

V.—THE ROMAN FORT AT CHESTER-LE-STREET

J. P. Gillam and J. Tait

The Roman fort at Chester-le-Street lies some eight miles to the east of Dere Street, the main eastern road from York to Hadrian's Wall and beyond. North of Binchester, *Vinovia*, a branch road leaves the arterial road and runs towards Chester-le-Street. Tradition has it that another connecting road lies between Lanchester, *Longovicium*, the next northerly fort on Dere Street and Chester-le-Street, though this is as yet unconfirmed by excavation. The fort lies on the edge of another north-south road which runs parallel to Dere Street and stretches from Brough, *Petuaria*, on the Humber to Newcastle, *Pons Aelius*, on the Tyne and so far as is known is the only fort on the whole one hundred mile stretch. Between Chester-le-Street and Newcastle this secondary road sends off a branch, known locally as the Wrekindyke, north-eastwards towards South Shields, *Arbeia*.

Present opinion seems quite undivided that the name of the Roman station was *Concangium* where according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* the fort was garrisoned at one time by the *Numerus Vigilum Concangios*.

The presumption that there was a Roman fort at Chester-le-Street has persisted for many years. This was due not only to the present name of the town but also to finds of Roman material in the vicinity. The early antiquaries have little to say on the subject but by 1855 the accumulated finds of pottery, coins, altars and foundations of buildings had led the Reverend Walker Featherstonhaugh to assume that the fort had surrounded the church of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert.¹

¹ *A.A.*¹, IV (1855) 285 ff.

From the vantage point at the top of the church tower the Reverend gentleman described what he thought was the position of the ramparts of the fort. Although he no doubt looked with the eye of a believer, his faith, unfortunately, was not strong enough to penetrate the accumulated post-Roman debris. None the less his was an inspired guess considering that at that time no recognizable part of a fort had been discovered. In the following year of 1856 a bath-house was discovered in a position which appeared to verify that Featherstonhaugh had delimited the fort area correctly.

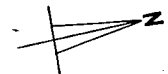
Over the next hundred years although several small excavations had taken place no further real evidence was forthcoming. Our knowledge of the Roman remains in the area was increased by further chance finds made during building construction and trench digging, but the exact position of the fort still eluded detection.

Such was the state of affairs in 1963 when the building of extensions to the Grammar School and new buildings to the east was started. The contractors were H. F. Mole & Co. Ltd., Chester-le-Street, and we are grateful to them and their foreman T. W. Gordon for his help and consideration shown to us over a long period.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. T. C. Dunn one of the masters at Chester-le-Street Grammar School without whose help it would have been impossible to collect the information which is the basis of this paper. As the building programme lasted some four years it would not have been practicable to have been on hand during the digging of all the holes. Mr. Dunn looked at the site every day and informed us whenever new holes or trenches were started thus sparing us many fruitless journeys. In addition Mr. Dunn did a little excavation and was also responsible for the collection of most of the pottery from the site.

One point which must be emphasized is that the following information comes not from an archaeological excavation but from holes dug by a mechanical excavator. In most cases

