

LIVED EXPERIENCE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES:
STUDIES OF BODIAM AND OTHER ELITE LANDSCAPES
IN SOUTH-EASTERN ENGLAND

Edited by Matthew Johnson

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ISBN 978-0-9926336-6-0

Published by The Highfield Press
75 Watson Avenue, St Andrews KY16 8JE
<http://highfieldpress.org/>

This book is available from
Oxbow Books Ltd, 10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW or from
Casemate Academic, 1950 Lawrence Road, Havertown, PA 19083, USA
<http://www.oxbowbooks.com/>

Cover design: Camilla Lovell

Printed in Great Britain by The Short Run Press Ltd, Exeter

2017

Abstract

This edited volume sets out the work of a team of scholars from Northwestern University and the University of Southampton led by Matthew Johnson, in collaboration with the National Trust. Between 2010 and 2014, different members of the group carried out topographical, geophysical and building survey at four different late medieval sites and landscapes in south-eastern England, all owned and managed by the National Trust: Bodiam, Scotney, Knole and Ightham. Studies were also undertaken into documentary, map and other evidence. A particularly important element of the research was to synthesise and re-present the 'grey literature' at all four sites.

This volume seeks to present this work and discuss its archaeological and historical importance. It places the four sites and their landscapes in their setting, as part of the wider landscape of south-east England. It discusses the importance of these places in understanding later medieval elite sites and landscapes in general, and in terms of their long-term biographies and contexts. Central to the volume are the linked ideas of lived experience and political economy and ecology in presenting a new understanding of late medieval sites and landscapes.

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Acknowledgements

Innumerable people have helped in different ways with this project since 2009 – colleagues and students at Northwestern University and the University of Southampton, National Trust staff and volunteers, local and amateur archaeologists, and members of the public. Academic colleagues at many different institutions, too numerous to mention here, have offered ideas, insights and informal feedback on presentations of the work in a variety of contexts.

Caroline Thackray, Regional Archaeologist for the National Trust, supported the work in its early stages; Nathalie Cohen took over from Caroline in 2012. Both Caroline and Nathalie have been tremendous friends and partners to the project. David Thackray, Head of Archaeology at the Trust until 2012, and his successor Ian Barnes gave consistent encouragement. In 2012, during site visits to Bodiam and Scotney, various members of the National Trust Archaeology panel made acute and incisive comments.

We thank the Bodiam site manager until 2016, George Bailey, and all the staff and volunteers at Bodiam Castle for all their patience and assistance during the survey. The Bodiam Advisory Group provided critical feedback on the progress of the project; we thank chairs Vivienne Coad and John Henderson in particular. We would also like to thank Dora Church, her family and other residents of Bodiam who were patient with our students in their houses and gardens, and provided coffee!

In 2015, Paul Drury and his team at Drury McPherson Partnership were commissioned to write a new Conservation Management Plan for Bodiam. We thank them for their willingness to share their data and for collegiate conversations, both by email and in the Castle Inn, over the understanding of the castle and its landscape.

The standing building survey and coring and pollen analysis at Bodiam were funded by the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council and Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) as part of the Parnassus Project, under licence from the National Trust and with the consent of English Heritage (Scheduled Monument Consent S00044985). We also gratefully acknowledge the support of the Science and Heritage Programme at University College London, as well as the Universities of Southampton and Bristol. The AHRC also funded two Collaborative Doctoral Awards; the AHRC is thanked, as well as the anonymous referees for the application, who provided important input into the developing idea of lived experience. At Southampton, Anne Curry, Chris Woolgar, Alison Gascoigne and Graeme Earl acted as co-supervisors for Catriona Cooper and Gemma Minihan, with Caroline and David Thackray and latterly Nathalie Cohen and Emma Slocombe acting as co-supervisors on behalf of the Trust.

We thank Les Smith at the Royal Artillery Museum for information about the ‘Bodiam Bombard’.

We thank the Scotney staff and volunteers, particularly Ross Wingfield, Caroline Binder and John Musgrave. Ross was especially helpful in assisting with our stay at the Scotney Base Camp in 2010 and 2011.

At Knole, Emma Slocombe, Helen Fawbert and many other Trust staff and volunteers were generous in providing accommodation, research and Internet facilities for the team, and invaluable logistical help in the 2013 and 2014 seasons. Alistair Oswald, formerly of English Heritage and currently a PhD student at the University of York, generously shared his research on the Knole landscape with us. We also thank Lord Sackville for giving permission to survey areas of Knole Park outside the area under Trust guardianship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At Ightham, Bernadette Gillow, Adam Ford, Sarah Gaines, Lynne Antwis and all the other Trust staff and volunteers gave invaluable help. Susan Oosthuizen, Reader in Medieval Archaeology at the University of Cambridge, discussed her observations on the site, and both she and Adam pointed out the existence of the stretch of probable park pale discussed in Chapter Eight.

Around 100 Southampton and 12 Northwestern undergraduate students, too numerous to name here, took part in fieldwork at all four sites over the course of the five field seasons of the project. We thank everyone for their professionalism, hard work and good humour in varying weather conditions.

Colleagues and fellow faculty, staff and students at Northwestern University and the University of Southampton provided an intellectual and practical structure within which our work could flourish. Southampton graduate students involved in the work included James Cole, Meya Kellala, James Miles and Dave Underhill.

Penny Copeland thanks the Elias family for support and hospitality throughout the project.

A number of people reviewed parts or all of the final manuscript extensively and made invaluable comments. These included Tim Earle, David Hinton, Rebecca Johnson, David Martin, Susan Oosthuizen and Cynthia Robin. Additionally, during the research process, we conducted interviews with, picked the brains of, or otherwise encroached upon the time of, a large number of local scholars. Particularly important contributions made in this way include Casper Johnson, David and Barbara Martin, and Chris Whittick. Richard Jones directed us to the significance of the Bodiam place-name. Any errors and misconceptions that remain are the authors' responsibility.

Catriona Cooper thanks Filippo Fazi and Diego Murillo Gomez from the Institute of Sound and Vibration Research at the University of Southampton for their help with the acoustics project and Grant Cox from Archaeology for his technical support. Finally Sam Griffiths for constant edits and support in getting it together.

Carrie Willis thanks Mark Hauser for his advice and encouragement in the development of her senior thesis on Ightham Mote.

We thank the National Trust and Northwestern University for financial support towards the production costs for this volume. In addition to authoring and co-authoring several chapters, Kathryn Catlin worked as an editorial assistant on the project; without her work, the volume would still be at the concept stage. Lyn Cutler and Kat Cutler from The Highfield Press guided the manuscript through the final stages of production, and showed great patience with delays in its submission.

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Foreword

by

Ian Barnes, MCIfA, FSA, Head of Archaeology, National Trust

The National Trust is honoured to be the custodian of some of the United Kingdom's most magnificent and significant houses and landscapes '*for ever, for everyone*'. This is both a privilege and a daunting task requiring copious amounts of skill, knowledge, foresight and resources. It is a mission undertaken not only by the Trust's staff but one shared between a multitude of volunteers and partnerships dedicated to the understanding and conservation of our past. Academics and their students rate highly in this partnership: their studies of Trust properties in pursuit of their own research agendas simultaneously provide vital management knowledge for the Trust as well as a wealth of new stories to tell visitors.

Professor Johnson and the team of experts he brought together, from Northwestern University in the USA and the University of Southampton in the UK, is an excellent example of how well the Trust and academia work together. This work builds on the knowledge of generations of historians and archaeologists who have cared for and studied the properties. This model of collaborative working has resulted in a new depth of understanding of how these properties functioned.

Though the Trust has cared for Bodiam, Ightham, Knole and Scotney for many years it would not claim to fully understand how they functioned in their pomp. These are long-lived, multi-layered structures, that sit within a complicated and mostly vanished set of physical and social networks and ways of life. We can wonder at the physical intricacy of the building remains, but without the context of how they functioned within the rituals and politics of their day they remain curiosities. The work of Professor Johnson and his team, beautifully portrayed in this volume, brings these properties to life and illustrates how remarkable they were. This will allow the Trust to care for them in an even more sympathetic manner and, just as importantly, tell their authentic stories to the thousands of people who visit each year.

By attempting to explain how these great houses worked at a physical and social scale, Professor Johnson is continuing with the tradition in archaeology to move away from the study of sites as isolated places to the understanding of landscapes, societies, networks and connections. The Trust itself is doing the same with its landscapes; researching the human and natural connections that formed them, and that need to be understood in order to manage them in the future. The modern world is a complex place, but it is naive to think it was not always so. The relationship between people and the landscapes and buildings they construct is fundamental to who we are as a society and a nation, and to how we move forward.

As previously written, the Trust, wherever possible, is keen to share the responsibility to research and understand its properties as it cannot itself cover the vast range of expertise required to understand such complex entities. Professor Johnson's project has been a shining example of how this can work. The fieldwork facilitated by Trust staff has given many undergraduates the opportunity to work and learn on significant and spectacular sites, and has seen two students progress through to their Doctorates. This volume is a tribute to all of their efforts for which the Trust is extremely grateful.

Bodiam, Ightham, Knole and Scotney are four important properties of which we now have a much greater understanding, but the Trust never stands still. Undoubtedly this work is a landmark moment, but with many more properties still to research and techniques continually evolving, for the Trust, the work goes on.

INTRODUCTION

Matthew Johnson

Abstract. This chapter provides an introductory narrative of the work set out in this volume. It discusses the intellectual origins of the programme of research, how different members of the project became involved, and how the scope and aims of the work shifted and expanded as the project developed, starting with the castle and landscape of Bodiam and moving on to Scotney, Knole and Ightham.

This edited volume reports on and discusses the work of a team of scholars from Northwestern University and the University of Southampton. The team was led by myself, and the work was conducted in partnership with the National Trust. Between 2010 and 2014, different members of the group carried out topographical, geophysical and building survey at four different late medieval sites in south-eastern England, all owned and managed by the Trust: Bodiam, Scotney, Knole and Ightham (Fig. 1.1). Different members of the team also undertook research into documentary, map and other evidence. A particularly important element of the research was to synthesise and re-present the ‘grey literature’ at all four sites.

The volume reports on this work, and sets out a wider view of later medieval buildings and their contexts. It places the four sites and their landscapes in their setting, as part of the wider landscape of south-east England. It discusses the importance of these places in understanding later medieval elite sites and landscapes in general, and in terms of their longer-term biographies and contexts.

A key idea running through all this work is that of *lived experience*. Though the interests and backgrounds of the team members were and are very diverse, and ideas of lived experience can be very complex in theoretical terms, at its heart the focus is very simple: it is about understanding buildings and landscapes in terms

of the different human experiences they afford. Its application to understanding later medieval building and landscapes will be expanded on in later chapters. Here, as an introduction, is a brief indication of some of the themes that lived experience refers to:

- A focus on the everyday – the ordinary routines of work: how people moved around and acted upon landscapes and buildings on a day-to-day basis.
- A focus on the local context – the immediate and regional landscapes around the different sites.
- Engaging with the subjective experience of different individuals and groups, both elite and commoner, women, men and children.
- A focus on practice – how the experience of places is bound up with what people do at those places.
- A focus on the senses: how places were experienced through the body.
- Cultural biography and the long term: how buildings and landscapes change through time, at a series of scales, from the daily, weekly and seasonal, to the millennia.

Our governing thesis is that late medieval buildings and landscapes can be better understood through a focus on these themes. We will present a view of Bodiam, Scotney, Knole and Ightham that places these sites in their local and regional context, but also does much more than this. We will situate these sites in their long-term histories and contexts, from prehistory to the present, and understand them as

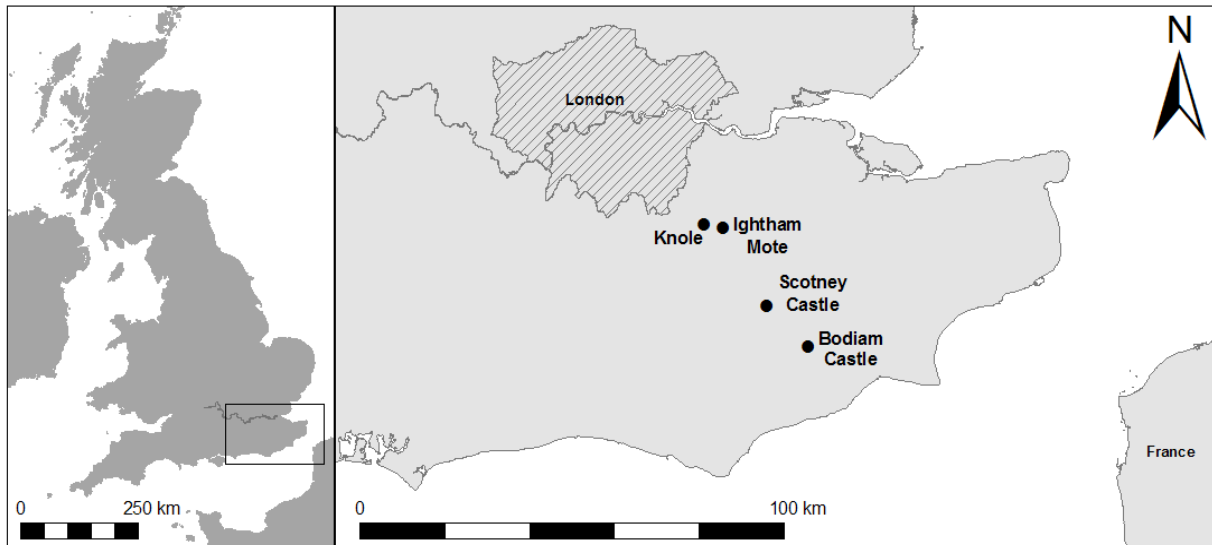


Fig. 1.1: Location map of Bodiam, Scotney, Knole and Ightham.

complex taskscapes and places of work rather than as architectural types or individual buildings.

Different elements of the themes that define lived experience are picked up in the chapters that follow. The concluding discussion will try to draw them all together into a fresh view of medieval buildings and landscapes. It will relate issues of lived experience to themes of political economy and ecology in a new understanding of these buildings that moves at a series of scales from the Weald and south-east England to the British Isles and beyond.

Narrative of the Project

Over the last thirty years, approaches to the study of late medieval buildings and landscapes have changed radically. Many of these changes have been practical in nature, as new survey technologies and methods have produced much more accurate and detailed representations of buildings and the landscapes around them. Other changes have been intellectual and theoretical in nature. Changes include: a rethinking of the relationship between archaeological and historical evidence, a growing stress on understanding meaning and lived experience, growing stress on the social and landscape context of buildings within the discipline of architectural history, and a changing understanding of the demands and issues of public engagement and community archaeology. (For a fuller account of these intellectual shifts in medieval archaeology, see Austin 1984; 1990; 2007; Gilchrist 1999; Moreland 2001; Gerrard 2003; Johnson 2007 and Johnson 2010a).

My own work has been part of these changes. My 1993 book *Housing Culture: Traditional Houses in an English*

Landscape (Johnson 1993) was an early attempt to apply some of these ideas to the study of traditional houses between the 14th and 17th centuries. In *Housing Culture*, I explored the shift from the medieval hall to the early modern vernacular house in social and cultural terms, as part of a 'process of closure'. I asked what cultural meanings the open hall carried, and how and why those meanings shifted as the open hall was abandoned and houses became more segregated in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries. I amplified and broadened these ideas in my 2010b *English Houses 1300-1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life*, in which I took the story up to the segregated, symmetrical houses of the Georgian period. I also discussed the implications of new ideas for the traditional study of landscapes in *Ideas of Landscape* (2007).

I turned my attention specifically to the evidence of medieval and later castles and elite landscapes in my 2002 book *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance*. In this book, I showed how castles had traditionally been seen and interpreted in largely military terms, but that we needed to understand castles in social and cultural terms also. Castles were also stage settings, backdrops against which the identities and agencies of their builders and owners were played out. The landscapes around castles were part of these staged settings, controlling and delimiting views and the movement of people inwards and outwards. Having explored these themes for later medieval castles, I then traced how these views and settings changed at the end of the Middle Ages and through into the 16th and early 17th centuries.

A key case study in the changing interpretation of later medieval buildings was that of the castle of Bodiam, in

south-east England, built in the 1380s and associated with Sir Edward Dallingridge¹ (Fig. 1.1). Chapter Two lays out the very long history of debate over the interpretation of this site, termed by the eminent architectural historian John Goodall the ‘battle for Bodiam’ (Goodall 1998b; see also Goodall 1998a & Goodall 2011: 307-19). Many traditional scholars have seen Bodiam as having been built near the south coast as a defence against the French at an historical moment during the Hundred Years War when the French were making attacks upon the southern English coast. Others, including myself in *Behind the Castle Gate*, have questioned this exclusively military view and emphasised instead the social and symbolic aspects of the castle’s form and context. This latter view, as applied not just to Bodiam but to medieval castles in general, has been characterised by some as ‘revisionist’ (Platt 2007).

Three key pieces of work have been influential in so-called revisionist views. First, Charles Coulson wrote a series of articles reassessing the architecture of Bodiam in terms of what he saw as its lack of military effectiveness (Coulson 1992; 1996). Second, Coulson also reinterpreted Bodiam’s ‘licence to crenellate’, a document dated to 1385 in the form of a licence issued by the king, suggesting that it and other such licences issued at the time were honorific in nature rather than transparent evidence of defensibility (1993; 1994). Third, a survey by the then Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England (RCHME, or simply Royal Commission) of the immediate landscape setting led to their claim that the immediate landscape context of Bodiam could be understood as ‘elaborate gardens’ (Taylor *et al.* 1990; Everson 1996: 67).

The battle for Bodiam, and the broader debate over the meanings and functions of castles of which it was a part, stemmed in part from different disciplinary backgrounds, generational views and intellectual approaches to castles. Some elements of the ‘debate’ were frustrating. In particular, there was what I felt to be a false framing of the debate in terms of military *versus* social explanations of castles, and an assertion by some traditional scholars that I and others were claiming that castles had little or no military role to play (Platt 2007). The wrongly attributed view that castles were ‘not defensive’ (Thompson 2003: 621) could then easily be refuted by a long list of examples where castles could and did play a military role. There was a strong element of rhetoric here: military views were presented by their advocates as ‘common sense’ and the currency

of the ‘plain historian or archaeologist’ (Thompson 2003: 621), and conversely ‘social’ interpretations were derided as ‘imaginative flights’ or as ‘hostile to empirical research... never needing to put a spade in the ground’ (Thompson 2003: 622; Platt 2010b: 431).

The mismatch between a rhetoric of empiricism and common sense, and the reality, was particularly apparent when one considered the previous history of field and archival research at Bodiam. I had taken care to examine closely the archive at Bodiam, and to talk to local archaeologists and historians such as Casper Johnson and David and Barbara Martin. One of the things that was striking about critical reactions to the battle for Bodiam was that they paid so little attention to the work of these and other local scholars and of the grey literature (research written-up and archived, but not fully published: see Glossary) on the site. In particular, as we will discuss at more length in Chapter Two, important grey literature research outlined in a 2000 Conservation Management Plan commissioned by the National Trust (Johnson *et al.* 2000) had placed Bodiam much more fully in its local and regional context, and raised a series of questions about the 1990 RCHME interpretation.

The battle for Bodiam, then, seemed to be going around in circles. Scholars were spilling a great deal of ink on the interpretation of the castle and its context, and sometimes getting quite cross with one another, without, it seemed to me, advancing to a better understanding of the site or what the evidence of the site might mean during the later Middle Ages. This lack of progress was frustrating, but it wasn’t enough to just get cross. It occurred to me that as someone who had worked on ‘theory’ in archaeology (Johnson 2010a), it was incumbent upon me, not merely to be frustrated, but to ask the question *why*. Why was the debate going round in circles? How might we change the terms of the debate to make it more meaningful, and to move it forward – to enable different scholars to discuss and advance their understanding of the site with reference to evidence, rather than simply restating old views over and over again?

Towards 2010, I was developing two related answers to these questions. The first was that as framed, questions about the purpose or intent of the builder of Bodiam were unanswerable. Much of the debate concerned questions of individual intention – what did Dallingridge intend when he built this castle, to defend against the French or to express his social status? In general, scholarly arguments that appeal to the presumed intention of an individual in this way can be very difficult to resolve,

¹ Sir Edward Dallingridge’s surname can be spelt several different ways; in this volume, we follow the place-name from which it was derived.

for the rather old-fashioned reason that we will never be able to directly observe what goes on between someone's ears, let alone someone who has been dead for over six centuries. Consequently, any piece of evidence could be marshalled to support either view, depending on one's prejudice – one person's defensive causeway was another person's processional routeway, one person's gunport was another person's fashion statement.

The debate was also framed around terms and concepts which appeared simple and straightforward but which, when examined more closely, were actually quite complex – defence, honour, status, display, conspicuous consumption... any student of social, cultural and political life in the later Middle Ages would readily affirm that defence, honour, status, display, conspicuous consumption were very complex and fluid ideas in the thought and conduct of the period. One might suggest that they need to be defined and dissected in anthropological terms, before looking for them in the archaeological and documentary record.

If it is to be a responsible and rigorous science, then archaeology must have at its centre the relationship between theory and evidence. The accumulation of vast amounts of evidence, in and of itself, leads precisely nowhere if it is not related in its turn to the evaluation of different ideas. We can look very hard at a castle, climb its stairs, stand in its ruins, and tramp across the surrounding landscape until our legs are heavy and our feet are cold and tired, but unless the observations we make are rigorously tied to the evaluation of different and often competing interpretations, such hard and back-breaking labour tells us nothing. What was needed, then, was more careful theoretical consideration of how arguments over Bodiam, and for that matter late medieval buildings and landscape generally, were framed in relation to the evidence.

The second answer was more prosaic, and was practical rather than theoretical: despite the huge literature on the interpretation of Bodiam, including my own contributions, much basic work at the site had yet to be done. First, there was no modern building survey of the castle. Plans of the building were direct or indirect copies of the drawings Sydney Toy made of the building during Lord Curzon's work in the 1920s. These drawings were outstanding for their time, but buildings archaeologists are very aware that time and again new surveys have thrown up fresh insights into buildings. For example, work at the Tower of London (Impey 2008), at Colchester (Drury 1982), and at Norham and Hedingham (Dixon & Marshall 1993a; 1993b) has shown how the popular image of the Norman stone

residential tower-keep actually conceals a great variety of early forms and arrangements. Chapter Three, then, reports on our survey of the interior of Bodiam, the new observations arising from that survey, and their implications for the interpretation of that site.

There was, second, no systematic topographical survey of the Bodiam landscape, and a sustained programme of geophysical work had never been done. The famous Royal Commission survey (Fig. 1.2) was a hachure survey, with all the strengths and limitations of that method. Hachure surveys are a distinctive form of field practice and representation. They are national, in the sense that the drawing of hachures was developed within the 'English school' of landscape archaeology and direct equivalents are rare in other national traditions. Hachured plans draw on the immense and deep knowledge of their practitioners in making judgments about the form, nature and relative chronology of the humps and bumps being surveyed. The hachures or 'tadpoles' that appear on the final plan are the product of close observation of the land by experts in the craft, but they cannot be characterised as objective or neutral, as they always go hand-in-hand with a developing understanding of the site, as their own practitioners often affirm (Bowden 2000; Johnson 2007: 93-5).

In 2008-9, then, I was thinking about how frustrating it was that all sides in the battle for Bodiam had taken so little notice of the grey literature, and how so much work remained to be done. At the same time, I also became aware, both indirectly and directly, of the outlooks and views of local archaeologists and historians. These included Caroline Thackray, then the Regional Archaeologist for the National Trust, Casper Johnson, who at the time was working for Archaeology South-East and went on to be County Archaeologist for East Sussex, David and Barbara Martin, who had worked in the area for over forty years, knew the castle intimately and whose work there included a report on work on the bridge timbers and other features exposed during draining of the moat (Martin 1973), Chris Whittick, Senior Archivist at Sussex County Council, and George Bailey, who was Site Manager at Bodiam between 1992 and 2016.

Discussing Bodiam in 2008-9 with those who had a local and intimate knowledge and continuing engagement with its immediate landscape clarified several impressions. First, the information in the grey literature needed to be more widely disseminated. To that end, Chapter Two presents the key findings from past work since 1999 and in particular the surveys and interventions since 2000, including the key points

INTRODUCTION

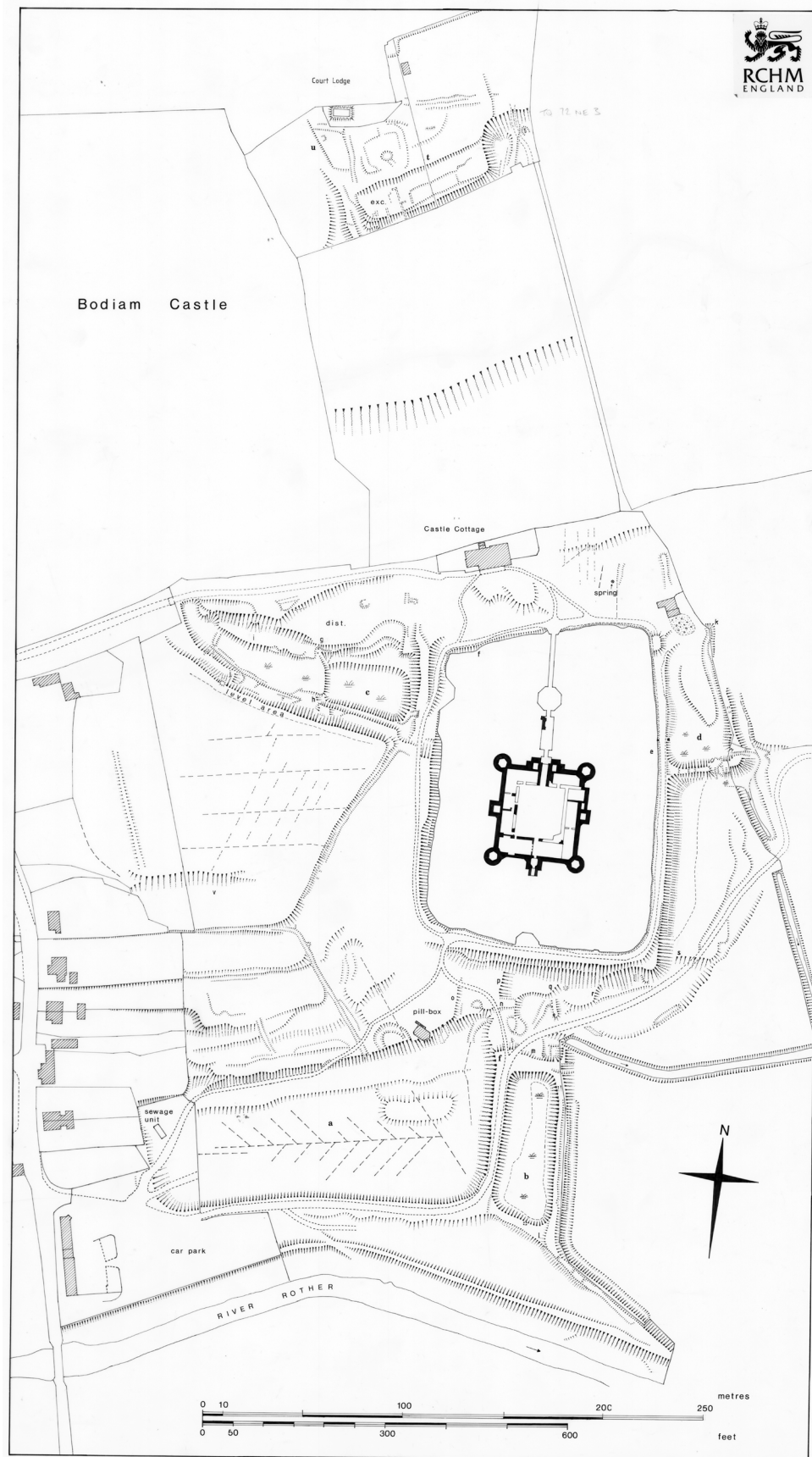


Fig. 1.2: The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) survey of Bodiam (after Taylor et al. 1990, fig. 4). The use of bachures will not be familiar to all members of an international audience: they are the 'tadpoles' indicating breaks and changes of slope. 810438 Bodiam Castle in AF0809527 RCHME survey 1988. © Crown copyright. Historic England Archive.

from the observations in the 2000 Conservation Management Plan of Casper Johnson, David Martin and Chris Whittick. This chapter is the result of a very long gestation, going back to early discussions initiated with Caroline Thackray's encouragement in 2009 of what a paper on the grey literature might look like. Here, it forms an introduction to the rest of the work on Bodiam, a framing of questions which we have been able to partly answer through subsequent fieldwork.

Second, there was a need for more systematic survey of the Bodiam landscape using the latest technologies. Here, I turned to my colleagues at Southampton, Dominic Barker, Timothy Sly and Kristian Strutt. Tim, Dom and Kris were annually running two extremely popular survey courses in Archaeological Survey and Geophysical Survey for Southampton undergraduates. An integral part of both courses (and a key reason for their popularity) was a week's field experience on local sites, and it was imperative that the students get experience with as wide a range of up-to-date equipment as possible during that time. They expressed enthusiasm when I suggested that we work together at Bodiam; it has proved to be an ideal partnership. Dom, Tim and Kris work to the highest professional and technical standards; managing large programmes of systematic fieldwork has never been my strength, but I hope I have been able to engage with their work and facilitate the articulation of its results within a wider intellectual frame. The National Trust, thanks to the efforts of Caroline and George, were able to provide student accommodation at their Scotney Base Camp for two two-week spring field seasons at Bodiam, in March/April 2010 and 2011. During this time, a total of c. 80 Southampton undergraduates took part in the work, with c. 15-20 working on the project at any one time.

At the same time as the topographical and geophysical survey of the landscape was underway, we were able to undertake a new survey of the castle fabric. We were successful in obtaining Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funding through the PARNASSUS project (studying the impact of climate change of ancient monuments) for Penny Copeland, Research Fellow/Technician at Southampton, to work on the standing fabric of Bodiam as an example of a monument that rises from standing water. The AHRC was also able to fund a limited programme of coring. Penny Copeland and Catriona Cooper prepared a new survey which is presented and discussed in Chapter Three. Chapter Four presents the results of topographical and geophysical survey of the areas around the castle, and Chapter Five does the same for coring and environmental analysis.

In 2011, we extended the work to the nearby site of Scotney. Scotney is another later 14th-century castle with striking parallels to Bodiam; it is also owned and managed by the National Trust. It was always apparent that for all its fame as a particularly impressive site, Bodiam's significance was in part that it was representative of a group of late medieval buildings and landscapes, most of which, including Scotney, have been much less cited in the literature. Scotney is very similar to Bodiam in a number of ways – built by a contemporary and associate of Dallingridge's, Roger Ashburnham, in the 1370s, and also surrounded by an extensive, watery landscape including a mill and artificial moat or lake. The topographical and limited geophysical survey of the Scotney estate, extensively re-landscaped in the 19th century, was led by Tim Sly.

In the autumn of 2011, I moved from the University of Southampton to Northwestern University in the USA. For the three years of 2012, 2013 and 2014, we continued work as a three-week summer field season, involving a team of students from both universities in an Anglo-American collaboration that brought a new intellectual dimension to the project.

In particular, Northwestern graduate students Kat Catlin and Ryan Lash worked on different aspects of the material and played a key role in the move from fieldwork to publication, collating, processing and re-presenting the data from different sites. Eric Johnson, then an undergraduate at Northwestern, and at the time of writing a graduate student at Harvard, took the survey data from Scotney and related it to the map and documentary evidence presented in Chapter Six. Eric also conducted the survey and analysis of moated sites across the Weald that is presented in Chapter Ten.

In 2013, having concluded work at Bodiam and Scotney, we moved our accommodation and base of operations from the Scotney Base Camp 30 km north-west to the northern side of the Weald at the Base Camp at Outridge, and on to two further late medieval sites owned and managed by the National Trust: Knole and Ightham. Ightham developed from quite obscure origins in the 14th century as an 'unfortified' house, sited at the base of a narrow valley on the north edge of the Weald. Ightham is of comparable size to Bodiam and Scotney, and its owners, including Thomas Couen and the Haute family, were of a similar social class to the builders of Scotney and Bodiam. The landscape context of Ightham is a complex one, again with an intricate arrangement of watery features and routeways that speak to the wider debate about the meaning and interpretation of 'designed landscapes'. Chapter Eight

discusses the results of the 2013 and 2014 survey at Ightham, and its relationship to the history of the house and the surrounding landscape.

Knole, by contrast, is a much larger residence; its present form owes its origins to its construction as a great house for the Archbishop of Canterbury in the later 15th century. Again, the landscape context of Knole is critical: it is sited within the largest surviving medieval deer park in England. Knole is still partly occupied by the Sackville family. Chapter Seven summarises our survey of that part of the Knole landscape owned and managed by the National Trust, and puts the survey in the wider context of the history and development of Knole and the meanings and practices of medieval deer parks in general.

In 2010, we were successful in obtaining funding for two AHRC studentships into lived experience at the sites we were studying, which were filled by Southampton students Catriona Cooper and Gemma Minihan. As the two projects developed, Catriona focused on digital visualisation of the private apartments at Bodiam, worked with Penny Copeland on the Bodiam building survey, and engaged in an aural study of the great hall at Ightham. Her work is presented in Chapter Nine. Gemma's study as it evolved became a more traditional historical study of the life and career of Thomas Couen, the later 14th-century owner of Ightham Mote. Catriona's PhD is available to download from Southampton University Library, at <http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/377916/>, and copies of both PhDs are on file in the National Trust archives.

Intellectual Basis of the Project

As the project has developed, our view of all these sites has changed, and the questions we have asked of these sites have evolved. Our ideas, as we express them in this volume, were not ones that were fully articulated at the start of our work. As outlined above, they were initially articulated out of a particular frustration with the perceived sterility of the battle for Bodiam and a desire to move thinking and research at that site forward in very general terms. So at the outset, the research aims of the project could be seen as quite limited and specific.

Rather, the intellectual basis of the project emerged incrementally and gradually through the process of research in the broadest sense – of talking to collaborators, National Trust staff and volunteers, and to other stakeholders, through formal and informal discussions between different members of the team, and through the changing field and intellectual setting

of the work. An important element of this development was the commitment to public engagement – the work on all four sites was conducted in full view of visitors; students and staff wore project T-shirts and were expected to respond fully to enquiries from the public, even if it meant interruptions to their work. Southampton student Becky Peacock conducted a qualitative survey of public attitudes and opinions at all four sites and this public feedback was fed in to the project as it developed. Becky's work is reported in Chapter Eleven.

I would pick out several key elements in terms of the intellectual progress of the work. First, I was very struck in the earlier years of the project at the constant reference back to local and regional context in the comments of local archaeologists and historians. Many people, both professional and amateur, working in the region clearly felt that national and international scholarship had viewed these places in a rather disembodied way, set apart from local landscapes; they had tended to overlook the smaller scale networks and regional affiliations of which these four sites were a part. Of the four sites, Bodiam in particular had suffered from what I came to call the 'A21 syndrome' – national scholars and academics, including myself in my earlier work, had driven down the A21 road from London, spent a few days or even a few hours at the site, and then driven back again in short order.

Second, the field experience itself was distinctive. All four sites are located either in or on the edge of the Weald, a distinctive form of rural landscape found on either side of the Kent/Sussex border in south-east England. The Weald and adjacent areas have a particular quality all of their own, what the great landscape historian WG Hoskins would call a *genius loci* after the Classical idea of a spirit presiding over a particular locality (Hoskins 1955; Phythian-Adams 1992; Johnson 2007). The Weald is very different from the stereotype of the English village, with houses clustered round the church and manor house. By contrast, the Weald is a landscape of rolling hills, small fields, and patches of woodland, sandwiched between the more open ridges of the North and South Downs. Working in such a distinctive landscape, only 40-90 km from the very centre of London, and yet at the same time deep in the countryside, prompted further thoughts on the issue of place and space.

One of the most difficult things to communicate to an international audience is the way the English landscape can be so very particular – it has innumerable subtle variations and sudden changes over very short spaces,

so that the landscape of Scotney, say, is very different from the landscape of Ashdown Forest 30 km away. Understanding these particularities, making sense of them, is a rational and empirically informed exercise in historical geography, but as I discussed in *Ideas of Landscape* (Johnson 2007), it is also in part about the bodily and sensory experience of ‘being there’, coming back to the place in different times of the day, weather conditions and seasons of the year. One of the most challenging parts of the project, but also the most enjoyable, was introducing students from a North American and urban background to these subtleties, seeing them grow to appreciate the texture and nuances of the Ordnance Survey map, variations in field and woodland, and uses and patterns of different building materials. As any teacher will affirm, the act and effort of explaining particular features and differences to an intelligent and inquisitive audience can also become a move towards a deeper personal understanding of them.

Third, discussions and interactions with Southampton and Northwestern colleagues, particularly research and graduate students, prompted the development of the idea of lived experience. Part of the utility of lived experience is as a bridging concept. It has the potential to bring together the stress on the local and regional with wider theoretical trends in the study of archaeology generally, the love of particular place in the Hoskins tradition, mentioned above and discussed in my *Ideas of Landscape*, with a wider need to situate scholarly findings within a broader, comparative context. Lived experience also bridges a series of disabling oppositions between function and aesthetics, practical and symbolic, utility and ornament, that were embedded into habits of thought in the 18th century and have impaired thinking about landscape ever since.

Fourth, the move to Northwestern and to a North American intellectual environment impressed on me that however attractive the understanding of a particular place was, it always had to be situated within a wider, comparative context of political economy and ecology. Describing the lived experience of a particular place is arguably a necessary first task. What one then needs to do is situate that understanding within a wider analysis of the context and affordances of the region, and more widely still in comparative context. Viewed in this light, ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ approaches to landscape are complementary rather than competing approaches: if properly thought through, each enables the other, a point I will return to in the Conclusion.

In Chapter Twelve, and in the conclusion to this volume, I try to draw together some of the findings presented in the earlier chapters of the book. I discuss the idea of lived experience and relate it to the long-term histories and biographies of the sites. In particular, I stress how all four sites were elements of a distinctive regional landscape on the edges of the Weald of south-eastern England. I then try to work outwards to understand the four sites at a series of scales, from the most intimate and local, outwards through the landscape and region, to the widest of temporal and geographical scales.

This report is presented as an edited volume. Individuals or small groups of scholars worked within the project on particular pieces of work. Though the project as a whole was under my overall direction, this structure allows individual contributions to be properly foregrounded and acknowledged. The authors for each chapter are presented in strictly alphabetical order, rather than in order of academic or professional ‘seniority’, and each jointly-authored chapter includes, in the first footnote, a brief statement on who did what.

2

BODIAM: RESEARCH PRIOR TO 2010

*Richard James, Casper Johnson, Matthew Johnson, David Martin, Matt Pope,
Chris Whittick¹*

Abstract. This chapter reviews and summarises the ‘grey literature’ and other material relating to research into the history and archaeology of Bodiam in the decades prior to the start of the work of the Southampton/Northwestern team in 2010. It provides a general introduction and background to the landscape, history and archaeology of Bodiam and some of the different ideas and approaches that have been taken to the site.

Introduction

Bodiam Castle is in East Sussex, close to the border with Kent, and now 14 km from the coast (Fig. 2.1). Its initial construction is generally dated to the 1380s, though the building campaign may have lasted into the 1390s; the form of its standing fabric shows relatively little obvious evidence of later alteration and addition. Bodiam is one of the best-known castles in Europe, and arguably the most famous late medieval castle in England. It is certainly one of the most written about medieval sites in the country and indeed internationally. For a domestic structure in the countryside that is not of the highest rank or scale of medieval building, it has generated a vast scholarly literature over more than a century (Clark 1884: 239-47; Thompson 1912: 322-7; Simpson 1931; Hohler 1966; Turner 1986; Coulson 1992; Goodall 1998b and Johnson 2002: 19-33 are a very few examples).

Jacquetta Hawkes (1967: 174) famously wrote that ‘every generation gets the Stonehenge it deserves – or desires’. The same is true of Bodiam. The interpretation of Bodiam provides a classic case study in archaeological and historical views of the Middle Ages. Prehistorians argue about the nature and function of Stonehenge, or about the interpretation of the Mousterian. In the process, they articulate their own theoretical ideas and positions; Stonehenge and the Mousterian become vehicles for a wider governing view of prehistory. Successive generations of scholars have seen in Bodiam, not just an assemblage of masonry and earthworks, but also a mirror, a reflection of their particular interests and concerns as archaeologists and historians. Bodiam has been, for scholars of different generations and outlooks, a defence against the French, an old soldier’s dream house, a symptom of a desire for status, a complex statement of elite and masculine identity, a symbolic landscape.

All this scholarly attention on Bodiam has resulted in a fascinating body of literature that any student of medieval archaeology and history should familiarise themselves with. However, it has had unintended consequences. Like Stonehenge and the Mousterian, one sometimes gets the feeling that a full understanding of the particular context has been forgotten in the quest for a wider narrative about the nature of late medieval castles. Scholars rarely seem to pause to consider Bodiam

¹ This text was put together from specially written contributions and from the ‘grey literature’ referenced, particularly Johnson *et al.* 2000, by Matthew Johnson, who also drafted the introduction and conclusion. The text was then edited and approved by all the authors. Matthew Johnson thanks all the contributors for their openness and intellectual generosity, and their patience with delays in producing the final text.

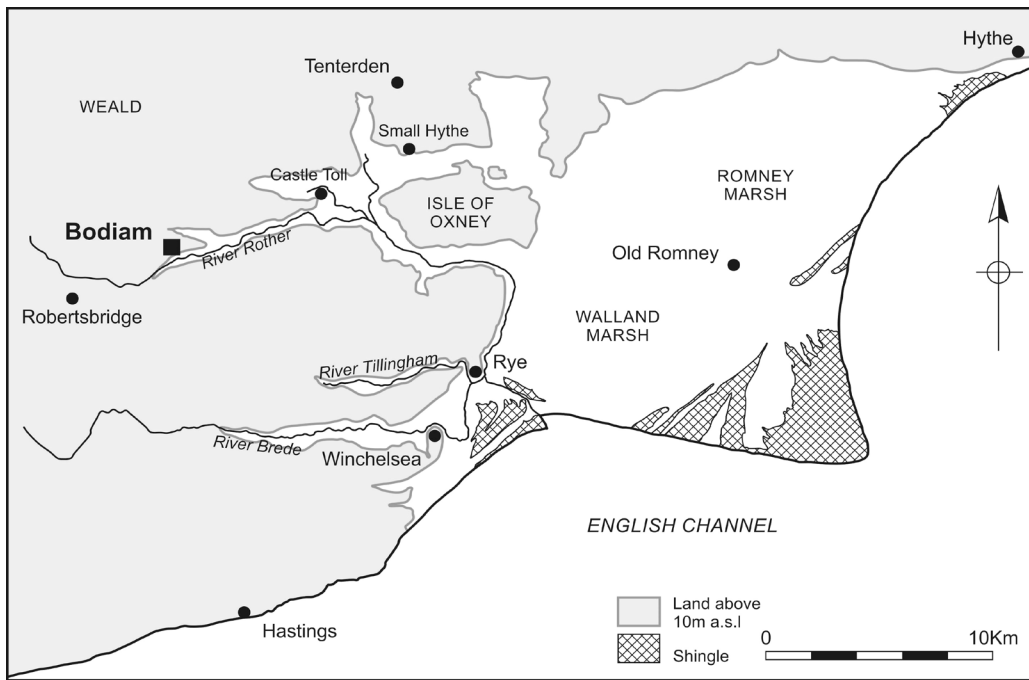


Fig. 2.1: The site of Bodiam, in relation to the floodplain and Romney Marsh.

dispassionately, in its local context. The temptation to immediately enlist particular details in the cause of a wider view -- the position of this gunport (it must be military!) or the siting of that mill pond (it must be aesthetic!) -- has been too strong to resist.

One unintended consequence of the ‘battle for Bodiam’ (an apt phrase taken from the title of Goodall 1998b) has been that the development of different interpretations has outpaced the dissemination of primary research at the site. In what follows, we aim to correct this issue by reporting on a decade of archaeological findings and historical research on the landscape setting of the castle, from 2000 to 2010 (though we make reference to some earlier work also). Subsequent investigations at Bodiam by the University of Southampton and Northwestern University from 2010 onwards, including geophysical and topographical survey and analysis of the interior of the castle, are also reported on in later chapters.

Bodiam and its immediate landscape is a National Trust property with the challenge of c. 200,000 visitors a year and an ongoing programme of management and conservation. The origins of this chapter lie in the observation that while this activity has enhanced archaeological and historical understanding of Bodiam substantially, very little of it has been cited in recent published scholarly discussions. In particular, we draw on work by Johnson, Martin and Whittick (2000), and previous research including documentary work on the mill and mill leat (Whittick 1993) as well as more general work on the landscape of the River Rother and its catchment area (see below and Chapter Five).

The primary and guiding theme of this chapter in presenting the results of work before 2010 is not to argue for one narrow view or interpretation of Bodiam over another, but to present a series of findings that do suggest a more complex, multi-faceted and nuanced understanding of the site and its context. We do want to establish the more general point that there is much more to be said about this place. Oliver Creighton and Robert Liddiard have suggested that it is time to move on from the prominence of Bodiam in castle debates (2008) and Liddiard has added that ‘Bodiam may well be ‘old hat’ to many researchers in the field’ (Liddiard 2005b: 7). We understand their position, but respectfully dissent from the implication that Bodiam has been studied to death. A lot of powerful and occasionally intemperate views have been published on the site (cf. Platt 2007), but these tend to go over old ground in terms of the evidence presented rather than present original research incorporating new data.

It could be asserted, instead, that we are still in the process of scratching the surface of this very complex site. Before 2010, survey of the standing fabric using modern survey techniques had yet to be undertaken; much of the documentary record, particularly of Bodiam in the post-medieval period, had not been systematically gathered; and perhaps most surprisingly, a detailed topographical and geophysical survey of the Trust property had not been undertaken until the Southampton/Northwestern work of 2010-2012 (the famous Royal Commission survey [Taylor *et al.* 1990; see Fig. 1.2, this volume] was a hachured, not a contoured plan, and will be reinterpreted in what follows).

Specifically, this chapter will introduce a number of related themes that will be developed in the course of this monograph, at first in relation to Bodiam, and in subsequent chapters to the other sites of Scotney, Knole and Ightham. First, the local and regional context of Bodiam is too little appreciated or understood. As well as being an important monument in terms of national and international castle development, it occupies a place within a distinctive local landscape. That local landscape is an essential element in the understanding of Bodiam.

Second, there is much more to Bodiam than the story of the building of the castle in the 1380s alone. The surrounding landscape of Bodiam, inevitably, contains elements dating from early prehistory onwards. The most obvious of these elements was the preceding manorial site on the hill immediately north of the castle, but this is by far from being the only element; others include a Roman road and settlement on the riverside and earlier field systems. These elements structured the parameters of the site that was transformed in the later 14th century. The castle and its landscape, then, were not created on a *tabula rasa*. At the same time, there is a complex and meaningful history to the site subsequent to the Middle Ages that cannot be ignored.

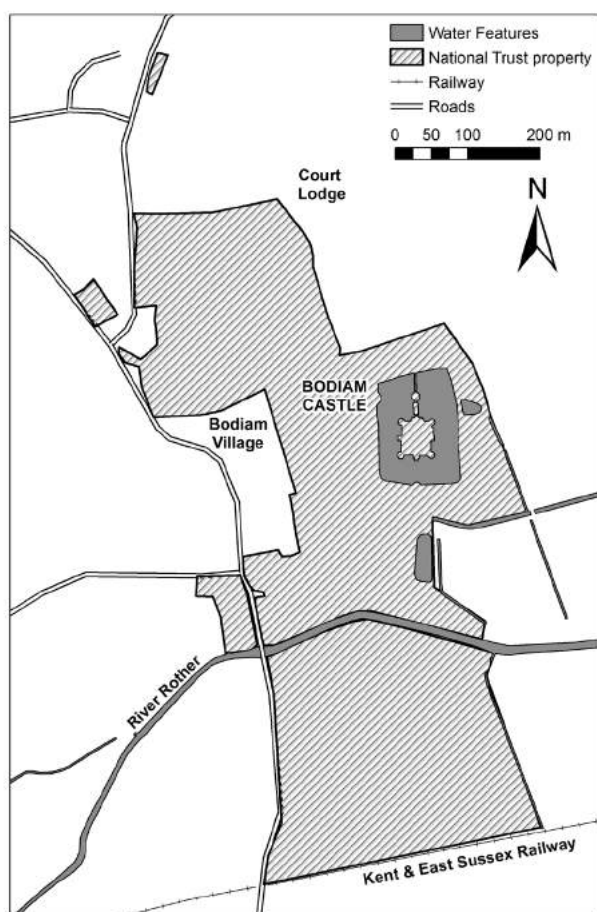


Fig. 2.2: The property as it is today, with boundaries of the Trust property outlined.

No discussion of Bodiam can be innocent of this subsequent history. The most visible element today is the restoration and other work at Bodiam by the retired Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, but this is only one element of many, for example, the landscaping of the site by John 'Mad Jack' Fuller in the early 19th century, discussed further in Chapter Twelve.

