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The Magician's House

Druids, prayers and magic in Roman Gaul

Druids are difficult! There exists for them the conundrum of a plethora of evidence and no evidence at all. On the one hand, there is a noisy clamour of Classical literature on a subject essentially foreign to its perpetrators' experience, for its authors hailed from the Mediterranean world whilst the Druids belonged to regions to the north and west of that arena. I recall Carlo Ginzberg's statement at the Harvard Witchcraft seminar held in August 2009: 'there is no innocent eye.'² This is so true of the Greek and – especially – Roman reportage of Druidism which, at best, must have contained ignorance, supposition and unwitting bias and, at worst, colonial spin and barbarising invention. On the other hand, the 'evidence' consists of mute archaeological artefacts, things, animal and human remains that appear to have been associated with ritual action or its results at about the time that the Druids were thought to have been active in Britain and Gaul: between about 200 BC and AD 400.³ The principal problem lies in the failure in our ability to knit together these two skeins of data. It is well-nigh impossible to separate fact from fiction in the ancient texts and, although particular elements of apparently sacral material culture *might* be connected with Iron Age or Roman-period Druids, there is no reason to cite this group rather than any other band of religious officials that may have been operational during this time. So is there any way of cutting the Gordian knot? How closely and effectively can we marry material culture to contemporary literature? Do recent discoveries help us in the quest for real Druids?

Focus on Chartres

Autricum (modern Chartres) was the political capital of the Carnutes, whom Caesar, writing his *De Bello Gallico* in the fifties BC, identified as occupying territory south-west of Paris. The Carnutes enjoyed an uneasy and fluctuating relationship with Caesar's forces: the Roman general had been firm friends with a high-ranking individual called Tasgetius but after

Aldhouse-Green

this man was assassinated by fellow Carnutians, Caesar took immediate action against his murderers. Thereafter, relations between Rome and this polity deteriorated and the Carnutes were one of the first tribal groups to engage with the pan-Gallic uprising to be led by the Arvernian chieftain Vercingetorix (*DBG* 7:2). The Carnutes appear to be a Classic example of an Iron Age polity torn asunder by pro- and anti-Roman factions that could split families down the middle. This kind of inter-tribal division is graphically illustrated elsewhere in Gaul, for instance among the Aedui of Burgundy when Caesar was governor (and conqueror), and later in Britain, notably among the Iceni under Prasutagus and Boudica (*Tacitus Annals* 14: 31) and the Brigantes, ruled by Cartimandua and Venutius (*Tacitus Annals* 12.40) during the mid-later first century AD.

Caesar's friend Tasgetius may have been one of the *obsides* recorded in Roman literature, the child of a Gallic nobleman sent to Rome to learn Roman *mores* and governance in order to return ready to apply sophisticated systems of *romanitas* at home, a practice not always appreciated by those left behind.⁴ If so, his close alliance with Rome may have led both to his assassination and to later Carnutian hostility towards Caesar. Tasgetius is important in the present context, for it may have been one of his descendants whose activities in early Roman Chartres have led to the writing of this paper.⁵ This latter individual's name was Caius Verius Sedatus, and his possession of *tria nomina* (in particular his *cognomen* Sedatus) during this period meant that this Gallic gentleman was almost certainly a Roman citizen. It may be no coincidence, too, that he shared his *praenomen* with Caius Julius Caesar, perhaps a reflection of longstanding amity between his family and the Roman government. His *cognomen*, however, is Gaulish, deriving from *sed* and *sedd*, meaning 'sit' or 'seat'. Sedatus and cognate names, such as Sedatianus and Assedomarus are by no means uncommon in Roman Gaul. For instance, the name appears on tombstones as far afield as Bordeaux⁶ and Dagsburg in the Vosges,⁷ occurring, too, in Burgundy, at Langres, Dijon and Autun.⁸ An Alpine settlement named Sedunum is recorded among the Helvetii (or their sub-polity the Nantuates).⁹ Interestingly, Sedatus is also attested as a divine name, among the Aquitani, where his name is coupled with that of the Italian rural deity Silvanus.¹⁰

