Religious Acculturation and Assimilation

in

Belgic Gaul and *Aquitania*

from

the Roman Conquest

until

the End of the Second Century CE:

selected aspects.

Volume II: Appendices

Alasdair John Malcolm Watson

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Appendix One

Notes

Chapter One
Problems and Presuppositions

[1] **Bloemers 1983**:161; **Bloemers 1989**:178; **Millett 1991**:35.
[2] **Woolf 1991**:16.
[3] **Bloemers 1983**:161; **Bloemers 1989**:178.
[4] **Millett 1991**:37.
[5] **Badian**:77-78; **Garnsey & Saller**:20-42; **Millett 1991**:37.
[6] **Millett 1991**:38.
[7] **Woolf 1991**:21.
[8] **Woolf 1998**:7.
[9] **Woolf 1991**:16.
[10] **Woolf 1991**:17.
[11] **Woolf 1991**:17; **Woolf 1998**:7.
[12] **Woolf 1991**:18; **Woolf 1998**:7.
[13] **Harris, W.V.**:47; **Slofstra**:71; **Reece**:30; **Millett 1991**:37; **Millett, Roymans & Slofstra**:1; **Haselgrove 1991**:45 and 46.
[14] **Slofstra**:71.
[15] **Bloemers 1989**:178.
[16] **Haselgrove 1987**:105.
[17] **Slofstra**:71.
[18] **Woolf 1991**:28.
[19] **Bloemers 1983**:16.
[20]Examples from Southern Africa are the Secretary for Native Affairs, who administered policy regarding the black indigenous peoples, Native Customary Law, which was not applicable to white settlers, and certain military units in the colony of Natal in South Africa composed of persons from various indigenous tribes being called the Natal Native Contingent, Natal Native Horse or Natal Native Pioneer Corps.
[21] Ironically, with reference to the indigenous inhabitants of America, it is now not only acceptable, but even obligatory to use the word "native".
[22] **Slofstra**:71.
[23] **Woolf 1998**:219.
[24] **Woolf 1998**:230.
[25] **Woolf 1998**:208-209.
[26] **Geertz**:40.
[27] **Darda, Motykova & Rybova**:200.
[28] **Brunaux 1991a**:10.
[29] **Bertin**:68.
[30] **Oelmann**:174-181.
[31] **Bertin**:69
[32] **Brunaux 1996**:152; **Birkhan**:826.
[33] **Freeman**, D. *Margaret Mead and Samoa: the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* Harvard University Press 1983.
[34] **Bloemers 1989**: 176.
[35] **King 1991**:221.
[36] **Haselgrove 1987**:105.
[37] **Bloemers 1989**:176.
[38] **Crumley**: The title of the diagram is misleading giving the impression that the interpretations are based on Caesar's accounts, when, in the case of Crumley, they are specifically based on archaeological, not just literary, evidence.
[39] **Haselgrove 1987**:109.
[40] **King 1991**:220 –241.
[41] **King 1991**:221.

[42] **King 1991**:221.
[43] **King 1991**:221.
[44] **King 1991**:221.
[45] **King 1991**:222.
[46] **King 1991**:221-222.
[47] **Webster, J. 1992**:29.
[48] **Webster, J. 1992**:29.
[49] **King 1991**:223.
[50] Judaism's doctrine of the Resurrection and the operation of certain practices and rituals as a result of external changes, such as the development of the synagogue during the Exile, the lapsing of sacrifices after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE and the introduction of new festivals, such as Purim and Hanukkah, are some examples of change. It is as difficult to write of a pure, Celtic religion as it is to write of a pure Judaism, which once had the three groups, Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes, and now has Orthodox, Reformed and the mystical element Kabbalah, or a pure Islam, which, soon after Mohammed's death, split into Sunni and Shi'ite with the mystical movement Sufism, or a pure Christianity, with Roman Catholicism and the multitude of post-Reformation denominations in the West alone, quite apart from the Eastern variants.
[51] **King 1991**:223.
[52] **Bober**:13; **Lindsay**:738; **Thévenot 1962**:1476-1477; **Wightman 1985**:178.
[53] **Duval 1954**:6; **Benoît 1959**:9; **de Vries 1960**:324; **Thévenot 1962**:1476-1477; **Green, M.J. 1984**:262; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:33 and 36; **Brunaux**:52and 58; **Raftery, B. 1994**:178.
[54] **Duval 1954**:6; **Benoît 1959**:50.
[55] **Thévenot 1962**:1476-1477.
[56] **Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux-Guyonvarc'h**:449.
[57] **Derks**:81.
[58] *CIL* VI.2104.
[59] It is possible to reconcile the two functions by saying that Mars was a Protector god (**Lambrechts 1959**:127; **Benoît 1970**:95).
[60] **Derks**:115.
[61] **Derks**:115.
[62] *P-W* 78. In 433 BCE a temple was vowed to Apollo (**Livy** IV.25.3) and it was dedicated in 431 BCE (**Livy** IV.29.7), probably in the laurel-grove in the *Prata Flaminia* (*P-W* 78).
[63] **Ogilvie**:114.
[64] **Ogilvie**:29 and 114.
[65] Liebeschuetz (**Liebeschuetz**:83) holds that his rôle as a god of healing was minor.
[66] **Simon**:170.
[67] **Simon**:169.
[68] **Simon**:172.
[69] **Simon**:168.
[70] **Simon**:173.
[71] **Simon**:168.
[72] **Dillon**:63.
[73] **Mackey**:68.

Chapter Two
Sources and Method

[1] **Vendryes 1948**:239.
[2] **King, A. 1990**:132.
[3] **Brunaux 1995b**:140.
[4] **Lambrechts 1942**:19; **Green, M.J. 1995b**:473; **Wait 1985**:195.
[5] **Bober**:14.
[6] **Vendryes 1948**:252; **Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux-Guyonvarc'h**:448-449; **Duval 1982**:93; **Brunaux 1986**:71.
[7] **Clark & Byrne**:7.
[8] **Yinger**:7.
[9] **Clark & Byrne**:6.
[10] **Spiro**:96.
[11] In the archaeological context, prehistory is the study of a period of history for which there are no written records; a prehistoric culture is a culture about which nothing contemporaneous with has been written. Proto-history is the study of a history of a people written by people of a contemporary, but different culture; a proto-historic culture is a culture, which has nothing written about itself, but is the subject of literature of a contemporary, but different culture.
[12] It may be said that "rituals and practices" can be considered material because they involve physical objects. But, while beliefs are expressed physically through rituals and practices, the actual rituals and practices, once performed, leave no remains except the objects in which and with which they were performed; but these objects are necessary for the reconstruction of the ritual.
[13] **Brunham**:124.
[14] **Ross 1986**:104.
[15] **Ross 1986**:104.
[16] **Webster, J. 1992**:35.
[17] The following are a few. It was manufactured in the 4th or 3rd century BCE (**Green, M.J. 1989a**:8) or the 2nd-1st century BCE (**Bergquist & Taylor**:21 and 22; **Taylor**:67; **Green, M.J. 1993**:14) or the 2nd or 1st century BCE (**Bober**:15 and 20) or the 1st century BCE (**Krause**:VII; **Lambrechts 1942**:180; **Benoît 1955**:27; **Jenkins**:61; **Hatt 1966a**:11; **Powell 1971**:205; **Olmsted 1976**:95; **Olmsted 1979**:53 and 99-102; **Powell 1980**:182; **Duval 1982**:102; **Gricourt & Hollard 1990**:290; **Olmsted 1994**:4; **Green, M.J. 1996a**:24, 142 and 147) or the Augustan period (**Duval 1957**:19) 2nd – 3rd century CE (**Voss**:413) or in the imperial epoch (**Benoît 1970**:93) or even in the 7th century CE (**Reinach**: 456-458.) on the lower part of the Danube (**Drexel 1915**:1-36; **Lambrechts 1942**:15; **Benoït 1955**:32; **Duval 1957**:19; **Powell 1980**:182; **Bergquist & Taylor**:11 and 22; **Taylor**:68) or on the middle or lower Danube (**Grenier 1945**:281; **Megaw** No.209) or in Thrace (**Green, M.J. 1989a**:8) or Pontus (**Voss**:367-414) or in northwest Gaul between the Loire and the Somme (**Olmsted 1979**:101 and 102) or in the Jutland, the Cimbric Chersonnese (**Benoît 1970**:93) for Celts, such as the Scordisci (**Grenier1945**:281; **Bergquist & Taylor**:22; **Taylor**:68), or the Cimbri (**Bergquist & Taylor**:22) with images which are either definitely Celtic (**Olmsted 1976**:95**; Powell 1980**:182; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:8; **Green, M.J. 1993**:14), too idiosyncratically Celtic to be other than Celtic (**Green, M.J. 1989a**:8) of Celtic inspiration (**Duval 1957**:19; **Green, M.J. 1993**:14) or are a combination of Graeco-Roman themes with indigenous figures (**Benoît 1970**:93) or are Thracian (**Bergquist & Taylor**:16-21) or Mithraic (**Voss**:367-414; **Laet** & **Lambrechts**:304-306) or Indian (**Taylor**:69-71).
[18] **Vendryes 1948**:252.
[19] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:103; **Green, M.J. 1996b**:30.
[20] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:103.
[21] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:103.
[22] **Duval 1957**:56.
[23] **Krüger 1941**:55.
[24] **Krüger 1941**:7
[25] **Krüger 1941**:12
[26] **Krüger 1941**:55
[27] **Krüger 1941**:31
[28] **Krüger 1941**:31
[29] **Krüger 1941**:33
[30] **de Vries 1961**:113.

[31] **Vertet**:105.
[32] **Vertet**:106.
[33] **Vertet**:97.
[34] **Vertet**:105.
[35] **Vertet**:97-98.
[36] **Vertet**:106.
[37] **Vertet**:107.
[38] **Vertet**:101, 107 and 109
[39] **Vertet**:109.
[40] **Vertet**:109.
[41] **Reinach 1894b**:198.
[42] **Vendryes 1948**:252.
[43] **Reinach 1913**:255; **Lambrechts 1942**:151; **Bober**:26; **Duval 1954**:7; **Jenkins**:61 and 67; **Hatt 1965**:90; **Kimmig**:136; **Ward 1970**:129. However, the possibility that a cauldron, lost in the 1st century BC, preserved almost intact and then found by accident in the 19th century, should depict the very scene mentioned by Scholiasts writing in the 10th century AD is too remarkable.
[44] **de Vries 1961**:47-48.
[45] **Le Roux 1955a**:45 and 48.
[46] **Le Roux 1965b**:387.
[47] It may be the Continental equivalent of the scene at the Battle of Mag Tured, in which the god of healing placed mortally wounded or dead warriors into a cauldron to heal or revive them; although de Vries (**de Vries 1961**:47) considers such an interpretation to be perverse, the line of horsemen and line of infantrymen with a carynx-player on the plate seems to support this idea.
[48] **Olmsted 1976**:95.
[49] **Hatt 1965**: 96-105; **Hatt 1966a**:11-19; **Hatt 1970**:245- .
[50] **York**:86-87.
[51] **Olmsted 1976**:96-103.
[52] **Olmsted 1976**:96-103; **Olmsted 1979**:211-223; **Olmsted 1994**:4.
[53] **Vendryes 1948**:252.
[54] **Le Roux**:
[55] **Ross 1986**:104.
[56] **Thévenot 1946**:100.
[57] **Green, M.J. 1995b**:473.
[58] **Bober**:13.
[59] **Champion**:17.
[60] **Le Roux 1955a**:34.
[61] **Vendryes 1948**:241.
[62] **Le Roux 1955a**:57.
[63] **Wait 1985**:193.
[64] **Wait 1985**:193.
[65] **Wait 1985**:193.
[66] **Wait 1985**:192.
[67] **Wait 1985**:192; **Green, M.J. 1998**:174.
[68] **Nash**:119-122.
[69] **Wait 1985**:192.
[70] **Green, M.J. 1998**:174.
[71] **Wait 1985**:193.
[72] **Bober**:13; **Dunham**:110.
[73] **Howard**:445.
[74] **Wait 1985**:193.
[75]It is interesting that even modern authors can fall prey to making value judgements; Green (**Green, M.J. 1997**:76; **Green, M.J. 1995**:172,174, 175, 176, 178 and 182; **Aldhouse Green 2001b**:140) displays ethnocentrism by calling human sacrifice "ritual murder".
[76]This consisted of the separate ownership of scattered strips of land, each strip of one owner lying between those of different owners to ensure everyone had a piece of good as well as indifferent land, and the strips were reallocated among the farmers at intervals (**Smout**:121-122).
[77] **Wait 1985**:194.
[78] **Webster, J. 1992**:103.

[79] **Webster, J. 1992**:102.
[80] **Webster, J. 1992**:103.
[81] **Chadwick 1970**:146; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:36; **Green, M.J. 1993**:8 and 14; **James**:142 and 144.
[82] **Hartog**:247.
[83] **Henig 1986**: .
[84] **Webster, J. 1992**:78.
[85] **Lambrechts 1942**:17.
[86] **Webster, J. 1992**:78.
[87] Greek writers gave the names of Greek deities to Egyptian ones (**Hdt**.II.42.2 and 8, 47.2, 50.1, 144.2 and 145.1 (**Vendryes 1948**:262); **Arr**.II.16.2). Herodotus also applies *interpretatio Graeca* to the deities of the Assyrians, Arabians and Persians (**Hdt**.I.131.3), the Libyans (**Hdt**.II.50.3) and the Scythians (**Hdt**.IV.59.1-2); sometimes Herodotus actually includes the name of the indigenous deity (**Hdt**.I.131.3, II.42.2, 42.8 and IV.59.1-2). Megasthenes practises *interpretatio Graeca* with respect to the deities of India (**Strab**.XV.1.58), Strabo applies *interpretatio Graeca* to the Carmanians (**Strab**. XIV.2.14) and the Lusitanians (**Strab**. III.3.6) and various ancient authors apply *interpretatio Graeca* to the patron deity of Tyre (**Diod**.V.20.2; XX.14.1; **Arr**.II.16.1), who is known to have been the god Melkart (**Vendryes 1948**:262), and of Carthage (**Diod**.XX.14.4.). Curtius Rufus uses *interpretatio Romana* also to say that the patron deity of Tyre was Hercules (**Curt**.IV.2.2) and that the Tyrians worshipped Neptune (**Curt**.IV.4.5). *Interpretatio Graeca* was even applied to Celtic deities: Polybius equates a deity of the Insubrian Gauls with Athene (**Polyb**.II. 32.5-6); and Plutarch refers to a Celtic deity as Chronos (**Plut**.*De def.or*.18; *De fac*.26; *De Super*.XIII; *De Sera Num.Vind*.552A and *Reg. et Imp. Apoph*.175A). Examples of *interpretatio Romana* regarding Gallic deities other than Caesar can be found in Florus, who says that the Insubrian Gauls worshipped Mars and Vulcan (**Florus**.I.ii.4.4 and I.ii.4.5) and Ammianus Marcellinus, who says that the Scordisci sacrificed to Bellona and Mars (**Amm.Marc**.XXVII.4.4); Tacitus uses *interpretatio Romana* with reference to German deities (**Tac**.*Germ*.XLIII.4), Jordanes to Gothic (**Jordanes**.*Get*.V) and Tertullian and Minucius Felix to the supreme Carthaginian deity (**Tert**.*Apol*.IX.2; **Min.Fel**.*Oct*.XXX.3).
[88] **Webster, J. 1992**:79.
[89] **Hartog**:242.
[90] **Webster, J. 1992**:80.
[91] **Henig 1984**:37; **Rankin**:259.
[92] **Webster, J. 1992**:80.
[93] **Webster, J. 1992**:79.
[94] **Webster, J. 1992**:80.
[95] **Webster, J. 1995**:447.
[96] **Webster, J. 1992**:146.
[97] **Webster, J. 1992**:146; **Webster, J. 1995**:446.
[98] **Webster, J. 1995**:447.
[99] **Lovejoy & Boas**:1.
[100] **Lovejoy & Boas**:7.
[101] **Lovejoy & Boas**:9.
[102] **Lovejoy & Boas**:9-10.
[103] **Lovejoy & Boas**:10.
[104] **Chadwick 1966**:16, 28 and 30.
[105] **Chadwick 1966**:51-68.
[106] **Chadwick 1966**:84.
[107] Caesar, who had spent six years in Gaul, Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, are all near contemporaries (**Chadwick 1966**:7), Pomponius Mela, who also drew on Caesar, and Lucan (**Chadwick 1966**:1).
[108] Alexander Cornelius Polyhistor, Timagenes, Hippolytus and Cyril and Clement of Alexandria.
[109] **Chadwick 1966**:1.
[110] **Piggott 1968**:92.
[111] **Chadwick 1966**:84-85.
[112] **Chadwick 1966**:90.
[113] **Piggott 1968**:92.
[114] **Piggott 1968**:92. In Lovejoy and Boas' applications, the primitive cultures may be known to exist or to have existed or are reputed to exist or to have existed, but may only be imaginary, and the civilised people making either form of description have political or moral motivations for them.
[115] **Piggott 1968**:92.

[116] **Piggott 1968**:93.
[117] **Piggott 1968**:93.
[118] **Bal**:100. The majority of sources containing information about Celtic religion are in a narrative form. Therefore, it is both appropriate and beneficial to apply to these sources an approach originating in narratology. A principle in narratology is that reported details are necessary for the reconstruction of the ritual. Another principle in narratology is that something is reported or events are presented in a 'vision', that is from a standpoint or an angle (**Bal**:100); no matter how objective the reporter may be, there will always be an interpretation, no matter how sub-conscious, arising out of many factors, on the report and this interpretation will be different from any other objective report of the same facts. This is especially the case with Classical authors, "classical writers have to be used with caution; they are biased by what interested them, by choice or chance of recording and by cultural separation, ignorance and consequential misinterpretation." (**Green, M.J. 1993**:14). A means of discerning the interpretation, that is of piercing this 'vision' is called focalization. Focalization is defined as "the relation between the vision and that which is 'seen', perceived." (**Bal**:100). The focalizor is the person who provides the interpretation and therefore the narrative (**Bal**:102). The way a focalizor presents details can reveal information about the focalizor (**Bal**:106). Due to a variety of focalizations, depending on the source, aspects of the religion of the Gauls, such as their beliefs, their deities and their practices, cannot be relied on without critical analysis. An example of this is the statement by Diodorus that the Druids, in believing that the human soul is immortal and can enter a new body, followed Pythagoras (**Diod**.V.28.6.).While this Druidic doctrine is mentioned by Caesar (**Caes**.*B.G.*VI.14.5), he does not mention Pythagoras. Diodorus is later than Caesar and, more importantly, did not travel among the Gauls; consequently he has focalized their beliefs in a Noble Savage manner and has portrayed them as barbarian philosophers, capable of thought equal to Greeks. Simultaneously, however, when he claims that the Druids followed Pythagoras, he, being an urbanised Greek, has focalized their belief in an ethnocentric manner and basically says that, while capable of wisdom, the Druids still got their ideas from a civilised Greek.
[119] **Wait 1985**:194; **Webster, J. 1992**:84-87.
[120] **Haselgrove 1987**:105; **Fitzpatrick**:27; **Green, M.J. 1993**:7.
[121] **Rankin**:125.
[122] **Stevens**:167-179.
[123] **Stevens**:8-16 and 16-18.
[124] **Webster, J. 1992**:25.
[125] **Fitzpatrick**:28.
[126] **Crumley**:75.
[127] **Crumley**:71.
[128] **Deonna 1958**:8.
[129] **Sergent**:392.
[130] **Jullian 1903**:155.
[131] **Lambrechts 1942**:18.
[132] **Duval 1957**:22.
[133] **Duval 1954**:7.
[134] **Duval 1954**:17.
[135] **Le Roux 1955a**:36.
[136] **Le Roux 1955a**:46.
[137] **Le Roux 1955a**:36.
[138] **Le Roux 1955a**:48.
[139] **Le Roux 1955a**:51.
[140] **Deonna 1958**:22.
[141] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:66.
[142] **Le Roux 1955a**:35.
[143] **Le Roux 1955a**:36.
[144] **Thévenot 1957b**:448; **Deonna 1958**:12.
[145] *mitti ibi ut suffocaretur* (St Reine) and *demittitur ut ibi suffocetur* (*Comm.Schol.Bern.ad Luc.ad* I.445).
[146] **Jullian 1906-1907**:186.
[147] **Bayet**:77; **Grenier 1945**:355; **Vendryes 1948**:315; **Le Roux 1955a**: 36, 48 and 56; **Duval 1957**:24; **MacCana**:29; **Ward 1970**:134; **Sergent**:397.
[148] **Thévenot 1957b**:448.

[149] **Duval 1954**:17.
[150] *in caput demittitur*.
[151] **Duval 1958-59**:50.
[152] **Duval 1958-59**:51.
[153] **Deonna 1958**:19 and 21.
[154] **Deonna 1958**:12.
[155] **Deonna 1958**:26.
[156] **Deonna 1958**:22-23.
[157] **Deonna 1958**:23.
[158] **Deonna 1958**:25.
[159] **Deonna 1958**:22.
[160] **Le Roux**, F. "Sur quelques sacrifices et rites sacrificiels celtiques sans effusion de sang", *Ogam-Tradition celtique, Études indo-européennes* 1 (1983-1984), 95-110.
[161] **King, A. 1990**:137.
[162] **Sergent**:399.
[163] **Sergent**:397.
[164] **Green, M.J. 1993**:9.
[165] **Gantz**:20-27.
[166] **Wait 1985**:211.
[167] **Olmsted 1994**:3.
[168] **Wait 1985**:211.
[169]**Gantz**:22.
[170] **Wait 1985**:211.
[171] **MacCana**:17.
[172] **Piggott 1968**:99.
[173] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:15.
[174] **Piggott 1968**:100.
[175] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:71.
[176] **Chadwick 1970**:172; **Piggott 1968**:199; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:15.
[177] **Wait 1985**:212; **Webster, J. 1992**:16.
[178] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:15.
[179] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1986a**:33.
[180] **Jackson**:52; **Piggott 1968**:100.
[181] **Jackson**:6-7.
[182] **Jackson**:52.
[183] **Champion**:11.
[184] **Loth**:205.
[185] **Sjoestedt-Jonval**:1-77; **Sjoestedt**: xiv-xv, 17 and 19; **Thévenot 1946**:100; **Heichelheim & Housman**:305-316; **Vendryes 1948**:253, 254 and 318; **Benoît 1955**:27; **Duval 1957**:16-17; **Duval 1977**:143; **Le Roux 1967a**: 271 and 290; **Chadwick 1970**:172; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1986a**:33; **Sergent**:391; **Raftery, B. 1994**:178. Le Roux and Guyonvarc'h (**Le Roux**, F. & **Guyonvarc'h**, C.-J. *Les Druides* Paris 1986) make great use of vernacular sources in their study of Druids.
[186] **Bober**:14; **Piggott 1968**: 21, 23 and 100; **Linduff**:818; **Wait 1985**:210, 212, 213 and 213; **Ross 1986**:104; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:16 and 17; **Nosenko**:102-103; **Green, M.J. 1993**:9; **Green, M.J. 1995b**:481; **Green, M.J. 1996a**:149; **Cunliffe 1997**:183.
[187] **Brunaux 2004**:90.
[188] **Fitzpatrick**:28; **Gricourt & Hollard**:275; **Webster, J. 1992**:15, 19 and 251.
[189] **Wait 1985**:212.
[190] **Piggott 1968**:23; **Wait 1985**:212; **Cunliffe 1997**:183.
[191] **Cunliffe 1997**:183.
[192] **Piggott 1968**:23.
[193] **Bober**:14.
[194] **Duval 1957**:5; **Sjoestedt**:36.
[195] **Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux-Guyonvarc'h 1986a**: 447.
[196] **Wait 1985**:212.
[197] **Hubert**, H. "Le mythe d'Epona" in *Mélanges Linguistiques offerts à M. J. Vendryès*, Paris 1925, 187-198.
[198] **Lambrechts 1950**:103.

[199] **de Vries 1960**:333.
[200] **Green, M.J. 1993**:16.
[201] **Bober**:14; **Linduff**:818.
[202] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:15.
[203] **Bober**:14.
[204] **Green, M.J. 1995b**:481.
[205] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:16.
[206] **Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux-Guyonvarc'h 1986b**:447.
[207] **Le Roux 1955a**:33.
[208] **Wait 1985**:212.
[209] **Jackson**:43-55; **MacCana**:14-16 and 131-137.
[210] **Wait 1985**:212.
[211] **O'Rahilly**:xiv.
[212] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:15.
[213] **Wait 1985**:212.
[214] **Jackson**:7 and 47.
[215] **Jackson**:47-48.
[216] **Jackson**:47.
[217] **Jackson**:46.
[218] **Jackson**:47-48.
[219] **Jackson**:48.
[220] **Webster, J. 1992**:18.
[221] **Wait 1985**:212.
[222] **MacCana**:14-15; **Gantz**:18-20.
[223] **Webster, J. 1992**:17.
[224] **Wait 1985**:193.
[225] **Piggott 1968**:22; **Webster, J. 1992**:18.
[226] **Piggott 1968**:22-23; **Webster, J. 1992**:17; **Cunliffe 1997**:183.
[227] **Piggott 1968**:23; **Webster, J. 1992**:18.
[228] **Jackson**:52.
[229] **Mallory**, J.P. "The Sword of the Ulster Cycle" in **Scott**, B.G. (ed.), *Studies on Early Ireland: Essays in honour of M.V.Duignan*, 99-114.
[230] **Wait 1985**:213.
[231] **Le Roux 1955a**:33.
[232] **Wait 1985**:213 and 215; **Nosenko**:103.
[233] **Wait 1985**:213.
[234] **Wait 1985**:215.
[235] **Wait 1985**:215.
[236] **Webster, J. 1992**:17.
[237] One is tempted to think that the use of the word "likely" suggests that there is no evidence.
[238] **Chadwick 1966**:56-58.
[239] **MacCana**:134-135.
[240] Similar to the way the British retained kings at the time when they were disappearing in some parts of Gaul.
[241] **Bober**:14.
[242] **Piggott 1968**:22.
[243] **Le Roux 1955a**:33.
[244] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:15.
[245] **Ellis Davidson**:92; **Malrain, Matterne & Méniel**:103-135.
[246] **Wightman 1986**:543.
[247] **Green, M.J. 1992**:221.
[248] **Woolf 1991**:23.
[249] **Woolf 1998**:218.
[250] **Woolf 1998**:206.
[251] **Woolf 1998**:218.
[252] Trophy **–Brunaux 2000**:135-139; **Brunaux 2004**:19 and 114-118; ἑρῶον **-Brunaux 2004**:118-124.
[253] **Woolf 1998**:230.

[254] **Woolf 1991**:42.
[255] **Woolf 1998**:218-219.
[256] **Woolf 1998**:219.
[257] **Brunaux 1995b**:140.
[258] **Woolf 1991**:20; **Woolf 1998**:7.
[259] **Goudineau 1979**:312-313.
[260] **Woolf 1998**:209.
[261] **Woolf 1998**:7.
[262] **Woolf 1998**: 206 and 219
[263] **King, A. 1990**:132; **Brunaux 1995b**:140.
[264] The frequency and even the existence of human sacrifice; the identification of Gallic deities; uncertainty regarding the nature, position and inclusivity of the Celtic afterlife, and the purpose and religious nature of headhunting; even the existence of Gallic sanctuaries was disputed.

Chapter Three
Gallic Deities

[1] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:105.
[2] The allocation of one function to each deity, the attempt to establish a hierarchy in the list and, most of all, the allocation of the name of a Roman deity only to each deity with no mention whatsoever of the indigenous name.
[3] **Brunaux 1996**:54.
[4] **Brunaux 1995b**:155.
[5] **Cunliffe 1997**:185.
[6] **Zwicker**:49.
[7] **Zwicker**:51.
[8] **Zwicker**:52.
[9] **Deonna 1958**:4.
[10] **Deonna 1958**:3.
[11] **de Belloguet**:146; **Gaidoz 1879**:13; **Lambrechts 1942**:166-167; **Benoît 1955**:31; **Benoît 1959**:7, 8 and 9; **Hatt 1965**:89 and 107; **Hatt 1966b**:68; **Dillon**:60.
[12] **de Belloguet**:146; **Gaidoz 1879**:13; **Hatt 1965**:89 and 107; **Hatt 1966b**:68; **Ward 1970**:135.
[13] **Deonna 1958**:4.
[14] **Vendryes 1948**:265.
[15] **Dillon**:60.
[16] **Duval 1954**:9.
[17] **Reinach 1897a**:147; **MacCulloch 1911**:39.
[18] **MacCulloch 1911**:39; **Duval 1954**:9.
[19] **Bober**:14.
[20] **Reinach 1897a**:147.
[21] **Duval 1954**:9.
[22] **MacCulloch 1911**:39.
[23] **Lambrechts 1942**:177.
[24] **MacCulloch 1948**:25; **Powell 1980**:159.
[25] *CIL* III.5320 (Noricum); VII.84 (Britain); VI.2407, col.1, ln.3 (Rome), 31182 (Rome).
[26] *CIL* XII.2623 (Switzerland); XIII.3071, 3199 and 4674 (Gaul)
[27] **MacCulloch 1911**:39.
[28] **Green, M.J. 1984**:253.
[29] *CIL* III.2804, 7437, VII.168, XII.6094, 6478, XIII.3086b; *RIB* 452; **Esperandieu**:40.
[30] *CIL* III.2804 (Dalmatia); III.7437 (Lower Moesia); VII.168 (Cisalpine Gaul); XII.6094, 6478 (Germany) XIII.3083b (Central France); *RIB* 452 (Britain); **Esperandieu**:40 (Southern France).
[31] **Vendryes 1948**:264.
[32] **MacCulloch 1911**:39.
[33] **MacCulloch 1948**:28.
[34] **Deonna 1958**:4; **Sjoestedt**:16. The significance of the number three for the Celts is recognised by many authors: **Vendryes 1935**:324; **Vendryes 1948**:250 and 262; **Le Roux 1956a**:298; **Duval 1957**: 63; **de Vries 1961**:161; **MacCana 1970**:48 and 49; **Powell 1980**:155; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:209; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:100; **Green, M.J. 1992**:222-223; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:106; **Green, M.J. 1996a**:149; **Green, M.J. 1996c**:28; **Cunliffe 1997**: 187.
[35] **de Vries 1953**:16; **Duval 1954**:9.
[36] **Le Roux 1955a**:58.
[37] **Vendryes 1948**:265.
[38] **Lambrechts 1942**:18.
[39] **de Vries 1961**:31.
[40] **Duval 1954**:6.
[41] **de Vries 1961**:107.
[42] **Le Roux 1955a**:57.
[43] **Le Roux 1955a**:56.
[44] **Lambrechts 1942**:151.
[45] **Le Roux 1955a**:56.
[46] **Lambrechts 1942**:144-145 and 146.
[47] **Jullian 1909**:119; **Bober**:20, n.44; **Duval 1954**:14; **Duval 1958-9**:48 and 50; **Brunaux 2004**:90.

[48] **Ward 1970**:135
[49] **Clarus**:31.
[50] **Lambrechts1942**:153; **Le Roux 1955a**:51.
[51] **Lambrechts1942**:153; **Sjoestedt**:16 and 17 - See pages CLXXXII-CLXXXIII.
[52] **MacCulloch 1911**:28; **van Hamel**:238; **Thévenot 1946**:103; **MacCulloch 1948**:28; **Vendryes 1948**:265; **Le Roux 1955a**:51, n.58; **Jenkins**:61; **de Vries 1961**:48; **Hatt 1965**:90; **Dillon**:60; **York**:84; **Birkhan**:552.
[53] **Birkhan**:552.
[54] **Jullian 1909**:119, 120 and 122; **Grenier 1945**:345; **Hatt 1965**:90 and 95; **Le Roux 1967a**:337.
[55] **Thévenot 1946**:103.
[56] **Reinach 1897a**: 141 and 149; **van Hamel**:34; **Duval 1954**:9.
[57] **Sjoestedt**:17; **Thévenot 1946**:103; **Vendryes 1948**:265.
[58] **Macbain**:65; **Jullian 1909**:160; **MacCulloch 1911**:28; **van Hamel**:238; **Duval 1954**:15; **Duval 1958-9**:48; **Hatt 1965**:90, 95 and 121; **Clarus**:31 and 32.
[59] **Clarus**:31-32.
[60] **Lambrechts 1942**:153.
[61] **Birkhan**:599.
[62] The Leuci tribal territory in Belgic Gaul.
[63] The Arverni tribal territory in Aquitania.
[64] **Duval 1958-9**:48; **Hatt 1965**:90.
[65] **de Vries 1961**:98; **Duval 1973**:82, n.3; **Birkhan**:647.
[66] **Duval 1958-59**:51; **Birkhan**:647.
[67] **Duval 1973**:82.
[68] **de Barthélemy**:293.
[69] **de Vries 1961**:98.
[70] **Le Roux 1955a**:51.
[71] **Le Roux 1955a**:51-52.
[72] **de Vries 1961**:98.
[73] **de Vries 1961**:99.
[74] **Hatt 1965b**:68.
[75] **Hatt 1965b**:71.
[76] **Duval 1954**:17.
[77] **Lambrechts 1942**:154; **Duval 1954**:16; **Le Roux 1955a**:56; **Deonna 1958**:13.
[78] (*CIL* XIII.4256; *P-W* 994.191; **Wightman 1986**:575).
[79] *P-W* 1947.167 and 169; **Grenier 1958** 420; **Thévenot 1955**:165; and **Hatt 1979**:129.
[80] MARTI IOVANTUC/ SEXTUS/ RESTITUTIUS/ ROMANUS/V.S.L.M and MARTI IOVANTU/ [C]ARO PRO SALUTE MERCURIALIS/FILIUS SECUND/IUS SECUNDINUS V.S.L.M.
[81] **Hatt 1965**:90.
[82] **Clarus**:35.
[83] **Duval 1958-59**:53.
[84] **York**:88.
[85] **de Vries 1961**:97-100; **Ward 1970**:134; **Clarus**:35.
[86] **Le Roux 1955a**:54; **Le Roux 1983-1984**:102.
[87] **Powell 1980**:182; **Sergent**:397.
[88] **Sergent**:397.
[89] *Hangagod*, *Hangatyr* and *heimthingadr hanga*.
[90] **Powell 1980**:182.
[91] **Sergent**:394-395.
[92] **Sergent**:396.
[93] **Sergent**:396.
[94] **Duval 1957**:24.
[95] **Lambrechts 1942**:65.
[96] **Vendryes 1948**:264.
[97] **Duval 1957**:24.
[98] **Weiller**, R. "Zum Beginn des Münzumlaufs im Gebiet der Treverer", *TZ* XLIX (1986), 209-221.
[99] **Sterckx 1995**:14.
[100] Vergil applies the title of *praesides bellorum* to Minerva (**Verg**.*Aen*.XI.483).
[101] **Cerquand**:386-388; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:67; **Wait 1985**:197.

[102] **Jullian 1909**:124; **MacCulloch 1911**:30; **Macbain**:65, who equates him with the Scandanavian god Thor; **Lambrechts 1942**:65, 66, 77, 78 and 79; **Grenier 1945**:344; **Vendryes 1948**:344; **Hatt 1951**:87 (although seems to have changed his mind later); **Duval 1954**:12; **Le Roux 1958a**:32; **Duval 1958-59**:47-48 and 55; **Le Roux 1958a**:32; **Benoît 1959**:180; **Le Roux 1960b**:338 and 339; **de Vries 1961**:63, who equates him with the Germanic god Donar; **Hatt 1965**:93; **Henig**:59-60; **Cunliffe 1997**:185; **Olmsted 1994**:298; **York**:90.
[103] **Duval 1958-59**:47.
[104] **de Vries 1961**:64.
[105] **Duval 1957**:24; **Duval 1958-59**:54 and 57.
[106] **Krause**:VII; **Lambrechts 1942**:69; **Benoît 1955**:28; **Hatt 1965**:92 and 94; **Hatt 1966a**:11.
[107] **Krause**:VII; **Hatt 1965**:92; **Henig**:19 and 59; **Ross 1986**:118.
[108] **de Vries 1961**:63-64.
[109] **Bergquist & Taylor**:21.
[110] **MacCulloch 1911**:30; **Lambrechts 1942**:64; **Hatt 1965**:93; **Le Roux 1958a**:32; **Duval 1958-59**:43.
[111] **Zwicker**:50.
[112] **Duval 1958-59**:43 n.3.
[113] **Clemen**:123.
[114] **Hatt 1965**:93.
[115] **MacCulloch 1911**:30.
[116] **Clarus**:30.
[117] **Clarus**:30 and 31.
[118] **Lambrechts 1942**:28.
[119] **Dexter**:285.
[120] **Dexter**:286.
[121] **Dexter**:286.
[122] **Dexter**:287.
[123] **Dexter**:285.
[124] **Sterckx 1995**:11.
[125] **Le Roux 1955b**:115; **Oaks**:78.
[126] **O'Brien**:117.
[127] **O'Brien**:124.
[128] **Dexter**:286.
[129] **Markale**:111.
[130] **O'Brien**:121.
[131] Rhiannon is derived from the ancient name Rigantona meaning 'Great Queen' (**Sterckx 1995**:6; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:109).
[132] **O'Brien**:121.
[133] **O'Brien**:122.
[134] **O'Brien**:123.
[135] **Hubert**:191.
[136] **Pauly-Wissowa** under *Epona*; **Gruffyd**:103.
[137] **Gricourt 1954**:25.
[138] **Gricourt 1954**:28, 31 and 40; **Le Roux 1955b**:103; **Oaks**:78.
[139] **York**:83.
[140] **de Vries 1961**:112-113.
[141] **Ward 1968**:3-7.
[142] **Harris 1906**:43-49; **Sternberg**:167-169; **Krappe 1930**:64-66.
[143] **Harris 1906**:60-61; **Ward 1968**:6.
[144] The *Aśvins*, the Dioscuri, the Castores or the Alcis; Herakles and Iphikles; Rom(ul)us and Remus.
[145] **Ward 1968**:3.
[146] **Ward 1968**:5.
[147] **Ward 1968**:11-12.
[148] **de Vries 1961**:112.
[149] **de Vries 1961**:113.
[150] Tacitus reports that the Naharvali worship deities, whom Tacitus calls the *Alcis* (**Tac**.*Germ*.XLIII. 4), and Dio reports that the German tribe the Astingi were led by a pair of brothers with the names of Raos and Raptos (**Dio**.LXXI.12). Other probable Germanic Divine Twins, albeit recorded later, were

also leaders of tribes: Hengist and Horsa of the Saxons (**Ward 1968**:45; **Ward 1970**:199), whose status as Divine Twins is accepted as unquestionable by de Vries (**de Vries 1956**:253); Ambr and Assi of the Vandals (**Ward 1970**:199 n.30); and Ibor and Aio of the Langobards (**Ward 1970**:199 n.30).
[151] **York**:109.
[152] **York**:83.
[153] **Bober**:14 and 18; **Duval 1957**:14 and 33-34; **de Vries 1961**:105; **MacCana**:45; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:87.
[154] **Bober**:14-15 and 19-21; **Duval 1957**:33-34; **de Vries 1961**:104; **MacCana**:45; **Green, M.J. 1989**:88.
[155] **Bober**:14; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:88.
[156] **Bober**:18.
[157] **Altheim & Trautmann**:2; **Duval 1957**:14; **Green, M.J. 1992**:227 and 231.
[158] **de Vries 1961**:105.
[159] **Bober**:18; **Duval 1957**:14; **MacCana**:44.
[160] **Bober**:18.
[161] **Bober**:14 and 18.
[162] **Altheim & Trautmann**:2.
[163] **Bober**:18.
[164] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:87-88.
[165] **Bergquist**, A. & **Taylor**, T. "The origin of the Gundestrup cauldron" *Antiquity* LXI (1987), 10-24 and **Taylor**, T. "The Gundestrup Cauldron", *Scientific American* March (1992), 66-71.
[166] **Bergquist** & **Taylor**:22.
[167] **Vendryes 1948**:193.
[168] **de Vries 1961**:105.
[169] **Krause**:VII.
[170] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:88.
[171] **Krause**:VIII.
[172] **Bergquist** & **Taylor**:13-16.
[173] **Bergquist** & **Taylor**:16-19.
[174] **Bergquist** & **Taylor**:19-21.
[175] **Taylor**:69-71.
[176] Beardless, holding a torc in his right hand and a horned snake in his left and, although cross-legged, with the arms in a position which, Bober (**Bober**:19) feels, recalls the pose at Val Camonica.
[177] *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule: époque celtique* I:232; **Lambrechts 1942**:25; **Bober**:14, n.9.
[178] **Bober**:14 n.9.
[179] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:88.
[180] **de Vries 1961**:106.
[181] **de Vries 1961**:105.
[182] **de Vries 1961**:105.
[183] **Rhys**:77-99; **MacKenzie**, D.A. *Buddhism in Pre-Christian Britain* Blackie & Son Ltd 1928.
[184] **Taylor**:71.
[185] **Bober**:25.
[186] **Bober**:25.
[187] **Bober**:27.
[188] **Jacobsthal I**:6; **Lambrechts 1942**:60; **MacCana**:44.
[189] **MacCulloch 1948**:19; **Bober**:18 and 27.
[190] **de Vries 1961**:106.
[191] **Bober**:27.
[192] **Krause**:VIII.
[193] **MacCulloch 1948**:28.
[194] **Duval 1957**:33.
[195] **de Vries 1961**:106.
[196] **MacCulloch 1948**:19 and 28.
[197] **de Vries 1961**:106.
[198] **MacCana**:45; **Ross 1986**:126; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:88.
[199] **Bober**:18; **Duval 1957**:14; **MacCana**:45.
[200] **MacCulloch 1911**:35; **MacCulloch 1948**:28; **MacCana**:45.

[201] **Bober**:18-19.
[202] **Duval 1957**:14.
[203] **Bober**:27-28.
[204] **de Vries 1961**:106.
[205] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1884**:385.
[206] **Benoît 1955**:28.
[207] **Jullian 1907**:85; **MacCulloch 1911**:35; **MacCulloch 1948**:28.
[208] **de Vries 1961**:106.
[209] **MacCulloch 1911**:345.
[210] **Bober**:28.
[211] **MacCulloch 1948**:19 and 28.
[212] **MacCulloch 1948**:19; **MacCana**:45.
[213] **MacCulloch 1948**:19.
[214] **MacCulloch 1911**:345.
[215] **Le Roux 1953**:324
[216] **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[217] **Lambrechts 1942**:45.
[218] **Amand**:343; **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[219] **Duval 1982**:102.
[220] **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[221] **Schaeffer**:230-231.
[222] **Lambrechts 1942**:62.
[223] **Lambrechts 1942**:52 and 63.
[224] **Lambrechts 1942**:52 and 63.
[225] **Duval 1982**:102.
[226] **Duval 1982**:102.
[227] **Amand**:343; **Duval 1982**:102.
[228] **Amand**:343.
[229] **Lambrechts 1942**:47; **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[230] **Lambrechts 1942**:47; **Amand**:343; **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[231] **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[232] **MacCana**:45.
[233] **Lambrechts 1942**:48; **Bober**:25; **Amand**:343; **Duval 1982**:102; **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[234] **Bober**:26.
[235] **Bober**:26.
[236] **Lambrechts 1942**:48; **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[237] **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[238] **Duval 1982**:102.
[239] **Duval 1982**:102.
[240] **Duval 1982**:102; **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[241] **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[242] **Lambrechts 1942**:49; **Bober**:26.
[243] **Lambrechts 1942**:49.
[244] **Green, M.J. 1992**:228.
[245] **Bober**:27.
[246] **Déchelette**:261; **Lambrechts 1942**:48-49.
[247] **Déchelette**:63-81.
[248] **Déchelette**:245-262.
[249] **Déchelette**:252-253.
[250] **Déchelette**:255.
[251] **Déchelette**:261
[252] **MacCulloch 1911**:34; **Lambrechts 1942**:50; **Bober**:26; **Amand**:343.
[253] **Lambrechts 1942**:50.
[254] **Lambrechts 1942**:151.
[255] **Clarus**:31-32.
[256] **Clarus**:32.
[257] **Bober**:25.
[258] **Bober**:26.

[259] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:174.
[260] **Lambrechts 1942**:37; **de Vries 1961**:163.
[261] **Allen 1995**:37 and pl.II. nos.53-65 and pl.XXI. nos.S45-S57; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:208; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:173; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:101. Scheers (**Scheers**:139) offers some other interpretations.
[262] **Heichelheim**:1000-1001.
[263] **Benoît 1959**:158.
[264] **Benoît 1959**:158.
[265] **Benoît 1959**:159.
[266] **Benoît 1959**:159.
[267] **de Vries 1953**:16; **Duval 1954**:9.
[268] **Lambrechts 1942**:60-61.
[269] **de Vries 1961**:161.
[270] **Lambrechts 1942**:61.
[271] **de Vries 1961**:163.
[272] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:179; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:101-102.
[273] **Deonna 1954**:405.
[274] **de Vries 1961**:162-163.
[275] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:171; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:102; **Cunliffe 1997**:187.
[276] **Lambrechts 1942**:40.
[277] **de Vries 1961**:161.
[278] **Toutain**:259.
[279] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:182; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:100-101.
[280] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:179.
[281] **Vendryes 1935**:332.
[282] **Green, M.J. 1989b**:102.
[283] **Green, M.J. 1989b**:102.
[284] **Clarus**:41.
[285] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:179; **Clarus**:41.
[286] **Rhys**:76.
[287] **Vendryes 1948**:277; **Duval 1957**:28; **Le Roux 1970-73b**:229; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h**:327; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:170; **Markale**:111 and 119; **Sjoestedt**:25; **Olmsted 1994**:164).
[288] **Rhys**:75; **MacCana**:34; **Ross 1986**:125; **Olmsted 1994**:163.
[289] **Rhys**:74-75; **Even**:96, n.40; **Le Roux 1960c**:360; **de Vries 1961**:38, 39 and 80; **MacCana**:34; **Le Roux 1970-73b**:229; **Powell 1980**:148; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101 and 104; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:5 and 6; **Ross 1986**:125; **Clarus**:86; **Cunliffe 1997**:186; **Olmsted 1994**:163; **Birkhan**:537 and 615; **York**:97, 100 and 101.
[290] **de Vries 1961**:38.
[291] **Le Roux 1967a**:294; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:104; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:5 and 6; **Sjoestedt**:25; **Clarus**:86.
[292] **Vendryes 1948**:277; **Sjoestedt**:25.
[293] **Vendryes 1948**:277; **Dillon**:61; **Ross 1986**:125.
[294] **Vendryes 1948**:277; **Dillon**:63; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:6; **Sjoestedt**:24; **York**:94.
[295] **Vendryes 1948**:277; **Ross 1986**:125; **Sjoestedt**:24.
[296] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:6.
[297] **Birkhan**:499 and 537.
[298] **de Vries 1961**:80.
[299] **Briffault**: 69.
[300] **Sjoestedt**:21.
[301] **de Vries 1961**:80; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:7.
[302] **Duval 1954**:14; **MacCana**:34; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:104; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:7; **Sjoestedt**:21.
[303] **Vendryes 1948**:277; **Duval 1957**:28; **de Vries 1961**:38 and 80; **Le Roux 1967a**:294; **Le Roux 1970-73b**:229; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:104; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:6; **Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux-Guyonvarc'h**:435; **Sjoestedt**:25.
[304] **Rhys**:74-75; **Olmsted 1994**:163.
[305] **Vendryes 1948**:278.
[306] **Le Roux 1960c**:360.
[307] **Duval 1954**:14.

[308] **Rhys**:75; **MacCana**:35.
[309] **Rhys**:76.
[310] **Le Roux 1955b**:120; **de Vries 1961**:38.
[311] **Clarus**:82.
[312] **Guyonvarc'h**:174.
[313] **Le Roux 1960c**:361; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:4; **Sterckx 1995**:4 and 5; **York**:100.
[314] **de Vries 1961**:38.
[315] **York**:100.
[316] **de Vries 1961**:38.
[317] **de Vries 1961**:37.
[318] **de Vries 1961**:39; **Le Roux 1967a**:293; **MacCana**:66; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:100; **Clarus**:82; **Sterckx 1995**:4.
[319] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:100.
[320] **MacCana**:66.
[321] **de Vries 1961**:38; **Le Roux 1967a**:293; **MacCana**:66; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101; **Clarus**:82; **Sterckx 1995**:4.
[322] **de Vries 1961**:38; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101; **Clarus**:82; **Birkhan**:554.
[323] **de Vries 1961**:38-39.
[324] **de Vries 1961**:39; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101.
[325] **de Vries 1961**:39.
[326] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101.
[327] **Le Roux 1967a**:293; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:4.
[328] **Clarus**:82.
[329] **Sterckx 1995**:5.
[330] **Birkhan**:574.
[331] **York**:101.
[332] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:6; **York**:101.
[333] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:6.
[334] **Le Roux 1967a**:294; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:103; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:6; **York**:101.
[335] **Rhys**:74-75; **Even**:96, n.40; **Le Roux 1960c**:360; **de Vries 1961**:38; **MacCana**:34; **Le Roux 1970-73b**:229; **Powell 1980**:148; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101 and 104; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:5 and 6; **Ross 1986**:125; **Clarus**:86; **Cunliffe 1997**:186; **Olmsted 1994**:163; **York**:97, 100 and 101.
[336] **Duval 1954**:13; **Birkhan**:476; **York**:95.
[337] **MacCana**:33; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:103.
[338] Or Ochttríuil (*CMT*.123)..
[339] **Le Roux 1967a**:294; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:103; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:5.
[340] **Le Roux 1967a**:294; **MacCana**:33; **Sjoestedt**:10.
[341] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:103.
[342] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:5; **Birkhan**:501; **York**:95.
[343] **de Vries 1961**:82; **MacCana**:42 and 43; **Birkhan**:556.
[344] **York**:104.
[345] **York**:104.
[346] **MacCana**:43.
[347] **York**:104.
[348] **Duval 1957**:22.
[349] **Duval 1954**:10; **de Vries 1960**:333; **Powell 1980**:148; **Olmsted 1994**:93; **Sjoestedt**:44. See page CXC.
[350] **Sjoestedt**:44.
[351] **Even & Le Roux**:289-290.
[352] **Clemen**:127.
[353] **Gricourt 1955**:67.
[354] **van Tassel Graves**:167.
[355] **van Hamel**:236; **Vendryes 1948**:278.
[356] **Le Roux 1967c**:510.
[357] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1905**:197; **Loth**:206.

[358] **Vendryes 1948**:278; **Even**:108; **Le Roux 1967c**:510; **MacCana**:28; **Dillon**:60; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:98.
[359] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1905**:197; **Krappe**:237; **Vendryes 1948**:278; **Even & Le Roux**:295-297; **Duval 1954**:10; **Le Roux 1967c**:510.
[360] **Duval 1954**:10-11.
[361] London, Lyons, Leon, Leiden and Liegnity (**Dillon**:60) and Laon, Loudon and Loudun (**Loth**:206).
[362] **MacCana**:29.
[363] **Krappe**:237-238, 239 and 242; **de Vries 1961**:51; **Zecchini**:32.
[364] **Birkhan**:602.
[365] *CIL* II.2818. *Lugovibus sacrum L*(ucius) *L*(icinius?) *Urcio collegio sutorum d*(onum) *d*(edit).
[366] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:95; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:45.
[367] From the fact that ownership of land passed through the female it seems that Celtic society may have been matrilineal; this finds support in the Irish myth that the main dynasty of gods were 'the Peoples of the *Goddess* Danu' [*Tuatha Dé Danann*].
[368] **Dillon**:66; **Herbert**:264.
[369] **Wait 1985**:265.
[370] **Dillon**:66; **Sterckx**:50; **Wait 1985**:265; **Bhreathnach**:260; **Herbert**:264.
[371] **Wait 1985**:265.
[372] **Wait 1985**:265.
[373] **Herbert**:265-266.
[374] **Dillon**:66-67; **Wait 1985**:265; **Herbert**:264.
[375] **Herbert**:264-265.
[376] **Herbert**:264; **Aldhouse-Green 2001a**:104.
[377] **Herbert**:265.
[378] **Bhreathnach**:246; **Aldhouse-Green**:111.
[379] **Bhreathnach**:245.
[380] **O' Maílle**:138.
[381] **O' Maílle**:138.
[382] **O' Maílle**:138 and 139.
[383] **Aldhouse-Green**:105.
[384] **Herbert**:266.
[385] **Aldhouse-Green**:105.
[386] **Herbert**:266.
[387] **Sterckx 1987**:50; **Ross 1986**:124.
[388] **Bhreathnach**:245.
[389] **Bhreathnach**:244.
[390] **Mackey**:73.
[391] **Bhreathnach**:260.
[392] **Aldhouse-Green**:102-103.
[393] **Ross 1986**:124.
[394] **Ross 1986**:125.
[395] **Dillon**:63; **Le Roux 1967a**:294; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:103.
[396] **Cunliffe 1997**:188.
[397] **Mackey**:68-69.
[398] **Mackey**:70.
[399] **Mackey**:69.
[400] **Herbert**:267.
[401] *Asva-* from **ekwo* meaning horse and *-medha* is related to the goddess Medb and the concept of sovereignty (**Oaks**:80).
[402] **Oaks**:80.
[403] **Le Roux 1955b**:122.
[404] **Woolf**:230.
[405] **Hatt 1965**:105.
[406] **Brunaux 1995b**:156.
[407] **Cunliffe 1997**:186.
[408] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1884**:178.
[409] **Loth 1914**:213-214; **Krappe**:238; **Even & Le Roux**:289 and 294; **MacCana**:27; **Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux-Guyonvarc'h**:434; **Sterckx 1995**:8.

[410] **Even & Le Roux**:289.
[411] **Lot 1947**:85-89.
[412] **Even & Le Roux**:290.
[413] **Even & Le Roux**:290.
[414] **Sjoestedt**:44; **Even & Le Roux**:294.
[415] **Even & Le Roux**:289-290.
[416] **Even & Le Roux**:290.
[417] **Even & Le Roux**:290.
[418] **van Tassel Graves**:167.
[419] **Even & Le Roux**:294.
[420] **MacCulloch 1948**:61; **Even & Le Roux**:294.
[421] **Le Roux 1967a**:294; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:102; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:5.
[422] Anextiomarus (*CIL* XIII.3190) meaning 'Great Protector' (**Le Roux 1959a**:219); Bormo/Borvo (*CIL* XIII.5911-5921, 4713-4), the epithet meaning 'boiling' or 'bubbling' (**Wightman 1986**:554) and Virotutis (*CIL* XII.2525, XIII.3185) meaning 'Benefactor' or 'Healer of Men' (**Le Roux 1959a**:219).
[423] Grannus (*CIL* III.5861, 5870, 5871, 5873, 5874, 5876, 5881, 10972, 11903; IV.36; VII.1082; XIII.630, 1082, 2600, 3635, 4129, 4661, 5135, 5424, 6272, 6458, 6462, 7975, 8007, 8217) connected to Celtic for 'sun'.
[424] **Le Roux 1952**: 211; **Green, M.J. 1986b**:161; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:102 - .
[425] Belenus (*CIL* V.2144-6, X.353; XII.402, 5693; XIII.1461, 2386; **Tert**.*Apol*.24.7 and *Ad Nationes*.II.8), meaning 'bright' (**Le Roux 1959a**:219-220) or 'henbane', the medicinal herb.
[426] **Le Roux 1952**: 211; **Le Roux 1960a**:65; **Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux-Guyonvarc'h**:435.
[427] **Le Roux 1967a**:294; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:103; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:5.
[428] **Cunliffe 1997**:187.
[429] **Le Roux 1967a**:293-294; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:102; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:4-5.
[430] **York**:98.
[431] *RE* (**Göber**):1154-1156; *RE* (**Wissowa**):43; **Toutain**:255; **Jenkins**:67; **Brunaux 2004**:90.
[432] Camulos (*CIL* XIII.3980); Camulus (*CIL* XIII.11818); Caturix (*CIL* XIII.3971); Cnabetius (*CIL* XIII.4528); Intarabus (*CIL* XIII.3653); Smertrius (*CIL* XIII.4119); Vegnius (*CIL* XIII.4049).
[433] **Brunaux 2004**:90.
[434] **Lambrechts 1942**:146.
[435] **Lambrechts 1942**:144.
[436] **Lambrechts 1942**:145.
[437] **Lambrechts 1942**:145.
[438] **Lambrechts 1942**:146.
[439] **Lambrechts 1942**:144.
[440] **Brunaux 2004**:90.
[441] This function would make her more like a sovereignty-goddess.
[442] **Le Roux 1960c**:351.
[443] **de Vries 1961**:79.
[444] **de Vries 1961**:80; **Le Roux 1970-73b**:229.
[445] **Le Roux 1970-73b**:229.
[446] **Simon**:172.
[447] **de Vries 1961**:79.
[448] (*CIL* XIII.8; **de Vries 1961**:78; **Le Roux 1970-73b**:226).
[449] (*CIL* VII.39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44; **Le Roux 1970-73b**:227-228); from all the examples Sulis seems to be the genitive of Sul. Brigindu (*CIL* VII.200, 207, 208, 875, 1062; **Le Roux 1970-73b**:226) and Idennica (*CIL* XII.2974, XIII.5027; **Le Roux 1970-73b**:228) are the others.
[450] **de Vries 1961**:80.
[451] **de Vries 1961**:79.
[452] **Olmsted 1994**:164.
[453] **MacCulloch 1948**:41; **de Vries 1961**:78-79.
[454] **de Vries 1961**:79.
[455] **de Vries 1961**:80.
[456] **MacCulloch 1948**:41; **Duval 1957**:28; **de Vries 1961**:79 and 80; **Le Roux 1967a**:294; **MacCana**:34 and 35; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:104; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:7; **Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux-Guyonvarc'h**: 435.

[457] **de Vries 1961**:78 and 80.
[458] **Duval 1957**:14.
[459] **Sjoestedt**:21.
[460] Wait (**Wait 1985**:196) claims that the goddess is called Minerva and that this is an example of how the Insubrian had been affected by Roman religion and had adopted a Roman goddess; but the name Minerva is used only in translation and the actual name used was Athena. It, therefore, cannot be used as an example of acculturation by either Rome or by Greece, since it is very unlikely that the Gauls of north Italy would be affected by Greek religion.
[461] **Reinach, S. 1912**:229.
[462] **Lambrechts 1942**:108.
[463] **MacCana**:41-42.
[464] **York**:107.
[465] **Green, M.J. 1986b**:136.
[466] **Birkhan**:549.
[467] **Le Roux 1955a**:41.
[468] **Cabuy 1991**:239.
[469] The name Totatigenus (*CIL* VI.2407), meaning "son of Totatis" or "of Toutatis"; the *gens* of the person with this name was Flavius and the form Totatis is a late form (**d'Arbois de Jubainville 1893**:249), showing that this deity was still popular in late 1st or early 2nd century AD.
[470] *CIL* III.5320, VII.84.
[471] **Esperandieu**:IV.3134; **Reinach 1897b**:253; **d'Arbois de Jubainville 1898b**:247; **MacCulloch 1911**:38; **Czarnowski**:2; **Grenier 1945**:353; **Bober**:28, 29 and 30; **de Vries 1953**:17; **Duval 1957**:29; **Deonna 1958**:5; **Ross 1960-61**:405; **de Vries 1961**:97; **Hatt 1965**:90; **Hatt 1966c**:59; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:103 and 183; **MacCana**:29 and 33; **Green, M.J. 1992**:160, 214 and 223; **Olmsted 1994**:402. Bober (**Bober**:28) says that the group of which this is part is important because it belongs "to a formative stage of classical syncretism, representing indigenous divinities in the company of Graeco-Roman ones".
[472] **Bober**:30.
[473] *CIL* XIII.3026c TIB(erio) CAESARE AVG(usto), IOVI OPTVMO MAXSVMO [su]M[mo?] NAVTAE PARISIACI PVBLICE POSIERVN[T]. **Deonna 1958**:5; **Duval 1957**:29; **Ross 1960-61**:405; **Hatt 1965**:90; **Hatt 1966c**:59; **Duval 1973**:81; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:183; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:103; **Green, M.J. 1992**:160 and 214; **Olmsted 1994**:402.
[474] **Reinach 1897b**:253; **d'Arbois de Jubainville 1898b**:247; **MacCulloch 1911**:38; **Czarnowski**:2 and 3; **Grenier 1945**:353; **de Vries 1953**:17; **Deonna 1958**:5; **Ross 1960-61**:405; **de Vries 1961**:97; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:103, fig 44 and 183; **Green, M.J. 1992**:214.
[475] **MacCulloch 1911**:38; **Grenier 1945**:353; **de Vries 1953**:17; **Ross 1960-61**:405; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:104; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:103; **Olmsted 1994**:402.
[476] **Reinach 1897b**:253; **d'Arbois de Jubainville 1898b**:247; **Czarnowski**:3; **de Vries 1953**:17; **Duval 1957**:30; **Ross 1960-61**:405; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:frontispiece and 183; **Green, M.J. 1992**:184, 214 and 223; **Olmsted 1994**:402.
[477] **Reinach 1897b**:253; **d'Arbois de Jubainville 1898b**:247; **MacCulloch 1911**:38; **Czarnowski**:3; **Grenier 1945**:353; **de Vries 1953**:17; **Deonna 1958**:5; **Ross 1960-61**:405; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:frontispiece, 132 and 183; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:103; **Green, M.J. 1992**:160, 184 and 214; **Olmsted 1994**:402.
[478] **Reinach 1897b**:258; **Czarnowski**:3; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:181; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:103; **Green, M.J. 1992**:160, 184 and 214.
[479] **Colombet & Lebel 1953**:127 "*taruos* était le nom gaulois du taureau".
[480] **MacCulloch 1911**:38; **Duval 1957**:30 and 31; **Olmsted 1994**:403.
[481] **MacCulloch 1911**:38; **Grenier 1945**:353; **de Vries 1953**:17; **Duval 1957**:30; **Deonna 1958**:5; **Ross 1960-61**:408; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:104 and 183; **Olmsted 1994**:402.
[482] **Esperandieu**:VI.4929; **Reinach 1897b**:255 and 257; **MacCulloch 1911**:38; **de Vries 1953**:17; **Duval 1957**:29; **Deonna 1958**:5; **Ross 1960-61**:408; **de Vries 1961**:97; **Wightman**:178; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:183; **Green, M.J. 1992**:223 and 214; **Olmsted 1994**:402.
[483] *CIL* XIII.3656-NDVS MEDIOM/MERCVRIO V S; **Grenier 1945**:353; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:183.
[484] **Ross 1960-61**:408; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:183 and 214.
[485] **Czarnowski**:4; **Bober**:30; **de Vries 1953**:17; **Deonna 1958**:5; **Ross 1960-61**:408; **Hatt 1965**:90; **Green, M.J. 1992**:223; **Birkhan**:644.

[486] **Birkhan**:644-645.
[487] Esugenus (*CIL* XIII.4674) -"Son of Esus" (**D'Arbois de Jubainville1898a**:229; **D'Arbois de Jubainville1898b**:250; **MacCulloch 1911**:39; **Vendryes 1948**:263; **Duval 1954**:16;), "Born of Esus" (**Schmidt**:211; **Olmsted 1994**:321) or "Begotten of Esus" (**Birkhan**:647); (*CIL* XII.2623) - "He who has the strength of Esus" (**MacCulloch 1911**:39; **Vendryes 1948**:263; **Duval 1954**:16; **Duval 1958-59**:51), "Strong through Esus" (**Schmidt**:211; **Olmsted 1994**:321) or "Strong as Esus" (**Birkhan**:646); Esumagius (*CIL* XIII.3071) – "Mighty through Esus" (**Schmidt**:211; **Olmsted 1994**:321); Esumopas (*CIL* XIII.3199; **MacCulloch 1911**:39; **Duval 1954**:16; **de Vries 1961**:98; **Duval 1973**:83-84) – "Son of Esus" (**Schmidt**:211; **Olmsted 1994**:321; **Birkhan**:646); Esuc(cus) (*CIL* XIII.3322) and Esuggius (*CIL* XIII.3487) (**Duval 1973**:82-84).
[488] **MacCulloch 1911**:39; **Duval 1973**:84 n.4. Esugenus from the Leuci tribal territory in Belgic Gaul; Esunertus from Genava [Geneva] in Lugdunensian Gaul; Esumagius from the Carnutes tribal territory in Lugdunensian Gaul; Esumopas from the Eburovices tribal territory in Lugdunensian Gaul; Esuc(cus) from the Remi tribal territory in Belgic Gaul; and Esuggus from the Ambiani tribal territory in Belgic Gaul.
[489] **MacCulloch 1911**:39.
[490] **Gricourt 1958**:102-109.
[491] **Duval 1954**:16; **Duval 1958-59**:51; **de Vries 1961**:98; **Duval 1973**:84 n.4.
[492] *CIL* XIII.4.*Apronius ieuru sosi…Esu.*
[493] **Duval 1954**:16.
[494] **Duval 1958-59**:51.
[495] *CIL* III.2804, XII.6094 and 6478, XIII.3083b.
[496] *CIL* VII.168; *RIB* 452.
[497] **Olmsted 1994**:40.
[498] **Le Roux 1958a**:33 and 39.
[499] **Lambrechts 1942**:84 and 86; **Lambrechts 1951**:110; **Benoît 1954**:219; **Duval 1957**:74; **Benoît 1959**:39; **de Vries 1961**:31 and 32; **Benoît 1970**:87; **Bauchhenss**:10; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:62; **Green, M.J. 1986b**:67; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:126; **Olmsted 1994**:41; **Birkhan**:588.
[500] **Hatt 1951**:85.
[501] **de Vries 1961**:32; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:65.
[502] **Sterckx 1995**:14.
[503] **Lambrechts 1951**:110; **Benoît 1954**:219; **de Vries 1961**:31; **Green, M.J. 1984**:173; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:62; **Green, M.J. 1986b**:67; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:124; **Birkhan**:588.
[504] **Benoît 1959**:39; **Bauchhenss**:12.
[505] **Benoît 1970**:88 and 95; **King 1990**:141.
[506] **Benoît 1970**:97.
[507] **Lambrechts 1942**:81; **Schindler**:90; **Bauchhenss**:5 and 7; **Green, M.J. 1984**:174; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:62; **Green, M.J. 1986b**:67; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:125; **Birkhan**:588.
[508] **Benoît 1970**:91.
[509] **Benoît 1970**:92.
[510] The Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (**Duval 1953**:282 and 285; **Schindler**:91; **Benoît 1970**:93).
[511] Such as at *Divodurum* [Metz] (Mediomatrici tribal territory) (**Esperandieu**:V.4425), *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] (Treveri tribal territory) (**Esperandieu**:IX.7265) and at Grand (Leuci tribal territory) (**Esperandieu**:VI.4898). The capitals of a pillar at *Durocortorum* [Reims] (Remi tribal territory) (**Esperandieu**:V.3746) had the head of Radiant Apollo, Diana surmounted by a crescent and two unknown bearded god, possibly Jupiter and Hercules and on one at *Bagacum* [Bavay] (Nervii tribal territory) (**Esperandieu**:IX.7216) had Jupiter and Juno can be seen (**Benoît 1970**:90).
[512] **Benoît 1970**:93.
[513] **Lambrechts 1942**:82; **Benoît 1954**:219; **Duval 1957**:74-75; **Benoît 1959**:34 and 35; **Benoît 1970**:91, 93, 95 and 103; **Bauchhenss**:6; **Green, M.J. 1984**:174; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:62 and 63; **Green, M.J. 1986b**:67; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:124 and 125; **Green, M.J. 1992**:207; **Olmsted 1994**:41; **Birkhan**:588.
[514] **Lambrechts 1942**:82, 87 and 93; **Hatt 1951**:85; **Benoît 1954**:219; **Benoît 1959**:34; **de Vries 1961**:32; **Schindler**:91; **Bauchhenss**:19; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:63; **Green, M.J. 1986b**:67; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:124 and 126-127; **Green, M.J. 1992**: 207; **Olmsted 1994**:41.
[515] **Benoît 1970**:95.
[516] **Benoît 1970**:96

[517] **Lambrechts 1942**:81-82; **Benoît 1959**:34; **Schindler**:91; **Bauchhenss**:6; **Green, M.J. 1984**:174; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:62 and 63; **Green, M.J. 1986b**:67; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:125; **Birkhan**:588.
[518] **de Vries 1961**:34; **Bauchhenss**:21.
[519] **Gricourt 1953**:320; **Hatt 1951**:85, which Le Roux and deVries (**Le Roux 1959**:320; **de Vries 1961**:34) dispute; **Benoît 1954**:221and 222; **Duval 1957**:75; ; **Benoît 1959**:34; **de Vries 1961**:33; **Benoît 1970**:96, 98 and 104; **Bauchhenss**:1; **Green, M.J. 1984**:176; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:63-64; **Green, M.J. 1986b**:68; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:126; **Green, M.J. 1992**: 207; **Birkhan**:577; **van Andringa 2002**:191.
[520] **de Vries 1961**:32; **Benoît 1970**:103; **Bauchhenss**:19.
[521] **Bauchhenss**:16.
[522] **Benoît 1970**:88 and 97.
[523] **Benoît 1970**:97.
[524] **King 1990**:141.
[525] **Van Andringa 2002**:191.
[526] **Lambrechts 1942**:93; **Bauchhenss**:21; **Green, M.J. 1984**:174; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:63; **Green,M.J. 1989a**:124.
[527] **Benoît 1970**:94-95.
[528] **Benoît 1970**:97.
[529] **Green, M.J. 1984**:176; **Bauchhenss**:17.
[530] **Bauchhenss**:19.
[531] **Lambrechts 1942**:92-93; **Green, M.J. 1984**:176; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:63; **Green, M.J.1986b**:67.
[532] **Le Roux 1959**:309; **de Vries 1961**:36; ; **Benoît 1970**:95; **Bauchhenss**:21.
[533] **Benoît 1970**:95.
[534] **de Vries** 1961:37; **Bauchhenss**:19; **Ross 1986**:130.
[535] **Lambrechts 1942**:93; **Hatt 1951**:87; **Benoît 1970**:95 and 96; **Gricourt & Hollard**:379; **King 1990**:141; **Sterckx 1995**:13.
[536] **Benoît 1970**:96.
[537] **Thévenot 1951**:138; **Oaks**:77.
[538] **Lambrechts 1950**:104-105; **Bober**:13-14.
[539] *CIL* XIII.7555a.
[540] **Le Roux 1955b**:102-103.
[541] **Pauly-Wissowa** under *Epona*.
[542] **Linduff**:821; **Aldhouse-Green**:110.
[543] One hundred and thirty examples (**Oaks**:78).
[544] The Remi tribal territory.
[545] **Esperandieu**:V.3672.
[546] The Treveri tribal territory.
[547] **Esperandieu**:V.7736.
[548] The Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[549] **Esperandieu**:V.4353
[550] The Bituriges Cubi tribal territory.
[551] **Esperandieu**:II.1562
[552] The Arverni tribal territory.
[553] **Esperandieu**:II.1618
[554] The Pictones tribal territory
[555] **Esperandieu**:8948.
[556] **Oaks**:78; **Linduff**:821 and 822.
[557] **Lambrechts 1949**:149; **Lambrechts 1950**:106; **Renard**:187; **Jenkins**:73; **Linduff**:833, 837; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:91; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:24.
[558] **Magnen**:9.
[559] **Reinach 1908**:323; **Lambrechts 1950**: 108-109, 110 and 111; **Le Roux 1955b**:121, n.57; **Jenkins**:73-74; **Linduff**:834 and 835; **Aldhouse-Green 2001a**:110.
[560] *CIL* XIII.5622; **Espérandieu**:II.1588; VIII.5942.
[561] **Linckenheld**:65; **Lambrechts 1949**:150-151;**Thévenot 1949**:400-401; **Lambrechts 1950**:110; **Renard**:187; **Thévenot 1951**:132 and 139; **Linduff**:835; **Oaks**:82; **Aldhouse-Green**:110.
[562] **MacCulloch**:345.
[563] **Le Roux 1952**:209.
[564] **Le Roux 1952**:209.

