

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286383718>

# A dirty window on the Iron Age? Recent developments in the archaeology of pre-Roman Celtic religion.

Chapter · January 2015

CITATIONS

3

READS

1,709

1 author:



Jane Webster

Newcastle University

29 PUBLICATIONS 641 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Material culture of the Middle Passage [View project](#)

NEW APPROACHES  
TO CELTIC RELIGION  
AND MYTHOLOGY

# UNDERSTANDING CELTIC RELIGION

NEW APPROACHES  
TO CELTIC RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

**Series Editor**

Jonathan Wooding, *University of Sydney*

**Editorial Board**

Jacqueline Borsje, *University of Amsterdam*

John Carey, *University College Cork*

Joseph F. Nagy, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Thomas O' Loughlin, *University of Nottingham*

Katja Ritari, *University of Helsinki*

NEW APPROACHES  
TO CELTIC RELIGION  
AND MYTHOLOGY

# UNDERSTANDING CELTIC RELIGION

## REVISITING THE PAGAN PAST

EDITED BY  
KATJA RITARI AND ALEXANDRA BERGHOLM



UNIVERSITY OF WALES PRESS  
2015

© The Contributors, 2015

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any material form (including photocopying or storing it in any medium by electronic means and whether or not transiently or incidentally to some other use of this publication) without the written permission of the copyright owner.

Applications for the copyright owner's written permission to reproduce any part of this publication should be addressed to the University of Wales Press, 10 Columbus Walk, Brigantine Place, Cardiff CF10 4UP.

[www.uwp.co.uk](http://www.uwp.co.uk)

**British Library CIP Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: 978-1-78316-792-0

e-ISBN: 978-1-78316-794-4

The right of the Contributors to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 79 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

The chapter 'Celtic Spells and Counterspells' by Jacqueline Borsje is funded by the University of Amsterdam for publication under a Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial Non-derivative International licence (CC BY-NC-ND). This licence allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the work for personal and non-commercial use providing author and publisher attribution is clearly stated; this chapter is also available at [dare.uva.nl](http://dare.uva.nl).

Further details about CC BY licences are available at  
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/>

Typeset by Marie Doherty  
Printed by CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham, Wiltshire

## CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	vii
List of Abbreviations	ix
List of Contributors	xi
Foreword by Jonathan Wooding	xiii
1 Introduction: 'Celtic Religion': Is this a Valid Concept? Alexandra Bergholm and Katja Ritari	1
2 Celtic Spells and Counterspells Jacqueline Borsje	9
3 The Old Gods of Ireland in the Later Middle Ages John Carey	51
4 Staging the Otherworld in Medieval Irish Tradition Joseph Falaky Nagy	69
5 The Biblical Dimension of Early Medieval Latin Texts Thomas O'Loughlin	83
6 Ancient Irish Law Revisited: Rereading the Laws of Status and Franchise Robin Chapman Stacey	99
7 A Dirty Window on the Iron Age? Recent Developments in the Archaeology of Pre-Roman Celtic Religion Jane Webster	121
Bibliography	155
Index	177



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- |        |   |     |
|--------|---|-----|
| FIG. 1 | Pilier des Nautes: Pierre de Jupiter. Photograph<br>© RMN-Grand Palais (Musée de Cluny – Musée National<br>du Moyen-Âge)/Jean-Gilles Berizzi/Gérard Blot. | 134 |
| FIG. 2 | Mercury and Rosmerta, from Shakespeare Inn, Gloucester.<br>Photograph © Gloucester Museums Service.   | 140 |
| FIG. 3 | A suggested reconstruction of the Forty Metre Structure.<br>Reproduced with the permission of the NIEA.   | 142 |



# A DIRTY WINDOW ON THE IRON AGE? RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PRE-ROMAN CELTIC RELIGION

*Jane Webster*

---

I am sceptical that there is anything we can label as  
‘Celtic religion’.  
(JOHN COLLIS, 2007)<sup>1</sup>

---

## Introduction

The first part of this contribution briefly summarises some key recent developments in the archaeological study of religious belief and ritual practice in Iron Age Britain.<sup>2</sup> Direct evidence for both comes almost entirely from archaeological sources, yet for many later prehistoric archaeologists in Britain today the very phrase ‘Celtic religion’ is itself intensely problematic. In the last two decades, new archaeological work – both in the field and resulting from the embrace of new theoretical and interpretative perspectives – has undermined the belief that Iron Age Britain was populated by a single people with a shared ethnic identity and belief system: the Celts. At the same time, many British archaeologists have come to see ‘religion’ not as a discrete category of human experience in the Iron Age, but as largely embedded within, and inseparable from, the world of the everyday. In much of western Europe, by contrast, faith in the Celts as ‘the first Europeans’ – the Iron Age ancestors of the modern EU – remains (largely) unshaken, as does the notion that Celtic religion can best be studied by excavating sites apparently dedicated wholly to ritual activities.

The second section of this paper will comprise a case study on the epigraphy and iconography of pre-Roman ‘Celtic’ deities. My aim here

will be to explore changing attitudes to the nature of the Iron Age gods and to the interplay between Roman and Celtic religion following the Roman conquest. In asking questions about this cultural dialogue, one necessarily opens a can of methodological worms of direct relevance to the present volume. This is because much of our understanding of Iron Age deity worship has been obtained by squinting back at the past through a window provided by Roman era sculpture, epigraphy and texts. This is a difficult prospect for many archaeologists; context and contingency normally underpin our methodology, yet in this instance we work retrospectively, looking backwards on the Iron Age gods from the period which followed. In exploring this issue, my aim will be to demonstrate that today we glimpse those deities through a particularly grimy window, muddled in ways that were not even recognised twenty years ago, but which (via post-colonial theory) are now seen as presenting hitherto unrecognised productive challenges and opportunities for archaeological research.

Post-conquest texts and artefacts are not of course the only weapons in the battery of retrospective inference that has traditionally underpinned the study of pre-Christian Celtic ritual and religion. More than forty years ago Kenneth Jackson famously posited that medieval texts offered a 'window on the Iron Age',<sup>3</sup> a claim that many prehistoric archaeologists would question today. That is not the case for all, however, and in the final section of this paper, I will examine the methodologies informing selected recent archaeological studies employing medieval source material in interpreting Iron Age sites and finds. Here and throughout, I hope to show that many of the concerns that have been raised in recent years regarding the role of Graeco-Roman and medieval data in the study of Iron Age religion are equally relevant for other 'Celtic' disciplines. These concerns centre on the failure to address the context of production of commentaries on aspects of Celtic belief and practice, and the difficulties that arise when one group attempts the linguistic and cultural translation of another.

### Recent archaeological developments

Everywhere in Gaul there are only two classes of men who are of any account of consideration. The common people are treated almost as slaves . . . The two privileged classes are the druids and the knights (*equites*). The druids officiate at the worship of the gods, regulate public and private sacrifices, and give rulings on all religious questions . . .

The second class is that of the knights. When their services are required in some war – and before Caesar’s arrival in the country the Gallic states used to fight offensive or defensive wars almost every year – these all take to the field, surrounded by their servants and retainers, of whom each knight has a greater or smaller number according to his birth and fortune.<sup>4</sup>

Scepticism regarding the validity of a ‘Celtic’ Iron Age was one of the defining characteristics of British Iron Age archaeology in the 1990s and 2000s. Debate was stimulated by wide-ranging interest in the relationship between archaeology, European ethnicity and modern-day claims on the prehistoric past,<sup>5</sup> and also by work on the construction of modern ‘Celtic’ identities by scholars such as Malcolm Chapman.<sup>6</sup> One of the first papers bringing new insights about the construction of Celtic identity to bear on archaeological data was Merriman’s 1987 piece ‘Value and motivation in prehistory: the evidence for “Celtic” spirit’.<sup>7</sup> Merriman argued that prehistoric material culture, Classical ethnography, medieval texts, folklore and nationalist politics had all played their part in the formulation of an a-historical pastiche of the ‘Celtic’ character that was employed uncritically by archaeologists attempting to infer the values and motives underlying the actions of Iron Age peoples. Reliance upon this a-temporal template, as Andrew Fitzpatrick went on to argue in an important contribution,<sup>8</sup> had resulted in a widespread failure to deal with the historicity of the Iron Age itself. Fitzpatrick also turned his attention to religion,<sup>9</sup> arguing that here too, notions of a timeless and traditional pan-Celtic Iron Age and an uncritical reliance on chronologically disparate textual sources had led archaeologists to regard ‘Celtic’ ritual as little more than a means of creating and perpetuating a long-lived dominant ideology. In addition, he suggested, this approach had also fostered an unhelpful dualism between the ‘sacred’ and the ‘profane’. I come back to both of these points below. For the present, it is simply necessary to reiterate that at the heart of these critiques lay a shared key point: that time, place and contingency – the bedrock of archaeological methodology elsewhere – had, for a variety of reasons, been rendered incidental when it came to the Iron Age Celts.

Merriman’s paper demonstrated clearly that archaeological interpretations of both Iron Age art and social organisation had been very heavily influenced by text-driven notions of the ‘Celtic spirit’. Much subsequent critique has similarly focused on art and social structure. Debate concerning the value of the label ‘Celtic art’, a phrase used since

the nineteenth century to embrace material ranging from the La Tène metalwork of the later European Iron Age to the insular manuscript art of Medieval Ireland, has been notably ferocious. The depth of feeling here can best be gauged by reading some of the exchanges between Vincent and Ruth Megaw on the one side, and John Collis and Simon James on the other.<sup>10</sup> As the title of one recent synthesis would suggest (Harding's 2007 *Archaeology of Celtic Art*)<sup>11</sup> not all scholars are willing to dispense with tradition entirely,<sup>12</sup> but a number of innovative new studies on ornate artefacts, including martial metalwork and mirrors,<sup>13</sup> suggest that, in Britain at least, the scholarship of 'Celtic Art' is slowly shedding its art-historical foundations in favour of a more contextualised approach. Melanie Giles's contribution on the meaning of colour within Celtic Art, and the 'technology of enchantment' through which marital objects were designed to achieve specific effects on the observer, is a case in point here, moving beyond aesthetics to reconnect decorated metalwork with violence and bloodlust.<sup>14</sup>

The notion of a pan-Celtic social structure – comprising volatile warrior elites, druids and oppressed commoners, much as described by Julius Caesar in his account of Northern France on the eve of its conquest in the 50s BC<sup>15</sup> – has been questioned in detail in a series of publications by John Collis<sup>16</sup> and in work on the Atlantic Celts by Simon James.<sup>17</sup> Much of this work has explicitly criticised the model of Celtic warrior society formulated by Barry Cunliffe.<sup>18</sup> J. D. Hill's critique of Cunliffe's model, made in the context of his reanalysis of the function and status of hillforts, has been particularly influential in shaping reassessment of the nature of British Iron Age society.<sup>19</sup> Raimund Karl has recently suggested that Hill's alternative, household-based model finds close analogues in Medieval Irish and Welsh accounts of Celtic social structure.<sup>20</sup> From Karl's perspective, this is because these analogies are in reality homologues: the result of a shared ancestry. From the perspective of Iron Age archaeologists, however, the explanatory value of Karl's observation is unclear: *how* might these 'striking similarities' – whatever their origin – help us to interpret sites and finds of Iron Age date? I come back to this point at the end of this paper. For the present, it is simply necessary to state that whilst there has thus been something of a counter-attack of late on the notion of an egalitarian, pacifist Iron Age,<sup>21</sup> most later prehistorians accept the argument that traditional understandings of Iron Age social structure are the result of dubious methodological reliance on undifferentiated 'Celtic' textual sources. This point notwithstanding, the 'Celtic' *religious* elite (the druids) continue to fascinate many of us.

## Druid hunting

Once in a while, excavation uncovers the remains of Iron Age individuals who excite special interest. As a rule, the more unusual the manner of death and the more inexplicable the grave goods, the more likely an individual is to be proposed as a member of the well-documented<sup>22</sup> but archaeologically elusive druidic elite. The case of 'Lindow Man', whose partial remains were recovered from Lindow Moss (Cheshire) in 1984, is instructive here. This 'bog body' owes its extraordinary state of preservation to 2000 years of anaerobic incarceration in bog peat, a medium which preserves soft tissues and effectively 'tans' the skin.<sup>23</sup> A comprehensive battery of scientific techniques has been brought to bear on Lindow Man, who undoubtedly remains the most intensely studied individual from Iron Age Britain. His body has been contour mapped; his head and face have been reconstructed; his anatomy has been studied in depth; and forensic archaeologists have investigated the manner of his death (on which more below). His stomach contents have been analysed and peat macrofossil analysis has been undertaken in order to gain a better view of the environment in which he died. Radiocarbon dating suggests that his death occurred between 2 BC and AD 119.<sup>24</sup>

Lindow Man was about twenty-five years of age at the time of death and did not die gently. He was initially stunned with two blows, possibly from an axe, which fractured his skull at two points and drove bone fragments into the brain. He was then garrotted with a cord made from animal sinew, resulting in a fracture of the neck. His throat was also cut to the right of the larynx, perhaps with the explicit intent of exacerbating bleeding at the climax of the sequence of events resulting in his death. Both of the first two injuries would have been fatal, and the theatricality of his despatch makes it likely that Lindow Man was a sacrificial victim. The suggestion of sacrificial ritual and the presence of mistletoe pollen in the barley 'cake' that comprised the victim's last meal led quickly to speculation concerning druidic involvement in events, the druids (as Caesar informs us) being responsible for 'Celtic' sacrifice, and (as a well-known passage from Pliny suggests) also having a keen interest in mistletoe.<sup>25</sup> Lindow Man's body revealed no sign of hard physical labour and his hands and nails were beautifully cared for, suggesting, perhaps, that he was a member of the social elite. On the grounds that warrior, bard and priest were apparently the only careers open to Celtic 'aristocrats', one well-known study of the 1980s cast Lindow Man as both prince *and* druid. Other planks in this argument included the presence of mistletoe pollen (noted

above) and the fact that the man wore a fox fur band on his arm. The 'druidic' relevance of the latter was not, however, explained at the time.<sup>26</sup>

The 'doctor's grave' at Stanway (Colchester), dating to c.AD 50, has also recently been suggested as the resting place of a druid. This burial is one of a group of high status, conquest-era cremations, placed within wooden chambers inside ditched enclosures and yielding an impressive array of exotic and unusual grave goods. The 'doctor' has been so dubbed because his grave goods included the earliest set of medical instruments to be discovered in Britain.<sup>27</sup> The grave also produced a set of copper alloy rods, subsequently interpreted (via Tacitus' *Germania*) as divination rods. On the basis of the latter, it is suggested that the Stanway doctor 'was a druid, or at least . . . belonged to a stratum of society that comprised Druids, diviners and healers'.<sup>28</sup>

In both of these examples, interpretation has been driven principally by accounts of the social structure of Iron Age and post-conquest Gaul found in the texts of classical authors. The writings of Caesar, Tacitus and Pliny have fuelled scholarly attempts not only to find buried Iron Age druids but to forge an association between excavated artefacts and druidic practice. Archaeologists have variously examined, in this context, the presence of astral signs on Iron Age short swords; the calendars from Coligny and Villards d'Heria; a range of spoons and headdresses accompanying certain British Iron Age inhumations; pre-and post-conquest figured iconography; a third-century BC model oak tree found at Manching in Bavaria in 1984 and the well-known carved stone head from the *Viereckschanze* (rectilinear enclosure) at Mšecké Žehrovice in Bohemia.<sup>29</sup> Fitzpatrick's study of astral (lunar) symbolism on anthropomorphic swords is perhaps the most considered of these studies, making a careful temporal distinction between the date range of his (largely pre-conquest) sample and the (largely post-conquest) documentary record hinting at druidic involvement in astral prediction. Venclová's study of the Mšecké Žehrovice stone head lies at the opposite end of the spectrum. The third-century BC carved figure is identified as a druid on the basis of a 'band' hairstyle, which is argued to show elements of the tonsure of monks in the early Christian Church of Ireland. The latter, in turn, is said to owe its origins to a hypothetical form of (possibly druidic) tonsure. The results of all these attempts to associate material culture with druidic practice remain at best inconclusive, however, and as Fitzpatrick has persuasively argued, there is little to support the notion of a *specialist* priestly class in Iron Age Britain, at least.<sup>30</sup> In this respect as in so many others concerning Iron Age Britain, then, the sacred and the profane appear to have been intertwined.

