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BODIAM AS A LANDSCAPE OF WORK: TOPOGRAPHICAL AND GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY

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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.

Introduction[1]

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

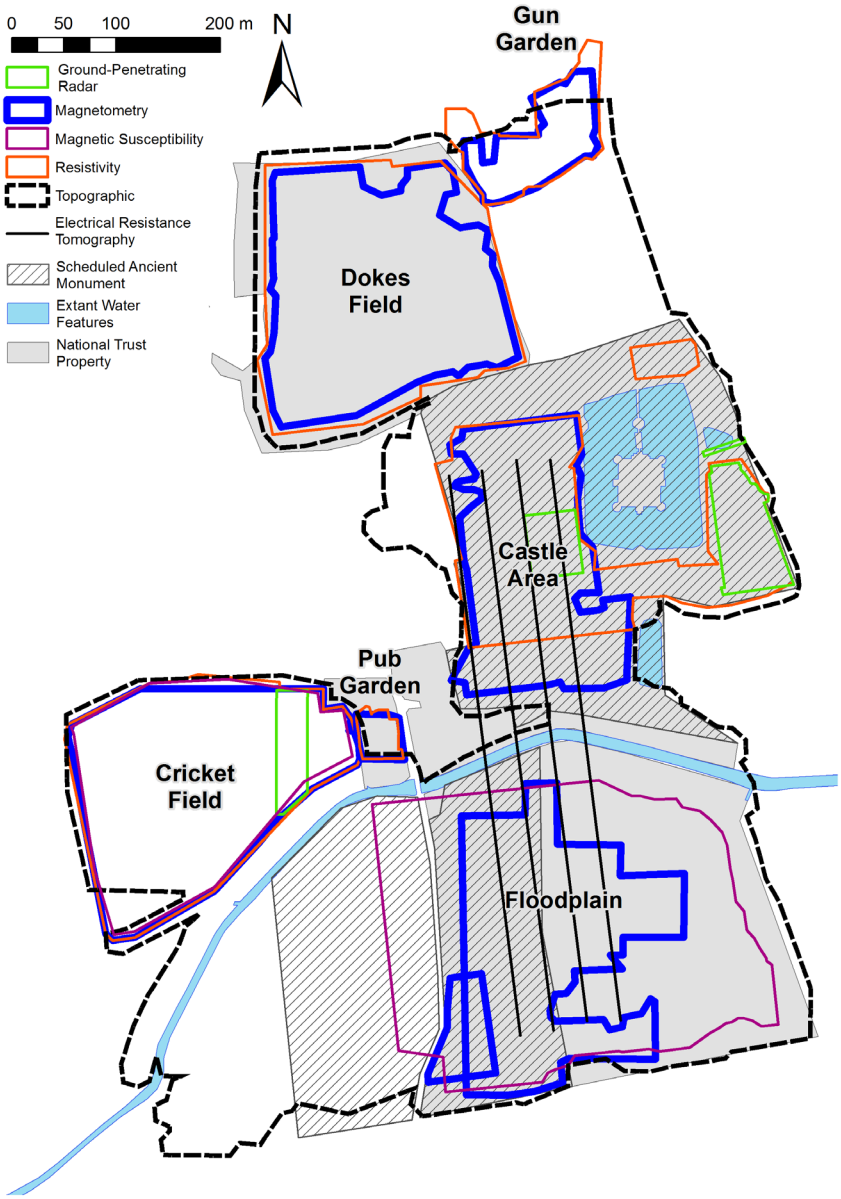

Fig. 4.2: Map of the Bodiam landscape, showing survey areas, the National Trust property, and the Scheduled Ancient Monument boundaries.

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	Cricket 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).

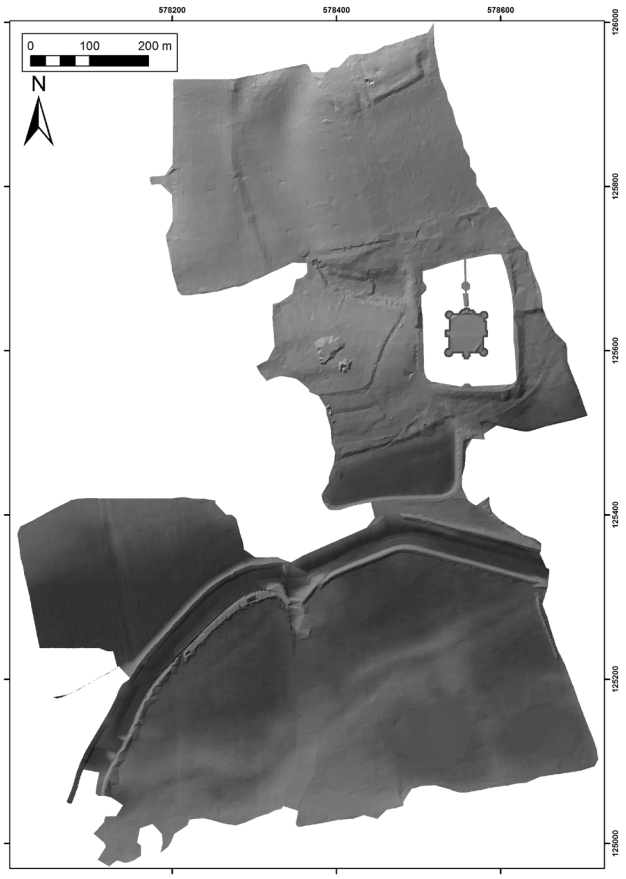

Fig. 4.4: Topographic survey of the Bodiam landscape (hillshaded Triangulated Irregular Network (TIN)).

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/).

