

Rumney Castle, a Ringwork and Manorial Centre in South Glamorgan

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with contributions by

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RUMNEY CASTLE, a small ringwork historically part of the marcher lordship of Gwynllŵg, was situated above a steep natural scarp overlooking the R. Rhymney. First mentioned in A.D. 1184–85, the castle guarded the W. boundary of the lordship and the river crossing. The defences consisted of a ditch and clay rampart constructed around three sides of the site. Initially incorporated into the defences along the fourth side was a large timber building and possibly a palisade. The entrance was originally defended by a large timber gate tower, later superseded by a smaller timber structure. Following this, the defences were strengthened with the widening of the rampart and the construction of a small tower or keep alongside the entrance. Several phases of timber building, including two large halls, were arranged around a courtyard. During a later period the entrance was relocated and a stone gate tower constructed.

During the second half of the 13th century the site was converted for use as a manorial centre. The rampart was levelled, the interior of the site infilled, and a range of buildings constructed along the edges of the mound. A well-sealed coin hoard of c. A.D. 1288–89 discovered in a destruction deposit provides a terminus post quem for the abandonment of the site.

Rumney Castle, South Glamorgan (Monmouthshire)¹ (GGAT PRN 618S) lies above a steep scarp on the NW. slope of Rumney Hill c. 4 km NE. of the centre of Cardiff and its castle, overlooking the R. Rhymney (Fig. 1). Historically part of the lordship of Gwynllŵg, the castle lay on what was the westernmost border of Monmouthshire, the boundary itself formed by the R. Rhymney, and was placed to guard the river crossing which was probably located in the same area as the modern bridge, approximately 300 m S. of the site. With the realignment of the Monmouthshire–Glamorgan border in 1938, when the boundary was moved eastwards to St Mellons, Rumney was placed within Glamorgan and was also incorporated into the City of Cardiff.

The castle was sited to utilize the protection of two steep natural scarps, one forming the NW. edge of the site created by the R. Rhymney which flows at its base and the other forming the NE. edge of the site created by a now dry small valley leading away at right angles from the Rhymney. The site was isolated from the rest of Rumney Hill by the digging of a ditch from the stream valley in a south-easterly direction then curving to the NW. and linking with the natural scarp above the Rhymney. This created a D-shaped mound *c.* 40 m by 45 m, similar in size and shape to Grosmont Castle in Gwent. Documentary evidence exists for a triangular-shaped outwork located immediately to the SW. of the castle and the greatly disturbed remnants of this feature lie in the rear of the car park of the Rumney Conservative Club, no. 633 Newport Road.

The site at the time of excavation was divided between two properties by a brick boundary wall, with approximately one quarter lying at the rear of no. 635 Newport Road (the Oaklands Hotel) and the other three-quarters behind no. 637 Newport Road (Tredelerch House).

Two separate excavations of the castle were conducted by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust in advance of development, sponsored on both occasions by the I.A.M. (Welsh Office, now Cadw) and a Manpower Services Commission Special Temporary Employment Programme. The entire summit of the mound was excavated, except for a 3 m wide baulk along the modern property line, and a limited portion of the ditch was also examined. The first excavation was behind the Oaklands Hotel, directed by P. Stanley and K. W. B. Lightfoot between 6 April and 4 July 1978. The second excavation, directed by K. W. B. Lightfoot, took place from 8 May 1980 to 1 December 1981 on the NE. three-quarters of the mound and ditch behind no. 637 Newport Road. Both time and labour were far more limited in 1978 compared with 1980–81 and a more complete and reliable history of the castle was recovered from the latter excavation, particularly for the earlier periods of occupation which were not uncovered during the 1978 season. Certain finds reports are incomplete due to a fire in the Trust's Headquarters in 1983.

THE EXCAVATIONS (Fig. 1)

The Oaklands Hotel, 1978 (GGAT site 18)

The area examined during the 1978 excavation comprised *c.* 350 sq. m of the mound and a 1 m wide section across the ditch extending SE. from the edge of the mound near the S. corner of the site. The excavations were conducted manually except for three machine-cut sections placed through the defences on the summit of the mound. Before excavation the summit of the Oaklands site was covered with sparse undergrowth and a small grove of young trees. The NW. portion of the site had been levelled for a tennis court earlier this century. The sides of the mound were heavily disturbed by large trees, two modern access paths, and a pair of air-raid shelters terraced into the slope of the ditch on the SW.

On the SE. the ditch was open to a depth of 4 m from the top of the mound and had been used as an ornamental garden in the recent past. A bridge spanned the ditch on this side, connecting the garden of the Oaklands Hotel with the mound. On

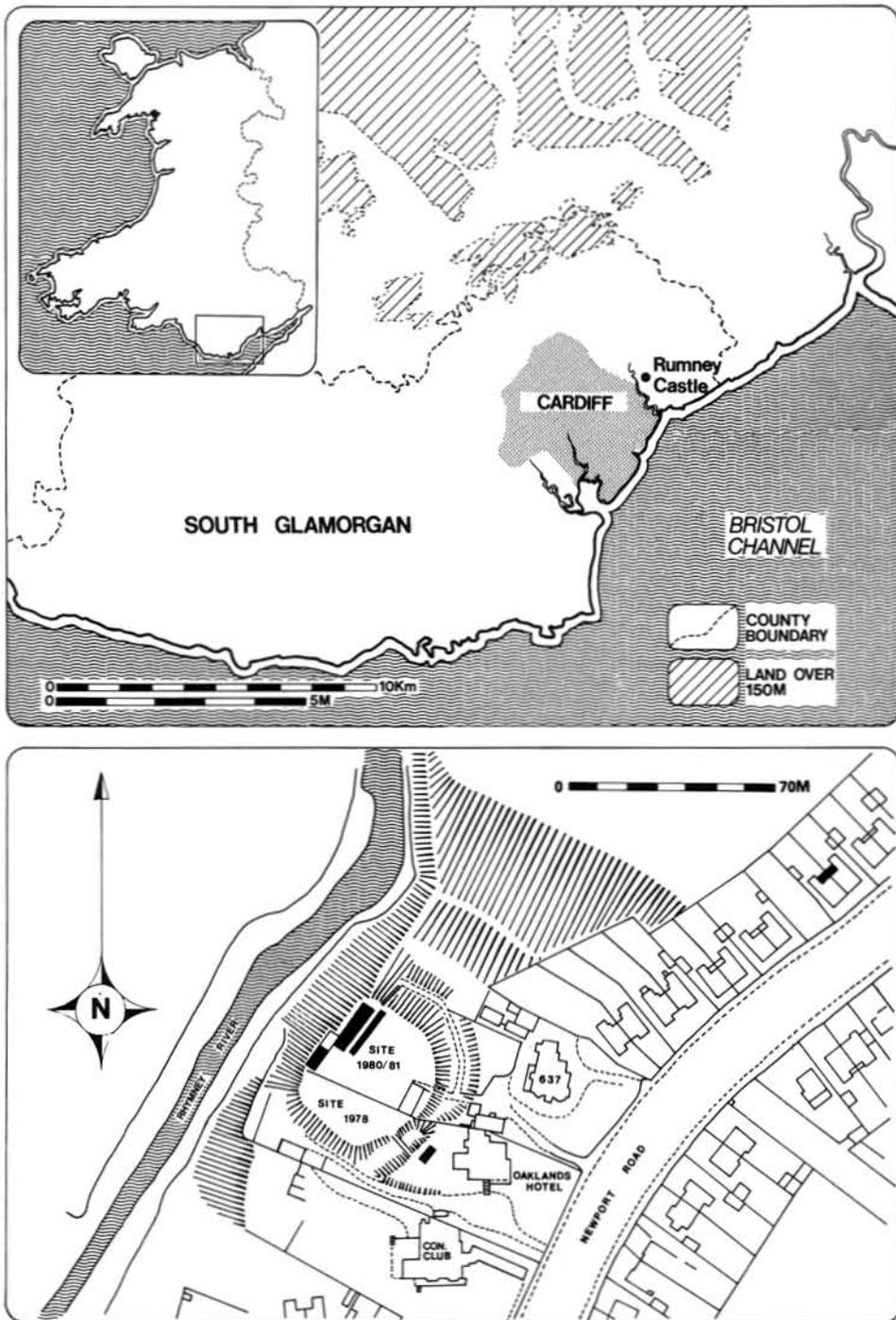


FIG. 1
Site location map and general site plan

the SE. the ditch bottom had been levelled for the insertion of a tiled path and any counterscarp had been destroyed by the construction of stables and a trackway leading from them to Newport Road.

637 Newport Road, 1980–81 (GGAT site 37)

The total area excavated on the NE. three-quarters of the mound during the 1980–81 project amounted to *c.* 1300 sq. m and included the entire mound summit and a limited portion of the ditch. The excavation was conducted entirely by hand. Until a few years before the excavation the site had been used as a market garden. The initial stages of the excavation involved the clearance of extremely dense undergrowth and the removal of the foundations for three brick greenhouses associated with the market garden.

The section of ditch behind 637 Newport Road had been almost completely infilled during the late 19th century to allow access to the site and was traceable only as a broad shallow depression with a maximum depth of 1 m from the top of the mound.

CHRONOLOGY

The establishment of the castle and the later conversion to a fortified manor cannot be closely dated.² The main difficulty in establishing a chronological sequence arises from the layout of the site, where structures were arranged around a central courtyard and were not often stratigraphically linked. While the sequence of superimposed buildings can be determined, the limitations of rescue archaeology undoubtedly affected the recovery of evidence; many minor features cannot be convincingly interpreted and several, particularly those from early deposits, could not be fully excavated in the time. Moreover, the surviving documentary evidence provides almost no insight into the structural history of the site, though a discussion of the limited material in its regional context is provided in the appendix to this report. The conversion from castle to manor involved levelling the rampart and casting the resulting material into the interior of the site in order to create a new fortified mound. This caused the earlier deposits to be well sealed and created a clear distinction between castle and manor. Within this broad division distinct periods with various phases are evidenced by superimposed structures and features. In some cases architectural details, such as the type of stone or bonding agent used in construction, may permit certain buildings to be associated with a particular period. In other instances pottery sherds from the same vessel or vessels have established links between different features.

Apart from a few scattered sherds of Romano-British pottery (and a Roman earring, bronze object no. 9), and a glass bead of 7th- to 10th-century date, the earliest datable objects from the site were coins of Henry III (1216–72 and *c.* A.D. 1270). The abandonment of the site can be dated after *c.* A.D. 1288–89 by a well-sealed coin hoard, but nothing was recovered that could closely date any of the earlier periods. Any dates offered for features prior to the deposit of the coin hoard are therefore tentative.

PERIOD I (Fig. 2)

DESCRIPTION

A ditch was dug to isolate the site from the rest of Rumney Hill, and a rampart was formed from the resulting upcast. A timber gateway was erected on the SE. and a timber building was constructed along the NW. edge of the site. Only one area of the ditch was completely sectioned but it was probably cleaned or widened in subsequent periods.

The rampart, which was erected around the SW., SE. and NE. sides of the site, averaged between 5 m and 8 m in width at the base and survived to a maximum height of only 1.50 m as it was levelled during Period VI. It was composed of several layers of heavy clay which contained a great quantity of limestone rubble. There was no evidence to suggest that the rampart ever existed on the NW. side of the site, which was naturally protected by a steep slope and the R. Rhymney. There is evidence to suggest that the rampart was not a primary feature of the defences along a part of the NE. side. A thin occupation layer containing charcoal, bone and several sherds of unglazed pottery extended from the NE. edge of the site for c. 7 m to the SW. Though only partially excavated, it is clear that it was sealed beneath rampart material of different make-up than elsewhere on the defensive circuit, suggesting a later infilling.

The gate

The original entrance into the castle consisted of a narrow gap through the rampart along the SE. side, close to the E. corner of the site. This gap, which was not discernible before excavation, was marked by three series of post-pits, two of which flanked either side of the gate passage while the other traversed it. Although the sequence of those post-pits defining the width of the entrance and thus forming the gate passage itself is clear, their relationship with those spanning the gap is not. In its original form the gate passage was shaped like a straightsided funnel that grew wider towards the interior of the castle. At either end of the gate passage was a pair of large oval post-pits 1.13 by 0.95 m and 0.45 m deep, whose characteristics distinguished them from all other features within the entrance (Fig. 3; Pl. VII, A). Each pit contained a rectangular post-pipe averaging c. 0.25 m by 0.30 m. The posts at the exterior of the entrance had been set 2.40 m apart; the interior posts were set back 3.20 m and were spaced 4.80 m apart, thus making the rear of the entrance exactly twice the width of the front.

Midway along both sides of the trapezoidal gate passage were intermediate pits in direct alignment with those at either end. These were again also oval in shape, but of much smaller dimensions. There was no trace of a post-pipe associated with the smaller of the two, which measured 0.30 m in length, 0.24 m in width and 0.44 m in depth. The other, roughly twice as large, was slightly shallower at 0.37 m in depth but contained an oval post-pipe 0.12 by 0.20 m.

Possibly associated with the gate during this period were two further pits situated within the gate passage itself, and in line with the intermediate pits. They had been partially destroyed by later features, but enough survived to show that they were 0.38 m and 0.40 m deep and at least 0.48 m and 0.40 m across respectively; neither contained any trace of a post-pipe.

At the rear of the gate passage the terminals of the rampart splayed out into the interior of the site in a wide curve. A thin layer of occupation accumulated over the tail spread of the one to the NE. and amongst the finds recovered from this deposit was a bone gaming counter. Immediately on either side of the entrance, the clay deposits forming the rampart terminals were distinctly red in colour, as though they had been exposed to intense heat, but the area occupied by the gate itself showed no such evidence.

Flanking either side of the mouth of the entrance and running along the lip of the ditch were three slots, two of which were parallel and extended E. towards the corner of the site, while the other extended to the W. These features varied greatly in width (0.25 to 0.80 m) and in depth (0.15 to 0.34 m). As only a limited portion of the ditch was excavated in this area,

their full length was not traced. Each was filled with compacted redeposited natural clay and one contained very faint traces of probable charcoal. The two slots extending E. ran along the lip of the ditch in step-like fashion, with the lower of these in direct alignment with the single slot on the opposite side of the entrance. These aligned slots terminated just before the mouth of the entrance where there was a slight recess in the side of the ditch conforming to the exterior width of the gate. The uppermost of the slots extending E. was terminated by a cut where this side of the entrance had been levelled into natural clay.

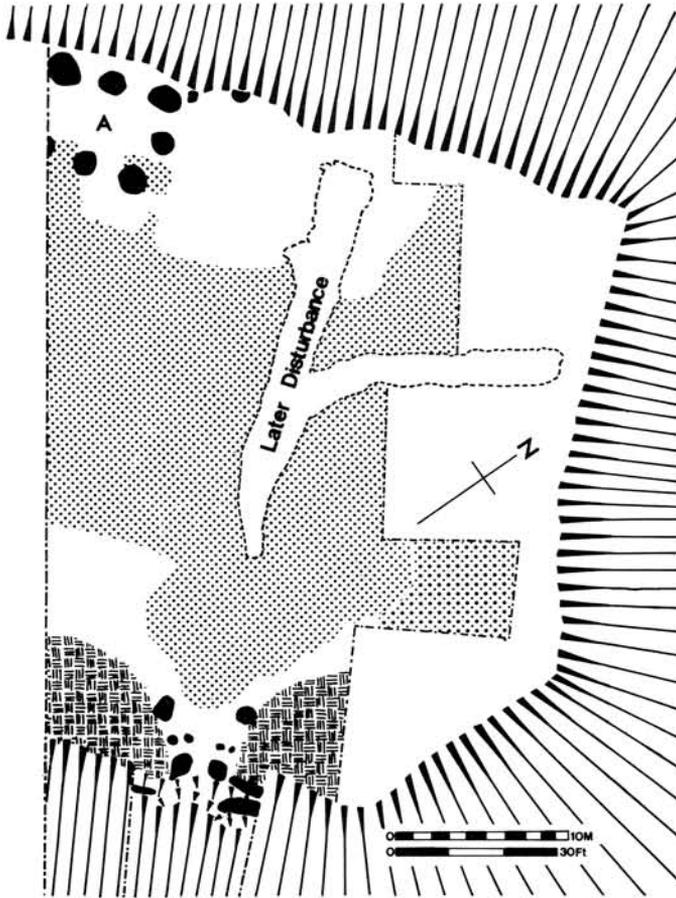
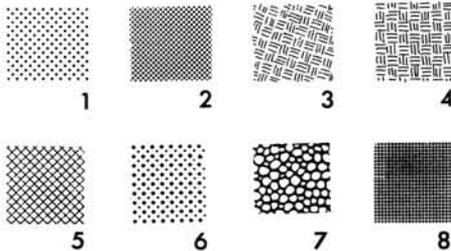


FIG. 2
Features of Period I

Key for Period plans: 1, 8: metalling; 2: robbed stone; 3, 4: clay; 5: burning; 6: layer of occupation; 7: blocked drain



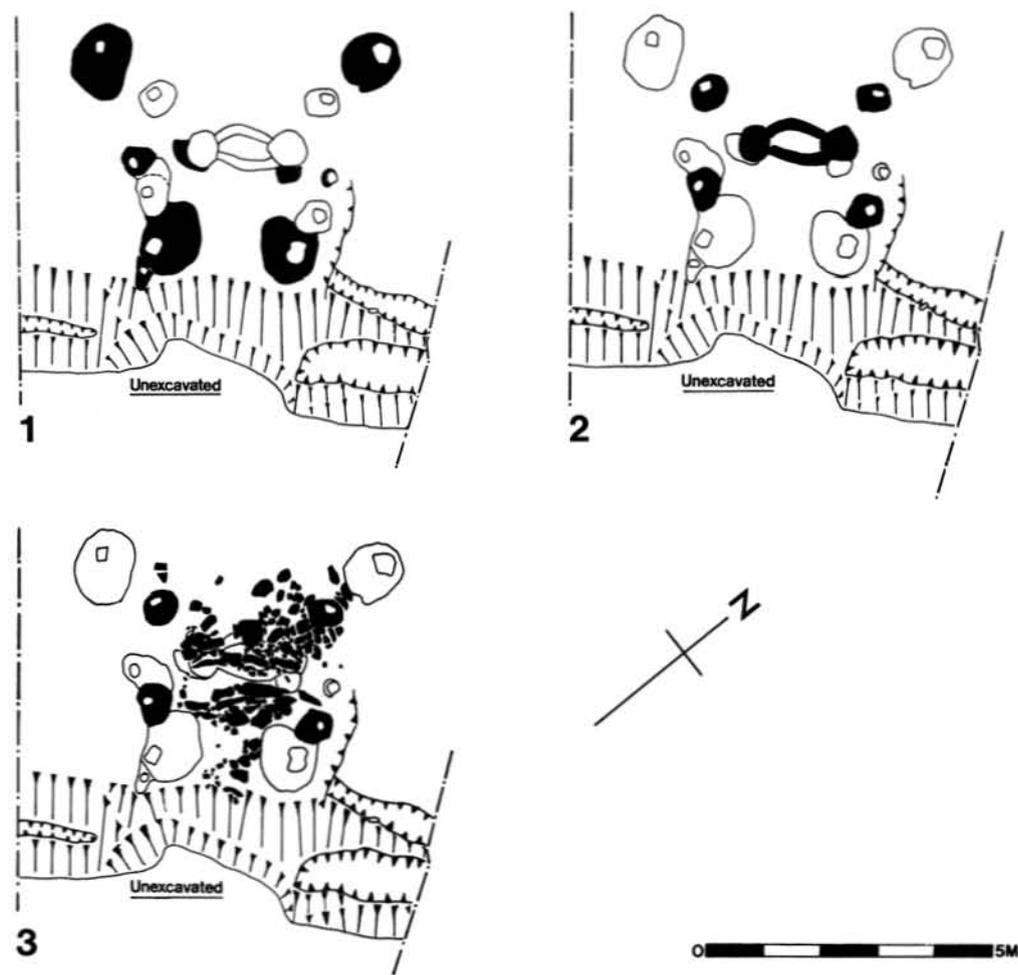


FIG. 3
Timber gate, Periods I-III

The central part of the site was left open and metalled directly onto bedrock or natural clay with small chips of limestone and sandstone, though this was patchy. Only a small portion of the metalling was excavated, and the possibility of earlier features underlying this surface cannot be ruled out.

Building A

Constructed directly along the NW. edge of the site overlooking the river was a building of post construction, Building A (Fig. 4; Pl. VII, B). With its long axis aligned with this edge, the structure was defined by two parallel rows of large round post-pits which averaged 1.40 m in diameter. Of the seven pits associated with Building A, three appeared to have been cut through the metalling of the courtyard. Only one pit was fully excavated, and proved to measure 0.93 m deep. Although most of the pits were disturbed by later activity, evidence for three post-pipes was discovered. Two were round and measured 0.30 m in diameter and the

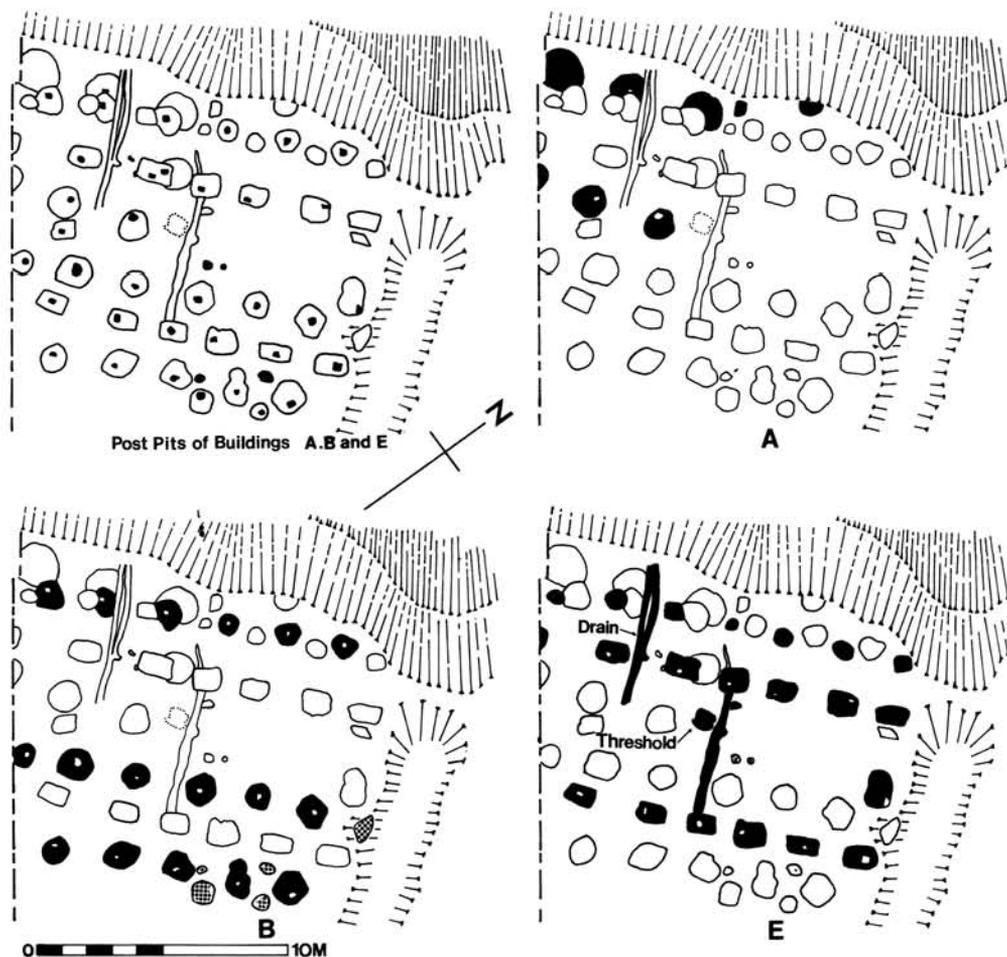


FIG. 4

Detailed plans of Buildings A, B, and E

third, though partly destroyed, appeared to be rectangular but of a similar size. The NE. end of the building was marked by a centrally placed post-pit. Despite later disturbance which removed any trace of a post-pipe, the positioning of this pit in relation to the other two forming the N. and E. corners of the structure strongly suggests that this end was bowed. The SW. end of the building lay outside the area of excavation. Building A was 4.60 m wide and at least 7 m long. Nothing remained of any other feature which could be directly associated with this structure.

Along the edge of the site to the NE. of Building A were two post-pits, one rectangular and the other round, which measured 0.4 m by 0.6 m and 1 m in diameter respectively. The round pit was partially destroyed by the erosion of the NW. edge of the site and neither was fully excavated.

Several postholes located near the inner face of the SE. rampart immediately W. of the entrance were possibly associated with this period, being sealed by a later extension of the

rampart, but form no obvious plan. Further along this same stretch of defences a single posthole with packing stones was revealed in the machine-cut section of the 1978 excavations. Measuring *c.* 0.40 m in width by *c.* 0.15 m in depth, this feature was directly sealed by both a layer of clay making up the tail of the rampart and a thin layer of clay and silt which extended horizontally in section towards the interior of the site (Fig. 12).

DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

The evidence relating to the establishment of the castle and its earliest occupation is scant and permits only limited discussion. The most confused picture is that regarding the defences, particularly the stretch along the NE. side of the ringwork where the rampart sealed a layer of occupation. Of all the sections of rampart examined this was the only area which overlay a feature clearly of an earlier date. Furthermore, its make-up was loose and voided, unlike all other excavated sections which were all compacted and well consolidated. This suggests that it was an addition constructed over an area which originally formed some kind of gap in the defences. The evidence relating to the construction of the keep in Period III suggests that this gap may have been filled at that time, though this is far from certain.

The width of the original rampart was principally demonstrated by the layer of occupation which accumulated over its tail near the entrance. Confirmatory evidence was recovered in the N. corner of the site where one part of the foundations for Building K, a service block for the Period VI hall, had been set directly on the consolidated remnants of the original rampart.

Owing to their position in relation to the entrance, the three slots found flanking the mouth of the gate passage have been interpreted as evidence for a timber revetment of the rampart while an examination of the evidence recorded in the 1978 machine-cut section could be taken to imply that there may have been an interior revetment employing earth-fast vertical posts along part of the defences, though this single posthole could have been associated with a building constructed along the tail of the rampart.

The entrance to the castle during this period has no known direct parallel anywhere. The funnelling of a gate passage is not unique, with the two German fortified sites of Benningser Burg³ and Hünenburg⁴ being the most widely known examples.⁵ These differ considerably from the Rumney gate, however, in that their entrances funnelled an approach inwards, forcing an attack to be concentrated in a progressively confined area in front of the gate tower, which itself sat back considerably from the outer face of the rampart in a protected position. At Rumney the defensive thinking appears to have been to allow the massing of superior numbers of defenders who could assemble immediately behind the door and confront any successful breach by directing an overwhelming response that focused on a relatively restricted area. The difficulty with such an arrangement, however, is that it allows a response only after a successful breach of the gate has been made and it may have been designed to afford a last line of defence before being over-run.

A number of possible reconstructions can be offered for the gateway, many of the issues being similar to those considered for the ringwork at Penmaen⁶ by Leslie Alcock.

The argument for a sophisticated timber-framed gate tower at Penmaen hinged on four principal considerations: the size and depth of the posts used; their layout; the apparent lack of accommodation on the interior of the site; and the improbability of such a wide gap having formed merely a simple gate passage with a door spanning anything approaching its full width. The impressions of the post-pipes found at Rumney indicate that substantial timbers had been used in the construction of the entrance and that the strength of the structure relied principally on those forming the corners. The comparative shallowness of the pits into which these four posts had been set does not suggest that they had been carried up to any great height, but it should be kept in mind that subsequent work in this area during the construction of the Period II gate may have reduced their apparent depth; the considerable width of the post-pits would only seem necessary if they had been originally dug from a higher level. It is therefore possible that a superstructure capable of bearing a very considerable load, and carried up to an appreciable height, could have existed here.

One feature which undoubtedly would have had an important bearing on the actual form of the gate would have been the position of the door. At Penmaen it was suggested that a door occupying about one third of the external frontage of the gate tower had been hung on a frame, itself carried on a sole plate for which no definite evidence was found. At Rumney it is possible that the confusion of pits and slots spanning the entrance midway along the gate passage marks the position of a door frame, but precisely how they functioned is far from clear. If the pits were intended to hold door posts, then the maximum width that any two would have afforded for a doorway would have been *c.* 2 m. While this corresponds roughly to the presumed width of the door at Penmaen, no definite evidence was found to indicate that any of the pits had ever contained vertical timbers.