The once intense British debate on the ‘Celtic question’ has abated in the last few years (though see discussion of the work of Raimund Karl, below). Its legacy has been a widespread acceptance that the concept of a Celtic Iron Age is one that requires considerable qualification. Certainly, many archaeologists now feel that the interpretation of sites and finds can be actively hampered by the notion that Iron Age Britain (and indeed Western Europe) was peopled by a single ethnic group. Whilst it is accepted that there were things – artefact categories and languages – that were shared by different peoples in parts of Iron Age Europe, many British archaeologists today place less emphasis on these points of similarity, and more on understanding and explaining points of difference, at both the regional and international level. This is an understanding predicated on the last two decades of Iron Age field archaeology, which have brought into much sharper focus the heterogeneity of settlement forms and social practices within Iron Age Britain.<sup>31</sup> At the same time, interpretative analysis has sharpened our understanding of the extent to which religious belief and ritual behaviour were embedded in the world of the everyday, and the dangers of polarising the ‘sacred’ and the ‘profane’ in exploring the social worlds of the Iron Age.

### **Funerary archaeology: underworlds and afterlives**

Nothing about the Celts is more certain, Mac Cana once remarked, than that they believed in life after death.<sup>32</sup> Certainly, Roman textual sources point to a belief in the immortality of the soul, but these sources have little indeed to say regarding Iron Age conceptualisations of the afterlife.<sup>33</sup> Grave goods might reasonably be hoped to yield some insights here, but one of the reasons that human remains such as those from Lindow Moss and Stanway excite so much interest is that visible funerary ritual is near-absent from most regions of Iron Age Britain. It is likely that excarnation (exposure, which rarely leaves archaeological trace) was the dominant funerary practice in many areas.<sup>34</sup> The once tiny database of Iron Age cemeteries has increased in recent years, in part thanks to radiocarbon dating, which has made it possible for archaeologists to secure dates for some unfurnished and thus otherwise updateable cemeteries.<sup>35</sup> Some regional funerary practices can be isolated, including the middle Iron Age (c.400–200) square barrow inhumation tradition of East Yorkshire, and the Late Iron Age (c.100 BC–AD 60) ‘Aylesford Swarling’ cremation deposits of south-eastern England. These discrete funerary traditions are so localised that we cannot regard them as providing evidence for widespread

'British' (let alone 'Celtic') practice, but they nevertheless reveal important insights into Iron Age funerary practice.

Recent work in East Yorkshire has yielded fascinating insights into orientational cosmology and the structured deposition and symbolic meaning of animals (notably pigs and sheep), whose remains were placed with the human dead in graves in this region.<sup>36</sup> The Yorkshire cemeteries are often associated with linear earthworks, sinkholes and seasonal watercourses known as gypseys, suggesting that points in the landscape at which water appeared and disappeared may have been seen as entrances to the underworld.<sup>37</sup> This possibility is strengthened by growing evidence for the significance of water in the positioning and use of pit alignments (rows), which were a common component of the farming landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds and East Midlands. At Gardom's Edge in Derbyshire for example, aligned pits were deliberately lined with clay, thereby creating reflective watery pools. The intention here was perhaps to facilitate communication with otherworld beings.<sup>38</sup>

Cremation cemeteries begin to appear in the south-eastern counties towards the end of the Iron Age and these produce a wide variety of grave goods, many of them connected either with feasting, or with personal appearance and hygiene.<sup>39</sup> Notable recent sites include the cemetery at Westhampnett, West Sussex,<sup>40</sup> and the elite cremation complex at Stanway (Colchester), mentioned above.<sup>41</sup> Several of the Stanway cremations produced continental (Gallo-Belgic) ceramics, gaming sets and other personal possessions suggestive of a powerful desire for 'Romanised' material possessions, both in this life and the next.

As the pioneering work of J. D. Hill has demonstrated, human remains are not restricted to cemetery contexts in the Iron Age but also occur in a variety of settlement contexts. In the early Iron Age the partial or complete remains of a small percentage of the human dead (perhaps no more than 5 per cent of the total living population of any given site) begin to be placed at the base of some reutilised grain silos in southern Britain. At Danebury hillfort (Hampshire), for example, the remains of seventy individuals have been found in pit fills. These human remains are often associated with animal bone, but as Hill has conclusively demonstrated, they cannot simply be regarded as the result of 'rubbish' disposal. Instead, they are the product of complex, structured depositional practices which follow discernible rules.<sup>42</sup> Similar finds occur on open village sites on the Thames gravel terraces. Stanton Harcourt Gravelly Guy is a good example here.<sup>43</sup> In use from the Middle Iron Age Roman period, this settlement produced the remains of at least seventy individuals, fifty-one of whom



were children. It is possible that these people – placed at the base of former grain storage pits and lacking grave goods – were in some way out-cast from societal norms, and were perhaps afforded a non-normative burial rite to prevent them from entering the Otherworld. As Hill has noted, however, that there is little to distinguish between the treatment of animals and humans in these pit deposits, and the remains of both might be regarded as deriving from similar ritual processes of feasting and sacrifice. Whatever the answer here, the ‘pit burial’ tradition once again emphasises the permeability of the boundary between domestic and ‘ritual’ practice in Iron Age Britain. There is much to suggest that ritual activities became increasingly focused on the domestic sphere as the Iron Age progressed, a point which may help to explain the lack of evidence for specialised cult sites.

### **Bounded ritual: sanctuaries and other ‘cult’ sites**

If religious specialists such as druids have proven elusive in Iron Age British studies, then so too have ritual sites. Indeed, specialised ‘cult’ sites are a distinct rarity in England and Wales, where only a handful of pre-conquest structures have been argued to be shrines, temples or other spiritual centres. (The situation in Ireland is more complex, as discussed below with reference to Navan Fort). Amongst the most recent English contenders are the rectilinear structures discovered at Heathrow (Middlesex), Danebury (Hampshire), Hayling Island (Hampshire) and South Cadbury (Somerset).<sup>44</sup> The difficulties of identifying the latter securely as a shrine are highlighted in an excellent study by Jane Downes.<sup>45</sup>

At first glance, the situation in England appears markedly different from that in Western Europe, where Iron Age ‘sanctuaries’ seem to abound and where ritual itself often appears to be bounded, in the sense that these sites are not found in the domestic sphere, and seem to be intentionally separated from it. The Swiss lakeside site at La Tène, which gives its name to the metalworking style virtually synonymous with the Iron Age Celts, has long been understood to have been a focal point for the deposition of metalwork and is now regarded as a *trophaeum* (a locus for displaying warrior hardware). In northern France, a celebrated series of Iron Age rural sanctuaries came to light in the course of large-scale excavations in the 1980s. Examples here include Gournay-sur-Aronde (Oise), and Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Ardennes).<sup>46</sup> These sites emerged in the fourth century BC and most began life as enclosures demarcated by ditches and, subsequently, palisades. Into the ditches were placed deposits of weapons,

tools, human and animal bones, and sometimes jewellery. Groups of pits were placed at the centre of most of these enclosures and these were modified over time, eventually being realised as formal structures. At Ribemont-sur-Ancre, deposits of human bone (in the form of box-like constructions, fashioned from long bones) were placed in the corners of the enclosure at around 200 BC. Similar sites have since been uncovered in other areas, including Mormont (Vaud, Switzerland). Here, more than 260 pits were dug between 120 and 80 BC and were filled with the remains of animals.<sup>47</sup> Finally, in Bavaria and eastern France, a series of small rectilinear enclosures known as *Viereckschanzen* have also been proposed as ritual sites. These enclosures, about a hectare in size, are again delimited by banks and ditches, but the latter were not employed as repositories for structured deposits.<sup>48</sup> The best-known example is the Bavarian site of Holzhausen, where one of two excavated enclosures produced three deep shafts, sunk in the later Iron Age. One of these shafts contained an upright wooden stake organic remains, and a metal flesh-hook. At the more recently excavated site of Fellbach-Schmidden (Baden-Württemberg), fragments of three deer figures, dateable by dendrochronology to 123 BC, were recovered from an oak-lined shaft.

Nothing similar to these continental sites has yet been found in Iron Age Britain, where, as suggested above, 'ritual' appears more firmly embedded in domestic life. The ritualisation of the domestic sphere is a well-documented phenomenon in later Iron Age Britain and was encountered above in examining the structured deposition of human remains on settlement sites. There is growing evidence that a similar development may also have taken place in continental Europe. The ditch of the D-shaped sanctuary excavated at Acy-Romance (Ardennes), for example, was a focus for the structured deposition of animal remains, but was located at the highest point in a village dating to the later La Tène. Human bones were also dispersed throughout the village and the cemeteries surrounding it, and as the excavators have persuasively argued, the interrelated ritual processes here can only be understood by setting the sanctuary in its wider settlement context.<sup>49</sup> In a study critiquing the assumption that ritual was cut off from everyday activity in later prehistoric Europe, Richard Bradley<sup>50</sup> has turned his attention to the interpretation of *Viereckschanzen* (c.1ha rectilinear enclosures), noting that the argument that these are specialised ritual monuments or shrines is largely dependent on the findings from the Holzhausen excavation, mentioned above. No other excavated site has produced clear-cut evidence for ritual activity, leading archaeologists to suggest that *Viereckschanzen* may have been used for food storage

and redistribution, or were simply small farms.<sup>51</sup> But as Bradley suggests, the perceived difficulty here – the lack of evidence for specialised ritual use – arises only because of the expectation that there must be an absolute separation between the sacred and profane. This was clearly not the case for many *Viereckschanzen*, some of which were located in, or on the edges of, larger areas of domestic activity. There is also a clear overlap between the contents of *Viereckschanzen* and domestic sites, and Bradley argues that archaeologists must study that relationship in itself; it is far more revealing about Iron Age lifeways that any doomed attempt to isolate a discrete category of ritual site. As Bradley also notes, the pit burial tradition, once thought limited to southern Britain, is beginning to be recognised on the continent, with human remains now having been found in re-used grain storage pits in a region extending from the Rhineland to Normandy, and from the channel coast into central France. Bradley argues that here and in Britain silos took on increasing significance in ritual practice because, having once been used to store grain, they provided ‘a potent metaphor for human fertility and also for the continuity of life’.

### **From Romano-Celtic to Celtic: Looking back on the Iron Age gods**

The important body of work on Celtic religion by Anne Ross and also (with the qualification below) by Miranda Aldhouse-Green exemplifies a long-lived and much-employed methodology for determining the character and function of Iron Age deities.<sup>52</sup> In the work of these scholars, pre-Roman, Roman and medieval data, comprising iconography, epigraphy and more sustained textual accounts, routinely jostle together in the manner outlined above. The resultant ‘Celtic gods’, like the ‘Celtic spirit’ critiqued by Merriman, lack contingency and context. Most importantly, the synthesis between Romano and Celtic religion is rarely problematised. The Romans and the Celts were both polytheistic peoples and deity synthesis has traditionally been regarded as an inevitability, facilitated by Rome’s apparently benign willingness to accommodate alien gods into its pantheon.<sup>53</sup> The conquest is regarded, moreover, as an archaeological bonus, in that the Romans introduced new material technologies of religious observance – anthropomorphism, sculpture in stone and writing – that for the first time gave the shadowy gods of the Celts material expression.

The Iron Age peoples of Western Europe were non-literate, and their gods have no written mythology. At the same time, the corpus of Iron Age deity imagery is notably slim, amounting to little more than occasional

finds of bronzes and stone sculptures and a handful of regionalised sculptural trends, such as the fashion for torc-wearing torso-figures in central France and the highly localised, Hellenised sculptural tradition of the Marseille region.<sup>54</sup> There is not a single firmly dated Iron Age example of figured, freestanding deity imagery from Britain itself. For the post-conquest period, by contrast, we have abundant sculptural and epigraphic evidence for deities with Celtic names and/or apparently Celtic attributes, such as triplication of form or associated wheel symbolism. Some of these deities are also given Roman attributes such as *cornucopiae* and *paterae*; some (like Sulis or Lenus) are equated or paired with perceived Roman equivalents; some goddesses (like Rosmerta) are paired with male Roman consorts, and other deities (including Epona, Sucellus and Cernunnos) seem to owe little to the Roman world. But all – by virtue of their Celtic names or associated attributes – are traditionally regarded as *Iron Age* gods, repackaged to varying degrees, and in a variety of ways, in ‘Romanised’ form. They appear to offer, in other words, a window on Iron Age belief.

Much has changed in the last twenty years, a period within which many archaeologists have come to regard Romanisation – the once-dominant model for provincial contact and culture change – as a defective paradigm. This change of heart is firmly grounded in the application of post-colonial theory to the Roman Imperial project. The rise of the ‘post-colonial’ perspective in Roman archaeology is a process that has been well documented elsewhere and need not be reiterated here.<sup>55</sup> I need simply stress that it has brought fundamental challenges to the notion of acculturation (one-sided cultural change) by identifying alternative narratives of adaptation, resistance and contestation, and giving voice to subaltern experience within Roman provincial society. The key point for present purposes is that, as belief has faded both in acculturation and in a simplistic synthesis between ‘Roman’ and ‘Native’ culture, the archaeology of Roman-Celtic religion has undergone a radical transformation. This change, in turn, has led archaeologists such as myself to question the extent to which the nature and function of Iron Age deities can (or even should) be determined by looking back at prehistory from the Roman period. Before turning to a case study summarising some of my own work, I should note that the impact of these changes can also be felt by examining the more recent work of Miranda Aldhouse-Green, which foregrounds the Roman conquest as a point of religious change and contestation in a way that her earlier studies did not. A good example here is Aldhouse-Green’s excellent analysis of gender ambiguity in Romano-Celtic

divine imagery, wherein she explores the possibility that gender manipulation was employed to demonstrate specific attitudes to the Roman colonial presence.<sup>56</sup> Aldhouse-Green has also recently employed an explicitly post-colonial perspective in an analysis of 'resistant iconography' in Roman Europe. Her stated aim here is to relate 'notions of acculturation, appropriation, cultural synthesis, domination, protest and resistance to the specific arena of imagery in Roman Gaul and Britain and to attempt an exegesis of apparently syncretistic representation within a colonialist and post-colonialist context'.<sup>57</sup> To read this work is to appreciate how much has changed since Green's first major synthesis, *The Gods of the Celts*, was published in 1986. To give just one brief example, in the 1986 study the well-known image of Esus on the *Nautes Parisiacae* (Fig. 1: a pillar erected in AD 26 by the guild of Seine boatmen) is interpreted, in a section of Green's book exploring aspects of tree iconography, as follows: 'It may be that here the Tree of Life is being felled, but with its constant regeneration symbolised by the birds in a life-death-rebirth message'.<sup>58</sup> In returning to this image in 2004, Green plausibly suggests that the tree is being pollarded, rather than felled, and remarks:

It is possible to read such an image according to oppositional perspectives: on the one hand, pollarding exercises control over the environment and the 'disorder' of natural growth; on the other hand trees, like limes, frequently subjected to pollarding display tenacious capacities for regeneration . . . The control/pollarding is perhaps countered by the tree's ability to renew itself, in an allegory of Gaulish self-determination. It may even be appropriate to read into such imagery a 'discourse of tolerance' in which power balance and the 'politics of difference and identity' are acknowledged and fostered.<sup>59</sup>

The interpretative problems presented by this monument are fascinating, yet we know far less about the vast majority of Romano-Celtic deities than we do in Esus' case. Many deities exist only as epigraphic attestations: names carved in stone, sometimes with associated imagery. The majority of these names are attested only once or at best a handful of times, leading many scholars to suggest that the Celtic gods were highly localised, and possibly multi-functional, 'deities of place'.<sup>60</sup> Some of these deities were explicitly equated, or paired, with gods from the Roman pantheon, and this process has often been argued to shed light on the character and function of the Celtic 'partner' in these equations. As explored below, my own work has attempted to problematise these divine pairings, and to

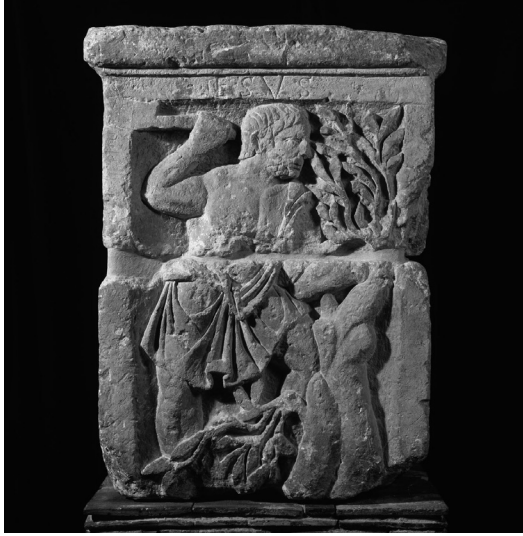


FIG. 1 Pilier des Nautes: Pierre de Jupiter. Photograph © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée de Cluny – Musée National du Moyen-Âge)/Jean-Gilles Berizzi/Gérard Blot.

resituate them as evidence not for a simple mutual recognition of religious similarity, but as the product of a sometimes contested colonial encounter. In advancing this argument, I have never sought to suggest (*contra* Green) that ‘religion in Roman Britain (and Gaul) was *entirely* the result of coercive colonial domination’<sup>61</sup>; rather, my point has been that the religion of *Roman* Britain is precisely that. The ‘gods of the Celts’ as we see them after AD 43 exist in a contingent, and contested, moment in space and time. To assume that the Iron Age gods persisted largely unchanged during the encounter with Rome is simply to delude ourselves about the nature of colonial contact, and its impact upon indigenous religions.

