 25

<sup>378</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (1) 14; (2), 113

<sup>379</sup> Cunliffe & Garratt 1994, 26-7 & pl xxix.

2.18.6 However, while the use of Bodiam to house French prisoners of war was briefly considered, there is nothing to suggest that it was implemented.<sup>380</sup> Graffiti on the barbican record the name 'James Bryan 35th Regiment 1818' and the same name is carved just outside the main gate. Bryan, however, seems to have been merely a tourist, for the 35th Royal Sussex Regiment of Foot returned from overseas late in 1817, and was stationed in Brighton for most of 1818 for training and the integration of its two former battalions, before returning overseas.<sup>381</sup> Prisoners from the campaigns of 1815 and earlier had in any case been released by the end of 1816.<sup>382</sup> The 'enigmatic features' remain so.

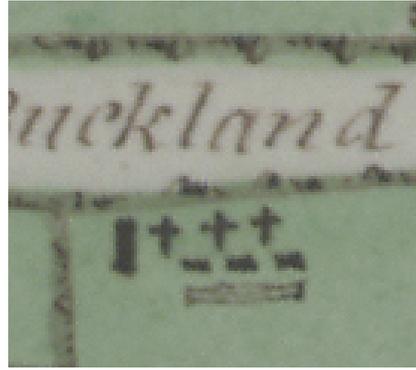


Figure 52 1811 level map (ESRO BAT 4435); for detail of possible burials see extract above

2.18.7 A third Sir Godfrey Webster (III) inherited in 1810, and a map of Castle Level was prepared. The map (Fig 52) cannot be regarded as wholly

<sup>380</sup> ESRO, Acc 5645, Battle Abbey Estate Correspondence, 1796-1804

<sup>381</sup> Trimen 1873, 120-21: we are grateful to Matt Champion for this and the following reference

<sup>382</sup> Chamberlain 2014, 118-9

reliable, but the barbican is not shown and may have been reduced to its extant form by this date.

- 2.18.8 Sir Godfrey repaired Battle Abbey, but he seems to have had little interest in Bodiam, which he advertised for sale in 1815.<sup>383</sup> The first sale to liquidate Sir Godfrey's debts took place in 1817, and the second in 1822, when the manor and castle itself failed to sell.<sup>384</sup> It is said that, by 1828, a firm of Hastings builders was ready to take down what remained of the castle.<sup>385</sup>
- 2.18.9 A number of trees have been identified<sup>386</sup> as pre-1829 mainly on boundary lines, with a few on the edge of the moat and in Dokes Field. It is difficult to attribute these to any specific owner, or, more importantly, to a conscious a landscape design.
- 2.18.10 At some point during the late 18th or early 19th centuries, the barbican's east wall, passage and vault collapsed or were taken down, leaving only the fragment of wall on the west side. Gough's 1782 picture shows the passageway clearly still covered and it seems to be present in Smirke's 1796 painting (NT) beneath heavy overgrowth. By 1823<sup>387</sup>, only the west side survived, much as today.
- 2.18.11 Webster eventually sold Bodiam Castle in 1829 with just 22½ acres of surrounding land to John 'Mad Jack' Fuller, the famously eccentric squire of Brightling.

## **2.19 Period 5.2: 1829 - 1864: Fuller**

- 2.19.1 Fuller was immensely rich, owning large estates in Sussex and plantations in the West Indies. He was a Tory MP and somewhat notorious, even in his own day, for his defence of slavery, although he moderated his position in later years. He is best known today for the buildings, including an observatory and several prominent follies, which he commissioned for his estate at Brightling Park, and for his pyramid-shaped tomb in Brightling churchyard. The follies provide one of the contexts for his acquisition of Bodiam castle. His purchase was widely thought to have been made to prevent the castle from being dismantled, and he was sufficiently pleased with it that, in 1829, he used its image on a medal he had struck to raise funds for an infirmary for the poor of Hastings.<sup>388</sup> He maintained the land (including the then dry 'cascade' to the north-west) under pasture with the exception of the Foreland, the wharf, and the

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<sup>383</sup> Hutchinson 1993, 109

<sup>384</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (1), 40

<sup>385</sup> Hutchinson 1993, 107

<sup>386</sup> Lewis 1991

<sup>387</sup> Rouse 1825 pl LIII and p 117; NT Ref. photo 21

<sup>388</sup> Hutchinson 1993, 107

surviving garden plot. Dokes Field was partly arable. The little moat and moat still contained water.

- 2.19.2 Accounts survive among the bills of account for the Brightling Estate for work at Bodiam during the first year of Fuller's ownership<sup>389</sup> which indicate that he undertook quite extensive work both to the structure and to its surroundings, although not all the work is specified. Whether works continued subsequently is unknown, but it is clear that the accounts - although very hard to read - describe the extent of the principal campaign of repairs that followed Fuller's purchase. The works were undertaken by John Croft Snr, who was engaged in a great deal of work on the Brightling Estate, and who died during or soon after the works. There are two elements definitely at Bodiam: building Castle Cottage in early 1829 (measured work, £17.8.11); and repairs to the Castle itself later the same year (daywork, £114.1.0½). The monthly summaries and some weekly accounts of labour survive, as well as the interim and final accounts to Fuller.
- 2.19.3 The accounts confirm that that Fuller took down an old building at Bodiam, assumed to be the cottage built against the postern tower. Being on daywork, the accounts for the castle work have no more than occasional remarks about the work done, but these include the carriage of stone, 'Putting Downe Setts' and 'The Building of Buttres'. The latter could be that to the east of the inner gatehouse, where the medieval stair has been consolidated as a buttress. (Grimm's view, although not wholly reliable, suggests that the lower level of the stair turret was substantially intact in 1784.)<sup>390</sup> Somewhat enigmatic entries include '1 day plastering Paveing with cowpoo [?]' and '1 day Dabing [presumably daubing] between the ribes with cowf', 'leading & paveing door heade' and 'Gin & Leavling [presumably levelling] over heade'. The accounts refer to repairs to the foundations including the use of 'mote stone', although it is unclear if this meant stone recovered from the moat.<sup>391</sup>
- 2.19.4 Fuller also undertook banking and digging, assumed to include repairs to the moat bank, but possibly in other areas not yet confirmed with certainty. He may have laid out some paths at Bodiam, but the significant sum allocated to 'Masons work for drawing the stone building by the walk...' which required '200 loads of stone' seems unlikely to refer to the landscape around the castle, as has been suggested.<sup>392</sup> No such feature has been identified either on the historic maps, or on the ground today. This item is more likely to refer to Brightling.

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<sup>389</sup> Holland 2011 (Appendix: Transcriptions of accounts from ESRO: RAF/F/9/28)

<sup>390</sup> ESRO RAF/F/9/28, 29

<sup>391</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>392</sup> Holland 2011 *passim*

2.19.5 Contemporary commentators<sup>393</sup> also note that Fuller installed folding oak gates in the main entrance and repaired the postern tower. It seems likely that, in making good the effects of removing the cottage, a first floor opening above the former screens passage (which was inserted through the back of a fireplace) was blocked, with a 'fireback' of small hard red bricks. The brick floor to the first floor room may also be of this date, and seems to have been the base for a lead roof, whose flashing line is visible.<sup>394</sup> These small red bricks occur elsewhere in repairs, notably above the stone arches inserted in place of (presumably by then collapsed) relieving arches in the chimneys in 1.26 and the blocking of the adjacent doorway between 1.26 and 1.27, seemingly to buttress the surviving wall. They also occur in the rebuilding of the arch over the southern window in 0.1, and suggest that the re-facing in mixed stonework of part of the west face of the east courtyard wall, where presumably the large plinth blocks facing up the Period 3.1 wall had been robbed, was also his work. Fuller also built a new cottage, the (now much enlarged) Castle Cottage, for the custodian. The timber doors to the postern gateway have graffiti from the 1850s and 60s<sup>395</sup>, so were probably also installed by Fuller.



Figure 53: Print after Turner from Cook's *Views of Sussex*, 1817

<sup>393</sup> *ibid* p.13

<sup>394</sup> We are grateful to Penny Copeland for drawing this to our attention

<sup>395</sup> QQ 2013

- 2.19.6 Bodiam is said<sup>396</sup> to be visible from the hill-top tower Fuller built just to the east of Brightling Park. Trees now surround the tower and this claim cannot be tested, but the view from just north of the tower commands the Rother valley and, at least with a glass, the castle might be visible. Fuller is thought to have had the tower built in the 1820s, or possibly a few years earlier,<sup>397</sup> before he had acquired the castle. It is unlikely that it was constructed specifically for the view of Bodiam, which is not, as has been suggested,<sup>398</sup> possible through the oculus on its north side, since it does not align with the Rother valley: none of the other windows at lower level aligns directly with Bodiam.
- 2.19.7 The tower is now known as the Hermit's Tower, and it was probably built, in the Gothick fashion of the time, as a 'fantasy' hermitage, encircled by a dense thorny hedge. Fuller was certainly aware of the picturesque qualities of the castle in the landscape. Between 1810 and 1818, he had commissioned a number of landscape paintings of Brightling and its environs from JMW Turner. Turner drew the castle on numerous occasions between 1806 and 1816. A watercolour view of the castle from just to the west of Bodiam Bridge c1810<sup>399</sup> was widely published as a print (Fig 53).<sup>400</sup> The scene has been described as topographically incorrect and arranged for the sake of the composition, but in fact, in the early 19th century, the river flowed to the south of its present course, and the castle would have been visible in very much the position seen in the painting, from the river bank. This view became one of the small number, after those of Buck, Grimm and Lambert, that was widely reproduced. They capture the way in which artists and antiquarians viewed - or wanted to see - the castle at this period, as an essentially romantic or picturesque feature in an idealised landscape, often featuring the figures of 'oblivious' peasants, to emphasise the sense in which the castle had been lost from time, or tourists, rediscovering it. The castle was thus transformed from a ruin into an authentic version of the sort of folly Fuller was building at Brightling, to be 'discovered' in its remote, romantic decay by adventurous antiquarians and artists.
- 2.19.8 Fuller had contrived a picturesque landscape in which distant views were as important as physical fabric and the preservation of the castle in its setting became more important than functional or agricultural concerns. In effect, this narrative established the modern image of the castle. While he recreated (perhaps accidentally) something of the medieval significance of the setting, with the castle as a focal point in an idealised landscape, he did so without particular reference to its medieval context, building his

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<sup>396</sup> *ibid* p.30

<sup>397</sup> <http://johnmadjackfuller.homestead.com/Follies.html>

<sup>398</sup> Statutory list entry: Hermit's Tower, Brightling Road, Brightling; <http://list.historicengland.org.uk/>

<sup>399</sup> 'Bodiam Castle; the South Wall and Postern Tower' 1810 by Joseph Mallord William Turner', catalogue entry, March 2011, in David Blayney Brown (ed.), *J.M.W. Turner: Sketchbooks, Drawings and Watercolours*, 2012

<sup>400</sup> Turner JMW, *Bodiam Castle, Sussex*, 1810; private collection. For Turner's sketches c1806-10 see <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/search?q=Turner+Bodiam>

new cottage, for example, in the middle of the putative view from the Gun Garden and without, as far as we know, recognising the significance of the waterscape.

- 2.19.9 There are 26 mature trees with estimated ages between 1829 and 1864.<sup>401</sup> The locations of these trees largely correspond with the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition OS map, which illustrates trees around the moat and little moat, along both sides of the west drive, along the field boundary immediately north of Castle Cottage, around the south and east edges of the millpond and along the tail race/1385 river channel. There is a clear line of trees running south east-north west between the north east corner of 1/2 Wharf Cottages and the south east corner of the moat, which also runs along the transition between slope and floodplain at the north side the millpond. There is another line of trees running north-south through the middle of Dokes Field. All of these trees correspond with field boundaries shown on the 1839 tithe map, or features which pre-dated Fuller's ownership, with the exception of a small number of trees in Horse Chestnut/Archers Copse at the western edge of Castle Field and the copses at the northern end of Dokes Field. Given the variability in estimating the age of trees, it is safe to assume that planting undertaken by Fuller may have involved reinforcing existing planting rather than any new landscape design.



Figure 54 1839 Tithe map (ESRO, TDE 99/1)

<sup>401</sup> Lewis 1991 and ACTA 2008

2.19.10 The castle remained in Fuller's hands until he died in 1834 and it passed to his heirs. It is shown on the 1839 Tithe map (Fig 54), and few landscape features can be identified that were not present in 1811. Trees are not shown, but the little moat to the east of the castle is clearly full of water and the mill-pond and 'cascade' valley evidently dry.

## 2.20 Period 5.3: 1864 - 1917: Cubitt

2.20.1 George Cubitt bought the castle in 1862/4. He made further purchases of the Fuller estate, including Castle Park Farm, Newhouse Farm, parts of Udiam, Rock's and Court Lodge Farms, much of Bodiam village and the Manor House (formerly the Vicarage). By 1907, his property amounted to several hundred acres and included much of the historic demesne to the west and south of the castle.<sup>402</sup>



Figure 55 Sketches of the castle from the south-west (top), and north-east (bottom), J A Buckler, April 1824, showing battlements to north-west, west and south-west towers (*British Library, Add MS 36389, f97-8; 36434, f311-12; NT copies*).

2.20.2 Despite Fuller's intervention, the castle seems to have continued to decay in the 20 years after his death. Even allowing for some artistic licence, the Buckler drawings of 1824 (Fig 55) suggest that all three western towers and the postern tower, the east and the north-east towers then had battlements, much as they had had. Yet in L. Neve-Foster's photographs

<sup>402</sup> Johnson et al 2000 (map 17)

of 1860 (Figs. 56, 57) and another of 1858 by Henry Taylor<sup>403</sup>, almost all of the battlements (including to the gatehouse tower) are missing and the parapets damaged.

