

spell by being seduced by Urien Rheged, to whom she bore twins, Owein and Morfudd. Poem 30 of the *Book of Taliesin*, the *Spoils of Annwn*, tells of a disastrous expedition to the Otherworld by Arthur and his men, who stole a magic, diamond-studded cauldron belonging to the chief of Annwn. This vessel was made to boil by the breath of nine virgins, and refused to boil food for a coward! The acquisition of the cauldron cost Arthur dear: out of three shiploads of men only seven survived.

The Cŵn Annwn or 'hounds of Annwn' were death omens, ghost-dogs who came at night and foretold death. They were small, speckled and greyish-red, chained and led by a black, horned figure. They were sent from Annwn to seek out corpses and human souls. □ Jones & Jones 1976.

Antenociticus Iconography and epigraphy very frequently provide separate evidence for the presence of certain divinities: thus inscriptions mentioning gods are usually unaccompanied by images of these deities; and images often appear alone, with no evidence as to which god is being invoked. But Antenociticus is an exception: at Benwell, a fort on Hadrian's Wall, was a shrine dedicated to this local god. Here was also found a stone head of a youthful male deity, broken off what may have been the cult statue. On the neck were traces of a groove which would have held a metal torc, a Celtic symbol of status and prestige. The stylization of the hair suggests the presence of horns or antlers. The name defies interpretation: at Benwell, the name may be spelt 'Antenociticus' or 'Anociticus'. The head was found in a small apsidal temple outside the south-east angle of the fort.

□ Green 1989, 99; Ross 1967a, 163, fig. 51; Toynbee 1962, 146, no. 41; 1964, 106, pl. XXVIIIa; R.I.B. 1327-9.

Anu is frequently confused with DANU or Dana, the divine ancestress of the Tuatha Dé Danann. It is very uncertain as to whether Anu and Danu were or were not separate entities. Both were Mother-goddesses, associated with the founding and prosperity of Ireland. Anu was closely identified with the land, and she was especially associated with Munster. Her fertility role is demonstrated by the name of a mountain in County Kerry, called Dá Chích Anann (the Breasts of Anu).

She may have been adopted in early Christian Ireland as Saint Ann.

□ Mac Cana 1983, 86, 132; Ross 1967a, 209; Sjoestedt 1949, 24f.

Apollo (*see also* under Celtic surnames) The Graeco-Roman Apollo was a god of prophecy (*see* ORACLE), music, poetry, healing and hunting. He was also a sun-god, Phoebus Apollo. The god was adopted into the Celtic pantheon, where the sun and healing appear to have been his main concerns. Apollo was the presiding divinity of a number of healing sanctuaries in Gaul, especially in Burgundy: these include Sainte-Sabine, Essarois and Alesia. Apollo's surnames include Belenus, Grannus, Moritasgus and Vindonnus. In many of his sanctuaries, he seems to have combined a healing with a solar function. The name 'Belenus' means 'brilliant', but the god was venerated as Apollo Belenus at the curative shrine of Sainte-Sabine. Apollo Vindonnus at Essarois was a deity who restored light and vision to people with eye disease. Sometimes Apollo was linked with a native consort (*see* COUPLE, DIVINE): he was worshipped with Damona at Alesia; but he was most frequently venerated with SIRONA, and the couple had a wealthy and important sanctuary at HOCHSCHEID near Trier.

Apollo Atepomarus In Celtic Gaul, Apollo was sometimes associated with horses; at some of his healing sanctuaries (as at Sainte-Sabine, Burgundy) small figurines of horses were dedicated to him. This horse association may have arisen because Apollo was a sun-god, and horses were closely linked to the Celtic solar cult (*see* HORSE; SUN-GOD). At Mauvières (Indre), Apollo was called by the Celtic surname of Atepomarus. The root 'epo' refers to the word for 'horse'; and the epithet is sometimes translated as 'Great Horseman' or 'possessing a great horse'.

□ C.I.L. XIII, 1318; Ross 1967a, 324; Green 1986, 172-3.

Apollo Belenus 'Belenus' means 'bright' or 'brilliant'. The term was an epithet or descriptive surname given to the Celtic Apollo in parts of Gaul, North Italy and Noricum (part of modern Austria). Apollo Belenus was a healer, but he was also a sun-deity, like the Classical Phoebus Apollo. So he may have represented the beneficent, curative aspect of the sun's heat.

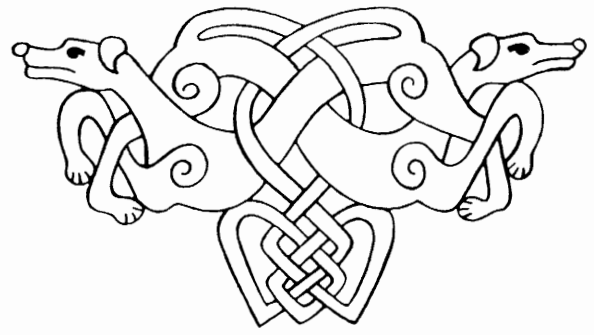
The cult of Belenus possessed a particular status in that it is mentioned in a number of Classical literary sources. Ausonius was a poet from Bordeaux, writing in the later 4th c. AD. He alludes to sanctuaries to Belenus in Aquitania, and he speaks of a temple priest of the cult named Phoebicius – this adopted name referring to the ‘light’ aspect of the Celtic Apollo. Tertullian talks of the cult of Belenus in the Norican Alps (*Apologeticus* 24, 7); and Herodian mentions Belenus’ worship at Aquileia in North Italy (*History of the Empire after Marcus*, 8, 3.6).

The cult of Belenus is attested archaeologically, in terms of epigraphic dedications, sometimes found in temples. In North Italy, he is known, for instance, in Venice and at Rimini. In Gaul, his cult was popular in Provence: inscriptions come from the Marseilles area; Créasque (Bouches-du-Rhône); and Calissanne (B-du-R). One interesting find was that of a gem at Nîmes, dedicated in Greek letters to Belenus and bearing the image of an old man decorated with star-like symbols. Belenus was venerated at Clermont-Ferrand; and he had a temple at the sacred healing springs of Sainte-Sabine in Burgundy. Here Apollo Belenus was invoked by pilgrims needing cures for their sickness. People dedicated stone images of swaddled infants at the shrine, presumably in the hope that they would thus be cured. Also offered as votives here were clay figurines of horses, probably because Belenus was a solar god and horses had a close affinity with sun-deities in the Celtic world.

The cult of Belenus was both important and popular. Belenus himself probably pre-existed the Roman period: dedications to him alone (without Apollo’s name) mean that he was not totally dependent on the link with the Classical god for his identity. It is possible also that his cult was associated with the Celtic solar-fire festival of BELTENE on 1 May, when bonfires were lit to welcome the summer and magically encourage the sun’s nourishing warmth.

□ Zwicker 1934–6, 105; C.I.L. V, 2144–6; XI, 353; XII, 402, 5693; XIII, 1461, 2386; Gourvest 1954, 257–62; Thevenot 1951, 129–41; 1952, 247; Aebischer 1934, 34–5.

Apollo Cunomaglus A temple at Nettleton Shrub in Wiltshire was dedicated to Apollo Cunomaglus (‘Hound Lord’). The shrine existed soon after AD 69, but it was only later



Detail of a silver jewellery design by Rhiannon Evans, called ‘The Hounds of Annwn’.



Stone head from a 2nd–3rd c. AD statue of Antenociticus, a British god with a shrine at Benwell, on Hadrian’s Wall.



A 2nd c. BC gold coin from Germany, with a horseman, perhaps Apollo Atepomarus, a patron of horses and riders.

developed into a major cult centre; in the mid 3rd c. AD a large polygonal shrine, hall, hostel, shops and a priest's house were built, attesting to the wealth and popularity of the cult. Diana and Silvanus were venerated here, suggesting that perhaps Cunomaglus himself was a hunter-god. But it is possible that Nettleton may have been a healing sanctuary: Apollo's main Celtic role was as a healer; the site is close to water; and such finds as tweezers and pins may denote the presence of a curative cult.

□ Wedlake 1982.

Apollo Grannus was a healing spring-deity equated with the Celtic Apollo in Europe. He is mentioned by Dio Cassius (*Historiae* 77, 15, 5) who remarks that the emperor Caracalla could not find a cure at the temples of either Grannus, Aesculapius (the Graeco-Roman healer-god) or Serapis (an Egyptian deity).

The name Grannus probably derives from the ancient name for Grand in the Vosges: there was a cult centre here, and another at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, the ancient *Aquae Granni* ('the waters of Grannus'). Grannus was associated with therapeutic spring water over a wide area, from Brittany to north-east Gaul and as far as the Danube, where a 3rd c. AD temple at Brigetio in Hungary was dedicated to Apollo Grannus and Sirona. Grannus is even recorded at Rome itself. A curious find is a pot discovered at Vestmanlund in Sweden, which bears a dedication to Apollo Grannus by a Roman temple official called Ammilius Constans, in fulfilment of a vow. Presumably such an offering came to be in Sweden as a result of either trade or looting.

Like Belenus, Grannus possessed a solar aspect: he was called Phoebus on an inscription from Trier, where the god is depicted driving a sun-chariot. But attempts to link the name of Grannus philologically with an Irish word for the sun (*grían*) do not work.

The ritual associated with the healing cult of Grannus probably took a form essentially similar to the other great healing religions. Pilgrims would visit the sanctuary, purify themselves in the sacred water, and give their offerings and pray. They might then enter the *abaton* or dormitory for the 'healing sleep', where they hoped to encounter the god in a vision or dream and be cured. This rite of incubation is suggested by an

inscription at the temple of Grand. *See also* MOGONS.

