

**What Was Daily Life Like For The Catuvellauni Celtic Tribe During The British Iron Age
Period?**

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The Catuvellauni Celtic tribe was one of the main ancient Celtic tribes of Ancient Britain. They are most known for their coin minting as well as fighting off Julius Caesar during the Gallic Wars that were from 55-54 B.C.E. This following will discuss into the ancient Celts way of life and what helped shaped the way they lived. This essay will demonstrate how life was lived during the Iron Age, before Roman invasion and influence, including the occupations that were prevalent as well as their belief in the Otherworld and the practices of the Druids which dictated how the Celts lived. There are not many written records that have survived, but this essay will demonstrate archaeological evidence to help reconstruct how the average male farmer lived during this time period. First, the essay will talk about the religion of the Catuvellauni, followed by an in depth look at their society and culture. After those two sections, the essay will use the information to reconstruct what a day in the life of an average member of the Catuvellauni tribe would have been like. It should be noted that it is difficult to find information on the ancient Celtic societies and must look at the way the Druids lived to help determine how the Celts lived which should be presumed to be correct because of the status of the Druids among the Celts.

The religion that the Catuvellauni was Druidism and belief in the Otherworld. The first record of any mention of Druids comes from third century B.C.E. (Bauer, 2020). The term Druid most likely comes from the Gaulish word *draoidh* which means magician or sorcerer (Lexico, n.d). The Latinized version of the word is *druidae*. Though there is no information on the Druids through archaeological evidence, we are able to piece together their lifestyle from the writings of

Caesar, Posidonius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny the Elder. In the book *The Complete History of Druids* Lomax (1810) goes into detail about where the Druids came from and what they did during their time here.

Posidonius was a major contributor to important information we have of the Druids. He was able to stay and live within their areas and recorded what he could about them and wrote that the Celts were “full of war, head hunting, and human sacrifice” (Freeman 2008). Posidonius also stated that the “customs of the Celts were so primitive that they made him sick physically until he got used to it”. Yet after the time spent with the Celts he changed his mind and considered them highly talented poets who studied the stars and followed the teachings of the Druids (Freeman 2008). He talked of three major groups within the tribes: The Bards who were poets and singers, the Ovates who would help with sacrifices and learn in depth about all nature had to offer, and the Druids who studied nature as well but mostly devoted themselves to morality. He states that the Druids were the highest in the three groups with enough power to stop battles and an end to war.

According to Caesar, there were many Celtic tribes in Britain and Gaul (modern day France). Caesar did note that the Druids began in Britain but then moved across the land into Gaul. Although there were many different tribes and distinct tribes, the druids were divided by North Druids of Britain and South Druids of Britain. Even though researchers have not found evidence as to why, the druids, it is widely believed that the first of the druids lived and worshipped in open spaces but changed to living and performing rituals and ceremonies in the groves of the oak trees that they held sacred (Bauer, 2020). This area was called *Ghwyn*, which is believed to be the origins of *glen*, which translates to church in Welsh. That is what we know on

the beginning of Druidism. Currently we are not able to know their exact beginnings or rituals and customs because they believed that only the most sacred people who became druids should be the holders of their information and that meant oral traditions rather than in writing. Druids had the admiration of all that they helped and ruled over with the religious rites they held sacred. Once a year all Druids from Britain and Gaul would meet in their sacred place in Carnutes which was located in Gaul and share tips and tricks that could help the others in any way. There were certain times when the Druids would meet, but major holidays that required their presence for tribal gatherings were on days that had meaning as a whole community which fell on major agricultural days such as Beltrane on May 1 and Samhain on November 1. (Jo-Ann, inspirationpie, 2018). All that attended these meetings were able to hold council on important issues at hand and major disputes between men. If someone disputed the judgement of the Druids, they were barred from sacrifice which was believed to be the biggest dishonor anyone could be handed. Another huge advantage of being a Druid was that they were not expected to serve in war or pay taxes. This was because they were held in such high regard and were important members of the tribes, their duties served the community enough without going to war or paying taxes.