[565] "**Katarnos**":50.
[566] *CIL* III.7750 and 12579.
[567] **Hubert**:192.
[568] **Thévenot 1949**:400; **Thévenot 1951**:139; **Oaks**:82.
[569] **Dumézil 1954**:5.
[570] **Sterckx 1995**:6.
[571] **Duval 1957**:90.
[572] *CIL* XII.4218. L COELIUS RUFUS/JULIA SEVERA UXOR/L COELIUS MANGIUS f/DIVANNONI/DINOMOGETIMARO/ MARTIB(us)/ V S L M.
[573] **Duval 1957**:90.
[574] Belgic Gaul: **Esperandieu**:V.3653 and 3731; VI.4726 and 4839; **Lantier**:24 and 42, fig.5; **Coudrot & Moitreux**:387.
Aquitania: **Esperandieu**:II.1319 and **Lantier**:48; **Esperandieu**:II.1539 and **Lantier**:49; **Lambrechts 1942**:24.
[575] The Remi tribal territory.
[576] **Esperandieu**:V.3653.
[577] The Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[578] **Coudrot & Moitreux**:387.
[579] The Santones tribal territory.
[580] **Esperandieu**:II.1319.
[581] The Pictones tribal territory.
[582] **Esperandieu**:II.1539.
[583] **Esperandieu**:IV.3133.
[584] **Bober**:30
[585] *CIL* XIII.3026c
[586] **Bober**:21.
[587] **Lambrechts 1942**:25; **Jenkins**:63.
[588] **Lambrechts 1942**:26.
[589] **Esperandieu**:II.1319 and 1539; **Lantier**:48 and 49.
[590] **Jenkins**:63.
[591] **Esperandieu**:V.3653.
[592] **Jenkins**:64.
[593] **Bober**:31.
[594] **Bober**:33.
[595] The Remi tribal territory.
[596] **Esperandieu**:VI.4839.
[597] **Bober**:43.
[598] **Paus**.IV.33.4, V.15.8; **Esperandieu**:V.4346.
[599] **Bober**:44.
[600] **Peter**, R. "Dis Pater", *Roscher* i[1], col.1179-1188.
[601] **Lantier**:44, fig.8.
[602] **Lambrechts 1942**:33; **Powell**:156. It may be claimed that the Tricephalic deity is not indigenous and that the examples of it are merely provincial translations of the Roman deity Janus Quadrifons, the absence of the fourth face being due to it not being possible to execute it in relief or the fourth side of a full round statue would be to the wall. The simplest explanation for the fourth face not being executed is that the image is of the Tricephalic deity and not Janus Quadrifons. The Three-headed deity is a recognised Celtic deity.
[603] Belgic Gaul: **Esperandieu**:V.3651-2, 3654-9, 3661, 3751, 3756, 3762; VI.4729 and 4937; IX.7233/7234 and XI.7700.
[604] The Suessiones tribal territory.
[605] **Esperandieu**:XI.7700.
[606] The Petrucores tribal territory.
[607] **Esperandieu**:II.1316
[608] **Lambrechts 1942**:33; **Clarus**:41.
[609] **Esperandieu**:V.3651, 3652 and 3654-3661; **Lambrechts 1942**:33.
[610] **Lambrechts 1942**:33.
[611] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:173.
[612] **Esperandieu**:V.3651, 3652 and 3656.

[613] **Bober**:38.
[614] **Lambrechts 1942**:36; **Bober**:37; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:175; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:101.
[615] **Bober**:38.
[616] **Birkhan**:158.
[617] **Bober**:38.
[618] **Renard 1955**:207.
[619] Bober (**Bober**:37 and 38) disagrees saying that the vases cannot be forced into the framework of deities of the Days of the Week.
[620] **Bober**:37; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:101.
[621] **Birkhan**:158.
[622] **Lambrechts 1942**:36.
[623] **Lambrechts 1942**:36; **Birkhan**:158.
[624] At Aiseau, Baudour, Blicquy, Ciply, Chastres, Fontaine-Valmont, Jupille-lez-Liége, Liberchies Membruggen, Ombret, Rekam, Rosmeer, Rouveror, Taviers, *Turnacum* [Tournai], *Atuatuca Tongrorum* [Tongeren/Tongres].
[625] At *Bagacum Nerviorum* [Bavai] and Élonges-sur-Mons.
[626] **Lambrechts 1942**:36.
[627] **Lambrechts 1942**:41.
[628] **Reinach, S. 1912**:160.
[629] **Esperandieu**:IV.3137.
[630] **Lambrechts 1942**:37.
[631] The Suessiones (**Esperandieu**:XI.7700) and the Remi (**Esperandieu**:V.3659, 3669 and 3756).
[632] **Lambrechts 1942**:38-40.
[633] **Deonna**:
[634] **Birkhan**:160.
[635] **Birkhan**:163.
[636] **Cunliffe 1997**:187.
[637] **Esperandieu**:IV.3137.
[638] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:179; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:101.
[639] **Bober**:37.
[640] **Bober**:39.
[641] Cerberus; Hecate; Typhon; and Geryon.
[642] **Bober**:41.
[643] **Green, M.J. 1992**:227.
[644] The Bituriges Cubi tribal territory
[645] **Esperandieu**:II.1573.
[646] Belgic Gaul: **Esperandieu**:V.3919 and 4018; VI.4786, 4831 and 4839.
[647] The Remi tribal territory
[648] **Esperandieu**:VI.4839.
[649] **Amand**:343-344.
[650] *CIL* XIII.5078. **Even & Le Roux**:295; **Duval 1954**:10; **Gricourt 1955**:69; **Sjoestedt**:43. Many (**Loth**:206; **van Hamel**:238; **Vendryes 1948**:278; **Gricourt 1955**:69; **Dillon**:60; **Raftery**:60; **Birkhan**: 602) interpret them as the plural of the god Lugus. The plural indicates either a triad or, at least, a Dioscuric dyad (**Birkhan**:602). MacCana (**MacCana**:28) suggests a triplication of the deity and that it is more probable that they are some gods Lugus, just as there are some gods Mars, as seen in the dedication to *Martibus* (*CIL* XIII.4218), in a form of the plural of majesty (**Vendryes 1948**:279; **Gricourt 1955**:69). The *Lugoves* might be nature goddesses of prosperity and creation (**Loth**:225; **Vendryes 1948**:279); for Loth (**Loth**:206) they were definitely gods or goddesses connected to Lug. Sjoestedt (**Sjoestedt**:43) suggests that this is a reference to the Irish legend of two brothers of Lug.
[651] **Duval 1954**:11.
[652] *CIL*.II.2732.
[653] *CIL*.XIII.996.
[654] *CIL*.XIII.3043.
[655] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:45 and 72.
[656] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:33; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:45, 72; **Green, M.J. 1995b**:474.
[657] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:72.
[658] **Duval 1957**:93.
[659] **Green, M.J. 1989a**: 45 and 73; **Green, M.J. 1995b**:474; **Aldhouse-Green**:106.

[660] *CIL*.XIII.6018,6025, 6157, 7532, 7533; **Schleiermacher**:113; **Grenier 1945**:349; **Bémont 1960-61**:29; **de Vries 1961**:119; **Bémont 1969**:23; **Horne & King**:441; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:60.
[661] *CIL*.XIII.6384. **Schleiermacher**:113 n.6; **Bémont 1960-61**:29and 30; **de Vries 1961**:119.
[662] **Esperandieu**:V.3668, 3962, 4288, 4324, 4346, 4488 and VI.4579 and 4709; *CIL*.XIII.2831; 4123; 4192; 4193; 4194; 4195; 4208; 4311; 4683; 4684; 4685; 4705; 4732; 5677; 5939; 6222; 6263; 7683; 11263; 11696; **MacCulloch**:43; **Schleiermacher**:113; **Grenier 1945**:349; **Duval 1957**:55 and 93; **Benoît 1959**:64; **Schindler**:85; **de Vries 1961**:118, 141; **Bémont 1969**:23 and 33; **MacCana**:49; **Wightman 1970**:210, 225; **Wightman 1985**:182; **Wightman 1986**:551, 556; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42, 45, 54 and 55; **Green, M.J. 1993**:41; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:125; **Green, M.J. 1995b**:474; **Green, M.J. 1996**:28.
[663] The Treveri tribal territory.
[664] **Horne & King**:441
[665] *CIL* XIII.4235, 4237- MERCURIO/ET ROSMER(tae)/ MESSOR/CANI/LIBERTUS.
[666] **Bémont 1960-61**:35; **Wightman 1970**: 220; **Horne & King**:441; **Cabuy**:315.
[667] **Duval 1957**:55-56.
[668] **Bémont 1960-61**:29; **de Vries 1961**:118.
[669] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:55; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:127.
[670] **de Vries 1961**:118; **Bémont 1969**:23; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:55.
[671] The Leuci tribal territory.
[672] **Esperandieu**:VI.4709.
[673] **de Vries 1961**:118.
[674] **MacCulloch**:43.
[675] **Bémont 1969**:33.
[676] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:57.
[677] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:57.
[678] **Schleiermacher**:113; **Duval 1957**:55 56 and 93; **Bémont 1960-61**:36 and 37; **de Vries 1961**:118; **Bémont 1969**:24; **Green, M.J. 1986a**: 95 and 97.; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42, 56 and 57; **Clarus**:40; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:125, 126 and 128. Bémont (**Bémont 1960-61**:36) claims that the *caduceus* is the attribute of Maia.
[679] **Bémont 1960-61**:30; **de Vries 1961**:118 and 119; **Wightman 1985**:182; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:97; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42, 55 and 56; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:125 and 127.
[680] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:127.
[681] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:43 and 57.
[682] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:57.
[683] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:57.
[684] Bierbach-Klosterwald-**Grenier 1958**:852 and 855; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:234; **Horne & King**:387 and 388; **Bertin**:No.32. Matagne-la-Petite- **Horne & King**:431.
[685] **Bémont 1969**:33.
[686] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:126 and 127; **Green, M.J. 1995b**:474.
[687] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:60; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:126.
[688] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42.
[689] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:107.
[690] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:57.
[691] **Bémont 1969**:33.
[692] **Derks**:117.
[693] The Tungri tribal territory.
[694] **Esperandieu**:VI.4828.
[695] *CIL* XIII.4498; **MacCulloch**:42; **Grenier 1945**:349; **Duval 1957**:56 and 93; **Jenkins**:65; **de Vries 1961**:141; **Schindler**:85; **MacCana**:49; **Wightman 1970**:221; **Wightman 1985**:182; **Wightman 1986**:554, 556; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:161; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:43, 45; **Green, M.J. 1992**:224; **Green, M.J. 1993**:41 and 42; **Birkhan**:590; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:102, 125; **Green, M.J. 1995b**:474; **Green, M.J. 1996**:29.
[696] **Wightman 1985**:182.
[697] **Green, M.J. 1996**:29.
[698] **Birkhan**:621.
[699] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:102; **Green, M.J. 1996**:29.
[700] **Grenier 1945**:828.
[701] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:102; **Green, M.J. 1996**:29.

[702] On the border of the Treveri tribal territory and the province of *Upper Germany*.
[703] **Esperandieu**:XIV.8436.
[704] **Esperandieu**: XIV.8435 and .
[705] **Birkhan**:622.
[706] **Horne & King**:441.
[707] **Thévenot 1946**:103-4; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:102; **Green, M.J. 1996b**:30.
[708] **Esperandieu**:V.4470.
[709] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:102; **Green, M.J. 1996b**:30.
[710] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:43; **Green, M.J. 1992**: 34 and 225; **Green, M.J. 1993**:42; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:103; **Green, M.J. 1996b**:30.
[711] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:162 and 165; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:43; **Green, M.J. 1992**:225; **Green, M.J. 1993**:42; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:103; **Green, M.J. 1996b**:30.
[712] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:103; **Green, M.J. 1996b**:30.
[713] *IG* IV.952.
[714] **Jenkins**:65.
[715] **Grenier 1958**: 889 and 892; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:43; **Green, M.J. 1992**:224-225; **Green, M.J. 1993**:42.
[716] **Esperandieu**:V.4470; **Grenier 1958**:828 and 829; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:43. Significantly, the name of the site is the equivalent of the Celtic name Icovellauna, which means "Good Water" and is a goddess worshipped at the octagonal *Nymphaeum* of Sablon near *Divodurum* [Metz] (**Grenier 1958**:828).
[717] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:43.
[718] *CIL* XIII.586.
[719] **Green, M.J. 1995b**:474.
[720] Also known as the temple of Lenus Mars (**Horne & King**:481).
[721] The Treveri tribal territory.
[722] **Grenier 1945**:420; **Thévenot 1955**:137 n.3; **Wightman 1970**:214; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:165; **Green, M.J. 1993**:42; **Green, M.J. 1996b**:30.
[723] **Thévenot 1955**:137 n.3; **Wightman 1970**:214; **Hatt**:132.
[724] *CIL* XIII.4119.
[725] **Duval 1952-53**:224; **Grenier 1958**:876, n.2.
[726] **Hettner**:31; **Hatt 1979**:129, 133.
[727] *P-W* 1955.264; **Grenier 1958**:876.
[728] **Wightman 1970**:214 and 223.
[729] **Thévenot 1955**:137-8.
[730] **Hettner**:31; **Hatt 1979**:129 and 133
[731] *P-W* 1955.264; **Grenier 1958**: 876, n.2; **Thévenot 1955**:137 n.3 and 164; **Wightman 1970**:214 and 223; **Wightman 1985**:182; **Metzler**:36; **Green, M.J. 1993**:42; **Green, M.J. 1996b**:30.
[732] **Green, M.J. 1996b**:30.
[733] **Grenier 1945**:349; **Duval 1957**:57 and 93; **de Vries 1961**:141; **MacCana**:49; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:45; **Green, M.J. 1995b**:474. See page CLXXXVI.
[734] **Duval 1957**:57 and 93.
[735] **Duval 1957**:93; **de Vries 1961**:141; **MacCana**:49.
[736] **de Vries 1961**:141.
[737] **Reinach 1912**:48 and 59; **Linckenheld**:40, 41, 46, 59, 62 and 89; **Lambrechts 1942**:100 and 108; **Grenier 1945**:349; **Heichelheim & Housman**:305; **Duval 1957**:56, 61; **de Vries 1961**:141; **Bémont 1969**:39; **MacCana**:44, 49; **Wightman 1985**:182; **Wightman 1986**:558; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:95-96; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:45 and 46; **Deyts 1992**:90; **Green, M.J. 1992**:211; **Green, M.J. 1993**:41; **Birkhan**:610; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:125; **Green, M.J. 1995b**:474.
[738] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:128.
[739] The Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[740] **Esperandieu**:VI.4566.
[741] *CIL* XIII.4542.
[742] **Esperandieu**:4566, *CIL* XIII.4542; **Esperandieu**:4568, *CIL* XIII.4543.
[743] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42 and 54; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:130.
[744] **Linckenheld**:89.
[745] **Linckenheld**:60 and 90.
[746] **Esperandieu**:VI.4566, *CIL* XIII.4542; **Esperandieu**:VI.4568, *CIL* XIII.4543.

[747] **Linckenheld**:60.
[748] **Linckenheld**:60 and 85; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:97; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42 and 47; **Green, M.J. 1992**:212; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:128; **Birkhan**:611.
[749] **Reinach**:46; **Linckenheld**:60 and 85; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:97; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42, 47 and 48; **Green, M.J. 1992**:211; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:128.
[750] **Esperandieu**:VI.4566.
[751] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:128.
[752] **Esperandieu**:VI.4568.
[753] **Green, M.J. 1992**:212
[754] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42.
[755] **Linckenheld**:60-62 and 89; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:97; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42 and 48; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:128 and 131; **Birkhan**:611.
[756] **de Vries 1961**:92; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42 and 54; **Green, M.J. 1992**:211; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:131; **Birkhan**:611.
[757] **Linckenheld**:90.
[758] **Linckenheld**:91.
[759] **Linckenheld**:78.
[760] **Esperandieu**:VI.4566 and 4568.
[761] **Esperandieu**:VI.6000.
[762] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:130.
[763] **Green, M.J. 1995a**:130.
[764] **Linckenheld**:59 and 78.
[765] The Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[766] **Esperandieu**:VI.4568.
[767] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:48; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:128.
[768] **Linckenheld**:59.
[769] **Grenier 1945**:349.
[770] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:42; **Green, M.J. 1996**:28.
[771] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:72-73.
[772] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:95; **Green, M.J. 1989a**: 45 and 73.
[773] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:73; **Aldhouse-Green**:106.
[774] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:73.
[775] **Green, M.J. 1993**:42.
[776] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:78; **de Vries 1961**:121.
[777] The *Iunones*, who protected women (**MacCulloch 1911**:45 and 46; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:79-80), and the *Suleviae*, who presided over springs (**Cunliffe 1997**:187).
[778] The *Domesticae*, pertaining to the household (**MacCulloch 1911**:45).
[779] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:78. A rather strange locality for Mother-Goddesses is cross-roads, governed by *Matres Biviae*, *Triviae* and *Quadruviae* (**MacCulloch 1948**:29; **Duval 1957**:54).
[780] **Rhys**:101; **Duval 1957**:52 and 53; **Powell**:156; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:78-79. The *Treverae* were obviously only worshipped in the Treveri tribal territory (**Duval 1957**:53; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:79).
[781] **Toutain**:243.
[782] **von Petrikovits**:105.
[783] **MacCulloch 1911**:45; **Jullian 1920**:59; **Duval 1957**:52; **de Vries 1961**:121 and 123; **MacCana**:49; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:83; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:190; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:106; **Green, M.J. 1995a**:106.
[784] **Duval 1957**:63.
[785] **Esperandieu**:VI.4678.
[786] The Leuci tribal territory
[787] **Esperandieu**:VI.4937.
[788] The Treveri tribal territory.
[789] *CIL* XIII; *P-W* 1950.202; **Grenier 1958**:421; **Hatt 1979**:127.
[790] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:78.
[791] **Rhys**:100; **MacCulloch 1911**:44; **MacCulloch 1948**:29; **Duval 1957**:52 and 55; **de Vries 1961**:120 and 121; **MacCana**:49; **Powell**:155; **Green, M.J. 1986**:81; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:100; **Green, M.J. 1993**:54; **Green, M.J. 1995**:106; **Clarus**:40.

[792] **Rhys**:100; **MacCulloch 1911**:44; **MacCulloch 1948**:30; **Duval 1957**:52 and 54; **MacCana**:49-50; **Powell**:155; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:81, 82 and 210; **Green, M.J. 1989b**:105; **Green, M.J. 1993**:54; **Clarus**:40; **Deyts 1992**:60.
[793] **Esperandieu**:VIII.6307, 6309, 6337, 6342, 6344, 6349, 6353, 6401, 6412, 6559, 6560; IX.6563, 6567, 6569; XI.7760, 7761, 7764, 7766 and 7777
[794] **Lambrechts 1942**:43.
[795] The Nervii tribal territory
[796] **MacCulloch 1911**:44; **de Vries 1961**:120; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:83; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:190.
[797] **MacCulloch 1948**:29; **Duval 1957**:52; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:83; **Green, M.J. 1995**:107.
[798] **MacCulloch 1911**:44.
[799] **Lambrechts 1942**:43.
[800] The Nervii tribal territory.
[801] **Green, M.J. 1995**:107.
[802] The Pictones tribal territory.
[803] **Esperandieu**:II.1394.
[804] **Linckenheld**:66.
[805] **Bober**:39.
[806] **Toutain**:245.
[807] *Samarobriva* [Amiens]-**Esperandieu**:V.3934; *Divodurum* [Metz]- **Esperandieu**:V.4360 and 4383; Dalheim and Luxemburg- **Esperandieu**:V.4266, 4272 and 4280.
[808] The Ambiani tribal territory.
[809] The Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[810] The Treveri tribal territory.
[811] **Linckenheld**:57-58, 65, 66, 67 and 68; **Green, M.J. 1992**:212.
[812] **Linckenheld**:69.
[813] **Linckenheld**:69.
[814] **Linckenheld**:70.
[815] **MacCana**:49.
[816] **Aldhouse-Green**:111.
[817] **Bhreathnach**:246; **Aldhouse-Green**:111.
[818] Belgic Gaul: **Esperandieu**:V.3670 and 3673 (Cybele), V.3666, 3783, 4116, 4126, 4132, 4140, 4143, 4151, 4214, 4429, 4430, 4472, 4477, 4482, 4495, 4497 and VI. 4641, 4797, 4939, 5017, 5107, 5236, 5250, 5252 (Diana), VI.5127 (Diana and Apollo), V.4003-4, 4141, 4247, 4286 and VI. 4662, 4899, 4936, 4940, 4950, 5028, 5067, 5081, 5125, 5128 and 5248 (*Fortuna*), V.3793, 4299 and VI.4982 (Isis), V.3796, 3930, 3992, 4123, 4141, 4191, 4266, 4272, 4280, 4464, 4475 and VI.4502, 4662, 4742, 4781, 4791, 4951, 5031, 5034, 5043, 5065-66, 5068 and 5263 (*Abundantia*), V.3662, 3793, 3849, 4012, 4017, 4068, 4116, 4122, 4126-7, 4129-30, 4132, 4135, 4225, 4228, 4238, 4252, 4359, 4425, 4485, 4498 and VI.4628, 4717, 4895, 4918, 4927, 4930-31, 4933, 5022, 5100, 5116, 5129, 5230, 5233, 5235 and 7592 (Minerva), VI.4671 (Minerva and Mars), V.3660, 3671, 3681, 3792, 3984, 3989, 4015, 4227, 4338 and VI.4510, 4623, 4688, 4718-19, 4722, 4725, 4759, 4797, 4824, 4827, 4834, 4836, 4945, 4984-85, 5037, 5090 and 5130 (Venus), V.3664 and VI.5127 (Venus and Vulcan) andV.4130 (Venus and Mercury).
Aquitania: **Esperandieu**:II.892, 1242, 1399, 1408 (Cybele), II.892, 929, 1076, 1243, 1261, 1324, 1372 (Diana), II.1416 (*Fortuna*), II.926-7 and 1056 (Isis), II.1418, 1528, 1563 and 1580 (*Abundantia*), II.892, 898, 906-7, 916, 1009, 1065-6, 1240, 1245, 1323, 1392, 1408, 1410, 1706, 1720 and 1724 (Minerva), II.1593 (Minerva and Mars), II.901-905, 917-8, 1005, 1052, 1066, 1076, 1204, 1215, 1256, 1259, 1286, 1302, 1305, 1541, 1604, 1639 and 1715 (Venus), II.1593 (Venus, Apollo and Mercury).
[819] Dhronecken: Cybele and Venus (**Bertin** No.71; **Cabuy**:272); Fliessem/Otrang: Diana (**Cabuy**:279); Graach: Cybele (**Cabuy**:282); Gusenburg: Cybele; Diana; *Fortuna*; Venus (**Cabuy**:284); Hochsheid: Diana (**Bertin** No.102), Cybele, *Fortuna* and Venus (**Cabuy**:293); Hofstade-lès-Alost: Cybele (**Bertin** No.103); Martelange: Diana and Venus (**Cabuy**:360); Möhn: *Fortuna* and Venus (**Cabuy**:303); Nattenheim: *Fortuna* (**Bertin** No.139); Serrig: Diana (**Cabuy**:337); Tawern: "Artemis of Ephesus" and Isis (**Cabuy**:343); Velosne: Victory(?) (**Bertin** No. 223; **Cabuy**:344).
[820] Belgic Gaul*: CIL* XIII.3459, 3605, 4104, 4469 and 4471 (Diana); 3461 (Isis); 4467 (Venus). Aquitania: *CIL* XIII.83, 504-525, 572-573, 947 and 11042 (Cybele/*Magna Mater*); 382 and 1495 (Diana); 153 (Isis).

[821] Dalheim (**Cabuy**:267); Dhronecken (**Bertin** No.71; **Cabuy**:272); Graach (**Cabuy**:282); Gusenburg (**Cabuy**:284); Hochsheid (**Bertin** No.102; **Cabuy**:293); Hofstade-lès-Alost (**Bertin** No.103); Martelange (**Cabuy**:360)
[822] Belgic Gaul- *CIL* XIII.4053; Aquitania-*CIL* XIII.8.
[823] **Birkhan**:610.
[824] The Bituriges Cubi tribal territory.
[825] **Esperandieu**:II.1621.
[826] **Esperandieu**:VI.4566, 4708, 4804, 4848 and 4946.
[827] The Suessiones tribal territory.
[828] **Esperandieu**:VI.4848.
[829] **Esperandieu**:5564.
[830] **Esperandieu**:4566, *CIL* XIII.4542; **Esperandieu**:4568, *CIL* XIII.4543.
[831] **Linckenheld**:41.
[832] **Green, M.J. 1989a**:75.
[833] **Linckenheld**:83; **Bober**:40; **Jenkins**:60 and 62; **Green, M.J. 1992**:211. Linckenheld (**Linckenheld**:84) does not accept a link with the hammer of the Scandanavian and Germanic Thor and Birkhan (**Birkhan**:610) insists that it must not be called a hammer.
[834] **Linckenheld**:85; **Bober**:40; **Green, M.J. 1992**:212.
[835] **Linckenheld**:84; **Lambrechts 1942**:101-102; **Bober**:40; **Duval 1957**:61-62; **Jenkins**:60 and 62; **de Vries 1961**:91; **MacCana**:44; **Boucher**:165; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:76; **Deyts 1992**:85; **Olmsted 1994**:300 and 301; **York**:91.
[836] **Birkhan**:611.
[837] **Bober**:40.
[838] **Linckenheld**:83.
[839] **Linckenheld**:83; **Lambrechts 1942**:106; **Duval 1957**:60-61 and 63; **de Vries 1961**:93; **Boucher**:164; **Deyts 1992**:93.
[840] **Linckenheld**:84.
[841] **Linckenheld**:85.
[842] **Linckenheld**:89.
[843] **Linckenheld**:84.
[844] **Linckenheld**:84.
[845] **Linckenheld**:90.
[846] **Linckenheld**:89 and 90.
[847] **Reinach 1896**:59; **Reinach 1912**:229; **Lambrechts 1942**:108-115; **Heichelheim & Housman**:308; **Thévenot 1953**:304; **Jenkins**:60 and 62; **Boucher**:164; **Deyts 1992**:94; **Clemen**:123. de Vries (**de Vries 1961**:95) argues against this. Reinach (**Reinach, S. 1912**:229), the exponent of this identification, argues that, according to Caesar, Dispater, Father of the Gallic race, was a chthonic, nocturnal deity and that the deity with a mallet, known as Sucellus, is the only deity, out of all the Gallo-Roman monuments, who resembles the form of the Underworld deities of the Classical world, probably referring to the mallet and its resemblance to Charon's hammer and he contends that either Caesar is wrong in stating that there was such a god or the Gallo-Romans conspicuously failed to make images of their divine father. Since Caesar's source of information about Gallic religion was the druid Diviacus and other information from Caesar, such as the popularity of Mercury, has been proved correct by archaeology, there should be representations of him.
[848] **Bober**:40; **Duval 1957**:79; **de Vries 1961**:93; **Deyts 1992**:90. This is based on two points. The first is the Sulzbach monument in southern Germany, which depicts a seated couple, the man holding an unrolled scroll, the woman a basket of fruits, and has an inscription (*CIL* XIII.6322- *DEAE SANCTAE* (?) *AERECVRAE ET DITI PATRI*) identifying the god as Dispater; therefore, it is reasoned that, since this is the god Caesar calls Dispater, from the inscription and if Dispater is depicted with no mallet, dog or olla, then the god with the mallet is not Dispater.This is apparently confirmed by the fact that there are no images of the god with the mallet in the region of "Dispater" and Aerecura and no image of this deity in the area of the god with the mallet. The second point has three prongs. First there are a large number of monuments of Sucellus in which one can recognise Silvanus and has led some to assign *all* monuments of Sucellus to Silvanus; Linckenheld (**Linckenheld**:75) is right to suggest that this is fallacious. Second, some monuments with the name of Silvanus depict him with a mallet or an *olla*. Finally, Sucellus is sometimes depicted with a pruning knife or a syrinx, attributes of Silvanus.
[849] Fell (**Cabuy**:276); Géroumont (**Bertin** No. 90); and Hochsheid (**Cabuy**:293).

[850] Linckenheld's (**Linckenheld**:46-49) explanation is based on the fact that Celtic deities can sometimes be assimilated to one Roman deity and his image, sometimes to another, depending on which activity is emphasised. Therefore, in southern Germany the Celtic Dispater had the form on the Sulzbach monument, while in the Rhone valley he resembled Sucellus; this is explained by the fact that that region was a heavily-Romanised province due to the presence of the Roman army. Logically, Linckenheld contends, this would mean that there was no form of a god with a mallet in southern Germany or a deity like that from Sulzbach in the Rhone valley or in that region where images of Sucellus have been found and this is indeed the case. As regards the identification of Silvanus, a fertility deity, with Sucellus Linckenheld argues that in the cases where the images of Sucellus had the attributes of the Roman Silvanus, Sucellus' *numen* had imported some traits, but had not changed his distinct nature. In iconography and literature Silvanus was part-human and was identifird with Pan. One of the three aspects of Silvanus was Silvanus *domesticus*, protector of the home (the others were *agrestis* and one for the boundaries); Linckenheld argues that Sucellus imported the clothing and attributes of Silvanus because there was no ther deity in the Roman pantheon, who expressed so well the fertility and domestic functions of Sucellus. This is confirmed by the fact that Silvanus' consort, Diana, who did not express the same functions as Nantosuelta, is represented only in the very Romanised, but Nantosuelta is represented everywhere else and the fact that the assimilation of Sucellus with Silvanus was in the highly Romanised Lower Rhone.
[851] **Birkhan**:610.
[852] **Heichelheim & Housman**:308; **Duval 1957**:62 and 63; **Deyts 1992**:94; **York**:91. De Vries (**de Vries 1961**:95) disagrees, although accepting that the club connects the Dagda with Succellus (**de Vries 1961**:38).
[853] **Sterckx 1995**:12.
[854] **Sterckx 1995**:12 and 13.
[855] **Birkhan**:554.
[856] York (**York**:92) also contends that the Dagda and Dispater have their origin in a single deity, but, although he identifies Sucellus with the Dagda and Dispater, for him the single deity is Teutates, the personification of the tribe, whom he identifies with Smertrius;
[857] Belgic Gaul:**Vendryes 1948**:286-287; Aquitania:**Higounet**:64.
[858] Belgic Gaul:**Vendryes 1948**:285-286; Aquitania:**Higounet**:61-62 and 62-64.
[859] Belgic Gaul:**Vendryes 1948**:287; Aquitania:**Higounet**:62.
[860] Belgic Gaul:**Vendryes 1948**:287; Aquitania:**Higounet**:61.
[861] **Derks**:100.
[862] **Derks**:91.
[863] *CIL* XIII.4304- *Divodurum* [Metz] in the Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[864] *CIL* XIII.7781- In the Treveri tribal territory.
[865] *CIL* XIII.3659 (In the Treveri tribal territory) and 4500 (Kreuzwald-près-Metz in the Mediomatrici tribal territory).
[866] *CIL* XIII.4564-Marsal in the Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[867] *CIL* XIII.4256- Tholey on the border of the Treveri and Mediomatrici tribal territories.
[868] *CIL* XIII.4308- *Divodurum* [Metz] in the Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[869] *CIL* XIII.4130- Bitburg in the Treveri tribal territory.
[870] *CIL* XIII.3660 (*Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory) and 4257 (Tholey on the border of the Treveri and Mediomatrici tribal territories).
[871] *CIL* XIII.1517, 1525 and 4550- Le Donon on the border of the Leuci, Mediomatrici tribal territories and Upper Germany.
[872] *CIL* XIII.1522- Puy-de-Dôme in the Arvernian tribal territory.
[873] *CIL* XIII.1125-*Lemonum* [Poitiers] in the Turones tribal territory.
[874] *CIL* XIII.8726-*Lemonum* [Poitiers] in the Turones tribal territory.
[875] *CIL* II.1368- Puy-de-Dôme in the Arvernian tribal territory.
[876] *CIL* XIII.1532- Puy-de-Dôme in the Arvernian tribal territory.
[877] *CIL* XIII.576- *Burdigala* [Bordeaux] in the Bituriges Vivi tribal territory.
[878] *CIL* XIII.577- *Burdigala* [Bordeaux] in the Bituriges Vivi tribal territory.
[879] *CIL* XIII.3980 (*Orolaunum* [Arlon] in the Treveri tribal territory) and 8701 (Set up by inhabitants of the Remi tribal territory) and *AE* 1935.64 (*Divodurum* [Reims] in the Remi tribal territory).
[880] *CIL* XIII.4507, 6455 and 6572- *Pons Sarravi* [Sarrebrück/Sarrebourg] in the Mediomatrici tribal territory and *CIL* XIII.4258- Tholey on the border of the Treveri and Mediomatrici tribal territories..
[881] *CIL* XIII.3632, 3653 and 11313- *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory.

[882] **Finke** 15, 16 and 17- The Temple of Trier-'Irminenwingert in *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory.
[883] CIL XIII.3654 (*Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory) and **Finke** 20 and 21 (The Temple of Trier-'Irminenwingert in *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory).
[884] *CIL* XIII.4119- Möhn in the Treveri tribal territory.
[885] *CIL* XIII.4049- Dalheim in the Treveri tribal territory.
[886] *CIL* XIII.4366- Loudenvielle.
[887] *CIL* XIII.1353- Berry in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[888] *CIL* XIII.87- Gourdon.
[889] *CIL* XIII.108, 109, 110, 111, 12, 113 and 114- Ardiège in the Convenae tribal territory.
[890] *CIL* XIII.422, 423 and 424- Aire-sur-l'Adour in the Sitiates tribal territory.
[891] *CIL* XIII.1193- *Avaricum* [Bourges] in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[892] *CIL* XIII.1190- *Avaricum* [Bourges] in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[893] *CIL* XIII.1516- Auvergne in the Arverni tribal territory.
[894] *CIL* XIII.1397- Vichy in the Arverni tribal territory.
[895] *CIL* XIII.4129 (Bitburg in the Treveri tribal territory) and *AE* 1937.55 (Grand in the Leuci tribal territory)
[896] *CIL* XIII.1318- Mauvières in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[897] *AE* 1962.225- *Lemonum* [Poitiers] in the Turones tribal territory.
[898] *CIL* XIII.939- Périgueux in the Petrucores tribal territory.
[899] *CIL* XIII.370- Cadeac in the Convenae tribal territory.
[900] *CIL* XIII.8- Saint-Lizier in the Volcae Tectosages tribal territory.
[901] **Van Andringa 2002**:151.
[902] **Van Andringa 2002**:146 and 147.
[903] *CIL* XIII.8701.
[904] **Van Andringa 2002**:147.
[905] **Van Andringa 2002**:258.
[906] **Van Andringa 2002**:259 and 261.
[907] **Van Andringa 2002**:258.
[908] **Hatt 1986**:414.
[909] **Vendryes 1948**:262.
[910] *CIL* XIII.4142- Murlenbach in the Treveri tribal territory.
[911] *CIL* XIII.7555a-b- Wederath in the Treveri tribal territory.
[912] *CIL* XIII.8007.
[913] *CIL* XIII.4297- *Divodurum* [Metz] in the Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[914] *CIL* XIII.3632 (Foy in the Tungri tribal territory), *AE* 1992.1248 (Dalheim in the Treveri tribal territory); **Finke** 18 and 19 (The Temple of Trier-'Irminenwingert in *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory); and **Cüppers**:97 (Ernzen in the Treveri tribal territory).
[915] **Finke** 11- The Temple of Trier-'Irminenwingert in *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory.
[916] *CIL* XIII.4542 (*Pons Sarravi* [Sarrebourg], near *Divodurum* [Metz]) in the Mediomatrici tribal territory).
[917] *KLT* 301- The Altcahtal temple precinct in *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory.
[918] *CIL* XIII.3968- Géromont in the Treveri tribal territory.
[919] *CIL* XIII.4542 (*Pons Sarravi* [Sarrebourg], near *Divodurum* [Metz]) in the Mediomatrici tribal territory).
[920] *CIL* XIII.12011- Cornelimunster on the border of the Tungri tribal territory and *Lower Germany*.
[921] *AE* 1968.311- Strée-Lez-Huy in the Tungri tribal territory.
[922] *CIL* XIII.6404.
[923] *CIL* XIII.39- Saint-Béat in the Volcae Tectosages tribal territory.
[924] *CIL* XIII.11011a- *Lugdunum Convenarum* [Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges] in in the Convenae tribal territory.
[925] *CIL* XIII.312- Siradan in the Convenae tribal territory.
[926] *CIL* XIII.221- Rebouc in the Convenae tribal territory.
[927] *CIL* XIII.47 and 48- Gaud in the Convenae tribal territory.
[928] *CIL* XIII.432- Auch in the Elusates tribal territory.

[929] *CIL* XIII.15- Caumont in the Ruteni tribal territory.
[930] *CIL* XIII.41- Saint-Béat in the Volcae Tectosages tribal territory.
[931] *CIL* XIII.63- Saint-Pé d'Ardet in the Convenae tribal territory.
[932] *CIL* XIII.64 (Saint-Pé d'Ardet), 70 (Ourde), 71 (Ourde) and 73 (Malvezie) in the Convenae tribal territory; *AE* 1951.117- Saint-Pé d'Ardet in the Convenae tribal territory.
[933] *CIL* XIII.31- Saint-Béat in the Volcae Tectosages tribal territory.
[934] *CIL* XIII.323- Cier-de-Luchon in the Convenae tribal territory.
[935] *CIL* XIII.301- Redous in the Convenae tribal territory.
[936] *AE* 1953.1- Auch in the Elusates tribal territory.
[937] *AE* 1957.227- Gensac-de-Boulogne.
[938] *CIL* XIII.1326-Genouilly in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[939] *AE* 1949.113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126 and 127, 1950.127, 1951.233, 234, 236 and 1965.273- Saint-Béat in the Volcae Tectosages tribal territory.
[940] *CIL* XIII.1189- *Avaricum* [Bourges] in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[941] *CIL* XIII.109- Tardets in the Tarbelli tribal territory.
[942] *CIL* XIII.1370- *Aquae Neri* [Néris] in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[943] *CIL* XIII.65- Saint-Pé d'Ardet in the Convenae tribal territory.
[944] *CIL* XIII.42- Saint-Béat in the Volcae Tectosages tribal territory.
[945] *CIL* XIII.370, 372 and 374- Cadéac in the Convenae tribal territory.
[946] *CIL* XIII.96,97,98,100,101, 102, 105, 106, 107 and 108- Ardiège in the Convenae tribal territory.
[947] *CIL* XIII.11082- *Avaricum* [Bourges] in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[948] *CIL* XIII.11153- Gièvres in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[949] *CIL* XIII.1371- *Aquae Neri* [Néris] in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[950] *CIL* XIII.581- *Burdigala* [Bordeaux] in the Bituriges Vivi tribal territory.
[951] *CIL* XIII.586- *Burdigala* [Bordeaux] in the Bituriges Vivi tribal territory.
[952] *CIL* XIII.11162- Sagonne in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory..
[953] *CIL* XIII.1195- *Avaricum* [Bourges] in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[954] *CIL* XIII.950- Périgueux in the Petrucores tribal territory.
[955] *CIL* XIII.164- Saint-Placard in the Convenae tribal territory.
[956] *CIL* XIII.952- Périgueux in the Petrucores tribal territory.
[957] *CIL* XIII.1180- Poitou in the Turones tribal territory.
[958] *AE* 1960.171- Vernais.
[959] *CIL* XIII.1575- Le Puy.
[960] *CIL* XIII.174- Between Landorthe and Saint-Gaudens.
[961] *CIL* XIII.167- Cardeilhac
[962] *AE* 1935.61- Castelnau-Barbarens.
[963] *CIL* XIII.85 (Gourdan) and 318 (Sost).
[964] *AE* 1939.49- Bazus-sur-Neste.
[965] *CIL* XIII.86- Gourdan.
[966] *CIL* XIII.86- Melles.
[967] *CIL* XIII.11014- Gazost.
[968] *CIL* XIII.70 and 78- Boucou.
[969] *CIL* XIII.93- Huos.
[970] *CIL* XIII.146- Eoux.
[971] *CIL* XIII.58- Eup.
[972] *CIL* XIII.397- In the Pyrenees.
[973] *CIL* XIII.181- Montégut.
[974] *CIL* XIII.49- Ore.
[975] *CIL* XIII.345, 346, 347 and 348- Luchon; *AE* 1939.50-Montauban-de-Luchon
[976] *CIL* XIII.231- Tibiran.
[977] *CIL* XIII.154- Mondilhan.
[978] *CIL* XIII.334 and 335- Garin.
[979] *CIL* XIII.142- Alan.
[980] *CIL* XIII.388- Asque.
[981] *CIL* XIII.130- Arbas.
[982] *CIL* XIII.4142- Murlenbach in the Treveri tribal territory.
[983] *CIL* XIII.7555a-b- Wederath in the Treveri tribal territory.
[984] *CIL* XIII.4297- *Divodurum* [Metz] in the Mediomatrici tribal territory.

[985] *KLT* 180 - The Temple of Trier-'Irminenwingert in *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory.
[986] *KLT* 301- The Altcahtal temple precinct in *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory.
[987] *AE* 1968.311- Strée-Lez-Huy in the Tungri tribal territory.
[988] **Van Andringa 2002**:302-304.
[989] *ILTG* 168- Vernais in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[990] *ILTG* 155- Rivières in the Santones tribal territory.
[991] *CIL* XIII.1376-7- *Aquae Neri* [Néris] in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[992] *KLT* 302- *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory.
[993] *CIL* XIII.1524- Puy-de-Dôme in the Arvernian tribal territory.
[994] *CIL* XIII.11162- Sagonne in the Bituriges Cubes tribal territory.
[995] *CIL* XIII.948- Périgueux in the Petrucores tribal territory.
[996] **Van Andringa 2002**:299-301
[997] **Van Andringa 2002**:163.
[998] **Van Andringa 2002**:163
[999] **Van Andringa 2002**:240.
[1000] **Van Andringa 2002**:246 and 249.
[1001] **Van Andringa 2002**:251.
[1002] **Van Andringa 2002**:133.

Chapter Four
Gallic Sanctuaries

[1] **Ross 1986**:104.
[2] **Ross 1986**:112.
[3] **Brunaux 2004**:94.
[4] **Brunaux 1995b**:142; **Woolf 1998**:210.
[5] **Méniel 2001**:77.
[6] **Brunaux 1995b**:142.
[7] **Bertin**:77 and 98.
[8] **Brunaux 1986**:28-29; **Brunaux 1989**:12.
[9] **Méniel 2001**:77.
[10] **Dupuich**:111.
[11] **Cabuy 1991**:34; **Lambot 1991**:71; **Webster, J. 1995**:456, 458 and 459.
[12] **Darda, Motykova & Rybova**:200.
[13] **Brunaux 1986**:29.
[14] Fichtl sets out the temporal context of the sanctuaries. Their appearance coincides with the arrival of the people called the Belgae. They were in the region north of the river Seine at the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones at the end of the 2nd century BCE and the confrontation between the Belgae and these two peoples is generally held to have been 103 BCE. Therefore, this date is considered as the latest by which the sanctuaries could have been installed (**Fichtl**:37). However, most of the pre-Roman sites in Belgic Gaul date only from the second part of the 1st century BC, the most ancient structures being rarely known since later Gallo-Roman temples often hid the first phase of occupation (**Fichtl**:39). Metzler (**Metzler**:36) states that the beginnings of the Gallic sanctuaries in the Treveri tribal territory seem to have been much later than those in Picardy, since, with the exception of Otzenhausen, which began in the La Tène C2 and was abandoned in La Tène D1, nothing is known before the La Tène D1.
[15] Acy-Romance-"La Croizette" (La Tène C2 to La Tène D1) (**Lambot 1991**:68-69), Chilly, Estrées-Saint-Denis (To second half of 1st century BCE) (**Fichtl**:38), Fesques (From the middle La Tène/2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE) (**Méniel 2001**:83), Montmartin (*c.*100 BCE (**Brunaux 1991b**:125) or La Tène C2 to La Tène D1 (**Fichtl**:34)), Morvilliers-Saint-Saturnin (From the middle or second half of the 2nd century BCE to the middle or first half of the 1st century BCE (**Delplace 1991**:196 and 198) of Middle of 1st century BCE to end of 1st century BCE or first third of 1st century CE (**Fichtl**:38)), Mouzon-Flavier (Second half of 1st century BCE) (**Fichtl**:38), Nanteuil-sur-Aisne (La Tène C1 to La Tène D2) (**Lambot 1991**:75), Roizy, Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée (La Tène C2 to La Tène D1) (**Fichtl**:34) and Vendeuil-Caply (Second quarter of 1st century BCE) (**Fichtl**:38), but the best example of an Iron Age Celtic sanctuary unaffected by Roman religion is Gournay-sur-Aronde (Phase I-Early La Tène/4th century BCE; Phase II- End of La Tène B2 to the beginning of La Tène C1/First half or middle of the 3rd century BCE; Phase III-2nd century BCE; Phase IV-End of the 2nd century BCE or beginning of the 1st century BCE) (**Brunaux 1986**:18; **Fichtl**:28 and 29; **Brunaux 1996**:69 and 72) in the Bellovaci tribal territory.
[16] **Fichtl**:25; **Cunliffe 1997**:202.
[17] It was composed of a quadrangular enclosure (**Brunaux 1986**:19; **Fichtl**:26; **Webster, J. 1995**:455; **Brunaux 1996**:71; **Cunliffe 1997**:202), marked out by two ditches (**Brunaux 1986**:19; **Brunaux 1987b**:16; **Fichtl**:26; **Büchsenschütz**:559; **Brunaux 1996**:72; **Cunliffe 1997**:202) fitted with a palisade (**Brunaux 1986**:19; **Brunaux 1987b**:16; **Webster, J. 1995**:455; **Brunaux 1996**:72; **Cunliffe 1997**:202), with an entrance in the east side (**Brunaux 1986**:19) or, according to Fichtl (**Fichtl**:26), north east. In the centre there were nine, circular offering pits on three sides of a larger central pit (**Brunaux 1986**:19 and 33; **Brunaux 1987b**:16; **Fichtl**:27; **Webster, J. 1995**:455; **Brunaux 1996**:73; **Cunliffe 1997**:202; **Birkhan**:768) covered, by the 2nd century BCE, with a square structure (**Brunaux 1987b**:16; **Fichtl**:28; **Brunaux 1996**:76; **Cunliffe 1997**:202; **Woolf 1998**:211); the offerings placed in the ditch consist of animal and human remains and deliberately broken weapons (**Brunaux 1986**:19; **Brunaux 1987a**:158; **Green 1993**:67; **Büchsenschütz**:559; **Webster, J. 1995**: 455; **Brunaux 1996**:72-73 and 112; **Green 1996c**:26; **Cunliffe 1997**:204; **Birkhan**:765). The site was used from the 4th century BCE until the 1st century BCE.
[18] **Brunaux 2004**:92.
[19] **Bertin**:77; **Venclova 1991**:141.
[20] **Fichtl**:39; **Brunaux 1995b**:142; **Cunliffe 1997**:202; **Woolf 1998**:210; **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:157.

[21] **Brunaux 1986**:29; **Brunaux 1989**:12; **Webster, J. 1995**:458.
[22] **Piggott 1978**:37; **Webster, J. 1995**:459; **Woolf 1998**:211.
[23] **Brunaux 1995b**:151.
[24] **Brunaux 1989**:12.
[25] **Brunaux 1996**:71.
[26] **Brunaux 1995b**:142.
[27] **Brunaux 1986**:29; **Fichtl**:39; **Brunaux 1995b**:142; **Webster, J. 1995**:458 and 459; **Cunliffe 1997**:202; **Woolf 1998**:210; **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:157.
[28] **Brunaux 1986**:29.
[29] **Woolf 1998**:211.
[30] **Brunaux 1996**:72.
[31] **Webster, J. 1995**:459.
[32] **Brunaux 2004**:99.
[33] **Brunaux 1986**:29.
[34] **Brunaux 1996**:72.
[35] **Piggott 1978**:37; **Brunaux 1986**:29; **Venclova 1991**:141.
[36] *Templum*, probably for the word *temulum*, is derived from the root τεμ- and is therefore related to τέμνω and τέμενος (**Lewis & Short**); the old idea that *templum* meant merely a separated, distinct area is confirmed by Varro (**Varr**.*De Ling.Lat.*VII.8) and Servius (**Serv**.*Aen.*I.92) and is seen in literature in *templum* being used to refer to each part of the sky demarcated for the taking of the auspices by Romulus and Remus (**Livy**.I.6.4); Macbain, probably because he adheres to the idea of Celtic worship in groves, says that *tem-* in *templum* and *temenos* originally meant to cut a forest clearing.
[37] **Piggott 1978**:37; **Brunaux 1986**:29.
[38] **Piggott 1978**:37.
[39] **Brunaux 1995b**:142.
[40] **Brunaux 1996**:71.
[41] **Brunaux 1986**:29; **Brunaux 1996**:72.
[42] **Brunaux 1986**:30.
[43] **Brunaux 1995b**:142 and 151; **Cunliffe 1997**:202; **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:157.
[44] **Brunaux 1996**:71.
[45] **Birkhan**:756.
[46] **Brunaux 1986**:30.
[47] **Méniel 2001**:77.
[48] **Brunaux 1996**:72.
[49] **Brunaux 1995b**:151.
[50] **Brunaux 1986**:30.
[51] **Brunaux 1986**:30.
[52] **Brunaux 1986**:30.
[53] **Brunaux 1986**:31.
[54] **Brunaux 1995b**:148; **Brunaux 1996**:76.
[55] **Brunaux 1995b**:148.
[56] **Brunaux 1986**:31.
[57] **Brunaux 1986**:31.
[58] **Brunaux 1986**:31.
[59] **Brunaux 1986**:31.
[60] **Fichtl**:39; **Brunaux 1986**:31.
[61] **Brunaux 1986**:31.
[62] **Brunaux 1986**:33.
[63] **Brunaux 1986**:31.
[64] **Brunaux 1986**:33; **Brunaux 1995b**:145.
[65] **Brunaux 1996**:74.
[66] **Brunaux 1986**:33.
[67] **Brunaux 1986**:34; **Brunaux 1989**:12; **Brunaux 1995b**:145; **Brunaux 1996**:74.
[68] **Brunaux 1986**:33.
[69] **Brunaux 1996**:74.
[70] **Brunaux 1986**:33.

[71] **Brunaux 1986**:34.
[72] **Brunaux 1996**:74.
[73] **Brunaux 1996**:74.
[74] **Brunaux 1996**:74.
[75] **Brunaux 1996**:74.
[76] **Brunaux 1986**:34; **Brunaux 1995b**:142.
[77] **Brunaux 1986**:34.
[78] **Brunaux 1986**:34.
[79] **Webster, J. 1995**:459.
[80] **Brunaux 1986**:36.
[81] **Brunaux 1986**:36.
[82] **Brunaux 1986**:36.
[83] **Dupuich**:111.
[84] **Bertin**:98.
[85] **Bertin**:128.
[86] **Brunaux 1986**:36.
[87] **Brunaux 1986**:34.
[88] **Brunaux 1986**:34.
[89] **Bertin**:69.
[90] **Brunaux 1986**:35.
[91] **Brunaux 1986**:35-36.
[92] **Bertin**:69.
[93] **Brunaux 1986**:36.
[94] **Webster, J. 1995**:458.
[95] **Brunaux 1986**:37.
[96] **Brunaux 1986**:36-37.
[97] Although his statement may be correct, Brunaux misquotes Caesar by saying *tumulos exstructos*.
[98] **Brunaux 1986**:37.
[99] **Brunaux 1986**:37.
[100] **Birkhan**:773.
[101] **Lambot**:73.
[102] **Brunaux 1991a**:7-8.
[103] **Brunaux 1991a**:8.
[104] **Lambot**:68; **Lambot & Méniel**:20 and 22-23 and 27-28.
[105] **Lambot**:71.
[106] **Cadoux 1981**:283; **Fichtl**:38.
[107] **Woimant 1991**:164; **Fichtl**:38.
[108] **Méniel 2001**:83.
[109] **Brunaux 1991b**:122.
[110] **Delplace 1991**:196; **Fichtl**:38.
[111] **Lambot**:75
[112] **Lambot**:75; **Fichtl**:74.
[113] **Brunaux 1986**:28; **Brunaux & Lambot**:178.
[114] **Bertin**: No.183.
[115] **Massy 1985b**:480; **Fichtl**:38.
[116] **Lambot**:68.
[117] **Lambot**:68; **Méniel 2001**:81.
[118] **Lambot**:68; **Lambot & Méniel**:29-33.
[119] **Lambot**:73.
[120] **Cadoux 1981**:283; **Fichtl**:38.
[121] **Cadoux 1981**:283.
[122] **Woimant 1989**:227.
[123] **Woimant 1989**:225; **Woimant 1991**:164.
[124] **Woimant 1989**:225; **Woimant 1991**:164; **Fichtl**:38.
[125] **Woimant 1989**:227.
[126] **Brunaux 1986**:38; **Birkhan**:768.
[127] **Méniel 2001**:83.
[128] **Méniel 2001**:83.

[129] **Brunaux 1991b**:122.
[130] **Brunaux 1991b**:122; **Fichtl**:35.
[131] **Brunaux 1991b**:122.
[132] **Delplace 1991**:196.
[133] **Delplace 1991**:198.
[134] **Delplace 1991**:196.
[135] **Frézouls 1975**:391; **Cabuy**:306; **Fichtl**:38.
[136] **Cabuy**:308.
[137] **Lambot**:75.
[138] **Lambot**:75
[139] **Lambot**:75.
[140] **Lambot**:75; **Fichtl**:74.
[141] **Lambot**:75; **Fichtl**:74.
[142] **Bertin**: No.183.
[143] **Brunaux & Lambot**:178.
[144] **Brunaux & Lambot**:178.
[145] **Brunaux & Lambot**:178; **Brunaux 1996**:112.
[146] **Brunaux & Lambot**:178.
[147] **Massy 1983**:250-251; **Massy 1985b**:480; **Fichtl**:38.
[148] **Massy 1983**:251; **Massy 1985b**:480; **Fichtl**:38.
[149] **Massy 1983**:251.
[150] The ancient way from Senlis to Roye passes by the site (**Massy 1985a**:475; **Woimant 1991**:164; **Fichtl**:108; **Marchand**:17) and the site had a position on a slope (**Brunaux 1986**:18; **Brunaux 1996**:69), near a river (**Brunaux 1986**:18; **Brunaux 1996**:69; **Cunliffe 1997**:202), a stream, which formed a pool, (**Brunaux 1986**:18) and a marsh, which it dominated, (**Brunaux 1996:69**) and is near the Bellovaci-Viromandui border.
[151] **Marchand**:16.
[152] **Malrain, Matterne & Méniel**:25.
[153] **Marchand**:16-17.
[154] 1km south of the river Aisne (**Fichtl**:108).
[155] **Brunaux 1989**:14.
[156] **Lambot & Méniel**:20.
[157] **Lambot**:68.
[158] North of the Roman road connecting *Samobriva* [Amiens] and *Noviodunum* [Soissons] (**Cadoux 1981**:282).
[159] 5km from the frontier with the Ambiani (**Cadoux 1981**:282).
[160] **Woimant 1991**:164.
[161] Next to the ancient way from Senlis to Roye (**Massy 1985a**:475; **Marchand**:17; **Woimant 1991**:164) and on the *Augustomagus* [Senlis]-*Camaracum* [Cambrai] road.
[162] Within a reasonable distance of three rivers (**Woimant 1991**:164).
[163] **Méniel 2001**:83.
[164] The ancient way from Senlis to Roye passes by this site (**Massy 1985a**:475; **Marchand**:17; **Woimant 1991**:164).
[165] **Dupuich**:108.
[166] At the meeting of the Leuci, Mediomatrici and Triboci tribal territories (**Dupuich**:108).
[167] **Brunaux 1991b**:122.
[168] **Massy 1985a**:475; **Woimant 1991**:164. **Brunaux 1991b**:122.
[169] Next to the Aronde (**Brunaux 1991b**:122).
[170] Near the border of the Bellovaci tribal territory and those of the Viromandui and the Suessiones (**Brunaux 1991b**:122).
[171] **Delplace 1991**:196.
[172] Near the track of the Roman road, now the present route to Paris (**Delplace 1991**:196).
[173] Near the frontier with the Ambiani (**Fichtl**:60; **Brunaux 1986**:27).
[174] **Cabuy**:306.
[175] 3km northeast of the Roman road from *Durocortorum* [Reims] to *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier], near the intersection of this road and the Roman road from *Verodunum* [Verdun] (**Horne & King**:438; **Cabuy**:307; **Frézouls 1967**:273; **Horne & King**:438).
[176] Near the river Meuse, dominating the left bank (**Cabuy**:306).

[177] On the Remi/Treveri border (**Raepsaet-Charlier**:228; **Tisserand**:61; **Cabuy**:307 and 309).
[178] On the Roman road linking the roadway from *Durocortorum* [Reims] to *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier] and the roadway from *Durocortorum* [Reims] to *Colonia Aprippinensis* [Cologne] (**Lambot**:75).
[179] 2km from the Aisne river valley (**Lambot**:75).
[180] **Brunaux 1996**:80.
[181] About 5km west of the road from Château-Porcien to *Durocortorum* [Reims].
[182] About 2km south of the river Aisne, a tributary of the Somme (**Brunaux 1996**:80).
[183] **Bertin**: No.183.
[184] **Bertin**: No.183.
[185] Near a Roman road (**Bertin**: No.183).
[186] Near the Ambiani border (**Bertin**: No.183; **Brunaux 1986**:27).
[187] At the intersection of the roads to *Caesaromagus* [Beauvais] and to *Lutetia* [Paris].
[188] At the source of the river Noye.
[189] 5km south of the border with the Ambiani.
[190] **Méniel 1991**:258.
[191] **Méniel 1991**:258.
[192] **Birkhan**:768.
[193] **Guillaumet & Barral**:193.
[194] **Brunaux 1986**:26; **Guillaumet & Barral**:193.
[195] **Guillaumet & Barral**:193.
[196] **Guillaumet & Barral**:195.
[197] **Brunaux 1986**:26; **Guillaumet & Barral**:195.
[198] **Guillaumet & Barral**:195.
[199] **Birkhan**:768.
[200] **Birkhan**:768.
[201] **Wait 1985**:154-190.
[202] **Wait 1985**:177.
[203] 70% are either rectangular or square, while only 16% are circular (**Wait 1985**:171). Wait (**Wait 1985**:156 and 171) does make the proviso that, while there appears to be evidence of a preference for rectangles, this is due to limited archaeological work and resources, the ease of identification of rectangular sanctuaries among round houses and the methodology of previous archaeologists; this methodology focused only on those circular sanctuaries, which had been revealed during the excavation of a Roman temple, assuming it to be holy, and thus possibly overlooked many more circular sanctuaries, which were not built over by a Roman temple, assuming them to be houses.
[204] All of the sanctuaries, except one, could have been roofed (**Wait 1985**:172).
[205] 95% of those sanctuaries with a discernible orientation are orientated from north east over to south east, that is 16 out of 24 have entrances on the east side, one faces north east and one south east (**Wait 1985**:172).
[206] **Wait 1985**:172.
[207] Less than 40% are in a discernible *temenos*, but, 90% of Celtic sanctuaries are spatially separated from a domestic area (**Wait 1985**:172); the division may have been by a fence, hedge or light barrier which has left no trace.
[208] **Wait 1985**:178.
[209] **Wait 1985**:157.
[210] **Wait 1985**:161.
[211] **Wait 1985**:161.
[212] **Wait 1985**:166.
[213] **Wait 1985**:166.
[214] **Wait 1985**:166-169.
[215] **Wait 1985**:169.
[216] **Wait 1985**:169.
[217] **Wait 1985**:171.
[218] **Sievers**:146.
[219] **Sievers**:149.
[220] **Sievers**:146.
[221] **Sievers**:146.
[222] **Sievers**:146.

[223] **Venclova 1989**:143; **Venclova 1991**:139.
[224] **Venclova 1991**:139.
[225] **Venclova 1991**:141 and 144.
[226] **Venclova 1989**:145.
[227] **Venclova 1991**:144.
[228] **Darda, Motykova & Rybova**:199.
[229] **Darda, Motykova & Rybova**:199.
[230] **Darda, Motykova & Rybova**:199.
[231] **Darda, Motykova & Rybova**:199; **Webster, J. 1995**:459.
[232] **Darda, Motykova & Rybova**:200.
[233] **Oelmann**:174-181.
[234] **Bertin**:69.
[235] **Bertin**:68.
[236] **Brunaux 1991a**:8.
[237] **Brunaux 1991a**:10.
[238] **Brunaux 1986**:29.
[239] **Venclova 1991**:141.
[240] **Bertin**:68.
[241] **Green 1997**:25.
[242] **Grenier**, A. "Sanctuaires celtiques et tombe du héros", CRAI (1943), 360-371 & "Sanctuaires celtiques et tombe du héros", CRAI (1944), 221-228; **Lantier**, R *Histoire générale des religions, Religion celtique* 1960; **Benoît**, F. *Art et les dieux del la Gaule* 1963; **Harmand**, J. "Le sanctuaire gallo-romain de 'la Motte du Ciar' à Sens (Yonne)", *RAE* IX (1958), 43-76 & Les Celtes 1973.
[243] **Bertin**:96.
[244] **de Laet**, S.J., **van Doorselaer**, A. **& Desittere**, M. "Van Grafmonument tot Heiligdom. Beschouwingen over de oorsprong van het Kelto-romeins Fanum met vierkantige cella", *Mededelingen Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren*, jg. XXVIII nr.2 Brussels 1966.
[245] **van Doorselaer 1973**:16-17.
[246] **Agache 1973**:54.
[247] **Piggott 1978**:49.
[248] **Cabuy 1991**:25-27; **Fauduet 1993**:89.
[249] **Piette**:14-15.
[250] **Brunaux 1986**:18.
[251] **Brunaux 1996**:72.
[252] **Brunaux 1986**:36.
[253] **Woolf**:230.
[254] **Brunaux 1995b**:156 and 157; **Derks**:168.
[255] **Bertin**:57; **Agache 1978**:396.
[256] **Agache 1973**:51 and 52; **Ternes 1973**:7; **Bertin**:63 and 64; **Agache 1978**:400; **King 1990**:139; **Cabuy 1991**:146; **Fauduet 1991**:104 and 105; **Fauduet 1993**:37; **Cabuy 1994**:27.
[257] **Agache 1973**:51; **Ternes 1973**:7; **Fauduet 1991**:104. Fauduet says there are 203 cases of a well delimited *peribolos*.
[258] **Bertin**:63; **Cabuy 1994**:27.
[259] Only observed in some sites (**Fauduet 1993**:37) those founded before or during the Augustan period (**Fauduet 1991**:104), such as Saint-Maur-en Chaussée in the Bellovaci tribal territory and Limoges in the Limovices tribal territory (**Fauduet 1993**:37).
[260] Found in 17 out of the 203, such as Sainte-Ruffine in the Mediomatrici tribal territory (**Fauduet 1991**:104), generally founded before the Augustan period (**Fauduet 1993**:37-38).
[261] **Fauduet 1993**:38; **Cabuy 1994**:27.
[262] **Fauduet 1991**:104; **Fauduet 1993**:38.
[263] **Cabuy 1991**:146.
[264] **Fauduet 1991**:104.
[265] **Fauduet 1991**:104; **Fauduet 1993**:37.
[266] **Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:400; **Cabuy 1991**:146; **Fauduet 1991**:104; **Fauduet 1993**:38. 181 cases (**Fauduet 1991**:104) such as Duisans in the Atrebates tribal territory and Vron in the Morini tribal territory (**Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:400).

[267] **Agache 1978**:400; **Cabuy 1991**:146; **Fauduet 1991**:104; **Fauduet 1993**:38. There are 17 cases (**Fauduet 1991**:104; **Fauduet 1993**:38), such as at Puisieux in the Atrebates tribal territory (**Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:400).
[268] **Agache 1978**:400; **Cabuy 1991**:146; **Fauduet 1991**:104; **Fauduet 1993**:38. 7 cases (**Fauduet 1991**:104; **Fauduet 1993**:38)
[269] **Fauduet 1991**:104; **Fauduet 1993**:38. 10 cases (**Fauduet 1991**:104) Such as at Roizy in the Remi tribal territory and Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée in Bellovaci tribal territory (**Fauduet 1993**:38).
[270] **Fauduet 1991**:105; **Fauduet 1993**:38.
[271] **Fauduet 1991**:105.
[272] **Fauduet 1991**:105.
[273] The Treveri tribal territory.
[274] **Fauduet 1991**:105.
[275] **Fauduet 1993**:38.
[276] **Fauduet 1993**:38.
[277] **Fauduet 1993**:38.
[278] **Fauduet 1993**:38, such as at *Argentomagus* [Saint-Marcel] in the Bituriges Cubi tribal territory and *Ninitiacum* [Nizy-le-Comte] in the Remi tribal territory.
[279] **Fauduet 1993**:38, such as at Matagne-le-Grande in the Tungri tribal territory.
[280] **Fauduet 1993**:38.
[281] **Agache 1973**:52; **Bertin**:68; **Agache 1978**:400; **Cabuy 1991**:15; **Fauduet 1991**:106; **Fauduet 1993**:48. Such as at Vron in the Morini tribal territory and Éstrée-sur-Noye in the Ambiani tribal territory (**Agache 1978**:400).
[282] **Bertin**:68.
[283] Such as Dhronecken in the Treveri tribal territory (**Cabuy 1991**:147).
[284] **Cabuy 1991**:147. Examples are Clavier-Vervoz and Matagne-le-Petite in the Tungri tribal territory and Heckenmünster, Serrig and Wederath in the Treveri tribal territory(**Cabuy 1991**:147).
[285] Fauduet (**Fauduet 1991**:106) says there are 24 such sites, such as at Puisieux in the Atrebates tribal territory and Cantaing-sur-Escaut in the Nervii tribal territory (**Agache 1973**:52; **Agache 1978**:400).
[286] **Cabuy 1991**:147; **Fauduet 1991**:106; **Fauduet 1993**:48.
[287] **Fauduet 1991**:106; **Fauduet 1993**:47.
[288] **Agache 1973**:54.
[289] The Bellovaci tribal territory.
[290] The Bellovaci tribal territory.
[291] **Fichtl**:39.
[292] **Fauduet 1991**:106; **Fauduet 1993**:47.
[293] **Cabuy 1991**:147.
[294] Benoît (**Benoît 1970**:88) describes a Gallo-Roman temple as having a rectangular *cella*. Bertin (**Bertin**:68) points out that the Gallo-Roman temple is almost, but not perfectly, square, but it is customary to use the term square; Wilson says that most temples were squarish (**Wilson 1975**:4 and 17) and the rectangular plan was the commonest, but the overall proportions were usually nearly a square (**Wilson 1980**:7). Indeed, the examples of the square temples at Heckenmünster are called "type celtique" by the Raepsaet-Charliers (**Raepsaet-Charliers**:228). However, Rodwell (**Rodwell**:221) says that many *cellae* are rectangular. Fauduet says that, although the perfectly square temples are numerous and widespread (**Fauduet 1993**:53), with 232 temples with a square ambulatory gallery (**Fauduet 1991**:108), most often the temples are rectangular, with 368 examples (**Fauduet 1991**:108), and seem proportionally more frequent than the square, at least in the east and north-east, although the precise shape of sites known only from aerial photography is difficult to determine (**Fauduet 1991**:108; **Fauduet 1993**:51). As regards temples in the Treveri tribal territory, Ternes (**Ternes 1973**:7) says that the *cella* is more or less square in shape. In dealing with the Somme region, Agache states the layout is not perfectly square (**Agache 1973**:50), but that "leur [the Gallo-Roman temples'] plan habituel (doubles carrés inscrits) est exceptionnellement caractéristique" and that usually no confusion is possible (**Agache 1978**:391), although granting that the temple layout is not perfectly square each time (**Agache 1978**:396) and this is not the only one to be considered indigenous (**Agache 1978**:393).
[295] **Wilson 1975**:4; **Wilson 1980**:7; **Rodwell**:221; **Cabuy 1991**:15.
[296] **Fauduet 1991**:108; **Fauduet 1993**:53. Such as the octagonal *cellae*, in Belgic Gaul, of temple 3 at Heckenmünster in the Treveri tribal territory (**Binsfeld**:242-245; **Cabuy**:286), incorrectly called a hexagonal *cella* by Bertin (**Bertin** No.236), of temple B at Niedaltdorf also in the Treveri tribal

territory (**Koethe**:73-74; **Schindler**:93-95; **Cabuy**:314), the *nymphaeum* of Sablon at *Divodurum* [Metz] (**Koethe**:78-79; **Grenier 1958**:825) and the temple of Héraple both in the Mediomatrici tribal territory (**Koethe**:64-66; **Grenier 1958**: 826; **Schindler**:95-96) and, in Aquitania, of the *cella* at Sanxay (**Koethe**:66).