□ Szabó 1971, 66; Thevenot, 1968, 97ff; de Vries 1963, 82–3.

Apollo Moritasgus At Alesia in Burgundy, the Celtic healer Apollo was surnamed 'Moritasgus', the epithet referring to 'masses of sea water'. His divine consort was DAMONA. A dedication to the couple alludes to the presence of a shrine at the curative spring, which possessed a sacred pool where sick pilgrims could bathe. The sanctuary itself was impressive, with baths and a polygonal temple. In addition, there were porticoes which were perhaps for the curative sleep, in which the sick hoped for a divine vision and a cure. Numerous votive objects, models of pilgrims and of the afflicted parts of their bodies were dedicated to Moritasgus: limbs, internal organs, breasts, genitals and eyes were all represented. The presence of surgeons' tools argues for the activities of priests who were also physicians.

□ Le Gall 1963, 147–58.

Apollo Vindonnus The Celtic Apollo had a temple at ESSAROIS near Châtillon-sur-Seine in Burgundy. The sanctuary was based on a curative spring, presided over by Apollo Vindonnus, meaning 'clear light'. Part of the temple pediment survives, bearing an inscription to the god and the spirit of the springs and, above it, the head of a radiate sun-deity. Pilgrims brought many votive objects to the shrine of Vindonnus, some made of oak, some of stone. Some offerings take the form of images of hands holding fruit or a cake as a gift; others represent parts of the body requiring a cure by the god. Most of all, the devotees of Apollo Vindonnus appear to have suffered from eye afflictions, which are represented by bronze plaques depicting eyes. It is appropriate that such unfortunates should venerate and propitiate a god of light, who could restore to them the clear vision reflected by his character and his name.

□ Thevenot 1968, 110–12.

Apollo Virotutis was one of the identities of the Gaulish Apollo. The epithet has been interpreted as meaning 'Benefactor of Humanity'. Apollo Virotutis was worshipped, for example, at Fins d'Annecy (Haute-Savoie) and at Jublains (Maine-et-Loire).

□ de Vries 1963, 81; C.I.L. XIII, 2525, 3185.

bull must identify this imagery with that of the Paris monument.

The iconography of these sculptures is interesting and enigmatic: if the birds are egrets, then their link both with bulls and willow trees is appropriate; these birds are fond of willows (both egrets and willows have an affinity with water). Egrets also enjoy a symbiotic relationship with cattle (removing parasites from their hides). The other elements in this imagery are triplism and the destruction of the tree by the woodcutter. The association of water, tree and birds may imply the presence of cyclical imagery: the TREE of life may be depicted, the birds representing spirits which are released when the tree is chopped down; but trees are reborn after the 'death' of winter, and this seasonal myth may be enacted on these monuments. The bull reflects potency, sexual vigour and strength, which would enhance the fertility symbolism of the tree. The three cranes may have a further significance: in Irish vernacular tradition, cranes may represent women, and both early Welsh and Irish mythology possess tales of magic birds grouped in threes.

One other piece of Romano-Celtic iconography may be significant in the context of Tarvostrigaranus: in the mid 4th c. AD shrine within the Iron Age defences at Maiden Castle (Dorset) was found a silvered bronze figurine of a bull, originally triple-horned (see BULL, TRIPLE-HORNED), with three female 'human' figures perched on his back. It may be that, in keeping with Celtic literary tradition, the imagery reflects the transmutation of women into cranes and vice versa. Certainly, the Maiden Castle statuette makes little sense if regarded in isolation, but viewed within the context of the iconography from Paris and Trier, it is possible to see that a specific myth may be illustrated.

□ C.I.L. XIII, 3026, 3656; Espérandieu, nos 3132-7; 4929; Duval 1961, 197-9, 264; 1976, 53; Wightman 1985, 178; Schindler 1977, 32, fig. 91; Mac Cana 1983, 87; Ross 1967a, 279; Green 1986, 191, fig. 85; 1989, 182; Toynbee 1962, 145, no. 40, pl. 45; Wheeler 1943, 75-6, pl. 31b.

Telo The goddess Telo was the eponymous spirit of Toulon in the Dordogne. She was the deity of the sacred spring around which the ancient settlement grew up. A series of

nearby; on three of these, Telo is invoked with another goddess named Stanna.

□ Clébert 1970, 253; Aebischer 1930, 427-41.

temple see SHRINE

territory, god of The essentially animistic belief systems of the Celts caused them to perceive spirits as being present in all the natural features of the landscape. Thus, many of their gods were topographical in origin, as is the case with many ancient and modern pre-industrial societies. Epigraphic dedications refer to hundreds of local godlings, tied to specific localities, whose names betray this close association with place. Thus, the god ARAUSIO presided over the settlement of Arausio (Orange); NEMAUSUS and the female Nemausicae were worshipped only at Nemausus (Nîmes). The same pattern of topographical veneration may be seen, for instance, with some of the river and spring-deities. Thus, SEQUANA was the name of the goddess of the Seine at its source. Some of the triple Mother-goddesses had epithets which were tied to specific localities, especially in the Rhineland (see MATRES; MATRONAE).

The association of deities with the land and with territory has its counterpart in the Irish mythology. Here, the goddesses were frequently divinities, linked to the land of Ireland or to part of it. These deities, really personifications of the land itself, formed unions with mortal kings in order to promote the fertility of the earth (see SACRAL KINGSHIP). Thus ÉRIU, the eponymous goddess of Ireland, mated with the king, sanctifying the union by a gift to her consort of a golden goblet of wine. See also ARDUINNA; ARNEMETIA; GLANIS; MEDB; RIVER; TELO; VASIO.

□ Mac Cana 1983, 92-3; Green 1986, 22.

Teutates The Roman poet Lucan, writing in the 1st c. AD, alludes in his poem the *Pharsalia* to three major Celtic divinities whom Caesar's army encountered in Gaul (I, 444-6). These gods were Taranis, Esus and Teutates, and Lucan mentions that each was propitiated by human sacrifice (see SACRIFICE, HUMAN). Commentaries on Lucan's poem from Berne, dating from about the 9th c., elaborate on Lucan's statement: here Teutates is equated variously with Mars and Mercury and furthermore we are told that

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Teutates was appeased by the drowning of his victims.

The term 'Teutates' is a title rather than a name; it refers to the tribe, and thus Teutates may be considered as a tribal chief and protector. A number of dedications to Teutates, or a variant on the name, are recorded from Gaul and Britain, and here, he is normally equated with MARS. Mars Teutates was invoked on a silver plaque at Barkway (Herts); Mars Toutates Cocidius was venerated at Old Carlisle. At York, a silver ring was inscribed 'TOT', which stands for 'Totates' or 'Teutates'. Part of a pot found at the site of Kelvedon in Essex bears a graffito 'Toutatis'. This is interesting since other sherds from the site have stamped decoration in the form of Celtic horsemen and infantry, bearing hexagonal native shields. The possible significance of this imagery and the dedication at Kelvedon lies in the iconography of one of the plates of the Gundestrup Cauldron, which depicts a god thrusting a human victim into a vat of water, accompanied by processions of cavalry and footsoldiers. In view of the drowning sacrifices alluded to in the commentary on Lucan, it is possible that Teutates is portrayed on this Gundestrup plate. Certainly, most of the archaeological evidence we have points to Teutates being connected with warfare, perhaps in guarding the tribe or 'tuath', which is probably philologically associated with his name. But though one of Lucan's commentators does equate him with Mars, the other links him with Mercury; and there is a dedication to Apollo Toutiorix at Wiesbaden. Perhaps the title of tribal protector could be granted to a number of different deities.

□ Zwicker 1934-6, 50; Toynbee 1978, 129-48, no. 26; Olmsted 1979; Rodwell 1973, 265-67; Hassall & Tomlin 1978, 478; Duval 1976, 29-31; de Vries 1963, 53-8; C.I.L. XIII, 7564; RCHM 1962, 133; Ross 1967a, 171-2.

Thames, River During the middle and later Bronze Age and the Iron Age in Europe, people used water, particularly rivers, as foci of cult activity and as places for communication with supernatural powers (see RIVER). Among other offerings, worshippers cast into the water prestigious metalwork, mainly in the form of martial equipment. The reason for such a tradition may have been the desire to propitiate the water-gods by committing to them gifts which represented power, prestige



A *genius loci*, or god of territory, from Carlisle.



Detail of a plate on the Gundestrup Cauldron, showing a god, sometimes interpreted as Teutates, drowning a sacrificial victim in a bucket.

In the *Third Branch of the Mabinogi*, Manawydan marries RHIANNON, the widow of Pwyll. After a court feast at Arberth (Narberth), Pryderi, his wife Cigfa, Rhiannon and Manawydan go to the Gorsedd Arberth, where a spell is woven over the area so that people, animals and settlements all disappear in a magic mist. The four travel to England, where Manawydan and Pryderi set up as craftsmen in various towns. But wherever they go, Manawydan's skills are so superior – whether at saddle-making, shoe-making or other skills – that they are driven off by local artisans. The four return to Dyfed, hunting to support themselves. But they encounter a magic boar, huge and shining white, who lures their hunting dogs into an old fort or caer. Pryderi goes after them despite Manawydan's warning, and he too is enchanted: he lays hands on a golden bowl in the caer, is stuck to it and loses the power of speech. Rhiannon follows Pryderi and incurs the same fate.