According to Lomax (1810), the men and women who trained to become Druids were picked at a very young age and the families of these children willingly let their kids train with them for upwards of twenty years to learn the teachings. Druids were taught the principles of astronomy, natural religion, divinity, morality, immortality of the soul, as well as using signs to predict the future. These children were raised to be not only religious practitioners, but also be judges of private and government affairs and held the power to excommunicate people from the land if need be. Druids were considered the most noble people in all Celtic tribes. "No public

affairs were transacted without their approbation, not so much as a malefactor could be put to death without their consent” (Lomax, 1810). Their decisions concerning the problems presented to them was absolute and had to be followed. The appearance of druids during their time are usually shown as old men in long flowy robes with long full beards. This is not far from what archaeological evidence has shown us. In Vaitland, Germany, there was an old monastery discovered by Conrad Celtes, a German humanist, where there were six statues guarding the gates of what appeared to be a sacred temple for the Druids. Conrad Celtes found these statues and ultimately decided that these were statues of German druids. All six of the statues were seven feet tall, had bare feet, their heads were covered with hoods, they had scripts by their sides, and had long beards that started at the base of their nostrils and descended. In the hands of these statues, they also had a book and a Diogenes staff that was five feet in length. Their faces were described as being “severe and morose” with their eyes “cast towards the Earth” (Lomax, 1810). Although this thoroughly describes male Druids, there were female Druids who were just as important. Like the Celtic tribes, the male and female Druids were equal within their communities. They would have had all the same jobs that their male counterparts had. Archaeological evidence of female Druids comes mostly from burials discovered in Germany between the Rhine and Moselle rivers (Klimczak, 2016). The women buried here were from the fourth century BC. While this is the timeline that is being discussed in this essay, the location is different than what has been spoken of here. It is safe to say that we can still build the life of a British female Druid from looking at evidence of the German burials. The females at these burials were buried with special torcs on their chest which symbolized their status as well as numerous other precious objects (Klimczak, 2016). These burials belong to a Druidess because

according to researchers, they were the only females important enough to have this kind of burial (Klimczak, 2016).

The Druids followed strict protocol and had a list of rules of conduct, beliefs, and principles. These practices and beliefs open new items to be discussed. Sacrifices, both human and personal objects, seem to be a major practice that they held sacred. The practice of sacrifices is possibly the most important ritual because they used the practice to appease their gods. The sacrifices were to the gods of agriculture, maintaining health, and numerous other things. There seem to be two different practices. The first is mentioned in Pliny's *Natural History* (77 A.D. when Druids, dressed in all white would collect the mistletoe from an oak by climbing the oak and cutting it down and having those under them catch the falling plant. They then bring two pure white steers specifically with horns that have never been bound. Once these two things were done, the steers were then sacrificed while the Druids "mumbled orations and prayed that none were poisoned and barren" (Lomax, 1810). The second was the sacrificing of men and women. This is the most well-known and one of the first things that people think of when Druids are being discussed. The most acceptable people to be sacrificed were murderers, thief's, or anyone considered to be nefarious, but when there were not enough criminals to be sacrificed, they would sacrifice innocent people to be able to perform the ritual. At times animals were used in place of people but considered to be a rare practice for the part because human sacrifices were thought to be more pleasing to the gods (Lomax, 1810). According to Lomax (1810), some of the rules were "the disobedient are to be shut out of sacrifices, upon extraordinary emergencies a man must be sacrificed, according as the body falls or moves after falling; according as the blood flows or the wounds open future events are foretold, and prisoners of war are to be slaughtered/slain on altars or burnt alive enclosed in wicker in honor of the gods". The biggest of

the sacrifices would be the Wicker man sacrifice. It was an imposing sacrifice in which a cage was constructed to look like a man but big enough to fill with those who were being sacrificed. It was built using twigs that were woven. Once it was filled with the men and women it was set on fire. It is thought to be practiced to appease the Gods and help the land prosper (Lomax, 1810). One of the only recountings of a human sacrifice was written down by Posidonius. In his retelling, he said “the Gauls have an especially strange and unbelievable method of predicting the future for the most important affairs. They first anoint a human victim, then stab him with a small knife in the chest above the diaphragm. They watch the man carefully and interpret future events by the way he falls, how his limbs shake, and the way his blood spurts onto the ground” (Freeman, 2008). This is a prime example of their use of divination by stabbing a subject and using the unforeseen movements to predict and interpret future events. There had been recent archaeological evidence that suggests that the Druids and Celts practiced cannibalism with the One other example of sacrifice, although it is not human, is the practice of offering various items to the Gods and placing them in water. Items have been found in the areas with the highest Celtic and Druid populations and dated to the time period they would have lived in. Some of the items that were thrown in the water to please the Gods were swords, shields, cauldrons, and slave chains (Freeman, 2008).