According to Caesar, the Carnutes occupied key lands within Gaul, for it was in Carnutian territory, he comments, that the annual pan-Gallic Druidic assembly was held, 'in a consecrated place'.¹¹ This is a significant passage for it suggests that Druidism formed an organised network that

bound together enormous tracts of land. Moreover, Caesar states that this event took place 'on a fixed date each year' (*op. cit.*) which, if it were truly so, carries implications concerning the capacity of the Druids to make precise calendrical computations from the observation of heavenly bodies. However, for present purposes, the key point is that the location of Caesar's Druidic Assembly is likely to have been the Carnutian capital of Chartres, and that is precisely whence comes new evidence suggesting the presence of Roman-period Druids. However, when this new material is examined in detail, it is clear that all was not as it appears but that something much more complicated was going on than simply a Druidic survival into Roman Gaul.

Sedatus the Magician

On July 20th, 2005, work on the construction of an underground car park in the centre of Chartres was interrupted by the unearthing of Roman remains dating to the early second century AD.¹² These comprised the debris of a burnt-out house whose collapse preserved what appears to have been a tiny underground shrine (1.70m x 2m) in the basement of its premises. When the cellar was in active use, a wooden ladder resting on stone steps was used to access the shrine. At some point, perhaps for secrecy or when the rituals there ceased, the liturgical material – that included incense-burners, pots with snake-decorated handles, ceramic lamps and a broad-bladed 'sacrificial' knife – had been hidden away beneath the stairs.

It is the group of *turibula* – censers – that supplies clues both as to what was going on in this subterranean space and as to the identity of the person in charge. They also provide evidence, of a kind, for the presence of Druids. Remains of three incense-burners were found, and there may once have been a fourth (for reasons that will presently become apparent). Of the three, one is virtually complete, and most of its surface is covered with cursive writing, scratched on to the leather-hard surface of the pot prior to its firing. The inscriptions are in four blocks, each of which is self-contained and almost identical to its fellows, and each panel is headed with the name of a cardinal point: *oriens*, *meridie*, *occidens* and *septentrio*.¹³ These headings lead to the inference that there may once have been four censers, each placed to mark out one of the compass points (Table 1).

Aldhouse-Green

Meridie
Vos rogo omnipotentia
numina ut omnia bona
conferatis C(aio) Verio
Sedato quia ille est
vester custos
Echar Aha
Bru Stna
Bros Dru
Chor Drax
Chos
Halcedmedme
Halcehalar
Halcedmedme

Table 1: one of the four panels of inscribed prayers on the Chartres turibula.

And now Caius Verius Sedatus makes his entrance. Each of the four inscriptions on the *turibulum* consists of a prayer directed to the *omnipotentia numina*¹⁴ by Sedatus, who proclaims himself *vester custos*.¹⁵ There follows a list of names, most of whose meanings (if any) are impenetrable: words like ‘Echar’, ‘Stna’, ‘Bru’ and ‘Halcedmedme’ (Table 1). But one word, ‘Dru’, causes a stir of interest because it appears to refer to the Druids; if so, the Chartres *turibulum* represents the only known inscribed reference to this religious leadership and, indeed, our sole irrefutable archaeological evidence for them. If the list of names inscribed on the incense-burner does represent Sedatus’ *omnipotentia numina*, though, the inclusion of the word Druid suggests that what Caesar, Strabo, Lucan, Tacitus and numerous other ancient writers identified as a title for a Gallo-British religious official had undergone a change of status for the Gallo-Roman Sedatus. For him, then, Druids had transmogrified from priests to gods, one of many to whom he directed his prayers. It is even more peculiar that his tone is not so much that of a suppliant but of a controller of spirits. He calls himself their guardian and, by implication, he is in charge: they are summoned to do his bidding. He is a magician, a person imbued with the power to conjure tenebrous forces.