It is at this point that Manawydan turns to cultivating wheat. His crops grow well but are ruined by a mouse whom he captures and attempts to hang. But he is interrupted by a bishop who tries to redeem the mouse. Manawydan's terms are that Pryderi and Rhiannon be set free, that the seven cantrefs of Dyfed be released from their enchantment and that the true identity of the mouse be revealed. Manawydan's own power as a magician causes him to recognize the magic of others. All these demands are met: it turns out that the bishop is one Llwyd, who has himself cast the spells to avenge the old wrong done by Pwyll, Pryderi's father, to Gwawl, in robbing him of Rhiannon (a story told in the *First Branch*). The mouse is Llwyd's transformed wife, sent specially to damage Manawydan's corn. Manawydan then uses his own magical powers to restore the mouse to human form.

□ Jones & Jones 1976; Vendryes 1953–4, 239–54; Gruffydd 1912, 452–61; Wagner 1981, 1–28.

Maponus Equated with the Celtic Apollo, Maponus ('Divine Youth' or 'Divine Son') had a cult following in North Britain during the Roman period. At Chesterholm (Vindolanda), a unique crescent-shaped silver plaque was inscribed 'Deo Mapono'. On some dedications, the god's name is linked with that of Anollo, for instance at Corbridge. The

Ravenna Cosmography mentions a 'locus Maponi' which may have been in Dumfries and Galloway. Dedications imply that Maponus was probably associated with music and poetry: on an altar from Hexham, he is conflated with Apollo the cithara player; but on a dedication at Ribchester, Maponus shares a stone with a hunter-goddess (see MODRON). Maponus may be convincingly linked with MABON, the Divine Youth of the *Tale of Culhwch and Olwen*, where he does have a hunting role.

Interestingly, Maponus was not confined to Britain: he was venerated at Bourbonnelles-Bains; and he also occurs at Chamalières (Puy-de-Dôme) where he was invoked on a lead *defixio* or curse tablet.

□ Green 1978, pl. 59; Birley 1973, 113, fig. 1; 1977; Richmond 1943, 206–10, figs 10, 11; Jones & Jones 1976; Bromwich 1961; Ross 1967a, 368–70; de Vries 1963, 84–6; Lambert 1979, 141–69; Bémont 1981, 65–88; R.I.B., 583, 1120–2; C.I.L. XIII, 5924.

Marne, River Rivers possessed a special sanctity for the Celts; they were considered as life sources, and each RIVER was perceived to have a divine spirit. The great River Marne, flowing through eastern Gaul, takes its name from the ancient word 'Matrona', meaning 'divine mother'. In the free Celtic and Roman periods, objects such as miniature bronze solar-wheel symbols were cast into the Marne, presumably as propitiatory offerings to the goddess.

Mars in the Celtic world was a complex deity. Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* VI, 17) mentions him as a popular WAR-GOD in Gaul. Indeed, there is plenty of evidence for warrior-cults in Celtic lands. But the character of Mars underwent a transformation: in a Celtic milieu, Mars was given a number of different native surnames or titles; his identity was adopted as a peaceful protector, a healer and a territorial or tribal god. Thus, MARS LENUS was the great curative god of the Treveri and Mars NODENS the healer of the sanctuary at Lydney on the Severn. Celtic surnames or epithets applied to Mars in Gaul and Britain do refer to him as a lord and fighter, but more often, such sobriquets betray a beneficent, guardianship role for the god named Mars. He was given the epithet 'Toutatis', for instance, at Barkway (Herts), a name which infers his protection of the tribe. One of the

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Berne commentaries on Lucan's *Pharsalia* makes the same equation between Mars and TEUTATES. So in a Celtic context, the warlike nature of Mars appears to have been modified so that he was often perceived as using his fighting prowess in order to protect rather than to engage in combat for gain. This transformation is particularly interesting in that the original Italian Mars was also a peaceful guardian of fields and boundaries. It was only his later identification with the Greek Ares which gave the Roman god the combative function for which he is renowned. See also COCIDIVS; CONDATIS; RUDIANUS; SNAKE, RAM-HORNED.

□ Duval 1976, 71-3; Green 1986, 110-17; 1989, 111-16; de Vries 1963, 63-9; Thevenot 1955.

Mars Albiorix was venerated as a tribal guardian in southern Gaul. He was the topographical MOUNTAIN spirit of the little tribe of the Albici in Vaucluse. Whilst god name and tribe appear to have this close etymological association, some scholars have interpreted the name Albiorix as meaning 'king of the world'. See also MARS NABELCUS.

□ Duval 1976, 71; de Vries 1963, 65; Barruol 1963, 345-68; Green 1989, 111.

Mars Camulos Camulos appears to have been a war-god indigenous both to Britain and to Gaul, who was equated on occasions with the Roman MARS. The two divinities are linked on Continental dedications at Rindern, among the Remi in the region of Reims and in Dalmatia. Camulos may have been an important deity in Britain: the native town of Camulodunum at Colchester was called the 'Fort of Camulos', and the name recurs at Almondbury (Yorks). In lowland Scotland, the place-name 'Camulosessa' is suggested as meaning 'seat of Camulos', and at least one inscription, at Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall, reads 'to the god Mars Camulos'.

□ de Vries 1963, 65; Green 1989, 113; Ross 1967a, 180; R.I.B., 2166.

Mars Caturix 'Caturix' means 'master of fighting' or 'king of combat' and was one of the Celtic epithets given to MARS in Gaul. He may have been the tribal god of the Caturiges. He was venerated at Chougny near Geneva.

□ de Vries 1963, 65, 68; Vallentin 1879-80,



Maponus was a hunter-god: this 3rd c. AD image of a hunter-deity comes from a Roman well at Southwark, London.



The River **Marne** derives its name from 'Matrona', meaning Mother. The Mother-goddess depicted here is from Alesia.



Sculpted head of Mars, from London.

Mars Corotiacus A local British version of the Celtic MARS from Martlesham in Suffolk, the god appears on a bronze statuette as a cavalryman, armed and riding a horse which tramples a prostrate enemy beneath its hooves. Beneath the figure is a base bearing a dedication to the god by an individual with the Celtic name of *Simplicia*. The cult of Mars as a HORSEMAN was especially popular among the tribes of eastern Britain, but the name *Corotiacus* is unique to Martlesham. The imagery is strongly reminiscent of certain 1st c. AD tombstones which depict soldiers riding down fallen foes; it also recalls the iconography of the Romano-Celtic sky-horseman carved at the summit of JUPITER-GIANT COLUMNS.

□ Green 1976, 218; 1986, 115; R.I.B., 213.

Mars Lenus A great healer-god of the Treveri, Lenus presided over important curative spring sanctuaries at Trier and Pommern. The equation of the native Lenus with MARS is an example of Mars' Celtic function as a protector and guardian against disease.

At Trier, Lenus was coupled with a native goddess *ANCAMNA*, who elsewhere among the Treveri (at Möhn) was linked with *SMERTRIUS*. In the main cult centre of Lenus Mars at Trier the indigenous name, significantly, nearly always comes first on dedications, an indication that Lenus was the established god, with whom Mars was later equated. The sanctuary was situated in a small, steep and wooded valley at the bottom of which was a stream, on the left bank of the Moselle and opposite the Roman city of Trier. This spot was probably sacred to Lenus for some centuries before the Roman occupation: certainly, an early and relatively humble shrine preceded the main temple. In the mid 2nd c. AD, the great Romano-Celtic temple was erected, on a massive scale and exhibiting considerable Graeco-Roman architectural influence. There was a huge altar and what was probably a theatre for the enactment of ceremonies associated with the ritual of Lenus' cult. The spring above the precinct had a long-lasting reputation for curative properties (see SPRING, HEALING): its waters were canalized to supply a small set of baths for Lenus' pilgrims.

Lenus, at his Trier sanctuary, was sometimes invoked by the name 'IOVANTUCARUS', signifying that one of the god's special roles was as protector of the young. Many images

offered to the deity have been found at the site, including children holding such gifts to the god as pet birds (see DOVE). Representations of divinities other than Lenus show that pilgrims prayed to their own personal patron-deity in addition to their invocations to Lenus himself.

Another major shrine built for Lenus was at Pommern in the Treveran countryside. The buildings were enclosed in a large precinct or *temenos*, and the shrine was equipped with an *abaton* or dormitory in which pilgrims slept, dreamed and hoped for a vision of the god who would visit and cure them in their sleep. That belief in the efficacy of Lenus was sometimes justified is demonstrated by an inscription thanking him for curing a devotee of a dreadful illness.

Interestingly, Lenus Mars was worshipped in Britain, at Caerwent in Gwent and probably also at Chedworth in Gloucestershire. On the base of a statue (which has been almost totally lost) at Caerwent is a dedication to Mars Lenus, otherwise known as *Oculus Vellaunus*. Above the base are the feet of a god and a web-footed bird, probably a GOOSE (geese were considered sacred to war-gods because of their aggressive and alert nature). From the same Roman town comes another dedication, this time to Mars *Oculus*, though the same deity is probably being alluded to on both stones. *VELLAUNUS* was known in Gaul, and *OCELUS* appears to have been a god local to South Wales, though he was also invoked at Carlisle. The other British dedication comes from the great villa complex at Chedworth (Glos). Some scholars argue that the whole site is a great healing sanctuary rather than a villa. Here, the name Lenus or *Lenumius* was scratched on a small altar on which is a crude incised figure of a warrior-god with a hammer and spear. If this image does represent Lenus, then the Dobunnic altar provides our only depiction of the god: its rough execution may imply that it belonged to the lower echelons of Romano-British society, perhaps the property of a servant or worker at the villa (if villa it was).

Both the Caerwent and the Chedworth evidence indicate that, though Lenus was a peaceful healer, artistically he could be envisaged as a warrior. He was a potent protector against disease, and he used his aggressive attributes to fend off evil and to guard his suppliants against illness and death.