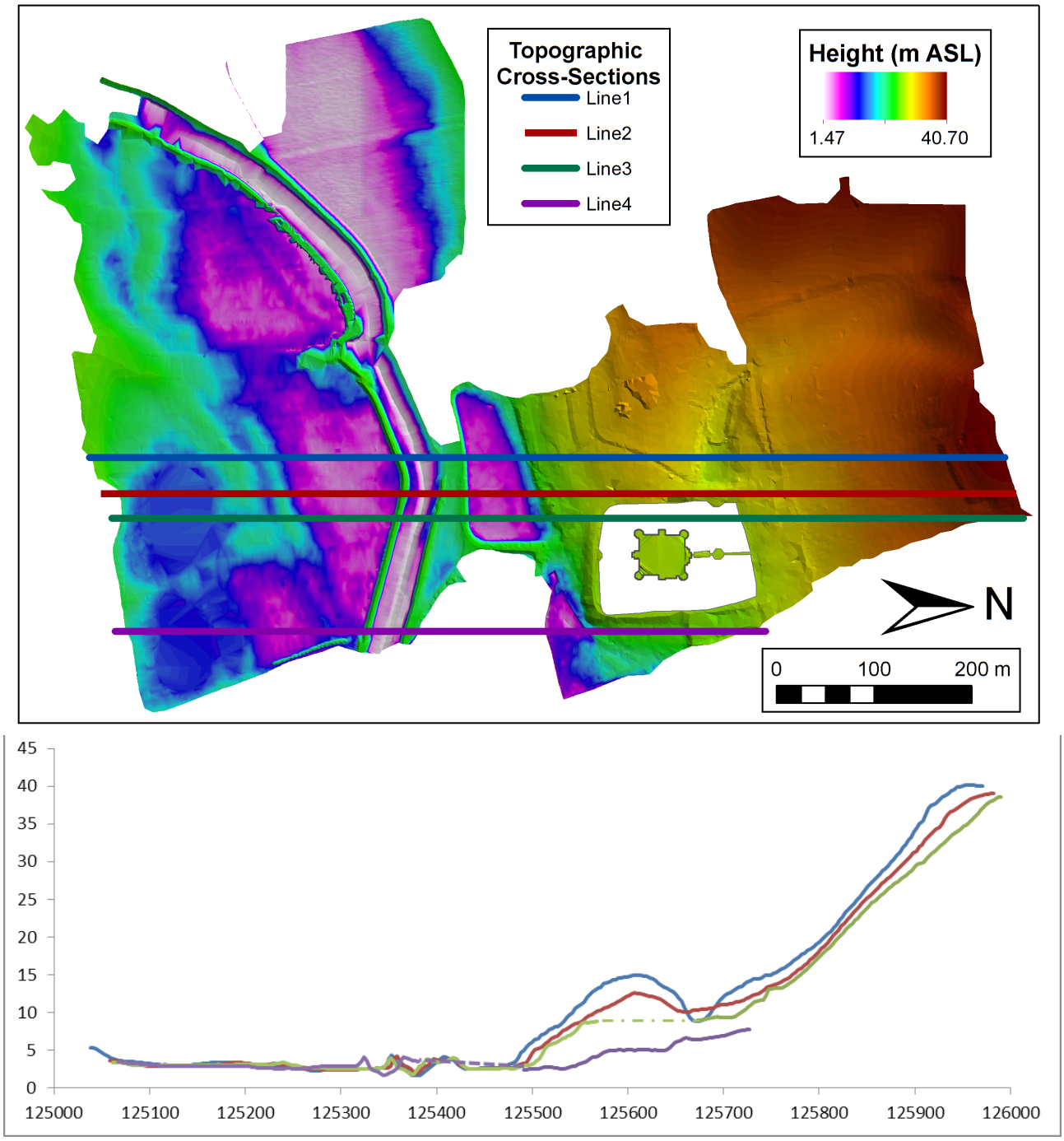

Fig. 4.5: A. Topography (TIN) of the Bodiam landscape. B. Exaggerated vertical profile of the Bodiam landscape. Scale in metres.