- 2.20.3 Cubitt commissioned J. Tavenor Perry to make a survey of the castle prior to an extensive repair programme, which was described by Curzon in 1925 as 'reconstructive and prophylactic rather than constructive'. Some idea of the condition of the castle when he acquired it may be gained from 1860 photographs by L. Neve-Foster. Curzon notes that, even by 1925, the new work was distinguishable from the old only to 'a skilled eye'.<sup>404</sup> The work was supervised by Cubitt's son-in-law, the vicar of Bodiam, Rev. Charles Parker, and undertaken by the village schoolmaster, Charles Thompson, who had trained as a mason.
- 2.20.4 The 'foundations were strengthened with sandstone facings and concrete ... the decaying parts of the curtain walls were removed and the holes filled with cement and concrete'. The Gate Tower was 'in a tottering condition' and most of the adjacent battlements were missing. Cubitt drained the moat and recovered numerous fallen stones. He reused stone from elsewhere on the site and also used new Wadhurst stone. He restored the 'whole of the upper part of the Entrance Gateway', the other towers and curtain walls.<sup>405</sup> The south-west (dovecote) tower was in the worst condition, the 'interior having fallen in, and the external wall... in parts only a single stone in thickness'. Cubitt repaired the east window of the chapel and the inner window of the buttery; put doors in 'both the Gate Towers' and repaired the postern tower sufficiently to allow public access to its roof. He inserted doors to prevent access to the other towers along with the iron railing on the moat side of the postern gate. Much to Curzon's disapproval, he left 'a dangerous amount of ivy' and 'quite superfluous' trees in the courtyard. <sup>406</sup> Cubitt also erected the entrance gates at the top of the drive opposite the village school.

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<sup>403</sup> NMR/Historic England Archive, DD73/00115, DD73/00123

<sup>404</sup> Curzon 1926, 83

<sup>405</sup> The considerable extent of his work remains clear inside the gatehouse at top floor level

<sup>406</sup> Curzon 1926, 82



Figure 56 South elevation 1860 (*The National Trust*)



Figure 57 North elevation 1860 (*The National Trust*)

- 2.20.5 Cubitt also erected the entrance gates at the top of the drive opposite the village school. The piers to either side of the entrance and the 19th century iron gates survive, but the original central pier was removed by the National Trust c1970s, to allow larger vehicles access to the shop when it was in Castle Cottage. The northern of the piers was significantly rebuilt in c1995–2000 after being hit by a lorry.<sup>407</sup> Cubitt's work was not comprehensive, but the exterior of the castle - the towers and curtain walls - were largely repaired, although he did not re-instate battlements to the south east or south-west towers and seems to have done little within the courtyard. Cubitt himself summarised his interventions thus: 'I had put it [Bodiam Castle] into thorough repair without any alteration and instituted a small payment for admission...'<sup>408</sup>
- 2.20.6 Cubitt built up a substantial estate around Bodiam,<sup>409</sup> which included the former Red Lion Inn, which he acquired in 1865. A substantial house here is shown on the 1671 estate map, as a building with a central chimney-stack. Although it is first recorded as a public house called the Red Lion Inn in a conveyance of 1851, it was doubtless an inn well before that date. It had been bought by Ruth Allen, a widow, in 1807 and passed to her son Richard, who is described as a victualler in 1814. The 1873 Ordnance Survey map shows it as a rather smaller building than exists today, which was built between 1873 and 1897, when it appears, with the present coach-house, on the Ordnance Survey map under the name of the Castle Hotel, from which admission tickets to the castle could be obtained.<sup>410</sup> A substantial 1930s structure at the south-west corner of the present pub, added by the then owners, Messrs. Guinness, as an overflow bar and hall for increased trade when hoppers arrived at harvest, called the Victoria Hall, was demolished c2005.
- 2.20.7 Cubitt's estate included 1 & 2 Wharf Cottages, a semi-detached pair, first shown in their present form on the 1897 Ordnance Survey map. It seems most likely that they were built for Cubitt after he bought the site in 1885.<sup>411</sup> The cottages are of two-storeys, of red brick with yellow brick dressings, tile hanging to the first floor and plain clay tile roofs, in a style almost identical to that of the Castle Inn. Prior to 1873, the plots in this area were somewhat larger, with two detached houses. There were two houses here in 1671, although it is unclear whether they the ones acquired by Cubitt.
- 2.20.8 24 mature trees with estimated ages between 1864-1917<sup>412</sup> stand around the moat, little moat, Horse Chestnut/Archers Copse in Castle Field and the copses at the northern end of Dokes Field. The 1898/99 and 1908/9

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<sup>407</sup> *Pers. comm.* George Bailey.

<sup>408</sup> TNA 51249/2/pt1, t/s. file note quoting letter from Lord Ashcombe, dated 1915

<sup>409</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (map 17)

<sup>410</sup> Johnson 1913, advertisement

<sup>411</sup> Johnson *et al* 2000 (2); NTHBSMR. Other cottages on Cubitt's wider estate are in similar style

<sup>412</sup> Lewis 1991 and ACTA 2008

Ordnance Survey maps do not show trees on the Trust's estate, so it is difficult to compare the situation with that in 1873 (the 1st edition Ordnance Survey.) There is no specific record of tree planting by Cubitt apart from the date range of the trees mentioned above, and the extent of landscaping he carried out is difficult to identify. It probably did not fundamentally change Fuller's landscaping, which broadly aimed to re-establish the castle as a focal point in the landscape. Cubitt's later planting may well be a continuation of what Fuller had started.

- 2.20.9 Also, the 1908/9 Ordnance Survey maps show fields north-east of the castle as orchard. The orchard covers the field immediately to the east of the little moat and half of the field immediately east of the Sussex Border Path as it climbs the slope towards Court Lodge. The orchard appears to be associated with 'Castle Lodge Farm', with buildings located half-way along the hedgerow at the northern boundary of the field immediately to the east of the little moat. The orchard and 'Castle Lodge Farm' remain on the 1947 Ordnance Survey, but are not illustrated in 1940s aerial photography and are gone by the 1961 Ordnance Survey map. The 1908/9 Ordnance Survey maps also show a 'nursery' in the field to the east of the castle (south of the public footpath which runs east to the Kent Ditch), with poplars planted as a shelterbelt on three sides.<sup>413</sup> The nursery is not visible after the 1961 Ordnance Survey, or in 1960s aerial photography.

## **2.21 Period 5.4: 1917 - 1925: Curzon**

- 2.21.1 Lord Curzon of Kedleston (1859-1925), the former Viceroy of India, bought the Bodiam estate in 1917,<sup>414</sup> when it came on the market after the death of George Cubitt. He immediately disposed of all but 50 acres, keeping only the castle and its immediate surroundings.<sup>415</sup> He employed William Weir (1865-1950), who had also worked with Curzon on the repair of Tattershall Castle, as his architect. Weir specialised in the repair of historic buildings and was a leading member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB). In line with the Society's principles, Curzon and Weir's approach was conservative and wherever possible historic fabric was retained rather than renewed. In fact, his approach was rather more austere and less romantic, if more thorough, than Cubitt's. Curzon stabilised the structure, cleared the courtyard to something close to its present day appearance, and removed any remaining dangerous ivy.

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<sup>413</sup>ACTA 2009, fig 6; <http://www.britainfromabove.org.uk/image/epw059210?search=bodiam&ref=4>

<sup>414</sup> Curzon 1926, xiii

<sup>415</sup> His was not the only interest: Vita Sackville West had a yearning to buy it as a residence (she eventually bought Sissinghurst: Nicholson 2005, 15). Her husband, Harold Nicolson, as a diplomat served under Curzon at the Lausanne Peace Conference, and is the 'HN' of the introductory 'note' to Curzon 1926.

- 2.21.2 Curzon drained and consolidated the moat, from which he recovered a number of historic items.<sup>416</sup> On the basis of discoveries, including several iron cannon-balls and some stonework which could have been damaged by such a weapon, he concluded that the archaeology of the site supported his contention that the castle has been slighted by Waller's men in the 17th century. However, the archaeological finds he recovered from the moat (and surrounding areas) were relatively few, mainly commonplace, and fairly evenly distributed in date from the medieval to modern periods. The evidence they offer for the occupation of the castle after the end of the 15th century, its abandonment, or dismantling, is therefore not definitive.
- 2.21.3 Curzon undertook extensive repairs, redoing much of Cubitt's work, which he felt was unsatisfactory. Through archaeological investigation, the footings for the two original timber bridges were discovered, demonstrating conclusively their positions. He capped both the octagon and barbican platforms with concrete and turves. He dug out the 'drawbridge' pit in front of the barbican from the construction of which he demonstrated that it had been filled in.
- 2.21.4 Curzon repaired the battered footings of the curtain and towers with concrete. He reinstated the parapets to the south-west section of curtain wall and the south-west tower with stones recovered from the moat and elsewhere, and repaired the mullion of the two-light west window to the buttery with moulded sections found on site. Where new stone was needed, it was obtained from a quarry at West Hoathly.<sup>417</sup> He cleared the wall-heads and capped them with 'fine cement concrete' covered with turf for protection, incorporating concrete slabs where necessary below the visible stonework. However, there are also areas of sand and cement facing, presumed to be over tile infill, following the SPAB principle that new work should clearly be differentiated from old. It is assumed that the decision on how to repair was based on practicality, smaller areas being infilled and whole blocks being used in larger areas of damage.
- 2.21.5 Curzon explored the fabric of the castle methodically and excavated the filled-in basements in order to reconstruct, as far as he was able, the plan. He disproved some of the more fanciful conjectures of earlier writers with archaeological evidence. He gave names to the principal rooms based on his primarily military understanding of the way in which a castle of this period would have been used (see *Gazetteer*), which are mostly plausible. He was responsible for reinstating, on the evidence of surviving openings, most of the present levels within the courtyard and buildings, and for seeding them with grass. He noted that the chapel had been floored at a higher level, with the sanctuary stepped above the nave and paved with glazed tiles. He also excavated (and then back-filled) the cellar

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<sup>416</sup> Curzon 1926, 157-9

<sup>417</sup> *ibid*, 111-2

under the chapel, discovering the remains of the anomalous (Period 3.1) east-west wall.

- 2.21.6 Curzon dug out what he called the well (or cistern) in the southwest tower. He found that it was some 3m deep, ‘egg-shaped’, lined in ashlar, with a concave puddled clay bottom more than a metre below the level of the moat and noted that it ‘appeared to be fed by springs direct from the bedrock immediately below’.<sup>418</sup> More recent excavations<sup>419</sup> suggest that this is correct.
- 2.21.7 Quixotically, on grounds that are not entirely clear, probably misinterpreting the earthworks associated with the medieval tail-race, Curzon concluded that Dallingridge's wharf had been located on the river-side to the east of what is now known to be the mill dam and that the former mill pond to the southwest of the castle was a ‘tiltyard’. He built a dam along the riverbank, created what he called the ‘Old Dock’ and attempted (and failed) to drain the mill pond to create a cricket pitch or village recreation ground.
- 2.21.8 Curzon recorded his discoveries and conclusions in a detailed well-illustrated volume, published posthumously in 1926, which forms the basis of the foregoing paragraphs.<sup>420</sup> It concludes by noting that its author had had plans prepared (the whereabouts of which are unknown) for the restoration of the castle as a practical residence. Curzon was, remarkably for his generation and class, perceptive enough to have: ‘desisted from what would have been an interesting architectural experiment, but might easily have degenerated into an archaeological crime.’<sup>421</sup>
- 2.21.9 Curzon also used the ‘idea’ of Bodiam, by now symbolic of the ‘feudal romance’<sup>422</sup> and riches of medieval England and, by extension, of the roots of its 19th-century pre-eminence. In publishing his unguarded enthusiasm for the castle, he was perhaps, towards the end of his life, consciously or not, softening his austere and rigid public image, although he may not have seen it in quite that light. He wrote that he was led: ‘...on the first occasion that I ever saw Bodiam, to fall an immediate victim to its charm and to desire that so rare a treasure should neither be lost to our country nor desecrated by irreverent hands...’,<sup>423</sup> a sentence that invites psycho-analysis, especially considering that, following a later visit in 1916, he proposed to his future wife in nearby Winchelsea church.<sup>424</sup>

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<sup>418</sup> *ibid*, 102

<sup>419</sup> David Martin, 1971 unpublished excavation record

<sup>420</sup> Curzon 1926 *passim*

<sup>421</sup> *ibid*, 144

<sup>422</sup> Curzon 1926, v

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid*, vii-viii

<sup>424</sup> Thackray 1991, 29

- 2.21.10 Curzon planted trees in Dokes Field and shrubs along the moat, removed 18th and 19th century hedges and introduced iron 'park palings'. He removed the fence around the eastern and northern sides of Coopers Field, opening up the western part of the property between the village and castle. Four trees have estimated ages between 1917-1925,<sup>425</sup> located in the copse at the northern end of Dokes Field (1), the western side of Castle Field (2), and the eastern end of the Millpond (1). It is believed that Curzon's planting was intended to screen views of nearby post-medieval buildings and leave open distant views of properties along the Ewhurst Ridge. Curzon wrote that: 'I have converted [the grounds] into a park.'<sup>426</sup>
- 2.21.11 Curzon created a small museum in Fuller's Castle Cottage, which he extended for the purpose. This contained the finds that had come to light during the works, now in the Bodiam collection.

## **2.22 Period 6: 1926 to present day: the National Trust**

- 2.22.1 The castle, with a small area of surrounding land, was left to the National Trust by Lord Curzon as part of a bequest that also included Tattershall Castle. The gift of the castle, moat and surrounding land, Dokes Meadow, the Castle Inn, Wharf Cottages, and the Manor House, grounds and cottages which were left for life to their occupiers, Curzon's daughter and son-in-law Mr and Mrs Townshend. Manor Cottages were sold by the Trust in 1971 and the Manor House in 1978. The core of the estate was made inalienable by the Trust in 1926.
- 2.22.2 The Trust retained the freehold of the site of the Bodiam Church of England School, leased to the County Council, which owns the buildings. The Trust also retains a small area of land between Manor Cottages and St Giles' Church (the site of a late-16th century dwelling). The Trust had intended to give this land to the church in exchange for rights of access to the cottages, but the purchaser made their own agreement with the church, and the exchange was unnecessary. The sales were subject to restrictive covenants by which the Trust must approve certain building works, tree felling etc.
- 2.22.3 The Trust retained Curzon's architect William Weir<sup>427</sup> for the castle and continued the repairs he had started. Under the Trust's tenure, the fabric of the castle was consolidated in order to make it safe and accessible to visitors. Although it has been conserved as a ruin, the introduction of roofs to the towers and stair turrets and the reinstatement of some timber floors represent the most significant interventions in the structure since it

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<sup>425</sup> Lewis 1991 and ACTA 2008

<sup>426</sup> *The Times*, London, 23 July 1925

<sup>427</sup> It is believed that that further information about Weir's work of the castle may exist in the archives of SPAB; this is noted under research potential

was abandoned, although the work may reasonably be characterised as the minimum necessary. The underlying objective throughout this period has been the conservation of the surviving medieval fabric largely as found. The Trust followed the best practice of the day, which has inevitably changed over the years. However, the most important factor in relation to the castle's management since 1919 has been the much greater understanding of the significance of the landscape setting, which has had - and continues to have- major implications for the approach to the conservation of the site as a whole.