□ Wightman 1970 208-17; Thevenot 1968,

60–73; Green 1986, 158ff; R.I.B., 126, 309, 310, 949; Duval 1976, 70; Ross 1967a, 173, pl. 60b; Goodburn 1972, pl. 10; Webster 1986a, 81.

Mars Loucetius On an altar at the great healing temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath is a dedication to a divine couple called Mars Loucetius and NEMETONA, which was set up by a citizen of Trier. Both Loucetius and Nemetona are recorded elsewhere in western Europe, for instance at Mainz. At Altripp in Germany an inscription to MARS and Nemetona may also refer to Loucetius. Elsewhere Loucetius is associated with the war-goddess Bellona (see COUPLE, DIVINE).

The epithet Loucetius is a term meaning 'light' or 'bright' and would seem to associate the Celtic Mars with sky or solar cults. In a Roman context, Loucetius is a title belonging to Jupiter. At Bath Mars Loucetius may have been venerated as a healer; the name of Sulis, the goddess of the sanctuary, is etymologically related to the sun, presumably as an instrument of healing. The name Loucetius could also refer to lightning, thus giving the god a more aggressive role; it is known that Mars was a storm-god in Italy. The Celtic Mars has other light associations: he is called BELA-TUCADRUS – 'bright' or 'shining' – in North Britain.

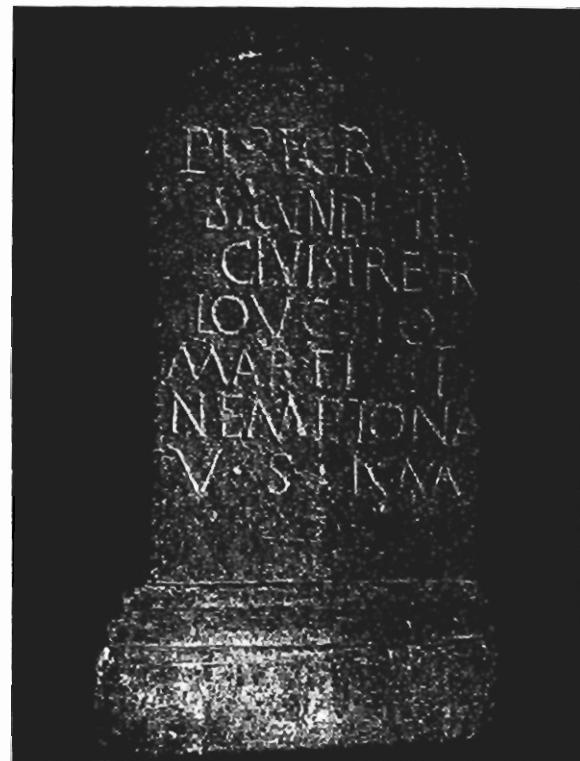
□ R.I.B., 140; C.I.L. XIII, 7253, 6221, 7241, 6131; Duval 1976, 89; Ogilvie 1969.

Mars Mullo The cult of the native god Mullo, linked with the Roman MARS, was popular in northern and north-western Gaul, particularly in Brittany and Normandy. The word 'Mullo' may denote an association with horses or mules; it is the Latin for 'mule'. Mars Mullo had a circular temple at Craôn in the Mayenne, situated on a hillock commanding a confluence of two rivers. An inscription at Nantes reflects the presence of a shrine there. An important cult centre must have existed at Rennes, the tribal capital of the Redones: here inscriptions refer to the onetime presence of statues and of the existence of an official, public cult. Town magistrates were instrumental in setting up urban sanctuaries to Mullo in the 2nd c. AD. Even more important is the evidence at ALLONNES (Sarthe), where a shrine was set up to Mars Mullo as a healer of eye afflictions. His high status is suggested by his link with Augustus



(Above left) The Celtic Mars on an altar from King's Stanley, Gloucestershire.

(Above right) Bronze Mars, holding two ram-headed snakes, from Southbroom, Wiltshire.



Altar to Mars Loucetius and Nemetona from Bath

the shrine offered numerous Celtic coins to the presiding deity and votive images of themselves (see LIMB/ORGAN, VOTIVE), their eye problems clearly manifest.

□ Térouanne 1960, 185–9; 1965, 209ff; Thevenot 1968, 65–6; Green 1989, 113.

Mars Nabelcus was a local spirit, equated with the protective cult of the native MARS in Provence. He was venerated in the mountains of Vaucluse, for example on Mount Ventoux near Vaison and at Moncieux. A bronze plaque dedicated to this MOUNTAIN divinity is recorded at Châteauneuf-Miraveil (Basses-Alpes); and Nabelcus was worshipped in other high places in the south of Gaul. See also MARS ALBIORIX.

□ Barrauol 1963, 345–68.

Mars Nodens see NODENS

Mars Olloudius see OLLOUDIUS

Mars Rigisamus 'Rigisamus' means 'Greatest King' or 'King of Kings', and the Celtic MARS was given this name or title at West Coker in Somerset, where a crudely made bronze figurine and inscribed plaque dedicated to the god were found in a field along with traces of a building, perhaps a shrine. The plaque is of ansate form (with 'handles'), with a punched inscription and a central perforation for attachment, probably to a wooden surface. The figurine depicts a standing naked male figure with a close-fitting helmet; his right hand once held a spear, and he probably also originally had a shield (both are lost). The figure has pointed plugs under his feet for placement within a wooden block.

The same title for a god is recorded from Bourges in Gaul. The use of such an epithet for Mars is interesting, since it implies an extremely high status for the god, over and above any warrior function.

□ Collingwood 1931, figs 1, 2; Green 1976, 184; 1986, 112, 116; Duval 1976, 71.

Mars Rigonemetis was the 'King of the Sacred Grove', the name reflecting the Celtic word 'nemeton' ('grove'), in the same manner as, for example, 'Arnemeta' and 'Nemetona'. In 1961, a dedication to Rigonemetis and the Numen (spirit) of the Emperor inscribed on a stone was found at Nettleham (Lincs) together with pottery of a 2nd–4th c. AD date. The stone may have been part of the arch of

a temple. Rigonemetis is known only at this site, and it seems as if he was a god belonging to the tribe of the Corieltauvi. His association with the emperor may imply high status.

□ Green 1976, 203; Lewis 1966, 121.

Mars Segomo see SEGOMO

Mars Smertrius see SMERTRIUS

Mars Teutates see TEUTATES

Mars Thincsus may have been a German divinity. He was invoked at Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall, where his name is linked with two goddesses called the 'Alaisiagae'. These female deities are again linked with MARS on another Housesteads dedication. Anne Ross would associate Thincsus with a sculpture also from the fort which shows a god flanked by goddesses and accompanied by a GOOSE – a frequent companion of the war-gods (perhaps because of its aggressive, watchful nature). It should be recalled that Mars Lenus/Ocelus VELLAUNUS at Caerwent had a goose. In cases where Mars became a peaceful god of well-being, the goose was still relevant as a guardian against the evils of the world.

□ R.I.B., 1593, 1594; Ross 1967a, 173, 272, pl. 58a.

Mars Visucius see VISUCIUS

Mars Vorocius was a Gaulish healer-god invoked at the curative spring shrine at VICHY (Allier) as a curer of eye afflictions. On images, the god is depicted as a Celtic warrior.

□ Duval 1976, fig. 53; Green 1986, 158.

mask A hollow metal image of a head or face, sometimes life-size, formed part of the ceremonial regalia of Celtic and Romano-Celtic religion. Many small metal heads were also made for application to vessels or crowns, but genuine Celtic masks are quite rare. They may have been made to be held in front of a priest's face during a procession or religious ceremony, to adorn a wooden cult image or to be nailed up on the door of a shrine to represent a particular divinity. The best-known masks are the example from Tarbes in southern Gaul, which may be as early as the 3rd c. BC, and the pewter mask found in the culvert of the baths of Sulis' sanctuary at Bath. A recent East Anglian discovery is that

in Tara who has not first mated with her. One of her consorts is FERGHUS, a hero of extreme virility, who needs seven ordinary women (or Medb) to satisfy him. In all her unions, Medb is the dominant partner. Indeed, her role as goddess of sovereignty may be betrayed by her name, since liquor was involved in the sanctification of marriage between the territorial goddess and the king (see SACRAL KINGSHIP). Medb's very promiscuity marks her as a goddess, symbolic of the fertility of Ireland. She is the personification of the land itself and its prosperity. Other indications of her divinity include her ability to shape-shift between young girl and aged hag: in the story of Niall of the Nine Hostages, Medb appears to Niall as a crone guarding a well. She gives him water, and he agrees to mate with her; she is immediately transformed into a beautiful young woman, who grants him the kingship of Ireland. The goddess of sovereignty could also be a deity of death, and Medb possesses this characteristic also. She brings about the death of CÚ CHULAINN and of her own husband AILILL, infuriated (though hardly fairly) by his infidelity. She incites the former Ulster hero, CONALL CERNACH, to murder him on the Feast of Beltene. Medb has other supranormal traits: she has animal attributes, in the form of a bird and a squirrel who perch on her shoulder; she can run very fast; and she is able to deprive men of their strength simply by her presence.

The most important tradition concerning Medb is in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* of the Ulster Cycle. Medb is queen of Connacht, who rules variously at Tara or at CRUACHAIN (County Roscommon). She is married to King Ailill, but she is the dominant partner. The war with Ulster comes about entirely through Medb's jealousy and scheming: because Ailill has a magnificent BULL, she covets the Ulster Brown Bull of Cuailnge, and the conflict revolves around her desire to acquire this creature. Medb appears as a warrior, inciting her armies to fight, sowing seeds of dissonance and driving around the battlefield in her chariot. Several times she pits her wits against the Ulster hero Cú Chulainn, endeavouring to bribe him with her daughter Finnebar. She fails, and finally brings about his death by magic. During the conflict, Medb is warned of Cú Chulainn's supremacy and of the ruin of Connacht by her female seer FEDELMÁ. The goddess-queen is also beset

by druids, who force her to wait for a propitious day before joining battle.

