

Lydford Castle, Devon

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with contributions by

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EXAMINATION of the structure of the stone tower and excavation of it and of the associated earthworks at Lydford, Devon, revealed that the earliest structure, presumed to be the firme domus referred to in the Pipe Rolls for 1195, had been a free-standing, purpose-built gaol. It was partly demolished, and the upper part entirely rebuilt towards the middle of the 13th century. The original ground floor was filled up and the tower enclosed by a ditch with a mound piled against it. A small bailey was also added. The 'castle' continued to be used as a prison for the Devon Stannaries until the 18th century.

INTRODUCTION

Lydford, on the western limits of Dartmoor (Fig. 1), lies on a wedge-shaped promontory, defined by the deep gorge of the R. Lyd on the S. and E. and on the NW. by a very steep-sided valley (SX 510847) (Fig. 2). *Hlidan* figures in the Burghal Hidage and excavations between 1963 and 1968 by Mr P. V. Addyman have established the character and extent of the Saxon town defences as well as providing some indication of the structures and boundaries within the burh.¹

It has also been established in recent years that there are two 'castles' within the limits of the Saxon burh, a small Norman earthwork enclosure or ring work at the tip of the promontory being the earlier. This has also been partially excavated by Addyman who has demonstrated that its period of use and occupation was short.² Its origins were quickly forgotten since the title castle has, since the 13th century, been applied to the low stone tower immediately N. of the parish church.

Until the winter of 1957 Lydford Castle had the appearance of a square, two-storey, stone-built tower standing upon a substantial earth mound 17 ft. high (Pl. ix, A). It had long been thought to represent the rebuilding in stone of an earlier wooden structure on the top of a motte.³ It was also thought that this 'motte' might have been the castle hinted at in the Domesday Survey.⁴ North-west of the mound was a small, rectangular bailey enclosing an area roughly 180 ft. × 130 ft. The bailey was well defined by high ramparts on the SW. and NE. with a third rampart along the crest of a steep-sided valley. There was no distinct division between the bailey ramparts and the mound except at the eastern corner of the

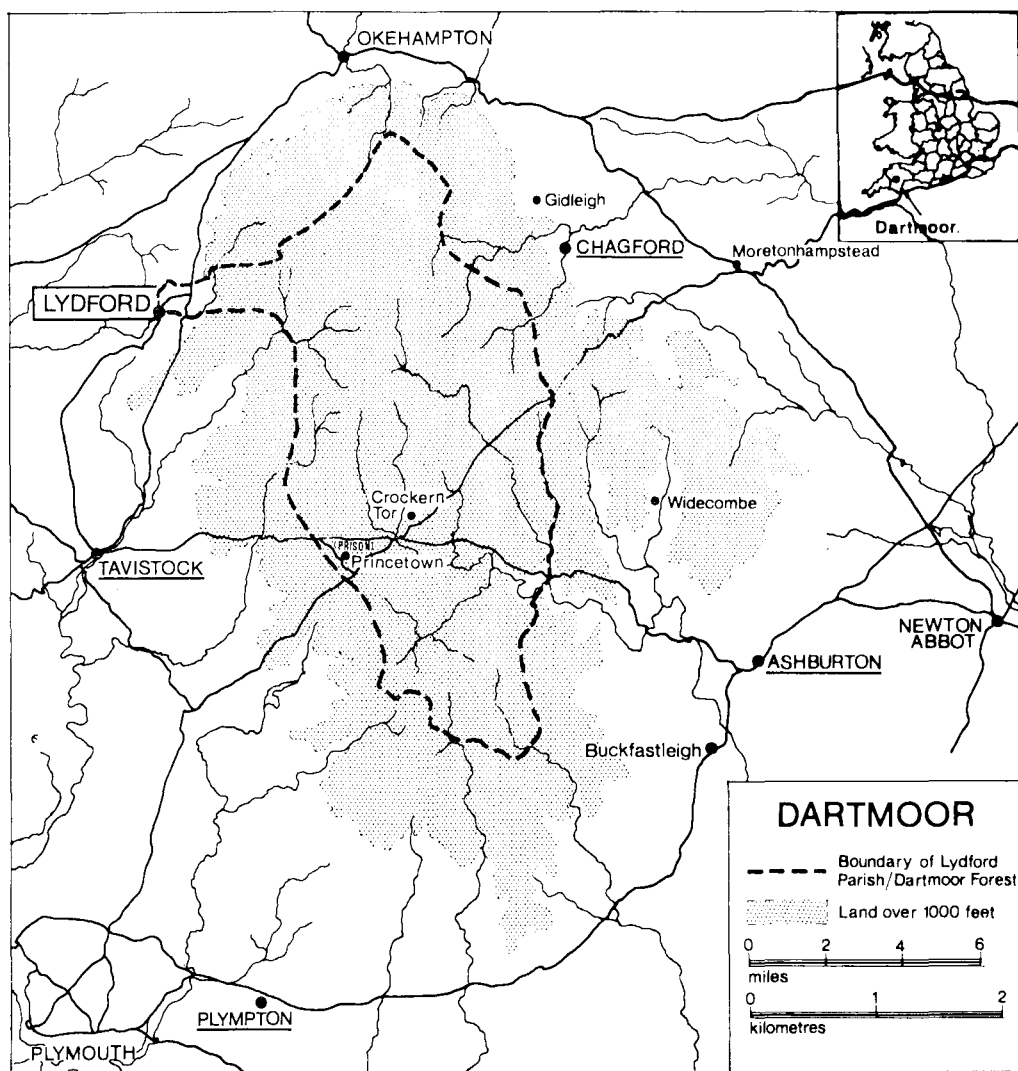


FIG. 1

Lydford and the Forest of Dartmoor

bailey where the earth bank had been considerably worn into a hollow way. Up to 1960 the interior of the bailey had been bisected by a hedge which commenced from the hollow way across the northern rampart. It had been an enclosure of long standing since mature trees were growing in it. The rock-cut ditch on the NE. side of the bailey was much silted and part of it had been taken over for use as a cattle pound which still survives as low, eroded earth banks (see p. 130). The ditch on the SW. was still about 20 ft. deep below the crest of the rampart for about half its length.

The SE. side of the castle mound which fronts the main street of the present village had until recently been occupied by a cottage and its garden. Traces of the gable wall of the cottage with its projecting chimney-breast are retained in the boundary wall in the E. corner. The cottage garden had extended southwards alongside the street and had been bounded on the NE. by an earth hedge running across the slope of the mound and parallel with the street.

The tower itself was entered by a single doorway at the level of the top of the mound on the NW. side, away from the street. At this level, with the exception of a small cellar in the northern corner, the interior of the keep had, in 1957, a cobbled floor. A spine wall to the left of the entrance divided the interior into two unequal parts. The smaller of the two parts had been further subdivided by a cross wall up to first-floor level and at right angles to the main spine wall. In the thickness of the wall to the right of the entrance was a straight flight of steps which had led to an upper floor, no longer surviving. The main room at this level had a fireplace in the spine wall and a garderobe in the western angle, and was clearly the chief room or 'hall'. A further flight of steps in the thickness of the NW. wall provided access from the hall to the wall-walk. The room on the other side of the spine wall possessed a garderobe in its northern angle and it appeared to form a subsidiary chamber. Both garderobe shafts were taken through the thickness of the wall and opened on to the top of the mound.

In 1932 the Duchy of Cornwall gave Lydford Castle into the guardianship of the then Office of Works. Some repairs were carried out before the Second World War but a major campaign of consolidation was not necessary until the latter half of the 1950s. Towards the end of the masonry consolidation programme in the tower during 1957 an accumulation of modern rubbish was removed from the cellar in the northern corner of the building, revealing the head of a doorway low down in the spine wall. Further excavation produced a rush of rubble through this opening, exposing part of the jamb of a blocked window in the NW. wall. The discovery of the doorway and window made it clear that the tower had had a lower storey which had subsequently been filled in.

Excavation was begun late that year in order to examine the castle in more detail. The main work of removing the filling of the lower storey of the tower and examining features below it took place during 1958 and a further season was spent trenching the mound outside during the following summer. This work was continued in 1963. In 1964 the ramparts of the bailey were examined in two places and the relationship of the bailey to the mound was established. The four seasons of excavation were carried out on a small scale and had strictly limited objectives relating to the masonry structure and the mound piled up outside it. There was no attempt to examine the interior of the bailey, and its problems, together with location of the original entrance into the bailey, await future examination.

The last two seasons' work at the castle ran concurrently with the wider examination of the Saxon burh and the Norman earthwork at the tip of the promontory by Addyman. The section through the rampart on the NW. side of the castle bailey, along the scarp edge, was undertaken to reinforce the work on the Saxon defences of Lydford.

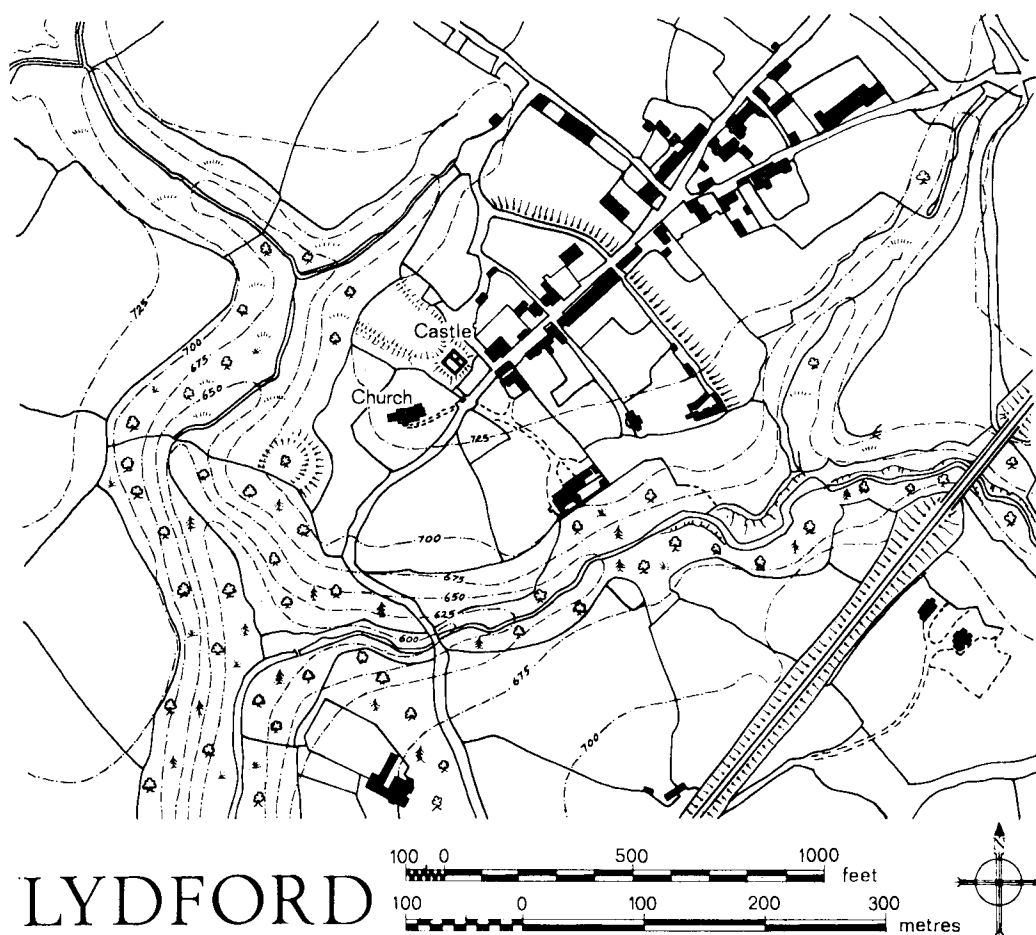


FIG. 2
Plan of Lydford

The writer gratefully acknowledges the contributions of those named above. He has also greatly benefited from discussions with Dr C. A. Raleigh Radford, Professor E. M. Jope, Mr P. V. Addyman and Dr R. A. Higham. The report owes much to the assistance of colleagues in the Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Directorate of the Department of the Environment, not least to the then Ministry's direct labour staff at Lydford and Launceston Castles under Mr S. Gregory. The plans and drawings, other than the pottery figures, are the work of the Ancient Monuments Drawing Office.

The excavations were recorded in imperial measurements and while metric scales are provided on the plans and sections no attempt is made to convert dimensions to metric in the text.

HISTORY

Lydford is generally taken to be the *Hlidan* of the Burghal Hidage. It was the westernmost of the four chief towns of pre-Conquest Devon, and was described as a borough in the Domesday Survey, when 40 of its houses were waste. There seems to have been a deliberate royal policy to revive its importance in the late 12th century, for in the 1195 Pipe Roll Geoffrey Fitz Peter was ordered to revive its market.⁵ From 1198 it was always referred to as a *burgus* in the Pipe Rolls, not a *vill*.⁶ It had a mayor and other officials in the 13th and 14th centuries and sent representatives to Parliament. An impression of the borough seal, 2½ in. in diameter, was found in the castle ruins in the last century; parts of its inscription can be read as SIGILLUM . . . BURGU . . . LIDE . . .⁷

The first reference to the castle is also in the 1195 Pipe Rolls; £32 from the revenues of Devon and £42 from those of Cornwall being spent in building a strong house (*firme domus*) for detaining royal prisoners in the town of Lydford.⁸ This was a year in which peace-keeping provisions generally were tightened, with a round up of evil-doers and fugitives, and money expended on building and repairing gaols throughout the country including those of neighbouring Launceston and Exeter Castles.⁹

In 1199 William de Wrotham, archdeacon of Taunton, an experienced civil servant who had been appointed warden of the Stannaries the previous year, was described as the keeper of the house at Lydford (*custodiam domus de Lideford*).¹⁰ In the same account he was instructed to garrison and provision the castle (*castelli de Lideford*) as part of a general provisioning of the south-western castles in order to hold the country during the time of unrest following the death of Richard I.¹¹ The following year, 1200, Hugh de Neville, one of John's influential advisers and chief justice of the forests, was responsible for keeping the house at Lydford and he is mentioned by the compilers of the Pipe Rolls as acting in this capacity until 1209.¹² William de Wrotham reappears as responsible for the farm of Lydford in 1211.¹³ The term *domus* appears for the last time in 1210 in the Pipe Rolls. It seems clear that from this time the terms *domus* and *castellum* or *castro* insofar as they affect Lydford are synonymous and that we are not dealing with two separate buildings. In 1209, 29s. 6d. were spent in repairing the castle and 40s. were spent in repairing the king's houses (*domorum*) at Lydford the previous year when Poitevin prisoners were held there.¹⁴ The fact that in the early years of its existence the castle was associated with men such as William de Wrotham and Hugh de Neville whose responsibilities included both the administration of the Forest Law and the Stannaries suggests that from the first, Lydford Castle was intended to serve the Forest of Dartmoor and the Devon Stannaries as a prison and a place of justice.

It is important to understand the role of Lydford Castle in the administrative processes of the Forest of Dartmoor and also of the Devon Stannaries. The administration and organization of the Stannaries and the rights and customs pertaining to the Forest of Dartmoor have been studied in detail elsewhere and therefore require only a brief summary here.¹⁵

1. THE FOREST OF DARTMOOR (Fig. 1)

Lydford and the Forest of Dartmoor appear to have been granted to John when Earl of Mortain, and, before his accession as king, he granted a charter to the

earls, barons, knights and all the free tenants, clerics and laymen in Devonshire, confirming to them their liberties of the Forest which they had in the time of Henry I.¹⁶ At what time Dartmoor became a Royal Forest is unknown. There is a reference to Aethelraed, the forester, in the Geld Accounts who is identified as the Aethelraed who held Shapley in Chagford in 1066,¹⁷ and is perhaps a hint that the Saxon kings held hunting rights over the Moor. Dartmoor is not mentioned in Domesday Book probably because it was already in the king's hands, and the area of the Forest had only recorded villis. This may be because it was already Royal Forest but equally it could easily have been caused by the infertile and inhospitable nature of the Moor at that time.

On 18 May 1204 King John disafforested 'all Devon of all things which to Forest and Foresters appertain up to the metes of the ancient regards of Dartmoor and Exmoor as those regards were in the time of King Henry I, so that all Devon, and the men dwelling in it, and their heirs, shall be altogether deafforested, and quit and discharged of us and our heirs for ever of all things which to Forest and Foresters appertain, except the two Moors before named, to wit Dartmoor and Exmoor by the aforesaid bounds. We will also, and do grant that the aforesaid men of Devon, and their heirs, shall have the customs with the regards of those Moors as they were accustomed to have in the time of the aforesaid King Henry, doing therefore the customs which they then used, and ought to do therefore'.¹⁸ This charter is still the basis of the rights of common claimed by the men of Devon upon Dartmoor.

There were three classes of commoner: the holders of the 35 ancient tenements in the Forest; the Venville tenants (a term derived from *fines villarum*) of certain holdings situated on the borders of the moor; and the holders or occupiers of land in Devon outside Venville, excepting the inhabitants of Barnstaple and Totnes. The last class of commoners had rights only upon the commons of Devon, that is, the moors surrounding the Forest, and these were limited to pasturage with fixed rates of annual payments for different classes of animal. The holders of the ancient tenements and Venville tenants had the right to depasture their cattle in the Forest, to turbary, the taking of stone, rushes, etc., indeed everything except green oak and venison. Venville tenants paid a rent of 3*d.* per annum and were called upon to perform certain duties and to appear in the Forest Courts.

'The lowest Forest Court was the Court of Attachment held every 40 days by the verderers, and part of their business was to make presentments to the Court of Swainmote, which was held three times a year. A presentment concerning any offender against the Forest Laws would be delivered to a jury composed of forest freeholders, and if they found it true the indictment was sealed. Sentence, however, could only be passed by the Court of Justice Seat, held once in three years'.¹⁹ 'The officers of the forest were the Lord Chief Justices of Forests (one of whom sat in the Court of Justice Seat), verderers, a chief warden, rangers, an agister, a regarder, foresters, a beadle, and others of a less important character. There was also a Steward of the Court of Swainmote'.²⁰

In 1216 King John granted to William Brewer, the Sheriff of Devon, the custody of the castle of Lydford with all its appurtenances.²¹ The appurtenances were not

defined but it is almost certain that Dartmoor was one of them as it was in subsequent grants. The most significant of these later grants was the charter of 10 October 1239, when Henry III granted to his brother Richard, Earl of Poitou and Cornwall 'our Manor of Lydford, with the castle of the same place, and all its appurtenances of the same Forest, to hold as freely and quietly as we held it on the day we gave it him, rendering yearly at the exchequer £10 for all service, custom and demand'.²² The effect of this grant changed the legal status of Dartmoor. It severed the Forest of Dartmoor from the Crown and made the Forest a Chase in law for, except under a special grant, a subject could not hold a Forest in the true meaning of the word and in this case there was no such special grant. The title of Forest continued to be used in order to distinguish that part of Dartmoor from the Commons of Devon. The conversion of the Forest into a Chase made no change in the commoners' rights nor in the right of the owner to keep deer in the Chase.

As soon as Richard, Earl of Cornwall, took possession of Dartmoor he obtained a settlement of the boundaries between the Forest and the lands of the manor immediately adjoining it. A perambulation of the bounds was made in 1240 by the Sheriff of Devon in person and twelve knights of the County.²³ The limits are recorded in detail and the boundaries of Dartmoor Forest proper have remained the same to the present day. The Perambulation established three important facts: that the Moor was originally part of the Royal Forest; that the Commons of Devon and surrounding parishes were once part of the Forest; and that the Moor is not waste of the manor of Lydford. In 1300 on the death of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, the Forest reverted to the Crown and remained so until 1336-37 when Edward, Prince of Wales, was created Duke of Cornwall and was granted, among other possessions, the castle and manor of Lydford and the Chase of Dartmoor. From that time to the present, Dartmoor has formed part of the possessions of the Duchy of Cornwall.

The early disafforestation of the Moor and its severance from the Crown led to a growth in the jurisdiction of the court held at Lydford. The Earls of Cornwall, in order to keep up their dignity and power over the Moor, held a quasi-forest or chase court at Lydford at which all business concerning the Borough, Manor and Moor was conducted as well as the business concerning the Lydford demesne estate. Since the Moor was no longer under Forest Law the courts held at Lydford, though sometimes called Courts of the Forest, were not the same as the ancient Forest Courts. Verderers no longer appear and instead Foresters were appointed and '*pre-hurdarii*' or 'priours', who had charge of the cattle agisted in the Forest. Thirteenth-century records such as the Issues of the Manor in the Ministers' Accounts for Lydford illustrate the court's business: rents, amercements, fines, etc., dealing with pasture rights, stray animals and boundary problems.²⁴

At the death of Piers Gaveston when Lydford and Dartmoor reverted to the Crown and their custody was committed to Thomas le Ercedekne he was described as Constable of the castle of Lydford and *custos* of the manor of Dartmoor.²⁵ During the middle of the 14th century the profits of the Borough of Lydford were returned by a distinct bailiff or reeve and those of the manor of Dartmoor by another bailiff who included in his account the profits of tenements held within the Moor (the rent

of the *censarii*) and who took credit for the repairs of the pound at Dunnabridge, but who did not answer for the profits of the agistment nor for the Venville rents paid for holdings on the borders of the Moor, which were returned by a separate bailiff. It would appear that the administration of the agistment of the Moor and the profit derived from it was committed to an officer distinct from the bailiff of the manor of Lydford and that this bailiff was usually the constable of the castle.²⁶

It can be seen from the headings of the Court Rolls of the Forest and Manor in both the 14th and 15th centuries that Lydford remained the administrative centre.²⁷ This was also true in the 16th century where in a document entitled 'Instructions for my Lord Prince to the King's most honourable council concerning my Lord Prince's Forest of Dartmoor and in the moors and wastes to the same belonging' there is mention of a number of items 'whiche is appropriat unto his graces courte holden at his manor and castell of Lyddefford . . .'.²⁸ An abstract of a survey of sundry woods in the county of Cornwall and of the mills within the Borough of Lydford taken in 1618 states 'that there is within the said Borough an ancient castle in which the prison for the Stannary of Devon and Forest of Dartmoor hath been always kept until of late that it was removed by reason that the said castle grew ruinous and the leads have been taken away and part thereof remaineth in the hands of private persons concerning which direction is given to the Stewards to enquire'.²⁹ Cattle unclaimed after the annual drift were still taken to Lydford in 1632 however.³⁰

In 1650 the trustees for the sale of Crown lands sold the Borough of Lydford to William Bradden of Stoke Clymsland. They do not appear to have sold the Forest of Dartmoor and the profits of the manor of Lydford seem to have been overlooked by the Parliamentary Surveyors when they surveyed the Crown lands in 1650. By sale in June 1659 the trustees sold to Thomas Menhere of London for £178 14s. 0d. 'all that the Manor of Lydford with the rights members and appurtenances and all the quit rents due from the freeholders. Also all the profits of Courts Leet, three weeks' Courts, fines issues and amercements of the said Courts . . .'.³¹ At the Restoration the manor and Forest reverted to the Crown; and in June 1660 Sir John Grenville was appointed Rider and Master Forester of Dartmoor. The three weeks' Court at the castle was still in being in 1702 according to evidence given in a dispute over tithes. It was then stated that the owners of the 35 ancient tenements had to attend the three weeks' Courts, assist in the drives in the four quarters four days a year, drive all the colts on one day a year to one of the official pounds and attend three times a year at Lydford Castle Court to present all matters and misdemeanours and things presentable within the Forest.³²

ii. THE DEVON STANNARIES

It is clear that very early in its existence Lydford Castle was directly connected with the administration of the tin industry. In the 12th century both Devon and Cornwall were producers of tin ore won from alluvial deposits (known as streamworks) just as they had been from prehistoric times. The regulations of the industry were imposed by the Crown and known as the Assize of Mines.³³ There was besides a certain customary law which had grown up not only for the tanners themselves but

also for smelters and dealers. It was a long-established custom that the tanners might freely, without hindrance from anyone, dig for tin anywhere and at any time both on the Royal Moors and on private land. They might also divert streams and dig for peat whenever fuel was needed for smelting. In 1201 these rights were declared to be of ancient custom. The profits of the industry at this time came under closer royal control and this was all the more effective since Devon was a Royal Forest. Breaches of the Assize of Mines were generally punished by the justices of the Forest.

The revenues from tin in the 12th century were included in the miscellaneous revenue which made up the farm of the county and this arrangement applied to Cornwall as well as Devon. At this period and until the mid 13th century, Devon was the major producer of the two and the revenue paid into the Exchequer for tin reflects increased output. As the Crown drew more and more profit, stricter and more direct control became justified. In 1198 William de Wrotham, the Sheriff of Devon, was appointed Warden of the Stannaries, the first holder of an office which has continued in being to the present day. The fact that the building of 'the strong house for keeping prisoners' at Lydford was paid for out of the issues of Cornwall as well as of Devon and that the construction preceded the appointment of a warden by only three years suggests that its later role as the prison for the Devon Stannaries might have been intended from the very beginning, or initially perhaps for both counties.

One of the warden's first acts was to assemble a jury of tanners in the County Court at Exeter to establish the facts of the duty payable on the first smelting of the tin and the system for weighing unrefined ore. A series of ordinances were then drawn up regulating the collection of dues. No one henceforward might retain possession of tin for more than two weeks after the first smelting unless it had been weighed in the presence of three Stannary officials and stamped with the royal mark as a sign that duty had been paid. Within thirteen weeks thereafter all tin was to be put to a second smelting and was again weighed and stamped. These operations were to be performed at Exeter or Bodmin and also at a number of market towns designated from year to year by the warden. At the second smelting the tin became liable to a new duty imposed by William de Wrotham at one mark per thousand-weight and stringent rules were laid down to prevent evasion of payment.³⁴ A similar Court was held shortly afterwards at Launceston to cover Cornwall. These arrangements proved highly satisfactory to the Exchequer. In the following year the revenue from tin had been more than quadrupled. In return the tanners received a notable extension of their privileges. By a charter of 29 October 1201 King John not only confirmed their traditional right to dig tin wheresoever they chose but extended to all working tanners the legal status of tenants on royal demesne. The Warden was invested with civil and criminal jurisdiction over the tanners of both counties with his own courts and gaols. Below him served a numerous body of stewards, under-stewards, bailiffs, treasurers and clerks.³⁵ The clauses in the charter of 1201, which placed criminal and civil jurisdiction over the tanners in the hands of the Warden, resulted in the division of the mining districts into several provinces or 'stannaries'. In Devon the Stannary districts of Chagford, Ashburton, Tavistock, and at a later

date of Plympton, each containing a town of the same name, comprised and encircled the tin-bearing grounds of Dartmoor. The administration of the Devon tin industry through the courts is described by Finberg.

The court was extremely sensitive to any encroachment on its jurisdiction. 'And also no Tinner sue none other Tinner for any Cause (except Plea concerning Land, Life and Mayhem) but in the Tin Court, the Court of Lidford, or else in the Court of whom he holdeth, after the Custom and Manner.'³⁶ It was always ready to hear complaints from tanners who had been impleaded in the Manorial or Forest Courts, the Consistorial Court of Exeter or the Court of Kings' Bench. No case determinable in the Stannary Court might be tried elsewhere and violations of this law were punishable whether or not the offender was a tanner.

The earliest surviving charter is that granted to the tanners of Cornwall and Devon by Edward I in 1305 which for the first time recognized them as distinct bodies. This charter recognized the three Stannary towns in Devon, Tavistock, Ashburton and Chagford, where the tin was to be weighed and stamped. Plympton was added in 1328. The Stannary prison was declared to be at 'Our prison of Lydford' and nowhere else.³⁷ The prison for the Cornish Stannaries was at Lostwithiel. It is probable that Lydford was in use as an administrative centre much earlier and this charter was confirmation of an existing practice. In 1222 Henry III issued a writ to the bailiffs of Lydford ordering that 'our tanners be permitted as in the time of our father King John to take coal from our More of Dartmore'.³⁸ Later charters and statutes confirm that Lydford Castle continued to be used as the Stannary prison and this remained the case into the 17th century.

