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Notes

Brooches and the Cult of Mercury. Nina Crummy writes: The association of plate brooches with temple sites has been recognised for some time, and some brooch types can be associated with varying degrees of confidence to specific Roman or Romano-Celtic deities. Horse-and-rider brooches refer to the Romano-Celtic rider god; horse brooches to the horse goddess Epona; dog brooches to the various gods associated with healing, such as Nodens and Asclepius; panther, amphora- and flagon-shaped brooches to Bacchus; stag brooches perhaps to the woodland god Silvanus or the horned Cernunnos; and wheel and crescent brooches to cults of the sun and moon.[1] Caesar noted that Mercury was the most popular god of all in Gaul, and the high number of small figurines from Britain suggests that this was no less true here.[2] Cockerel brooches clearly represent the god, and this note proposes, on the basis of contextual associations as well as form, that two other brooch types, the shoe sole and the purse, can also be assigned to him. The fly is among the most enigmatic of all the creatures that inspired the makers of brooches, but the find-spots of four examples suggest that this type can also be linked with Mercury.

The association of cockerel brooches with Mercury is assured (FIG. 1, No. 1). The bird was one of his animal companions, the others being the tortoise and the ram or goat, but no detailed study of the associations of cockerel brooches with his cult has yet been attempted. The type is better represented in large towns and *civitas* capitals than in rural sanctuaries, although one was found on the chest of a body buried close to the temple building at Lancing Down, Sussex. Cock bones beneath the skull suggest that the head had been pillowed on a sacrificial bird or the remains of one.[3] This person was certainly a devotee of Mercury and arguably an officiant of his cult at the sanctuary. The inclusion of the brooch and bird corpse (or parts of the corpse) would have been all the more appropriate as one of the god's functions was to escort the souls of the dead to the Underworld.

By necessity broad-brush analyses of social distribution gloss over the complex life and development of settlements, and in the case of plate brooches in particular fail to highlight any association with urban and suburban shrines and temples.[4] It may well be that most or all cockerel brooches were votive deposits, but only a close look at the contexts and associations of excavated examples can bring such details to the surface. There are three cockerel brooches from Essex, all from Colchester. One is in the Pollexfen Collection in the British Museum and has no context, and another was a fragment in grave-fill and is presumably residual, although Mercury's connection with the dead hints otherwise.[5] The third, found close to Temple 10 at Balkerne Lane in the 1970s, is associated with a suburban sanctuary. The head of a cockerel pin, a tortoise figurine, and a Mercury figurine were also found nearby, and more recent excavations by Colchester Archaeological Trust have produced model caducei, a second Mercury figurine, and one of a priestess of either the god or Rosmerta, his consort, confirming that the temple was a focus of the cult.[6] The cockerel-headed pin from Balkerne Lane is unusual, apparently only paralleled at the Sheepen site at Colchester and at Augst, Switzerland.[7] As a cult-object it can be equated with model caducei, and also with an unusual snake-headed pin from Martigny, Switzerland, for which the only known parallel is a snake head also found at Balkerne Lane in the 1970s, a reminder that Mercury could be associated with healing.[8]

1 Ferris 1986; Johns 1996a, 173–9; 1996b; Simpson and Blance 1998; Hattatt 1982, 163.
2 Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.17; Brunaux 1988, 68; Webster 1986, 60.
3 *Gentleman's Magazine* July 1830, 17, pl. 2, B; Smith 1848, 92–4, Grave R.
4 Eckardt 2005, 143–4.
5 British Museum 70.4-2.54; N. Crummy 1983, no. 76.
6 N. Crummy 1983, 142, nos 75, 501, 4266, 4273; P. Crummy 1984, 125; N. Crummy 2006a; Benfield and Crossan in prep.
7 Hawkes and Hull 1947, 333, pl. 100, 21; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1983, 110, S236; 1994, 137, Taf. 87, 236.
8 Kaufmann-Heinimann 1994, 137, Taf. 87, 239; N. Crummy 1983, no. 4274; LIMC VI.2, 750, pl. 306, 544; Thevenot 1968, 88; Green 1976, 31, 204; 1997, 155.