Medb's death is described in an 11th c. text: she is killed by her nephew, Furbaidhe, whose mother, Clothra, has been murdered by Medb. Her death is somewhat bizarre: she is killed by a sling-shot with a lump of hard cheese.

□ Jubainville 1907, 17–42; O'Fáolain 1954; Lehmann 1989, 1–10; Bhreathnach 1982, 243–60; Thurneysen 1933, 352–3; O'Máille 1928, 129–46; O'Rahilly 1946, 176; Bray 1987, 209–15; Mac Cana 1958–9, 59–65; 1983, 84–6; Kinsella 1969; Jackson 1964; Hull 1938, 52–61; Ross 1967a, 223.

Mercury was perhaps the most popular god in Gaul and Britain. Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* VI, 17) makes this comment, and this is endorsed by the enormous number of inscriptions and depictions which represent the god in some form. Caesar states that Mercury was the inventor of all the arts; this has caused some scholars to link him with the Irish LUGH. Caesar also alludes to the money-making prowess of the god. The Celtic Mercury was given a number of native epithets or titles (see below). He was a deity of plenty and particularly of commercial success. That he was fully adopted into the Celtic pantheon is shown by some of his iconography and associations: he may be represented with three heads (see MERCURY, TRIPLE-FACED) or three phalluses (see MERCURY, TRIPLE-PHALLUSED), and his frequent companion is his indigenous consort ROSMERTA (see COUPLE, DIVINE). There were some important sanctuaries dedicated to the Celtic Mercury: in Gaul, the remote mountain shrine of LE DONON (Vosges) belonged to him; at Uley (Glos) there was a temple to Mercury, and here, one of his images shows the god with Celtic HORNS. See also COCKEREL; RAM; SNAKE, RAM-HORNED.

□ de Vries 1963, 48–63; Duval 1976, 69–71; Ellison 1977.

Mercury Artaios Some forty-five Gaulish surnames or epithets are known to have been attached to MERCURY on epigraphic dedications. One local name for the god was Artaios, a descriptive epithet referring to 'BEAR'. The god was invoked thus at Beaucroissant (Isère). In this instance, Mercury was probably venerated as a god of the hunt, guardian of hunters against bears but at the

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same time a protector of the creature itself (see HUNTER-GOD). Mercury was not the only deity to be given a 'bear' name; a goddess at Muri near Berne was called ARTIO.

□ C.I.L. XII, 2199; Thevenot 1968, 157; Duval 1976, 51-2.

Mercury Arvernus Few of the many surnames for the Celtic MERCURY appear with any frequency, but one such is the epithet 'Arvernus', a topographical spirit who was invoked around the banks of the Rhine. His name suggests that he was the special deity of the Arverni, but his dedications do not occur in the territory of this tribe.

□ C.I.L. XIII, 6603, 7845, 8164, 8235, 8579, 8580, 8709; Duval 1976, 70.

Mercury Cissonius Dedications to Mercury Cissonius were made as far apart as Cologne and Saintes in Aquitania. Interestingly, Cissonius alone (without Mercury's name being present) was mentioned on a dedication at Metz. The widespread pattern of veneration suggests that Cissonius was not a local topographical spirit; the presence of his worship simply as Cissonius implies that he may have existed as an independent Celtic deity and that the name was not simply an epithet applied to MERCURY. Cissonius' cult was centred above all in Upper Germany. A goddess Cissonia is also recorded.

□ C.I.L. XIII, 3659, 5373, 6085, 6119, 4500, 3020, 6345, 7359, 8237, 4564, etc; de Vries 1963, 49; Duval 1976, 70.

Mercury Gebrinius At Bonn, an altar was set up in the 2nd c. AD to honour a local version of MERCURY. The stone depicts the god in full Roman guise, but it is nevertheless dedicated to 'Mercury Gebrinius', perhaps the name of the local divinity of the Ubii, whose cult was linked with that of the Roman god.

□ Green 1989, 108; Horn 1987, fig. 227.

Mercury Moccus This god may have been associated with hunting, like Mercury Artaios. 'Moccus' is a Gaulish word for 'pig' or 'hog', and Mercury Moccus may have been the protector of BOAR hunters among the tribe of the Lingones, where he was invoked at the tribal centre, Langres.

□ Mac Cana 1983, 51; Thevenot 1968, 157.

Mercury, triple-faced There was a recurrent link between the iconography of the Celtic



Schematized image of Mercury, with winged hat or horns, from a Romano-British well at Emberton, Buckinghamshire.



Altar to Mercury Gebrinius, a local god of the Ubian tribe, from Bonn.

MERCURY and triple-faced or triple-headed images (see HEAD, TRIPLE). On a relief from Paris, a triple-faced deity holds Mercury's purse in one hand and the head of a RAM (another common Mercury motif) in the other. Thus, on this stone, complete identification is made between Mercury and the Gaulish triple-faced image. On a stone at Malmaison, Mercury and his Celtic consort Rosmerta share a stone with a three-faced head. Many of the triple-visaged stone heads at Reims are surmounted by emblems traditionally associated with Mercury – ram's heads and cockerels; and at Soissons, a ram and a COCKEREL are carved beneath the triple head. Thus, in northern Gaul, three-faced images may be equated or identified with the Celtic Mercury. There is evidence that triple images (see TRIPLISM) are often associated with the veneration of Mercury, who was a Romano-Celtic divinity of prosperity, business success and general well-being.

□ Espérandieu, nos 3137, 3756, 7700; Lambrechts 1942, fig. 11; Hatt 1984, 287–99.

Mercury, triple-phallused The cult of the Celtic MERCURY took many iconographic forms: on one occasion, on a bronze figurine from a cemetery at Tongeren (Tongres) in Belgium, the god is endowed with three phalli. The statuette is damaged, but when complete it possessed one PHALLUS in the normal position, one at the top of Mercury's head and a third replacing his nose. Thus the image combines the magic symbolism of 'three' (see TRIPLISM) with the intensification of the potent fertility and good-luck motif of the phallus. Polyphallic images are not confined to the Celtic world: an example of a multi-phallused statuette of Mercury is recorded at Naples.

□ Deonna 1954, 420; Santrot 1986, 203–28.

Mercury Visucius see VISUCIUS

metamorphosis The lack of rigid boundaries between humans and animals in Celtic religion and mythology is demonstrated above all by shape-shifting or metamorphosis, the power of supernatural beings to change form. The world of the vernacular Welsh and Irish tradition is redolent with enchanted animals who were once in human form, and divinities who could transform themselves back and forth between human and animal shape. The Irish war-goddesses frequently

indulged in shape-changing. Both the MORRIGÁN and the BADBH appeared to warriors as crows or ravens. When the Morrigan encounters Cú Chulainn, she is in the form of a young noblewoman, but when he spurns her, she changes to an eel, a wolf and a hornless red heifer in quick succession. These Irish goddesses also habitually changed between the forms of young girl and old hag (see MEDB).

Other mythological beings were metamorphosed, frequently into birds or boars. Caer, beloved of OENGHUS, changed every alternate year to SWAN-form. Significantly, this transformation took place on the Feast of Samhain (when the barrier between the mundane and the supernatural was temporarily broken down). DIARMAID's foster-brother was an enchanted boar, destined to be the cause of the hero's death. Individuals could be transformed against their will, as punishment or in revenge. Thus, the Welsh TWRCH TRWYTH, in the *Tale of Culhwch and Olwen*, was changed from a king to a boar as punishment for his wickedness. In the *Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi*, GWYDION and his brother are punished by Math for their trickery: the two are changed into male and female of three different animals, each for a year. The children of Lir are metamorphosed into swans by their jealous step-mother. Fergus proclaims that the two great Bulls of Ulster and Connacht, the protagonists of the *Táin*, are in fact transmogrified humans sent by the gods to be the cause of Ireland's ruin.

Any attempt to trace examples of this shape-shifting tradition in the archaeological record must be speculative. But there are instances of semi-zoomorphic, semi-human divine images: the horned gods and Cernunnos, the antlered deity, spring to mind as possible shape-shifters. Iron Age coins struck by Gaulish and British tribes, showing a huge raven perched on a horse, may reflect the Insular tradition of the raven-goddesses.

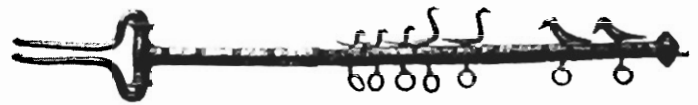
□ Kinsella 1969; Hennessy 1870–2, 32–55; Bhreathnach 1982, 243–60; Müller 1876–8, 342–60; O'Faolain 1954; Lloyd, Bergin & Schoepperle 1912, 41–57; Mac Cana 1983, 72; Allen 1980, no. 526; Duval 1987; Laing 1969, 164; Ross 1961, 59ff; Green 1989, 86–96.

Midhir In the Irish Mythological Cycle, Midhir is the lord of the sídh of Brí Léith

mentioned in the *Dinnshenchas* (the *History of Places*), and the vernacular literature of Ireland is full of allusions to the royal court. God-kings of the Tuatha Dé Danann, such as Bres and Nuadu, reigned here, and the goddess-queen Medb is chronicled as stating that no king could rule in Tara unless he first mated with her. It was at Tara that the 'TARBHFHESS' or 'bull-sleep' took place, to choose the rightful king-elect; and it was the site of the ritual union between the goddess of sovereignty and the king. The high kings of Ireland were also frequently called 'king of Tara'. The sacred stronghold is situated in the middle of the five provinces of Ireland. Here, a great assembly for all the provinces was held on the Feast of Samhain, when there were fairs, markets, horse races and agricultural rites.