- 2.22.4 New concrete roofs were added to the east tower in 1932-3<sup>428</sup> and the north-west tower in 1936, in order to protect the masonry. A lead roof bearing on timber joists was added to the gatehouse in 1939. Although it had first been intended to roof the gatehouse with concrete as elsewhere, in the event it was decided to use a more traditional lead and timber structure, to reduce the use of modern materials such as brick, cement and blockwork.<sup>429</sup>
- 2.22.5 The pill-box was constructed in 1940 following the Dunkirk evacuation, to defend Bodiam Bridge against the expected German invasion. The strategic line of defence at this point was the river Rother, and the purpose of the pill-box was to prevent the enemy from crossing it. The pill-box has two chambers, for machine guns and an anti-tank gun respectively. It would have been manned by 10 men. Its angled plan is based on the War Office Directorate of Fortifications and Works design 28a, but it is an unusual variation of the type, apparently developed specifically for this site. The south and west walls, from which an attack was considered most likely, and the roof, are of concrete, the walls having brick cladding, which also formed the shuttering for the concrete. Large numbers of pill-boxes survive, but this one is unusual for its design, its relatively good state of repair and for its location in a prominent historic setting, meaning that it is one of the most visited examples of the type in Britain.<sup>430</sup>
- 2.22.6 Following Weir's retirement, the Trust appointed Carden and Godfrey as castle architects. After the hiatus of the war, a programme of masonry repair and consolidation was put in hand, continuing over several years. A row broke out in 1954 when it was realised that the contractor, Norman and Burt, had been pointing the joints of the Postern Tower flush, allegedly having the visual effect of widening the fine original joints (typically no more than 13mm) to as much as 75mm wide, with the inevitable detriment to the appearance of the masonry. It was impractical

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<sup>428</sup> QQ 2013 Section 5.

<sup>429</sup> TNA 51249/2/pt1. It is now beneath a concrete slab roof

<sup>430</sup> Smith 2000

to reverse what had been done, but the specification was subsequently improved.<sup>431</sup>

- 2.22.7 Carden and Godfrey were replaced by Benson and Benson (later Benson and Bryant) as castle architects in 1960. A series of repairs, minor alterations and works, to improve public access and provide visitor facilities, were undertaken by the Trust during the 1960s and 70s. The roof of the postern tower was replaced with a new concrete slab in 1962-3. The north-east and south-east towers were capped with concrete in 1966. In 1967, the bread oven to the north-west corner of the kitchen was repaired, and drainage introduced to the basements of the towers. It was also noted that there was a good deal of brick in the curtain-wall heads, presumably dating from Period 5.2 or 5.3.<sup>432</sup> The grilles to the postern tower machicolations were replaced in 1969.
- 2.22.8 The chapel basement had been excavated by Curzon (see above) and back-filled, presumably with the excavated spoil. It was excavated again in 1967, when a good deal of slate was found in the spoil, suggesting that the chapel, at least, may have been roofed with slate.<sup>433</sup> Drains were laid along the length of the east range, discharging through the south-east tower. None of these excavations seems to have been archaeologically recorded. The present stone paving to the crypt floor (and the patterned pseudo-medieval floor tiles, for which there is no historic precedent at Bodiam) were introduced following the excavation.
- 2.22.9 Castle Cottage was extended on several occasions to provide visitor facilities. A winter ticket office was built on the centre of the front in 1963. An extension to the rear was added in 1968. The cottage was altered again in 1972 and a cross wing was added to the east end. A similar wing was added to the west end in 1992/3.
- 2.22.10 The moat was drained in 1970<sup>434</sup> and almost a metre's depth of silt was removed. Prior to 1988, spoil generally was dumped in the north-west ponds, the associated trackway, the little moat and in Curzon's Pond to the south-east of the site. Only after the 1988 topographic survey by RCHME were these areas identified as historic earthwork remains associated with the original design of the medieval castle. The dumping does not seem to have been recorded at the time, and has significantly obscured the original form of the north-west ponds in particular, and the archaeological record of the parts of the site affected.

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<sup>431</sup> TNA 51249/2/pt2. Carden & Godfrey office memory is that the problem was due to 'the use of pure lime mortar, which looked very bright' (Richard Andrews, pers com, March 2016)

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>433</sup> *ibid.* correspondence between Jeremy Benson and IAM Rigold 21/8/69

<sup>434</sup> Martin 1973

- 2.22.11 The causeway was removed in 1977, the moat being temporarily lowered to facilitate this. This work does not appear to have been monitored archaeologically or recorded. The causeway was replaced by the present timber bridge, designed by Benson and Forsyth.
- 2.22.12 The National Trust carried out tree-planting to the west of the Castle and the individual trees such as in the south-east corner of Coopers Field in 1973, along with a programme of tree and shrub planting around the perimeter of the castle grounds. At the same time, there has been natural regeneration of vegetation across the site, including around the works area on the boundary with the Old Rectory, on the banks of the moat, around the little moat and Curzon's 'harbour' pond east of the millpond. Both the planned planting and natural growth has reinforced the largely 19th century enclosure of the castle and its immediate setting.
- 2.22.13 Extensive work was undertaken to the gatehouse tower in 1977, when it was decided to allow public access to the interior. It included the replacement of the roof with *in situ* cast concrete, leaving the 1939 roof as a ceiling beneath it, and the re-instatement of oak-boarded floors except (notably) any floor over the lost vault to the entrance passage. The bridge between the octagon and the barbican was reconstructed in the same year.
- 2.22.14 The public lavatories and function room at the site entrance were converted from the existing late 19th century/early 20th century buildings, which had originally been the wharf-keeper's cottage, extended in the early 20th century. This site was let by the Trust after 1926 and remained in commercial use as Huxford's coal yard.<sup>435</sup> It reverted to the Trust in 1978, when the existing building was converted into lavatories by Le Fevre Wood+Royle, responsible for various works to the ancillary buildings and car park.<sup>436</sup> The present shop and cafe date from 1991, following a design competition won by Stuart Page architects. Hard landscaping since the 1970s has included the paths, landscaping around the tea-rooms (including the area of the medieval *flote*), benches, the insertion of cattle grids and drainage work within the former mill-pond, and on-site information boards and signage.
- 2.22.15 A sewerage treatment plant was introduced in the 1980s to the south of Wharf Cottages, to designs by Benson & Bryant Architects. Revisions were drawn up and works carried out in 1997 and 2006, and the entire system was replaced in 2010/11 by a vertical flow reed bed system, which also covered part of the adjacent 'Rose Garden'. Improvements were made to the public lavatory block in 1995.

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<sup>435</sup> *Ex inf* George Bailey

<sup>436</sup> Information from John Underwood, formerly of the practice

- 2.22.16 A small car park at the west end of the present one was much enlarged in 2009/10 to designs by The Morton Partnership and ACTA,<sup>437</sup> with the surfaced area of the car park extended to the east, up to vehicle gates which would allow overflow parking further east along the Foreland between the Mill Pond and the Rother.
- 2.22.17 The moat dams were worked on in 1990 and underwent major repairs which redefined the moat margins in 1995. The masonry of some curtain walls of the castle was repointed (in lime mortar) in 1997-9 and the pill-box was repaired in 1998.
- 2.22.18 Since 1970 (when the moat was last drained), and especially since 1997 when the scheduled area was extended beyond the moat, the Trust has commissioned archaeological responses to all below-ground interventions, reviews and detailed gazetteers of the estate both north and south of the Rother, and sponsored studies by the University (in conjunction with North-West University) which have considered aspects of Bodiam in the contexts of other comparable sites in the south-east. The latter is soon to be published in book form.<sup>438</sup> All this work has resulted in many insights into the archaeology and history of Bodiam Castle, recorded largely in 'grey literature', which has greatly informed the narrative of this Plan.
- 2.22.19 There were losses of some mature trees during the major storm that affected much of southern England in 1987. In 2009/10, four mature trees were removed from the Foreland as part of the car park extension. Despite these losses and removals, the site appears to be more heavily vegetated than at any period recorded on historic plans and photos.
- 2.22.20 Under the ownership of the Trust, the area around the castle was grazed, latterly by sheep, but as recently as the 1960s by cattle, until 2006 when it was withdrawn because of potential *E. coli* risks for the visitors. The grass is now mown. Dokes Field, now pasture, was cultivated sporadically after the Second World War. In 2006, the Trust acquired the field to the south of the river known as Freren Mead. It had been cultivated for hop production by Guinness Hop Farms during the mid-20th century, but is now managed as grassland.

## 2.23 The collections

- 2.23.1 The Bodiam archaeological collections originated with material retained by Cubitt during his clearance of the moat and excavation of the basements in 1919.<sup>439</sup> It is typically of artefacts large and obvious enough

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<sup>437</sup> ACTA 2009.

<sup>438</sup> Johnson *et al* forthcoming

<sup>439</sup> Listed in Curzon 1926, 157-9

to be collected by labourers; the larger pieces of pottery were published by J N L Myres in 1935.<sup>440</sup> To this has been added chance finds and material from later archaeological excavations, principally by David Martin in 1970.<sup>441</sup> This was catalogued in 1994 (except, apparently, the material then on display), applying then current knowledge about medieval pottery.<sup>442</sup> All is now included on the Trust's digital database. The majority of material from more recent work by Archaeology South-East, apart from finds from the 1998 sewerage plant works, remains with them. Otherwise, the material is stored in the north-east tower (Room 3.6), together with some photographs and prints, and mementos and records of the early years of the opening of the castle. A small selection of material is on display in Castle Cottage, including a mutilated effigy of Sir John Dallingridge<sup>443</sup> (d1408) from Robertsbridge Abbey, on loan from the Sussex Archaeological Society. Other archive material held in the store includes photographs and prints, and the archives of the castle since the 1920s.

- 2.23.2 This collection includes only part of the archaeological material from the Trust's Bodiam estate, and Kathryn Catlin has recently produced a useful survey of the known extent and disposition of relevant archaeological finds.<sup>444</sup> Of discoveries prior to Curzon, there is no trace of the Bronze Age canoe placed in the Castle in 1836 (2.2.3). The 'Bodiam Mortar', allegedly found in the moat and depicted in the courtyard in 1825,<sup>445</sup> and currently dated to the early 16th century, is now in the Royal Artillery Museum.<sup>446</sup> Material from the excavation of the Romano-British site south of the Rother is held by Battle Museum.

## 2.24 Ecology and habitats

- 2.24.1 An ecology walkover survey (Fig 55) and data trawl of earlier ecological surveys was carried out in 2014/15 to inform this CMP. The full Ecological Report can be found in Appendix A.
- 2.24.2 Generally, the site comprises species-poor semi-improved grassland. Hedges include species-poor and species-rich sections, but no hedges are present adjacent to the river or along some boundaries with mature tree cover. Most trees offer no opportunities for roosting bats.

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<sup>440</sup> Myres 1935

<sup>441</sup> Unfortunately the intended publication of the finds (Martin 1973, 23) did not come to fruition

<sup>442</sup> Gardiner & Barber 1994, with input from David Rudling and Simon Stevens

<sup>443</sup> Woodger 1993b; the statue was found in 1823 (*Sussex Archaeological Collections* **12**, 223)

<sup>444</sup> Catlin 2015 and in Johnson *et al* forthcoming. The locations of much of it could not be confirmed. Gwen Jones' archive, including material from field walking in Freren Mead, was lost after her death (David Martin, pers comm)

<sup>445</sup> Rouse 1825, pl LIV and p 123

<sup>446</sup> Smith & Brown 1989; the uncertainty is principally because Rouse states that it was brought from Battle Abbey [in the time of Sir Thomas Webster], and it was recorded there again later

- 2.24.3 The castle provides habitat which supports species found nowhere else on site. It supports maternity roosts of Daubentons, Natterers and Soprano Pipistrelle bats and provides hibernating and roosting opportunities for these and other bat species. The stonework provides a variety of substrates and positions which support a unique assemblage of bryophytes and lichens.
- 2.24.4 The moat is an area of eutrophic standing water with limited aquatic vegetation, dominated by free floating algae. It contains a large population of carp. The banks of the moat support low numbers of mature broad-leaved trees generally in maiden form and good condition.
- 2.24.5 The little moat is well vegetated and dominated by reed sweet grass *Glyceria maxima* with peripheral areas of bramble scrub. Curzon's Pond to the east of the mill pond is similarly well-vegetated and has areas of greater shade as a result of emerging Willow *Salix sp.* Both ponds have potential for supporting populations of common toad, common frog and newt species. To the west of the moat, there is an additional small area of marshy grassland/tall ruderal<sup>447</sup> vegetation in the 'cascade' valley, probably on the location of a former pond. Self-seeded sycamore saplings are present on the margins.
- 2.24.6 Castle Field comprises species-poor semi-improved grassland, with occasional areas of greater species diversity. The grass is cut regularly, with areas left to grow longer for annual hay cut in July or August. The field contains areas of scattered scrub and scattered mature broad-leaved trees generally in maiden form and good condition, some of which are veteran oaks with high potential for bats and value for invertebrates and fungi. An area of broad-leaved planted woodland (native and non-native species) lies at the western edge of the field. Mature trees line the access track running from Castle Cottage to the main road. An area of scattered scrub and individual trees is situated to the west of the moat along the line of the 'cascade' valley. Castle Field supports native reptiles.
- 2.24.7 Dokes Field comprises species-poor semi-improved grassland, with occasional areas of greater species diversity. It has been grazed in the past and is currently subject to a July hay cut. It contains areas of peripheral scrub and scattered mature broad-leaved oak trees generally in maiden form and good condition, a few of which have high potential for bats and value for invertebrates and fungi. Species-rich hedgerows form the eastern and western boundaries of the field. There are also two copses of mixed broadleaved tree species. There is evidence of badger activity, including an active sett. A well-house along the south east edge of the field has potential to support bats.