In 1314 the 'poor men of the county of Devon' complained about the extent of the privileges granted the tanners.³⁹ In 1318, 1320, 1347 and 1376 there were further petitions to parliament asking for a clearer definition of the Stannary privileges. Among the complaints was the claim 'that the warden was taking cognizance of pleas arising in every part of the county, as well as in the tin-works; that tanners prosecuted for felony and handed over to their warden for custody were allowed to run at large; and that debtors imprisoned in other jails were taken to Lydford by the warden and there treated so well that their lords could obtain no satisfaction from them'.⁴⁰ Conditions at Lydford, however, were not normally so comfortable and the Stannary prison acquired an evil reputation. In a poem of 1399 'Now be the law of Lydford inlonde ne in water', there is an indication of its repute in the 14th century, and in 1684 there is a record of Devon proverbs including 'First hang and draw, then hear the cause of Lidford Law'.⁴¹

The scandal over the imprisonment of Richard Strode in 1510 deserves summarizing because of its description of conditions at Lydford. Richard Strode, with other members of Parliament, brought in a bill to restrain mining operations in the vicinity of seaports alleging that the harbours of Devon were being choked with refuse from the mines. This action caused great indignation in the Stannaries where it was claimed that all liberties, privileges and franchises concerning the Stannary were threatened. The under-steward, John Furse, caused Strode to be presented at all four local courts where he was fined forty pounds in each since Strode was himself a tanner. He refused to pay and was arrested 'and imprysoned in a dongeon and a

deepe pitte under the ground in the castel of Lidford . . . the which prison is one of the most annoius, contagious and detestable places wythen this realme'. The keeper of the prison, Philip Furse, was told 'straitly to kepe the said Richard in pryson and to put yrons upon him to his more greater payne and jeopardy, and to give him but breade and water onely, to the extent to cause the sayd Richard to be faine to content and pay the said xxli. [the proportion of the fine due to the King as overlord]'. For this service Furse was promised four marks; but Strode 'for to be eased of his yrons and peyneful imprysonment aforesayd (for savegarde of his life)' was wise enough to pay the like amount 'whereof he payed the sayd keeper in hand xiiis.-iiiiid.'. After three weeks' imprisonment he was released by a writ of privilege from the exchequer and this case is held to have established the right of freedom of speech in the House of Commons.⁴² An attempt at the Tinnars' Great Court at Crockerntor in 1532 to limit the prison keeper's exactions to 2s. 6d. reflects concern about this case.⁴³

iii. THE CASTLE

The establishment of the prison at Lydford and the correlation of the original *domus* with the castle has been discussed above. It remains to set out such of its documented history as is known, particularly that related to the building itself and descriptions of its condition. The 1195 and subsequent Pipe Roll entries have been cited (above p. 127); thereafter there are records of repairs in 1238 during a period of direct royal control.⁴⁴

In 1239 the castle together with the Forest of Dartmoor was granted by Henry III to his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall. Such was Richard's interest in building and careful management of his possessions that it is unlikely that Lydford Castle escaped his attention but no records survive to witness it. Certainly Richard assisted the development of the town by obtaining in 1267 the grant of a Wednesday market and a fair for three days at the festival of St Petroc.⁴⁵ In 1239 Lydford and the Forest of Dartmoor was worth £10 a year, but nearly sixty years later it was worth about £60 a year.⁴⁶ The Devon Stannary, which was held by Richard at the King's pleasure, was committed to his son Edmund in 1278. Edmund is known for his preference for Restormel Castle in Cornwall and his building of a lavish administrative centre, the 'Duchy Palace', at Lostwithiel.⁴⁷ Lydford by comparison appears to have been neglected and in the Earldom of Cornwall Accounts for 1296-97 the only reference to the castle is the payment of 6s. 8d. to Richard the Smith of Lydford for removing iron from the Earl's castle.⁴⁸ After Edmund's death in 1299 the castle was described as 'ruinous'.⁴⁹

Edmund's successors as earls were the notorious Piers Gaveston and John of Eltham. Gaveston became earl in 1307, the year of the Stannary charter nominating 'our prison of Lydford' as the prison for the Devon Stannary. The castle must have been in a usable condition at this time, since the year before there is reference to a Walter Walling being imprisoned there for the death of Walter, son of Robert Wallyng.⁵⁰ In 1329 the value of the castle was assessed at £11 8s. 11½d.⁵¹ For a time Hugh de Audley and Margaret, widow of Piers Gaveston, demised their castle and manor of Lydford and the Chase of Dartmoor to the abbot and convent of Tavistock Abbey.⁵² The castle was still in use and in 1337 there is a case 'touching the persons who broke

the king's prison of Lideford co Devon and released Robert Umfrey who was imprisoned there by Robert de Eleford, his bailiff for divers felonies and trespasses'.⁵³

Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales, was created the first Duke of Cornwall in 1337 but he did not receive the castle and manor of Lydford, the chase of Dartmoor and the manor of Bradnich, Devon, until Margaret's death in 1342. The castle needed attention and the roofs underwent a general repair in 1342-43.⁵⁴ Shortly afterwards, in 1344-45 an elaborate extent was prepared of the Duke's manors. It gives a full account of the Borough of Lydford from which it would appear that the castle had been in a poor condition; that the walls of a certain square tower had been repaired, the tower was well crenellated and the roof covered with lead. In the tower there were two [? — word omitted] one chamber and two chambers below with one prison well and decently decorated and repaired. There was a certain small place and ditch of the old castle which were not enclosed.⁵⁵ This description clearly fits the castle more or less as it stands today and is the earliest description we have.

By 1390 the castle would appear to have decreased in importance since orders were given for lead to be stripped from the roof of the tower and employed in the repair of the Royal castles in Cornwall.⁵⁶ In 1425 Henry VI let the custody of the Borough and manor of Lydford and the Chase of Dartmoor to Sir Walter Hungerford and Sir Philip Courteney for seven years followed in 1431 by a further lease to Courteney alone for ten years. For much of the 15th century the castle was in the hands of grantees who were responsible for its maintenance.⁵⁷

Under the Tudors the Duchy officers resumed possession and repairs were carried out from time to time. When Richard Strode was imprisoned in 1510 there appears to have been a resident Keeper as well as the more unfortunate inmates, yet in 1546 the buildings were said to be much decayed. In 1502 the pasture round the castle was being let at a rent of 12*d.* a year.⁵⁸ Late in Elizabeth's reign efforts were made to keep the Castle going and in the account of the 'charges disbursed about the decayed castell of Lydford' in 1590 there was mention of the cost of re-leading the roof.⁵⁹ Conditions continued to fluctuate and a survey taken in 1618 states 'that there is within the said Borough an ancient castle in which the prison for the Stannary of Devon and Forest of Dartmoor hath been always kept until of late that it was removed by reason that the said castle grew ruinous and the leads have been taken away and part thereof remaineth in the hands of private persons concerning which direction is given to the Stewards to enquire'.⁶⁰ Further repairs were done between 1622 and 1639.⁶¹ During the Civil War the castle was used as a military prison by the Royalists. The Parliamentary cause in Cornwall made bitter complaint against Sir Richard Grenville, 'the King's General in the West' 'for several exorbitances and strange acts of Tyranny'. 'That he had committed very many honest substantial men and all the constables of the east part of the county to Lydford prison for no offence but to compel them to ransom themselves for money.' All military prisoners whom Sir Richard Grenville captured were as a rule despatched to Lydford Castle under the custody of his marshall where soon afterwards they were executed without trial as guilty of high treason. In one individual case Walter Yolland, 'a faithful soldier of the Commonwealth was starved to death there by the inhuman dealing of the enemy'.⁶² An eye-witness at this period was

Richard Symonds who kept a diary of his marches with the Royalist army during the Civil War and says of Lydford: 'In this towne is the Stannary Court, kept properly for the tyn myners, but brings in all. A court of vast privileges, A maior towne, about 16 or 18 houses in it.'⁶³

The most detailed description of the castle is to be found in the Parliamentary Survey of the Borough of Lydford made 27 August 1650:

The said Castle is very much in decay and almost totally ruined. The walls are built of lime and stone, within the compass of which wall their is four little roomes, whereof two are above stairs, the flore of which is all broken, divers of the chieftest beames being fallen to the ground and all the rest is following, only the roof of the said castle (being lately repaired by the Prince and covered with lead) is more substantial than the other parts.

The scite of the said castle with the ditches and courte contain half an acre of land, of which the borough of Lydford holdeth the Court at the will of the Lord, for which they pay the yearly rent of twelve pence. The said scite is valued to be worth at an improvement besides the aforesaid rent per ann. 5s. The stones about the castle are not worth the taking down, but there are divers parcels of old timber which we value to be worth *de claro* £6. There is one part of the tower leaded containing 1544 square feet, every foot containeth (by weight) nine pounds, in all thirteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-five pounds, which at a penny halfpenny a pound cometh to eighty-six pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence halfpenny, but consideration being had to the taking it down and the portage, we reprice, six pounds sixteen shillings tenpence halfpenny, then it amounteth to *de claro*, £80.⁶⁴

At the Restoration the manor and Forest reverted to the Crown and in June 1660 Sir John Grenville was appointed Rider and Master Forester of Dartmoor. On 3 March 1703/04 a report was made to the Treasury respecting the condition of the Stannary Prison for Devonshire. The Surveyor believed that nothing had been done to the castle since the Parliamentary Survey of 1650. Nothing remained but the bare stone walls, without any roof, the lead and timber having been pillaged by the impoverished local inhabitants. The Surveyor said that the want of a place to confine prisoners in made the Stannary laws ineffective and an estimate was made for its restoration.⁶⁵ Expenditure on repairs was recorded between 1716 and 1733.⁶⁶

Lydford Castle then temporarily returned to its former use, but by the turn of the 19th century it was in its final state of decline. The Rev. E. A. Bray said of it: 'The stairs and floors of the Castle cannot now be trodden without danger, as the greater part of the boards are wanting. The judge's chair, however, remains and the royal arms over it, in perfect preservation . . . The only thing that seems to have elevated the judge above the rest of the court, is a foot board at the bottom of the chair. There are rails in front about eight feet distant. The counsel table has been removed only within these few years. The ascent to the roof . . . is by steps carried up within the thickness of the wall. To the dungeon, which is about sixteen feet by ten, the descent must have been by a ladder, and probably through a trap door. If this were the case it was completely dark, as there is no window in it, and the room above is lighted only by a single narrow loop-hole.'⁶⁷ Another description of the castle in the mid 18th century says that the judge's chair 'was in a very large room above stairs at that time used as a rustic ball-room at every village feast or revel'⁶⁸ and another witness 'remembered seats around for the members of the court and a railing on three sides of the Hall'.⁶⁹ However, Mrs Bray, writing in 1833, states that

the castle was then 'so gone to ruin that nothing but the bare walls remains'.⁷⁰ It has remained in this condition to the present day.

The cause of the castle's final decay as a court house was the rise of Princetown. Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, who held the office of Lord Warden of the Stannaries under the Prince of Wales (later George IV), had distinguished himself as one of the earliest and most successful cultivators of Dartmoor with his improvements at Tor Royal and in an effort to find an answer for housing the numerous French prisoners of war, suggested a site for a prison not far away from Tor Royal. Dartmoor Prison was begun in 1806 and completed by 1811. The town of Princetown grew up near the prison and this became the new capital of Dartmoor while Lydford fell into deeper decay. While the Duchy manor and borough courts were held there the castle was more or less kept up. When Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt used his influence with George IV to get the courts removed to the Duchy Hotel at Princetown there was no chance of recovery. In the mid 19th century the Duchy gave consideration to a proposal to put the castle back into repair in order to hold manor courts there alternately with those at Princetown but it was too expensive a proposition. Even the proposal in 1912 by A. E. Richardson to convert the castle into a dwelling-house, fortunately for archaeology, came to nothing.⁷¹

EXCAVATION

The excavation dealt with five areas of the castle (Fig. 3, site plan):

1. The removal of the filling in the lowest storey of the tower and the examination of features below it.
2. The cross-section of the mound and its ditch outside the tower (Trenches C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J).
3. An area of the bailey on the outer lip of the mound ditch (Trenches K, L and M).
4. The bailey rampart on the north-west and its association with the mound ditch (Trenches EA, EB, EC, ED, EE, EF, EG and EH).
5. The composition of the bailey rampart on the north-west which incorporated part of the Saxon town defences (Trench Z).

In 1 and 2 the layer numbers have been combined and made consecutive. Separate sets of layer numbers are provided for 3, 4 and 5. Gullies and features however are numbered consecutively.

AREA 1: TOWER

Sections c-d (Fig. 4), g-h, j-k, l-m (Fig. 6)

CATALOGUE OF LAYERS: 1. Cobbles in grey-brown dirt and slate; 2. White concrete; 3. Grey-brown rubble and slate (pot 80-95); 4. Light brown sandy rubble (pot 46-48, etc.); 5. Shillet; 6. Light brown clay; 7. Grey-black clay and shillet (pot 7, 10, 11); 8. Light brown clay over natural shillet; 9. Grey-brown clay (Gully I) (pot 8); 10. Orange clay (Gully II); 11. Light brown sandy mortar; 12. Orange grey clay and some stone (Gully IIa); 13. Grey-brown clay (Gully II(b)) (pot 9); 14. Light brown sandy rubble (well filling) (pot 12-15); 15. Grey-black silt (well filling) (pot 3, 4, 5, etc.).

LYDFORD CASTLE
Site Plan

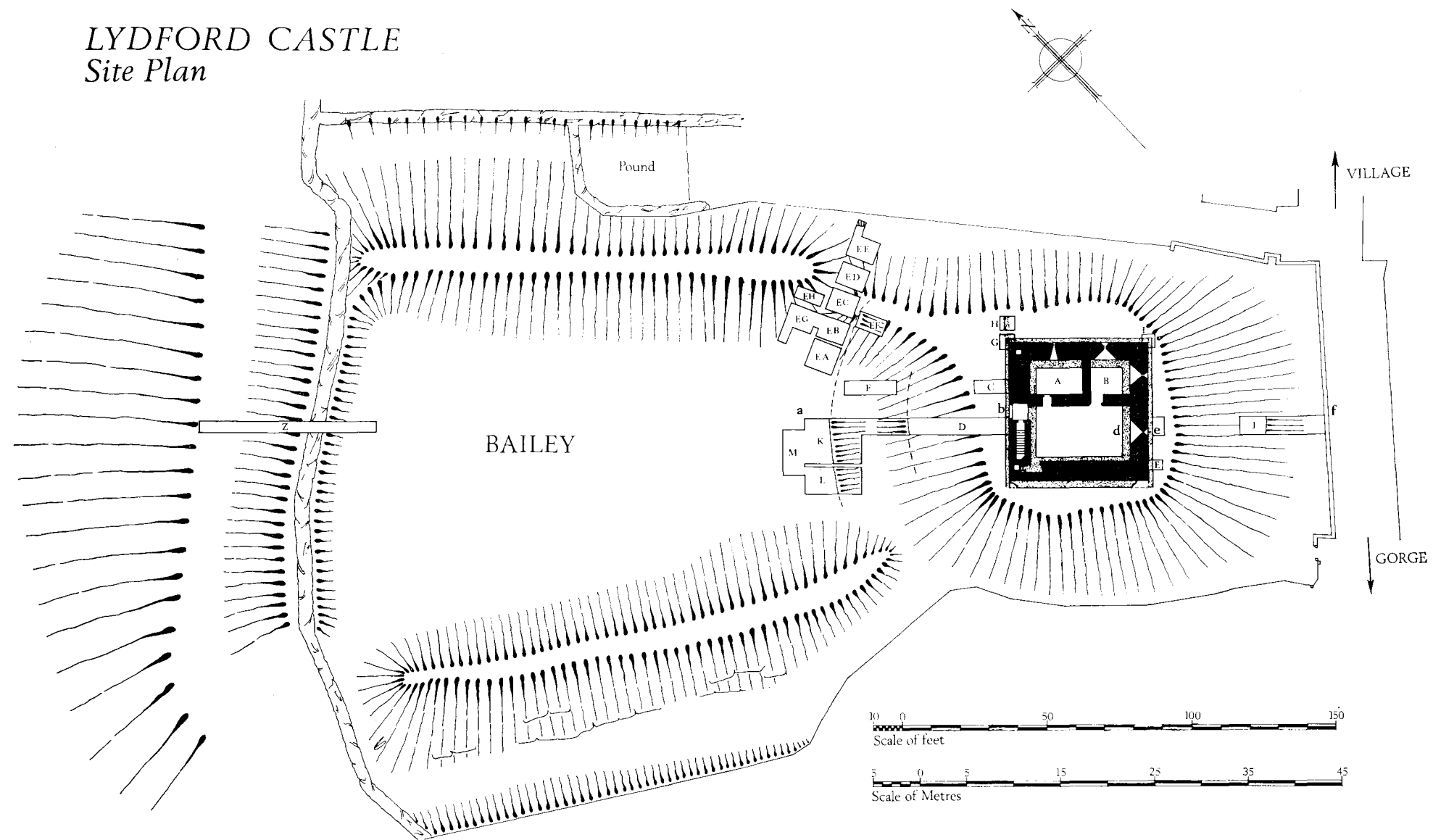


FIG. 3
Site plan

SECTION THROUGH TOWER AND MOUND

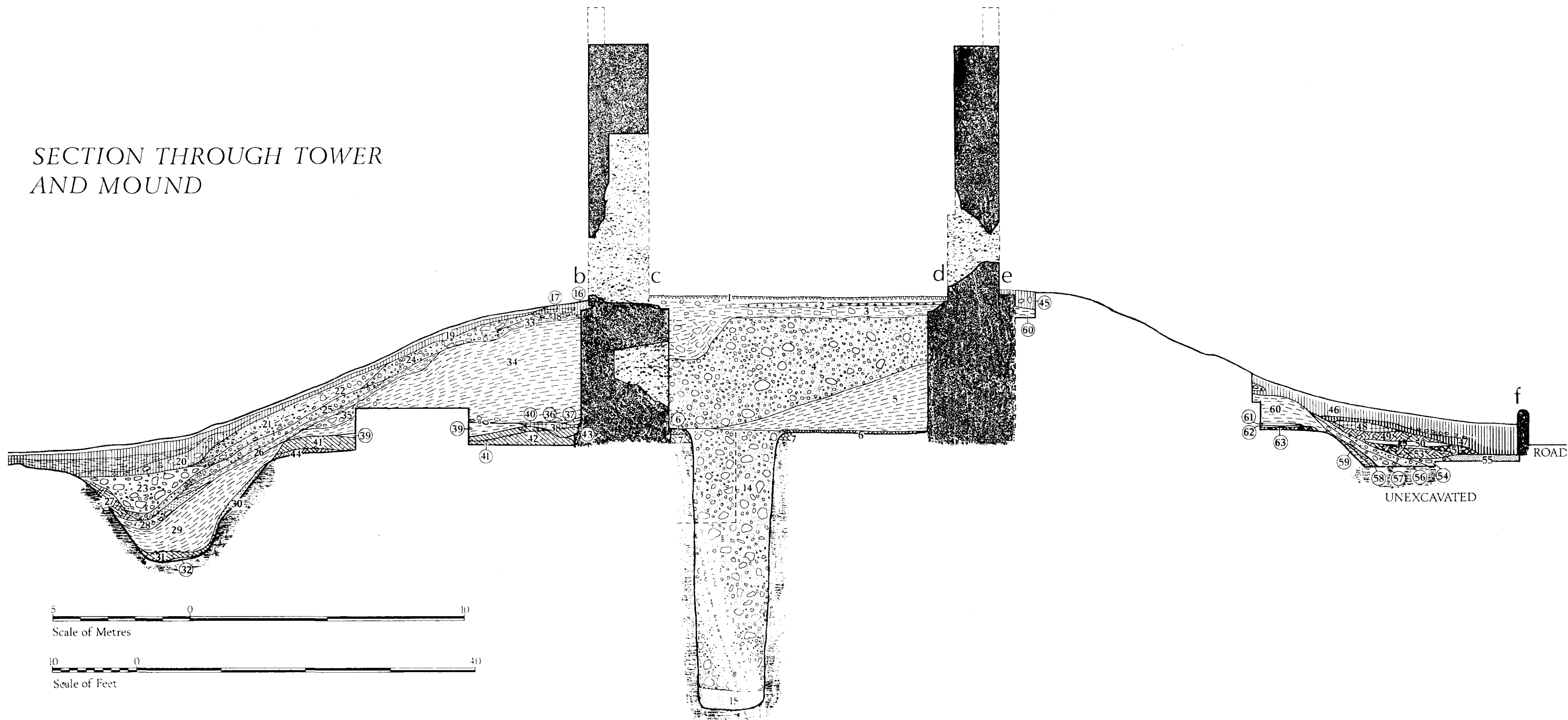


FIG. 4
Section through tower and mound. Sections a b, c-d, e f

GROUND FLOOR

ROOM I. *Sections c-d* (Fig. 4), *g-h* (Fig. 6; for plan, see Fig. 13)

Before excavation began the lower floor of what seemed to be a two-storeyed tower consisted of well-laid cobbles set in dirt (layer 1) containing late 19th-century pottery, level with the bottom of the threshold stone in the entrance. Below it were the concrete foundations for a slightly earlier floor (2), the removal of which uncovered an internal offset to each wall except the internal spine wall. Generally this offset finished at a uniform level but its surface was uneven, simply ragged wall core about 1 ft. 3 in. below the sill of the entrance. Beneath the concrete was a thick deposit of grey-brown slaty rubble (3), containing 16th, 17th and early 18th-century pottery (pot 80-95), clay pipe fragments and building debris. This debris underlay a thickening of the spine wall which roughly coincided with floor level. Other than the rubble fill the spine wall thickening had no foundations. The thickening projected 1 ft. 4 in. beyond the face of the earlier spine wall. Such was its construction that some of the lowest courses of the thickened wall fell away without the support of the rubble below.

The main filling of the room consisted of two layers — a light brown sandy rubble (4), basically decayed mortar containing many large pieces of moor-stone granite and some cut dressings in Hurdwick stone, including twelve voussoirs, and below (4) a layer of clean slate fragments or shillet (5). The shillet had been tipped into the room from the SE. and against the SE. wall it was about 8 ft. deep coinciding with the uppermost level of the ruined walling of the first period structure (see p. 156). The shillet was clean apart from a very occasional animal bone and appeared to have been quarried for the purpose of filling the ground floor. The rubble (4) may have come from the first period building itself though equally, but unlikely, the demolition of another masonry structure in the village could have been the source. This layer also was tipped into the basement from the SE. side. It contained a little medieval pottery attributable to the 13th century.

There was no distinct floor surface. A thin and patchy spread of light brown clay (6) covered a much thicker compacted mixture of grey-black clay and shillet (7) about 8 in. thick which overlay a thin layer of natural brown clay (8) covering rock. In places there were patches of charcoal and burning on top of (7) but this occupation layer was thin and remarkably lacking in artifacts and datable material (pot 7, 10, 11). Parallel to the spine wall was a gully, II, filled with greyish-brown clay (9). This may have been a foundation trench for the spine wall. It truncated an earlier V-shaped gully, I, 1 ft. 3 in. deep filled with orange clay (10).

WELL. *Section c-d* (Fig. 4)

In the western corner of the ground floor was a large rock-cut well, roughly circular with an upper diameter of 10 ft 6 in. It was filled with a similar light brown sandy rubble (14) to that which had filled much of the ground floor (4), but was distinct from it. The spread of clean shillet (5) separated the two layers, and traces of burning suggested that there had been a period of occupation between the filling of the well and that of the room itself. The upper edges of the well sloped back for about 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in. Below this the sides were vertical and cut into the rock to a total depth of over 33 ft. In the western angle of the tower a square shaft, 8 ft. by 7 ft., had been cut into the side of the well and taken down for a depth of 10 ft. In cutting this shaft the wall foundations had been exposed.

The top 2 ft. of filling contained much burnt material. A large amount of dressed Hurdwick stone was included in the rubble, window details being prominent. There was also a bronze buckle (Fig. 16). After the first 4 ft., distinguishable building stone became less frequent. As well as ashlar there were some very large pieces of undressed granite, some as much as 2 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. Amongst the rubble were a number of iron objects notably the straps and furniture of the well cover (Fig. 17). In addition there were items such as a single arm pickaxe and the binding of a shovel, the remains of a wooden bucket and a number of timbers, some of which may have been part of the lifting mechanism of the well

KEY TO SECTIONS

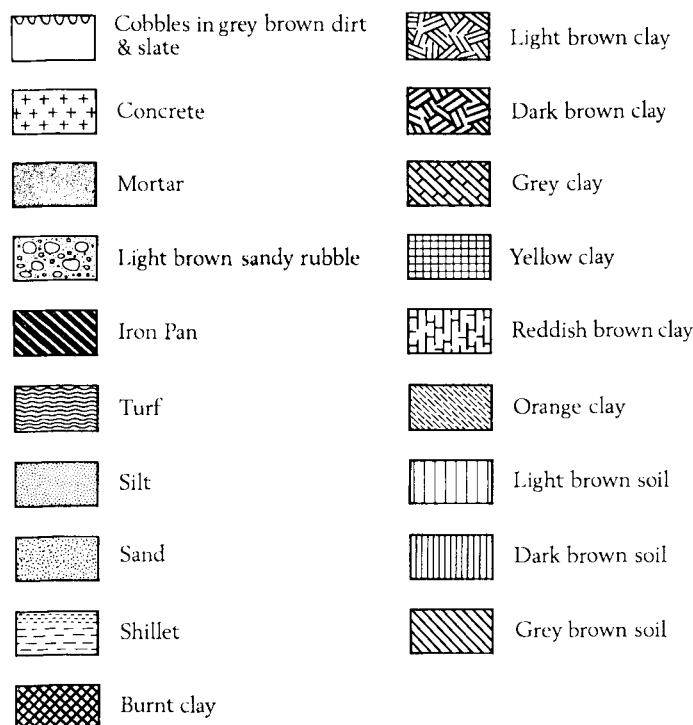


FIG. 5
Key to sections

(see list below). There were others which could be recognized as charred roof shingles. Pottery (12-15) suggested a 13th-century date for the filling.

At a point 18 in. above the bottom of the well its plan was more oval than round and its diameter reduced to 7 ft. 9 in.-8 ft. It was neatly cut out of the rock and particularly in the bottom 8 ft. there were signs of diagonal tooling on the face. About 2 ft. 3 in. from the bottom was a fine silt with less large stone (15). The silt contained many wooden fragments, mostly cut: pieces of oak, hawthorn and ash, some scraps of leather, animal bones and hazel nuts and heather (see reports below) and a little pottery. At the very bottom was a thin layer of black silt and patches of whitish-light grey clay not unlike decomposed granite. The well did not tap a spring and had relied on ground seepage.

The removal of the blocking in the window in the NW. wall is discussed below.

ROOM II. Section *j-k* (Fig. 6; for plan, see Fig. 13)

The original Room II was later sub-divided by a cross wall. Room IIa is the northerly of the resulting two rooms. Prior to 1957 it was the only part of the ground floor which had been left unfilled and it then had the appearance of a cellar. Rubbish, much of it of recent date, had accumulated within it.

Below the modern rubbish was a spread of clean blue shillet (5) identical to that in Room I, which continued under the later cross-wall and had clearly been tipped from the

SE. The cross-wall had been built straight on to the shillet fill and, as a result, its lower courses had become detached in places. Below (5) was a thin layer of light brown clay (6). Against the NE. wall was a light brown sand resembling decayed mortar (11). Above the natural clay and shillet was a compacted floor of grey-brown and a grey-black clay (7) containing some charcoal and decayed animal bone.