CHESTER LE STREET
1963~1967



GRAMMAR SCHOOL

FORT WALL

DITCH I

DITCH II

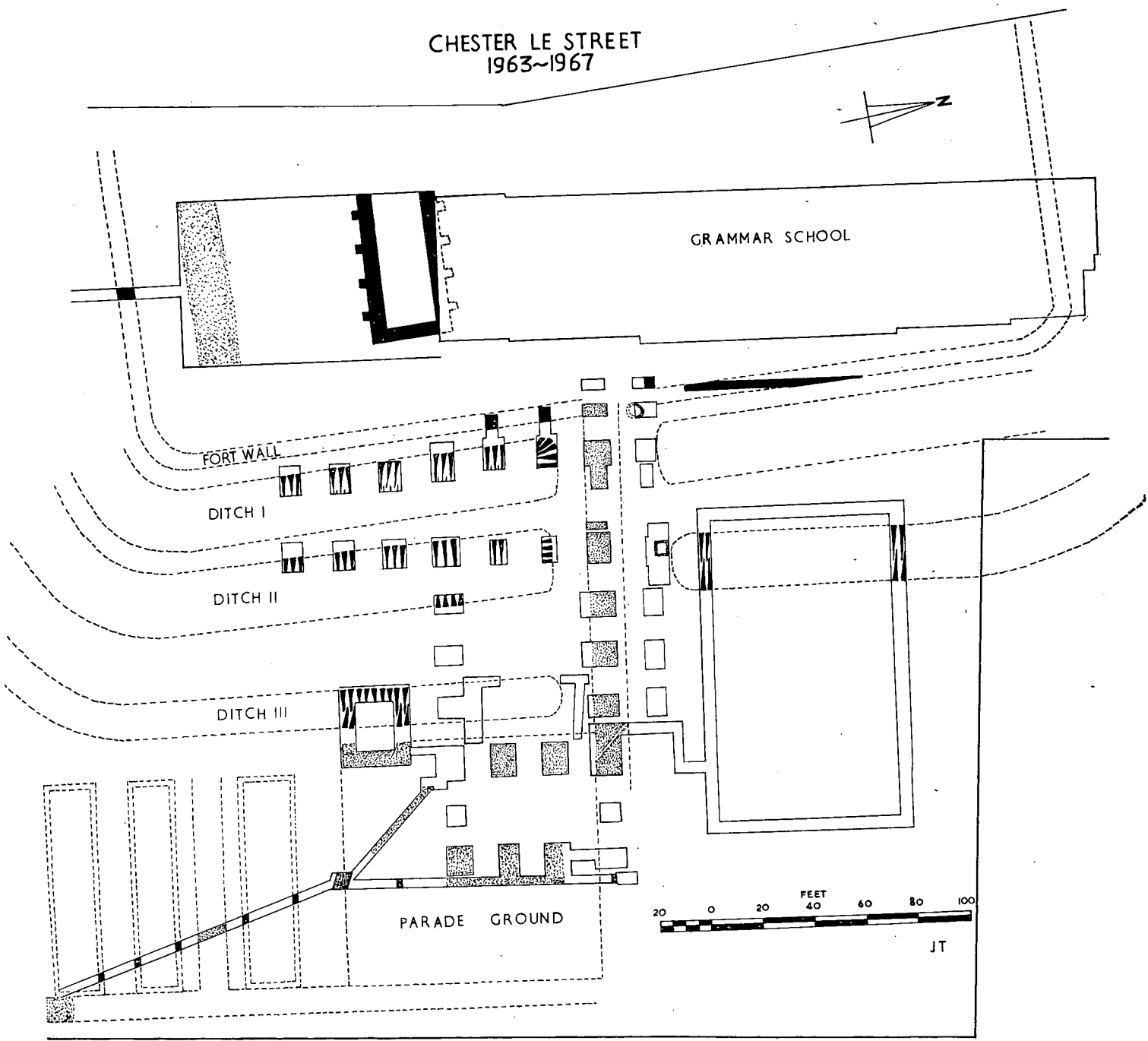
DITCH III

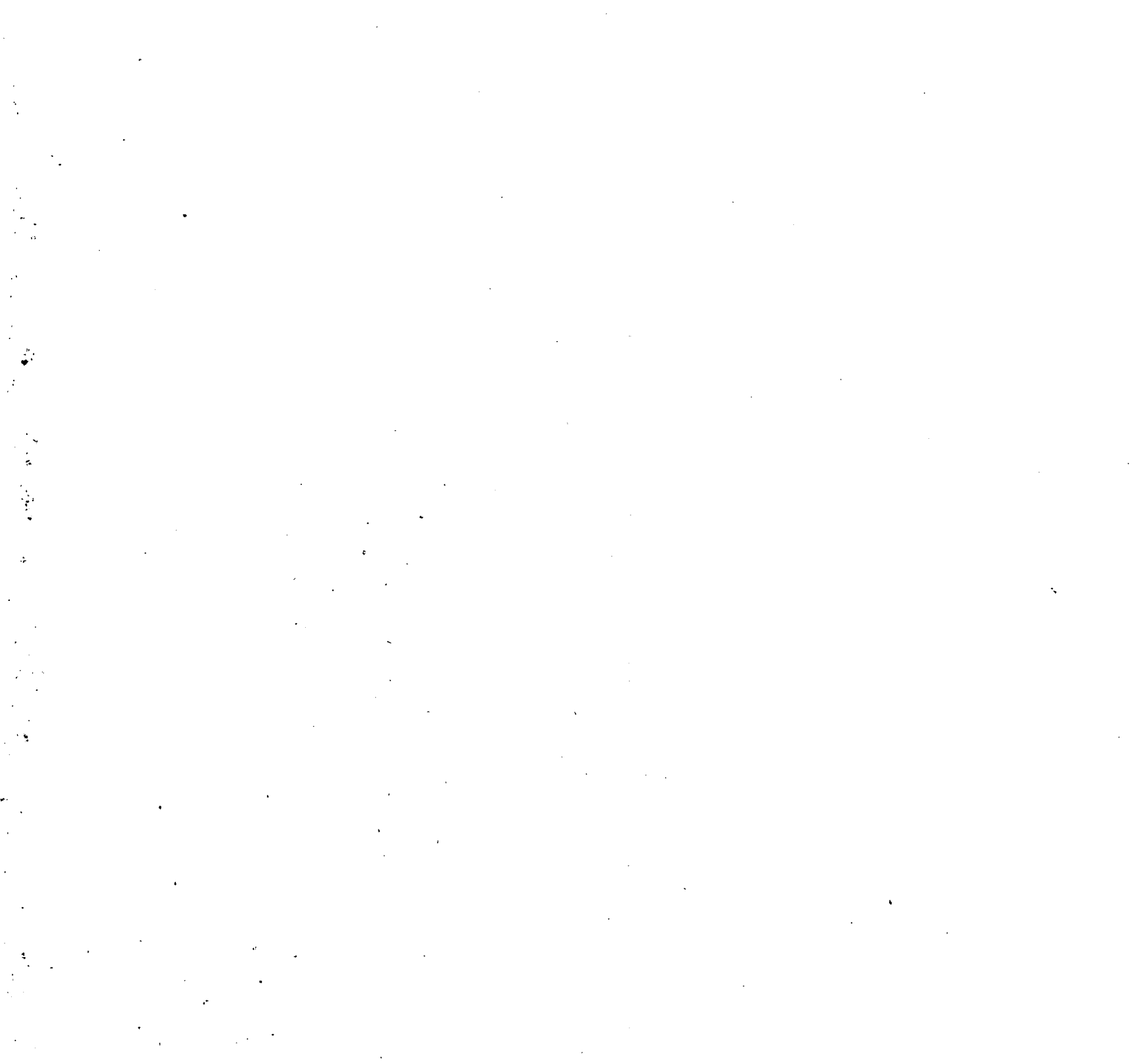
PARADE GROUND



JT

FIG. 1





the bottoms of the holes were concreted within minutes of the completion of the digging.

The first recognizable building within the fort area was uncovered immediately south of the Grammar School. No walls remained but the heavy clay and cobble foundation of a long rectangular building with buttress foundations on the south side left no doubt as to its purpose which was as a granary or storehouse. The exposed portion was 58 feet long by 32 feet wide excluding the buttress foundations which were 3 feet square and $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart. There was no evidence of buttresses either on the corner of the building or on the east end. The sub-soil was a soft wet sandy clay on which there was no indication that there had been any earlier buildings on the site. As it was not the usual practice, during the Roman period, to remove all traces of earlier buildings before rebuilding, and as it is unlikely that an earlier foundation had been at a higher level whence it could have been removed by the contractors, we must assume that the granary was a primary building on the site.

Fifty feet south of the south-east corner of the granary a roadway ran east and west. This road was approximately 18 feet wide and one foot thick with a mound of yellow clay starting near the south edge which was presumably the rampart backing.

The space between the granary and the road had been excavated down to sub-soil at a depth of five feet. Although no buildings were visible at this depth, or in section, large flagstones at a depth of three feet had been noted on a previous visit.

The east section of the excavated area showed traces of another road running north and south and because the position of granaries is normally in the central range of a fort it was thought that we had the south *intervallum* road and the *Via quintana*. Events over the succeeding months were to prove that this conclusion was mistaken and that the granary was in fact in the south-east corner of the fort.

Several months later the remains of what had been a wide

clay and cobble foundation was uncovered in a trench south of the position of the granary. Although now only three feet wide this foundation had been cut into on both sides in modern times and had apparently been the site of an air-raided shelter during the last war. Fig. 2, 2. The location of this foundation, which was probably that of the south wall of the fort, and the edge of the *intervallum* road found previously would leave a width of 20 feet for the rampart backing.

The foundations of the east wall of the fort were noted in two adjacent holes 24 feet apart and at a depth of 10 feet. No wall stones remained but the clay and cobble foundation was just over six feet wide, the angle of alignment being similar to that of the granary.

During the summer of 1964 a long trench in the drive in front of the school had cut through a wall four or five courses high at the south end and extending for some 30 feet. One large dressed stone which had been taken out and left on the edge of the drive was 3 feet by 2 feet by 1 foot and would not have been out of place in a gateway or as the first course of a fort wall. In 1965 another hole in the drive, close to where the preceding trench had started, revealed part of an east west wall of large blocks of well-dressed sandstone and as this was off the line of the fort wall could only have been part of the guard-chamber of a gateway.

Further evidence for the position of the gateway came from a line of holes which extending eastwards from the line of the fort wall encountered a road which from its thickness of 18 inches appeared to have been in use for a long time. The southern kerb was noted at several points and one can assume that the road would skirt the south guardchamber. The northern edge of the road was noted at only one point and that in a narrow trench. This gives a width of only 13 feet which appears to be on the narrow side but would not be unusual if one portal of the presumed double-portal gateway had been blocked at an early date. This road was traced for 143 feet and further holes on the same line en-

countered only modern disturbance down to natural. A stone lined drain with flagged cover cut diagonally across the road at one point.