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<sup>447</sup> The first plants to colonise disturbed ground



- 2.24.8 The River Rother is bounded by earthwork embankments comprising improved grassland and species-poor semi-improved grassland. There are small areas of bramble and hawthorn scrub. There is a fringe of marginal vegetation on the southern bank and areas of emergent vegetation within the fast-flowing channel itself. There is potential for protected and notable species of fish. The invasive Himalayan balsam *Impatiens glandulifera* is present on the southern bank.
- 2.24.9 To the south of the Rother, Freren Mead comprises mostly open semi-improved neutral grassland, with pockets of marshy grassland around low points in the south and southeast of the field, which are subject to seasonal waterlogging and flooding during winter. Bramble scrub exists around the periphery. Since being acquired by the Trust in 2006, it has been subject to sheep grazing. However, in recent years, grazing has been replaced by an August hay cut only. Freren Mead is considered to form Priority Habitat Floodplain Grazing Marsh.
- 2.24.10 Castle Cottage, workshops, the tea room, gift shop, toilets, Wharf Cottages and Castle Inn have some potential for bats and nesting birds.

## **2.25 Hydrology**

- 2.25.1 A study of hydrology, water management and flooding issues for the Trust's estate was carried out in 2014/15 to inform this CMP. The full Water Management Report can be found in Appendix B.
- 2.25.2 The moat and surrounding water features appear to be a gravity-based network that makes use of the natural topography of the landscape.
- 2.25.3 Surface run-off from Dokes Field (and other land to the north and west of the Trust's estate) drains south and east via the shallow 'cascade' valley to the north west of the castle, entering the western end of the Moat south of the masonry abutment opposite the Octagon. There is a spring house on the eastern boundary of Dokes Field, but the extent of its supply to or connectivity with the Moat and surrounding water features is unclear.
- 2.25.4 The 'cascade' valley conveys water downhill from west to east. Minimal pooling is limited to its eastern end against the Moat embankment and it is assumed standing water discharges into the ground via infiltration.
- 2.25.5 The clay-lined Moat appears to be self-sustaining, fed by a number of springs from the Ashdown Formation as well as surface run-off from higher ground to the north and west, including Dokes Field.

- 2.25.6 The little moat receives flow from the moat as well as surface run-off from the north. It discharges to a ditch that runs along the eastern boundary of the Trust's estate, draining to the Rother via the local land drainage network
- 2.25.7 Historically, the mill pond was fed by a leat branching off of the Rother upstream of Bodiam, and would have also received surface run-off from land to the north, primarily Castle Field. It discharged via a mill and tail race at its eastern end into a ditch that runs along the eastern boundary of the Trust's estate and on to the Rother. Curzon installed land drains in an attempt to make the mill pond into a cricket pitch, and presently, it remains free-draining, albeit subject to periods of inundation during seasonal (winter) flooding.
- 2.25.8 Curzon's Pond holds water above the bed level of both the car park and the mill pond by approximately 1-2m. It appears to receive water from a source which enters the pond on the eastern side through a narrow diameter pipe set at a high level above the water line, which could come from the moat. It discharges to the former tail race and drainage ditch on the eastern boundary of the Trust's estate and drains to the Rother via the local land drainage network.

#### *Flooding*

- 2.25.9 The Trusts' site is beyond the extent of tidal flooding on the River Rother, which (now) extends to Scots Float Sluice near Rye in Kent.
- 2.25.10 Significant parts of the Trust's estate are at risk from fluvial flooding, lying within Flood Zone 3 (High Risk) and 2 (Medium Risk), including: the main car park, gift shop and tea rooms; the Castle Inn; the mill pond, Curzon's Pond and Balloon Field; and Freren Mead. The remaining areas of the Trust's estate lie within Flood Zone 1 (Low Risk). The line of the flood extent is in the approximate location of the 5m contour shown in Figure 56.<sup>448</sup>
- 2.25.11 The Trust's estate is at risk of surface water (pluvial) flooding (Fig 57) due to its presence on top of the Hastings Beds, a group that exhibits a sequence of alternating sandy/silty and clay rich sections and results in sand containing impermeable clay and silt layers which can result in fast runoff and rapid onset flooding following a rainfall event. North of the River Rother, risk of surface water flooding is defined by topography and associated drainage paths and is largely confined to existing and historic water features. South of the river, Freren Mead is more seriously affected due to topographic variation in the ground levels and underlying geology.

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<sup>448</sup> Environment Agency Indicative Flood Map for Planning - <http://maps.environment-agency.gov.uk/wiyby/wiybyController?x=357683&y=355134&scale=1&layerGroups=default&ep=map&extonly=off&lang=e&topic=floodmap>

This surface water flooding could be utilised as an opportunity to improve the aesthetic and nature conservation value of the site.

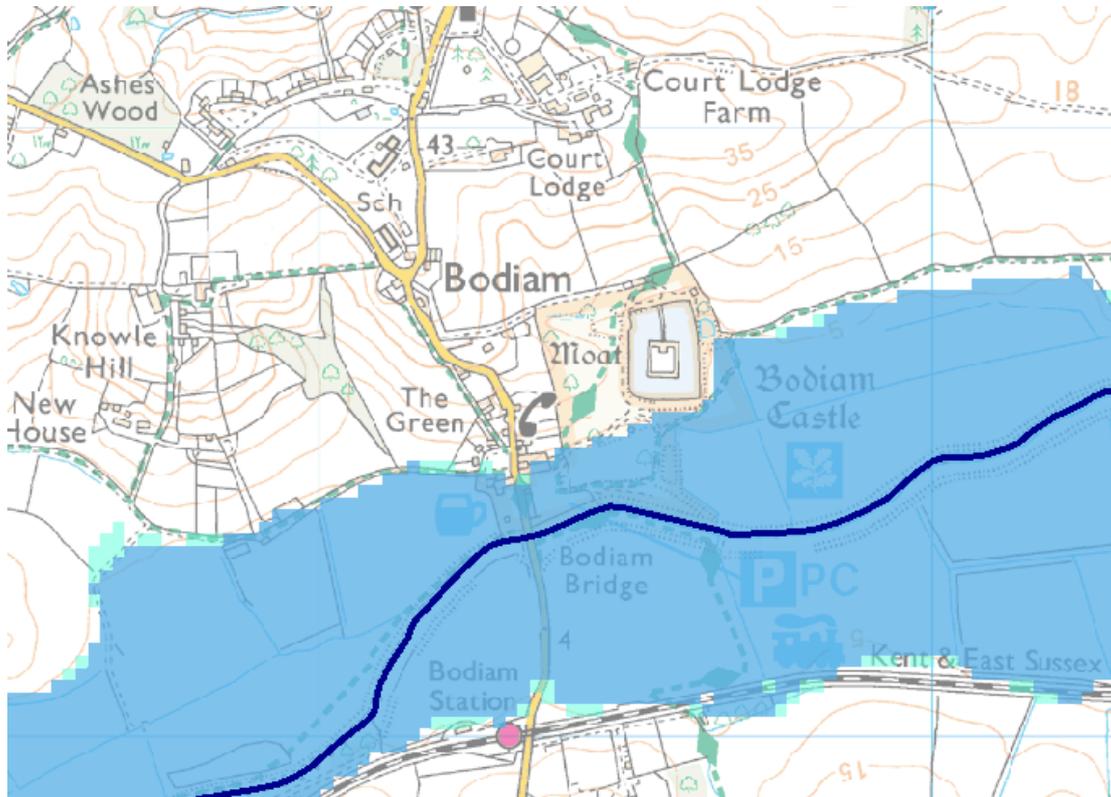


Figure 59 Extract from the Environment Agency Indicative Flood Zone Map showing extents of fluvial flood risk (obtained 16/04/15)

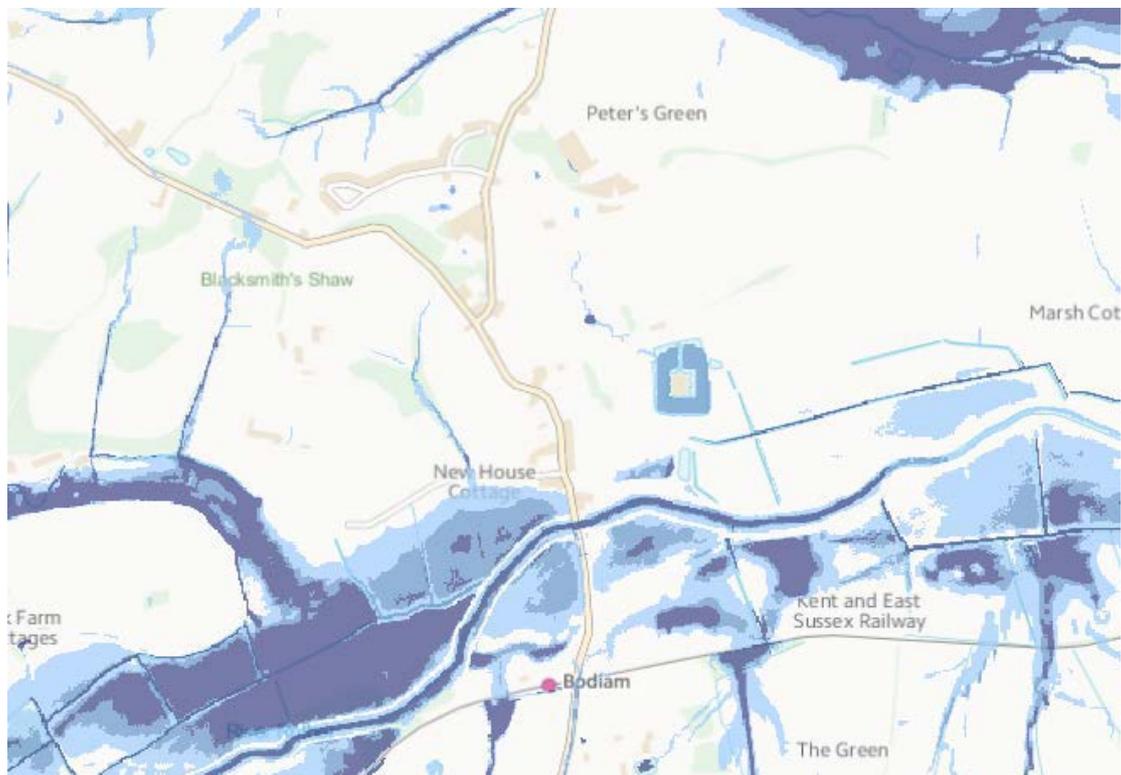


Figure 60 Extract from the Environment Agency Indicative Flood Zone Map showing extents of surface water flood risk (obtained 16/04/15)

- 2.25.12 The Trust's estate is not identified as being at risk of groundwater flooding.<sup>449</sup>
- 2.25.13 Parts of the Trust's estate are within an area potentially at risk from reservoir flooding, including: the main car park, gift shop and tea rooms; the Castle Inn; the mill pond, Curzon's pond and balloon field; Freren Mead; and the castle and moat.
- 2.25.14 Flood defences along the Rother were implemented between 1966 and 1980. Within the Trust's estate, the flood defences on the northern bank of the Rother comprise an earth embankment approximately 200m long and a brick flood wall approximately 160m long that ties into the existing structure of Bodiam Bridge. On the southern bank of the Rother, the flood defences comprise an earth embankment approximately 320m long.
- 2.25.15 The flood defences along the Rother are owned by the Environment Agency, offer a 1 in 75 year standard of protection (not factoring in climate change) and are assessed to be in asset condition grade 3 (1 being good and 5 being poor). Any works to the flood defences would require EA consent and replacement or modification to the same standard of protection.

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<sup>449</sup> Rother District Council (2008a) *Strategic Flood Risk Assessment – Level 1* (Rother District Council); Rother District Council (2008b) *Strategic Flood Risk Assessment – Level 2* (Rother District Council)

### 3 SIGNIFICANCE

#### 3.1 Introduction: Significance and values

3.1.1 In accordance with *Conservation Principles, Policies, and Guidance* (English Heritage 2008), the significance of Bodiam Castle is articulated as the sum of the identified heritage values of the site. These can be considered under four headings:

*Evidential values*: the potential of the castle to yield primary evidence about past human activity;

*Historical values*: the ways in which past people, events, and aspects of life can be connected, through the castle, to the present, both by illustrating aspects of architectural and social history, and through its association with notable people and events;

*Aesthetic values*: the ways in which people derive sensory and intellectual stimulation from the castle; and

*Communal values*: the meanings of the castle for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory.

#### 3.2 Grading significance

3.2.1 The following grading system has been adopted to enable the relative weight of the heritage values contributing to the significance of the castle and its setting to be compared:

*A: Exceptional significance*  
Elements whose values are both unique to Bodiam Castle and are relevant to our perception and understanding of it in a national and international context. These are the qualities that, for buildings, warrant listing in grade I or II\*, or for monuments, scheduling.

*B: Considerable significance*  
Elements whose values contribute to the castle's status as a nationally important place. These are the qualities that justify statutory protection at national level.

*C: Moderate significance*  
Elements whose values make a positive contribution to the way the castle is understood and perceived, primarily in a local context.

- D:* *Little significance*  
Elements whose values contribute to the way the castle is perceived in a very limited, but positive, way.
- N:* *Neutral significance*  
Elements which neither add to, nor detract from, the significance of the castle.
- INT:* *Intrusive*  
Elements of no historic interest or aesthetic or architectural merit, that detract from the appearance of the castle, or mask the understanding of significant elements.