The site of Tara was perhaps sacred from late Neolithic times: here, the 'Mound of the Hostages', a Neolithic passage-grave, was erected around 2000 BC. During the Iron Age, the hilltop of Tara (which commands a spectacular view over the plain to the west) was fortified. Inside this 'Rath na Ríogh' (the Fort of the Kings) are two conjoined ring-forts, in one of which is a 6 ft high standing stone. This is quite possibly the Stone of Fál, mentioned in the literature as being a magic stone which cried aloud when touched by the rightful king. There are many other earthworks at Tara, including the 'Banqueting Hall' and the 'Rath of the Synods', not all necessarily of the same date. Tara was a multi-period site, which may have been holy for more than two millennia. *See also* FINN. □ Macalister 1931; O'Fáolain 1954; Mac Cana 1958-9, 59-65; 1983, 114-19; O'Rahilly 1946, 234; Berresford Ellis 1987, 217-18; Harbison 1988, 58, 187-91.

Taranis The word 'Taranis' comes from the Celtic root 'taran' and means 'thunderer'. Taranis was the Celtic Thunder-god. The Roman poet Lucan wrote in the 1st c. AD of events which took place in the mid 1st c. BC. In his poem, *The Pharsalia* (I, 444-6), which is an account of the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, Lucan mentions three great Celtic divinities encountered by Caesar's army in Gaul. One of these gods he calls Taranis, and describes his cult as being 'more cruel than that of Scythian Diana' (see SACRIFICE, HUMAN). This is the only literary evi-



Iron Age bronze flesh hook decorated with swan symbols, from Dunaverney, County Antrim, Northern Ireland.



(Above) The 8th c. AD Tara Brooch, from the great sacred site in County Meath.

(Below) Aerial view of the Hill of Tara, with its ancient earthworks.



scholiast or commentator, probably writing in the 9th c. AD, equated or linked Taranis with Jupiter, and described him as *praeses bellorum*, or master of war.

Only seven altars to Taranis survive: these were set up by worshippers during the Roman occupation of Celtic lands; they all bear inscribed dedications to the god. The altars from Böckingen in the Rhineland and Chester in north-west Britain provide the most detailed evidence for the worshippers of Taranis: the Rhineland dedication reads: 'deo Taranucno: Veratius Primus ex iussu ...' ('to the god, Thunderer, Veratius Primus by order ...'). The Chester altar is almost completely weathered away, and for its reading we have to rely on earlier transcriptions. The reading is generally accepted as: 'To Jupiter Best and Greatest Tanarus, Lucius Bruttius Praesens, of the Galerian Voting Tribe, from Clunia (Spain), princeps of Legion XX Valeria Victrix, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow, in the consulships of Commodus and Lateranus' (i.e. AD 154).

The seven altars to Taranis come from Chester in Britain; Böckingen and Godramstein in Germany; Orgon, Thauron and Tours in France; and Scardona in Yugoslavia. The dedications fall into two groups, each of three, the remaining one being too fragmentary to classify. The stones from the Rhineland each bear an invocation to 'deus Taranucus'; at Scardona, the inscription reads 'to Jupiter Taranucus'. If we set aside, for the present, the Jupiter part of the Dalmatian dedication, all three inscriptions refer to a thunderer, an adjectival, descriptive title, 'one who thunders'. By contrast, the dedications of the second group, at Chester, Tours (Indre-et-Loire) and Orgon (Bouches-du-Rhône), refer to 'Thunder', as if here the elemental force of THUNDER itself was personified and invoked as a deity. On three dedications, at Scardona, Thauron (Creuse) and Chester, the Celtic name of Thunderer or Thunder appears as a surname or epithet of the Roman Jupiter. This means that the Roman SKY-GOD was being conflated with the Celtic god of thunder, in a form of *interpretatio celtica*. This is interesting, especially in the case of the altar at Chester, since it was dedicated by a Roman legionary officer: here is a good example of the extent of Celtic influence on Roman religion. But we should remember that, as some of the dedications demonstrate, Taranis

an adjunct or aspect of Jupiter in a Celtic milieu.

Though Lucan and his later scholiasts imply that Taranis was an important and powerful Celtic god, this is not supported by the archaeological evidence, which amounts to just seven monuments throughout the entire Celtic world. As a counter-argument, it can be pointed out that these few altars are widely distributed, suggesting that Taranis was at least known over a number of provinces ranging from Britain, through Gaul and Germany to Dalmatia. It may be that Lucan exaggerated the importance of Taranis because of ignorance or poetic licence: he did not travel in Gaul himself, as far as we know, and he could have obtained his information second-hand, perhaps thus confusing his data. It could be that since only a few Celtic god names were recorded by Mediterranean observers, the known ones, like Taranis and Esus, assumed greater significance than was the reality.

Taranis is one of a large group of Celtic divinities who were personifications of natural phenomena. His name 'Thunderer' implies his veneration as a noisy, rumbling god, perhaps associated with lightning and storms. He was sometimes linked with Jupiter because the Roman Sky-god was traditionally represented brandishing a thunderbolt. But JUPITER was a complex god with a wide range of functions, as all-powerful over the sky, all its bodies and emanations and the immensity of the luminous atmosphere. Taranis embodies only the thunder aspect of this celestial role; the noisy image projected by his name may suggest a power struggle in the sky resulting in weather and storms, implying battle and perhaps a fertility role as a rain-god (see RAIN). Allusion should be made to one misconception about Taranis. Scholars frequently equate him with the Celtic solar Wheel-god who was also, on occasions, conflated with Jupiter. But there is no direct evidence for a true identification between the sun and thunder gods, except that because Jupiter's celestial function was so wide-ranging, it was natural for both Celtic thunder and solar forces to be linked with the omnipotent Roman Sky-god.

Before the Romans came to the Celtic world, bringing with them traditions of written dedications and naturalistic anthropomorphic imagery to represent divine beings, Taranis may well have existed as an elemental

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supernatural force, like the sun. Under subsequent Roman influence, inscribed altars mentioned his name in writing for the first time. But we have no representations – no statues or figurines – which may definitely be identified with the Thunder-god. The most likely candidate for such an image is the small bronze statuette of a god from Strasbourg, wearing a Gaulish *sagum*, or heavy woollen coat, bearing a large thunderbolt in his hand but with no other attribute or emblem. See also DISPATER; FIRE.

□ Green 1982, 37–44; 1984a, 251–7; 1986, 66–7.

Tarbhfhess This was a method of king selection in Insular tradition, associated particularly with the rulership of TARA. The term means ‘bull-sleep’ or ‘bull-feast’: in the ritual, a BULL was slain and a man feasted on the flesh, also drinking the broth in which the animal was cooked. He then lay down to sleep, was chanted over by four druids (see DRUID), and a vision of the next king was revealed to the sleeper in his dreams. See also SACRAL KINGSHIP.

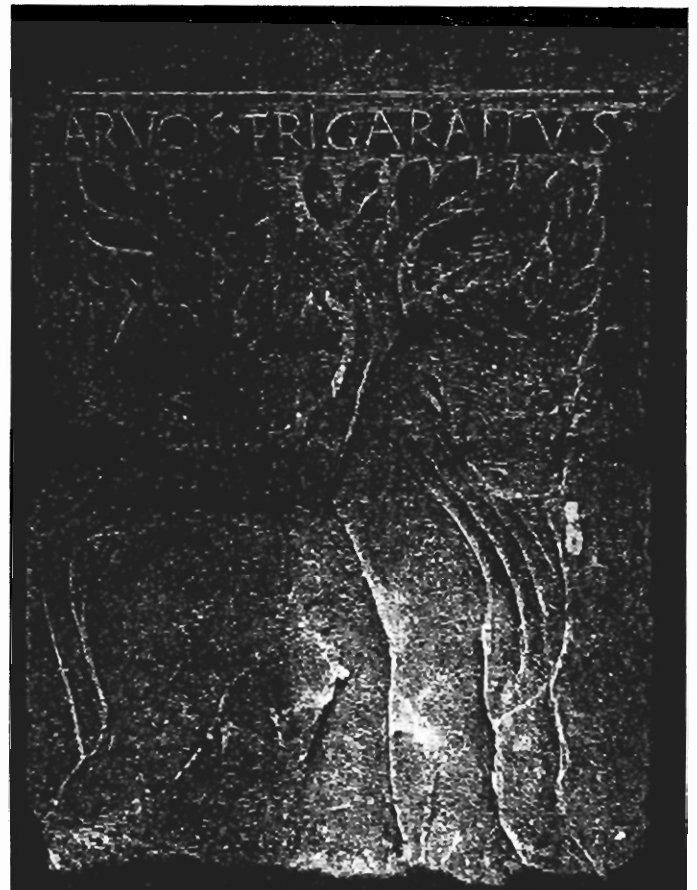
□ Mac Cana 1983, 117.

Tarvostrigaranus Two stone sculptures, from Paris and Trier respectively, portray an image of a BULL associated with three wading or marsh birds with long legs and long beaks – cranes or egrets (see CRANE). The Paris stone is part of the monument erected to Jupiter and dedicated by a guild of Parisian sailors during the reign of Tiberius. Here two panels of the monument are relevant: on one a god in the form of a woodcutter, named ‘ESUS’ (‘Lord’) hacks at the branch of a willow tree with an axe or chopper; on another, a bull is depicted with two cranes perched on his back and a third between his horns. The inscription above the image is ‘Tarvostrigaranus’ (‘The Bull with Three Cranes’).

