Engaging the Intranatural at the Source of the Douix (Côte-d'Or, France):
Objects, Communication, and Ritual in a Fluid Environment

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Dedication

I remember very clearly a particular morning in the computer lab during my senior year of high school where I was waiting to register for fall courses of what would be my first year at Grand Valley State University. I was excited to sign up for Latin thinking, "Who takes Latin anymore? I want to do this." Between the end of high school and the start of college I ended up on crutches, and made it to my very first college class about five minutes late. Thankfully, I had a wonderful and compassionate professor, Dr. Melissa Morison, who still admitted me. Later in the semester, she suggested I register for "Introduction to Archaeology." Immediately the idea and career path made sense, and I could not believe I had not thought about archaeology before.

Having loved the first archaeology course I ever took, I decided I should sign up for the university's summer field school, and spent the next six weeks finding historic ceramics, worms, and clay. I learned so much in such a brief amount of time from Dr. Janet Brashler, whose passion for archaeology was contagious and I decided with complete confidence that this was the field for me.

In the fall of that same year, Dr. Mark Schwartz arrived at GVSU and provided me with an opportunity for international fieldwork in Turkey, as well as an undergraduate research project. Mark took me on as an advisee in Anthropology and spent countless hours preparing me for fieldwork, conducting follow-up lab work, and helping me prepare our research for academic conference presentations.

These three wonderful professors have influenced my life in the most significant and meaningful way through their encouragement and continued support. They provided me with a strong academic and research foundation, field experience and opportunities, and examples of what it means to be a great educator and friend. I would not have made it this far in archaeology without you, and I dedicate this work to you.

In memoriam, I also wish to dedicate this dissertation to Mrs. Tene Clymer, who always told me that traveling and knowing the world was the best way to educate one's self, and also to Mrs. Marie Love, the most encouraging, engaging, inspiring history teacher a sixth grader could ask for!

Abstract

How are objects used to communicate with the intranatural? The Source of the Douix, a freshwater spring in France, is an ideal site for addressing this question due to the quantities of offerings recovered. Evidence exists for ritual deposits beginning in the Hallstatt period (800-400 B.C.) with nearly continuous use into modern times. This analysis focuses on the diverse objects from the Gallo-Roman Period (50 B.C.-A.D. 450). The results of multiple levels of statistical and spatial analyses between the Douix material and other similar sites are used to address how objects were used for communication with the intranatural during the Gallo-Roman Period. Examining the entire Douix assemblage illustrates how changes through time are expressed materially and how new perceptions or use of the site corresponds to this material evidence. These differences, when examined thoroughly, can provide greater insight into the use of objects as devices for communication with the intranatural.

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Introduction

The material world is and has been integral to the lives of humans. While we shape and create new objects regularly, our thoughts, actions, and behaviors are influenced and guided by physical forms. Objects that are sacred or are used during rituals offer us a way to express abstract ideas and beliefs that are traditionally confined to the metaphysical. These special objects have the ability to make a place sacred, e.g. the presence of a saint's relic or a holy book; they can influence our behavior, e.g. causing us to kiss an icon or process with or around a special object; and they can connect us to a world beyond our own during rituals in which offerings are sacrificed, consumed, or given to an intranatural entity.

What is "intranatural"? It is nearly impossible to discuss religion without referencing some supernatural entity who believers or participants venerate or engage. Such an entity may be a god, ancestors, natural forces, or features in nature. Unfortunately, the term *"supernatural"* has increasingly become loaded and non-descriptive referring to venerated entities within a particular religion, or to aliens, ghosts, psychics, and other unexplained phenomenon. Thus, the term often carries negative connotations with it in an academic context, and has lost meaning because it can refer to so many topics. Even when used only to refer to an entity within a religion, its literal meaning is sometimes not an appropriate description of the location of the being in the universe, for supernatural literally means "above nature," or "not of this world."

Religious systems from prehistoric temperate Europe and the Roman world show that people actively engaged "the supernatural" through ritual practices (see Chapter 3).

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Having access to these powerful and knowledgeable beings means that they are actually part of the human world and are active within it (Purzycki 2013). They are not distant entities looking down on events, but are influencing the lives of humans and causing things to happen. A more integrated relationship needs a new word that better describes the situation. I propose the term, *"intranatural,"* to describe a being who exists *between or within nature*, who may be called upon, and has the power to influence the human world but may remain distant.

The term *intranatural*, thus highlights the location of an ambiguous category of beings (gods, ancestors, natural forces, etc.). They are forces active within the world, rather than distant onlookers whose location is above the human world or completely unknown; for the remainder of the discussion, intranatural will be used to describe such scenarios, while supernatural will only be used when the nature of an entity appears to be something explicitly not of this world or active within it, or the author has not made the nature of such an entity clear.

Offerings are intended to communicate something to an intranatural entity. In the case of ancient offerings the precise message is often unknown due to a lack of written sources; however, through detailed contextual analyses, we can address two questions of the material evidence: 1. How were objects used as communicative devices?, and 2. How does the deposition of objects in a particular place change over time? These questions are asked of an assemblage that was deposited in the Douix of Châtillon-sur-Seine from the Hallstatt period through modern times; the primary focus will be on the La Tène and

Gallo-Roman period materials. Answers obtained from the analysis of the Douix assemblage are used to address broader issues of material religion and ritual language.

Chapter 1 presents key definitions, explores the role of offerings in rituals, and establishes the theoretical approach for the project. Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the social and historical contexts of the area surrounding a series of sacred sites, as well as the religious and ritual traditions of a highly complex zone of cultural interaction. Chapter 4 provides greater a more detailed background of water veneration. Chapters 5 and 6 present important background information for the case study of the Source of the Douix, and a discussion of objects found at this particular site. Chapter 7 presents a large body of comparative data from other Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the region. Chapter 8 summarizes and interprets the results of comparative statistical and spatial analyses of the materials. Chapter 9 contains a discussion of the results and theoretical conclusions and ways of understanding offerings as communicative devices.

All images and tables are my own unless cited otherwise.

Chapter 1. Understanding Religion, Rituals and Offerings

The role of religion within human societies has been a significant area of study within the social sciences since its founding, and continues to be a topic of research today (Frazer 1981 [1890]; Durkheim 1995 [1912]; Evans-Pritchard 1976 [1937]; Levi-Strauss 1955; Geertz 1973; Asad 1983; Douglas 1988; Bell 1997; Tremlin 2006). There is good reason for such attention. Over the course of human history across the globe, various manifestations of religion and ritual practices have influenced, for example, social, stylistic, political and economic aspects of societies. Community planning, social status, costume and dress, and food have all been affected by religion in some form as well. We can best understand this exchange as a circular, rather than linear process as religion both influences, and is influenced by aspects of human behavior and beliefs on individual and communal levels.

Defining such a wide-ranging and constantly evolving notion is challenging, but here I attempt a description that combines what I believe are the key features that anthropologists have identified across multiple cultures:

> ***Religion*** *is a system of shared beliefs held by a community pertaining to intranatural or supernatural worlds, beings, or forces, which wield power over human beings. These beliefs influence the community members' understanding of the world by giving them a way to answer unanswerable questions and also affect the individual through his/her own personal experience and interactions with these beliefs. The beliefs are often expressed through communal actions or performances (i.e. religious ritual), which simultaneously strengthen the community by seeking favor from other worldly entities and reaffirming beliefs.*

From this description, it is clear that community and performances are significant factors for understanding religion. Community, in regards to religion, refers to a group of people

who share similar ideas and beliefs about the intranatural or supernatural worlds. Performance, or ritual, requires a bit more explanation.

DEFINING RITUAL

> Religious performances or **rituals**, *are a set of repeated, rule-bound, symbolic behaviors or actions participated in or performed in front of a community who recognize and believe in a similar meaning of the actions. Such actions likely take place in a sacred setting and involve the use of particular natural and/or human-made elements or items within the performance.*

Rituals take many forms and are too vast to cover here in their entirety. Instead, I shall highlight some key aspects of rituals that I have observed in the subsequent examples discussed in this work which span multiple cultures and periods. A sacred *place* which could be a natural feature or a human-made structure, such as a temple, is often the chosen location for ritual performances because a community agrees the place is special or an appropriate location for such actions. Similarly, within a sacred place, an altar or a representation of a deity, for example, may be used as a *focal point* where the main ritual action occurs. In some cases, the focal point may be in the intranatural entity or feature who is believed to be present during the ceremony. As rituals are repeated actions governed by rules, different rituals will serve a different *purpose*, such as rites of passage or propitiation. In some societies, an intermediary or leader of a ritual, such as a priest or shaman, is needed when interacting with the intranatural, whereas in others, a person may interact with the divine more directly. To avoid excluding one over the other we can refer to the person doing the ritual as the *actor*.

Words and/or *movements* are essential to a ritual and may include prayers, songs,

dances, possession, or reenactment of sacred ideas or stories which are intended to communicate particular messages to the community and to the intranatural. During the performance, *sacred objects* or *equipment*, e.g. noise-makers, water or fire, vessels, or altars, may be used as part of the performance or to enhance the participants experience of it. In some circumstances, *offerings* of food, drink, living beings, or natural and/or human-made objects may be given as part of or to complete a ritual, and like words and movements, often communicate something to the intranatural which is present during the ritual. This very broad summary does not capture every variation within rituals, but is intended to provide a general overview of some major elements of the performances. Keeping these facets in mind, it is possible to anticipate what we might find when searching for ritual in the past.

RECOGNIZING RITUAL ARCHAEOLOGICALLY

Religion and ritual have often been an interest of archaeology; however, they have not always been taken seriously, or have served as catch-all words for spaces and materials whose functions were unclear (Renfrew 1985: 1; Whitehouse 1996: 9). In recent years, religious scholars have approached the sacred more scientifically and have suggested criteria for identifying ritual archaeologically (Fogelin 2007; Xygalatas 2010). Though the gestures and spoken words of ancient rituals may not be recoverable many rituals had a material element to them which preserves archaeologically (Levy 1981: 174); in other words,

> …artefacts used in ritual should exhibit a pattern of use and discard which

is non-random and yields insights into the nature of the ritual itself. In other words, although religious beliefs are mental constructs which cannot themselves be directly recovered archaeologically, these beliefs may direct ritual practices which are performed with artifacts that can be directly recovered (Marcus and Flannery 1994: 56).

Ritual activities will manifest differently in different cultures. While universal norms are unlikely, some basic material elements of rituals are likely to be preserved archaeologically.

Renfrew (1985) proposed four categories that likely indicate ritual activity. The first requires attention-focusing elements, such as a place with special or natural associations, a building used for sacred functions, a structure or equipment that draws the viewer's attention, and symbols repeated within a sacred area that enhance the ritual. The second emphasizes the importance of physical or metaphorical liminal zones which may be evident architecturally, such as public versus hidden areas, and places for cleansing after exiting polluted spaces. The third suggests the presence of a deity either as a cult image or representation in abstract form, symbols related to a deity or its mythology, or symbols reflecting the ritual itself. Finally, the fourth category emphasizes participation and offerings which may be visible in iconography depicting processions or special movements, rituals that use devices to induce a religious experience, evidence of sacrifices (human and/or animal), evidence of food or drink as offerings, votive objects which may be left behind, broken, or discarded in a sacred area, and an investment of wealth in offerings, sacred equipment, or space (Renfrew 1994: 51-52).

Based on these characteristics, we may expect to find clearly defined religious architecture, ritual equipment, religious and ritual iconography, representations of the

deity or the sacred, and various forms of offerings, preserved in the archaeological record.

Whitehouse (1996) categorizes sacred objects further which illuminate their roles in ritual settings. Like Renfrew, she agrees an object of worship, or *sacra*, will be present, perhaps in the form of a deity. Sacra are few in number, are found in a special location within a sacred space, are perhaps large in size, and may be made in a particular way or from special materials (1996: 15). Another category of ritual object is the *votary*, or an anthropomorphic image representing a worshiper. Like sacra, votaries are found within sacred buildings, but are greater in number and represent a different iconographic tradition, such as a person holding an object, a person who is pregnant of ill, or someone performing a particular gesture (1996: 19). A third category, *offerings*, refers to items which are of use to a deity or those which are given to show submission or respect by the worshiper. These are high in number, found at both formal and informal sacred places, and can take a variety of forms. Offerings may overlap with votaries and utilitarian objects, but can be distinguished sometimes though contextual analyses or if many objects of the same type are present (1996: 21-22). *Objects used in rites* make up a fourth category and describe special objects of a utilitarian or functional nature, but may be set apart through decoration or special materials (1996: 23). The final category describes *amulets*, or objects of limited powers carried on a person for luck or protection. These are slightly different than the other categories described above because while they are cared for, they are not associated with particular rites and are more important to an individual than the society as a whole (1996: 15-26).

The categories of ritual objects presented by Whitehouse are helpful to keep in mind when examining assemblages associated with ritual practices. In cases where good contextual data are unavailable, determining the proper category of an object is unlikely, or at least less certain. Osborne's (2004) criteria for recognizing ritual deposits addresses some of these challenges and takes a broader approach to identifying ritual deposits from other ambiguous contexts. He asserts that ritual deposits are recognized by 1) a particular selection pattern of deposited goods, such as the dominance of a single artifact type, 2) the context where the objects were recovered, and 3) similarities with other deposits where the context is more clearly of a ritual nature.

Recognizing ritual activity in the archaeological record is possible when one is aware of what to look for. Not every case will have all of the criteria described above, but these offer a helpful starting point. Interpreting such recovered finds is another challenge and can only be achieved after careful consideration of the culture and context from which the objects come. In some cases, texts and ethnographic information are available and can be useful for accessing the beliefs and activities that are not preserved archaeologically (Levy 1981: 175). These additional sources, while not always necessary, supplement and enhance preserved ritual evidence.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS A VALID APPROACH TO STUDYING RITUAL: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC EXAMPLE

It is possible to understand ancient rituals through detailed contextual and comparative analyses of archaeological evidence. Using ethnographic and ethnohistoric

data archaeologists have successfully demonstrated that practices described in documented accounts leave visible traces in the archaeological record that can be interpreted accurately. In their study of Zapotec religion, Marcus and Flannery (1994) outline several methods which can be used to examine rituals of the past.

First, the direct-historical method begins with the known, such as ethnohistoric or ethnographic data, and works backwards into the unknown. This information can aid in the interpretation of archaeological materials, and considers both continuity and change. The second approach involves studying architecture and public spaces to see how these reflect changing ideals within a society. The third approach emphasizes contextual analysis of ritual paraphernalia, and assumes that a ritual must be performed over and over again in a particular way; artifacts are the physical traces of rituals recorded and described in documents (Marcus and Flannery 1994: 56).

The historical data revealed that within the Zapotec religion, several aspects were of the utmost importance: possessing *pee* or recognizing certain objects as being alive, the worship of natural forces, the veneration of ancestors, and having a reciprocal relationship with intranatural forces which is manifest through offerings (1994: 57). Rituals reflecting these beliefs required particular tool-kits and settings. Temples with designated spaces for depositing offerings and for making sacrifices, altars with burn marks from incense, objects used for blood-letting sacrifices, bones of human and animal sacrifices, objects such as special knives used to perform sacrifices, plant remains for ceremonial drug use, ritual calendars, and effigies and other materials associated with ancestor worship, were all material aspects of ritual practices that proved to be

recoverable archaeologically at Monte Alban and San Jose Mogote (1994: 60-61, 65-66). It was even possible to determine when such state rituals were introduced and how some aspects changed over time leading up to the historical accounts (1994: 71).

While not every example will have such clear connections between ethnohistorical and archaeological data, Marcus and Flannery demonstrate that archaeologically recovered materials can reflect the ritual activities occurring within a particular place. Textual accounts are certainly useful for providing additional details, but in cases of non-literate societies it is still possible to access and understand ancient rituals using archaeological evidence.

WHAT ARE OFFERINGS?

This discussion has so far presented different objects which can be used to study ancient rituals. The remainder of this study will focus on one particular line of ritual evidence: offerings. Levy provides several criteria for identifying offerings which are helpful for the present discussion: 1) they are found in special places, 2) they will be a special subclass of material culture meaning they were designed for ritual purposes, 3) they are arranged in particular patterns, and 4) they are often associated with food remains (1981: 176).

The word "offerings" has been presented several times in the preceding discussion and merits further description. This term is frequently used to discuss objects which are interpreted as gifts to an intranatural being, though few studies define exactly what they mean by "offerings." Instead, studies of offerings tend to focus on the types

and treatment of objects found in sacred contexts. A definition which encapsulates the wide variety of offered objects is difficult to come to, but by broadly comparing offerings, we can come to a general description of what these significant objects truly are.

Categories of Offerings

Most studies of both modern and ancient ritual assemblages tend to focus on the typologies of the offered objects. For this reason, a quick search for offerings yields results that are easy to organize into broad categories despite coming from different periods, places, and cultures. Offerings associated with consumption include vessels, such as cooking pots, jugs, lamps, and bowls (Kleibrink et al. 2004; Le Gall and Senechal 1974; MacIntosh Turfa 2006; Threipland 1969; Winter et al. 2007), prepared foods (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1977; McNeil 2010; Stjernquist 1997; Walter et al. 2004), or living humans or animals (Brunaux et al. 1999; Ceruti 2004; Turner and Briggs 1986). Representations may also be offerings and can depict humans or animals in the form of statues and figurines in different media (Coggins 1984; Graham 2013; MacIntosh Turfa 2006; Söderlind 2004; Threipland 1969; Uruñuela 1997), photos (Notermans and Jansen 2011), or images of body parts (Håland 2009; Graham 2013; MacIntosh Turfa 2006; Wood 2011). Additionally, complete or altered tools or weapons (Bradley 1990; Levy 1981; Prufer et al. 1984; Randsborg 1995; Vouga 1923; York 2002), types of currency such as coins or ingots (Fitzpatrick 2005; Hingley 2006), jewelry or ornaments (Dehn 1991; Fitzpatrick 2005; Kruta 1971), particular types of materials such as iron or shell (Glowacki and Malpass 2003; Hingley 2006; Schmidt and Mapunda 1997; Walter et al.

2004), or pieces from an object of importance or something having belonged to the dedicator (Notermans and Jansen 2011; Valk 2009) may also be offerings.

The brief list of offerings demonstrates the wide variety of objects that may be given. Appropriate offerings are determined by and rooted in the culturally specific ritual system. In some cases an object may be selected for what it represents, in others for what it can do, and in some circumstances, an object may be selected not for the value in itself, but for the process or procedure required to create it, such as particular foods or the working of materials such as iron (McNeil 2010: 305; Hingley 2006).

The Treatment of Offerings

Objects are deposited in a special place, for example a cult center, a watery context, or in a hoard, as a single object or as many. Deposits can be a one-time event or can take place regularly (Bradley 1990). Offerings may be preserved as they are, or can be altered as part of the ritual process. The act of altering an offering has been the subject of much discussion amongst prehistoric archaeologists in Europe where the practice has been frequently observed in a variety of contexts.

Sacrifice and Offerings

The term "sacrifice" is often reserved to describe the act of ritually dispatching living beings. Bradley explains that "Sacrifice *changes the nature* of the thing being sacrificed; it makes it sacred...requires a living *victim*, which must pass into 'the religious domain'...but since an artefact is inert, it cannot change its nature. That is why it can only

be an *offering*" (1990: 37). He also notes that the designation of "sacrifice" is difficult to apply archaeologically unless the object or supporting texts tell you its purpose.

I disagree with Bradley's boundaries of sacrifice. In many societies, inanimate artifacts are often ritually destroyed through breaking, bending, burning, or cutting, which does indeed change their nature (Chapman 2000). Bradley uses the example of swords from the site of La Tène in Switzerland some of which were heavily bent rendering them unusable (Figure 1.1). As the sword can no longer be used in its traditional function due to its changed nature, it has been sacrificed. I do not, therefore, limit the application of "sacrifice" to strictly living beings, but also include objects that have been ritually destroyed in this category as well. Objects that were not destroyed and retain their original nature can be described as offerings. Essentially, *all sacrifices* (objects whose nature was altered through destruction or death) *are offerings, but not all offerings are sacrificed*.

Green explains sacrifice as "the destruction of something or its removal from the earthly world, in order to bring about benefits for the sacrificers" (1998: 169). This definition is more similar to my own, but Green also emphasizes two features as being crucial to determining sacrifice. She argues the object of sacrifice must be given to a "supernatural" recipient and that it must also experience separation from the human world through burial, immersion, enclosure, or killing (1998: 170).

Again, as with Bradley, I find this description too narrow. The features Green points out can be applied to offerings in general. For example, a coin may be thrown into water as a gift for an intranatural being, which implies both giving and separation. I think,

therefore, her classification of killing as a means of separation should be reexamined or perhaps stand alone as an additional criterion for separating offerings from sacrifices. If the coin was destroyed or mutilated, then thrown into the water, then we have sacrifice. In the case of living beings, such as the human sacrifice Green examined, a person may be treated in some ritual manner and killed followed by disposal of the body. The same sense of giving, sacrifice, and separation are still present through the reworking of her original categories.

Another point concerning sacrifices observed by Hubert and Mauss, notes that a sacrificed object, animal, or human acts as an intermediary between the sacrifer and the entity receiving the sacrifice (1964 [1898]: 11). They further argue this allows for direct communication between humans and the divine. However, the notion of sacrificed objects as intermediaries is applicable to offerings in general, and not just to sacrifices.

The concept of sacrifice may explain the popularity of depositing objects in water, which is explored in Chapter 4. Watery locations are often inaccessible after the offering has been given, fulfilling the separation from the human world. Water also merges with land offering a physical, liminal location between worlds. And finally, water is often viewed as a conduit between worlds, which may also support its popularity as a location for depositing offerings.

Sacrificing objects and living beings is one way in which something attains a special status making it appropriate to offer to the intranatural because it is transformed into something consecrated and reserved for the divine. Sometimes the special treatment of an object is essential to ensuring it functions properly and that it can be given to an

intranatural entity. While this point has been clarified, the broader theme with which sacrifice is associated, that is, offerings, needs further description.

The Function or Purpose of Offerings

Offerings vary widely across and within societies. Even within the same society different offerings may be given to appeal to specific deities or in particular circumstances. As with object categories, a summary of offering functions has been observed and described by scholars interacting with these collections: as gifts for the intranatural or ancestors (Hingley 2006); as ways of ensuring fertility, procreation, and good health or the curing of illness (Söderlind 2004); as ways of showing reverence for the intranatural in hopes that a wish will be granted (McNeil 2010; Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1977); as tokens of gratitude or a symbol of help given by the intranatural (Wood 2011); a symbol of a bargain or reciprocal relationship (Graham 2013); as substitutes for living sacrifices or remembrances of sacrifices (Söderlind 2004); as part of a person or their essence (Wood 2011); and as devices for communicating or interacting with the intranatural (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1977).

A single object may possess one or more of these meanings; however, all objects have communicative value. Looking at food offerings in southern India, Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi has proposed that offerings are structured in a way that can be read as a language: "In offering food, the devotee is communicating with the gods, and it therefore seems permissible to speak of the ritual…as a language, the individual offering being comparable to a word," (1977: 507). Particular offerings are given repeatedly to stress

their meaning, which can then be interpreted or read (1977: 513). Offerings, therefore, function as material prayers which can be read by the devotee, the intranatural, as well as other devotees who see the objects.

Understanding Offerings

Considering these observed features, I can summarize that

Offerings are living beings and/or objects (natural or human-made, of perishable or non-perishable materials) that are given to communicate a message to an intranatural entity (deities, natural forces, ancestors) as part of an exchange system. The value returned to the giver from the intranatural is likely something the giver cannot directly attain for himself/herself, such as improved health or the avoidance of ill-will. Offerings may be treated specially as part of the ritual offering to ensure they are received by the intranatural, such as being sacrificed. Finally, offerings are removed from the human world through physical separation from the giver, for example, by depositing them in an irretrievable location. The giver does not try to take the object back once it is given as it would undo the request or exchange.

Offerings are the physical remnants of ritual practices and are, therefore, useful for answering particular questions about a person or group's relationship with the intranatural. In addition to providing information about this relationship, offerings from sites with long periods of use can also illustrate changing social and political trends. Often these changes impact religion through the introduction of new material forms and ideas. Analysis of these materials and contextualizing them within their societies can clarify what offerings are given over time, the ways in which they are given, and their purposes.

OFFERINGS AS A WORLDWIDE PHENOMENON

Now that a general concept of offerings has been established, it is possible to examine examples of how humans throughout time have offered objects to the intranatural. The following cases were selected to illustrate the widespread geographical and temporal contexts in which offerings have been recovered (Figure 1.2), and also to illustrate a variety of offering traditions and how culturally rooted such practices are within other aspects of society. In addition to showing the variation present in offering traditions, they also demonstrate different approaches to understanding these objects.

Offerings in the Recent Past and Today

With the introduction of new material culture and technologies in the modern world, offerings to the unknown are able to transcend physical forms and boundaries. Offering well-wishes and hopes for those in need around the world is now possible via the Internet. Fostering empathy between strangers through collective virtual wish-making is the intended use for proposed programs like PixelWish (Hu and Law 2007: 81). In this particular case, words and simple images created by an individual can be sent electronically to other stations across the world where they would then be visible to others. While these are intended for living human recipients, there is a degree of the unknown or supernatural-ness to it as the wishes float off into cyberspace and are received by strangers.

Other modern examples take on a variety of physical forms across the world. Displayed in the museum of San Xavier del Bac Mission near Tucson, Arizona, are tiny

metal *milagros*, or "miracles" representing diseased or injured body parts (Figure 1.3). These examples were, and continue to be, pinned to a statue of St. Francis as intercessor prayer offerings for a healthy recovery. It is also noted that other items, such as jewelry, are also offered by those requesting favors from the saint. This practice is evident at Christian pilgrimage sites across the world, such as Lourdes (see Chapter 4).

A location in which an offering is given may have multiple associations. The Church of St. Martin in Köln, Germany rests upon the ruins of a Roman bathhouse which are visible in the basement of the existing structure. The bottom of the bathing pool, despite its current lack of water, is littered with coins from all over the world (Figure 1.4). No explanation is provided as to why the dry pool receives coin offerings. Perhaps the church above the pool represents a sacred space that has the power to receive offerings, or maybe coins are deposited here simply because it is evident others have done so or are doing so (Venbrux 2007).

An offering from the mountain-shrine of Charyong Pass in North Korea was brought down by explorers in the late 19th century (Hartland 1904: 447). They noted that shrines dedicated to local divinities are found at the top of nearly every pass in Southeast Asia and take a variety of forms from heaps of stones, sticks, or leaves, to other more substantial structures in or around which offerings are placed. The recovered object was a small cast iron tiger. In addition to being a symbol of strength, a tiger may have been chosen because tigers are abundant in the area and threaten the safety of the villagers, or because mythical forces are often attributed to them, such as flying, emitting fire, and hurling lightening (Hartland 1904: 449).

These modern accounts of offerings vary in form, media, location in which they were offered, and intent. Despite these variations a common theme is evident: objects are given as a means of connecting with the unknown or the intranatural. This is not strictly a modern phenomenon, but rather one that has ancient roots around the world that manifests archaeologically. Older and prehistoric examples have less evidence that explains the motivations behind particular offerings, but these assemblages can still be analyzed and understood through careful contextual studies.

Ethnohistoric Evidence

As demonstrated above, ethnographic and historical accounts from the recent past can describe ritual performances and help illuminate archaeological finds. Some accounts have also captured the phenomenon of offering things to the intranatural. Written accounts and explanations from people both within and observing these cultures often explain what objects are given and why. These examples highlight the importance of using multiple lines of evidence when possible to explain ritual phenomena in the more recent and ancient past.

Using Marcus and Flannery's (1994) direct-historical approach, Schmidt and Mapunda (1997) have attempted to link the symbolic meanings or ideologies of modern iron smelting rituals with archaeological remains by using ethnographies, ethnohistories, and historical information from the Great Lakes region in Tanzania. Smelting goes beyond a simple technological process and is connected to much deeper cultural ideologies. Cosmological beliefs are linked to smelting, politics are linked to iron

production, and production is structured by ritual performances full of symbolic meanings that relate to reproduction and gender relations (1997: 75). Drawing from these main categories, Schmidt and Mapunda found that fertility and the protection against evil are the main foci for iron smelting rituals; things associated with human fertility are used to ensure a fertile furnace which produces much iron, and the ridding of evil is necessary to ensure technological success during the smelting process.

Believing that such complex ideologies leave some sort of physical marker in the archaeological remains of furnaces, which stretch back over two and a half millennia in Africa, the researchers explored possible lines of evidence which may preserve over time and where they would find it. Across many of the regions, a variety of offerings were placed in bundles, pots, or pits located under the floor of the smelting furnace. Archaeological evidence, though inconclusive to date, appears to reflect this tradition. In many of the excavated furnaces, bundles, or organic remains of bundles were present or whole pots or pits were found below the furnace (1997: 86). Residue analysis is needed to confirm specific species, but vegetal remains and bone materials were found in some of the pots, as well as rocks and chunks of kaolin, a special soft white clay used for making porcelain. Some of these finds are also found in modern fertility and protection deposits placed in the furnaces today. This study which combined ideological knowledge of a modern tradition with the archaeological evidence to better understand the rituals involved with iron smelting, suggests that smelting rituals were part of a flexible system that accommodated ideological changes in different regions explaining the variety of materials that may be offered.

Researchers working at Roviana Lagoon in the Solomon Islands note the presence of shrines and monumental structures that are accompanied by abundant and diverse ritual assemblages. The rich local history, detailed ethnographies, and the willingness of local people to discuss their customs helped to explain the ritual practices that produced such assemblages (Walter et al. 2004: 143). Stone shrines, referred to as *hope*, date from approximately A.D. 1600 until around 1902 when a Christian mission was established in the area (Walter et al. 2004: 144). While there are many sacred places on land and in the water of the lagoon, the *hope* are the only marked sacred places and are identified by a raised mound made of coral rubble, an abundance of human skulls, and worked shell offerings (Walter et al. 2004: 146). The *hope* vary in size and complexity and may include additional artifacts such as stone bowls, European manufactured objects, and conch-shell trumpets.

One of the most abundant and important of the offerings are marine shell rings, which the ethnographic record states are used for exchange and marking status, and are often found attached to a human skull. Following the death of an individual, the body was left to decay in the woods, after which the head was removed and brought back to the shrine. The rings were used to capture the spirit and the power of the dead from his or her house (Walter et al. 2004: 150). The rings were then attached to the skull acting as their body and as objects of power that were carefully placed in the shrines (Figure 1.5). Shrines were organized according to purpose, such as fishing or fighting, and could include both male and female skulls depending on the skills a person possessed in life (Walter et al. 2004: 153).

Explanations for the purpose of these shrines by living members of these communities suggest that offerings were made to elicit a specific response from the dead, rather than to please them or a particular deity. Offerings were typically in the form of puddings, or smashed shell rings which were meant to feed the dead. The offertory nature then is one of reciprocity between the living and the dead (Walter et al. 2004: 154). The shrines thus serve as a manufactured place for beneficial exchange between humans and powerful spirits.

These examples demonstrate the utility of ethnographic and ethnohistoric explanations which describe nearly every stage of the ritual process and materials used in each. The details of "whom" and "why" would have been limited using only archaeological data as would evidence of organic offerings such as barks, herbs, and puddings. Additionally, these examples illustrate how offerings fit into reciprocal exchange relationships between humans and the intranatural, as well as the ability of offerings to communicate messages to the intranatural and the wider community who perpetuate these communicative exchange systems. The opportunity to combine archaeological and ethnographic evidence is an ideal situation, but is not common.

Historic Examples

Offerings can be given in human-made structures or in the natural landscape, such as in lakes, on mountains, or near unusual rock formations; the exact significance of these places is sometimes unknown. Context and close examination of the artifact assemblages become essential for explaining the significance of such finds. These examples show the

importance of natural settings as well as the variety of ways in which similar places were revered. The following examples are from a variety of societies: those which possessed writing and recorded their own ritual traditions, those whose writing has yet to be deciphered, and non-literate societies, of which, the latter two were either proceeded by literate societies who retained similar traditions, or were in contact with literate societies who recorded their ritual traditions from an outsider's perspective.

An abundance of offerings to the intranatural have been found in Mesoamerica. For example, Winter et al. (2007)'s study of Monte Alban in Mexico used what is historically known about Zapotec religion broadly to inform their evidence. The sacred mountain of Monte Alban had springs and a small pool on its slopes as well as many cracks and cavities in the earth. The mountain and its surrounding natural features were afforded special attention for it was believed that hills and mountains were inhabited by spirits, or *dueños* ("owners") (Winter et al. 2007: 188). The site was one of the major political centers during the Classic Period (500 B.C. to A.D. 800) and continued to be used in later phases of the site.

Rituals here changed throughout its long occupation. During its peak in the Classic Period, a wall was built next to the pool and appears to have been used in rituals based on the discovery of artifacts rich with water symbolism, such as ceramic effigy vessels depicting fish, duck, and frogs, ceramic figurines of frogs and river otters, and the presence of water glyphs. Many of the offerings were of high quality and were probably used in state rituals, but there is also evidence for both communal and domestic rituals too (Winter et al. 2007: 192).

During the Liobaa Phase (Early Postclassic) the size of the site was reduced to a residence, two reused tombs, and two concentrations of artifact offerings of a diminished quality from various periods. The concentrations represented shrines or sacred spots used for several generations. At the South Platform, 1,674 ceramic fragments, 642 lithics, 29 shell pieces, and 2 metal pieces all dating to the Chila Phase (Late Postclassic) were found on and around the altar (Winter et al. 2007: 196-197). The Chila offerings at nearby Mound B included 202 Xoo Phase vessels, 1,265 Liobaa Phase vessels, 8 Chila Phase vessels, 18 lithic objects, and 40 shell ornaments.

After comparing these finds to other nearby sites, it is evident that from the quantity and variety of offerings that Monte Alban was a place for public rituals both during and after its main period of use. The offerings may have been the result of greater participation, longer use of the site, or perhaps the presence of both male and female worshippers (Winter et al. 2007: 198). The ritual architecture from the Classic Period was not maintained during later phases, as it was no longer under elite control, and these spaces were transformed into shrines for deities to receive new types of offerings (Winter et al. 2007: 200). The use of the site changed over time, but the *dueños* of the place persisted and remained a center where one could interact with the intranatural (Winter et al. 2007: 189).

In addition to mountains, natural wells and limestone sinkholes (*ts'onot* or *cenote*) were highly revered in Mesoamerican societies. The *Cenote* of Sacrifice at the Postclassic site of Chichén Itzá in Mexico is one of the best known examples (Coggins 1984: 23). Though the chronology has been difficult to establish because of unclear stratigraphy, the

nature of the finds suggests there were two phases of ritual activity at the site. The early phase (A.D. 800-1150) consisted of two parts: the first was marked by objects that were similar to those from other Puuc sites, while the second showed objects more Toltec in nature with an emphasis on militarism. Objects from this phase, which included highly valuable jade figurines, cast gold, and special vessels for rainmaking ceremonies, were broken, crushed, and burned before deposition.

The later phase (A.D. 1250-1539) marks the reuse of the abandoned site as a place of pilgrimage in the Maya world (Coggins 1984: 28). Objects offered during this phase were of poorer quality than those from the earlier phase and included copal incense in tripod bowls, wooden figurines, copper bells, jade beads, cotton textiles, and wooden scepters. Later rituals were more concerned with the deities of the place than with the warrior cults which characterized the earlier practices. Both periods demonstrated a concern with elite ceremonialism, the importance of lineage and fire for ritual, and human sacrifice (Coggins 1984: 111). Unlike other *cenotes* from the area, there is no direct access to the water at Chichén Itzá which lies 80 feet below ground level adding to the mysterious nature of the site.

Even wells on a less grand scale could receive offerings. During the excavations of a Postclassic household in Cholula, Mexico, a 3.68m deep well was uncovered. It was filled with a minimum of 110 mold-made ceramic figurines, many of which were broken, burned, or misfired (Uruñuela 1997: 65). These painted figurines represented deities with elaborate faces and headdresses and appeared to be part of biconical effigy vessels as they had loop handles. Also within the well were found pigments for painting the pieces

and ceramic-working tools that likely came from a nearby ceramics workshop. While the researchers argue that the objects were placed in the well because it was a convenient refuse pile associated with a craft workshop (Uruñuela 1997: 68), based on the attention other wells receive at sites like Chichén Itzá, its potential as a ritual place should not be dismissed so quickly.

These Mesoamerican examples highlight the connection between ritual practices and social, economic, and political factors that surround them. The treatment of sacred places and the objects offered during rituals change in type and quantity as wider cultural factors transform over time. The new artifact forms offered could have represented a response to contemporary events, thus showing the need to place ritual offerings in broader social and historical contexts rather than isolated cases.

Natural features that contribute to a sacred landscape can influence not only activities at a site, but also the places where people choose to live. The pre-Inca Wari Culture of South America, dating to the Middle Horizon (A.D. 540 – 900), was a state-level expansionist society whose ritual activities were linked to sacred natural features and places called *huacas*. These features were worshiped in association with ancestral cults, but also allowed the state to attain cosmological control of water as a result (Glowacki and Malpass 2003: 432).

Using what is known of Inca religious beliefs as an analogy for Wari materials, researchers explored the importance and proximity of water to several sites. *Pacarinas*, the Incan term for sacred places in the landscape, such as water and mountains, were

believed to be places of origins for mythical heroes and deities (Glowacki and Malpass 2003: 436). Different groups were associated with their own place of origin and honored their ancestors by giving them offerings. Water, in particular, was important in Inca beliefs for the dead traveled through underground waterways to their final resting places, thus, the control of these *huacas* and *pacarinas* was very important.

The location for Wari settlements of the preceding period appears to have been chosen for their proximity to important water features. Pachacamac, a site along the coast of Peru, was a shrine and oracle center that was active from A.D. 200 until the Spanish conquest. The Pacific Ocean was believed by the Inca to be a sacred place of origin, and the Wari in earlier phases venerated it by offering ornate textile wall hangings decorated with *Spondylus* shells and copper ornaments (Glowacki and Malpass 2003: 438). Other neighboring Wari sites demonstrated similar treatment of springs, lakes, and wells, but with varying compositions of artifacts and/or erected structures near these features.

Several patterns of offerings were repeated across multiple sites and their presence can be explained by analogies with later Inca beliefs. *Spondylus* shells were offered to springs by the Inca to induce rain because they were a favored food of the gods. For the Wari examples, it is suggested that "the ritual use of *Spondylus* served as a symbolic mechanism for drawing water from the underworld through a *huaca* to the earthly world," (Glowacki and Malpass 2003: 442). Copper was another common artifact which the Inca associated with mummies or the dead because it was a sacred and imperishable substance of value. As copper was connected to ancestor worship and often found with the dead, the Wari likely believed it aided in the well-being of the deceased in

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the afterlife. Copper and *Spondylus* were often found together as ritual offerings at Wari sites and sometimes accompanied by turquoise figurines important to ancestor worship. The combination of selected objects shows that the sites in these areas were ritually and commercially linked in their efforts to control water via ancestor worship (Glowacki and Malpass 2003: 443).

Glowacki and Malpass suggest that this system dominated the Wari because they viewed ancestors as having the power to control water. They needed a way to survive in the case of drought by 1) placating the ancestors, and 2) having other nearby groups to approach for help. This example shows not only a reciprocal relationship with the dead, but also with the living. Offerings were both economically and ritually linked, thus allowing the larger areas to harness the resources of smaller neighboring sites. It is also evident that offerings may be governed by particular formulas in order to attain the correct desired results.

In addition to objects, humans sometimes served as offerings. The Andes Mountains became a focal point for ritual activity during the expansion of the Inca Empire. Over 100 ceremonial centers and shrines have been detected on mountain summits and many have evidence for human sacrifice to honor sun, weather, and local deities (Ceruti 2004: 104). A survey of multiple sites reveals that the victims were killed either by strangulation, a blow to the head, by asphyxia, or by being buried alive (Ceruti 2004: 115). Later written records suggest that children were the preferred sacrifices and were selected because of their virgin status and beauty. In some cases, like the man discovered at the site of El Toro near Rodeo, Argentina, prisoners of war were also

sacrificed.

While the human served as the main offering, a very particular pattern of objects accompanied each victim (Figure 1.6).

> …the most important Inca offering comprises a human body, finely dressed with a feathered headdress and a necklace or a bracelet, associated with figurines in gold, silver and Spondylus shell. If anthropomorphic, the figurines may themselves be dressed in miniature clothes. Other finds may include ceramics (often in pairs and in miniature), objects of metal (such as pins or tupus), bone artefacts (such as tubes or adornments), wooden items (e.g. vases and spoons), vegetable food items (such as corn or peanuts) and sometimes the bones of sacrificed animals, usually camelids (cf. Farrington 1999: 4). (Ceruti 2004: 113).

This pattern is detectable across various sites with slight variation determined by the sex of the victim. Comparing the ethnohistoric records with the archaeological remains, Ceruti concluded that high mountaintop assemblages were offerings, but were also symbols of control showing the power of Inca rulers over all spheres of life. These sacrifices were done "as part of *capacocha* ceremonies, oriented to appease the deities and to ensure the well-being of the Inca emperor and the local communities" (Ceruti 2004: 119). In some societies offerings can be multifunctional showing both the power of the living ruler over his/her subjects, as well as the intranatural. In order for these to be successful, the offerings had to be perfect (a young, beautiful, virgin child) and also correct or complete (the accompanying burial items).

A final historical example examines a particular type of offering known as a *votive*. Votives are offerings given specifically to propitiate, to invoke the help of, or to thank a deity. Such objects have an ancient tradition in Europe which continued into the

medieval period and modern times. Wax representations of anatomical figures, such as hands and feet, were one of the most common forms to leave at the shrines of Christian saints during the fifteenth century. The wax offerings were rarely preserved because the wax was melted down by the clergy to make candles (Wood 2011). However, wooden tablets depicting scenes from the interiors of saints' shrines show these wax offerings suspended from the walls and surrounding the image of the saint. These objects attested to the healing powers of a particular saint and provide tangible evidence for pilgrimage within the Christian world.

Prehistoric Offerings

Predecessors of the medieval wax offerings are known from Mediterranean sites such as the Etruscan sanctuary of Ara della Regina dating from the fourth to first century B.C. (MacIntosh Turfa 2006: 96-97). In the 1960s, a pit containing several thousand votives was excavated near the temple revealing anatomical votives made from clay and included arms, hands, legs, feet, male and female genitals, internal organs, and busts or full figures of men, women, children, and swaddled babies. Other objects were also offered, such as a spear point with a dedication to Artemis, clay lamps, coins, and terracotta and bronze figurines of various animals. Additionally, quantities of animal bones suggest animal sacrifice and feasting also occurred serving as offerings to the gods. The giving of both food and a more permanent offering is a recurring theme in Mediterranean ritual practices.

Offerings in prehistoric societies are found in a variety of locations as well. The

Lukens Cache from Portage County, Ohio contained 356 Robbins Complex (200 B.C. to A.D. 1) bifaces that were initially deposited in a shallow, open lake which later turned into a peat bog (Prufer et al. 1984: 19). Of the five fragments of wood found with the bifaces, one piece appeared to be the rim of a wooden vessel that initially held the cache (Prufer et al. 1984: 24). The bifaces were carefully arranged in the vessel with the larger ones in the center and smaller ones surrounding them (Prufer et al. 1984: 21). Further analysis of the cache revealed that the bifaces were all made of the same non-local flint. Each point was made from single, thin flake which was fully finished. Some were specially treated having been rubbed with a soft material to produce glossy areas and half were coated with red-brown ochre on one or both sides suggesting that the ochre was perhaps sprinkled over the cache at the time of deposition (Prufer et al. 1984: 22-23).

Comparing this cache to other caches associated with the Robbins Complex, it appears that this example was the result of a private or individual offering rather than being part of a larger ritual practice, which is supported by the homogeneity of the assemblage, by the isolated nature of the deposit, and the special attention given to the forms of the bifaces and their placement in the bucket (Prufer et al. 1984: 30). Both examination of the context and the artifacts themselves bring some understanding to the deposit. As this was the work and offering of an individual it is possible to speculate as to the intentions of such an offering.

The final example takes a different approach to understanding offerings. Instead of focusing on a deposit from a single site, Fitzpatrick (2005) examines a depositional

trend, hoards of gold coins and torques, which are found together at Late Iron Age sites across Central and Western Europe. He presents a detailed analysis of each object type noting some of their characteristics, and examines which types of these objects were selected for the hoard.

Many of the coins were not produced locally often having been transported great distances, and their iconography was often of a celestial nature or had symbols associated with deities (Fitzpatrick 2005: 159). Outside of these hoards, gold torques were rare but were sometimes found in elite burials as status symbols and were sometimes accompanied by additional objects, like arm rings, finger rings, and other jewelry (2005: 167-168). The treatment of the objects and contexts in which they were found was also significant. Torques were often deliberately damaged or broken into fragments (Figure 1.7); however, the coins were often untouched or simply cut in half (2005: 170). Sometimes, the hoard was placed in a pot or a pit as part of its depositional treatment, while others were placed in or near water or in human-made sanctuaries.

Considering the characteristics of these objects (their symbolic importance and/or iconography), the treatment (broken or cut), and the locations in which they were buried (in or near natural and human-made places), led Fitzpatrick to several conclusions. He argues that the deposits represent votives or sacrifices to the gods and that golden objects were chosen because the color represents celestial bodies of the heavens, which were sometimes depicted on the coins themselves. Torques were symbols of high status and sometimes worn by gods or heroes when depicted. In order to properly offer such gifts to the gods, it was necessary to transform them through breaking or cutting, and to be

physically separated from the objects through deposition, preferably in places where the gods were present, such as sanctuaries or in water (2005: 172-173). A deep connection was made during this ritual for the sacrifice was shared between humans and gods as each received a piece of the torque, which could then be used to create something new.

The varieties of examples (Table 1.1) highlight some of the main considerations one must make when studying offerings: the objects themselves, their materials, the treatment and depositional context, and if possible, an intended function. They also demonstrate that by studying offerings to the intranatural, inferences can be made about the ritual structures of a society more broadly. Studies of offerings can be approached in a variety of ways and even ethnographic, ethnohistoric and historic analogies are sometimes possible or may at least present a new perspective on the material at hand. Broader social factors must be considered to determine the purpose of or the presence of particular objects and these objects must be examined carefully to see if the same treatment is a localized or wide-ranging practice. These selected examples show the importance of natural features for historic and prehistoric societies and this importance often has carried through into modern times accompanied by new types of offerings, further discussion of which can be found in Chapter 4.

Most importantly the examples presented in this chapter show how man has attempted to connect with the intranatural, such as ancestors, deities, or natural forces, through material culture and sacred spaces. Unlike supernatural entities which are outside of our world or cannot be accessed, these examples highlight interactions with intranatural entities which can be appealed to because they exist within our world and a

world beyond. An offering given to an intranatural entity implies that it will be received, considered, and a response given; this is not so with a supernatural being (Figure 1.8). The examples from Chapter 1 illustrate that people dedicating these objects see their deities, ancestors, or natural forces as part of the intranatural world, for most gifts are given to get something in return. If offerings to a supernatural being existed, on the other hand, they would appear as a totally one-sided, unselfish homage by humans who do not expect to gain anything in return (Hubert and Mauss 1964 [1898]: 2). As most of these offerings are given to gain something in return (fertility, favor of the gods, agricultural security), the term intranatural is a more appropriate term for describing the recipients of offerings.

MATERIAL RELIGION: APPROACHES TO THE SUBJECT

The preceding examples demonstrate there is a very physical or material aspect of religion and ritual. In addition to objects that are used to carry out particular rituals, offerings are essential for engaging with the intranatural. But first we must ask, why are physical things offered? What role do these objects play in ritual practices? Is it possible some objects are chosen for particular reasons? Many scholars have attempted to address the material side of religion, such as the body or sacred images, but most fail to consider actual offerings.

Current State of Research

Recent literature claiming to focus on *material religion* does little to address such

issues. Latour (2005), whose work has been influential for others studying materiality, encourages the use of actor-network theory in which one must follow the actors to learn their associations with the wider collective network. This approach has been useful for studying religion because such associations can unite both human and non-human actors. In this way, intranatural entities can act upon human bodies, and therefore have force, and humans, in return, can be acted upon connecting them in a wider religious network (Finch 2012). Actor-network theory brings attention to the body and other physical associations, but he does not delve into material culture explicitly.

Incorporating and expanding upon Latour's ideas, Vasquez (2011) continues to focus on the body, but also incorporates practice and space in his discussion. The body experiences religion through various ways. Focusing on practice and experience encourages a change from studying religious texts, to studying the physical aspects of religion. Practice shows humans do things, and are not simply passive figures experiencing religion; thus the body acts within a network, and it is the network that can explain religion more clearly. Morgan (2010) also emphasizes practice showing that religion is not just abstract belief, but something lived in the material, namely, the body. People engage in particular behaviors associated with religion and belief, and it is through the body, mind, physical senses, and the environment that people come to believe. Unfortunately, Vasquez neglects material culture within the networks he emphasizes, and Morgan barely mentions physical objects stating that they only exist as they are assimilated into the human body.

Bynum (2011) directly focuses her research on material culture, i.e. religious

objects. Examining medieval Christian holy objects and relics, she asserts the power of the material in that it does not copy the divine, but rather, that the divine is revealed in material ways and becomes holy matter. Creation and life given by God transformed objects into animate things, and this change generated awe and fear of such things. Her focus shifts the attention from religious texts and sacred spaces to the material aspects of religion which opens up the possibility of exploring lived religion instead of doctrine only. While her essay concentrates on material objects, it still does not offer a way of understanding material religion on a broader scale, and certainly does not answer any of the questions posed above concerning offerings. To address these issues, a new approach is needed.

A Material Culture-Based Approach

In order to understand the role of objects in ritual practices, it is necessary to have an approach that puts this evidence in the forefront of discussion. Studying such materials in their own right can only enhance and inform broader issues of practice and belief from an innovative and unexplored angle that is likely to yield new and exciting results. I draw here on three object-focused ideas: offerings as gift-exchange, offerings as objects for communication, and objects as having value from their life histories. Using these ideas, it is possible to answer why one offers objects, what their role is in ritual practices, and why some objects are chosen as offerings.

The examples of offerings presented above represent a form of gift-exchange between humans and intranatural forces. Gift-giving in many societies is part of a larger

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social system which fosters and strengthens relationships between individuals and groups (Mauss 1967 [1923]). While there is significant variation at the cultural level, the general pattern begins with giving an offering, the offering is received, and then repaid with something in kind. To ignore one of these stages would cause the system to lose balance. An offering to the intranatural may fall on either end of the spectrum: as a sort of down-payment to the god after which the giver awaits a reply to his/her request, or as a gift of thanks to repay the god for something spontaneously given. While it is unlikely that these subtleties can be determined archaeologically, it is worth considering and remembering that these objects are likely part of a larger system of exchange. Thus we can say that physical objects are offered to fulfill a reciprocal agreement between a person and a particular intranatural entity.

Another aspect of gift-exchange is worth noting. Modern cognitive approaches to religion often use the concept called "theory of mind" (Tremlin 2006: 80). When applied to religious scenarios it can describe the efforts of humans to see into the minds of the gods and to understand their desires (Purzycki 2013: 164). This notion is vital for understanding offerings. These objects are given to please the gods in some way and to do so one selects offerings that he or she thinks the recipient would like. Ideas of what might appeal to a god could come from mythology, or from the interpretation of signs or visions, for example. Seeing into the minds of the gods, as a result, gives them agency to affect the human world and make them into beings with which one can communicate.

In order for the deity to respond to an offering or to acknowledge a gift of thanks, the offering must communicate something. Venbrux (2007) examines the act of throwing

coins into a fountain. He states that, in fact, there are three levels of communication that occur with this gesture: with unseen social others, with other donors, and with the intranatural. The first applies to the people that collect or receive the collected money; they are essentially receiving help or fortune from unseen powers. The second refers to other people who may see someone directly depositing money into the fountain or may see a fountain that already contains money and will deposit more money in response. The final level, communication with the intranatural, will be explored in this project. Objects are selected not only to please the entity, but also to communicate desires materially. Similar objects repeatedly given stress the meaning of an offering and can serve as a language that can be read and interpreted (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1977). Offerings are given in hopes of getting something in return or in fulfillment of an exchange. There is a motive behind such an offering whether it is for improved health, in thanks for good fortune, or as part of a promise for something in the future. By examining the objects that are given, one can access how people communicate with the gods through material culture.

For communication between humans and the intranatural to be clear, the offering must carry a particular message. Objects develop different meanings that result from their life histories. Through exchanges in and out of varying contexts, objects gain and lose status and value (Appadurai 1986). The contextual shifts associated with an object's creation, use, and social death are all aspects of an object's biography or life history (Joy 2009: 544). The meaning of an object acquired in life may be a contributing factor to its deposition in a ritual context, which generates another new meaning for that object

(Gosden and Marshall 1999). Objects that had a clear traditional function when first created can sometimes be detected in ritual deposits after careful contextual analyses (Walker 1999). Such objects are probably chosen as offerings for the meaning they acquired during their lives. Some aspect of this meaning, or meanings, is the message the dedicator is attempting to communicate with the intranatural through the offering of a physical object. Understanding the life histories of objects is important for understanding why some objects are chosen, and what the dedicators are trying to represent or communicate through this offering. Some objects are thus created for ritual deposition and others are chosen because at some stage in their life history, they acquired a particular meaning or value which made them appropriate gifts.

These three assertions, when pulled together tell us that offerings are part of an exchange system that requires clear communication to transmit messages of hope and thanks, all of which can be expressed through material forms carefully selected to please an intranatural entity. With these ideas in mind, the remainder of this thesis will examine the material side of religion and ritual by focusing on a particular collection of offerings deposited in a sacred place and comparing it to wider social and religious events happening at the time.

CHAPTER 1 – TABLES

Summary of Offerings from Chapter 1				
Place with Offerings	**Type(s) of Offering(s)**	**Location of Offering**	**Recipient**	**What Offering Means/Illustrates**
PixelWish	Digital words and images	Internet	Other humans	Well-wishes for those in need
San Xavier del Bac Mission, Tucson, Arizona	Metal *milagros* representing anatomical figures	Pinned to statue of St. Francis	St. Francis	Represents diseased/injured body parts; for healthy recovery
Church of St. Martin, Köln, Germany	Coins	Roman bathhouse under church	?	Wishes?
Charyon Pass, North Korea	Cast iron tiger figurine	Shrine on mountain pass	Local divinities	Symbol of strength, abundance?
Great Lakes region, Tanzania	Bundles/pots containing vegetal remains, kaolin	Under floor of smelting furnace	?	Fertility and protection against evil
Roviana Lagoon, Solomon Islands	Marine shell rings attached to human skulls, puddings, smashed shell rings	In ancestor shrines	Ancestors	To capture power of ancestors; to elicit response from them
Monte Alban, Mexico (Classical Period)	Ceramic effigy vessels, ceramic figurines	Pool	*Dueños* (spirits)	Water rituals; state, communal, domestic rituals
Monte Alban, Mexico (Early Postclassic)	Ceramic fragments, lithics, shell, metal	South Platform	*Dueños* (spirits)	Communal, domestic rituals
Chichén Itzá, Mexico (early phase)	Jade figurines, cast gold, special vessels	*Cenote*	?	Militarism, warrior cults
Chichén Itzá, Mexico (later phase)	Copal incense in tripod bowls, wooden figurines, copper bells, jade beads, cotton textiles, wooden scepters	*Cenote*	Local divinities	Lineage?
Cholula, Mexico	Painted ceramic figurines, of deities?	Well	?	Associated with craft workers?
Pachacamac, Peru	Textile wall hangings decorated with *Spondylus* shells, copper ornaments, turquoise figurines	Springs, Pacific Ocean	Ancestors, deities, natural forces	To induce rain, for wellbeing of ancestors, to build relationships with neighboring groups
Andes Mountains, Argentina	Humans and accompanying objects	Mountains	Local divinities	As territorial markers; beauty for the gods
Late Medieval/Early Modern Europe	Wax representations of anatomical figures	Shrines of Christian saints	Christian saints	Represents diseased/injured body parts; for healthy recovery; evidence of pilgrimage
Ara della Regina, Italy	Clay representations of anatomical figures; spearpoint, clay lamps, coins, terracotta or bronze animal figurines, animal bones	Pit in a sanctuary	Artemis and other deities	Represents diseased/injured body parts; for healthy recovery; to nourish the gods
Lukens Cache, Portage County, Ohio	Flint bifaces	Shallow lake/peat bog	?	Individual offering, purpose?
Late Iron Age central and western Europe	Hoards of gold coins and torques	Buried in pits, or near water and sanctuaries	Local divinities	Sacrifices to represent celestial bodies

Table 1.1. Summary of offerings from Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 1 – FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Ritually damaged swords from the site of La Tène, Switzerland, on display in the Laténium Parc et Musée d'Archéologie de Neuchâtel, Hauterive, Switzerland.
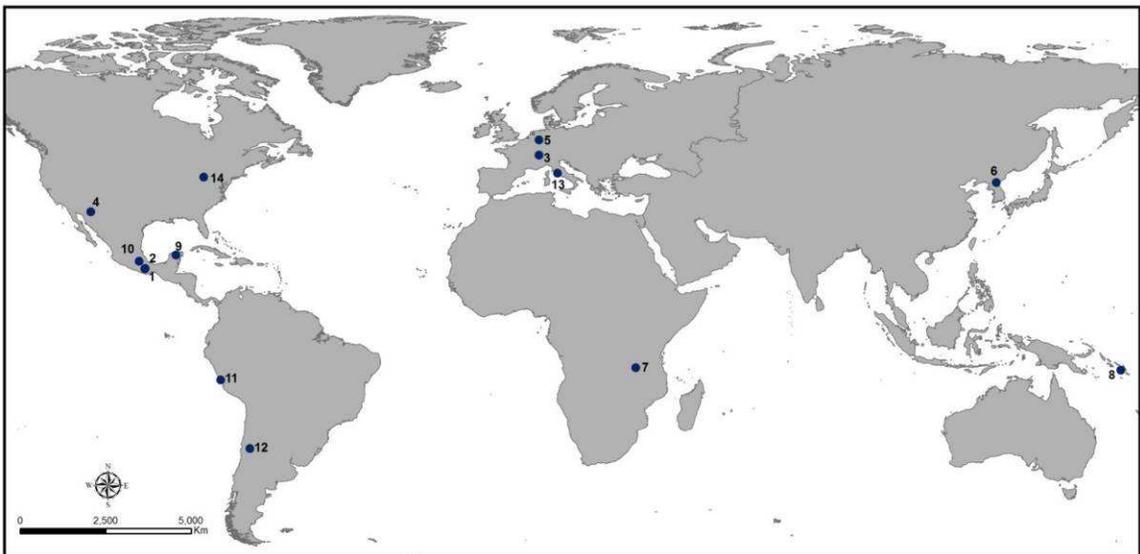
Figure 1.2. Sites discussed in Chapter 1: 1. Monte Albán, Mexico; 2. San José Mogote, Mexico; 3. La Tène, Switzerland; 4. San Xavier del Bac, Arizona; 5. Köln, Germany; 6. Charyong Pass, North Korea; 7. Great Lakes region, Tanzania; 8. Roviana Lagoon, Solomon Islands; 9. Chichén Itzá, Mexico; 10. Cholula, Mexico; 11. Pachacamac, Peru; 12. Rodeo, Argentina; 13. Ara della Regina, Italy; 14. Portage County; Ohio (© R. Coil).

Figure 1.3. Metal objects representing injured or diseased body parts that are offered in exchange for recovery at San Xavier del Bac Mission near Tucson, Arizona.

Figure 1.4. An empty Roman pool found below the Church of St. Martin in Cologne, Germany which contains recently offered coins.

Figure 1.5. Shell rings used to capture the spirit of the dead are later attached to the skull at Roviana Lagoon in the Solomon Islands (Walter et al. 2004: 151, plate 4).

Figure 1.6. Figurines associated with human offerings from Peru (Ceruti 2004: 118, plate 7).
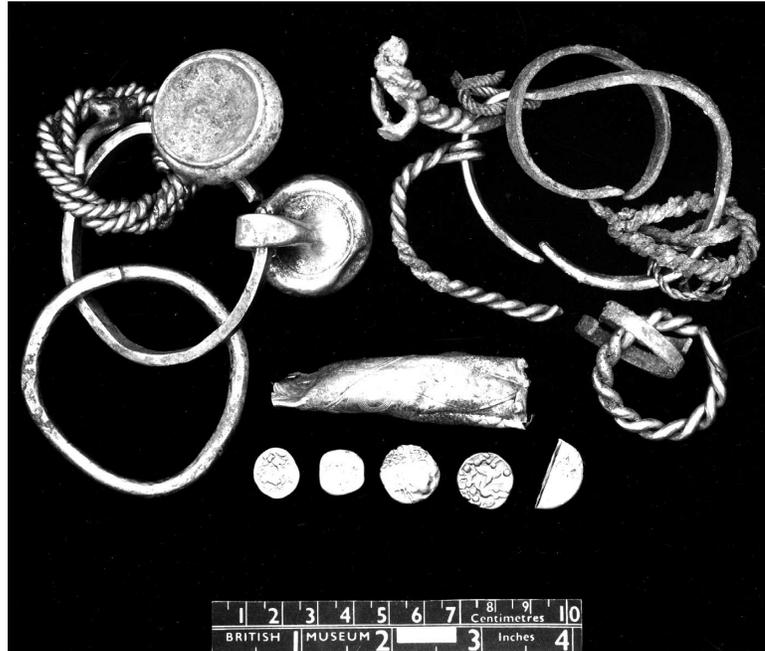
Figure 1.7. Metal objects from the Snettisham hoard in England (Fitzpatrick 2005: 169, figure 4).
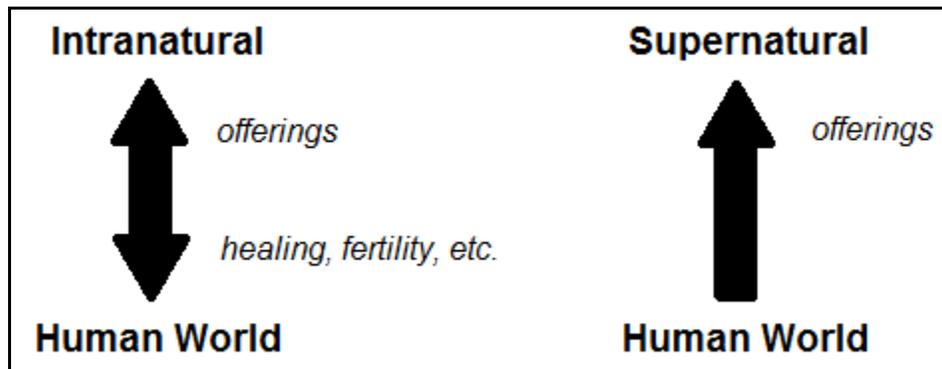
Figure 1.8. Directional comparison of intranatural and supernatural. Intranatural has the possibility for back-and-forth exchange between the human world and that of intranatural entities. Supernatural, however, is unidirectional from human to supernatural with no possibility for a return.

Chapter 2. Contextualizing the Study Area (c. 200 B.C. – c. A.D. 450)

The Source of the Douix and similar ritual sites from across eastern France are the primary subject of research. The area in which they are located, broadly speaking, has a complicated history influenced by contact with other neighboring and Mediterranean societies. In order to examine ritual practices and changes over time, a general background of the area is needed. As the study covers materials from multiple periods, only a very general summary of the social and historical context of western temperate Europe can be provided. This chapter is intended to provide the reader with a basic understanding of late Iron Age and Gallo-Roman societies which will contextualize the ritual activities discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE

The limits of the European landmass are defined by different landscapes on all sides (Figure 2.1). The Mediterranean Basin in the south wraps around the Mediterranean Sea and includes coastlines of both rocky cliffs and sandy beaches which cut across multiple countries today. To the east the landscape differs as one is faced with the steppes to the south and the Ural Mountains running north-south separating Europe and Asia. The northern limit of the continent in the areas of The Netherlands and Denmark has marshy coastlines, islands, and peninsulas set within the North Sea. Portions of the Scandinavian Peninsula, bordered by the North Sea to the west and the Baltic Sea to the east, are also marshy, while areas further north are more rocky and some parts characterized as arctic tundra. The British Isles are bordered by the Atlantic Ocean and North Sea, and have

rocky cliffs, rolling hills, and open, flat areas. Finally, the North Atlantic Current brings warm waters from equatorial zones through the Atlantic Ocean to the west and provides parts of Europe with its temperate climate. Within this temperate zone are found diverse topographies that include central and coastal mountainous zones abundant with metal deposits, hills and valleys of the fertile Central Uplands, the flat and sandy North European Plain, and long rivers that flow through various landscapes.

The continent looked markedly different for the earliest humans during the Paleolithic (c. 40,000-10,000 B.P.). Large ice sheets covered the northern half of the continent and the zones just south of the ice were more comparable to arctic tundra. Megafauna, such as mammoths and woolly rhinos, were an abundant and important resource for early humans. During the Mesolithic (c. 8,000-5,000), the environment began to change as the ice sheets melted creating the climate and landscape we recognize today. The sea levels rose submerging the coastline and creating inland lakes (Mithen 2001). Trees, such as oak, birch, and pine, began to appear the northern and central plains, while trees and plants more suited to drier climates flourished in the south. In place of the megafauna, smaller game, such as red deer, elk, and aurochs, dominated the landscape. Loess, or fine and fertile wind-blown sediment, covered much of the landscape and would be critical for the success of Europe's earliest farmers (Roymans 1990: 96).

TEMPORAL AND GEOGRAPHIC PARAMETERS OF THE RESEARCH AREA

This study examines the societies inhabiting western temperate Europe during the

middle and late La Tène period (c. 200 to c. 50 B.C.; Table 2.1), and the Gallo-Roman period (c. 50 B.C. to A.D. 400). Significant social changes occurred within this time including the development of *oppida*, a new settlement type in middle La Tène, the conquest of Gaul between 58 and 50 B.C., and the decline of the Roman Empire in the fifth century A.D.

While all of Europe underwent significant changes during these periods, the subsequent discussion privileges evidence from western temperate Europe. The sites discussed in this chapter are located in eastern France (primarily modern Burgundy) and western Germany, and exemplify broader patterns occurring throughout western Europe from these periods though they may differ in their historical or archaeological details.

Following the conquest by the Romans, the research area is historically identified as eastern Gaul and parts of western Germania. Most of the discussion focuses on Gaul, but shifting boundaries over time occasionally transfer some key sites from parts of Gaul (specifically in those in *Gallia Belgica* or sometimes in *Gallia Lugdunensis*), into parts of Germania (Superior); though the political boundaries shifted it had a limited effect on the material culture (see maps: Figure 2.2, Woolf 1998: xvii, for provincial boundaries c. A.D. 100 as *Germania Superior*; Figure 2.3, Jones 1964: after page 1069, for the Severan provincial boundaries from the late second to early third centuries as *Gallia Belgica*; Figure 2.4, Wightman 1985: xii-xiii, for undisclosed date as *Gallia Belgica*).

PART 1: MIDDLE AND LATE LA TÈNE (C. 200–50 B.C.) IN WESTERN EUROPE

The area of modern France during the Iron Age had several major cultural zones

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which were affected by climate, geography, historical developments, and cultural connections. In the south, the Greek colony of Massalia (Marseilles; Figure 2.5) was established around 600 B.C. and subsequently shaped the southern region to reflect Mediterranean culture (Dietler 1997: 279). Groups living along the Atlantic developed differently as they were in contact with the societies in southern Britain. The societies of central and eastern France were in greater contact with and were more similar archaeologically to groups inhabiting areas west of the Rhine (Büchsenschütz 1996: 555).

The Greeks referred to this latter society as the Celts, or *Keltoi*, and they were later designated by the Romans as the Gauls, or *Galli* (Caesar Gal.1.1). However tempting it may be to accept the names used by historical sources, it is problematic to uncritically use these terms. As there was no system of writing developed by the prehistoric societies of temperate Europe, it is impossible to know if these peoples referred to themselves as Celts or Gauls, or if these were terms imposed on them by the Mediterranean societies (Wells 2001). These names shall be avoided in the subsequent discussion in favor of "La Tène or "indigenous" societies.

The Iron Age groups of eastern France, in particular those inhabiting the modern region of Burgundy, were centrally located in multiple active zones of contact (Dietler 1997). The grave goods from the early Iron Age, or Hallstatt period, site of Vix illustrate the degree of contact this region had with Mediterranean societies (Büchsenschütz 1996: 568). A large bronze krater for mixing wine (Figure 2.6), Attic ceramics, a gold torque decorated with two *pegasi*, and other metal vessels have been interpreted as diplomatic gifts from a Greek colony in southern Italy and are connected with elite wine drinking, a

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popular tradition amongst Mediterranean elites known as *symposion* (Collis 1984b: 94).

Some of the objects from the burial were unique, but their extravagance was similar to

other elite graves from eastern France and western Germany known as the "princely

tombs." For example, the famous burial from Hochdorf contained a bronze cauldron that

held mead and was decorated with lions, a large bronze couch, and drinking equipment

for nine people. The presence of multiple drinking vessels and the large cauldron of mead

demonstrate that establishing connections with other continental elites was equally

important and likely happened through drinking celebrations (Fischer 1995). In addition

to the exchange of goods, ideas were shared as well. The hillfort of the Heuneburg had a

large seventh century rampart constructed in a Greek style with a stone foundation and

mudbrick walls, a style that did not occur in this region previously (Cunliffe 1997: 53).

Contacts and connections with groups in all directions evolved over time and underwent

significant changes in the middle and late La Tène period.

LA TÈNE SOCIETY

Much of what is known about La Tène society is based on the model presented in

Julius Caesar's accounts from the Gallic Wars, in which he described the very late La

Tène social system (Nash 1978: 462). This model employs Roman terms to describe

indigenous peoples at different levels in society. This text-based approach is problematic

because there are no known terms for such categories by the indigenous groups

themselves; therefore one must critically examine the Caesar's text, for his descriptions

do not contradict nor do they support the available archaeological evidence (Dunham

1995: 115). Roymans (1990) has attempted to use the information provided by Caesar and archaeological interpretations to discuss three major social units inhabiting pre-conquered Gaul: local groups, *pagi* or subtribes, and *civitates* or tribes.

Local groups made up of units based primarily on kinship and extended kinship which included friends, clients, and slaves made up the social and political foundation of society (Roymans 1990: 18). Dating to the second century B.C., wagon burials found across northern continental Europe contained elite members of society, such as aristocratic warriors, based on the expense of the burial and provide tangible evidence for local-level social hierarchies (Brun 1995: 18); however, physical evidence for social status is limited in other parts of Europe as cremations with few or no grave goods became the dominant form of burial (Wells 1995: 88).

A *pagus* was made up of multiple local groups. It had some degree of political autonomy as it could form its own army and could separate from the *civitas*; however, in the Gallo-Roman period the political autonomy of the pagus was removed and its power limited to the religious sphere (Roymans 1990: 19-21; Dunham 1995: 112). *Pagi* also likely formed their own cult communities with their own rituals, sacred centers, and sometimes their own gods. Each pagus had its own name, territory, and center, some of which are known today through inscriptions or through Caesar's accounts.

The *civitates* were the largest socio-political formations in pre-Roman Gaul with varying degrees of centralization and political organization (Nash 1978: 463). The tribes had their own names, and political or military leaders and institutions, including public assemblies, councils of nobles, and druids, and for some, kings, which could determine

when to wage war and when to make peace (Roymans 1990: 21). It is suggested that members most likely married within their tribal unit, though elite members sought marriages with other tribes for political reasons. By the Gallo-Roman period, the *civitas* became more of an administrative unit, each of which possessed a primary capital, their own senate or *ordo decurionum*, and a college of magistrates to oversee some political and social matters (Roymans 1990: 23).

Preserved names of local groups and *pagi* are rare. Names of major *civitates*, however, are known from Caesar's accounts of his time in Gaul. Some of the best known and most relevant tribes in the study area in eastern Gaul are the Sequani, Aedui, and Lingones. Some studies attempt to associate sites within the appropriate tribal groups as described by Caesar (Nash 1978; Fichtl 2004), but this is problematic. It has already been made clear that the names "Keltoi" or "Galli" may not represent what the inhabitants actually called themselves, but also having a single name would suggest a unified people, which we know was not the case (Wells 2001). *Civitas* names are less likely to have these issues; instead, the challenge is attempting to reconstruct tribal boundaries using historical and archaeological evidence. First, Roymans suggests that the *civitates* was likely a rather unstable institution from which *pagi* could separate or rejoin (1990: 22). It would follow then that the boundaries of these tribes were in constant or regular flux with the comings and goings of *pagi* after they exhausted local resources; there are no permanent boundaries to define, perhaps just a general area with overlapping cultural traditions (Caesar Gal. 1.5; Fichtl 2004: 60). Second, tribal variation does not manifest itself archaeologically. While Caesar suggests these groups were in constant contest with

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one another (Caesar Gal. 5.11), they were still neighbors who likely traded with one another directly for resources, or were in contact with itinerant traders passing through the region. The tribes in eastern Gaul, while looking archaeologically different from groups in the south or west, have little variation within their own region making it even more difficult to reconstruct their territories (Fichtl 2004: 163). For these reasons, in the remainder of this work I will avoid using specific names of the *civitates* because they are limited names that do not manifest archaeologically and whose boundaries do not impact the nature of the research.

MIDDLE AND LATE LA TÈNE CULTURE

The archaeological evidence for life during middle and late La Tène period can be approached numerous ways. Here the discussion is organized primarily by settlement type. Additional cultural aspects, such as burial practices or long-distance trade, are nestled within the discussion of the settlement with which it is most associated or offers the best fit; however, this does not mean, for example, that subsistence is an issue unique to the countryside, simply that grouping it with a discussion of farmsteads seems logical.

Farmsteads, or *Aedificia*

Farmsteads were spread across the rural landscape and are identified by several features. Some of the farms had dual enclosing ditches with an entrance to define the space, while others did not. A long, rectangular building, about 20 to 60 sq. m, with a timber frame, wattle-and-daub walls, and a thatched roof was the primary structure of a

farm; it is identifiable today only through the postholes which held the timber, and occasionally pieces of fired daub (Audouze and Büchsenschütz 1989). These shelters were typically divided into two areas (Figure 2.7), one which served as the residence, and the other as the stable for livestock (Roymans 1990: 174). Storage pits near the houses held either harvested grains or debris. If a nearby water source was not available, wells were dug and lined with timber to access the groundwater (Audouze and Büchsenschütz 1989: 143). Across eastern France major settlement changes occurred in La Tène D causing the abandonment of many farmsteads in favor of medium-sized settlements or larger group settlements, such as the *oppida*, but in some circumstances, farms remained in use into the Gallo-Roman period evolving into villa settlements (Haselgrove 2011: 53).

Subsistence

The countryside was broken up into square or rectangular field systems for crops and pastures for grazing animals (Audouze and Büchsenschütz 1989: 160). A variety of tools were used to work the land, the forms of which did not change until the Industrial Revolution. Ards, made of wood with iron sheaths, were pulled by a pair of cows or oxen to break up the soil making it one of the most important farming tools (Roymans 1990: 98). Wooden shovels and spades, and iron tools for the harvest, such as scythes, were also vital to working the land and processing gathered crops before they were stored in pits.

The primary crops grown in Europe varied slightly by region and through time as new domesticated forms were introduced. In the areas of eastern France and western

Germany wheat (emmer and spelt) was of primary importance, followed by barley; oats and millet were also grown (Barker 1985). The grains were cooked into a gruel or porridge for consumption, while the leftover portions, such as shafts, were used as animal fodder. Legumes, such as peas, "Celtic beans," lentils, and bitter vetch, were also important to the diet. The seeds of flax and gold-of-pleasure were gathered for and processed for their oil, and the fibers of flax were made into linen (Roymans 1990: 103-104). The diet was still supplemented by wild species, such as berries, hazelnuts, and herbs.

Domesticated animals, whose forms were smaller at this time than in the later Gallo-Roman period, were also critical to the diet. Pigs were the primary source of meat, but sheep, goats, and cattle were important too (Barker1985). Animal byproducts, such as milk from goats and cattle, and wool from sheep, provided other valuable resources. Additional byproducts, like manure, fat, hides, sinew, horn, and bone, were processed for fuel, clothing, and tools (Roymans 1990: 110). Horses, rather more accurately described as ponies from this time, were not consumed and appear to have had a special status reserved for riding and chariots. Types of wild game were less abundant at this time, but as zooarchaeological analyses have shown different types of fowl, red and roe deer, wild pig were still hunted to supplement the diet.

Viereckschanzen *and Rituals*

Viereckschanzen (Figure 2.8) are similar to the basic farmstead in that their rectangular form is defined by ditches and banks, they often contain wells or shafts, and

sometimes have additional structures which may be houses or granaries (Bradley 2008). Thousands of these establishments are widely distributed across central and western Europe, and are known in parts of Gaul. The features suggest a non-ritual, or agrarian function to *viereckschanzen*, but special materials, such as the fragments of wooden goat and deer figurines deposited in a 20 m deep well from Fellbach-Schmiden, suggest a more religious function at some of the sites (Hoppe 2009: 240). Such spaces show that ritual and domestic spheres overlapped demonstrating a very different approach to the sacred than what we are familiar with today (Venclová 1998; see Chapter 3).

Defined sacred spaces, public rituals, large quantities of deposited objects, and special objects fashioned for ritual use are characteristic of La Tène religious behaviors. Sites like Mirebeau-sur-Bèze (Figure 2.9) are positioned in open plains, and are defined by ditches and wooden palisades creating sacred boundaries (Joly and Barral 2012). Sites like these may have even served as territorial boundary markers (Fichtl 2004: 31). At these sanctuaries and the boardwalk extending out onto an open lake at the site of La Tène suggests that rituals were public spectacles to be seen by large numbers of people (Vouga 1923; de Navarro 1972; see Chapter 4). A portion of the ritual at these sites involved the deposition of weapons, and/or sacrificed humans or animals into sacred pits or watery contexts. Bogs, another area rich with ritual deposits, have preserved sacrificed humans referred to as bog bodies, and objects that were likely created for intentional deposition (Turner and Briggs 1986). The silver Gundestrup Cauldron, for example, depicts anthropomorphic figures, interpreted as gods, interacting with animals and material culture, and was likely intended as an offering to a deity (Green 1996).

Additional evidence and sites for La Tène rituals will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Unfortified villages: the *Vici*

Unfortified villages made up of multiple timber dwellings, sometimes referred to by Caesar as *vici*, were situated in valleys and open plains and varied in frequency across the landscape; for example, there are few in eastern and northern France, but many in the area around modern Trier (Roymans 1990: 195). These agglomerations ranged in size between about 5 and 10 ha and had a variety of functions (Audouze and Büchsenschütz 1989: 232). Though labor was primarily organized by family units, a shift from individual to group or community craft production and industry is evident from the large quantities of bones, pottery, and other craft byproducts deposited in pits. Other *vici* functioned as religious or cult centers, as central political or meeting places, or as economic centers for temporary markets, while others were semi-urbanized with multiple functions (Audouze and Büchsenschütz 1989). Some features associated with more urbanized centers, such as streets or community grain storage and processing centers, have been found at various villages. Roymans suggests that while *vici* could be positioned across the landscape, politically they fell under control of a nearby *oppidum* (1990: 212).

Funerary Practices

Burial practices in middle and late La Tène period changed dramatically from previous periods. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., it has been argued that people of

status were typically individually interred in *tumuli*, or large stone and earthen mounds, which often had relatively rich grave goods (Barral 2009); however, in the later periods individual mound burials were abandoned in favor of flat graves grouped in open spaces, such as in valleys or alluvial plains, with modest grave goods of personal ornaments and weapons (Wait 1996: 505). At some sites, the graves were surrounded by circular or quadrangular enclosures; for example, a square enclosure defining a small necropolis of five inhumations was uncovered in the area of "Les Tillies" at Vix (Chaume 2009: 421).

In many cases, burials were absent or undetectable archaeologically over most of temperate Europe in the middle and late La Tène period. An exception to this pattern is a major cemetery associated with the *vicus* of Belginum (Wederath) located between the Rhine-Mainz confluences. The cemetery contained several thousand cremations and inhumations dating from the fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. showing a maintenance of practice in the area (Haffner 1971, 1974). The earliest graves consist of cremations in *tumuli* and ditch enclosures (Figure 2.10), though burial customs continued to change over time into the Gallo-Roman period. At some sites, cremations of both bodies and grave goods replaced inhumations, which may also explain the difficulty in detecting burials at this time (Maier 1991a: 423). For example, the necropolis of Croix du Rebout, located just outside the main gate of the *oppidum* of Bibracte (Mont Beuvray), had 44 quadrangular enclosures, each of which surrounded one or more cremation burials (Fichtl 2000: 135). The enclosures, defined by a ditch, varied in size from 3.5 to 11m, and usually contained a vessel that served as a funerary urn while others held vessels as offering deposits. There is some variation in details at this time, but the general trend is

toward more modest group burials even near major settlements.

Fortified centers: the *Oppida*

Oppida was a term used by Caesar to describe the densely occupied and fortified settlements of the Gauls which appeared in the second century B.C.; and whose existence is known through archaeological evidence (Caesar Gal. 1.5; Maier 1991a: 411). Some *oppida* enclosed a space of 90 to 600 ha, as shown by sites like Alesia (Alise-Sainte-Reine) at 97 ha, or Bibracte at 135 ha (Maier 1991a: 418), and some even up to 1500 ha, like at the Heidengraben (Audouze and Büchsenschütz 1989: 235). Many appear to be self-sufficient centers constructed in naturally defensible locations, enclosed by massive walls, and some contained artisan quarters for a variety of crafts (Fichtl 2000: 37; Maier 1991a). The development and siting of an *oppidum* was driven by the need for a defensive location, the economically beneficial position of an area along an important trade route, or the natural expansion of an existing settlement (Collis 1984a). Each *oppidum* is different, for some have evidence for significant industrial activity and long-distance trade, while others were only used for temporary refuge in times of conflict.

As a settlement grew and became more complex, inhabitants of an *oppidum* surrounded their area with a rampart and ditch requiring supervisors and specialists to organize and oversee the labor of workers for several months (Audouze and Büchsenschütz 1989: 86). These defensive structures were composed of earth, stone, and timber. The construction techniques varied across the landscape with the predominant difference being the laying of timber horizontally or vertically. Of the known forms, the

most studied is the *murus gallicus* (Figure 2.11), mentioned by Caesar, which surrounds some *oppida*, such as Bibracte and Vertault (Caesar Gal. 7.23; Fichtl 2000: 42; Jouin and Deweirdt 2010). Gates, sometimes monumental, others less complex, offered entrance to the interior of the *oppida*. Some, such as Mont Vully, had towers suggesting a military or defensive purpose to the structure (Kaenel and Curdy 1998). During times of conflict, small unfortified villages nearby could seek refuge within the walls.

The interior sometimes contained both domestic structures and artisan workshops while others had no or limited evidence for either and seem to only be protective centers (Wells 1995: 88). It is estimated that several thousand people lived within some *oppida* (Maier 1991a); however, due to the limited burial data available for this period and the various functions amongst the oppida, exact estimates are difficult to make. Some archaeologists think permanent or semi-permanent inhabitants of the *oppida* included traders, manufacturers, and farmers (Maier 1991a: 413). Domestic structures were similar to their predecessors and consisted of one or two rectangular timber and wattle-and-daub structures sometimes enclosed by a small palisade. There is little evidence of social status from the houses, materials, or burials associated with the *oppida*, though it is highly likely that members of different social classes inhabited these urban centers (Wells 1995: 94).

Craft Production, the Local Economy, and Coinage

Production could be a major organizing force within an *oppidum* and could lead to the development of its own artisanal quarters like at Bibracte (Fichtl 2000: 75). The

processing of materials and manufacturing techniques became more advanced showing increased occupational specialization. Craft production included iron working on a large scale for objects such as farm implements, tools for metal working (Figure 2.12), weapons, locks and keys, and harness gear for horses and wagons; the working of bronze, gold, silver and lead was also practiced for fine items such as toiletries and ornaments, but to a lesser degree (Maier 1991a: 413). The processing of bone, wood, leather, textiles, and basketry was also important, but is less visible archaeologically (Collis 1984a: 92). Other major industries included pottery and glass production for table and kitchen wares or glass beads and bracelets (Figure 2.13), some of which was on a massive scale. The working of some soft stones, such as shale or schist, and imported amber for jewelry and vessels has also been noted. In some areas, salt production was a major economic force that involved mining rock salt or collecting salt from springs. Coins were produced within the *oppida* too and evidence shows they were sometimes exchanged great distances (Collis 1984a: 102).

Analysis has suggested that the number of workshops and quantities of goods they were producing were far greater than the local demand, i.e. people were producing goods for both local markets and long-distance trade (Maier 1991a: 413). Trade played an important role in the economy of the *oppida* as shown by significant quantities of coins and Mediterranean imports. Coinage was adopted sometime during the fourth century B.C. and was likely introduced by Celtic mercenaries returning home from campaigns in Greece (Allen and Nash 1980: 1). The earliest forms were clear copies of the Greek types with representations of Greek rulers and Greek letters, but over time they became more

stylized and localized depicting important La Tène symbols and un-Mediterranean material culture, such as horses, wild boars, birds of prey, solar wheels, fibulae, and torques (Allen and Nash 1980: 70).

The earliest coins were cast in gold (Figure 2.14). Gold coins and gold in general had served several functions beyond payment and exchange: it was a sign of status and also of wealth (Roymans 1990: 131). Coins even began to take on a ritual role appearing at cult sites and in coin hoards for the first time c. 125-60 B.C. (Roymans 1990: 124). By the second century, coins were found all over Europe. Many *oppida* had their own mint and coins were increasingly standardized and regulated (Maier 1991a: 411). Smaller denominations emerged in the second century made from silver, bronze, and potin (an alloy of copper and tin) (Nash 1978: 461; Allen and Nash 1980: 103). Alesia, in the east, had some of the earliest potin coins, a denomination that became increasingly more abundant in central, northern, and eastern Gaul.

Long Distance Trade, Transportation, and Contact

In addition to coins, raw materials, luxury goods, and ideas were frequently exchanged with societies of the Mediterranean Basin (Collis 1984a). During the Hallstatt and early La Tène periods, it is possible that luxury goods were traded for slaves, cloth, and raw materials, such as tin and salt; however contact declined in the middle La Tène (Briggs 2003). During the late La Tène period after *Gallia Narbonnensis* came under Roman control late in the second century B.C., long-distance trade increased between the inhabitants of the *oppida* and Mediterranean societies (Nash 1978: 459). As the Romans

sought more raw materials, the size of *oppida* grew rapidly from an influx of artisans meeting the demand. Exchange continued to increase during the Gallic Wars as Roman traders and merchants traveled further inland bringing Roman goods to new markets (Maier 1991a).

Gaul and Mediterranean societies used several methods of transportation for economic gain. Land travel followed established mountain passes on either side of the Alps and other major in-land routes to get to various *oppida* and *vici*. Water travel on rivers and open seas was the cheapest and often fastest option for distributing goods. Goods could pass quickly from the Loire or up the Rhone and Saône into central Gaul. Smaller rivers, such as the Seine and Doubs, were still useful for trade and transportation into more rural areas (Fichtl 2000: 114). Additional connections to the east could be made by traveling along the Rhone, Rhine, or Moselle (Roymans 1990: 162). Seafaring was also critical for trade relations between Gaul and the Mediterranean Basin, but was dangerous as wrecks in the Atlantic Ocean and the wreck near Madrague de Giens in the Mediterranean Sea can attest (Tchernia 1978). These wrecks provide valuable insight into the goods exchanged between these societies. Natural resources and products, such as timber, pitch, metals, textiles, foodstuffs, and slaves, were the primary exports from Gaul (Nash 1978: 459). In return, a variety of metal vessels, ceramics, and luxury items were imported, many of which were connected to wine consumption.

Bronze vessels (Figure 2.15) were major imports and have been recovered from burials and in rivers, such as the Saône (Bonnamour 2000: 31). Their forms varied and included cauldrons, jugs with masks on the handles, skillets or pans, and colanders or

strainers for wine (Fichtl 2000: 107). *Simpula*, or ladles, were also important as they were used for wine consumption. Ceramic vessels, most importantly Campanian ware (characterized by a polished black-slip with different representations on its interior and exterior), were sought after luxury vessels that accompanied wine drinking (Fichtl 2000: 110).

Wine, olive oil, and fish sauce were some of the most significant imports in the second and first centuries B.C. as attested by the abundance and wide distribution of amphorae (Figure 2.16), in particular the Dressel 1 type, which brought these liquids to the *oppida* and rural sites (Fitzpatrick 1985). The typology and chronology of amphorae has been established through extensive analysis and can be used to precisely date sites and deposits. The earliest amphorae appear in southern Gaul first from c. 200-130 B.C. (La Tène C2 and D1a, to be exact), but the boom of the wine trade which sent it to greater quantities across the land occurred a few decades before the conquest (Loughton 2003, 2009).

The widespread consumption of wine and objects associated with it (e.g. Campanian ware for drinking vessels, strainers for collecting seasoning herbs and debris from the liquid, and ladles for mixing and serving wine) during the late La Tène period was different from its consumption and use in the Hallstatt period (Büchsenschütz 1996: 569). In the earlier period, wine was a glamorous product consumed in a context similar to the Mediterranean symposium (Dietler 1990). In the late La Tène, wine consumption was on a wider scale and amphorae have been found with other evidence of feasting and excessive drinking. Different interpretations have been offered to explain the role of Iron

Age feasts (Arnold 1999; Dietler 1990, 1996; Loughton 2009). One idea suggested that this was evidence for massive parties held by the elite; other interpretations highlight the apparent connection between craft production and the locations for feasting suggesting wine was a form of payment for goods and services, or had a ritual focus highlighting the transformation that both wine and metal undergo (Loughton 2009: 92).

Whatever the purpose was for the consumption of large quantities of Italian wine the evidence demonstrates that in addition to the transfer of goods from the Mediterranean Basin, ideas and customs were transferred too. The world was getting smaller through regular and increasing contact between separate societies, and the knowledge of resources and riches each possessed became more apparent.

THE INCREASING ROMAN PRESENCE IN GAUL

Iron Age societies were involved in ever increasing contact with Rome after the area of Transalpine Gaul (southern France; see Figure 2.2) came under Roman control and protection in the late second century B.C. to become *Gallia Narbonnensis* (Dietler 1997; Nash 1978: 459). Being a province of Rome, Narbonnensis followed the Roman administrative system which was overseen by a governor appointed by the Senate. In 59 B.C., Julius Caesar (Figure 2.17) was appointed governor of Narbonnensis, Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy), and Illyricum (southeastern Europe), which offered him command of multiple legions. Instability and fighting amongst groups north of Narbonnensis threatened the province, and some of Rome's allied tribes further north were also challenged by outside groups. In 58 B.C., the Senate ordered Caesar to protect its

southern province from Rome's enemies (Burns 2003: 89).

Caesar's interpretation of "protect" was rather liberal as he ventured across Gaul all the way up to Britain and east to the area west of the Rhine over the next eight years (Burns 2003: 89). Much of what is known about his conquest of Gaul comes from his narrative of interactions and events, the eight books of *The Gallic Wars*. A facet of his account included a justification for territorial expansion and its limits, primarily his decision to stop at the Rhine. Two sections in book six, sometimes referred to as his ethnographies, cite that the people living beyond the Rhine (the Germans) had completely different customs, subsistence practices, politics, and so on, from those living in Gaul (Caesar Gal. 5.11-28), meaning that with his conquest of Gaul, he had conquered an entire people and created a barrier between Rome and the Germans (Burns 2003: 93).

As the previous section noted, the inhabitants of Gaul were not a united people. The *civitates* and the *oppida* they governed were independent units, and only united against Caesar five years into the war after it was too late. A last attempt to stop Caesar was made by free Gaul and led by Vercingetorix (Figure 2.18), their elected military leader (Caesar Gal. 7.4). They fought the Roman army in the last decisive contest of the war known as the Battle of Alesia in 52 B.C., where the major resistance was defeated, though the Gallic War did not definitively end until 50 B.C. (Caesar Gal. 8; Burns 2003: 94).

If the peoples of Gaul had united earlier in the war, the outcome could have perhaps been different, but maybe the peoples of Gaul would have naturally adopted more Roman material culture and traditions anyway as trade and increased contact

introduced new objects and ideas. Following the conquest the societies of Gaul changed in nearly every aspect of life (Dietler 1997). By being absorbed into what would become the Roman Empire, they became part of a cosmopolitan world bringing them into contact with societies beyond the Romans. The influence of the Roman world and the maintenance of local traditions and customs allowed a new society to flourish which we refer to today as the Gallo-Romans.

PART 2: LIFE AFTER THE CONQUEST (c. 50 B.C. – c. A.D. 450)

In the late first century B.C. and the first century A.D., the Roman Empire established itself in western temperate Europe affecting the social, political, and physical landscapes of Gaul directly. Such changes are known through historical accounts and physical traces in the archaeological record. Gallo-Roman culture emerged from new levels of contact between these distinct cultures and did not resemble the lifestyle of prehistoric groups, nor that of the Romans; it was an entirely new culture influenced by both.

ROMANIZATION

The process through which these changes occurred is traditionally termed *romanization*. More recent analyses of Gallo-Roman culture (Woolf 1998) revealed that the idea of cultural change has often been simplified by scholars as a rejection of one cultural system for another. Older studies privileged "pure" Roman characteristics over indigenous ones, the latter of which were assumed to be residual customs rather than

something potentially new (Woolf 1998: 6). As Rome was always a cultural melting pot and cultures are never static, it is impossible to measure Roman-ness in any of the provinces; instead, one must look to the processes which led inhabitants to think of themselves as Roman (Woolf 1998: 7).

Woolf argues, "Becoming Roman was not a matter of acquiring a ready-made cultural package, then, so much as joining the insiders' debate about what that package did or ought to consist of at that particular time" (1998: 11). Participating in a culture allowed one to achieve what he or she wanted, and with new people contributing to the system regularly and engaging in this debate, the society and culture changed over time to be something new (i.e. Gallo-Roman). The speed of adaptation varied since some objects and/or ideas were accepted more readily than others, and could have been controlled by persons interested in defining Roman-ness. Woolf concludes that for one to identify his- or herself as Roman was not a political or ethnic affiliation, but rather it was a sign of status and association with a new Gallo-Roman cultural system (Woolf 1998: 240).

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF THE GALLO-ROMAN PERIOD

As in other parts of the Empire, the Gallo-Romans were part of the territorial expansion, the establishment of new political units and administrations, economic booms and recessions, the introduction of new material culture, and other more localized events that shaped the histories of Gaul and Germania.

Gaul (see Figure 2.2), or *Gallia*, was broken into several units following different

conquests beginning in the second century B.C. to the end of the Gallic Wars, and included Cisalpina, an area to the east and south of the Alps in northern Italy; Transalpina, known later as Narbonensis, to the south along the Mediterranean coast; Aquitania, an area extending from the Pyrenees to the center of modern France; Lugdunensis, a horizontal area extending from the Atlantic coast and curving down to the Rhone; and Belgica, the most northern Gallic unit beginning at the North Sea and comprised of most of modern Belgium, northern France and northwestern Germany. The newly defined northern and eastern boundaries were modified as the Empire expanded. The creation of Germania Superior (an area west of the Rhine to an area between the Seine and Moselle Rivers north of the Alps) and Inferior (a small area north of Belgica along the North Sea) c. 90 A.D. changed the limits of the Empire yet again (Drinkwater 1983: 60).

During the first century A.D. as the boundaries were being established and redefined, the area of Gaul developed more and larger urban centers, created new positions in society, engaged more frequently in long distant trade within and outside of the province, developed new industries and produced new forms of material culture, and fortified the frontier. Additional changes resulting from the conquest and development of Gaul during the early Empire are discussed below in greater detail.

The second century marked the golden age of the Roman Empire in the west as the economy was strong due to regular military expansion and the acquisition of new taxable areas, aristocrats were investing in the building and improvement of cities and major centers, and relative peace existed in most of Gaul (Drinkwater 1983). However,

late in the second century incursions into Roman territory by the Chatti and Chauci of the east, and the civil unrest of the Sequani in eastern Gaul marked the beginning of trouble for the provinces and the decline of Rome's brief influence in the west (Wightman 1985: 159-160).

Many complicated factors contributed to the turbulence of the third century. The military power of Roman began to stagnate as it could no longer afford to expand, which also put an end to the economic growth of the Empire (Drinkwater 1983). Production centers had previously followed in the wake of the military to support the troops, but were now stuck on the frontier when the expansion stopped requiring its producers to engage in more costly long-distance trade to the major inland centers. During this time, however, many towns and villas became self-sufficient and did not engage in long-distance economic ventures as they previously had. Smaller villas which relied on town economies declined and were sometimes taken over by larger villas. These large estates remained profitable, but the agricultural system based on slave-labor began to change to resemble more of a "proto-serf" system, causing additional social unrest by those who preferred the traditional labor system (Drinkwater 1983: 212). With the increased profitability of villas, the wealthy landowners began to neglect town life and ceased to invest in the building and maintenance of public structures. Administrative duties were left unattended because the positions were no longer desirable in the neglected towns resulting in the collection of fewer taxes for local needs and for the wider Empire, which crippled the economy further. Only frontier zones, such as northeastern Gaul and the Germanies, were able to postpone the decline as they were still profiting from their

support of the military.

In the midst of these social, economic, and political challenges the Gallic Empire was formed in 254 A.D. under Postumus who was supported by the military, as well as the provincial aristocrats, small farmers, traders, and craftsmen affected by the recession (Wightman 1970). The Gallic Empire succeeded for some time under later emperors, notably by Victorinus and Tetricus. Its formation was "to protect Roman life in Gaul from the barbarians" (Woolf 1998: 248); it was not a rejection or rebellion against the Roman Empire, but rather, it was a way of refocusing attention and managing affairs at a more localized level instead of relying on a distant and over-expanded Empire for aid (Wightman 1970: 53).

Following the reabsorption of the Gallic Empire back into the Roman Empire under the reign of Aurelius in 274, the region was vulnerable. Many towns began constructing fortifications, but were completely destroyed during invasions by the Alamanni and the Franks between 274 and 276 A.D. (Drinkwater 1983: 226). Some towns were rebuilt though not to their previous glory, such as Autessiodurum (Auxerre). After suffering devastating attacks in 275 and 276, the town was left in ruins until the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century at which time some of the main public buildings were rebuilt only to be abandoned again by the beginning of the fifth century following more incursions (Louis 1952).

Despite the brief revival and reorganization of the Empire in the fourth century, the political, economic, and cultural influence of the Romans came to an end in temperate Europe after the capital was moved to Constantinople (Wightman 1985: 217).

GALLO-ROMAN SOCIETY

On the peripheries of the newly established eastern frontier, the Germanic societies continued a lifestyle reminiscent of the late Iron Age which included villages made up of farmsteads with longhouses housing families and their livestock (Collis 1984b: 174). While they were not directly part of the Empire, these peoples were in contact with Roman citizens on the outer margins, such as soldiers, with whom they could exchange foodstuffs or raw materials (King 1990: 162).

It is known through historical accounts and inscriptions that people captured during the Gallic War and subsequent battles throughout newly conquered territories were often turned into slaves, the lowest rank in society, and made up a large percentage of the provincial workforce during the early Empire (King 1990: 95). Similarly, men and women could be released from servitude and took on the title of freedmen, who are known epigraphically through dedications to deities or grave-markers.

A significant portion of the population can be described as what we would refer to today as working class. Farmers, craftsmen, and tradespeople specializing in different skills provided the Empire and Gaul with its many basic needs, such as foodstuffs, raw materials for housing, the construction of homes and public buildings, and new forms of material culture (Wightman 1985). Soldiers, who were recruited from all across the Empire, could be found along the towns of the frontier and in major cities in addition to their positions at the forts. Their mobility brought new social and religious traditions to Gaul, though these cosmopolitan units were still connected through their oaths to the emperor and to Rome itself.

Local Gallic elites, the wealth of whom was broadly distributed rather than limited to a few, were influential in the early Gallo-Roman period. These elites, who spent time in both cities and at their country homes, spread particular aspects of the new cultural systems into the peripheries, and took on the new role of mediators between indigenous and Roman groups (Woolf 1998: 33). Bureaucrats and administrators in various positions of power affected much of the political and economic life of the towns and cities. Their most critical role, for the Empire as a whole, was the collection of taxes. These leaders were under the rule and guidance of legates and provincial governors who interacted more directly with Rome proper (Drinkwater 1983).

GALLO-ROMAN PERIOD SETTLEMENTS AND CULTURE

The introduction of Roman ideals and ambitions altered rural landscapes and encouraged new levels of urbanism in Gaul. Three new types of settlements are evident archaeologically: military bases, villas, and cities. Evidence for other changes is apparent within these sites, and are described within the context of settlements, but are not necessarily unique to a particular form; in other words, roads, for example, were important to urban centers too even though they are presented with the discussion of the frontier.

Military Bases

Following the conquest, it was necessary to establish boundaries of the expanding Roman Empire. Forts and roads expanded from the time of the conquest until the second

century when the Empire reached its maximum size (King 1990: 169). Roman territory either increased or decreased over time through various skirmishes with unconquered groups on the peripheries.

The military frontier manifested itself in different ways. At Mirebeau-sur-Bèze (Figure 2.19), for example, an independent military fortress was established in the first century A.D. for the eighth legion. These structures were fairly standardized with a rectangular outer wall possessing a gate on each side. The Mirebeau camp measured 580 by 390 m, enclosing approximately 22 ha (Goguey and Reddé 1995). The walls surrounded barracks for nearly 5000 soldiers, a *principia* and administrative buildings for officers, granaries, armories, hospitals and baths.

While some forts were set independently in the landscape, others were connected through larger formations creating a permanent frontier. Hadrian's Wall in Britain (Figure 2.20) and the *limes* in Germany (Figure 2.21) had long walls of earth, stone, and timber that joined forts, fortlets (small forts), and watchtowers for housing varying quantities of soldiers. The *limes*, located to the east of the Rhine, was constructed from the second to third centuries A.D. traversing a distance of 568 kilometers (Drinkwater 1983: 54). Stone and/or timber palisades and deep outer ditches were built to define the boundary between Roman territory and the unincorporated Germans. It was also used to control travel and collect taxes from those passing through particular checkpoints; the wall was not necessarily for defensive purposes (Drinkwater 1983).

Structures frequently appeared just outside or within close proximity of the forts and eventually adjacent areas began to grow. Additional forts or fortlets were found

behind the primary boundary, and supply bases were established to meet the needs of the military. Taxes collected at the wall and the wages of soldiers were reinvested in the local area supporting *vici*, or small towns, and helped to urbanize the frontier (Drinkwater 1983: 66). Services, such as leather-working or blacksmithing, were common and profited from patronage by the soldiers as well as places of leisure like brothels, taverns and baths.

Roads and Communication

Roads to connect the fort system and secondary roads were created for greater ease and more rapid movement of troops if summoned for aid or general movement. Most were areas cleared of debris and the earth beaten, though in some larger centers and towns roads were made of gravel or cut stone.

In addition to easier travel, roads allowed for quicker communication as did the series of watchtowers, fortlets, and forts which could easily signal to one another. Visual and oral communications were common, and for the first time in temperate Europe, the written word came into use. The Roman alphabet was used for writing and epigraphy, and Latin was adopted as the lingua franca though certainly local languages and regional dialects from the prehistoric period persisted, and in some cases, such as an inscription from the Source of the Seine (Figure 2.22), a Celtic language was written using Greek and Roman alphabets (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 155).

Villas

During the Gallo-Roman period, the countryside and urban life were closely connected through wealthy elite who spent their time in each location. The primary type of rural settlement was a villa or large country estate with an active farm, a Roman-style home with city luxuries such as baths and heated floors, and numerous farm-hands who worked on the farm and in the home (Woolf 1998). This settlement type thrived in the first century, and while evidence from some sites like Biberist and Bellach show abandonment in the third century, others continued to be used or were repurposed through the fifth and sixth centuries (Schucany 2011: 278-280; Lewit 2003: 260). Most villas were made of stone and followed the Italian form with a large rectangular courtyard or central room with additional rooms added symmetrically or asymmetrically around it, but major variations based on climate, style, and personal preference make each one unique (Wightman 1970: 141; Woolf 1998). Depending on the size or wealth of the estate, it may have had an on-site bathing area, mosaics and wall-paintings, gardens, pools, or private sanctuaries, and accordingly villa owners may have owned several estates.

Archaeological excavations have uncovered large quantities of Iron Age ceramics, postholes, and coins, such as at Sainte Nitasse (Figure 2.23), showing that the Gallo-Roman homes were sometimes built near or directly over wattle-and-daub, roof-thatched prehistoric farmsteads suggesting a continuous exploitation of certain areas (Devauges 1968; Martin 1968; Wightman 1970: 139). It is also apparent that above ground granaries replaced large prehistoric storage pits for preserving the harvest, however, other

outbuildings for housing the staff or barns for animals, are less likely to preserve because they were made from lesser materials, such as timber (Drinkwater 1983: 164).

While villages were the most important unifier in areas like modern Burgundy, most villas in Gaul were connected by a major center or town whom they supplied with food and raw materials (Woolf 1998: 152, 161). However, as towns began to lose their administrative power in the third century, large villa estates took over many duties, such as collecting taxes and land rent, and subsequently caused the decline and abandonment of medium and smaller villas into the fourth century.

Subsistence and the Rural Economy

Villas and the hinterlands were vital to the life of major towns and cities as they provided food and raw materials consumed or traded in the centers (Drinkwater 1983; King 1990). Traditional subsistence practices continued, i.e. reliance on farming wheat, oats, and millet, and raising livestock such as sheep, pigs, and cattle, but the associated systems and structures, such as villas and granaries, changed significantly (Wightman 1985: 124). Additionally various root-crops such as carrots and beets, leafy-greens, various berries and pitted fruits, herbs like coriander and dill, and spices such as mustard and thyme, were all cultivated. Over time, new crops such as figs and wine grapes were introduced into central and northern Gaul as a way of reviving the economy in the mid-third century (Wightman 1970: 190; 1985: 125).

The villa economy was traditionally based upon agriculture, but some villas relied on non-agricultural types of production, such as mineral mining and forestry, which were

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equally important for the rural economy and critical to consumption in the towns and Empire more broadly (King 1990: 97). Ceramics in the forms of vessels, roofing tiles and bricks, harvested timber, metallurgy of both bronze and iron, salt production, preserved meats and fish, and linen and wool textiles were major industries and exports from the countryside (Woolf 1998: 143).

Urbanism and the Rise of Cities

New urban centers in Gaul often reflected the individual relationships particular ruling elites had with Rome. Such centers were autonomous units answerable to Rome though ultimately self-governing and responsible for collecting taxes and managing lower levels of bureaucracy (Woolf 1998: 71-72).

Towns and Cities

The sizes and locations of settlements varied. *Vici*, the smallest form, were townships, villages, or stations along major roads, near forts, or in more rural settings (Wightman 1970: 128). Towns and cities were larger and were distinguished by the quantity of people, the size of the area, amenities available, and legal status. Small towns were mainly civic centers while others were known as religious centers or for craft production (Woolf 1998). Cities and major centers were essentially vectors of civilization placed in deliberate areas for strategic reasons (Woolf 1998:136). By the third century, most of the population stayed in rural areas only visiting the rundown cities at certain times of the year. Reconstructing the population is challenging, but Woolf estimates

3,000 people lived in urban centers, 5,000 to 6,000 in the capitals, and nearly 8,000 lived in large cities; combined with the evidence of rural habitation, at most twelve million people inhabited Gaul during the Gallo-Roman period (1998: 138).

Most centers were organized on axial grids and contained public monuments (discussed below) and private homes belonging to permanent residents such as shopkeepers, merchants, craftsmen, and city officials and their families (Drinkwater 1983: 151). The private homes took various forms according to wealth and need or function. Inns, posting-stations, homes with shops, and large mansions were all found within the city limits and were sometimes connected to one's profession (Drinkwater 1983: 151).

The origins of Gallo-Roman towns and cities varied. *Oppida* were the largest settlements in prehistory with varying populations depending on their functions. Some *oppida* continued to be used after conquest expanding and adapting to new changes, such as Alesia and Vertillum (Vertault) (for Alesia, Provost 2009; for Vertillum, Méniel 2010a: 25; Bénard 2010: 37). Others were used for a short time after the conquest before moving the population to establish a new town, as was the case with the *oppidum* of Bibracte which was abandoned after the founding of Augustodunum (Autun) (Duval 1989: 1004, 1045).

Trade, Transportation, and Coinage

Some cities were newly established in areas of military or economic significance. Lugdunum (Lyon) was a *colonia* (a city with the highest legal status meant to replicate

Rome socially, politically, architecturally, and in law) established in 44 B.C. by retired veterans of the Gallic Wars and became the most important commercial and administrative center for Roman Gaul. Its location, between the Rhone and Saône Rivers, made it an ideal center for trade and transportation along the rivers, which was more cost effective than the in-land roads.

Over time, the Gallo-Romans engaged in greater intra-provincial and international trade with Rome, much of which depended on water transportation. Water transport was vital for maintaining the economy of other river-towns, such as *Vienna Allobrogium* (Vienne) (Figure 2.24), and coastal cities throughout Gaul. Foodstuffs were exported from villas and *vici* via major rivers and the Mediterranean Sea (Goodman 2007: 115-116). Large quantities of imported goods from other established Roman centers, such as glass and ceramics from Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Cologne/Köln) and Augusta Treverorum (Trier), were also transported along waterways and roads demonstrating the extent and importance of intra-provincial trade in the Gallo-Roman period.

Greater quantities and varieties of objects existed in the Gallo-Roman period than in the Iron Age and were driven by the new values and tastes established by the new society (Drinkwater 1983: 186; Woolf 1998: 181). Raw materials were sent to town centers from the countryside where they were worked, shipped, and processed into finished products on a greater scale than in previous periods (Drinkwater 1983: 187). Standardization and mass production of goods in factories was seen for the first time in temperate Europe thanks to the introduction of new technologies like the potter's wheel

(Figure 2.25) (Woolf 1998: 186). Materials that were less important in prehistory took on a more vital role in Gallo-Roman economy too.

Ceramics and the materials they transported became more important in the economy. Amphorae containing oil for food and lamps, wine from Italy, Spain and southern Gaul, and fish sauce, *terra sigillata*, other fine wares were traded long distances (Woolf 1998: 182; Goodman 2007: 105). These vessels were at first shipped in from Italy, but other centers on the Mediterranean coast, such as those in southern France and eastern Spain, began to supplement and provide these items to in-land Gaul. Importation of ceramics declined as new centers in Gaul emerged. Between 10 B.C. and A.D. 20 Lugdunum became a main center for the production of *terra sigillata* which was previously based near Florence, Italy. In the second century, several sites in eastern Gaul, such as Luxeuil-les-Bains, took over production before this type of ceramic fell out of fashion in the third century as imported glass from Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Figure 2.26) was preferred (Drinkwater 1983: 188; Lerat and Jeannin 1960).

Other forms of fine and coarse ware vessels were produced and traded around Gaul as well as terracotta figurines from areas like Allier (Figure 2.27), which appear as offerings across eastern Gaul (Pellaton et al. 1997; Lacroix 1970). For the first time, the quarrying of stone, particularly of limestone, and its processing appeared on a large scale for the construction of homes, art forms, and burials at sites like Les Carrieres de la Lie near La Roche Vineuse (Figure 2.28). The working of iron and bronze, which was often associated with fibulae, ornaments, and tools in the Iron Age, continued but with greater objects and more forms (Woolf 1998: 173). Other new types of objects appear from the

Roman tradition, such as those for games and medical instruments, which required new skills and opened new markets in Gaul.

In addition to some of the already mentioned industries and materials processed in city centers, foodstuffs and raw materials imported from the countryside were sold and traded in the cities and across the Empire, such as cereals, livestock, wood, and textiles (Drinkwater 1983: 187). Locally grown wine grapes became a means of reviving the Gallic economy in the mid-third century and consequently stimulated basketry and barrel making production as well which demonstrates the variability and impact that one market could have on the economy of a center (Wightman 1970: 190).

For items bought, rather than traded, imperial coinage was used. Lugdunum established its own mint in the first century B.C., though coins from across the Empire were also valid currency. The iconography of coins was an important medium for political and religious propaganda, and provided centers an opportunity to distinguish themselves from others through unique depictions or by literal identifiers, e.g. coins made at the mint of Lugdunensis were identified with *C. C. COL. LVG. — Claudius Copia Colonia Lugdunensis* (Stevenson et al. 1969: 528).

Monumental Architecture

Monumental architecture became a defining characteristic of Gallo-Roman cities in the first and second centuries. Wealthy patrons were investing funds to construct major public structures to demonstrate their wealth, but also to physically make the towns more like Rome (Drinkwater 1983: 152). Another result of building monumental architecture

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was a shift in materials from timber to stone which allowed for larger and more permanent buildings by the mid-first century A.D. (Woolf 1998: 113).

The complete transformation of prehistoric towns into identifiably Gallo-Roman ones was about a 50 year process and within a generation or so the older landscape was completely changed (Woolf 1998: 113). The forum was the most important public structure for political and economic transactions within a city. Fora had a rectangular courtyard and surrounding porticos often containing shop fronts as at the forum in Augusta Treverorum. Basilicas were often found near and as an extension of the forum, as at Alesia (Figure 2.29), and were the seat of the civitas government (Provost 2009: 366; Drinkwater 1983: 144). Large public bathing complexes containing multiple rooms and pools of varying temperatures, like the Barbara Baths and the Imperial Roman Baths in Augusta Treverorum (Figure 2.30), were important for the health and hygiene of city inhabitants and also as places to discuss business and politics of the city (Wightman 1970: 82, 98).

Additional types of public monuments, such as temples and theaters, were common and their construction was funded by the state or by wealthy patrons (Woolf 1998). Temples (see below) and theaters were significant gathering places during festivals or for public spectacles. Theaters could often hold tens of thousands of people, and multiple forms could be found within a single city. Lugdunum, for example, is known for its well-preserved Grand Theater, Odeon, and Amphitheater of the Three Gauls, all of which could host theatrical performances, public executions, or sporting events before large crowds (Drinkwater 1983).

Not every town had defenses, though city walls and watchtowers were more common for *colonia*, such as Augustodunum (Drinkwater 1983). These structures surrounded the primary center and were often remodeled with the growing city. Along the walls or at major roads into towns, large gates, such as the Porta Nigra in Augusta Treverorum or the Porte d'Arroux in Augustodunum (Figure 2.32), were important for controlling admittance and collecting taxes for the centers (Wightman 1970). In towns surrounded by rivers, such as Augusta Treverorum, bridges were critical for connecting the city center to the suburban and rural landscapes. Aqueducts, such as the Pont du Gard, were massive structures essential for bringing freshwater into cities from sources kilometers away (Duval 1989: 1097).

Each of these examples of monumental architecture required organization and significant financial support to pay for stonemasons, laborers, and architects necessary to complete such projects. Smaller towns had more limited means, and therefore, less monumental architecture typically, or constructed public buildings in timber and stone. The economic struggles throughout the Empire in the third century marked the end of monumental building projects within many Gallic towns with the possible exception of town walls (King 1990).

Burials

Prehistoric burials took a variety of forms from inhumations and/or cremations in graves and *tumuli* which may or may not have been surrounded by an enclosure and located in a plain near or even within settlements. Both inhumations and cremations

persisted in the Gallo-Roman period, however burial traditions and locations were dramatically different based on the settlement with which the burial is associated and by the status or wealth of the person buried.

Late La Tène graves were typically flat inhumations, grouped in cemeteries, and contained common objects. Most prehistoric cemeteries were abandoned as new settlements were established; Belginum, mentioned above, is an exception and continued to be used without pause until the end of the Roman period (Haffner 1971, 1974). In keeping with Roman laws and indigenous traditions, Gallo-Roman cemeteries developed outside of settlements on public land or along major roadways, such as at Augustodunum (Goodman 2007: 150). These were often humble graves of the less wealthy and evolved into significant cemeteries over time. Elites could be buried outside of a city in these large cemeteries or on their estate near their villa (Woolf 1998: 160).

Some of the earliest Gallo-Roman burials of elites seem to show a continuation of late La Tène burial practices and grave goods, like the burials at Goeblingen-Nospelt. *Tumulus* Tomb A (30 - 20 B.C.), for example, contained the remains of two cremated adults accompanied by a sword, lance, shield, sheers, fibulae, bronze and ceramic vessels, amphorae, and boar heads and legs (Metzler et al. 2009). Another early Gallo-Roman *tumulus*, Tomb 14 (c. 20 B.C.; Figure 2.33), contained the cremated remains of an adult female which were placed in a timber-lined chamber, similar to the burials of Vix or Hochdorf, and was accompanied by various types of bronze and ceramic vessels, a mirror, and several pairs of fibulae. At the surface of this burial remains of offerings such as animal bones, coins, terracotta figurines, ceramic vessels, and amphorae, were found

amongst charcoal suggesting ritual feasts or regular visitation of the grave (Metzler et al. 2009).

Most of the early Gallo-Roman burials were cremations which remained the dominant form of internment until the second century (Figure 2.34). Some cemeteries, particularly those associated with rural settlements, were large with up to several hundred cremations, while others could have anywhere between 20 and 40 burials (Wightman 1985: 251). Sculpted tombstones depicting the deceased with their spouse or depicted with objects connected to their trade, such as those from Les Bolards or Augusta Treverorum, were common in the first century and continued to be used over time (Figure 2.35). Wealthy burials had more elaborate markers, such as the large circular funerary monuments that could be placed near cities or in the rural landscape (Krier and Henrich 2011).

By the second century monuments became more common in the rural landscapes of northern and eastern Gaul. Circular monuments, such as Weiler-la-Tour in Luxembourg, persisted and other forms appeared as well (Krier and Henrich 2011). Pillars, altars, stele, structures with niches for cremations, and walled areas or ditch enclosures demonstrate the varying amounts of wealth invested in burials (Wightman 1970: 244; 1985: 90-91). One of the largest extant burial monuments at 22.65 m high is la Pierre de Couhard (Figure 2.36) located on a hill outside of modern Autun (Duval 1989: 1040). In antiquity it was covered by white limestone making it a visible feature on the landscape for kilometers.

Late in the second century, cremations began to decline in favor of inhumations,

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the latter of which became the norm in rural landscapes by the middle of the third century (Wightman 1985: 250). During this transition, the last type of burial from the Gallo-Roman period, the *tumulus*, has been noted in northern Gaul and Germania at sites like Siesbach. These first appeared in prehistory and reappeared in the second century, perhaps as a modified circular funerary monument, and were found along roads or near rivers associated with villas (Krier and Henrich 2011: 215). By the late third century, inhumations and collective cemeteries were the dominant burial custom, some of which continued to be used throughout late antiquity.

NEW RITUAL TRADITIONS

Within each type of settlement new ritual traditions are known and discussed at length in Chapter 3 and 4. Three broad trends are worth mentioning here. First, large open air sites with ditches, pits, and palisades were abandoned for temples of timber and then stone. Sometimes these were constructed near or on top of older sanctuaries, like the La Tène and Gallo-Roman sanctuaries at Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, and in other cases previously un-venerated places became focal points for ritual practices because of their proximity to new settlements, workshops, or features deemed sacred by the Romans (Joly and Barral 2012). The temples constructed also varied between urban centers, which often followed a more Roman plan, and those in the rural landscape constructed in the Romano-Celtic style known as *fana* (Figure 2.38; Derks 1998).