A line of holes parallel to the last and ten feet to the north encountered complete disturbance down to natural, but did disclose two wells, one round and one square. The round well was close to the gateway, the square one in line with the outer ditch on the north-east side but the ditch had not extended as far as the position of the well. Glass bottles and medieval pottery were found in both wells and it is unlikely that either was of Roman date.

Trenches dug in the form of a rectangle for a new building by the contractors in 1963 revealed a ditch running north and south. The ditch was sectioned in two places 80 feet apart and showed that in its original form it had been 21 feet 6 inches wide and 8 feet deep. Fig. 2, 1. The southern section was not quite as deep as the northern one and appeared to be sloping upwards. At a later date a point eight feet south of this section revealed undisturbed sub-soil next to the square well previously mentioned.

West of the ditch a number of dressed and chamfered Roman stones were found in the soil but the area had been disturbed down to natural in medieval or later times.

The full length of the contractor's trenches was examined thoroughly for evidence of timber construction which, if found, might have represented an earlier fort in this particular area, but neither trenches nor post-holes were visible. In fact, except for one or two small burnt patches, there was nothing to indicate that there had ever been buildings either in timber or stone in this sector.

The ditch system on the south-east side presented something of a problem. Most of the excavated holes had been sunk within the width of the ditches and it was difficult to ascertain the angle of slope. At no point was a section taken through except for the smaller outer ditch and even this was not bottomed. All the hole sections showed similar features; these were four to five feet of soil and stones below which was

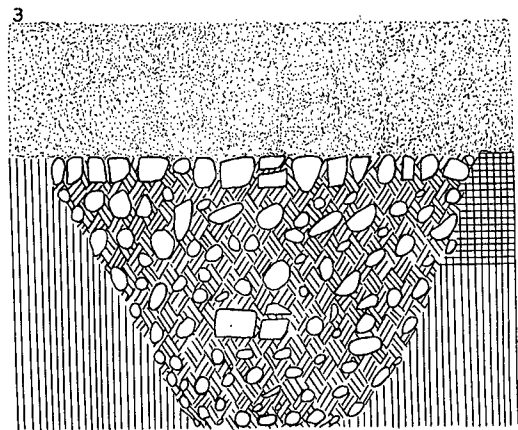
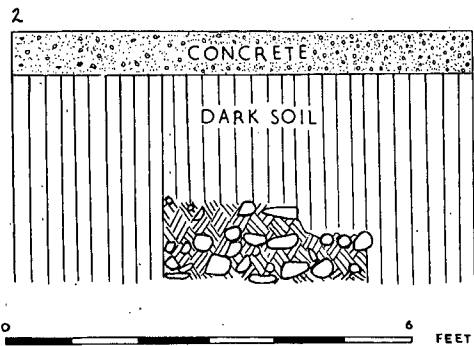
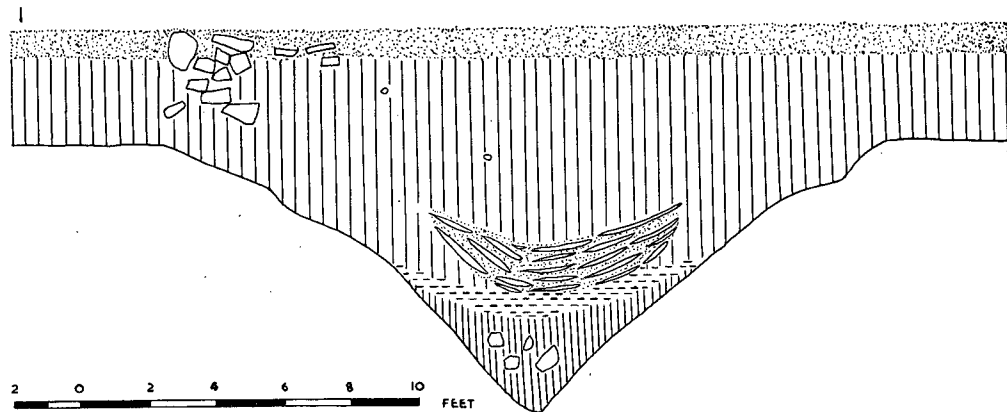


FIG. 2

three to four feet of slimy black silt containing twigs and small branches.

In the south-east corner of the area a trench dug for a drain in 1963 brought to light several walls of narrow buildings with a well constructed road between two of them. The road was 14 feet wide and composed of a base of large stones covered by a spread of hard-rammed gravel. Evidence of occupation was noted in all buildings and appeared to have taken place towards the end of the second century into the third century.

During the first visit to the site attention was drawn to a road next to the south boundary wall of the school playing field area, and close to the most southerly of the extra-mural buildings. This road was composed of small flagstones with some cobbles but of no exceptional thickness. The ordnance survey map of the area shows a road crossing the site at about this point.

Trenches and holes were excavated in one further area, that marked parade ground on fig. 1. A continuation of the trench which revealed the extra-mural buildings cut through a massive well-constructed clay and cobble foundation, six feet six inches wide, seven feet long and four feet deep with sloping sides. The top layer of cobbles were large and had been specially selected and placed in a level position, fig. 2, 3. A fragment of a late second-century mortarium was embedded in the clay. At the time it was thought that this had been a foundation for a freestanding object such as a statue. A small excavation carried out by Mr. Dunn in 1967, to ascertain the extent of this foundation showed that it had not extended more than a few inches on either side of the original trench. A trench running northwards from this foundation showed that a large part of the length had been covered by hard-rammed cobble and gravel. Two walls were noted one near each end of the trench but owing to pockets of disturbance their purpose was obscure and it was not possible to determine whether they were earlier or later than the gravel surface. Further trenches and holes west of this

trench and between the foundation and the line of the road from the east gateway of the fort showed that this area had also been covered by a hard-rammed cobble and gravel surface except where broken through by disturbance, mostly modern. A parade ground hypothesis may seem the most logical explanation of this with the foundation being the base for a statue or dedicatory altars.

A stone-lined drain, uncovered in the school drive near the north-east corner of the school, appeared to be running towards the steepest slope of the knoll on which the fort stands. Mr. Dunn with the help of his son was successful in locating this and tracing it for one hundred feet down the bank, the bottom of which was skirted by the Con or Cong burn in Roman times. Pottery of both Roman and medieval date was found above and at the sides of the drain but it was not possible to say to which period it belonged. The drain had stone sides with a bottom flag and a covering flag and was two feet wide and one foot deep.

Some years ago Dr. J. C. Mann kindly lent me some notes made by Canon Jackson who was the incumbent at Chesterle-Street in the late twenties and early thirties. He had a keen interest in archaeological matters and kept a watchful eye on building operations around the area of the fort as well as doing a little excavating himself.

The most interesting item of information in the notes is the recording of a thick wall foundation having been cut through during the laying of an electricity cable in Middle Chare in 1933. The position of the wall is stated as being twenty yards from the junction of Middle Chare and Front Street. Two coins of Trajan were found in the rubble. It is quite likely that this was the west wall of the fort and presumably close to one of the guardchambers. If this is so it would give a length of 625 feet with a breadth of 364 feet for the fort, the general shape and area being almost exactly the same as that of the fort at South Shields.