### **3.3 Statutory and other designations**

#### *Heritage designations*

- 3.3.1 Bodiam Castle, the moat, ponds, medieval tenements and pill-box are a scheduled monument (SM: 24405; Fig 61).<sup>450</sup> Scheduled monuments (SMs) are monuments and sites included on a Schedule compiled by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (the Secretary of State) under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979. Inclusion on the Schedule recognises the national importance of such monuments and gives them statutory protection. They must satisfy all eight of the Secretary of State's scheduling criteria in the strongest way: Period, Rarity, Documentation, Group Value, Survival/Condition, Fragility/ Vulnerability, Diversity and Potential. The heritage significance of the castle is further recognised by its listing in grade I. Grade I buildings comprise less than 3% of all listed buildings. These designations signify that the castle and its surrounding area are considered to be of *exceptional significance* in the national context.
- 3.3.2 The so-called Gun Garden, just south of Court Lodge Farm, to the north of the castle, is a separate scheduled monument (SM: 25454; Fig 62). It is outside the Trust's estate, but the site is of medieval origin and closely associated with the castle. It forms an important visual and archaeological part of its setting.
- 3.3.3 The remains of the Roman settlement and medieval buildings, in the meadows on either side of the Ewhurst Road to the south of Bodiam Bridge, are a scheduled monument (ES: 411; Fig 63) of which the part to the east of the road is within the National Trust's estate. The extent of the scheduling is somewhat arbitrary, extending much further north than known remains, but not including areas to the south which finds suggest that the settlement encompassed (see Section 2.3).

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<sup>450</sup> Before 1994, only the castle island and moat were scheduled: Johnson *et al* 2000, Appendix 4

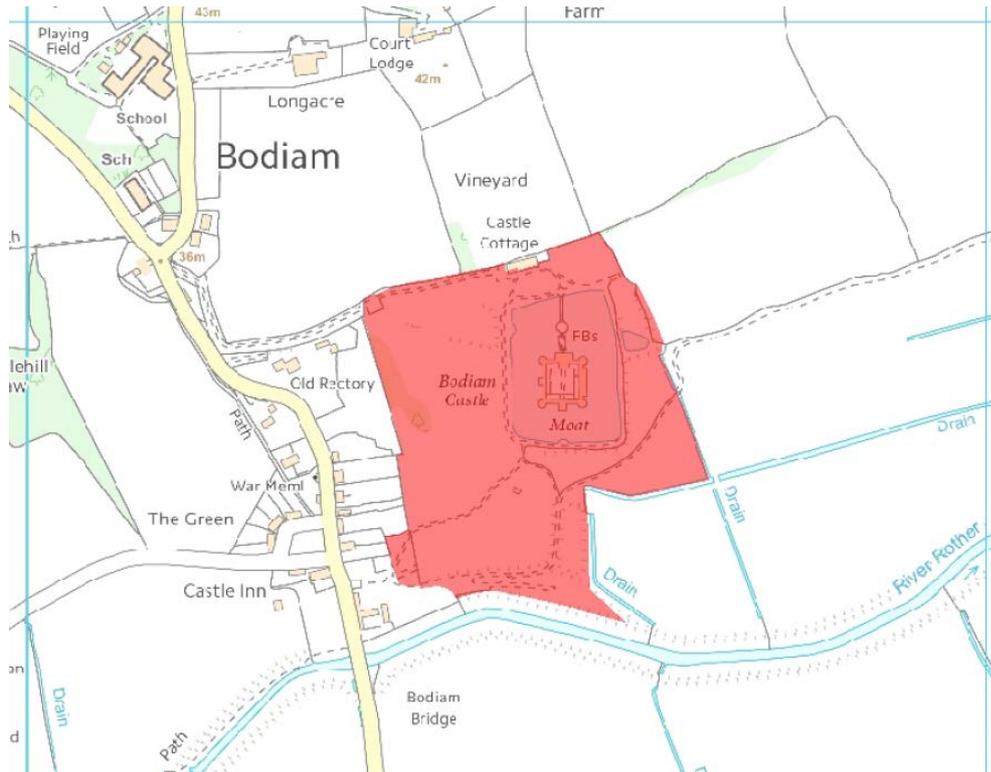


Figure 61 Extent of Bodiam Castle SAM (*Historic England designation record*)

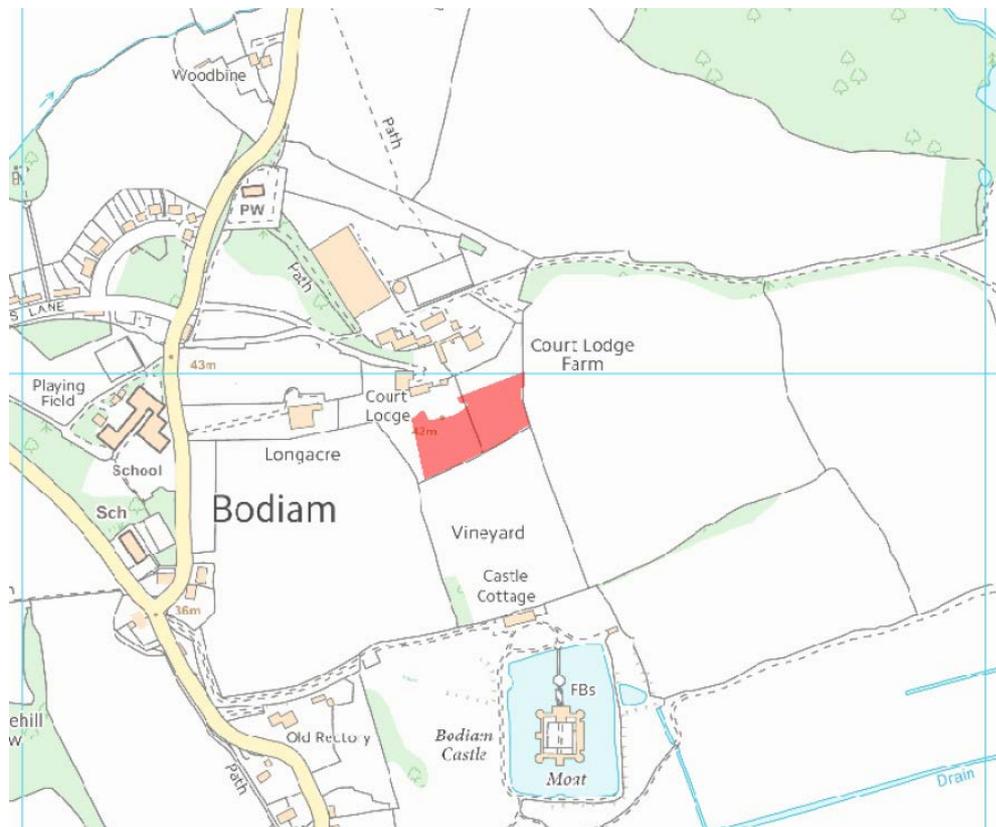


Figure 62 Extent of 'Gun Garden' (Court Lodge) SAM (*Historic England designation record*)

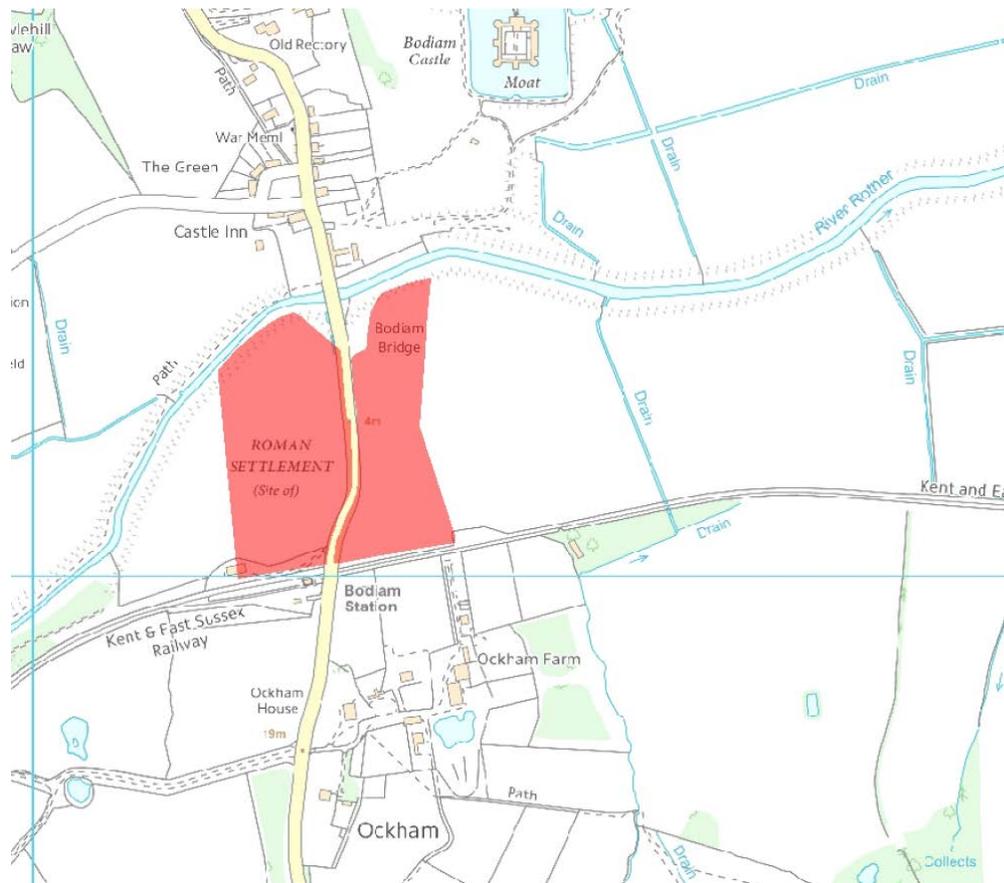


Figure 63 Extent of Roman Settlement SAM (*Historic England designation record*)

3.3.4 There are no other listed buildings within the Trust's estate, but there are two nearby listed buildings, to the settings of which the castle may contribute. They are: Ellen Archer's, Ewhurst Road, Bodiam, a 16th century small house, and Court Lodge Oast House, of the 19th century, both grade II listed.

3.3.5 Castle Cottage and its garden are excluded from the scheduled area, but it may be regarded as a curtilage structure to the Castle and so subject to listed building control.

*Nature conservation designations*

3.3.6 There are no statutory or non-statutory designated nature conservation sites within the Trust's estate. The closest designated site is Northiam Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), notified under Section 28 of the Wildlife and Countryside Act, 1981 as amended, which is located approximately 4.3 km to the east and designated for geological reasons.

3.3.7 There are no non-statutory designated nature conservation sites within the Trust's estate.

3.3.8 The site supports a number of 'Habitats of Principal Importance' (HPI) as defined within the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF). These include Floodplain Grazing Marsh (Freren Mead) and

Hedgerows (north and east of the castle, and eastern and western edges of Dokes Field). Castle Field and Dokes Field have similarities with Wood-Pasture and Parkland due to the presence of trees with ancient characteristics, although neither field is a good example of this HPI. Similarly, the little moat and Curzon's pond are not currently confirmed as HPIs, although further survey work might lead to a reassessment (for example, if species of high conservation importance were found to be present).

- 3.3.9 The site supports a number of 'Species of Principal Importance' (SPI) in response to the requirements of Section 41 of the Natural Environment and Rural Communities (NERC) Act 2006. The castle supports roosting bats, including maternity roosts for Daubentons, Natterers and soprano pipistrelle bats. Badgers are active throughout the site, with an active sett along the eastern edge of Dokes Field. Grass snake and slow worm are reported as present within Castle Field. The little moat and Curzon's pond have potential to support common toad, common frog and newts. Ponds, mature trees and grassland on the site support rare invertebrates. Hedgerows on site may support dormice. Freren Mead has value for over-wintering and ground-nesting birds, and other protected bird species may be nesting or foraging across the site. The River Rother has potential to support protected and notable fish species.
- 3.3.10 Species-rich hedgerows along the boundary of the Trust's estate to the east and north of the castle and along the eastern and western edges of Dokes Field are likely to qualify as 'Important' hedgerows under the Hedgerow Regulations 1997.

*Planning and other environmental designations*

- 3.3.11 The castle and its setting are within the High Weald Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB).

*Public Rights of Way*

- 3.3.12 The Trust's estate is crossed by a number of public rights of way (Fig 64).
- 3.3.13 Footpath Bodiam: 8a runs along the main street in Bodiam from just north of Bodiam Bridge, entering the Trust's estate at its main vehicle entrance opposite the Castle Inn and terminating to the south-east of the (former) mill pond.
- 3.3.14 From this point, Footpath Bodiam: 8b continues east along the southern and eastern edges of the mill pond before running north east to cross Balloon Field south and east of the moat, exiting the Trust's estate via a gate half-way along the eastern boundary. It continues east along a gravel track to Marsh Cottage and an Environment Agency pumping station on the Kent Ditch.