Second, the gods underwent two major transformations. For the first time, gods were represented as anthropomorphic figures in various media, a practice that was non-

existent or at least very limited in the late La Tène period (Figure 2.39). The other major transformation was the variety of gods brought together in a single area and the exchange of names which occurred. This exchange was driven in part by *interpretatio romana* (see Chapter 3) and also by the presence of the military. Military bases were religiously cosmopolitan as gods from across the Empire could be found far from home in a single location. One of the most evident traditions along the frontier were the introduction of Jupiter columns (Figure 2.40), which served as symbols of Roman power and honored the main god of Rome (Duval 1989: 251; Woolf 2001). Mithraea, honoring Mithras, were also popular along the frontier and in cities the second and third centuries as the cult promised life after death, strength and protection (Beard et al. 1998). More than ever, more gods were available for worship, including the Emperor, and one could go to particular deities to make their requests.

The final major change between prehistoric and Gallo-Roman ritual and religion was the incorporation of new material culture. The economic boom associated with the new materials described above was not limited to daily life in homes or in workshops, but also in rituals. New rituals required new objects to complete them, such as altars on which animals were sacrificed with wine and incense for the gods, or the use of bells or lamps as offerings or to enhance the experience. Different gods required different offerings for requests or for thanks, which manifests archaeologically and is the primary focus of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2 – TABLES

Late Iron Age (La Tène) Chronology			
Tischler	**Reinecke**	**Déchelette**	**Dates**
Early La Tène	La Tène A	La Tène Ia	475
	La Tène B1	La Tène Ib	400
	La Tène B2	La Tène Ic	
Middle La Tène	La Tène C1	La Tène IIa	250
	La Tène C2	La Tène IIb	
Late La Tène	La Tène D1	La Tène III	100
	La Tène D2	Gallo-Roman	50
	La Tène D3		
	Augustan	Augustan	20

Table 2.1. Various chronologies proposed for the La Tène period (after Collis 2002: 16, Figure 2.1).

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Figure 2.4. Map of Gallia Belgica in northern Gaul (Wightman 1985)

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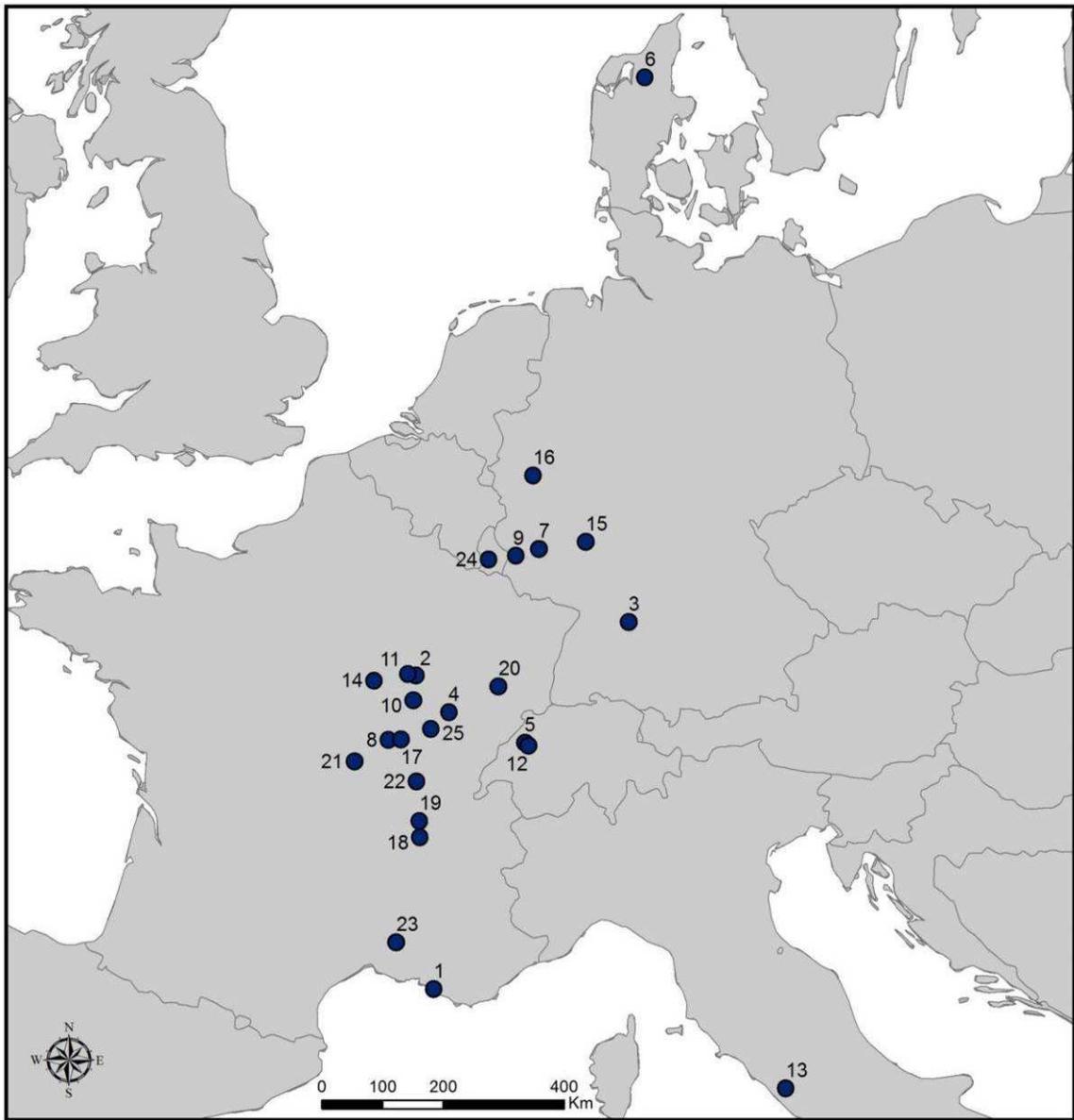
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Figure 2.6. The krater of Vix and other grave goods from the famous tumulus housed in the Musée du Pays Châtillonnais, Châtillon-sur-Seine, France.
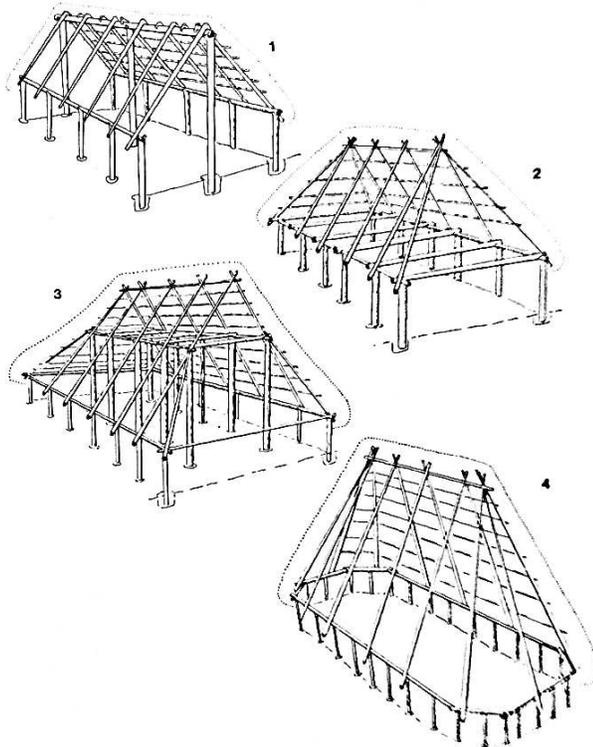
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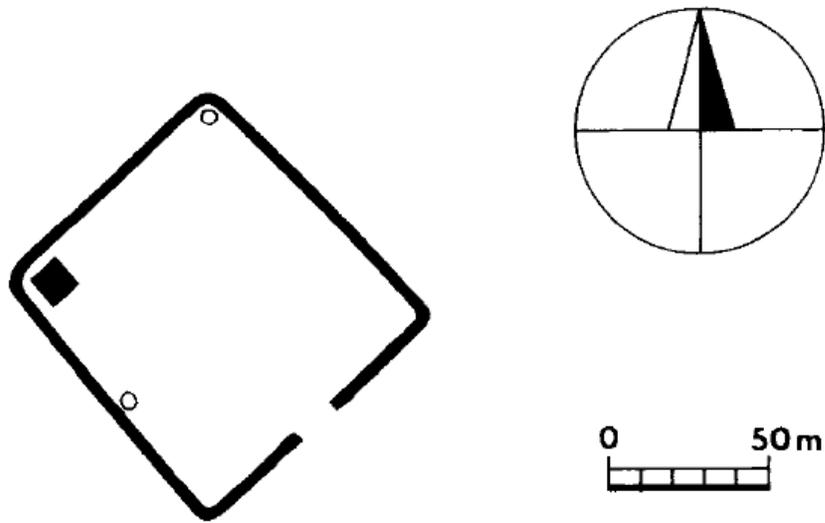
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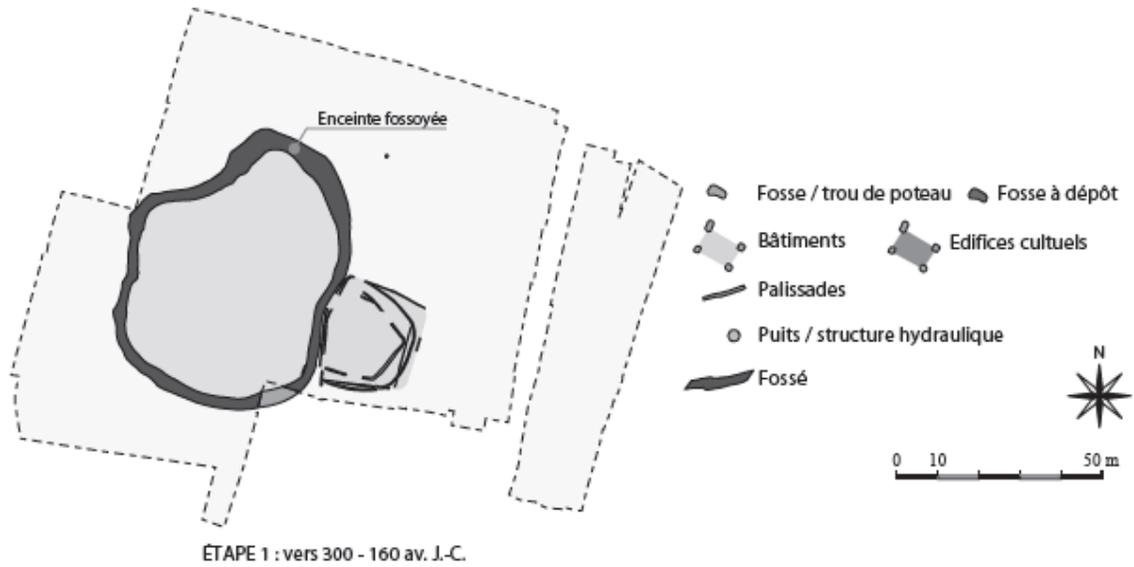
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Figure 2.15. Bronze cauldron found in the Saône, on display in the Musée Greuze, Tournus, France.
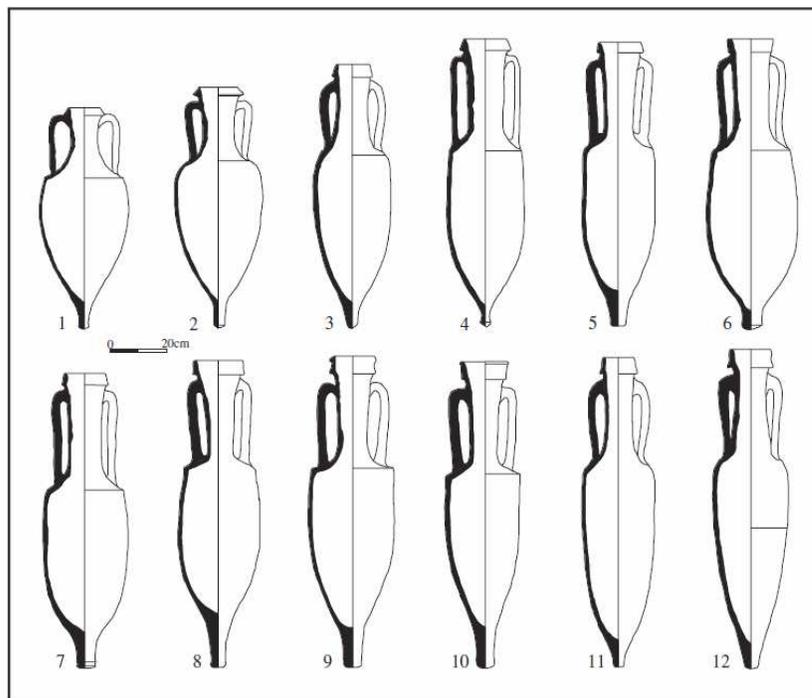
Figure 1

Republican amphorae. 1–2: Greco-Italic, 3: Dressel 1A/C, 4–5: Dressel 1A, 5: Dressel 1 'Spargi', 6: Dressel 1 'l' Esterel', 8–10: Dressel 1B, 11–12: Dressel 1C.

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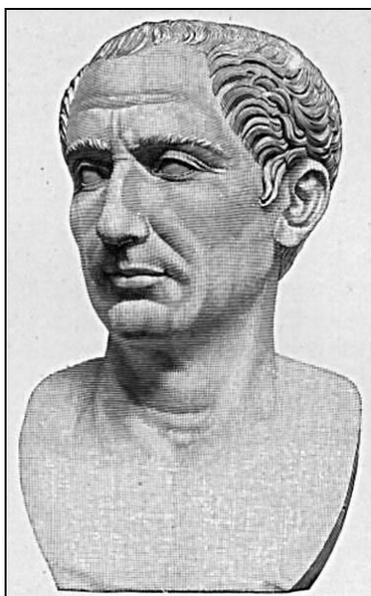
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Figure 2.18. (right) Nineteenth-century statue of Vercingetorix in Alise-Sainte-Reine near the oppidum of Alesia.

1. Camp de terre	8. Aqueduc sous la voie	15. Thermes
2. Carrefour de voie antique	9. Casernement	16. Agglomération civte
3. Forteresse de légionnaire	10. Magasins	17. *Mansio* ?
4. Porte décumane	11. *Principia*	18. *Horrea*
5. Porte principale gauche	12. Maison de tribuns	19. Installation portuaire
6. Porte prétorienne	13. Amphithéâtre	Recherches d'archéologie aérienne R. Goguey.
7. Porte principale droite	14. *Mansio*	DAO A. Cordier.

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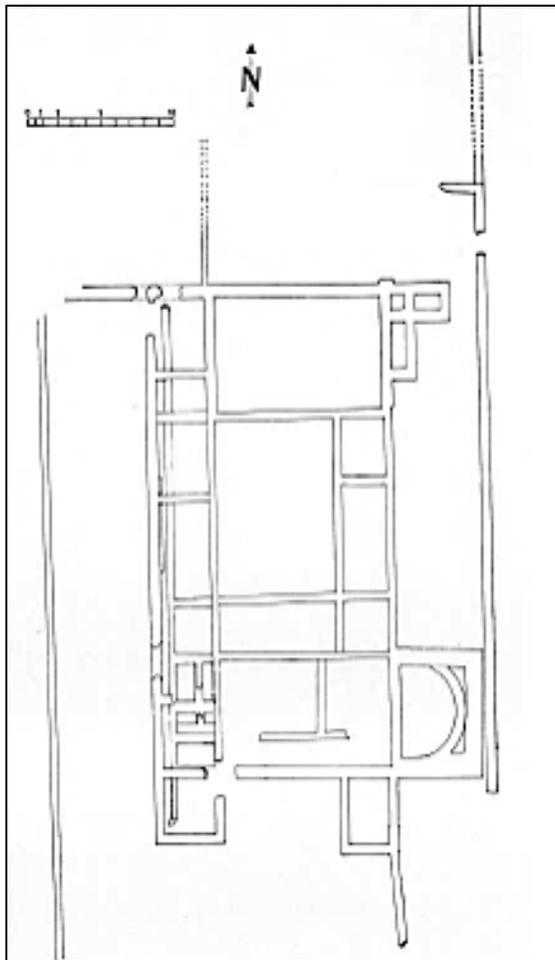
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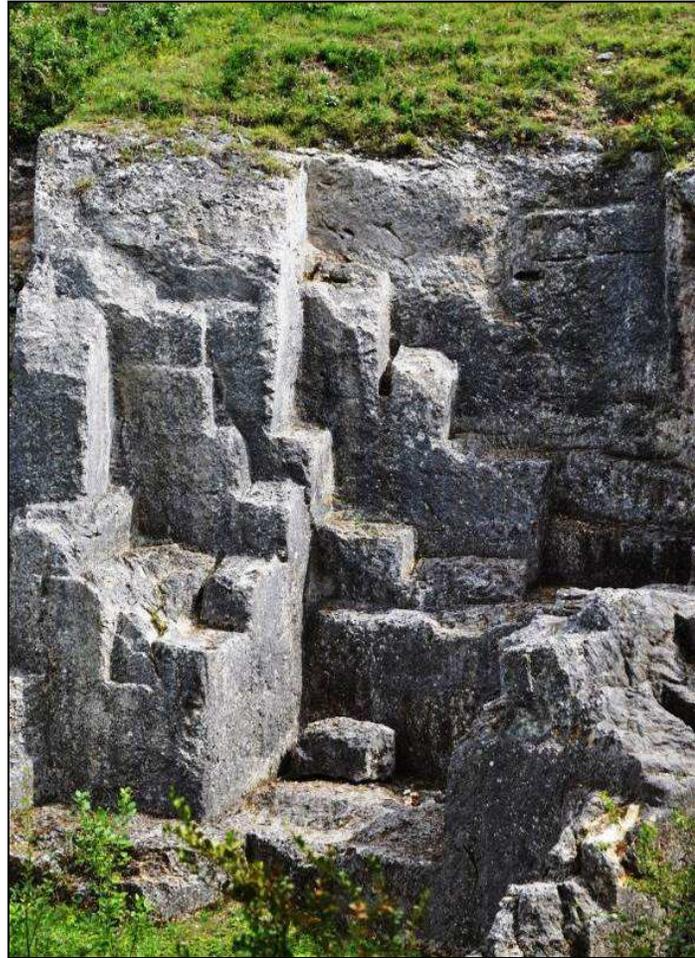
Figure 2.28. The ancient quarry at Les Carrieres de la Lie near La Roche Vineuse, France.
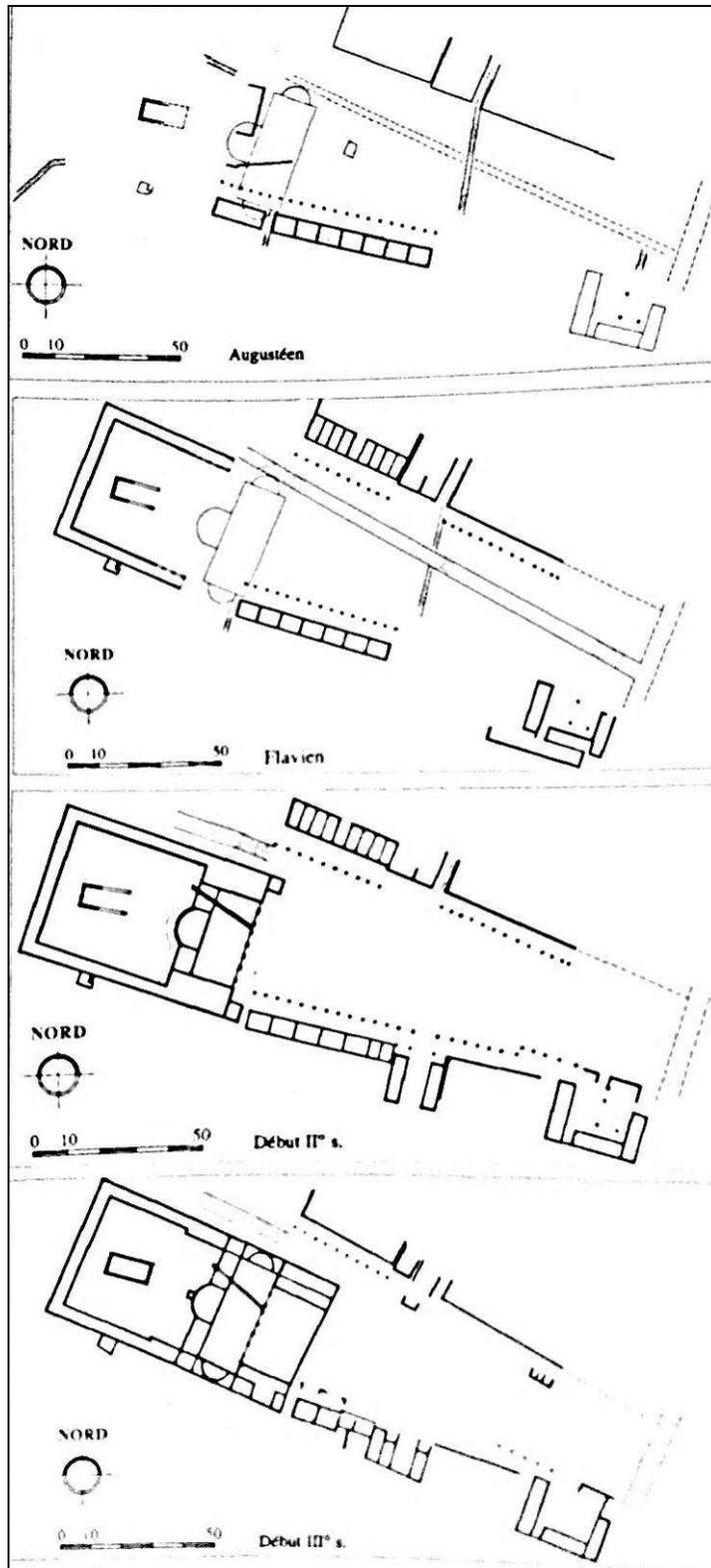
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Figure 2.30. A well-preserved portion of the Imperial Roman Baths in Augusta Treverorum (Trier).
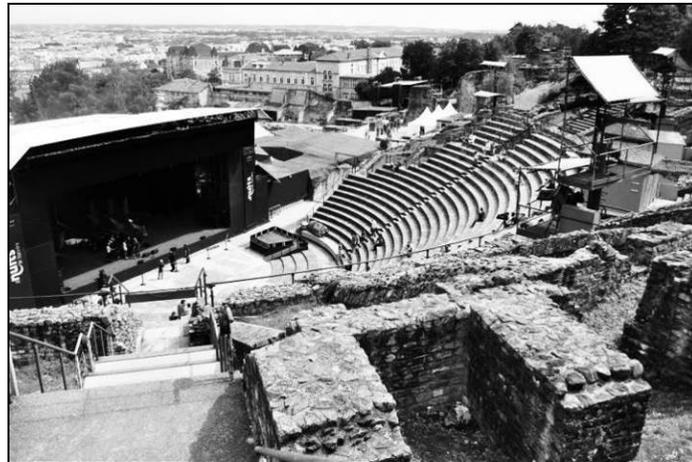
Figure 2.31. The Grand Theater of Lugdunum (Lyon), which is still used today for concerts.

Figure 2.32. (left) The Porta Nigra in Augusta Treverorum (Trier) and (right) the Porte d'Arroux in Augustodunum (Autun).

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Figure 2.36. (right) La Pierre de Couhard burial monument standing nearly 23 m high on a hill outside of Autun.

Figure 2.37. A second century A.D. tumulus at Siesbach, Germany after excavation and reconstruction.
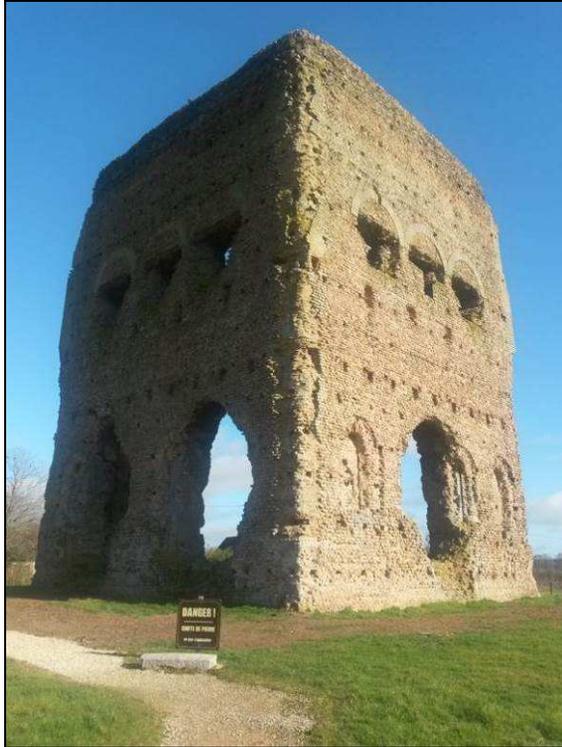
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Figure 2.40. A Jupiter column at the Saalburg in Germany.

Chapter 3. Religious and Ritual Traditions in Ancient Europe

In Chapter 1 I examined how to recognize rituals archaeologically. Ritual practice, rather than religion and religious belief, is more likely to be a focus of study for archaeologists as it "is a form of human action that leaves material traces, whereas religion is a more abstract symbolic system consisting of beliefs, myths, and doctrines" as well as acts and mental acts (Fogelin 2007: 56). Evidence for the actions performed by ancient peoples is left behind during rituals which can be connected to their belief system.

Fogelin has identified two primary approaches for identifying religious rituals archaeologically: those which say it can be clearly identified through specific criteria that separate the sacred and the profane (Renfrew 1985), and those which say it cannot be identified or it does not exist apart from other forms of ritual; it is both sacred and profane (Brück 1999; Bradley 2008; Morley 2007). The evidence presented in this chapter falls into the category of the former. Following Renfrew's (1985) suggestions, archaeological traces of ritual activity include: clearly defined liminal zones separating the sacred from the mundane, attention focusing elements to draw one's attention to the sacred or to the ritual, something to suggest the presence of the divine which may also be a focal point, and an emphasis on participation and giving offerings. This chapter presents the archaeological, and when available, textual evidence for three different, but connected, religious traditions which have good evidence of Renfrew's criteria for ritual. Evidence of prehistoric, Roman, and Gallo-Roman graves or things connected with the dead, private and household rituals, and rites of passage will not be considered here nor will mystery cults, Judaism, or Christianity associated with the Roman Empire.

PART 1: EVIDENCE FOR RITUALS IN PREHISTORIC EUROPE

Our knowledge of prehistoric rituals and ideas about the intranatural comes solely from the material evidence left behind by ritual practices. Locations for ritual activities and offerings given there are our primary sources. From these data, we can reconstruct elements of rituals, but the more complex ideas associated with religious belief pose a greater challenge. Through careful contextual analyses of the objects, treatment of them, and depositional locations, it is possible to interpret these materials and to come to some general conclusions about prehistoric ritual practices.

Humans probably began interacting with the intranatural through ritual practices in the Neolithic and likely even earlier. In the areas of modern France and Spain, many caves like Lascaux or Chauvet (Figure 3.1), now made famous by their representations of Paleolithic megafauna (c. 40,000 - 10,000 B.P.), likely had some ritual component to them as fertility symbols or hunting magic. Unfortunately, it is not possible to cover the breadth of ritual variation in this present discussion, therefore, I shall highlight some of the main patterns and evidence for ritual activity from earlier periods, and will focus in more detail on specific sites from the Late Iron Age or La Tène. Also, not every ritual leaves archaeological traces. For this reason, I will focus mainly on the deposition of materials which include objects and once living beings. The locations in which deposits occur differ across Europe and vary over time, but some basic trends are discernible and will be discussed below.

NEOLITHIC (c. 5000 - 2000 B.C.)

One of the best known ritual activities from the Neolithic is the deposition of

groundstone axes as probable offerings (Figure 3.2). A single ax may take many hours to make, and their deposition, sometimes in large quantities, is an expensive gift for the giver. Across Europe and in the British Isles, axes were deposited in a variety of locations which often had religious significance. Bradley (1990) observed that in southern Brittany axes are usually found near megalithic art, hoards, and *tumuli*. In southern Scandinavia, they are more often in watery contexts and in enclosures too. In the British Isles, axes have been recovered from ceremonial monuments, but are only sometimes found in burials, are uncommon in hoards, and typically only non-local axes are recovered from rivers and springs (Bradley 1990: 73-75). This depositional pattern suggests that each culture had different ideas regarding sacred landscapes, but the significance of the ax appears to be shared. These examples also highlight some of the main locations for ritual activity: near rock art, dry-land hoards, burials, watery contexts, and human-made monuments or enclosures. Many of these locations remain important foci for ritual activity in subsequent periods.

BRONZE AGE (c. 2000 - 800 B.C.)

Clearly defined sacred enclosures were important places for gathering large numbers of people in the Bronze Age. The site of Goloring near Koblenz, Germany (Figure 3.3) contains a circular ditch and earthen embankment measuring up to 190 m in diameter situated on a ridge. Its proximity to Urnfield (1200 - 800 B.C.) burials dates the site to the late Bronze Age, and also supports the claim that the site is ritual in nature. During explorations from 1940 to 1948, Ro□der (1948) revealed the main ditch and embankment, and small entrances into the structure which were found to the north and

south, and a larger entrance from the west. A raised central platform measuring 95 m in diameter inside the embankment was also identified and possibly had a wooden structure on top. Ro⬜der argued these features were not for defense, but were for ritual gatherings and likened the site to Stonehenge and other similar henge-sites from the British Isles. Based on this assumption, the structure was interpreted by Ro⬜der to be a defined sacred space that served as a location visited by large quantities of people during celestial events.

EARLY IRON AGE / HALLSTATT PERIOD (800 - 450 B.C.)

Natural features continued to have ritual significance in prehistoric Europe. A natural stone arch in Egesheim, known as Heidentor (Figure 3.4), was an important place for ritual offerings from the Hallstatt period to early La Tène. Materials from the site first became known in 1990 when a collection of objects was looted from the slope near the arch. Nearly 70 fibulae or fibulae fragments were recovered, as well as 40 bronze earrings and finger-rings, pendants, beads, and belt pieces (Dehn 1991). During excavations of the area, additional objects were found, including iron and bronze hairpins and ceramics of both normal and miniature size. The ceramics date from the Bronze Age through La Tène, showing the continued importance of the site over time (Dehn 1992). The quantity of women's objects suggests this site may have been important for fertility, and these adornments were possibly deposited with garments. A similar assemblage of Hallstatt fibulae is noted at the Source of the Douix in Châtillon-sur-Seine, France.

LATE IRON AGE / LA TÈNE (450 - 50 B.C.)

Natural features and human-made enclosures were the primary centers for ritual activities and offerings during the Late Iron Age. These locations, whose importance in prehistory has just been demonstrated, retain their significance and become even more complex at this time. The following examples reflect a variety of locations and types of ritual practices. Similar sites (e.g. bog deposits, enclosures with animal sacrifices) have been grouped together to better reflect the similarities and differences at each, rather than being ordered chronologically.

Natural Centers for Ritual Activity

Indirect evidence for the veneration of sacred trees and groves comes from Mediterranean-based authors who mention the sacred groves of their northern neighbors and from contemporary iconography, such as the golden tree found in a pit at the *oppidum* of Manching, or the bronze leaves from Corent (Webster 1996; Maier 1991b; Poux 2006: 130). Rock art, which adorns many cliffs, large stones, and caves, is typically dated to the Bronze Age, though the tradition probably continued into later periods and these places perhaps remained important ritual centers (Bradley 2000). In addition to rocks themselves, mountains were also places for ritual activity. The best known from the Alpine region are *Brandopferplätze*, or sites with burned offerings, at which weapons, personal ornaments, coins, and other objects were burned and deposited during rituals with large fires (Wells 2008).

Forggensee

Between 100 B.C. and A.D. 250, the site of Forggensee was an active site in the Bavarian Alps along a lakeshore from where a *Brandopferplätz* was excavated (Zanier et al. 1999). The majority of the objects recovered were of iron, a significant material at many sites with burned offerings. Of the over 400 animal bones recovered, over half were of sheep or goat, and the others mainly cattle. Recent archeobotanical analysis from Forggensee and other Alpine sites with burned offerings shows that plant materials were also an important component of the fire rituals. Though legumes are rarely found at most sites, perhaps due to their generally poor preservation, they were present in large quantities along with cereals at Forggensee (Heiss 2008). The large quantities of cultivated plants and domesticated animals at this site and others demonstrate the agricultural, rather than wild, character of these offerings.

Watery locations, such as springs, lakes, rivers and streams, and marshlands and bogs, received offerings in prehistory as well. Chapter 4 will examine the importance of watery places with a variety examples, such as the famous lake deposits from the site of La Tène in Switzerland (Vouga 1923), and river offerings from the Saône (Bonnamour 2000). For the moment, I shall provide two brief examples from the bogs of northern Europe, and an example from a spring in eastern Europe.

Hjortspring

Excavated in the early 1920s, a large boat filled with weapons, and other objects dating to the late-fourth century B.C. was discovered at a peat-bog in Hjortspring Kobbel, Denmark. The boat, measuring 19 m long was filled with a large assortment of weapons,

including 11 singled-edged swords, four wooden scabbards, 169 spearheads in both iron and bone or antler, wooden shafts for the spears, 10 to 12 mail-coats, 64 rounded shields made of wood, and an additional 67 to 69 shield handles (Randsborg 1995). Other objects were also found within the boat; bronze objects included a pin, a button, and perhaps a cauldron; those in wood: several highly molded boxes with lids similar in form to Greek pyxides, other boxes, a bowl with a form similar to Iron Age ceramics, dishes, spoons, discs with handles; and those from other materials: handles, a bone flute, ax-shafts, a Y-shaped bellow tube, mallets, needles, spindles, several ropes and strings, a scoop, an Iron Age ceramic vessel, a cheek piece from a helmet, and many large flint stones that were perhaps used as missiles.

Randsborg (1995) argues that this substantial offering represents local traditions and influences from the Mediterranean world. Water is a place where both the gods of the sky and those of the underworld are joined. It is not surprising then to find offerings that would please the sky gods, such as weapons, and vessels which may be connected to the underworld. Watery contexts may also be places for fertility deities since boats and wagons are often represented with the divine in later periods.

The Gundestrup Cauldron

Recovered from another peat-bog in Himmerland, Denmark, the Gundestrup Cauldron is one of the most important offerings from anywhere in Europe (Figure 3.5). The cauldron, dating to the second or first century B.C., is a large silver vessel made up of numerous metal plates rich with religious iconography which were disassembled prior to its deposition (Green 1996: 468). Both the interior and exterior of the vessel were

decorated with a variety of real and mythical animals, scenes of possible animal sacrifice, wheel symbols, warriors on horseback and on foot, and deities interacting with animals and human figures whose imagery is similar to those found in Gaul and Britain (Olmsted 1979). While this cauldron is unique, the importance of bogs for ritual deposits of both fantastic ritual objects, large quantities of other objects, and human sacrifices, such as Lindow Man, is noted in many parts of northern Europe and the British Isles (Turner and Briggs 1986).

The Duchcov Hoard

Located 1.5 km north of Duchcov in the Czech Republic, the hot spring of "Obří pramen" is well known for the large quantity of La Tène objects recovered from its thermal waters in 1882 (Kruta 1971). While much of the assemblage was distributed very quickly to both public and private collections, a minimum of 1600 known bronze objects were recovered including 850 fibulae, 650 bracelets, and 100 finger rings and other diverse objects.

The collection was found between 6 and 9 m deep within the water which was being exploited for industrial purposes. A bronze lance and dagger dating to the Bronze Age were the earliest objects recovered and likely indicate earlier ritual activity at the spring. A bronze cauldron from the late Hallstatt period was found at the same depth as the La Tène material and held some of the objects demonstrating they were from the same ritual deposit. The fibulae, bracelets, and rings were stylistically limited and, the fibulae especially, point to a very narrow period of time. The analysis of the finds and the context of discovery suggest that this find represents a single large deposit of objects

from mostly adults of different social status in the community that were collected into an heirloom cauldron for deposition. Such a large quantity of objects from across an entire community suggests the intention of the deposit could be as a conciliatory or proprietary offering in times of war, disease, or disaster (Kruta 1971: 72).

There is much variation in the types of objects offered in bogs and other watery contexts. If we understand these places to be connected with fertility, then "we may see the realm of fertility accommodating all sacrifices and the realm of water sanctifying even offerings to the sky-powers," which may explain why possible chthonic (the underworld) cult or other different types of offerings may come from similar watery contexts (Randsborg 1995: 209). Bogs and other watery contexts should then be understood as uniting places which connected not only humans with the gods, but also gods of different realms which is evident in the variety of deposited offerings.

Human-made Centers for Ritual Activity

Viereckschanzen

Viereckschanzen are rectangular farmsteads whose shape is defined by an earthen bank or palisade and ditch that encloses an area averaging about one hectare (Bradley 2008). They have one entrance that may face south, east, or west, never north. They are best known in Central Europe, but similar structures have been identified in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the British Isles. Some variation exists within and amongst the *Viereckschanzen*, for example, they may be found in isolation, several may be grouped nearby one another, or found near cemeteries. Some also may also have one or multiple shafts or wells, and additional structures interpreted to be houses or granaries.

Unlike other enclosures from this time little material culture is found within the structures, a fact which has led to some conflicts regarding how to interpret them.

Holzhausen (see Figure 2.8), the first of these to be excavated had a palisade in earlier periods and had an earthen bank and ditch added in a later phase (Schwartz 1962). A structure was found inside as well as three shafts with materials all dating to La Tène. The shafts, whose depths reached down to 36.5 m, contained organic materials and evidence for burning, and an upright wooden post was found at the base of one shaft. The collection of features were determined to have a ritual function as the structure had similarities to Classical temples, and the shafts were believed to hold sacrificial remains.

This interpretation was supported by finds at some sites, such as the fragments of wooden deer and goat figurines from Fellbach-Schmiden, but ritual activity was not clear across many of the sites (Webster 1996; Chaume et al. 2007). The granaries from some sites suggest an agricultural use, perhaps for food storing and distribution. Other interpretations suggest these were small farms of a high status indicated by the bank and ditch. Using material from Mšecké Zehrovice (Figure 3.6), a *Viereckschanzen* with evidence for ironworking, Venclová (1998) proposed that ritual and private spheres may be connected, i.e. shrines and domestic structures could exist in the same location. This interpretation seems to explain the presence of utilitarian structures and the seemingly sacrificial deposits within the shafts.

Caesar's Camp

West of London under the runways of Heathrow Airport, a site known as Caesar's Camp was excavated in 1944. The exploration revealed a rectangular earthwork with a

rampart and ditch and other features dating back to the Neolithic (Grimes 1948). The main enclosure dates from the Early British Iron Age, around 500 B.C., and within the northern half contained 11 circular huts measuring approximately 10.6-13.7 m in diameter. Uncovered on the western side near the bank of the enclosure was a rectangular form measuring 5.5 x 3.9 m which was surrounded by numerous postholes extending the overall size of the area to 11.3 x 9.8 m. The eastern entrance of the rectangular structure and its general form suggests it was likely a temple with a central shrine or *cella*. Materials found from the temple indicate it was built prior to 300 B.C. making it the oldest of its kind in Britain. Caesar's Camp differs from the *Viereckschanzen* in that there was a structure designated primarily for ritual activity separating it from other day-to-day activities. It also had similarities to the famous Belgic sanctuaries in northwestern Europe demonstrating cross-channel ritual activities.

Gournay-sur-Aronde

At Gournay-sur-Aronde was another human-made ritual enclosure constructed only for ritual activities and was associated with an *oppidum*. Today the site is located 75 km north of Paris on the edge of the Paris Basin and is comprised of multiple phases dating from early La Tène to the Late Roman Empire (Brunaux et al. 1985).

The first enclosure, the ceramics of which date it to La Tène B, formed a large rectangular ditch with rounded corners and a break in the ditch on the eastern side for the entrance (Brunaux et al. 1985). At the end of the second century B.C. (La Tène B2), the main ditch was adjusted slightly, its sides were timbered, a palisade was built outside of the ditch, and a second ditch was dug around the main ditch and palisade; the entrance

remained to the east. In the center of the enclosure were found nine contemporary pits surrounding a central tenth pit which was protected by a modest timber temple built above it (Figure 3.7). Inside the pits and ditches of the second phase nearly two centuries of continuous depositional activity was represented by thousands of offerings. Nearly 3000 bones of humans and animals, and over 2000 metallic objects were recovered. Careful analysis of these categories revealed deliberate and varying treatments of the objects prior to their final deposition.

Sixty-five human bones were found from 12 individuals (the number of human bones described varies throughout the publication, Brunaux et al. 1985: 70, 165, 194). Careful study of the axis and the crania revealed that the individuals were decapitated, and the foramen magnum was also enlarged, perhaps so they could have been placed on stakes near the entrance where they were recovered. Analyses of the remains also revealed that those sacrificed were women and an adolescent, which differs from ancient accounts that describe prisoners of war, i.e. adult males, as traditional sacrificial victims.

Animal bones were more abundant, around 2800, and came from oxen, horse, sheep, and pigs primarily. The bones of sheep and pigs often had cutmarks and were fewer in number suggesting they were consumed within the enclosure. The majority of the bones were from adult male oxen and horses (Brunaux et al. 1985). The condition and placement of these bones suggest they were left to rot in one area, most likely in the pits protected by the temple, and then were moved to specific parts of the main ditch for deposition. The different treatment of animal forms indicates a distinct ritual procedure, one comprised of feasting and the other of sacrifice, for which particular animals were preferred.

The metallic objects underwent a similar treatment. Various tools, instruments, jewelry, and ornaments were recovered, though weapons, including scabbards, swords, umbos, parts of shields, lances, and chains, dominated the assemblage dating from the first half of the third century B.C. to the end of the second century B.C. (Brunaux et al. 1985; Brunaux and Rapin 1988; Lejars 1994). More than 300 complete sets of warrior equipment were brought into the sanctuary. Explanations for the placement of the weapons and materials suggest they were suspended or mounted on the eastern side of the sanctuary as trophy offerings; display was an important part of the ritual. Once the equipment was rotted and fell down, the pieces were destroyed through bending, folding, puncture, burning, and so on (Figure 3.8).

Both the bones and weapons were placed in particular locations. Human crania were placed near the entrance, typically on the left or southern side, while human long bones were found in corners of the main ditch (Brunaux and Rapin 1988). Bones of animals were found in the sides of ditches or in pits. Shields and spear-heels were gathered together and placed on the western side of the ditch, and in other cases, it appears some complete sets of warrior equipment were left where they fell or were kept together for their final deposit.

The site of Gournay-sur-Aronde illustrates some important trends in ritual practices and deposits. There was a defined structure in which rituals occurred, possibly limiting viewing or participation, and created a sacred space. Use of space within the sanctuary was also defined as there were sacred, centralized areas such as the main pit and its protective structure, areas for offering things, e.g. the pits, and other areas for deposition as indicated by the oxen, horse and human remains and weapons in the

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ditches. Cutmarks on the sheep and pig bones suggest ritual feasting occurred within the sacred area too.

The offerings themselves also highlight important trends from this time. Both living things, i.e. animals and humans, and human-made objects could be offered; animals and weapons were of primary importance at Gournay. It was important for these things to be exposed and displayed either on stakes or suspended on the walls. Once they decayed sufficiently, it was necessary to destroy them through further physical alteration before depositing them in the main ditch. Placement in particular areas of the ditch or entrance was also important and probably communicated something to those viewing the sanctuary or represented a ritual prescription to ensure a particular outcome.

Ribemont-sur-Ancre

Not far from Gournay, the site of Ribemont-sur-Ancre was also a large quadrangular La Tène enclosure which was later replaced by a Gallo-Roman sanctuary, but utilized slightly different offerings (Brunaux et al. 2009). The second phase (beginning of the third century to the first century B.C.) saw the construction of a 50 m x 50 m enclosure defined by a deep ditch encompassing a 200 m area.

Within the enclosure human bones of several hundred individuals were uncovered, as well as thousands of weapons including shields, spear points and some iron swords (Brunaux et al. 1999). Many of the bones were grouped and arranged deliberately. In the southeast and northeast corners, long bones were organized to form boxes or altars which surrounded postholes filled with ashes of humans (Figure 3.9). Weapons surrounding the altars date to c. 200 B.C. The ditches also had weapons and bones

deposited in them, but these deposits date to the time of the Gallic War.

Like the weapon-trophies of Gournay, the collections and displays of human bones and weapons at Ribemont have also been interpreted as trophies (Brunaux 1996). Unlike Gournay, whose deposits focused primarily on weapons and animal bones, the offerings at Ribemont were dominated by human bones. It is impossible to know the exact meaning behind these offerings or how the similarities and differences between these sites would have been understood, but clearly the sacrifice of living beings and inanimate objects was significant. Displaying these materials was a significant aspect of the rituals and the act of giving offerings to the intranatural entity of the place. Unlike the *Viereckschanzen* or Caesar's Camp, the materials recovered from Gournay and Ribemont indicate their function was for ritual activity and nothing else.

SUMMARY

Ritual activities from prehistoric temperate Europe occurred in a variety of places and involved the particular treatment of a variety of objects or their deposition (Table 3.1). Places within nature were particularly important and regularly received offerings from the Neolithic through La Tène periods. In the La Tène period, in addition to sanctified natural features, human-made structures with a defined sacred area surrounded by a ditch or palisade were significant centers for ritual activity. These centers often had a grand entrance, a major pit as the central ritual focus, and some sort of structure protecting this central pit (Brunaux 1988). Offerings, such as weapons, human or animal sacrifices, and objects associated with personal ornamentation, were deposited into ditches and pits in very structured ways, or were put directly into natural features, such as

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the bog deposits. Through these deposits, humans were able to interact with the divine realm, though their exact purpose is often unclear.

PART 2: RELIGION AND RITUALS IN THE ROMAN WORLD

To the south in the Mediterranean Basin, the Roman Republic and later Empire dominated the Italian peninsula for hundreds of years (c. 700 B.C. to c. A.D. 400). Religion was integrated into all aspects of life including politics, subsistence, and reproduction, for example. It has been suggested that no uniform Roman religion that has not been influenced by other religions actually existed, for, from its origins, Rome was in constant contact with outside cultures like the Etruscans, Carthaginians, and Greeks, and these influences changed the way the gods were understood and how humans related to them (Beard et al. 1998: 12; Scheid 2007). With this regular shifting and changing of religious ideals it is difficult to discuss a true Roman religion, though some characteristics remained present over time. The following describes multiple forms of evidence from the Republican through Imperial periods which are most relevant to understanding ritual practices and offerings.

At its broadest, Roman religion (i.e. the religious traditions based in the city of Rome) can be described as a polytheistic system which incorporated beliefs from Romans and non-Romans across the Empire. The deeds of both male and female deities were known from elaborate mythologies and the divine was venerated through regular ritual practices in nature, temples, private homes, and public buildings to maintain the natural order between the human and intranatural worlds. Such practices permeated all aspects of life in both public and private spheres; daily, seasonal and yearly celebrations; and in

traditional rites of passage.

AVAILABLE EVIDENCE

This complex and highly ordered belief system can be explored through multiple lines of evidence. Both written and physical evidence are available for analysis providing different information. Unlike societies in temperate Europe, the Romans had a system of writing which occasionally captured aspects of their understanding of the religious world and ritual practices, and sometimes provided details such as the name of a deity or beliefs about the gods. Physical evidence, on the other hand, can tell us how space was used during ritual activities or how people saw their gods.

Written Evidence

Many details of Roman religion are known from ancient sources. Mythologies telling of the gods and heroes, originally part of an oral tradition, were later documented providing insights into their histories and associations. Inscriptions found on temples sometimes indicate when a structure was built, who funded the building project, and to which god it was dedicated. Epigraphic evidence on objects associated with rituals, such as dedicatory altars, statues of gods, and curse tablets, may contain similar evidence and information about specific ritual practices. The quantity of knowledge gathered from mythology and inscriptions are too extensive and varied to cover in the present discussion; instead, commentaries by ancient authors and information from the Roman ritual calendar will be the primary foci.

Unlike the Abrahamic faiths predominant in the modern world, which have at

their cores sacred scriptures and doctrines, Roman religion lacked such texts. There are certainly references to and descriptions of particular religious practices, such as proper prayers and religious rules, but none contain an established doctrine, an explanation of rituals, nor a set of moral codes (Beard et al. 1998: 284).

Varro (first century B.C.) wrote several authoritative books containing information on religion from his time, but these have been lost or come to us in fragments (Jocelyn 1982: 148, 153). Two of our main extant sources for information regarding Roman religion are Cicero (first century B.C.) and Arnobius (fourth century A.D.). Cicero's *The Nature of the Gods* presents a three-book discussion between elite men who have varying perspectives on the gods. Two philosophical perspectives are presented, that of the Epicureans and that of the Stoics, both of which are critiqued by a Pontifex Maximumus representing the academic skeptics who values civic traditions and customs above all as the best way to understand religion and the gods. The second work, Arnobius of Sicca's *The Case Against the Pagans*, is a seven-book attack on polytheism which presents both the polytheistic perspective followed by the Christian critique of such ideas.

The poetry of Ovid (first century A.D.), particularly the *Fasti*, is another ancient source that provides explanations for ritual behavior and beliefs about the gods. The *Fasti* follows the Roman calendar with each book representing one month. Six books have survived covering January through June while the other six have been lost or were never completed (Frazer 1931: xxi). Within each book, descriptions of festivals and rituals, some of the myths associated with these, and astronomical observations were provided by the author. While some of the celebrations or description may have been fabricated or embellished by Ovid, this text offers an opportunity to understand the ancient mind and

its thoughts on religion. The reasons and rationale for some practices are stated in addition to observations of the material culture used in ritual practice.

Ovid's *Fasti* describes the Roman ritual calendar, but only for part of the year and only as it looked in the early Empire. The calendar is much older dating to King Numa who was said to have established most of the priesthoods and religious institutions of Rome in addition to the calendar to organize religious festivals (Beard et al. 1998: 1). Many of these traditions continued through the Roman Republic and into the early Empire, or were updated or modified by consulting the Sibylline Books. Thus, examining the Roman calendar offers an opportunity to glimpse one of the oldest and most conservative institutions in the religious system and illustrates some of the actual ritual practices that the Romans defined as civic religion. The calendar provided the framework for a major governing power of Roman life and religious practices that affected daily, weekly, monthly and seasonal aspects of life, and altered only slightly over time with the inclusion, omission, or introduction of new cults.

These authors enhance what is known about Roman ritual and cover various periods in Roman history: Cicero explored how religion was thought about in the Republican period, Ovid looked at practices during the Imperial period, and Arnobius critiqued behaviors and the reasons for such behaviors in Late Antiquity.

Physical Evidence

Numerous types of physical remains have been recovered and studied providing an alternative perspective on ancient religion. Temples and other structures were the most visible aspects of Roman religion and served as centers for ritual practice. The ritual

landscape was constantly remodeled by new temple dedications (*natalis templi*) and modified religion in Rome (Nock 1952: 777). Temples in Rome were dedicated to gods who were connected to the history of Rome, such as Magna Mater who helped Rome win the Second Punic War. Temples were also dedicated to emperors, but typically after their deaths and after they had been declared divine like Caesar in 42 B.C. (Beard et al. 1998: 208). New deities were emphasized through the erection of new temples sponsored by wealthy patrons. This honor and opportunity for one to display wealth was initially open to all who could afford it, but following the rule of Augustus only emperors could dedicate or re-dedicate temples within the city of Rome (Beard et al. 1998: 197). Through these calculated dedications one could observe the emperor's close relationship with the gods, his unique connection to them, and also establish a timeline of temple-building activity.

Offerings, as seen in the prehistoric period of temperate Europe, varied significantly in form. Some had inscriptions describing who gave them, to whom, and why. Objects could even provide evidence of what sort of rituals took place in the temple. On both the offerings and temples, iconography could be found and help to identify the god being revered. Depictions of the gods showed attributes with which they were associated or historical or mythical events were reenacted. In some cases, representations showed particular objects in use during rituals.

UNDERSTANDING CIVIC RELIGION

Using these different lines of evidence together can fill in the picture of Roman civic or public religion providing information on who was worshiped, who participated in

worship, where this occurred, and what was done.

Figures of veneration

The gods, emperors, and ancestors were all venerated in Rome through different festivals, rituals, and offerings, and such honors changed over time.

The gods

The primary subjects of veneration were the gods. In his attack on polytheism, Arnobius made several observations of polytheistic beliefs and practices: polytheists claim gods exist in all things; the gods were produced via intercourse between a male and a female; they have trades; some gods bring bad things, others good; they have mental states; polytheists set up images of anthropomorphic gods in temples; the gods like animal, wine, and incense sacrifices, as well as music, games, theater, etc. (VII, 35-37, p. 269-271). Their emotions and actions could affect the human world; therefore, it was necessary to keep their favor through ritual practices. These beliefs guided rituals and offerings to the gods.

Gods and goddesses were observed in human form which likely made them and their emotions easier to understand (Cicero II, 63). In addition to the great gods, such as Jupiter, Juno and Minerva who made up the Capitoline Triad and were most important to the state, there were other deities who were associated only with certain rituals or natural processes, such as Robigus, the spirit of mildew. These latter types were likely named based on what they did, which helped to explain their nature; essentially, "the gods were what the gods did" (Cicero II, 68-72; Rives 2007: 92). Since each deity had their own

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role or roles that were quite fluid at times, it was possible for such a variety to exist in a single system as they could all easily be accommodated (Beard et al. 1998: 30-31). This fluidity was also necessary as Rome expanded and incorporated new people with their own indigenous gods (Beard et al. 1998: 63).

The gods ordered the universe and could affect all things, especially agriculture (Cicero II, 52). Many festivals throughout the year were performed for agricultural security. A wide variety of practices and material culture were employed during these rituals, and many of these differences correspond to the deity who was the focus of worship. Each aspect of the agricultural season had its own deity who needed to be appeased: Lares and Tella for after planting, Robigus to prevent mildew, and Consus for the storage of grain. Fertility and purification of the flocks and those associated with them also fell within the agricultural realm of worship at events like the *Fordicidia* and the *Parilia*. The Fordicidia was an agricultural festival which focused on purification and was performed after the fields were planted. At the temple of Jupiter and in each of the wards of Rome, pregnant cows were sacrificed, unborn calves were pulled from their mothers' wombs, and their entrails were placed in the fire while the oldest Vestal Virgin burned the carcasses to purify the people of Rome and to promote fertility (Ovid IV, 629-640; Scullard 1981: 102).[1] As Cicero stated, "...the belief universally held is that men must seek from God the blessings of fortune…access to hope, safety, wealth, and victory we must seek from the gods" (III, [pp. 143]). Agricultural matters fell within these categories as the seeds were out of human hands once put in the ground or animals freed

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1 "Forda" means a cow with calf, giving the festival its name (Ovid IV, 629-631). Ovid noted an incident during the reign of Numa where animals began to miscarry their young. After consulting the priests, it was discovered that the earth must be appeased through this sort of sacrifice, thus providing an explanation for the ritual's origin (IV, 641-672).

in the pasture.

Maintaining a proper relationship with the gods was a delicate matter. *Religio*, or "the traditional honours paid to the gods by the state," represented the proper relationship and could be displayed by individuals of all ranks in public contexts (Beard et al. 1998: 216). *Superstitio*, conversely, is understood as "excessive forms of behavior, that is 'irregular' religious practices…and…an excessive commitment to the gods" (Beard et al. 1998: 217). Cicero clarified these notions by explaining their history:

> It was not merely the philosophers, but also our ancestors who distinguished superstition from religion. Those who spent all their days praying and sacrificing in the hope of having their children survive them (*superstites*) were called superstitious (*superstitiosi*)… But those who scrupulously rehearsed and so to say studied afresh all the ritual involved in divine worship were called religious (*religiosi*)… So the word "superstitious" came to note something deficient and "religious" something praiseworthy (II, 72-73).

The Roman understanding of the gods can be summarized into the following: There are powerful gods that exist within and govern all aspects of nature and the universe. To keep them happy they are to be honored through public worship in a variety of ways. These forms of worship must be done properly in order for them to win the favor of the gods and to bring about positive results.

Emperors

The Imperial period brought about changes and additions to Roman religion, including the cult of the Emperor. Roman life under the reign of Augustus in the first century B.C. changed rapidly with the expansion of the Empire and the introduction of new social and religious reforms. Under the new emperor, religion underwent a restoration, including the revival of old cults and temples, which connected it with its

Republican past and imperial future. In addition to restoring old traditions, new rituals were introduced that focused on the divinity of the emperor or his family typically after their deaths, known as the Imperial Cult, and were regulated closely by the subsequent emperor after approval by the Senate (Nock 1924: 21; North 2007). During his life, the emperor served as both head of state and head of religious matters by assuming the role of *pontifex maximus*, the highest of the priesthoods (Beard et al. 1998: 192).

Ancestors

Heroes, deified ancestors, the *Lares* or household gods, and the founders of Rome were sometimes also subjects of worship. Ancestors were honored at various state festivals, but through mostly private rites, including the *Feralia*, *Parentalia*, *Caristia*, and the *Lemuria*. While they did not appear to have achieved divine status, they were viewed as having some degree of power. It was best to keep them on one's side as they were still active in the family and could help the family prosper. As with the gods, the wrath or return of ancestors was a fearful event that needed to be prevented. Rituals for the ancestors differed from many of the other civic festivals as they were concerned more with private family practices than public forms of worship performed by the state (Beard et al 1998: 50). Not all parts of the ancestor-type rituals were completely private since families participated in state rites prior to family rites at home or at cemeteries.

The Role of Civic Cults

While private cults were important for the average Roman, it is the state cults that will be the primary focus for, as the Empire expanded the elites and military transported

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their gods with them. Civic cults were typically controlled by elite men, the Vestals, wives of priests, and elite women (Beard et al. 1998: 296). These cults brought order to the year and ensured the gods were worshiped properly. For example, the *Parilia*, one of the most important events in the religious calendar, required two important elements in order for rituals of cleansing to occur: blood from horses sacrificed during the state games held in October, and ashes of the Fordicidian calves from the spring. Without these, the purification of Vesta's altar during the *Vestalia* in June would not have been possible. While each festival played an important role within a particular month or season, they also had a broader impact and importance in the ritual year. Each festival, therefore, was essential for maintaining annual order; if one part should fail, the effects would have been far reaching and damaging to other parts of the year as well.

Civic cults were also very connected to state politics. For example, new consuls took office on January 1st, a day referred to as the *Vota Publica* (Scullard 1981: 52). On this day, the new consuls met at the Capitol the night before, and at daybreak, offered prayers while the augurs (priests who regarded the flight of birds to know the will of the gods) awaited a favorable sign from Jupiter. Once the sign was seen, the new consuls returned home where they changed into purple-bordered togas and received visitors. Later in the day, they joined the other new senators and sacred animals for a procession up to the Capitoline Hill where each consul offered a new, white bull and made new vows for the safety of the state (Figure 3.10). The Senate then held their first meeting before processing home (Ovid I, 63-88; Scullard 1981: 53-54).

Though the elite oversaw and were responsible for most rituals, mass participation was a necessary and common feature of many festivals. These were open to all peoples:

Roman citizens, foreigners, slaves, and so on (Beard et al. 1998: 263). A coming together of diverse peoples made these sanctified events ideal periods of trade, thus giving ritual festivals an important economic element as well.

Locations of ritual practice

Temples

Temples and natural features were the primary locations for civic ritual activities. The most basic sacred area, often defined by some form of an enclosure, was known as a *templum*. A *templum* could, but was not required to, contain a sacred building called an *aedes*, what we often refer to as "the temple" today (Barton 1995). An altar, or *ara*, was placed in an open area before the *aedes*, and was the primary location for ritual activities. The *aedes* was traditionally elevated on a podium with monumental stairs leading to a colonnaded porch (Figure 3.11). An enclosed area, known as the *cella*, was the most sacred area within the *templum* as it contained the cult statue of the deity (Barton 1995). The Roman *cella* could have a single room or three, and in addition to holding the statue could be used to house offerings. Sometimes the form or structure of the sacred itself reflected the mythology of a god and was critical to the ritual, such as the subterranean Mithraum for the god Mithras which physically reflected the myth associated with the god's death and rebirth.

The landscape of Rome proper was strongly modified by religion. Roman myths of the gods are described as "myths of place" and were reflected within the *pomerium*, or the sacred boundary of the city of Rome (Beard et al. 1998: 173). Rituals occurred in places of significance or had temples erected to commemorate an event. Not only did this

emphasize the history of the city, it also gave it more authority by adding time depth. In later periods, new understandings of place and Roman traditions were evident. For example, the placement of structures in the *Forum Romanum* created physical associations between the family of Julius Caesar and their divine ancestor, Venus (Figure 3.12). Augustus strengthened these connections by adding within the forum a temple to *Divus Julius*, thus declaring the divinity of Caesar, as well as a temple to Mars Ultor (Mars the Avenger) next to the temple of Venus demonstrating additional connections with the divine (Boatwright et al. 2004: 260). Rome, as a whole, received cult within the city and its eternity was promoted (Beard et al. 1998: 257-258). Place was important, but how ideas or values were expressed in a place could have dynamic results. The association of gods together in a space led to new ways of looking at them or understanding them (Beard et al 1998: 280). For this reason, physical space was one way in which religion in Rome was constantly modified and in turn modified the people's understanding of religion and the annual rituals.

In addition to typical sacrifices that occurred within temples, ritualized maintenance of civic temples to the key gods of Rome was necessary. For example, on the 7th of June the inner storeroom in the Temple of Vesta was opened only to barefooted women in an event known as the *Vesta aperitur* (Ovid VI, 397-398; Scullard 1981: 148). The *Vestalia* followed two days later during which the sacred fires of Vesta were tended, special cakes were baked, and garlands with loaves were hung (Ovid VI, 311-318; Scullard 1981: 149-150). Vesta was honored yet again with the *Vesta clauditur* on June 15th, during which the dirt was swept from the Temple of Vesta down to the Tiber and then the temple was closed again until next year (Ovid VI, 711-714; Scullard 1981: 153).

Natural features and other locations

Crossroads in the countryside, intersections in the cities, theaters, and various altars were significant locations for ritual activities. Natural features, such as sacred groves, springs and fountains, and rivers, were also important for ritual practices. Several events in the Roman religious calendar occurred in or near natural features deemed sacred, two of which are presented here due to the rites and offerings described.

The first was the *Robigalia* which honored Robigus, the spirit of mildew. During this event, white-robed participants met in the road near a grove sacred to the god. The *flamen* threw sheep and dog entrails into the fire while asking for the well-being of the crops. The *flamen* held a special napkin in his right hand as he added a bowl of wine, incense, and the entrails to the hearth (Ovid IV, 905-938). Ovid explained that a dog, traditionally an undesirable offering, was offered because it kept the crops from ripening too soon (IV, 939-942).

The second occurred at the Tiber River in May. During the *Argeis* an uncertain deity, perhaps Saturn, was honored beginning with a procession of the Argei, which included pontiffs, Vestal Virgins, praetors, and other lawful citizens, to the Tiber (Ovid V, 625-628; Scullard 1981: 120). The wife of the *flamen Dialis* also accompanied this procession and was required to display signs of mourning (uncombed hair and clothing other than her typical wedding dress). The participants gathered on the bridge over the river and threw into it up to 60 wooden or straw effigies shaped to look like men, which were called *Argei*.[2] Ovid says that this practice was perhaps a substitution for human

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2 Ovid stated that 60 effigies were offered to the Tiber (V, 623-632), though Scullard argues a lower number, around 27 or 30, based on other authors' accounts of the event (1991: 120). This tradition

sacrifice, which the Romans frowned upon, and was also meant as an act of purification (Beard et al. 1998: 233; Scullard 1981: 120).

There were two ways of seeing deities in the natural world: as a topographical feature, or by regarding a place as home to a deity (Rives 2007: 90). Participants offering effigies into the Tiber River could have understood the place to be either, or perhaps there was more uncertainty and it was done for both reasons. Either way, it is apparent that the sacred landscape of Rome included not only artificial structures such as temples, but natural features as well.

Rituals and Sacred Procedures

Rituals and their procedures had great variation that corresponded to the god being honored and the nature of the celebration. When examining rituals, several aspects must be considered: who participated, what actions were involved, what was offered, and why or the purpose of the ritual.

Participants

The role one could play in traditional cults was based on public status and sex (Beard et al. 1998: 288). To maintain and supervise public festivals, official leaders were necessary. Priests from elite families played major roles in public rituals. Four priestly colleges were known: the pontifices, augurs, *duoviri*[3], and *fetiales* (Beard et al. 1998: 18). These figures often held political roles or were consulted by the Senate illustrating connection between Roman religion and politics (Beard et al. 1998: 30). These positions

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apparently began when a dying man asked to be thrown into the Tiber so that his body may find its way back to his home in Greece (Ovid V, 653-662).

3 This priesthood later expanded to become decemviri, and again as *quindecemviri*.

became more prestigious over time as the influence and status of the elite evolved (Beard et al. 1998: 192). Beginning with Augustus, the ruling emperor could also hold the role of *pontifex maximus*, the highest priest in Rome, making him both the political and religious leader of the state (Beard et al. 1998: 55).

The Vestal Virgins were highly regarded priestesses from the elite families of Rome who had very particular functions within the Roman ritual system. They participated directly in many cult practices throughout the year including the *Fordicidia*, the *Vestalia*, and the celebration of Bona Dea along with the wives of leading senators, and were also present at many of the other civic rituals.[4] Priests' wives sometimes too played an important role or had certain things required of them, such as the wife of *flamen Dialis* at the *Argeis* who had to dress and act in accordance with the rituals. It seems many of the roles women played in cult promoted traditional roles or values of Roman society (Beard et al. 1998: 53-54), for example, the priestesses of Vesta did household work at her celebrations in June. Men played direct roles in many of the rituals associated with war or the farm. Society reinforced its values by projecting them onto its religious system.

For non-elites, roles in civic rituals were limited or trickled down from the larger civic practices. Some of the equestrian elites had their own priesthoods, and some cults offered official roles to ex-slaves, such as playing music or killing and processing the sacrificed animals (Beard et al. 1998: 260-261). Non-elite men exercised more power in the private side of civic worship exercising their role as a *paterfamilias*. Non-elite women participated more actively in domestic rites, rather than those in public.

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4 The celebration of Bona Dea offers a rare glimpse of a ritual where women acted independently of men to help maintain civic rites (Beard et al. 1998: 296-297).

Actions and Purposes

A variety of actions could be involved in the ritual procedure such as sacrifice, processions, games, festivals, and other public displays (North 2007). Often one asked for benefits from gods or said prayers, the nature of which depended on the occasion rather than a set script. It was necessary to invoke the deity using the most specific known title of the god, and then state why the god should grant the request. The dedicant made a promise of or gave an offering or sacrifice to the god, and then presented their request.

Sometimes augury, or watching the flight of birds to understand the will of the gods, was an important communicative feature of Roman religion as many state decisions were made using this technique (North 2007). Divination also sought to know the will of the gods, but was typically done by studying the organs of sacrificed animals. Decisions to engage in battle were occasionally made in the field by watching sacred chickens eat; no decision could be made without consulting the gods first. For all matters, it was more favorable to know the mood and will of the gods.

Civic rituals focused primarily on ensuring military success and agricultural prosperity. Rituals for agricultural success were celebrated by elites and non-elites in both the countryside and in the cities through slightly different actions. The *Compitalia*, or the Day of Sowing, was a feast to the *Lares Compitales* with a movable date appointed by the priests after seeds were planted and fields fertilized (Ovid I, 657-662).[5] The name comes from the word "*compita,*" meaning "crossroads" (Frazer 1931: 100-101, d). At the intersection of farms, open shrines to the Lares or twin guardians of crossroads, were erected and visible from all directions (Ovid II, 615-616; Scullard 1981: 58). For the festival, farmers hung used ploughs on posts as offerings to signify accomplished work

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5 Scullard indicates this typically fell between January 3rd and 5th (1981: 58).

and a period of rest for both humans and tools (Ovid I, 663-668). Cakes were also offered on hearths while spelt and a sow were sacrificed to the goddesses Tella, who gave the seeds a place to grow, and to Ceres, who gave the grains life. The farmers prayed to the goddesses that the crops might flourish, for healthy seeds, for clear planting weather, for rain once the work finished, and that the birds, pests, mildew, and weeds would stay away (Ovid I, 671-704). Wool was also an important element to this sacrifice. Women created woolen dolls to represent free members of the household, while slaves were represented by woolen balls instead; these were then hung up and displayed as part of the festival (Schultz 2006: 129).[6]

The urban form of the *Compitalia* was similar to the traditional rural version. At each of the crossroads within the 265 wards of the city, sacrifices were made to the shrines of the Lares. Instead of woolen sacrifices, pigs and honey cakes were prepared and sacrificed by the slaves, after which a feast and celebration followed (Beard et al. 1998: 184; Scullard 1981: 59). Under Augustus, the Lares were transformed into the *Lares Augusti* or *Genius Augusti*. Through this transformation, the traditionally private worship of Augustus's household ancestors was made public and associated with official state cult (Beard et al. 1998: 185). The well-being of the emperor and the state relied on attentions paid by the general public and elites to the gods.

Offerings

Gifts given to the gods during rituals took two primary forms, those of food and drink, and objects meant to remind the gods or thank the gods for their help. Often both forms of offerings were given in the same ceremony as demonstrated by the inscriptions

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6 These offerings might have represented substitutions for human victims (Scullard 1981: 59).

documenting the *vota* given by the Arval Brethren (see *Connecting with the Gods through Objects*, below). Some common forms of offerings included flowers, cakes, incense, statues, figurines, metal plaques, altars, milk, oil, honey, water, and blood sacrifices of sheep, pigs, or cows.

Offerings and sacrifices of wine and meat were given to nourish the gods and to encourage them to set aside their wrath which was done by following a prescribed formula to honor the gods properly (Arnobius VII, 3, 5-11, p. 239; 21, 13-21, p. 254). Particular deities were to receive particular offerings. At the *Vota Publica*, for example, a white bull sacrificed to Jupiter represented a traditional and appropriate offering. Likewise, male animals were sacrificed to male gods, and females to goddesses. White was also considered a lucky and cheerful color favored by the gods above, while darker animals were better for gods of the underworld (Arnobius VII, 19-20, p. 252-254). Cakes representing bounty, and a pregnant sow were the prescribed formula for earth goddesses (Arnobius VII, 22, 9-11, p. 255).

Libations of wine were a well-received offering. Arnobius stated that polytheists offered wine on burning altars (Figure 3.13) to the gods because the smoke and sweet smells showed reverence for their divine sovereignty; they were honored by this (VII, 30, 24-26, p. 263; Scheid 2007: 269). The same was said for the burning of incense containing tree gum which had a pleasing smell and honored the immortality of the gods while alerting them to the sacrifice (Arnobius VII, 27, 1-5, p. 261). These were different than other offerings because they did not involve food-sharing as animal sacrifice did; these items were reserved for the gods alone.

Wine was also used for several other aspects of rituals, like being poured on

animals before they were killed and later sprinkled on the meat before being shared with the deity, or for funerary rites as libations poured on graves (Scheid 2007: 265-266). Distribution of wine was even part of some official rites, such as the *Cara Cognatio* and during the *natalis collegii* on November 8th.

In some cases multiple food-related offerings were given, such as at the Cerialian Games to honor Ceres, the agricultural and fertility goddess who showed humans better and more edible foods to eat (Ovid IV, 393-406). During the festival, participants were required to wear white robes while offering spelt, salt, and incense in old hearths, which was followed by the sacrifice of a sow (Ovid IV, 409-416, 619-620). By making worthy sacrifices to the gods, Romans sought help from good deities and hoped to keep the bad or mischievous ones from causing harm (Arnobius VII, 23, 25-28, p. 255; 23, 1-5, p. 256). Wine, incense, grains, and so on were all common sacrificial items, but animals were the favored form and chosen because the gods gave them to men as food, therefore, making them appropriate offerings (Arnobius VII, 16, 20-23, p. 250).

Objects left in a temple or near sacred shrines were not intended to nourish the gods, but rather, were meant to honor the power of the god. Gifts were left as down-payments for a request, or in fulfillment of a vow to the god, and when collectively displayed, visually attest to the power of a particular deity while providing an opportunity to display one's own wealth (Derks 1998). Votive altars and other objects often explained the contract a person made with a particular deity. Interpretations of other objects suggest they may have been associated with health, fertility, success, and so on.

The remains of a temple complex known as Ponte di Nona located just outside of Rome was active from the third to early first century B.C. While most of the temple and

its surrounding buildings were destroyed over time, several large caches of terracotta figurines, probably collected and buried while the temple was cleaned out, were discovered. Of the 8,395 figurine pieces, nearly 6,000 were identified: 2,368 feet; 1,365 heads; 971 limbs; 604 hands; 377 eyes; 160 male genitals; 138 animals; 102 figurines; 44 ears; 27 uteri; eight breasts; and seven intestines (Potter 1985: 28). The majority of the objects were human body parts, which, as at many other sites, have been interpreted as offerings associated with healing. While no evidence from the site identifies the deity of the place, temporally the ritual activity corresponds with the rise of the Asclepius cult throughout the Mediterranean. Ponte di Nona is just one example of a healing cult from this region, though the tradition was popular until around the first century B.C. The offerings deposited show the popularity of such sites as well as the ways in which requests or thanks were given to the gods in a physical form.

SUMMARY

The inhabitants of Rome understood gods and men were bound together in a complicated manner: "The gods could…be negotiated with; they were indeed bound to the human community by a network of obligations, traditions, rules, within which the skill of the priests, magistrates and senate could keep them on the side of the city," (Beard et al. 1998: 34). Clearly it was important to keep their favor. They influenced the stability of the crops, and therefore, Roman bellies, military successes, and political matters of the city. While they existed apart from humans, in a way, it was possible and indeed necessary, to secure their favor in order for the state to be successful (Beard et al. 1998: 41). Sacrifices were made at altars in sacred areas and could include animals of the

appropriate breed, sex, and color; sweet smelling items such as wine and incense; or a variety of other items like cakes, grain, fruits, flowers, and so on. Honor was paid through annual festivals scheduled in the calendar. The purpose of such festivals and their associated rites were to honor the gods and their powers at appropriate times and places (Arnobius VII, 13, 29-31, p. 247). Many rites included the renewal of vows with the gods which followed regular formulas: present the deeds of the god, repeat what was asked of him/her, state the conditions for fulfillment, and explain how they will be rewarded (either through offerings, sacrifices, games, temples, and so on).

The state was also sanctified because of its close and overlapping connection to religion. Every major decision of the state required some form of ritual practice; the approval of the gods was necessary. The *Vota Publica* used augury to discover the will of the gods, while the opening and closing of the campaign season required sacrifices and purification at rituals such as the *Equirria*, *Tubilustrium*, and the *Quinquatrus* to win their favor, and as a result, succeed. War became sanctified as it was surrounded by ritual practices. The Roman army even mirrored the major religious institutions of Rome while away by erecting a temporary Capitolium in their camps. This dedication to and transportation of the state gods was a major influence on new lands coming into contact with the armies of Rome.

PART 3: THE FORMATION OF NEW RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS IN ROMAN GAUL

At the end of the Gallic Wars, the Roman presence was increasingly established in the new province of Gaul. Following the victory of Augustus at Actium near the province of *Epirus Vetus* (western Greece), the Empire began to expand as never before

leading to more intense contact and change across the provinces. Dramatic alterations to political, social, and cultural systems occurred as new leaders, citizens, and soldiers established themselves in the area. One of the cultural systems visibly affected by increased Roman contact was the religion of the native inhabitants of Gaul, who already had their own sacred spaces (special places in nature, *Viereckschanzen*, open-air sanctuaries) and ritual practices (sacrifice of animals, deposits of weapons and other objects, burned offerings). Roman religious traditions were spread and modified through several means which are evident archaeologically.

THE SPREAD OF TRADITIONS AND *INTERPRETATIO ROMANA*

As Roman polytheism was a religion of place, it was difficult to export it wholesale (Beard et al. 1998: 314). Many of the rituals, particularly those in the calendar, were connected to specific places or processional ways; without these features the same understanding and significance could not have been transferred outside of Rome itself. Attempts to export this system were made by moving Roman citizens to *coloniae*, towns which were designed to replicate Rome politically, socially, culturally and architecturally (Beard et al 1998: 315). They had their own version of a Capitolium and even their own pontifices and augurs for performing some of the rituals that occurred in Rome proper (Beard et al. 1998: 328, 334). The public cults were probably more important in the urban centers than in rural areas. Many of the monuments within newly formed Roman towns also became means of display in which the elite could gain status and prestige by paying for new, elaborate sanctuaries and other public buildings (Woolf 1998).

The army, a mobile branch of Rome and strongly connected to civic values, was

also responsible for the spread and exchange of religious ideas. Most of the festivals held in March and October were tied to warfare demonstrating its sanctification by the state (Beard et al. 1998: 43). During the campaign season, the army was still very connected to the Roman ritual calendar and worshiped the Capitoline Triad. Some of the more common military rites performed both before and during campaign included commanders taking the auspices, purifications (*lustrationes*), ceremonies for river crossings, burning weapons captured from enemies, *evocatio* and *devotio*, and sacrifices after victories (Nock 1952: 741). During the Imperial period, the cult of the emperor was also firmly within the military as it symbolized unity within the Empire (Rives 2007: 148).

In addition to the veneration of deities critical to the well-being of the state, soldiers often worshiped their own native deities and were responsible for much of the religious exchange in the provinces (Rives 2007). The Roman army drew on men from all over the empire who brought their gods with them to new lands which were then introduced into that area's existing traditions. Jupiter Dolichenus, for example, was possibly a form of Ba'al, a solar deity from Syria, whose place-name was joined with that of the Roman solar deity, Jupiter, the most important deity of the Roman state. This form of the god was very popular in Rome, but more notably along the Rhine-Danube frontier (Merlat 1960). The latter location corresponds to the placement of military camps, such as the Saalburg along the *limes*, in which soldiers, who were loyal to stately Jupiter in all forms, erected what are now referred to as "Jupiter Columns" to honor the god (Woolf 2001).

Such an exchange today may seem unusual, but it was a common practice throughout the empire as it expanded. The process of equating a native god with a Roman

one possessing a similar nature was not haphazard and was not instantaneous, rather, identification required thought known as *interpretatio romana*. It was recognized that both the Romans and natives worshiped deities who shared some attributes or a similar character, but were called by a different name in each society (Rives 2007). For example, at the site of Bath, the native inhabitants called the goddess of the spring Sulis, who the Romans recognized shared attributes with their goddess Minerva, leading to the goddess's new identification as Sulis Minerva (Figure 3.14; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985). The god Apollo Grannus also underwent a similar transition in Gaul pairing a Roman and native deity. The challenge was to pair the deities correctly allowing for a proper translation.

This approach to the cosmos allowed for the negotiation of cultural differences between distinct groups. Notions of a particular type of god were shared once the names were joined. As a result, stories and myths about the gods transferred too, leading to changes in their representations as well. The process was not uniform and many factors influenced how the gods were interpreted (Rives 2007). Over time, these ideas changed as well with the introduction of new deities from other parts of the empire.

The religious understanding and practices from this time and place are part of the larger formation of what we refer to today as Gallo-Roman culture. Gallo-Roman religion was not simply a blend of Roman ideas with those native to Gaul, but rather, new traditions were established and followed. The fundamental ideological changes which occurred left their mark on the material world. For example, we know of Apollo Grannus because people began to inscribe the name of the god on new forms of material culture, such as altars, for the first time. Temples, representations and epigraphic identification of

the gods, and offerings presented to them are the primary archaeological remains used to study Gallo-Roman religion today as it is radically different from that of earlier periods.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF GALLO-ROMAN RELIGION AND RITUAL

The Transformation of Sacred Space

Locations for ritual practices do not differ much between prehistoric and Gallo-Roman examples. People still gathered at natural places to venerate the gods, and continued to build enclosures to mark sacred space. The primary difference is how people indicated such places were sacred, and the forms of their enclosures. In some instances, places with a Gallo-Roman temple had no visible evidence of being a sacred location in the preceding periods, while in other cases, there is strong evidence for continuity between the late La Tène and early Roman period, as at the large enclosures discussed above, with perhaps a pause during the Gallic Wars.

In the first century, the grand ditches and timber structures at Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont-sur-Ancre were filled in. At Gournay, the sacred pit and its protective structure were covered by a new eastward-facing structure built of stone, known as a *fanum*; a similar building was erected at Ribemont also (Brunaux et al. 1985, Brunaux 2009). The importance of these La Tène sanctuaries probably drew people to these centers in the first century and inspired their continued use in the later periods. Other sites, such as Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, also underwent a similar treatment and continued to be used throughout the Gallo-Roman period (Joly and Barral 2012).

The Gallo-Roman sanctuary

Gallo-Roman sanctuaries are found in urban centers, in the rural landscape, and near natural features, such as springs or confluences of rivers. Urban centers, particularly those in southern Gaul or in major Romanized towns, often have sanctuaries that are architecturally similar to those in the Mediterranean, but may also have forms characteristic of the region. At locations with natural features, an altar may be all that is erected to indicate a place where sacrifices to the god may be made, or an entire sanctuary may be constructed (Van Andringa 2002). The primary and most typical Gallo-Roman sanctuary is characterized by two main architectural features: the stone enclosure and the temple or *fanum* (Figure 3.15), structures which did not exist in this form prior to late in the first century B.C. (Derks 1998).

The enclosure.

Previous enclosures, typically a ditch and palisade, were later replaced by a wall of stone in the first century A.D. (Fauduet 2010). At some sites basic walls became monumental features as they were transformed into covered porticos. Entrances were situated on the eastern side across from the entrance of the *fanum*. The enclosure, normally quadrangular though other shapes are known, defined the sacred limits of the sanctuary surrounding a courtyard and the temple. The interior side of the enclosure was also sacred and could be used to display offerings left by visitors.

The *fanum* (Figure 3.16)

Fanum refers to a particular type of temple found in Gaul, originating very late in the first century B.C., which is made up of a square central *cella* and a parallel

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surrounding gallery or portico with an eastern facing entrance (Fauduet 2010). The *cella* is made of stone, while the gallery may be constructed from timber and/or stone. It is viewed as the most sacred place in the sanctuary acting as the home of the god who is present as a cult statue on a platform. Access to this area by the devotee is unclear, but seems unlikely that just anyone could enter (Derks 1998). The gallery, also considered the domain of the god, was an area open to visitors for circumambulation (processing around a sacred objects or place) and also became an area to leave offerings (Van Andringa 2002).

Exceptions to this general plan are known. Some sites may have multiple independent *fana* within the same enclosure, such as at Chateaubleu (Figure 3.17A), which has four temples aligned on north-south access facing east (Pilon 2008). Saint Usage, for example, has a different formation of two square *cellae* surrounded by a shared portico to create a single *fanum* (Goguey 1977). Different yet, at Basiols in Saint-Beauzely (Figure 3.17B), the enclosure surrounds nine square *cellae*, none of which have a gallery (Bourgeois et al. 1993). The quantity and combinations of complete temples, *cellae* and galleries may vary across sites, and within a single site. At other sites, the *cella* and/or gallery may take on other shapes, such as the octagonal *cella* and gallery at Alesia, the pentagonal *cella* at Saint Usage, or the octagonal *cella* with rounded interior walls at Champallement (Figure 3.17C) (respectively Cazanove 2012a, Goguey 1977, and Devauges 1977).

Other features within the sanctuary.

In addition to the *fanum*, several other important features may reside within the

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sanctuary. Derks argues that the temple was the most important structure inside the enclosure, for it was the home of the god, but that the altar was the most important for rituals as it provided a focal point (1998: 201, 205). While originally placed at the entrance of the *fanum*, it is rare to find altars in their original position as they were often quarried in late antiquity for stone (Fauduet 2010). Instead, shallow depressions are sometimes found where the altar originally stood. Votive altars, stele, and columns dedicated to the god adorned the sanctuary, and stone benches for movable seating were found within the walls as well (Derks 1998).

Water was important for many aspects of ritual including the purification of sacrificial animals, the purification of officiants, preparation of the sacrificial meal, and general cleaning of the sanctuary (Van Andringa 2002: 114). Stone basins and wells are often found within or near the sanctuary to make water more accessible. At sites which are believed to venerate the source or water deity of a particular place, fountains and canals to control the path of the sacred water may also be found (Cazanove 2012a).

Structures near the sanctuary.

Bathhouses are sometimes found near sanctuaries, but seem more common in urbanized centers. Baths could be used before religious services or sacred banquets for purification. At centers which were understood to have healing waters, visitors could enter the baths for medicinal purposes like at Bourbonne-les-Bains or at the famous spring sanctuary at Bath, England (Sauer 2005a; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985).

In addition to baths, theaters are also sometimes associated with sanctuaries. Many local inhabitants and visitors could gather in theaters for festivals and games

honoring the deity or emperor, or for monument dedications (Van Andringa 2002). The important connection between sanctuaries, baths and theaters has been noted at places like Ribemont-sur-Ancre, where these three structures are organized on the same axis as part of a sacred urban landscape (Brunaux et al. 2009).

Identifying the Gods

There have been many books addressing the cosmological nature of the pre-Roman and Roman gods of Gaul (Bonnard 1908, Vaillat 1932, Drioux 1934, Duval 1957, Thevenot 1968, Lacroix 1970, Brunaux 1988, Derks 1998, Deyts 1998). Most of this information has come from representations of the gods and inscriptions in which they are named. Instead of recounting each of the deities within the Gallo-Roman pantheon, their associated mythologies and attributes, the locations in which they are found and their nominal variations, I will discuss the archaeological materials that provide general information about the gods as a whole.

Seeing the Gods

Representations of the gods mark one of the most significant changes to religion during this time. Very few Iron Age sites have evidence for anthropomorphic deities. Brunaux suggests that for people of the Iron Age, the gods were superior to them and likely did not possess the same appearance; however, if they were presented physically, they likely emphasized qualities such as masculinity or femininity rather than individualized features (Brunaux 1988). The Gundestrup Cauldron mentioned above has various images, such as a man wearing a torque (a sign of high standing), has antlers on

his head, and is seated in the lotus position, symbols which are thought to indicate representations of deities. Another well-known example is a small bronze figurine known as the god of Bouray who is also seated in the lotus position and wears a torque, a sign of high standing, around his neck (Lantier 1934). Other sacred images probably took the form of animal-human hybrids, animals, birds, trees, or wheel-symbols rather than being anthropomorphic (Brunaux: 1988: 73; Woolf 1998: 212).

As Roman notions of the divine spread, the deities of Gaul began to take human form and acquire particular attributes more frequently. This was one of the most significant material changes affecting religion at this time. Depictions of the gods are often connected to the myths of the gods which describe their relationship with one another and their function in the world (Derks 1998). These representations can be incorporated into architectural features, such as sculptural motifs and mosaics, as stand-alone pieces, such as stone, bronze, and terracotta sculptures or figurines, or they can be depicted on other objects such as altars, signet rings, coins, or various forms of ornamentation.

Epigraphic evidence

There is very little epigraphic evidence that provides the names of the gods from the La Tène period or earlier. The introduction of writing from Mediterranean societies was one of the greatest influences on Gallo-Roman religion. As noted above, when the name of the god is inscribed in the Gallo-Roman period, it often has two parts: a Roman name and a native name. Some retain what is believed to be their pre-Roman or native name, but it could be from Roman times as well; it is only the double-name which we can

date with certainty as belonging to the Gallo-Roman period (Derks 1998: 93).

Inscriptions, typically in Greek or Latin characters, identifying deities can be found on buildings dedicated to them and sometimes graffiti is even found (Mermet 1993).[7] Votive offerings, such as altars, statues, and metal vessels for example, also have inscriptions. A typical votive inscription contains several parts (Figure 3.18): the name of the god, the name of the person(s) dedicating the object, an abbreviated closing formula, such as V.S.L.M. (*Votum Solvit Libens Merito*, "he willingly and freely fulfilled his vow"), and sometimes it may even contain the reason for the dedication, all of which provide helpful information about the gods and ritual practices (Derks 1998). Some of the graffiti on the walls of Chateauneuf even states what was offered (Mermet 1993: 134-135). In addition to the gods, dedications to the *numina* of the emperor and the royal family are also sometimes included.

Assembling the divine

The extent of Romanization or syncretism the gods of Gaul experienced has been debated. Instead of examining how Roman the Gallo-Roman deities are I prefer Webster's notion of creolization which argues that representations, traditional notions of the gods, and epigraphic evidence in the form of names are the result of different ideas merging and undergoing negotiations at a local level, rather than the imposition of Roman ideals on the peoples of Gaul (2001: 221). Some things came together in new ways, while other aspects of the gods and rituals remained distinct.

The combined epigraphic and iconographic evidence provides insights into the

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7 Examples from the source of the Seine and elsewhere show that sometimes Latin or Greek characters were used, but that the language was Celtic.

various forms of Gallo-Roman gods which often share aspects of both Roman and indigenous ideas of the divine. First, there are gods who seem to have been imported directly from Rome and maintain their original name and form, such as the helmeted and armed Greco-Roman Minerva, and are typically represented in a classical style; the same god may have been modified in other instances. Second, Roman and native gods are sometimes paired in one of two ways. In some cases, inscriptions use the Roman name for a particular type of god and pair it with the name of a similar Gallic god, such as Mars Cicolluis or Apollo Grannus, as discussed above. In other cases, sacred marriages of a Roman god to a native goddess united both Roman and Gallic deities, such as Mercury and Rosemerta (Figure 3.19). Third, sometimes a Roman model of a god is used to convey a native idea, such as the abundance of terracotta Venus figurines which are believed to represent indigenous fertility beliefs at shrines (Webster 1997). Finally, some gods appear to have no Roman influence whatsoever in name (often there are no inscriptions with them) nor in representation, and probably reflect pre-Roman deities, such as Epona the horse goddess (Figure 3.20), Sucellus the mallet god, or Cernunnos the antlered god on the Gundestrup Cauldron (Webster 2001).

In addition to examining Roman and native aspects of the gods, it is also possible to see different treatment of male and female deities. In his examination of inscriptions from northern Europe, Derks found that female goddesses are more likely to retain their name and very rarely have a double-name, whereas male gods are mostly listed with a double-name, rather than just their native name (1998: 93). This may have been connected to a perception that Rome's military superiority came from their gods, and it was therefore profitable to associate similar types of local gods with those of the Romans

(Derks 1998: 101). Another possibility is that perhaps this was an attempt to tame the indigenous god by means of *evocatio*, a process by which foreign gods were persuaded to come to the side of the Romans (Woolf 1998: 214).

Male gods are also more often associated with public cults whereas goddesses, who were probably equally important, tend to be worshiped in private cults instead. The *Matres* or *déesses-meres*, for example, have little evidence for public cult, and their temples, typically *fana* rather than Mediterranean forms, were modest (Figure 3.21). Instead they were very important locally often taking on names connected to nearby features or personal names, for they were considered ancestral mothers rather than simply mother goddesses (Derks 1998: 119). This is not the case for all deities though. Epigraphic evidence for some gods and goddesses, such as Rosmerta, has been found across multiple landscapes and regions suggesting that some cults attributed to indigenous deities were in fact provincial gods, and more public, rather than local (Derks 1998: 91).

Finally, Derks (1998) has observed that the gods could have multiple and overlapping functions. For this reason, while Mars may be the god of war, one can invoke other gods, like Minerva, whose area of expertise may be a more specific aspect of the overall theme, such as planning and strategy in war. This explains why some deities appear together in representations or inscriptions, or why multiple gods may be present in a single sanctuary. As we shall see in chapters 7 and 8, while there is often a main god or goddess to whom the sanctuary may be dedicated, it is not uncommon to find evidence for multiple deities in the same location. Their overlapping functions, or more specific skills, may explain this distribution.

Connecting with the Gods through Objects

Offering objects in sacred places is a tradition dating back to at least the Neolithic in temperate Europe. Prehistoric ritual deposits took various forms including weapons, jewelry, and human or animal sacrifices. The locations in which they were deposited also varied from watery places, human-made enclosures, and pits. Later the Roman elite deemed many of these cults and practices *superstitio* (excessive and inappropriate behavior towards the gods) and were accordingly modified and brought under the format of Roman ritual traditions (Woolf 1998: 215).

Though the act of giving objects to the intranatural was not new, the giving of a *votum* certainly was a Roman approach to the divine. Most of our information about the *votum* comes from the Arval Brethren who oversaw the rituals for *dea Dia* (the good goddess)*,* and documented each with an inscription, of which over 200 remain today (Derks 1998). A *votum* was a contract, usually for one year, between the Arvales and the gods for the health and well-being of the emperor. After examining these inscriptions which outline the ritual of the *votum*, Scheid (1990) was able to establish the general procedure as follows.

First, the Arvales gathered on the Capitol in Rome to organize the vow on behalf of the emperor for the coming year. During this process, they decided which deity or deities they would call upon, what they were requesting, and what offerings they would give if the request was granted. The *votum* was read aloud near the *cella* of Juno Regina, and was then recorded in the codex and inscribed in stone at the sanctuary of *dea Dia*.

After the appointed time had passed, it was necessary to decide if the vow was fulfilled. If it was not fulfilled, the god received some sort of public embarrassment. If it

was, incense and wine were offered on a smoking hearth which brought the gods to the sacrifice, and the animals, the typical offering, were cleansed and made sacred for the gods through *immolatio*, or the ritual sprinkling of water or wine between the horns. The animal was then killed with a sacrificial ax, its blood collected in a bowl, and then poured on the altar. Once cut open, its intestines were examined before being cooked for the gods. Other offerings such as an altar, if promised, were given during this time. Once all payments were made, the rest of the meal was eaten at a communal banquet.

The votum *in Gaul and in the sanctuary*

The process outlined above was by no means fully transported to Gaul or used during every ritual offering made to a god. This ritual was associated with a public cult and led by a group of priests based in Rome. There was also much at stake with this vow: the health of the emperor. Setting aside a few of these details, typical inscriptions from the provinces, as described above, show that people did use the *votum* to interact with the gods in both public and private contexts implying that they followed a similar procedure. Some votive altars depict people playing music, offering incense, and sacrificing animals indicating that some critical aspects of the *votum* ritual were maintained (Derks 1998).

Animals were likely sacrificed as part of the ritual and perhaps other organic offerings such as cakes, fruits, or flowers, but the materials of greatest interest for the present discussion are the preserved objects that were left in the sanctuaries after the ritual was complete and represent a more lasting monument to the gods. The types of objects offered vary significantly and are made from a variety of materials. Sculptures and figurines of the gods, pilgrims, various parts of the human body and animals made

from stone, metal, wood, or terracotta are rather common (Deyts 1994). Inscribed stone

altars, and sometimes small ones made from clay, were frequently left in sanctuaries to

commemorate the *votum* and provide much information about its participants (Derks

1998). Coins in various metals, often dating to a several hundred year period, are one of

the most common offerings found in sanctuaries (Sauer 2005a). Jewelry is also common

and may include fibulae, rings, bracelets, and beads made bronze, iron, glass, or precious

stones or metals (Pommeret 2001a). Other notable metal objects include miniatures of

axes and wheels, or plaquettes made from hammered bronze depicting eyes (Figure 3.22)

or reproductive organs (Kiernan 2009, Cazanove 2012a). Ceramics found at sites may

have been used for the ritual itself, but it is probable that they contained perishable

offerings as well.

While the list of offerings is nowhere near complete, it provides a general idea of

some of the most common gifts left within the sacred walls of the sanctuary. Their exact

placement is debated and unclear as the early excavations of sanctuaries did not often

preserve contextual information, however, Cazanove et al.'s (2012a) recent excavations

at Alesia succeeded in collecting these vital data. Spatial analysis of the finds, in this case

mostly bronze plaquettes of eyes and reproductive organs, revealed that the objects were

found in several locations (Figure 3.23): clustered near the entrance of the *cella*, found

along the wall of the gallery, and in a fountain dedicated to a nymph of the waters. The

results suggest that these types of votives were nailed or attached near the entrance of the

cella closest to the god, and also on the walls of the gallery, which were also within the

god's domain. From this, it would seem that visitors could not enter the *cella*, but were

welcome to move freely around the gallery. It is also possible that some offerings, such

as coins, were thrown into the *cella*, which has been used to explain the random distribution of coins in this area.

Votives were originally in areas of public display where they could be seen by other visitors (Derks 1998). Some offerings are only known to us from their secondary context, but provide important information for how objects were treated once they were too old, too abundant, or obsolete. Coins, for example, were often collected over time and buried within the sanctuary. Very near the gallery wall of the Crain *fanum*, a large stone trunk was uncovered which contained over 200 coins from various periods (Devauges 1973). The large vessel recovered from the Source of the Seine contained a smaller vessel inside which had over 100 bronze plaquettes and over 800 coins whose dates ranged from Augustus to Magnus Maximus in the fourth century A.D. (Baudot 1845). Countless sculptures from sanctuaries exist today in the foundations of Christian chapels built near the ancient shrines, and other offerings are sometimes found scattered about the galleries of the *fana* or stored in the annexes where they remained until excavated, or were deposited into wells during the destruction of the sanctuary (Bonneau 1996).

SUMMARIZING THE TRANSITION

The inhabitants of late Iron Age Gaul, and Europe more broadly, had their own ritual traditions that varied across the landscape. Located near special natural features, such as mountains or bogs, or in open-air human-made structures, the participants offered a variety of objects to the divine including weapons, jewelry, and human or animal sacrifices through deposition or burning. They were polytheists who rarely represented their gods anthropomorphically, but perhaps depicted them as animals or human-animal

hybrids instead.

After the conquest of Gaul by the Romans, the ritual landscape and traditions of the new province were modified and formed a new system that was not entirely Roman, nor entirely Gallic. Some of the old ritual centers had new temples, known as *fana*, erected near the old remains. New categories of material culture were given as offerings, some of which included inscriptions documenting the human and divine interaction. Offerings, instead of being deposited in pits and ditches, were placed near the house of the god after a formal ritual whose roots lie in Roman ritual traditions. The forms of offerings also changed with the introduction of new material culture from the Roman world. The gods were also given human form, and cult statues remained one of the most important and sacred features in a sanctuary, for the god could inhabit the statue at any time.

INTRANATURAL ENTITIES

We know little about how the peoples of the late Iron Age saw their gods, but the locations of their rituals provide some insight. In many societies, and in later traditions of Europe, watery places were often viewed as the realm of the intranatural. Gods or spirits may inhabit these places, or such places may be divine themselves. The gods are thus, part of the world, and humans can interact with them directly by depositing offerings where they are known to reside.

In the Gallo-Roman period we know that gods could inhabit their cult statues at any time, but especially during rituals which brought the human world to the attention of

the gods. Humans could essentially negotiate with the gods by proposing an exchange of something from the divine for a physical offering from the human realm.

The fact that features in the landscape could be understood as divine, and that gods could inhabit the natural world or a human-made representations of them, illustrates their physical presence in the human world. It is this key feature, that they can be physical, that makes them intranatural rather than supernatural. Like the supernatural, intranatural entities can be invisible and reside in a different space. Unlike the supernatural, the intranatural can move through and reside in human spaces too. Their presence in the human world is what allows them to be negotiated with or appealed to via offerings. The peoples of prehistoric temperate Europe and the later Gallo-Roman period saw their gods, ancestors, and spirits as capable of altering, interacting, or engaging in exchanges with the human world, thereby defining them as intranatural entities.

CHAPTER 3 – TABLES

Summary of Evidence for Prehistoric Rituals in Temperate Europe			
Period	**Location**	**Type(s) of Evidence**	**Purpose**
Neolithic	Continental Europe, British Isles	Deposition of groundstone axes as hoards near megalithic art or tumuli, in watery contexts or enclosures	Offering?
Bronze Age	Goloring, Koblenz, Germany	Circular ditch and earthen embankment with possible timber structure	Used for ritual gatherings during celestial events?
Hallstatt Period	Heidentor, Egesheim, Germany	Natural stone arch with offerings of fibulae, earrings, finger rings, pendants, beads, belt pieces, hairpins, ceramics	Offerings for fertility?
La Tène	Forggensee, Bavarian Alps	*Brandopferplätze* - burned iron objects, animal bones, plant materials	Evidence of fire rituals
	Hjortspring, Kobbel, Denmark	Large boat filled with weapons, bronze objects, wooden vessels, ceramic vessels and deposited in a bog	Offerings to gods of the sky and underworld, for fertility?
	Gundestrup Cauldron, Himmerland, Denmark	Large silver cauldron depicting deities, deposited in a bog	Offering?
	Duchcov Hoard, Czech Republic	Collection of bronze fibulae, bracelets, and finger rings placed in a cauldron and deposited in a hot spring	Communal conciliatory or proprietary offering?
	Viereckschanzen , Central Europe	Rectangular domestic enclosures with possible evidence for ritual deposits in wells and shafts	Agricultural or domestic rituals?
	Caesar's Camp, west London, England	Earliest temple in England, enclosure with shrine, no domestic activity	For ritual activities
	Gournay-sur-Aronde, France	Ditch and palisade enclosure containing sacrificed weapons, animals, and some humans that were deliberately organized	To celebrate victory in battle?
	Ribemont-sur-Ancre, France	Ditch and palisade enclosure containing hundreds of sacrificed humans and weapons that were deliberately organized	To celebrate victory in battle?

Table 3.1. Summary of evidence for rituals in prehistoric temperate Europe.

CHAPTER 3 – FIGURES
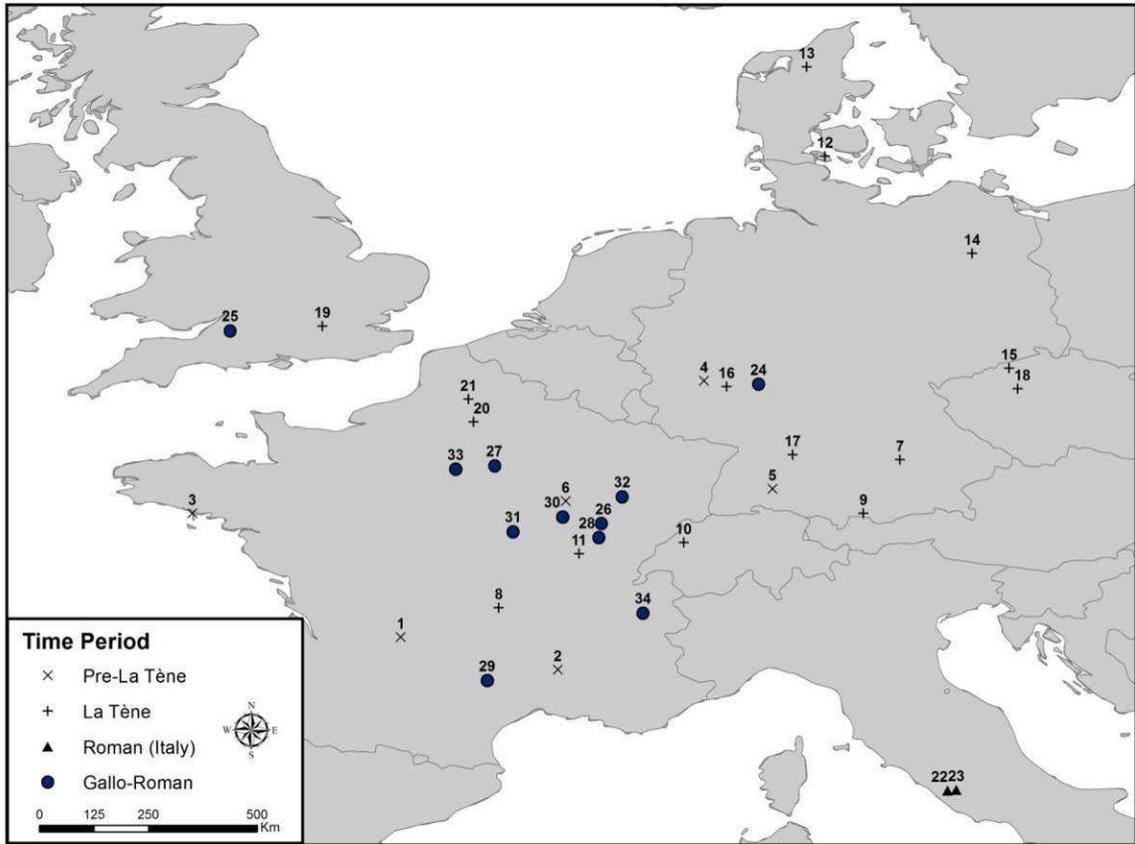
Figure 3.1. Sites discussed in Chapter 3: 1. Lascaux, Montignac, France; 2. Chauvet Cave, Vallon-Pont-d'Arc, France; 3. Area of Southern Brittany, France; 4. Goloring, Germany; 5. Egesheim, Germany; 6. Châtillon-sur-Seine, France; 7. Manching, Germany; 8. Corent, France; 9. Forggensee, Germany; 10. La Tène, Switzerland; 11. Saône River, France; 12. Hjortspring, Denmark; 13. Gundestrup, Denmark; 14. Lindow, Germany; 15. Duchcov, Czech Republic; 16. Holzhausen, Germany; 17. Fellbach-Schmiden; 18. Mšecké Žehrovice, Czech Republic; 19. Caesar's Camp; 20. Gournay-sur-Aronde, France; 21. Ribemont-sur-Ancre, France; 22. Rome, Italy; 23. Ponte di Nona, Italy; 24. Saalburg, Germany; 25. Bath, England; 26. Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, France; 27. Châteaubleau, France; 28. Saint Usage, France; 29. Basiols, Saint-Beauzély, France; 30. Alésia, Croix Saint Charles, France; 31. Champallement, France; 32. Bourbonne-les-Bains, France; 33. Bouray-sur-Juine, France; 34. Châteauneuf, France (© R. Coil).

Figure 3.2. Examples of Neolithic groundstone axes, on display in the Musée d'Archéologie Nationale in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France.
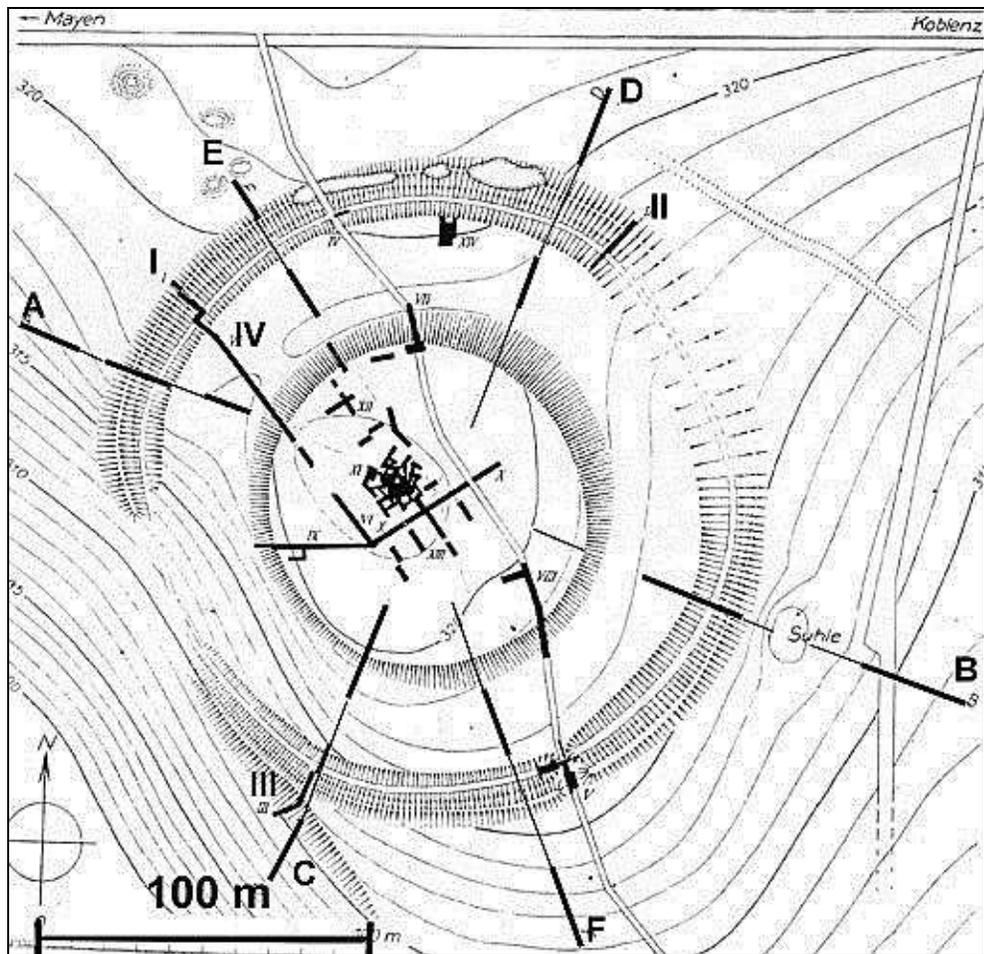
Figure 3.3. Plan of the Late Bronze Age Goloring near Koblenz, Germany (Röder 1948: 83, Plate 13).

Figure 3.4. (left) The Heidentor arch in Egesheim, Germany (Wikimedia Commons); (right) Hallstatt fibulae and glass beads found near the natural arch (Dehn 1992, cover photo).

Figure 3.5. A replica of the Gundestrup Cauldron from a 2010 temporary exhibition, on display at the Musée Archéologique, Dijon.
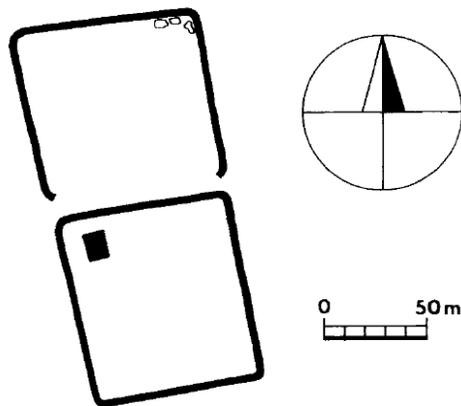
MŠECKÉ ŽEHROVICE

Figure 3.6. The viereckschanzen of Mšecké Žehrovice (Venclova 1993: 58, Figure 2).
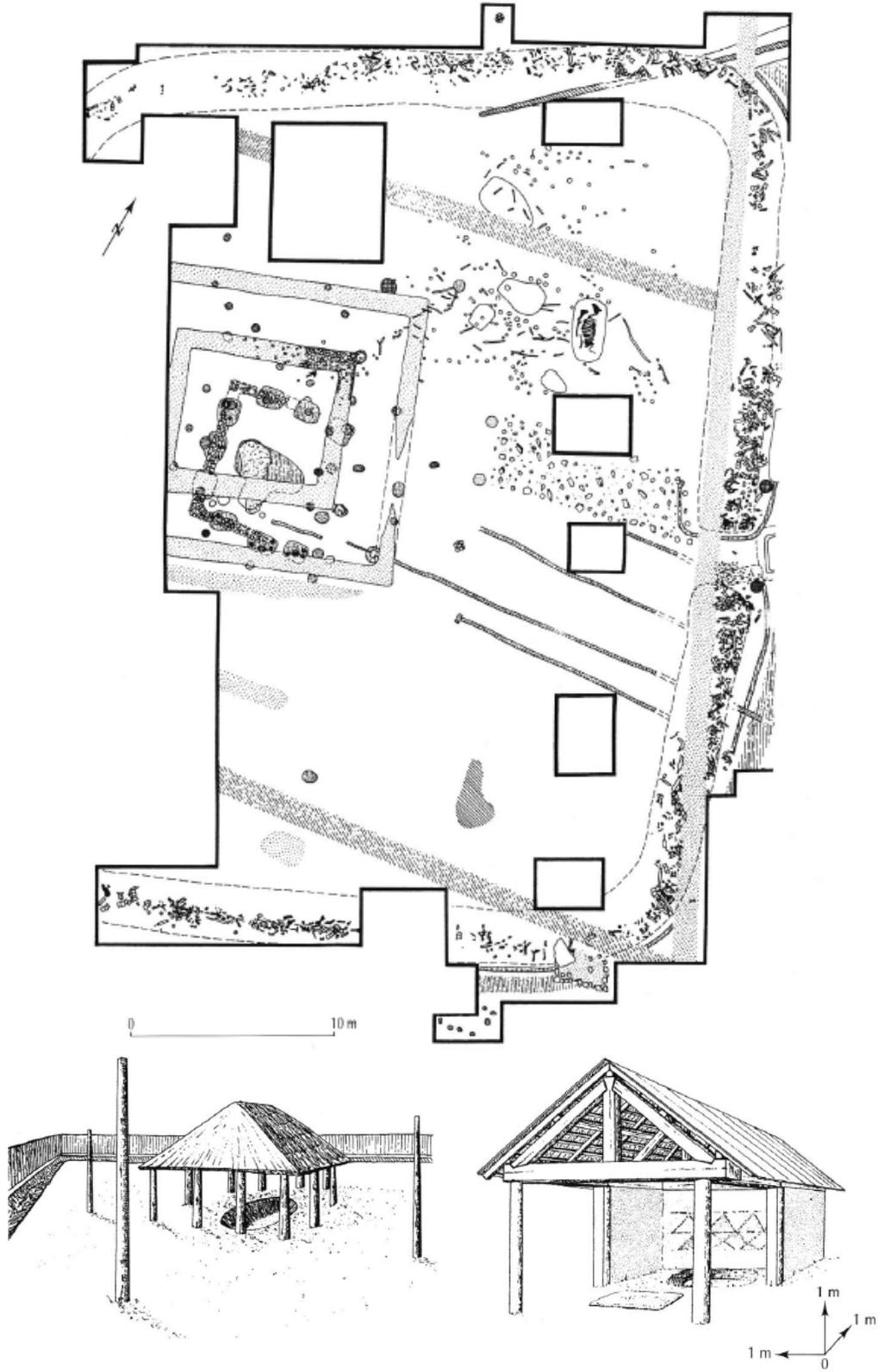
Figure 3.7. Plan of Gournay-sur-Aronde (above) and possible reconstruction of timber structure protecting the central pit (below) (Brunaux et al. 2003: 17, Figure 5; 22, Figure 7).

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Figure 3.8. A mutilated umbo from Gournay-sur-Aronde, on display in the Musée d'Archéologie Nationale.
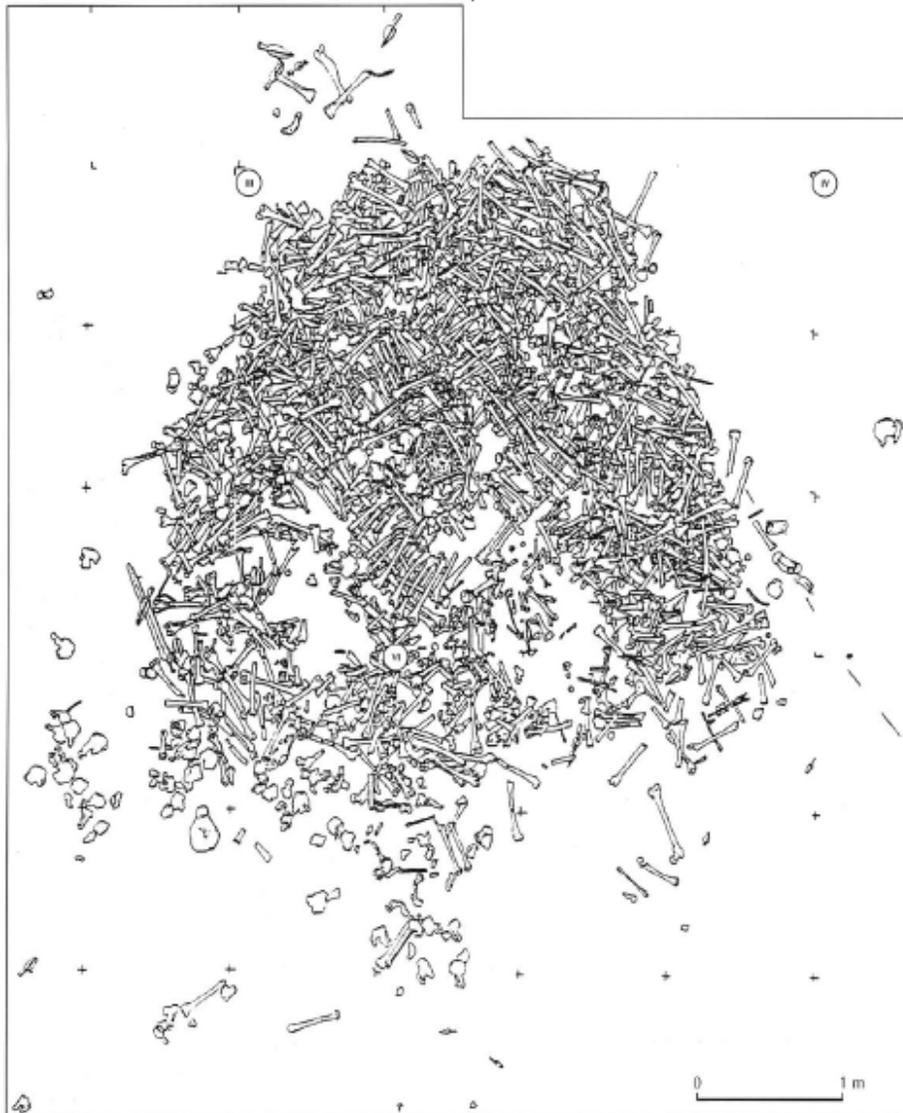
Figure 3.9. Plan of an ossuary at Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Brunaux et al. 1999: 194, Figure 17).

Figure 3.10. Relief fragment of a bull being led to sacrifice during a civic ritual, on display in the Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Rome, Italy.
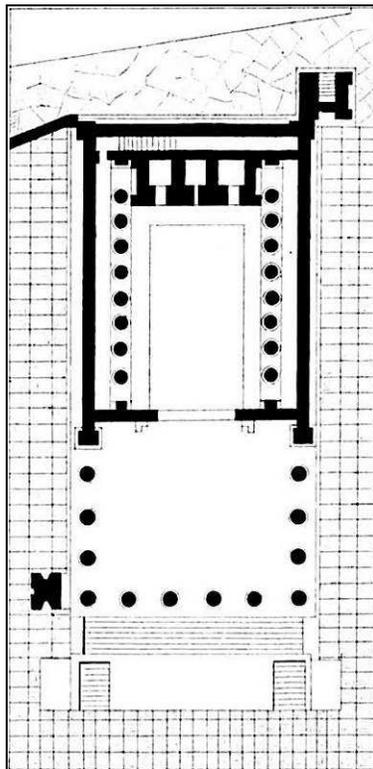
Figure 3.11. An 1870s plan of the Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii with a colonnade and podium (Wikimedia Commons).
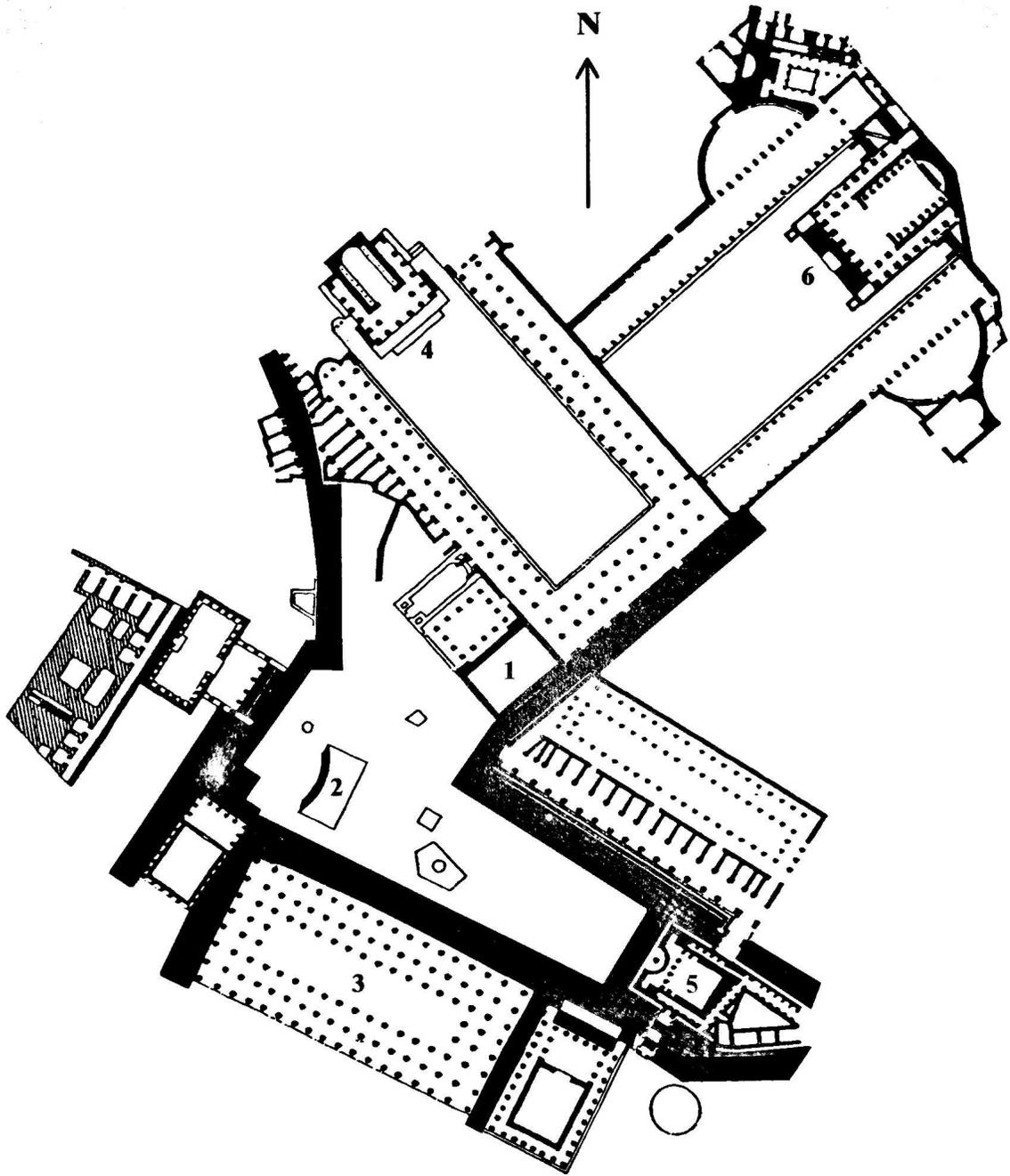
Figure 3.12. Plan of the *Forum Romanum*: 3. Basilica Julia; 4. Temple to Venus; 5. Temple to *Divus Julius*; 6. Temple to Mars Ultor (Boatwright et al. 2004: 260, Figure 8.6).