The stone from Trier displays imagery which is virtually identical: it was dedicated to Mercury in the 1st c. AD by a Mediomatrician tribesman called Indus, who was perhaps a shipper on the Rhine. On one surface of the stone is a representation of Mercury and Rosmerta, while on another a woodcutter chops at a willow in which are the head of a bull accompanied by three marsh birds. Although ‘Esus’ and ‘Tarvos’ are not mentioned on the Treveran stone, the repeated



Altar dedicated to ‘Taranucus’, a derivative of **Taranis**, the Thunder-god, from Böckingen, Germany.



Tarvostrigaranus, the ‘Bull with three Cranes’, on the *Nautes Parisiaca* monument, Paris, early

they represented the spirit of a particular locality.

□ Thill 1978, no. 11; Green 1989, 45.

infant-burial Of the large number of babies who must have died in pre-Roman and Romano-Celtic Britain, a few attest to the presence of a specific ritual associated with their burial and perhaps also with their deaths. Some infant-burials may have been the result of human sacrifice (see SACRIFICE, HUMAN); others perhaps died naturally, but their bodies were subsequently subjected to ritual activity.

There is some evidence for the bodies of infants being interred as foundation offerings in shrines: just outside the entrance to a late Iron Age circular sanctuary at Maiden Castle (Dorset) a baby was buried, perhaps to bless the building and to propitiate the gods on whose territory it was erected. Four infants, one of whom was decapitated, were buried as foundation deposits at the temple of Springhead in Kent. Other curious occurrences include the late Romano-British burial at Alcester (Warks) of ten babies with a young girl who had been beheaded and her head placed between her legs. At a Cambridge shrine, dead infants were interred with shoes which were much too large for them, as if it was envisaged that they would grow in the Otherworld.

□ Lewis 1966; Green 1986, 131-2; 1976, 228; Anon. 1978, 57-60; Penn 1960, 113ff.

interpretatio celtica This is a term used by modern scholars to describe the fusion or hybridization of Celtic and Roman religious cultures, whereby Roman gods were, to an extent, perceived by Celts in terms of their own belief systems. This is exhibited, for example, by Romano-Celtic inscriptions which record the veneration of a god with a Roman name but also a Celtic epithet or title. Such deities as Apollo Grannus, Mars Teutates, or Jupiter Taranis are instances of this marriage of Roman and indigenous names.

interpretatio romana is a term used by Tacitus (*Germania* 43, 3) to describe the process whereby the Romans interpreted the gods of the Celts as if they were in fact Roman divinities. Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* VI, 17) speaks of the gods he learned about in Gaul as if they were the divinities familiar to the

Roman pantheon – Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Minerva and Apollo. In the iconography and epigraphy of the Romano-Celtic world, there is evidence of *interpretatio romana*. The Celtic goddess Sulis of Bath is named Sulis Minerva, her cult statue depicting her as a Roman goddess, and the great Treveran healing god Lenus is also called Mars, though healing is not a function traditionally associated with Mars. There are numerous other examples of such equation and hybridization.

□ Green 1976, 2; 1986, 36-8; Henig 1984, 22, 36.

Iovantucarus was the name by which the great Treveran healer-god, Lenus, was invoked at his important sanctuary at Trier (see MARS LENUS). The name Iovantucarus reflects the deity's function as protector of youth; and the temple was visited by pilgrims who brought with them images of children, often depicted holding pet birds as offerings to Lenus. At Tholey, also in Treveran territory, Iovantucarus was equated with Mercury.

□ Green 1986, 158; Wightman 1970, 211-17.

Iunones The triple Mothers of the Celtic world derive ultimately from the Roman concept of the Iuno, the essential spirit of the female, which represented the feminine principle, just as the Genius was the essence of a male being. The concept of the Iuno itself derives from the goddess Iuno or Juno, wife of Jupiter and an earth-deity who protected women especially during pregnancy, childbirth and lactation. The Roman Iuno Lucina was a nursing goddess, concerned especially with birth and breast-feeding, very like some of the Celtic MOTHER-GODDESSES. The Iunones were a triple version of the Iuno (see TRIPLISM), adopted as an epithet for the three Mothers in the land of the Treveri. See also SULEVIAE.

□ Wightman 1970; Green 1986, 80.



J



Jupiter The Roman SKY-GOD was adopted by the Celts, not only as a SUN-GOD but also as a high MOUNTAIN deity; as such, he was given a number of local territorial epithets or surnames in the Celtic world, of which the most important follow. See also JUPITER-GIANT COLUMN: SWASTIKA: WHEEL-GOD.

Jupiter Beissirissa Jupiter was given this name in southern Gaul at Cadéac (Hautes-Pyrénées) among the tribe of the Bigerriones, where a dedication to Jupiter Best and Greatest Beissirissa is recorded.

□ C.I.L. XIII, 370; Toutain 1920, 143ff.

Jupiter Brixianus Brixianus is a local, descriptive epithet relating to the name of Brescia, a town in Cisalpine Gaul (modern North Italy). The local god was equated with Jupiter.

□ Pascal 1964, 76–83.

Jupiter Ladicus The Roman sky-god was identified with a Celtiberian MOUNTAIN-god in north-west Spain, and was invoked as Jupiter Ladicus, the spirit of Mount Ladicus.

□ C.I.L. II, 2525; Toutain 1920, 143ff.

Jupiter Parthinus Also known as Partinus, on the borders of north-east Dalmatia (Yugoslavia) and Upper Moesia (Bulgaria), Jupiter was worshipped as Parthinus, perhaps associated with the local tribe or clan known as the Partheni.

□ C.I.L. III, 8353, 14613; Wilkes 1969, 165; Čremošnik 1959, 207ff; Green 1984a, 259–60.

Jupiter Poeninus was worshipped in the Alps around the Great St Bernard Pass, where there was a sanctuary as early as the Iron Age, and where votive plaques were offered to Jupiter Poeninus in the Romano-Celtic period.

□ de Vries 1963, 39.

Jupiter Taranis *see* TARANIS

Jupiter Uxellinus was a high MOUNTAIN god, worshipped in Austria. The name may indicate supremacy.

□ C.I.L. III, 5145; Alföldy 1974, 135; Green 1986, 68.

Jupiter-Giant column A composite type of stone monument, set up to honour the Celtic SKY-GOD in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, was the so-called Jupiter-column or Jupiter-Giant column. About 150 monuments are known, mainly from eastern Gaul and the Rhineland. The columns were erected especially in the lands of the Lingones, Mediomatrici and Treveri, along the Moselle and on both banks of the Rhine.



Infant-burial played a part in many rituals. This image from a shrine in Burgundy may represent a dead baby in its burial wrappings.



Gilt bronze head of Sulis Minerva, from Bath. Sulis' cult is a supreme example of *interpretatio romana*, the conflation of Roman and Celtic divinities.



The Iunones were a triple version of the Iuno, the spirit of the female principle. The goddesses were often triplicated, as on this relief of a water-goddess at Carrawburgh, Northumberland.

to induce rain. The over-emphasis of the antlers may also be significant, in stressing the sexual aggression of the stags during the rutting season. *See also* NERTHUS.

□ Megaw 1970, no. 38; Mohen, Duval & Eluère (eds) 1987, no. 27; Green 1986, 34, fig. 13.

Sucellus Near the Mithraeum at Sarrebourg near Metz, was found a relief of a Celtic divine couple (*see* COUPLE, DIVINE): the deities are depicted standing side by side in a niche. The male divinity is a mature, bearded man with curling beard and hair, carrying a small pot in his open right palm and a long-shafted hammer or mallet in his left hand. Beneath the couple is a raven. The relief bears a dedication to Sucellus and NANTOSUELTA. 'Sucellus' means 'the Good Striker' or 'He who strikes to good effect', and thus his name must refer directly to his hammer attribute. The iconography of the god at Sarrebourg is very similar to that of numerous unnamed images of a HAMMER-GOD, who appears either alone or with a consort, particularly in Burgundy, the Rhône Valley and Provence.

The name Sucellus occasionally occurs on other dedications: a silver finger-ring dedicated to the god comes from York. An appliqué ornament for a vessel in the Rhône Valley bears the name Sucellus, accompanied by an image of the god with his hammer and pot. The source of the River Arroux was presided over by 'Succelus'. Many other invocations to Sucellus, though without an image, come from Gaul and the Rhineland.

The symbolism of the hammer is not easy to interpret. The implement is a noisy, striking tool: it may be a weapon, a fencing mallet or a cooper's hammer. But it can also be perceived as an instrument of power – a wand of authority, like a sceptre. In view of the known affinity between Sucellus and fertility symbolism, especially the grape harvest (symbolized by the Hammer-god's pot and barrel), it could be that the hammer may reflect the striking of earth, awakening it after the death of winter. The hammer of Sucellus may also be a combative symbol, to ward off disease or famine. *See also* CAULDRON.

□ Green 1986, 46; 1989, 46–54, 75–86; Duval 1976, 62, fig. 45; de Vries 1963, 99–100; Espérandieu, no. 4566; C.I.L. XIII, 4542; Linckenheld 1929 40–92.

Suleviae The Suleviae were a triad of Mother-goddesses (*see* MOTHER-GODDESS) who are recorded in dedicatory inscriptions found in many parts of the Romano-Celtic world: in Hungary, Gaul, Germany, Britain and even in Rome. In Gaul, the goddesses were sometimes called 'Matres Suleviae' or 'Suleviae Iunones'. The IUNONES were a plural form of the spirit of Juno, the Roman goddess who looked after women in childbirth. It has been suggested that the XULSIGIAE were a version of Suleviae, because of the similarity between the two names.