The list of obscure words on the Chartres *turibula* chimes with the secret

names that appear in Graeco-Egyptian magical texts, although the latter are usually later in date than the *Autricum* shrine.¹⁶ It is likely that most of the words were “mumbo-jumbo”, made-up words designed to heighten Sedatus’ power as a keeper of cosmic knowledge and the ‘secret’ names of the spirits whom he summons. Sedatus – an educated, literate man – certainly appears to have wished to create magical names for the spirits he was conjuring in his prayers, for it is surely significant that he failed to include in his list any of the Gallic deities known from Roman literature or inscriptions: names such as Taranis, Epona, Esus or Teutates. It seems as though Sedatus’ aim was to confound, to create a deliberate counterpoint not only to established Roman religion but also to the recognised pantheon of local deities, only some of whom were syncretised with those bearing Roman names.

The second element of the Chartres prayers, argued¹⁷ as lending itself to thoughts of eastern influence, is the reference to the cardinal points. Directional alignments also played a significant role in the layout and use of sacred spaces in Iron Age and Roman-period Gaul and Britain, for instance at Acy-Romance, Ardennes,¹⁸ Gournay-sur-Aronde¹⁹, and Great Chesterford, Essex.²⁰ Directionality was also endemic within Roman ritual practice: from the carefully planned layout of towns²¹ to the scratching out of cardinal points by the Roman *Augur* with his *lituus* prior to divination.²² And, of course, it is possible that the enigmatic pairs of bronze spoons found placed in graves or deliberately deposited in bogs in late Iron Age Britain also bear witness to the importance of compass points: one of each pair has its inner surface marked in four quadrants.²³

Words: sound, power and magic

‘A number of those who practised magic collected their books and burned them publicly; when the value of these books was calculated, it was found to come to fifty thousand silver coins.’

(*Acts of the Apostles* 19, v 19)

The context of this New Testament passage is St Paul’s visit to the Ionian Greek city of Ephesus in Asia Minor, famous for its great library and the monumental temple to Diana. The purpose of quoting it is simply to illustrate

the prevalence of magic in the eastern Mediterranean provinces of the Roman Empire and the sheer value placed on written magical words. The Ephesian magicians had just witnessed Paul's miracles and had encountered a power so great that cloth he had touched retained the capacity to heal even without Paul's physical presence. The act of book-burning was an acknowledgment of a vastly superior spirit force.

The 'magical words' listed in Sedatus's repeated prayer were carefully chosen to be effective in dramatic proclamation aloud, for they are full of 'plosives' and repetitious alliterations. Speaking aloud is important in a ritual context for words are closely associated with power. Oratory is persuasive and so is religious sermonising. In chanting his prayer aloud in the reverberative confines of the sacred cellar, Sedatus was taking charge of the situation and acting as both the mouthpiece/commander of the spirit world and the controller of his 'congregation', if such there were (given the small size of the cellar-shrine). Once spoken and heard, words – whether said, chanted or sung – take on an independent persona, capable of echo, distortion and of being driven deep into the consciousness of both speaker and listeners. Words spoken aloud also become collective, allowing a simultaneous shared experience. Indeed Sedatus' choice of an underground space in which to conduct his rituals may have been as much about its qualities as an echo-chamber as about secrecy.

There is a sense in which the inscriptions on the Chartres incense-burners could be interpreted as spells as well as prayers and, thus, the chanting of the names, perhaps over and over again, might have had a hypnotic effect upon those present in the shrine. Properties intrinsic to the *turibula* themselves perhaps encouraged the 'magical' effect of the alien chanted words, for is it not feasible that the material burned in these censers included psychotropic substances – such as *artemisia*, or convolvulus seeds, both of which (along with many others) are recorded in the archaeological record of the Iron Age?²⁴ Rather in the manner of sweat lodges used in the inducement of trance among some Plains Indians communities,²⁵ the devotees who participated in Sedatus's rituals in the dark cellar, filled with smoke and, maybe, drug-laden fumes, and with sonorous repetitive and alliterative chanting, may well have experienced weird, out-of-body trance states. There is likely to have been a close physical connection between what was smouldering *inside* and what was inscribed on the *outside* of the Chartres vessels. The words mingled with the incense so that it would seem as if the *turibula* actually contained the spirits conjured by Sedatus, and were instruments used by