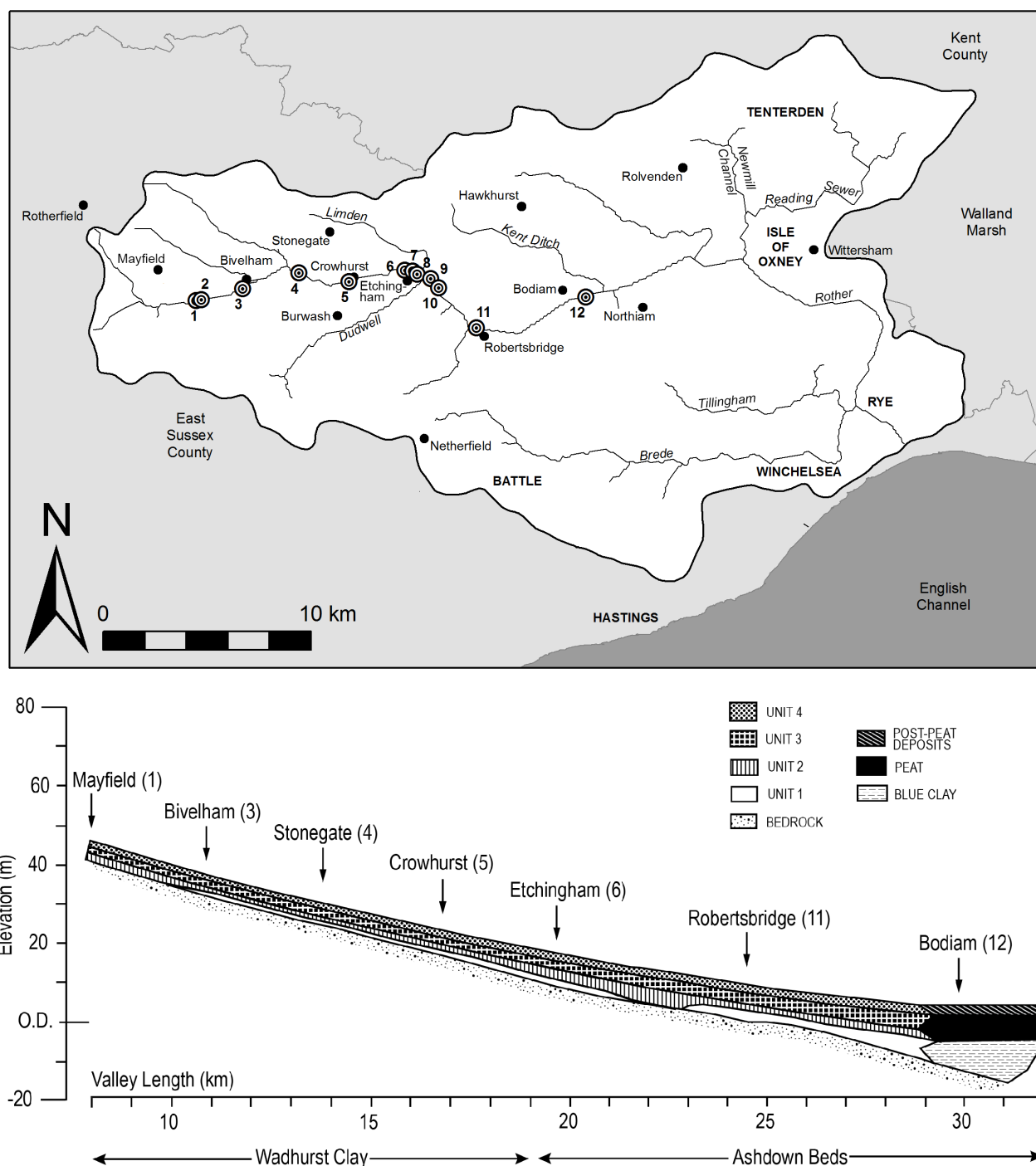
Our hope is that discussion will move beyond some of the rather tired and stale oppositions in some of the recent literature. This chapter, and this book as a whole, does not argue for a position in which Bodiam is either primarily defensive or about social emulation, either symbolic or functional, whether its features and surrounding landscape either are or are not militarily effective, or whether it is or is not a designed landscape. The six different scholars contributing to this chapter have six different viewpoints on how Bodiam should be understood. However, the agreed and guiding principle of this chapter is that Bodiam is a very complex and subtle landscape and monument that must first be considered on its own terms before any attempt can be made to assimilate it into wider arguments in castle studies and medieval archaeology.

We will first consider a variety of evidence for a complex and changing landscape prior to the building of the castle and landscape in the 1380s. LiDAR coverage exists for the land immediately south of the castle, though not for the castle itself, and the whole area of Trust property (indicated on Fig. 2.2) has been the subject of topographical and geophysical survey by the University of Southampton; this work from 2010 onwards, as well as work on the landscape south of the River Rother, is the subject of later chapters.

The Landscape Context: Geology and Palaeoenvironment

The first element we must consider is the long-term geological and palaeoenvironmental record of the site. Bodiam Castle lies just above the floodplain of the middle section of the Rother Valley, half way between Robertsbridge and the Isle of Oxney.

Bodiam is the site of a critical junction between two landscape types, the Weald and the floodplain leading eastwards to the wider Romney Marsh (Fig. 2.1). It is located at a point between the narrow and constricted upper regime of the river Rother with typically short, inorganic sequences, and the lower, deeper largely estuarine and marine sequences of the Romney Marshes. The valley bottom is formed of layers of peat interleaved with sands and silts. These have been



Figs 2.3 and 2.4: Location of Burrin's transects, with long valley profile of the River Rother showing change in gradient and sedimentary regime at Bodiam (after Burrin 1988, fig. 2.7).

observed in different locations including excavations in advance of new sewage works in the Rose Garden (Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009). At Bodiam, then, an extensive palaeoenvironmental sequence, of as yet unknown depth, is preserved, containing an extensive organic component that has already demonstrated the potential to deliver a detailed environmental history for the Holocene of the eastern Weald.

The Rother Valley drains the eastern and central Weald with a catchment area in excess of 700 km² (Fig. 2.3). Its floodplain sequences record long environmental histories encompassing tens of thousands of years: late Devensian marine transgressions, early Holocene climatic amelioration, to more recent de-vegetation and increased erosion. This record of de-vegetation and erosion may have its origins in the later Mesolithic period; its later

stages can be associated with agricultural expansion, and may be an indication of Roman and post-Roman industrial expansion associated with the iron industry.

The river drains three distinct topographical zones (Fig. 2.4): Zone 1, an upper course from Rotherfield to Robertsbridge, Zone 2, a middle course from Robertsbridge to Bodiam, and Zone 3, a lower course from Bodiam to Rye. Each zone is characterised by a distinctive configuration of channel profile and provides palaeoenvironmental sequences of varying length, temporal and spatial inference. Bodiam itself sits at the interface between Zones 2 and 3 occupying a floodplain some 80 m wide at some 2.25 m OD (mean sea level). At this point the river valley appears to cross outcrops of the Wadhurst Clay, although it is unknown which of the Jurassic/Cretaceous geological layers comprise the sub-alluvial valley floor.

Prior to 2002, the only detailed profiling of the River Rother was undertaken a generation ago by Paul Burrin (1988); the pollen sequences were studied by Rob Scaife. This work, which incorporated the results of 134 boreholes across 12 separate transects between Rotherfield and Bodiam, provides a broad indication of variation in sedimentation and palaeoenvironmental history for this section of the eastern River Rother. The work has its limitations, notably incomplete sequences for the deeper alluvium indicated downstream from Bodiam and including the Bodiam site. In this zone the sheer depth of the sub-alluvium valley bottom resulted in truncated sequences missing the very lowest elements, the key late glacial/early Holocene components. However, the borehole records from this pioneering piece of fieldwork are substantial enough for us to make a clear assessment of palaeoenvironmental potential of the Bodiam site.

Only two of the 12 cross-valley profiles were located in the Middle Zone of the River Rother's long-profile. These were sited at Robertsbridge (R11) and Bodiam (R12) (Figs 2.3 & 2.4), the latter being our area of interest. The R11 profile was superficially very similar to those of the Upper Zone with all four recognisable alluvial units overlying superficial high energy deposits on a flat-bottomed trough-like profile of Wadhurst Clay. At Bodiam, the fall of the river changes from 1:438 to virtually flat, the floodplain opens out to some 80 m in width and exhibits extensive inter-digitation with the valley side colluvial deposits.

The valley fill stratigraphy at Bodiam however is of a quite different character, indicating a palaeoenvironmental history of a different nature. Here the valley profile is neither relatively shallow, nor flat-bottomed. Up to 14

m of alluvium has been recorded at this site but only four of the 11 boreholes set across the profile here, those closest to the valley sides, fully bottomed the channel profile and these showed a trend for a more steeply shelving or even V-shaped profile developing here. The sedimentary sequence is consequently incomplete, preserving only the upper parts. These show a more complex sedimentary history with the lowest recorded sediment body being blue-grey silts similar in nature to the Unit 1 of the Zone 1 sequence but this is itself overlain by extensive (up to 6 m in thickness) peat deposits containing abundant plant macro-fossil remains including fragments of *Corylus*. Above the peat were further superficial alluvial deposits of grey and brown laminated silts and sands. These deposits included both a possible Romano-British occupation horizon and Wealden blast furnace slag, described further below.

No detailed pollen sampling was undertaken at the Bodiam site prior to the work described in Chapter Five. However the cross-valley profile at Robertsbridge was subject to pollen sampling and perhaps can be used to suggest the likely degree of potential at the Bodiam site. The Robertsbridge site 5 km upstream, falling in Zone 2, sits at the intersection between the more mineralgenic, inorganic deposits of the Upper Zone alluvial suite and the Lower, peat-rich deposits of the Rother Middle Zone described above (Scaife in Burrin 1988). While the absence of pollen in the upper reaches of the river matches observation from other Wealden river valleys (Scaife & Burrin 1985), and almost certainly resulted from a combination of sediment oxidisation and rapid accumulation of inorganic alluvium, these conditions do not seem to have pertained within the Middle Zone.

The Robertsbridge sequence showed an abundance of *Corylus* (hazel) throughout. This matches the observations of macro-fossil remains of the plant to suggest it was a locally growing species. *Alnus* (alder) and *Salix* (willow) are also important parts of the local plant community and both might be expected within the floodplain environment. Evidence for the vegetation of the interfluvies comes from the dominance of *Tilia* (lime), *Fraxinus* (ash) and *Quercus* (oak). The abundance of these pollen types combined with low observed counts for *Betula* (birch) and *Graminae* (grasses) suggest very little woodland clearance close to the site, but cereal pollen and *Plantago* (plantain) within the pollen sequence suggest agricultural activity within the river catchment.

Between 2009 and 2011 a series of further investigations were carried out by Archaeology South East on the Rose

Table 2.A: Palaeoenvironmental Summary.

Context	Description	Pollen	Hydrology
[002]	Upper Weathered Alluvium	Some woodland regrowth (LPAZ3) followed by later renewed clearance towards top of sequence (LPAZ4)	Marginal, shallow water with periodic drying
[005]	Lower Blue Alluvium	LPAZ2 More open conditions and cereal growth	Clearance of floodplain margins and renewed deeper water flow
[012]	Organic Alluvium	LPAZ1 Tree and shrub dominated environment	Cut-off meander and floodplain margins fringed with woodland

Garden, situated just to the north of the National Trust car park, a position to the south-west of the castle but close to the road-bridge and high street. This location is a particularly important one in the Bodiam landscape, as it might have always represented the upstream limit of large river craft and therefore a water route-land route transfer zone. Three distinct phases of sedimentation were apparent within the sequence in this area, each relating to distinct alluvial depositional environments. These deposits and associated palaeoenvironmental evidence are summarised in Table 2.A.

The change in sedimentary regime seen at the junction between [012] and the subsequent switch to open, relatively deep river flow in [005] of medieval date, cannot at present be explained. It might be related to local channel migration or to a more systematic change in the flow regime of the river, leading to increased erosion, removal of alluvium and the formation of a large open channel. Investigations to date have certainly shown the existence of deep water close to areas of proven medieval occupation on the north side of the river crossing to the west of Bodiam. In the records of the Manor of Ewhurst, the valley as far up the river as Bodiam was stated to be 'under salt water' in 1388-1390, and the river east of the bridge is referred to as 'the salt stream' in 1476 (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 6 and vol. 2, 27).

Renewed woodland growth at the base of the weathered alluvium may relate to the marginalisation of this locale as the channel began to silt and water became shallower. The weathered, oxidised condition of the

sediments here certainly indicates much shallower water conditions. The history and changing use of this area is discussed further in Chapter Five.

Bodiam before the 1380s

The palaeoenvironmental record discussed above, and the discovery of Mesolithic and Neolithic flint artefacts from the surrounding valley sides (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 26) indicates that the location of Bodiam, then, has been important since prehistory. In the Roman period, and probably from earlier periods, the river fording marked a critical crossing point between north-south communications and the east-west flow of the Rother Valley. The importance of this intersection continued through the medieval and modern periods.

The first direct archaeological evidence for settlement in the Bodiam area is Late Iron Age or Roman in date, in the form of a cinerary urn found in 1902 during the construction of the Bodiam rectory to the north-west of the castle. The Roman road running from Rochester to Ore (Hastings) crosses the River Rother at Bodiam; it then runs north from the ford/bridge at Bodiam before running north-west through Dokes² Field (as revealed by the 2011 geophysical survey; see Chapter Four). The location of the cemetery may be understood as located at the roadside.

As one would expect, the course of the River Rother has shifted during the prehistoric and Roman periods. Traces of Roman settlement have been excavated towards the southern edge of the present floodplain at a time when the river channel may well have been to the south of where it is now. The finds from this settlement included tiles with the *Classis Britannica* stamp, a trait that has been associated by some scholars with the presence of the Roman navy. This has led to the interpretation of this settlement as a port (Cleere & Crossley 1985: 65), probably for the purpose of shipping blooms of iron and/or other iron products out from the Weald (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 27).

The physical appearance and layout of settlement at Bodiam between ADE 400 and 1200 is unclear. No features of definite pre-Conquest date are known in the immediate vicinity of the castle. The earliest reference to a bridge at Bodiam is not until 1210 (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 30). The ladder-like form of the tenement boundaries to the west of the castle, characteristic of high medieval settlement across the country, suggests that they may well predate the castle itself, though by how long (a few years or centuries) is not certain.

² Dokes Field can be spelled variously as Dokes', Dokes', Doakes Field or Doakes Meadow.

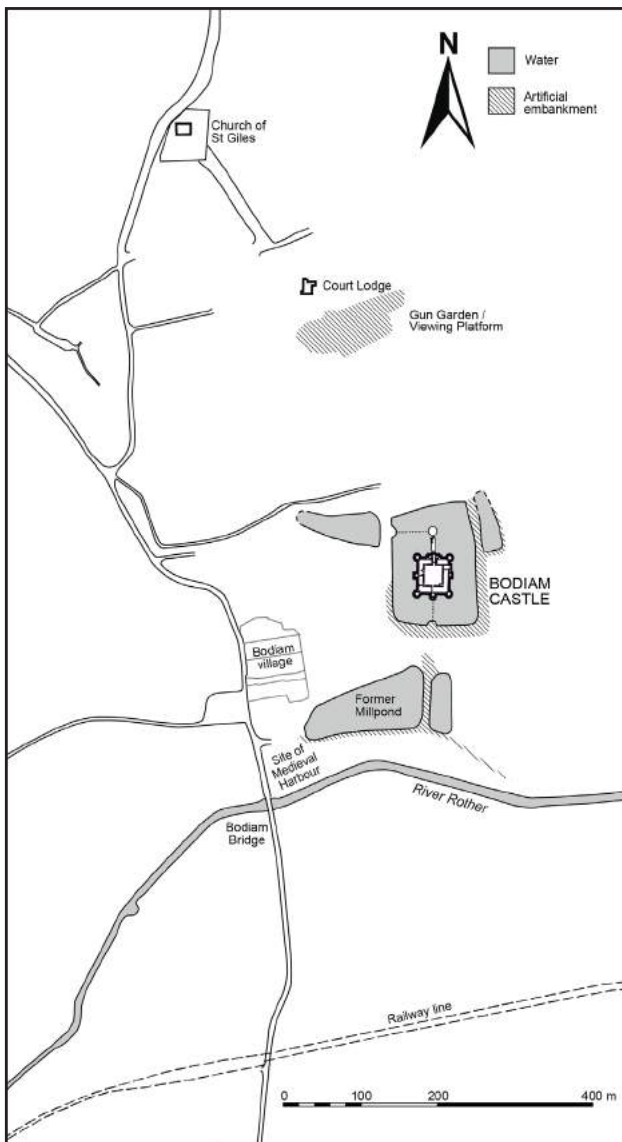


Fig. 2.5: Simplified diagram of the key features of the landscape around Bodiam Castle, as visible today.

The location of the medieval flote or harbour is indicated on Fig. 2.5. The flote probably existed prior to the 1380s, though it is probable that the facilities were further developed at that point as part of Dallingridge's development of the site. A series of archaeological interventions have identified possible evidence for its location, though its scale, form and appearance is not clear, in part because much of the relevant area underlies the modern car park and visitor facilities. The change in sedimentary regime noted above seems to bring the river close to the floodplain margins at the site, allowing for deeper navigable water and making the formation of the flote at this location viable. Occupation evidence from the base of the alluvial sequence recorded during excavations for a sewer trench and as discrete occupation horizons closer to the valley edge in the Rose Garden may all relate to activities taking place around or in the general vicinity of the flote (Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009).

The discovery of a possible revetment of 7th/8th-century date separating deeper alluvial sedimentation from occupation horizons flanking the line of the modern road may relate to river side settlement from the post-Roman period onwards (Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009).

The site of the earlier manor has sometimes been stated to be a moated site 500 m to the north of Bodiam, just south of the Kent Ditch (cf. Taylor *et al.* 1990). This attribution, derived from the account given in the Victoria County History, is unlikely. The site was excavated in 1961 and again in 1970 by the Robertsbridge and District Archaeological Society: it 'contains no periods which predated the late 13th century, whilst Bodiam manor is known to have [existed] before 1086' (Martin 1990: 97-8). The most likely location of the earlier manor is Court Lodge, c. 250 m to the north of the castle, as discussed further below and in Chapter Four.

It is difficult to give a clear chronology for the development of the demesne at Bodiam. It is clear that the demesne of the manor is unusually large for the region. The tenorial history of Bodiam before the 1380s is not as clear as the Victoria County History account suggests. The parish was probably formed in the 12th century (Rushton 1999). The church was extensively rebuilt in the later 14th century, but the location of the church is some centuries earlier, as is usual with medieval parish churches.

A more detailed analysis of the early medieval landscape of Bodiam can be found in the Conservation Management Plan by Drury McPherson Partnership, forthcoming at the time of writing (Drury & Copeman 2016). This thorough account deals in detail with the place of Bodiam within the developing early medieval landscape of Kent and Sussex, and in particular with the continuing importance of the river crossing after the Roman period, patterns of landholding and land division, the status and position of Bodiam as part of the late Saxon manor of Ewhurst, and the probable importance of Court Lodge as a place where local routeways intersect. Drury & Copeman go on to trace the development of Bodiam manor in the 12th century as the principal estate of the de Bodiam family; the emergence of the parish and parish church of Bodiam from its origins as a dependent chapel of Ewhurst; and the lands of Battle Abbey in Bodiam. Finally, Drury & Copeman also compile both LiDAR and documentary evidence for the shifting course of the River Rother across the floodplain prior to the 14th century, evidence for which will also be presented in Chapter Four.

For the purposes of this introductory chapter, it is important simply to stress that whatever the nature of the castle and landscape created in the 1380s, it was not created in a vacuum. The site had been important in terms of transport and communications for millennia. There were direct constraints on the site that was inherited in the 1380s, in terms of its physical topography, the earlier manor site and manorial structure, the medieval tenements to the west of the castle, preceding routeways including the River Rother and the Roman road, and the location of the church. Indeed, if it is the case that the medieval tenements do indeed predate the later 14th century, then the castle can be argued to have been ‘squeezed in’ to a relatively narrow and constrained space, between the rear of the tenements and the high ground to the west and undrained marshland to the east (Fig. 2.5).

Bodiam in the 1380s

Historical background to the castle

Bodiam Castle is associated with the name of Sir Edward Dallingridge. The manor of Bodiam was not the home of the Dallingridge family; rather, it came to Dallingridge from his wife Elizabeth Wardedieu. They married in 1363, and Sir Edward was in possession by 1378 following the death of Elizabeth’s father. There is some evidence to suggest that building at Bodiam was underway in the early 1380s, perhaps following the death of Dallingridge’s own father in c. 1380. The licence to crenellate was granted in 1385, but there are other cases where such licences were granted well after construction of a castle had commenced (Coulson 1993; 1994). Building work was going on at Bodiam church in 1382, and the work there shows very close stylistic parallels to the castle. Dallingridge began to sell his wife’s midland property in 1381, possibly to fund building operations (Saul 1998: 127). The grant of a market and fair dates to 1383, and the licence to divert the course of the River Rother to power the watermill dates to 1386. However, the fabric of the castle strongly suggests a seven- to ten-year building programme, so it is very possible that building activity went on well into the 1390s.

What was created was a distinctive development of the entire village landscape of Bodiam. The houses and associated tenement boundaries may well have been earlier, as suggested above, or they may have been laid out at this point; the evidence can be argued either way. The end result, however, was a landscape with flote, mill, mill pond and mill leat, and water features: ‘a planned, almost model village on the bank of the Rother – moated castle, mill, cottages and market-place’ (Whittick 1993: 122).

Bodiam manor was not only distinctive in its form: it was an unusual manor for the Rape of Hastings in terms of the rights of its lord, being unusually ‘strong’, in respect of the terms and conditions under which land was held. No single tenant within the manor held particularly large areas of land. The overall numbers are not statistically significant, but it is nevertheless of note that only one medieval house has survived within the manor (Ellen Archer’s, the northernmost of the tenements). The Rape of Hastings and East Sussex as a whole has an otherwise high rate of survival of medieval houses, and as will be discussed in the concluding chapters, this high survival rate may well relate to the distinctive form, affluence and security of peasant households in this region relative to others in England. In 1443 the manor had 570 acres plus a park, which probably lay to the north and west of the castle respectively.

Landscape context

Discussion of the immediate landscape around Bodiam Castle has been dominated by the results of the 1988 Royal Commission survey (Fig. 1.2; Taylor *et al.* 1990). This survey claimed to establish that:

without doubt that the majority of the extensive earthworks around the castle are the remains of elaborate gardens and water features all intended to enhance the visual appearance of the building... [which together formed] an elaborate modification of the whole landscape involving the creation of a number of ponds and sheets of water whose positioning has an ornamental impact... this modification was at least partly connected with the manipulation of visitors around the site to experience views whose components continually change.

(Taylor *et al.* 1990: 155)

Features that the Royal Commission identified included what they interpreted as a viewing platform to the north, a string of ponds with ‘terraced walk-ways on both sides’ to the north-west, and successive sheets of water surrounding the castle to the south and east. Paul Everson (1996) went on to suggest that the main approach to Bodiam was by means of a processional causeway that wound its way to the south and east of the mill pond, ascended the moat bank, and proceeded circuitously around the moat to south, east and north before entering the castle via the bridge, octagon and barbican (Fig. 2.6).

It is important to note that this interpretation was based on a hachured plan in the classic Royal Commission tradition of analytical fieldwork, based on

close observation and interpretation of the humps and bumps on the ground, but without a full topographical survey or geophysical work. The interpretation was compromised by the presence of material dredged from the moat dumped in the 1970s, as well as known disturbance in several areas, particularly the area south of the postern bridge.

More recent work (in particular the 2000 report of Johnson, Martin and Whittick, confirmed by Drury & Copeman 2016) has raised issues with the specific interpretation of several of these elements. It suggested modifications to the Commission interpretation in three main respects: first, 'the manipulation of a principal access route from the south'; and second, 'the presence of a garden or pleasance at Court Lodge'. Third, across the site as a whole, Johnson *et al.* also drew attention to a number of later landscape changes that complicate interpretation.

Postulated access route from the south

The evidence for a manipulated access route from the south (Fig. 2.6) is not at all clear. First, the area to the south-west of the castle has been heavily altered and the ground level changed, most obviously in association with the modern car park. Second, the postulated causeway is held in the Commission account to have run east-west along the southern edge of the mill pond and then turned sharply north, between the mill pond to its west and a second pond to its east. However, there was probably no such eastern pond. The area immediately to the east of the mill pond dam has been variously and incorrectly interpreted as a harbour and/or water feature, following attributions given in Lord Curzon's account. In fact, this area became a pond/water feature only after Curzon's interventions, when he raised the level of the foreland to the south, thus cutting it off from the river (Curzon 1926). The bank on the eastern edge of this area may be a flood protection dam for the watercourse from the mill, though the precise position of the mill itself remains uncertain (see Chapter Four). Any visitor, having reached this point east of the mill pond, would have faced a steep 45 degree climb up the moat embankment. There is no evidence on the ground (or in the subsequent geophysical survey) for any causeway, stairway or other feature to facilitate such a climb at this point.

A more likely principal approach to the castle is from the north-west, along a route immediately to the south of the pond in this area. Again, the area has been subject to later alterations, but such a route would take a more direct course from the main north-south road and the

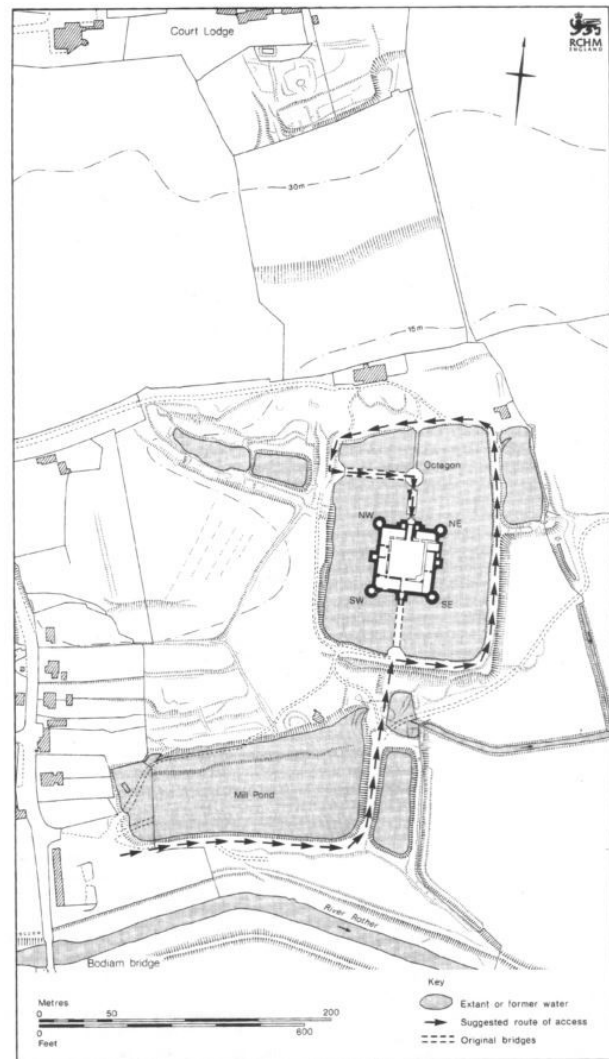


Fig. 2.6: The postulated access route from the south (after Everson 1996, fig. 1). © Crown copyright. Historic England Archive.

Wealden landscape beyond and lead directly down to the bridge abutment on the western side of the moat. The form of the series of ponds to the north-west of the castle, and the two ponds to the east of the moat, have again all been affected by the dumping of building waste and silt/vegetation from the moat during the 20th century; 20th-century material has also been dumped against the World War Two pillbox and at the west end of the mill pond (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 10).

It is, of course, entirely probable that there was more than one access route to the castle; even if the north-western route was the 'principal' one, it is still possible to argue in more general terms that the landscape to the south of the castle was carefully designed to maximise the number and visibility of water features and to delimit movement between them. It is also worth noting that the north-west access route is itself careful to present the castle to advantage, the descent

of the slope being framed by the pond to the north of the routeway along with the appearance of the impressive northern façade with its angled entrance across the moat, barbican and main northern gate. The bridge abutment, timber bridge to the octagon, and causeway between octagon, barbican and north gate were all excavated by Curzon and re-excavated in 1970 (Martin 1973) and were all elaborate constructions; the causeway between barbican and north gate was modified shortly after initial construction.

The 'Gun Garden'/Viewing Platform'

This earthwork, c. 250 m to the north of the castle and c. 30 m above it (Fig. 2.5), has been the subject of changing interpretations over the years. The area, outside the Trust property, is known as the 'Gun Garden', on the tradition that it is a Civil War gun emplacement. However, no Civil War activity in the area is known from documentary sources.

The Royal Commission survey suggested that the wide, curving southern edge of the earthwork was part of the designed landscape, functioning as a 'viewing platform' overlooking the castle to the south. It is certainly the case that the view of the castle from this earthwork is, today, an extraordinarily powerful and arresting one (Fig. 2.7). There are also parallels for 'pleasaunces' or other features deliberately placed some distance away from the main site, to afford spectacular views of other castles or medieval houses (Creighton 2009; see Liddiard & Williamson 2008 for a more sceptical view).

The broad, curving earthwork probably has a different significance, however. It does not stand in isolation; it marks and forms the apron for the southern edge of a complex set of earthworks. Small-scale excavations (Darrell Hill 1960-61) produced quantities of early 14th-century pottery and no later material. Given the date of the pottery, and the place-name Court Lodge, it is likely that these earthworks mark the site of the earlier manorial centre of Bodiam, the predecessor to the castle. This does not preclude their use as some kind of viewing feature in the 1380s, but it is at least equally possible that the Court Lodge complex continued as the centre of the manor's administrative and agricultural activities. In 1443

from the inquest on the death of John Dallingridge's widow Alice ... Bodiam Castle was identified separately from the site of the manor, implying that a viable manorial curia still existed on the site of the present Court Lodge.

(Johnson *et al.* 2000: 32; TNA C139/111 no. 52)

The interpretation of the area, including evidence for the presence of a 17th-century garden, is discussed further in Chapter Four.

If the gun garden/viewing platform formed an element of a site which continued to have important manorial functions in the 1380s and after, then our view of the Bodiam landscape is radically changed. One of the puzzling features of Bodiam is its apparent lack of a lower or base court. However, it could be suggested that



Fig. 2.7: View of Bodiam Castle from the 'Gun Garden'/Viewing Platform'.

Bodiam can be understood as a double-courtyard house, with the two courts separated and the functions of the lower court, as well as the functions of the manor, being carried out at Court Lodge. Such a wide separation (of c. 250 m) has no known parallels. However, seeing the Bodiam complex as two related courtyards, or at least two related complexes of buildings, would go some way to explain the northern aspect of the main gatehouse. There is an ongoing debate over whether later medieval houses generally possessed lower or base courts, with the West Country house of Dartington Hall, also built at the end of the 14th century, being the classic case study (Currie & Rushton 2004; Emery 2007). Contemporary and nearby structures of similar size and social standing generally have more than one court (Scotney, Westenhanger, and Cooling are definite examples; Iden and Ightham are likely).

The watermill, leat and wider landscape

An important element of the Bodiam landscape that has received little attention is the watermill. Dallingridge obtained a licence to divert the course of the River Rother to power a watermill in 1386. Whittick (1993) has traced the course of the leat for the mill through a combination of documentary and field observation. The leat was diverted some miles upriver from the lands of Robertsbridge Abbey, where there is a sharp break in alignment in the river as it crosses the floodplain. The leat ran to the north of the river before eventually feeding into the mill pond (misleadingly termed the Tiltyard by Curzon). The precise location of the mill is not certain; it is discussed further in Chapter Four.

The landscape beyond the immediate context of the castle has also received too little attention. As we have seen, the nature of the demesne and of the manor at Bodiam is distinctive. There was a hunting park in the parish, but it was not directly adjacent to the castle, as recorded in 1443 when the manor had 570 acres plus a park (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 32).

Afterlife

Relatively little documentary evidence survives of the castle between the 1380s and the end of the Middle Ages, and the occupation history and date of its eventual abandonment is uncertain. Treads on the stairs in the castle are heavily worn, and there are possible modifications and rebuilds, particularly in the west range of buildings, though none of these suggest a major rebuilding campaign. The castle passed to the Lewknor family upon the end of the Dallingridge line in the 1470s, when Phillippa Dallingridge married Sir Thomas Lewknor

(Mate 1998: 136); after this point, if not before, lords were largely non-resident. It is possible that the castle was definitively abandoned and much of the walls facing the internal courtyard were quarried for building elsewhere, starting in the mid-17th century or even before (Johnson *et al.* 2000); the earliest graffiti inside the castle seems to date from the later 17th century onwards.

The landscape of Bodiam was the subject of extensive work by John 'Mad Jack' Fuller following his purchase of the castle in 1829 (Holland 2011). Fuller's work at Bodiam was part of his wider construction of landscapes, follies and monuments in and around his Brightling estate 12 km to the south-west, such as the 'Sugar Loaf' off the Battle to Heathfield road and the Pyramid in Brightling churchyard. Fuller's accounts remain unpublished, but they may indicate substantial expenditure on the surroundings of the castle in the early 1830s. The precise nature of much of Fuller's work is uncertain; Brittany Holland found it difficult to link his accounts to specific features in the landscape. Much of the present landscape character of Bodiam suggests that it owes some of its character to 19th-century landscaping. However a tree survey by Julia Lewis did not identify planting that could be securely dated to the period of Fuller (Johnson *et al.* 2000, appendix one). Fuller and his successor, George Cubitt (Lord Ashcombe, who purchased the property in 1862), both carried out some restoration work in the castle and its environs.

In the 1860s, Cubitt drained the moat for the first documented time. It is probable that additional undocumented dredging or draining had occurred on a more or less regular basis since the castle's construction in the late 14th century. The site manager until 2016, George Bailey, comments that:

Historically the moat has been dredged in the 1920s, and then in the 1970s. That would suggest [that the moat was drained] about every 50 years. However the moat prior to the 1970s was filled with water lilies which decayed to the bottom of the moat. Now they have been removed for aesthetic reasons, the volume of decay falling to the bottom of the moat has been massively depleted and I would assess that the impact would be to increase the time between dredging to at least 100 years.

(Bailey, pers. comm.)

Draining of the moat for archaeological or renovation work often resulted in spoil heaps that are likely to have been deposited in or around the medieval ponds. The moat was drained again in 1970, and the original bridges and abutments were excavated and re-recorded (Martin

1973). Small-scale work followed in the late 1970s and 80s, including the first geophysical survey of the property. This early survey employed magnetometry and resistivity in the floodplain, and the results were inconclusive.

Lord Curzon's restoration of the castle in 1919-1920, and his associated alterations of the surrounding landscape, is well known, in part from the volume that he wrote and published on the castle (Curzon 1926). Among other activities, Curzon raised the level of the foreshore, attempted unsuccessfully to drain the area of the mill pond to create a cricket pitch, drained and dredged the moat, and recorded the timber footings of the bridges. The work of generations preceding Curzon has been less acknowledged, though in his book Curzon himself made copious reference to the prior work of Cubitt in restoring the castle (Curzon 1926: 82-4). It is worth observing that much of the popularity and plausibility of the interpretation of Bodiam as a landscape designed with aesthetic intent may, in part, be indirectly inspired by Fuller's and Curzon's re-landscaping of the area around the castle, followed by the National Trust's policy of maintaining the area as grassed parkland traversed by gravelled paths offering defined routes for contemporary visitors.

On Curzon's death in 1925, the property passed to the National Trust. The pillbox was constructed to the north-east of the mill pond, just south of the castle, in 1940. It has an aperture for an anti-tank gun commanding a view of Bodiam bridge, a presumed avenue of German attack following an invasion on the coast 20 km to the south. In 2006, the Trust purchased the field to the south of the River Rother, incorporating a portion of the Roman site and bringing the National Trust property at Bodiam to its current size and extent.

Discussion

The following themes emerge from the research of the last 10 years; they serve as a springboard for the rest of the discussion of Bodiam in this book and will be revisited in the chapters which follow.

First, Bodiam must be seen as a multi-phase site with a long-term history. It is a mistake to see it as simply, or only, the personal creation of Dallingridge in the 1380s. The importance of the site stems, in part, from its position at the junction of the Weald and the Rother Valley. The building programmes of the 1380s did not take place in a vacuum; they were directly constrained and influenced by a much older landscape. First, there is the prior location of the manor house which became Court Lodge and, we have suggested

here, probably continued to have manorial functions. Second, the tenurial layout of the site suggests that the 1380s programme was heavily constrained; Bodiam was 'fitted into' the interstices of an older landscape. This older landscape has to be understood over the very long term: the complex palaeoenvironmental sequence discussed above highlights how the Weald has changed and developed over the millennia, and the interdependence in terms of human settlement of the ecologies, economies and cultures of the Weald and of the river valley.

The location of Bodiam has been distinctive from later prehistory onwards. It is an important point in terms of communication and transport. Prehistoric zones of movement, and later Roman roads, ran north-south and intersect with the ford, and later a bridge, over the River Rother at this point. The location of Bodiam Castle, then, does face east, along the Rother Valley towards the medieval coastal ports of Rye and Winchelsea; but it also faces west and north, upriver towards Robertsbridge Abbey and Salehurst and west and north towards the heart of the Weald; after all, this is the orientation of the main gatehouse.

It follows that Bodiam should be set in its regional and local context more effectively than many scholars have previously done. If Bodiam should be seen at a series of temporal scales, it should also be seen at a series of spatial scales. Hitherto, Bodiam has been generally discussed at the micro-level (architecture and immediate setting of the castle) and at the national and international scale (defence against French raids; typological comparison with other late medieval English and French castles hundreds of miles away). We suggest that there is an intermediate, regional scale that should be grasped if Bodiam is to be properly understood.

The striking nature of Bodiam as a castle should be understood within the particular and unusual nature of the Wealden landscape in which it sits. Most location maps of Bodiam emphasise its position relative to coastal and urban settlements, most obviously Hastings, Battle, Rye, Winchelsea, and the route of the River Rother. These are all important elements. However, the Wealden landscape is also a highly distinctive form of medieval settlement. As is well known to scholars of medieval landscape, the Weald is not an area of open fields and nucleated villages. Rather, it is a patchwork of often ancient woodland, and isolated churches and farmsteads, with its own particular qualities, but also with features in common with 'bocage' or woodland landscape elsewhere in England and across the Channel (Roberts & Wrathmell 2002; Rippon 2008).

This chapter has argued, then, that a contextual approach needs to be taken to the castle and landscape of Bodiam. The extensive investigations since the 1990s have given us a much more complex and nuanced picture of the site than might be inferred from some recent published discussions. Bodiam continues to harbour surprises and provoke new observations. This local context needs to be understood and interpreted before Bodiam can be assimilated into wider arguments. If every generation gets the Bodiam it deserves, then the Bodiam that will be outlined in Chapters Three to Five will be a complex and local landscape that should be understood on its own terms. Chapter Six onwards will set Bodiam alongside equally fascinating and complex sites at Scotney, Knole and Ightham, as well as other moated sites in the region as a whole.

Addendum: Review of Archaeological Investigations

A range of archaeological projects have taken place within the estate owned by the National Trust at Bodiam since the 1980s. Seventeen are reviewed here with the majority being watching briefs on infrastructure works and repairs. The results of the work are reported in unpublished client reports lodged with the National Trust and the county Historic Environment Record at East Sussex County Council and available at ESRO. All of the work reported on here has been carried out by Archaeology South-East, the field unit of University College London.

Set out below in broadly chronological order are the more significant observations that have been made.

Prehistoric and Roman

A watching brief during stabilisation works on the moat bank found a probable Mesolithic core (in Area 5B). It was found in disturbed deposits in the upper sequence, and may have been imported from elsewhere with make-up material (Stevens 1995: 147).

A watching brief in April – May 1998 during installation of a new sewage plant (15 m x 7 m, with a depth of c. 4.5 m) found a 2 m thick deposit of peat (Context 6), comprising branches and bark/twig fragments set within a dark grey to black organic/fibrous clay matrix. The upper surface of the deposit was c. 2 m below ground level. Two C14 samples gave calibrated dates of 2050-1730 BCE (Beta Analytic No. 121615 – 1.8 m OD) and 2500-2195 BCE (Beta Analytic No. 121616 – 0.74 m OD). This Bronze Age peat formation overlay sterile alluvial deposits, and may represent a low-energy deposition phase associated with quantities of organic

material such as driftwood and/or the formation of freshwater carr-type environments seen to be forming during the later prehistoric around the coast and in the valleys and embayments of East Sussex. The peat was overlain by alluvial deposits of medieval date, suggesting that the original deposits relating to later Bronze Age and subsequent activity may have been truncated by the construction of the flote or harbour, thought likely to have been constructed at or before the late 14th century (Barber 1998).

Two further observations of the stratigraphy in the area between the Castle Inn and the former mill pond have been made. They include:

A watching brief in September 2003 during the excavation of 26 m of trenching from the sewage plant into the western end of the car park located a 0.1 m thick peaty deposit at a depth of 0.8 m below the modern ground level. This deposit was located to the west of the footpath (i.e. adjacent to the sewage plant) and was interpreted as the same Bronze Age peat deposit examined in 1998. It would appear to thin out as it extends to the east, although its exact relationship with the earlier recorded sample is hampered by the absence of height/depth levels (Worrall 2003).

A watching brief maintained in January – March 2007 during excavations for drain runs in the car park and across the road in the car park of the Castle Inn. Trench 1 adjacent to the sewage plant located pieces of wood/peat within a medieval deposit below 1.7 m in depth, suggesting the presence of the underlying Bronze Age peat deposit. Trench 6, in the Castle Inn car park, exposed the peat layer at a depth of 2.7 m below the ground surface (1.85 m OD). It was 0.3 m thick and graded into a blue-grey silt clay, from which a sample of wood was retrieved at 1.25 m OD for C14 dating (this was subsequently abandoned on specialist advice). This deposit continued to a depth of at least 3.5 m below ground level but was not bottomed (Barber 2007b).

Archaeological and geoarchaeological evaluation was carried out in advance of a proposed new sewage system in the area of the Rose Garden in April 2009. Three evaluation trenches, two geoarchaeological test pits and one borehole were used. The evaluation confirmed the presence of the Bronze Age peat and underlying alluvium. Pollen and plant macro-fossil assessment showed that the change from peat to alluvial deposition appears to relate to changes in vegetation in the valley itself. The most likely hypothesis is that anthropogenic activity led to wide scale deforestation at this time (Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009).

A watching brief during excavations for a drain run adjacent to the sewage plant produced an unabraded but possibly residual piece of Roman imbrex tile from an otherwise undated layer immediately above the peat deposit (Barber 2007b).

Medieval

A watching brief during repair to the moat banks during stabilisation works (May – November 1995) found evidence of a possible late medieval / early post-medieval raising of the moat bank. Two sherds of 15th-century pottery were found in Areas 9 and 10 in a deposit at a depth of 0.72 m below the modern ground surface, overlying the probable original moat bank. In Area 10 the bank deposits were observed to slope up to the stone bridge abutment, suggesting the abutment was constructed prior to the building up of the bank (Stevens 1995: 147).

A watching brief during the installation of a new sewage plant located a silty clay alluvial deposit (Context 4) overlying a prehistoric peat deposit. The lower 0.6 m of this context produced a sherd of 13th-14th-century pottery together with several animal bones, an oyster shell and a tile fragment. A rough alignment of water-rounded cobbles at 3.15 m OD was interpreted as ship's ballast. The deposit was interpreted as representing alluvial silt associated with the former flote, thought to have been created before the late 14th century, truncating earlier deposits (Barber 1998); subsequent plotting of the location suggests it may be within the western part of the mill pond (Drury & Copeman 2016).

A watching brief in November 2002 during the excavation of footing trenches for a bench on the south-eastern corner of the mill pond dam, thought to be of 14th-century date, located a compacted silty clay deposit sloping down to the east at a depth of 0.42-0.5 m below ground level. Although no dating evidence was recovered, this was interpreted as the medieval embankment, and appears to confirm that the mill pond curved round at this point (Johnson 2002).

A watching brief in February 2007 during the removal of an 11.3 m x 5.75 m strip of damaged turf within the interior of the castle revealed several masonry walls. An east-west wall protruding from, and bonded to, the south side of the north wall of the Great Hall was exposed for 8.5 m. It ran alongside the present north wall, but slightly off-set. It was built of massive roughly-faced unmortared sandstone blocks with smaller pieces of sandstones filling the interstices. It was interpreted as either a foundation for the hall wall,

or a foundation for beams supporting a first floor over a putative and now-backfilled cellar, such as exist along the eastern range (Barber 2007a).

A watching brief during drainage runs produced a number of medieval deposits confirming the sequence identified in 1998 (Barber 2007b).

Archaeological and geoarchaeological evaluation was carried out in advance of a proposed new sewage system in the area of the Rose Garden in April 2009. Three evaluation trenches, two geoarchaeological test pits and one borehole were used. The evaluation confirmed the presence of an alluvial sequence above Bronze Age peat and the underlying alluvium. Above the peat and within the overlying alluvium, wood was recorded at a depth of c. 1.80 m below the present ground level. A radiocarbon date on the wood produced a calibrated date in the range ADE 550-660. The overlying alluvial deposits produced pottery and ceramic building material with a date range from c. ADE 1275 to 1600. The remains of a structure related to a 19th-century building known to have existed close to the site were recorded (Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009).

In 2005 David and Barbara Martin, for Archaeology South East, carried out a targeted programme of recording and interpretation of the portcullis and gatehouse stonework surrounding it. The portcullis is made of oak with iron fittings. The structural evidence (absence of splicing or scarf joints, its masonry housing) makes it highly likely the portcullis is original. A radiocarbon date of ADE 1280-1410 with a 95.4% certainty was obtained from the wood (Martin & Martin 2005).

Post-medieval

A watching brief during installation of new sewage plant identified four deposits of post-medieval date, up to 1.4 m thick in total. The lowest (the upper part of Context 4) was an alluvial silt containing numerous sherds of late 15th- early 16th-century pottery, some of which represented an almost complete bowl that had been thrown into water. The deposits are likely to relate to the silting up of the medieval flote, which at its northern end was being encroached upon in the 17th century and appears to have been used for rubbish disposal from at least the early 16th century. This was sealed (at a depth of 0.55 m below ground level) by a deposit containing 18th- early 19th-century pottery, which was itself cut by a drain or soakaway of 19th-century date. The upper deposit was a modern hardcore (Barber 1998).

A watching brief during tree and shrub planting around the new sewage plant in March 1999 involved hand excavation of planting holes to a depth of <0.45 m. Several contexts representing current and former garden soils produced 18th-20th-century pottery (Johnson 1999).

Watching brief during removal of worn turf revealed three walls set at right angles, and butted against the medieval wall located in the area of the Great Hall. These walls were made of reused sandstone blocks, lined with smaller sandstone pieces and roof tile. They were interpreted as a fireplace / chimney breast of post-medieval date, possibly associated with an historically attested 18th-century cottage that formerly occupied this area (Barber 2007a).

A watching brief during drainage runs confirming the presence of the early post-medieval water-lain deposits identified in 1998. Later 18th-19th-century deposits relating to earlier phases of the Castle Inn were observed across the road (Barber 2007b).

No period

A watching brief in July 1995 produced no archaeological deposits or features. Area A was the repair of a footpath and installation of a French drain (80 m²); Area B was a 12 m long pipe trench (0.3 m wide); Area C was a 76 m long pipe trench (0.3 m wide). Excavated depths did not exceed 0.3 m (Priestley-Bell 1995).

A watching brief in November 1996 during groundworks for five benches and a drainage inspection pit. The benches involved 10 footing excavations 0.3 m x 0.5 m and up to 0.49 m deep. Stratigraphy comprised topsoil overlying brickearth. The pit was 0.92 m x 0.75 m and 1.4 m deep, with a concrete slab associated with the drainage pipe found at this level. The overburden was redeposited silty clay. No archaeological deposits or finds were observed (Speed 1996).

A watching brief during the excavation of a 7 m long drainage run linking the World War Two Type 28A pillbox with the existing drainage system. The drain was dug to a maximum depth of 0.6 m, and encountered no archaeological deposits or finds, being dug largely thorough redeposited clay derived from drainage works in 1992 (James 2001).

A watching brief in October 2004 during the excavation of a 30 m long drainage trench from the foot of the southern moat embankment towards the modern drainage ditch produced no archaeological features or finds. The trench was dug to a depth of 0.95 m, largely through made ground (Riccoboni 2004).

List of Unpublished Reports, 1994-2010

These references to the grey literature will be found in the general bibliography, but for convenience, they are also set out below. Many are available at East Sussex Record Office (ESRO) in the series R/R 36; the full records numbers are given below. PDFs can also be obtained via the East Sussex Historic Environment Record <https://new.eastsussex.gov.uk/environment/archaeology/her> (accessed 19th April 2016).

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3

BODIAM CASTLE: A NEW SURVEY OF THE INTERIOR

Catriona Cooper, Penny Copeland, Matthew Johnson¹

Abstract. This chapter discusses the form and interpretation of the internal layout of Bodiam Castle, East Sussex, England. It first reviews previous work before presenting new plans based on a detailed total station survey of the castle interior. The interpretation of the internal form of the castle is reassessed in the light of this new plan. We draw attention to the evidence for changes of mind and other inconsistencies behind what at first sight is a very regular layout. We go on to discuss the implications of Bodiam for wider interpretation of later medieval domestic spaces.

Introduction

Bodiam Castle is one of the most famous and extensively discussed medieval buildings in Europe (Clark 1884: 239-47; Sands 1903; Thompson 1912: 322-7; Simpson 1931; Hohler 1966; Turner 1986; Coulson 1992; Goodall 1998b and Johnson 2002: 19-33, are a very few salient references in a vast literature). The nature and form of its external defences, and the nature of the landscape features around it, have been the topic of seemingly endless debate (Taylor *et al.* 1990; Johnson 2002; Liddiard & Williamson 2008; see also Whittick 1993). A striking omission from much of this discussion, however, has been the interior of the castle. Many scholars have concentrated on the landscape setting of the castle, and the impression conveyed by its external façades. Ironically, Bodiam has been treated rather as traditional architectural historians might approach a Classical building, in which an appreciation of the form and composition of the external façades has taken precedence over an understanding of the internal spaces. One of the purposes of this chapter is very simple: to remind scholars that whatever the debates over the landscape setting

of Bodiam and the wider interpretation of the castle's function, there is an interesting and complex domestic building here to be explored (Fig. 3.1), whatever one's view of its external walls and towers.

This chapter will first review previous interpretations of the interior of Bodiam, and evaluate issues in understanding it arising from later modifications and restoration activity. It will then present a new survey of the interior and discuss its implications. We highlight irregularities and evidence for changes of mind in the construction of a building that appears highly regular and symmetrical at first sight, and go on to discuss a number of interpretive issues that the building raises.