One of the most well-known practices of the Druids was their vast knowledge and use of the things that were offered on Earth. They held mistletoe, which grew on oak trees, in the highest regard and thought it was the most sacred item that they could have (Freeman, 2008). When Druids would go looking for mistletoe for ceremonies, they would cut it down with a golden bill which was believed to be used because “gold is important as a solar symbol and the sickle blade is shaped like the moon thus combining solar male and lunar female principles”

(Family of Lugh). The name for this ceremony is “Ritual of oak and mistletoe” and was wrote about by Pliny in his book Natural History. The general understanding is that the Druids would search for the mistletoe at the end of the year to try and bless the upcoming year. The places where they found the mistletoe was considered a gift from the Gods and the Gods showed this to them so they could worship them in the exact location. They believed that the oak tree was also a gift from the Gods. They held oak in such high regard that it is noted they would not practice rituals or sacrifices without at least a branch of their sacred oak (Lomax, 1810). Mistletoe was used to treat infertile women as well as animals and to help prevent against poisoning as well as bring good luck and help cure diseases (Perry, n.d). They also felt as if this was a protection against witches (Perry, n.d). Another widely used plant they considered a great gift was Samolus. They seem to have had rules for picking this plant. “Samolus was placed in drinking troughs as a remedy against disease in cattle. It was culled by a person fasting, with the left hand; it must be wholly uprooted, and the gatherer must not look behind him” (MacCulloch, 2005). They used this plant to help treat rashes, heal wounds, and help with ringworm. Pliny also stated that another ritual Druids would perform was the “quest to find the serpent stone”. According to him the Druids would look for snakes that would presumably be mating who were coiled together in a ball and wait until this ball of snakes produced an egg like object referred to as “anguinum”. Once this ball was thrown into the air from the group of snakes the Druids would then catch it before it hit the ground. Once caught the snakes would then chase the Druids until water cut off their chase. Anguinum was considered a good luck amulet. The anguinum itself was described by Pliny as “a ball that looked like an apple covered in octopus suckers” (Pliny, 77 A.D.). It is known that in the Iron Age the snake represented the underworld so this may be something

believed by the Druids as well (Sjöberg, 2012). It is unknown if there were specific Druids who performed this ritual of it is was open to all Druids.

The most famous of the Druids is believed to be the “Druid of Colchester”. Colchester is the Latin name for the Celtic village of Camulodunon, located in modern day Essex. The grave was discovered in 1996 and is believed to be an iron age Druid. In the burial site along with the body was what is believed to be a medical kit that held 13 specific tools. Some of these tools were scalpel, sharp and blunt protractors, needles, probes, surgical saw, hooks, and forceps. The grave also held a cup that had traces of mugwort which was possibly used to stimulate psychic powers. A strainer for tea that contained artemisia pollen used for herbal remedies. It is worth noting that mugwort tea was used by many ancient societies to help stimulate vivid dreams. Metal rods that are believed to have been used for divination. A game that we now call “Stanway Game”. This discovery has given us an in depth look at the everyday objects that were used during the Iron Age and how medically advanced the times were for this time period (Fletcher, 2008).

The end of the ancient Druids and the customs and rituals came with the Roman invasion under the Roman general Gaius Suetonius Paulinus. The general slaughtered any Celt that stood in his way man, woman, or child. Paulinus takeover of the Celtic tribes and the Druids happened circa 57 A.D. to 60 A.D. The general and his soldiers had a prejudice against the Druids before they even met them, thinking them magicians who practiced “weird and evil rituals” (Carradice, 2013). Tacitus, the Roman historian wrote in detail the account of Paulinus and his attack on the sacred Druid island of Anglesey. While the Romans were terrified of the Druids because of their practice of sacrifice and a religion that they did not understand and feared because of their use of