Figure 3.13. (left) An altar in the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii, Italy on which libations or incense could have been offered.

Figure 3.14. (right) Head of Sulis Minerva found at Bath, England (Quartier Latin 1968, Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 3.15. A diorama of a typical *fanum*, on display at the Römermuseum Osterburken, Osterburken, Germany.

Figure 3.16. A basic fanum with a cella and surrounding gallery at Donzy-le-Perthuis (Fauduet et al. 1993: 80, no. 473).
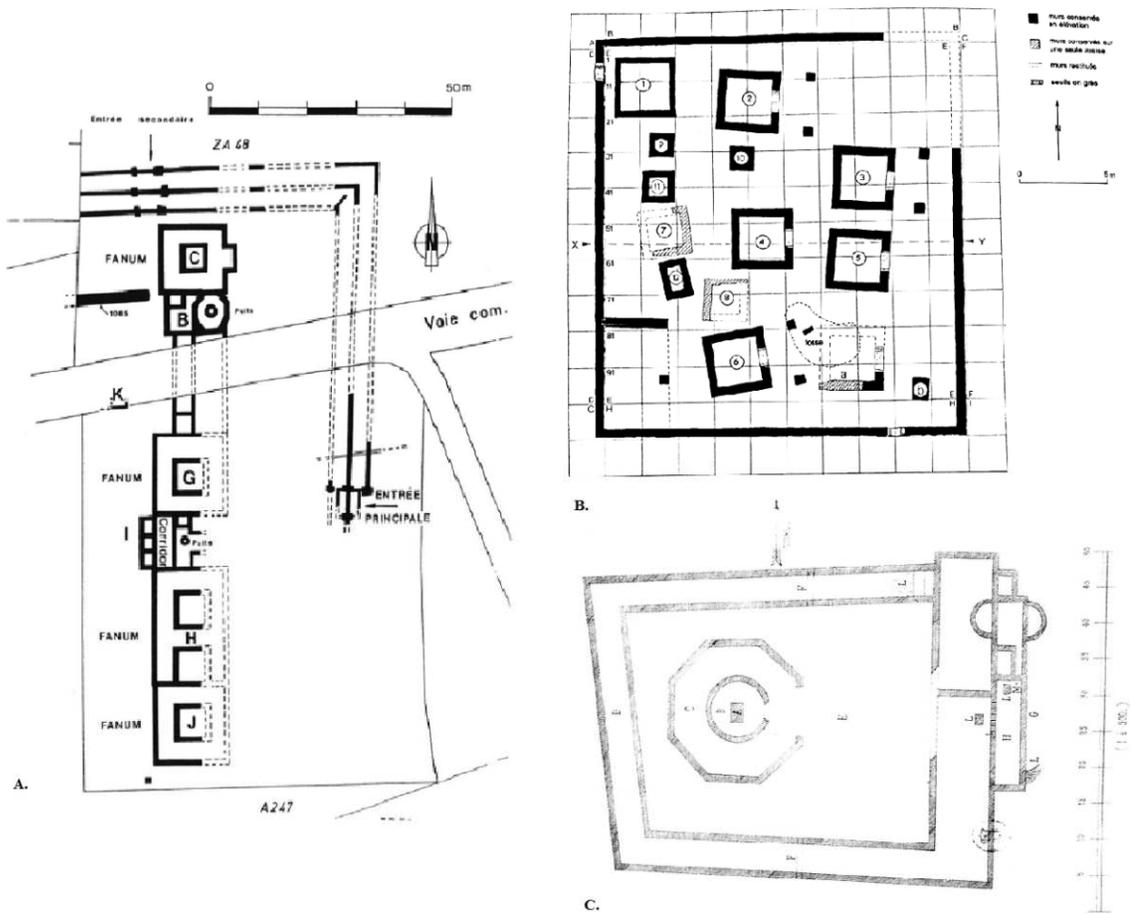
Figure 3.17. Examples of unusual *fana*: A. Châteaubleau has multiple independent *fana* (Bontrond 1998: 101, Figure 1); B. Basiols has several *fana* with just a cella and no gallery (Bourgeois et al. 1993: 142, Figure 3); C. the *fanum* at Champallement is octagonal (Charleuf 1844: Plate 1).

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Figure 3.18. A votive altar dedicated to Minerva with the closing formula *V.S.L.M.*, on display at the Römermuseum Osterburken.

Figure 3.19. A fourth century A.D. image of Rosmerta and Mercury in Gallic-dress, on display in the Musée Archéologique, Palais Rohan in Strasbourg, France.

Figure 3.20. A small statue of Epona riding a horse, on display in the Musée Archéologique, Dijon.

Figure 3.21. A votive dedication to local ancestral mothers, on display at the Römerkastell Saalburg, Bad Homburg, Germany.
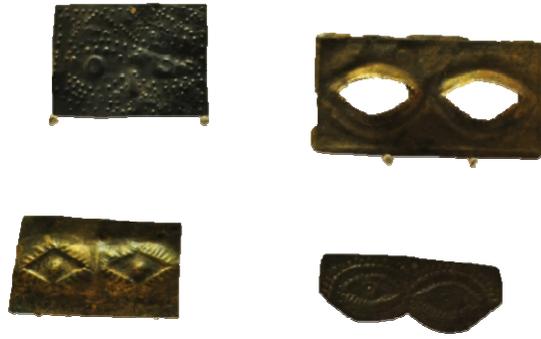
Figure 3.22. Bronze plaques of eyes found at the Source of the Seine, on display in the Musée Archéologique, Dijon.
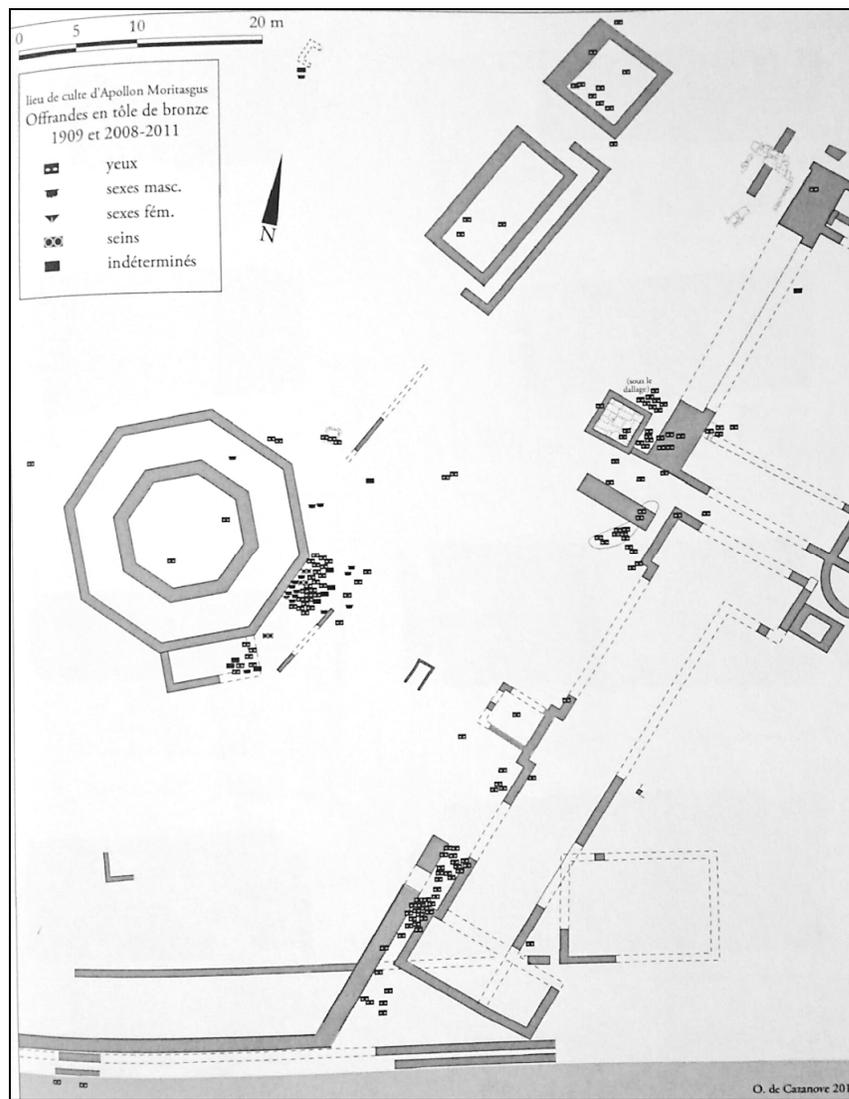
Figure 3.23. Plan of the sanctuary of Apollo at Alesia CSC showing the distribution of bronze eye plaques (Cazanove et al. 2012a).

Chapter 4. The Veneration of Water

It is said that if a tourist tosses three coins into Trevi Fountain he/she shall return to Rome again someday. Tossing coins into fountains is common in many parts of the world. While sitting on a bench in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts one afternoon, within a 10 minute period I observed four groups of people stop to toss coins into a fountain positioned in the center of a gallery (Figure 4.1). One man stopped to toss in a coin while observing the surrounding art; a wife searched through her purse for coins that she and her husband could throw in together; another woman tossed in a coin while quickly passing by; and a mother brought her young daughter to the fountain and explained that she needed to make a wish before dropping the coin into the water. Having observed coins being deposited into watery contexts across the Twin Cities, such as in a garden pool at the Como Park Zoo and Conservatory (Figure 4.2), I note that the act is not confined to one location or one type of water feature.

In some cases, fountains are not even necessary, though the presence of water is important. In the New York subway system, small depressions between the railway tracks collect and channel water leaching from the ground to the nearest drain. These have been called "urban springs" and receive coins and "wishes" daily (Moore 2012). Moore interviewed several people tossing coins into these springs asking them why they do it and received a variety of responses: for true love, to gain focus, habit, remembering the child inside, for someone else to get good grades, to personally get good grades, and of course, to win the lottery. The purpose for the behavior is clearly quite varied, but the action itself is the same.

Around the world, humans are drawn to water and desire to express this

fascination in some way. Often it is the simple act of picking up a stone and tossing it into the depths or skipping it across the surface. Sometimes it is more. Sometimes we are compelled to give something of value, such as a coin. Since coins are small and readily available, we may not think of them as offerings, but when we give away a coin only for it to be retrieved by some wish-granting entity or even by people removing the coins at a later time, we are offering it up to the universe. The intention for this action may vary, but it is evident that watery places are locations where one can interact with the intranatural.

Throwing objects into water is another type of offering similar to those presented in Chapter 1. Unlike some examples explored above, the practice of depositing objects into water still occurs across the modern world. In the past, multiple forms of objects were deposited into rivers, lakes, bogs, and springs across Europe as early as the Neolithic. The types of offerings changed through successive periods, and watery places have maintained their significance. Today, such locations sometimes have a long folkloric history, and over time some have become associated with healing whose power comes from or is presided over by Christian saints.

THE ROLE OF WATER IN MYTHS, FOLKLORE, AND LOCAL TRADITIONS IN EUROPE

Water plays an important role in the lives of humans: it is essential for drinking, home to marine animals which are sources of food, used for cleansing, and is critical for transportation and trade. Water may be venerated for these practical reasons, but other less functional aspects may play a role as well. At springs, for example, water bubbles mysteriously out of the earth or rocks. Ancient mythologies include several examples of

this. One example from the Greek world describes when Poseidon struck the ground on the Athenian Acropolis and produced a salt water spring during the competition with Athena to become the patron of Athens. A Hebrew example recounts the story of when Moses brought forth water from rocks during the exodus of the Israelites in the desert. In both stories, springs are places where the intranatural world and the human world meet. Extraordinary powers bring forth water from the ground thus giving these places authority and sacredness while connecting two worlds. This fluidity between two worlds also makes them liminal as they are neither completely human nor completely divine. Not only can water provide things necessary for life, but it can be a connecting point or the residence of powerful intranatural entities.

What drives the natural cycles of water is never precisely clear nor a visible process; the cycles happen on their own through gradual or extreme changes. Rivers are often associated with flooding, like the Nile in Egypt, and perhaps inspired ancient flood stories such as the story of Utnapishtim from Mesopotamia, Noah in the Hebrew Bible, or the Popol-Vuh from the Mayan world. These examples illustrate water's power and ability for destruction that appears to act on its own or under the will of intranatural forces; it is life-giving, but also life-taking.

Lakes too feature in various mythologies or folklore, such as the Lady of the Lake in the tales of King Arthur, or the mystical animals residing in the lochs of Scotland. There is a long history of folklore associated with wells based in ritual traditions from as early as the Late Bronze Age in parts of the British Isles (Mallery 2010). Many wells in England and Ireland have a myth about a local saint with whom they are associated or they are described as places to make wishes and are commemorated as such with little

offerings (Bord 2006). From the recent past and today, there are many examples of watery features that are connected with intranatural entities who are petitioned for aid and in turn, receive offerings in exchange as demonstrated by the following examples.

In Estonia, intranatural entities were connected with sacred places in nature, and later Christian saints who possessed similar attributes to those spirits became associated with the same spaces. *Hiis*, or "the concept of sacredness in the context of sacred natural places," is applied to groves, springs, hills, trees, and stones, and connecting saints with these sites was a common practice in western and northern Estonia (Figure 4.3) until the 19th century when the practice began to decline (Valk 2009: 50). The treatment of natural features was influenced by the various forms of Christianity that passed through particular areas at different points in history. For example, in areas governed by the Eastern Church many of the natural features were mediated by changing the ancient "pagan" name to that of a saint; saints were believed to have active powers. In Lutheran regions on the other hand, the features retained their ancient name or have a non-Christian name because saints were instead viewed to be historical people who did not have powers and could not have places with powers attributed to them (Valk 2009: 58).

Estonian springs are connected with the healing of disease. Locations for healing are not viewed as places for communicating with the intranatural; rather, they are to be visited to help treat a disease for they have curative associations. Part of the treatment requires that a person give a gift, but the objects given after the magical rites are performed are usually small-value coins or unwanted waste (strips of cloth, pieces of iron, horse-shoes, nails, glass) (Valk 2009: 52). An object is given because it was believed to have been the transmitter of the disease; it is not actually a gift. This

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association with one's well-being demonstrates healing places were not something frequented regularly, instead springs were places to seek out during emergencies or ill-health through pilgrimage.

The Catholic pilgrimage site of Lourdes in France is well-known and began rather recently as an active center of healing. In the 19th century, a girl saw visions of a young woman near a cave with water whom she identified as the Virgin Mary. Following its recognition by the church authorities, the site became an important place of pilgrimage where one could seek healing (Notermans and Jansen 2011). While the authorities deny that the water has healing properties, many claim that it cured them of their illness. And while the water may not have healed one's illness, it can perhaps be viewed as a conductor to bring visitors into direct contact with the saint who could heal or petition on their behalf to their god for healing. To thank the saint for healing, to recognize her powers, and to maintain a connection with the site, many pilgrims leave offerings such as photographs of themselves, linen, jewelry, coins, crutches, and clothing belonging to the ill person. The offerings have changed through time, but the veneration of the saint and the healing of the sick, some of who attribute it to the waters, is just one example from a long tradition of healing-water veneration (Caulier 1990).

While Lourdes is a recent site of pilgrimage and worship, the adoration of other places can be much more ancient. In Athens, Greece, the Zōodochos Pēgē (i.e. the Life-giving Spring) has been venerated by ancient and modern worshipers for its healing and purifying powers (Håland 2009). The spring is located inside a cave above which a

modern church was constructed, but in ancient times it was located within the Sanctuary of Asclepius. Modern Christian festivals honoring the healing powers of Panagia (a title for the Virgin Mary), the personified form of the spring today, are held annually in connection with the Easter celebration and draw people from great distances. Offerings dedicated to Panagia primarily include bronze or silver plaques which depict parts of the body to be or that have been healed by the waters and the icon of the saint (Håland 2009: 88). Flowers, candles, olive oil lamps, and special breads and cakes are also left within the chapel of the spring.

Prior to prayers being offered at the spring by the early Christians, the waters were associated with nymphs as early as the sixth century B.C., and over time with other deities as demonstrated by various structures and votives found in the area (Håland 2009: 96). The sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius was founded in 419/418 B.C., and the waters drew visitors for its healing powers. Similar to the modern offerings, votive tablets of various body parts and stela depicting scenes of healing were given by visitors who believed in the spring's healing powers. Even though the ancient structures were destroyed in the sixth century A.D., the significance of the area continued and was appropriated by Christians who still visit the site today.

The treatment of these sacred features is the result of two thousand years of changing attitudes and trends. It is unclear how much the actual purpose for this veneration changed, if at all, during these superficial name changes. It is likely the offering of objects may have ceased or modified, but the reason for such offerings may have retained a similar function over time. The transformative nature of water, its ability

to cause harm and to bring life is maintained by a delicate balance; perhaps the desire for balance causes water to serve as the focal point for ritual offerings and myths. The mysterious nature of water, its necessity for life and healing, and its ability to connect worlds make it an ideal subject of veneration that sets it apart from more static features in nature. The following examples focus on water deposits across ancient Europe which has a long and variable tradition.

EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT WATER VENERATION

Two regions will be explored in this section: the Mediterranean Basin and western temperate Europe. Different cultures in these regions, including the Greeks, Etruscans, Romans, Gallo-Romans, and prehistoric indigenous societies all revered water as indicated by the offerings and structures they left behind. Some sacred sites were used only briefly while others demonstrate continuity from antiquity through modern times. Epigraphic evidence is sometimes available to explain the significance of a particular place, such as centers for healing who boast curative waters, while other sites, such as bogs with large deposits of weapons, remain less certain. The variability and lack of written sources for ancient sites demonstrates the importance of contextual analysis.

EVIDENCE FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

Water played a major role in many myths from the Mediterranean Basin. In addition to those mentioned above, the sea was the means by which men traveled to or from battle or a force to overcome in order to make it home safely such as in *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. Several stories and myths mention the River Styx which one needed to

cross to enter into the underworld. As life was so dependent on water for travel, commerce, and subsistence, it is not surprising that cults associated with water arose. Providing deities with offerings was critical for the ritual practices of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans (Linders and Nordquist 1987). As at many sacred areas in the Mediterranean Basin, offerings were given to the gods at places where water was revered. The following examines different cases of water veneration, the deities associated with sacred water, the properties of water that were important to the Mediterranean world, and the offerings deposited at such places.

Oropos

Healing sanctuaries often possessed springs with curative properties and had mythical origins. The Amphiareion at Oropos, Greece was a regional sanctuary dedicated to Amphiaraos, a hero-god with oracular and healing powers who escaped from his enemies through a crack in the earth and later emerged from a sacred spring where the temple was later erected (BMJ 1925; Pedley 2006: 33). By the fourth century B.C., an altar near the spring, a small temple, two bathhouses, additional structures, and numerous statues were constructed at the site which was known for its healing powers. Many of the healing rituals incorporated water, such as purification through bathing and drinking the curative waters, and the architectural emphasis of the spring as a ritual focal point demonstrates its significance. Though some aspects of the structure and objects within it changed after the Roman conquest, the site remained an important healing center and was frequented through late antiquity.

Timpone della Motta

The power of water is sometimes the significant aspect of a cult; in other cases, water itself may be of primary importance. In the seventh century B.C. a temple dedicated to Athena was erected on the Acropolis of Timpone della Motta, in southern Italy by the local Oinotrians and the Greeks replacing a sacred eighth century House of Weaving (Kleibrink et al. 2004). In the earlier cult, objects associated with weaving, such as spindle whorls, loomweights, and wool in bowls, were the favored objects to offer the goddess. In the later cult, drinking cups and pouring vessels (*hydriska*) of both local and Greek styles were abundant, and some depict persons bringing such vessels to a goddess; most of the vessels are narrowly dated from 660 – 610 B.C., after which the temple was closed (Kleibrink et al. 2004: 57).

The hydra, a vessel used specifically for water in the Greek world, and cups were often dedicated together as revealed through depositional contexts. This was an exceptional pairing for no natural source of water has ever existed on the hill, meaning it had to be carried there from another location. Rather than using the water for the ritual bathing of the goddess, water was an offering for her which mimicked Epeios, builder of the Trojan Horse, whom Athena rewarded after he carried water up a hill (Kleibrink et al. 2004: 60). It is possible then, that people performed this same action so that they too might receive creativity and help to be victorious by demonstrating their willingness to serve the goddess.

In this example water itself is an offering. Offering water is known from other sites in southern Italy for the worship of Demeter and Persephone who are typically revered in marshlands (Kleibrink et al. 2004). In this case, the choice of water as an

offering is particularly interesting for marshlands are already wet places. The myth associated with these goddesses concerns liminality and change. These concepts are reflected in the choice of a marshland which is neither water nor land. It is possible that offering water in this situation was meant to tip the balance to one side. Water as an offering can thus be life sustaining, a testament of strength, and powerful in its ability to modify the world around it.

Falterona

Watery places in the Etruscan world of central Italy attracted visitors who deposited offerings nearby the feature or constructed sanctuaries to draw attention to it. The mountain sanctuary at Falterona had a lake known today as Il Lago degli Idoli (Figure 4.4) into which offerings were thrown from the sixth to third century B.C. (Fortuna and Giovannoni 1975; MacIntosh Turfa 2006: 99). Several thousand objects were deposited including *aes rude* (small bronze ingots used prior to the production of coins), projectile points, fragments of terracotta and vases, and bronze figurines of male and female worshipers, draped figures, animals, and anatomical representations. The offerings, interpreted to signify military or healing requests, have similar parallels in the temperate European world like at the site of La Tène discussed below.

Roman Water Deities

In the later Roman period, deities associated with water and watery places were of such importance that the Romans honored them regularly. As part of their ritual calendar, annual sacrifice was given to Juturna, a water-nymph who presided over a spring in the

southwest corner of the Forum in Rome. She was associated with healing and was worshiped particularly by sea merchants (Scullard 1981: 64). Neptune, the Italic god of water, and Furrina, a goddess associated with a spring in Rome, were also honored in the summer as protectors of the city's water supply (Scullard 1981: 168).

Water Cult from Northwest Hispania

The Romans accepted foreign deities into their ritual system and allowed the pre-existing cults of these gods to continue. Roman deities, or their names, spread to new lands as well. The inhabitants of Northwest Hispania adapted much of Roman culture and aspects of Roman religion. The region is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean and is abundant with rivers streaming down the Cordillera Cantabrica mountains; veneration of aquatic deities was important in this area (Richert 2005: 7). Epigraphic evidence demonstrates that some deities were associated with specific rivers. The site of *Coventus Barcaraugustanus* near the Navia River, for example, had ten inscriptions with the names of *Nabia* or *Navia* written upon votive altars and are thought to represent nymph-like deities. At the base of a Portuguese rock outcrop, a spring called Fonte do Idolo feeds the Navia and reliefs, inscriptions, and votive altars from here describe the connection between the spring and the river.

In the Mediterranean and beyond, watery places were venerated, in some cases for their healing powers, but more often they were deemed the home of a deity, and therefore, sacred. It was here that one could connect with the gods. The specific locations and the ritual actions that occurred often reflect the deity's connection with water, e.g. a

healing god is found at a spring associated with healing powers. Water featured prominently in many myths, and there were deities associated with different types of water or who could command it. Water was used in different rituals, such as those for purification, and could also serve as an offering. The examples from the Mediterranean Basin offer a broader context for understanding ritual practices and offerings deposited at watery places in Europe.

DEPOSITS IN WATER ACROSS TEMPERATE EUROPE

There is abundant evidence in prehistoric temperate Europe for the veneration of water in its various forms including lakes, marshlands, rivers and springs. Deposits are often found directly in these places and vary slightly from place to place, though broader themes and similarities sometimes appear (Bradley 1990; Hingley 2006). Water veneration in temperate Europe and the Mediterranean Basin overlap temporally in some cases, but the sites generally differ in a few ways. In the Mediterranean Basin, temples are built near the sacred place or incorporate water into the architectural form. Sites from pre-Roman temperate Europe, however, rarely or never have a structure associated with the watery feature; instead worship occurs directly at the watery place and objects are deposited into the water rather than being left on display in a temple. Unlike the examples from the Mediterranean region, it is less clear for whom these deposits were made as there were neither anthropomorphized deities, except on rare occasions, nor was there a system of writing to provide details about cult at a particular place. As the Roman presence increased in the late Iron Age, specific deities can be identified and it is possible, in some cases, to even infer who was venerated there in prehistory based on

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epigraphic evidence.

Several well studied sites or those of a unique nature are presented here by depositional context (e.g. lakes and ponds, springs, etc.) to demonstrate the temporal and material variability attested across this region.

Lakes and Ponds

La Tène

Lakes are as the largest bodies of water to receive deposits discussed here. The most famous example of lake deposits comes from the Late Iron Age site of La Tène on Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland. Through dredging, fishing, and excavation, timber planks, weaponry and metalwork, human and animal bones, craft tools, and agricultural equipment were all recovered from the lake (Vouga 1923; de Navarro 1972). The method of their deposition was debated. It seems most likely that the offerings were carried out onto a wooden bridge/timber causeway and then thrown into the deep part of the lake (Figure 4.5; Bradley 1990: 173). Prior to their deposition, some of the weapons and metalwork were heavily broken, perhaps as a form of display (see Figure 1.1). This destruction was part of the ritual process and is evident on other objects from various water and land contexts such as at Gournay or Ribemont. The sacrifice or destruction of the offerings and their public or visible separation from the physical world was an important feature of the ritual as the construction of the large timber causeway illustrates. The types of objects were probably part of a prescribed offering tradition intended to communicate a particular idea to the intranatural, such as gratitude for military success.

Oberdorla

Oberdorla, a pond located in Thuringia, Germany, was a center for ritual activities from around 500 B.C. to the early Middle Ages, though its most significant period of use dates between 200 B.C. and A.D. 300 (Wells 2008). A variety of deposits interpreted as offerings were recovered including pottery and wooden vessels, tools, personal ornamentation, and bones of wild and domesticated animals, as well as human remains. Some of the animals' skulls were displayed on posts along the shores of the pond. Additionally, over 30 wooden anthropomorphic figurines, which utilized the natural forks of tree branches to represent legs and had carved heads, were erected and ritual activity likely occurred around these statues and animal skulls. While the physical setting of Oberdorla may be similar to the lake in which the finds of La Tène were deposited, the nature of the offerings is radically different. The primary similarities between these settings are their openness and emphasis on the visibility of the ritual activity.

Marshlands and Bogs

Marshlands, swamps, and bogs were important features in the landscape for ritual activity in northern Europe and in the British Isles. Many of these were probably lakes or ponds originally, but filled in with vegetation or began to dry up over time. Their physical characteristics make them ambiguous and liminal locations for they are both land and water, accessible and inaccessible, passable yet opaque, and so on. It is perhaps for these reasons that various offering assemblages and objects of a ritual nature have been discovered in these locations; two of the most well-known are the large collection of many weapons at Hjortspring and the Gundestrup Cauldron as discussed in Chapter 3.

Llyn Cerrig Bach

One in a series of lakes nestled amongst pastures and sizable rock outcrops, a boggy portion of Llyn Cerrig Bach in Wales was excavated for its peat in 1942. During the excavations 138 metal objects dating to around 200 B.C. to A.D. 70 were pulled out of the water. The types of objects were diverse: 11 swords, part of a dagger, six spears, a shield-boss, one complete wheel-tire of iron and other wheel fragments, nave-hoops, pole-tip, a bronze chariot-horn cap, two lynch-pins, 13 horse bridal bits, harness-fittings, a harness ring, two terrets, a bridal loop, two gang-chains for captives or slaves, two complete and three fragmentary currency bars, a pair of tongs, an iron sickle, two cauldrons, a portion of a trumpet, bronze ribbons found with shrunken piece of ash, an ornamented crescentic bronze plaque (Figure 4.6), five bronze strips and squares possibly from chariot decorations, bean-shaped panels possibly for shield decoration, bronze rings, an iron cotter pin, an iron looped fitting, a bar of iron, a cylinder of bronze, and a bronze plate (Fox 1946: 5, 58). Animal bones of mostly pigs, oxen, goats/sheep, as well as some horses and dogs were also recovered. The majority of objects can be described as weapons and chariot or horse equipment perhaps given after a battle. While it is unclear if the offerings were one large deposit, or if they occurred over a generation, their ritual nature is indisputable as the types of objects and the animal bones are very similar to other bog deposits in northern Europe.

Bog Bodies

Human victims often referred to as bog bodies, such as Lindow Man, Juthe Fen Woman, and Tollund Man, are perhaps the most famous types of deposits because the

environment of the peat bogs has preserved the bodies almost completely. Some of the bodies are regarded as the result of accidental deaths, intentional burials, or may even be murder victims or suicide burials, but some have little clothing or objects associated with them suggesting an intentional ritualized death (Turner and Briggs 1986: 156). Over 85 bodies have been recovered from various bogs in England and Wales dating mostly to the Bronze Age (Turner and Briggs 1986: 148). Around 53 bog bodies have been discovered in Ireland and additional stray articles of clothing suggest there were more bodies which have now disappeared. Of the 1800 examples from continental Europe, many come from Germany and Denmark and typically date from 700 B.C. to A.D. 150. These include both men and women and show strong evidence for violent deaths which may involve strangulation, throat-slitting, and/or beating; the literal "overkill" suggests a ritual-death (Turner and Briggs: 1986: 159). Many of the victims are naked and have elaborate hairstyles. Some have small objects with them such as leather items, blankets, or personal ornaments. Remains of meals in their stomachs indicate they typically died in spring or in winter, and the particular meal was perhaps consumed as part of the ritual before their death.

Green pulled together various examples and lines of evidence to examine humans as sacrificial offerings more in-depth. She argues that such offerings must be removed from the world and must have some degree of value, which she says is based upon their social status in life (1998: 171). The victims must have also consented in order for the ritual to be effective and then the ritual violence took place by extreme means. Feasting, blood, and the excessive use of energy were all part of the ritual symbolism associated with the event (Green 1998: 173). In addition to blows to the head, strangulation, and

throat-slitting, drowning, suffocation, and being buried alive were also possible means of creating a violent death. Few objects accompany the victims. Rope around the neck, leather caps, or objects to pin them into the bogs are the most common objects found. The lack of objects helps to demonstrate that the human was, indeed, the primary offering.

While the offering itself is important, it is clear that the ritual prior to its deposition was a significant part of the offering. The special meals and the treatment of the hair may have been an attempt to make the offering more desirable or it was simply part of the ritual procedure. The killing that followed could have served as a way to gain the god's attention or the blood spilt was another aspect of the offering prior to depositing the body. Wider social problems, i.e. the advancing Romans, correspond to the primary dates of this ritual practice and the offerings were perhaps intended to communicate the fears of the indigenous groups to their gods.

Rivers

Across Europe, significant quantities of objects have been recovered from large and small rivers. Some of the examples are well-known for the quality or antiquity of the objects, such as the Bronze Age metalwork from the Thames (York 2002). Other examples are known for the variety of materials or dates of the objects, such as the Doubs River which contained numerous vessels of metal and ceramic (Bonnamour 1970; Jeannin and Laubenheimer 1989).

Saône River

Many of the discoveries from Saône River were accidental. While dredging a

portion of the river near Benne-Lafaux in 1843, objects started appearing from the riverbed (Bonnamour 2000). In subsequent years as either more dredging or the construction of bridges for railways continued, more material was pulled from the river and the items of higher quality, such as metal vessels (Figure 4.7) entered museums and private collections creating a bias in the assemblages (Bonnamour 2000: 23). It was not until the 1970s that the first systematic underwater excavation took place and the placement of objects in the river was mapped.

A great density and diversity of materials have been removed from the Saône. The earliest materials date to the middle of the Neolithic and include tools made from antler, groundstone axes, and ceramics (Bonnamour 2000: 28). The late Neolithic is represented by long flint knives, which are replaced in the Early Bronze Age by long bronze knives and large quantities of ceramics. An abundance of knives, ends of axes, rapiers, and pins were found dating to the Middle Bronze Age, the latter of which continued to be deposited in the Late Bronze Age, but in new and larger styles. Swords appear for the first time in this period along with bracelets, pendants, other armor and weapons such as lances and helmets, and many bronze vessels in various forms. A slight decline in the amount of material is evident at the beginning of the Hallstatt period, but increases again with the presence of weapons such as swords and knives, as well as stone- and wood-carved statuettes of humans (Bonnamour 2000: 30). Weapons from the La Tène period now include helmets, lance points, and swords with highly decorated scabbards, and objects associated with fireplaces, such as firedogs and bronze cauldrons, appear as well as brooches, iron ingots, and human remains (Bonnamour 2000: 31, 35). Similar types of weapons are found in the Roman Period accompanied by even more

ceramic vessels and amphorae, many coins, bronze and silver vessels in a variety of forms, and iron tools. From the Middle Ages through World War II, weapons continue to be deposited into the river while other objects, such as ceramics and metal objects, decline and disappear.

As there are artifacts from multiple periods, each phase was considered separately to determine if the majority of the deposits were accidental losses or intentional offerings. Characteristics such as location, quantity, types of objects and association with other objects helped researchers to interpret the finds from each period; for most phases the objects appear to have been deliberately deposited. The La Tène materials, for example, consisted mostly of swords and knives in their scabbards. The bias of this indicates these items were specifically selected and not lost during battle as few other types of weapons from this period accompany the finds. When considering the deposits over time, three categories are present across almost the entire temporal span: tools, weapons and metal vessels (2000: 49). This suggests a strong tradition of use and the transference of ideas.

Ljubljanica River

The Ljubljanica River located in modern Slovenia is another river well-known for its large quantities of offerings. It has yielded 10,000 to 13,000 artifacts dating from the Neolithic to Late Medieval period, the preservation of which is due to its favorable geomorphologic conditions and, unlike the Saône, was less disturbed by modern construction (Kaufmann 2007: 152). Late Bronze Age materials, including weapons, tools, and objects associated with clothing, provided the first evidence for deliberate ritual activity at the river, and the discovery of a nearly articulated human skeleton with a

bronze spear embedded in its chest may point to some form of a violent ritual death at the riverbank similar to those in bogs (Gaspari 2003: 47).

The amount and variety of objects decreased in the Hallstatt period which is represented mainly by axes and some jewelry. A revival of depositional practices is evident one of the largest collections of La Tène weapons from the eastern "Celtic" world, which includes swords still in their scabbards, spearheads of "Celtic" and "Germanic" types, and an iron helmet of the eastern "Celtic" type and a bronze Etrusco-Italic helmet type (Gaspari 2003: 48). None of these have signs of battle damage or intentional destruction, and the lack of shield bosses supports the idea that these were carefully chosen objects for deposition, not just the remnants from a battle. Non-weapon finds include a small number of bronze vessels, objects of personal ornamentation, a deposit of coins from the Roman Republic and La Tène period, two bronze mountings of drinking horns, two bronze statuettes meant to represent their donors, and a second or first century B.C. bronze statuette believed to represent Apollo holding a bow (Gaspari and Krempuš 2002: 447).

In the early to mid-first century A.D., the river became increasingly important for transportation and trade. Dedications to water deities found near a port demonstrates the continued reverence for the river during this period, as well as the large quantities of tools, assault weapons (*gladii*, daggers, spearheads, *pila*), military accoutrements (decoration, torques, *phalera*, fittings), luxury bronze ware, fine tableware, jewelry, and eight cast-bronze sauce pans stuck together indicating deliberate deposition of a collection of objects at the same time (Gaspari 2003: 49-50). After the mid-first century A.D. deposits of weapons in the river and also in graves decrease at this time, and are

replaced by offerings of clothing fasteners, coins, and pottery throughout the Middle and Late Imperial Periods. Even into the Medieval Period, intentional deposition is apparent as over 60 swords, some of which are still in their scabbards, were recovered from the river and demonstrate a continuation in ritual practices (Gaspari 2003: 51).

Materials from the Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Roman period appear to be intentionally deposited in the Ljubljanica River and follow similar patterns of other river deposits throughout Europe. Many of the objects from these periods were found within the same parts of the river suggesting a long period of use and continuity of ritual practices (Gaspari 2003: 50-51). Even into later periods, the river was still a focal point for Christian ritual activity. Changes in offerings represent a transformation in understanding or use of the river, availability of materials, or new concerns to be communicated.

Springs

The deposition of personal ornaments at the site of Duchcov discussed in Chapter 3 offers just one example of spring veneration in prehistory. The famous thermal springs of Bath, England were also honored prior to the construction of a Roman sanctuary as shown by the deposits of La Tène coins, and the double-name of the goddess, Sulis Minerva (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985). Deposits in springs are attested across continental Europe. Denmark and other parts of northern Europe, while known for Medieval and later spring deposits, has evidence for spring veneration as far back as the Neolithic (Levy 1981: 175).

Röekillorna

After making detailed comparisons from other Scandinavian sites of both contemporaneous and later dates, it was determined that the spring of Röekillorna in Sweden attracted culturally distinct groups from across the nearby landscape who were perhaps drawn to the site for its iron-rich, red water (Stjernquist 1997: 59). Once here, visitors engaged in ritual sacrifice and deposition of horses, dogs, and humans, none of which had any signs of being consumed. Bones of cattle, sheep/goats, and pigs, on the other hand, were butchered for their marrow and consumed before deposition. The stone tools that were used to process the carcasses and ceramic vessels containing food and drink were deposited along with the split bones.

This selective treatment suggests that the former group held special importance to the participants, and were therefore not eaten. The latter group, however, reflected the role of domesticates whose role was to reproduce suggesting this ritual was likely performed to assure fertility. Two wooden carvings, one identified as a phallus, the other a face, are believed to represent the deity of this spring (Stjernquist 1997: 92). The deposition of objects into a spring is not unusual, as we shall see, but this type of iron-rich spring with its red water surely would have set this spring apart from others in the landscape.

CASE STUDY: THE SOURCE OF THE SEINE

The veneration of springs was widespread both geographically and temporally in Europe, and offerings deposited at these features were given for different purposes. There is abundant evidence for increased veneration during the Gallo-Roman period in modern-

day eastern France. The most famous example of this is the spring sanctuary at the Source of the Seine which was actively used by inhabitants across the region beginning in the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. Many sites in this area have evidence of spring worship, but few rival the discoveries from the Source of the Seine. Excavations at the site began in the early 19th century and continued off and on until the late-1960s, and its quantity, diversity, and richness of objects has made it an important comparative site for understanding spring sanctuaries in France.

Site description

Located approximately 32 km north of Dijon, the Source of the Seine is nestled in a forested valley near the city of Saint-Germaine. Following the first excavations, the site received additions to the landscape, including an artificial grotto erected by the City of Paris who purchased the area surrounding the source and later a sculpture of a reclining nymph inside just above the slowly bubbling spring (Figure 4.8; Blanchet 1934: 67). Today, the water seeps through a pipe under the footpath and emerges to the north where it forms a small pool. Several meters downstream from the first source, there are additional smaller sources which break through the surface feeding the Seine. Additional western tributaries add to the Seine as it travels toward Paris, including the source of the Douix in Châtillon-sur-Seine, which will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Historical context of discovery

Accounts of deposits found in watery contexts from the area began to appear as early as the 1700s. In May 1763, near the town of Blessey about 2 km from the Source of

the Seine, a bronze ship was discovered by a miller who was removing stones from the forest. The prow of the ship, measuring approximately 66 cm by 11 cm, features the head of a bird, probably a duck, holding a piece of fruit (Figure 4.9). A letter written on January 3, 1766 by the Abbé Richard to the president of the Academy of Dijon, Ruffy, describes the object and circumstances of its discovery in detail. He notes a triangular piece of bronze in the form of a lateen sail with a rose or circle marking the four directions imprinted on it, which was attached to a mast located at the stern of the ship, all of which have disappeared (Richard 1769; Blanchet 1934: 70). Originally the ship was manned by five nude and bald oarsmen, though only two were recovered with the object, and one has since gone missing. Other implements described as being of a sacrificial nature were found in association with the ship, including a sieve, a knife, and cauldrons, all of which had deteriorated (Blanchet 1934: 74). An initial study of the objects conducted by Richard suggested the objects dated to around the time of Caesar, were of a local style, and were perhaps dedicated by a Gallic merchant in a temple to a god for river navigation (Richard 1769; Blanchet 1934: 70).

In 1787, nearly twenty years later, a large iron trident, attributed to Neptune, was discovered in the surrounding Seine valley (Toutain 1946: 55). No further detail of this item is provided as it was destroyed by a marshal of Saint-Germaine-la-Feuille shortly after its discovery for undisclosed reasons (Blanchet 1934: 68).

Finally, in 1822 near the source of the Billy, a small collection of objects dating to the Roman period was discovered while tearing down an old chapel. The objects included Roman pottery, two bronze medals from the period of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), and the right hand of a white stone sculpture holding the head of a dolphin (Baudot 1845:

5). Though the discovery at the source of the Billy is credited with inspiring the Antiquities Commission to excavate at the Source of the Seine, the earlier discoveries certainly sparked the curiosity of scholars (Baudot 1845: 5).

Excavations at the Source of the Seine

Many springs were first explored in the 19th century and excavations of some continued into the mid-20th century. The Source of the Seine represents not only one of the most complex of the spring sites, but its excavation history spans the entire heyday of spring exploration. The following discussion of the site will first focus on the excavation chronology and will include a summary of each campaign, major discoveries, and changing interpretations of the site; a more detailed list of the objects will be presented in Chapter 7.

First Series of Excavations (1836-1842)

The first systematic excavations at the Source of the Seine began May 11, 1836, under the direction of Chaussier-Morisot and Baudot and continued until 1842 (Figure 4.10). In a trench north of the source, they discovered the foundations of a quadrilateral building oriented north-south with its front facing east and measuring 57 m long by an undetermined width (Baudot 1845: 7-8). It has several rooms: four small square rooms measuring 5 m by 5 m, three larger rooms, and one very large room.[8] Source water was channeled into one of the rooms via a series of stone channels. A horseshoe-shaped building was also revealed, though its function was unclear. Architectural fragments

8 The architectural plan of the temple's interior changes slightly after future excavations rediscovered the foundations. The most obvious change is the elimination of some rooms which appear on Baudot's plan, but not on subsequent plans of the site.

indicate the temple was decorated with cut moldings, frescos, wall plaques, and mosaics, and was built around 10 B.C. according to the ceramics and coins associated with its construction (Baudot 1845: 44, 46).

A badly damaged stone statue of a heavily draped, seated female likely represents the main deity of the site and influenced the interpretations of the site (Figure 4.11). The name of the goddess was known after the discovery of a large, ceramic vessel with an inscription around the neck which reads, *DEAE SEQUANA RUFUS DONAVIT* identifying it as an offering to the goddess Sequana (Figure 4.12). Inside was a smaller vessel filled with 830 bronze and silver coins and was surrounded by 120 bronze and silver plaques. Two votive altars also provide the name of the goddess; one declares it is an offering for Sequana (Baudot 1845: Pl. II, no. 10) and the other states it is for the goddess of the Seine from Flavius or Flavianus, but does not use the name 'Sequana' directly (Figure 4.13). A variety of stone sculpture of various body parts and full figures holding objects were also discovered, and perhaps represented people in need of healing or pilgrims visiting the site.

The earliest coin dates to the period of Augustus, and the latest coin dates to the fourth century during the usurpation of Magnus Maximus (A.D. 383-388), which provides a terminus post quem for the destruction of the temple. Baudot argued that the temple was destroyed by violence because many of the statues were broken as the result of either incursions, or, more likely, destruction undertaken by local monks. Baudot favors the latter, for if it was the result of raids, we would expect the precious objects to be missing rather than mutilated (1845: 46-48). It is possible, as others have demonstrated, that other events, such as fire or general abandonment and decay of the site

could have been responsible for the temple's destruction and should not simply be written off as Christian retaliation (Nicholson 1995).

Based on the inscriptions found during excavations, Baudot determined that the sanctuary was dedicated to Dea Sequanae, or Sequana, and the water was revered for its healing properties. He further suggested the site was reputable and frequented often in antiquity because of the large number of objects discovered. His work confirmed the presence of an important sanctuary at the Source of the Seine and provided the initial interpretation for material from the site. The excavations also sparked an interest in other springs from the region. While the initial finds were significant, the site would yield more information in subsequent excavations.

Exploratory Excavations

For nearly 60 years, the Source of the Seine was left untouched and unexplored by archaeologists who seemed to agree with Baudot's assessment that the site was entirely excavated. It was not until 1925 that Source of the Seine reemerged in discussion. René Epery, after viewing the ruins, argued the utility and necessity of reopening excavations at the site in order to show others the unique monument dedicated to Sequana. His feelings were shared by the Antiquities Commission who agreed to reopen the 1842 excavation areas from September 21st to October 14th, 1926 (Corot 1933: 107). Exploration of the site revealed a wall from a later period of construction and various sculptural debris and bronze pieces; despite these finds, excavations were suspended (Corot 1932: 259, Corot 1933: 108).

Second Series of Excavations (1932-1939)

In 1932 excavations began again on August 6th and ran until September 10th under the leadership of Henry Corot (Corot 1932: 259; August 3rd to September 16th according to Corot 1933: 108). The western façade of the temple in the valley was excavated revealing a concrete area, which was interpreted to be a pool to receive water from the source (Corot 1932: 259). Several trenches located the walls of the pool, and it measured approximately 34 m by 7 m. Numerous objects were discovered on its concrete floor including a fragment of an inscription about 9 cm thick, which Corot believes supported a statue of Sequana because it reads *AE – SEQV* (Corot 1932: 260). Finally, the valley was explored to find the extremities of the site. Structures with hypocaust and mosaic floors were noted, and Corot suggested this area may have been another temple (Corot 1933: 110).

Excavations continued in 1933 from May 15th to July 16th (Corot 1933: 111). Exploration of the southeastern corner of the temple revealed a wall around 25 m long and an average of 2 m high with a concrete rubble foundation (Corot 1933: 112). Though this area was previously excavated by Baudot, numerous objects were still found.

About halfway through the excavation, a heavy trapezoidal stone was found measuring 14 cm thick, and 80 cm long by 45-75 cm wide (Figure 4.14; Corot 1933: 114). This struck Corot as odd and he stated:

> Sa nature, étrangère à la couche géologique du niveau où elle se trouvait, aussi bien qu'aux couches supérieures, m'avait fort intrigué et j'avais recommandé, aux fouilleurs qui travaillaient en cet endroit, d'opérer avec beaucoup de prudence, car ce bloc, placé là par la main des hommes, pouvait nous ménager quelque surprise (1933 : 114).
>
> ("Its nature, foreign to the geologic layer of this level where it was located, as well as the layers above, had intrigued me greatly and I

recommended to the excavators who worked in this area to operate with much caution, for this stone, placed here by the hand of man, could humor us with some surprise.")

Once the stone was lifted, a large rectangle of bronze oxide was instantly visible indicating they discovered a cache. Two bronze statues, one of a faun, the other of Sequana standing atop a boat with a waterbird at the bow, both about 61 cm tall, were photographed in-situ and were lying head to foot with the deity's face down in the soil (Figure 4.15). Corot believed these were intentionally buried before the temple's destruction.

Excavations in 1934 explored a horseshoe-shaped structure that was partially uncovered by Baudot, which had near it monumental stairs leading up to the temple (Corot 1934: 178). Further excavations revealed that this was an ellipsoidal building, measuring 4.5 m by 3 m. It had a canal under it, and digging down further, a rectangular opening was exposed which had another set of canals. Wood debris from a possible cabinet and an oak board were noted here as well as walnut shells, which Corot suggests were perhaps crushed for their oil (Corot 1934: 178).

The fifth excavation season at the Source of the Seine took place from May 16th to June 15th, 1935 (Corot 1935: 359). Work focused on an area north of the temple against the cliff-face. A wall discovered in the original excavations was revealed and also another wall from a later period which was built from the same material used in the construction of the temple. An area between the east wall of the pool and the temple was also explored (Corot 1935: 360). Column debris and fragments of ornamental sculpture with a fruit-filled garland motif were discovered in this area. A stone base, which Corot believes held a statue of Hercules discovered in 1932, and an arc of blocks were also

found. Corot suggests this structure may have been a Mithraeum, though no other supporting evidence has been found.

July 7th to August 16th, 1937 marked the seventh campaign at the Source of the Seine. Activity focused on the western side of the great pool revealing large quantities of poorly preserved objects, and common pottery. A series of gutters and canals going to and from the pool, and some under the temple walls were also explored (Corot 1937: 176-177). A portion of the pool was excavated again and multiple layers of mixed stone and charcoal were noted in addition to multiple objects, debris of cut stone, and black and white marble fragments (Corot 1937: 177-179).

A short campaign from August 1st to 20th marked the 1938 excavation season (Corot 1938: 302). Corot reopened a room in the temple that was partially explored in 1935. Fragments of stuccoed mortar in red, yellow, green and black with linear and vegetal motifs were discovered while clearing the area with pick-axes. He noted a wall, which was 7 m long and joined a second wall running west making a corner; the wall appeared to end here. Two stairs originally presented in Baudot's 1845 plan were found north of this corner, and access a structure within the temple represented by four bases and columns (Corot 1938: 301-302).

The 1939 excavations ran from June 20th to August 14th (Corot 1946: 129). This exploration focused on an area in the southern part of the temple. Two stone column bases were discovered near the eastern exterior wall and another set of stairs were located about 1.5 m from the bases. North of the stairs further research on the basin inside the temple was conducted. In the 1926, 1938 and 1939 excavations, many mosaic tiles of various colors were found along with hypocaust pipes, which support previous

suggestions that the bottom of the basin was decorated with a detailed mosaic (Corot 1946: 132).

Third Series of Excavations (1948-1953)

Plans to explore the Source of the Seine did not begin again until after World War II and were delayed further by the death of Henry Corot in 1941 as his field notes from the previous excavations were temporarily misplaced (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 135). In 1946, it was proposed that the next research project at the site would be one large excavation, but instead, the plan was downsized into a series of trenches over several years.

The next excavation season at the Source of the Seine ran from September 22nd to October 1st, 1948 under the new leadership of Roland Martin (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 135). The goals for this project were to explore the northern part of the large temple excavated in the 1800s, in order to make an accurate plan of the temple and to explore its *cella* (Figure 4.16). An area opened along the north wall of the building revealed the temple's interior foundations and its precise construction plan. The *cella* was surrounded by porticoes on three sides. The source water was brought into the center of the *cella* whose floors had a mosaic with a geometric design (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 135). The southern annexes where Baudot found the cult statue of Sequana were also examined revealing their elongated design (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 136).

Another *cella* with a peristyle courtyard lies northwest of the temple and measures about 5 m x 4.7 m with the walls still standing around 1 m high (Lerat 1948: 231). The remaining structure, later identified as a *fanum*, lacking an eastern wall, was made of

rubble and mortar, and its northeast and southeast corners were reinforced by large blocks (Lerat 1948: 231). The *cella* appears to have been systematically dismantled and contained objects similar to those found in the large temple dating to the end of the first to the third centuries A.D. (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 136).

Gabriel Gremaud led the excavations during September 1st to 9th, 1950. The goal for this project was to continue excavating north of the temple in the area around the new *cella* and gallery (*fanum*) to see if the cliffs were cut for the buildings, which they were not. Near the new *cella* many artifacts were recovered and other substructures were discovered, such as a wall from what appears to be the second phase of the site and another stone wall with large cut blocks (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 138).

Research continued in 1952 with two brief excavations. The first was undertaken July 17th-19th by Roland Martin. The agenda for this short exploration was to investigate the northwest corner of the temple whose walls were revealed marking the boundaries of the peristyle courtyard (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 142-143).

The second exploration, undertaken by Gremaud from October 13th to 20th, sought to find the end of the wall north of the temple running along the cliff. Including this wall, the site the length of the entire site now measures 75 m from north to south, and 50 m wide from east to west (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 143). Also to the north of the site a wall, running east-west, was found between the southern stylobate of the new *cella* and the northern wall of the temple believed to be from an earlier period (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 143-144).

Simultaneous explorations within the temple revealed canals and drains made from cut stone. One canal, nearly 10 m long, goes from the *cella* of the temple under the

western exterior wall of the temple, through to the other side in a northwestern direction. A significant number of objects were found in this canal and others. Gremaud argues that the major canal brought water into the *cella* which must have been the most sacred and venerated source at the site and was possibly associated with ancestor cult (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 144-145).

From July 15th to 25th, 1953, Roland Martin led another excavation at the Source of the Seine. The focus of this season was on topographic and religious elements with the hopes of reaching some firm conclusions about the site. Martin asserts that there are two groups of buildings from the Gallo-Roman phase: to the east, the great temple with its peristyle court and annexes in the south, and to the west, the pool and its buildings to the southwest. The new *cella* with its peristyle court is identified as a *fanum* and probably dates to an earlier phase. The goal of the topographic study was to explore the major canal going inside the temple and to understand its path, as well as to understand the natural terrain of the ancient site and how this affected the use of the area (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 149-150).

Exploration of the major canal and basin surrounded by porticoes within the temple was important for establishing a clearer chronology of construction at the site. The basin is 1.76 m long with a sort of slab-bench on each end measuring 25 cm wide and 3 cm thick, and the bottom is curved to a depth of 10 cm. The basin is fed by the major canal cut from large blocks. Red cement and multi-colored mosaics in geometric designs covered the floor surrounding the basin within the portico area (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 150-151).

Based on this elaborately decorated and complex feature, the excavators believed

that this was the true sacred source, or spring, for Sequana where worship of the goddess took place; this belief was questioned previously due to inadequate evidence and the presence of multiple sources in the area. According to Martin, the temple was built later around the preexisting basin based on construction techniques and material evidence. A small probe placed southwest of the basin attempted to establish its construction date, though after digging through a layer no ceramic sherds were found and virgin soil was detected at a depth of 30 cm (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 152).

With artifact and architectural evidence in mind, Martin proposed his construction chronology for the site. He believed that the *fanum* is of a late La Tène date and origin. The basin and porticoes were constructed around this time as well. These were followed by the ellipsoidal building, which dates to around the reign of Domitian based on coinage and was abandoned immediately after the large pool was built, because the canals for this were interrupted or blocked by new construction. Finally, during a period of great prosperity in the second century A.D., the large peristyle courtyard and pool were both added (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 152). Martin concludes that two religious traditions operated at this site, and many of the traditions likely remained more local than Roman (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 155).

Fourth Series of Excavations (1963-1966)

Renewed excavations at the Source of the Seine took place from September 13th to 24th, 1963, under Deyts and Regnier (Martin 1964: 302). The focus of the new excavation season was to investigate and clean Corot's pool (Figure 4.18). In the western edge of the pool, randomly placed, delicate pieces of wood and wooden figurines were

revealed. One-hundred and ninety pieces were recovered representing statues and statuettes of full figures, various body parts, internal organs, and animals (Figure 4.19).

During the 1966 season, 80 new wooden sculptures were recovered. The wooden sculptures have a wide range of styles, which possibly represented variations in wealth of the visitors to the site implying that the better materials or higher quality representations likely belonged to the rich (Deyts 1966: 198). The styles of the sculpture were broken into three types by Deyts which she describes as traditional Celtic sculpture, popular sculpture, and Gallo-Roman sculpture.

Dating these wooden finds posed a challenge to excavators. For the first time at the Source of the Seine, excavators utilized a proper stratigraphic sequence in an attempt to provide dates at the site. The top layer is described as a concrete layer, or the bottom of the Corot's pool, 70-80 cm deep, with many pieces of pottery. The next layer is a charcoal-rich layer, 20-25 cm thick, with larger wood fragments and pottery, followed by a bed of small stones, 7-10 cm, described as being alluvial. The last layer before sterile soil is a brown layer, 15 cm thick, comprised of a second peat layer with more decomposition, small pieces of sculpture, pieces of wood, small plaques, small decorative motifs, and animal figures (Martin 1964: 306). The ceramics in these layers are very homogeneous and help to date the deposit to between 41 and 68 A.D. (the reigns of Claudius and Nero) (Martin 1966a).

Excavators questioned why these objects would have been placed in the bottom of a pool, and began to speculate if this was indeed a pool. M. G. Jouven, chief architect of Historic Monuments, inspected the site and determined that the "pool" was actually a trapezoidal esplanade, or promenade, built by embankments on the leveled substructure

(Martin 1966a). Martin has hypothesized these wooden objects were deposited here because the western side of the valley was profane and that the wooden sculptures serve as a boundary marker for this change. The western side is further from the venerated source and is an area for walking, which may explain its profane status. Since these objects were buried, it is difficult to say if and how much of an impact they would have had in marking the profane from the sacred, especially since they were not visible. Another theory, which seems more likely, is that their burial was the result of the evolving architecture at the sanctuary. The *fanum* likely replaced some rudimentary installations at the site, where the wooden objects may have been offered or on display, and were later removed and replaced as were the structures (Martin 1966a).

Recent Interpretations and Site Chronology

Research at the Source of the Seine remained rather stagnant for several decades. The most current interpretation of the architecture and artifacts from the site were published by Deyts (1985) who built off of the suggestions of the original excavators. Recently, Christian Vernou et al. (2012), with contributions from several specialists, produced a small, but insightful volume which presents new research on the Source of the Seine. While no new excavations have been undertaken, a thoughtful and comprehensive analysis of previous excavations and artifacts has produced a more precise chronology of the site whose origins are unclear (Figure 4.20). Though two iron fibulae and some coins attributed to the Lingones were recovered during excavations, there is little evidence to suggest that there was ritual activity taking place at the spring (Vernou 2012: 6). It seems possible that these objects may have been heirloom objects or simply held on to longer

prior to their deposition in the first phase.

One of the most significant contributions of Vernou's volume is the dendrochronological analysis of the wooden sculptures. The sculptures date between 40 B.C. and A.D. 30 spanning nearly the entire first phase of the site (2012: 7). No architectural structures are known from this time, and if they existed, were most likely earthen or wooden structures. The wooden sculptures were possibly displayed, nailed up, or hung in such a structure prior to their deposition in the valley (Vernou 2012: 10). Another line of evidence previously unstudied or unpublished were the approximately 2,000 animal bones found in the layer of black soil with the wooden sculptures. Fewer than 200 individuals were identified, 96% of which are from domesticated species. Taxa present include 50% suid, 38% ovis-capra, and 6.5% bovid. It is possible some form of ritual feasting or sacrifice took place near the spring.

The second phase (40 - 70 A.D.) is more complex. The *fanum* was constructed in the northeast zone of the site. To the south (under the later elliptical basin), a rectangular structure measuring 4.5 m by 3 m was added and captured source water through a canal that passed through its stone walls. North of here were a series of blocks and stele arranged in a curve, and may represent Corot's possible mithraeum. Northeast of here, the most venerated spring had the sacred basin and its major canal built into and around it during this phase. The large statue of a seated goddess may have been placed here (Vernou 2012: 11). East of the basin was a four-column monument whose purpose is unclear, but maybe held a statue. In the valley to the west, some artificial pools were created by blocking the downstream flow of the Seine.

The third phase (the end of the first century A.D.) saw a significant change in the

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water management of the site and some of the older structures were demolished. The site was also terraced into lower and upper sections during this phase. The lower terrace, in the valley to the west, covered the area where the wooden sculptures were buried, and was bordered to the west by a 40 m long wall. In the upper terrace, to the east closer near the cliff, a 50 m long wall running north-south was added (Vernou 2012: 12). The sacred spring and its basin were modified and the large portico with its geometric mosaic floors was added. The rectangular structure to the south was covered by the elliptical basin, but the canal system running through here was maintained. Just to the north of the basin, a small columned structure was erected.

The fourth and final phase of activity at the Source of the Seine dates from the second century to possibly as late as the fourth century A.D. Structures and features of the third phase were maintained in the final phase, and a building was added to the west (Vernou 2012: 13). This building served as a place to buy offerings or as a hotel for pilgrims visiting the spring. Visitors entered the sanctuary from the lower terrace and climbed a few steps to a newly added intermediate terrace where the elliptical basin was located. The columned structure was dismantled and stairs were added near the basin instead. These ascended into the upper terrace and a structure which attached its walls to the basin. Many rooms were added to the sanctuary in the upper terrace, particularly in the southeast. One of these rooms contained the Rufus vessel and its offerings. Additional rooms were constructed to the east and to the north as well as stairs to access them. The sacred basin was replaced by a new canal system, above which, a small altar was placed. The *fanum* was definitively gone by this phase. The latest coin recovered at the site, found in the Rufus vessel, dated to the end of the fourth century and is believed to mark

the end of the site's use.

Summarizing the Objects

The excavations from the Source of the Seine revealed a great variety and abundance of artifacts many types of which were found repeatedly across the site. Sculpture, plaques, coins, altars, vessels, animal figurines, jewelry, ornaments, tools, and architectural fragments have all been discovered. The media for these pieces also varies from stone, metals (bronze, iron, and silver), bone or antler, wood, glass, or ceramic. While most of the objects are small, hand-held or easily portable items, some objects, such as the large stone statue of Sequana or the altar resting above the sacred source, probably represent more permanent objects less likely to be moved.

Several artifact types dominate the object frequencies from the Source of the Seine. Many sculptures were found which vary significantly. Materially, stone, wood, and bronze pieces are present. Very few measurements are noted by the authors, but objects range from hand-held size (approximately 10 cm) to nearly life-size pieces (about one meter in height). Pieces are mostly free-standing figures or relief sculpture, and some are complete while others are fragmentary or damaged. Many pieces are simply busts, torsos, or various parts of the body including legs, feet, eyes, hands, sexual organs, arms, or hands.

Both male and female forms are represented. Complete figures or those emphasizing the whole person (meaning the head, torso, and appendages are present) are usually clothed, whereas those wishing to emphasize the sexual organs tend to be nude to reveal these and may only depict the torso. All ages are present as infants, youths, adults,

and mature adults. Some hold objects or animals in their arms, and the type of object appears to be connected to age, e.g. children hold dogs while adults hold purses or round objects.

Deities are present too. They are identified or distinguished by their attributes, inscriptions, or in some cases, their placement at the site or by their special treatment when buried. The main deity of the site, Sequana, is named in inscriptions and presented in stone as a seated figure and also in bronze standing atop a boat. Both pieces illustrate the goddess's importance at the site either through grand size or by craftsmanship and quantity of valuable bronze. Several other examples of deities or demi-gods were found at the Source of the Seine including Apollo Grannus, Minerva, Venus, Juno, Hercules, and the faun. It is likely that while Sequana was the main deity of the spring, other gods were worshiped here as well making this a polytheistic sanctuary.

Metal plaques made from either bronze or silver are also abundant. These thin, flat pieces of metal were cut, stamped, incised, or bent to give them shape and detail. Unlike sculpture, their subject matter is limited to stylized sexual organs or eyes. Like the sculpture, the torsos are nude in order to show the sexual organs. Many of the plaques look quite similar with a few exceptions, such as the hermaphrodite torso or the eyes with *MATTA* written above (Figure 4.21).

A little over 1000 coins were found from all the years of excavations at the site and date from the La Tène period to 18th century A.D. Most were from Baudot's initial discovery of 830 bronze and silver coins collected and stored in the Rufus vessel. This collection establishes a long temporal range beginning with Augustus (27 B.C. – A.D. 14) and ending with Magnus Maximus (A.D. 383 – 388), with the majority of dating to

the mid-third century A.D. This particular assemblage may represent the treasury of the sanctuary which was collected and deposited shortly before being abandoned.

While there are numerous ways one could study the material culture from the Source of the Seine, it must be limited here for the moment. No specific locations for artifact finds are noted in most of the literature, but it is apparent that objects are found across the site in buildings and in ditches and canals. The most abundant of these appear to be sculptures, plaques, and coins. No specific frequencies are available at the moment, but every researcher at the Source of the Seine mentions these three items repeatedly.

Evidence for a Sacred Site

"Le sanctuaire des Sources de la Seine est sans conteste le plus représentatif de ce phénomène religieuse que l'on appelle le culte guérisseur." (Deyts 1985: 7).
("The sanctuary at the Source of the Seine is, without contest, the greatest representative of this religious phenomenon we call 'the healing cult'.")

The same types of objects, their quantity, and the inscriptions on some of these indicate they are offerings or are of a religious nature set apart from the everyday. The architecture at the Source of the Seine is also set apart from the everyday; there is no evidence for houses, bath houses, or workshops at the site. All of the architecture points to a specialized function. The *fanum* from the second phase is a well-known form comparable to many other contemporary sanctuaries in this region. There are multiple structures from each phase that highlight water as an important feature and make it a focal point. The sacred basin and canal in the third phase are surrounded by a portico, separating is physically from other spaces. It also is the only area in which the floor has been decorated with mosaics. The space is also defined by the objects found near here, such as those depicting the goddess, or the variety of plaques and other offerings

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recovered from the canals.

One could argue the architecture in the lower terrace to the west is not sacred. Indeed it is not, but it is part of the sanctuary complex. Many of the sanctuaries from this region, which will be described more in Chapter 7, have outbuildings or annexes which are interpreted as places for pilgrims to stay during their visit to the site, as places for purchasing offerings to give the deity, or as storage for older offerings that have been removed from the sacred centers. While these structures are not important for ritual performances, they are an essential feature of frequently visited sanctuaries.

Taking the objects, architecture, and use of water into account, many researchers believe the Source of the Seine represents a healing cult. The objects are quite focused on the human form and are treated in special or unusual ways, such as being grouped for burial. The architecture demonstrates clear separation of certain spaces and additional adornment in others. The sacred basin and other water features draws one's attention to the water and the canals show a build-up of material culture. Healing cults exist in the Greco-Roman world, and the tradition expanded here, but in a unique and localized form. The goddess Sequana, represented as a water deity, and the treatment of the natural spring water from the Source of the Seine demonstrate some form of water veneration. It is possible that visitors believed the waters from this place and the deity could help with healing.

The Source of the Seine has been studied and interpreted by researchers for almost 200 years. The structures and their phases of construction are now understood. The diversity of objects provide researchers with a large collection with which one can

compare other similar assemblages and sites. Studies today, such as Romeuf's (1986) comparison of the wooden objects from Chamalières to those from the Source of the Seine or Sauer's (2005a) study of coins deposited in the healing waters of Bourbonne-les-Bains, demonstrate the utility of this collection, again, mainly due to its variety and quantity. As other researchers have used these data for understanding aspects of other sites with water deposits, so too can this material be useful for better understanding objects from the source of the Douix, which will be discussed in the following chapters. Overall, research at the Source of the Seine has enriched our understanding of sites with deposits connected to natural springs and now serves as a rich body of knowledge that can be used for comparison of new materials from sites across the region.

APPROACHES FOR UNDERSTANDING THE VENERATION OF WATER AND OFFERINGS

A variety of examples have been presented dating from the Neolithic through contemporary periods (Table 4.1). Water features were often the foci of cult in both the Mediterranean Basin and in temperate Europe. The study of these activities and sites, particularly in prehistoric temperate Europe which will be the primary focus for the remainder of the discussion, can be challenging even in the Gallo-Roman period. Without written evidence or mythologies describing the beliefs concerning certain features, it is hard to interpret water veneration precisely. For these reasons, detailed contextual analyses of the available data are necessary to identify and interpret the worship of watery places and the significance of the offerings deposited in there.

The presence of the same types of objects in a deposit, the context in which they were deposited, and similarities with other sites often indicates a sacred place with ritual

activity (Osborne 2004). To better understand water deposits, additional considerations must be made. After having identified a site as a location for rituals, more contextual data must be gathered from which it may be possible to identify patterns for additional interpretation.

Firstly, the nature of the site must be ascertained. Is it indeed a site of water veneration? Sometimes sites are hastily described as being places of water veneration without considering other factors. River deposits, for example, may sometimes be the result of accidental deposition of a capsized vessel or erosional deposition of cemeteries from a river-side settlement. Gallo-Roman sanctuaries that were near a spring or well were often identified as spring sanctuaries by early researchers. Proximity alone is not indicative of water veneration since water was necessary for many ritual practices; instead, one must look for attention drawing devices that make water a focal point in the sanctuary or architecture that incorporates water into its structure (Abed and Scheid 2003).

Once identified as a place of water veneration, the placement of offerings must be considered. Are offerings given in a human-made structure or to a natural feature? If it is a natural feature, are the objects deposited directly into it, or in an area nearby? These variations may indicate the intention behind the offerings and how the spaces are understood, especially if there is variation in the offerings made there. Knowing where the objects were deposited can also point out preservation biases as wooden objects like those from the Seine, for example, may have been present at other spring sanctuaries, but may not have preserved.

Secondly, establishing a good chronology of the offerings is useful because it

becomes easier to spot changes in depositional practices. These changes may indicate a different intention or meaning behind the offerings or, if the objects remain similar, could indicate continuity. Establishing the chronology of the objects can aid in the interpretation because it is possible to compare this evidence to other periods, sites, or to broader social, political and economic changes taking place. Understanding how and why objects came to be where they were can only help to illuminate what it was people were trying to communicate with the intranatural world around them.

Finally, once the chronology of the offerings is established, it is possible to compare finds from one site with those from another to see if people are offering the same things or even to compare offerings from a single site over time. The presence or absence or the distribution of a particular type of object may show similarities or differences between like sites. Such variations potentially indicate local or regional depositional traditions. Variations may also demonstrate that certain offerings are appropriate in some sacred places, but not in others, e.g. sites of water veneration versus those not associated with water, or even river finds versus those in bogs.

Understanding the context where offerings were discovered, establishing a tight chronology and making a variety of detailed comparisons of an offering assemblage will help to determine if a particular ritual site is unique in the landscape or follows traditional practices. If it is unique, how is it unique? What sets it apart from other sites? Examining these differences may help to determine what it is people were attempting to communicate and perhaps why that space in particular was chosen for such communication. If it is similar to other sites, what are these similarities and why might they be widespread? Is this a "McDonald's" ritual site where each village had their own

for basic local practices and perhaps went elsewhere for more important offerings?

WHY STUDY SPRINGS?

Bogs, rivers, lakes, and springs have all been discussed. While it would be interesting to compare the offerings from these different contexts, the quantity of data available and additional factors necessary to consider for such an analysis are far too great for the present discussion. Instead, focusing on evidence from springs offers a more manageable exploratory approach.[9]

Springs are an ideal starting point because evidence for their veneration is easier to detect. Offerings are sometimes thrown directly into springs, or architecture is built around a spring making it a focal point and emphasizing its sacredness. This is more difficult with rivers, for example, whose depositional context is more difficult to interpret. An object deposited in or near a spring was unlikely to be accidental, especially when one considers the large quantity of offerings associated with spring sanctuaries. Another appeal to studying spring sanctuaries is that many have been excavated, and therefore, there are abundant data available for comparison. Finally, some spring sites in later periods have contemporary inscriptions, early Christian authors who describe the polytheists' activities at springs, or longer folkloric traditions. This evidence may provide additional insights and help with the interpretation of spring sanctuaries.

CONCLUSIONS

Water veneration is a complex tradition with much variation. Examples from the

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9 One example of a lake sanctuary is included (Villards-d'Heria, Lac d'Antre) in the analysis because it shares possible connections to the nearby spring sanctuary of Villards-d'Heria, Pont des Arches.

prehistoric periods in temperate Europe show that water was an important ritual feature long before encounters with the Mediterranean world. This tradition was not introduced by an outside culture, but rather, the existing tradition was materially altered in later periods by the introduction of new material culture and architectural forms, and by emphasizing the veneration of new places. Both areas had specific reasons for venerating water, including fertility, safe passage, prevention of drought, boundary markers, healing or recovery from an illness, or military success. The significance of watery places continued through the Roman period and was adopted by Christians who associated springs and wells with their saints. Folklore about lakes, rivers and springs developed over time and healing powers were attributed to many sites which are still visited today for this reason.

Through close examination of the objects found in watery places and the variation between sites, it may be possible to discern what those offered objects wished to communicate to the intranatural. The decision to offer a particular type of object is telling and demonstrates the participant's active role in the ritual deposition. What do their decisions tell us? Why are some objects chosen over others? Why do particular types of objects offered change over time? Through detailed comparisons with local and regional materials, the analysis of the assemblage from the Source of the Douix will attempt to answer these questions.

CHAPTER 4 – TABLES

Evidence for Water Veneration from Sites in Chapter 4				
Location	**Sacred Area**	**Evidence for Water Veneration**	**Recipient**	**Why Venerated/Visited**
Western and northern Estonia	Groves, springs, hills, trees, stones	Dedications of small-value coins, strips of cloth, pieces of iron, horseshoes, nails, and glass around sacred features	Christian saints	For healing powers
Lourdes, France	A cave with water	Dedications of photographs, linen, jewelry, coins, crutches, and clothing of the ill person near cave and spring	Virgin Mary	For healing powers
Athens, Greece	The spring of Zōodochos Pēgē	Dedications of bronze or silver plaques of anatomical figures, flowers, candles, olive oil lamps, breads and cakes near spring	Panagia (Virgin Mary)	For healing powers and for purification
Amphiareion, Oropos, Greece	A spring within a temple	Ritual purification through bathing or drinking curative waters	Amphiaraos	For healing powers
Acropolis, Timpone della Motta, Italy	Temple	Dedications of hydra and cups containing water that were carried uphill and deposited in the temple	Athena	To demonstrate loyalty; for creativity
Il Lago degli Idoli, Falterona, Italy	Lake in the mountains	Dedications of bronze ingots, projectile points, terracotta vessels, bronze figurines, and anatomical representations deposited in the lake	Deity?	For military success or healing
Rome, Italy	Springs	Veneration of water deities who received dedicated days of worship in state ritual calendar	Juturna, Neptune, Furrina	For healing power, to protect city's water supply
Fonte do Idolo, Portugal	Spring at base of rock outcrop feeding Navia River	Dedications of reliefs, inscriptions, and altars to the spring and river	Nabia/Navia	To honor the water deities
Lake Neuchâtel, La Tène, Switzerland	Lake with timber causeway	Dedications of weapons, animal and human sacrifices, craft tools, and agricultural equipment deposited from timber causeway into the lake	?	For military success
Oberdorla, Thuringia, Germany	Lake	Dedications of pottery, wooden vessels and anthropomorphic figurines, tools, personal ornamentation, animal and human sacrifices deposited into the lake	?	?
Llyn Cerrig Bach, Wales	Bog	Dedications of weapons, chariot pieces and wheels, horse equipment, currency bars, metal vessels, bronze plaques, animal sacrifices deposited into the bog	?	For military success
Northern Europe, British Isles	Bogs	Dedications of human sacrifices deposited into bogs	?	For military success or help?
Saône River, France	River	Dedications of weapons, ceramic and metal vessels, personal ornamentation, coins, and human sacrifices deposited in rivers	?	For military success, safe crossing
Ljubljanica River, Slovenia	River	Dedications of weapons, ceramic and metal vessels, personal ornamentation, coins, statuettes, and human sacrifices deposited in rivers	?	For military success, safe crossing
Röekillorna, Sweden	Spring	Dedications of animal and human sacrifices, stone tools, wooden figurines, and ceramic vessels containing food deposited into the spring	?	For fertility
Source of the Seine, France	Spring with a temple	Dedications of bronze and stone statues, metal plaques, coins, altars, ceramic vessels, figurines, jewelry, ornaments, and tools deposited in the temple or near spring	Sequana	For healing, fertility

Table 4.1. Evidence for water veneration from sites in Chapter 4.

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CHAPTER 4 – FIGURES

Figure 4.1. A fountain littered with coins in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.
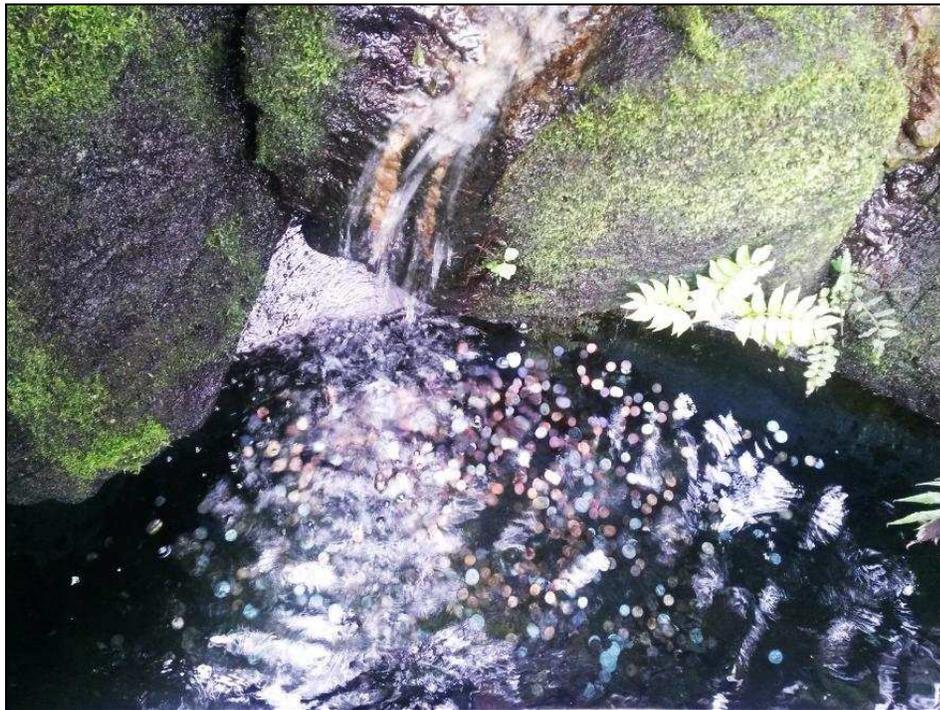
Figure 4.2. An indoor garden pool with coins at the Como Park Zoo and Conservatory.
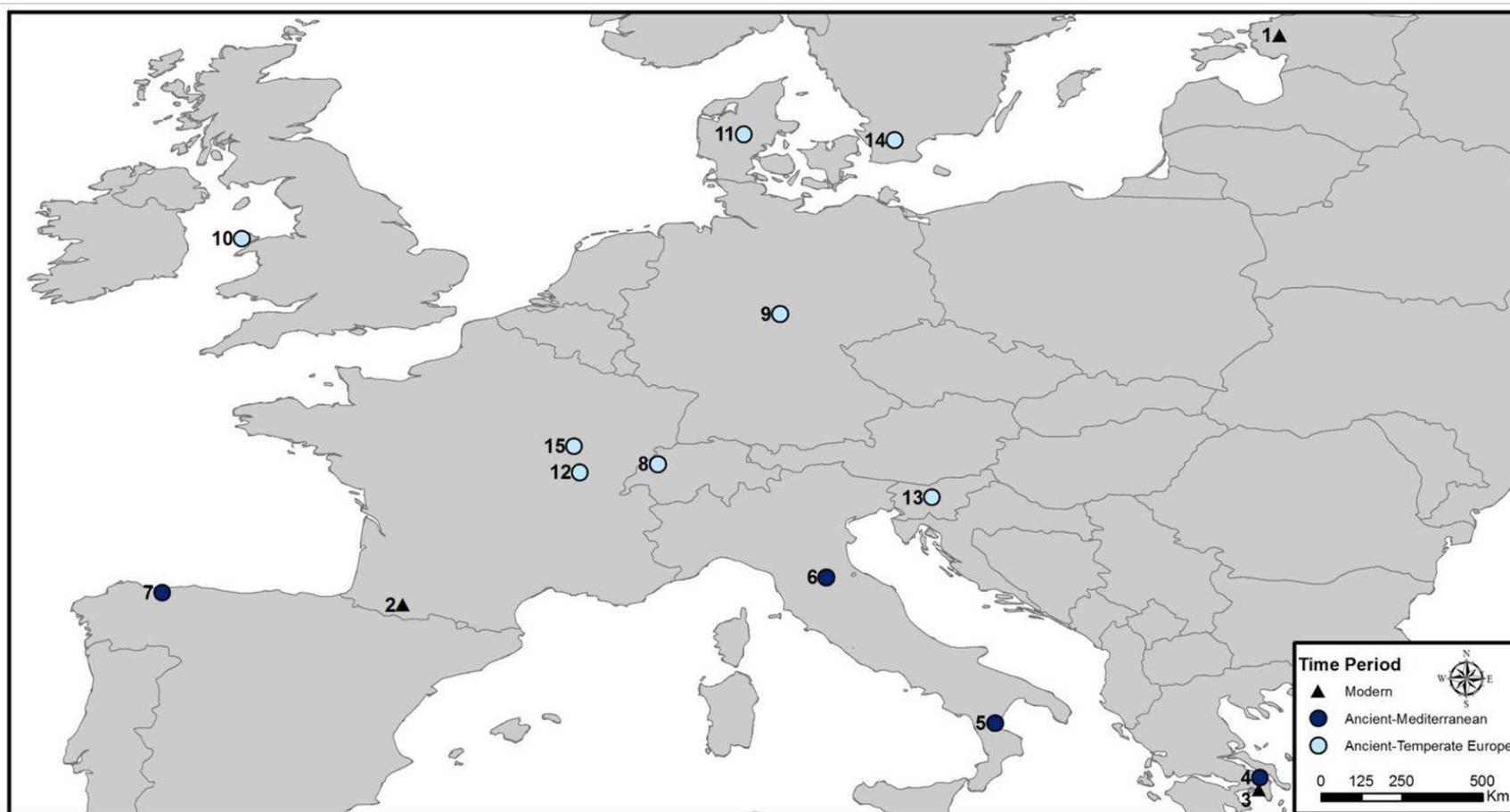
Figure 4.3. Map of sites discussed in Chapter 4: 1. Northern Estonia; 2. Lourdes, France; 3. Athens, Greece; 4. Oropos, Greece; 5. Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima, Italy; 6. Falterona, Italy; 7. Navia River, Spain; 8. La Tène, Switzerland; 9. Oberdorla, Germany; 10. Llyn Cerrig Bach, Wales; 11. Tollund Man, Denmark; 12. Saône River, France; 13. Ljubljanica River, Slovenia; 14. Röekillorna, Sweden; and 15. Source of the Seine (© R. Coil).

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Figure 4.4. Il Lago degli Idoli on Monte Falterona, Italy in which Etruscans offered a variety of objects (Wikimedia Commons).
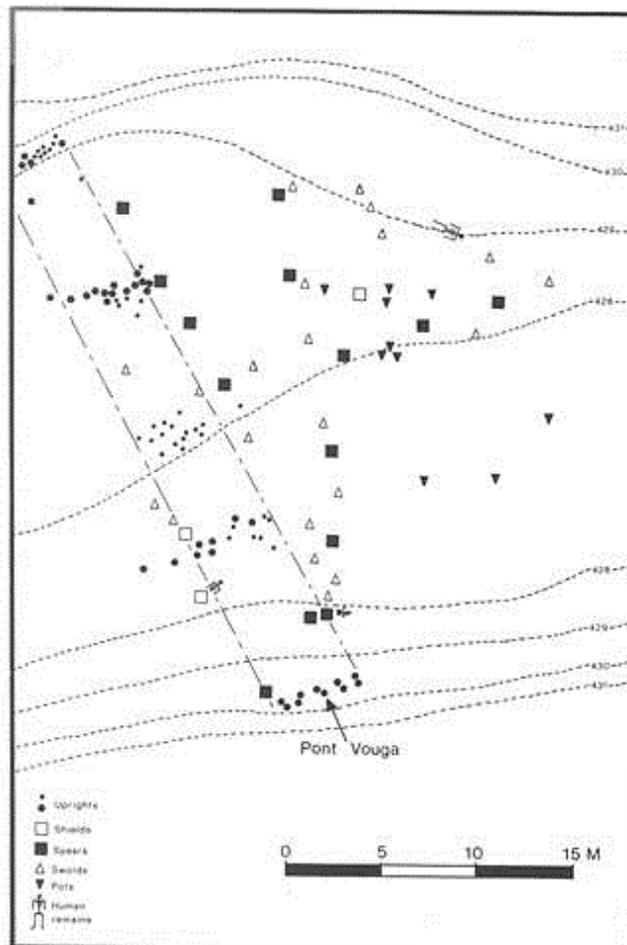
Figure 4.5. Position of offerings associated with the timber causeway at the site of La Tène, Switzerland (Bradley 1990: 58, Figure 36 after Vouga 1923). Some of the objects were ritually destroyed through bending or breaking (see Figure 1.1).
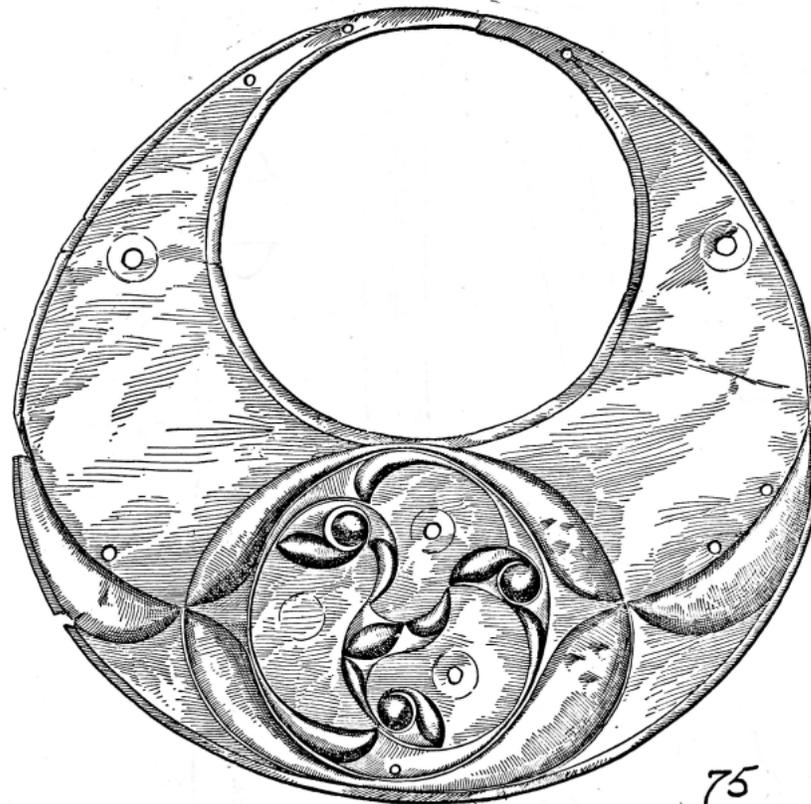
Figure 4.6. An ornamented crescentic bronze plaque from the bog of Llyn Cerrig Bach, Wales (Fox 1946: Plate XXXII).

Figure 4.7. Bronze oenochoe (left) and casseroles (right) found in the Saone River, on display in the Musée Greuze, Tournus, France.

Figure 4.8. Nineteenth century grotto and Nymph statue at the Source of the Seine, France.

Figure 4.9. A bronze boat recovered near Blessey in the 18th century, on display at the Musée Archéologique, Dijon.
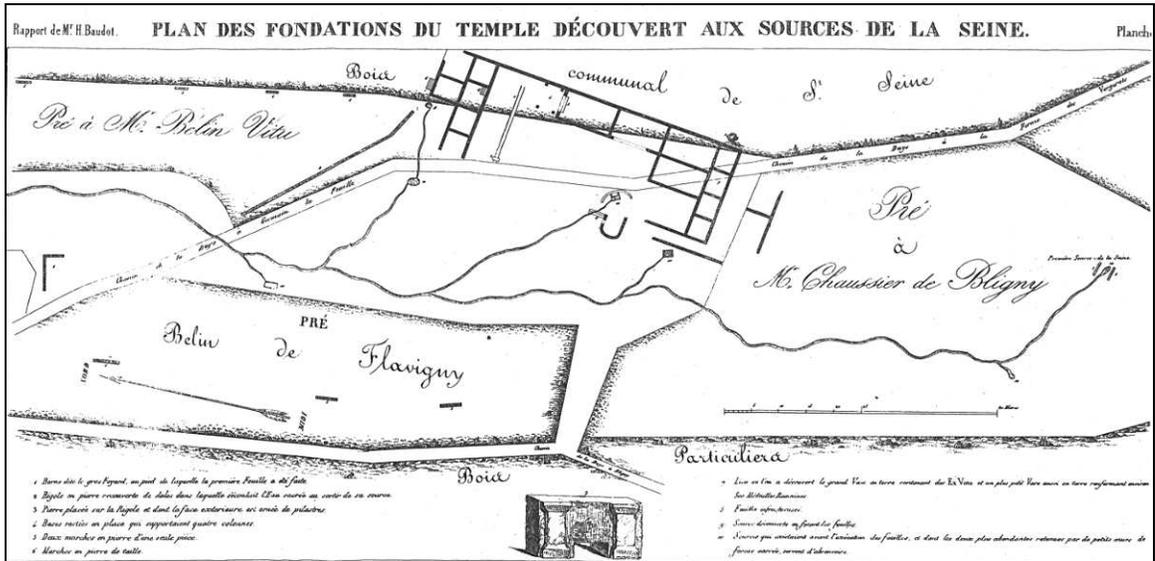
Figure 4.10. Map of the Source of the Seine after the 1836-1842 excavations (Baudot 1845).

Figure 4.11. Stone statue of a seated Sequana (Baudot 1845: Pl. III, no. 1).

Figure 4.12. The large vessel dedicated by Rufus and the position of the smaller vessel inside it (left) (Baudot 1845: Pl. X, nos. 2 and 3), and the smaller vessel and coins (right), on display in the Musée Archéologique, Dijon.

Figure 4.13. Dedicatory altar from Flavius found at the Source of the Seine (Baudot 1845: Pl. II, no. 9).

PLAN DES FOUILLES DES SOURCES DE LA SEINE (1926-1938)

Figure 4.14. Map of 1926-1938 excavations at the Source of the Seine, with an orange circle added to show the location of the bronzes found in the 1933 excavations (Corot 1938).

Figure 4.15. (left) The in-situ bronze statues of Sequana and the Faun at the time of their discovery, and (right) the bronze statue of the goddess Sequana standing aboard a ship (Corot 1933).

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Fig. 1. — PLAN DES FOUILLES DU TEMPLE GALLO ROMAIN DES SOURCES DE LA SEINE (Échelle 1 750).

a, b, c. Ensemble des bâtiments. — *d.* Source sacrée. — *e.* Borne du *Gros Foyard.* — *f.* Vestiges du *Gros Foyard.* — *g, h.* Dalles en place ou déplacées. — *i.* Bases de colonnes. — *j.* Édifice ellipsoïdal. — *k.* Bassin sacré. — *l.* Mur oriental de la grande piscine. — *m, n.* Murs occidental et septentrional de la grande piscine. — *o.* Emplacement des bronzes d'art trouvés en 1933. — *p.* Marches d'escalier. — *q.* Stèles à personnages. — *r.* Construction antérieure à la piscine. — *s.* Blocs grossièrement taillés. — *u.* Canalisation. — Au nord du mur *a b,* *cella* de type celtique.

Figure 4.16. Map of the 1950-1953 excavations (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 137).
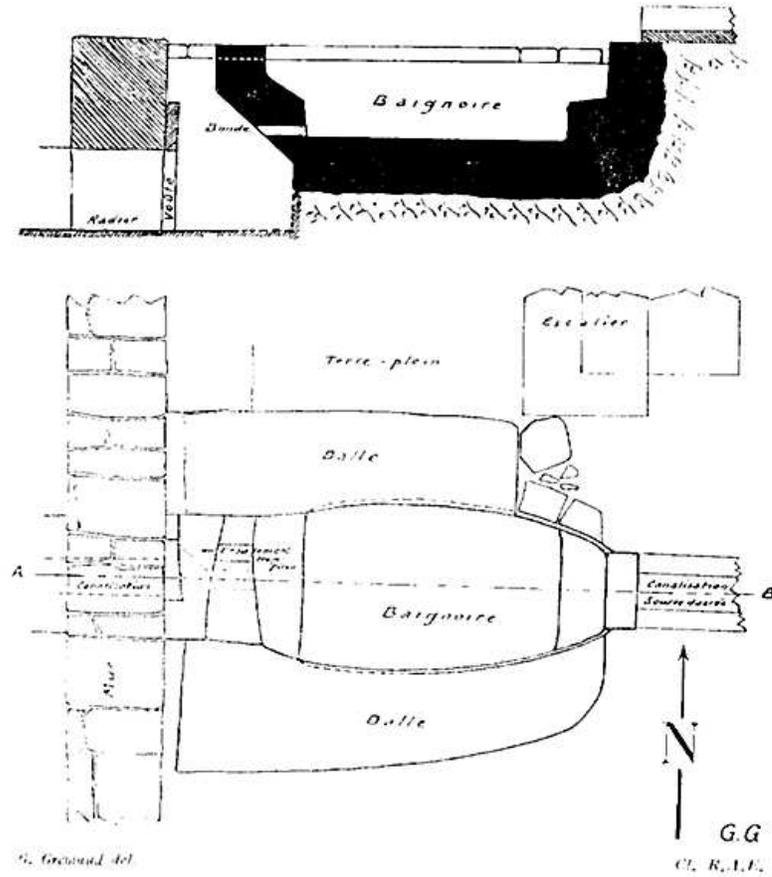
En bas, vue en plan. En haut, coupe suivant A B. Échelle 1 40.

Figure 4.17. Drawing of the sacred basin found at the Source of the Seine (Martin and Gremaud 1953: 153).

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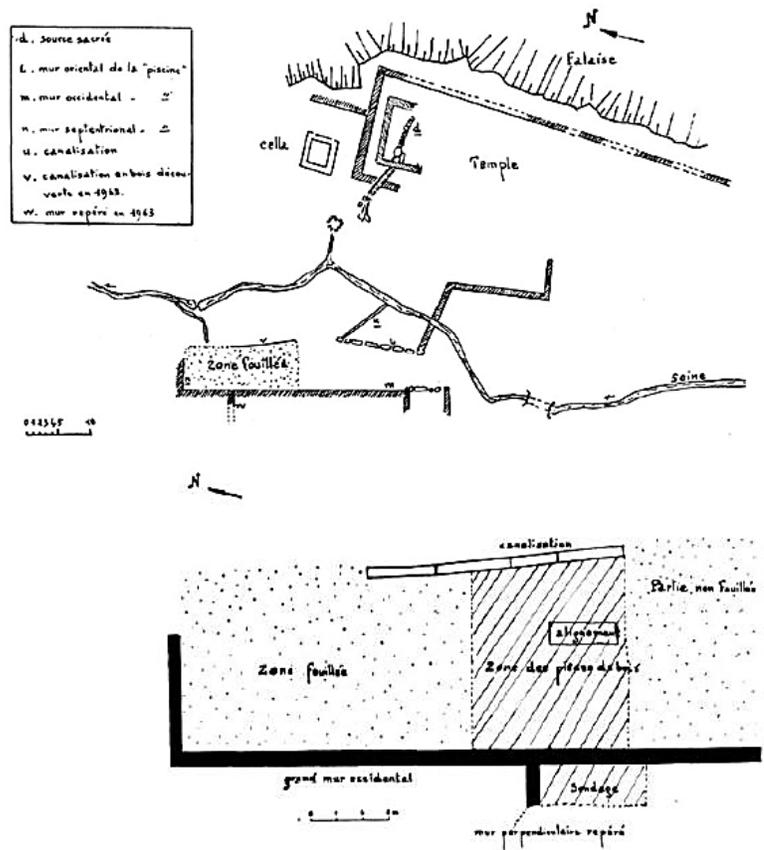
Figure 4.18. Map of 1963 excavations (above) with a detail of the area in which the wooden statues were found (below) (Martin 1964: 32, Figures 11 and 12).

Figure 4.19. Wooden statues recovered from the Source of the Seine: A. stacked heads; B. internal organs (Martin 1964); C. bust of a person; and D. a horse (Martin 1964).
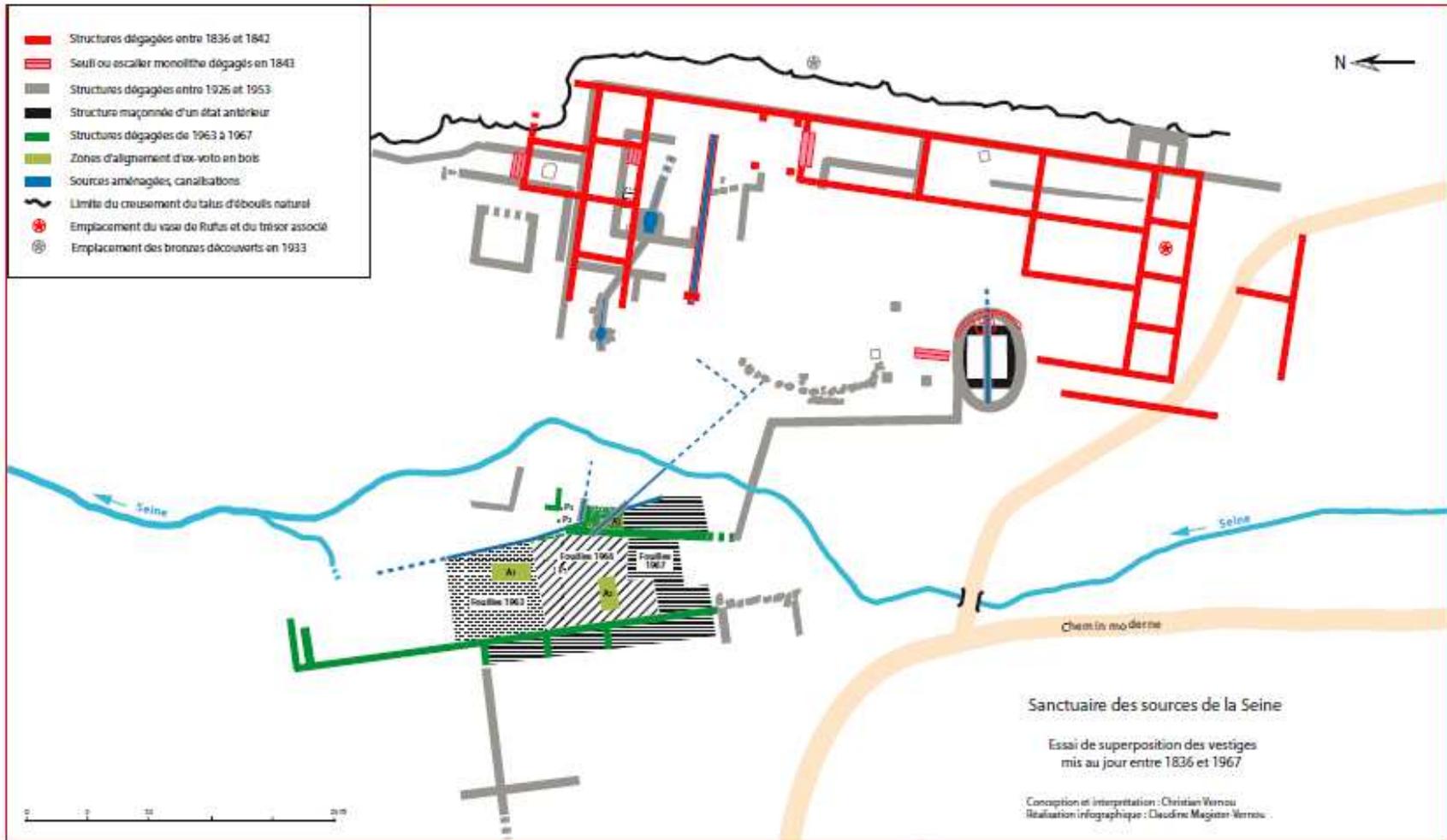
Figure 4.20. A map compiling all of the excavation plans (Vernou et al. 2012: 8-9).

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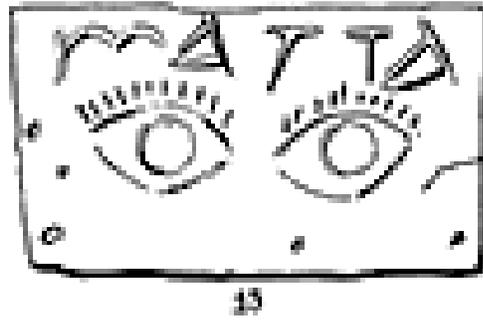
Figure 4.21. (left) Bronze plaque of a hermaphrodite (Baudot 1845: Pl. XI, no. 27), and (right) bronze plaque of eyes with "MATTA" written above (Pl. XII, no. 13).

Chapter 5. The Source of the Douix (Site No. 21.154.24)

Multiple topics have been presented so far, including the universality of offerings, the social, historical and religious contexts of prehistoric and Roman Gaul, and the importance of water deposits in Europe. The second half of this dissertation will address questions concerning ritual offerings based on my analysis of an artifact assemblage from the Source of the Douix which is set within these contexts. This assemblage and the broader tradition of spring veneration in this area will be used to answer two primary questions: How were the objects deposited in sacred spaces, particularly those in water, used as communicative devices? Did people offer different types of objects over time, and if so, how can these changes be explained using archaeological evidence?

I first present the history of exploration and research at the site known as the Source of the Douix. I then present the entire assemblage and adduce the Iron Age and Gallo-Roman catalogs (the medieval and modern objects are included in Appendix C). Finally, the materials from the Douix are compared to assemblages from other spring sites in Chapter 8, followed by broader interpretations of spring sanctuaries and discussion of the relative place of the Douix and its assemblage within these ritual centers.

THE SOURCE OF THE DOUIX: GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SETTINGS

The Châtillonnais (Figure 5.1) is a forest-rich area within the modern department of Côte-d'Or in the region of Burgundy, France. The area is located on the eastern edge of the Paris Basin and rests on a large bed of limestone which was exploited as a major resource in antiquity (Belotte 1997). Much of the limestone has eroded over time creating

many hills, such as Mont Lassois, that dot the landscape. The subterranean layers are punctuated by karst systems through which water flows and surfaces at the many springs in the region.

Within the heart of the Châtillonnais is the modern town of Châtillon-sur-Seine, located 83 km north of Dijon (Figure 5.2).[10] The name of the town is connected to the Seine River which meanders lazily through the town built up around it. In this area, the Seine is fed by two small tributaries, the Fontaine des Ducs and the Source of the Douix (Figure 5.3) located in the center of the town. Before reaching the surface on the western side of a small limestone plateau, the water from the Douix travels through at least 300 m of karstic channels which have been explored by speleologists (Figure 5.4). The emerging water is cold averaging 10-11 degrees Celsius, and has eroded a small cave which measures about 10 m across and whose height has changed over time with varying water levels.

Unlike some of the other springs from this region, the water from the Douix does not have any special properties, such as a higher mineral content or unusually warm temperatures. It produces 600 liters of fresh water per second and flows just 130 m before joining the Seine to the west (Belotte 1997: 19). While the flow and quantity of water are relatively consistent, various historical documents as early as 1030 A.D. have recorded occasions of extreme drought and flooding (Figure 5.5) in which the water fluctuated between 30 and 3,000 liters per second (Buvot 1996). The only occasion during which Douix dried up completely was recorded in 1789.[11]

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10 It is precisely at latitude 47.859764, and longitude 4.579400.
11 Other recorded droughts occurred in 1030, 1612, 1666, 1684, 1719, 1723, 1772, 1784, 1788, 1789, and 1842. Recorded floods occurred in 1613, 1615, 1622, 1627, 1641, 1659, 1677, 1679, 1683, 1696, 1697, 1795, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1810, 1836, 1840, 1841, 1866, 1910 (Buvot 1996).

The park around the Douix has been modified often over time. Its current appearance is the result of 19th century modifications. The new design plan included the addition of boulders about 50 m from the mouth of the cave which slowed the flow of water from the Douix creating an artificial pool and short waterfall (Buvot 1996). The spring is shaded by hundred year old trees, and a small road and bridge traverse the flowing water. Carved into the cliff-face above the cave is a niche in which a stone statue of the Virgin Mary and infant Christ were placed in the 11th century (Figure 5.6); Bromwich claims this replaced a mother-goddess statue, but this has not been verified (2003: 183). Atop the cliff is the Église Saint-Vorles, a Roman Catholic church constructed in the 11th and 12th centuries, though relics of Saint-Vorles are said to have been located there prior to its construction (Belotte 1997).

FOLKLORE CONCERNING THE DOUIX AND OTHER LOCAL SPRINGS

Springs are often associated with fantastical stories or folklore involving mystical creatures. The tales probably developed locally because each spring seems to have its own story, but their precise origins are unclear. Many of the stories contain Christian elements or saints, which likely reflects a Christian adaptation of an earlier story. The best-known piece of folklore from the Douix is described as follows:[12]

> À certaines époques de l'année, particulièrement à la Chandeleur, on jetait du pain dans la source et, la nuit, on entendait le pas d'un génie invisible effleurer la surface de l'eau sous la grotte profonde dont il faisait son séjour (Drioux 1934: 146).

> (At certain times of the year, particularly on the Candlemas, one throws bread into the source, and at night, one hears the footsteps of the invisible spirit skimming across the surface of the water from under the deep cave in which he resides.)

12 A description of another local ritual practiced as the Douix is available in Appendix C.

Three things are particularly interesting about this tale: the Candlemas, the bread, and the spirit. First, Candlemas is a Christian holiday which celebrates the Virgin Mary's presentation of the infant Christ at the temple. In France, this day is commemorated by mass and eating crepes marking it as a special feasting holiday. The emphasis on the Virgin and her son is reflected in the stone sculpture above the Douix, and may have connections to earlier religious beliefs which will be discussed later. Second, the bread that is thrown into the Douix acts as an offering. Local folklore from another nearby spring, Etalente (Figure 5.7), describes offering bread and cakes to the fairies who reside in particular springs so that they will not eat the local children (Drioux 1934: 145). We know that offerings have been deposited in the Douix since the Late Bronze Age, illustrating that this site has a long offering tradition. Finally, even though offering bread at the Douix takes place primarily on a Christian holiday, the offerings are given to a mythical, intranatural being.

Many springs in the surrounding area and neighboring departments have similar fantastical tales. Ligny-le-Chatel (Yonne) and Talant (Côte-d'Or) both have fountains where fairies are said to reside. In addition to mythical beings, it is recommended that some springs should be visited because they can strengthen marital fidelity or they have the ability to heal; many of these stories are connected to healing children and pregnant women, or are recommended for those seeking to increase fertility. The fountain to Saint-Ambroise in Chatel-Gerard (Yonne) and another in Saint-Menge (Vosges), for example, are described as places whose water will heal sick children, and a fountain near the chapel of Saint-Didier in Hortes (Haute-Marne) is said to be a good place for pregnant women to visit, presumably to ensure an easy or healthy pregnancy and birth (Drioux

1934: 138, 156, 166).

While visiting healing fountains and springs, people followed a procedure to ensure recovery. At a fountain dedicated to Saint Marcou in Archelange (Jura), people could visit every year on the first of May, drink the water, and fill a small bottle with it to take with them which helped with sterility or sexual infirmity (Drioux 1934: 139). Other procedures were more elaborate. At Magny-Lambert (Côte-d'Or), first bread and cakes were offered to the fountain, and then, to make their child stronger, mothers could plunge either their child's clothes or their child directly into the waters (Drioux 1934: 145).

Springs were also used to affect the weather. Another tradition from Magny-Lambert describes how the inhabitants tried to put an end to long droughts. The village selected nine of its most virtuous girls, and over nine consecutive days, they left at dawn for the source called Fontaine Cruanne or Creux Saint Martin. Upon arrival each girl would undress and enter the basin which was at least a meter deep. They swam until they became exhausted, after which a bucket was thrown to them and they were pulled to safety. During this time the priests would ask for rain and the group then returned to the church to sing hymns and psalms. It was believed that rain would fall once the cycle was complete (Colombet 1950: 33).

Folklore associated with springs and the practices that occurred at them continued from the medieval to the modern era (Caulier 1990). Many of these springs were named after Christian saints, and small chapels were sometimes erected nearby. The springs became locations of pilgrimage for people who believed in the healing powers of the waters, such as at the Estonian springs discussed in Chapter 4, or asked the saint of the spring to pray on their behalf for healing. Some sites, such as Lourdes, retain this strong

tradition of pilgrimage and even today one leaves a memento or offering at the spring and prays for healing.

EVIDENCE FROM THE SOURCE OF THE DOUIX

A full-scale excavation of the Douix cave, its internal structures, and the area surrounding the spring was never undertaken (Buvot 1997, 1998; Renard 1997). There is little documentation or notes available from its exploration. Two unpublished summaries of the research (Buvot 1993, 1996), my conversations with Dr. Jean-Louis Coudrot and Dr. Bruno Chaume, who were present when the artifacts were extracted, and a handful of brief articles published in regional bulletins (Buvot 1994, 1995; Coudrot 2002, 2003; Renard 1994a, 1998) supplied most of the information presented here. Some of the artifacts from the site including the coins, ceramics, and sculptures were studied by specialists, and summaries of their analysis will be presented in Chapter 6.

EXPLORATION IN SEPTEMBER 1993

The karst system through which the water flows has been explored by cave divers throughout the 20th century (Belotte 1997). Preliminary ventures into the cave system revealed that part of the channel through which the water flowed was slightly barred by fallen stone debris about 300 m in. In September of 1993, the water was pumped out diverting the flow so workers could access and attempt to remove the blockage allowing for deeper exploration of the system, though this primary objective was ultimately unsuccessful.

During this undertaking, material culture from over two thousand years was

retrieved including coins, statues, ceramics, other small finds, and building materials (Buvot 1993). Buvot argues that this area was no doubt a spring sanctuary and probably had a wooden structure from the Iron Age that was later replaced by one in stone by the local inhabitants (1993). If this building existed, it was probably demolished and the stone reused for other construction projects. While some cut stones used for paving and roofing were found in the area, no structural foundations were exposed. Evidence for more recent buildings and manufacturing activities, however, was uncovered. Historical accounts indicate that the area around the Douix had tanneries that were demolished and replaced by a laundry in 1842 for which the stone pavement is still visible (Renard 1994a).

Stratigraphy

The saturated conditions of the soil made stratigraphic analysis challenging. An attempt was made under the overhang of the cave; only four primary layers were identified (Figure 5.8, after Buvot 1993):

> 1. The modern bed of the river with small stones and pebbles, about 1 m under water.
> 2. A layer of pebbles and gravel in a sandy-clay matrix; deposited in 1991 to fill in the basin.
> 3. A deposited layer of gravel in a sandy matrix.
> 4. Fill with human-deposited material culture (Gallo-Roman sculpture) within a highly-compact clay matrix.

Objects collected and features observed during exploration were not organized or described in relation to this sequence. It seems highly likely that the Gallo-Roman and prehistoric materials came from Layer 4.

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EXPLORATION IN SUMMER 1996

A second campaign to remove the blockage was undertaken in June of 1996 using a pump to divert the water from the subterranean interior of the cave (Figure 5.9). The pump was placed through a three meter deep vertical shaft where it connected with the lower horizontal shaft of the system (Figure 5.10). Unknowingly the pump rested over a large collection of about 210 Iron Age fibulae and fragments of prehistoric ceramics, which were sucked up with the gravel by the machine and later retrieved (Bruno Chaume, personal communication 2011). Shortly after the Service Regional de l'Archeologie began consulting on the project.

Work continued as a longitudinal trench measuring 50 m long, 4 m wide, and 0.70 m deep was opened in the east near the cave mouth and continued west (Buvot 1996). The trench followed the stratigraphic sequence established in 1993 (Figure 5.11), though materials were still not organized according to these layers. Uncovered in the center of the trench were some modern architectural structures, cut slabs, and the base of a wall of the old laundry area. Mosaic tiles were also found in the trench to the west of the Douix. Buvot argues the mosaic tiles and cut paving and roofing stones provide evidence of a Gallo-Roman temple, but does not provide a precise location where it could have been (1996). Additional work in the trench showed that the original layout and orientation of the water flow has changed over time from a northwesterly direction to a more directly western path.

A wall, identified as Gallo-Roman based on construction techniques, was built in front of the mouth of the cave and was found at a depth of approximately 3 m (Figure 5.11, no. 3). It had a small central opening that channeled the spring water downstream

(Renard 1997, 69; Buvot 1998, 28). Many of the objects recovered during the study of the Douix came from behind this wall inside the cave (Jean-Louis Coudrot, personal communication 2011). They were found in Layer 4 whose damp and sandy clay created very muddy conditions limiting visibility (Figure 5.12; Buvot 1996). Sediment built up behind the wall adding to Layer 4 which eventually reached the top of the wall, covered it, and was additionally buried under Layers 1-3. This buildup of sediment and the modern backfilling of proximal structures probably altered the cave area we see today for the water level would have been lower in the Gallo-Roman period allowing for a larger cave.

Sondage 1

One test pit (Sondage 1) was placed 10 m to the north of the cave on the shore (Figure 5.11, no. 5). Materials from an area described as Sondage 2 are stored in the Musée du Pays Châtillonnais, but the reports do not refer to this test pit, nor am I able to reconstruct its location based on the available evidence.[13] A modern canal and wall were revealed as well as some Gallo-Roman coins. From Sondage 1, nearly 200 other objects, mostly undatable animal bones, were plotted three-dimensionally, though revealed nothing of significance.

RESULTS OF THE 1993 AND 1996 EXPLORATIONS

Materials from the Late Bronze Age (1200-800 B.C.), Hallstatt (800-450 B.C), La Tène (450-50 B.C), Gallo-Roman (50 B.C. - c. A.D. 450), Merovingian (c. A.D. 450-754), Early Modern (c. 1500 – c. 1800), and modern periods (20th century) were all

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13 I suspect it perhaps was located on the southern side of the cave mouth, but I cannot say this for certain.

present within and nearby the Source of the Douix. No wooden or stone temple foundations were uncovered, though building pieces such as cut slabs for roofs or flooring and mosaic tiles hint that a Gallo-Roman structure may have existed nearby. The Gallo-Roman wall represents the only ancient human-made structure at the site. Objects from both ancient and modern periods including 88 coins, more than 100 pieces of jewelry, 37 sculptures and 76 sculptural fragments, and other small finds were all found primarily inside the cave and some of the coins in Sondage 1.

CURRENT RESEARCH AT THE DOUIX

The objects recovered from the Douix have yet to be studied in their entirety, though some objects, particularly the sculpture, ceramics, and the coins, have been analyzed and summarized by specialists (see Buvot et al. 1997 for Renard on sculpture, Coudrot on ceramics, and B. Fischer and Meissonnier on coins). My research is the first that examines and considers the assemblage in its entirety and the history of the spring through time. In the summer of 2011, I began studying the Douix assemblage currently housed at the Musée du Pays Châtillonnais in Châtillon-sur-Seine. I conducted a preliminary evaluation of the assemblage and began a catalog of the collection. I continued this research during the summer of 2012 when I completed my analysis of the materials.

I examined 933 artifacts.[14] The most abundant types are straight pins, rings, sculptures, and coins, and they are made from a variety of materials such as stone,

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14 In total, 1143 objects were recovered from the Douix. The additional 210 objects are the Iron Age fibulae, but as they are the subject of another study, they will only be referenced here.

bronze, iron, glass, and ceramic.[15] Because of a lack of good stratigraphic evidence, other methods of dating have been used. The majority of the objects have been dated through comparisons with other similar objects (e.g. rings, beads) available in the Musée du Pays Châtillonnais and objects recovered from reliable contexts, such as burials or other sanctuaries with more secure stratigraphic layers. I accept the dates of the coins, ceramics, and sculpture which were established during previous analyses. The earliest materials are ceramics dating to the Late Bronze Age (Bardel, forthcoming), and the latest items are modern coins dating to the early 1990s, just prior to the exploration of the Douix. Materials from the Gallo-Roman period are the primary focus of this study and consist of 341 objects including stone sculptures, coins, bronze rings, bracelets, and beads.

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15 A large number of animals bones were also said to have been recovered during exploration. A portion have been presented in the catalogue, but do not seem to represent all of those found during excavations. Despite numerous attempts, I was unable to locate the rest of the faunal collection recovered from the Douix as their current location remains unknown.

CHAPTER 5 – FIGURES
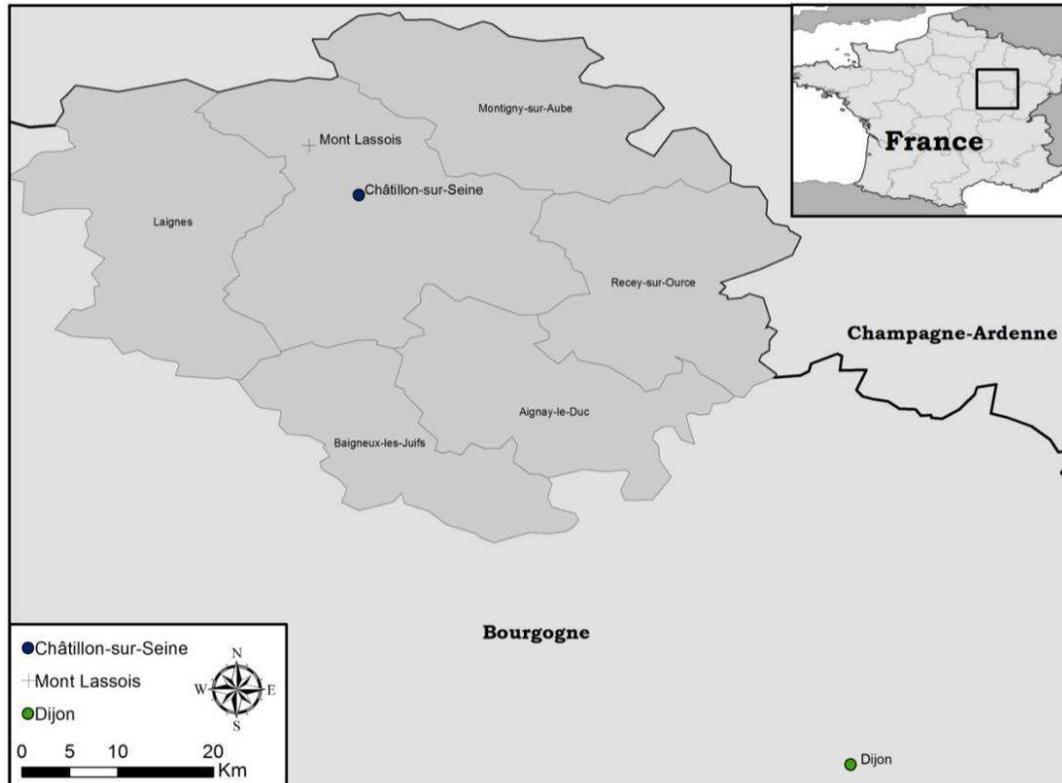
Figure 5.1. Map of the Châtillonnais, and the location of Châtillon-sur-Seine (©R. Coil).