Another point of interest is a reference to an excavation made in 1929 near the supposed north-east corner of the fort

CHESTER LE STREET

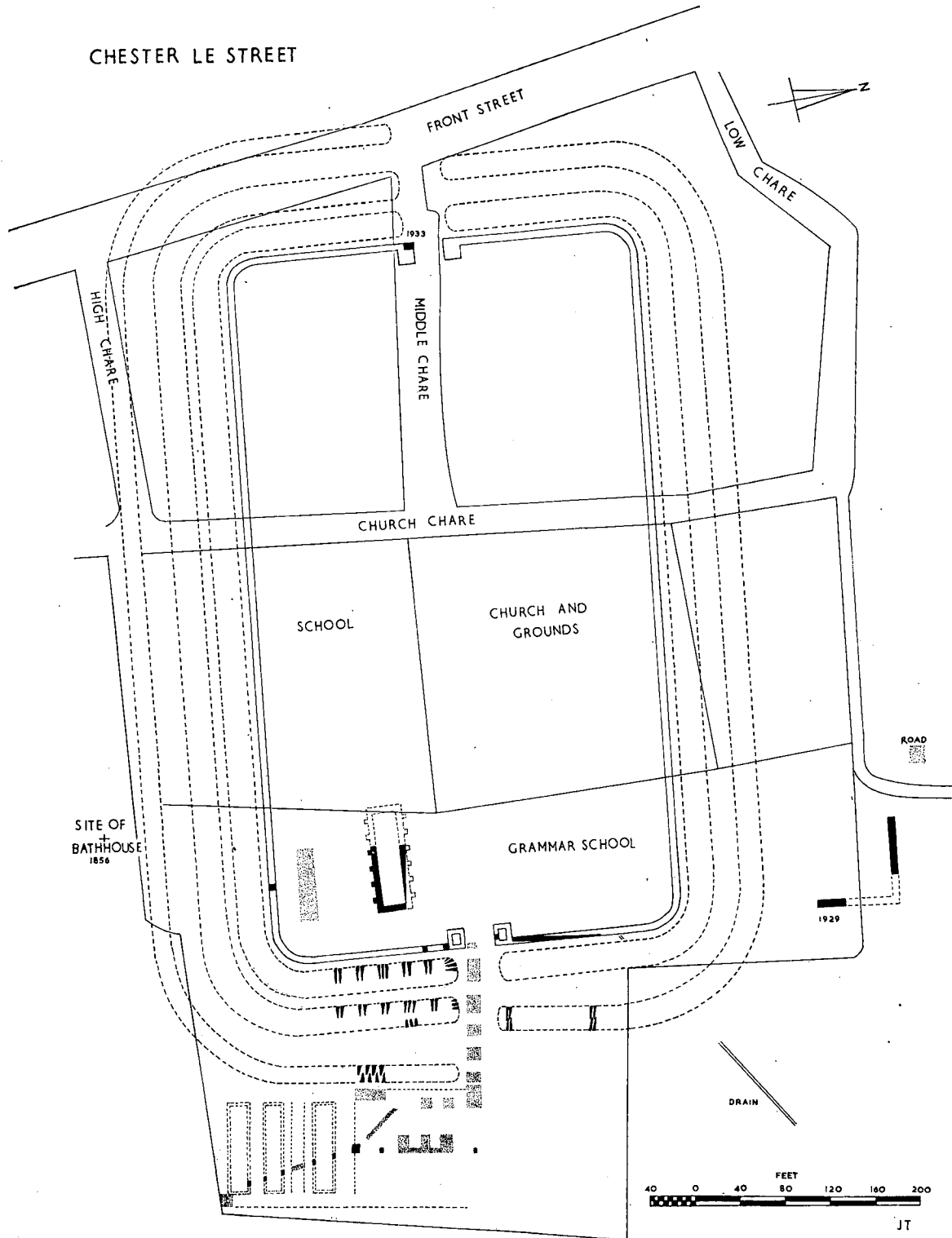


FIG. 3



when a trial trench exposed a wide rubble foundation of a wall with a drain passing along the face and clear of the wall. This foundation was in line with the front of the Grammar School and was thought by Canon Jackson to be the east wall of the fort. In support of this he mentions a letter he had received from the contractors who built the school in 1912 who said that the removal of heavy stone foundations added greatly to the difficulty and cost of the work.

As it is now assumed that the north-east corner of the fort lies directly under the north end of the school, the difficulty the contractors experienced in 1912 could well have been caused by having to cut through both fort wall and angle tower.

At a little distance north-west of the foundation mentioned by Canon Jackson a six foot wide clay and cobble foundation was noted in 1963. Three years later when ground was being cleared for a youth centre this foundation was traced eastwards for a distance of fifty feet and it is probable that this foundation is connected with the one found in 1929. The width of these foundations suggests the possibility that they belonged to a fort wall. However, an area extending northwards for a distance in excess of a hundred feet was cleared to sub-soil without revealing any ditches. Therefore it is unlikely that these foundations represent the remains of a fort wall but rather that they belonged to some substantial extra-mural building.

Several yards west of the clay and cobble foundation was an area from which came three altars in 1847. The land had been in use as a cemetery from that year until 1963 when the headstones were removed and the ground laid out as a park. A roadway of stones covered by gravel was noted running in a north south direction some twenty feet west of the present public path. A small group of third century pottery lay on the edge of this road.

On the south side of the fort, and in an approximately corresponding position to that of the aforementioned road on the north side, is the site of what was presumably the fort

bath-house found in 1856. It is a possibility that there may have been postern gates in the fort walls allowing access to and from the bath-house and to the road.

One further point remains from Canon Jackson's notes. When extensions to the school next to Church Chare and near the start of the drive into the Grammar School were being made it had been reported by the labourers that a large inscribed stone had been left buried at a depth of seven feet. As the normal depth of Roman levels appears to be between four and five feet from the present surface it is possible that this inscribed stone could have been in the outer ditch which is on the line where the stone was noted.

THE SAMIAN POTTERY

All the samian pottery was unstratified and as the majority of the sherds had come from the more common plain forms it has not been illustrated. From a total of 170 sherds 65 were rim fragments and the following figures give some idea of the types in use:

| | |
|------------------|----|
| Form 18/31 or 31 | 27 |
| „ 33 | 21 |
| „ 37 | 8 |
| „ 36 | 6 |
| „ 45 | 2 |
| „ 27 | 1 |

Stamps of potters, either complete or fragmentary, found during the excavations were represented by five examples. These are reported on by B. R. Hartley and marked recent in his note on the evidence of potters stamps for the date of the fort at Chester-le-Street.