The introduction to this volume stressed the importance of lived experience in understanding the late medieval buildings discussed in this monograph. In our discussion of Bodiam, below, we suggest that an understanding of this and other late medieval buildings based exclusively on the plan view, and on stylistic and typological comparison with other buildings, is not the whole story. Discussions of the evolution of different plan forms need to be complemented by a more holistic, human understanding of space. Catriona Cooper will discuss these issues more fully with reference to her work on lived experience and digital technologies in Chapter Nine.

¹ Catriona Cooper and Penny Copeland undertook the survey reported on here, together with James Miles. Cooper, Copeland and Johnson wrote and revised the text of the chapter together.

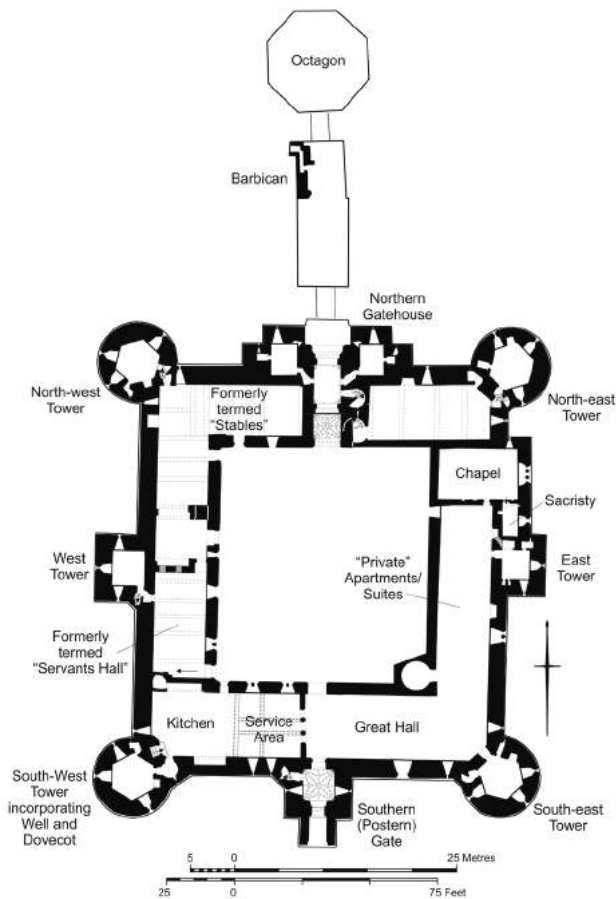


Fig. 3.1: Simplified plan of Bodiam Castle with key elements designated.

Previous Interpretations

Though the interior of Bodiam has been generally less well discussed relative to the amount of ink spilt discussing its exterior, it is interesting that Bodiam has been the vehicle for two of the most famous examples of social interpretation in earlier generations. In the 1930s, Douglas Simpson discussed Bodiam as an example of his theory of 'bastard feudalism'. Simpson believed that late medieval castles were often garrisoned by paid mercenaries, and that the lord and household were almost as distrustful of their own unruly and potentially dangerous mercenaries as they were afraid of external attack. He interpreted the internal layout of late medieval castles, then, as one of division and segregation between the lord's family and household and what he saw as secondary and independent accommodation for mercenaries. At Bodiam, Simpson noted the (apparently) blank wall between kitchen and north range and saw it as just such an example of segregation, with the 'mercenaries' blocked from penetration into the kitchen-hall-upper suite (Simpson 1931; 1946). Though his views on bastard feudalism and segregation in buildings are

now completely out of favour, Simpson deserves credit for developing an early social interpretation of late medieval buildings based on an appreciation of the importance of spatial organisation.

In the 1960s, Patrick Faulkner also used Bodiam as a case study in a wider argument. In a seminal article, Faulkner used an early form of access diagram to illustrate the evolution of domestic planning in larger medieval buildings between the 12th and the 14th centuries (Faulkner 1963; Johnson 2012b; see Fig. 3.2). Faulkner pointed to the number and importance of lodgings in the later middle ages and talked of the multiple-household arrangement at Bolton, Bodiam and other buildings. We will look at the 'lodgings' at Bodiam more closely below.

Since Faulkner, there has been relatively little discussion of the interior of the castle. David Thackray and Nikolaus Pevsner both made brief comments in the guidebook and guide to Sussex respectively (Nairn & Pevsner 1965: 421; Thackray 1991: 42). John Goodall's comments on the interpretation of Bodiam in *The English Castle* say little about the interior, though they are accompanied by an impressive reconstruction drawing of the upper suite and do draw a key link with Edward III's work at Windsor (Goodall 2011: 314-7 and fig. 237). Charles Coulson assesses the building in terms of its degree of defensibility and makes remarks on its appearance and general aesthetics, but does not engage in detail with its internal layout (1992). Anthony Emery's gazetteer entry on Bodiam in his *Greater Medieval Houses* refers students to wider debates over the castle, again without closely discussing its internal organisation (Emery 2006: 317).

Measured and Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) Survey

The standing building survey presented here is the result of a total of six weeks' intensive survey of the interior of the castle by Catriona Cooper and Penny Copeland, as well as James Miles, of the University of Southampton, under the direction of Matthew Johnson, latterly of Northwestern University (Fig. 3.3). The team was assisted by various undergraduate students. Work was spread over three seasons in 2010, 2011 and 2012, at the end of which the building had been viewed in different lights, at different times of the day and in both spring and late summer. During the process, a number of different experts on medieval buildings visited and offered their views on our provisional interpretations. At the end of the process Cooper and Copeland had developed a close eye for original medieval fabric versus post-medieval restoration.

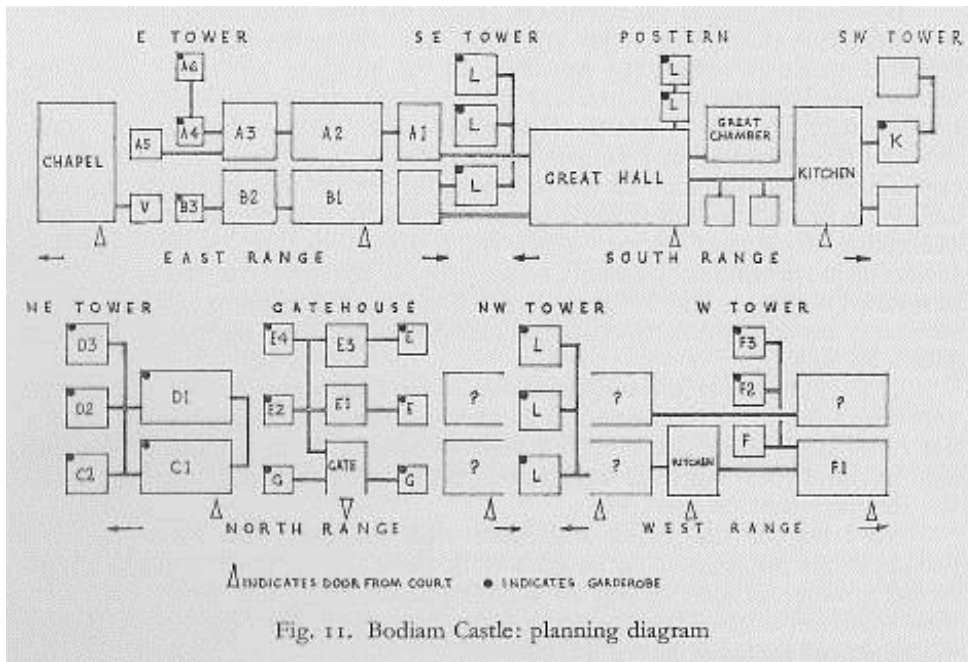


Fig. 3.2: Faulkner's access diagram (after Faulkner 1963, fig. 11).

The equipment used was a Leica reflectorless total station. TheoLt, a programme to download the data straight into AutoCad software, was used, so that the plans and drawings could be visualised instantly on screen as the work progressed. Two teams of three to four students and staff worked simultaneously. The drawings were then manipulated to produce the two-dimensional plans and elevations reproduced here; the final versions were then edited in CorelDraw. The AutoCad data was also used by Cooper to create visualisations in 3DSMax, which we discuss below.

Though perhaps more than 95% of the castle was examined in detail, it was not possible to gain access to all areas due to health and safety considerations (for example in the eastern part of the northern gatehouse). The restrictions on space in many of the small corridors and latrines made it impossible to carry the total station survey through to these areas and in these instances, measured survey was carried out on paper (Figs 3.4-3.8).

A GPR survey was also carried out of all areas of the castle interior where survey was feasible. Initial survey was carried out in 2010, directed by Kris Strutt. The team returned in 2016 to resurvey the area, and the results of this latter survey are presented in Figs 3.9 and 3.10, and are discussed below. A more detailed account and interpretation of the survey results is on file with Historic England.

In its latter stages, the survey and interpretation of the castle was helped considerably by the input of Paul Drury and his team, who undertook their own

survey of the building including elevations of the principal façades as part of their research for the 2016 Conservation Management Plan at Bodiam (Drury & Copeman 2016). We thank Paul and his team for



Fig. 3.3: Students from Southampton and Northwestern Universities at work. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

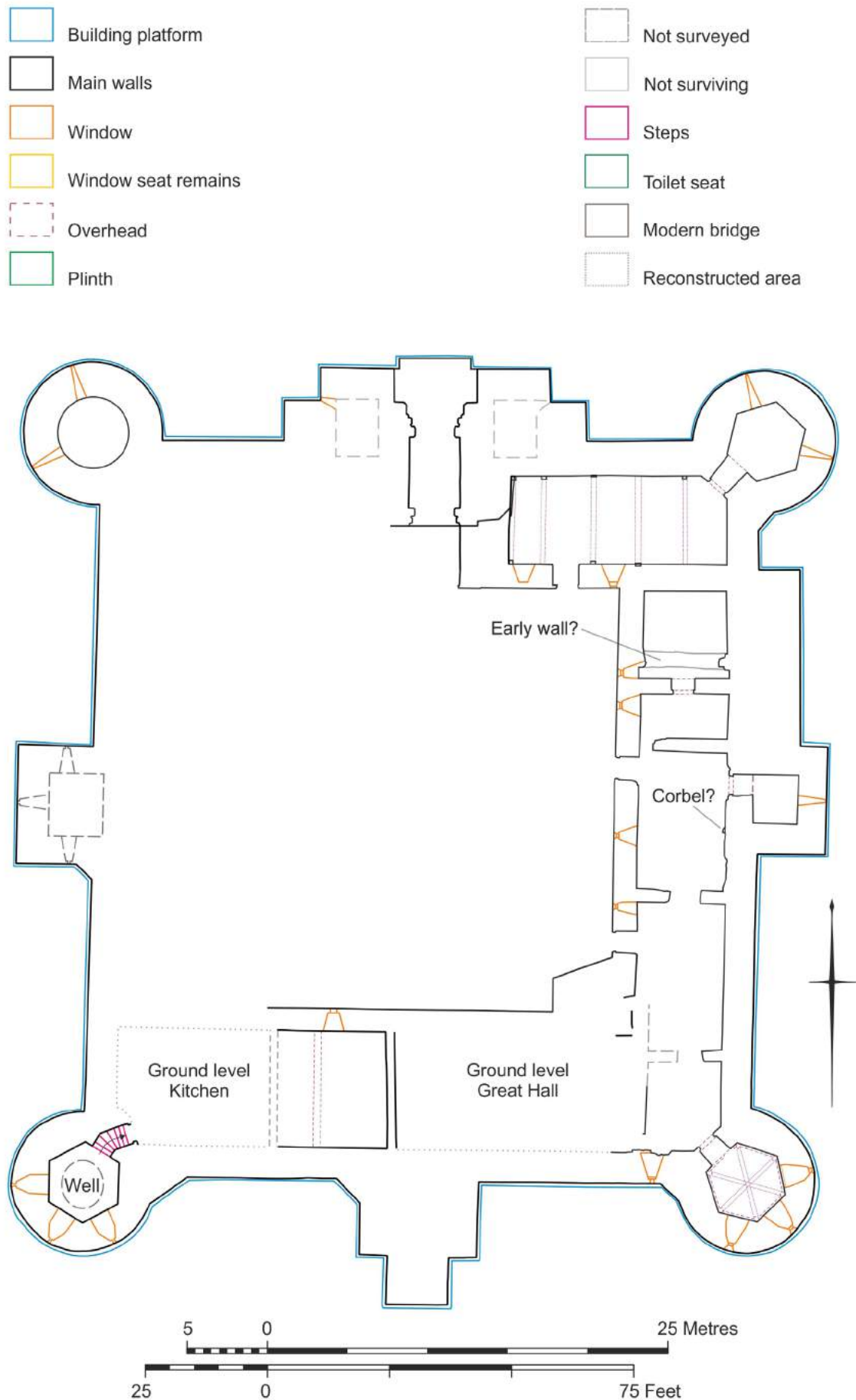


Fig. 3.4: Bodiam Castle, basement plan.

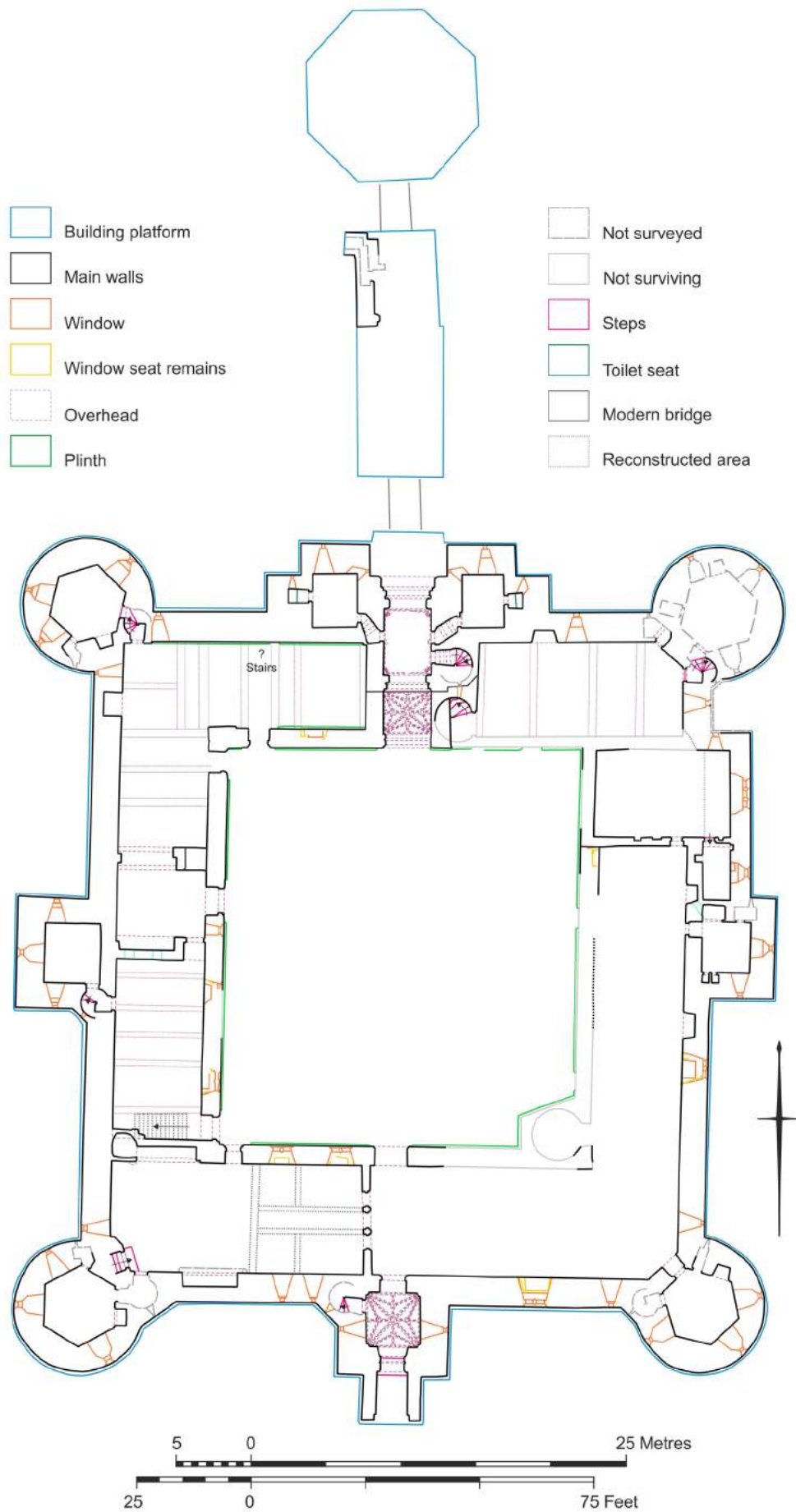


Fig. 3.5: Bodiam Castle, ground floor plan.

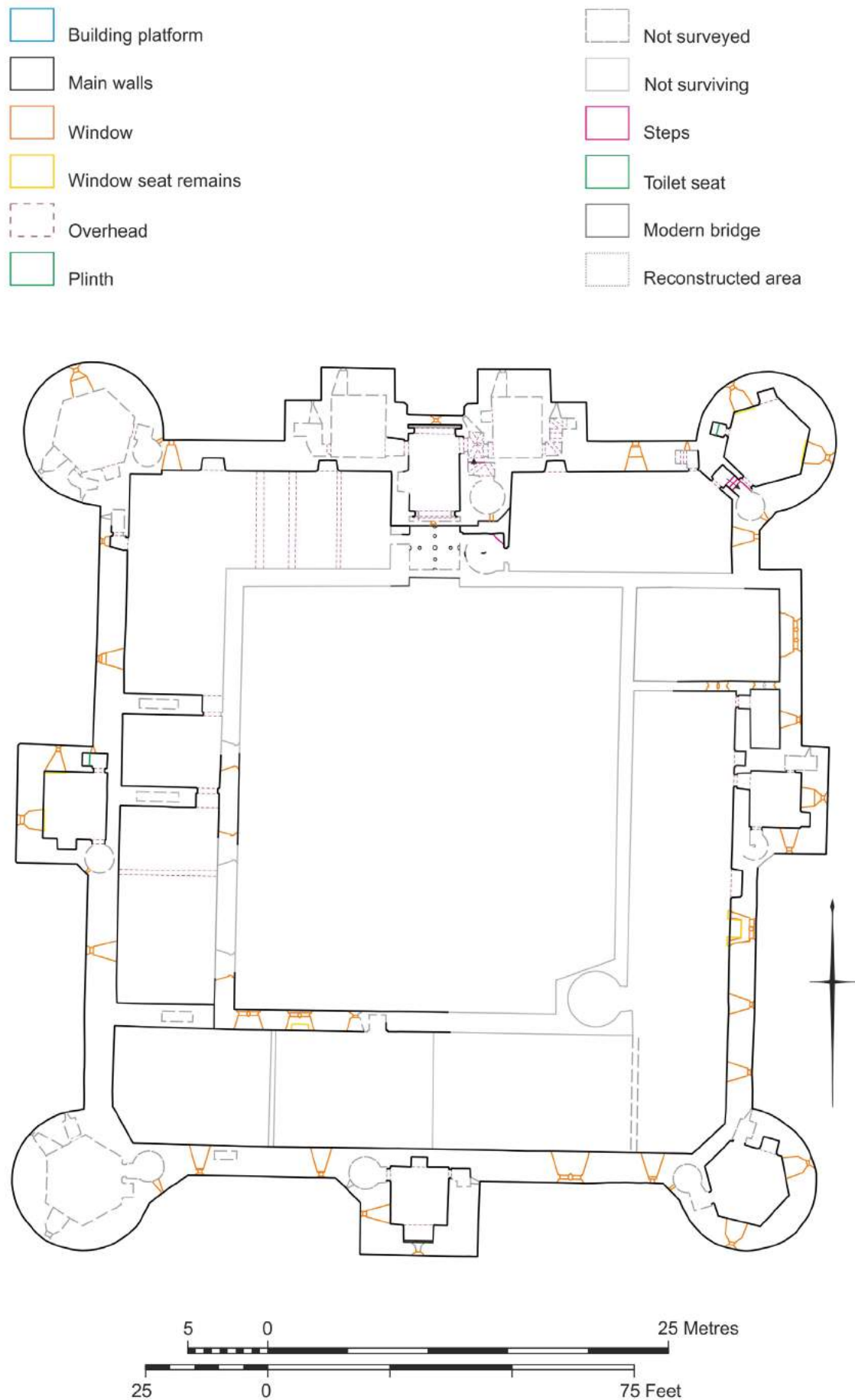


Fig. 3.6: Bodiam Castle, upper floor plan.

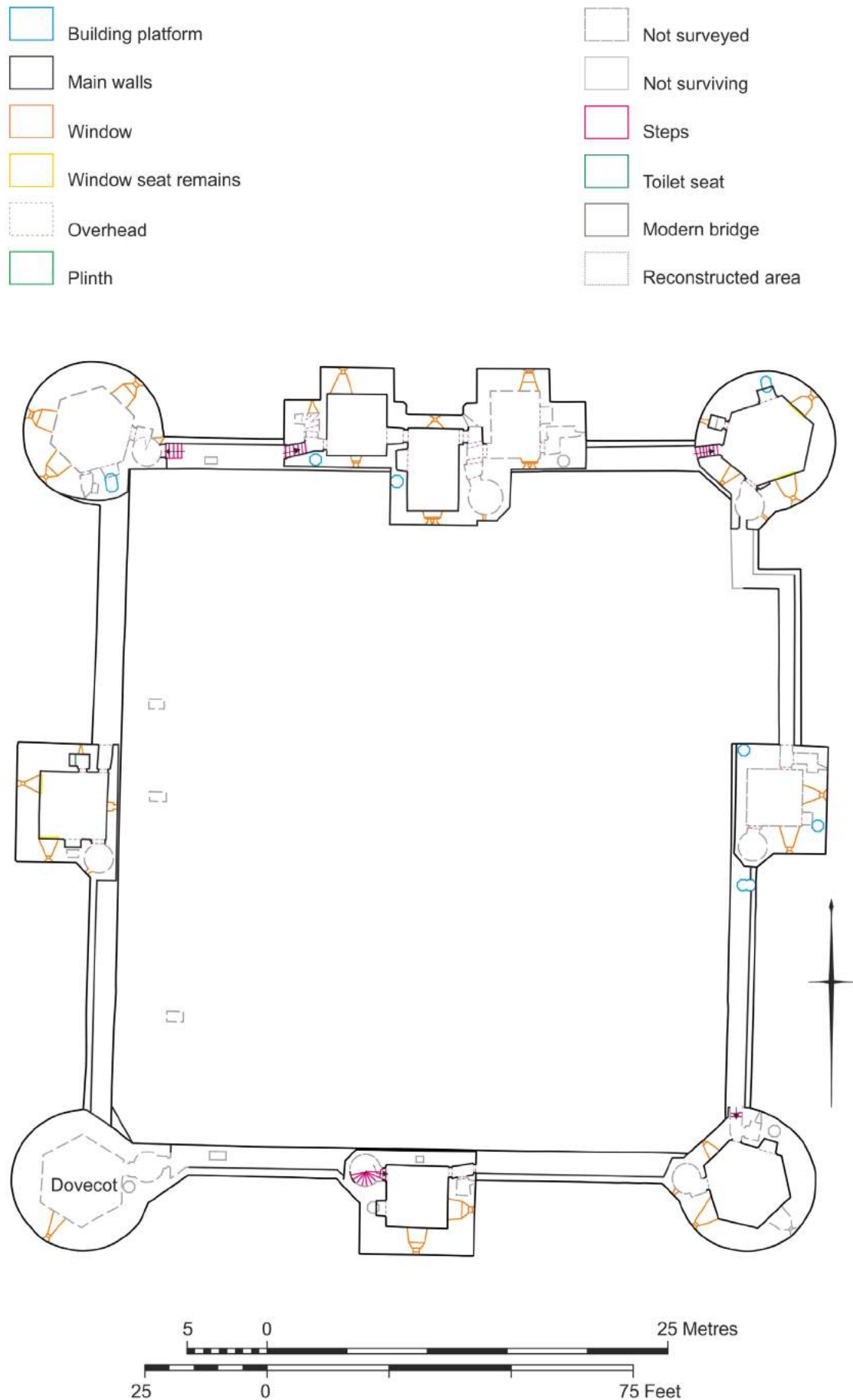


Fig. 3.7: Bodiam Castle, upper chambers plan.

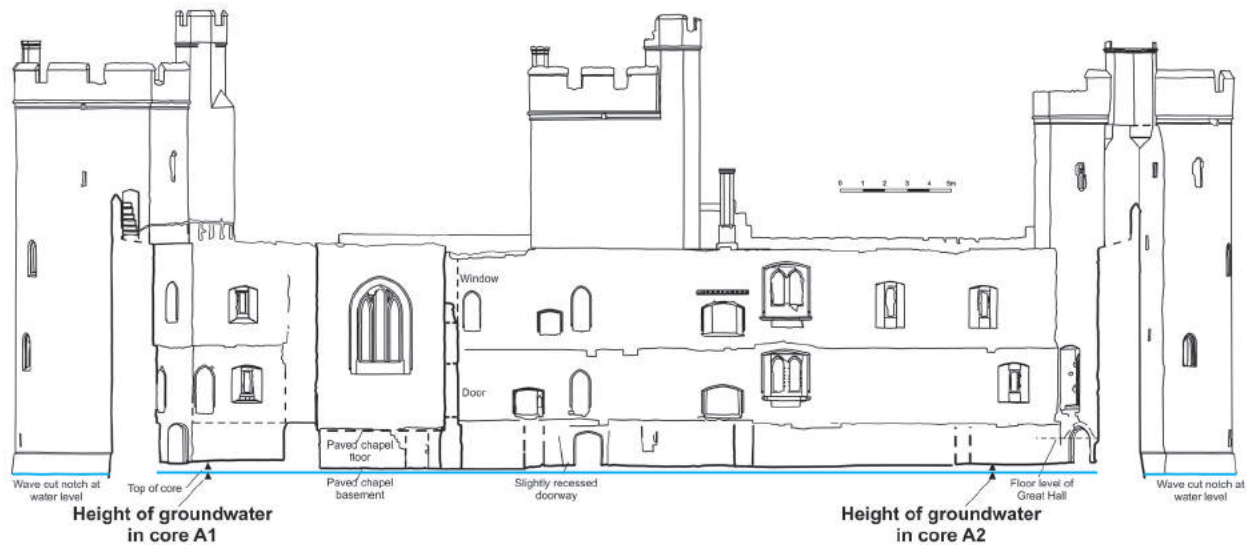


Fig. 3.8: Elevation of east curtain wall, as seen from the courtyard looking east.

their collegiate attitude in sharing their work and in comparing notes on different aspects of the building.

In what follows we describe the castle closely. The reader may find it helpful to consult with Fig. 3.1, a simplified plan of the castle with key elements designated. To be clear about terminology: all the main ranges have at least two floors which we designate ground floor and upper floor, following the British system. There are basements underneath the ground floor on the eastern and southern sides of the buildings (see Fig. 3.4). The towers all have a chamber above the upper floor of the main ranges.

Post-Medieval Use and Restoration

As is characteristic of so many medieval ruins, the fabric of Bodiam was altered in the course of 'restoration' in the 19th to 20th centuries, and these alterations need to be mentally peeled away before an assessment of the medieval fabric can begin. Eighteenth-century watercolours on display at the castle today show the castle in decay, with a small cottage built up against the ruined south range and vegetable gardens in the courtyard (see Chapter Five). Close inspection of the watercolours indicates that this cottage did not simply occupy the space of the former hall; it extended forward into the courtyard, and its rooms possibly extended back into the postern tower. Evidence for this cottage was found in excavations in this area (Barber 2007a); it is visible in joist holes surviving in the masonry above the northern cross-passage door, and also a blocked hole indicating a fireplace in the postern tower that has been opened and reblocked. Pollen evidence from cores taken in the inner courtyard confirms the watercolours' impression of tilled gardens adjoining this cottage (Scaife 2013; see

also Chapter Five). There is also evidence in many of the tower rooms of inserted floors to provide more space (Fig. 3.11). It could be related to agricultural storage but when and why this was done is not clear.

It is known that John 'Mad Jack' Fuller bought the castle to save it from destruction in 1829, and that Fuller spent considerable sums on the estate as a whole (Curzon 1926: 48; Thackray 1991: 26-7; Holland 2011). The nature and extent of Fuller's work on the fabric of the castle itself, however, is quite unclear.

George Cubitt also engaged in restoration work following his purchase of the castle in 1864 but the best known of these restorations is Lord Curzon's work in the years before 1921. Curzon also makes reference in his publication to the earlier work of Cubitt. According to Curzon (1926: 83-4), Cubitt emptied the moat to recover fallen stones and restored them to their (presumed) correct location on the battlements. He also strengthened the foundations of the castle with sandstone and concrete. Cubitt did extensive repairs to the south-west and postern towers, including roofing the postern tower so that views could be taken in from its battlements, and commissioned measured drawings by Tavernor Perry (Curzon 1926: 18, 84), which are of a high quality for their time (Fig. 3.12).

Curzon's work included draining the moat, dredging the outer areas, recording the foundation timbers for the bridges, and doing more work in lifting fallen stones from the moat and strengthening the foundations; his concrete 'apron' or render to the plinth is visible when the level of the moat is low (Fig. 3.13). Curzon also discovered and emptied the well in the south-west tower,

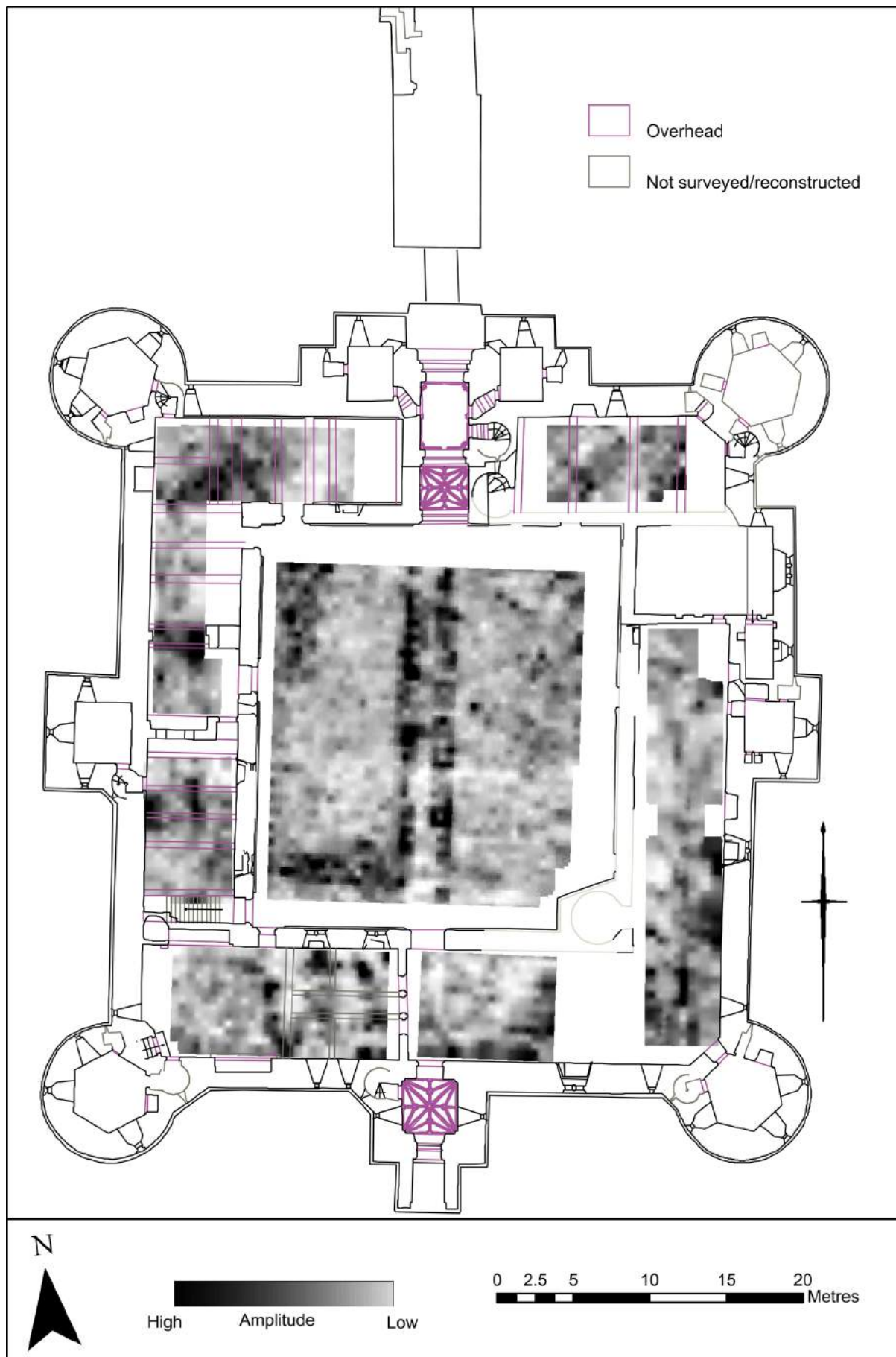


Fig. 3.9: Bodiam Castle, GPR results.

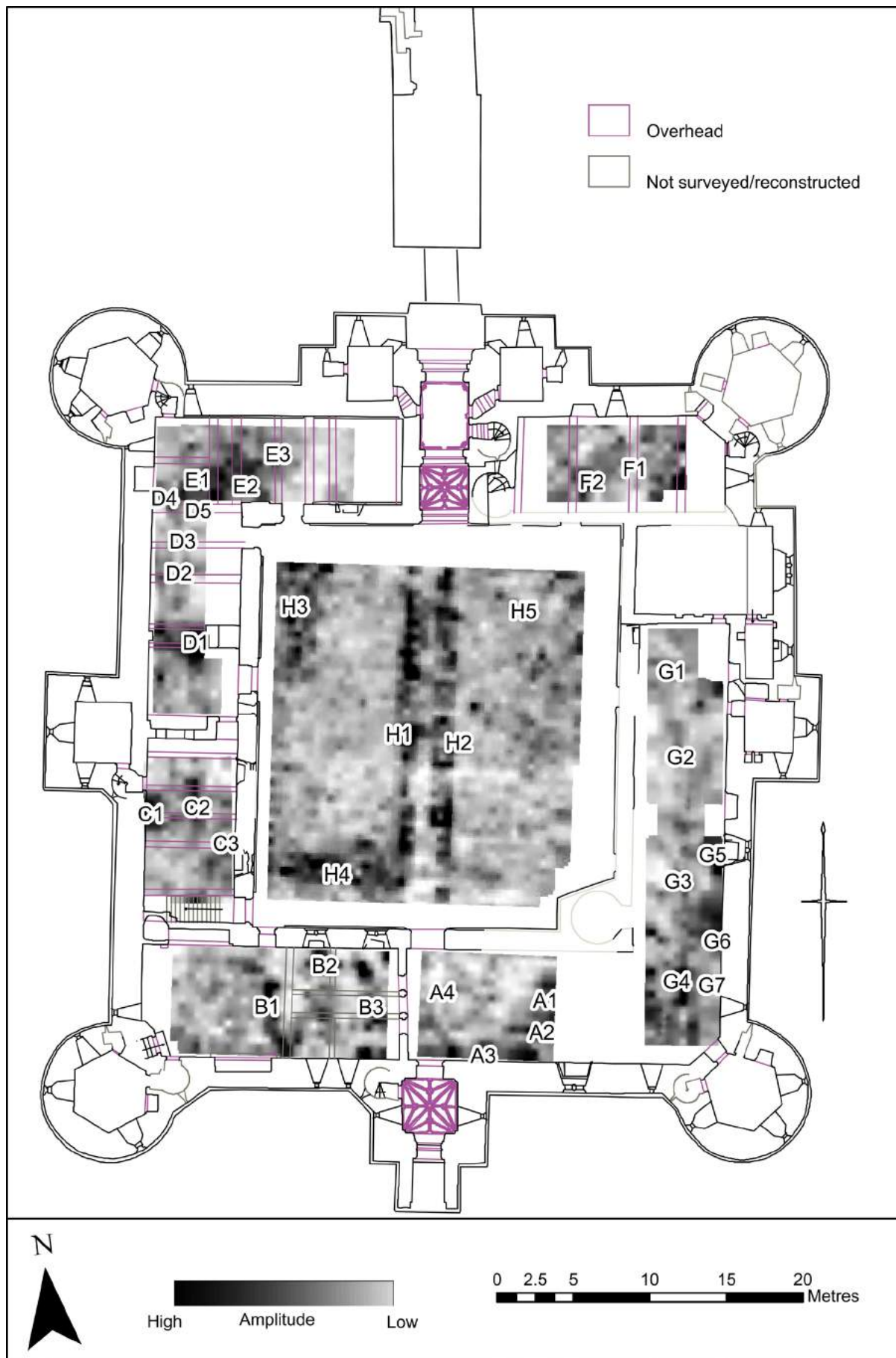


Fig. 3.10: Bodiam Castle GPR results, with key added.



Fig. 3.11: Evidence for inserted floors, western ground floor room of gatehouse. Photo by Penny Copeland.



Fig. 3.13: Curzon's render to the plinth or 'apron'. Photo by Penny Copeland.

strengthening the wall of the tower which in places only survived to a thickness of one stone. He cleared out fallen debris and trees from the interior of the castle, clearing the basements in the process. The courtyard was laid to lawns at this time. The central north-south pathway would have been relaid, but Lambert's 1780s drawing suggests it was done so along an earlier line; the GPR results show the feature running to a great depth, perhaps indicating that it is of some antiquity (Fig. 3.10, H1 & H2).

It is not always easy to distinguish Curzon and Cubitt's work from the original medieval fabric, particularly as original stone was reused and subsequent repointing has concealed changes in mortar. Although the outer walls stand nearly or completely to their full height, the ruinous state of the internal walls hampers

interpretation. Much of the battlements are missing, and where they appear complete, they may well be reconstructions following the salvage of stones from the moat during Cubitt's and Curzon's dredging.

Close observation of the fabric has led us to conclude that there are a number of areas which are most likely to be the work of Fuller, Cubitt and Curzon. The most obvious area is the supporting of the inner cell of the northern gatehouse on the east side (Fig. 3.14). The buttressing wall thickening was built over a spiral staircase and probably uses stone from the first floor of the gatehouse. Obvious restoration was also observed in the large fireplaces in the west range where the openings or chimney walls have been supported by stone voussoirs. In the wall above the window of the great hall very large blocks can be observed which appear out of place. On

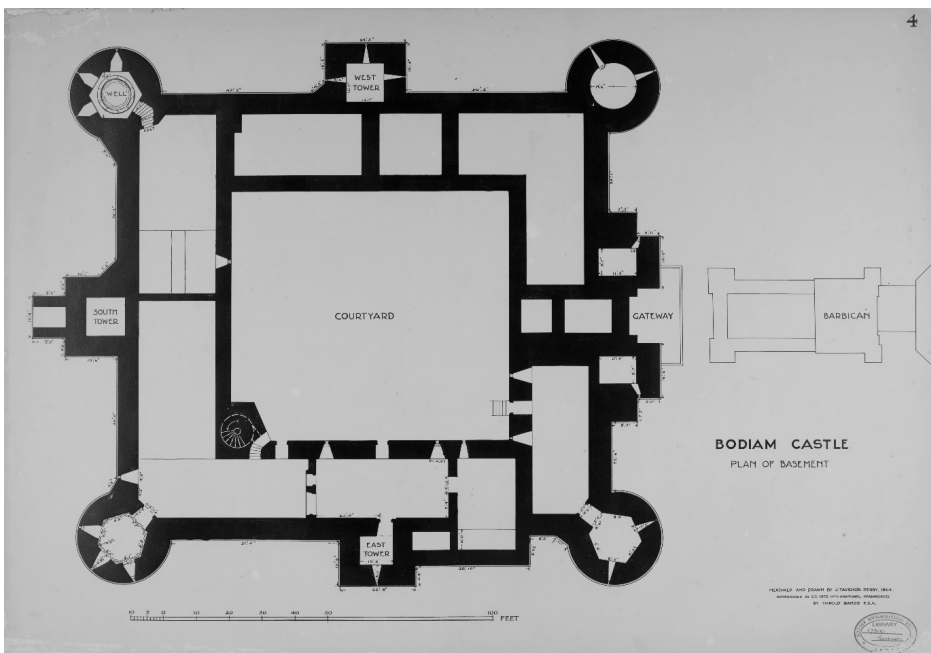


Fig. 3.12: One of Tavernor Perry's drawings, commissioned by Lord Curzon in the 1920s.



Fig. 3.14: Buttress against gatehouse, built up against stair to reach chamber. Photo by Penny Copeland.

the same elevation, the wall above the pantry and buttery around one of the windows appears to have been rebuilt using slightly irregular, less prepared, smaller stones. It is also clear that part of the courtyard wall of the east range has been substantially rebuilt, and this may account for discrepancies in the basement plan of this area between Tavernor Perry in 1864 and the present location of one of the windows. Finally, it seems likely that Fuller is responsible for the roofing over of the postern gatehouse vaulting. There is surviving evidence in the first floor room of lead flashing being pinned to the wall, close to floor level and sloping towards the portcullis grating. This entailed cutting the usual groove in the wall, including through a chamfer stop. The location of the iron pegs also suggests it may have happened when the fireplace was blocked on the inside.

The castle has been in the National Trust's custodianship since Curzon's death in 1925 and much of the work carried out to make the castle accessible and safe for visitors is clearly identifiable, for example the new stairs installed in the chapel since our work commenced in 2010, and the concrete roofs on the towers, dated 1962. Other work is not so obvious or so easily dateable. However, sufficient fabric exists to indicate the nature of much of the late 14th-century interior. First, the nature of interior spaces is indicated by the

presence of fenestration and other piercing of the largely surviving external walls. To clarify, external walls are pierced by, for example, the window lighting the upper end of the hall, windows with window seats for the private apartments and other spaces, doorways into towers and so on. Second, interpretation is helped by the abandonment of Bodiam as a dwelling in the 17th century, and the consequent absence of later structural changes during the life of the castle as a residence that might have obscured or destroyed original detail.

Bodiam 1400-1650

As just noted, there are relatively few changes to the internal fabric of Bodiam that can be dated between the initial build of the 1380s and the abandonment of the building in the 17th century. There is relatively little information on the history and occupation of the castle after the 1380s. The castle passed to the Lewknors in the later 15th century, where the ownership was split among the family until the 1630s when it was united under the Earls of Thanet (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 36). It was probably finally abandoned in the 17th century having quickly changed hands during the Civil War; there is no secure date for this abandonment, but it is perhaps revealing that much of the most visible post-abandonment graffiti in the castle dates to the later 17th century (Cooper 2010). The partial dismantling of the castle interior has been attributed to Nathaniel Powell around 1645, who was building his own house at Ewhurst Place (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 34-9); however, that house is principally built of brick, and it is perhaps more likely that stone went to the early 17th-century rebuilding of Court Lodge (see Chapter Four). The GPR results indicate areas of possible demolition debris in the courtyard (Fig. 3.10, H2, H4 and possibly H5, though this last may alternatively indicate a drain). There is heavy wear on most of the treads of staircases in the castle, and numerous examples of knife sharpening wear on fireplaces, but it is unclear precisely how much of a period of use this wear might indicate.

There appears to be a complex arrangement of fireplaces in the partition walls of the west range; the GPR survey also indicated a series of anomalies in this area that are difficult to explain (Fig. 3.10, C1-C3, with D1 a possible hearth and D2-D5). It has been assumed in the past that this whole area in the western range of the castle is best interpreted in terms of a sequence of changes that were 15th or 16th century in date (for example Goodall 2001). The southern fireplace may have been reduced in size and then shifted in orientation, so that the opening faced north rather than south. It is noteworthy that knife sharpening had



Fig. 3.15: Southern cross wall of western range showing relieving arch and flue or stoke holes. A further retaining arch is visible on the northern side. Note knife sharpening effect on doorway. Photo by Penny Copeland.

taken place on the door jamb in that room; such marks are more commonly found on or next to fireplaces (see Fig. 3.15). The GPR results (Fig. 3.10, D1) appear to show that the northern fireplace had a backing wall to the south suggesting the hearth opened to the north, presumably the earliest arrangement. There is also a door immediately to the east of this fireplace that has been blocked. The date of this blocking is uncertain but there is no indication of a door on Cubitt's plan so it must have been early. However, Paul Drury believes that although the fabric in this area dates from a late period of primary construction, it is not a much later phase, noting that the hearths are integral with the cross walls.

Having discussed later alterations and restoration activity, we can now turn to the surviving remains of the building as it was first constructed in the 1380s.

Building Irregularities

Over the last two decades, the use of advanced survey techniques on high-status medieval buildings, combined with close and informed observation of medieval fabric, has produced new understandings. In particular, evidence has been found of unexpected changes of mind, conflict between builder and client, and other irregularities and anomalies (for example Dixon & Marshall 1993a; 1993b; Impey 2008). Bodiam is no exception. At first sight, it appears to be a single-phase structure of remarkably regular plan with an overall impression of symmetry. However, when one starts to look at the details, a series of anomalies reveal a more complex picture – a picture of builders and owners changing their mind, of different work patterns, of mistakes and changes in alignment – a picture that raises issues in its turn of landscapes of work and lived experience.

We will first list the most significant of these irregularities, working round the castle from the gatehouse in a clockwise fashion, before discussing their interpretation.

Northern gatehouse

It is well known that the rear of the gatehouse incorporates changes of mind, apparently towards the close of the building campaign. The rear, southern, chamber of the gatehouse has a straight joint visible on the east and west sides to indicate that it has been added to the main structure at the front (Fig. 3.16). As a result, the chamber over the rear section is not connected to other chambers in the gatehouse, but is accessed independently from a separate staircase (Fig. 3.14). It is possible that this separate southern staircase gave access to the upper floor of the north-east range, and also, via the room above the southern gatehouse chamber, to the north-west range as well.

Less well known is the leafy boss (Fig. 3.17). This is the centrepiece of the vault in the narrow corridor linking the gatehouse stair to the first floor chamber over the gate passage and also to the chamber in its east tower; it was first pointed out to us by David and Barbara Martin. This boss is the only surviving piece of figurative sculpture in the whole building; Coulson has noted that the building as a whole is remarkably plain (1993: 76-7). There is an oral tradition that the boss has been moved to this location from the now-ruined barbican, where such a boss is visible in a watercolour of 1784 by S.H. Grimm. However the extant boss is carved as a single piece with four radiating ribs and looks particularly well built in to the surrounding stonework. The Grimm drawing shows the barbican boss with six radiating ribs which, if it is accurate, must rule out its identification with the extant boss. It is possible that there were further carved bosses in



Fig. 3.16: West side of gatehouse showing the straight joint between the original and the southern sections. Photo by Matthew Johnson.



Fig. 3.17: Leafy boss in the first floor corridor of the gatehouse. Photos by Penny Copeland.

the castle but apart from the south-eastern tower basement, there are no other surviving vaulted ceilings of a similar type, and although similar locations could have been used their vaulting generally consists of a series of substantial single ribs. The extant vaults in the north-western and southern gatehouses do not have bosses of a similar type. The boss appears to have been lime washed or some other application at some point but apart from the heraldry on the gates, which was presumably painted, there is no evidence anywhere in the castle for decorative paint, though there is pecking for plaster on many surfaces.

A further anomaly exists at basement level to the east of the gatehouse. What appears to be a small plinth



Fig. 3.18: Plinth to the east of the gatehouse showing a slight misalignment reused to support a beam. Photo by Penny Copeland.

protrudes from the northern half of the gatehouse, on a slightly different alignment from the wall above. A further small plinth protrudes at a lower level on the southern half of the gatehouse (Fig. 3.18). Both these plinths would be concealed on the western side if they exist, as there are no basements on this side. Neither of these plinths has corresponding features on other walls.

The small turret housing the newel staircase at the southern side of the gatehouse has a change in diameter close to the top of the tower rooms, reducing in size marginally at this point. This turret is anomalous in the design of the gatehouse as it is the only part with a string course. The south-east tower also has a definite change in the shape of its corresponding staircase turret where the diameter of the turret just below the string course increases noticeably.

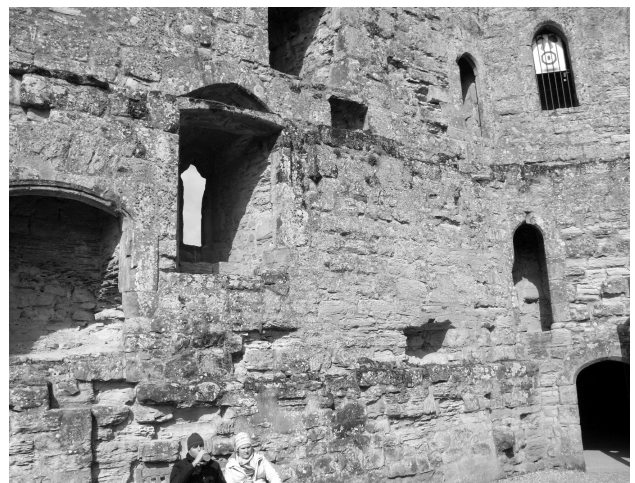


Fig. 3.19: Window in north-east range of unusual design. Photo by Penny Copeland.



Fig. 3.20: Straight joint in external wall to east of gatehouse. Photo by Penny Copeland.

North-east side of castle

The curtain wall east of the gatehouse has fireplaces and windows consistent with lodgings over two storeys. However, there is one window that is anomalous (Fig. 3.19). Its apex is too high for the ceiling of the lower floor, and is also of a unique design within the building. A further window in the south side of the north-eastern range has the top of the window apparently above or very close to the floor level above. Unrelated to the window, there has been a possible subsequent insertion of a cross wall dividing up this range, indicated by a low amplitude trench in the GPR (Fig. 3.10, F1) running from north to south, lining up with a corbel and roof timber notch.

On the exterior wall between the gatehouse and the north-eastern tower there is a straight joint in the masonry (Fig. 3.20). This is probably no more than the result of masons working in different teams or in different building seasons but there may have been some ancient structural failure here as a crack seems to have been filled between seasons. There are stones above the crack which appear to be original but do not display signs of cracking.

In the topmost floor of the north-eastern tower, the location of the door onto the spiral staircase, close to the door onto the walkways, has resulted in the wall

having to be slightly recessed to allow the door to open. The recess is capped by a shouldered arch at a matching height to that of the adjacent window, making the recess a decorative feature while supporting the wall above (Fig. 3.21). This is strongly suggestive of a change of mind, perhaps for access to the stairwell.