### **Interpretatio Romana: mutual accommodation or resisted strategy?**

In the Roman Empire, with its many religions and social traditions [the] quest for metaphysical knowledge normally included the identification of foreign ‘unknown’ gods with those of Italy and Greece. Such a process is best described by the phrase, derived from Tacitus (*Germania* 43), *interpretatio Romana*, which it is probably best to take literally as the Roman interpretation of alien deities, and of the rites associated with them.<sup>62</sup>

Esus is one of only a handful of Romano-Celtic gods to be named both on a stone monument and in a textual commentary, appearing alongside Teutates and Taranis in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (1.441–446) as one of three deities to whom the people of Gaul sacrificed human victims. Many years later the ninth-century Berne Scholiasts, commenting on Lucan's text, would attempt to render these deities more intelligible to their readers by suggesting Latin equivalents, putting forward both Mars and Mercury in Esus' case.<sup>63</sup> The Berne Scholiasts were engaging, somewhat late in the day, in their own version of *Interpretatio Romana*, the 'interpretation' of alien deities. *Interpretatio* has traditionally been seen as providing insights into the character and function of deities with Celtic names – who lack documented mythologies – simply by virtue of their being paired with better-documented Classical gods. Thus, the numerous Celtic deities twinned with Mars (including Lenus and Cocidius) are assumed to have been martial/healing gods, like Mars himself. Similarly, the functions of the goddess Sulis (twinned with Minerva at Bath) are read in terms of those of the Roman goddess of wisdom. Moreover, despite the fact that in the vast majority of cases we have no evidence at all for the *pre-conquest* existence of the Celtic partners in these pairings, they are all assumed to be Iron Age gods, emerging from the shadows into the light of written history, thanks to the introduction of Latin epigraphy.

My own work on the pairing of Celtic and Roman deity names has attempted to resituate *interpretatio* as a post-conquest discourse, generated in the context of unequal power relationships and resisted by many Britons. The first point to make here is that deity name pairing was not a common practice in Roman Britain. Writing in 1995 I was able to isolate 246 examples of Celtic divine appellations or epithets, and in 169 cases these were made without any reference to 'equivalent' Classical gods.<sup>64</sup> Second, name pairing is notably absent for some of the best-attested Romano-Celtic (and Germanic) deities in Britain – including the Matres (mothers), the Veteres, Belatucadrus, Cocidius and Coventina. Third, it is important to note that *interpretatio* was largely the preserve of Roman soldiers, most of them stationed in the Hadrian's Wall military zone. This alone helps to explain why so many dedications were made to the war god Mars or his perceived Celtic equivalents, calling into question the common assertion that the Celtic gods were as 'warlike' as the Celts themselves. But there is a more important issue at stake here. In her early work, Miranda Aldhouse-Green suggested that an *Interpretatio Celtica* (an indigenous interpretation of Roman deities) ran alongside and complemented the *Interpretatio Romana*, pointing to a mutual accommodation of the gods of

the 'other'.<sup>65</sup> My own work has demonstrated that the *epigraphic* strategy of pairing Roman and Celtic gods was in fact employed almost wholly by high-ranking members of the Roman army or civil administration.<sup>66</sup> I have suggested that this is because deity naming and deity syncretism, were clearly perceived to be manifestations of power. Syncretism itself suggests a cultural arrogance – the belief that all gods are really the same as one's own – and in the Roman world this was not a naïve belief. Rome demanded that her armies win over foreign gods, for example, and formulae were pronounced to this effect when cities were besieged. To equate an alien deity with one from the Roman pantheon was not simply a benign act of accommodation, therefore; it was also a controlling strategy, bending that god to fit the demands of a particular understanding of the divine 'other' and its destiny under Rome. *Interpretatio* thus tells us a good deal about Roman understandings of the politics of cosmology, and very little indeed about the gods of the pre-Roman Celts.

### **The reluctant synthesisers: the creole gods of the Roman west**

The discussion of *interpretatio* above has raised some fundamental issues regarding the Romano-Celtic gods, their Iron Age antecedents and the problems which vitiate simplistic attempts to 'read off' the latter from the former. The most fundamental of these is that, in the vast majority of cases, we have no certainty that deities first documented in the Roman era actually existed in the Iron Age. Many may well have done, but conquest creates gods and may certainly have done so in Roman Britain, as polytheistic incomers attempted to identify the names of the *genii loci* ('spirits of place') in their adopted corner of a foreign land, and – crucially – began to realise these beings anthropomorphically. This raises a second fundamental point; the conquest and the Roman presence *transformed* existing Iron Age gods in ways that were not simply cosmetic. Their names were written down for the first time; they were realised iconographically for the first time; and as explored below there is much to suggest that many were given human form for the first time. This process created *creole* deities, neither Celtic nor Roman, but a complex, and sometimes confrontational, mixture of both.

Creolisation is a term referring to the process by which elements of different cultures are blended together to create a new culture. In the 1970s the term was widely adopted by linguists, who used it to indicate the merging of two languages into a blended dialect (a creole language). Since



that time creolisation has emerged as an important paradigm throughout the social sciences.<sup>67</sup> It is employed today in varied ways by anthropologists, ethnographers and archaeologists working on multicultural adjustment in a wide range of colonial and post-colonial contexts. Creolisation theory has had a formative impact upon my own work on Romano-Celtic religion, because it offers a way to explore the complex, asymmetric dialogue between the belief and culture of a colonial elite and that of a sub-altern population.<sup>68</sup> More specifically, I have suggested that post-colonial studies on the emergence of creole belief and practice in early modern colonial Latin America, the Caribbean and West Africa can offer important insights into the dialogues which informed and shaped Romano-Celtic religion. These religious encounters – occurring in very different places and at very different times – share important contextual similarities, and the discursive strategies employed by both colonisers and the colonised were often surprisingly alike. In many colonial contexts, for example, we see the emergence of creole deities who embrace and conform to certain aspects of a dominant religion (Christianity, or the Roman nexus of the Capitoline Triad and Imperial cult), yet in other ways remain embedded in an indigenous belief system and are clearly the focus for countercultural or oppositional ‘popular’ religious movements. The cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe (Mexico), and the orishas (spirit guides) of Cuban Santería are cases in point here.<sup>69</sup>

A similar interplay can be seen at work in the Roman west, where some Celtic deities adopt key ‘Romanising’ features – including sculptural representation in human form – but nevertheless appear to resist other technologies of Graeco-Roman deity worship (including epigraphy), and can be argued to float free of the constraints of the Roman pantheon in important ways. This group of deities includes several of the best-known gods and goddesses of Roman Gaul, including the horned god Cernunnos, the hammer god Sucellus and the horse-goddess Epona. The latter is one of the best-attested and most widespread of all Romano-Celtic deities, with more than 300 images of Epona having been found in an area stretching from Britain to Dacia. The name Epona derives from the Gallic word for horse<sup>70</sup> and in Romano-Celtic iconography she is consistently associated with one or more horses. In Burgundy, where her cult appears to originate, she is frequently associated with a mare and foal, and here too we find some ‘stand alone’ mare and foal images that may be representations of this deity. Epona’s Romano-Celtic identity is thus dependent on the horse emblem. As I have argued elsewhere and as Aldhouse-Green has also suggested, zoomorphic imagery is often found in association with

divine images dateable to the decades surrounding the conquest, hinting at the possibility that formally zoomorphic deities were beginning to be realised in human form towards the end of the Iron Age.<sup>71</sup> In the post-conquest period, as provincial populations encountered Graeco-Roman concepts of deity anthropomorphism, and as indigenous artisans began to experiment with mimetic representation, it appears likely that Epona and other previously zoomorphic deities began to be represented in human form on a consistent basis.

Revealingly, however, having undergone this most fundamental of changes, and despite being honoured in Rome itself,<sup>72</sup> Epona remained notably resistant to other key forms of deity 'Romanisation'. For example, there is not a single instance in which she is paired iconographically with a deity from the Roman pantheon. This is striking, given the frequency with which other Gallic goddess (such as Rosmerta, discussed below) entered into 'divine marriages' with Roman gods.<sup>73</sup> Second, images of Epona very rarely incorporate epigraphy.<sup>74</sup> Put another way, Epona's devotees preferred to depict her without either Celtic or Roman partners and rarely added her name to her image. Returning briefly to *interpretatio*, we may also note that Epona is never equated or name paired with Roman deities. Drawing on these various strands of evidence I have suggested that Epona is neither a 'Celtic' deity nor a 'Roman' one but is a creole goddess, encapsulating both the possibilities of, and the limits to, religious syncretism in the Roman West. Epona may have attained human form in the Roman period, yet she was not fully incorporated into the Roman pantheon. On the contrary, she reflects – like the Virgin of Guadalupe in colonial Mexico – an adaptive *alternative* to a dominant belief system. Careful exploration of Epona imagery, and an understanding of what is not present there, thus reveals her to be a product of complex spiritual negotiation. What she is *not* should also be clear. She is neither an 'Iron Age', nor a 'Celtic', deity, but something else entirely.

### **From all change to no change: recent archaeological dialogues with medieval texts**

One of the legacies of two decades of 'Celtoscepticism'<sup>75</sup> is that any archaeologist working on Iron Age religion today feels obliged to insert a rider in his or her work noting a) that there is no such thing as pan-Celticity and b) that, accordingly, medieval Celtic texts from Ireland and Wales do not offer unqualified insights into prehistoric ritual and belief across the ancient Celtic world. Yet it can be stated with equal certainty

that, somewhere in their work, those texts will put in an appearance nonetheless.

I will end my contribution by examining three recent case studies, all of which employ medieval textual sources in interpreting aspects of Iron Age religion. These are Stephen Yeates's argument for continuity of belief in the Cotswold Severn region from the Iron Age to the early medieval period; Chris Lynn's interpretation of the extraordinary 'Forty-Metre Structure' at Navan Fort (Emain Macha), Armagh; and Raimund Karl's application of the 'Viennese' method – which advocates a diachronic, comparative approach to the integration of Iron Age and medieval data – to druidism, chariots, and other staples of 'Celtic' society. I should emphasise that I have singled out these studies not in order to criticise their findings, but to critique the methodologies they employ. All three of these scholars are aware of the grime that has settled on Jackson's 'window' on the Iron Age, yet peer through it nonetheless.

### *Rosmerta/Hwicce: the undying goddess?*

Stephen Yeates has published two studies arguing that the early medieval population of the Cotswold Severn area (the *Hwicce*) were direct descendants of the Iron Age *Dobunni*, a people first named by Dio Cassius in the first century AD.<sup>76</sup> In the first of his books (*The Tribe of Witches*), Yeates argues that these two peoples venerated a mother goddess whose cult persisted from the Iron Age to the early medieval period and beyond.<sup>77</sup> In the second book (*A Dreaming for the Witches*), he attempts to recreate the Dobunnian pantheon and primal myth. Yeates's work is impressively wide-ranging, employing data derived from archaeology, epigraphy, onomastics, iconography, folk tradition, landscape studies, the written history of the Roman and early medieval periods, and medieval Welsh literature (specifically, the *Mabinogion*). His work is of particular interest to me because the divine 'mother' at the heart of his study is the deity usually known as Rosmerta ('the Great Provider'), first attested in the Roman period as a consort of Mercury, and popular in central and eastern Gaul (Fig. 2).

Both Miranda Green and I have offered post-colonial readings of the 'divine marriage' between Roman gods and Celtic goddesses, arguing that these pairings may be understood in multiple ways, reflecting both Roman domination and indigenous resistance, and foregrounding the problems inherent in simplistic readings of Romano-Celtic deity syncretism. It is therefore interesting to see the Gloucestershire 'Rosmerta' interpreted here as the primal goddess of an Iron Age people. Yeates



FIG. 2 Mercury and Rosmerta, from Shakespeare Inn, Gloucester.  
Photograph © Gloucester Museums Service.

suggests, moreover, that prior to being partnered with Mercury via the *interpretatio Romana*, this divine mother was paired with an unidentified, indigenous father. Yeates is well aware that his mother goddess lacks pre-Roman attestation and is usually associated with Mercury, and he is clearly fully conversant with recent work (my own included) problematising the Roman interpretation of Celtic deities.<sup>78</sup> Yet in his view, successive reinterpretations of the gods of earlier times simply facilitated divine survival.<sup>79</sup> Neither Roman, nor pagan Germanic, nor Christian readings of the Dobunnic goddess changed her substantively, Yeates argues: rather, she was absorbed by, or grafted onto, these later belief systems. As for her post-conquest marriage to Mercury – her consort is not Mercury at all, he suggests, but simply an Iron Age god portrayed (where she is not) ‘in a wholly Roman guise’.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, since DNA evidence suggests that (sub-Roman) Gloucestershire, like (Celtic) Wales was spared many of the discontinuities resultant from population incursions during the Saxon migration period, the *Mabinogion* is argued to offer useful pointers regarding the primal mythology of this (Celtic) divine couple. In this way, the pre-Roman mother and her consort are argued to have persisted, slumbering but undying, from the Iron Age to the medieval period and even, via the sacred vessel (*hwicce*) after which Yeates argues the early medieval *Hwicce* people were named, to have inspired the Grail Quest.

Interesting though Yeates's work is, the underlying premise concerning the primal 'mother' is questionable. First, the goddess at the heart of Yeates's books is most widely attested in Roman Gaul and is likely to have been brought to Britain, by soldiers or civilians following the Roman conquest, a possibility that is not properly explored in his work. Second, this goddess emerges into history – via Romano-Celtic sculpture and epigraphy – as the consort of a god who is unquestionably the Roman Mercury, a process which may have changed the identity – and meaning – of the deity in the eyes of her devotees. In my view it is very likely that 'Rosmerta' was once, as Yeates argues, a powerful Iron Age deity, but the goddess as we see her through the Roman lens – the consort of Mercury – is the product of a post-conquest dialogue, represented with classical attributes (the *pat-tera*, the *cornucopia*) and sometimes with a bucket or barrel, none of which can easily be regarded as markers of a localised pre-Roman character and role.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, Rosmerta's marriage defined (or redefined) her – not necessarily in the sense that she was subjugated to the will of Rome, or to the Roman pantheon (although that is one possible reading of her post-conquest status), but in the sense that we can only now understand her in terms of her Romano-Celtic persona. For Yeates, however, the profound theological upheavals that accompanied the Roman and Saxon incursions into south-western Britain appear to amount to little more than sticking plaster, easily ripped away to reveal the undying, Celtic goddess beneath.

### *Interpreting the Forty Metre Structure, Navan Fort*

Navan Fort is one of the well-known series of Irish 'Royal' sites and has long been equated with Emain Macha, the home of King Conchobar, whose exploits are recounted in the Ulster Cycle. Chris Lynn has written up for publication the series of excavations undertaken at Navan by Dudley Waterman from 1961–71.<sup>82</sup> Here, Lynn outlines the complex sequence of activities which occurred at Navan Site B, the large mound inside the complex. The first substantive feature here was a 45m diameter ditched enclosure, dating to the Bronze Age. Subsequently, a series of 'figure of eight' buildings was constructed, one after another, on the same spot. The last of these ten phases of rebuilding extended into the Iron Age, taking place after 250 BC. A change then occurred. A 40m diameter timber structure was erected, comprising four concentric rings of oak posts surrounding a central post (the latter felled, as we now know, thanks to dendrochronology, in 95/4 BC: Fig. 3). Very soon after its construction, the interior of the structure was infilled with stones, creating a massive cairn. The concentric rings of timbers were then deliberately set on fire,

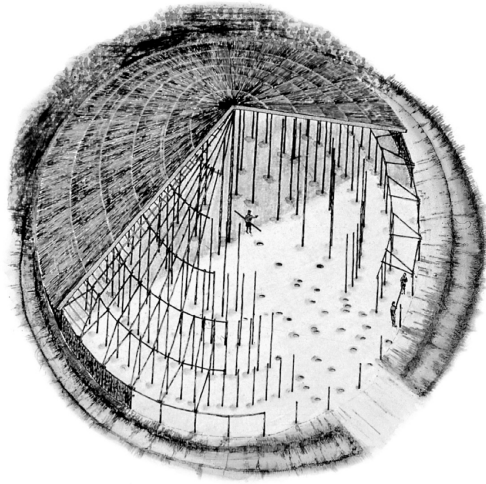


FIG. 3 A suggested reconstruction of the Forty Metre Structure.  
Reproduced with the permission of the NIEA.

leaving a series of post-hole voids among the cairn stones. Finally an earth mound was constructed over the burnt remains.