THE COARSE POTTERY

Although the vast majority of the coarse pottery sherds

were, like the samian, unstratified it was thought that as there has been no published coarse pottery from Chester-le-Street publication of a selection of the types found would not come amiss. From seven hundred sherds two hundred were rim fragments and it is from these that the sections have been drawn. Where there were more than one example of a type the number is stated after the description. Whenever possible reference is made to Gillam types for evidence of date.²

The stratified groups of pottery were few and these are as follows: nos. 38, 39 and 40 were associated with the narrow buildings in the *vicus*. With them was a fragment of pottery (not drawn) with barbitone decoration of conventionalized corn-stalks similar to that on a vessel from Richborough and dated to the third century.³

Nos. 12, 15, 16 and 50 were found together on the edge of the roadway on the north side of the fort and are of third century date.

No. 64 is a fragment of a second century mortarium found within the clay and cobble foundation on the south edge of the parade ground.

Nos. 24, 32 and 58 were found in the black silt in the central ditch.

It is difficult to place any of the coarse pottery in a context earlier than the start of the second half of the second century and, from then, it appears to go through in an unbroken sequence to the end of the Roman occupation of the northern area.

A date for the construction of the fort at Chester-le-Street could well be soon after the subduing of the troubles in the hinterland of Hadrian's Wall which had resulted in the first Antonine withdrawal from Scotland and the renewed activity of Period 1b on the Wall.

² Types of Roman Coarse Pottery in Northern Britain *A.A.A.*, XXXV (1957) 180.

³ *R.R.C.A.L.* VI, First Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent, p. 106 no. 134 and pl. XXX.