Figure 5.2. Old drawing of Châtillon-sur-Seine with the Eglise Saint-Vorles on top of the hill (www.art-et-histoire.com).

Figure 5.3. The Source of the Douix in Châtillon-sur-Seine.
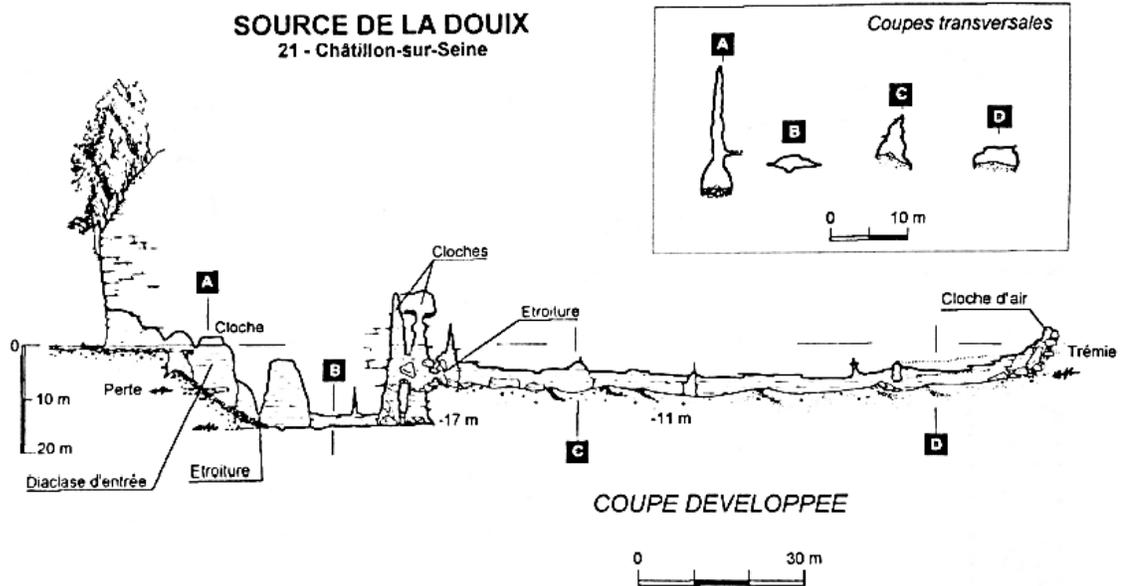
Figure 5.4. The interior system of the Douix in profile (after Buvot 1997: 19).

Figure 5.5. Old postcard showing the Flood of 1910 moving through the center of town (Delcampe.net).

Figure 5.6. Statue of the Virgin Mary and infant Christ above the Douix.

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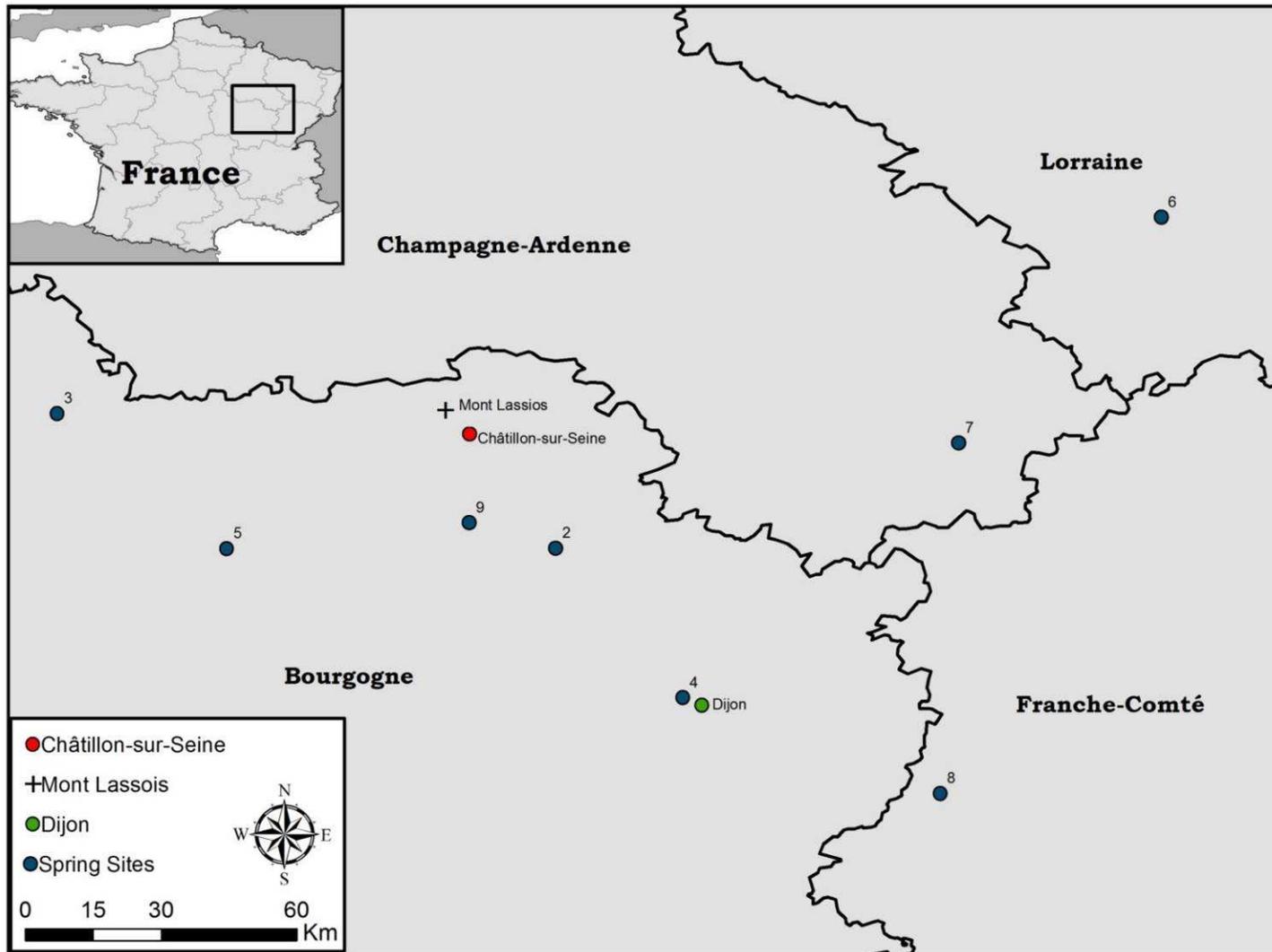
Figure 5.7. Map of the sites discussed in Chapter 5: 1. Châtillon-sur-Seine, France; 2. Étalent, Source of the Coquille; 3. Ligny-le-Châtel; 4. Talant; 5. Châtel-Gerard; 6. Saint-Menge; 7. Hortes; 8. Archelange; 9. Magny-Lambert (© R. Coil).
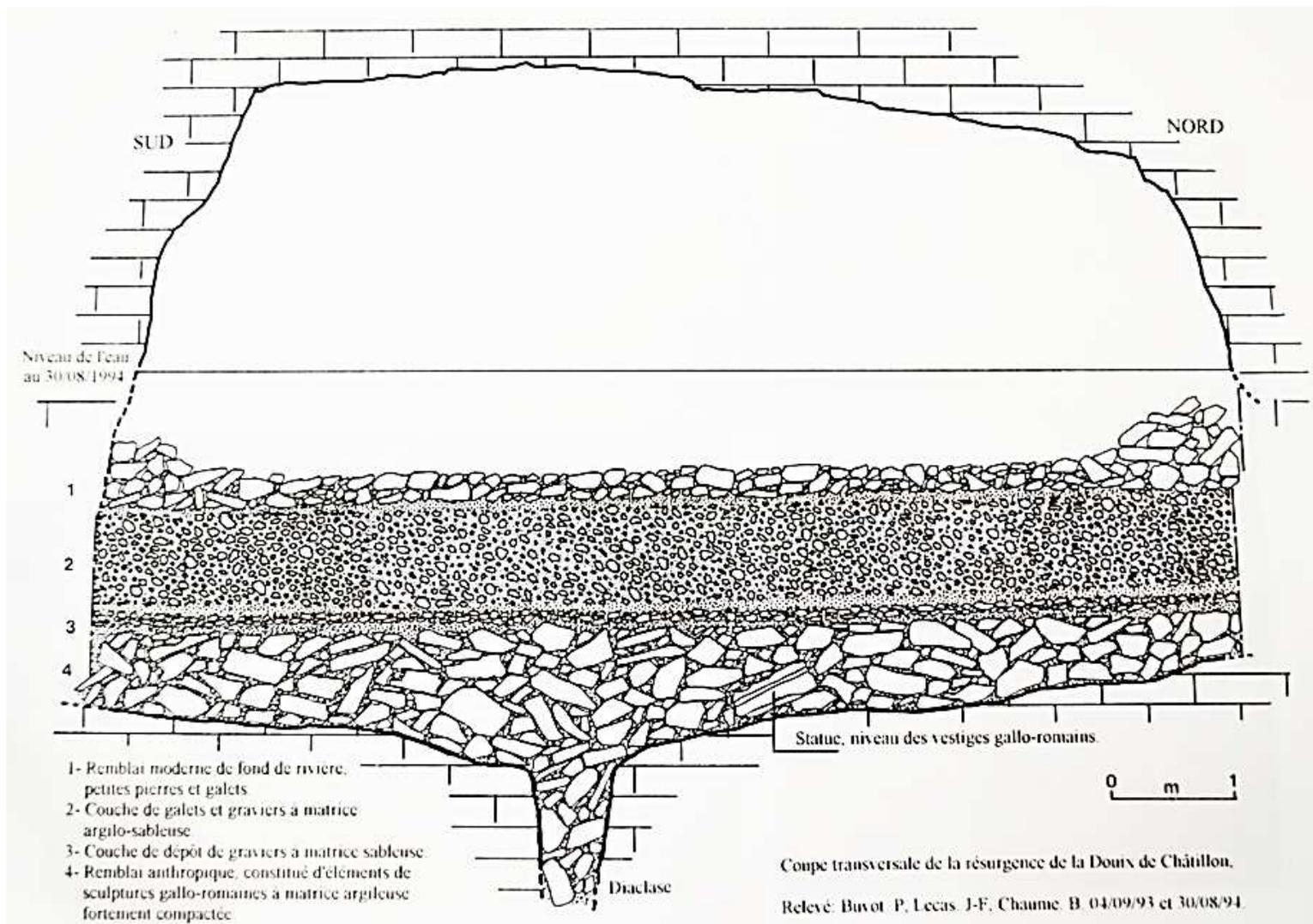
Figure 5.8. Stratigraphic sequence of the Douix: 1. The modern river bed with small stones and pebbles; 2. A layer of pebbles and gravel in a sandy-clay matrix; 3. A deposited layer of gravel in a sandy matrix; 4. Fill with human-deposited materials within a compact clay matrix (after Buvot 1993).

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Figure 5.9. The diverted water and the dry area to the south during the 1996 exploration (after Buvot 1997: 41).
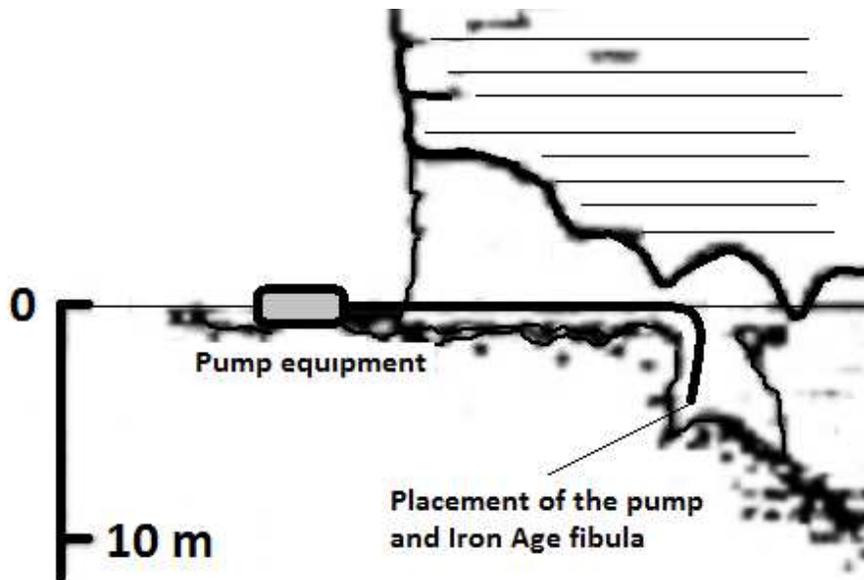
Figure 5.10. Interior profile of the Douix showing the placement of the pump equipment and the Iron Age fibulae (modified after Buvot 1997: 19).
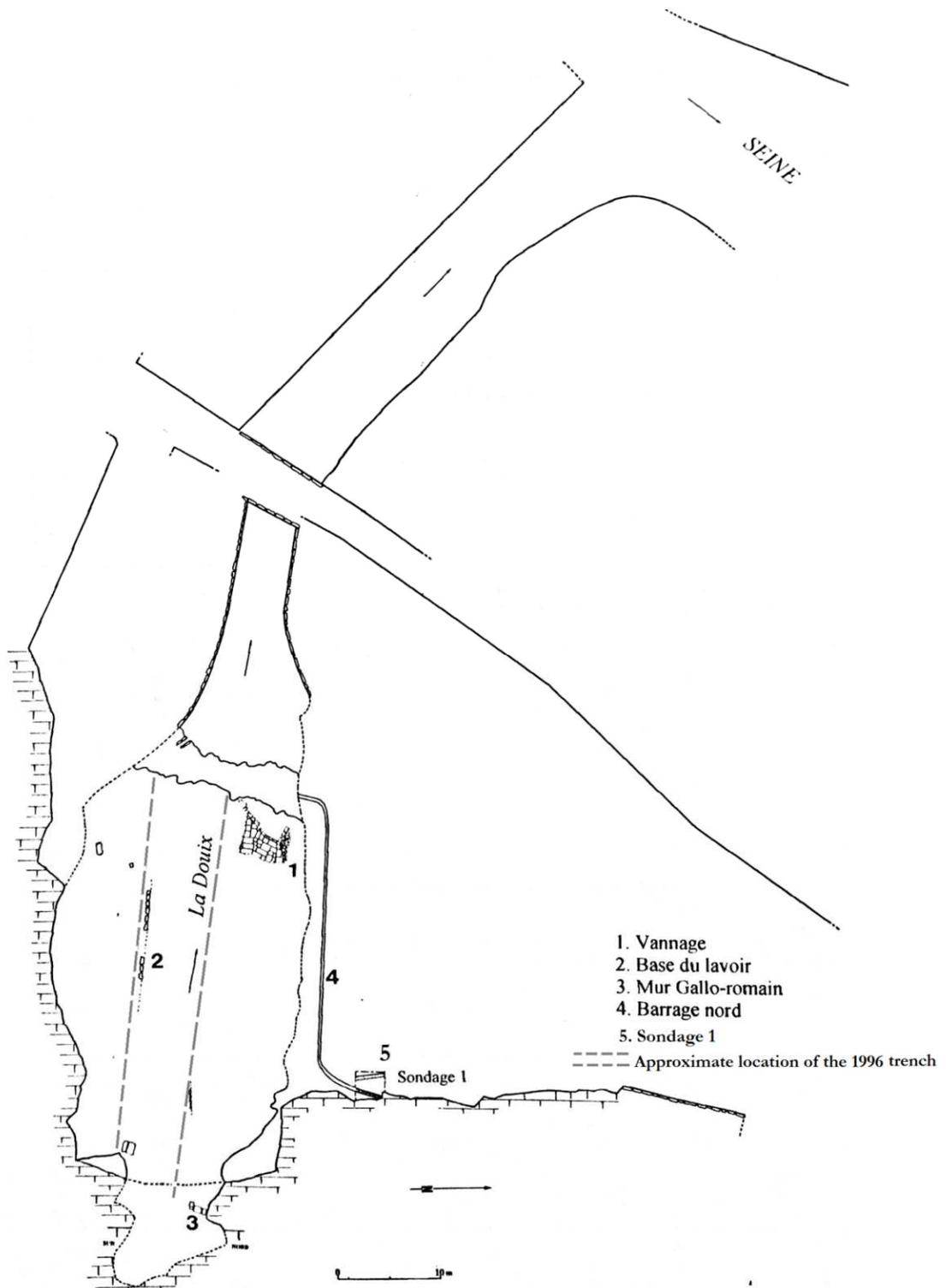
Figure 5.11. Areas of the Douix studied in 1993 and 1996: 1. Paved area; 2. 19th century laundry; 3. Gallo-Roman wall; 4. Northern perimeter; 5. Sondage 1 near the cave; dotted line showing the probable location of the 1996 trench (modified after Buvot 1997: 52).

Figure 5.12. Recovering the in-situ Gallo-Roman statues (Buvot 1996).

Chapter 6. Data: the Douix Assemblage

As is sometimes the case with archaeological studies, not all of the information is available for the present discussion. For much of the Douix material, I can provide little more than the general period in which an object was created. This limitation especially applies to the ceramics and the fibulae from the Douix, which are currently being studied by specialists and will be published in future reports.

The prehistoric ceramics are currently being studied by David Bardel who has communicated to me that the ceramics date to the Late Bronze Age and Hallstatt periods, which provide the earliest evidence for depositional activity at the Douix. However, Coudrot identified the majority of ceramics as La Tène (Coudrot 1996); at present, the dating of the prehistoric ceramics is unclear. A few fragments of Gallo-Roman ceramics have also been noted and are currently under analysis, and information regarding their forms and specific dates of production is unavailable. Buvot (1993) noted in the reports from the Douix that Merovingian, medieval, and modern ceramics were all found during exploration, but these have also not been confirmed or studied yet. Another box of materials from the Douix which contained primarily bones (perhaps those from Sondage 1) and ceramics was located after my analysis and may help to rectify these discrepancies.

According to the preliminary analysis of the fibulae from 1996, at least 210 Iron Age fibulae or pieces of fibulae were recovered (Chaume 1996). Most of these date to Hallstatt D2/D3, some from Hallstatt D1, and some from the early La Tène. The specific quantities for each period have not been determined; Chaume (forthcoming) will present the complete catalog of the Douix fibulae as well as a comparative discussion of their

forms.

These current projects will be compiled at a later date to provide a comprehensive report and understanding of activity at the Douix. I do not wish to exclude the ceramics and fibulae in the current analysis. As a solution, I will mention these materials in the appropriate places in subsequent discussions, but will not speculate or provide unverified data. The coins (Fischer 1996; Meissonnier 1994, 1996) and sculptures (Renard 1994b, 1996) from the Douix have already been studied and published by specialists in their respective fields. Aspects of these studies are included and authors credited in this discussion.

CHRONOLOGY

The material from the Douix has been somewhat difficult to date due to a lack of stratigraphy, a lack of easily identifiable attributes, and the heavily worn nature of the objects. The assemblage has been dated by comparing the material with other collections on display at regional museums, through published collections, and by conversations with other archaeologists. Of the 1143 objects recovered from the Douix, 933 objects are discussed in this chapter and in Appendix C (Table 6.1).[16] Broadly, the dates of these materials range from the Late Bronze Age to modern times; the Gallo-Roman material will be the primary focus of this study.

The earliest materials recovered from the Douix are ceramic sherds dating to the Late Bronze Age (Bardel, forthcoming). The Hallstatt period is represented by at least 200 objects, including two reassembled miniature vessels and heavily worn ceramic

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16 The quantity of ceramics and fibulae are unknown as they are currently under study, see Bardel forthcoming, and Chaume, forthcoming.

sherds, two ceramic beads, a bronze ring, and about 200 bronze and iron fibulae, all of which were located at the base of the vertical shaft of the cave. These materials will be briefly described and referenced in the discussion of the Douix here, but will be examined in greater depth in forthcoming publications.

The La Tène period is represented by at least eight objects. An uncertain number of early La Tène fibulae have been recovered, and possibly La Tène ceramics. A portion of a belt buckle from the third century B.C. was also found. The coins and rings attributed to La Tène D, probably around mid- to late-first century B.C. Similar deposits from other sites suggest these objects actually represent an early Roman transitional period after the conquest. The earliest Roman coins date to the early reign of Augustus and indicate a fluid continuation from the transitional period. In total, 341 objects from the entire Roman period (mid-first century B.C. to fourth century A.D.) were recovered and include beads, bracelets, rings, coins, gaming pieces, furniture pieces, nails, and sculptures. These objects will be discussed in more detail below.

Buvot (1993) indicates there were Merovingian and medieval ceramics recovered from the Douix, but this fact has yet to be confirmed. It is possible offerings were not made during this period, or they were of perishable materials. Five coins and 494 straight pins and fragments were deposited possibly beginning in the Early Modern period as early as the 15th century as part of a marriage tradition (Jorrand 1986; see Appendix C).

Objects from the modern era, mostly from the 20th century, include 49 small trinkets and possibly pieces of debris. The objects vary significantly and include a rotisserie stake, a blade, nails, bullets and their casings, a button, clothing fasteners, a bead, glass vessels, a token, and 20 coins.

Charcoal fragments and 47 animal bones are the largest quantity of organic remains from the Douix, and are listed as unidentified or undated materials. Additional objects within this category include a geode, two heavily corroded nails, a large quantity of slag, and several unidentified bronze and iron fragments; a total of 79 objects fall within this category. The Early Modern and modern periods and the undated materials will be discussed in the Appendix C.

EXPLANATION OF THE CATALOG

All data presented in the catalog were collected in two two-week research visits to the Musée du Pays Châtillonnais in 2011 and 2012, and follow-up trips in 2013 and 2014. Both the Douix materials on display in the Gallo-Roman section of the museum, and those in storage were examined. All objects, with the exception of the fibulae and ceramics, were photographed, measured, qualitatively described, and the obtained information organized into the catalog presented below.

The catalog is organized by period, then by object category and type, and, if applicable, by sub-type. I have organized objects according to their traditional use category. I realize that these categories may be imposing modern standards on ancient materials, but as there are similar objects in different materials, e.g. the bronze, iron, and glass rings and the bronze and silver coins, it seems more logical not to separate them (Hurcombe 2007; Allason-Jones 2011). In my analysis, I consider the ideas of object biographies or life history to acknowledge that these objects may have a different use than their initial manufactured purpose; this is especially critical when dealing with ritual contexts (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Walker 1999).

Figure 6.1 shows a sample catalog entry in which each object has a photo and additional information. A unique **catalog number** was created for each object which identifies the period, object type, and individual identity of each object (Table 6.2). Creating a numbering system which reflects these data facilitates more fluid discussion as this critical information can be ascertained through a quick glance rather than stating it repeatedly for each object, e.g. GR.33.006 is Gallo-Roman bracelet, number six.

The **museum inventory number** contains information useful for the museum's organizational system. There is variation between some of the inventory numbers (those that begin with 999 and those with 2012) which reflects the year when the objects were given an inventory number. A concordance of the catalog numbers and inventory numbers can be found in Appendix D for easy reference.

Some objects have been **dated** more precisely to either a particular date on the basis of indicative markings on the objects themselves (e.g. dates on the coins), or within the broad century through typological comparisons (e.g. the sculptures, jewelry). The objects were created from a variety of **materials**, and though the catalog is organized by object type and not by material, similar materials were kept together when possible. **Preservation** refers to the current state of the object, not necessarily how it entered the archaeological record, and is organized into approximately four states: complete, broken, fragment, or undetermined. Some objects, such as those made from metal, may be complete, but may have deteriorated; more information and additional qualitative observations are noted in the description.

A variety of **measurements** were taken for each object and may include height (Ht), width (Wd), length (L), thickness (Th), diameter (D), hole diameter (Hd) and weight

(Wt), all of which are presented in centimeters or grams. Measurements for some objects vary according to their form. For example, the rings that are perfectly round contain measurements for diameter and thickness, and these also contain width. Many of the rings appear to have been cut or squished; the same measurements were not possible. The location of measurements for the rings, beads, and vessels are demonstrated in the corresponding figures (Figure 6.2).

There is a **description** of each object and additional observations included at the end of each entry. Some objects seem to have been altered, such as being twisted; this information is noted, however if the alteration occurred pre- or post-deposition is unclear.

IRON AGE (see APPENDIX A for catalog)

HALLSTATT MATERIALS

There are at least 200 objects from the Hallstatt period including vessels, fibulae, beads, and a ring made either from clay, iron, or bronze.

Personal Ornamentation

Fibulae

A few hundred fibulae (Figure 6.3) were recovered in varying states of preservation and are made from iron or bronze. Many of the fibulae are similar to the forms found at the contemporary site of Vix, suggesting a connection between the two sites (Bruno Chaume, personal communication 2013). The precise forms and quantities will be the subject of an upcoming publication (Chaume, forthcoming).

Beads (H.31.001-002)

Two ceramic beads **(H.31.001** and **H.31.002**), both spherical with a hole through the center, are made from a red clay like the vessels discussed below.

Ring (H.32.001)

A single bronze ring (**H.32.001**) is one of the few objects from the Douix with any decoration, which helps date it to the Hallstatt period (Bruno Chaume, personal communication 2011). Along its length are two parallel zig-zags inscribed into the metal. Its decoration and form are very different from the other rings attributed to the post-conquest transitional Roman period.

Vessels (H.61.001-002)

Two small ceramic vessels (**H.61.001** and **H.61.002**) are made from a red clay and have some blackening on the exterior; they appear to have been broken in antiquity. Both are described in the catalog as cups, but one has a short stem or pedestal before opening into the basin, and the other is a very small or miniature cup that could fit on the end of one's thumb and was probably made by pinching this form from a ball of clay.

LA TÈNE MATERIALS

There are at least eight objects from the La Tène period including coins, fibulae, a belt buckle, and possibly ceramics made from either bronze, iron, potin (a mixture of copper, lead and tin used for some coins), or clay.

Coins (LT.1.001-006)

Six coins date to late La Tène. Their identification and information provided in the catalog is based on the analysis by Brigitte Fischer from 1996. These are made from silver, potin, or bronze. All are complete, though some are heavily worn and impossible to identify in more detail. Three of the coins have parallels or similar images to coins identified by La Tour (1892). Coin **LT.1.002** is a La Tour 8040, and coins **LT.1.003** and **LT.1.004** are similar, but not exactly like La Tour 8329. The identified coins are from northeast and eastern-central Gaul and date to the first century B.C.

Personal Ornamentation

Fibulae

Some La Tène fibulae made from iron or bronze were recovered. The precise forms and quantities will be the subject of an upcoming publication (Chaume, forthcoming).

Clothing Fasteners

Buckle, belt piece (LT.41.001)

One loop of one side of a belt buckle mechanism was found. This very plain bronze loop is similar to a form found at Fesques, which dates to the third century B.C. (Figure 6.4) (Mantel 1997: Fig. 6, no. 318-109). These buckles normally have two sets of one or two rings and a hook on one side (Figure 6.5). The example from the Douix is the outer loop making it impossible to determine which side of the belt this was or if it had a hook. The piece was bent until it broke in half, something which may have been part of

its ritual deposition.

GALLO-ROMAN (see APPENDIX B for catalog)

QUANTITIES, MATERIALS, AND CHRONOLOGY

A total of 341 objects have been examined and organized into their functional categories, and then organized by type and sub-type (Table 6.3). These objects are primarily made of bronze and limestone and also of iron, silver, bone, polished stone, and glass (Figure 6.4).

As discussed in "Chronology," there is a period of transition between the La Tène and Roman periods which I refer to as "Post-Conquest Transitional Materials;" later materials are more rooted in Gallo-Roman culture and are referred to as "Gallo-Roman Materials." This division is not arbitrary. In a study of offerings from the Gallo-Roman sanctuaries of Flavier à Mouzon and Villeneuve-au-Chatelot, Rey-Vodoz (1991) proposes two chronological phases which are marked by changes in the types of offerings and their depositional locations.

The first period falls between the second half of first century B.C. to the beginning of first century A.D. Objects from this period are primarily metallic and often include coins, *rouelles* (small representations of wheels), rings, and miniature weapons and are found inside the enclosing ditch or wall of a sanctuary. Rey-Vodoz argues that these objects follow offering traditions from the early La Tène which included large quantities of bronze weapons in ditches, but on a smaller scale at this time.

The second period begins at the end of Augustus's reign in the first century A.D. It is at this time that metallic offerings become less numerous and are replaced by more

familiar Roman offerings such as votive altars, statues and statuettes of divinities, steles, bronze or terracotta figurines, anatomical elements, and plaquettes with eyes and reproductive organs (Rey-Vodoz 1991). The ritual activities and offerings at sanctuaries change, and epigraphic evidence appears demonstrating a stronger connection with the Roman world.

This pattern is certainly visible at the Douix, and this division will be explored at other sanctuaries further in Chapter 8. For the sake of simplicity, these items are given the same catalog code (GR.x.xxx), but are separated by headings in the catalog indicating their precise period.

POST-CONQUEST TRANSITIONAL MATERIALS

The "Post-Conquest Transitional Materials" probably date to the mid-/late-first century B.C. to early in the first century A.D. This period is represented by the bronze and iron rings, and possibly by the La Tène and Augustan coins whose dates of manufacture fall between the mid-first century B.C. to the beginning of the first century A.D., but whose precise dates of deposition are impossible to determine, and are, therefore, discussed with the later Gallo-Roman materials.

Personal Ornamentation

Rings (GR.32.001-106)

Of the 106 rings in the collection (Table 6.5), 80 are complete. The hole diameters suggest all can be described as finger rings, though it is possible that some of the rings, particularly those of iron, may have been part of harness equipment, and **GR.32.001** (and

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possibly GR.32.036) is most likely an earring. As their functions are not precisely clear, they are grouped together. The rings are also a bit complicated to organize and describe as almost all have different characteristics which do not often overlap. Instead of describing types, I will explain the language used in the catalog descriptions.

The rings are primarily described as closed, coiled, open, a half, or a fragment (Figure 6.6). "Closed" describes rings with ends that were joined or were possibly cast. The coiled rings are intentionally twisted more than once past a basic circle prior to deposition. "Open" describes rings of varying thicknesses whose ends are not joined together as a result of production method or possibly being pulled apart, cut, or twisted. Half rings describe those who appear to represent half of a ring, and fragments are pieces which have less than half present.

Some of the closed rings were possibly mold-made, or were made from thicker, and sometimes thinner, pieces of metal whose ends were joined through heat or pressing. Coiled and open rings were made from pieces of metal that were twisted and curved. The metal used to make many of the open rings was perhaps scrap metal or pieces poured into very shallow wooden or clay molds. Only a few ends appear to have been cut while the majority seem to have a slightly rounded end (Figure 6.7), which suggests the metal was intentionally made in that form. The rings then appear to have been hastily formed into the approximate shape of a ring perhaps for symbolic purposes (Jobic 1986). It is more difficult to determine how the half and fragmented pieces were made.

Many of the rings appear to have been altered in some way. Some open and closed rings seem to have been squished or compressed as seen in Figure 6.8. Many of the open rings were pulled apart, twisted, or cut heavily distorting their original form.

The half pieces seem to have been cut or bent until broken in half. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say with certainty if this treatment occurred pre- or post-deposition. If these alterations occurred prior to deposition, it may be connected to the early La Tène ritual destruction of metal objects as seen at sanctuaries like Gournay-sur-Aronde, Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, or Corent (see Chapter 3).

The rings are not well preserved. Very few have their original finish intact. Many have decayed in such a way that outer layers have broken off and only a core remains. For this reason, detecting the cross-section and decoration was difficult or limited. In section, the rings are flat, round/circular, ovular, D-shaped, rectangular, or square. Most of the rings are simple bands with little to no discernible decoration. The only rings with decoration are **GR.32.019**, -**020**, -**.023**, -**025**, -**037**, -**056** and -**075** (Figure 6.9). The simple decoration consists of parallel lines that are notched into the band. The quantities of lines vary, and they may be present across the entire length of the band or only at the ends of the rings. The rings cannot be dated stylistically because they are so plain or generic. Rey-Vodoz's argument is compelling, which is why I have placed the rings in this transitional category, but similar plain finger rings are known from sites like Uley or Les Bolards and found in later Roman contexts (Woodward and Leach 1993; Pommeret 2001b: 359, Figure 1, nos. 12-17).

GALLO-ROMAN MATERIALS

The "Gallo-Roman Materials" date between the first and fourth centuries A.D. The dates are provided primarily by the coinage, but several thoroughly published comparative sites in Britain help to date many of the other objects. The bracelets and

sculptures have been dated through stylistic analysis. As noted above, some of the coins were produced in the late first century B.C., but are included here because their actual date of deposition is unknown. They are heavily worn suggesting a long period of use, but the water from the Douix may also be responsible for their present state.

Coins (GR.1.001-057)

The coins (n = 57) were weighed and identified to emperor, to century, or were labeled undetermined by Jaques Meissonnier in 1993 and 1996 (see Meissonnier 1994, 1996). I have tried to further identify each coin to a particular type according to *Roman Imperial Coinage* (RIC) when possible. Many of the coins are heavily worn either from extensive use or from the watery conditions of the Douix.

The depositional dates are impossible to determine, but the identified coins were minted primarily in Rome, Lugdunum (Lyon), and Augusta Treverorum (Trier) between the late first century B.C. (the earliest example **GR.1.001** was made just prior to the reign of Augustus between 29 and 28 B.C.) and the fourth century A.D. (the latest examples with definitive dates, **GR.1.045** and **-046**, were minted between A.D. 341 and 346). Of the coins which have been clearly identified, 19 are from the late first century B.C. to first century A.D., 9 from the second century, 7 from the third, and 7 from the fourth; the others can be tentatively added as well (Figure 6.10). They range in weight from less than 1 g to over 20 g (Figure 6.11). Both high and low value coins are present, though most are of lower value (Table 6.6).

Unlike other spring sanctuaries, such as Bourbonne-les-Bains (see Chapter 7), the majority of coins at the Douix did not receive any special treatment; however, three have

clearly been cut in half (**GR.1.002**, **-003**, **-054**, see Figure 6.12), and another heavily

worn example was also possibly cut in half (**GR.1.036**). **GR.1.002** is most interesting as

this coin typically depicts Agrippa and Augustus back-to-back with only the Augustus

half being deposited, perhaps for the well-being of the emperor (Sauer 2005a, 2005b). [17]

Other than these limited examples, none of the coins appear to have been cut, burned, or

mutilated in any other manner.

Sculpture (GR.2.001-039)

A total of 114 sculpted pieces (Figure 6.13) were recovered from the Douix. Of

these, 38 (**GR.2.001**-**038**) were identified and come from 37 statues (**GR.2.030** and

GR.2.031 are two pieces from the same statue). The remaining 76 pieces (**GR.2.039**) are

fragments of drapery, hair, or pieces that have clearly been worked, but are too

fragmented to identify exactly. Etienne Renard (1996) examined the sculptures and

suggested they were manufactured in the second century A.D. based on stylistic attributes

and execution; the only exceptions to this date are **GR.2.009** and **GR.2.015** which may

date to the first century A.D. The dating of the statues falls within the range of coins

deposited in the spring, and the themes and style of the statues are similar to others found

at nearby sites, such Essarois and Tremblois (see Chapter 7). All of these pieces were

made from locally-sourced limestone or oolitic limestone. Most of the complete pieces

are well preserved, though some have brown staining acquired from their time in the

water.

It is unclear if any of the statues from the Douix represent deities. One possible

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17 As noted in the catalogue the coins which have been clearly cut in half may join together, but the
GR.1.003 and -054 are too heavily worn to properly assess fit.

representation of a deity is **GR.2.020**, a stone figurine depicting a standing naked woman, possibly Venus, with a child next to her, which is similar to Rouvier-Jeanlin's Type 1 terracotta Venus figurine showing the nude goddess standing next to children as a protector (1972, nos. 278, 282, 294). Another example, **GR.2.001**, is the largest statue recovered from the Douix standing about a meter high and would have been taller prior to being intentionally decapitated and damaged (Figure 6.14). At other sanctuaries, traditionally the largest statues or those in bronze are often cult statues of deities, such as the depiction of a seated Sequana in stone (see Figure 4.11), or a bronze of her standing in a boat found at the Source of the Seine (see Figure 4.15), or the Nymph presiding over a fountain at the Apollo Moritasgus sanctuary at Alesia (see Chapter 7). **GR.2.001** represents a draped woman holding a purse, which is an image fitting for representations of supplicants visiting sacred sites and are abundant at the pilgrimage sites of Essarois and the Source of the Seine; however, the fact that she also holds a child, which is often indicative of protector goddesses like Venus or the *déesses-meres* complicates the interpretation of this statue. While both of these pieces may represent the divine, a clear deity has yet to be identified at the Douix.

The statues are similar to those from other sanctuaries and include representations of full bodies, busts, heads, torsos, limbs, legs, and feet; busts, legs; heads are the most numerous (Figure 6.15). A flame of a torch was also found (**GR.2.038**), and was perhaps held by some missing statue. The sizes of these range from small, hand-held pieces, to larger forms, such as the busts, which would have required both hands to carry. The statues of singular body parts tended to be sculpted three-dimensionally and could be viewed from any side. The busts and heads, however, were unfinished on the backside

(Figure 6.16), indicating they were made to be viewed only from the front.

Men, women, and girls are represented. Some of the figures are nude while others have evidence for clothing (Figure 6.17). A few of the busts, **GR.2.002**, **-005**, **-006**, **-007**, **-009**, and **-013** have shallow grooves around the neckline, some of which may have been decorated with metal ornaments (see "Bracelets" for further discussion, Figure 6.19).

Personal Ornamentation

Beads (GR.31.001-013)

Thirteen beads (Table 6.7) made from glass, bronze, and silver were recovered. Of the glass beads, four are blue (**GR.31.007-010**), one is green with taupe lines (**GR.31.011**), one is blue with white lines (**GR.31.012**), and another is green (**GR.31.013**). The bronze beads are plain. The silver beads are also plain, and a similar unidentified piece of silver **GR.104.001**, was perhaps used with these. In general, the beads are difficult to date as blue-glass beads are known from Iron Age sites and later periods. The beads are stylistically different and smaller than local examples from the later Merovingian period, which is why they are included with the Gallo-Roman materials.

Bracelets (GR.33.001-022)

Fragments of 22 thin bronze bracelets were found (Table 6.8). Only six are decorated with various combinations of simple notches (**GR.33.001-006**, Figure 6.18), and can be compared to materials found at several sites in Britain. The bracelets are stylistically similar to armlets from the graves at Colchester dating between the third and

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fourth centuries A.D. (Crummy 1983), and to bracelets from the sanctuary of Uley dating to the fourth century A.D. (Woodward and Leach 1993). Offerings of bracelets are known at other sites from this period, such as the 270 bracelets found at Lydney Park which stylistically date to the third and fourth centuries (Wheeler 1932: 82). Even though these examples are from Britain, the similarity between the bracelets suggests that those from the Douix date to the third and fourth centuries.

The undecorated examples (**GR.33.007-022**) are harder to date. They are plain fragments of thin bronze, and some have deteriorated like the rings leaving only an inner core. It is possible that some may actually date to the transitional period with the bronze rings, but without clear parallels, it is not certain. Some of the plain bracelets may not actually be bracelets, but rather may have been decoration for the statue busts (Erdman 2014). Some of the busts, such as **GR.2.005** and -**007**, have shallow grooves along the neckline where one could have placed a half as a necklace (Figure 6.19).

Gaming Pieces

Die (GR.51.001) and *Gaming Tokens* (GR.52.001-003)

There is a single six-sided die made from a polished, orange stone. It is properly marked with numbers one through six. The numbers are indicated by a single incised point surrounded by a single incised circle. This form is identical to examples from Colchester (Crummy 1983; see Figure 6.20).

The three gaming tokens are made of thin pieces of bone. They are circular and have a single hole pierced through the center of each. Game tokens from this period are sometimes lathe-turned and have several concentric circles, but the examples from the

Douix are far simpler.

Building Materials

Nails (GR.71.001-023)

Twenty-three iron nails were found (Table 6.9). They are heavily corroded and often fragmented. The heads are mostly square or slightly rounded and the spines are square or rectangular. While some of these could belong to later periods as well, many of the forms are similar to those from various contexts at Colchester dating between the first and third centuries A.D. (Crummy 1983), or those from Uley dating to late antiquity (Woodward and Leach 1993).

Furniture Pieces

Furniture Ornamentation (GR.91.001)

The furniture ornament (**GR.91.001**) is a thin metal plaque with a square nail, similar to those just discussed, piercing through its center. The metal plaque has lines that radiate out from the center where the nail has been driven through. The larger object from which this piece came has not been determined.

Hinge (GR.92.001)

A small hinge (Figure 6.21) was recovered and was perhaps from a wooden box, or something else organic. It has no clear decoration on either side, but is similar to an example from Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993).

To understand the materials from the Douix, comparisons of data from other sites as presented in Chapter 7 are necessary for the interpretation and understanding of this assemblage as well as ritual practices at springs more broadly. Chapter 8 will present this analysis and Chapter 9 will discuss the results and situate the Douix in this wider phenomenon.

CHAPTER 6 - TABLES

Total Number of Objects (=933), All Periods	
Period	**n**
Hallstatt	5
La Tene	7
Gallo-Roman	341
Early Modern	499
Modern	49
Unidentified	32

Table 6.1. The total number of objects from each period.

Object Categories		
1	Coins and Tokens	
2	Sculpture	
3	Personal Ornamentation	
	31	Bead
	32	Ring
	33	Bracelet
4	Clothing Fasteners	
	41	Clothing Fasteners
	42	Pin
	43	Rivet
	44	Button
5	Gaming Piece	
	51	Die
	52	Gaming Token
6	Vessel	
	61	Cup
	62	Jar
	63	Bottle
	64	Can
	65	Undetermined
7	Building Materials	
	71	Nails
	72	Slag
8	Natural Objects	
	81	Geode
	82	Charcoal
	83	Animal Bones
9	Furniture Pieces	
	91	Furniture Ornamentation
	92	Hinge
10	Miscellaneous	
	101	Bullet
	102	Blade
	103	Rotisserie
	104	Undetermined

Periods	
H	Hallstatt
LT	La Tène
GR	Gallo-Roman
EM	Early Modern
Mo	Modern
U	Undetermined

Table 6.2. Codes for each period (above) and for each object (right) in the Douix catalog.

Objects by Category (=341)		
Category (n)	**Object**	**n**
Coins (57)		
	Coins	57
Sculptures (113)		
	Sculptures	37
	Sculptures, fragments	76
Personal Ornamentation (141)		
	Beads	13
	Rings	106
	Bracelets	22
Gaming Pieces (4)		
	Die	1
	Gaming Tokens	3
Building Materials (23)		
	Nails	23
Furniture Pieces (2)		
	Furniture Ornament	1
	Hinge	1
Miscellaneous (1)		
	Unidentified	1

Objects, alphabetically (=341)	
Object	**n**
Beads	13
Bracelets	22
Coins	57
Die	1
Furniture Ornament	1
Gaming Tokens	3
Hinge	1
Nails	23
Rings	106
Sculptures	37
Sculptures, fragments	76
Unidentified	1

Table 6.3. Total number of objects from the Douix organized by category (left) and alphabetically (right).

Materials (=341)		
Category (n)	**Material**	**n**
Metal (215)		
	bronze	174
	iron	32
	silver	9
Organic (3)		
	bone	3
Stone (114)		
	stone, limestone	113
	stone, polished	1
Manmade (9)		
	glass	9

Table 6.4. Mateirals used to make the Gallo-Roman objects from the Douix.

Measurements of Rings (=106)					
Sub-Type (*n*)	Diameter	HoleDmtr	Thickness	Width	Length
Complete (80)					
min.	0.66	0.49	0.02	0.04	0.81
max.	3.07	2.66	0.39	2.14	3.40
avg.	1.68	1.42	0.15	0.22	1.87
Broken (11)					
min.	1.26	0.9	0.07	0.10	1.75
max.	3.73	2.80	0.43	0.25	3.99
avg.	2.06	1.60	0.20	0.60	2.87
Fragment (15)					
min.	-	-	0.05	0.06	0.95
max.	-	-	0.41	0.38	2.37
avg.	-	-	0.19	0.22	1.65

Ring Materials (=106)	
Material	#
bronze	98
glass	2
iron	6

Preservation of Rings (=106)	
Preservation	#
Complete	80
Broken	11
Fragment	15

Table 6.5. Table summarizing ring data.

Coins, by value (=57)	
Value	n
Antoninianus	4
Denarius	2
Quinarius	1
Sesterce	4
Dupondius	2
As or Dupondius	3
As	7
Semis	3
Quadrans	2
Centenionalis	1
Undetermined	28

Table 6.6. The values of the coins from the Douix.

Measurements of Beads (=13)					
Sub-Type (*n*)	Diameter	HoleDmtr	Thickness	Width	Length
circular (10)					
min.	0.4	0.1	0.08	0.07	-
max.	0.99	0.34	0.46	0.09	0.94
avg.	0.65	0.20	0.26	0.08	0.94
cylindrical (1)					
min.	-	-	-	-	-
max.	0.59	0.26	0.72	-	-
avg.	0.59	0.26	0.72	-	-
ovular (1)					
min.	-	-	-	-	-
max.	0.53	0.12	0.83	-	-
avg.	0.53	0.12	0.83	-	-
trapezoidal (1)					
min.	-	-	-	-	-
max.	0.66	0.22	0.85	-	-
avg.	0.66	0.22	0.85	-	-

Bead Materials (=13)	
Material	#
bronze	3
glass	7
silver	3

Preservation of Beads (=13)	
Preservation	#
Complete	12
Broken	-
Fragment	1

Table 6.7. Table summarizing bead data.

Measurements of Bracelets (=22)			
Sub-Type (*n*)	Width	Length	Thickness
Decorated (6)			
min.	0.08	1.70	0.10
max.	0.13	4.03	0.12
avg.	0.10	3.10	0.11
Undecorated (16)			
min.	0.04	1.73	0.03
max.	0.19	6.37	0.24
avg.	0.11	3.54	0.12

Bracelet Materials (=22)	
Material	#
bronze	22

Preservation of Bracelets (=22)	
Preservation	#
Complete	-
Broken	-
Fragment	22

Table 6.8. Table summarizing bracelet data.

Measurements of Nails (=23)			
Sub-Type (*n*)	Width	Length	Thickness
Whole (6)			
min.	0.74	2.61	0.17
max.	1.59	3.86	0.89
avg.	1.20	3.40	0.59
Head (6)			
min.	0.68	1.05	0.05
max.	2.21	2.86	0.74
avg.	1.27	1.63	0.36
Spine (10)			
min.	0.16	1.5	0.14
max.	0.93	4.60	0.49
avg.	0.49	2.80	0.35
Tip (1)			
min.	-	-	-
max.	0.29	1.79	0.26
avg.	0.29	1.79	0.26

Nail Materials (=23)	
Material	#
iron	23

Preservation of Nails (=23)	
Preservation	#
Complete	4
Broken	17
Fragment	2

Table 6.9. Table summarizing nail data.

CHAPTER 6 - FIGURES
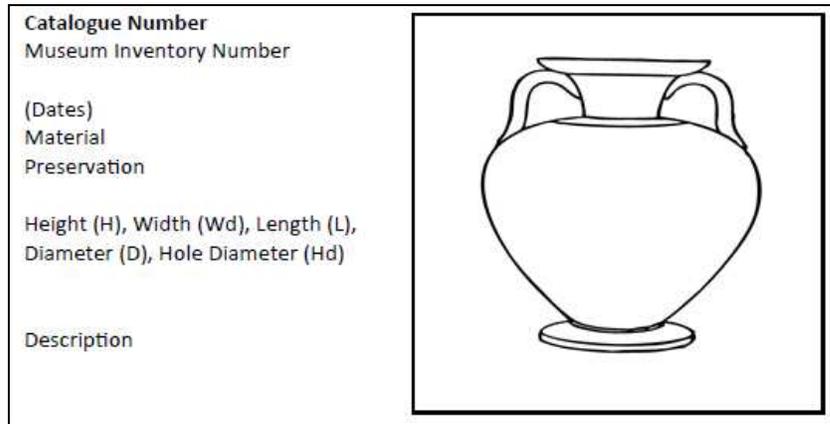
Figure 6.1. Example of a catalog entry.
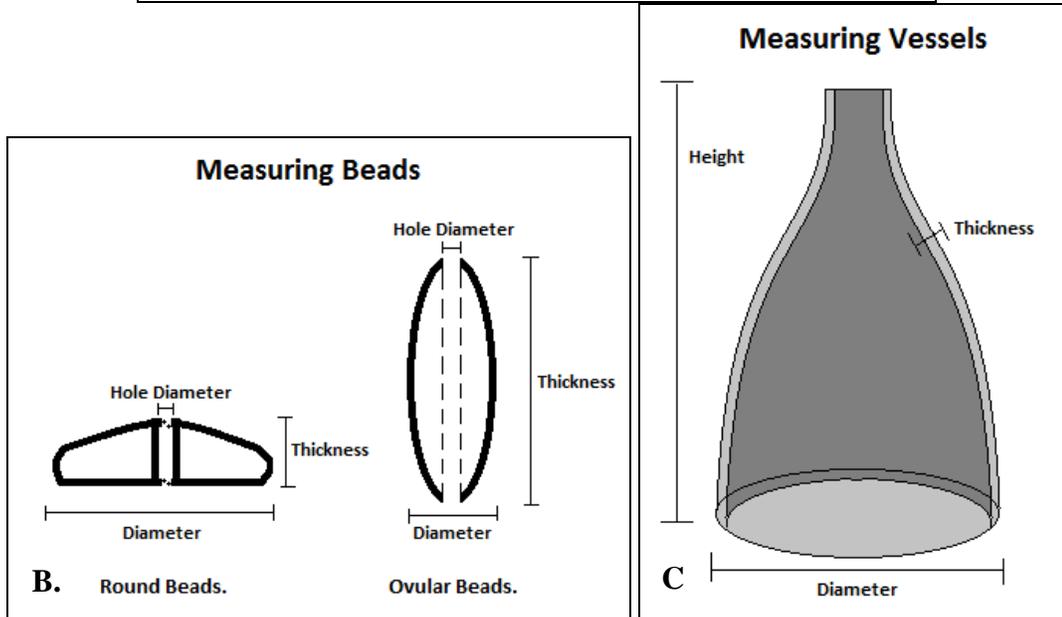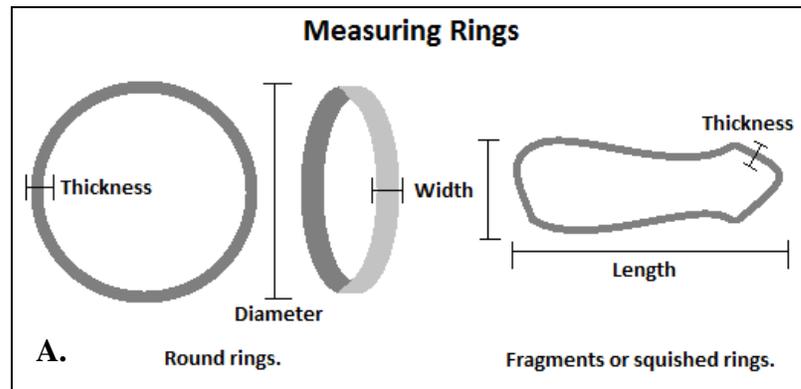
Figure 6.2. Measurement points for A. rings, B. beads, and C. vessels.

Figure 6.3. The Iron Age fibulae on display in the Musée du Pays Châtillonnais.

LT.41.001
Douix
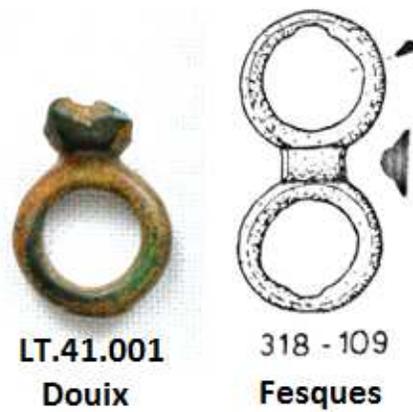
318 - 109
Fesques

Figure 6.4. Buckles of belts. Comparison of LT.41.001 and example from Fesques (after Mantel 1997: Figure 6, no. 318-109).
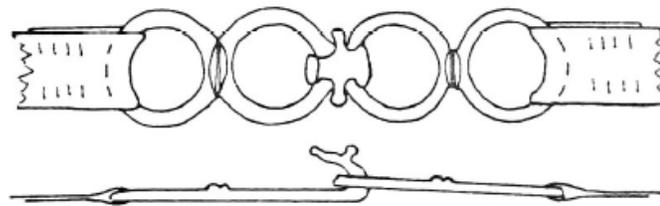
Fig. 2
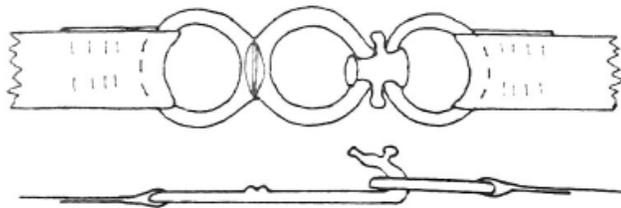
Fig. 4

Figure 6.5. Examples of complete belt equipment from Fesques (after Mantel 1997: 200, Figure 2; 201, Figure 4).

Figure 6.6. Forms of rings found in the catalog: A. closed (GR.32.002), B. open (GR.32.017), C. coiled (GR.32.076), D. half (GR.32.057), and E. fragment (GR.32.101).

Cut   Moulded
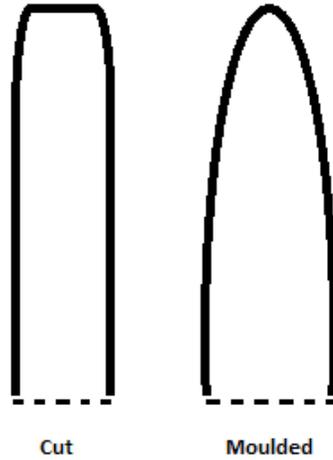
Figure 6.7. A comparison of the ends of rings showing those that were possibly cut and those rounded from a mold.

Figure 6.8. Possible intentional alterations made to the rings prior to their deposition: A. squished (GR.32.080), B. pulled apart (GR.32.062), C. twisted (GR.32.073), and D. cut (GR.32.053).

Figure 6.9. Examples of decoration on rings: A. GR.32.019 has groupings of three or five lines around entire ring; B. GR.32.020 and C. GR.32.075 have pairings of two lines around entire ring; D. GR.32.056 has a group of five and a group of four lines; E. GR.32.025 has one group of three lines; F. GR.32.023 has 16 lines at one end (shown here) and various lines around entire ring; and G. GR.32.037 has two or three lines at one end.
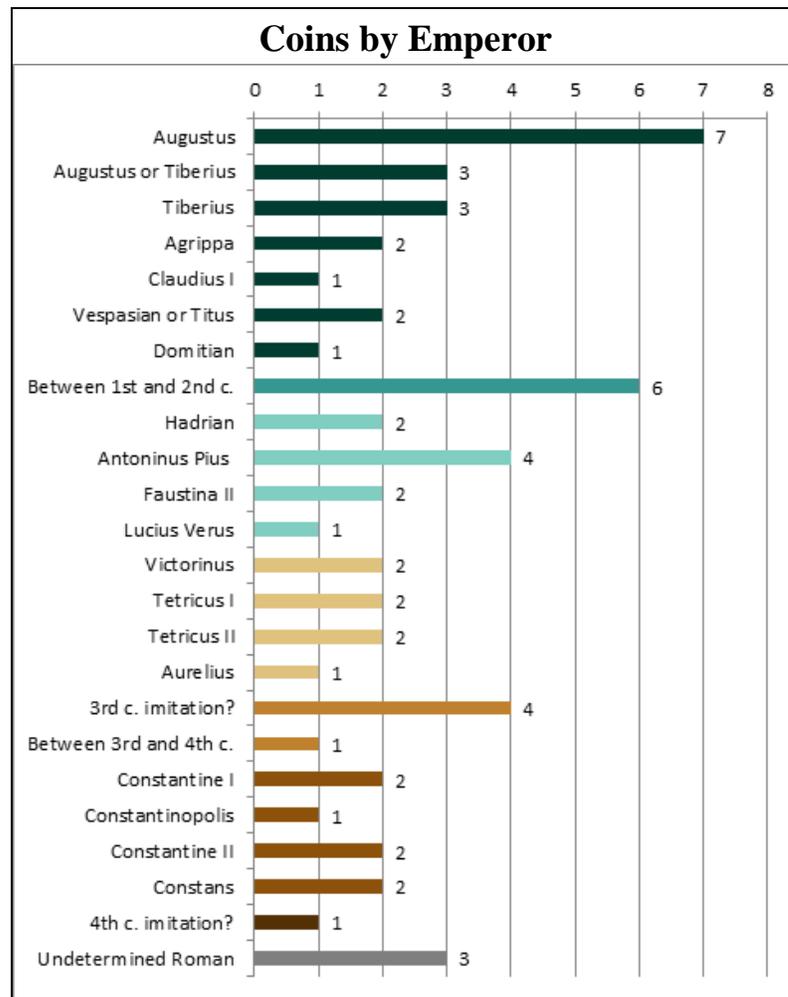
Figure 6.10. Coins by emperor or approximate century.
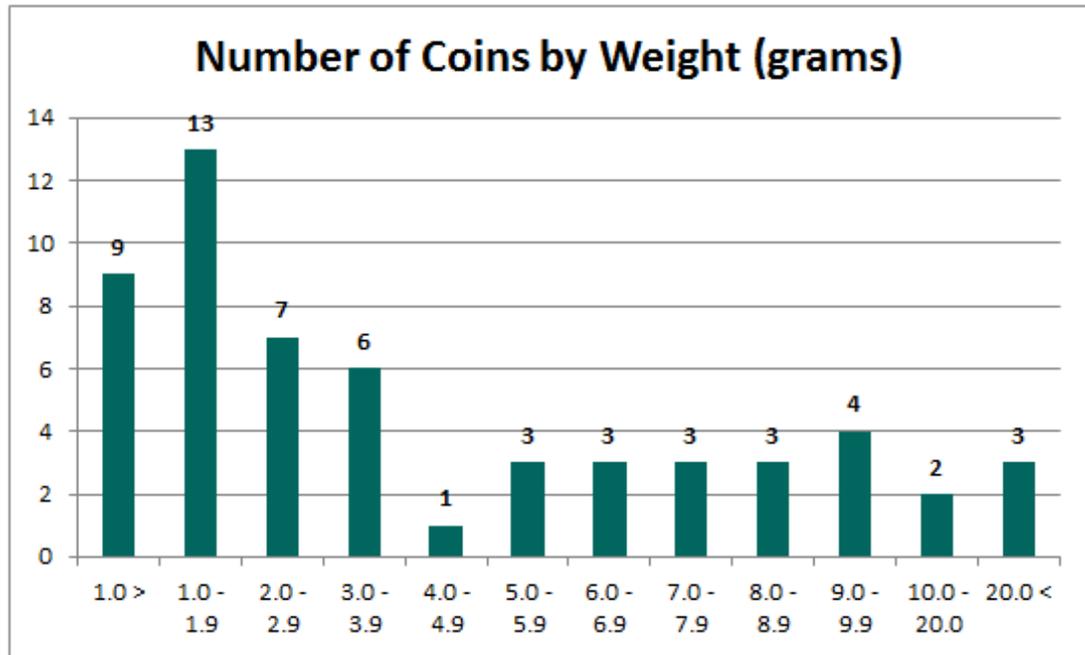
Figure 6.11. The weights of the coins from the Douix.

Figure 6.12. Coins that have been cut in half: A. GR.1.002, B. GR.1.003, and C. GR.1.054.

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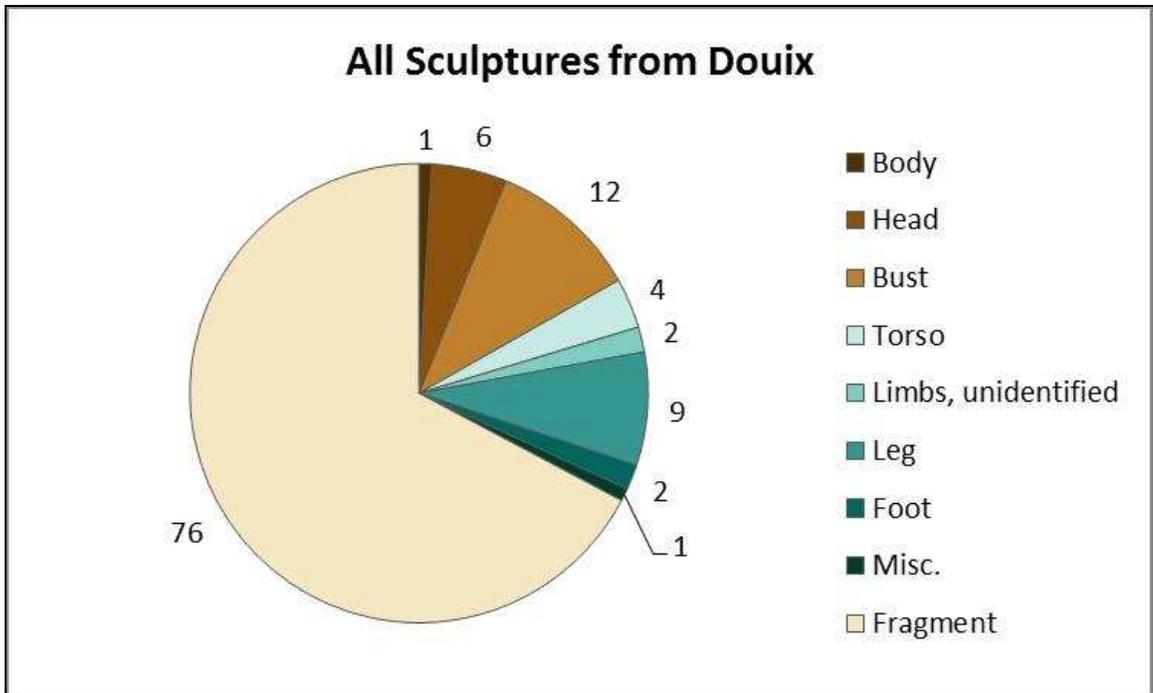
Figure 6.13. All sculpted pieces presented by category.

Figure 6.14. Possible deities from the Source of the Douix: GR.2.020 as Venus? (left) and GR.2.001 as a mother goddess? (right).

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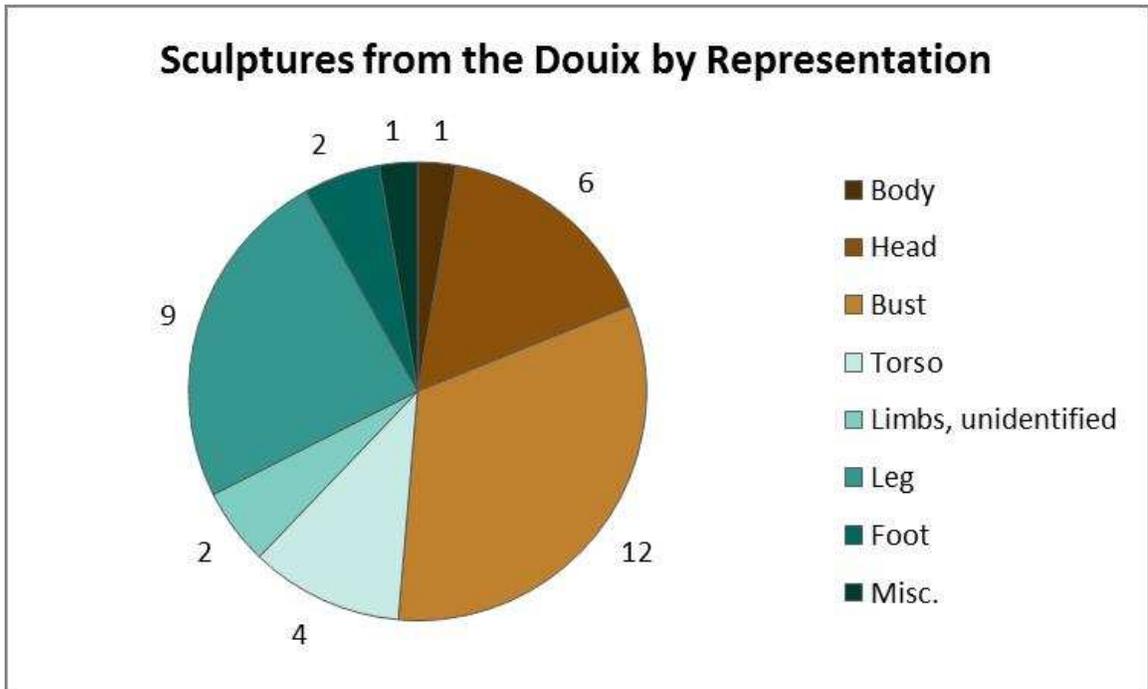
Figure 6.15. Sculptures presented by category excluding fragments.

Figure 6.16. Bust GR.2.005 with unfinished back viewed from the rear and right sides.

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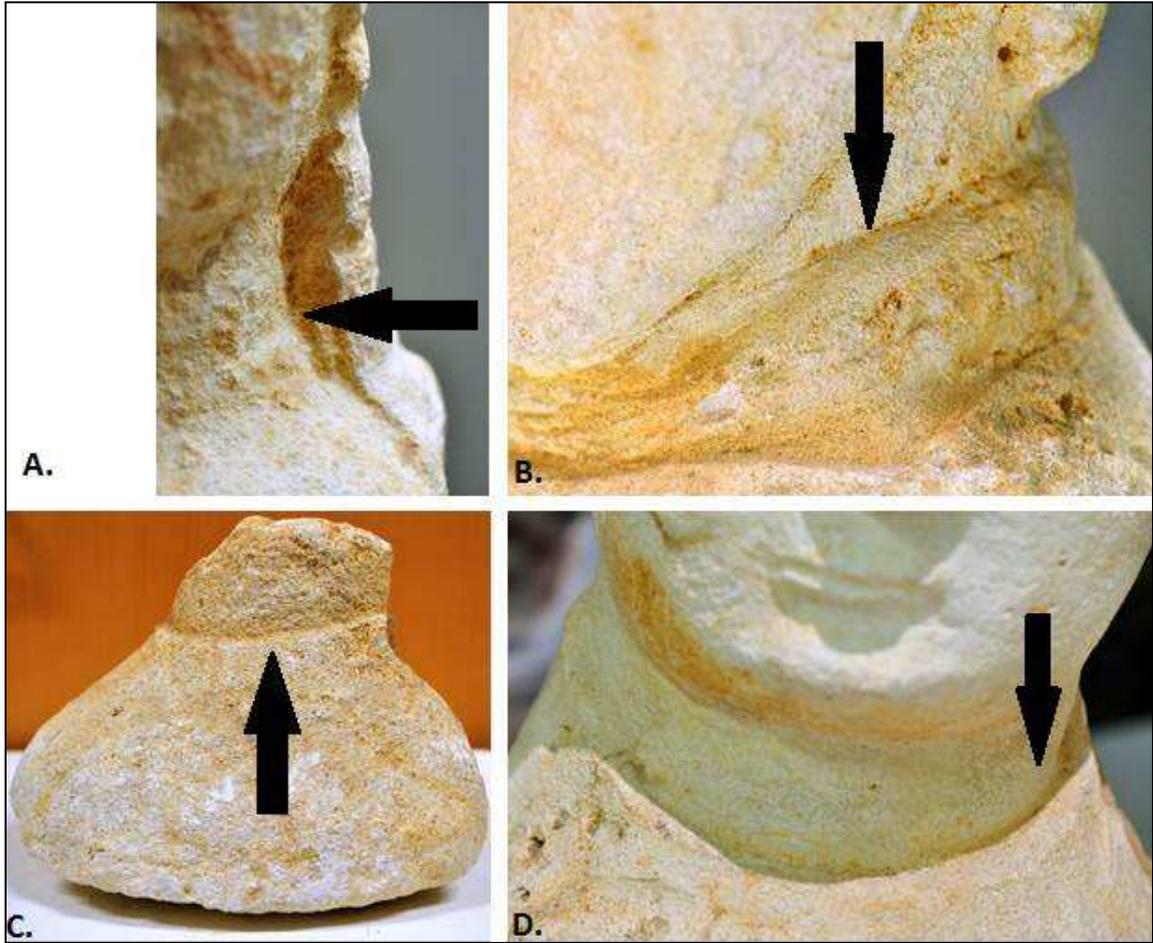
Figure 6.17. Busts with evidence of clothing: A. GR.2.002 and B. GR.2.009 wearing tunics, and C. GR.2.006 and D. GR.2.013 with a defined neckline.
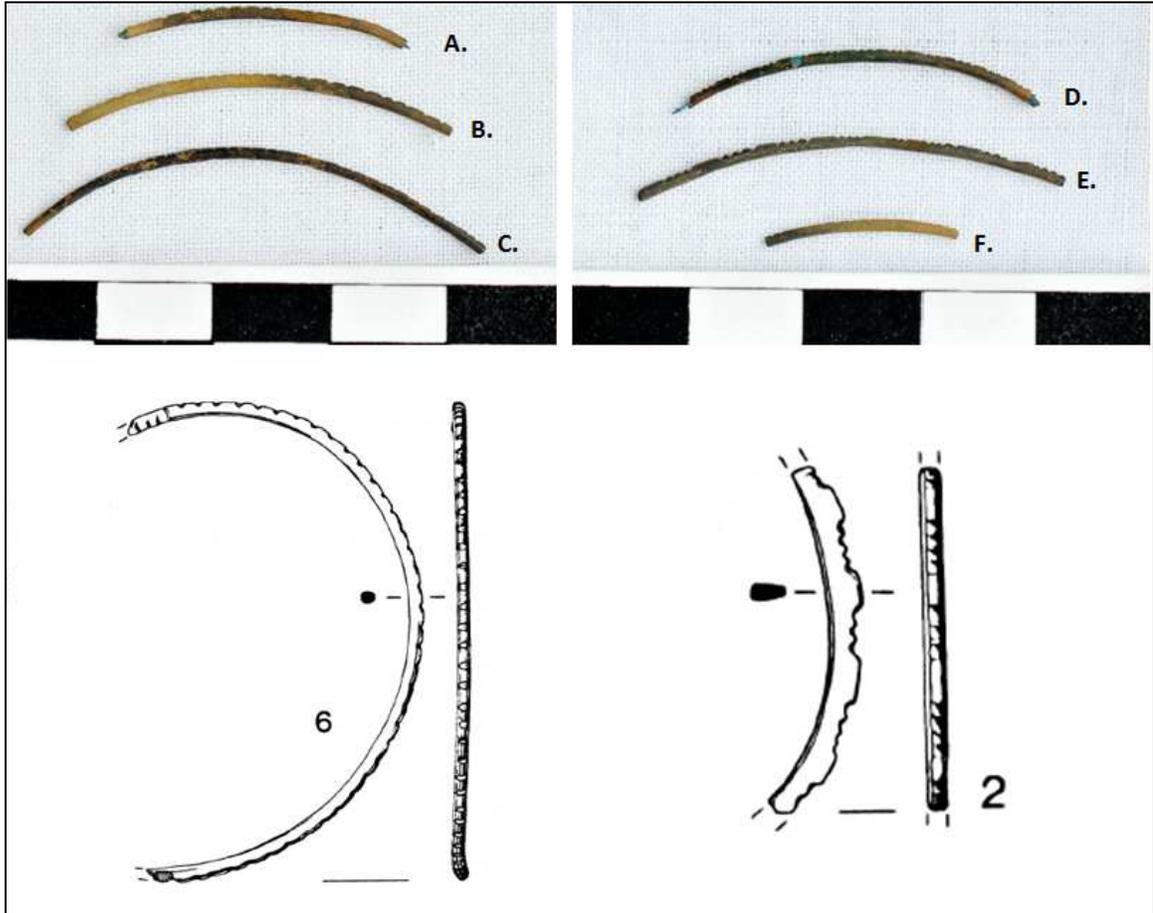
Figure 6.18. Above: bracelets from the Douix with decoration. A. GR.33.001, B. GR.33.002, and C. GR.33.003 have single lines, nearly evenly spaced; D. GR.33.004, E. GR.33.005, and F. GR.33.006 have groupings of parallel lines. Below: drawings of bracelets from Uley with similar toothed decoration (left) corresponding to A., B., and C., and crenellated decoration (right) corresponding to D. and E.; F. seems to be a hybrid of these forms (Woodward and Leach 1993: 165, Fig. 128, nos. 2, 6; after Crummy 1983 identification system).
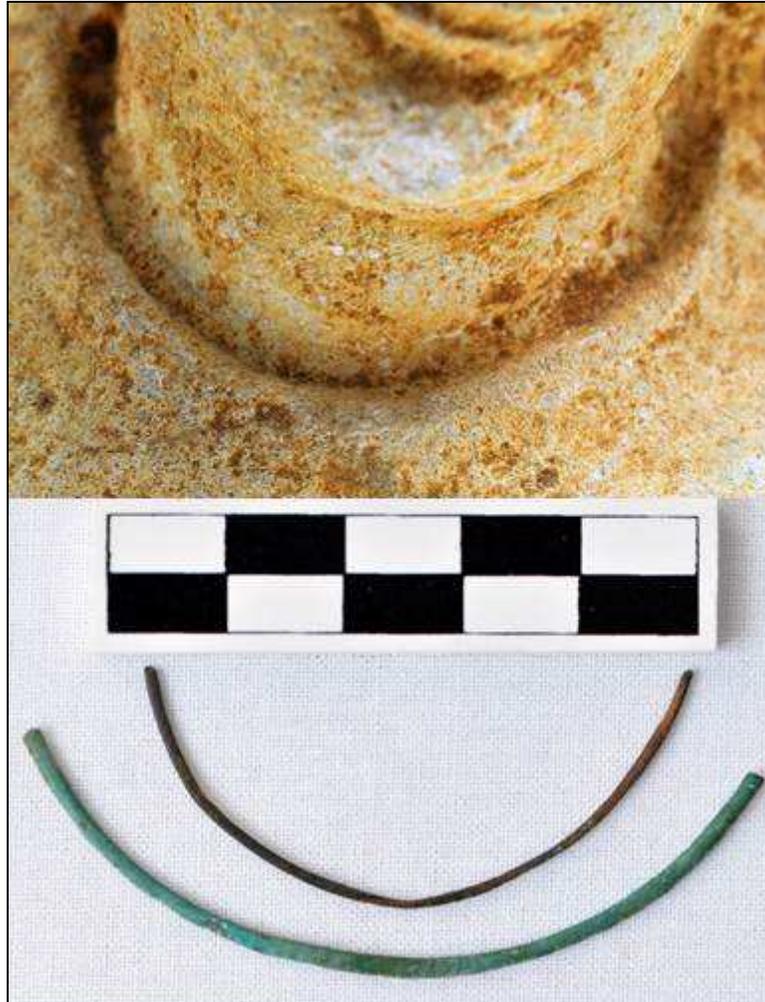
Figure 6.19. Detail of GR.2.005 highlighting the deep groove and slight indentations on the right and left sides of the neck. It is possible this area was adorned with a semi-circle metal necklace. Pieces GR.33.007 and -008 initially catalogd as "bracelets" may actually be metal adornments for the necks of sculptures as their diameters correspond to the neck size of the statues.
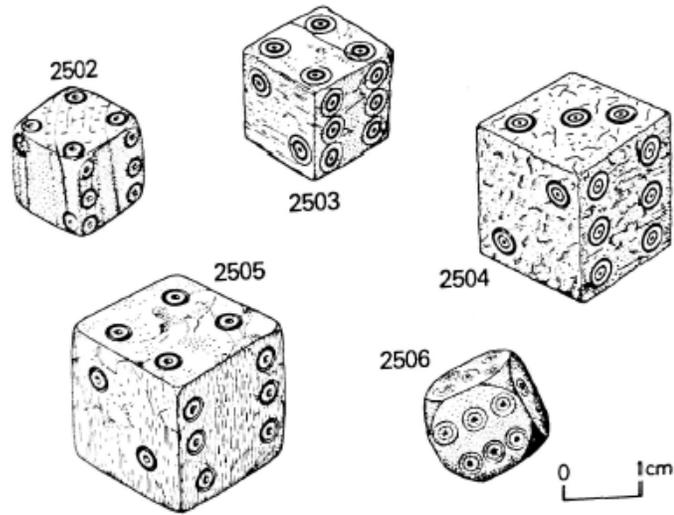
Fig 102 Dice (1:1)

Figure 6.20. Parallels of die GR.51.001 from the Douix found at Colchester, nos. 2502 and 2505 (Crummy 1983: 97, Fig. 102).
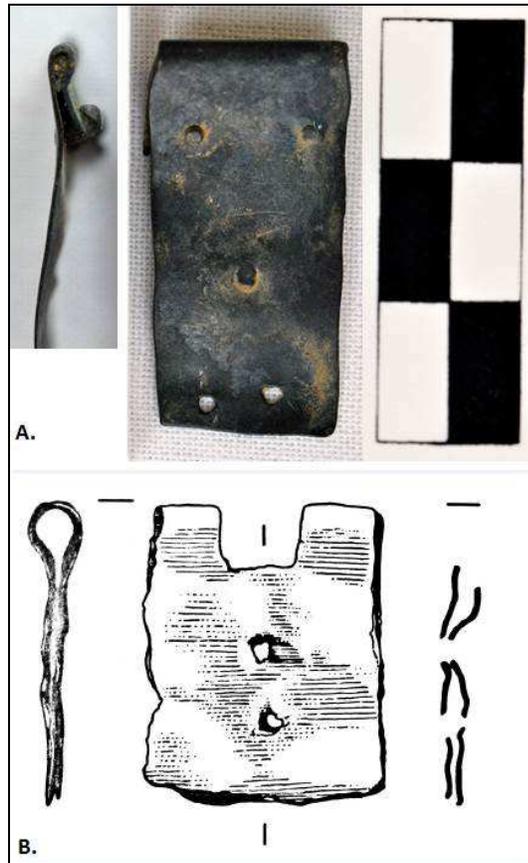
Figure 6.21. A. Hinge GR.92.001 from the Douix; B. Strap plate from Uley which is similar in form (Woodward and Leach 1993: 205, Fig. 152, no. 11).

Chapter 7. Methods and Data for Comparison

METHOD: COMPARATIVE APPROACHES TO THE DOUIX ASSEMBLAGE

The Douix materials have been presented and examined by period and type in Chapter 6. In order to ascertain the significance of these objects as communicative devices, comparative data are needed. Through the comparison of materials from several sacred sites it may be possible to see patterns of offered objects which can then be examined and interpreted for meaning (Derks 1998: 23; Levy 1981: 175; Hingley 2006: 215; Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1977: 513). The Douix assemblage will be compared geographically to assemblages from local non-water, local water, and regional water sites in eastern France, and temporally to assemblages from other watery sites.

GEOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS

Two arbitrary geographic ranges will be considered here and were selected to examine different aspects of ritual behavior and deposition. I refer to these divisions as "local" and "regional" levels of comparison. "Local" is defined as sites within a 100 km radius of the Douix (indicated on all maps as the opaque green circle), approximately a rigorous three-day journey on foot. This distance was selected to represent a possible zone of contact in which people could engage with their neighbors on a regular basis, therefore, generating a stronger and perhaps regular pattern of ritual tradition. This arbitrary distance clearly ignores natural geographic boundaries and archaeologically or historically defined cultural units whose boundaries can be problematic to reconstruct. How do the objects from the Douix compare to those from other local sanctuaries? For

this analysis, all sites with evidence for Gallo-Roman ritual activities are considered and data are collected from each site. A comparison with all local sanctuaries will help determine if the same types of objects offered at the Douix were offered as part of a local giving tradition, i.e. do all types of sacred sites receive the same offerings, or is there variation across sites which may indicate a particular purpose of a sacred site requiring a special formula or type of offering?

"Regional" is defined as sites within a 200 km radius of the Douix (on maps as the larger transparent blue circle), reflecting a more substantial distance and possible changes in geography and cultural or political units. How does the Douix material compare with broader ritual centers, in particular those associated with water? Unlike the local level of comparison which examines all locations of ritual activity, regional examples include only ritual sites where water, primarily springs, is a significant component. Such a division allows more attention to be paid to the materials associated with watery sites and to determine if and how water deposits are similar or different from those at the local level. Three types of sites are presented and defined based on the location and features: local non-water (green dots within the green circle on maps), local water (blue dots within the green circle), and regional water (blue dots within the blue circle).

TEMPORAL COMPARISONS

Another aspect of analysis examines changes in offerings over time at watery sites, focusing primarily on evidence from the La Tène period. How do the types of objects deposited in the Douix and at other watery sites change over time? Do the

changes represent continuity or disruption in the use of a sacred space? If this is continuity, how are ritual practices affected by the introduction of new or different objects? If it represents a disruption, why might this space be used or ignored by visitors over time? Materials from each period at the Douix are compared to those from other watery sites in the region to see if there are patterns of use/disuse, and what social or political factors may have influenced such changes.

SELECTING SITES FOR ANALYSIS

The primary criterion for selecting appropriate ritual sites is based on the geographic ranges described above. Every site with evidence for ritual activity was open to consideration if it fell within 100 km of the Douix; data were collected from 19 non-water related sanctuaries and 16 sanctuaries or sites connected to water. Every site with evidence for ritual activity related to a watery context was open to consideration if it fell within 200 km of the Douix; data from the 16 local water sites and an additional 11 regional water sanctuaries were collected. In total, 46 ritual contexts from 41 different sites were examined.

Sites were found using database searches and bibliographic references. Information for each site was acquired through published reports and articles available at the University of Minnesota, acquired through interlibrary loans, or read at the Bibracte Centre Archéologique, the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralbibliothek, and the Université de Bourgogne; other than the objects from the Douix, no additional assemblages were examined directly.

Some sites did not offer enough information about their assemblages, or the

publications were inaccessible; these sites were omitted from analysis. After reading the

publications available for each site, some sites were omitted because they did not provide

enough information about the context of the site or finds, or had no evidence for ritual

activity (e.g. the altar of Mavilly is often cited as a sacred site but was used in the

foundations of a church and later reassembled meaning that its original context, and any

offerings, were unknown) (Thevenot 1955a).

General Information Included in Site Summaries

All sites were alphabetized collectively and given a mapping number; the Douix,

however, always appears as number one. Some sites that were more extensively

excavated, such as Alesia or Ma□lain, have multiple entries for each sanctuary at the site,

and are differentiated on subsequent maps by "a," "b," or "c," as the points overlap and

are sometimes not clearly visible. The sites are organized by type (local non-water, local

water, and regional water), and briefly described. In total, 46 entries are included below

(Figure 7.1).

For each entry, its mapping number and the village name or commonly known

site name is provided, and sometimes the name of the particular sanctuary. During

analysis, I found some sites more convincing of the title "spring or water sanctuary" than

others based on the architectural evidence or the types of offerings at the site. For this

reason, each local water and regional water site has been given a number after its name to

indicate the quality of evidence for water veneration: (1) those with strong evidence, (2)

probable sites of water veneration, and (3) uncertain sites of water veneration. The date

range of site use is included followed by the evidence used for dating the site in

parentheses. If the primary deity to whom the sanctuary is dedicated is known, either through abundant iconographic or epigraphic evidence, it is included. A general description of the site, including sacred architecture or features relevant to ritual activity, and materials found within the sacred space, are summarized. A plan of the site or structures is included when available. The dates of exploration (sites which were haphazardly studied) or excavation are listed as accurately as possible. Finally, there is a short bibliography from which were extracted descriptions of the site or data used in later tables; these bibliographies are by no means inclusive, but contain only the sources I found most useful for this research. The publication quality and quantity vary significantly; entries in bold are major excavation manuscripts which present the data from the site nearly in its entirety.

DATA: LOCAL-NON WATERY SACRED SITES WITHIN 100 KM OF THE SOURCE OF THE DOUIX

2B. ALESIA, SANCTUARY OF JUPITER
Late first century B.C. to fourth century A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Jupiter and the Capitoline Triad

The site of Alesia, best-known as the *oppidum* besieged by the Romans which led to the end of the Gallic War, is located in Alise-Sainte-Reine 60 km northwest from Dijon atop Mont Auxois. The *oppidum* continued to be inhabited following the end of the war as is shown through the construction of distinctly Roman buildings, such as a theater, a basilica, a forum, and a temple to Jupiter.

The Jupiter temple originated as an indigenous sanctuary with a portico and public courtyard surrounded by artisanal workshops. The form changed to become distinctly more Roman (a podium for the *cella* and altar, rectangular) in the Augustan period where the structure seemed to be associated with the Imperial cult. The third phase, mid-first century, saw the construction of a formal temple surrounded by a Roman portico, basilica to the east, and a theater to the west. At the beginning of the second century A.D., a new portico was constructed around the temple, a grander basilica added, and a forum was added to the east of the basilica. In the final phase, early in the third century, the forum was simplified and new rooms added, hemicycles (semi-circular chambers) were added to the north and south ends of the basilica, and the temple and its surrounding portico were slightly modified.

Objects associated with ritual activities and offerings were found within the courtyard of the temple and along the interior and exterior walls of its porticos. Just north of the temple, several deposits of complete ceramic vessels were uncovered in the 1970s and date to the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries. Throughout other parts of the complex, stone and bronze sculptures of deities and animals were found, in addition to coins, rings, bronze mirrors, nails, several types of iron tools, styli, fragments of glass and ceramic vessels, bells, *rouelles*, and fragments of altars and inscriptions. Several statue fragments of Jupiter coupled with a fragment of an altar depicting Jupiter, Juno and Minerva with an inscription, *I(uppiter) O(ptimus) [M(aximus)]* , support the interpretation that the temple was dedicated to him, though other gods and goddesses seem to have been venerated on the periphery of the sanctuary.

Figure 2.29.
Excavated: Various excavations throughout the 20th century
Bibliography: Le Gall and Sénéchal 1974; Provost 2009; Toutain 1911, 1948.

2C. ALESIA, MONUMENT D'UCUETIS
Mid-first to early third centuries A.D. (stratigraphic comparisons)
Dedicated to: Ucuetis

Within the artisan quarter of Alesia the Monument to Ucuetis was uncovered, and three phases identified. The first was a late La Tène structure which may have been a house or a sanctuary. The second, dating to the period of Augustus, is not well known as

it was destroyed in phase three, mid-first century A.D., for the construction of the new monument, which was modified over several stages. The structure has rectangular courtyard measuring 12.81 x 22.10m at its greatest points. It is surrounded on all sides by porticos and small rooms. The walls of the courtyard were highly decorated and partially preserved due to a fire that destroyed the monument in the beginning of the third century.

An inscription on the neck of a bronze vessel reads: *DEO UCUETI ET BERGUSIAE REMUS PRIMI F(ILIUS) DONAVIT V.S.L.M.*, which suggests the monument is a religious space, but no other materials have been found to support this idea. The monument is not a temple, but it was most likely a sacred place associated with practical activity that focused on the importance of the production of iron and bronze objects. Such materials were often used as religious offerings themselves making their production a potentially sacred activity.

Figure 7.2.
Excavated: Various excavations throughout the 20th century
Bibliography: **Martin and Varene 1973**; Provost 2009.

3. ARCENANT
Mid-/late-first – third century A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

Located within the canton of Nuits Saint Georges, the sanctuary of Arcenant possibly had a late La Tène sanctuary and two phases of *fana*, the first dating to the mid-/late-first century A.D., and the second to the end of the second century. Offerings from various periods are present. Objects attributed to earliest phase, and perhaps influenced by earlier traditions, emphasize nature and include things like fossils, pebbles, and special minerals. Objects from the second *fanum* include iron nodules, bronze and bone pins and *spatulae*, glass and ceramic vessels, a few coins, and numerous other types in metal, antler, and stone.

Figure 7.3.
Excavated: late 1980s to early 1990s
Bibliography: Ratel and Ratel 1996.

5. AVALLON
First to third centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Mercury?

A *fanum* was uncovered on the summit of Montmartre between the towns of Avallon and Vezelay and overlooks two springs at its base and the confluence of the Cure and Cousain rivers. The eastern-facing temple, measuring 16.9 x 16.2 m, is reached by ascending several stairs from an open courtyard to the east. Fragments found within the temple show that it was painted in bright reds, blues and greens. An inscription discovered near the entrance of the temple was broken in several pieces, but reads as a

probable dedication to Mercury. Numerous coins were found in and around the ruins of the temple and also many marble and stone sculptures of both people and gods.

Figure 7.4.
Excavated: 1822, 1906, and 1907
Bibliography: Laureau de Thory 1868; Parat 1923; Petit 1904; Rolley 1978.

6. BEIRE-LE-CHATEL
First to fourth centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Januaria

The temple at Beire-le-Chatel, whose form is unknown and excavation of which was poorly recorded, was located in a plain near a major Roman crossroad. The area used to contain several springs that have since dried-up. Although little is known about the temple apart from the architectural, worked stone, and tile fragments, the abundance of statues and inscriptions found within indicate its significance as a sacred center. Many gods and goddesses, both indigenous and Roman, were named in inscriptions or represented in statues; stone anatomical representations, votive altars, statues of grouped birds, statues of three- and two-horned bulls, a mallet head, terracotta figurines, fibulae, bells, and coins were also recovered. Some stray finds, such as a dedication to the *déesses-meres*, have been found years after the initial excavation.

Drioux and Grenier have suggested that Januaria, to whom the sanctuary is dedicated, was a bird goddess and also a spring goddess and that this site was part of the larger cult of spring veneration; however, without more knowledge of the temple and its relationship with the now dried-up springs, it is difficult to confirm.

Excavated: 1881 and 1959
Bibliography: Drioux 1934; Grenier 1960; Lebel 1953; Martin 1960: 338-339; Morillot 1878-1884.

8. CHAMPIGNY-LES-LANGRES
First century B.C. to fourth century A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

An area near two ancient Roman roads within the small village of Champigny-les-Langres, located 4 km north of Langres, was excavated for several years in the 19th century. The work uncovered two *fana* each with a square *cella* (12 m on each side) and a surrounding gallery (23 m per side) that were separated by a small alley. One of the *cella* had a mosaic floor with geometric and floral designs and pedestal, while the other had a marble slab floor. In the latter *cella*, fragments of an unidentified cult statue were recovered; both La Tène and Roman coins, a fragment of an inscription, and additional sculptural fragments of various deities and body parts were found throughout the sanctuary. Both buildings seem to have been destroyed by a fire and were not rebuilt.

Figure 7.6.
Excavated: 19th century
Bibliography: Babelon 1892; Frezouls 1988.

9. LA COLONNE DE CUSSY
Third century A.D.? (sculptures)
Dedicated to: Jupiter Anguiped?

A tall stone column measuring over 11.5 m high is located in a prairie near the modern village of Cussy. It was reconstructed in 1825 and is has a foundation of two rectangular stones, two octagonal pedestals, a column decorated with flowers and bands, and a capital. It was also topped with a statue, now missing, perhaps of Jupiter Anguiped. Several deities are depicted on the smaller octagonal pedestal including Minerva, Juno, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, a nymph, Hercules, and a spirit with crossed hands. The column was known from the early 18th century, during which small excavations at its base revealed coins, statuettes of stone and bronze, and several human burials from an unknown period, but whose heads were turned away from the column.

The column is a short distance from a spring known as the Ruisseau des Gorres, which feeds the Canche, and later joins the Arroux River. For this reason and the nature of the deities represented on the column, has been argued that the Column of Cussy was a place associated with spring cult, however, none of the materials have been found near the spring and there are no structures directly associated with the spring. Instead, the column perhaps is simply a marker of water. Some of the deities on the column are also identified as solar deities, or are associated with fertility. It seems more plausible that the column was perhaps erected to ensure the fertility of the soil in this agricultural region.

Figure 7.7.
Explored and excavated: 18th and 19th centuries
Bibliography: Baudot 1853; Guillemot 1853; Thévenot 1934, 1938-1939.

10. CORCELLES LES MONTS
First century B.C. to fourth century A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

Excavations near the village of Corcelles les Monts, located 9 km from Dijon at the foot of Mont Afrique, revealed two rooms, Salle 1 and Salle 2, which are believed to be part of a sanctuary. While Salle 1 had no objects within it, Salle 2 had many including statues of deities, 9 La Tène and 495 Roman coins, *rouelles*, bells, a ring, keys, and fragments of other metal objects. The site is often described as a spring sanctuary due to the proximity of a spring and a canal channeling the water toward the structures, but there is little evidence in the buildings themselves to support this claim; Blanchet has proposed that the site may not be a sanctuary but a villa.

Figure 7.8.

Excavated: 1899-1901
Bibliography: Bertrand 1919; Blanchet 1920.

11. CRAIN
Late first to mid-fourth centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Minerva?

Remains of a *fanum* were uncovered on the bank of the Yonne River in 1970 and excavated the following year. The structure, measuring 12.45m square, was made up of a *cella* and gallery facing east, and the inner floor was made up of pebble and mortar. Near the entrance, numerous fragments of cut stone, roofing tiles, and evidence for white clay coating were found and provide an idea of the *fanum's* appearance. Many diverse objects were found within the *fanum*, for example, a Neolithic flint blade, bone pins, fragments of ceramic vessels, various stone statues in pits within the *cella*, and large quantities of nails located along the walls of the gallery.

Buried on the eastern side of the *fanum*, a limestone trunk in a pyramidal form and surrounded by slabs and blocks was discovered. A small hole was cut in the top to collect coins, of which, 207 examples were found, and additional coins were found around it. A few of these dated to the early first century, but are believed to have been deposited later during the founding of the temple in the late first century. The coins indicate the site was frequented through the third century.

The deity of the Crain *fanum* is unclear, but based on the statue fragments from within the *cella*, Devauges suggests these were perhaps Minerva, or she and Mars worshiped as a divine couple.

Figure 7.9.
Excavated: 1971
Bibliography: Devauges 1973, 1974: 447; Lafaurie 1950-1951; Meissonnier 1973.

20. GRAND
First to fourth centuries A.D.
Dedicated to: Apollo Grannus

Some of the ancient site of Grand is visibly mixed in the small modern town which covers most of the remains. The site has been discussed in both ancient and modern texts as an important pilgrimage location for those seeking help from Apollo Grannus, though if this is the same Grand mentioned in the ancient sources is still a subject of debate. Several monuments, including the theater, basilica, and some of the town walls, are still visible today. Excavations of an area called "Jardin Huguet" have revealed portions of what are believed to be the primary sanctuary to Apollo. While the remainder of the structure is under a modern bakery, excavators were able to reveal a podium on which the *cella* stood and another massive construction for the altar (4.75m long, 1.7m wide, 0.50 m high).

Though the architectural remains of the temple are limiting, the large quantities of

materials found in this area, and the nature of the objects suggest this was the primary location for venerating Apollo Grannus. Multiple inscriptions on altars and bronze or stone plaques identify the god. Over 1500 pieces of sculptures of divine, human, and animal figures were also found around the massive podium. The nature of the deities represented at Grand (Apollo, Bacchus, Mercury, Asclepius, and others) and the proximity of a spring to the site, suggests that this was perhaps a place of solar cult or spring cult. An inscription even hints that Apollo Grannus may have even had oracular powers.

Figure 7.14.
Excavated: 1840s, 1960s
Bibliography: Bertaux 1988, 1989; Billoret 1967; Billoret and Salin 1963; Moitrieux 2010; Salin 1961, 1965; Toussaint 1948.

26A. MÂLAIN, LA BOUSSIÈRE
First to third centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Mars?

An area identified as a temple within the settlement of Ma□lain, or ancient Mediolanum, was uncovered. The complex was built over time in phases and included a courtyard, a monumental porch in a covered gallery, and some large painted rooms off of the gallery. A small surrounded fireplace found near the porch likely served as an altar. The plan of the temple is unique in that it does not follow traditional Classical or indigenous forms, although another possible sanctuary in the village has a similar plan.

Within the courtyard and one of the large rooms were found many diverse objects including fragments of a monumental inscription, a fragment of a possible cult statue of a figure holding a shaft, fragments of stone statues and statuettes, a bronze plate, an anatomical statue in bronze, a ceramic figurine, a model of an altar, bone game pieces, objects of personal ornamentation, and some coins. A fire destroyed the porch and one of the large rooms in the third century A.D., the ruins of which were occupied in the fourth century.

Figure 7.18.
Excavated: 1968-1980s
Bibliography: **Roussel** 1971, 1972, 1975, **1988**, **2003**.

26B. MÂLAIN, SANCTUARY OF MARS CICOLLUIS AND LITAVIS
Second century A.D. (after temple La Boussière)
Dedicated to: Mars Cicolluis and Litavis

To the west of Ma□lain-Mediolanum is another sanctuary which is only known from old stray-finds, from blocks used for a local church, and from aerial photos showing the presence of a square *fanum* with a courtyard. A pond, filled in recent times, was perhaps associated with the sanctuary as well as a spring, known as Fontaine au Loup,

whose waters may have been channeled to the sanctuary. About 20 inscriptions to Cicolluis or Mars Cicolluis and Litavis, and one example with he and Bellona, have been found reused in other local structures or as stray-finds. A few statues depicting the divine couple are also known from the area.

Not Excavated, stray finds and aerial survey.
Bibliography: Roussel 1978, 2003.

26C. MÂLAIN-ANCEY, LES FROIDEFONDS
Early first to late second centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Mars? Sucellus?

Remains of a *fanum* were accidentally discovered in an area called Les Froidefonds of Ancey, and were associated with the settlement of ancient Ma□lain or Mediolanum. The sacred area, measuring 23 m by 15 m, was divided into three parts with a *fanum* to the west, a small peristyle courtyard attached to the *fanum* to the east, and two small rooms or annexes against the outer wall to the south; these structures were built over an earlier La Tène settlement. A cult statue was found inside the *cella* of the *fanum*.

Within the courtyard, many animal bones were recovered as well as other objects identified as offerings. Coins from Augustus to Antoninus, two enameled fibulae in bronze, an iron ring with an intaglio, a bronze statuette of Mars, fragments of two inscriptions, fragments of stone statues, and very few ceramic sherds have all been recovered from the area. Objects from the La Tène layers include more animal bones, indigenous ceramics, a rouelle, and 12 coins though it is unclear if these objects are part of a sanctuary. Some stray Gallo-Roman stone statues of deities have also been found throughout the area.

Figure 7.19.
Excavated: 1967 and 1968
Bibliography: Deyts and Roussel 1989; Martin 1968: 479-480; **Roussel** 1969, 1978, **2003**; Vermeersch and Duez 1987.

28. MIREBEAU-SUR-BÈZE
c. 15 B.C. to c. 150 A.D. (coins, ceramics)
Dedicated to: N/A

The site of Mirebeau-sur-Bèze is located along the Bèze River in an area of open plains and plateaus about 25 km north of Dijon. It was identified through aerial photography by Goguey in the 1970s. The first excavations centered on a first century military camp for the VIII Legion, and later explored successive La Tène and Gallo-Roman ritual centers.

Six phases have been identified beginning around 300 B.C. and ending in the second century A.D.; only phases four through six will be discussed here. Phase four (15 B.C. to 40 A.D.) is characterized by continuity with the preceding period whose ritual

activities occurred in small timber structures and pits in which amphora, domestic animals, and some metal objects, such as weapons, were deposited. Phases five and six (40 to 150 A.D.) are more rooted in Gallo-Roman traditions. Two quadrangular *fana* constructed in stone and surrounded by a large polygonal enclosing wall served as the primary foci for ritual activities. Temple A is the larger of the two and is located to the south, while temple B is smaller and found 20 m north of A.

A modest quantity and variety of objects were found in the sanctuary from phases five and six. The presence of mutilated coins, animal bones, ceramics, and parts of bronze or iron weapons suggest a continuation of earlier offering traditions as were common in phases one through four. Other materials include an altar, a marble fragment of an arm, mirrors, fragments of glass vessels, various ceramics, metal plaques, coins, fibulae, and complete undecorated rings and bracelets found in temple A and only fragments in temple B. Some coins from late antiquity have also been recovered and, while the sanctuary was abandoned, the area was used into the medieval period.

Figures 2.9 and 7.21.
Excavated: 1977-1986; 2001-2007
Bibliography: Goguey 1980; Joly and Barral 2007, 2012; Joly and Lambert 2004; Joly et al. 2008.

30. MONTOT
First to third centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

During work on a modern road, remains of a slightly rectangular *fanum* with a surrounding gallery measuring 15 m were uncovered. An exploratory probe in the gallery uncovered about 200 sherds of various ceramics placed against the exterior wall of the *cella*. Additional objects, such as nails, coins, bronze plaques, shards of glass vessels, fragments of terracotta statuettes, and two silver fibulae, were also uncovered. Additional work also uncovered pork, sheep and goat bones. Postholes from a nearby wooden structure were perhaps part of an earlier sanctuary in the area.

Figure 7.23.
Excavated: 1973, 1980
Bibliography: Gaillard de Semainville 1982: 384-386; Morel 1976: 432-433.

37. TREMBLOIS
First century B.C. to mid-fourth century A.D. (coins, ceramics, fibulae)
Dedicated to: N/A

The sanctuary of Tremblois was discovered in 1953 during a survey of the Foret Domaniale de Châtillon, which lies southeast of Châtillon-sur-Seine. Excavations of the site revealed that there were four phases: two pre-Roman and two post-Roman. Phase one, dating to the second century B.C., consisted of timber postholes which were

remodeled in the first century B.C. during phase two, and have a *cella* added. Phase three, dating from the end of the first century B.C. to the early second century A.D., saw construction of the first *fanum* with a stone, square *cella* and a surrounding wooden gallery. During the last phase, mid-second to mid-fourth century A.D., the structures were all made of stone, and an outer polygonal wall surrounding the *fanum* and additional chapels or annexes was constructed.

The earlier La Tène materials were characterized by coins, fibulae, and other forms of jewelry made from bronze, iron, glass, and potin. Several primary categories of objects were characteristic of the Gallo-Roman period. Large quantities of statuary were recovered during the excavations depicting men, women, and children often as pilgrims, the latter of which often hold dogs or small offerings. No primary deity has been identified from the statues or fragments of inscriptions, but terracotta figurines depicting Venus or *déesses-meres* were found. The most notable category of offerings from Tremblois is the collection of over 500 Omega fibulae that have been found throughout the excavations. Numerous other small offerings have been found within the sanctuary such as glass and ceramic vessels, knives, jewelry, bronze bells, and animal bones.

Figure 7.26.
Excavated: various excavations between 1957 and 1980
Bibliography: Deyts 2003a; Martin 1960: 339-343; Paris 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1965; Renard 1986.

38. VAL SUZON
First century B.C. to first century A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

The *fanum* of Val Suzon is located on the highest part of a plateau in an area called Le Champ des Morts. There is strong evidence for occupation of the area from the end of the Chalcolithic through Hallstatt periods, and into the Gallo-Roman period. The temple was near a *vicus*, and had two phases demonstrated by the finds, the first of which is marked by La Tène coins, and the later by the Roman coins and other materials. The entrance to the sanctuary is in the southeast, and the temple, a dry-stone construction, consists of a single quadrangular *cella*, in which there were some traces of burning, and a surrounding gallery. A small rectangular feature 3.5 m to the northeast of the *cella* and surrounded by cut stone perhaps served as a place for cult or for the collection of offerings.

Bones and teeth from both domestic and wild animals were found near the entrance of the *cella* and at the outer walls of the site. Huan-made objects from the site include bronze and iron fibulae, an iron knife, two spear points, a prod, an adze a polished ax, and coins found in and near the entrance of the *cella*, and more Roman and La Tène coins found near the rectangular feature. Fragments of ceramic vessels were found across the site. A rectangular depression next to a little path was perhaps the location of the altar which had broken ceramics and animal bones near it. There was evidence for a small wooden feature near the altar which contained an iron plaque from a latch and a bronze rim of some object.

Figure 7.27.
Excavated: 20th century, 1940s?
Bibliography: Guyot 1951-1952, 1977.

39A. VERTAULT, *INTRA-MUROS fanum*
Early first to late fourth centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

A pre-conquest, late Iron Age *oppidum* located on a hill near the modern town of Vertault continued as an important town in the Gallo-Roman period under the name Vertillum. Within the walls of the town was a traditional square *fanum* (12.65m per side) with an eastern-facing entrance. The temple was surrounded by a trapezoidal wall that enclosed 17 other small buildings within the sacred area that served as small chapels and annexes.

Few materials were found within the courtyard. Around 420 coins, two pieces of architectural statuary, a broken bronze plaque, and a piece of hammered bronze in the form of a hand were the only materials found within the sanctuary and provide little evidence for the sites purpose or indicate the deity of the place.

Figure 7.28.
Excavated: 19th century
Bibliography: Bérnard and Deyts 2010; Lorimy 1898.

39B. VERTAULT, *EXTRA-MUROS fanum*
Mid-first to mid-third century A.D. (ceramics, coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

To the south of Vertillum is another *fanum* located a short distance from the town walls and was discovered during aerial prospection undertaken by Rene Goguey. The sanctuary was constructed over a late Iron Age ritual center where large numbers of horses, dogs, cattle, and sheep were sacrificed in large open pits, left in the air for some time, and eventually covered over. The *fanum*, with a stone *cella* and gallery whose walls were painted, was enclosed by a large outer wall. Like the *intra-muros fanum*, this one seemed to be cleaned out before its abandonment as little evidence for offerings or cult activities were found. Eight fibulae, two fragments of stone sculptures, some fragments of animal bones, ceramic sherds, and coins were the only materials recovered.

Figure 7.29.
Excavated: 1980s-1990s
Bibliography: Jouin et al. 1999; Méniel 2010b, Méniel et al 1991.

1. SOURCE OF THE DOUIX, CHÂTILLON-SUR-SEINE (1)
(see Chapters 5 and 6; Figures 5.3 and 5.11)

2A. ALESIA, CROIX SAINT CHARLES (1)
First to fourth centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Apollo Moritasgus

Excavations of the famous sanctuary to Apollo Moritasgus, near the spring of Croix Saint-Charles on Mont Auxois, have produced some of the most detailed records of small finds from a spring sanctuary as they often include quantities and find-spot data. The sanctuary and baths, constructed in the first century A.D., were built directly over an earlier La Tène enclosure which was contemporary the occupation of the *oppidum*. Water was incorporated into the sanctuary through channels that run under the octagonal *fanum*, various basins, and a small second century chapel with a fountain dedicated to a nymph. The sanctuary was remodeled several times, and the area seems to have fallen out of use between the third and fourth centuries.

Esperandieu's (1910, 1912a, 1912b) thorough descriptions of the small finds are some of the most detailed I have encountered in my research. Using Esperandieu's notes on quantities and depositional contexts of the materials, Cazanove et al. (2012a) were able to combine these data with those from more recent excavations to conduct a spatial analysis of the votives from the site. While the small finds are too numerous to note here, a few categories of objects stand out due to their quantities: coins, bone hairpins, votive sculpture of various body parts and busts, and bronze votive plaques of eyes and genitals. The spatial analysis demonstrated that sculpture tended to be found in areas associated with phases of reconstruction in the sanctuary. The bronze plaques, on the other hand, seem to be in primary deposits and clustered near the entrance of the *cella*, gallery walls, the nymph fountain, and the basins. Many other spring sanctuaries have also produced similar finds, and while contextual data were not often collected for the objects, we can imagine a similar pattern of use and deposition as seen at Alesia.

Figure 3.23
Excavated: 1909-1912, 2009
Bibliography: Esperandieu 1910, 1912a, 1912b; Cazanove et al. 2012a, 2012b.

4. AUXERRE (2)
Late first/early second to third centuries A.D.? (inscriptions on the paterae*)*
Dedicated to: Apollo

An octagonal temple about 10 m in diameter was uncovered near a fountain on Ru de Vallan in Auxerre. Two silver *paterae* were found inside the temple and had an inscription on them dedicated to Apollo. At the end of the street in the Yonne River,

several stone statues were recovered depicting different deities associated with water cult, such as the "cavalier anguipede," and an inscription, now lost, described the veneration of the goddess Icauna. The temple was destroyed, along with much of Auxerre, during the invasions of 275-276 A.D.

Excavated: 1857
Bibliography: Louis 1952, 1954a; Quantin & Ricque 1884.

7. BOURBONNE-LES-BAINS (1)
Late first century B.C. to fifth century A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Borvo and Damona

The area around the thermal springs at Bourbonne-les-Bains has some of the earliest evidence for spring veneration possibly dating back to the Paleolithic. The Roman presence at the site is also one of the earliest of the spring sanctuaries from the region beginning around 10 B.C. The waters, averaging around 65°C, have a high mineral content and medicinal qualities. It was harnessed by a series of catchments and canals for a bathing complex that was erected over the sources. The Gallo-Roman baths were modified and added to over time, but were sadly destroyed during the construction of a modern building.

During the destruction of the baths, three sculpted wooden heads were uncovered and proved difficult to date without proper contextual data, but may have been part of an earlier *fanum* over which the baths were constructed. In the two hundred years of exploration of the bathing complex prior to its destruction, a catchment and wells containing a several thousand coins, a few statuettes, and other materials were uncovered. The large quantity of coins suggests that deposits were made from around 10 B.C. to the early fifth century A.D., with the largest deposition period dating to 9 B.C. to A.D. 1. Some of the coins were mutilated or had some special treatment prior to their deposition, and the composition of the assemblage suggests these represent the deposits of many individuals over time, rather than being one large offering. Inscriptions from the catchment and also from the bathing complex identify Borvo and Damona as the deities of the spring. No temple is known from the site, but the catchment and wells serve as locations for ritual deposition whose types and quantities of objects vary from those recorded in the baths.

Figure 7.5.
Excavated: 19th and 20th centuries
Bibliography: Rameau 1978; **Sauer 2005a**, 2005b; Spéranze 1961; Troisgros 1995.

13. ESSAROIS (1)
First century B.C. to fourth century A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Apollo Vindonnus

The famous source sanctuary at Essarois is located in a small valley. Evidence

suggests there was a La Tène III timber structure located under the Gallo-Roman structures as late La Tène materials such as glass and bronze bracelets, fibulae, pottery, coins, and an inscription in Greek letters, have all been found as well as a timber posthole. A few projectile points and fragments of other weapons from the first century B.C. suggest the sanctuary underwent a transitional period that had an early Gallo-Roman temple. The extant Gallo-Roman sanctuary has two *fana* within the enclosure and evidence of canals and aqueducts dating to the late second or early third century A.D., which demonstrate the importance of the water.

The god of the spring, Apollo Vindonnus, is known from several inscriptions recovered from within the sacred area. An altar and a statue of the god were also found within the *cella*, and various offerings were found within the enclosure such as coins, stone statues of male and female pilgrims or body parts, and wooden statues from the first Gallo-Roman use of the spring. Some mid- to late-first century B.C. lance points and other small weapons were found outside of the enclosure and are probably associated with the earlier phases of the temple.

Figure 7.10.
Excavated: c. 1850; 1960s
Bibliography: Daviet 1963, 1965; Daviet and Daviet 1966; Martin 1964: 311-313, 1966b: 390-391; Mignard 1853; Thedenat 1889.

14. ESSEY, SOURCE OF THE ARMANCON (2)
Gallo-Roman
Dedicated to: *Déesses-meres*?

The Source of the Armancon is located within 1 km of Essey, and 5 km from Pouilly. Little work has been done at the site, but in the 19th century remains of several Gallo-Roman structures, perhaps one large villa or several small ones, were noted. Some ruins near the spring are believed to be those of a temple. A statue of a two-wheeled chariot with two horses pulling to *déesses-meres* was discovered in 1848, and other materials, including a head of a marble statue, a bronze head of a lion, a statuette of Minerva, and several undescribed objects in bronze and stone were also found.

Discovered: 19th century
Bibliography: Bruzard 1873; Bulliot and Thiollier 1892.

15. ETALENTE, SOURCE OF THE COQUILLES (2)
Gallo-Roman
Dedicated to: Silvanus?

The Source of the Coquille in Etalente breaks ground in a small depression which somewhat resembles the situation of the Douix in Châtillon-sur-Seine, which is about 40 km away. Stray finds from the area near the Coquille include a glass bottle, animal bones, and stone sculptures of head of a horse, votive legs, and possibly a statue of Silvanus who

holds fruit and a sickle. No formal excavation has taken place, but a 1996 test excavation in the valley suggests that the temple was here, rather than just near the source. Large quantities of mosaic tiles were found as well as limestone slabs and evidence for walls. The position of a temple in a valley could be similar to that of Villars-d'Heria which was built above the flowing water.

Explored: 19th century?
Bibliography: Gelot 2002.

17. FONTAINE SEGRAIN (1)
First to Third centuries A.D. (timber; ceramics)
Dedicated to: N/A

Fontaine Segrain is located within the commune of Montlay-en-Auxois, and 6 km from Nord de Saulieu. Several ancient structures were uncovered near the freshwater spring. A square wooden tank to harness the water was constructed around the spring and had several piping incorporated into its construction. Two additional square wooden basins were constructed simultaneously downstream, and different types of objects were deposited in each. The basins were semi-abandoned, and eventually partially destroyed and covered by additional planks. No temple is known from the site.

The upper basin contained various forms of special metallic-looking ceramic vessels which were intentionally broken and found in the lowest levels, and were joined or followed by bronze plaques, wooden figurines, terracotta figurines, part of a gold fibula, and coins. The lower basin also contained a lot of materials, but in a lower layer which included a greater quantity of wooden figurines and plaques, and various ceramics. The notable differences between the basins are the larger quantity of wooden objects in the lower basin, and the special ceramics and coins which are only present in the upper. These objects suggest the basins were treated differently with the upper basin being a place for ritual, particularly at the beginning of the basins creation, and the lower, at least in the early phase, was perhaps served a more utilitarian use.

Excavated: 1983-1984
Bibliography: Dupont 1995.

18. FONTAINES SALÉES (1)
Neolithic – La Tène?; First to fourth centuries A.D. (timber; coins)
Dedicated to: *Déesses-meres*? Taranis?

Fontaines Salées, near the Cure River, has several mineral springs which also release natural gases, like helium, causing the water to bubble. The earliest evidence for activity at the springs includes oak-lined wells from the Neolithic which contained flaked and polished flint and hand-axes. Roman coins were also found in the Neolithic wells demonstrating their extensive length of use. An Urnfield cemetery was found near the springs as well. A circular sanctuary with a covered gallery built around a sacred basin

was built during the Iron Age, perhaps in late La Tène, and was still used in the Gallo-Roman period. Later in the second and third centuries A.D., an open rectangular structure surrounded by walls on three sides and a covered gallery on one side was built around a newly defined sacred basin which probably became the new focal point for ritual activities. A bathing complex was constructed in the first century A.D. and fell out of use within the third century. Ritual activity ceased in the fourth century and the site was used as a small settlement until the sixth century.

Objects were found in and around sacred buildings as well as in the wells and sacred basin. Coins, ceramic and bronze vessels, stone sculpture, ceramic figurines, fossils, worked antler, and worked shell are all recovered at the site. Though neither inscriptions nor statues clearly identify the deity of the springs, terracotta figurines of the *déesses-meres* and Venus suggest female goddesses were probably important, and the circular temple is thought to be consecrated to Taranis, a wheel or solar god.

Figure 7.12.
Excavated: 1930s – 1960s
Bibliography: Fabre et al. 1965; Lacroix 1963; Louis 1938, 1943a, 1943b, 1965; Louis and Lacroix 1960; Vougade 1972.

19. GISSEY-LE-VIEIL (3)
Second or third century A.D.? (sculpture)
Dedicated to: Rosmerta

A fountain within Gissey-le-Vieil, in the canton of Vitteaux was perhaps a sacred place in antiquity. A dedicatory altar with an inscription to Rosmerta and a statue of a nude, reclining female figure with an opening on the bottom face, perhaps an opening for water, were visible next to the fountain and were discussed in local folklore. No additional structures or smaller offerings, such as coins, were recovered. The dedication suggests the spot was sacred to Rosmerta, but there is little evidence to suggest the spring was visited for ritual purposes.

Figure 7.13.
Excavated: N/A
Bibliography: Morelot 1844; Bonnard 1908.

21. ISÔMES (2)
End of first century B.C. to fourth century A.D. (ceramics, coins)
Dedicated to: Epona?

The sanctuary at Isômes is 25 km south of Langres and is associated with an ancient Roman and a spring. Four phases of construction are known. The first phase was marked by a ditch and rectangular structure, and the second phase by a wall running parallel to the earlier ditch, a semi-circular structure approximately 17 m in diameter, and a nearby trapezoidal structure. In the third phase, the ditch was filled and leveled, and an

eastern-facing stone-built *fanum* with a surrounding gallery and nearby annexes were erected; the sanctuary was abandoned in the final phase.

A wooden rectangular basin was located in the northern part of the gallery and served as a receptacle for a large quantity of coins. Several limestone statues of horses were found within the sanctuary and were perhaps representative of Epona. Ceramics, other sculpted features, perhaps of limbs and heads, and other miscellaneous objects were also within the sanctuary.

Figure 7.15.
Excavated: 1992
Bibliography: Thevenard 1993, 1995, 1996; Thevenard et al. 1994.

23. LES BOLARDS, NUITS SAINT GEORGES (3)
First century B.C. to fifth century A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: No primary deity is apparent.

Abundant remains of settlements from La Tène III and a Gallo-Roman *vicus*, sanctuary, and Mithraeum positioned along important ancient crossroads have been found in Nuits Saint Georges next to the river Meuzin. Several phases in the sanctuary area have been noted, the first dating to La Tène III with some ritual ceramic deposits and possible wooden palisade, the second by a late La Tène-Early Roman *fanum* with an outer stone wall and beaten earth floor in the sacred area, the third by a new *fanum* constructed over the earlier one with a larger courtyard and surrounding wall and contained many mirrors, white clay figurines, coins and fibulae dating to the first century A.D., and finally a grand sanctuary built at the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D.

The grand sanctuary was constructed over the *fana* and incorporated into the forum of the *vicus*. It has a rectangular *cella* which is surrounded by galleries on three sides and opens to the east. A courtyard and altar are to the east of the temple and were the location for ritual offering. A hemicycle surrounds the gallery and has a few small rooms that are built off of it. Diverse offerings have been recovered from the *cella*, galleries, and courtyard of the sanctuary, such as coins, figurines, bronze plaques, jewelry, and animal bones from ritual feasts. The Mithraeum (built at the end of 2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.), excavated in 1948, is located next to the northern wall of the large sanctuary and contained statues and objects perhaps used in rituals, but no clear offerings were detected or included in the present analysis.

The sanctuary was an important center for pilgrims visiting the local therapeutic spring at Courtavaux which is about 2 km away. However, as the site itself does not have any features emphasizing the importance of water other than wells which seem to have a more practical purpose here. It is unlikely this is a spring site in the traditional sense, but rather, was a sanctuary acting as a commercial religious center offering services to those passing through.

Figure 7.16.
Explored and excavated: 1878, off and on between 1918 - 1958, 1963-1990s

Bibliography: Fauduet and Pommeret 1985; Le Dantec 1972; Planson and Lagrange 1972, 1975; Planson and Pommeret 1986; **Pommeret 2001a**, 2002.