How can we interpret this fascinating sequence of clearly ritualised activities? Lynn has produced numerous papers on the Forty Metre Structure, synthesising these in a book published in 2003.<sup>83</sup> Herein, Lynn is careful to acknowledge post-Jackson scepticism regarding the value of the Ulster Cycle as a window on the Iron Age, asserting at the outset of his two interpretative chapters that ‘I plan now to try to develop an understanding of the ceremonial structures at Navan without reference to the early literary material because of the problems associated with its interpretation’. Instead, his aim is to approach Navan ‘as if there was no tradition about what may have happened in Emain Macha or pre-literate Ireland generally’.<sup>84</sup> Yet Lynn’s interpretative framework is based entirely on textual sources, fusing Caesar’s account of eve-of-conquest Iron Age Gaul with data from the Irish insular tradition. The Navan mound, Lynn suggests, was constructed in a series of stages that seem to provide a monumental analogy with the ‘wickerman’ rite described by Julius Caesar in his account of Gaul. In this passage (*De Bello Gallico* 6.16.4-5) Caesar refers to a method of human sacrifice involving the construction of immense figures (*simulacra*), woven from twigs or wicker (*vimen*), which were filled with living men and set on fire. This is an intriguing suggestion, which draws on a near-contemporaneous description of ritual practice in Iron Age Gaul,

made by one of only a handful of Roman commentators on pre-conquest Celtic religion to have first-hand knowledge of the peoples he describes.

Even if we leave to one side the debate surrounding Caesar's debt to earlier classical ethnographers – and the likelihood that this section of his text was borrowed from the Greek ethnographer Posidonius, who wrote an account of Hellenised southern Gaul in c.120 BC<sup>85</sup> – it is very difficult to accept that Caesar's text might shed light on the Forty Metre Structure. First, Caesar's wicker constructions were clearly not buildings; the Latin word *simulacra* is generally employed in a mimetic, anthropomorphic sense, and Caesar explicitly refers to the *simulacra* as having *membra*, limbs. Second, these constructions were also filled with living men, whilst the Forty Metre Structure produced a single human clavicle: hardly substantive evidence for human sacrifice. Third, Caesar's account makes no reference to the use of stones, or indeed a mound, both of which appear to be essential components of the ritual sequence at Navan. Finally, later Iron Age archaeological evidence for human remains in association with deliberately infilled and burnt timber structures is lacking, both in Gaul and elsewhere in Ireland.

In seeking to plug these evident gaps, Lynn turns to the insular Irish literary tradition, which associates otherworldly royal courts with mounds, and places burning timber *bruiden* (hostels) at kingly sites, including Emain Macha. These tales were of course written down centuries after the Forty Metre Structure was created and describe Emain Macha as a royal fort and military headquarters – a reading entirely at variance with the Iron Age archaeological evidence, as Lynn himself admits. Yet by allying the medieval insular tales with Caesar's account of the 'wickerman' sacrifice (which points – although archaeological evidence does not – to the ritualised burning of timber structures in Iron Age Gaul), Lynn is able to conclude that the Forty Metre Structure 'was a model of the ill-fated hostels glimpsed in the later tales'.

In justifying his appeal to the insular tradition, Lynn suggests that:

Navan was completed in the 90s BC, (only) 500 or 600 years before the time when solid traditions about the site can be said to have emerged from the mists of prehistory. It is a long time, but not as long as a millennium. It is perhaps a period over which some traditions concerning the original significance of the place may have survived. As far as we know there was no major invasion of the area, displacement of population or imposition of a new language that might have caused a sudden break in the builders' tradition.<sup>86</sup>

This is the kind of sentiment that was once commonplace in Eurocentric writing about the indigenous peoples of pre-colonial southern Africa and Australasia; prior to colonisation, it was argued, these were peoples literally without history, time moved at a geological pace, the bottom rung of the evolutionary ladder was barely scaled and change was externally, not internally, driven. Whilst such notions have long been discredited elsewhere, they appear to persist for 'Celtic' Ireland. It is difficult to understand why; Ireland may have escaped conquest by Rome but, as several scholars have argued, the Roman presence in neighbouring Britain may have had a significant impact on Late Iron Age social organisation. And Ireland did of course Christianise, a development whose impact – not least on the redactors of the Ulster Cycle – is briefly mentioned, but only in order to underscore the extent to which, in Lynn's view, Iron Age ideologies persisted in the Early Christian period. As Newman and others have argued, however, the Irish royal sites have extraordinarily long and complex biographies, having been used and interpreted by successive generations both before and after the arrival of Christianity.<sup>87</sup> The Emain Macha of the Ulster Cycle owes its identity to all these processes, yet for Lynn, as for Yeates, an underlying strand of Iron Age belief and practice can be isolated therein by identifying perceived resonances not with contemporary archaeological data, but with a body of Classical writing generated in the context of Rome's conquest of Ireland's Iron Age neighbours.

In his work on the religion of the *Dobunni* (who escaped neither Roman nor Saxon incursions), Stephen Yeates makes strikingly similar claims for Celtic continuity, suggesting that the Roman conquest and the 'alleged' Saxon migration into the Costwold Severn area in fact brought minimal social and political upheaval. It is reasonable to suggest that many archaeologists today would take issue with the first, at least, of these claims, and with the underlying belief – which stretches as far back as the work of Francis Haverfield, the father of Romano-British archaeology<sup>88</sup> – that 'Celtic' culture persisted in a latent fashion, in backwaters little touched by Rome and amongst those who lacked incentives to 'Romanise'. Whatever interpretation one places on the Gloucestershire Rosmerta, it would surely be a mistake to regard her Romano-Celtic cult in such a passive light.

### ***Diachronic homologies: the Viennese approach to 'Celtic' comparison***

In the last ten years, Raimund Karl has produced a series of interdisciplinary papers arguing that we need to put the 'Celtic' back into the Iron Age, and attempting to rehabilitate insular medieval texts as a source on information on Iron Age social structure and material culture. In the course of



these studies he has addressed themes ranging from druids to chariots, and from fosterage to hillforts.<sup>89</sup> I have followed Karl's work with considerable interest because it involves diachronic comparison – a methodology which also informs my own work on Romano-Celtic religion, as outlined above. I have no quarrel at all with comparative analysis, obviously, but I strongly believe that comparison – like that more common staple of archaeological inference, ethnographic analogy – can offer real insight into the past only when societies are compared on the basis of demonstrable, contextual and discursive similarities.<sup>90</sup> I remain unconvinced that this is the case with Karl's work on the Celtic past.

Karl's method, which he has dubbed the Viennese approach to Celtic studies, is to create a frame of reference enabling comparison between data of two or more different types. This is done by developing ostensibly independent models based on each data set (for example, archaeological evidence for Iron Age chariots compared with medieval textual accounts of chariots<sup>91</sup> or archaeological models of Iron Age social organisation set against social organisation as depicted in the Ulster Cycle)<sup>92</sup> and comparing these models in order to isolate shared terminology and similar practices. The resultant similarities are neither random coincidences nor even analogies, Karl argues, because 'where we can find shared terminology, and shared practices, a common, indigenous origin for both . . . is likely'.<sup>93</sup> Similarity, in short, boils down to homology, and to understand the Celts is really an exercise in genetics. It would be interesting to speculate how far this rationale might extend, for example, to modern, transnational cultures who share a belief in Jesus, speak English and drink Coca-Cola, or indeed to the multitude of peoples absorbed by the expanding Roman Republic and early Empire who venerated Mercury, knew some Latin, and ate olive oil. Karl argues, notwithstanding, that points of similarity reflect (and reveal) a shared (Celtic) ancestry and open up new, multi-directional interpretational possibilities for scholars, with each point of similarity providing new information on the 'Celtic' topic in question. Quite what is revealed by points of divergence and dissonance remains unspoken.

It is particularly interesting, in my view, that the *temporal* distance between comparative datasets – a point which effectively obliges 'Viennese' scholars to engage with diachronic comparison – is side-stepped, yet again, by the familiar appeal to homology or (in Karl's most recent work) by suggesting that analogy and homology are largely interchangeable, when it comes to the Celts.<sup>94</sup> Yet as Karl himself notes, medieval texts 'are *not* a "window on the Iron Age", but are medieval creative constructs that need to be understood in their own – medieval – context'.<sup>95</sup>

Precisely for this reason, it is difficult to ascertain how, if at all, these accounts might amplify, or indeed qualify, archaeological interpretation of Iron Age sites and finds. Ultimately, as Karl himself notes in discussing ‘common Celtic’ terms for fosterage, ‘this shared terminology does not necessarily tell us much’.<sup>96</sup> The archaeological questioning of the value of medieval texts and proto-Celtic philology that Karl dubs ‘Celtoscepticism’ lies here, not in the unwillingness of archaeologists to look beyond excavated data, nor in ideological positioning and disciplinary divides, but in genuine uncertainty as to what the supposed homologies identified by Karl tell us about the Iron Age itself.

### Our ancestors, the Celts, again?

The common denominator in all the recent case studies considered above is an appeal to a cultural continuity that is perceived to be genetically based. For Yeates, the Hwicce are not Anglo-Saxon arrivistes but *direct* descendants of the Dobunni, maintaining the worship of an ancestral deity. For Lynn, similarly, medieval accounts of Emain Macha shed light on Iron Age practice at Navan because they codify a centuries-old ancestral tradition, uninterrupted by colonisation or inward migration. Karl’s various studies also arrive at exactly the same point: similarities identifiable in the insular literary tradition and the Iron Age archaeological record are homologies, reflecting a shared past.

This line of argument might best be conceived as a family tree, wherein three quite different data sets – Romano-Celtic and later archaeological data from the ‘Celtic’ heartlands; Classical commentaries concerning a variety of ‘Celtic’ peoples conquered by Rome; and the insular Medieval literature of Ireland and Wales – are all the progeny of common Celtic parents. Moreover, cultural change is conceived to move at so glacial a pace for all Celtic peoples – whatever their level of interaction with incoming colonists or migrants, and with new religions, languages and legal systems – that the age of the children, relative to their parents and each other, is largely immaterial, and each child can therefore shed equal, retrospective, light on its own forebears. We return full circle, in short, to the notion of timeless Celticity with which this paper began.

Raimund Karl has suggested that ‘Celtosceptic’ archaeologists wilfully ignore non-archaeological data, including philology and documentary sources of all kinds, and wrongly privilege one source of information – the excavated past – over all others.<sup>97</sup> But the case is more complex than Karl suggests. For most archaeologists, interpretation is undeniably a matter

of working outwards from our excavated data (our starting point), adding layers of contextualised inference as we go, like ripples on a pond. Where we have a contemporary written record too (that is, where we can undertake fully fledged historical archaeology) archaeologists are more than willing to walk out into the textual hinterland beyond their own sites and finds; texts are artefacts, and artefacts are texts, and the two are employed in tandem.<sup>98</sup> Where we have no contemporary written record at our disposal (or where that record is particularly poor or inadequate) we build inference diachronically, either by employing ethnographic analogy (the only route open to prehistorians) or by undertaking comparative contextual analysis.

The first point to make here with reference to the Iron Age is that the pre-conquest 'Celts' were non-literate, and at the point of contact with Rome emerge not into 'history' but into a highly contextualised *protohistory*; their lifeways and their religion documented, and interpreted, by a conquering power.<sup>99</sup> The insular Irish medieval literature is not the product of a comparable context. This brings me to my second point; for most archaeologists, diachronic comparison – the choice of what to compare – requires explicit justification. For example, the hunting strategies of the recent and modern Inuit may justifiably be argued to shed analogical insight on the hunting strategies of Mesolithic peoples in Scandinavia, because both groups have lived in similar cold environments, hunting similar animals. Or one may argue, as I have done elsewhere, that studies of the material world of eighteenth-century north American slaves might usefully inform work on the material strategies of their counterparts in the Roman world because the discourse of slavery was very similar in both contexts.<sup>100</sup> To come back to medieval textual sources, the issue for many archaeologists remains simply that the often-repeated appeal to a common ancestry – which remains the default position, as outlined above, in arguing that these sources offering a 'window' on Iron Age society – is antithetical to carefully justified diachronic comparison. Ancestry, ethnicity, culture and time collapse into each other in the world of the Celts, leaving archaeologists none the wiser as to whether *specific* points of apparent similarity in the philological, literary and material record are the result of latent cultural persistence, active resistance, modern wishful thinking or other factors entirely. Above all, this approach drastically underplays the impact of centuries of culture contact and culture change on the beliefs and practices of the 'Celts': a way of thinking that, for the 'post-colonial' generation of Iron Age and Roman archaeologists, is now unsupportable.

It should, I hope, be obvious from the above critique that the archaeology of Iron Age and Romano-Celtic religion sits at a crossroads today; on the one hand radically transformed by a series of interrelated paradigm shifts, yet on the other yearning, nonetheless, for the comfort zone provided by the entrenched notion of timeless, ancestral Celticity. Where we go from here remains to be seen, but Ian Armit's recently published study on Iron Age headhunting provides some clues as to the direction of archaeological travel.<sup>101</sup> Whilst the Irish and Welsh insular accounts of head-taking make their seemingly inevitable appearance here,<sup>102</sup> Armit's overall argument is framed with reference to anthropological theory, rejects any notion of a unified 'Celtic' cult of the head, and sets out the case that whilst the human head might have played a role in Iron Age cosmologies across Europe, it was only in Southern France that the head became central to formalised religious expression. Armit's diverse, fragmented communities stand at a considerable conceptual remove from the 'Celts' – and their homogenised religion – with whom this contribution began.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> John Collis, *The Celts: Origins, Myths and Inventions* (Stroud, 2003), p. 214.
- <sup>2</sup> The Iron Age in Britain extended from c.600 BC to the Roman Conquest. Britain became part of the Roman Empire under Claudius, in AD 43.
- <sup>3</sup> K. Jackson, *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age* (Cambridge, 1964).
- <sup>4</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.13–15.
- <sup>5</sup> Key volumes here include J. Atkinson, I. Banks and J. O'Sullivan (eds), *Nationalism and Archaeology* (Glasgow, 1996); M. Diaz-Andreu and T. Champion (eds), *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (London, 1995) and P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble (eds), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities* (London, 1996), all of which incorporate chapters on Celtic identities in Britain, Ireland and Europe.
- <sup>6</sup> M. Chapman, *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture* (Montreal, 1978); M. Chapman, *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth* (London, 1992).
- <sup>7</sup> N. Merriman, 'Value and motivation in prehistory: the evidence for "Celtic" spirit', in I. Hodder (ed.), *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 111–16.
- <sup>8</sup> A. Fitzpatrick, 'Celtic Iron Age Europe: The theoretical basis', in P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble (eds), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities* (London, 1996), pp. 238–55.
- <sup>9</sup> See A. Fitzpatrick, "'Celtic (Iron Age) Religion" – Traditional and Timeless?', *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 8 (1991), 123–8, for a review of four 1980s publications on Celtic religion.
- <sup>10</sup> A sense of the passions raised here can best be gained by reading R. Megaw and V. Megaw, 'Ancient Celts and Modern Ethnicity', *Antiquity*, 70 (1996),

175–81, and R. Megaw and V. Megaw, 'The Mechanism of (Celtic) Dreams: A Partial Response to our Critics', *Antiquity*, 72 (1998) 432–35, with Collis, *The Celts*, pp. 195–204.

<sup>11</sup> D. Harding, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art* (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> For Harding's own – somewhat ambiguously stated – views on the viability of the term 'Celtic art' see *ibid.*, pp. 3–9.

<sup>13</sup> See here the collection of papers in D. Garrow, C. Gosden and J. D. Hill (eds), *Rethinking Celtic Art* (Oxford, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> M. Giles, 'Seeing red: The aesthetics of martial objects in the British Iron Age', in Garrow, Gosden and Hill (eds), *Rethinking Celtic Art*, pp. 59–77.

<sup>15</sup> See in particular the so-called 'Celtic excursus' in *De Bello Gallico* 6.11–20.