him – perhaps – in ‘emotive divination.’²⁶ This is a ritual process in which the celebrant makes direct contact with the spirits he has conjured. It may even be that, like the *śakti karakam* of rural Indian Hindu practice,²⁷ the *turibula* at Chartres were vessels of transformation, power-houses in which the process of divine possession took place, a possession manifested in the written words inscribed on its outer surface.²⁸ The sounds and intoxicating fumes may have combined with the strict control of light in a dark place, where torches or smoking oil-lamps were placed so as to cast giant shadows on the walls, as if to give the impression that the conjured spirits were present in the room. As the celebrant and summoner of spirits, we can imagine that Sedatus dressed the part. What did he wear, I wonder? Perhaps he donned special robes, maybe a headdress, like the decorated head-band worn by the ‘priest’ buried at Deal in Kent in about 100 BC²⁹, or like the diadems from Romano-British temples, such as Wanborough in Surrey and Hockwold in Norfolk.³⁰ He probably carried a magician’s wand: the group of sceptres from Wanborough in Britain³¹ and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne) in Gaul³² exemplify their use in the western Roman provinces.

The spell-like properties of the Chartres prayer lead to consideration of its relationship to coeval written chants, notably those inscribed on Gallo-British *defixiones* or curse tablets. Like the Chartres inscription, many of these curses, written in cursive script on lead or pewter, were meant to be spoken, or even sung. The transmission of sound was clearly key to the efficacy of the spell. Chanting the spell aloud enabled it to be shared by those other than the spell-caster and, of course, the spoken or sung words make direct connections with the object (or the victim) of the prayer or curse. In the context of ancient Athenian cursing rituals, Ralph Anderson³³ has considered the nature of the relationship between the spell-binder and the recipient, pointing out the essentially active, if not aggressive, character of the former and the passive helplessness of the latter. Despite the fact that the Chartres inscriptions appear to be neither harming spells nor directed at a victim, it is valid to imagine the same kind of relationship between Sedatus, the guardian and mouthpiece of his controlled spirits and those listening to his utterances, a connection forged by the passage of words from mouth to ear. In his treatise on judicial *defixiones* in the ancient world, John Gager refers to ‘the coercive power of words.’³⁴ In the case of the Chartres prayers, the recipients of the magical spoken words were the *omnipotentia numina* called upon by Sedatus who refers to himself as *vester custos*. The inference is that Sedatus’ power over these spirits, including those whom he termed

Druids, is his ability to bring them to life with speech.

So can we imagine close associations between the prayers on the Chartres *turibula* and the much more common *defixiones*? Two clear connections can be made: firstly in the direct evidence, present in certain of the curse-tablets, for use of the projected voice, in the allusion to singing; secondly, one of the Gallic curses, the tablet from Larzac in southern France makes specific reference to a seeress, using the native term *uidlua*, which is etymologically related to the word for Druid.³⁵ An *uidla* is a ‘seeing one’ or ‘knowing one’. The long and highly complex Larzac curse has been admirably dissected and re-interpreted by Bernard Mees.³⁶ It is full of darkness and steeped in magico-religious potency. It is also saturated in femininity: the deity, Adsagsona, the religious practitioner (or magician), Severa Tertionigna (‘Daughter of Tertiu’), and all the named victims are not only themselves women but they are paired: mother and daughter or mother and foster-daughter. Indeed, the inscription itself refers to ‘this enchantment of women’. Furthermore, the Larzac *defixio* was placed in the tomb of a woman called Gemma, whose remains were interred, in a pot inscribed with her name, in a large cemetery along with over a hundred other burials. The curse appears to have been placed there not because she was part of the magical rituals conducted by Tertionigna but in order to facilitate the transference of the written message to the infernal regions in company with the dead woman, where it would be activated.