27. MASSINGY-LES-VITTEAUX (3)
First to fourth centuries A.D.? (coins)
Dedicated to: Serapis?

During the construction of a house near Vitteaux in 1844, remains of a building, some coins, and sculptures were found in the gorge of a mountain near a freshwater spring dedicated to Saint-Cyr. Later excavations conducted by a local archaeological society revealed more of the building. The south and western sides of the building were missing, but the north and eastern sides demonstrated the structure was a rectangle measuring 17 by 12 m, with a hemicycle on the eastern side. More coins and statues were found inside. The statues depicted figures dressed as pilgrims and other individuals, as well as a statue of three seated women who may perhaps be *déesses-meres*. The site is interpreted as one dedicated to Serapis, but there is no direct evidence to confirm this, nor is there any direct evidence to suggest the nearby spring was the focal point of ritual activity. There are two other nearby springs, Saint-Cassien and Fontaine d'Y, which are also believed to have been venerated.

Figure 7.20.
Excavated: 1865-1866
Bibliography: Bruzard 1866.

32. SAINTE-SABINE (2)
Third to fourth centuries A.D.? (coins)
Dedicated to: Belenus, Apollo

Located on a plateau overlooking the left side of Ouche in the northern part of the village of Sainte-Sabine, a square temple was uncovered about 35 cm deep. Within the temple, stone statuettes of pilgrims and anatomical figures, coins, architectural fragments and an inscription were uncovered. Sculptures of Apollo and Belenus were also found suggesting these were the primary deities of the sanctuary. There are several springs in the area and the prominent position of the temple over the river suggests water was important in the area and that the sanctuary was a source for healing, but the veneration of the spring remains unclear.

Excavated: 1837, 1854
Bibliography: Bulliot and Thiollier 1892; Denizot 1884; Vaillat 1932.

34. SOURCE OF THE SEINE (1)
First century B.C. to fourth century A.D. (wooden statues, coins)
Dedicated to: Sequana

The well-known Source of the Seine in Saint-Germain is a freshwater spring in a valley bottom. Multiple structures are present including a *fanum*, canals, and a sacred basin and portico which surround the erupting spring. Several thousand objects were found in and around buildings, or buried in valley bottom making this one of the largest assemblages from a spring sanctuary. The sanctuary was dedicated to the local water goddess Sequana who is mentioned in inscriptions on several objects and is represented standing atop a boat, but Apollo Grannus, Venus, Minerva, Juno, Hercules, Faun, and a mother goddess are all present in some form at the site.

A wide variety of objects were made from marble, limestone, bronze, terracotta, glass, gold, iron, bone, antler, jasper, amber, copper, and silver. The objects include, but are not limited to beads, La Tène and Gallo-Roman fibulae, pendants, rings, spoons, hairpins, mirrors, stylus, vessels, coins, worked antler, discs, worked bone, bells, keys, locks, tools, nails, scissors, trowel, hooks, hinges, knife, needles, altars, game pieces, fossils, and stalagmites. Bronze plaques of reproductive organs and eyes are abundant at the site. Sculpture and figurines are also rather abundant and have a wide subject matter. In addition to the gods, men, women, children, and infants are all depicted, some as pilgrims and some holding offerings of fruit, purses, or animals. Their forms can be as full-figures, busts, torsos, hands, legs, or feet, or, as with the wooden sculptures, stacked heads, arms, or internal organs.

Figures 4.10, 4.14, 4.16, 4.18, and 4.20.
Excavated: 1836-1843, 1926, on and off throughout the 1930s-1960s
Bibliography: Baudot 1845; Blanchet 1934; Corot 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1938, 1946, 1948; **Deyts** 1966, 1970, 1971, **1985**, **1994**; Lebel 1937; Lerat 1948: 231-232, 1950b: 158-159; Martin 1964: 302-306, 1966a; Martin and Gremaud 1953; Toutain 1946; Vernou et al. 2012.

36. TERREFONDREE, SOURCE OF THE DOUIX (1)
First century A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

Terrefondree has a Douix that is similar, but with a smaller opening, to the one found in Châtillon-sur-Seine located about 30 km to the northwest. During exploration of the area, substructures of a temple with mosaic floors were found, as well as a votive altar, fragments of stone legs and feet, and eight coins dating to Augustus which deposited in or near the opening of the spring. The overall situation at Terrefondree is similar to the Douix of Châtillon, and suggests that perhaps a yet undetected temple could be present in the latter too.

Excavated: 19th century
Bibliography: Drioux 1934; Utinet 1897.

12. ENTRAINS (2)
First to fourth centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Borvo and Candidus

Located a short distance from the Loire and Yonne basins and near several important ancient roads, Entrains was an established *vicus* known as Intaranum with large homes, baths, an amphitheater, a columbarium, ramparts, and several temples including an aerially-detected round temple in the center of the village. This major manufacturing center was known for its sculpture production and many statues of deities have been found here.

The 1962 discovery of nearly 4,000 third century coins found in a large vessel sparked interest in the site. The area was ritually active and evidence for many types of deities from across the Empire has been found. Inscriptions indicate that Borvo and Candidus were associated with the local thermal spa which had special mineral water, but votives normally associated with springs have yet to be recovered leaving its status as a place for spring cult uncertain, and no particular temple from the site has been thoroughly excavated.

Excavated: 1966-1971
Bibliography: Boucher 1984; Devauges 1970, 1971a, 1971b, 1988; Goguey 1977; Nicolet-Pierre 1978; Thevenot 1951, 1954.

16. FONTAINE DE'ETUVEE (3)
Gallo-Roman
Dedicated to: Acionna

Excavations at Fontaine de l'Etuvee, located a short distance from Orleans, were conducted in 1823. The freshwater spring was surrounded by a timber and stone square basin which collected the water the depth of which was controlled by several small channels. The basin contained fragments of red or gray ceramics of domestic types, roofing tiles, and a grinding stone. About 35 m northeast of the basin, another small excavation was conducted which revealed remains of a stone structure with a canal built into it. Additional objects were found in this area including similar ceramics and tiles, a flint ax, a bronze key, milling pieces, and an inscription with a dedication to the goddess Acionna. These finds seem to be of a more domestic nature, rather than ritual, but the inscription and the structure with the canals could possibly indicate water veneration.

Figure 7.11.
Excavated: 1823
Bibliography: Jollois 1824.

22. LANEUVEVILLE-LES-NANCY, SOURCE DOUMOTTE (2)
First to second centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

The area around the basin capturing the Source Doumotte was excavated in the middle of the 19th century. It is reported that many ceramic sherds were uncovered and over 200 bronze coins of various sizes dating from Augustus to Hadrian. No temples are directly associated with this basin, though there is a temple in Laneuveville in the area called the Cinq-Fountaines. Objects thrown directly into the water suggest a ritual purpose, but cannot be confirmed for certain.

Excavated: 1846
Bibliography: Beaulieu 1849.

24. LUNEVILLE (2)
First to second centuries A.D.? (coins)
Dedicated to: Diana?

Near the village of Luneville is a fountain that rests at the foot of a mountain. Inside the fountain lead and bronze coins from the High Empire were found as well as a small bell and several copper thighs and legs. It is believed that these were dedicated to Diana, but there is little information to indicate why. While the fountain was clearly an important place for dedicating objects, its status remains unclear.

Explored: 1703, 1728 (according to Roussel 1924)
Bibliography: Calmet 1876.

25. LUXEUIL-LES-BAINS (1)
First to fourth centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: Luxovius and Brixta

The site of Luxeuil-les-Bains, established in the first century A.D., was located in a zone of contact with many nearby roads, and was known for its ceramic and stone quarrying production. The area was abundant with thermal sources which were incorporated into its baths. The ruins of the baths have been explored for over three hundred years. No temple has yet been discovered or excavated in the area despite the strong evidence for the veneration of the thermal springs.

The best evidence for spring veneration was found in 1865 when an ancient basin was explored. A large quantity of wooden statuettes carved from oak where preserved in the humid soil and depicted humans wearing hoods, others were uncovered, and some wore torques around their necks. Unfortunately many fell apart shortly after the excavation. In addition to the oak statuettes, notable quantities of stray coins have been found in a nearby stream, and several large coin hoards have also been recovered. Altars, stele, statues and inscriptions identify Luxovius and Brixta as the gods of the thermal

waters; Apollo and Sirona, Jupiter, and Epona, were also worshiped here. The site appears to have been abandoned by the fourth century A.D.

Figure 7.17.
Explored: since 18th century
Bibliography: Cugnier 1971; Kahn 1986; Lerat 1950a, 1960a; Lombard 2000; Roussel 1924.

31. MONTBOUY, THE AREA CRAON (1)
Second to fourth centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

Craon is located within the commune of Montbouy, just 5 km north of Châtillon-Coligny. During the early excavations of an area east of Craon and just west of the river Loing, a wide octagonal area paved with mosaics and a large circular pool at its center was uncovered. The freshwater produced by the spring erupts directly into the pool which was constructed around it. A few wooden figurines of humans and terracotta figurines of goddesses were found within and near the basin. Baths and an amphitheater just 750 m away are perhaps part of a larger religious complex associated with the spring. Additional research between the river and amphitheater revealed another temple comprised of three concentric circles, the innermost being the *cella*, as well as a rectangular basin surrounded by a gallery. In the 1950s, work amongst all of these structures uncovered several coin hoards each numbering in the thousands.

Figure 7.24.
Excavated: second half of 19th century; 1950s
Bibliography: Buchez and Chardon 1990; Debal 1985; Dumasy 1953; Dupuis 1852; Fabre and Mainjonet 1958; Louis 1950: 170-171, 1953: 156-147, 1954b: 506.

29. MONT BEUVRAY, FONTAINE SAINT-PIERRE (2)
Second century B.C. to middle of the first century A.D. (coins, ceramics)
Dedicated to: N/A

The fountain consists of three stages, the earliest of which begins in the second century B.C. and the latest evidence comes from the middle of the first century A.D. The shape of the wooden basin changed over time from an oblong form to a more rectangular one. Objects from each period were found within the basin. The earliest phase consisted of ceramics, amphora, a bracelet, and a bead; the second had ceramics, amphora, a few rings, a bronze plaque of an ear, a bell, an iron ax, a bracelet, and about 150 coins; and the most recent phase had about 40 coins, half of a ring, metal fragments, and a few ceramics.

The interpretations of the finds are conflicting. Guillaumet believes these objects are domestic and associated more with the drinkable water which the fountain produces. Rieckhoff argues there are too many fragmented objects and large quantities of metal

vessels for it to be accidental and these objects are, therefore, offerings.

Figure 7.22.
Excavated: 1990s
Bibliography: **Barral and Richard 2009**.

33. SENS, SAINT-DIDIER PROMENADE (3)
First to second centuries A.D.? (coins)
Dedicated to: Icaunis

Portions of a possible temple in the northwest part of Sens were found under the Saint-Didier Promenade near a river as early as the 14th century. During the construction of a new walkway in 1791, a room with a mosaic floor and various objects, such as coins from Germanicus to Antoninus Pius, lamps, and statues, were found near the river. Additional areas or rooms with mosaics and more objects were uncovered including possible La Tène offerings. Canals were associated with the structure and some construction debris was found in the river, which was perhaps from baths, or was part of the so-called temple.

Hure (1978) describes the structure as a temple, but the limited description of the architectural layout makes it difficult to determine if it is a temple or part of a bathing structure, and if it is a temple, the role of the canals remains unclear. Under the church of Saint-Didier nearby, a sculpture of Diana and Mercury were found possibly indicating the deities venerated here. A manuscript from the Middle Ages describes the ruins of a Gallo-Roman temple in this general area and says it was dedicated to a nymph, perhaps Icaunis. If this is indeed the temple described, it could be a place of water veneration indicated by the canals and the presence of a nymph, who were often associated with water.

Excavated: 18th century
Bibliography: Hure 1978.

35. SOURCE OF THE YONNE (3)
Second half of first century B.C. to beginning of first century A.D. (coins, ceramics)
Dedicated to: N/A

The source of the Yonne is near the village of Glux-en-Glenne and only 5 km from Mont Beuvray. Three double-square *fana* were found inside a larger enclosure a short distance from the spring. Two of the *fana* were connected while the third lay unattached to the south. A variety of objects were found within the enclosure. Over 250 broken amphora and vessels of various forms were identified; other objects include nails, and heavily worn bronze and silver Gallic and Gallo-Roman coins. While the sanctuary is near a spring, there is no clear evidence that the spring was a focal point of veneration.

Figure 7.25.

Excavated: 1970s
Bibliography: Péquinot et al. 1996.

40. VILLARDS D'HERIA, LAC D'ANTRE (1)
First century A.D.? (inscription, coins)
Dedicated to: Cernunnos and Mars?

Two temples were uncovered about 12 m northeast of Lake Antre near the spring that runs underground to feed the lake. The structures were not excavated, but the remains were visible and various objects, including coins and statues, have been recovered from within the area of the temples. One of the temples is circular, oriented to the east, and contained a statue which perhaps represents Cernunnos. The other temple is rectangular, oriented to the east, and seems to have been dedicated to Mars. Various objects were found within the lake itself, including a bronze plaque representing part of a ritual calendar, several inscriptions, sculptures of deities, and more coins.

Explored: 1697; 1960s
Bibliography: Lerat 1960b: 255, 1964: 401-410; Roulière-Lambert 2007; Thevenot 1955b.

41. VILLARDS D'HERIA, PONT DES ARCHES (1)
Mid-first to third centuries A.D. (coins)
Dedicated to: N/A

The area of Villards d'Heria known as the Pont des Arches is divided into several areas which include a bathing complex, arches over the river Heria, and a sanctuary. The spring of the Heria erupts just upstream and flows south paralleling the bathing complex. The namesake-arches are in a lower area of the site north of the baths and are built over the stream whose waters flow through them. Numerous objects were deposited directly into the water including keys, ceramics, nails, glass, and bones. The sanctuary is divided into three parts: a temple oriented east-west built on a platform directly over the Heria, a central courtyard with a monumental fountain, and a platform with altars.

The temple itself is regarded as special as it incorporates both Roman building practices, such as its position on an elevated platform, and also indigenous building practices, such as the paved gallery and courtyard resembling those found in *fana*. The most important feature of the temple area is the circular basin or monumental fountain whose canal system pulls up water directly from the Heria which runs beneath it. A variety of small objects have been found throughout the sanctuary, such as coins, vessels, and personal ornamentation. The offerings at the site differ from others associated with spring-cult (i.e. no objects associated with healing), and the sanctuary has been interpreted instead as a place for seeking the protection of the un-named deity.

Figure 7.30.
Excavated: 1960s-1970s

Bibliography: **Lerat** 1964: 401-410, 1966: 365-371, 1970: 359-364, **1998**; Roulière-Lambert 2007.

DATA: PRESENCE/ABSENCE DATA TABLES

COLLECTING THE DATA

From each site described above, data were extracted which included the types of objects present, the materials from which the objects were made, and the deities identified at each place. These were collected from the publications in the bibliographies and sorted into presence/absence charts for comparison. Unfortunately, quantities of each particular object were not included because of the inconsistency of publications, or because repetitions of the same objects across multiple publications obscured their precise quantities. The tables of deities relied on the identifications made by the original authors' of each publication. Some of the deities were identified by name in inscriptions, while others were identified by their attributes known through other examples or the mythology associated with a particular deity. The data generated in the presence/absence charts are helpful for examining the types of objects found at sanctuaries and their geographic distribution, which are examined in Chapter 8.

NOTES ON THE DATA TABLES AND CATEGORIES

Object biographies are significant for understanding the role of an object in a society (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2009). An object may be made for a particular purpose, and used for something else entirely, or its significance may change when it is brought into contact with a particular person, place, or event. It is impossible to determine the life history of each object from every site examined here. Every object has

been recovered from within the sacred area of a ritual center, demonstrating that at some point it was elevated to a different status or purpose from its original role, however, for the sake of simplicity and discussion, I have organized the objects according to their traditional intended function or form. Objects are further grouped into larger categories, such as "Building Materials," "Vessels," or "Personal Care," for ease of discussion and organizing as there are over 90 categories of objects.

In most cases, I have categorized the objects according to the authors' descriptions; however, there are a few exceptions. Many of the reports use the term "ex-votos" to describe a variety of objects, such as sculptures of specific body parts, bronze plaques with incised eyes, or objects with an inscription dedicating it to a god. In order to present the data and categories of objects more clearly the term "ex-voto" has been omitted here and the objects are organized by specific types offering a more objective approach to the material instead of automatically assuming every object is of a ritual nature.

Related to the issue of "ex-voto," inscriptions may appear on an altar in one case and on a stone plaque or statue in others. To avoid losing the presence of an inscription or a particular type of object in place of one another, I marked such items twice, once in a line for "inscriptions" and again for the type of objects. To know the types of objects on which an inscription may be found, I have created another table for these data (Table 8.14).

Specific ceramic types are not included because they are far too varied for the present project. The exception to this is the *patera* which is often represented in the iconography of statues as being held by dedicants and deities showing it is a more

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significant form used in ritual procedures. All other ceramics are grouped as "Vessels, ceramic," unless otherwise stated.

The following tables present the presence/absence data for objects (Tables 7.1 - 7.3), materials (Table 7.4), and deities (Tables 7.5 - 7.7) from local non-water, local water, and regional water sanctuaries.

These data are available through the following citation:

Erdman, Katherine M. (2014). Catalog and Raw Data from the Analysis of the Source of the Douix and Other Gallo-Roman Sanctuaries in Eastern France [dataset]. Retrieved from the Data Repository for the University of Minnesota, http://hdl.handle.net/11299/167932.

Objects Types (n=99) Present at Gallo-Roman Sanctuaries	Local Non-Water Sanctuaries (n=19)																			
	Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter	Alesia, Ucuetis monument	Arcenant	Avallon	Beire-le-Châtel	Champigny-les-Langres	Colonne de Cussy	Corcelles les Monts	Crain	Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus	Mâlain, La Boussiere	Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis	Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds	Mirebeau-sur-Bèze	Montot	Tremblois	Val Suzon	Vertault, intra-muros fanum	Vertault, extra-muros fanum	TOTAL FOR EACH OBJECT TYPE
Map Number	2b	2c	3	5	6	8	9	10	11	20	26a	26b	26c	28	30	37	38	39s	39b	
COINS																				
Coins	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18
Tessere																				0
Ingots																				0
PORTABLE SCULPTURE, PLAQUES, FIGURINES																				
Altars	1				1						1	1	1			1				6
Stele					1				1			1				1				4
Plaques, metal												1	1	1		1		1		5
Figurines, stone																				0
Figurines, metal																				0
Figurines, terracotta					1			1							1	1				4
Figurines, bone																				0
Statue(tte)s, stone	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1			1	14
Statue(tte)s, bronze	1							1	1	1	1		1	1						7
Statue(tte)s, wood																				0
PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION																				
Hairpins			1					1	1											3
Ear Rings																				0
Necklace pieces, pendants	1																			1
Beads											1					1				2
Fibulae	1		1		1						1		1	1	1	1	1		1	10
Bracelets														1						1
Finger Rings	1		1		1			1		1	1		1	1		1				9
Buckles																1				1
PERSONAL CARE/HYGIENE																				
Boxes, pieces																				0
Spatulae			1																	1
Ear Cleaners																				0
Medical inst., unspecified			1																	1
Strigiles															1					1
Mirrors	1														1		1			3
Perfume Bottles																				0
Toilet object, unspecified															1					1
GAMING																				
Die																				0
Game Piece	1										1									2
Yo-yo																				0
BUILDING MATERIALS																				
Hinges, doors					1															1
Locks																	1			1
Keys								1												1
Crampons																				0
Hooks			1													1				2
Nails	1	1	1	1	1			1	1						1	1				9
FURNITURE																				
Applique																	1			1
Hinges/Handles			1		1															2

Table 7.1. Presence/absence table of objects by category and type found at local non-water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period, continues on next page.

Map Number	2b	2c	3	5	6	8	9	10	11	20	26a	26b	26c	28	30	37	38	39s	39b	T
TOOLS, MISC. INSTRUMENTS																				
Flakes, flint			1						1								1			3
Axes, flint																			1	1
Axes, polished stone, prehistoric																	1			1
Axes, polished amber																				0
Axes, iron or bronze			1																	1
Pick or pick-axe	1																			1
Punch or stamp	1	1																		2
Burin																				0
Chisle																				0
Knives, blades, handles	1		1						1								1			4
Whet stone			1																	1
Spoons				1										1						2
Harness Equipment			1																	1
Harpoon, fish hooks																				0
Grinding equipment																				0
Weights and chains			1																	1
Scissors																				0
Needles																				0
Spindle Whorls																				0
Molds, bronze objects	1																			1
Tools, misc.		1	1						1								1			4
WEAPONS																				
Spearheads														1			1			2
Projectiles																				0
WRITING																				
Inscriptions	1	1		1	1	1				1	1	1	1	1		1				11
Stylus	1								1							1				3
Tablets, stone			1				1				1		1	1						5
Tablets, bronze											1									1
Tablets, lead																				0
Tablets, wood																				0
Calendar, bronze																				0
VESSELS																				
Amphora				1																1
Patera, ceramic																				0
Patera, silver																				0
Bucket, unspecified														1						1
Tripod								1												1
Vessels, ceramic	1		1		1		1		1		1		1	1	1	1	1		1	12
Vessels, glass	1		1	1	1									1	1	1				7
Vessels, metal		1									1									2
Vessels, wooden																				0
MISCELLANEOUS																				
Bells	1			1				1									1			4
Rouelles	1							1												2
Rouelle mould																				0
Lamps							1							1						2
Mallet, miniature					1															1
Fossils			1																	1
Geodes/Pebbles			1																	1
Minerals			1																	1
Stalagmites																				0
MISCELLANEOUS METAL																				
Rivets																				0
Bars, bronze (not ingots)																				0
Discs, bronze (not mirrors)																				0
Metal, unspecified	1	1	1		1			1	1					1						7
MISCELLANEOUS BONE, ANTLER, SHELL																				
Bone rings, circles			1	1																2
Antler, worked and corunettes			1																	1
Astragalae																				0
Horns, aurochs																				0
Tusks, wild boar																				0
Bone, worked																				0
Shell, worked								1												1
Animal bones			1										1	1	1	1	1		1	7
TYPES OF OBJECTS PER SITE	21	7	26	10	17	5	6	14	10	10	12	5	9	21	9	21	11	2	6	

Table 7.1. (continued) Presence/absence table of objects by category and type found at local non-water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period.

Objects Types (n=99) Present at Gallo-Roman Sanctuaries	Local Water Sanctuaries (n=16)																
	Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix	Alésia, Croix Saint Charles	Auxerre	Bourbonne-les-Bains	Essarois	Essey, Source of the Armançon	Etalente, Source of the Coquille	Fontaine Segrain	Fontaines Salées	Gissey-le-Vieil	Isômes	Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges	Massingy-lès-Vitteaux	Sainte-Sabine	Source of the Seine	Terrefondrée, Source of the Douix	TOTAL FOR EACH OBJECT TYPE
Map Number	1	2a	4	7	13	14	15	17	18	19	21	23	27	32	34	36	
COINS																	
Coins	1	1		1	1			1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	12
Tessere		1															1
Ingots																	0
PORTABLE SCULPTURE, PLAQUES, FIGURINES																	
Altars		1		1	1					1				1	1	1	7
Stele		1		1								1			1		4
Plaques, metal		1			1							1			1		4
Figurines, stone	1	1		1	1				1			1			1		7
Figurines, metal		1													1		2
Figurines, terracotta					1			1	1			1			1		5
Figurines, bone															1		1
Statue(tte)s, stone	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	15
Statue(tte)s, bronze		1		1		1						1			1		5
Statue(tte)s, wood				1	1			1	1						1		5
PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION																	
Hairpins		1		1					1			1			1		5
Ear Rings	1																1
Necklace pieces, pendants		1		1											1		3
Beads	1	1		1								1			1		5
Fibulae		1		1	1			1			1	1			1		7
Bracelets	1	1		1	1							1			1		6
Finger Rings	1	1		1								1			1		5
Buckles		1		1													2
PERSONAL CARE/HYGIENE																	
Boxes, pieces												1					1
Spatulae												1					1
Ear Cleaners																	0
Medical inst., unspecified		1															1
Strigiles																	0
Mirrors		1										1			1		3
Perfume Bottles		1		1								1			1		4
Toilet object, unspecified				1											1		2
GAMING																	
Die	1																1
Game Piece	1											1			1		3
Yo-yo															1		1
BUILDING MATERIALS																	
Hinges, doors		1										1			1		3
Locks															1		1
Keys		1			1							1			1		4
Crampons		1															1
Hooks		1										1			1		3
Nails	1	1		1					1			1			1		6
FURNITURE																	
Applique		1		1											1		3
Hinges/Handles	1	1										1			1		4

Table 7.2. Presence/absence table of objects by category and type found at local water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period, continues on next page.

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Map Number	1	2a	4	7	13	14	15	17	18	19	21	23	27	32	34	36	T
TOOLS, MISC. INSTRUMENTS																	
Flakes, flint				1													1
Axes, flint									1								1
Axes, polished stone, prehistoric		1		1					1								3
Axes, polished amber															1		1
Axes, iron or bronze																	0
Pick or pick-axe																	0
Punch or stamp																	0
Burin		1															1
Chisle		1															1
Knives, blades, handles		1										1			1		3
Whet stone																	0
Spoons		1			1						1	1			1		5
Harness Equipment	2	1										1					3
Harpoon, fish hooks		1															1
Grinding equipment																	0
Weights and chains		1		1								1					3
Scissors															1		1
Needles		1													1		2
Spindle Whorls									1			1					2
Molds, bronze objects		1										1					2
Tools, misc.		1			1										1		3
WEAPONS																	
Spearheads		1			1										1		3
Projectiles		1			1												2
WRITING																	
Inscriptions		1	1	1	1			2		1		1		1	1		9
Stylus		1			1							1			1		4
Tablets, stone		1		1											1		3
Tablets, bronze																	0
Tablets, lead		1															1
Tablets, wood							1										1
Calendar, bronze																	0
VESSELS																	
Amphora																	0
Patera, ceramic		1															1
Patera, silver			1														1
Bucket, unspecified		1															1
Tripod																	0
Vessels, ceramic	1	1			1		1	1	1		1	1			1		9
Vessels, glass					1		1					1			1		4
Vessels, metal				1					1						1		3
Vessels, wooden		1															1
MISCELLANEOUS																	
Bells		1										1			1		3
Rouelles				1								1					2
Rouelle mould		1															1
Lamps												1					1
Mallet, miniature												1					1
Fossils									1						1		2
Geodes/Pebbles																	0
Minerals															1		1
Stalagmites															1		1
MISCELLANEOUS METAL																	
Rivets																	0
Bars, bronze (not ingots)																	0
Discs, bronze (not mirrors)															1		1
Metal, unspecified	1	1				1						1			1		5
MISCELLANEOUS BONE, ANTLER, SHELL																	
Bone rings, circles		1													1		2
Antler, worked and corunettes		1							1						1		3
Astragalae																	0
Horns, aurochs				1													1
Tusks, wild boar					1				1								2
Bone, worked												1			1		2
Shell, worked									1								1
Animal bones					1		1					1			1		4
TYPES OF OBJECTS PER SITE	15	52	4	24	24	4	5	8	17	4	6	40	3	5	53	4	

Table 7.2. (continued) Presence/absence table of objects by category and type found at local water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period.

Objects Types (n=99) Present at Gallo-Roman Sanctuaries	Regional Water Sanctuaries (n=11)											
	Entrains	Fontaine de l'Étuvée	Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte	Lunéville	Luxeuil-les-Bains	Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre	Montbouy, the area Craon	Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade	Source of the Yonne	Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre	Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches	TOTAL FOR EACH OBJECT TYPE
Map Number	12	16	22	24	25	29	31	33	35	40	41	
COINS												
Coins	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Tessere												0
Ingots					1							1
PORTABLE SCULPTURE, PLAQUES, FIGURINES												
Altars					1					1		2
Stele					1							1
Plaques, metal												0
Figurines, stone												0
Figurines, metal								1				1
Figurines, terracotta	1				1		1					3
Figurines, bone												0
Statue(tte)s, stone	1				1			1		1		4
Statue(tte)s, bronze	1			1	1		1	1		1	1	7
Statue(tte)s, wood					1		1					2
PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION												
Hairpins										1		1
Ear Rings								1				1
Necklace pieces, pendants										1		1
Beads												0
Fibulae					1			1		1		3
Bracelets												0
Finger Rings					1	1				1		3
Buckles												0
PERSONAL CARE/HYGIENE												
Boxes, pieces												0
Spatulae												0
Ear Cleaners												0
Medical inst., unspecified												0
Strigiles												0
Mirrors												0
Perfume Bottles										1		1
Toilet object, unspecified												0
GAMING												
Die												0
Game Piece										1		1
Yo-yo												0
BUILDING MATERIALS												
Hinges, doors												0
Locks												0
Keys		1					1			1		3
Crampons												0
Hooks								1				1
Nails							1		1			2
FURNITURE												
Applique										1		1
Hinges/Handles												0

Table 7.3. Presence/absence table of objects by category and type found at regional water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period, continues on next page.

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Regional Water Sanctuaries continued											
Map Number	12	16	22	24	25	29	31	33	35	40	41	T
TOOLS, MISC. INSTRUMENTS												
Flakes, flint												0
Axes, flint		1										1
Axes, polished stone, prehistoric												0
Axes, polished amber											1	1
Axes, iron or bronze												0
Pick or pick-axe												0
Punch or stamp												0
Burin												0
Chisle												0
Knives, blades, handles											1	1
Whet stone												0
Spoons												0
Harness Equipment												0
Harpoon, fish hooks												0
Grinding equipment		1										1
Weights and chains								1			1	2
Scissors												0
Needles											1	1
Spindle Whorls												0
Molds, bronze objects												0
Tools, misc.												0
WEAPONS												
Spearheads												0
Projectiles												0
WRITING												
Inscriptions	1	1			1					1		4
Stylus								1				1
Tablets, stone	1	1										2
Tablets, bronze												0
Tablets, lead												0
Tablets, wood												0
Calendar, bronze										1	1	2
VESSELS												
Amphora									1			1
Patera, ceramic								1				1
Patera, silver												0
Bucket, unspecified												0
Tripod												0
Vessels, ceramic	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1		1	9
Vessels, glass											1	1
Vessels, metal						1					1	2
Vessels, wooden												0
MISCELLANEOUS												
Bells				1							1	2
Rouelles												0
Rouelle mould												0
Lamps								1				1
Mallet, miniature												0
Fossils												0
Geodes/Pebbles												0
Minerals												0
Stalagmites												0
MISCELLANEOUS METAL												
Rivets												0
Bars, bronze (not ingots)											1	1
Discs, bronze (not mirrors)												0
Metal, unspecified						1	1				1	3
MISCELLANEOUS BONE, ANTLER, SHELL												
Bone rings, circles											1	1
Antler, worked and corunettes												0
Astragalae											1	1
Horns, aurochs												0
Tusks, wild boar												0
Bone, worked												0
Shell, worked												0
Animal bones												0
TYPES OF OBJECTS PER SITE	8	7	3	4	13	6	9	13	5	7	24	

Table 7.3. (continued) Presence/absence table of objects by category and type found at regional water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period.

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Object Materials (n=25) Present at Gallo-Roman Sanctuaries

	Organic				Metal									Stone					Precious Stone				Other			
	Antler, horn	Bone, teeth	Shell	Wood	Brass	Bronze	Copper	Gold	Iron	Lead	Potin	Silver	Metal, unspecified	Flint	Limestone	Marble	Schist/Slate	Stone, unidentified	Amber	Crystal	Jasper	Quartz	Clay	Terracotta	Glass	TYPES OF MATERIALS PER SITE
Local Non-Water Sites																										
Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter		1				1			1						1	1		1					1		1	0
Alesia, Ucuetis monument				1		1			1																	8
Arcenant	1	1				1			1	1				1				1		1		1	1		1	3
Avallon						1						1	1		1	1		1					1		1	11
Beire-le-Châtel						1			1									1					1	1	1	8
Champigny-les-Langres						1									1			1								6
Colonne de Cussy						1						1			1			1					1	1		3
Corcelles les Monts						1		1	1		1	1				1		1								6
Crain		1	1		1	1			1					1	1								1			7
Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus						1		1							1	1		1								8
Mâlain, La Boussiere		1				1	1		1						1			1					1		1	5
Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis															1			1								8
Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds		1				1			1						1											2
Mirebeau-sur-Bèze		1				1	1		1		1					1							1	1	1	4
Montot		1				1			1			1											1	1	1	9
Tremblois		1				1			1					1	1			1					1	1	1	7
Val Suzon		1				1			1														1			9
Vertault, intra-muros fanum																										4
Vertault, extra-muros fanum		1				1								1	1								1	1		0
TOTAL FOR EACH MATERIAL, NON-WATER SITES	1	10	1	1	1	17	2	2	12	1	2	3	2	4	11	5	0	11	0	1	0	1	12	6	8	
Local Water Sites																										
Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix		1				1			1		1	1			1			1					1		1	9
Alésia, Croix Saint Charles	1	1				1			1	1	1		1		1	1		1					1		1	12
Auxerre												1						1								2
Bourbonne-les-Bains	1			1	1	1		1				1		1		1		1								9
Essarois		1		1		1	1		1									1					1	1	1	9
Essey, Source of the Armançon						1									1	1		1								4
Etalente, Source of the Coquille		1													1	1		1							1	5
Fontaine Segrain				1				1															1	1		4
Fontaines Salées	1	1	1	1		1			1			1		1				1					1	1		11
Gissey-le-Vieil																		1								1
Isômes		1				1					1				1								1			5
Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges		1				1	1		1	1		1			1	1		1					1	1	1	12
Massingy-lès-Vitteaux						1												1								2
Sainte-Sabine						1												1								2
Source of the Seine	1	1		1		1		1	1		1	1			1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	17
Terrefondrée, Source of the Douix													1					1								2
TOTAL FOR EACH MATERIAL, LOCAL WATER SITES	4	8	1	5	1	11	2	3	6	2	4	6	2	2	7	6	1	13	1	1	1	0	8	5	6	
Regional Water Sites																										
Entrains						1									1	1		1					1	1		6
Fontaine de l'Étuvée						1								1				1					1			4
Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte						1																	1			2
Lunéville						1	1			1																3
Luxeuil-les-Bains				1		1			1			1			1								1	1		7
Montbouy, the area Craon				1		1	1		1														1	1		6
Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre									1				1													2
Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade						1	1	1				1						1					1	1	1	8
Source of the Yonne						1			1			1											1			4
Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches		1				1			1	1		1			1								1	1	1	9
Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre						1										1		1								3
TOTAL FOR EACH MATERIAL, REGIONAL WATER SITES	0	1	0	2	0	10	3	1	5	2	0	4	1	1	3	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	8	5	2	
TOTAL FOR EACH MATERIAL, ALL LOCAL SITES	0	2	0	2	0	11	4	1	6	3	0	5	1	1	4	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	9	6	3	
TOTAL FOR EACH MATERIAL, ALL WATER SITES	4	9	1	7	1	21	5	4	11	4	4	10	3	3	10	8	1	17	1	1	1	0	16	10	8	

Table 7.4. Presence/absence table of materials found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period.

Deities, Identified by Inscriptions or Attributes (n=61) Present at Local Gallo-Roman Sanctuaries

Named

Map Number	Local Non-Water Sites	Indigenous Gods						Apollo					Jupiter			Mars				Other Roman, Eastern, Mystery Gods											
		Borvo	Cernunnos	Luxovius	Sucellus	Taranis	Ucuetis	Apollo	Belenus	Grannus	Moritagus	Vindonnus	Jupiter	Ammon	Anguiped	Mars	Augustus	Cicolluis	Segomo	Aesculapius	Bacchus	Hercules	Horus	Lares	Mercury	Mithras	Osirus	Satyr/Faun	Serapis	Silvanus	Vulcan
2b	Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter												**1**		2									1		2					
2c	Alesia, Ucuetis monument						**1**																								
3	Arcenant																														
5	Avallon							1								1									1						
6	Beire-le-Châtel							1								2									1					2	
8	Champigny-les-Langres																												1	1	
9	Colonne de Cussy							1							**1**										1						
10	Corcelles les Monts				1								1												1						1
11	Crain																														
20	Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus									1						1				1	1				1			1			
26a	Mâlain, La Boussiere															2															
26b	Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis																	**1**													
26c	Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds				1											1															
28	Mirebeau-sur-Bèze		1		1																				1						
30	Montot																														
37	Tremblois																														
38	Val Suzon																														
39a	Vertault, intra-muros fanum																														
39b	Vertault, extra-muros fanum																														
	TOTAL FOR EACH DEITY AT LOCAL NON-WATER SITES	0	1	0	3	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	5	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	5	1	0	2	1	1	1
	Total Types of Deities at Local Non-Water Sites		1		1		1	1		1			1		1	1		1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	1

*Numbers in **bold** indicate who is/are believed to be the primary deity/deities of a particular site as interpreted by the author(s) who published the analysis of the particular site.

Table 7.5. Presence/absence table of deities present at local non-water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period, continues on next page.

Deities, Identified by Inscriptions or Attributes (n=61) Present at Local Gallo-Roman Non-Water Sanctuaries continued																																	
	Indigenous Goddesses														Roman, Mystery Goddesses									Unnamed, Attributes Gods			Goddesses		Unidentified				
Map Number	Acionna	Bellona	Brixta	Candidus	Damona	Deesses-Meres	Epona	Icauna	Januaria	Litavis	Nantosuelta	Rosmerta	Sequana	Sirona	Ceres	Cybele	Diana	Hygia	Juno	Meditrina	Minerva	Nymph	Venus	Bird-god	Dog-god	Mallet-god/keg-god	Fecundity-goddess	Rabbit-goddess	Male deity	Male and Female pair	Female deity	None	Total deities present per site
2b																2	1				1						1		1				9
2c																																	1
3																																1	0
5																					1								1				5
6						1			**1**												1		1	2		2	1		1				12
8															1				1														4
9																	1		1		1	1						1				8
10															1		1				1												7
11																					2												1
20						1											1			1	1												10
26a																																1	1
26b		1								**1**																							3
26c						1																			1								4
28																					1												4
30																																1	0
37						1																	1				1						3
38																																1	0
39a																																1	0
39b																																1	0
	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	3	1	8	1	2	1	1	1	3	0	4	0	0	6	72
		1				1			1	1					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1			37	

*Numbers in **bold** indicate who is/are believed to be the primary deity/deities of a particular site as interpreted by the author(s) who published the analysis of the particular site.

Table 7.5. (continued) Presence/absence table of deities present at local non-water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period.

Deities, Identified by Inscriptions or Attributes (n=61) Present at Local Gallo-Roman Water Sanctuaries

Deity groups — *Named*: Indigenous Gods (Borvo, Cernunnos, Luxovius, Sucellus, Taranis, Ucuetis); Apollo (Apollo, Belenus, Grannus, Moritagus, Vindonnus); Jupiter (Jupiter, Ammon, Anguiped); Mars (Mars, Augustus, Cicolluis, Segomo); Other Roman, Eastern, Mystery Gods (Aesculapius, Bacchus, Hercules, Horus, Lares, Mercury, Mithras, Osirus, Satyr/Faun, Serapis, Silvanus, Vulcan)

Map Number	Local Water Sites	Borvo	Cernunnos	Luxovius	Sucellus	Taranis	Ucuetis	Apollo	Belenus	Grannus	Moritagus	Vindonnus	Jupiter	Ammon	Anguiped	Mars	Augustus	Cicolluis	Segomo	Aesculapius	Bacchus	Hercules	Horus	Lares	Mercury	Mithras	Osirus	Satyr/Faun	Serapis	Silvanus	Vulcan
1	Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix																														
2a	Alesia, Croix Saint Charles							1			1		2												1			2			
4	Auxerre							1							1																
7	Bourbonne-les-Bains	**1**			2																2	1									
13	Essarois											1																			
14	Essey, Source of the Armancon																														
15	Etalente, Source of the Coquille																													2	
17	Fontaine Segrain																														
18	Fontaines Salées				2																										
19	Gissey-le-Vieil																														
21	Isômes																														
23	Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges		1		1			1											1						1			1	1		
27	Massingy-les-Vitteaux																													2	
32	Sainte-Sabine							**1**	1																						
34	Source of the Seine							1		1															1					1	
36	Terrefondree, Source of the Douix																														
	TOTAL FOR EACH DEITY AT LOCAL WATER SITES	1	1	0	2	1	0	5	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	1	0
	Total Types of Deities at Local Water Sites	1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1				1		1	1			1	1		1	1	1	1

*Numbers in **bold** indicate who is/are believed to be the primary deity/deities of a particular site as interpreted by the author(s) who published the analysis of the particular site.

Table 7.6. Presence/absence table of deities present at local water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period, continues on next page.

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Deities, Identified by Inscriptions or Attributes (n=61) Present at Local Gallo-Roman Water Sanctuaries continued

Column groups: *Indigenous Goddesses* (Acionna – Sirona); *Roman, Mystery Goddesses* (Ceres – Venus); *Unnamed, Attributes – Gods* (Bird-god, Dog-god, Mallet-god/keg-god); *Unnamed, Attributes – Goddesses* (Fecundity-goddess, Rabbit-goddess); *Unidentified* (Male deity, Male and Female pair, Female deity, None).

Map Number	Acionna	Bellona	Brixta	Candidus	Damona	Deesses-Meres	Epona	Icauna	Januaria	Litavis	Nantosuelta	Rosmerta	Sequana	Sirona	Ceres	Cybele	Diana	Hygia	Juno	Meditrina	Minerva	Nymph	Venus	Bird-god	Dog-god	Mallet-god/keg-god	Fecundity-goddess	Rabbit-goddess	Male deity	Male and Female pair	Female deity	None	Total deities present per site
1																							2										1
2a					1									2							1			1			1			1			11
4								1																									3
7					1																										1		6
13																					1								2				3
14						1															1												2
15																																	1
17																																1	0
18						1																1											3
19											**1**																						1
21							2																										1
23						1	1					2			1		1				1		1				1		1	1			18
27						2																											2
32																																	2
34						1								**1**					2		1		1						1				10
36																																1	0
	0	0	0	0	2	5	2	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	1	4	1	0	2	2	0	3	1	1	2	64
					1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1		1		1		1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1	1	39	

*Numbers in **bold** indicate who is/are believed to be the primary deity/deities of a particular site as interpreted by the author(s) who published the analysis of the particular site.

Table 7.6. (continued) Presence/absence table of deities present at local water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period.

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Deities, Identified by Inscriptions or Attributes (n=61) Present at Regional Gallo-Roman Water Sanctuaries

Map Number	Regional Water Sites	Borvo	Cernunnos	Luxovius	Sucellus	Taranis	Ucuetis	Apollo	Belenus	Grannus	Moritasgus	Vindonnus	Jupiter	Ammon	Anguiped	Mars	Augustus	Cicolluis	Segomo	Aesculapius	Bacchus	Hercules	Horus	Lares	Mercury	Mithras	Osirus	Satyr/Faun	Serapis	Silvanus	Vulcan
		Indigenous Gods						*Apollo*					*Jupiter*			*Mars*				*Other Roman, Eastern, Mystery Gods*											
12	Entrains	**1**			2			1					1		1	2				2	2	1			1	1					
16	Fontaine de l'Étuvée																														
22	Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte																														
24	Lunéville																														
25	Luxeuil-les-Bains			**1**				1						1		2									1						
29	Montbouy, the area Craon																														
31	Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre																														
33	Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade																								1						
35	Source of the Yonne																														
40	Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches																														
41	Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre		2											2		**1**	1								2					2	
	TOTAL EACH DEITY AT REGIONAL WATER SITES	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	1	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
	Total Types of Deities at Regional Water Sites	1	1	1	1			1					1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1				

*Numbers in **bold** indicate who is/are believed to be the primary deity/deities of a particular site as interpretated by the author(s) who published the analysis of the particular site.

Table 7.7. Presence/absence table of deities present at regional water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period, continues on next page.

	Deities, Identified by Inscriptions or Attributes (n=61) Present at Regional Gallo-Roman Water Sanctuaries continued																																
	Indigenous Goddesses														Roman, Mystery Goddesses									Unnamed, Attributes					Unidentified				
																								Gods			Goddesses						
Map Number	Acionna	Bellona	Brixta	Candidus	Damona	Deesses-Meres	Epona	Icauna	Januaria	Litavis	Nantosuelta	Rosmerta	Sequana	Sirona	Ceres	Cybele	Diana	Hygia	Juno	Meditrina	Minerva	Nymph	Venus	Bird-god	Dog-god	Mallet-god/keg-god	Fecundity-goddess	Rabbit-goddess	Male deity	Male and Female pair	Female deity	None	Total deities present per site
12				**1**	2	1	1					2				1	2				1		1		2		2	2	1	1	1		26
16	**1**																																1
22																																1	0
24																	2																1
25			**1**				1							1															2				9
29						1																	1										2
31																																1	0
33																	2					2											3
35																																1	0
40																																1	0
41		1				1											1				1												10
	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	4	52
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1					1		1		1	1				1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	1	36	

*Numbers in **bold** indicate who is/are believed to be the primary deity/deities of a particular site as interpretated by the author(s) who published the analysis of the particular site.

Table 7.7. (continued) Presence/absence table of deities present at regional water sanctuaries in the Gallo-Roman period.

CHAPTER 7 – FIGURES
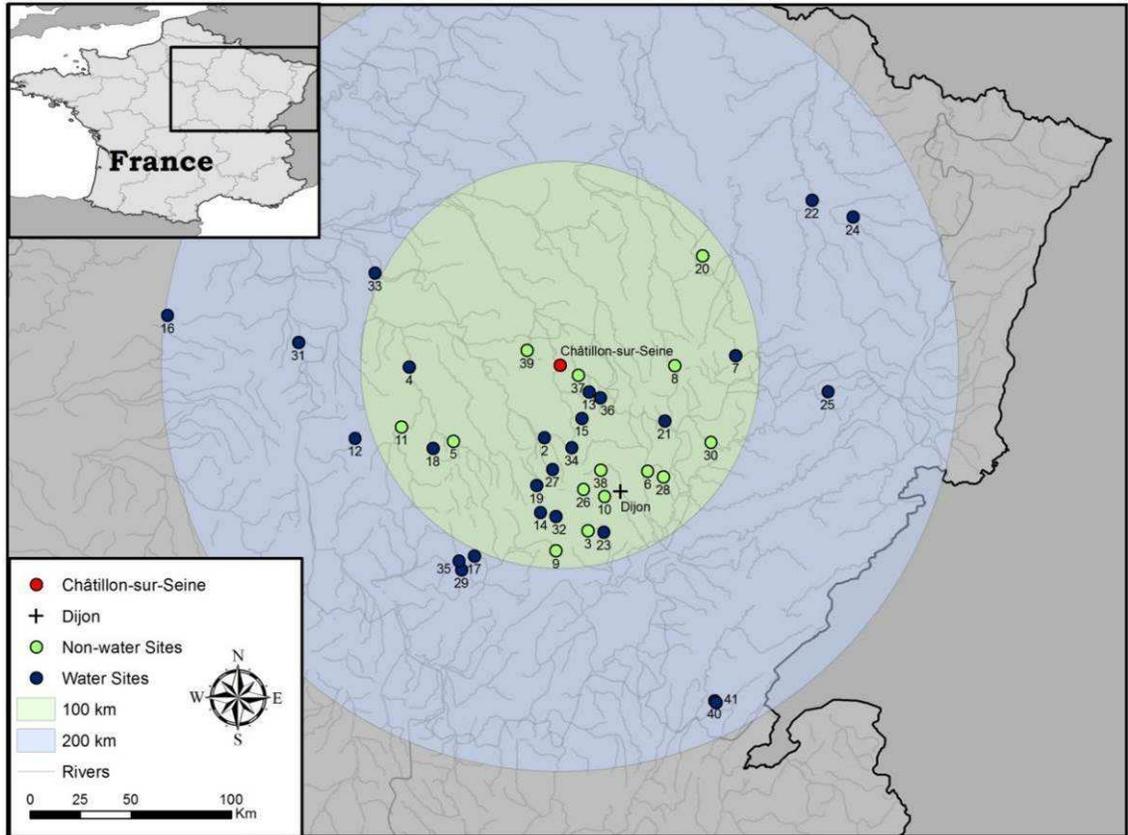
Figure 7.1. Local Non-Water, Local Water, and Regional Water sites discussed in Chapters 7 and 8: 1. Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix; 2a. Alesia, Croix Saint Charles; 2b. Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter; 2c. Alesia, Ucuetis monument; 3. Arcenant; 4. Auxerre; 5. Avallon; 6. Beire-le-Châtel; 7. Bourbonne-les-Bains; 8. Champigny-les-Langres; 9. Colonne de Cussy; 10. Corcelles les Monts; 11. Crain; 12. Entrains; 13. Essarois; 14. Essey, Source of the Armançon; 15. Étalent, Source of the Coquille; 16. Fontaine de l'Étuvée; 17. Fontaine Segrain; 18. Fontaines Salées; 19. Gissey-le-Vieil; 20. Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus; 21. Isômes; 22. Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte; 23. Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges; 24. Lunéville; 25. Luxeuil-les-Bains; 26a. Mâlain, La Boussière; 26b. Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis; 26c. Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds; 27. Massingy-les-Vitteaux; 28. Mirebeau-sur-Bèze; 29. Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre; 30. Montot; 31. Montbouy, the area Craon; 32. Sainte-Sabine; 33. Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade; 34. Source of the Seine; 35. Source of the Yonne, Glux-en-Glenne; 36. Terrefondree, Source of the Douix; 37. Tremblois; 38. Val Suzon; 39a. Vertault, intra-muros fanum; 39b. Vertault, extra-muros fanum; 40. Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre; 41. Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches (© R. Coil).

Figure 7.2. The monument to Ucuetis at Alesia.
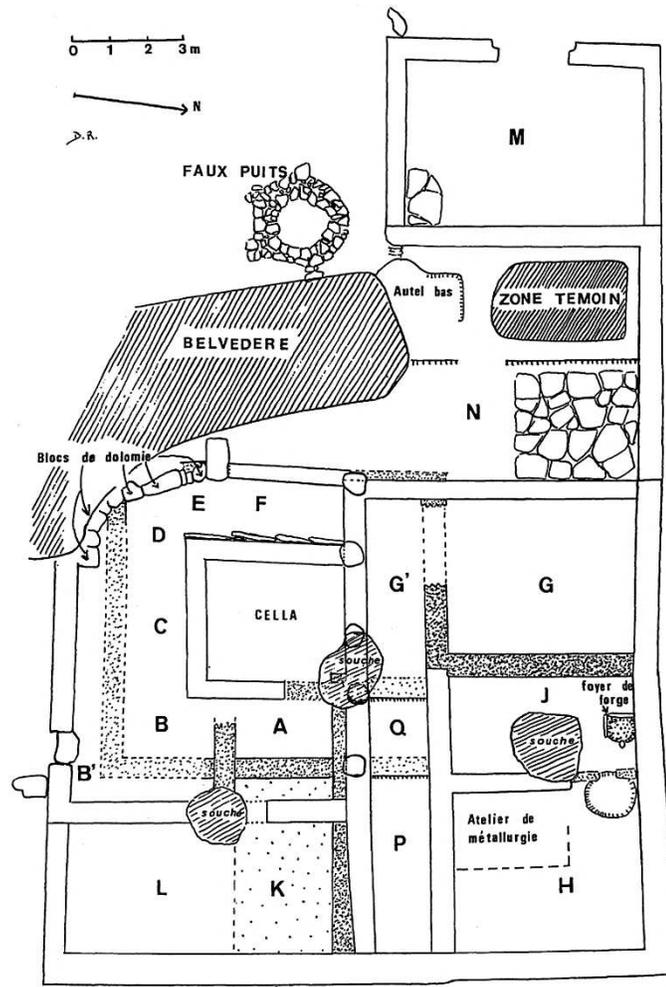
Figure 7.3. The sanctuary at Arcenant (Ratel and Ratel 1996 : plate 6).

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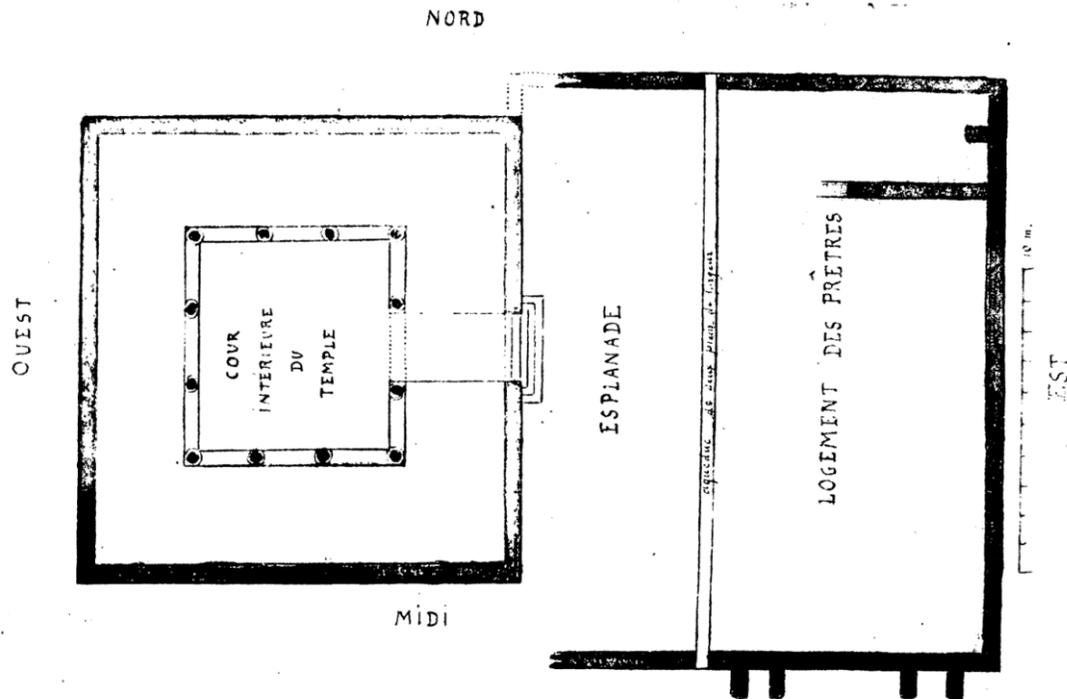
Figure 7.4. The temple at Montmatre Avallon (Petit 1904 : plate 1).
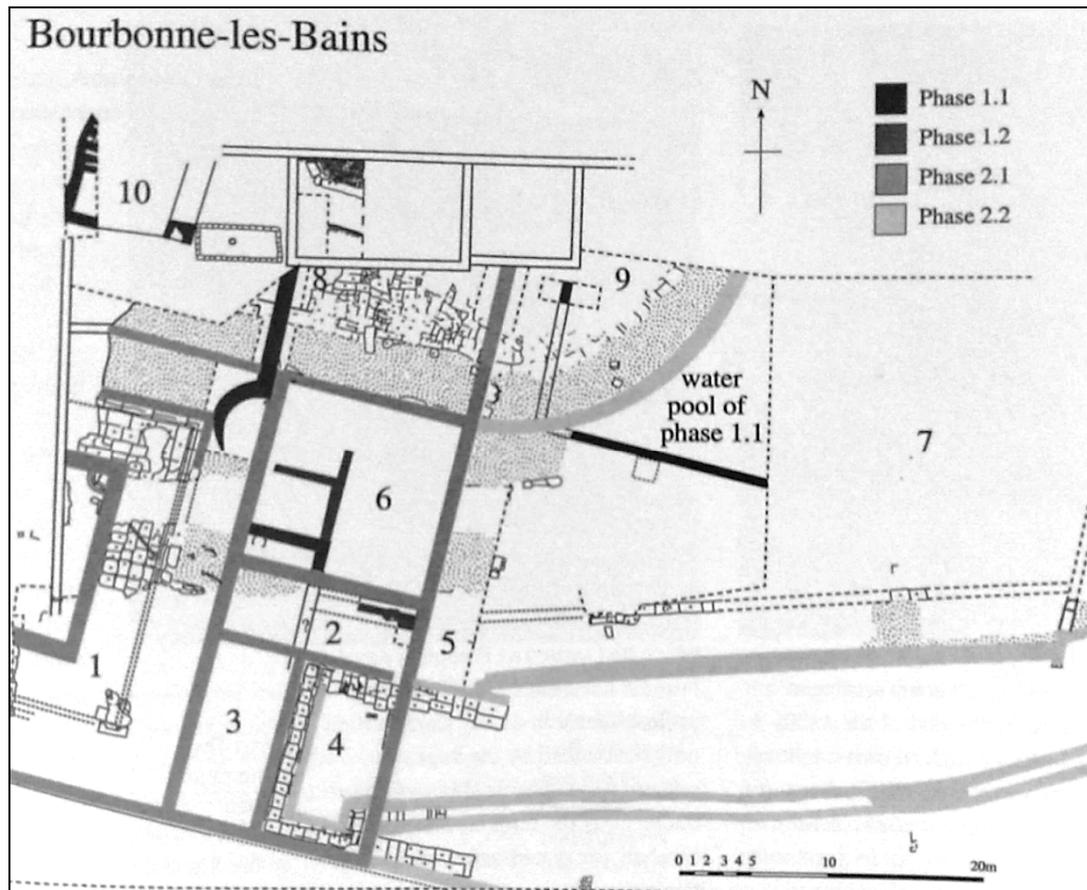
Figure 7.5. Plan of the baths and pools at Bourbonne-les-Bains (Sauer 2005b : plate 27).

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CHAMPIGNY-LES-LANGRES

Figure 7.6. Two *fana* at Champigny-les-Langres (Fauduet 1993: 83, no. 519).
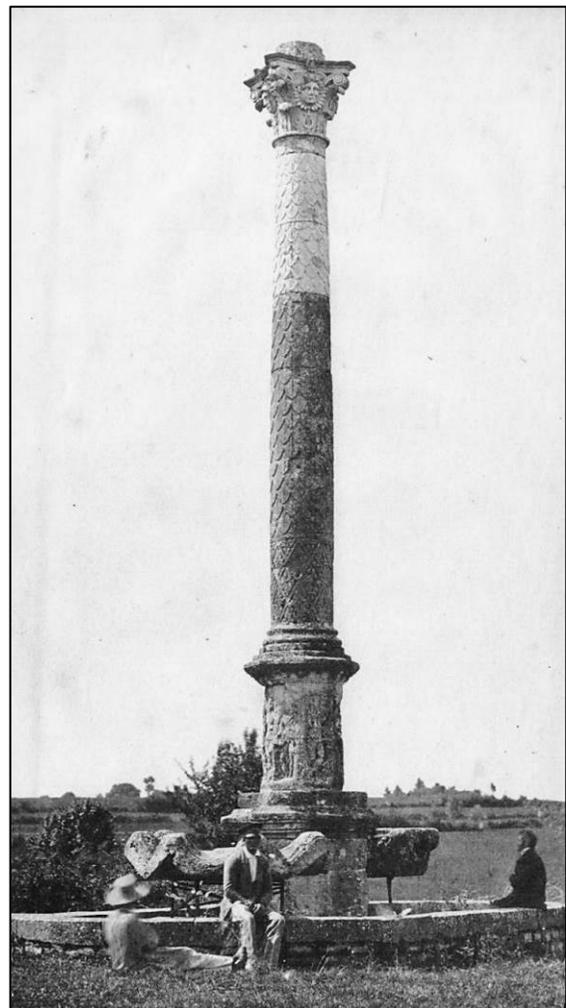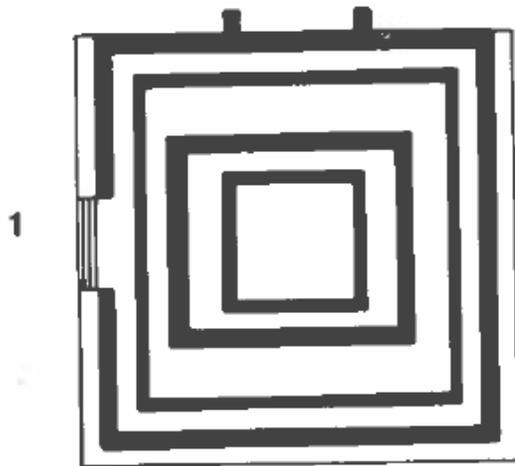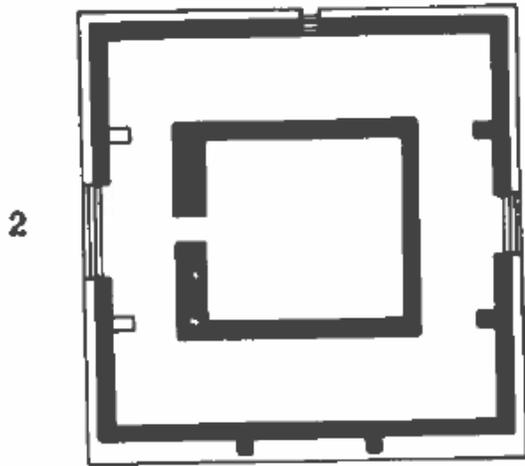
Figure 7.7. The Colonne de Cussy (Guillemot 1853).
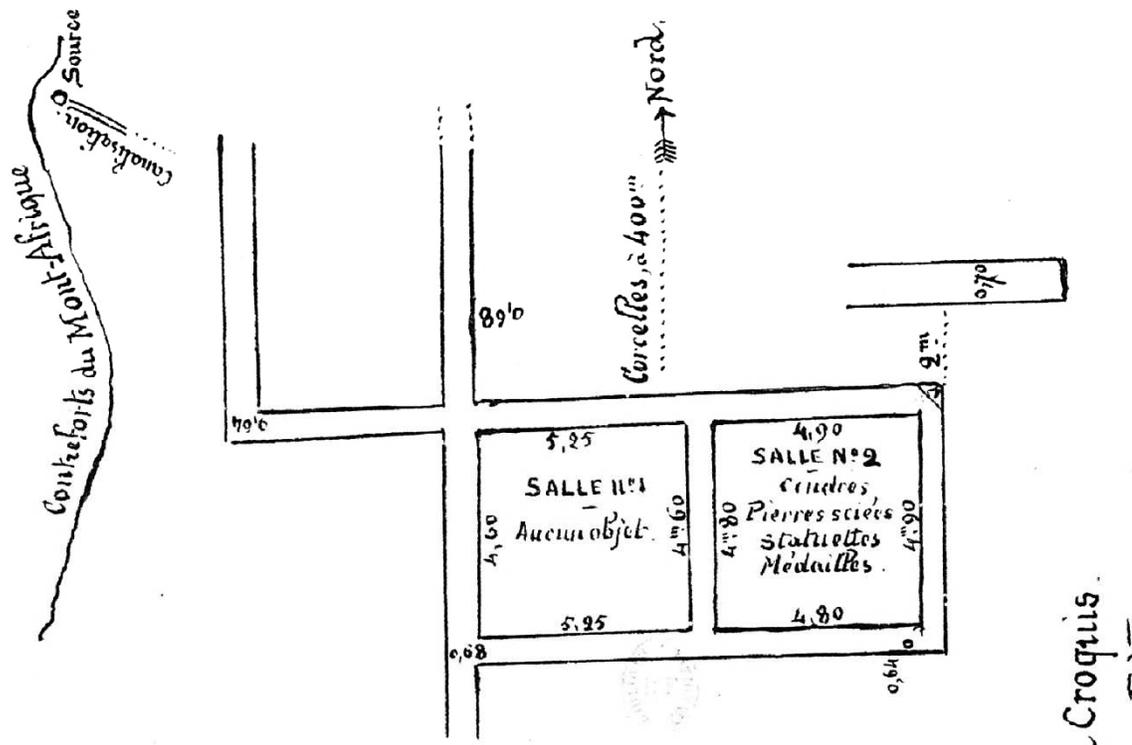
Figure 7.8. Sketch of the *fana* at Corcelles les Monts (Blanchet 1920: 26).
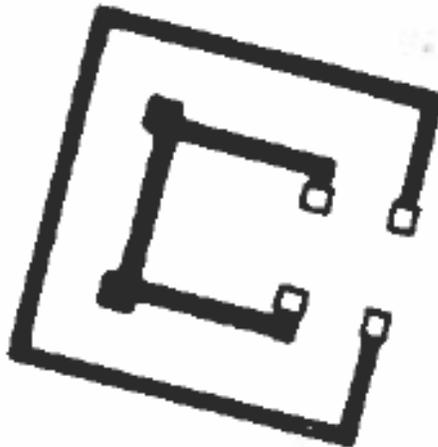
Figure 7.9. The *fanum* of Crain (Fauduet 1993 : 80, no. 481).
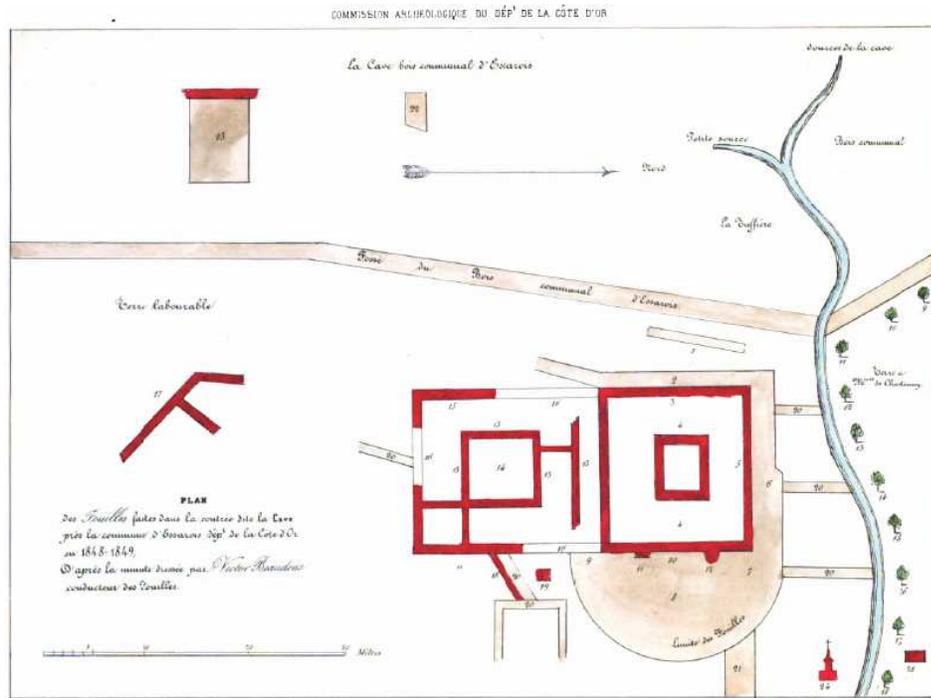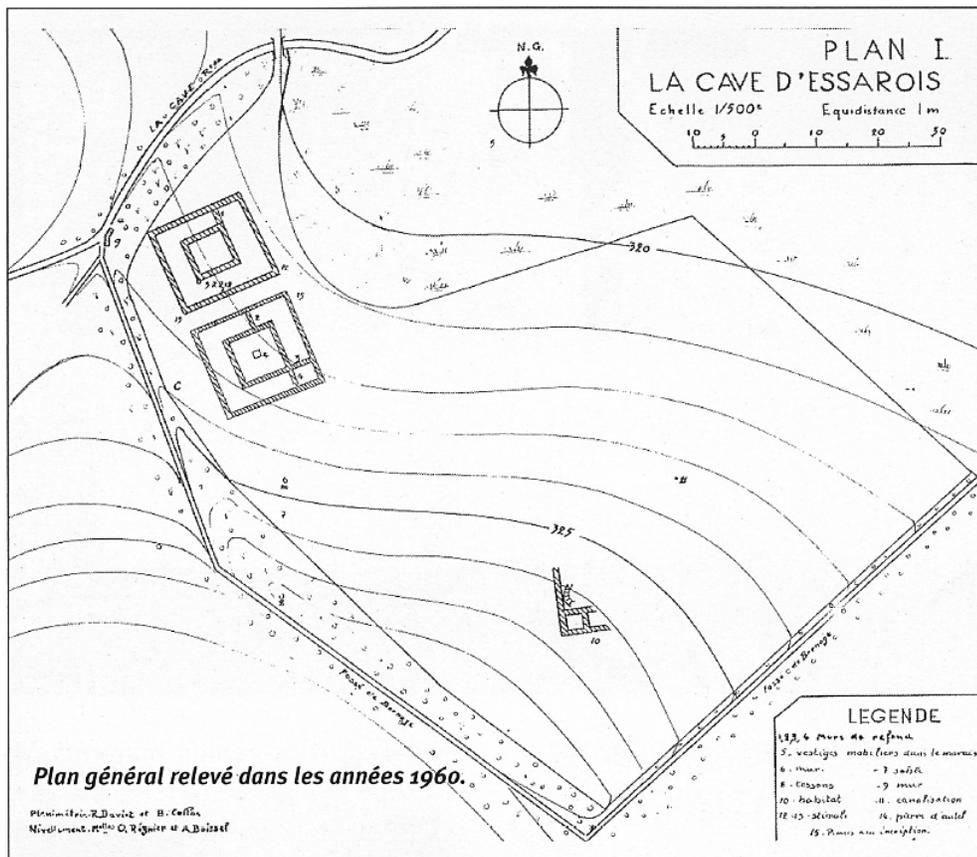
Figure 7.10. (above) First plan of Essarois (Mignard 1851); (below) later plan of site with outer wall (Deyts 2003: 99).

Figure 7.11. Excavated areas at Fontaine de l'Étuvée indicated by "A" and "B" (Jollois 1824: plate 1).

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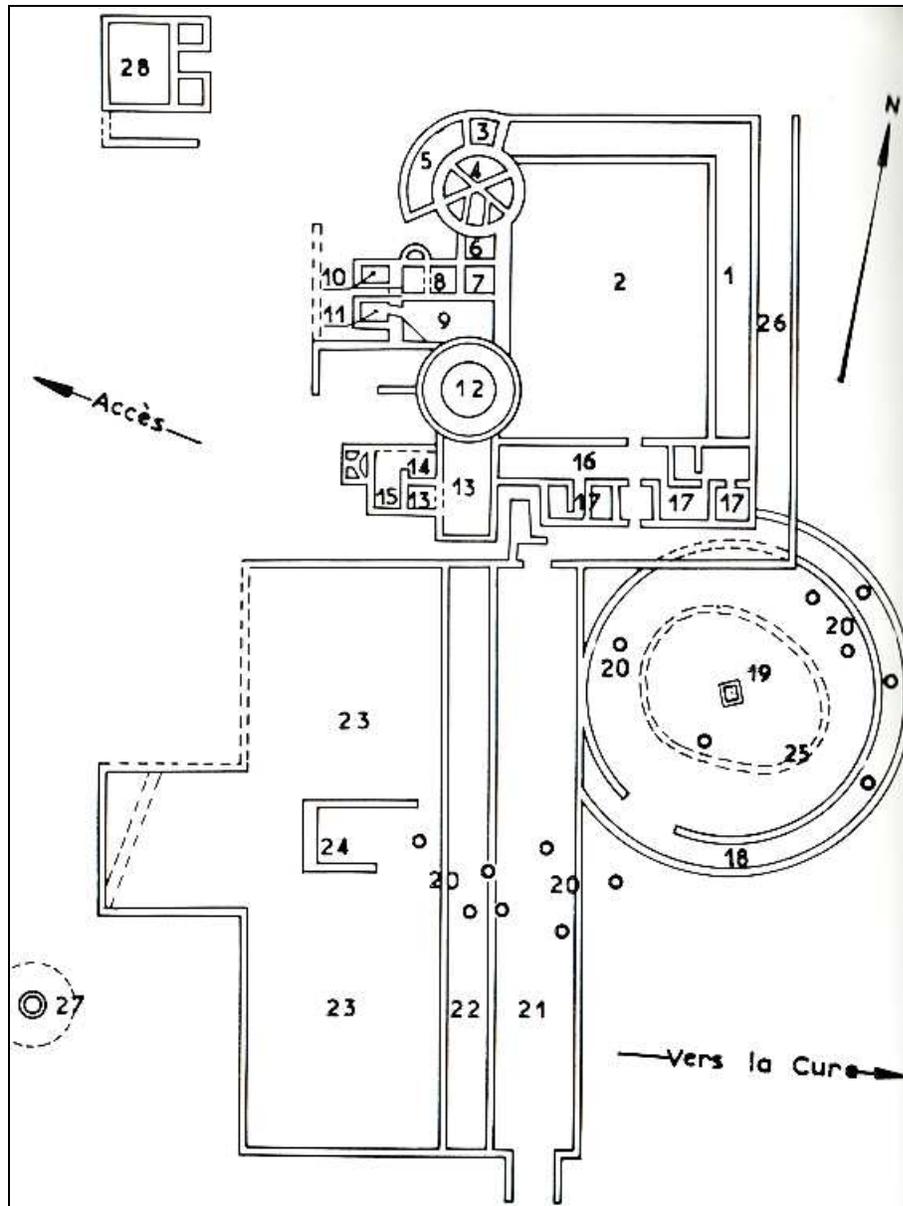
Figure 7.12. Site of Fontaines Salées: 19. Sacred Basin surrounded by ambulatory; 20. Additional sacred wells (Vougade 1972).

Figure 7.13. Statue of reclining goddess which rested over the fountain at Gissey-le-Vieil (Morelot 1844).

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Figure 7.14. The temple of Apollo Grannus and the Basilica at the site of Grand (Billoret 1967).
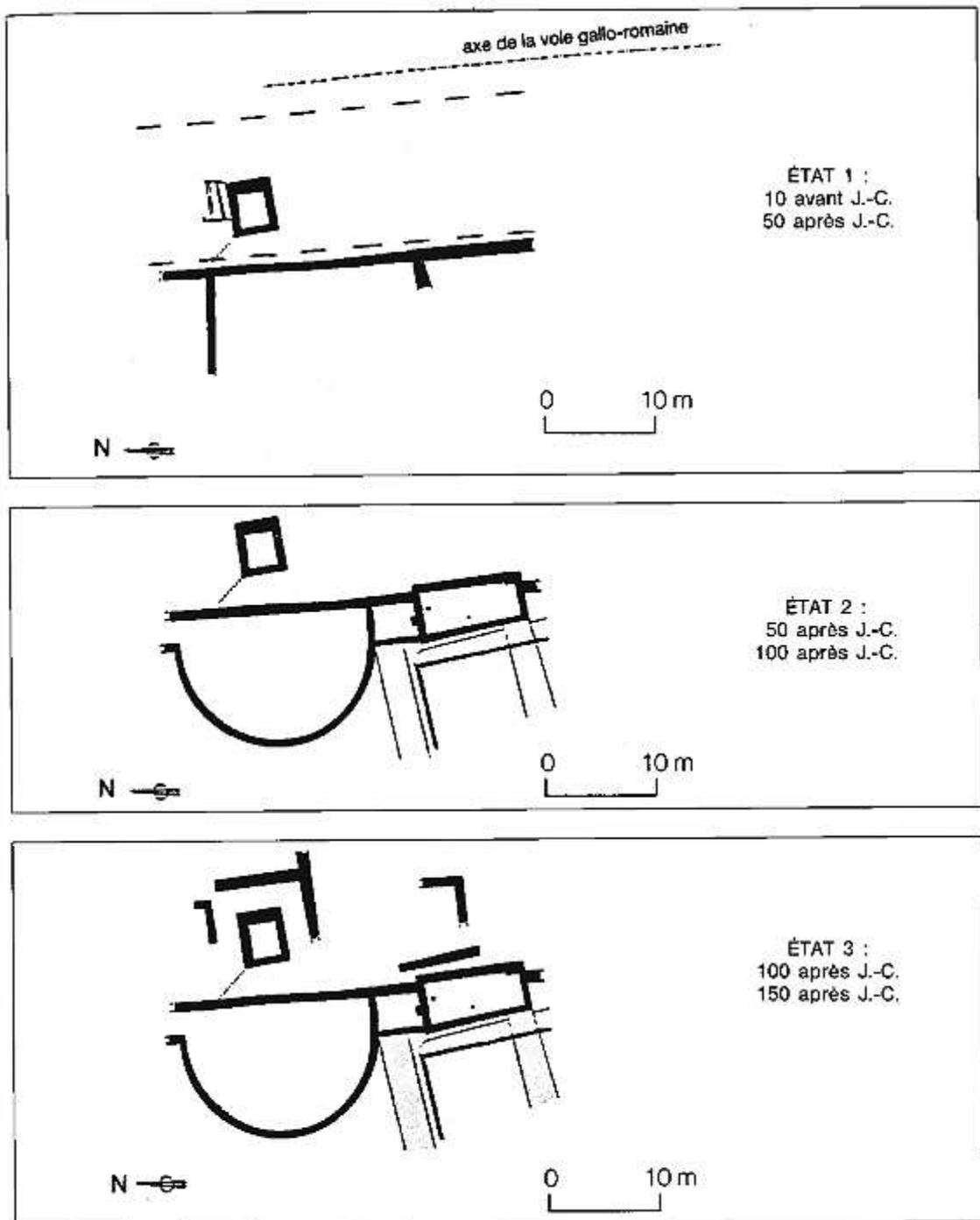
Figure 7.15. Phases of the sanctuary at Isômes (Thevenard 1995: 61, Figure 31).

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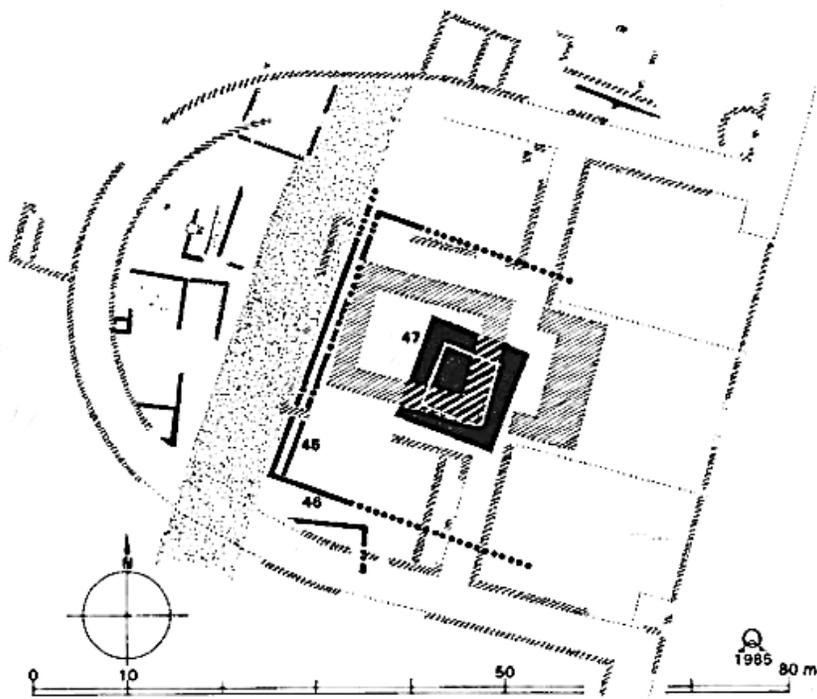
Fig. 19. *Plan des vestiges antérieurs au grand sanctuaire : les temples de tradition celtique et la zone indigène.* **45.** *Premier péribole ;* **46.** *Péribole du second fanum ;* **47.** *Second fanum (temple).* [*A. Olivier, relevés J. Gauthey, C.N.R.S., Bureau d'Architecture antique de Dijon.*]
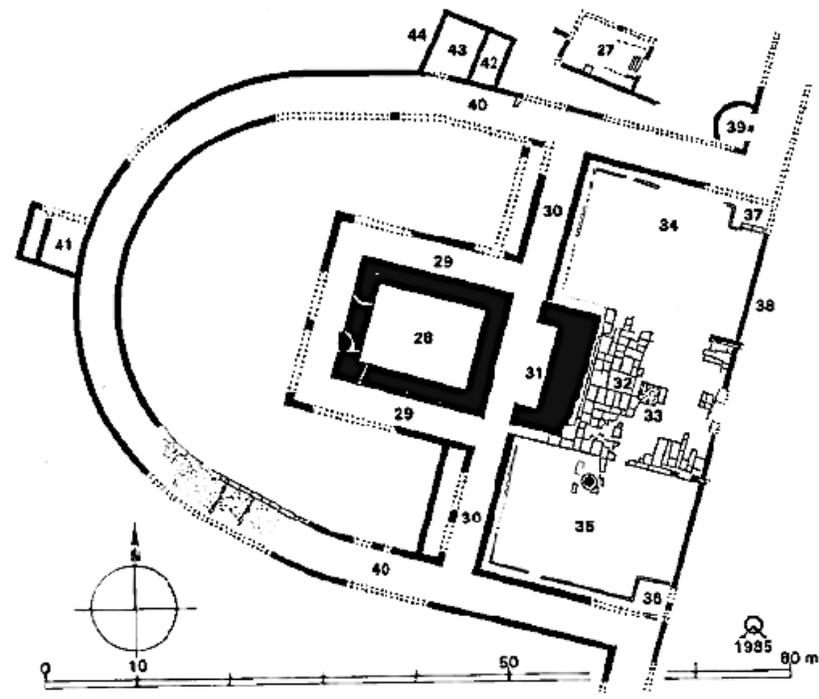
Fig. 18. *Le grand sanctuaire : plan général.* **28.** *Cella ;* **29-30.** *Galerie couverte ;* **31.** *Podium ;* **32.** *Cour dallée ;* **33.** *Fondations du grand autel ;* **34.** *Cour nord ;* **35.** *Cour sud ;* **36.** *Entrée monumentale du sud-est ;* **37.** *Entrée monumentale du nord-est ;* **38.** *Mur rectiligne ;* **39.** *Exèdre ;* **40.** *Péribole ;* **41.** *Salle carrée ;* **42, 43 et 44.** *Trois salles.* (*A. Olivier, C.N.R.S., Bureau d'Architecture antique de Dijon.*)

Figure 7.16. Early and later phases of the sanctuary at Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges (Planson and Pommeret 1986: 29, Figure 18).

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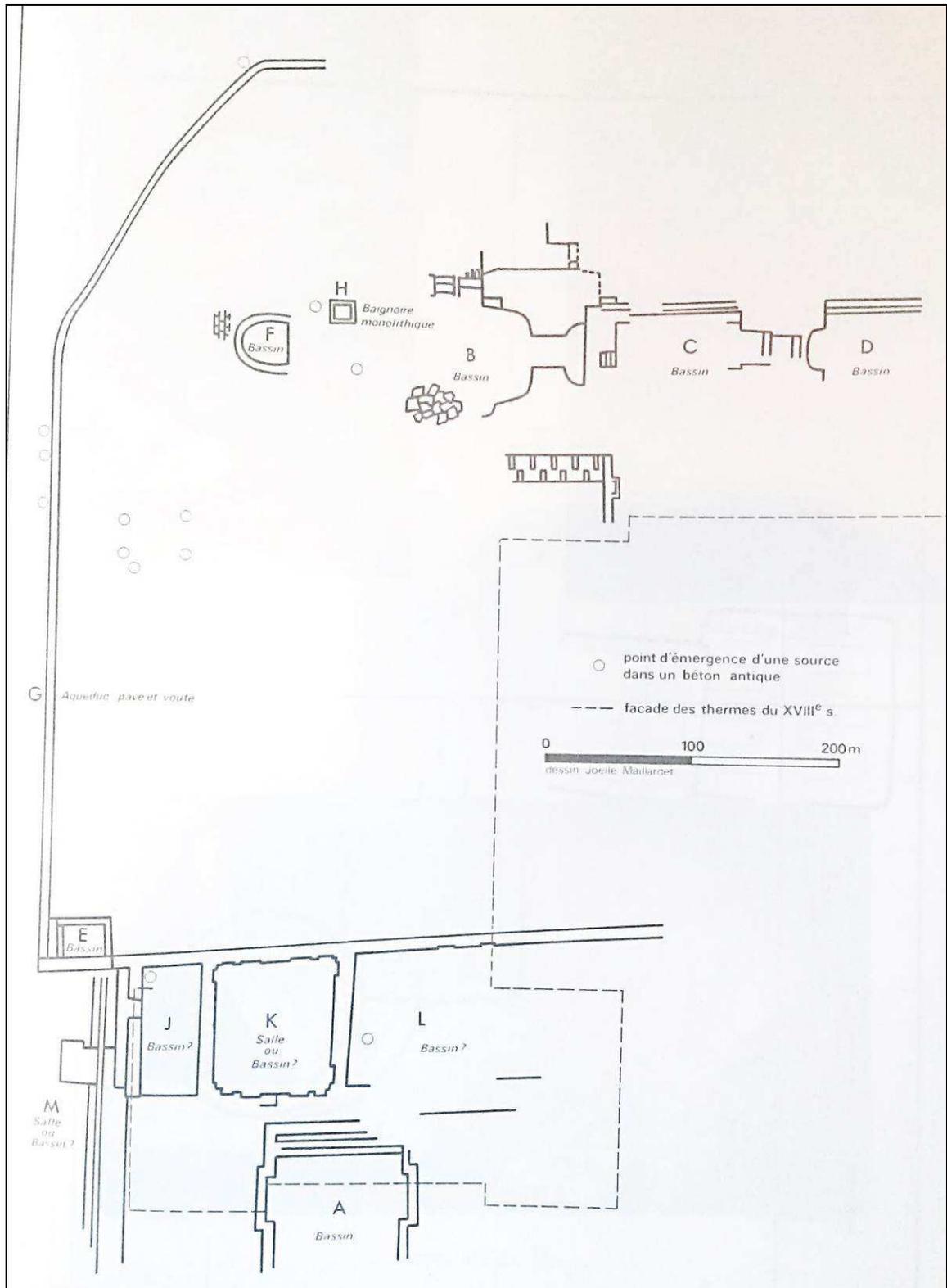
Figure 7.17. The baths and basins at Luxeuil-les-Bains (Kahn 1986: 81, Figure 22).
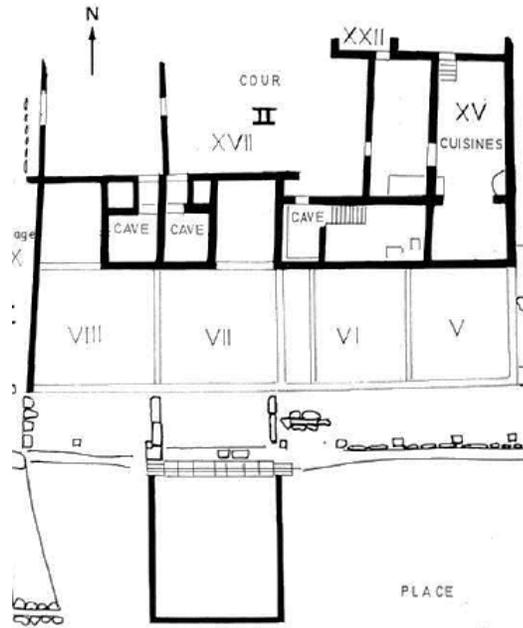
Figure 7.18. The probable temple and monumental porch (Salle VII) at Mâlain, La Boussière (Roussel 1979: 207, Figure 7).
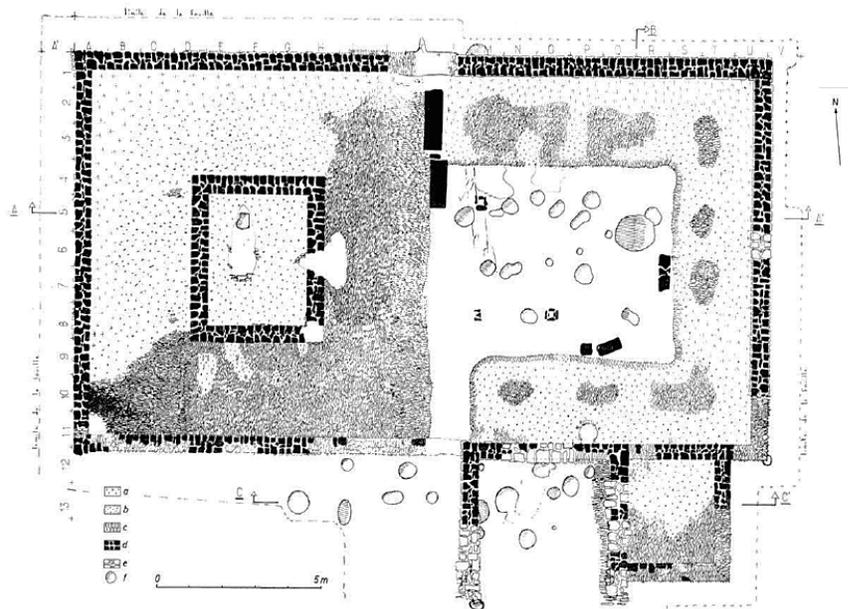
26 *Fanum* d'Ancey.

PLAN : a, béton
     b, gravillon
     c, hérisson
     d, mur en élévation
     e, soubassement de mur
     f, « trou de poteau »

COUPES : 1, terre arable
     2, remblai, effondrement
     3, hérisson du sol intérieur
     4, mur
     5, terre noir d'habitat
     6, couche archéologique de terre brunâtre
     7, terre vierge et roche pourrie (niveau celtique)
     8, roche naturelle (calcaire marneux).

Figure 7.19. Duel *cellae* of Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds (Roussel 1979: 226, Figure 26).
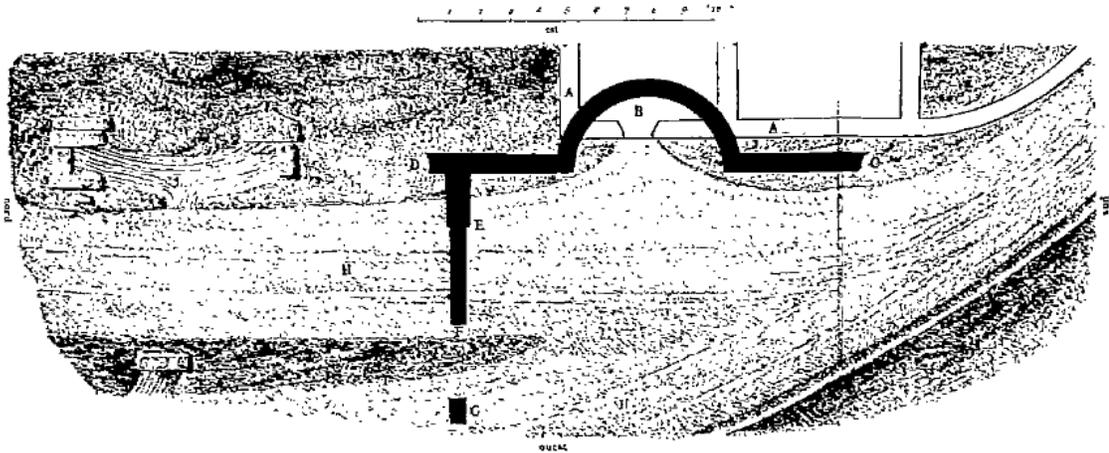
Figure 7.20. The uncovered portion of the temple at Massingy-les-Vitteaux (Bruzard 1866: plate l2).

ÉTAPE 4 : vers 20/15 av. -40 ap. J.-C.
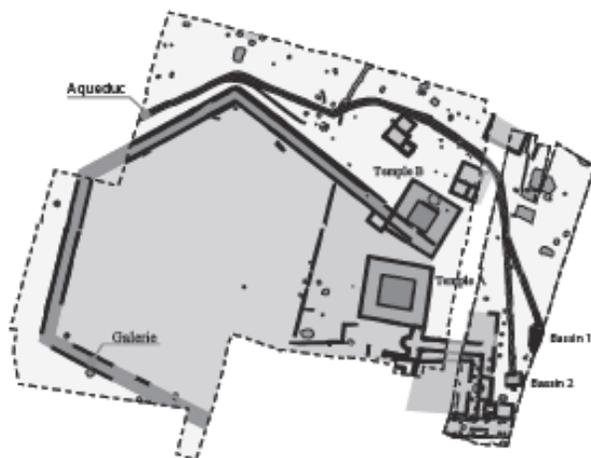
ÉTAPE 5-6 : vers 40 - 150 ap. J.-C.

Figure 7.21. Phases 4-6 of the sanctuary at Mirebeau-sur-Bèze (Barral and Joly 2011: 548, Figure 4).

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Figure 7.22. Fontaine Saint-Pierre at Mont Beuvray.

Figure 7.23. Photo of the *fanum* excavated at Montot (Gaillard de Semainville 1982: 385, Figure 13).
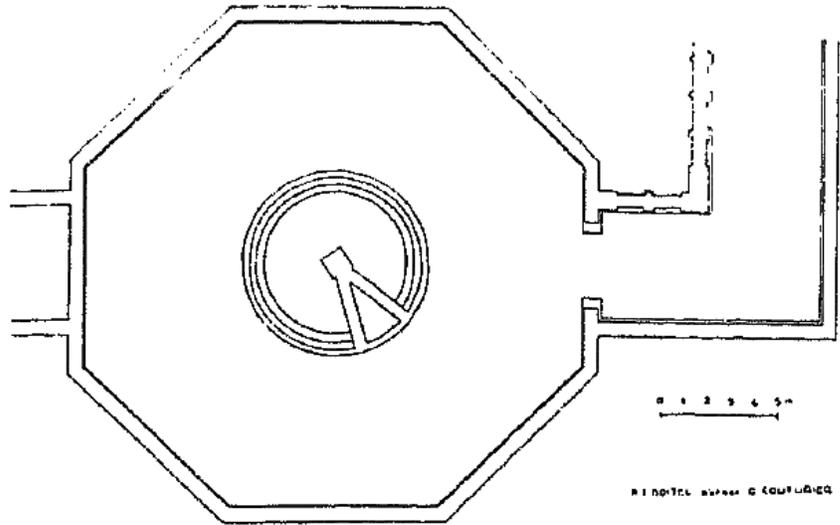
Montbouy. Le temple de source de Craon: piscine circulaire, enceinte octogonale et début d'un portique à colonnes engagées.

Figure 7.24. Temple at Montbouy, the area Craon with a circular pool in the center (Debal 1985: 133).

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GLUX-EN-GLENNE
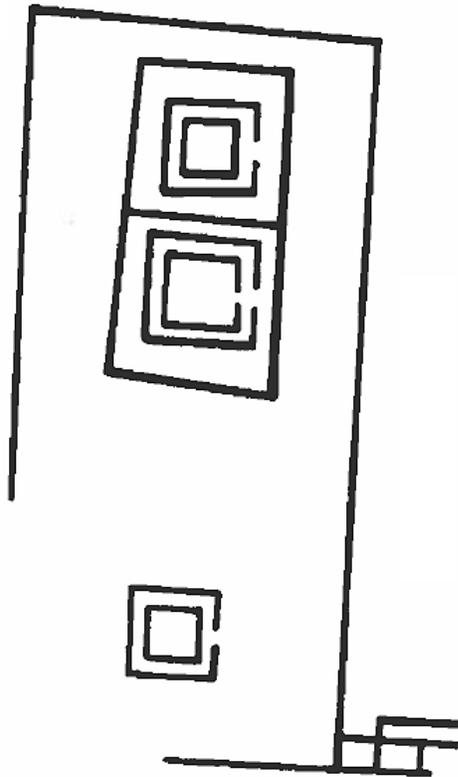
Figure 7.25. Sanctuary at the Source of the Yonne, Glux-en-Glenne (Fauduet 1993: 80, no. 464).
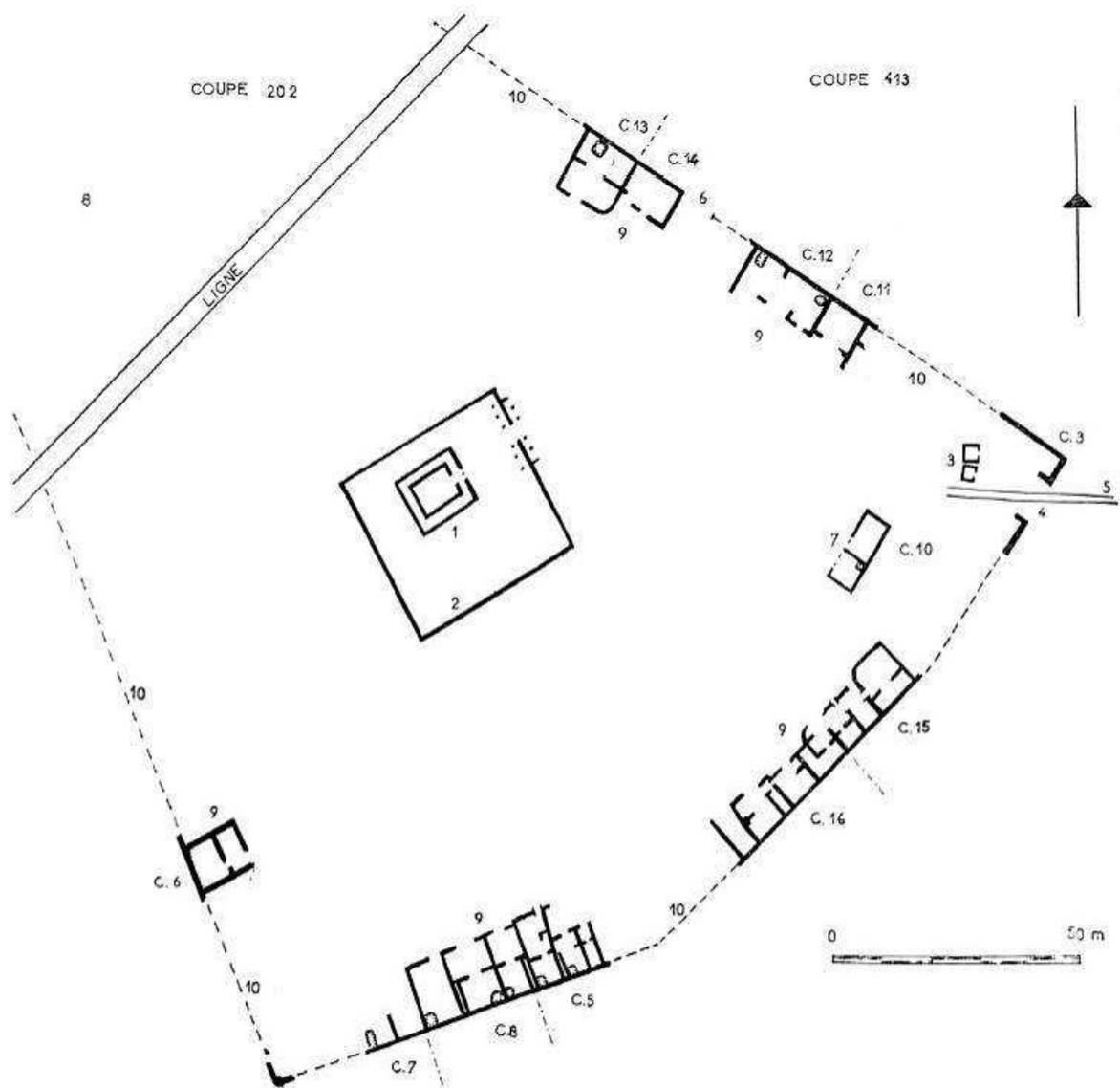
Figure 7.26. The sanctuary of Tremblois.

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VAL SUZON

Figure 7.27. Two versions of the sanctuary at Val Suzon (above: Fauduet 1993: 76, no. 459), and (right: Guyot 1951: 337, Figure 1).
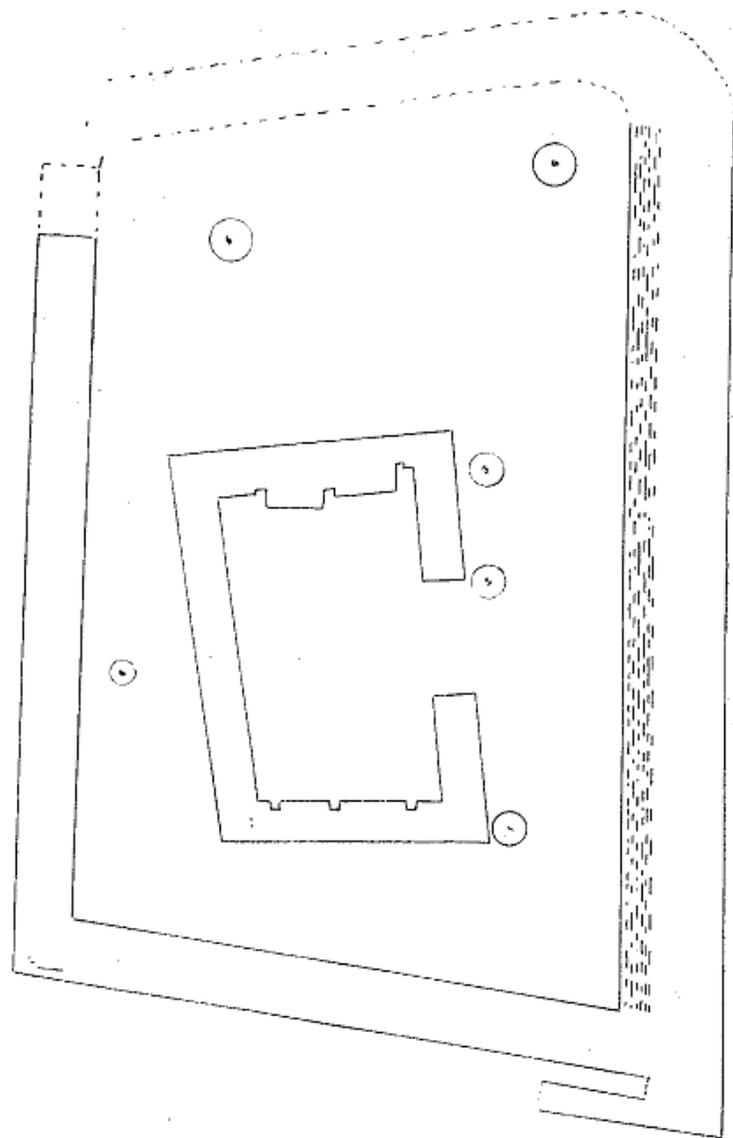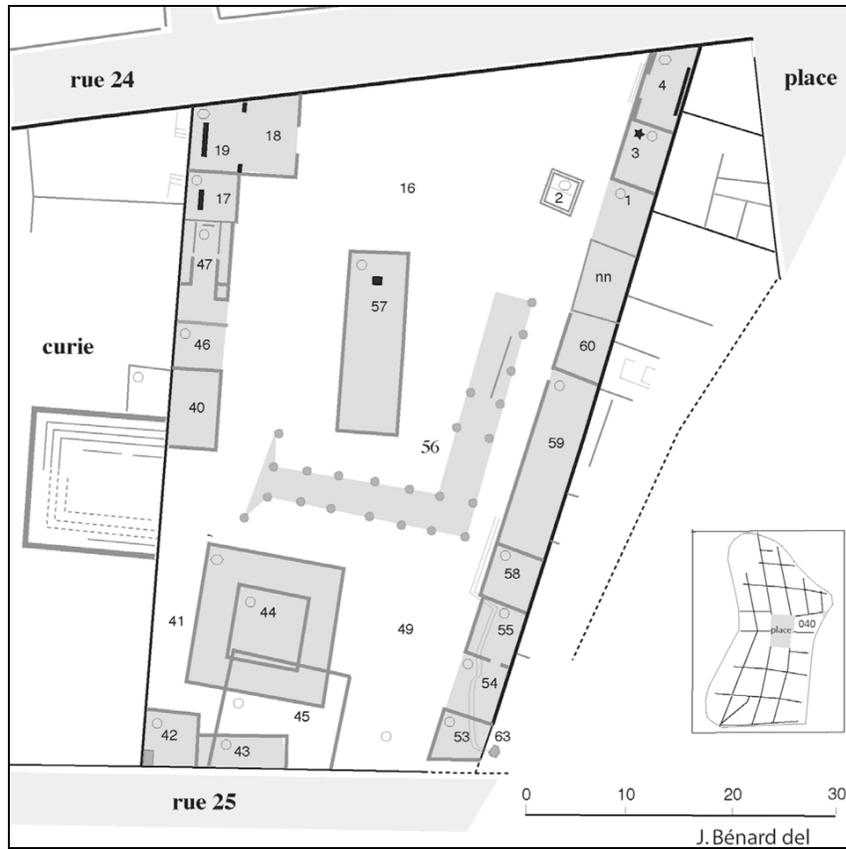
Figure 7.28. Plan of the *intra-muros fanum* at Vertault (Kasprzyk et al. 2010: Figure 3).
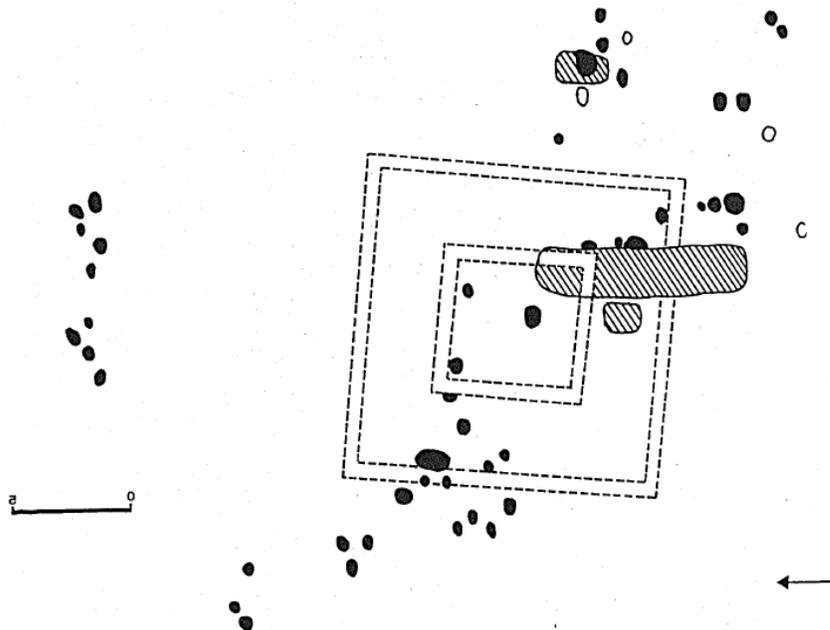
Figure 7.29. *Extra-muros fanum* at Vertault: pits with lines contain horses, black pits contain dogs (Meniel 1991: 271, Figure 6).

Figure 7.30. Two perspectives of the sanctuary at Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches (Lerat 1998, Vol. 2, Figures 3 and 4).

Chapter 8. Analyses

The presence/absence tables presented at the end of Chapter 7 contain large quantities of variables and data which can be examined in various ways. Two types of analyses were used to compare these data: a variety of statistical tests and spatial analysis.

Statistics and rituals are an unusual paring in archaeology and could be frowned upon as reducing a complicated and typically qualitative experience to numbers. However, since this project focuses on comparing a large quantity of object types from a significant number of sites, using numbers to present and explain hundreds of variables is an appropriate approach, and the discussion is supplemented by additional qualitative data from some sites. Four types of statistical approaches were used on the data including basic frequency and percentage analysis, cluster analysis, principal component analysis, and discriminant analysis; the purpose of such tests are explained in each section. The data were organized as presence/absence, essentially binary data (1 if present, 0 or blank if absent). Many of these statistical approaches traditionally rely on quantities for each variable, and as there are only binary data in this case, the organization, use of, and results of these tests vary from traditional methods and results.

Most of the analysis focuses on the frequencies of objects, materials, and deities from individual sites, each type of site (as local non-water "LN", local water "LW", and regional water "RW"), and sites grouped by category (all local sites, all water sites). The quantities generated for each category are discussed broadly, and significant attention is paid to variables that are evident at over half of a particular site type or category, which appear as bold in the totals. The frequency data are used to generate maps to examine the

distribution of particular object categories or types of deities across all of the sites examined. This spatial approach will highlight distributional patterns if they are apparent across the study area.

By comparing the types of objects, the materials from which they are made, and the deities present at numerous sanctuaries from the Gallo-Roman Period, patterns should emerge (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1977; Söderlind 2004). The presence or absence, for example, of particular objects in various contexts will be considered, and additional attention will be given to those objects or categories of objects that are most frequently found. A wide distribution of a particular object is important for determining if an object is an offering, or an accident (Osborne 2004). Abundant objects or patterns of offerings at particular sites or associated with specific deities offer more opportunities for interpreting the meaning, why or how it was used as a device for communication, and perhaps even what was being communicated.

The Douix material can be examined to see where it fits within these larger patterns. Unlike many of the other contemporary sites from this area, there are neither inscriptions that name the deity of the site nor indicate why it was venerated, such as a for its healing or fertility powers. The only way to understand more about why these objects were offered and the purpose of their ritual deposition is through detailed contextual and comparative analyses with other ritual sites from the region. Comparing the offerings from the Douix and similar watery sites over time will demonstrate if the Douix fits within the typical use period of other watery sites, or if it is unique. Examining the objects and materials present at the Douix temporally may also indicate if the purpose of the site was the same over time and just expressed through different material culture, or if

the understanding of the site changed from prehistoric to historic periods.

PART 1: THE OBJECTS AND MEDIA AT GALLO-ROMAN SANCTUARIES

DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS: SITUATING THE DOUIX

Discriminant analysis utilizes user-defined groups to sort unknown variables. An example may be inserted and forced to pick a defined group to which it is most similar based on the data under analysis. Using the data compiled in Tables 7.1 - 7.3, this test was used to determine which type of site the Douix was most similar to in regards to the types of objects present. The user-defined groups were local non-water sites (LN), local water sites (LW), and regional water sites (RW). When the data from the Douix are forced to pick one of these groups (Figure 8.1), 92.7% of the time is plots closest to LW, 6.7% with LN, and 0.6% with RW; the objects from the Douix are most similar to those from other local water sites. Subsequent tables and data include the Douix with the other local water sites, which will be the primary point of interest in the following analyses and discussion.

FREQUENCY AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OBJECT TYPES AND MATERIALS

Ninety-nine object types were recorded across 46 sacred contexts. There is great variation in the quantities of objects present: two sites have 52 objects while most sites average around 11 types and three sites have only two object types (Table 8.1). Of the objects, the only type to appear at 75% or more of all observed sites are coins (Table 8.2), though they are less frequent at LW sites than at LN or RW sites. Ceramic vessels are the only type to appear at 50% or more of all sites, and are most abundant at RW sites. Types

present at 30% or more of all observed sites include inscriptions, stone statue(tte)s, and bronze statue(tte)s, with the first being present at 50% or more and the second at 75% or more of the LN and LW sites. Additional object variation can be seen when comparing particular types of sites individually, though LW sites will remain the primary focus of analysis.

Comparing the Objects from Local Water Sites to Local Non-Water and Regional Water Sites

The combined LW sites have 84 of the 99 observed types of objects, more than both LN and RW sites (Table 8.1). This calculation makes sense for the RW sites which are fewer in number than the LW sites, but LN sites have more site examples and far fewer object types suggesting that one could expect to find greater varieties of objects at LW sites.

The total average number of objects per LW site is also greater than the other types of sites, but is affected by some of the outliers, such as Alesia CSC and the Source of the Seine with 52 objects each; the median and mode also show the effect of the outliers as they are much lower than the average. The large quantities of objects at some sites are likely a result of the publication quality or extent of the excavation, but some sites such as Essarois, the Douix of Châtillon, and Fontaine-Salées, have all been studied and extensively published yet have yielded fewer types of objects. This suggests that some LW sites may have been frequented more than others, held greater importance, or had different offering traditions.

Converting raw quantities of objects per site to percentages allows for more accurate comparisons. Table 8.2 presents the types of objects found at 30% or more of

each kind of site (see Table 8.3 for a quick comparison of all object totals from all site types). All sites have between three to five object types that appear on 50% or more occasions. LW sites, however, have 13 types that are found at 30% or more, which is far greater than LN with seven types or RW with two. A greater diversity of object types is also indicated by the average for LW sites in Table 8.1 meaning that one is more likely to find more types of objects at LW sites than at LN or RW sites.

By comparing the types of sites to one another one can also see several trends in the objects offered. As noted above coins appear at almost all sites, and ceramic vessels are found at half of all sites. For LW sites, the most frequently recovered objects are coins and stone statue(tte)s, followed by ceramic vessels and inscriptions at half of the sites. Coins and stone statue(tte)s are also apparent at over half of the LN sites with only the addition of fibulae in the 50% category. At RW sites, however, coins and ceramic vessels are the most frequently found types (at 75% or more) followed by bronze statue(tte)s at half of the sites; stone statue(tte)s and inscriptions are present at only 30% of the sites. LW and LN are far more similar in the types of objects and their percentages across sites than LW and RW sites. Table 8.4 uses the same data and approach, but combines LW and LN to examine all local sites, and LW and RW to examine all water sites (see Table 8.5 for a quick comparison of all object totals from combined local and water sites). The object types and their frequencies for local sites show little change except at the 30% level; however, the object types and frequencies for water sites show significant changes confirming that LW and RW sites are less similar than LW and LN sites. These results suggest that LW sites adhere to a similar offering tradition practiced within 100 km of Châtillon, rather than showing a tradition based on the nature of the

site, i.e. the veneration of water.

The less frequently observed objects can be found in varying quantities across every site type. There are, however, a few types that are unique to particular types of sites and some merit discussion (Table 8.6). Though figurines in metal and terracotta may be present at multiple site types, those in stone are only found at LW sites. Wooden statue(tte)s, such as the well-known examples from the Source of the Seine, are found only at watery centers. These statues are problematic for wood does not often preserve; such numbers may indicate a preservation bias. Wooden objects deposited in watery contexts are more likely to preserve than wooden statues brought to non-watery ritual centers. On the other hand, if wooden statues are unique to sacred watery places, it may offer some insight into the ritual traditions at these sites. A final category worth mentioning is the presence of animal bones found only at local sanctuaries. Like the wooden statues, a preservation bias may exist or even an excavation bias if only a small portion of the area was explored. Little information is provided in the published literature describing the treatment of the bones or the context in which they were recovered. From the *extra-muros fanum* at Vertault we know that horses and dogs were deliberately killed and deposited as offerings (Méniel et al. 1991; Jouin et al. 1999), but for other sites it is less clear. One could speculate that animals were offered, sacrificed, and eaten as part of the Gallo-Roman ritual ceremony, an act heavily influenced by Roman ritual traditions. It is interesting, however, that this tradition would be found only locally at non-water sites and not at all ritual centers.

Comparing the Materials from Local Water Sites to Local Non-Water and Regional Water Sites

The materials from which the objects were made show similar distributions as the objects described above. Metal is the dominant material category at every sanctuary and its pervasive presence can be attributed to the distribution of coins (Table 7.4). Bronze is the most frequently recovered metal at all sites followed by iron, which is most often found at LN sites. Silver is surprisingly high (38%) at LW sites, sharing the same percentage as iron. It is also found at 36% of RW sites, but at only 16% of LN sites. This is the only material that demonstrates any special selection or correlation with objects deposited in watery places. It is possible that the reflective properties of silver or the way it shimmers when touched by light were recognized and believed to share a similar essence to water making it an appropriate offering at these sanctuaries.

Stone is more abundant across LN and LW sites than at RW sites which parallels the presence/absence of stone statue(tte)s at these sanctuaries. Stone, in particular limestone from the Châtillonnais, has been quarried for millennia (Belotte 1997), so its high percentage at local sites is unsurprising. Other materials (clay, terracotta, glass) are also frequently found and represent the presence of vessels and figurines. Organic materials are less common as one would expect because of preservation. As noted above wood is found most frequently at LW (31%) and RW (18%) sites with only one example (5%) from a LN site; this is likely the result of preservation conditions. Animal bones are more common at LN (53%) and LW (50%) sites, and present at only one RW site (9%). Precious stones are only found at LN and LW sites, but are not common.

The primary metals one might expect to find at LW sites are bronze (69%), and perhaps iron and silver. Though the specific type of stone is often unidentified (81%) by

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authors, it is probably limestone (at least 44%), which is abundant in the area. Other materials, like ceramic (50%), will be present. The potential for organic materials is also higher at LW sites because the preservation conditions are more favorable meaning bone may be present (50%), and in some cases, wooden objects.

Materials do not seem to be a determining factor for what is given at sacred sites, with the possible exception of silver at watery sites. It is more likely that the object or particular image being represented determines which materials are brought into sanctuaries. However, for objects like tools, for example, it is possible that processing the material and making it into and an object was a sacred procedure, which may determine why some materials are present while others are not (Gell 1998); further study of this possibility is needed.

Object Categories and their Distributions

As the materials from which objects were made seem to hold little significance for their selection for ritual deposition, we can focus instead on their traditional functions. Keeping in mind that these objects were recovered from ritual contexts, we know that their value in society changed from their initial purpose (Gosden and Marshall 1999). Even statues which were probably created solely as offerings were first commodities sold by the maker to the dedicator. At some point an object was deemed valuable enough to give as an offering to a deity, but it is necessary to examine its traditional function to ascertain its significance as a ritual offering later on.

Objects found in Tables 7.1 - 7.3 are arranged in categories according to their traditional functions. Some of these categories contain several objects, while others have

only one or two types. The total types of objects within each category for each site type are compiled in Table 8.7 and provide another way of examining the frequency of objects at sacred sites. By looking at the categories broadly one can examine themes that may be important for selecting ritual offerings because it groups like objects together rather than separating them by form or material. These data have been spatially organized as well providing an opportunity to visually compare the distribution of particular object categories across all sites and the quantities of types within each category (Figures 8.2 - 8.15).

Only Weapons (Figure 8.10) are exclusive to local sites. Some categories, such as Personal Care (Figure 8.5), Gaming (Figure 8.6), and Furniture (Figure 8.8) appear primarily within the range of local sites, with the sole exception of Villards-d'Heria PA in the regional limits; these categories are also the least represented of the object categories suggesting they are not part of a widely established offering tradition. Tools (Figure 8.9) are also mostly found in the local range with three sites in the regional limits. However, unlike the other categories found mostly within the local perimeter, tools are well represented and many types exist at some sites while others have relatively few.

Many of the other categories do not show any particular spatial patterning amongst the extant sites. Coins (Figure 8.2) are widely distributed as shown by the frequency analysis, and most sites only have one type of monetary object, the exceptions being Alesia CSC and Luxeuil-les-Bains with two forms each. Writing (Figure 8.11) and Vessels (Figure 8.12) are also widely distributed geographically and amongst the types of sites. Both also have a balance or distributed gradation of object quantities with one to four object types at a site. Personal Ornamentation (Figure 8.4), while distributed across

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the map, has a concentration of sites south and southeast of Châtillon and around Dijon which have three or more types of ornaments at a single site. While it was clear before that personal ornamentation was important at the local level, this map perhaps highlights a more specific concentration of this tradition.

The final map which merits discussion is Portable Representations (8.3) which has a wide spatial distribution as the frequency analysis suggested. While some sites have just one type of representation, LN and RW sites average two types per site and LW average three per site. Several of the well published or larger centers associated with water such as Alesia CSC, Source of the Seine, Essarois, Les Bolards, Bourbonne-les-Bains, and Luxeuil-les-Bains all have five or more types; Tremblois is the only LN site with five or more types. The quantities of representations from these water sites suggest that different forms were welcome and encouraged to more accurately convey one's wishes to the deity, and that this practice was more common at water sanctuaries.

CLUSTER ANALYSIS AND PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS

Cluster analysis and PCA were run on the object data. The purpose for attempting these tests was to see if any of the observed 99 objects found across all the sites appear together regularly, for example hairpins, ceramic vessels, and animal bones, which may indicate a specific offering prescription associated with a particular type of site. Unfortunately, the plotted data are too scattered to reveal anything significant. As noted above, the test was run using binary data, and perhaps if the quantities of each object type were available, the results may produce something more coherent.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE DOUIX ASSEMBLAGE AS A LOCAL WATER SITE

The objects most frequently found at LW sites are coins, stone statue(tte)s, inscriptions, and ceramic vessels, but one may also find altars, stone and terracotta figurines, bronze and wooden statue(tte)s, hairpins, beads, fibulae, bracelets, finger rings, nails, spoons, and metal objects (Table 8.2). While the Douix has some of these objects, it lacks others and has some that are rarely or never found at other LW sanctuaries (Table 8.8). Coins, stone statue(tte)s, and ceramic vessels, the objects most frequently found at LW sites, are also present at the Douix as described in Chapter 6. The most significant difference from these primary categories (objects at 50% or more LW sites) is the Douix's lack of inscriptions. The Douix is not far from Tremblois or Essarois which have inscriptions (Figure 8.11) ruling out the possibility that writing was rare in that area. Perhaps if the Douix had an undiscovered temple as Buvot (1993 and 1996) suggested, inscriptions in it were taken away and reused as building materials along with other stone from the temple, but this is only speculation.