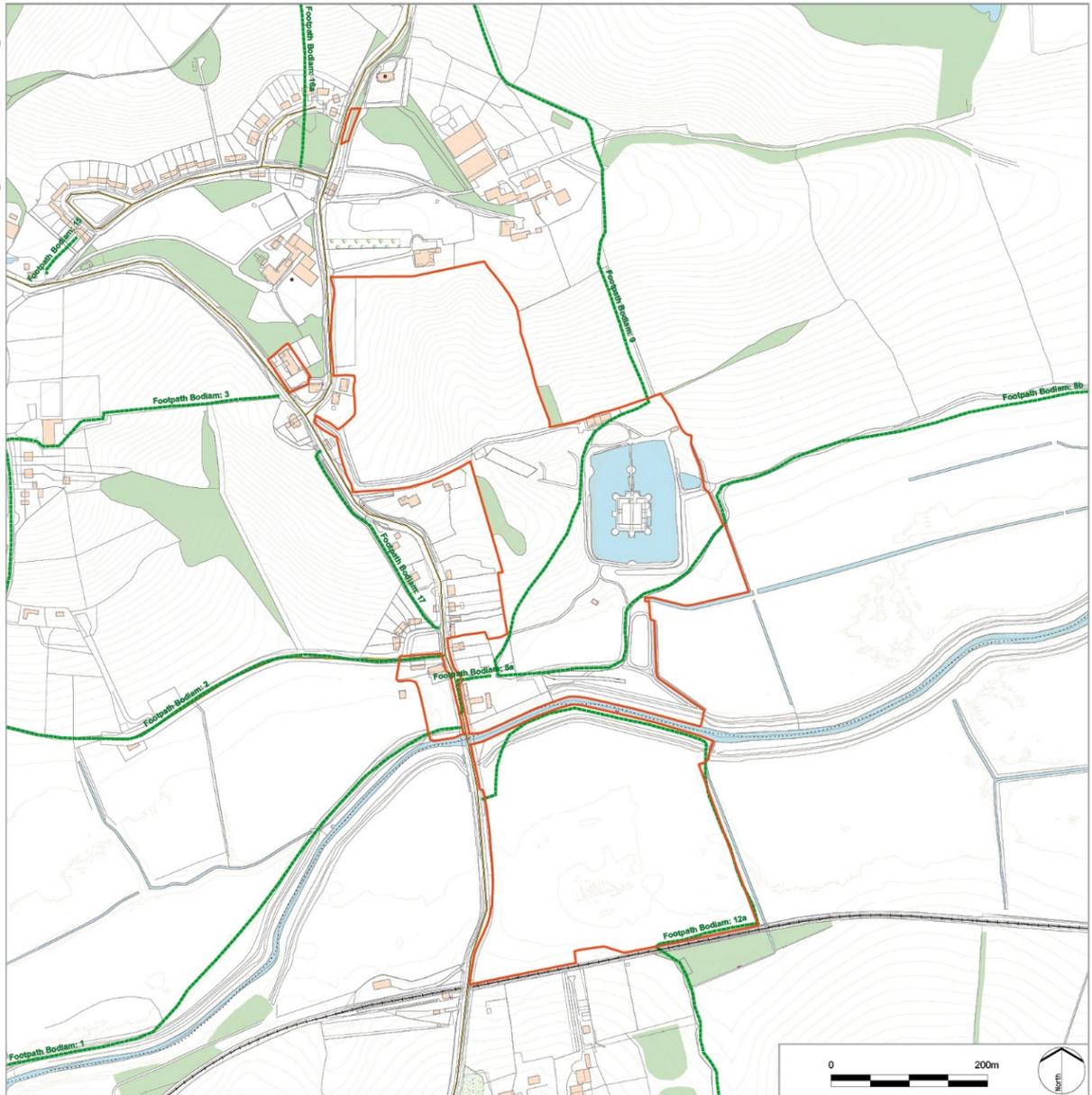


Figure 64 Public Footpaths in and around Bodiam Castle (NT land ownership outlined red)

3.3.15 Footpath Bodiam: 9 (a section of the Sussex Border Path long distance route) runs south from Peter's Green, from a gate at the end of Footpath Bodiam: 8a east of the mill pond, then running north-east across Castle Field, continuing past the north west corner of the Mmoat and exiting the Trust's estate via a stile to the east of Castle Cottage. It continues north uphill, crossing the Bodiam ridge to the east of Court Lodge Farm and continuing north to Peter's Green.

3.3.16 Footpath Ewhurst: 12a (a section of the Sussex Border Path long distance route) enters the Trust's estate via a stile at the north-west corner of

Freren Mead south of Bodiam bridge, continuing east along the top of the flood embankment on the southern side of the Rother before turning south inside the field's eastern boundary, exiting the Trust's estate via a stile half-way along the southern boundary of the field. It crosses the railway line and continues uphill to access Ewhurst Green via additional footpaths.

*The River Rother*

3.3.17 The River Rother is classed as a 'main river' under the Water Resources Act 1991 and is therefore under the management jurisdiction of the Environment Agency, which is responsible for the coordination and enforcement of management activities to ensure the continuous flow within the Rother.

3.3.18 The Castle Brook sewer along the south east boundary of the Trust's estate north of the Rother is maintained by the Southern Water Authority as a petty sewer.

### **3.4 The values of Bodiam Castle in its setting**

3.4.1 The cultural significance of Bodiam Castle derives from a wide range of factors. Among the most important are its formal and aesthetic architectural qualities, of harmony, proportion and effect; its contribution to the ensemble of castle, moats and wider landscape; its designed setting; its symbolic qualities, including the meanings embodied in the original design and as it is valued today; as a paradigm of the medieval castle; as an example of a building type that has elsewhere been lost through the passage of time and rebuilding; what it illustrates of the time it was built and of Sir Edward Dallingridge; the unusual story of its survival and conservation; the archaeological resource and potential of the site; and its history and present-day role as a tourist destination, educational resource and the subject of academic study and debate.

*Evidential values*

3.4.2 Bodiam Castle is of *exceptional significance* for the survival of its 14th century fabric and plan, largely without later alterations, of which sufficient survives to reconstruct much of its primary plan and appearance. It is a substantially complete, new, defensible great house, with a contemporary designed setting, built for a member of the courtly circle in the last decades of the 14th century. Few architectural plans or other documents relating to major secular building projects survive from this period and, in connection with Bodiam, almost none. The evidential importance of the castle thus lies in its physical fabric and the information that can be drawn from it.

- 3.4.3 Curzon identified at least twelve separate mason's marks at Bodiam,<sup>451</sup> and the more recent survey of the fabric suggests at least two more possible markings. The marks are split into two very distinct types: the larger and rougher marks that are associated with the main fabric of the structure including external and courtyard walls; and the more discrete and neatly formed marks associated with the high status stonework located in the main gatehouse and other high status areas of the structure. The cruder-type marks are reasonably well distributed across the whole fabric of the building, and concentrations of certain markings in particular areas make it possible to suggest areas that were the particular responsibility of individual masons or their teams. However, there is a number of discrete and identifiable areas of the fabric from which masons marks of any type are completely absent, perhaps suggesting subsequent reconstruction or minor re-ordering. It is also clear from the orientation of the cruder marks that many of them were inscribed into the stones before they were placed in their final position, in direct contrast to the finer marks to be found in the gatehouse.
- 3.4.4 The graffiti that has been found throughout the castle<sup>452</sup> is of *exceptional significance* in evidential terms. It is largely in the form of names, initials and dates carved by visitors. However, there is a significant number of inscriptions that, from the style of lettering and content, were created in the period prior to c1500, although, as none of these contains actual inscribed dates, precise dating is impossible. These early inscriptions are invariably names, with the exception of one fragmentary 'Holy Monogram', and are concentrated on the higher quality areas in the gatehouse and northern turrets. The whole structure also contains a large collection of 'ritual protection marks', most notably pentangles and compass drawn motifs. In common with many other lower status buildings of the period, these markings are concentrated around doorways, thresholds and windows; essentially around all access points to the castle - with a distinct concentration in the northern towers and gatehouse. The rest of the structure is covered in many thousands of inscriptions, with noticeable concentrations in the ground floor access areas such as the gatehouse and postern. The majority of inscriptions were created in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries (although 'JCB 1691', between the windows in the first floor of the postern (2.12) is notable), and reflect the growth in popularity of the site as a local and regional tourist destination, although it is today regarded as vandalism. Noticeable concentrations are to be found at the furthest points of access, or penetration within the structure, at various periods. Analysis of the inscriptions relating to military personnel in the 19th century directly contradict the traditional story of the castle being used to house prisoners-of-war, with the named regiment having been stationed nearby only for a short period whilst it was restructured prior to embarkation.

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<sup>451</sup> Curzon 1926, 112; Fig 23 here

<sup>452</sup> Champion 2016

- 3.4.5 The stone by stone survey of the castle identified several areas where considerable sections of the original medieval plaster surface survive in relatively good condition, most notably in the eastern ground floor guard-room, upper areas of the gatehouse, and the upper floors of the north-eastern and north-western towers. A number of early inscriptions were also identified as being inscribed into these plaster surfaces, including the fragmentary 'Holy Monogram'. Small fragments of pigment were also recorded associated with these plaster areas, and included a deep pink, a carbon black and a deep red ochre. As these fragments of pigment appear to be the primary deposits on the plaster surface, it seems likely that they are associated with the original late 14th century decorative scheme.
- 3.4.6 Clearance work in the 19th and 20th centuries appears to have removed much of the archaeological interest relating to the occupation and decay of the castle, but remaining below-ground deposits are likely to be of *exceptional significance*, particularly for the light they can shed on the first phase of building on the island, and the deeper features revealed by geophysical prospection on a quite different alignment.
- 3.4.7 The Roman settlement on the south bank of the (present) river has been little explored, but, as a river port probably connected with the ironworking industry under the aegis of the *Classis Britannica*, with high status masonry buildings, it should be key to understanding the management of the iron-working industry of this part of the Weald. Moreover, the accumulation of silt covering the ruins, and the waterlogged state of the deeper deposits, means that organic preservation is extraordinarily good. For these reasons, the archaeology of the settlement area is of *exceptional significance*.
- 3.4.8 Neither the Roman nor medieval foci of settlement existed in isolation. The landscape of Bodiam (and the adjacent areas of Sandhurst and Ewhurst) retains evidence of a long and complex evolution, in which for two millennia the Roman road, sited to take advantage of a naturally favoured crossing point of the Rother, has been the constant, despite local modification. The evolving landscape was and is the local context essential to understanding the functional and aesthetic contexts of the two 'sites' recognised as exceptional in their own right. Both of these are related, in different ways, to its liminal position in the wider landscape, and, for this reason, there are hints (or in the case of the putative late Saxon landholding, emerging evidence) that this spur between the two river valleys has been a significant place since prehistory.
- 3.4.9 The (albeit limited) evidence for occupation on the north bank in the 6th-7th centuries stands out in a region which is otherwise devoid of evidence for activity in the early-middle Saxon periods. Its anaerobic preservation of organic remains adds to its exceptional significance and potential to enhance understanding of such early-middle Saxon use of this

landscape,<sup>453</sup> in which conventional archaeological fieldwork is hampered by the absence of contemporary ceramics.

- 3.4.10 For the medieval and early modern periods, there is a wealth of documentary evidence which allows greater insight into the fabric of the place than archaeological or landscape studies alone could yield. For these reasons, the landscape archaeology of Bodiam and its valley environs can also be seen as being of *exceptional significance* and *enormous potential* for future multi-disciplinary research.
- 3.4.11 In summary, the fabric of the castle building and the archaeological significance and potential of its landscape setting mean that the whole of the Trust's Bodiam estate (apart possibly from the school), and much beyond it, are of *exceptional significance* in evidential terms.

*Aesthetic values*

- 3.4.12 The aesthetic values of Bodiam encompass both the primary building and its setting. The design of the castle and its immediate setting were contrived with great care, as an interrelated whole, to create a series of aesthetic effects, pleasures and illusions to be experienced when the castle was approached, occupied or visited. These have been reinterpreted and conserved, especially during the 19th and 20th centuries, to conform to the sensibilities of the time.
- 3.4.13 The castle's formal architectural qualities are of *exceptional significance*. Although there were some changes during the course of construction, the motivation seems to have been to refine the design and its relationship to the landscape. The basic form of the castle was established at the outset by the (possibly pre-existing) earthwork, a building platform within a moat. From the start, too, there seems to have been a clear intention to compensate visually for its small size by architectural means: the building stands alone, free from outbuildings and accretions; it is magnified by its reflection in the moat; the forbidding curtain walls on the north and west - those seen on the polite approach - are pierced infrequently by tiny lancets and the impact of the towers is exaggerated by massive merlons and machicolations.
- 3.4.14 Castle architecture was, unsurprisingly, austere and unadorned in comparison with the showiness of church architecture, but it was equally sophisticated and intentional. Only relatively recently have castles been discussed extensively as 'conventional' rather than military architecture. One reason for this is that their architectural qualities have been obscured by the apparent lack of display and decoration in the 'castle style', in favour of unrelenting images of strength and severity. More importantly, so few buildings of this type have survived in anything like their original

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<sup>453</sup> See the distribution maps in Bell 1978, figs 33-4

form that we do not know that much about them. Bodiam brings us as close as anywhere to the primary form of this castle-architecture

- 3.4.15 The discussion of Bodiam has tended to see it as *either* a military building *or* a proto-mansion, but there is no reason to see these as incompatible or contradictory. Aesthetic, symbolic and military considerations determined the design of castles alongside each other from relatively early in the medieval period.<sup>454</sup> It is architecturally significant, more because it is so clearly of a single overall design, built on a clear site, rather than following the more usual pattern for great houses or castles in the medieval period of an accretion of structures on an established site. Bodiam is a castle in name and external appearance, but, in practice, it is an early example of the consciously-designed, albeit defensible, great house, into which castles would very largely evolve within the next fifty years.
- 3.4.16 As well as its physical architectural qualities, there can be no doubt that Bodiam was designed to be seen and understood symbolically, as a manifestation of Dallingridge's social status, wealth, military prowess and regional power. He had used his military and political achievements to join the highest circles in late-medieval England: literally, the castle-owning class. He built the castle he had not inherited. It is a statement of political and economic power by an ambitious and successful man, articulated as much by reference to the past as by innovation. The castle projects to the outside world a message of military strength, certainly enough to protect the owner and his wealth from opportunistic raids or local disturbances. Its various social, political, economic and cultural messages are conveyed through an idea and image - the castle - which was archaic and obsolescent at the end of the 13th century, yet which is still comprehensible today.
- 3.4.17 The messages that the castle projected to the surrounding villages called on a traditional vocabulary of lordship and physical separation, but inside the walls, the castle was anything but archaic. This was a new kind of great house, prefiguring in its functions and plan the mansions of the 16th century. The courtyard is large in proportion to the height of the ranges, light and airy. Rather than a stronghold surrounded by outer courts containing the mucky ancillary buildings, stables, cowsheds, workshops and middens, at Bodiam the accommodation is almost entirely designed for the comfort of its occupiers. The services were probably near what is now Court Lodge, almost unseen beyond what was probably managed as a park-like landscape.
- 3.4.18 Stylistically, Goodall characterises castle design of this period as 'within the Perpendicular idiom'<sup>455</sup> and this is an appropriate description of the lavishly fenestrated courtyard. If it was, as Goodall suggests, derived from

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<sup>454</sup> For a discussion of this see, for example, Goodall 2011 *passim*.

<sup>455</sup> Goodall 2011, 304

the upper ward of the Royal castle at Windsor,<sup>456</sup> Dallingridge (or his architect) was making an explicit reference to the heights of contemporary fashion as well as domestic comfort. Other comparisons may include Richard II's Sheen Palace.