Eastern range

The interpretation of the eastern range, particularly in the area of the chapel, the eastern tower and the adjacent areas, is particularly complex. There are a number of reasons for this. First, Paul Drury and his team have discovered that an earlier stone structure consisting of two rectangular cells is embedded in the lower levels of the east range, its north wall within what is now the chapel, its south wall running a little south of the western tower and its east and west walls embedded in the later castle walls (Drury & Copeman 2016, fig. 14). It is unclear how much earlier this structure is, and whether it relates to an earlier phase of occupation on the site; but it is probable that it dates to no more than a few years before the castle proper.

Second, there are indications of changes of mind during the early stages of castle construction. The external chapel and sacristy wall is on a slightly different alignment

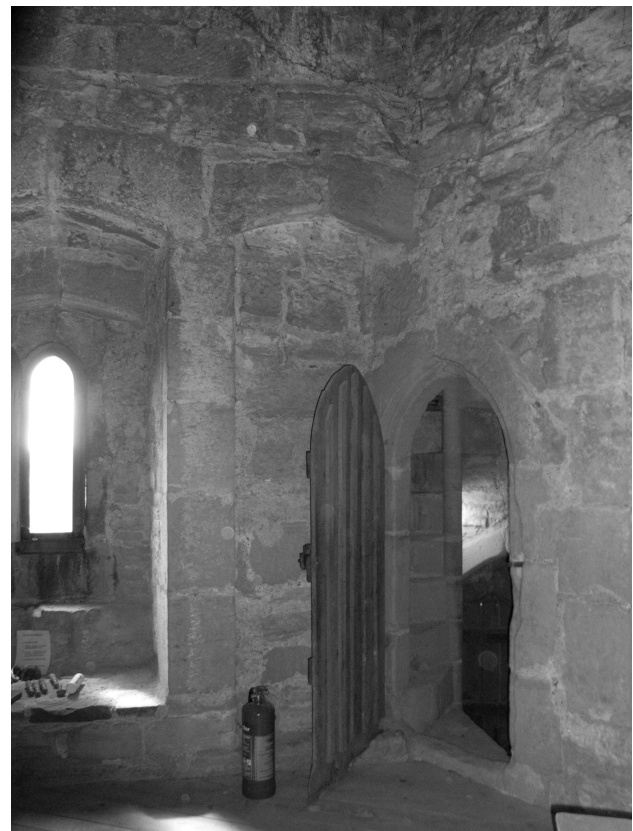


Fig. 3.21: Recess with lintel in wall of chamber floor of north-east tower. Photo by Penny Copeland.

to the rest of the east curtain wall, extending into the moat from the line of the curtain wall. The line of the main curtain wall appears to continue as the line of an internal wall through the basement of the chapel and the ground floor of the sacristy. This internal wall however is thinner than the other curtain walls of the castle, so the extension of the sacristy and chapel into the moat cannot be a later addition. A stub of a wall remains in the chapel basement which is too close to another wall to define a corridor or second room but which on Drury's analysis formed the north wall of the earlier structure (Fig. 3.22), removed when the south wall of the chapel basement was built. Curzon states clearly that foundations of this wall, over two feet thick, were found

running parallel to the south wall of the nave and leaving a space or passage of about two feet between them. The wall appears to have been cut off where it abutted on to the retaining wall of the sanctuary and the west wall of the chapel

(Curzon 1926: 103)

Interpretation of this area is hampered by Curzon's extensive restoration here.

The two doors on the south side of the chapel, giving access to the private apartments and the sacristy respectively, are on different levels (Fig. 3.22); the stairs up to the sacristy have been restored, probably by Curzon. A difference in level between the altar space and the rest of the chapel is to be expected, but the sacristy is on a third, higher level again. This means that the door leading into the sacristy is higher than the door leading into the apartments. It is an unusual arrangement, with the areas below the sacristy and the chancel altar of the chapel being the only 'dead' spaces in the castle, with no access and no apparent purpose.



Fig. 3.22: Differences in floor levels in the chapel. Photo by Penny Copeland.

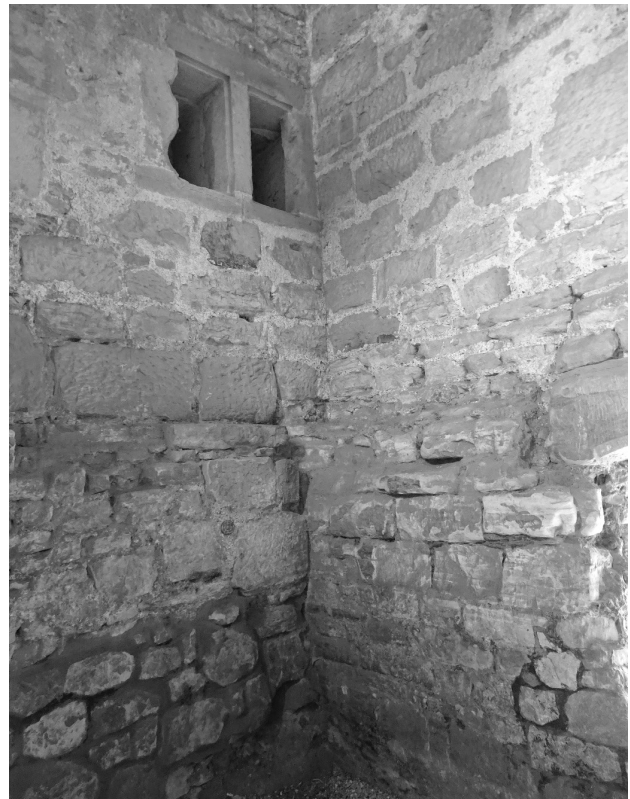


Fig. 3.23: Straight joint and rebuilt walls in basement level of east tower, also showing cupboards where stair access would normally be. Photo by Penny Copeland.

It is tempting to think that this dead space is due to the change in design once the new chapel arrangement had been proposed and the builders just trying to catch up.

The east tower is slightly north of where it should be to be precisely symmetrical with the west tower (see Figs 3.4-3.7). The interior of this tower shows many irregularities in construction (Fig. 3.23). At basement level, both inside and in the rooms outside the tower, the walls appear to have been reconstructed or thickened at a later date, so that the door to the tower is recessed. Entering the tower, the thicker, rougher wall continues around clockwise until it meets a straight joint in the south-west corner of the tower. Although this straight joint continues up to ground floor level, there has been some obvious rebuilding of the lower part of the west wall so interpretation is difficult. In the corner of the room above the basement is a pair of cupboards built into the thickness of the wall, with rebates for doors. The equivalent position on both the floors above is the doorway to a spiral staircase leading upwards. The lack of access to the stair at this point prohibits movement from ground to upper floor within these apartments. The cupboard is considerably shallower than the staircase suggesting a void or particularly thick wall behind it.

On the north side of the east tower at ground floor level there is now a doorway into a latrine. On closer



Fig. 3.24: Fireplace in main range that connects through to east tower recess. Photo by Penny Copeland.

inspection, the doorway replaces an earlier, now blocked, opening where the relieving arch survives in the same position to the window on the opposite wall. The position of the blocked window is such that it would have opened onto the thickness of the sacristy wall to its north. This is further evidence that the chapel is a later amendment. Externally, matters are further confused by the perfect course matching on the exterior stone between the tower and the chapel extension but the coursing is mismatched between the chapel and the east wall of the original build. Mismatched coursing is not unusual on the exterior face of the castle however, and should be considered the norm, and only the very lowest courses of the external castle walls are regularly bonded in at internal corners.

The fireplace heating the lower, inner room to the private apartments has an arch composed of tiles on its inner, southern face that now opens into the tower. From the apartment side, it looks like a bread oven framed with voussoir tiles (Fig. 3.24), but from the tower, it opens into a recess with a segmented arch above it; this segmented arch is of a similar form to relieving arches elsewhere in the castle. The purpose of this space remains uncertain but the connection is deliberate, and the recess has no flue so it is dependent on the connected fireplace for fuel such as charcoal.

Along the central part of the east range, it is noticeable that the wall surfaces are extremely poorly preserved, with no recognisable surface surviving. This is unusual within the castle and, together with a corbel, has suggested that there was stone vaulting here which has been robbed out. However, the floor level of the ground floor is easy to see and there is little height for such vaulting above the windows. It is possible therefore that some of the facing has been removed or sold off and the remainder of the damage is weathering.

To the north of the south-east tower the room east of the great hall is narrower than the rooms to the north - a clear change somewhere around the access to the spiral stair in the corner of the courtyard. There is no clear reason for this change in alignment, though it may be related to the width being defined by the masonry cross wall of the south range (that is, the wall behind the high end of the hall). It does suggest that the room dividing walls were not thought out at the same time as the external walls.

Above the basement level, there is almost no surviving evidence for room divisions in the upper floors of the east range, the only clues being the arrangement of the windows and doors. In other areas of the castle, there are mortices for beams or slots for roof supports but neither of these are clear here. The possible presence of a drain, indicated in the GPR results (Fig. 3.10, G2-G4) should also be noted here.

Southern (postern) gatehouse

In the upper floor chamber over the gatehouse, a pair of mortices in the southern wall, about 1.5 m above the present floor, might be made out. Copeland and Cooper interpret these as possible mortices for a drawbridge chain. Johnson is not persuaded that these mortices exist; it is certainly the case that if these really are mortices that were subsequently plugged, the plugging was done very neatly. Readers can make up their own minds (Fig. 3.25). There are also two mortices lower down in this wall, just above the present floor. These have been plugged with lead and stone, possibly at the same time the vaulting below was protected with a roof, an action we attributed above to Fuller.



Fig. 3.25: Possible sites of mortices for drawbridge chain. Photo by Penny Copeland.



Fig. 3.26: Window to basement of service range excavated by Curzon, also showing the substantial mortices for wall partitions. Photo by Penny Copeland.

The service range and south-west tower

The northern wall of the service range (Fig. 3.26) features a small window which should give light onto a basement which Curzon is known to have excavated, and for which there is some evidence in the GPR results (Fig. 3.10, B1-B3). The height of the window would have overlapped with the floor level to either side if the floor in this area was not also raised over the basement. The height of the steps through the three doors in the cross-passage and large mortices in the walls suggest that the whole of the service end was raised over a basement, although the floor level in the kitchen itself appears to have been similar to the present day level.

There are a number of chamfer anomalies on the service and western range. For example, the door opening from the kitchen into the courtyard has a chamfer that is wider than the opening. The overlap is now visible on the west side but has been cunningly concealed to the east by small shaped stones. The southern, external face of the wall of the kitchen fireplace between the postern and the south-west tower has a straight joint visible and an irregular joint created by mismatched coursing. Like others in the building, this is probably no more than evidence for different masons' work or building seasons. The joints do not continue to the full height of the wall. The northern wall of the kitchen has a full height vertical straight joint meeting the corner of the internal courtyard wall. The corbelling of the fireplace suggests that it is part of the original design, so the joint is probably no more than an indication of the method of building.

The entrance to the chamber containing the well in the south-west tower protrudes slightly from the line of the wall above (Fig. 3.27). The first angle is almost

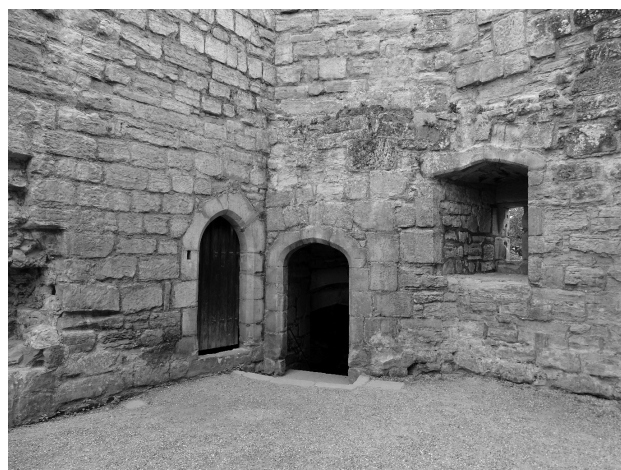


Fig. 3.27: Kitchen layout showing the unusual ledge at upper floor level for a possible partition of the well and staircase areas. Note the difference in height and width between the staircase door and the well door. Photo by Penny Copeland.

90 degrees from the south wall; it is then angled north-west to meet the west external wall. The wall above for the first floor has a single angle between the south and west walls, but the angle neither runs parallel to the tower or to either of the walls below. The change in angle of the first floor creates a ledge; however it is not clear what the ledge is for. The possibility that this supported a floor runs counter to the indication of the full height window and the assumption that the kitchen was two storeys high. There may have been a partition at this point with joists for a mezzanine resting on the ledge. A further detail of this area is the raised step into the staircase doorway next to the well. We can imagine the kitchen being mopped regularly and this raised step would have kept the water and grease out of the area. This might also explain the raised floor level in the pantry/buttery area.



Fig. 3.28: Double latrine and window at northern end of western range with inconsistent chamfers. Photo by Penny Copeland.

Western range

Another anomaly occurs in the window on the ground floor next to the double latrine towards the north end of the western range (Fig. 3.28). The chamfer above this window is of a standard type, stopping at a straight edge down. However, on the south side of the window, the outer edge of the jamb opening has been chamfered starting from the stone below the lintel. The north side is not chamfered. The double latrine, which is the only one in the castle, has a continuous chamfered opening on both sides and the top of the arch.

North-west tower

The north-west tower has an odd plan externally. Where the other towers have diagonal walls on the courtyard face, here there is an internal right angle, as if a 'bite' has been taken out of the plan. Just below parapet level on the east side of the tower above the wall-walk door, there is what appears to be a single corbel with no apparent function. The string course common to all towers without gates ends here just short of the corbel (Fig. 3.29). It is possible that the stones here were some of those replaced by Curzon, but there is no other indication of restoration at this point. A notch has been carved above this corbel, possibly to divert rainwater from its top, similar to treatment of chimneys against walls in other areas.

There is a straight joint between the north-west tower and the adjacent curtain wall, when observed internally, with the tower apparently built up against the wall. This may be another result of different masons' activities, particularly when it is considered in conjunction with the small but unique rebate with slight overhang/notch found where the northern elevation meets the north-western tower (Fig. 3.30).



Fig. 3.29: Change from corbel to string course on the north-west tower. Photo by Penny Copeland.



Fig. 3.30: Possible straight joint between north-west tower and north wall. Photo by Penny Copeland.

The Building Process

Many of these irregularities have no obvious or convincing explanation, but the following general comments can be offered. As seems to have been common practice with comparable buildings, the circuit of the outer curtain wall was largely built before the inner walls. It is most likely that building started around the northern gatehouse area and moved east and then south. Around the chapel/eastern tower area, before construction of the walls got beyond 2 m or so above ground level, the archaeological evidence suggests that there may have been a change of mind over the plan. If so, this change of mind was rapidly resolved and the building of the outer curtain wall continued, with some irregularities, around the south-west corner of the castle. At this point, that is with the outer walls built around to the south-west tower, the position of the upper chambers, hall, kitchen and latrines of the castle had all been thought out, as they were defined by the piercing of the hall and other windows, chimney flues and latrine chutes even if the inner walls were not yet in place. After this point in the building process the planning of the building becomes less integrated. The west curtain wall, and north wall west of the gatehouse, have few piercings and it is possible that the function of the western range had not been fully determined at

this point. Work then continued with construction of the inner walls. The problem with the inner walls and the need for an inner gatehouse became apparent very early. The completeness of the northern gatehouse before the inner gatehouse was added is apparent from the slit windows in the staircase on the first floor that were later concealed.

The change of mind over the chapel area was not the only design alteration during the building of the castle. There is evidence from the exterior of the castle that its design was changed either in the latter stages of the building campaign or immediately afterwards. Excavations by David Martin during draining and dredging of the moat in 1970 indicated that the stone causeway between the barbican and the main gate were inserted after the initial construction of a timber bridge. Martin noted 'evidence for a complete reorganisation of the main entrance layout soon after its initial construction', possibly due to problems with the functioning of the original bridge and drawbridge arrangements (1973: 17).

We can possibly attribute the change in style between the gatehouses with substantial machicolations and the towers with string courses but without machicolations to a change in design also. At neighbouring Scotney, built in the 1370s, the surviving corner tower is notable for its machicolated summit. We know that the north gatehouse at Bodiam was built early in the construction sequence and it seems possible that the unusual corbel on the north-west tower may be the point at which the design of the tower summits changed (Fig. 3.29).

The change in work between seasons is clearly visible in the stone work of the southern part of the east curtain wall (Fig. 3.31). The south-east tower has been completed up to the top of the ground floor window and the wall to the north is staggered downwards to a lower level. The top few courses are completed in smaller stones. When the next building season arrived, larger stones were used and had to be cut to shape over those in place. No attempt was made to continue a course.

The lack of surviving building accounts means that dating of the building campaign is not certain; the licence to crenellate of 1385 has no necessary relationship to the beginning, end or duration of building works. Whittick's assessment is that it probably marks the end of a campaign possibly stretching back to the late 1370s; Dallingridge was selling manors elsewhere in the country in the years before this, possibly to finance the building works (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 31). Drury on the other hand views it as likely that building started



Fig. 3.31: Southern section of the east curtain wall showing different building seasons. Photo by Penny Copeland.

later than this and continued into the early 1390s. The length of the building campaign can be estimated at five to ten years. The stylistic uniformity of the building is evidence for its rapid completion, and our general impression of the form and size of the pig joints suggest this also.

It is worth noting broadly that little attention has been paid to the economics of the castle-building process at Bodiam, as opposed to the supposedly defensive or display elements of the final product. The lack of building accounts also means that any assessment of the cost of the castle must be an estimate. At the contemporary Cooling Castle, accounts for almost £600 survive and the whole building at Cooling may have cost over double this (Goodall 2011: 314). Bodiam castle is built of Wealden sandstone of generally good but occasionally variable quality (Fig. 3.20). The source is not certain but may well be from a quarry site some hundreds of metres to the north of the castle, where the sandstone ridge is close to the surface. Batches of highly variable quality were used; it would seem that a single quarry or outcrop produced batches of variable stone. There are twelve mason's marks described by Curzon (1926: 112) and we have observed at least another two.

Understanding the Bodiam Layout

In its broader outlines, elements of the Bodiam plan are quite standard for a later 14th-century building. The plan is centred around a ground floor hall with 'private' suites of rooms coming out from its upper end and a service range beyond the cross-passage, with triple doors leading to buttery, pantry and kitchen (for comparable examples see Wood 1965, and for the development of this plan see Gardiner 2000 and Johnson 2010b: 68-77). Other elements of the plan –

gatehouse, chapel, lodgings – are also to be found in most houses of similar date and social standing. There are however several elements of the Bodiam layout that are worth commenting on.

'Regularity' and integrated nature of the plan

As noted above, there are irregularities and apparent changes of mind in different elements of the castle. Nevertheless, the final result is a tightly integrated building, particularly on the east and south ranges of the castle. The plan is oriented to the cardinal points with a 1.2 degree of accuracy and the rectangle of the castle walls is almost perfect (Figs 3.4 & 3.5). Other later 14th-century buildings in south-east England are not so tightly integrated. The main domestic elements at Scotney lie in a solar-service range that runs across the middle of a roughly rhomboid enclosure with four corner towers, one of which survives. At Cooling the two courtyards cover a much larger area than at Bodiam; what remains of the curtain wall of the inner courtyard has few fenestrations and domestic buildings seem to have been built up against them. At Westenhamer the plan of the inner courtyard bears a superficial resemblance to Bodiam. Circular corner towers alternate with rectangular interval towers. However, the late medieval layout of Westenhamer is the result of piecemeal accretion rather than a single building campaign (Martin & Martin 2001).

In addition to the tightly integrated nature of the plan, the building is remarkably stylistically consistent. There is a range of different window and arch types including four-centred and segmented forms. Somebody standing in the inner courtyard at Bodiam would have been surrounded by ranges of doors and windows that would have been remarkably uniform. The most notable parallel here is Edward III's building in the upper court at Windsor, dating to the 1360s (Goodall 2011: 289). This building has a uniform and even monotonous series of very tall windows whose design and tracery are in the Perpendicular style. Goodall comments 'the regular proportions of the two-storey range enclosing the inner court are ultimately derived from the upper ward at Windsor'. The royal castle of Windsor is clearly a very different social level to Bodiam but the stylistic similarities are apparent. John Harvey has suggested that the design of Bodiam bears the influence of the architect/mason Henry Yevele. Yevele, like most master masons of his time, worked on a wide range of building projects from royal to gentry level and spanning both religious and domestic architecture (Harvey 1954: 358-66; Goodall 2011: 310-17).

On the other hand the uniformity of plan and architectural detail is less apparent on the west side of the building than on the east. The suite of private apartments of the hall clearly had a very regular design; the pattern of these designs is repeated in some elements on the west side. However, the west side is clearly not as regular, or at least is laid out to slightly different principles. The subsequent alterations on the west side make interpretation problematic here. In any case the inner walls are so ruinous as to make further comment difficult.

The closest parallels to the tightly integrated plan of Bodiam lie a little further afield: the later 14th-century castles of north-east England, particularly Wressle, Sheriff Hutton and Bolton. These castles were all of rectangular or subrectangular plan, they feature a multiplicity of lodgings, and the domestic ranges are integral to the external walls rather than simply being built up against them. Though their towers are rectangular or square rather than circular, they contain lodgings in a manner similar to Bodiam. Of these, Wressle and Sheriff Hutton were residences of the great Percy earls of Northumberland, but Bolton was built by Lord Scrope who was of a broadly comparable social standard to Dallingridge. Despite its bleak and imposing external appearance, and its lack of a moat and prominent gatehouse, the 'footprint' of Bolton is quite modest and of a comparable size to Bodiam.

The western range

The functions of the rooms in the west range of the castle remain uncertain. It was here that Douglas Simpson located accommodation for mercenaries, and following this line of thought, the southern room next to the kitchen has sometimes been misleadingly designated the 'servants' hall'. Though highly ruinous, enough remains of the inner walls to suggest that the fenestration and detailing of this part of the castle was conducted to the same integrated scheme as the rest, and with the same high standards of masonry and detailing. However, there are few windows piercing the western and north curtain walls, and the stairs on this side of the building are wooden flights rather than stone spirals. One possibility is that the intended function of this area may have been unclear to the builders as they constructed the outer circuit. (An alternative possibility is that windows were excluded from this area as being the area adjacent to high ground and therefore considered most vulnerable to attack, or more broadly that given that the west curtain wall faced higher ground and the north-west approach, this façade was intended to have a more severe appearance). This is, of course, the one area of the interior of the castle where there may have been substantial post-1380s changes.

It is perfectly possible that the service rooms with large fireplaces had a range of uses. The fireplaces are so large as to suggest a kitchen but this may be extended to a brewery, oast, laundry or light industrial use for example; magnetic anomalies found during geophysical work indicate that either iron or ceramic production took place in the area between the western edge of the castle moat and the eastern edge of the village tenements though the date of this activity is not clear (see Chapter Four for further discussion). The GPR results indicate a series of features in this area, including a possible drain, and deep hearth (Fig. 3.10, D3 and D1 respectively).

The north range west of the gatehouse has been identified as stables, and the position is at first sight a logical one. However the doorways appear to be too narrow for this purpose, and the plinths for a suspended floor argue against this, although GPR anomalies indicate possible subsurface drains both here and on the other side of the gatehouse (Fig. 3.10, E1-E3 & F2). Indications in the GPR results of foundations of a cross wall between 'stables' and western service range should also be noted here (D4 & D5). There is also evidence for a large window with a window seat (Fig. 3.32) – an unusual feature for a stable. If the stables are indeed not within the central court, they must be elsewhere, and we suggest below that they may have been sited on the ridge to the north as part of a detached 'base court'.

Lack of a base court

Bodiam is unusual in, apparently, lacking a base or lower court. Contemporary structures in south-east England such as Cooling, Scotney, and Westenhamer all have a base court; even the local moated site at Iden, licenced to crenellate in 1318, has a second or base court outside the inner moated enclosure. Amberley, Scotney, Cooling and Farleigh Hungerford all have two courts, created in all three cases by the laying-out of a roughly quadrangular curtain wall and ranges of buildings around an earlier hall-service-chamber block, thus creating courtyards on both the front and back sides of the block. The little-studied Halnaker House appears to have a similar arrangement with a court to the south of the hall and a second area to the north (Emery 2006: 299, 342 and fig. 77). Further afield, Bolton in north Yorkshire lacks a base court but the other great later 14th-century castles of the north-east (for example Wressle and Sheriff Hutton) do not. Warkworth has two 'courts' in the sense of possessing both the very large and complex donjon on the motte and the hall-service-chamber block in the courtyard. Chris Currie, in specific reference to the late 14th-century Dartington Hall (2004), has argued

that the use of base courts was not so widespread in the middle ages, but Emery (2007) is in fundamental disagreement. It might be considered puzzling then that Bodiam is of a single court plan.

One possible solution to this issue lies in the earthworks at the top of the hill. Named the 'Gun Garden', and interpreted as a viewing platform by the Royal Commission survey (Taylor *et al.* 1990), these earthworks probably mark the site of the earlier manor, as discussed in Chapters Two and Four. Documentary references indicate that the manorial court continued at this location into the 15th century (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 32). It is very possible, then, that this hilltop site served the functions that at other castles were carried out in the base court. They are admittedly quite a distance of c. 250 m from the castle. A possible alternative that has been mooted is that ancillary buildings including stables lay to the immediate north of the castle, underneath what was until 2015 the ticket office, but there is no archaeological evidence supporting such a suggestion.

If in fact the 'castle' of Bodiam is split between these two sites, then we might think of the inner courtyard, splendidly isolated within its moat and set apart from the rest of the landscape, in rather different terms: as a larger version of a gloriette as at Leeds and the northern French castle of Hesdin, or as an isolated courtyard-keep.

The northern gatehouse

We commented above on the changes of mind involved in the layout of the northern gatehouse. In its original conception, the northern gatehouse consisted of a single chamber whose vaults were ribbed and provided with 'murder holes'. This single chamber had a staircase



Fig. 3.32: Window seat and plinth in northern range often interpreted as stables. Photo by Penny Copeland.



Fig. 3.33: Suites at the upper end of the hall, viewed from the summit of the southern gatehouse; see also Fig. 3.7. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

turret to its east and a pair of projecting towers flanking the doorway. The external walls are well provided with gunports suitable for smaller hand guns. In these respects, the original conception of the gatehouse was very similar to the Westgate, part of the city walls of Canterbury, first documented in 1380 and completed by 1385; the gatehouse of Saltwood in Kent, built in the last two decades of the 14th century; and further afield, the gatehouse of Caldicot in Monmouthshire, another 1380s building (Goodall 2011: 309, 336). Both the Westgate and Saltwood are also associated with Henry Yevele (Harvey 1954: 358-66). Both the Westgate and Saltwood have slim towers that are circular rather than rectangular but otherwise the similarities are striking. Internally, above the ground floor, the northern gatehouse at Bodiam is divided into lodgings, a feature it shares with Saltwood and the southern gatehouse. Parts of the wooden portcullis for the northern gatehouse survive within its original groove and housing and have been radiocarbon dated to the later 14th century, suggesting that they are original (Martin & Martin 2005).

Suites above the hall

At the upper end of the hall, running up the east range, are two suites, each indicated by fenestration and other features and divided up by now-vanished timber partitions (Figs 3.7 & 3.33). Both consisted of an unheated outer room, an inner chamber with fireplace and window seat, and a further inner chamber with fireplace and window seat facing onto the courtyard. Both inner chambers have doors to rooms in the east tower, which do not intercommunicate. This is the only tower where these two levels do not have a connecting stair. The lower suite has a door into the chapel, while

the upper suite has a northern window and door into a smaller chamber that looks down into the chapel. The two suites are linked with each other and with the hall solely through the now-destroyed spiral staircase at the junction of the two ranges.

The double nature is unusual for this date, and not easily explained. Pevsner, Goodall and Thackray all note this arrangement without proposing a convincing explanation. It is possible that Dallingridge and his wife Elizabeth Wardedieu had separate suites. The upper suite has a private chamber looking down into the chapel, a feature that Gilchrist (1999) has identified as characteristic of spaces for elite women. Gilchrist also observes that such women's spaces were often relatively inaccessible, and it is striking that the upper floors of the west tower confirm what Gilchrist would expect, although there is a wall-walk here linking the north and north-east towers. Enhanced provision for Wardedieu might also reflect her status in the area – the manor of Bodiam was originally that of her family, and only passed to Dallingridge on her father's death. However the upper suite also has the larger and more ornamented fireplace. A final possibility is that the lower suite was intended for a steward or other chief officer of the Dallingridge household.

However, the similar nature of these two suites may be overemphasised. Their plans are indeed very similar, but when considered as three-dimensional spaces, they might be considered as different. The lower suite had a relatively low ceiling and less lighting. The upper suite is more secluded in terms of access, had different access arrangements, at its northern end looked down into the chapel rather than having direct access to it. It does not have access to the south-east tower, as the lower suite does at its southern end. It was also probably open to the roof, suggesting a different, much airier impression to its internal spaces. It is important, then, to consider the lived experience of these spaces as much as their formal plan, a subject that Cooper will return to in Chapter Nine.

Great Hall and service area

The hall may have been heated by a central hearth; there are indications of anomalies in the GPR results which may relate to such a feature (A1 & A2 on Fig. 3.10). There may alternatively have been a fireplace embedded in the cross wall between the hall and chamber to its east. The presence or absence of an open hearth carries implications for the possible roof structure. The rest of the courtyard ranges had shallow-pitched roofs, but a steeply pitched roof, plus a louvre, would have been

necessary over the hall to disperse the smoke. If, however, there was a fireplace over the hearth, the hall roof could also have had a shallow pitch. The appearance of the four ranges of the courtyard would be more uniform if that were the case. The hall may have had a screens passage rather than a cross-passage; at the lower end of the hall, a linear feature of low amplitude can be picked out (A4), which may indicate the presence of a wooden screen here. The GPR results in this area must however be treated with caution as remains of the later cottage in this area may have affected them.

The stone partition at the lower end of the hall, west of the cross-passage, has three openings which is a standard arrangement in halls of this time. The partition does not appear to extend up to the upper floor so it is assumed that a wooden partition would be in place. It has been assumed that this is a straightforward pantry/buttery arrangement with a central corridor between the two rooms linking cross-passage and kitchen, an arrangement that is characteristic of late medieval service areas. However, the pairs of windows on both sides suggest that each side was not a single pantry or buttery but rather subdivided into two rooms. The mortices in the stonework for a large cross beam between the windows would provide support for a partition. The subdivision could not continue on the first floor where a window is located, although the mortices do confirm the partitioning of the kitchen from the space over the pantry/buttery. In the courtyard wall of the upper floor room, there are two interesting features: a narrow window, at a lower level to the adjacent, larger, window to the west, and next to this window evidence for a small door in the style of latrine doors, and slightly overlapping the stone wall below, providing evidence that the wooden dividing wall or partition was narrow, or perhaps jettied out over the cross-passage (Fig. 3.34). The small door suggests either a 'pot' cupboard or a cupboard linked to the use of the hall, which raises the question in turn of how the upper floor was reached.

It seems possible that the narrow window could relate to a stair to access the gallery and the upper room or rooms above the service rooms. It therefore seems likely that such a stair might also serve the basement, which may therefore have served as a wine cellar for the hall. The GPR results (Fig. 3.10, B1-B3) may indicate evidence for this cellar.

The towers

No two towers are exactly alike. The north-east, east, south-east and south-west towers follow a common pattern of separate external access to the basement



Fig. 3.34: View down only narrow window jamb to west, and rebated door jamb to right. The door jamb sits slightly over the triple door wall at the end of the Great Hall. Photo by Penny Copeland.

and to the floor above. The south-east tower has a vaulted basement (Fig. 3.35). The vault is now largely destroyed but enough remains to indicate that it was finely constructed in a manner similar to the gatehouse vaults. The function of this room is not certain but its location at the lower end of the private apartments and just off from the Great Hall suggests it may have been a strongroom similar to rooms found at Penshurst, Ightham and Great Chalfield. The south-west tower has a well in the basement and a dovecote in its upper storey; this tower was heavily restored by Cubitt and later Curzon (Fig. 3.36). Large parts of the dovecote have been entirely rebuilt but enough remains to demonstrate that it was an original feature of the 1380s.

The west and north-west towers and the east and west rooms of the main gatehouse are entered at ground floor level and have a room below that level that has



Fig. 3.35: Vaulted basement room of the south-east tower. Photo by Penny Copeland.



Fig. 3.36: Interior of south-west tower, with two lodgings and a dovecote above, partially restored. Photo by Penny Copeland.

no stair access but does have at least one small window. These rooms are accessed by trapdoor. One of them may have functioned as a prison. The north-west tower cellar or basement is a completely circular room with two windows. It is commonly referred to as the Oubliette and it certainly has no evidence for access at present, but that was also the case during inspection of the cellar of the west room of the main gatehouse. These rooms have been accessed in the 20th century to construct the floors.

Each tower has a small turret rising from the roof housing the spiral staircase for access to the roofs. However, there is no clear pattern to their alignment; they are positioned differently on each tower. Three of the corner towers have angled walls to the courtyard side, except for the north-west tower which as noted above has a 'bite' taken out of it. The corner towers may have had conical roofs: a slate shaped for a conical roof was recovered from the moat in 1970 (Martin *et al.* 2011: 336). It is



Fig. 3.37: Stair turret and chimney of the north-west tower. Photo by Penny Copeland.

interesting that the crenellated design is repeated on the turrets despite there being no access to their roofs, and therefore having no practical purpose, but it serves as a repeated design motif on the chimneys and the fireplace of one of the great chambers (Fig. 3.37).

Lodgings

A series of rooms all have a window, a fireplace, and a latrine reached through a separate door or corridor. They are quite uniform in appearance, and while at other castles such as Bolton such rooms are paired or multiple in nature, we term them 'lodgings' following Faulkner's insight. Lodgings can be found in the north range east and west of the gatehouse, and all the towers (for example Fig. 3.35). The various rooms above the northern gatehouse can also be interpreted as lodgings, though they are not so self-contained, for example that containing the portcullis mechanism. Depending on how one counts, there are between 22 and 26 lodgings in the castle.

The wall-walks

The majority of wall-walks are accessed from only one adjacent tower. There are doors allowing access via the wall-walk from one tower to the next in only two cases, between the northern gatehouse and the north-west tower, and between the north-east and east towers. This latter case is interesting, because as noted elsewhere this tower has a distinctive arrangement where its upper storeys do not intercommunicate. The other exception is the wall-walk between the west and the south-west tower which has no access from the towers. There is the faint scar, and mortices with a gap for a trimmer, for a wooden stair rising from ground to upper floor level against the north side of the north wall of the kitchen; however this may be coincidental as evidence that the stair continued to the roof is lacking (Fig. 3.38). Slots on the towers for the leaded gutters of the roofs suggest that the roof structure rested directly on top of the wall-walk, and probably had lead gutter runs. In some places, fragments of lead are still visible in the slots with the use of binoculars. The curtain walls are about 1.84 m (6 ft) thick but it would be necessary to allow 38 cm (c. 16 inches) for the battlement screen. It is also necessary to allow for the rafters and lead roofs to rest upon the wall-walk. In addition, there are a number of chimney flues that rise up to form chimneys directly on the parapet each of the curtain walls (Fig. 3.33). All of these elements place restrictions on the space available on the wall-walks, and the chimneys blocked the wall-walks completely.



Fig. 3.38: Floor joists with gap for trimmer and faint scar in surviving plaster for staircase from ground floor against the external northern wall of the kitchen. Note the rebuilt oven below. Photo by Penny Copeland.

The significance of these observations on wall-walk access is not clear, though it is a feature of some importance to ‘defence versus status’ enthusiasts. It might well have been perfectly possible to complete the whole circuit of the castle walls (with the exception of the main gatehouse) by walking on the roof, which would have had a very shallow pitch and for which the creasings for the lead cover are visible, rather than on the top of the masonry wall.

Profiles and mouldings

The shape of the fireplaces within the castle does suggest some organisation by status. There are three fireplaces with segmented arched heads (as opposed to shallow four-centred arches). Two of these are in

the main rooms of the apartments and one of those is the only decorated fireplace in the castle. The third fireplace with segmented arched head is located in an apartment directly to the east of the gatehouse. A further obscurity with this fireplace is that it is the only fireplace in the building with a rounded profile. The associated window of this apartment is the window with the bar across to support the floor above. Both this window and the window in the apartment above are arranged to suggest a window seat.

Conclusion

The survey of Bodiam has produced a series of new insights into this complex and fascinating structure. First, we have identified irregularities and changes of mind underlying an apparently regular and even symmetrical structure. Second, we have made a series of observations that reinterpret Bodiam in terms of its size, accommodation, and position within a traditional narrative of late medieval buildings. Third, we have made a series of comments on the interpretation of the castle, comments that link Bodiam into a discussion of its importance within late medieval buildings generally.

The overall direction of this discussion has been to understand Bodiam in terms not just of its formal layout, but also in terms of the nature and subjective experience of the spaces within the castle walls. Ultimately a full understanding of Bodiam is not possible without first considering its wider landscape context, and moving on to a more serious and sustained commentary on the nature of lived experience within this space. These are the subjects of Chapters Four and Nine respectively.

BODIAM AS A LANDSCAPE OF WORK: TOPOGRAPHICAL AND GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY

Dominic Barker, Kathryn A Catlin, Matthew Johnson, Timothy Sly, Kristian Strutt¹

Abstract. This chapter reports on a new, comprehensive geophysical and topographic survey of the Bodiam landscape. Features evident in the geophysical results emphasise that the landscape of Bodiam is much more than either military or recreational; rather, it was also a landscape of work, home to countless individuals who lived and laboured in this small part of the Rother Valley over the last two millennia and more. The landscape of Bodiam should be understood as a continuously occupied, multi-period site, a landscape of labour, movement, travel, commerce, and industry. The geophysical survey results allow us to consider the specific kinds of activities that took place across the landscape, and how built landscape features like the Roman road, the approaches to the castle, the mill pond, and the village earthworks shaped the experience of moving through and working with the land from the Roman occupation to today's National Trust property and park.

Introduction¹

Previous chapters described how Bodiam gained its reputation as one of the most discussed and recognisable medieval castles in Europe. A large part of that recognition stems from the castle's distinctive position in the landscape. The castle and its moat lie to the north of and just above the River Rother and its floodplain (Fig. 4.1). The ground slopes up to the north and west of the castle, and the castle and moat are sited within a dip in the terrain. It is now well

established that the landscape around Bodiam is the result of intense modification through human activity. Perhaps most obviously, depressions in the land around the castle include earthen banks holding back the moat, a mill pond, and a series of water features. Chapter Two established that the castle and its watery setting were inserted into a landscape that had already been managed or cultivated for millennia, and had hosted a ford and later a bridge, harbour, and associated settlement. Today's castle and its landscape are parts of the same whole, for one would not exist in the shape it does without the active presence of the other.

Chapters One and Two also outlined the important role of the landscape in the 'Battle for Bodiam' (Goodall 1998b), a debate over the castle's function and purpose, with wider resonance for the study of medieval archaeology and history. As we have seen, this debate is often presented in binary, either-or terms: either the castle is primarily military, a defence against the French, or primarily symbolic and to do with status, an old soldier's dream house. The materiality of the

¹ The fieldwork reported on in this chapter was undertaken by approximately 90 students over three field seasons, 80 from Southampton and 10 from Northwestern, under the supervision of Kristian Strutt, Timothy Sly and Dominic Barker. Kristian Strutt prepared the more detailed report on which this chapter is partly based, available at <http://sites.northwestern.edu/medieval-buildings/>. Kathryn Catlin took part in the fieldwork and prepared drafts of this chapter, which were revised and edited by Strutt, Sly, Barker and Johnson. Thanks also to James Cole, David Underhill, and numerous undergraduates for significant assistance with fieldwork.



Fig. 4.1: Bodiam Castle in its landscape; photo facing south from the Gun Garden. The National Trust facilities can be seen in front of the castle; the floodplain and railway track behind. The village of Ewhurst Green is on the horizon, at the summit of the slope. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

landscape is an important factor in these arguments: does it provide an adequate view of the river and surrounding countryside for advance warning should the French invade? Is it instead a contrived, ornamental landscape designed to impress high-status visitors as well as manorial tenants?

This chapter will suggest a third view: that whatever else it was, the immediate landscape of Bodiam should be also viewed as a landscape of work. This orientation to the landscape helps us to understand the castle not simply as an elite site, but as it was experienced every day by the people who moved through and around it, people of all ages, social classes and identities. The landscape was shaped and used by a variety of individuals and groups, including a landscape setting that inherited important elements from previous centuries. The landscape of the 1380s was composed with reference to practices and

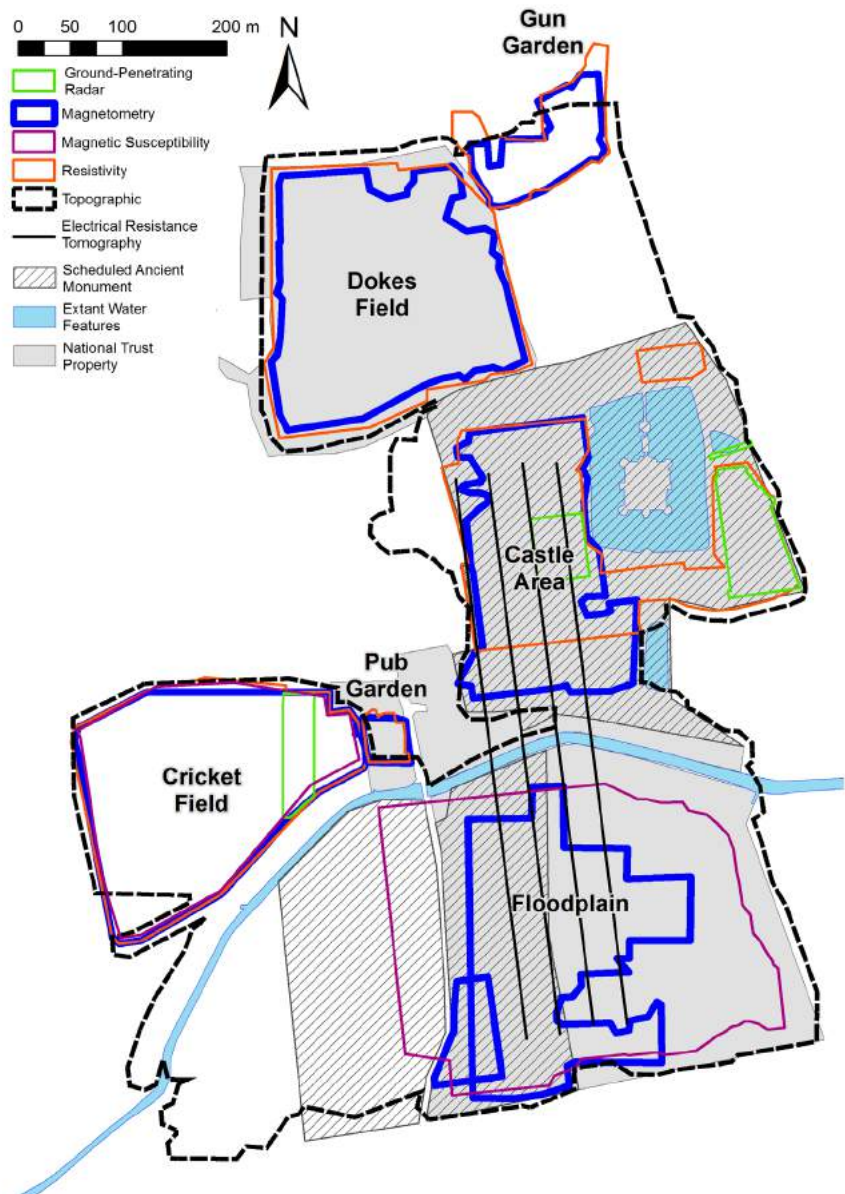


Fig. 4.2: Map of the Bodiam landscape, showing survey areas, the National Trust property, and the Scheduled Ancient Monument boundaries.

institutions that had practical, quotidian and economic roles – the mill and mill pond, the dovecote, the older manorial site, the harbour or flote, the north-south route way and its crossing of the River Rother. It is shaped, and was shaped, by the everyday practices of the inhabitants of the village and wider landscape over the long term, as well as by the conscious intentions of Dallingridge and his immediate household in the 1380s and later landowners.

Despite the landscape's recognised importance to the way people understood and experienced Bodiam in the past, no complete geophysical or topographic survey had been carried out until the current project. The most extensive survey to date was performed in 1988 by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME, now part of Historic England), and resulted in a hachured plan and interpretation of the complex earthworks surrounding the castle. This interpretation claimed to establish

without doubt that the majority of the extensive earthworks around the castle are the remains of elaborate gardens and water features all intended to enhance the visual appearance of the building

(Taylor *et al.* 1990: 155; see Figs 1.2 & 2.6, this volume)

Our detailed geophysical and topographic survey builds upon this work, and reveals details of the landscape that may be obscured or unnoticed in the course of a walking survey. These details speak to the everyday labour performed by women and men of different classes and occupational groups over the course of centuries.

The fieldwork was carried out in the Bodiam landscape by researchers from the University of Southampton and Northwestern University, in partnership with the National Trust, between 2010 and 2012 (Fig. 4.2; Table 4.A). We collected centimetre-accuracy Geographic Positioning System (GPS) data to generate a topographic map of the entire area owned and managed by the National Trust as well as several surrounding properties, including a portion of Court Lodge (the 'Gun Garden' or 'Viewing Platform'), the cricket field to the south-west of Bodiam village, the property behind the Old Rectory, and the floodplain south of the River Rother. Dokes Field, the cricket pitch, and the floodplain are new additions to areas surveyed that were not a part of the RCHME work. The magnetometry and earth resistance surveys provide new data to describe the buried archaeological landscape of Bodiam, which would not otherwise be revealed without intensive excavation.

Bodiam Today

The area now owned and managed by the National Trust consists of 27.84 hectares (68.05 acres) to the north and south of the River Rother near Robertsbridge, East Sussex, an area that has been exploited and inhabited by humans from at least the Bronze Age (c. 2500 BCE) to the present day (Fig. 4.3).

Today, a visitor to the castle driving north from Hastings crosses the River Rother at Bodiam bridge. The present bridge was constructed in 1797, but a bridge was first constructed here prior to 1230 (James & Whittick 2008: 23). The visitor turns right into the car park across the lane from the Castle Inn. The visitor facilities and car park sit atop the site of the medieval wharf or flote, on the north bank of the Rother. After parking, the visitor heads to the east, walks along the southern edge of a wide, deep depression, now the overflow car park (sometimes known as the 'tilt-yard', after Curzon's designation, but in actuality the medieval mill pond), and a World War II pillbox immediately above and to the north of it. The visitor then turns sharply north, past the ticket office and then approaches the castle and moat from the south.

The castle is at a low point in the terrain. A series of broad, deep depressions known as the 'cascade', formerly one or more ponds, runs downhill towards the north-west corner of the moat, and another pond lies east of the moat. To the north, a sloping vineyard rises behind the National Trust offices to Court Lodge on the summit of the ridge, gaining 30 m in elevation over a horizontal distance of 300 m (Figs 4.4 & 4.5). The Court Lodge property (under private ownership) contains the earthwork often called the Gun Garden, the edge of which is accessible via a public footpath from the north-east corner of the Trust property. To the west of the vineyard is the rolling expanse of Dokes Field, also spelled variously as Doke's, Dokes', Doakes Field or Doakes Meadow. Bodiam parish church lies 250 m north of Dokes, and another 500 m north-west of the church is a medieval moated site which has sometimes been incorrectly identified as the earlier manor site, though excavations by David Martin in 1970 showed that the site dates to no earlier than the 13th century (Martin 1990).

After strolling around the grounds and the slopes north of the castle, the visitor might return south to the car park by way of the road, passing through Bodiam village. Houses line the road to the east, and to the west a modern village green lies just north of Castle Inn, now encircled by homes of recent construction. To the west

Table 4.A: Summary of geophysical survey techniques. See Appendix Two for more details of the techniques.

Technique	Details	Dim.	Instrument	Depth BGS	Locations	Grid Size	Interval Spacing	Transect Spacing	Direction
Topography	Uses GPS signals and/or laser ranging to create a precise 3D map of the land surface	3D	GPS Rover + base station Leica TC 307 Total Station	0 m	Entire landscape	N/A	5 m	5 m	N/A
Magnetometry (Gradiometry)	measures changes in the earth's magnetic field and is best at detecting metallic, burnt, or disturbed features	2D	dual sensor Bartington Instruments 602-1 fluxgate gradiometer	Up to 0.5 m	See Fig. 4.2	30 m	0.25 m	0.5 m	bi-directional
Earth resistance	passes an electrical current through the ground and compares the earth resistance to a background reading	2D	Geoscan Research RM-15 50-cm twin probe	0.5 to 0.75 m	See Fig. 4.2	30 m	0.5 m	0.5 m	bi-directional
GPR	detect changes in the density of buried material based on the time it takes for a microwave pulse to be reflected back to the instrument	3D	500 MHz Sensors & Software Noggin Plus	up to 2 m	Castle & vicinity	N/A	0.05 m	0.5 m	uni-directional
			200 MHz GSSI	up to 4 m	Cricketer field				bi-directional
Magnetic Susceptibility	measures magnetic flux density at point locations (similar to a metal detector)	2D	Bartington Instruments MS-2	up to 0.06 m	Floodplain & cricket field	N/A	10 m	10 m	N/A
ERT	measures earth resistance along a transect	2D vertical	Allied Associates Tigre 64-probe	up to 20 m	west of castle to floodplain across Rother	550 m linear	2 m	variable	N/A



Fig. 4.3: Features in the Bodiam landscape. Photos by Matthew Johnson (bridge), Kat Catlin (others).