A few other objects that appear at other spring sites but not at the Douix include altars, terracotta figurines, and bronze and wood statue(tte)s. Though these are only found at 30% of LW sites and should not necessarily be expected at the Douix, it calls attention to the fact that the Douix has fewer types of Portable Representations (only stone statue(tte)s and a stone figurine), and more types of Personal Ornamentation (finger rings, beads, bracelets, earrings) than the average LW site. It also has more Gaming objects (die and gaming pieces) than most sites in the area. If the object quantities were available from other sites, more detailed comparisons of the assemblages could be made to see just how similar or different the Douix is from other sites, but for now it can be observed that

in some ways, the Douix assemblage follows the traditional pattern of LW sites, but in other aspects it remains very different. The differences may be explained by the sites more ancient use as a center for ritual deposits, which will be discussed below.

OFFERINGS OR ACCIDENTS?

Determining offerings from accidents requires examination of an object for special treatment, and the archaeological context in which an object was found. However, many of the older publications do not contain this information, or sites are not published completely leaving holes in the available information. An additional approach, and the one undertaken here, is a cross-site comparison which focuses on the types of objects found at sacred sites. Either through the architecture, cult statues, or dedications to gods these sites have been already identified as sacred centers in which ritual practices occurred, and it is likely that objects within these compounds hold special value. The more sites which have a particular object type, the greater the odds of that object being an offering (Osborne 2004).

Coins

Coins are found at almost all of the sacred sites discussed, sometimes as hoards in large quantities dispelling notions of accidental loss, and can therefore be identified securely as offerings. Sites such as Bourbonne-les-Bains, with at least 4,737 coins found throughout the course of exploration, show that coins were offered over a period of 400 years with its peak during the reign of Augustus when the site was frequented by Roman soldiers (Sauer 2005a). At the Source of the Seine 830 coins dating from the first century

B.C. to the fourth century A.D. show continuous use of the site, but unlike Bourbonne-les-Bains, these coins along with 120 bronze plaques were gathered and placed into a large ceramic vessel with a dedicatory inscription in the fourth century and then left in the sacred structure further illustrating their significance as offerings (Figure 4.12; Baudot 1845). A similar situation occurred at Crain where 207 coins dating from Augustus to the end of the reign of Commodus were gathered, deposited in a stone trunk, and buried just outside of the *fanum* (Devauges 1973; Meissonnier 1973). At other sites large quantities of coins similar in date were deposited as hoards, such as the 15,000 fourth century coins at Luxeuil (Morel 1974), or the five different hoards totaling nearly 50,000 coins dating to 260-294 A.D. from Montbouy (Fabre and Mainjonet 1958). While not every site has large quantities of coins, the importance of coin offerings is still apparent from other evidence, such as statuary or stonework (Figure 8.16). For example, a pyramidal stone trunk with a slit in the top for depositing coins was uncovered near a pool at Villards-d'Heria PA (Lerat 1998), and a limestone stele depicting two gods which possessed a hole for inserting coins was discovered at Vertault very clearly illustrating a literal connection between coins and the divine (Lorimy 1898).

Portable Representations

The category of Portable Representations comprising statue(tte)s, figurines, and plaques in all media are also undeniably offerings due to their widespread distribution at sacred sites and the depicted subject matter which often includes deities, reverent humans, and sacrificial or sacred animals. The first, images of deities, are referred to as *sacra* by Whitehouse and she notes that they are few in number as they are most likely

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cult statues (Whitehouse 1996). Images of deities, at least in the form of cult statues, are not usually regarded as offerings, but as published descriptions of the statues do not often distinguish between cult statues and dedicatory statues, and such forms were created to honor the gods, all depictions of gods are included here as offerings. Gods are distinguished from humans by 1) their pose, e.g. the *déesses-meres* who are often shown sitting down (Figure 3.21); 2) their special clothing or nudity, e.g. a helmeted Minerva or the terracotta figurines depicting a nude Venus; 3) attributes, e.g. the mallet of Sucellus, the cornucopia of Abundance/Fecundia, or the antlers of Cernunnos; or 4) special animals and the god's relationship with it, e.g. the hunting dog of Diana, the horse ridden or tended by Epona, or the snake circling the staff or leg of Apollo (Figure 3.20). An additional observation from this analysis, and which requires more intensive exploration in the future, is that within the study area there seems to be a preference for depicting deities as stone statue(tte)s (Table 8.9), bronze statue(tte)s (Table 8.10), and terracotta figurines (Table 8.11), suggesting that gods may be distinguished from humans by the media used for their representations. Even within these categories, certain gods are selected for representation in a particular media, while others are not. For example, Venus and variations of the *déesses-meres* are depicted as terracotta figurines used as offerings (Figure 2.27; Bourgeois 1991: 124). With the exception of figurines depicting Abundance from Beire-le-Chatel and Les Bolards, and figurines of Minerva, Mercury, and Hercules also at Les Bolards, no other deities are represented in terracotta from this area (Drioux 1934: 83; Pommeret 2001a: 212). Such evidence illustrates deliberate selection of particular media and forms for offerings.

Representations of worshipers holding offerings or representations of body parts

are considered votaries, and are found in greater numbers than *sacra* (Whitehouse 1996). While precise quantities are not available, images of humans are found at many of the LN and LW sites, and a few examples from the RW sites. The media, style, and subject matter vary. Like the deities, the representations of humans appear to be governed slightly by raw material, but the media used is likely also connected to changes over time. Wooden representations are known only from spring sites (Table 8.12), perhaps due to favorable preservation conditions. The dendrochonological analyses conducted on the several hundred examples from the Source of the Seine suggest these date to late in the first century B.C. and the early first century A.D. (Vernou et al. 2012), and the coins from more distant sites, such as those found at Chamalières with several thousand wooden statues examples, support this date too (Vatin 1972; Dumontet 1980). These forms tend to be more stylized than naturalistic, and while men and women are both depicted as free-standing figures, some of the forms, such as three to four stacked heads (Figure 4.19), suggest a different offering tradition or perhaps are meant to represent families.

Complete humans are most often represented as stone statue(tte)s, and perhaps sometimes as terracotta figurines, and single body parts are represented in stone, wood, and on bronze plaques; humans are not represented as bronze statues presumably because it is a medium reserved for depictions of the gods (see Table 8.9 - 8.13). Of the complete figures, men, women, children, and swaddled infants are all portrayed. Many figures are fully clothed in gallic dress, most notably wearing the *sagum* (a short tunic), and appear to be presenting an offering to a deity, such as purses, fruits, or cakes (Figure 8.17; these particular depictions are often referred to as pilgrims. Children may also be shown as pilgrims wearing a *bulla* (a type of round medallion worn as a necklace or fastened across

the body) and carrying a small animal or another type of offering (Figure 8.18), which are perhaps associated with a protection ritual (Bonnard 1908). Being found near or within a *fanum* and the imagery of these pilgrim statues, which are characterized by people holding a variety of offertory objects, supports their classification as ritual offerings. The objects held by the pilgrims also help to identify some items as offerings, such as coins in purses, jugs, or *paterae* (shallow dishes for pouring libations), and even those that do not preserve, such as flowers, cakes, or fruits.

Some of the adult figures are nude. When in stone, the nude images usually lack a head and appendages, in other words, only the pelvis or torso is present such as those from Essarois (Figure 8.19); it seems that representing a complete body in the nude is reserved for depicting gods. The nudity of the gods and heroes is meant to honor their perfect forms, but human nudity is practical as a way of highlighting an illness, such as infertility or impotence as most scholars suggest, though a torso could also indicate digestive, respiratory, or cardiac problems. Lone body parts are mostly found in stone, and sometimes in wood at LW and RW sites (Tables 8.9 and 8.12). There are some examples of arms or legs of bronze statues, but these are likely broken pieces of cult statues that were mixed with stone forms during the destruction of the temples. Unlike the Italian tradition of terracotta anatomical votive offerings, no terracotta forms have been found in the study area. In addition to torsos, stone forms include busts, arms, legs, hands, feet, eyes, internal organs, and more. Such forms are certainly related to the health of the devotee or person praying on behalf of a sick person. Some examples have dedications to a god directly on the body part. At Essarois, a stone knee has the inscription, *Vind(onno), Mai(i)f(ilia), Iulia v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, which

honors the god Apollo Vindonnus and also indicates it was given to fulfill a vow to the god, presumably the returned health of the knee (Esp. IV: 3436; Thédenat 1889).

Thinly hammered bronze plaques were stamped, incised, pressed, or cut to create an image. Such an offering required less time to produce than images in stone, and was probably less expensive as they could be produced using scrap bronze. It is possible such objects were available near a sanctuary and could be selected as needed. Stylized male or female genitals and eyes are the most common forms (Figure 3.22; 4.21); the former are certainly meant to convey problems with fertility or perhaps even venereal diseases, and the latter could stress any magnitude of eye related problems. Representations of eyes may have a symbolic component too meant to convey the attention paid by the devotee to the god (i.e. "I am looking to you for help"), or the devotee is seeking the attention of the god, and provides the god with eyes to see who is honoring them. A few bronze ears have also been found, and like the eyes, could enable the god to literally listen to your request. Perhaps since these pieces are bronze they are appropriate for a deity to enter, like a cult statue, or meant to represent deities or their powers since bronze has only been used so far to show the divine. The only example of a bronze plaque torso with a head, from the Source of the Seine, was of a hermaphrodite who had breasts and male genitals (Figure 4.21; Baudot 1845). Hermaphrodites are sometimes associated with the divine, such as a statue at Les Bolards of a déesse-mere and a hermaphrodite each holding a cornucopia to indicate fertility and goodness (Planson and Pommeret 1986), and if the hermaphrodite is divine the bronze example suggests that the plaques may represent deities.

Animals are represented in wood, stone, bronze, and terracotta (Figures 8.9 - 8.12). The wooden examples, a bull and horse from the Source of the Seine, are probably

the oldest (Figure 4.19; Martin 1966a). The horse is the most commonly depicted animal in stone, but a wide variety of both domesticated, wild, and mythical animals are also present including bulls and three-horned bulls, rams, dogs, wild boars, deer, serpents, single or grouped birds (doves, owls), lions, and griffins. Animals may have attained sacred status because of their connection to a god, such as serpents with Apollo, deer or dogs with Diana, horses with Epona, or doves with the unnamed "bird-god." Certain animals may have symbolic connections to fertility, such as the rooster and hens or bulls, which may make them desirable offerings. Animals in bronze could have been part of larger statues which contained deities, decorative pieces from the sanctuary, or independent pieces; observed animals include wild boars, bulls, horses, serpents, goats, dogs, roosters, lions, dragons, and griffins. Animals are depicted less frequently than deities in terracotta (Figure 8.20). Other than a horse from Tremblois and a rooster from Entrains, all other animal examples come from Les Bolards and include bulls, lions, sheep, dogs, rabbits, hens, and ducks as well as horses and roosters (Paris 1960; Devauges 1988; Pommeret 2001a). There is evidence at the *extra-muros fanum* at Vertault for the sacrifice of dogs and horses making it possible that some of the animal representations, mainly domesticates, were intended to take the place of living offerings (Jouin et al. 1999).

Portable representations, while surely offerings, are complex and have numerous variables that are worth exploring more extensively. To my knowledge, the connection between media and image has yet to be explored elsewhere, and through careful analysis results may yield additional insight into Gallo-Roman offerings.

Personal Ornamentation

While the category of Personal Ornamentation is not significant at RW sites, 63% of local sites have at least one of the eight identified object types from this category. Such objects are more widely distributed at LN sites and average about two forms per site, whereas fewer LW sites have objects of personal ornamentation, but the sites that do have this category often have more forms averaging closer to four types per site. The prevalence of personal ornamentation at the local level suggests they were part of an offering tradition. Further confirmation comes from an eight-sided gold ring found at the Source of the Seine which has an inscription offering it to the goddess of the Seine from Iola demonstrating the offertory role personal ornamentation could play at ritual centers (Baudot 1845). At the site of Corent in central Gaul, a similar inscription was found on a ring (*SI DAS / DABO* - "if you give, I will give") providing further support that personal ornamentation could serve as an offering (Poux 2006: 117). Another, slightly different, example is the large quantity of iron fibulae from Tremblois. During excavations south of the portico, over 200 Omega-type fibulae were recovered (Figure 8.22; Paris 1960: 170). Such a large quantity suggests that not only were fibulae offerings, but perhaps they were part of the specific offering tradition of the site given by devotees.

No particular type is predominant across all sites. Fibulae and finger rings are present at about half of the LN sites, while other types are significantly less important. At LW sites, fibulae and bracelets are the most dominant, but hairpins, beads, and finger rings are also frequent. The frequency differences between these sites suggest LN sites followed a stricter offering pattern where fibulae and finger rings were preferred gifts for any deity. Ornaments are found at fewer LW sites, but those that have this category tend

to have at least four types and are often major centers, such as Les Bolards, or have clear evidence of water veneration, such as Alesia CSC, Bourbonne-les-Bains, or the Source of the Seine. Perhaps the preference for depositing ornamentation only at the major water sanctuaries suggest that these objects were more valued, and therefore not given at just any spring or lake, or that those visiting these centers could afford to donate such valued items.

Vessels

Even though evidence for ceramic and glass vessels can be found at nearly any type of Gallo-Roman site, as with coins, it is the depositional contexts, forms, and depictions in the statuary described above that confirms their offering status. While ceramics are found at many sites, some vessels are found intact and in-situ as part of intentionally buried deposits, such as the 12 deposits of vessels found within the Sanctuary of Jupiter at Alesia (Le Gall et Senechal 1974). Some vessel forms also indicate they are offerings, such as the *patera* used for pouring libations, or, if not offerings themselves, are used to hold offerings or are part of a ritual practice associated with offerings (Figure 8.23). The importance of the *patera* is shown in representations of both deities and pilgrims. Often this shallow dish contains foods, such as fruits and cakes, which are the actual offering to the deity. It is possible that other forms, such as those vessels deposited at Alesia, also contained organic offerings that have long since decayed. The presence of vessels is important for while they could have been offerings themselves, they may provide evidence for perishable gifts that would not have been recovered archaeologically; either scenario associates vessels with some type of offering.

Writing

Inscriptions are found at all types of sacred sites and provide important details about offering practices. Objects with writing often literally state it is an offering, to whom, from whom, and sometimes why. Inscriptions are most often found on stone tablets and altars, but are also often found on metal plaques, statue bases of deities, anatomical representations, vessels, and more (Table 8.14). Derks has suggested that inscriptions served as a way for one to display their wealth to others visiting sacred sites and also to benefit the deity by showing off its power (1998: 233). To a certain extent, this is true, but the formula used for offerings, i.e. the *votum*, also suggests a dedicator wants to be known to the deity as well as to others by providing a detailed account of their transaction. The name of the dedicator is very specific sometimes stating his/her profession or his/her lineage to provide clear identification, or states the exact reason for the offering. To include the closing V.S.L.M. (*Votum Solvit Libens Merito*, "he willingly and freely fulfilled his vow"), reminds the deity that the dedicator kept his or her word and that he or she would likely do so again in future transactions. Unlike the objects described above, inscriptions literally identify a variety of objects as offerings leaving little ambiguity as to their function, and also, for the first time, provide the identity of the dedicator.

Other Offerings and Conclusions

There are many additional categories and object types that could be discussed, but as they tend to be found less frequently, their full significance will have to be explored another time. For now, despite their reduced prevalence, most of the 99 objects recorded

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could still be offerings (e.g. tools), have been part of an offering (e.g. nails, hinges), or even part of the equipment used during ritual practices in which an offering was given (e.g. knives, bells). Some of the objects found at LN sites suggest there was a more regulated offering tradition because there is less variety in the objects given; a similar thing could be said of RW sites, but perhaps it is a matter of acquiring more data. At LW sites, however, there is a much greater variety of offerings in every category (84 of the 99 object types are present). It is possible the offerings dedicated at these sites could perhaps have been more personalized, or simply that all types of offerings were welcome.

While categories like Building Materials seemingly have no ritual value, a closer look is necessary. Nails were likely used to hang perishable and non-perishable offerings in a sanctuary as Cazanove et al. (2012a) have demonstrated at Alesia CSC. Keys, also a building material, may not seem to have offertory value, but finger rings designed as small keys have been found at sanctuaries, such as Corcelles les Monts, suggesting keys may hold some sort of symbolic value as offerings (Bertrand 1919). The process of working metals to make objects like nails or keys may be a ritual or mysterious process in itself and may instill in the offerings sacred value allowing them to serve as offerings (Gell 1998; Hingley 2006). Tools could also have been given as offerings. The Ucuetis monument at Alesia demonstrates that craftsmen honored particular deities associated with their trade (Martin and Varène 1973). The tools associated with a particular trade could therefore have significant value to the individual offering it, or perhaps the offered object is related to the mythology of the deity who received the gift. Even broken tools or slag from metal working have been shown to be ritually significant materials in other situations (Hingley 2006). These examples demonstrate that while some objects may not

appear to be offerings at first, they cannot be so readily dismissed as simply debris.

PART 2: THE GODS

FREQUENCY OF THE GODS: INDIVIDUALS, MALE VS. FEMALE, INDIGENOUS VS. ROMAN

Of the 188 deity appearances, 61 unique deities were recorded at 34 of the 46 sacred contexts using previously published interpretations of the iconographic or epigraphic data from each site (Figure 8.24). Like the objects there is some variation in the quantities of deities present: 12 sites have no identified deity (25% or more of all sites) but most sites average around four deities, and one site has 26 deities (Table 8.15). Of all the deities, Minerva has the greatest frequency of appearances at 40% or more, which is limited to local non-water (LN) sites (Table 8.16); Apollo is the only other deity found at 40% or more, but achieves this number only when all of his forms (double-names) are combined at local water sites (LW). No deities, even the combined forms, are found at 40% or more of the regional water sites (RW).

Comparing Individual Deities from Local Water Sites to Local Non-Water and Regional Water Sites

Of the 64 appearances noted in Table 7.6, 39 separate types of deities are found at LW sites. Fewer than half of the deities present are repeated at more than one site meaning that there is little overlap. Of those which are repeated, very few appear at 25% or more of LW sites: Venus, Minerva, *déesses-meres*, Apollo (Apollo), and when combined, all forms of Apollo (Table 8.16). Knowing that most often two to four gods are present at each LW site (Table 8.15), the divine composition present in these

sanctuaries includes several deities, some of which may be commonly found across multiple sites, and those that are less common or unique to a site. The totals and percentages from LN and RW sanctuaries are very similar to LW sites suggesting the same divine composition.

Though the numbers and composition may be similar, there is little overlap of the dominant deity types found at LW sites with those at LN (both share Minerva) or those at RW (both share *déesses-meres*) sites (Table 8.16). At sites where the primary deity of the sanctuary is known (see the bold numbers in Tables 7.5-7.7), there is no overlap with the exception of Borvo at the LW site of Bourbonne-les-Bains and at the RW site of Entrains. Though many of the same deities are found across multiple sites, their frequencies and levels of importance are inconsistent. It is probable that such differences are connected to the purpose of a particular sanctuary; while all gods are welcome, some are preferred for their specific roles or powers.

Table 8.17 uses the totals for each deity from Tables 7.5-7.7, but combines LW and LN to examine all local sites, and LW and RW to examine all water sites (see Table 8.18 for a quick comparison of deity totals from all sites). With the combined site categories, 52 types of deities are present across local sites and 53 at water sites, and each average four unique deities per site (Table 8.19). The presence of particular deities at 25% or more of a site category does not differ from those described above found at LW sites (Apollo, Minerva and *déesses-meres* at local sites, and Apollo, and *déesses-meres* at water sites). The combined frequencies for both local sites and water sites seems to be heavily influenced by the frequencies at LW sites; the deities primarily found at LN and RW sites are not as significant when combined with those from LW sites.

The Primary Deities of Local Water Sites and their Function

It is not possible to explore each type of deity found at LW sites in greater depth. The present discussion will highlight only those that are most frequently found (Apollo, *déesses-meres*, Minerva, and Venus). Apollo, in both the "pure" Roman form and the doubly-named Gallo-Roman form, is known as a healing god often associated with springs and solar cults (Figure 8.25; Bonnard 1908). He can be depicted alone or as a divine couple with Sirona (a fertility goddess) or Damona (a localized spring goddess), or with his twin sister Diana (a woodland goddess), and sometimes has a snake and/or staff as attributes (Drioux 1934; Thevenot 1968). Inscriptions show he could be venerated in the primary Roman form alone, or combined with a local deity possessing a similar nature. Despite being relatively abundant at LW sites, only three sites (Alesia CSC, Essarois, and Sainte-Sabine) have strong evidence that a form of Apollo was the primary deity of the sanctuary.

The terms "*déesses-meres*" or "Matronae" are sometimes used broadly to describe several motherly or protective goddesses who originate from temperate Europe. More specifically these terms refer to those goddesses who are represented individually or as a group of three, typically seated sometimes in a wicker chair, and may be holding or breastfeeding one or two infants, or holding a cornucopia or bowl of fruit (Figure 8.26; Bourgeois 1991; Drioux 1934). In the second and third centuries, such goddesses still retained their indigenous names, but began to resemble Roman goddesses in style and dress, such as Diana and Fortuna (Derks 1998: 119). Though they are found at many sanctuaries, at spring sanctuaries they are most commonly found as terracotta figurines (Bourgeois 1991). Typically viewed as protectors of children, health, and fertility, recent

analysis suggests they may be more than mother goddesses. It seems likely that these figures were understood to be ancestral mothers of native communities in parts of western Europe (Derks 1998: 121). This localized role may explain some of the variation amongst the representations, and their sphere of influence would naturally welcome the introduction of other goddesses into this category, such as Minerva, Venus, or Epona (Thevenot 1968).

The Roman goddess Minerva, or at least the indigenous equivalent, was the only female deity mentioned by Caesar in *The Gallic Wars* suggesting she held an important role in the prehistoric pantheon, or her powers were highly revered (Drioux 1934: 52). In some cases there is good evidence that Minerva was joined with a local form of the goddess, such as Sulis Minerva at Bath (Figure 3.13), but like all the other goddesses within this study area, female deities retain a single name indicative of their original cultural affiliation. Minerva is represented in her traditional Roman form with a helmet, a shield and/or a weapon, and sometimes has an owl or snake nearby (Thevenot 1968). Sometimes affiliated with the *déesses-meres*, she seems to hold the role of protectrice, rather than being associated with fertility, and her associations with medicine, such as her form of *Minerva Medica* in Rome, may also explain her presence. She is regularly found at spring sites in Gaul, and seems to act as the guardian of the spring or waters, or as patroness of the healing arts (Lacroix 1970).

Venus, though traditionally a Roman goddess, is often associated with other types of local goddesses, such as the *déesses-meres* (Bourgeois 1991). Most often depicted in terracotta, she is usually nude, but may be draped or holding a towel after bathing, accompanied by children, or standing in a structure (Figure 8.27; Rouvier-Jeanlin 1971).

She is associated with fertility, and is found at water sanctuaries across Gaul (Drioux 1934).

Each of these deities has a connection to water sanctuaries and has a particular role at these sites. It has long been interpreted that many water sanctuaries were places of healing. The large quantities of anatomical statue(tte)s and the regular presence of Apollo in both Roman and indigenous forms support this interpretation. The function of these sites probably overlaps as well. The *déesses-meres* and Venus are associated with fertility and children. Figurines of these goddesses are present as offerings, perhaps to show the deity that the devotee would like the same health and fertility enjoyed by the goddesses; a similar statement could be made of the animal figurines, particularly those of bulls or cocks and hens, who often signify fertility. Statue(tte)s and figurines of infants and children, particularly those of swaddled infants with a protective charm around their necks or those of children holding offerings, suggest requests to the goddesses to protect and watch over the health of the children; medieval and modern folklore discussed in Chapter 5 could be understood as a possible continuation of this tradition since water was used to strengthen the health of or to protect a child. Minerva may also act as a guardian, but as she is less frequently associated with children, she is more likely the protector of the water to ensure it remains clean and flowing, or the patroness of the healing arts.

Individual deities have their own purpose and function at a sanctuary and their frequencies across sites vary. Do these individual examples reflect broader trends in deity preferences at LW sites? Are male or female deities more important at water sanctuaries? Are Roman or indigenous deities more likely to be venerated at these places?

The Frequencies and Spatial Distribution of Male versus Female Deities

The percentages and raw counts of male and female deity types and the total appearances of deities at each type of site have been compiled in Table 8.20. At LW and RW sites, the proportion of types and appearances are within a few points of one another for both male and female deities; the comparison is more extreme at LN sites. More types of male deities than female are found at all site categories, however, the appearances show that even though there are fewer female types, they are represented at a greater number of sites. Of all the LW sites, for example, 58% of the individual deity types found are male, while 42% are female. When looking at the appearances, male deities make up 54% and females 46% of all those found. Though fewer types of females are found, they are likely to repeat at more sites, whereas the observed male deities will have only appeared once or twice across all of the LW sites. This male-female pattern was observed in the percentages of individual deities discussed in the previous section, and is also evident for the combined local and water sites (Table 8.21).

Table 8.22 provides the raw counts of male and female deities for specific sites in columns one and two. Of the LW sites with a single deity, two have a male deity (Etalente and Sainte-Sabine) and four have a female deity (Essey, Gissey-le-Vieil, Isômes, and possibly Châtillon-sur-Seine). Three RW sites have a single female deity (Fontaine de l'Étuvée, Lunéville, and Montbouy) and no single males; of the LN sites with a single deity, two are male (Alesia-Ucuetis and Mâlain LB) and two are female (Crain and Tremblois). With the exceptions of Alesia CSC and Bourbonne-les-Bains who have two or more male deities than female, most of the other LW sites have a relatively equal quantity of male and female deities; the same pattern is observed at the other types

of sites as well.

Spatially the distribution of male and female deities is relatively equal across the study area (Figures 8.28 and 8.29). As observed above, more types of male deities are found than females (note that the quantities represented by the circle sizes are not the same in each image), however, 31 sites have female deities whereas only 26 sites have male deities. Female divinities are more widespread across the study area even though fewer types exist, and female deities are found in slightly greater number at watery sites than at non-watery sites.

The Frequencies and Spatial Distribution of Indigenous versus Roman Deities

The percentages and raw counts of indigenous and Roman deity types and the total appearances of deities at each type of site have been compiled in Table 8.20. Because some deities have both an indigenous name and a Roman name, the data have been compiled in two ways: "indigenous with Roman" and "Roman only" (IR) places double-name deities with the other indigenous deities keeping the "pure" Roman deities in their own category, and "Indigenous only" and "Roman with indigenous" (RI) places them with other Roman deities keeping the "pure" indigenous deities separate. At LW sites, one can see a complete reversal in the percentages of types and appearances when double-name deities are combined with one group or the other. While the types of deities at RW sites demonstrate the same pattern, their appearances still favor Roman deities in either scenario, and LN sites favor Roman deities in both types and appearances in either scenario; in the combined local sites and combined water sites, the types also reverse, but Roman deities appear more in either scenario.

Specific site examples can be examined for particular trends (Table 8.22). At LW sites, if grouped as IR, the ratio of indigenous to Roman is 12:12, if grouped as RI, the ratio changes to 10:12 with the indigenous losing two examples. At LN and RW sites, in either scenario, there are more sites with Roman deities. Examining the IR grouping of all sites spatially (Figures 8.30 and 8.31), one can see 27 sites have indigenous deities while 30 have Roman deities. More of the sites with indigenous deities are associated with water, and the quantities of indigenous deities per site are fewer than the quantities of Roman deities per site. In the RI scenario (Figures 8.32 and 8.33), there are 24 sites with indigenous deities and 31 with Roman deities, and have relatively the same distribution and quantities across sites. Unfortunately, these data shed limited light on the frequencies and distribution of indigenous and Roman deities. These broad categories should be broken down and examined in greater detail combining the sex of a deity with his/her traditional cultural affiliation, and examining deities with a double-name as an independent group.

Male/Female, Indigenous/Roman Combined

Table 8.23 presents the types and appearances of deities by cultural affiliation within the respective male and female categories. Within the male category, Roman gods dominate in type and appearance at all sites. Indigenous gods are the second most abundant type at LN and RW sites, while the quantity of indigenous and double-name gods is equal at LW sites. The combined data for all local sites or all water sites have Roman gods as the dominant category in both type and appearance followed by indigenous gods, and very closely by double-named deities.

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The female categories are rather different. First, there are no goddesses with a double-name found at any of the sites, a trend also observed in the Rhineland and in regions to the northeast of the study area (Derks 1998: 93). This observation is significant as we know the practice of double-naming gods existed in the area as demonstrated by the male deities. Second, Roman goddesses are more abundant at LN sites in both type and appearances, while indigenous goddesses dominate at LW and RW sites. The totals for all local sites show a mix: indigenous goddesses have more types, but Roman goddesses appear at more sites. At the combined water sites, indigenous goddesses dominate in both types and appearances.

Examining the more detailed male-female, indigenous-Roman categories together presents a clearer image of the types of deities and quantities found at each site type (Figure 8.34). LW and RW sites are much more proportionate than LN sites. Omitting the double-name deities and examining just the number of indigenous god and goddess types, it is clear they make up exactly the same percentage of the total as Roman god and goddess types. The appearances of Roman god and goddess types (Figure 8.35), however, are more abundant, and dominate the types and appearances at LN sites as well.

Several reasons may explain why there are fewer appearances of indigenous deities even though there is an almost equal ratio of types to the Roman ones. Roman gods had a longer tradition of being represented in an anthropomorphic, physical form. As noted in Chapter 3, there are few examples of divine representations from the Iron Age and most come from the first century B.C. Regularly depicting gods was clearly influenced by the Roman understanding of the divine or the human world's relationship with it. Perhaps old understandings of the gods carried into the Gallo-Roman period and

people felt it unnecessary to depict them regularly especially when they were thought to inhabit a grove or spring, for example. Similarly to this, some indigenous gods were far more localized with a narrower distribution across the landscape. *Déesses-meres*, or matronae, for example, often possess "local epithets, which appear to be adjectival forms of group names," and may be connected to the "names of real or mythical founders of family groups" (Roymans 1990: 18). Roman gods, however, were more universal with an established mythology and logical way of being represented across great distances. Their standardization made them easier to represent than the localized gods of prehistoric Gaul, and some of the indigenous deities began to mix more thoroughly with Roman ones over time perhaps blurring or omitting any indication a particular deity was once based in the indigenous belief system.

How do the gods with double-names fit into the picture? They are most abundant in both types and appearances at LW sites, and are consistently present at all places, but are less frequent than Roman or indigenous deities. Based on the nature of such deities, it is impossible to ascribe them to one cultural group over another for they have origins in both. It is also impossible to make broad statements about this category because at some sites they may be more influenced by local traditions or by Roman, but it is unhelpful, to quantify such characteristics. Double-name deities, therefore, should be viewed as another category and examined in greater depth in future analyses.

CLUSTER ANALYSIS AND PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS

Cluster analysis and PCA were run on deity data. These tests were conducted on the deity data to see if any particular gods regularly appear together or if particular sites

are similar according to the deities identified there. As with the object data, the results were inconclusive as there were a lot of variables (61 different identified deities across 46 site examples) which would have benefited from specific quantity data.

A DEITY FOR THE DOUIX?

There is no clearly identified deity known at the Douix of Châtillon. As it is best associated with a LW site, it is possible that one of the primary intranatural entities of the spring was some type of goddess (Table 8.16). The best evidence for a specific deity/deities at the site is the stone figurine of a nude female and child, perhaps a Venus (**GR.2.020**), and a large statue of a woman holding a child (**GR.2.001**). The large statue may be a *déesses-meres* figure, which is well-known locally, as well as the possible Venus. Though the only images of children at the Douix are depicted with the possible goddesses, the other offerings suggest the deity of the spring could be approached for protecting children, ensuring fertility of girls of a marriageable age, or women who were pregnant. Some images of body parts were recovered, but busts and heads of young and older women were more common. Some of this interpretation is likely influenced by later traditions of the spring, including the Christian statue of the Virgin and child, local folklore describing the power of spring water to protect children, and the more recent tradition of offering pins into the spring when a girl reaches the age for marriage (see Chapter 5 and Appendix C). While nothing can be confirmed for certain, the available evidence from the Douix suggests a goddess, probably of a local nature, was venerated here.

PART 3: OFFERINGS AT WATERY SITES FROM THE LA TÈNE TO GALLO-ROMAN PERIODS

Was the role of the Douix the same in the past? Is it possible to interpret the earlier materials from the site? A component of this project is to examine how offerings change at watery sites over time. Materials recovered from several sites suggest they may have been in use as early as the Neolithic (Utinet 1897). A flint ax found at the spring Fontaine de l'Etuvee, and flaked and polished axes found around the springs at Bourbonne-les-Bains are representative of a larger tradition of ax deposition happening across Europe during the Neolithic period, particularly in watery locations (Jollois 1824 for Fontaine de l'Etuvee; Rameau 1978 for Bourbonne-les-Bains; and Bradley 1990, Bonnamour 2000, Stjernquist 1997 for discussion and examples of Neolithic ax deposition).

Fontaines-Salées is the only watery site that shows continued use from around 4,500 B.C. (according to the dendrochronological analysis of oak trunks lining the salt spring wells) through late antiquity; however, the springs do not appear to have been venerated throughout this time. Neolithic flaked and polished handaxes seem to have been deposited as ritual offerings (Louis 1943a). Elsewhere on the site, however, additional handaxes were mixed with Gallo-Roman materials suggesting a later deposition; a similar situation was observed at Alesia CSC indicating that older objects were found, were believed to possess some power or specialness, and were then ritually deposited at a later time, or such objects were perhaps curated over time (Louis 1938; Esperandieu 1910).

Fontaines-Salées continued to be occupied near the springs during the Bronze Age in the form of a small Urnfield necropolis, and then into the Hallstatt period where

the water was collected for its salt, but there is no evidence of ritual offerings (Louis 1943b; Vogade 1972). Though Hallstatt deposits have been found in rivers, such as the Saône and Ljubljanica, the Douix in Châtillon-sur-Seine is one of the rare springs in Europe to have received offerings at this time.

FREQUENCY AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OBJECT TYPES OVER TIME

Of the 27 water sites examined, only 11 sites had La Tène materials, and evidence for continuity of use into the Gallo-Roman period is limited (Table 8.24). Evidence at several sites is limited to materials, rather than ritual contexts, from the La Tène period: 1) A few La Tène II fibulae were found at the Source of the Seine (Corot 1934); 2) some stray ceramics, a stone statue, coins, and amphorae fragments were found at Sens along the river (Hure 1978); 3) coins, ceramics, and amphorae fragments were recovered near the lower stream at Villards-d'Heria PA (Lerat 1998); 4) a few coins were found scattered around Luxeuil-les-Bains (Roussel 1924); and 5) some poorly dated materials said to come from the period La Tène were noted at Fontaine de l'Etuvee (Jollois 1824).

None of these objects appear in significant enough quantities to suggest they were part of an offering tradition, nor do their recovery contexts provide additional clues to indicate they fulfilled a ritual function. As some of the pieces were mixed with Gallo-Roman materials, it is possible that they were kept as heirlooms, or objects that "are maintained in circulation for a number of generations because they possess an inordinate value to their owners," and deposited at a later date (Lillios 1999: 243). Perhaps as heirlooms, the objects were imbued with special value due to their age that made them appropriate offerings. It has even been shown elsewhere that some objects are discarded

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as rubbish, serendipitously recovered at a later time, and then curated because they are older and may possess special power allowing them to be used for ritual purposes generations after their initial period of production (Brown 2000). Even if the objects were not viewed as heirlooms or maintained for their age, other studies have shown that time-lag, or the period between the manufacture of an object and its deposition, can be used to explain the presence of objects from an earlier period in a later context (Adams 1977). The production date of an object does not necessarily reflect the period of the object's use, meaning that we can always establish the terminus ante quem, or the earliest existence of an object, but the period after is not definite as an object can remain in use for a multitude of reasons generations after its manufacture (Adams 2003).

Since the people who visited the Gallo-Roman ritual centers were the generations after their local La Tène period ancestors, the presence of earlier materials in later contexts is not unusual, however, the ways in which the objects entered the archaeological record need to be critically examined. The paucity of materials from these sites suggests these watery places were unlikely revered during the La Tène period; instead, the older objects found at these sites simply had a longer period of use before their deposition in a later ritual context.

However, five of the 11 sites have pre-Roman structures or evidence for the deliberate deposition of La Tène materials:

1) The fountain associated with the *oppidum* on Mont Beuvray has two stages, the first of which is comprised of an oblong area with postholes dating to 112-98 B.C. according to the ceramics, amphorae, metal fragments, and blue glass bracelet and beads, and the second which has a rectangular timber basin dating to the early first century B.C.

to the early first century A.D. according to the ceramics, amphorae, and coins (Barral and Richard 2009).

2) Shortly after the founding of the late second century B.C. *vicus* of Les Bolards, a large pit was dug in which a large quantity of ceramic vessels were intentionally broken creating around 2,000 sherds; these have been interpreted as a ritual offering. A second phase at the site, late in the first century B.C., saw the erection of a peribole wall which perhaps replaced a wooden palisade that surrounded the La Tène pit (Pommeret 2001a, 2002).

3) The earliest ritual structure uncovered at Fontaines-Salées is described as a first century B.C. circular parade ground surrounding a sacred basin of water, and perhaps was a temple to Taranis (Figure 7. 12; Lacroix 1963; Vogade 1972).

4) A La Tène enclosure at Alesia CSC was revealed as the earliest sacred area in this part of the site dating to around 80 B.C., and may have been used for banqueting as the ceramics, amphorae, and animal bones suggest (Cazanove et al. 2012a).

5) Finally, while the evidence is less clear than those just described, it appears that the *fanum* at Essarois may have completely covered an earlier sacred structure. During excavations in a lower level of the *cella*, glass and bronze bracelets, a bronze fibula, ceramics, local potin coins, and animal bones were uncovered, as well as an irregular quadrangular substructure dating to La Tène D (Daviet 1963; Daviet and Daviet 1966).

The earliest examples begin in the late Middle La Tène and the latest are formed less than 50 years before or during the Gallic Wars. The materials from Essarois are ambiguous and could represent a post-conquest/early Gallo-Roman construction rather than a uniquely La Tène structure, therefore, there are only four sites with good evidence

for earlier (i.e. not around the period of conquest) ritual activity.

Using the four sites with the strongest evidence for pre-Gallo-Roman ritual practices, the changes in offerings over time can be seen. All sites have significantly more types of objects in the Gallo-Roman period than in the La Tène with the exception of Mont Beuvray which was occupied for only a generation or two after the Gallic War. Some types of objects persist over time and show similar distribution patterns to later periods, such as coins and ceramic vessels which are found at all of the sites in both periods (Table 8.25). Other object types shared over time are unique to the particular sites presented in the table. Table 8.26 illustrates objects that are found only during the La Tène period at a particular site. When placed into the broad categories, the objects suggest a different trend for ritual offerings than observed in the Gallo-Roman period, namely Tools and Miscellaneous Bones are dominant categories in addition to Vessels.

Proportional Index maps are used to visually compare the categories and sites over time (Figures 8.36-8.39). These maps compare the proportions of one variable to another, and use a spectrum of color to visually present the proportions of each variable. For these maps, the proportion of object types within a category from the Gallo-Roman period (red) are compared to those from the La Tène period (blue); colors closer to red mean there are more Gallo-Roman types at that site, whereas colors closer to blue represent more La Tène types, and green shows an equal percentage is found in both periods. While all sites with La Tène materials are included on the map, I am concentrating primarily on those with stronger evidence for ritual activity described above (numbers 2, 18, 23, and 29 on the maps).

The Vessels map (Figure 8.26) shows that there is a nearly equal quantity of

vessel types during the Gallo-Roman and La Tène periods at each site. Though the forms and types may change over time, e.g. amphorae to glass or metal vessels, vessels were used as or to hold ritual offerings in both periods. The types categorized as Miscellaneous Bones (Figure 8.37) are somewhat evenly distributed too with animal parts, such as horns, antlers, and tusks, being more frequent in La Tène. Tools (Figure 8.38) show more types are present in the Gallo-Roman period, probably as the result of new crafts and industries introduced by the Romans.

Personal Ornamentation (Figure 8.39) was also included because of its significance in the Gallo-Roman period. As the map demonstrates, however, the significance of personal ornamentation at these sites seems to be limited to the later period as only Mont Beuvray has a significant quantity of types within this category; Les Bolards has only one type (fibulae) from La Tène, and Alesia and Fontaines-Salées have none. Some of the other sites (Châtillon-sur-Seine and Essarois) whose late La Tène materials were likely deposited during the Gallo-Roman period have more types of personal ornamentation from La Tène which were perhaps curated and then offered when giving these types of objects became more common.

CONCLUSIONS, CHANGES OVER TIME

In general, not many firm conclusions can be made concerning the changes in offerings at watery sites over time. It seems there is good evidence for the deposition of flaked and polished axes during the Neolithic, which supports the established observations of ritual practices occurring across Europe at this time. Little evidence is available for activity during the Bronze Age and Hallstatt periods, Châtillon-sur-Seine

having one of the rare examples of a ritually deposited Hallstatt assemblage in western Europe.

Surprisingly, the evidence for La Tène ritual activity is limited in the study area. Only four out of 27 sites had good data showing the deposition of offerings, or structures for ritual activity dating to this time. Coins and ceramic vessels were important both the La Tène and Gallo-Roman periods, while the categories of Tools and Miscellaneous Bones were more significant during La Tène; most of the object types within other categories do not exist until the Gallo-Roman period, and therefore, did not play a role as ritual offerings in the earlier period. Other sites lacked good contextual data or evidence for earlier ritual practices, and therefore, may represent objects that were of La Tène manufacture, but were deposited during the Gallo-Roman period.

Based on the evidence presented, it appears that watery places were not significant centers for ritual activities during the La Tène period. The veneration of springs in this area seems to originate around the time of the Gallic Wars. It is unclear if the practice was introduced by Romans entering the region, or if it was a reaction to their presence similar to the increase of human sacrifices in the bogs of northern Europe. More evidence is needed to explore this issue further.

A variety of data have been presented and interpreted. While the results have been discussed in relation to the study area, it is necessary to come to some conclusions about the Douix as a water sanctuary, to place the study of Gallo-Roman ritual offerings in the broader understanding of religion at this time, and to show how this case study can be used to explain how people use objects to communicate with intranatural entities.

CHAPTER 8 – TABLES

Local Non-Water Sites (19)	
Measurement	Types of Objects (63)
Minimum	2
Maximum	25
Average per site	11
Median	9
Mode	9

Local Water Sites (16)	
Measurement	Types of Objects (84)
Minimum	2
Maximum	52
Average per site	16
Median	5, 7
Mode	3

Regional Water Sites (11)	
Measurement	Types of Objects (41)
Minimum	2
Maximum	23
Average per site	8
Median	6
Mode	6, 12

Table 8.1. Measurements of object types calculated from presence/absence data in Tables 7.1 – 7.3.

Local Non-Water Sites (19)	
Category	%
Object at ~75% or more sites (14+)	
Coins	95
Statue(tte)s, stone	74
Object at ~50% or more sites (10+)	
Fibulae	53
Inscriptions	58
Vessels, ceramic	63
Object at ~30% or more sites (6+)	
Altars	32
Statue(tte)s, bronze	37
Finger rings	47
Nails	47
Vessels, glass	37
Metal, unspecified	37
Animal bones	37

Local Water Sites (16)	
Category	%
Object at ~75% or more sites (12+)	
Coins	75
Statue(tte)s, stone	94
Object at ~50% or more sites (8+)	
Inscriptions	56
Vessels, ceramic	56
Object at ~30% or more sites (5+)	
Altars	44
Figurines, stone	44
Figurines, terracotta	31
Statue(tte)s, bronze	31
Statue(tte)s, wood	31
Hairpins	31
Beads	31
Fibulae	44
Bracelets	38
Finger rings	31
Nails	38
Spoons	31
Metal, unspecified	31

Regional Water Sites (11)	
Category	%
Object at ~75% or more sites (12+)	
Coins	91
Vessels, ceramic	82
Object at ~50% or more sites (5+)	
Statue(tte)s, bronze	64
Object at ~30% or more sites (4+)	
Statue(tte)s, stone	36
Inscriptions	36

Table 8.2. Percentages of objects most frequently recovered from each site type.

Object Totals from All Sites	TOTAL EACH OBJECT TYPE, LOCAL NON-WATER	TOTAL EACH OBJECT TYPE, LOCAL WATER	TOTAL EACH OBJECT TYPE, REGIONAL WATER
COINS			
Coins	18	12	10
Tessere	0	1	0
Ingots	0	0	1
PORTABLE SCULPTURE, PLAQUES, FIGURINES			
Altars	6	7	2
Stele	4	4	1
Plaques, metal	5	4	0
Figurines, stone	0	7	0
Figurines, metal	0	2	1
Figurines, terracotta	4	5	3
Figurines, bone	0	1	0
Statue(tte)s, stone	14	15	4
Statue(tte)s, bronze	7	5	7
Statue(tte)s, wood	0	5	2
PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION			
Hairpins	3	5	1
Ear Rings	0	1	1
Necklace pieces, pendants	1	3	1
Beads	2	5	0
Fibulae	10	7	3
Bracelets	1	6	0
Finger Rings	9	5	3
Buckles	1	2	0
PERSONAL CARE/HYGIENE			
Boxes, pieces	0	1	0
Spatulae	1	1	0
Medical inst., unspecified	1	1	0
Strigiles	1	0	0
Mirrors	3	3	0
Perfume Bottles	0	4	1
Toilet object, unspecified	1	2	0
GAMING			
Die	0	1	0
Game Piece	2	3	1
Yo-yo	0	1	0
BUILDING MATERIALS			
Hinges, doors	1	3	0
Locks	1	1	0
Keys	1	4	3
Crampons	0	1	0
Hooks	2	3	1
Nails	9	6	2
FURNITURE			
Applique	1	3	1
Hinges/Handles	2	4	0

	LN	LW	RW
TOOLS, MISC. INSTRUMENTS			
Flakes, flint	3	1	0
Axes, flint	1	1	1
Axes, polished stone, prehistoric	1	3	0
Axes, polished amber	0	1	1
Axes, iron or bronze	1	0	0
Pick or pick-axe	1	0	0
Punch or stamp	2	0	0
Burin	0	1	0
Chisle	0	1	0
Knives, blades, handles	4	3	1
Whet stone	1	0	0
Spoons	2	5	0
Harness Equipment	1	3	0
Harpoon, fish hooks	0	1	0
Grinding equipment	0	0	1
Weights and chains	1	3	2
Scissors	0	1	0
Needles	0	2	1
Spindle Whorls	0	2	0
Molds, bronze objects	1	2	0
Tools, misc.	4	3	0
WEAPONS			
Spearheads	2	3	0
Projectiles	0	2	0
WRITING			
Inscriptions	11	9	4
Stylus	3	4	1
Tablets, stone	5	3	2
Tablets, bronze	1	0	0
Tablets, lead	0	1	0
Tablets, wood	0	1	0
Calendar, bronze	0	0	2
VESSELS			
Amphora	1	0	1
Patera, ceramic	0	1	1
Patera, silver	0	1	0
Bucket, unspecified	1	1	0
Tripod	1	0	0
Vessels, ceramic	12	9	9
Vessels, glass	7	4	1
Vessels, metal	2	3	2
Vessels, wooden	0	1	0
MISCELLANEOUS			
Bells	4	3	2
Rouelles	2	2	0
Rouelle mould	0	1	0
Lamps	2	1	1
Mallet, miniature	1	1	0
Fossils	1	2	0
Geodes/Pebbles	1	0	0
Minerals	1	1	0
Stalagmites	0	1	0
MISCELLANEOUS METAL			
Rivets	0	0	0
Bars, bronze (not ingots)	0	0	1
Discs, bronze (not mirrors)	0	1	0
Metal, unspecified	7	5	3
MISCELLANEOUS BONE, ANTLER, SHELL			
Bone rings, circles	2	2	1
Antler, worked and corunettes	1	3	0
Astragalae	0	0	1
Horns, aurochs	0	1	0
Tusks, wild boar	0	2	0
Bone, worked	0	2	0
Shell, worked	1	1	0
Animal bones	7	4	0
TOTAL OBJECTS PER SITE TYPE	63	84	41

Table 8.3. A comparison of the total number of object types present at each type of site.

All Local Sites (35)	
Measurement	Types of Objects (93)
Minimum	2
Maximum	52
Average per site	13
Median	9
Mode	3, 9

All Local Sites (35)	
Category	%
Object at ~75% or more sites (26+)	
Coins	86
Stone statue(tte)s	83
Object at ~50% or more sites (17+)	
Fibulae	49
Inscriptions	57
Vessels, ceramic	60
Object at ~30% or more sites (11+)	
Altars	37
Statue(tte)s, bronze	34
Finger rings	40
Nails	43
Vessels, glass	31
Metal, unspecified	34
Animal bones	31

All Water Sites (27)	
Measurement	Types of Objects (90)
Minimum	2
Maximum	52
Average per site	13
Median	6
Mode	3

All Water Sites (27)	
Category	%
Object at ~75% or more sites (20+)	
Coins	82
Object at ~50% or more sites (14+)	
Stone statue(tte)s	70
Vessels, ceramic	67
Object at ~30% or more sites (8+)	
Altars	33
Figurines, terracotta	29
Statue(tte)s, bronze	44
Fibulae	37
Finger Rings	29
Nails	29
Inscriptions	48
Metal, unspecified	29

Table 8.4. (left) Measurements of combined site categories (all local sites and all water sites) calculated from presence/absence data in Tables 7.1 – 7.3., and (right) percentages of objects most frequently recovered from each combined site type.

A Comparison of Object Totals at Local Sites vs. Water Sites	TOTAL EACH OBJECT TYPE, LOCAL NON-WATER	TOTAL EACH OBJECT TYPE, LOCAL WATER	TOTAL EACH OBJECT TYPE, ALL LOCAL	TOTAL EACH OBJECT TYPE, LOCAL WATER	TOTAL EACH OBJECT TYPE, REGIONAL WATER	TOTAL EACH OBJECT TYPE, ALL WATER
COINS						
Coins	18	12	30	12	10	22
Tessere	0	1	1	1	0	1
Ingots	0	0	0	0	1	1
PORTABLE SCULPTURE, PLAQUES, FIGURINES						
Altars	6	7	13	7	2	9
Stele	4	4	8	4	1	5
Plaques, metal	5	4	9	4	0	4
Figurines, stone	0	7	7	7	0	7
Figurines, metal	0	2	2	2	1	3
Figurines, terracotta	4	5	9	5	3	8
Figurines, bone	0	1	1	1	0	1
Statue(tte)s, stone	14	15	29	15	4	19
Statue(tte)s, bronze	7	5	12	5	7	12
Statue(tte)s, wood	0	5	5	5	2	7
PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION						
Hairpins	3	5	8	5	1	6
Ear Rings	0	1	1	1	1	2
Necklace pieces, pendants	1	3	4	3	1	4
Beads	2	5	7	5	0	5
Fibulae	10	7	17	7	3	10
Bracelets	1	6	7	6	0	6
Finger Rings	9	5	14	5	3	8
Buckles	1	2	3	2	0	2
PERSONAL CARE/HYGIENE						
Boxes, pieces	0	1	1	1	0	1
Spatulae	1	1	2	1	0	1
Medical inst., unspecified	1	1	2	1	0	1
Strigiles	1	0	1	0	0	0
Mirrors	3	3	6	3	0	3
Perfume Bottles	0	4	4	4	1	5
Toilet object, unspecified	1	2	3	2	0	2
GAMING						
Die	0	1	1	1	0	1
Game Piece	2	3	5	3	1	4
Yo-yo	0	1	1	1	0	1
BUILDING MATERIALS						
Hinges, doors	1	3	4	3	0	3
Locks	1	1	2	1	0	1
Keys	1	4	5	4	3	7
Crampons	0	1	1	1	0	1
Hooks	2	3	5	3	1	4
Nails	9	6	15	6	2	8
FURNITURE						
Applique	1	3	4	3	1	4
Hinges/Handles	2	4	6	4	0	4

	LN	LW	All		LW	RW	All
TOOLS, MISC. INSTRUMENTS							
Flakes, flint	3	1	4		1	0	1
Axes, flint	1	1	2		1	1	2
Axes, polished stone, prehistoric	1	3	4		3	0	3
Axes, polished amber	0	1	1		1	1	2
Axes, iron or bronze	1	0	1		0	0	0
Pick or pick-axe	1	0	1		0	0	0
Punch or stamp	2	0	2		0	0	0
Burin	0	1	1		1	0	1
Chisle	0	1	1		1	0	1
Knives, blades, handles	4	3	7		3	1	4
Whet stone	1	0	1		0	0	0
Spoons	2	5	7		5	0	5
Harness Equipment	1	3	4		3	0	3
Harpoon, fish hooks	0	1	1		1	0	1
Grinding equipment	0	0	0		0	1	1
Weights and chains	1	3	4		3	2	5
Scissors	0	1	1		1	0	1
Needles	0	2	2		2	1	3
Spindle Whorls	0	2	2		2	0	2
Molds, bronze objects	1	2	3		2	0	2
Tools, misc.	4	3	7		3	0	3
WEAPONS							
Spearheads	2	3	5		3	0	3
Projectiles	0	2	2		2	0	2
WRITING							
Inscriptions	11	9	20		9	4	13
Stylus	3	4	7		4	1	5
Tablets, stone	5	3	8		3	2	5
Tablets, bronze	1	0	1		0	0	0
Tablets, lead	0	1	1		1	0	1
Tablets, wood	0	1	1		1	0	1
Calendar, bronze	0	0	0		0	2	2
VESSELS							
Amphora	1	0	1		0	1	1
Patera, ceramic	0	1	1		1	1	2
Patera, silver	0	1	1		1	0	1
Bucket, unspecified	1	1	2		1	0	1
Tripod	1	0	1		0	0	0
Vessels, ceramic	12	9	21		9	9	18
Vessels, glass	7	4	11		4	1	5
Vessels, metal	2	3	5		3	2	5
Vessels, wooden	0	1	1		1	0	1
MISCELLANEOUS							
Bells	4	3	7		3	2	5
Rouelles	2	2	4		2	0	2
Rouelle mould	0	1	1		1	0	1
Lamps	2	1	3		1	1	2
Mallet, miniature	1	1	2		1	0	1
Fossils	1	2	3		2	0	2
Geodes/Pebbles	1	0	1		0	0	0
Minerals	1	1	2		1	0	1
Stalagmites	0	1	1		1	0	1
MISCELLANEOUS METAL							
Rivets	0	0	0		0	0	0
Bars, bronze (not ingots)	0	0	0		0	1	1
Discs, bronze (not mirrors)	0	1	1		1	0	1
Metal, unspecified	7	5	12		5	3	8
MISCELLANEOUS BONE, ANTLER, SHELL							
Bone rings, circles	2	2	4		2	1	3
Antler, worked and corunettes	1	3	4		3	0	3
Astragalae	0	0	0		0	1	1
Horns, aurochs	0	1	1		1	0	1
Tusks, wild boar	0	2	2		2	0	2
Bone, worked	0	2	2		2	0	2
Shell, worked	1	1	2		1	0	1
Animal bones	7	4	11		4	0	4
TOTAL OBJECTS PER SITE TYPE	63	84			84	41	

Table 8.5. A comparison of the total number of object types present when combined into local or water categories.

Unique Objects* by Site Type	
Site Type	**Object**
At Local Water Sites, not at other sites	
	Figurines, stone
At Local Sites, not at Regional Water Sites	
	Plaques, metal
	Beads
	Mirrors
	Hinges/Handles
	Spoons
	Tools, misc.
	Animal bones
At Water Sites, not at Local Non-Water Sites	
	Statue(tte)s, wood
	Perfume Bottles

*Only objects present at 15% or more of a site type. There may be additional unique objects from a site category, but are found less than 15% of the time; see Table 8.3 for a complete comparison.

Table 8.6. Objects only found at one site type.

Combined Object Categories by Site and Site Types													
Local Non-Water Sites	COINS	PORTABLE SCULPTURE, PLAQUES, FIGURINES	PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION	PERSONAL CARE/HYGIENE	GAMING	BUILDING MATERIALS	FURNITURE	TOOLS, MISC. INSTRUMENTS	WEAPONS	WRITING	VESSELS	MISCELLANEOUS	MISCELLANEOUS METAL	MISCELLANEOUS BONE, ANTLER, SHELL
Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter	1	3	3	1	1	1	0	4	0	2	2	2	1	0
Alesia, Ucuetis monument	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	0
Arcenant	1	0	3	2	0	2	1	7	0	0	2	3	1	3
Avallon	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	1
Beire-le-Châtel	1	4	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	2	1	0
Champigny-les-Langres	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Colonne de Cussy	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Corcelles les Monts	1	2	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	0
Crain	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	1
Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0
Mâlain, La Boussiere	1	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1
Mirebeau-sur-Bèze	1	4	3	3	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
Montot	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
Tremblois	1	5	4	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	1
Val Suzon	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	1
Vertault, extra-muros fanum	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
Vertault, intra-muros fanum	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	18	40	27	7	2	14	3	23	2	20	24	12	7	11

Table 8.7. Totals of object types by category for each site and site type, continued on next page.

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Local Water Sites

Local Water Sites														
Alésia, Croix Saint Charles	2	7	7	3	0	5	2	11	2	4	4	2	1	2
Auxerre	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Bourbonne-les-Bains	1	6	7	0	0	0	1	3	0	2	1	1	0	1
Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix	1	2	4	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Essarois	1	6	2	2	0	2	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	2
Essey, Source of the Armançon	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Etalente, Source of the Coquille	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
Fontaine Segrain	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Fontaines Salées	1	4	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	1	0	3
Gissey-le-Vieil	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Isômes	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges	1	6	5	4	1	4	1	6	0	2	2	4	1	2
Massingy-lès-Vitteaux	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sainte-Sabine	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Source of the Seine	1	10	6	3	2	5	2	6	1	3	3	4	2	4
Terrefondrée, Source of the Douix	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	55	34	12	5	18	7	33	5	18	20	12	6	15

Regional Water Sites

Regional Water Sites														
Entrains	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Fontaine de l'Étuvée	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0
Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Lunéville	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Luxeuil-les-Bains	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0
Montbouy, the area Craon	1	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade	1	3	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	0
Source of the Yonne	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	0	1	3	1	2	2
	11	20	9	1	1	6	1	7	0	9	14	3	4	2

Table 8.7. (continued) Totals of object types by category for each site and site type.

Comparing the Objects from Douix to Other Sites			
Objects from the Douix (14)	LN	LW	RW
Coins	1	1	1
Statue(tte)s, stone	1	1	1
Finger rings	1	1	1
Game pieces	1	1	1
Nails	1	1	1
Vessels, ceramic	1	1	1
Metal, unspecified	1	1	1
Beads	1	1	
Bracelets	1	1	
Hinges/handles	1	1	
Harness equipment	1	1	
Figurines, stone		1	
Earrings			1
Die			
Total	11	12	8

Table 8.8. Comparison of the objects from the Douix to other types of sites.

Local Non-Water Sites	Unspecified	Deities	Emperors	"Pilgrims"	Men	Women	Children	Swaddled babies	Body, whole	Unspecified body part	Heads/faces	Eyes	Ears	Busts	Torsos	Internal Organs	Phallus	Breasts	Genitals, male	Genitals, female	Arms	Hands	Fingers	Legs	Feet	Toes	Animals, alone	Other	Description
Portable Statue(tte)s, stone — Subjects / Body and Parts of the Body / Other forms																													
Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter		1			1	1	1		1		1										1		1				1		Horse, rams, doves, serpents, unidentified animal feet
Alesia, Ucuetis monument																													
Arcenant																													
Avallon		1			1	1	1				1				1						1	1	1	1	1		1		Horse
Beire-le-Châtel		1		1						1	1											1					1		Three-horned bull, bull, groups of birds
Champigny-les-Langres		1			1																	1							
Colonne de Cussy		1															1												
Corcelles les Monts		1	1	1	1						1																		
Crain		2			1	1									1						1	1		1	1	1		1	A lance
Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus		1			1	1	1				1											1				1	1		Horse, lion, bird, griffin, "mythical animals"
Mâlain, La Boussiere	1												1	1								1	1						
Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis		1																											
Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds		1			1	1															1	1					1		Dog
Mirebeau-sur-Bèze		1																				1							
Montot																													
Tremblois		1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1						1	1	1	1			1		Horse, bovids, puppy, birds
Val Suzon																													
Vertault, intra-muros fanum																													
Vertault, extra-muros fanum																											1	1	Deer; vegetation
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	1	12	1	3	7	7	4	1	2	2	6	0	1	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	6	8	3	4	2	2	7	2	

Table 8.9. Presence/absence table of the representations depicted as stone statue(tte)s found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period, continued on next page.

Local Water Sites																													Notes
Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix		2		1	1			1		1		1	1											1	1			1	Flame of torch
Alésia, Croix Saint Charles		1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1		1		1		1					1	1		1		Doves, chevrons
Auxerre		1																											
Bourbonne-les-Bains		1								1						1										1			Dog
Essarois		1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	Flowers
Essey, Source of the Armançon		1									1																		
Etalente, Source of the Coquille		2			1						1													1			1		Horse
Fontaine Segrain																													
Fontaines Salées				1	1			1		1					1					1		1	1						
Gissey-le-Vieil		1																											
Isômes									2												2				1				Horse
Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges		1			1	1		1	1		1	1		1			1			1					1		1		Doves, owl
Massingy-lès-Vitteaux		2		1	1	1	1		1			1						1											
Sainte-Sabine		1		1	1	1		1	1		1												1	1		1			Horse
Source of the Seine		1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1			Bovid, boar, two hands holding round object
Terrefondrée, Source of the Douix																							1	1					
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	0	12	0	5	7	8	5	5	7	1	11	1	0	6	4	0	1	3	3	3	3	5	1	10	7	0	7	3	

Regional Water Sites																													
Entrains		1		1		1		1		1					1														
Fontaine de l'Étuvée																													
Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte																													
Lunéville																													
Luxeuil-les-Bains		1																											
Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre																													
Montbouy, the area Craon																													
Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade		1			1						1																		
Source of the Yonne																													
Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre		1																											
Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches																													
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	0	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Table 8.9. (continued) Presence/absence table of the representations depicted as stone statue(tte)s found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period.

	Portable Statue(tte)s, bronze																												
	Subjects								Body and Parts of the Body																		Other forms		
Local Non-Water Sites	Unspecified	Deities	Emperors	"Pilgrims"	Men	Women	Children	Swaddled babies	Body, whole	Unspecified body part	Heads/faces	Eyes	Ears	Busts	Torsos	Internal Organs	Phallus	Breasts	Genitals, male	Genitals, female	Arms	Hands	Fingers	Legs	Feet	Toes	Animals, alone	Other	Description
Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter		1																									1		Horse
Alesia, Ucuetis monument																													
Arcenant																													
Avallon																													
Beire-le-Châtel																													
Champigny-les-Langres																													
Colonne de Cussy																													
Corcelles les Monts		1									1										1			1			1	1	Lion, wild boar, bull; oak leaf
Crain																													
Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus	1	1																											
Mâlain, La Boussiere										1																			
Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis																													
Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds		1																											
Mirebeau-sur-Bèze		1																											
Montot																													
Tremblois																													
Val Suzon																													
Vertault, extra-muros fanum																													
Vertault, intra-muros fanum																													
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	

Table 8.10. Presence/absence table of the representations depicted as bronze statue(tte)s found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period, continued on next page.

Local Water Sites

Local Water Sites																													
Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix																													
Alésia, Croix Saint Charles																													
Auxerre																													
Bourbonne-les-Bains	1																											1		Horse, serpents
Essarois																													
Essey, Source of the Armançon																												1		Lion
Etalente, Source of the Coquille																													
Fontaine Segrain																													
Fontaines Salées																													
Gissey-le-Vieil																													
Isômes																													
Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges		1																											
Massingy-lès-Vitteaux																													
Sainte-Sabine																													
Source of the Seine		1	1											1														1		Horse hoof, bovid, serpent?
Terrefondrée, Source of the Douix																													
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	

Regional Water Sites

Regional Water Sites																													
Entrains		1																										1		Goat
Fontaine de l'Étuvée																													
Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte																													
Lunéville																								1					
Luxeuil-les-Bains		1																											
Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre																													
Montbouy, the area Craon																												1		Dog, rooster
Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade		1																				1						1		Dragon, griffin
Source of the Yonne																													
Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre		1																											
Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches		1																				1		1		1		1	Helmets
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	3	1	

Table 8.10. (continued) Presence/absence table of the representations depicted as bronze statue(tte)s found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period.

| | Figurines, terracotta | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Object | |
| | Deities | | | | | | | Humans? | | | Animals | | | | | | | | | | | |
Local Non-Water Site	Unspecified	Venus	Deesses-Meres	Abundance	Minerva	Mercury	Hercules	Female figure, unidentified	Male figure, unidentified	Children	Horses	Bulls	Lions	Sheep	Dogs	Rabbits	Rooster	Hens	Ducks	Unspecified animal	Crown	Other
Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter																						
Alesia, Ucuetis monument																						
Arcenant																						
Avallon																						
Beire-le-Châtel	1	1		1																1		
Champigny-les-Langres																						
Colonne de Cussy	1																					
Corcelles les Monts																						
Crain																						
Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus																						
Mâlain, La Boussiere																						
Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis																						
Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds																						
Mirebeau-sur-Bèze																						
Montot	1																					
Tremblois		1	1								1											
Val Suzon																						
Vertault, extra-muros fanum																						
Vertault, intra-muros fanum																						
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Local Water Site																						
Alésia, Croix Saint Charles																						
Auxerre																						
Bourbonne-les-Bains																						
Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix																						
Essarois		1						1														
Essey, Source of the Armançon																						
Etalente, Source of the Coquille																						
Fontaine Segrain								1													1	
Fontaines Salées		1	1						1													
Gissey-le-Vieil																						
Isômes																						
Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges		1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Massingy-lès-Vitteaux																						
Sainte-Sabine																						
Source of the Seine		1	1							1												
Terrefondrée, Source of the Douix																						
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	0	4	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0

Regional Water Site																						
Entrains		1	1														1					
Fontaine de l'Étuvée																						
Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte																						
Lunéville																						
Luxeuil-les-Bains										1												
Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre																						
Montbouy, the area Craon		1	1																			
Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade																						
Source of the Yonne																						
Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre																						
Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches																						
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

Table 8.11. Presence/absence table of the representations depicted as terracotta figurines found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period.

Local Non-Water Sites	Portable Statue(tte)s, wood																												
	Subjects								Body and Parts of the Body																			Other forms	
	Unspecified	Deities	Emperors	"Pilgrims"	Men	Women	Children	Swaddled babies	Body, whole	Unspecified body part	Heads/faces	Eyes	Ears	Busts	Torsos	Internal Organs	Phallus	Breasts	Genitals, male	Genitals, female	Arms	Hands	Fingers	Legs	Feet	Toes	Animals, alone	Other	Description
Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter																													
Alesia, Ucuetis monument																													
Arcenant																													
Avallon																													
Beire-le-Châtel																													
Champigny-les-Langres																													
Colonne de Cussy																													
Corcelles les Monts																													
Crain																													
Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus																													
Mâlain, La Boussiere																													
Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis																													
Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds																													
Mirebeau-sur-Bèze																													
Montot																													
Tremblois																													
Val Suzon																													
Vertault, extra-muros fanum																													
Vertault, intra-muros fanum																													
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Table 8.12. Presence/absence table of the representations depicted as wood statue(tte)s found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period, continued on next page.

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Local Water Sites																													Notes
Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix																													
Alésia, Croix Saint Charles																													
Auxerre																													
Bourbonne-les-Bains									1																			1	Mallets
Essarois						1										1													
Essey, Source of the Armançon																													
Etalente, Source of the Coquille																													
Fontaine Segrain				1	1						2			1	1				1		1			1	1				
Fontaines Salées	1																													
Gissey-le-Vieil																													
Isômes																													
Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges																													
Massingy-lès-Vitteaux																													
Sainte-Sabine																													
Source of the Seine	1			1	1	1			1		1	1		1	1	1					1	1		1	1		1	1	Bovid, horse, columns
Terrefondrée, Source of the Douix																													
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	2	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	2	0	3	1	0	2	2	2	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	2	2	0	1	2	

Regional Water Sites																												
Entrains																												
Fontaine de l'Étuvée																												
Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte																												
Lunéville																												
Luxeuil-les-Bains				1					1		1																	
Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre																												
Montbouy, the area Craon									1		1			1														
Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade																												
Source of the Yonne																												
Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre																												
Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches																												
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 8.12. (continued) Presence/absence table of the representations depicted as wood statue(tte)s found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period.

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| Local Non-Water Sites | Plaques, bronze | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Subjects | | | | | | | | Body and Parts of the Body | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Other forms | |
	Unspecified	Deities	Emperors	"Pilgrims"	Men	Women	Children	Swaddled babies	Body, whole	Unspecified body part	Heads/faces	Eyes	Ears	Busts	Torsos	Internal Organs	Phallus	Breasts	Genitals, male	Genitals, female	Arms	Hands	Fingers	Legs	Feet	Toes	Animals, alone	Other	Description
Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter																													
Alesia, Ucuetis monument																													
Arcenant																													
Avallon																													
Beire-le-Châtel																													
Champigny-les-Langres																													
Colonne de Cussy																													
Corcelles les Monts																													
Crain																													
Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus																													
Mâlain, La Boussiere												1								1									
Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis																													
Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds																													
Mirebeau-sur-Bèze												1									1								
Montot												1																	
Tremblois												1																	
Val Suzon																													
Vertault, extra-muros fanum																													
Vertault, intra-muros fanum	1																						1						
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	

Table 8.13. Presence/absence table of the representations depicted as bronze plaques found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period, continued on next page.

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Local Water Sites

Site	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	Note
Alésia, Croix Saint Charles											1	1	1					1	1	1			1						
Auxerre																													
Bourbonne-les-Bains																													
Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix																													
Essarois												1						1											
Essey, Source of the Armançon																													
Etalente, Source of the Coquille																													
Fontaine Segrain																													
Fontaines Salées																													
Gissey-le-Vieil																													
Isômes																													
Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges											1	1						1	1	1									
Massingy-lès-Vitteaux																													
Sainte-Sabine																													
Source of the Seine												1	1		1			1	1	1								1	Flowers
Terrefondrée, Source of the Douix																													
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	2	0	1	0	0	4	3	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	

Regional Water Sites

Site	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	Note
Entrains																													
Fontaine de l'Étuvée																													
Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte																													
Lunéville																													
Luxeuil-les-Bains																													
Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre																													
Montbouy, the area Craon																													
Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade																												1	Leaves from a laurel crown
Source of the Yonne																													
Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre																													
Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches																													
TOTAL IMAGE TYPE PER SITE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	

Table 8.13. (continued) Presence/absence table of the representations depicted as bronze plaques found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period.

413

Objects with Inscriptions at Gallo-Roman Water Sanctuaries																
Object types (n=15)																
Local Non-Water Sites	Altars	Stele	Tablets, stone	Tablets, bronze	Plaques, metal	Plaques, wood	Statue base	Statues, deities	Statues, humans	Statues, anatomical	Figurine, terracotta	Vessels	Knife handle	Fibulae	Ring	Fragments	TOTAL INSCRIPTIONS PER SITE
Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter	1						1									1	3
Alesia, Ucuetis monument						1						1					2
Arcenant																	0
Avallon			1														1
Beire-le-Châtel	1		1				1										3
Champigny-les-Langres																1	1
Colonne de Cussy																	0
Corcelles les Monts																	0
Crain																	0
Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus			1	1												1	3
Mâlain, La Boussiere			1														1
Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis	1	1	1														3
Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds			1														1
Mirebeau-sur-Bèze	1				1												2
Montot																	0
Tremblois																	0
Val Suzon																	0
Vertault, intra-muros fanum																	0
Vertault, extra-muros fanum																	0
TOTAL INSCRIPTION TYPE, LOCAL NON-WATER SITES	4	1	6	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	
Local Water Sites																	
Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix																	0
Alésia, Croix Saint Charles	1		1					1	1	1		1	1				7
Auxerre												1					1
Bourbonne-les-Bains	1	1	1		1												4
Essarois	1		1				1				1						4
Essey, Source of the Armançon																	0
Etalente, Source of the Coquille																	0
Fontaine Segrain						1											1
Fontaines Salées																	0
Gissey-le-Vieil	1																1
Isômes																	0
Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges	1		1							1							3
Massingy-lès-Vitteaux																	0
Sainte-Sabine			1														1
Source of the Seine	1		1		1		1	1	1	1		1			1		9
Terrefondrée, Source of the Douix																	0
TOTAL INSCRIPTION TYPE, LOCAL WATER SITES	6	1	6	0	2	1	2	2	2	3	1	3	1	0	1	0	
Regional Water Sites																	
Entrains			1		1												2
Fontaine de l'Étuvée			1														1
Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte																	0
Lunéville																	0
Luxeuil-les-Bains	1										1						2
Montbouy, the area Craon																	0
Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre																	0
Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade												1					1
Source of the Yonne																	0
Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches					1		1							1			3
Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre	1				1												2
TOTAL INSCRIPTION TYPE, REGIONAL WATER SITES	2	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	
TOTAL INSCRIPTION TYPE, ALL LOCAL SITES	10	2	12	1	3	2	4	2	2	3	1	4	1	0	1	3	
TOTAL INSCRIPTION TYPE, ALL WATER SITES	8	1	8	0	5	1	3	2	2	3	2	4	1	1	1	0	

Table 8.14. Presence/absence table of objects with inscriptions found at all sanctuaries in the study area during the Gallo-Roman period.

414

Local Non-Water Sites (19)		Local Water Sites (16)		Regional Water Sites (11)	
Measurement	Types of Deities (37)	Measurement	Types of Deities (39)	Measurement	Types of Deities (36)
Minimum	0	Minimum	0	Minimum	0
Maximum	12	Maximum	18	Maximum	26
Average per site	4	Average per site	4	Average per site	5
Median	3	Median	2	Median	1
Mode	0, 4	Mode	1	Mode	0, 1

Table 8.15. Measurements calculated from presence/absence data in Tables 7.5 – 7.7.

Local Non-Water Sites (19)		Local Water Sites (16)		Regional Water Sites (11)	
Deity (type)	%	Deity (type)	%	Deity (type)	%
Deity at ~40% or more sites (8+)		Deity at ~40% or more sites (7+)		Deity at ~40% or more sites (5+)	
Minerva	42	Apollo (all types)	56	-	-
Deity at ~30% or more sites (6+)		Deity at ~30% or more sites (5+)		Deity at ~30% or more sites (4+)	
Mars (all types)	32	Apollo (Apollo)	31	Mars (all types)	36
Deity at ~25% or more sites (5+)		Deesses-Meres	31	Jupiter (all types)	36
Mars (Mars)	26	Deity at ~25% or more sites (4+)		Diana	36
Mercury	26	Minerva	25	Deity at ~25% or more sites (3+)	
Sites with no deity	32	Venus	25	Mars (Mars)	27
		Sites with no deity	13	Mercury	27
				Deesses-Meres	27
				Sites with no deity	36

Table 8.16. Percentages of deities found most frequently from each site type.

Totals for Each Deity at All Local Sites and All Water Sites — Named

	Indigenous Gods						Apollo					Jupiter			Mars				Other Roman, Eastern, Mystery Gods											
	Borvo	Cernunnos	Luxovius	Sucellus	Taranis	Ucuetis	Apollo	Belenus	Grannus	Moritagus	Vindonnus	Jupiter	Ammon	Anguiped	Mars	Augustus	Cicolluis	Segomo	Aesculapius	Bacchus	Hercules	Horus	Lares	Mercury	Mithras	Osirus	Satyr/Faun	Serapis	Silvanus	Vulcan
Total for Each Deity at Local Non-Water Sites	0	1	0	3	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	5	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	5	1	0	2	1	1	1
Total for Each Deity at Local Water Sites	1	1	0	2	1	0	5	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	1	0
TOTAL FOR EACH DEITY AT ALL LOCAL SITES	1	2	0	5	1	1	8	1	2	1	1	3	0	3	5	0	1	1	1	2	4	0	1	7	2	0	4	2	2	1
Total for Each Deity at Local Water Sites	1	1	0	2	1	0	5	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	1	0
Total for Each Deity at Regional Water Sites	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL FOR EACH DEITY AT ALL WATER SITES	2	2	1	3	1	0	7	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	3	1	0	1	1	2	4	1	0	5	2	1	2	1	1	0

	Indigenous Goddesses														Roman, Mystery Goddesses									Unnamed, Attributes — Gods			Goddesses		Unidentified				Total appearances, all types
	Acionna	Bellona	Brixta	Candidus	Damona	Deesses-Meres	Epona	Icauna	Januaria	Litavis	Nantosuelta	Rosmerta	Sequana	Sirona	Ceres	Cybele	Diana	Hygia	Juno	Meditrina	Minerva	Nymph	Venus	Bird-god	Dog-god	Mallet-god/keg-god	Fecundity-goddess	Rabbit-goddess	Male deity	Male and Female pair	Female deity	None	
Local Non-Water Sites	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	3	1	8	1	2	1	1	1	3	0	4	0	0	6	72
Local Water Sites	0	0	0	0	2	5	2	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	1	4	1	0	2	2	0	3	1	1	2	64
ALL LOCAL SITES	0	1	0	0	2	9	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	4	1	12	2	6	2	1	3	5	0	7	1	1	8	136
Local Water Sites	0	0	0	0	2	5	2	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	1	4	1	0	2	2	0	3	1	1	2	64
Regional Water Sites	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	4	52
ALL WATER SITES	1	1	1	1	3	8	4	1	0	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	5	0	1	0	6	2	6	1	1	2	3	1	5	2	2	6	116

Table 8.17. A comparison of the total number of deity types present when combined into local or water categories.

Comparison of Specific Deities from All Site Types — Named

	Indigenous Gods						Apollo					Jupiter			Mars				Other Roman, Eastern, Mystery Gods											
	Borvo	Cernunnos	Luxovius	Sucellus	Taranis	Ucuetis	Apollo	Belenus	Grannus	Moritasgus	Vindonnus	Jupiter	Ammon	Anguiped	Mars	Augustus	Cicolluis	Segomo	Aesculapius	Bacchus	Hercules	Horus	Lares	Mercury	Mithras	Osiris	Satyr/Faun	Serapis	Silvanus	Vulcan
Total for Each Deity at Local Non-Water Sites	0	1	0	3	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	5	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	5	1	0	2	1	1	1
Total for Each Deity at Local Water Sites	1	1	0	2	1	0	5	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	1	0
Total for Each Deity at Regional Water Sites	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL FOR EACH DEITY AT ALL SITES	2	3	1	6	1	1	10	1	2	1	1	4	1	5	8	1	1	1	2	3	5	1	1	10	3	1	4	2	2	1

	Indigenous Goddesses														Roman, Mystery Goddesses									Unnamed, Attributes Gods			Goddesses		Unidentified				Total appearances, all types
	Acionna	Bellona	Brixta	Candidus	Damona	Deesses-Meres	Epona	Icauna	Januaria	Litavis	Nantosuelta	Rosmerta	Sequana	Sirona	Ceres	Cybele	Diana	Hygia	Juno	Meditrina	Minerva	Nymph	Venus	Bird-god	Dog-god	Mallet-god/keg-god	Fecundity-goddess	Rabbit-goddess	Male deity	Male and Female pair	Female deity	None	
Local Non-Water Sites	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	3	1	**8**	1	2	1	1	1	3	0	4	0	0	**6**	72
Local Water Sites	0	0	0	0	2	5	2	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	1	**4**	1	0	2	2	0	3	1	1	2	64
Regional Water Sites	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	**4**	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	**4**	52
ALL SITES	1	2	1	1	3	12	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	7	1	4	1	14	3	8	2	2	3	6	1	9	2	2	12	188

*Numbers in **bold** highlight deities who are found at 25% or more sites.

Table 8.18. A comparison of the total number of deity types present at each type of site.

417

All Local Sites (35)	
Measurement	**Types of Deities (52)**
Minimum	0
Maximum	18
Average per site	4
Median	3
Mode	1

All Local Sites (35)	
Deity (type)	**%**
Deity at ~40% or more sites (14+)	
	- -
Deity at ~30% or more sites (11+)	
Apollo (all types)	37
Minerva	34
Deity at ~25% or more sites (9+)	
Deesses-Meres	25

All Water Sites (27)	
Measurement	**Types of Deities (53)**
Minimum	0
Maximum	26
Average per site	4
Median	2
Mode	1

All Water Sites (27)	
Deity (type)	**%**
Deity at ~40% or more sites (11+)	
Apollo (all types)	41
Deity at ~30% or more sites (8+)	
Deesses-Meres	29
Deity at ~25% or more sites (7+)	
Apollo (Apollo)	26

Table 8.19. (left) Measurements of combined site categories (all local sites and all water sites) calculated from presence/absence data in Tables 7.5 – 7.7., and (right) percentages of deities most frequently found at each combined site type.

Local Non-Water Sites (19)				
Category	Types of Deities (37)		Appearances (72)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
By sex*				
Male	62	23	57	41
Female	38	14	43	31
By origin**				
Indigenous w/Roman	39	14	32	22
Roman only	61	22	68	46
Indigenous only	31	11	26	18
Roman w/indigenous	69	25	74	50

Local Water Sites (16)				
Category	Types of Deities (39)		Appearances (64)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
By sex*				
Male	58	23	54	35
Female	42	17	46	30
By origin**				
Indigenous w/Roman	58	21	51	30
Roman only	42	15	49	29
Indigenous only	42	15	41	24
Roman w/indigenous	58	21	59	35

Regional Water Sites (11)				
Category	Types of Deities (37)		Appearances (52)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
By sex*				
Male	53	20	51	27
Female	47	18	49	26
By origin**				
Indigenous w/Roman	53	18	46	22
Roman only	47	16	54	26
Indigenous only	47	16	40	19
Roman w/indigenous	53	18	60	29

*Unidentified couples are counted once for the totals (n) of "types of deities" and "appearances," but separate for male and female categories. If the totals for male/female counts are added, they will always equal one greater than the overall totals.

**Unidentified deities (male, female, couples) are omitted from these counts as their origins are unknown.

Table 8.20. Total types of deities and appearances by sex and origin at each site.

All Local Sites (35)				
Category	Types of Deities (52)		Appearances (136)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
By sex*				
Male	57	30	55	76
Female	43	24	45	61
By origin**				
Indigenous w/Roman	55	27	41	52
Roman only	45	22	59	75
Indigenous only	41	20	33	42
Roman w/indigenous	59	29	67	85

All Water Sites (27)				
Category	Types of Deities (53)		Appearances (116)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
By sex*				
Male	58	31	53	62
Female	42	27	47	56
By origin**				
Indigenous w/Roman	55	38	49	52
Roman only	45	31	51	55
Indigenous only	43	30	40	43
Roman w/indigenous	57	39	60	64

*Unidentified couples are counted once for the totals (n) of "types of deities" and "appearances," but separate for male and female categories. If the totals for male/female counts are added, they will always equal one greater than the overall totals.

**Unidentified deities (male, female, couples) are omitted from these counts as their origins are unknown.

Table 8.21. Total types of deities and appearances by sex and origin at combined sites.

419

Total Deities for Each Local Non-Water Site (19)							
#	Site (total deities)	Male, all	Female, all	Indigenous w/Roman	Roman only	Indigenous only	Roman w/Indigenous
2b	Alesia, sanctuary of Jupiter (9)	5	4	2	6	1	7
2c	Alesia, Ucuetis monument (1)	1	0	1	0	1	0
3	Arcenant (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Avallon (5)	4	1	0	4	0	4
6	Beire-le-Châtel (12)	7	5	5	6	5	6
8	Champigny-les-Langres (4)	2	2	0	4	0	4
9	Colonne de Cussy (8)	4	4	1	6	0	7
10	Corcelles les Monts (7)	4	3	1	6	1	6
11	Crain (1)	0	1	0	1	0	1
20	Grand, Temple of Apollo Grannus (10)	6	4	2	8	1	9
26a	Mâlain, La Boussiere (1)	1	0	0	1	0	1
26b	Mâlain, Sanctuary of Mars Cicolluis and Litavis (3)	1	2	3	0	2	1
26c	Mâlain-Ancey, Froidefonds (4)	3	1	3	1	3	1
28	Mirebeau-sur-Bèze (4)	3	1	2	2	2	2
30	Montot (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	Tremblois (3)	0	3	2	1	2	1
38	Val Suzon (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0
39s	Vertault, extra-muros fanum (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0
39b	Vertault, intra-muros fanum (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0

Total Deities for Each Local Water Site (16)							
#	Site (total deities)	Male, all	Female, all	Indigenous w/Roman	Roman only	Indigenous only	Roman w/Indigenous
1	Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix (1)	0	1	0	1	0	1
2a	Alesia, Croix Saint Charles (11)	7	4	6	5	5	6
4	Auxerre (3)	2	1	2	1	1	2
7	Bourbonne-les-Bains (6)	4	2	3	2	3	2
13	Essarois (3)	2	1	1	1	0	2
14	Essey, Source of the Armancon (2)	0	2	1	1	1	1
15	Etalente, Source of the Coquille (1)	1	0	0	1	0	1
17	Fontaine Segrain (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	Fontaines Salées (3)	1	2	2	1	2	1
19	Gissey-le-Vieil (1)	0	1	1	0	1	0
21	Isômes (1)	0	1	1	0	1	0
23	Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges (18)	10	9	8	8	7	9
27	Massingy-les-Vitteaux (2)	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	Sainte-Sabine (2)	2	0	1	1	0	2
34	Source of the Seine (10)	5	5	3	6	2	7
36	Terrefondree, Source of the Douix (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0

Total Deities for Each Regional Water Site (11)							
#	Site (total deities)	Male, all	Female, all	Indigenous w/Roman	Roman only	Indigenous only	Roman w/Indigenous
12	Entrains (26)	14	13	11	12	10	13
16	Fontaine de l'Étuvée (1)	0	1	1	0	1	0
22	Laneuveville-les-Nancy, Source Doumotte (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	Lunéville (1)	0	1	0	1	0	1
25	Luxeuil-les-Bains (9)	6	3	5	3	4	4
29	Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	Montbouy, the area Craon (2)	0	2	1	1	1	1
33	Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade (3)	1	2	0	3	0	3
35	Source of the Yonne (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	Villards-d'Héria, Lac d'Antre (10)	6	4	4	6	3	7
41	Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 8.22. Totals of male/female, indigenous/Roman deities per site.

Local Non-Water Sites (19)				
Category	Types of Deities (37)		Appearances (72)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Male				
Indigenous only	16	6	11	8
Indigenous-Roman	8	3	5.5	4
Roman only	35	13	35	25
Unidentified	3	1	5.5	4
Female				
Indigenous only	14	5	14	10
Indigenous-Roman	0	0	0	0
Roman only	24	9	29	21
Unidentified	0	0	0	0
Couple				
Unidentified	0	0	0	0

Local Water Sites (16)				
Category	Types of Deities (39)		Appearances (64)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Male				
Indigenous only	15	6	12	8
Indigenous-Roman	15	6	9	6
Roman only	23	9	27	17
Unidentified	3	1	5	3
Female				
Indigenous only	23	9	25	16
Indigenous-Roman	0	0	0	0
Roman only	15	6	19	12
Unidentified	3	1	1.5	1
Couple*				
Unidentified	3	1	1.5	1

Regional Water Sites (11)				
Category	Types of Deities (37)		Appearances (52)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Male				
Indigenous only	13	5	9	5
Indigenous-Roman	5	2	6	3
Roman only	30	11	31	16
Unidentified	3	1	4	2
Female				
Indigenous only	30	11	27	14
Indigenous-Roman	0	0	0	0
Roman only	13	5	19	10
Unidentified	3	1	2	1
Couple*				
Unidentified	3	1	2	1

All Local Sites (35)				
Category	Types of Deities (52)		Appearances (136)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Male				
Indigenous only	15	8	12	16
Indigenous-Roman	14	7	7	10
Roman only	25	13	31	42
Unidentified	2	1	5	7
Female				
Indigenous only	23	12	19	26
Indigenous-Roman	0	0	0	0
Roman only	17	9	24	33
Unidentified	2	1	1	1
Couple*				
Unidentified	2	1	1	1

All Water Sites (27)				
Category	Types of Deities (53)		Appearances (116)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Male				
Indigenous only	15	8	11	13
Indigenous-Roman	13	7	8	9
Roman only	26.5	14	28	33
Unidentified	2	1	4	5
Female				
Indigenous only	26.5	14	26	30
Indigenous-Roman	0	0	0	0
Roman only	13	7	19	22
Unidentified	2	1	2	2
Couple*				
Unidentified	2	1	2	2

*Unidentified couples are counted once for the totals (n) of "types of deities" and "appearances," but separate for male and female categories. If the totals for male/female counts are added, they will always equal one greater than the overall totals.

**Unidentified deities (male, female, couples) are omitted from these counts as their origins are unknown.

Table 8.23. Total types of deities and appearances with more specific category sub-types at each site, and at combined sites.

COMPARISON OF LA TÈNE AND GALLO-ROMAN OBJECTS AT SPRING SANCTUARIES

Local Water Sites (n=6): Châtillon-sur-Seine, Source of the Douix (Map 1); Alésia, Croix Saint Charles (Map 2a); Essarois (Map 13); Fontaines Salées (Map 18); Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges (Map 23); Source of the Seine (Map 34).

Regional Water Sites (n=5): Fontaine de l'Étuvée (Map 16); Luxeuil-les-Bains (Map 25); Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre (Map 29); Sens, Saint-Didier Promenade (Map 33); Villards-d'Héria, Pont des Arches (Map 41).

	Châtillon Douix LT	Châtillon Douix GR	Alésia LT	Alésia GR	Essarois LT	Essarois GR	Font. Salées LT	Font. Salées GR	Les Bolards LT	Les Bolards GR	Source Seine LT	Source Seine GR	l'Étuvée LT	l'Étuvée GR	Luxeuil LT	Luxeuil GR	Mont Beuvray LT	Mont Beuvray GR	Sens LT	Sens GR	Villards LT	Villards GR
Map Number	1	1	2a	2a	13	13	18	18	23	23	34	34	16	16	25	25	29	29	33	33	41	41
COINS																						
Coins	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tessere				1																		
Ingots																1						
PORTABLE SCULPTURE, PLAQUES, FIGURINES																						
Altars				1			1					1					1					
Stele				1					1			1					1					
Plaques, metal				1			1					1						1				
Figurines, stone		1		1			1		1		1	1										
Figurines, metal				1								1								1		
Figurines, terracotta							1		1			1					1		1			
Figurines, bone												1										
Statue(tte)s, stone		1		1			1	1	1			1					1			1	1	
Statue(tte)s, bronze				1							1	1					1			1		1
Statue(tte)s, wood							1		1			1					1					
PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION																						
Hairpins				1					1		1											1
Ear Rings		1																			1	
Necklace pieces, pendants				1								1										1
Beads		1		1					1			1										
Fibulae	1			1	1	1			1	1	1	1					1				1	1
Bracelets		1		1	1	1					1	1						1				
Finger Rings		1		1							1	1			1	1	1					1
Buckles	1			1																		
PERSONAL CARE/HYGIENE																						
Boxes, pieces											1											
Spatulae											1											
Medical inst., unspecified			1																			
Mirrors				1							1	1										
Perfume Bottles				1			1				1	1										1
Toilet object, unspecified							1					1										
GAMING																						
Di		1																				
Game Piece		1									1	1										1
Yo-yo												1										
BUILDING MATERIALS																						
Hinges, doors				1							1	1										
Locks												1										
Keys				1			1				1	1			1							1
Crampons				1																		
Hooks				1							1	1									1	
Nails		1		1			1		1		1	1										
FURNITURE																						
Applique				1								1										1
Hinges/Handles		1		1							1	1										

Table 8.24. Presence/absence table of objects by category and type found at all watery sites in the La Tène and Gallo-Roman periods, continues on next page.

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Map Number	1	1	2a	2a	13	13	18	18	23	23	34	34	16	16	25	25	29	29	33	33	41	41
TOOLS, MISC. INSTRUMENTS																						
Axes, flint								1						1								
Axes, polished stone, prehistoric				1			2	1							1							
Axes, polished amber												1										1
Axes, iron																	1					
Burin				1																		
Chisle				1																		
Knives, blades, handles				1						1		1										1
Spoons				1		1				1		1										
Harness Equipment		2		1						1												
Harpoon, fish hooks			1	1																		
Grinding equipment													2	1								
Weights and chains				1						1										1		1
Scissors												1										
Needles				1								1										1
Spindle Whorls								1		1												
Molds, bronze objects				1						1												
Tools, misc.				1		1						1										
WEAPONS																						
Spearheads				1		1						1										
Projectiles				1		1																
WRITING																						
Inscriptions				1	1	1				1		1		1	1	1						
Stylus				1		1				1		1								1		
Tablets, stone				1								1			1							
Tablets, lead				1																		
Calendar, bronze																						1
VESSELS																						
Amphora			1						1						1				1			
Patere, ceramic				1																1		
Bucket, unspecified				1																		
Vessels, ceramic	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	2	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
Vessels, glass						1				1		1										1
Vessels, metal								1				1					1	1				1
Vessels, wooden				1																		
MISCELLANEOUS																						
Bells				1						1		1					1					1
Rouelles										1												
Rouelle mould				1																		
Lamps										1										1		
Mallet, miniature										1												
Fossils								1				1										
Minerals												1										
Stalagmites												1										
MISCELLANEOUS METAL																						
Rivets															1							
Bars, bronze (not ingots)																						1
Discs, bronze (not mirrors)												1										
Metal, unspecified		1	1	1						1		1						1				1
MISCELLANEOUS BONE, ANTLER, SHELL																						
Bone rings, circles				1								1										1
Antler, worked			1	1			2	1				1										
Astragalae																						1
Horns, aurochs				1																		
Tusks, wild boar				1		1	2	1														
Bone, worked										1		1										
Shell, worked								1														
Animal bones			1		1	1			1	1		1										
	5	15	9	52	7	24	7	17	6	40	3	53	3	7	5	13	11	6	5	13	2	24

Table 8.24. (continued) Presence/absence table of objects by category and type found at all watery sites in the La Tène and Gallo-Roman periods.

Objects found during both La Tene and Gallo-Roman periods at a single site	Alésia, Croix Saint Charles	Fontaines Salées	Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges	Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre
Coins	X	X	X	X
Statuettes, stone		X		
Fibulae			X	
Finger Rings				X
Axes, polished		?		
Harpoon, fish hooks	X			
Vessels, ceramics	X	X	X	X
Vessels, metal				X
Metal, unspecified	X			
Antler, worked	X	?		
Tusks, wild boar		?		
Animal bones			X	

Table 8.25. Objects found in both the La Tène and Gallo-Roman periods that are unique to each site.

Objects found only during the La Tene period at a single site	Alésia, Croix Saint Charles	Fontaines Salées	Les Bolards, Nuits Saint Georges	Mont Beuvray, Fontaine Saint-Pierre
Plaques, metal				X
Bracelets				X
Axes, iron				
Amphorae	X		X	X
Bells				X
Rivets				X
Horns, aurochs	X			
Tusks, wild boar	X			
Animal bones	X			

Table 8.26. Objects found only in the La Tène period at a particular site.
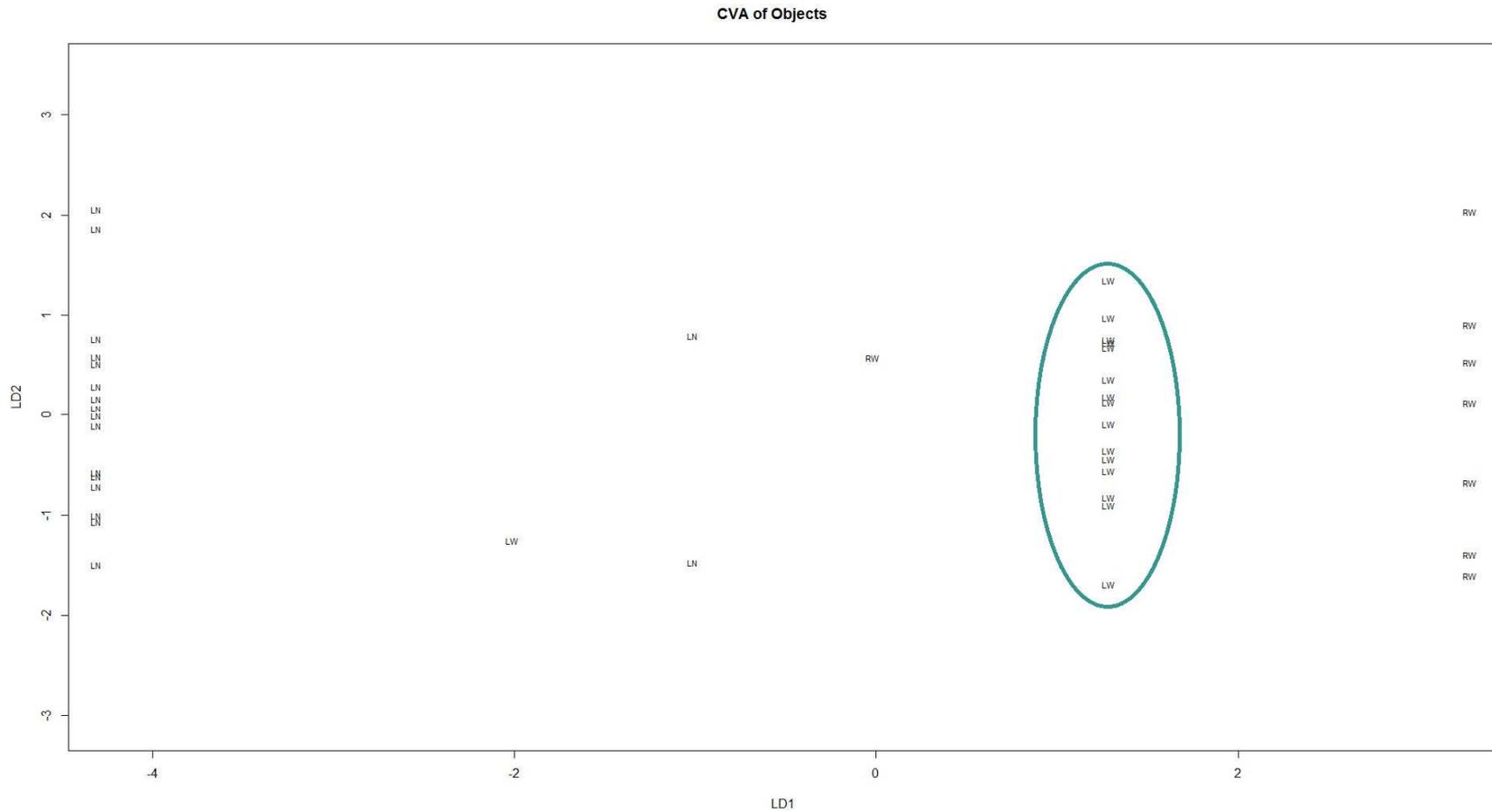
Figure 8.1. Discriminant Analysis test of how similar the materials of the Douix are to local-non water, local water, and regional water sites. The results show it is most similar to local water sites circled in teal (© J. Massey).
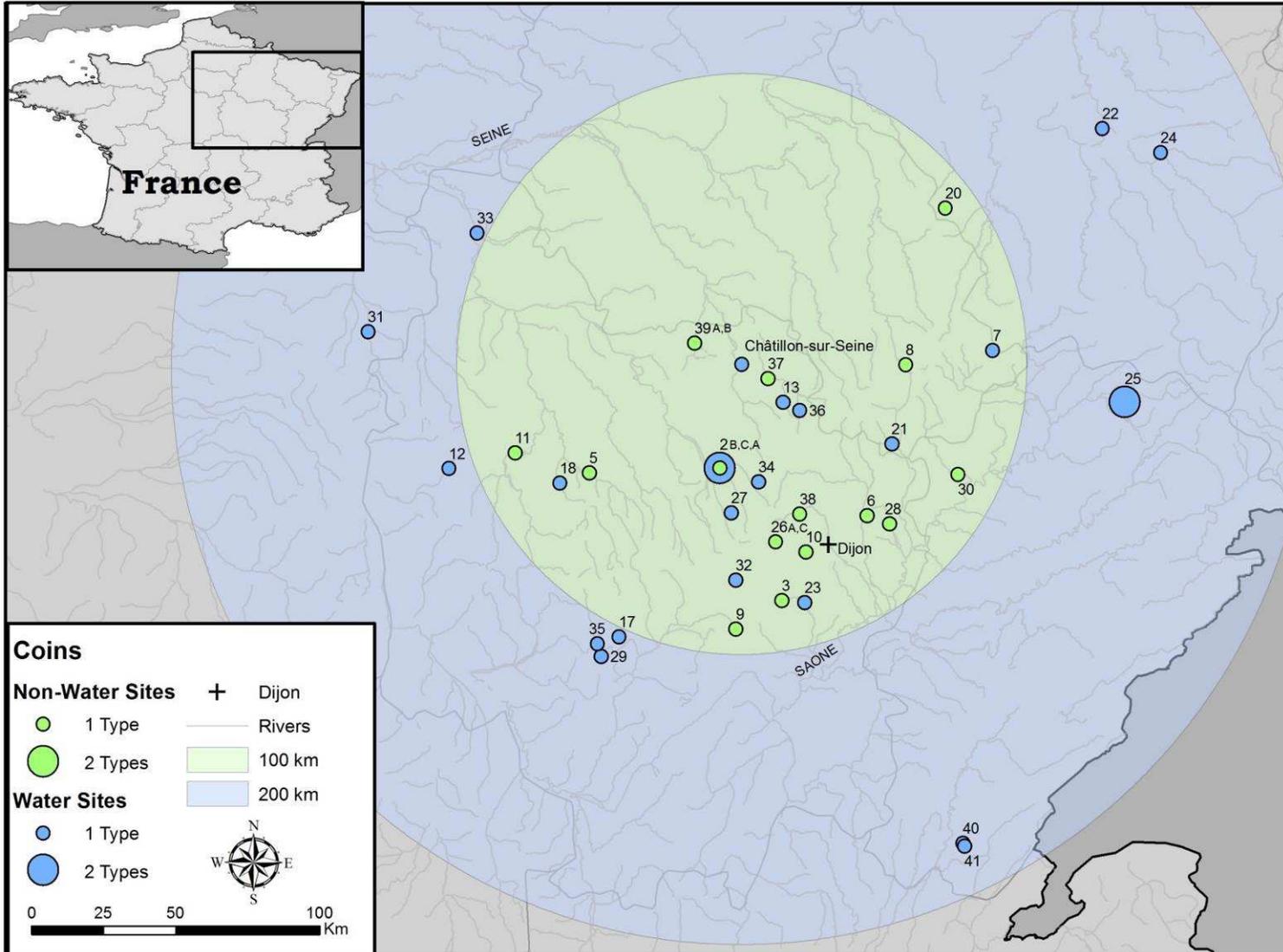
Figure 8.2. Map showing the distribution of coins from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
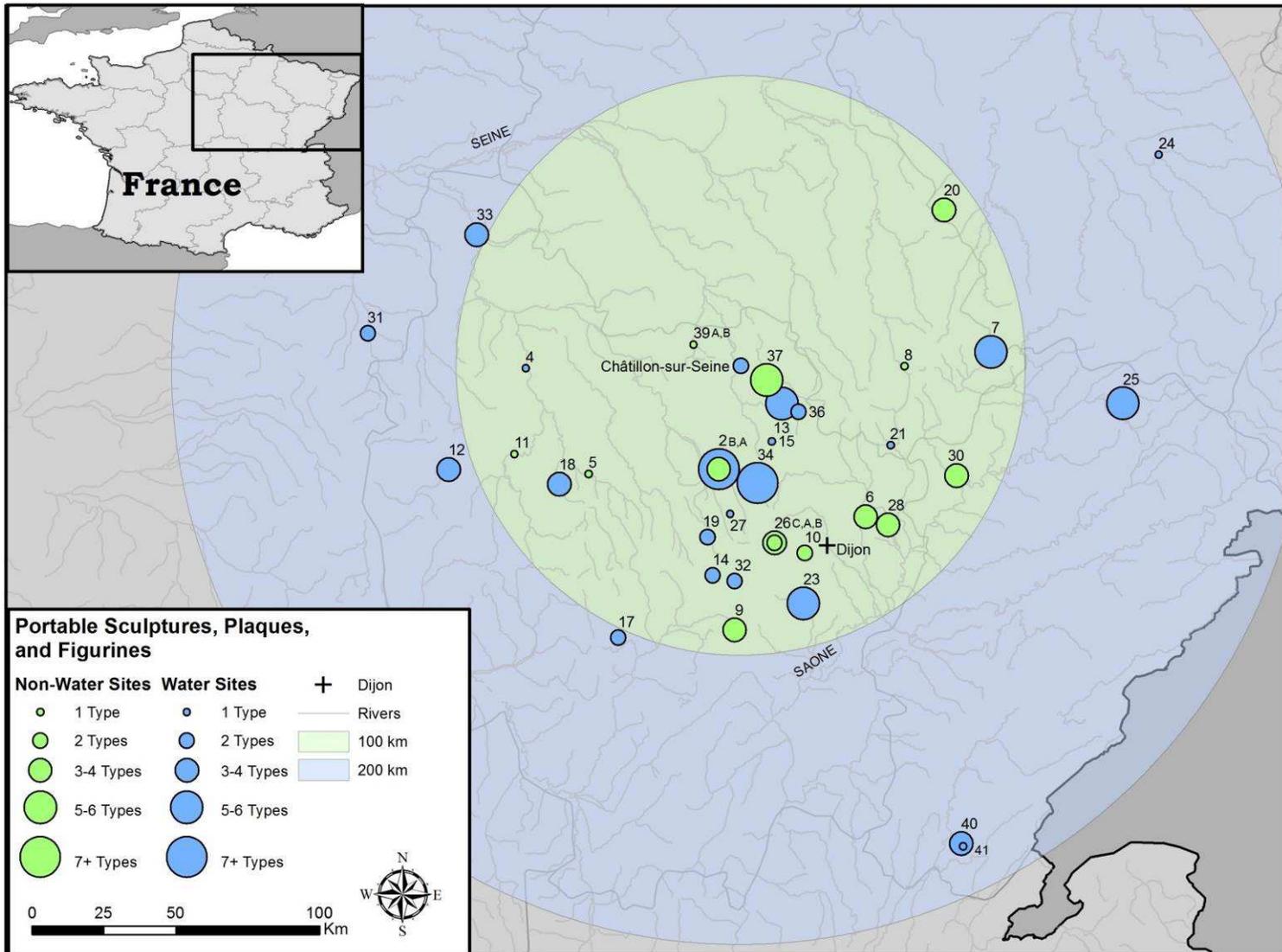
Figure 8.3. Map showing the distribution of portable representations from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
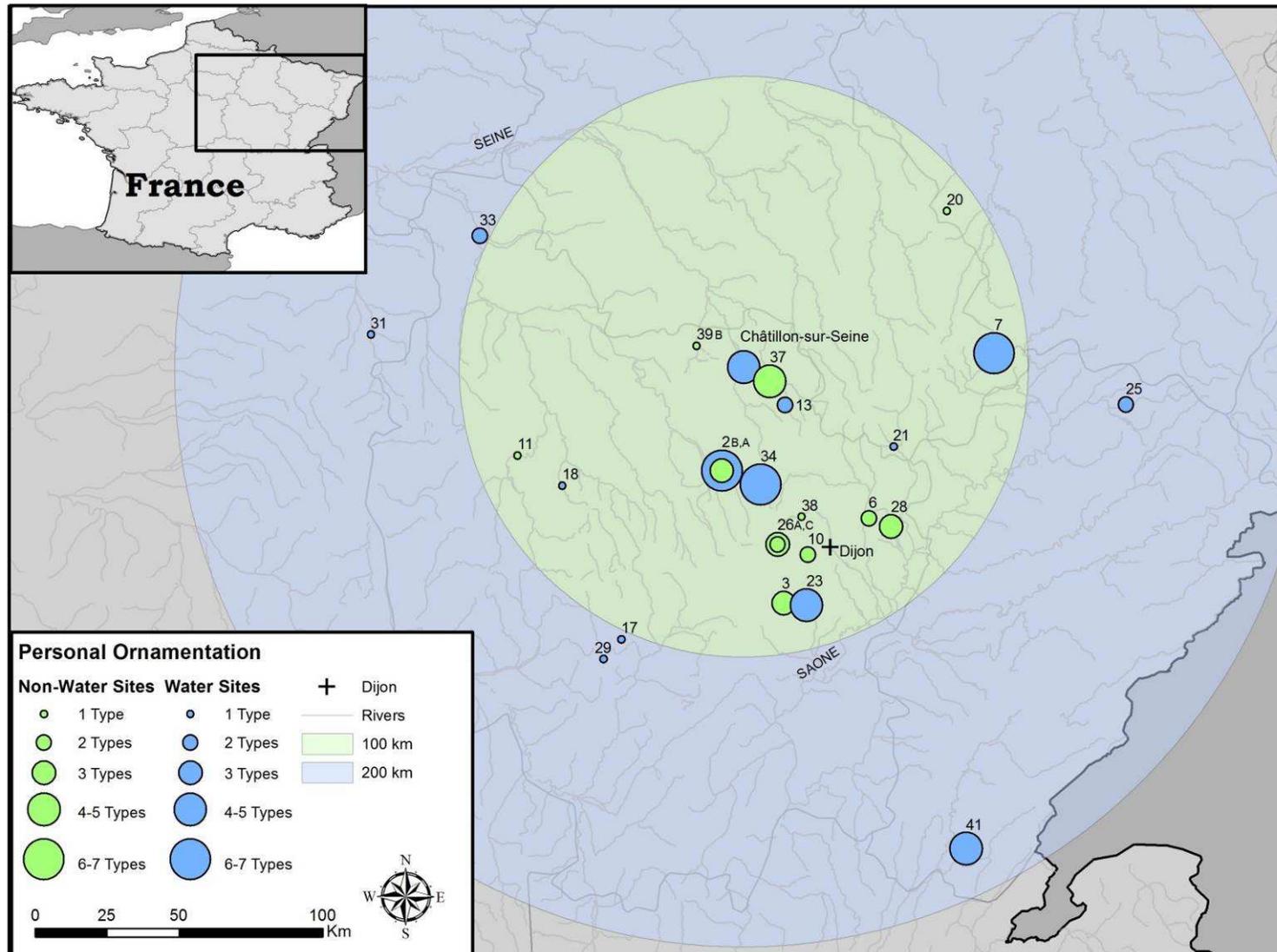
Figure 8.4. Map showing the distribution of personal ornamentation from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
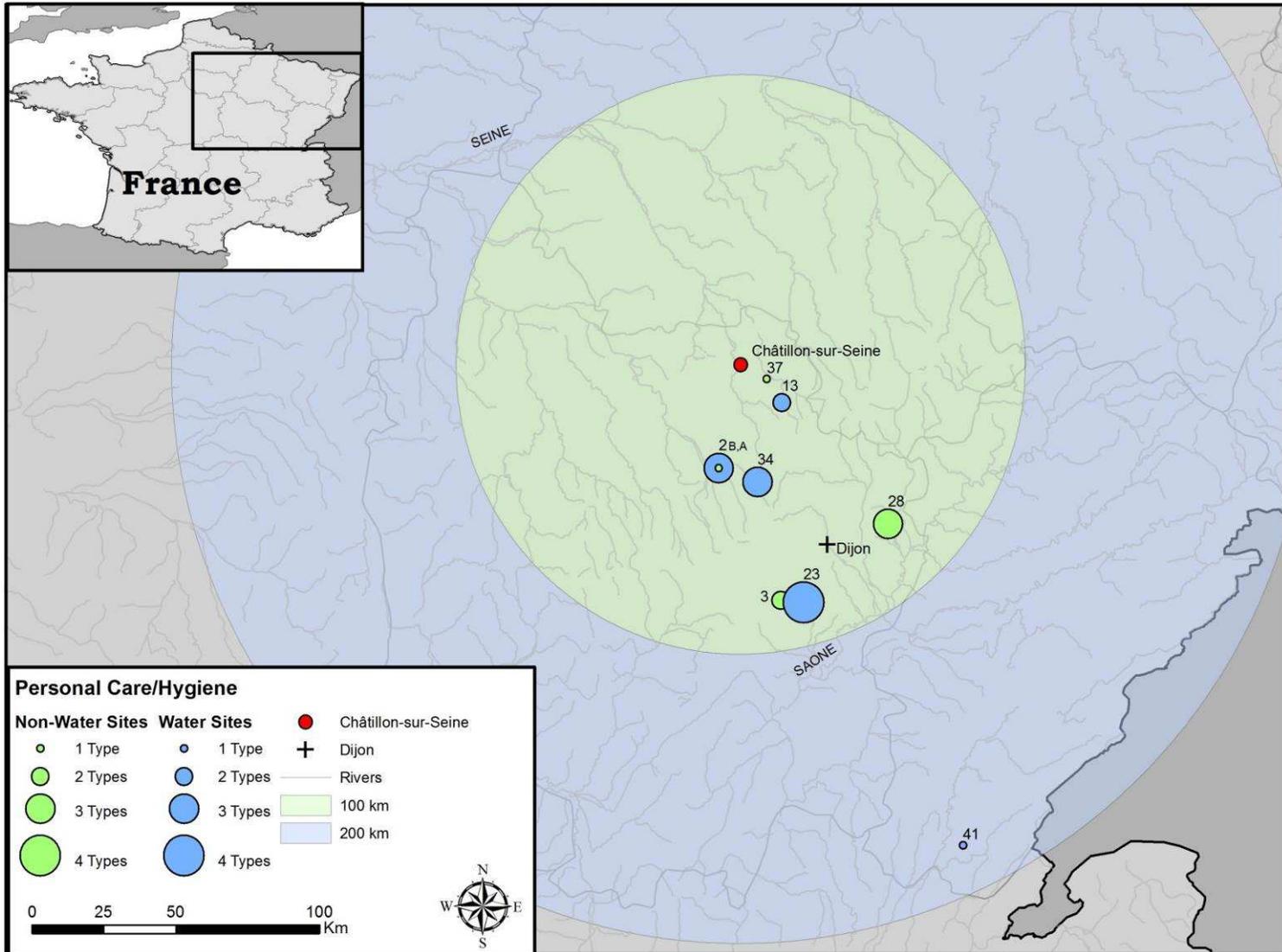
Figure 8.5. Map showing the distribution of personal care/hygiene objects from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
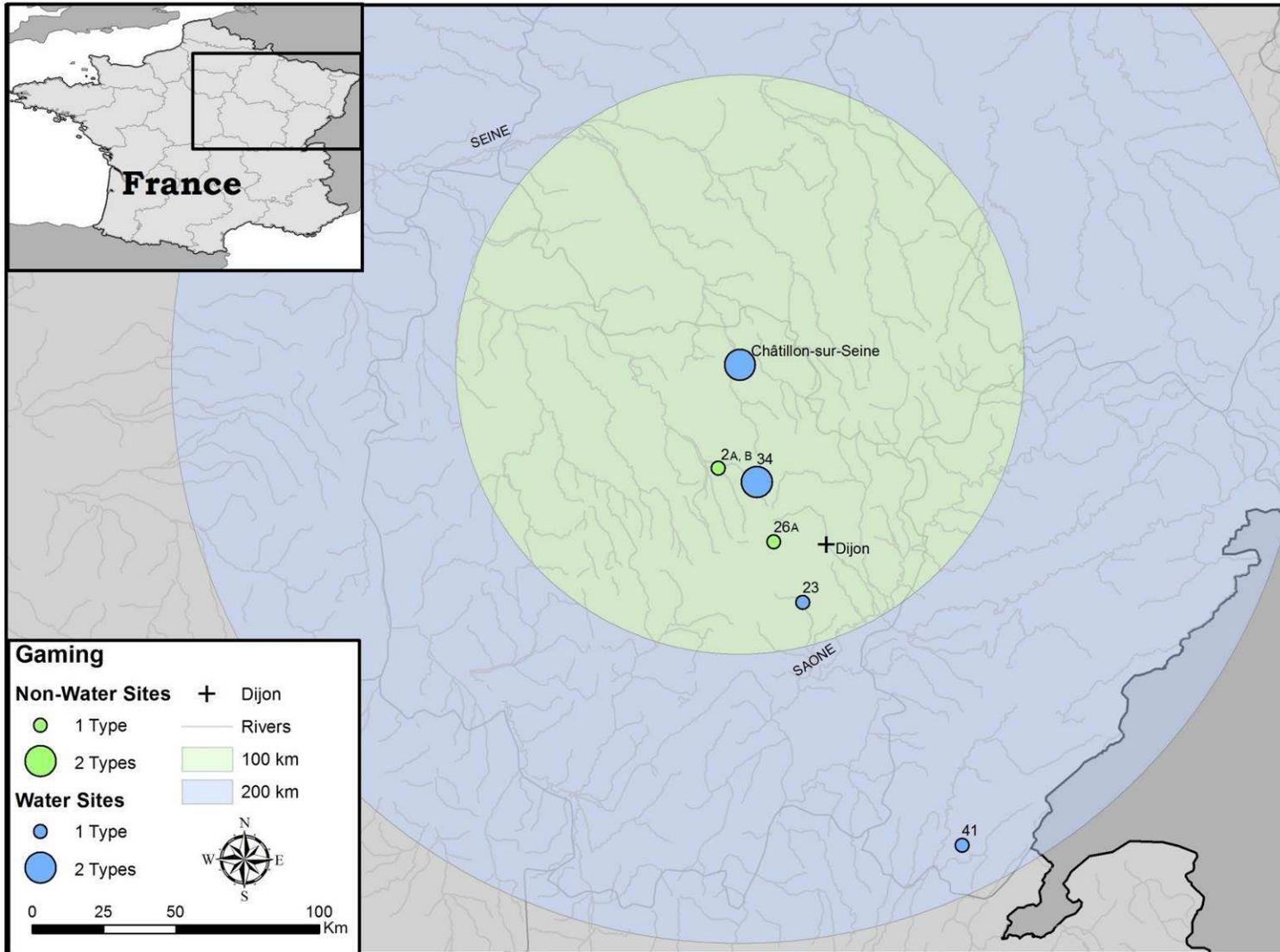
Figure 8.6. Map showing the distribution of gaming objects from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).