If it is accepted that the pits mark the position of a recessed doorway, it is necessary to consider how this would have influenced the overall design of the gate. The ability to defend from above against a direct attack would have been a concern and best achieved by means of a bridge, or fighting platform at least, carried on a tower. In such a case there are two possibilities based on the surviving evidence; either the entire gate passage was completely covered over by a tower carried on all six posts defining the sides of the entrance, or a tower rose only behind the door, carried on the middle and end pairs of posts. As the single middle post for which there was evidence was small (0.12 by 0.20 m), it is doubtful whether it could have served as a corner post for a tower. It is therefore more likely that the gate tower was carried on all six posts, although this interpretation is not without its problems. Not least of these is to explain how a bridge or floor covering the front of the gate passage could have been prevented from offering shelter for attackers who managed to reach as far as the door.

The area of any floor based on the ground plan of the entrance at Rumney would have been rather small, *c.* 10.5 sq. m as compared to *c.* 36 sq. m per floor at Penmaen. It is therefore difficult to argue that a gate tower at Rumney had any domestic as well as military role.

As Building A was the earliest of a succession of buildings to occupy the W. corner of the site, it has been ascribed to Period I, although its relationship with the

metalling of the courtyard suggests some lapse of time, however short, in phases of construction associated with the earliest castle. The tentative identification of this building as a hall is based on two entirely subjective factors. The first is a tenuous association between it and its successors, Buildings B and E respectively (Fig. 4; Pl. VII, B). As both these later buildings were clearly halls it may be that this particular corner of the site was the preferred location for such a building. The second consideration was the size of the building which, although modest in relation to its replacements, was comparable in size (4.6 by at least 7 m) to a number of structures identified as halls at other sites.

It is worth mentioning that of the known corpus of buildings so far found at early castle or manorial sites in Wales, this is possibly one of the earliest contexts for a substantial building of post construction. The closest parallel is Building 2 found at Llantrithyd, which is dated to A.D. 1124–50.⁸

Two post-pits situated only a short distance away from Building A may have been used for a palisade which, together with the NW. side of Building A, formed the defences along this side of the site. Any additional evidence in support of this theory, however, is likely to have been lost through erosion.

PERIOD II (Fig. 5)

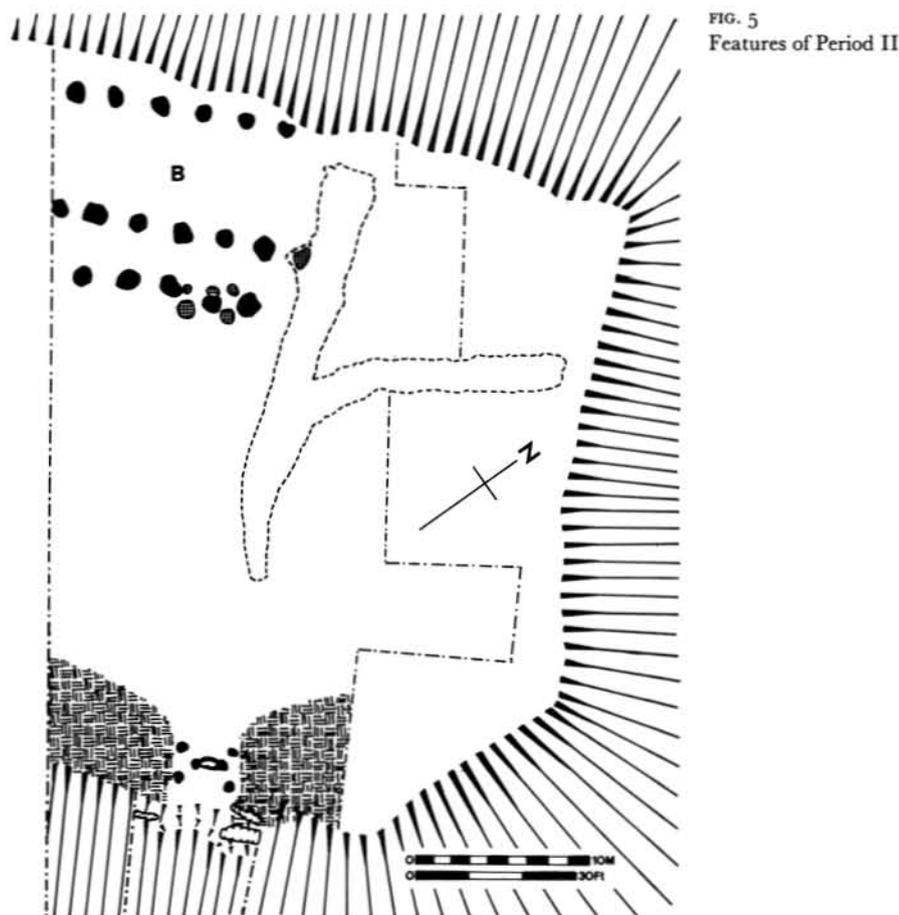
DESCRIPTION

Building B

Superseding Building A along the NW. edge of the site was Building B, a much larger, single-aisled structure of post construction (Figs. 4, 5; Pl. VII, B). This building was marked by three parallel rows of round post-pits and was on the same alignment as Building A. Like that of its predecessor, the SW. end of Building B lay outside the excavated area. Comprised of at least six equal bays, it measured 10 m in width and in excess of 13 m in length, with the aisle set 3.5 m from the SE. wall. The pits had been cut into bedrock and were vertical sided with flat bottoms. They averaged 1 m in diameter and varied between 0.55 m and 0.92 m in depth. All were filled with redeposited natural clay and rubble. Each contained a post-pipe, round or oval in shape and ranging from 0.25 m to 0.64 m in diameter. Some of those along the SE. wall of the building had been cut through the metalling of the courtyard, some of those forming the NW. wall had been cut through post-pits associated with Building A.

It is uncertain whether the NE. end of the building had been removed by a large drainage ditch cut through the middle of the site in Period IV. A single pit whose placement and diameter were consistent with the group forming the aisle may indicate a further bay extending in this direction. However, unlike the other pits, this one was not flat-bottomed and was much shallower. There was also no trace of any corresponding post-pits associated with either of the side walls even though the average depth of those pits towards this end of the building was several centimetres deeper than the flat bottom of the later ditch which would have truncated such features.

Near the E. corner of Building B was a group of five other pits ranged around one of the posts forming the SE. wall. Three of these pits formed a line immediately along the interior side of the wall, with those at either end being situated between bays. The middle one was partially cut through the post-pit around which the group was situated. All of the three were similar in diameter, but varied greatly in depth. That toward the end of the building measured 0.38 m deep, but the other two were very shallow, averaging only a few centimetres in depth each. Situated c. 0.70 m away from the exterior side of the SE. wall and opposite those pits between the bays were the other two pits that comprised the group of five. These two were much larger than the other three and only marginally smaller than those which



formed the walls and aisles of Building B. Both contained a well-defined post-pipe that corresponded in size and shape to those contained in the post-pits associated with the building.

The gate

A complete remodelling of the entrance into the castle was achieved by replacing the original gate with a smaller one, also of timber construction. This was defined by four post-pits which formed a rectangular gate passage that measured 2 m by 3 m, with its long axis parallel to the ditch (Fig. 3; Pl. VII, A). All these pits were round, measuring 0.60 m in diameter and between 0.43 m and 0.57 m deep. Those at the mouth of the entrance had been partially cut through the post-pits of the earlier gate, and were set back from the lip of the ditch. Each of the four pits associated with the new gate contained a post-pipe, all of which were roughly the same size. One of these was clearly rectangular, and measured \approx 0.2 m by 0.23 m.

In the centre of the gate passage was another set of pits that were similar in size and shape to the four at the corners. These had been cut partially through the two smaller pits associated with the original gate; although neither of these pits contained any traces of a

post-pipe, both contained what appeared to be packing stones. Extending from pit to pit were two slightly curving slots, both of which were very shallow and contained a fill that was indistinguishable from that of the pits themselves.

Sealing all these features within the gate passage was a heavily disturbed paved surface composed of undressed limestone slabs. Dividing the paving into two distinct areas and spanning the full width of the entrance was a slot c. 0.50 m wide, whose sides were clearly defined by slabs which had been set on edge.

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

The assumption that Building B and the new gate constituted a second major phase of development is not entirely satisfactory. The stratigraphic evidence does not link the two, nor indicate that either, or both, were forerunners of those works ascribed to Period III. Indeed, it is entirely possible that they could have been erected as part of the latter programme of construction.

Building B, a single-aisled hall, is certainly the first of its type so far discovered in Wales. This building, even in its possibly incomplete plan, ranks as one of the largest timber halls yet found in the Principality, surpassed only by the double-aisled example excavated at Llantrithyd.⁹ It must have been a very impressive structure which undoubtedly involved relatively sophisticated carpentry techniques in its construction. The reasonably straight alignment of the principal posts along the longitudinal axis of the hall could suggest that wall plates of considerable length were employed, in which case it would be possible to further suggest that the structure had been erected in the 'normal assembly' method.¹⁰ Equally, the group of five post-pits ranged around one of the principal posts in the SE. wall towards the E. corner of the building could be interpreted as evidence for an entrance covered by a porch.

The building's construction is quite distinct from those buildings generally interpreted as halls found at other early castle sites in Wales, such as Llantrithyd,¹¹ Penmaen¹² and Pennard.¹³ These buildings, with features such as low stone outer walls with round corners, may have been derived from an early vernacular form of architecture which involved relatively crude construction techniques.¹⁴ Quite clearly Building B at Rumney was the product of a very different tradition which was, like castles themselves, intrusive in Wales. Given the status of the tenants of the Lordship of Gwynllŵg, the resources at their disposal, and the fact that Rhymney was held in demesne, it is not unreasonable to compare this very substantial single-aisled hall with buildings such as the halls at the royal palace of Cheddar,¹⁵ or the Period 7 hall at Goltho.¹⁶

The Period II gate was constructed with substantial timbers, and appears to have shared some of the same features as its forerunner. However, the splayed passage was replaced with a more conventional plan. The Period II gate was only half as long as its predecessor and would not have, in itself, formed an effective revetment of the gate passage. It is likely that a gate house was carried on four corner posts.

One of the primary considerations in the positioning of the new gate house would appear to have been to recess it slightly back from the face of the rampart,

thereby causing it to be partially shielded on either flank. An additional important feature would seem to be the desire to maintain the position of the actual door in the same line of that used in Period I, midway along the gate passage. The gate house was centred over the traversing line of successive pits and slots which probably mark the position of a door frame. The two largest pits and connecting slots are associated with the second gate because they were clearly later than the other features in this position and were very similar in all respects to the four pits forming the corners of the building.

The succession of door frames along the same line, shielded in a recessed position along the entrance, is further indicated by the slot for a sillbeam through the paving, the latest feature in the gate passage. However, if as seems likely the two large pits had been intended to take door posts, the gap would have been even narrower than the Period I gate, and would hence seem rather ill suited for such a purpose.

The evidence for the gate house suggests a structure on a modest scale which, unless carried to a considerable height above the rampart, would not have been particularly conspicuous. It is unlikely to have offered any domestic accommodation unless it had possessed an enclosed upper storey which had been jettied out over the rampart.¹⁷

PERIOD III (Fig. 6)

DESCRIPTION

The keep

During a further programme of works the defences were strengthened with the construction of a small tower or keep in the E. corner of the site, and the widening of the rampart towards the interior.

It was not possible to recover a complete ground plan of the keep as two of its walls, which presumably ran along the edges of the site, lay under several large trees. The fragmentary NW. and SW. walls were revealed, together with what appeared to be a heavily disturbed floor level. The NW. wall averaged 2.5 m in width and was traced for a distance of c. 11 m. It was set in a foundation trench that cut through the Period I occupation layer and into bedrock. Although almost totally robbed of stone, some of its foundations did survive and consisted primarily of a single course of small undressed limestone blocks that were pitched on edge, except for those forming the W. corner of the keep, which were set flat. Along the exterior side of the wall this pitched course protruded well above the level of the occupation layer through which the trench had been cut. Both the inner and outer faces of the wall were defined by several roughly dressed limestone blocks which had been set flat over the pitched foundations; most showed traces of having been bonded with lime mortar and in certain places more than one course remained.

Extending directly along the NE. edge of the site were the foundations for a short length of wall that projected from the N. corner of the keep. This measured 2.20 m wide and was traced for a distance of c. 1.40 m. It was also heavily robbed and was defined by a shallow robber trench which contained loose sandy clay mixed with rubble and lime mortar. Only a few stones in its foundation course remained but these were also pitched on edge.

The evidence for the SW. wall was slight; it was almost totally robbed of stone and was represented only by a very shallow robber trench filled with a mixture of loose sandy soil, clay and some traces of lime mortar. Along the interior of the keep the trench was clearly defined, but its exterior side was more difficult to trace as the sandy fill here had become mixed with clay. The average width of the trench where well defined was 2.20 m. It extended from the W.

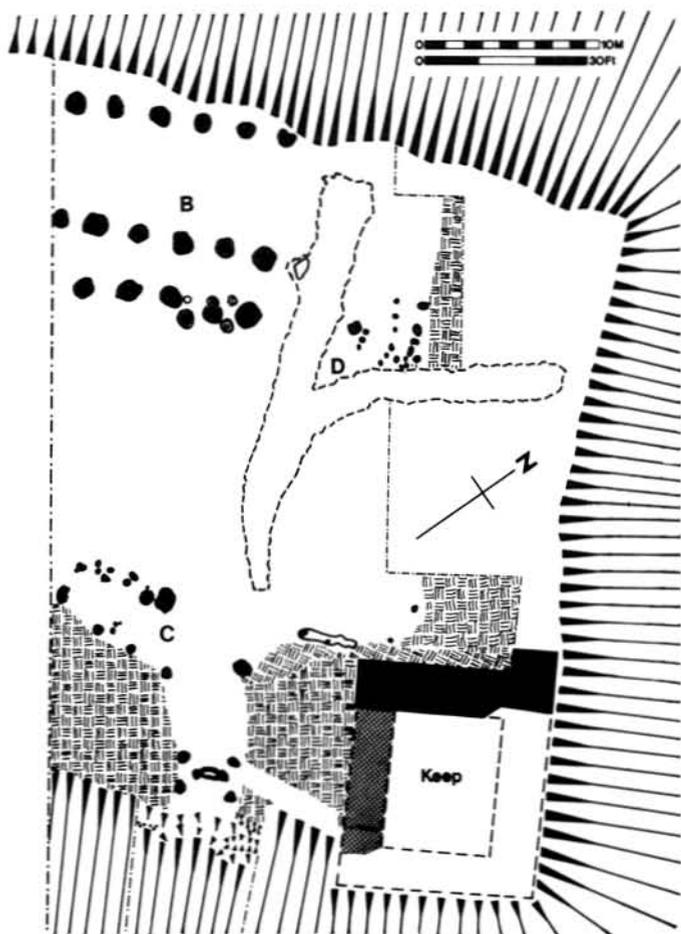


FIG. 6
Features of Period III

corner of the keep to near the edge of the site, where it ended abruptly at a point where there was a distinct change in the soil and a dense accumulation of rubble. This latter feature may have been a continuation of a wall ascribed to Period IV (see below, p. 115), but because of the amount of disturbance and the presence of trees in this particular area, it was not possible to establish clear relationships between any of these features. What is certain, however, is that the SW. wall had been constructed directly over a stump of rampart which had been levelled in this corner of the ringwork to make room for the keep. Its foundations were, therefore, set at a much higher level than those of the NW. wall, which ran along the back of the rampart.

For a short distance along the SE. side of the foundation trench for the NW. wall the bedrock through which it had been cut was terraced to form a shelf *c.* 1.8 m wide. The gap between the wall and side of this shelf was filled with layers of clay and rubble which had been tipped in from the NE. At a point *c.* 4.7 m from the W. corner of the tower this shelf turned sharply through 90° and extended towards the edge of the site along a line parallel with the SW. wall. Only a limited portion of this feature could be examined, however, once again owing to the nearby presence of large trees.

On the interior of the keep what appeared to be a disturbed floor level was found.¹⁸ This survived in the W. corner and consisted of small, thin, undressed limestone slabs set close together and packed on the remnants of the rampart.

The foundations of the keep were covered over when the rampart was extended in width for *c.* 2 m around the interior of the ringwork. This reinforcement was composed of several layers of heavy clay and rubble. Along the NE. side of the site the rampart was also extended in length up to the keep, sealing over the layer of occupation in this area discussed above in Period I. The actual make-up of the rampart here was very similar to the other areas but unlike the rest was voided in several places and much less consolidated. Packed as a buffer between this particular section of the rampart and the foundations for the NW. wall of the keep was a deposit of heavy, stone-free, yellow clay *c.* 0.7 m thick. This deposit was continued beyond the W. corner of the keep along the tail of the rampart and extended to the gate where, after curving into the gate passage, it became mixed with other layers of clay. In section this deposit proved to have an almost vertical profile toward the interior of the site.

Rampart revetment

Evidence for a revetment of the rampart employing earth-fast timbers around the interior of the castle was recovered in three areas. Near the N. corner of the site was a series of small round pits and postholes, three of which formed a line roughly parallel to the edge of the site at a distance of *c.* 10 m. These measured *c.* 0.35 to 0.56 m in diameter and were cut into bedrock at intervals of *c.* 1 m. They were truncated by later disturbance, however, and survived only to a maximum depth of 0.08 m. No traces of a post-pipe or packing stones were found in any of them. Immediately to the SE. of this group was a large drain dug in Period VI, which is likely to have destroyed any additional features relating to the revetment in this particular area. Additional evidence for the revetment was found in the E. corner of the site, where a series of postholes formed a line that arced around the tail of the rampart in a sharp curve and extended towards the entrance. This curve was marked by three completely voided postholes that were spaced *c.* 2 m apart and a dense accumulation of small stones that had formed against the revetment. The post situated in the E. corner was clearly rectangular and measured 0.12 m by 0.21 m, with a depth of 0.52 m. Nearer to the entrance were two postholes whose position suggests that they were associated with the revetment. Their size and placement was roughly consistent with that of the other postholes in this corner of the site, but they pierced the bottom of a beamslot which had been cut directly alongside the yellow clay backing of the rampart, and as all three features contained a similar homogeneous fill, it was not possible to determine their relative sequence.

Beyond these three features the yellow clay deposit which they straddled veered sharply towards the entrance, partly sealing a large round pit. Set behind the gate at a distance of 4.50 m and in direct alignment with its NE. side, this pit had been cut through a disturbed layer of occupation and into natural clay. It measured 0.70 m in diameter and although not fully excavated was at least 0.35 m deep. That portion which was examined contained a fill of redeposited natural clay and a small quantity of rubble. There was no evidence of a post-pipe.

On the opposite side of the entrance evidence for the rampart revetment consisted of four post-pits or sockets that formed a line extending along toward the S. corner of the site. These pits averaged 0.40 m in diameter and were spaced 2.30 m apart with the one closest to the entrance set 4 m behind the gate and *c.* 1 m off the line of its SW. side. All were only partially excavated but their upper portions, at least, were also found to be filled with redeposited natural clay. There were no traces of any post-pipes in any of the pits although two were found to contain what appeared to be packing stones. It was not possible to follow the projected line of these post-pits further W. owing to the retention of the baulk along the property boundary, but it coincided exactly at a point in the section where a scree of loose clay and shale overlay a much more compacted layer of tipping composed of heavy clay and rubble.

Building C

Constructed just to the W. of the entrance and against the rampart was Building C, a small lean-to structure thought to be a kitchen (Fig. 6). This building was defined by a series

of postholes and pits that were cut through into natural clay and varied greatly in size from 0.25 m to 0.50 m in diameter. All contained a fill of redeposited natural, but none were fully excavated. The exact dimensions of the building were difficult to establish as there was no clear indication of its E. end and the N. side was marked by two parallel rows of postholes set at a distance of *c.* 2 m and 2.50 m from the rampart revetment. The rows terminated on the E. with pits measuring 0.80 m and 1.20 m in diameter respectively. The W. end of the building was marked by a group of three intersecting postholes that formed its NW. corner and a single post-pit cut immediately in the back of one of the post-pits for the revetment of the rampart. Covering most of the interior of the building was a layer of burning which contained several sherds of coarse ware, numerous bones and cereal grains that appeared to have been destroyed while in the process of being prepared as food.

Building D

In the N. corner of the site the profusion of postholes cut into bedrock alongside the rampart revetment would appear to indicate another lean-to building of post construction (Fig. 6). Amongst this group, which ranged in size from 0.10 m to 0.40 m in diameter, were three distinct rows, but their arrangement does not suggest any clear plan and may represent more than one phase of building. Additional evidence relating to any structures formed by these postholes may have been destroyed by the Period VI drain. For convenience, however, these features are considered together as a single group and have been designated as evidence for Building D.

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

The evidence indicates that the strengthening of the castle's defences was a massive undertaking likely to have been carried out as a co-ordinated programme of works. Certainly the keep's construction implies this because until the reinforcement of the rampart had been completed substantial portions of the foundations for its SW. and NW. walls would have been exposed; the NW. wall footings protruded above the contemporary ground level as indicated by the layer of occupation. This wall would only have been adequately protected once the rampart, which proved to be all of one construction phase in this particular area, had been extended to cover the gap in the defences where the layer had accumulated. The deposit of yellow clay found packed against the NW. side of the keep seems to have been intended as a buffer or seal against the loose make-up of this extension and might be best interpreted as an attempt at damp-proofing. On the strength of this evidence it would appear that the construction of the keep and the reinforcement of the rampart were contemporary works.

Despite the scanty evidence for the keep, certain details can be inferred from what remained and its relationship with other features. In plan, the building is unlikely to have occupied an area very much greater than that which can be calculated from the surviving elements of its NW. and SW. walls. In form, it appears to have featured some kind of small turret supported on the footings which projected at the N. corner. Three other keeps in Glamorgan, including a Welsh example, are known to have incorporated turrets in their designs.¹⁹ One of these, at Sully Castle, contained what is presumed to be a cess pit,²⁰ prompting the suggestion that such turrets may have been intended to house a latrine.²¹

Pitched foundations of the type found at Rumney were also evident in the remains of the demolished keep at White Castle in Gwent; it has been suggested that they may be indicative of herringbone masonry, a feature thought to be characteristic of early Norman work.²² Such masonry is also found in the keep at Penllyn Castle in Mid Glamorgan where six courses survive in the substantial remains of one of its walls.²³

The keep at Rumney appears to have been broadly similar to a number of other small square or rectangular keeps in the region whose construction is usually ascribed a 12th-century date. As the recent Royal Commission survey has shown, Norman keeps of this type are uncommon in Wales and the highest concentration of such buildings occurs in Glamorgan with a second, smaller group found in neighbouring Gwent.²⁴ The keep or dominant tower persisted long as an architectural form in Glamorgan, evidenced by the construction of one at Loughor Castle late in the 13th century,²⁵ but the sequence of development at Rumney suggests a date no later than the second half of the 12th century for the incorporation of a keep in the defensive circuit.

With the cutting down of the rampart during Period VI and the tipping of the resulting debris over the central area of the site, it was difficult to distinguish between layers associated with the reinforcement of the rampart and the initial layers of infill deposited during the latter period. The primary indication that the rampart had been extended and revetted in timber was the line of postholes and pits found extending around virtually the whole of the perimeter of the site as examined behind Tredelerch House. Two features taken to corroborate this evidence were the coincidence of the projected line of the revetment with the clear demarcation between consolidated and loose deposits revealed in section near Building C, and the continuation of the seam of yellow clay beyond the keep to the entrance. The scree which partially overlay those deposits on the ditchward side of this projected line and fell towards the interior of the site is interpreted as spill from the rampart which occurred with the removal of the revetment. Likewise the continuation of the yellow clay deposit with its vertical profile facing the interior of the site is interpreted as indicating the extent of the widening of the rampart along this particular segment of the defences. Although only tenuous structural evidence for the revetment was found here, its existence can be postulated as the seam of clay indicates a distinct break in the tipping of infill and is likely to have formed a backing to the rampart. Its use may imply a further attempt at preventing seepage percolating through the rampart and into the interior of a building or perhaps buildings, but it should be emphasized that this is purely speculative as little supportive evidence for such structures was found in this particular area.

The evidence recovered elsewhere, however, certainly does indicate that a series of lean-to buildings had been ranged around the perimeter of the courtyard and that their construction was undoubtedly not earlier than the reinforcement of the rampart. Of these, only Building C could be recognized with any degree of confidence, although the double line of postholes marking its long wall may in fact indicate the presence of a second building superimposed over earlier remains. Whatever the case, the latest structure associated with this evidence was without

doubt a kitchen or bakehouse and its location well away from the hall illustrates the logic behind the siting of such buildings, prone to accidental fire, a safe distance from major structures.

PERIOD IV (Fig. 7)

DESCRIPTION

Building E

Building B along the NW. side of the site was replaced by Building E, another large timber structure of post construction which measured 6 m in width and was traced for a length of *c.* 15 m (Figs. 4, 7; Pl. VII, B). It consisted of at least six bays but its complete ground plan was not recovered as its SW. end, like that of its predecessors Buildings A and B, lay outside the area of excavation. Although constructed on the same alignment as the two earlier buildings, Building E was set back further from the edge of the site and was defined by two parallel rows of rectangular, flat-bottomed post-pits. These had been cut through into bedrock and averaged 0.80 m in width by 1.20 m in length. Due to the considerable ground slope on which the building was constructed, the depth of the pits varied between 0.30 m and 1.20 m, but their bottoms formed a level plane. Each one, except that in the N. corner, contained a single well-defined rectangular post-pipe with average dimensions of 0.20 m by 0.30 m. One pit towards the middle of the NW. wall contained a second post-pipe of similar size. The NE. end of Building E was marked by a single centrally placed post-pit. The building was partitioned internally into two rooms; a beamslot measuring *c.* 0.30 m wide by 0.15 m deep traversed the full distance between post-pits of opposing walls. Near the NW. side of the building a doorway through the partition was marked by two post sockets for its jambs. These had been cut to one side of the slot and set 0.40 m apart. Immediately opposite in the room to the SW. was a threshold constructed of small closely set limestone slabs. Extending beyond this further into the room was a small area of metallurgy which was heavily disturbed. On the NW. side of this room a shallow drain extended from inside the building to the edge of the site. This had silted up and had been recut immediately alongside its original channel. This second cutting was dug through post-pits for both Building A and Building B. Possibly associated with Building E were two closely spaced and shallow postholes situated in the centre of the NE. room close to the partition.

Other features

Near the edge of the site a series of pits spaced at regular intervals formed a line that ran parallel with the NW. wall of Building E at a distance of 1.85 m (Fig. 4). These pits ranged in shape from square to oval but most had similar dimensions averaging 0.70 m across and 0.15 m deep. Each roughly opposed the post-pits forming the side walls of Building E and some of them were cut through the post-pits associated with Buildings A and B. All were filled with silty clay mixed with a small quantity of rubble and none contained any trace of a post-pipe or packing stones.

Sometime after the construction of Building E a very large pit *c.* 3.50 m in diameter was dug a short distance from the entrance to the castle. This was cut through layers which sealed the metallurgy of the central courtyard and into bedrock. Due to safety factors it could only be excavated to a depth of 1.80 m, at which point its circular, vertical-sided shaft levelled out to form a narrow ledge around what appeared to be a rectangular shaft continuing deeper. Extending partially around the sides of the rectangular shaft, which contained a deposit of rubble and clay, was a narrow band of dark heavy clay and charcoal. The upper levels of fill within the pit proved to have been deposited during Period VI and are discussed in that section.