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

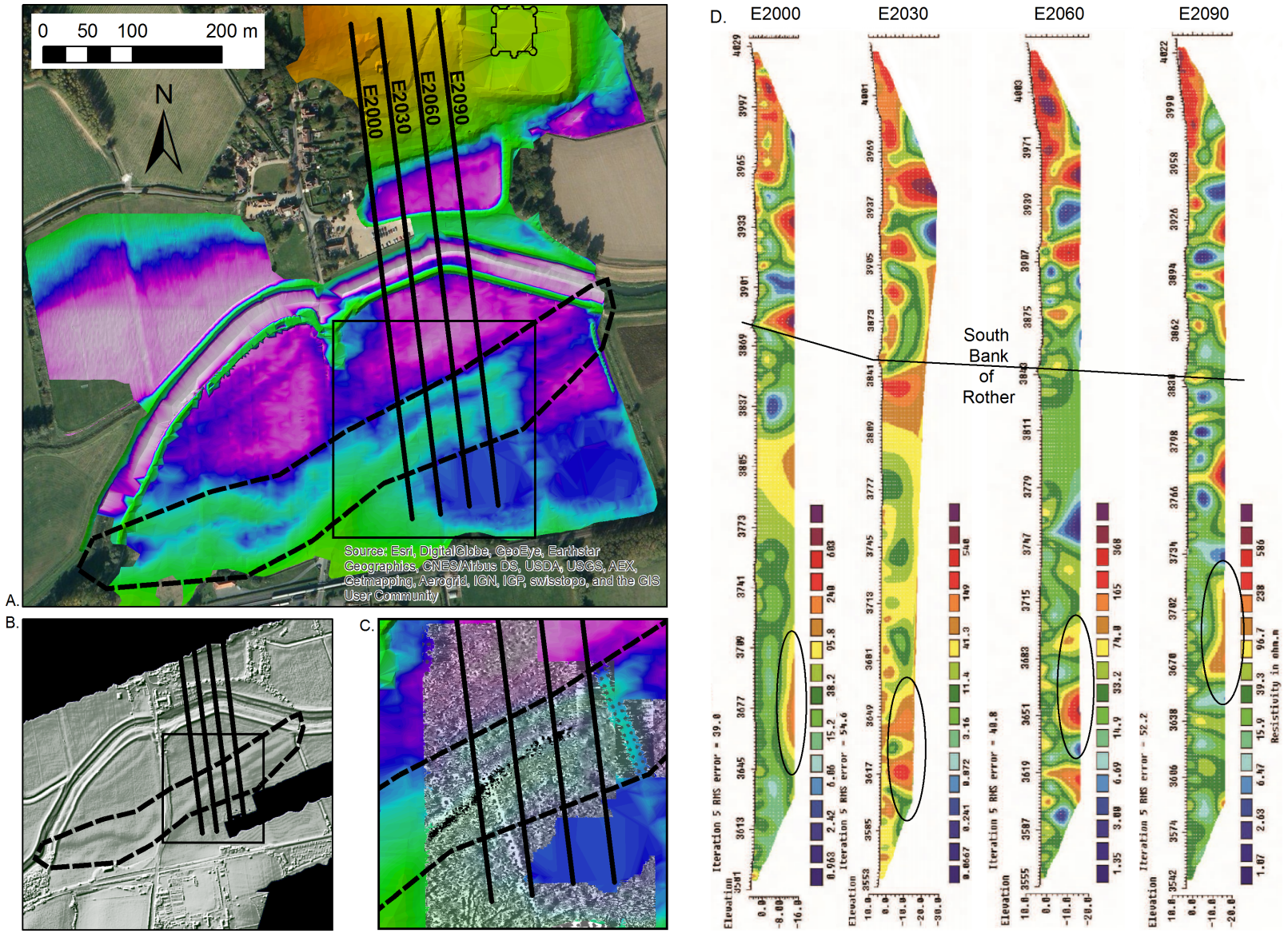

Fig. 4.6: Floodplain of the River Rother. a) Topographic (TIN), showing locations of ERT transects and probable palaeochannel. b) LiDAR data with palaeochannel outlined (© Environment Agency). c) Magnetometry survey; palaeochannel emphasised in dark black. The boxes on Figs 4.6a and 4.6b correspond to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

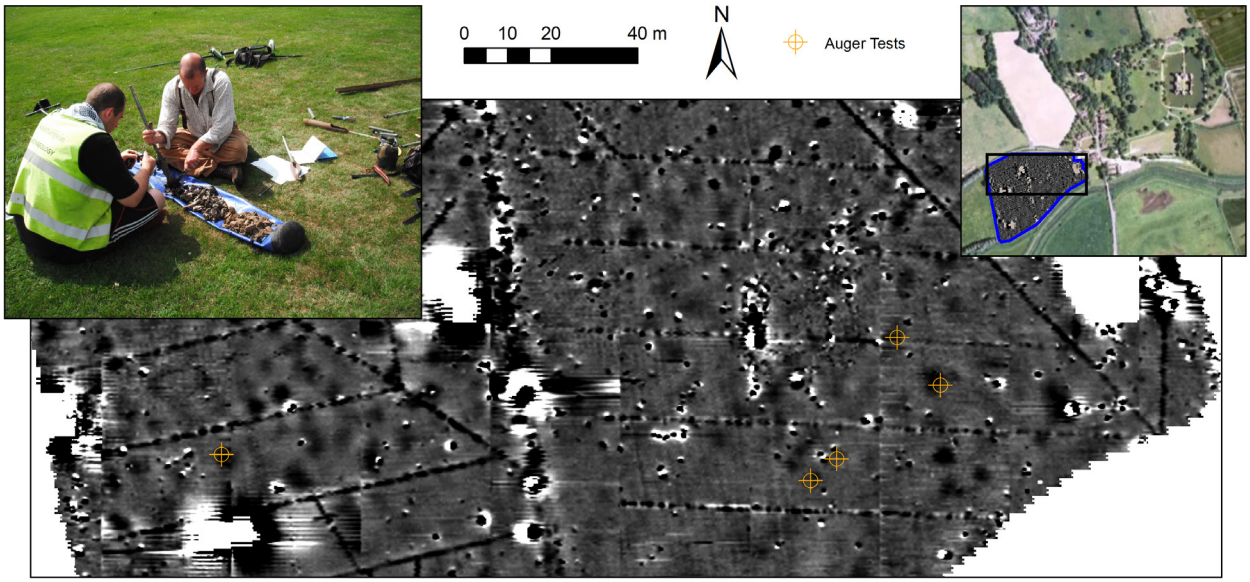

Fig. 4.7: Location of auger tests in the cricket field, shown with magnetometry data. Top left: Kris Strutt and James Miles examine a core. See also Fig. 4.13 below.