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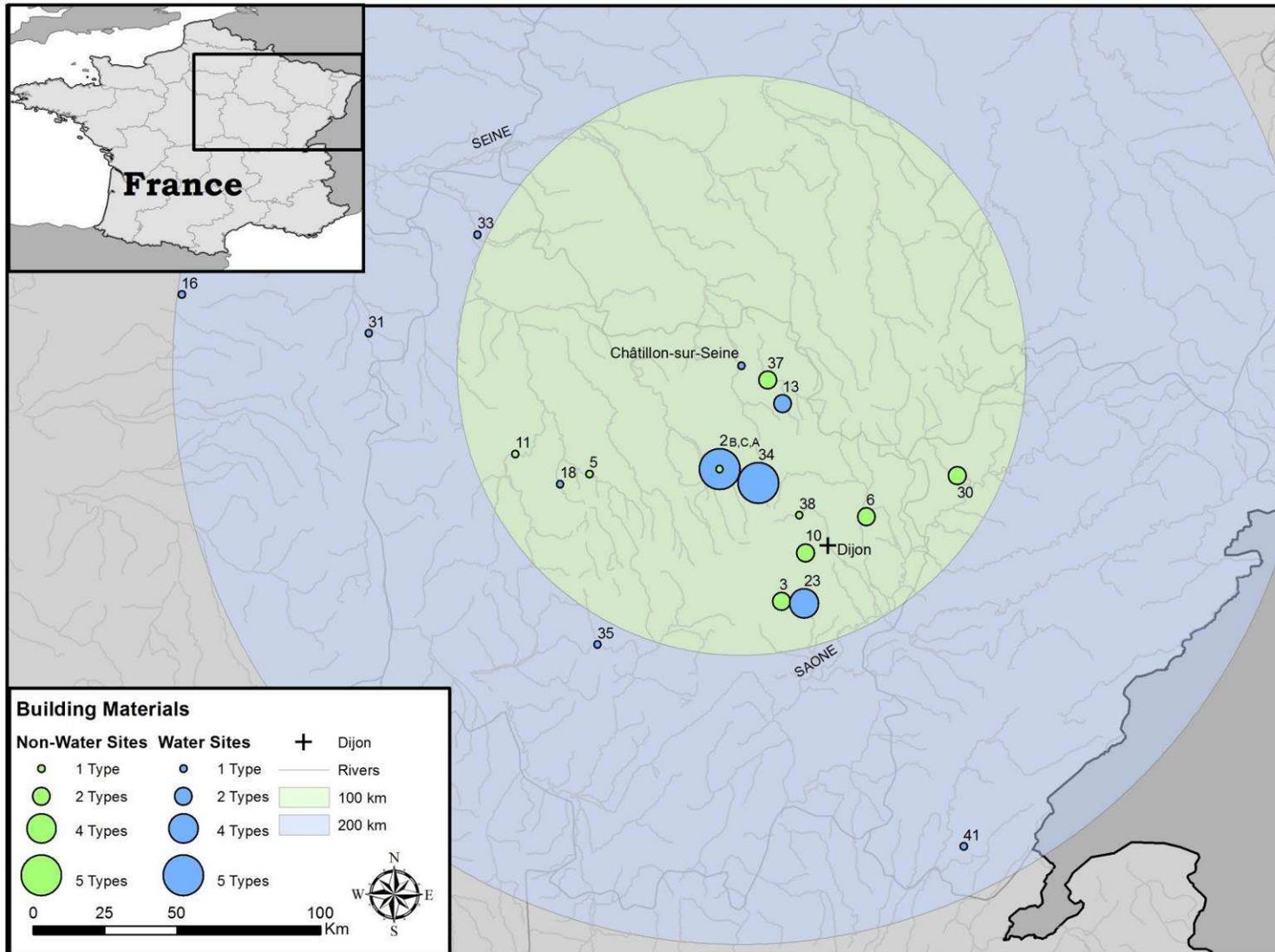
Figure 8.7. Map showing the distribution of building materials from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).

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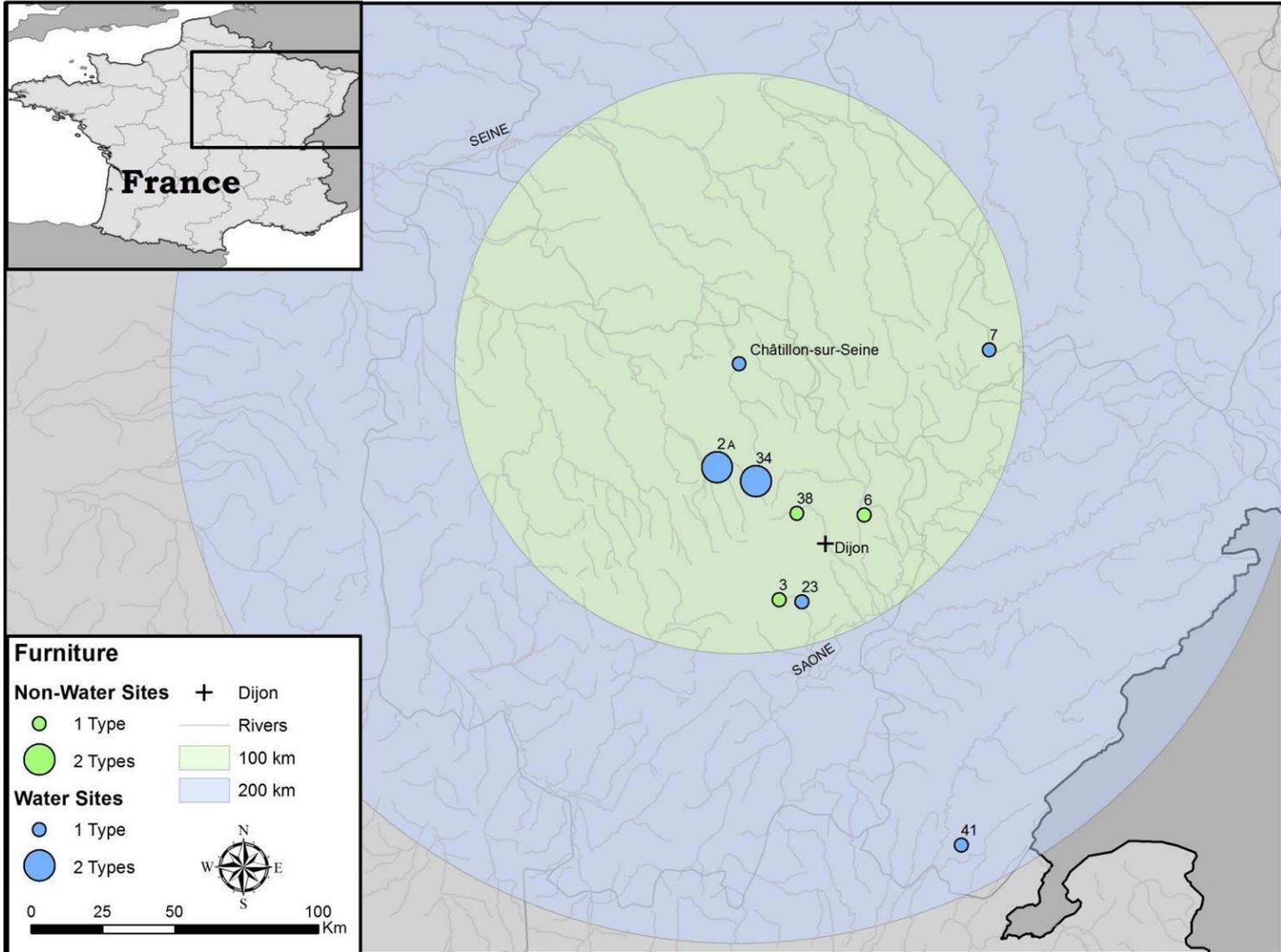
Figure 8.8. Map showing the distribution of furniture-related objects from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).

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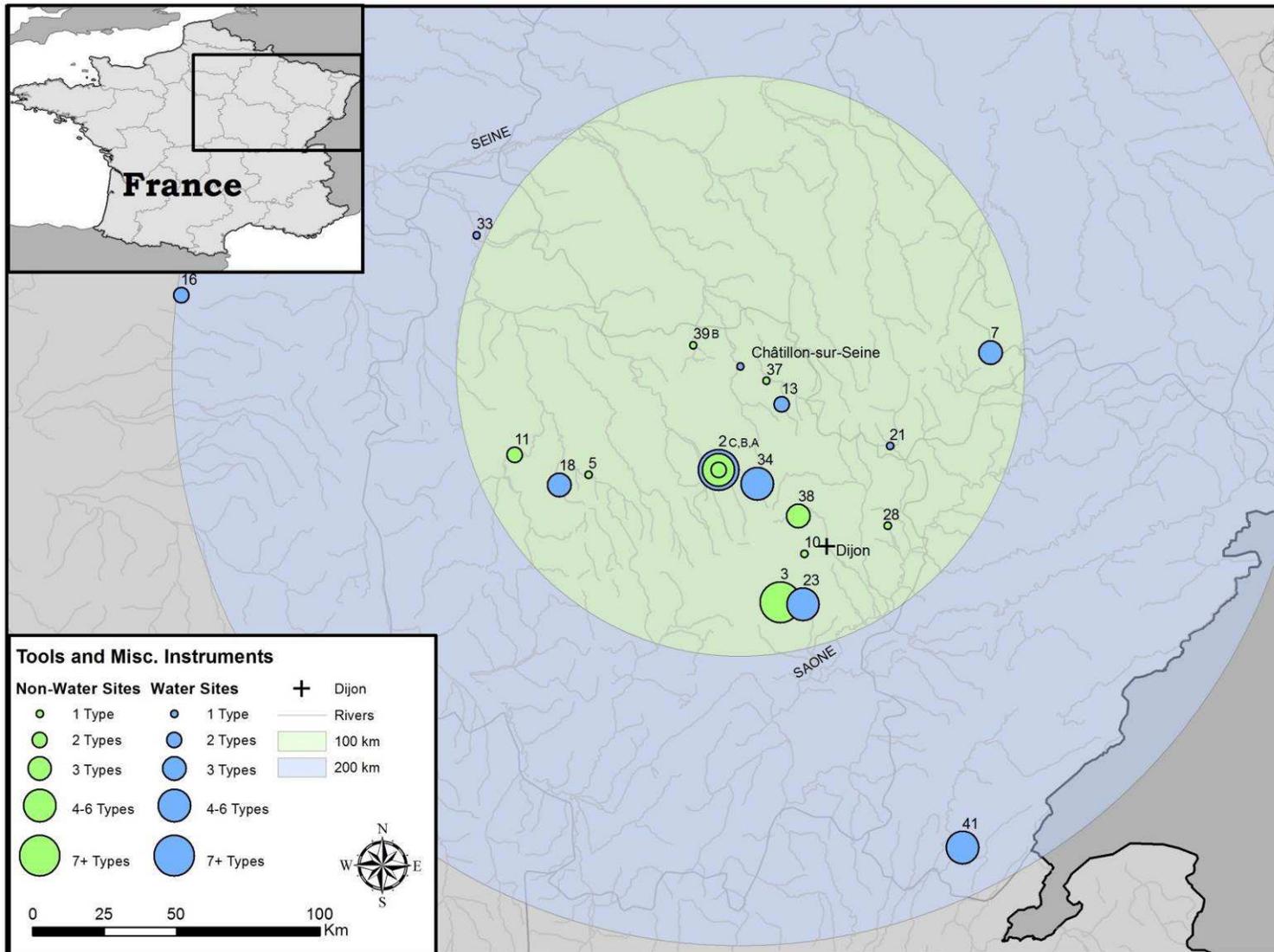
Figure 8.9. Map showing the distribution of tools from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
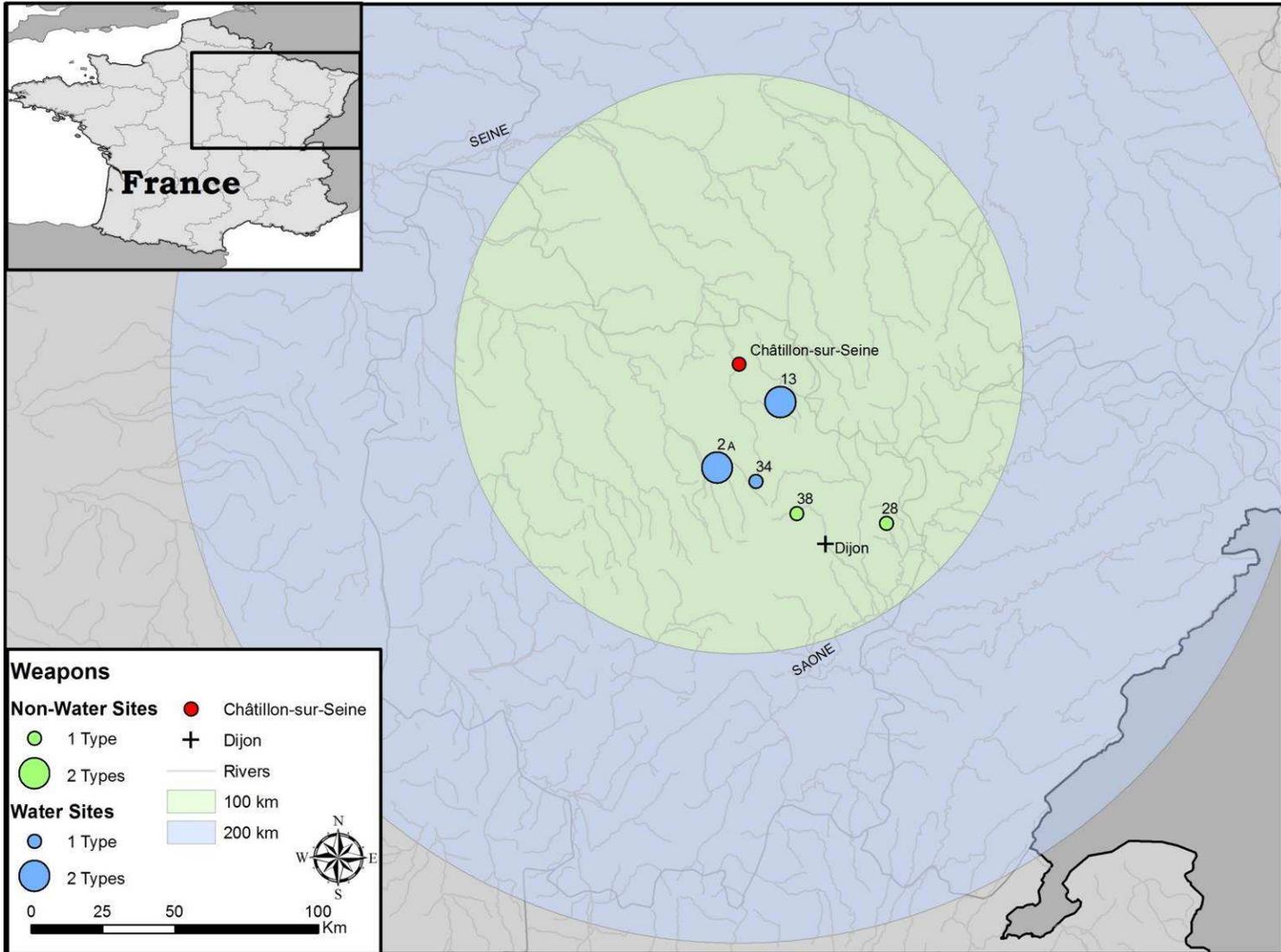
Figure 8.10. Map showing the distribution of weapons from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
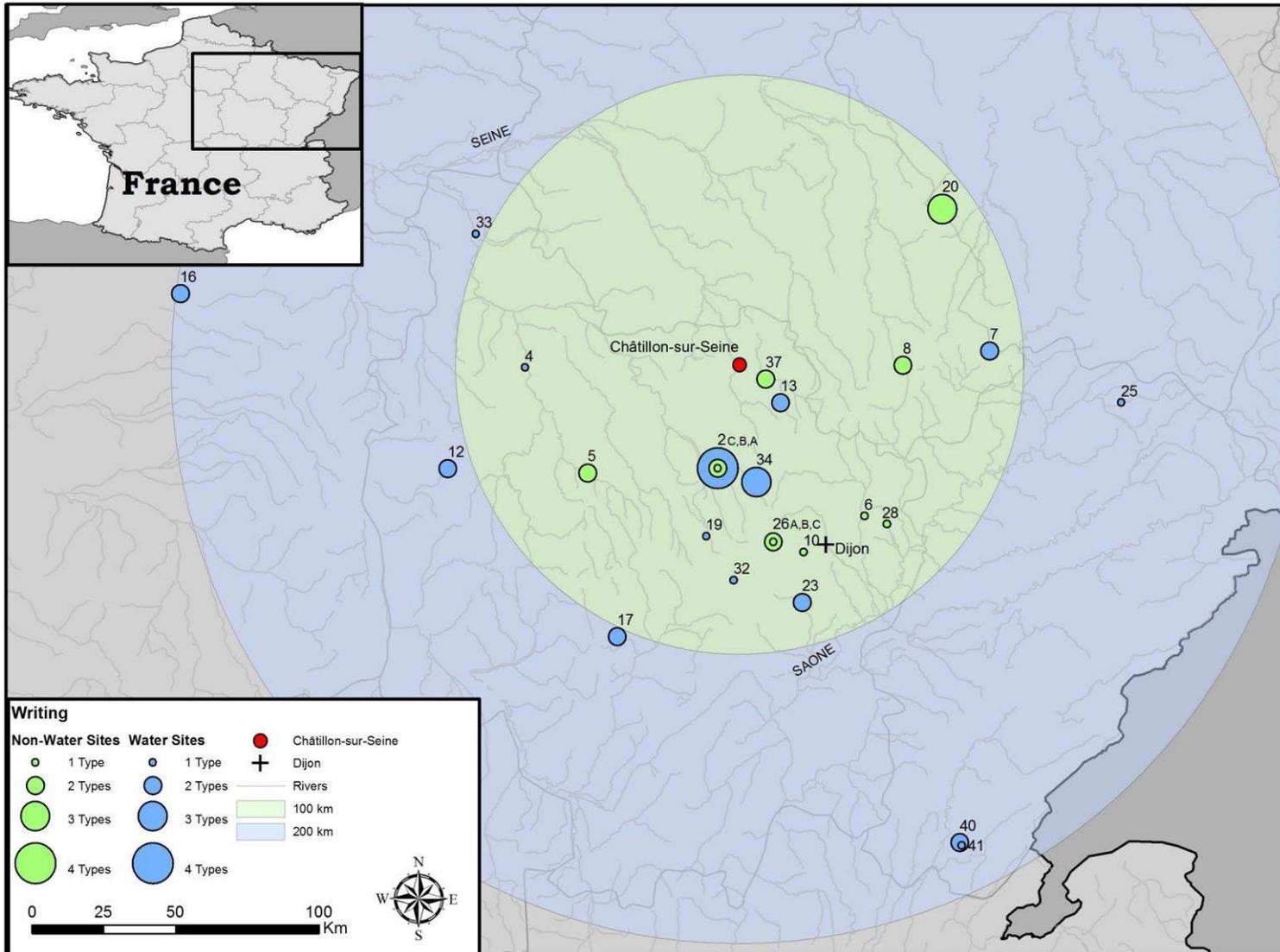
Figure 8.11. Map showing the distribution of writing objects/materials from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
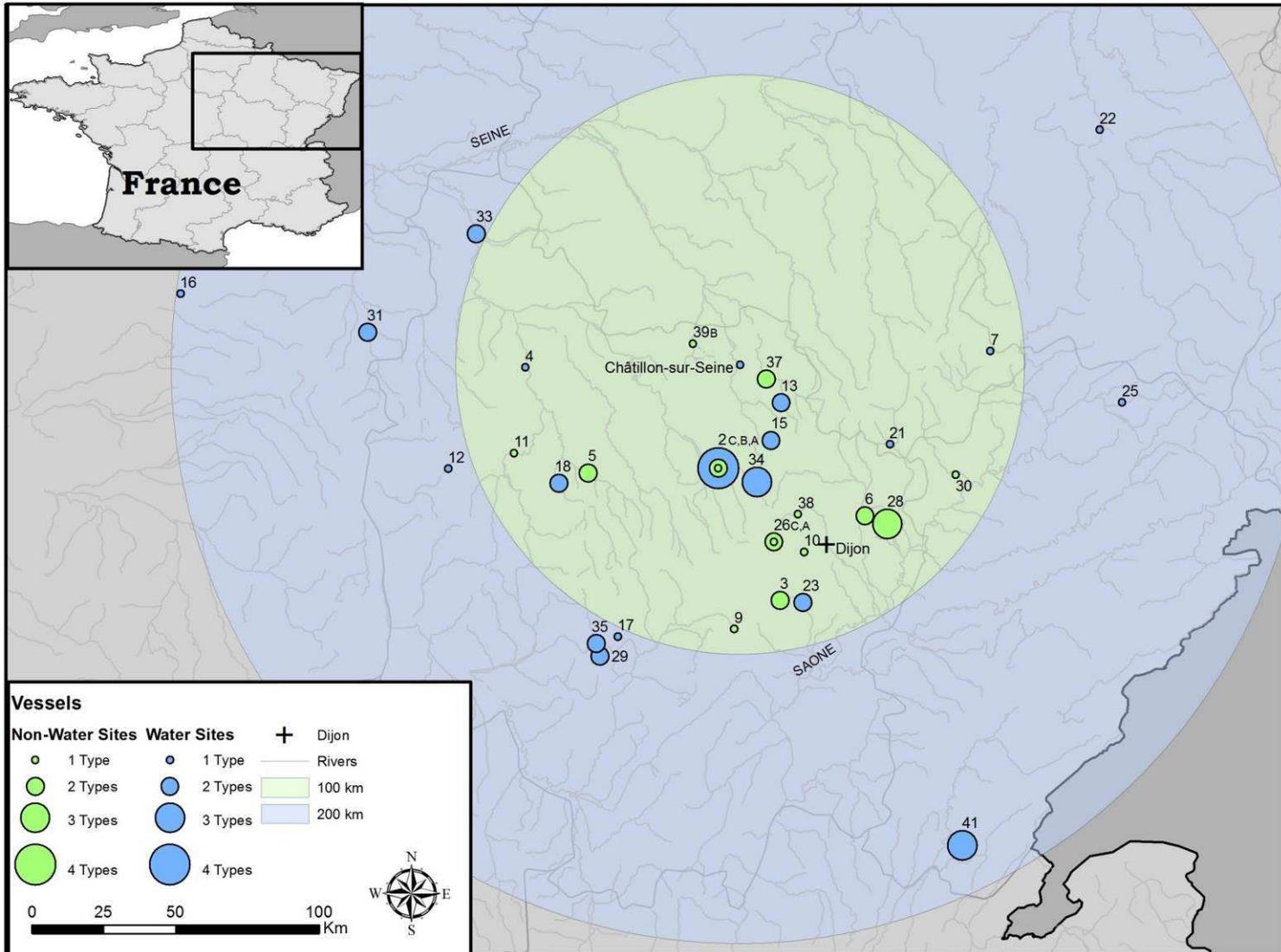
Figure 8.12. Map showing the distribution of vessels from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).

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Figure 8.13. Map showing the distribution of miscellaneous objects from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
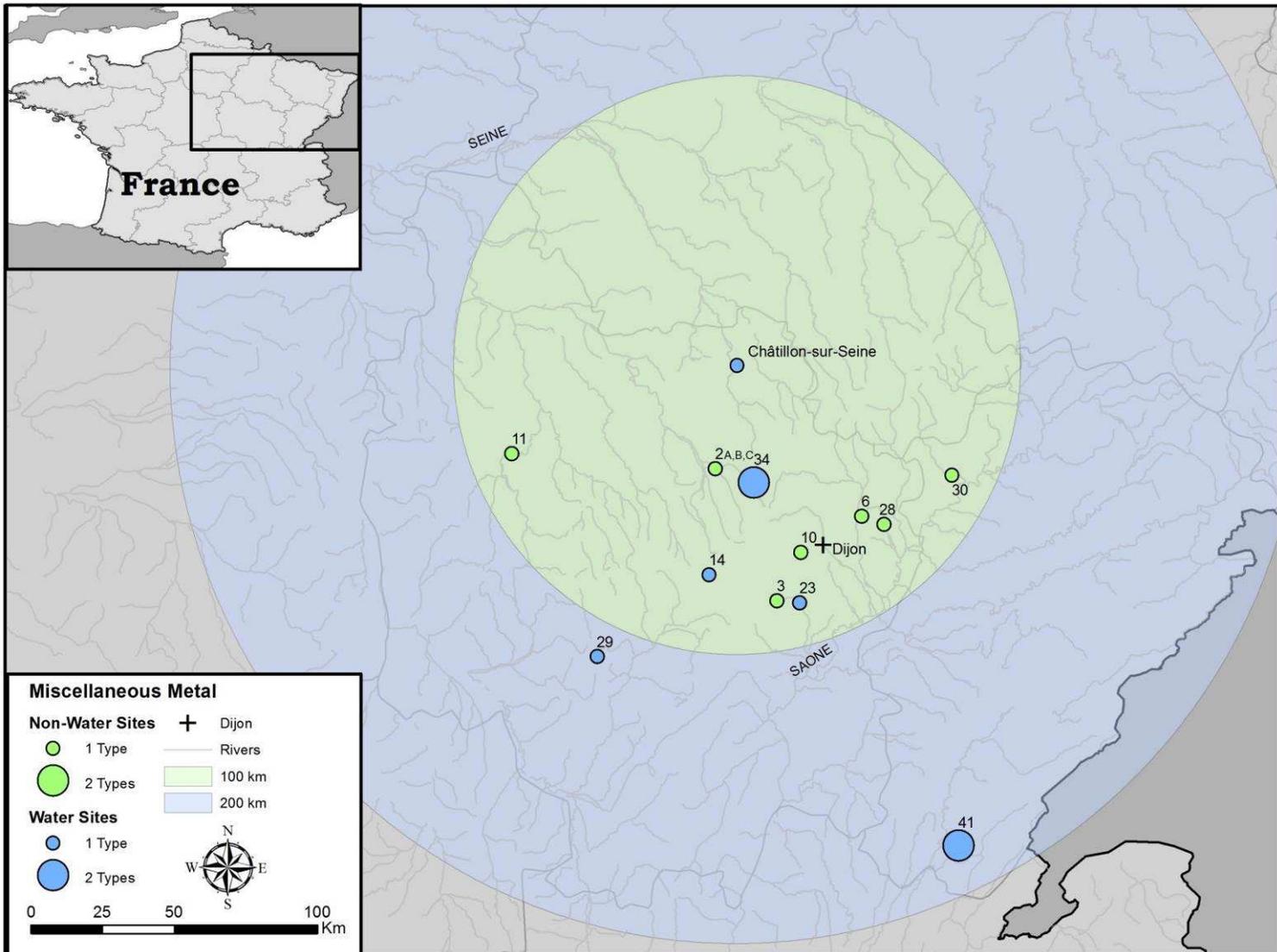
Figure 8.14. Map showing the distribution of miscellaneous metal objects/pieces from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
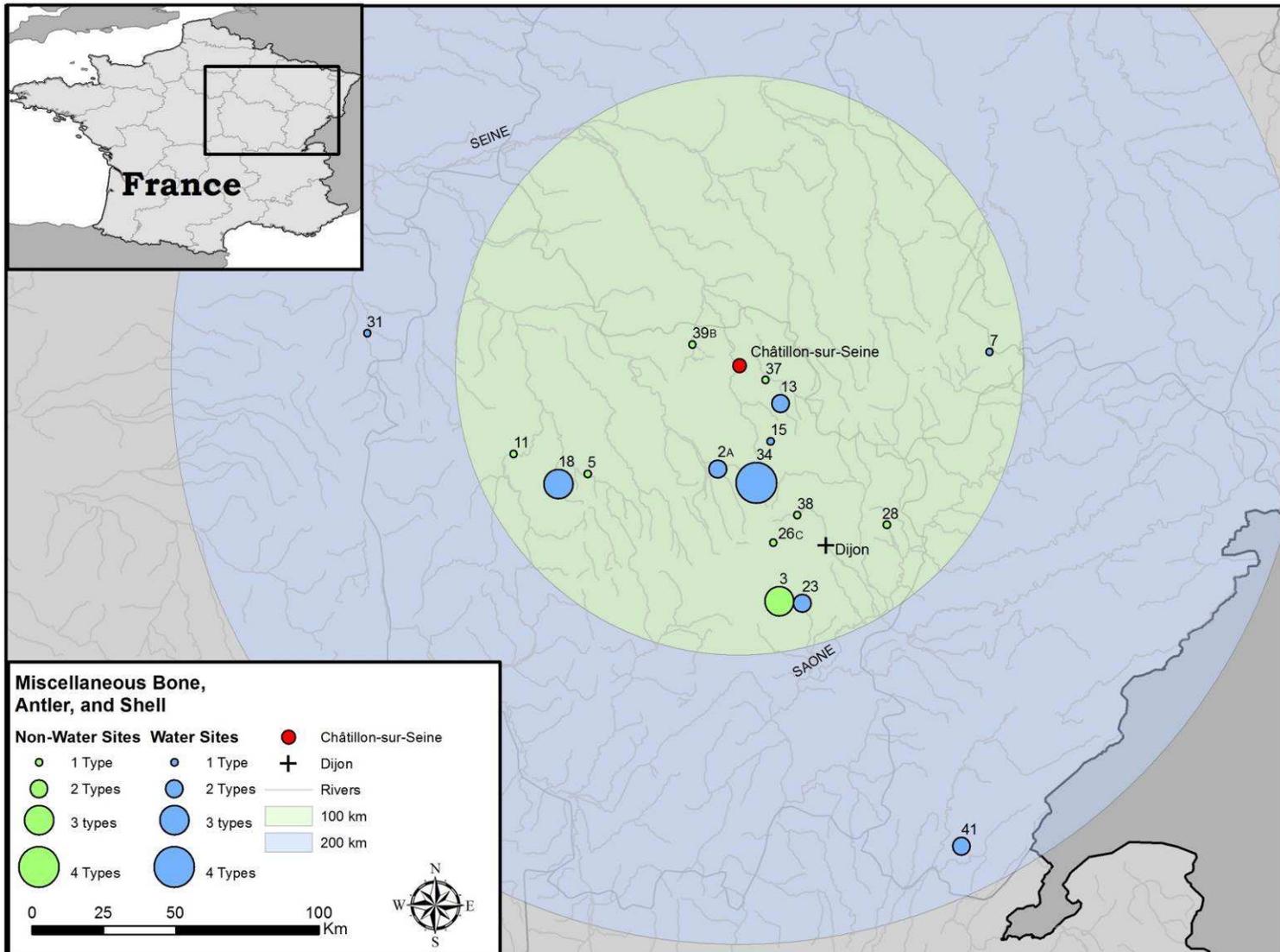
Figure 8.15. Map showing the distribution of miscellaneous bone, etc. objects/pieces from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).

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PLOMB DE SCELLEMENT ①
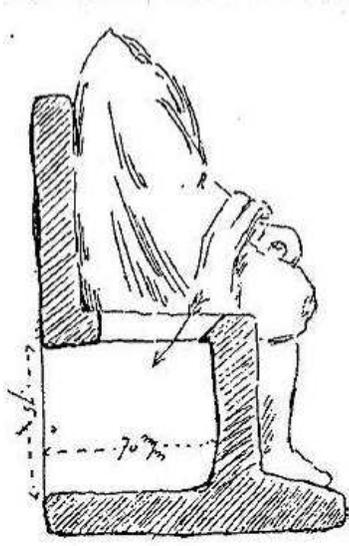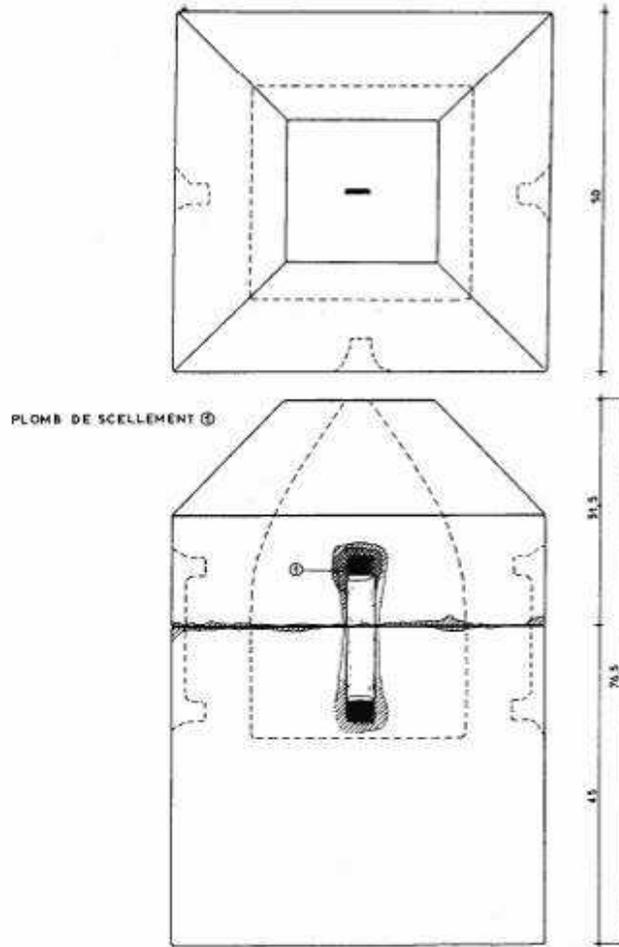
TRONC

[Coupe entre les deux personnages].
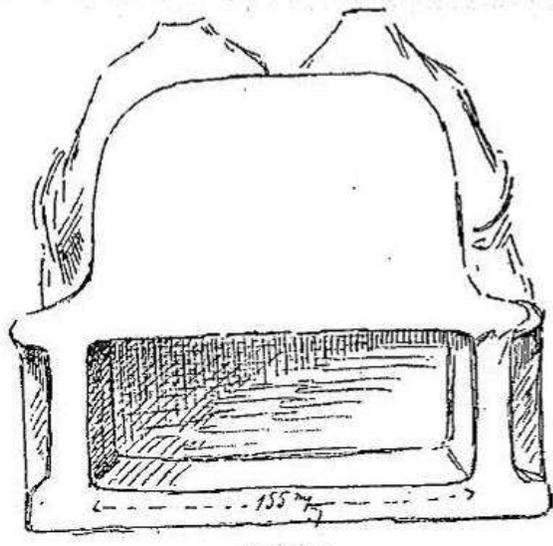
TRONC

(Face postérieure).

Figure 8.16. (above) A pyramidal stone trunk for collecting coins as Villards-d'Héria (Lerat 1998), and (below) a stele of two seated deities with a hole for collecting offerings at Vertault (Lorimy 1898).

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Figure 8.17. (left) Stone statuette of a swaddled infant from Essarois (Mignard 1851: plate 4, no. 11), and (right) statues of pilgrims holding offerings and figure on the right wearing a *sagum* (Baudot 1845: plate 4).
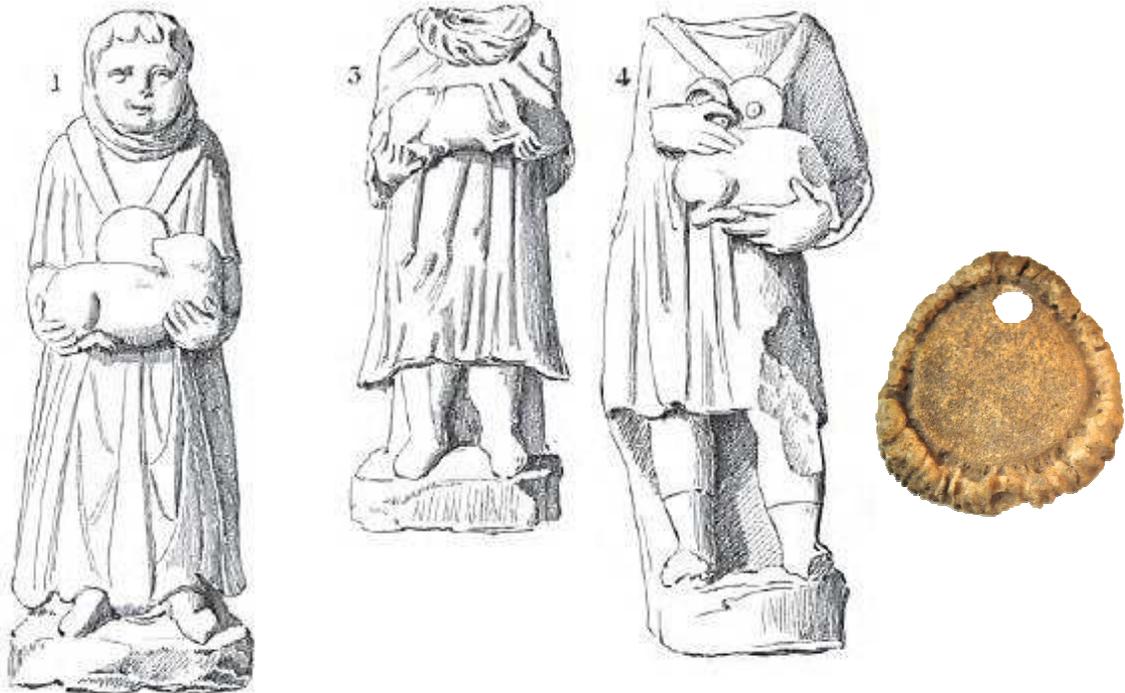
Figure 8.18. Children as pilgrims bringing offerings and wearing *bullae* (Baudot 1845: plate 5) and an antler pendant that possibly served as a *bulla*, on display at the Musée d'Ursulines, Macon, France.
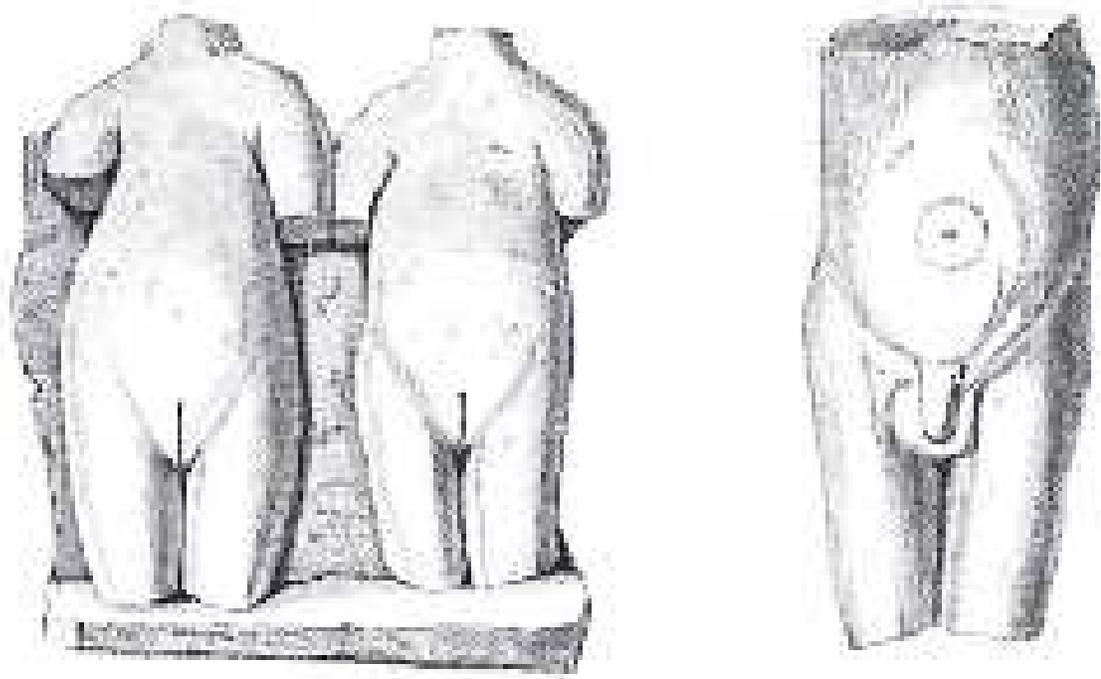
Figure 8.19. Stone statues of human torsos found at Essarois (Mignard 1851: plate 6, nos. 2, 3). Such statues typically lack heads and appendages indicating they are humans, rather than deities.

Figure 8.20. Representations of hens and roosters in terracotta, on display in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, Germany.
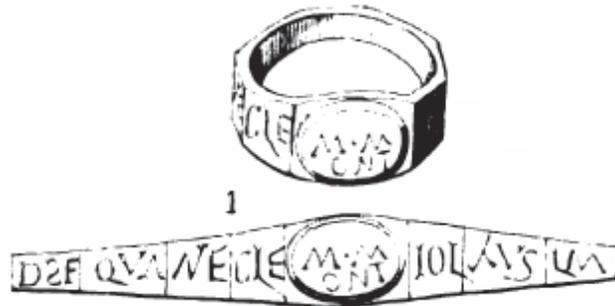
Figure 8.21. Eight-sided ring from the Source of the Seine with an offertory inscription (Baudot 1845: plate 14, no. 1).
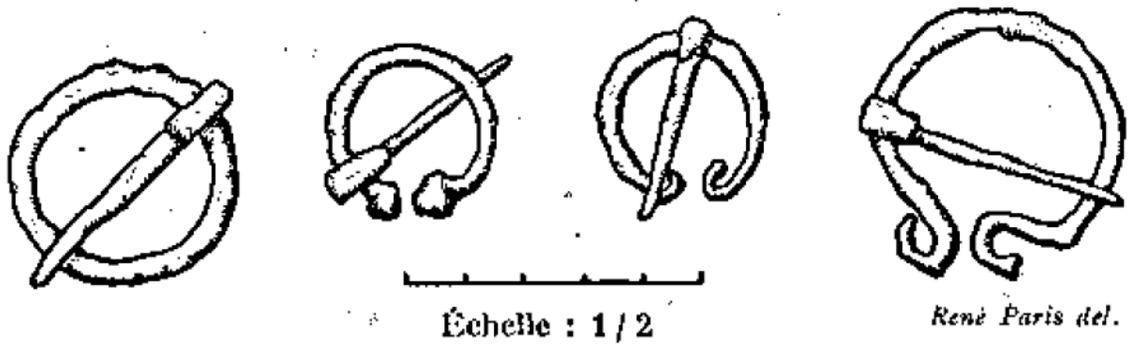
Figure 8.22. Examples of the over 200 iron Omega fibulae found at Tremblois (Paris 1960: 170, figure 62).

Figure 8.23. Fragment of a relief sculpture showing a devotee offering liquid libations from a *patera* onto an altar, on display at the Musée de Beaux Arts, Besancon, France.

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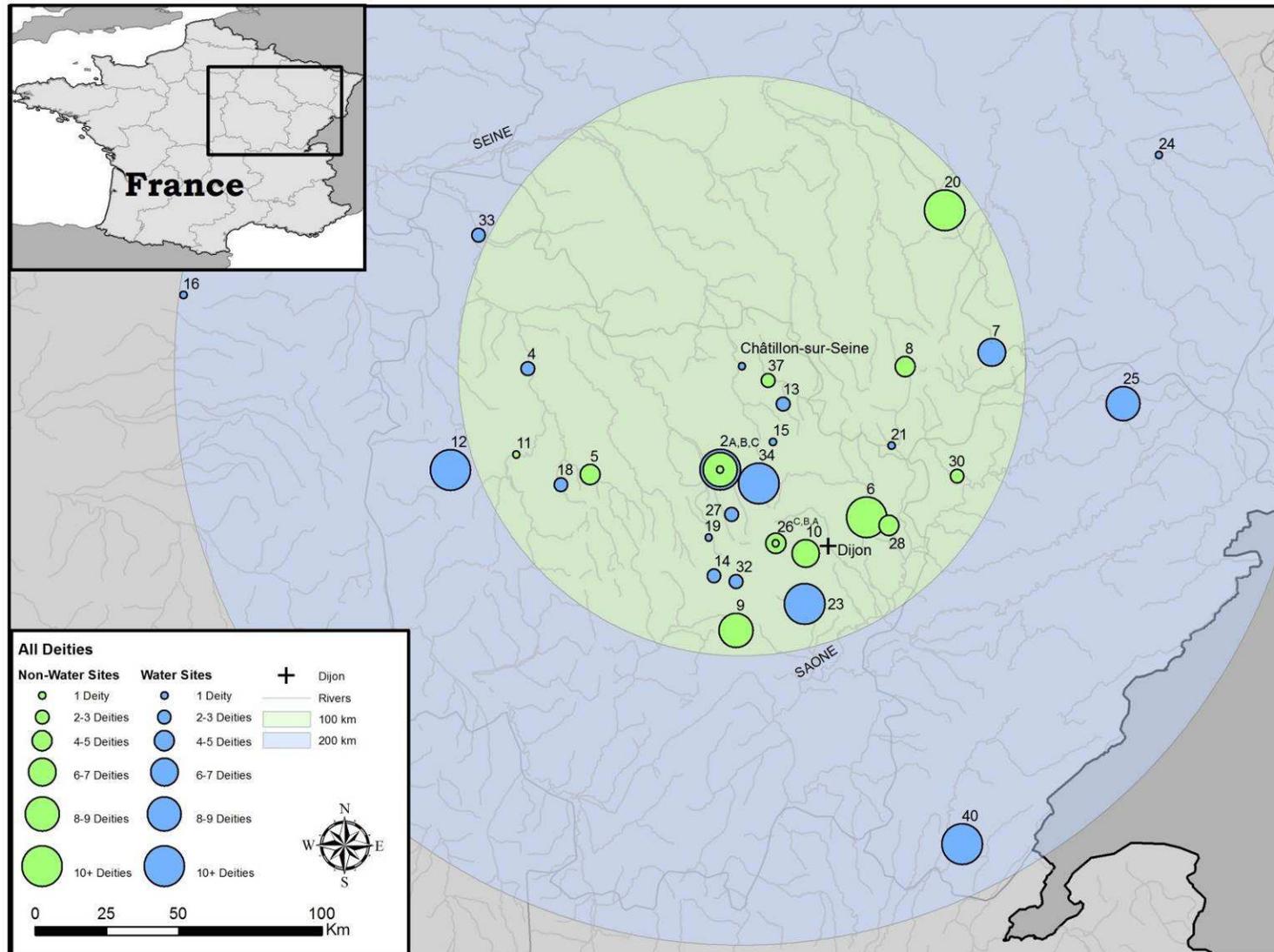
Figure 8.24. Map showing the distribution of the quantities of all deities from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).

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Figure 8.25. Bronze statue fragment of Apollo as a solar deity, on display at the Musée d'Ursulines, Macon, France.

Figure 8.26. (left) Terracotta figurines of déesses-meres as a seated group holding baskets of food, and as an individual breastfeeding, on display in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, Germany.

Figure 8.27. (right) Terracotta figurine of a nude Venus holding a towel and standing beside a small child, on display in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, Germany.
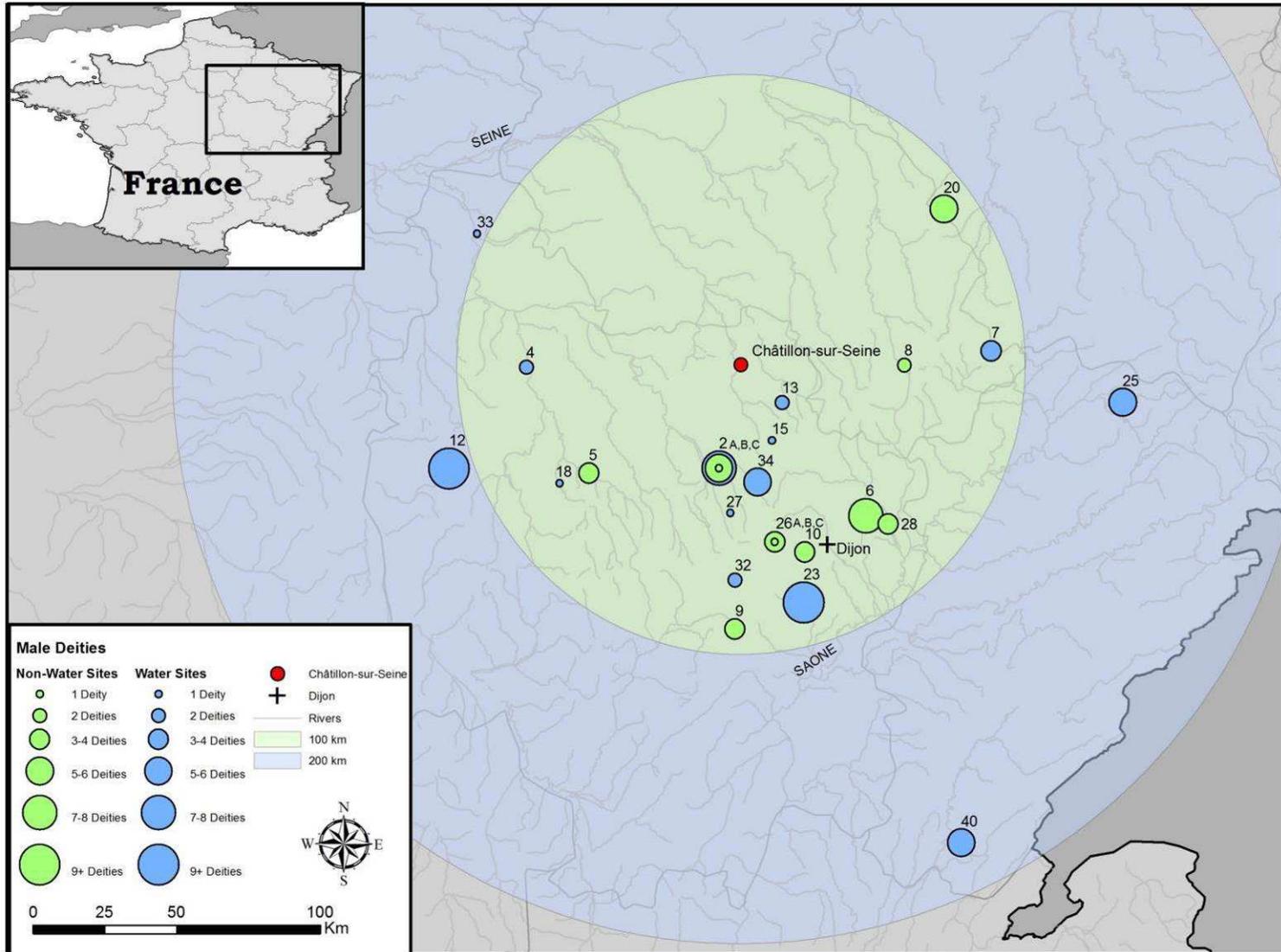
Figure 8.28. Map showing the distribution male deities from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
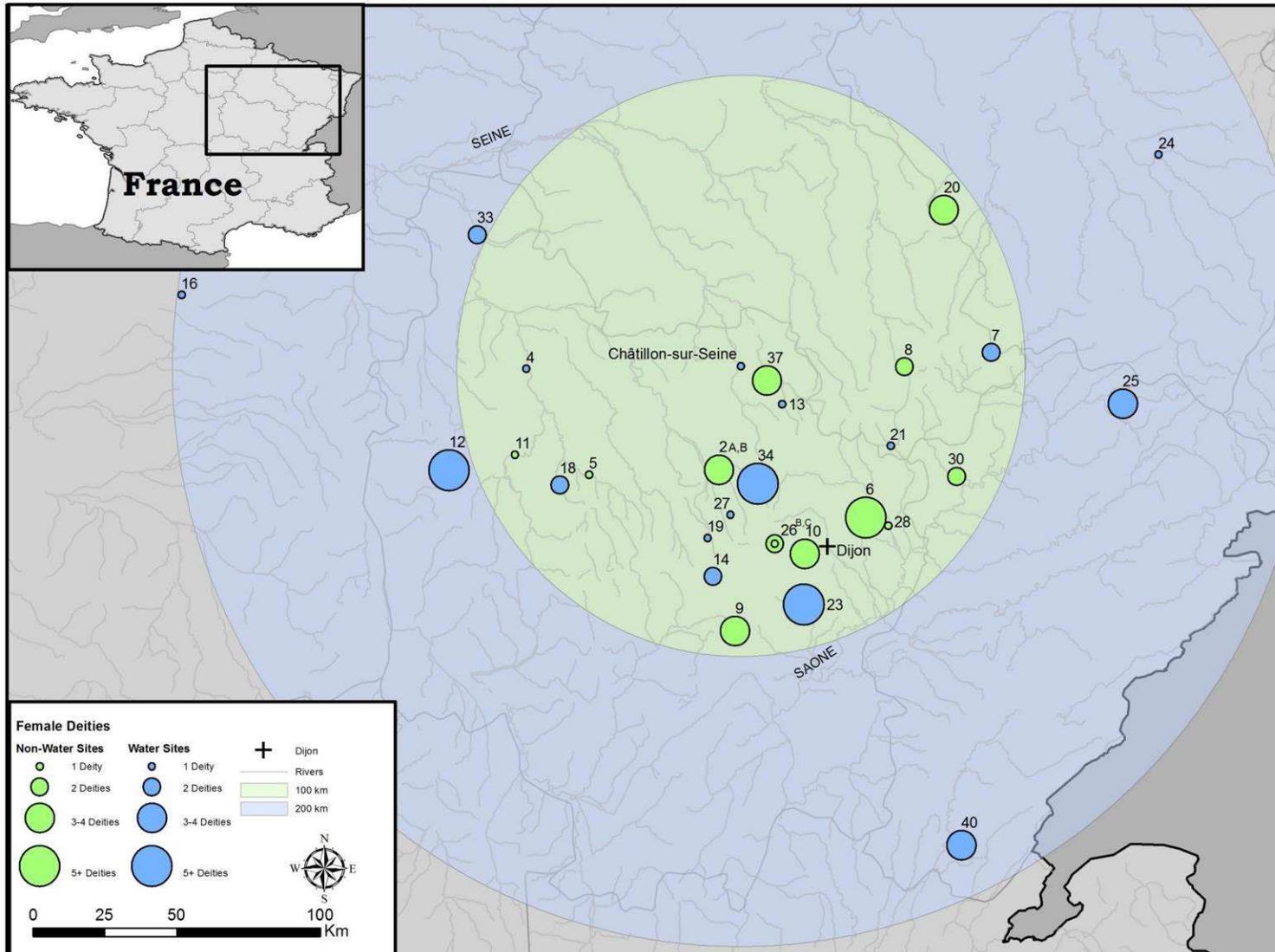
Figure 8.29. Map showing the distribution female deities from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).

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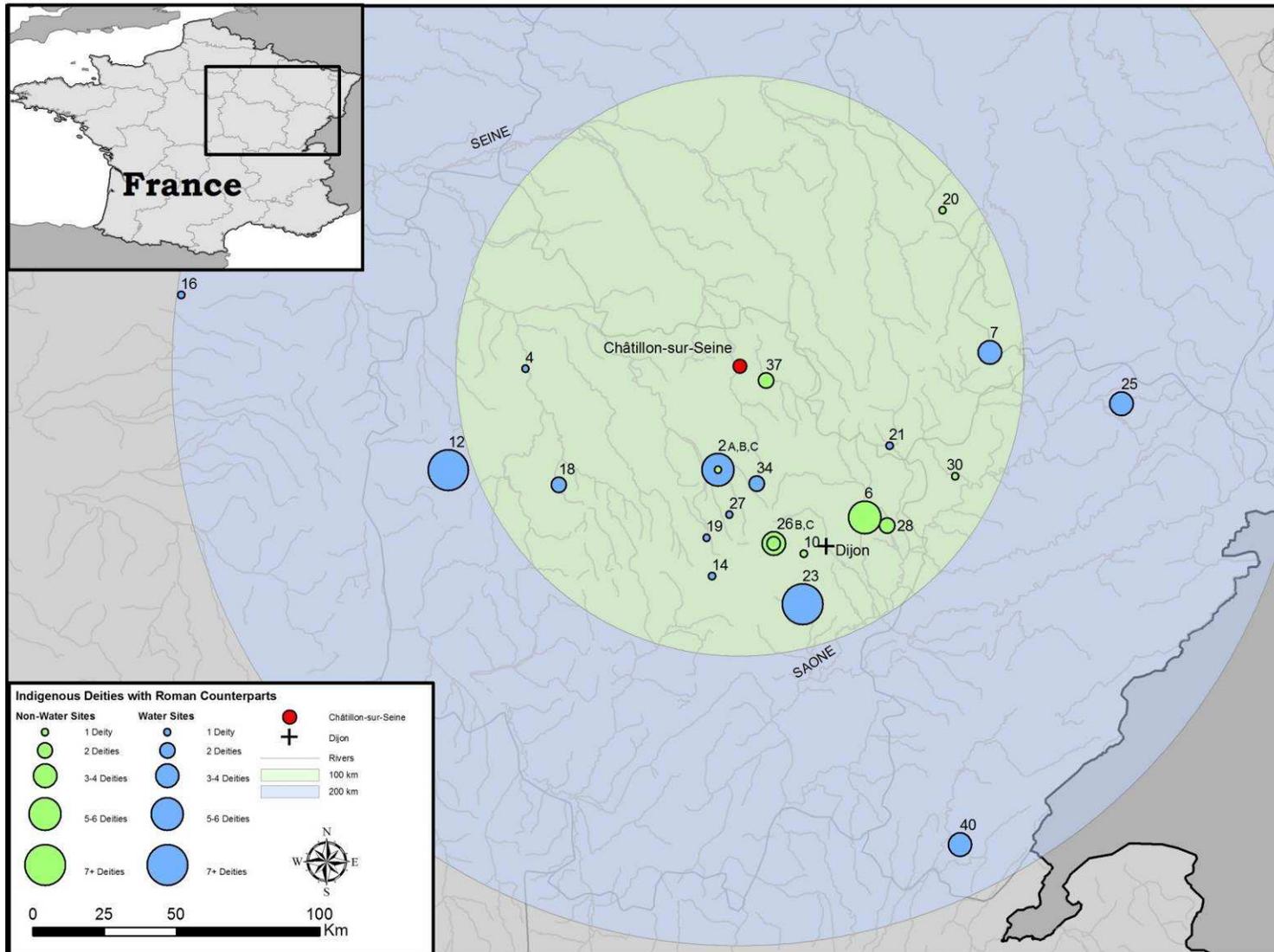
Figure 8.30. Map showing the distribution indigenous and double-name deities from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
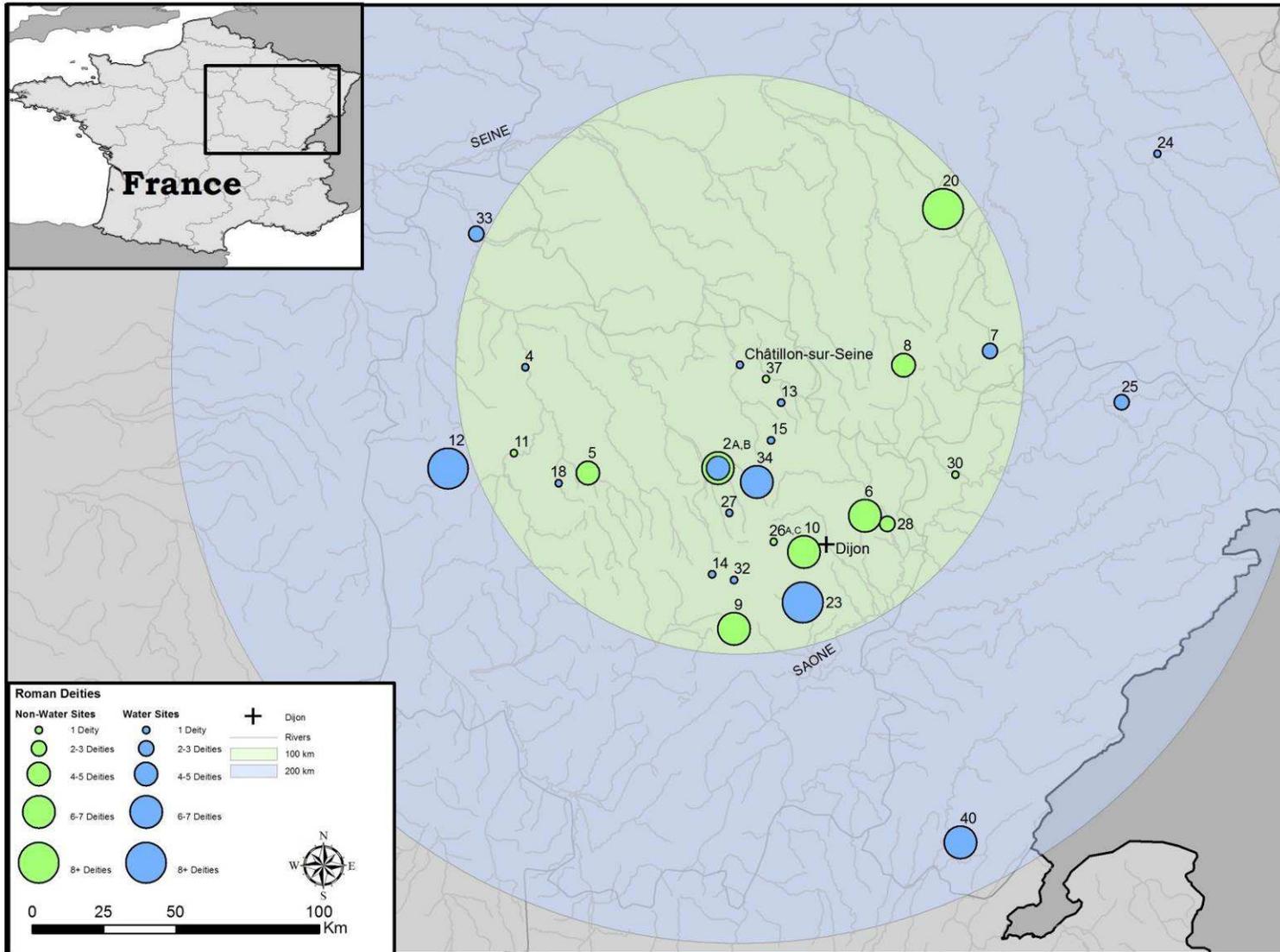
Figure 8.31. Map showing the distribution only Roman deities from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).

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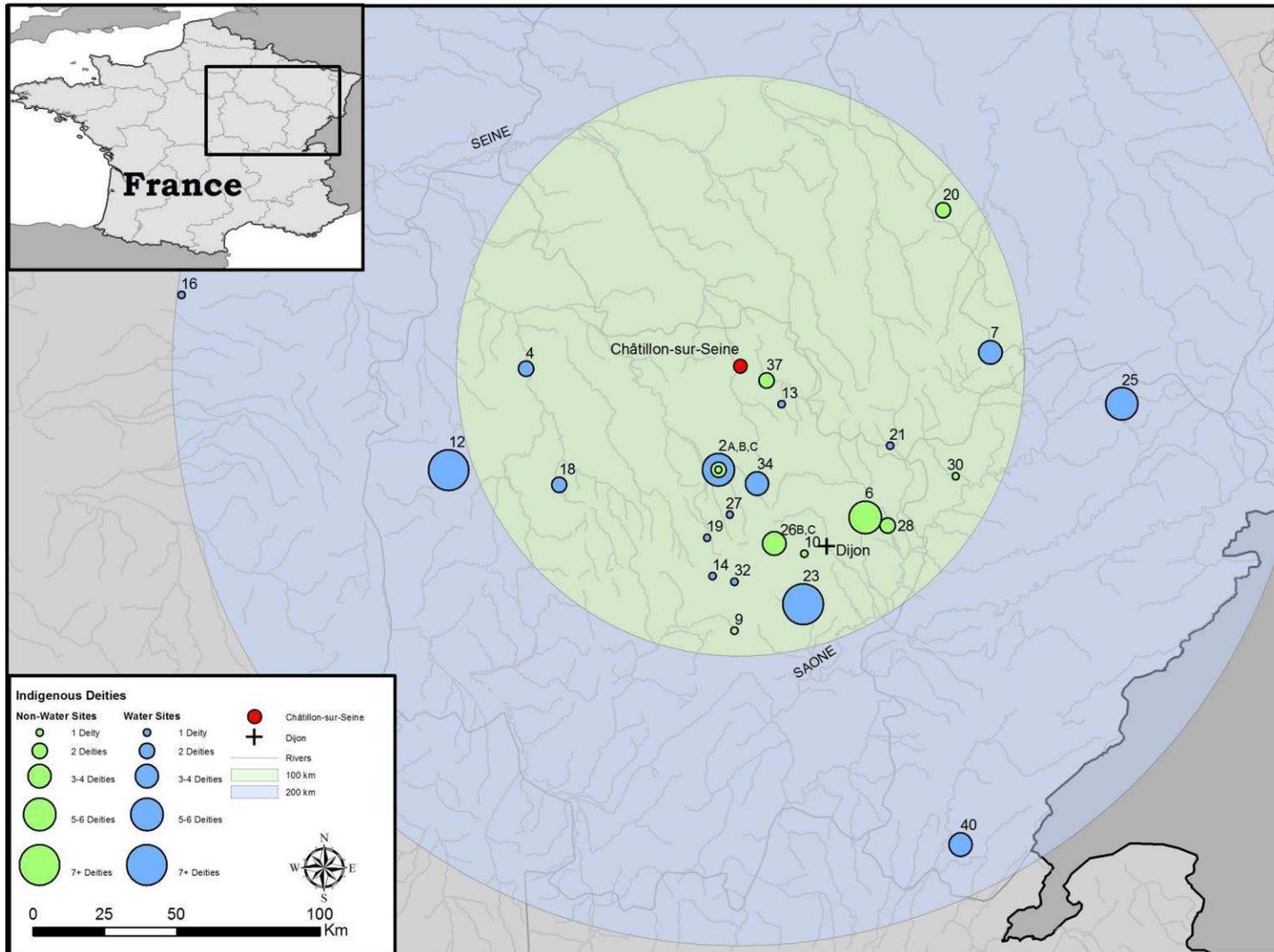
Figure 8.32. Map showing the distribution only indigenous deities from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).
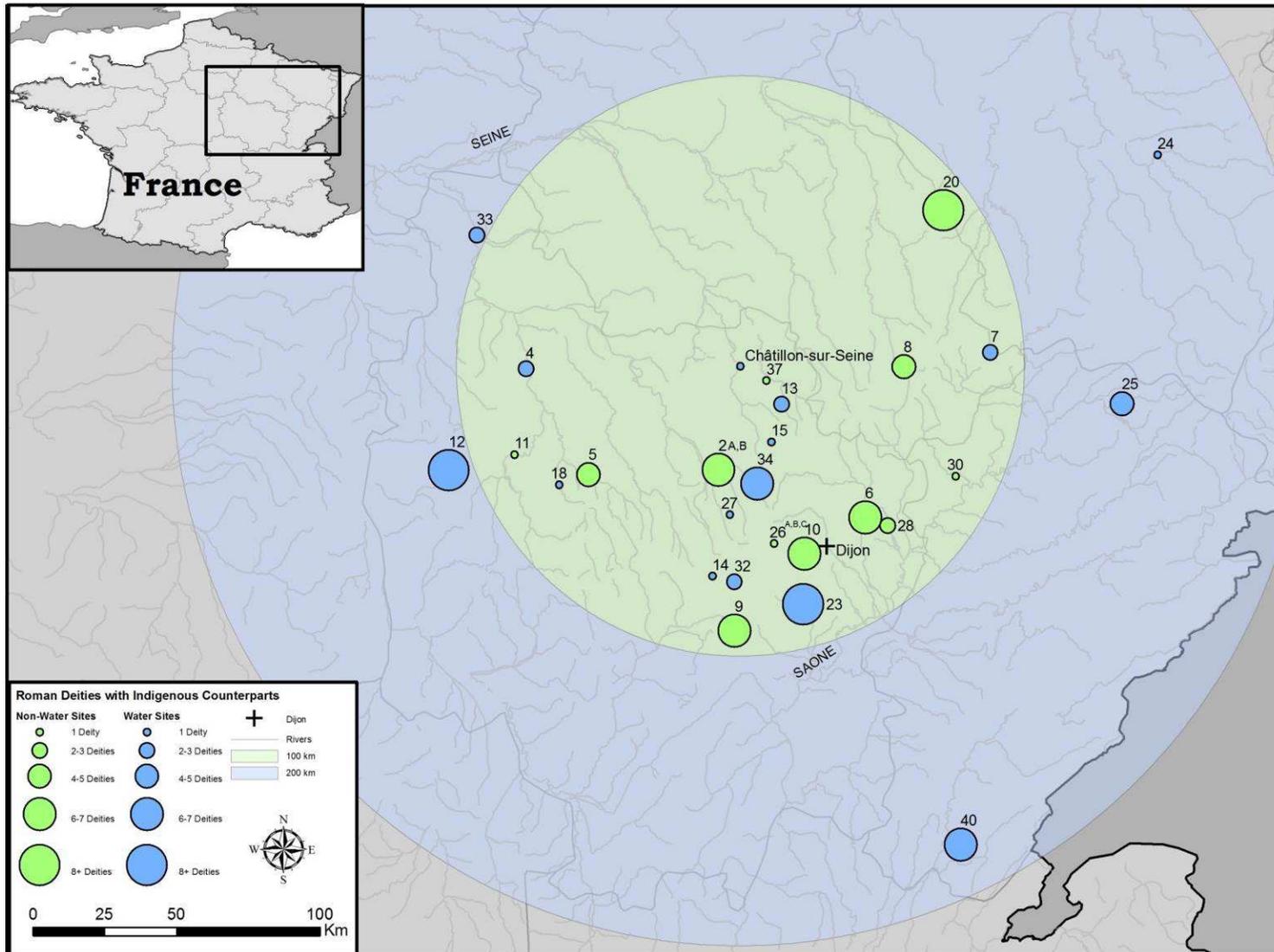
Figure 8.33. Map showing the distribution Roman and double-name deities from Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the study area (© R. Coil).

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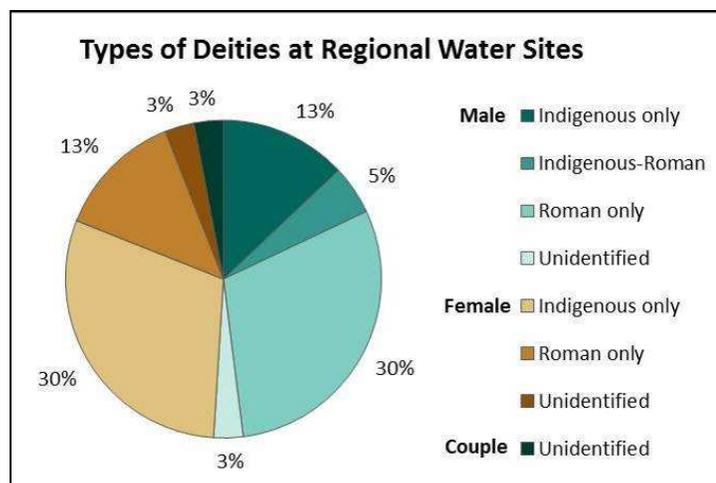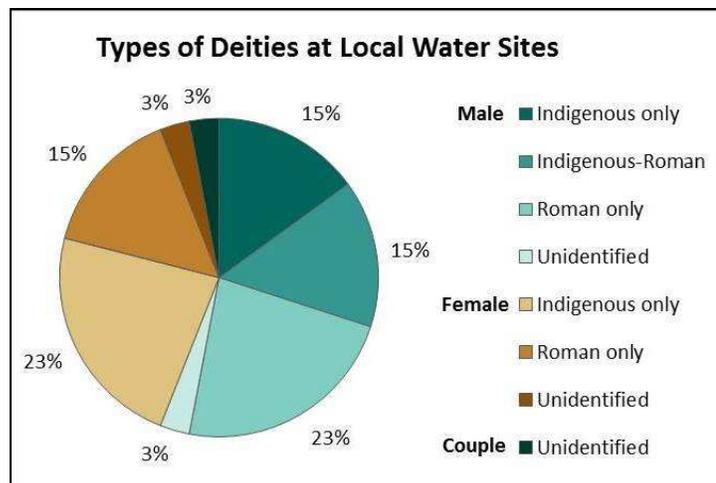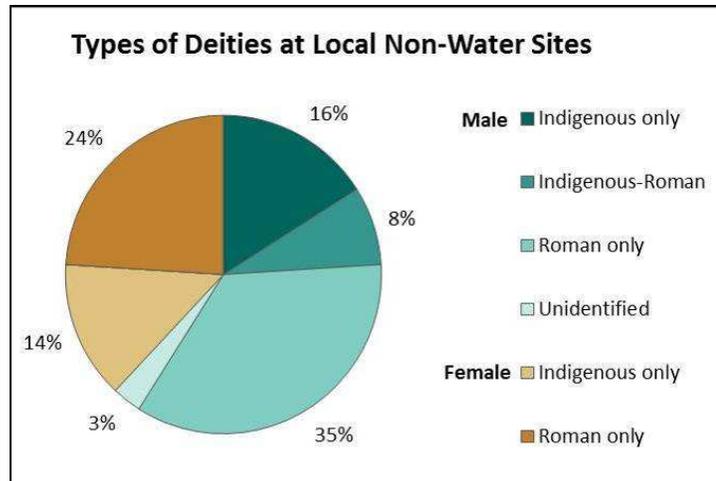
Figure 8.34. The percentage totals of deity types at each site type.

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Appearances of Deities at Local Non-Water Sites

11%
5.5%
29%
35%
14%
5.5%

Male
■ Indigenous only
■ Indigenous-Roman
■ Roman only
□ Unidentified

Female
■ Indigenous only
■ Roman only

Appearances of Deities at Local Water Sites

1.5%   1.5%   12%
19%   9%
25%
27%
5%

Male
■ Indigenous only
■ Indigenous-Roman
■ Roman only
□ Unidentified

Female
■ Indigenous only
■ Roman only
■ Unidentified

Couple
■ Unidentified

Appearances of Deities at Regional Water Sites

2%   2%   9%
19%   6%
27%
31%
4%

Male
■ Indigenous only
■ Indigenous-Roman
■ Roman only
□ Unidentified

Female
■ Indigenous only
■ Roman only
■ Unidentified

Couple
■ Unidentified

Figure 8.35. The percentage totals of deity appearances at each site type.

453
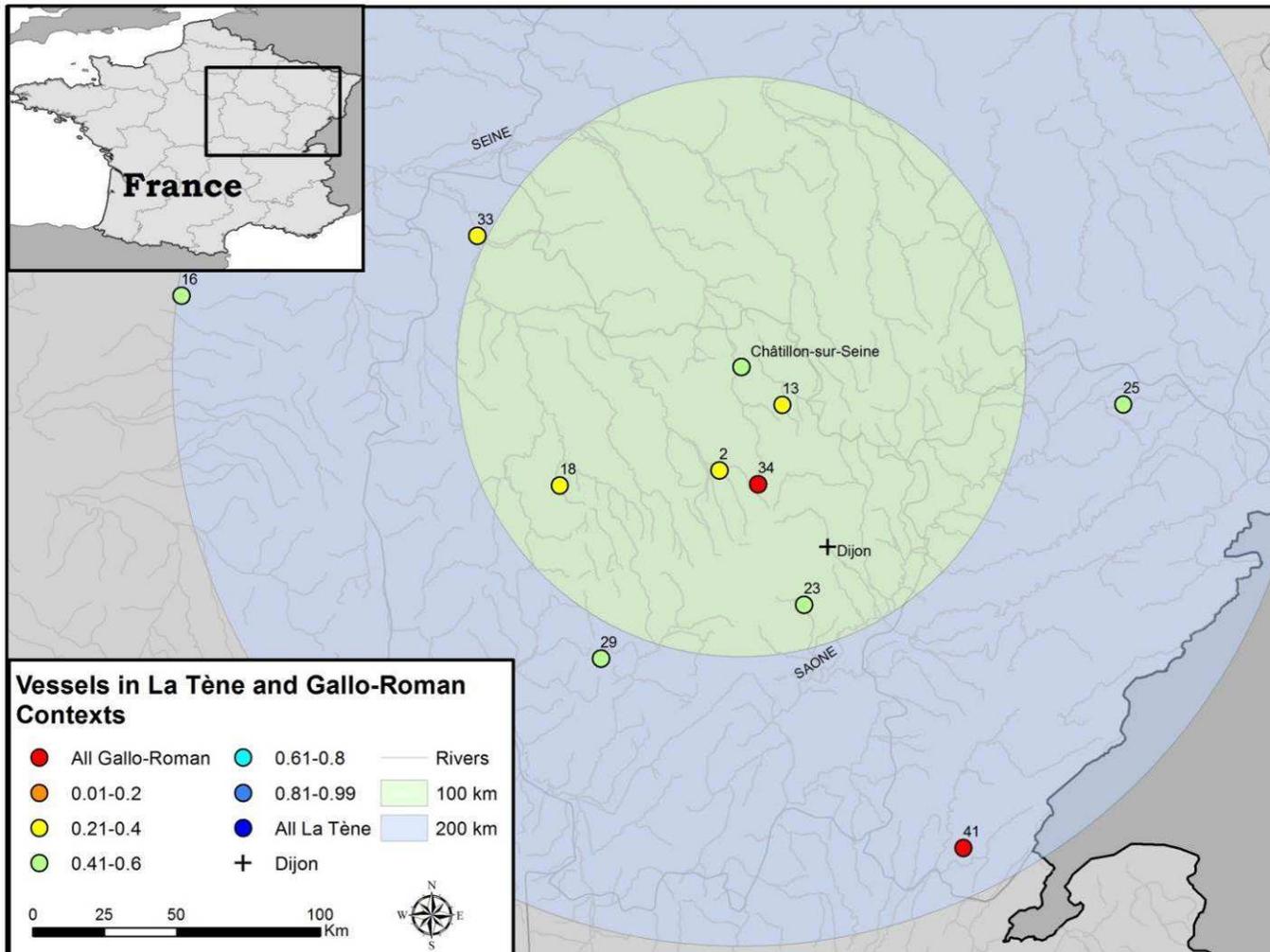
Figure 8.36. Proportional-Index map comparing the quantity of vessel types present at sites in the La Tène and Gallo-Roman periods (© R. Coil).
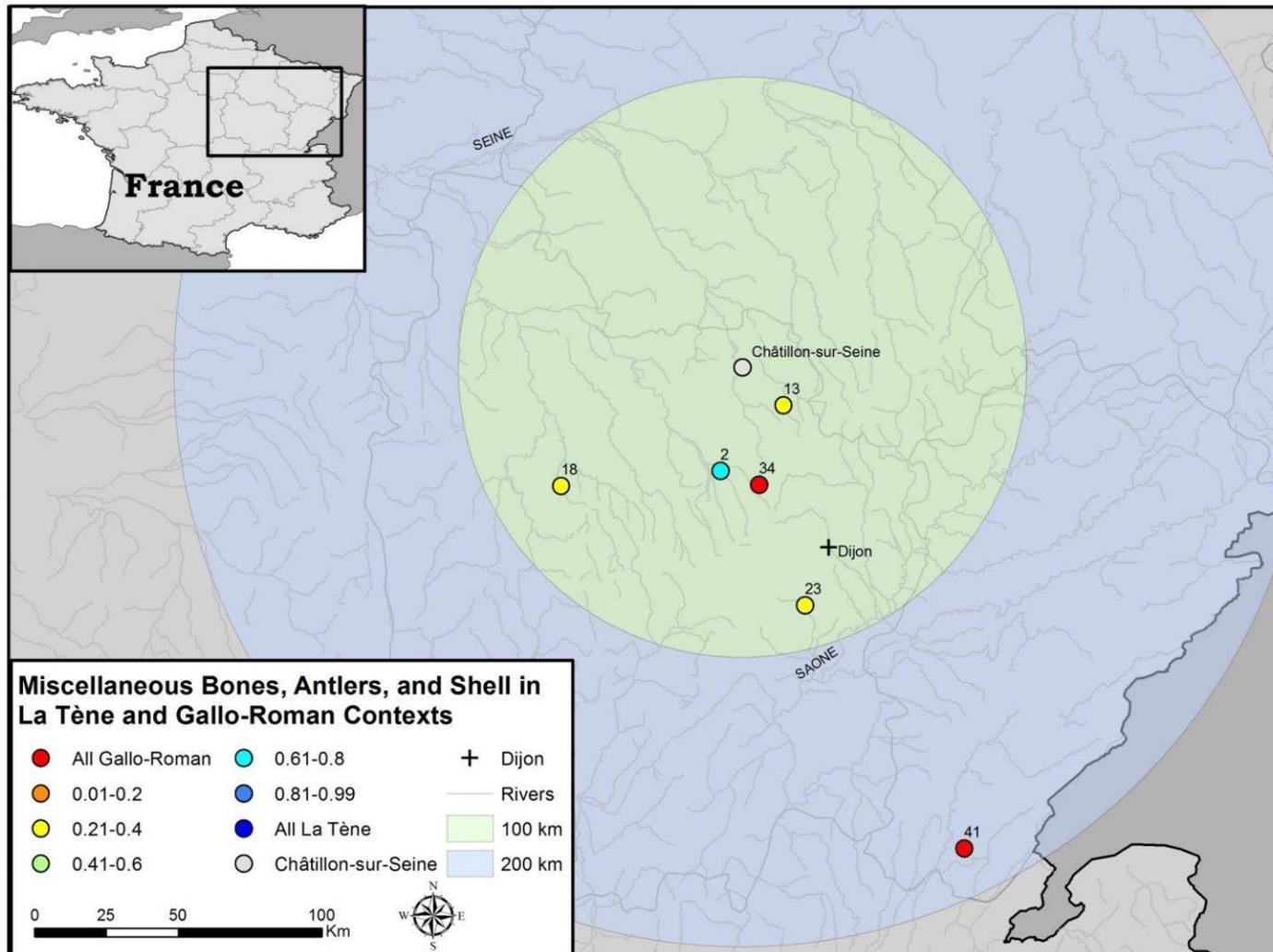
Figure 8.37. Proportional-Index map comparing the quantity of misc. bone, etc. types present at sites in the La Tène and Gallo-Roman periods (© R. Coil).
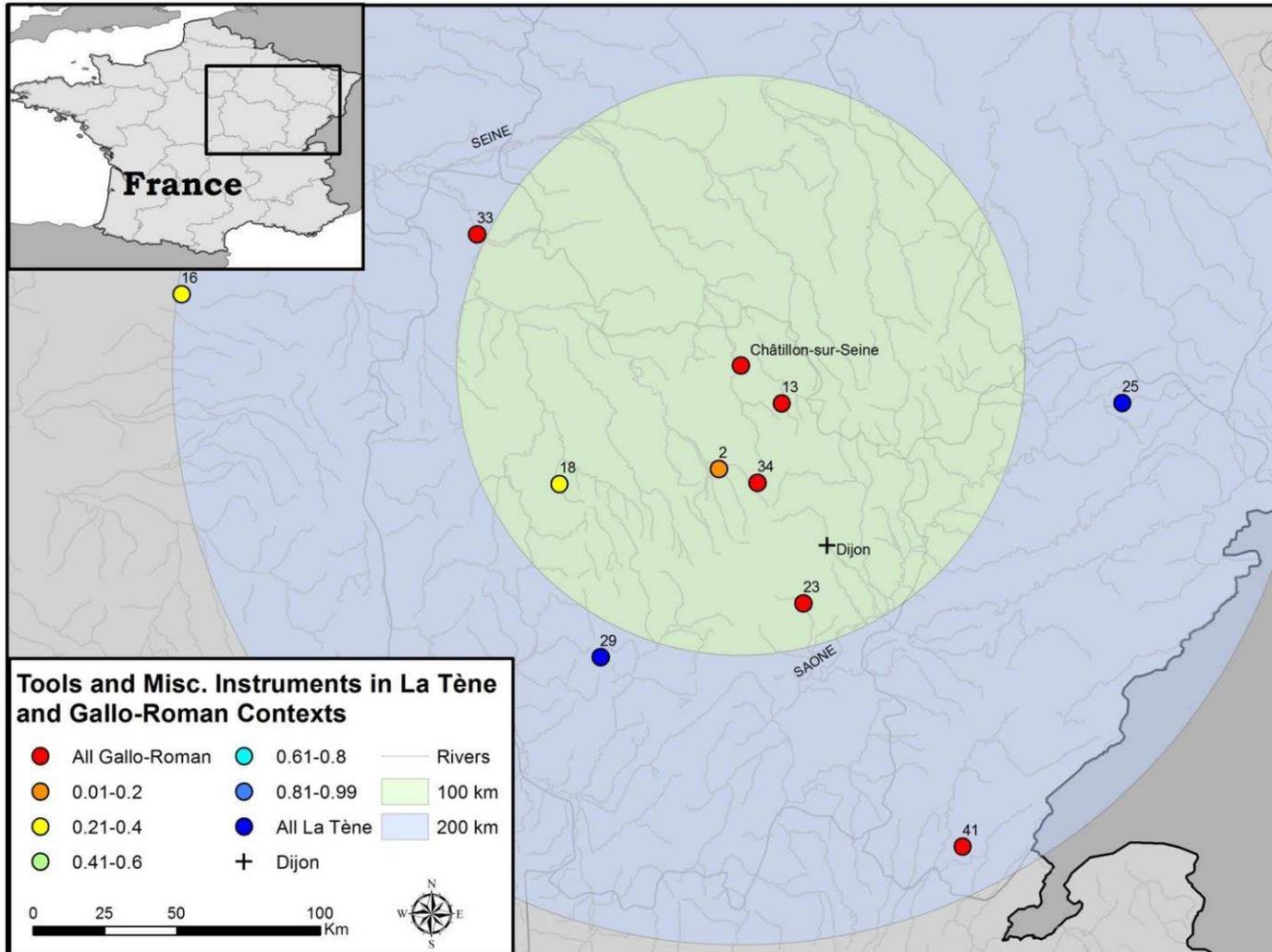
Figure 8.38. Proportional-Index map comparing the quantity of tool types present at a site in the La Tène and Gallo-Roman periods (© R. Coil).

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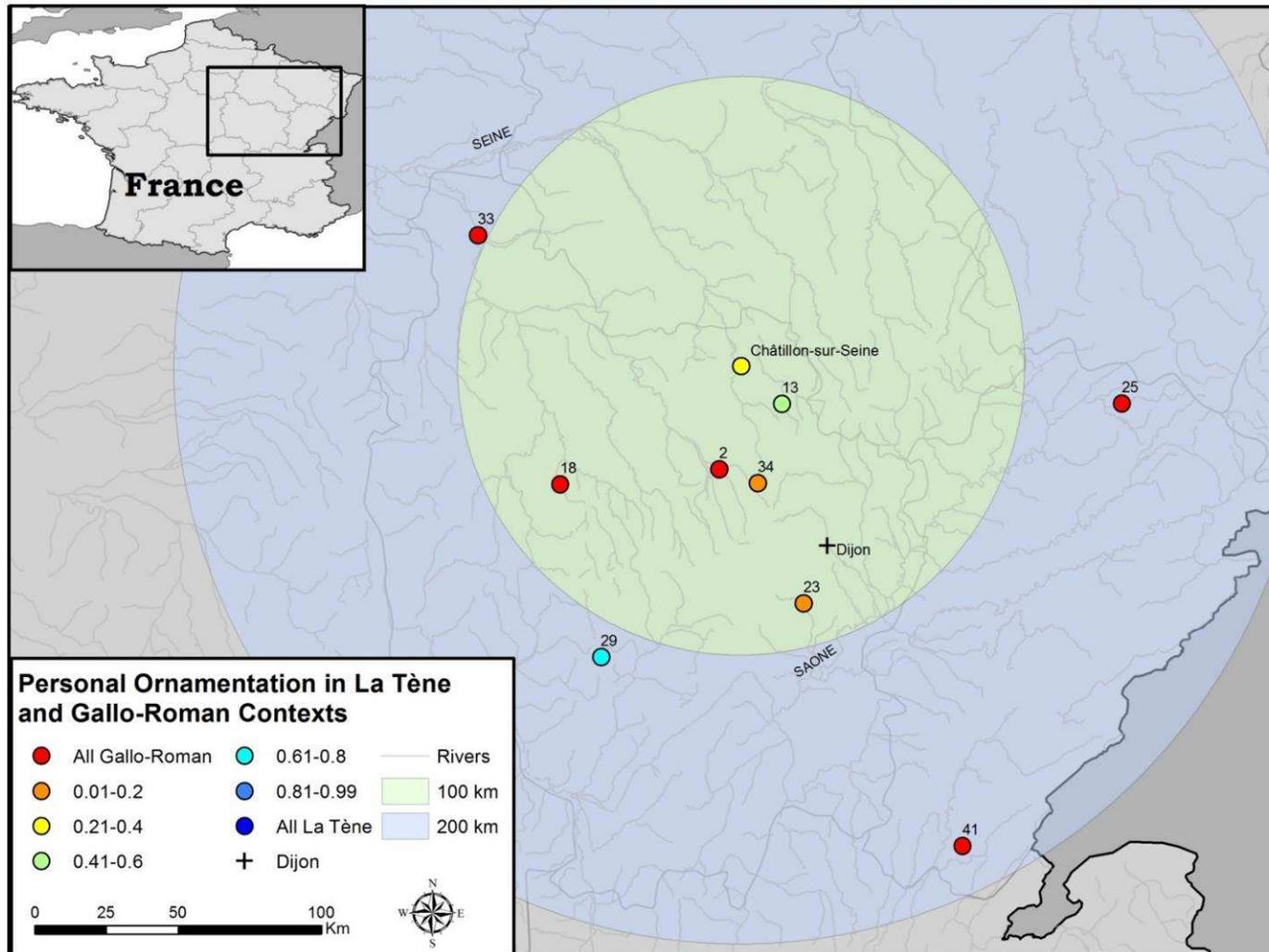
Figure 8.39. Proportional-Index map comparing the quantity of personal ornamentation present at a site in the La Tène and Gallo-Roman periods (© R. Coil).

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Chapter 9. Conclusions: the Place of the Douix and Communication through Objects

Material evidence shows that the veneration of water extends back into prehistoric times. Some of the earliest evidence in temperate Europe comes from Neolithic sites, like the spring of Röekillorna. The veneration of or the use of water as a focal point for ritual activity is known from subsequent periods, but the locations, activities, offerings, and their treatments vary from the Bronze Age weapon deposits in the Thames to the humans sacrificed and placed in the bogs of northern Europe to the personal ornamentation at given to the spring at Duchcov.

Within the study area of this project, there is limited evidence for the veneration of springs in the La Tène period. Only five of the 46 sites examined have evidence that Gallo-Roman sanctuaries were built on top of, or within the vicinity of, earlier sacred enclosures, suggesting that the spring was a venerable feature at this time. Springs may have been visited for their special mineral properties, like Fontaine-Salées, or simply because of its proximity to contemporary local settlements, such as at Bibracte, Alesia, or Les Bolards. The evidence from the other six sites consisted of late La Tène material culture only, primarily coins, ceramics, tools, bones, and less often fibulae. While such objects were made during this time, it is impossible to say exactly when they were deposited at the spring. Without evidence for La Tène structures, such objects could have been curated or experienced time-lag before being deposited at a later time.

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SUMMARIZING LOCAL WATER SITES

The ritual role of springs in temperate Europe is easier to identify after the Gallic Wars which changed the physical landscape of Europe as well as traditional social, political, economic, and religious aspects of life. The veneration of springs occurred more regularly as the Romans and peoples of Gaul interacted more closely than ever before; this new religious attitude may have been a local adaptation or pairing of practices from both societies. Sanctuaries dedicated to spring veneration appear during or just after the Gallic Wars in the mid- to late-first century B.C., and were usually abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed by the fourth century A.D. The sanctuaries often have a stone wall defining the sacred area, and enclose a *fanum* with a *cella* and surrounding gallery and additional features, such as sacred basins or altars. Some sites were cleaned out prior to their disuse, but others still have offerings within them.

Within the study area sites described as local water sanctuaries have a variety of offerings. Nearly every sanctuary has stone statue(tte)s, and many have coins. Ceramics, which were or may have held offerings, and some form of inscription or dedication, typically in Latin, or using Latin letters for a local language or dialect, are also found at over half of the sites. Other items regularly given include altars, stone or terracotta figurines, wood or bronze statue(tte)s, hairpins, beads, fibulae, bracelets, finger rings, nails, spoons, and pieces of metal. Coins, vessels, representations, and personal ornamentation are the primary categories of offerings one might expect to find at local water sanctuaries; the latter is particularly concentrated at Châtillon-sur-Seine.

Of these categories, representations provide additional evidence for offerings and

ancient perceptions of spring sanctuaries. Some images suggest there were other objects that may have been offered, but did not preserve archaeologically. At Tremblois, for example, there are bouquets of flowers carved in stone, and images of visitors holding other items interpreted as offerings, such as various fruits, bunches of grapes, rolls and cakes, birds and dogs, and writing tablets (Paris 1961). Interestingly, representations of offerings at spring sanctuaries seem to emphasize round objects, such as fruits, breads, purses, or perhaps solar objects influenced from the earlier periods. It has been observed that there is a connection between solar deities and those associated with water, such as Borvo at Entrains or the presence of Apollo, and later Mithras at some springs (Thevenot 1951). This association demonstrates that springs were places where worlds connected; springs were mutual ground for the gods of the sky and earth as well as humans and the intranatural more broadly.

The objects mentioned above are found frequently at local water sites, but there are many more types that appear at only one or two sites, and the number of overall object types found may also vary from two to over 50 types. In the future more detailed spatial and contextual data noting where objects were found within sanctuaries might help to reduce the variety of objects described as offerings, but based on the results of the analysis, there are several explanations for the wide variety of offerings at some local water sanctuaries.

One explanation is most applicable to the larger sanctuaries, such as the Source of the Seine or Alesia CSC, which may have been springs of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage centers would attract a greater number of visitors, therefore adding to the overall quantity of

objects, but also the types given. Such places would likely also bring in visitors from greater distances, who may bring with them offerings traditional to their homeland.

A second explanation is that the water erupting from unseen places below made spring sanctuaries special places where one could access the intranatural world more fluidly than in normal sanctuary contexts. This concept explains the presence of multiple deities, as well as the wide variety of offerings since different objects would be more appropriate for some gods than others.

A third possibility is that offerings were less regulated at spring sanctuaries than at other sites. Connected to the possible lack of regulation is that the diversity of offerings may be evidence for personalization. If there was not a strong offering prescription one needed to follow, dedicants could give objects that were important to them or ones which they thought might please the deity. This interpretation is useful for explaining objects such as personal ornaments, tools, or metal fragments, for while we today may not understand why some objects held significance as offerings, it may have been clear to the individual giving the object.

Even though the types of objects are diverse, those that are most commonly found overlap with the types found at local non-water sanctuaries, and differ noticeably from regional water sanctuaries. These results suggest that local water sanctuaries, in some ways, followed a local offering tradition where certain objects were more frequently given in ritual contexts than others; however, in addition to these normal offerings other less frequently given types were welcome too.

The divine composition at spring sanctuaries in this part of Gaul was flexible and ranged from a single deity to several deities: usually one more widely known, such as Apollo, the *déesses-meres*, Minerva, or Venus, and those more localized, such as Icauna, Damona, Luxovius, or Mars Segomo. A deity was venerated for his or her abilities, and a particular god or goddess may have multiple roles at a single site, such as protection and healing. Any deity capable of fulfilling a particular request made by a devotee was welcome at a spring sanctuary, which also explains some of the variation of deity types at a single place. The material evidence also suggests that most of the gods at spring sanctuaries were honored for doing something, not simply because they were divine.

Looking closer at the sex and origins of the deities present, some broad trends are discernible. The god to goddess ratio of types is roughly equal with a 10% degree of variation in favor of gods; however, the goddess types present are more widespread at water sites and are more likely to appear on multiple occasions unlike the males who are sometimes known at a single site. The ratio of Roman and indigenous deities is also very close overall, but favors deities of Roman origin. Examining the origins of deities is complicated by the male gods possessing a double-name, for they are both Roman and indigenous; no goddesses in the study area have a double-name though the practice of double-naming occurs elsewhere. This complication can change the percentages of Roman or indigenous categories depending on its placement; these need to be considered as a separate category.

Dividing the deities to compare both sex, origin, and double-names provides more specific and useful information. Roman gods and indigenous goddesses dominate the

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deity types at spring sanctuaries; the dominance of these types has been observed to the east of the study area too (Derks 1998). The two types are not necessarily united as a couple in most cases, and it is not a guarantee that they will both appear at the same site together either. The popularity of particular deities is most likely based on their abilities. Of the most popular deities at local water sites, Apollo is associated with healing, the *déesses-meres* and Venus are associated with fertility and the protection of children, and Minerva is a general protectrice or perhaps is understood to protect the spring itself.

The available information for the primary gods of these springs and the offering data indicate that springs were visited to seek healing, increased fertility, or protection of women and children. With the limited data from earlier periods, it is not clear if springs were first viewed as places of healing, etc. and the deity added to represent an anthropomorphized form of the intranatural power of the place, or if the deities established powers were applied to springs at a later time; perhaps it was a little of both over time and at different places.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE DOUIX

IDENTIFICATION OF THE ASSEMBLAGE AS RITUAL

The above analysis supports that the Douix assemblage and site are part of a ritual context. Osborne (2004) argues that sacred deposits are recognized by a particular selection pattern of deposited goods, the context where the objects were recovered, and similarities with other deposits where the context is clearly of a ritual nature, all of which have been identified in the Douix material.

The location in which the objects were recovered, i.e. inside the cave of the Douix and towards the back, can only be the result of ritual practice. The objects were most likely deposited there by purposefully tossing them there as the location is not easily accessible. Their position in the back of the cave to the east is contrary to the natural flow of water which moves west; accidental deposition is therefore not possible. With the construction of the wall in the Gallo-Roman period, accidental deposition is also unlikely as the inner portion of the cave would have been slightly barred. Additionally, the wall created a channel of water which people could have easily accessed for cleaning and drinking as it flowed out of the cave area. This division created by the wall means it was unlikely anyone would venture inside the cave, and would not lose objects inside.

Repeated deposition of the same types of objects in the same place is indicative of ritual practice (Merrifield 1987). At the Douix, fibulae are abundant in the Hallstatt and La Tène periods, and three types of objects dominate the Gallo-Roman assemblage: rings, coins, and sculptures. The veneration of water by depositing similar objects into it is a well-attested phenomenon from both the prehistoric and Gallo-Roman periods in temperate Europe (see Chapter 4). The veneration of the Douix and other springs is part of a widespread ritual phenomenon in eastern Gaul, and broader Europe. The consistency of object types, their position within the cave, and the similar treatment of water through time and geography all support the interpretation that the Douix assemblage is ritual.

THE DOUIX AND LOCAL WATER SANCTUARIES

How does the Douix compare to the other spring sanctuaries? There are some

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similarities between the Douix and other local Gallo-Roman spring sanctuaries. The spring itself was the focal point for ritual activity. The wall constructed before the entrance drew one's attention to it and was probably more noticeable with the additions of offerings placed on top of it. Making offerings visible to others during and after the ritual process could have played a major role in the traditions at the Douix. Stone statue(tte)s, coins, and rings are the most abundant offerings from the site. Busts of males and females are present, though there are more of the latter, as well as representations of body parts in stone. Beads, bracelets, ceramics, and nails are also present; gaming pieces are the only object from the study area that is unique to the Douix.

There are several key elements missing from the area around the Douix. No known structures have been found with the exception of the Gallo-Roman wall, which may have had a more practical function rather than ritual. No inscriptions have been found. While they are not at every site, they are present at over half making their absence at the Douix noticeable. No identifiable deity has been recovered. The largest statue, a woman holding a child and a purse, could be a deity due to its size, but deities are rarely depicted holding a purse. The purse suggests the statue is a pilgrim, or was intended to mark the purpose of the spring, i.e. a place to be visited to interact with the gods. A visual representation of the spring's powers may have been a more effective option as people in the area may not have been literate or using Latin often as the dearth of inscriptions suggests. It is also possible that the purse is intended to represent bounty or abundance, which is a common theme in images of déesses-meres. The other major difference between the Douix and other sites is its use in prehistory. Though the earlier ritual

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activity does not seem to be continuous into the Gallo-Roman period, its legacy may have affected the use or offerings given at the site in later times.

Materially the Douix is similar to other local water sites, but the treatment of the area and its lack of fundamental features common to Gallo-Roman water sanctuaries suggest it was viewed differently than most sites.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DOUIX

The Douix was an active ritual center in the early Hallstatt and early La Tène periods as shown through the deposition of prehistoric ceramics and fibulae. The fibulae, similar to those from nearby Vix (about 7 km from Châtillon), suggest the site was perhaps visited by the "princess" herself and others from the settlement. The exact purpose for such deposits is difficult to interpret for there are few comparable sites known.

Within the context of the Gallo-Roman study area, the Douix was a local water sanctuary that probably had a female deity of local origin who specifically focused on protecting women or to ensure fertility shown by the stone busts and perhaps through the rings. The spring also probably served a more general secondary function for the community as a place visited by those seeking healing; this role was less significant here than at other local centers, such as Tremblois, Essarois, Alesia CSC, or the Source of the Seine. Offerings at the Douix differ from some other local water sites, perhaps because it had a longer history of use than most spring sanctuaries, and therefore, had different established traditions. The cave itself could have served as a natural temple making a

human-made one unnecessary, or it has yet to be found. The wall constructed in front of the cave suggests the area was adorned in the Gallo-Roman period as offerings could have been placed on or nailed to the wall to draw the viewer's attention.

There is no evidence for continuity of use from late antiquity to the early medieval period. While the origins of Candlemas are in the fourth century, it is unclear when the folklore describing the offerings of cakes and breads to the spirit of the Douix began. Later in the 11th or 12th century, a Christian statue was added to a niche above the cave. In the 15th or 16th century, a new tradition began of offering small pins to the spring when a girl reached a marriageable age. Coins were deposited in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, and then not again until the 1930s; it is possible that the laundry constructed in the area, which corresponds to this gap, deterred visitors to the spring. Various objects have been tossed into the Douix throughout the 20th century, and even today one may see some offerings when visiting the site (Figure 9.1).

Though it could be coincidence, the Douix seems to have attracted women through time. The Gallo-Roman busts showing young and adult women could have been connected to marriage or fertility. The later traditions, while appearing disconnected archaeologically, could have continued over time through perishable offerings, such as bread or candles, or through actions, such as bathing with or pouring spring water over one's self. It is possible this association all began with the "Princess of Vix" who probably visited the nearby ritual center, but the legacy of the Douix as a ritual center for women starting in this time will likely never be confirmed.

OFFERINGS AND COMMUNICATION

WHY GIVE A PHYSICAL OBJECT?

How were the objects from the Douix and other local spring sanctuaries employed to communicate with the intranatural? Why use something tangible for such communication? Intangible offerings, such as prayers, offer no proof that something was given to a deity. As there is nothing to mark such an exchange, it is possible to ignore. Physical objects, however, provides tangible evidence of the transaction; they are essentially materialized prayers (McNeil 2010: 305). A physical object cannot be unseen; it exists, and will continue to be seen by both visitors to the sanctuary and by the deity until it is destroyed, buried, or taken away.

Offerings also allow one to work out complex metaphysical ideas in a visible and accessible way. Extended Mind Theory tells us that objects are an extension of our mind, and we use these physical forms to help us think and generate new ideas (Clark 2010). We can share these forms with others who can also create new ideas after seeing and engaging with them. Our thoughts and perceptions of the intranatural realm can be altered and enhanced by physical objects as it becomes possible to access the usually intangible intranatural; we have opportunities to think about it differently when it is in the physical world. It is possible, therefore, to unite ideas from multiple ritual systems to transmit new or complex ideas.

Another reason for giving an object is that it connects a person to a place. Venbrux suggests that with offerings there exists "...the idea that what once has been in contact will always remain in contact, even though an actual separation has taken place.

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The practice of leaving behind a little of your possessions symbolically creates a lasting tie to the place" (2007: 126). Being connected to a place may establish a stronger and more lasting relationship with the divine, in addition to establishing a personal ritual history. Leaving something at a scared place previously gives one a reason to return there again for they are already connected.

Having a tangible object also provides a potential focal point for the ritual and gives substance to something that can be a feeling, a mood, or an idea. Offerings left at a sacred place by an individual or the community also reinforces and enhances its sacredness, and thus makes it a desirable place to appeal to the intranatural; a collection of offerings attest to the power of a place and its effectiveness.

The visibility of offerings is a way for the community to engage in a dialogue about its beliefs. It is within this dialogue that material changes begin, for if an offering type loses its effectiveness, it can be replaced by one that seems more powerful, and a new material tradition is then reproduced by the community who are seeing and interacting with these materials. Changes in the archaeological record between the La Tène and Gallo-Roman period at the Douix could be explained by such a model. It is possible that new forms, like the second century sculptures, were viewed as being more effective or accurate than the transitional period rings for communicating with the intranatural. Consequently as the popularity of these forms increased, their effectiveness was communicated to other members of the community who continued offering statues further reinforcing their power.

While there are probably many reasons for giving a physical object, the fact that it

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is tangible evidence of one's transaction with the intranatural, and its ability to connect one to a ritual space are significant factors not to be overlooked.

OFFERINGS: SELECTION, PURPOSE, AND MEANING

Selecting an offering is culturally-specific. The intranatural entity to which a gift is given will vary in every society, and offerings deemed appropriate will likely be connected to their larger system of belief or mythology as well as the purpose of the exchange (Derks 1995: 112). Understanding the minds of the gods becomes important in this situation because one wants to give something that will please the divine (Purzycki 2013).

Offerings can project the cultural system of gift-exchange and reciprocity engaged in by members of the society onto the intranatural world. While a gift reflects the generosity of one party, there is often an implication of reciprocity and the return of something else in the future (Mauss 1967 [1923]; Venbrux 2007: 126). Offerings then become an exchange or contract involving trust; after an initial payment is made by one party, that party can trust the other side will give in return. An offering also represents a physical loss of by the giver reflecting his or her sincerity of the exchange and his or her need for something to fill the loss; the giver is essentially calling upon an intranatural entity to pay attention to him/her with a physical item and return some sort of value to them. Gift-giving builds a relationship of trust and sincerity between humans and the intranatural world.

Two Levels of Meaning

Nearly every offering from any society has two levels of meaning: one is culturally specific and the other is a more universal observation of offerings in general.

Culturally-Specific Meaning: the Gallo-Roman example

Certain gifts develop meaning within a particular cultural system over time which is recognized by those familiar with the system. When such objects are exchanged, the meanings associated with them are exchanged as well (Mauss 1967). In the specific case of the Gallo-Roman system, each regularly found type of offering has been given a particular meaning which is why a specific object is selected to be given, and this selection perpetuates the established system of meaning (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1977). Some offerings may also have more than one meaning associated with it, or its meaning is changed over time through its object-biography.

There are many subjects represented at Gallo-Roman non-water and water sanctuaries. While anatomical examples, such as legs or genitals, are traditionally interpreted as requests for healing or as thanks for a healed injury, the great variety of forms are intended to convey which part precisely is in need of attention. Additionally some body parts may have a more symbolic meaning that can be understood by examining the specific context or objects with which it is associated. Feet, for example, could represent healing at a sanctuary, or as a request for a safe journey at a sanctuary associated with traveling gods; likewise, hands may request healing, or show evidence of honor paid to the deity through prayer or, if holding an object, evidence of giving

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offerings (Soderlind 2002). Images of pilgrims can combine several of these ideas. Some may indicate the fidelity of the devotee to the god, or requests for healing, such as those depicted with injuries. Those showing children may be requests for protection, or may commemorate coming of age ceremonies.

Objects without inscriptions or representations are more difficult to interpret, but considering their contexts or object-biographies can shed light on their meanings. Coins are complicated to interpret as they likely have many meanings. Sometimes the image on them is significant, such as the half coin example **GR.1.002** from the Douix depicting Augustus that probably sought blessings on his behalf (Sauer 2005b). Even though coins have images on them, the image is not significant for every context, such as when a coin is given simply to gain the attention of a deity or to "buy" extra blessings. Some objects, such as weapons, may celebrate a successful military battle, seek protection for one going to war, or to equip a deity like Minerva or Diana, with their attributes.

Personal ornaments seem to be a more highly valued offering. From the study area, sites with the most types of offerings are the larger centers which perhaps had a better reputation for generous gods, or had particularly important gods in the area. As another example, the rings from the Douix were not perfectly round and probably were not worn prior to their deposition. It is possible the bronze pieces were acquired near the Douix, wrapped around one's finger, and then deposited immediately after; similar hastily made rings are known from Digeon and Uley (Jobic 1986; Woodward and Leach 1993). Interpreting these is difficult, but perhaps their quick production conveyed personal change which can happen as quickly as the rings were made.

These offerings represent a language that the giver, the gods, and others visiting the sanctuary recognize and understand, which makes it a successful system that can be shared, perpetuated, and reinforced over time. These meanings are only understood within the particular culture-system; therefore, it is necessary to try to translate this material language in order to understand the meaning of such offerings (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi 1977).

Universal Meaning of Offerings

Gallo-Roman offerings communicate to the deity through an established system of meaning, or ritual language, known by both humans and gods. This language is specific to this religious system, and though may share some characteristics with other systems, e.g. the much later *milagros* representing body parts and organs that need to be healed which were offered as shrines to Christian saints, it is still separate and the meaning changes at different levels within the system.

Though these meanings are specific to a culture, there is a wider message that offerings from different systems share with one another. Each offering maintains its particular message, e.g. healing request, protection, but every offering also communicates the identity of the devotee to the intranatural entity, for how could the divine know who to reward or help if the identity of the giver is unknown?

Providing the name of the dedicator is often not shared literally in written form, but is conveyed through several means. Wax offerings representing various body parts, known as *mannikins*, from medieval periods were thought to represent a "person's self or

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soul" (Wood 2011: 208). Representations were a primary category of Gallo-Roman offerings and depicted body parts, busts, or pilgrims, all of which show devotees or the person who should benefit from the offering, such as an infant. This emphasis on human representation and individualization suggests those who gave the objects were attempting to communicate their personal identity to the deity by connecting on a more personal level. Other objects may not depict the devotee, but may obtain their essence through proximity with the dedicator. Coins, personal ornamentation, or tools were all objects that a person would have been in close with, and are portable enough to bring to a sanctuary as an offering.

Being identified specifically by the god was important. Later examples of offerings from the Gallo-Roman period show this more literally. Inscriptions became more abundant in Gaulish sanctuaries during the second and third centuries (VanAndringa 2002: 210). While these did not replace other types of offerings, their rising popularity showed increased literacy with the Latin language and wealth, but also a preference for this more accurate and effective way of communicating with the gods. A similar transition was apparent in central Italy, where from the fourth to first centuries B.C., terracotta models were the most popular type of offering, and depicted various human forms; however, in this situation, the tradition of terracotta models was abandoned almost completely and corresponds to the increased popularity of inscriptions to explain the vow now (Graham 2013: 218-219). The message of the individual's identity remained the same even though the material way the message was communicated to the divine changed.

Being able to communicate through objects shows it was possible to have a direct relationship with the intranatural. Direct contact with the gods in traditional Roman civic cults was limited for the average individual, or even during private cults as priests and other leaders acted as intermediaries between other humans and the divine. There were also more rules which governed appropriate ritual practice and offerings which could be given. At the Douix, like at other local water cults, there are a great variety of offerings suggesting that offerings were less regulated. Perhaps then, what we see is a rejection of rigid Roman customs in favor of local traditions. The abundance of Hallstatt and La Tène fibulae demonstrates that the site was revered in earlier periods.

Fibulae, like the rings and possibly the coins, could have been worn by an individual. The same principle applies to the fibulae as to the coins, rings, and sculptures: an object was chosen as an offering because it was closely connected with an individual. Maybe it was not unusual in this period for a person to have direct communication with his or her gods and he or she did it by offering personal objects to identify themselves. It is conceivable that the Gallo-Roman material from the Douix represents a continuation of traditional practices and ideals, but through new forms of material culture (Erdman 2014: 97).

The offerings from the Douix and other Gallo-Roman sanctuaries communicate a particular request which is understood through an established ritual language, but offerings given to intranatural entities also communicate the identity of the individual or the person intended to benefit from the offering.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This project has inspired many new questions and possibilities for future research. One project meriting further exploration is a detailed comparison of the offerings given in different watery contexts. For example, offerings found at the Seine and in the Saône River are dramatically different even within the same period. In the Gallo-Roman period at the Seine, wood, bronze and stone sculptures dominate the assemblage along with metal plaques, coins, and votive altars. The Saône has coins and ceramics from this period like the Seine, but lacks most of the other categories. Instead, its assemblage is dominated by weapons in various forms, iron tools, and bronze or silver vessels. These assemblages are evidently different and therefore had a different purpose or wished to communicate different ideas to the intranatural. The Seine is traditionally interpreted as a healing site, while the Saône perhaps was a place for marking military victories. The sites are geographically close enough to be part of a similar cultural tradition, but even though both are ritual sites with water, they are treated very differently. The nature of these sites is radically different and there is no reason to assume people in the past would have ignored this fact.

Another important project should focus on multiple sites whose primary deities are well attested through inscriptions and/or iconography. The quantities and types of objects should be examined closely to see if there are correlations between the types of deities and the offerings presented to them. A more compact project with good contextual data would help to fill in the gaps of the Gallo-Roman ritual language so that the meaning(s) of particular offerings in the future may be understood more clearly.

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CONCLUSIONS

Spring sites focus on giving offerings that represent the human form or are connected to the body. I believe this is an attempt to communicate a particular request (primarily fertility, healing, and protection) and the identity of the individual to the deity to ensure their request will be granted.

Offerings from the Douix seem to follow Roman interpretations of springs, by presenting objects that are primarily associated with the protection and fertility of women, and secondarily for healing. Though in the past the spring was interpreted as a place aiding in fertility, the way visitors went about communicating this idea differs from other Gallo-Roman spring sanctuaries. There is no clear image of a deity, though one statue may be a form of a *déesse*-mere, nor any inscriptions naming a deity; neither of these traditions existed in pre-Roman Gaul. While some sacred enclosures existed in the La Tène period elsewhere, they were not frequently associated with springs; there is also no structure at the Douix. Offerings here are of more traditional and personalized forms, such as personal ornamentation or jewelry, as seen with the Hallstatt fibulae, or the individualized La Tène swords and scabbards. The intention of offerings is to communicate the identity of the giver to the deity and helps to ensure recognition of the individual by the deity.

CHAPTER 9 – FIGURES
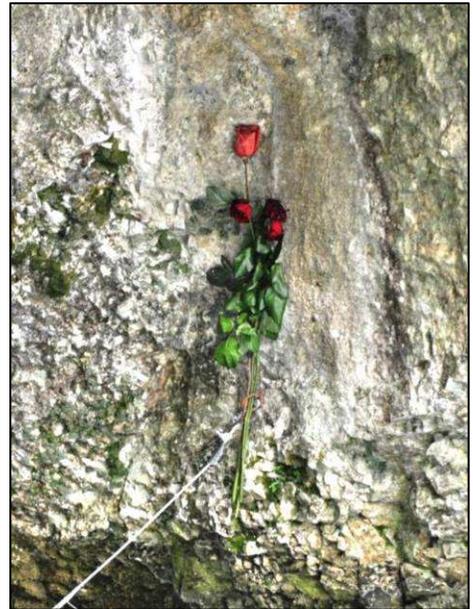
Figure 9.1. The Douix of Châtillon-sur-Seine today with an offering(?) of roses left near the entrance.

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APPENDIX A – DOUIX CATALOG (IRON AGE)

Hallstatt

Beads

Spherical

H.31.001.

2012.0.0.1.4.1.1.

ceramic.	H. -	Wd. -
Complete.	L. -	Th. **1.74**
	D. **2.10**	Hd. **0.37**

Bead. Red clay with coarse temper and slight burning on one side. Hole is centered.

(Douix Cave.)

H.31.002.

2012.0.0.1.4.1.2.

ceramic.	H. **1.68**	Wd. -
Complete.	L. -	Th. -
	D. **1.91**	Hd. **0.51**

Bead or spindle whorl. Pyramidal shape, circle with a triangle on top and a hole all the way through.

(Sondage 29/30 juin 1996.)

517

Hallstatt
Rings

H.32.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.70.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -
L. 1.43
D. -

Wd. 0.34
Th. 0.14
Hd. -

Open ring. Slightly thin, and wide-flat with rounded-ridged top in section. Outer finish in-tact, and zig-zag decoration on either side of the ridge paralleling the length of the ring. Squished into an oval shape.

(Douix Cave.)

Hallstatt
Vessels
Cups

H.61.001.

2012.0.0.1.4.2.1.

ceramic.	H. 6.36	Wd. -
Broken.	L. -	Th. 0.59
	D. 9.84	Hd. 8.72

Small cup. Red clay with coarse temper.

(Douix Cave.)

H.61.002.

2012.0.0.1.4.2.2.

ceramic.	H. 2.02	Wd. -
Broken.	L. -	Th. 0.35
	D. 2.93	Hd. 2.20

Miniature cup. Red clay with coarse temper.

(Douix Cave.)

519
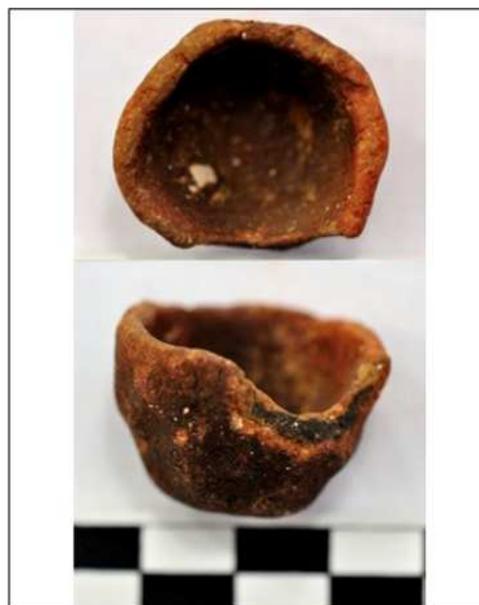
La Tène
Coins
Ordered by approximate date

LT.1.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.1.

silver.
Complete.   Wt. 1.05

Roman Republic.
Roman Republic. Head crowned r., text heavily worn /
Heavily worn.

(Douix Cave, June 9, 1996.)

LT.1.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.2.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 2.07

1st c. BC.
Roman Republic or Gallic imitation. La Tour XXXII 8040,
Rennes.

(Douix Cave, June 9, 1996.)

LT.1.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.3.

both.
Complete.   Wt. 3.29

1st c. BC.
La Tour XXXII 8329, Lingon.

(Douix Cave, Sept. 4, 1993.)

LT.1.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.4.

potin.
Complete.   Wt. 3.32

1st c. BC.
La Tour XXXII 8329, Lingon.
     (Douix Cave, June 9, 1996.)

LT.1.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.5.

potin.
Complete.   Wt. 3.72

1st c. BC.
Gallic potin. Similar to La Tour VII 2935.
     (Douix Cave. June 9, 1996.)

LT.1.006.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.6.

silver.
Complete.   Wt. 1.41

1st c. BC.
Gallic coin. Heavily worn / Bottom r. oblong shape with a circle?
     (Pump system.)

La Tène
Clothing Fastener
Belt Buckle

LT.41.001.

2012.0.0.1.1.7.8.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 1.14
Broken.	L. 1.53	Th. 0.27
	D. -	Hd. -

3rd c. BC.
Half of a belt buckle that was bent until broken in half. Has a loop and center joint that connected to another loop. Similar to Mantel 1997, Fig. 6, no. 318-109.

(Douix Cave.)

APPENDIX B – DOUIX CATALOG (GALLO-ROMAN PERIOD)

Gallo-Roman
Coins
Ordered by approximate date

GR.1.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.7.

silver.
Complete.   Wt. 1.34

29 - 28 B.C.
Octavian/Augustus. Head, r. / Victory standing l. on cista mystica between two serpents with heads erect. Italian (Rome?) mint. RIC I, 276.

(Pump system.)

GR.1.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.8.

bronze.
Fragment.   Wt. 5.06

A.D. 10 - 14
Augustus, missing half is Agrippa. Head of Augustus on r., back to back with missing Agrippa on l./ Crocodile r., chained to palm branch, COL... . Nimes mint. RIC I, 159. Coin cut in half, only Augustus; possibly fits with GR.1.054 / 2012.0.0.1.1.1.60. or GR.1.003. / 2012.0.0.1.1.1.9.

(Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.9.

bronze.
Fragment.   Wt. 4.46

27 B.C. - A.D. 14
Augustus? Heavily corroded. Nimes mint. Coin cut in half; possibly fits with GR.1.054 / 2012.0.0.1.1.1.60. GR.1.002 / 2012.0.0.1.1.1.8.

(Douix Cave.)