[297] **Fauduet 1993**:58. Such as temple at Tholey in the Treveri tribal territory (**Koethe**:104; **Cabuy 1991**:362).

[298] **Fauduet 1991**:108.

[299] **Wilson 1980**:7; **Fauduet 1993**:51.

[300] The Treveri tribal territory.

[301] **Fauduet 1993**:151.

[302] Such as temple A at Dalheim in the Treveri tribal territory with its circular *cella* and octagonal ambulatory (**Cabuy 1991**:265).

[303] **Wilson 1980**:7; **Fauduet 1991**:108; **Fauduet 1993**:53.

[304] **Fauduet 1991**:106; **Fauduet 1993**:48.

[305] **Fauduet 1993**:151. Such as at Hochsheid in the Treveri tribal territory, consecrated to Apollo and Sirona (**Fauduet 1993**:151).

[306] **Fauduet 1991**:106; **Fauduet 1993**:48. Fauduet (**Fauduet 1991**:106) says there are 75 sites with two temples, such as *Lemonum* [Poitiers] in the Pictones tribal territory, where they were linked by a corridor (**Fauduet 1991**:106; **Fauduet 1993**:48), and 17 sites comprising three temples.

[307] **Fauduet 1991**:108; **Cabuy 1991**:146; **Fauduet 1993**:56; **Cabuy 1994**:27. There are 11 sites (**Fauduet 1991**:108), such as, in Belgic Gaul, the twin temples at Revelles in the Ambiani tribal territory (**Agache 1978**:398) and at Niedaltdorf in the Treveri tribal territory, dedicated to Apollo and Sirona.

[308] **Fauduet 1991**:106; **Fauduet 1993**:48.

[309] **Rodwell**:221.

[310] The average length of a *cella* is 5-10m (**Fauduet 1993**:66), 6-8m (**Bertin**:70) or 9m (**Ternes 1973**:7)and of the exterior of a temple with an ambulatory is 10-17m (**Fauduet 1991**:112; **Fauduet 1993**:66), 12-14m (**Bertin**:70) or 14-15m (**Agache 1973**:50) or (**Agache 1978**:396) 13-15m in the Somme. According to Fauduet (**Fauduet 1993**:67) 52 are less than 10m, 163 are between 10 to 14.9m, 115 are 15 to 19.9m and 65 are 20m or more.

[311] **Fauduet 1991**:112.

[312] **Bertin**:70.

[313] **Fauduet 1991**:112; **Fauduet 1993**:66.

[314] **Fauduet 1991**:112.

[315] **Fauduet 1993**:66.

[316] **Fauduet 1991**:112; **Fauduet 1993**:66.

[317] **Fauduet 1993**:66. Such as the temple of Lenus Mars at *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] in the Treveri tribal territory.

[318] **Fauduet 1991**:112; **Fauduet 1993**:66. Such as the one at *Atuatuca Tongrorum* [Tongeren/ Tongres] in the Tungri tribal territory (**Fauduet 1993**:66).

[319] **Bertin**:65 and 66; **Agache 1973**:51; **Wilson 1975**:4; **Wilson 1980**:8; **Agache 1978**:396; **Cabuy 1991**:64; **Fauduet 1991**:112; **Fauduet 1993**:64. Bertin says that of 147 square temples, 92 face due east, 18 face either east-south-east or east-north-east, 22 face in a general eastwardly dierection and 15 have no connection with the east (**Bertin**:67) and, therefore, more than half face due east and 75% are orientated approximately to the east (**Bertin**:66). In 1991 it was known that 214 temples out of 374 faced due east (**Fauduet 1991**:112) and by 1993 it was 220 (**Fauduet 1993**:64).

[320] **Fauduet 1991**:112; **Fauduet 1993**:64.

[321] **Bertin**:67.

[322] **Bertin**:66.

[323] **Fauduet 1993**:64.

[324] The Nervii tribal territory.

[325] **Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:396.

[326] **Fauduet 1991**:112.

[327] **Cabuy 1991**:64. An example is the temples at Serrig in the Treveri tribal territory, whose entrances are orientated towards the road 20m away (**Cabuy 1991**:149).

[328] **Wilson 1980**:8.

[329] **Fauduet 1993**:112.

[330] **Fauduet 1993**:64.

[331] **Fauduet 1993**:81.
[332] **Bertin**:80; **Wilson 1980**:8.
[333] **Bertin**:80; **Fauduet 1991**:105.
[334] **Bertin**:80; **Henig & King**:19.
[335] 60 generally quadrangular temples (**Fauduet 1993**:81), the majority of which are rectangular (**Fauduet 1993**:51)
[336] **Bertin**:80; **Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:396; **Wilson 1980**:8; **Fauduet 1993**:81.
[337] **Cabuy 1991**:65.
[338] **Oelmann**:179-180; **Benoît 1970**:88; **Ternes 1973**:7; **Bertin**:77; **Wilson 1975**:14.
[339] **Agache 1978**:391.
[340] **Cabuy 1991**:15.
[341] **Benoît 1970**:88; **Agache 1973**:50; **Ternes 1973**:7; **Wilson 1975**:4; **Wilson 1980**:7; **Rodwell**:221; **Fauduet 1991**:107; **Fauduet 1993**:51.
[342] Temples at the centre of an ambulatory gallery (**Fauduet 1991**:107-109; **Fauduet 1993**:51-58):
Simple temples with an ambulatory gallery (**Fauduet 1991**:107-108; **Fauduet 1993**:51-54), 650 examples (**Fauduet 1991**:107; **Fauduet 1993**:64);
Temples with an ambulatory gallery and a double *cella* (two quadrangular *cellae* juxtaposed and surrounded by a common ambulatory gallery) (**Fauduet 1991**:108; **Fauduet 1993**:56), 11 examples (**Fauduet 1991**:108; **Fauduet 1993**:64);
Temples with an ambulatory gallery and a *pronaos* (**Fauduet 1991**:108; **Fauduet 1993**:57-58), 15 (**Fauduet 1991**:108) or 14 (**Fauduet 1993**:64) examples.

Temples without an ambulatory gallery (Fauduet 1991**:110-112;** Fauduet 1993**:58-61):**
Temples with a simple *cella* (**Fauduet 1991**:110; **Fauduet 1993**:61), 106 examples (**Fauduet 1991**:110; **Fauduet 1993**:64);
Temples with a circular *cella* (**Fauduet 1991**:110; **Fauduet 1993**:58-60) are surrounded by a peribolos to which a portico was attached (**Fauduet 1991**:108), 5 examples (**Fauduet 1991**:110; **Fauduet 1993**:64);
Temples with a *pronaos* (**Fauduet 1991**:110; **Fauduet 1993**:60-61), 20 examples (**Fauduet 1991**:110; **Fauduet 1993**:64).

Sanctuaries with multiple edifices (**Fauduet 1991**:110; **Fauduet 1993**:62).
Temples adjacent to a temple with an ambulatory gallery (**Fauduet 1991**:110-112; **Fauduet 1993**:62-63).
Temples associated with a temple with either an ambulatory gallery or a *pronaos* or in the heart of an enclosure (**Fauduet 1991**:112; **Fauduet 1993**:63).
[343] **Rodwell**:221.
[344] **Wilson 1975**:4; **Wilson 1980**:7.
[345] **Benoît 1970**:88.
[346] **Rodwell**:221.
[347] **Bertin**:68.
[348] **Rodwell**:222; **Wilson 1975**:14; **Wlson 1980**: 6; **Fauduet 1993**:51.
[349] **Bertin**:99.
[350] **Lewis**:9.
[351] **Bertin**:68.
[352] **Bertin**:68 and 77.
[353] **de Laet,, van Doorselaer, & Desittere**:22-23.
[354] The Mediomatrici tribal territory.
[355] **Bertin** No.32
[356] The Nervii tribal territory.
[357] **Bertin** No.103
[358] The Treveri tribal territory.
[359] **Fauduet 1993**:51.
[360] **Fauduet 1991**:107; **Fauduet 1993**:64.
[361] **Fauduet 1991**:107.
[362] **Brunaux 1995b**:158; **Derks**:177 and 183; **van Andringa 2002**:100.
[363] **Fauduet 1991**:106; **Fauduet 1993**:44.
[364] **Ternes 1973**:8.

[365] **Wilson 1975**:4.
[366] **Fauduet 1993**:44.
[367] **Fauduet 1991**:106.
[368] **Cabuy 1991**:147; **Cabuy 1994**:28. Four examples are Clavier-Furfooz, Fontaine-Valmont and Matagen-le-Petite in the Tungri tribal territory and Heckenmünster in the Treveri tribal territory (**Cabuy 1991**:147).
[369] **Ternes 1973**:9.
[370] **Bertin**:57; **Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:396 and 398; **Wilson 1980**:8; **Cabuy 1991**:145; **Fauduet 1991**:102; **Fauduet 1993**:25; **Cabuy 1994**:27.
[371] **Bertin**:57.
[372] **Fauduet 1991**:102; **Fauduet 1993**:25, such as the temple of Lenus Mars at *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Tréves] in the Treveri tribal territory.
[373] **Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:398. Rivers-Méricourt, Remiencourt and Cocquerel in the Ambiani tribal territory and Vermand in the Viromandui tribal territory. Springs-Vendeuil-Caply and Rouvroy-lès-Merles on the Ambiani-Bellovaci border and Guillaucourt in the Ambiani tribal territory (**Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:398).
[374] **Bertin**:57; **Cabuy 1991**:151.
[375] **Bertin**:57.
[376] **Ternes 1973**:9; **Cabuy 1991**:152.
[377] **van Doorselaer**:17.
[378] 203 examples.
[379] **Fauduet 1991**:102; **Fauduet 1993**:25.
[380] 63 cases.
[381] **Fauduet 1991**:102.
[382] **Ternes 1973**:9; **Fauduet 1991**:102; **Fauduet 1993**:26.
[383] **Ternes 1973**:9.
[384] **Bertin**:57.
[385] **Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:398.
[386] **Fauduet 1991**:102; **Fauduet 1993**:26.
[387] **Cabuy 1994**:27.
[388] **Fauduet 1991**:102; **Fauduet 1993**:26.
[389] The Nervii tribal territory.
[390] **Ternes 1973**:9.
[391] **Grenier 1934**:224-234.
[392] **Bertin**:58.
[393] **van Doorselaer**:17.
[394] **Fauduet 1991**:102; **Fauduet 1993**:28.
[395] **Fauduet 1993**:28.
[396] **Fauduet 1991**:102; **Fauduet 1993**:26.
[397] **Agache 1973**:51; **Agache 1978**:398.
[398] **Agache 1978**:396. Such as Éstrée-sur-Noye in the Ambiani tribal territory (**Agache 1978**:396).
[399] **Agache 1978**:396. Such as Revelles in the Ambiani tribal territory (**Agache 1978**:396).
[400] Treveri tribal territory-Dalheim (The *Divodurum* [Metz]-*Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] road), Heckenmünster (The *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves]-*Upper Germany* road), Izel (The *Durocortorum* [Reims]- *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] road), Möhn, Nettenheim and Fliessem/Otrang (The *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves]-*Colonia Augusta* [Köln/Cologne] road), *Contium* [Pachten] (The *Divodurum* [Metz]- *Moguntiacum* [Mainz/Mayence] road), Serrig (The *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves]-*Contium* [Pachten] road) and Wederath (The *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves]-*Moguntiacum* [Mainz/Mayence] road); Tungri tribal territory-Clavier-Vervoz (The *Orolaunum* [Arlon]-*Atuatuca Tungrorum* [Tongeren/Tongres] road) (**Cabuy 1991**:149) and Liberchies (The *Bagacum* [Bavai]-*Colonia Augusta* [Köln/Cologne] road).
[401] Liberchies and Clavier-Vervoz in the Tungri tribal territory and Dalheim, *Contium* [Pachten] and Wederath in the Treveri tribal territory (**Cabuy 1991**:149).
[402] **Cabuy 1991**:149.
[403] **Cabuy 1994**:28.
[404] **Agache 1973**:54; **Agache 1978**:414.
[405] **Agache 1973**:54.
[406] **Agache 1973**:55.

[407] **Wilson 1975**:15.
[408] **Büchsenschütz**:560.
[409] **Fauduet 1993**:88.
[410] **Brunaux 1987b**:14.
[411] **Brunaux 1987b**:16.
[412] **Bertin**:61, 68 and 99; **van Doorselaer**:19; **Agache 1973**:53 and 54; **Wilson 1975**:3-4; **Agache 1978**:414 and 415; **Powell**:175; **Wait 1985**:154; **Henig & King**:20; **Cabuy 1991**:66 and 67; **Woodward**:46; **Fauduet 1993**:91. The fact that works on Gallo-Roman temples by Fauduet and Cabuy are entitled, respectively, *Les temples de tradition celtique en Gaule romaine* and "Temples et sanctuaires de tradition indigène en Belgique romaine" indicates their acceptance of the idea.
[413] **Fauduet 1993**:153.
[414] **Henig & King**:22.
[415] **Henig & King**:22.
[416] **Cabuy 1991**:167; **Cabuy 1994**:29.
[417] **Henig & King**:22.
[418] **Cadoux 1975**:310; **Massy 1983**:250 and fig.11; **Fichtl**:50 and 53.
[419] **Bertin** No.32.
[420] **Bertin** No.103
[421] **Cabuy 1991**:274 and 276.
[422] **Cabuy 1991**:275 and 276.
[423] **Cabuy 1991**:290 and 293.
[424] **Cabuy 1991**:306.
[425] **Cabuy 1991**:332 and 333
[426] **Cabuy 1991**:234 and 239.
[427] **Cadoux 1981**:283.
[428] Treveri tribal territory.
[429] **Brunaux 1995b**:158.
[430] **Derks**:168.
[431] **Derks**:176.
[432] **Derks**:182.
[433] **Derks**:177, 183 and 184.
[434] **Van Andringa 2002**:100.
[435] **King 1990**:138.

Chapter Five
Gallic Religious Rituals

[1] **Reinach 1912**:26.
[2] **Wallace**:64-65.
[3] The other twelve categories are: prayer (**Wallace**:53-54); the use of music, singing and dancing (**Wallace**:54-55); the physical manipulation of thought by drugs etc. (**Wallace**:55-56); exhortation (**Wallace**:56-57); reciting aspects of the belief system, such as the mythology, the code of morality (**Wallace**:57-58); simulation (**Wallace**:58-60); *mana* (**Wallace**:60-61); taboo (**Wallace**:61-62); feasts (**Wallace**:63-64); congregational rituals, such as processions, meetings etc. (**Wallace**:65); inspiration (**Wallace**:65-66); and symbolism (**Wallace**:66-67).
[4] **Wait 1985**:5.
[5] The other eight elements are: prayer (**Wait 1985**:4); the use of music, dancing and singing (**Wait 1985**:4); the physiological manipulation by drugs, alcohol etc. (**Wait 1985**:4); mediation (**Wait 1985**: 4); control of the supernatural (**Wait 1985**:4); feasts/fasts (**Wait 1985**:4); congregational rituals, such as meetings, processions etc. (**Wait 1985**:5) and iconography and symbolism (**Wait 1985**:5).
[6] **Yerkes**:4.
[7]

	Ancient sacrifice	Modern sacrifice
Field of use	Wholly religious, never secular	Almost wholly secular and transferred to religion
Purpose	Solely a cultic act	Never a cultic act
Size of sacrifice	As large as possible	As small as possible
Recipient	Always to a deity, recognising the deity's superiority	Never offered to anyone
Performance and emotions	Performed with joy and could be identified with thanksgiving	Performed with regret and accompanied by sadness
Significant emphasis	The emphasis is on giving and action. Deprivation, while necessary, is not a factor	The emphasis is on giving up and deprivation
Death of item sacrificed	The death is incidental and is not a factor	Death is a necessary factor in all sacrifice

[8] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:19.
[9] **Beattie**:29.
[10] **Frazer**:266-267; **Westermarck**:469-471; **Loisy**:6-8; **Tylor**:108-110 and 375; **Smith**:294-295 and 363-373; **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:9; **Green, M.J. 1996c**:22; **Green, M.J. 1997**:72.
[11] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:13-15.
[12] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:25-26.
[13] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:51-60.
[14] **Beattie**:32.
[15] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:9, 10 and 19; **Wait 1985**:241.
[16] **Wait 1985**:241.
[17] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:10; **Beattie**:32.
[18] **Wait 1985**:7 and 241.
[19] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:20 and 23-24; **Beattie**:32; **Wait 1985**:241.
[20] **James**:221.
[21] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:179.
[22] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:181.
[23] **Jullian 1909**:159; **Kendrick**:123; **Chadwick**:37; **Brunaux 1996**:126 and 127.
[24] **MacCulloch 1911**:233 and 236; **Spence**:104; **Benoît 1955**:32; **Henig**:23.

[25] Brunaux (**Brunaux 1996**:126) is incorrect to state that Caesar is the only one to indicate that the Druids participated in human sacrifice.
[26] **Jullian 1909**:158; **Le Roux 1967**:327.
[27] Bayet's (**Bayet**:74) claim that the absence of a Druid at the death by fire of a wife convicted of murdering her husband is proof that Druids did not attend every sacrifice is incorrect; the procedure was an execution, not a sacrifice.
[28] **Wait 1985**:241.
[29] **Méniel 1987**:135.
[30] In Greece and Rome, white victims were for sky deities and black victims for chthonic deities and, in the Vedic *avamedha* sacrifice, the horse had to be red and a stallion. It seems that in the sacrifice recorded by Pliny (**Pliny**.*H.N.*XVI.250-251) it was essential that the victims were white.
[31] **Green, M.J. 1998**:17; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:26.
[32] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:29, n.159.
[33] This tripartite division of sacrificial victims is reflected in and supported by the tripartite division of those to be sacrificed after the war between the Hermundari and the Chatti (**Tac**.*Ann.*XIII.57) and of the booty by three German tribes, the Cherusci laying claim to the horses, the Suebi to the gold and silver and the Sicambri the prisoners (**Flor**.II.iiii.12.24-25).
[34] **Green, M.J. 1998**:170.
[35] **Green, M.J. 1998**:171; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:25 and 26.
[36] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:139.
[37] Although it can be seen that the vast majority of examples of human sacrifice in Greek literature was in myths, the reference by Plutarch (**Plut**.*Them.*XIII.2) contradicts Green's statement that "for the Classical Greeks...human sacrifice was acceptable only in terms of a mythical past" (**Green, M.J. 1998**:171).
[38] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:142.
[39] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:139.
[40] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:140.
[41] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:139.
[42] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:139.
[43] Human sacrifice has been an allegation used as black propaganda against individuals: Apollodorus, tyrant of Cassandreia (**Diod**.XXII.5.1; **Polyaenus**.*Start.*VI.7.2; **Plut**.*De Sera Num. Vind.*556d; **Ael**.*V.H.* XIV.41); Diegylis, tyrant of Thrace (**Diod**.XXXIII.14.5); supporters of the Tarquinii (**Plut**.*Publ.*IV.1); Catiline (**Sall**.*Cat.*XXII.1-2; **Flor**.II12.4; **Plut**.*Cic.*X.4; **Dio**.XXXVII.30.3; **Tert**.*Apol.* IX.9; **Min.Fel**. *Oct.*XXX.5); Marius (**Plut**.*Parallela Graec.Rom.*XX); Pompey (**Plin**.*Ep.*IX.22 **Dio**.XLVIII.48.5); Octavian (**Vell**.II. 74.4; **Sen**.*Clem*I.11.1-2; **App**.*B.Civ.*V.48-49; **Suet**.*Aug.* XV; **Dio**.XLVIII.14.4) and against whole groups: the Jews (**Jos**.*Ap.*II.92-96 and 121; *FGrHist.*730); bad Emperors (Commodus (*SHA.Comm.*IX.6); Didius Julianus (**Dio**.LXXIII.16.5); Elagabalus (**Dio**.LXXIX.11; *SHA.El.*VIII.1-2)) and anti-Christian emperors (Valerian (**Eus**.*HE.*VII.10.4); Maxentius (**Eus**.*V.Const.*1.36); and Julian (**Theodoret**.*HE.*III.26-27)).
[44] **Brown**:168; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:139.
[45] Royal sons, such as those of Athamas, Erechtheus, Idomeneus, Manasseh and Ahaz, Kings of Judah, and Mesha, King of Moab; the children of Greek or Carthaginian nobility; boys of Persian noble families; captured nobles, such as the Trojans and Persians sacrificed by Achilles and the Greeks respectively; high-born virgins, such as the daughter of the warlord and governor Jephtha; royal virgins, such as Iphigenia or Agesilaus' daughter; or captured royal virgins, such as Polyxena.
[46] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:140.
[47] **Webster, J. 1992**:131.
[48] **Green, M.J. 1998**:181.
[49] **Webster, J. 1992**:131
[50] **Brown**:168; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:152.
[51] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:122 and 139.
[52] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:122. A 30 year old woman with osteoporosis was strangled and buried at Elling in Denmark in last centuries BCE (**van den Sanden**:141), a boy, 14, with a deformity and dated to 2nd or 1st century BCE, was strangled and buried at Kayhausen and the 40 to 50 year old Tollund Man, *c.*250 BCE, had rheumatism in his thoracic vertebrae (**Aldhouse-Green 2001**:122-123).
[53] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:139.
[54] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:25.
[55] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:25.

[56] **Hubert 1994**:11.
[57] **Carmichael, Hubert & Reeves**:3.
[58] **Beattie**:32.
[59] **Wallace**:70.
[60] **Wallace**:70; **Wait 1985**:7.
[61] **Wait 1985**:7.
[62] **Wallace**:70.
[63] **Wait 1985**:7.
[64] **Reinach 1912**:26; **Tylor**:375; **Beattie**:31; **Hughes**:3. Beattie (**Beattie**:31) differentiates between a deity and an unidentified supernatural force, but Aldhouse-Green (**Aldhouse-Green 2001**:34) rightly considers this division to be unnecessary and spurious.
[65] **Beattie**:32.
[66] **Brelich**:200, n.7.
[67] **Green, M.J. 1998**:84.
[68] **Beattie**:37.
[69] **Beattie**:32.
[70] **James**:256-257; **Vendryes 1948**:316; **Wallace**:65.
[71] **Beattie**:35.
[72] **Beattie**:36.
[73] **Green, M.J. 1998**:169; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:20.
[74] **Green, M.J. 1998**:170; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:23 and 24.
[75] **Green, M.J. 1998**:170.
[76] **Bradley**:9-10.
[77] **Green, M.J. 1998**:170; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:39 and 50.
[78] **Green, M.J. 1998**:172.
[79] **Green, M.J. 1998**:170.
[80] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:14.
[81] **Wait 1985**:5 and 6.
[82]**Wait 1985**:3-4.
[83] For cajoling or stimulating the deity (**Wait 1985**:5).
[84] Another form of manipulation of the deity to act in a certain way (**Wait 1985**:6).
[85] They reaffirm beliefs and people's relationship to the deities (**Wait 1985**:6).
[86] They impart to persons or institutions the authority of religious beliefs (**Wait 1985**:6). The rest are: mortuary and funerary rituals (**Wait 1985**:5); rites of passage (**Wait 1985**:5) and divination (**Wait 1985**:5).
[87] **Yerkes**:5.
[88] **Beattie**:32.
[89] **Wait 1985**:241.
[90] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:14.
[91] **Hubert & Mauss 1964**:14.
[92] **Brunaux 1996**:121.
[93] **Green, M.J. 1998**:174.
[94] **Green, M.J. 1998**:174.
[95] Although Green (**Green, M.J. 1998**:172) says there is no justification to mistrust all the evidence and at least some may be relatively trustworthy (**Green, M.J. 1998**:174).
[96] The terms "ritual", "sacrificial " or "ceremonial murder", used by some modern authors, such as Le Roux (**Le Roux 1967a**:320), Green (**Green, M.J. 1993**:68; **Green, M.J. 1997**:76; **Green, M.J. 1998**:172, 174, 175, 176, 177,178 and 182) and Aldhouse-Green (**Aldhouse-Green** 2001:140) are loaded, culturally-based value judgements, which should be avoided. Such ethnocentricity is ironic in view of Green's justifiable criticism of the ethnocentrism of the Greek ethnographer (**Diod**.V.32.6) (**Green, M.J. 1997**:76) and admonishments to avoid imposing modern value-judgements on the past (**Green, M.J. 1998**:171).
[97] **Kendrick**:121; **Hubert 1934**:245; **Thévenot 1946**:110; **Vendryes 1948**:314; **Spence**:104; **Piggott 1968**:110-111; **Wait 1985**:206; **Brunaux 1986a**:128.
[98] **Jullian 1909**:160; **Chadwick**:37. Brunaux (**Brunaux 1996**:118) rightly says that Jullian's approach is unconnected with the rite but arises from the fact that Jullian considers himself to be a direct descendant of the practitioners of human sacrifice.

[99] The Canaanites: (*2 Ki.*17:31); the Israelites (*Jgd.*11:31, 34 and 39; *2 Ki.*3:27, 21:6 and 23:10; *2 Chr.* 28:3; *Ps.*106:37-38; **Jer.**7:31, 19:4-5 and 32:35; **Ezk.**16:20-21, 20:31, 23:37 and 39,); the Phoenicians (**Curt.** IV.3.23; **Euseb.***Praep.evang.*I.10.45 and IV.16.11; **Porph.***Abst.*II.56.1) the Carthaginians (**Apollod.***Epit.* III.21-22; **Enn.***Ann.*VII.Frag 221; **Cic.***De rep.*III.9.1; **Diod.**XIII.86.3 and XX.14.4-5; **Dion. Hal.***Ant.Rom.*I.38; **Sil.***Pun.*IV.765; **Paus.**III.9.3; **Plut.***De Superst.*XIII C-D and *De Sera Num. Vind.*552A; **Sext. Emp.***Pyr.*III.221; **Porph.***Abst.*II.27.2; **Lactant.***Div.Inst.*I.21.4; **Tert.***Apol.* IX.2-3; **Min.Fel.***Oct.*XXX.3; **Justin.***Epit.*XIX.1.10; **August.***De civ.D.*VII.19 and 26; **Oros.**IV.6.3-5); and the Egyptians according to Cicero (**Cic.***De rep.*III.9.15), Diodorus Siculus (**Diod.**I.88.4-5;), Ovid (**Ov.***Ars Ama.*I.649-652), Plutarch (**Plut.***Parallela Graec.Rom.*XXXVIII) and Minucius Felix (**Min.Fel.***Oct.* XXX.4), but denied by Herodotus (**Hdt.**II.45). Even the Persians are alleged to have performed it once (**Hdt.**VII.114; **Plut.***De Super.*XIII).

[100] In Greek mythology and literature there is the sacrifice by Idomeneus, the King of Crete, of his son (**Serv.***Aen.*III.121 and XI.264), by Erechtheus of his daughter (**Eur.***Ion.*278; **Lycurg.***Leoc.*98-101; **Apollod.***Bibl.*III.15.4; *FGrHist* 325 F 4; **Porph.***Abst.*II.56; **Clemen.***Exhort ad Gr.*III), of Iphigenia to Artemis by Agamemnon (**Aes.***Ag.* 224-230; **Soph.***El.*570-572; **Eur.***I.A.*1547-1550 and 1578-1583 and *I.T.*34), of Phrixos by Athamas (**Hdt.** VII.197; **Apollod.***Bibl.*I.9.1;) of captured Trojan nobles by Achilles at the grave of Patroclus (**Hom.***Il.* XXIII.175-184) of Polyxena by the Greeks at the grave of Achilles (**Eur.***Hec.*220-225; *Tro.*622-623; **Ov.***Met.*XIII. 441-452.), of two boys by Menelaus (**Hdt.**II. 119), of the daughters of Hyacinthus (**Apollod.***Bibl.*III.15.8 and *Epit.*I.7; *FGrHist* 325 F 4) and of Leos (**Ael.***V.H.*XII.28; **Paus.**I.5.2), of a virgin by Demophon (**Eur.***H.F.*408-409 and 492-493), of noble daughters for victory (**Paus.**IX.17.1), of noble maidens to stop a plague (**Plut.***Parallela Graec.Rom.* XXXV) and of the victims to the Minotaur (**Plut.***Thes.*XXIII.); in Greek history there is the record of a sacrifice of Persian noble prisoners (**Plut.***Them.*XIII.2), the sacrifice to Artemis Tridaria (**Paus.**VII.19. 1-5), to Phoebus Apollo (**Ov.***Ib.*465-466), of criminals to Apollo (**Strab.**X.2.9), Agesilaus' failure to sacrifice his daughter (**Plut.***Ages.*VI.4-6; **Paus.**III.9.3), Pelopidas' failure to sacrifice a virgin (**Plut.** *Pelop.*XXI-XXII) (**Hughes**:73-136). The Romans practised human sacrifice early in their history (**Ov.** *Fasti.*V.625-634) and sacrificed two Gauls and two Greeks in the *Forum Boarium* in the preparation for war against the Insubres in 225 BCE (**Plut.***Marc.*III; **Oros.**IV.13.3), in panic after the battle of Cannae in 216 BCE (**Livy.**XXII.57.6; **Dio.**XII.50.4; **Plin.***H.N.*XXVIII.3.12; **Plut.***Quaest.Rom.* LXXXIII; **Min.Fel.***Oct.*XXX.4) and even, according to Rives, in 114 BCE (**Livy.** *Per.*63); even Aeneas was allowed to perform human sacrifice at the funeral of Pallas (**Verg.***Aen.*XI.81-82). It was practised by the Italians (**Plut.***Parallela Graec.Rom.*XXXV and XXXVIII) and the Syracusans were instructed to perform it to stop a plague (**Plut.***Parallela Graec.Rom.*XIX.).

[101] **James**:99, such as in West Africa, among the Khonds of Bengal, the Aztecs of Mexico and the Inca Empire of Peru.

[102] **O'Curry**:9; **MacCulloch 1911**:236 and 238; **Wallace**:65.

[103] **Stokes**:35.

[104] **MacCulloch 1911**:236, 237 and 239.

[105] **MacCulloch 1911**:234.

[106] **Green, M.J. 1997**:71.

[107] **Green, M.J. 1997**:71.

[108] **Powell 1980**:180.

[109]**Brunaux 1996**:124.

[110] **Brunaux 1996**:129.

[111] The Cimbri (**Strab.**VII.2.3; **Oros.**.V.16.6; **Flor.**II.iiii.12. 24) and the Getae are also reported as sacrificing prisoners of war, the latter, like the Scordisci, to Mars (**Jordanes.***Get.*V). The references to human sacrifice by the Greeks and Romans are often of prisoners of war (**Hom.***Il.*XXIII.175-184; **Plut.** *Them.*XIII.2; **Verg.***Aen.*XI.59-93 and, according to Aldhouse-Green (**Aldhouse-Green**: 142), **Plut.** *Marc.*III; **Livy.**XXII.57.6; **Plin.***H.N.*XXVIII 3.12.

[112] **Kendrick**:122 and 122-123.

[113] **Le Roux 1967a**:324.

[114] **Kendrick**:123.

[115] **MacCulloch 1911**:233-234.

[116] **Bayet**:64.

[117] **Bayet**:64.

[118] **Bayet**:64.

[119] **Bayet**:65.

[120] **Bayet**:65.
[121] Ironically, Bayet then seems to try to undermine his argument by suggesting that it is an uncharacteristic example, based on the fact that Diodorus is the only one to record this event, the suggestion being that, because of this, it is wrong, and on the fact that Diodorus himself refers to it as an act βαρβαρικὴν καὶ παντελῶς. Neither of these prove that it is unusual. Firstly, it is illogical to assume that the uniqueness of a report automatically renders it false or even unreliable. In fact, the very uniqueness of the report could be viewed as supporting its accuracy; most ancient authors wrote about the Western Celts and the Gauls specifically with few examples about the Galatians and, therefore, it would be strange if this incident had been reported by many people. Secondly, Diodorus' criticism of the act does not mean it was unusual, but is an ethnocentric value-judgement typical of Diodorus, as seen in his remark about sacrifice by impalement (**Diod**.V.32.6).
[122] **Bayet**:65.
[123] **Bayet**:69.
[124] Bayet (**Bayet**:69) claims that a second example is when the Aedui take Roman citizens into slavery (**Caes**.*B.G.*VII.42.3); however, these Romans seem to have been civilians and, therefore, were not actual prisoners of war.
[125] **Koch & Carey**:22.
[126] **Bayet**:69.
[127] **Brunaux 1986**:131.
[128] Strabo, in a different context entirely (**Strab**.IV.4.6), claims that the Celts smeared their arrows with the poisonous juice of a fruit, which Strabo describes. Although it is not mentioned as being concerned with sacrifice, it is possible that this poison was used in this particular sacrifice. Whether poisonous arrows were used or not, it is reasonable to conclude that it was the arrows which were the instrument for the infliction of death of the victim and not the impalement, which was probably just the means to display the victim ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. Spence (**Spence**:107) says that this sacrifice recalls the record of Boudicca's impalement of the women of *Londinium* [London] (**Dio**.LXII.7). Dio (**Dio**.LXII.7.2) describes how the forces under Boudicca impaled the noblest of the captured women during their sacrifices and festivities in their sacred places; as described by Dio, it has the appearance of the sacrifice conducted in a summary fashion, but, as de Vries (**de Vries 1961**:224) says, it may have been just an act of revenge.
[129] **Green, M.J. 1997**:71. This is incorrect; Caesar mentions the presence of archers at the siege of Alesia (**Caes**.*B.G.*VII.80.3 and 7).
[130] **Green, M.J. 1998**:176.
[131] **Green, M.J. 1997**:71.
[132] **Spence**:106.
[133] **Powell 1980**:181.
[134] **Jullian 1909**:158.
[135] **Green, M.J. 1998**:182.
[136] **King, A. 1990**:52.
[137] **MacCulloch1911**:235.
[138] **Green, M.J. 1998**:182.
[139] **Brunaux 1988**:122.
[140] **Bayet**:74; **Webster, J. 1992**:133.
[141] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:81.
[142] **Wallace**:64.
[143] **Kendrick**:122.
[144] The Getae are reported as consecrating the first fruits of booty (**Jordanes**.*Get.*V).
[145] Reinach points out and Bayet (**Reinach, S. 1912**:215; **Bayet**:67) agrees that the words *positis repetistis ab armis* (**Luc**.I.450-451) are not concerned with sacrifices prior to battle, but, as Koch and Carey (**Koch & Carey**:25) translate, with the suspension of hostilities.
[146] **MacCulloch 1911**:233.
[147] **Webster, J. 1992**:132.
[148] **Bayet**:68.
[149] Bayet's (**Bayet**:63) suggestion, that the killing of the women and children was not a sacrifice to bring about victory but, faced with overwhelming odds and certain defeat, was to prevent them becoming slaves, is a possible alternative explanation. It is supported by the fact that, as Bayet (**Bayet**:63) points out, although Justin interprets the massacre as an expiatory sacrifice, the Gauls are described as *in furorem versi* and by similar acts by Cimbri women (**Flor**.I.iii.3.16-17) and women of

the Cenni (**Dio**.LXXVIII.14.2). But Callian women acted the same (**Paus**.X.22.4), ironically to avoid capture by Gauls.
[150] **Jullian 1903**:53; **MacCulloch 1911**:234.
[151] **MacCulloch 1911**:239.
[152] **Bayet**:68.
[153] **Bayet**:68, 71 and 78.
[154] **Bayet**:71.
[155] **Bayet**:
[156] **Webster, J. 1992**:132.
[157] Strangely Brunaux (**Brunaux 1986a**:129) implies that Caesar is the only one to talk of this sacrifice.
[158] **Cunliffe 1997**:192.
[159] Tierney and Green (**Tierney**:189-275; **Green, M.J. 1998**:175) accept that they both got the information from Posidonius.
[160] **Bayet**:72, 73-74 and 76-77
[161] **Powell 1980**:181.
[162] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:69.
[163] **Jullian 1909**:102 and 158.
[164] **de Vries 1961**:222.
[165] **Webster, J. 1992**:131.
[166] **Le Roux 1967a**:329.
[167] **Green, M.J. 1998**:127.
[168] **Green**:127; **Day**:82-85.
[169] Of course it is possible that Caesar's statement about the conviction of innocent people may be anti-Druid propaganda conceived by Caesar or anti-Druid suspicions honestly felt by Gauls, exhibiting disaffection with the Druids and tension between the Druids and the rest.
[170] **Bayet**:72 and 74.
[171] **MacCulloch 1911**:235; **MacCulloch 1948**:55; **Spence**:105; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:67.
[172] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:67 and 69.
[173] **O'Catháin**:24.
[174] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:67.
[175] **Spence**:104.
[176] **Green, M.J. 1998**:176; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:69.
[177] **Hamilton**:130.
[178] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:69.
[179] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:68.
[180] **Jullian 1909**:158.
[181] **Bayet**:78.
[182] **Le Roux 1955a**:57.
[183] **Le Roux 1955a**:56.
[184] **Brunaux 2004**:113-114.
[185] Green (**Green, M.J. 1998**:175) infers this.
[186] **Webster, J. 1992**:132.
[187] **Green, M.J. 1998**:174.
[188] Applying his theory of the tripartite division of the society of the ancient Indo-European peoples (First function-sacerdotal; second function-warrior; and third function-production and commerce) to human sacrifices, Dumézil (**Dumézil 1953**:118-159), assuming that separate sacrifices were once performed for the deities of the three different functions, argues that death by hanging is a ritual of the first function and death by drowning is a ritual of the second function. Ward (**Ward 1970**:135) accepts the idea, interprets each of the sacrifices recorded by the Berne Scholiasts as corresponding to one of the three social functions, and states that, in Celtic religion, hanging by a noose was a sacrifice of the first function, death by fire was a sacrifice of the second and drowning was a sacrifice of the third function. This seems to be confirmed by two points. The use of fire by Vercingetorix to execute men reluctant to perform military service, second function duties, and the presence of this Indo-European concept in Finnish, and therefore non-Indo-European, lore, spread by diffusion; Talley (**Talley**:143) points out that death by fire and drowning correspond to the second and third functions respectively, although burial has replaced hanging for the first function. But it does not explain the use of fire to kill Valerius Procillus and to execute wives convicted of murdering their husbands. Unless

the reasons are that Procillus was the envoy of a general and it is used only for wives of nobles, who perform the second function. But the first idea is unconvincing and there is no suggestion by Caesar that the second is the case.

[189] **Wallace**:70; **Wait 1985**:7.

[190] **Wallace**:70.

[191] **Wait 1985**:7.

[192] **Birkhan**:800.

[193] **Bayet**:75.

[194] **Green, M.J. 1998**:177.

[195] **Deonna 1958**:4.

[196] The description of the sacrifice to Esus has received a lot of attention. Deonna (**Deonna 1958**:9) points out that the word *arbor* can also have the sense of execution post, as in the phrase *arbor infelix*, and asks which is the meaning used by the Berne Scholiasts? Le Roux and Thévenot (**Le Roux 1955a**:53; **Thévenot 1957b**:443) point out that a dead man hung by the neck does not bleed and a wounded man would soon die and stop bleeding; both hold that a wound is needed and Deonna (**Deonna 1958**:10) agrees. Deonna (**Deonna 1958**:11) says that the victim would have been hung from the tree so as to have his throat cut more conveniently by the sacrificer with a javelin Presumably he would have been left to hang until all the blood runs out as in the preparation of kosher food. Duval, Le Roux and Benoît (**Duval 1954**:17; **Le Roux 1955a**:34; **Benoît 1955**:31; **Duval 1957**:22) all note that the Latin term *suspenditur* does not indicate a hanged person, but a suspended person. Both Le Roux and Thévenot conclude that the victim was not hung by the neck. Le Roux (**Le Roux 1955a**:53), questioning the idea that the victim was hung by the neck, proposes that s/he was hung either by the armpits or by the limbs after having been wounded, which Deonna (**Deonna 1958**:11) considers as possible. Thévenot (**Thévenot 1957b**:445) points out that the verb *digesserit* does not appear to have a subject and de Vries (**de Vries 1961**:98) feels that the phrase *membra digesserit* is unclear. De Vries asks if this phrase means that the body is torn up or cut up or if it means that, after the blood has flowed out, the limbs go slack. Thévenot (**Thévenot 1957b**:445-447) attempts to answer these points and concludes that the victim was actually suspended in the branches of the tree, that the tree is the subject of the verb *digesserit* and that the tree slowly kills the person; according to him the term *in arbore* does not mean that the victim was hung from the tree in the ordinary way, in which case the words *de arbore* or *arbori* would have been used, but means that the victim was fastened in the branches of the tree, not hung by the neck. Deonna (**Deonna 1958**:10) agrees with Thévenot that the victim was suspended and supports Le Roux's suggestion by saying that this would also prefer the term 'suspend' rather than 'hang'. Deonna (**Deonna 1958**:12) expands on Thévenot's idea and says the victim is not just suspended in the tree, but broken; Deonna says that the tree is an active agent in the sacrifice, not a passive support, but an instrument of torture, bearing witness that the god has accepted the sacrifice and showing its will by its branches, bent the wrong way, being released and dismembering the body and letting the blood flow. Thévenot (**Thévenot 1957b**:444) points out that loss of blood does not bring about dislocation of the limbs, but is the result of it, a point accepted by Deonna (**Deonna 1958**:11). For this reason, according to Deonna (**Deonna 1958**:11), Duval and Thévenot use such words as "dilacération" (**Duval 1954**:17), "démembrement" (**Duval 1957**:37) and "écartèlement" (**Thévenot 1957b**:445). Sergent (**Sergent**:393), although accepting that neither hanging nor suspension would cause a loss of blood and, therefore, that an external agent was necessary, contends that death was neither by strangling nor by dismemberment. On the basis that the phrase *usque donec* implies an interval of time between the suspension and the dismemberment, Sergent posits that death came about through a loss of blood, *per cruorem*, from a laceration and the body, abandoned in the tree, rotted and came apart, *membra digesserit*. The proposed scenario, therefore, is that the victim was suspended in the tree and, while suspended, was lacerated, died from loss of blood and was left until the body came apart through putrefaction, the torture itself, therefore, dispersing the limbs. Sergent (**Sergent**:398-399) claims that human remains dating to the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC found at, *inter alia*, Danebury, Gournay-sur-Aronde, Llyn Cerrig Bach, Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Manching, Mont-Berny and Titelberg and characterising Celtic sanctuaries, is archaeological evidence, not for the sacrifice, but for the custom of exposing bodies for a long period[1], until they fell apart from putrefaction, recalling the phrase *usque donec... membra digesserit*, and that this demonstrates that it was a Celtic custom. Admittedly in these cases the bodies are, unlike those in the sacrifice, decapitated bodies of, probably, warriors killed in battle.

[197] **de Vries 1961**:47 and 223.

[198] **Vendryes 1948**:315; **Duval 1957**:24; **Sjoestedt**:55.

[199] Le Roux (**Le Roux 1955a**:47-48) contrasts the three forms of violent death (liquid, fire and iron), mentioned in the three-fold death of a king in Irish myth, in a vat, in a redness of fire and surrounded by the iron of lances (**Ramnoux**:217), to the three types of sacrifice mentioned by the Commentary; the fire is devoted to Taranis, the liquid Teutates and Esus is connected to wood, not iron. Consequently, for the Continental Celts, violent death comes under the combined or separate efforts of liquid, fire and, unlike Ireland, wood. Vendryes (**Vendryes 1948**:315), on the other hand, followed by Powell (**Powell 1980**:182), suggests that the three methods of sacrifice may symbolise the three elements associated with vegetation and, therefore, fertility: water [Teutates]; air [Esus]; and fire [Taranis], something which Green (**Green, M.J. 1998**:177) finds suspiciously neat and, consequently, advises caution. The last element represents burning, which is the simplest method of replenishing the earth with nitrates.
[200] **Le Roux 1955a**:48.
[201] **Wait 1985**:7.
[202] **Wallace**:70; **Wait 1985**:7.
[203] **Sergent**:397; **Birkhan**:800.
[204] **Hughes**:139-165; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:144.
[205] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:144.
[206] **Brunaux 1986a**:133.
[207] **Brunaux 1986a**:132.
[208] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:144.
[209] **Green, M.J. 1998**:183; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:144.
[210] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:144.
[211] **Brunaux 1986a**:133.
[212] **Brunaux 1986a**:132.
[213] **Wallace**:59.
[214] **Le Roux 1967a**:328.
[215] **Grenier 1945**:359.
[216] **Ross 1986**:166 .
[217] **Webster, J. 1992**:429.
[218] ' Αει δὲ συμβαίνειν, ὥστε τινὰ ἐμπίπτειν τὴν τοῦτο πεισομένον.
[219] **Wallace**:65.
[220] **Webster, J. 1992**:429.
[221] **Bayet**:70.
[222] **Brunaux 1986a**:135; **Webster, J. 1992**:133; **Brunaux 1996**:116 and 118; **Cunliffe 1997**:192.
[223] **Brunaux 1986a**:135.
[224] **Le Roux 1967a**:329.
[225] **Cunliffe 1992**:196.
[226] **Cunliffe 1992**:196.
[227] **Cunliffe 1993**:9-13 and 21; **Green, M.J. 1998**:177-178; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:146.
[228] **Green, M.J. 1993**:68; **Green, M.J. 1996c**:22; **Green, M.J. 1998**:174.
[229] **Delattre**:310-311.
[230] **Delattre**:307.
[231] **Green, M.J. 1998**:178.
[232] **Dandoy**, **Selinsky** & **Voigt**:46-49.
[233] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:86.
[234] **Green, M.J. 1993**:68; **Birkhan**:865; **Green, M.J. 1997**:22.
[235] **Stead**, I.M., **Bourke**, J.B. & **Brothwell**, D. Lindow Man. *The Body in the Bog* British Museum Press 1986; **Turner**, R.C. "The Lindow Bog Bodies: Discoveries and Excavations at Lindow Moss 1983-88" in **Turner**, R.C. & **Scaife**, R.G. (eds) *Bog Bodies. New Discoveries and New Perspectives* British Museum Press 1995, 10-18; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:121 and 124.
[236] **Webster, J. 1992**:134; **Cunliffe 1997**:192.
[237] **Green, M.J. 1993**:68; **Cunliffe 1997**:192; **Green, M.J. 1998**:179; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:51 and 87. Interestingly two of the three methods used on this person leave no trace.
[238] **Webster, J. 1992**:134; **Cunliffe 1997**:192; **Green, M.J. 1998**:179-180.
[239] **Webster, J. 1992**:135.
[240] **Green, M.J. 1998**:170; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:51.
[241] **Ross 1986**:162-164.
[242] **Ramnoux**:209-218.

[243] **Cunliffe 1997**:192.
[244] **Glob**:37-62; **Fischer**:96; **Green, M.J. 1998**:179; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:87.
[245] **Todd 1992**:114.
[246] **Glob**:18-36; **Green, M.J. 1998**:179; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:122-123.
[247] **Glob**:90; **Green, M.J. 1998**:179; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:124.
[248] **Todd 1992**:114 and 115.
[249] **Todd 1992**:115.
[250] **Raftery, B. 1994**:187-188; **Green, M.J. 1998**:179; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:120.
[251] **O'Flóinn**:140.
[252] **Dunnng**:366-368; **Green, M.J. 1998**:179; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:117.
[253] **Bradley**:164; **Green, M.J. 1998**:179; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:117.
[254] **Glob**:114-116; **van der Sanden**:98 and 112; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:51 and 117.
[255] **Glob**:70-100; **Todd 1992**:114; **van der Sanden**:99; **Green, M.J. 1998**:179; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:51 and 117.
[256] **Briggs**:168-182.
[257] **Brunaux 1986a**:136; **Webster, J. 1992**:133.
[258] Limbs and torso from Danebury; a piece of skull from Hayling Island; and the dismembered remains of a child from Wandlesbury.
[259] **Henig**:23.
[260] **Lambot 1998**:73-87; **Lambot 2000**:30-36.
[261] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:130.
[262] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:132.
[263] **Lambot & Méniel**:66-83.
[264] **Lambot & Méniel**:84; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:130.
[265] **Woimant 1989**:225; **Woimant 1991**:164.
[266] **Méniel 2001**:83.
[267] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:151.
[268] **Brunaux 1996**:120.
[269] **Brunaux 1996**:119.
[270] **Brunaux 1986a**:134; **Brunaux 1996**:120.
[271] **Fichtl**:35.
[272] **Lambot**:75.
[273] **Brunaux 1996**:118.
[274] **Brunaux 1996**:119.
[275] **Brunaux 1996**:120.
[276] **Brunaux 1996**:120.
[277] **Brunaux 1986a**:134.
[278] **Brunaux 1996**:119.
[279] **Brunaux 1996**:120.
[280] **Brunaux 1996**:120.
[281] **Brunaux 1986a**:135.
[282] **Brunaux 1986a**:135.
[283] **Brunaux 1996**:119-120.
[284] **Brunaux 1996**:119.
[285] **Brunaux 1986a**:135; **Brunaux 1996**:119.
[286] **Brunaux 1986a**:135.
[287] ἄνθρωπος by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus (**Strab**.IV.4.5; **Diod**.V.32.6) and *homo* by Caesar (**Caes**.*B.G.*VI.16.2, 3 and 4), as opposed to the word for "man" ἀνήρ and *vir* respectively.
[288] **Hubert 1934**:245.
[289] **Kendrick**:122; **Hubert 1934**:244.
[290] **Kendrick**:122.
[291] **Vendryes 1948**:317.
[292] He cites the substitution of a faun for Iphigenia and a lamb for Isaac as examples.
[293] **Le Roux 1967a**:329.
[294] **Brunaux 1996**:132-133.
[295] Unless one dismisses it all as Caesar's propaganda.

[296] Unless one is expected to believe that they disapproved of and disagreed with the practices being conducted under their auspices and control, but stood by and did nothing, which makes them morally inferior to the sacrifiers.
[297] **MacCulloch 1911**:236.
[298] Captain Cook in the South Pacific witnessed an example of human sacrifice within a much shorter time than Caesar's presence in Gaul.
[299] There is no indication that Procillus was going to be sacrificed; the intended burning to death may have been a form of execution.
[300] **Bayet**:70, 78 and 80.
[301] Either stated (**Diod**.XX.14.4; **Porph**.*Abst*.II.56; **Euseb**.*Praep.evang*.I.10.45; **Orosius**.IV.6.3), obvious (*2 Kings*.3:27; **Lact.Plac**.*Comm. in Statii Theb*.X.793; **Serv**.*ad Aen*.III.57; *Gloss.Luc*. ad Luc. X.334) or implied (**Diod**.XIII.86.3 and XXXI.13; **Curt**.IV.3.23; **Just**.*Epit*.XXVI.2.2).
[302] **Zecchini**:40.
[303] **Brunaux 1996**:121.
[304] **Wait 1985**:151.
[305] **Webster, J. 1992**:130.
[306] **Ferguson**:156-157.
[307] **Henig**:131-134; **Wait 1985**:151; **Webster, J. 1992**:130.
[308] **Webster, J. 1992**:130. Webster proposes that the passage by Parthenius (**Parth**.*Amat.Narr*.30) "is the only probable reference to the sacrifice of animals by individuals". It is difficult to see how this can be, since the passage contains no reference to the act or even concept of sacrifice.
[309] Contrary to the translation by Koch and Carey (**Koch & Carey**:22) there is no mention of burning, merely sacrificing, there is no translation of *in unum locum* and, as will be seen, "the rest", the inanimate objects, were left untouched in *loci consecrati*.
[310] **de Vries 1961**:47 and 223.
[311] **MacCulloch 1948**:53.
[312] **Brunaux 1996**:104.
[313] καθαγίζουσι and κατακάουσιν (**Diod**.V.32.6).
[314] Obviously *interpretatio Graeca* for a Gallic goddess.
[315] **Brunaux 1996**:105.
[316] **Brunaux 1996**:105.
[317] **Green, M.J. 1996c**:25.
[318] **Brunaux 2001**:56
[319] **Brunaux 1996**:103.
[320] **Méniel 1987**:118.
[321] **Méniel 2001**:78.
[322] **Méniel 2001**:81; **Van Andringa 2002**:94.
[323] **Wallace**:63-64; **Wait 1985**:4.
[324] **Brunaux 1986a**:120; **Green, M.J. 1993**:69; **Green, M.J. 1996c**:23; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:43.
[325] **Méniel 1987**:134; **Green, M.J. 1993**:69; **Green, M.J. 1996c**:23; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:43.
[326] **Brunaux 1986a**:120 and 121.
[327] **Brunaux 1986a**:120 and 123; **Brunaux 1996**:107.
[328] **Méniel 1987**:134.
[329] **Méniel 1987**:134.
[330] **Brunaux 1986a**:120; **Green, M.J. 1993**:70; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:43.
[331] **Méniel 1987**:134; **Brunaux 1996**:74.
[332] **Méniel 2001**:78.
[333] **Méniel 2001**:78.
[334] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:43.
[335] **Méniel 1987**:119.
[336] **Méniel 1987**:119.
[337] **Méniel 1987**:127-128.
[338] **Méniel 1987**:127-128.
[339] The list of domestic animals is small, consisting of only six species: sheep, cattle, pigs, goats, horses and dogs. This list is often reduced to only the first four, to which are added wild mammals, such as the hare, and birds, both domestic and wild, especially the *corvidae* family (**Méniel 1987**:121).
[340] **Méniel 1987**:121.

[341] **Méniel 1987**:120.
[342] **Méniel 1987**:119.
[343] **Brunaux 1986a**:120; **Méniel 1987**:119.
[344] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:43; **Méniel 2001**:80.
[345] **Beattie**:32.
[346] **Brunaux 2001**:56
[347] **Green, M.J. 1998**:172.
[348] **Green, M.J. 1998**:171.
[349] **Méniel 1987**:120.
[350] **Méniel 1987**:120.
[351] **Méniel 1987**:121.
[352] **Méniel 1987**:121.
[353] **Brunaux 1986a**:123; **Méniel 1987**:135-136.
[354] **Brunaux 1996**:109.
[355] **Méniel 1987**:122.
[356] **Méniel 1987**:122.
[357] **Méniel 1987**:122.
[358] **Méniel 1987**:135.
[359] **Méniel 2001**:79.
[360] **Méniel 2001**:82.
[361] **Lambot & Méniel**:31.
[362] **Méniel 1987**:135.
[363] **Méniel 1987**:122.
[364] **Méniel 2001**:78.
[365] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:42.
[366] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:44.
[367] **Méniel 1987**:133.
[368] At Gournay-sur-Aronde approximately 1,500 remains of cattle have been gathered in the ditch surrounding the enclosure on either side of the entrance, both providing the majority of cattle bones at this site and forming at least 40 examples of cattle (**Méniel 1987**:134; **Méniel 1991**:260; **Brunaux 1996**:74). These sacrificed animals are unusual because of both their advanced age and the abnormally high proportion of males, oxen and bulls (**Brunaux 1986a**:123; **Méniel 1987**:134; **Méniel 1991**:258) a majority of the animals (**Brunaux 1986a**:123).
[369] **Brunaux 1986a**:121.
[370] **Brunaux 1986a**:121.
[371] **Méniel 1987**:133.
[372] **Brunaux 1986a**:122; **Büchsenschütz**:559.
[373] **Henig**:23; **Méniel 1987**:122; **Méniel 2001**:85 and 86. See page 184.
[374] **Brunaux 1986a**:122; **Méniel 1991**:266; **Büchsenschütz**:559; **Brunaux 1996**:106.
[375] **Méniel 2001**:85 and 86. The most frequent pieces of pork were the head, always split in two, the shoulder and ham; as regards sheep, shoulder and leg of mutton are the only pieces present (**Méniel 1991**:266; **Brunaux 1996**:107).
[376] **Méniel 1987**:121.
[377] **Ross 1986**:23.
[378] **Méniel 2001**:80
[379] **Méniel 2001**:81.
[380] **Méniel 2001**:80.
[381] **Brunaux 1986a**:121.
[382] **Brunaux 1986a**:121; **Méniel 1991**:266; **Büchsenschütz**:559; **Méniel 2001**:86.
[383] **Brunaux 1986a**:121-122.
[384] **Méniel 1987**:126.
[385] **Méniel 1987**:133.
[386] **Méniel 2001**:85.
[387] **Brunaux 1996**:104.
[388] **Méniel 2001**:82 and 85.
[389] **Méniel 2001**: 85.
[390] Gournay-sur-Aronde-100%, Ribemont-sur-Ancre-97% and Mirebeau-99% (**Méniel 1987**:121) or 96.6% (**Méniel 1987**:125).

[391] **Méniel 1987**:121 and 125.
[392] **Méniel 1987**:125-126.
[393] **Méniel 1987**:125.
[394] **Méniel 2001**: 85.
[395] **Méniel 1987**:126.
[396] **Méniel 1987**:126.
[397] **Méniel 1987**:126.
[398] **Méniel 1987**:127.
[399] **Méniel 1987**:127.
[400] **Lambot & Méniel**:29-33.
[401] **Lambot & Méniel**:29.
[402] **Lambot & Méniel**:31.
[403] **Lambot & Méniel**:31-33.
[404] **Lambot & Méniel**:32.
[405] **Lambot**:68.
[406] **Lambot & Méniel**:29-33.
[407] **Woimant 1989**:225; **Woimant 1991**:164.
[408] **Méniel 1991**:258.
[409] **Méniel 2001**:83.
[410] **Brunaux 1986a**:121; **Méniel 1987**:121; **Brunaux 1996**:106; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:151.
[411] **Brunaux 1986a**:121; **Méniel 1987**:121.
[412] **Méniel 2001**:80.
[413] **Méniel 1987**:132.
[414] **Méniel 1987**:130.
[415] **Méniel 1987**:130.
[416] **Méniel 1987**:123.
[417] **Méniel 1987**:121.
[418] **Méniel 1987**:124.
[419] **Méniel 1987**:121.
[420] **Méniel 1987**:121 and 125.
[421] **Méniel 1987**:125.
[422] **Méniel 1987**:125.
[423] **Méniel 1987**:121.
[424] **Méniel 1987**:127.
[425] **Méniel 1987**:127.
[426] **Méniel 1987**:127.
[427] **Méniel 1987**:130.
[428] **Cabuy**:308.
[429] **Lambot**:75.
[430] **Brunaux & Lambot**:178; **Brunaux 1996**:112.
[431] **Brunaux & Lambot**:178.
[432] **Méniel 1987**:122.
[433] **Méniel 1987**:122.
[434] **Méniel 1987**:126.
[435] **Méniel 1987**:126.
[436] **Méniel 1987**:126.
[437] **Méniel 1987**:130.
[438] First, and most obviously, the term is intimately linked with the suppression of doctrinal heterodoxy, any threat to the papal supremacy or even merely social change; none of these are present in Gallic society prior or even after the Roman Conquest. Secondly, although excommunication does not directly affect a person's afterlife, the exclusion from the sacraments can affect the duration of his soul in Purgatory and, therefore, indirectly refers to the *post mortem* destination of the excommunicated party; there is no indication of this in the passage and the interdict refers solely to the present life of the interdicted person/s. Thirdly, excommunication can be reversed so that the excommunicated party can be restored to their previous state; the punishment by the Druids is permanent and nothing done by the interdicted party will restore their previous status. Finally, although excommunication has both a religious and a social result, s/he is not released from social obligations and even the social exclusion may be reduced in its effect if another's interests are

affected; the Druidic prohibition affects not just religious activities, such as sacrifices, but also all social interaction completely.

[439] **Baumeister & Leary**:497. This is called the Belongingness Hypothesis.

[440] **Forsyth**:60 and 62.

[441] **Brunaux 1986a**:124; **Brunaux 1996**:73. This sacrifice involved consumption but not by any human agent and deserves special examination. It is the only known example of the rite and only cattle are involved (**Brunaux 1986a**:123). Most of the victims were old bulls (**Méniel 1987**:134; **Méniel 1991**:258.), about forty specimens (**Méniel 1987**:134), which means, according to Brunaux, that they used the most valuable animal in the herd (**Brunaux 1986a**:123). The victim would have been kept either near the sanctuary or even in the interior in the small enclosure and death would probably have been inflicted at the centre (**Brunaux 1986a**:124; **Brunaux 1996**:108); Brunaux (**Brunaux 1986a**:124) suggests that it may have been decorated. After the animal had been put to death with a blow to the rear part of the skull (**Méniel 1991**:258), it was the subject of an unusual ritual, which terminated in the deposit of bovine bones in the enclosure ditch on either side of the entrance (**Brunaux 1986a**:125; **Méniel 1991**:257 and 260). The carcass was untouched, with no flesh removed and not even any bones being broken, and, in fact, the head was the only part of the animal to show any marks of blows or of carving (**Méniel 1987**:130 and 136; **Méniel 1991**:258; **Brunaux 1996**:74). The presence in this central pit of three very small bones called sesamoids (**Brunaux 1986a**:125; **Méniel 1987**:131; **Méniel 1991**:257; **Brunaux 1996**:73 and 108), forgotten or overlooked in the systematic cleaning of the pit (**Brunaux 1996**:73), demonstrate that the sacrificed ox was deposited in the central pit of the sanctuary (**Brunaux 1986a**:124; **Méniel 1987**:131 and 136; **Green 1993**:76; **Büchsenschütz**:559; **Brunaux 1995b**:145; **Brunaux 1996**:74 and 108) and was left to decompose (**Méniel 1987**:131 and 136; **Méniel 1991**:258; **Brunaux 1995b**:145; **Brunaux 1996**:74). The decomposition would have been the object of particular attention for the officiants (**Brunaux 1995b**:145). The duration period of decomposition, depended on so many factors that a precise estimate is impossible, although Brunaux (**Brunaux 1995b**: 145) says that it would have been well defined, and would have varied from between weeks and several months (**Méniel 1987**:137-138); Brunaux suggests that it may have been as much as six or eight months (**Brunaux 1986a**:124-125; **Brunaux 1996**:74 and 108).

Brunaux (**Brunaux 1986a**:125; **Brunaux 1996**:108) suggests, and Méniel (**Méniel 1991**:258) agrees, that the end of the period of decomposition was when the joints could be separated and only the vertebrae, the vertebral ligaments being the last to decompose (**Méniel 1987**:136; **Méniel 1991**:258), were still linked together; the skull was separated from the rest of the carcass and the jaw was cut (**Brunaux 1986a**:125; **Méniel 1987**:136; **Brunaux 1996**:74 and 109) in order, Méniel (**Méniel 1987**:136) proposes, to facilitate the skull's exposure. The bones of the carcasses to which they had been attached were taken away by the officiants (**Brunaux 1995b**:145) and were deposited in the ditch (**Méniel 1991**:258; **Brunaux 1996**:74). At its excavation the ditch contained 3,000 bones (**Büchsenschütz**:559)), the skulls were either exposed or stored, but protected from the weather (**Brunaux 1986a**:124 and 125; **Méniel 1987**:138). While Méniel (**Méniel 1991**:260) says that this destination is unknown, Brunaux (**Brunaux 1996**:77 and 109) posits that the animal skulls were hung on the entrance porch with the weapons and human skulls for several years and that, if this were so, it indicates that the Gauls considered these skulls to have remembrance value and not just as to be sources of food; however, the latter theory is a hypothesis upon hypothesis. The separation of the skulls was not the last adjustment to the remains. Before their deposit in the ditch, the bones were manipulated (**Méniel 1991**:258). Not only were some bones disconnected and may even have been put through several intermediary ritual stages (**Brunaux 1986a**:125), but some were even removed (**Brunaux 1986a**:125; **Méniel 1987**:131), such as the tail bones and hoof bones (**Méniel 1987**:137; **Brunaux 1996**:109) which are missing. The remains were then deposited in the ditch on either side of the entrance (**Brunaux 1986a**:125; **Méniel 1987**:134; **Méniel 1991**:257; **Brunaux 1996**:109). In view of the fact that the remains do not form complete skeletons, but consisted of certain long bones, of vertebral columns still attached by ligaments, of ribs and of the skulls of all the sacrificed animals (**Méniel 1987**:130 and 137; **Brunaux 1996**:109), Méniel (**Méniel 1987**:130 and 137) says that this deposit of cattle remains in the ditch was not the simple deposit of bovine bodies. The skulls were inserted between the bones deposited in the ditch and immediately covered (**Brunaux 1986a**:125; **Méniel 1987**:138; **Méniel 1991**:260; **Brunaux 1996**:109), possibly immediately after a length of time, and had their faces turned towards the sky (**Méniel 1991**:260). Brunaux (**Brunaux 1986a**:125) says that these heaps of cattle bones and skulls guarded the entrance in an apotropaic way. Méniel

(**Méniel 1987**:132) posits that the bones were not considered as waste, but had acquired value as witnesses of a sacrifice, as tangible evidence, for eternity.

The remains of the oxen were all mixed together as if deposited at the same time, but there is the evidence of erosion on some bones by agents in the atmosphere indicating that the act of filling the ditch was halted at various points with the resultant exposure of the bones to the open air for several seasons, possibly years (**Brunaux 1986a**:125; **Méniel 1987**:138; **Méniel 1991**:258 and 260); the bones were in successive layers, each layer being a distinct sacrifice (**Cunliffe**:204). It is possible to determine, from the eroded bones, that there was a succession of four collections of remains (**Méniel 1987**:138; **Méniel 1991**:260), each placed at regular intervals (**Méniel 1987**:139), each the result of an accumulation of remains over a long period, indicated by the typology of the arms in each deposit (**Méniel 1987**:138) and each contains the remains of ten or twelve oxen (**Méniel 1987**:139; **Méniel 1991**:260). Brunaux and Méniel (**Brunaux 1986a**:123 and 125; **Méniel 1987**:139; **Méniel 1991**:260) propose a twelve or ten year interval between sacrifices. Perhaps it was at the end of each period that the skulls were deposited with their remains.

[442] **Méniel 1987**:139; **Méniel 1991**:260

[443] **Méniel 1987**:139

[444] **Brunaux 1986a**:124.

[445] **Méniel 1987**:139.

[446] **Brunaux 1986a**:123 and 124; **Brunaux 1996**:108.

[447] **Green, M.J. 1993**:76.

[448] **Brunaux 1996**:109. Strabo, or Artemidorus, his source, applying *interpretatio Graeca*, mentions that the sacrifices on an island near Britain resemble the sacrifices to Demeter and Kore as performed on Samothrace (**Strabo**.IV.4.6). In connection with this passage, Brunaux refers to the *Thesmophoria*, a chthonic rite dedicated to Demeter and Kore, in which pig remains were left to decompose in pits and, once decomposition had stopped, were mixed with grain and were scattered on the fields. Brunaux not only compares the procedure of the *Thesmophoria* and the one at Gournay-sur-Aronde, but also suggests that the Gallic sacrifices revealed by archaeology corroborate the rite recorded by Strabo. Webster (**Webster, J. 1992**:131), however, points out that Strabo or Artemidorus, for their *interpretatio Romana*, specifically compare the rites on the island near Britain to the rites on Samothrace, which, although also connected with Demeter and Kore (**Ferguson**:123), are the Cabiri Mysteries and, therefore, because it is possible that Strabo or Artemidorus was actually thinking of the Cabiri Mysteries, not the *Thesmophoria*, doubt is cast on the suggested corroboration, because the Cabiri rites are different from the *Thesmophoria*.

[449] **Cunliffe 1997**:196.

[450] **Cunliffe 1997**:197.

[451] **Cunliffe 1997**:197.

[452] **Bradley**:37.

[453] **Randsborg**:74-85; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:23.

[454] **Le Roux 1967a**:327.

[455] **Green, M.J. 1993**:70; **Green, M.J. 1996c**:24.

[456] **Green, M.J. 1996c**:24-25.

[457] **Henig**:17.

[458] **Brunaux 1996**:111.

[459] **Ross 1986**:23; **Brunaux 1996**:114.

[460] **Brunaux 1986a**:122.

[461] **Brunaux 1995b**:143.

[462] **Webster, J. 1992**:141.

[463] **Brunaux 1995b**:147.

[464] Webster (**Webster, J. 1992**:143) assumes that everything was done to collect all the booty to ensure that the contract with the deity was not broken.

[465] Webster (**Webster, J. 1992**:143) thinks that it is more than implied.

[466] **Brunaux 1995b**:143.

[467] **Powell 1980**:176.

[468] **Powell 1980**:176.

[469] **Webster, J. 1992**:143.

[470] Webster (**Webster, J. 1992**:142) considers this to be debatable evidence for the custom's antiquity and widespread practice and denies that it refers to Gaul.