The upcast which resulted from the digging of the pit was spread to the NW. of the site, sealing the layers which had accumulated over the Period I metallurgy in the central courtyard, and extended close to the SE. wall of Building E. These deposits were in turn

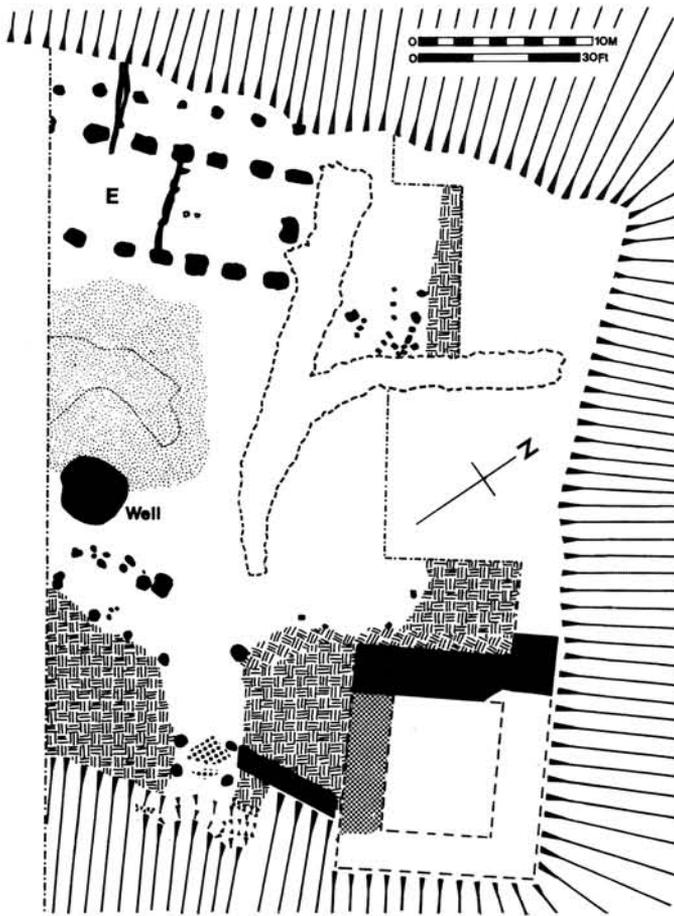


FIG. 7
Features of Period IV

sealed by a layer of crushed shale compacted to form a rough metallated surface which showed signs of heavy wear.

Possibly during this period the outer face of the rampart between the keep and the entrance was revetted with a rubble wall faced with small roughly dressed sandstone blocks bonded with clay (Fig. 7). Heavily robbed at both ends, a 6 m length of this feature survived, averaging 1.25 m in width and 0.35 m in height. It had been constructed directly along the lip of the ditch and whilst it may have been eventually pulled down it is more likely that the tremendous pressure exerted by the rampart coupled with the erosion of its foundations caused it to collapse. When uncovered, the surviving outer face of the wall was found to be leaning forward at an angle of almost 40° . An attempt to arrest the undermining of its foundations had been made by packing a layer of small sandstone chips onto the slope of the ditch immediately in front of the wall. These chips were set over a layer of clay which had accumulated over the beamslots for the Period I revetment along the outer face of the rampart.

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

The replacement of Building B with Building E cannot be closely dated but it was clearly the last structure to have occupied the W. corner of the site prior to the

slighting of the defences sometime after *c.* A.D. 1270, as indicated by a coin of Henry III found in one of the layers spread over the courtyard after the cutting down of the rampart in Period VI (below, p. 119). It is possible that Building E stood until this time.

Although narrower than the single-aisled hall it replaced, Building E would have been an impressive structure in its own right and was intended to serve the same function. Of the two rooms clearly demarcated by the slot for the partition, the one to the SW. would appear to have been the hall itself, by virtue of its slightly greater size, the other forming an inner chamber.

The relationship between Building E and the row of shallow pits running parallel along the edge of the site is not clear. They were intended as post-sockets and were later than the backfilling of the post-pits for Building B. Their link with Building E is mainly based on the way they pair with its post-pits. The most plausible interpretation is that they represent an outshoot which was tied into the main structural frame of Building E, itself anchored in the large rectangular post-pits. There is no way of knowing whether this was an integral part of the original design of the hall or a later addition, but the possibility exists that its presence obviated the need to enclose all of the NW. side of the main structural frame, thereby creating an arcade in a single-aisled building. The division between the NE. and SW. halves of the building seems to have been maintained throughout, with a continuation of the partition slot to within *c.* 1 m of one of the shallow sockets, the gap presumably marking another doorway.

The large pit dug through the courtyard near the entrance is associated with this period because the spread of the upcast resulting from its construction and the layer of shale sealing it had terminated along the line of the SE. wall of Building E. The compacted and heavily worn nature of the latter was the obvious result of continual traffic, and its confinement to an area external to the hall despite the considerable natural ground slope in this direction suggests that further spreading had been restrained by this side of the building.

The most-favoured interpretation regarding the pit is that it was dug as a well shaft or cistern, but whether it was ever used for such a purpose could not be established. A very similar feature found at Hen Domen proved to be enigmatic and may represent an attempt at sinking a well shaft that was abandoned once it was realized geological conditions would have made further efforts fruitless.²⁶ Neither the Hen Domen nor the Rumney pits suffered any appreciable erosion to their sides, indicating that they had not been exposed to the elements for any length of time. At Hen Domen there was associated structural evidence which indicated that some kind of roof or building had probably covered the pit during its lifetime.²⁷ While similar evidence was lacking at Rumney, it can be reasonably assumed that the pit there had also been covered over as it also had been left open for some time; it had not been infilled until the shale metalling that directly sealed its associated upcast had suffered considerable wear.

The revetment in stone of the rampart adjacent to the keep is assigned to this period because there was no evidence for its continuation beyond the nearby entrance which was blocked during Period V. It is possible, however, that it was

constructed as part of the massive reinforcement of the defences in Period III and was therefore contemporary with the construction of the keep.

PERIOD V (Fig. 8)

DESCRIPTION

The gate tower: Building F

A further strengthening of the defences took place when the original entrance was blocked and a new one, in the form of a stone gate tower, was created in the S. corner of the site. The blocking of the earlier entrance was achieved by infilling the gate passage with several deposits of heavy clay and rubble, and a segment of rampart was cut and levelled to accommodate the new gate tower. The remains of this tower, Building F, were substantial. The E. and W. walls formed a gate passage 4 m wide. Both walls had a rubble core faced with large undressed limestone blocks bonded with lime mortar. Each was set in a foundation trench that had been cut through the remaining stump of the defensive rampart. Both

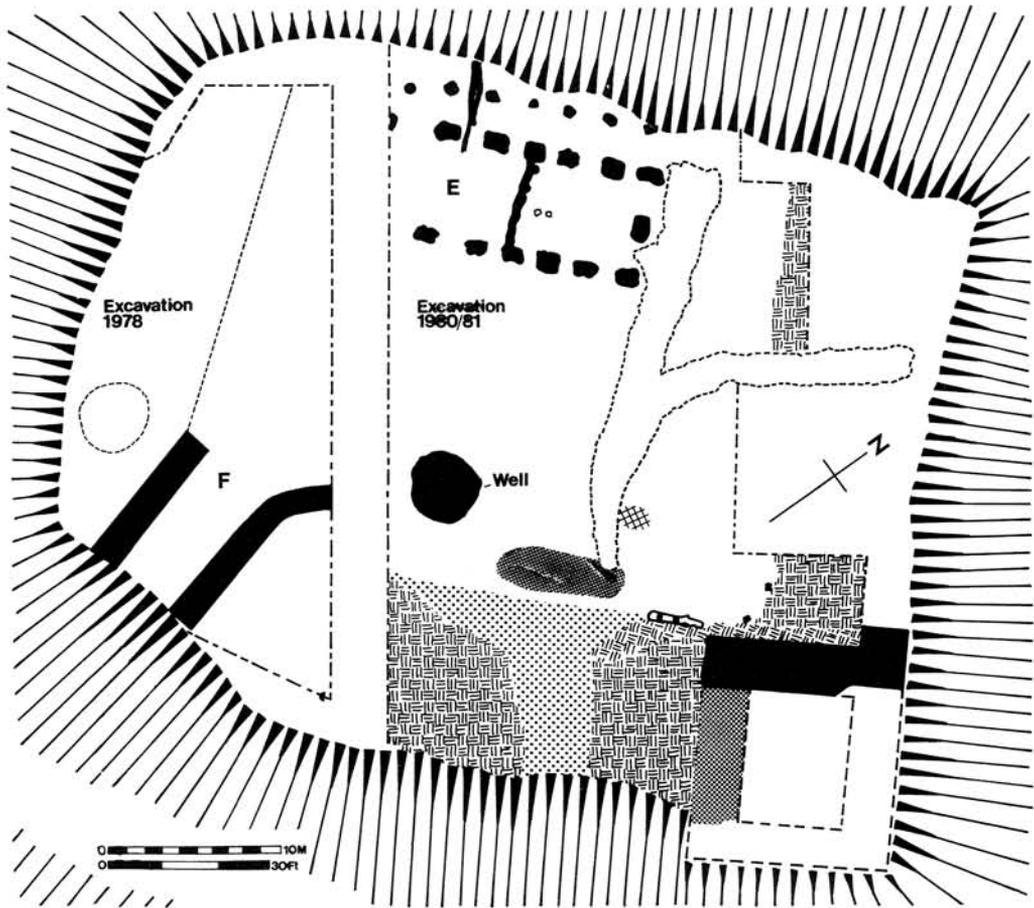


FIG. 8
Features of Period V

trenches increased in depth towards the interior of the site; their flat bottoms sloped at an angle of *c.* 8° for the W. wall and *c.* 17° for the E. wall. Although its S. end had completely eroded away along the edge of the site, the better-preserved wall was that to the W., which survived for a length of 9.45 m and measured 1.80 m in width towards the front of the tower and tapered to 1.60 m towards the rear. Much of the wall averaged 0.30 m in height and several courses remained *in situ*, though the last 1.55 m of its N. end survived only at foundation level.

In contrast the E. wall was heavily disturbed and only a fragment measuring 4.60 m long and 1.80 m wide survived to a maximum height of 0.20 m. Both ends had been completely removed, but the line of the wall as it extended towards the interior of the site was marked by a robber trench back-filled with loose sandy clay mixed with rubble and lime mortar. The trench continued beyond the rear of the tower, curving 45° to the NE. where it extended out of the area of the 1978 excavation and towards that portion of the site excavated in 1980–81. At this point the trench was 1.35 m wide, having progressively narrowed beyond the rear of the gate tower. No trace of the wall or trench was found during the 1980–81 excavations despite the fact that the area where it would have emerged was fully excavated. Contained within the trench immediately behind the gate tower was an isolated fragment of walling. Only some of its rubble core and inner face survived, along with the impressions left on the bottom of the trench of some of the stones which had been robbed.

Leading into the castle from the entrance was a metalled road surface consisting of small sandstone chips. Only a limited area of this surface was exposed, but it extended into the interior of the site for at least 3.50 m and its W. edge matched the curve of the robber trench on the E. side of the gate.

Extending along the tail of the rampart immediately behind the blocked original entrance were the remains of a paved surface of small closely set limestone slabs showing signs of heavy wear. This feature averaged 2.50 m in width and was traced for a distance of *c.* 7 m. Along both sides was a kerb of water-worn boulders and small limestone blocks, some of which had been set on edge. Towards the SW. end of the paving an additional row of small limestone blocks was identified, running along *c.* 0.10 m from the edging; this possibly represents a drain. This feature and a substantial portion of the paving had been cut through by a large pit, the remaining portion terminating abruptly in a jagged edge. The NE. end of the paving was heavily disturbed but faded out *c.* 6 m from the W. corner of the keep. Projecting from this point along the tail of the rampart was a shallow beamslot *c.* 0.25 m wide and 0.50 m deep. It had vertical sides and was well-defined at its SW. end but faded out towards the keep. Two Period III postholes had pierced the bottom of the slot. An extensive area of burning lay *c.* 4 m to the NW.; a small portion of this area was much more intensely burnt than the rest and contained a great deal of charcoal and pig bones. Several small stake holes were located, four of which were set 0.50 m apart, forming a square. To the NE. of the stake holes and close to the tail of the rampart a large unglazed pot, which had been partially buried in the ground, was found *in situ*. Other finds from this area included a small quantity of unglazed pottery and some iron nails.

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

The blocking of the original entrance and the incorporation of a stone gate tower into the circuit of the defences reflects a growing sophistication in the military engineering employed at Rumney Castle. The tower was most probably of similar design and appearance to the early 13th-century gate house to the inner ward at Llanstephan Castle²⁸ in Dyfed, a simple building with a vaulted passage and chamber above.

The gate tower was located on the side of the castle with weakest natural defensive qualities and in a commanding position over both the landward approach

to the castle and the outwork noted by Coxe (see appendix). It was also positioned in such a way that its W. wall served to revet a considerable length of the rampart along the SW. side of the site. The curved walling on the opposite side of the building may have been an original feature or a later addition, but by virtue of its position it performed a similar function. The substantial nature of the wall, however, suggests that while it was intended to revet the rampart terminal it may also have been designed for an additional purpose, possibly as a base for a stairway to an upper storey or the rampart walk.

Nothing closely datable was found in association with the Rumney gate tower, but its construction represents the last major programme of works carried out before the cutting down of the rampart in Period VI and as such it is likely to have been roughly contemporary with the hall, Building E.

The fragmentary area of pavement is also regarded as contemporary with the gate tower, as it clearly was set down after the blocking of the original entrance. Its function is not clear but it may somehow relate to the beamslot and area of extensive burning that were in the vicinity. The number of pig bones found within the area of burning suggests that the processing of food had taken place here and may be tentatively suggested as the site of a kitchen.

PERIOD VI (Fig. 9)

DESCRIPTION

A radical transformation of the site took place when the rampart was cut down and the resulting debris spread over the interior of the ringwork. A range of buildings was then constructed around the perimeter of the site directly over the remnants of the rampart. The levelling material included a coin of Henry III (*c.* A.D. 1270). Of the structures associated with the ringwork, only the keep and portions of the gate tower (Building F) were left standing after the slighting of the defences.

The South-west Range

Gate house (Building F)

The E. wall was demolished and a layer of rubble spread over the entrance. This deposit was 0.25 m to 0.3 m thick and directly sealed the earlier road surface. A much narrower wall, *c.* 1.2 m wide, was then built partially over the layer of rubble and the remaining fragment of the E. wall of the gate tower. The heavily disturbed remains of this later wall survived to a length of *c.* 3.4 m and was of rubble core construction faced with undressed sandstone blocks. From the surviving evidence it appears to have been set at a slightly different angle from its predecessor, creating a gate passage slightly narrower at the mouth of the entrance than at the rear. Most of the gate passage was paved by a road surface of small slabs, one of which bore a wide U-shaped groove along its entire length. This paving commenced near the middle of the gate passage and continued beyond the structure into the interior of the site for a distance of *c.* 5 m, at which point it abruptly changed to an inferior surface that eventually faded out. Within the gate passage the S. terminal of the paving, which had been disturbed, consisted of several large closely set limestone slabs. Between the edge of the roadway and the inner face of the W. wall was a shallow depression, most likely a drain, *c.* 0.3 m wide and *c.* 3 m long. This was filled with silty clay which contained fragments of bone and several snail shells. Opposite this drain along the E. edge of the roadway several large limestone blocks had been set at regular intervals, protruding just above the surface of the paving and forming a row that extended towards the rear of the gate house. The function of these blocks is not clear.

Building G

Extending from the E. side of the entrance and situated directly along the SE. edge of the site was Building G, partly revealed in 1978 and further exposed during the excavations of 1980–81. The fragmentary traces of its S., N. and W. walls averaged 0.8 m in width, and were constructed of small sandstone slabs bonded with a dark brown clay and survived only at the foundation level. As only the NE. corner of Building G was undisturbed, it was not possible to determine whether the structure had incorporated the entrance or had been constructed alongside it. However, judging from the surviving evidence, it would appear that it was rhomboidal in plan, measuring 8.15 m wide, *c.* 15 m long on the N. side and *c.* 17.9 m long on the S. side. The function of Building G is uncertain.

Further along the SE. edge of the site was a series of features which formed an intermittent line spanning the gap between Building G and the keep. The easternmost of these was a wall constructed directly over the remnants of the collapsed revetment wall which had fronted the stretch of rampart between the keep and the early entrance to the castle. This new wall survived for only a short length and to a maximum height of three courses, but it was

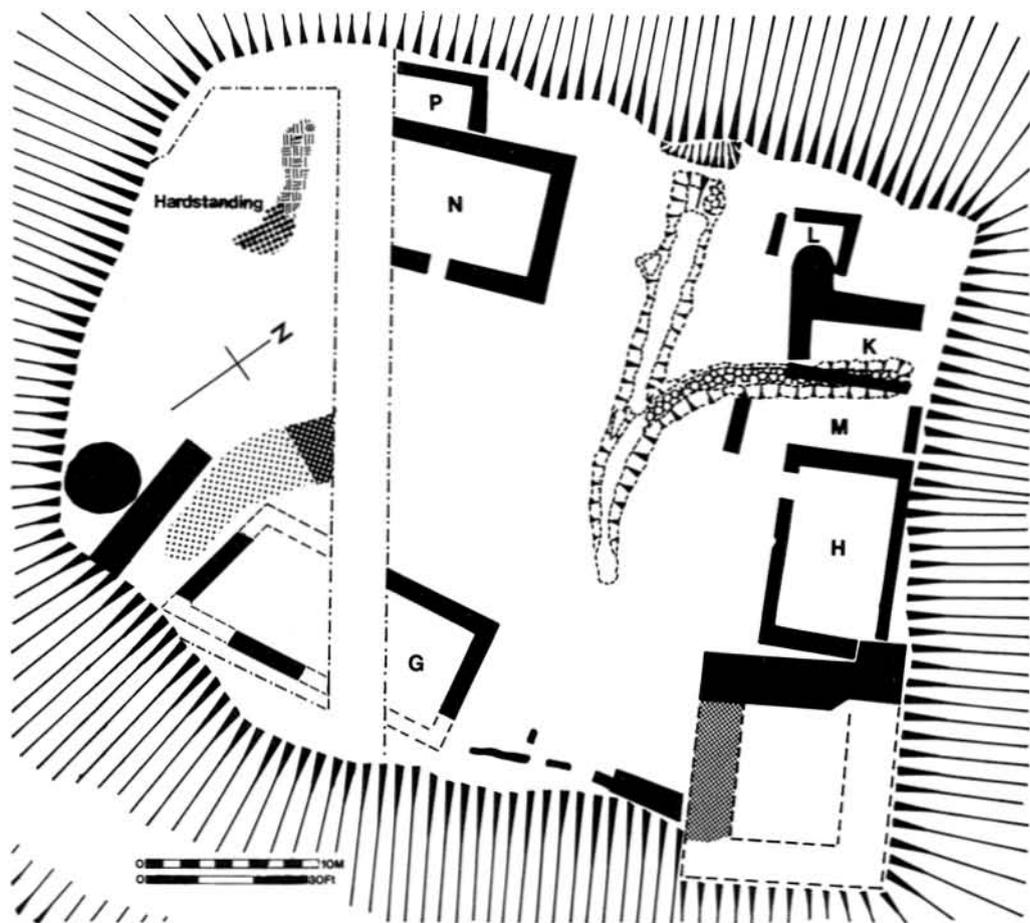


FIG. 9

Features of Period VI, together with later area of hardstanding and limekiln

the same width and on the exact same alignment as its predecessor. Like the earlier wall it was of rubble core construction faced with undressed blocks of sandstone bonded with clay; but it differed greatly in that its foundations were far more level, having been partially built on a thin layer of clay which had accumulated over the previous wall. Remnants of a much thinner wall 0.35 m wide continued the line to the W., and was traced for a total distance of 1 m. Although both walls had been heavily disturbed, it was quite clear that their outer faces had been set flush, forming a continuous stretch of masonry that extended almost half the distance between Building G and the keep. The remainder of this gap was traversed by a discontinuous line of closely set sandstone slabs mixed with rubble and patches of dark brown clay which extended toward the SE. corner of Building G on roughly the same alignment as the two stone walls and was traced for a total distance of 4.8 m. Projecting for a short distance from this feature at a right angle towards the interior of the site was a narrow very shallow band of dark clay mixed with rubble.

The North-east Range (Fig. 10; Pl. VIII)

Terraced into the remnants of the rampart along the NE. side of the site was a range of buildings, the remains of which consisted of several fragmentary walls representing at least two distinct phases of construction.

Building H

The nucleus of the complex was Building H, a hall, which was situated immediately next to the keep and measured c. 10.8 m by 7 m. The walls of the building varied greatly in their construction, suggesting more than one phase of development. However, the sequence is difficult to establish as all corners had been completely robbed. The NE. wall was situated directly along the edge of the site and was largely eroded away except at the end nearest the keep. Here it survived to an average height of 0.3 m and measured 0.65 m wide, terminating just before the foundations for the turret projecting from the keep. The core of the wall consisted of a stump of clay and rubble which appears to have been scarped out of the former rampart and faced with small cuboid sandstone blocks. These were bonded with clay except towards the E. corner of the hall, where lime mortar was used. Extending through the base of the wall at this point was a small drain which projected into the interior of the building for c. 0.3 m and consisted of a channel formed by two parallel rows of small blocks set on a row of sandstone roof tiles laid end to end. The drain was capped over with large sandstone slabs.

Abutting the outer face of the NE. wall near the outlet for the drain was a fragmentary block of masonry 0.60 m wide, possibly a buttress partly eroded away at the edge of the site. It was constructed of sandstone slabs and blocks bonded with a poor earthy lime mortar. Beyond it, both the inner and outer faces of the NE. wall had been completely removed and only a remnant of the clay and rubble core survived. Between the block of masonry and the outlet for the drain several courses of sandstone roof tiles had been haphazardly stacked against the NW. wall and along the edge of the site. These were bonded with a lime mortar similar to that used in the projecting block of masonry.

The SE. gable wall was constructed of large angular sandstone blocks bonded with a lime mortar similar to that used in the NE. wall. It survived only at the foundation level; its line was marked by a few facing stones left *in situ* near the S. corner of the hall, and a shallow foundation trench which eventually faded out near the foundations for the keep turret. Averaging 1 m in width, the wall had been set at a slight angle to the NW. wall of the keep, thus creating a narrow gap with a maximum distance of 0.5 m between the two buildings. Within this gap towards the S. corner of the hall was an extensive area of burning and charcoal. Extending for c. 1 m beyond this corner and in direct alignment with the SE. gable wall was a dense concentration of rubble consisting of small stones and flat sandstone slabs mixed with patches of dark brown clay.

The remaining NW. and SW. walls comprising the hall were of rubble core construction, faced with undressed sandstone blocks and slabs of varying sizes and bonded with a

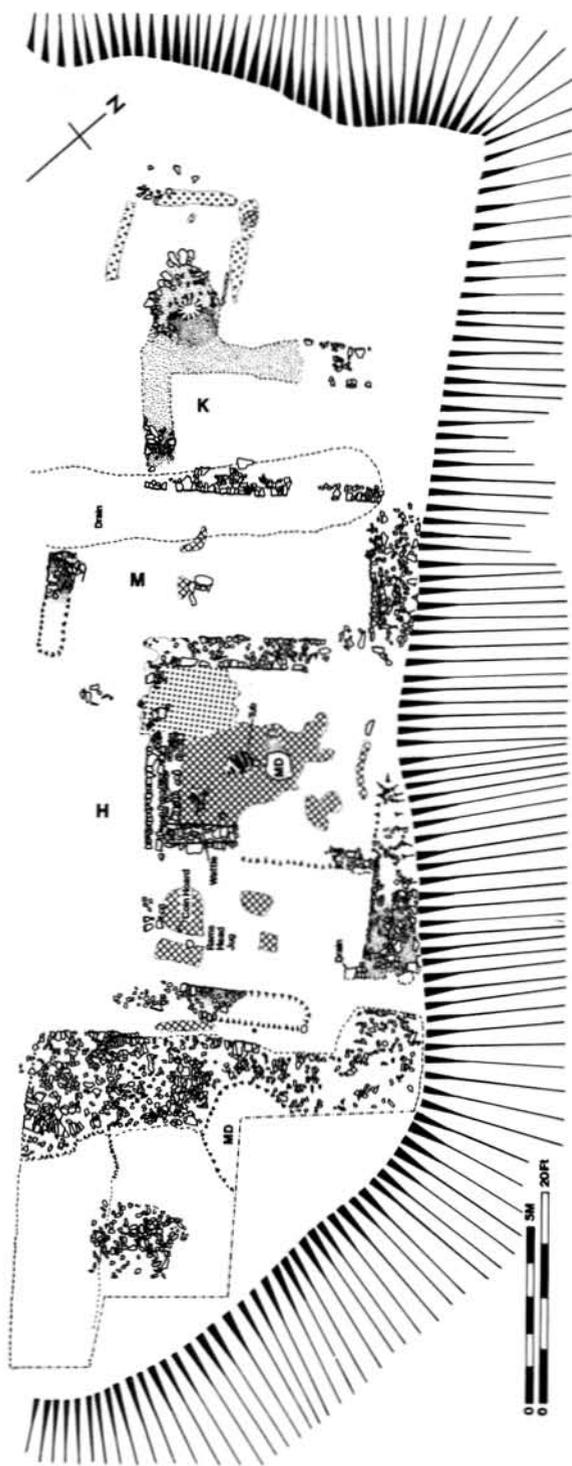


FIG. 10
Details of Period VI buildings on the NE.
edge of the site

dark brown clay. Measuring 0.85 m and 0.6 m in width respectively, both walls survived to a maximum of three courses, averaging 0.2 m in height; neither had been set parallel to the wall opposite.

The doorway into the hall was marked by a 2 m wide gap in the SW. wall at the W. corner of the building, through which a metal surface of small sandstone chips extended, abutting both the SW. and NW. walls and covering over a considerable portion of the floor in the lower half of the building. At the opposite end of the hall the floor was raised up *c.* 0.20 m to form a dais. This had been created by terracing the lower half of the building into the remnants of the former rampart and revetting the resulting clay and rubble platform at the upper half with several courses of large sandstone blocks bonded with clay. Extending from the SW. wall of the hall and placed directly against this revetment was a bench which survived for a total length of 2 m, averaging 0.4 m in width and 0.15 m in height. It was constructed of sandstone blocks and slabs bonded with lime mortar and capped with broken sandstone roof tiles set at a slight angle dipping from the front to the back. Above the bench the face of the revetment showed signs of having been plastered over. Abutting this bench and extending along the SW. wall towards the entrance was another bench of similar construction and dimensions. This was more disturbed, however, and had lost much of its roof tile capping. Near the entrance the bench had been constructed over the metalling which covered the lower half of the building.

The destruction of the hall. Sometime during the last decade of the 13th century at the earliest, the hall was destroyed by fire, causing the roof to collapse and seal much of the interior. The resulting debris consisted of green-glazed ceramic ridge tiles and pennant sandstone tiles, some of which contained charred traces of the wooden pegs that had been used to secure them on the purlins. Sealed directly under this debris and covering most of the floor of the building was a layer of burning 0.05 m to 0.08 m deep. Recovered from this layer near the S. corner of the hall was a hoard of 63 silver pennies, the majority of which were issued by Edward I. They were found almost directly under the roof debris and were stacked in three tightly grouped columns. Nearby were the upper portion and base of a decorated green-glazed jug with a ram's head for a spout (no. 93, Fig. 25, Pl. VI, B). Other objects recovered from the layer of burning at the dais end of the building included a few sherds of pottery, an iron key (no. 36) and a small quantity of bone fragments, one of which has been identified as a piece of human skull.

Along the SW. side of the hall between the entrance and the dais was a deposit of ash up to 0.25 m deep. Within this deposit were several horse shoe nails, a knife blade (Fig. 14, no. 18), a large piece of daub with a coat of white plaster bearing traces of a painted design (Fig. 20, no. 1), and a good deal of environmental evidence. Sealed by the ash was a thin layer of charcoal which covered much of the floor in the lower half of the hall. Sealed by this layer were two postholes, the charred remains of wattle, and the base of a small wooden tub.²⁹

Buildings K-M

Immediately NW. of the hall were the remains of three buildings K, L and M, which had been built in different phases. It would appear that none of the buildings were in use when the hall was destroyed; there were no traces of burning other than a hearth in one structure, and no roofing material was recovered from any building.

Building K

The earliest of the three buildings, Building K, was in alignment with the long axis of the hall but there was no evidence to suggest whether they had been abutted or bonded to one another. The remains of Building K consisted primarily of its W. corner (Fig. 10). Both of the walls forming this corner had been greatly disturbed and were largely traced by their foundation trenches which had been dug down through the underlying deposits and almost to bedrock. Much of the stone in these walls had been robbed and their trenches were backfilled with lime mortar and rubble. The SW. wall was set in rough alignment with the

SW. wall of the hall. It measured 0.8 m wide and was cut by a large drainage ditch belonging to a later phase of activity. A portion of this wall survived at the foundation level and consisted of a rubble core faced with roughly dressed limestone and sandstone blocks, none of which showed any signs of having been bonded with lime mortar.