Sealed by (7) were two gullies ante-dating the tower. The earlier gully IIa ran approximately E.-W. and was roughly V-shaped, 2 ft. 6 in. deep with irregular sides, and filled with an orange clay containing a little stone (12). Cutting across it was gully IIb

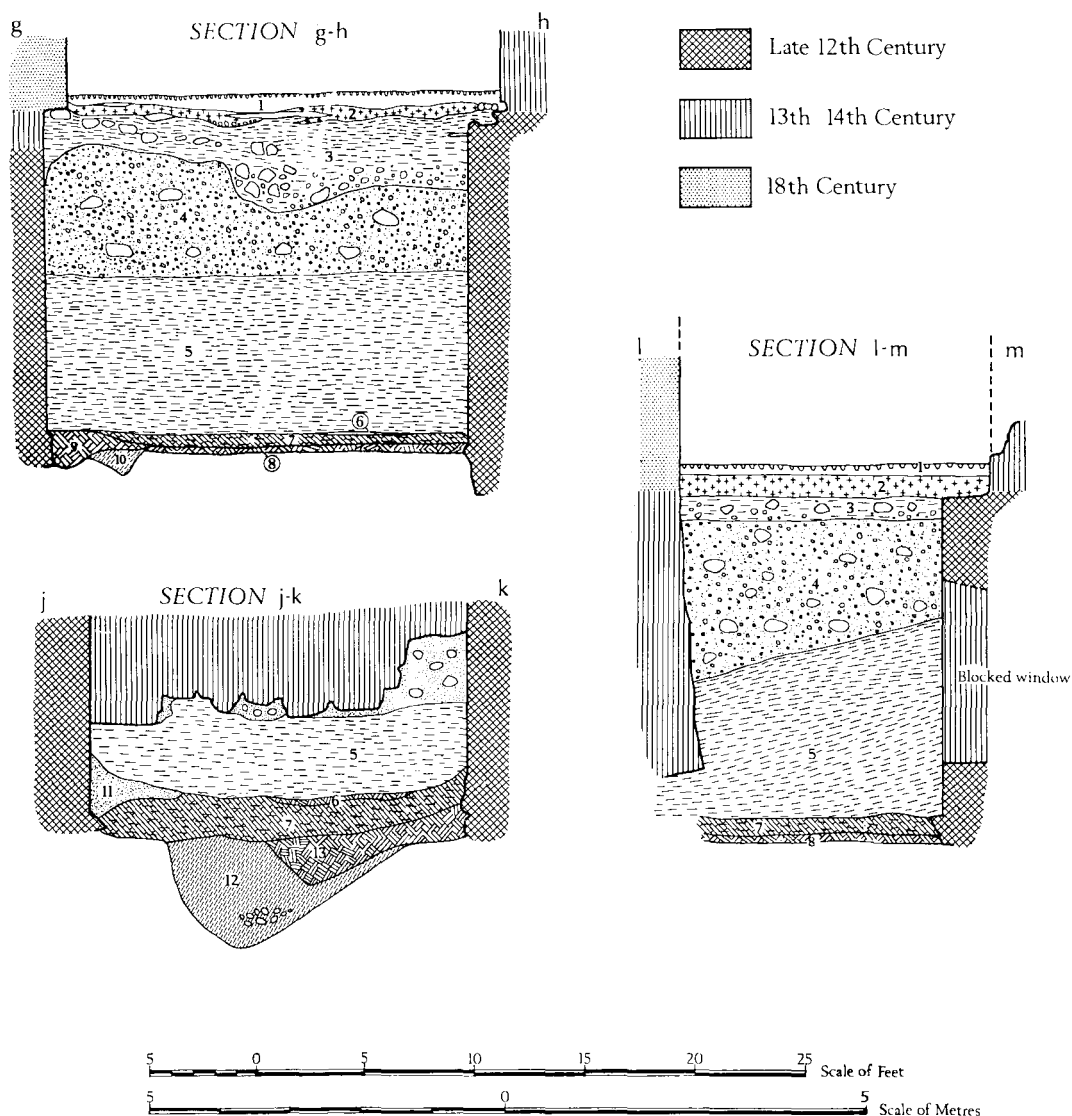


FIG. 6
Tower. Sections g-h, j-k, l-m

which had straighter sides and was roughly 3 ft. wide and 2 ft. 2 in. deep. It was filled with grey-brown clay (13). These gullies were only recorded where trenches were extended below the original floor level. The foundations for the spine wall extended into (13) but there was no sign of a distinct foundation trench on this side of the wall.

A cutting was made in the N. corner of the Room IIa in order to trace the line of gully IIb as it extended north-westwards, but all trace of it had been removed by the digging of a large, flat-bottomed pit, F 1, 1 ft. 4 in. to 1 ft. 7 in. deep. The pit had been filled with light brown sandy rubble similar in colour and texture to the main filling of the ground floor. With the filling was a large quantity of animal bones, mainly pig, and roughly half of a Rouen style 13th-century jug (pot 6). By the doorway through the spine wall the pit had been disturbed by 19th-century digging. The foundation of the spine wall had not been carried through the doorway.

ROOM IIb. *Section l-m* (Fig. 6)

Room IIb is the southerly of the two rooms created by the later cross-wall. Before excavation it had a cobbled floor similar to and at the same level as Room I. The fill within it closely resembled that in Room I.

There was a floor surface of grey-black clay and shillet (7) which contained some animal bones and charcoal but no pottery. The clay and shillet was variable in colour and covered a brown clay (8) capping the natural rock. The foundations of the tower had been cut into (8). The SE. wall had two offsets beyond the main wall face. It might be thought that the grey-black clay floor (7) covering the lower and running against the upper offset indicates that this layer preceded the construction of the wall. This relationship was not noted elsewhere in the tower and perhaps can be explained by regarding the lower offset as the top of the true foundations and the higher offset as a piece of inconsistent building subsequently corrected.

Continuing under the cross-wall from Room IIa was gully IIb filled with a grey-brown clay (13) containing a little indeterminate pottery (pot 9). In the N. corner of the room the gully was 14 in. wide, before it curved rapidly below the spine wall.

The removal of the blocking in the window in the south-east wall is discussed below.

AREA 2: MOUND AND DITCH

TRENCHES C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J (Fig. 3)

The SW. wall of the tower had a rough and uneven offset, 2 ft. 3 in. wide, exposed above the surface of the earth mound. In its irregular and broken finish it was similar to offsets surviving inside the tower at first-floor level. In order to check the existence of similar offsets outside the other walls, three small trenches were cut in the top of the mound (E, G, & H, and I). There were additional exposures of the offset on the NW. side (Trench C and D) but these were major trenches and will be described later.

Trench E

On the SE. side the offset varied in width from 1 ft. 9 in. to 1 ft. 11 in. It was buried beneath the turf of the mound and was 5 ft. 8 in. below the external sill of the nearest first-floor window loops. The top of the masonry was left rough.

Trenches G and H

Trench G was a shallow trench clasping the northern angle of the tower and H an extension of it to the NE. The offset was 11 in. wide against the NW. wall and 1 ft. 3 in. to 1 ft. 4 in. against the NE. The top of the offset was again rough and unfinished. About 18 in. of the buried wall face of the offset was exposed to show rough rubble masonry with well-chosen granite quoins.

The outlet of the northern garderobe shaft was also examined in Trench G. Only the lintel of the outlet was immediately visible above the mound surface. The outlet was 1 ft. 8 in. wide, 2 ft. 1 in. high and 4 ft. deep to the back of the shaft. In forming the outlet the

builders of the tower had found it necessary to cut into the earlier masonry and build the jambs of the outlet on the offset. In front of the outlet was a stone-lined pit, paved with a single granite slab at a depth of 1 ft. 10 in. below the bottom of the garderobe shaft and 2 ft. 10 in. below turf level. The filling of the pit was a dark brown soil containing no datable objects.

Along the NW. or entrance side of the tower at this point was a firm surface of lime mortar and stone 1 ft. 4 in. below turf level suggesting a defined pathway along the top of the mound. Extending north-eastwards from the N. angle of the offset was a rough retaining wall which continued in a line with the NW. wall of the tower for nearly 7 ft (Trench H). The wall was a single line of stones, three courses high at the most. Behind the stone face was a packing of yellow mortar and shillet. The purpose of the revetment was to hold back the mound material on the NE. side of the tower and to prevent it spilling on to the compacted stone and shillet surface which was no doubt the continuation of the walkway along the entrance front of the tower. With the steep slope of the mound to the N. and W. the revetment and the hard surface gave out and it was impossible to establish how far both had originally extended.

Trench I

This was a shallow trench clasping the eastern angle of the tower, and again revealed a masonry offset. Against the NE. face the offset was 1 ft. 3 in. wide and on the SE. face 1 ft. 10 in. wide. Masonry of the offset was roughly finished but granite quoins had been used with a mortar that was whitish to pale buff in colour. The tower walling above the offset employed free-stone quoins to a height of 5 ft. 6 in.

Trench D. Section a-b (Fig. 4)

CATALOGUE OF LAYERS: 16. Dark brown soil; 17. Fine shillet on a lime mortar bed; 18. Rubble; 19. Dark brown soil. Over the ditch filling there was a good deal of shillet; 20. Dark brown soil and rubble; 21. Light brown sandy soil; 22. Shillet and rubble; 23. Rubble; 24. Light brown sandy soil and rubble; 25. Grey-brown rubble; 26. Grey-black dirty shillet; 27. Light brown shillet and clay; 28. Fine shillet with rubble; 29. Shillet; 30. Fine shillet; 31. Grey clay; 32. Light brown shillet; 33. Grey clay and stone; 34. Shillet; 35. Rubble; 36. Mortar and iron pan; 37. Mixed grey-brown and yellow clay; 38. Yellow clay; 39. Light grey shillet; 40. Mixed clay; 41. Grey clay; 42. Grey-black clay; 43. Grey-brown clay with lenses of grey-brown sand.

This was a trench, 6 ft. wide, at right-angles to the NW. face of the tower at a point opposite the blocked window in the NW. wall of Room I. The trench was cut through the body of the mound and across the ditch beyond.

The composition of the mound was simple and homogeneous, predominantly a mass of clean shillet (34) thrown up from the rock-cut ditch. It contained some 13th-century pottery. At the toe of the mound there was a heavy deposit of stone (35) which may have belonged to some form of revetment added after the formation of the mound. This layer of stone had been disturbed and there were no stones in position to suggest a constructed wall. On top of the mound against the wall of the tower were traces of the pathway (18) (also seen in Trenches G-H) and of a terraced landing cut into the top of (34), possibly associated with some form of access up the slope of the mound and serving the only entrance into the tower. Immediately in front of the doorway was a spread of dark brown soil (16) and detached from the tower was a 6 in. thick layer of fine shillet on a lime mortar bed and some slate paving (17) which had a level, trampled surface. Below was a thick foundation of stone about 4 ft. 6 in. wide, also with a level surface (18). This in turn lay over a wider spread of dirty shillet mixed with grey clay and stone (33) and extending over 7 ft. from the offset. Fourteen feet away from the wall was the terrace cut into the body of the shillet mound (34). On this ledge or terrace was a number of large stones, including a broad slab of re-used Hurdwick ashlar 1 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 0½ in. with one chamfered edge. The stones had been deliberately laid and appeared to be some sort of base. In the dirty soil and shillet associated with the stones (33) were two fragments of medieval crested ridge

tile. The stone base was set directly on the cleaner shillet of the mound and seemed to be an original feature. The pathway (17) and (18) was a subsequent development.

Although the trench was sited opposite the blocked window which had lit the NW. side of Room I, no sign of a window was to be seen in the outer wall face that had subsequently been masked by the mound. A change in the masonry was distinguishable, however, at a point 7 ft. 6 in. below the top of the offset. Above this point the wall face was set back about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The mortar was a pinkish white with fragments of blue shillet adhering to it, in contrast to the lighter brown mortar with rather 'hungry' joints in the wall below. The change in the character of the masonry was consistent with the refacing of the upper 7 ft. and appeared to have been done shortly before the creation of the mound. The bottom courses of the refacing were built with larger stones and had full joints. Some of the stones showed diagonal tooling and included a piece of Hurdwick ashlar.

The base of the mound extended nearly 35 ft beyond the wall face. Below it was an accumulation of clay and shillet covering the natural rock and clay. Close to the tower was a deposit of grey-black clay and shillet (42). This was certainly older than the tower since the foundation trench was cut into it. It seemed unlikely that this layer was natural since it was quite out of character with clearly natural deposits elsewhere, but its age and cause of deposit were not apparent. Filling the foundation trench was grey-brown shillet and clay containing a layer of grey-brown sand over the lowest offset in the wall footings (43). Sealing this filling was a slick of lime mortar which was evidence of the building construction. Once the original tower was built there seems to have been a levelling up of the ground in front of its NW. side. The ground fell naturally away to the NW. and at some distance from the tower there was a thick spread of grey and mixed clay (41) and (40) and on top of this light grey shillet (39). Layers of clay (38) and (37) close to the wall may have been the filling up of gullies caused by rainwater down the walls. Over (39) and 10 ft. 6 in. from the wall was a spread of stone which could have belonged to rough walling rather than paving. Then, capping all these clay layers, was a crust of mortar and iron pan (36) representing the building level when the first period wall was refaced and the ground floor window blocked. There had been no occupation debris on the mortar spread before the clean shillet of the mound (34) was thrown up against the tower.

Beyond the mound was the ditch, 23. ft wide at the point where it was cut into the natural rock and 11 ft. deep. The bottom was flattish, roughly 7 ft. wide, covered with a thin crumbling of shillet from the ditch sides (32) and a rapid silt of grey clay (31). The filling of the ditch can be divided with three main phases. First, the mass of shillet derived directly from the mound (29), possibly a major collapse, after there had been a weathering of the ditch sides (30). Some pottery was recovered from (29). Second was a more gradual accumulation of shillet and rubble in a number of distinct layers: (28), (27), (26), (25) and (23). These layers contained traces of late medieval occupation and by about the year 1500 it seems that the bulk of the ditch had been filled. The third and final phase was due to a combination of deliberate filling of the remaining traces of the ditch and the erosion of the mound which included building rubble from the tower itself. These layers, (20), (21), (22) and (24), contained a large quantity of post-medieval pottery, and domestic and industrial rubbish which included the bottoms of iron smelting hearths.

Trench J. Section e-f (Fig. 4)

CATALOGUE OF LAYERS: 45. Dark brown soil and rubble; 46. Black soil, darker over ditch with more humus; 47. Black soil; 48. Yellow grey clay; 49. Light brown clay; 50. Grey brown clay; 51. Burnt clay; 52. Grey brown clay and shillet; 53. Light brown clay and shillet; 54. Rubble; 55. Grey silt; 56. Light brown sandy rubble; 57. Rubble and clay; 58. Mortar; 59. Grey black dirty shillet; 60. Shillet, equals (34) in Trench D; 61. Cobbles (pot 16); 62. Grey clay — turf; 63. Light brown clay and shillet.

The chief purpose of this trench was to locate the inner lip of the ditch on the SE. side of the tower and examine the foot of the mound. The mound was largely left unexcavated

and it was impossible to obtain a complete section through the ditch because its outer lip lay under the modern road surface.

The mound extended nearly 37 ft. from the tower, a difference of 2 ft. compared with the opposite side. Against the tower wall was the customary offset about 2 ft. wide and a layer of dark-brown soil and rubble (45) covering the clean shillet of the mound proper (60). At the foot of the mound an area 8 ft. by 6 ft. was stripped down to the natural clay and rock. The major part of the mound (60) was clean shillet tipped in heaps which sloped down to the NW., that is, towards the tower wall, but in the upper levels it contained a good deal of brown clay. One indeterminate sherd was recovered from the body of the mound. Underneath the mound was a cobbled surface made of close-set flat stones set in 3-4 in. of grey-brown rubbly clay (61). The cobbled floor extended right across the trench. It had been laid directly on the old ground surface, a grey and orange clay (62) which represented a leached turf layer. The layer covering the natural rock was a grey-brown clay (63) which contained flecks of charcoal and a little pottery. In the N. corner of the area stripped was a small pocket of disturbance in the natural rock (not shown in the section). It was filled with grey-brown clay but with a spread of burnt clay over the top, the remnants of earlier occupation of the site.

The upper filling of the ditch was a black humic soil (46) derived from the garden of the cottage which formerly existed in the eastern corner of the castle enclosure. Below it and also against the low wall separating the castle from the road was blacker soil (47). This contained a good deal of small stone at the bottom and the total depth of black soil was nearly 4 ft. It is possible that the upper part of the castle ditch served to drain the village main street. All the other layers of rubble and clay excavated (48), (49), (50), (51), (52) and (53), contained a great deal of domestic rubbish, ranging in date from the second half of the 17th century to the middle years of the 19th. Layers (54) and (55), a grey silt, which passed under the dividing wall, seemed to suggest that the ditch was by no means filled up in the 17th and 18th centuries and received a good deal of wash from the road surface as well as serving as a rubbish tip. Layers (56), (57), (58) and (59) below were the result of erosion from the mound and the sides of the rock-cut ditch.

Trenches C and F

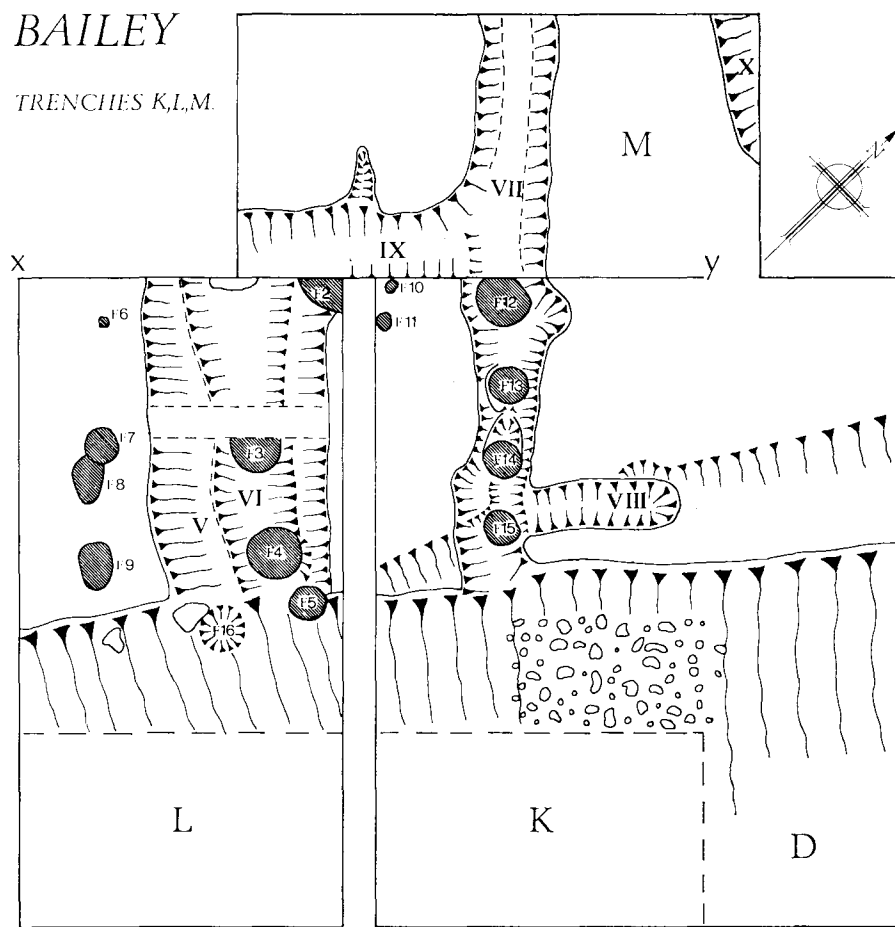
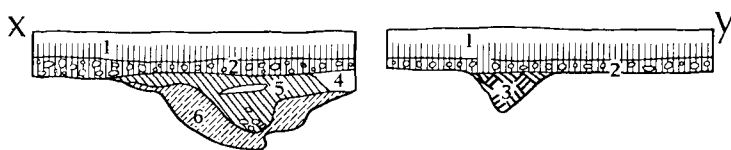
Trench C was cut at a point 4 ft. NE. of the tower entrance and provided additional evidence for the treatment of the upper layers of the mound. The offset was 1 ft. wide at its top, 1 ft. 3 in. below the top of the entrance sill. The buried masonry had a fair external face for the upper 3 ft. 6 in. but below that the wall was much rougher with less even coursing and wide open ('hungry') joints. This change in the masonry roughly coincided with the level of the shillet of the mound proper. Above the shillet were two distinct layers, the upper a grey-brown slatey rubble, the lower a light brown sandy rubble with large stones. In the former, near the entrance to the tower, was a layer of slates bedded in mortar providing another paved approach, 18 in. wide. A cooking-pot rim of 18th-century form was sealed below it. The lower layer was principally building rubble but with a number of large stones packed up to 6-7 ft. from the wall face. Much of the stone was re-used and contained dressed stone, including three pieces of Hurdwick ashlar with a broad chamfer. This too seemed to indicate the foundation for the earlier path in front of the building and confirmed the broadly similar evidence in Trenches D and G.

Trench F was an early cut into the foot of the mound on a line with Trench C. It proved badly sited for a section through the ditch and was abandoned after the upper layers of the ditch fill of 17th and 18th-century date had been examined.

AREA 3: BAILEY INTERIOR

TRENCHES K, L, M. *Section x-y* (Fig. 7)

CATALOGUE OF LAYERS: 1. Dark brown soil; 2. Dark brown soil and stones; 3. Brown soil (Gully VII); 4. Dark brown soil; 5. Grey-brown soil (Gully VI); 6. Gingery-brown soil (Gully V).

*BAILEY**TRENCHES K,L,M.**Section X-Y*

5 0 5 10 Scale of Feet

0 5 Scale of Metres

FIG. 7

Bailey interior. Trenches K, L, M. Section x-y

The three trenches K, L and M formed an expansion of Trench D on the outer lip of the mound ditch and was the only area within the bailey to be examined to any extent. The upper layers were uniform over the area. Below the turf was dark brown soil (1) which contained 17th, 18th and 19th-century pottery and rubbish. Below this was a compact layer of soil and stones, some 6 in. thick which had the appearance of deliberate cobbling (2). This contained a good deal of medieval pottery but later wares were also present. The cobbling did not extend over the inner lip of the ditch which was traced for a length of about 27 ft. Only about 3 ft. of the upper filling of the ditch was removed.

At right angles to the ditch were two parallel gullies VI and VII, 8 ft. apart at their centres. They had not been cut into the ditch fill but extended back 10 ft. 6 in. from the edge of the ditch and were linked by a cross gully IX at right angles to them. Gully VI had been inserted into the filling of gully V which may have been considerably earlier than VI and appeared to have been cut by the mound ditch. It was up to 6 ft. wide, unlike VI and VII which were 2-3 ft. wide, and its filling was distinct. Four large posts had been set in gully VI (F 2, 3, 4 and 5), and four in gully VII (F 12, 13, 14 and 15). The posts had been substantial timbers a foot or more in diameter set over a foot deep into (5) and (6). In some cases the post bases had been packed with small flat stone slabs. Gully IX was more of a flat-bottomed slot cut into the natural weathered shillet and may have been intended for a timber sill. Approximately midway along IX and parallel to V, VI and VII was a small slot projecting a few inches. Gully VII continued in a straight line beyond IX and its limit was not traced. Parallel to and at the lip of the ditch was another small slot, gully VIII. Close to gully IX were three post sockets: F 2 was large in diameter but comparatively shallow. It was cut into gully V and may be seen as the counterpart of F 12. The other two post sockets, F 10 and F 11, were much smaller. They were roughly midway between the two gullies and nearly in line with the small slot projecting from IX. SW. of gully V and VI was a line of three post-sockets F 7, 8 and 9 (F 7 was a replacement for the earlier F 8) and here they were again parallel to the other alignments. There was a small square socket F 6 further NW. and there was a further post-hole F 16 in the rock-cut side of the ditch. This last appeared to have been cut by the ditch itself and therefore earlier than most of the others.

The timber structure indicated by the post-sockets F 2-15 is unlikely to have been a conventional building of domestic or service type. The small area of the actual building and the use of heavy posts, positioned close together, suggest something more substantial and specialized. Certainly a bridge can be expected at this point. Medieval bridges however, were commonly formed on sill beams and, while it was initially assumed that here was a bridge abutment, some kind of lofty structure is more likely with perhaps a bridge entering it at first-floor level.⁷²

A possible explanation for these close-set parallel gullies containing lines of posts is that here was a tower whose main structural members were large upright timbers. The wall covering of such a tower could have been of timber or cob rendered over with lime mortar. The posts can be roughly paired in couples though they are not all contemporary with one another. There were clear indications of a cross-member at the back and possibly another in the front with subsidiary timbers in the middle of the structure. If a bridge was associated with this timber 'tower' it was not set opposite the entrance to the stone tower but about 18 ft. to the S. Here a bridge might have reached the broad landing below the top of the mound observed in Trench D, with access to the tower doorway completed by a short flight of steps. The timber tower itself may have had an external stair on the SW. side represented by post-sockets, F 7, 8 and 9.

When the timber bridge finally went out of use and the ditch had been substantially filled, a causeway was constructed a few feet to the N. This was observed as an unusually heavy mass of large stones and grey clay on the top of the ditch filling, unlike anything found elsewhere. The actual causeway was nearly 7 ft. wide and may have led to a flight of steps cut into the mound. This could have been the manner of approach to the tower in its final days. The grey clay contained 17th and 18th-century pottery. There is now no

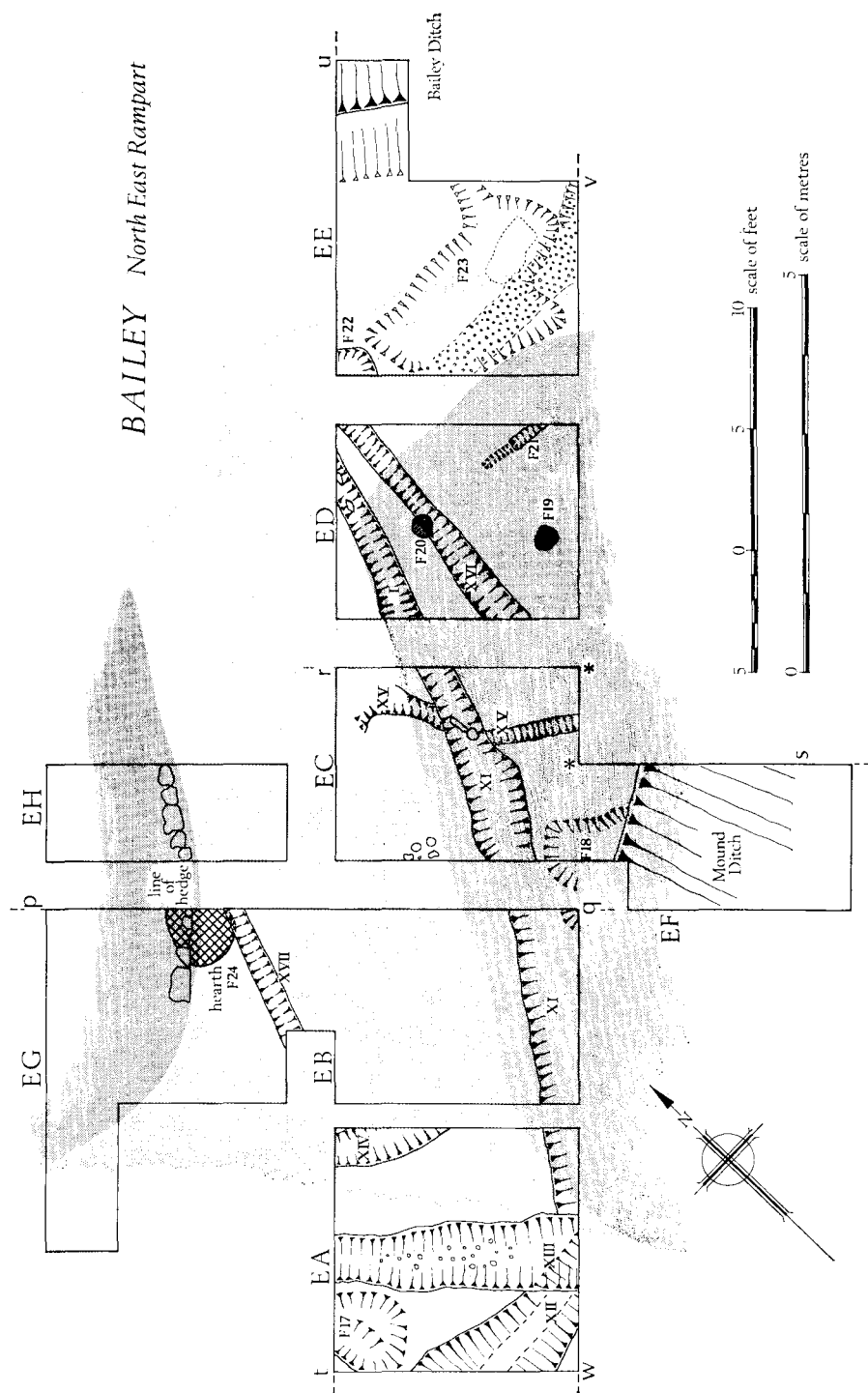


FIG. 8

Bailey, NE. rampart. Trenches EA, EB, EC, ED, EE, EF, EG, EH

proper access to the doorway of the tower other than a narrow path which cuts diagonally up the slope of the mound from the direction of the entrance from the street.

AREA 4: BAILEY — NORTH-EAST RAMPART

TRENCHES EA, EB, EC, ED, EE, EF, EG, EH (Fig. 8); *Sections p-q, r-s* (Fig. 9), *t-r-u, v-q-w* (Fig. 10)

CATALOGUE OF LAYERS: *Section p-q*: 1. Dark brown soil; 2. Brown soil and rubble merging with sandy rubble; 3. Brown sandy rubble; 4. Fine shillet and gravel with a hard surface; 5. Shillet and loose rubble; 6. Fine shillet in places — grey soil (turf); 7. Rubble; 8. Shillet and rubble; 9. Fine shillet; 10. Shillet and dark brown soil; 11. Dark brown soil and stone; 12. Dark brown soil; 13. Grey brown soil and shillet; 14. Brown soil; 15. Dark brown shilletty soil (F 23); 16. Grey soil — turf; 17. Grey-brown shilletty clay; 18. Dark grey and yellowish soil (Gully XIII); 19. Dark brown soil (F 18). Gully-like depression containing sherd of medieval pottery; 20, 21. Fine brown/dark brown soil (Gully XIII). U-profile; 22. Dark brown soil (Gully XV). U-profile; 23. Dark brown soil (Gully XI). U-profile contained some slag and some scraps of burnt flint; 24. Dark brown soil (F XVII). Irregular-sided hollow; 25. Dark grey clay (Gully XIII). Irregular profile; 26. Dark brown soil (Gully XIV). Shallow profile contained a nail; 27. Stone; 28. Yellowish-grey clay (F 22); 29. Light brown-grey clay (Gully XVI). Roughly U-profile; 30. Burnt clay (F 24). Circular hearth; 31. Dark brown soil and shillet (Gully XVII). U-profile.