[471] **Brunaux 1995b**:144.
[472] **Brunaux 1986a**:105.
[473] **Reinach 1913**:266; **Webster, J. 1992**:143.
[474] **Webster, J. 1992**:142.
[475] **Webster, J. 1992**:142; **Brunaux 1996**:155.
[476] **Webster, J. 1992**:143.
[477] **Brunaux 1996**:155.
[478] **Brunaux 1995b**:143.
[479] Brunaux (**Brunaux 1996**:148) claims that the Gauls had a special vow, a most solemn religious rite of war. Brunaux (**Brunaux 1996**:129-130 and 148-149) differentiates between this vow, which he seems to think as special, and the thanksgiving vow of all booty being devoted to secure victory, as reported by Caesar. Bruanux emphasises the solemnity of the rite by using the word "solemn" five times (**Brunaux 1996**:148-three times; **Brunaux 1996**:149-twice) and claims that the power of the Vow is based on the fact that it was made by the spoken word, which carried great force, because it was the only form of intellectual and spiritual communication (**Brunaux 1996**:148). It allegedly consists of the establishment between men and gods of a contract, according to the Latin formula of *do ut des*, from a solemn promise of a gift before a battle up to the consecration of the booty afterwards as a sign of thanks; but, properly speaking, it is a rite defined as a potlach in which men engage with the gods (**Brunaux 1996**:148). It was established orally by a most solemn announcement, often by royalty (**Brunaux 1996**:149), in the presence of assembled men and invoked gods (**Brunaux 1996**:148) and dedicated all the booty (**Brunaux 1996**:149). However, Brunaux's assertion of the existence of this rite, the entire reconstruction of the vow, the oral nature, the conditions and the usual status of the person making the vow and, consequently, the implied extraordinary nature of the vow contradict the record by Caesar. There is no mention by Caesar, or by any of the ethnographies dealing with Gauls, of this special vow made by a chieftain devoting all the booty to a deity; on the contrary, Caesar uses the adverb *plerumque* with reference to the devotion of booty (**Caes.***B.G.*VI.17.3), meaning that it was almost standard practice to devote all the booty and implying, therefore, that a special, extraordinary vow to do so was unnecessary and all the other references to booty indicate that all captured inanimate objects were dedicated automatically. The existence of a special vow is taken from L. Annaeus Florus, a writer of the 2nd century AD, in a work consisting of composite summaries of other authors; Caesar, however, is a first-hand source writing about Gaul in the 1st century BC. Brunaux **himself** (**Brunaux 1996**:149) supplies the reason for the contradiction; by having Jupiter intercept the vow of Ariovistus to the Gallic deity and having the vows made under Viridomarus fall *aliorsum*, "c'est la religion romaine...qui se montrait plus forte que sa consœur gauloise". In order to demonstrate the superiority of the Roman religion over the Gallic, there must be a special vow made which must be shown to fail. A very minor point is the fact that the contract does not actually follow the formula *do ut des*, as Brunaux says, but rather *das ut dam* because it is the god/s who give first, by giving victory, and then the men give, by consecrating the booty; if it was actually *do ut des*, the men would dedicate the booty in the sanctuary and then the god/s would grant them the victory to win the booty, which is impossible.
[480] Reinach (**Reinach 1913**:255) claims that the spoils were dedicated to Vulcan because, by *interpretatio Romana*, Vulcan was equated to Esus, who was equated by the Romans with Mars.
[481] **Jullian 1903**:53.
[482] **Reinach 1913**:255.
[483] **Webster, J. 1992**:143.
[484] **Webster, J. 1992**:144.
[485] **Webster, J. 1992**:145.
[486] **Webster, J. 1992**:141.
[487] **Webster, J. 1992**:141.
[488] **Brunaux 1995b**:143.
[489] **Van Andringa 2002**:94.
[490] **Webster, J. 1992**:152.
[491] **Webster, J. 1992**:153.
[492] Deposits of coins have been found in the ditch at Chilly (**Cadoux 1981**:283) and in pits Estrées-Saint-Denis (**Woimant 1989**:225; **Woimant 1991**:164) and Vendeuil-Caply (**Massy 1983**:251; **Massy 1985b**:480) were made at Roizy (**Fichtl**:74) and at Mouzon-Flavier (**Cabuy**:308).
[493] **Brunaux 1995b**:144.
[494] **Filip**:169; **Powell 1980**:176; **Green, M.J. 1993**:71; **Cunliffe 1997**:194.

[495] **Raftery, B. 1994**:183; **Müller**:327.
[496] **Raftery, B. 1994**:183.
[497] **Cunliffe 1997**:194; **Van Andringa 2002**:94.
[498] **Webster, J. 1992**:152.
[499] **Webster, J. 1992**:153; **Van Andringa 2002**:94.
[500] **Brunaux 1986a**:127-128.
[501] **Brunaux 1986a**:127.
[502] According to Brunaux (**Brunaux 1986a**:128), the weapons were not deposited in the ditch immediately after their sacrifice, but were exposed. Brunaux then differentiates between certain weapons, which were suspended from the walls of the sanctuary, presumably an assertion based on remains found at the bases of the walls' foundation, and the majority, which composed such masses as Caesar described and later, possibly after many years, came to be placed in the ditch of the sacred enclosure.
[503] **Brunaux 1986a**:126-127.
[504] **Ross 1986**:118; **Green, M.J. 1993**:71.
[505] **Fichtl**:33.
[506] At Gournay-sur-Aronde these were the entrance and the temple.
[507] **Müller**:327.
[508] **Brunaux 1995b**:143.
[509] **Brunaux 1995b**:149.
[510] **Fichtl**:34.
[511] **Brunaux 1995b**:143.
[512] **Schwab**:321.
[513] **Müller**:327.
[514] **Woimant 1989**:225; **Woimant 1991**:164.
[515] **Webster, J. 1992**:153.
[516] **Méniel 2001**:83.
[517] **Brunaux 1986a**:19 and 127; **Brunaux 1987a**:158; **Green, M.J. 1993**:67; **Büchsenschütz**:559; **Webster, J. 1995**:455; **Brunaux 1995b**:144; **Brunaux 1996**:72-73, 77 and 112; **Green, M.J. 1996c**:26; **Cunliffe 1997**:204; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:151.
[518] **Brunaux 1996**:156.
[519] **Brunaux 2001**:56-57.
[520] **Brunaux 1986a**:127.
[521] **Rapin**:240.
[522] **Brunaux 1986a**:126.
[523] **Brunaux 1995b**:144.
[524] **Brunaux 1991b**:122 and 125.
[525] **Fichtl**:35.
[526] **Delplace 1991**:198.
[527] **Lambot**:75.
[528] **Fichtl**:74.
[529] **Brunaux & Lambot**:178; **Brunaux 1996**:112.
[530] **Brunaux & Lambot**:178; **Brunaux 1996**:156.
[531] **Fichtl**:35.
[532] **Brunaux, Méniel & Popin**:108.
[533] **Brunaux 1986**:26; **Guillaumet & Barral**:195.
[534] **Guillaumet & Barral**:195.
[535] **Henig**:22.
[536] **Henig**:22.
[537] **Sievers**:149.
[538] **Sievers**:146.
[539] **Webster, J. 1992**:153.
[540] **Brunaux 1986a**:126; **Brunaux 1996**:155-156.
[541] **Brunaux 1996**:77.
[542] **Brunaux 1986b**:324.
[543] **Cadoux 1984**:75; **Brunaux 1996**:156.
[544] **Webster, J. 1992**:152.
[545] **Reinach 1913**:267; **Brunaux 1986a**:127.

[546] **Reinach 1913**:266.
[547] **Brunaux 1986a**:127.
[548] **Webster, J. 1992**:15.
[549] **Webster, J. 1992**:15.
[550] **Brunaux 1996**:112.
[551] **Powell 1980**:176.
[552] **Powell 1980**:176.
[553] **Megaw**:20, no.134.
[554] **Filip**:169; **Powell 1980**:176; **Green, M.J. 1993**:71; **Raftery, B. 1994**:183; **Cunliffe 1997**:194.
[555] **Filip**:169.
[556] **Cunliffe 1997**:194.
[557] **Webster, J. 1992**:145.
[558] **Cunliffe 1997**:194.
[559] **Cunliffe 1997**:195.
[560] **Cunliffe 1997**:196.
[561] **Van Andringa 2002**:94.
[562] **Webster, J. 1992**:152.
[563] **Fichtl**:35.
[564] **Webster, J. 1992**:153.
[565] **Delplace 1991**:198.
[566] **Lambot**:68.
[567] **Woimant**:164.
[568] **Brunaux 1986**:fig.7; **Marchand**:18; **Brunaux 1991b**:125.
[569] **Fichtl**:35.
[570] **Brunaux 1996**:114.
[571] This status of the *Thesmophoria* is supported by the fact that Brunaux (**Brunaux 1986a**:124) compares this rite to the cattle sacrifice at Gournay-sur-Aronde, which Bruanux (**Brunaux 1986a**:123-124; **Brunaux 1996**:108) himself says is chthonic.
[572] **Brunaux 1986a**:124.
[573] **Guillaumet & Barral**:195.
[574] **Brunaux 1986a**:122; **Brunaux 1996**:114.
[575] **Brunaux 1986a**:122.
[576] **Birkhan**:768.
[577] **Van Andringa 2002**:96.
[578] **Brunaux 1986a**:124.
[579] **Brunaux 1986a**:123-124; **Brunaux 1996**:108.
[580] **Brunaux 1996**:133.
[581] **Brunaux 1996**:133.
[582] Ornithomancy (**Cic**.*De Div*.I.41.90; **Diod**.V.31.3; **Strab**.IV.4.6; **Val.Max**.I.4.2; **Ps-Plut**.*De fluviis*.VI.4; **Ael**.*V.H*.II.31; **Just**.*Epit*.XXIV.4.3), oneiromancy (**Cic**.*De Div*.I.50.113; I.51.115; **Ael**.*V.H*.II.31; **Just**.*Epit*.XLIII.5.5-6; **Tert**.*De Anim*.57.10) and divination by delirium (**Cic**.*De Div*.I.50.113 and 114; **Plin**.*H.N*.XXV.106; *Comm.Schol.Bern. ad Lucan.* ad I.451).
[583] **MacCulloch 1911**:235, 247; **Grenier 1945**:359; **MacCulloch 1948**:55; **Chadwick 1966**:20; **Brunaux 1986**:129.
[584] **Jullian 1909**:161-162; **MacCulloch 1911**:233; **MacCulloch 1949**:55; **Wait 1985**:207; **Brunaux 1996**:136; **Webster, J. 1992**:545-546; **Cunliffe 1997**:192; **Green, M.J. 1998**:174.
[585] **Webster, J. 1992**:546.
[586] **Zwicker**:16.
[587] Although MacCulloch says that libations were poured over the person (**MacCulloch 1911**:247; **MacCulloch 1948**:55), this is not mentioned by the ancient authors. The ritual did not involve the examination of the person's entrails contrary to the statement by Brunaux (**Brunaux 1996**:136). Curiously, Jullian (**Jullian 1909**:161), prior to narrating that the rite involves the study of the manner in which the victim fell and his/her blood spurted, also states that it concerns the examination of entrails.
[588] **Zwicker**:18; **Tierney**:203.
[589] **Zwicker**:37.
[590] **Wait 1985**:207.
[591] **Webster, J. 1992**:545.

[592] **MacCulloch 1948**:56.
[593] **Brunaux 1996**:138.
[594] **Brunaux 1986**:129.
[595] An example of such an occurrence would be the migration of the Cimbri and Teutones, which would have been in the living memory of Posidonius' informant; it may be that this event was actually the only time the rite was performed and Posidonius or Strabo present it as being performed more than it ever actually was.
[596] **Jullian 1909**:161.
[597] **Webster, J. 1992**:127.
[598] **de Vries 1961**:222.
[599] **de Vries 1961**:223.
[600] **Jullian 1909**:158; **de Vries 1961**:223.
[601] **Webster, J. 1992**:127-128.
[602] *The Independent* 4 March 1989.
[603] **Brunaux 1996**:136.
[604] **Jullian 1909**:162.
[605] **Bertin**:66; **Agache 1978**:391; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1986a**:294; **Cabuy 1991**:24.
[606] **Macbain**:158.
[607] **Van Andringa** 2002:100.
[608] **Cunliffe 1997**:192; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:83.
[609] **Brown**:164.
[610] Fauduet (**Fauduet 1993**:126) accepts from the issuing of imperial decrees regarding the custom that human sacrifice continued up to the beginning of the 1st century CE.
[611] **Fauduet 1993**:129.
[612] **Isserlin**:92.
[613] **Green, M.J. 1998**:172.
[614] **Turner**, R.C., **Rhodes**, M. and **Wilde**, J.P. "The Roman body found on Grewelthorpe Moor in 1850: A Reappraisal", *Britannia* XIII (1991), 191-201.
[615] **Turner**, R.C. & **Rhodes**, M. "A bog body and its shoes from Amcotts, Lincolnshire", *Antiquaries Journal* 72 (1992), 76-90.
[616] **Gowlett**, J., **Hedges**, R. & **Law**, I. "Radiocarbon (AMS) dating of Lindow Man", *Antiquity* LXIII (1989), 71-80; **Turner**, R.C. "Preliminary report on the Lindow Moss excavations, 1987", *Council for British Archaeology Regional Group 5 Newsletter*, 57 (1989), 6-11; **Turner 1995**:Table 1.
[617] **Isserlin**:94.
[618] **Garland**, A.A. "Worsley Man, England" in **Turner**, R.C. & **Scaife**, R.G. (eds) *Bog Bodies. New Discoveries and New Perspectives* British Museum Press 1995, 104-107.
[619] **Crummy 1992**:21.
[620] **Crummy 1984**:94-95.
[621] **Isserlin**:94.
[622] **Crummy 1984**:94-97.
[623] **Todd 1975**:188-189; **Black**, E.W. "Ritual dog burials from Roman sites", *Kent Archaeological Review* 71 (1983), 20-22.
[624] **Quinnell**:21- .
[625] **Jackson & Ambrose**:47.
[626] **Jackson & Ambrose**:46.
[627] **Green, M.J. 1998**:186.
[628] **Phillips & Heywood**:63.
[629] **Phillips & Heywood**:185.
[630] **Isserlin**:96.
[631] **Isserlin**:96.
[632] **Green, M.J. 1998**:185.
[633] **Green, M.J. 1998**:185.
[634] **Scott**:116-117.
[635] **Scott**, E. "Animal and Infant Burials in Romano-British Villas: A revitalization Movement" in **Garwood**, P., **Jennings**, D., **Skeates**, R and **Toms**, J. (eds) *Sacred and Profane. Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion* Oxford 1989, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph No.32, 115-121.
[636] **Green, M.J. 1998**:186.

[637] **Isserlin**:93.
[638] **Hénault**, M. "Le puits 717", *Pro Nerva.Étude d'Archéologie Nervienne* VI (1930), 5-9; Merryfield:43..
[639] **Fauduet 1993**:125.
[640] **Van Andringa 2002**:95.
[641] In the Treveri tribal territory.
[642] **Van Andringa 2002**:98.
[643] **Brunaux 1995b**:159.
[644] **Woolf**:226.
[645] **Fauduet 1993**:127.
[646] Bellovaci tribal territory.
[647] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:160.
[648] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:160 and 182.
[649] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:160.
[650] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:162.
[651] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:160.
[652] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:167.
[653] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:167.
[654] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:183.
[655] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:183.
[656] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:183.
[657] This may explain the way that, at Alesia, even though short of food, the Gauls did not eat their horses.
[658] Remi tribal territory.
[659] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:181.
[660] Remi tribal territory.
[661] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:181.
[662] Remi tribal territory.
[663] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:181.
[664] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:181.
[665] Bituriges Cubi tribal territory.
[666] **Rodet-Belarbi**:187.
[667] **Rodet-Belarbi**:187.
[668] **Rodet-Belarbi**:188.
[669] **Rodet-Belarbi**:188.
[670] **Rodet-Belarbi**:189.
[671] **Rodet-Belarbi**:189.
[672] **Fauduet 1993**:127.
[673] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:182.
[674] **Fauduet 1993**:117.
[675] **Fauduet 1993**:117.
[676] **Squevin**:138 and 139. Remi tribal territory.
[677] **Fauduet 1993**:117.
[678] Treveri tribal territory.
[679] **Hatt 1979**:134.
[680] **Hettner**:coll.52, pl. VI (Lance points) 48-50, 52-57, (Arrowheads) 58, 60-61, 64-65 and (Axe head) 41.
[681] **Metzler**:40.
[682] **Grenier 1958**:880-881.
[683] **Bertin** No.71; **Hatt 1979**:134; **Horne & King**:403; **Cabuy**:272.
[684] **Fauduet 1993**:117.
[685] Treveri tribal territory.
[686] **Hettner**:coll.87 and 88, in which only 9, 5 lance points and 4 arrowheads, of the 35 are listed, pl. VI (Lance points) 71 (23.5cm), 72 (22.6cm), 73 (15.7cm), 74 (13.5cm) and 75 (12.6cm) and (Arrowheads) 68 (10.5cm), 69 (12cm), 70 (12cm), and 76 (10cm); **Hatt 1979**:134; **Metzler**:40.
[687] **Hettner**:Col.87; **Grenier 1958**:884; **Hatt 1979**:134; **Cabuy**:284.
[688] **Grenier 1958**:884; **Bertin** No.97; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:231; **Cabuy**:284.
[689] Treveri tribal territory.

[690] **Hettner**:coll.29-30, pl. VI (Lance points) 13-17 (22.2cm, 19.5cm, 15cm, 14.2cm, 13cm respectively) and one not shown (15cm), (Arrowheads) 18-23, 28-30 (10.5cm, 10.5cm, 11.5cm, 10.5cm, 10.6cm, 72cm, 77cm, 75cm and 72cm respectively) and one not shown (11cm) and (Sword) 35 (51cm); **Wightman 1970**:224; **Hatt 1979**:133.
[691] **Grenier 1958**:876; **Hatt 1979**:133.
[692] **Grenier 1958**:876; **Hatt 1979**:133; **Cabuy**:300.
[693] **Bertin** No.125.
[694] **Raepsaet-Charlier**:230.
[695] **Fauduet 1993**:117.
[696] Dhronecken:- The temple at Dhronecken seems to have been dedicated to the Gallic deity Mars Smertrius. Smertrius means "Provider"; the epithet has the syllable **smer-*, which is an ancient Indo-European root (**Vendryes 1937**: 133; **Duval 1952-53**:223) and forms part of a number of Celtic names (**Duval 1952-53**:223). A figure of a young god holding a fruit in his left hand and a bird in his right, possibly representing Mars Iovantucarus (**Hatt 1979**:134) (Iovantucarus means "protecting the young") is on the altar. There are also six, small, identical, bronze statuettes of Mars, naked, carrying his weight on the right leg, the right arm raised holding a lance (**Grenier 1958**:881; **Hatt 1979**:134), interpreted as Mars Smertrius (**Grenier 1958**:882; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:230). Despite the position of the statue postulated as being that of Mars Iovantucarus, it has been suggested that the bronze statuettes of Mars Smertrius have priority (**Grenier 1958**:882).
Gusenberg:- In the temple at Gusenberg there was a small, very corroded bronze of Mars, of the same type as those at Dhronecken (**Grenier 1958**:884), that is naked, carrying his weight on the right leg, the right arm raised holding a lance, and, therefore, representing Mars Smertrius, if the interpretation of the statuette at Dhronecken is correct, and fragments of terracotta figurines of Mars (**Grenier 1958**:884). These show that the sanctuary was used for the worship of Mars Smertrius.
Möhn:- The evidence for the main sanctuary at Möhn being for the worship of Mars (**Grenier 1958**:876) is a dedication (*CIL* XIII.4119-*MARTI/ SMER*[..]*IO ET ...MANAE C.G. SEC.*; *P-W* 1955.264; **Hettner**:31; **Duval 1952-53**:224; **Thévenot 1955**:165; **Grenier 1958**:876, n.2; **Wightman 1970**:214; **Bertin** No.125; **Hatt 1979**:129.) found, according to Grenier (**Grenier 1958**:876), in the *cella* or, according to Hatt (**Hatt 1979**:133), actually inscribed on the altar. Unfortunately the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* does not clarify the situation; it merely says that the dedication was found "*in maiore templo*". The inscription is to a Gallic form of Mars and his consort. There are different opinions about the reading of the inscription. According to Hettner and Hatt (**Hettner**:31; **Hatt 1979**: 129 and 133), the Gallic epithet is Smertatius; the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* increases the size of the space, reading the inscription as *MARTI SME*[....]*IO ET ..MANAE*, and constructs the *cognomen* as being Smertutius. Extraordinarily Cabuy (**Cabuy**:303) represents the inscription as MARTI SME[RTVLI]T[A]NO ET [ANC]AMNAE, which would mean that the epithet was Smertulitanus, which is unique. According to Pauly-Wissowa, Grenier, Bertin, the Raepsaet-Charliers, Horne and King and Wightman (*P-W* 1955.264; **Grenier 1958**:876; **Bertin** No.125; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:230; **Horne & King**:433; **Wightman 1970**:214 and 223), it is Smertrius. The most likely is that it refers to Mars Smertrius and certainly the name Smertrius fits the missing space, whereas the Smertatius version requires three letters to fit a space for two.
[697] **Jullian**:11; **Duval 1958-9**:48 and 50.
[698] Remi or Mediomatrici (**Bertin**: No.133), on the border of the Remi and Treveri (**Raepsaet-Charlier**:228) tribal territories, originally Treveri and then Remi (**Tisserand**:61) or Treveri (**Cabuy**:306).
[699] **Horne & King**:438; **Metzler**:40.
[700] **Cabuy**:309.
[701] The following is a breakdown of the 578: 309 swords ranging in size from 5cm to 17cm in length; 213 shields (oval, lozenge-shaped, rectangular, hexagonal and octagonal) ranging in size from 4.5cm to 17cm; 25 lance points; 8 lances with poles; 5 axes; and 2 arrowbraces (**Tisserand**:62; **Cabuy**:308). Nearly all the shield had bosses (**Tisserand**:62; **Cabuy**:308); the examples where the reverse is furnished with a brassard are rare and these are the lozenge-shaped and octagonal shields (**Tisserand**:62-63). Shields of the Roman *scutum* type are present under the ancient oval form and the recent rectangular shape (**Tisserand**:63).
[702] **Cabuy**:308.
[703] **Tisserand**:62.
[704] **Cabuy**:308.
[705] **Tisserand**:62; **Cabuy**:308.

[706] **Tisserand**:63; **Cabuy**:309; **Fauduet 1993**:117.
[707] Treveri tribal territory.
[708] **Cabuy**:160 and 318; **Metzler**:37.
[709] **Fauduet 1983**:97-99. Bituriges Cubi tribal territory.
[710] **Tisserand**:62.
[711] **Tisserand**:62.
[712] **Frézouls 1971**:282; **Bertin** No.133; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:228; **Horne & King**:438; **Tisserand**:62; **Cabuy**:309.
[713] **Tisserand**:62; **Cabuy**:309.
[714] **Tisserand**:63.
[715] **Cabuy**:159.
[716] **Tuffreau-Libre**:128.
[717] **Cabuy**:160; **Tuffreau-Libre**:129.
[718] **Cabuy**:160.
[719] **Tuffreau-Libre**:128.
[720] **Tuffreau-Libre**:131.
[721] **Tuffreau-Libre**:131.
[722] **Forcey**:88-89.
[723] **Massy 1989**:228; **Woimant 1991**:167 and 168..
[724] **Bertin**: No.206.
[725] **Bertin**:No. 32.
[726] **Bertin**: No.103.
[727] **Meex & Mertens**:12-15.
[728] **Squévin**, B. *Baâlons-Bouvellement, Sanctuaires gaulois en Ardenne I, Les dépôts céramiques* Charleville-Mézières 1988; **Tuffreau-Libre**:128, 129 and 130; **Squevin 1994**:138.
[729] **Cabuy**:279.
[730] **Cabuy**:282.
[731] **Cabuy**:288.
[732] **Cabuy**:291.
[733] **Cabuy**:160.
[734] **Cabuy**:295.
[735] **Cabuy**:359.
[736] **Cabuy**:298.
[737] **Cabuy**:313.
[738] **Cabuy**:318.
[739] **Cabuy**:339.
[740] **Cabuy**:346.
[741] **Cabuy**:202.
[742] **Cabuy**:230.
[743] **Cabuy**:237.
[744] **Cabuy**:160
[745] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:178.
[746] **Faider-Feytman 1960**:41-48; **Cabuy**:208.
[747] **Faider-Feytman 1960**:54; **Bertin**: No.85;**Cabuy**:208.
[748] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:160.
[749] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:170.
[750] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:177.
[751] **Gaudefroy & Lepetz**:178.
[752] **Cabuy**:362.
[753] **Bertin**: No.133.
[754] **Raepsaet-Charlier**:228.
[755] **Tisserand**:61.
[756] **Cabuy**:306.
[757] **Tisserand**:63; **Frézouls 1983**:358; **Cabuy**:308.
[758] **Tuffreau-Libre**:130.
[759] **Agache 1978**:417.
[760] **Henig & King**:23.
[761] **Brunaux 1995b**:159.

Chapter Six
Headhunting

[1] **Ross 1986**:121.
[2] **Le Roux 1956b**:309.
[3] **Lambrechts 1942**:152.
[4] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:31 and 32.
[5] **Brunaux 1996**:152.
[6] **Clarus**:58.
[7] **Ross 1986**:121.
[8] **Green, M.J. 1993**:71.
[9] **Birkhan**:826.
[10] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:95.
[11] **MacCulloch 1911**:240; **MacCulloch 1948**:57; **Sterckx 1985/6**:2.
[12] **Lambrechts 1954**:38.
[13] **Brunaux 1995b**:147.
[14] **Wait 1985**:199.
[15] **Lambrechts 1954**:38
[16] **Le Roux 1956b**:306.
[17] **Brunaux 1986**:110; **Koch & Carey**:30; **Birkhan**:827.
[18] **Koch & Carey**:30.
[19] **Beranek**:11.
[20] **Riemschneider**:pl.87.
[21] **Brunaux 1986**:110.
[22] **Reinach 1913**:45.
[23] **Le Roux 1956b**:307.
[24] **Duval 1957**:37; **Brunaux 1986**:110.
[25] **Duval 1957**:37.
[26] **Reinach 1913**:56.
[27] **Lambrechts 1954**:45.
[28] **Reinach 1913**:56.
[29] **Reinach 1913**:56; **Lambrechts 1954**:45.
[30] **Lambrechts 1954**:45.
[31] **Tierney**:206.
[32] **Brunaux 1986**:110.
[33] Other examples of the practice of taking a person's head but not for the recognised motives for the custom, such as a personal prize or as a demonstration of courage, but in order to humiliate or to identify that person or to terrify others, are seen frequently in the ancient world: taking a person's head to humiliate him: **Livy**.III.5.9; **Plut**.*Crass*.XXXII.2; taking a head to identify a person: **Curt**.IV.9.25; **Polyb**.II.28.10; **Tac**.*Ann*.XIV.57, 59 and 64; **Joseph**.*A.J*.XVIII.115; and decapitation to induce fear and to demoralise: **Livy**.IV.19.5; **Just**.*Epit*.XXIV.5.6; **Livy**.XXVII.51.11; **Plut**.*Crass*.XXV.12; **Plut**. *Crass*.XXVI.4. There are other instances of the decapitation of generals, but these are not only not examples of headhunting, but also either do not fall within the boundaries of the above categories or, if they do, have other motivations as well: such as to avert an attack by Alexander (**Arr**.IV.17.7) or to announce victory (**Plut**.*Crass*.XXXI.6, XXXII.1 and XXXIII.2; **Vell**.**Pat**.II.120.5). There is one example of the encouragement by the Romans of the practice of taking heads to prove courage (**Livy**.XXIV.14.7). An unusual incident involving the public display of heads is recorded by Dio under the year 46 BC (**Dio**.XLIII.24.3-4). Caesar executed a mutinying soldier to quell a riot, but, contrary to Birkhan (**Birkhan**:823), did not nail *his* head to the *regia*; instead the heads, which Caesar nails to the *regia*, actually belonged to two other soldiers, whom Caesar put to death, according to Dio, ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας, Without more information about the reason for the decapitation of the soldiers, this event cannot be categorised, but does not appear to be within the boundaries of the custom of headhunting.
[34] **Kenner**:575.
[35] Jullian (**Jullian 1920**:294, n.7) first suggested that the first books of Livy contain stories taken directly from Celtic epics and, just as the story of the story of the fight, also single combat, between Valerius Corvus and, again, a huge Gaul (**Livy**.VII.26.) has been shown to have had its origin in

Gallic myth and was appropriated by the Romans (**Hubert 1932**:38; **Bloch**:19), so the story of Manlius shows the same origin and method of appropriation (**Brunaux 2004**:88).
[36] **Brunaux 2004**:88-89.
[37] **Bruanux 2004**:89 and 111.
[38] **MacCulloch 1911**:240; **Reinach 1913**:38-60; **MacCulloch 1948**:57; **Lambrechts 1954**:37; **Le Roux 1956b**:303; **Duval 1957**:37; **de Vries 1961**:220-221; **Benoît 1970**:25,101-102; **Sterckx 1985/6**:1; **Brunaux 1986**:109-110; **Ross 1986**:121; **Green, M.J. 1993**:71.
[39] **Brunaux 1996**:152.
[40] **Birkhan**:826.
[41] **Brunaux 1996**:152 and 153.
[42] **Brunaux 1996**:155.
[43] **Brunaux 1996**:152-153.
[44] **Lambrechts 1954**:39.
[45] **Piggott 1968**:92.
[46] **Birkhan**:826.
[47] **Brunaux 1996**:154.
[48] **Brunaux 1996**:155.
[49] **Schadenburg**:39; **James**:104.
[50] **Hose & McDougall**:20; **James**:104 .
[51] **Sterckx 1985/6**:12.
[52] **Sterckx 1985/6**:12; **Birkhan**:826.
[53] **Wait 1985**:199.
[54] **Wait 1985**:200.
[55] **Wait 1985**:200.
[56] **Wait 1985**:200.
[57] **Webster 1992**:162.
[58] **Webster 1992**:157-158.
[59] 387 BC (**Diod**.XIV.115.5); 295 BC (**Livy**.X.26.10-11); 225 BC (**Polyb**.II.28.10); 218 BC (**Polyb**.II.67.22); and 216 BC (**Livy**.XXIII.24.11).
[60] **Webster 1992**:157.
[61] **Webster 1992**:158.
[62] **Sterckx 1985/6**:3.
[63] **Webster 1992**:158.
[64] **Lambrechts 1954**:41.
[65] **Lambrechts 1954**:49-50.
[66] **Wait 1985**:199-200.
[67] **Webster 1992**:162.
[68] **Webster 1992**:158.
[69] **Webster 1992**:539.
[70] **Green, M.J. 1996b**:23.
[71] **Zwicker**:15.
[72] **Webster 1992**:538.
[73] **Lambrechts 1954**:49.
[74] **Lambrechts 1954**:50.
[75] **Lambrechts 1954**:39.
[76] **Webster 1992**:161.
[77] **Benoît 1957**:245.
[78] **Sterckx 1985/6**:4 and 5; **Lescure**, B. "Das kelto-ligurische 'Heiligtum' von Roquepertuse" in **Haffner**, A. *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* Stuttgart 1995, 75-84.
[79] **Ross 1986**:123; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:211-214; **Woodward**:54 .
[80] **Ross 1986**:122; **Green, M.J. 1996a**:138.
[81] **Woodward**:54.
[82] **Webster 1992**:160.
[83] **Reinach 1913**:55; **Tierney**:206; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:29; **Green, M.J. 1993**:71; **Green, M.J.1997**:76-77.
[84] **Fili**:154; **Brunaux 1986**:15; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:29.
[85] **Bruaux 1986**:41.
[86] **Sterkx 1985/6**:4.

[87] **Lambrechts 1954**:39.
[88] **Lambrechts 1954**:39; **Le Roux 1958b**:147; **Benoît 1970**:102; **Filip**:155; **Sterckx 1985/6**:4; **Wait 1985**:200; **Brunaux 1986**:15 and 41; **Ross 1986**:122; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:30; **Clarus**:57; **Webster 1992**:160; **Birkhan**:818; **Green, M.J. 1997**:23.
[89] **Lambrechts 1954**:39.
[90] **Jacobsthal**:3; **Megaw 1970**:134.
[91] **Lambrechts 1954**:41.
[92] **Birkhan**:495 and 818.
[93] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:126; **Green, M.J. 1992**:88; **Woodward**:54; **Green, M.J. 1997**:77. Goose bones have been found in warrior's graves in Czechoslovakia, showing the close link between geese and war (**Megaw 1970**:17).
[94] **Birkhan**:773.
[95] **Lambrechts 1954**:40; **Filip**:155; **Piggott 1978**:38; **Sterckx 1985/6**:4; **Wait 1985**:200; **Ross 1986**:122; **Clarus**:57; **Woodward**:55; **Green, M.J. 1993**:71; **Cunliffe 1997**:200; **Green, M.J. 1997**:23 and 77;
[96] **Lambrechts 1954**:40.
[97] **Lambrechts 1954**:41.
[98] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:30.
[99] **Gérin-Ricard**:23; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:97.
[100] **Gérin-Ricard**:27.
[101] **Lambrechts 1954**:40; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:30.
[102] **Lescore**:80.
[103] **Lambrechts 1954**:42; **Le Roux 1958b**:146-147; **Filip**:154-155; **Benoît 1970**:102; **Sterckx 1985/6**:5; **Wait 1985**:200; **Brunaux 1986**:15 and 41; **Ross 1986**:122; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:30; **Webster 1992**:160; **Birkhan**:818.
[104] **Lambrechts 1954**:42; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:12; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:109.
[105] **Benoît 1959**:250; **Filip**:155; **Piggott 1978**:38.
[106] **Lambrechts 1954**:43.
[107] **Filip**:155.
[108] **Reinach 1913**:55; **Le Roux 1958b**:147; **Wait 1985**:200; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:12; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:109.
[109] **Piggott 1968**:57.
[110] **Brunaux 1986**:41.
[111] **Green, M.J. 1997**:77.
[112] **Brunaux 1986**:116.
[113] **Brunaux 1986**:37.
[114] **Birkhan**:774.
[115] **Birkhan**:800 and 818.
[116] **Arcelin & Rapin**:185-186.
[117] **Brunaux 1986**:37-38.
[118] **Benoît 1955**:pl.XXV and XXVII; **Benoît 1957**:245; **Piggott 1978**:38; **Wait 1985**:200; **Ross 1986**:122; **Webster 1992**:160; **Cunliffe 1997**:202; **Green, M.J. 1997**:77.
[119] **Tierney**:206; **Cunliffe 1997**:202.
[120] **Woodward**:54.
[121] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:30; **Green, M.J. 1997**:77.
[122] **Filip**:155; **Wait 1985**:200.
[123] **Lambrechts 1954**:43.
[124] **Reinach 1913**:55; **Steckx 1985/6**:4; **Webster 1992**:161.
[125] **Lambrechts 1954**:43.
[126] **Lambrechts 1954**:43; **Benoît 1959**:138; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:29 n10; **Webster 1992**:160; **Woodward**:54; **Cunliffe 1997**:202; **Green, M.J. 1997**:77; **Birkhan**:369; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:97..
[127] **Lambrechts 1954**:42; **Le Roux 1958b**:147; **Piggott 1978**:38; **Sterckx 1985/6**:5; **Wait 1985**:200; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:29; **Birkhan**:818.
[128] **Lambrechts 1954**:42; **Le Roux 1958b**:147; **Benoît 1970**:102; **Piggott 1978**:38; **Sterckx 1985/6**:5; **Wait 1985**:200; **Webster 1992**:160.
[129] **Sterckx 1985/6**:5.
[130] **Lambrechts 1954**:44; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:111 and 146; **Birkhan**:818.
[131] **Clarus**:57.

[132] **Woodward**:54.
[133] **Le Roux 1956b**:302.
[134] **Birkhan**:818.
[135] **Filip**:157; **Sterckx 1985/6**:4; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:29; **Webster 1992**:161; **Birkhan**:818; **Lorrio**:336; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:104.
[136] **Green, M.J. 1993**:29; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:104.
[137] **Brunaux 1986**:116.
[138] **Sterckx 1985/6**:4.
[139] **Benoît 1970**:26.
[140] **Sterckx 1985/6**:4.
[141] **Lambrechts 1954**:46-47.
[142] **Lambrechts 1954**:47.
[143] **Lambrechts 1954**:47.
[144] **Jacobsthal**:3-4; **Lambrechts 1954**:41.
[145] **de Gérin-Ricard**:23; **Benoît 1955**:40-1; **Sterckx 1985/6**:5.
[146] **Brunaux, Meniel & Popin**:159-160; **Birkhan**:818.
[147] **MacCulloch 1948**:57.
[148] **MacCulloch 1911**:240.
[149] **Clarus**:57.
[150] **Sterckx 1985/6**:4.
[151] **Brunaux 1986**:110.
[152] **Rybova & Soudsky**:48-49, 258; **Sterckx 1985/6**:5.
[153] **Megaw**: No.35 **Green, M.J. 1986a**:124; **Green, M.J. 1997**:84.
[154] **Sterckx 1981**:21; **Sterckx 1985/6**:5.
[155] **Thénot Vol.**I:24, 80 and 90; **Thénot Vol.**II:pl.43, no.7.
[156] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:97.
[157] **Allen 1980**:135-136, nos.59, 92 and 317.
[158] **Allen 1980**:fig.23.
[159] **Whimster**:188.
[160] **Cadoux**:75.
[161] **Whimster**:188 .
[162] **Benoît 1970**:25.
[163] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:127 and 130; **Cunliffe 1991**:506- ; **Birkhan**:821.
[164] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:127.
[165] **Birkhan**:821.
[166] **Martínez**:7.
[167] **Cunliffe 1992**:196.
[168] **Cunliffe 1992**:196 and 197.
[169] **Delattre**:307.
[170] **Cunliffe 1993b**:106-108.
[171] **Walker**:442-463; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:104.
[172] **Hooper**:463-474; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:104.
[173] **de Vries 1961**:221-222; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:31.
[174] The Ulster hero Cú Chulainn impaled the heads of four enemies on the prongs of a pole and placed the heads of twelve enemies on stones; Cet carried the heads of three Ulster warriors with him
[175] Cú Chulainn takes the head of Órlam, son of Ailill and Medb and displays it to the men of Ireland; Etarcumul declares that he will have Cú Chulainn's head as a trophy; Fallomain son of Conchobaur, intends to take the head of King Ailill; Irish Celts would extract the brain from the skull of an enemy, mix it with lime and make into a ball, which, when hardened, would be placed in the armoury as a trophy and held while contending or disputing; and Cet carried the brain of Meis-geghra in a belt.
[176] Sualtaim's head speaks after its neck is severed by a shield.
[177] **Duval 1957**:15-16.
[178] **Brunaux 1996**:152; **Webster 1992**:158.
[179] **Brunaux 1996**:152. The forms of decapitation alleged to have happened according to Athenaeus (**Ath.**IV.154) and a writer called the Paradoxographer (**Paradoxographer** No.46, 112.6) are not examples of headhunting, but of suicide for reward (severance pay?), contrary to Webster (**Webster 1992**:158), and execution respectively. Athenaeus (**Ath.**IV.154) says that a Greek author records that a form of suicide for reward existed even among the early Romans.

[180] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:96.
[181] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:97.
[182] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:96.
[183] **Wait 1985**:199; **Webster 1992**:537.
[184] Both Diodorus and Strabo say that it is cedar oil, but this cannot be the case because cedar is not indigenous to Western Europe and it was probably the oil of the *Iuniperus oxycedrus* L (**Sterckx 1985/6**:4).
[185] **Reinach 1913**:40.
[186] **Wait 1985**:199; **Webster 1992**:539.
[187] **Webster 1992**:540; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:96.
[188] **Webster 1992**:540.
[189] **Brunaux 2004**:113.
[190] **Brunaux 1995b**:148.
[191] **Boulestin & Séguier**:38.
[192] **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:151.
[193] **de Vries 1961**:221; **Le Roux 1967a**:320.
[194] Lambrechts (**Lambrechts 1954**:39) seems to suggest that this custom was peculiar to the Boii.
[195] **Reinach 1913**:43.
[196] **Zecchini**:34.
[197] **Brunaux 1995b**:148.
[198] **MacCulloch 1911**:241; **MacCulloch 1948**:57.
[199] **Duval 1958-59**:47.
[200] Florus (**Flor**.I.3.4) confuses them with their neighbours, the Thracians.
[201] **Reinach 1913**:43.
[202] **de Vries 1961**:221.
[203] **Sterckx 1985/6**:3.
[204] **Green, M.J. 1996a**:142.
[205] **Green, M.J. 1996a**:139.
[206] **Reinach 1913**:273.
[207] **Le Roux 1956b**:301.
[208] **Brunaux 1986**:111; **Brunaux 1996**:152 and 153; **Brunaux 2004**:112.
[209] **Brunaux 1986**:111; **Brunaux 2004**:112.
[210] **Brunaux 1996**:153; **Brunaux 2004**:112.
[211] **Brunaux 2004**:112.
[212] **Le Roux 1956b**:311.
[213] **Brunaux:1986**:89-90.
[214] **Wait 1995**:505.
[215] **Webster 1992**:159.
[216] **Lambrechts 1954**:47.
[217] **Le Roux 1958b**:146.
[218] **Le Roux 1956b**:308 and 313.
[219] **Reinach 1913**:277; **Le Roux 1964b**:453.
[220] **Le Roux 1964b**:453.
[221] **Brunaux 1995b**:147; **Brunaux 1996**:153; **Brunaux 2004**:110, 111 and 112.
[222] **Brunaux 2004**:112.
[223] **Brunaux 2004**:113.
[224] This rather contradicts the inference which Brunaux himself has drawn from the associations in iconography between horses and human heads (**Benoît 1955**:pl.XII; **Steckx 1985/6**:4; **Green, M.J. 1989a**: 146; **Webster 1992**:161) that headhunting was the privilege of horsemen, who would have been unable to operate effectively in deep forests.
[225] **Brunaux 1996**:154.
[226] **Brunaux 1986**:110.
[227] **Hubert 1932**:231-232.
[228] **Gernet**:210.
[229] **Brunaux 2004**:111.
[230] **Brunaux 2004**:110.
[231] **Wait 1985**:199; ; **Brunaux 2004**:111.
[232] **Ross 1986**:122.

[233] **Freeman**:238.
[234] **Brunaux 1996**:154.
[235] **Le Roux 1958b**:146.
[236] **Brunaux 1996**:154.
[237] **Freeman**:237-238.
[238] David is reputed to have done something similar by bringing back the foreskins of 200 men to prove that he had killed Gentiles (*1 Sam.*18:27).
[239] **Brunaux 1996**:153.
[240] **Brunaux 2004**:112.
[241] **Freeman**:238.
[242] **Lambrechts 1954**:23; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:219-220; **Green, M.J. 1989a**:182; **Birkhan**:817. Birkhan points out that the prevalence to use a bust or a sculpture of only the head to represent a famous person shows that the idea that the head represents the whole body still persists.
[243] **Brunaux 1986**:111.
[244] **Brunaux 2004**:112.
[245] **Le Roux 1956b**:308.
[246] **Powell 1980**:108.
[247] **Ross 1986**:122; **Webster 1986a**:39.
[248] **Brunaux 2004**:110.
[249] **Henig**:19.
[250] **Kenner**:576.
[251] **Ross 1986**:64; **Green, M.J. 1986a**:216.
[252] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:32.
[253] **Le Roux 1956b**:311, 312 and 313.
[254] **Clarus**:58.
[255] **Wait 1995**:505.
[256] **Webster 1992**:159.
[257] **Le Roux 1956b**:311; **Brunaux 1986**:112; **Brunaux 1996**:154.
[258] **Le Roux 1956b**:311; **Brunaux 1986**:112; **Webster 1986a**:61.
[259] **Brunaux 1996**:154.
[260] **Brunaux 1996**:153.
[261] **Brunaux 1996**:154.
[262] **Reinach 1913**:38 and 276.
[263] **Le Roux 1964b**:453.
[264] **Le Roux 1967a**:323.
[265] **Sterckx 1985/6**:12.
[266] **James**:101. Some proposals regarding the origins of the idea that the soul resides in the head have been made. Hutton (**Hutton**:403) suggests that it arose because, if one looks in the eyes of a person, one sees miniature images of a human being; despite the fact that the miniature image is actually a reflection of the one looking, it may have been thought that the image was the image of the soul. Brunaux (**Brunaux 1996**:153) says that the head is the most expressive part of a human. Green (**Green, M.J. 1986a**:32) says that, since the head is a means of identifying a person, it represented the real person, that is the soul. Clarus (**Clarus**:57) says that the head symbolises the essence of man and it is by the facial expressions that the soul communicates; presumably, therefore, Clarus thinks that this is the origin of the connection between the head and the soul.
[267] **Hutton**:403.
[268] **Cross**:312.
[269] **Cross**:311 .
[270] **Bastian**:256.
[271] **Hose & McDougall**:20.
[272] **Freeman**:235.
[273] **Rivers**:259.
[274] **Codrington**:267.
[275] **Boas**:396.
[276] **Hutton**:403.
[277] **James**:101.
[278] **Jones**:103.
[279] **Marshall**:222.

[280] **Hutton**:403.
[281] **Hose & McDougall**:20.
[282] **Hose & McDougall**:114.
[283] **St. John**:204.
[284] **Freeman**:235.
[285] **Furness**:59.
[286] **Hose & McDougall**:20.
[287] **Schadenburg**:39.
[288] **Bowdich**:226.
[289] **Jones**:102-103.
[290] **Hutton**:403.
[291] **Hutton**:403.
[292] **Jones**:103.
[293] **Reinach 1913**:285.
[294] **Cunliffe 1997**:196 and 197.
[295] **Reinach 1913**:282; **Sterckx 1985/6**:13.
[296] **Le Roux 1956b**:313.
[297] **Deonna 1965**:17-18; **Sterckx 1985/6**:12.
[298] **Reinach 1913**:273-274.
[299] **Sterckx 1985/6**:12-13.
[300] **Powell 1980**:108.
[301] **Sterckx 1985/6**:13.
[302] **Sterckx 1985/6**:13-14.
[303] **Sterckx 1985/6**:14.
[304] **Onians**:109-110 and 119.
[305] **Onians**:129.
[306] **Onians**:123-125.
[307] **Daryaee**:110.
[308] **Daryaee**:113.
[309] **Freeman**:237.
[310] **Sterckx 1985/6**:17.
[311] **Sterckx 1985/6**:18.
[312] **Sterckx 1985/6**:17.
[313] **Onians**:125.
[314] **Sterckx 1985/6**:14.
[315] **Onians**:111, No.6.
[316] **Sterckx 1985/6**:14.
[317] **Sterckx 1985/6**:14.
[318] **Sterckx 1985/6**:14.
[319] **Coomaraswamy**:405, n.38; **Sterckx 1985/6**:14.
[320] **MacCulloch 1911**:240.
[321] **Lambrechts 1954**:47; **Benoît 1955**:29; **Birkhan**:820.
[322] **Benoît 1970**:21, 22, 101.
[323] **Benoît 1970**:101.
[324] **Benoît 1970**:21.
[325] **Benoît 1970**:22.
[326] **Reinach 1913**:48.
[327] **Benoît 1970**:26.
[328] **Brunaux 1986**:38, 116; **Green, M.J. 1993**:71; **Green, M.J. 1997**:77; **Sterckx 1985/6**:4 and (*B.Hisp.*XXXII.2).
[329] **Benoît 1970**:102.
[330]Birkhan (**Birkhan**:820-821) says that the head acted as an *apotropaion* and Benoît (**Benoît 1970**:102) says that the legend may reveal a belief in the prophetic function of the severed head..
[331] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:127.
[332] **Benoît 1970**:25.
[333] **Benoît 1970**:25.334
[334] **MacCulloch 1911**:241.
[335] **MacCulloch 1948**:57.

[336] **Brunaux 1986**:110.
[337] **Brunaux 1986**:110.
[338] **Cunliffe 1997**:210.
[339] **Cunliffe 1997**:210.
[340] **Belloguet**:100.
[341] **Green, M.J. 1986a**:127.
[342] **MacCulloch 1911**:241.
[343] **MacCulloch 1911**:241.
[344] **Cunliffe 1997**:210.
[345] **MacCulloch 1948**:57.
[346] **MacCulloch 1949**:54; **Zecchini**:40
[347] **MacCulloch 1949**:57
[348] **Esperandieu**:5784; **Lambrechts 1954**:49; **Sterckx 1985/6**:5.
[349] **Esperandieu**:7956; **Sterckx 1985/6**:5.
[350] **Esperandieu**:3138; **Sterckx 1985/6**:5.
[351] **Lambrechts 1954**:49.
[352] **Quinnell**, H. "The villa and Temple at Cosgrove, Northamptonshire", *Northamptonshire Archaeology* XXIII (1991), 4-66.
[353] **Mays & Steele**:160; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:157.
[354] **Mays & Steele**:160; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:107 and 157.
[355] **Mays & Steele**:160.
[356] **Mays & Steele**:160; **Aldhouse-Green 2001**:107.
[357] **Mays & Steele**:160.
[358] **Mays & Steele**:160.
[359] **Dunning**, C. "La Tène" in **Moscati**, S., **Frey**, O.H., **Kruta**, V., **Raftery**, B. & **Szabó**, (eds) *The Celts* Thames & Hudson 1991, 366-368; **Green, M.J. 1998**:180.
[360] **Benfield & Garrod**:37.
[361] **Benfield & Garrod**:37.
[362] **Isserlin**:95.
[363] **Brunaux 1986**:116.
[364] *CIL* XII.1077; **MacCulloch 1911**:241; **MacCulloch 1949**:57; **Ross 1986**:66
[365] **Isserlin**:95.

Chapter Seven
The Celtic Afterlife

[1] **Nutt Vol.II**:112; **Macbain**:134 and 137; **Jullian 1909**:173; **MacCulloch 1911**:333; **Grenier 1945**:368; **MacCana**:123; **Wait 1985**:206; **Brunaux 1986**:86-87; **Green 1986a**:129; **Le Roux & Guyonvacrc'h 1986a**:257; **Nosenko**:106; **Webster 1992**: 112; **Brunaux 1996**:44; **Birkhan**:838; **Cunliffe 1997**:208.
[2] **Le Roux & Guyonvacrc'h 1986a**:257.
[3] **Piggott 1968**:121.
[4] **Brunaux 1986**:51; **Nosenko**:106; **Webster 1992**: 112.
[5] **Nosenko**:106.
[6] While in some instances this may have been voluntary, it was probably, like the Indian custom of7*sati*, expected of the wife, whether she wanted to or not.
[7] **Kramer & Dittenberger**:176.
[8] **Brunaux 1996**:166.
[9] **MacCulloch 1948**:175.
[10] **Nosenko**:106.
[11]**Tierney**:206.
[12] **Tierney**:206.
[13] **Tierney**:206.
[14] **Wait 1985**:205-206.
[15] **Cunliffe 1997**:208.
[16] **Filip**:181.
[17] **Brunaux 1986**:86.
[18] **Brunaux 1996**:163.
[19] **Brunaux 1996**:164.
[20] **Filip**:181; **Brunaux 1986**:51;**Wait 1995**:505; **Brunaux 1996**:163.
[21] **Büchsenschütz**:557.
[22] **Cunliffe 1997**:209.
[23] **Filip**:181.
[24] **Brunaux 1986**:51 and 87; **Wait 1995**:505.
[25] **Büchsenschütz**:557.
[26] **Brunaux 1986**:87; **Wait 1995**:505.
[27] **Büchsenschütz**:557.
[28] **Brunaux 1996**:166; **Cunliffe 1997**:209.
[29] **Brunaux 1996**:164.
[30] **Büchsenschütz**:557.
[31] **Brunaux 1986**:87.
[32] **Brunaux 1996**:164.
[33] **Jullian**:170-171; **Filip**:181.
[34] **Büchsenschütz**:556.
[35] **Filip**:181; **Green 1986a**:126; **Wait 1995**:504.
[36] **Brunaux 1986**:86.
[37] **Brunaux 1986**:86.
[38] **Green 1986a**:129.
[39] **Filip**:181; **Brunaux 1986**:86.
[40] **Brunaux 1986**:86-87; **Büchsenschütz**:556; **Brunaux 1996**:163; **Cunliffe 1997**:208.
[41] **Jullian**:171; **Wait 1985**:206.
[42] **Green 1986a**:126.
[43] **Büchsenschütz**:557.
[44] **Green 1986a**:123-4, 129; **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[45] **Cunliffe 1997**:208-9.
[46] **Filip**:180.
[47] **Piggott 1968**:87.
[48] **Piggott 1968**:87-88.
[49] **Green 1986a**:126; **Wait 1985**:504; **Büchsenschütz**:556.
[50] **Piggott 1968**:87-88; **Green 1986a**:124; **Green 1993**:74.
[51] **Green 1986a**:124.

[52] **Büchsenschütz**:556.
[53] **Wait 1995**:504.
[54] **Büchsenschütz**:556.
[55] **Büchsenschütz**:556.
[56] **Grinsell**:478.
[57] **Büchsenschütz**:556.
[58] **Büchsenschütz**:556.
[59] **Büchsenschütz**:557; **Cunliffe 1997**:209.
[60] **Cunliffe 1997**:209.
[61] **Wait 1995**:505.
[62] **Brunaux 1996**:163.
[63] **Cunliffe 1997**:209.
[64] **Green 1986a**:129; **Green 1993**:74; **Brunaux 1996**:166.
[65] **Green 1986a**:129.
[66] **Green 1986a**:129.
[67] **Nosenko**:111.
[68] **Green 1986a**:123; **Nosenko**:111.
[69] **Brunaux 1996**:165.
[70] **Green 1989a**:26; **Brunaux 1996**:135.
[71] **Büchsenschütz**:557-558.
[72] **Büchsenschütz**:559.
[73] **Brunaux 1996**:164.
[74] **Brunaux 1996**:164.
[75] **Brunaux 1996**:164.
[76] **Brunaux 1996**:165.
[77] **Büchsenschütz**:558.
[78] **Grinsell**:476.
[79] **Grinsell**:477.
[80] **Brunaux 1986**:86.
[81] **Brunaux 1996**:165.
[82] **Brunaux 1996**:164-165.
[83] **Cunliffe 1997**:209.
[84] **Green 1986a**:129.
[85] **MacCulloch 1911**:80; **Spence**:93; **Ross 1986**:132.
[86] **Wait 1985**:206; **Wait 1995**:505.
[87] **Dillon**:65; **Cunliffe 1997**:208.
[88] **Brunaux 1986**:86-87.
[89] **Piggott 1968**:87.
[90] **Green 1986a**:123, 124, 129.
[91] **Green 1993**:74.
[92] **Ferguson**:135-136.
[93] **MacCulloch 1948**:93.
[94] **Spence**:91.
[95] **Chadwick**:54.
[96] **Cunliffe 1997**:208.
[97] **Le Roux & Guyonvacrc'h 1982**:120; Le **Roux & Guyonvacrc'h 1986**:258.
[98] **Le Roux & Guyonvacrc'h 1986**:258.
[99] **Le Roux & Guyonvacrc'h 1986**:258.
[100] **Brunaux 1986**:51.
[101] **Brunaux 1986**:51; **Brunaux 1996**:163.
[102] **Macbain**:132.
[103] **MacCulloch 1948**:174.
[104] **Piggott 1968**:88.
[105] **MacCulloch 1948**:174.
[106] **Brunaux 1986**:87-88.
[107] **Jullian**:171; **Brunaux 1986**:87.
[108] **Cunliffe 1997**:209.
[109] **Brunaux 1986**:87.

[110] **Brunaux 1986**:87.
[111] **Brunaux 1986**:51; **Brunaux 1996**:163.
[112] **Brunaux 1986**:87.
[113] **Brunaux 1986**:51.
[114] **Cunliffe 1997**:209.
[115] **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[116] **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[117] **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[118] **Grinsell**:476.
[119] **Reinach 1906**:353.
[120] **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[121] **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[122] **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[123] **Brunaux 1986**:88; **Brunaux 1996**:164.
[124] **Nosenko**:112.
[125] **Nosenko**:108, 111.
[126] **Green 1986a**:124; **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[127] **Brunaux 1996**:164.
[128] **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[129] **Green 1993**:76; **Brunaux 1996**:164-165.
[130] **Brunaux 1986**:88.
[131] **Green 1993**:76.
[132] **Brunaux 1996**:166 and 167.
[133] **Jullian**:170.
[134] **Wait 1995**:505.
[135] **Wait 1995**:506.
[136] **Wait 1995**:505 and 506.
[137] **Wait 1995**:505.
[138] **Wait 1995**:505.
[139] **Wait 1995**:505.
[140] **Brunaux 1986**:37.
[141] **Wait 1995**:505.
[142] **Brunaux 2000**:137-139; **Brunaux 2004**:19 and 114-118.
[143] **Wait 1995**:506.
[144] **Brunaux 2004**:19 and 118-124.
[145] This must be the basis for the traditional ballad "Twa Corbies".
[146] **Green 1992**:88, 178 and 195. The fact that the crow was a sacred bird for the Celts, but had no sacred meaning for the Romans supports the proposal that the myth of Valerius Corvus (**Livy**.VII.26) had its origin in Gallic myth (**Brunaux 2004**:88).
[147] **Green 1989a**:26; **Green 1992**:211.
[148] **Green 1992**:88, 178 and 179.
[149] **Green 1992**:88, 161, 178 and 195.
[150] **Green 1989a**:26.
[151] **Green 1989a**:26.
[152] **Toynbee**:275 and 279.
[153] **Brunaux 1996**:135.
[154] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1903**:198; **Vendryes 1948**:307.
[155] **Kendrick**:108-9; **Ross 1986**:132.
[156] **Jullian**:175.
[157] **Vendryes 1948**:307.
[158] **Ferguson**:133.
[159] **MacCulloch 1911**:346; **Birkhan**:843.
[160] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1903**:198.
[161] **MacCulloch 1948**:93.
[162] **MacCulloch 1911**:346.
[163] **Nutt Vol.II**:112; **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1903**:198; **MacCulloch 1911**:333.
[164] **Grenier 1945**:369.

[165] The Isles of the Blessed, the garden of Lug, Empire of the Victorious and Emain, the Land of Magic, the Land of the Women [*Tir na mBan*], the Land of Promise [*Tir Tairngiri*], the Shining Land [*Tír Sorcha*], the Land of the Living [*Tir na mBeo*], the Great Plain [*Mag Mor*], the Plain of Pleasure [*Mag Meld*] and the Land of the Young [*Tir na n-Óg*].
[166] **Le Roux 1962b**:1058.
[167] **Birkhan**:843
[168] **MacCana**:123; **Green 1986a**:122; **Green 1993**:72; **Nosenko**:105.
[169] **MacCana**:124; **Green 1986a**:122; **Green 1993**:72 and 73.
[170] **Grenier 1945**:369; **MacCana**:123, 126; **Green 1993**:72 and 73.
[171] **Grenier 1945**:370; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1986a**:271.
[172] **'Katarnos'**:50.
[173] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1986a**:271.
[174] **MacCana**:126.
[175] **Le Roux & Guyuonvarc'h 1982**:125.
[176] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1903**:199; **Grenier 1945**:370; **MacCana**:124; **Le Roux & Guyuonvarc'h 1982**:125; **Green 1986a**:122; **Green 1993**:72.
[177] **Grenier 1945**:370; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:123; **Sterckx**:79.
[178] **Green 1986a**:122; **Nosenko**:104.
[179] **Nosenko**:103.
[180] **Nosenko**:105.
[181] **MacCulloch 1911**:333; **MacCulloch 1948**:80, 83.
[182] **MacCulloch 1911**:335, 345.
[183] **Kendrick**:109.
[184] **Green 1986a**:123.
[185] **MacCulloch 1911**:340; **MacCulloch 1948**:80.
[186] **Green 1986a**:129.
[187] **MacCulloch 1911**:336-7.
[188] **MacCulloch 1911**:339.
[189] **MacCulloch 1911**:337; **Linckenheld**:67, 68 and 73.
[190] **Jullian**:172; **Brunaux 1986**:87.
[191] **Brunaux 1986**:87.
[192] **Brunaux 1986**:87.
[193] **Brunaux 1996**:163.
[194] **MacCulloch 1911**:337-338, 344.
[195] **MacCulloch 1911**:341; **MacCulloch 1948**:80, 81, 82.
[196] **MacCulloch 1948**:81.
[197] **MacCulloch 1911**:338-339.
[198] **MacCulloch 1911**:341.
[199] **MacCulloch 1911**:345.
[200] **MacCulloch 1911**:338; **MacCulloch 1948**:81.
[201] **MacCulloch 1911**:338.
[202] **MacCulloch 1911**:339.
[203] **MacCulloch 1948**:81.
[204] **MacCulloch 1911**:341.
[205] **MacCulloch 1911**:342; **MacCulloch 1948**:82.
[206] **MacCulloch 1911**:344.
[207] **MacCana**:128.
[208] **MacCana**:129.
[209] **Kendrick**:108 and 112.
[210] **Kendrick**:109.
[211] **Kendrick**:108.
[212] **Kendrick**:109.
[213] **Macbain**:137.
[214] **Piggott 1968**:121; **Nosenko**:103.
[215] **Ross 1986**:132.
[216] **Green 1986a**:121.

[217] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1903**:199; '**Katarnos**':50; **Le Roux 1962b**:1058; **MacCana**:128; **Dillon**:66; **Brunaux 1986**:86-87; **Le Roux & Guyuonvarc'h 1986**:271; **Ross 1986**:132; **Green 1993**:72; **Birkhan**:838 and 843.
[218] **Grenier 1945**:369; **Le Roux & Guyuonvarc'h 1982**:122.
[219] **MacCana**:128; **Green 1986a**:122.
[220] **Macbain**:135.
[221] **Nosenko**:105.
[222] **MacCana**:124.
[223] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1986a**:271.
[224] **Macbain**:135; **MacCana**:124.
[225] **'Katarnos'**:49; **MacCana**:124.
[226] **'Katarnos'**:49.
[227] **Macbain**:135; **'Katarnos'**:49 and 50; **Benoît 1955**:31; **Nosenko**:104.
[228] **'Katarnos'**:49.
[229] The idea of four sacred islands is repeated in Irish Vernacular Literature, in the *Book of the Invasions*, in the section concerned with the Battle of Mag Tured, as the places where the *Tuatha Dé Danann* studied science, magic and other skills and arts; as Le Roux (**Le Roux 1962b**:1061) says the number four cannot be a coincidence.
[230] **MacCana**:123; **Birkhan**:838.
[231] **Green 1986a**:122.
[232] **Le Roux 1962b**:1058.
[233] **Nosenko**:110.
[234] **Nosenko**:111.
[235] **Nosenko**:111. This idea is almost a Law of the Conservation of Life-Spirit.
[236] **Grenier 1945**:369.
[237] **Jullian 1920**:86.
[238] *CIL* XIII.3461
[239] *CIL* XIII.3613 and XIII.3614
[240] *CIL* XIII.3462
[241] *CIL* XIII.153
[242] *CIL* XIII.379
[243] *CIL* XIII.505, 508, 509, 521, 523 and 524
[244] *CIL* XIII.572
[245] *CIL* XIII.947
[246] **Duval 1957**:102.
[247] **Duval 1957**:102.
[248] **Duval 1957**:103.
[249] **Duval 1957**:103.

Appendix Two

Relevant Sources

Chapter One
Problems and Presuppositions

Greek

Hesiod

*Theog.*116.

᾽Η τοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ᾽ αὐτῶν.
Γαῖ᾽ εὐρύστερνος, παντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ

Plato

*Leg.*VIII.847A.

ἀλλ᾽ εἷς μίαν ἕκαστος τέχνην ἐν πόλει κεκτημένος ἀπὸ ταύτης ἅμα καὶ τὸ ζῆν κτάσθω.

Latin

Cato

*De Agri.*141.(2-3).

Mars pater, te precor quaesoque uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae quoius re ergo agrum terram fundumque meum suovetaurilia circummagi iussi, uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas averruncesque;

Utique tu fruges, frumenta, vineta, virgultaque grandire beneque evenire siris, pastores pecuaque salva servassis duisque bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae;

Juvenal

*Sat.*VI.172.

Parce, precor, Paean, et tu, dea, pone sagittas;

Livy

IV.25.3.

Aedis Apollini pro valetudine populi vota est.

IV.29.7.

Cn. Julius consul aedem Apollinis absente collega sine sorte dedicavit.

Macrobius

*Sat.*I.17.5.

Virtutem igitur solis quae divinationi curationique praeest Apollinem vocaverunt, quae sermonis auctor est Mercurii nomen accepit. Nam quia sermo interpretatur cogitationes latentes, ‘Ερμὴς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑμηνεύειν *propria appellatione vocitatus est.*

*Sat.*I.17.15.

namque virgines Vestales ita indigitant: Apollo Medice, Apollo Paean.

Ovid

*Fasti.*III.176.

Hoc solam ne se posse Minerva putet

Tacitus

*Agr.*XXI.2.

Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frquens toga.

Varro

*De Ling.Lat.*V.74

Feronia, Minerva, Novensides a Sabinis.

Chapter Two
Sources and Method

Greek

Arrian

II.16.1.

῾Εστι γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ῾ ιερὸν ῾ Ηρακλέους παλαιότατον ὧν μνήμη ἀνθρωπίνη διασώζεται,οὐ τοῦ ᾽ Αργείου ῾ Ηρακλέους τοῦ ᾽ Αλκμήνης· πολλαῖς γὰρ γεηεαῖς πρότερον τιμᾶται ἐν Τύρῳ ῾ Ηρακλῆς ἡ Κάδμον ἐκ Φοινίκης ὁρμηθέντα Θήβας κατασχεῖν

II.16.2.

σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἄλλον ῾ Ηρακλέα, οὐχ ὅνπερ Τύριοι ἡ ῾Ελληνες,

Athenaeus

IV.152d.

῾Ετι ὁ Ποσειδώνιος διηγούμενος καὶ τὸν Λουερνίου τοῦ Βιτύιτος πατρος πλοῦτον τοῦ ὑπὸ ῾ Ρωμαίων καθαιρεθεντος φησὶ δημαγωγοῦντα αὐτὸν .....φραγμα τε ποιεῖν δωδεκαστάδιον τετράγωγον,

Cassius Dio

XII.50.4.

῾Οτι Αἰμίλιοξτοὺς ᾽ Ινσούμβρους νικήσας τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἁλόντων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡπλισμένους ἀνεκόμισεν ἐπισκώπτων σφίσιν, ὅτι ὁμωμοκότας αὐτοὺς ἦσθετο μὴ πρότερον τοὺς θώρακας ἀποδύσεσθαι πρὶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβῆναι.

Diodorus Siculus

V.20.2.

ἐν ᾗ [Tyre] τά τε ἄλλα κατεσκεύασαν οἰκείως τοῖς τόποις καὶ ναὸν ῾ Ηρακλέους πολυτελῆ, καὶ θυσίας κατέδειξαν μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῖς τῶν Φοινίκων ἔθεσι διοικουμένας.

V.27.4.

᾽ Ιδιον δὲ τι καὶ παράδοξον παρὰ τοῖς ἄηω Κελτοῖς ἐστι περὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν ψινόμενον. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ῾ ιεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας

ἀνειμένοις ἔρριπται πολὺς χρυσὸς ἀνατεθειμένος τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὐδεὶς ἅπτεται τούτου διὰ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, καίπερ ὄντων τῶν Κελτῶν φιλαργύρων καθ' ὑπερβολήν.

V.29.4-5.
Τῶν δὲ πεσόντων πολεμίων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀφαιροῦντες περιάπτουσι τοῖς αὐχέσι τῶν ἵππιων,.....καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα ταῖς οἰκίαις προσηλοῦσιν ὥσηερ οἱ ἐν κυνηγίοις τισὶ κεχειρωμένοι τὰ θηρία. Τῶν δ' ἐπιφανεστάτων πολεμίων κεδρώσαντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπιμελῶς τηροῦσιν ἐν λάρνακι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύουσι σεμνυνόμενοι, διότι τῆσδε τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν προγόνων τις ἢ πατὴρ ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ χρήματα διδόμενα οὐκἐλαβε. Φασὶ δέ τινας αὐτῶν καυχᾶσθαι, διότι χρυσὸν ἀντίσταθμον τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, βάρβαρόν τινα μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ πωλεῖν τὰ σύσσημα τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐγενές, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν τὸ ὁμόφυλον τετελευτηκὸς θηριῶδες.

XX.14.1.
Διόπερ οἱ Καρχαηδόνιοι νομίσαντες ἐκ θεῶν αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι τὴν συμφοράν, ἐτράπησαν πρὸς παντοίαν ἱκεσίαν τοῦ δαιμονίου, καὶ νομίσαντες μάλιστα μηνίειν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν παρὰ τοῖς ἀποίκοις, χρημάτων πλῆθος καὶ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ἀναθηματων ἔπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Τύρον οὐκ ὀλίγα

XX.14.4-5.
Ἠτιῶτο δὲ καὶ τὸν Κρόνον αὐτοῖς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, καθ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις θύοντες τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ τῶν υἱῶν τοὺς κρατίστους, ὕστερον ὠνούμενοι λάθρᾳ παῖδας καὶ θρέψαντες ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν· καὶ ζητήσεως γενομένης, εἱρέθησαν τινες τῶν καθιερουργημένων ὑποβολιμαῖοι γεγότες.

XXII.9.4.
ὅτι Βρέννος ὁ τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς ναὸν ἐλθὼν ἀργυροῦν μὲν ἢ χρυσοῦν οὐδὲν εὗρεν ἀνάθημα, ἀγάλματα δὲ μόνον λίθινα καὶ ξύλινα καταλαβὼν κατεγέλασεν, ὅτι θεοὺς ἀνθρωπομόρφους εἶναι δοκοῦντες ἵστασαν αὐτοὺς ξυλίνους τε καὶ λιθίνους.

Herodotus

I.131. .

καλέουσι δὲ ᾽Ασσύριοι τὴν ᾽Αφροδίτην Μύλιττα, ᾽Αράβιοι δὲ ᾽Αλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.

II.42.2.

θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτους ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν ῾Ισιός τε καὶ ᾽Οσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι·

II.42.8.

᾽Αμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία.

II.47.2.

τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὡς οὐ δικαιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μούνοισι τοῦ αυθτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ, δὲ τοὺς ὗς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν.

II.50.1.

Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν ῾Ελλάδα.

II.50.3.

οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκέουσι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο·

II.144.2.

ὕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι ᾽Ωρον τὸν᾽ Οσίριος παῖδα, τὸν ᾽Απόλλωνα ῾Ελληνες ὀνομάζουσι·.....῞ Οσιρις δὲ ἐστι Διόνυσος κατὰ ῾Ελλάδα γλῶσσαν.

II.145.1.

παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πὰν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος

IV.59.1-2.

θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε῾ ιλάσκονται, ῾Ιστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, ῃομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶῃαι γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ᾽Απόλλωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην ᾽Αφροδίτην καὶ ῾Ηρακλέα καὶ

᾽Αρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι.
ὀνομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ Ιστίη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τήν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ᾽ Απί.᾽ Απόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανίη δὲ ᾽Αφροδίτη ᾽Αργίπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγιμασάδας.

Plutarch

*De Def. or.*18.