The NW. wall measured 1.2 m wide and towards the edge of the site its foundation trench ended abruptly at the interior face of the former Period I rampart. Beyond this point the foundations for the wall had been set on the remnants of the rampart itself and were at a slightly higher level as a result. Only a few angular slabs of sandstone which formed the inner and outer faces survived from this portion, and the line of the wall faded out *c.* 2 m from the edge of the site.

A floor level survived only in the W. corner itself, and yielded several sherds of glazed and unglazed pottery, a large quantity of animal bone and several lumps of daub.

Situated directly against the W. corner on the outside of the building was a slightly oval pit *c.* 2 m in diameter and 0.4 m deep. This was filled with a layer of loose dark brown soil that was sealed by a thick deposit of flat sandstone slabs which had been bonded with lime mortar. The way in which these slabs overlay each other and slumped into the pit suggested that they had formed a dome which had collapsed. In the centre of this deposit was a depression 0.3 m in diameter and 0.2 m deep, containing silty clay. Around the W. edge of the pit was a kerb of large closely set sandstone blocks and waterworn boulders which bore no traces of having been bonded with lime mortar.

Building L

Projecting from Building K and surrounding the pit were the traces of a rectangular timber structure, Building L, which measured 4 m by 3 m. It was represented by three narrow and very shallow bands of clay that marked the line of sill trenches for its SW., NW. and NE. walls. These bands of clay were well defined but were visible only for a short time due to unfavourable weather conditions. The entrance into Building L may be marked by a gap in the W. corner of the structure which was occupied by several flat sandstone slabs. Extending from this area along the outer face of the NW. wall was a narrow band of metalling.

Drainage ditch

During Period VI Building K was demolished and a large, steep-sided, flat-bottomed drainage ditch measuring *c.* 24 m long was dug in a wide arc through its remains and around the lower end of the hall. The drain, cut partially into bedrock, averaged 2 m wide and 0.6 m deep, gradually tapering to 1 m wide and 0.1 m deep at its SE. terminal. The NE. end was squared off and terminated 1.5 m from the edge of the site. The NE. half of the drain at first had been allowed to partially silt up but was later rapidly infilled with several tips of clay. After this half of the drain had been infilled the SE. half was extended 13.75 m on a different alignment, terminating in a squared off end close to the NW. edge of the site. This extension was also flat bottomed and averaged 2.5 m wide and 0.7 m deep. Its NE. side had been partially lined with a layer of heavy yellow clay which was extended to seal off the infilled segment of the original ditch. The bottom of the new extension was filled with rubble and at the NW. end near the edge of the site there was a large round soak-away pit. As a result of run-off water being channelled to this particular area a large depression in the edge of the site was formed through erosion.

At first the drain was left open and allowed to silt up gradually. This was evidenced by an extensive layer of occupation which had accumulated in the centre of the site and partially extended into the drain, sealing over the layers of primary silt. Later however, it was completely infilled with heavy clay.

Building M

Sometime after the NE. half of the original drainage ditch had been infilled, Building M was constructed abutting the NW. wall of the hall. The remains of this structure consisted of fragments of its NE. and NW. walls, both of which were of rubble core construction, faced with flat sandstone blocks and bonded with clay. The NE. wall measured *c.* 1.25 m wide and was situated directly along the edge of the site, in alignment with the NE. wall of the hall. Against its inner face was a row of closely set sandstone blocks, mixed with stone rubble, which formed a kerb or sleeve, the function of which is not understood. The NW. wall measured *c.* 0.7 m wide and was constructed over the infilled NE. half of the drainage ditch, and directly over a layer which partially sealed the SW. wall of Building K. It had been set parallel to the NW. wall of the hall at a distance of 4 m and terminated on a line formed by the SW. walls of both the hall and Building K. There was, however, no evidence to suggest that this marked the W. corner of Building M. An isolated fragment of masonry *c.* 2.4 m further towards the interior of the site could possibly have formed the SW. wall of the structure, although of different construction to the NE. and NW. walls. This isolated section of masonry was set at a distance of *c.* 8.9 m from and roughly parallel to the NE. wall. It measured 3 m long and 0.7 m wide and was constructed of roughly dressed sandstone blocks bonded with an earthy lime mortar. It had been set in a shallow construction trench on a foundation of broken sandstone roof tiles. Almost one half had been completely robbed but was clearly traced by a robber trench filled with rubble, crushed lime mortar and silty clay. This trench terminated abruptly in line with the inner face of the NW. wall of the hall. The remaining portion of the masonry survived to a height of 0.4 m and terminated in a faced end. Some 0.10 m from this end and projecting 0.2 m towards the interior of Building M was a neatly faced return which was 0.6 m wide; it may have been a rebate for a door.

The interior of the building had been heavily disturbed and no distinct floor levels could be identified, though the remains of a hearth were marked by several closely set large sandstone blocks adjacent to an area of intense burning.

*The North-west Range (Fig. 11)**Building N*

On the NW. side of the site the area formerly occupied by the timber halls was levelled up with a thick raft of rubble and clay. Constructed on this deposit was a large timber-framed building, Building N, in the same alignment as its predecessors and defined by traces of its SE., NW. and NE. walls. The structure measured *c.* 7.5 m wide but the full plan could not be recovered, as its SW. end, like that of all the underlying structures, lay outside the excavated area.

The SE. wall was marked by a well-defined beamslot and was uncovered for a distance of *c.* 8 m, averaging 0.5 m wide and 0.12 m deep. The entrance into the building was marked by a threshold consisting of large, closely set limestone slabs which had been laid across the slot 4.65 m from the NE. end. Within the beamslot itself was a row of large packing stones set against the outer lip. The NW. wall was marked by a shallow U-shaped depression which ran parallel to the SE. wall and was uncovered for a distance of 9.4 m, averaging 1 m wide and 0.08 m deep. In some areas along the lip of this depression was a dense accumulation of stone which had formed against the wall itself. The NE. wall left little trace but its line was marked by another dense accumulation of stone which had formed against its interior face. It had been set partially on the edge of the rubble raft and partially on a disturbed layer of occupation.

The most notable internal feature of the building was a group of five shallow, clay-lined pits. Four of these pits were bowl-shaped with their centres pierced by a shallow, round, vertical-sided hole which was not lined with clay. Three of these pits were arranged in a line extending the width of the building, starting near the entrance. The fourth bowl-shaped pit was situated between this line and the fifth pit, which lay partially outside the area of

excavation but proved to be at least 3 m in length and over 0.75 m wide. All five pits had a similar depth of *c.* 0.15 m. Almost certainly associated with this group of pits was another revealed in a machine-cut section placed along the 3 m wide baulk behind the Oaklands Hotel during the 1978 excavations. Cut across the projected line of Building N, this section revealed at roughly the same level below the topsoil the profile of a shallow bowl-shaped depression or pit, *c.* 0.1 m deep and 0.8 m wide. It was filled with a layer of intensely burnt, crushed sandstone. Overlying this and sealing the pit itself was a thick layer of charcoal. Both layers and the depression were pierced by a round, vertical-sided hole filled with silty grey clay. Sealing this hole were three flat sandstone slabs.

Abutting the threshold on the interior of the building was a small rectangular area of paving made up of closely set, small limestone slabs which were well worn. Extending from the pavement around the NE. side of the line of three pits was a band of metalling that extended almost the full width of the room. In the E. corner of the building was another small rectangular area of paving constructed of larger, flat limestone slabs, possibly marking another entrance. Against the NW. wall on the interior of the building were two isolated patches of intense burning. One, located in the N. corner, contained a few sherds of pottery and some fragments of bone. The other extended between the end of the row of three pits and the beamslot for the NW. wall. Neither the pits nor the fill of the slot showed any evidence of burning.

Building P

Abutting Building N on the NW. side was Building P, a smaller structure of slot construction *c.* 3.5 m wide and at least 5 m long; it appears to have extended beyond the area of excavation. Its NW. and NE. walls were marked by two slots which met to form the N. corner. The dimensions of the slots were similar, averaging *c.* 0.7 m wide and between 0.1 m and 0.2 m deep. Both were filled with rubble mixed with a brown silty soil. No floor levels survived and there were no other features or finds associated with the structure.

Other features

At some point during Period VI the large pit near the centre of the site was rapidly infilled with several tips of heavy brown clay mixed with gravel, shale and charcoal. Finds recovered included several sherds of pottery, iron nails, a large quantity of bone, a whetstone and several carbonised seeds. A large bowl-shaped depression in the centre of the pit formed by subsequent slumping was filled with a deposit of rubble and sealed with a layer of clay.

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

The evidence associated with this period affords by far the clearest picture of activity on the site. It is also the only period for which precise dating can be offered owing to an exceptional convergence of documentary, numismatic, and archaeological evidence.³⁰ While the *terminus ante quem* for the levelling-up of the site can only be broadly ascribed *c.* A.D. 1270 or later on the basis of a single long cross penny of Henry III found in one of the layers of infill, a strong case can be made for a *terminus post quem* of *c.* A.D. 1294–95 for the destruction of the hall and the subsequent abandonment of the site as the seat of manorial activities.

The emphasis on manorial activities is important as the defences at Rumney were so compromised with the cutting down of the rampart at the outset of this period, that in its final form the site could be more accurately described as a fortified manor.³¹ The defensive rampart was replaced by a screen formed by ranges of stone and timber structures built around the perimeter of the low mound that had been created.³²

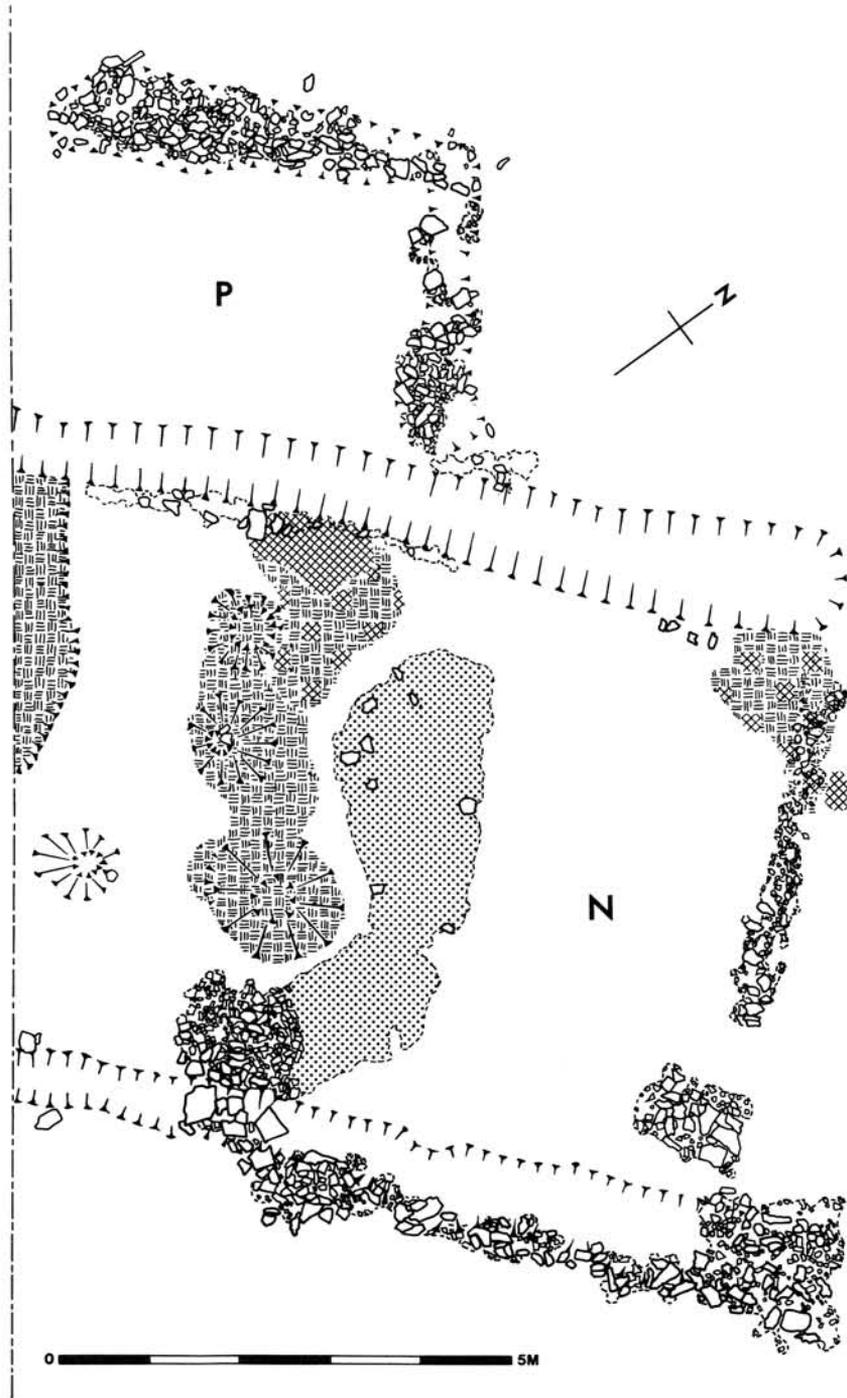


FIG. 11
Details of Buildings N and P

It is possible that the only structure retained from the earlier period was the keep, since its turret appears to have been incorporated into the E. corner of the hall. The relationship between the two buildings, however, is by no means certain. The hall was constructed with a free-standing SE. gable, rather than being abutted against the keep which would have been more economical. This could be taken to imply that the latter was in a ruinous state; however it is possible that the gap between the two could represent another structural feature, such as a wooden stair leading to a first-floor entrance into the keep. The destruction of such a feature during the fire which engulfed the hall might account for the burning discovered there, although the width involved would appear rather narrow. The most persuasive argument in favour of the survival of the keep lies in its pivotal role in the creation of what was in effect a curtain wall formed by a series of abutting structures, which makes little sense unless the whole keep or some substantial portion of it had been integrated into this circuit.

Whereas the keep is likely to have survived as the dominant feature of the defences, it is clear that the entrance existed during this period in a form that could only have been achieved after the majority of the Period V gate tower had been demolished. A much less substantial wall was built over the remains of what had been the E. side of the latter, and it seems most probable that Building G and the radically altered Building F formed an integrated structure which utilized only a reduced portion of the former W. wall of the Period V gate tower in its construction. This wall was almost completely robbed at its N. end, discussed above in Period V. Significantly, the projected line of the N. wall for Building G closely marks the point at which the robbing was abruptly curtailed. The surviving masonry formed a rough but clear edge, supporting the argument that this represents a deliberate truncation. The apparently unaltered width of the wall can be taken to infer that this end of the complex was entirely masonry, as was possibly the other wall forming the gate passage. It is conceivable, however, that Building G was, in the main, a timber-framed building constructed on low sill walls. The total absence of any trace of mortar used in its construction despite its employment elsewhere during this period, coupled with the extremely limited amount of associated masonry debris in comparison with other structures, even those thoroughly robbed, is certainly suggestive of a predominantly timber building.

The various features which intermittently extended between Building G and the keep are interpreted collectively as indicating the presence of a structure or structures which had occupied this gap. The various features had been linked in some fashion in order to form an unbroken stretch of walling along this, the least naturally defended side of the site.

On the opposite side of the site Building N, along with its lean-to annexe Building P, constituted the only major building discovered at Rumney that was of slot construction. It may have been a workshop, with the clay-lined depressions within it being pits associated with metalworking, although the only one that demonstrated any signs of having been used for that purpose was that revealed in the 1978 machine-cut section behind the Oaklands Hotel. Unfortunately, no evidence was recovered to indicate the type of metal or metals being worked, but it is worth

noting that at Montgomery Castle in Powys, almost identical pits were employed in the casting of bronze or lead,³³ while at Denny Abbey in Cambridgeshire, similar features have been interpreted as lead melting hearths.³⁴ The limited areas of burning on the interior of the building could be an indication of its fate, but could also have been associated with industry.

Together with the keep, the hall and its associated buildings formed an impressive domestic range spanning almost the full length of NE. side of the site. The evidence for this range suggests that it had a complex history, with Building K replaced by Building M; both structures were undoubtedly service blocks. The former may have featured an oven projecting from its W. corner, although a total lack of any associated burning leaves some room for doubt. Whatever the function, however, it is clear that it was enclosed by a small timber shed or shelter, Building L, which had been erected on sillbeams.

Building H, interpreted as a hall, incorporated different modes of construction. It was obviously a building of great complexity, but the inability to relate the different segments of its foundations with one another makes it impossible to discern any sequence of development. Features such as a stone-tiled roof, internal drains, benches and wall decorations demonstrate that it was a building of conspicuous status. Its destruction by fire resulted in the preservation of both important environmental evidence and the coin hoard, whose dating is fundamental for the formulation of a reasoned chronology for the demise of the site.

A detailed analysis³⁵ of the hoard has shown that the earliest possible date for its deposition, and therefore the fire, would have been A.D. 1288–89. The revolt of Morgan ap Maredudd broke out in Glamorgan during the autumn of A.D. 1294, and certainly provides the most compelling documented context for the assemblage and hiding of such a collection.³⁶ It was during this rebellion that several manors in the region suffered widespread damage and although there is no specific reference to an attack on the site itself, the manor of Rumney at large was a target as both its mills were recorded as having been severely damaged during the conflict.³⁷ It is probable that the burning of the hall could have been a deliberate act of war carried out sometime either in the autumn of A.D. 1294 or winter of A.D. 1295 before the capitulation of the Welsh.

Once the hall had burnt down, the area it occupied was never built over. While it cannot be conclusively proved that the entire site was abandoned at the same time, there was conversely no evidence indicating even partial occupation much beyond the end of the 13th century. The destruction of the hall can therefore be taken to mark a watershed in the decline of the site, but what remains unclear is whether the decline was sudden or gradual. There had been a time when the hall stood without any adjacent services whilst the large drainage ditch, cut through the remains of Building K, was allowed to silt up gradually before the construction of Building M. Moreover it is highly unlikely that the latter was in use at the time of the hall fire because of the lack of burning apart from around its hearth. The complete absence of any stone tile amongst the remains of Building M shows that if it had been standing when the hall was completely gutted, it would have possessed a roof of thatch or wooden shingles;³⁸ both types are prone to fire and would have left traces of burning.

It is possible that the dereliction of these ancillary structures relates to a pattern of decline which may have been in progress before the burning of the hall. The drainage ditch and its subsequent re-cutting, surely indicators of a long-term deterioration in weather conditions, may also figure in this equation.

THE CASTLE DITCH

The ditch was examined by hand in two places along the SE. side of the mound. The first area was near the S. corner of the site where a complete profile was achieved with the cutting of a 1 m wide section at a point which appeared to be the least affected by modern disturbance (Fig. 12). The ditch measured 6.12 m deep from the modern ground surface and 11.2 m wide across the top. In profile it was steep sided and slightly stepped near the bottom, which was broad. The lower levels were waterlogged and required constant pumping while work was being carried out. The earliest deposit was a thin layer of brown humic clay. Overlying this was the primary silting which consisted of a number of layers of grey clay. These contained a great deal of stone and several pieces of waterlogged timber, some of which appeared to have been portions of large beams. One of these timbers and much of the rubble lay immediately on the bottom of the ditch.

Overlying the primary silt were several layers of green-grey clay which contained numerous small stones, presumably representing slow natural silting. Partially sealing these layers on the SE. side of the ditch was a compact surface consisting of gravel and small stones. This appeared to be a path but the limited exposure of this feature did not allow its precise function to be established. Above this was a thick deposit of grey-brown silty clay which contained small stones and some gravel, also probably the result of slow natural silting. Completing the profile were a number of layers, some containing large stones and pebbles, whilst others were narrow bands of clay; the uppermost was a thick layer of humus. No closely datable finds were recovered from these layers but numerous fragments of brick found throughout suggests a modern date. From the lower levels the only finds recovered, apart from the waterlogged timbers, were three pieces of bone.

Little can be said about this section of ditch except that it was kept clean until structural debris collapsed or was thrown into it. This cannot be dated but this debris may have resulted from the destruction of the site in the late 13th century and accumulated in the ditch immediately thereafter.

The second part of the ditch to be examined was situated immediately in front of the original entrance towards the E. corner of the site. In this particular area the ditch had been almost completely infilled and because of the risk of collapse only a very limited portion could be excavated. The earliest deposits uncovered in this section consisted of several layers of heavy silty clay which contained great quantities of small- and medium-sized stones. These deposits overlay the exterior face of the defensive rampart and the natural clay into which the ditch had been cut. Finds recovered from these deposits included several sherds of pottery, iron nails, large quantities of bone, and a few fragments of plaster.

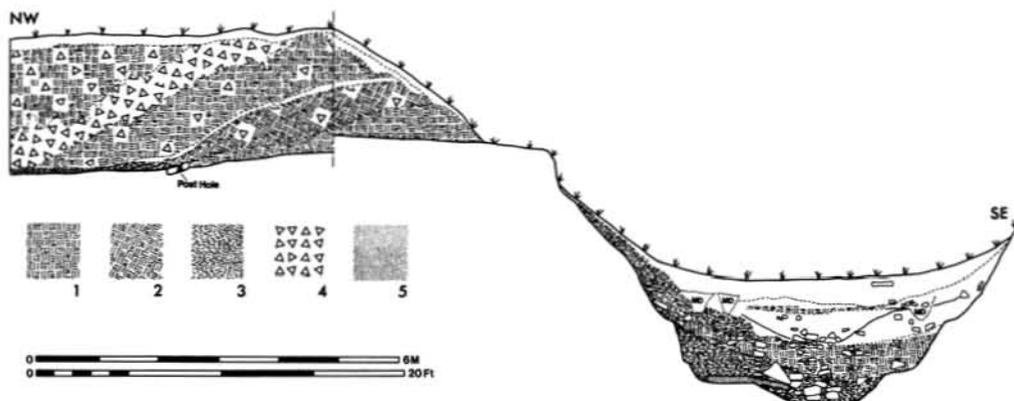


FIG. 12

Section through the rampart and ditch. Key: 1, 2: clay; 3: silt; 4: shale; 5: wood

Built over one of these layers and immediately in front of the entrance was a masonry ramp or pier composed of limestone blocks with a rubble core. Surviving to a maximum height of 1 m, this feature spanned almost the full width of the entrance, dipping at a sharp angle into the ditch. It was faced on the sides parallel to the gate passage but its other sides had been heavily disturbed by robbing. Along the SW. side the facing stones consisted of large blocks bonded with clay. The opposite NE. side was more carefully constructed with smaller blocks which had been set in lime mortar. The rubble core of this structure was largely voided.

LATER FEATURES

Two features were uncovered at Rumney Castle which appear to post-date the destruction of the site. Both features were found during the 1978 season of excavations and lay along the SW. edge of the mound.

Hardstanding

The first was a heavily disturbed area of hardstanding situated in the W. corner of the site (Fig. 9). This consisted of worn sandstone rubble which formed a long narrow platform with a rounded SE. terminal marked by a kerb of large sandstone blocks. Some of the rubble at this end bore traces of having been set in lime mortar. The NW. end of this feature had been almost completely removed but was marked by a deposit of stony brown clay. This deposit was partially bordered on the SW. by a narrow band of ash which contained fragments of coal, pottery and green-glazed ridge tiles.

This area of hardstanding is situated to the SW. of Building N, extending the width of the structure in a line roughly perpendicular to its long axis. Any association between the two, however, is dubious, as the hardstanding had been constructed over a layer which sealed the shallow pit, the profile of which was revealed in a machine cut section of the 1978 excavations (see above, p. 126).

Limekiln/Beacon

The second feature which may have been constructed after the destruction of the fortified manor was a large pit dug in the S. corner of the site and directly along the edge of the mound (Fig. 9). This was bowl-shaped with steep sides and a flat bottom. It was 1.5 m deep and measured 3.3 m in diameter across the top. The sides had been subjected to intense heat and were fired brick-red in colour to a thickness averaging 0.24 m. Situated at the bottom of the SW. side was a stone lined channel which had been cut through the side of the mound. Any trace of its outlet had been destroyed earlier this century by the construction of an air raid shelter. On the bottom of the pit was a thin layer of crushed lime sealed by a layer of burnt shale and clay. This was in turn sealed by a homogeneous deposit of shale and clay which had been used to infill the pit.

This feature may have been a beacon similar to that which has been noted on Merthyr Mawr Warren,³⁹ a feature to which it bears some similarities, and an explanation which might explain the carriage of 33 bundles of wood to the castle in the early 15th century⁴⁰ during the Glyn Dŵr rebellion. Alternatively the position of this feature, its morphology and the ready availability of quarried limestone from the various buildings on the site combine to make the limekiln interpretation more likely. No datable material was associated with this feature but because it is unlike medieval limekilns⁴¹ it may be more readily dated to the post-medieval period.

DATING AND CONCLUSION

The excavations at Rumney represent the most extensive examination of a Norman ringwork castle in the British Isles. The interpretations offered here are certainly not beyond question, however. It is possible that not all evidence was recognized, let alone recovered; ephemeral traces may well have been missed, particularly during adverse weather conditions when the constraints of rescue conditions meant that work could not always be postponed. The picture therefore, is likely to be far from complete. Yet when the recorded evidence is analysed it is possible to trace a broad pattern of development for the site. More difficult, however, is the dating of this sequence. The foundation of the castle could be related to the establishment in 1081 of a Norman enclave centred around Cardiff, or later, during Robert Fitzhamon's annexation of Gwynllŵg in *c.* 1093. The overall development of the site continued throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. The dating of the six different periods of building identified within this span of two hundred years, however, can be tentatively suggested:

Period I	<i>c.</i> 1081–93
Period II	early to mid-12th century
Period III	<i>c.</i> 1184
Period IV	late 12th century or early 13th century
Period V	early 13th century
Period VI	post 1270 to <i>c.</i> 1295

The dates offered for Periods III and VI are, like that for Period I, based on historical references. The extensive works carried out during Period III represent a complete upgrading of the defences, which would have involved considerable expenditure. Allowing for the two earlier periods of building, it would seem reasonable to ascribe these works to either William, Earl of Gloucester, who held the lordships of Gwynllŵg and Glamorgan from 1147 until his death in 1183, or his successor, Henry II. The importance of the castle as an instrument of control would have been amply demonstrated at the outset of Henry's tenure when the Welsh rose in a serious revolt lasting until the summer of 1184. Henry retained possession of the lordships until his death in 1189, and he is known to have repaired or strengthened several castles throughout Wales. Much of the work is recorded in the Pipe Rolls, but other projects which are not documented are thought to have been commissioned by the King, most notably the extensive rebuilding in stone at Newcastle in Mid Glamorgan.⁴² It is not impossible that the works at Newcastle⁴³ and Rumney were carried out as part of a royal policy which was financed by a source other than that recorded in the Pipe Rolls; for example expenditure on castles under Edward I is not all represented in surviving accounts.⁴⁴

It is difficult to envisage the conversion of the castle into a lightly defended manor of Period VI before 1270. Until this date Rumney would have retained something of its strategic 'front-line' importance, with the Welsh in continuous possession of the two commotes, Senghennydd and Machen, just to the N. Before these territories were annexed by Gilbert de Clare in 1267 and 1270 respectively, they posed a distinct threat to the low-lying lands of Gwynllŵg and Glamorgan. The construction of Caerphilly Castle immediately following these annexations clearly demonstrates both Earl Gilbert's respect for the potential scale of the Welsh threat, particularly under the influence of Llewellyn ap Gruffydd, and his determination to secure these newly seized territories. The conversion of Rumney Castle may therefore be directly linked with the construction of Caerphilly and is likely to have occurred when Gilbert's mother, the Countess Maud, was in possession of the manor as part of her dower from 1267 until her death in 1289.

The work at Rumney also represents a further development in the archaeological investigation of Norman ringworks in Wales. The results of the Rumney excavations add considerably to our knowledge of this type of castle and together with the evidence from other excavated sites in the region, both ringworks and mottes,⁴⁵ provide the basis for a detailed comparative study of related castles within a well-defined geographic area — the former lordships of Gwynllŵg, Glamorgan and Gower. Just such a study covering the majority of this area has been recently published by the Royal Commission in their authoritative survey of early castles in Glamorgan.⁴⁶

THE FINDS

The finds report is sadly incomplete because almost all categories of finds were affected by a fire which destroyed the Trust's headquarters in 1983. Fortunately most reports were largely complete by this stage and in many cases the finds had been illustrated.

The stratigraphic origin of the various items is given in parentheses as follows: context number/individual find number. The majority of items came from the second season of excavations (site 37) but a small number came from the first season (site 18) and in these cases the context number is preceded by 18/.