524

GR.1.004
2012.0.0.1.1.1.10.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 10.34

27 B.C. - A.D. 14
Augustus? / Altar of Lyon? Heavily worn.
(Douix Cave. June 9, 1996.)

GR.1.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.11.

bronze.
Fragment.   Wt. 0.77

c. 10 B.C.
Augustus?, Germanus Indutilli F? Trier mint? RIC I, 249?
Coin possibly cut.
(Basin.)

GR.1.006.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.12.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 2.14

c. 10 B.C.
Augustus. Head l. / Germanus Indutilli type? Heavily
worn. Trier mint? RIC I, 249?
(Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.007
2012.0.0.1.1.1.13.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 2.87

27 B.C. - A.D. 37
Augustus or Tiberius? Altar of Lyon? Heavily worn.
(Douix Cave.)

GR.1.008.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.14.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 1.35

27 B.C. - A.D. 37
Augustus or Tiberius? Altar of Lyon? Heavily worn.
                                    (Pump system.)

GR.1.009.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.15.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 3.11

27 B.C. - A.D. 37
Augustus or Tiberius? Altar of Lyon? Heavily worn.
                                    (Douix Cave.)

GR.1.010.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.16.

silver
Broken.   Wt. 2.65

A.D. 14 - 37
Tiberius. Head crowned r. / Livia as Pax seated r. holding
scepter and olive branch. Lugdunum mint. RIC I, 26 or 30.
                                    (Douix Cave.)

GR.1.011.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.17.

silver.
Complete.   Wt. 3.70

A.D. 14 - 37
Tiberius. Head crowned r., TI CAESAR DIVI AVG
AVGVSTVS / Livia as Pax seated r. holding scepter and
olive branch, PONTIF MAXIM. Lugdunum mint. RIC I, 26
or 30.
                          (Douix Cave. June 9, 1996.)

526

GR.1.012.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.18.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 3.65

A.D. 14 - 37
Tiberius. Altar of Lyon?

(Douix Cave. June 9, 1996.)

GR.1.013.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.19.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 7.88

A.D. 31 - 37
Augustus. Divus Augustus Pater l. / Heavily worn. RIC I, 81 or 82?

(Douix Cave. June 9, 1996.)

GR.1.014.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.20.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 5.29

A.D. 37 - 41
Agrippa. Head l. / Neptune standing l. holding trident in l. hand and r. arm outstretched, S-C across fields. Struck under Caligula. RIC I, 58?

(Douix Cave. June 9, 1996.)

GR.1.015.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.21.

iron or bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 6.34

A.D. 37 - 41
Agrippa? Heavily corroded.

(Pump system.)

527

GR.1.016.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.22.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 7.22

A.D. 41 - 42
Claudius I. Imitation? Head l. / Minerva standing r. brandishing spear and holding shield, S-C across fields. Rome mint. RIC 100?

(Douix Cave. June 9, 1996.)
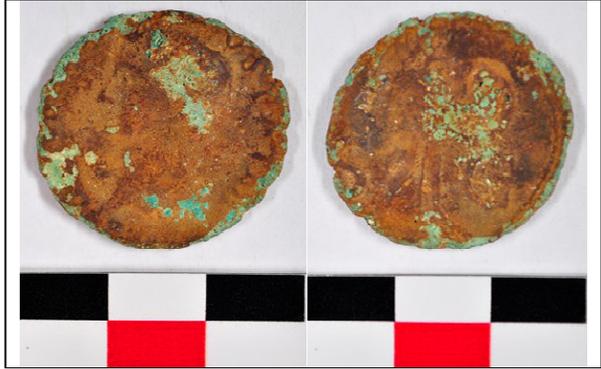
GR.1.017.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.23.

bronze?
Broken.   Wt. 2.41

A.D. 69 - 81?
Vespasian or Titus? Heavily worn.

(DX.6.S 1.)

GR.1.018.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.24.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 8.30

A.D. 69 - 81?
Vespasian or Titus? Heavily worn.
(Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.019.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.25.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 5.79

A.D. 81 - 96
Domitian. Head crowned r. / Standing figure l. arm outstretched.

(Sept. 4, 1993.)

528

GR.1.020.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.26.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 9.14

A.D. 117 - 138
Hadrian(?). Head r. / Standing figure l.
                    (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.021.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.27.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 25.39

A.D. 117 - 139
Hadrian. Head r., partially covered in sediment / Heavily sedimented.
                    (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.022.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.28.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 8.16

A.D. 138 - 161
Antoninus Pius? Head r. / Standing figure, S-C across field.
                    (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.023.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.29.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 6.61

A.D. 140 - 144
Antoninus Pius. Head r. / Two "ancilia"/oval shields with rounded projections above and below, very worn ANCIL-IA below and ...C across fields. Rome mint. RIC III, 736.
                    (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

529

GR.1.024.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.30.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 25.41

A.D. 138 - 161
Antoninus Pius. Head crowned r., AVG... / Standing fig-
ure, C across fields.

(Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.025.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.31.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 24.27

A.D. 138 - 181?
Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius. Heavily sediment-
ed / ...D E C... surrounded perhaps by oak wreath like RIC
III, 171.

(Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.026.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.32.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 3.82

A.D. 175 - ?
Faustina II or Lucille or Crispina? Heavily worn.

(Douix Cave. June 9, 1996.)

GR.1.027.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.33.

silver?
Complete.   Wt. 9.61

A.D. 175 - ?
Faustina II. Head r., FAVSTINA... / Standing woman hold-
ing a spear and has a bird and a shield on the ground, S-C
across fields, I I F on r.?

(Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.028.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.34.

bronze?
Complete.　　　　　Wt. 17.34

A.D. 163 - 164
Lucius Verus(?). Head with laurel crown r., ...AVG AR-
MENI.. / Helmeted Mars standing r., l. arm holding spear,
r. arm raised, leaning on shield, ...R... III... IMP II..., S-C
across field. RIC III, 1384?

(Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.029.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.35.

bronze.
Complete.　　　　　Wt. 2.24

A.D. 269 - 271
Victorinus. Head crowned r. / Heavily worn.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.1.030.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.36.

bronze?
Complete.　　　　　Wt. 1.99

A.D. 269 - 271
Victorinus. Head crowned r., IMP C VICTORINVS PIAV C /
A figure walking with flowing dress, I... ...V... ...O. Cologne
mint. RIC Vb, 114.

(Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.031.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.37.

bronze.
Complete.　　　　　Wt. 1.84

A.D. 271 - 274
Tetricus I? Head crowned r. / Sol walking l., r. hand
raised, l. holding whip.

(Pump system.)

531

GR.1.032.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.38.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 2.21

A.D. 271 - 274
Tetricus I or II? Heavily worn / Spes walking l. holding flower and raising robe. Similar to RIC V, 272.

(Basin.)

GR.1.033.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.39.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 1.66

A.D. 273 - 274
Tetricus II? Heavily worn.

(Pump system.)

GR.1.034.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.40.

silver?
Complete.   Wt. 3.17

A.D. 273 - 274
Tetricus II. Head crowned r. / Standing figure, C across fields. RIC V, 270 or 272?

(Douix Cave.)

GR.1.035.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.41.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 1.97

A.D. 270 - 275
Aurelien?

(Douix Cave.)

532

GR.1.036.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.42.

bronze.
Fragment.   Wt. 1.42

Second-half of 3rd c. A.D.?
Coin possibly cut in half?

(Douix Cave.)

GR.1.037.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.43.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 0.65

End of 3rd c. A.D.?
Imitation, end of 3rd c. A.D.?

(Pump system.)

GR.1.038.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.44.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 0.84

End of 3rd c. A.D.
Imitation, end of 3rd c. A.D..

(Pump system.)

GR.1.039.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.45.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 0.93

End of 3rd c. A.D.?
Undetermined, imitation, end of the 3rd c.?

(Douix Cave.)

GR.1.040.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.46.

bronze.
Complete. Wt. 1.63

A.D. 306 - 337
Constantine I. Lugdunum?

(Douix Cave.)

GR.1.041.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.47.

bronze?
Complete. Wt. 2.34

A.D. 306 - 337
Constantine I? Heavily corroded.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.1.042.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.48.

bronze?
Complete. Wt. 0.59

A.D. 330 - 340?
Constantinopolis, imitation? Head l. with cross behind /
Victory standing with wings out and a shield on the
ground.

(Basin.)

GR.1.043.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.49.

bronze?
Complete. Wt. 0.82

A.D. 335 - 340
Constantine II. Gloria Exercitus imitation? Heavily corrod-
ed.

(Pump system.)

GR.1.044.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.50.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 1.37

A.D. 335 - 340
Constantine II. Gloria Exercitus. Head with laurel crown
r. / Two soldiers standing together holding one standard.
Trier mint. Similar to RIC VII, 586.

(Basin.)

GR.1.045.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.51.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 0.87

A.D. 341 - 346
Constans. Imitation Victoriae DD AUGG Q NN?

(Basin.)

GR.1.046.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.52.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 1.15

A.D. 341 - 346
Constans. Victoriae DD AUGG Q NN?

(Douix Cave.)

GR.1.047.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.53.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 1.65

Undetermined, Gallic or Roman?

(Douix Cave.)

535

GR.1.048.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.54.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 1.63

Undetermined, Roman?

                                    (Pump system.)
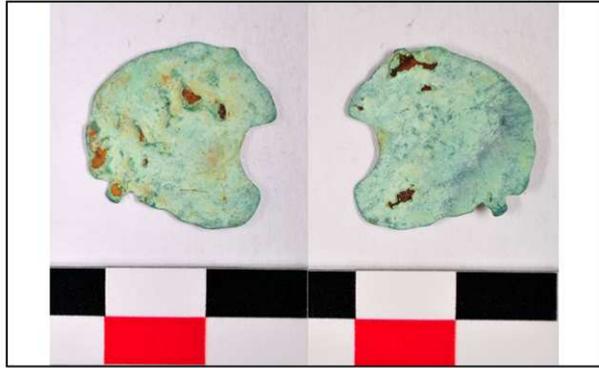
GR.1.049.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.55.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 1.66

Undetermined, Roman?

                                    (Douix Cave.)

GR.1.050.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.56.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 9.40

Between 1st and 2nd c. A.D.
Undetermined. Head r. / Standing figure l., l. hand out-
stretched and r. on hip, S-C across fields.
                            (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.051.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.57.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 3.05

Between 1st and 2nd c. A.D.
Undetermined. Heavily worn.
                            (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

536

GR.1.052.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.58.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 9.12

Between 1st and 2nd c. A.D.
Undetermined. Head r. / Standing helmeted figure holding a spear in r. hand and l. hand holding a shield, S-C across fields.
          (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.053.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.59.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 8.43

Between 1st and 2nd c. A.D.
Undetermined. Head r. / Standing figure. Heavily worn.
          (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)
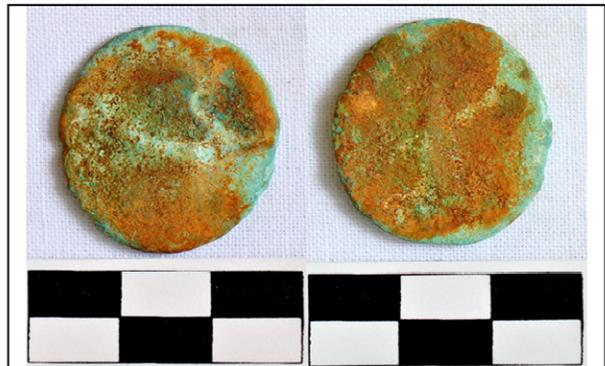
GR.1.054.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.60.

bronze.
Fragment.   Wt. 6.38

Between 1st and 2nd c. A.D.
Undetermined. Heavily worn. Coin cut in half, possibly fits with GR.1.002 / 2012.0.0.1.1.1.8. or GR.1.003. / 2012.0.0.1.1.1.9.
          (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.055.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.61.

iron.
Complete.   Wt. 7.95

Between 1st and 2nd c. A.D.
Undetermined. Heavily corroded.
          (Pump system. Sept. 4, 1993.)

GR.1.056.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.62.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 0.73

3rd-4th c. A.D.?
Undetermined, Roman?

(Basin.)

GR.1.057.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.63.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 0.90

4th c. A.D.?
Undetermined, imitation 4th c.?

(Pump system.)

538

Gallo-Roman
Sculptures
Full Body

GR.2.001.

999.6.1.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 103.00	Wd. 57.00
Broken.	L. -	Th. 30.00
	D. -	Hd. -
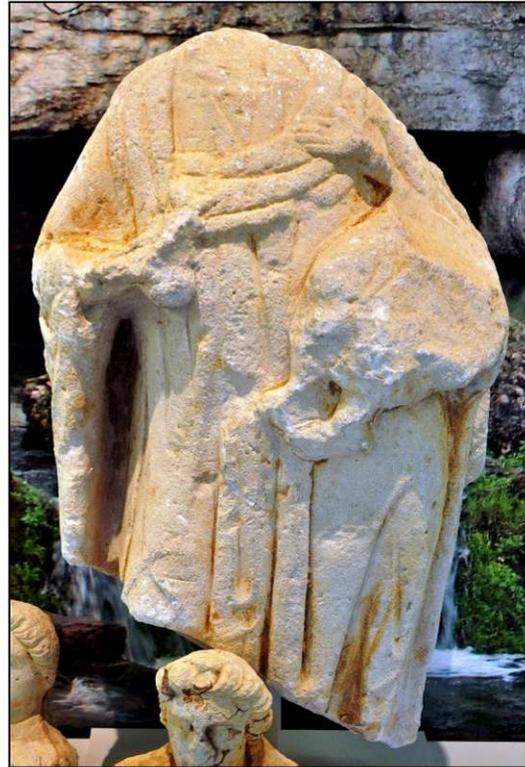
2nd c. AD.
Figure of a woman holding a child in her arms. Very broken and chipped. The woman is missing her head and legs. In her right hand, she holds a round object, maybe a purse. In her left arm, she holds a child, which is worn away except for a hand resting upon the mother and its legs which hang down while being held. The mother is draped in multiple garments and perhaps wears a cloak or something draped over her shoulders. The child also wears a loose fitting gown. They are against a flat surface.

(Douix Cave.)

Gallo-Roman
Sculptures
Busts

GR.2.002.

999.7.4.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 23.20	Wd. 14.70
Complete.	L. -	Th. 11.80
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Stylized bust of a woman. Her ears are covered by her hair which is slightly curled and falls at the shoulders. She has rounded eyes pupils and rounded arches, a rectangular nose with nostrils, pursed lips in a straight line, and a defined/projecting chin. She wears a garment which seems to circle her neck or is perhaps a necklace. Similar to Inv.#999.7.1.

(Douix Cave. 1996.)
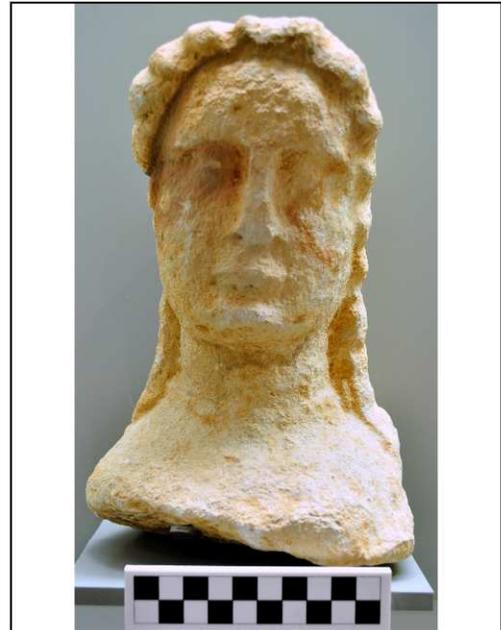
GR.2.003.

999.7.1.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 21.70	Wd. 36.00
Complete.	L. -	Th. 12.50
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Two stylized busts of women, perhaps twins?, broken apart. Their ears are covered by hair which is slightly curled and falls at the shoulders. They have rounded eyes with pupils, lids, and rounded arches, rectangular noses with nostrils, pursed lips in a straight line, and defined/projecting chins. They wear garments of which seem to circle their necks or are perhaps necklaces. Additional measurements: (left) H 21.7, W 18.4, Th 11; (right) H 21.7, W 17.6, Th 12.5. Similar to Inv.#999.7.4.

(Douix Cave.)

540

GR.2.004.

999.7.3 et alii.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 25.50	Wd. 23.50
Complete.	L. -	Th. 10.00
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Stylized bust of a woman. Her ears are covered by her hair which is slightly curled and cut above the shoulders. She has eyes with pupils, lids, and arches, a rectangular nose with a flare at the bottom and nostrils, pronounced and slightly down-turned the lips, and a pronounced chin. She wears clothing that stops at the neck.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.005.

999.7.3 et alii.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 25.00	Wd. 31.00
Complete.	L. -	Th. 14.00
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Stylized bust of a woman. Her ears are covered by her hair which is more detailed than other examples and has more curves and lines around the face, but nothing on the backside and is cut above the shoulders. She has eyes with pupils, lids, and arches, a rectangular nose with a slight flare at the bottom and nostrils, pronounced lips that turn upward into a smirk, and a pronounced chin. She wears a piece of clothing that comes to the neck and has a slight gap.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.006.

999.7.2 et alii.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 25.00	Wd. 19.00
Complete.	L. -	Th. 12.50
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Stylized bust of a woman. Her ears are covered by her hair curls back and is cut above the shoulders. She has eyes with lids and arches, a rectangular nose that is more triangular than other examples and defined nostrils, defined pursed and slightly off-centered lips, and a rounded and projecting chin. She wears a garment that stops at her neck and is slightly defined.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.007.

999.7.2 et alii.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 25.50	Wd. 30.00
Complete.	L. -	Th. 15.50
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Stylized bust of a woman. Her ears are covered by her hair, which is much more curled and defined than most examples and is cut above the shoulders. She has eyes with lids and arches, a rectangular nose and flares heavily at the bottom with nostrils, defined and pursed lips in a straight line, and a projecting chin. She wears a garment that stops at the neck. Piece is heavily stained.

(Douix Cave.)
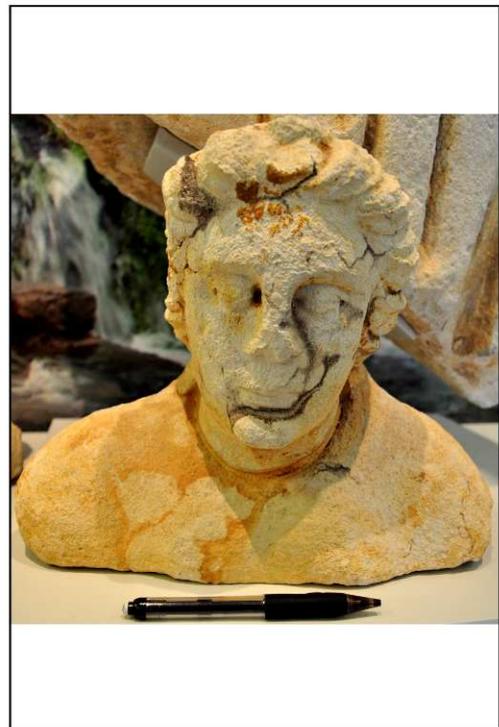
GR.2.008.

999.6.3.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 11.02	Wd. 5.25
Complete.	L. -	Th. 6.00
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.

Stylized bust of a male. Rectangular cube form. He has short hair following his forehead revealing both ears, though the right is damaged. His face is stylized, but includes eyebrow arches; the right has a slight indent for the eye, but not on the left. He has a rectangular nose, subtle cheeks, downturned/straight mouth, and rounded chin. The neck is distinguished. He has no arms.

(Douix Cave. 1993.)

GR.2.009.

999.7.7.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 28.50	Wd. 26.00
Complete.	L. -	Th. 14.50
	D. -	Hd. -

1st c. AD?

Stylized bust of a man. He has short stylized (bowl-cut) hair, proportionate ears represented by ovals with an inner and outer section, eyes with pupils, lids, rounded arches, and wrinkles, a rectangular nose with a slight flare at the bottom and small nostrils, cheeks narrowing toward the bottom, and a frowning mouth. He wears a high-neck tunic which has creases around the neck area.

(Douix Cave.)

543
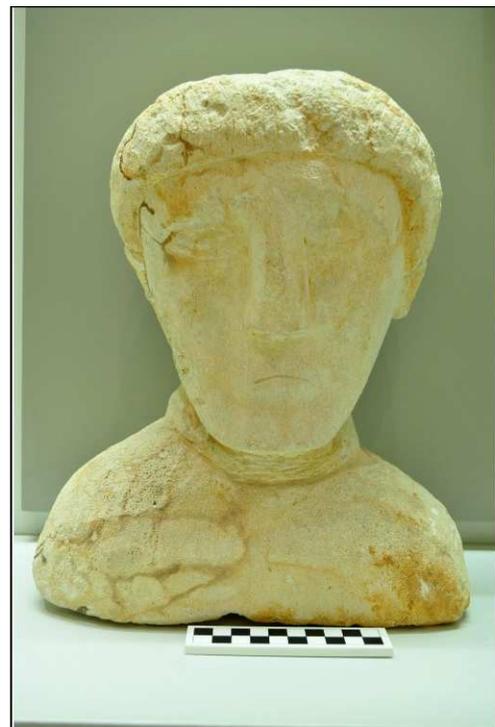
GR.2.010.

999.7.9.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 9.15	Wd. 4.33
Complete.	L. -	Th. 4.39
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Stylized relief bust of a person. Background is a rounded rectangle. The face is very worn or was not made in detail, and has no hair. Two inset holes may be eyes. It has a rectangular nose, and rounded chin. The neck is defined. It has no arms.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.011.

999.7.12.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 5.30	Wd. 8.15
Broken.	L. -	Th. 4.70
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Bust of a person. Head missing and no arms.

(Douix Cave.)

544

GR.2.012.

999.7.10.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 14.70	Wd. 18.70	
Broken.	L. -	Th. 13.40	
	D. -	Hd. -	

2nd c. AD.
Bust of a person. Head is missing, but some neck preserved. It wears a garment with the edge at the base of the neck.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.013.

999.7.11.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 12.10	Wd. 15.80	
Broken.	L. -	Th. 11.60	
	D. -	Hd. -	

2nd c. AD.
Bust of a person. Head is missing, but some neck preserved. It wears a garment with the edge at the base of the neck.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.014.

999.6.2.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 9.55		Wd. 8.50
Complete.	L. -		Th. 6.76
	D. -		Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Head of a female. She has long hair which appears to be pulled back at the neck. Her heart-shaped face is relatively flat, and is chipped across the forehead and on the top of the head. No eyes are visible, but the remains of an eyebrow arch on the right side can be seen. She has a triangular nose, straight mouth, and rounded chin. Part of the neck is visible.

(Douix Cave. 1993.)

GR.2.015.

999.7.8.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 24.00		Wd. 16.50
Complete.	L. -		Th. 13.00
	D. -		Hd. -

1st c. AD?
Stylized head of a man. He has eyes with pupils, round ears, a rectangular nose, straight mouth with lips slightly pulled apart, and pointed chin.

(Douix Cave.)
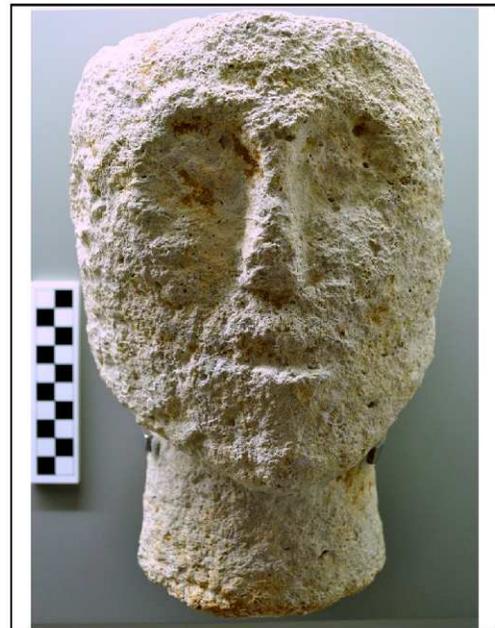
GR.2.016.

999.7.14.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 8.80	Wd. 8.00
Broken.	L. -	Th. 12.70
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Part of a head. Side not determined, with hair and some of face present (female?).

(Douix Cave.)
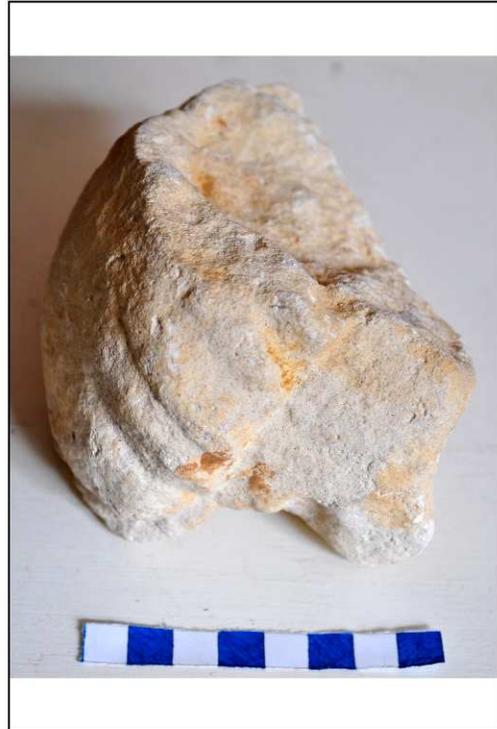
GR.2.017.

999.7.13.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 7.90	Wd. 7.90
Broken.	L. -	Th. 3.80
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Fragment of a face. It has an almond-shaped, incised eye. Rounded part could be some of the forehead, but it looks more like the cheek, making this the left side of the face. Possibly the missing head of sculpture GR.2.001 / Inv. #999.6.1, other half of GR.2.018 / Inv. #999.7.15.

(Douix Cave.)

547

GR.2.018.

999.7.15.

Oolitic Limestone. H. 18.00 Wd. 12.90

Broken. L. - Th. 6.30

D. - Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Part of a face. Right side with hair and an eye (female?). Possibly the missing head of sculpture GR.2.001 / Inv. #999.6.1, other half of GR.2.017 / Inv. #999.7.13.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.019.

999.7.16.

Oolitic Limestone. H. 2.40 Wd. 8.90

Broken. L. - Th. 5.50

D. - Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Hair of a woman.

(Douix Cave.)

548

Gallo-Roman
Sculptures
Torsos

GR.2.020.

999.7.27.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 13.31	Wd. 5.26
Broken.	L. -	Th. 2.50
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.

Torso of a draped woman and a baby. No head, nor limbs are visible. Her neck is slightly visible and perhaps wears a necklace. Her right breast is exposed and the belly and belly button are also visible. She is draped on the left side and the drapery continues to the right just under the belly. The child is on the left side next to the belly and in between draped areas. It is bald, has an incised smile and eyes, but no arms. The curviness of the woman resembles Venus, perhaps Venus and Cupid?

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.021.

999.7.29.

Limestone.	H. 11.22	Wd. 12.38
Complete.	L. -	Th. 6.48
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.

Torso of a male. He has no head, but a neck and arms that are cut off just above the elbow. He rests against a circular background/ arch. Heavily encrusted. Note on the bottom in pencil says it was given by Christophe Petit, July 2003.

(Stream of the Douix.)

GR.2.022.

999.7.18.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 13.98	Wd. 8.55
Broken.	L. -	Th. 4.95
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.

Torso of a male. No neck, nor tops of shoulders. A small section of the upper arms exists. The belly button is visible just above the genitals. The right leg stops above the knee, and the left appears to be broken.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.023.

999.7.17.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 23.00	Wd. 15.50
Complete.	L. -	Th. 11.00
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.

Torso. Cut off at the waist and mid-thigh.

(Douix Cave.)

Gallo-Roman
Sculptures
Limbs

GR.2.024.

999.7.21.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 15.70	Wd. 9.00
Complete.	L. -	Th. 6.00
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Leg. Cut off just above the knee and mid-calf.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.025.

999. 7.23.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 13.23	Wd. 4.14
Broken.	L. -	Th. 5.05
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Leg. It is slightly bent at the knee. It is cut just above the knee and is broken just above the ankle.

(Douix Cave.)

551

GR.2.026.

999.7.19.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 37.00	Wd. 13.00
Broken.	L. -	Th. 12.50
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Leg. Cut off at the knee and just above the ankle.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.027.

999.7.22.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 11.60	Wd. 13.50
Broken.	L. -	Th. 17.60
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Part of a thigh. One side smoothed, and the other rough where broken from larger piece.

(Douix Cave.)

552

GR.2.028.

999.7.25.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 10.40	Wd. 7.80
Broken.	L. -	Th. 10.00
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Part of a leg. Broken above and below the ankle.
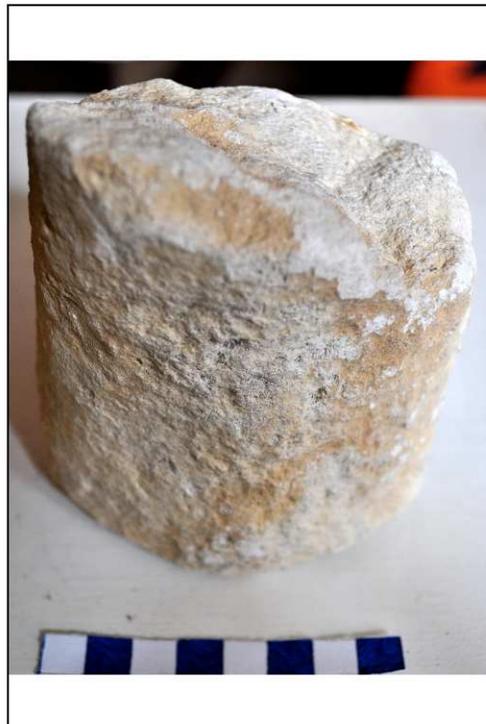
(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.029.

999.6.8.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 11.50	Wd. 6.40
Broken.	L. -	Th. 8.20
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Part of a leg. Has a slight curve.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.030.

999.7.20a.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 13.10	Wd. 10.10
Broken.	L. -	Th. 4.65
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.2.030.

2nd c. AD.
Part of a leg. Lower thigh, knee, and upper calf preserved. Joins
GR.2.031 / Inv. #999.7.20b.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.031.

999.7.20b.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 18.20	Wd. 10.60
Broken.	L. -	Th. 7.10
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.2.031.

2nd c. AD.
Part of leg. Calf muscle and some ankle. Joins GR.2.030 / Inv.
#999.7.20a.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.032.

999.6.6.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 12.50	Wd. 4.90
Broken.	L. -	Th. 6.30
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Part of a leg. Broken above and below the ankle?
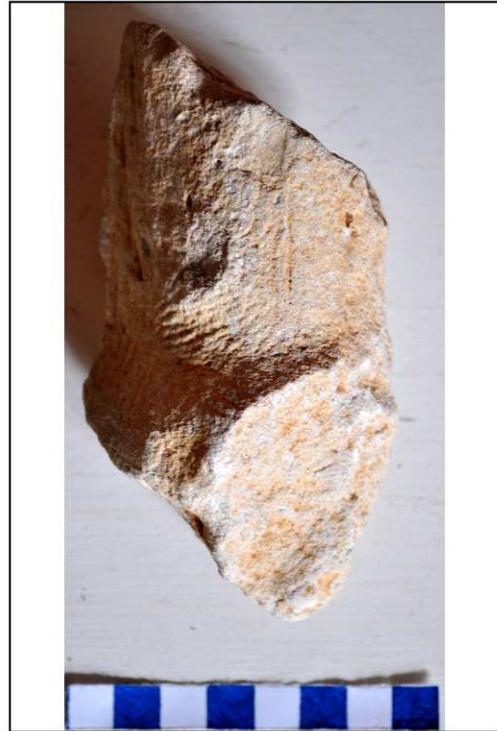
(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.033.

999.6.5.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. -	Wd. 12.65
Broken.	L. 16.10	Th. 7.30
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Part of a thigh? Against a background.

(Douix Cave. 1993.)

GR.2.034.

999.6.7.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 9.70	Wd. 6.40
Broken.	L. -	Th. 5.35
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Shaft of an arm or leg.

(Douix Cave. 1993.)
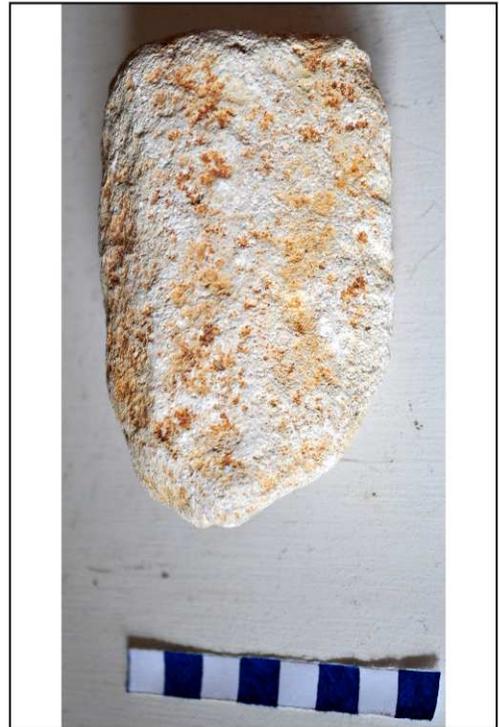
GR.2.035.

2012.0.0.1.3.1.1.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 19.70	Wd. 13.60
Broken.	L. -	Th. 5.30
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Either a hand resting against a body, or a part of a leg or arm.

(Douix Cave.)

556

Gallo-Roman
Sculptures
Feet

GR.2.036.

999.6.4.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 2.10	Wd. 3.18
Broken.	L. -	Th. 3.95
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.

Small foot with five toes indicated by lines. It is broken off behind the toes. It appears to be wearing a sandal or shoe of some kind because there is a line that runs parallel with the ground under the toes. It perhaps came from a larger sculpture or was at least a complete foot at one point.

(Douix Cave. 1993.)

GR.2.037.

999.7.24.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 13.50	Wd. 7.00
Broken.	L. -	Th. 15.50
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.

Foot. Cut-off just at the ankle and broken off mid-foot.

(Douix Cave.)

Gallo-Roman
Sculptures
Miscellaneous Fragments

GR.2.038.

999.7.28.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. 9.68	Wd. 9.73
Broken.	L. -	Th. 4.70
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
Fragment of a torch's flame. Only one side present or is perhaps bas
-relief. The flames start to the left, curl right, then finish at the top
left. The flame sits a top a three tier pedestal.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.2.039.

2012.0.0.1.3.1.2.

Oolitic Limestone.	H. -	Wd. -
Broken.	L. -	Th. -
	D. -	Hd. -

2nd c. AD.
76 fragments of sculpture. Parts are unidentifiable or they served as
roofs or structures in which the sculpture presided, varying sizes,
shapes, etc.

(Douix Cave.)

558

Gallo-Roman
Beads
Circular

GR.31.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.2.1.

silver.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.30
D. 0.99	Hd. 0.27

Circular silver bead. One side flatter (back) than the other which is slightly rounded (top).

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.2.2.

silver.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.21
D. 0.85	Hd. 0.19

Circular silver bead. One side flatter and concave (back) than the other which is slightly rounded (top); the hole is not centered.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.2.3.

silver.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.21
D. 0.51	Hd. 0.10

Circular silver bead. One side flatter (back) than the other which is slightly rounded (top).

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.2.4.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.09
L. -	Th. 0.15
D. 0.49	Hd. 0.23

Circular bronze bead.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.2.5.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.08
L. -	Th. 0.08
D. 0.40	Hd. 0.22

Circular bronze bead.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.006.
2012.0.0.1.1.2.6.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.07
L. -	Th. 0.11
D. 0.43	Hd. 0.23

Circular bronze bead. Disintegrating.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.007.
2012.0.0.1.7.1.1.

glass.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.39
D. 0.77	Hd. 0.34

Circular blue glass bead. Hole slightly off-center.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.008.
2012.0.0.1.7.1.2.

glass.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.46
D. 0.68	Hd. 0.29

Circular blue glass bead.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.009.
2012.0.0.1.7.1.3.

glass.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.27
D. 0.72	Hd. 0.31

Circular blue glass bead.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.010.
2012.0.0.1.7.1.7.

glass.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. -
L. 0.94	Th. 0.41
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a circular blue glass bead. Concave toward the hole and broken.

(Douix Cave.)

Gallo-Roman
Beads
Cylindrical, Ovular, Trapezoidal

GR.31.011.
2012.0.0.1.7.1.5.

glass.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.72
D. 0.59	Hd. 0.26

Cylindrical green glass bead. Has taupe swirls wrapping around the sides of the bead. Slightly chipped near the holes.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.012.
2012.0.0.1.7.1.4.

glass.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.83
D. 0.53	Hd. 0.12

Ovular blue glass bead. Has white swirls running parallel with the length of the bead.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.31.013.
2012.0.0.1.7.1.6.

glass.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.85
D. 0.66	Hd. 0.22

Trapezoidal green glass bead. One end is very narrow and the other wider and flaring.

(Douix Cave.)

562

Gallo-Roman
Rings
All

GR.32.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.15.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.32
L. -	Th. 0.26
D. 1.55	Hd. 1.04

Earring. Thin, and round in section. Both ends flattened.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.1.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.36
L. -	Th. 0.28
D. 3.07	Hd. 2.54

Closed ring, perhaps cast. Very thick, and round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.4.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.23
L. -	Th. 0.17
D. 1.76	Hd. 1.42

Closed ring, perhaps cast. Thin, and slightly flat-rectangular in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.2.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.20
L. -	Th. 0.17
D. 2.70	Hd. 2.37

Closed ring, ends joined. Thick, and circular in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.12.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.36
L. -	Th. 0.27
D. 1.88	Hd. 1.52

Closed ring, ends joined. Thick, uneven width around, and mostly round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.006.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.3.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.13
L. -	Th. 0.11
D. 2.22	Hd. 2.12

Closed ring with visible joint. Thin, and D-shaped in section. Slightly oval in shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.007.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.5.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.13
L. -	Th. 0.16
D. 1.63	Hd. 1.37

Closed ring with visible joint. Thin, and D-shaped in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.008.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.6.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.15
L. -	Th. 0.11
D. 1.39	Hd. 1.18

Closed ring with visible joint. Thin, and round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.009.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.7.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.15
L. -	Th. 0.12
D. 1.41	Hd. 1.16

Closed ring. Thin, and D-shaped in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.010.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.8.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.16
L. -	Th. 0.13
D. 1.33	Hd. 1.09

Closed ring with visible joint. Thin, and slightly square in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.011.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.9.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.11
L. -	Th. 0.08
D. 1.27	Hd. 1.11

Closed ring with visible joint. Thin, and D-shaped in section.

(Douix Cave.)

565

GR.32.012.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.10.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.21
L. -	Th. 0.22
D. 1.14	Hd. 0.74

Closed ring. Thin, and oval in section. Some of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.013.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.11.

iron.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.31
L. -	Th. 0.39
D. 2.38	Hd. 1.75

Closed ring, ends joined. Very thick, and circular in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.014.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.13.

iron.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.27
L. -	Th. 0.17
D. 1.86	Hd. 1.39

Closed ring. Round in section and corroded.

(Douix Cave.)
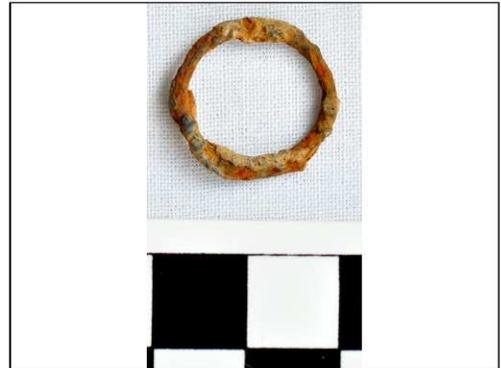
GR.32.015.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.14.

iron.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.39
D. 2.40	Hd. 1.61

Closed ring. Fairly thick, and circular in section.

(Douix Cave.)

566

GR.32.016.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.19.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd.
L. -	Th. 0.10
D. 1.41	Hd. 1.18

Open ring. Very thin, and round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.017.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.16.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.14
L. -	Th. 0.10
D. 2.32	Hd. 2.14

Open ring. Ends different thicknesses, and D-shaped in section. Outer finish gone.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.018.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.20.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.15
L. -	Th. 0.15
D. 1.66	Hd. 1.42

Open ring. Thin, and round in section. Most of outer surface in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.019.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.18.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.19
L. 2.63	Th. 0.16
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish mostly in-tact. Has groupings of lines running parallel to the ring, some have five lines, others three.

(Douix Cave.)

567

GR.32.020.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.21.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.22
L. -	Th. 0.24
D. 1.54	Hd. 1.08

Open ring. Thin. Exterior has parallel lines in pairs of two wrapping around the entire ring parallel to the width.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.021.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.22.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.26
L. -	Th. 0.14
D. 0.83	Hd. 0.49

Open ring. Thin, and square in section. Most of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.022.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.23.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.17
L. 0.81	Th. 0.09
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, and rectangular in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.023.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.17.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.19
L. -	Th. 0.20
D. 2.85	Hd. 2.53

Open ring. Thin, and round in section. One end has 16 lines running parallel to the width of the ring, there are four shorter lines followed by a long line, four shorter lines followed by a long line, and three short lines followed by a long line.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.024.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.24.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.36
L. -	Th. 0.33
D. 3.03	Hd. 2.45

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Very thick, and slightly square
-flat in section. Possible decoration, but not clear.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.025.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.25.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.08
L. -	Th. 0.11
D. 2.00	Hd. 1.78

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Very thin, and mostly round
in section. Three slight parallel lines on the top as decoration.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.026.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.26.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.10
L. -	Th. 0.09
D. 1.47	Hd. 1.28

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Very thin with varying thick-
ness, and mostly round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.026.

GR.32.027.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.27.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.08
L. -	Th. 0.07
D. 1.24	Hd. 1.13

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Very thin, and D-shaped in
section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.027.

569

GR.32.028.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.28.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.11
L. -	Th. 0.09
D. 1.42	Hd. 1.25

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Very thin, and D-shaped in section. Oval in shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.029.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.29.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.26
L. 2.64	Th. 0.08
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and wide band, D-shaped point in section. Slightly oval in shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.030.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.30.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.29
L. -	Th. 0.10
D. 1.79	Hd. 1.61

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and wide band, D-shaped point in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.031.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.32.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.29
L. -	Th. 0.09
D. 1.59	Hd. 1.44

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and wide band, D-shaped point in section.

(Douix Cave.)

570

GR.32.032.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.33.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.19
L. -	Th. 0.07
D. 1.91	Hd. 1.82

GR.32.032.

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Very thin, and wide band, flat in section. Outer finish worn away.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.033.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.35.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.33
L. -	Th. 0.17
D. 1.78	Hd. 1.42

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Slightly thin, and D-shaped in section. Outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.034.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.36.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.21
L. -	Th. 0.21
D. 2.53	Hd. 2.16

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Slightly thin, and D-shaped in section. Outer finish mostly in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.035.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.37.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.20
L. -	Th. 0.10
D. 1.82	Hd. 1.62

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Ends different thicknesses, varying widths, and D-shaped in section.
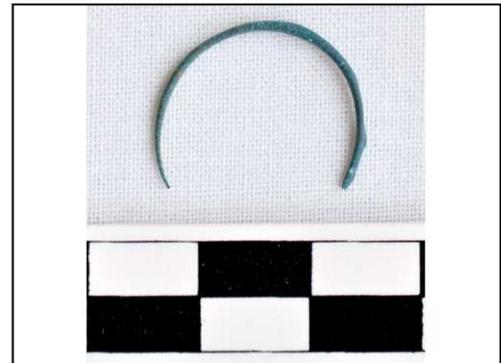
(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.036.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.38.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.15
Complete.	L. -	Th. 0.16
	D. 1.28	Hd. 1.04

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and D-shaped in section. Some of outer finish in-tact. Possibly an earring.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.037.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.39.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.20
Complete.	L. 2.58	Th. 0.22
	D. -	Hd. -

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and round in section. Most of outer finish in-tact. One end has two or three lines parallel to the width of the ring. Oval shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.038.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.40.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.15
Complete.	L. -	Th. 0.14
	D. 1.83	Hd. 1.67

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, varying thickness and round in section. Slightly twisted.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.039.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.41.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.14
Complete.	L. -	Th. 0.15
	D. 1.39	Hd. 1.14

GR.32.039.

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and round in section. Slightly twisted.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.040.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.42.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.14
L. -	Th. 0.12
D. 1.59	Hd. 1.30

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and mostly round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.040.

GR.32.041.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.43.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.22
L. 2.03	Th. 0.26
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and rounded-rectangle in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.042.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.44.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.21
L. -	Th. 0.22
D. 2.12	Hd. 1.76

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and square in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.042.

GR.32.043.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.45.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 2.14
L. -	Th. 0.20
D. 1.83	Hd. 1.44

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and slightly square in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.043.

573

GR.32.044.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.46.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.24
L. -	Th. 0.15
D. 1.17	Hd. 0.86

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and oval in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.045.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.47.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.35
L. 1.11	Th. 0.08
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and D-shaped in section. Slightly oval in shape.
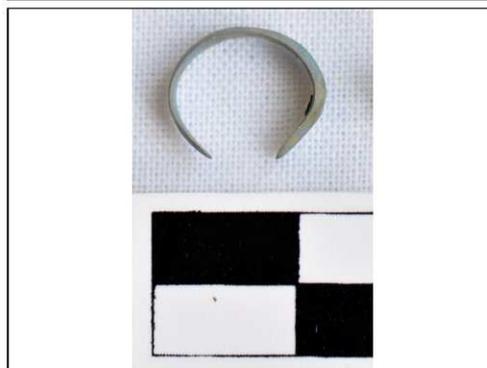
(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.046.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.48.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.12
L. -	Th. 0.11
D. 0.98	Hd. 0.74

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and round in section. Some of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.046.

GR.32.047.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.49.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.12
L. -	Th. 0.19
D. 0.76	Hd. 0.52

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.047.

GR.32.048.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.50.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.06
L. -	Th. 0.04
D. 0.66	Hd. 0.56

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Very thin, and section undetermined.
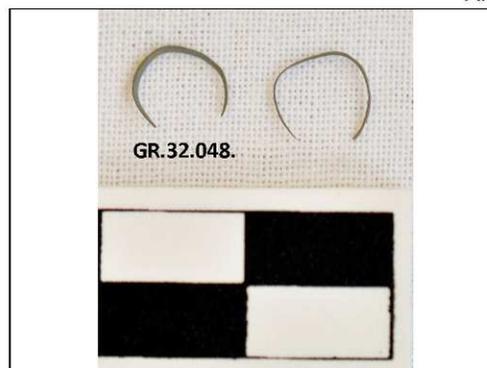
(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.049.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.51.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.04
L. -	Th. 0.02
D. 0.68	Hd. 0.63

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Very thin, and section undetermined.
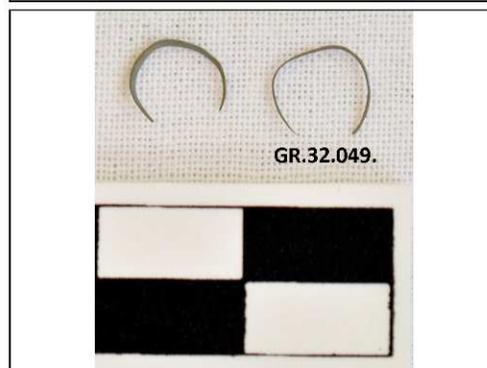
(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.050.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.52.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.32
L. -	Th. 0.14
D. 2.16	Hd. 1.89

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Thin, and D-shaped in section. Outer finish in-tact. One end small and pointed.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.051.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.53.

iron.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. -
L. 0.27	Th. 0.29
D. 3.73	Hd. 2.81

Open ring possibly pulled apart or cut. Possibly cast. Thick, and round in section. Ends broken.

(Douix Cave.)

575

GR.32.052.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.54.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.10
L. -	Th. 0.09
D. 2.93	Hd. 2.84

Half of a ring. Very thin, section undetermined and disintegrating.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.053.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.56.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.16
L. -	Th. 0.15
D. 1.61	Hd. 1.30

Half of a ring. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish in-tact. The ends appear to be cut.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.054.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.55.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.12
L. 1.22	Th. 0.05
D. -	Hd. -

Half of a ring. Thin, and flat in section.
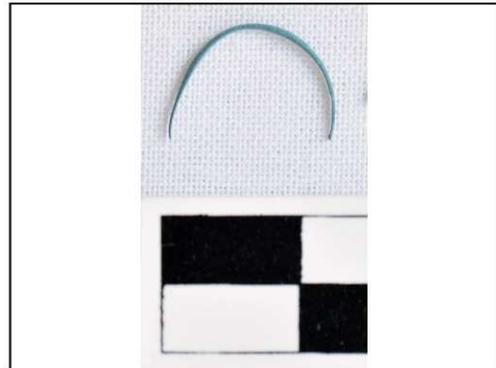
(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.055.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.57.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.15
L. -	Th. 0.24
D. 1.66	Hd. 1.53

Half of a ring. Thin, and oval in section. Some of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.056.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.58.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.17
L. 1.97	Th. 0.16
D. -	Hd. -

Half of a ring. Thin, and round in section. Some of outer finish intact. Has lines parallel to the width of the ring in a group of five and another group with four, but it is broken off here.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.056.

GR.32.057.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.59.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.17
L. -	Th. 0.14
D. 1.26	Hd. 0.92

Half of a ring. Thin, and round in section. Possibly cut in half.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.057.

GR.32.058.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.60.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.19
L. -	Th. 0.15
D. 1.50	Hd. 1.23

Half of a ring. Thin, and square in section.
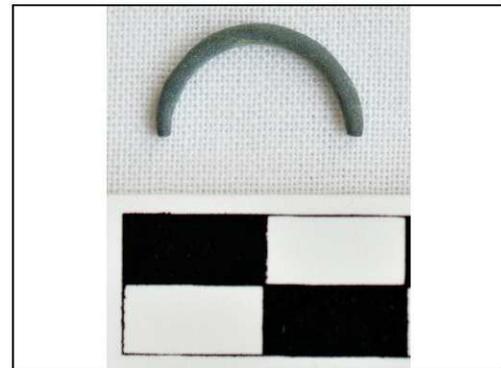
(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.059.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.61.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.17
L. 0.96	Th. 0.15
D. -	Hd. -

Half of a ring. Thin, and square in section. Some of outer finish intact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.059.

577

GR.32.060.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.62.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. 0.22
Broken.   L. -   Th. 0.24
                  D. 1.35   Hd. 0.94

GR.32.060.

Half of a ring. Thin, and square in section. Some of outer finish intact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.061.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.79.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. 0.25
Complete.   L. -   Th. 0.05
                  D. 2.31   Hd. 2.08

Open ring, very twisted. Thin, and wide band, D-shaped point in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.062.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.31.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. 0.29
Complete.   L. 1.82   Th. 0.12
                  D. -   Hd. -

Open ring, very twisted. Thin, and wide band, D-shaped point in section and disintegrating. Oval in shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.063.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.68.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. 0.19
Complete.   L. 1.20   Th. 0.12
                  D. -   Hd. -

Open ring, twisted and slightly bent. Thin, and mostly flat in section. Outer finish worn away.

(Douix Cave.)

578

GR.32.064.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.80.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.21
L. -	Th. 0.22
D. 2.31	Hd. 1.95

Open ring, twisted into oval shape. Thin, and round in section. Some of the outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.065.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.81.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.19
L. 2.38	Th. 0.22
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring, twisted into oval shape. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.066.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.82.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.12
L. -	Th. 0.12
D. 2.85	Hd. 2.66

Open ring, slightly coiled. Thin, and round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.067.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.83.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.13
L. 2.74	Th. 0.11
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring, slightly coiled. Thin, and square in section. Some of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

579

GR.32.068.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.84.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.22
L. 3.40	Th. 0.15
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring, slightly twisted. Thin, and rounded-rectangle in section. Most of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.069.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.85.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.23
L. 2.74	Th. 0.20
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring, slightly twisted and coiled into oval shape. Thin, and rounded-rectangle in section. One end flattened.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.070.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.86.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.22
L. -	Th. 0.12
D. 1.46	Hd. 1.23

Open ring, slightly twisted. Thin, and rounded-rectangle in section. Most of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.071.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.105.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.13
L. -	Th. 0.15
D. 1.04	Hd. 0.68

Open ring, slightly coiled. Thin, and oval in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.072.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.87.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.19
L. 1.19	Th. 0.10
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring, slightly twisted. Thin, and rectangular in section. Outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.072.

GR.32.073.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.88.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.16
L. 1.10	Th. 0.09
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring, very twisted into oval shape. Thin, and rectangular in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.073.

GR.32.074.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.89.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.08
L. -	Th. 0.06
D. 0.70	Hd. 0.58

Open ring. Very thin, and section undetermined.
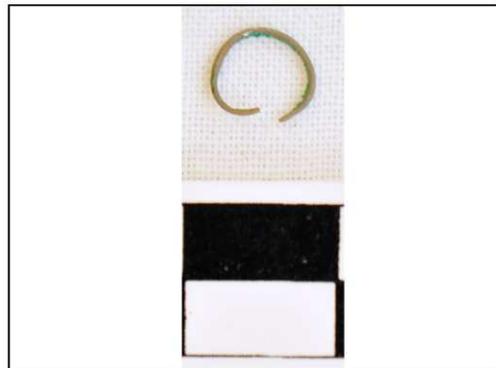
(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.075.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.91.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.22
L. -	Th. 0.21
D. 1.43	Hd. 1.03

Coiled ring, 1.25 times around. Thin, and round in section. Exterior has parallel lines in pairs of two wrapping around the entire ring parallel to the width.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.076.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.92.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.12
Complete.	L. -	Th. 0.14
	D. 1.48	Hd. 1.20

Coiled ring, 1.5 times around. Thin, and round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.077.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.90.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.18
Complete.	L. -	Th. 0.18
	D. 2.32	Hd. 1.96

Coiled ring, 1.25 times around. Thin, and round in section. Both ends are pressed flat.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.078.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.93.

bronze.	H. 0.47	Wd. 0.12
Complete.	L. -	Th. 0.08
	D. 0.70	Hd. -

Coiled ring, three times around. Very small and thin, and section undetermined. Some of outer finish in-tact.
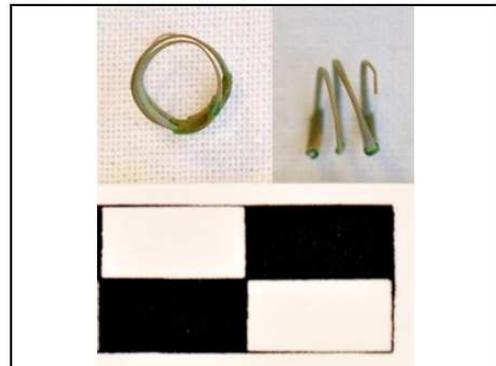
(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.079.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.63.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 0.16
Complete.	L. -	Th. 0.11
	D. 2.14	Hd. 1.98

Closed ring. Thin, and slightly rectangular in section. Squished into oval shape. Cut attempted?

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.080.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.64.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.16
L. 1.94	Th. 0.08
D. -	Hd. -

GR.32.080.

Closed ring with visible joint. Thin, and slightly square in section. Squished.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.081.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.65.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.08
L. 1.73	Th. 0.09
D. -	Hd. -

GR.32.081.

Closed ring with visible joint. Thin, and round in section. Squished.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.082.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.34.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.33
L. -	Th. 0.20
D. 2.11	Hd. 1.82

Open ring. Slightly thin and wide, D-shaped point in section. Outer finish mostly in-tact. One end has three lines running the width of the ring. Slightly twisted and squished into an oval shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.083.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.66.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.53
L. 3.99	Th. 0.07
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, and very wide band, flat in section. Squished into oval/rectangular shape.

(Douix Cave.)

583

GR.32.084.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.67.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.16
L. 2.41	Th. 0.04
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, and wide band, mostly flat in section. Squished into oval shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.085.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.69.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.31
L. -	Th. 0.16
D. 1.34	Hd. 1.03

Open ring. Thin and wide, D-shaped point in section. Outer finish intact. Squished.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.086.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.71.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.18
L. 1.42	Th. 0.09
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin and fragile with varying thickness. Some of outer finish in-tact. Bent.

(Douix Cave.)
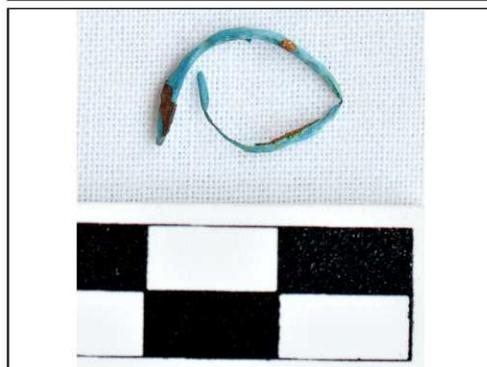
GR.32.087.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.72.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.15
L. 1.75	Th. 0.15
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish in-tact. Squished and slightly twisted.

(Douix Cave.)

584

GR.32.088.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.73.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.21
L. 2.00	Th. 0.23
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, varying thickness and round in section. Squished into oval shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.089.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.74.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.15
L. 2.17	Th. 0.15
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, and square in section. Outer finish still in-tact. Squished into oval shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.090.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.75.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.50
L. 0.89	Th. 0.07
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, and flat in section. One end as a very thin point, other like a fish tail. Squished into oval shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.090.

GR.32.091.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.76.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.32
L. 0.87	Th. 0.07
D. -	Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, and flat in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.091.

GR.32.092.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.77.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. 0.21
Complete.   L. -   Th. 0.09
                      D. 0.72   Hd. 0.50

GR.32.092.

Open ring. Thin, and flat in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.093.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.78.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. 0.09
Complete.   L. 1.25   Th. 0.09
                      D. -   Hd. -

Open ring. Thin, and round in section. Some of outer finish in-tact.
Squished into oval shape.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.094.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.99.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. 0.18
Fragment.   L. 1.60   Th. 0.18
                      D. -   Hd. -

Fragment of ring. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish in-tact.
Has three groupings of lines running parallel to width, the only
group that is not broken has five lines, one has three and the other
has four.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.095.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.94.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. 0.33
Fragment.   L. 2.32   Th. 0.41
                      D. -   Hd. -

GR.32.095.

Fragment of a ring. Very thick, and slightly square-oval in section.

(Douix Cave.)

586

GR.32.096.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.95.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.35
L. 2.22	Th. 0.31
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a ring. Very thick, and slightly square-oval in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.096.

GR.32.097.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.96.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.10
L. 1.23	Th. 0.12
D. -	Hd. -
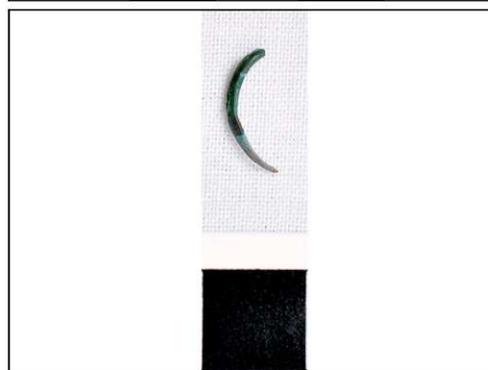
Fragment of a ring. Very thin, section undetermined and disintegrating.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.098.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.97.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.14
L. 1.64	Th. 0.07
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a ring. Thin, and flat in section. Outer finish worn away. Twisted.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.098.

GR.32.099.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.98.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.06
L. 1.54	Th. 0.15
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a ring. Thin, and mostly flat in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.099.

587

GR.32.100.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.100.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -   Wd. 0.37
L. 1.74   Th. 0.24
D. -   Hd. -

Fragment of ring. Thin, and round in section. Some of outer finish intact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.101.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.101.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -   Wd. 0.22
L. 1.46   Th. 0.19
D. -   Hd. -

Fragment of ring. Thin, and D-shaped point in section. Outer finish in
-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.102.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.102.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -   Wd. 0.19
L. 1.57   Th. 0.16
D. -   Hd. -

Fragment of ring. Thin, section undetermined and heavily deterio-
rated.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.103.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.103.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -   Wd. 0.22
L. 0.95   Th. 0.19
D. -   Hd. -

Fragment of a ring. Thin, and oval in section.

(Douix Cave.)

588
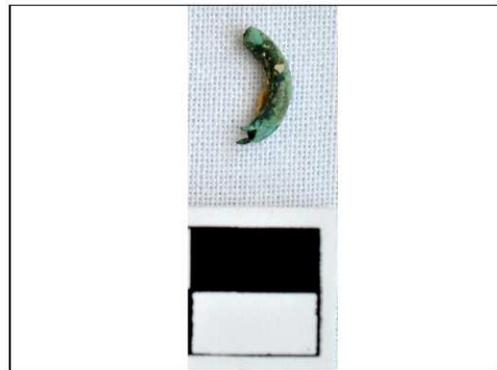
GR.32.104.
2012.0.0.1.1.3.104.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 0.24
Fragment.	L. 1.91	Th. 0.15
	D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a ring. Thin, and oval in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.105.
2012.0.0.1.7.2.2.

glass.	H. -	Wd. 0.38
Fragment.	L. 2.37	Th. 0.36
	D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a blue glass ring. Deteriorated.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.32.106.
2012.0.0.1.7.2.1.

glass?	H. -	Wd. 0.60
Broken.	L. -	Th. 0.43
	D. 1.98	Hd. 1.07

Fragment of a ring. Thick, and oval in section. Broken into three pieces.

(Douix Cave.)

589

Gallo-Roman
Bracelets
Decorated

GR.33.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.17.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.08
L. 2.52	Th. 0.10
D. -	Hd. -

3rd-4th c. AD?
Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish intact. It has a series of evenly spaced parallel lines that run perpendicular to the length of the bracelet all the way around.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.18.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.10
L. 3.34	Th. 0.12
D. -	Hd. -

3rd-4th c. AD?
Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish intact, it has a series of evenly spaced parallel lines that run perpendicular to the length of the bracelet all the way around.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.19.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.10
L. 4.03	Th. 0.11
D. -	Hd. -

3rd-4th c. AD?
Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish intact, it has a series of evenly spaced parallel lines that run perpendicular to the length of the bracelet all the way around.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.20.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.13
Fragment.	L. 3.22	Th. 0.12
	D. -	Hd. -

3rd-4th c. AD?
Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish in-tact, it has groups of three parallel lines evenly spaced that run per-pendicular to the length of the bracelet all the way around.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.004.

GR.33.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.21.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.11
Fragment.	L. 3.76	Th. 0.12
	D. -	Hd. -

3rd-4th c. AD?
Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and round in section. Outer finish in-tact, it has groups of four parallel lines evenly spaced that run per-pendicular to the length of the bracelet all the way around.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.005.

GR.33.006.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.22.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.09
Fragment.	L. 1.70	Th. 0.10
	D. -	Hd. -

3rd-4th c. AD?
Fragment of a bracelet. Thin. Outer finish in-tact, it has groups of six parallel lines evenly spaced that run perpendicular to the length of the bracelet (only three groups total -- complete group has six, other two are broken off and have five lines each).

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.006.

591

Gallo-Roman
Bracelets
Undecorated

GR.33.007.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.1.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.15
L. 6.37	Th. 0.17
D. -	Hd. -

GR.33.007.

Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and round in section. Most of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.008.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.2.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.12
L. 4.71	Th. 0.11
D. -	Hd. -

GR.33.008.

Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and rounded-square in section. Most of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.009.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.3.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.09
L. 4.77	Th. 0.13
D. -	Hd. -

GR.33.009.

Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and round in section. Most of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

592

GR.33.010.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.4.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.19
L. 3.17	Th. 0.11
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and flat-oval in section. Most of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.011.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.5.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.17
L. 2.01	Th. 0.24
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, D-shaped in section. Outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.012.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.16.

iron.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.15
L. 3.40	Th. 0.17
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a bracelet. Thin, and round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.013.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.6.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.04
L. 5.68	Th. 0.06
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and undetermined section. One end twisted.

(Douix Cave.)

593

GR.33.014.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.7.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.11
L. 4.49	Th. 0.10
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and undetermined section. Some of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.014.

GR.33.015.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.8.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.17
L. 4.40	Th. 0.15
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and undetermined section. Some of outer finish in-tact.
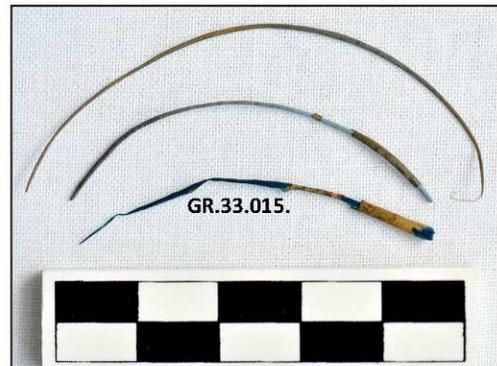
(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.015.

GR.33.016.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.9.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.09
L. 3.43	Th. 0.10
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and round in section. Outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.016.

GR.33.017.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.10.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.08
L. 2.80	Th. 0.08
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and oval in section. Outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.017.

594

GR.33.018.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.11.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.05
L. 2.70	Th. 0.03
D. -	Hd. -

GR.33.018.

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and undetermined section.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.019.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.12.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.08
L. 2.96	Th. 0.11
D. -	Hd. -
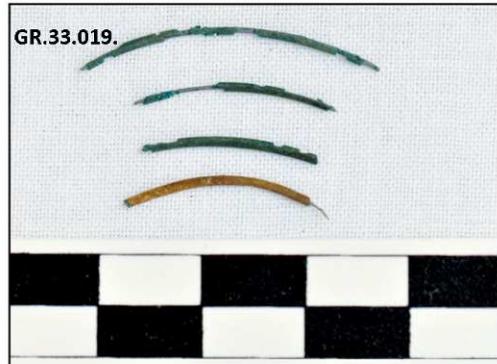
GR.33.019.

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and undetermined section. Some of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.020.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.13.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.08
L. 1.99	Th. 0.10
D. -	Hd. -
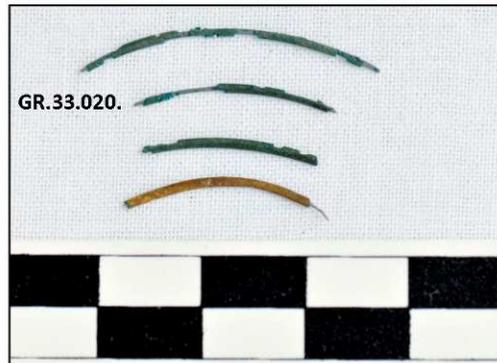
GR.33.020.

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and undetermined section. Some of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.33.021.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.14.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.07
L. 1.73	Th. 0.10
D. -	Hd. -

GR.33.021.

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and oval in section. Most of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

Gallo-Roman

Bracelets

GR.33.022.
2012.0.0.1.1.5.15.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -
L. 2.00
D. -

Wd. 0.08
Th. 0.11
Hd. -

GR.33.022.

Fragment of a bracelet. Very thin, and oval in section. Most of outer finish in-tact.

(Douix Cave.)

596

Gallo-Roman
Die

GR.51.001.
2012.0.0.1.3.2.1.

polished stone.　　H. 0.50　　Wd. 0.50
Complete.　　　　　L. -　　　　Th. 0.50
　　　　　　　　　　D. -　　　　Hd. -

Six-sided die with a small circle inside a larger circle to indicate the value.

(Douix Cave.)

Gallo-Roman
Gaming Token
Bone Circles

GR.52.001.
2012.0.0.1.5.4.1.

bone.
Complete.

H. -   Wd. -
L. -   Th. 0.14
D. 1.52   Hd. 0.22

Circular gaming piece. One hole in center, completely plain.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.52.002.
2012.0.0.1.5.4.2.

bone.
Complete.

H. -   Wd. -
L. -   Th. 0.14
D. 1.18   Hd. 0.12

Circular gaming piece. One hole in center, completely plain. Has a slight crack.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.52.003.
2012.0.0.1.5.4.3.

bone.
Complete.

H. -   Wd. -
L. -   Th. 0.14
D. 1.06   Hd. 0.13

Circular gaming piece. One hole in center, completely plain.

(Douix Cave.)

598
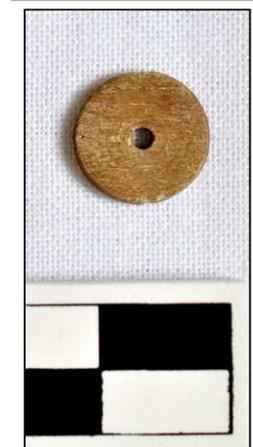
Gallo-Roman
Nails
Whole

GR.71.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.3.

iron.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.83
L. 3.62	Th. 0.48
D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.001.

Nail. Complete, square head, and square or rectangular in section. Bent, and heavily corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.6.

iron.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 1.29
L. 3.26	Th. 0.73
D. -	Hd. -

Nail. Bent with heavy corrosion.

(Douix Cave.)

GR.71.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.2.

iron.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.74
L. 2.61	Th. 0.17
D. -	Hd. -

Nail. Complete(?), tip may be missing. Very thin in section, but spine is wide 4.54mm. Slightly corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

599

GR.71.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.1.

iron.
Complete.

H. -   Wd. 1.52
L. 3.86   Th. 0.65
D. -   Hd. -

Nail. Nearly complete, tip missing. Square or rectangular in section, rounded-square head, and bent. Heavily corroded.
                              (Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.4.

iron.
Broken.

H. -   Wd. 1.59
L. 3.70   Th. 0.89
D. -   Hd. -

GR.71.005.

Nail. Nearly complete, tip missing. Rounded-square head, and very thin, rectangular in section. Bent and heavily corroded.
                              (Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.006.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.5.

iron.
Broken.

H. -   Wd. 1.22
L. 3.35   Th. 0.61
D. -   Hd. -

GR.71.006.

Nail. Nearly complete, tip missing. Square head, and very thin, rectangular in section. Bent and heavily corroded.
                              (Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Gallo-Roman
Nails
Heads

GR.71.007.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.8.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 2.21
Broken.	L. 2.78	Th. 0.74
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.007.

Head of a nail. Rectangular with rectangular spine. Heavily corroded.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.008.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.9.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 1.42
Broken.	L. 1.73	Th. 0.10
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.008.

Head of a nail. Nearly square with square spine. Heavily corroded.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.009.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.10.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 0.96
Broken.	L. 1.26	Th. 0.54
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.009.

Head of a nail. Slightly rounded with rectangular spine. Heavily corroded.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.010.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.11.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 1.40
Broken.	L. 1.67	Th. 0.11
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.010.

Head of a nail. Obscure, and no spine visible. Heavily corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.011.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.12.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 0.93
Broken.	L. 1.26	Th. 0.42
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.011.

Head of a nail. Rounded, and appears broken in half; spine slightly present. Heavily corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.012.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.15.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 0.68
Broken.	L. 1.05	Th. 0.26
	D. -	Hd. -

Head of a nail. Rounded with some of square spine present. Some corrosion.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Gallo-Roman
Nails
Spines

GR.71.013.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.16.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 0.45
Broken.	L. 4.15	Th. 0.40
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.013.

Spine of a nail. Square in section. Corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.014.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.17.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 0.67
Broken.	L. 4.60	Th. 0.49
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.014.

Spine of a nail. Rectangular in section, and distal tip slightly bent. Corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.015.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.18.

iron.	H. -	Wd. 0.45
Broken.	L. 3.04	Th. 0.39
	D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.015.

Spine of a nail. Square in section, and both ends slightly bent. Corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

603

GR.71.016.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.19.

iron.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.56
L. 1.72	Th. 0.37
D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.016.

Fragment of a nail spine. No ends. Heavily corroded.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.017.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.20.

iron.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.56
L. 1.77	Th. 0.24
D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.017.

Fragment of a nail spine. No ends. Heavily corroded.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.018.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.21.

iron.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.22
L. 1.71	Th. 0.20
D. -	Hd. -

GR.71.018.

Fragment of a nail spine. No ends. Heavily corroded.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.019.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.23.

iron.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.16
L. 3.74	Th. 0.14
D. -	Hd. -

Spine of a nail. Round in section, very thin, and slightly bent. Corroded.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.020.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.25.

iron.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.93
L. 3.99	Th. 0.42
D. -	Hd. -

Spine of a nail. Rectangular in section. Heavily corroded.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

GR.71.021.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.26.

iron.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.52
L. 1.80	Th. 0.45
D. -	Hd. -

Tip of a nail. Square in section. Corroded.
(Douix Cave.)

GR.71.022.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.27.

iron.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.37
L. 1.50	Th. 0.44
D. -	Hd. -

Tip of a nail. Square in section. Corroded.
(Douix Cave.)

GR.71.023.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.28.

iron.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.29
L. 1.79	Th. 0.26
D. -	Hd. -

Tip of a nail. Bent and square in section.
(Douix Cave.)

Gallo-Roman
Miscellaneous
Furniture Ornament, Hinge

GR.91.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.9.1.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 2.50
L. 3.25	Th. 0.13
D. -	Hd. -

Ornament. Has incised radiating lines and punctured by a nail in the center.

(Douix Cave.)
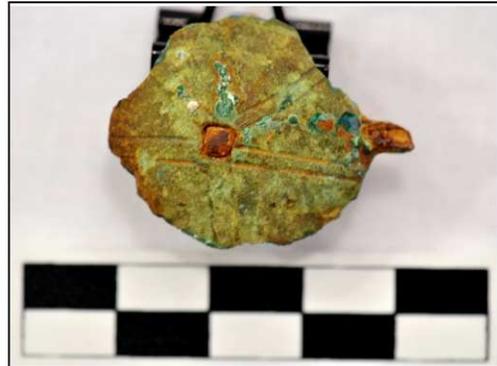
GR.92.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.6.1.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 1.46
L. 2.86	Th. 0.05
D. -	Hd. -

Hinge. Three rivets still present, and holes for two others. Very small and thin. Back-side(?) broken, appears to have had a line on either side of the nail as decoration. It appears to have been connected to something organic.

(Douix Cave.)

606

Gallo-Roman
Unidentified
Silver

GR.104.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.1.

silver.
Fragment.

H. -
L. 0.81
D. -

Wd. 0.20
Th. 0.18
Hd. -

Twisted silver fragment. Cut on both ends.

(Douix Cave.)

APPENDIX C – DOUIX CATALOG (EARLY MODERN, MODERN, AND UNIDENTIFIED PERIODS)

Early Modern
Coins
Tokens

EM.1.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.64.

Complete.   Wt. 2.86

16th-17th c. AD?
Royale Francaise, Louis XIV, "jeton banal a la devise du
conseile du roi LVD XIIII D G-FR ET NAVE REX, buste jeune
cuirasse a dr. R/ NIL NISI CONSILIO, ecu couronne collier
du Saint-Esprit. La Tour, Collection Rouyer 2716.
(Douix. 1996.)

Early Modern
Coins
Ordered by approximate dates

EM.1.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.65.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 2.07

17th c.?
Double Tournois, 17th c.? Ob.: Head of a crowned person
looking left, unreadable words around outside; Rev.:
Three fleur de lis.

(Douix Cave. 1996.)

EM.1.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.66.

Complete.   Wt. 2.16

Louis XIII?, double tournois. Both sides heavily corroded,
nothing discernable.

(Douix Cave.)

EM.1.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.67.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 1.66

17th c.?
Undetermined, liard or double tournois 17th c.? Both
sides heavily corroded, nothing discernable, coin slightly
bent.

(DX.114.S 1)

EM.1.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.68.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 1.86

17th c.?
Undetermined, liard or double tournois 17th c.? Both
sides heavily corroded, nothing discernable.
(Douix Cave. 1996.)

Early Modern
Pins
Straight

EM.42.001.

2012.0.0.1.1.8.1.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. -

Complete.   L. 1.0-3.0   Th. -

                   D. less than 0.1-0.3

16th-18th c AD.
200 pins. Varying lengths, widths, and head diameters.
                                          (Sondage/Probe.)

EM.42.002.

2012.0.0.1.1.8.2.

bronze.   H. -   Wd. -

Complete.   L. 1.0-3.0   Th. -

                   D. less than 0.1-0.3

16th-18th c AD.
294 pins. Varying lengths, widths, and head diameters.
                                          (Sondage/Probe.)

**Modern
Coins**
Tokens

Mo.1.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.70.

Complete.   Wt. 3.25

20th c.
Octagonal token. Ob.: BERTRAND/CORRDYEUR/87 RUE
MONTMARTRE; REV.: a boot in center, PASSAGE DES
PAVILLONS, PALAIS ROYAL.

(Pump system. 1996)

Modern
Coins
Ordered by approximate dates

Mo.1.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.69.

Complete.   Wt. 1.75

1798-1799
France, 1 centime. An 7 (1798-1799), Gadoury n. 76.
                                          (Pump system.)

Mo.1.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.71.

bronze?
Complete.   Wt. 4.09

1933
France, 25 centimes.

                                          (Pump system.)

Mo.1.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.72.

aluminum.
Complete.   Wt. 1.29

1944
France 1 francs, 1944. Ob.: Double-sided ax with a shaft
of wheat on either side, ETAT FRANCAIS along bottom;
Rev.: TRAVAIL, FAMILLE, PATRIE, along top, 1 FRANC be-
low surrounded by acorns and oak leaves, 1944 at
bottom.
                                          (Pump system. 1996)

Mo.1.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.73.

aluminum.
Complete.   Wt. 1.25

1948
France 1 franc, 1948. Ob.: Head of 'France' wearing a crown of wheat and a scarf looking left, REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE written around her head; Rev.: LIBERTE, EGALITE, FRATERNITE at top, 1 FRANC 1948 in center and cornucopia on both sides.

(Pump system. 1996)

Mo.1.006.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.74.

Complete.   Wt. 1.32

1950
France, 1 Franc.

(Pump system.)

Mo.1.007.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.75.

aluminum.
Complete.   Wt. 3.73

1945
France 5 francs, 1945. Ob.: Head of 'France' wearing a crown of olive or laurel branches looking left, RE-PUBLIQUE FRANCAISE written around her head; Rev.: RF 5 FRANCS 1945 in center surrounded by laurel leaves.

(Pump system. 1996)

Mo.1.008.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.76.

aluminum-bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 2.97

1952
France 10 francs, 1952. Ob.: Head of 'France' with long flowing hair looking left, REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE written around her head; Rev.: a cock above a laurel leaf on left side, 10 FRANCS 1952 to right, and LIBERTE, EGALITE, FRATERNITE along bottom.

(Pump system. 1996)

Mo.1.009.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.77.

Complete.   Wt. 2.97

1968
France, 10 centimes.

(Pump system.)

Mo.1.010.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.78.

Complete.   Wt. 2.94

1973
France, 10 centimes. Coin was scuffed on the obverse
side, and appears stabbed and bent on the reverse; pos-
sibly run over by a train?

(Pump system.)

Mo.1.011.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.79.

aluminum-bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 3.02

1984
France 10 centimes, 1984. Ob.: Head of 'France' with
long flowing hair looking left and wearing a robe, RE-
PUBLIQUE FRANCAISE written around her head; Rev.:
LIBERTE, EGALITE, FRATERNITE - 10 CENTIMES 1984
written on back with a laurel branch? On left and wheat
shaft on right.

(Pump system. 1996)

Mo.1.012.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.80.

Complete.   Wt. 3.03

1985
France, 10 centimes.

(Pump system.)

616

Mo.1.013.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.81.

Complete.   Wt. 3.84

1963
France, 20 centimes.

(Pump system.)

Mo.1.014.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.82.

Complete.   Wt. 3.97

1992
France, 20 centimes.

(Pump system.)

Mo.1.015.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.83.

bronze.
Complete.   Wt. 8.72

Napoleon III or Victor Emmanuel. Ob.: Bust of a person looking left with a goatee; Rev.: circle around edge with writing in it, but not clear.

(Pump system.)

Mo.1.016.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.84.

copper.
Complete.   Wt. 3.11

1952
America 1 cent, 1952. Ob.: Profile of Abraham Lincoln, etc.: Rev.: ONE CENT with shafts of wheat on either side at bottom.

(DX.120.S1. 1996)

Mo.1.017.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.85.

Complete.   Wt. 9.86

1973
Poland, 20 cents.
                                             (Pump system.)

Mo.1.018.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.86.

Complete.   Wt. 4.21

1989
Denmark, 50 Ore.
                                             (Pump system.)

Mo.1.019.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.87.

steel.
Complete.   Wt. 2.74

1991
Belgium 1 franc, 1991. Ob.: BOUDEWIJN I, written above
profile of a man; Rev.: into three parts, left with a crown
and 19, right with 1F and 91, bottom BELGIE.
                                             (Pump system. 1996)

Mo.1.020.
2012.0.0.1.1.1.88.

iron.
Complete.   Wt. 2.44

Undetermined, a coin or the head of a nail.
                                             (Basin.)

Modern
Beads
Spherical

Mo.31.001.
2012.0.0.1.6.1.1.

plastic.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. -
D. 0.97	Hd. 0.19

earlier than 1996
Bead. Orange plastic.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)
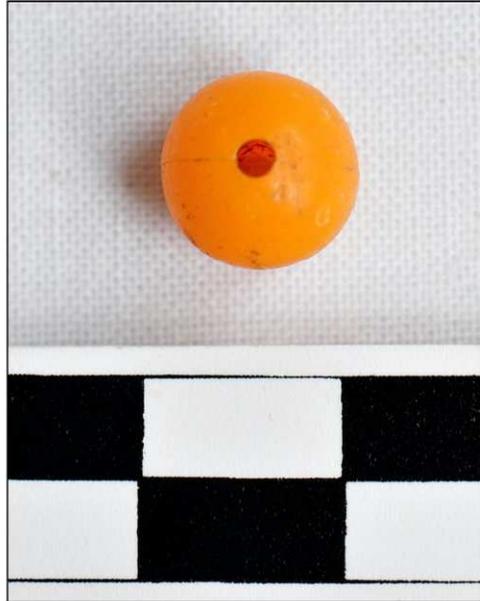
Modern
Clothing Fasteners
Hooks

Mo.41.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.7.1.

bronze.	H. 0.34	Wd. 1.01
Complete.	L. 1.08	Th. 0.10
	D. -	Hd. -

Fabric clasp or eye-hook.

(Douix Cave.)

Mo.41.001.

Mo.41.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.7.2.

bronze.	H. 0.32	Wd. 1.12
Complete.	L. 1.53	Th. 0.10
	D. -	Hd. -

Fabric clasp or eye-hook.

(Douix Cave.)

Mo.41.002.

Mo.41.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.7.3.

bronze.	H. 0.58	Wd. 0.25
Fragment.	L. 0.91	Th. 0.10
	D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a fabric clasp or eye-hook.

(Douix Cave.)

Mo.41.003.

620

Modern
Clothing Fasteners
Hooks

Mo.41.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.7.4.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 1.35
L. 1.51	Th. 0.10
D. -	Hd. -

Fabric fastener.

(Douix Cave.)

Mo.41.004.

Mo.41.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.7.5.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 1.44
L. 1.05	Th. 0.10
D. -	Hd. -

Fabric fastener.

(Douix Cave.)

Mo.41.005.

Mo.41.006.
2012.0.0.1.1.7.6.

bronze.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.87
L. 1.15	Th. 0.12
D. -	Hd. -

Fabric fastener. About 3/4 present.

(Douix Cave.)

Mo.41.006.

Mo.41.007.
2012.0.0.1.1.7.7.

bronze.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. 0.61
L. 1.04	Th. 0.14
D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of a fabric fastener. About 1/4 present.

(Douix Cave.)

Mo.41.007.

Modern
Clothing Fasteners
Button

Mo.44.001.
2012.0.0.1.5.2.1.

bone.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.26
D. 1.79	Hd. 0.19

Circular bone button. Has one central hole and four surrounding it.
A circle surrounds the area with the holes. The edges are rounded.
(Douix Cave.)

Modern
Vessels
Cups

Mo.61.001.
2012.0.0.1.7.3.5.

glass. H. 2.28   Wd. 3.19
Broken. L. -   Th. 0.23
         D. -   Hd. -

Glass rim. Clear and probably from a cup. In four pieces.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Modern
Vessels
Jars

Mo.62.001.
2012.0.0.1.7.3.6.

glass. H. 4.64   Wd. 2.90
Broken. L. -   Th. 0.41
         D. -   Hd. -

Glass base. Clear and probably from a small jar. Sides have two raised lines vertically along bottle and a slight bend in the side. Two pieces present that can be re-fit.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Modern

Vessels

Bottles

Mo.63.001.
2012.0.0.1.7.3.1.

glass.
Broken.

H. 6.88		Wd. 4.61	
L. -		Th. 0.49	
D. -		Hd. -	

Two pieces of glass. Clear/green and probably from a bottle. Measurements for smaller piece: H 4.25cm and W 4.05cm.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Mo.63.002.
2012.0.0.1.7.3.2.

glass.
Broken.

H. 3.22		Wd. 2.59	
L. -		Th. 0.37	
D. -		Hd. -	

Piece of glass. Clear/green and probably from a bottle.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Mo.63.003.
2012.0.0.1.7.3.3.

glass.
Broken.

H. 2.05		Wd. 2.87	
L. -		Th. 0.53	
D. -		Hd. -	

Piece of glass. Green and probably from a bottle.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Mo.63.004.
2012.0.0.1.7.3.4.

glass.
Broken.

H. 2.61	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.42
D. 4.77	Hd. -

1929
Glass base. Clear and probably from a jar or bottle. Side are fluted alternating between round and triangle when viewed from bottom. Bottom has some words: "AM(R?).../ 1929/ DIJON".
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Mo.63.005.
2012.0.0.1.7.3.7.

glass.
Fragment.

H. 3.01	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.42
D. 2.54	Hd. 2.00

Piece of glass. Yellow-green neck of a bottle.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Modern
Vessels
Can

Mo.64.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.16.1.

tin.	H. 0.52	Wd. 5.78
Fragment.	L. -	Th. 0.24
	D. -	Hd. -

Rim of a tin can.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Modern
Vessels
Undetermined

Mo.65.001.
2012.0.0.1.7.3.8.

glass.	H. 0.00	Wd. 2.01
Fragment.	L.	Th. 0.56
	D. 0.00	Hd.

Glass base. Blue, with concentric circles and it raises/sinks toward center of vessel.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Modern

Nails

Whole and Spines

Mo.71.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.7.

iron?	H. -		Wd. 0.78
Complete.	L. 9.16		Th. 0.41
	D. -		Hd. -

Nail. Complete, round head, and round in section.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Mo.71.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.22.

iron.	H. -		Wd. 0.32
Broken.	L. 4.03		Th. 0.33
	D. -		Hd. -

Spine of a nail. Rounded-square in section.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Mo.71.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.24.

iron?	H. -		Wd. 0.28
Broken.	L. 5.54		Th. 0.28
	D. -		Hd. -

Spine of a nail. Round in section. Some corrosion.
(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Modern
Bullets and Casings
Bullets

Mo.101.002.

2012.0.0.1.1.4.2.

bronze?

Complete.

H. -		Wd. -	
L. 2.80		Th. -	
D. 0.85		Hd. -	

Bullet. Line near side where fits into casing. Slightly bent.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Mo.101.001.

2012.0.0.1.1.4.1.

bronze?

Complete.

H. -		Wd. -	
L. 2.73		Th. -	
D. 0.78		Hd. -	

Bullet. Line near side where fits into casing.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

628

Modern
Bullets and Casings
Bullet Casings

Mo.101.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.4.5.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.56
L. 0.72	Th. 0.01
D. 0.69	Hd. 0.47

Bullet casing. Perhaps from a .22 rifle?; possibly an 'F' on the strike plate?

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Mo.101.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.4.3.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.63
L. 0.77	Th. 0.01
D. 0.71	Hd. 0.46

Bullet casing. Perhaps from a .22 rifle? Has a line around edge to secure bullet and "F" on strike plate.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Mo.101.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.4.4.

bronze.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. 0.61
L. 0.78	Th. 0.02
D. 0.72	Hd. 0.50

Mo.101.004.   Mo.101.005.

Bullet casing. Perhaps from a .22 rifle? Has a line around edge to secure bullet and "F" on strike plate.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Modern
Blade

Mo.102.001.

2012.0.0.1.1.12.1.

iron.   H. -   Wd. 1.74

Broken.

L. 6.61   Th. 0.18

D. -   Hd. -

Iron blade or knife (?). Narrow. Heavily corroded, and no discernable details.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Modern
Rotisserie

Mo.103.001.

2012.0.0.1.1.15.1.

iron.

Broken.

H. -	Wd. 2.81
L. 12.72	Th. 1.14
D. -	Hd. -

Rotisserie spit. Has an oval handle. Broken into four pieces, and heavily corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

Undetermined
Clothing Fastener
Rivet

U.43.001.

2012.0.0.1.1.13.1.

iron.

Broken.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. 0.10
D. 1.33	Hd. -

Rivet? A larger circle connecting to another smaller circle by a short stem.

(Douix Cave.)

Undetermined
Nails
Heads

U.71.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.13.

iron.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.58
L. 0.69	Th. 0.59
D. -	Hd. -

Head of a nail. Rounded, and portion of the rounded-square spine present. Corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

U.71.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.11.14.

iron.
Broken.

H. -	Wd. 0.87
L. 2.00	Th. 0.42
D. -	Hd. -

Head of a nail. Square, and a very thin, rectangular, and broken spine. Heavily corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

633
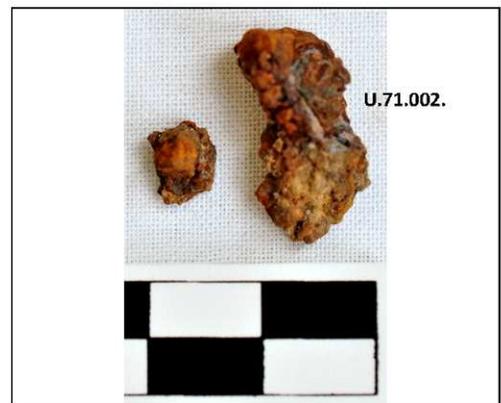
Undetermined
Geode

U.81.001.
2012.0.0.1.3.3.1.

stone.
Complete.

H. -	Wd. -
L. -	Th. -
D. 1.66	Hd. -

Geode? Perfectly round.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

Undetermined
Charcoal

U.82.001.
2012.0.0.1.2.1.1.

wood.
Fragment.

H. -	Wd. -
L. 1.86	Th. -
D. -	Hd. -

Four pieces of charcoal. Less than 1.87 cm long.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

635

Undetermined
Animal Bones
All, by size class

U.83.001.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.1

element: cranium   broken, nearly complete.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 26.15 mm   Wd. 19.52 mm

size class: 1   *species*: bird.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.002.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.2

element: occipital bone   complete.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 18.50 mm   Wd. 11.82 mm

size class: 1   *species*: indeterminate fragment.

Sutures not fused with other bones.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.003.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.3

element: humerus   complete.
end: n/a
side: left   L. 75.31 mm   Wd. 14.23 mm

size class: 1   *species*: legomorph.

Epiphases still fusing.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

636

U.83.004.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.4

element: humerus fragment   broken at mid-shaft, missing
end: proximal   distal end.
side: n/a   L. 19.36 mm   Wd. 3.37 mm

size class: 1   *species*: n/a.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.005.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.5

element: tibiotarsus   broken at mid-shaft.
end: distal
side: n/a   L. 76.55 mm   Wd. 10.72 mm

size class: 1   *species*: bird.

Hallow bone, small projection near proximal end.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.006.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.6

element: long bone fragment   broken at mid-shaft, missing
end: proximal   distal end.
side: n/a   L. 20.10 mm   Wd. 2.34 mm

size class: 1   *species*: bird.

Has small projection on lateral(?) side.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.007.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.7

element: long bone fragment   broken, mid-shaft fragment.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 30.40 mm   Wd. 7.14 mm

size class: 1   *species*: n/a.

Bone looks D in cross-section; hallow.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

637

U.83.008.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.8

element: indeterminate fragment   broken.
end: proximal
side: n/a   L. 44.07 mm   Wd. 11.21 mm

size class: 1-2   *species*: n/a.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.009.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.9

element: indeterminate fragment   broken, mid-shaft fragment.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 32.51 mm   Wd. 9.39 mm

size class: 1-2   *species*: n/a.

Oval in cross-section.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.010.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.10

element: canine   broken, one half of tooth.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 41.99 mm   Wd. 13.62 mm

size class: 2   *species*: suid.

Split vertically.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.011.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.11

element: canine   broken, nearly complete.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 34.11 mm   Wd. 6.32 mm

size class: 2   *species*: suid?.

Pointy, but no curve, lingual side has projecting ridge.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

638

U.83.012.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.12

element: P2   broken at roots.
end: upper
side: right   L. 20.80 mm   Wd. 8.83 mm

size class: 2   *species*: ovis/capra.

Single tall cusp on buccal side; three roots; found in storage
wrapped in plastic with 16 and piece of thin ceramic.
                                (Sondage - Bassin 1)
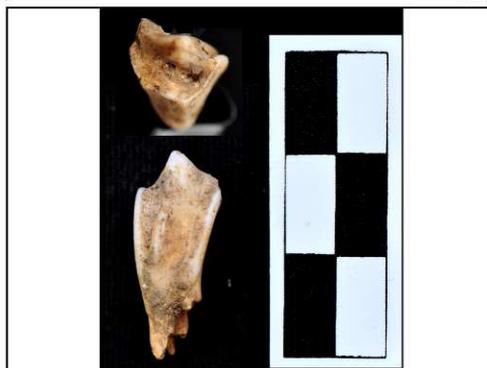
U.83.013.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.13

element: premolar   nearly complete.
end: lower
side: n/a   L. 22.08 mm   Wd. 9.33 mm

size class: 2   *species*: ovis/capra.

Cusps slightly worn; two roots; found in storage wrapped in plastic
with 15 and piece of thin ceramic.
                                (Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.014.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.14

element: M1   broken, tooth chipped.
end: lower
side: left   L. 29.48 mm   Wd. 12.84 mm

size class: 2   *species*: ovis/capra.

Ribbons inside.
                                (Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.015.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.15

element: vertebra fragment   fragment.
end: caudal
side: n/a   L. 22.02 mm   Wd. 19.68 mm

size class: 2   *species*: ovis/capra.

                                (Sondage - Bassin 2)

639

U.83.016.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.16

element: vertebra fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 20.85 mm   Wd. 14.72 mm

size class: 2   *species*: n/a.

Unfused.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.017.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.17

element: metapodial   broken, mid-shaft.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 26.04 mm   Wd. 14.92 mm

size class: 2   *species*: ovis/capra.

Small groove on distal side.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.018.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.18

element: carpal   appears complete.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 19.21 mm   Wd. 12.82 mm

size class: 2   *species*: ovis/capra.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.019.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.19

element: phalange, first   broken, nearly complete.
end: n/a
side: left   L. 35.33 mm   Wd. 11.02 mm

size class: 2   *species*: ovis/capra.

Broken on underside.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

640

U.83.020.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.20

element: phalange, first   broken.
end: distal
side: right   L. 16.93 mm   Wd. 11.87 mm

size class: 2   *species*: ovis/capra.

Only distal head.
                                            (Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.021.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.21

element: phalange, first   broken at mid-shaft and verti-
end: proximal   cally.
side: n/a   L. 14.49 mm   Wd. 12.36 mm

size class: 2   *species*: ovis/capra.

                                            (Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.022.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.22

element: indeterminate fragment   broken on top, bottom, and
end: n/a   side.
side: n/a   L. 35.69 mm   Wd. 21.41 mm

size class: 2   *species*: n/a.

                                            (Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.023.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.23

element: premolar/molar   broken, lingual side missing.
end: lower
side: L. 32.31 mm   Wd. 22.87 mm

size class: 2-3   *species*: n/a.

Mostly root.
                                            (Sondage - Bassin 2)

641

U.83.024.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.24

element: P3   complete.
end: lower
side: left   L. 31.32 mm   Wd. 17.29 mm

size class: 3   *species*: bos.

Pointy cusps, some ribbons inside.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.025.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.25

element: metapodial   broken.
end: distal
side: n/a   L. 32.25 mm   Wd. 26.37 mm

size class: 3   *species*: artiodactyl.

Some spongy bone visible, tall projection on end.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.026.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.26

element: cranial fragment   fragment.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 34.63 mm   Wd. 16.63 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

One side smooth, one with wavy lines.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.027.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.27

element: tooth fragment   broken, one side missing.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 37.76 mm   Wd. 8.83 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Split vertically.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

642

U.83.028.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.28

element: tooth fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 21.65 mm   Wd. 10.10 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Perhaps incisor, lingual side appears intact, buccal side missing.
(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.029.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.29

element: tooth fragments   fragments.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. -   Wd. -

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

3 small fragments with some enamel.
(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.030.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.30

element: vertebra   complete.
end: caudal
side: n/a   L. 14.88 mm   Wd. 4.90 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.031.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.31

element: vertebra   nearly complete.
end: caudal
side: n/a   L. 20.15 mm   Wd. 6.77 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Both ends fused.
(Sondage - Bassin 1)

643

U.83.032.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.32

element: vertebra fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 22.40 mm   Wd. 21.10 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Possibly the distal part of a vertebrae.

                    (Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.033.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.33

element: tibia fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 53.10 mm   Wd. 18.86 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Split vertically.

                    (Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.034.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.34

element: clavicle?   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 57.56 mm   Wd. 16.92 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Human clavicle?.

                    (Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.035.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.35

element: long bone fragments   fragments.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. -   Wd. -

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

5 fragments < 4.58 cm from SB2.

                    (Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.036.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.36

element: ephiphase, unfused   complete?.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 18.93 mm   Wd. 16.53 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Head not fused.

                    (Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.037.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.37

element: indeterminate fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 12.30 mm   Wd. 13.00 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Curvy projection.

                    (Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.038.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.38

element: indeterminate fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 21.72 mm   Wd. 15.18 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Pelvis or vertebra fragment?.

                    (Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.039.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.39

element: indeterminate fragment   broken, only shaft.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 49.67 mm   Wd. 10.40 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Distal and proximal ends missing.

                    (Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.040.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.40

element: indeterminate fragment   fragment.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 17.31 mm   Wd. 12.22 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Burned cortical bone; burn is blue and white.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.041.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.41

element: indeterminate fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 19.97 mm   Wd. 11.81 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Long bone with cut marks.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.042.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.42

element: indeterminate fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 22.91 mm   Wd. 9.01 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Long bone with possible cut marks.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.043.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.43

element: indeterminate fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 24.14 mm   Wd. 10.82 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Long bone with possible cut marks.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

646

U.83.044.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.44

element: indeterminate fragment   broken.
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. 22.48 mm   Wd. 11.98 mm

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

Long bone with possible cut marks.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.045.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.45

element: indeterminate fragments
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. -   Wd. -

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

11 fragments > 1 cm from SB1.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

U.83.046.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.46

element: indeterminate fragments
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. -   Wd. -

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

13 fragments > 1 cm from SB2.

(Sondage - Bassin 2)

U.83.047.
2012.0.0.1.5.1.47

element: indeterminate fragments
end: n/a
side: n/a   L. -   Wd. -

size class: n/a   *species*: n/a.

78 fragments < 1 cm from SB1.

(Sondage - Bassin 1)

Undetermined
Unidentified
Bronze and Iron Pieces

U.104.001.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.4.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. -
Fragment.	L. 8.93	Th. 0.27
	D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of straight piece of metal. Round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

U.104.002.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.5.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. -
Fragment.	L. 2.32	Th. 0.28
	D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of straight piece of metal with curve on one end. Round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

U.104.003.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.6.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. -
Fragment.	L. 1.46	Th. 0.28
	D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of straight piece of metal. Round in section.

(Douix Cave.)

U.104.004.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.7.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. -
Fragment.	L. 1.76	Th. 0.08
	D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of metal. Flat in section. Twisted.

(Douix Cave.)

U.104.005.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.8.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. -
Fragment.	L. 2.02	Th. 0.05
	D. -	Hd. -

Fragment of metal. Flat in section. Twisted and hooks on one side.

(Douix Cave.)

U.104.006.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.2.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 1.59
Fragment.	L. 3.07	Th. 0.08
	D. -	Hd. -

Possible ornament. Has a shell-like/scalloped pattern, diagonal lines, and three holes for nails/rivets to attach it to another piece or wood.

(Douix Cave.)

U.104.007.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.3.

bronze.	H. -	Wd. 0.83
Broken.	L. -	Th. 0.06
	D. 1.74	Hd.

Half of a circle with a small hole for a rivet. Appears to be cut in half.

(Douix Cave.)

649

U.104.008.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.9.

iron.   H. -   Wd. 1.19
Broken.   L. 2.12   Th. 0.24
                    D. -   Hd. -

U.104.008.

Fragment of iron. Heavily corroded.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

U.104.009.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.10.

iron.   H. -   Wd. 1.32
Broken.   L. 1.55   Th. 0.17
                    D. -   Hd. -

U.104.009.

Fragment of iron. Flat metal.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

U.104.010.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.11.

iron.   H. -   Wd. -
Fragment.   L. -   Th. -
                    D. -   Hd. -

Two iron fragments. Both less than 2.5cm in size. Too corroded and fragmented to determine use.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 1 Aout 1996.)

U.104.011.
2012.0.0.1.1.14.12.

iron.   H. -   Wd. -
Fragment.   L. -   Th. -
                    D. -   Hd. -

Eleven pieces of iron. Too corroded and fragmented to determine use; all less than 2.47 cm.

(Sondage Nord Bassin 2 Aout 1996.)

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TABLES SUMMARIZING EARLY MODERN, MODERN, AND UNIDENTIFIED PERIOD OBJECTS AND MATERIALS

Early Modern Objects by Category (=499)		
Category (*n*)	Object	n
Coins (5)		
	Coins	5
Clothing Fasteners (494)		
	Pins	494

Early Modern Materials (=499)		
Category (*n*)	Material	n
Metal (499)		
	bronze	497
	bronze?	2

Table A.C.1. Table summarizing early modern objects and materials.

Modern Objects by Category (=49)		
Category (*n*)	Object	n
Coins (21)		
	Token	1
	Coins	20
Personal Ornamentation (1)		
	Bead	1
Clothing Fasteners (8)		
	Clothing Fasteners	7
	Button	1
Vessels (9)		
	Vessel	9
Building Materials (3)		
	Nails	3
Miscellaneous (7)		
	Bullets	5
	Blade	1
	Rotisserie	1

Modern Materials (=49)		
Category (*n*)	Material	n
Metal (29)		
	aluminum	3
	aluminum-bronze	2
	bronze	16
	copper	1
	iron	5
	steel	1
	tin	1
Organic (1)		
	bone	1
Manmade (19)		
	glass	8
	plastic	1
	unidentified	10

Table A.C.2. Table summarizing modern objects and materials.

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Unidentified Period Objects by Category (=184)			Unidentified Period Materials (=184)		
Category (*n*)	**Object**	**n**	**Category (*n*)**	**Material**	**n**
Clothing Fasteners (1)			**Metal (27)**		
	Clothing Fasteners	1		*bronze*	7
Building Materials (4)				*iron*	18
	Nails	2		*unidentified*	2
	Slag	2	**Stone (1)**		
Natural Objects (157)				*stone*	1
	Geode	1	**Organic (156)**		
	Charcoal	4		*wood*	4
	Animal Bones/fragments	152		*bone*	152
Miscellaneous (22)					
	Unidentified Bronze	7			
	Unidentified Iron	15			

Table A.C.3. Table summarizing unidentified period objects and materials.

AN EXPLANATION FOR THE EARLY MODERN PINS AT THE DOUIX: FOLKLORE AND RITUAL PRACTICE

During the exploration of the Douix in 1996, a local resident offered an explanation for the large quantities of bronze, iron, and gold pins recovered from the water. The pins were tossed into the water by young girls of marrying age. If the pins floated for a time, the girl could hope to be married in the year; if it sank, alas (Buvot 1996). While the resident did not suggest a date for this activity, similar pins found at Laon (Aisne), France have been dated to the end of the 15th to beginning of the 16th centuries according to nearby coins and structures (Jorrand 1986).

A regional custom which was used during droughts involved planting a pin with a small piece of fabric in the trunk of a tree near a sacred place, a spring, or a megalith. After the small bundle was in place, one recited the prayers of what they wished for, in this case, relief from drought (Buvot 1996).

APPENDIX D – CONCORDANCE OF DOUIX CATALOG AND MUSEUM INVENTORY NUMBERS

Concordance for Catalog and Inventory Numbers		
Object Type	**D-Cat #**	**Inventory #**
Bead	H.31.001.	2012.0.0.1.4.1.1.
Bead?	H.31.002.	2012.0.0.1.4.1.2.
Ring	H.32.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.70.
Vessel	H.61.001.	2012.0.0.1.4.2.1.
Vessel	H.61.002.	2012.0.0.1.4.2.2.
Coin	LT.1.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.1.
Coin	LT.1.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.2.
Coin	LT.1.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.3.
Coin	LT.1.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.4.
Coin	LT.1.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.5.
Coin	LT.1.006.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.6.
Clothing Fasteners	LT.41.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.7.8.
Coin	GR.1.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.7.
Coin	GR.1.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.8.
Coin	GR.1.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.9.
Coin	GR.1.004	2012.0.0.1.1.1.10.
Coin	GR.1.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.11.
Coin	GR.1.006.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.12.
Coin	GR.1.007	2012.0.0.1.1.1.13.
Coin	GR.1.008.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.14.
Coin	GR.1.009.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.15.
Coin	GR.1.010.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.16.
Coin	GR.1.011.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.17.
Coin	GR.1.012.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.18.
Coin	GR.1.013.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.19.
Coin	GR.1.014.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.20.
Coin	GR.1.015.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.21.
Coin	GR.1.016.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.22.
Coin	GR.1.017.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.23.
Coin	GR.1.018.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.24.
Coin	GR.1.019.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.25.
Coin	GR.1.020.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.26.

Coin	GR.1.021.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.27.
Coin	GR.1.022.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.28.
Coin	GR.1.023.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.29.
Coin	GR.1.024.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.30.
Coin	GR.1.025.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.31.
Coin	GR.1.026.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.32.
Coin	GR.1.027.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.33.
Coin	GR.1.028.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.34.
Coin	GR.1.029.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.35.
Coin	GR.1.030.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.36.
Coin	GR.1.031.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.37.
Coin	GR.1.032.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.38.
Coin	GR.1.033.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.39.
Coin	GR.1.034.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.40.
Coin	GR.1.035.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.41.
Coin	GR.1.036.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.42.
Coin	GR.1.037.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.43.
Coin	GR.1.038.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.44.
Coin	GR.1.039.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.45.
Coin	GR.1.040.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.46.
Coin	GR.1.041.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.47.
Coin	GR.1.042.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.48.
Coin	GR.1.043.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.49.
Coin	GR.1.044.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.50.
Coin	GR.1.045.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.51.
Coin	GR.1.046.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.52.
Coin	GR.1.047.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.53.
Coin	GR.1.048.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.54.
Coin	GR.1.049.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.55.
Coin	GR.1.050.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.56.
Coin	GR.1.051.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.57.
Coin	GR.1.052.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.58.
Coin	GR.1.053.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.59.
Coin	GR.1.054.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.60.
Coin	GR.1.055.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.61.
Coin	GR.1.056.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.62.
Coin	GR.1.057.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.63.
Unidentified silver	GR.104.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.1.
Sculpture	GR.2.001.	999.6.1.

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Sculpture	GR.2.002.	999.7.4.
Sculpture	GR.2.003.	999.7.1.
Sculpture	GR.2.004.	999.7.3 et alii.
Sculpture	GR.2.005.	999.7.3 et alii.
Sculpture	GR.2.006.	999.7.2 et alii.
Sculpture	GR.2.007.	999.7.2 et alii.
Sculpture	GR.2.008.	999.6.3.
Sculpture	GR.2.009.	999.7.7.
Sculpture	GR.2.010.	999.7.9.
Sculpture	GR.2.011.	999.7.12.
Sculpture	GR.2.012.	999.7.10.
Sculpture	GR.2.013.	999.7.11.
Sculpture	GR.2.014.	999.6.2.
Sculpture	GR.2.015.	999.7.8.
Sculpture	GR.2.016.	999.7.14.
Sculpture	GR.2.017.	999.7.13.
Sculpture	GR.2.018.	999.7.15.
Sculpture	GR.2.019.	999.7.16.
Sculpture	GR.2.020.	999.7.27.
Sculpture	GR.2.021.	999.7.29.
Sculpture	GR.2.022.	999.7.18.
Sculpture	GR.2.023.	999.7.17.
Sculpture	GR.2.024.	999.7.21.
Sculpture	GR.2.025.	999. 7.23.
Sculpture	GR.2.026.	999.7.19.
Sculpture	GR.2.027.	999.7.22.
Sculpture	GR.2.028.	999.7.25.
Sculpture	GR.2.029.	999.6.8.
Sculpture	GR.2.030.	999.7.20a.
Sculpture	GR.2.031.	999.7.20b.
Sculpture	GR.2.032.	999.6.6.
Sculpture	GR.2.033.	999.6.5.
Sculpture	GR.2.034.	999.6.7.
Sculpture	GR.2.035.	2012.0.0.1.3.1.1.
Sculpture	GR.2.036.	999.6.4.
Sculpture	GR.2.037.	999.7.24.
Sculpture	GR.2.038.	999.7.28.
Sculpture	GR.2.039.	2012.0.0.1.3.1.2.
Bead	GR.31.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.2.1.

Bead	GR.31.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.2.2.
Bead	GR.31.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.2.3.
Bead	GR.31.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.2.4.
Bead	GR.31.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.2.5.
Bead	GR.31.006.	2012.0.0.1.1.2.6.
Bead	GR.31.007.	2012.0.0.1.7.1.1.
Bead	GR.31.008.	2012.0.0.1.7.1.2.
Bead	GR.31.009.	2012.0.0.1.7.1.3.
Bead	GR.31.010.	2012.0.0.1.7.1.7.
Bead	GR.31.011.	2012.0.0.1.7.1.5.
Bead	GR.31.012.	2012.0.0.1.7.1.4.
Bead	GR.31.013.	2012.0.0.1.7.1.6.
Ring	GR.32.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.15.
Ring	GR.32.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.1.
Ring	GR.32.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.4.
Ring	GR.32.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.2.
Ring	GR.32.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.12.
Ring	GR.32.006.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.3.
Ring	GR.32.007.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.5.
Ring	GR.32.008.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.6.
Ring	GR.32.009.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.7.
Ring	GR.32.010.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.8.
Ring	GR.32.011.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.9.
Ring	GR.32.012.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.10.
Ring	GR.32.013.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.11.
Ring	GR.32.014.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.13.
Ring	GR.32.015.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.14.
Ring	GR.32.016.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.19.
Ring	GR.32.017.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.16.
Ring	GR.32.018.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.20.
Ring	GR.32.019.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.18.
Ring	GR.32.020.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.21.
Ring	GR.32.021.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.22.
Ring	GR.32.022.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.23.
Ring	GR.32.023.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.17.
Ring	GR.32.024.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.24.
Ring	GR.32.025.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.25.
Ring	GR.32.026.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.26.
Ring	GR.32.027.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.27.

Ring	GR.32.028.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.28.
Ring	GR.32.029.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.29.
Ring	GR.32.030.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.30.
Ring	GR.32.031.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.32.
Ring	GR.32.032.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.33.
Ring	GR.32.033.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.35.
Ring	GR.32.034.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.36.
Ring	GR.32.035.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.37.
Ring	GR.32.036.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.38.
Ring	GR.32.037.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.39.
Ring	GR.32.038.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.40.
Ring	GR.32.039.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.41.
Ring	GR.32.040.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.42.
Ring	GR.32.041.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.43.
Ring	GR.32.042.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.44.
Ring	GR.32.043.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.45.
Ring	GR.32.044.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.46.
Ring	GR.32.045.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.47.
Ring	GR.32.046.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.48.
Ring	GR.32.047.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.49.
Ring	GR.32.048.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.50.
Ring	GR.32.049.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.51.
Ring	GR.32.050.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.52.
Ring	GR.32.051.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.53.
Ring	GR.32.052.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.54.
Ring	GR.32.053.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.56.
Ring	GR.32.054.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.55.
Ring	GR.32.055.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.57.
Ring	GR.32.056.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.58.
Ring	GR.32.057.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.59.
Ring	GR.32.058.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.60.
Ring	GR.32.059.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.61.
Ring	GR.32.060.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.62.
Ring	GR.32.061.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.79.
Ring	GR.32.062.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.31.
Ring	GR.32.063.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.68.
Ring	GR.32.064.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.80.
Ring	GR.32.065.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.81.
Ring	GR.32.066.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.82.

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Ring	GR.32.067.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.83.
Ring	GR.32.068.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.84.
Ring	GR.32.069.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.85.
Ring	GR.32.070.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.86.
Ring	GR.32.071.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.105.
Ring	GR.32.072.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.87.
Ring	GR.32.073.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.88.
Ring	GR.32.074.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.89.
Ring	GR.32.075.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.91.
Ring	GR.32.076.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.92.
Ring	GR.32.077.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.90.
Ring	GR.32.078.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.93.
Ring	GR.32.079.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.63.
Ring	GR.32.080.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.64.
Ring	GR.32.081.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.65.
Ring	GR.32.082.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.34.
Ring	GR.32.083.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.66.
Ring	GR.32.084.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.67.
Ring	GR.32.085.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.69.
Ring	GR.32.086.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.71.
Ring	GR.32.087.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.72.
Ring	GR.32.088.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.73.
Ring	GR.32.089.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.74.
Ring	GR.32.090.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.75.
Ring	GR.32.091.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.76.
Ring	GR.32.092.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.77.
Ring	GR.32.093.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.78.
Ring	GR.32.094.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.99.
Ring	GR.32.095.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.94.
Ring	GR.32.096.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.95.
Ring	GR.32.097.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.96.
Ring	GR.32.098.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.97.
Ring	GR.32.099.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.98.
Ring	GR.32.100.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.100.
Ring	GR.32.101.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.101.
Ring	GR.32.102.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.102.
Ring	GR.32.103.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.103.
Ring	GR.32.104.	2012.0.0.1.1.3.104.
Ring	GR.32.105.	2012.0.0.1.7.2.2.

Ring	GR.32.106.	2012.0.0.1.7.2.1.
Bracelet	GR.33.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.17.
Bracelet	GR.33.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.18.
Bracelet	GR.33.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.19.
Bracelet	GR.33.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.20.
Bracelet	GR.33.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.21.
Bracelet	GR.33.006.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.22.
Bracelet	GR.33.007.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.1.
Bracelet	GR.33.008.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.2.
Bracelet	GR.33.009.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.3.
Bracelet	GR.33.010.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.4.
Bracelet	GR.33.011.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.5.
Bracelet	GR.33.012.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.16.
Bracelet	GR.33.013.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.6.
Bracelet	GR.33.014.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.7.
Bracelet	GR.33.015.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.8.
Bracelet	GR.33.016.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.9.
Bracelet	GR.33.017.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.10.
Bracelet	GR.33.018.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.11.
Bracelet	GR.33.019.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.12.
Bracelet	GR.33.020.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.13.
Bracelet	GR.33.021.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.14.
Bracelet	GR.33.022.	2012.0.0.1.1.5.15.
Die	GR.51.001.	2012.0.0.1.3.2.1.
Gaming Piece	GR.52.001.	2012.0.0.1.5.4.1.
Gaming Piece	GR.52.002.	2012.0.0.1.5.4.2.
Gaming Piece	GR.52.003.	2012.0.0.1.5.4.3.
Nail	GR.71.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.3.
Nail	GR.71.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.6.
Nail	GR.71.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.2.
Nail	GR.71.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.1.
Nail	GR.71.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.4.
Nail	GR.71.006.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.5.
Nail	GR.71.007.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.8.
Nail	GR.71.008.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.9.
Nail	GR.71.009.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.10.
Nail	GR.71.010.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.11.
Nail	GR.71.011.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.12.
Nail	GR.71.012.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.15.

Nail	GR.71.013.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.16.
Nail	GR.71.014.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.17.
Nail	GR.71.015.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.18.
Nail	GR.71.016.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.19.
Nail	GR.71.017.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.20.
Nail	GR.71.018.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.21.
Nail	GR.71.019.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.23.
Nail	GR.71.020.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.25.
Nail	GR.71.021.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.26.
Nail	GR.71.022.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.27.
Nail	GR.71.023.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.28.
Furniture Ornament	GR.91.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.9.1.
Hinge	GR.92.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.6.1.
Coin	EM.1.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.64.
Coin	EM.1.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.65.
Coin	EM.1.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.66.
Coin	EM.1.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.67.
Coin	EM.1.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.68.
Pins	EM.42.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.8.1.
Pins	EM.42.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.8.2.
Coin	Mo.1.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.69.
Coin	Mo.1.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.70.
Coin	Mo.1.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.71.
Coin	Mo.1.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.72.
Coin	Mo.1.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.73.
Coin	Mo.1.006.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.74.
Coin	Mo.1.007.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.75.
Coin	Mo.1.008.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.76.
Coin	Mo.1.009.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.77.
Coin	Mo.1.010.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.78.
Coin	Mo.1.011.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.79.
Coin	Mo.1.012.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.80.
Coin	Mo.1.013.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.81.
Coin	Mo.1.014.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.82.
Coin	Mo.1.015.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.83.
Coin	Mo.1.016.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.84.
Coin	Mo.1.017.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.85.
Coin	Mo.1.018.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.86.
Coin	Mo.1.019.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.87.

Coin	Mo.1.020.	2012.0.0.1.1.1.88.
Bullet	Mo.101.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.4.1.
Bullet	Mo.101.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.4.2.
Bullet Casing	Mo.101.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.4.5.
Bullet Casing	Mo.101.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.4.3.
Bullet Casing	Mo.101.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.4.4.
Blade	Mo.102.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.12.1.
Rotisserie	Mo.103.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.15.1.
Bead	Mo.31.001.	2012.0.0.1.6.1.1.
Clothing Fasteners	Mo.41.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.7.1.
Clothing Fasteners	Mo.41.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.7.2.
Clothing Fasteners	Mo.41.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.7.3.
Clothing Fasteners	Mo.41.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.7.4.
Clothing Fasteners	Mo.41.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.7.5.
Clothing Fasteners	Mo.41.006.	2012.0.0.1.1.7.6.
Clothing Fasteners	Mo.41.007.	2012.0.0.1.1.7.7.
Button	Mo.44.001.	2012.0.0.1.5.2.1.
Vessel	Mo.61.001.	2012.0.0.1.7.3.5.
Vessel	Mo.62.001.	2012.0.0.1.7.3.6.
Vessel	Mo.63.001.	2012.0.0.1.7.3.1.
Vessel	Mo.63.002.	2012.0.0.1.7.3.2.
Vessel	Mo.63.003.	2012.0.0.1.7.3.3.
Vessel	Mo.63.004.	2012.0.0.1.7.3.4.
Vessel	Mo.63.005.	2012.0.0.1.7.3.7.
Vessel	Mo.64.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.16.1.
Vessel	Mo.65.001.	2012.0.0.1.7.3.8.
Nail	Mo.71.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.22.
Nail	Mo.71.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.7.
Nail	Mo.71.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.24.
Unidentified Bronze	U.104.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.4.
Unidentified Bronze	U.104.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.5.
Unidentified Bronze	U.104.003.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.6.
Unidentified Bronze	U.104.004.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.7.
Unidentified Bronze	U.104.005.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.8.
Unidentified Bronze	U.104.006.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.2.
Unidentified Bronze	U.104.007.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.3.
Unidentified Iron	U.104.008.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.9.
Unidentified Iron	U.104.009.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.10.
Unidentified Iron	U.104.010.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.11.

Unidentified Iron	U.104.011.	2012.0.0.1.1.14.12.
Clothing Fastener	U.43.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.13.1.
Nail	U.71.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.13.
Nail	U.71.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.11.14.
Slag	U.72.001.	2012.0.0.1.1.10.1.
Slag	U.72.002.	2012.0.0.1.1.10.2.
Geode	U.81.001.	2012.0.0.1.3.3.1.
Charcoal	U.82.001.	2012.0.0.1.2.1.1.