

C. Riley Augé

Embedded Implication of Cultural Worldviews in the Use and Pattern of Magical Material Culture

ABSTRACT

The continuing challenge for archaeologists of ritual and magic revolves around recognition of such beliefs and practices in the archaeological record. This is especially true in contexts where material culture functions as both mundane utilitarian objects and magical devices simultaneously or alternatively. In such cases, mere typologies are insufficient to differentiate magical application from quotidian use. Nor are the most frequently used criteria for distinguishing between magical and non-magical artifact function—irregularities of depositional location—reliable predictors, if the underlying logic of those locations defies articulation. A critical first step in recognizing magical material culture involves understanding the embeddedness of worldviews, particularly aspects of cosmology, in the use and pattern of magical material culture. This article examines the implicated roles of religious frameworks and doctrine with cosmological constructs on “cultural logic” by using an example of 17th-century Anglo-European numerology to illustrate the connection between worldviews and material expression.

Introduction

The belief in and practice of some form of magic have been an integral part of all human societies for countless millennia, as documented by anthropologists, historians, and folklorists (Malinowski 1955; Tambiah 1990; Frazer 1996; Rappaport 1999; Burton and Grandy 2004; Stein and Stein 2005). As a ubiquitous component of the human experience, this interplay of belief and practice warrants greater attention by archaeologists. The continuing challenge, however, for archaeologists revolves around recognizing evidence of such beliefs and practices in the archaeological record. This is especially true in contexts where material culture functions as both mundane utilitarian objects and magical devices simultaneously or alternatively. Gazin-Schwartz (2001:267) observes that the “great problem for

interpretation is that artifacts do play important roles in ritual, but often the ritual use of an object is difficult to ascertain. It is not *inherent* in the material, form, or even the context of the archaeological find [emphasis in original].” In such cases, mere typologies are insufficient to differentiate magical application from quotidian use. Nor are the most frequently used criteria for distinguishing between magical and non-magical artifact function—irregularities of depositional location—reliable predictors if the underlying logic of those locations defies articulation. As Goodwin et al. (1995:43) asserts: “Knowing the logic by which a past culture operated provides a basis for projections about what their members were likely to do in a given situation.” A critical first step, then, in recognizing magical material culture, involves understanding the embeddedness of worldviews, particularly aspects of cosmology, in the use and pattern of magical material culture. To reach this understanding requires a consideration of what worldview and cosmology actually entail.

A comprehensive and concise definition for worldview comes from the Stein and Stein’s (2005) *Anthropology of Religion, Magic, and Witchcraft*. They define worldview as

the way in which societies perceive and interpret their reality. ... Their worldview provides them with an understanding of how their world works; it forms the template for thought and behavior; and it provides them with a basic understanding of the origin and nature of humankind and their relationship to the world about them. (Stein and Stein 2005:31)

In other words, one’s worldview not only establishes the “facts” of the construct of this empirical world, but also ideas and attitudes about the unseen aspects of life, like time, direction, spirits and spiritual realms. One’s worldview establishes values and determines what is right, appropriate, and normal, providing a shared language of concepts and symbols. In societies with highly structured religious institutions, like 17th-century Anglo-European Christianity, these ideas are embedded within their religious doctrines and permeate their behavioral and material expressions.

Implicated within worldview is a group's cosmology, or beliefs about the structure and principles of the universe and the place of humans, animals, plants, and supernatural beings within that cosmic order. One's worldview stipulates what kinds of relationships and interactions can exist amongst the elements of the cosmos (Glazier 1997; Demos 2004a; Stein and Stein 2005). Worldview informs cultural ideas about the right way to be in the world and, by extension, how people physically, materially, and ideologically enact their cosmology through their daily lives.