Gaius Verius Sedatus’ name and his use of Latin situate him firmly within Roman Gaul. The same is true of Severa Tertionigna, who bears both a traditional Roman name, Severa, and a local one (‘Tertiu’s daughter’). Mees points to ‘Severa Tertionigna, then to have been a Gaulish woman, a seeress who was at home writing and speaking Latin’, whilst her mother, whose name is wholly indigenous, may not have had the same cross-cultural connections nor the same level of education.³⁷ Like the Chartres *turibulum* prayers, the Larzac curse contains regular rhythms and alliterations suggesting that it was chanted aloud. There is even a reference, within the inscription, to the curse as a *duscelinata*.³⁸ The seeress Severa Tertionigna herself has two alliterating Gaulish-language titles: *lidsatim* (learned or knowing) and *liciatim* (binding, skein, thread), the latter a common theme in Gallo-Roman curses, where the victim is fixed or bound by the curse and whose fate is sealed by the spinning threads of destiny, severed by the Fates. The certainty that many inscribed prayers, spells and magical curses like those from Chartres and Larzac were uttered aloud is reinforced by others from Roman Gaul, such as the *defixio* from Chamalières in the Auvergne, which is described as an

ison canti (a 'magical song'), or the one from a well within a late Iron Age *oppidum* at Montfo, only 50 km from Larzac, that contains an allusion to itself as a *necracantum* or 'death song.' Thus Sedatus' chant at Chartres may be firmly contextualised within a magical tradition current in the first and second centuries AD within Roman Gaul. What makes the Chartres prayers so special is their specific mention of Druids.

According to ancient authors, notably Julius Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* 6.13), the Druids were religious practitioners with a range of influences and responsibilities far outside the node of ritual authority, including justice, healing, natural philosophy, astronomy and curation of oral tradition. None of the many classical writers (and at least thirty-five can be identified) allude to the Druids as other than grounded in mortality and as high-ranking politico-religious leaders with pronounced powers of prophecy.³⁹ But here, in the early second century AD, is Caius Verius Sedatus, inscribing ritual censers with lists of secret, magical names, to whom he refers as *omnipotentia numina*, among whom are Druids. According to Sedatus' prayers, the Druids have become part and parcel of the spirit-world.

The Magician's House

What was going on in the dark cellar at Chartres? How did Gallic religious officials become spirits? Was Sedatus ignorant of genuine Druidism, subjugated as it undoubtedly was by *romanitas*? Did he, instead, deliberately manipulate a resonant, iconic word in order to lend *gravitas* and authenticity to a new religious movement that was, in essence, a palimpsest or mish-mash of traditions, widely ranging in space and time, reinvented by a wily Gallo-Roman wielder of 'magic'? I wonder whether it is permissible to take an even closer look at Sedatus himself, focusing on his very name, his *cognomen*. Earlier in this paper, I referred to the name Sedatus as that of a deity, coupled with Silvanus in Aquitania. This fragmentary inscription on a piece of marble comes from the Roman town of Auci. Sedatus means 'the seated one', and therefore could be regarded as a title rather than a name *per se*. It is not impossible that Caius Verius chose his own *cognomen* in order to convey self-empowerment and religious credibility. For Roman magistrates, their judicial authority was symbolised by their right to preside while seated in a *sella curulis*, a folding chair, rather like the canvas seat favoured by modern film directors. The remains of such furniture have been found in very late Iron Age high-status tombs in southern Britain, for instance in the Lexden

Aldhouse-Green

tumulus just outside Camulodunum (Colchester), probably in the grave of a British ruler who died in about 10 BC⁴⁰, and in the broadly coeval 'chieftain's burial' at Folly Lane, Verulamium.⁴¹ The repertoire of religious iconography of late Iron Age and Roman-period Gaul and Britain reveals a link between rank and seated positions. A group of Gallic images, mainly of stone, depicts persons wearing torcs (themselves indicative of high status) and seated in the yogic cross-legged position.⁴² Most prominent of these are representations of people wearing antlers or antler-headaddresses. The best-documented example is the image on the Gundestrup cauldron, a highly-decorated gilded silver vessel found in a Danish peat-bog and dating to the first century BC⁴³ but most images of this type come from Roman Gaul and occur occasionally also in Britain.⁴⁴ It is not impossible, therefore, that Caius Verius picked a *cognomen* for himself that chimed with a self-image of high status and religious authority.