<sup>16</sup> The most recent and substantive of these is Collis, *The Celts*. See pp. 133–94 for an excellent overview both of the nature of the Iron Age archaeological data and the impact of new understandings on the interpretation of the material record.

<sup>17</sup> S. James, *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?* (London, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> See B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Britain* (London, 1995), pp. 19–26 and 76–97 for a digest of Cunliffe's approach to social structure in Iron Age Britain. For a more detailed analysis, see the most recent (fourth) edition of Cunliffe's monumental *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (London, 2005) and particularly the sections on warfare and religion, both heavily reliant on continental classical documentary sources.

<sup>19</sup> J. D. Hill, 'How should we study Iron Age societies and hillforts?', in J. D. Hill and C. G. Cumberbatch (eds), *Different Iron Ages: Studies on the Iron Age in Temperate Europe* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 45–66.

<sup>20</sup> R. Karl, 'Random Coincidences or: The Return of the Celtic to Iron Age Britain', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 74 (2008), 69–78.

<sup>21</sup> See S. James, 'A bloodless past: The pacification of Early Iron Age Britain', in C. Haselgrove and R. Pope (eds), *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 160–73, and Giles, 'Seeing red'.

<sup>22</sup> For a recent review of Roman writing on the Druids, see J. Webster, 'At the End of the World: Druidic and Other Revitalization Movements in Post-conquest Gaul and Britain', *Britannia*, 30 (1999), 1–20.

<sup>23</sup> T. J. Painter, 'Chemical and microbiological aspects of the preservation process in Sphagnum peat', in R. C. Turner and R. G. Scaife (eds), *Bog Bodies: New Discoveries and New Perspectives* (London, 1995), pp. 88–99.

<sup>24</sup> For a recent summary of work on Lindow Man, see M. Giles, 'Iron Age Bog Bodies of North-Western Europe: Representing the Dead', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 16, 1 (2009), 75–101.

<sup>25</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.17–18. Druids are first associated with mistletoe in Pliny's first century AD account of Gallic Druids cutting the plant with a golden sickle (Pliny, *Natural History* 16.249). On Lindow Man in the context of insular and Medieval Celtic tradition, see A. Ross, 'Lindow man and the Celtic tradition', in I. M. Stead, J. B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds), *Lindow Man: The Body in the Bog* (London, 1986), pp. 162–9. It is suggested herein that the

triple death, the final meal of barley 'cake' and the mistletoe pollen point to a ritual sacrifice, with druidic supervision.

- <sup>26</sup> Anne Ross and Don Robins, *The Life and Death of a Druid Prince* (London, 1989). Ross's more recent *Druids* (Stroud, 1999) does not perpetuate the claim of druidic status for Lindow Man.
- <sup>27</sup> Phillip Crummy et al., *Stanway; An Elite Burial Site at Camulodunum*, Britannia Monograph Series, 24 (London, 2007).
- <sup>28</sup> R. Jackson, in Crummy et al., *Stanway*, p. 250; an interpretation based on a reference to (wooden) divining rods in Tacitus' *Germania* 10.
- <sup>29</sup> On calendars see A. Fitzpatrick, 'Night and Day: The Symbolism of Astral Signs on later Iron Age Anthropomorphic Short Swords', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 62 (1996), 373–98. On the possible druidic associations of spoons and headdresses in British Iron Age inhumations, see A. Fitzpatrick, 'Druids: Towards an archaeology', in C. Gosden, H. Hamerow, P. de Jersey and G. Lock (eds), *Communities and Connections: Essays in Honour of Barry Cunliffe* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 287–315. On Iron Age and early Roman images of druids and druidic badges of office see M. Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* (New York, 1997), pp. 55–69. The model tree from Manching is discussed by F. Maier, 'Eiche und Efeu: Zu einer Rekonstruktion des Kultbäumchens von Manching', *Germania*, 79, 2 (2001), 297–307. On the Mšecké Žehrovice head, see N. Venclová, 'The Venerable Bede, Druidic Tonsure and Archaeology', *Antiquity*, 76 (2002), 458–71.
- <sup>30</sup> Fitzpatrick, 'Druids: Towards an archaeology', p. 307.
- <sup>31</sup> For recent collections of papers on British Iron Age archaeology, see A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies* (Oxford, 1997); B. Bevan (ed.), *Northern Exposure: Interpretative Devolution in the Iron Ages of Britain*, Leicester Archaeology Monograph, 4 (Leicester, 1999); Haselgrove and Pope, *The Earlier Iron Age*, and C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds), *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond* (Oxford, 2007).
- <sup>32</sup> P. Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* (London, 1983), p. 122.
- <sup>33</sup> On the immortality of the soul, see for example Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 6.14.5; Diodorus, *Bibliothèque*, 5.28.6; and Strabo *Geography*, 4.4.4.
- <sup>34</sup> An interesting discussion of the transition from excarnation to cremation in the south-east of Britain can be found in G. Carr, 'Excarnation to cremation: Continuity and change?', in Haselgrove and Moore (eds), *The Later Iron Age*, pp. 444–53.
- <sup>35</sup> An example here is Yarnton; see G. Hey, A. Bayliss and A. Boyle, 'Iron Age Inhumation Burials at Yarnton, Oxfordshire', *Antiquity*, 73 (1999), 551–62.
- <sup>36</sup> M. Parker Pearson, 'Food, Sex and Death: Cosmologies in the British Iron Age with Particular Reference to East Yorkshire', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 9 (1999), 43–69.
- <sup>37</sup> B. Bevan 'The landscape context of the Iron Age square-barrow burials, East Yorkshire', in J. Downes and T. Pollard (eds), *The Loved Body's Corruption* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 69–93.

- <sup>38</sup> J. Rylatt and B. Bevan, 'Realigning the world: Pit alignments and their landscape context', in Haselgrove and Moore (eds), *The Later Iron Age*, pp. 219–34.
- <sup>39</sup> J. D. Hill, 'The end of one kind of body and the beginning of another kind of body? Toilet instruments and "Romanization" in southern England during the first century AD', in Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp. 96–107.
- <sup>40</sup> A. Fitzpatrick, *Archaeological Excavations on the Route of the A27 Westhampnett Bypass, West Sussex: Volume 2: The Cemeteries*, Wessex Archaeological Report, 12 (Salisbury, 1992).
- <sup>41</sup> Crummy et al., *Stanway*.
- <sup>42</sup> J. D. Hill, *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*, BAR British Series, 242 (Oxford, 1995).
- <sup>43</sup> Tim Allen and George Lambrick, *Gravelley Guy: Excavations at Stanton Harcourt* (Oxford, 2004).
- <sup>44</sup> For a recent review see A. King, 'Romano-Celtic temples in Britain: Gallic influence or indigenous development', in R. Haeussler and A. C. King (eds), *Continuity and Innovation in Roman Religion in the Roman West*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. Ser.*, 67 (Portsmouth, RI, 2007), pp. 13–18.
- <sup>45</sup> See J. Downes, 'The shrine at Cadbury Castle: Belief enshrined', in Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp. 145–52.
- <sup>46</sup> For summaries see Jean-Louis Brunaux, *The Celtic Gauls: Gods, Rites and Sanctuaries* (London, 1988) and J. Webster, 'Sanctuaries and sacred places', in M. Green (ed.), *The Celtic World* (London, 1995), pp. 445–64.
- <sup>47</sup> H. G. Bandi, 'Mormont: Glanz und Elend eines helvetischen Heiligtums', *Helvetica Archeologia*, 39, 153 (2008), 18–26.
- <sup>48</sup> Archaeological work on *Viereckschanzen* is summarised in O. Büchsenenschütz and L. Olivier (eds), *Les Viereckschanzen et les Enceintes Quadrilatérales en Europe Celtique* (Paris, 1989).
- <sup>49</sup> B. Lambot and P. Méniel, 'Le centre communautaire et culturel du village Gaulois d'Acy-Romance dans son contexte régional', in S. Verger (ed.), *Rites et espaces en pays celte et méditerranéen; Étude comparée à partir du sanctuaire d'Acy-Romance* (Rome, 2000), pp. 7–139.
- <sup>50</sup> R. Bradley, 'A life less ordinary: The ritualization of the domestic sphere in later prehistoric Europe', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 13, 1 (2003), 5–23.
- <sup>51</sup> N. Venclová, 'Celtic Shrines in Central Europe: A Sceptical Approach', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 12 (1993), 55–66.
- <sup>52</sup> See in particular Ross's seminal *Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition* (London, 1967). Key studies amongst many by Miranda Green include *The Gods of the Celts* (Gloucester, 1986); *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* (London, 1989); *Celtic Art: Reading the Messages* (London, 1996); and *An Archaeology of Images* (London, 2004). Note that Green has published as Aldhouse-Green since 1999.
- <sup>53</sup> See Green, *Gods of the Celts*, pp. 36–8, for a clear expression of this viewpoint.
- <sup>54</sup> The torc-wearing figures from central France are discussed in D. Vauillat, P. Leger, O. Hernandez and S. du Vigneau (eds), *Aspects des Ages du Fer en Berry*

- et Limousin (Limoges, 1989). For the sculptural tradition at the mouth of the Rhone see F. Benoit, *L'art primitive méditerranéen de la Vallée du Rhône* (Aix-en-Provence, 1969) and M. Dietler and M. Py, 'The Warrior of Lattes: An Iron Age Statue Discovered in Mediterranean France', *Antiquity*, 77, 298 (2003), 780–95.
- <sup>55</sup> Studies here include J. Webster and N. Cooper (eds), *Roman Imperialism: Post Colonial Perspectives*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs, 1 (Leicester, 1996); D. Mattingly (ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*, JRA Suppl. Ser., 23 (Portsmouth, RI, 1997); Richard Hingley, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology* (London, 2000); and David Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 2011).
- <sup>56</sup> M. Aldhouse-Green, 'Poles apart? Perceptions of gender in Gallo-British cult iconography', in S. Scott and J. Webster (eds), *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 95–118.
- <sup>57</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Archaeology of Images*, p. 217.
- <sup>58</sup> Green, *Gods of the Celts*, p. 133.
- <sup>59</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Archaeology of Images*, p. 227: with reference to P. van der Veer, 'Syncretism, multiculturalism and the discourse of tolerance', in C. Stewart and R. Shaw (eds), *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* (London, 1994), pp. 196–215.
- <sup>60</sup> See, for example, the summary by Gerald Wait, *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain*, BAR British Series, 149 (Oxford, 1985), p. 17.
- <sup>61</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Archaeology of Images*, p. 228.
- <sup>62</sup> M. Henig, 'Ita intellexit numine inductus tuo – some personal interpretations of deity in Roman religion', in M. Henig and A. King (eds), *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 8 (Oxford, 1986), pp. 159–64 (x).
- <sup>63</sup> See H. Vesner, *M. Annaei Lucanni Commenta Bernensia* (Teubner, 1869), 32 under 1.445.
- <sup>64</sup> J. Webster, 'Interpretatio: Roman Word Power and the Celtic Gods', *Britannia*, 26 (1995), 153–62 (154).
- <sup>65</sup> See for example Green, *Gods of the Celts*, pp. 38–8.
- <sup>66</sup> Webster, 'Interpretatio', pp. 157–61.
- <sup>67</sup> For an introductory overview see C. Stewart, 'Creolization: History, ethnography, theory', in C. Stewart (ed.), *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory* (Walnut Creek, 2007), pp. 1–25.
- <sup>68</sup> J. Webster, 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105 (2001), 209–25, with J. Webster, 'Art as resistance and negotiation', in Scott and Webster (eds), *Provincial Art*, pp. 24–51.
- <sup>69</sup> On the Virgin of Guadalupe see W. Rowe and V. Schelling, *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America* (London, 1991), pp. 19–24 and S. Kellogg, 'Hegemony out of Conquest: The First Two Centuries of Spanish Rule in Central Mexico', *Radical History Review*, 53 (1992), 27–46. Studies of Santería include G. Brandon, *Santería from Africa to the New World* (Bloomington, 1993) and D. Darién (ed.), *Beyond Slavery: The Multilayered Legacy of Africans in Latin America* (Lanham, 2007).



- <sup>70</sup> Green, *Gods of the Celts*, p. 173.
- <sup>71</sup> M. Green, 'God in Man's Image: Thoughts on the Genesis and Affiliations of some Romano-British cult Imagery', *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 17–30; Webster, 'Art as resistance'.
- <sup>72</sup> P.-M. Duval, *Les dieux de la Gaul* (Paris, 1976), p. 50.
- <sup>73</sup> For a comprehensive summary of examples of the divine marriage see Green, *Symbol and Image*, pp. 45–73.
- <sup>74</sup> J. de Vries, *La religion des celtes* (Paris, 1948), could only point to twenty-six inscriptions naming Epona.
- <sup>75</sup> R. Karl, 'Celtoscepticism: A convenient excuse for ignoring non-archaeological evidence?', in E. Sauer (ed.), *Archaeology and Ancient History: Breaking Down the Boundaries* (London, 2004), pp. 185–99.
- <sup>76</sup> S. Yeates, *The Tribe of Witches: The Religion of the Dobunni and Hwicce* (Oxford, 2008) and *A Dreaming for the Witches: A Recreation of the Dobunni Primal Myth* (Oxford, 2009).
- <sup>77</sup> For an insightful review of the former, see P. Wells, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 19, 2 (2009), 283–4.
- <sup>78</sup> Yeates, *Dreaming for the Witches*, pp. 56–77.
- <sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76: 'there was a process at work in which certain aspects of older religions survived; this process occurs due to *interpretatio*.'
- <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.
- <sup>81</sup> Yeates's reading of the Gloucestershire mother is dependent upon her bucket or barrel attribute – the 'sacred vessel' – which, he argues, later gave rise to the tribal name Hwicce. But barrels and pots are a common attribute of Romano-Celtic divide couples in Gaul too; see here Green, *Symbol and Image*, pp. 69–72.
- <sup>82</sup> D. Waterman (ed. C. Lynn), *Excavations at Navan Fort 1961–71* (Belfast, 1997).
- <sup>83</sup> Chris Lynn, *Navan Fort Archaeology and Myth* (Bray, 2003).
- <sup>84</sup> Lynn, *Navan Fort*, p. 107.
- <sup>85</sup> See J. J. Tierney 'The Celtic Ethnography of Posidonius', *PRIA*, 60, (1960), 189–275 (215), on the possible debt of both this passage and Strabo, *Geography*, 4.4–5, to Posidonius.
- <sup>86</sup> Lynn, *Navan Fort*, p. 120.
- <sup>87</sup> See, for example, C. Newman, 'Reflections on the Making of a "Royal Site" in Early Ireland', *World Archaeology*, 30, 1 (1998), 127–41.
- <sup>88</sup> Haverfield explicitly viewed the continuity of aspects of Celtic religious belief into the Roman period as the passive result of the 'latent persistence' of indigenous superstition, rather than as active opposition: F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1923), p. 22.
- <sup>89</sup> The studies examined in the present contribution are: R. Karl, 'Iron Age Chariots and Medieval Texts: A Step too Far in "Breaking Down Boundaries"?'', *e-Keltoi*, 5 (2003) ([http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol5/5\\_1/karl\\_5\\_1.html](http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol5/5_1/karl_5_1.html)); Karl, 'Celtoscepticism'; R. Karl, 'Master and Apprentice, Knight and Squire: Education in the Celtic Iron Age', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 24, 3 (2005), 255–71; Karl, 'Random Coincidences'.