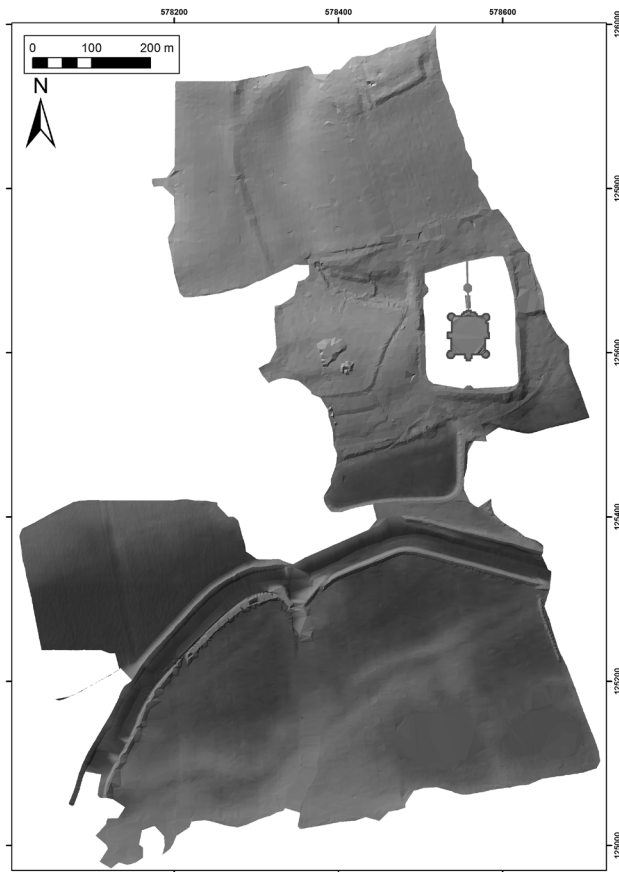


Fig. 4.4: Topographic survey of the Bodiam landscape (hillshaded Triangulated Irregular Network (TIN)).

of the Inn lies a flat, grassy floodplain that serves as a park and cricket ground for the community. From Bodiam bridge, the view opens up to the south and east. Two fields in the floodplain are separated by the road south of the River Rother. The western field is often used as a hay meadow. The field to the east is now owned by the National Trust, and within it lie archaeological remains of Romano-British origin which were partly excavated in the late 1950s (anonymous 1959-60; Lemmon & Darrell Hill 1966; Johnson *et al.* 2000: 26-7). The Kent & East Sussex Railway follows the southern edge of the floodplain; beyond the tracks, the Weald rises once more amid rolling fields and woods to the south, with the church and settlement of Ewhurst Green strung out along the ridge, and far away to the east the flat plains of Romney Marsh roll away towards the sea.

Bodiam is located in an ecological boundary zone, between the High Weald to the north and west, and the floodplain of the River Rother leading to Romney Marsh and east. The underlying geology is for the most part sandy-silty soils, with some Wadhurst Clay and Ashdown sandstone bedrock emerging at higher elevations (see Fig. 12.1, this volume). The floodplains and lower areas near the river are primarily alluvial

deposits, with some inclusions of buried Bronze Age peat (Burrin & Scaife 1988; Waller *et al.* 1988; Johnson *et al.* 2000; see also Chapters Two & Five, this volume).

Fieldwork at Bodiam, 2010-2012

In 2010, the University of Southampton began work at Bodiam in partnership with the National Trust. Matthew Johnson's move to the United States in 2011 brought Northwestern University onto the team, forming a transatlantic collaborative project between the three institutions. Survey seasons in the spring of 2010 and 2011, and the summer of 2012, have revealed the layered and complex buried history of the Bodiam landscape. The full survey of the landscape, largely carried out by undergraduate students from Southampton and Northwestern, has significantly added to our knowledge about the many and varied human activities in which the landscape has participated over the last two millennia.

Survey techniques included topographic survey, magnetometry (gradiometer survey), magnetic susceptibility, earth resistance, electrical resistivity tomography (ERT), and Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) (Fig. 4.2; Table 4.A). The geophysical survey covered 17 hectares, including the floodplain to the south of the River Rother, Trust-owned property to all sides of the moat, the Gun Garden, Dokes Field, and the modern cricket field. The topographic survey covered these areas as well as the vineyard between the Trust office and the Gun Garden, a portion of the rear lot of the Old Rectory, the car park, and the cultivated field south of the Rother (Fig. 4.4). In the cricket field (outside the scheduled area), the survey was followed up with limited augering. The project also included a full building survey of the standing castle, including three-dimensional modelling of the building and some GPR and coring inside the structure (see Chapters Three & Five). The topographic and geophysical data were processed in Geoplot, GPR Slice, and Res2DInv, and imported into ArcGIS for analysis. For more information about the geophysical techniques, refer to Appendix Two.

For each survey, we have presented images here both with and without interpretive overlay. Interpretations are visualised as dashed lines and ovals; the same features are marked on all plots to facilitate comparison between the results of various geophysical techniques. The digitised plots are also presented, along with a more detailed and technical discussion of the results, in a different, more complex format, in the longer 'grey literature' report that accompanies this chapter (Barker *et al.* 2012, available at <http://sites.northwestern.edu/medieval-buildings/>).

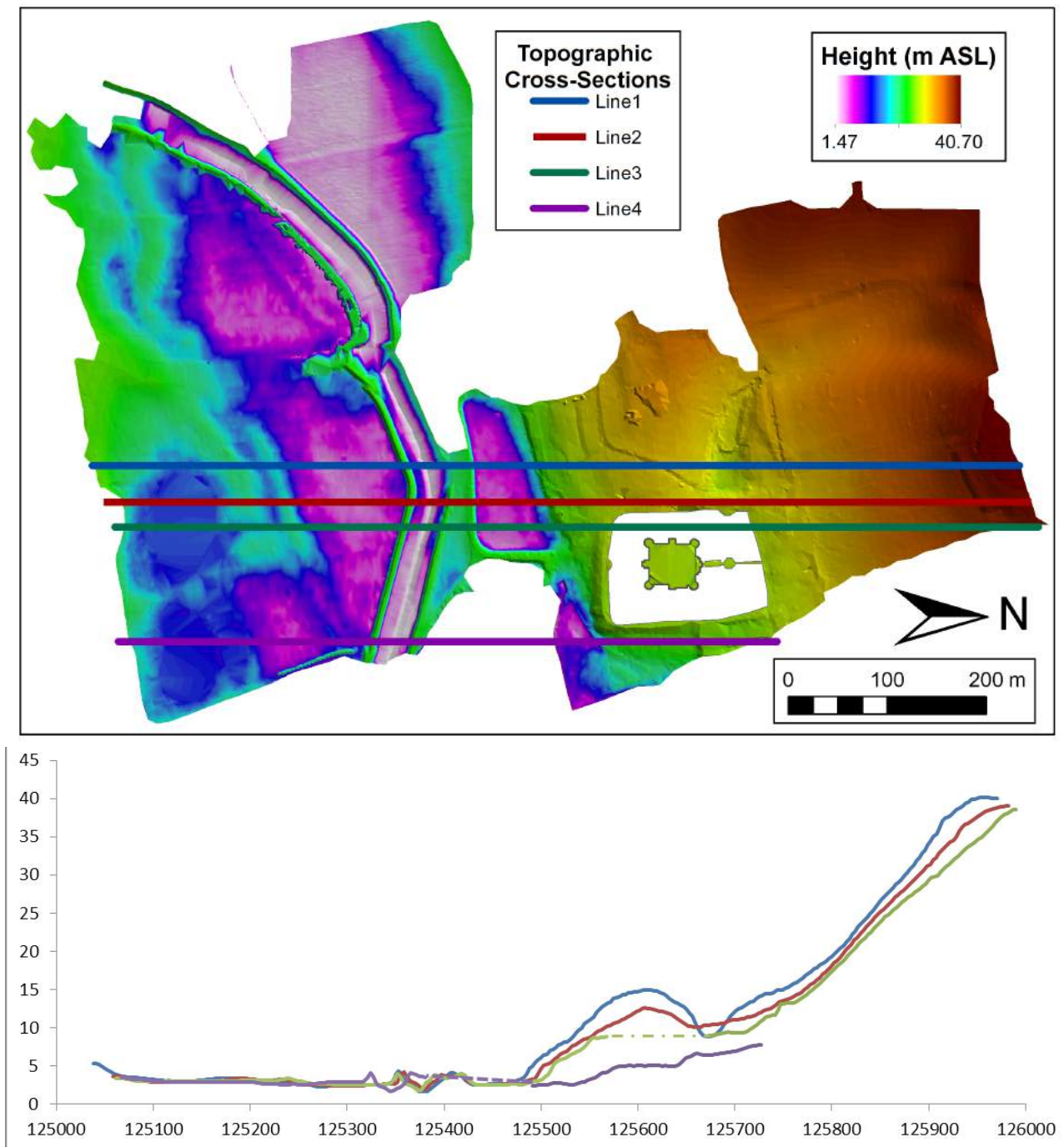


Fig. 4.5: A. Topography (TIN) of the Bodiam landscape. B. Exaggerated vertical profile of the Bodiam landscape. Scale in metres.

In magnetometry results, darker areas have a positive magnetic gradient; lighter areas have a negative gradient. Dipoles, or point locations showing both strong positive and negative readings, usually indicate buried ferric (iron) material. In earth resistance results, darker areas have higher electrical resistance while lighter areas are of lower resistance. Parallel linear anomalies of high and low resistance tend to indicate bank and ditch features. Magnetometry and resistivity earth resistance surveys can detect buried features up to about 50 cm below the surface, or in some cases up to 1 m. In GPR results, darker areas correspond

to reflectors (materials denser than their surroundings, such as wall foundations or roads). The depth of GPR slices is provided in the figure captions.

The following descriptions are organised roughly by time period. However, geophysical anomalies cannot be dated with certainty in the absence of accompanying excavation data. In some cases the data from historical sources, previous excavation work, landscape survey, and geophysical survey point to multiple possible interpretations for the date of a single feature. Some anomalies are therefore discussed in multiple sections

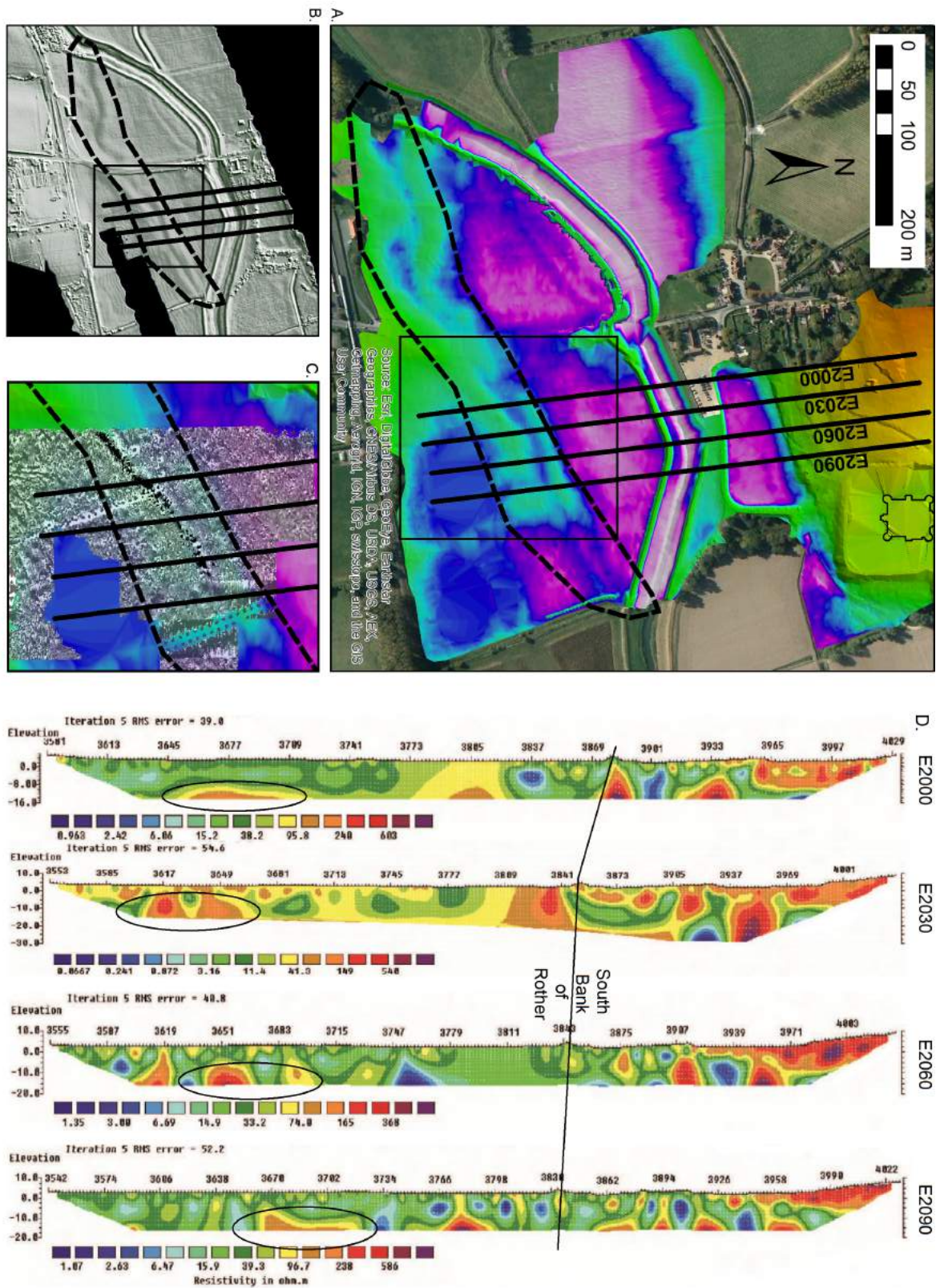


Fig. 4.6: Floodplain of the River Rother. a) Topographic (TIN), showing locations of ERT transects and probable palaeochannel. b) LiDAR data with palaeochannel outlined (© Environment Agency). c) Magnetometry survey; palaeochannel emphasised in dark black. The boxes on Figs 4.6a and 4.6b correspond to the outline of Fig. 4.6c. d) Results of ERT survey. Areas of high resistance corresponding to the probable palaeochannel are circled.

(as with certain features in Dokes Field), or discussed in terms of multiple periods within a given section (as with the Gun Garden).

The Prehistoric Landscape

The river and floodplain of the Rother is a dynamic estuarine environment, leading from the high weald through Romney Marsh and out to the sea near the port at Rye (see Fig. 2.1, this volume). The wetlands ecosystem to the south of Bodiam Castle has always been changing, as it continues to do today. Stratigraphic and botanical analysis of pollen cores in the vicinity of the castle suggests that from the middle Holocene through to the Bronze Age, a stable landscape of woodland and peat bogs dominated the valley. Late in the Bronze Age, environmental and climatic changes pushed the landscape in the direction of alluvial instability. Up to 10 m of alluvial deposits accumulated in the river valleys over about two thousand years as significant amounts of soil were transported down the river from the surrounding hills. The modern, more stable estuarine environment developed atop these thick layers of prehistoric peat and alluvium, a combination that encourages the emergence of freshwater springs where the water table is high. Springs within low basins tend to lead to the development of ponds, which may have made this location especially attractive for the establishment of a settlement, and later a moated castle (see Chapter Five, this volume).

The River Rother

The path of the Rother has meandered across the floodplain for thousands of years. The topographic survey of the floodplain directly south of the castle shows evidence of a palaeochannel in the form of a slight hollow flanked by slightly raised banks, stretching south-west to north-east across the field (Fig. 4.6). The channel corresponds to a linear magnetic anomaly in the gradiometer survey, and is also visible in the publicly available LiDAR data produced by the Environment Agency (Fig. 4.6b). The palaeochannel is virtually invisible to the naked eye, and is probably comprised of the silt and sand of a former riverbed; the relict peat bog to either side of the ancient channel has since deflated and sunk, leaving the former channel and its banks now higher than the surrounding ground surface (Casper Johnson, pers. comm.). The results of our ERT survey are consistent with this interpretation of the river's dynamic movements: several high resistance anomalies, suggesting sandy riverine deposits, are apparent approximately 200-250 m to the south of the current riverbed, corresponding

to the linear feature visible in the topographic data (Fig. 4.6d). Though we cannot ascertain the temporal sequence of the river's meandering from the geophysical data, knowledge of the river's approximate previous locations help to contextualise the location and type of activities that took place on and around the river during the prehistoric and Roman periods. This provides a more secure context for the Roman settlement that was located on the floodplain, and also helps us envision a dynamic estuarine context for the later medieval and modern periods.

Bronze Age peat

The iron-rich peat bogs that dotted the early landscape of Bodiam may have served as a source of iron ore for prehistoric, Roman, and later populations. Gradiometer survey in the cricket field revealed numerous positive and dipolar anomalies that resembled the signature of archaeological kiln features. However, augering at several positive anomalies corresponding to points of low resistance showed that they were caused by deeply buried (approximately 2 m below ground surface) iron-rich peat dating to the Bronze Age or earlier, consistent with geomorphological investigations and core sampling (Fig. 4.7; Burrin & Scaife 1988; see also Chapter Five, this volume). Dipolar or positive magnetic anomalies seen elsewhere in the Bodiam floodplain may likewise indicate buried peat rather than archaeological kilns, hearths or other human-created features.

The Roman Landscape

A Roman settlement was located in the floodplain along the south bank of the ancient channel of the River Rother, partially within the area of our survey (Fig. 4.3). Field walking and excavations through the 20th century have uncovered pottery scatter and building debris, as well as some evidence for ironworking and the possible presence of a port serving the *Classis Britannica* fleet (anonymous 1959-60; Puckle 1960; Lemmon & Darrell Hill 1966; Johnson *et al.* 2000: 26-7; Thackray & Bailey 2007: 6; Drury & Copeman 2016: 27-32).

Magnetometry survey along the Rother floodplain south of the castle provided evidence that is consistent with the location of the Roman settlement (Fig. 4.8; see also Kellala 2013). The location of magnetic anomalies interpreted as kilns roughly corresponds to find spots of Roman material collected over the course of the 20th century (Lemmon & Darrell Hill 1966) although, again, dipolar anomalies may also be associated with the buried natural iron-rich peat formations common in the area. The proximity of the site to the East Sussex

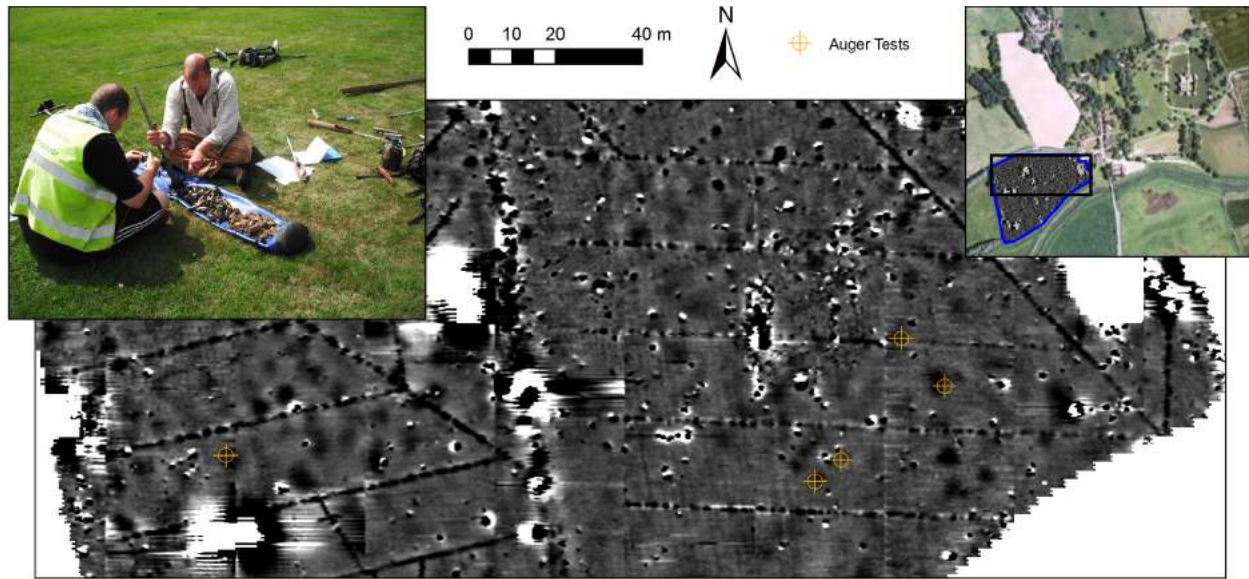


Fig. 4.7: Location of auger tests in the cricket field, shown with magnetometry data. Top left: Kris Strutt and James Miles examine a core. See also Fig. 4.13 below.

Railway further complicates the interpretation of magnetic anomalies in the survey results, such as the branching magnetic anomalies in the south-west corner of the site. These probably represent ferrous runoff from iron infrastructure of some sort – but whether these reflect Roman era iron processing or the modern operation of the railway is not possible to determine from the geophysical evidence. Earth resistance survey was not conducted in this part of the floodplain due to the extremely wet conditions.

The Roman road

The road that currently serves Bodiam village and castle also dates to the Roman period. North of the village, the Roman road originally cut through Dokes Field; some time during the early medieval period, it appears to have been diverted to its present track, skirting what may at the time have been a green (Drury & Copeman 2016, 41).

Geophysical survey in Dokes Field indicates the location of the Roman road, following the contour of the field in a north-south direction (Fig. 4.9). The location of this road is consistent with prior geophysical survey of the area performed in 2010 by the Hastings Area Archaeological Research Group (Cornwell *et al.* 2010). The road enters the field at the highest point along its northern boundary. As it continues south, the road does not simply consist of a single track, as it might appear in a walking survey. The road instead appears to split into two routes about 100 m after it enters the field. The western branch continues south and is aligned towards the road through Bodiam village. The second, fainter branch of the road heads

to the south-east. Although fainter in the geophysics, it is this eastern fork of the road that is prominent in the topographic survey (Fig. 4.4).

The date of this eastern branch is not certain. If it is Roman, and continued through the modern National Trust property on the same alignment, it would pass through the back lot of the Old Rectory (not far from the location where pre-Roman or Roman cinerary urns were found in 1902) (Whistler 1940; Johnson *et al.* 2000: 113) towards the modern car park and general area of the harbour. However, no evidence of such an alternate pathway is visible in the geophysical results to the west or south-west of the castle, though admittedly any such evidence may have been obscured by more recent activity. It is therefore possible that the eastern branch of the road could also be of more recent date, and below we will discuss the possibility that it is part of the approach to the castle laid out in the 1380s.

In the south-west corner of Dokes Field one can make out three sides of a subrectangular feature (Figs 4.9a & 4.9b). We discuss this feature below in the context of the ‘funnel’ feature it appears to underlie, but we should note at this point that it may well be late prehistoric/early Roman in date, particularly given its proximity to the cinerary urns noted above.

The Medieval Landscape: Before the Castle

Bodiam Castle was constructed in the 1380s within an already complex medieval landscape. There was a manor at Bodiam by 1086, as noted in the Domesday Book. The moated site approximately 1 km to the north

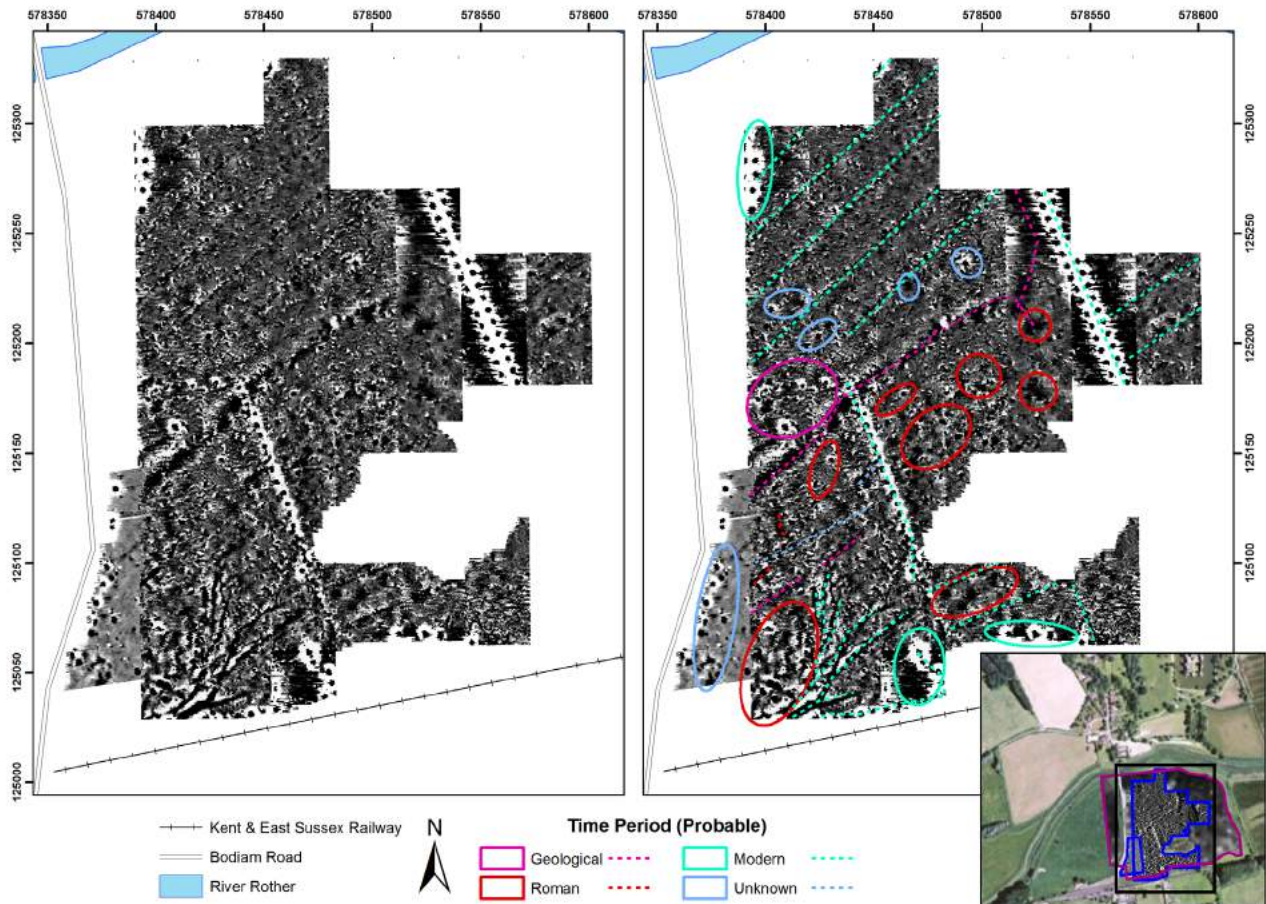


Fig. 4.8a: Floodplain: Magnetometry survey results. Dipolar and linear anomalies near the road and railway could be related to either modern or ancient industry. Other modern features are likely field drains or utilities. The probably relict channel of the River Rother is marked in pink (see Fig. 4.6).

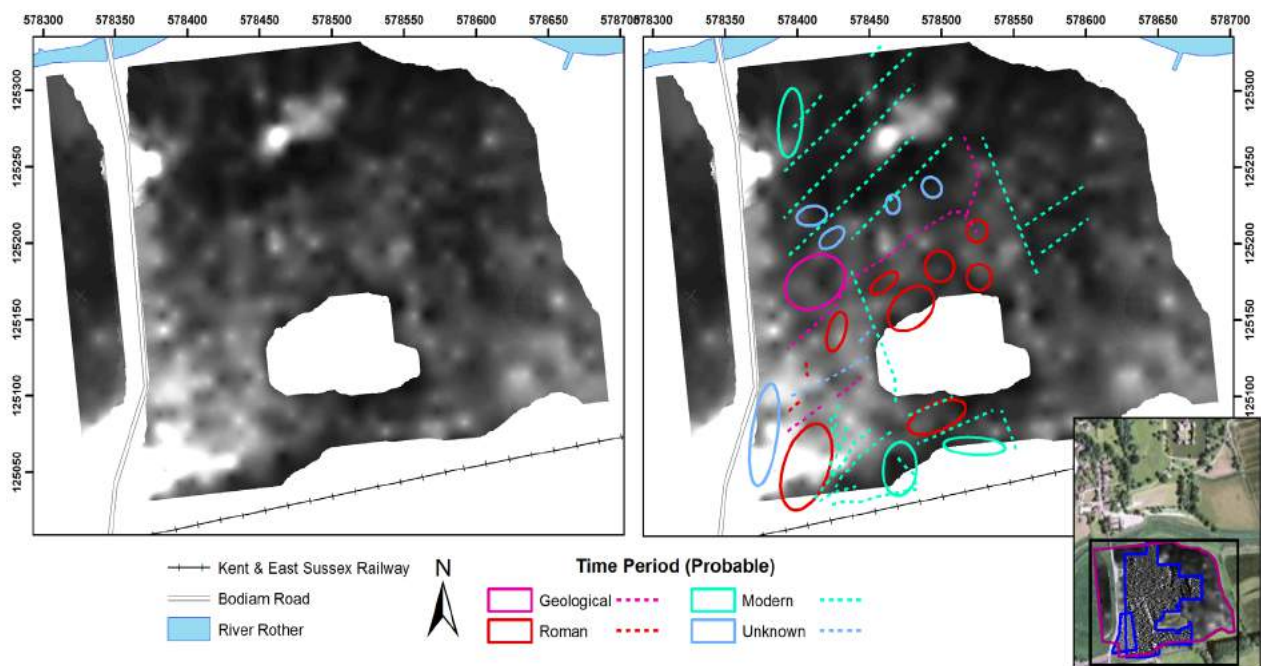


Fig. 4.8b: Floodplain: Magnetic susceptibility survey results. The ancient riverbed is faintly visible along with evidence of industrial activity beside the road.

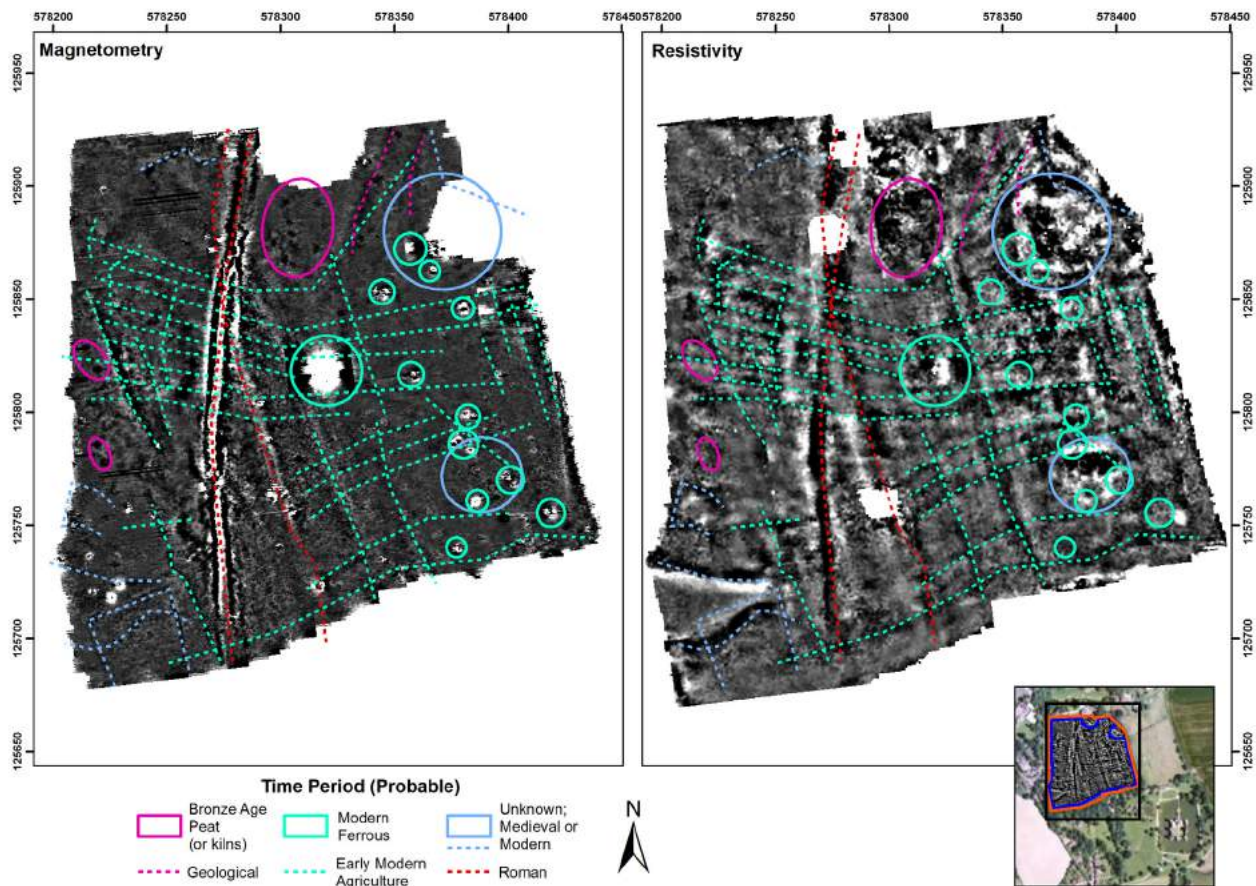


Fig. 4.9a: Dokes Field: Interpreted magnetometry and earth resistance survey results.

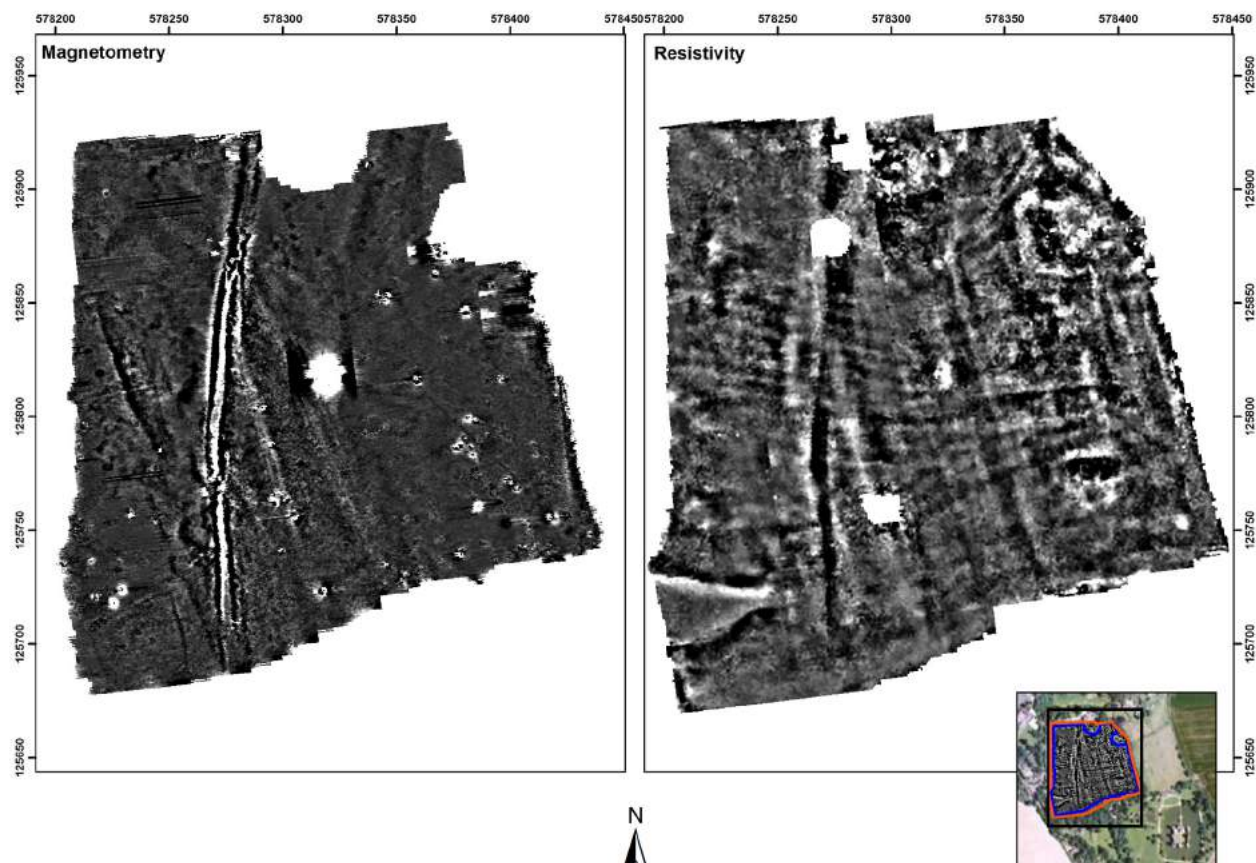


Fig. 4.9b: Dokes Field: magnetometry and earth resistance survey results.

of the castle (Fig. 4.3) has sometimes been suggested as the site of the manorial hall, but it dates to no earlier than the late 13th century (Darrell Hill 1960-61; Martin 1990: 97-8; Johnson *et al.* 2000: 30-3). The hall was more probably located at Ewhurst (Drury & Copeman 2016: 38). The de Bodiam family held lands at Bodiam from c. 1166, later passing through marriages to the Sywell and Wardedieu families. Bodiam village may have been founded before the castle's construction (Johnson *et al.* 2000), and the site of Bodiam church, located along the road connecting the village to both Court Lodge and the moated site, also pre-dates the castle. There is also some evidence for a medieval farmstead on the other side of the River Rother (Thackray & Bailey 2007: 13).

The 'Gun Garden'/Viewing Platform'

The most discussed and controversial aspect of the Bodiam landscape may be the Gun Garden, also known since the RCHME work as the Viewing Platform. The Gun Garden is located on the Court Lodge property at the top of a steep rise about 300 m north of the castle, and has been variously interpreted as the location of a manor house prior to the castle's construction, the location of stables and ancillary buildings during the castle's use, a feature intended for observation of the castle landscape (hence, Viewing Platform), or the site of military emplacements associated with the English Civil War (hence, Gun Garden, despite a lack of evidence for fighting in the vicinity of Bodiam during the conflict: Curzon 1926: 77). A 1730 map shows an orchard and landscape garden in this space, which was probably constructed in the late 17th century by Samuel Hyland, to whom Court Lodge was sold in 1645. It is therefore likely that the present form of the Gun Garden, including surface features, geophysical anomalies, and possibly even its name, may be due in large part to 17th-century landscaping (Drury & Copeman 2016: 130-5).

The geophysical survey results for this area were difficult to interpret, and did not reveal any conclusive evidence of structures in this area (Fig. 4.10), although the edge of the platform is prominent in the topographic survey (Fig. 4.4). More detailed geophysical survey and excavation may yet reveal additional information about the history of the platform's use. Our results do suggest that the sand and soils of the Gun Garden have been considerably disturbed, subject both to landscape alterations by property owners and to high levels of erosion. There is some suggestion of possible drains (areas of low resistance) running north-south through the eastern

end of the area. Modern electrical lines or piping and other recent metallic debris obscure any evidence of other archaeological features in the magnetometer results. The survey of adjacent areas of Dokes Field suggests that the platform may have at some point in the past extended through the current wooded area into Dokes (the circular anomaly here could also be associated with trees, perhaps coppicing: Fig. 4.9).

A portion of the Gun Garden was excavated in 1961. This excavation has repeatedly been cited as archaeological evidence for the suggestion that a former manor house of Bodiam was located on the hilltop (e.g. Taylor *et al.* 1990: 157; Johnson *et al.* 2000: 30, 33). A three-page report of excavations at Court Lodge and the moated site to the north was published in the *Battle and District Historical Society Transactions* in their 1960-61 issue. The report is concise, contains no maps or drawings of the site, and describes the excavation as

a main trench driven through the ditch and embankment of the earthwork as far as a circular depressed area in the middle, and four small subsidiary trenches running north and south across the southern edge of the embankment.

The excavation exposed 'the foundation stones of a narrow roughly-made wall' in all of the trenches, along with several floors and some tiles, charcoal, ash, and other evidence of a structure, dated by the excavators to the late 13th or 14th century. A hearth was located 'in the most westerly of the subsidiary trenches' (Darrell Hill 1960-61: 22-3). This collection of walls and artefacts could easily be associated with a stable, barn or other industrial or agricultural outbuilding.

The geophysical results contain some ambiguous evidence that is in line with the reported excavation findings. Little evidence of wall features is evident in the geophysical results, though there is a very slight suggestion of a magnetic rectilinear feature along the eastern boundary of the property. Its small size suggests a shed or byre of unknown date. If a manor house was located close to the modern structures of the Court Lodge farm, the platform could certainly have served a purpose with respect to the operations of the manor. Archaeological trenches are usually easily visible in geophysical results, but in this case, locating the trenches from the 1960 excavation proved difficult. The earth resistance data includes at least one low resistance anomaly consistent with a possible excavation trench, located to the east of the possible drainage features, but it is difficult to reconcile this location with the description of four to five trenches given in the report.

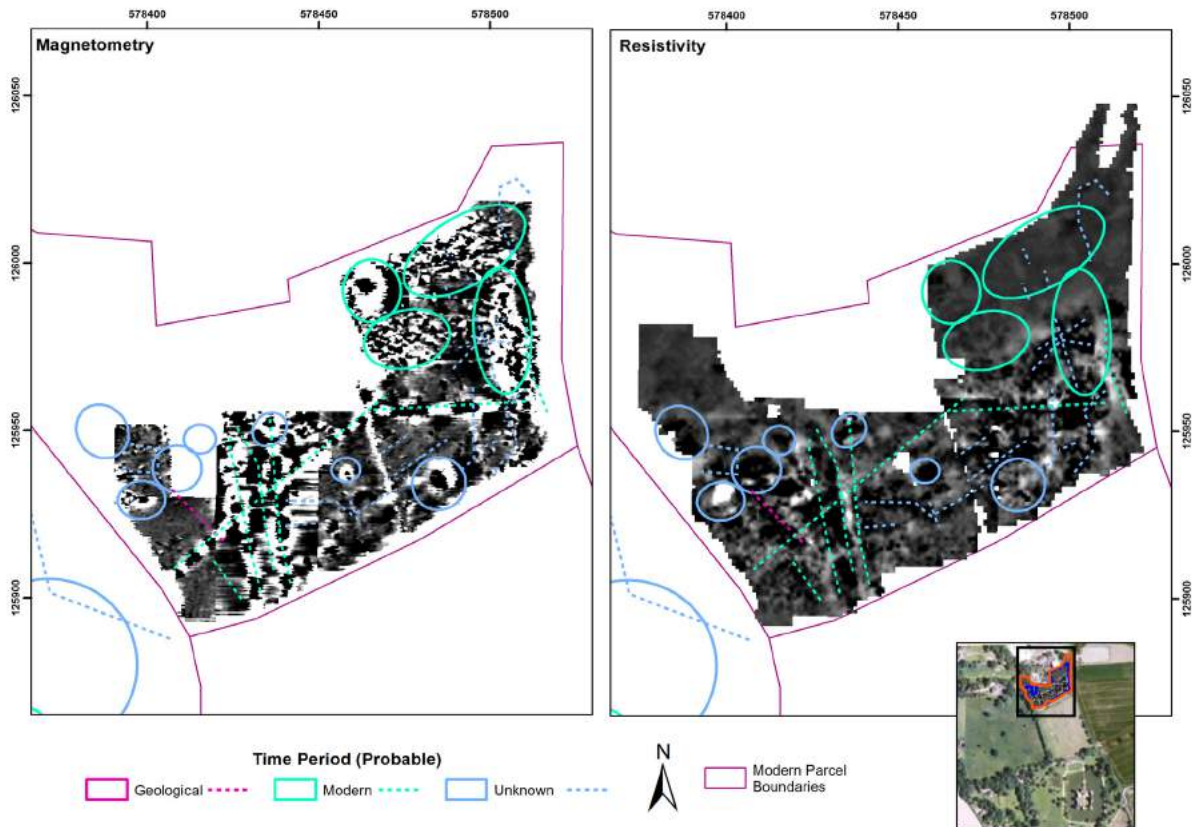


Fig. 4.10a: Gun Garden: Interpreted magnetometry and earth resistance survey results. Linear dipole magnetic anomalies are likely modern pipes or utilities. No clear evidence of medieval or other earlier structures is visible amidst modern disturbance. Some linear low resistance anomalies may be drains, or could suggest the location of 1960s excavation trenches.

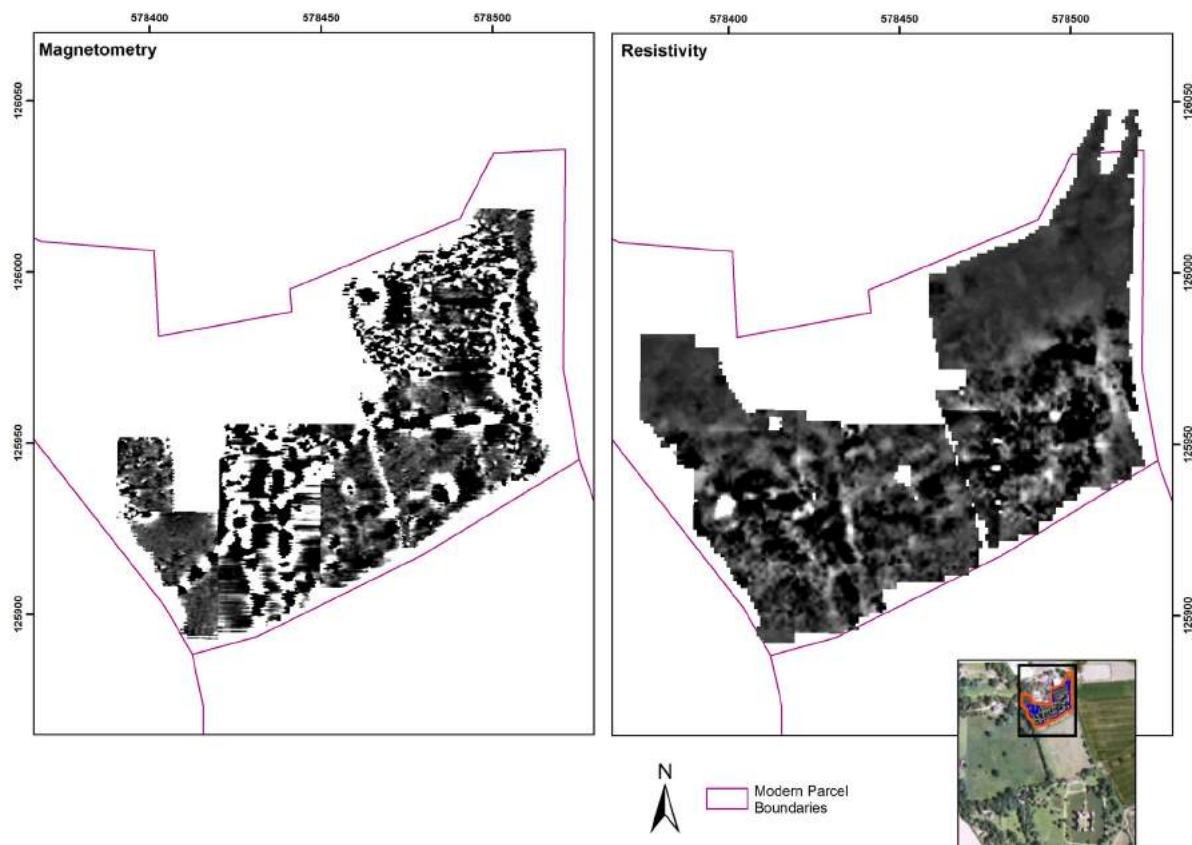


Fig. 4.10b: Gun Garden: magnetometry and earth resistance survey results.

In summary, the geophysical results are inconclusive with respect to the possibility of a structure on the southern edge of the Gun Garden. Such a structure may never have existed; it might be located beneath the modern structures to the north of our survey area; the evidence might have eroded away or been destroyed as part of 17th-century modifications to the site; or a more detailed survey and excavation of the site may yet lead to additional insights. There may have been some kind of structure atop this rise during the medieval period and prior to the castle's construction, as the 1960s excavation findings did include structural features. However, there remains no clear archaeological evidence of a manor house in the area covered by the survey and excavations.

Bodiam village

The dwellings of Bodiam village, along the east side of the road, at one time had rear boundaries that extended significantly into what is now the National Trust property (Johnson *et al.* 2000). The rear boundaries of these plots are very clear in the magnetometry and earth resistance survey results to the west and south-west of the castle (Fig. 4.11), and correspond to property boundaries shown on a 1671 estate map (Drury & Copeman 2016: 119). The topographic survey also shows clear landscape features corresponding to these geophysical signatures (Fig. 4.4). Several of these features are apparent when walking over the grounds, and many were also recorded in hachure form during the 1988 RCHME survey (Taylor *et al.* 1990, Fig. 1.2, this volume).

A linear feature running south-west from the lower end of the cascade is most prominent, and corresponds to a topographic rise in the now grassy lawn to the west of the castle, possibly connecting at its north end to a similar linear feature that runs just south of the cascade. The feature runs south-west for approximately 90 m before turning abruptly to the west at its southern end, continuing to the edge of the National Trust property. The linear anomaly is consistent with the presence of a bank and ditch feature (a line of higher readings next to a line of lower readings in the geophysical results), though it could also indicate the development of a lynchet or earthen terrace over centuries of ploughing. While the topographic signature of this feature is only about 5 m across, the geophysical signature consistent with bank, ditch, and remobilised spoil is up to 20 m across, which suggests that the original feature may have been up to a metre in height. This feature probably marks the boundary associated with the edge of a field shown on maps from the 17th through 19th centuries (Johnson

et al. 2000; Drury & Copeman 2016, fig. 38). The feature itself and the property division it represents are probably much older, contemporary with the oldest plots to the south. Large, roughly circular resistance anomalies within this enclosure are associated with the root systems of 19th and 20th-century tree groves.

To the south of this most prominent bank and ditch feature, several additional linear anomalies are evident in the geophysics. One such feature heads south-east from the south-east corner of the rectory tenement, connecting it to the modern path from the car park to the castle. Four linear features run just south of west from this feature to the west edge of the National Trust property, corresponding very closely to the boundaries of the tenement properties lining the road (Fuggles, Castle View, May Cottage, and Knollys; Johnson *et al.* 2000; Drury & Copeman 2016).