- 3.4.19 Of the later owners, none made any explicit architectural interventions, since, from Fuller onwards, their stated intention was its preservation, and their work is not easily identifiable. Fuller was probably responsible for the brick floors of the postern tower, and possibly its gates. These are now of some age and represent an important phase of work. As such, they are of *considerable significance*.
- 3.4.20 We know very little of Cubitt's works, but they seem to have comprised traditional repairs that contributed greatly to the survival of the castle. Although he seems to have undertaken quite extensive 'restoration,' especially the reinstatement of battlements, he used stones found in the moat and elsewhere where they fitted, which must be regarded as reasonable conjecture, although we cannot know for certain whether the stones were returned to their primary locations. He also replaced stones as necessary. Cubitt's approach is not necessarily the one that would be taken today, but his least satisfactory interventions were probably to the masonry plinth around the base of the curtain walls, which Curzon had re-done. Overall, Cubitt's work may be regarded as consolidation of the primary fabric that did not diminish its significance, and it is therefore inseparable from the *exceptional significance* of the primary fabric.
- 3.4.21 The works undertaken to the castle during the 20th century to create safe access for the public, started by Curzon and Weir and continued by Weir after Curzon's death - most notably the reinstatement of roofs and floors in the towers - represent the most substantial interventions since the abandonment of the castle. The works are generally simple and functional, designed to avoid the loss of ancient fabric, but not to reintroduce historically accurate details.
- 3.4.22 Weir's approach to repairs was in line with the SPAB repair principles that he, among others, was instrumental in developing. He used cement quite widely, especially to protect the wall-heads, and used mortar and tile to fill small gaps in the masonry, but, like Cubitt, he reinstated old masonry found on site and where necessary he replaced whole stones. His work was generally undertaken carefully and in such a way that was then felt best preserved the primary fabric. As with Cubitt's repairs, the significance of the primary fabric was conserved as far as possible and the 1919-25 repairs are inseparable from the *exceptional significance* of the primary fabric.

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<sup>456</sup> *Ibid*, 316, Pl.237

- 3.4.23 The concrete caps to the tower roofs and turrets are frankly modern (following SPAB principles) and were essentially protective, although they allowed for safe access to the tower tops. The timber floors to the tower rooms are traditionally constructed in timber on massive joists and employ primary offsets, corbels etc., but, in many cases, they are at slightly different levels to the primary floors, as is clear from their relationship with the door thresholds and fireplace surrounds. Other details, such as doors and shutters, are 20th century interpretations of typical medieval forms, or well-designed pragmatic additions such as the hand-rails to the stairs and high-level areas. They are sympathetic and appropriate and, in general, these 20th century works are reversible without damage to the primary fabric. They are useful and not intrusive, but they have no intrinsic architectural or historic merit. They have helped preserve and protect the castle and contribute to public enjoyment of the site. However, there may in due course be other equally appropriate ways of achieving the same ends and the 20th century roofs and floors could be replaced without diminishing the significance of the primary fabric. As such, they are of *neutral significance*.
- 3.4.24 Later 20th century repairs have been more contentious. The very wide pointing on the south elevation and elsewhere was the subject of a row in the 1950s, and it was subsequently agreed not to repeat this detailing, although removing it was considered to be impractical. Where this work survives, it is has weathered and is not now as intrusive as once it was. Some of the affected areas have been repointed in the course of more recent cyclical repairs, natural decay providing the appropriate context for doing so, but the wide joints should not be repeated.
- 3.4.25 Castle Cottage has its origin as Fuller's caretaker's cottage. Its core is of some age and has an historic relationship with the site, but, because of its location and present size, it intrudes on a key axis of the medieval landscape. Fuller's cottage is now subsumed in later work. The additions made for Curzon and the Trust are not of special architectural interest. The cottage is therefore of *little significance*.
- 3.4.26 The 20th century bridges are sympathetically-designed, but they do not reflect the primary access routes to the castle. They are of *neutral significance*.

*Setting and views*

- 3.4.27 The medieval elements of the setting of the castle comprising the waterscape, including the moat and the present and former ponds, is of *exceptional significance* in its own right and as part of the ensemble of castle and setting.
- 3.4.28 The designed setting is inseparable from the architecture of the castle. We cannot say for certain how the castle was intended to be seen in its land-

and water-scape at the outset, or that the whole of the setting is primary, but there is no doubt that key elements of the setting - the location of the castle and the form of the moat, for example - were conceived for their aesthetic effects as much as their utility, and a consciously-designed setting was established at a very early point in the castle's history.

- 3.4.29 The physical context of Bodiam Castle is the waterscape and landscape ensemble. The castle does not form part of a group of associated historic buildings. Dallingridge chose his site with exceptional care, for visual effect. In distant views upstream and downstream along the Rother, northwards from the Ewhurst ridge, and southwards from Court Lodge, an unmemorable landscape of marsh land and low hills would have been transformed into a courtly vision, turrets rising from shimmering water in an idealised expression of martial strength and nobility. The castle visually commanded the untamed estuary, whilst behind it rose placid farms and gently rolling landscape, with the park to the west. Below the castle were the great millpond - far wider than necessary - and mill, above the meadows. The artificial and fantastic landscape within which the castle sits has another layer of symbolic meaning, with religious and literary connotations that encompass both the landscape of Eden, man's dominance of the land and the late-medieval world of chivalric romance, so often shown in manuscript illustrations pictured in just such idealised settings. If Dallingridge was aiming for this effect, there is some reason to think that the tenements on the village street (but not the enclosure they occupied) were a slightly later development.
- 3.4.30 The immediate waterscape setting of the castle comprised the moat and several ponds at different levels. It is one of the few survivals of what may have been a relatively common context for castles and great houses in the 14th and 15th centuries. Even more unusually, the water-scape may be capable of restoration to something close to its original form. The waterscape at Bodiam is notable for being wholly artificial rather than an adaptation of natural bodies of water; for being apparently of a single concept (although subsuming earlier elements); and as a still clearly legible example of such a castle setting. The waterscape was evidently designed for visual effect and, while it may have had some defensive capability, it is difficult to see what the ponds added to the moat in this respect.

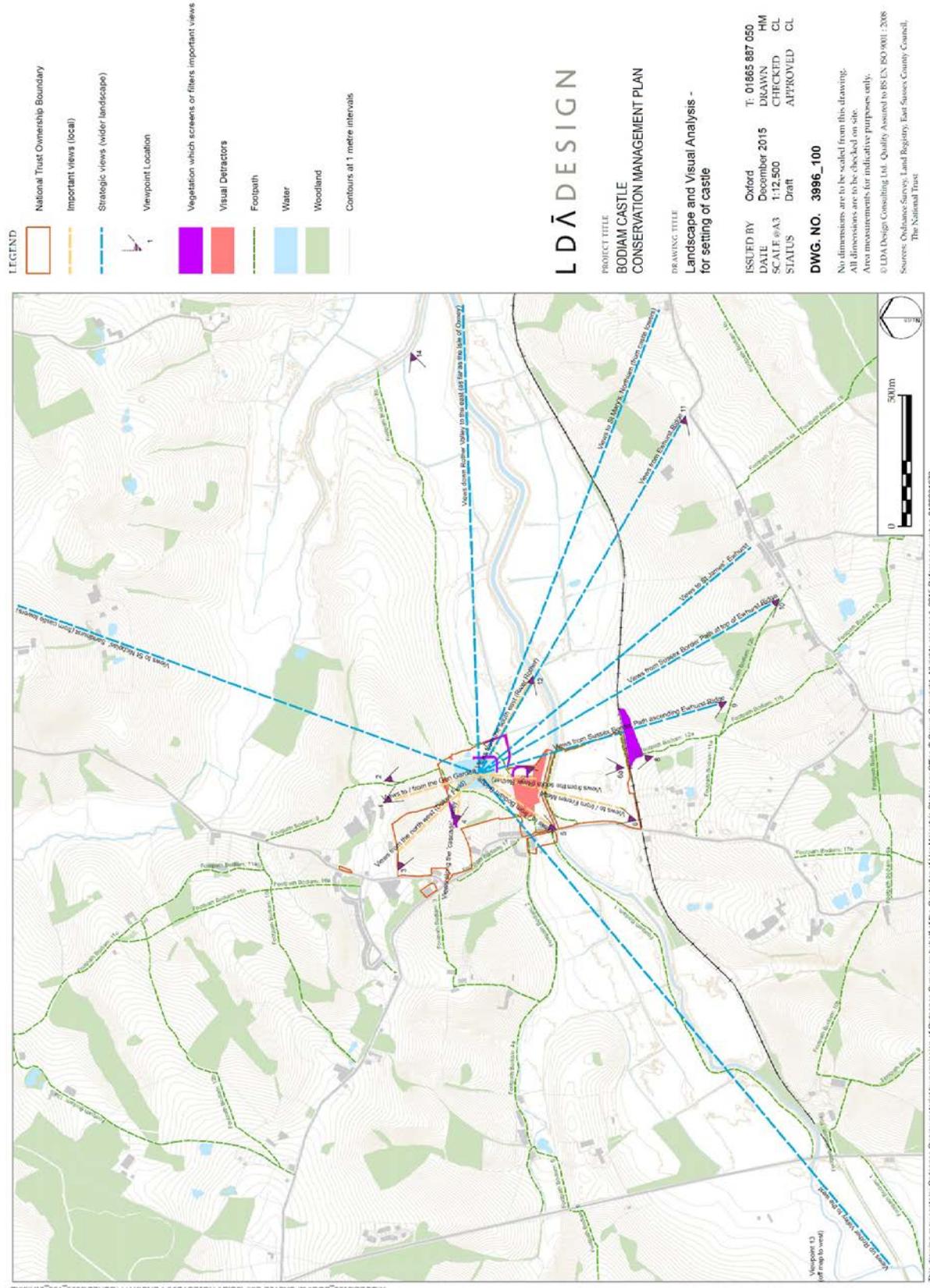


Figure 65 Key views of and from Bodiam Castle

3.4.31 Bodiam may be seen from considerable distances and its appearance in the wider landscape is a key aspect of its significance. There can be little doubt that the castle was intended to be seen, not only in its immediate

designed setting, but also against a backdrop of the marshy estuary and wooded hills, especially as it was approached from a distance, was hidden and appeared again, even in the last stages of that approach, as from the mill-pond dam. Similarly, there are extensive views from the battlements, taking in the great sweep of the estuary and, on the horizons, often the towers of the medieval churches in nearby villages (Sandhurst in particular). Certain views can be defined as having specific historic significance, from the Gun Garden, or, possibly, from Fuller's Tower, but the way in which the castle is experienced in the landscape today is equally important, for example, as it appears across the valley from the south-west, or in long views from the south-east. Key views are identified in Fig 65 and in detail at Appendix H. Significant views from the Gun Garden, the Roman Road at the north end of Dokes Field and the River Rother from Bodiam bridge downstream as far as the Kent Ditch firmly place the castle within its immediate chosen and designed setting, illustrate the historic approaches and make clear the relationship with the Rother Valley. Views across the Rother Valley from the Ewhurst Ridge and from along the Rother Valley upstream of Bodiam bridge also important for seeing the castle within its wider landscape setting.

#### 3.4.32 In summary:

- The whole of the medieval fabric of the castle, including the 19th- and 20th century repairs and reinstatements, is of *exceptional significance*. The 20th century surfaces, floors and roofs are of *neutral significance*.
- The medieval elements of the setting of the castle comprising the waterscape, including the moat, little moat, the valley to the north-west of the moat (the 'cascade'), Gun Garden (outside NT ownership), mill pond and River Rother are of *exceptional significance*.
- Later 19th century planting and the landscaping undertaken by Curzon are of *little significance*.
- 18th/19th century tree planting is of *little significance*, primarily of importance for its specimens and for their contribution to ecology, character and setting.
- The pill box is included specifically in the scheduling and as an example of as a World War II defence structure and because, to a lesser extent, of the way in which it illustrates the defensible nature of the castle site, it is of *considerable significance*.
- Castle Cottage is of *little significance*, as a 19th century cottage and for the extensions by Curzon.
- The Castle Inn, its coach house, Wharf cottages and their gardens, and the northern driveway gates are of *moderate significance* for their contribution to the setting of the castle and as typical architecture of their date and region.
- The 20th century buildings on the site are of *neutral significance*.
- The car park, occupying the Foreland between the mill pond and the Rother, is *intrusive*.

- The Trust's workshop is *intrusive*.
- Short distance views from the Gun Garden and the Roman Road at the north of Dokes Field are of *exceptional significance*.
- Short-to-long distance views from River Rother from Bodiam bridge downstream as far as the Kent Ditch are of *exceptional significance*.
- Middle-to-long distance views across the Rother Valley from the Ewhurst Ridge and from the River Rother upstream of Bodiam bridge are of *considerable significance*.

#### *Historic values*

- 3.4.33 The historic interest of Bodiam Castle derives above all from the fact that it survives, even as a ruin, more complete in terms of its primary form, and less altered, than almost any comparable building in England. We know that a number of similar 'castles' were built at a similar period to Bodiam in England, France and the Low Countries, but they have almost invariably been substantially lost or buried under later fabric, as for example, at Shirburn. Overall, therefore, the most remarkable aspect of the significance of Bodiam is simply that it survives, when so much with which it can be compared has been lost or obscured. The illustrative value of this is limited by the extent of what has been destroyed, but, while the plan and functions of the building are not (yet) fully understood, Bodiam nevertheless gives an insight into the evolution of the English great house that can be found in few other places.
- 3.4.34 This historic interest extends to the development of the estate before the castle was introduced into it, and the changes made in doing so. Again, it is the subsequent history of neglect and division of the estate that enables its medieval form to be read comparatively easily, and enough survives on the ground for this illustration to be readily grasped and interpreted. The parish church of St Giles, which retains much medieval fabric, reflects the fortunes of the manor and castle (the chancel was rebuilt in the late 14th century in a manner recognisably related to the castle) and the enigmatic moated site to its north is another clearly medieval element.
- 3.4.35 It is impossible to gauge the extent to which Bodiam reflects Dallingridge's personality, or to relate it to more than the general circumstances of his career, but the castle illustrates the great power and wealth that men such as he were able to secure during the second half of the 14th century from the spoils of war and the proceeds of political office, and wished to protect. Moreover, in contrast to the reinforcement of an existing site, a major new construction project such as this, measured in years rather than months, presupposes a period of relative peace and security and, in the case of a private, rather than royal builder, confidence that funds for building, rather than fighting, would continue to flow. Despite the extraordinary upheavals of the preceding decades, the early 1390s was indeed a period of relative domestic calm. Bodiam may therefore be more a product of peace than a response to the threats

from abroad, which have often been cited as the reason for its construction.