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

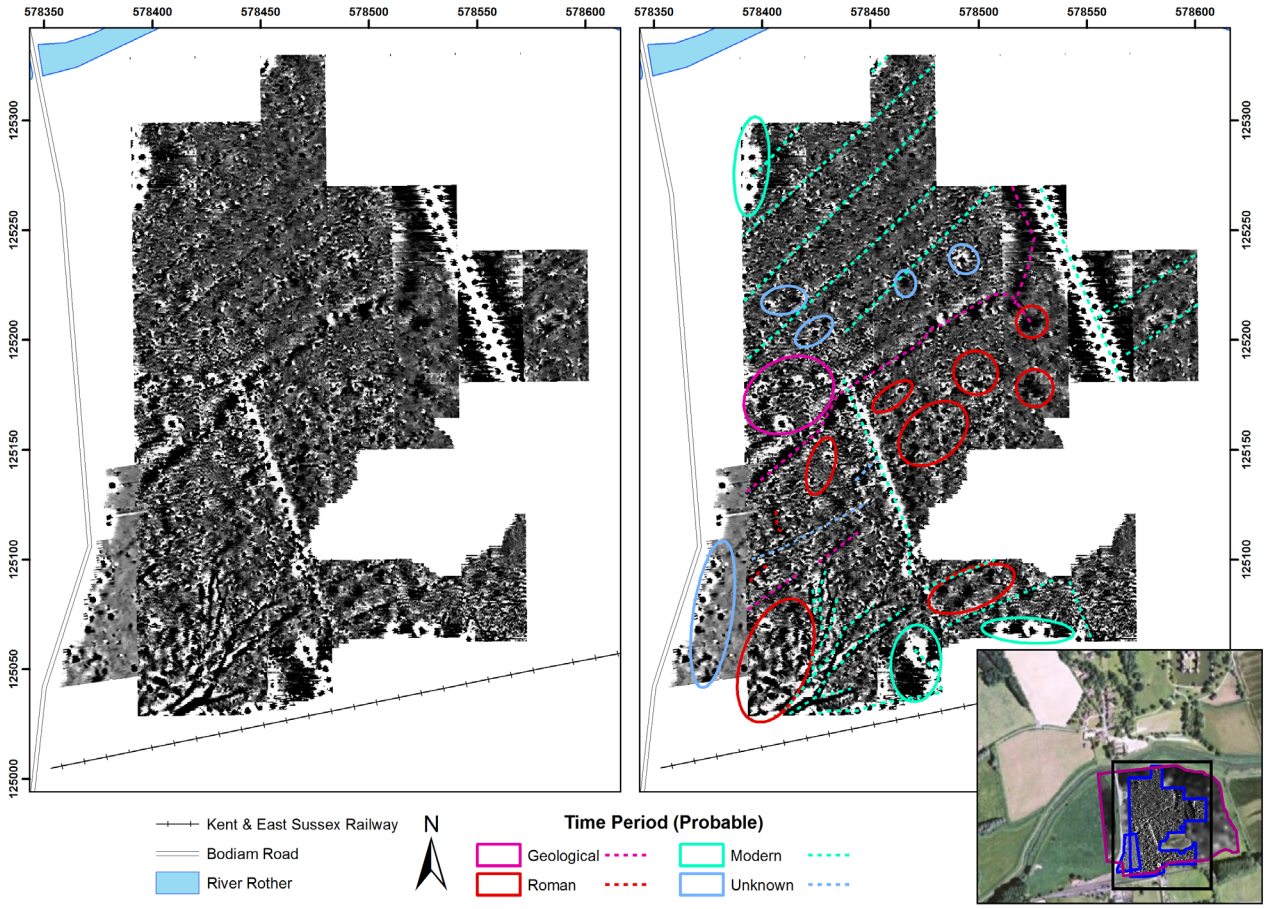

Fig. 4.8a: Floodplain: Magnetometry survey results. Dipolar and linear anomalies near the road and railway could be related to either modern or ancient industry. Other modern features are likely field drains or utilities. The probably relict channel of the River Rother is marked in pink (see Fig. 4.6).

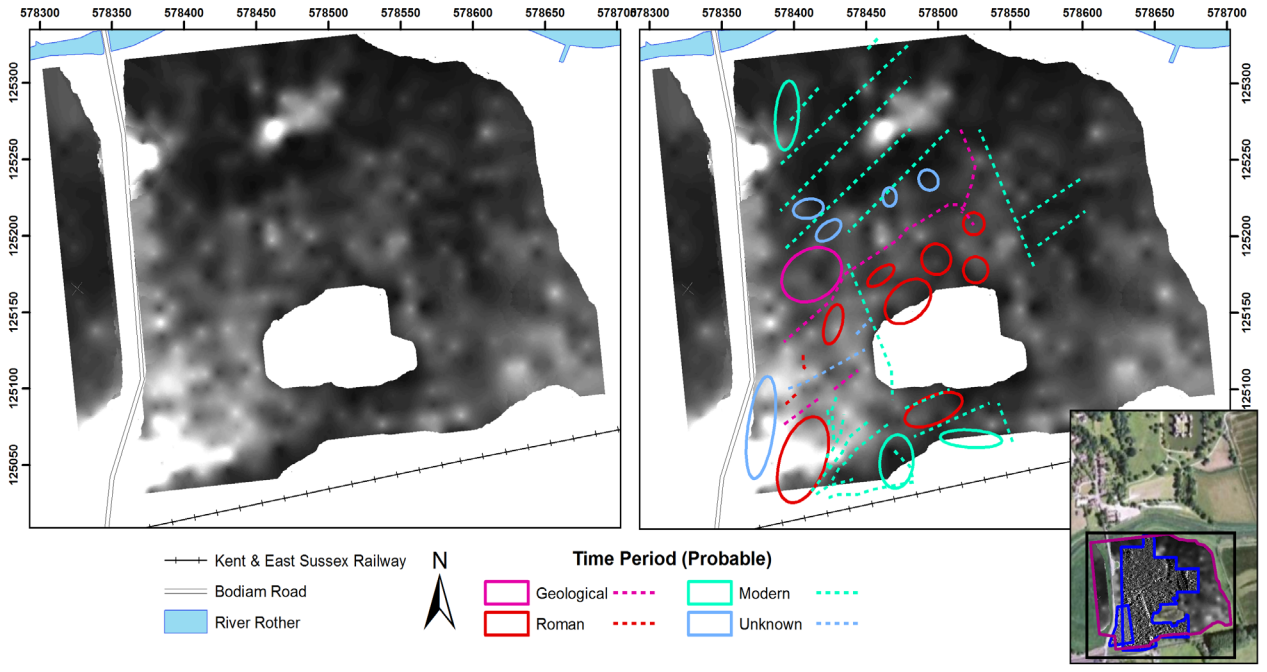

Fig. 4.8b: Floodplain: Magnetic susceptibility survey results. The ancient riverbed is faintly visible along with evidence of industrial activity beside the road.