While the modern landscape does show a series of slight breaks in slope, the geophysics suggest that these earthworks, especially the linear feature to the north, were much more prominent in earlier centuries, very probably during the medieval period prior to the castle's construction. The most southerly properties may have been truncated during the creation of the mill pond. Both earth resistance and magnetic anomalies within the rear plots suggest the presence of outbuildings, household industry, or further property divisions, perhaps in association with or predating the construction of the castle. These plots may be the location of possible pottery kilns at Bodiam. Myres (1935: 226), in his analysis of pottery from Bodiam, suggested there may have been pottery kilns on site, though he did not propose a precise location, nor did he observe any component of the ceramic assemblage that could be described as a waster associated with production (Gardiner *et al.* 1994).

The bridge and wharf

Bodiam bridge is referred to in the documents as existing before 1230, although the current bridge has the date 1797 inscribed on its fabric. The modern road that crosses the River Rother at the bridge runs along the same line as both the medieval and Roman roads (see above), the bridge probably having replaced an earlier ford or ferry.

The Rother had moved to a more northerly course by the late 14th century, the older channel now referred to as a ditch (see Fig. 4.6 above). During the 16th century, there were two bridges at Bodiam, probably one over the present Rother and the second over the

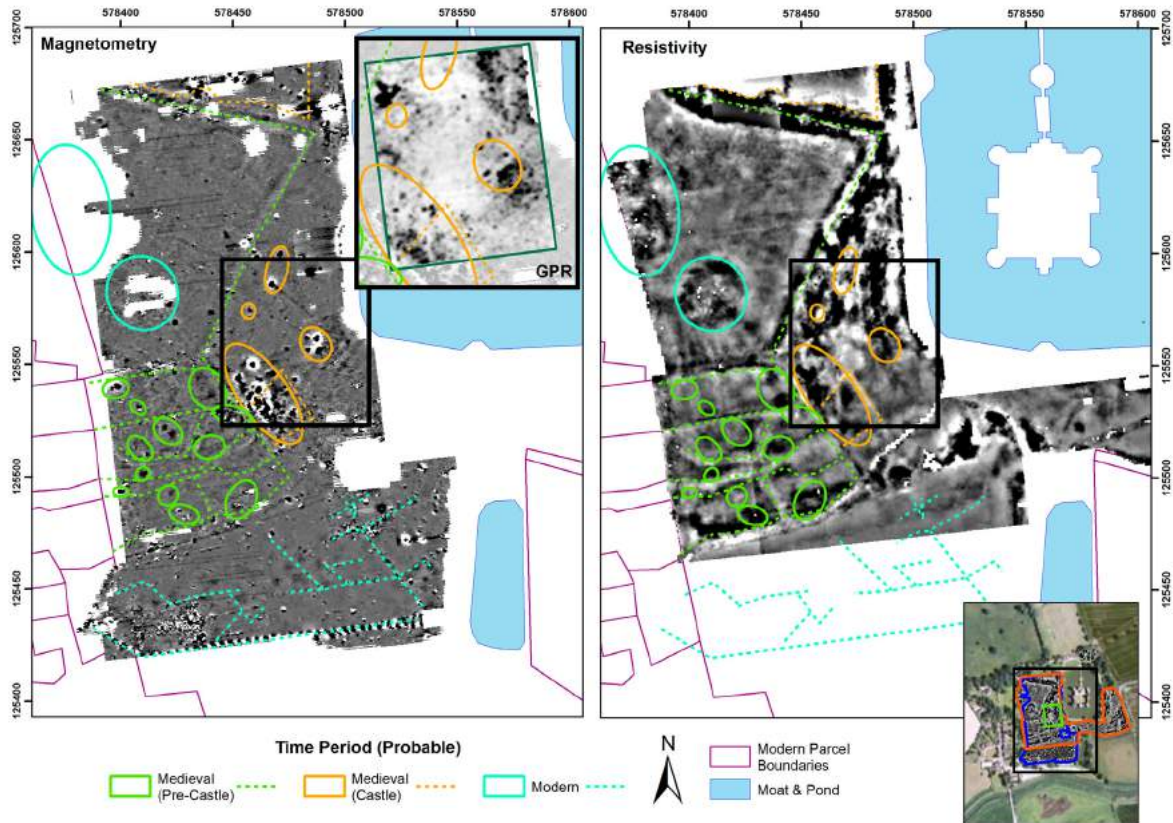


Fig. 4.11a: Castle West: Interpreted magnetometry, earth resistance, and GPR survey results. Modern linear magnetic anomalies are Curzon's drains and probable modern drain or pipe. Note that tenement boundaries visible in the geophysics correspond to extensions of existing property lines. The GPR slice shown is approximately 30-40 cm below ground surface.

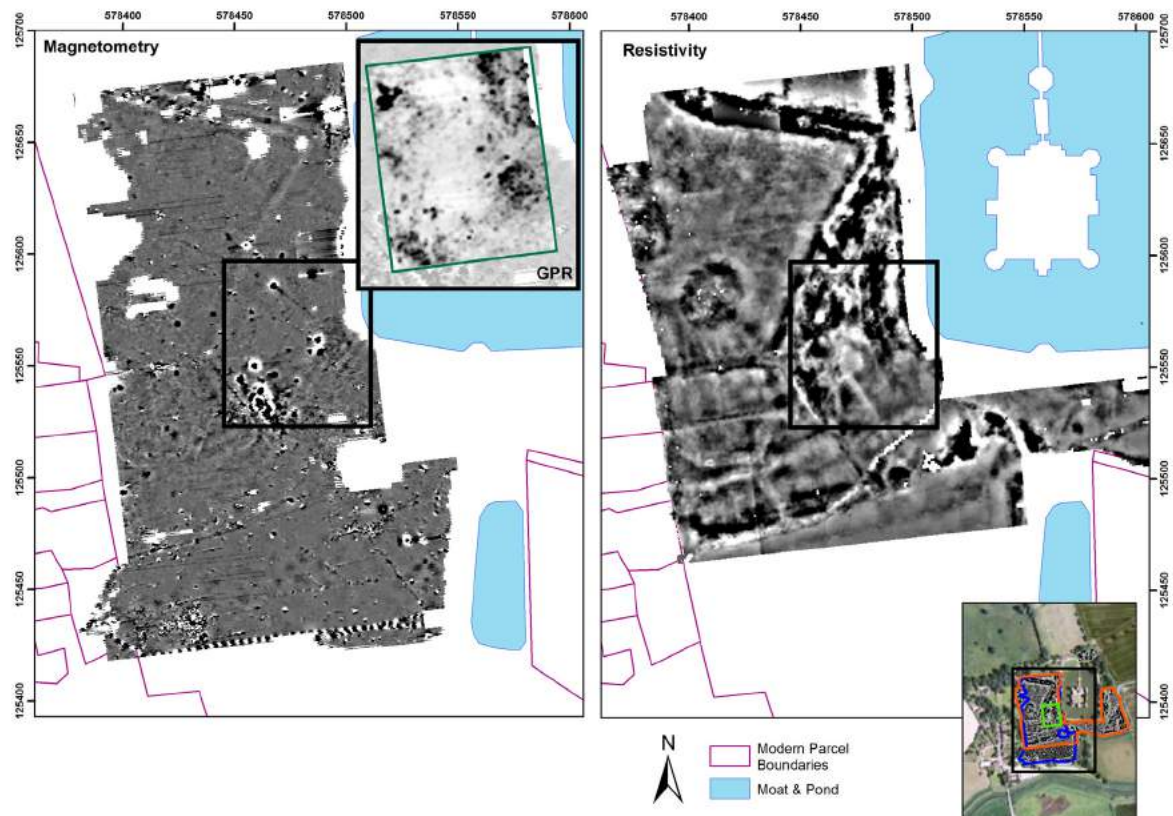


Fig. 4.11b: Castle West: magnetometry, earth resistance, and GPR survey results.

earlier channel (Drury & Copeman 2016: 44-6). To the east and west of Bodiam the river still follows its earlier course, which suggests the river was purposefully diverted to the north in this area. The date and reason for the river's shift are unknown, but the Rother most likely held a course similar to its present one by the time the medieval village and wharf were established.

The wharf would have been a key element in the busy medieval landscape of Bodiam. The wharf may have been active before the mid-12th century, when a boat landing is first mentioned in documentary sources (Drury & Copeman 2016: 43). Previous excavations, in particular work at the west end of the mill pond, suggest that the remains of the wharf lie beneath the area of the modern visitor facilities and 'rose garden', perhaps extending into the car park (Pope *et al.* 2011: 41-2). As this area is under continuous use as a car park, we were unable to clear the area as needed for geophysical survey during our field seasons and therefore could not make any progress in identifying the form of a harbour or wharf at this location. Place-name evidence (Flote Marsh, Flote Field) and a sunken rectangular area south of the original river course suggest another possible location for a dock (lower right of Fig. 4.4), though as Drury & Copeman note, an alternate meaning of *flote* is a low-lying, permanently flooded marsh (2016: 46), which certainly describes this space.

Fields around the village, manor, wharf, and road were actively farmed and cultivated by the village inhabitants; the pollen evidence is indicative of both pastoral and arable agriculture in the Bodiam area throughout the medieval period (see Chapter Five, this volume). It was into this active, working, day-to-day landscape of agriculture, commerce, industry, travel, and social life that Sir Edward Dallingridge decided to place his new castle at Bodiam in the last decades of the 14th century.

The Castle Landscape

After his marriage to Elizabeth Wardedieu in 1363, Sir Edward Dallingridge was in possession of the property at Bodiam by 1378. He obtained a licence to crenellate the manor at Bodiam in 1385. Previously, in 1383, Dallingridge had received a grant to hold a market and fair at Bodiam, and in 1386 he obtained a licence to divert the River Rother for a mill. The entire castle landscape, including numerous outbuildings and water features, appears to have been constructed within the space of ten years or less – a massive undertaking of construction, and a significant alteration to the village landscape, in a very short period of time (Whittick 1993; Johnson *et al.* 2000: 29-34).

West of the castle

Strong dipolar magnetic anomalies cluster in a line just to the castle side of the village earthworks described above (Fig. 4.11). A faint rectangular feature in the earth resistance survey roughly circumscribes this cluster of anomalies, suggesting that the practices occurring in this area were spatially separated from the surrounding areas by earthen walls or some other structure. The position of the magnetic anomalies, against the boundaries of the plots and not appearing to cross them at any point, suggests that the earthworks were in place when the ferrous material was deposited here. It is therefore likely that the source of these dipolar anomalies post-dates the plots of Bodiam village, and pre-dates the restructuring of the landscape that resulted in the demolition of these rear lots (possibly c. 1671 (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 40-1)). Without excavating, we cannot declare with certainty that these anomalies were associated with the construction of Bodiam Castle; however, they are consistent with the expected signature of a builder's yard that would have hosted the kinds of industrial works necessary to support such a massive engineering project (including the possibility of kilns, fires, metalworking, and perhaps spoil or slag heaps). Their clustering and alignment, apparently respecting the boundaries of the house plots, makes an industrial explanation more likely than an intrusion of iron-rich natural peat. The geophysics therefore suggests that Bodiam village (or at least the boundary defining the block of plots to the rear of the houses) pre-dates Dallingridge's construction of Bodiam Castle (consistent with Johnson *et al.* 2000: 6).

Discrete dipolar anomalies between this faint rectangular feature and the castle moat suggest the possible presence of kilns in this area as well. A small (50 m x 60 m) GPR survey was performed to further investigate the area, and results showed reflective anomalies corresponding to several of the magnetic dipoles at approximately 30-40 cm below ground surface. However, geological cores from the mill pond and around the moat contained significant deposits of iron-rich peat which can appear as dipolar anomalies (similar to our observations in the cricket field, see above and Chapter Five, this volume; also Scaife 2013). It may be of interest to note that both the north-western approach to the castle discussed below, and also the southern approach suggested by the RCHME survey (from the south, turning east to circle the moat counter-clockwise (Taylor *et al.* 1990; Everson 1996 and Fig. 2.6, this volume)) avoids this possible industrial landscape, suggesting that such activities may have been strategically located out of sight of the castle's more elite visitors and inhabitants, during or after the phase of active construction. Excavation may help to determine what kind of activities were taking place in this area.

To the north of the possible industrial area lies the 'cascade'. This consists of a series of depressions in the hillside, leading from the current access road south of Dokes Field to the north-western corner of the moat (Figs 4.3, 4.4 & 4.11). These depressions have been interpreted as former water features, perhaps one or more fishponds, which fell in succession down to the moat and were a key element of the watery landscape of Bodiam. This area was difficult to survey due to dense vegetation and extremely dry soils. Furthermore, when the moat was drained prior to 1970, spoil from the clearance was often piled in or around these depressions. There are some suggestions of features of interest in the survey results, particularly the magnetometry, but no clear conclusions can be drawn given the difficult conditions.

The 'tilt-yard'/mill pond, leat and possible mill site

In 1386 Dallingridge obtained a licence to divert the course of the River Rother to power a mill at Bodiam, and earthworks suggest the former position of the mill pond in the area misidentified by Curzon as 'the tiltyard' (Curzon 1926). At this time, the Rother may have run directly against the southern edge of the mill pond, a little to the north of its present course. Some time later, probably by 1410, the river was again diverted slightly to the south to its present course, perhaps to stop the mill pond embankment from being undermined or to create space for the harbour or dock (Drury & Copeman 2016: 114-7).

Magnetometry survey of the mill pond did not reveal any anomalies that are likely to correspond to a medieval date (Fig. 4.11). However, pollen analysis of a core from the pond indicates the presence of wetland fringe vegetation (including willows, water plantain, and

sedges) concurrent with alluvial deposits, consistent with a pond environment (see Chapter Five, this volume).

Chris Whittick (1993) has suggested that the mill leat (artificially constructed stream) referenced in the 1386 licence was diverted from the Rother far upstream near Salehurst, and brought to the mill pond by way of a route that would have, in part, followed the current trackway north of Castle Inn and the cricket field (Fig. 4.12). If the actual location of the leat was slightly south of the current track, evidence of its path should have appeared in the geophysics of the cricket field. However, the survey results did not contain any clear suggestion of the line of a mill leat through the cricket field (Fig. 4.13). The leat may more likely have run along the ditch to the north of the present lane, a possibility that merits further investigation.

To the south-east of the castle, resistivity and GPR surveys showed evidence of a highly resistive, dense, subrectangular anomaly of about 20 m x 25 m, at the south-eastern corner of the National Trust property (Fig. 4.14). The southern and eastern edges of this feature extend outwards to the north and west along the property boundaries, about 70 m in each direction. Given the position of the mill pond a little to the west, it is tempting to suggest that this anomaly could be the location of a mill foundation and the walls of an associated mill yard. If this were the case, then it would have been possibly served by a leat that would have run from the north-east corner of the mill pond along the approximate route of the modern east/west ditch. Further geophysical signatures in this area are obscured by the modern pathway that runs north-east to south-west, and upcast associated with the construction of the moat and its earthwork bank.

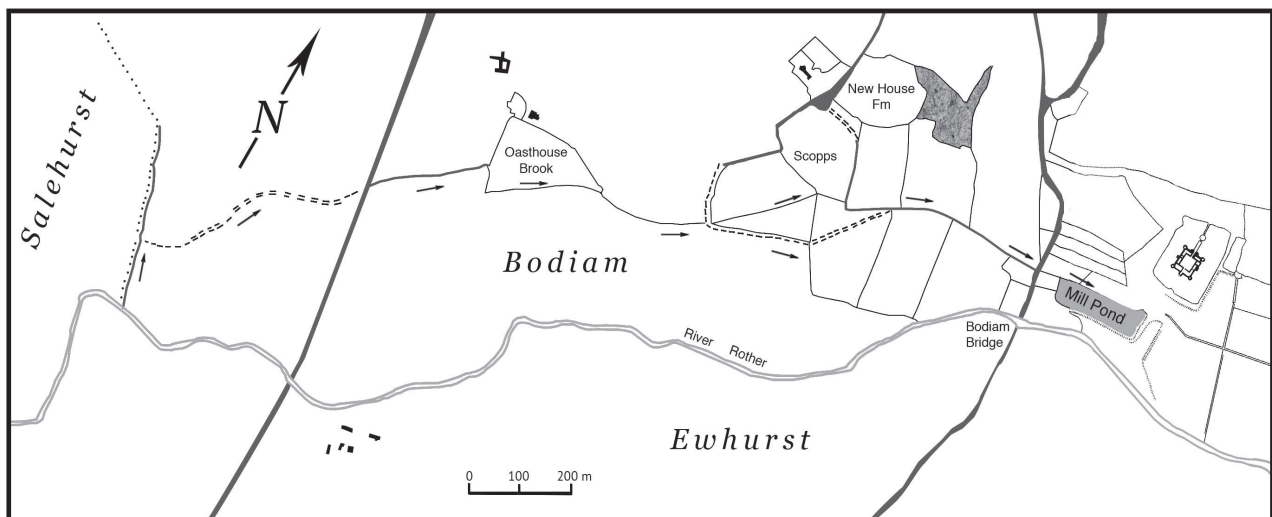


Fig. 4.12: Suggested path of mill leat (redrawn by Kayley McPhee from Whittick 1993).

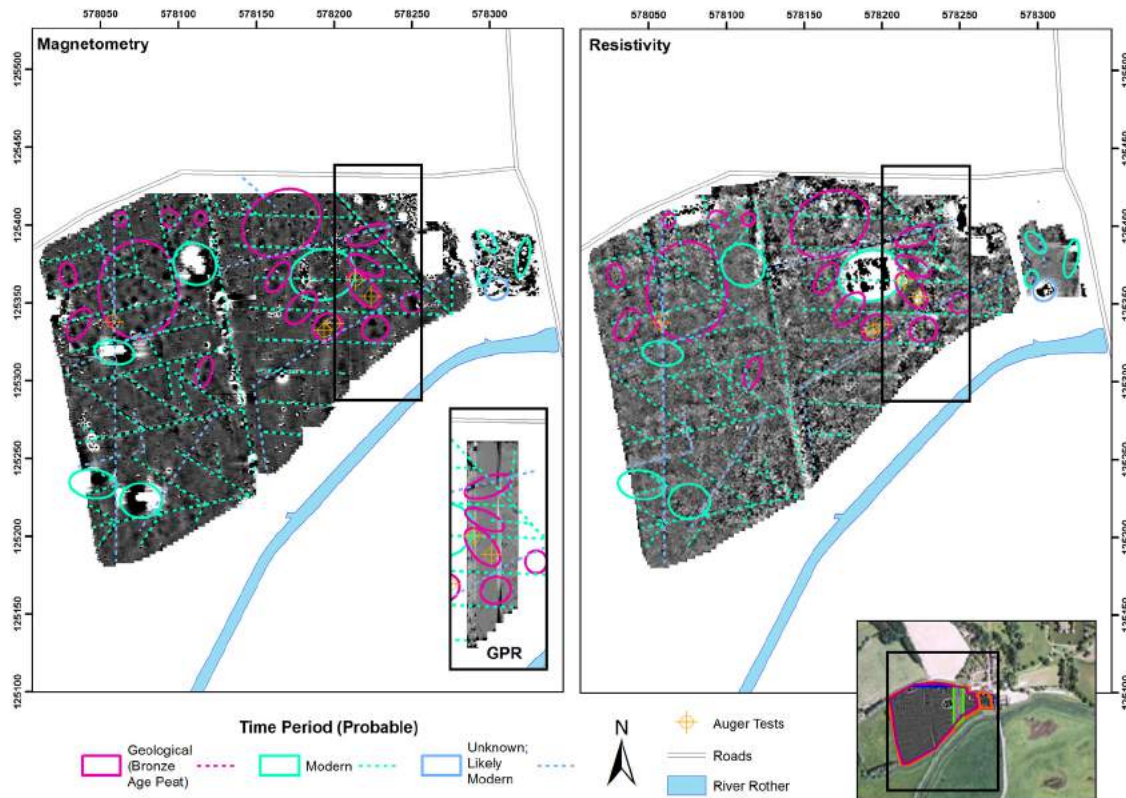


Fig. 4.13a: Cricket Field: Interpreted magnetometry, earth resistance, and GPR survey results. Large dipolar anomalies suggest large modern metallic deposits, while small dipoles could be modern debris, ancient peat, or any metallic deposit of intermediate age. Positive magnetic anomalies are likely Bronze Age peat deposits. The large resistance anomaly is the modern, maintained cricket pitch. Linear magnetic anomalies are almost certainly post-medieval or early modern drains; linear resistive anomalies are less certain. No evidence of a leat was observed.

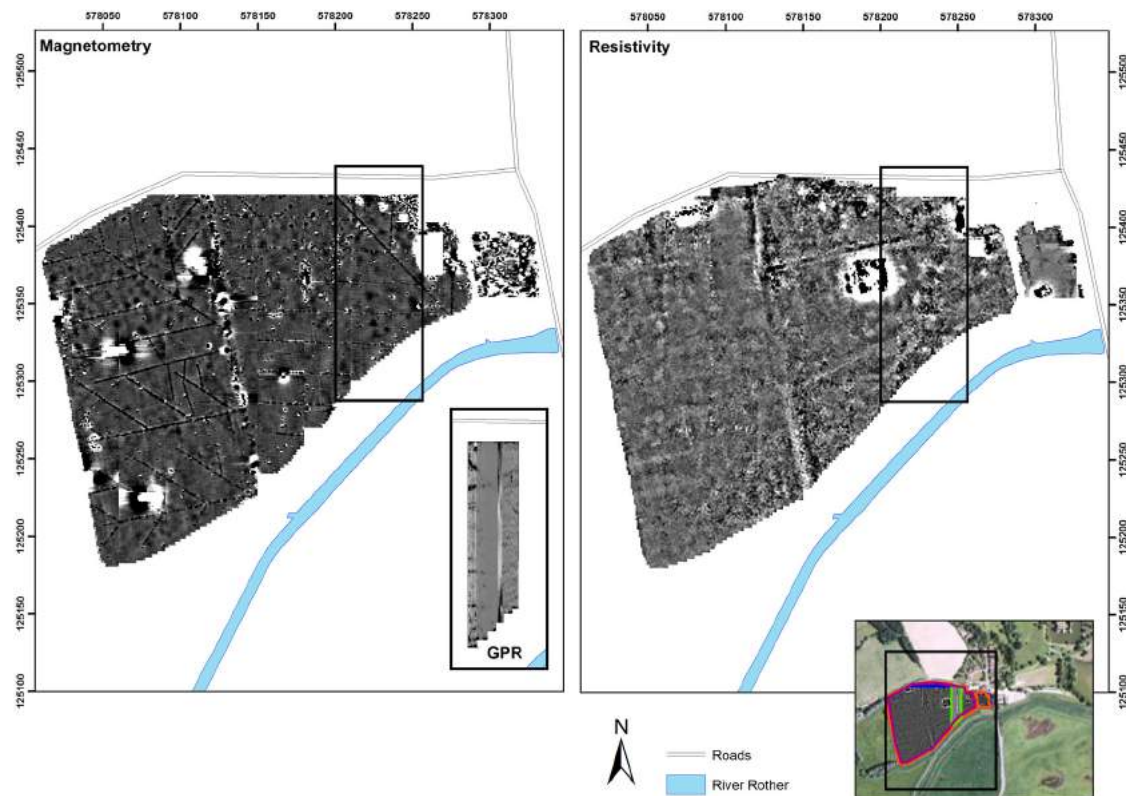


Fig. 4.13b: Cricket Field: magnetometry, earth resistance, and GPR survey results.

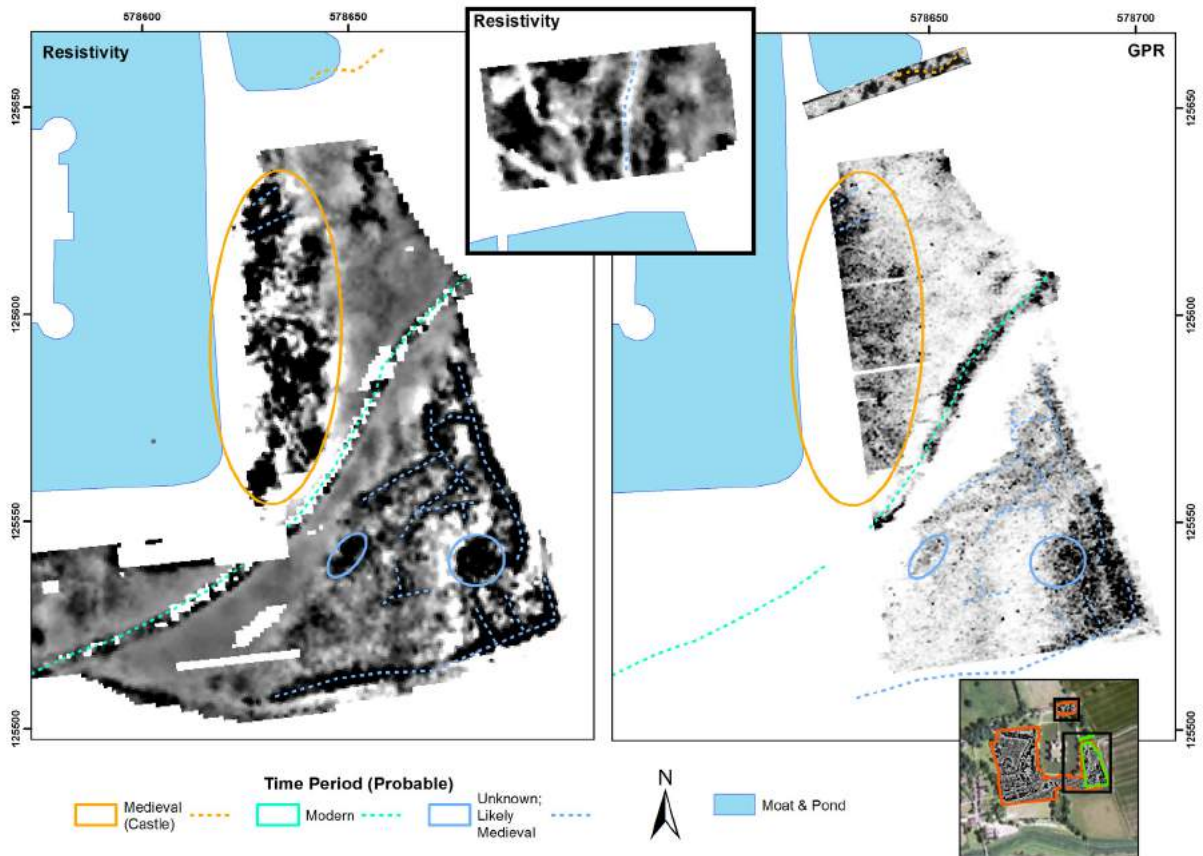


Fig. 4.14a: Castle East: Interpreted earth resistance and GPR survey results. The GPR slices shown are approximately 30-40 cm below ground surface.

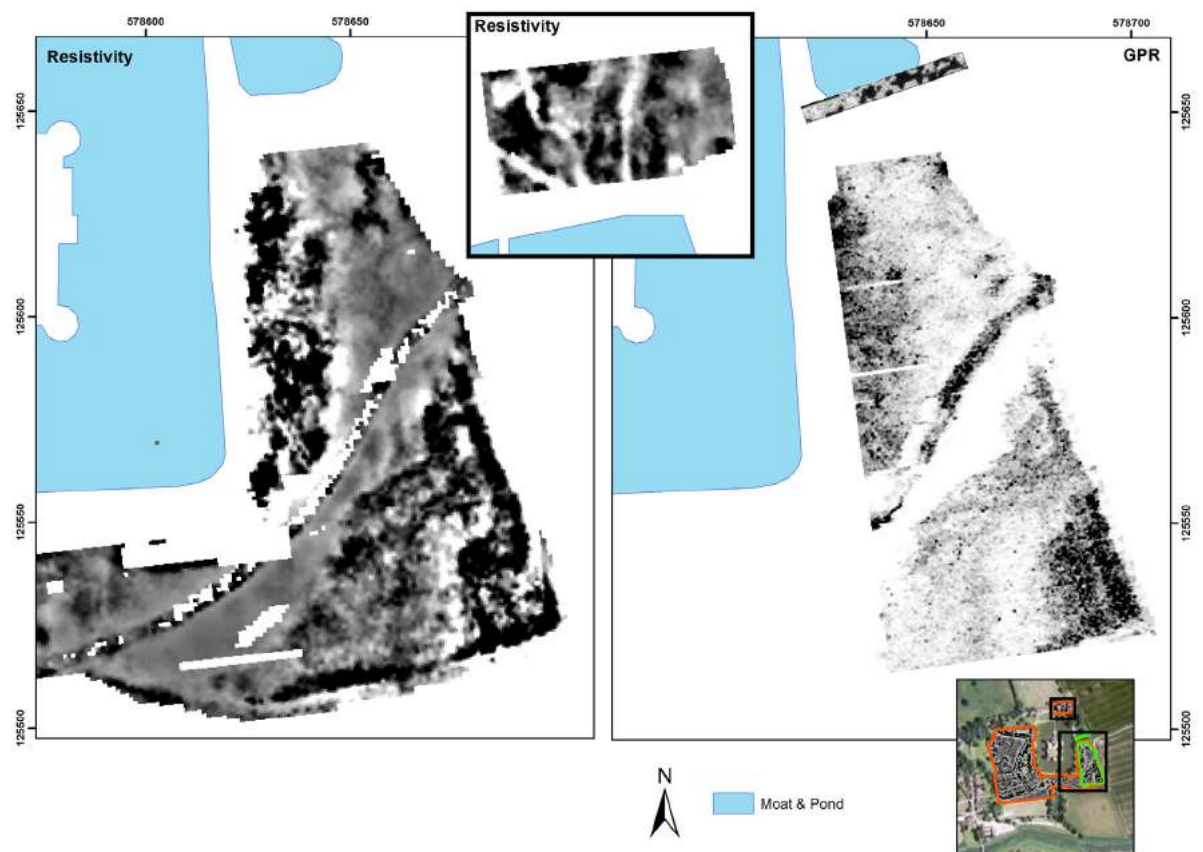


Fig. 4.14b: Castle East: earth resistance and GPR survey results.

The suggestion that this subrectangular anomaly may have been the mill site differs from the general assumption that the mill site was immediately east of the mill pond, at the north end of the dam. There is evidence for this assumption in the form of a ditch that runs north-south from that point before curving to the south-east to join up with the River Rother (visible on Figs 1.2, 2.2 and 4.12). This ditch could be the remnant of the medieval tail race. This ditch is visible today and in earlier maps, such as the 1840 Tithe Map (Drury & Copeman 2016: 114-5 and fig. 51). However, this ditch, and the assumed mill site it connects to, lie either outside or just on the edge of the National Trust property, and much of this area was heavily altered by the activities of Curzon and others, so the area is very difficult to interpret.

Stratigraphic and pollen data from coring in the area south-east of the castle suggested the presence of thick, high-quality pasture land, built up over the last millennium. This suggests an alternative possibility for the subrectangular anomaly, namely that it could be evidence of a cattle pen or yard rather than a mill (see Chapter Five, this volume). Some caution is warranted, as the proximity of the linear anomalies to the drainage ditches at the edge of the property suggests that there is likely some upcast from the excavation of the ditches, which could produce a comparable geophysical signature. Additional work is needed to test for buried structures in this area.

A small-scale GPR survey was carried out just to the north of this area along the pond bank in 2010 in advance of works to mitigate an apparent water leak on the grounds (Fig. 4.14). The survey showed denser materials lower down the bank to the east, perhaps stone or masonry, and a less dense subsurface matrix to the west, perhaps clay or silt. These observations are probably related to the construction of the retaining dam south of the fishpond and perhaps also to maintenance operations along the moat bank.

Castle approaches

Second only to the debate over the significance of the Gun Garden, the most contested aspect of the Bodiam landscape is perhaps the path taken by the original approach to the castle as envisioned by Dallingridge. When the RCHME reported on their comprehensive earthworks survey in 1990, they contended that the watery landscape of the castle was intended to guide visitors to the castle through an ornamental landscape, to 'experience views whose components continually change' (Taylor *et al.* 1990: 155). In their words,

the main approach to the castle from the W. would have been along the S. side of The Tiltyard pond [mill pond], giving distant views of the castle across water, thence along the causeway between ponds where only the upper part of the castle was visible, and crossing between further areas of water over a bridge. At this point the climb to the moat dam must have had, indeed still has, a dramatic effect, as the whole castle seems to rise up out of its moat. The visitor, if not using the postern gate, was then directed E. along the moat dam, then N. along the moat and the one or perhaps two ponds to the E. and finally back W. on the northern edge of the moat. At the NW. corner of the moat the approach road turned again between the moat and the two ponds to the W. and finally crossed the moat in two stages to reach the main gate of the castle

(Taylor *et al.* 1990: 155-7)

Issues with this proposed southern route were raised in Chapter Two. Whether this southern route was the intended, or indeed the only, approach to the castle during the medieval period remains an open question. Most contemporary castles had two or more approaches to several gates (see e.g. Johnson 2002). Indeed, there are numerous other routes to Bodiam Castle, including the south entrance through the postern gate, a northern route that may have come from the old Roman road south of Dokes Field along the cascade and a modern approach from the north along the public right-of-way leading down from Court Lodge (Johnson 2002b: 29; Thackray & Bailey 2007: 4). Whether the majority of earthworks were intended purely for aesthetic appreciation is also an open question; some of the works to the south may have been necessary for the operation of the mill, for example. The RCHME's description of a contrived, ornamental approach from the south should be regarded as one possible experience among several, very much oriented to the imagined perspective of an elite visitor, rather than to the everyday experiences of those who lived and worked in and around the castle, village, mill and wharf.

The approach to the castle from the north-west is of most interest in relation to the results of the geophysical survey. It has been generally presumed by modern staff, visitors, and neighbours of the property that the northern approach makes more practical sense if one wishes to quickly arrive at the castle. Indeed, the National Trust staff entrance to the property currently takes this approximate path, turning down a gravel road just south of Dokes Field into a small car park at the top of the cascade and continuing on foot to the Trust offices at the base of the hill north of the castle.

However, the general view of scholars, from Lord Curzon to Johnson *et al.* to Drury & Copeman (2016: 119), is that the north-western approach ran immediately south of the cascade. The RCHME noted possible routes defined by terraces both immediately north and immediately south of the cascade, but the northern terrace may be the result of modern damage and dumping (Johnson *et al.* 2000, vol 2, 46). This southern approach also links up neatly with the geophysical signature of the eastern branch of the Roman road noted above. It would suggest an approach to the castle descending what is now Dokes Field, with gradually unfolding views of the northern façade; then turning to the left and east to run along the cascade, before a further turn left and north atop the dam between cascade and moat, then immediately right and east across the moat itself. Such an approach would be less circuitous, but just as carefully ‘composed’ with respect to views and water features, as the RCHME’s hypothesised approach from the south. It would also share striking parallels with the hypothesised south-western approach to nearby Scotney, possibly laid out in the 1370s (see Chapter Six, this volume).

The results of our survey are inconclusive, and leave open the possibility of an approach to the castle that ran somewhere north of the cascade rather than to its immediate south. The linear anomaly just to the south of the cascade that would mark such a route is apparent in the topographic, magnetometry, and earth resistance results, but its form generally appears more consistent with a bank and ditch feature (similar to the other anomalies associated with the tenement boundaries) than a pathway. The magnetometry and earth resistance surveys only included a portion of the southern edge of the cascade and did not cover the area between the cascade and Dokes Field, so we do not have geophysical data for a potential path north of the cascade. However, to the north of the cascade there is a level area that could have served as a road, and then of course the modern entrance lane runs between the cascade and Dokes Field, linking up with the diverted road to the west. This ‘coach road’ was established some time prior to 1671, though its earliest date of use is not known (Drury & Copeman 2016: 131). Different members of our team have different views of the more probable route, south or north of the cascade; we have presented the evidence, and leave readers to make up their own minds.

The south-west corner of Dokes Field shows evidence of an unusual feature, or perhaps two unusual features, in the magnetometry and earth resistance data. The resistance feature appears in the form of two linear

anomalies in a funnel shape, appearing to constrain movement into (or out of) the field at this location. The northernmost anomaly clearly shows parallel lines of high and low resistance, characteristic of bank and ditch construction as seen elsewhere on the site. The southern edge of the ‘funnel’ consists of a high resistance linear feature. The gradiometer data, in contrast, shows only a hint of this funnel-shaped feature – noticeable only when compared to the resistance survey. The second unusual feature does appear very clearly in the gradiometer data in the same area of the south-west corner of Dokes Field, as three sides of a subrectangular feature measuring approximately 40 m x 40 m. This feature does not correspond to the resistance anomaly; in fact, the rectilinear magnetic anomaly appears crosscut by the southern line of the funnel shape. The features are therefore unlikely to be related or contemporary. The order of construction is unknown, though a hint of a subrectangular feature in the earth resistance results, crosscut and overpowered by the funnel feature, suggests that the rectilinear feature may be significantly older. It is possible that, as noted above, it is prehistoric/early Roman in date.

It is tempting to interpret the funnel feature as part of the arrangements for a north-western approach to the castle, one that would have connected to the modern access road just at the top of the cascade near the south gate into Dokes Field. The feature does not crosscut the Roman road; in fact, it seems to end before it reaches the Roman road, which suggest that the road was still in use or at least extant when the funnel feature was put in place. One intriguing possibility is the similarity this shape bears to descriptions of ‘deer-leaps’, structures that encouraged escaped game to return to the confines of a medieval deer park (Fletcher 2001; Blandford 2012: 13). Many other medieval and later manors in Kent and East Sussex had their own associated deer park, including Scotney, Knole and possibly Ightham (Chapters Six, Seven & Eight). A park is historically known at Bodiam from the late 14th and 15th centuries, but it was most probably located farther to the west and south of our survey area, on the edge of the parish to the north of Robertsbridge Abbey (Drury & Copeman 2016: 122-3). It is also possible that the feature corresponds to an access point into the field during more recent centuries, perhaps associated with 19th-century hop cultivation, use of the field as pasture, or Fuller’s unknown landscape modifications (see below). The subrectangular structure is equally obscure in its origin and function. Nevertheless, the geophysical results serve as a necessary reminder that the castle was visited and used by many people coming from all directions and all social classes.

Another resistance linear anomaly is present in the small area to the north-east of the castle, appearing to lead from the moat to the public right-of-way that climbs the hill towards the Gun Garden from the north-east corner of the Trust property (Fig. 4.14). A line of low resistance runs next to it, suggesting a path beside a ditch that drained runoff from the hills into the moat. It is not possible to date this feature from the geophysical results, but it again reminds us that there are numerous approaches to the castle even today, depending on one's purpose as a visitor, employee, hiker, festival-goer, or archaeologist. The right-of-way may post-date the 1730 field boundary along which it runs, making this north-eastern approach to the castle landscape nearly as old and well-travelled as those that have been remade, confirmed, and reinforced by vehicular traffic, asphalt, and gravel.

Post-Medieval Landscape

Between the 15th and 19th centuries, Bodiam changed hands numerous times. The historical record contains little information directly related to the changing physical landscape around Bodiam, though it is during this period that the interior of the castle was significantly dismantled, largely by the Tuftons and Powells during the 17th century. Late in the 18th century, Bodiam once again became an important port, with wharves constructed on both banks of the river and at least one nearby coal yard (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 41). Scattered throughout the site are numerous dipolar magnetic anomalies that may be associated with this early modern industry. The dipoles may also correspond to more recent industrial activities associated with road traffic, the railway, modern construction and renovation of the castle and its landscape, or the presence of visitors on holiday over the last two centuries, and some probably signify intrusions of iron-rich natural peat deposits.

Dokes Field

John 'Mad Jack' Fuller purchased the Bodiam property in 1829 and proceeded to carry out landscape alterations in line with his vision for a picturesque garden, a continuation of his programme of follies and other features on his Brightling estate nearby. Fuller's unpublished accounts show that he paid for significant landscape work, including ditches, stonework, paths, and levelling, but there are few references in the accounts that can be related to specific topographic features, and little to indicate where precisely such work took place, if the recorded work even occurred at Bodiam at all rather than one of his numerous other properties (Holland 2011: 16; Drury & Copeman 2016: 141). Brittany Holland uses cartographic evidence to suggest

that alterations to the coach road (the present north-western approach to the castle, see above) may have been the focus of some of Fuller's attentions. It is possible, therefore, that the funnel-shaped, resistance feature in the south-west corner of Dokes (described above; Fig. 4.9) may be related to Fuller's alterations of this road. If this were the case, however, Fuller's road would be expected to obscure traces of the Roman road at the point where the two cross paths, and it does no such thing; rather, the funnel feature appears to end just before it would cross the Roman road. It is possible to imagine Fuller creating a massive entrance without a road, in the spirit of his famous follies, or perhaps in reference to the deer-leaps of a bygone age. Furthermore, any road here may have been used lightly enough during Fuller's tenure that it never became substantial enough to obscure older, buried features.

The earth resistance survey of Dokes Field shows a series of lines, about 10 m apart, stretching east-west and running perpendicular to the slope of the field (Fig. 4.9). The lines occur in at least two groups at a slight angle to one another and they crosscut the Roman road, indicating that they are of a date after the road had fallen into disuse and become obscured in the landscape. Although these linear features superficially resemble the traces of medieval ridge and furrow agriculture, this is highly unlikely to be the case; ridge and furrow is almost unheard of in south-east England (Roberts & Wrathmell 2002; Rippon 2008) and to encounter it in the Bodiam landscape would be highly unlikely. Ridge and furrow would also be expected to run up and down the slope rather than across it. The features are also not visible on the topographical survey or in the gradiometry results, as would be expected of ridge and furrow, which is usually apparent as positive magnetic anomalies (e.g. Linford & Martin 2008; Johnston *et al.* 2009; Archaeological Services Durham University 2010; Bunn 2010; Watkeys 2011). More plausibly, this pattern of linear resistance anomalies may correspond to 19th-century hop cultivation which is much more common in the region (Gardiner 1994: 16; Martin & Martin 2006: 150), although hop ditches are often more closely spaced than those we observe in Dokes Field. A second alternative is that of a vineyard. Future archaeobotanical analysis or excavation may help to interpret these features as ridge and furrow, hop terracing, a vineyard, or something else.

The cricket field

Linear features in the magnetometry and earth resistance results for the cricket field, including the prominent dip that runs north-south through the field

in the topographic data, are consistent with late or post-medieval drainage ditches (Fig. 4.13). The high resistance rectilinear feature corresponds to the modern cricket pitch, which is regularly trodden, compressed, played upon, and maintained by the current inhabitants of Bodiam and neighbouring villages.

The 'tilt-yard' (mill pond)

As part of Curzon's comprehensive landscape work at Bodiam in the 1920s, he drained what he called the 'tilt-yard', to 'provide an excellent cricket ground or recreation ground for the village' (Curzon 1926: 101) – a move reminiscent of similar initiatives instigated by British imperial administrators during Curzon's time as colonial Viceroy of India. Although 'the result was a disastrous failure' as 'there was not sufficient fall to carry away the surface water', Curzon tells us that in the process he 'constructed a big drain down the centre and herring-boned the remainder with broad drains about 30ft. apart' (Curzon 1926: 101). The herringbone pattern of linear features visible in the magnetometry results is entirely consistent with these drainage activities as Curzon described them (Fig. 4.11).

The pillbox

The pillbox dates to 1940. As noted in Chapter Two, it has an opening for an anti-tank gun which commands a view of the bridge; an unconfirmed tradition states that the parapet of the bridge was taken down during the war, and rebuilt afterward, so as to give the gunner a clear field of fire. It is one of a series of pillboxes along the South East Command: Corps (Rother) Stop Line from Uckfield to Romney Marsh, part of a system of 'stop lines' across southern England that were intended to halt the feared German advance and render it vulnerable to air attack (Foot 2006; see also Defence of Britain archive, http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/dob/ai_q.cfm, accessed 25th May 2016).

Conclusion

The results of the 2010-2012 topographical and geophysical survey at Bodiam Castle suggest some avenues for future work, particularly certain areas of the landscape that would benefit from a more detailed geophysical survey at a higher resolution. These include the Gun Garden, the features in the south-western corner of Dokes Field, and the possible location of the

medieval mill in the south-eastern corner of the National Trust property. Additional LiDAR survey would be of great help in interpreting the landscape palimpsest. In addition, test excavations should be carried out to verify the geophysical interpretations provided here.

To many visitors today, researchers and holiday-makers alike, Bodiam appears as a designed landscape park, intended for pleasure, relaxation, and beauty. But of course, Bodiam *is* a landscape park – it was made that way over the last two centuries by Fuller, Cubitt, Curzon, and the National Trust. These overlapping layers of aesthetic construction and development as a public monument and amenity make it a difficult and fascinating challenge to see through to the early village landscapes, to the medieval worlds of Dallingridge, his successors, and the everyday people who lived and worked in the shadow of the castle. The trees, for example, were mostly planted in the 19th and 20th centuries, with only a few very old oaks and other species likely dating to the 18th century (Johnson *et al.* 2000; Appendix One, this volume). The only suggestions of medieval foliage and greenery come from analysis of archaeological pollen samples, which can provide a list of species but only broad hints as to their spatial arrangement (Chapter Five, this volume). The landscape, ever changing, obscures its own past. Geophysical survey offers only a glimpse at a few buried remnants of action, centuries past, dimly reflected on the screen.

We will never know for certain why Dallingridge chose to build his castle where and how he did – whether he intended to defend the ramparts against the French, to relax in a country estate, to display his status as a knight of the realm, or some combination of these and other reasons. But we can say that during his tenure, and the centuries that stretch before and after the castle's construction, Bodiam and its environs were an active, dynamic landscape of labour, of movement, travel, and commerce, for generations of men and women who lived in the village or passed through it on their way to London, Rye, or across the continent to Rome. Geophysical and topographic survey of the full landscape shows traces of these everyday activities through which past peoples engaged with the land and with each other, revealing a landscape that cannot fit comfortably into categories like *warfare* or *luxury* – the landscape of Bodiam is, and has always been, complex, messy, contradictory, and ultimately human.

THE ENVIRONMENT OF BODIAM: LAND, VEGETATION, AND HUMAN IMPACTS

Kathryn A Catlin, Penny Copeland, Matthew Johnson, Rob Scaife¹

Abstract. This chapter reports on pollen and stratigraphic analysis of multiple soil cores extracted from the landscape in and around Bodiam Castle. Over the last six thousand years, the Bodiam landscape has shifted from wet alder carr fen woodland to seasonal floodplain. The critical changes occurred during the Bronze Age, when deforestation by local communities to create fields for arable agriculture led to significant erosion and alluvial sedimentation. As a result, the river channel deepened and widened, the wetland expanded, springs developed, and the river Rother began to regularly flood its banks. These alterations set the stage for the development of the Roman and medieval harbours, and later, for the excavation of the moat and watery landscape in which Bodiam Castle is set. The landscape and ecology of Bodiam's position between the floodplain and the Weald has been critical to understanding its place through millennia of interaction between human life and agricultural practices.

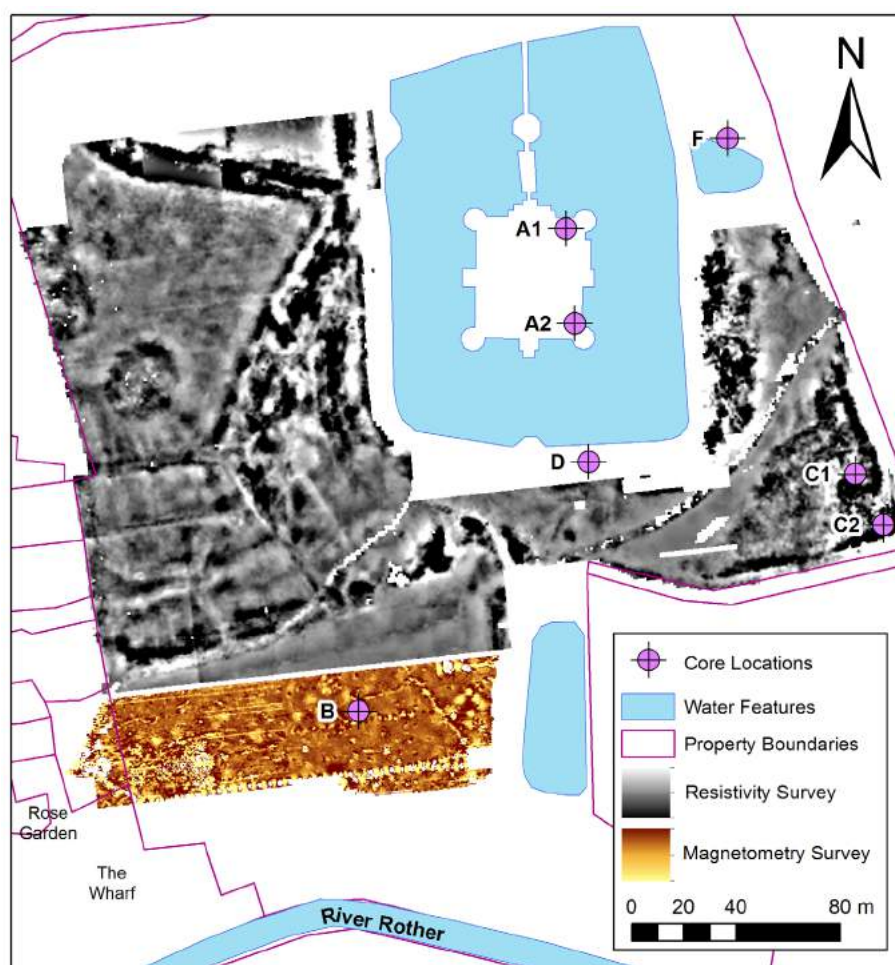
Introduction

Bodiam Castle is situated on the boundary between the Rother floodplain and the Weald (Chapter Two, this volume, Figs 2.1 & 2.3). This critical location, at the convergence between two environmental zones, has had significant effects on both the environmental and social histories of the landscape. Over the last five millennia, changes in climate, movement of the river, and human activities have led to multiple transformations between riverine, woodland, wetland, and grassland ecosystems. Each new environmental development represented a change in the way people related to the landscape, including different agricultural methods, transportation and commercial infrastructure, and the range of possible choices available for construction and landscape alteration.