- <sup>90</sup> See J. Webster, 'Less Beloved: Roman Archaeology, Slavery and the Failure to Compare', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 15, 2 (2008), 102–49.
- <sup>91</sup> Karl, 'Iron Age Chariots'.
- <sup>92</sup> Karl, 'Random Coincidences'.
- <sup>93</sup> Karl, 'Master and Apprentice', p. 257.
- <sup>94</sup> This is the paradoxical position adopted in Karl, 'Random coincidences': see especially p. 76.
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- <sup>96</sup> Karl, 'Master and Apprentice', p. 257.
- <sup>97</sup> Karl, 'Celtosepticism', p. 187, posits a 'general dislike of non-archaeological evidence amongst Celtosceptics'.
- <sup>98</sup> Historical archaeologists, like ethnographers and folklorists, study the *life-ways* of their subjects. The total lifeway of group of people, as John Vlach puts it, includes 'their verbal, material and spiritual forms of expression'; see John Vlach, *By the Work of their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folklife* (Charlottesville, 1991), p. xv.
- <sup>99</sup> This has long been recognised by archaeologists – see for example T. Champion, 'Written sources and the study of the European Iron Age', in T. C. Champion and J. V. S. Megaw (eds), *Settlement and Society: Aspects of Western European Prehistory in the First Millennium BC* (Leicester, 1985), pp. 9–22 – and lies at the heart of the 'post-colonial' turn in Roman Archaeology. For a case study on Roman writing on 'Celtic warrior society' see J. Webster, 'Ethnographic Barbarity: Imperialist Discourse and the Archaeology of "Celtic" Society', in Webster and Cooper, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 111–23.
- <sup>100</sup> Webster, 'Less Beloved', p. 113.
- <sup>101</sup> Ian Armit, *Headhunting and the Body in Iron Age Europe* (Cambridge, 2012).
- <sup>102</sup> Armit, *Headhunting*, pp. 29–32.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achtemeier, P. J., 'Omne verbum sonat: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 109 (1990), 3–27.
- Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, in *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, eds. and trans. A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson (Oxford, 1991; revised edition of the 1961 publication).
- Ailerán, *Carmen in Eusebii canones*, ed. D. De Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible Latine* (Namur, 1920), p. 185.
- , *Interpretatio mystica progenitorum domini Iesu Christi*, ed. and trans. A. Breen (Dublin, 1995).
- Aldhouse-Green, Miranda, 'Poles apart? Perceptions of gender in Gallo-British cult iconography', in S. Scott and J. Webster (eds), *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 95–118.
- , *An Archaeology of Images* (London, 2004).
- Allen, Tim, and George Lambrick, *Gravelley Guy: Excavations at Stanton Harcourt* (Oxford, 2004).
- Armit, Ian, *Headhunting and the Body in Iron Age Europe* (Cambridge, 2012).
- Atkinson, J., I. Banks and J. O'Sullivan (eds), *Nationalism and Archaeology* (Glasgow, 1996).
- Atkinson, R., *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac: Text, Translation, and Glossary* (Dublin, 1887).
- Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, PL, 41, pp. 13–804.
- , *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. J. Martin, CCL, 32 (Turnhout, 1962).
- , *De Genesi ad litteram*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL, 28, 1 (Wien, 1894).
- Bandi, H. G., 'Mormont: Glanz und Elend eines helvetischen Heiligtums', *Helvetia Archeologia*, 39, 153 (2008), 18–26.
- Bauman, Richard (ed.), *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-centered Handbook* (New York, 1992).
- Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).
- Benoit, F., *L'art primitive méditerranéen de la Vallée du Rhône* (Aix-en-Provence, 1969).
- Berchman, R. M., *Porphyry Against the Christians* (Leiden, 2005).
- Bergholm, Alexandra, *From Shaman to Saint: Interpretive Strategies in the Study of Buile Suibhne* (Helsinki, 2012).

- Bernhardt-House, Phillip, 'The Old Irish Impotence Spell: The *Dam Dlí*, Fergus, Fertility, and the Mythic Background of an Irish Incantation', *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, 4 (2007), 304–24.
- Best, R., 'Some Irish Charms', *Ériu*, 16 (1952), 27–32.
- Bevan, B. (ed.), *Northern Exposure: Interpretative Devolution in the Iron Ages of Britain*, Leicester Archaeology Monograph, 4 (Leicester, 1999).
- , 'The landscape context of the Iron Age square-barrow burials, East Yorkshire', in J. Downes and T. Pollard (eds), *The Loved Body's Corruption* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 69–93.
- Bhreathnach, Edel, *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara* (Dublin, 2005).
- Bieler, Ludwig (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin, 1979; repr. 2004).
- (ed.), *Libri epistolarum Sancti Patricii episcopi: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Dublin, 1993).
- Binchy, Daniel A. (ed.), *Críth Gablach*, MMIS, 11 (Dublin, 1941, repr. 1970).
- , 'The Saga of Fergus Mac Léti', *Ériu*, 16 (1952), 33–48.
- , 'The Date and Provenance of *Uraicecht Becc*', *Ériu*, 18 (1958), 44–54.
- , 'Varia III. 3: *Atomriug*', *Ériu*, 20 (1966), 232–4.
- , 'Celtic suretyship, a fossilized Indo-European institution?', in G. Cardona, H. M. Hoenigswald and A. Senn (eds), *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 355–67.
- (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1978).
- Bischoff, Bernhard, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Mittelalterliche Studien: Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, I (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 205–73 [first published in *Sacris Erudiri*, 6 (1954), 189–279].
- Bitel, Lisa M., *Land of Women: Tales of Sex and Gender from Early Ireland* (Ithaca, 1996).
- , 'Convent ruins and Christian profession: Towards a methodology for the history of religion and gender', in L. Bitel and F. Lifshitz (eds), *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 1–15.
- Blom, A. H., 'Linguae sacrae in ancient and medieval sources: An anthropological approach to ritual language', in A. Mullen and P. J. James (eds), *Multilingualism in the Greco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 124–40.
- Borsje, Jacqueline, *From Chaos to Enemy: Encounters with Monsters in Early Irish Texts. An Investigation Related to the Process of Christianization and the Concept of Evil*, *Instrumenta Patristica*, 29 (Turnhout, 1996).

- , 'Omens, Ordeals and Oracles: On Demons and Weapons in early Irish Texts', *Peritia*, 13 (1999), 224–48.
- , 'Fate in Early Irish Texts', *Peritia*, 16 (2002), 214–31.
- , 'Druids, deer and "words of power": Coming to terms with evil in medieval Ireland', in Katja Ritari and Alexandra Bergholm (eds), *Approaches to Religion and Mythology in Celtic Studies* (Newcastle, 2008), pp. 122–49.
- , 'Monotheistic to a certain extent: The "good neighbours" of God in Ireland', in A.-M. Korte and M. de Haardt (eds), *The Boundaries of Monotheism: Interdisciplinary Explorations into the Foundations of Western Monotheism* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 53–82.
- , 'Rules and Legislation on Love Charms in Early Medieval Ireland', *Peritia*, 21 (2010), 172–90.
- , 'Love Magic in Medieval Irish Penitentials, Law and Literature: A Dynamic Perspective', *Studia Neophilologica*, 84, Supplement 1, Special Issue (2012), 6–23.
- , 'The Secret of the Celts Revisited', in *Religion and Theology: A Journal of Contemporary Religious Discourse*, forthcoming 2015/2016.
- , 'The power of words: Sacred and forbidden love magic in medieval Ireland', in A. Berlis, A.-M. and Kune Biezeveld † (eds), *Everyday Life and the Sacred: Re/configuring Gender Studies in Religion* (Leiden-Boston, forthcoming 2015).
- , 'Medieval Irish spells: "Words of power" as performance', in E. van den Hemel and A. Szafraniec (eds), *Words: Religious Language Matters* (New York, forthcoming 2015).
- Borsje, J., A. Dooley, S. Mac Mathúna and G. Toner (eds), *Celtic Cosmology: Perspectives from Ireland and Scotland*, *Papers in Mediaeval Studies* 26 (Toronto, 2014).
- Boyce, Mary (ed. and trans.), *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism* (Totowa, NJ, 1984).
- Boyle, Elizabeth and Deborah Hayden (eds), *Authorities and Adaptations: The Reworking and Transmission of Textual Sources in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2014).
- Bradley, Ian, *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams* (Edinburgh, 1999).
- Bradley, R., 'A Life Less Ordinary: The Ritualization of the Domestic Sphere in Later Prehistoric Europe', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 13, 1 (2003), 5–23.
- Braekman, W. L., *Middeleeuwse witte en zwarte magie in het Nederlands taalgebied* (Gent, 1997).

- Brandon, George, *Santeria from Africa to the New World* (Bloomington, 1993).
- Braun, Willi, 'Religion', in W. Braun and R. T. McCutcheon, *Guide to the Study of Religion* (London, 2000), 3–18.
- Bray, Dorothy Ann, 'Suckling at the Breast of Christ: A Spiritual Lesson in an Irish Hagiographical Motif', *Peritia*, 14 (2000), 282–96.
- Breatnach, Liam, 'Canon Law and Secular Law in Early Ireland: The Significance of *Bretha Nemed*', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 439–59.
- , 'The Ecclesiastical Element in the Old Irish Legal Tract *Cáin Fhuithirbe*', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), 35–50.
- (ed.), *Uraicecht na Ríar: The Poetic Grades in Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1987).
- , 'The First Third of *Bretha Nemed Toísech*', *Ériu*, 40 (1989), 1–40.
- , 'Law', in Kim McCone and Katharine Simms (eds), *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* (Maynooth, 1996), pp. 107–21.
- , 'Review of Kevin Murray, *Baile in Scáil 'The Phantom's Frenzy'* (London, 2004)', *CMCS*, 55 (2008), 75–82.
- , *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin, 2005).
- , 'Reviews, Reviewers, and Critical Texts: A Brief Final Response', *CMCS*, 57 (2009), 71–74.
- Brown, Peter, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988).
- Brown, T. (ed.), *Celticism* (Amsterdam, 1996).
- Brunaux, Jean-Louis, *The Celtic Gauls: Gods, Rites and Sanctuaries* (London, 1988).
- Büchsenschütz, O., and L. Olivier (eds), *Les Viereckschanzen et les Enceintes Quadrilatérales en Europe Celtique* (Paris, 1989).
- Burkitt, F. C., 'The Bible of Gildas', *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1934), 206–15.
- Byrne, M. E., 'Note on a Gloss of O'Davoren', *Ériu*, 11 (1932), 94–6.
- Cahill, Michael (ed.), *Expositio euangelii secundum Marcum*, CCSL, 82 (Turnhout, 1997).
- , (trans.), *The First Commentary on Mark: An Annotated Translation* (Oxford, 1998).
- Caplan, H. 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching', *Speculum*, 4 (1929), 282–90.
- Carey, John, 'The Name "Tuatha Dé Danann"', *Éigse* 18 (1981), 291–4.
- , 'The Irish Vision of the Chinese', *Ériu*, 38 (1987), 73–79.
- , 'Origin and Development of the Cesair Legend', *Éigse*, 22 (1987), 37–48.
- , 'Ireland and the Antipodes: The Heterodoxy of Virgil of Salzburg', *Speculum*, 64 (1989).

- , 'The Waters of Vision and the gods of skill', *Alexandria*, 1 (1991), 163–85.
- , 'The Rhetoric of *Echtrae Chonlai*', *CMCS*, 30 (1995), 41–65.
- , *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin, 1998).
- , *A Single Ray of the Sun: Religious Speculation in Early Ireland* (Andover and Aberystwyth, 1999), 1–38.
- , 'Téacsanna draíochta in Éirinn sa mheánaois luath' (Magical texts in early medieval Ireland), *Breis faoinár nDúchas Spioradálta: Léachtaí Cholm Cille*, 30, (2000), 98–117.
- , 'The Encounter at the Ford: Warriors, Water and Women', *Éigse*, 34 (2004), 10–24.
- , 'From David to Labraid: Sacral kingship and the emergence of monotheism in Israel and Ireland', in Katja Ritari and Alexandra Bergholm (eds), *Approaches to Religion and Mythology in Celtic Studies* (Newcastle, 2008), pp. 2–27.
- , 'Donn, Amairgen, Íth and the Prehistory of Irish Pseudohistory', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 38 (2010), 319–41.
- , 'Acallam na senórach: a conversation between worlds', in Aidan Doyle and Kevin Murray (eds), *In Dialogue with the Agallamh: Essays in Honour of Seán Ó Coileáin* (Dublin, 2014), pp. 76–89.
- Carey, John, Emma Nic Cárthaigh and Caitríona Ó Docharthaigh (eds), *The End and Beyond: Medieval Irish Eschatology*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2014).
- Carney, James, 'M'aenarán dam isa sliab', *Éigse*, 2 (1940), 107–13.
- , *Medieval Irish Lyrics* (Dublin, 1967).
- , *The Problem of St Patrick* (Dublin, 1973).
- Carney, James, and M. Carney, 'A Collection of Irish Charms', *Saga och Sed* (1960), 144–52.
- Carr, G., 'Excarnation to cremation: Continuity and change?', in C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds), *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 444–53.
- Casel, O., *The Mystery of Christian Worship and Other Writings* (London, 1962).
- Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937).
- Chadwick, H., *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge, 1953).
- Champion, T., 'Written sources and the study of the European Iron Age', in T. C. Champion and J. V. S. Megaw (eds), *Settlement and Society: Aspects of Western European Prehistory in the First Millennium BC* (Leicester, 1985), pp. 9–22.
- Chapman, Malcolm, *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture* (Montreal, 1978).
- , *The Celts: the Construction of a Myth* (London, 1992).

- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'Críth Gablach and the Law of Status', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), 53–73.
- , *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford, 1993).
- , 'A Contract between King and People in Early Medieval Ireland? Críth Gablach on Kingship', *Peritia*, 8 (1994), 107–19.
- , 'The context and uses of literacy in early Christian Ireland', in H. Pryce (ed.), *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 62–82.
- , *The Early Mediaeval Gaelic Lawyer* (Cambridge, 1999).
- , 'Views of the past: Legal and historical scholarship of the twentieth century', in Máire Herbert and Kevin Murray (eds), *Retrospect and Prospect in Celtic Studies: Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Celtic Studies held in University College, Cork, 25–31 July 1999* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 15–27.
- , 'Early Irish Law', in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland. I. Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford and New York, 2005), pp. 331–70.
- , *Wales and the Britons, 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 267–72.
- Cheyette, Fredric, 'Suum cuique tribuere', *French Historical Studies*, 6 (1970), 287–99.
- Christian, W. A., 'The Creation of the World', *Harvard Theological Review*, 46 (1953), 1–25.
- Clark, Elizabeth A., *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Harvard, 2004).
- Collis, John, *The Celts: Origins, Myths and Inventions* (Stroud, 2003).
- Connon, Anne, 'The Roscommon locus of Acallam na senórach and some thoughts as to *tempus* and *persona*', in Aidan Doyle and Kevin Murray (eds), *In Dialogue with the Agallamh: Essays in Honour of Seán Ó Coileáin* (Dublin, 2014), pp. 21–59.
- Cross, J. E., 'On Hiberno-Latin texts and Anglo-Saxon writings', in T. O'Loughlin (ed.), *The Scriptures and Early Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 69–79.
- Crummy, Phillip, et al., *Stanway; An Elite burial Site at Camulodunum*, Britannia Monograph Series, 24 (London, 2007).
- Cunliffe, Barry, *Iron Age Britain* (London, 1995).
- , *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, 4th edition (London, 2005).
- Dando, Marcel, 'The Neutral Angels', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 217 (1980), 259–76.
- Darién, D., (ed.), *Beyond Slavery: The Multilayered Legacy of Africans in Latin America* (Lanham, 2007).



- Davies, Wendy, 'The Myth of the Celtic Church', in N. E. Edwards and A. Lane (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 12–21.
- Díaz-Andreu M., and T. Champion (eds), *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (London, 1995).
- Díaz y Díaz, M. C. (ed. and trans.), *Liber de ordine creaturarum: Un anónimo irlandés del siglo VII* (Santiago de Compostela, 1972).
- Dietler, M., and M. Py, 'The Warrior of Lattes: An Iron Age Statue Discovered in Mediterranean France', *Antiquity*, 77, 298 (2003), 780–95.
- Dillon, Myles (ed.), *Serglige Con Culainn* (Dublin, 1953).
- Donahue, Charles, 'Beowulf, Ireland and the Natural Good', *Traditio*, 7 (1949–51), 263–77.
- Dooley, Ann, 'The Date and Purpose of *Acallam na Senórach*', *Éigse*, 34 (2004), 97–126.
- , *Playing the Hero: Reading the Irish Saga Táin Bó Cúailnge* (Toronto, 2006).
- Dooley, Ann, and Harry Roe (trans.), *Tales of the Elders of Ireland: A New Translation of Acallam na Senórach* (Oxford, 1999).
- Downes, J. 'The shrine at Cadbury Castle: Belief enshrined', in A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 145–52.
- Draak, Maartje, 'The religion of the Celts', in C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren (eds), *Historia Religionum: Handbook for the History of Religions*, I (Leiden, 1969), pp. 629–47.
- Dronke, P., 'Towards the Interpretation of the Leiden Love-spell', *CMCS*, 16 (1988), 61–75.
- Duval, Paul-Marie, *Les dieux de la Gaul* (Paris, 1976).
- Eichhorn-Mulligan, Amy, 'Togail Bruidne Da Derga and the Politics of Anatomy', *CMCS*, 49 (2005), 1–19.
- Eska, Charlene (ed.), *Cáin Lánamna: An Old-Irish Tract on Marriage and Divorce Law* (Leiden, 2009).
- Eusebius, *Chronici canones*, ed. J. K. Fotheringham (Oxford, 1923).
- Findon, Joan, *A Woman's Words: Emer and Female Speech in the Ulster Cycle* (Toronto, 1997).
- Fitzpatrick, Andrew, '"Celtic (Iron Age) Religion" – Traditional and Timeless?', *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 8 (1991), 123–8.
- , *Archaeological Excavations on the Route of the A27 Westhampnett Bypass, West Sussex: Volume 2: The Cemeteries*, Wessex Archaeological Report, 12 (Salisbury, 1992).