RAMPART

The eastern corner of the bailey rampart was examined in some detail for two reasons. It was the point where the bailey bank joined the mound surrounding the tower and it was supposed that the relationship of the bailey bank with the mound ditch might indicate the sequence of their construction. Secondly, it was at this point, just outside the presumed line of the mound ditch, that a pronounced hollowing across the bailey bank suggested the possibility of an early entrance into the bailey. Because of the need to obtain sections through a number of alignments the excavation was carried out in a series of 10 ft. × 8 ft. trenches. It was possible to distinguish three main elements: the pre-rampart features; the nature of the bailey rampart; and the relationship between the rampart and the mound and its ditch.

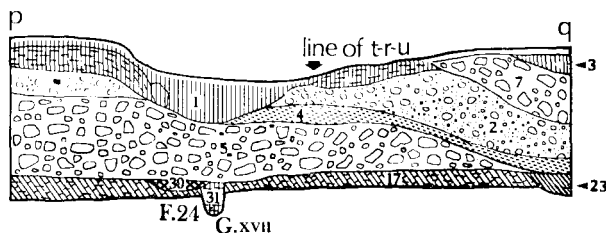
PRE-RAMPART FEATURES

Sealed by the rampart was an old ground surface of leached grey clay or decayed turf (17). Towards the back of the bank in EA (Section t-r-u) the turf layer could not be distinguished, and had presumably been removed by occupation activity behind the rampart. Below (17) was a natural grey-brown shilletty clay. A number of early features were cut into the natural and into the gullies. An insufficient area was examined to draw any firm conclusions from these features. The gullies may have acted as drains or boundary ditches and did not appear to possess any structural significance. They were generally shallow and U-shaped in profile. They fell into two main groups; those aligned roughly N.-S. and others even more roughly aligned E.-W. In only one instance (ED) could it be said that post-holes and a beam slot were in close proximity. In EG a circular hearth F 24 was later in date than gully XVII.

Gully XV, narrow and meandering, was the earliest of those for which it is possible to establish a sequence. This was cut by XI which ran N.-S. in a straight line for at least 32 ft. At its southern end XI was cut by XII which in its turn was cut by XIII which was the only gully which may have had some relationship to the rampart. At the lip of the bailey ditch was a larger area of disturbance, F 23, which seems to have been a quarry pit.

Dating material was scarce. The presence of iron nails and an absence of prehistoric or Roman influenced ceramics, as elsewhere in Lydford, make a Saxon, pre-Conquest, occupation the most likely though not entirely so since F 18 contained a fragment of what could be 13th-century pottery. In this area of the Saxon town, well back from the main street and its side streets, there may have been little in the way of houses and instead the gullies may be in the nature of drains or demarcation trenches in or about the crofts.

Section p-q



Section r-s

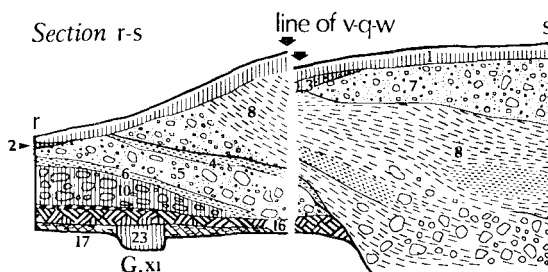


FIG. 9
Bailey, NE. rampart. Sections p-q, r-s

THE BAILEY RAMPART

The ditch on the N. side of the bailey is visible but much silted up. Its inner lip was located in EE but there was no attempt to obtain its full profile. The filling here was a dark brown soil (12) over a grey-brown soil and shillet (19).

The bailey rampart consisted of shillet and harder stone rubble upcast from a rock-cut ditch — (4), (5), (6), (9), (10) and (16). In v-q-w there was in addition a mass of shillet (8) and rubble (7) and (2) overlying the tail of the bailey rampart. This was distinct from the bailey rampart proper and must mean a collapse of material from the mound or a later linking of rampart and mound across the ditch fill. In its original form the bailey rampart may have had some form of inner structure, a palisade or a wall foundation. Section t-r-u shows that the turf and clay platform (16) had been cut by a shallow flat-bottomed channel 6 in. deep but at least 3 ft. 6 in. wide filled with (10). The turf line (16) was not visible in section v-q-w. The pitch of the layers in the main body of the rampart, particularly (5), (6) and (8), reinforces the belief that there was some form of revetment or palisade. The rampart itself appeared to have been about 25 ft. wide but there are indications that there may have been two periods of construction within it. The hard compacted shillet (6) could represent the surface of an earlier phase associated with a palisade or

revetment. The rubble (5) which is capped by another hard surface of fine shillet (4) could be a secondary strengthening of the rampart.

The bank was much eroded and spread (2). There had been some digging away of the front which had been later filled with brown soil (1). The hollow way across the bank had indeed been an entrance into the bailey but of comparatively modern date. The entrance had been used sufficiently long for its N. side to be retained by a stone wall uncovered in EG and EH. The walling consisted of two courses of roughly squared granite blocks and some pitched stone. The hollow way had barely cut into the core of the rubble bank (5). Behind the rampart in the bailey itself was a substantial build-up of dark brown soil (1) containing post-medieval domestic rubbish over a spread of rubble and soil (2). This rubble could have been collapsed material from the rampart or even the remains of a third heightening of the bank.

THE MOUND DITCH

The relationship of the bailey bank with the mound ditch is to be seen in section r-s and to a certain extent in section p-q. Near the back of the bank the core was rubble (5). Further forward into the bank there was a greater mixture of shillet with the rubble (10). There were similar bands of hard fine shillet (4) and (6) within the rubble, as the equivalents of (4) and (6) in section t-r-u, i.e. the two phases of the rampart. In r-s these surfaces sloped rapidly to the outer lip of the mound ditch. Particularly in the case of the primary rampart (10) the hard crust (6) stopped 3 ft. from the lip of the mound ditch and the subsequent heightening of the rampart (5) and (4) was taken up to the lip of the ditch. In places the clay and turf platform for the rampart (16) was capped by iron pan. At the eroded edge of the mound ditch this layer was nearly 1 ft. thick and it may have acted as a levelling up and a stable base for the rubble of the bank at this point at the edge of the mound ditch.

Only the upper layers in and over the mound ditch could be investigated and here they could be separated into two parts. There was a straightforward filling of the ditch with intermingled tips of shillet and stony rubble (2), (7) and (8). This must have been a deliberate filling and mounding up which continued up over the surface of the bailey bank, and, with (7), part of a process of linking up the bailey rampart with the castle mound. This was also seen in (4) and possibly (3) which by then connected the mound with the bailey bank and over this was a further spread of rubble (7) which was probably due to natural erosion by the time the bailey bank and mound had become superficially one continuous earthwork.

To summarize the sequence of construction therefore, the bailey rampart was thrown up after the digging of the mound ditch. The rampart was built in two, if not, three phases, and the initial phase had a timber revetment or palisade at its front which may have remained in the heightening. Later the ditch between the rampart and the mound was filled and the two earthworks merged into one.

POST-RAMPART FEATURES

A quarry pit (F 23) disturbed most of Trench EE, and in EG there was a circular hearth (F 24), about 3 ft. in diameter (30).

AREA 5: BAILEY, NORTH-WEST RAMPART

TRENCH Z. *Section n-o* (Fig. 11)

CATALOGUE OF LAYERS: 1. Dark brown soil; 2. Light brown loam with stones; 3. Turf; 4. Light brown soil; 5. Dark brown and stones; 6. Small rubble; 7. Rubble; 8. Dark brown soil and rubble; 9. Stony brown soil; 10. Compact dark brown clay; 11. Compact yellow-brown clay; 12. Large rubble; 13. Stony brown soil and mortar; 14. Compact brown clay and shillet; 15. Stone revetment; 16. Compact dark brown clay; 17. Dark brown soil; 18. Black soil and ashes; 19. Burnt red soil; 20. Grey-brown clay with layer of iron pan and turf; 21. Shillety gravel (lense within 20); 22. Turf capped with iron pan; 23. Grey-brown clay; 24. Crumbly grey-brown soil and shillet capped with iron pan; 25. Dark brown soil; 26. Rubble.

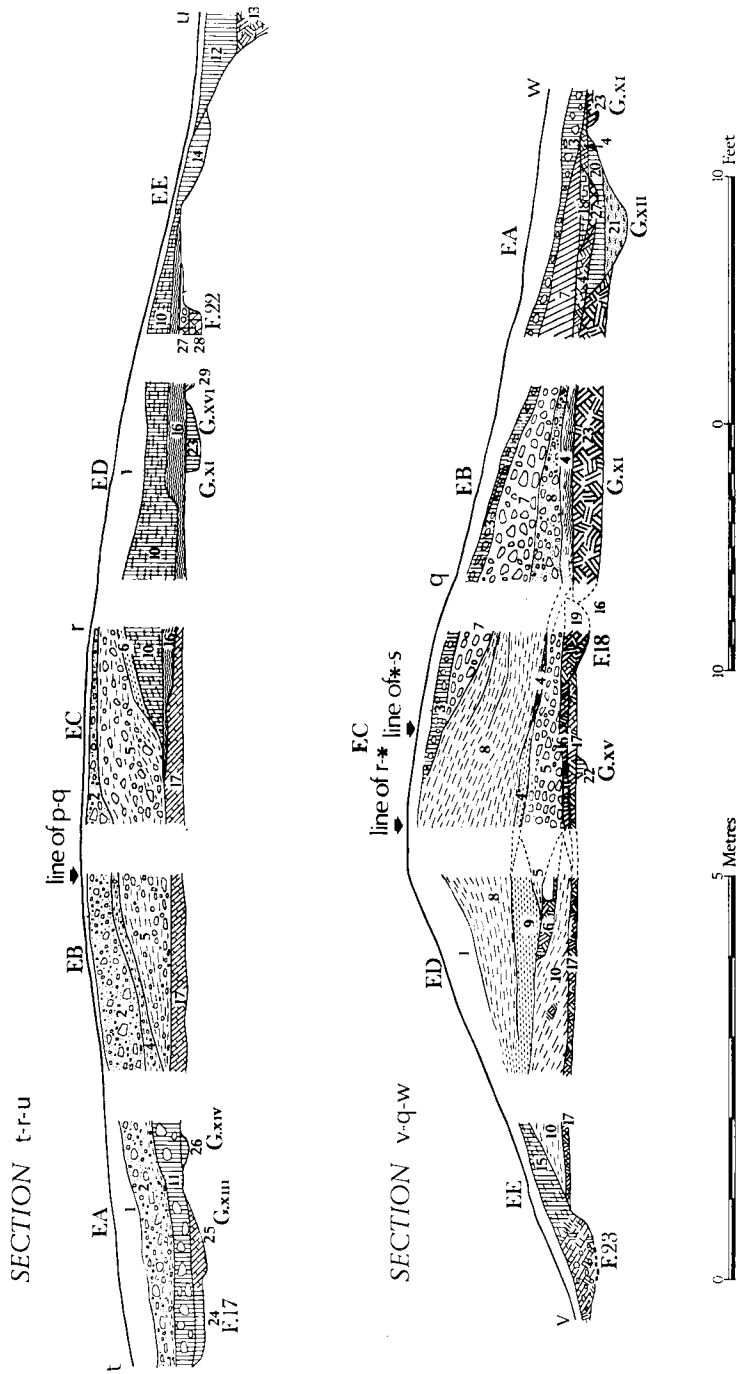


FIG. 10

Bailey, NE. rampart. Sections t-r-u, v-q-w

Closing the NW. side of the rectangular bailey is a tree and hedge-covered bank rising almost 8 ft. above the general level of the bailey. Beyond this bank is a steep natural slope above the northern arm of Lydford Gorge. The bank had been constructed on the edge of the scarp but 19 ft. below the crest of the bank was a terrace roughly 15 ft. wide. The terrace was traceable along the whole northern side of the promontory and appears to have been used as a track. At its E. end near the 'North Gate' through the Saxon town defences there is still a useable pathway. Trench Z was cut across the bank and into the back of the terrace.

The bank which formed the NW. rampart of the bailey had three main periods of construction. The natural rock sloped evenly at an angle of 5° and below the rampart the rock was covered by about a foot of undisturbed natural soil and shillet, grey-brown in colour and crumbly in texture (24). It was capped by a layer of iron pan.

Period I was represented by a wide, flat-topped bank composed originally almost entirely of turves (20) and (22), roughly 33 ft. wide. On excavation this presented a stiff grey-brown clay but particularly in its lower levels distinct turf layers and indeed individual turves could be recognized through the action of iron pan forming over the top of the light-grey leached turf (22). This primary rampart was of homogeneous construction except for a thin layer of gravel-like shillet (21) and other lenses of shilllets. Within the bank was a considerable settlement crack parallel with the hillside. The front of the bank had been revetted by a rough, dry-built wall, two courses of which remained *in situ*. The wall had been set on a narrow step 1 ft. 6 in. wide cut into the natural. The width of this foundation suggests an insubstantial wall, perhaps just enough to hold the toe of the bank. There was no indication of a timber revetment nor of internal timber lacing. The character of this primary rampart, with the apparent exception of timberwork within it, was closely similar to the Saxon rampart examined elsewhere along the town defences, and Period I can be considered to be part of and contemporary with the construction of the massive cross banks NE. of the village and the associated defensive bank carried right round the edges of the promontory. No objects were found in any of the Period I layers.

Period II was a distinct additional construction on top of the primary bank. Its forward face was set back 7 ft. behind the front of its predecessor and it had a base about 30 ft. wide. It is represented by layers (10), (11), (12), (13), (14), (15) and (16). In its original form the bank consisted of thick layers of a very compact dark-brown clay (10), (11), (14) and (16) separated from each other by substantial layers of stones (12) and (13). These stone layers extended through the rampart and contained much granite, frequently of large size; some of the stones were scorched by fire. There was no Hurdwick stone but in (13) there were small pieces of lime mortar. At a point halfway in the bank, layer (12) became a massive foundation of large stones 2 ft. thick and 7 ft. wide. Above this foundation (10), (11) and (16) had been cut by a trench $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide filled with brown soil and small rubble (5), (6) and (9). The foundation would have been sufficient to carry a substantial masonry wall up to 5 ft. wide which had subsequently been robbed out. At both the front and back of the rampart were remains of stone retaining walls (15) and (17). The rear revetment appeared to be an insertion into the clay bank and formed a secondary phase in Period II. The clay bank (16) had been cut for the construction of the wall. If wall and bank had been contemporary the surviving foundation stone would have been embedded in the clay. At the front of the bank, though robbed out on the drawn section, was another granite-built revetment more massive in character. It was two stones thick, 2 ft. 3 in. wide. The stone used was rough moor-stone granite but it was rudimentarily bedded in lime mortar. The position of the foundation has been projected on to section n-o where the walling had collapsed or had been robbed out. At this point the clay bank (14) and (15) had squeezed forward and there was no 'ghost' of the wall. Near the front of the rampart in the brown clay and shillet of (14) was a rim of imported 'A' ware (pot 2) belonging to the 5th or 6th century A.D. This could easily be derived from the source of the turf and clay of which the bank was constructed and certainly has no bearing on the date of the rampart. Other than that there were no datable finds from the

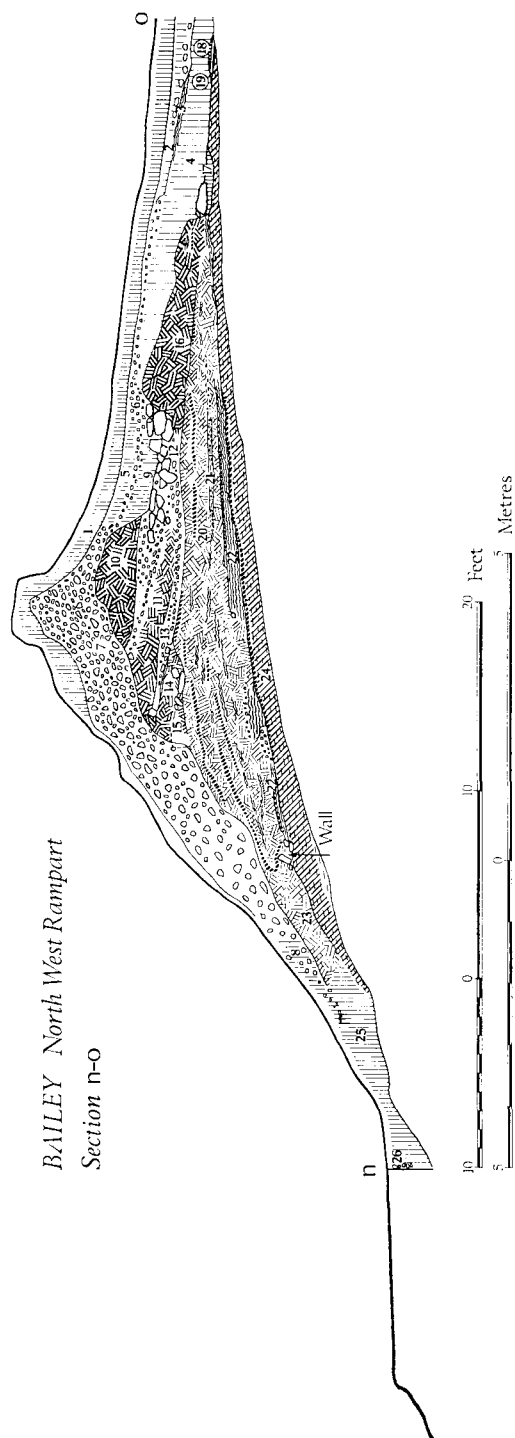


FIG. 11

Bailey, NW. rampart. Section n-o

secondary rampart. There had been substantial settlement in the bank itself and there was a crack as much as 3 in. wide across the trench. This was perhaps due to the movement of the more substantial front of the rampart down the natural slope.

The final Period III was a crude heightening of the rampart with the tipping of stone rubble (7) over the front of the secondary rampart and a thick spread of light-brown soil to the rear (4) into the bailey which also may have been part of a further strengthening of the rampart though not necessarily contemporary with (7). There were suggestions of a turf line (3) over (4) which had clearly been a distinct surface for some time. There was no indication of a forward revetment to the remodelled rampart and the rubble heightening may have been allowed to form a natural angle of rest. The lack of rubble to the rear, apart from a thin spread of stone (6) over the filling (9) of the robbed-out wall of Period II and over (4), suggests that the Period II wall continued in existence after the heightening of the bank in front and perhaps with the thickening behind (4). The spread of stone over the robber trench and over the top of (4) reinforces the view that the wall was robbed out at a late stage and that the stoney layer (6) was derived from the collapse of the rubble of the raised bank (7). The base of a 13th or 14th-century cooking-pot came from the upper filling of the robber trench and the character of the rubble heightening was closer to the construction of the other earthworks of the bailey than the clay and turf banks of Periods I and II.

In front of this succession of ramparts and above the terrace cut into the scarp various layers had spilled forward to merge in a dark-brown soil containing a good deal of stone (25). The grey-brown clay (23) was the collapsed material from the Period I rampart, and (8) was from Period II. The natural rock continued its slope and then steepened, but the ground surface levelled out with a terrace about 15 ft. wide. The excavated trench was continued to a point where it could be seen that this terrace had been constructed by a layer of stone (26) about a foot thick, presumably to carry a roadway.

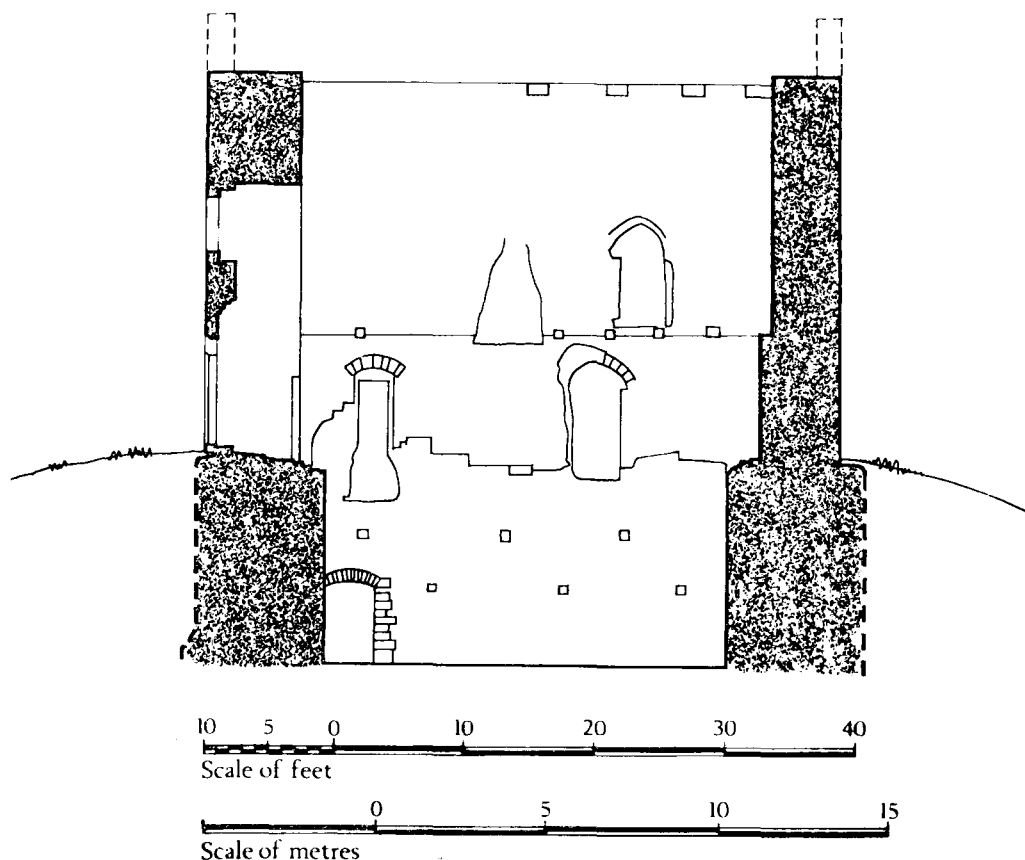
At the back of the rampart within the bailey there was a patch of burnt clay (19) and black ashey soil (18) over the natural clay and rock. There were no signs of a structure associated with this evidence of occupation but there was a hollowing of the natural clay (24) which may indicate the existence of a building near at hand or a worn area of a yard. Various pieces of pottery of medieval form, a piece of slag and some lime mortar came from the burnt layer. These traces of occupation were sealed by the extension to the rampart (4) in Period III. Subsequently the tail of this rampart was covered by a light-brown soil containing a good deal of stone (2). This layer had a clearly defined edge and the stoney rubble (6) had been cut into slightly. Layer (2) contained a certain amount of medieval pottery but it also had some early 19th-century wares and this must be regarded as its effective date.

THE TOWER (Figs. 12-15)

Once the filling of the lower storey of the tower was removed and its outer face, to this day still hidden by the mound, had been exposed in Trench D it was possible to describe the structure as a whole and analyse its development. Historically it is known that the castle's state of maintenance fluctuated frequently between dereliction and repair but in broad terms the building falls into three periods of construction or reconstruction.:

Period I: The ground floor of a free-standing building of two or more storeys, built in the late 12th century and most probably the '*domus firme ad custodiendos prisiones*' of 1195. (See History section, above.)

Period II: The rebuilding of the tower in the mid 13th century following the partial demolition of the Period I structure. The ruined walls of the early building were roughly levelled and, where necessary, refaced inside and out. The early windows were blocked and the new structure built off the levelled walls at first-floor level. The rebuilding was associated with the filling of the lower storey when a cross-wall was inserted to create the cellar or 'pit', and the throwing up of the mound against the external face.



LYDFORD CASTLE *elevation of spine wall*

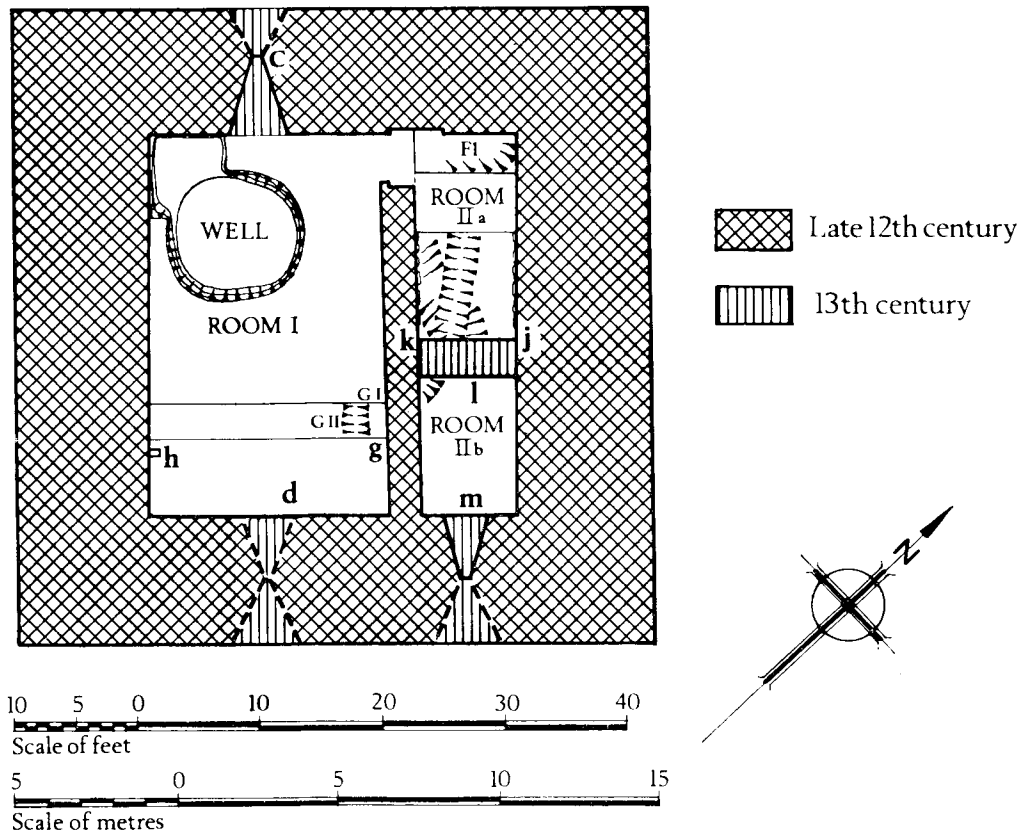
FIG. 12

The tower. Elevation of spine wall

Period III: Internal reconstruction of the spine wall and the cross wall and a certain amount of refenestration carried out in the early years of the 18th century.

Period I — Late 12th Century

The earliest masonry building was scarcely visible before excavation began. The interior of its ground floor was filled up and the external wall faces masked by the earth mound. When free from some of its covering the overall dimensions of the building were 52 ft. by 52 ft. with the main walls varying from 10 ft. to 11 ft. in thickness. The interior was divided into two unequal parts by a spine wall nearly 3 ft. wide. The larger of the two rooms, I, measured 30 ft. 9 in. by 19 ft. 6 in. It had two opposed window loops in the NW. and SE. walls (Pl. ix, B) and the ground-floor rooms must have been at least 13 ft. high. In the northern corner of Room I was a doorway 3 ft. 9 in. wide through the spine wall into the undivided Room II which measured 30 ft. 9 in. by 8 ft. This room was sub-divided into two parts in a subsequent period. In its original state it was lit by a single loop in the SE. wall. There was no ground-floor entrance into the building.



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

FIG. 13
The tower. Ground plan

The walls were built of roughly-coursed slaty rubble and a few weathered granite boulders (moorstone). The masonry was bonded by a gritty light-brown mortar and internally the joints were flush-pointed with almost a rendered finish to the walls. There were two stages of put-log holes internally. The first lift was 5 ft. 6 in. above floor level, the second 4 ft. above that. The ashlar dressings of the openings were in the local freestone: the tufa-like Hurdwick stone from the neighbourhood of Tavistock, with vertical and diagonal tooling. Both the doorway connecting Rooms I and II, and the surviving rear arches of the window loops had segmental arched heads with relieving arches in rubble above them. The connecting door opened into Room II and there was a recess to receive it, also with ashlar quoins, let into the NW. wall. Evidence for the position of door hangers existed but there was no hole for a draw-bar.