THE COINS. *By* G. C. BOON

Coin hoard

An Edwardian hoard consisting of 64 coins from English mints (chiefly London and Canterbury, as might be expected), but also two of Dublin, six Scottish of Alexander III and two 'portrait' easterlings of Brabant (Chautard 95 and 101). The hoard is dated by two Class IVe pennies of Edward I to c. A.D. 1288-89. This is the earliest known occurrence of easterlings of the type indicated.⁴⁷ Period VI (082/089).

Others

1. Henry III 'long cross' coinage. Cut halfpenny (with fragment missing, apparently after clipping had taken place). Obv. clearly h]enricus rex[and Rev L]vnd[i.e. London mint, moneyer unknown. Class Vh, dating towards c. A.D. 1270. Slight wear, clipped. Period VI (053/057).
2. Edward I, penny of London, Class IVb, c. A.D. 1282-89. Slightly worn. Period VI (132/062).
3. Henry III, short cross penny, type 7 (middle). London mint. A.D. 1216-72. Some wear, clipped. Period VI (027/020).

OBJECTS OF IRON, BRONZE AND BONE. *By* S. LLOYD-FERN and S. H. SELL

The assemblages from Rumney Castle provide little dating evidence for the stratigraphic sequence. Much of the typologically earlier material is residual, and the chronology of the later pieces is less firmly established. However, the metalwork should be seen as important in its own right, particularly the ironwork which contains a fine group of arrowheads. Other categories of domestic and military items of iron are less well represented, but some unidentifiable pieces and fragments have been described and illustrated to provide parallels for future scholars. The bronzes, a much smaller group, contain a selection of buckles of medieval date which complement a similar number of examples in iron. Many bronzes from the site are modern and these have been placed with the site archive. One item which does not conform but which is of some note is a Roman earring (no. 9).

CATALOGUE⁴⁸

OBJECTS OF IRON⁴⁹

Weapons and blades (Fig. 13)

Arrowheads (socketed, 1-14, tanged 15-16)

1. Blade fragment as LMMC type 1, 12th century. Length 46 mm. Period VI (180/150).
2. Type with broad flat blade and marked shoulder, as LMMC type 2 (the type in use in the 12th/13th century). Length 80 mm, blade 55 mm. Period VI (118/066).
3. Type as no. 2. Length (blade) 32.5 mm. Period VI (067/108).
4. Type as no. 2. Length 55 mm, shaft 22 mm. Period VI (118/111).
5. Type as no. 2, but thicker than usual. Length 54 mm. Period VI (131/075).
6. Fragment perhaps as no. 2. Length 32.5 mm, shaft 28 mm. Period VI (174/095).
7. Fragment perhaps as no. 2. Length (blade) 42 mm. Period VI (178/128).
8. Possibly a large socketed type, perhaps as no. 2. Length c. 60 mm. Period IV (237/118). Not illustrated.
9. Type as LMMC type 3 (in use in the 13th century). Length 64 mm, blade 23 mm. Period VI (118/139).
10. Type as no. 9. Length 63 mm, blade 31 mm. Period VI (131/105).
11. Very long armour-piercing arrowhead as LMMC type 7, developed in the 13th century to counteract the increasing use of defensive armour. Length 195 mm, blade 147 mm. Period VI (068/030).
12. Type as no. 11, but much shorter. Length 66 mm, blade 51 mm. Period III (331/210).
13. Fragment, probably a socketed arrowhead, as LMMC type 9/10. Length 48 mm. Period VI (023/212).
14. Barbed type. Probably as LMMC type 13 (in military or hunting use from the 13th century onwards). Length 58 mm, blade 33 mm. Period VI (118/112).
15. Example with a very small blade as LMMC type 17 (in use in the 13th century). Length 60 mm, blade 16 mm. Period VI (230/114).
16. Tang of ?arrowhead. Length 45 mm. Period V (268/137).

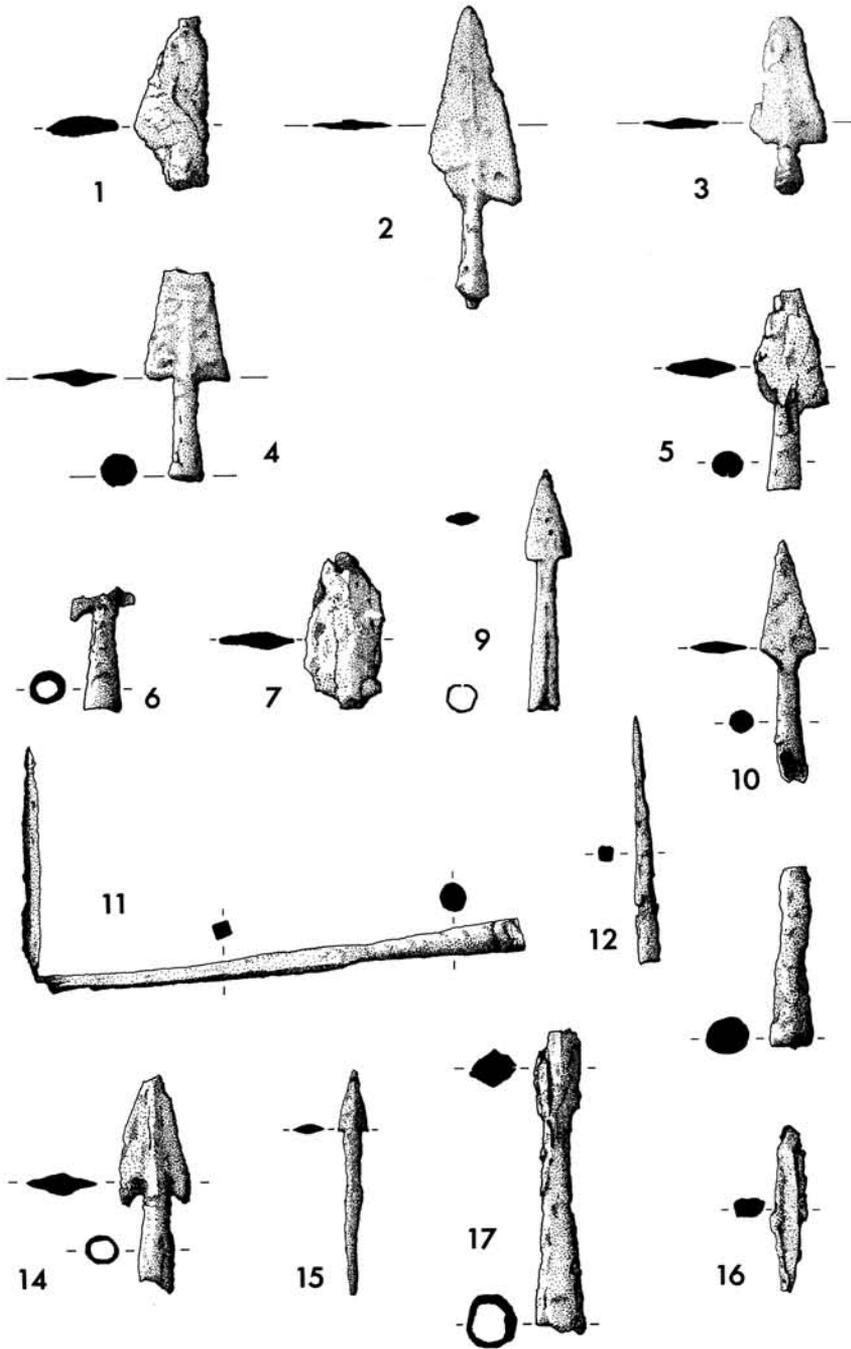


FIG. 13
Iron objects: weapons. Scale 1:2

Spearhead

17. Socketed fragment, length 80 mm. Period VI (021/211).

Knives and blades (Fig. 14)

18. Whittle-tanged knife of triangular section of a type common throughout the 12th to 15th centuries. Length 150 mm, blade 135 mm. Period VI (099/047).
 19. Fragment of triangular section. Length 75 mm (18/007/083).
 20. Whittle tang and blade of thick triangular section, probably too thick for a knife. Length 77 mm, blade 64 mm. Period VI (146/083).

Horseshoes and fittings (Figs. 15, 16)

21. Shoe with wavy edges as LMMC type 4 (early post-Conquest). Calkins mostly eroded (18/008/052).
 22. Horseshoe with wavy edges and calkins as LMMC type 5 (early post-Conquest), Two nails survive *in situ*. 12th century (18/008/058).
 23. As no. 22, with four nails *in situ*. Period VI (168/081).
 24. Fragment as no. 22. Period VI (084/085).
 25. Fragment perhaps as LMMC type 8 or 9 (mid/late 13th century). Period III (285/138).
 26. Heavy shoe (incomplete) with calkins, possibly a 15th-century type. Two nails survive *in situ*. Period VI (131/076).
 27. Snaffle bit; part of a two-link mouthpiece, as LMMC type II (common in the early post-Conquest period). Period VI (131/090).
 28. Bridle boss, plain form with ridge and flat top; possibly a later post-Conquest type. Period VI (037/022).

Buckles (Fig. 16)

29. Part of a single buckle of early post-Conquest type. Maximum width (estimated) 50 mm, length of incomplete pin 43 mm. Period VI (067/110).
 30. Incomplete square single buckle with traces of tinning, later post-Conquest type. Maximum width (estimated) 60 mm, bar 70 mm. Period VI (231/115).
 31. Large single buckle as no. 30, roughly square. Width 63 mm, bar 72 mm, pin 73 mm. Period VI (084/064).
 32. Plain one-piece single buckle, roughly square with rounded end. Width 55 mm. Period VI (084/107).
 33. Type as no. 32, rectangular. Maximum width 36 mm, length 46 mm. Period VI+ (110/052).
 34. Bar of harness buckle, early post-Conquest form. Length 74 mm. Period VI (173/099). Not illustrated.
 35. Part of ?pin of (single) buckle. Length 37 mm. Period VI+ (117/125). Not illustrated.

Locks and keys (Fig. 17)

36. Stem and bow of key perhaps as LMMC type II-III (occurring throughout the 12th to 15th centuries). Length 60 mm. Period VI (099/131).
 37. Stem and ward, perhaps as LMMC type III. Length 65 mm. Period VI (177/122).
 38. Ward of heavy key, probably a symmetrical type as no. 36. The iron is coated, perhaps with tin. Depth of ward 28 mm. Period VI (173/097). Not illustrated.
 39. Barrel padlock. Cylindrical, copper plated; used for shackling humans and animals. Length 33 mm, diameter 17 mm. Period VI (118/113).

Chains, links and hooks (Fig. 17)

40. Part of a chain consisting of links formed by folding both ends of a length of square section wire over to meet in the middle, and turning back the ends. Length of complete double link 37 mm. Period VI (173/103).
 41. Figure of eight link (incomplete). Length 45 mm. Period VI (118/065).
 42. Hook. Maximum length 53 mm. Period VI (132/058).
 43. Hook. Length of straight shaft 60 mm. Period VI (132/059).

Structural fittings (Fig. 17)

44. Staple (incomplete). Maximum length 66 mm. Period VI (131/092).
 45. Strap-hinge. Length 247 mm, width 35 mm. Modern (043/215). Not illustrated.
 46. Fragments of a strap-hinge; there are four associated nails or fragments, of which two survive *in situ*. Average width c. 30 mm. Measured nails 28 mm and 30 mm (incomplete). Period VI (099/048).
 47. Drop hinge staple. Length 140 mm. Period VI (021/045).
 48. Latch catch. Length 91 mm. Period VI+ (040/208).

Miscellaneous and undiagnostic (Fig. 18)

49. Part of a rectangular-framed object with square section, perhaps a structural fitting. Length 166 mm, estimated breadth 40 mm. Period VI (053/053).
 51. ?Fitting; cylindrical object with biconical central thickening. Points project from each end, perhaps for fixing into wood. Length 132 mm. Period III (331/213).
 52. Round-sectioned rod tapering at each end to form attachment features. Possibly part of a handle broken at either end. Length 126 mm. Period VI (067/155).
 53. Angled length of round-section with a punched hole near the angle and a knob on one end. 108 mm by 85 mm. Period VI (067/148).

RUMNEY CASTLE

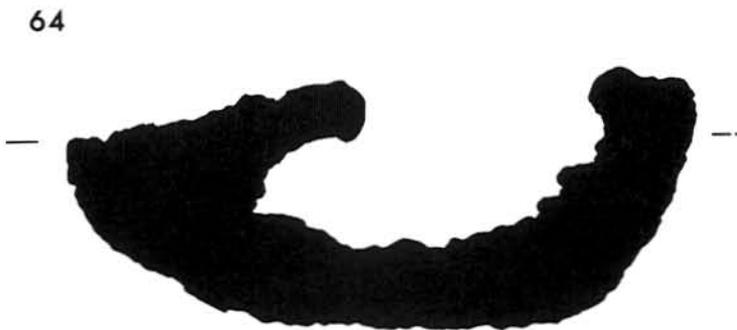
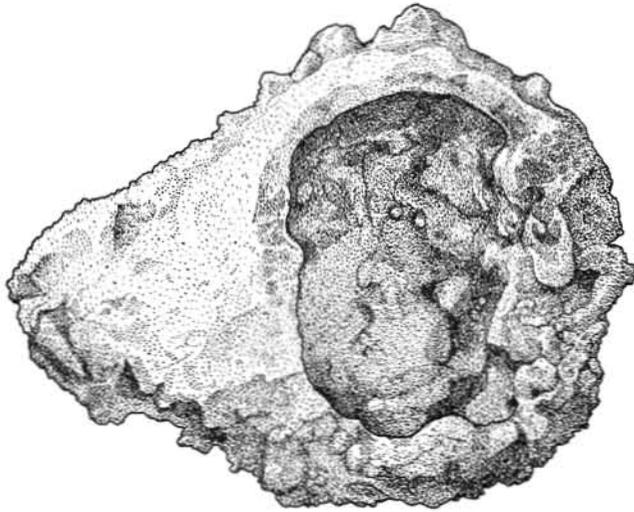
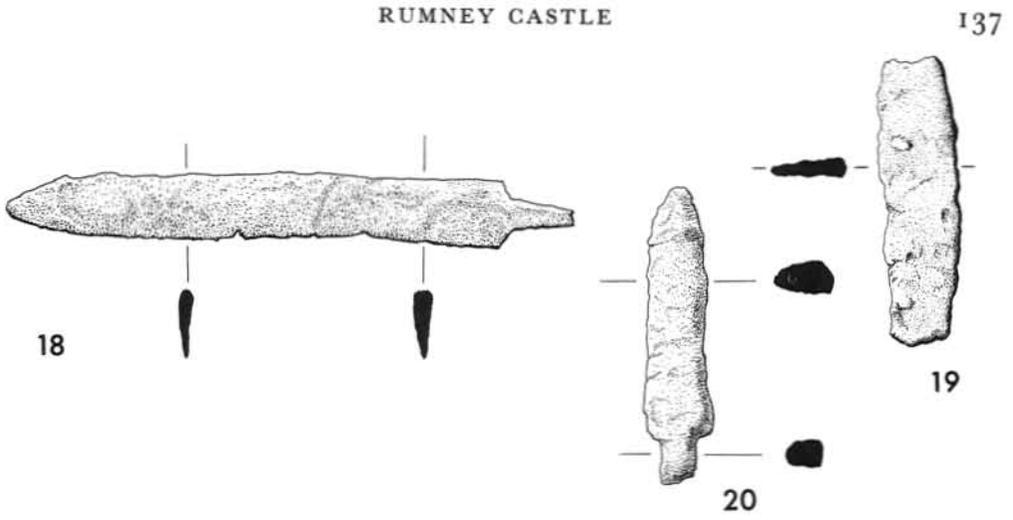


FIG. 14
Iron objects. Scale 1:2

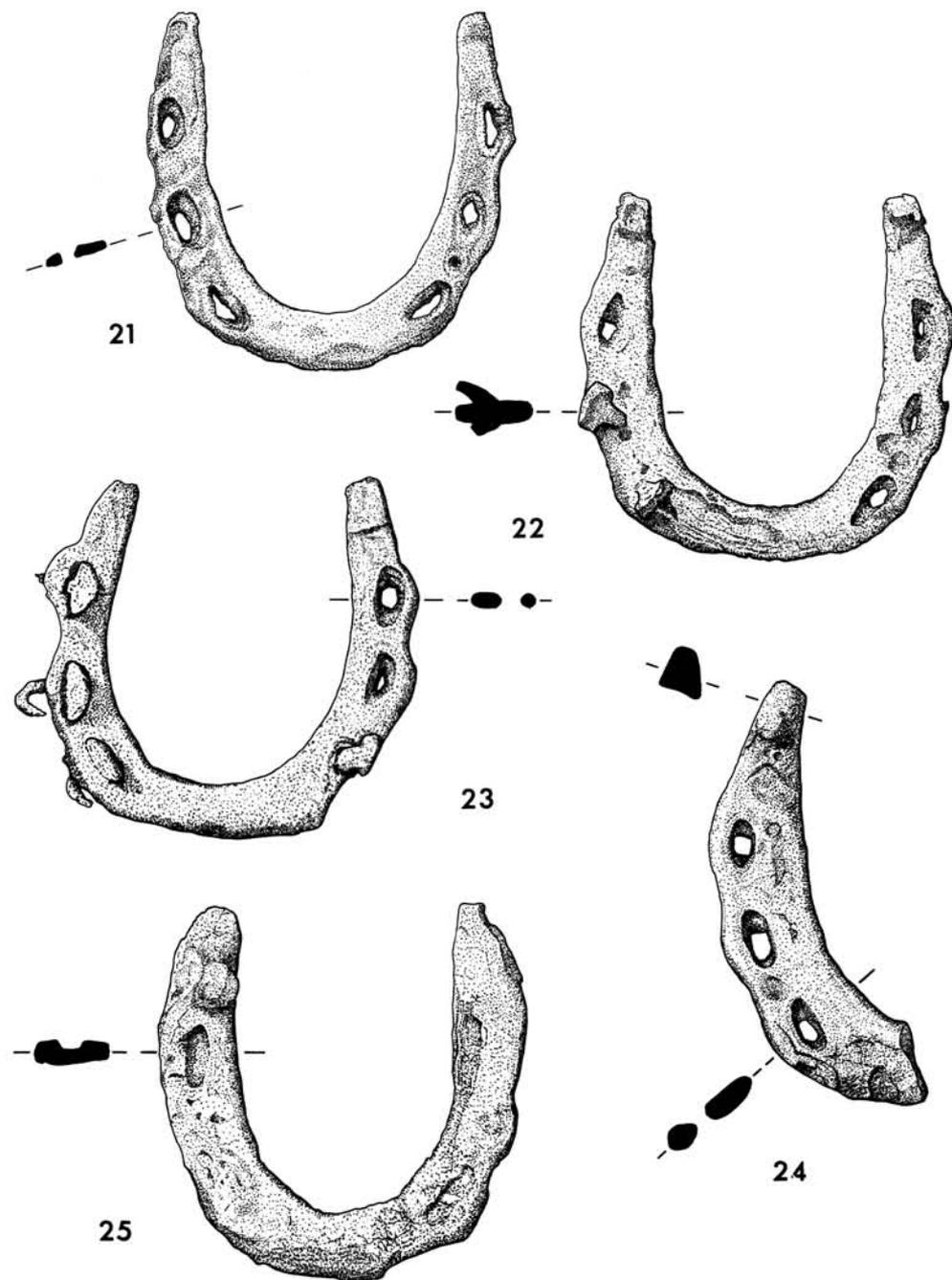


FIG. 15
Iron objects: horseshoes. Scale 1:2

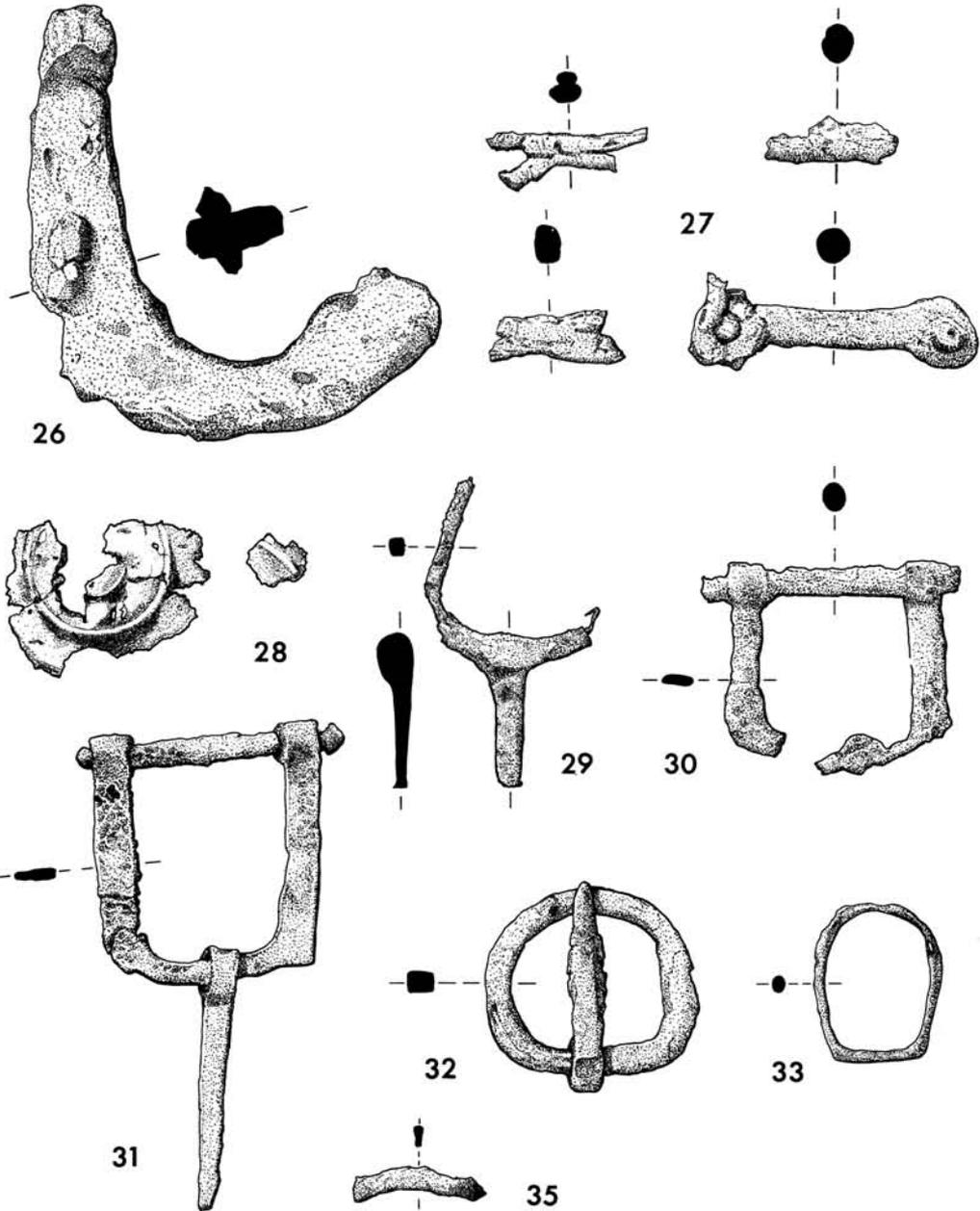


FIG. 16
Iron objects. Scale 1:2

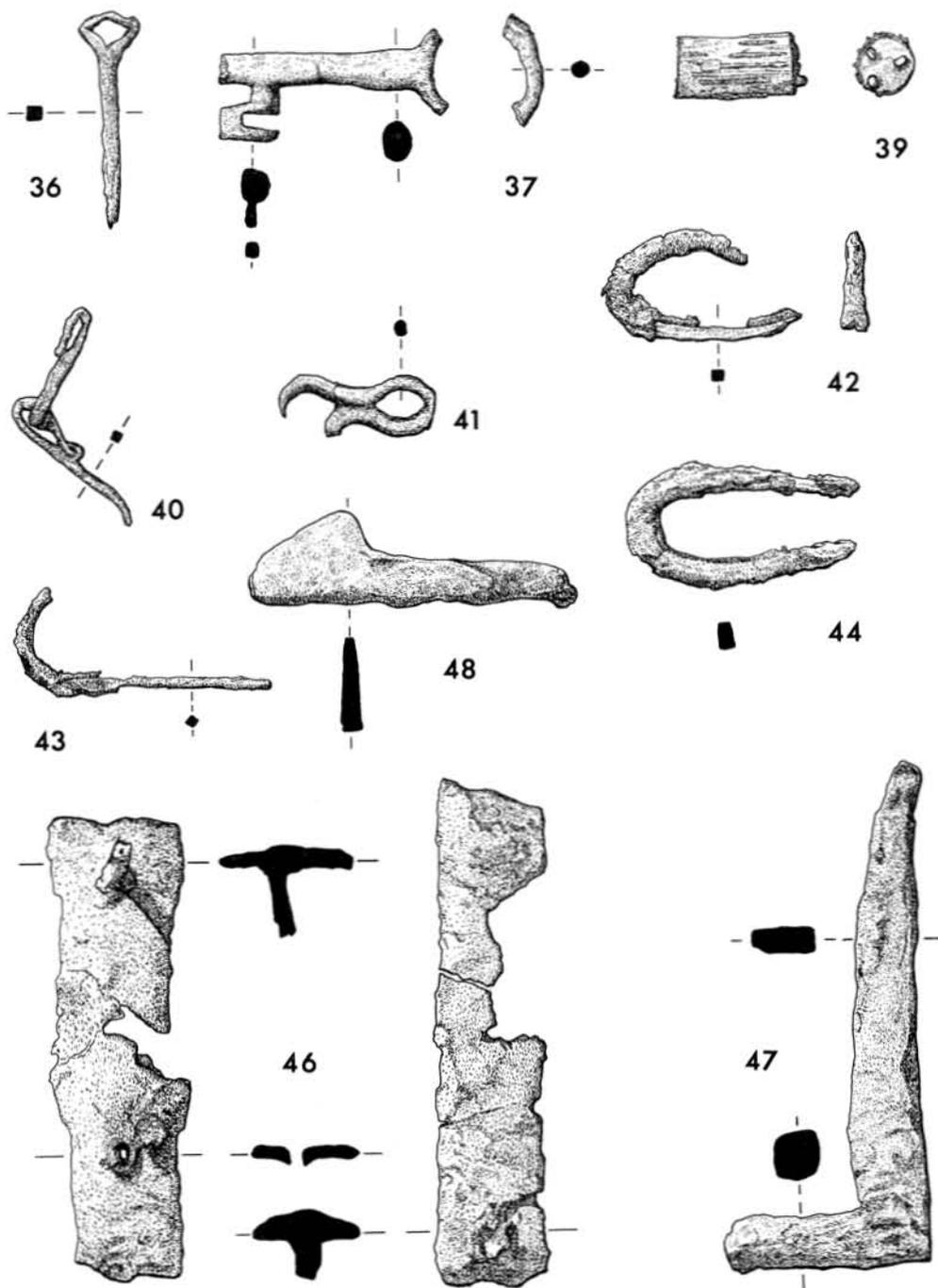


FIG. 17
Iron objects. Scale 1:2

54. Bow-shaped object, possibly a padlock-hasp. Length 98 mm. Period VI (131/080).
55. Fragment of square section, possibly part of a padlock-hasp. Maximum length 55 mm. Period VI (131/079).
56. Roughly T-shaped object with the broader section forming the T-bar, perhaps part of a domestic fitting. The metal is coated. Broadest section 41 mm. Period VI (067/216).
57. Semi-circular fragment, possibly part of a prick spur. Period VI+ (138/124).
58. Part of a small square-sectioned bar which appears to taper towards one end, and to have a central thickening. Length 88 mm. Period V or VI (135/070).
59. Possibly the tang and part of the blade of a very small knife. 'Blade' has triangular section. Total length 56 mm, 'blade' width 8.5 mm. Another fragment originally associated is probably unrelated (length 24 mm). Period III (130/061).
60. ?Fitting fragment, perhaps a latch or similar. Maximum length 51 mm. Period VI (021/217). Not illustrated.
61. Plate fragment with tapering edges; probably not a blade. Length 34 mm. Period VI (076/121).
62. Riveted strip fragment. Width 22 mm. Period VI (178/214). Not illustrated.
63. Fragment of ore, roughly triangular in shape. Maximum length 51 mm, weight 34 g. Period III (395/157). Not illustrated.
64. Possibly part of a hearth bottom from the smelting of iron ore. Length 165 mm, weight 1.31 kg. Period VI (131/202) (Fig. 14).