The key to gaining any understanding of the shrine at Chartres is the character of Sedatus himself and the nature of syncretised Gallo-British religion within the Roman Empire. If Sedatus was a Roman citizen, as his triplefold name suggests, then we might surely have expected him to have played a prominent role in *Autricum's* society. It would seem then, on the face of it, unlikely that he spent his time skulking in cellars of private houses, babbling subversive magical doctrines. But if his 'surname' were self-styled, it becomes more plausible that he was operating as a quasi-shaman, within a sub-text of mainstream religion. For some Carnutians, the Druids still may have held resonance and it is quite possible that Druidism continued subliminally in many Roman towns in Gaul and Britain, just as Russian shamans did within the repressive contexts of Soviet religious persecution.⁴⁵ We know from late Roman texts, such as the Augustan Histories, that Druids remained in the consciousness of Gaul three hundred years after their official demise, for in these documents, Gallic Druidesses are credited with predicting future emperors, including Diocletian and Aurelian.⁴⁶ According to Ausonius, an academic from Bordeaux, by the fourth century AD, Druids formed family dynasties (*Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*).⁴⁷ It is tempting to think of Sedatus as a highly-educated, widely-read and urbane Roman citizen, a pillar of his community who, perhaps, pursued a public career by day but, under cover of darkness, repaired to the subterranean shrine beneath his house where his followers gathered and wove his magic, a magic in which an ancient and powerful priesthood had been transformed into spirits under his control. Could it even be that the magician's house was burnt down by

those opposed to his 'un-Roman' practices? After all, sorcery was frowned upon and the practice of magic was looked upon as an offence to Roman civil authority.⁴⁸ Sedatus may have represented the first of many new religious movements in which Druids played ever-shifting roles. He might have been very at home at Stonehenge on a twenty-first century midsummer morning.

Notes

1. Department of Archaeology, Cardiff University, Humanities Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU.
2. Miranda Aldhouse-Green, "Reading Prehistoric Religion," in S. Mitchell, N. Price, R. Hutton, D. Purkiss, K. Patton, C. Raudvere, C. Severi, M. Aldhouse-Green, S. Semple, A. Pluskowski, M. Carver and C. Ginzberg. "Witchcraft and Deep Time – a debate at Harvard," in *Antiquity* 84, no. 325, (September 2010): 872.
3. Miranda Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids. Story of an Ancient Priesthood* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 13-17.
4. J. Creighton, *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 92-94.
5. The nucleus of the present paper, under the same title, was delivered by the author for the 2011 Professor John Mulvaney Lecture at the Australian National University, Canberra on June 1st, 2011.
6. *CIL. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* Vol. XIII. *Inscriptiones Trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae*, eds. O. Hirschfeld and C. Zangemeister (Berlin: Georgium Reimarum 1861-1943), CIL XIII, no. 846.
7. *CIL* XIII, 5988.
8. *CIL* XIII Nos., 11587, 5551 and 2706 respectively.
9. J.T. Koch, *An Atlas for Celtic Studies. Archaeology and Names in Ancient Europe and Early Medieval Ireland, Britain and Brittany* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), map 17.5.
10. *CIL* XIII, 11024; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names. A Study of some Continental Celtic Formations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 56-7, 253-54; J. Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul* (Privately printed by J. Whatmough, 1949-51), 17, 243, 1249; M.E. Raybould and P. Sims-Williams, *The Geography of Celtic Personal Names in the Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire* (Aberystwyth: CMCS, 2007), 12.
11. *DBG* 6.13; translated by A. Wiseman and P. Wiseman 1980, *Julius Caesar. The Battle for Gaul* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1980), 121.
12. R. Gordon, D. Joly and W. Van Andringa, "A prayer for blessings on three ritual objects discovered at Chartres-Autricum (France, Eure-et-Loir)," in *Magical Practice in the Latin West. Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza 2005*, eds. R. Gordon and F. Marco Simón (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
13. 'east', 'south', 'west' and 'north'.
14. 'Omnipotent spirits'.