The three loops had later been blocked with roughly-coursed rubble. The filling of the loop in the NW. wall of Room I and that in the SE. wall of Room II was unpicked. The openings, 8 ft. 4 in. high and 4–5 ft. wide, were splayed internally towards a narrow loop roughly midway in the wall thickness. In the NW. wall the ashlar jambs of the loop had been removed except for the head, which showed it to have been round-headed internally

and externally splayed and only about 6 in. wide. Since the external splay of the loop had also been blocked with rubble it was impossible to obtain the exact dimensions of the splay. Internally, the openings had roughly-stepped sills and the segmental arched heads retained evidence in the mortar of timber centring. This was particularly clear on Room II, where the arch had been supported by wooden boards $6\frac{1}{2}$ or 7 in. wide. The rubble blocking was unmortared within the opening and included a considerable number of slate slabs. In the blocking of the loop in Room II there was also some re-used dressed Hurdwick stone. The remaining loop in the SE. wall of Room I had lost its arched head before blocking took place and this has been left undisturbed (Pl. ix, b). There was little reason to doubt that it followed a similar pattern to the other two.

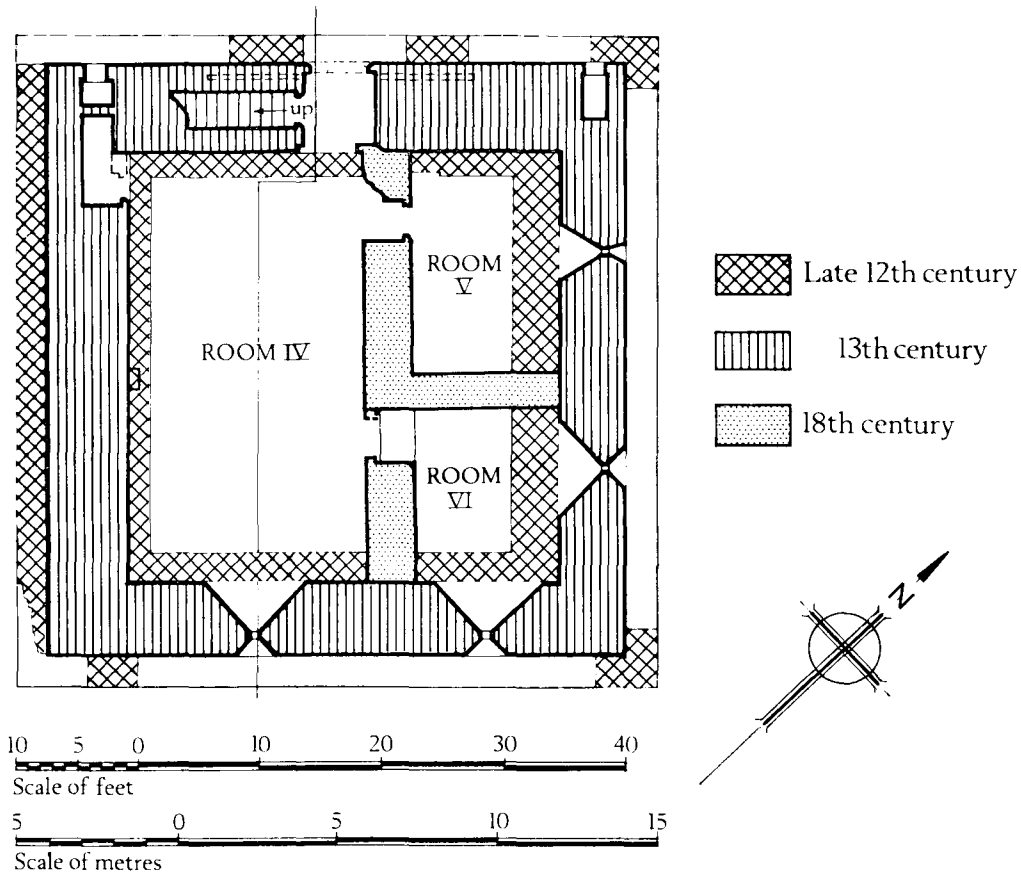
There was only one other feature within the Period I walls. This was a waterspout, carved in Hurdwick stone, 5 ft. above floor level in the SW. wall and 5 ft. 9 in. from the southern corner of Room I (Fig. 29; Pl. ix, c and d). Its carved head contained a small circular hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter which led to a half-round channel worked in Hurdwick stone within the thickness of the wall. Even today a draught of air can be felt from the hole in the spout and it must be supposed that it connected a supply of water perhaps from the roof which could be fed into the ground-floor room. The round hole could easily have been stopped until water was required. The channel and the spout itself were clearly built with the original structure and were not later insertions. The well in the W. corner of Room I also belonged to this period.

Period II — Mid-13th Century

At some time the Period I structure was partially demolished with its walls reduced to such an extent that only the jambs of one of the ground-floor windows in the SE. wall remained intact (Pl. ix, b). There is some evidence to suggest that the building was badly damaged by fire. It was rebuilt practically to the same plan and the Period II tower was constructed on the earlier walls. To do this it was necessary to level up the ruined walls to a given height 14 ft. above floor level. The two periods of masonry are clearly visible in the rebuilding of the earlier wall tops where better coursed rubble including a greater proportion of granite was used and the rendered finish of the earlier work was lacking. In the southern corner the rebuilding had to be taken down to 6 ft. 9 in. above floor level and included the blocking of the window in the SE. wall of Room I, whose jambs and head had been missing. Even on the opposite wall, the NW., the window had lost most of its relieving arch and rebuilding was taken down to the arched head itself. Externally the area of wall round the window opening was refaced and the loop blocked. Less rebuilding was necessary on the NE. interior but the spine wall had been affected, particularly towards the S.

The new tower was built on its predecessor but with much thinner walls, thus creating offsets inside and out. The width of the walls varied between 6 ft. 6 in. on the SW., 6 ft. on the SE., 5 ft. 6 in. on the NE. and over 7 ft. on the NW. in order to accommodate a flight of steps in the thickness of the wall.

This produced overall dimensions of 48 ft. by 47 ft. externally and 35 ft. square internally at first-floor level. The new work consisted of two storeys, the lower 10 ft. high, the upper rooms 18 ft. high. The total height of the tower above the mound was 30 ft. but this does not take into account the remains of a parapet at the wall head which probably accounted for a further 4 ft. 6 in. The dispersal of openings indicates that the spine wall was taken into account in the internal planning but this wall as it stands is a complete rebuild of Period III. The chief alteration to the plan was the insertion of a cross-wall in Room II. This was initially built to reduce the size of the ground-floor Room II, in effect, to a basement 15 ft. 9 in. by 8 ft. with the infilling of the southern part. The cross-wall was not bonded with the spine or NE. walls and was in fact a retaining wall against the filling. The S. face of the cross-wall in this room was left rough in uncoursed rubble with no attempt at verticality since it was never meant to be seen. As has been shown the cross-wall was an afterthought during the filling process since it was constructed on about 2 ft. of loose shillet filling and not taken down to floor level.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

FIG. 14
The tower. First-floor plan

The new tower was entered by a doorway 4 ft. 6 in. wide, with a massive sill in one piece of granite, midway along the NW. wall. This was at the level of the top of the external mound, that is at first-floor level of the Period I building. There was provision for a draw-bar, indeed there were two levels of draw-bar holes each 4 ft. deep. To the right of the entrance in the thickness of the wall was a straight flight of steps leading to the upper floor and a further door opening inwards led into the largest of the rooms at entrance level. This measured 35 ft. by 20 ft. It was dimly lit by a single narrow window loop with wide internal splay in the SE. wall and was otherwise featureless except for a doorway into a garderobe in the western corner. The garderobe had originally been ceiled with timber. A doorway in the spine wall led into the first floor of Room II which was also poorly lit by a single small loop 4 in. wide with little splay, high up under the floor above in the NE. wall. This room presumably had a timber floor with a trap serving a small cellar, in fact Room II below. Whether the cross wall existed above first-floor level is conjectural since the present wall belongs to the later period. It is most likely that a partition did exist at this level since the style of the windows differs in the NE. wall. The more southerly of the two

was the best lit of the rooms at first-floor level. In the same manner as Period I all the ashlar dressings were in Hurdwick stone but the external angles were in roughly-dressed granite.

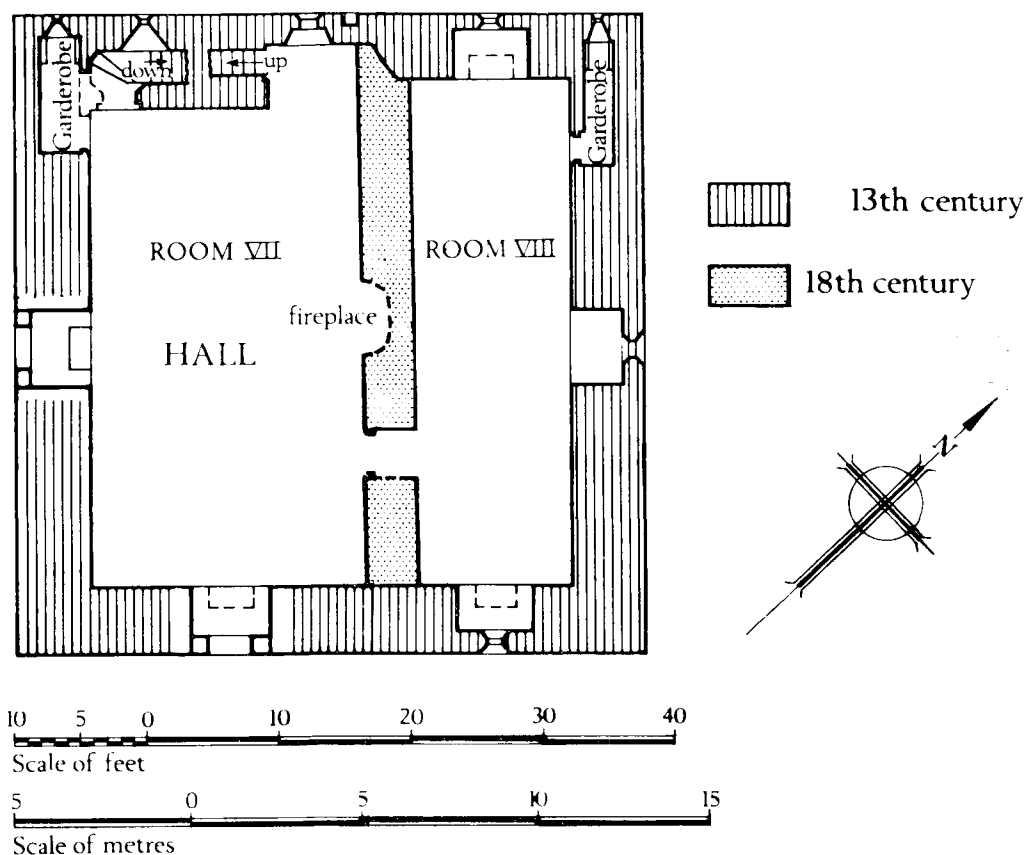
The accommodation on the second floor was of a much higher standard. The larger room can be described as a hall. In the western corner, at the head of the vaulted stairs, was a small garderobe chamber in the wall thickness sharing the same chute as the garderobe below. Although the windows and the fireplace midway along the spine wall are of later construction they probably reproduced the original arrangements. The floor was carried on offsets of the main walls and joists were taken into the spine wall. There was a corresponding reduction in the wall thickness of the upper rooms. The hall measured 36 ft. 6 in. by 21 ft. 6 in. A lobby over the entrance below served a further straight flight of stairs up to the wall top. At the opposite end of the hall, the 'upper' end, was a doorway in the spine wall connecting with a chamber or solar nearly 39 ft. long by 12 ft. 6 in. The smaller room was comparatively well lit by three windows, one in each of the external walls. The windows are still in their original form. They had quite narrow lights, little more than a foot wide and chamfered jambs 8 in. wide. Each had a square recess within the wall for window seats. The jambs of the window in the NE. wall have holes for bars. In the northern corner was a garderobe chamber similar to that serving the hall. It is likely that such an attenuated room as the solar was sub-divided by partitions but no evidence for this is visible.

Externally the Period II tower presents some contrasts. The entrance front is austere and had a wide doorway with chamfered jambs and pointed, two-centred arched head. Above the door is a rectangular window lighting the lobby and another lighting the stairs and at either corner are small loops which lit and ventilated the garderobes. Off centre and higher than the lobby window is a small rectangular niche with a projecting sill and lintel. Its purpose is far from clear. It is in the right position for a drain from the roof but if this were so it would have discharged over the entrance. On the opposite wall, the SE., the appearance is somewhat different. One original rectangular window survives in the upper storey. Its partner had been enlarged later. On the lower storey, however, are two curious round-headed double-splayed windows of archaic form. On first appearance they would seem to belong to the 12th century but closer examination suggests the re-use of earlier dressings. The splayed voussoirs finish clumsily in the wall thickness and bear no physical relationship to the square-headed rectangular loops 6 in. wide. In the splayed outer jambs the quoins only are in Hurdwick ashlar. The rest of the splay back to the loop is made up of rubble. The loops are not set midway in the wall thickness but close to the outer face as was done in the other windows of Period II. The likeliest explanation of this seeming anachronism is that window dressings of the Period I building were re-used regardless of contemporary architectural style. Many pieces of ashlar from the earlier building were re-used regardless of contemporary architectural style. Many pieces of ashlar from the earlier building were available since quantities of architectural detail were found in the well and in the filling of the ground floor. A third round-headed window of this type exists in the NE. wall alongside the small rectangular loop at first-floor level.

The earthworks of the castle also belong to Period II. The fact that the entrance and the bottom of the garderobe chutes are at the level of the mound top adds to the evidence from Trench D that the mound was piled up when the mortar in the external refacing had not completely set and had fragments of shillet adhering to it. Likewise the filling of the ground floor was part of the same operation.

Period III — Early 18th Century

This period represents the refurbishing of the tower after a period of decay. The major piece of reconstruction was the rebuilding and thickening of the spine wall from 3 ft. to 4 ft. Since the ground floor was already filled up with soil and rubble the thickened walling was constructed on the filling. The thickening involved an encroachment on and a rebuilding of the inner jamb of the entrance passage which must have been necessary on structural grounds. The masonry is unlike the medieval work. It is of roughly coursed rubble but



SECOND FLOOR PLAN

FIG. 15

The tower. Second-floor plan

employed long thin slates to level up the rubble into regular courses. The earlier masonry consisted of stones of much the same size but this later work contained bands of larger stones which provide a strong contrast with the smaller material. The cross-wall dividing Room II at first-floor level was rebuilt at the same time and was bonded into the spine. The doorways in the spine wall are curious in that they re-use earlier chamfered jambs. They were designed, however, for square heads with steeply-pointed relieving arches above them with no skewbacks. The door to the N. retains its stone head which is unchamfered and does not match the jambs below. At second-floor level in the hall was a fireplace and chimney flue in the thickness of the spine wall. Nothing remains of its hood or jambs. The segmental arch over the entrance from the lobby also belongs to this period. The roof of this later structure had its main trusses carried on granite corbels at the wall top.

The other relic of this last period of the building history is a refenestration of the hall, which entailed an enlargement of the windows to 3 ft. in width, no doubt for sash frames.

Externally, these windows had crude segmental arched heads with keystones. Internally, the window recesses were nearly 6 ft. wide with straight unchamfered jambs and which remained in their unaltered Period II form. In the SW. wall they were both provided with stone seats.

DISCUSSION

It is reasonable to suppose that the initial structure of Lydford Castle and the strong house for keeping prisoners of 1195 is one and the same thing. The early free-standing building with its remarkably thick walls, narrow loops and lack of ground-floor access suggests emphasis on security. The cost of the strong house was considerable and implies a masonry structure. Such datable material as is associated with the first building period is not inconsistent with a construction date of 1195 and occupation during the first half of the 13th century. If this building is not the '*firme domus*' the question must be asked what was it and why in its rebuilt state was it demonstrably the Stannary prison and court room?

The siting of the prison within the Borough is puzzling. It lies close to the church with the earlier castle site beyond to the W. The prison is therefore near yet separate from that castle. The common location of early medieval prisons was within castles. The likelihood, therefore, is that the early castle was not royal or in royal hands in 1195. It was also likely to have been in a state of disrepair by that date. The latest occupation material recovered by Addyman was a penny of the first issue of Stephen.⁷³ The prison is much more readily associated with the Borough and, set back from the frontage of the main street, it may have occupied one or more of the burgrave plots. Next to the church as it is, it must be regarded as occupying a prime site. Although the later mound ditch will have removed all evidence for it, the position of the prison back from the street frontage suggests the existence of some form of enclosure. Cobbling below the mound on the street side of the prison suggests a courtyard or prepared surface between it and the street. The access into the prison is likely to have been from this direction.

The various gullies and features below the initial stone building and within the bailey may belong to earlier, perhaps pre-Conquest, fields or closes behind houses once fronting the street.⁷⁴ These are best discussed in the wider context of the pre-Conquest *burh* which will figure in Addyman's forthcoming report on the excavations within the present village; as are the two phases of early defences below the NW. side of the bailey enclosure which correspond with the sequence observed by Addyman in his examination of the late Saxon fortifications.⁷⁵

The first stone structure with its two-cell plan is a smaller version of residential keeps such as Portchester, Rochester or Canterbury. It is considerably smaller, however, 52 ft. square overall and 31 ft. by 30 ft. internally. It also has the solidity of a substantial tower but in this respect Lydford is larger than many square towers associated with mottes such as at Okehampton Castle nearby.⁷⁶ It is closer in overall size to Bennington Castle, Hertfordshire, and the recently discovered tower associated with the construction of the motte at Farnham Castle.⁷⁷ Yet such parallels are only useful in terms of scale. Although there is nothing in the plan of the first stone structure to confirm its use as a prison, this free-standing, strongly built

'house', lacking any associated defensive provisions, which might be expected of a contemporary fortified residence, appears to have had a more specialized function.⁷⁸

Security of another sort is clearly an objective at Lydford. Massively thick walls and first-floor access are indicative of that. It is also clear that the ground floor was intended for occupation. The loops were just 6 in. wide but the embrasures were splayed internally and externally in order to provide more light. Architecturally the rear arches of these windows and also the doorway in the cross-wall are interesting in possessing segmental arched heads. For 1195 this is an early use of the segmental arch but it is by no means its first occurrence. On the other hand the round-headed, splayed window dressings, which seem to have been re-used in the first-floor openings of the rebuilt tower, have an archaic appearance. Voussoirs from similar openings were found among the building debris in the well filling and elsewhere suggesting that this was indeed the form of external treatment of windows in the original building.

The only other surviving early features within the 1195 tower are associated with water supply. The decorated spout built into the SW. wall implies an internal water supply system of some sophistication. The digging of the well appears to be a later development. It was begun too close to the western corner and was later enlarged to occupy a considerable area of the larger of the two ground-floor rooms. The provision of water within medieval prisons was often carefully considered and for the 15th century is well documented.⁷⁹

It is impossible to be certain how the first period building came to an end. There was evidence for fire but whether this was the primary cause of destruction or subsequent to abandonment cannot be determined. That the ground floor was relatively clean and did not have building debris lying on it but instead was almost entirely covered by a substantial tip of freshly quarried slate suggests that the demolition and re-use of the building was a controlled operation. Building rubble filled the well and constituted the bulk of the filling of the ground floor over the tip of slate. However, the filling of the ground floor as opposed to the rebuilding of the structure may have been an afterthought since the three lower windows were fairly carefully blocked on the inside and outside as if the original intention was to maintain an unlit basement over the whole floor area and not to limit the space to the small 'cellar' in the northern corner. The blocking of the window embrasure in the SE. wall nevertheless shows that the demolition or collapse of the early structure was so drastic that the rear arch and much of the jambs had gone before the opening was blocked and much of that wall refaced. In the wall opposite, most of the relieving arch over the window embrasure was missing. Whether the cause of damage to the internal wall face of the ground-floor rooms was due to decay, carelessness, or removal of dressed stone, particular care had been taken to rebuild the lower walls up to first-floor level as a foundation for the new tower which was to be built on top of the old.

The rebuilding of the prison can be placed in the latter half of the 13th century on the dating of the pottery, and circumstantially on the likelihood that such a drastic rebuilding would have occurred during the earldom of Richard of Cornwall. Younger brother of Henry III, immensely wealthy, an active participant in the

international politics of the day, Richard of Cornwall expended a considerable fortune in conspicuous building projects, whether new foundations like Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire or the almost total refashioning of Launceston Castle just twelve miles away in Cornwall.⁸⁰ The Borough of Lydford was certainly within the Earl's purview. In 1267 the King granted Richard of Cornwall a Wednesday market at Lydford and a fair associated with the feast of St Petroc.⁸¹ The rebuilding of the prison is likely to have been about this time.

The manner of the refurbishing of the prison is in itself remarkable. The construction of the upper two storeys upon the cut-down earlier tower and the throwing up of the mound outside, concealing the lower masonry, were clearly part of the same operation. The appearance of a stone tower rising above a mound and an encircling rock-cut ditch was a deliberate conceit. Unlike examples of tower structures within mottes and castles such as Ascot D'Oilly⁸² and Farnham where the masonry tower and the raising of an earth mound outside it were part of a single operation, the mound at Lydford was a secondary and subsidiary feature with no clear practical purpose. It could be argued perhaps that the earthworks were a defensive improvement as an obstacle to mining yet this is not a defensive expedient adopted at other fortified tower houses. Lydford does not appear to have had any military or strategic importance by the 13th century. All the documentary references show that the 'Castle' was solely used as a prison and courthouse. Professor E. M. Jope in his discussion of the associated motte and tower at Ascot D'Oilly suggested that this combination of a tower arising from a mound invoked the concept of Lordship. The building at Lydford was being referred to as a '*castellum*' or '*castro*' as early as 1216 and this is unsurprising as frequently castle was used as a conventional label for a gaol. The conversion of the prison to a castle-like appearance with the creation of a motte and miniature bailey was perhaps a deliberate anachronistic conceit intended to give visual confirmation of the title Lydford Castle while at the same time manifesting the power and authority of the Earl of Cornwall and his control of the Stannaries.

It is as a medieval prison rather than as a castle that Lydford has the greatest archaeological significance. Prisons and imprisonment in medieval England have been studied in great depth by Dr R. B. Pugh.⁸³ He observes that 'imprisonment in England has no connected history before the end of the 12th century. Its origins, however, are antique and certainly stretch back before the days of Alfred'. A distinction should be drawn between the coercive and the penal aspects. 'After the Anarchy the first aspect of imprisonment to become conspicuous is the custodial — the temporary detention of men suspected of serious crimes until they can be tried.' Penal imprisonment was in existence as part of ecclesiastical discipline and also as a statutory element in Forest Law. Later the 'strong and hard' prison, 'which had probably long been used as a threat, was in 1275 made the statutory consequence of refusing a jury where a man was of notorious ill fame'. Sheriffs were responsible for guarding suspect felons and were gradually provided with buildings for the purpose. The sheriffs' prisons came to equal the county gaols. In 1165 there were general instructions on gaol provision and in the next year the sheriffs were told that they must site their gaols in one of the king's boroughs or castles. The cost of

building and repair was to be met by the Crown. The sheriff of Cornwall planted a gaol at Helston in 1184-85 and in the castle at Launceston in 1186-87. The one county gaol in Devon was in Exeter Castle. When Forest Laws were strenuously enforced efforts were made in some regions to construct special Forest prisons such as the gaol in Kinver Forest, Staffordshire, of 1195-96 and Galtre Forest, Yorkshire, in 1216. As has been shown earlier, Lydford prison probably served both the Forest of Dartmoor and as the Stannary prison for Devon, and perhaps Cornwall as well, in the first instance.

Within medieval prisons there was some form of segregation between special classes of prisoner, whether due to sex, social rank or the gravity of the offences committed. This need for segregation had an influence on the form of prison building. 'After Newgate had been rebuilt the accommodation there was divided into three classes: the best for freemen of the city and "honest", i.e. honourable, persons; the second-best was for strangers and people of inferior rank; while the felons and others suspected of great crimes were to be put into basement cells and strongholds.'⁸⁴ In many prisons there was a basement storey which was a place of dishonour and such places were in the 14th century beginning to be called dungeons. More usually these places were called *puteus* or pit and were sometimes in the lower stages of a tower. Every prison of any size was equipped not only with a pit but also with a chamber or chambers for use of those to whom close confinement was not applied.

At Lydford it is possible to suggest, from the varying nature of the amenities within different parts of the building, distinct grades of prison accommodation. The principal room on the second floor is the only room in the building to possess a fireplace. It also has a garderobe leading off it with separate and direct access from the entrance. There is conclusive evidence that this was the courtroom. The other room at this level and connected with the courtroom also has its own garderobe. There is now no evidence for partitions but the room is large enough to have been sub-divided. It could have served as lodgings perhaps for the keeper. The first floor was the prison, divided into three chambers with a steady regression in physical comfort. The largest room had a separate door approached from the entrance lobby. It was reasonably well lit and had a garderobe using the same shaft as that serving the courtroom above. This room may have served as a common-room. The room in the eastern corner was well lit but had no garderobe. The room in the northern corner had very meagre lighting and below this, presumably with trap-door access in the floor, was an unlit 'pit'. Undoubtedly this was the pit so vehemently described by Richard Strode (see p. 132-33).

There are very few medieval purpose-built prisons surviving in England as opposed to elements of castles used as prisons. Pugh identified three: the Manor Office at Hexham; the former gaol of the liberty of Ely at Ely; and Lydford. The first is of 14th- and 15th-century construction, about 80 ft. long by 33 ft. broad and walls 9 ft. thick. On the ground floor there appear to have been no windows on the long side except slits to light the stair. 'That this building was designed exclusively as a prison can by no means be proved, but it was certainly so used in later times and the fewness of its windows and the thickness of its walls suggest that part of it at any rate may have served such a purpose from the outset.'⁸⁵ There is some medieval

walling remaining of the Ely Liberty prison and its plan may have medieval origins but much of the present fabric is of the 18th and 19th centuries. There is a further building, Dalton Castle, which although it has the appearance of a pele is thought to have been built and maintained as a prison by the abbots of Furness Abbey.⁸⁶ A charter of 1127 conferred on the abbot the power to hold court and administer justice and a prison is referred to at Dalton in 1257 but the present building belongs to the early 14th century. When the Abbey was dissolved in 1537 the castle became Crown property and in a commission to the Stewards in 1545 it was said 'Tofore hath alwayes tymes out of mynd of man been used as a pryson and common gaole for the hole Lordship of and domynon of Furness and the liberties of the same'. The building was still used as a courthouse and prison until 1774. Dalton is comparable with Lydford in scale. It is a rectangular tower 45 ft. by 30 ft. and 40 ft. high. The basement was sub-divided as was the unlit first floor with single rooms on each of two floors above. The top floor was the Court Room.

Lydford is therefore, even as rebuilt in the 13th century, the earliest example of a purpose-built gaol in this country. Its well-nigh complete survival demonstrates most clearly the differing functional elements of medieval courtroom and prison.

THE FINDS

COPPER ALLOY OBJECTS (Fig. 16). *By ALISON R. GOODALL*

1. Gilt mount with eight arms. Each arm has a perforated terminal and two perforated bosses, four of which retain globular headed studs. There is another perforation at the junction of the arms (SF 26A; Room I, ground floor filling).
2. Two lengths of gilt binding strip with shallow bosses separated by narrow D-sectioned strip. There are two pin-holes (SF 539).