In this chapter, we set out to identify and describe the geological, hydrological, and vegetation history of the immediate environs of the castle. This dynamic environmental context sets the stage for the daily lives and practices of the people who lived and worked here, both defining the range of possible productive activity and comprising the materiality through which inhabitants and visitors have understood their relationship to the land and society. When did people begin to actively farm at Bodiam, and what crops were they growing? Where were the medieval ponds located, and what is their earlier history? What sort of managed woodlands have grown near Bodiam since Roman times and earlier? How might the moat construction have taken advantage of existing landscape features? The environmental context of the Bodiam landscape during the medieval period may suggest why the inhabitants found this an ideal location for a village and castle. Finally, how does all of this accumulated environmental history affect the way the landscape was understood during the later Middle Ages, and the ways in which the Bodiam landscape is experienced and modified today?

¹ The pollen analysis was conducted by Rob Scaife. A longer and more detailed report on the results of the Bodiam coring and pollen analysis was written by Rob Scaife and Penny Copeland (Scaife & Copeland 2015, available at <http://sites.northwestern.edu/medieval-buildings/>). Kathryn Catlin prepared this more concise chapter, with further edits by Matthew Johnson.

Fig. 5.1: Coring locations relative to the Bodiam grounds. Note the linear resistive anomalies near cores C1 and C2 (the possible mill yard or cattle yard), and the linear magnetic anomalies in the overflow car park/mill pond near core B (likely Curzon's 1920s drainage works).



To address these and other questions, we employed soil coring to collect a series of seven sediment profiles around the castle landscape. The project was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council as part of the Parnassus Project, a multi-disciplinary study of the effects of climate on historic buildings (www.ucl.ac.uk/parnassus, accessed 25th April 2015). The profiles were brought to the laboratories at the University of Southampton and subjected to stratigraphic, palynological (pollen), and radiocarbon analysis by Rob Scaife. Two cores inside the castle (A1 & A2) span the occupation and abandonment horizons and the underlying, pre-castle, sediment. Five profiles outside of the castle include samples taken from sediment underlying the moat bank (D), a nearby pond (F), the overflow car park (B), and the site of a possible structure to the east of the castle (C1 & C2) (Fig. 5.1). These data have been combined with the results of other pollen studies to describe a vegetation and environmental history of the castle and its landscape, as it relates to human use and occupation of the site.

Sediment profiles are described in tables and represented in diagrams; the key to stratigraphic diagrams can be found in Fig. 5.2. For a detailed account of methods

of sediment profile collection and analysis, refer to Appendix Three. The detailed technical report on the work has been lodged with English Heritage (Scaife & Copeland 2015).

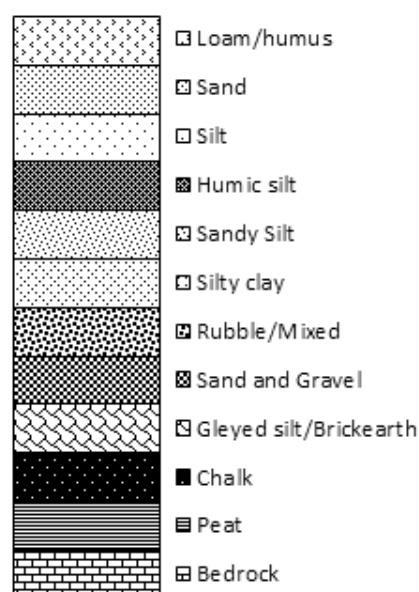


Fig. 5.2: Key to stratigraphic diagrams.

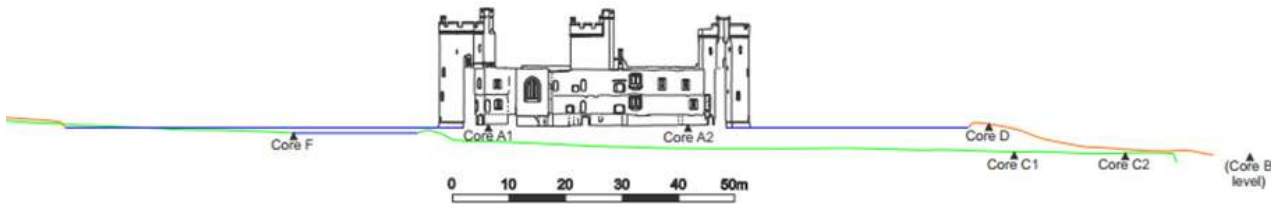


Fig. 5.3: Relative heights of the cores, facing east. Blue lines=Moat and pond; Green lines=Land east of the moat; Red lines=North and south moat banks. The creation of an artificial raised floor beneath the castle is suggested by comparison to the lower ground directly east (green).

Inside the Castle: Profiles A1 and A2

On 8th May 2013, researchers from the University of Southampton were on site at Bodiam in the early morning hours to complete coring inside the castle before it opened for visitors. With the help of National Trust staff, drains and connecting pipes were avoided, and recently-laid gravel was brushed aside to begin coring at a stable ground surface.

We planned to sample sediments from the eastern side of the castle to investigate the origins of the castle platform. Was the castle constructed on an existing ground surface, or had sediment been brought in to create the castle foundation? The 'half-basement' level along the eastern range of the castle was chosen to test this question, because underneath a basement any built-up ground to create a platform should be shallow enough that a core could completely penetrate it, reaching into the presumed *in situ* soil beneath. We were also looking for any evidence of habitation prior to the castle's construction, to understand the long-term human use of the Bodiam landscape and to address whether existing hydrology might have contributed to the choice of this particular spot for the construction of the castle and moat. Two cores were collected in this area, one in the northern range and one in the eastern range, just north of the door to the south-eastern tower (Figs 5.1 & 5.3).

Profile A1: Pollen analysis

Sample A1 was located in the eastern corner of the northern range. The sediment was a fine, inorganic marl, likely from a freshwater, spring-fed (lacustrine) basin. The core was not retained for stratigraphic analysis, though some evidence of floor preparation was observed prior to discarding the sediment (see below, Profile A2). Two spot samples for pollen analysis were collected at depths of 130 cm and 160 cm, most likely predating the castle and of post-Roman date, both of which showed evidence of woodlands, wetlands, and agriculture in varying proportions (Table 5.A).

The upper sample (130 cm) includes a single but important occurrence of walnut (*Juglans regia*)². Walnut was a Roman introduction to Europe as a whole, and in England it has been increasingly recovered from Romano-British and later sites (Scaife 2000; 2004). Walnut is therefore a useful biostratigraphic marker of Roman or post-Roman presence, and dates the sediment at 130 cm to a Roman or later period. The lower sediment, at 160 cm, is less easily dated, but may predate a Roman presence in the area.

Oak (*Quercus*) and hazel (*Corylus avellana* type) are the dominant tree taxa from both samples. The landscape of Bodiam probably supported substantial oak and hazel on local well-drained soils throughout the pre- and post-Roman periods. This woodland is likely to have been managed for timber and coppice (Rackham 1986; 1990).

Trees and shrubs from the upper sample also include small numbers of birch (*Betula*) and beech (*Fagus sylvatica*). The relatively small amount of birch in the sample suggests that birch trees may not have been present in the immediate vicinity, because birch trees produce a large amount of pollen that can move significant distances with the wind. Beech, in contrast, is poorly represented in pollen assemblages unless the sample site is close to the tree canopy (Andersen 1970; 1973); therefore, beech was probably growing locally but not immediately on the site during the later, post-Roman period.

The higher pollen numbers of alder (*Alnus glutinosa*) in the upper sample suggest that there was an area of wetlands, possibly near a spring, on or very close to the site during the later post-Roman period. High values of both polypody fern (*Polypodium vulgare*) and wood fern (monolete *Dryopteris*) spores present in

² Scientific names are included in parentheses following the first use. Thereafter, common names are employed for ease of reading. See Appendix Two for a chart of common and scientific names of encountered flora.

Table 5.A: Pollen count data from Profile A1 (north-eastern corner, castle interior). This core was not retained for stratigraphic analysis; only two spot samples were collected for pollen analysis.

Depth	1.30 m	1.60 m
Trees & Shrubs		
Betula (birch)	16	1
Quercus (oak)	56	45
Fagus sylvatica (beech)	2	1
Juglans regia (walnut)	1	-
Corylus avellana type (hazel)	62	72
Erica (heather)		1
Herbs		
Poaceae (Grass family)	74	100
Cereal type	10	39
Large Poaceae (non-cereal)	1	-
Secale cereal (rye)	-	9
Ranunculaceae (Buttercup family)	-	1
Ranunculus type (buttercup)	1	-
Sinapis type (mustard)	-	1
Caryophyllaceae (Carnation family)		
Dianthus type (carnation genus)	-	11
Cerastium type (chickweed)	1	1
Chenopodiaceae (Goosefoot family)	-	1
Lysimachia (loosestrife)	-	11
Plantago lanceolata (ribwort plantain)	4	1
Succisa type	1	-
Asteraceae (Daisy family)	-	-
Bidens type (beggarticks)	-	4
Anthemis type (chamomile)	9	-
Artemisia (wormwood genus)	-	1
Centaurea nigra type (knapweed)	-	9
Centaurea scabiosa type (greater knapweed)	-	5
Lactucoideae (dandelion & lettuce subfamily)	11	21
Unidentified	-	2
Wetland		
Alnus glutinosa (alder)	155	67
Typha angustifolia type (cattail)	3	1
Cyperaceae (Sedge family)	5	11
Sphagnum (peat moss)	-	1
Ferns		
Pteridium aquilinum (bracken fern)	43	143
Dryopteris type (wood fern)	47	102
Polypodium vulgare (polypody fern)	5	47

the lower sample may be associated with this nearby alder woodland. High counts of bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) suggest local waste ground on the acid sandy soils that are typical of the region.

In addition to woodlands, both well drained and wet, there is also strong evidence for arable agriculture. Cereal pollen numbers are especially high in the lower (earlier) sample from 160 cm. The herbaceous diversity is also greater in this older sample. Grass (*Poaceae*) pollen with dandelion type (*Lactucoideae*) are evidence of grassland, possibly pasture, at this time. It is probable that a mixed agricultural economy with areas of woodland management existed during roughly the pre-Roman period. The upper sample appears to show some reduction in arable and an expansion of woodland in the post-Roman period, with increased hazel, possibly indicating the secession of arable ground into woodland.

Profile A2

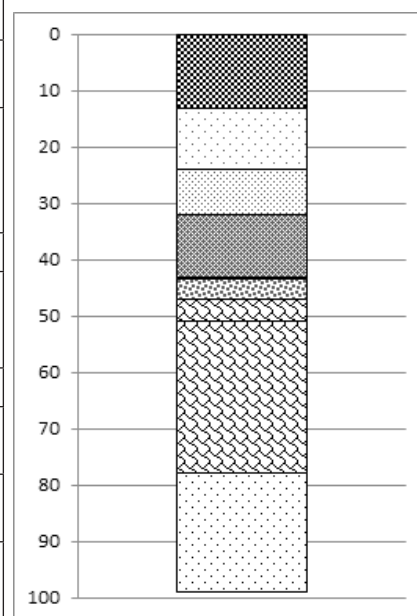
Profile A2 was obtained in the eastern range, just north of the door to the south-eastern tower (Figs 5.1 & 5.3). Here, we observed a well-defined occupation horizon, consisting of dark, humic, charcoal-rich sediment overlying what appeared to be a chalk floor (Table 5.B). This possible anthropogenic horizon had also been observed in Profile A1, albeit less clearly.

The meter-deep stratigraphic sequence from Profile A2 begins with a dark humic occupation horizon, including sand and silt with some charcoal fragments from 0-43 cm, possibly preparation for the grass surface laid down by Curzon in the 1920s. This overlies a well-defined anthropogenic horizon of distinct chalky rubble above puddle chalk and pebbles (43-47 cm). Beneath this layer, gleyed and oxidised alluvial silts (brickearth) extend from 47 cm to the end of the core at 99 cm.

The chalk horizon in sample A2 is a chalk rubble layer. The architectural evidence suggests that this is floor preparation. A flagstone floor above the chalk is a strong possibility, although there are no surviving original ground floor surfaces in the castle for comparison. The height of the top of the core is approximately the same as the top of the chamfer stops on the east tower door frame, about 43 cm above the chalk horizon. If we assume that the distance between the chamfer stops and the floor was the same as on all other stories, the floor should be about 30-35 cm (depending on weathering) below the chamfer stops (and modern ground surface). The chalk horizon is instead 43 cm below the surface, or about 10 cm deeper than expected for a floor surface (Fig. 5.4). The chalky rubble horizon probably

Table 5.B: Stratigraphy of Profile A2.

Depth cm	Stratigraphy
0 - 13	Contemporary surface. Sand and sharp gravel.
13 - 24	Silt, fine and medium texture, grey-brown. Grey (10YR 4/2) ¹ becoming greyer at base. Some buff coloured inclusions. Sharp boundary at base.
24 - 32	Sand, pale yellow, fine texture (10YR 8/8).
32 - 43	Probable occupation layer: charcoal inclusions and some mixed humic fill. Silt, fine and medium texture, dark grey (10YR 2/1 to 2/2). Pebble at base (43 mm diameter).
43 - 43.5	Chalky rubble layer. Likely preparation for a (now removed) stone floor.
43.5 - 47	Disturbed gritty layer. Sand, silt, chalk mottling, and small stones (to 10 mm diameter).
47 - 51	Brickearth. Pale at top becoming darker in lower context.
51 - 78	Silt, grey (10YR 5/8) to pale brown. Mottled, possibly gleyed, with oxidised rootlet channels. Calcareous inclusions at 72-73 cm.
76 - 77	Iron staining.
77 - 99	Silt, slightly finer, darker grey (10YR 5/6) than above. May be less gleyed.



1 Munsell soil colour description. Used throughout.

represents packing underneath a finished, durable floor surface. Ten centimetres of cobbles or flagstones atop the chalk would have raised the castle floor above the water level of the moat, which is currently only about 3 cm higher than the chalk horizon.

These findings are consistent with Lord Curzon's observation of a 'floor' in the south-west corner tower under the water level (Curzon 1926: 134). Curzon suggested that the level of the moat had changed.

However, given the evidence from the level of thresholds and doorframe chamfers, a large change in the moat level is unlikely. Rather, the floor Curzon observed was most likely originally underlay for a substantial layer of stone slabs or cobbles c. 10 cm or more thick, raising the functional floor above the moat level. Such a floor would have been substantial enough to be worth money when stripped out in the 17th century, when many parts of the castle were torn down and repurposed (Johnson *et al.* 2000: 38).

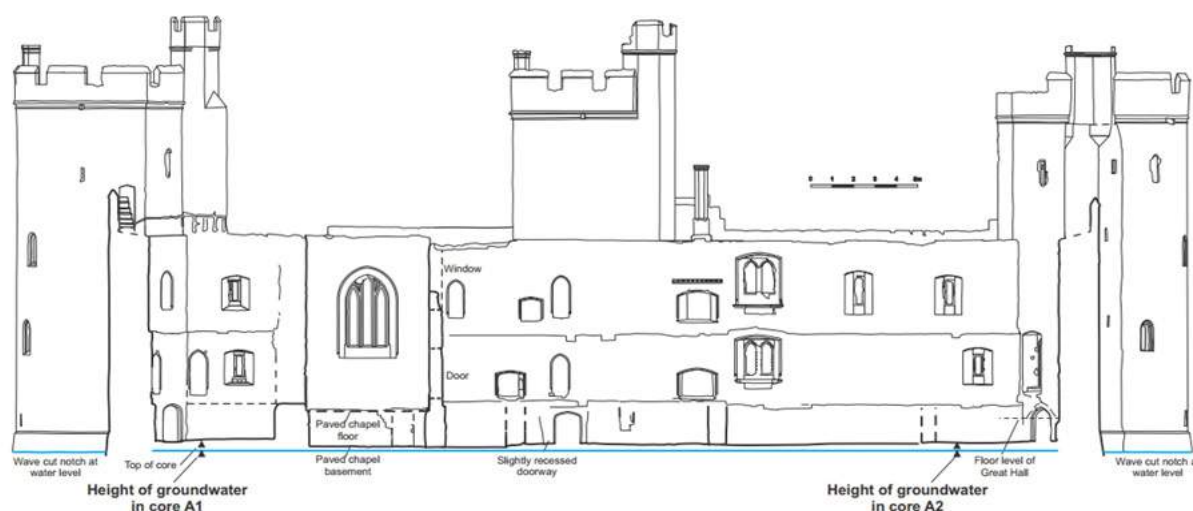


Fig. 5.4: East range of castle, showing core locations relative to the groundwater level. Groundwater is c. 20 cm below the basement floor level. (The slight difference between the water level of the moat and groundwater below the castle is likely due to the fact that the interior and exterior surveys took place months apart, and water levels can fluctuate throughout the year.)

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) carried out inside the castle in February of 2016 shows a few reflectors in the south-east corner at a depth of approximately 40-90 cm (Chapter Three, Fig. 3.8, this volume). These may correspond to the chalky rubble observed in core A2. Reflectors at approximately 40-80 cm in the north-east corner may also correspond to similar structures observed in core A1.

Profile A2 pollen analysis

Pollen was analysed at alternate 2 cm intervals through the anthropogenic/occupation horizon, between 32-45 cm (Fig. 5.5). The pollen spectra obtained are generally similar throughout the profile, but there are some minor differences above and below 38 cm. This difference may signify an occupation horizon, but could also represent the phase of castle abandonment that began c. 1643 and continued through the early 19th century. The lower part of this deposit, from 39-43 cm, contains pre-Quaternary fossilised pollen, which suggests that the silt above the chalk is a secondary deposit that was moved inside the castle from elsewhere, possibly from flooding, or perhaps as an intentional living surface. A flooding event could easily have followed the removal of thick flagstones, corresponding to site abandonment. This silt tails off in a more humic upper horizon above 37 cm, possibly a sign of early post-medieval occupation or related to more recent landscape work to maintain the modern grass surface.

The pollen and spores deposited within the castle include pollen that primarily came from plants growing in the immediate vicinity of the castle walls, as well as pollen derived from secondary sources such as domestic waste. Tree and shrub pollen come largely from wind-pollinated taxa, which generally produce more pollen, and will have travelled from outside the castle. These taxa include primarily oak, hazel, and alder, as well as smaller amounts of birch, pine (*Pinus*), and occasional elm (*Ulmus*) and hornbeam (*Carpinus betulus*). Lime³ (*Tilia cordata*) and spindle (*Euonymus*) are present, and because these taxa are usually less well represented in pollen assemblages, they are likely to have grown within the castle grounds.

The high levels of grass pollen and cereals are typical of anthropogenic deposits. Grassland and pasture taxa also include ribwort plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*), dandelion, and knapweeds (*Centaurea* spp.). This grassland pollen may derive from pastures exterior to the castle, but it could also come from secondary sources

such as floor covering, thatch, or domestic waste. Cereals are most likely to come from secondary sources such as crop processing and resultant debris, waste food and faecal material, or straw used as floor covering. Small numbers of sedges (*Cyperaceae*), reed mace/cattails (*Typha angustifolia*), bur-reed (*Sparganium*), and occasional other wetland types, may be of similar secondary origin or could have grown in the moat.

Ivy (*Hedera helix*) and polypody fern spores were also common in the pollen assemblage, suggesting that these may have been growing along the inner walls of the castle after abandonment, consistent with 18th-century watercolours of the castle interior (Fig. 5.6).

The Mill Pond/‘Tiltyard’: Profile B

A profile was obtained from the overflow car park (Fig. 5.1), which was not in use for parking the day of the fieldwork. Lord Curzon (1926) called this area the ‘tiltyard’, but it was almost certainly a mill pond during the medieval period. The core was placed not far from the location of a harbour, marked as ‘the wharf’ in Fig. 5.1, dating from the medieval period and earlier (Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009). We intended to use this core, first, to assess the origin and development of the mill pond as it related to the castle and second, to address silting of the former harbour area and the economic relationship between the castle and the river. Thanks to recent geophysical work also performed by the University of Southampton (Chapter Four, this volume), we were able to avoid coring through drainage channels and overburden left from work performed by Curzon in the 1920s.

Peat appears at 96 cm below the current surface and continues beyond 1 m (the depth of the core) (Table 5.C). The peat is capped by a transitional layer of humic clay-silt, below brown-grey, gleyed, silty brickearth sediment that continues to the modern surface. A radiocarbon date of cal. 2455-2200 BCE (calibrated *Beta*-382481; measured as 3840 \pm 30BP) has been obtained from an alder twig at 98-96 cm, within the top of the peat. The stratigraphy therefore shows a progressive transition from a stable peat-forming habitat during the late Neolithic, through wetter fen conditions, and finally to alluvial sedimentation. This is consistent with peat previously observed in this area at 2-4 m depth (Barber 1998).

Pollen analysis

Pollen analysis was performed at 0.05 m intervals on the lower, wetter, and more humic sediments from 60-100 cm, consisting of detrital peat below humic, laminated silt. The gleyed sediments above 60 cm

³ *Tilia cordata* is known as linden in some parts of the world. We follow UK standard taxonomy and refer to *tilia* as lime.

Bodiam Castle
Profile A2

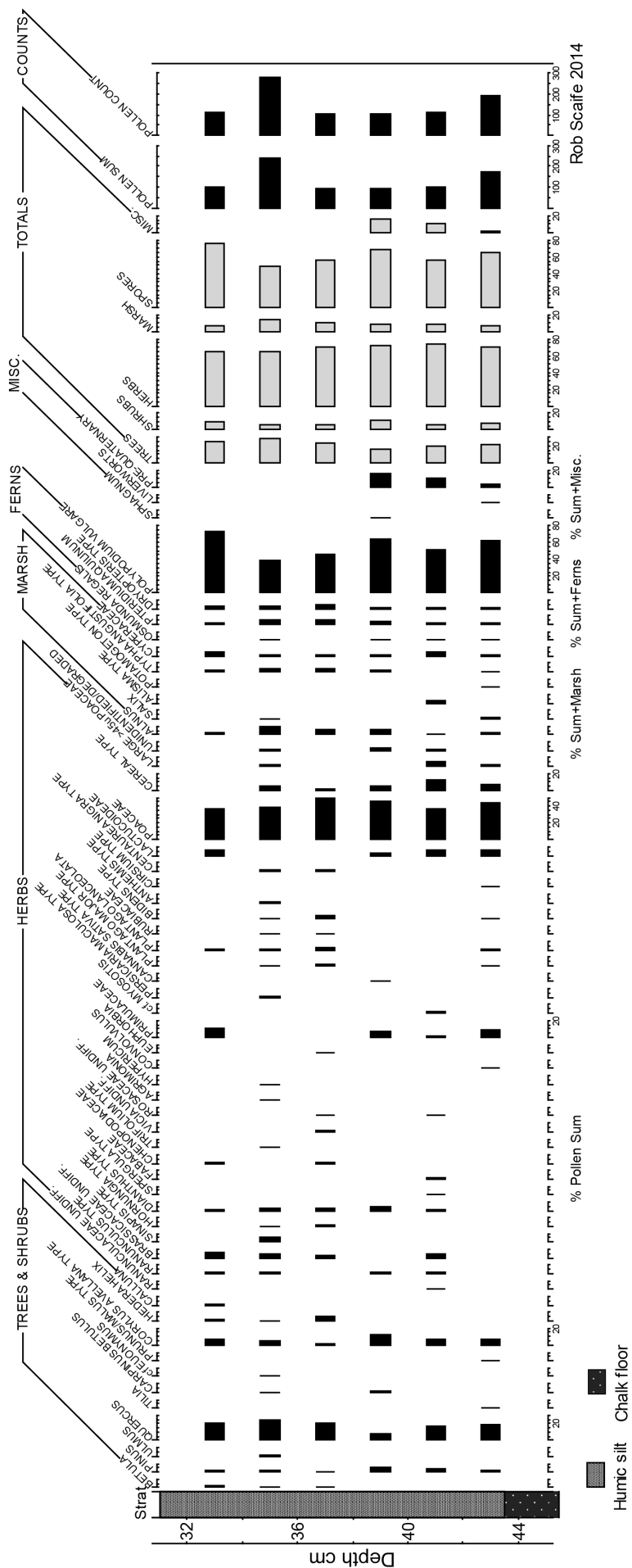


Fig. 5.5: Pollen diagram from Profile A2.

Fig. 5.6: 'A colored view of the interior of the east side of Bodiam Castle; drawn by S.H. Grimm, in 1784'. Note the ivy and ferns growing along the castle walls. © The British Library Board, Add.5670 f10 (no.18).



were deemed too oxidised to produce reliable pollen counts. The pollen profile is homogeneous with few changes in the pollen spectra over time (Fig. 5.7).

The column contained a diverse range of tree and shrub pollen throughout the sequence. Oak and hazel were the most common, with some lime, pine, birch, ash (*Fraxinus*), beech, holly (*Ilex*), viburnum (*Viburnum*), buckthorn (*Rhamnus cathartica*), willow (*Salix*), and alder buckthorn (*Frangula alnus*). Smaller amounts of herbs and ferns, including grasses, cereals, and weeds also appear throughout – including, interestingly, a single instance of hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) pollen just above the peat transition. These generally consistent proportions suggest that the local terrestrial, dryland area changed little in woody and herbaceous character over the time period investigated, and included some degree of arable cultivation at a distance from the sample site.

In contrast, on-site wetland taxa experienced a shift in proportions over time. Similar to the north-eastern pond (Profile F), Profile B contained very high values of alder (99%) at the base, decreasing to 40% by the top of the sampled section. Meanwhile, sedge, water plantain (*Alisma plantago-aquatica*), iris (*Iris*), cattails, and wetland fern taxa become increasingly prominent, suggesting a shift from a wet, boggy depression dominated by alder woodland into open water.

This evidence is entirely consistent with the presence of a mill pond, though not conclusive. There is no evidence of water lilies or other aquaphiles here. However, mill ponds are periodically cleared and constantly in motion when in use, which reduces the potential for pollen preservation. The shallow depth of the peat,

along with data from the topographic survey (Chapter Four, this volume), suggests that the mill pond during the medieval period was probably relatively shallow. A mill under these circumstances would necessarily have employed an undershot wheel.

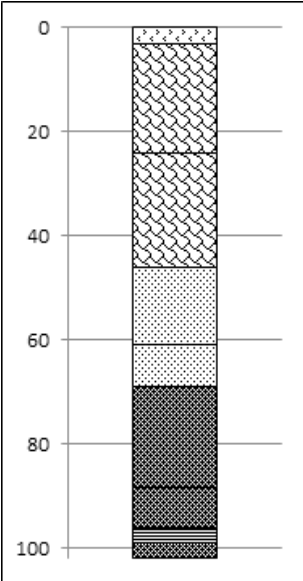
The radiocarbon date places the transition from alder fen carr peat to alluvial sediment in the middle of third millennium BCE, similar to dates obtained from peat elsewhere in the Bodiam landscape (Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009). The change appears to have been gradual, although some kind of destabilising event (possibly intensified land use) occurred in the late Neolithic or early Bronze Age. This event changed a stable peat-forming habitat to one dominated by soil erosion, transport, and deposition, possibly a floodplain.

Cattle or Mill Yard? Profiles C1 and C2

Two core profiles were obtained from this grassy area just to the south-east of the castle. As discussed in the previous chapter, geophysical survey suggested that a structure once stood in this corner of the property. Our initial suggestion was that this was a possible mill site given its relationship to existing ponds and ditches, but other evidence places the mill to the south-west of the castle (Chapter Four). We placed cores along linear anomalies evident in the geophysical results that had been identified as possible building foundations, next to or over water channels (Fig. 5.1). We were looking for low-lying silts beneath demolition debris. We were also on the alert for deep deposits that might represent a wheel pit, or any stratigraphic evidence for flowing fresh water, cereal cultivation, or waterlogged wood, any of which would suggest the operation of a

Table 5.C: Stratigraphy of Profile B.

Depth cm	Stratigraphy
0 - 3	Contemporary soil.
3 - 24	Fine-medium gleyed grey-brown silt (brickearth) (10YR 5/5 to 5/6). Some clay content.
24 - 46	Silt, grey (10YR 6/2). Gley with iron staining. Oxidised plant rootlets (especially 40-45 cm).
46 - 61	Clay and fine silt (10YR 6/2). Pale and diffuse mottling (10YR 6/8); greyer and wetter downwards. Oxidised rootlets.
61 - 69	Transitional context between humic silt (below) and brickearth (above). Pale brown to grey clay-silt with occasional charcoal specks.
69 - 88.5	Organic/humic silt, fibrous, coarsely laminated (10YR 3/1 to 4/1).
88.5 - 96	Humic silt with small plant inclusions, e.g. stems. Wood at 96-98 cm.
96 - 99	Dark grey-black peat (10YR 2/1 to 10YR 2/2).
99 - 102	Laminated, humic silt at base.



mill. However, instead, the cores suggest that the area has a long history of use as pasture with little sign of disturbance; the area as a whole may well have been a water meadow at some point. The shift to pasture likely occurred well before the medieval period, and it is more probable that the resistivity results are showing a cattle yard or byre complex. The anomalies could also reflect more recent upcast from moat excavations or clearing of drainage ditches. Excavation would be needed to confirm either interpretation.

Stratigraphically, the two profiles are very similar, as expected given their proximity. The 1 m profiles both had silty peat at their base, extending below the end of the core, overlaid by a transition from alluvial grey silt up to the modern soil horizon, including a thick layer of mature pasture soil (Tables 5.D & 5.E).

Pollen analysis

Because both profiles are stratigraphically similar, only one was examined for pollen and spores (C1; Fig. 5.8). Analysis again concentrated on the better-preserved peat and the transition into overlying alluvium (88-105 cm below the surface). The environment and vegetation significantly changed at around 99 cm depth, from an earlier alder carr woodland with peat accumulation, to an open herb fen, including a possible intermediate stage of wet fen with sedges.

The lower part of the profile (within the peat), from c. 99-104 cm, is dominated by trees and shrubs, particularly alder pollen (80%), significant proportions of oak (40%) and hazel (48%), and some few examples of lime

and ash. Like other profiles, this suggests terrestrial oak and hazel woodland in the nearby vicinity, with wetter alder woodland directly on site. Some few grasses (3%) and a single grain of cereal pollen appear at this depth, along with multiple taxa of fern spores. Some wetland taxa are present at this level, including sedges such as cattails and water plantains.

The higher zone, silty soils from c. 88-99 cm, is defined by a reduction in the proportion of trees and shrubs, and a corresponding increase in herbs and wetland taxa. This opening of the pollen catchment may be due to woodland clearance, which may also be responsible for the change from a stable peat-forming regime to a more dynamic riverine environment. Sedges and ferns are present at higher proportions at the base of this section of the profile, declining higher in the section (88 cm). The proportion of grass pollen rises to 78% at the later time, with other herbs including ribwort plantain and small numbers of cereals. This increase suggests pastoral and arable agriculture in the near vicinity, perhaps on site, though it could also be the result of fluvial or aerial transport from more distant sources, or autochthonous, non-cultivated grassland. The high proportion of grass pollen together with the well-developed soil observed in the stratigraphic profile suggest that the earlier wetland was succeeded by very good pasture land, of a sort that generally takes hundreds of years to accumulate.

The Moat Bank: Profile D

Core D, located in the southern bank of the moat (Fig. 5.1), was obtained mid-morning while the castle grounds had few visitors. The core was placed just off the



Table 5.D: Stratigraphy of Profile C1.

<i>Depth cm</i>	<i>Stratigraphy</i>	
0 - 3	Contemporary surface.	
3 - 35	Thick, humic pasture soil. Fine sandy silt (10YR 5/6). Crumbly texture.	
35 - 44	Finer and more compacted silty sub-soil. Pale grey band of medium silt c. 46-47 cm.	
44 - 96	Gleyed brickearth (fine silt and clay), pale grey/buff brown (10YR 6/4). Iron mottling with oxidised rootlets. Silty clay towards base (homogeneous pale grey) (10YR 6/2 or 6/3).	
96 - 101	Silt, darker grey with pale brown mottling. Wood fragment at 99 cm (probable modern root).	
101 - 104	Humic silty peat, dark grey (10YR 4/2).	

edge of the gravelled path on a grass surface (Fig. 5.9). We planned to assess whether excavated soil from the moat had been redeposited to create the bank, possibly manifesting as a clear division between a paleo soil and a layer of dumped fill. Lacking such a divide, we might have been able to suggest that earlier buildings were present on the site prior to the castle construction.

This profile is the deepest we obtained at Bodiam, with sediments to bedrock at 320 cm (Table 5.F). We tentatively identified a land surface at 88 to 93 cm below the modern surface. This is higher than expected for a natural land surface, which might be expected to slope gently towards the river at this point. The ground to the south of the moat therefore tentatively appears to have been sculpted to create a higher bank than was necessary, perhaps by layering dredged clay from the moat atop an existing scarp, or by cutting away soil to the south of the bank. This might also have had the effect of enlarging the mill pond.

The upper sediment consists largely of gleyed silt (brickearth) with sand lenses, possibly material built up during later additions to the moat bank. Below the possible land surface is a series of coarse-textured, silty marls, overlying lower, non-oxidised, grey silt, atop the bedrock.

These results are consistent with the moat bank section that was exposed next to the postern gate bridge abutment during alterations to the bank in 1995 (Stevens 1999), not far from our Profile D. This earlier work also showed a possible sloping surface at c. 1 m below the present ground surface, interpreted as the original 14th-century moat bank, with heightening of the bank tentatively dated via ceramic sherds to the 15th century. In contrast, sections of the north and west moat banks have shown no evidence of artificial construction (Barber 2007b). The moat appears to have been cut into the slope of the valley on the north and west, and artificially banked to the south and east, to create a level basin (see Fig. 5.3).

Table 5.E: Stratigraphy of Profile C2.

<i>Depth cm</i>	<i>Stratigraphy</i>	
0 - 2	Contemporary surface.	
2 - 5	Brown, well-sorted sub-soil. Probable worm action.	
5 - 43	Thick, humic, sandy, mature pasture soil. Well-developed crumb structure. Many monocotyledonous roots.	
43 - 84	Gleyed silty clay, pale grey and pale brown. Oxidised iron stains, possible roots. Some magnesium staining (esp. 84-86 cm).	
84 - 101	Mottled silt, pale brown (10YR 3/3) and pale grey (10YR 6/1). Oxidised root stains. Sharp transition at base.	
101 - 103	Humic silty peat. Black oxidised detrital with wood fragment.	



Pollen analysis

Pollen could only be recovered from the lower, waterlogged, grey silty sediments, c. 2.86–3.20 m below the surface (Fig. 5.10). The oxidised and gleyed character of higher sediments resulted in very poor pollen preservation.

The lower zone, from c. 300–320 cm, suggests a watery habitat, perhaps a marginal aquatic fringe to a local alluvial or spring-fed wetland, with both alder fen carr and hazel woodland nearby. The assemblage is dominated by diverse woodland taxa, probably originating at a slight remove from the sample site. These include high values of hazel and alder, with some oak, birch, holly, and lime, and occasional pine, maple (*Acer*), and elm as well as ivy, viburnum, and willow. Herbs, especially grasses, are present in small numbers, with some ribwort plantain, chickweed (*Caryophyllaceae cerastium*) and related species, and assorted flowering herbs (*Asteraceae*). There is also a small amount of sedges, including cattails, and some ferns, especially royal fern (*Osmunda regalis*) near the base of the section.

In the higher zone, from c. 286–300 cm, local conditions became wetter, and the fringing woodland declined or moved farther away from the sample site, likely giving way to pasture. Grasses are dominant, along with some cereals, ribwort plantain, hemp, and other pastoral and arable herbs. Woodland taxa include significantly lower amounts of hazel and alder pollen than in the lower zone, but oak increases near the top of the section. Sedges, cattails, and ferns are also reduced, though there is a single example of water-lily pollen (*Nymphaea alba*).



Fig. 5.9: James Miles, Dominic Barker, and Victoria Stevenson coring on the south bank of the moat (Core D in progress). Photo by Penny Copeland.

The East Pond: Profile F

Core F was obtained on the northern edge of the present small pond, located to the east of the moat (Fig. 5.1). While the castle was in use, the pond might have held fish, or served as a headwater pond for the mill, constrained movement around the castle, or most likely some combination of all three. This area has also been used several times as a dumping area for residue when the moat was dredged over the course of the 20th century (Johnson *et al.* 2000).

Though the area is currently vegetated wetland, we hoped that analysis of the underlying silt and pollen would suggest when and how the pond was constructed and used. The profile demonstrates that the pond existed during the whole history of the castle, and was almost certainly wetland before it became a pond.

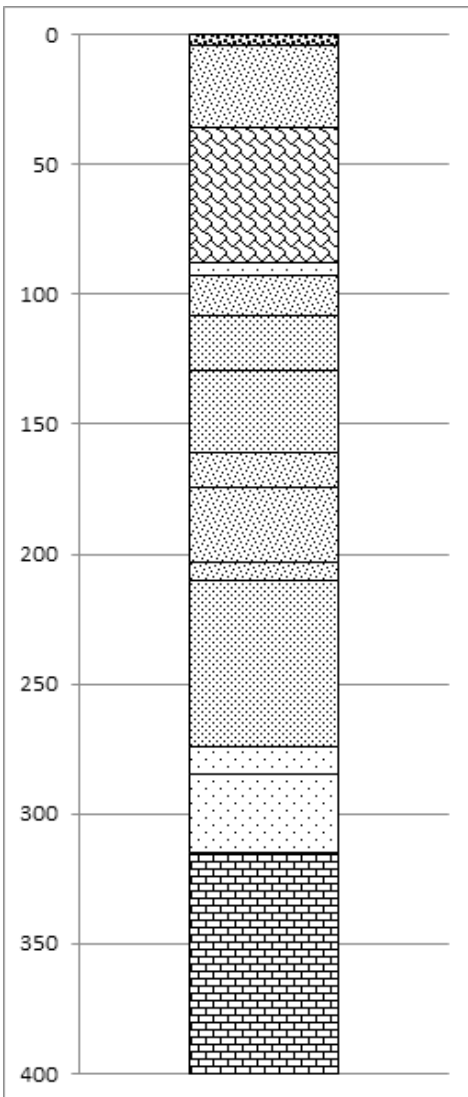
This site had a 2 m thick, continuous sequence of largely humic mineral sediment and some peat (Table 5.G; Fig. 5.11). The very thick, undisturbed sediments under a layer of compacted leaves at c. 60 cm suggest that the area has been a pond for a considerable time. Above c. 60 cm, the stratigraphy consists of sand, gravel, and other dumped material. A radiocarbon measurement from a wood twig at 118 cm provided a date of 130+/-BP. This date can be calibrated to either 1670–1780, or to 1800–1950 (the calibration curve has two peaks at this point). The former date, close to the abandonment of the castle, is much more likely given the stratigraphic location of the sample. The 50–60 cm of structured sediments between this twig and the fill material suggests that the pond was undisturbed for many years after the castle's abandonment, before it began to see use as a dumping ground in conjunction with the landscape work of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Pollen analysis

Pollen analysis was only performed in the more structured sediments below 60 cm. There is a distinct division between the pollen assemblages above and below c. 1.70 m (Figs 5.11 & 5.12). The stratigraphy is very similar on either side of this divide, so it is probable that this small pond remained similar in form and structure over time, despite changes to the fringing vegetation. In the earlier phase, alder was dominant on the site, with some hazel and oak and few grasses, algae, and ferns. This habitat later changed to an open pond with fen herb type vegetation, including willow, with higher amounts of oak and diverse grasses and cereals, and lower numbers of wetland taxa and alder.

Table 5.F: Stratigraphy of Profile D.

Depth cm	Stratigraphy	
0 - 4	Gravel below contemporary turf.	0
4 - 36	Bank material. Fine, friable, sandy silt.	50
36 - 88	Bank material. Brickearth; gleyed orange/yellow/brown silt (10YR 5/6). Iron staining. Oxidised plant roots.	100
88 - 93	Possible old land surface. Greyer silt. Limestone fragments up to 20 mm in diameter.	150
93 - 108	Sandy silt, orange/grey/brown (10YR 5/6). Fine sand inclusions. Gleying and charcoal specks, c. 103 cm.	200
108 - 129	Fine pale yellow sand (10YR 7/6).	250
129 - 161	Fine pale brown/yellow sand. Fine silt clasts give an almost brechiated texture.	300
161 - 174	Greyer sandy silt, brechiated texture.	350
174 - 203	Pale brown/yellow sandy silt (10YR 7/8 to 7/6). Paly grey clasts/intrusions c. 188 cm.	400
203 - 210	Orange silty sand.	
210 - 274	Pale white/yellow to orange/brown calcareous sand/marl. Coarse, brechiated texture. No visible organic content.	
274 - 285	Greyer silt.	
285 - 286	Specks of magnesium (possibly charcoal).	
286 - 315	Medium grey homogeneous silt (10YR 4/1 to 5/1). Magnesium (or charcoal) specks.	
315 - 400	Bedrock. Mottled pale grey very stiff, brechiated silt. Some clay and calcareous inclusions.	



The pollen evidence suggests that this area changed from a muddy depression in the ground with ephemeral standing water, to a proper pond later in the investigated time period. Dense alder woodland may have used the available water within the damp basin, leaving little for the use of other taxa or to accumulate in a permanent body of water. After the alder declined, possibly through woodland clearance by humans, the basin became wetter and marginal aquatic plants arrived, including water plantain, sedges, and marsh marigold (*Caltha palustris*). Standing water at this later time is evidenced by the cysts (dormant spores) of the algae *Pediastrum*.

The decline of the alder woodland opened the pollen catchment, allowing windborne pollen from the surrounding dry land to fall into the newly formed pond. Lower amounts of oak and herb flora during the earlier pollen assemblage are probably due to the masking effect of the alder rather than a true absence of the taxa in the area (Tauber 1965; 1967). Oak and hornbeam appear

to have been consistently present in the local and near regional landscape throughout the time-span represented by the sediment. This may be evidence of regional managed woodland during later periods, maintained for construction materials or as a hunting park.

There is considerable evidence for arable activity throughout the later pollen assemblage zone, as expected for the late medieval and early modern periods. Small numbers of either hemp or hop (*Humulus lupulus*) pollen are present between 100-120 cm, around the time of the dated twig (118 cm, mid-17th century). These could be due to native local growth, or to cultivation for either fibre or brewing; the taxa have similar pollen morphology and cannot be distinguished. Hemp was also seen in the pollen spectra from the car park (B) and moat bank (D), see above.

At the top of the profile, the change to silt and possible dumped fill material also shows interesting changes



Fig. 5.10: Pollen profile of section D.

in the pollen. New taxa are probably associated with trees planted on the castle grounds by its more recent owners, including pine, spruce (*Picea*), lime, beech and holly. This expansion of pine and spruce may also provide a useful date marker for c. 1700-1750, as exotics (including reintroduced pine) were often planted in parks and gardens during this time.

Discussion

The landscape of Bodiam has a complex history and pattern of wetland activity and sediment types, spanning the late prehistoric to the post-medieval period. In general, the results provided here are consistent with previous work, which has shown the valley bottom near Bodiam to consist of layers of peat interspersed with alluvial sediments (see Chapter Two, this volume). Borehole work has suggested a V-shaped profile for the Rother valley near Bodiam, with more than 10 m of alluvial silt atop bedrock, upon which peat deposits have been deposited to a depth of up to 6 m deep in places (Fig. 2.4, this volume; Burrin & Scaife 1984; Burrin 1988). Previous pollen analysis of sediments from Robertsbridge also showed a similar pollen spectrum to those observed here at Bodiam (Chapter Two, this volume).

Until around the 3rd millennium BCE (the early Bronze Age), peat fens accrued in a stable environment of alder carr woodland, which had developed atop earlier alluvial sediments (Barber 1998; Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009). The environment then transitioned to one dominated by grey alluvial sediment (now gleyed, that is water-saturated and depleted of oxygen). The evidence presented here does not support a sudden, catastrophic change; rather, the pollen data supports a slow, continuous transition of increasing wetness, from alder woodland through wet fen and finally to alluvial floodplain (Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009).

Although there are documentary references to 'salt water' at Bodiam in the later Middle Ages (Chapter Two, this volume), there is no evidence of saltwater vegetation, salt marshes, or any other indication from the pollen assemblages that the sea ever extended inland to Bodiam, excepting perhaps occasional catastrophic flooding events that left little to no botanical trace.

Arable agriculture was present in the vicinity of Bodiam continuously from the Bronze Age through the present. This long-term evidence of arable might surprise the casual observer, as the prevailing image of the Weald is of heavy reliance on pastoral agriculture. These results remind us of two important facts. First, that most areas of preindustrial

England featured a combination of arable and pastoral agriculture, even if there was a relative emphasis on one or the other that became more marked through time as market relations and regional specialisation deepened (Johnson 1996, chapter 2). Second, although some parts of the Wealden claylands may have been poorly drained and difficult to work, the Weald also provided fertile land that could be used for arable cultivation.

Prehistoric

On well-drained soils, lime woodland was dominant in the region during the middle Holocene (c. 8000-1000 BCE, or the late Mesolithic, Neolithic, and early to middle Bronze Ages), in association with oak, elm, hazel, and other deciduous flora. Lime began to decline in many places during the late Neolithic (c. 2000 BCE) (Scaife 1980; 2000; 2004; Greig 1992; Waller 1993; 1994a; 1994b), perhaps due to either climatic changes or changes in human use of the landscape, such as increased agriculture (Godwin 1956; 1975; Turner 1962). A reduction in lime pollen such as we observed at Bodiam may in part have been due to expanding wetlands, as fen growth pushed well-drained land and associated flora away from the sample site (Waller 1994b). The decline of the lime woodland and expansion of alder carr wetland have been radiocarbon dated to the early Bronze Age at Bodiam (2050-1730 BCE and 2500-2518 BCE (Barber 1998); 2455 BCE (this study)), and both could have been consequences of human activity, including woodland clearance.

Climatic elements that could have influenced a shift towards wetter conditions include post-glacial sea level increase, which could have pushed freshwater streams back, leading to waterlogging upstream and the development of ponds. Though these effects have been documented elsewhere in England (Long 1992; Long



Fig. 5.11: The lowest 50 cm of Core F, in the east pond.

Table 5.G: Stratigraphy of Profile F.

Depth cm	Stratigraphy	
0 - 19	Grey-brown peat. Plant remains (monocotyledons).	
19 - 40	Grey silt (10YR 5/1). Gleyed (10YR 6/4). Occasional pebbles. Small twig at 35 cm.	
40 - 68	Grey silt (10YR 5/1) becoming paler (10YR 4/1 to 6/2). Flint gravel rounded, subangular pebbles (up to 20 mm diameter). Compacted leaf fragments at 60 cm.	
68 - 76	Black peat (10YR 2/1 to 2/2).	
76 - 82	Brown-grey humic silt (10YR 4/2).	
82 - 86	Peat with wood fragments.	
86 - 111	Grey silt (10YR 4/2). Pebbles (up to 25 mm diameter) lower down.	
111 - 114	Dark, humic peat.	
114 - 170	Pale grey silt (10YR 5/1), oxidising to pale brown (10YR 5/4). Possibly freshwater environment. Magnesium mottling in places. Stone at 160 cm.	
170 - 200	Brown, increasingly humic silt (10YR 3/2). Lenses of fine pale grey silt. No visible organic content.	

& Innes 1993; Long & Scaife 1995; Waller *et al.* 1988; Sidell *et al.* 2000; Wilkinson *et al.* 2000), the changes at Bodiam seem to have occurred significantly later than the glacial retreat and corresponding sea level rise (c. 10000 BCE). Human impact, especially clearance of lime for agricultural expansion during the Bronze Age (c. 2500-700 BCE), would have caused a reduction in local evapotranspiration, leading to a higher water table and increased surface runoff. The overall result would have been a wetter local environment, changing the on-site mire from alder carr to wet herb fen, as observed in the pollen data.

Late Prehistoric and Early Roman

From the Neolithic through the middle Bronze Age, woodland and peat bogs dominated the deeper valleys and steeper hillsides. This period of stability came to an end in the middle Bronze Age (c. 1500-1000 BCE) when the landscape changed to grassland floodplain with seasonal alluvial sedimentation from the overflowing riverbank (Burrin 1981). The change was due to a combination of deforestation, sea level changes, and climatic shifts, but the primary cause appears to have been increased woodland clearance by humans, which destabilised local soils until significant erosion thresholds were crossed, a cusp event that precipitated the shift from a stable peat environment to an alluvial floodplain (Burrin 1988).

Woodland clearance, along with arable and pastoral agriculture, encouraged sediment deposition onto the valley floodplain and subsequent alluviation downstream. Woodland clearance causes a decrease in evaporative transpiration (or the amount of water that evaporates from leaves, stems, and flowers) and more surface runoff after rain. These changes in the local water cycle can raise the water table, leading to the development of springs, which appears to have occurred at Bodiam. More spring-fed streams further increased surface runoff, which led to higher rates of sediment and alluvium deposition into the river. River valleys in the area, including the Rother, contain up to 10 m or more of alluvium starting in the middle Bronze Age. This build-up was derived from erosion off of adjacent slopes, as well as sediment transported downstream along the river.

As dramatically larger volumes of sediment reached the river valleys, the valleys became shallower and hillsides less steep. Soils formerly attaching woodland to hillsides and mountaintops had entered the alluvial system, eroding the hills while increasing the depth of valley sediments, the width of floodplains, and the volume of sediment washed out to sea. Similar slow, progressive human-induced colluviation has been inferred along multiple Sussex rivers for the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (c. 4000-700 BCE) (Scaife & Burrin 1983; 1985; 1987; 1992; Burrin & Scaife 1984). This period of instability,

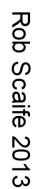


Fig. 5.12: Pollen diagram from Profile F.

characterised by sediment deposition in the Sussex valleys, likely lasted for about 1500 years, resulting in a new but very different environment into the Roman period.

Roman and early medieval

In general, stable wet alluvial conditions appear to have continued through to the medieval period, with mixed woodland, open grassland, and arable mixed agriculture at not too great a distance from the site. The transition of alder carr wetlands (dominated by trees and shrubs) to more open herb fen (dominated by grasses) widened the pollen catchment, allowing pollen from the more distant landscape to accumulate at the sample sites due to both fluvial and airborne transport. This opening of the landscape and increased erosion may also correspond to the infilling of river meanders, creating a wider, deeper channel that facilitated river traffic to and from the harbour at Bodiam throughout the medieval period. A shift from a wooded landscape to open grasslands was also observed in the vicinity of the medieval harbour during work in the Rose Garden (Priestley-Bell & Pope 2009) (see Chapter Two, this volume).