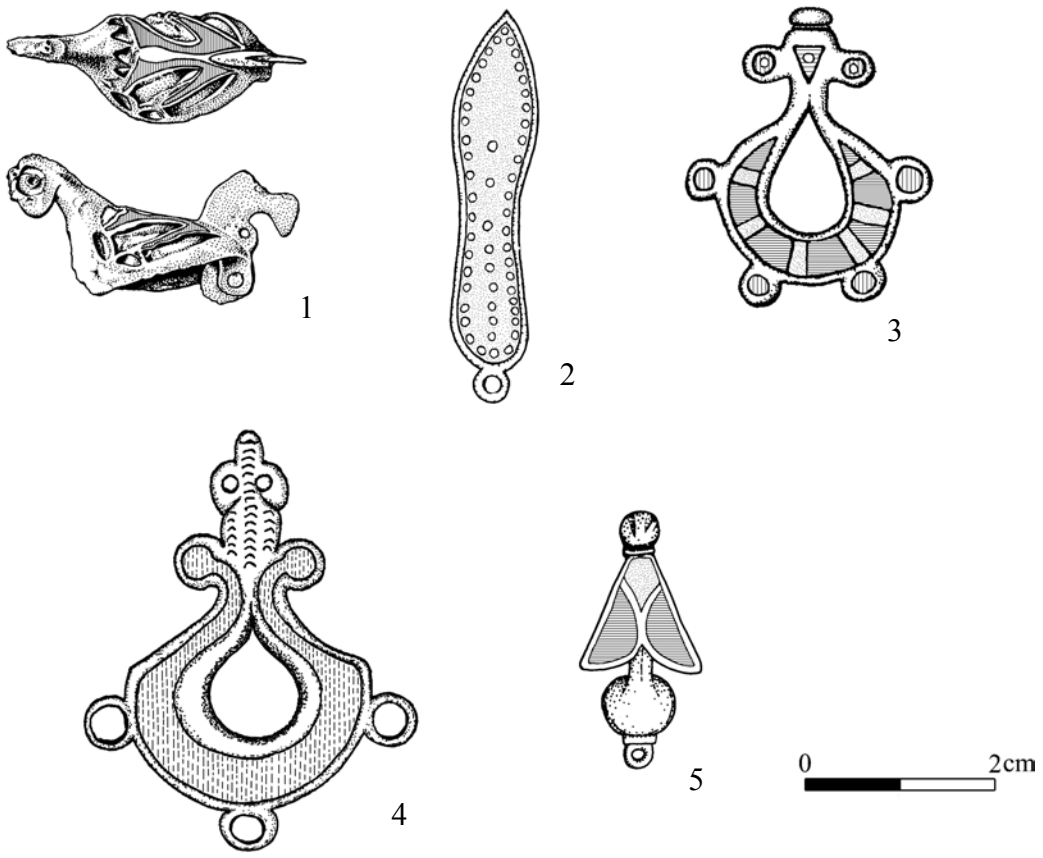

FIG. 1. Cockerel, sandal, purse and fly brooches. Scale 1:1.

Plastic cockerel brooches, as FIG. 1, No. 1, are a British type, while the continental form is flat.[9] In contrast, shoe- or sandal-sole brooches, usually decorated to show a pattern of hobnails, are widespread across the northern provinces (FIG. 1, No. 2).[10] Suggested interpretations of their meaning have concentrated on travel, and perhaps travel undertaken by pilgrims, but as yet they have not been connected to a particular deity, even though we might expect that any symbolic meaning would be instantly recognisable to a contemporary audience.[11] Although she did not incorporate shoe-sole brooches into her analysis, van Driel Murray has explored the symbolic potential of shoes and footprints, as well as the deposition of shoes as part of rituals of commencement and termination.[12] However, to date no study has noted that the only god whose footwear is a defining characteristic is Mercury the patron of travellers, identified by his

[9] Plastic cockerel brooches: Hull forthcoming, types 214, 275. Flat cockerel brooches: Feugère 1985, types 29a18, 29a21–24; Hattatt 1982, nos 163–4. The two flat cockerels published by Hattatt were supposedly found 'near Ipswich'. They may perhaps be continental imports, but the absence of any others from Britain suggests rather that the provenance is false.

[10] Feugère 1985, 377–80, type 28b, Feugère lists 91 shoe-sole brooches across the Northern provinces from Britain to Pannonia and beyond the frontier.

[11] Johns 1996b, 107–8; Cool 1998, 361.

[12] Van Driel Murray 1999.

winged sandals, winged hat, winged and snake-entwined caduceus, and money bag, which may also be fitted with wings.[13] The absence of wings from the shoe-sole brooches is no reason to disassociate them from the god, as they can be interpreted as the human, pedestrian form of his divine flying footwear.

The 50 shoe-sole brooches from Britain (this figure includes those reported under the Portable Antiquities Scheme) have a wide distribution embracing all site-types. The greatest concentration is a group of eight found at the shrine on Nornour, Isles of Scilly, among a large assemblage of brooches described by Butcher as offerings from mariners working the route between the Continent and the Bristol Channel.[14] Pipeclay figurines point to the worship of a Mother Goddess at Nornour rather than Mercury, but sacred sites were not necessarily exclusive to one particular cult, as a horse-and-rider brooch from the same site demonstrates. Bent shoe-sole brooches from Ashwell in Hertfordshire and Meopham in Kent are also clearly *ex votos*.[15]