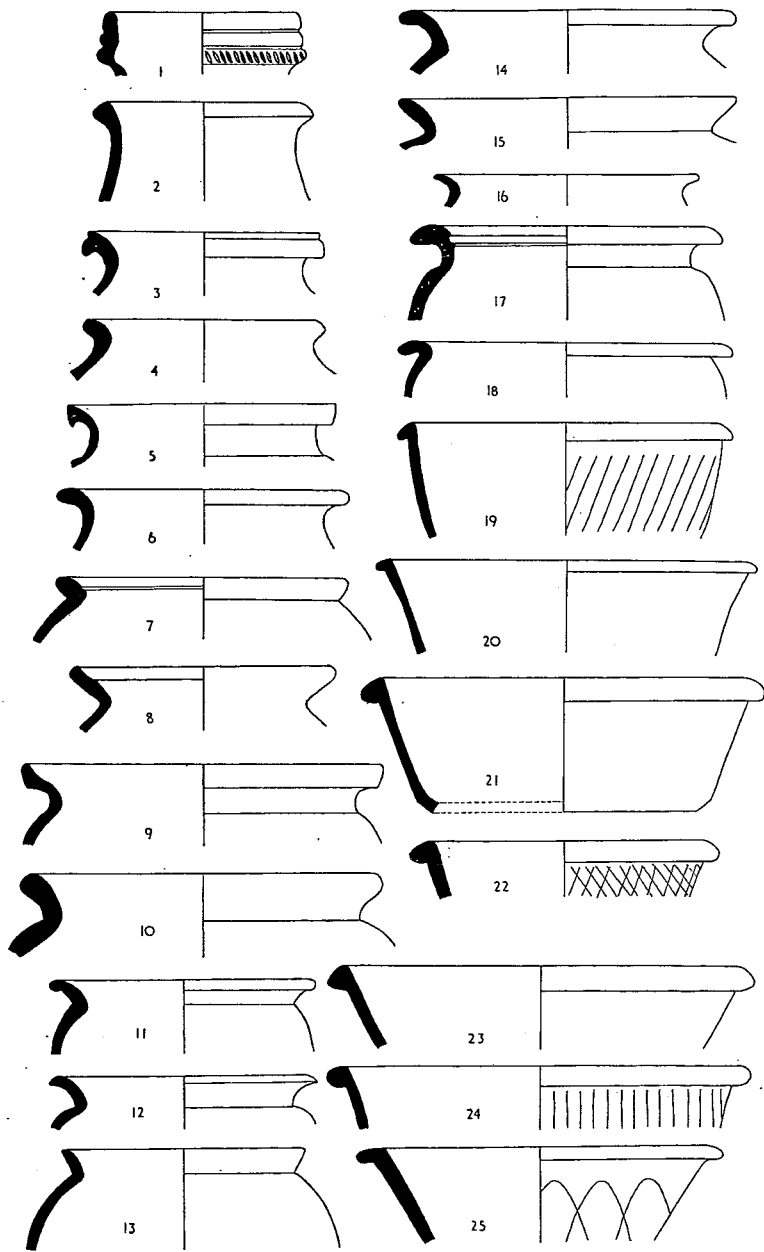


FIG. 4

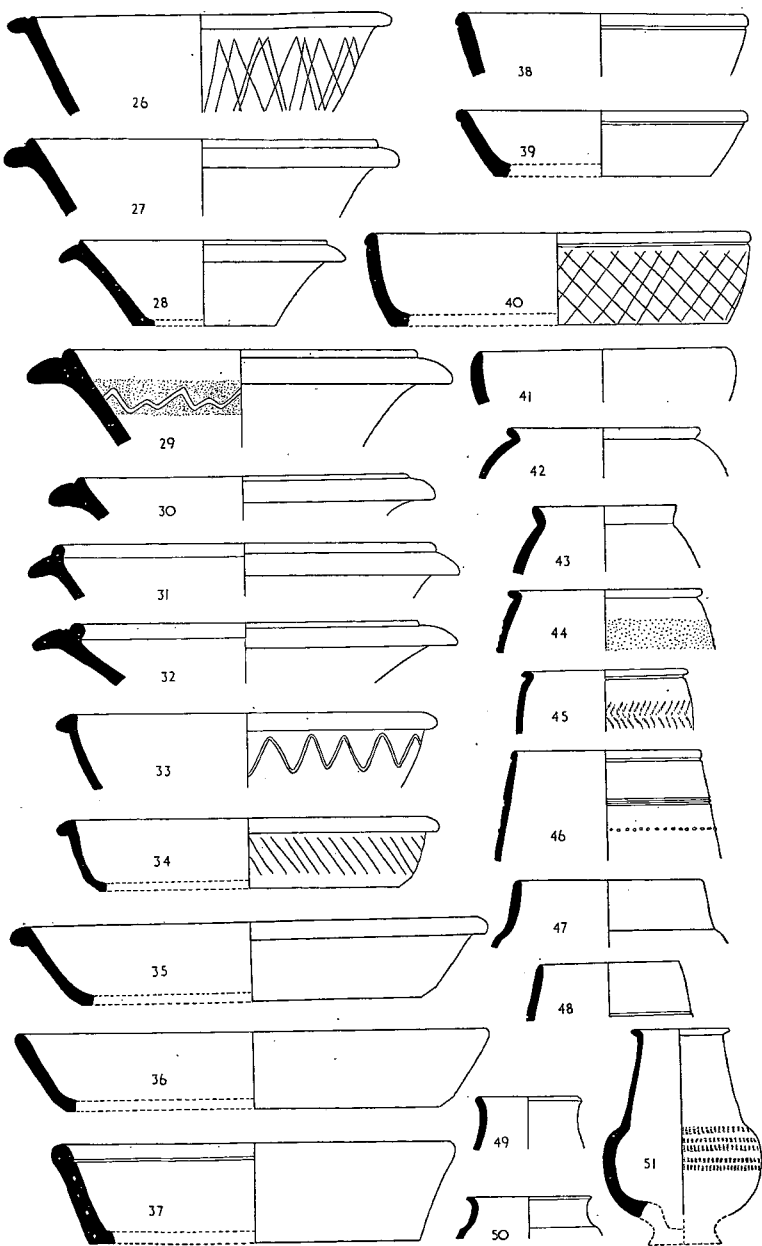


FIG. 5

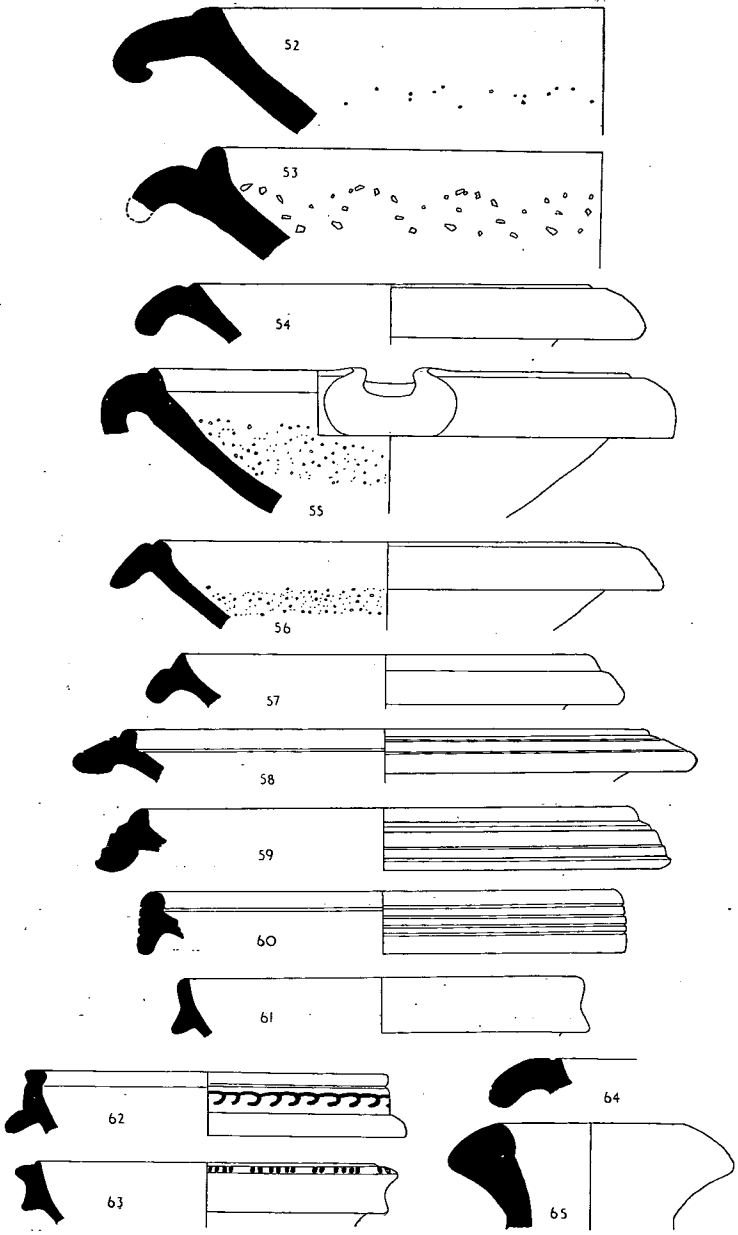


FIG. 6

1. Grey fabric with a dark brown surface. No known parallels.
2. Narrow-mouthed jar in grey fabric. Gillam type 31 A.D. 160-230.
3. Jar in a hard pink fabric.
4. Jar in grey fabric. Two examples.
5. Jar in a hard brown fabric with grey core. Three examples.
6. Jar in a grey gritty fabric. Three examples.
7. Wide-mouthed jar in grey fabric with a hard gritty brown surface. Gillam type 151 A.D. 190-260. Four examples.
8. Lid-seated jar in a hard gritty grey fabric. Two examples.
9. Wide-mouthed jar in fabric similar to no. 5. Eight examples.
10. Jar in dark grey fabric with a grey brown surface. Two examples.
11. Cooking-pot in grey burnished fabric. Gillam type 130 A.D. 140-180.
12. Cooking-pot in light fabric. Gillam type 135 A.D. 170-250.
13. Cooking-pot in black-burnished fabric. Gillam type 137 A.D. 180-250. Eleven examples.
14. Cooking-pot in black-burnished fabric. Gillam type 138 A.D. 180-250. Six examples.
15. Cooking-pot in grey fabric, slightly sooted. Gillam type 139 A.D. 180-250.
16. Grey fabric. Three examples.
17. Cooking-pot in calcite-gritted fabric. Gillam type 163 A.D. 370-400. There were eight examples with the rim groove and three examples without the groove.
18. Bowl in grey fabric with a dark brown surface. Gillam type 224 A.D. 190-240.
19. Grey fabric, probably once burnished.
20. Light grey fabric.
21. Dark grey fabric, no decoration. Gillam type 225 A.D. 190-250.
22. Grey fabric with smooth surface, probably once burnished.
23. White fabric with a reddish-brown colour-coating. Castor ware.
24. Black-burnished fabric.
25. Grey fabric probably once burnished.
26. Dark grey burnished fabric. Early third century.
27. Grey fabric, no decoration. Thirteen examples.
28. Light grey fabric. Gillam type 229 A.D. 350-400. Four examples.
29. Light grey fabric with internal wavy line. Gillam type 231 A.D. 370-400. Three examples.
30. White fabric, dark brown colour-coating. Gillam type 230 A.D. 360-400.
31. Light buff fabric.
32. Light buff fabric.
33. Grey fabric, smooth surface, probably once burnished. Gillam type 311 A.D. 180-200.