῾Ο δὲ Δημήτριος ἔφη τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν νήσων εἶναι πολλὰς ἐρήμους σποράδας, ὧν ἐνίας δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων ὀνομάζεσθαι. Πλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸς ῾ιτορίας καὶ θέας ἕνεκα πομπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἔγγιστα κειμένην τω-ν ἐρημων, ἔχουσαν οὐ πολλοὺς <τοὺς> ἐποικοῦντας ῾ιεροὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσύλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὄντας. ᾽Αφικομένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ νεωστὶ σύγχυσιν μεγάλην περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διοσημίας πολλὰς γενέσθαι καὶ πνεύματα καταρραγῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν πρηστῆρας. ᾽Επεὶ δ᾽ ἐλώφησε, λέγειν τοὺς νησιώτας, ὅτι τῶν κρεισσόνων τινὸς ἔκλειψις γέγονεν. "῾Ως γὰρ λύχνος ἀναπτόμενος" φάναι "δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔχει, σβεννύμενος δὲ πολλοῖς λυπηρός ἐστιν, οὕτως αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχαὶ τὰς μὲν ἀναλάμψεις εὐμενεῖς καὶ ἀλύπους ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ σβέσεις αὐτων καὶ φθοραὶ πολλάκις μέν, ὡς νυνί, πνεύματα καὶ ζάλας τρέφουσι, πολλάκις δὲ λοιμικοῖς πάθεσι τὸν ἀέρα φαρμάττουσιν". ᾽Εκεῖ μέντοι μίαν εἶναι νῆσον, ἐν ᾗ τὸν Κρόνον καθεῖρχθαι φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βριάρεω καθεύδοντα· δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπνον μεμηχανῆσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δαίμονας ὀπαδοὺς καὶ θεράποντας.

*De fac.*26.

.....καθ᾽῞Ομερον.....᾽ Ωγυγίη τις νῆσος ἀπόπροθεν εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται δρόμον ἡμερῶν πέντε Βρεττανίας ἀπέχουσα πλέοντι ππρὸς ἑσπέραν.῞Ετεραι δὲ τρεῖς ῞ισον ἐκείνης ἀφεστῶσαι ϛαὶ ἀλλήλων πρόκεινται μάλιστα κατὰ δυσμὰς ἡλίου θερινάς· ὧν ἐν μιᾷ τὸν Κρόνον οἱ βάρβαροι καθεῖρχθαι μυθολογοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, τὸν δ᾽ ὡς υἱὸν ἔχοντα φρουρὸν τῶν τε νήσων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ἣν Κρόνιον πέλαγος ὀνομάζουσιν, πέραν κατῳκίσθαι.

Polybius

II.32.5-6

Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων προεστῶτες θεωροῦντες ἀμετάθετον οὖσαν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔκριναν τῆς τύχης λαβεῖν πεῖραν καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁλοσχερῶς.

Συναθροίσαντες οὖν ἁπάσας (τὰς ὑπαρχούσας δυνάμεις) ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς σημαίας τὰς ἀκινήτους λεγομένας καθελόντες ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Αθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ καὶ τἆλλα παρασκευασάμενοι δεόντως μετὰ ταῦτα τεθαρρηκότως καὶ καταπληκτικῶς ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις

Quaest.Rom.

CXXXIII..

Διὰ τί τοὺς καλουμένους Βλετονησίους βαρβάρους ὄντας ἄνθρωπον τεθυκέναι θεοῖς πυθόμενοι, μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ὡς κολάσοντες, ἐπεὶ δὲ νόμῳ τινὶ τοῦτ' ἐφαίνοντο πεποιηκότες, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπέλυσαν, ἐκώλυσαν δὲ πρὸς τὸ λοιπόν; αὐτοὶ δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν δυο μὲν ἄνδρας δύο δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ βοῶν ἀγορᾳ λεγομένῃ, τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας, τοὺς δὲ Γαλάτας, ζῶντας κατώρυξαν· φαίνεται γὰρ ἄτοπον ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῖν αὐτούς, ἐπιτιμᾶν δὲ βαρβάροις ὡς οὐχ ὅσια ποιοῦσι.

ἐκεῖναι [Vestal Virgins] μὲν οὖν ἐκολάσθησαν ἐξελεγχθεισαι, τῆς δὲ πράξεως δεινῆς φανείσης, ἔδοξεν ἀνερέσθαι τὰ Σιβύλλεια τοὺς ἱερεῖς. εὑρεθῆναι δέ φασι χρησμοὺς ταῦτά τε προδηλοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ γενησόμενα, καὶ προστάττοντας ἀλλοκότοις τισί δαίμοσι καὶ ξένοις ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ ἐπιόντος προέσθαι δυο μὲν Ἕλληνας, δυο δὲ Γαλάτας ζῶντας αὐτόθι κατορυγέντας.

Strabo

III.3.7.

τραγοφαγοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα, καὶ τῷ Ἄρει τράγον [the Lusitanians] θύουσι

III.4.18.

ἔχει γάρ τινα γυναικοκρατίαν. Τοῦτο δ' οὐ πάνυ πολιτικόν.

IV.1.13.

Καὶ τοὺς Τεκτοσάγας δέ φασι μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς στρατείας

(καὶ) τούς τε θησαυροὺς τοὺς Εὑρεθέντας παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Καιπίωνος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐν πόλει Τολώσσῃ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν χρημάτων μέρος εἶναι φασι, προσθεῖναι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων ἀνιεροῦντας καὶ ἐξιλασκομένους τὸν θεόν.....Πιθανώτερος δ' ἐστιῃ ὁ Ποσειδωνίου λόγος. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὑρεθέντα ἐν τῇ Τολώσσξ χρήματα μυρίων που καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γενέσθαι φησί, τὰ μὲν ἐν σηκοῖς ἀποκείμενα, τὰ δ' ἐν λίμναις ἱεραῖς, οὐδεμίαν κατασκευὴν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἀργὸν χρυσίον καὶ ἄργυρον.....Αλλ', ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνός τε εἴρηκε καὶἄλλοι πλείους, ἡ χώρα πολύχρυσος οὖσα καὶ δεισιδαιμόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐ πολυτελῶν τοῖς βίοις πολλαχοῦ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔσχε θησαυρούς. Μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῖςαὶ λίμναι τὴν ἀσυλίαν παρεῖχον, εἰς ἃς καθίεσαν ἀργύρου ἢ καὶ χρυσοῦ βάρη....Εν δὲ τῇ Τολώσσῃ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἦν ἅγιον, τιμώμενον σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπλεόῃασε διὰ τοῦτο, πολλῶν ἀνατιθέντων καὶ μηδενὸς προσάπτεσθαι θαρροῦντος.

IV.4.3-6.

Τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ διηλλάχθαι τὰ ἔργα ὑπεναντίως τοῖς παρ° ἡμῖν, κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συχῃοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστί.

ῦ Οταν δὲ φορὰ τούτων ᾖ, φορ ἀν καὶ τῆς χώρας νομίζουσιν ὑπάρχειν. Ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι [the Druids] καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς Πρόςεστι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ τὸ ἔκφυλον, ὃ τοῖς προςβόροις ἔθνεσι παρακολουθεῖ πλεῖστον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπιόντας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐξάπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ῦ ιππιων, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλεύειν [τὴν θέαν] τοῖς προπυλαίοις....Τὰς δὲ ἐνδόξων κεφαλὰς κεδροῦντες ἐπεδείκνυον τοῖς ξένοις καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ' ισοστάσιον χρυσὸν ἀπολυτροῦν ἠξίου. Καὶ τούτων δ° ἔπαυσαν αὐτοὺς Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν νομίμοις. Ἀνθρωπον γὰρ κατεσπεισμένον παίσαντες εἰς νῶτον μαχαίρᾳ ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. Ἔθυον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ δρυϊδῶν. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἴδη λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευόν τινας καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον βοσκήματα καὶ θηρία παντοῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὠλοκαύτουν.

᾽Εν δὲ τῷ ὠκεανῷ φησιν εἶναι νῆσον μικρὰν οὐ πάνυ πελαγίαν προκειμένην τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Λείγηρος ποταμοῦ. Οἰκεῖν δὲ ταύτην τὰς τῶν Σαμνιτῶν γυναῖκας Διονύσῳ κατεχομένας καὶ ἱλασκομένας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον τελεταῖς τε καὶ ἄλλαις ἱεροποιΐαις (ἐξιλεουμένας). Οὐκ ἐπιβαίνειν δὲ ἄνδρα τῆς νήσου, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας αὐτας πλεούσας κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάλιν ἐπανιέναι. ῞Εθος δ' εἶναι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαξ τὸ ῾ ιερὸν ἀποστεγάζεσθαι καὶ στεγάζεσθαι πάλιν αὐθημερὸν πρὸ δύσεως φορτίον ἐπιφερούσης. ῞Ης δ' ἂν ἐκπέσῃ τὸ φορτίον, διασπᾶσθαι ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων. Φερούσας δὲ τὰ μέρη περὶ τὸ ῾ ιερὸν μετ' ἐυασμοῦ μὴ παύεσθαι πρότερον, πρὶν παύσωνται τῆς λύττης. ᾽Αεὶ δὲ συμβαίῃειῃ, ὥστε τινὰ ἐμπίπτειν τὴν τοῦτο πεισομένην.

XII.5.1.
᾽η δὲ τῶν δώδεκα τετραρχῶν βουλὴ ἄνδρες ἦσαν τριακόσιοι, συνήγοντο δὲ εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Δρυνέμετον.

XIV.2.14.
ὄνον τε [the Carmanians] θύουσι τῷ᾽ Αρει, ὄνπερ καὶ σέβονται θεῶν μόνον, καί εἰσι πολεμισταί.

XV.1.58.
Περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων λέγων τοὺς μὲν ὀρεινοὺς αὐτῶν φησιν ὑμνητὰς εἶναι τοῦ Διονύσου,

Latin

Ammianus Marcellinus

XXVII.4.4.

Et partem earum habitavere Scordisci, longe nunc ab isdem provinciis disparati, saevi quondam et truces, et, ut antiquitas docet, hostis captivorum Bellonae litantes et Marti, humanumque, sanguinem in ossibus capitum cavis bibentes avidius

Caesar

*B.G.*I.12.7.

Qua in re Caesar non solum publicas sed etiam privatas iniurias ultus est, quod eius soceri L. Pisonis avum, L. Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem proelio quo Cassium interfecerant.

*B.G.*IV.33.1-2

Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae. Primo per omnes partes perequitant et tela coniciunt atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant, et cum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverunt, ex essedis desiliunt et pedibus proeliantur.

Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio excedunt atque ita currus collocant, ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habenat.

*B.G.*VI.13.1.

In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo. Nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se, nullo adhibetur consilio.

*B.G.*VI.13.3.

Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est druidum, alterum equitum.

*B.G.*VI.13.10.

Hi [the Druids] *certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato.*

*B.G.*VI.14.4.

Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferi velint neque eos, qui discunt, litteris confisos minus memoriae studere; quod fere plerisque accidit, ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant.

*B.G.*VI.15.1.

Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, cum est usus atque aliquod bellum incidit (quod fere ante Caesaris adventum quotannis solebat, uti aut ipsi iniurias inferrent aut illatas propulsarent), omnes in bello versantur,

*B.G.*VI.16.4.

Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent; quibus succensis circumventi flamma exanimantur homines.

*B.G.*VI.17.4.
Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos cumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet;

*B.G.*VI.22.2.
Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios; *sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt.*

Cicero
*Pro Font.*XIII.31.
Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum? Quam ob rem quali fide, quali pietate existimatis esse eos, qui etiam deos immortalis arbitrentur hominum scelere et sanguine facillime posse placari?

*De Div.*I.15.25-26.
Auspicia vero vestra quam constant! Quae quidem nunc a Romanis auguribus ignorantur,.....a Cilicibus, Pamphyliis, Pisidis, Lyciis tenentur.
Nam quid ego hospitem nostrum, clarissimum atque optimum virum, Deiotarum regem, commemorem? Qui nihil umquam nisi auspicato gerit. Qui cum ex itinere quodam proposito et constituto revertisset, aquilae admonitus volatu, conclave illud, ubi erat mansurus, si ire perexisset, proxima nocte corruit.

*De Div.*I.41.90.
Eaque divinitionum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est, si quidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt, e quibus ipse Divitiacum Aeduum hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi, qui et naturae rationem, quam φυσιολογίαν *Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur et partim auguriis, partim coniectura, quae essent futura, dicebat.*

Curtius Rufus
IV.2.2.
Ille [Alexander] *dona ut ab amicis accipi iussit benigneque legatos allocutus Herculi, quem praecipue Tyrii colerent, sacrificare velle se dixit*;
IV.4.5.

Utrisque laetus fuit beluae aspectus; Macedones iter iaciendo operi monstrasse eam augurabantur, Tyrii Neptunum, occupati maris vindicem, applicuisse beluam ad molem, brevi profecto ruituram.

Florus

I.ii.4.4.

Mox Ariovisto duce vovere de nostrorum militum praeda Marti suo torquem.

I.ii.4.5.

Viridomaro rege Romana arma Volcano promiserant.

Jordanes

*Get.*V.

Adeo ergo fuere laudati Getae, ut dudum Martem, quem poctarum fallacia deum belli pronuntiat, apud eos fuisse dicant exortum. Unde et Virgilius

Gradivumque patrem Geticus, qui praesidet arvis.

Quem martem Gothi semper asperrima placavere cultura. Nam victimae eius mortes fuere captorum: opinantes bellorum praesulem aptius humani sanguinis effusione placandum.

Livy

XXII.57.6.

Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro bovario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante histiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

XXIII.24.11

Ibi Postumius omni vi ne caperetur dimicans occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo quod sanctissimum est apud eos intulere.

Minucius Felix

Octavius.XXX.4.

Romani Graecum et Graecam, Gallum et Gallam sacrificii viventes obruere hodieque ab ipsis Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur, et quod Saturni filio dignum est, mali et noxii hominis sanguine saginatur.

Pliny the Elder

*H.N.*XXVIII.12.

boario vero in foro Graecum Graecamque defossos aut aliarum gentium cum quibus tum res esset etiam nostra aetas vidit.

Tacitus

*Ann.*IV.72.1-2.

Eodem anno Frisii, transrhenanus populus, pacem exuere, nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii inpatientes.

Tributum iis Drusus iusserat modicum pro angustia rerum ut in usus militares coria boum penderent, non intenta cuiusquam cura quae firmitudo, quae mensura, donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisiis inpositus terga urorum delegit, quorum ad formam acciperentur.

*Ann.*XIV.30.3.

cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibres consulere deos fas habetant

*Germ.*XLIII.4.

sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant.

Tertullian

*De Anim.*57.10.

Nam et Nasamonas propria oracula apud parentum sepulcra mansitando captare, ut Heraclides scribit vel Nymphodorus vel Herodotus, et Celtas apud virorum fortium busta/eadem de causa abnoctare, ut Nicander affirmat.

*Apol.*XXIV.7.

Unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est, ut Syriae Atargatis, ut Arabiae Dusares, ut Noricis Belenus.

Ad nationes II.8.

Quanti sunt qui norint visu vel auditu Atargatim Syriorum, Caelestem Afrorum, Varsutinam Maurorum, Obodan et Dusarem Arabum, Belenum Noricum.

Commenta Scholia Bernensia ad Lucanum ad I.445

Mercurius lingua Gallorum Teutates dicitur, qui humano apud illos sanguine colebatur. Teutates Mercurius sic apud Gallos placatur: in plenum semicupium

homo in caput demittitur, ut ibi suffocetur. Hesus Mars sic placatur: homo in arbore suspenditur, usque donec per cruorem membra digesserit. Taranis Ditis pater hoc modo aput eos placatur: in alveo ligneo aliqud homines cremantur. Item aliter exinde in aliis invenimus Teutates Mars sanguine diro placatur, sive quod proelia numinis eius instinctu administratur, sive quod Galli antea soliti ut aliis deis huic quoque homines immolare. Hesum Mercurium credunt, si quidem a mercatoribus colitur, et praesidem bellorum et caelestium deorum maximum Taranin Jovem adsuetum olim humanis placari capitibus, nunc vero gaudere pecorum.

Old Irish

Book of Leinster

1629-1632

Impá dún in carpat, a gillai, arís for cúlu dáig ar bíth tongu-sa na dé dá n-adraim, ní rag-sa ar cúl co brunni mbrátha co rucur cend na herre út lim I tasselbad, cend Con Culaind.

Chapter Three
Gallic Deities

Greek

Athenaeus

IV.152b.

ὅταν δὲ πλείονες συνδειπνῶσαι, κάθηνται μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ,

XIII.576a.

Τὸ ὅμοιον ‘ιστορεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ ’Αριστοτέλης, ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν πολιτείᾳ γράφων οὕτως· Φωκαεῖς οἱ ἐν’ Ιωνίᾳ ἐμπορίᾳ χρώμενοι ἔκτισαν Μασσαλίαν. Εὔξενος δ’ ὁ Φωκαεὺς Νάνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ - τοῦτο δ’ ἦν αὐτῷ - ἦν ξένος. Οὗτος ὁ Νάνος, ἐπιτελῶν γάμους τῆς θυγατρός, κατὰ τύχην παραγενόνενον τὸν Εὔξενον παρακέκληκεν ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην. ‘Ο δὲ γάμος ἐγίγνετο τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. ˘Εδει μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσελθοῦσαν τὴν παῖδα φιάλην κεκερασμένην ᾧ βούλοιτο δοῦναι τῶν παρόντων μνηστήρων· ᾧ δὲ δοίη, τοῦτον εἶναι νυμφίον.‘ Η δὲ παῖς εἰσελθοῦσα δίδωσιν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε καὶ δι’ ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν, τῷ Εὐξένῳ· ὄνομα δ’ ἦν τῇ παιδὶ Πέττα. Τούτου δὲ συμπεσόντος καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀχιοῦντος, ὡς κατὰ θεὸν γενομένης τῆς δόσεως, ἔχειν αὐτήν, ἔλαβεν ὁ Εὔξενος γυναῖκα, καὶ συνῴκει μεταθέμενος τοὔνομα ’Αριστοξένην. Καὶ ἔστι γένος ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου μέχρι νῦν Πρωτιάδαι καλούμενον· Πρῶτις γὰρ ἐγένετο υἱὸς Εὐξένου καὶ τῆς ’Αριστοξένης.

Cassius Dio

LXXII.12.1.

˘Οτι ˘Αστιγγοι, ὧν ‘Ρᾶός τε καὶ ‘Ραπτος ἠγοῦντο, ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν οἰκῆσαι ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ λήψεσθαι,

LXXVIII.15.6.

Οὔτε γὰρ ὁ ’Απόλλων ὁ γράννος οὔθ’ ὁ Σάραπις καίπερ πολλὰ ‘ικετεύσαντι αὐτῷ [Caracalla] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσκαρτερήσαντι ὠφέλησεν.

Diodorus Siculus

IV.56.4.

᾽Αποδείξεις δὲ τούτων φέρουσι, δεικνύντες τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν κατοικοῦντας Κελτοὺς σεβομένους μάλιστα τῶν θεω-ν τοὺς Διοσκόρους· παραδόσιμον γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων τὴν τούτων τῶν θεῶν παρουσίαν ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ γεγενημένην.

V.28.4.

δειπνοῦσι δὲ καθήμενοι πάντες οὐκ ἐπὶ θρόνων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὑποστρώμασι χρώμενοι λύκων ἢ κυνῶν δέρμασι.

Pausanias

I.30.4.

δείκηυται δὲ καὶ χῶρος καλούμενος κολωνὸς ῾ ιππιος, ἔνθα τῆς ᾽Αττικῆς πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδα.....καὶ βωμὸς Ποειδῶνος ῾Ιππίου καὶ ᾽Αθηνᾶς ῾Ιππίας, ἡρῷον δὲ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως Οἰδίποδός τε καὶ ᾽Αδράστου.

VIII.25.5.

Πλανωμένη γὰρ τῇ Δήμητρι, ἡνίκα τὴν παῖδα ἐζήτει, λέγουσιν ἔπεσθαί οἱ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐπιθυμοῦντα αὐτῇ μιχθῆαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐς ῾ ιππον μεταβαλοῦσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ῾ ιπποις νέμεσθαι ταῖς᾽ Ογκίου, Ποσειδῶν δὲ συνίησεν ἀπατώμενος καὶ συγγίνεται τῇ Δήμητρι ἄρσενι ῾ ιππῳ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰκασθείς.

VIII.25.7.

Τὴν δὲ Δήμητρα τεκεῖν φασιν ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θυγατέρα, ἧς τὸ ὄνομα ἐς ἀτελέστους λέγειν οὐ νομίζουσι, καὶ ῾ ιππον τὸν ᾽Αρείονα·

X.23.3.

Καὶ αἱ [the thunder and lightning] μὲν ἐξέπληττόν τε τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ δέχεσθαι τοῖς ὡσὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐκώλυον,

Plutarch

*Parallela Graec.Rom.*XXIX

ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΟΣ Στέλλος μισῶν γυναῖκας῾ ἱππῳ συνεμίσγετο· ἡ δὲ κατὰ χρόνον ἔτεκε κόρην εὔμορφον καὶ ὠνόμασαν ῾Επονᾶν· ἔστι δὲ θεὸς

πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη ἱππων· ὡς ᾽Αγεσίλαος ἐν τρίτῳ ᾽Ιταλικῶν.

*Parallela Graec.Rom.*XXXV.
ΛΟΙΜΟΥ κατασχόντος Φαλερίους καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένης, χρησμὸς ἐδόθη λωφῆσαι τὸ δεινόν, ἐὰν παρθένον τῇ ῞Ηρᾳ θύωσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. ἀεὶ δὲ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας μενούσης κατὰ κλῆρον λαχομένη Οὐαλερία Λουπέκα σπασαμένη τὸ ξίφος, * * * ἀετὸς καταπτὰς ἥρπασε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἔθηκε ῥάβδον μικρὰν ἔχουσαν σφῦραν, τὸ δὲ ξίφος ἐπέβαλε δαμάλει τινὶ παρὰ τὸν ναὸν βοσκομένῃ· οἰήσασα δὲ ἡ παρθένος καὶ τὴν βοῦν θύσασα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν ἄρασα, κατ' οἰκίαν περιῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἠρέμα πλήττουσα διήγειρεν, ἐρρῶσθαι ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ λέγουσα. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τὸ μυστήριον τελεῖται· ὡς ᾽Αριστείδης ἐν ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ ᾽Ιταλικῶν.

Polybius
II.32.5-6
Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων προεστῶτες θεωροῦντες ἀμετάθετον οὖσαν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων ἔκριναν τῆς τύχης λαβεῖν πεῖραν καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁλοσχερῶς.
Συναθροίσαντες οὖν ἁπάσας (τὰς ὑπαρχούσας δυνάμεις) ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς σημαίας τὰς ἀκινήτους λεγομένας καθελόντες ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Αθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ καὶ τἆλλα παρασκευασάμενοι δεόντως μετὰ ταῦτα τεθαρρηκότως καὶ καταπληκτικῶς ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις

Strabo
IV.4.3.
χαμευνοῦσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ καθεζόμενοι δειπνοῦσιν ἐν στιβάσι.

VII.3.8.
Φησὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν συμμῖξαι τῷ ᾽Αλεξάνδρῳ κελτοὺς τοὺς περὶ τὸν ᾽Αδρίαν φιλίας καὶ ξενίας χάριν· δεξάμενον δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλοφρόνως τὸν βασιλέα ἐρέσθαι παρὰ πότον, τί μάλιστα εἴη ὃ φοβοῖντο, νομίζοντά αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν. Αὐτοὺς δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι οὐδένα, πλὴν εἰ ἄρα μὴ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσαι· φιλίαν γε μὴν ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου περὶ παντὸς τίθεσθαι.

Latin

Ammianus Marcellinus

Huic [the Treveri tribal territory] *annexa secunda est Belgica, qua Ambiani sunt, urbs inter alias eminens, et Catelauni et Remi.*

Caesar

*B.G.*VI.17.1-2.

Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem et martem et Jovem et Minervam.

De his eandem fere, quam reliquae gentes, habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere, Jovem imperium caelestium tenere, Martem bella regere.

*B.G.*VI.18.1.

Galli se omnes a Dite patre prognatos praedicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt.

Eutropius

IX.13.

Superavit [Aurelianus] *in Gallia Tetricum apud Catalaunos ipso Tetrico prodente exercitum suum, cuius adsiduas seditiones ferre non poterat.*

Juvenal

VIII.155-157.

Interea, dum lanatas robumque iuvencum
more Numae caedit Iovis ante altaria, iurat
solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.

Lactantius.*Div.Inst.*I.21.4.

Galli Esum et Teutaten humano cruore placabant

Livy

XXI.39.9.

Neque hercule montibus his [the Poenine Alpine range], *si quem forte id movet , ab transitu Poenorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen inditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Poeninum montani appellant.*

Lucan

I.441-442.

Tu quoque laetatus converti preolia, Trevir,
et nunc tonse Ligur,

I.444-446.

Et quibus inmitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus
et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.

Servius

*ad Aen.*VI.273.

Alibi ait qua Ditem patrem emersisse ab inferis putant. Dicimus autem et hic Dis et hic Ditis.

Solinus

XXII.10.

In quo spatio magna et multa flumina, fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus praesul est Minervas numen, in cuius aede perpetui ignes numquam canescunt in favillas, sed, ubi ignios tabuit, vertit in globos saxeos.

Tacitus

*Germ.*XLIII.4.

Apud Nahavarlos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant.

Vergil

*Aen.*XI.483.

Armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia virgo

Commenta Scholia Bernensia ad Lucanum ad I.445

Sanguine diro Teutates horrensque feris altare] *Mercurius lingua Gallorum Teutates dicitur, qui humano apud illos sanguine colebatur. Teutates Mercurius sic apud Gallos placatur: in plenum semicupium homo in caput demittitur, ut ibi suffocetur. Hesus Mars sic placatur: homo in arbore suspenditur, usque donec per cruorem membra digesserit. Taranis Ditis pater hoc modo aput eos placatur: in alveo ligneo aliqud homines cremantur. Item aliter exinde in aliis invenimus Teutates Mars sanguine diro placatur, sive quod proelia numinis eius instinctu administratur, sive*

quod Galli antea soliti ut aliis deis huic quoque homines immolare. Hesum Mercurium credunt, si quidem a mercatoribus colitur, et praesidem bellorum et caelestium deorum maximum Taranin Jovem adsuetum olim humanis placari capitibus, nunc vero gaudere pecorum.

Adnotationes super Lucanum ad I.445.
Teutates] *Mercurius sic dicitur, qui a Gallis homonibus caesis placatur.*

Esus] *Mars sic dictus a Gallis, qui hominum cruore placatur.*

Adnotationes super Lucanum ad I.446.
Et Taranis] *ordo: et quibus placatur Taranis diro sanguine laetantur hic converti proelia. Taranis Juppiter dictus a Gallis, qui sanguine litatur humano.*

Glossae Lucani ad I.445.
Teutates id est Mercurius, unde Teuconici; Esus id est Mars.

Glossae Lucani ad I.446.
Tharanis Juppiter. Hi [the Gauls] *omnes in Teutonicis partibus colebantur a taranu.*

Apparatus criticus ad Juvenalem ad VIII.157
Eponam] *Hippona dea erat equarum et agasonum;˝* ιππος *est equus.*

Commentarius ad Juvenalem e codice Coloniensi
Nota quod Ypona templum Romae habebat, in cuius templo et presepia et eque, quomodo ad praesepe erant ligate, pictum.

Old Irish

Cath Maige Tuired
11.
Isen cath-sin d*a*n*o* robenad a lámh de Núadad .i. Sregg m*a*c Sengaidn roph*e*n dei hí. Go tarad Díen C*écht* an liaigh láim airgid foair co lúth cecai láma 7 Cr*éd*hne in cerd ag cungn*am* fris.

55-68.
"Fil sunn Luch Lonnandsclech m*a*c Cíein m*eic* Díen C*écht* 7 Ethne ingine Baloir. Dalta siden Taill[ti]ne ing*i*ne Magmóir rí Esp*áin*e 7 Echtach Gairuh m*eic* Dúach.

Rofíoarf*aig* ion dors*aid* do tSamhilldánuch, "Cía dán f*r*isa ng[n]éie?" al séi, "ar ní téid nech cin dán i Temruid."
"Déne mo athcomarc," ol sé. "Am sáer."
Friscort an dors*aid* "Nít-regaim i leas. Atá sáer lenn cenu .i. Luchtai m*ac* Lúachadhae."
Atp*er*t-sum, "Atum-athc*om*airc a dorrsoid: am gobhae."
F*r*isgart ion dors*aid* dóu, "Atá gobae liond cenai .i. Colum Cúaolléinech téorae núagrés."
Atp*er*t-s*om*, "Atom-athcomairc: am t*r*énfer."
F*r*iscart in dors*aid*, "Níd-regoim a les. Atá tr*é*inf*er* lend cenu .i. Oghmae m*ac* Ethlend."
Atb*er*t-sum diridesi. "Atom-athcom*airc*," ar sé. "Am crutiri."
Nít-regaim] a les. Atá crutiri lenn cenai .i. Auhcán m*ac* Bicelmois, ara-n-utgat*ar* fir trí ndéa I sídoib."
Atp*er*t-sum, "Atom-athcom*airc*:am níadh."
F*r*isc*ar*t an dorrsoidh, "Nít-regam e les. Atá níad lionn ch*en*u .i. Bresal Echarlam m*ac* Ech*dach* Báethláim."
Atb*er*t-sum íar*um*, "Adum-athcom*airc*, a dors*aid*. Am file *7* am sench*aid*."
Níd-regam I les. Atá file *7* sench*aid* cenai lenn .i. Én m*ac* Ethom*ain*."
Atb*er*t-sum, "Atom-athcom*airc*," ol sé, "Im corrguinech."
Nít-recom e les. Atáut corrguinidh lionn ch*en*o. At imdou ar ndruíth *7* ar luc*h*t cumh*acht*ai."
Atb*er*t-s*om*, "Atom-athcom*airc*. Am liaich."
"Nít-regam a l*es*. Atá Díen Cécht do liaigh lenn."
"Atom-athcom*airc*," al *sé*. "Am deogbore."
"Nít-regom a l*es*. Atá deogb*air*e linn cenau .i. Delt *7* Drúc*ht 7* Daithe, Taei *7* Talom *7* Trog *7*, Gléi *7* Glan *7* Glési."
Atbert, "Ato*m-athcomairc*: am cert maith."
"Nít-regom e l*es*. Atá cert lind cenu .i. Crédne C*er*d."
Atb*er*t-som aither*rach*, "Ab*air* f*r*isind *r*íg," al sé, "an fil les óeinf*er* codo-gabai ina dán*u-s*ae ule *7* má atá les ní toc*us*-sa iTemr*aig*."
Luid in dors*aid* isin rígtech íar sudiu *co n*-éicid dond *r*íogh ulei. "Tánic óc*láech* io ndoras lis," al sé, "Samilldán*ach* a ainm; *7* na huili dáno arufognot det munt*ir*-si, atát les ule a óenor, *con*edh fer cecha dánai ule éi."

98-99.
"Os tusai, a Díen C*écht*," or Lug, "cía cumogg *co*nicid-si ém?"

"Ní *anse*," ol síe. "Nach fer géntor ann, *acht* mona bentor a cedn de, *nó* m*a*n*i* tesct*ar* srebonn a inchinde nó a smir s[m]entuinde, bodh ógsláun lim-su 'sin cath arabhároch."

123.
Is edh d*a*n*o* doberiud bruth isna hógaib nogontais ann, comtar ániu íarnauhár*ach*: fo bith roboi Díen C*écht* 7 a dí m*ac* 7 a ingen .i. O*chttr*íuil 7 Airmedh 7 Míach oc dícet*ul* f*o*ran tibr*ait* .i. Sláine a hainm. Foc*e*rtdidis a n-athgoite indte im*m*airlestis; bot*ar* bí notégdis esde. Bati[r] slán a n-athgoíte tre n*e*r*t* an dícet*ail* na cethr*i* lege robát*ar* imon tibr*ait*.

124.
Tín*ic* di*diu* frisna Fomor*e* annísin, go tudciset-*som* fer n-úad*aib*h de déscin cathai 7 cosdotha Túath nDéa .i. Rúadán mac Bresi 7 Bríghi ingene in Dag*dai*.

LG
VII.313.
Baī dāna EOCHAID OLLATHAIR .i. in Dagda Mōr

VII.317.
Brigit banfili, ingen in Dagda,

VII.333.
Bai trā Eochaid Ollathair .i. in Dagda Mōr

VII.344.
Brigit banfile, ingen in Dagda,

VII.365.
Bai tra Eochaid Ollathair, .i. in Dagdha Mor

VII.369.
Brigid banfile, ingean in Daghdha,

Chapter Four
Gallic Sanctuaries

Greek

Diodorus Siculus

V.27.4.

Ἴδιον δὲ τι καὶ παράδοξον παρὰ τοῖς ἄῃω Κελτοῖς ἐστι περὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν ψινόμενον. Εν γὰρ τοῖς ῾ ιεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἀνειμένοις ἔρριπται πολὺς χρυσὸς ἀνατεθειμένος τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὐδεὶς ἅπτεται τούτου διὰ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, καίπερ ὄντων τῶν Κελτῶν φιλαργύρων καθ' ὑπερβολήν.

Latin

Caesar

*B.G.*VI.17.4.

Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos cumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet;

Livy

I.6.4.

Quoniam gemini essent necaetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.

Lucan

III.404.

structae diris altaribus arae,

Servius

*Aen.*I.92.

Extemplo ilico statim. Et est augurium sermo. Templum enim dicitur locus manu designatus in aere, post quem factum ilico captantur auguria.

Tacitus

*Ann.*XIV.30.3.

cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibres consulere deos fas habetant

Varro

*De Ling.Lat.*VII.8.

In terris dictum templum locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam conceptis verbis finitus.

Vitruvius

*De Arch.*III.2.

Aedium autem principia sunt, e quibus constat figurarum aspectus; et primium in antis, quod Graece 'naos en parastasin' dicitur, deinde prostylos, amphiprostylos, peripteros, pseudodipteros, hypaethros. Horum exprimuntur formationes his rationibus.

In antis erit aedes, cum habebit in fronte antas parietum qui cellam circumcludunt, et inter antas in medio columnas duas supraque fastigium symmetria ea conlocatum, quae in hoc libro fuerit perscripta. Huius autem exemplar erit ad tres Fortunas ex tribus quod est proxime portram Collinam.

Prostylos omnia habet quemadmodum in antis, columnas autem contra antas angulares duas supraque epistylia, quemadmodum et in antis, et dextra ac sinistra in versuris singula. Huius exemplar est in insula Tiberina in aede Iovis et Fauni.

Amphiprostylos omnia habet ea, quae prostylos, praetereaque habet in postico ad eundem modum columnas et fastigium.

Peripteros autem erit, quae habebit in fronte et postico senas columnas, in lateribus cum angularibus undenas. Ita autem sint hae columnae conlocatae, ut intercolumnii latitudinis intervallum sit a parietibus circum ad extremos ordines columnarum, habeatque ambulationem circa cellam aedis, quemadmodum est in porticu Metelli Iovis Statoris Hermodori et ad Mariana Honoris et Virtutis sine postico a Mucio facta.

Pseudidipteros autem sic conlocatur, ut in fronte et postico sint columnae octonae, in lateribus cum angularibus quinae denae. Sint autem parietes cellae contra quaternas columnas medianas in fronte et postico. Ita duorum intercolumniorum et unae crassitudinis columnae spatium erit ab parietibus circa ad extremos ordines columnarum. Huius exemplar Romae non est, sed Magnesiae Dianae Hermogenis Alabandei et Apollinis a Menesthe facta.

Dipteros autem octastylos et pronao et postico, sed circa aedem duplices habet ordines columnarum, uti est aedis Quirini Dorica et Ephesi Dianae Ionica a Chersiphrone constituta.

Hypaethros vero decastylos est in pronao et postico. Reliqua omnia eadem habet quae dipteros, sed interiore parte columnas in altitudine duplices, remotas a

parietibus ad circumitionem ut porticus peristyliorum. Medium autem sub divo est sine tecto. Aditus valvarum et utraque parte in pronao et postico. Huius item exemplar Romae non est, sed Athenis octastylos et temple Olympio.

Chapter Five
Gallic Religious Rituals

Greek

Aelian

*V.H.*II.31.

Οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἔννοιαν ἔλαβε τοιαύτην, οἵαν Εὐήμερος ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἢ Διογένης ὁ Φρυξ ἢ Ἵππων ἢ Διαγόρας ἢ Σωσίας ἢ Ἐπίκουρος οὔτε Ἰνδὸς οὔτε Κελτὸς οὔτε Αἰγύπτιος. Λέγουσι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ προειρημένοι καὶ εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ προνοεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ προσημαίνειν τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ διὰ ὀρνίθων καὶ διὰ συμβόλων καὶ διὰ σπλάγχνων καὶ δι' ἄλλων τινῶν μαθημάτων τε καὶ διδαγμάτων· ἅπερ οὖν ἐστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διδασκαλικὰ ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς προνοίας. Καὶ δι' ὀνείρων δὲ λέγουσι καὶ δι' αυθτῶν τῶν ἀστέρων πολλὰ προδηλοῦσθαι.

*V.H.*XII.23.

τρόπαια ἐγείρουσιν, ...καὶ ὑπομνηματα αὐτῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπολείπουντες Ελληνικῶς

Aeschylus

*Ag.*224-230.

θυτὴρ γενέσθαι θυγατρός,
γυναικοποίνων πολέμων ἀρωγὰν
καὶ προτέλεια ναῶν.
λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρῴους
παρ' οὐδὲν αἰῶ τε παρθένειον
ἔθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς.

Arrian

*Cyn.*23.2

Κελτῶν δὲ ἔστιν οἷς νόμος, καὶ ἐηιαύσια θύειν τῇ Αρτέμιδι· οἱ δὲ καὶ θησαυρὸν ἀποδεικνύουσι τῇ θεῷ· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν. λαγῷ ἁλόντι δύο ὀβολὼ ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν θησαυρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ ἀλώπεκι δραχμὴν, ὅτι ἐπίβουλον τὸ χρῆμα, καὶ τοὺς λαγὼς διαφθείρει· τούτου ἕνεκα πλεῖον ἐμβάλλουσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολεμίῳ ἁλόντι· ἐπὶ δὲ δορκάδι τέσσαρας δραχμὰς, ὅτι μέγα τὸ ζῷον, καὶ ἡ θήρα ἐντιμοτέρα.

Athenaeus

IV.152d.

Καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν [the Gauls] ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι.

IV.154.

ἄλλοι δ' ἐν θεάτρῳ λαβόντες ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον, οἱ δὲ οἴου κεραμίων ἀριθμόν τινα, καὶ πιστωσάμενοι τὴν δόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις φίλοις διαδωρησάμενοι ὕπτιοι ἐκταθέντες ἐπὶ θυρεῶν κεῖνται, καὶ παραστάς τις ξίφει τὸν λαιμὸν ἀποκόπτει.

IV.160e.

ὁ Μάγνος· ὁ μὲν πάντα ἄριστος, ἔφη, Λαρήνσιος ὀξέως καὶ καλῶς ἀπήντησε τῷ γαστρίδι κυνὶ περὶ τοῦ κόγχου.' Εγὼ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Παφίου Σωπάτρου Γαλάτας

παρ' οἷς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἡνίκ' ἄν προτέρημά τι
ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λάβωσι, θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς
τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, <τοὺς> Γαλάτας μιμούμενος
κἀγὼ κατακαύσειν ηὐξάμην τοῖς δαίμοσι
διαλεκτικοὺς τρεῖς τῶν παρεγγεγραμμένων.

Cassius Dio

XII.50.4.

Ὅτι Αἰμίλιοςξτοὺς' Ινσούμβρους νικήσας τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἁλόντων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡπλισμένους ἀνεκόμισεν ἐπισκώπτων σφίσιν, ὅτι ὁμωμοκότας αὐτοὺς ἤσθετο μὴ πρότερον τοὺς θώρακας ἀποδύσεσθαι πρὶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβῆναι.

LXXVIII.14.2.

τούτων [the German tribe the Cenni] γυναῖκες ἁλοῦσαι ὑπὸ τῶν ' Ρωμαίων, ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ ' Αντωνίνου πότερον πραθῆναι ἢ φονευθῆναι βούλονται, τοῦθ' εἵλοντο· ἔπειτ' ἀπεμποληθεῖσαι πᾶσαι μὲν ἑαυτάς, εἰσὶ δ' αἱ καὶ τὰ τεκνα ἀπέκτειναν.

Diodorus Siculus

V.27.4.

' Ιδιον δὲ τι καὶ παράδοξον παρὰ τοῖς ἄηω Κελτοῖς ἐστι περὶ τὰ τεμένη

τῶν θεῶν ψινόμενον. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἀνειμένοις ἔρριπται πολὺς χρυσὸς ἀνατεθειμένος τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὐδεὶς ἅπτεται τούτου διὰ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, καίπερ ὄντων τῶν Κελτῶν φιλαργύρων καθ' ὑπερβολήν.

V.31.2-4.

Εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ μελῶν, οὓς βάρδους ὀνομάζουσιν. Οὗτοι δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων ταῖς λύραις ὁμοίων ᾄδοντες οὓς μὲν ὑμνοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ βλασφημοῦσιν. Φιλόσοφοί τε τιῆές εἰσι καὶ θεολόγοι περιττῶς τιμώμενοι, οὓς δρυΐδας ὀνομάζουσι.

Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ μάντεσιν, ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης ἀξιοῦντες αὐτούς. Οὗτοι δὲ διά τε τῆς οἰωνοσκοπίας καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἱερείων θυσίας τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγουσι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔχουσιν ὑπήκοον. Μάλιστα δ' ὅταν περί τινων μεγάλων ἐπισκέπτωνται, παράδοξον καὶ ἄπιστον ἔχουσι νόμιμον· ἄνθρωπον γὰρ κατασπείσαντες τύπτουσι μαχαίρᾳ κατὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ διάφραγμα τόπον, καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ πληγέντος ἐκ τῆς πτώσεως καὶ τοῦ σπαραγμοῦ τῶν μελῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τοῦ αἵματος ῥύσεως τὸ μέλλον νοοῦσι, παλαιᾷ τινι καὶ πολυχρονίῳ παρατηρήσει περὶ τούτων πεπιστευκότες.

Ἔθος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι μηδένα θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἄνευ φιλοσόφου. Διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐμπείρων τῆς θείας φύσεως ὡσπερεί τινων ὁμοφώνων τὰ χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς φασι δεῖν προσφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τούτων οἴονται δεῖν τἀγαθὰ αἰτεῖσθαι.

V.32.3.

Ἀγριωτάτων δ' ὄντων τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς ἄρκτους κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ πλησιοχώρων φασί τινας ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν Πρεττανῶν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἶριν.

V.32.6.

Ἀκολούθως δὲ τῇ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀγριότητι καὶ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκτόπως ἀσεβοῦσι· τοὺς γὰρ κακούργους κατὰ πενταετηρίδα φυλάξαντες ἀνασκολοπίζουσι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μετ° ἄλλων πολλῶν ἀπαρχῶν καθαγίζουσι, πυρὰς παμμεγέθεις κατασκευάζοντες. Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὡς ἱερείοις πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμάς. Τινὲς δ° αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ληφθέντα ζῷα μετὰ τῶν ἀῃθρώπων ἀποκτείνουσιν ἢ κατακάουσιν ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις τιμωρίαις ἀφανίζουσι.

XIII.86.3.

᾽Ιμίλκας δὲ θεωρῶν τὰ πλήθη δεισιδαιμονοῦντα πρῶτον μὲν ἐπαύσατο καθαιρῶν τὰ μνημεῖα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἱκετευε τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος τῷ μὲν Κρόνῳ παῖδα σφαγιάσας, τῷ δὲ Ποσειδῶνι πλῆθος ῾ ιερείων καταποντίσας.

XX.14.4-6.

᾽Ητιῶτο δὲ καὶ τὸν Κρόνον αὐτοῖς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις θύοντες τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ τῶν υἱῶν τοὺς κρατίστους, ὕστερον ὠνούμενοι λάθρᾳ παῖδας καὶ θρέψαντες ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν· καὶ ζητήσεως γενομένης, εἱρέθησαν τινες τῶν καθιερουργημένων ὑποβολιμαῖοι γεγόνοτες.

Τούτων δὲ λαβόντες ἔννοιαν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ὁρῶντες στρατοπεδεύοντος, ἐδεισιδαιμόνουν ὡς καταλελυκότες τὰς πατρίους τῶν θεῶν τιμάς. Διορθώσασθαι δὲ τὰς ἀγνοίας σπεύδοντες, διακοσίους μὲν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων παίδων προκρίναντες ἔθυσαν δημοσίᾳ· ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἐν διαβολαῖς ὄντες ἑκουσίως ἑαυτοὺς ἔδοσαν, οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντες τριακοσίων.

᾽Ην δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀνδριὰς Κρόνου χαλκοῦς, ἐκτετακὼς τὰς χεῖρας ὑπτίας ἐγκεκλιμένας ἐπὶ τὴν γὴν, ὥστε τὸν ἐπιτεθέντα τῶν παίδων ἀποκυλίεσθαι καὶ πίπτειν εἴς τι χάσμα πλῆρες πυρός. Εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐντεῦθεν εἰληφέναι τὰ μυθολογούμενα παρ᾽ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν ἐν Ταύροις Θυσίαν ἐν οἷς εἰσάγει τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν ὑπὸ᾽ Ορέστου διερωτωμένην

Τάφος δὲ ποῖος δέξεταί μ᾽, ὅταν θάνω;
Πῦρ ῾ ιερὸν ἔνδον χάσμα τ᾽ εὐρωπὸν χθονός.

XXII.9.2.

Βαρυνόμενος [Brennus] δὲ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον, συμβουλλεύσας αὐτοῖς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἅπαντας ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας καύσαντας εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανελθεῖν·

XXXI.13.

῞Οτι ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων Γαλατῶν στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ γενόμενος καὶ συναθροίσας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πρᾶξιν ἐπετελέσατο βαρβαρικὴν καὶ παντελῶς ὑπερήφανον. Τούς τε γὰρ τοῖς εἴδεσι καλλίστους καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμαιοτάτους καταστέψας ἔθυσε τοῖς θεοῖς, εἴ γέ τῶν

θεῶν δέχεται τὰς τοιαύτας τιμάς. Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πάντας κατηκόντισεν, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς γνωριζομένων διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας ἐπιξενώσεις, οὐδενὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν φιλίαν ἐλεουμένου. Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ βάρβαροι παρ' ἐλπίδας κατορθώσαντες ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν.

Dioysius of Haicarnassus

*Ant.Rom.*I.38.2

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς παλαιούς [the Italians], ὥσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι, τέως ἡ πόλις διέμεινε, καὶ παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τόδε χρόνου γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐθνῶν ἀνδροθόνους, Ἡρακλέα δὲ παῦσαι τὸν νόμον τῆς θυσίας.....

Euripides

*I.A.*1547-1550.

ὡς δ' ἐσεῖδεν Ἀγαμέμνον ἄναξ
ἐπὶ σφαγὰς στείχουσαν εἰς ἄλσος κόρην,
ἀνεστέναζε, κἄμπαλιν στρέψας κάρα
δάκρυα προῆκεν, ὀμμάτων πέπλον προθείς.

*I.A.*1578-1583.

Ἱρεὺς δὲ φάσγανον λαβὼν ἐπηύξατο,
λαιμόν τ' ἐπεσκοπεῖθ', Ἵνα πλήξειεν ἄν·
ἐμοὶ δέ τ' ἄλγος οὐ μικρὸν εἰσῄει φρενί,
κἄστην νενευκώς· θαῦμα δ' ἦν αἴφνης ὁρᾶν·
πληγῆς σαφῶς γὰρ πᾶς τις ἤσθετο κτύπον,
τὴν παρθένον δ' οὐκ οἶδεν οὗ γῆς εἰσέδυ.

*I.T.*35-39.

ὅθεν νόμοισι τοῖσιν ἥδεται
Ἄρτεμις ἑορτῆς- τοὔνομ' ἧς καλὸν μόνον,
τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ, τὴν θεὸν φοβουμένη-
θύω γάρ, ὄντος τοῦ νόμου καὶ πρὶν πόλει,
ὅς ἂν κατέλθῃ τήνδε γῆν Ἕλλην ἀνήρ.

*Hec.*220-221.

ἔδοξ' Ἀχαιοῖς παῖδα σὴν Πολυξένην
σφάξαι πρὸς ὀρθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλείου τάφου.

*Tro.*622-623.

Τέθνηκε σοι παῖς πρὸς τάφῳ Πολυξένη
σφαγεῖσ' Αχιλλέως, δῶρον ἀψύχῳ νεκρῷ

Eusebius

*Praep. Evang.*I.10.45.

Κρόνος τοίνυν, ὃν οἱ Φοίνικες Ἦλ προσαγορεύουσιν βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας καὶ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστέρα καθιερωθείς,.....κινδύῃωῃ ἐκ πολέμου μεγίστων κατειληφότων τὴν χώραν βασιλικῷ κοσμήσας σχήματι τὸν υἱὸν βωμόν τε κατασκευασάμενοσ κατέθυσεν.

Homer

Il.XXIII.175-184.

δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς
χαλκῷ δῃϊόων· κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μήδετο ἔργα·
ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἧκε σιδήρεον, ὄφρα νέμοιτο.
ὤμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα, φίλον δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἑται-ρον·
"Χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι·
πάῃτα γὰρ ἤδη τοι τελέω τὰ πάροιθεν ὑπεστην.
δώδεκα μὲν Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς
τοὺς ἅμα σοὶ πάντας πῦρ ἐσθίει· Ἕκτορ δ' οὔ τι
δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν , ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν."

Pausanias

X.21.1.

Προελθὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλείας, ἐπυνθάνετο γὰρ παρὰ αὐτομόλων τοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐς Πύλας ἀπὸ ἑκάστης πόλεως, ὑπερεφρόνει τε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ ἦρχεν ἐς τὴν ἐπιου-σαν μάχης ἅμα ἀνίσχοντι τῷ ἡλίῳ, οὔτε Ἕλληνα ἔχων μάντιν οὔτε ἱεροῖς ἐπιχωρίοις χρώμενος, εἰ δὴ ἔστι γε μαντεία Κελτική.

X.22.1.

Τῷ δὲ Βρέννῳ λογισμὸς παρίστατο ὡς εἰ ἀναγκάσει τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλιαν ἀναχωρῆσαι, ῥᾳων ἤδη γενησοιτο ὁ πόλεμος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Ελληνικόν

X.22.3-5.

καὶ τὰ ἐς Λαλλιέας Κόμβουτις οἱ ἐργασάμενοι καὶ᾽ Ορεστόριος ἦσαν,
ἀνοσιώτατά τε ὧν ἀκοῇ ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων τολμήμασιν ὅμοια. Γένος μέν γε πᾶν ἐξέκοψαν τὸ ἄρσεν, καὶ ὁμοίως γέροντες τε καὶ τὰ νήπια ἐπὶ τῶν μητέρων τοῖς μαστοῖς ἐφονεύετο· τούτων δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ γάλακτος πιότερα ἀποκτείνοντες ἔπινόν τε οἱ Γαλάται τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἤπτοντο τῶν σαρκῶν.
γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ ὅσαι ἐν ὥρᾳ τῶν παρθένων, ὅσαι μὲν φρονήματός τι αὐτῶν εἶχον, ἑαυτὰς ἔφθησαν ὡς ἡλίσκετο ἡ πόλις διειργασμέναι· τὰς δὲ ἔτι περιούσας ἐς ἰδέαν ὕβρεως πᾶσαν μετὰ ἀνάγκης ἦγον Ἰσχυρᾶς, ἅτε ἴσον μὲν ἐλέου, ἴσον δὲ τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἔρωτος ἀπέχοντες. καὶ ᾽σαι μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς μαχαίραις τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπετύγχανον, αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν· ταῖς δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ὑπάρξειν τὸ χρεὼν ἔμελλεν ἥ τε ἀσιτία καὶ ἡ ἀυπνία, ἀστέγων βαρβάρων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις ὑβριζόντων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀφιείσαις τὰς ψυχὰς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἤδη νεκραῖς συνεγίνοντο ὅμως.
Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πεπυσμένοι τε παρὰ ἀγγέλων ἦσαν ὁποῖαι σφᾶς κατειλήφεσαν συμφοραὶ καὶ αὐτίκα ὡς τάχους εἶχον ἀναστήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν,

Plato

*Leg.*VIII.828C.
ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν χθονίων καὶ ὅσους αὖ θεοὺς οὐρανίους ἐπονομαστέον

Plutarch

*Vit.Them.*XIII.2.
τούτους ᾽ ιδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ᾽ ιερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκδεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον·

*Vit.Them.*XIII.3.
οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅμα κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ καὶ τοὺς

αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βωμῇ προσαγαγόντες ἠνάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι.

*Vit.Marc.*III.4.
Τότε τοῦ πολέμου συμπεσόντος ἠναγκάσθησαν εἶξαι λογίοις τισὶν τῶν Σιβυλλείων, καὶ δύο μὲν ῾ Ελληνας, ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα, δύο δὲ γαλάτας ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ βοῶν ἀγορᾷ κατορύξαι ζῶντας,

*Vit.Caes.*XXVI.8.
ἔδοξε δὲ κατ' ἀρχάς τι καὶ σφαλῆναι, καὶ δεικνύουσιν ᾽ Αρουβηνοὶ ξιφίδιον πρὸς ῾ ιερῷ κρεμάμενον, ὡς δὴ Καίσαρος λάφυρον. ῾ Ο θεασάμενος αὐτὸς ὕστερον ἐμειδίασε καὶ τῶν φίλων καθελεῖν κελευόντων οὐκ εἴασεν ῾ ιερὸν ἡγούμενος.

*Vit.Caes.*XXVII.5.
Καὶ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καθεζόμενον [Vercingetorix] ἐλάσας, εἶτα ἀφαλόμενος τοῦ ῾ ιππου τὴν μὲν πανοπλίαν ἀπέρριψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καθίσας ὑπὸ πόδας τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν,

*De Super.*XIII.
Οὐκ ἄμεινον οὖν ἦν Γαλάταις ἐκείνοις καὶ Σκύθαις τὸ παράπαν μήτ' ἔννοιαν ἔχειν θεῶν μήτε φαντασίαν μήθ' ῾ ιστορίαν ἢ θεοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν χαίροντας ἀνθρώπων σφαττομένων αἵματι καὶ τελεωτάτην θυσίαν καὶ ῾ ιερουργίαν ταύτην νομίζοντας; τί δὲ; Καρχηδονίοις οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει Κριτίαν λαβοῦσιν ἢ Διαγόραν νομοθέτην ἀπ' ἀπχῆς μήτε τινὰ δαιμόνων μήτε θεῶν νομίζειν ἢ τοιαῦτα θύειν οἷα τῷ Κρόνῳ ἔθυον; οὐχ ὥσπερ ᾽ Εμπεδοκλῆς φησι τῶν τὰ ζῷα θυόντων καθαπτόμενος

Μορφὴν δ' ἀλλάξαντα πατὴρ φίλον υἱὸν ἀείρας
Σφάζει ἐπευχόμενος μέγα νήπιος,

ἀλλ' εἰδότες καὶ γιγνώσκοντες αὐτοὶ τὰ αὑτῶν τέκνα καθιέρευον, οἱ δ' ἄτεκνοι παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ὠνούμενοι παιδία κατέσφαζον καθάπερ ἄρνας ἢ ῑεοσσούς, παρειστήκει δ' ἡ μήτηρ ἄτεγκτος καὶ ἀστένακτος ……᾽ Αμηστρις δ' ἡ Ξέρξου γυνὴ δώδεκα κατώρυξεν ἀνθρώπους ζῶντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ ῾ Αιδῃ,

*Quaest.Rom.*LXXXIII.

Διὰ τί τοὺς καλουμένους Βλετονησίους βαρβάρους ὄντας ἄνθρωπον τεθυκέναι θεοῖς πυθόμενοι, μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ὡς κολάσοντες, ἐπεὶ δὲ νόμῳ τινὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐφαίνοντο πεποιηκότες, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπέλυσαν, ἐκώλυσαν δὲ πρὸς τὸ λοιπόν; αὐτοὶ δ᾽ οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν δυο μὲν ἄνδρας δύο δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ βοῶν ἀγορᾳ λεγομένῃ, τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας, τοὺς δὲ Γαλάτας, ζῶντας κατώρυξαν· φαίνεται γὰρ ἄτοπον ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῖν αὐτούς, ἐπιτιμᾶν δὲ βαρβάροις ὡς οὐχ ὅσια ποιοῦσι.....ἐκεῖναι [Vestal Virgins] μὲν οὖν ἐκολάσθησαν ἐξελεγχθεισαι, τῆς δὲ πράξεως δεινῆς φανείσης, ἔδοξεν ἀνερέσθαι τὰ Σιβύλλεια τοὺς ἱερεῖς. εὑρεθῆναι δέ φασι χρησμοὺς ταῦτά τε προδηλοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ γενησόμενα, καὶ προστάττοντας ἀλλοκότοις τισί δαίμοσι καὶ ξένοις ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ ἐπιόντος προέσθαι δυο μὲν Ἕλληνας, δυο δὲ Γαλάτας ζῶντας αὐτόθι κατορυγέντας.

*Quaest.Rom.*XXXVII.

Διὰ τί τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀῃατιθεμένων μόνα τὰ σκῦλα νενόμισται περιορᾶν ἀφανιζόμενα τῷ χρόνῳ, καὶ μήτε προσκυνεῖν, μήτ᾽ ἐπισκευάζειν; Πότερον ἵνα τὴν δόξαν οἰόμενοι τοῖς πρώτοις συνεκλιπεῖν, ἀεί τι πρόσφατον ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἀρετῆς ζητῶσι κομίζειν; Ἢ μᾶλλον, ὅτι τοῦ χρόνου τὰ σημεῖα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διαφορᾶς ἀμαυροῦντος, αὐτοὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ καινοποιεῖν ἐπίφθονόν ἐστι καὶ φιλαπεχθῆμον; Οὐδὲ γὰρ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν οἱ πρώτοι λίθινον καὶ χαλκοῦν στήσαντες τρόπαιον εὐδοκιμοῦσι.

*Parallela Graec.Rom.*XIX.

ΚΥΑΝΙΠΠΟΣ γένει Συρακούσιος μόνῳ Διονύσῳ οὐκ ἔθυεν. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὀργισθεὶς μέθην ἐνέσκηψε, καὶ ἐν τόπῳ σκοτεινῷ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐβιάσατο Κυάνην· ἡ δὲ τὸν δακτύλιον περιελομένη ἔδωκε τῇ τροφῷ ἐσόμενον ἀναγνώρισμα. Λοιμωξάντων δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πυθίου εἰπόντος μὲν δεῖν τὸν ἀσεβῆ τροπαίοις θεοῖς σφαγιάσαι, τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων ἀγνοούντων τὸν χρησμόν, γνοῦσα ἡ Κυάνη καὶ ἐπιλαβομένη τῶν τριχῶν εἵλκε, καὶ αὐτὴ κατασφάξασα τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτὴν ἐπέσφαξε·

*Parallela Graec.Rom.*XXIII.

ΜΕΤΑ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν ἐξεβράσθη Διομήδης εἰς Λιβύην, ἔνθα

Λύκος ἦν βασιλεὺς ἔθος ἔχων τοὺς ξένους ᾽Αρει τῷ πατρὶ θύειν....
ΚΑΛΠΟΥΡΝΙΟΣ Κράσσος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπισήμων, ῾Ρηγούλῳ συστρατευόμενος, ἐπέμφθη εἰς Μασσύλους πορθήσων φρούριον τι δυσάλωτον τοὔηομα Γαραίτιον. Αἰχμάλωτος δὲ ληφθεὶς ἔμελλε θύεσθαι τῷ Κρόνῳ.

*Parallela Graec.Rom.*XXXV.
ΛΟΙΜΟΥ κατασχόντος Λακεδαίμονα, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς παύσασθαι, ἐὰν παρθένον εὐγενῆ κατὰ ἔτος θύωσιν.....
ΛΟΙΜΟΥ κατασχόντος Φαλερίους καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένης, χρησμὸς ἐδόθη λωφῆσαι τὸ δεινόν, ἐὰν παρθένον τῇ ῞Ηρᾳ θύωσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.

*Parallela Graec.Rom.*XXXVIII.
ΒΟΥΣΙΡΙΣ, παῖς Ποσειδῶνος καὶ ᾽Ανίππης τῆς Νείλου, τοὺς παριόντας ὑπουλῳ φιλοξενίᾳ κατέθυε.....
ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς ἐλαύνων δι' ᾽Ιταλίας ἐπεξενώθη Φαύνῳ βασιλεῖ, ὃς ἦν ῾Ερμοῦ παῖς καὶ τοὺς ξένους τῷ γεννήσαντι ἔθυεν.

*De Sera Num.Vind.*552A.
Γέλων δὲ καὶ προπολεμήσας ἄριστα καὶ κρατήσας μάχῃ μεγάλῃ Καρχηδονίων, οὐ πρότερον εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς δεομένους ἢ καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς συνθήκαις περιλαβεῖν, ὅτι παύσονται τὰ τέκνα τῷ Κρόνῳ καταθύοντες.

*Reg. et Imp. Apoph.*175A.
Γέλων ὁ τύραννος, ὅτε Καρχηδονίους πρὸς ῾Ιμέρᾳ κατεπολέμησεν, εἰρήνην ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασεν ἐγγράψαι ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ὅτι καὶ τὰ τέκνα παύσονται τῷ Κρόνῳ καταθύοντες.

Porphyry
De Abstinentia
II.27.2.
᾽Αφ' οὗ μέχρι τοῦ ηὗη οὐκ ἐν Αρκαδιᾳ μόνον τοῖς Λυκαίοις οὔδ' ἐν Καρχηδόνι τῷ Κρόνῳ κοινῇ πάντες ἀνθρωποθυτοῦσιν.᾽ Εντεῦθεν οὖν

μεταθαίνοντες ὑπάλλαγμα πρὸς τὰς θυσίας τῶν Ἰδίων ἐποιοῦντο σωμάτων τὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ζῴων σώματα·

II.56.1.
Φοίνικες δὲ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς ἢ πολέμων ἢ λοιμῶν ἢ αὐχμῶν ἔθυον τῶν φιλτάτων τινὰ ἐπιψηφίζοντες Κρόνῳ,

Pseudo-Plutarch

*De fluv.*VI.4.
Παράκειται δ' αὐτῇ ὄρος, Λούγδουνος καλούμενον· μετονομάσθη δὲ δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Μώμορος καὶ ' Ατεποίμαρος ὑπὸ Σεσηρονέως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβληθέντες κατὰ χρησμοῦ προσταγὴν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν λόφον ἦλθον πόλιν κτίσαι θέλοντες. Τῶν δὲ θεμελίων ὀρυσσομένων αἰφνιδίως
Κόρακες ἐπιφαηέντες καὶ διαπτερυξάμενοι τὰ πέριξ ἐπλήρωσαν δέῃδρα. Μώμορος δὲ, οἰωνοσκοπίας ἔμπειρος ὑπάρχων τὴν πόλιν Λούγδουνον προσηγόρευσεν· λοῦγον γὰρ τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν κόρακα καλοῦσι, δοῦνον δὲ τόπον ἐξέχοντα·

Polybius

II.32.5-6
Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων προεστῶτες θεωροῦντες ἀμετάθετον οὖσαν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων ἔκριναν τῆς τύχης λαβεῖν πεῖραν καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁλοσχερῶς.
Συναθροίσαντες οὖν ἁπάσας (τὰς ὑπαρχούσας δυνάμεις) ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς σημαίας τὰς ἀκινήτους λεγομένας καθελόντες ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Αθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ καὶ τἆλλα παρασκευασάμενοι δεόντως μετὰ ταῦτα τεθαρρηκότως καὶ καταπληκτικῶς ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις.....

Sextus Empiricus

*Pyr.*III.208.
Τό τε ἀνθρωπείω μιαίνειν αἵματι βωμὸν θεοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄθεσμον,.....ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Κρόῃῳ θύουσιν ἄνθρωπον τινες, καθάπερ καὶ Σκύθαι τῇ ' Αρτέμιδι τοὺς ξένους·

*Pyr.*III.221.
Τῷ Κρόνῳ <οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι> θύουσιν ἄνθρωπον,

Sophocles
*El.*570-572.

Κἀκ τοῦδε μηνίσασα Λητῴα κορη
Κατεῖχ' ' Αχαιούς, ἕως πατὴρ ἀντίσταθμον
Τοῦ θηρὸς ἐκθύσειε τὴν αὐτοῦ κόρην.

Strabo
III.3.6.
Σπλαγχνεύονται [the Lusitanians] δὲ καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπων αἰχμαλώτων, καλύπτοντες σάγοις· εἶθ' ὅταν πληγῇ ὑπὸ τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροσκόπου, μαντεύονται πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος.

IV.1.13.
Καὶ τοὺς Τεκτοσάγας δέ φασι μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς στρατείας (καὶ) τούς τε θησαυροὺς τοὺς Εὑρεθέντας παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Καιπίωνος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐν πόλει Τολώσσῃ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν χρημάτων μέρος εἶναι φασι, προσθεῖναι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων ἀνιεροῦντας καὶ ἐξιλασκομένους τὸν θεόν.....Πιθανώτερος δ' ἐστιῃ ὁ Ποσειδωνίου λόγος. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὑρεθέντα ἐν τῇ Τολώσσξ χρήματα μυρίων που καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γενέσθαι φησί, τὰ μὲν ἐν σηκοῖς ἀποκείμενα, τὰ δ' ἐν λίμναις ἱεραῖς, οὐδεμίαν κατασκευὴν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἀργὸν χρυσίον καὶ ἄργυρον.....Αλλ', ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνός τε εἴρηκε καὶἄλλοι πλείους, ἡ χώρα πολύχρυσος οὖσα καὶ δεισιδαιμόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐ πολυτελῶν τοῖς βίοις πολλαχοῦ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔσχε θησαυρούς. Μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῖςαὶ λίμναι τὴν ἀσυλίαν παρεῖχον, εἰς ἃς καθίεσαν ἀργύρου ἢ καὶ χρυσοῦ βάρη....Ἐν δὲ τῇ Τολώσσῃ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἦν ἅγιον, τιμώμενον σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπλεόῃασε διὰ τοῦτο, πολλῶν ἀνατιθέντων καὶ μηδενὸς προσάπτεσθαι θαρροῦντος.

IV.4.4-6.
ᵘ Οταν δὲ φορὰ τούτων ᾖ, φορ ἀν καὶ τῆς χώρας νομίζουσιν ὑπάρχειν.
ᵛ Αφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι [the Druids] καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς

Πρόςεστι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ τὸ ἔκφυλον, ὃ τοῖς προςβόροις ἔθνεσι παρακολουθεῖ πλεῖστον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπιόντας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐξάπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ἵππιων, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλεύειν [τὴν θέαν] τοῖς προπυλαίοις....Τὰς δὲ ἐνδόξων κεφαλὰς κεδροῦντες ἐπεδείκνυον τοῖς ξένοις καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ' ισοστάσιον χρυσὸν ἀπολυτροῦν ἠξίου. Καὶ τούτων δ' ἔπαυσαν αὐτοὺς
῾Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν νομίμοις. ῾Ανθρωπον γὰρ κατεσπεισμένον παίσαντες εἰς νῶτον μαχαίρᾳ ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. ῾Εθυον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ δρυϊδῶν. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἴδη λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευόν τινας καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον βοσκήματα καὶ θηρία παντοῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὠλοκαύτουν.
᾽Εν δὲ τῷ ὠκεανῷ φησιν εἶναι νῆσον μικρὰν οὐ πάνυ πελαγίαν προκειμένην τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Λείγηρος ποταμοῦ.᾽ Οκεῖν δὲ ταύτην τὰς τῶν Σαμνιτῶν γυναῖκας Διονύσῳ κατεχομένας καὶ ἰλασκομένας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον τελεταῖς τε καὶ ἄλλαις ἱεροποιΐαις (ἐξιλεουμένας). Οὐκ ἐπιβαίνειν δὲ ἄνδρα τῆς νήσου, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας αὐτας πλεούσας κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάλιν ἐπανιέναι. ῾Εθος δ' εἶναι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαξ τὸ ῾ ἱερὸν ἀποστεγάζεσθαι καὶ στεγάζεσθαι πάλιν αὐθημερὸν πρὸ δύσεως φορτίον ἐπιφερούσης. ῾Ης δ' ἂν ἐκπέσῃ τὸ φορτίον, διασπᾶσθαι ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων. Φερούσας δὲ τὰ μέρη περὶ τὸ ῾ ἱερὸν μετ' ἐυασμοῦ μὴ παύεσθαι πρότερον, πρὶν παύσωνται τῆς λύττης. ᾽ Αεὶ δὲ συμβαίῃειῃ, ὥστε τινὰ ἐμπίπτειν τὴν τοῦτο πεισομένην.

IV.5.4.
περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν ἔχομεν λέγειν σαφές, πλὴν ὅτι ἀγριώτεροι τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν, ἀνθρωποφάγοι τε ὄντες καὶ πολυφάγοι,.....καὶ ταῦτα δ' οὕτω λέγομεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιοπίστους μάρτυρας

VII.2.3.
Τοῖς οὖν αἰχμαλώτοις διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδον συνήντων ξιφήρεις, καταστέψασασαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ κρατῆρα χαλκοῦν ὅσον.