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

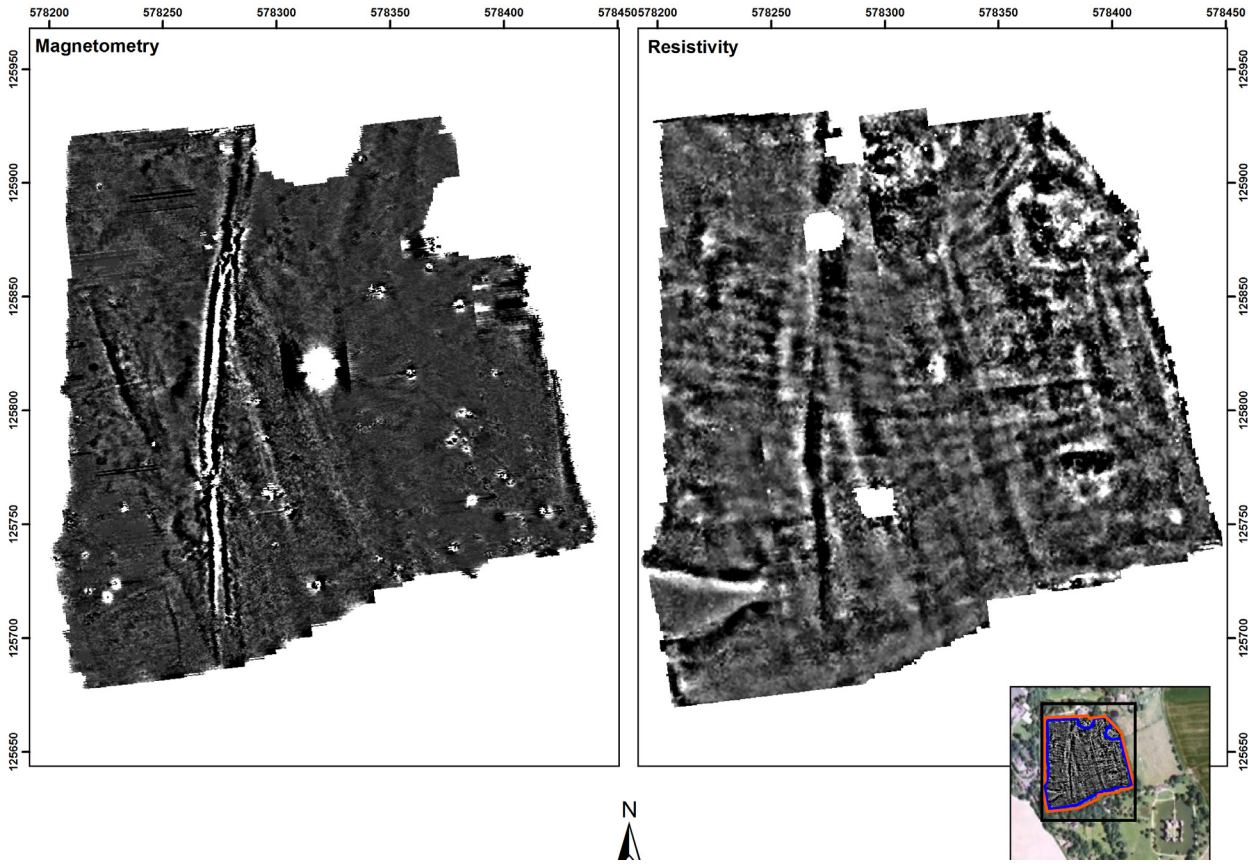

Fig. 4.9b: Dokes Field: magnetometry and earth resistance survey results.

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.

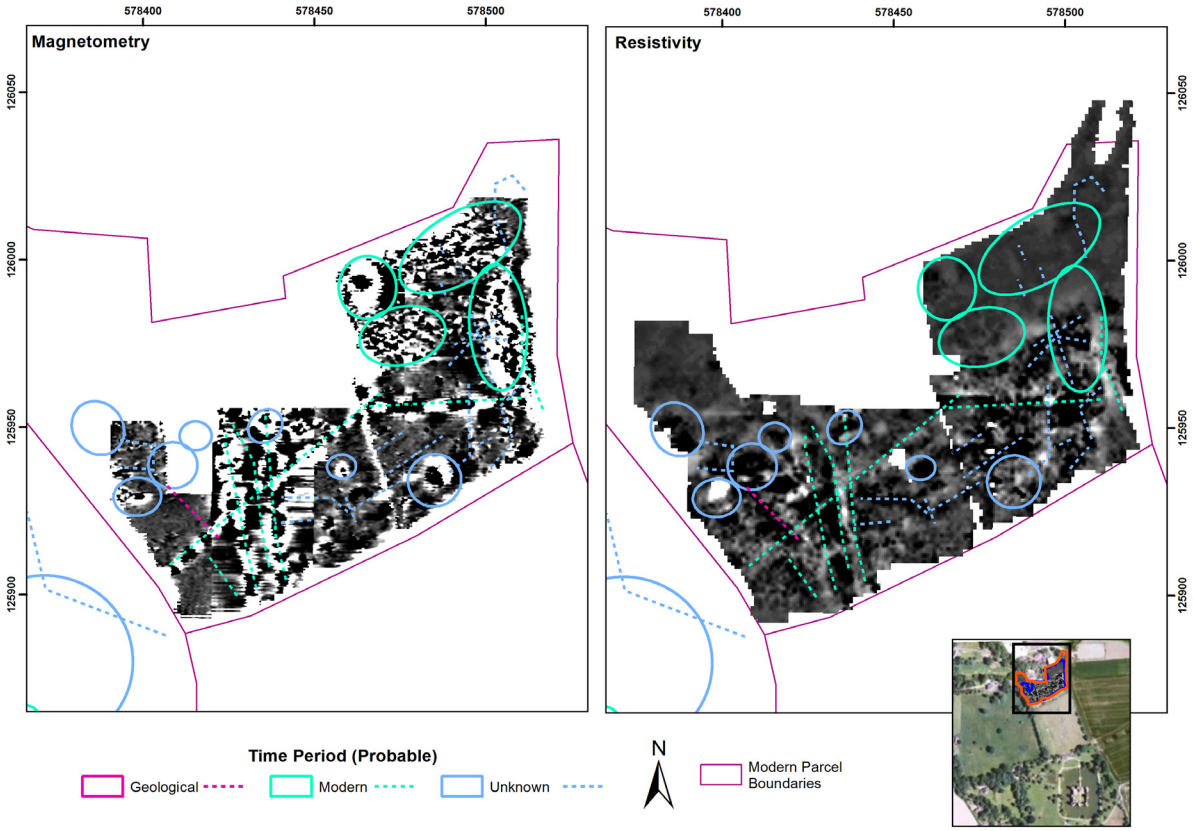

Fig. 4.10a: Gun Garden: Interpreted magnetometry and earth resistance survey results. Linear dipole magnetic anomalies are likely modern pipes or utilities. No clear evidence of medieval or other earlier structures is visible amidst modern disturbance. Some linear low resistance anomalies may be drains,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