- 3.4.36 Although from today's perspective the castle seems to have been fully occupied for a relatively brief period, it was held by the Dallingridge and their descendants, the Lewknors, for five generations over a century and a half. Unfortunately, the loss of the domestic apartments means that there is very little evidence as to how it was used and changed between c1400 and c1543.<sup>457</sup>
- 3.4.37 The history of the castle from 1543 until it was bought by Fuller is extremely uneventful. Its principal uses were as a quarry and a cottage and vegetable garden; the designed landscape was wholly agricultural. Fuller first recognised that the preservation of its historic and scenic interest required physical conservation, and began that task. (Its emergence in the public consciousness as an ancient monument and tourist destination is discussed below.)
- 3.4.38 George Cubitt took the title of Baron Ashcombe of Dorking (his former parliamentary constituency) and Bodiam Castle in 1892, suggesting that, for Cubitt, the son of a self-made man, an association with the castle still had a powerful symbolic value when he, like Dallingridge joined the 'castle-owning class'. He seems, like Fuller, to have seen the castle as primarily an ornament in the landscape, romantically clad in ivy. He made an important contribution to the preservation of the building by consolidating Fuller's possibly quite superficial work. Cubitt was not a major political figure and overall his association with Bodiam is only of *moderate significance*.
- 3.4.39 Bodiam's association with Lord Curzon was relatively brief, but, along with his rescue and restoration of Tattershall Castle, it is something of a landmark in the history of building preservation in Britain. Curzon bought the castles with the intention of preserving them for the nation in posterity. By doing so through the National Trust, until then largely (although not exclusively) concerned with the preservation of landscapes, he helped shift it towards its present role in the conservation of great buildings. (The Trust took on its first major country house, Montacute, in 1929.) Curzon also made it clear, through his 1926 book, that he saw conservation and understanding as intimately linked, the archaeological record informing the decisions about conservation and conservation being undertaken so as to reveal the historical understanding. Curzon was not a theorist, but he had the resources and opportunity to put such ideas, deriving from Morris and SPAB, into effect on a grand scale. Curzon was wise enough also to employ William Weir, a great expert in building conservation and a leading light of SPAB. In combination with

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<sup>457</sup> For what there is, see 2.12.3 above

Curzon's strong personal affection for the place, his association with Bodiam is of *considerable significance*.

- 3.4.40 In summary, Bodiam is of *exceptional significance* historically because of
- Its survival, and that of its landscape context, in something like its primary form
  - What it can tell us about castles and great houses of the late 14th century
  - What it can tell us about the society and culture of the late 14th and 15th centuries
  - Its repair and conservation in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Bodiam is also of *considerable significance* historically for its association with Lord Curzon; and *moderate significance* historically for its association with George Cubitt.

#### *Communal values*

3.4.41 When Bodiam Castle was built, it was not only the dominant building in the area, but also the most important in social and economic terms, as the centre of the manor and estate, and as the home of the landholder and by far the wealthiest individuals in the neighbourhood. After a long period of decline and obscurity, it has recovered a similar status as a tourist attraction and, if it dominates a smaller geographical area, the number of people for whom it is a focal point, economically, culturally or aesthetically, is considerably larger than in the 14th century. Bodiam is now so well-known and so much visited that it is not only a tourist attraction because it is interesting, but is also of great interest because it is a tourist attraction, and has been one for so long.

3.4.42 Bodiam lost its practical purpose as a defensible house early and perhaps with this went any communal or folk memory of the castle as a symbol of oppression. It was an established tourist attraction at least by the late 18th century and, although this aspect of its history is common to other great ancient buildings, Bodiam is remarkable in England because it has been recognised as worth visiting for so long and has been recorded throughout that period. Its popularity may partly be explained by its iconic appearance: four-square, with its corner towers and massive gatehouse surrounded a moat, it is the perfect image of the castle recognisable from heraldic symbols to children's toys. The monumental permanence of a castle is an especially direct link with the past, and this connection is as much intellectual as physical. A castle is a symbol of the past that each of us carries in our head, and perhaps we visit Bodiam because we recognise it as looking like a castle should, rather than to find out what a castle looks like. At the same time, each generation 'reads' it slightly differently and the castle serves a different purpose depending on the way each generation understands itself, its history and identity. Each of these 'versions' of the castle incorporates those that have gone before, responding to fashion and cultural influence.

- 3.4.43 In the 18th century it was seen, for example, as a mysterious relic of a lost romantic age, its peasant occupiers oblivious to its ancient history. It was ‘discovered’ by enlightened explorers: helping to reinforce a particular English identity, countering the dominance of European classical culture. In the early 19th century, it became a picturesque ornament in a sublime landscape, which fused English and classical imagery and identity. By the early 20th century, it had become a text through which the past could be interpreted with academic rigour, and remains a focus of academic debate.
- 3.4.44 Today, the castle is instrumental in education and the tourist economy. These functions both determine and are reinforced by contemporary approaches to conservation and archaeology, which aim to be ‘authentic’, ‘evidence-based’ and almost unseen, rather than reconstructive, conjectural, imaginary, or romantic; although these latter values, popular in the 18th and 19th centuries, shaped the building and context we see today. Current interpretations of the castle try to avoid imposing specific cultural frames of reference and ideological viewpoints, so that visiting or studying the castle can be presented as active, personal and experiential, rather than passive and didactic. Inevitably, as much as any of the forgoing versions of the castle, this reflects contemporary British anxieties about social cohesion and identity, equal opportunities and democracy.
- 3.4.45 Bodiam is of *exceptional significance* in communal terms because of its role in the public consciousness as an iconic English castle and tourist destination.

### **3.5 Significance of habitats and ecology**

- 3.5.1 Significance attributed to heritage assets is not directly translatable to ecological assets. Section 4 of the Ecology Report (Appendix A) outlines the geographical value of the habitats and species present on site, and provides the basis for the significance assigned to ecological assets below.
- 3.5.2 The site is of *moderate significance* for a number of Habitats of Principal Importance (HPI), including Floodplain Grazing Marsh (Freren Mead) and Hedgerows (species-rich hedgerows north and east of the castle, and eastern and western edges of Dokes Field).
- 3.5.3 The castle is of *considerable significance* for bats, supporting maternity roosts for Daubentons, Natterers and soprano pipistrelle bats and potential for hibernation and other roosts. This includes the moat and hedgerows on site, which provide significant habitat for foraging bats.

- 3.5.4 The castle walls provide habitat of *considerable significance* for bryophytes and lichens.
- 3.5.5 The site is of *moderate significance* for a number of other Species of Principal Importance (SPI) recorded on site, including badgers, herpetofauna (reptiles and amphibians), nesting and foraging birds, invertebrates associated with grassland and aquatic habitats, and invertebrates and fungi associated with veteran trees, as well as potential protected and notable fish species in the Rother and dormouse in hedgerows on site.
- 3.5.6 The above reflects the ecological assets present on site during 2014/15. Future survey work on site may increase understanding of the habitats and species present, highlight new species, or record changes to the areas/numbers, quality and distribution of the habitats and species recorded on site to date due to changes in land management and/or uses or access in parts of the site. This may change the grading of significance for the ecological assets listed above, and/or introduce additional ecological assets of significance.
- 3.5.7 In summary, the castle is of *considerable significance* for ecology, with the remainder of the estate of *moderate significance* for ecology, with the caveat that continued improvements to management of habitats on site and further ecological survey work may alter this significance over time.

### **3.6 Significance of the collections**

- 3.6.1 The archaeological collection at Bodiam (Section 2.23) is dominated by artefacts recovered by Cubitt from clearance of the moat and the castle cellars. Their *evidential value* consists mostly in the presence of large numbers of medieval floor tiles, pieces of a chalk screen from the chapel, and occasional fragments of possible stove tiles and other elements derived from, but no longer represented in, the castle fabric. The pottery, metal and other household and trade objects primarily *illustrate* aspects of life during and after the formal occupation of the place, and some have *aesthetic value*. The most significant single item, for its *historical and aesthetic values*, is the effigy of Sir John Dallingridge recovered from Robertsbridge Abbey.
- 3.6.2 In general, the material in the collections is of *some to considerable significance*, with the effigy being of *exceptional* significance.

### **3.7 Summary statement of significance of Bodiam Castle**

- 3.7.1 Bodiam Castle is of *exceptional significance*:

- for the formal architectural qualities of the castle building
- for the whole of the medieval fabric of the castle, including the 19th- and 20th-century repairs and reinstatements
- for the graffiti found throughout the castle
- for the medieval elements of the setting of the castle comprising the waterscape, including the moat, little moat, the valley to the north-west of the moat (the 'cascade'), the Gun Garden (outside NT ownership), the mill pond and River Rother
- for the views from and of its wider landscape setting, including those from the Gun Garden, the Roman Road at the north of Dokes Field; and from the River Rother from Bodiam bridge downstream as far as the Kent Ditch
- for the below-ground archaeological deposits, the archaeology of the Roman settlement area and the landscape archaeology of Bodiam and its valley environs
- for its potential to illuminate our understanding of castles and great houses of the late 14th century, society of the late 14th and 15th centuries, and approaches to building conservation in the 19th and 20th centuries
- for its role in the public consciousness as an iconic English castle and tourist destination
- for the effigy of Sir John Dallingridge from Robertsbridge Abbey.

3.7.2 Bodiam Castle is of *considerable significance*:

- for the repair and conservation work by Fuller, such as the brick floors and gates of the Postern Tower
- for the World War Two pill box
- for the views across the Rother Valley from the Ewhurst Ridge and from the River Rother upstream of Bodiam bridge
- for its association with the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston
- for the bat habitats in the castle, moat area, and hedgerows
- for the bryophytes and lichens habitats on the castle walls

3.7.3 Bodiam Castle is of *moderate significance*:

- for the Castle Inn and its coach house, Wharf Cottages and their gardens, and the northern driveway gates
- for the Floodplain Grazing Marsh (Freren Mead) and Hedgerows (species-rich hedgerows north and east of the castle, and eastern and western edges of Dokes Field)
- for habitats for badgers, herpetofauna (reptiles and amphibians), nesting and foraging birds, invertebrates associated with grassland and aquatic habitats and invertebrates and fungi associated with veteran trees, fish species in the Rother and dormouse in hedgerows on site.
- for its association with George Cubitt, Lord Ashcombe, and with John 'Mad Jack' Fuller
- for the collections

- 3.7.4 The following features of Bodiam Castle are of *little significance*:
- Castle Cottage
  - Later 19th century planting and the landscaping undertaken by Curzon
  - 18th/19th century tree planting
- 3.7.5 The following features of Bodiam Castle are of *neutral significance*:
- 20th century surfaces, floors and roofs
  - the 20th century bridges
  - the other 20th century buildings on the site
- 3.7.6 The following features of Bodiam Castle are *intrusive*:
- The car park, occupying the foreland between the mill pond and the Rother
  - Overflow car parking in the mill pond
  - The Trust's (temporary) steps in the south east corner of the mill pond
  - The Trust's (temporary) ticketing kiosk east of the mill pond
  - The Trust's workshop at the northern end of the little moat
  - Concessions, temporary storage areas, rubbish bins and other clutter around Castle Cottage
  - 'Permanent' infrastructure associated with facilitating events on the lawn north of the moat
  - 20th century tree planting in Balloon Field and the Trust's boundary south east of the castle
  - Regenerating trees and scrub within and around the edges of Curzon's pond
  - Regenerating trees and scrub on the boundary at the south east corner of Dokes Field
  - Traffic movement along Footpath Bodiam: 8A & Footpath Bodiam: 8b
  - Elements within the wider landscape, including:
    - 20th century equestrian infrastructure and parking at Court Lodge Farm
    - Poplar plantation south of the railway line and Freren Mead.

### **3.8 Recognising and sustaining Bodiam's 'Spirit of Place'**

- 3.8.1 For all the academic study to which it has been subjected and the insights that Bodiam brings to our understanding of mediaeval England, its *spirit of place* derives from the castle and its setting as they exist today. It comes not merely from a survival of the past, but also from the sum of the ways in which Bodiam has been seen and understood over six centuries, from the military to the picturesque, from brutal to romantic, and from a symbol of feudal dominance to a part of our common wealth. It is the quintessential English castle, inseparable from the lush Sussex countryside that surrounds it, not only because of their shared history,

but also because the building and its setting are *experienced* as a seamless whole. Visiting Bodiam is a series of sensual and imaginative pleasures: of views of the Rother valley, of the sounds and smells of river, meadow and wood; of entering the still-forbidding gateway and feeling a momentary chill in its shadow; of the wide courtyard, safely enclosed by the ancient curtain walls; and of cramped and vertiginous spiral stairs and of looking out again across the landscape from the towers as generations have done before. The castle is complete enough to provide the model for a child's toy, sufficiently authentic for a film set and picturesque enough for Christmas cards; yet it is enough of a ruin to allow free rein to the imagination and for each of us to populate it with our own romantic vision of the past.

- 3.8.2 Thus the preservation of Bodiam's *spirit of place* demands that its fabric and landscape setting should be conserved, understood and interpreted, and equally that it should remain a place that visitors can simply enjoy personally, meandering through their own historical narrative if they wish, with access to as much or as little interpretation and academic history as they please. This means that the necessary paraphernalia of a modern tourist attraction should be as discreet and unobtrusive as possible, that interpretation and understanding should be available, but not insistent, and that, within reason, opportunities to recover views and experiences that have been damaged by the depredations of modern interventions should be taken when they arise.
- 3.8.3 In this context, most of the management proposals that follow are relatively low-key and many of them are opportunities within the context of an over-arching long-term strategy, rather than urgent interventions. There is a clear consensus that present numbers of visitors are close to the sustainable maximum. Some desirable short-term structural repairs and habitat management improvements have been identified. Among the highest short-term priorities are those for targeted research to inform longer-term possibilities. In the medium and longer term, land- and water-scape management should play a crucial part in recovering and strengthening the unity of the building and its setting. There is potential for rationalising the use of the existing buildings of the Trust's estate. Despite their relatively modest significance, the collections also have some unrealised potential to help interpret the site and enrich the visitor experience. Car parking remains the most problematic issue on the site, but opportunities have been identified for modest, incremental improvements in the short term, as well as more radical aspirations for the long term that will depend to some extent on what happens outside the Trust's estate.

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