In Britain, the Suleviae were worshipped at three sites: at Cirencester two dedications are recorded, one of which was found together with images of both single and triple Mother-goddesses in the ruins of a probable temple at Ashcroft. The Colchester altar comes from an apsidal shrine. A dedication at Bath is from the great sanctuary to Sulis Minerva. This and the name 'Suleviae' (so similar to that of Sulis) gives the goddesses a solar and healing dimension. Interestingly, a Celtic sculptor with another linked name – Sulinus – set up altars to the Suleviae at both Bath and Cirencester.

The fact that images of triple Mother-goddesses were found associated with the Suleviae at Cirencester and sharing the same shrine at Bath makes it possible that iconography and epigraphy may be associated, though no images are given the name of Suleviae. All the evidence points to these divinities being related to cults of fertility, maternity, healing and regeneration; their widespread veneration over so much of the Celtic world argues for the popularity and success of their worship.

□ Szabó 1971, 65–6; Duval 1976, 87; Wightman 1970, 213ff; Green 1986, 80–1, figs 32, 33; R.I.B., 105, 106, 151, 192.

Sulis Beside the River Avon at Aquae Sulis (BATH) the hot springs pump out of the ground at the rate of a quarter of a million gallons a day. The place must have been sacred and visited by pilgrims long before the Romans arrived and converted the shrine to a massive religious complex. Roman engineers converted the spring into a great ornamental POOL, enclosing it in a huge building which was associated with an enormous bath suite and a temple constructed in a basically Classical architectural style. This temple may have been built as early as the time of Nero

or early in the Flavian period (that is, between about AD 60–75).

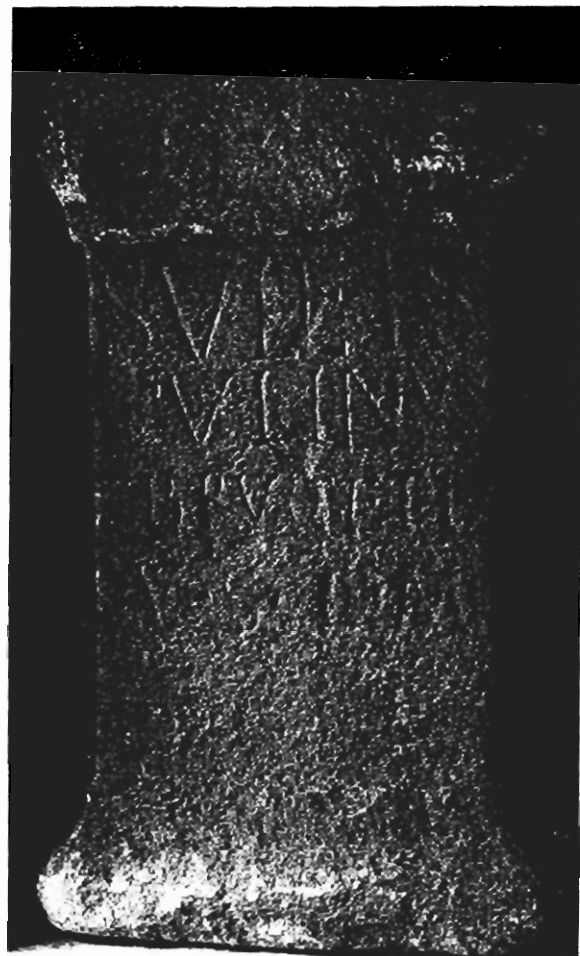
The name of the goddess who presided over the spring was Sulis, perhaps one of the most important of the British water-deities. Her name is linked philologically with the sun, and this may have been because of the heat of the springs. She was a healing goddess, and in the Roman period she was equated or identified with an aspect of the Roman divinity Minerva, probably in her capacity as goddess of the craft of healing. The cult statue of Sulis Minerva depicted the deity in Classical guise; all that remains is a large gilded bronze head, once helmeted, which was at some time hacked from the body.

Numerous altars to Sulis were dedicated at the shrine, and worshipped here too were a number of Roman and Celtic divinities, the latter including the Celtic Mercury and Rosmerta, Mars Loucetius and Nemetona, the Mother-goddesses (including a triad called the SULEVIAE, who are found elsewhere in Britain and on the Continent) and the Genii Cucullati.

Pilgrims who visited Minerva's shrine came to be healed of disease (see SPRING, HEALING), and many altars may have been set up in gratitude or hope. Visitors cast huge numbers of coins and other votives into the spring and the reservoir. The coins throw interesting light on religious beliefs and practices, in that there is evidence that certain coin types were specifically selected, and some were deliberately damaged (see RITUAL DAMAGE), perhaps to render them useless to would-be thieves, or as a ritual act to remove the offerings from the mundane world and make them suitable for acceptance into a supernatural milieu. One very interesting group of offerings is the huge number of lead *defixiones*, sometimes called CURSE tablets, though they may more properly be termed *nuncupationes* (or pleadings). These were thrown by devotees of Sulis into the water. The tablets are incised with crude, cursive writing and invoke the goddess' aid in revenge against ills done to the devotee. Some votive objects were specifically associated with healing: an example is the ivory model of a pair of breasts offered to Sulis in the hope that she would effect a cure, perhaps for milk deficiency. The breasts may have been hung round the neck of a woman during childbirth and, after the child was weaned, were perhaps dedicated to Sulis in thanks



The 7th c. BC bronze cult wagon from Strettweg, Austria, depicting a ritual stag hunt presided over by a goddess.



Altar to the Suleviae from Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

(see LIMB/ORGAN, VOTIVE). Milk failure would have represented a serious threat to the life of a young child.

The shrine of Sulis Minerva at Bath provides a superb example of the conflation and hybridization of Roman and Celtic religious beliefs and practices. On epigraphic dedications to the goddess where both Celtic and Roman names are mentioned, that of the indigenous goddess, Sulis, is always put first, thereby emphasizing that she was the patroness of the spring and that her cult was of long standing. Some of the iconography from the sanctuary endorses this fusion of cultural tradition: on the main temple pediment, for example, is a splendid carving of a Medusa head with staring, hypnotic eyes and snake hair, like the Gorgon of Classical myth. But Celtic influence manifests itself in that here, the female Medusa has been transformed into an aggressively male, bearded Celtic face. Classical artistic and mythological tradition has thus been used as a vehicle to portray a Celtic concept: the manner in which the hair and beard swirl around the head is evocative both of water and solar symbolism, each of which is relevant to the religion of *Aquae Sulis*: the presence of spring water was fundamental to the existence of the sanctuary, and the association between Sulis and the sun has been mentioned.

The importance of Sulis' shrine at Bath is indicated not only by the richness of the architectural, sculptural and votive material but also by the evidence of the temple's international status. One of the dedicants was a Treveran citizen who brought with him the cult of Mars Loucetius and Nemetona.

□ Cunliffe 1969; Cunliffe & Davenport 1985; Toynbee 1962, no. 25, pl. 20; Green 1986, 153-6.

sun/Sun-god The Celts perceived the presence of divine forces in all aspects of nature. One of the most important venerated natural phenomena was the sun, seen as a life-giver, promoter of fertility and healing. The archaeological evidence for sun cults manifests itself most clearly in the presence of the WHEEL as a solar symbol. In Bronze Age Europe, especially in Scandinavia, the cult of the sun predominated. Rock art consistently depicts solar images, and one of the most important finds of the North European Bronze Age is the Trundholm Chariot, a bronze model wagon pulled by a horse and

bearing a gilded sun-disc: this dates from about 1300 BC.

In the Iron Age and Romano-Celtic period, people cast solar-wheel models into water, and placed them in shrines as offerings, as at Alesia and Lavoye, both in Gaul. They wore them as talismans and buried them with the dead, as at the Dürrenberg, Austria. The Iron Age people of Camonica Valley in North Italy carved images of the sun on the rocks of a valley which had been sacred since the later Neolithic. Celtic coins were struck with sun symbols associated with the HORSE, a solar creature in the Bronze Age and the Celtic period. In the Romano-Celtic phase, the sun cult was associated particularly with that of the Roman sky-god JUPITER. His images frequently depict him with the motif of the solar wheel. This occurs, for instance, on the bronze figurines at Le Châtelet and Landouzy-la-Ville. Sometimes, as at Luxeuil and Butterstadt, the god is a solar HORSEMAN, with a protective shield-wheel in one hand, riding down the dark forces represented by a monster with snake limbs. But in addition to his warrior role, the Romano-Celtic Sun-god was a healer, a life force and a companion to the dead. Curative spring sanctuaries such as Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne) were visited by pilgrims who cast miniature sun-wheels into the water as offerings. The Sun-god was depicted holding the fertility symbol of a *cornucopia*, as at Netherby, Cumbria; and domestic goddesses may be portrayed accompanied by solar symbols, as on a clay figurine at Bro-en-Fégréac in Brittany. The association between the sun and death is evidenced by the burial of solar amulets with the dead, as at the cemetery in Basle, and by the carving of sun signs on tombstones in Alsace. The ceremonial mace head depicting a god with a wheel at WILLINGHAM FEN (Cambs) may have belonged to priests of the Romano-Celtic sun cult; and the large wooden wheel on a shaft recently found at the Romano-British site of Wavendon Gate (Bucks) may also have been regalia attached to a solar shrine. Officials at sun ceremonies wore solar-decorated headdresses at the WANBOROUGH temple in Surrey, and wheel-pendants of gold and silver, found for instance at Dolaucothi (Dyfed) and Backworth (Durham), may have been 'badges' of office.

There is little evidence for Sun-gods in the vernacular literature. The Irish LUGH ('Bright One') may be solar. An Insular goddess, ÉRIU,