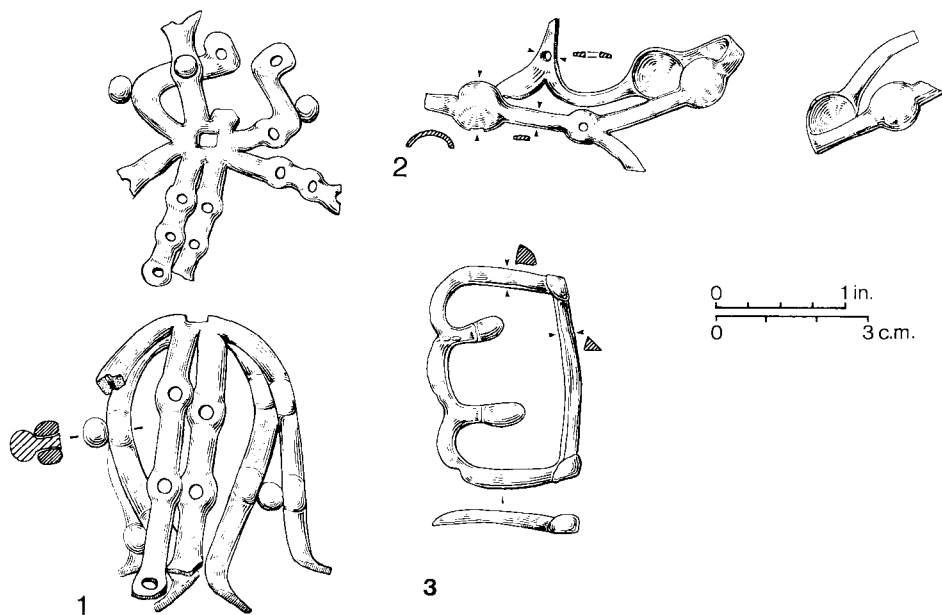


FIG. 16
Copper alloy objects. Scale 2:3

Both 1 and 2 seem to belong to the class of ornamental gilt-bronze strips recognized, for instance, at Ascot Doilly, Oxon.⁸⁷ Such strips occur almost invariably on castle and manor sites of the 12th and 13th centuries and this dating accords well with the 13th-century contexts of the present examples. They are thought to have been attached to wood or leather. An example similar to the eight-armed mount, but having a large central boss, was found in excavations on Baile Hill, York,⁸⁸ and another comes from Lundy.⁸⁹

3. Presumably a buckle frame of unusual form with two inward-projecting finials. If the identification is correct, the buckle was probably used without a pin (SF 51; from the well filling).

IRON OBJECTS (Figs. 17–19). *By* IAN H. GOODALL, Well Cover *by* JANE GEDDES

1. *The Well Cover.* Jane Geddes writes:

The fragments of ironwork found in the well of Lydford prison have been reconstructed as a well cover by Mr Jim Thorn. There are two strap hinges, with scrolled terminals and perforated by six nail-holes. None of the nails attached to the hinges have roves. The width of the lid is deduced from the length of the hinges, which are too short to come from a door. The length of the lid is entirely speculative. The hasp is curved, indicating that the staple to which it was locked was set below the lid. This supposition is confirmed by the position of the eyes or rides on the hinge straps which project below the surface of the lid.

The reconstruction of the underside of the lid is based on the following information: six nail-holes in the straps indicate a maximum of six planks. If the 24 nails with roves were attached in a uniform pattern, they would fasten four ledges. The profile of the ledges can be seen from the curvature of the roves.

The upper diameter of the well is 3.2 m. One must therefore suppose that the lid sat proud in the middle of a platform covering the top of the well. It was necessary to lock the lid shut to prevent prisoners polluting the water or drowning themselves.

This type of door or trapdoor construction was commonly made in the 12th century. The diamond roves and scrolled hinges are the most significant features for dating purposes. The form and function of roves evolved considerably between about 1050 and 1250. Early examples on church doors at Hadstock, Essex and Staplehurst, Kent, are slim and claw-like. At, for instance, Hartley, Kent, Chichester Cathedral and Stillingfleet, North Yorks., the roves are long, broad, clasp-like diamonds like those at Lydford.

These roves were all made in the 12th century. On the west doors of Wells Cathedral (ready by 1239) the roves retain the same shape as previously but they alternately clasp the ledges and are attached flat along the ledges, simply as washers. From 1250 onwards roves on doors decrease considerably in size and are either square or diamond shaped, serving as flat washers only.

Thin tendril terminals to hinges are usually associated with the later part of the 12th century. One of the earliest examples is on the church door of Barford, Oxon., 1150–60, and they are also found at Castle Hedingham, Essex, 1175–85 and Laneham, Notts., 1190–1200.

2. Single-ended pick with fragment of oval section oak handle secured in the eye by about six iron wedges. A similar pick is known from Lydney Castle, Gloucs.⁹⁰

3. Spade iron with grooved triangular mouth retaining rust-impregnated wood from the former blade. The blade evidently worked loose, for a U-shaped clip, clenched at the top, has been inserted through the iron to bind it and the wood more firmly. Medieval manuscripts show spades with variously-shaped irons, both round, triangular and rectangular,⁹¹ all paralleled by excavated examples.

4. Broken bar perhaps from a window grille with lead caulking to secure it in masonry. A similar object, but probably from a hinge pivot, is known from Castell-y-Bere, Gwynedd.⁹²

5. Horseshoe with rectangular nails.

6. Broken ferrule.

7. Incomplete U-shaped eye from strap hinge with nail-hole in rear terminal.

8–10. Keys, all medieval and with broken bows.

11–14. Socketed arrowheads, 11 with slender side flanges, 12–14 bullet-shaped and of the type used for archery practice. Numerous examples are known from Baile Hill, York.⁹³

15. Buckle pin with broken loop.

16. Rowel spur of the 2nd half of the 17th century⁹⁴ with broken straight sides, short neck and rowel box with a fragment of the rowel. Traces of nonferrous plating.

17–21. Medieval nails, other than those associated with the well cover, include examples (17–19) with round, faceted and figure-of-eight heads. The most common type, also found in later levels, has a flat rectangular head.

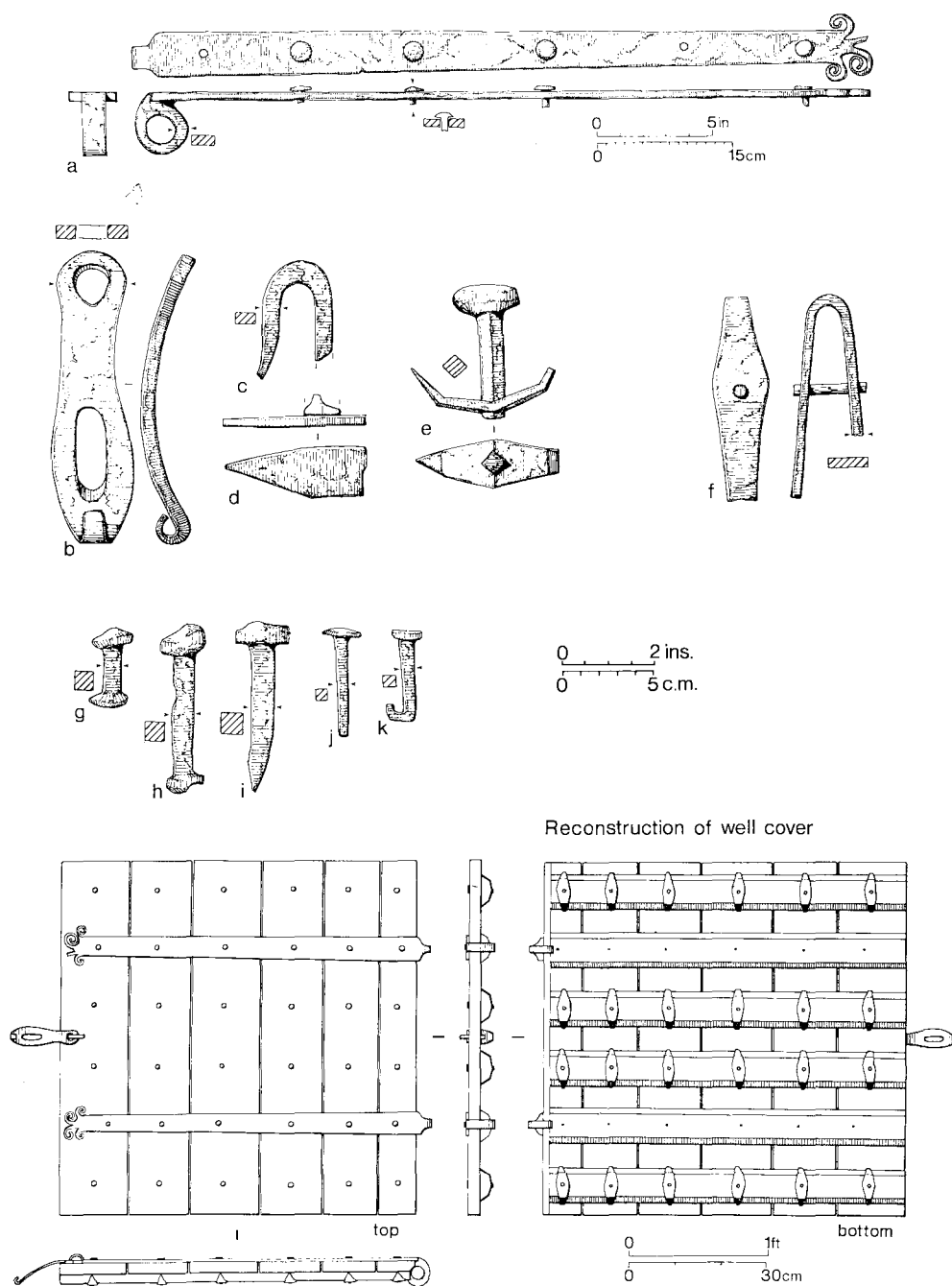


FIG. 17
Well cover fittings. Scales as shown

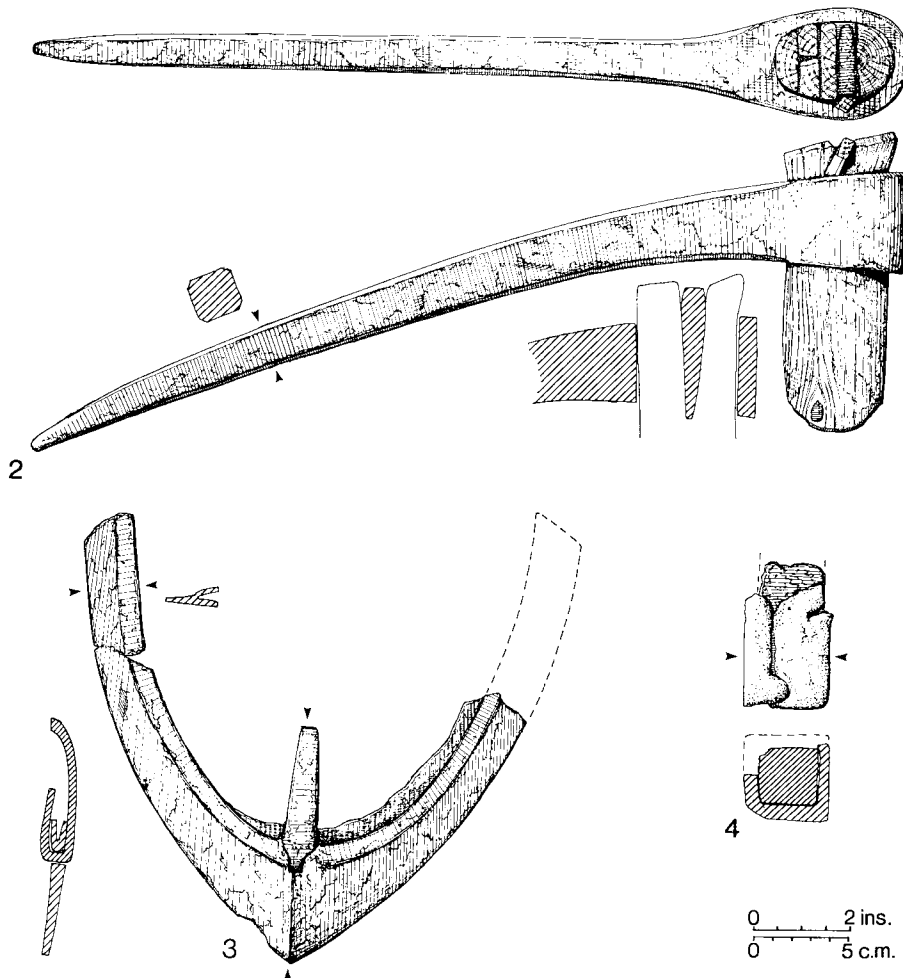


FIG. 18
Iron objects. Scale 1:4

22. Knife with bone scales, tubular copper alloy rivets (two lost) and a broken blade.

Numbers 1, 2, 3 came from the filling of the well; 4, 5, 6 and 17 from the rubble filling of Room 1; 11-14 from the late medieval layers in the bailey and the remainder from the late levels on the upper surfaces of the mound or in the upper filling of the ditch.

POTTERY DISCUSSION

By T. J. MILES

Large collections of medieval and post-medieval pottery from excavations at Barnstaple, Exeter, Launceston and Plymouth are currently being studied, together with minor collections from several other sites in Devon and Cornwall although the finds from the excavations in the town of Lydford are currently inaccessible. Detailed comment at this stage, based on the comparatively scrappy material from Lydford Castle, would be premature. Nevertheless this material does illustrate the main themes governing the

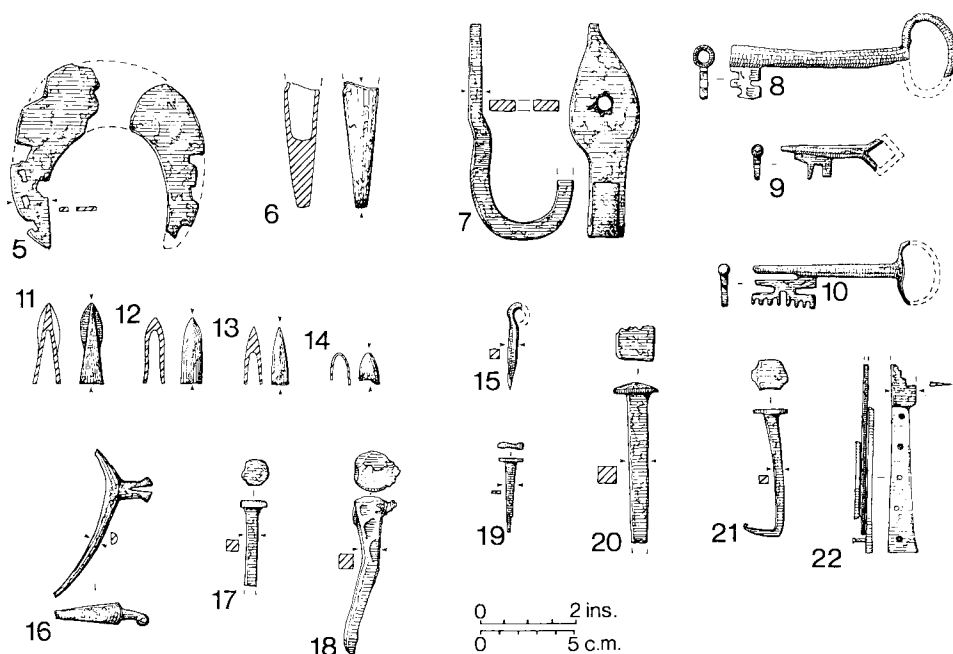


FIG. 19
Iron objects. Scale 1:4

ceramic sequence in West Devon and East Cornwall. Except for a kiln site in Exeter, possibly pre-Norman, late Saxon pottery has not been found in Devon and it is now fairly certain that it was not in general use. The medieval sequence begins in levels apparently belonging to the end of the 11th century. Saxo-Cornish bar-lug and grass-marked ware have been found in association with Norman wares only at Launceston Castle and on Lundy.

Many different fabrics, all somewhat crude, distinguish the early phases. Cooking-pots predominate. Rim forms vary but are not yet usable as dating criteria. By c.1200 fabrics were much more standardized, though plainly still deriving from a number of sources. Cooking-pots and unglazed jugs in cooking-pot fabric were made in increasingly heavily grit-tempered fabrics which grew progressively harder, perhaps as kiln technology improved. By c.1400 the fabric of unglazed wares had become indistinguishable from the 16th- to 18th-century North Devon gravel-tempered fabric. Glazed jugs were made of finer materials in the medieval period. Schools of potters developed, including a somewhat diffuse South Cornish school, centred on the Tamar and Fowey estuaries, and a well-defined North Devon school, centred on the Taw and Torridge estuaries but extending into North Cornwall. Some sherds assignable to the North Devon school contain a few plates of black mica but most are free of minerals derived directly from the granite. Practically all sherds from the South Cornish school contain large amounts of white mica flakes. The Lydford Castle pottery all belongs to the North Devon school except No. 78 which is clearly a South Cornish product. Potters are known to have been working in Barnstaple from at least the 15th century and also in Bideford and Torrington during the 17th century. Whether any kilns were sited further south is not yet known. The dates offered for the sherds from the various findspots are tentative and need confirmation, but a developing sequence can be seen. Numbers 3-5 and 7-11 are associated with or even precede the

earliest phase of the tower and are typical of Norman pottery in Devon. Sherds from other findspots show the increasing sophistication and centralization of production which culminated in the highly successful 17th-century North Devon industry. The frequent discovery of 'medieval' and 'early post-medieval' sherds in association shows that innovations of form, glaze, decoration and kiln types were often rapid, though not all necessarily coterminous.

POTTERY CATALOGUE

PREHISTORIC POTTERY

Trench L, Gully VI, Layer 5

1 (Fig. 20). Presumably residual in this context. Dr Ian Longworth comments as follows: 'The finer of the two sherds with grog tempering is a fragment of Collared Urn carrying fairly fine twisted cord decoration including "horseshoes". The second sherd, with heavy sand and quartz gritting is probably local Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age fabric.'

EARLY CHRISTIAN IMPORTED POTTERY

Trench 2, Layer 14

2 (Fig. 20). Within the Period II bank. Rim sherd from bowl, approx. diameter 11 in., hard, with a little fine sand, slightly micaceous orange-red body with an orange-red slip. 'A' ware. Eastern Mediterranean origin. 5th or 6th centuries A.D.⁹⁵ Similar sherds from Tintagel⁹⁶ and Dinas Powys.⁹⁷ Presumably residual in this context.

MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY

Silt in the bottom of the Well (Section c-d, Layer 15)

Early Fabrics, c. 1150-c. 1225

3 (Fig. 20). Rim sherd from cooking-pot, fairly hard with angular slate grits; dark grey with buff surfaces.

4 (Fig. 20). Rim sherd from cooking-pot, hard with much coarse water-worn quartz grit; dark grey throughout.

5 (Not illus.). Wall sherds; thickness 4 mm, hard, sandy with a few water-worn quartz grits; dark grey with dark brown surfaces. Soot on exterior.

Pit (Feature 1) in North Corner of Room IIa

6 (Fig. 20). Upper part of a jug. The late Dr G. C. Dunning commented as follows:

The jug is made of fine whitish ware with yellow glaze covering the neck and body, and also the handle. It has a moulded rim with two angular cordons below it, a cylindrical neck regularly grooved, and a step at the base of the neck where it passes into the ovoid body. The handle is solid, round in section, and has two large applied scales at the upper end. The handle has the unusual feature of being decorated down the back with rouletted lines as on the body of the jug.

The jug is elaborately decorated on the neck and body with applied strips and pellets. All the strips and many of the pellets are rouletted with small square-cut notches made by a roller stamp. On the neck the pattern covers the lower half, and the spaces are filled by a deep band of red slip. On the body the pattern, somewhat irregularly spaced, consists of a broad band of red slip forming a chevron, bordered by notched strips, with a row of pellets along the middle of each band. The areas covered by the red slip are shaded horizontally in the drawing. The design is closely similar to that on a complete jug found in an excavation on the site of Quilter's vault, Southampton (in God's House Tower Museum), which has been used to complete the lower part and base of the Lydford Castle jug in the drawing, making it about 11½ in. high.

The Lydford jug is an import from Normandy of the late 13th century.⁹⁸ Examples have now been found at some thirty sites in England, mostly at ports and towns in the south-east between Southampton and King's Lynn.⁹⁹ In Devonshire jugs of North French origin are recorded from Exeter¹⁰⁰ and Totnes Castle, both¹⁰¹ within easy reach of sea trade. Lydford, 19 miles inland from the coast, is in the hinterland of Plymouth where, however, pottery imported from western France is represented.

Beneath the Floor of Room IIa in Gully IIB (Section j-k, Layer 13)

Early Fabric c. 1150-c. 1225

7 (Fig. 20). Sherd from base angle of cooking-pot. Fabric as 4.

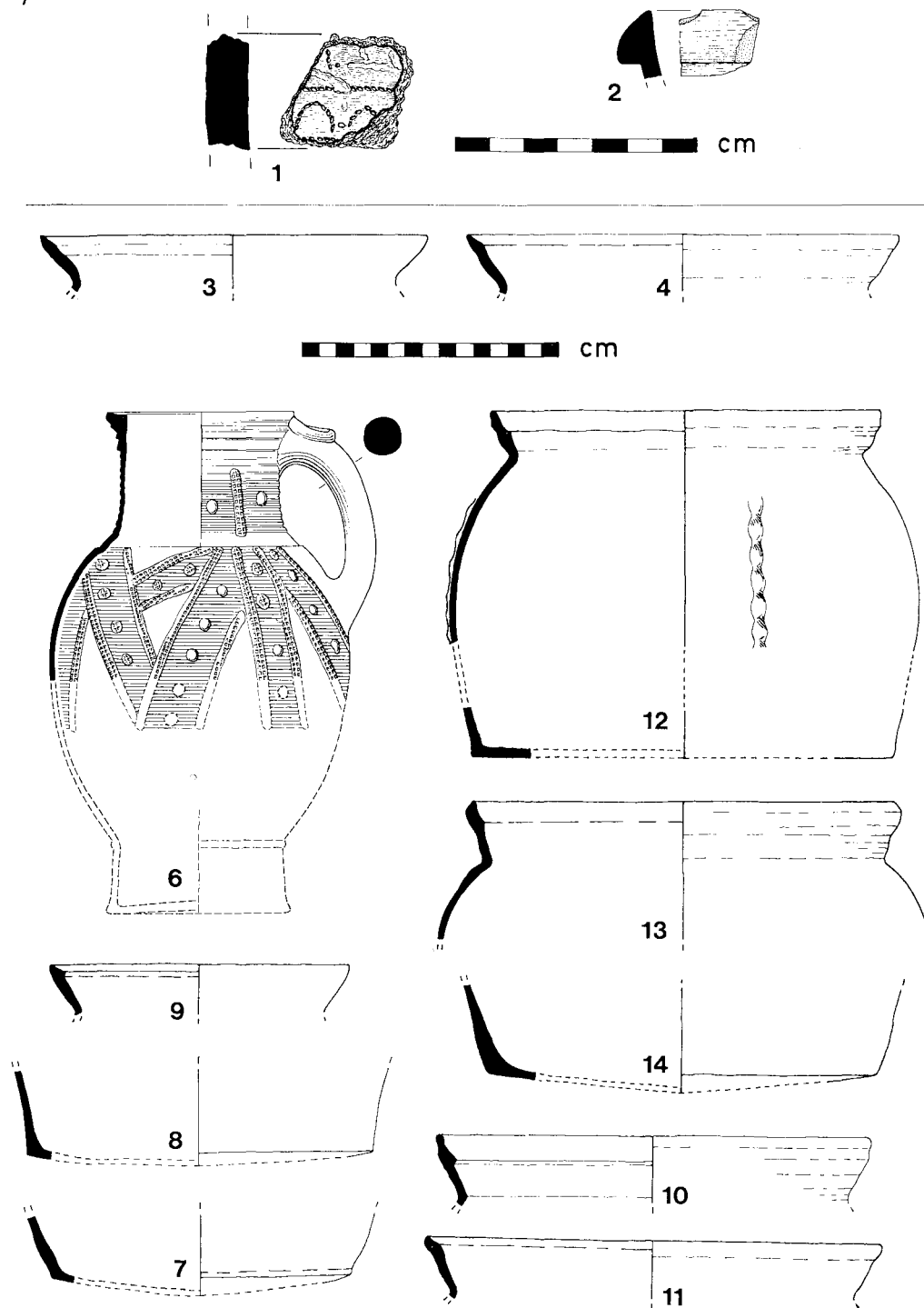


FIG. 20

1-2: prehistoric pottery. Scale 1:2. 3-11: medieval pottery. Scale 1:4

Beneath the Floor of Room I in Gully I (Section g-h, Layer 9)

Early Fabric c.1150-c.1225

8 (Fig. 20). Sherd from base angle of cooking-pot. Fairly hard; much fine angular quartz grit; light grey with orange-buff surfaces.

Below the Rubble Filling Room I, on Floor (Section c-d, g-h, Layers 6 and 7)

Early Fabrics ?c.1150-c.1225

9 (Fig. 20). Rim sherd from cooking-pot. Fabric as 8.

10 (Fig. 20). Rim sherd from cooking-pot. Hard, slightly sandy, with a few water-worn quartz grits and slate fragments; grey with grey-buff surfaces.

11 (Fig. 20). Rim sherd from cooking-pot. Hard sandy fabric, with sparse angular quartz grits; grey with buff-orange surfaces.

Rubble Filling the Well (Section c-d, Layer 14)

Medieval Fabrics, c.1250-c.1300

12 (Fig. 20). Sherds from a cooking-pot with applied finger-pressed strips. Hard with much fine water-worn quartz grit. Grey with buff surfaces.

13 (Fig. 20). Sherds from the upper part of a cooking-pot. Fabric as 12.

14 (Fig. 20). Sherd from base angle of cooking-pot — possibly 13. Soot blackened.

15 (Not illus.). Small wall sherd. Hard with much coarse sand; pink-buff throughout. A narrow, finger-pressed strip on the exterior. External good clear glaze.

On Cobble Surface Outside Tower Beneath Mound (Section e-f, Layer 61)

Early Fabric c.1150-c.1225

16 (Fig. 21). Rim sherd from cooking-pot. Fabric as 7.

In Shillet of Mound (Section a-b, Layer 34)

Medieval Fabric, c.1250-c.1350

17 (Fig. 21). Sherd from rim and top of handle of an unglazed jug in cooking-pot fabric. Hard with much fine quartz grit; grey with orange surfaces. Upper surface of strap handle stabbed with a square-ended tool. Scratched decoration on interior of rim.

From a Layer of Shillet Apparently Derived from the Mound and Forming the Lower Part of the Ditch Fill (Section a-b, Layer 29)

Medieval Fabric c.1300-c.1400

18 (Fig. 21). Sherd from the upper part of a cooking-pot. Hard with much water-worn quartz grit. Orange with a light grey core. Exterior decorated with a row of finger impressions; inside of rim with a wavy line. Soot on exterior.

19 and 20 (Fig. 21). Rim sherds from cooking-pots. Very hard, tempered with the maximum possible amount of quartz grit. Grey core, orange zones towards surfaces; thin grey zones at surfaces. Exterior decorated with horizontal combed lines.

21 (Fig. 21). Rim sherd? from small cooking-pot. Fabric as 19 and 20 but with larger grits.

22 (Fig. 21). Sherd from rim of an unglazed jug in cooking-pot fabric containing much quartz grit. Very sparse plates of black mica. Grey with orange surfaces.

23 (Fig. 21). Sherds from the lower part of a jug. Fairly soft, slightly sandy. Grey core, orange surfaces. Groups of finger impressions around base angle. Spots of thin clear glaze, mainly on the underside of the base.

24 and 25 (Fig. 21). Sherds from the rim and base angle of ? the same cooking-pot. Fabric as 19 and 20 but without the grey surfaces.

26 (Fig. 21). Bung-hole from near the base of a jug. Fabric as 24 and 25. Soot on exterior.

27 (Not illus.). Wall sherd from near the base of a jug with finger impression around the base angle. Hard, fine sandy. Buff, exterior dark grey. Traces of green glaze.

28 (Not illus.). Small wall sherd from jug. Similar to 27 but with less sand. Grey, buff interior surface; light green-and-brown mottled glaze on exterior.

From the Slope of the Mound and the Middle Part of the Ditch Fill (Section a-b, Layers 23, 25, 26, 27 and 28)

Medieval and late Medieval Fabrics c.1350-c.1450

29 and 30 (Fig. 21). Sherds from the rims of cooking-pots. Fabric as 18.

31 (Fig. 21). Sherd from rim of cooking-pot. Very hard, with much quartz grit. Grey core, orange zones and grey/orange surfaces. This late medieval fabric is indistinguishable from that of the 17th-century North Devon gravel-tempered wares and is also very similar to 18.