predicting the future (Trueman, 2021), they made their way onto the island and Tacitus stated in his writings "On the shore stood the forces of the enemy, a dense array of arms and men, with women dashing through the ranks like the furies --- The druids pouring forth dire imprecations with their hands uplifted towards the heavens, struck terror into the soldiers" (Carradice, 2013). Once the Romans started their assault on the island there was a slaughter and when the bodies started to become piled too high, they were thrown onto funeral pyres. Not only were the men, women, and children killed but the Roman soldiers decided to destroy everything that the Druids thought sacred including all temples, altars, and the oak trees that they were named after. There have been mentioning's of Druids throughout different centuries after the raid of Paulinus, but they probably were not able to hold on to all the teaching of the ancient ones, although we are not sure of that exactly. It is worth mentioning that even though the Druids were killed off, the practice of passing down the history orally lived past their demise thanks to the Bards. These men and women practiced the singing, poet writing, and the passing of oral traditions which is what the Druids were known to do as well. So, while the Druids perished, Bards kept alive some of the traditional ways of a life from long ago.

The middle to late Iron Age La Tène time period in Britain, a period named for the intricate artwork that was used to decorate objects and weapons, is where we begin to see major leaps forward regarding settlements and oppida, which were large, fortified communities that were enclosed and considered "territorial" (Moore, 2012). The way that oppidum were designed could possibly be attributed to the earlier design of settlements known as "banjo enclosures" which were named so because of the larger part being attached to a track that led to a smaller area. If we look at the Catuvellauni capital Verulamium, it shows the setup for arguably the perfect Iron Age oppida. Verulamium is the first major oppida that we know of that was built

where there is no evidence of previous occupation (Pryor, 2004). The main feature of these small cities were the walls that surrounded the entire community. Inside of these walls were the inner workings of an entire city. Inside Verulamium, there were specified areas that were for farming, communal activities, as well as metal work (Pryor, 2004). In his article “Beyond the Oppida: Polyfocal Complexes and Late Iron Age Societies in Southern Britain”, Tom Moore (2012) explains that the amount of work that the tribes would put into building the dykes surrounding these oppida would suggest that these acted as “communal focus points” where large meetings took place and helped establish change in the economic and social systems. Moore also goes on to say that the reason for these oppidum could have been used to manage power and status between communities rather than expressing individual power because there is strength in numbers. If there is a rival clan you would want more people because more people equal more power. Within the oppida, there was a social structure. There were leaders who were chosen by their ability to lead rather than a birth right, though there are examples of leaders who came from previous leaders like Cassivellaunus who earned his way into leadership after his father's passing. Every tribe had their own “Rix” which was the Gaulish word for king (Freeman, 2006). While we do not have actual evidence of a voting system from the Iron Age, we do know that the neighboring tribe Iceni elected their leader Boudica. She was a warrior who helped with their revolt against the Romans during the late Iron Age. One can be led to believe that this was their custom before the Roman invasion.

With the rise of these communities, there was new markets for exotic goods. Looking back at the sixth century, Barry Cunliffe (2001) states there was a “development of links with the Mediterranean”. While this trading post was in Massalia, modern day Marseilles, we know that the Gaulish tribes located there were close to the British Celtic tribes because of Casesar's

writings. So, by understanding that these tribes had close ties we can make an educated guess that the goods coming into this port were shared with the British tribes. Because of the trade between countries, we begin to see the artwork of the La Tène culture and how blossomed throughout because of the popularity of it through mainland Europe. Characteristics include elaborate spirals, geometric patterns, and repeating patterns as well as animals fit into these designs. These patterns can be seen today on coins, shields, statues, and jewelry. While these designs could have been placed on some items as just a decoration, there are certain items such as the shields and other weapons that hold images of animals (Cunliffe, 2001). Cunliffe (2001) states that the symbolism for a boar is widely in evidence on helmets and shields all over Europe during this time period and there could be a specific reason for this. He argues that the boar could be seen as a “talisman used to ward off danger” or to “give strength to the bearer”. Designs during this time could have been made for specific tribes which could have helped identify them as a tribe to the surrounding tribes. It is possible that the Celtic tribes who held these specific designs who went into battle and won could have suggested that the items that had their mark on them could have been revered and could have held some sort of power over those who were defeated (Cunliffe, 2001).