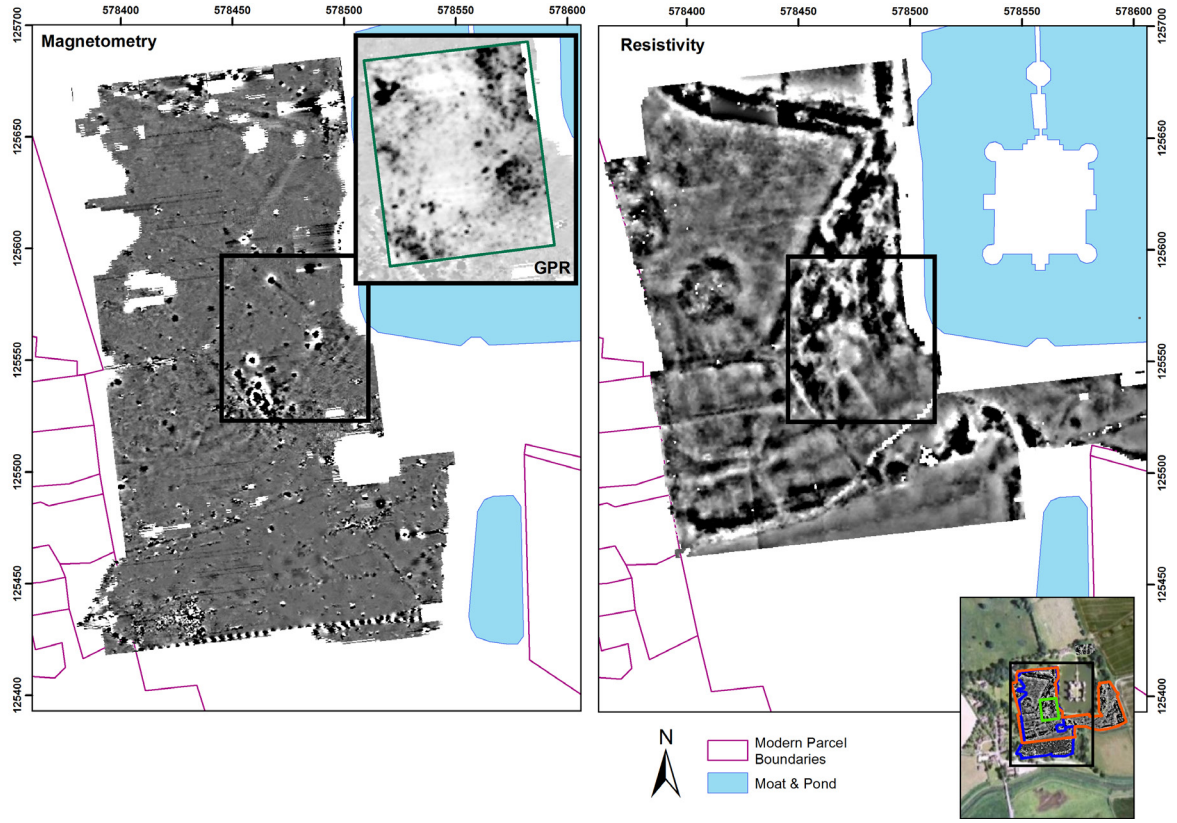

Fig. 4.11b: Castle West: magnetometry, earth resistance, and GPR survey results.

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.

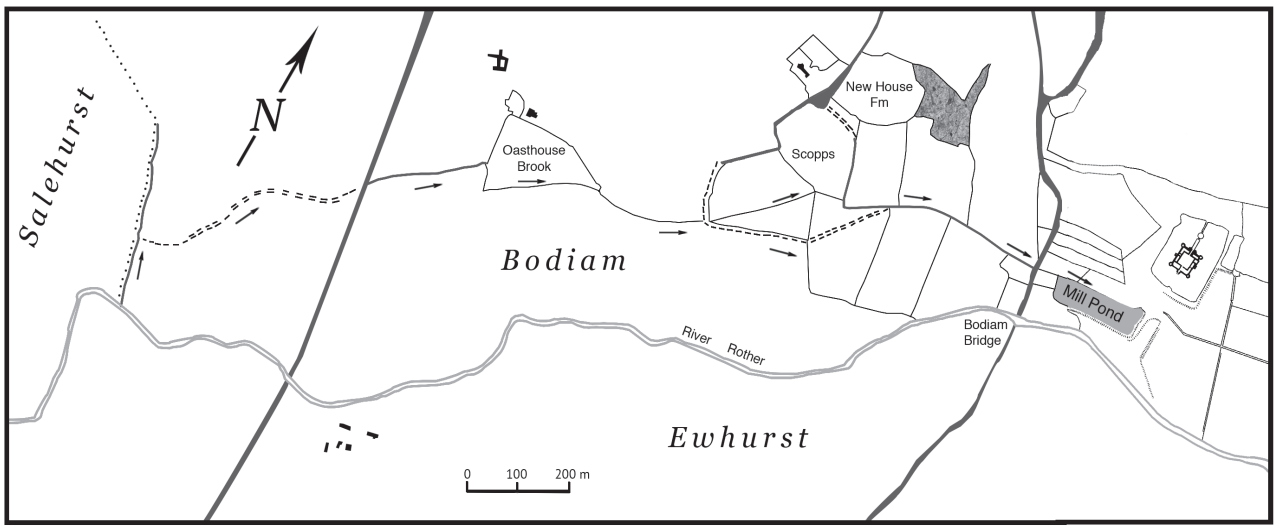

Fig. 4.12: Suggested path of mill leat (redrawn by Kayley McPhee from Whittick 1993).