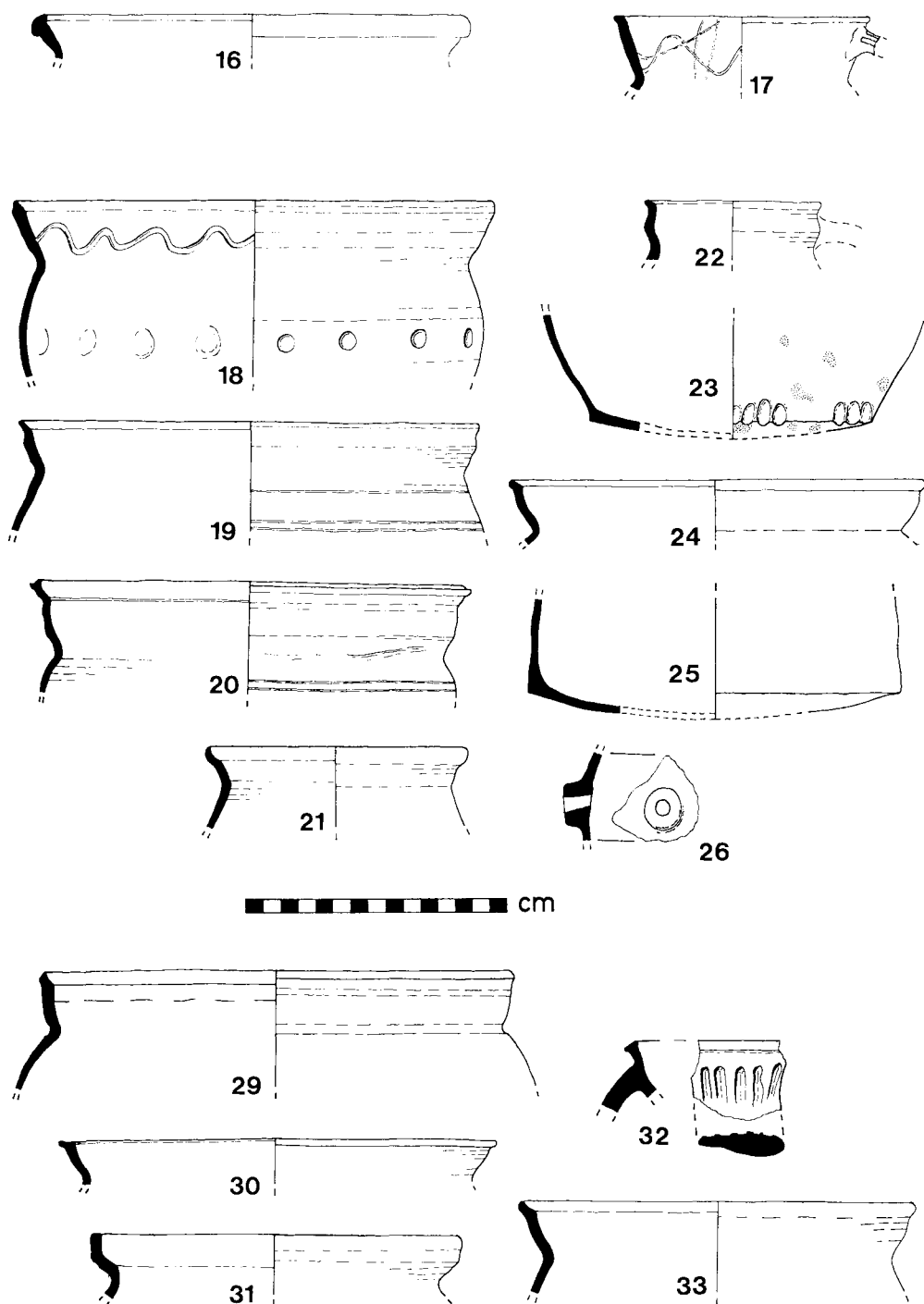


FIG. 21
Medieval pottery. Scale 1:4

- 32 (Fig. 21). Sherd from rim and top of handle of a jug, in cooking-pot fabric. Fabric as 31. Handle stabbed with a blunt point.
- 33 (Fig. 21). Sherd from the rim of cooking-pot. Fabric as 22.
- 34 (Not illus.). Wall sherd from jug with applied strip decoration. Fabric and glaze as 23. ? the same pot.
- 35 (Not illus.). Small wall sherd from jug. Fine cream-pale buff fabric. Horizontal combed lines on exterior under mottled copper green glaze. Import from SW. France.
- 36 (Not illus.). Sherd from strap handle. Hard, sandy; grey core, buff-brown surfaces. Stabbed with a knife. Unglazed.
- 37 (Not illus.). Lower part of strap handle. Deep grooves on upper surface. Fabric as 36. Exterior thick green-and-brown mottled glaze.
- 38 (Not illus.). Top of handle and a wall sherd from a jug similar to 6, except that the surface of the handle is covered with rouletting. Also a few small sherds apparently belonging to 39.

From the Fill of Gully VII, Trench M (Section x-y, Layer 3)

Medieval Fabrics, c.1350-c.1450

- 39 (Fig. 22). Wall sherds from a jug. Hard, sandy, orange-buff. Decorated with horizontal grooves and vertical rows of applied pellets. Exterior patchy dark and light green mottled glaze perhaps containing some copper.
- 40 (Fig. 22). Sherd from rim of cooking-pot. Fairly hard. Much fine quartz grit and some angular slate fragments. Grey core orange surfaces.
- 41 (Not illus.). Small wall sherd from a jug. Fine, micaceous. Pale buff fabric. Applied strips with rouletted decoration. Thin clear glaze. French.

From Stony Layer in the Bailey, Trenches K, L, M (Section x-y, Layer 2)

Medieval Fabrics ?c.1350-c.1450

- 42 (Fig. 22). Sherd from rim of cooking-pot. Fabric as 31. Neck angle reinforced/decorated with a finger-pressed strip.
- 43 (Fig. 22). Sherds from a jug. Fabric and glaze similar to 39 but with some sand. The rim sherd was found in the ditch silt (Layer 23, Section a-b).

From the Middle Fill of Room I (Section c-d, Layer 4)

Medieval Fabrics c.1200-c.1350

- 44 (Fig. 22). Sherds from the upper part of a cooking-pot; hard, with water-worn quartz grit and angular slate frags. Dark grey with brown surfaces. A small sherd from a base angle may be from this pot, indicating a flat or slightly sagging base. ? residual in this context.
- 45 (Fig. 22). Sherd from rim of cooking-pot. Fabric as 31. Scratched wavy line on inside of rim.
- 46 (Not illus.). Small wall sherd, perhaps from a tripod pitcher; hard, sandy; light grey with buff surfaces. External random combed decoration covered by a good light green glaze.

From the Upper Layers of the Mound Ditch in Trench F (Stratigraphically equivalent to Layers 20 and 21 in Section a-b)

Late medieval and early post-medieval Fabrics, c.1450-c.1550

- 47, 48 and 49 (Fig. 22). Sherds from the rims of bowls. Hard with much water-worn quartz grit. Grey core, grey-buff-orange surfaces. The fabric is practically the same as 31 and is typical of the North Devon gravel-tempered ware. Interior mottled green-brown glaze. Soot on exterior of 47 and 48.
- 50 and 51 (Fig. 22). Sherds from the rims of cooking-pots. As 31.
- 52 (Fig. 22). Sherd from rim and top of handle of a jug. Fabric as 22. The rod handle has been deeply stabbed with a round point on either side of its junction with the rim. Unglazed.
- 53 and 54 (Fig. 22). Sherds from the rims of jugs. Fairly hard, slightly sandy fabric with a few larger water-worn quartz grits. Internal thin green-brown glaze.
- 55 (Fig. 22). Sherd from the base angle of a jar. Gravel-tempered fabric as 47-49. Internal mottled brown glaze.
- 56 and 57 (Not illus.). Sherd from rims and twisted handles of jugs. Fabric as 52. Traces of glaze on exterior.
- 58 (Not illus.). Sherd from pedestal base of jar or cup. Fabric as 53 and 54. Thin greenish glaze on both surfaces.

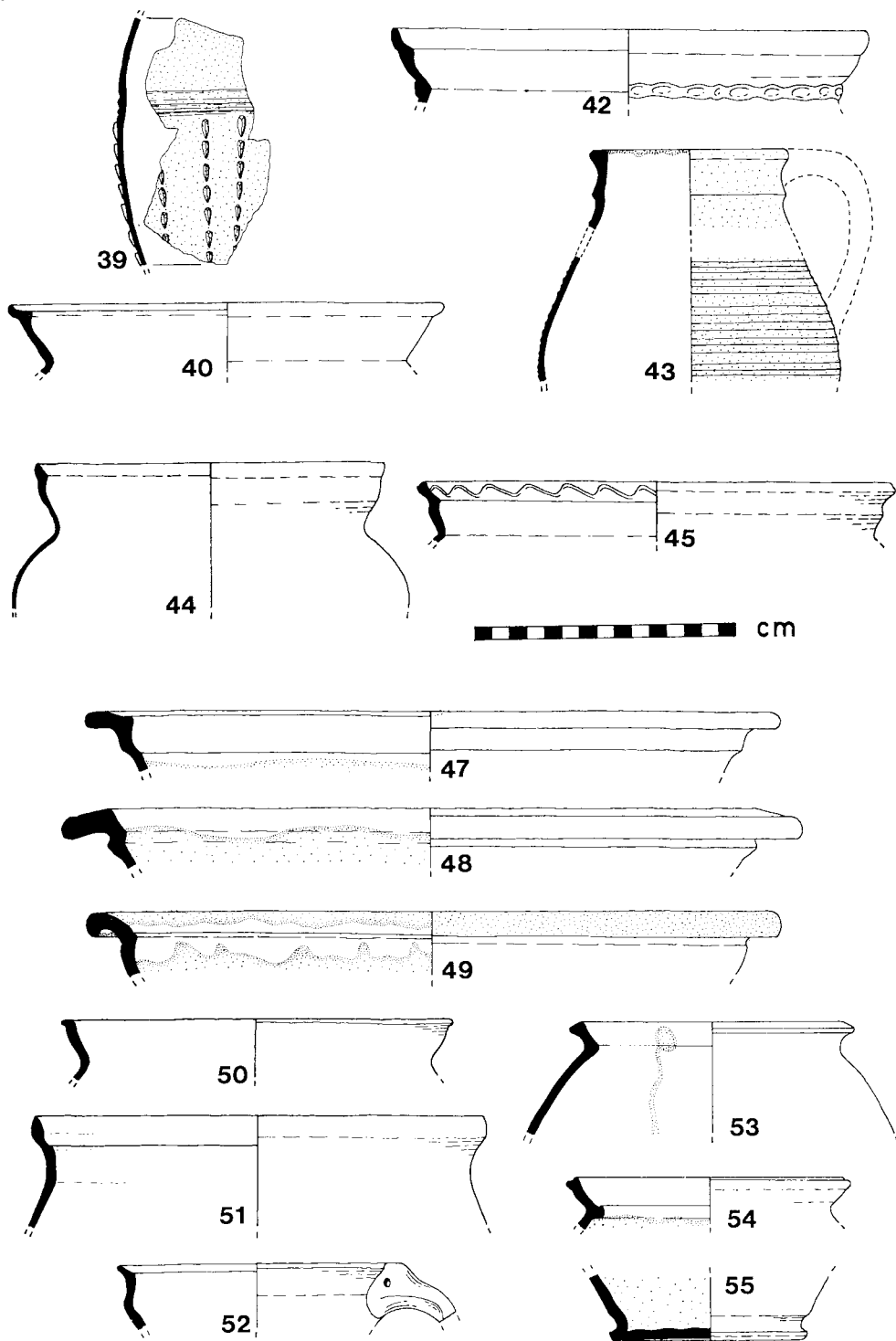


FIG. 22
Medieval pottery. Scale 1:4

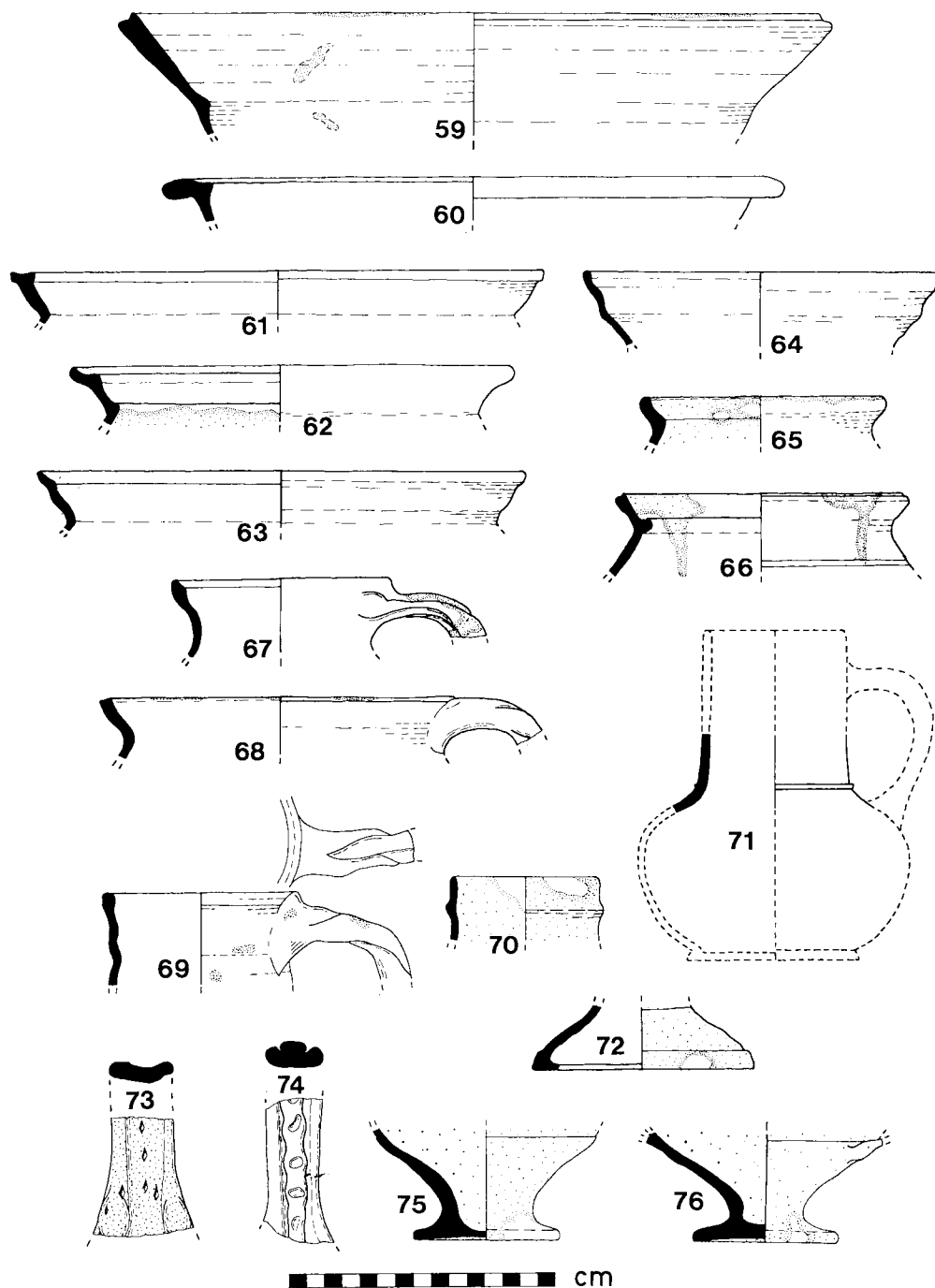


FIG. 23
Late medieval and early post-medieval pottery. Scale 1:4

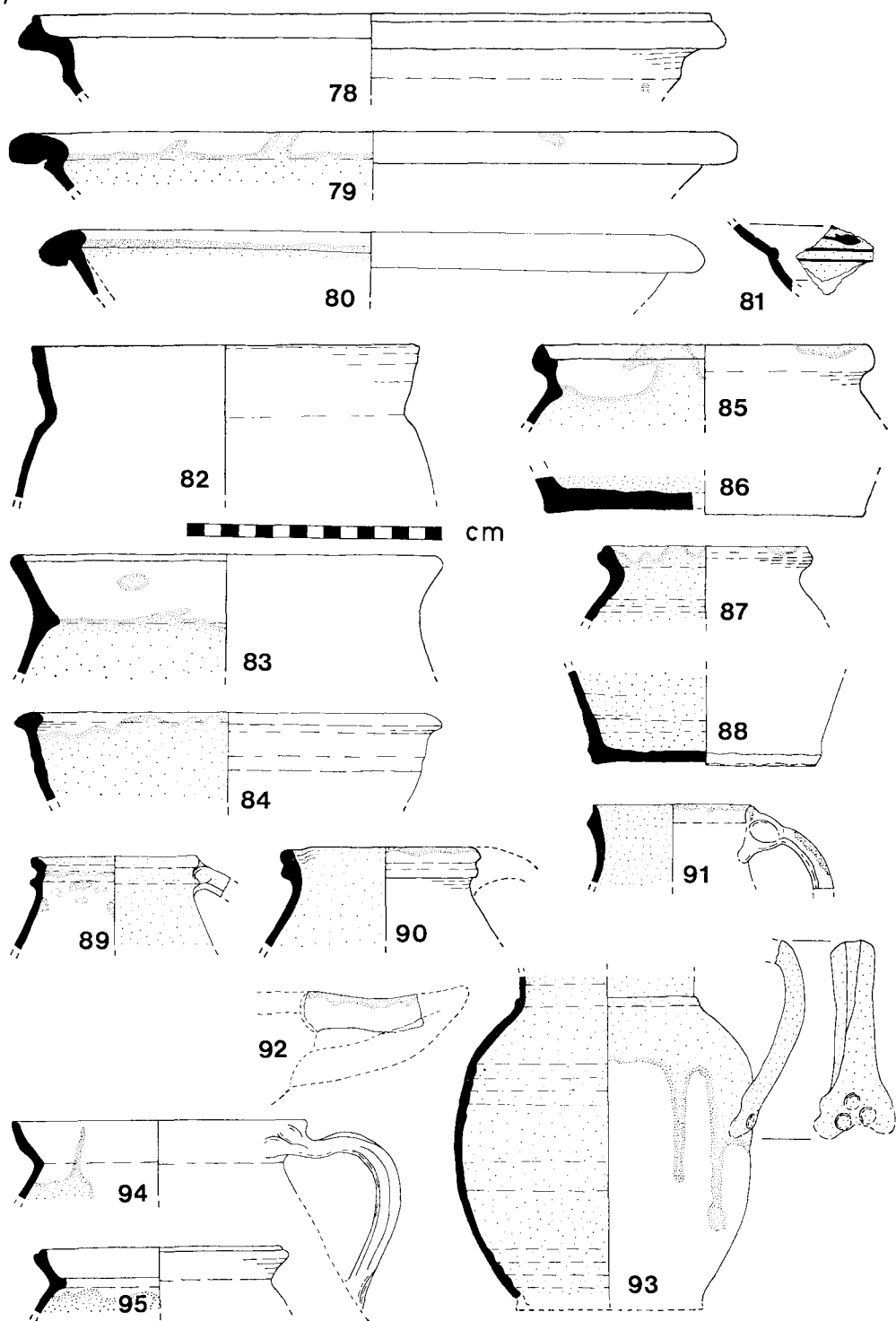


FIG. 24
Early post-medieval pottery. Scale 1:4

From Layers on the Slope of the Mound and high in the Silt of the Mound Ditch yet well below the Modern Turf (Section a-b, Layers 20, 21, 22, 24)

Late medieval and early post-medieval fabrics, c. 1450-c. 1600

59 (Fig. 23). Sherds from the rim of a large bowl. Hard with much coarse sand and occasional plates of black mica. Grey core, orange-buff surfaces. Traces of brown glaze on the rim. Splashes of white slip/glaze on the interior.

60 (Fig. 23). Sherd from rim of bowl. Fabric as 47-49.

61 (Fig. 23). Sherd from rim of cooking-pot. Fabric as 18.

62 (Fig. 23). Sherd from rim of jar. Gravel-tempered fabric as 47-49. Thick dark brown internal glaze.

63 and 64 (Fig. 23). Sherds from the rims of cooking-pots. Fabric as 31.

65 (Fig. 23). Sherd from rim of jar. Smooth, hard, with occasional quartz grits; grey with orange-buff external surface. Bubbly internal greenish glaze.

66 (Fig. 23). Sherd from rim of jar. Fairly soft slightly sandy with occasional plates of black mica. Thin green slip/glaze on interior.

67 (Fig. 23). Sherd from rim and twisted handle of a jug. Hard, slightly sandy; grey with buff surfaces. Runs of brown glaze on the handle.

68 (Fig. 23). Sherd from rim and twisted handle of a jug. Fabric similar to 22 and 52. Traces of glaze on rim. Soot on exterior.

69 (Fig. 23). Sherd from rim and twisted handle of a jug. Fabric as 67. Traces of white slip/glaze on exterior.

70 (Fig. 23). Sherd from rim of jug. Fabric as 53 and 54. Pale green internal glaze.

71 (Fig. 23). Sherd from the base of the neck of a jug. Grey stoneware. Light brown interior surface. Mottled brown salt-glazed exterior. Imported from Frechen.

72 (Fig. 23). Sherd from a hollow base, perhaps a chafing dish, fairly hard with much coarse sand. Thin green-brown glaze on exterior.

73 (Fig. 23). Sherd from the lower part of a strap handle. Very hard, slightly sandy. Dark grey core, orange surfaces. Stabbed. Good brown-amber glaze on exterior. The bottom of the handle has been pushed through a hole in the side of the pot and roughly smoothed over on the interior.

74 (Fig. 23). Sherd from a handle. Gravel-tempered fabric as 31. An extra strip, finger-pressed, has been added to the outer surface. Unglazed.

75 and 76 (Fig. 23). Pedestal bases from cups or bowls. Fairly hard fine fabric without added grit. Grey throughout but slightly pink where glaze does not cover the exterior surface. Good green glaze with brown streaks on both surfaces.

77 (Not illus.). Wall sherds from gravel-tempered jars or cooking pots with internal green-brown glazes. Fabric as 47-49. Soot on exterior.

From Soil and Rubble Layer over the Fill of Room I (Section c-d, Layer 3)

Early post-medieval Fabrics, c. 1575-c. 1650

78 (Fig. 24). Sherd from rim of large bowl. Hard, with much coarse sand/fine grit. Many plates of white mica. Grey with buff-brown surfaces. Drop of brown glaze on the exterior. The form and fabric indicate an origin in South Cornwall.

79 and 80 (Fig. 24). Sherds from rims of bowls. Hard smooth body with an added temper of water-worn quartz grit. Typical North Devon products. Internal mottled green-brown glazes.

81 (Fig. 24). Sherd from a deep dish or shallow bowl. Hard, fine, with a little added quartz grit; orange throughout. Internal white slip with sgraffito decoration under clear yellow glaze. Typical North Devon product of c. 1620-c. 1640.

82 (Fig. 24). Sherd from rim of cooking-pot. Fabric as 31.

83 (Fig. 24). Sherd from rim of jar. Gravel-tempered internal dark green glaze. Soot on exterior.

84 (Fig. 24). Sherd from rim of a basin. Gravel-tempered. Internal brown glaze.

85 (Fig. 24). Sherd from a rim of jar. Lightly gravel-tempered. Internal green glaze.

86 (Fig. 24). Sherd from base of jar. Could be the same pot as 83.

87 and 88 (Fig. 24). Sherds from rim and base of a jar. Lightly gravel-tempered. A piece of Devonian slate from a kiln support is stuck to the glaze on the top of the rim.

89 (Fig. 24). Sherd from rim and top of strap handle of a jug. Hard, sandy, fabric with a few reddish-brown inclusions. Grey core, orange surfaces. External thick dark green glaze.

90 (Fig. 24). Sherd from rim of jug with a pulled lip. Gravel-free fabric; dark green-brown glaze on interior.

91 (Fig. 24). Sherd from rim and handle of a jug. Gravel-free fabric. Dark green-brown glaze on interior.

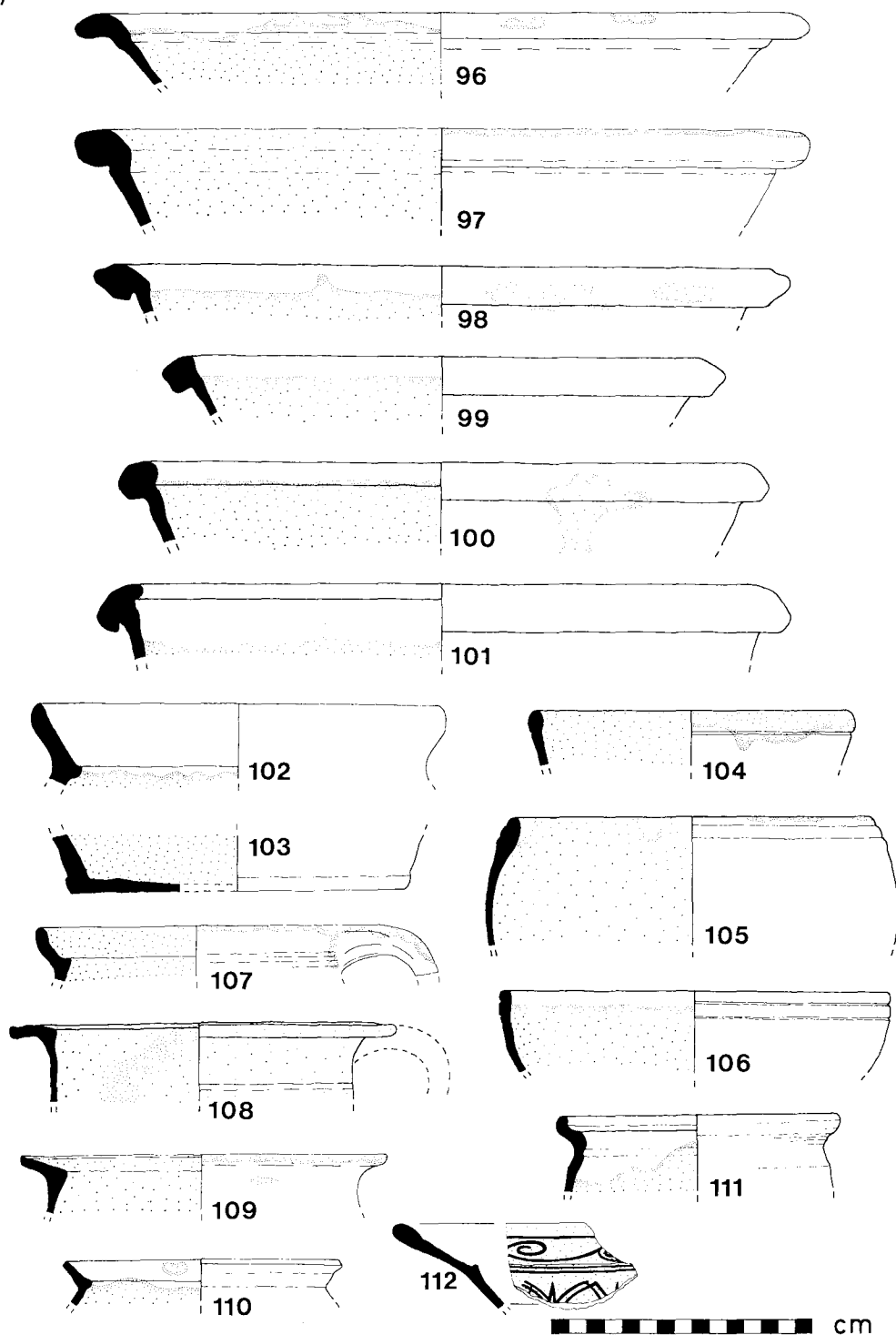


FIG. 25
Post-medieval pottery. Scale 1:4

- 92 (Fig. 24). Sherd from skillet handle. Heavily gravel-tempered. Brown glaze.
 93 (Fig. 24). Sherds from a jug. Lightly gravel-tempered body; heavily gravel-tempered handle. Dark brown glaze on interior and upper part of exterior.
 94 (Fig. 24). Sherds from rim and handle of a jar or jug. Hard, slightly sandy. Grey core, brown-buff surfaces. Thin clear internal glaze.
 95 (Fig. 24). Sherd from rim of jar. Fabric and glaze as 94, but less well fired.

From Layers above the Filled-in Ditch South-East of the Tower, Trench J (Section e-f, Layers 47, 48, 49 and 50)

Post-medieval Fabrics c. 1600–c. 1750

- 96–101 (Fig. 25). Sherds from rims of bowls; heavily gravel-tempered; internal glazes vary in colour from pale yellow-brown to dark green-brown; only 100 has soot on its exterior.
 102 and 103 (Fig. 25). Sherds from rim and base angle of ? the same jar. Gravel-tempered; internal brown glaze. Soot on exterior.
 104–106 (Fig. 25). Sherds from rims of basins. Gravel-tempered. Brown glazes. Soot on exteriors.
 107 (Fig. 25). Sherd from rim and top of handle of two-handled jar. Lightly gravel-tempered body, heavily gravel-tempered handle. Green-brown glaze.
 108 (Fig. 25). Sherd from rim of chamber pot. Gravel-free with external white slip which covers the rim and extends a little way into the interior. The clear glaze on both surfaces is brown over the unslipped body and yellow over the slip, much of it having flaked off over the slip. The glaze has bubbled in places. There are small flecks of green at random in the yellow glaze indicating small amounts of copper (? or arsenic) present in the lead.
 109 (Fig. 25). Sherd from rim of chamber pot. Gravel-tempered. Interior green-brown glaze.