OBJECTS OF BRONZE (Fig. 19)

Dress fittings

1. Two fragments of a large rectangular double buckle, with debased foliate decoration at corners, a feature usually associated with 16th-17th century types. The iron bar is missing. Length 61 mm. (023/001) and (18/021/041).
2. Fragment of rectangular buckle, perhaps similar to no. 1. Period VI (295/204). Not illustrated.
3. Single buckle with rectangular loop and ribbed decoration. External dimensions 22 by 27 mm. Period VI (231/115).
4. Small D-shaped strap-end buckle, plain. External dimensions 13 by 16 mm. Period VI (178/125).
5. Small strap-end buckle with decorative loop. Part of the plate survives. External dimensions 16 by 13.5 mm. Period VI (021/035). Nos. 1-5 are more likely to be of late medieval or post-medieval date; no. 5 is probably earlier.
6. Fragment of a spectacle buckle of late medieval or early post-medieval type, now much decayed. Period VI (134/067).
7. Buckle-plate, now fragmentary. Width at buckle 22 mm. Period VI (067/050).
8. Fragment from a belt-plate or similar pierced ornamental strip, bordered by a double chevron pattern. Width 14 mm, extant length 26 mm. This piece was certainly attached to leather, although its precise function remains unclear. Period VI (173/088).
9. Plain subcircular penannular object of round section, and tapering to a sharp point at each end.⁵⁰ External dimensions 23 by 19 mm. Period V (354/146).
10. Circular brooch, undecorated, broken where ?recessed for the pin now missing. The section is round throughout. External diameter 24.5 mm, cf. LMMC Pl. lxxvii no. 7 for a similar example. Period VI (053/063).
11. ?Circular object, perhaps the remains of a brooch or other dress item. There are traces of gilding next to a forked projection which may have taken a pin. Now distorted, twisted and corroded, it was probably of round section. Period VI (173/100).
12. Dress pin with decoration of short oblique grooves below the biconical head. Length 65 mm. Period VI (131/102).
13. Stud with convex head, now incomplete, and square section shank. Diameter of head (estimated) 18 mm. Length of shank 17 mm. Period IV or V (473/154).

Miscellaneous items

14. Scoop or spoon, probably an apothecary's item, pierced for suspension. The stem, now badly bent, is of plano-convex section and has traces of gilding on its curved under-side. The bowl is round. Diameter of bowl 14 mm, length of stem (estimated) 29 mm. Period VI (173/101).
15. Slender link or double hook, now fragmentary, formed from wire of oval cross-section, bent into an S-shape, the ends flattened. Length (estimated) 77 mm. Period III (362/153). Not illustrated.
16. Blown casting of a leg from a cauldron, short and squat. Length 42 mm (maximum), weight 70 g. Period VI (146-). Not illustrated.

Bone

1. Counter. 40 mm wide at widest part, fragmented circular incised decoration. Possible gaming piece. LMMC pp. 46-49. Period I (471/159). Not illustrated.

PAINTED PLASTER (Fig. 20)

1. A large piece of daub with a coat of white plaster with a painted design was recovered from destruction deposits in the hall. Unfortunately this piece was destroyed in the fire in the Trust's headquarters before detailed study could be carried out. Period VI.

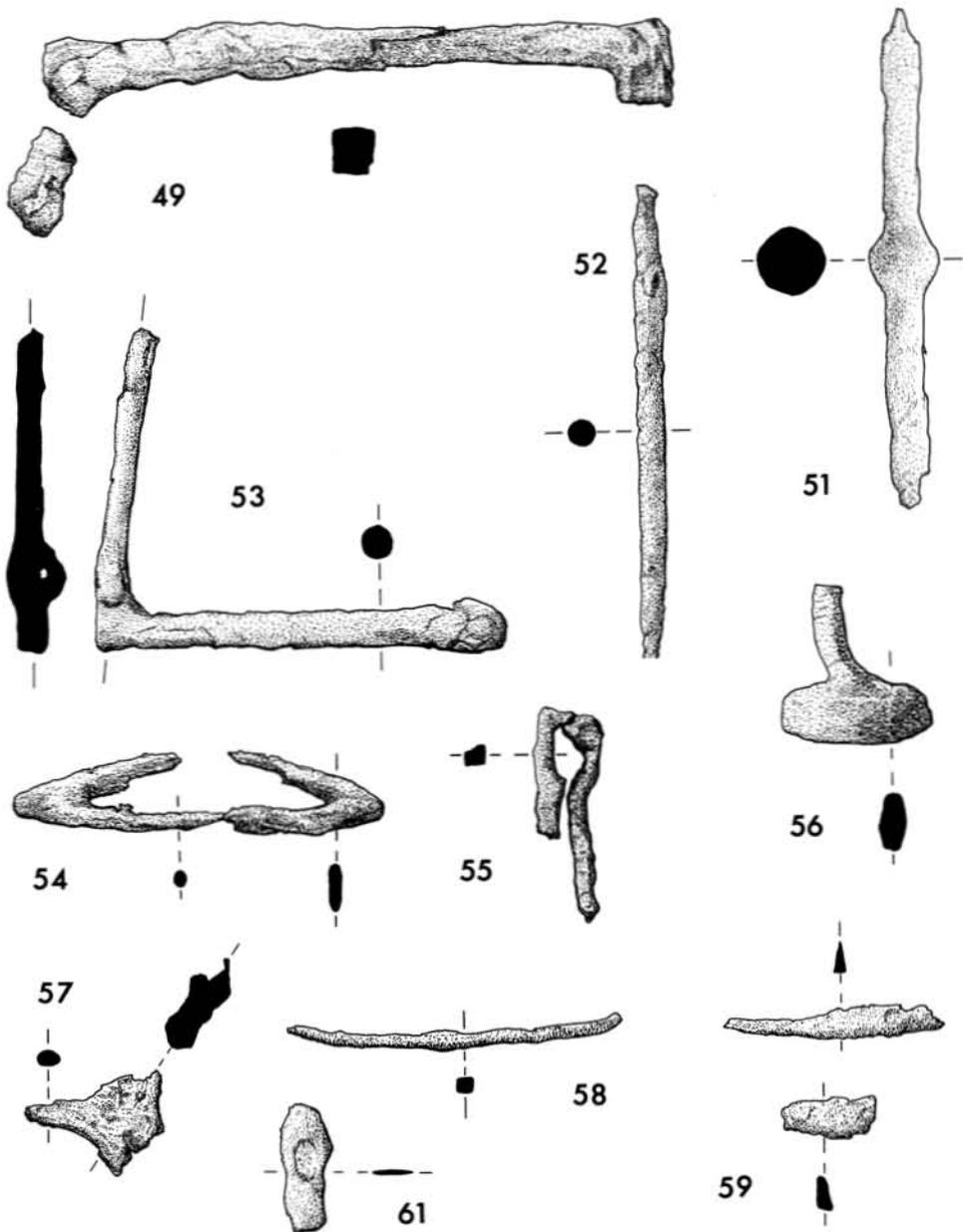


FIG. 18
Iron objects. Scale 1:2

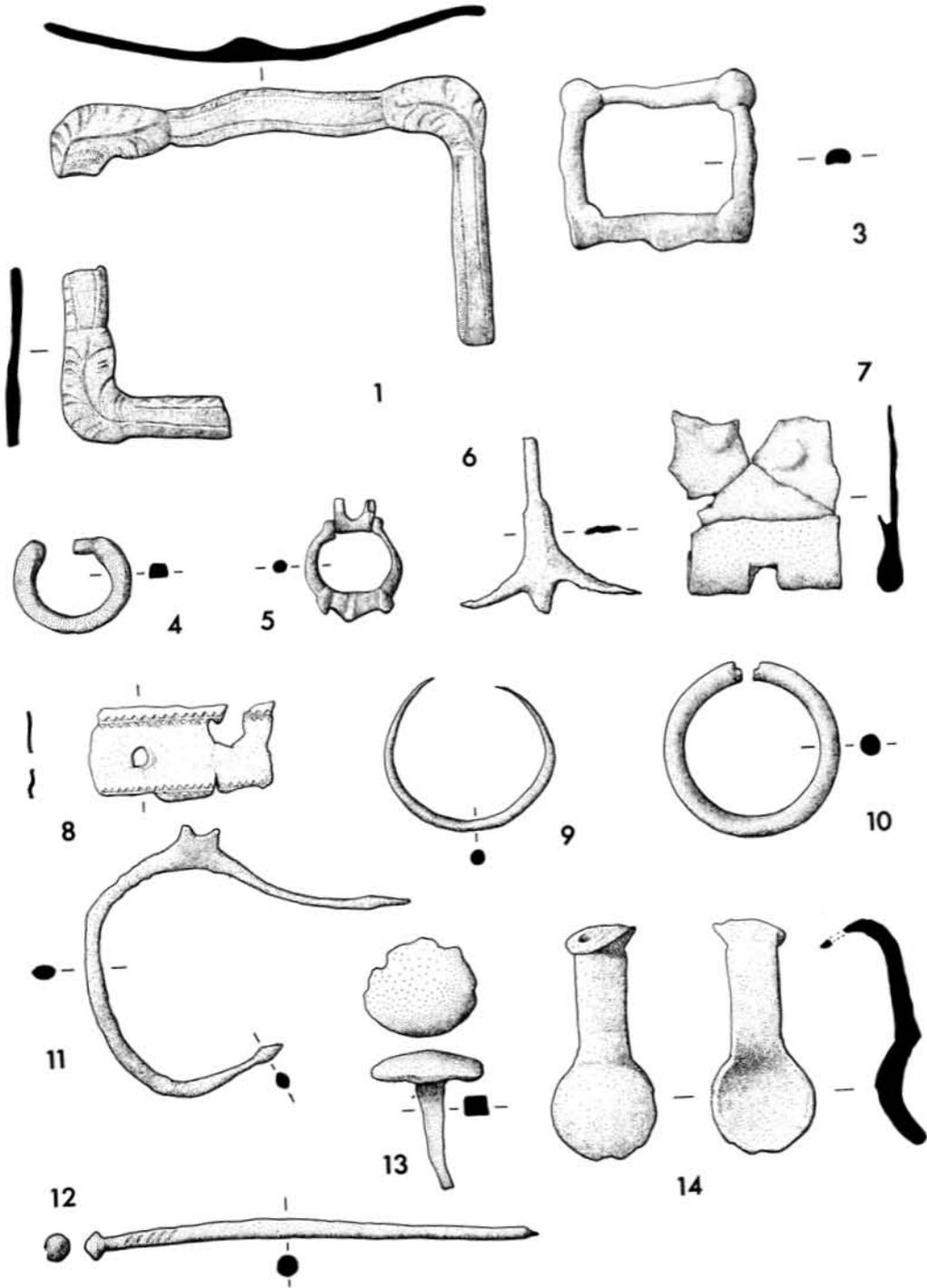


FIG. 19
Bronze objects. Scale 1:1

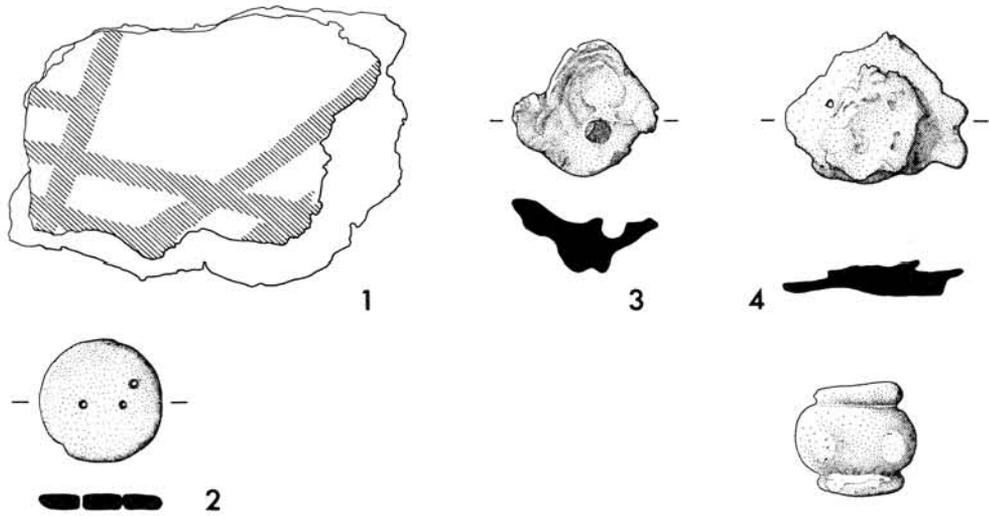


FIG. 20

Small finds of plaster, lead and glass. Scale 1:2, except the glass bead which is not to scale

LEAD OBJECTS. *By* DAVID R. EVANS (Fig. 20)

1. A fragment of lead window came produced with a mill. These mills were introduced in the 16th century and produced thinner and more effective comes.⁵¹ Reeding from the grooved mill wheels can be seen on the divider. It is not inscribed, unlike a number of recently published examples.⁵² The cross-section can be paralleled at Cowbridge, South Glamorgan.⁵³ (18/004/024). Not illustrated.
2. Cast disc possibly of lead alloy. It has been perforated by three holes, two of which are equidistant from the centre and were cast-in while the third near one edge was punched. On one side, between the two central holes, is a slight trace of a groove. Whilst this object has the appearance of a button it is much more likely to have been part of a seal. Probably post-medieval (18/002/21).
3. Rough sub-rectangular casting on the upper side of which is an indentation formed during casting. Probably a small bearing or pivot. Period VI (118/201).
4. Very rough casting which was formed by pouring lead through a hole in an object of some other material in order to form a plug or repair patch. The thickness of the parent object, as shown by the flanges on the present piece and the lack of contact corrosion, may indicate that the object being plugged was of iron. Period VI (178/127).

STONE OBJECT. *By* J. PARKHOUSE

A (?schist) whetstone, bar-shaped and with end perforation. It was destroyed in the fire. Period VI (067/161).

A few other pebbles recovered from the site may have been used as whetstones; equally the wear on their surfaces may have been caused naturally by water action; none are illustrated.

GLASS BEAD. *By* G. C. BOON (Fig. 20)⁵⁴

A rubble spread covering most of the area within the banks of the ringwork produced an incomplete glass bead with opaque white decoration marvered into the surface. Mrs Peggy Guido of the Bead Study Group is of the opinion that it could be Irish. Beads with cable pattern ends, which may also have spiral decoration, have been found at Lagore Crannog,⁵⁵ a site dated to the 7th to 10th centuries A.D. The bead seems to be completely unassociated; other artefacts from this context were of post-Conquest date.⁵⁶ The bead itself was a victim of the fire in 1983. Period III (125).

THE POTTERY. *By* B. E. VYNER

In reviewing the evidence for medieval pottery production in Glamorgan several years ago, the pottery assemblage from Rumney Castle was cited as a body of excavated material which might be useful in the further consideration of pottery use in the area.⁵⁷ The fire which occurred at the Trust's offices unfortunately did considerable damage to this assemblage, and the report which follows is therefore only a shadow of what might have been. This discussion is, however, based partly on the surviving pottery and partly on notes which the writer made in the course of preparing the earlier article, and is thus fuller, although perhaps more subjective, than it might have been. In particular, the identification of the fabric types was made before the assemblage was reduced and damaged, so that the range of plainware fabrics is fairly accurately represented. However, the evidence for quantification and provenance is no longer available, although a few generalizations may be made.

The four major plainware pottery fabrics may be fairly local products, although there are grounds for supposing that there is chronological variation. Vale Fabric has been treated at length elsewhere, and there is little that the present assemblage can contribute; the earlier inspection suggested that this fabric was largely missing from the earlier (aisled hall and screened hall) phases of occupation at Rumney, and that it was largely associated with the occupation which ended with the destruction of the outbuilding, perhaps in the mid-1290s.

This would fit well with the suggested currency of Vale Fabric in the 13th and 14th centuries.⁵⁸ On the other hand, the material from earlier deposits at Rumney, whilst containing much the same kinds of grits and apparently being manufactured from the same clay sources, has larger grits and rather different rim forms. Rumney Gritted Ware (RGW) and Rumney Smooth Ware (RSW) cannot at present be demonstrated to represent a chronological progression leading to Vale Fabric Group material (VFG) on the available damaged evidence, but the suggestion remains. At Llantrithyd there was a range of vessels with heavily sanded fabrics and tall flared rims, all apparently of 12th-century date.⁵⁹ It has been suggested that this could be an early local product, perhaps the basis of the industry which was later to produce the wider range of forms and fabrics of the Vale Fabric Group.⁶⁰ Rumney Gritted Ware, with its heavy gritting and variable grey to orange fabrics, is very similar to the Llantrithyd material, although the rim forms are shorter; the progression leads to Rumney Smooth Ware, with its more carefully finished rims, but the continuing use of the same quartz and sand grits. The smaller amount of material classified as Rumney Hard Ware does not seem to bear any relationship either to the gritty wares or to Vale Fabric and appears to represent the product of another industry, which on form alone would seem to be contemporary with Vale Fabric.

Plainware Fabric Types

The surviving plainware assemblages can be assigned to a limited series of fabric types, some of which can be correlated with types recognized in the other local assemblages discussed above. The sorting has been based on rapid visual examination, having regard to the mixed and damaged nature of the surviving material.

Rumney Gritted Ware (RGW, Fig. 21, nos. 1-9)

Hard-fired and brittle, this fabric has a light grey core with surfaces of the same colour, or, on the exterior, with orange patching. There are mixed sand and quartz grits, the majority being small, but many of the quartz grits are of larger size and are most visible on the interior surface. Vessels in this fabric seem overfired and some splitting of the surfaces is visible in a number of sherds. The jars appear to have a limited range of simple, medium-height rims.

Rumney Smooth Ware (RSW, Figs. 21, 22, nos. 10-40)

The most common pottery fabric in the surviving assemblage, this has a similar fabric to RGW. But the surfaces, especially the exterior, are smoother and larger grits, although

clearly visible, are less obtrusive. The fabric core varies in colour from grey to grey-brown, and surfaces vary from grey to brown, frequently being orange-brown, and on occasion having a similar colour to the chocolate brown of some Vale fabric vessels. The jars in this fabric have simple flared rims of medium length.

Vale Fabric Group (VFG, Figs. 22, 23, 24, nos. 41-76)

Proportionately the second largest group of pottery surviving in the assemblage, the Vale Fabric sherds tend to be abraded, but this may reflect their softer fabric. Most of the vessels are in Vale Fabric 1 and have the usual variety of surface colours, varying from grey through buff to orange and brown. The core varies; it has a sandy texture and an absence of larger grits. Most of the vessels are jars with short everted rims, but there are three pans (nos. 74-76) and two further rims which may belong either to jars or to pans (nos. 41, 42); in each case insufficient of the profile survives for a certain identification to be made.⁶¹ Fragments of glazed jars in Vale Fabric are also present (see below).

Rumney Hard Ware (RHW, Fig. 24, nos. 77-87)

A small number of vessels are in this hard, brittle fabric. There are a few small quartz grits, but the fabric is otherwise of a fine sandy character. Fabric core varies from grey to brown and surfaces are mostly reddish-orange. The sherds are all from jars which have short everted rims; one body sherd (no. 87) has a stamped decoration not otherwise noted in south-east Wales pottery assemblages.

Ham Green Type (HGT, Fig. 24, nos. 88-89)

There are fragments of two vessels which have a hard, dark grey fabric with dark grey-brown surfaces and characteristic wavy-line incised decoration on the rim. These are thought to be products of kilns at Ham Green, Bristol, and compare with pottery in Fabric Type 5 from Loughor Castle.⁶²

Calcite Gritted Ware (CGW, Fig. 24, nos. 90-91)

Two vessels have a calcite gritted fabric not commonly seen in local assemblages. One vessel has a light grey core with buff or brown surfaces (no. 90); its origin is unknown. A second vessel (no. 91), surviving as fragments in various contexts at Rumney, is a 'Cotswold' tripod pitcher with grey fabric core and light grey surfaces; the exterior has traces of thin green or brown glaze (see below).

Glazed fabrics

Vale Fabric glazed vessels are present in the assemblage and noted above, together with the Cotswold tripod pitcher (no. 91). Other glazed vessels are present, but these are in the usual relatively low proportion and fire damage has in many cases rendered identification difficult. Of particular interest is the jug with stylized ram's head spout and neck (no. 93). Several fragments of Saintonge Ware are present and a number of jugs may be from Bristol and elsewhere in the Severn Valley. Unfortunately, the low incidence of glazed vessels on sites in south Wales generally and the damaged nature of the present assemblage makes it impossible to draw further conclusions at present.

Vessel types

The majority of the plainware sherds are from jars, but the sherds are generally small and the surviving assemblage has no pieces which enable the reconstruction of any complete profiles. Only the Vale Fabric Wares have any other types of vessel, with three and possibly five pans present (nos. 41-42, 74-76). Despite the damaged nature of the assemblage, this appears to be fairly representative of local groups of pottery. The glazed vessels appear to

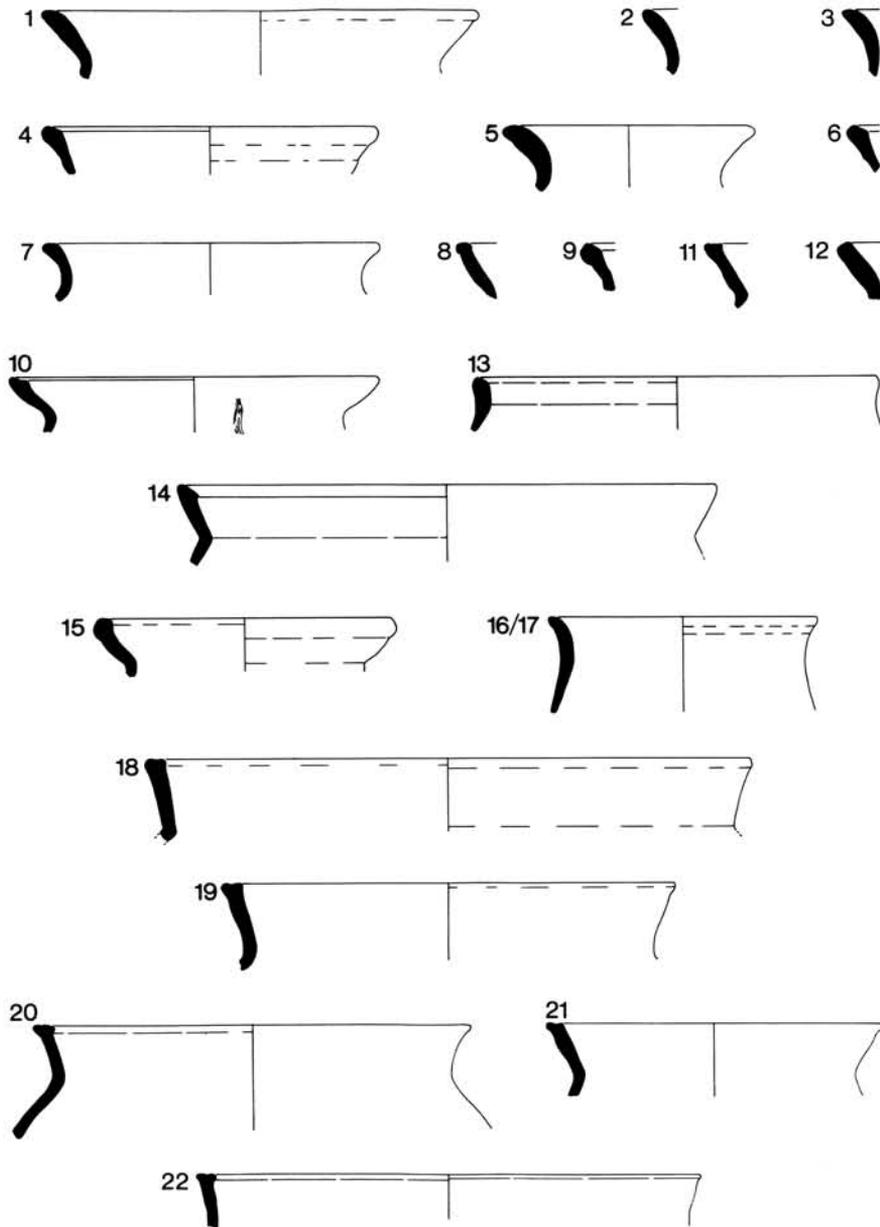


FIG. 21
Pottery. Scale 1:4

have a similarly limited range, with jugs being almost wholly represented, the exception being a skillet handle (not illustrated). Although it is not known from what vessel the plaque (no. 92) may have come, this is likely to have been a jug.

CATALOGUE⁶³*Rumney Gritted Ware (Fig. 21)*

1. Grey core, dark grey interior, buff-orange exterior. Period VI (134).
2. Brown-grey core, brown-orange surfaces.
3. Medium grey core, lighter surfaces. Period VI (173).
4. Grey core and interior, grey and orange exterior; this shows some signs of the fabric splitting during firing. Period VI (173).
5. Dark grey core and exterior, grey or grey-orange interior; apparently overfired, with some splitting and cracking of the external surface. Period VI (067).
6. Grey core, brown-grey interior, brown-grey and orange-brown exterior. Period III (472).
7. Grey core, lighter surfaces.
8. Grey core, grey-brown interior, grey and orange exterior, some fabric cracking visible.
9. Grey core and interior, orange-brown exterior. Period VI (118).

Rumney Smooth Ware (Figs. 21, 22)

10. ?Grey core; fire damaged.
11. Grey-brown core and interior, dark grey exterior with some sooting. Two joining sherds. Period VI (134 and 330).
12. Dark grey core, brown-grey or orange-brown surfaces.
13. Grey or grey-brown core and surfaces, darker externally; fire damaged. Period VI (084).
14. Grey core, orange-brown interior, grey-brown exterior. Period VI (084).
15. Dark grey core, brown-orange surfaces. Period VI (173).
16. Grey core, light orange-brown surfaces.
17. ?Grey core and exterior, brown-grey interior; fire damaged.
18. Dark grey core, brown-grey surfaces; fire damaged.
19. Grey core, grey-brown or brown-orange surfaces; fire damaged. Period VI (084).
20. Grey-brown core; fire damaged.
21. Grey core, dark grey interior, grey-buff exterior.
22. Dark grey core, brown-grey surfaces, sooted externally. Period VI (173).
23. ?Dark grey core and surfaces; fire damaged.
24. Grey core and ?surfaces; fire damaged. Period III (395).
25. Brown-grey core, interior variable, grey-brown or grey and orange, exterior brown-orange. Period VI (173).
26. Light grey-brown core, brown-orange interior, brown exterior.
27. Grey core and interior, exterior variable grey and brown-orange. Period VI (084).
28. Grey core, interior buff, exterior orange; surfaces blackened, probably recently. Period VI (173).
29. Grey core, interior light grey or brown-orange, exterior brown-orange. Period VI (173).
30. Grey-brown core, brown-orange surfaces; fire damaged.
31. Buff-brown core and surfaces. Period III (465).
32. Grey core, brown-grey or brown-orange surfaces; fire damaged.
33. Grey core, brown-grey interior, orange-brown exterior.
34. Dark grey core, brown-orange interior, grey exterior. Period VI (084).
35. Grey core, brown-orange surfaces; fire damaged. Period III (465).
36. Grey core, dark grey interior, brown-grey exterior.
37. Grey core, grey-brown interior, grey-brown or brown-orange exterior, variable.
38. Grey core, brown-orange or grey-orange surfaces, lighter externally; abraded. Period VI (132).
39. Dark grey core, surfaces brown-orange, darkened externally. Period VI (285).
40. Dark grey core and interior, grey-brown exterior; fire damaged. Period VI (084).

Vale Fabric group (Figs. 22, 23, 24)

41. Grey core, brown-orange interior, brown exterior; abraded; ?part of a pan. Period VI (084).
42. Grey core, orange-brown interior, darkened brown exterior; ?part of a pan.
43. Grey core and exterior, interior grey-brown; abraded.
44. Grey core, orange-brown surfaces; fire damaged. Period VI (134).
45. Orange-brown with thin grey-brown core. Period VI (023).
46. Grey core, brown-orange interior, brown-grey exterior; abraded. Period VI (134).
47. Grey core, brown-buff interior, brown-grey exterior.
48. Grey core, orange-brown surfaces; abraded.
49. Grey core, orange and grey-brown interior, orange exterior; abraded.
50. Orange-brown with thin grey-brown core. Period VI (173).
51. Brown-orange core and surfaces.
52. Dark grey core, surfaces ?dark orange-brown, blackened through fire damage.