Aldhouse-Green

15. 'your Guardian.'
16. R. Gordon, "Shaping the Text: Theory and Practice in Graeco-Egyptian Malign Magic," in *Kykeon: Studies in honour of H.S. Versnel*, eds. H.E.J. Horstmannhoff, H.W. Singer, F.T. van Straten and J.H.M. (Strubbe Brill: Leiden), 69-111.
17. Gordon *et al*, 499.
18. B. Lambot, "Victimes, sacrificateurs et dieux," in *Les Druides. L'Archéologue*, eds. V. Guichard and F. Perrin (Hors Série, no. 2, 2000), 30-36.
19. J.L. Brunaux, *Les religions gauloises. Rituels celtique de la Gaule indépendante* (Paris: Éd. Errance, 1996).
20. M. Medlycott, *The Roman Town of Great Chesterford* (Chelmsford: East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 137/Historic Environment Essex County Council, 2011), 75.
21. P. Woodward and A. Woodward, "Dedicating the town: urban foundation deposits in Roman Britain," in *World Archaeology* 36, 1 (2004): 68-86.
22. M. Beard, J. North, and S. Price, *Religions of Rome. Volume 1. A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 22.
23. Aldhouse-Green 2010, 163, fig. 53; A.P. Fitzpatrick, *Who were the Druids?* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson (Mysteries of the Ancient World Series, 1997), 20.
24. A clump of *artemesia* was found in a spouted bowl placed in the 'Doctor's Grave' at Stanway, Colchester (Essex): P. Crummy, S. Benfield, V. Rigby and D. Shimmin, *Stanway: An Elite Burial Site at Camulodunum* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies/Britannia Monograph Series No. 24., 2007), 207; the gilded bronze leaves forming part of the religious sceptre found at Manching (Bavaria) have been identified as *convolvulus*: Perrin, 22; *Artemesia* is a well-documented herbal remedy: Wiltshire, "Palynological Analysis of the Organic Material Lodged in the Spout of the Strainer Bowl," in Crummy, 394; but it is also used as a hallucinogenic substitute for cannabis: R.E. Schultes, A. Hofmann and C Ratsch, *Plants of the Gods. Their Sacred, Healing and Hallucinogenic Powers* (Rochester, Vermont: Healing Arts Press, 1992), 98.
25. M. St. Pierre. and T. Long Soldier, *Walking in the Sacred Manner. Healers, Drummers and Pipe Carriers – Medicine Women of the Plains Indians* (New York: Touchstone/Simon and Schuster, 1995), 19.
26. G. Carr, "A time to live, a time to heal and a time to die: healing and divination in later Iron Age and early Roman Britain," *Practitioners, Practices and Patients. New Approaches to Medical Archaeology and Anthropology*, eds. P. Baker and G. Carr (Oxford: Oxbow, 2002), 64.
27. L. Foulston, *At the Feet of the Goddess. The Divine Feminine in Local Hindu Religion* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2002), 164.
28. The *śakti karakam* is a ceramic vessel that is first purified in a sacred tank or river outside a village Hindu temple, and then filled with rice or other foods and borne into the shrine. It is the act of submergence in the water that causes it and its attendant worshippers, to be possessed by the local deity. The pot thus acts as a 'power-house', an agent for transformation, enabling people to be imbued with spirit force.
29. K. Parfitt, *Iron Age Burials from Mill Hill, Deal* (London: British Museum Press,

- 1995), 13, 155.
30. Aldhouse-Green 2010: 154-157; M.G. O'Connell, and J. Bird, "The Roman temple at Wanborough, excavation 1985-1986," *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 82 (1994): 93-96.
 31. O'Connell and Bird, "The Roman temple", 106-111.
 32. J. Debord, "Premier bilan de huit années de fouilles à Villeneuve-Saint-Germain," *Revue Archéologique de Picardie, numéro spécial* (1982): 213 and 245.
 33. R. Anderson, "Kill or cure: Athenian judicial curses and the body in fear," *Practitioners, Practices and Patients. New Approaches to Medical Archaeology and Anthropology*, eds. P. Baker and G. Carr (Oxford: Oxbow, 2002), 221.
 34. J.G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 120.
 35. W. Meid, *Gaulish Inscriptions* (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 1992), 40-46; B. Mees, *Celtic Curses* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), 67.
 36. Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 50-69.
 37. Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 57.
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