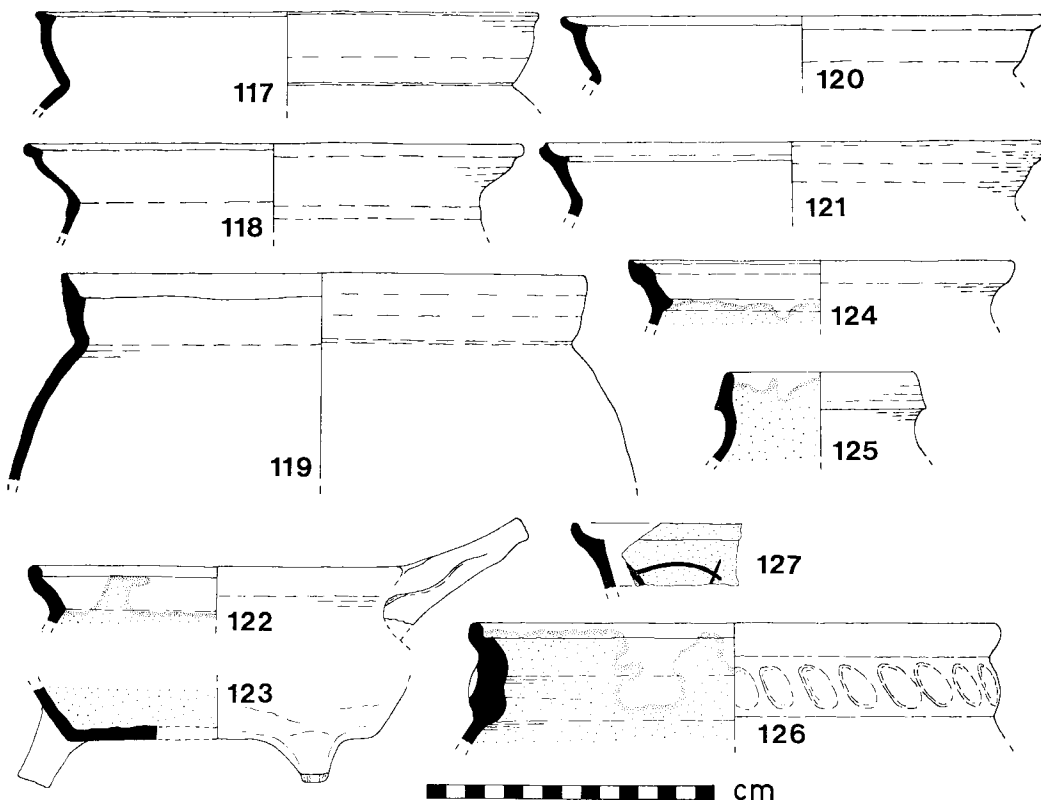


FIG. 26

Late medieval to mid 18th-century pottery. Scale 1:4

- 110 (Fig. 25). Sherd from rim of jar. Fairly soft sandy fabric. Internal green glaze.
 111 (Fig. 25). Sherd from rim of jar. Gravel-tempered with very coarse grit. Internal green-brown glaze.
 112 (Fig. 25). Sherd from rim of dish. Gravel-free. Internal white slip; sgraffito decoration of spirals surrounding a floral design. Usual yellow and brown glaze, flaked off over slip.
 113 (Not illus.). Sherd from moulded slipware dish with piecrust edge and 'Staffordshire' brown and cream combed slip decoration. This is a competent ? West Country copy in a buff-brown sandy fabric with occasional large sandstone inclusions.
 114 (Not illus.). Small sherd from rim of a cup or bowl, fine pale fabric with good yellow glaze over spots of brown slip below the rim. A true Staffordshire product.
 115 (Not illus.). Small sherd of white delftware.
 116 (Not illus.). Wall sherd; grey stoneware with moulded and stamped decoration. Areas of purple, blue and clear glaze. A Westerwald import.

From the Surface of the Rubble Spread (Layer 2) in the Bailey — Immediately below the Modern Turf, Trenches K, L and M (Section x-y)

A mixed collection; late medieval to mid-18th century.

- 117-21 (Fig. 26). Sherds from the rim of cooking pot. Fabric as 31.
 122-23 (Fig. 26). Sherds from rim/handle and a tripod foot of ? the same pipkin. Gravel-tempered. Green-brown glaze.
 124 (Fig. 26). Sherd from rim of jar. Gravel-tempered. Brown glaze. Soot on exterior.
 125 (Fig. 26). Sherd from rim of jug. Gravel-free. Green-brown glaze.
 126 (Fig. 26). Sherd from rim of large jar. A finger-pressed strip reinforces the neck. Gravel-tempered. Green-brown glaze.
 127 (Fig. 26). Sherd from rim of dish. Gravel-free. White slip. Sgraffito decoration. Yellow glaze.
 128 (Not illus.). Wall sherd from tankard. Fine buff-brown; brown glaze. Staffordshire.
 129 (Not illus.). Pottery counter. Carefully worked from a part of the base of a post-medieval pot. Very fine ware with some black mica grits, grey with a red outer surface. An even light brown glaze covers the interior surface.

ROOF TILES

By T. J. MILES

Many fragments of ridge-tile crests were found, some stabbed, and some with shallow grooves running parallel to the edges. The fabrics vary, some being gravel-tempered like the North Devon pottery and moulded floor-tiles of the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

TIMBER OBJECTS AND WOOD FROM THE WELL

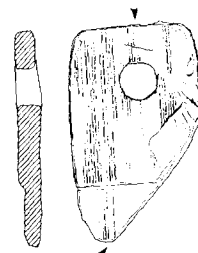
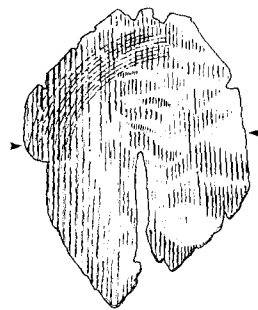
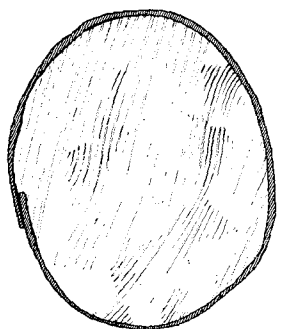
Unless otherwise stated, the wood was identified as oak (*Quercus* sp.) by CAROLE KEEPAX (*A.M. Laboratory*)

- 1 (Fig. 27). *Cask or bucket*. Bottom oval—1 ft. 0½ in. × 10 in. Single piece of wood with a thickness varying roughly ¾ in. The side was made up of one piece of flexible plank ¼ in. thick willow (*Salix* sp.). This was wrapped around the base, rebated to receive one end, the other end overlapping the other and pinned together. The sides were pinned to the base with wooden pegs. The base slightly chamfered towards the interior. Straight sided—unknown height, but at least 9 in. Top of sides cut straight. The pegs 1 ⅛ in. long tapering and polygonal about ¼ in. across the top. There were at least six pegs.
 2 (Fig. 27). *Bucket base* formed from a large block ¾ in. to 1½ in. thick, with peg hole about 1 in. in diameter. Parts of at least three similar objects. Probably of willow (*Salix* sp.); some turning marks were visible.

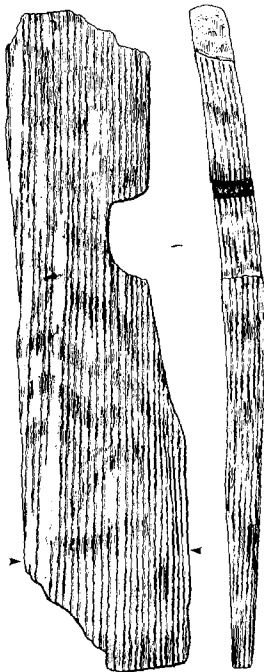
Pegs (Hazel, *Corylus avellana* L. and Hawthorn type, *Crataegus*/*Pyrus*/*Malus Sorbus* sp.)

Several were found, both square and round in section. The longest was 7¼ in. long with a blunt point.

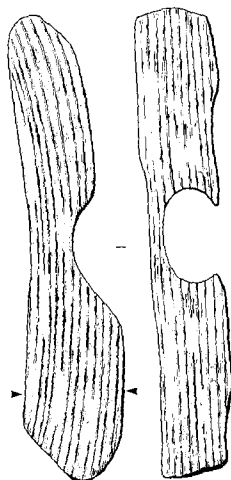
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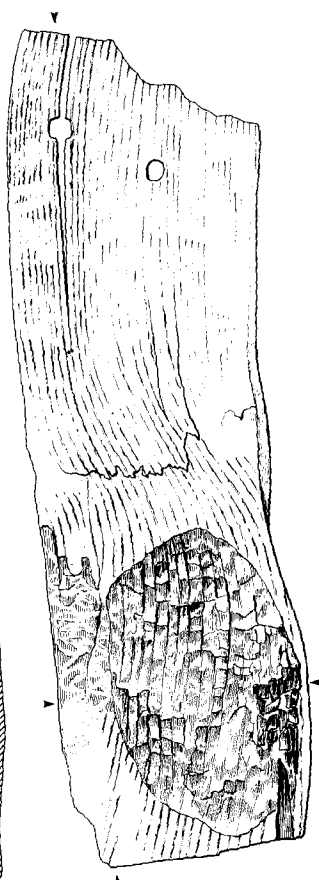
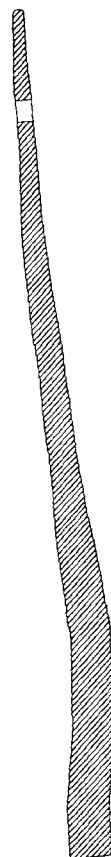


4



5

0 2ins.
0 5cm



6

FIG. 27
Timber objects. Scales as shown

Planks and boards

Fifty-five lengths of plank or board were recovered, ranging from 2 in. to 6 in. wide. Many were $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, but they varied between $\frac{1}{4}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. There were also wedge-shaped shingles, some with nail-holes (e.g. Fig. 27, 3).

Barrel staves

Five staves were recognized, all with chamfered edges. These included:

- 4 (Fig. 27). Tapered.
- 5 (Fig. 27). Damaged.
- 6 (Fig. 27.) Chamfered edge, pegged.

Timber pieces

Some of the water-raising mechanism of the well may have been recovered. Pieces included:

- 7 (Fig. 28). Straight length with cut ends and three mortises.
- 8 (Fig. 28). Flat length, one end charred.
- 9 (Fig. 28). Long tapering beam, with mortise ? as socket for a roller.

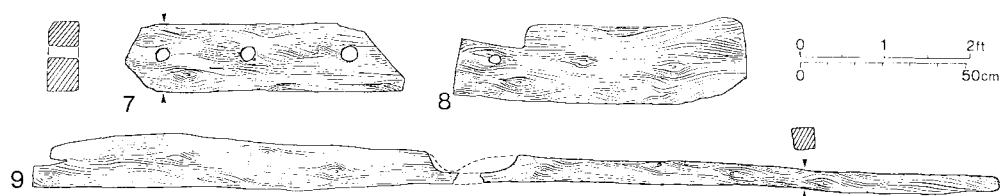


FIG. 28
Timber pieces. Scales as shown

STONE WATER SPOUT (Fig. 29)

A Hurdwick stone water spout is built into the SW. Period I wall of the tower (see above, p. 156, and Pl. ix, c and d) cut with a crude representation of an animal head.

ANIMAL BONES

By R. HARCOURT

This collection from the medieval layers was of such a size and nature that it is possible to do little more than list the species present. These were cattle, sheep, pig, horse, red and roe deer, fish and birds which were represented by 194 identifiable specimens, all of 13th or early 14th-century date, dated by associated pottery.

Measurable bones were few and the only one of note was an unusually small bovine radius from a fully mature animal.

Measurements of Bones

	Total length	Proximal width	Mid-shaft diameter	Distal width
<i>Cattle</i>				
Radius	227	60	32	48
Prox. Phalanx	—	21-26 (8)	—	—
Astragalus	52-57 (3)	lateral length	—	—
<i>Sheep</i>				
Humerus	114	—	12	24
	—	—	—	24-26 (3)
Tibia	—	32-36 (2)	—	—

Measurements are in millimetres with extremities measured across articular surfaces. Numbers in brackets denote the number of specimens.

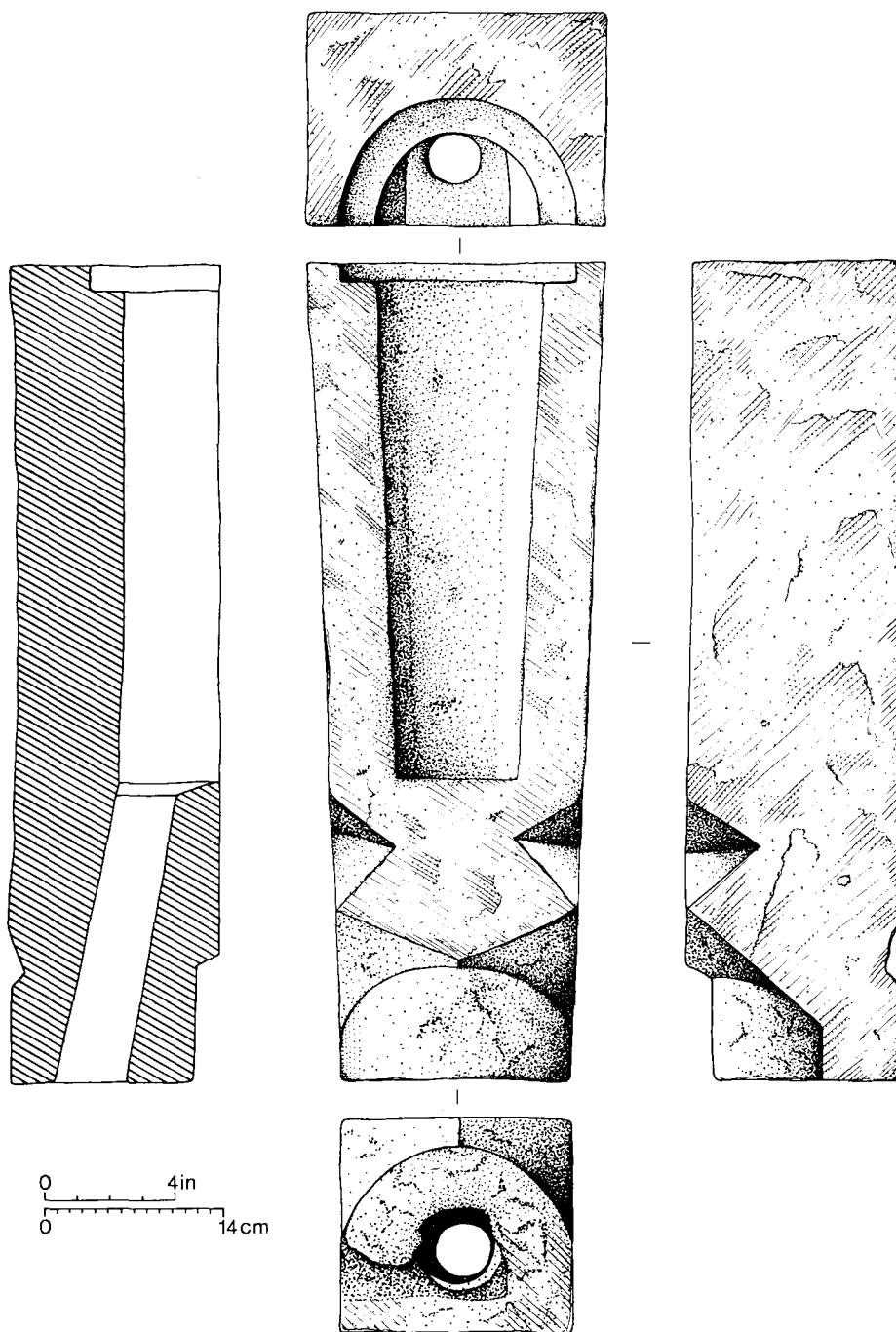


FIG. 29
Stone water spout (cf. Pl. ix, c and d)

The horse and roe deer provided only one bone each and the fish remains consisted of vertebrae of about the size of those of cod or hake. The bird remains were kindly identified by D. Bramwell and proved to be of domestic fowl, ordinary and bantam size, domestic goose, duck, probably domestic, and golden plover.

The femur of a fully mature pig showed necrosis of the posterior aspect of the neck and also, to a lesser extent, of the head. The lesion was probably due to a failure of the blood supply or may have been a sequel to an inflammatory process.

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NOTES

¹ *Medieval Archaeol.*, VIII (1964), 232; IX (1965), 170; X (1966), 168; XI (1967), 263; XII (1968), 155.

² *Ibid.*

³ C. A. Ralegh Radford, *Lydford Castle* (M.O.W. guidebook); R. N. Worth, 'Lydford and its Castle', *Trans. Devonshire Assoc.*, XI (1879), 283.

⁴ In the Domesday survey there were 28 burgesses in the borough and 41 outside. There were 40 wasted houses. '*Ibi sunt xl domus vastae postquam rex venit in Angliam*'. The reference to devastated houses hints at the presence of a castle within the borough but none is mentioned: *The Domesday Geography of South West England*, ed. H. C. Darby and R. Welldon Finn (Cambridge, 1967), 283.

⁵ Publications of the Pipe Roll Society (hereafter *PRS*) Richard I 1195, 125.

⁶ *PRS* 10 Richard I 1198.

⁷ G. H. Radford, 'Lydford Town', *Trans. Devonshire Assoc.*, XXXVII (1905), 175.

⁸ Devon: '*Et in operatione unius domus firme ad custodiendos prisiones R in villa de Lideford XXXI li. per breve R. et per visum Roberti de Parco et Ricardo de Widon*'.

Cornwall: '*Et in operatione cuiusdam firme domus in villa de Lideford ad custodiendos prisiones xlii li. per breve R. Et pro iudiciis et iusticiis faciendis vii s et vi d*'.

PRS 7 Richard I 1195, 125 and 132.

⁹ W. Stubbs, *Select Charters* (9th ed. 1951), 257.

¹⁰ H. P. R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey* (Cambridge, 1951), 172.

¹¹ '*Et in warristura castelli de Lideford pro xv baconibus et x carcossis vaccarum et x summis siliginis et xx quarteriis avene et i tunello vini et pro plumbo et ferro et aliis utensilibus x li. et viii s et iiij d per idem breve de qua warristura predict; debeant respondere sicut predictus w. dicit*'. *PRS* 1 John 1199.

¹² A. L. Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216* (Oxford, 1951), 12 n.

¹³ *PRS* 13 John 1211.

¹⁴ '*Et in emendatione castelli de Lideford xxix s et vi d per idem breve*

PRS 11 John 1209.

Et in emendatione domorum R. apud Lidiford xl s per breve eiusdem. Et Tome f. Ade xxs pro expensis quas posuit in prison Pictau per breve eusdem

PRS 10 John 1208.

¹⁵ G. R. Lewis, *The Stannaries*; also T. Pearce, *The Laws and Customs of the Stannaries in the Counties of Cornwall and Devon* (1725); Lady Radford, 'Notes on the Tinnars of Devon and their Laws', *Trans. Devonshire Assoc.*, LXII (1930); Finberg, op. cit. note 10; 'Short History of the Rights of Common upon the Forest of Dartmoor and the Commons of Devon. Report by Mr Stuart A Moore, and appendix of documents', *Dartmoor Preservation Association Publications*, 1 (1890) (hereafter *DPA*).

¹⁶ *DPA*, op. cit. note 15, 2.

¹⁷ Darby and Welldon Finn, op. cit. note 4.

¹⁸ *DPA*, op. cit. note 15, 2.

¹⁹ W. Crossing, *Guide to Dartmoor* (reprint, Newton Abbot, 1965), 24.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

²¹ *Cal. Close Rolls* 18 John m 6.

²² *DPA*, op. cit. note 15, *Cal. Charter Rolls* 23 Henry III.

²³ *Ibid.*, 6. *Cal. Close Rolls* 24 Henry III.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 4, 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 30, '*Dartmoor, curia legalis Foreste de Dartmoor tenta, apud Lydford*'.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 73.

³² *Ibid.*, 84.

- ³³ *PRS*, 38, 169.
- ³⁴ Finberg, op. cit. note 10, 172–73.
- ³⁵ *Cartae Antiquae*, 288; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 380.
- ³⁶ Pearce, op. cit. note 15.
- ³⁷ *Et si qui Stannatorum praed' in aliquo deliquerint per quod incarcenari debeant per custodem praedictum arresteritur, et in Prisonsa Nostra de Lidford et non alibi custodiantur et detineantur quo usq: Ibid.*, 187.
- ³⁸ Lady Radford, op. cit. note 15, 229, quoting *Close Roll*.
- ³⁹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, I, 297, no. 55, and 312, no. 95.
- ⁴⁰ Finberg, op. cit. note 10, 176.
- ⁴¹ Worth, op. cit. note 3, 298, quotes *Political Poems from Edward III to Henry VIII*, collected by T. Wright, vol. 1, 399, and *English Worthies in Church and State*, mainly an abridgement of Fuller published in 1684.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 244, Appendix Anno Quarto, Henrici Octavi. An Act concerning Richard Strode, Cap VIII.
- ⁴³ Lady Radford, op. cit. note 15, 239.
- ⁴⁴ *Cal. Liberate Rolls* 1226–40. 1239 'Compute to the said Hubert (Son of Matthew) in the issues aforesaid 13 marks that he expended by the King's order in repairing the houses of Lidford Castle when the castle was in his custody'.
- ⁴⁵ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 52 Henry III, 3.
- ⁴⁶ *Exch. T.R. Misc. Bk.* no. 57 cxxxi.
- ⁴⁷ C. Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History*, 47.
- ⁴⁸ *Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, 1296–1297*, ed. L. M. Midgley, Camden Society, 3rd Ser. LXVII (1945), 219; 'Idem r.c. de 6s 8d. de Ricardo fabro de Lyd [ford] pro ferro asportato de castro comitis'.
- ⁴⁹ *Cal. of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, III, Ed. I, 604, 456. Inquisition made at Exeter 22 Nov, 29 Ed I (1300).
- ⁵⁰ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1302–1307 Ed I, 478 20 Dec. 1306.
- ⁵¹ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1327–1330 Ed III, 472.
- ⁵² *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1317–1321 Ed II 22 Feb 1320, 424.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.* 1334–1338 Ed III 4 Oct 1337, 575.
- ⁵⁴ P.R.O. E 101/461/11 *Expensae castrorum et Parcorum* 17 Ed III.
- ⁵⁵ *DPA*, op. cit. note 15, 152. Records of the Court of Exchequer (Miscellaneous Minister's Accounts, 87):
- Extent 'Man'ior Dni Principis: '... ibide tunc tempis muri cuius et turric quadrate qui fuerunt cassi 4 ruinosi absq aliquo edificio vel clausur... construi et repat' ibide quedā turris bene Kernellat — tecto plato plumbeo coopt. in qua turri sūt due cum uno camion a due cam'e inferius cu una prinsona bene et decent' ornat' et repa t... quedam pua placea ossat vel'is Castris que nō includunt' et ideo nich respond de exit p annu...'*
- ⁵⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1388–92, 228.
- ⁵⁷ *The History of the King's Works*, II, ed. R. Allen Brown, H. M. Colvin, and A. J. Taylor (London, 1963), 733. Quotes *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1446–52, 23; 1452–61, 37–38; 1461–67, 360; 1467–77, 173.
- ⁵⁸ S. Rowe, *A Perambulation of Dartmoor* (1896), 301. Abstract of Minister's accounts rendered: 18 Henry VII, 1503–3.
- ⁵⁹ *King's Works*, II, op. cit. note 57, 734 n. P.R.O. E 306/13 folder 28.
- ⁶⁰ Duchy of Cornwall (hereafter DCO) Aug Office port f. 2 'An abstract of a Survey of Sundry woods within the County of Cornwall and of his Highness's mills within the borough of Lydford' taken in September 1618 by William Hockmere and others.
- ⁶¹ DCO, Dartmoor Proceedings 1203–1735, 50.
- ⁶² R. Granville, *The King's General in the West* (1908), 74 and 106; A. H. A. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions*, 151.
- ⁶³ *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War Kept by Richard Symonds*, Camden Soc. (1859), 82.
- ⁶⁴ Worth, op. cit. note 3, 291; transcript in DCO, Dartmoor Proceedings 1203–1735, 66.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 291–92.
- ⁶⁶ DCO, Dartmoor Proceedings 1203–1735, 86.
- ⁶⁷ Worth, op. cit. note 3, 292, quoting the Journals of the Rev. E. A. Bray, *Borders of the Tamar and Tavy*, 2nd ed. vol. II, 179.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 293, *Home Scenes*, 2nd ed., 113.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 293, *ibid.*, 115.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 292, *Borders of the Tamar and Tavy*, vol. II, 179.
- ⁷¹ Drawing in the Historic Plan Room, D.O.E., Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London W1X 2HE.
- ⁷² S. E. Rigold, 'Structural aspects of medieval timber bridges', *Medieval Archaeol.*, XIX (1975), 48. Certain similarities with the Lydford bridge abutment can be seen in P. A. Rahtz, *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex 1955–57* (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series No. 3, 1969).
- ⁷³ *Medieval Archaeol.*, IX (1965), 194.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, XII (1968), 155.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII (1964), 232; X (1966), 168.
- ⁷⁶ R. A. Higham, 'Excavations at Okhampton Castle, Devon. Pt. 1: The Motte and Keep', *Devon Archaeol. Soc. Proc.*, 35 (1977), 3.
- ⁷⁷ M. W. Thompson, 'Recent excavations in the Keep of Farnham Castle, Surrey', *Medieval Archaeol.*, IV (1960), 81.
- ⁷⁸ R. A. Higham argues a primary residential function for Lydford Castle, with the prison being of secondary and possibly later use: *The Castles of Medieval Devon* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter, 1979).
- ⁷⁹ R. B. Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1968), 187, 331, 362.

- ⁸⁰ N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1947). A. D. Saunders, 'Interim reports on excavations at Launceston Castle', *Cornish Archaeol.*, 3 (1964), 63; 9 (1970), 83; and 16 (1977), 129.
- ⁸¹ Radford, op. cit. note 7, 175.
- ⁸² E. M. Jope and R. I. Threlfall, 'The Twelfth-Century Castle at Ascot D'Oilly, Oxfordshire: Its history and excavation', *Antiq. Jnl.*, xxxix (1959), 219.
- ⁸³ R. B. Pugh, 'The King's Prisons before 1250', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th series, 5 (1955), 13; and op. cit. note 79.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid., 353.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., 364.
- ⁸⁶ J. Melville, 'Dalton Castle', *Archaeol. Jnl.*, 127 (1970), 266.
- ⁸⁷ Jope and Threlfall, op. cit. note 82, 267-68, fig. 21.
- ⁸⁸ P. V. Addyman and J. Priestley, 'Baile Hill, York: a report on the Institute's excavations', *Archaeol. Jnl.*, 134 (1977), 142, 145, fig. 11, 82.
- ⁸⁹ Excavated by T. J. Miles.
- ⁹⁰ D. A. Casey, 'Lydney Castle', *Antiq. Jnl.*, 11 (1931), 252, pl. xxv, 7. Oak handle identified by Ms. J. Watson, A. M. Laboratory report no. 3173.
- ⁹¹ W. O. Hassall, 'Notes on medieval spades', *The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe*, ed. A. Gailey and A. Fenton (Belfast, 1970), 30-34.
- ⁹² L. A. S. Butler, 'Medieval finds from Castell-y-Bere, Merioneth', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 123 (1974), 98, fig. 9, 28.
- ⁹³ Addyman and Bailey, op. cit. note 88, 140, fig. 10, 29-49.
- ⁹⁴ B. Ellis, in T. G. Hassall, 'Excavations in Oxford Castle, 1965-73', *Oxoniensia*, 41 (1976), 302, fig. 29, 108.
- ⁹⁵ A. C. Thomas, 'Imported pottery in dark-age Western Britain', *Medieval Archaeol.*, III (1959), 90.
- ⁹⁶ C. A. R. Radford, 'Imported pottery found at Tintagel', *Dark-Age Britain*, ed. D. B. Harden (London, 1956), fig. 14, 7.
- ⁹⁷ L. Alcock, *Dinas Powys* (Cardiff, 1963), fig. 26, 4.
- ⁹⁸ K. J. Barton, 'Medieval pottery at Rouen', *Archaeol. Jnl.*, 122 (1965), 73-85.
- ⁹⁹ The distribution map in *Rotterdam Papers*, I (1968), 44, fig. 20, now needs revision.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Trans. Devonshire Assoc.*, xcvi (1964), 359.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid., lxxxvi (1954), 247.