Oppidum were filled with items described above to be sold and traded throughout the community. We must remember that even though Britain was an island, they still have communication with people in mainland Europe. Being in contact with mainland Europe helped these small communities grow as well as their economies. The earliest known coins that have been discovered come from Kent that date to around 100 B.C.E. The role of these coins is still being speculated on to this day. One can argue that the appearance of the coins comes at a time when these oppidum were probably at their largest right before the Roman invasion. That leads

to the observation that more people and a bigger economy could have brought forth the need for the coins. Within this economy, Pryor (2004) states that we see the first widespread use of specialists in specific trades. Although he does say that there could have been specialists before this time period, it is hard to find evidence to support that. Some examples of trades were blacksmiths, jewelers, carriage builders, furniture makers, potters, and armorers. Given these fields, we know that there was a need to market them, and they would have been sold in the markets as well as the agriculture that was booming during this time. The rise in population made the need for farming to take precedence over a lot of other things. Livestock was the most important but during this time we see the Celts begin to farm and produce a lot of wheat, barley, and oats. In Southern England, specifically Verulamium, the Catuvellauni capital, we can look at archaeological evidence and see that they had an “abundance of wealth” (Pryor, 2004). We can determine this thanks to finding large gold neck torcs as well as votive deposits, which were ceremonial gifts for religious practices. Another part of the Catuvellauni economy was the practice of slave trade that took place in Verulamium (Pryor, 2004). Strabo, a Roman geographer who spent time with the Celts, said that during the first century A.D. slavery was the biggest export from Britain to Rome because the way of life in Britain did not call for the use of slavery while Rome depended heavily upon it. Strabo described the British slaves as taller than the Celts in Gauls and not so yellow-haired, although their bodies are of lower build (Apollo’s Raven, 2015). The most common form of work during this time period was farming. “Iron Age Europe was a society based on farming. Farmsteads were the most common form of settlement and most people were farmers” (van der Veen, 2005).

The villages themselves were similar to small Midwest communities in the 1800’s during the first stages of their creation. The oppidum had everything that anyone there could need.

There were merchants buying, selling, and bartering metalwork, pottery, animals, and grains. As was stated earlier, here is where we begin to see specialized fields. One of the most important could have possibly been carpenters or home builders. The people among these settlements lived in “roundhouses”. These homes were built from wood, clay, and straw and were built around the orientation of the sun, which they considered extremely important because of the links of the sun with life and growth. The sun also helped dictate how and when certain chores were done around the home. Most reconstructions of these homes show evidence of the door facing the sun and moving around the home clockwise (Pearson, 1996). Pryor (2004) points out that it is not uncommon to find a child or infant burial at the doorway of one of these roundhouses, which could possibly link birth to the rising sun. They believed the sun was important because it linked itself with rebirth, as in the rebirth of the agriculture that depended on it. They also thought the sun was something powerful enough to banish the evil spirits they feared. Though there is no evidence, it is suggested that the larger sites of roundhouses belonged to people who were higher in society like chiefs, while the poorer villagers lived in small roundhouses near the outskirts of the oppidum. Surrounding these oppida were the defense systems of hillforts that are still standing tall today. Pryor (2004) states that they are probably the most notable field monuments in Britain. There have been hillforts that contain the mutilated remains of people that could suggest more evidence of tribal conflicts. We are also able to determine, according to Pryor (2004), that these settlements contain many earthworks that help create smaller territories. There is evidence for housing, different industries located within the oppida, religious shrines, and cemeteries. These cemeteries help us to understand that there were in fact different social classes, with the upper classes' burial containing different burial relics that aren't seen in the burial of the

regular oppida population. Along with the bodies in graves, there are urns that have been found that prove that the Celts practiced cremation as well as full body burials.

The Catuvelluani was an important tribe during the Iron Age as we know from the coins minted in the area as well as writings from Caesar, Posidinius, and Diodorus. For the most part evidence points to them getting along with their neighboring tribes but there were times when the Celts would have to go to battle. The word Catuvellauni is translated to “war chiefs” or “chiefs of war”. Although there were no records left by the Celts to give us exact details, we do have the writings of others that lend credence to what the Catuvellauni and surrounding Celtic tribes did, such as with the Battle of Telamon fought in 225 B.C. (Mingren, 2017). The most notable thing the Celts did to get ready for a battle was to paint themselves entirely blue. It is believed that this was done in order to create an intimidating appearance to their enemies. Caesar himself said “makes their appearance in battle more terrible”. The process of dying their skin blue was an intricate procedure according to Gillian Carr, the following is the steps she lists in her paper *Woad, Tattooing, and Identity in Later Iron Age Britain* (Carr, 2005). They would first harvest the woad plant then boil it in water and let it steep for about an hour. After, they would strain the liquid but throw out the plant remains. They would then add ammonia, which possibly came from urine (Carr, 2005). After the ammonia was added, the person making this would stir the liquid until the blue from the woad would begin to surface which would be about fifteen minutes. They would then let everything settle and dry out. The powder let over is what they would use to paint themselves. Carr (2005) suggests that the Celts could have used a large vat or a cauldron as a makeshift bath filled with this sediment to help them cover their bodies fully without taking the time to hand paint themselves. She does go on to say that the person dipping themselves in this liquid would have a brown appearance for the first several minutes but would then turn blue