- , 'Celtic Iron Age Europe: The theoretical basis', in P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble (eds), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities* (London, 1996), pp. 238–55.
- , 'Night and Day: The Symbolism of Astral Signs on Later Iron Age Anthropomorphic Short Swords', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 62 (1996), 373–98.
- , 'Druids: Towards an archaeology', in C. Gosden, H. Hamerow, P. de Jersey and G. Lock (eds), *Communities and Connections: Essays in Honour of Barry Cunliffe* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 287–315.
- Fletcher, Alan J., *Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland* (Toronto, 2000).
- Flint, Valerie I. J., *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1991).
- Follett, Westley, *Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages*, Woodbridge, 2006.
- Fuchs, E., 'Marginalization, Ambiguity, Silencing: The Story of Jephthah's daughter', *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 5 (1989), 35–45.
- Gager, J. G. (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1992).
- Garrow, Duncan, Chris Gosden and J. D. Hill (eds), *Rethinking Celtic Art* (Oxford, 2008).
- Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae*, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH AA, 13 (1898), pp. 25–85.
- Giles, M., 'Seeing red: The aesthetics of martial objects in the British Iron Age', in D. Garrow, C. Gosden and J. D. Hill (eds), *Rethinking Celtic Art* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 59–77.
- , 'Iron Age Bog Bodies of North-Western Europe: Representing the Dead', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 16, 1 (2009), 75–101.
- Gougoud, L., 'Étude sur les loricae celtiques et sur les prières qui s'en rapprochent', *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, 1 (1911), 265–81.
- , 'Étude sur les loricae celtiques et sur les prières qui s'en rapprochent (Suite)', *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, 2 (1912), 33–41, 101–27.
- Gravdal, Kathryn, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia, 1991).
- Graves-Brown, P., S. Jones and C. Gamble (eds), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities* (London, 1996).

- Green, Miranda, *The Gods of the Celts* (Gloucester, 1986).
- , *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* (London, 1989).
- , *Celtic Art: Reading the Messages* (London, 1996).
- , *Exploring the World of the Druids* (New York, 1997).
- , 'God in Man's Image: Thoughts on the Genesis and Affiliations of Some Romano-British Cult Imagery', *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 17–30.
- Green, Richard Firth, *A Crisis of Truth, Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia, 2003).
- Greene, David, and Frank O'Connor, *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry A.D. 600 to 1200* (Dingle, 1967; repr. 1990).
- Gregory, Lady, *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* (first published 1920, reprint Toronto, 1976).
- Grigg, Julianna, 'The *nemed*, *Uraicecht becc*, and early Irish governance', in Pamela O'Neill (ed.), *The Land Beneath the Sea: Essays in Honour of Anders Ahlqvist's Contribution to Celtic Studies in Australia* (Sydney, 2013), pp. 87–100.
- Gwilt, A., and C. Haselgrove (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies* (Oxford, 1997).
- van Hamel, A. G., *Lebor Bretnach: The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum Ascribed to Nennius* (Dublin, 1932).
- Harding, Dennis, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art* (Oxford, 2007).
- Harley, J. B., and David Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography, Volume I: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, (Chicago and London, 1987).
- Harmening, Dieter, *Superstitio: Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1979).
- Haselgrove, C., and T. Moore (eds), *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond* (Oxford, 2007).
- Haselgrove, C., and R. Pope (eds), *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent* (Oxford, 2007).
- Haverfield, Francis, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1923).
- Hayward, C. T. R., *Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis: Translated with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford, 1995).
- Henig, M., 'Ita intellexit numine inductus tuo – some personal interpretations of deity in Roman religion', in M. Henig and A. King (eds), *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 8 (Oxford, 1986), pp. 159–64.
- Herren, Michael W., *The Hisperica Famina II: Related Poems* (Toronto, 1987).

- Hey, G., A. Bayliss and A. Boyle, 'Iron Age Inhumation Burials at Yarnton, Oxfordshire', *Antiquity*, 73 (1999), 551–62.
- Hill, J. D., 'How should we study Iron Age societies and hillforts?', in J. D. Hill and C. G. Cumberbatch (eds), *Different Iron Ages: Studies on the Iron Age in Temperate Europe* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 45–66.
- , *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*, BAR British Series, 242 (Oxford, 1995).
- , 'The end of one kind of body and the beginning of another kind of body? Toilet instruments and "Romanization" in southern England during the first century AD', in A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 96–107.
- Hingley, Richard, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology* (London, 2000).
- Hogan, E., *The Latin Lives of the Saints as Aids towards the Translation of Irish Texts and the Production of an Irish Dictionary* (Dublin, 1894).
- Honko, Lauri, *Textualising the Siri Epic* (Helsinki, 1998) .
- Hood, A. B. E. (trans.), *St. Patrick: His Writings and Muirchu's Life* (London, 1978).
- van der Horst, P. W., 'Niezen als omen in de antieke wereld', *Hermeneus*, 68 (1996), 179–81.
- Howlett, David R., *The Confession of Saint Patrick* (New York, 1996).
- Hughes, Diane Owen, 'Sumptuary law and social relations in Renaissance Italy', reprinted in Paula Findlen (ed.), *The Italian Renaissance*, Blackwell Essential Readings in History (Oxford, 2002), pp. 124–50.
- Hughes, Kathleen, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Early English Private Prayer', *Studia Celtica*, 5 (1970), 48–61.
- , 'The Celtic Church: Is this a Valid Concept?', *CMCS*, 1 (1981), 1–20.
- Illich, I., *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago, 1996).
- Ireland, C. (ed.), *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: An Edition of Bríathra Flainn Fhíra maic Ossu* (Tempe, Arizona, 1999).
- Jackson, Kenneth, *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age* (Cambridge, 1964).
- James, Simon, *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?* (London, 1999).
- , 'A bloodless past: The pacification of early Iron Age Britain', in C. Haselgrove and R. Pope (eds), *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 160–73.

- Jenkins, Dafydd (ed.), *Celtic Law Papers: Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions* xlii, Aberystwyth 1971 (Brussels, 1973).
- Jensen, Jeppe Sinding, *What is Religion?* (London and New York, 2014).
- Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL, 75 (1964).
- Jerome, *Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim*, ed. P. de Lagarde, CCSL, 72 (Turnhout, 1959), pp. 1–56.
- Johnston, Elva, ‘Transforming Women in Irish Hagiography’, *Peritia*, 9 (1995), 197–220.
- , ‘Powerful Women or Patriarchal Weapons? Two Medieval Irish Saints’, *Peritia*, 15 (2001), 302–10.
- , *Literacy and Identity in Early Medieval Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2013).
- Karl, Raimund, ‘Iron Age Chariots and Medieval Texts: A Step Too Far in ‘Breaking Down Boundaries’?’, *e-Keltoi*, 5 (2003). ([http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol5/5\\_1/karl\\_5\\_1.html](http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol5/5_1/karl_5_1.html))
- , ‘Celtoscepticism: A convenient excuse for ignoring non-archaeological evidence?’, in E. Sauer (ed.), *Archaeology and Ancient History: Breaking Down the Boundaries* (London, 2004), pp. 185–99.
- , ‘Master and Apprentice, Knight and Squire: Education in the Celtic Iron Age’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 24, 3 (2005), 255–71.
- , ‘Random Coincidences or the Return of the Celtic to Iron Age Britain’, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 74 (2008), 69–78.
- Karl, Raimund, and David Stifter (eds), *The Celtic World: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, 4 vols (London and New York, 2007).
- Keating, Geoffrey, *Trí Bior-ghaoithe an Bháis*, ed. Robert Atkinson (Dublin, 1890).
- Kellogg, S., ‘Hegemony Out of Conquest: The First Two Centuries of Spanish Rule in Central Mexico’, *Radical History Review*, 53 (1992), 27–46.
- Kelly, Fergus, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988).
- , *Early Irish Farming: A Study Based Mainly on the Law-texts of the 7th and 8th Centuries AD* (Dublin, 1998).
- (ed.), *Marriage Disputes: A Fragmentary Old Irish Law-Text* (Dublin, 2014).
- Kick, Donata, ‘Old Norse translations of Aelfric’s *De falsis diis* and *De auguriis* in Hauksbók (Summary)’, in J. McKinnell, D. Ashurst and D. Kick (eds), *The Fantastic in Old Norse / Icelandic Literature: Sagas and the British Isles* (Durham, 2006), pp. 504–7.
- King, A., ‘Romano-Celtic temples in Britain: Gallic influence or indigenous development’, in R. Haeussler and A. C. King (eds),

- Continuity and Innovation in Roman Religion in the Roman West*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. Ser., 67 (Portsmouth, RI, 2007), pp. 13–18.
- Kotansky, R., 'Greek exorcistic amulets', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 129 (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995), pp. 243–77.
- Lambert, P.-Y., 'Celtic *loricae* and ancient magical charms', in R. L. Gordon and F. M. Simón (eds), *Magical Practice in the Latin West, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 168 (Leiden–Boston, 2010), pp. 629–48.
- Lambot, B., and P. Méniel, 'Le centre communautaire et culturel du village Gaulois d'Acy–Romance dans son contexte régional', in S. Verger (ed.), *Rites et espaces en pays celtique et méditerranéen; Étude comparée à partir du sanctuaire d'Acy–Romance* (Rome, 2000), pp. 7–139.
- Lindberg, A., 'The Concept of Religion in Current Studies of Scandinavian Pre-Christian Religion', *Temenos*, 45 (2009), 85–119.
- Lindsay, W. M., *Early Welsh Script* (Oxford, 1912).
- L'Irlanda e gli Irlandesi nell'alto medioevo: Spoleto, 16–21 aprile 2009*, Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 57 (Spoleto, 2010).
- Low, S., and Denise Lawrence-Zunigais (eds), *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (Malden, MA, and Oxford, 2003).
- Lowe, Jeremy, 'Kicking Over the Traces: The instability of Cú Chulainn', *Studia Celtica*, 34 (2000), 119–29.
- de Lubac, H., *Exégèse médiévale* (Paris, 1959).
- Lynn, Chris, *Navan Fort Archaeology and Myth* (Bray, 2003).
- Macalister, R. A. S. (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, 5 vols (London, 1938–56; rev. imp. 1993).
- Mac Cana, Proinsias, *Celtic Mythology* (London, 1970; repr. 1983).
- McCartney, E. S., 'Wayfaring Signs', *Classical Philology*, 30 (1935), 97–112.
- McCone, Kim, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (Maynooth, 1990).
- (ed. and trans.), *Echtrae Chonnlaí and the Beginnings of Vernacular Narrative Writing in Ireland* (Maynooth, 2000).
- McCutcheon, Russell T., *Entanglements: Marking Place in the Field of Religion* (Sheffield, 2014).
- Mac Eoin, Gearoid S., 'Invocation of the Forces of Nature in the *Loricae*', *Studia Hibernica*, 2 (1962), 212–17.
- , 'On the Irish Legend of the Origin of the Picts', *Studia Hibernica*, 4 (1964), 138–54.

- MacGinty, Gerard (ed.), *Pauca problemsmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis*, CCCM, 173 (Turnhout, 2000).
- McKenna, Catherine, 'Between two worlds: Saint Brigit and pre-Christian religion in the *Vita Prima*', in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *Identifying the 'Celtic'*, CSANA Yearbook, 2 (Dublin, 2002), pp. 66–74.
- , 'The colonization of myth in *Branwen Ferch Lŷr*', in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *Myth in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Yearbook, 6 (Dublin, 2007), pp. 105–19.
- , "'What dreams may come must give us pause': *Breudwyt Ronabwy* and the Red Book of Hergest', *CMCS*, 58 (2009), 69–99.
- McLeod, Neil, 'Interpreting Early Irish Law: Status and Currency', *ZCP*, 41 (1986), 46–65, 42 (1987), 41–115.
- , 'Di Ércib Fola', *Ériu*, 52 (2002), 123–216.
- McManus, Damian, 'Good-looking and Irresistible: The Hero from Early Irish Saga to Classical Poetry', *Ériu*, 59 (2009), 57–109.
- McNamara, Martin, 'Tradition and creativity in early Irish psalter study', in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds.), *Irland und Europa. Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter/ Ireland and Europe: The Early Church* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 338–89.
- , *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church* (Sheffield, 2000).
- Mac Neill, Eoin, 'Ancient Irish Law: The Law of Status or Franchise', *PRIA*, 36 C (1923), 265–316.
- , *St Patrick Apostle of Ireland* (London, 1934).
- McNeill, J. T., 'Folk-paganism in the Penitentials', *Journal of Religion*, 13 (1933), 450–66.
- Maier, Bernhard, 'Sugere mamellas: A pagan Irish custom and its affinities', in R. Black, W. Gillies and R. Ó Maolalaigh (eds.), *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies, Vol. I: Language, Literature, History, Culture* (East Lothian, 1999), pp. 152–61.
- Maier, F., 'Eiche und Efeu: Zu einer Rekonstruktion des Kultbäumchens von Manching', *Germania*, 79, 2 (2001), 297–307.
- Martinez, D., "'May she neither eat nor drink": Love magic and vows of abstinence', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 129 (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995), pp. 335–59.
- Mattingly, David (ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*, JRA Suppl. Ser., 23 (Portsmouth, RI, 1997).
- , *Imperialism, Power and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 2011).

- Meaney, A. L., 'Ælfric's Use of His Sources in His Homily on Auguries', *English Studies*, 66, (1985), 477–95.
- Meek, D., *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Mees, B., *Celtic Curses* (Woodbridge, 2009).
- Megaw, Ruth, and Vincent Megaw, 'Ancient Celts and Modern Ethnicity', *Antiquity*, 70 (1996), 175–81.
- , 'The Mechanism of (Celtic) Dreams: A Partial Response to our Critics', *Antiquity*, 72 (1998), 432–5.
- Melia, Daniel F., 'The Lughnasa Musician in Ireland and Scotland', *Journal of American Folklore*, 80 (1967), 365–73.
- Menuge, Noël James, *Medieval Women and the Law* (Boydell, 2003).
- Merriman, N., 'Value and motivation in prehistory: the evidence for "Celtic" spirit', in I. Hodder (ed.), *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 111–16.
- Meyer, Kuno, 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften: M'aonarán dam isan slíab', *ZCP*, 7 (1910), 302–3.
- , 'Der irische Totengott und die Toteninsel', *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1919), 537–46.
- Meyer, M., and R. Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco, 1994).
- Miles, B., *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011).
- Morin, G. (ed.), *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermons*, I, CCL, 103 (Turnhout, 1953).
- Mueller, M. M., *Saint Caesarius of Arles Sermons*, I (Washington, D.C., 1956).
- Muirchú, *Vita Patricii*, in *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, ed. L. Bieler. *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, X (Dublin, 1979, repr. 2004).
- Müller-Lisowski, Käte, 'Contributions to a Study in Irish Folklore: Traditions about Donn', *Béaloideas*, 18 (1948), 142–99.
- , 'Donn Fírinne, Tech Duinn, an Tarbh', *Études celtiques* 6, 1 (1952), 21–9.
- Murphy, Gerard, *Early Irish Lyrics* (Oxford, 1956; repr. Dublin, 1998).
- Murray, A., 'Missionaries and Magic in Dark-Age Europe', *Past and Present*, 136 (1992), 186–205.
- Murray, Kevin, 'Catshlechte and other Medieval Legal Material Relating to Cats', *Celtica*, 25 (2007), 143–59.
- , 'Reviews, Reviewers, and Critical Texts', *CMCS*, 57 (2009), 51–70.
- Musson, A. (ed.), *Boundaries of the Law: Geography, Gender, and Jurisdiction in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, 2005).
- Nagy, Joseph Falaky, *The Wisdom of the Outlaw: The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (Los Angeles, 1985).