The greater number of shoe-soles to cockerels in Britain (50:28) suggests that the comparative lightness and simplicity of shoe-soles made them cheaper to produce and consequently a more successful product. The number found in Britain compares well with the 56 listed by Feugère from France, Belgium, and Luxembourg, with both groups adding to the evidence for the popularity of Mercury in Britain and Gaul. The contexts of three shoe-sole brooches deserve particular attention. One is recorded as having been found on the chest of a skeleton at Great Waldingfield, Suffolk, not in itself evidence for the cult of Mercury but nevertheless strongly resonant of the Lancing Down cockerel brooch and the god's role as psychopomp.[16] The second has the closest connection of all with Mercury as it was found close to Colchester's Temple 10.[17] The third was among the votive objects from London's Middle Walbrook assemblage, together with a caduceus that has sometimes been described as a hairpin but is, along with the cockerel-headed pins mentioned above, undoubtedly the Mercurial equivalent of the model spears offered to Mars.[18] There is a similar caduceus from Colchester's Temple 10 and other examples from the Continent, and there are other variant forms from both Temple 10 and the sanctuary at Uley in Gloucestershire, another focus of the cult of Mercury.[19] Another London find worth noting in this respect is a ceramic lamp from Southwark in the form of a foot wearing a nailed and thonged sandal.[20] Bailey has drawn attention to the military nature of sites producing these lamps, such as Cologne, Xanten and Vindonissa, but the Southwark lamp points to the close link between commerce and the Roman army.[21] Mercury would certainly have been popular in the emporium of Roman London.

A third brooch type that can be assigned to devotees of Mercury on the basis of its form is the purse or money-bag, first recognised by Mackreth (FIG. 1, Nos 3–4). There are only four known examples, from Cramond, Colchester, Coton, and Woodyates, and in this small sample none is apparently directly associated with a shrine.[22] The Woodyates brooch shows an animal head protruding from the neck of the purse, perhaps a link to the caduceus with its snake-head terminals. All these brooches have lugs around the lower perimeter, which may be inspired by Mercury figures with winged money-bags but are more likely to reflect a style current among disc brooches in general. An enamelled pendant, without lugs, from Nornour is similar to the purse brooches, but would have been inverted when worn.[23]

The symbolism of fly brooches, and of fly images in general, has so far remained obscure. They might have been used apotropaically to ward off disease, as suggested by an amber fly pendant from

[13] Lindgren 1980, 39–45; pl. 12, 17; Leech 1986, fig. 14.
[14] Hull 1968, 58, fig. 23, 216–23; Butcher 1993a.
[15] Portable Antiquities Scheme database: www.finds.org.uk, BH-F6F7D2, KENT2015.
[16] Ashmolean Museum 1927.350.
[17] WA 55024.1, 24.
[18] Museum of London 20780; Merrifield 1965, fig. 137, 5; Cool 1990, fig. 11, 3.
[19] N. Crummy 2006a, 59–60; Fleischer 1967, 192, Taf. 130, 278b; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1983, 67, no. 148, 126, no. S97; Henig 1993, 103, fig. 89.
[20] Wardle 2002, 218, <R16>, fig. 28.
[21] Bailey 1988, 457.
[22] Cramond: Rae and Rae 1974, fig. 14, 2; Mackreth 1994, 169, under no. 77. Colchester: N. Crummy 1983, fig. 14, 88. Coton: Hull forthcoming, no. 8047 (unclassified); Cambridge University Museum. Woodyates: Hull forthcoming, no. 4348 (unclassified); British Museum 92.9-1.1959.
[23] Dudley 1968, 22, fig. 8. 23, where it is identified as a seal-box lid.

Silchester,[24] but a complete fly brooch found near Temple 10 at Colchester invites a direct, if jocular, connection with Mercury's powers of flight (FIG. 1, No. 5). A fly brooch from the Mercury sanctuary at Uley adds support to this seemingly frivolous idea, and there is another example from the Farley Heath temple in Surrey. The recovery of a fly brooch and a hare brooch from a well-furnished female cremation grave dated to the mid–late second century at Weston Turville, Buckinghamshire, parallels the Lancing Down and Great Waldingfield brooches and provides further support for association with Mercury.[25]

Plate brooches, indeed brooches of any form, are not common in burials after the first century A.D.[26] Zoomorphic and skeuomorphic brooches in burials are therefore extremely rare, with the only other examples recorded in the Hull corpus being three water-bird brooches, one in an amphora burial at Colchester and a pair in a grave at York.[27] This scarcity emphasises the significance of the selection for burial of all the creatures represented on these brooches and throws into sharp relief the connections to Mercury of the two brooches from Lancing Down and Great Waldingfield, and probably also of the Weston Turville fly. The significance of hare and water-bird brooches remains to be fully explored, but the birds may refer to local deities of rivers and springs, while the hare is primarily associated with images of huntsmen, a context that bears connotations of both death and fecundity.[28]

It might be thought odd that neither cockerel nor shoe-sole brooches were found among the many cult-objects associated with Mercury at Uley, but their absence may be explained by other factors. Although the spread of both types is wide in Southern Britain, they are not common in the West. Only Cirencester produced any within Gloucestershire, one cockerel and two shoe-soles.[29] The latter are not only unique in Gloucestershire, but they are also the only ones in the West, from Dorset up to Shropshire and across Wales. There are five cockerel brooches from towns or military sites in the same area, but they are comparatively scarce as rural finds. The absence of both types from the Uley rural sanctuary can therefore be seen as conforming to wider patterns of social and regional context.