34. Black-burnished fabric. Gillam type 310 A.D. 170-210.
35. Dark grey fabric. Gillam type 313 A.D. 190-240. Fourteen examples.
36. Grey fabric, dark grey black surface. Eight examples.
37. Calcite-gritted fabric as no. 17. Three examples.
38. Dark grey fabric.
39. Grey fabric with darker surface.
40. Black-burnished fabric. Gillam type 318 A.D. 160-200.
41. Small bowl in white fabric with dark brown colour-coating. Gillam type 334 A.D. 350-400.
42. Grey fabric.
43. Grey fabric.
44. Grey fabric, bright orange-red surface.
45. White fabric with a reddish brown colour-coating. Gillam type 87 A.D. 190-240.
46. Brown fabric, reddish-brown colour-coating, similar to Gillam type 80 A.D. 200-270.
47. White fabric, brown colour-coating. Gillam type 54 A.D. 260-330.
48. White fabric, dark brown colour-coating. Gillam type 83 A.D. 250-320.
49. White fabric. Probably Castor ware with colour-coat worn off. A.D. 300-400.
50. White fabric, dark-brown colour-coating. Gillam type 92 A.D. 190-270.
51. Grey fabric, dark brown almost black surface. Roulette decoration on shoulder. Gillam type 43 A.D. 350-400.
52. Buff fabric, white grit.
53. Buff fabric with grey core. Large angular white grit.
54. Buff fabric.
55. Buff fabric, white and grey grit. Part of a herringbone trademark stamp similar to those used at the Colchester kilns. A.D. 150-200.
56. Light buff fabric, black grit. Two examples.
57. Grey fabric, reddish-brown surface with an apparent dark brown colour-coat.
58. Buff fabric.
59. White fabric.
60. Light buff fabric. Three examples.
61. Reddish-brown fabric.
62. White fabric, brown paint. Crambeck type 5b A.D. 370-400.
63. White fabric, brown paint on rim. Crambeck type 8 A.D. 370-400.
64. Reddish-purple fabric with cream slip.
65. Neck of amphora.

Potters' Stamps on Samian Ware as Evidence
for the Date of the Fort at Chester-le-Street

B. R. Hartley

Records of forty-seven potters' stamps on Samian ware have been noted for Chester-le-Street, though it has only been possible to trace twenty-three of the stamps. Most of the rest are stamps communicated to the late Dr. Felix Oswald by Canon F. H. Jackson,¹ and though the potters are all identifiable it is not always possible to determine the precise dies involved from Dr. Oswald's MS notes.²

Only two South Gaulish stamps have been attributed to the site (form 27D MOM³ and form 27 MVR⁴), but the provenance of these, if they are really different and not varying interpretations of the same blurred stamp, is not beyond doubt.⁵ They are best left aside, though the possibility of a Flavian fort on another site at or near Chester-le-Street should perhaps not be entirely dismissed.

The remaining stamps all belong to Central or East Gaulish potters, and it can scarcely be a coincidence that all are Antonine or, for some of the East Gaulish pieces, possibly of the early third century. Accordingly, foundation of the fort before A.D. 140 seems most unlikely. The question is whether a later date for the first occupation is not involved. This can only be assessed by considering the list of stamps in more detail, and by comparing them with records in

¹ Many of these cannot now be traced. Dr. J. C. Mann kindly allowed the writer to see those handed to him. These are noted below as "J.C.M." The die numbers quoted are those in the new Index of Potters' Stamps being prepared at Leeds.

² Noted as "Oswald MSS" below.

³ Die XIa in the Leeds Index, always on Flavian forms.

⁴ Oswald, *Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata*, p. 214, noted below as Oswald, *Stamps*.

⁵ Note the caution by Dr. Petch in *A.A.*⁴, 1, (1924), p. 14, note 83.

Scotland, at sites belonging to the Hadrian's Wall system and sites in the hinterland believed to have been reoccupied in the mid- or late-Antonine period after a substantial break in their occupations. This is attempted below.⁶

1. f. 37 'of ADVOCISUS' (J.R.S. XXII, 202), i.e. presumably Die VIIIa, the only one used on his decorated bowls. *Scotland Only* at Kelso, not so far as is known a military site. *Wall System* Carrawburgh, Chesterholm, Chesters, Chesters Museum⁷, Maryport, Milecastle 37. *Hinterland* Catterick, (2) Elslack. Note also Wroxeter Gutter (after c. A.D. 165).
2. f. 37 ALBVC I (Oswald mss.). Die IXf. *Scotland* Carzield, Mumrills, (2) *Wall System* Chesters Museum, (3) Maryport. *Hinterland* Malton. A date c. A.D. 150-180 is supported by various strands of evidence.
3. f. 33 ALBILLIM (Oswald mss). Presumably ALBILLIM̄ Die IIa, the only one known which could give this reading. *Wall System* Chesters. *Hinterland* Ilkley.
4. f. 31 ATTILLIM (Oswald, *Stamps*, 354). Only one die giving this reading is known (f. 38 Lanchester). Oswald conflates at least two potters (*Stamps*, 28). The Lezoux one is certainly Antonine, as he made f. 80. Note also AA4 XXVIII, 197-ATTILLIM̄ from the terminal Antonine II destruction.
5. f. 37 BFATTONI (Oswald mss.). The Rheinzabern potter of c. A.D. 160-200. *Wall System* Chesters Museum.
6. f. 31 AVE[NTINIM] (J.C.M.). Die Ia. *Scotland* Cramond, Newstead. *Wall System* Chesters. *Hinterland* Binchester (2) c. A.D. 145-180 is suggested by links with potters of decorated ware, from whom Aventinus evidently bought moulds.
7. f. 79 BIILINICCI (Oswald, *Stamps*, 358). Die VIa. The form makes mid- or late-Antonine date certain.
8. f. 45 "of BELSUS" (J.R.S. XXII, 202). East Gaulish and late-Antonine or early third-century.
9. f. ? CAPELLIV.E (CIL VII 1336, 228). A Lezoux potter without close dating within the Antonine period. Note, however, other dies on Ludowici Tx at Lezoux and at Chesters Museum.
10. f. 80 CATIAN[(J.C.M.). The full reading is not known but the

⁶ The Cumberland coast forts and South Shields are here included in the Wall system.

⁷ As it appears that the provenances of many stamps in the Chesters Museum are no longer ascertainable, though they are presumably all from forts on the former Clayton estates, the cautious label "Chesters Museum" is used when there is any doubt.

potter's work appears at Pudding Pan Rock. He used consistently mid- to late-Antonine forms, as here.

11. f. 31R CELSIANIF (J.C.M.). Die Xa. *Wall System* Chesters Museum, South Shields. *Hinterland* Piercebridge (2). Common on f. 80.
12. f. 18/31 or 31 [CINTV]GNATV (Recent) Die VIIa. Attested both at Lavoye (47 exx.) and Rheinzabern (26 exx., but many from graves and it is possible that Cintugnatus never worked there). Mid- to late-Antonine, as this die is common on forms 32, 79 and 80.
13. f. 31 DOIICVSMC (Recent) Die VIa. *Wall System* Haltonchesters. *Hinterland* Papcastle.
14. f. 31 (R?) DOVIICVVS (J.C.M.). Die VIIIe. *Wall System* Housesteads, Wallsend. Doecus is one of the commonest potters on the Wall and at the hinterland forts (22 stamps, as opposed to a single one from Scotland). Activity entirely after A.D. 160 seems certain.
15. f. 18/31 DOMITIAN (Oswald, *Stamps*, 109). East Gaulish. Oswald's dating is impossibly early in view of the use of f. 32. Domitianus was probably a Rheinzabern potter of A.D. 160-200. (It may be noted that f. 27, attested for him, was made later in East than in Central Gaul.)
16. f. 31R. GENIALIS[FECI] (J.C.M.). Die Va. *Wall System* Birdoswald, Carrawburgh, Newcastle. Sometimes on f. 79.
17. f. 31 HABILISM (J.C.M.). Die IIa. *Wall System* Chesters. This die is on both f. 27 and f. 80 at Lezoux and so should be mid- to late-Antonine.
18. f. 37 IVLLINI ret. (Oswald, *Stamps*, 393). Presumably die Xa. There is no reason to doubt late-Antonine date (cf. *C.G.P.*, Stanfield and Simpson, 223, c. A.D. 160-190).
19. f. 18/31 IVVIINIS (Oswald, *Stamps*, 394). Presumably Die XVIe, the only one known to give this reading, on f. 32 at Rheinzabern. The Lezoux potter, to whom Oswald assigned this stamp, does not use verticals for E.
20. f. 33 "LVCINA" (Oswald mss. and *Stamps*, 169). This is usually a misreading of a difficult stamp SACIRV ret. with blundered R. Known also from Binchester. Certainly late-Antonine.
21. f. 33 MAL[-LED.VF] (J.C.M.). *Wall System* Wallsend. On f. 80 at Lezoux.
22. f. 33 MA[(J.C.M.). Almost certainly the same die as the last.
23. f. 33 AMMI· (Oswald, *Stamps*, 15 and mss.). All known stamps of this reading are from a broken die of Mammius giving MAMMI·OF in full. Before breaking it was used on f. 80. The reduced version appears at South Shields and Ilkley. Late-Antonine.