Tatianus

*Ad.Gr.*XXIX.1

Εὑρὼν δὲ παρὰ μὲν ‘Ρωμαίοις τὸν κατ’ αὐτοὺς Λατιάριον Δία λύθροις ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδροκτασιῶν ἅμασι τερπόμενον, Ἄρτεμιν δὲ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως τῶν αὐτῶν πράξεων τὸ εἶδος ἄλλον.

Latin

Ammianus Marcellinus

XXVII.4.4.

Et partem earum habitavere Scordisci, longe nunc ab isdem provinciis disparati, saevi quondam et truces, et, ut antiquitas docet, hostis captivorum Bellonae litantes et Marti, humanumque, sanguinem in ossibus capitum cavis bibentes avidius

Augustine

De Civ. Dei VII.19.

Deinde ideo dicit [Varro] *a quibusdam pueros ei* [Saturn] *solitos immolari, sicut a Poenis, et a quibusdam etiam maiores, sicut a Gallis, quia omnium seminum optimum est genus humanum.*

Caesar

*B.G.*I.53.7.

Is [Procillus] *se paesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus reservaretur*:

*B.G.*V.36.2.

Ille [Ambiorix] *appelatus respondit*: *si velit secum colloqui, licere; sperare a multitudine impetrari posse, quod ad militum salutem pertineat*; *ipsi vero nihil nocitum iri, inque eam rem se suam fidem interponere.*

*B.G.*V.42.2.

Haec et superiorum annorum consuetudine a nobis cognoverant et quosdam de exercitu nacti captivos ab his docebantur;

*B.G.*VI.13.4.

Illi [the Druids] *rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac priovata procurant, religiones interpretatntur*;

*B.G.*VI.13.6-7.

Si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit,sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima.

Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, his omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant, neque his petentibus ius redditur neque honos ullus communicatur.

*B.G.*VI.16.2-5.

atque ob eam causam, qui sunt adfecti gravioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant aut se immolaturos vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia druidibus utuntur,

quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur, publiceque eiusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia.

Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent; quibus succensis circumventi flamma exanimantur homines.

Supplicia eorum, qui in furto aut latrocino aut aliqua noxia sint comprehensi, gratiora dis immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed, cum eius generis [criminals] *copia deficit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.*

*B.G.*VI.17.3.

Huic [Mars] *cum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea, quae bello ceperint, plerumque devovent; cum superaverunt, animalia capta immolant, reliquas res in unum locum conferunt.*

Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos cumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet;

Neque saepe accidit, ut neglecta quispiam religione aut capta apud se occultare aut posita tollere auderet, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.

*B.G.*VI.19.4.

Funera sunt....omniaque, quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funebribus confectis una cremabantur.

*B.G.*VII.4.10.

Nam maiore commisso delicto igni atque omnibus tormentis [Vercingetorix] *necat, leviore de causa auribus desectis aut singulis effossis oculis domum remittit, ut sint*

reliquis documento et magnitudine poenae perterreant alios.

*B.G.*VII.20.9-10
[Vercingetorix] *Producit servos, quos in pabulatione paucis ante diebus exceperat et fame vinculisque excruciaverat.*
Hi iam ante edocti quae interrogati pronuntiarent, milites se esse legionarios dicunt;

*B.G.*VII.42.3.
Bona civium Romanorum diripiunt, caedes faciunt, in servitutem abstrahunt.

*B.G.*77.12.
Quid ergo mei [Critognatus] *consili est? Facere, quod nostri maiores nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi ac simili inopia subacti eorum corporibus qui aetate ad bellum inutiles videbantur vitam toleraverunt neque se hostibus tradiderunt.*

*B.G.*VII.89.5.
Vercingetorix redditur, arma projiciuntur,

Cicero
*Pro Font.*XIII.31.
Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum? Quam ob rem quali fide, quali pietate existimatis esse eos, qui etiam deos immortalis arbitrentur hominum scelere et sanguine facillime posse placari?

*De rep.*III.9.15.
Quam multi, ut Tauri in Axino, ut rex Aegypti Busiris, ut Galli, ut Poeni, homines immolare et pium et diis immortalibus gratissimum esse duxerunt!

*De Div.*I.15.26.
Nam quid ego hospitem nostrum, clarissimum atque optimum virum, Deiotarum regem, commemorem? Qui nihil umquam nisi auspicato gerit. Qui cum ex itinere quodam proposito et constituto revertisset, aquilae admonitus volatu, conclave illud, ubi erat mansurus, si ire perexisset, proxima nocte corruit.

*De Div.*I.50.113.
Nec vero umquam animus hominis naturaliter divinat, nisi cum ita solutis est et vacuus ut ei plane nihil sit cum corpore, quod aut vatibus contingit aut dormientibus..
….Sed quoniam dant aliquid, idque non parvum, vaticinationes cum somniis, nihil est quod cum his magnopere pugnemus, praesertim cum sint qui omnino nullam divinationem probent.

*De Div.*I.50.114.
Ergo et ei, quorum animi spretis corporibus evolant atque excurrunt illa profecto quae vaticinantes pronuntiant; multisque rebus inflammantur tales animi qui corporibus non inhaerent;….Credo etiam anhelitus quosdam fuisses terrarum quibus inflatae mentes oracla funderent.

*De Div.*I.51.115.
Viget enim animus in somnis liberque est sensibus omni ac impeditione curarum iacente et mortuo paene corpore. Qui quia vixit ab omni aeternitate versatusque est cum innumerabilibus animis, omnia, quae in natura rerum sunt, videt, si modo temperatis escis modicisque potionibus ita est affectus ut sopito corpore ipse vigilet. Haec somniantis est divinatio.

*De Div.*I.41.90.
Eaque divinitionum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est, si quidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt, e quibus ipse Divitiacum Aeduum hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi, qui et naturae rationem, quam φυσιολογίαν Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur et partim auguriis, partim coniectura, quae essent futura, dicebat.

Curtius Rufus
IV.3.23
Sacrum quoque, quod equidem dis minime cordi esse crediderim multis saeculis intermissum repetendi auctores quidam erant, ut ingenuus puer Saturno immolaretur.

Ennius
*Ann.*VII.Frag.221
Poeni suos soliti sacrificare puellos

Florus

I.ii.4.4.

Mox Ariovisto duce vovere de nostrorum militum praeda Marti suo torquem.

I.ii.4.5.

Viridomaro rege Romana arma Volcano promiserant.

I.iii.3.16-17.

Nec minor cum uxoribus eorum pugna quam cum ipsis fuit; cum obiectis undique plaustris atque carpentis altae desuper securibus contisque pugnarent.
Perinde speciosa mors earum fuit quam pugna. Nam cum missa ad Marium legatione libertatem ac sacerdotium non inpertrassent (nec fas erat), suffocatis elisisque passim infantibus suis aut mutuis concidere vulneribus aut vinculo e crinibus suis facto ab arboribus iugisque plaustrorum pependerunt.

I.iii.4.1, 2 and 3.

Post Macedonas, si dis placet, Thraces rebellant,...Nihil interim per id omne tempus residuum crudelitatis fuit in captivos saevientibus; litare diis sanguine humano, bibere in ossibus capitum...
Saevissimi omnium Thracum Scordisci fuere,

II.iiii.12.24-25.

Inde validissimas nationes Cheruscos Suebosque et Sicambros pariter adgressus est, qui viginti centurionibus in crucem actis hoc velut sacramento sumpserant bellum, adeo certa victoriae spe, ut praedam in anticessum pactione diviserint. Cherusci equos,
Suebi aurum et argentum, Sicambri captivos elegerant;

Jordanes

*Get.*V.

Adeo ergo fuere laudati Getae, ut dudum Martem, quem poctarum fallacia deum belli pronuntiat, apud eos fuisse dicant exortum. Unde et Virgilius

Gradivumque patrem Geticus, qui praesidet arvis.

Quem martem Gothi semper asperrima placavere cultura. Nam victimae eius mortes fuere captorum: opinantes bellorum praesulem aptius humani sanguinis effusione placandum.

Justin

*Epit.*XXIV.4.3.

Portio Illyricos sinus ducibus avibus – nam augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent – per strages barbarorum penetravit et in Pannonia consedit.

*Epit.*XXVI.2.2.

Quibus cognitis Galli, cum et ipsi se proelio pararent, in auspicia pugnae hostias caedunt, quarum extis cum magna caedes interitusque omnium praediceretur, non in timorem, sed in furorem versi sperantesque deorum minas expiari caede suorum posse, coniuges et liberos suos trucidant, auspicia belli a parricidio incipientes.

*Epit.*XXXII.3.9.

Tectosagi autem, cum in antiquam patriam Tolosam venissent conprehensique pestifera lue essent, non prius sanitatem reciperavere quam aruspicum responsis moniti aurum argentumque bellis sacrilegiisque quaesitum in Tolosensem lacum mergerent,

*Epit.*XLIII.5.5.

Dux consensu omnium Catumarandus regulus eligitur: qui cum magno exercitu lectissimorum virorum urbem [Massilia] *obsideret, per quietem minis torvae mulieris, quae se deam dicebat, exterritus ultro pacem cum Massiliensibus fecit, petitoque ut intrare urbem et deos eorum adorare liceret, cum in arcem Minervae venisset, conspecto in porticibus simulacro deae, quam per quietem videret, repente exclamat illam esse, quae se nocte exterruisset, illam, quae recedere ab obsidione iussisset.*

Lactantius.*Div.Inst.*I.21.4.

Galli Esum et Teutaten humano cruore placabant

'Lactantius Placidus'

*Comm. in Statii Theb.*X.793.

Lustralemne lustrare civitatem humana hostia Gallicus mos est. Nam aliquis de egentissimus proliciebatur praemiis, ut se ad hoc venderet. Qui anno toto publicis sumptibus alebatur purioribus cibis, denique certo et sollemni die per totam civitatem ductus ex urbe extra pomeria saxis occidebatur a populo.

Livy

V.39.1.

Et ipsi [the Gauls] *pavore defixi primum steterunt, velut ignari, quid accidisset; deinde insidias vereri; postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacervare.*

XXII.57.6.

Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro bovario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante histiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

XXIII.24.11-12.

Ibi Postumius omni vi ne caperetur dimicans occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo quod sanctissimum est apud eos intulere. Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro caelavere, idque sacrum vas iis erat quo sollemnibus libarent poculumque idem sacerdotibus esset ac templi antistibus.

XXXI.21.18.

Placentini captivi, ad duo milia liberorum capitum, redditi colonis.

XXXVIII.47.12.

Quotiens agri eorum vastati sint, quotiens praedae abactae, referant, cum vix redimendi captivos copia esset, et mactatas humanas hostias immolatosque liberos suos audirent…

XLI.18.3.

Captivos cum foeda laceratione [the Ligurians] *interficiunt; pecora in fanis trucidant verius passim quam rite sacrificant.*

Lucan

I.444-446.

Et quibus inmitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus
et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.

I.450-451

Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum, Druidae, positis repetistis ab armis.

III.405.

Omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbor.

Minucius Felix

Octavius.XXX.3-4.

Merito ei [Saturn] *in nonnullis Africae partibus a parentibus infantes immolbantur, blanditiis et osculo comprimente vagitum, ne flebilis hostia immolaretur. Tauris etiam Ponticis et Aegyptio Busiridi ritus fuit hospites immolare, et Mercurio Gallis humanas vel inhumanas victimas caedere, Romani Graecum et Graecam, Gallum et Gallam sacrificii viventes obruere hodieque ab ipsis Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur, et quod Saturni filio dignum est, mali et noxii hominis sanguine saginatur.*

Orosius

IV.6.3.

Sed cum inter cetera mala etiam pestilentia [Carthaginians] *laborarent, homocidiis pro remediis usi sunt: quippe homines ut victimas inmolabant aetatemque inpuberem, quae etiam hostium misericordiam provocaret, aris admovebant.*

V.16.6.

vestis discessa et proiecta est, equi ipsi gurgitibus inmersi, loricae virorum concisae, phalerae equorum disperditae

V.23.18.

raptis, cum poculo opus esset, humanorum capitum ossibus cruentis capillatisque adhuc ac per interiores cavernas male effuso cerebro oblitis utebantur

Ovid

Fasti.V.625-634

Fama vetus tunc, cum Saturna terra vocata est,
Talia fatidici dicta fuisse Iovis:
"falcifero litata seni duo corpora, gentes,
mittite, quae Tuscis excipiantur aquis:"
donec in haec venit Tirynthius arva, quotannis

tristia Leucadio sacra peracta modo;
illum stramineos in aquam misisse Quirites:
Herculis exemplo corpora falsa iaci.

*Met.*XIII.441-452.

hic subito, quantus, cum viveret, esse solebat,
exit humo late rupta similisque minanti
temporis illius vultum referebat Achilles,
quo ferus iniustum petiit Agamemnonia ferro
"*inmemores*" *que* "*mei disceditis*," *inquit* "*Achivi,*
obrutaque est mecum virtutis gratia nostrae!
ne facite! *utque meum non sit sine honore sepulcrum,*
placet Achilleos mactata Polyxena manes!"
dixit, et inmiti sociis parentibus umbrae,
rapta sinu matris, quam iam prope sola fovebat,
fortis et infelix et plus quam femina virgo
ducitur ad tumulum diroque fit hostia busto.

*Met.*XIII.454.

Admota est sensitque sibi fera sacra parari,

Pliny the Elder

*H.N.*XVI.249-251.

Non est omittenda in hac re et Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent Druidae – ita suos appellant magos – visco et arbore in qua gignatur, si modo sit robur, sacratius. Iam per se roborum eligunt lucos, nec ulla sacra sine earum fronde conficiunt, ut inde appellati quoque interpretatione Graeca possint Druidae videri; tum vero quidquid adgnascatur illis e caelo missum putant signumque esse electae ab ipso deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inventu et repertum magna religione petitur et ante omnia sexta luna, quae principia mensum annorumque his facit et saeculi post tricesimum annum, quia iam virium abunde habeat nec sit sui dimidia. Omnia sanantem appellant suo vacabulo. Sacrificio epulisque rite sub arbore conparatis duos admovent candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tum primum vinciantur. Sacerdos candida veste cultus arborem scandit, falce aurea demetit, candido id excipitur sago. Tum deinde victimas immolant precantes, suum donum deus prosperum faciat iis quibus dederit. Fecunditatem eo poto dari cuicumque

animalium sterili arbitrantur, contra venena esse omnia remedio. Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.

*H.N.*XXV.106.
Quidam non distingunt [the two types of sacred plants] *et unum omnino genus faciunt, quoniam utraque eosdem effectus habeat. Utraque sortiuntur Galli et praecinunt responsa, sed magi utique circa hanc insaniunt.*

*H.N.*XXVIII.12.
boario vero in foro Graecum Graecamque defossos aut aliarum gentium cum quibus tum res esset etiam nostra aetas vidit.

*H.N.*XXVIII.25.
in adorando dextram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circummagimus, quod in laevum fecisse Galliae religiosus credunt.

*H.N.*XXX.12-13.
DCLVII *demum anno urbis Cn. Cornelio Lentulo P. Licinio Crasso cos. senatus consultum factum est, ne homo immolaretur, palamque fit, in tempus illut sacra prdigiosa celebrata.*
Gallias utique possedit, et quidem ad nostram memoriam. Namque Tiberii Caesaris principatus sustulit druidas eorum et hoc genus vatum medicorumque. Sed quid ego haec commemorem in arte oceanum quoque transgressa et ad naturae inane pervecta? Britannia hodieque eam adtonita celebrat tantis caerimoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit..... nec satis aestimari potest quantum Romanis debeatur, qui sustulere monstra [the sacrificial rites], *in quibus hominem occidere reliosissimum erat.*

Pomponius Mela
De Situ Orbis III.2.18.
Gentes [of Gaul] *superbae, superstitiosae, aliquando etiam immanes adeo, ut hominem optimam et gratissimam diis victimam crederent. Manent vestigia feritatis iam abolitae, atque ut ab ultimis caedibus temperant, ita nihilominus, ubi devotos altaribus admovere, delibant.*

Servius

*ad Aen.*III.57.

Tractus est autem sermo ex more Gallorum. Nam Massilienses quotiens pestilentia laborant, unus se ex pauperibus offerebat alendus anno integro publicis <sumptibus> et purioribus cibis. Hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibus sacris circumducebatur per totam civitatem cum execrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala totius civitatis, et sic proiciebatur.

*ad Aen.*III.121.

Pulsum regnis cessisque paternis non dicit quare. Sed talis historia est: Idomeneus de semine Deucalionis natus, Cretensum rex, cum post eversum Troiam reverteretur, in tempestate devovit sacrificaturum se de re, quae ei primum occurrisset. Contigit, ut filius eius primus occurreret: quem cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset, ut alii vero, immolare voluisset et post orta esset pestilentia, a civibus pulsus regno Sallentinum Calabriae promunctorium teruit, iuxta quod condidit civitatem, ut et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos Lyctius Idomeneus. Relatio ergo provinciam ire non poterant.

*ad Aen.*XI.264.

Versosque penates Idomenei. Idomeneus rex Cretensium fuit: qui cum tempestate laborarent, vovit se sacrificaturum Neptuno de ea re quae ei primum occurrisset. Casu ei primus filius occirrit: quam cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset, ut alii, immolare vellet, ob crudelitatem regno a civibus pulsus est: unde est fama volat pulsum regnis cessisque paternis Idomenea ducem. Alii dicunt quod obscidens cuidam suum commendaverat regnum, qui per eius absentiam occupavit imperium et reversum pepulit.

Silius Italicus

*Pun.*V.652-653.

nec vos paeniteat, populares, fortibus umbris
hoc mactare caput:

*Pun.*IV.765-769.

mos fuit in populis, quos condidit advena Dido,
poscere caede deos veniam ac flagrantibus aris,
infandum dictu! Parvos imponere natos.
Urna reducebat miserandos annua casus,
sacra Thoanteae ritusque imitata Dianae.

Solinus

XXII.2-3.

Multis insulis nec ignogilibus circumdatur [Britannia]. *Quarum Hibernia ei proximat magnitudine, inhumana incolarum ritu aspero ..... Illic nullus anguis, avis rara, gens inhopita et bellicosa. Sanguine interemptorum hausto prius victores vultus suos oblinunt. Fas ac nefas eodem loco ducunt.*

Suetonius

*Iul.*54.2.

In Gallia fana templaque deum donis referta [Caesar] *expilavit*

*Calig.*XIV.2.

non defuerunt qui depugnatores se armis pro salute aegri quique capita sua titulo proposito voverent.

*Calig.*XXVII.2.

Alterum, qui se periturum ea de causa voverat, cunctantem pueris tradidit, verbenatum infulatumque votum reposcentes pe vicos agerent, quoad praecipitaretur ex aggere.

Tacitus

*Ann.*XIV.30.3.

cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibres consulere deos fas habetant

*Germ.*XII.1.

Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames caeno ac palude, iniecta insuper crate, mergunt.

*Germ.*XXXIX.1-2.

Vetustissimos nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes <eiusdem> nominis eiusdemque sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia.

*Germ.*XL.2.

Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. Est in

insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum; attingere uni sacerdoti concessum.

*Germ.*XL.5.
Mox vehiculum et vestis et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

Tertullian
*De Anim.*57.10.
Nam et Nasamonas propria oracula apud parentum sepulcra mansitando captare, ut Heraclides scribit vel Nymphodorus vel Herodotus, et Celtas apud virorum fortium busta/eadem de causa abnoctare, ut Nicander affirmat.

Apol. IX.2-3.
Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui eosdem sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbratricibus scelerum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriae nostrae, quae id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est.
Sed et nunc in occulto perseveratur hoc sacrum facinus.

*Apol.*IX.5
Maior aetas apud Gallos Mercurio prosecatur.

Valerius Maximus
I.4.2.
Deiotaro vero regi omnia fere auspicato gerenti salutaris aquilae conspectus fuit, qua visa abstinuit se ab eius tecti usu, quod nocte insequenti ruina solo aequatum est.

Vergil
*Aen.*XI.81-82.

vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris
inferias, caeso sparsurus sanguine flammas,

Commenta Scholia Bernensia ad Lucanum ad I.445.
Sanguine diro Teutates horrensque feris altare] *Mercurius lingua Gallorum Teutates dicitur, qui humano apud illos sanguine colebatur. Teutates Mercurius sic apud*

Gallos placatur: in plenum semicupium homo in caput demittitur, ut ibi suffocetur. Hesus Mars sic placatur: homo in arbore suspenditur, usque donec per cruorem membra digesserit. Taranis Ditis pater hoc modo aput eos placatur: in alveo ligneo aliqud homines cremantur. Item aliter exinde in aliis invenimus Teutates Mars sanguine diro placatur, sive quod proelia numinis eius instinctu administratur, sive quod Galli antea soliti ut aliis deis huic quoque homines immolare. Hesum Mercurium credunt, si quidem a mercatoribus colitur, et praesidem bellorum et caelestium deorum maximum Taranin Jovem adsuetum olim humanis placari capitibus, nunc vero gaudere pecorum.

Commenta Scholia Bernensia ad Lucanum ad I.451.
An quoniam glandibus comestis divinare fuerant consueti.

Adnotationes super Lucanum ad I.445
Teutates] *Mercurius sic dicitur, qui a Gallis homonibus caesis placatur.*

Esus] *Mars sic dictus a Gallis, qui hominum cruore placatur.*

Adnotationes super Lucanum ad I.446
Et Taranis] *ordo*: *et quibus placatur Taranis diro sanguine laetantur hic converti proelia. Taranis Juppiter dictus a Gallis, qui sanguine litatur humano.*

Glossae Lucani ad Lucanum X.334.
Massilienses dum frequenter tempestate laborarent, uno de plebe electo per annum cibis delicatis paverunt. Anno finito sumsit furcam in manum, et ductus est per singulaos vicos, et de qualibet domo familia cum execratione omnia mala illius anni sibi imposuit. Postea conscendit montem, unde cum furca precipitabatur. Ille quoque furcifer dicebatur.

Hebrew

*Exod.*12:5.

שֶׂה תָמִים זָכָר בֶּן־שָׁנָה יִהְיֶה לָכֶם מִן־הַכְּבָשִׂים וּמִן־הָעִזִּים תִּקָּחוּ׃

Deut.
15:21.

וְכִי־יִהְיֶה בּוֹ מוּם פִּסֵּחַ אוֹ עִוֵּר כֹּל מוּם רָע לֹא תִזְבָּחֶנּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ׃

17:1.

לְֹא־תִזְבַּח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שׁוֹר וָשֶׂה אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בוֹ מוּם כָּל דָּבָר רָע כִּי תוֹעֲבַת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ הוּא׃

Judg.

11:31.

וְהָיָה הַיּוֹצֵא[a] אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא[b] מִדַּלְתֵי בֵיתִי לִקְרָאתִי בְּשׁוּבִי בְשָׁלוֹם מִבְּנֵי עַמּוֹן וְהָיָה לַיהוָה
וְהַעֲלִיתִיהוּ עֹלָה׃

11:34.

וַיָּבֹא יִפְתָּח הַמִּצְפָּה אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ וְהִנֵּה בִתּוֹ יֹצֵאת לִקְרָאתוֹ בְּתֻפִּים וּבִמְחֹלוֹת וְרַק הִיא
יְחִידָה אֵין־לוֹ מִמֶּנּוּ בֵּן אוֹ־בַת׃

11:39.

וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ׀ שְׁנַיִם חֳדָשִׁים וַתָּשָׁב אֶל־אָבִיהָ וַיַּעַשׂ לָהּ אֶת־נִדְרוֹ אֲשֶׁר נָדָר וְהִיא לֹא־יָדְעָה
אִישׁ וַתְּהִי־חֹק בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל׃

2 Ki.

17:31.

וְהָעַוִּים עָשׂוּ נִבְחַז[a] וְאֶת־תַּרְתָּק וְהַסְפַרְוִים[b] שֹׂרְפִים אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם בָּאֵשׁ לְאַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ[c] וַעֲנַמֶּלֶךְ[d]
אֱלֹהֵי סְפַרְוָיִם[e]׃

21:6.

וְהֶעֱבִיר אֶת־בְּנוֹ בָּאֵשׁ וְעוֹנֵן וְנִחַשׁ[a] וְעָשָׂה אוֹב וְיִדְּעֹנִי[b] הִרְבָּה לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לְהַכְעִיס[c]׃

23:10.

וְטִמֵּא אֶת־הַתֹּפֶת[a] אֲשֶׁר בְּגֵי בְנֵי[b]־הִנֹּם לְבִלְתִּי[c] לְהַעֲבִיר[d] אִישׁ אֶת־בְּנוֹ וְאֶת־בִּתּוֹ בָּאֵשׁ לַמֹּלֶךְ[e]׃

*2 Chr.*28:3.

וְהוּא הִקְטִיר בְּגֵיא בֶן־ הִנֹּם וַיְבַעֵר[a] אֶת־בָּנָיו[b] בָּאֵשׁ כְּתֹעֲבוֹת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי
בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

*Ps.*106:37-38.

וַיִּזְבְּחוּ אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם ׀ וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֵיהֶם לַשֵּׁדִים׃
וַיִּשְׁפְּכוּ דָם נָקִי ׀ דַּם־בְּנֵיהֶם וּבְנוֹתֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר זָבְחוּ לַעֲצַבֵּי

Jer.

7:31.

וּבָנ֗וּ בָּמ֤וֹת[a] הַתֹּ֙פֶת[b] אֲשֶׁ֣ר בְּגֵ֣יא בֶן־הִנֹּ֔ם לִשְׂרֹ֥ף אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶ֖ם וְאֶת־בְּנֹתֵיהֶ֣ם בָּאֵ֑שׁ אֲשֶׁ֥ר לֹֽא־צִוִּ֖יתִי[c]
וְלֹ֥א עָלְתָ֖ה עַל־לִבִּֽי׃

19:4-5.

יַ֣עַן׀ אֲשֶׁ֣ר עֲזָב֗נִי וַיְנַכְּרוּ֙ אֶת־הַמָּק֣וֹם הַזֶּ֔ה וַיְקַטְּרוּ־בוֹ֙ לֵאלֹהִ֣ים אֲחֵרִ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֥ר לֹא־יָדָ֖עוּם הֵ֣מָּה
וַאֲבוֹתֵיהֶ֑ם וּמַלְכֵ֥י יְהוּדָ֖ה וּמָלְא֥וּ אֶת־הַמָּק֖וֹם הַזֶּ֣ה דָּ֔ם נְקִיִּֽם׃
וּבָנ֗וּ אֶת־בָּמ֤וֹת הַבַּעַל[a] לִשְׂרֹ֥ף אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶ֖ם בָּאֵ֑שׁ [b]עֹלוֹת֙ לַבַּ֣עַל[b] אֲשֶׁ֣ר[c] לֹא־צִוִּ֔יתִי׀ [d]וְלֹ֥א דִבַּ֖רְתִּי[d]
וְלֹ֥א עָלְתָ֖ה עַל־לִבִּֽי׃

32:35.

וַיִּבְנ֞וּ אֶת־בָּמ֤וֹת הַבַּעַל[a] אֲשֶׁ֣ר׀ בְּגֵ֣יא בֶן־הִנֹּ֗ם לְהַעֲבִ֛יר אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶ֥ם וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֵיהֶ֖ם לַמֹּלֶךְ[b]
אֲשֶׁ֣ר לֹא־צִוִּיתִ֑ים וְלֹ֥א עָלְתָ֖ה עַל־לִבִּ֛י לַעֲשׂ֥וֹת הַתּוֹעֵבָ֥ה הַזֹּ֖את לְהַחֲטִ֥יא[c] אֶת־יְהוּדָֽה׃

Ezk.

16:20-21.

וַתִּקְחִ֞י אֶת־בָּנַ֣יִךְ וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתַ֗יִךְ אֲשֶׁ֤ר יָלַ֙דְתְּ֙ לִ֔י[a] וַתִּזְבְּחִ֥ים לָהֶ֖ם לֶֽאֱכֹ֑ל[b] הַמִּעַ֥ט מִתַּזְנוּתָֽךְ[b]׃
וַתִּשְׁחֲטִ֣י אֶת־בָּנַ֔י[a] וַתִּתְּנִ֥ים בְּהַעֲבִיר֖[b] אוֹתָ֥ם לָהֶֽם[b]׃

20:31.

וּבְשָׂאֵ֣ת[a] מַתְּנֹתֵיכֶ֗ם בְּהַעֲבִ֤יר[b] בְּנֵיכֶם֙ בָּאֵ֔שׁ אַתֶּ֥ם נִטְמְאִ֖ים לְכָל־גִּלּוּלֵיכֶ֑ם עַד־הַיּ֥וֹם[b] וַאֲנִ֣י אִדָּרֵ֔שׁ
לָכֶ֖ם בֵּ֣ית יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל חַי־אָ֣נִי נְאֻם֙ אֲדֹנָ֣י[c] יֱהוִ֔ה אִם־אִדָּרֵ֖שׁ לָכֶֽם׃

23:37.

כִּ֣י נָאֲפ֔וּ וְדָ֖ם בִּידֵיהֶ֑ן וְאֶת־גִּלּוּלֵיהֶ֣ן נָאָ֔פוּ [a]וְגַ֣ם אֶת־[a]בְּנֵיהֶ֗ן אֲשֶׁ֤ר יָלְדוּ־לִי֙ הֶֽעֱבִ֣ירוּ לָהֶ֔ם[b] לְאָכְלָֽה[c]׃

23: 39.

וּבִשַּׁחֲטָ֤ם אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם֙ לְגִלּוּלֵיהֶ֔ם וַיָּבֹ֥אוּ אֶל־מִקְדָּשִׁ֖י [a]בַּיּ֣וֹם הַה֑וּא[a] לְחַלְּלֹ֣ו וְהִנֵּ֤ה[b]־ כֹּה֙ עָשׂ֣וּ בְּת֣וֹךְ בֵּיתִֽי׃

בֵּן יְכַבֵּד אָב[a] וְעֶבֶד[b] אֲדֹנָיו
וְאִם־אָב אָנִי אַיֵּה כְבוֹדִי
וְאִם־אֲדוֹנִים אָנִי[b] אַיֵּה מוֹרָאִי
אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת[b] לָכֶם הַכֹּהֲנִים בּוֹזֵי שְׁמִי
וַאֲמַרְתֶּם בְּמֶה בָזִינוּ אֶת־שְׁמֶךָ׃
מַגִּישִׁים עַל־מִזְבְּחִי לֶחֶם מְנֹאָל וַאֲמַרְתֶּם בְּמֶה גֵּאַלְנוּךָ בֶּאֱמָרְכֶם שֻׁלְחַן יְהוָה נִבְזֶה הוּא׃
וְכִי־תַגִּשׁוּן עִוֵּר לִזְבֹּחַ אֵין רָע
וְכִי תַגִּישׁוּ פִּסֵּחַ וְחֹלֶה אֵין רָע
הַקְרִיבֵהוּ נָא לְפֶחָתֶךָ הֲיִרְצְךָ[a] אוֹ הֲיִשָּׂא פָנֶיךָ[b] אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת[b]׃
וְעַתָּה חַלּוּ־נָא פְּנֵי־אֵל וְיָחְנֵנוּ ׀ מִיֶּדְכֶם הָיְתָה זֹּאת׀ הֲיִשָּׂא מִכֶּם פָּנִים
אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת׃
מִי גַם־בָּכֶם וְיִסְגֹּר דְּלָתַיִם וְלֹא־תָאִירוּ מִזְבְּחִי חִנָּם
אֵין־לִי חֵפֶץ בָּכֶם אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת וּמִנְחָה לֹא־אֶרְצֶה מִיֶּדְכֶם׃
כִּי מִמִּזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ וְעַד־מְבוֹאוֹ גָּדוֹל שְׁמִי בַּגּוֹיִם
וּבְכָל־מָקוֹם מֻקְטָר מֻגָּשׁ[a] לִשְׁמִי וּמִנְחָה[b] טְהוֹרָה
כִּי־גָדוֹל שְׁמִי בַּגּוֹיִם אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת[c]׃
וְאַתֶּם מְחַלְּלִים ׀ אוֹתוֹ בֶּאֱמָרְכֶם שֻׁלְחַן אֲדֹנָי מְגֹאָל הוּא וְנִיבוֹ נִבְזֶה אָכְלוֹ׃
וַאֲמַרְתֶּם הִנֵּה מַתְּלָאָה וְהִפַּחְתֶּם אוֹתוֹ[a] אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת[b]
וַהֲבֵאתֶם גָּזוּל[c] וְאֶת־הַפִּסֵּחַ וְאֶת־הַחוֹלָה[d] וַהֲבֵאתֶם אֶת־הַ[d]מִּנְחָה
הַאֶרְצֶה אוֹתָהּ מִיֶּדְכֶם אָמַר יְהוָה[c]׃
וְאָרוּר נוֹכֵל וְיֵשׁ בְּעֶדְרוֹ זָכָר וְנֹדֵר[a] וְזֹבֵחַ מָשְׁחָת
לַאדֹנָי[b] כִּי מֶלֶךְ גָּדוֹל אָנִי אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת[c] וּשְׁמִי נוֹרָא בַגּוֹיִם׃

Chapter Six
Headhunting

Greek

Arrian

IV.17.7.

῾Ως δὲ ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς᾽ Αλέξανδρος ἐν ὁρμῇ ὢν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐλαύνειν ἀποτεμόντες τοῦ Σπιταμένους τὴν κεφαλὴν παρὰ ᾽Αλέξανδρον [the Massagetaean Scythians] πέμπουσιν, ὡς ἀποτρέψοντες ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ.

Athenaeus

IV.154.

ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἐν θεάτρῳ λαβόντες ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον, οἱ δὲ οἵου κεραμίων ἀριθμόν τινα, καὶ πιστωσάμενοι τὴν δόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις φίλοις διαδωρησάμενοι ὕπτιοι ἐκταθέντες ἐπὶ θυρεῶν κεῖνται, καὶ παραστάς τις ξίφει τὸν λαιμὸν ἀποκόπτει.

Cassius Dio

XLIII.24.3-4.

καὶ ου πορτερον γε ἐπαύσατο ταραττόμενοι πρὶν τὸν Καίσαρα ἄφνω τε αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν καὶ κρατήσαντά τινα᾽ αὐτοχειρίᾳ πρὸς τιμωρίαν παραδοῦναι.

οὗτος μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἐδικαιώθη, ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἄνδρες ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Σίβυλλα ἔχρησεν, οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο λόγιον ἐγένετο), ἐν δ᾽ οὖν τῷ᾽ Αρείῳ πεδίῳ πρός τε τῶν ποντιφίκων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ ῾ ιερέως τοῦ ῾Αρεως ἐτύθησαν, καὶ αἵ γε κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βασίλειον ἀνετέθησαν.

Diodorus Siculus

V.29.4-5.

Τῶν δὲ πεσόντων πολεμίων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀφαιροῦντες περιάπτουσι τοῖς αὐχέσι τῶν ῾ ιππιών,.....καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα ταῖς οἰκίαις προσηλοῦσιν ὥσηερ οἱ ἐν κυνηγίοις τισὶ κεχειρωμένοι τὰ θηρία. Τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιφανεστάτων πολεμίων κεδρώσαντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπιμελῶς τηροῦσιν ἐν λάρνακι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύουσι σεμνυνόμενοι, διότι τῆσδε τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν προγόνων τις ἢ πατὴρ ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς

πολλὰ χρήματα διδόμενα οὐκἐλαβε. Φασὶ δέ τινας αὐτῶν καυχᾶσθαι, διότι χρυσὸν ἀντίσταθμον τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, βάρβαρόν τινα μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ πωλεῖν τὰ σύσσημα τῆς
ἀρετῆς εὐγενές, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν τὸ ὁμόφυλον τετελευτηκὸς θηριῶδες.

V.32.6.
τοὺς γὰρ κακούργους κατὰ πενταετηρίδα φυλάξαντες ἀνασκολοπίζουσι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μετ᾽ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἀπαρχῶν καθαγίζουσι, πυρὰς παμμεγέθεις κατασκευάζοντες. Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὡς ἱερείοις πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμάς. Τινὲς δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ληφθέντα ζῷα μετὰ τῶν ἀῃθρώπων ἀποκτείνουσιν ἢ κατακάουσιν ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις τιμωρίαις ἀφανίζουσι.

XIV.115.5.
οἱ γὰρ Κελτοὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν διετέλεσαν ἀποκόπτοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος·

Herodotus
IV.64.1-2.
ἐπεαὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἄνδρα καταβάλῃ ἀνὴρ Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπίνει, ὅσους δ᾽ ἂν φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλέι. ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς ληίης μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἂν λάβωσι, μὴ ἐνείκας δὲ οὔ.
ἀποδείρει δὲ αὐτην τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· περιταμὼν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσείει, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρῇ δέψει τῇσι χερσί, ὀργάσας δὲ αὐτὸ ἅτε χειρόμακτρον ἐκτηται, ἐκ τούτου ἐξαπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται· ὃς γὰρ ἂν πλεῖστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οὗτος κέκριται.

IV.65.1-2.
Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι νενόμισται, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλάς, οὔτι πάντων ἀλλὰ τω-ν ἐχθίστων, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποπρίας ἕκατος πᾶν τὸ ἔνερθε τῶν ὀφρύων ἐκκαθαίρει· καὶ ἢν μὲν ᾖ πένης, ὁ δὲ ἔσωθεν δὲ καταχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίῳ.

ποιεῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκηίων ἦν σφι διάφοροι γένωνται καὶ ἢν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλέι. ξείνων δέ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἂν λόγον ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει καὶ ἐπιλέγει ὡς οἱ ἐόντες οἰκήιοι πόλεμον προσεθήκαντο καὶ σφεων αὐτὸς ἐπεκράτησε, ταύτην ἀνδραγαθίην λέγοντες.

Josephus

*A.J.*XVIII.115.

ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ φέρων τὴν Ἀρέτα ἐπιχείρησιν, γράφει πρὸς Ὠιτέλλιον πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν, καὶ ἤτοι ζωὸν ἑλόντα ἀῃαγαγεῖν δεδεμένον, ἢ κτεινομένου πέμπειν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

Paradoxographer

No.46, 112.6

Οὗτοι [the Celts] περὶ πολέμου Βουλεύμενοι ταῖς γυναιχὶν ἀνακοινοῦνται, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν γνῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῦτο κρατεῖ.' Εαὰν δὲ ἡττηθῶσι πολεμοῦντες, τῶν γυναικῶν, αἳ συνεβουλεύσαντο πόλεμον ἄρασθαι, τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμόντες ἔξω ῥίπτουσι τῆς γῆς.

Pausanias

I.21.3.

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Νοτίου καλουμένου τείχους, ὁ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐς τὸ θέατρόν ἐστι τετραμμένον, ἐπὶ τούτου Μεδούσης τῆς Γοργόνος ἐπίχρυσος ἀνάκειται κεφαλή

Plutarch

*Vit.Crass.*XXV.12.

τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀποκόψαντες ἤλαυνον εὐθυς ἐπὶ τὸν κράσσον.

*Vit.Crass.*XXVI.4.

οἱ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ποπλίου κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ αἰχμῆς ἀναπεπηγυῖαν ἐγγὺς προσελάσαντες ἀνέδειξαν, ὕβρει πυνθανόμενοι τοκέας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος·

*Vit.Crass.*XXXI.6.

οἱ δ' οὔ φασιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, τοῦτον δε

κειμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαι καὶ τὴν δεξιάν.

*Vit.Crass.*XXXII.1.
Ὁ δὲ Σουρήνας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς Ὑρώδην ἐπεμψενεἰς Αρμενίαν,

*Vit.Crass.*XXXII.2.
ἐξήρτητο δὲ τῶν ῥάβδων βαλάντια καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πελέκεις πρόσφατοι κεφαλαὶ Ρωμαίων ἀποτετμεμέναι.

*Vit.Crass.*XXXIII.2.
Εὐδοκιμοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ Σιλλάκης ἐπιστὰς τῷ ἀνδρῶνι καὶ προσκυνήσας προὔβαλεν εἰς μέσον τοῦ Κράσσου τὴν κεφαλήν.

Polybius
II.28.10.
ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ συνέβη Γάιον μὲν τὸν ὕπατον παραβόλως ἀγωνιζόμενον ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπανενεχθῆναι τῶν Κελτῶν·

III.67.3.
καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν [the Gauls] ἀπέκτειναν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ κατετραυμάτισαν·τέλος δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμότες τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπεχώρουν πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους,

XXI.38.4-6.
ὡς διαβάντες οἱ Γαλάται τὸ χρυσίον ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ καὶ παρελάμβανον Χιομάρον, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ νεύματος προσέταξεν ἑνὶ παῖσαι τὸν ῾Ρωμαῖον σπαζόμενον αὐτὴν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενον,
ἐκείνου δὲ πεισθέντος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαντος, ἀραμένη καὶ περιστείλασα τοῖς κόλποις πήλαυνεν.
ὡς δ' ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ προύβαλεν,

Strabo
IV.4.5.
Πρόςεστι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ τὸ ἔκφυλον, ὃ τοῖς προςβόροις ἔθνεσι παρακολουθεῖ πλεῖστον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης

ἀπιόντας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐξάπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ἱππιων, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλεύειν [τὴν θέαν] τοῖς προπυλαίοις....Τὰς δὲ ἐνδόξων κεφαλὰς κεδροῦντες ἐπεδείκνυον τοῖς ξένοις καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἰσοστάσιον χρυσὸν ἀπολυτροῦν ἠξίου. Καὶ τούτων δ' ἔπαυσαν αὐτοὺς
Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν νομίμοις. Ἄνθρωπον γὰρ κατεσπεισμένον παίσαντες εἰς νῶτον μαχαίρᾳ ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. Ἔθυον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ δρυΐδῶν. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἴδη λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευόν τινας
καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον βοσκήματα καὶ θηρία παντοῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὡλοκαύτουν

XV.2.14.
γαμεῖ δ' οὐδεις, πρὶν ἄν πολεμίου κεφαλήν ἀποτεμὼν ἀηεῃέγκῃ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα· ὁ δὲ τὸ κρανίον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἀνατίθησι,

Latin

Ammianus Marcellinus

XXVII.4.4.

hostis captivorum Bellonae litantes et Marti, humanumque, sanguinem in ossibus capitum cavis bibentes avidius

Caesar

*B.G.*I.5.4.

Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnarant, receptos ad se [the Helvetii] *socios sibi adsciscunt.*

V.58.5-6.

Magna proponit [Labienus] *eis qui occiderint praemia; summittit cohortes equitibus subsidio. Comprobat hominis consilium fortuna, et cum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis vado deprehensus Indutiomarus interficitur, caputque eius refertur in castra:*

Curtius Rufus

IV.9.25.

Insignis eo die pugna equitum et praecipue Aristonis fuit; praefectum equitabus Persarum Satropaten directa in guttur hasta transfixit fugientemque per medios hostes consecutus, ex equo praecipitavit et obluctanti gladio caput dempsit. Quod relatum magna cum laude ante regis pedes posuit.

Florus

I.iii.4.2-3.

litare diis sanguine humano, bibere in ossibus capitum

Gellius

*N.A.*IX.13.17-18.

Dum se Gallus iterum eodem pacto constituere studet, Manlius iterum scuto scutum percutit atque de loco hominem iterum deiecit; eo pacto ei sub Gallicum gladium successit atque Hispanico pectus hausit; deinde continuo umerum dextrum eodem successu incidit neque recessit usquam, donec subvertit, ne Gallus impetum in ictu haberet.

Ubi eum evertit, caput praecidit, torquem detraxit eamque sanguinulentam sibi in collum inponit.

Justin

*Epit.*XXIV.5.6.

Ptolemaeus multis vulneribus saucius capitur; caput eius amputatum, et lancea fixum, tota acie ad terrorem hostium circumfertur.

*Epit.*XXIV.6.3-5.

Itaque cum victi Macedones intra muros urbium condidissent, victor Brennus nemine prohibente totius Macedoniae agros depraedatur.

Inde quasi terrena iam spolia sorderent, animum ad deorum inmortalium templa convertit, scurriliter iocatus locupletes deos largiri hominibus oportere.

Statim igitur Delphos iter vertit, praedam religioni, aurum offensae deorum inmortalium praeferens: quos nullis opibus egere, ut qui eas largiri hominibus soleant, affirmabat.

Livy

III.5.9.

Is [Titus Quinctius] *intentos in castra Romana Aequos legatique caput ferociter ostentates*

IV.19.5.

Tum exsangui detracta spolia caputque abscisum victor [A. Cornelius Cossus] *spiculo gerens terrore caesi regis* [Tolumnius] *hostes fundit.*

V.34.1, 4-5 and 8-9.

De transitu in italiam Gallorum haec accepimus:…..
Belloveso huad paulo laetiorem in Italiam viam di dabant.
Is quod eius ex populis abundabat, Bituriges, Arvernos, Senones, Haeduos, Ambarros, Carnutes, Aulercos excivit.
Ipsi per Taurinos saltus saltumque Duriae Alpes transcenderunt; fusisque acie Tuscis haud procul Ticino flumine, cum in quo consederant agrum Insubrium appellari audissent, cognominem Insubribus, pago Haedrorum, ibi omen sequentes loci condidere urbem; Mediolanum appellarunt.

VII.10.5-6.

armatum adornatumque adversus Gallum stolide laetum et – quoniam id quoque memoria dignum antiquis visum est – linguam etiam ab inrisu exserentem producunt. Recipiunt inde se ad stationem, et duo in medio armati spectaculi magis more quam lege belli destituuntur, nequaquam visu ac specie aestimantibus pares.

VII.10.11.

Iacentis inde corpus ab omni alia vexatione intactum uno torque spoliavit, quem respersum cruore collo circumdedit suo.

X.26.10-11.

Deletam quoque ibi legionem, ita ut nuntius non superesset, quidam auctores sunt, nec ante ad consules, qui iam haud procul a Clusio aberant, famam eius cladis perlatam quam in conspectu fuere Gallorum equites, pectoribus equorum suspensa gestantes capita et lanceis infixa ovantesque moris sui carmine.

XXIII.24.11-12.

Ibi Postumius omni vi ne caperetur dimicans occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque

praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo quod sanctissimum est apud eos intulere. Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro caelavere, idque sacrum vas iis erat quo sollemnibus libarent poculumque idem sacredotibus esset ac templi antistitibus.

XXIV.14.7.
Qui caput hostis rettulisset, eum se [Tiberius Gracchus] *extemplo liberum iussurum esse*;

XXVII.51.11.
C. Claudius consul cum in castra redisset, caput Hasdrubalis, quod servatum cum cura attulerat, proici ante hostium stationes,

XLII.60.2.
Postquam rediere in castra victores, omnes quidem laeti, ante alios Thracum insolens laetitia eminebat; cum cantu enim superfixa hastis capita hostium portantes redierunt.

Orosius
*Hist. ad Pag.*V.23.18.
raptis, cum poculo opus esset, humanorum capitum ossibus cruentis capillatisque adhuc ac per interiores cavernas male effuso cerebro oblitis utebantur

Silius Italicus
*Pun.*IV.213-215.

Demetit aversi Vosegus [a Gallic warrior] *tum colla, iubaque*
suspensam portans galeam atque inclusa preempti
ora viri, patrio divos clamore salutat.

*Pun.*V.652-653.

nec vos paeniteat, populares, fortibus umbris
hoc mactare caput:

*Pun.*XIII.482-483.

At Celtae vacui capitis circumdare gaudent
ossa, nefas, auro ac mensis ea pocula servant.

Tacitus

*Ann.*I.61.4.

simul truncis arborum antefixa ora

*Ann.*XIV.57. .

Sulla…..interficitur cum epulandi causa discumberet. Relatum caput eius inlusit Nero tamquam praematura canitie deforme.

*Ann.*XIV.59. .

talem eum [Plautus] *centurio trucidavit….caput interfecti relatum.*

*Ann.*XIV.64. .

additurque atrocior saevitia quod caput [Octavia's] *amputatum latumque in urbem Poppaea vidit.*

Valerius Maximus

VI.1.Ext.2

Exercitu et copiis Gallograecorum a Cn. Manlio consule in Olympo monte ex parte deletis ex parte captis, Orgiagontis reguli uxor mirae pulchritudinis a centurione, cui custodienda tradita erat, stuprum pati coacta, postquam ventum est in eum locum, in quem centurio misso nuntio necessarios mulieris pretium, quo eam redimerent, adferre iusserat, aurum expendente centurione et in eius pondus animo oculisque intento Gallograecis lingua gentis suae imperavit, ut eum occiderent. Interfecti deinde caput abscisum manibus retinens ad coniugem venit abiectoque ante pedes eius iniuriae et ultionis suae ordinem exposuit.

Velleius Paterculus

II.119.5

Vari corpus semiustum hostilis laceraverat feritas; caput eius abscisum latumque ad Maroboduum et ab eo missum ad Caesarem gentilici tamen tumuli sepultura honoratum est.

*B.Hisp.*XXXII.2.

Ex hostium armis scuta et pila pro vallo, pro caespite cadavera collocabantur, insuper abscisa in gladiorum mucrone capita hominum ordinata ad oppidum conversa universa, ut et viderent et vallo circumcluderentur adversarii.

Hebrew

*1 Sam.*18:27.



וַיָּקָם דָּוִד וַיֵּלֶךְ הוּא וַאֲנָשָׁיו וַיַּךְ בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים מָאתַיִם אִישׁ וַיָּבֵא דָוִד אֶת־עָרְלָתֵיהֶם וַיְמַלְאוּם
לַמֶּלֶךְ לְהִתְחַתֵּן בַּמֶּלֶךְ וַיִּתֶּן־לוֹ שָׁאוּל אֶת־מִיכַל בִּתּוֹ לְאִשָּׁה׃

Old Irish

Book of Leinster

568-570

Impádar Cú Chulaind friu *7* tópacht a cethri cinnu díb colléic *7* tuc cend cech fir díb ara beind do bennaib na gabla.

1243-1246

Luid iar sain in t-ara do saigid a thigerna, *7* cid lúath condránic in gilla, lúathiu conarnic Cú Chulaind *7* tópacht a chend de Órlab, & turcbais *7* tasbénais do feraib Hérend in cend.

1629-1632

Impá dún in carpat, a gillai, arís for cúlu dáig ar bíth tongu-sa na dé dá n-adraim, ní rag-sa ar cúl co brunni mbrátha co rucur cend na herre út lim I tasselbad, cend Con Culaind.

2171-2172

Bágais Follomain ná ragad ar cúlu co hEmain co brunni mbrátha *7* betha co mberad cend Ailella leis cosin mind óir boí úaso.

2527-2529

Imsóe Cú Chulaind friu-som 'no *7* eiscis a dá cend déc díb fá chétoir & sádis dá lia déc leó i talmain. Acus atbert cend cach fir díb bara lííc & atbert cend Ferchon Lonsig 'no bar[a] lííc.

4035-4041

And sein driuc[h]trais in Líath Macha ba Sualtaim & tánic reme fa urdreich na hEmna.Is and sain imsuí a scíath féin bar Sualtaim co tópacht bil a scéith féin a chend de Sualtaim. Luid in t-ech féin bar cúlu arís I nEmain *7* in scíath barsinn eoch *7* in cend barsin scíath. Agus rabert cend Sualtaim na briathra cétna: "Fir gondair, mná berdair, báe aegdair, a Ultu," bar cend Sualtaim

14300

Ba bes d'Ultaib ind inbaidsin ca*ch* curaid no marbdais ar galaib oenfir no gatta a n-inchind assa cendaib *7* commesctha ael airthib co ndenad liathriote cruade díb & in tan no bítis i n-immarbaig ro chomramaib dob*er*tis dóib co mbítis inna lamaib.

14310

Is *ed* dolluid*side* dar faidchi na hEmna *7* tri laechcind leis do Ultaib.

14315

Ca*ch* cath *7* ca*ch* irga no bíd do Chon*nachtaib* fri Ulto dobered Cet in n-inchind inna chriss dús in tetarthad écht n-amra d'Ultaib do marb*ad* di. Tain bo Culnee

Chapter Seven
The Celtic Afterlife

Greek

Aelian

*N.A.*X.22.

Βακκαῖοι.....τοὺς δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ τὸν βίου καταστρέψαντας καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἀρετῆς μετειληχόντας γυψὶ προβάλλουσιν, ‘ ιερὸν το ζὸν εἶναι πεπιστευκότες.

Diodorus Siculus

V.28.6.

’ Ενισχύει γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοις ὁ Πυθαγόπου λόγος, ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτους εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ δι’ ἐτῶν ὡρισμένων πάλιν βιοῦν εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσδυομένης. Διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐνίους ἐπιστολὰς γεγραμμένας τοῖς οἰκείοις τετελευτηκόσιν ἐμβαλλειν εἰς τὴν πυράν.

Diogenes Laertius

*Prooem.*6.

Καί φασι τοὺς μὲν Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καὶ Δρῦδας αἰνιγματωδώς ἀποφθεγγομένους φιλοσοφῆσαι, σεβεῖν θεοὺς καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶI καὶ ἀνδρεῖαν ἀσκεῖν

Homer

*Il.*XXIII.71-74.

θάπτε με ὅττι τάχιστα, πύλας ’ Ἀϊδαο περήσω.
τῆλέ με εἴργουσι ψυχαί, εἴδωλα καμόντων,
οὐδέ μέ πω μίσγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο ἐῶσιν,
ἀλλ’ αὖτως ἀλάλημαι ἀν’ εὐρυπυλὲς ’ Ἀϊδος δῶ.

*Il.*XXIII.161-177.

αὐταὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ’ἄκουσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αγαμέμνον,
αὐτίκα λαὸν μὲν σκέδασεν κατὰ νη-ας ἐΐσας,
κηδεμόνες δὲ παρ’ αὖθι μένον καὶ νήεον ὕλην,
ποίησαν δὲ πυρὴν ἑκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ.
πολλὰ δὲ ῾ ιφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἕλικας βοῦς

πρόσθε πυρῆς ἔδερον τε καὶ ἄμφεπον· ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντων
δημὸν ἐλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάθυμος Ἀχιλλεὺς
πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δρατὰ σώματα νήει.
ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας,
πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων· πίσυρας δ' ἐριαύχενας ἵππους
ἐσσυμένως ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ μεγάλα στεναχίζων.
ἐννέα τῷ γε ἄνακτι τραπεζῆες κύνες ἦσαν,
καὶ μὲν τῶν ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ δύο δειροτομήσας,
δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς
χαλκῷ δηϊόων· κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μήδετο ἔργα·
ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἦκε σιδήρεον, ὄφρα νέμοιτο.

*Od.*X.508-512.

ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἂν δὴ νηὶ δι' Ὠκεανοῖο περήσῃς,
ἔνθ' ἀκτή τε λάχεια καὶ ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης,
μακραί τ' αἴγειροι καὶ Ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι,
νῆα μὲν αὐτοῦ κέλσαι ἐπ' Ὠκεανῷ βαθυδίνῃ,
αὐτὸς δ' εἰς Αἴδεω ἰέναι δόμον εὐρώεντα.

*Od.*XXIV.11-14.

Παὰρ δ'' ισαν Ὠκεανοῦ τε καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην,
ἠδὲ παρ' Ἠελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων
ἤϊσαν· αἶψαν δ' Ἵκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαί, εἴδωλα καμόντων.

Pausanias

X.21.6-7.

Τότε δὲ ἐν ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες μετὰ τὴν μάχην τούς τε αὐτῶν ἔθαπτον καὶ ἐσκύλευον τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ Γαλάται δὲ οὔτε ὑπερ ἀναιρέσεως τω-ν νεκρω-ν ἐπεκηπυκεύοντο ἐποιοῦντο τε ἐπ' ἴσης γῆς σφᾶς τυχεῖν ἢ θηρία τε αὐτῶν ὀρνίθων.
ὀλιγώρως δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τῶν ἀπογινομένων ἔχειν τὰς ταφὰς δύο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὰ ἀναπείθοντα ἦν, πολεμίους τε ἄνδρας ἐκπλῆξαι καὶ ὅτι ἔστι τεθνεώτων οὐ δι' ἔθους οἶκτος αὐτοῖς.

Plutarch

*De Def. or.*18.

῾Ο δὲ Δημήτριος ἔφη τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν νήσων εἶναι πολλὰς ἐρήμους σποράδας, ὧν ἐνίας δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων ὀνομάζεσθαι. Πλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸς ῾ιτορίας καὶ θέας ἕνεκα πομπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἔγγιστα κειμένην τω-ν ἐρημων, ἔχουσαν οὐ πολλοὺς <τοὺς> ἐποικοῦντας ῾ιεροὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσύλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὄντας. ᾽Αφικομένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ νεωστὶ σύγχυσιν μεγάλην περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διοσημίας πολλὰς γενέσθαι καὶ πνεύματα καταρραγῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν πρηστῆρας. ᾽Επεὶ δ᾽ ἐλώφησε, λέγειν τοὺς νησιώτας, ὅτι τῶν κρεισσόνων τινὸς ἔκλειψις γέγονεν. "῾Ως γὰρ λύχνος ἀναπτόμενος" φάναι "δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔχει, σβεννύμενος δὲ πολλοῖς λυπηρός ἐστιν,

οὕτως αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχαὶ τὰς μὲν ἀναλάμψεις εὐμενεῖς καὶ ἀλύπους ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ σβέσεις αὐτων καὶ φθοραὶ πολλάκις μέν, ὡς νυνί, πνεύματα καὶ ζάλας τρέφουσι, πολλάκις δὲ λοιμικοῖς πάθεσι τὸν ἀέρα φαρμάττουσιν". ᾽Εκεῖ μέντοι μίαν εἶναι νῆσον, ἐν ᾗ τὸν Κρόνον καθεῖρχθαι φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βριάρεω καθεύδοντα· δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπνον μεμηχανῆσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δαίμονας ὀπαδοὺς καὶ θεράποντας.

Strabo

IV.4.4

῾Οταν δὲ φορὰ τούτων ᾖ, φορ ἀν καὶ τῆς χώρας νομίζουσιν ὑπάρχειν. Ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι [the Druids] καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς

<u>Latin</u>

Avienus

Ora Maritima.164-165.

.....post pelagia est insula
herbarum abundans adque Saturno sacra.

Caesar

*B.G.*VI.13.6-7.

si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima.

Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, his omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant, neque his petentibus ius redditur neque honos ullus communicatur.

B.G. VI.13.11-12.
Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata existimatur, et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscentur.

*B.G.*VI.14.5.
In primis hoc volunt persuadere non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant metu mortis neglecto.

*B.G.*VI.19.4.
Funera sunt….omniaque, quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funebribus confectis una cremabantur.

Catullus

V.5-6

nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
nox est perpetua una dormienda.

CI

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus
advenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias,
ut te postremo donarem munere mortis
et mutam nequiquam alloquerer cinerem,
quandoquidem fortuna mihi tete abstulit ipsum,
heu miser indigne frater adempte mihi.
Nunc tamen interea haec, prisco quae more parentum
tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferias,
accipe fraterno multum manatia fletu, atque in
perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale.

CVIII.5-6.

lingua execta avido sit data vulturio,

effosos oculos voret atro gutture corvus,

Lucan

I.447-449.

Vos quoque, qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
laudibus in longam vates dimittis aevum,
plurima securi fudistis carmina, bardi.

I.456-458.

regit idem spiritus artus
orbe alio ; longae, canitis si cognita, vitae
mors media est.

Pomponius Mela

De Situ Orbis III.2.19.

Unum ex his quae praecipiunt in vulgus effluxit, videlicet ut forent ad bella meliores, aeternas esse animas vitamque alteram ad manes. Itaque cum mortuis cremant ac defodiunt apta viventibus. Olim negotiorum ratio etiam et exactio crediti deferebatur ad inferos, erantque qui se in rogos suorumvelut una victuri libenter inmitterent.....

Silius Italicus

*Pun.*III.341-343.

His [Celts] *pugna cecidisse decus, corpusque cremari*
tale nefas: caelo credunt superisque referri,
impastus carpat si membra iacentia vultur.

Tertullian

*De Anim.*57.10.

Nam et Nasamonas propria oracula apud parentum sepulcra mansitando captare, ut Heraclides scribit vel Nymphodorus vel Herodotus, et Celtas apud virorum fortium busta/eadem de causa abnoctare, ut Nicander affirmat.

Valerius Maximus

II.6.10.

Vetus ille mos Gallorum occurrit, quos memoria proditum est pecunias mutuas, quae his apud inferos redderentur, dare, quia persuasum habuerint animas hominum inmortales esse.

Commenta Scholia Bernensia ad Lucanum. ad I.451.
Hi [Druids] *dicunt redire animas in alium ordem.....Driadae negant interire animas aut contagione inferorum adfici; qui cum defunctis equos servosque et multam suppellectilem conburant quibus uti possint, inde animosi in proelia exeunt nec vitae suae parcunt, tamquam eandem reperturi in alio naturae secessu.*

Commenta Scholia Bernensia ad Lucanum. ad I.454.
Manes esse non dicunt, sed animas in revolutione credunt posse constare

Adnotationes super Lucanum ad I.458.
Mors media est] *cum ab hoc orbe ad alium orbem transeunt.*

Appendix Three

The Presuppositions of Aniconism and Atectonism

Two presuppositions which have affected archaeological investigation of Celtic sacred sites[1] and which must be avoided are that, prior to the Roman conquest, Celtic religion was "essentially aniconic and atectonic"[2].

Aniconism

As Spence[3] says, this is a controversial subject. According to Lambrechts[4] it is a generally accepted fact that the Celts of the La Tène period did not know of anthropomorphic deities and "c'est un lieu commun de parler de l'*aniconisme* des Celtes"[5]. It has always been accepted that that Gallic sculpture was simple[6] and the Celts were incapable of reproducing their gods in the plastic arts[7], that Gallic cults "like those of Spain, were largely aniconic and anonymous"[8], that Gallic pre-Roman worship was largely aniconic[9], that the Celts had a "reluctance to construct images of deities"[10], that, prior to the Romans, images of Celtic deities were "relatively rare"[11] and that the concept of portraying deities in anthropomorphic form was imported from the Graeco-Roman world[12]. Vendryes[13] is undecided as to whether they were representations of the gods or simple symbols. Unfortunately, the meaning of the words 'aniconic' and 'aniconism' are inherently inaccurate and there are different interpretations of its meaning.

Lambrechts[14] points out that the word icon, ἐικών, the basis of the word 'aniconism', is not applied solely to living beings, but also to inanimate objects. Therefore, since, according to him, art is the process of reproducing the image of an object, animate or inanimate, the phrase "aniconic art" is more or less a nonsense.

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[1] **Webster 1995**:445.
[2] **Lewis**:4.
[3] **Spence**:83.
[4] **Lambrechts 1942**:53.
[5] **Lambrechts 1954**:9.
[6] **Green 1986a**:12.
[7] **Ferri**:26-27; **Jacobsthal 1934**:43-44.
[8] **Green 1987**:791.
[9] **Green 1989a**:1.
[10] **Green 1986a**:35.
[11] **Green 1996b**:28.
[12] **Jullian 1920**:21 and 21-28; **Benoît 1959**:117; **Wightman 1986**:549; **Green 1986a**:12, 35 and 36; **Green 1989a**:6; **Green 1992**: 196-7; **Green 1995b**:466; **Brunaux 1986**:51, 52 and 74; **Brunaux 1996**:51;**Green 1996a**:147; **Green 1996b**:28.
[13] **Vendryes 1948**:311.
[14] **Lambrechts 1954**:9.

Despite the fact that his conception of art is a rather restrictive one limited only to representational art[15] and that to call aniconic art a nonsense is an exaggeration, Lambrechts is right in saying that this strict interpretation of 'aniconism' cannot be applied to Celtic art because this would mean that Celtic religious art had no depiction of anything at all and this is certainly not true of Celtic art. There are many examples of zoomorphic art from all centuries[16]. Therefore, 'aniconism' cannot mean the absence of any representation of anything.

Jacobsthal states that Celtic art was aniconic[17] and zoomorphic[18], but, being at the westernmost end of the cultural belt stretching eastwards across Europe to Asia, it had no anthropomorphic art, since such art was absent from this cultural belt[19]. Although, as Lambrechts has shown, this is actually a contradiction, Lambrechts[20] points out that, while, for Jacobsthal, aniconism does not extend to the animal world,what Jacobsthal means by "aniconic" is that aniconic art does not reproduce anthropomorphism or the human form and that, "aniconic" is synonymous with "non-anthropomorphic". As Lambrechts[21] says, this is a new slant on the meaning of the word "aniconism".

Grenier, apparently accepting the reality of human forms in Celtic art[22], contends that, originally, the human form was a form of decoration[23] and that Celtic art before

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[15] Even if one excludes modern works, such as Jackson Pollock and some of the works of M C Escher, many examples of Celtic art and some art work displayed by Moorish artists in Spain, particularly at the Alhambra, who, due to the restrictions of Islam, were prohibited from using images of any living thing or even of anything at all, prove that intricate line designs and patterns and even, in the case of the Alhambra, the use of Arabic writing, can be classed as art.

[16] There is a clay flask from Matzhausen engraved with pairs of animals (**Megaw & Megaw**:pl.121 and 122) and the definite feline appearance of the handle on the flagon from Kleinspergle in Germany, which has been dated to the La Tène A period, mid or late 5th century BC (**Megaw & Megaw**:pl.47; **Laing & Laing**:pl.37). Dated to the same period comes a gold bracelet from Rodenbach, Germany, with the images of ibexes or rams (**Laing & Laing**:pl.41). A war helmet, dated to the 3rd century BC, from Çuimeşti in Romania, has a raven or a crest (**Green 1996a**:pl.71). Celtic art has examples of figurines in the shape of animals, such as the bronze figurines of animals or animal heads (**Dechelette**: 1307, fig.568), the horse figurines from the 5th to 4th centuries BC (**Green 1996a**:pl.97), a bronze bull from Wettenburg in Germany dated to the period from 2nd to 1st century BC (**Raftery, B. 1990**:19 and pl.93) and a stag figurine from Fellbach Schmiden, Germany dated to 123 BC (**Green 1996a**:pl.98).

[17] **Jacobsthal 1944**:161. Or anticonic to use his term.

[18] Presumably because of the abundant examples of zoomorphic celtic art.

[19] **Jacobsthal 1944**:162.

[20] **Lambrechts 1954**:10.

[21] **Lambrechts 1954**:10.

[22] **Lambrechts 1954**:12.

[23] **Grenier 1945**:274.

the Conquest was essentially decorative[24], which, Lambrechts[25] says, explains the disproportionate amount of decorated luxury items as opposed to sculptures. But, since Grenier[26] contrasts this to the concept of an actual image of a deity in human form, which, he believes, supposes a series of particular mental operations, this seems to indicate that Grenier accepts the idea that Celtic art was aniconic. This means that Grenier has another definition of aniconism; Celtic art was anthropomorphic, but the figures were only in a stylised and decorative form[27].

In fact, none of the arguments supporting the claim that Celtic religious art was non-anthropormorphic stands up to examination and the concept "has been increasingly challenged by archaeological evidence"[28]. The presupposition of aniconism, like the presuppostion of atectonism, owes its existence primarily to an unquestioning acceptance and reliance on Classical literary evidence, which supplies the evidence from which the idea has arisen and, until recently, to an almost complete lack of archaeological evidence. The arguments or explanations supporting aniconism can be placed in four categories. First, there is an argument, which is ostensibly based on the alleged religious attitudes of the Gauls, but is essentially derived from the philosophical attitudes of its exponents, then there are literary arguments, an archaeological argument, and an argument and a statement, which seem to be an attempt at a psychological approach.

Argument based on the alleged religious attitudes of the Gauls

The theory that Celtic religion was aniconic is derived from the idea that the Druids prohibited the depiction of the deities in human form[29]. It has been pointed out and even accepted by the original exponent of this idea that there is no text to support it[30]. Reinach[31] attempts to prove indirectly that the Celtic religion was aniconic.

Reinach, mentioning the lack of archaeological evidence for anthropomorphic images[32] and dismissing the literary references to images as mistaken identity or

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[24] **Grenier 1945**:282.
[25] **Lambrechts 1954**:1.1
[26] **Grenier 1945**:274.
[27] **Lambrechts 1954**:12.
[28] **Webster 1992**:154. Macbain (**Macbain**:155), one of the earliest opponents of this view, in 1907, holds that the Celts used statues, which were rough and unshapely and uninfluenced by Greek and Roman art.
[29] **de Vries 1961**:201-202.
[30] **Reinach 1892**:199; **MacCulloch 1911**:287 and 288; **Spence**:84.
[31] **Reinach 1892**:193-199.
[32] **Reinach 1892**:190.

referring to blocks of stone and wood[33], concludes that, at the time of the Roman Conquest, the Gauls still did not represent their deities in human form[34]. Using the report that the Germans did not represent their deities *in ullam humani oris speciem* (**Tac**.*Germ*.IX.1), Reinach states that the reason given by Tacitus for this repugnance for images indicates a religious interdiction[35] implying, on the basis of an analogy between the Germans and the Gauls, that the Gauls had no images in human form because of a religious interdiction. As will be seen later, there is now abundant archaeological evidence and Reinach's dismissal of the literary evidence is specious and driven by his desire to prove aniconism; consequently his conclusion is false. His interpretation of the reason given by Tacitus for the absence of humanlike images among the Germans is also driven by this desire; the German reluctance to depict deities in human form appears to be more of a general cultural attitude rather than a religious interdiction. Moreover, even if an interdiction was the only possible interpretation, this does not mean that it can be applied to the Gauls.

Reinach[36] states that a religious interdict could only make sense in a culture with a developed artistic skill and a people among whom there were abundant works of art, such as Gaul, and that only the Druids could have issued such a prohibition. However, while the latter could be true, in view of Caesar's reports of Druidic authority and influence, and the former may be true, neither, alone or together, prove that such an interdict existed.