In summary, the popularity of Mercury, described by Henig as the most amiable of gods and the one best-disposed to mankind,[30] is reflected in the considerable numbers of cockerel and shoe-sole brooches so far found in Britain. The purse is a less striking image, which no doubt accounts for so few brooches of this type having been made, but the object is undoubtedly an attribute of Mercury. The recovery of most examples of these brooch types from towns obscures their contextual associations with temples, but Temple 10 at Colchester provides the required stratigraphic link and introduces, together with Uley, the possibility that fly brooches were also associated with the god. Grave finds of these types are few in number, but the three recovered represent nearly half the total number of zoomorphic and skeuomorphic plate brooches from graves in Britain, emphasising that Mercury's role as mediator between gods and men extended into and beyond the grave.

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[24] Amber pendants were worn by young children as both a protection against fever and a cure (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 37.48–51). They have been found in various forms, many zoomorphic, with the protective quality of the mineral enhanced by the amuletic significance of the form (Bertrand 2003, 71; N. Crummy 2006b, 124–5, fig. 75.12).

[25] Hull forthcoming, type 168; Colchester Archaeological Trust, 2001.61, SF 246; Butcher 1993b, 153, fig. 124, 12; Waugh 1961, 109, fig. 3, 13.

[26] Philpott 1991, 128–9.

[27] Hull forthcoming, nos 0617, 3563–4; Hull 1963, 145, fig. 81, 1; RCHM 1962, 91, pl. 34, bottom.

[28] The hare is also associated with Andraste, the British war goddess; Green 1997, 185.

[29] Corinium Museum A.27, C.220 and one unnumbered.

[30] Henig 1978, 70.

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Military Bath-houses in Britain — a Comment. Louise Revell writes: The long history of excavation of permanent military garrisons has demonstrated that bathing facilities were considered an essential part of military life in Roman Britain. With examples from the South Coast to the Antonine Wall, it is easy to approach baths as an expected part of a fort or fortress, and leave it at that. However, if we look at these examples more closely, it is clear that the precise detail of their structures is more variable, and it is this variability I want to explore here. Discussions of bathing in the Roman Empire have tended to downplay military bath-houses. The fortress baths are included in discussions of the evolution of the imperial style *thermae* of Rome, bridging the evidentiary gap between late Republican baths and the monumental Baths of Trajan.[31] The auxiliary bath-houses are even less well served, with their analysis confined to the identification of parallels within the row and block typologies, or the attempt to identify the units of measurement underpinning their dimensions. In discussions of the significance of bathing, both legionary and auxiliary bath-houses are almost completely ignored.

However, from the recent body of literature on the social role of bathing, it is clear that bath-houses (and in particular the Imperial *thermae*) played an important role in the negotiation of social status during the late Republican and early Imperial period. Janet DeLaine has argued for a change between the Republic and the early Imperial period, articulated in the textual sources and reflected in the archaeological remains.[32] During this period, bathing changed from focusing on cleanliness and hygiene to incorporating wider leisure activities and more opportunities for social interaction. Architecturally, this is not only reflected in the increasing size of the bath-buildings, but also in the facilities which allowed bathers to do more than merely clean themselves. Thus proportionately, the space allocated to hot pools decreases, whilst the unheated spaces increase;[33] this is accompanied by an increase in size, opulence, and complexity of layout, with reduplication of rooms and multiple permutations of route through the various stages of bathing. This change was not uniform, and the Imperial period is marked by variability in bathing facilities, with small private baths remaining alongside the larger public ones.[34] Bathing was an integral part of the routines of the élite day within the urban sphere,[35] with an emphasis not only on where one bathed, but also on markers of social status such as soft towels, perfumed oils, and personal slaves.[36] Discussions have focused almost exclusively on the evidence from the civilian sphere,

31 For example, DeLaine 1992, 257–9.
32 DeLaine 1992; Seneca, *Ep. Moralia* 86.9.6.
33 DeLaine 1992, 259–60.
34 DeLaine 1999, 8.
35 Laurence 1994, 124–32.
36 Nielsen 1993, 119–48; Fagan 1999, 12–39.