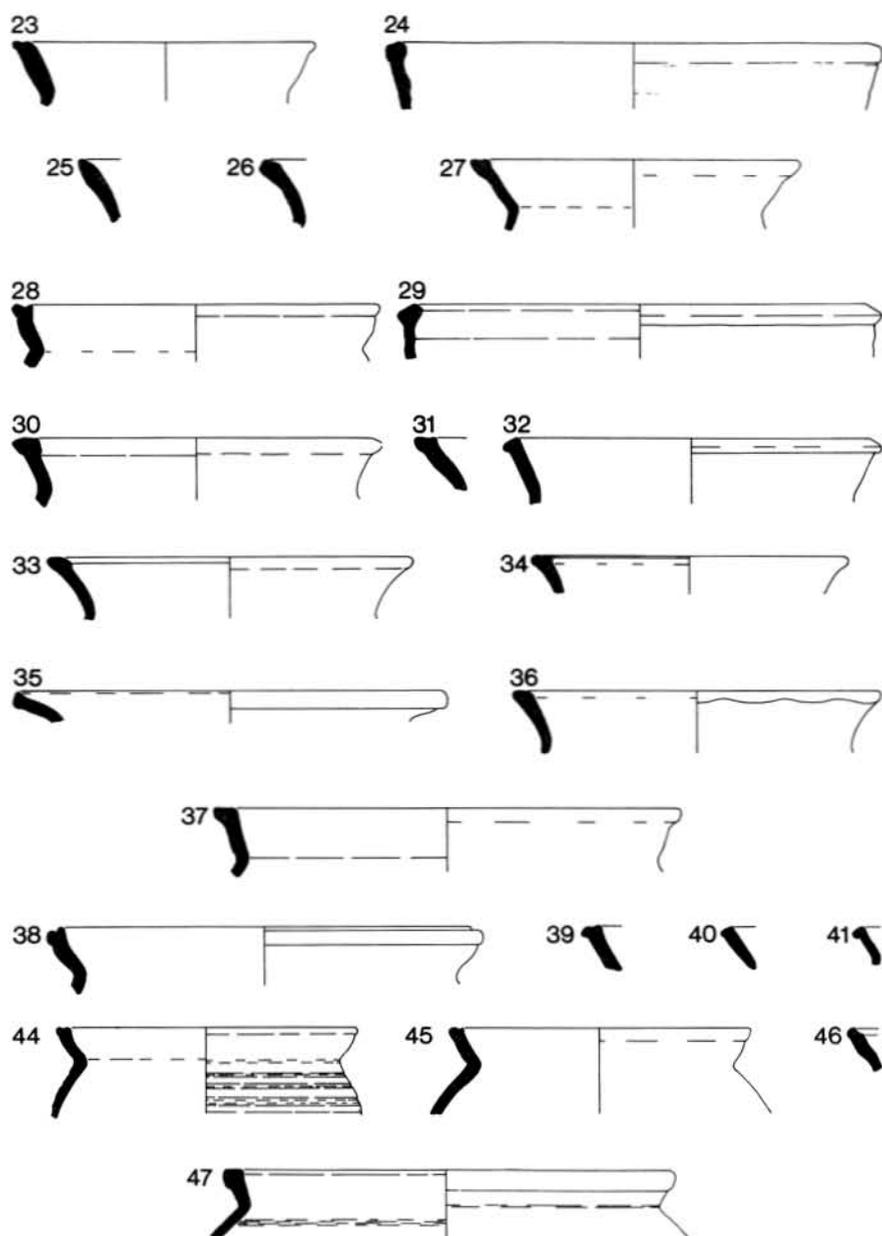


FIG. 22
Pottery, Scale 1:4

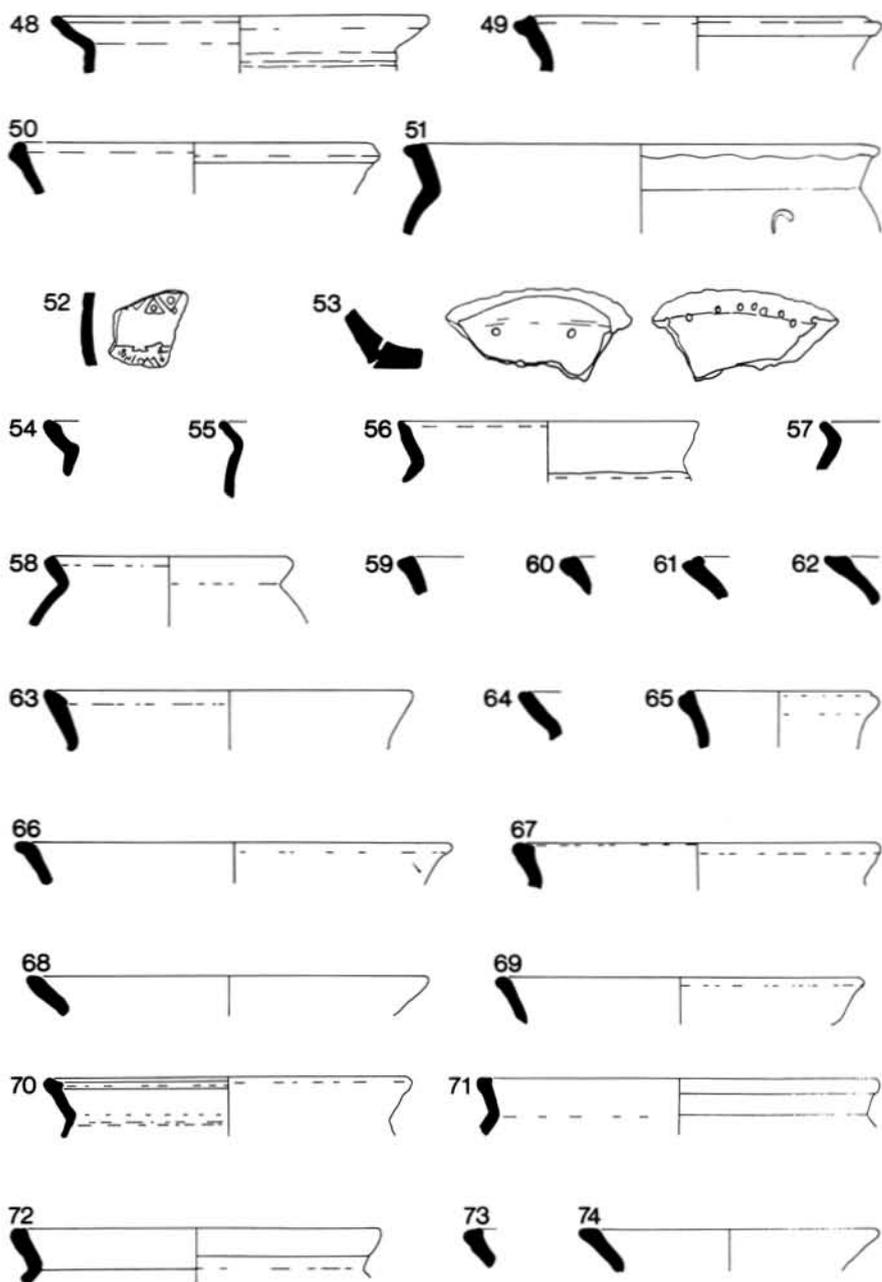


FIG. 23
Pottery. Scale 1:4

53. Grey core and interior, grey and orange exterior.
54. Dark grey and orange-brown core, buff or grey-brown interior, grey exterior.
55. Grey and orange-brown core with grey-brown surfaces. Period VI (023).
56. Grey core, orange surfaces. Period VI (038).
57. Light grey-brown core and interior, orange-brown exterior. Period VI (173).
58. Dark grey core, brown-buff interior, grey and orange-brown exterior.
59. Dark grey core, brown-orange surfaces.
60. Grey core, brown-orange surfaces; fire damaged. Period VI (084).
61. Orange-brown with thin grey-brown core. Period VI (023).
62. Grey-brown core, reddish-orange interior and buff-brown exterior. Period VI (067).
63. Dark grey and orange core, orange-brown surfaces. Period VI (140).
64. Buff-brown core and surfaces; abraded. Period VI (023).
65. Grey core, dark grey interior, grey-brown exterior.
66. Dark grey core, orange-brown surfaces; abraded and fire damaged.
67. Grey core, brown-orange or grey-brown surfaces. Period VI (173).
68. Grey core, grey-brown surfaces; abraded and fire damaged.
69. Grey core, buff-brown interior, grey-brown exterior. Period VI (067).
70. Brown-orange core and darkened surfaces; abraded. Period VI (173).
71. Brown-orange core and surfaces, darkened externally. Period VI (178).
72. Variable grey-brown core, buff interior, grey-brown exterior, partially blackened probably through fire damage. Period VI (084).
73. Grey core, buff-brown surfaces, darker and more variable externally. Period VI (179).
74. Grey-brown core, dark red-orange interior, dark brown or blackish exterior, with lightly incised wavy-line decoration on rim upper surface; fire damaged.
75. Dark grey core and interior, brown-grey exterior, lightly incised wavy-line decoration on exterior and on upper surface of rim. Period VI (067).
76. Orange-brown with thin grey core, darker externally, with applied finger-impressed cordon below rim. Period VI (023).

Rumney Hard Ware (Fig. 24)

77. Dark orange core and surfaces; fire damaged. Period VI (038).
78. Grey or dark orange core, dark orange surfaces. Period VI (173).
79. Grey core, orange-brown surfaces; fire damaged. Period VI (023).
80. Grey core and interior, buff-orange exterior; fire damaged. Period VI (023).
81. Dark orange-brown core, orange or orange-brown surfaces; fire damaged. Period III (373).
82. Dark orange-brown core, orange-grey surfaces. Period VI (173).
83. Dark grey core, orange-brown surfaces; fire damaged.
84. Dark orange core, ?brown-orange interior, grey-brown exterior; fire damaged. Period VI (023).
85. Dark grey-brown core, orange-brown or grey-brown surfaces; fire damaged. Period VI (021).
86. ?Grey core, variable dark orange-brown exterior; fire damaged. Part of a thick base with holes pierced into, but not through, the fabric, presumably an attempt to reduce breakage during firing. Period VI (174).
87. Grey core, orange-brown surfaces, darker externally probably through fire damage; a body sherd with two zones of lightly stamped open triangles. Period VI (067).

Other glazed wares (Fig. 24)

88. (HGT) ?Dark grey core and surfaces with wavy-line internal, rilled external incised decoration; fire damaged.
89. (HGT) Dark grey core, brown-grey and red-brown interior, grey exterior with incised wavy-line decoration. Period VI (084).
90. (CGW) Light grey core, orange-buff interior, grey-brown exterior; grits leached out.
91. (CGW, glazed) Grey core, light grey-buff surfaces; patches of pale green or brown external glaze, thinly applied, survive in places. Part of a Cotswold tripod pitcher. Body sherds with incised wavy-line decoration and part of the base with worn tripod foot survive in various contexts.
92. (Glazed) Fragment of a plaque or other applied decorative fragment, with a dark green glazed face with indented surface. ?Dark grey fabric; fire damaged.
93. (Glazed) Part of the rim and spout, originally (and seen before the fire) part of a vessel where the spout and upper part of the jug took the form of a stylized ram's head. An apparent grey fabric has a mid-green glaze, but the surviving pieces are badly fire damaged. Period VI (082) (Fig. 25).

THE ANIMAL BONE. *By* GILLIAN G. JONES

The bone was derived from occupation layers and features within the castle, it was fragmentary and very friable, only 33% being identifiable. Recovery from excavated features was partial.

Careful attention was given to the identification of cattle and red deer since both small cattle and large red deer were present.⁶⁴ It is possible that some red deer small fragments have been assigned to cattle, as also roe deer to sheep.

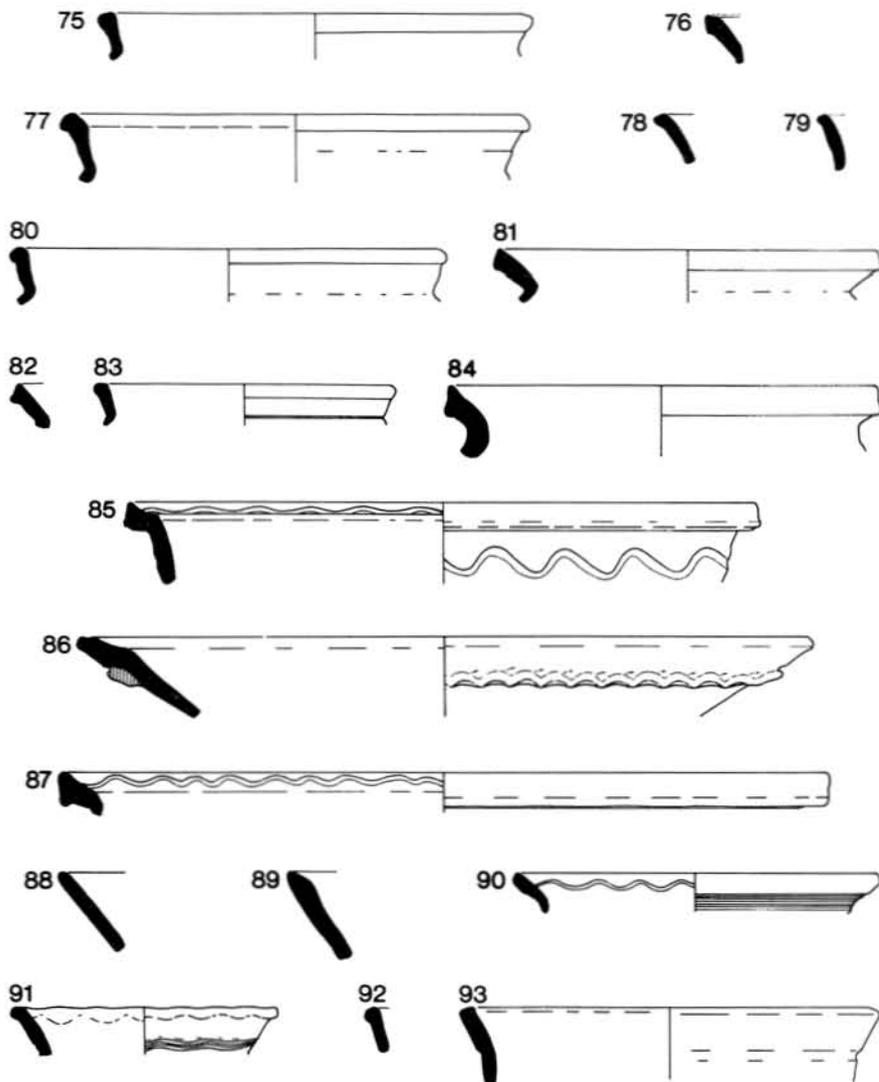


FIG. 24
Pottery. Scale 1:4

Periods I-V

A few bones from Period I were recovered, from cattle, pig, plus some sheep, and also bones of red deer, roe deer and hare. The occupation layer sealed under the rampart (161) contained remains of cattle, pig, roe deer and hare. Presence of hunted species in so small a bone sample is consistent with high status occupation. The roe deer was more than two years old when killed.⁶⁵

In Periods II and III the bones were chiefly from cattle, with some pig and few sheep. No other species were found in Period II. Bone from (471), the layer of burning associated with Building C, comprised 21 cattle, three sheep and eight pig bones besides numerous

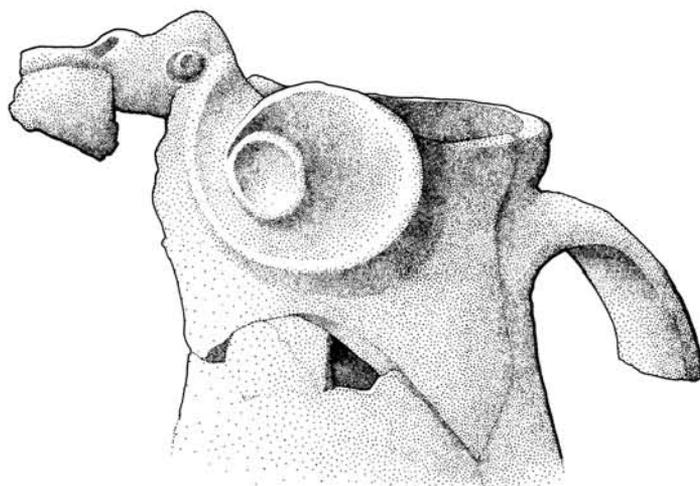


FIG. 25
Ram's head jug. Not to scale

unidentified fragments. Horse, red deer and fowl were present in Period III, all from a layer of rampart make-up. There were knife-marks around the distal shaft of a red deer humerus. Whether the meat was removed from the bone before cooking or the marks are from carving after cooking is uncertain. In Period IV the rank order of frequency of the three main species remained the same.

The bones from Period V were nearly all from the area of burning, tentatively interpreted as the site of a kitchen (264 and 265). The bones from this area were entirely from pig, three skull fragments and 27 teeth. They came from at least three individuals, probably far more, since no two teeth definitely belonged together; most were broken.

Period VI

A larger quantity of bone was recovered from Period VI. Most came from occupation layers within the fortified manor. The bone was fragmentary, only 35% being identified. Most meat eaten was beef but again with more pig than is usual on medieval sites. Identified bone from the main species in Period VI comprised cattle 43%, sheep (goat) 15%, pig 27%, horse 10% and deer 2.5%.

A high number of horse bones, from at least ten individuals, was unexpected.⁶⁶ Horse bones were found in ten different layers, but most were from the infilling of the large drain (172 and 181). These could be interpreted as general rubbish layers not specifically linked to a kitchen or hall. No butchery marks were observed on the horse bones. They consisted mostly of jaws and teeth, from one immature and at least nine adult horses, two of these being old.

Red deer, roe and also fallow deer were present. Fallow, absent from earlier periods, was represented by a single piece of antler. An adult red deer mandible was affected by periodontal disease; the alveolus for M1 is partly filled with bone and the mandible is enlarged on the lingual side. The animal was about seven years old at death.⁶⁷ One other red deer mandible was found, aged about eight years, and a roe deer mandible can be aged at two–three years.⁶⁸ The red deer were large, and can be compared with those found at Loughor Castle.⁶⁹ The hare was also, presumably, a hunted animal. A water vole (*Arvicola terrestris*) was also identified, but its context is insecure because of the animal's burrowing habits.

Bird bones were very scarce (1.25% in this period), possibly due to the poor state of preservation of the bone. Fowl, goose (*Anser* ?domestic) and duck were present. The duck may be domestic but is within the size range of mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*). No remains from birds of prey were found, in contrast with the finds at Loughor Castle and Llantrithyd.⁷⁰ One bone from a skylark (*Alauda arvensis*) was found, which may be a natural occurrence. The only butchery mark was a knife-mark on one fowl femur. The partial skeleton of an exceptionally large fowl was found in a layer of mixed occupational rubbish and destruction debris of 13th-century date. But as it was one of the uppermost layers and contamination is possible, one suspects from the specimen's size that it is likely to be an intrusive modern fowl. It is known that the site was arable land in the mid 19th century⁷¹ and that there was infilling on the site in the latter part of the century. The specimen is larger than any found at Exeter,⁷² Lincoln⁷³ or the London sites, including 18th-century levels.⁷⁴ The earliest fowl of similar size known to the writer is a Kulm fowl.⁷⁵ This specimen is of mid 19th-century date (probably 1845-50, certainly earlier than 1859).

The cattle, sheep and pigs

The skeletal analysis indicates the high proportion of loose teeth, a sign of the degradation suffered by the material; an absence of horn cores of cattle and sheep, which may mean these were removed for use of the horn elsewhere; and a sufficient quantity of skull and foot bones to show that the whole carcass was being processed at the castle. No bones certainly from goat were identified. The bones appeared to be general domestic rubbish. Many bore chopmarks and some gnawmarks from dogs. Most were isolated fragments, though there was a partial calf skeleton, apparently not butchered, from Period VI. It comprised some long bones, vertebrae and ribs; all epiphyses including scapula and proximal radius were unfused.

Aging data was based on quantification of mandibles, maxillae and loose teeth, using the minimum number of beasts from each period and each main area of the site. Of the cattle, about half were slaughtered at less than about two years old in modern terms. Wear stages of the lower teeth show that the castle occupants ate much beef from fully adult animals and included those slaughtered at the end of a working life.

Only with the pig teeth was more detailed information possible. There were no teeth from sucking pig (though there was one piglet tibia) and only one killed before about eighteen months old. Six were fully adult (more than about three years old). The mandibles were too broken to be sexed. Of the loose teeth, nine female and twelve male canine teeth were found. Overcrowding of teeth was seen in one Period VI mandible, where P4 was *c.* 30 out of line.

The few measurable bones show the cattle to have been generally very small. Two metapodials give shoulder height estimates of 0.986 m and 0.997 m and most of the measurements fall at or below the low end of the range found on both Romano-British and medieval sites. One immature distal radius which was very large, however, may be from wild aurochs. Two large pig atlas vertebrae were found but it is not known if they are from domestic males or wild boar.

Pathological changes were noted in one cattle bone, a metacarpal with periosteal and endosteal new bone formation on the shaft. A more detailed breakdown of the data on which these conclusions are drawn can be found in the site archive.

FISH. *By* A. K. G. JONES

Halibut (*Hippoglossus hippoglossus* L.) and cod (*Gadus Morhua* L.) bones were present in Period VI contexts.

HUMAN BONE. *By* J. L. WILKINSON

The skull fragment recovered from a layer of burning within Building H (Period VI hall) measures 34 by 28 mm and 4 mm thick. The external surface is blackened over much of the

area, possibly due to exposure to fire, but this is not cremated bone. The internal surface is curiously fissured, not a condition seen in life, and is a post-mortem change, probably due to the proximity of fine roots. There is one suture, probably fronto-parietal which was fused endosteally but not externally. The diploe is of human type and the general curvature that of a human parietal bone — it implies a very large cranial cavity, not found in animals except those with massive heads and thick bones. It could not be of animal origin, and indicates human parietal bone, probably from a female aged more than twenty years although determination of age from suture-fusion is not a reliable criterion.

PLANT MACROFOSSIL REMAINS. *By* DORIAN WILLIAMS⁷⁶

The majority of these remains were carbonized seeds. A few samples were rich in the remains of cultivated plants and provide an insight into activities on this site in the medieval period.

No plant remains were recovered from Period I and were generally scarce in Period II deposits. Cereal species and a cultivated legume, field bean (*Vicia faba*) the predecessor of our modern broad bean, were recorded.

Plant macrofossils were again not common in Period III, though cereals and field bean were again present. Bread wheat (*Triticum aestivo-compactum*) from the area of the kitchen, Building C, may suggest their destruction during processing for food.

Plant macrofossil remains from Period IV are similar to those recovered from the previous phase. The majority represents the use of various waste components of the grain processing sequence for fuel.⁷⁷ The grape pip fragment (*Vitis vinifera*) from one of the post sockets for the outshoot of Building E is the only other species worth mentioning, though identification cannot be certain due to poor preservation. It probably represents imported vine produce, such as raisins, though vineyards were relatively common in this country in a period of climatic amelioration around 1000 to 1300.⁷⁸

The small collection of grain from the fill of a Period V pit (259) provides little evidence of its origin but probably represents deliberate destruction of cereal waste. Both the oat and the Bromus species (cf. Rye-brome) have a long history as arable weeds.⁷⁹ The oat, however, was almost certainly present as a cultivated crop on this site.

Period VI contained all the contexts rich in plant remains and features are discussed separately, beginning with burnt areas within the 13th-century hall.

Material from the region of the hearth, Building M, charred through burning. The most striking feature of the deposit is the large number of field bean seeds recovered. The propagules were large, well-filled specimens. The purity of the sample indicates that it had been fully processed and cleaned ready for consumption, and would not have been deliberately destroyed. Legumes, such as peas and beans, are a valuable, easily stored source of protein. As such they were a staple part of the diet in the past and widely grown,⁸⁰ although evidence for this in Britain is still scarce.

These beans could have become charred through overheating during drying for winter storage. Equally the accident could have happened during food preparation, e.g. bean meal was used to bulk out flour for bread production by the poor labouring classes.⁸¹ However, in view of other finds in this building which suggest high status, it is most likely that these beans represent animal feed. The species has long been cultivated for this purpose⁸² and modern cultivars are still grown for silage, fodder and harvesting of seeds. The alternative name of horse bean reflects its former importance as horse fodder.

Destruction deposit, Building H. This deposit was dominated by barley (*Hordeum vulgare*). The grains were large, well-filled specimens, undoubtedly prime produce. An appreciable quantity of oat was also present and the size of the grain suggests it was probably a cultivated species such as *Avena sativa*. From the presence of a few awn fragments another species, possibly the wild oat (*Avena fatua*) is also represented. Although these cereals have been eaten by man they are both typical fodder crops, especially for horses.⁸³ The weeds present could be due to less effort expended in the cleaning processes than would have been done if the grain

was for human consumption. The material may alternatively represent thatch or straw strewn on the floor and destroyed during the burning of the hall. This is supported by the presence of the spikerush (*Eleocharis sp.*), which together with other tall growing vegetation of marsh and river bank, was often collected for such purposes. The presence of an appreciable amount of oak charcoal also contributes to this theory.

In conclusion there is some justification in suggesting that the species recorded were used as animal fodder, and the majority were probably charred during the destruction of the hall. This would tie in with the archaeological evidence such as the finding of horse shoe nails. Indeed, the evidence further suggests that horses featured prominently on this site, and were fed a high quality diet. The war-horse or charger was a prized possession maintained at its physical peak by regular exercise and proper feeding. It probably had a better diet than many a human being of that time.

Drain leaving the 13th-century hall. This deposit provided little information on activities in the hall, but may infer that the drain was kept open. Uncharred seeds of the three-nerved sandwort were common. Typically this is a woodland plant of rich well-drained soil. It seems, however, to have been recovered frequently from archaeological sites⁸⁴ and is likely to have been growing nearby.

Layer of charcoal in well/cistern? It is well known that rubbish was dumped in disused wells.⁸⁵ The important feature of this deposit is the dominance of bread wheat grains. These were small, often badly distorted and showing signs of germination. A small quantity of fragmented and eroded parts of the wheat ear, such as rachis, were also present. It is probable that this material represents cleanings from grain processing, either burnt deliberately or used for fuel. This is further suggested by the presence of large weed seeds e.g. runch (*Raphanus raphanistrum*). This wheat species would have been the crop grown for human consumption.

Conclusion. There is no change in the crops in the short period represented by these deposits. However, the evidence shows conclusively that the field bean, oats, bread wheat and six-rowed barley were cultivated in this region in the medieval period.

More detailed information on individual species can be found in the site archive.

APPENDIX

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND DOCUMENTATION

Although the earliest documentary reference for Rumney Castle dates from the late 12th century, there is good reason to suppose that its foundation took place considerably earlier. Topographically, it occupied a commanding position both directly alongside the Roman road leading from Caerleon to Cardiff,⁸⁶ and overlooking the most feasible point at which the Rhymney river could have been crossed, c. 300 m to the S. Certainly by the second half of the 12th century, at the latest, a bridge had been erected at this point⁸⁷ and ships would have had no difficulty in navigating the river this far at high tide.⁸⁸ As control of this important route of communication would have been of vital strategic value, it is likely that the construction of Rumney Castle occurred at a relatively early stage of Norman settlement owing to military considerations.

The date traditionally given for the earliest Norman settlement in the region around Rumney is c. 1093, when Robert Fitzhamon is reputed to have established Cardiff after invading and conquering much of the Welsh kingdom of Morgannwg following the death of its ruler Rhys ap Tewdwr. This version of events, however, has been seriously questioned and an important reinterpretation of the period, based partly on evidence only recently identified, is summarized here in order to better understand the background of events against which Rumney Castle was most likely to have been founded.