After the decline of lime pollen, oak and hazel (probably managed) became the dominant woodland on well-drained soils, with some birch, pine, and hornbeam. These taxa produce pollen that can travel significant distances on the wind, and so the mixed woodland may have been located at some remove from the site. However, less common taxa like ash, beech, holly, and some remaining lime do not travel such distances (Andersen 1970; 1973), and were therefore likely growing in close proximity to the site, despite the wet conditions. Furthermore, there are some indications (especially in Profile A) that earlier cultivated fields may have been successioning into woodland during this time.

Late medieval and post-medieval

Bodiam Castle was constructed in the 1380s, most probably in a low-lying, already wet place, either within or just adjacent to the Rother floodplain and close to woodlands and mixed arable agricultural land. The fine-grained, low-energy, freshwater sediments in the castle profiles (A1 & A2) suggest that the castle and moat might have been deliberately placed atop a freshwater spring, making full use of the watercourses and natural springs to feed the newly constructed moat. It may be worth considering how this change in local hydrology would have affected the villagers, who may have used nearby springs to supply household water and irrigation.

We found no evidence that the castle was built atop a much older manorial site, nor that a raised platform was constructed purposely for the castle foundation. Rather, the moat appears to have been excavated around the castle site, with some additional building up and levelling off of the floor within the castle. Excavated sediment from the moat was dumped close by, to build up the moat bank, and in low-lying wet areas such as nearby ponds. Proximity to water and aquatic resources would have been important to the castle inhabitants: for domestic use, to fill the moat and fishponds, to run the watermill, and to transport goods up and down the Rother via the flote or harbour (James & Whittick 2008).

The present study also did not provide evidence for or against the presence of a harbour as attested by documentary sources. Dallingridge may have diverted the course of the river from an original course slightly farther north (encroaching the present car park and touching the south-west corner of the mill pond), with the old course serving temporarily as mill runoff or as a small harbour (Whittick pers. comm.; Drury & Copeman 2016). However, Core B would not have intercepted either river course, so the present study cannot address this possibility.

Sediments within the castle, especially Profile A2, suggest that some of the original castle floors may have been flagstones atop a padding of chalk. After the castle was abandoned, probably in the middle of the 17th century, the flagstones were removed and humic, silty soils accumulated atop the chalk. Very small quantities of tree pollen suggest that trees were never common within the castle itself; limited amounts of pollen would have blown across the moat, while small amounts of cereals and herbs are likely the result of food processing, domestic waste, sweepings, and floor coverings during the active habitation of the castle. On the other hand, significant quantities of non-cereal grasses, ferns, and ivy pollen suggest these were growing within the castle and along the walls of the castle, probably after abandonment, consistent with eyewitness reports and artwork from the post-medieval to early modern periods (Fig. 5.6).

Woodlands, both wet alder carr and dryland oak and hazel, remained an important element of the landscape of Bodiam through the medieval and post-medieval periods. Better drained soils may have hosted enclosed parklands, actively managed and likely coppiced, that included pine, spruce, hornbeam, lime, beech, and holly. These taxa may have been introductions to the managed landscape surrounding the castle. Hornbeam,

lime, beech, and holly are usually poorly represented in pollen profiles unless the trees were in close proximity to the sample site. Historical records suggest that pine and spruce in particular may have been introduced during the first half of the 18th century, when they become a popular feature of elite gardens (Evelyn 1664).

Though pollen profiles cannot distinguish between nearby fields and secondary sources such as processing activity or domestic waste, it is clear that cereals including rye (*Secale cereal*), hemp or hops, and grazing livestock were important elements of village and castle economy. The presence of grassland, both pasture and cereal, reiterates the significance of a mixed arable agricultural economy to the Bodiam landscape throughout its history, especially during the medieval period.

Conclusion

Through most of the Neolithic and into the early Bronze Age, the landscape near what would become Bodiam Castle and Village was a waterlogged, swampy woodland in the floodplain of the Rother, with alder trees forming the canopy above soggy peat growth. In slightly higher areas, where the land was drier and better drained (likely in the direction of the Weald), grew deciduous woodlands of lime, oak, elm, and hazel. The wetland expanded during the early Bronze Age, encroaching into previously drier areas, with alder trees replacing lime.

Though some of these early changes may have been due to woodland clearance for agriculture, the major effects of agricultural activity manifested during the middle Bronze Age. Soil erosion from surrounding areas increased, and the Bodiam landscape became a seasonal alluvial floodplain, clogged with sediment during much of the year and hosting wet grasses and herbs when the soils were sufficiently stable.

By the Roman period and into the early medieval period, this increased erosion and water runoff had created a deeper, wider river channel, facilitating maritime trade. The landscape near what would become the castle was still primarily wet for much of the year, likely fed by springs, with some woodlands and arable agricultural fields at not too great a distance. This low, wet place, between the floodplain with its harbour and the dry agricultural fields, presented an ideal location to dig a moat by the late 14th century. From the late medieval period to the present, managed watery features and active landscaping practices have kept the Bodiam landscape largely dry and dominated by woodland, grassland, and cereal production, though low-lying areas (such as the overflow car park/medieval mill pond) are still prone to flooding in severe weather.

Through analysis of pollen and the stratigraphic record of the site at point locations, we were able to investigate the evolving relationship between the Bodiam landscape and the people who lived in the area over the last six thousand years, from the Neolithic to the present. Most critically, early arable agriculture during the Bronze Age caused a shift from swampy alder wetlands to an eroding floodplain with high sediment flux. These changes created a landscape that supported the creation of a harbour, and later, a self-sustaining moat and a series of ponds that in part helped to drain the surrounding land. Bodiam's position, between the Weald and the marsh, made it not just an ideal location for trade and commerce between the two regions, but also continued a long history of negotiations between people and their landscape, as the push and pull between wetland, floodplain, and woodland both shaped and was managed by the human occupation of this dynamic landscape at the convergence of ecological zones.

6

SCOTNEY: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND MAP ANALYSIS

Eric D. Johnson, Matthew Johnson, Timothy Sly¹

Abstract. This chapter focuses on the landscape of Scotney. Scotney is a late medieval castle close to Bodiam and built in the later 14th century. It also has a complex landscape, with water features, much of which survives within a 19th-century picturesque landscape park. The area of parkland south and west of the castle was surveyed by the Southampton/Northwestern team. This chapter reports on this work, and places the survey results in the context of wider evidence for the Scotney landscape in the later medieval period.

Introduction

Scotney Castle is situated in the middle of the Weald, on the border between Kent and Sussex in south-east England (Fig. 6.1). It is about 18 km north-west of Bodiam. Though not as well known as Bodiam, Scotney shares close parallels, both in terms of the building and the surrounding landscape, and is also owned and managed by the National Trust. It is a late medieval castle, surrounded by a landscape with complex water features, including a moat in the form of a small artificial lake. Its builders and owners were the Ashburnhams, a gentry family closely associated with Dallingridge (Saul 1986).

The modern visitor to Scotney approaches the site from the south-west, along a curving private road about 1 km from the public highway. The road runs on higher ground through wooded areas before affording views down to a valley to its right. The valley is now parkland, with wide grassy slopes and occasional trees, surrounded

by wooded areas on the higher ground. The ruins of Scotney Castle are hardly visible behind dense tree growth at the bottom of this valley. The modern car park is next to the, much later, 19th-century Scotney New Castle, which stands on higher ground looking down on the older castle. The overall first impression for the visitor is thus of a 19th-century ‘picturesque’ landscape, laid out with parkland and carriage drives (Fig. 6.2). The modern approach to the site, and the features of the later picturesque landscape as a whole, have to be ‘thought away’ by the modern visitor before an understanding of the medieval site and landscape can begin.

The standing fabric of Scotney Castle has been the subject of a thorough analysis and interpretation, published in *Archaeologia Cantiana* (Martin *et al.* 2008; 2011; 2012). The castle is moated, and the inner court rises directly from the water, without a berm, as at Bodiam (Fig. 6.3). The water surrounding the castle is fed by streams from the south and south-west, and held back by an artificial dam to the west. This body of water has three islands within it, two of which have definite structural evidence from the Middle Ages. The middle island appears to have functioned as an outer court, with stables and other buildings. It was approached via a bridge from the north-west, as it is

¹ Timothy Sly directed the survey work for the field seasons of 2011 and 2012. Eric Johnson collated the ‘grey literature’, worked on relating map and survey evidence, and prepared the first draft of this chapter. Subsequent drafts were then revised by Eric Johnson, Timothy Sly and Matthew Johnson.

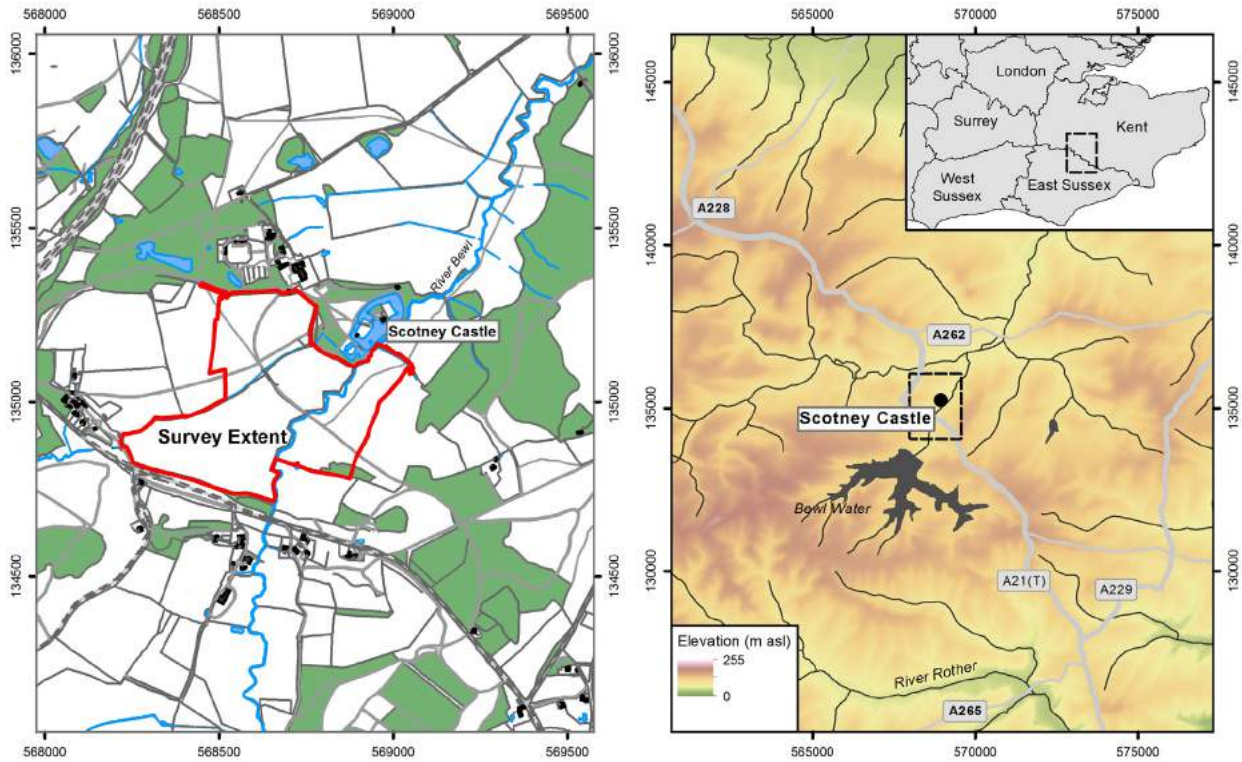


Fig. 6.1: 2011-2012 Northwestern and Southampton Scotney Castle Landscape Survey extent.

today. The inner court, on the island to the north-east, was approached via the outer court; it was rhomboidal in form, with a circular tower at each of the four main corners. The present structure is much more ruinous than Bodiam, with only one machicolated tower surviving to battlement level and the others largely destroyed; internally, the associated domestic buildings were much rebuilt in the post-medieval period. The medieval domestic arrangements, rather than being laid out around the sides of the courtyard as at Bodiam, instead formed a central block running from one side of the rhomboid to the other, with the hall in the centre and services to the south-east. This block was partially demolished in a wholesale rebuilding of the hall block dating to the 1630s, a rebuilding that was apparently never finished.

In the spring of 2011 and the summer of 2012, teams from the University of Southampton and Northwestern University carried out an archaeological survey of the landscape surrounding Scotney Castle, with Timothy Sly of Southampton as the primary director and supervisor of the work. The total area surveyed in 2011 and 2012 comprised the fields directly south-west of the castle, stretching to the boundary with the A21 bypass and up the slopes of the valley to the north-west and east (Fig. 6.1). The fieldwork at Scotney had three main goals. First, we wanted to gather data for the analysis of the wider medieval landscape surrounding

Scotney Castle. Second, we wanted to provide data for the purposes of conservation management at the site and enhancement of the visitor experience, and third, it enabled us to train students in topographical and geophysical survey methods.

This chapter synthesises the data from the 2011 and 2012 surveys, historical documents and maps, and past literature (mostly unpublished) on the medieval landscape of Scotney Castle. The results of the survey contribute to a more detailed understanding of Scotney Castle and its landscape in the medieval period.



Fig. 6.2: General appearance of Scotney Park today, looking north from the valley bottom. Photo by Matthew Johnson.



Fig. 6.3: The inner court of Scotney Castle and moat, from the south-west. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

Much of the medieval landscape at Scotney remains conjectural, and there are many possible avenues for future research. However, we were able to establish that the Scotney landscape was every bit as complex as that at Bodiam in the later Middle Ages.

The Scotney estate is currently owned and maintained by the National Trust. The medieval moated site, often referred to as 'The Old Castle', lies along the confluence of the Sweetbourne and the River Bewl, in a valley south of the River Teise, about 1.5 km south-east of Lamberhurst. As noted above, much of the surrounding landscape was converted to a picturesque park in the 19th century by Edward Hussey III. As a result, most of the current vistas and pathways through the park have been arranged according to 19th-century aesthetic choices. The extensive 19th-century landscape alterations at Scotney present challenges in understanding and interpreting its medieval landscape. Confusingly, the designation 'Scotney Castle' sometimes refers to the neo-Tudor country house, also known as the 'New House', built by Edward Hussey from 1837-1844, located up the valley slope, north-west of the medieval site.

The data from the topographic survey provided evidence for medieval ponds and a possible mill site along the Sweetbourne, a sunken approach running parallel with the Sweetbourne down the hill to the castle, and a meadow which may have been flooded at various points in the past, just south-west of the moated site (Figs 6.4-6.6). One 60 x 60 m resistivity survey, targeted at earthworks south-west of the castle, confirmed the continuation of the sunken pathway from the south-west towards the

castle (Fig. 6.4). A second 60 x 60 m resistivity survey was targeted over a number of large, possibly worked, stones within a copse along the southern slope of the valley, largely for the purposes of archaeological instruction in geophysics. The results of this survey were, unfortunately, inconclusive (Figs 6.6 & 6.7).

Scholars have recently described the 'designed' qualities of 14th-century elite landscapes as 'vehicles for contemporary elites to showcase their wealth and sophistication' (Creighton 2009: 1) or as active and complex stage settings for social action (Johnson 2002). As discussed in Chapters One and Two, surveys of other sites in the region, such as Bodiam Castle, have suggested that later 14th-century landscapes were organised around specific paths of movement and views of the castle along the approach (Taylor *et al.* 1990; Everson 1996). This may have been the case at Scotney Castle as well, considering the owners of Scotney and Bodiam, Roger Ashburnham and Edward Dallingridge, were contemporaries and associates. However, in order to understand the medieval landscape at Scotney, the highly ornamental 19th-century picturesque landscape must first be carefully unraveled from the medieval — both in the field and in the conceptual interpretation of the data.

Evidence for Medieval Landscape Features at Scotney Castle

Past surveys of Scotney Castle and the surrounding landscape have been carried out primarily for the purposes of conservation management (Bannister 2001; ACTA 2007; Hancock 2008; Martin *et al.* 2008; 2011; 2012; National Trust 2009). These 'grey

Fig. 6.4: Sunken approach to the castle, as viewed from the north-east looking up towards the higher ground. Photo by Matthew Johnson.



literature' reports are unpublished, but they provide a wealth of information on the archaeological and historical context of Scotney Castle and its surrounding environment. There is evidence of a complex medieval landscape at Scotney, which may have included a mill and associated ponds, a park, a moat with three islands, three possible approaches to the castle, and a possible floodplain south-west of the moat. The evidence for each of these features and the 2011-2012 survey's contribution to the evidence is summarised below.

Scotney stands in a boundary location. The current extent of the Scotney estate, now owned and managed by the National Trust, actually comprised three separate manorial holdings from the medieval period and into the 18th century: Scotney (alias Curtehope, Courthope), Chingley, and Marden. The manor of Scotney consisted of the land west of the River Bewl to Lamberhurst, while Chingley and Marden lay to the east of the Bewl, with the manorial boundary between the two running south-east through Kilndown Common (Fig. 6.8; Bannister 2001: 17). The River Bewl has been an important political boundary, dating from 1077 to the present. Described in a land charter of AD 1077, it was the early medieval boundary between the dioceses of Rochester and Chichester, the former boundary between Kent and Sussex (1077-1894), and the parish boundary of Lamberhurst and Goudhurst (1077-present) (Sawyer 1968: 1564).

Scoteni phase (13th century): Mill and ponds

The historical record suggests three possible phases of medieval landscape alteration at Scotney Castle. The

first phase is associated with the Scoteni family in the late 13th century. Sir Peter de Scotney inherited and occupied the manor of Curtehope in 1285, and in 1295 he held half a knight's fee as lord of Curtehope (Redwood & Wilson 1958: 117; Witney 1976). This knight's fee is later described as comprising 80 acres of land and a mill (Du Boulay 1966: 372).

There is no definitive archaeological evidence for occupation at the current location of the moated site before the mid-14th century, but it is possible that the system of embankments and earthworks running along the Sweetbourne may be associated with the 13th-century mill (Bannister 2001: 37). William Clout's set of maps depicting the Scotney estate in 1757, copies of which are held at the National Trust archives at Scotney, identifies three fields along the Sweetbourne as 'Upper Pond', 'Lower Pond', and 'Mill Garden'. The course of the Sweetbourne also appears to have been artificially straightened, indicating possible human intervention and water management at the site. If the earthworks were in fact associated with ponds, the areas named Upper and Lower Ponds do not appear as water features on any historical maps, suggesting they were out of use by the 17th century (Bannister 2001: 38). While the River Bewl could also be a candidate for the location of the mill, it forms a boundary between three medieval manors, two counties and two parishes. Consequently, it may have been more difficult to negotiate the rights to use the Bewl to power a mill, instead of the Sweetbourne (Bannister 2001: 37). There are other known mills along the River Teise in Lamberhurst which de Scoteni could have owned, and to which the document is referring, but it seems

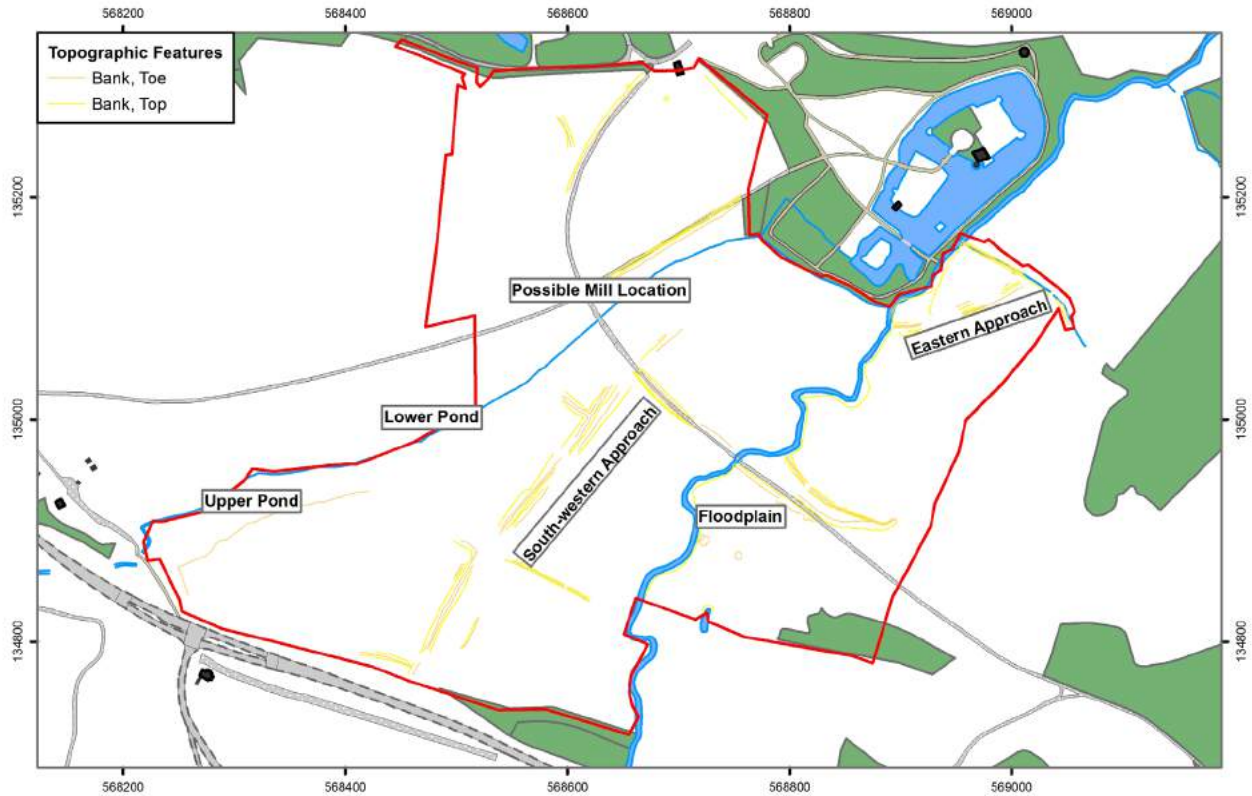


Fig. 6.5: Summary of the 2011-2012 Northwestern and Southampton Scotney Castle Landscape Survey results.

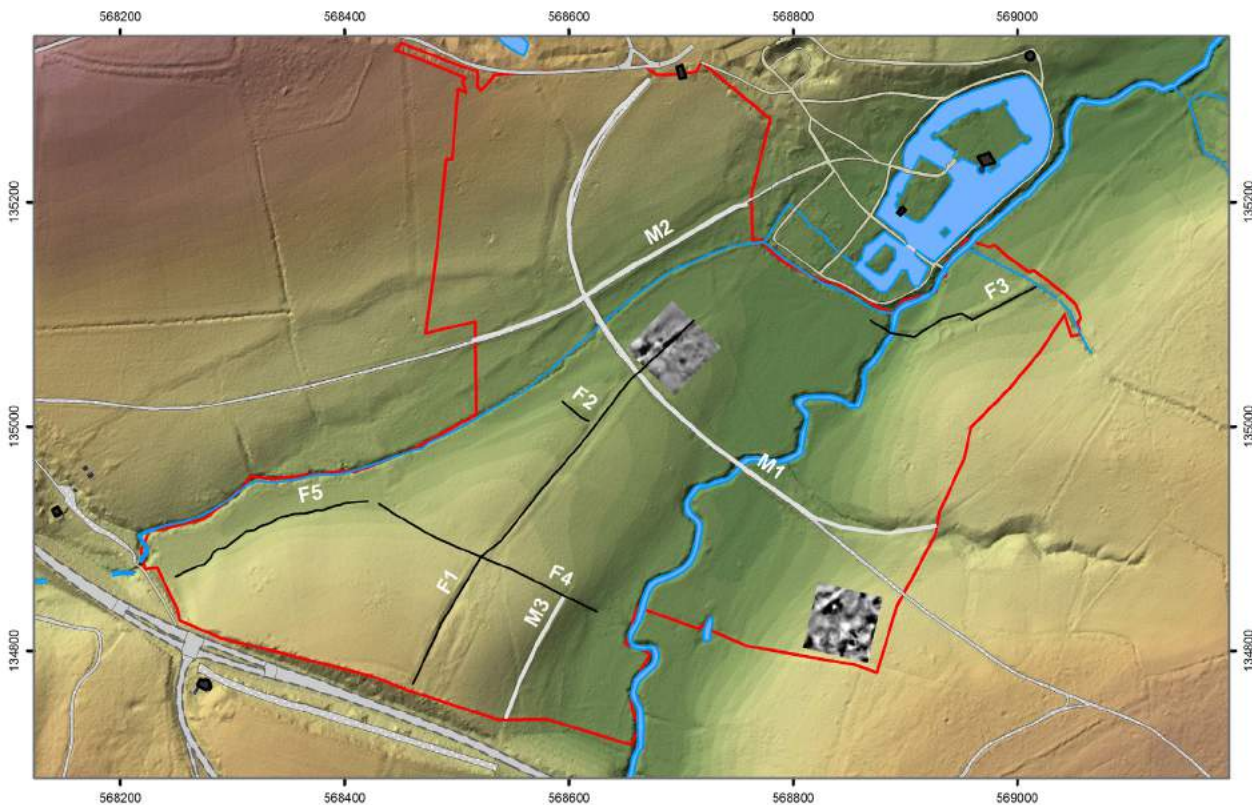


Fig. 6.6: Linear features identified in topographic survey and resistivity surveys; M1-M3 are modern pathways constructed in the 18th and 19th century.

as if a miller, called Helyas, controlled the mills in Lamberhurst at the time, as he granted 20s from mills in Lamberhurst to Leeds Priory in 1285 (CKS U47/32 Q1; Bannister 2001: 37).

The 2012 topographic survey confirmed the presence of possible pond bays, generally aligning with the location and shape of the Upper Pond and Lower Pond fields denoted on the 1757 map (Figs 6.9 & 6.10). Just south of where the Sweetbourne enters the estate the sharp base of the hill forms a linear topographic feature (F5), which aligns with the boundary in the 1757 map surrounding Upper Pond field (Fig. 6.9). The linear sunken feature running north-west (F2), perpendicular to the Sweetbourne and just south of the modern trackway, probably represents the field boundary identified in the 1757 map between Lower Pond and Mill Garden fields. At the point where the Sweetbourne enters the Scotney estate, just outside of the 2012 survey extent, there are significant earthworks, which may represent the artificial pond-bay boundary of the Upper Pond. There is no evidence for the dating of the ponds, and so they may have been constructed or modified any period before the 17th century. However, if the mill mentioned in the historical documents existed at this location in the late 13th century, then it would follow that there was least one pond associated with it.

Grovehurst phase (1300-1358): Park

The second phase of medieval landscape alteration at Scotney can be attributed to the Grovehurst family in the early 14th century. According to Nicola Bannister's research, derived from charters in Lambeth Palace Library (2001), in 1310 John de Grovehurst was granted the right of free warren in Scotney (Charter Rolls) and in 1312 he was granted permission to build a private

chapel at his manor at Scotney. John de Grovehurst probably resided at a manor house on the Scotney estate by this time. Therefore, it is possible that an early phase of the current moated complex and medieval house dates to the early 14th century. However, there is no surviving fabric from such an early phase (Martin *et al.* 2008: 10). Besides the mention of Grovehurst's right of free warren in 1310, Henry Allen's 1619 map depicts 'Scotney Parke' and the fields bounded by the road through Lamberhurst and the River Teise (CKS U1776 P1). When oriented correctly, the outer boundary of the park depicted in the 1619 map broadly corresponds to parts of the current boundary of the National Trust estate today, north-west of the castle, along Collier's Wood and north-west to Claypits Wood. The 'interior' of the park is depicted as north-west of this boundary, outside of the current estate, towards Lamberhurst (Fig. 6.8). There are earthwork features on the ground, roughly tracing the park boundary depicted in the 1619 map, and Nicola Bannister has described these earthworks as the medieval park pale implied by John de Grovehurst's right of free warren in 1310 (Bannister 2001: 29).

Although this area was outside the scope of the 2011-2012 topographic survey, a preliminary walking survey was carried out to investigate the area. Without a more comprehensive topographical survey, there is currently not enough evidence to determine whether the system of banks and ditches is definitively a medieval park pale, or simply a substantial field boundary of any date.

Ashburnham phase (1358-1418)

Scotney passed to the Ashburnham family after Isabel, the widow of John de Grovehurst, married John de Ashburnham. John's son, Roger, Conservator of the Peace in Kent and Sussex, together with John Etchingham and Edward Dallingridge, from 1376-1380, inherited Scotney in 1358 (Martin *et al.* 2008). Roger Ashburnham can be associated with a third postulated phase of medieval landscape alteration. Although there is no licence to crenellate for Scotney, it is assumed Roger de Ashburnham constructed curtain walls, a tower, and a gatehouse at the site. The date of this construction has been given as c. 1378 (Bannister 2001: 20; ACTA 2007: 27; Martin *et al.* 2008: 10; National Trust 2009: 22), giving the site at least the appearance of a castle or fortified manor house.

The rationale given by scholars for such a specific date of construction is based entirely on comparative stylistic, architectural evidence and because of the French attacks on Winchelsea, Rye and Hastings in 1377. It has been suggested that the fear of a French



Fig. 6.7: Geophysical survey in the valley bottom, 2010. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

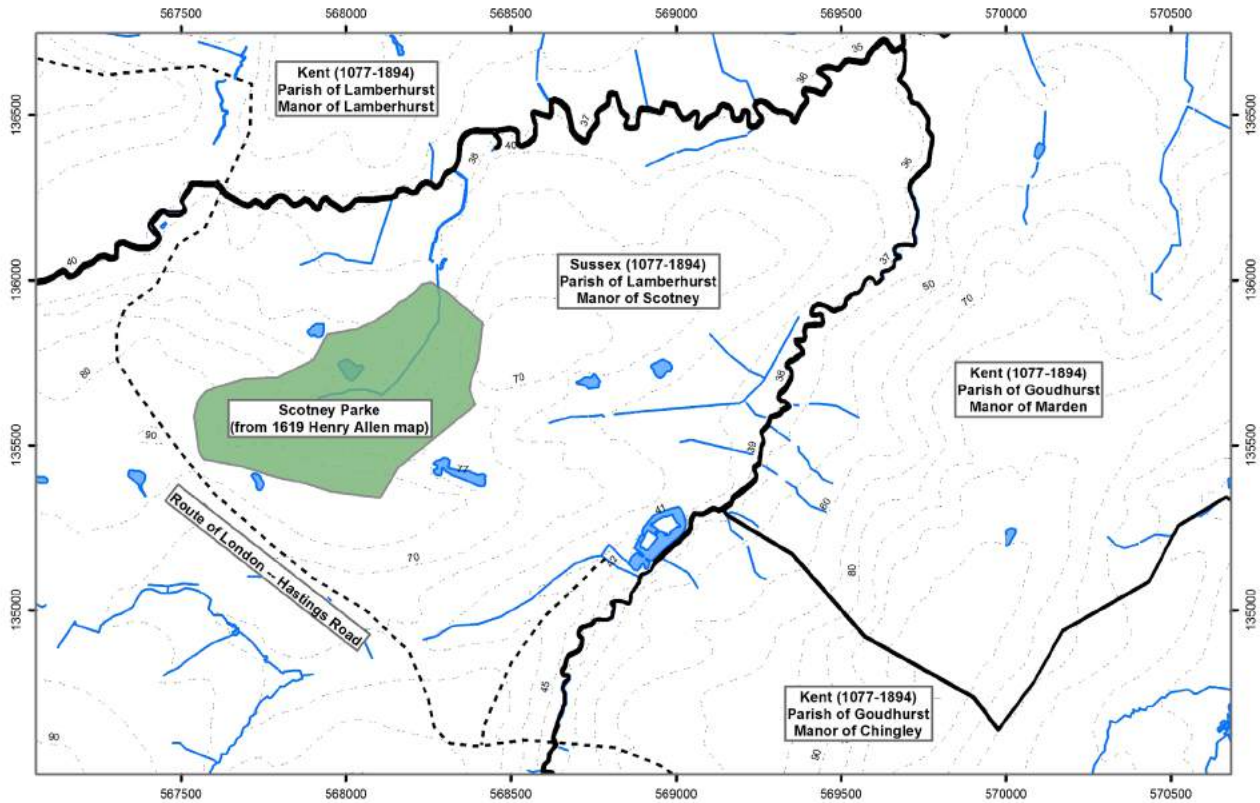


Fig. 6.8: Medieval administrative boundaries at Scotney, after Bannister (2001).

invasion would have provided the necessary motivation for building a castle without a licence (National Trust 2009: 22). However, the location of Scotney is much further inland than Bodiam, and is much further away from navigable water routes; it is therefore possible to be skeptical of a primarily defensive intent. However, the stylistic and other features of the castle make a date in the 1370s a reasonable assumption.

As David Martin and colleagues carefully point out, in an archaeological interpretive survey of Scotney Castle, 'it is not known whether the fortifications were placed around an existing house or whether a new site was chosen for the moated house' (Martin *et al.* 2008: 10). Given that there is no berm at Scotney, and the water of the moat abuts the Ashburnham Tower on the inner island, it is likely that the moat was at least modified or drained, if not constructed, at some point during Roger de Ashburnham's occupation of the site (1358-1392).

Features of unknown date: medieval approaches, moat, and meadow

The Clout map of 1757 shows three approaches to Scotney Castle, likely used by the Darell family during the post-medieval period, but possibly earlier — one

from Kilndown, one from Lamberhurst, and one from Bewl Bridge Farm (Bannister 2001: 34). The earthworks running down the hill from the south-west and parallel to the Sweetbourne have been interpreted as a possible principal approach to the medieval castle (National Trust 2009: 24; Goulding and Clubb 2010: 6-7), although there is little concrete evidence for this claim. These approaches were altered or went into disuse in the mid-19th century, when Edward Hussey III transformed the landscape into a picturesque park and gardens (Bannister 2001: 30) (CKS U1776 F1/4-6). For instance, the 1870 Ordnance Survey Map, in contrast to the 1757 Clout map, depicts no pathway running north-east through the fields between the Sweetbourne and Bewl, south-west of the castle. Instead, the south-western half of the pathway is depicted as a simple field boundary, which was identified in the topographical survey (Fig. 6.6, F4).

The 2011-2012 topographic survey confirmed the presence of a slightly sunken linear earthwork feature running roughly parallel with the Sweetbourne and continuing towards the castle (Figs 6.4 & 6.5, F1). When georeferenced with the 1757 Clout map, this topographic feature conforms to the area marked 'Lane' on the map and the field boundary in the 1870 Ordnance Survey Map. The resistivity survey

straddling this earthwork feature, just north-east of the modern trackway, revealed a linear patch of high resistance, which may indicate compacted soil associated with the Lane depicted in the 1757 map (Fig. 6.6). The 2011-2012 survey also identified earthworks just east of the Bewl and south of the castle (Fig. 6.6, F3). These earthworks align with the Lane depicted in another 1757 Clout map of the area, east of the Bewl, running down the valley slope through Kilndown wood (Fig. 6.9).

Unfortunately, the date of construction for the moat remains unconfirmed. Considering that the general moat-building chronology in England is 1200-1325 (Aberg 1978), it is possible a moat existed at the site during the Scoteni or Grovehurst phases of occupation, although the Grovehurst phase seems the more likely of the two. John de Grovehurst was granted right of free warren in 1310 and granted permission to build a chapel in 1312, two features often associated with elite moated sites in the area. For example, the nearby moated site known as The Mote, near Iden, with a licence to crenellate in 1318, and a permission to build a chapel in 1320, was presumably constructed within the same decade as Grovehurst's initial occupation of Scotney (Gardiner & Whittick 2011).

It is also possible, however, that the moat was constructed during the Ashburnham phase of construction. Nearby Bodiam Castle has a licence to crenellate dating to 1385, and assuming the moat was dug around the same time as the castle was constructed, this is within a decade of the presumed Ashburnham phase of construction. It is also possible that the moat had multiple phases of construction, perhaps starting with a single island and then other islands were added over time with different owners, although there is no concrete evidence for this claim. As is usual with topographical surveys, the 2011-2012 survey of Scotney produced no direct evidence for the date of construction, or alteration, of the moat.

An unpublished report on the Scotney estate suggests the large flat area just south of the gardens, at the confluence of the moat and the River Bewl, may have been seasonally flooded as another piece of a 'designed landscape', but the report gives no evidence for this claim (ACTA 2007: 28). The 2011-2012 survey confirmed the general topography of this meadow and, indeed, the flat area stretching south of the moat and straddling the River Bewl appears to be a floodplain (Fig. 6.6). It is possible that before the Bewl reservoir dam was constructed in 1975 the whole area surrounding the River Bewl was either seasonally, or permanently, flooded at various points in the past.

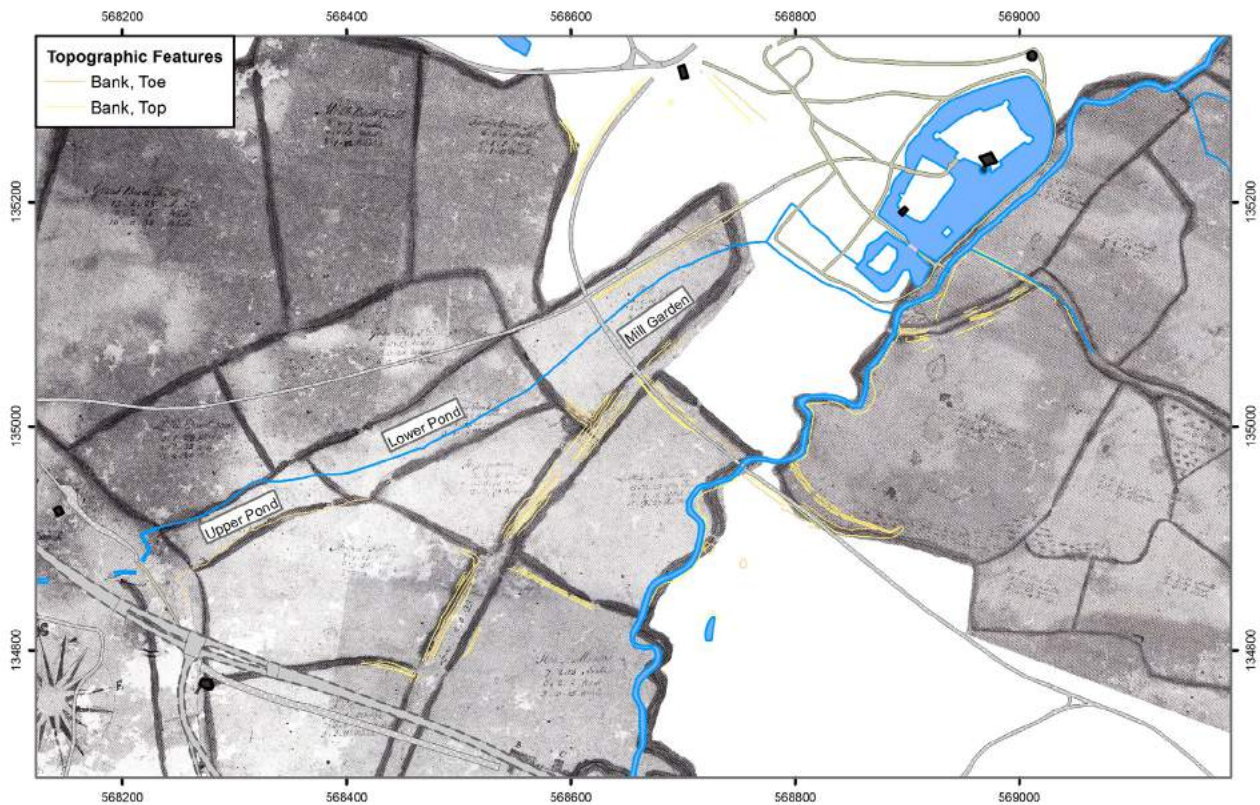


Fig. 6.9: 1757 William Clout map (south-west of castle) georeferenced and overlaid with topographic features identified in the 2011-2012 survey of Scotney Castle.

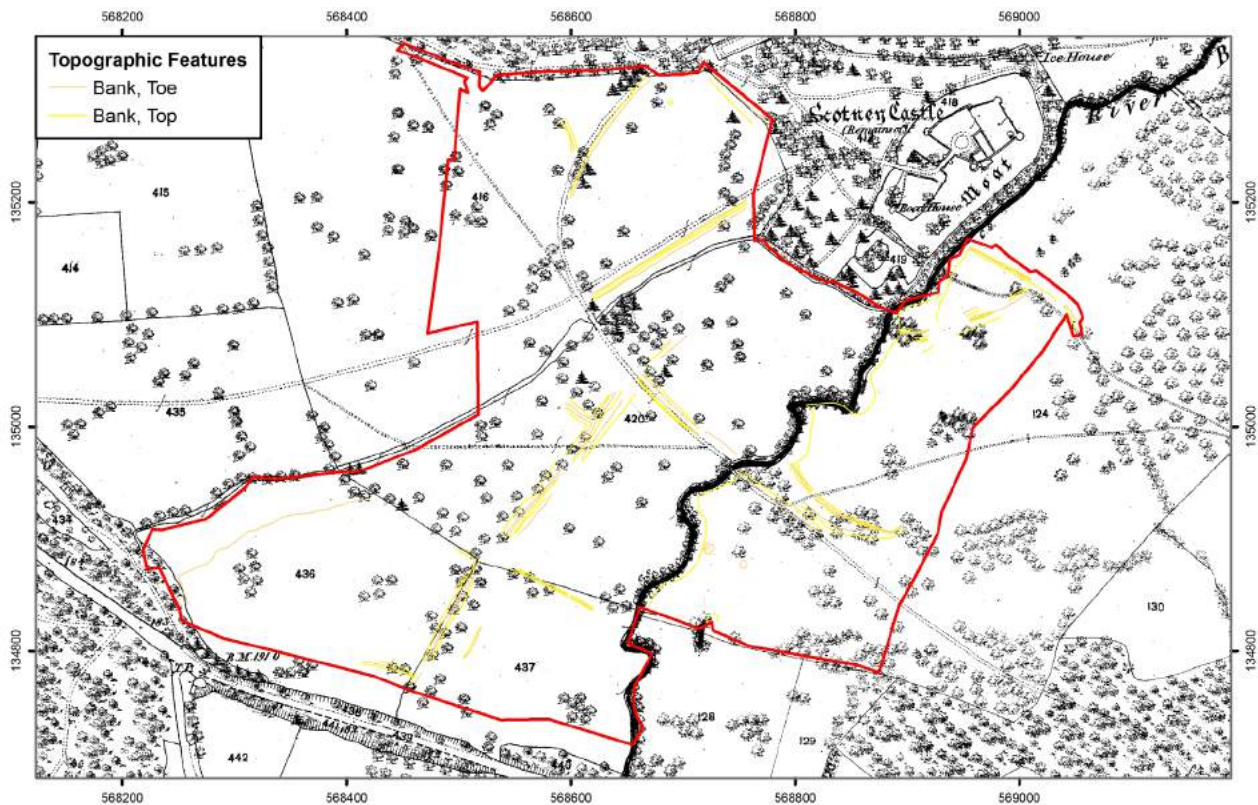


Fig. 6.10: 1870 Ordnance Survey map (south-west of castle) georeferenced and overlaid with topographic features identified in the 2011-2012 survey of Scotney Castle.

A Designed Landscape?

Based on the available evidence, Scotney Castle as it appeared in the later Middle Ages probably had a much more elaborate watery medieval landscape than is apparent today. If the mill, mill ponds, park, moat, and possible floodplain were all in existence, along with the south-west approach, during the Ashburnham phase of construction, this would be compelling evidence for the landscape being experienced as an impressively 'designed', elite medieval site — much like its neighbour Bodiam Castle (Taylor *et al.* 1990; Everson 1996). In accordance with emergent perspectives on medieval castles and their 'designed landscapes' in the past decade (Johnson 2002; Creighton 2009), this possible landscape affords specific vistas of the castle and surrounding moat, while travelling on a route surrounded on either side by mill ponds and a flooded meadow. The visitor would then pass by the mill and turn at a 90 degree angle to enter the central moat island, probably the outer court (Martin *et al.* 2008: 11), and then turn again to enter the inner court under the gatehouse.

However, the argument for a complex designed landscape, which was intended to impress, requires, in part, that this set of water features be visible from

the principal approach to Scotney. It is clear from Edward Hasted's experience of the site in the late 18th century that visibility of the castle was not a priority, at least for the Darells, the post-medieval owners of the estate:

About half a mile below Bewle bridge near the east bank of the stream, is the mansion of Scotney, situated in a deep vale, and so surrounded with woods, as to give it a most gloomy and reclude appearance.

(Hasted 1798: 297)

The views provided by the current picturesque landscape are tightly controlled and radically different than they would have been before the late 18th and 19th century. While much of the surrounding woodland would probably have been managed and coppiced, especially on the slopes of the valley (Bannister 2001: 24), it is still unknown whether the fields south-west of the estate were covered in woodland, or not, during the medieval period. The 1757 map names the fields on either side of the south-western approach as 'Quarry Field', 'Stream Field' and 'Hop Garden', suggesting that these areas were not heavily wooded, at least in the post-medieval period. More archaeological investigation is required to reconstruct the density of woodland in the medieval period along this approach.

Bodiam, Scotney and Etchingham

Scotney has parallels with Bodiam, in terms of its social context, its architecture, and its landscape. These parallels are quite striking, though they are not as straightforward as they appear at first sight, and they need to be set out with care.

Scotney's builder, Roger Ashburnham, was closely associated with Sir Edward Dallingridge. Dallingridge, Ashburnham, and Sir William de Etchingham were three local gentry named together as Conservators of the Peace in Kent and Sussex between 1376 and 1380. Sir William de Etchingham, whose family was at least as important as the Ashburnhams and had indeed been the most important family within the Rape of Hastings, had houses at the settlement at Etchingham (about 9 km west of Bodiam and 14 km south of Scotney, from which he took his name and where he also rebuilt the church) and at Udimore. Both houses have been completely destroyed, though some earthworks survive east of the church at Etchingham, and documentary information indicates this was a place of some status and importance, with a long history stretching back to before the 13th century (Vivian 1953). Ashburnham, however, was not a knight; he also did not obtain a licence to crenellate for Scotney. It is tempting to link these two observations: if Charles Coulson and others are right in seeing licences to crenellate in largely honorific terms (Coulson 1993; Davis 2007), then Ashburnham's apparent lack of concern for a title may be linked to his apparent lack of concern about a licence.

Etchingham, Scotney and Bodiam are all moated sites. They are also larger examples of the class of moated sites that is so frequently found in the Weald, and will be discussed further in Chapter Ten. Etchingham sits in a flat and level location, while Scotney and Bodiam sit in a dip in the landscape, with higher ground on at least two sides. This location has, in all cases, been utilised to construct and maintain water features. Both Bodiam and Scotney sit close to the boundary between the counties of Kent and Sussex. Bodiam is in the middle of its manor, whereas the Scotney site sits on the margins of several different manorial estates.

Scotney shares design parallels with Bodiam. The 'footprint' of Scotney's inner court and that of Bodiam are roughly similar in size. Scotney is surrounded by a moat and other complex water features; it has four circular towers linked by curtain walls. It has been suggested that Henry Yevele had a hand in both designs, though the evidence is stylistic and based on inference (Harvey 1954). However, it also has

important differences. The towers are much more squat than at Bodiam. The surviving Ashburnham Tower has machicolations; what those machicolations supported is unclear: a full-height parapet and crenellations or smaller battlements. Scotney is approached via an outer court. Its domestic buildings are not in line around four ranges, but are arranged across the centre of the site. The surrounding curtain wall is much thinner and also much lower than at Bodiam. Though building accounts do not survive for either site, Bodiam clearly represents a much larger input of labour and resources. Etchingham was a somewhat larger and more important place than Scotney, and as is common in the later Middle Ages, had a substantial church associated with it. Taken as a whole, a comparison of Etchingham, Bodiam and Scotney adds support to Coulson's assertion that the complex landscape and architecture of Bodiam is an example of a common phenomenon in the later Middle Ages, rather than an unusual or exceptional piece of architecture (Coulson 1992: 75, 89).

Conclusion

The 2011-2012 archaeological survey of Scotney Castle has provided evidence for medieval ponds, a possible mill, a south-west approach to the castle, and a possible floodplain south-west of the moat. If these features were all in use at the time of the Ashburnham phase of construction, the landscape at Scotney Castle can be seen as a close parallel to that of nearby Bodiam Castle. This is a feasible claim, considering their owners were contemporaries, both being appointed as Conservators of the Peace in Kent and Sussex, along with William de Etchingham, from 1376-1380. Indeed, while Ashburnham may have been responsible for the fortification of the manor house, it is problematic to attribute the elite landscape at Scotney to Ashburnham alone; the historical record suggests that, like Bodiam, Scotney accumulated a palimpsest of landscape features over time, with various owners contributing to what we can identify today. Regardless of the 'designed' characteristics of the Scotney landscape, this survey has also contributed to our understanding of how an elite manorial residence used the surrounding environment to organise and manage the flow of water, materials, and people in and out of the estate.

More evidence is required to flesh out our understanding of the Scotney landscape. First, the topographical survey could be expanded to cover the entire area surrounding the castle. Beyond this area, the field boundaries associated with a possible park pale need further attention. This should be done in conjunction with LiDAR data, and a detailed examination of the

1619 map by Henry Allen (CKS U1776 P1) and a walking survey of the fields north-west of the Scotney estate, following the boundary of the supposed park. Second, the geophysical survey could be expanded in two locations. The current 60 x 60 m resistivity area, close to the Sweetbourne, should be extended north-east to determine if the sunken trackway continues to the edge of the modern garden boundary. A geophysical survey could also be carried out on the north side of the Sweetbourne, along the boundary of the field denoted

'Mill Garden' on the 1757 Clout map, in order to locate the foundations of the mill referred to in the 1295 document (Fig. 6.9). Finally, further environmental archaeological methods may be able to reconstruct parts of the medieval landscape at Scotney. Systematic coring of the pond areas and floodplain north and south of the hollow way could confirm possible periods in which these areas were covered with water. Extensive pollen sampling may be able to reconstruct past density of woodland, relative to the present day.