- , *Conversing with Angels and Ancients: Literary Myths of Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1997).
- , 'Introduction', in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *Memory and the Modern in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Yearbook, 5 (Dublin, 2006), pp. 7–14.
- , 'The wisdom of the couch potato', in J. F. Eska (ed.), *Narrative in Celtic Tradition: Essays in Honor of Edgar M. Slotkin*, CSANA Yearbook, 8–9 (New York, 2011), pp. 191–200.
- Nanavutty, Piloo (trans.), *The Gathas of Zarathushtra: Hymns in Praise of Wisdom* (Ahmedabad, 1999).
- Newman, C., 'Reflections on the Making of a "Royal Site" in Early Ireland', *World Archaeology*, 30, 1 (1998), 127–41.
- Ní Shéaghda, Nessa (ed. and trans.), *Tóraigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, ITS, 47 (London, 1967).
- Ó Carragáin, E., 'The necessary distance: *Imitatio Romae* and the Ruthwell cross', in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 191–203.
- Ó Cathasaigh, Tomás, 'Curse and Satire', *Éigse*, 21 (1986), 10–15.
- O'Connor, Ralph, *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel: Kingship and Narrative Artistry in a Mediaeval Irish Saga* (Oxford, 2013).
- Ó Corráin, D., L. Breatnach and A. Breen, 'The Laws of the Irish', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 382–438.
- O'Donovan, John, 'An Ancient Poem Attributed to St Columbkille; with a Translation and Notes', *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, 1 (1846), 1–15.
- O'Grady, S. H. (ed.), *Silva Gadelica*, 2 vols (London, 1892).
- Ó hAodha, D. (ed.), *Bethu Bríge* (Dublin, 1978).
- O'Kelleher, A., and G. Schoepperle (eds), *Betha Colaim Chille: Life of Columcille, Compiled by Manus O'Donnell in 1532* (Urbana, 1918).
- O'Leary, P., 'Fír fer: An Internalized Ethical Concept in Early Irish literature?', *Éigse*, 22 (1987), 1–14.
- O'Loughlin, Thomas, 'Julian of Toledo's *Antikeimenon* and the Development of Latin Exegesis', *Proceeding of the Irish Biblical Association*, 16 (1993), 80–98.
- , 'Adomnán the Illustrious', *The Innes Review*, 46 (1995), 1–14.
- , 'The Controversy over Methuselah's Death: Proto-chronology and the origins of the Western Concept of Inerrancy', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 62 (1995), 182–225.
- , 'Biblical contradictions in the *Periphyseon* and the development of Eriugena's method', in C. Steel, J. McEvoy and G. van Riel (eds), *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena and the Scriptures* (Leuven, 1996), pp. 103–26.

- , 'The Latin sources of medieval Irish culture', in K. McCone and K. Simms (eds), *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* (Maynooth, 1996), pp. 91–105.
- , 'Christ and the Scriptures: The Chasm between Modern and Pre-modern Exegesis', *The Month*, 259 (1998), 475–85.
- , 'Christ as the focus of Genesis exegesis in Isidore of Seville', in T. Finan and V. Twomey (eds), *Studies in Patristic Christology* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 144–62.
- , *Teachers and Code-Breakers: The Latin Genesis Tradition, 430–800* (Turnhout, 1999).
- , 'Tradition and exegesis in the eighth century: The use of patristic sources in early medieval scriptural commentaries', in T. O'Loughlin, (ed.), *The Scriptures and Early Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 217–39.
- , 'The Diffusion of Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* in the Medieval Period', *Ériu*, 51 (2000), 93–106.
- , 'Reading Muirchú's Tara-event within its background as a biblical "trial of divinities"', in J. Cartwright (ed.), *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 123–35.
- , 'Early medieval introductions to the Holy Book: Adjuncts or hermeneutic?', in R. Swanson (ed.), *Studies in Church History 38: The Church and the Book* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 22–31.
- , *Discovering Saint Patrick* (London, 2005).
- , 'Muirchú's Poisoned Cup: A Note on its Sources', *Ériu*, 56 (2006), 157–62.
- , *Adomnán and the Holy Places: The Perceptions of an Insular Monk on the Location of the Biblical Drama* (London, 2007).
- , 'The myth of insularity and nationality in Ireland', in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *Myth in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Yearbook, 6 (Dublin, 2007), pp. 132–40.
- , 'Harmonising the Truth: Eusebius and the Problem of the Four Gospels', *Traditio*, 65 (2010), 23–5.
- , *Gildas and the Scriptures: Observing the World through a Biblical Lens* (Turnhout, 2012).
- O'Rahilly, Cecile (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge Recension I* (Dublin, 1976).
- O'Sullivan, Aidan, 'Early Medieval Houses in Ireland: Social Identity and Dwelling Spaces', *Peritia*, 20 (2008), 225–56.
- O'Sullivan, Tomás, 'Texts and Transmissions of the Scúap Chrábaid: An Old-Irish Litany in its Manuscript Context', *SCF*, 7 (2010), 26–47.
- Otto, B.-C., *Magie: Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen* (Berlin, 2011).

- Owen, Morfydd E., 'Celtic medicine', *Proceedings of the 34th Congress on the History of Medicine. Glasgow 4–8 September 1994* (1995), pp. 95–110.
- , 'The *Excerpta de Libris Romanorum et Francorum* and Welsh law', in T. M. Charles–Edwards and P. Russell (eds), *Tair Colofn Cyfraith, The Three Columns of Law in Medieval Wales: Homicide, Theft and Fire* (Bangor, 2007), pp. 171–95.
- , 'Some points of comparison and contrast between early Irish and Welsh law,' in Karen Jankulak and Jonathan M. Wooding (eds), *Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 180–200.
- Painter, T. J., 'Chemical and microbiological aspects of the preservation process in Sphagnum peat', in R. C. Turner and R. G. Scaife (eds), *Bog Bodies: New Discoveries and New Perspectives* (London, 1995), pp. 88–99.
- Parker Pearson, M., 'Food, Sex and Death: Cosmologies in the British Iron Age with Particular Reference to East Yorkshire', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 9 (1999), 43–69.
- Patterson, Nerys, *Cattle–Lords and Clansmen: Kinship and Rank in Early Ireland* (New York and London, 1991).
- Pease, A. S., 'The Omen of Sneezing', *Classical Philology*, 6, 4 (1911), 429–43.
- Petzer, J. H., 'The Latin version of the New Testament', in B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes (eds), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), pp. 113–30.
- Plummer, Charles (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1910).
- Ralls-MacLeod, Karen, *Music and the Celtic Otherworld, from Ireland to Iona* (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Rees, Alwyn, and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (London, 1961).
- Rekdal, Jan Erik, and Erich Poppe (eds), *Medieval Irish Perspectives on Cultural Memory* (Münster, 2014).
- Richards, Melville (ed.), *Breudwyd Ronabwy* (Cardiff, 1948).
- Richter, Michael, *Ireland and her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin, 1999).
- Rider, C., *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2006).
- Ritari, Katja, *Saints and Sinners in Early Christian Ireland: Moral Theology in the Lives of Saints Brigit and Columba*, *Studia traditionis theologiae*, 3 (Turnhout, 2009).
- Ritari, Katja, and Alexandra Bergholm (eds), *Approaches to Religion and Mythology in Celtic Studies* (Newcastle, 2008).
- Roper, Lyndall, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford, 1991).

- Rorty, Richard, *The Linguistic Turn: Recent Essays in Philosophical Method* (Chicago, 1967).
- Ross, Anne, *Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition* (London, 1967).
- , 'Lindow man and the Celtic tradition', in I. M. Stead, J. B. Bourke and D. Brothwell (eds), *Lindow Man; The Body in the Bog* (London, 1986), 162–9.
- , *Druids* (Stroud, 1999).
- Ross, Anne, and Don Robins, *The Life and Death of a Druid Prince* (London, 1989).
- Rowe, William, and Vivian Schelling, *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America* (London, 1991).
- Rowland, J., *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Rumsey, P. M., *Sacred Time in Early Christian Ireland* (London, 2007).
- Russell, Paul, 'Poets, power and possessions in medieval Ireland: Some stories from *Sanas Cormaic*', in J. F. Eska (ed.), *Law, Literature and Society*, CSANA Yearbook, 7 (Dublin, 2008), pp. 9–45.
- Russell-Smith, J., 'Ridiculosae sternutationes (o nore in Ancrene Wisse)', *Review of English Studies*, 8, 31 (1957), 266–9.
- Ryan, J., 'A Difficult Phrase in the 'Confession' of St Patrick *reppuli sugere mammellas eorum*, §18', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5, Ser. 52 (1938), 293–9.
- Rylatt, J., and B. Bevan, 'Realigning the world: Pit alignments and their landscape context', in C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds), *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 219–34.
- Schechner, Richard, *Performance Theory*, 2nd edn (New York, 1988).
- Schlüter, Dagmar, *History or Fable? The Book of Leinster as a Document of Cultural Memory in Twelfth-Century Ireland* (Münster, 2010).
- Scott, Joan, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91, 5 (1986), 1053–75.
- Selmer, Carl (ed.), *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis* (Notre Dame, 1959).
- Sharpe, Richard, 'Dispute settlement in medieval Ireland: a preliminary inquiry', in Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (eds), *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 169–90.
- , *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1991).
- Sheehan, Sarah, and Ann Dooley (eds), *Constructing Gender in Medieval Ireland* (New York, 2013).
- Siewers, Alfred, *Strange Beauty: Ecocritical Approaches to Early Medieval Landscape* (New York, 2009).

- Sigurðsson, Gísli, *Gaelic Influence in Iceland: Historical and Literary Contacts – A Survey of Research* (Reykjavík, 1988).
- Silverstein, Theodore, and Anthony Hilhorst (eds), *Apocalypse of Paul: A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions* (Geneva, 1997).
- Simpson, Jacqueline, 'Mímir: Two myths or One?', *Saga-Book*, 46, 1 (1962), 41–53.
- Sims-Williams, Patrick, 'Celtomania and Celtoscepticism', *CMCS*, 36 (1998), 1–35.
- , 'Celtic Civilization: Continuity or Coincidence?' *CMCS*, 64 (Winter, 2012), 1–45.
- , 'Post-celtoscepticism: A personal view', in Dónall Ó Baoill, Donncha Ó hAodha, and Nollaig Ó Muraíle (eds), *Saltair Saíochta, Sanasaíochta agus Seanchais: A Festschrift for Gearóid Mac Eoin*, (Dublin, 2013), pp. 422–8.
- Sims-Williams, Patrick, and Erich Poppe, 'Medieval Irish literary theory and criticism', in A. Minnis and I. Johnson (eds), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, II (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 291–309.
- Sjöblom, Tom, 'Celtic Religion: a Scholarly Reconsideration', paper read at the *Thirteenth International Congress of Celtic Studies*, Bonn, 23–27 July, 2007.
- Skeat, W. W., *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints*, II (London, 1881).
- Skemer, D., *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania, 2006).
- Skene, W. F., *Chronicles of the Scots, and Other Early Memorials of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1867).
- Smyth, A. P., 'Review of K. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland*', *Studia Hibernica*, 13 (1973), 168–71.
- Stacey, Robin Chapman, 'Ties that Bind: Immunities in Irish and Welsh Law', *CMCS*, 20 (Winter, 1990), 39–60.
- , *The Road to Judgment: From Custom to Court in Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Philadelphia, 1994).
- , *Dark Speech: The Performance of Law in Early Ireland* (Philadelphia, 2007).
- Steiner, Emily, and Candice Barrington (eds), *The Letter of the Law, Legal Practice and Literary Production in Medieval England* (Ithaca and London, 2002).
- Steinmetz, D. C. 'The Superiority of Pre-critical Exegesis,' *Theology Today*, 37 (1980), 27–38.
- Stewart, C., 'Creolization. history, ethnography, theory', in C. Stewart (ed.), *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory* (Walnut Creek, 2007), pp. 1–25.

- Stokes, Whitley (ed.), *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890).
- (ed.), ‘The Irish Ordeals, Cormac’s Adventure in the Land of Promise, and the Decision as to Cormac’s Sword’, *Irische Texte* 3, 1 (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 183–229.
- (ed.), ‘Acallam na Senórach’, in Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch (eds), *Irische Texte*, 4, 1 (Leipzig, 1900), 1–438.
- (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Tigernach*, 2 vols (reprint: Felinfach, 1993).
- (ed.), ‘Tidings of the Resurrection’, *RC*, 25 (1904), 232–59.
- (ed. and trans.), *In Cath Catharda*, *Irische Texte* 4, 2 (Leipzig, 1909).
- Strachan, J., ‘The Infixed Pronoun in Middle Irish’, *Ériu*, 1 (1904), 153–79.
- Swift, Cathy, ‘Pagan Monuments and Christian Legal Centres in Early Meath’, *Ríocht na Midhe*, 9, 2 (1996), 1–26.
- Thurneysen, Rudolf, ‘Irische und britannische Glossen. A. Irische Glossen’, *ZCP*, 21 (1939), 280–90.
- Tierney, J. J., ‘The Celtic Ethnography of Posidonius’, *PRIA*, 60 (1960), 189–275.
- Todd, J. H., *Leabhar Breathnach: The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius* (Dublin, 1848).
- Toporkov, A., ‘Russian love charms in a comparative light’, in J. Roper (ed.), *Charms, Charmers and Charming: International Research on Verbal Magic* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 121–44.
- Trachtenberg, J., *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York, 1939).
- Tristram, Hildegard L. C., ‘Celtic in linguistic taxonomy in the nineteenth century’, in T. Brown (ed.), *Celticism* (Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 35–60.
- Turville-Petre, E. O. G., *Myth and Religion of the North* (New York, 1964).
- Tymoczko, Maria, ‘What questions should we ask in Celtic Studies in the new millennium?’, in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *Identifying the ‘Celtic’*, *CSANA Yearbook*, 2 (Dublin, 2002), pp. 10–29.
- Uhlich, Jürgen, ‘Reviews, Reviewers, and Critical Texts: A Brief Final Response’, *CMCS*, 57 (2009), 75–80.
- van der Veer, P., ‘Syncretism, multiculturalism and the discourse of tolerance’, in C. Stewart and R. Shaw (eds), *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* (London, 1994), pp. 196–215.
- Venclová, N., ‘Celtic Shrines in Central Europe: A Sceptical Approach’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 12 (1993), 55–66.

- , 'The Venerable Bede, Druidic Tonsure and Archaeology', *Antiquity*, 76 (2002), 458–71.
- Versnel, H. S., 'What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander: Myth and ritual, old and new', in L. Edmunds (ed.), *Approaches to Greek Myth* (Baltimore, 1990), pp. 25–90.
- Vesner, H., *M. Annaei Lucanni Commenta Bernensia* (Teubner, 1869).
- Vlach, John, *By the Work of their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folklife* (Charlottesville, 1991).
- de Vries, Jan, *La religion des celtes* (Paris, 1948).
- Vuaillet, D., P. Leger, O. Hernandez and S. du Vigneau (eds), *Aspects des Ages du Fer en Berry et Limousin* (Limoges, 1989).
- Wacholder, B. Z., 'Biblical Chronology in the Hellenistic World Chronicles', *Harvard Theological Review*, 61 (1968), 451–81.
- Wait, Gerald, *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain*, BAR British Series, 149 (Oxford, 1985).
- Warmind, Morten L., 'Irish Literature as Source-material for Celtic Religion', *Temenos*, 28 (1992), 209–22.
- Waterman, D. (ed. C. Lynn), *Excavations at Navan Fort 1961–71* (Belfast, 1997).
- Webster, Jane, 'Interpretatio: Roman Word Power and the Celtic Gods', *Britannia*, 26 (1995), 153–62.
- , 'Sanctuaries and sacred places', in M. Green (ed.), *The Celtic World* (London, 1995), pp. 445–64.
- , 'Ethnographic barbarity: Imperialist discourse and the archaeology of "Celtic" society', in J. Webster and N. Cooper (eds), *Roman Imperialism: Post Colonial Perspectives*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs, 1 (Leicester, 1996), pp. 111–23.
- , 'At the End of the World: Druidic and Other Revitalization Movements in Post-conquest Gaul and Britain', *Britannia*, 30 (1999), 1–20.
- , 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105 (2001), 209–25.
- , 'Art as resistance and negotiation', in S. Scott and J. Webster (eds), *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 24–51.
- , 'Less Beloved: Roman Archaeology, Slavery and the Failure to Compare', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 15, 2 (2008), 102–49.
- Webster, J., and N. Cooper (eds), *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs, 1 (Leicester, 1996).
- Wells, P., 'Review of S. Yeates, *The Tribe of Witches: The Religion of the Dobunni and Hwicce*', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 19, 2 (2009), 283–4.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- White, Hayden, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973).
- Wooding, Jonathan, 'Reapproaching the Pagan Celtic past: Anti-Nativism, Asterisk Reality and the Late-Antiquity paradigm', *SCF*, VI (2009), 61–74.
- Yeates, Stephen, *The Tribe of Witches: The Religion of the Dobunni and Hwicce* (Oxford, 2008).
- , *A Dreaming for the Witches: A Recreation of the Dobunni Primal Myth* (Oxford, 2009).