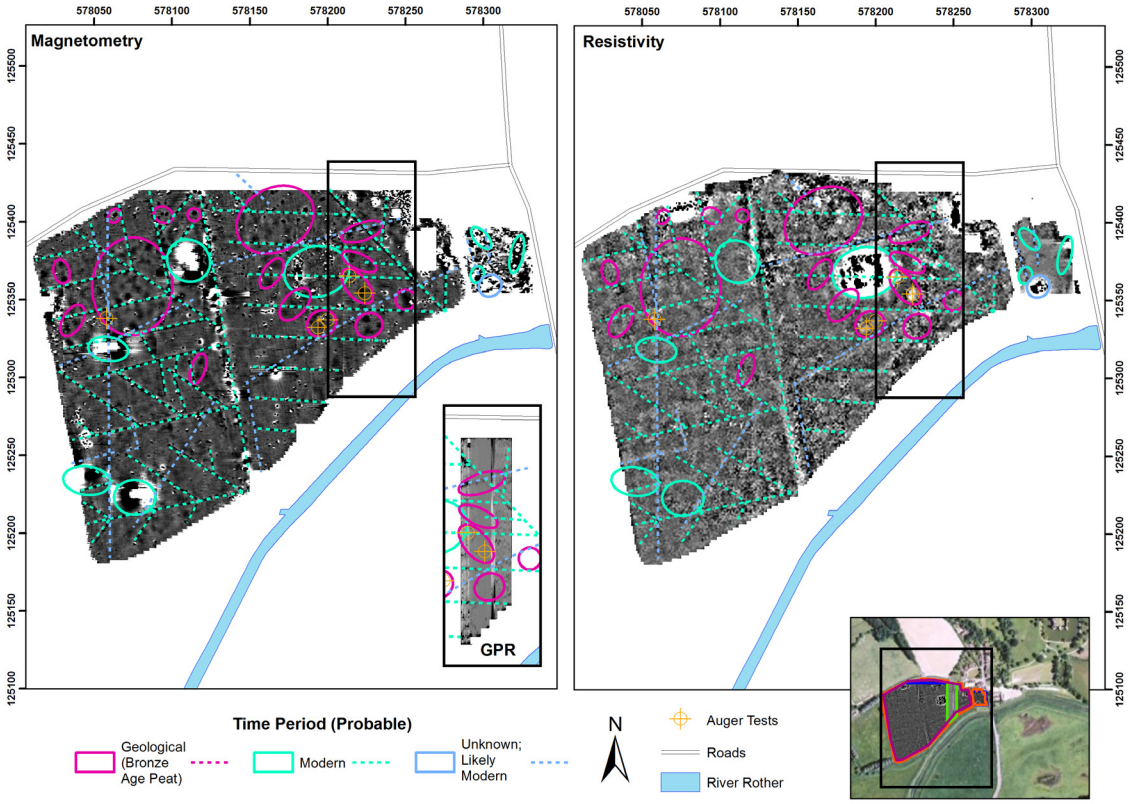

Fig. 4.13a: Cricket Field: Interpreted magnetometry, earth resistance, and GPR survey results. Large dipolar anomalies suggest large modern metallic deposits, while small dipoles could be modern debris, ancient peat, or any metallic deposit of intermediate age. Positive magnetic anomalies are likely 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.

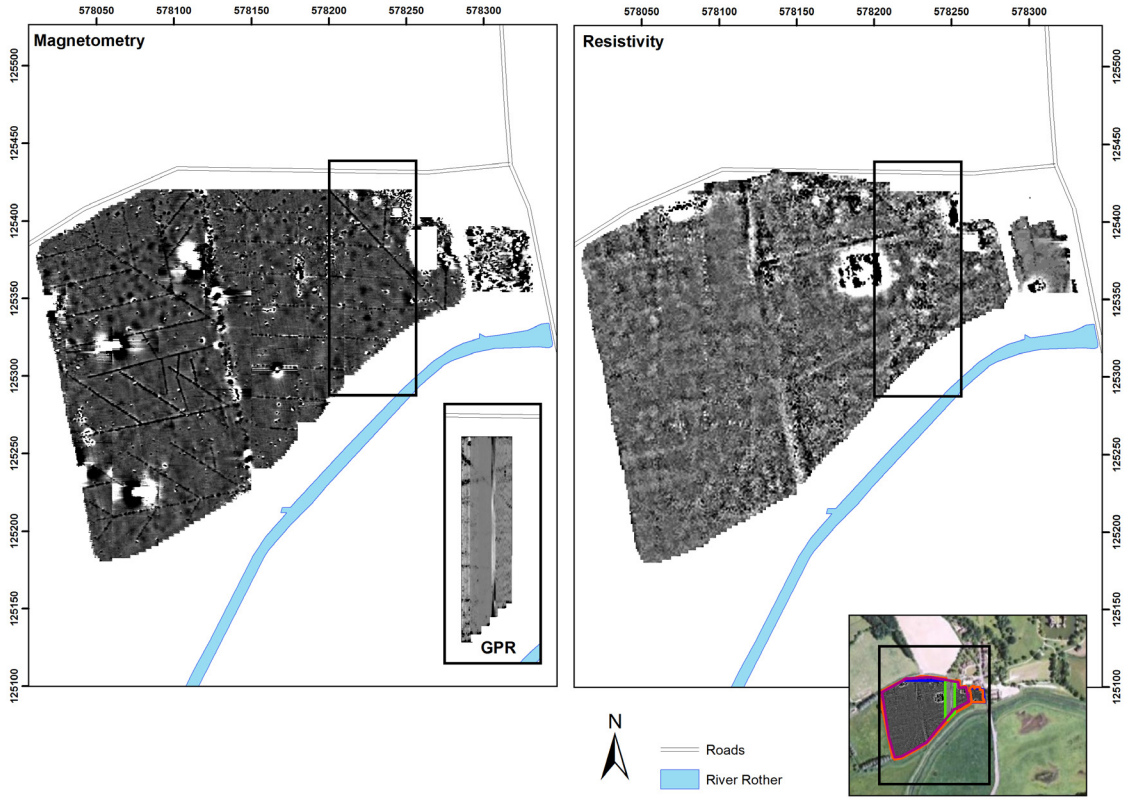

Fig. 4.13b: Cricket Field: magnetometry, earth resistance, and GPR survey results.