In order to prove that the Druids were pre-Celtic, and possibly also that they were powerful enough to issue and enforce such an interdict, Reinach[37] states that the erection and construction of the megalithic monuments in Europe is comprehensible only with a hypothesis of religious aristocracy and resurrects the theory that the Druids were this religious aristocracy. Then, stating that societies, in which the invaders who establish political supremacy nearly always receive at least some of the indigenous religion into their own, particularly if they are polytheistic[38], Reinach[39] claims that the religion of the Druids was imposed on the Celts "dans une mesure que nous ne pouvons pas préciser". Reinach is thus implying that the interdict against anthropomorphic images is the indigenous teaching taken by the Celts. Firstly,

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[33] **Reinach 1892**:190-192.
[34] **Reinach 1892**:192.
[35] **Reinach 1892**:193.
[36] **Reinach 1892**:193.
[37] **Reinach 1892**:194.
[38] **Reinach 1892**:195.
[39] **Reinach 1892**:196.

Reinach resurrects a theory, which he himself calls "une théorie aujourd'hui assez discréditée", to prove that the Druids were pre-Celtic, which undermines his theory immediately. Secondly, Reinach's logic is faulty. It consists of the faulty syllogism: a religious aristocracy must have built the megalithic monuments; the Druids were a religious aristocracy; therefore the Druids built the megalithic monuments. Thirdly, how can one say that the prohibition of anthropomorphic images is the pre-Celtic teaching which the Celts inherit, when Reinach himself says that the pre-Celtic religion was imposed on the Celts in a measure which one is not able to define? Fourthly, the idea that the Druids were pre-Celtic is dependent on the belief that the invading dominant culture of the Celts would either replace their own priesthood with that of a subjugated people or would import the Druids into their culture because they had no priesthood or similar institution of their own, neither of which is credible. Finally, why is it even necessary for the Druids to be pre-Celtic and to separate 'druidism' from Celtic religion in order for the theory of a Druidic interdict to be acceptable?

The final, and most important, part of Reinach's argument is to attempt to prove that the Druids rejected anthropomorphic images of deities[40], which he claims to do by showing that they adhered to Pythagorean teaching[41]. The argument is as follows. Pythagorean doctrine prohibited or at least frowned upon the use of anthropomorphic statues[42]; the evidence for this is the statements that the application by Hesiod and Homer of the physical form of human beings to the gods was condemned by Pythagoras (**Diog.Laert.**VIII.21)[43] and that no member of the Pythagorean Order must have an engraving of a deity on his ring (**Diog.Laert.**VIII.33)[44], the report that Numa, the ancient king of Rome, forbade the Romans to use statues of deities in the form of men or animals and his laws are alleged to resemble the doctrine of Pythagoras (**Plut.***Numa.*VIII.7-8)[45] and the proposition that, if Pythagoras had been favourable to anthropomorphic statues, the discord between Numa and him would have been mentioned[46]. Secondly, many ancient writers report that the Druids taught Pythagoras[47] (**Diod.**V.28.6; **Val.Max.**II.6.10; **Hippol.***Haer.*I.2.17, 25.2; **Clem.Al.**

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[40] **Reinach 1892**:196.
[41] **Reinach 1892**:198.
[42] **Reinach 1892**:197.
[43] **Reinach 1892**:198.
[44] **Reinach 1892**:198.
[45] **Reinach 1892**:197.
[46] **Reinach 1892**:197.
[47] **Reinach 1892**:198. Kendrick (**Kendrick**:109) says that there is not the slightest reason to think he obtained the concept of metempsychosis from the Gauls and Spence (**Spence**:93) calls the idea fantasy.

*Strom.*I.15.70.1; **Amm. Marc.**XV.9.8; **Iambl.***De vita Pythag.*XXVIII.151); Reinach[48] himself dismisses the report as without value, but says that the assertion is based on the analogy between Pythagoreanism and 'druidism', which he calls a fact, and claims that this indicates that the Druids had a similar teaching to the Pythagoreans and, therefore, prohibited images of deities in human form. Although the use of mythical laws of a mythical Roman king is questionable, the statements of Diogenes Laertius support the contention that Pythagoras condemned anthropomorphism. However, there is no link between Pythagoreanism and the Druids. The alleged analogy between Pythagoreanism and the Druids is an illusion based on the superficial similarity between Pythagorean metempsychosis and the Celtic attitude towards death[49]. Even if one accepts the concept of a religious interdict and the pre-Celtic status of the Druids, with no link between Pythagorean doctrine and the Druids, the argument fails[50]. As de Vries[51] says, Reinach's proposition is "eine durchaus fadenscheinige Argumentation".

Additional arguments against Reinach's theory are that if, as archaeology shows, the British Celts had images, why would the iconoclast Druids in Gaul allow their students to go to Britain as Caesar claims (**Caes.***B.G.*VI.13.12)[52] and that the Gauls were polytheists, like the other Indo-European peoples, which means that they conceived of their deities as doing and willing beings and, from this, as having human-like characters[53]. Therefore, de Vries[54] is right in saying that "wir haben überhaupt keinen Anlaß zu vermuten, sie hätten sich der Vorstellung der Götter als persönlicher Wesen widersetzt". At the end of his argument Reinach admits that there is no actual text to support his claim and says that the discovery of such a text "serait un véritable trésor; mais je crois du moins en avoir trouvé la monnaie"[55]. Unfortunately, as has been shown, the coin is worthless[56].

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[48] **Reinach 1892**:198.
[49] **de Vries 1961**:202. See pages .
[50] **de Vries 1961**:202.
[51] **de Vries 1961**:202.
[52] **MacCulloch 1911**:288.
[53] **de Vries 1961**:202.
[54] **de Vries 1961**:202.
[55] **Reinach 1892**:199.
[56] Despite this, the idea of a Druidic prohibition on anthropomorphic images has been unquestioningly accepted by some (**Jullian 1909**:153; **Jacobsthal 1934**:43-44; **Brunaux 1986**:74), ultimately driven, as de Vries (**de Vries 1961**:198) points out, by ideas derived from the attitude of 'soft' cultural primitivism towards certain ancient cultures.

Literary argument

According to Diodorus Siculus, Brennus, the leader of the Celts sacking the temple at Delphi, laughed at the anthrpomorphic gods of the Greeks (**Diod**.XXII.9.4)[57]; this story has been accepted[58] as indicating that the Celts not only had no concept of conceiving their deities in human form, but even found the very concept ridiculous. A second literary reference, by Maximus of Tyre (AD 125-185), in which the Celts are reported as worshipping "Zeus" in the form of an oak-tree (**Maxim**.*Dialexeis*. VIII.8)[59], has been accepted as indicating that Celtic religious art was not only non-anthropomorphic, but was aniconic in its correct sense; MacCulloch[60] suggests that the oak was a trunk rather than a growing tree. However, neither of these arguments based on literature is secure.

As regards the story of Brennus, firstly, as Webster[61] points out, Brennus' reaction to the sight of anthropomorphic deities is ambiguous. Is he laughing at the very idea of men conceiving of deities in human form or at the idea of making images of them? More importantly, Webster states that it is a story with little historical value and doubtful historicity[62], the sack of Delphi being historically doubtful[63], that it arose probably from "Greek theories of barbarian antipathy to anthropomorphs" and was a "clearly fictionalised account"[64] and that it is a "set-piece of description by contrast" to imply the natural superiority of the Greeks[65]. Moreover, as will be seen with atectonism, it is a τόπος that the behaviour of barbarians is the opposite to that of civilised peoples; the reasoning would be that, since the Greeks are civilised and depict their gods in human form, the Celts, who are obviously barbarians, obviously would not. The argument based on the statement by Maximus of Tyre is also questionable. Firstly, while the worship of "Zeus" as an oak tree certainly seems to have been a vestige of animism, it does not mean that the Celts were incapable of conceiving of their deities in human form. The Greeks believed that Zeus spoke through the oak trees at Dodona, the oldest oracle in Greece and remarkably similar

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[57] Ὅτι Βρέννος ὁ τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς ναὸν ἐλθὼν ἀργυροῦν μὲν ἢ χρυσοῦν οὐδὲν εὗρεν ἀνάθημα, ἀγάλματα δὲ μόνον λίθινα καὶ ξύλινα καταλαβὼν κατεγέλασεν, ὅτι θεοὺς ἀνθρωπομόρφους εἶναι δοκοῦντες ἵστασαν αὐτοὺς ξυλίνους τε καὶ λιθίνους.

[58] **Green 1986a**:35; **Wightman 1986**:544.

[59] Κελτοὶ σέβουσιῃ μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρῦς.

[60] **MacCulloch 1911**:284.

[61] **Webster 1992**:554.

[62] **Webster 1992**:154 and 556.

[63] **Webster 1992**:553 and 556.

[64] **Webster 1992**:154.

[65] **Webster 1992**:556.

to the cult mentioned by Maximus, that Demeter and Persephone could be contacted at the cave of Eleusis and that Athena was represented by the olive tree on the Acropolis at Athens; yet none of these prevented the Greeks from conceiving of and portraying their deities in human shape. Macbain[66] contends that the oak mentioned by Maximus was an example of emblems, which the Celts used before they used statues.

Not only is there no literary support for aniconism, but, on the contrary, there is actually literary support for the idea of religious statuary in human form. Caesar states that *huius* [Mercury] *sunt plurima simulacra* (**Caes**.*B.G.*VI.17.1), an expression which has embarrassed the proponents of aniconism[67]. Since Caesar must have seen something, it must be asked of the proponents of aniconism what Caesar saw[68]; Reinach[69] argues that the menhirs in Gaul reminded Caesar of the *Hermae*, that he is using the word *simulacra* to refer to these and, therefore, that the word *simulacra* actually refers to pillars of stone, not statues in human form; Reinach feels the argument is supported by the fact that the word *simulacrum* does not always refer to a statue[70]. But Thévenot[71] says that the term is too clear to allow that explanation. MacCulloch[72] posits that perhaps Caesar meant "symbol" and was referring to boundary stones. Vendryes[73] is undecided as to whether they were representations of the gods or simple symbols. On the other side, de Vries and Webster point out that the word *simulacra* is used in the Graeco-Roman world to refer to images[74] and deities or images of deities and, therefore, the human figure[75] and, since Caesar does not qualify the word, the word would strongly suggest to his readership the idea of anthropomorphic images[76]. Moreover, the word *simulacra* was used by Caesar to describe the figures in which human sacrifices were burnt (**Caes**.*B.G.*VI.16.4); Webster[77] points out that, in view of the fact that Strabo, referring to the same constructions, uses the word κολοσσόν (**Strab**.IV.4.5), a term which is usually used for large statues, it is clear that Strabo interprets the *simulacrum* as being human in shape and this confirms the word *simulacrum* and, therefore, the *simulacra* of

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[66] **Macbain**:155.
[67] **Thévenot 1942**:107.
[68] **de Vries 1961**:198.
[69] **Reinach 1890**:224-225; **Reinach 1892**:190-191 and 192.
[70] **Reinach 1890**:297.
[71] **Thévenot 1946**:108.
[72] **MacCulloch 1911**:284, 285 and 333.
[73] **Vendryes 1948**:311.
[74] **de Vries 1961**: 199.
[75] **Webster 1992**:155 and 555.
[76] **de Vries 1961**: 199; **Webster 1992**:155 and 555.
[77] **Webster 1992**:155.

"Mercury" as being human in form. De Vries believes that Caesar definitely saw *simulacra* of Celtic deities and Powell states that one can deduce from Caesar's statement that some pre-Roman images were obviously anthropomorphic[78]. Caesar mentions only Mercury because either he considers him the most important deity to the Gauls and therefore the only one worth mentioning or he expects the reader to deduce that, if one deity has images, then the others do too.

Lucan mentions crude images of the Gallic gods (**Luc**.III.412-413)[79], but Reinach[80] argues that Lucan means nothing more than the trunks of trees and pillars of wood. But, as Thévenot[81] says, the term *simulacra* is too clear for this explanation. From Lucan's statement that people are less afraid of divine powers portrayed in familiar images (**Luc**.III.415-416)[82] Reinach contends that, if the *simulacra* were actually anthropomorphic, they would not have inspired such fear, implying that fear of this kind could only have arisen because the representations were certainly not anthropomorphic, and, focussing on the words *arte carent* as meaning "unworked", says that, if Caesar was referring to pillars of stone, Lucan wants to refer to pillars of wood. He feels that the report by Maximus of Tyre supports this. Webster[83] points out that not only are the images of the deities described as lacking artistry rather than lacking human form and, not as trees and trunks, but as formed from trees and trunks, but also the very fact that Lucan seems to contrast the Gallic images with Roman statues and imagery is "instructive". MacCulloch, de Vries and Piggott[84] feel that that such wooden statues may have been the *simulacra* seen by Caesar or his informants. Finally, Valerius Flaccus refers to some *simulacra* of Jupiter (**Val.Flac**. *Argonautica*. IX.9); this is glossed as *columnae*, probably due to acceptance of aniconism.

As Webster[85] says, taken together, the texts of Caesar, Strabo and Lucan suggest that the Gauls had human representations of their deities. In view of this the fact that the passage by Diodorus is contradicted by the reports of Caesar and Lucan and is supported by no other literary evidence further undermines its reliability and,

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[78] **de Vries 1961**: 202; **Powell 1980**:161.

[79]
simulacra maesta deorum
arte carent caesisque extant informia truncis.

[80] **Reinach 1892**:192.

[81] **Thévenot 1942**:107.

[82]
non volgatis sacrata figuris
numina sic metuunt.

[83] **Webster 1992**:155.

[84] **MacCulloch 1911**:290; **de Vries 1961**: 200; **Piggott 1968**:86.

[85] **Webster 1992**:555.

consequently, even if Diodorus' passage shows that at one time, possibly because the Gallic images were crude or artistically different from Graeco-Roman figures, Graeco-Roman authors believed that the Celts had no images of their deities, it is surprising that such weight is given to and such reliance is placed upon this report instead of the reports of Caesar, confirmed by Strabo, and Lucan[86]. Indeed, the strength of the argument based on Caesar and Lucan is seen by the fact that proponents of aniconism have had to change their theories. Jullian[87], faced with the passage of Caesar, not only accepts that, if an interdiction against images existed, it was no longer in force by the time of Caesar, but also, by saying "si cette interdiction a existé", concedes the possibility that the Druidic prohibition of images never existed[88]. Brunaux[89] accepts that the *simulacra* were representations of deities, but reconciles this with his aniconism by saying that the *simulacra* were highly stylised and were not symbols.

D'Arbois de Jubainville[90] states that a characteristic of Homeric deities is that they are anthropomorphic and are capable of having wives, children and sexual liaisons with human beings, that a person may be produced by a human and a deity and that these characteristics were common to Celtic deities, coming squarely in favour of the idea that Celtic gods were anthropomorphic. D'Arbois de Jubainville points to the existence of Greek names indicating divine parentage, such as Diogenes and Hermogenes, as well as a host of divine offspring in the Greek myths[91]. As regards Celtic proper names d'Arbois de Jubainville[92] gives five examples of these in literature and epigraphy[93]. The argument is, therefore, that, since the Greek names which indicated divine parentage were acceptable and did not contradict Greek religious attitudes because the Greeks held the concept that deities had human

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[86] **Webster 1992**:556.
[87] **Jullian 1909**:153.
[88] Caesar actually says that the *simulacra* of Mercury are most numerous, not, as Jullian (**Jullian 1909**:153) says, the *simulacra* of Teutates.
[89] **Brunaux 1986**:74.
[90] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1898a**:224.
[91] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1898a**:225-229.
[92] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1898a**:229-230.
[93] Camulogenus, meaning "son of Camulos", Camulos being the name of a deity who is equated with Mars among the Remi, the Viromandui and the Menapii, was the name of a Gallic general (**Caes**. *B.G.* VIII57.3). Virdumarus, the chief of the Insubres, claimed descent from the Rhine river (**Prop**.IV.10. 41). The names Esugenus (*CIL* XIII.4674), meaning "Son of Esus" (**D'Arbois de Jubainville 1898a**: 229; **MacCulloch 1911**:39; **Vendryes 1948**:263; **Duval 1954**:16) or "Born of Esus" (**Schmidt**: 211; **Olmsted 1994**:321), and Esumopas (*CIL* XIII.3199), meaning "Son of Esus" (**Schmidt**:211; **Olmsted 1994**:321), refer to descent from the Gallic god Esus (**Luc**.I.445). Three further inscriptions contain the name Totatigenus (*CIL* VI.2407), meaning "son of Totatis" or "of Toutatis", later forms of the Gallic god Teutates (**Luc**.I.444-445) (**D'Arbois de Jubainville 1898a**:230), and Taranucnus (*CIL* XII.6094, 6478), meaning son of Taranus (**Le Roux 1958a**:33), a form of Taranis (**Luc**.I.446).

form[94], Celtic proper names which refer to divine parentage must indicate that this concept was acceptable to the Celts and, therefore, that the Celts had the concept of anthropomorphic deities.

Finally, Rankin[95] points out that people, such as the Jews, who worshipped without any image of a deity recognisable to the Greeks and, therefore, probably with no physical characteristics, are described in Classical literature as ἄθεοι and yet the Celts were never described in this way. Indeed, Webster[96] suggests that the very absence of this term with reference to the Gauls seems to indicate that the Celts might have represented their deities in an anthropomorphic way. All these points refer to Classical literature; Irish vernacular literature confirms that the Celts conceived of anthropomorphic deities[97].

Archaeological argument

An argument in favour of aniconism is archaeological finds or, rather, the lack of them and the fact that, until recently, all the images of deities, which have been discovered, come from the Gallo-Roman period[98] or come from areas influenced by Rome. An example of this situation is the fact that, while cult images of Cernunnos prior to the Roman Conquest, are rare, with one from the 4th century BC and one from the 1st century BC[99], more than fifty representations of this deity have been found in the Roman period[100]. This appears to be a reasonable argument, but closer examination reveals its flaws.

First, the representation of severed human heads and masks, which had great sacred power and religious significance, undermine this idea[101]. Secondly, although pre-Roman Celtic stone iconography is rare[102], there are examples of pre-Roman stone sculpture, from between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC and from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC from areas unaffected by Graeco-Roman influence[103], as well as imagery in metal, primarily bronze[104], and there are many examples of such

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[94] **D'Arbois de Jubainville 1898a**:228-229.
[95] **Rankin**:260.
[96] **Webster 1992**:154.
[97] **MacCulloch 1911**:283; **de Vries 1961**:202; **Wait 1985**:187.
[98] Proposed by Reinach (**Reinach 1892**:190) and mentioned by Lambrechts, Thévenot and de Vries (**Lambrechts 1942**:54; **Thévenot 1942**:107; **de Vries 1961**:200).
[99] See pages .
[100] **Green 1993**:147.
[101] **Powell 1980**:161; **Ross 1986**:117-119.
[102] **Green 1986a**:10.
[103] **de Vries 1961**:201; **Powell 1980**:161; **Green 1995b**:466-467.
[104] **Green 1995b**:468.

anthropomorphic art[105]; according to Powell[106], the rarity of anthropomorphic representations in stone is due to the lack of craftsmanship necessary to work in stone, resulting in a small production of stone images, rather than to any aversion to images of deities in human form. Thirdly, while it is true that Gallo-Roman relief and statuary is based on Roman and Greek models, such as the representations of Mercury, Mars and Apollo and the use of the representation of the goddess Hygeia to depict Sirona, this does not actually prove that there were no Gallic anthropomorphic statues, merely that the Gallic artists preferred to use Graeco-Roman models, possibly to show loyalty, possibly because the Mediterranean versions were superior. It has been pointed out that, far from indicating that anthropomorphic representations of deities were non-existent in Gaul prior to the Conquest, the speed with which such Greek and Roman anthropomorphic models were accepted by the Gauls, in fact, indicates that they were fully acquainted with the concept of visualising and representing deities in human form and must already have had such images[107]; unless one believes that they adopted an alien concept without a thought. Thévenot[108] suggests that the Gauls were in the process of conceiving and of depicting their deities in human form at the time of the Conquest. Finally, the claim that the only images of deities come from the Gallo-Roman period does not take into account the fact that, although Thévenot[109] mentions clay as a material, the primary and most common medium for sculpture and iconography among the Celts, as it was for buildings, was wood[110], due to its availability, cheapness and ease of use, and,

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[105] There is the cult wagon of a goddess, worshippers and stags from Strettweg in Austria dated to the period from the 7th to the 6th century BC (**Laing & Laing**: pl.27**Green 1996a**:142) and from the 6th century BC comes the statue of a Hallstatt warrrior from Ditzingen-Hischlanden in Germany (**Green 1996a**:74, pl.47). The "Janus" pillar or figure from Holzgerlingen dates from the 6th or 5th century BC (*Early Celtic Art*:14, pl.67; **Megaw & Megaw**:pl.84; **Laing & Laing**: pl.67). Dated to the 5th century BC are the stylised human face on a flagon from Dürrnberg in Austria, second half of the La Tène (**Megaw & Megaw**:pl.86; **Laing & Laing**: pl.42), bronze harness with faces from Hořovičky in the Czech Republic, late La Tène (**Megaw & Megaw**:pl.75; **Green 1996**:110 and pl. 79). The 4th century produced, from Hallstatt in Austria, a scabbard on which there are pictures of infantry and cavalry, La Tène A (**Megaw & Megaw**:pl.92; **Green 1996a**:130, pl.65) and men holding a wheel (**Megaw & Megaw**:pl.VII), a bronze and iron plaque from Weisskirchen in Germany on which there are human faces (**Laing & Laing**:pl.38),a human head with part of a neck ring from Mâcon, France, La Tène A/B1 (**Megaw & Megaw**:pl.135) and a flagon with a human head on the handle from Waldalgesheim in Germany, La Tène A/Early La Tène B1 (**Megaw & Megaw**: pl.45; **Laing & Laing**:pl.48). There are human figures on a dagger handle dated to the 1st century BC from Tesson in France (**Green 1996a**:pl.67). Green (**Green 1996a**:147) says that one can assume that the images on the Gundestrup cauldron and other pre-Roman images represent deities.

[106] **Powell 1980**:161.

[107] **MacCulloch 1911**:285 and 288; **de Vries 1961**:203; **Wait 1985**:187.

[108] **Thévenot 1942**:107.

[109] **Thévenot 1942**:108.

[110] **MacCulloch 1911**:288; **Lambrechts 1954**:11; **Powell 1980**:161; **Ross 1986**:117.

therefore, that most of the known examples of figures are not made of a lasting material[111].

The only materials mentioned in the ethnographies are twigs (**Caes.***B.G.* VI.16.4), straw and wood (**Strab.**IV.4.5)[112]; although Webster[113] points out that the purpose for which the material was used dictated the use of flammable material and that the texts seem to suggest that representations of deities must be made of impermanent material, Lucan says that the images, which were certainly not intended to be burnt, were wooden. These materials, unlike the primary Graeco-Roman media of stone and bronze, are perishable[114] and either leave no trace or survive only in the right, usually accidental[115], conditions[116] and that this occurs exceptionally[117]. One should not have been surprised that no trace of such idols has been found, since the material has not been preserved[118] and this explains their absence[119] rather than the explanation mentioned by Lambrechts[120]. However, archaeology, with anthropomorphic statuary, possibly of deities, continuing to be found[121], has increasingly challenged the concept of aniconism[122] and has revealed that "images of Celtic divinities were...present in small numbers in the last few centuries before Christ"[123], all made of wood[124], indicating that stone was not the only medium of sculpture for the Celts before the Romans[125].

Anthropomorphic representations of Celtic deities are now known in wood[126] and the

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[111] **Webster 1992**:156.
[112] **Webster 1992**:156.
[113] **Webster 1992**:156.
[114] **Thévenot 1942**:108.
[115] **Green 1989a**:8.
[116] **MacCulloch 1911**:288; **Lambrechts 1954**:11; **de Vries 1961**:200; **Green 1995b**:470; **Wait 1985**:187.
[117] **Piggott 1968**:84; **Wightman 1985**:178.
[118] **Lambrechts 1942**:55.
[119] **MacCulloch 1911**:285.
[120] **Lambrechts 1954**:11.
[121] **Powell 1980**:161. Two examples of wooden figures, dated to the 1st century BC on stylistic grounds, one from Dagenham in England (*Early Celtic Art*:16, pl.81) and the other from Ralaghan in Ireland (*Early Celtic Art*:17, pl.83), each have a hole for the insertion of a separate penis, which indicates they probably represented a fertility deity; it is pointed out in connection with the second one that "as an Irish find, beyond the Imperial frontiers, it is unlikely to have derived its naturalistic qualities from Roman sources" (*Early Celtic Art*:17, pl.83).
[122] **Webster 1992**:154 and 155.
[123] **Green 1995b**:466.
[124] **Green 1995b**:470.
[125] **Green 1986a**:13-14.
[126] **Wait 1985**:187.

evidence suggests that the Celts had many various images and idols[127]. It is accepted that there had been many wooden statues, which have been lost[128], and that pre-Roman Celtic religious sculpture in wood may have been far more abundant than was once thought[129]. Green says "there is no doubt that images of gods were made in wood"[130], points out that those very few figures, and by very few she means in comparison with stone figures, which have survived indicate that wooden images of deities may have been common since the 7th century BC[131] and that the wooden images "suggest a wealth of iconography which has not survived"[132]. Laing and Laing[133] believe that "many depictions of the human face or form are the images of gods or supernatural beings" and this may apply to 27 statues depicting entire human figures, which form part of the 190 carved wooden figurines discovered at the springs of the river Seine[134]. It has been shown that the date the figures were deposited was in the middle of the 1st century AD, since the ceramic material associated with the figures has been dated to the period of Tiberius and Claudius[135]; but this actually only proves that the offerings were only deposited at that time and merely *suggests* that this is the date of the figures. It is perfectly possible that they could have been made earlier and "they must themselves be earlier in date"[136]. The fact that such a large number of wooden artefacts, large in view of the fact that wood needs exceptional circumstances to survive, has indeed survived indicates that great quantities must have been produced[137]. The Irish had images and many objects similar to idols have been found in Ireland[138]. Faced with archaeological evidence Brunaux[139] has had to concede that representation did develop, possibly at the great sanctuaries such as Gournay-sur-Aronde, and posits that such representation was necessary because the deities had to attend these sanctuaries. This contradicts his statement that the Gallic deities lived away from the Gauls and did not attend cult ceremonies[140].

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[127] **Ross 1986**:117.
[128] **Wightman 1985**:178.
[129] **Piggott 1968**:85.
[130] **Green 1995b**:470.
[131] **Green 1995b**:470; **Green 1996b**:28.
[132] **Green 1989a**:8.
[133] **Laing & Laing**:74.
[134] **Martin**:8.
[135] **Martin**:34-35.
[136] *Early Celtic Art*:14.
[137] **Ross 1986**:117.
[138] **MacCulloch 1911**:287; **Spence**:85-86.
[139] **Brunaux 1986**:74.
[140] **Brunaux 1986**:67.

Psychological approach

The two attempts at a psychological approach to support aniconism are provided by Jullian and Le Roux and Guyonvarc'h[141]. Jullian states that a serious obstacle to idolatry must have existed in Gaul and that this obstacle must have been the Druids, who, if they did not proscribe the practice, discouraged it. Le Roux and Guyonvarc'h state that "l'anthropomorphisme n'est un fait religieux normal" and is a deviation the cause of which is Graeco-Roman thought. Both can be seen to be inadequate.

The first flaw in Jullian's argument is that it is based on the presupposition, derived from literature and the lack of archaeological evidence at that time, that aniconism existed and consequently does not attempt to provide any evidence for it. However, Jullian goes on to make a statement, which, even if the case for aniconism had been proved, is remarkable. According to Jullian, a clergy does not have a very great interest in a person knowing the gods too well and on the day that a Gaul produces a figure of them, presumably Jullian means of a deity, and lodges them at his home, he would no longer need to request his priest to intercede on his behalf, because the prestige of the Druids was dependent on the fact that they alone were supposed to know that which was divine. The principal argument against this is the fact that the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the Russian Orthodox and the Greek Orthodox, tolerate and, indeed, encourage the use and production of religious images and figures and their use in religious activities, principally intercessory, by those outside the priestly class. Yet this has in no way reduced the authority of the priesthood of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches, since the priesthood still has a monopoly over the more important religious activities, the sacraments, just as the Druids controlled the most important religious elements, the sacrifices and the selection of victims[142]. Jullian's proposition is all the more remarkable since he comes from a country, in which the majority of the population is ostensibly Roman Catholic.

As regards the statement by Le Roux and Guyonvarc'h, the first flaw with this statement is that, like that of Jullian's, it also suffers from the fact that it is based on the idea that Gallic religion was aniconic, even though that idea is an unsupported presupposition. The other flaws are equally clear. The statement that anthropomorphism is an unnatural religious concept is not only contrary to Social-Anthropological evidence, but, even if one were to grant that the Celts acquired the

[141] **Jullian 1909**:153; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:91.
[142] See page .

concept from the Greeks and the Romans, if it is such an unnatural concept, where did the Greeks and Romans acquire it?

These facts and arguments counter the claim that human representation was repugnant to the Gauls[143], show that Celtic religious art was, far from being aniconic, quite the reverse[144] and that the Celts had their full share of the worship of anthropomorphic idols[145] and prove that the idea that Celtic art was aniconic is now a modern myth[146].

Atectonism

Jullian states that, at the time of Caesar, the general rule was that there was no building of temples to a deity and that worship was in sacred places, forests, especially those of oak, containing clearings or groves[147] and that closed and covered sanctuaries remained exceptional even at the time of Caesar[148]; according to Jullian[149], the holy places and woods set aside were carefully demarcated according to a mysterious surveying principle and they were temples only in the primitive sense, similar to the original meaning of the Latin *templum*. Jullian says that the majority of consecrated places were simply open spaces limited by ritual[150]. Cunliffe[151] thinks it best to consider the temples of Entremont and Roquepertuse as a regional form.

This belief has been accepted and reproduced by some[152] and, to a degree, by others[153]. However, not only does Powell reveal that archaeology has not discovered anything like a sacred grove[154], but also, by 1948, even before the discovery of the great sanctuaries of Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont-sur-Ancre, MacCulloch alters his opinion and believes that there were temples as well as groves[155], granting

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[143] **Powell 1980**:161.
[144] **Ross 1986**:117.
[145] **Ross 1986**:119.
[146] **Webster 1992**:154.
[147] **Jullian**:155-156.
[148] **Jullian**:157.
[149] **Jullian**:157.
[150] *Cam.Med.Hist.* Vol.II:460-461.
[151] **Cunliffe 1997**:202.
[152] **MacCulloch 1911**:279, 280 and 281-282; **Kendrick**:146, 147, 148 and 151-193; **Spence**:118, 126 and 128; **MacCulloch 1948**:63; **Vendryes 1948**:309; **Benoît 1959**:177; **Lewis**:4; **Piggott 1968**:55 and 58; **Powell**:166; **Henig 1984**:17 and 18; **Webster 1986**:107; **Green 1986a**:17-18 and 19-22; **Woodward**:51; **King, A. 1990**:133; **Green 1993**:67; **Green 1996c**:25; **Brunaux 1996**:39-40.
[153] **Macbain**:150 and 151; **Thévenot 1946**:108.
[154] **Powell**:167.
[155] **MacCulloch 1948**:64.

that the *loci consecrati* mentioned by Caesar (**Caes**.*B.G.*VI.13.10; 17.4)[156] may have been temples of a simple kind[157] and that, although there are few references to temples in pre-Roman times, they show they existed, probably of wood rather than stone[158].

The general acceptance of this presupposition can be seen in the translation of a passage (**Dio**.LXII.7.3) in the Loeb Library Edition of Dio by E. Cary, dated 1955. The first part, ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις σφῶν ἱεροῖς , is translated "in all their other sacred places", but the second part, καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀνδάτης μάλιστα, is translated as "but particularly in the grove of Andate", although there is no word in the text for "grove" and the τῷ must refer to τοῖς ἱεροις and should be translated as "in the sacred place of Andate". Yet, even though the only basis one has for translating ἐν τῷ as "in the grove" is if one already believes it means that, Henig, Green, Brunaux and even Webster[159], who does not accept the presupposition of atectonism, accept this translation as literary evidence for sacred groves in Roman Britain.

The presupposition is alleged to be supported on three bases: literary references, which supply positive arguments and a negative one; etymology, which appears to supply only a positive argument; and archaeology, which allegedly provides a negative argument. Finally, any weaknesses in the arguments are apparently overlooked due to an attitude to Celtic and Druidic worship, which seems to view them in an idealised fashion. Each argument will be examined and it will be seen that each is essentially flawed and provides no support for the concept.

<u>The literary argument</u>

The literary support for the presupposition is alleged to lie both in a Greek author, Strabo (**Strab**.III.1.4, III.4.16. and IV.1.13)[160], and, principally, in the Latin authors Pomponius Mela, Lucan, Tacitus and Pliny the Elder (**Luc**.I.453-454, III.339-425;

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[156] *Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato* (**Caes**.*B.G.*VI.13.10) and *Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos cumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet* (**Caes**.*B.G.*VI.17.4).

[157] **MacCulloch 1948**:63.

[158] **MacCulloch 1948**:64.

[159] **Henig 1984**:18; **Green 1986a**:21; **Brunaux 2004**:90; **Webster 1992**:166.

[160] (**Strab**.III.1.4), Ἔνιοι δὲ τοὺς Καλλαϊκοὺς ἀθέους φασί, τοὺς δὲ Κελτίβηρας καὶ τοὺς προσβόρρους τῶν ὁμόρων αὐτοῖς ἀνωνύμῳ τινὶ θεῷ ταῖς πανσελήνοις νύκτωρ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, πανοικίους τε χορεύειν καὶ παννυχίζειν (**Strab**.III.4.16) and Ἐντεῦθεν μὲν οὖν ἡ παραλία παρατείνει μέχρι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Πυρηναίας Ἀφροδίτης· καὶ τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὄριον ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρικῆς (**Strab**.IV.1.13) .

Pliny.*H.N.* XVI.103-4 and 250; and **Tac**.*Ann*.XIV.30.3)[161], who associate woods, groves and such natural sites with Druids. It is claimed that Strabo provides evidence of the use of natural sites in his references to a description by Artemidorus at the beginning of the 1st century BC of an open-air ritual in western Spain (**Strab**.III.1.4), in which Artemidorus explicitly refers to the absence of structures, to the fact that the Celtiberians worshipped a nameless deity outside their houses (**Strab**.III.4.16) and, particularly relevant, to the practice of the Celtic tribe the Tectosages of leaving booty ἐν σηκοῖς (**Strab**.IV.1.13). Pomponius Mela says that Druids used to teach the noblest people secretly *in specu aut in abditis saltibus* (**Pomponius**.III.2.18). Tacitus in his description of the conquest of the island of *Mona* [Anglesey] by the Romans, mentions the destruction of *luci saevis superstitionibus sacri*, groves which were obviously cult places because in them there were altars (**Tac**.*Ann*.XIV.30.3). Pliny the Elder describes the sacrifice of two bulls *sub arbore* (**Pliny**.*N.H.*XVI.250). But the cornerstone of the presupposition and the most frequently mentioned references are the statement in one context, that is the description of Gallic human sacrifices, that the Druids inhabit *nemora alta remotis…lucis* (**Luc**.I.453-454)[162] and, in particular, in another context, the destruction of a sacred grove (**Luc**.III.399-425)[163], which Powell says is the only example of a description of a sacred grove in Classical literature[164]. The Commentaries on Lucan by the Berne Scholiasts reinforce this image by claiming that the Druids *sine templis colebant deos in silvis* and *semotos lucos incolant* (*Commenta Scholia Bernensia ad Lucanum* ad I.451).

However, the support these literary references provide is questionable. Firstly, not only were the descriptions deliberately spectacular, but the "ancient portrayal is, of course, shot through with prejudice, and is probably a literary conceit"[165], no doubt intended to shock and revolt, as Henig himself seems to accept when he says that the description of the grove in Lucan (**Luc**.III.399-425) attests to "the rough and unwholesome aspect of native religion seen by an outsider" [166]. Secondly, these passages may also display Classical ethnocentrism in that the Classical authors seemed to think that, because the Gauls were less civilised, they were closer to nature

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[161] (**Luc**.I.453-454), (**Luc**.III.339-425), (**Pliny**.*H.N.*XVI.103-4), *Sacrificio epulisque rite sub arbore conparatis* (**Pliny**.*H.N.* XVI.250) and *Praesidium posthac inpositum victis excisique luci saevis superstitio nibus sacri*: (**Tac**.*Ann*.XIV.30.3).
[162] **MacCulloch 1911**:282; **Kendrick**:147; **Spence**:118.
[163] **MacCulloch 1911**:282; **Kendrick**:147; **MacCulloch 1948**:63; **Powell**:167; **Henig 1984**:18; **Wait 1985**:155; **Green 1986a**:21; **Webster 1992**:166; **Woodward**:51; **Green 1993**:67; **Cunliffe 1997**:198.
[164] **Powell**:167.
[165] **King**: 222.
[166] **Henig 1984**:18.

and so simplicity and naturalness in worship were expected and assumed. Perhaps this was influenced by the fact that the worship of divine beings in groves (**Verg**.*Aen*.VIII.352 and 597) and trees (**Pliny**.*H.N*.XII.3) was deeply rooted in Roman religion[167]. In addition, not only could the association of druids with woodland groves be based on false etymology[168] (**Pliny**.*H.N*.XVI.249), but, even if the druids did use such natural, and secret, *loci*, this may have been forced on them by the persecution under Claudius[169] and again does not prove that such sites were used before the 1st Century AD. Finally, Wait[170] points out that all these references, except Strabo's, are dated to the 1st century AD, a point ignored by advocates of natural sites[171], and the Berne Scholiasts are even later, dated to between the 4th and the 9th centuries AD. Indeed, Webster[172] states categorically that the assumption about sacred groves is not based on texts before the 1st century AD, because there are no such references. Not only do these references from the 1st century AD onwards give no indication of the practices prior to that century, but, by the 1st century AD, Roman control was complete and some legislation had been introduced restricting Celtic practices and Druidic rituals. Webster[173] suggests that it is possible that the Imperial proscription of the Druids may have forced the use of secluded locations for worship; indeed, Lucan may be referring to this (**Luc**.I.451).

It may even be that the influence and acculturation of Roman religion, seen in the re-establishment of Gallic temples in stone and their consecration to deities with hybrid names, may have been seen as a loss of culture by some and such "true believers" may have taken to worship in groves because all the temples and the deities worshipped there had undergone admixture. Most likely, however, is the idea that the connection of Druids with groves, particularly oak groves, may be due to the etymology constructed by Pliny the Elder (**Pliny**.*N.H*.XVI. 249) by which the word Druid is derived from δρύς, the Greek word for "oak"[174]. In short, as Webster says[175], the association of groves with Celtic religion may be a 1st century AD literary construct, a construct followed by the Berne Scholiasts because of the even greater temporal distance between them and the actual events. Finally, the 1st

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[167] **Ferguson**:65-69.
[168] **Chadwick 1966**:38.
[169] **Webster 1995**:448.
[170] **Wait 1985**:155 and 204.
[171] **Webster 1992**:168; **Webster 1995**:448.
[172] **Webster 1992**:165 and 166.
[173] **Webster 1992**:167; **Webster 1995**:448.
[174] **Chadwick 1966**:38.
[175] **Webster 1992**:167; **Webster 1995**:448.

century AD references are in stark contrast to the references to worship sites dated to the 1st century BC, which, either implying formal structures[176] (**Strab**.IV.1.3, IV.3.2, IV.4.5 and IV.4.6; **Diod**.V.27; **Livy**.XXII.2.9, XXIII.24.11 and *Per.*; **Polyb**.II.32; **Cic**. *Pro Font.*13.30), or enclosures[177] (**Strab**.IV.1.13 and XII.5.2; **Diod**.V.27. 4), suggest the formal structuring of space involving an enclosure[178]. Indeed, even all those 1st century BC references of Strabo, which, as has been said, are considered as referring to natural cult sites (**Strab**.III.1.4, III.4.16 and IV.1.13) actually imply the use of enclosures[179]. The fact that the vast majority of 2nd and 1st century BC references to Gallic cult sites indicate artificial structures and the references to natural sites are all dated to the 1st century AD supports the idea that it is a 1st century AD literary construct.

As regards the reference of Pomponius Mela (**Pomponius**.III.2.18) it does not actually refer to religion, but to the teaching of young nobility. It is therefore possible that, with the establishment by the Romans of schools for the aristocratic youth, the Druids, who must have feared the loss of their prestige and power as teachers and indoctrinators of the ruling class, and some nobles, who may have feared the loss of the Gallic culture and the encroachment of the Roman, may have participated in secret schools for the young Gallic nobility to be taught the "old ways" and the best location for this teaching would be in the woods and groves. The interpretation that this passage is concerned with religion is another indication of the automatic association of groves with Celtic religion.

Finally, the passage of Lucan is not the cornerstone it seems. The first point is that, while Lucan's description of the grove is extremely atmospheric and suitably fear-inducing, with birds fearing to sit in the branches (**Luc**.III.407), wild animals too scared to recline there (**Luc**.III.408), leaves moving even though no wind blew (**Luc**.III.408-409), trees burned but not engulfed (**Luc**.III420) and dragon-like snakes bending around the trees (**Luc**.III.421), it is not only considered as being exaggerated and containing a note of outrage and ingination, by MacCulloch and Woodward[180], but is described even by Henig[181], who accepts the authority of Lucan, as "hardly a reliable eye-witness record". It also contains various clichés regarding Gauls and

[176] **Webster 1992**:147.
[177] **Webster 1992**:147.
[178] **Webster 1995**:447.
[179] **Webster 1995**:448.
[180] **MacCulloch 1948**:63; **Woodward**:51.
[181] **Henig 1984**:18.

barbarians: there is the standard mention of human sacrifice as a characteristic of Gallic religion (**Luc**.III.404-405); the image conjured up by Lucan's skill would inspire the reader to contrast the eldritch horror of the Gallic cult site with the clean, wholesome majesty of Roman temples; and the idea that the Gauls worship in groves can be viewed as another application of the standard cliché that barbarians behave in the opposite way to civilised peoples, so that here, since Romans, who are civilised, worship in artificial structures, Gauls, who are uncivilised, must therefore worship in natural areas such as groves and, consequently, are portrayed in this way.

The second point is that those who accept the presupposition of natural cult sites accept that the exceptions to this in Provence, such as Roquepertuse and Entremont, are the result of Greek influence emanating from *Massilia* [Marseilles], yet also accept that a sacred grove near *Massilia* [Marseilles] was still customarily used by Gauls. If the Gauls living only within the influence of *Massilia* [Marseilles] take up the concept of artificial cult sites before the 2nd century BC, as they must have done since both Roquepertuse and Entremont were destroyed in 125 BC, why are Gauls living near *Massilia* [Marseilles] still using sacred groves as late as 49 BC? Surely, if Greek influence was so strong, Gauls near *Massilia* [Marseilles] would have dispensed with sacred groves many decades before - or, if they did, why had they gone back to them?

In addition literary references from ancient authors, which provide evidence of formal structures are overlooked. Strabo (**Strab**.IV.4.6) describes an annual ritual performed by a group of women called the Samnitae on an island in the river Loire. This passage is important because the annual rite refers to the re-roofing of τὸ ἱερὸν. This is the one 1st century BC reference which specifically mentions that a formal structure had a roof and, according to Piggott[182], "seems clearly a covered shrine". Although the reference is tainted by *interpretatio*, in the identification of the deity the women worship with Dionysus and possibly in his description of their frenzied activities, the roofing ritual, which has no equivalent in Dionysiac religion, does not seem to be a part which is affected. It may be alleged, by those supporting the atectonic view, that the reason for Strabo's interest is that a Gallic religious structure with a roof was unusual enough to merit mention; but it is clear that, as well as the supposed Dionysian resemblance, it is not the fact that τὸ ἱερὸν is roofed, but the fact that it is re-roofed annually which is surprising and worthy of mention. The material must have been replaceable, because it took place annually, and portable,

[182] **Piggott 1978**:39.

because each woman carries a portion[183]. Although Webster[184] considers this to be "the only unambiguous reference to a roofed structure", Polybius states that the Insubres took their golden standards τοῦ τῆς ' Αθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ (**Polyb**.II.32), Livy states that, after the defeat of the Consul L. Postumius, the Boii, *caputque praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo, quod sanctissimum est apud eos, intulere* (**Livy**.XXIII.24.11), and, after the head was cleaned and gilded, it was used a goblet *sacerdotibus ac templi antistitibus* (**Livy**. XXIII.24.12), Suetonius states that Caesar plundered *fana templaque* (**Suet**.*Iul*.54. 2)[185], and, finally, according to Plutarch, the Arverni hung a sword belonging to Caesar in a temple (**Plut**.*Caes*.XXVI.8)[186], although Piggott[187] considers even these to be ambiguous because, according to Piggott, *templum* and *fanum* can mean no more than an unroofed sanctuary.

As has been said, Webster[188] points out that ancient literature before the 1st century AD is devoid of any reference to sacred groves. Advocates of the concept of sacred groves have proposed two explanations for this. It has been argued that this may be due to such worship in groves being considered so ordinary to the Roman author, who, as has been said, was the product of a religion involving the sacred nature of trees and groves as places of worship or abodes of deities, as not to be worth mentioning. However, as Webster[189] points out, for Roman authors, a similarity between Roman and Gallic religions would provoke as much interest as a difference. The second explanation is that the rites in the sacred groves were not practised by the social elite and would therefore go unrecorded; but this is based on the assumption that there were such practices in the first places, an assumption for which there is no foundation.

Finally, ancient authors always fixed on the unusual and those aspects, which were different from Mediterranean custom[190]. Examples of such topics were the habit of some Celtic warriors of fighting naked (**Polyb**.II.28; **Diod**.V.29.1), human sacrifice (**Diod**.V.32.6; **Caes**.*B.G.*VI.16.2-5; **Strab**.IV.4.5), head-hunting (**Polyb**.II.28.10;

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[183] **Webster 1992**:429.
[184] **Webster 1992**:148.
[185] *In Gallia fana templaque deum donis referta* [Caesar] *expilavit,*
[186] ἔδοξε δὲ κατ' ἀρχάς τι καὶ σφαλῆναι, καὶ δεικνύουσιν ' Αρουβηνοὶ ξιφίδιον πρὸς ' ιερῷ κρεμάμενον, ὡς δὴ Καίσαρος λάφυρον. . ″Ο θεασάμενος αὐτὸς ὕστερον ἐμειδίασε καὶ τῶν φίλων καθελεῖν κελευόντων οὐκ εἴασεν ' ιερὸν ἡγούμενος.
[187] **Piggott 1978**:39.
[188] **Webster 1992**:165 and 166.
[189] **Webster 1992**:166.
[190] See the "Ethnocentricity" sub-section of the section entitled "Classical Literature as a source of evidence" in the chapter *Sources and Method.*

Polyb.III.67.3; **Diod**.V.29.4, XIV. 115.4-5; **Strab**.IV.4.5; **Livy**.X.26.10-11; **Sil.Ital.** IV.213; **Just**.*Epit*.XXIV.5.6), belief in an immortal soul (**Diod**.V.28.6; **Caes**.*B.G.*VI. 14.5; **Strab**.IV.4.4; **Pompon**.III.2.19; **Val.Max**.II.6.10; **Luc**.I.455-458), and a liberal attitude to male homosexuality (**Strab**.IV.4.6). Yet none of the ancient authors, for whom the concept of a temple with a roof would have been commonplace, ever mentions any roofless temples or sanctuaries in Gaul, which would have struck them as differing from Greek or Roman religion and so as to be worthy of comment.

The etymological argument

The etymological source for the presupposition has its origins in the Gallo-Brittonic word[191] *nemeton*, the neuter form of the adjective *nemetos*[192], the plural of which is *nemeta*[193]. For various reasons the word is regarded as meaning "clearing"[194], "grove"[195] or "sacred grove"[196] or implying any of these meanings[197], even though there is "little indication that it principally denoted such sites"[198]. The only documentary evidence using this word other than in inscriptions or place names subsequent to the Roman Conquest is the reference to *Drunemeton* (**Strab**.XII.5. 1)[199]. D'Arbois de Jubainville[200] thought that it meant "great temple", the first part, *Dru-*, being rendered as "great". MacCulloch[201] thought it might have been a grove; Green[202] baldly states that it was a grove of sacred oaks, presumably translating *Dru-* as "oak", because δρύς is the Greek word for "oak". However, while the reference to oaks is acceptable, there is no mention of grove in the passage. The translation of the word *nemeton* seems to depend on what the translator wants to see.

The main piece of evidence is that in the Ancient Laws of Ireland[203], dated much later than many Gallo-Roman inscriptions, the word *fidnemed* means "sacred

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[191] **Vendryes 1948**:309; **Piggott 1968**:71; **Piggott 1978**:37.
[192] **Guyonvarc'h 1960**:192.
[193] **MacCulloch 1948**:62.
[194] **Macbain**:153.
[195] **MacCulloch 1911**:280; **Spence**:118; **Henig 1984**:17; **Woodward**:52; **Birkhan**:751. Although he says that *nemeton* means "grove", Birkhan says that it can be translated into Latin as *fanum*, not *nemus*.
[196] **MacCulloch 1948**:62; **Henig 1984**:17; **Webster 1986**:107; **Green 1986a**:21, 111-112.
[197] **Piggott 1968**:71; **Powell**:166; **Henig 1984**:17.
[198] **Webster 1995**:448.
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[200] **d'Arbois de Jubainville**:203.
[201] **MacCulloch 1911**:280.
[202] **Green 1986a**:21.
[203] **Ancient Laws of Ireland I**:164.

grove"[204], "sacred wood"[205] or "shrine in a forest"[206] and, according to Vendryes[207], must go back to *Vidu-nemeton* meaning "sanctuary of wood". Green[208] bluntly states that "the Irish for *nemeton* is *fidnemed*". Secondly, in the 8th century AD, the word *nimidas* is translated as "holy places of the woods"[209] and pagan rites were performed in groves called *nimidae*[210]. These arguments apparently find support in the fact that the word *nemeton* is a cognate of the Latin word *nemus, nemoris*[211], meaning either a forest with a clearing or the glade itself[212] or a clearing or a sacred grove[213].

However, these pieces of evidence are not above question. Firstly, while *fidnemed* may mean "sacred wood" or "grove", the Irish word *nemed*, a more direct derivation of *nemeton*, means "chapel"[214] or "sanctuary"[215] and has as its Latin gloss the word *sacellum*, meaning a "shrine" or "enclosure"[216], an artificial structure; despite this the word *nemed* is still used by Macbain[217] to claim that *nemeton* means a "clearing" and by Vendryes[218] to claim that *nemeton* does not necessarily mean a building and the Gallic *nemeton* was able to be a sacred wood. Secondly, both the words *fidnemed* and *nimidae* are in the context of a period when Christianity was the dominant religion and all other rites had to be practised in secret, such as in the woods. This would explain why *fidnemed* means "sacred wood" or "grove" and *nemed* means a, more official and more acceptable, "sanctuary". Moreover, one cannot argue that because a word has a meaning in one temporal context, it had the same meaning centuries before; on that basis one could state that the ἐκκλησία of Athens of the 5th century BC was composed of believers in the Resurrection, because this was the meaning of the word 600 years later. The argument is even weaker for derivatives or cognates.

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[204] **MacCulloch 1911**:280; **Kendrick**:147; **Ross**:112.
[205] **Powell**:167.
[206] **Cunliffe 1997**:198.
[207] **Vendryes 1948**:309.
[208] **Green 1986a**:21.
[209] **Powell**:167.
[210] **Hull**:124; **Spence**:118.
[211] **Macbain**:153; **Piggott 1978**:37; **Cunliffe 1997**:198.
[212] **Piggott 1978**:37.
[213] **Cunliffe 1997**:198.
[214] **Macbain**:153.
[215] **Piggott 1968**:72.
[216] **Vendryes 1948**:309; **Guyonvarc'h 1960**:190; **Powell**:167; **Webster 1995**:448.
[217] **Macbain**:153.
[218] **Vendryes 1948**:309.

According to Grenier[219] *nemeton*, the Gallic term for a cult enclosure, means "delimited space". Although Vendryes[220] has proposed that the Celtic root *nem-* seems to have meant "sacred", Brunaux[221] says that the Indo-European root **nem* means "to bend" or "to curve". Supporting Vendryes more than Brunaux, Guyonvarc'h states that it is *nemetos* which has the exact meaning of "sacred"[222], which explains why the word *nemos* is reserved entirely for the concept "heaven"[223], and that the exact sense of the word *nemeton* is "sanctuary"[224]; indeed, only the meaning "sanctuary" is attested by comparative Celtic linguistics[225]. Guyonvarc'h[226] confirms this with an inscription from Vaison[227], which can be translated as "Segomarus, son of Villoneos, of the territory of the Nemausates erected to Belisama this temple [*nemeton*]" and which Powell[228] uses to support the argument that *nemeton* can denote a structure. Goudineau[229] claims that the *nemeton* here is a grove, but, as Webster says[230], this is unlikely, because the context indicates an artificial arrangement of some kind. Piggott, after saying that the word *nemeton* may have included such concepts as enclosed space or consecrated area as well as that of natural wood clearings[231], says that it is a sanctuary word[232], supporting this with the fact that the name *Vernemeton* was explained in the 6th century AD by the Latin poet Fortunatus as Gallic for *fanum ingens*, "great sanctuary"[233]. Even Vendryes[234], who adheres to the idea of Celtic worship in groves, accepts that the *nemeton* in the inscription from Vaison means a structure and that the *-nemeton* part of *Vernemeton* is the equivalent of the Latin *fanum*, which refers to a structure. Despite translating

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[219] **Grenier 1945**:356.
[220] **Vendryes 1948**:310.
[221] **Brunaux 1996**:45.
[222] **Guyonvarc'h 1960**:192.
[223] **Guyonvarc'h 1960**:186.
[224] **Guyonvarc'h 1960**:189 and 190.
[225] **Guyonvarc'h 1960**:190.
[226] **Guyonvarc'h 1960**:189.
[227] Σεγομαρος
Ουιλλονεος
τοουτιους
ναμαυσατις
ειωρου Βελε
σαμι σοσιν
νεμετον.
[228] **Powell**:171.
[229] **Goudineau**:252.
[230] **Webster 1995**:449.
[231] **Piggott 1968**:71.
[232] **Piggott 1978**:37.
[233] **Piggott 1978**:37.
[234] **Vendryes 1948**:309.

nemed as "sacred grove"[235], Ross, also using Fortunatus' statement as evidence, states that *nemeton* was the Celtic word for sanctuary and consequently translates *Drunemeton* as "Oak Sanctuary"[236]. Even Brunaux, who still proposes the idea of sacred woods, accepts that the Celtic word meaning "sanctuary" is *nemeton*[237] and states that *Drunemeton* can only be translated as "sanctuary of oak" [238]. Birkhan[239] proposes "the sacred" or "consecrated" as an alternative to "grove". Rivet and Smith[240] gloss the word *nemeton* as "sacred grove", but suggest that *nemeton* also has several other meanings, some of which are "grove" or "clearing" as well as small shrine[241]; this resembles the way that the word "church" can refer to the entire body of Christians or to the official body dictating and directing doctrine or to a building. Green[242] states that *nemeton* means "sacred grove" and that it is possible that it may have been loosely used synonymously with "sanctuary", but, ironically, it seems that quite the opposite is the case.

In essence, the word *nemeton* cannot be fixed to one meaning and certainly not just to "grove". It has the idea of sacredness and separateness. MacCana[243] suggests a translation "a sacred place", which Webster[244] considers the most acceptable, probably because of its general application and imprecision.

The archaeological argument

As regards the archaeological basis, the belief that the Celtic religion made use only of "natural" cultic sites and the presupposition that Celtic sanctuaries were roofless are based on the fact that the evidence for artificial or tectonic sites is very little[245] and that no sites with roofs have been discovered[246]. However, in view of the fact that artificial structures would have been composed and constructed out of perishable material, primarily wood, and the most common materials for the construction of a roof would have been wood and thatch or some other material subject to decay, few traces would remain anyway and the proposition is difficult to test[247]; consequently,

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[235] **Ross 1986**:112.
[236] **Ross 1986**:112.
[237] **Brunaux 1996**:45.
[238] **Brunaux 1996**:40.
[239] **Birkhan**:751.
[240] **Rivet & Smith**:254-255.
[241] **Webster 1992**:167; **Webster 1995**:448.
[242] **Green 1986a**:21.
[243] **MacCana**:14.
[244] **Webster 1992**:167; **Webster 1995**:449.
[245] **Webster 1992**:165
[246] **Webster 1995**:448.
[247] **Webster 1995**:448.

inferences drawn from the use of the rarity of those archaeological remains is false. However, although archaeological evidence for the existence of tectonic sites is few, there is more archaeological evidence for them than there is for "natural" sites; Powell points out that archaeology has not produced anything such as a sacred grove[248]. Therefore, if the argument that only natural sites were used for Celtic religion and that artificial sites were not used for Celtic religion is based on the idea that little evidence indicates little use, then, ironically, one can argue all the more that, since no evidence means no use, the Celts never used "natural" sites.

The last support is really more of an attitude towards Celtic religion. This attitude seems to combine an image and a philosophy. The image is that of the Celts, and the Druids in particular, as intellectual Noble Savages; an example of such an adherent is Vendryes, who, despite the evidence from the inscription from Vaison, that *nemeton* meant an artificial structure, the gloss of *nemed* as *sacellum*, indicating that *nemed* meant an artificial structure, and the translation of *Vernemeton* by Fortunatus as *fanum ingens*, indicating that *nemeton* meant an artificial structure, still claimed that the Celts worshipped in groves, because of his image of the Druids as barbarian philosophers, seen in his use of the term "Druidism" as if it was separate from Celtic religion[249] and his acceptance that the Druids were influenced by Pythagoras and believed in metempsychosis[250]. The philosophy is the modern one that true spirituality is in the intuitive, the mystical, in short the natural, and that artificiality is rationalist and unspiritual. This attitude leads to enthusiasm for the idea of natural sites and to the rejection of the concept of artificial ones.

Although Piggott accepts that the meagre evidence implies that, in north-western Europe, there had been small, roofed sanctuaries of timber,[251] which probably evolved from mortuary structures[252], he claims that there were also sacral enclosures in which the idea of roofing does not arise[253].

Thévenot[254] is among the first to state that archaeology provides evidence for the use of formal structures for worship by the Celts; he points out that, if Gallo-Roman temples were totally inspired by foreign ideas, then they would reproduce the models

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[248] **Powell**:167.
[249] **Vendryes 1948**:290, 292, 293, 294, 295 and 296.
[250] **Vendryes 1948**:307.
[251] **Piggott 1978**:39.
[252] **Piggott 1978**:49.
[253] **Piggott 1978**:39.
[254] **Thévenot 1946**:109.

exactly, yet all the excavated sanctuaries display two characteristics, a central *cella*, of square, circular or polygonal shape instead of a rectangular design, and a portico or terrace surrounding the temple, both characteristics absent from Roman temples, and that these anomalies, which are more than differences in detail, but are fundamental arrangements, and even the site of the temple can only be explained if they are considered to be the result of an indigenous tradition, in short the Gauls were acquainted with and had a tradition of using formal, artificial structures. The view of Celtic temples as being groves and natural sites and not being formal structures "is increasingly challenged by excavation, especially in northern France"[255] and has "completely changed"[256] with the excavations of Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont-sur-Ancre, which "have completely altered our perception of Celtic religion"[257], to such an extent that atectonism in Celtic religion can be called a "modern myth"[258] and even Green seems to accept that "there is a steadily increasing body of evidence for wooden temples preceding Roman examples both in Britain and on the continent"[259]. Indeed, a view supported by Brunaux[260] is that "atectonism" seems all the more unlikely, when one considers that it is difficult to believe that the Celts, who had roofs on houses (**Strab**.IV.4.3), because of the frequently inclement weather in Gaul, did not have roofs on their sanctuaries.

It needs to be pointed out that, although archaeological evidence indicates that the Gauls used artificial structures for worship and that there is no evidence for sacred groves, it is not suggested that the Gauls never used sacred groves, merely that it is wrong to suggest that they never used artificial structures. Indeed, in view of the fact that the majority of the pre-Roman Gallic sanctuaries cannot be dated to earlier than 250 BC[261], it is possible that, as Macbain and Thévenot[262] suggest, before this time the original places of worship for the Celts used clearings, groves and other "natural" areas for worship and then later erected buildings, which Macbain[263], wrongly as will be seen, thinks must have been similar in an unsophisticated way to Greek and Roman temples and made of stone, even though Strabo says that Gallic houses are made of wood and wicker with thatch roofs (**Strab**.IV.4.3); it is even possible, as

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[255] **Webster 1995**:445.
[256] **Ross 1986**:104-105.
[257] **Büchsenschütz 1995**:557.
[258] **Webster 1991**:154.
[259] **Green 1986a**:18.
[260] **Brunaux 1996**:75.
[261] **Webster 1995**:453.
[262] **Macbain**:152; **Thévenot 1946**:108.
[263] **Macbain**:150 and 151.

Macbain and Cunliffe suggest[264], that the Celts continued to use groves at the same time that formal artificial structures were also employed. It is possible that the lack of archaeological evidence for sacred groves is because archaeological proof of them is difficult[265].

[264] **Macbain**:150; **Cunliffe 1997**:198.
[265] **Cunliffe 1997**:198.

Appendix Four

Etymology of the Names of Celtic Deities

Gallic Deities

The name Esus

One suggestion about his name is that it is connected with the Breton word *(h)euzuz* meaning 'terrible'[1], possibly inspired by Lucan's use of the word *horrens*. According to Stokes[2], who agrees with the suggestion, D'Arbois de Jubainville links it to the Indo-European word **is* or **ish* meaning 'wish', leading to the meaning for Esus being 'he who fulfils wishes', an interpretation with which Gray and Guyonvarc'h[3] disagree and a description de Vries[4] feels is lack-lustre. Bugge[5] proposes that it may be connected to the Italian *aisus*, *esus*, meaning 'god', and the Etruscan *Erus*. Pokorny[6] rejects this and, while stating that the name is more likely to be derived from **ais*, meaning 'desire' and 'to look for'[7] and it is less likely to be connected with **eis*, meaning 'to move violently', 'to bring to life' or 'energy'[8], states that his preference is for the explanation by d' D'Arbois de Jubainville[9]. Guiraud[10] connects the name with the Latin word *(h)erus* meaning 'lord' or 'master', a possibility not ruled out by Sjoestedt[11] and accepted by Duval, Powell, Ross, Green, Olmsted and York[12]. The idea that Esus may mean 'god' or 'good master' was accepted as a possibility by Duval in 1954 and 1957[13], although by 1973 Guiraud's idea is considered as lacking certainty by Duval[14]. Vendryes[15], following Rhys and Stokes[16], claims the name is derived from the Indo-European word **esu*, meaning 'good', 'excellent' and 'capable'[17], which may be related to the Greek εὖς, meaning 'good'[18], which gave Latin the word *erus* and which recalls, in particular, the Iranian *ahu-*, meaning 'Master', from which are derived the Avestan *ahura-* and the Indian *ásura-*, both designating 'divinity', and, therefore, the name Esus is a cognate of the

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[1] **Martin 1865**:264.
[2] **Stokes 1870-72**:259.
[3] **Gray**:70; **Guyonvarc'h**:172.
[4] **de Vries 1961**:98.
[5] **Bugge**:475.
[6] **Pokorny**:342.
[7] **Pokorny**:16.
[8] **Pokorny**:299.
[9] **Pokorny**:342.
[10] **Guiraud**:204.
[11] **Sjoestedt**:22.
[12] **Duval 1954**:16; **Powell**:159; **Ross 1960-61**:405; **Green 1992**:214; **Olmsted 1994**:321; **York**:84.
[13] **Duval 1954**:16; **Duval 1957**:29.
[14] **Duval 1973**:84.
[15] **Vendryes 1948**:263.
[16] **Rhys**:61; **Stokes 1894**:43.
[17] **Pokorny**:342.
[18] **York**:88.

name of the Avestan deity Ahura and of the Sanskrit epithet Ásura. Similar to this, Jakobson[19], with whom Pokorny[20] agrees, sees Esus as belonging to the same family of words as the Latin *erus* < *esus*, the Greek ἑῦς, the Hittite *assus*, meaning 'good' or 'suitable', Iranian *ahu-* and Indian *asu-*, meaning 'genius' or 'chief', all of whom are ultimately derived from the Indo-European *esə-os/es-u*, literally meaning 'existent' or 'essential', which is itself derived from the verb *es*, meaning 'to be'. Guyonvar'ch[21] agrees that other related Indo-European words, the Hittite *a-aš-su-uš*, meaning 'good', the Greek ἑῦς or ἠΰς and the Latin *erus*, can all be drawn easily and directly to *esu-s*, but is of the opinion that the name Esus does not just mean 'Lord' as Vendryes suggests, but means 'good' or 'best'. Pokorny and Evans[22] suggest that Esus is derived from the Indo-European word *ais*, meaning 'reverence', 'respect' and 'worship'. York[23] thinks that Esus is derived from the root **ansu* (**esu-* and **xon-s-u-s*, which can be compared to the Hittite word *hassus*, which York translates as 'king'), which, according to Haussig[24], is also the root of the word *asura*. Cunliffe[25] says that Esus may mean 'good' in the sense of all-competent. De Vries[26] thinks that, in view of the description of his sacrifice, which he calls "gräßliche", it is unlikely that Esus would be called 'good'; this is not only ethnocentric, in his value judgement of the sacrifice and in assuming that because he and Lucan are appalled by the concept of human sacrifice, then the Celts who practised it must also have been, but also rather naïve, since, if the Celts did, in fact, find the sacrifices horrific, it is possible that the terms 'good' or 'good god' used for this deity were a euphemism, in the same way that the Furies were called the Kindly Ones, a point which de Vries does concede[27]. De Vries himself prefers the association with the root **eis* meaning 'energy' or 'passion'[28], an explanation rejected by Guyonvarc'h[29], but admits that the name remains obscure and states that the proposed etymologies are merely conjectures without any convincing value[30], that "du point de vue de l'etymologie le nom est une enigme"[31] and that "man mit

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[19] **Jakobson**:591-592.
[20] **Pokorny**:342.
[21] **Guyonvarc'h 1969**:174.
[22] **Pokorny**:16; **Evans**:396.
[23] **York**:88.
[24] **Haussig**:135.
[25] **Cunliffe**:185.
[26] **de Vries 1961**:98.
[27] **de Vries 1961**:100.
[28] **de Vries 1961**:98.
[29] **Guyonvarc'h 1969**:172.
[30] **de Vries 1953**:20.
[31] **de Vries 1953**:16.

einer Etymologie nicht weit kommt"[32]. This follows the opinion of Duval[33], who says that, despite the comparison with the Latin *herus* and the proposed meaning of 'good master', "le nom…ne nous apprend rien d'assuré". Le Roux's[34] statements sum up the analysis - "Ceci fait qu' aucune étymologie n'est satisfaisante orthographique" and "les données linguistiques sont inutilisables".

The name Taranis

The name is connected with the Celtic root *taran*, meaning 'to thunder',[35] and the Gallic stem *taran-*, meaning 'thunder',[36] and is related to[37] *taran* and *torann*, the Welsh and Irish words for 'thunder' respectively[38], or, according to Le Roux[39], *taran(n)*, the Irish , Welsh and Breton word for 'thunder', and, therefore, signifies 'thunder', according to Duval and Hatt[40], or, according to Green, Sjoestedt and York[41], means 'Thunderer'. Therefore, it is reasonable to deduce that he was the god of thunder or a thunder-god[42]. As Lambrechts[43] says, this seems to be accepted by everybody. York[44] points out that the name Taranis therefore relates to the Lithuanian Perkunas, the Slavic Perun, the Norse Thor and the Germanic Donar. De Vries[45] also says that Taranis can be directly linked with the Germanic deity Donar, but warns that *taran-* and *tanar-* are not derived from the same root. Birkhan[46] thinks that Tanarus, found on an inscription in Britain[47], is the original form and could then be related to the name of the Germanic god of thunder.

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[32] **de Vries 1961**: 98.
[33] **Duval 1958-59**:51.
[34] **Le Roux 1955a**:53.
[35] *P-W* 2275; **Lambrechts 1942**:65; **de Vries 1961**:63; **Green 1986b**:65; **Cunliffe**:185.
[36] **Olmsted 1994**:298.
[37] **Cerquand**:382; **Gaidoz 1883-85**:458; **MacCulloch 1911**:30; **Vendryes 1948**:264; **van Hemel**:238; **Duval 1954**:11; **Duval 1958-59**:54; **de Vries 1961**:63; **Powell**:159; **Gricourt & Hollard**:291; **Olmsted 1994**:298.
[38] **van Hemel**:238; **Vendryes 1948**:264; **Duval 1954**:11; **Duval 1957**:23 (*taran*); **Le Roux 1958a**:34; **Duval 1958-59**:54; **de Vries 1961**:63; **Green 1986a**:66 (*taran*); **Dillon**:60 (*torann*); **Olmsted 1994**:298; **Sjoestedt**:21; **Birkhan**:585.
[39] **Le Roux 1955a**:52 n.59.
[40] **Duval 1957**:23; **Hatt 1965**: 91.
[41] **Green 1986b**:65; **Sjoestedt**:21; **York**:84 88.
[42] **MacCulloch 1911**:30.
[43] **Lambrechts1942**:65.
[44] **York**:88.
[45] **de Vries 1961**:63.
[46] **Birkhan**:586.
[47] *CIL* VII.168; *RIB* 452.