24. f. 33 MARTIIO (Oswald, *Stamps*, 191). Only Die IXa has this reading. *Wall System* Haltonchesters, South Shields. *Hinterland* Catterick (3). Other dies of Martius give 22 stamps from the Wall and hinterland, but none from Scotland.
25. f. 33 [ME]RCVSSEM (J.C.M.). This (uncommon) die appears at Lezoux on a late example of f. 27. Antonine, but probably not later than A.D. 160.
26. f. ? MVXTVLLIM (*CIL* VII, 1336). If the recorded stop may be relied upon, this is Die Ia which appears on forms 31, 31R, 33 and 38 and in the Wroxeter Gutter. *Wall System* Chesters Museum, Maryport. There is an earlier die of this reading without the stop, used on f. 27 and 18/31R and appearing in Scotland.
27. f. 33 NAMILI AI (Oswald, *Stamps*, 409 and mss.). Probably Die IIIb. *Wall System* Benwell (2). Also at Pudding Pan Rock.
28. f. 31 NAMIL.CROE[SI] (Recent). Die Ia, which is more often on f. 79 or 80. Late-Antonine.
29. f. 33 NO[BILIANI+leaf-stop] (J.C.M.). Die IIa. A Central Gaulish potter of the Antonine period for whom there is no independent dating evidence.
30. f. 33 NVMIDI M̄A (Oswald mss.). Presumably Die VIIa, the only one known to give this reading. *Wall System* Benwell, Chesters and Chesters Museum. His only other common die (NVMIDI M̄A) appears on f. 27. The bulk of his work seems to be mid-Antonine.
31. f. 33 PATERATV (J.C.M.). Die IXa. Only otherwise known from Birdoswald. Pateratus began work before A.D. 160, as his stamp appears on f. 27. The bulk of his work seems to be mid-Antonine.
32. f. 37 PATERNFE ret. (Oswald, *Stamps*, 231). Die XIIIa. *Wall System* Benwell (2), Burgh-by-Sands, Carrawburgh, Chesters, Chesters Museum (4), Newcastle, South Shields. *Hinterland* Bainbridge, Binchester (2), Ilkley (4), Malton. Note also this stamp in the Wroxeter Gutter. It seems certain from evidence both in Britain and at Lezoux that this stamp was only in use after A.D. 160.
33. f. 18/31 PROBVSF (J.C.M.). Die Ib. *Scotland* Newstead. *Wall System* Benwell, Great Chesters. Antonine.
34. f. 38 [PVGNI]I-MA (J.C.M.). Die Ib. *Wall System*, Benwell, Chesters Museum. Also Wroxeter Gutter, but the die has (once) been noted on f. 27, and so was probably in use before A.D. 160.
35. f. 33 SACERIMAN (Oswald mss.). Presumably Die IIa, which occurs in the Wroxeter Gutter. Late-Antonine.
36. f. 31 SENN[IVSF] (J.C.M.). Die IIa. This was used before A.D. 160 (once on f. 27) and also appears on the rim of a bowl with

Cinnamus ovolo 5 which is known to have been in use by A.D. 158 (see *C.G.P.* pl. 166, 4 where the stamp is incorrectly restored). Early to mid-Antonine.

37. f. 18/31 SIVIRI . (Oswald, *Stamps*, 419). Die XXXVIIIa. *Wall System* Chesters Museum. Many dishes stamped with this die were in a large deposit of c. A.D. 160-170 at Lezoux.
38. f. 33 SI[IXTIMA] (J.C.M.). Die IXa. *Hinterland* Catterick (2). It also occurs on f. 79.
39. f. 79 SIIXTIM (Oswald, *Stamps*, 299). Probably Die XIIb. *Wall System* Maryport. Both nos. 38 and 39 belong to the potter represented at Pudding Pan Rock. Late-Antonine.
40. f. 31 TAZCILLVSI (J.C.M.). Die IVc. Definitely East Gaulish. Other dies are on f. 32, not made at Lezoux and always late-Antonine.
41. f. 31 VERECVNDI (Recent). Die XIIg. Certainly a die of the Lezoux potter, not itself recorded elsewhere but very similar to others noted from: *Wall System* Chesters (f. 79), Chesters Museum, Housesteads, South Shields. *Hinterland* Malton. Late-Antonine.
42. f. 33 VERTECISAF (J.C.M.). Die IIa. This must be a mid- to late-Antonine die, since it occurs on f. 79.
43. f. 38 [VXXO]PILLI or [VXO]PILLI (Oswald mss.). This could be from any one of four dies.
44. f. 46 Rosette no 173 (J.C.M.). Central Gaulish and Antonine.

Of the forty-four stamps only nos. 2, 6, 12, 17, 25, 29, 31, 33, 36 and 43 could have been used before c. A.D. 160, and most of these belong to potters whose activity continued after A.D. 160 (certainly nos. 2, 6, 12, 17, 31, 36 and 43). Entirely missing are stamps of potters who began work under Hadrian and whose vessels regularly appear on Antonine sites in Scotland. Indeed, links with Scotland are conspicuously rare. It will be noted, too, how many of the dies recur on Hadrian's Wall, where they should belong to the renewed activity of Period Ib (early-Antonine stamps being virtually absent from the Wall system), and also in the hinterland at sites reoccupied in the Antonine period after long intermissions. The several links with the Wroxeter Gutter (after c. A.D. 165) and Pudding Pan Rock (probably after A.D. 170) are also useful.

In view of this it seems that there is now a strong case for

suspecting that Chester-le-Street was not founded before the mid-Antonine period, and that its building was connected with the re-establishment of Hadrian's Wall in Period Ib. A study of the decorated ware from Chester-le-Street is accordingly much to be desired.