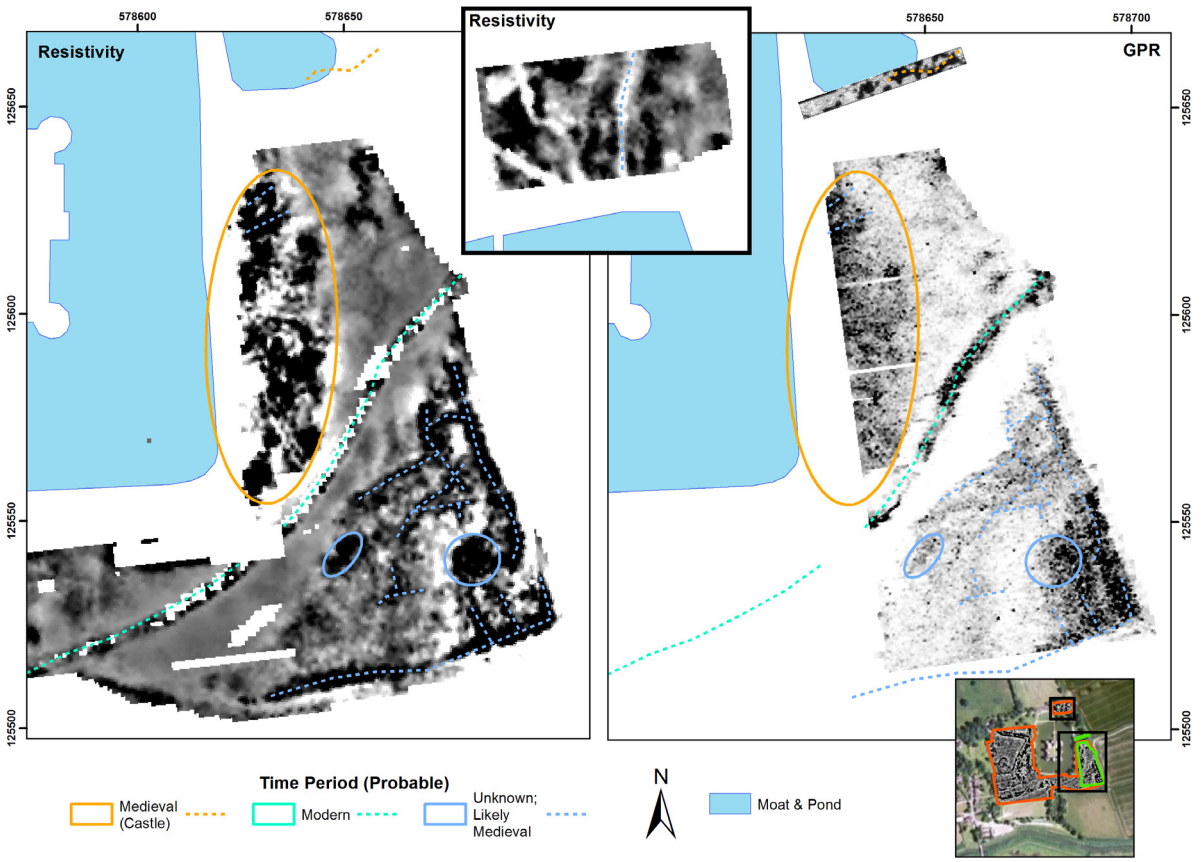

Fig. 4.14a: Castle East: Interpreted earth resistance and GPR survey results. The GPR slices shown are approximately 30-40 cm below ground surface.

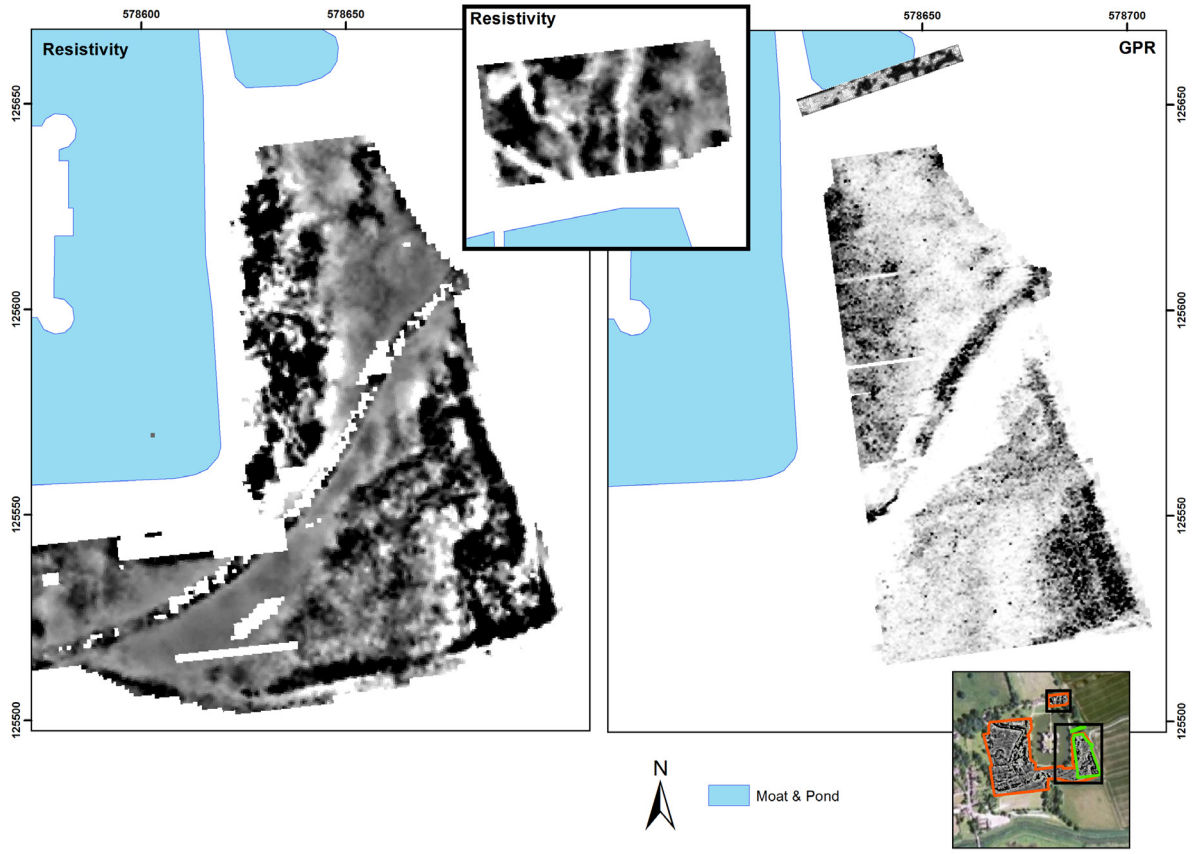

Fig. 4.14b: Castle East: earth resistance and GPR survey results.

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 become 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.