It now seems certain that the Normans were involved in the affairs of the region far earlier than was previously thought and that the scale and purpose of their activities has been seriously underestimated.⁸⁹ A convincing argument can now be put forward that Cardiff was

founded in 1081 by William the Conqueror to serve as an administrative centre, complete with its own mint, for a heavily garrisoned Norman enclave within Morgannwg, which by this time had become a client kingdom.⁹⁰ Indeed, the subordination of Morgannwg may have occurred as much as a decade earlier. In 1072 Caradog ap Gruffudd is recorded in the Brut y Tywysogion as having seized the kingdom with the aid of Norman allies in a decisive battle fought against Maredudd ap Owain on the banks of the Rhymney river.⁹¹ Although the Normans involved were not specifically named, later documentary evidence suggests that their services may have been secured on condition that Caradog become a vassal of the English Crown.⁹²

Certainly this was the status of Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of Deheubarth, who came into possession of Morgannwg by deposing Caradog in 1081 and shortly thereafter reached an agreement with the Conqueror whereby he would render the king an annual sum of £40 for his possessions.⁹³ As the Welsh are not known to have issued their own coinage at this time, it has been argued that payment of this yearly rent may have been facilitated by the establishment of a mint by William at Cardiff and possibly St Davids.⁹⁴ The existence of the former can now be confirmed through the identification of five coins struck there, the earliest of which is unlikely to have been issued much after the early 1080s.⁹⁵ The numismatic evidence would therefore appear to confirm those documentary sources which record Cardiff as having been founded in 1081,⁹⁶ but which until recently have been generally discounted.

In contrast, Fitzhamon's supposed invasion, for which there is a total lack of contemporary documentary reference, is much more difficult to substantiate. In light of the evidence now available, it is more plausible to suggest that he simply assumed control of an established colony which he utilized as a base for further territorial expansion after Rhys's death.

One of those territories which undoubtedly came under Fitzhamon's control was Gwynllŵg, the fertile coastal plain stretching between the Rhymney and Usk rivers. Together with the barren upland commote of Machen, Gwynllŵg had formed a cantref in Morgannwg whose borders were largely defined by these rivers. Under Fitzhamon this unit became a completely separate lordship which until 1317 was also held by the lord of Glamorgan, as the former kingdom of Morgannwg came to be known after its conquest by the Normans. Despite the close association between these two lordships, however, Gwynllŵg retained its own administrative caput at Newport where Fitzhamon established an important castle. While Newport Castle guarded lines of communication along the coast on the E. border of the lordship, Rumney Castle would perform the same function on its W. border.

What is not clear is how much, if indeed any, of Gwynllŵg had been occupied by the enclave established under the Conqueror. The fact that only Machen was retained by Owain Wan after his father Caradog ap Gruffudd had been deposed by Rhys ap Tewdwr in 1081 has been interpreted as suggesting that the lowland plain may have come under Norman control well before Fitzhamon assumed authority.⁹⁷ While conclusive evidence is lacking, it is possible that Rumney Castle was built as early as 1081 on territory that had been ceded to the Normans by Rhys during his agreement with William. The suitability of the site as a place from which control of the river crossing could be exercised may even have been noticed by the Normans as early as 1072, when they would have had good reason to survey the vicinity during the period of their military alliance with Caradog.

In any event, the construction of the castle is unlikely to have taken place much later than the initial period of Fitzhamon's occupation of Gwynllŵg for the reasons outlined above. As there is evidence to suggest the Rumney was granted to Robert de Haia during Fitzhamon's tenure of the lordship,⁹⁸ it is also possible that the former could have founded the castle and that it could have been built as late as c. 1093.

Although the duration of de Haia's presumed tenure of Rumney is impossible to determine, there is little doubt that by the early 12th century it had become the demesne of the chief lord and would remain so except for one period during the latter half of the 13th century. From c. 1114 to 1147 it was held by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who ruled Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg *jure uxoris*. In 1135 Robert granted a portion of the manor to the sons of the Welsh prince of Machen in what was almost certainly a diplomatic effort to restore

peace in the area following the widespread violence that erupted after the death of Henry I.⁹⁹ These events well illustrate both the insecurity of the times and the very real threat which periodically existed in close proximity to lowland settlements like Rumney.

Before his own death in 1147, Robert had succeeded in expanding the frontiers of his domain in S. Wales as far W. as Neath and establishing his lordship over most of the lands that had formerly constituted Morgannwg. Effective rule over this territory was in reality, however, only exercised in the coastal lowlands, as control of the upland commotes to the N. remained in the hands of a succession of Welsh princes whose opposition to Norman authority was often displayed in open violence like that which broke out in 1135. Earl William, who inherited seisin from his father Robert, was engaged in several territorial clashes with the Welsh during his lordship of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg, and his death late in 1183 occasioned the outbreak of a major revolt throughout S. Wales.

As William had died without an heir his estates passed to Henry II, whose immediate task was to quell hostilities and restore order, something which was not achieved until the summer of 1184. Details concerning some of the expenditure incurred as a result of the revolt are listed in the Pipe Rolls, and amongst the accounts rendered for 1184-85 is the first historical mention of Rumney Castle, whose royal custodian, Robert Fitzwilliam, is recorded as being allowed £5 4s. 8d. for his services.¹⁰⁰ While the account contains no specific details concerning the castle itself, the importance of its role in controlling movement to and from the region E. of Cardiff can be clearly adduced from the mention of repairs to the nearby bridge costing 31s. 6d.

The scale of the threat in S. Wales had been so great during the revolt of 1183-84 that Henry never gave up possession of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg despite his original intention of securing them for his son John by arranging a marriage between the prince and Earl William's daughter Isabel. Both the marriage and John's assumption of control over the lordships had to wait until shortly after the death of Henry in 1189. John, in turn, retained seisin of the lordships until 1214, even though he had divorced Isabel fifteen years earlier. He relinquished control only after Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, purchased the privilege to marry Isabel and the right to take title of her inheritance. His tenure however, was brief, as he died within two years. Even shorter was the tenure of Hubert de Burgh, who came into possession of the lordships after his marriage to Isabel, but was forced to surrender them upon her death in 1217. At this time the Countess' inheritance of the earldom of Gloucester along with her lands in S. Wales passed to her nephew Gilbert de Clare.

The de Clare family was to enjoy a long tenure of the lordships of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg, ending with the partition of their estates three years after the last male in their line was killed at Bannockburn in 1314. Over the course of the nearly 100 years that Rumney was in their possession, it was developed as a valuable source of income in keeping with the general policy pursued by the earls of directly exploiting their demense manors.¹⁰¹ For much of this period they were also engaged in establishing their supremacy over the Welsh-controlled upland commotes in Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg in an effort to eliminate the perennial danger to those settlements along the coastal plain. In 1267 Gilbert the Red confiscated Senghennydd and within three years had also succeeded in annexing Machen, thus reducing the immediate threat to the area around Cardiff and Rumney. To insure that these territorial gains were permanent and to protect his greatly expanded lordship, primarily against the advances of the powerful Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, Gilbert wasted no time in constructing Caerphilly Castle at a strategic point along the new frontier to the N. Although twice attacked and severely damaged by Llewelyn during the early stages of its construction, Caerphilly stood by the late 1270s as one of the most advanced and formidable castles in the British Isles. Its existence afforded the de Clare lands to the S. a strong measure of protection which may have given rise to a certain sense of security, especially in the wake of the Edwardian conquest of Wales in 1282-83.

Over the whole of this dramatic period Rumney was in the hands of Gilbert's mother Maud, who held it along with certain other manors in S. Wales between 1267-89 as part of a dower settlement arranged after a dispute with her son.¹⁰² Certain factors suggest that the

conversion of Rumney Castle to a fortified manor took place at some point during this time. First, it is unlikely that the work would have been carried out before the annexation of Machen or the construction of Caerphilly Castle as the Welsh threat to the area would have been a pressing concern. Second, the archaeological evidence associated with the fortified manor points to a period of occupation which clearly came to an abrupt end most likely in 1295, but which was of considerably longer duration than the scant six years between this date and Maud's death earlier in 1289.

It has been suggested that the reason for the conversion was to provide a suitable residence for Maud close to Cardiff,¹⁰³ and it is obvious from the archaeological evidence that in its final form Rumney was a domicile of considerable status. It is not impossible that other factors were also involved. Although Maud retained the manors of Usk and Trellech according to the terms of the dower settlement, she was obliged to hand over the castles in those places despite her claims to them.¹⁰⁴ It is perhaps significant that with the slighting of Rumney Castle's defences during this conversion at a roughly similar period in time, Maud no longer possessed any site of a serious military character in S. Wales. While there is insufficient evidence to suggest that Gilbert may have pursued any deliberate policy aimed at keeping his mother in check, it is worth considering that as a result of these separate actions Maud would have been in a weak position had she wished to renew the dispute with her son.

A renewal of the dispute did not occur and Gilbert came into possession of Rumney, along with the other manors, after the death of his mother. In 1294–95 the profits from his demesne were interrupted during the serious revolt that broke out in Wales. His possessions in particular were singled out as targets by Morgan ap Maredudd, whose father he had ejected from power in Machen in 1270, and who now led the insurrection in Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg. The full extent of the damage inflicted on Rumney was not documented in contemporary accounts, although its two mills were recorded as having suffered due to the fighting and were listed as worth only 20s.¹⁰⁵ The extant historical, numismatic, and archaeological evidence however, points to this revolt as being a likely context for the destruction of the fortified manor.

Over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries the manor developed into one of the most valuable demesne holdings in the lordship of Newport,¹⁰⁶ as Gwynllŵg became known after its separation from Glamorgan due to the partition of the de Clare estates in 1317. It is clear however, that during this period the site of the former castle no longer figured into the scheme of events as there was little evidence to suggest even sporadic occupation with the exception of one structure which was either a signal beacon or limekiln and an area of hardstanding.

Possibly something of the castle's history could still be recalled locally in the early 16th century when a brief mention of the site was included in a custumal of the manor drawn up in c. 1532:

... there be certein closez by rumpney bridge which be parcell of the demesne where sumtyme was buylded a Pile or Castle by the water.¹⁰⁷

By the end of the 18th century, however, the history of the site had faded so far into obscurity that its identification as Rumney Castle was not always recognized.¹⁰⁸ In 1801 it was referred to simply as an 'encampment' in William Coxe's *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*. The description and plan of the earthworks which appeared in this publication, however, are most important as they provide the sole evidence for what was almost certainly a bailey:

Connected with the western side is a triangular outwork, the rampart of which is much lower than the principle encampment.¹⁰⁹

In the 1846 Tithe map and apportionment for Rumney Parish¹¹⁰ the site of the castle, listed as arable land, is clearly distinguishable, while a portion of the ditch along its W. side can be traced and is recorded as 'brake'. Nothing resembling Coxe's 'triangular outwork', however, can be discerned and it can only be assumed that whatever was left of it at this time did not form an obstacle significant enough to influence the configuration of field boundaries.

Towards the end of the 19th century the remains of Rumney Castle were subdivided and came to be included in the back gardens of three different properties: Tredelerch, Oaklands, and Castlefield.

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NOTES

¹ The site is also known as Cae Castell but the existence of a second castle of the same name not far to the NE. (GGAT PRN 640S) means that the less common but perhaps more appropriate name Rumney Castle is used in this report. Its NGR is ST 2102 7894.

² There are a limited number of documentary references to the site, few of which give more than a brief reference to the site. These are discussed in the appendix.

³ Also known as Meinser Burg. For summary see R. von Uslar, *Studien zu Frühgeschichtlichen Befestigungen Zwischen Nordsee und Alpen* (Köln, 1964), 114–16.

⁴ E. Sprockhoff, 'Berichter über die Ausgraben der Hünenburg von Ströttinghausen, Bezirk Bremen', *Germania*, 17 (1933), 213–18.

⁵ Both the Benningser Burg and Hünenburg gates were cited by L. Alcock in his discussion concerning the development of gate towers in: 'Castle Tower Penmaen: a Norman ringwork in Glamorgan', *Antiquaries J.*, 46 (1966), 187-90.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 185-87.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ P. Charlton, J. Roberts and V. Vale, *Llantrithyd: a Ringwork in South Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 1977), 17-18.

⁹ Designated as Building B by the excavators. Details and discussion appear in Charlton *et al.* *op. cit.* in note 8, 8-10 and 18-20.

¹⁰ For a discussion of 'normal' and 'reverse assembly' methods, see C. A. Hewett, 'Timber buildings in Essex', *Trans. Ancient Monuments Soc.*, 9 (1961) 33-37; and *id.* 'Structural carpentry in medieval Essex', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 6-7 (1962-63) 260-62.

¹¹ Charlton, *et al.*, *op. cit.* in note 8.

¹² Alcock, *op. cit.* in note 5.

¹³ L. Alcock, 'Excavations at three Glamorgan castles', *Morgannwg*, 5 (1961) 79-82.

¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of the subject in which the Llantrithyd, Penmaen and Pennard 'halls' are cited as examples, see D. M. Robinson, 'Medieval vernacular buildings below the ground: a review and corpus for south-east Wales', *Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeol. Trust Annu. Rep. 1981-82* (Swansea, 1982), 84-123.

¹⁵ P. A. Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar*, British Archaeol. Rep. British Series, 65, (1979).

¹⁶ G. Beresford, *Goltho, the Development of an Early Medieval Manor c. 850-1150*, English Heritage Archaeol. Rep. 4 (Dorchester, 1987), 112-19.

¹⁷ The possibility that Tower XVI at Hen Domen featured a jettied upper storey that protruded out to cover the rampart during the mid-12th century is suggested by its excavators, P. Barker and R. Higham, *Hen Domen Montgomery*, 1 (Leeds, 1982) 32-33.

¹⁸ This feature began to emerge only during the last day of the excavation in December 1981. It was subsequently uncovered and recorded by the author during a limited exercise lasting one day in April of the following year. Although slightly disturbed, one of the original grid pegs from the 1980-81 excavations remained *in situ* thus making it possible to relate this feature with other remnants of the keep. The author would like to thank the site owner for permission to carry out this work.

¹⁹ The three are: Dinas Powys, Sully and Plas Baglan, the last founded by the Welsh lords of Afan. R.C.A.H.M., *Inventary of Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan: Medieval Secular Monuments Volume III, Part 1a, the Early Castles from the Norman Conquest to 1217* (London, 1991), 42.

²⁰ C. J. Spurgeon, 'A discussion of the development of Sully Castle in relationship to other castles in Glamorgan and Gower', in G. Dowdell, 'Excavations at Sully Castle 1963-69', *Bulletin Board Celtic Stud.*, 37 (1990), 342-43.

²¹ R.C.A.H.M., *op. cit.* in note 19, 42.

²² *Ibid.*, 42, 303. (Also cited in the same work, p. 340: G. T. Clark, *Land of Morgan*, 33-36, and M. Wood, *Norman Domestic Architecture* (London, 1974), 76).

²³ *Ibid.*, 336-40.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

²⁵ J. M. Lewis, 'Recent excavations at Loughor Castle (South Wales)', *Château-Gauliard*, 6 (1975), 157.

²⁶ Barker and Higham, *op. cit.* in note 17, 59-71. The feature in question is pit F1/27, associated with phase 7, the last period of occupation of Hen Domen, c. 1223-1300.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

²⁸ D. J. C. King, *Llanstephan Castle, Carmarthenshire* (London, 1963), 11-12.

²⁹ The charcoal from the tub has been identified by Astrid Caseldine of St Davids University College, Lampeter as *Quercus* sp. (oak).

³⁰ R.C.A.H.M., *op. cit.* in note 19, 303.

³¹ R. A. Brown, *English Castles* (London, 1976), 125-26.

³² The editor would like to refute the implication made for example in G. C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards 1979-81* (Cardiff, 1985), 90 fn. 35 that the excavator thought of the site as a motte; although the mounded appearance of the site before excavation certainly had the appearance of such a feature, excavation showed that it was undoubtedly a ringwork. For another example of a motte-like mound which was in fact a ringwork see R.C.A.H.M., *op. cit.* in note 19, Loughor Castle.

³³ J. K. Knight 'Excavations at Montgomery Castle, Part 1', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, forthcoming.

³⁴ P. M. Christie and J. G. Coad, 'Excavations at Denny Abbey', *Archaeol. J.*, fig. 13. The author is most grateful to Mr D. R. Evans for this information.

³⁵ Boon, *op. cit.* in note 32, 83-90.

³⁶ The later rebellion of Llewellyn Bren in 1316 has been rejected as a possible context for the assemblage of the hoard on the grounds of the numismatic evidence; see Boon, *op. cit.* in note 32, 86.

³⁷ *Cardiff Records*, vol. 1, J. Matthews (ed.) (Cardiff, 1898), 267.

³⁸ For a similar argument and discussion see Barker and Higham, *op. cit.* in note 17, 90-97.

³⁹ See G. C. Dunning, 'A medieval beacon at Merthyr Mawr, Glamorgan', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 92 (1937) 331-33. I am grateful to Dr J. R. Alban for this reference.

⁴⁰ *Cardiff Records*, 1, *op. cit.* in note 37, 169. The document in question is a minister's account from 1401. It is important to note that the payment for the carriage of the bundles to the castle is listed as having been made by the reeve to the receiver, which under normal circumstances would indicate that the sum involved was not an expenditure credited to the former, but was rather a receipt for which he was liable. It is possible that this particular item refers to the payment of woodgavel, an annual fee levied on the tenants of the manor in lieu of the customary

service of providing firewood for the lord's residence, and that the nomenclature used in the account is figurative. This, however, would not preclude the possibility that this feature may have indeed served as a beacon. See: W. Rees, *South Wales and the March. A Social and Agrarian Study* (Oxford, 1924), 171; A. C. Reeves, *Newport Lordship 1317-1536*, Uni. Microfilms International (Ann Arbor, 1979), 169; A. C. Reeves, 'A custumal of Rumney Manor', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxvii, part 2 (1977), 299 and 301.

⁴¹ O. E. Craster, 'A medieval limekiln at Ogmore Castle, Glamorgan', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 101 (1951), 72-76. In this context it should be noted that Craster re-interprets the Merthyr Mawr beacon as a limekiln.

⁴² R.C.A.H.M., op. cit. in note 19, 326-36 and particularly 328 and 332-33.

⁴³ R.C.A.H.M., op. cit. in note 19, 332.

⁴⁴ J. G. Edwards, 'Edward I's castle building in Wales', *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 32 (1944), 17.

⁴⁵ A list of castle excavations carried out in Glamorgan along with an important summary of the results is featured in R.C.A.H.M., op. cit. in note 19, 43-46.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ N. J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type* (1983), 19 ff. The hoard has been fully published by Boon, op. cit. in note 32, 83-90.

⁴⁸ Trust editor's note: catalogue iron objects number 50 and 63 have been omitted from the final report.

⁴⁹ LMMC = Medieval Catalogue (London Museum, 1940).

⁵⁰ Trust editor's note: this item is in fact an earring from the Roman period, and is an example of Type 1; see L. Allason-Jones, 'Roman earrings', *Current Archaeology*, 12 (1984), 341. The editor would like to thank Glenys Lloyd-Morgan for confirming the identification of this item. It is intended to publish this item in more detail elsewhere.

⁵¹ B. Knight, 'Researches on medieval window lead', *J. Brit. Soc. Master Glass Painters*, 18 (1983-84), 49-51.

⁵² G. Egan, S. D. Hanna and B. Knight, 'Marks on milled window leads', *Post-Medieval Archaeol.*, 20 (1986), 303-10.

⁵³ D. R. Evans, 'Objects of lead', in E. M. Evans and J. Parkhouse (eds.), *Cowbridge excavations 1977-87* (forthcoming), no. 3.

⁵⁴ Trust editor's note: this item has been drawn from a photograph and original pencil drawings; its accuracy cannot, therefore, be assured.

⁵⁵ H. O'N. Henken, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, 53C (1950-51), 140, Fig. 6, no. 65 and Fig. 66, inset D.

⁵⁶ The lack of other pre-Conquest finds suggests that this was a casual loss, not an indication of early settlement.

⁵⁷ B. E. Vyner, 'Vale fabric — a medieval pottery industry in Glamorgan', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales*, 5 (1982), 31-43.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵⁹ Charlton, *et al.*, op. cit. in note 8.

⁶⁰ B. E. Vyner, 'Medieval and later pottery production in South Wales', in B. Vyner and S. Wrathmell (eds.), *Studies in Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* (Cardiff, 1987), 29-33.

⁶¹ B. E. Vyner, 'Medieval and post-medieval pottery from Llandough, Glamorgan', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales*, 4 (1981), 19-20.

⁶² J. M. Lewis and B. E. Vyner, 'Medieval pottery from Loughor Castle', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales*, 2 (1979), 6.

⁶³ The context number for unprovenanced items was lost in the fire.

⁶⁴ The help of Bob Wilson (University Museum, Oxford) and Peta Sadler with identification of deer bones is gratefully acknowledged.

⁶⁵ R. J. Aitken, 'Cementum layers and tooth wear as criteria for aging roe deer' (*Capreolus capreolus*), *J. of Zoology*, 175 (1975), 15-18.

⁶⁶ For example only 0.34% of a Lincoln sample was horse. See T. O'Connor, *Animal Bones from Flaxengate, Lincoln, c. 870-1500* (C.B.A. The Archaeology of Lincoln, 18/1. London, 1982).

⁶⁷ V. P. W. Lowe, 'Teeth as indicators of age with special reference to red deer (*Cervus Elephas*) of known age from Rhum', *J. Zoology*, 152 (1967), 137-53.

⁶⁸ Aitken, op. cit. in note 65.

⁶⁹ B. A. Noddle, 'Animal bones from Loughor Castle' (unpublished).

⁷⁰ B. A. Noddle, 'Mammalian bones', 63-70 in Charlton *et al.*, op. cit. in note 8 and Noddle, op. cit. in note 69.

⁷¹ 1846 Tithe Map (Gwent County Record Office).

⁷² J. M. Maltby, *Faunal Studies on Urban Sites: the Animal Bones from Exeter 1971-1975* (Sheffield University: Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, 1979).

⁷³ O'Connor, op. cit. in note 66.

⁷⁴ These are being studied by West (pers. comm.).

⁷⁵ In the British Museum (Natural History) Ornithological Collections (Accession 337c, S/1952.3.51); the assistance of Mr G. Cowles in using these collections is gratefully acknowledged.

⁷⁶ Plant macrofossil material was received for identification and analysis following processing and sorting of the samples by Annie Milles at University College Cardiff.

⁷⁷ G. Hillman, 'Reconstructing crop husbandry practices from charred remains of crops', 123-61 in J. R. Mercer (ed.), *Farming Practice in British Prehistory* (Edinburgh, 1981).

⁷⁸ R. W. Dennell, 'Seeds from a medieval sewer in Woolster Street, Plymouth', *Economic Botany*, 24 (1970), 151-54.

⁷⁹ Sir H. Godwin, *History of the British Flora* (Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed., 1975).

⁸⁰ G. Hillman, 'Crop husbandry: evidence from macroscopic remains', 183-91 in 'The Neolithic' (A. G. Smith), in I. G. Simmonds and M. J. Tooley, *The Environment in British Prehistory* (London, 1981).

- ⁸¹ E. David, *English Bread and Yeast Cookery* (Harmondsworth, 1979).
- ⁸² N. T. Gill and K. C. Vear, *Agricultural Botany: 1. Dicotyledonous Crops* (London, 1980).
- ⁸³ J. Percival, *Agricultural Botany, Theoretical and Practical* (London, 1900).
- ⁸⁴ Godwin, op. cit. in note 79.
- ⁸⁵ A. R. Hall, H. K. Kenward and D. Williams, *Environmental Evidence from Roman Deposits in Skeldergate* (C.B.A. The Archaeology of York, 14/3, London, 1980).
- ⁸⁶ I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (London, 1967), 324–25.
- ⁸⁷ The bridge is first recorded in the Pipe Rolls for 1184–85 and shortly afterwards by Giraldus Cambrensis. See: *Pipe Roll 31 Henry II*, Pipe Roll Society, Vol. xxxiv (London, 1913), 6; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Cambriae* (Opera, Roll Series, 21, Vol. VI, London, 1868), 172.
- ⁸⁸ Ships were being unloaded next to the bridge as late as 1771. *Cardiff Records, Vol. II*, J. Matthews (ed.) (Cardiff, 1900), 391.
- ⁸⁹ R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest, Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 1991), 29.
- ⁹⁰ This interpretation has been advanced in a number of recent publications: G. C. Boon, op. cit. in note 32, 40, 46–48; D. Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship in Glamorgan, 1067–1158', *Morgannwg*, xxix (1985), 20–41; C. J. Spurgeon, 'Mottes and castle ringworks in Wales', in J. R. Kenyon and R. Avent (eds.), *Castles in Wales and the Marches: Essays in Honour of D. J. Cathcart King* (Cardiff, 1987). A summary of all the evidence relating to the foundation of Cardiff and which is discussed in these various sources appears in: R.C.A.H.M., op. cit. in note 19, 8–11.
- ⁹¹ *Brut y Tywysogion or the Chronicle of the Princes* (Peniarth MS 20 version), T. Jones (ed. and transl.), Board of Celtic Studies, History and Law Series, no. 11 (Cardiff, 1952), 16; *Brut y Tywysogion or the Chronicle of the Princes* (Red Book of Hergest version), T. Jones (ed. and transl.), Board of Celtic Studies, History and Law Series, no. 16 (Cardiff, 1955), 26–27; *Breihnedd y Saesson or the Kings of the Saxons*, T. Jones (ed. and transl.), Board of Celtic Studies, History and Law Series, no. 25 (Cardiff, 1971), 76–77.
- ⁹² Caradog is recorded as having put at risk everything he 'held' from King William by harbouring three knights who had been in rebellion against the latter. See: *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, A. W. Wade (ed.) (Cardiff, 1944), 188–91; *Liber Landavensis. The Text of the Book of Llan Dav*, J. G. Evans and J. Rhys (eds.) (Oxford, 1893, Facsimile edn. Natl. Library of Wales, 1979), 277–79.
- ⁹³ *Herefordshire Domesday*, V. H. Galbraith (ed.), Pipe Roll Society (London, 1950), 4.
- ⁹⁴ Boon, op. cit. in note 32.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ⁹⁶ Two different Welsh chronicles record 1081 as the date of Cardiff's foundation. Another lists the date as 1080. *Annales de Margam*, in H. R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* (Roll Series, Vol. I, 1964), 4; 'Annals from A.D. 600–1298 inserted in Breviate of Domesday' (P.R.O. E.164/1), printed in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1862), 272–83; *Breihnedd y Saesson or the Kings of the Saxons*, op. cit. in note 6, 83 (listed as 1080).
- ⁹⁷ R.C.A.H.M., op. cit. in note 19, 11.
- ⁹⁸ de Haia is recorded in various grants including one in 1102 where he gave the church at Basaleg to Glastonbury Abbey. See: *Earldom of Gloucester Charters. The Charters and Scribes of the Earls of Gloucester to a.d. 1217*, R. B. Patterson (ed.) (Oxford, 1973), no. 156, 146; *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272, Vol. II*, J. C. Davies (ed.), History Society of the Church in Wales (Cardiff, 1948), no. L13, 12.
- ⁹⁹ R.C.H.A.M., op. cit. in note 19, 16–17, 298.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Pipe Roll 31 Henry II*, op. cit. in note 2.
- ¹⁰¹ For a detailed study of this policy, see: J. Ward, *The Estates of the Clare Family 1066–1317* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1962).
- ¹⁰² M. Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217–1314* (Baltimore, 1965), 117.
- ¹⁰³ R.C.H.A.M., op. cit. in note 19, 303.
- ¹⁰⁴ Altschul, op. cit. in note 102, 167.
- ¹⁰⁵ Recorded in the inquest post-mortem for Gilbert de Clare, 24 Edward I, 1295–96: *Cardiff Records, Vol. I*, J. Matthews (ed.) (Cardiff, 1898), 267.
- ¹⁰⁶ A detailed study of Rumney Manor during this period, based mainly on surviving financial records, is to be found in: Reeves, *Newport Lordship 1317–1536*, op. cit. in note 40, 167–95. The extant manorial documents from Rumney are also frequently cited in: W. Rees, *South Wales and the March. A Social and Agrarian Study* (Oxford, 1924).
- ¹⁰⁷ Reeves, 'A custumal of Rumney Manor', op. cit. in note 40, 298–302, quotation, 301–02.
- ¹⁰⁸ Over the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries there were some references to the site as being that of Rumney Castle. Most of these, however, were rather obscure and all were generally ignored. O.S. maps listed the site as a 'Roman Camp', and only after the excavations of 1978 was its true identity confirmed.
- ¹⁰⁹ W. Coxe, *An Historical Tour through Monmouthshire* (London, 1801), 63, plan facing p. 75. Coxe notes that he himself did not see the site or participate in surveying the earthworks. There is little reason to doubt the accuracy of this particular information, however, as the plan and description of the castle itself, i.e. the 'principal encampment', compared reasonably well with what could be observed of the remains just prior to excavation.
- ¹¹⁰ Gwent County Record Office, Dg17.3.