The name Teutates

It is derived, ultimately, from the Indo-European **teut*[48], **teutā*[49] or **teuta-*[50] or **touta*[51] and from the Celtic **teuta*, **touta*, **tota*[52], **teutā*, *touta*, *tōta*[53], *teuta*[54], *teuta-*[55], *teuto* or *touto*[56], *teuto-*[57] meaning 'tribe'[58] or 'people'[59], a word to which is related to: the Irish *túath*[60], which means 'people'[61], 'tribe'[62], 'state'[63] or 'nation'[64], hence the *Tuatha Dé Danaan*, which means the 'Tribes of the goddess Dana'[65] or 'Peoples of the Goddess Danu'[66]; the Welsh *tûd*[67]; the Old English *theod*[68]; Gothic *thiuda*[69]; Breton *tud*[70]; Umbrian *tota*[71]; Oscan *touto*[72]; and Old Norse *þjōd*[73]. The name Teutates means 'national' or 'popular'[74] 'tribe'[75], '(the god) of the tribe'[76] or 'Father of the People' or 'Father of the Tribe'[77], 'Father of the Tribe' being an explanation first proposed by Martin[78]. Lambrechts suggests that he was the god of the people, the public god or the god who protects the nation[79]. According to Olmsted[80] "the significance 'of the tribe' may be suggested by the agentive suffix –

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[48] **Lambrechts1942**:153.
[49] **Vendryes 1948**:248 and 264; **Ward 1970**:135; **Olmsted 1994**:329.
[50] **York**:90.
[51] **Le Roux 1955a**:51, n.58
[52] **Duval 1954**:14.
[53] **Vendryes 1948**:264; **Duval 1958-9**:48.
[54] **MacCulloch 1911**:28; **MacCulloch 1948**:28; **Mac Cana**:23.
[55] **Cunliffe**:185.
[56] **Grenier**:345.
[57] **Olmsted 1994**:329; **Sjoestedt**:17.
[58] **Jullian 1902**:110; **MacCulloch 1911**:28; **Grenier**:345; **Vendryes 1948**:248 and 264; **MacCulloch 1948**:28; **Duval 1954**:13-14; **Mac Cana**:23; **Powell**:159; **Cunliffe**:185; **York**:90.
[59] **Lambrechts1942**:153.
[60] **Jullian 1909**:119 n.9; **Macbain**: 65;**Vendryes 1948**:248; **Le Roux 1955**:51, n.58; **Dillon**:60; **Olmsted 1994**:329; **Sjoestedt**:17.
[61] **Stokes 1870-72**:259; **Ward 1970**:135; **Olmsted 1994**:329.
[62] **Dillon**:60; **Olmsted 1994**:329; **Sjoestedt**:17.
[63] **Lambrechts1942**:153.
[64] **Olmsted 1994**:329.
[65] **Sjoestedt**:24.
[66] **Dillon**:63.
[67] **Jullian 1909**:119 n.9; **Lambrechts1942**:153; **Vendryes 1948**:248; **Le Roux 1955**:51, n.58; **Olmsted 1994**:329.
[68] **Vendryes 1948**:248; **Le Roux 1955**:51, n.58.
[69] **Jullian 1909**:119 n.9; **Lambrechts1942**:153.
[70] **Jullian 1909**:119 n.9; **Lambrechts1942**:153; **Le Roux 1955**:51, n.58.
[71] **Jullian 1909**:119 n.9; **Lambrechts1942**:153.
[72] **Jullian 1909**:119 n.9; **Lambrechts1942**:153.
[73] **Lambrechts1942**:153.
[74] **Lambrechts1942**:153.
[75] **York**:84.
[76] **Duval 1954**:13; **Mac Cana**:23; **Sjoestedt**:17; **Cunliffe**:185.
[77] **Clarus**:31; **Birkhan**:552.
[78] **Martin 1727**:326.
[79] **Lambrechts1942**:153.
[80] **Olmsted 1994**:329.

ati- ". It is, according to Loth and Weisgerber[81], a haplology of *touto-tati-s*[82] or *touto-tatis*[83], although, from the fact that de Vries[84] says that Loth "hat das sprachlich näher zu untermauern versucht", de Vries seems sceptical of this explanation, Guyonvarc'h states that the form *touto-tatis* is an example of childish grammar and that there is no haplology[85] and Olmsted[86] thinks it is unnecessary to claim its existence. D'Arbois de Jubainville states that, according to the most ancient Latin grammar, the form Teutates should be Teutatis[87] and it has been given the Greek suffix of *-ates* by Lucan instead of *-atis*[88]. The reason for this is that the diphthong *eu* would be changed to *ū*, if the rules of Latin grammar of Lucan's day were applied, but Lucan probably wished to preserve the diphthong, which was in the Gallic form, since application of Latin grammar would have rendered the name unrecognisable, as a foreign name[89]; the Greek language had preserved the diphthong *ευ* and, therefore, since the name, if the Gallic form was kept, already had a Greek appearance, Lucan, used a Greek import[90]. D'Arbois de Jubainville states that, although the form Teutates is a barbarism, it is too entrenched to be changed now[91]. Contrary to all this Guyonavarc'h states that, while the word *touto-* can mean 'people' or 'tribe'[92], the meaning which the majority of linguists take"[93], another identical word *touto-* means 'north', 'left' or 'magic'[94], just as in Irish *túath* means both 'tribe', 'people', 'country', 'nation' or 'territory', *túath* can mean 'north'[95]. Therefore, Guyonvarc'h is stating that the deity Teutates is not the god of the tribe and, according to a statement by Le Roux referring to the article by Guyonvarc'h[96], seems to be saying that he is of Nordic origin.

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[81] **Loth 1925**:222; **Weisgerber**:68.
[82] **Loth 1925**:222.
[83] **Clarus**:31.
[84] **de Vries 1961**:48.
[85] **Guyonvarc'h 1966**:316.
[86] **Olmsted 1994**:329.
[87] **d'Arbois de Jubainville 1893**:250-251.
[88] **d'Arbois de Jubainville 1893**:251.
[89] **d'Arbois de Jubainville 1893**:251.
[90] **d'Arbois de Jubainville 1893**:251.
[91] **d'Arbois de Jubainville 1893**:253.
[92] **Guyonvarc'h 1966**:317.
[93] **Guyonvarc'h 1966**:320.
[94] **Guyonvarc'h 1966**:317.
[95] **Guyonvarc'h 1966**:317 and 320.
[96] **Le Roux 1967a**:337.

Gallo-Roman Deities

The name Cernunnos

Le Roux[97] accepts that the Antlered-god's Gallic name is Cernunnos, but questions the reconstruction of the inscription as Cernunnus. The part of the inscription[98] which gives the god's name actually says ernunno and has been reconstructed as [C]ernunno(s)[99]. Le Roux[100] accepts the reinstatement of the initial C is valid, but argues that the addition of an s on the end, to form Cernunnos, is incorrect. Firstly, all the names of Gallo-Roman in epigraphy are in the Latinised form, that is ending in –us, not –os, such as Belenus, Grannus, not Belenos and Grannos, and, secondly, every dedication is in the dative[101]. Therefore, the inscription is actually Cernunno, dative of Cernunnus, which is the Latinised form of the Gallic Cernunnos. The name Cernunnos has been translated as 'the horned god', according to Le Roux[102], on the basis of a phonetic connection between Cernunnos and the Celtic themes in the word *korn*[103]. Although conceding that the words referring to 'horn' or 'horned beasts' in the Indo-European languages are related[104], Le Roux[105] rejects this translation and states that it is obviously influenced by the iconography, is insufficient and is decidedly spoilt by Weisgerber's[106] statement that "die Dietung…aufwiesen". Le Roux[107] states that a correct etymology, based on the fact that the long Indo-European o found in the Italic language is changed in the Celtic languages into an a, not an e, is that *karn*, meaning a 'horned beast', is the cognate of *cornu*, not *kern*, and that it is not possible to link *karn* to *kern*[108]. Therefore, according to this theory, the first syllable cannot refer to horn and, instead, the name is probably derived from **kern*, the root of the Welsh *cern*, the Irish *cern* and the Breton *kern*, all meaning the 'summit of the head'. Le Roux[109] says that the Celtic words *corn* and *korn* are in fact evidence of borrowing from the Latin *cornu*. Therefore, the first part of the deity's name, Cern-, denotes the top of the head and a connection with Indo-European words

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[97] **Le Roux 1953**:324
[98] *CIL* XIII.3026c
[99] **Le Roux 1953**:324
[100] **Le Roux 1953**:324
[101] **Le Roux 1953**:324
[102] **Le Roux 1953**:325
[103] *cornu* (Lat.); κέρας (Gk.); *karnon* (Gal.); *haurna* (Got.)
[104] **Le Roux 1953**:325
[105] **Le Roux 1953**:328
[106] **Weisgerber**:197
[107] **Le Roux 1953**:326
[108] **Le Roux 1953**:328 n.6
[109] **Le Roux 1953**:328

describing horned beasts in general and the stag in particular[110]. The translation of Cernunnos, according to Le Roux[111], is 'he who has the top of the head like a stag'.

The name Epona

Her name has the root *ep-*, found in many Gallic names[112], which is derived from **epos*, the Gallic and British word for horse[113] and equivalent to Latin *equus* and Greek 'ιππος, related to Zend. *aspo* and Old Persian *aspa*, derived from the Sanskrit *açvah*[114] and ultimately from the Indo-European **ekwo*[115], and *-ona* which indicates divinity[116]. Her name means Horse-goddess.

The name Nantosuelta

It had been posited by d'Arbois de Jubainville[117] that her name means 'brilliant in combat' based on the two parts of her name. The first part of her name, *Nanto-*, contains the theme of the Irish god of war Nét and has also been employed as a noun meaning 'battle' or 'wound'[118]; the second part, *-suelta*, being the past participle of the verbal root *suel* meaning 'to shine'[119]. This interpretation was considered to be confirmed by the connection between the meaning of the name of Nantosuelta's companion, Sucellus, 'the Good Striker', and the fact that Nét was the grandfather of the god Balar, who was surnamed *balc-béimnech*, 'the Strong Striker'[120]. However, Linckenheld[121] states that this interpretation cannot be correct. This was replaced by another interpretation, not surprisingly, since the connection between *Nanto-* and Nét is very thin, exceeded in tenuousness only by the supposed confirmation of the theory, and Nantosuelta's attributes at no time appear in any way martial, except, perhaps, for the raven, which is a carrion-bird[122]. The other interpretation is 'the

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[110] **Le Roux 1953**:326
[111] **Le Roux 1953**:329
[112] *Epomanduos* [he who is busy with horses]; *Epomeduos* [horse drunk]; *Eposognatus* [well acquainted with horses]; *Eporedorix* [running of horses]; *Eposterovidos* [he who knows how to give zeal to horses]; and *Atepomarus* [great rider].
[113] ("Vocabulaire vieux-celtique", *Ogam* VI/1 31 (1954), 48; **Green 1995a**:184; **Birkhan**:526.
[114] *Vocabulaire vieux-celtique*:48.
[115] **Gruffyd**:104. Loth (**Loth**:113-) is of the opinion that **ekuos* indicated a harnessed horse and that **markos* was a mounted horse, on the grounds that the war-chariot is a tactical Indo-European innovation and that the word **ekuos* is Pan-Indo-European whereas **markos* is only common to Celtic and Germanic cultures (**Thévenot 1951**:131; **Le Roux 1955b**:101).
[116] **Gruffyd**:98.
[117] **D'Arbois de Jubainville**:459.
[118] **Reinach 1896**:51, n.1.
[119] **Reinach**:51.
[120] **Reinach**:51.
[121] **Linckenheld**:88.
[122] **Green 1989a**:48 and 54.

Brook, which sparkles (in the valley)' or 'the torrent, which sparkles and shines'[123]. The first term, *Nanto-*, is translated as 'valley'[124] and by extension 'torrent' or 'brook'[125]; this may be confirmed by the fact that the word *nant* is Welsh for 'brook'[126]. The translation of the second term follows Reinach's[127] interpretation that *–suelta* is derived from the verbal root *suel* meaning 'to shine'[128]. Since then de Vries[129] has suggested 'she who makes the brooks glitter' and Green has interpreted Nantosuelta's name, though without supplying any etymological explanation, as 'Winding River'[130], 'Winding Brook'[131], 'Winding Stream'[132], 'Meandering River'[133] or 'Meandering Stream'[134]. Olmsted suggests 'Who Makes the Valley Bloom' and Birkhan[135] says that the name may be read as 'winding valley', 'glittering brook' or 'valley on which the sun shines', but the meaning is completely unclear.

The name Nemetona

Nemetona's name is a combination of then word *nemeton*, meaning 'sanctuary' or 'sacred place', and the suffix *–ona* meaning 'goddess' [136]; according to Green[137], her name means 'the goddess of the Sacred Grove'.

The name Rosmerta

According to de Vries[138] the prefix *ro-* hints at power that is said to have great forces and thus indicates that she is an important goddess[139]. Her name signifies the 'Great

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[123] **Linckenheld**:89.
[124] **Linckenheld**:88.
[125] **Linckenheld**:89.
[126] **Sjoestedt**:19; **MacCana**:44.
[127] **Reinach**:51.
[128] **Linckenheld**:89.
[129] **de Vries 1961**:94
[130] **Green 1986a**:97.
[131] **Green 1989a**:42 and 47; **Green 1995b**:474.
[132] **Green 1992**:211.
[133] **Green 1989a**:42.
[134] **Green 1995a**:128.
[135] **Birkhan**:610.
[136] **Gruffyd**:98.
[137] **Green 1995b**:474.
[138] **de Vries 1961**:119.
[139] According to de Vries (**de Vries 1961**:118), because the second part of her name may be from the root **smer*, which takes up the idea of "to save", one reaches the meaning "goddess of plenty". However, this is a *non sequitur*.

Provider'[140] or the 'Good Purveyor'[141], the root **smer-* meaning 'foresight' or 'provision'[142] or 'brilliant'[143]. Olmsted[144] translates her name as 'the Highly Foresighted'. Birkhan, however, suggests that the name means 'the well-greased'[145] or 'well, heavily smeared'[146] as a derivation of the Gallic element *smer-(t)-* and that her cult ritual might have involved the smearing of the idol with fat, blood or red chalk[147]. Support for this may be the old Irish word *smertha*, meaning 'smeared' or 'greased',[148] and the Indo-European root **smeru* meaning 'grease', 'fat' or 'marrow'.

The name Sirona

Her name is a combination of the word meaning 'star'[149] and the suffix *–ona*, which means 'goddess'[150]. Duval believes the meaning is confirmed by her association with Apollo in the east of Gaul[151] and, according to Green[152], the name has astral associations and suggests night and darkness and light penetrating darkness. However, Birkhan, considering it beyond doubt that Sirona originally began with St-, connects her name with the Indo-European root **ster-*, which means 'immature cattle',[153] and thinks her names means she-calf[154]. Birkhan[155] also considers the possible identification of Sirona with the Old Irish goddess Gráinne, whose name means 'she belonging to Grannus'.

The name Sucellus

It is generally held that the name Sucellus means 'the Striker'[156], 'Good Striker'[157],

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[140] **Duval 1957**:55; **Bémont 1960-61**:30; **Bémont 1969**:23; **Wightman 1970**:225; **Wightman 1985**:182; **Green 1989a**:42, 46 and 55; **Green 1993**:41; **Green 1995a**:125; **Green 1995b**:474; **Ellis Davidson**:93; **Aldhouse-Green**:107.
[141] **Green 1986a**:97.
[142] **Duval 1957**:56.
[143] **York**:92.
[144] **Olmsted 1994**:406.
[145] **Birkhan**:596.
[146] **Birkhan**:803.
[147] **Birkhan**:803.
[148] **Birkhan**:803.
[149] **Duval 1957**:56; **Green 1995a**:103; **Green 1996a**:30.
[150] **Gruffyd**:98.
[151] **Duval 1957**:56.
[152] **Green 1989a**:43; **Green 1995a**:103; **Green 1996a**:30.
[153] **Birkhan**:591.
[154] **Birkhan**:711.
[155] **Birkhan**:591.
[156] **Reinach 1913**:260.
[157] **Reinach 1896**:49; **Linckenheld**:88; **Lambrechts**:108 n.4; **Duval 1957**:60; **de Vries 1961**:38; **MacCana**:44; **Green 1986a**:97; **Green 1989a**:47 and 75; **Deyts**:90; **Green 1992**:211; **Green 1995a**:128 and 130; **Green 1995b**:474; **York**:91.

'he who strikes to good effect'[158] or 'he who strikes well'[159], which concurs with fact that one of his attributes was a hammer with a long shaft[160].

Irish Deities

The name Brigit

The Irish words *brîg* or *brîg* mean 'power' and 'authority'[161], and to the Welsh *bri*, meaning 'renown' or 'high estimation', according to Rhys[162], or 'dignity' or 'honour', according to de Vries[163]. Pokorny[164] says that the name is derived from **briginti* and **bhrghntī*, meaning 'the High One', which Olmsted and Birkan[165] accept. If this were so the name Brigit would mean 'the exalted one'[166]; this is supported by the fact that Brigit has a cognate with the Sanskrit word *brhati* meaning 'the Exalted One'[167].

The names of the Dagda

The name the Dagda means the 'Good'[168] or the 'good god'[169], from either *dago-* meaning 'good'[170] or a composite *dago devos*[171] meaning 'the good god'[172], or 'Druid-God'[173]. *Eochaid* or *Eochu* is derived from **ekʷo* meaning 'horse'[174] or, according to Sterckx[175], "sans doubte" from *each* meaning 'horse' or 'stallion'. *Ollathir* means the 'Great Father'[176], 'Father of the Race'[177] or 'Father of all' or 'Universal Father'[178] or 'All-Father'[179]. The last two meanings are accepted by

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[158] **Green 1989a**:47.
[159] **de Vries 1961**:91; **Birkhan**:610.
[160] **Reinach**:49; **Linckenheld**:83; **Lambrechts**:100 and 101; **Heichelheim & Housman**:306; **Duval**:60, 61; **MacCana**:44; **Green 1986**:97; **Green 1989**:46, 84; **Deyts**:90; **Green 1992**:211; **Green 1995a**:128; **Green 1995b**:474.
[161] **Rhys**:76; **de Vries 1961**:80; **Le Roux 1970-73**:229; **Clarus**:86.
[162] **Rhys**:76.
[163] **de Vries 1961**:80.
[164] **Pokorny**:140.
[165] **Olmsted 1994**:163; **Birkhan**:613.
[166] **de Vries 1961**:80; **Mac Cana**:35.
[167] **Mac Cana**:35; **Powell**:148; **Birkhan**:613.
[168] **Clarus**:82.
[169] **Vendryes 1948**:263; **Duval 1954**:15; **de Vries 1961**:37; **Le Roux 1967a**:293; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:4; **Ross**:124; **Sterckx 1995**:4; **York**:84 and 91.
[170] **Vendryes 1948**:263.
[171] **Le Roux 1955**:52; **Birkhan**:503.
[172] **York**:100
[173] **Le Roux 1967**:293; **Le Roux 1970-73**:229; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:100.
[174] **de Vries 1961**:38.
[175] **Sterckx 1995**:12.
[176] **Mac Cana**:66; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:4.
[177] **Duval 1954**:15.
[178] **Le Roux 1960**:359; **Guyonvarc'h 1966**:316.
[179] **Heichelheim & Housman**:308; **de Vries 1961**:38; **York**:100.

Sterckx[180], but the translation 'All-Father' is considered incorrect by Birkhan[181]; de Vries[182], however, points out that the name of Odin, the Norse supreme god, was *Allfoður*. His name was, therefore, *Eochaid* or *Eochu* the All-Father. *Ruadh* means either 'lord' or 'red one'[183] and, therefore, *Ruadh Rofhessa* or *Ruadrofessa* means 'the Red one of Great Knowledge'[184], 'Red of the Perfect Knowledge'[185], 'the Red One who knows all'[186], 'Mighty One of Great Knowledge'[187], 'Lord of Great Knowledge'[188] or 'the red one with the great knowledge'[189].

The name Dian Cecht

Dian Cecht, whose name means 'with a long grasp'[190] or 'swift capture'[191].

The name Donn

Donn, derived from the Indo-European **dhus-no-*, meaning 'dark'[192], means the 'Brown One' or 'Dark One'[193] and is a probable cognate with the Irish word *dû* meaning 'earth'. Birkhan[194] suggests that the name could be similar to *donn-2* meaning 'chief', 'noble' or 'ruler'.

The name Lug(us)

Although Lambert[195] sees the Celtic root **lug-* in Lug as being derived from **lug*, meaning 'burn' or 'enflame', itself derived from **luk-*, meaning 'bright' and the name is usually connected with the Welsh word *lleu* meaning 'light', Olmsted and Birkhan[196] think that the name Lug was more likely to have been derived from **leugh-*, **lough-* or **lugh-*, meaning 'oath' or 'vow'[197] or 'to swear'[198], related to the

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[180] **Sterckx 1995**:5.
[181] **Birkhan**:503.
[182] **de Vries 1961**:38.
[183] **York**:100.
[184] **Heichelheim & Housman**:308.
[185] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:101; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:4.
[186] **de Vries 1961**:38.
[187] **Mac Cana**:66; **York**:100.
[188] **Sjoestedt**:45.
[189] **Birkhan**:503.
[190] **Le Roux 1967a**:294.
[191] **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1982**:103; **Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h 1983**:5.
[192] **Birkhan**:557.
[193] **Mac Cana**:42; **Cunliffe**:187; **York**:104.
[194] **Birkhan**:557.
[195] **Lambert**:159.
[196] **Olmsted 1994**:117; **Birkhan**:600.
[197] **Pokorny**:687.
[198] **Birkhan**:600.

Old Irish *luige* and Welsh *llw*, both meaning 'oath'[199], and that Lug meant 'Vow' rather than 'Bright'. According to van Hamel[200], the name Lugus is derived from the animal the lynx, but, according to Krappe[201], it is linked to the raven; indeed, van Tassel Graves[202] says that the Indo-European root **leug* means 'bent, curved, flexible' and that this suggests the the shape of the claws or beak of the birds of the corvine family. However, Olmsted[203] points out that Lugus, which is a u-stem, cannot be derived from the Gallic word for 'crow', which is the o-stem word *lugos*. The theory that Lug is derived from **lug* and ultimately from **luk-*, finds support in the connection between Lug(us), divination and ravens, since the raven is the sacred bird of Apollo, the god of divination and light. Birkhan[204] suggests that another possibility is that the name is connected to the Old Irish word *lucht*, meaning 'load', 'content', 'people' or 'mass', the Welsh word *llwcht*, meaning 'load', 'burden' or 'tribe' and the Gallic *luchtos*, meaning 'part', all of which are derived from a root meaning 'connect' or 'bind together', and that Lugus was the god of gatherings. Birkhan[205] claims that the name of the Welsh hero, Llew Llawgyffes, seems to be an etymological parallel to the name Lug(us). The epithet *samildánach* means 'possessing many arts at the same time' or 'multiple artist'[206] (*sam* = at the same time, *il* = many, *dán* = skills)[207] and may be rendered in Greek by the term *sympolytekhnos*[208]. Birkhan[209] says that the *ildánach* is also a magician. According to Birkhan[210], a more frequent epithet is *lámhfhada* meaning 'longhand' and it probably had a military connotation.

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[199] **Birkhan**:600.
[200] **van Hamel**:236.
[201] **Krappe**:236.
[202] **van Tassel Graves**:168.
[203] **Olmsted 1994**:314.
[204] **Birkhan**:600.
[205] **Birkhan**:603.
[206] **Birkhan**:603.
[207] **Sjoestedt**:44.
[208] **Even**:91.
[209] **Birkhan**:603.
[210] **Birkhan**:603.

Appendix Five

Details of Gallo-Roman temples

Bellovaci

Estrées-Saint-Denis. Construction of the Gallo-Roman temples seems to have begun in the first half of the 1st century AD[1]. According to Massy[2] there are four temples, three with ambulatories, and according to Woimant[3] there are three. Whichever it is, the *cellae* are all square, 7m each side[4] with general dimensions of 13.5m or 13m on each side[5]. An enclosure surrounding the temples, with the principal opening to the east, delimits a quadrangular zone first of 60m by 45m[6], then of 80m by 67.4m[7] or 82.8m by 67.4m[8] or 83m by 67m[9]. On the southern exterior of the enclosure there was a pit containing ceramic items from the 3rd century[10]. Situated on the Roman road linking *Augustomagus* [Senlis] and *Camaracum* [Cambrai], the temple is 7Km south-west of the river Aronde and a dozen kilometres west of the river Oise and, therefore, the Bellovaci/Suessiones border[11].

Vendeuil-Caply. A very Classical Gallo-Roman temple comprising a slightly rectangular *cella* (12.2m x 10.5m) and an ambulatory with the general dimensions of 20.2m by 18.5m[12]. The temple was erected in the time of Nero[13] or at the end of the time of Nero and the beginning of that of Vespasian as was a vast portico[14]. The temple was situated on the Roman road from *Lutetia* [Paris] to *Samarabriva* [Amiens] at the point where the road from *Caesaromagus* [Beauvais] joins it and about 4Km from the source of the river Noye and the Bellovaci/Ambiani border.

Leuci

Saint-Amand-sur-Ornain/Naix-aux-Forges. There are two temples, A and B, both with ambulatories[15]. There is nothing precise about temple A, but the *cella* of temple B is exactly square (11.8m x 11.8m) and the ambulatory is 4.8m wide, giving the

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[1] **Massy 1985**:475
[2] **Massy 1989**:227
[3] **Woimant**:167
[4] **Massy 1989**:227
[5] **Woimant**:167
[6] **Massy 1989**:227
[7] **Massy 1985**:475
[8] **Massy 1989**:227
[9] **Woimant**:167
[10] **Woimant**:168
[11] **Woimant**:164
[12] **Massy 1983**:251
[13] **Massy 1983**:251
[14] **Massy 1985**:480
[15] **Bertin** No. 245

general dimensions of 22m by 24m[16]. The site is situated on a plateau[17] at *Nasium* [Naix], the point where the Roman road from *Tullum Leucorum* [Toul] bends north to D*urocortorum* [Reims], almost 20Km from the Leuci/Remi border.

Sorcy-St. Martin. There are three temples, 1A, 2A and 3B according to Bertin, the latter built on top of the first two, which were small[18]. Temples 1A and 2A have *cellae* which can be regarded as square, although 2A is more oblong than others (Temple 1A: 6.7m; temple 2A: 4.7m x 6.8m)[19]; temple 1A has an ambulatory 1m to 3m wide with general dimensions of 12.75 by 14.4m and temple 2A has an ambulatory 2m wide. The *cella* of temple 3B is exactly square (7.4m x 7.4m) with an ambulatory 4.5m wide, resulting in the general dimensions of 19.8m by 19.9m by 18.9m by 19.1m[20]. The dates of the temples are temples 1A and 2A in the 1st century, temple 3B from the 2nd until the 4th[21]. The direction of the entrances of all three temples was east-north-east[22]. Situated on a summit[23], not only near a spring and on the bank of the Maas/Meuse, the site is on the Roman road, which joins the road from *Divodurum* [Metz] to *Tullum Leucorum* [Toul] with the road from *Tullum Leucorum* [Toul] to *Durocortorum* [Reims], far from any border.

Mediomatrici

Bierbach-Klosterwald. This sanctuary is in the Mediomatrici tribal region, to the east of *Pons Sarravi* [Saarbrücken] and 4-5 Km west of the town of Deux-Ponts[24] or 10Km north of *Pons Sarravi* [Saarbrücken][25]. The date of the site seems to be from the middle of the 2nd century to the middle or late 4th century AD[26]. The Gallo-Roman temples are temples 1 and 5, according to Grenier[27], or A and B respectively, according to Horne and King[28], temple 5/B being immediately south of temple 1/A[29]. Both temples are identical[30], each having *cellae*, which, although technically

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[16] **Bertin** No. 245
[17] **Bertin** No. 245
[18] **Bertin** No. 206
[19] **Bertin** No. 206
[20] **Bertin** No. 206
[21] **Bertin** No. 206
[22] **Bertin** No. 206
[23] **Bertin** No. 206
[24] **Grenier 1958**:850
[25] **Bertin** No.32
[26] **Grenier 1958**:855; **Horne & King**:388; **Bertin** No.32
[27] **Grenier 1958**:851
[28] **Horne & King**:387, 388
[29] **Horne & King**:388
[30] **Grenier 1958**:852; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:234

rectangular (4.1m x 5.1m)[31], can be considered square[32], an ambulatory[33], the wall of which they share[34] they are so close, and a base for an altar or statue in the west side of each *cella*[35]. The temples were in a *temenos*, which is the same one for both[36], their entrances orientated to the east-north-east[37]; they were situated on a terrace on a hill-side[38] in the valley of the river Blies[39] and next to the river Erbach to the east[40] near the road from *Pons Sarravi* [Saarbrücken] to *Upper Germany* to the north, and near the border between *Belgic Gaul* and *Upper Germany* about 10Km away.

Nervii

Cantaing-sur-Escaut. Built either 7Km north-west[41] or south-west of *Camaracum* [Cambrai] the temple is certainly square (16m x 16m) with an ambulatory[42]. The orientation of its entrance is unknown, but it is situated on the river Escaut, about 8Km from the Nervii/Atrebates border and about 4Km west of the road from *Camaracum* [Cambrai] to *Augusta Viromanduorum* [St.-Quentin] and south of the road from *Camaracum* [Cambrai] to *Samarobriva* [Amiens].

Hofstade-lès-Alost. This temple is dated from the middle of the 2nd century AD to the 3rd century and has no ambulatory[43]. Although each side of the *cella* varies in length (6.75m x 6.85m x 6.6m x 7.1m), the difference does not alter the fact that it can be regarded as almost square[44]. The temple had two entrances; one opened to the east and the other, half as wide, to the west[45]. The temple is in an enclosure 23m by 15m by 48m on rising ground close to the river Dendre[46]. Although on the Roman road linking *Castellum Menapiorum* [Cassel] to *Atuatuca* [Tongres][47], it is over 10Km from the Nervii/ Menapii border.

Liberchies-Bons-Villiers. This temple, has a square *cella* (ext.13m x 13m[48];

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[31] **Bertin** No.32
[32] **Bertin** No.32
[33] **Horne & King**:388
[34] **Grenier 1958**:852; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:234; **Horne & King**:387; **Bertin** No.32
[35] **Grenier 1958**:852; **Horne & King**:387, 388
[36] **Horne & King**:388
[37] **Horne & King**:387
[38] **Horne & King**:387
[39] **Grenier 1958**:850
[40] **Raepsaet-Charlier**:234
[41] **Bertin** No.43
[42] **Bertin** No.43
[43] **Bertin** No.103
[44] **Bertin** No.103
[45] **Bertin** No.103
[46] **Bertin** No.103
[47] **Bertin** No.103
[48] **Bertin** No.109; **Cabuy**:224

int.11.5m x 11.5m[49]) and, with the 4m wide ambulatory with 0.5m thick walls, overall dimensions of 23m by 23m[50]. The orientation of its entrance is east[51] or south-east[52], the alignment of its four corners is with the four cardinal points of the compass[53] and the general alignment is north-west by south-east[54]; it was positioned in a vast sacred enclosure measuring 100m by 76m[55], with a ditch, 3.5m wide and 1.8m deep, dated to the second half of the 3rd century AD[56], encircling the temple in a position imprecisely defined as between the wall with the colonnade and the wall of the sacred enclosure[57] on a plateau at the division of the rivers Maas/Meuse and Escaut with a gentle slope towards a small brook called Montplaisir, a tributary of the Tintia[58].

Fontaine-Valmont. This pair of Gallo-Roman temples, temple 1 and, north of it, 2, according to Bertin[59], or A and B respectively, according to Cabuy[60], dating from the beginning of the 1st century AD, founded under Claudius, to the end of the 3rd century[61], have *cellae* which are technically rectangular (Temple 1/A: ext.8.85m x 7.4m[62], int.7.25 x 5.8m[63]; temple 2/B: 7.5m x 8.5m[64] or ext.8.4m x 7.5m, int.6.8m x 5.9m[65]), but can be regarded as square, as Bertin[66] does, and each have an ambulatory (Width of temple 1/A ambulatory: 2.95m[67]; width of temple 2/B ambulatory: 2.95m[68]), although that of temple 2/B is incomplete[69]; indeed, they share an ambulatory wall[70]. The general dimensions of temple 1/A are 16.3m by 15.2m[71], but those of temple 2/B are difficult to determine. The entrance of temple 1/A is

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[49] **Cabuy**:224
[50] **Bertin** No.109; **Cabuy**:224
[51] **Bertin** No.109
[52] **Cabuy**:224
[53] **Cabuy**:224
[54] **Bertin** No.109; **Cabuy**:224
[55] **Cabuy**:225
[56] **Cabuy**:225-226
[57] **Cabuy**:225
[58] **Cabuy**:224
[59] **Bertin** No.85
[60] **Cabuy**:205 and 206
[61] **Bertin** No.85; **Cabuy**:208
[62] **Bertin** No.85; **Cabuy**:205
[63] **Cabuy**:206
[64] **Bertin** No.85
[65] **Cabuy**:206
[66] **Bertin** No.85
[67] **Bertin** No.85; **Cabuy**:206
[68] **Bertin** No.85; **Cabuy**:206
[69] **Bertin** No.85
[70] **Cabuy**:pl.VIII
[71] **Bertin** No.85; **Cabuy**:206

certainly to the east[72]; Bertin[73] thinks that of temple 2/B is to the north, but Cabuy[74] thinks it is probably to the east. Both temples are in a *temenos* enclosing a sacred area (49.7m (North) x 49.6m (South) x 66.26m (East) x 65.96m (West))[75] on a plateau[76] dominating the right bank of the river Sambre to the north, the river Hante to the west, the river Sartiau and the brook Rin-Wé to the south and the stream Moulin to the east[77] and on the border between the Tungri and Nervii tribal territories[78]. But it is not near a Roman road.

Suessiones

Champlieu. Constructed in the second half of the 2nd century AD and in, according to Bertin, the tribal territory of the Suessiones 28Km north-east of *Augutomagus* [Senlis], [79] the temple is certainly square (22.3m x 22.3m) and has an ambulatory (3.8m)[80]. The entrance is orientated east-north-east and it is on a plateau[81] about 8Km from the river Oise, on the road from *Augustamagus* [Senlis] to *Noviodunum* [Soissons][82] and exactly on the Silvanectes/Suessiones border[83].

Les Tournelles. An almost square temple (6m x 7.5m), although it does not have an ambulatory[84]. It displays certain essential characteristics. Its entrance's orientation is to the east[85] and its close proximity to Champlieu means that it is also near water, near a road and near a border.

Remi/Treveri

Mouzon. This site, 110Km west of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves], has been assigned to either the Remi or the Mediomatrici, according to Bertin[86], or to the Treveri, according to Cabuy[87]. There are two temples, of which temple B[88], built during the Augustan period, was definitely Gallo-Roman in design. Temple B has an

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[72] **Bertin** No.85; **Cabuy**:206
[73] **Bertin** No.85
[74] **Cabuy**:206
[75] **Bertin** No.85; **Cabuy**:206
[76] **Bertin** No.85; **Cabuy**:205 and 207
[77] **Cabuy**:205
[78] **Bertin** No.85; **Cabuy**:209
[79] **Bertin** No.52
[80] **Bertin** No.52
[81] **Bertin** No.52
[82] **Bertin** No.52
[83] **Bertin** No.52
[84] **Bertin** No.213
[85] **Bertin** No.213
[86] **Bertin** No.133
[87] **Cabuy**:306
[88] **Cabuy**:307

almost square *cella* (ext. 4.35m x 4.1m,[89] int. 3.35m x 3.1m[90]) without an ambulatory. At the front and back of this *cella* was a flagstone paving in the form of a nearly circular arc (Diam: ext. 7.50m, int. 4.40m), one of which was penetrated by pits for votive offerings. Both temples were in an enclosure, constructed in two phases, the Augustan, contemporaneous with temple B, and one dated to the 2nd century AD, contemporaneous with temple A[91] and the entrances of both of the *cellae* open to the north-north-east[92]. The site, on a flat hill-top, dominates the left bank of the Maas/Meuse[93] and is 3Km north east of the Roman road from *Durocortorum* [Reims] to *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] and is on the Treveri/Remi border[94].

Treveri

Dalheim. Few details are known about temples B and C, except that they have square or slightly rectangular *cellae* and ambulatories[95] and the general dimensions of each are 20m by 20m[96]. All the temples are in an enclosed sacred area, the area is on a plateau, occupied from the1st to the 4th centuries, and the site, 10Km from the Treveri/Mediomatrici border, is on the consular road from *Divodurum* [Metz] to *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] built during the years 18-17 BC[97].

Dhronecken. The temple, situated 6Km east of the modern Dhronecken[98] and 30 Km east of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][99], has a *cella* (12.2m x 8.6m[100] or 10.3m x 8.65m[101]), considered as square by Bertin[102], Cabuy being silent, and an ambulatory varying in width from 2.5m to 3m to 4m[103] or 2.75m to 3.95m to 5.18m[104] with general dimensions of18.3m by 18.75m[105] or 18.3m by 17.1m[106]. The date of the construction of the temple, according to Grenier[107], can not go back

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[89] **Frézouls 1975**:389; **Tisserand**:62; **Cabuy**:307
[90] **Cabuy**:307
[91] **Cabuy**:307
[92] **Cabuy**:306 and 307
[93] **Cabuy**:306
[94] **Cabuy**:307
[95] **Cabuy**:265
[96] **Cabuy**:265-266
[97] **Cabuy**:266
[98] **Grenier 1958**:879; **Cabuy**:268.
[99] **Grenier 1958**:879; **Bertin** No.71; **Cabuy**:268.
[100] **Bertin** No.71
[101] **Cabuy**:269
[102] **Bertin** No.71
[103] **Bertin** No.71
[104] **Cabuy**:269
[105] **Bertin** No.71
[106] **Cabuy**:268
[107] **Grenier 1958**:880-881.

earlier than the end of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd century AD, or, according to Hatt and Horne and King[108], was at the beginning of 1st century AD, and the site was occupied, according to Bertin[109], from the beginning of the 1st century AD to the beginning of the 5th century, or, according to Cabuy[110], from the 1st century, but effectively only at the beginning or middle of the 2nd up to the end of the 4th. The temple was in a rectangular enclosure (65m x 59.65m) of sacred space[111] with an entrance orientated north-east[112] high on a plateau[113] on the right bank of the Mosel/Moselle[114]; it is not near any border or Roman road.

Fell. The site is a dozen kilometres east of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][115] and contains three temples. All the temples' *cellae* were rectangular, those of temples A (ext.6.9m x 5.45m, int. 5.7m x 4.25m)[116] and B (ext. 7.1m x 8.8m, int. 5.9m x 7.6m)[117] more so than most of the other *cellae* examined, but all, and certainly that of C (ext. 6.1m x 5.3m, int. 4.9m x 4.1m)[118], can be considered as being square and far from as rectangular as Classical temples. Each of them was a *cella* with no ambulatory[119] and remained so from the 2nd century AD until the third quarter of the 3rd century[120], when Temple A underwent a second phase with the construction of an ambulatory 2m wide resulting in the general dimensions of 11.9m by 10.45m[121]. This remained the situation for them all from the end of the 3rd century until the third quarter of the 4th[122]. The entrance of temple A was south-east and of temple B was north-east, while the direction of the entrance of that temple C is unknown[123]. All three temples are on the north-east flank of a crest called the Burgkopf a little distance from the summit[124]; temple A is closest to the summit[125], temple B 18m south[126] with temple C further down[127]; the crest is elevated at the confluence of the

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[108] **Hatt**:134; **Horne & King**:403.
[109] **Bertin** No.71
[110] **Cabuy**:272
[111] **Bertin** No.71; **Cabuy**:269
[112] **Bertin** No.71; **Cabuy**:268
[113] **Greneir 1958**:879; **Bertin** No.71; **Horne & King**:402; **Cabuy**:268.
[114] **Greneir 1958**:879; **Bertin** No.71; **Cabuy**:268.
[115] **Cabuy**:274
[116] **Cabuy**:274
[117] **Cabuy**:275
[118] **Cabuy**:275
[119] **Cabuy**:274, 275 and 276
[120] **Cabuy**:276
[121] **Cabuy**:275
[122] **Cabuy**:276
[123] **Cabuy**:275
[124] **Cabuy**:274
[125] **Cabuy**:274
[126] **Cabuy**:275
[127] **Cabuy**:pl.XLI

rivers Feller and Welgerbach[128].

Fliessem/Otrang. This site, 25Km north-west of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][129], contains two temples, although only Temple A is typically Gallo-Roman with a slightly rectangular *cella* (ext. 6.65m x 5.7m, int. 5.45m x 4.5m) and an ambulatory 2.25m to 2.5m wide and resulting general dimensions of 12.25m by 11.5m. Occupation dates from the 1st century AD to the 4th. Temple B is a Classical design. Temple A's entrance faces east. The temples, 700m east of the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] to *Colonia Augusta* [Cologne][130], spread out at the mid-point of the slope of a plateau, which gently descends eastwards and thus lightly dominates the river Kyll valley, a tributary of the Mosel/Moselle[131] and are situated within a kilometre of the border between *Belgic Gaul* and *Upper Germany*.

Graach. The site, 35Km north-east of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][132], has been occupied since the end of the Iron Age[133]. The Gallo-Roman temple has no ambulatory and the *cella* (ext. 6.67m x 6.1m, int. 5.87m x 5.3m)[134] is only slightly rectangular; use of the site in the Roman period was from the 2nd century AD until the end of the 4th[135]. The four corners are aligned with the four cardinal compass points, but the orientation of the entrance is unknown[136]. It is situated on the south slope of the Mosel/Moselle valley in an enclosure (56.08m x 53.48m) demarcating a sacred area[137]; it appears to be close to neither a Roman road nor the border of the *Belgic Gaul* and *Upper Germany*.

Gusenberg. This site is 40Km east, according to Bertin[138], or about 20Km southwest, according to Cabuy[139], of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves], little more than 1Km northeast of the village of Gusenberg[140] and approximately 15 Km from Dhronecken[141]. Although its construction is dated, according to Grenier[142], to either the end of the Celtic era or the beginning of the Empire or, according to Hatt[143], to

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[128] **Cabuy**:274
[129] **Cabuy**:277
[130] **Cabuy**:278
[131] **Cabuy**:277
[132] **Cabuy**:281
[133] **Cabuy**:282
[134] **Cabuy**:281
[135] **Cabuy**:282
[136] **Cabuy**:281
[137] **Cabuy**:281
[138] **Bertin** No.97.
[139] **Cabuy**:283.
[140] **Cabuy**:283.
[141] **Grenier 1958**:882.
[142] **Grenier 1958**:884.
[143] **Hatt**:134.

either the end of Gallic independence or the beginning of the 1st century AD or, according to Cabuy[144], to the first half of the 1st century AD; the largest proportion of the objects, however, appears to be from the 2nd century AD[145]. Technically rectangular, the *cella* of temple A (7.8m x 8.5m[146] or ext.9.05m x 9.7m, int.7.55m x 8.2m[147]) is considered square by Bertin[148] and has an ambulatory (2.5m wide[149] or 2.5m wide (east wall), 2.7m wide (west wall), 2.9m wide (north wall) and 2.9m wide (south wall)[150]), the general dimensions being 15.5m by 15.5m[151] or 17.75m by 17m[152]. In addition, although not near a border, the temple has some essential elements. The entrance is to the east-south-east[153] or possibly the east[154] and the temple is in a rectangular enclosure with no east side[155] demarcating a sacred area[156] (65.5m x 57.15m[157] or 65.34m x 57.15m[158]); the site is situated on the slope of a hill[159], overhanging the valley of the river Lösterbach[160] 5Km north of the Roman road linking *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] and Tholey.

Heckenmünster. This site, 25Km[161] or about 20Km[162] north-east of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves], seems to have been occupied from the second half of the 1st century AD until its destruction in the second half of the 3rd century[163]. Each of the two quadrangular temples, temples 1 and 2[164] or A and B[165] respectively have a *cella*, one of which is technically rectangular but considered as square[166] and one is certainly square (Temple 1/A:5.8m by 6.2m[167], int. 4.9m x 4.4m[168]. Temple 2/B:

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[144] **Cabuy**:284.
[145] **Grenier 1958**:884; **Bertin** No.97; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:231; **Cabuy**:284.
[146] **Bertin** No.97
[147] **Cabuy**:283
[148] **Bertin** No.97
[149] **Bertin** No.97
[150] **Cabuy**:283
[151] **Bertin** No.97
[152] **Cabuy**:283
[153] **Bertin** No.97
[154] **Cabuy**:283
[155] **Bertin** No.97
[156] **Cabuy**:283
[157] **Bertin** No.97
[158] **Cabuy**:284
[159] **Bertin** No.97
[160] **Cabuy**:283
[161] **Bertin** No.236
[162] **Cabuy**:285
[163] **Raepsaet-Charliers**:228; **Cabuy**:288
[164] **Bertin** No.236
[165] **Cabuy**:285
[166] **Bertin** No.236
[167] **Bertin** No.236; **Cabuy**:285
[168] **Cabuy**:285

3.7m by 3.7m[169], int. 2.5m x 2.5m[170]) and an ambulatory (Temple 1/A: 4m wide[171] or 1.9m to 2m wide[172], temple 2/B:1.1m wide[173] or 1.25m[174]); the general dimensions of temple 1/A are 11m by 11.3m[175] and of temple 2/B 7.7m by 7.7m[176]. Although Bertin[177] claims that the entrances of both temples face south-west, Cabuy[178] says that the entrances open to the south-east. All three temples are in a demarcated area (77m by 33m)[179] and are situated in the Hunsrück[180] on the slope of a plateau[181] on the left bank of the Mosel/Moselle[182]. They are close to three springs, of which two are sulphurous[183], one called the "Victoria spring"[184], and have two wells inside the enclosure[185], one at the centre[186] and are on the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves] to *Upper Germany*. The temples are not near a border.

Hochsheid. The temple, 50Km north-east of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves][187], had two phases. The first, in the second half of the 1st century AD[188], consisted of an almost square *cella* (6.25m x 6m[189] or 6.25m x 6.75m[190] or ext. 6.85m x 6.6m, int. 5.65m x 5.4m[191]) erected alone[192]. In the second phase, at the beginning of the 2nd century[193], the *cella* was unchanged, but an ambulatory, from 2m to 2.5m wide[194], was attached giving the general dimensions of 13.5m by 14m[195] or 12.5m by 13m[196] or 14m by 13.5m[197]. In the first phase the entrance opened to the north-west, but in

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[169] **Bertin** No.236; **Cabuy**:285
[170] **Cabuy**:286
[171] **Bertin** No.236
[172] **Cabuy**:285
[173] **Bertin** No.236
[174] **Cabuy**:286
[175] **Bertin** No.236; **Cabuy**:285
[176] **Bertin** No.236; **Cabuy**:286
[177] **Bertin** No.236
[178] **Cabuy**:285 and 286
[179] **Cabuy**:286
[180] **Raepsaet-Charliers**:228
[181] **Cabuy**:285
[182] **Cabuy**:285
[183] **Bertin** No.236
[184] **Binsfeld**: 239; **Cabuy**:285
[185] **Cabuy**:286
[186] **Cabuy**:287
[187] **Grenier 1958**:885; **Bertin** No.102; **Cabuy**:289
[188] **Cabuy**:293
[189] **Grenier 1958**:887
[190] **Bertin** No.102
[191] **Cabuy**:290
[192] **Bertin** No.102
[193] **Raepsaet-Charliers**:228; **Cabuy**:293
[194] **Grenier 1958**:887; **Bertin** No.102; **Cabuy**:290
[195] **Grenier 1958**:887
[196] **Bertin** No.102
[197] **Cabuy**:290

the second phase to the east[198] or the north-east[199]. The raison d'être of the site was the neighbouring spring which was directed into the centre of the temple[200]. The site, 645m up on the north slope of the Idarwald in the south-west of the Hunsrück[201], is on very marshy soil[202] and was situated on the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] to *Moguntiacum* [Mainz/Mayence][203] and on the border of the *Belgic Gaul* and *Upper Germany*[204].

Hottenbach. Situated about 40Km east of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][205] the temple has a *cella* with no ambulatory[206]; the *cella* (ext. 4.9m x 4.45m, int. 4.2m x 3.75m)[207] can be regarded as square. The entrance opened to the south[208]. It is situated on the south-east slope of the Idarwald on the heights dominating the valley of the Ebesbach[209] and about 2.5m from the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] to *Moguntiacum* [Mainz/Mayence][210]. Although in the extreme east of the tribal territory[211], it is not close to the border of *Belgic Gaul* and *Upper Germany*.

Izel. The temple has a practically square *cella* (ext.4.9m x 4.3m, int.3.8m x 3.2m), an ambulatory 1.8m wide and general dimensions of 9.5m by 9.2m[212]. Although it is not possible to determine the entrance[213], the temple is surrounded by a sacred space (22.9m x 20.10m) open on the east side[214]; it is situated on the highland dividing the river basins of the Semois and the Chiers[215], within 10Km of the former and only 20m south of the Roman road from *Durocortorum* [Reims] to *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][216], but not near a border.

Möhn. Situated 10 Km[217] or a dozen kilometres[218] north of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][219] is a site containing three temples built at the end of the 1st century

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[198] **Grenier 1958**:888
[199] **Bertin** No.102
[200] **Grenier 1958**:893; **Raepsaet-Charliers**:228; **Cabuy**:290 and 293
[201] **Cabuy**:289
[202] **Weisgerber**:7-8
[203] **Grenier 1958**:885; **Bertin** No.102; **Raepsaet-Charliers**:228; **Cabuy**:291
[204] **Grenier 1958**:887
[205] **Cabuy**:294
[206] **Cabuy**:294
[207] **Cabuy**:294
[208] **Cabuy**:294
[209] **Cabuy**:294
[210] **Cabuy**:295
[211] **Cabuy**:294
[212] **Cabuy**:296
[213] **Cabuy**:296
[214] **Cabuy**:297
[215] **Cabuy**:296
[216] **Cabuy**:297
[217] **Bertin** No.125.
[218] **Grenier 1958**:875; **Cabuy**:300.
[219] **Grenier 1958**:875; **Bertin** No.125; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:230; **Cabuy**:300.

AD and destroyed at the very end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th. They are, according to Bertin[220], temples 1A-B-C and 2B or, according to Cabuy[221], temple A and B respectively and temple C, which had not yet been discovered when Bertin wrote. The *cella* of temple 1A-B-C/A was slightly oblong (11.5m x 12.75m[222] or ext. 13.3m x 11.95m, int. 11.9m x 10.70m[223]) with an ambulatory2.5m[224] or 3.08m to 3.25m[225] wide and general dimensions of 20m by 21.2m[226] or 20.5m by 19.2m[227]. Temple C also has a slightly oblong *cella* (ext. 9.2m x 8.15m, int. 8.1m x 7m) and no ambulatory[228]. Temple 2B/B, with a very oblong *cella* and an apse appears more Classical in design. The direction of the entrances of all the temples was south east[229]. The site is situated on the first slopes of the Eifel[230] on the left bank of the river Mosel/Moselle[231], with a spring, the reason for the temple, to the north west[232], near to[233] and to the west of[234] the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] to *Colonia Augusta* [Cologne], but not near any border.

Nattenheim. Situated about 30Km north-west of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves], it existed from the period of the Antonines to that of Arcadius[235]. The *cella* is described by Bertin[236] as square, although the difference between the length and width in Bertin's measurements (6.25m x 7.90m)[237] is much greater than that measured by Cabuy (ext.7.25m x 7.77m, int.6.15m x 6.67m; walls 0.55m thick)[238], who describes the *cella* as rectangular[239]. It can therefore be considered as almost square and its plan[240] confirms this. It has an ambulatory (The width varying from 1.4m to 1.5m and with walls 0.55m thick) and the general dimensions are 10.25m by

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[220] **Bertin** No.125
[221] **Cabuy**:300-302
[222] **Bertin** No.125
[223] **Cabuy**:300
[224] **Bertin** No.125
[225] **Cabuy**:301
[226] **Bertin** No.125
[227] **Cabuy**:301
[228] **Cabuy**:302
[229] **Bertin** No.125; **Cabuy**:301 and 302
[230] **Bertin** No.125; **Cabuy**:300
[231] **Grenier 1958**:875; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:230; **Cabuy**:300.
[232] **Bertin** No.125; **Cabuy**:302
[233] **Hettner**:Col.1; **Grenier 1958**:875; **Raepsaet-Charlier**:230; **Horne & King**:433.
[234] **Cabuy**:302.
[235] **Cabuy**:310
[236] **Bertin** No.139
[237] **Bertin** No.139
[238] **Cabuy**:310
[239] **Cabuy**:310
[240] **Cabuy**:pl.LV

11.85m[241]. Unusually the entrance faces south[242]; it is situated on a high point, near the river Kyll[243] and 5Km from the border between the provinces of *Galli Belgica* and *Upper Germany*.

Niedaltdorf. Temple A, occupied by the Romans from the 1st to the 4th centuries AD[244], is in the Treveri tribal territory[245] 45Km south of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][246]. Although Cabuy[247] describes it as rectangular, on the basis of its measurements (ext.2.3m x 2.2m, int.1.1m x 1m)[248], the *cella* of temple A can be regarded as square, a view confirmed by its plan[249]. It does not have an ambulatory. The *cella* has an entrance orientated to the east[250]. It is situated in a sacred enclosure[251], with a spring within the enclosure[252], on the flank of the Hirnberg[253], 700m from the river Nie[254], a tributary of the Sarre[255], and near the Roman road from *Divodurum* [Metz] to *Contiomagus* [Pachten][256], and then to *Moguntiacum* [Mainz/Mayence] and the border between the Treveri and the Mediomatrici[257].

Newel. This site is 7 to 8Km north-west of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][258] and it covers the period from the end of the 1st century AD up to the middle of the 3rd[259]. The *cella* was almost exactly square (ext.6.2m x 6m, int. 5.2m x 5m) with an ambulatory 2m wide and general dimensions, therefore, of 12.25m by 12.1m[260]. The four corners are aligned with the cardinal points of the compass and the entrance is to the south-east[261], but there is no indication of a surrounding enclosure. The temple is on the western flank of a hill dominating the spring of the river Klinkbach[262] 2Km

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[241] **Cabuy**:310
[242] **Cabuy**:310
[243] **Cabuy**:310
[244] **Horne & King**:441; **Cabuy**:315
[245] **Green 1995**:102; **Green 1996**:30
[246] **Cabuy**:314
[247] **Cabuy**:314
[248] **Cabuy**:314
[249] **Cabuy**:pl.LVII
[250] **Horne & King**:441
[251] **Cabuy**:315
[252] **Cabuy**:315
[253] **Cabuy**:314
[254] **Cabuy**:315
[255] **Cabuy**:314
[256] **Horne & King**:441; **Cabuy**:315
[257] **Horne & King**:441
[258] **Cabuy**:311
[259] **Cabuy**:313
[260] **Cabuy**:311
[261] **Cabuy**:311
[262] **Cabuy**:311

west of the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] to *Colonia Augusta* [Köln/Cologne][263]. It is not near any border.

Otzenhausen. The site is 25Km from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves][264]. The temple seems to have been used from the 2nd century AD until the middle of the 3rd[265]. The *cella* is almost square (ext. 3.15m x 3.7m, int. 2.15m x 2.7m), but there is no trace of an ambulatory[266]. Although the entrance faces south and there is no mention of an enclosure, the site is on the southern slope of the Dolberg in the Hunsrück with the temple not far from the summit of a spur and the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves] to through Tholey to *Upper Germany* passes 10Km from it[267].

Pachten. Constructed at the turn of the 1st and beginning of 2nd century AD[268], the temples are in the heart of *Contiomagus* [Pachten], 45Km south of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves] beside the river Sarre[269]. Both temples, A and B, have exactly square *cellae* (Temple A: 6m x 6m; temple B: 5.6m x 5.6m), but only temple A has an ambulatory, which was 2.7m wide, with the general dimensions of 15.7m by 15m[270]. The orientation of the entrances is unknown, but the temples are in an area of sacred space at least 30m by 50m[271]. *Contiomagus* [Pachten] is where the Roman road from *Divodurum* [Metz] to *Moguntiacum* [Mainz/Mayence] crosses the Sarre river and the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves] to *Pons Sarravi* [Saarbrücken][272] and is more than 15Km from the Treveri/Mediomatrici border.

Schleidweiler. This site of these two Gallo-Roman temples is 15Km north of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves][273] and dates from the 1st century AD until the 4th[274]. Each temple, temples IA and IB, according to Bertin[275], or temples B and A, respectively, according to Cabuy[276], has a *cella* which is exactly square (Temple IB/A (8m x 8m[277] (ext.?) or 5.25m x 5.25m[278] (int.?); temple IA/B (ext. 5.55m x

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[263] **Cabuy**:312
[264] **Cabuy**:317
[265] **Cabuy**:318
[266] **Cabuy**:317
[267] **Cabuy**:317
[268] **Cabuy**:321
[269] **Cabuy**:319
[270] **Cabuy**:319
[271] **Cabuy**:319
[272] **Cabuy**:319
[273] **Cabuy**:332
[274] **Cabuy**:333
[275] **Bertin** No.203
[276] **Cabuy**:332
[277] **Cabuy**:332
[278] **Bertin** No.203

5.55, int. 4.5m x 4.5m, although Bertin[279] claims it is 3m x 4.2m))[280], but only temple A has an ambulatory; this is 2m wide and produces the general dimensions of 13.3m x 13.3m[281]. While the entrance of temple B is known to face south-east[282], Cabuy[283] says that nothing precise is known of temple A's[284], although Bertin[285] says it faces south-east. Situated on the east slope of the Kyll valley, the temples are relatively distant from any Roman road[286] and border.

Schwirzheim. Little is known of this site, 55Km from north of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves][287], but it can be seen to have many of the elements of a typically Gallo-Roman temple. The *cella* was exactly square (ext. 9m x 9m, int. 7.7m x 7.7m) with an ambulatory 2.5m wide and general dimensions of 15.3m by 15.3m[288].

Serrig[289]. This site, 20Km to the south of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves][290], Due to the little material published, the occupation of the site can be gauged as having been from the middle of the 2nd century AD to the end of the 4th[291]. The site consists of four temples, only one of which, Temple A, has an ambulatory. The *cella* of temple A is almost square (ext. 5.53m x 4.86m, int. 4.5m x 3.8m) and its ambulatory is 2.2m wide resulting in the general dimensions of 11.2m by 10.2m[292]. Temple B, 4m north-west of temple A, has a completely square *cella* (ext.5m x 5m, int. 4m x 4m) and Temple C, 4m south-east of temple A, has a *cella*, which is only slightly oblong (ext. 5.2m x 5m, int. 4.2m x 4m)[293]. Temple D, 4m south-east of temple C, has an almost totally square *cella* (ext. 3.64m x 3.56m, int. 2.6m x 2.5m)[294]. All four temples are at the north-east side[295] of a vaguely hexagonal enclosure (118m x 88m) enclosing a sacred area, the entrance to which is in the north-east side about 15m from the temples[296]. Only temple A's entrance is known and it faces north-east[297]. The temple site extends along the heights dominating the

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[279] **Bertin** No.203
[280] **Cabuy**:332
[281] **Cabuy**:332
[282] **Bertin** No.203; **Cabuy**:332
[283] **Cabuy**:332
[284] **Cabuy**:332
[285] **Bertin** No.203
[286] **Cabuy**:333
[287] **Cabuy**:334
[288] **Cabuy**:334
[289] Bertin (**Bertin** No.204) places this site in the Mediomatrici tribal territory
[290] **Cabuy**:335
[291] **Cabuy**:337
[292] **Cabuy**:335
[293] **Cabuy**:335
[294] **Cabuy**:336
[295] **Cabuy**:pl.LXIV
[296] **Cabuy**:336
[297] **Cabuy**:335

Sarre and 20m from the north-east side is the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves] to *Contiomagus* [Pachten][298]; it is far from any border.

Steinsel. The site is 35Km west of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves][299] and was occupied from the beginning of the 1st century AD up to the very end of the 4th[300]. The temple, with an almost exactly square (ext. 8.6m x 8m, int. 7.4m x 6.8m) *cella* and an ambulatory between 2m and 2.2m wide, has the general dimensions of 12.8m by 11.8m[301]. The temple, in the north half of a vast trapezoidal sacred enclosure 60m by 56m, is situated on the south-east slope of plateau dominating the valley of the river Alzette[302] and 10Km north of the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves] to *Durocortorum* [Reims][303]. It is far from any border.

Tawern. The site, a dozen kilometres south-west of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves][304], contains four temples, two (Temples A and D) with ambulatory walls on the north, west and south sides[305]. Temple A's *cella* (ext. 7.5m x 5.7m, int. 6.3m x 4.5m) could be considered as square and, the ambulatory being 2m to 2.2m wide, has the general dimensions of 9.8m by 10.8m[306]. Situated 2m south of temple A, the *cella* of temple B (ext. 4.55m x 3.9m, int. 3m x 2.3m)[307] is almost square. Situated 1.75m south of temple A, temple C has a *cella*, which, although more rectangular than others, may be regarded as almost square (ext. 7.5m x 5.85m, int. 6.3m x 4.65m)[308]. Temple D's *cella* is square (ext. 5.5m x 5.45m, int. 4.3m x 4.25m), although the width of the ambulatory varies from 1.6m to 1.7m, with the general dimensions being 7.65m by 9.65m[309]. Only the entrance of temple A has been identified and it faces east[310]; there is a trapezoidal enclosure with a principal entrance in the east[311]. A well was found in the north-west exterior corner of temple D[312]. The temples stretch out along the crest of the Metzenburg on the slope of the

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[298] **Bertin** No.204; **Cabuy**:335
[299] **Cabuy**:338
[300] **Cabuy**:339
[301] **Cabuy**:339
[302] **Cabuy**:339
[303] **Cabuy**:339
[304] **Cabuy**:341
[305] **Cabuy**:342
[306] **Cabuy**:341
[307] **Cabuy**:341
[308] **Cabuy**:342
[309] **Cabuy**:342
[310] **Cabuy**:341
[311] **Cabuy**:342
[312] **Cabuy**:342

Mosel/Moselle valley[313] on the Roman road from from *Divodurum* [Metz] to *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves][314] far from any border.

Velosne[315]. A temple, erected in a reoccupied fortified town 39Km north of *Verodunum* [Verdun][316] and 85Km south-west of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves][317], consists of a an almost square (4.3m x 5.1m[318] or ext. 5.2m x 4.35m, int. 3.8m x 3m[319]) *cella* with an ambulatory 2.3m wide[320]. The general dimensions are 10.4m by 11m[321] or 11m by 10.5m[322]. The precise chronology is impossible to determine, but after the 2nd century AD at least until the 4th[323]. The entrance is to the east[324] and the fortified town is a substitute for an enclosure[325]. Not only are there wells in the east-north-east of the town[326], but the site, on a hillside called "La Romanette", dominates the valley of the river Chiers about 100m away[327]. The site is more than 15Km from a Roman road, but is only about 5Km from the Treveri/Mediomatrici border[328].

Virton-Saint-Mard. The village to which this temple was attached was created in the course of the middle of the 1st century AD and underwent considerable development in the middle of the century, reaching its height in the 2nd and surviving the invasions at the end of the 3rd with difficulty[329]. The measurements of the *cella* (ext. +/- 8.85m x 7.8m, int. +/-7.2m x 5.7m), ambulatory (+/-1.7m wide) are imprecise[330]; indeed, the general dimensions are unknown as is the direction of the entrance. The site, on the Roman road linking Verodunum [Verdun] to the road connecting *Durocortorum* [Reims] and *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/ Trèves], is on the south-east corner of a plateau dominating the confluence of the valleys of the Vire and the Ton[331].

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[313] **Cabuy**:341
[314] **Cabuy**:342
[315] Bertin (**Bertin** No.223) assigns this temple to the Mediomatrici.
[316] **Bertin** No.223
[317] **Cabuy**:344
[318] **Bertin** No.223
[319] **Cabuy**:344
[320] **Bertin** No.223; **Cabuy**:344
[321] **Bertin** No.223
[322] **Cabuy**:344
[323] **Cabuy**:344
[324] **Cabuy**:344
[325] **Bertin** No.223
[326] **Bertin** No.223
[327] **Cabuy**:344
[328] Ironically, it is only 500m from the France/Belgium border (**Cabuy**:344).
[329] **Cabuy**:363
[330] **Cabuy**:363
[331] **Cabuy**:363

Wederath. The village containing the temple, 35Km east of *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves][332], was occupied under Augustus, developed fully during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, but, suffering under the invasions towards AD 275, was of reduced importance in the 4th[333]. The *cella* is almost square (ext. 10.7m x 9.5m, int. 9.7m x 8.5m) and has an ambulatory; although the width of the latter is unknown, the general dimensions are 16.9m by 15.6m[334]. The temple, whose corners are aligned to the cardinal points, has an entrance to the north-east and is in an enclosure of sacred space of irregular shape (120m x 70m)[335]. The site is in the heart of the Hunsrück[336], exactly on the Roman road from *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier/Trèves] to *Moguntiacum* [Mainz/Mayence] between *Dumno* [Kirchberg] and *Noviomago* [Neumagen][337] and near the border between *Belgic Gaul* and *Upper Germany*[338].

Tungri

Clavier-Vervoz. Temple A has two phases. The first dates from the middle of the 1st century AD until the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century when it was destroyed by fire; its second phase dates from the middle of the 3rd century up to the end of the 4th[339]. In the first phase, although technically rectangular, the *cella* can be called square (ext.7m x 6.5m, int.5.7m x 5.2m)[340]; there was an ambulatory 2.8m wide and the general dimensions were 14m by 13.4m[341]. In the second phase, the *cella* stayed unchanged, but the width of the ambulatory increased to between 3.3m and 3.4m[342]. The entrance of the temple was orientated south-east and both temples were in an enclosure[343]. The site, being on the flank of a small depression[344], is technically on a high point; it is only a dozen metres from the brook the Ocquier, the principal tributary of the Néblon river[345] and about 100m from the Roman road from *Orolaunum* [Arlon] to *Atuatuca* [Tongres][346]. There were even a number of pits for

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[332] **Cabuy**:345
[333] **Cabuy**:346
[334] **Cabuy**:345
[335] **Cabuy**:345
[336] **Cabuy**:345
[337] **Cabuy**:346
[338] **Cabuy**:345
[339] **Cabuy**:204
[340] **Cabuy**:199
[341] **Cabuy**:199
[342] **Cabuy**:200
[343] **Cabuy**:201
[344] **Cabuy**:199
[345] **Cabuy**:199
[346] **Cabuy**:202

deposits around the two temples, contemporaneous with phase I[347] and even prior to temple B[348].

Matagne-la-grande. There are two temples. The *cella* of temple A is almost square (ext. 7.85m x 7.75m, int. 6.45m x 6.35m)[349] and, with an ambulatory from 3.3m to 3.4m wide, has the general dimensions of 15.85m by 15.85m[350]. Temple A is surrounded by a trapezoidal enclosure of sacred space (79m x 89m x 79m x 83m) of 66 ares with a monumental entrance in the south east side[351]. An oval pit, about a dozen metres in diameter and 1.8m deep, was on the east side of this *temenos*[352]. Temple B, 42m north east of temple A, had no ambulatory, but had an almost exactly square *cella* (ext. 5.9m x 5.8m, int. 4.7m x 4.6m)[353]. The entrances of both temples face the south east[354]. The first phase of the site, in which temple A and the oval pit belong, seems to have begun in the second half of the 3rd century AD and the second phase, in which temple B was built, is dated to the second half of the 4th and occupation seems to have ended at the beginning of the 5th[355]. Situated on the slightly inclined, southerly part of a vast plateau 260m high[356], it is probably very close to the Roman road thought to go from *Augusta Viromanduorum* [St.-Quentin] to *Colonia Augusta* [Köln/Cologne][357], but about 10Km from the nearest river.

Matagne-la-petite. The site, less than 2Km east of Matagne-la-grande, has two Gallo-Roman temples, temples A and B, both of which had ambulatories[358]. Temple A has two phases and the indications are that the first was ended with the destruction of the temple by fire[359]; as regards phase I, only the general dimensions, 18.6/18.67m by 18/18.05m, are known[360] and in phase II it was square (ext. 10.38m x 97.5/9.8m, int.8.8m x 8.25/8.3m) with an ambulatory 3.4m to 3.45m wide and the same general dimensions[361]. Phase I of temple A is able to be dated from the middle of the 2nd century AD and phase II, when temple B was built, can be placed between the middle of the 2nd century and AD 260[362] and they seem to have continued until

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[347] **Cabuy**:201
[348] **Cabuy**:200
[349] **Cabuy**:227
[350] **Cabuy**:228
[351] **Cabuy**:228
[352] **Cabuy**:229 and pl.XXIa
[353] **Cabuy**:228
[354] **Cabuy**:228
[355] **Cabuy**:232
[356] **Cabuy**:227
[357] **Cabuy**:229
[358] **Horne & King**:431
[359] **Cabuy**:235
[360] **Cabuy**:235
[361] **Cabuy**:235
[362] **Cabuy**:239

the late 4th century AD[363]. Temple B, immediately to the southwest of temple A, is attached to its south wall[364]. Temple B has a square *cella* (ext. 7.15m x 7.15m, int. 5.95m x 5.95m) with an ambulatory 2.92m to 3.03m wide and general dimensions of 14.4m by 14.15m[365]. Temple A, in both phases, and temple B had a south-east facing entrance[366] and temple A was in a walled *temenos* of sacred space (114.7m x 62m x115.9m x 62m) with a large entrance of 5m in the south east wall[367]. The temples are on a plateau in a Roman settlement[368] about 8 Km north of a tributary of the river Maas/Meuse and about 4.5Km north-west of the Roman road thought to go from *Augusta Viromanduorum* [St.-Quentin] to *Colonia Augusta* [Köln/Cologne].

Viromandui

Chilly. The Gallo-Roman temple at this site consists of a rectangular, but almost square, *cella* (ext. 8m x 7.5m[369], int. 5.6m x 4.95m[370]) and an ambulatory[371], resulting in the general dimensions of 14.05m by 15.1m[372] or 14m by 15m[373]. Cadoux[374] asks himself if the temple was not constructed towards the end of the 3rd century or even only in the 4th. There are no traces of an entrance[375]. A deposit pit was nearby to the north-east[376]; two ditches earlier than the temple border it to the north-west and there was a pit at the centre of the temple[377]. The temple was about two kilometres west of the Roman road from *Camaracum* [Cambrai] to *Augustamagus* [Senlis] and the same distance east of the Viromandui/Ambiani border and about 5Km north of the river Aube.

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[363] **Horne & King**:431
[364] **Horne & King**:431; **Cabuy**:235
[365] **Cabuy**:235
[366] **Horne & King**: 431; **Cabuy**:235
[367] **Horne & King**: 431; **Cabuy**:236
[368] **Horne & King**:431
[369] **Cadoux 1981**:282
[370] **Desbordes 1975**:313
[371] **Desbordes 1975**:313; **Cadoux 1981**:282
[372] **Desbordes 1975**:313
[373] **Cadoux 1981**:282
[374] **Cadoux 1981**:282
[375] **Cadoux 1981**:282
[376] **Desbordes 1975**:313
[377] **Cadoux 1981**:282

Appendix Six

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