thanks to the oxidization of the pigments. Another use of woad was for tattooing. There are five main sources that Carr (2005) points out that show evidence of body painting and tattooing among the Celts. The first would be the classical writers. The second is the traces of these plants that have been left within containers, both small cosmetic grinders as well as various other sizes. The third bit of evidence comes from the bog bodies found throughout the region, most famously the Lindow Man. The fourth is the minted coins that were created in this area show designs on the faces of those on the coins, which suggests face tattoos. The last bit of evidence comes from items used for the making of woad. To make their appearance even more intimidating with the blue body paint, they have been recorded by some writers such as Polybius, as going into battle fully naked (Mingren, 2017). There are several statues that prove that what was written was in fact true. Posidonius himself described the Celts and the customs that they held sacred to be “so primitive they made him sick physically until he got used to it”. He also went on to describe the Celts as “being full of war, head hunting, and human sacrifice” (Freeman, 2006).

The daily life of an average member of the Catuvellauni tribe would have been busy. For my recreation of daily life, I will go with a man named Adair, which means from the oak tree. Adair would have woken up with the sun and went about getting some housework done while the rest of the family helped. His wife would have cooked breakfast while the children carried out the duties needing to be done. After the housework, Adair would have gone out to the fields to tend to the animals and farmland. He would have worked out there for much of the day gathering up all the grains that were ready to harvest because the season is closing, and his hard work is ready to go to the market to sell. What he did not take to the market to sell, he would have placed in a pit to preserve it for him and his family throughout the winter. After his day in the fields, Adair would go back home and eat a hearty dinner thanks to all the work in the fields. It is not

uncommon for Adair to bring the animals he could not tie up outside his home to the inside while the family slept. Like his surrounding neighbors, he would go to sleep around sundown.

The next morning, Adair wakes up again when the sun appears. He gathers his wife and children after their morning rituals of prayers and breakfast and heads to the market with all his products. While he and his wife set up in the market, his children head to play a game similar to field hockey with the children of other families in the tribe. After his stand was set up, Adair and his wife would exchange goods for the coins the Catuvellauni were known for. After they made some money, he would have sent his wife to buy things that they would have needed for the upcoming winter. Goods such as warmer clothing, meat or vegetables that he did not grown himself, axes to help gather wood among other things, and maybe even a nice necklace or bracelet for his wife. After selling his goods, he and his family would go home, eat dinner, then head to bed.

With the end of the Gallic Wars with Caesar and the Roman empire, came the end of the way of life with the Catuvellauni and surrounding tribes. They were still able to maintain some semblance of their old way of life. The end of the Druids came with the massacre at Anglesey at the hands of Roman general Gaius Suetonius Paulinus. The end of the rule of the Catuvellauni came with the defeat of Cassivellaunus and surrounding tribes to Roman rule. Even with the information and evidence presented there is still more that needs to be discovered and questions that should be answered. There are many aspects of their life that we still question. The importance of women in Britain during the Iron Age is something that is not seen anywhere else in the world. Women were held in high regard and were even able to become Druids. Why did they hold admiration for women when no one else did? The Druids were some of the

highest-ranking men and women in these societies, but how did they become so powerful within these communities and where did they first learn the spells and medicine practices? The Catuvellauni capital of Verlamion was the hub of a lucrative slave trade between Britain and Rome. Who were the people being sold to Rome and how did this business venture start out? It could be concluded that some of the men and women who were excommunicated by the Druids were some of the first who were being bought and sold but there is no written documentation of this that has yet been found, so the answer is still unknown. Despite the various sources of information this essay has demonstrated, there is still a need for research into the Catuvellauni tribe. There is sparse information that is available to those interested. Also, of the information accessible, such as *The Catuvellauni* (1985) by Keith Branigan, it is severely lacking in detail and explanation.

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