One aspect of cosmology concerns the structure, sometimes referred to as the cosmic architecture, of the universe (Willis 1993). This structure entails the mathematical or numeric divisions that define physical and metaphysical aspects of reality, and conceptualizations of space, time, and directionality. The consistency of these divisions across all domains of perception, thought, and belief provides a sense of cosmic interrelatedness and completeness. Thomas (1971:265) further explicates this interrelationship by stating that the "cosmos was an organic unity in which every part bore a sympathetic relationship to the rest." For the early English immigrants to New England, cosmological beliefs were explicitly expressed through the doctrine of Calvinist and other Reformation theologies that espoused a divine grand design in which absolutely every component of the world and every occurrence of nature or mankind were created and directed by God (Thomas 1971; Cohen 1986; Rumsey 1986). Rumsey (1986:7) states that "[l]uck, chance, fortune or fate did not exist in such a world;" therefore, since "the will of God was inherent in all things" (Rumsey 1986:8), life contained no random or meaningless events or correspondences (Demos 1972, 2004b; Kittredge 1972; Hall 1989). Correlating the symbolic elements of numerological associations and directional connotations found in the Bible to those events of divine providence experienced or witnessed in everyday life reinforced both the veracity of a cosmos omnipotently ruled and directed by divine authority, as well as the validity and efficacy of those structural symbolic elements (Thomas 1971).

It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss every possible symbolic element embedded within Christian doctrine (Wile 1934; Farbridge

1970), so as a primer for this complex subject and for the purposes of explication the main body of the article will focus on Anglo-European Christian numerology. The article concludes with a brief connection between numerology and directionality, and the importance each may play in the understanding of magical material culture in archaeological contexts.

Numerology and Number Symbolism

Cultural historian Annemarie Schimmel's (1993) research into the symbolic and magical associations of numbers and number systems throughout Eastern and Western traditions provides an illuminating introduction to the various ways numbers and number systems operate in different cultures. Classical, Islamic, Hebraic, and Christian philosophers, theologians, mystics, alchemists, mathematicians, and scientists have contemplated the mystery, meaning, and influence of numbers (Farbridge 1970; Schimmel 1993). Included among the countless tracts written upon the subject are the many European Christian treatises appearing in the 16th and 17th centuries (Schimmel 1993; Davies 2009). Many of these scholarly works include consideration of magical number squares, like the quinary SATOR-ROTAS palindrome, which was usually inscribed as (Fennell 2007:107; Davies 2009:13):

S	A	T	O	R
A	R	E	P	O
T	E	N	E	T
O	P	E	R	A
R	O	T	A	S

Although the exact meaning of this palindrome, which dates at least to ancient Pompeii, is still debated, one translation reveals "that the letters were also reformulated to spell PATER NOSTER twice, [and] arranged in the form of a cross, might suggest it was of Christian origin" (Davies 2009:13). Another translation gives the charm more affective power and implies a more direct and agentic relationship between individuals and the cosmos. Fennell (2007:107) notes that the palindrome "translates roughly as 'the sower Arepo holds steady the wheels,' thus invoking a creative force that controls the wheels of the cosmos and the vicissitudes of fortune."

Similarly, the magical word spell “abracadabra” is not only required to be written triangularly (Aubrey 1670:87), but the total number of letters it contains equals 66, illustrating the multilayered embeddedness of magically potent numbers; in this case the number three. The abracadabra spell cited by Aubrey was effective against ague, if, as he recommends (Aubrey 1670:87), you

write this following spell in parchment, and wear it about your neck. It must be writ triangularly:

A B R A C A D A B R A
 A B R A C A D A B R
 A B R A C A D A B
 A B R A C A D A
 A B R A C A D
 A B R A C A
 A B R A C
 A B R A
 A B R
 A B
 A

Other numerological ideas discussed in these magical treatises concerned the seemingly mystical nature of particular numbers, like the number nine, whose multiples always have nine as the sum of their digits (e.g., $4 \times 9 = 36$; $3 + 6 = 9$). One common aspect across cultures, Schimmel notes, concerns a metaphysical power associated with or believed to be inherent within particular numbers. According to Schimmel (1993:10):

numbers have been attributed with special, secret powers that make them fitting for magical conjurations and, of course, for astrological prognostications. Even the “high” religions recognize the religious importance of certain numbers and their mystical character. ... In magic ... the correct use of numbers plays an immense role for each number is seen in its power-field and in its cosmic connections.

In the Western tradition, the power of numbers derives from ideas traceable to at least the Pythagoreans and Plato, and further developed by the Neoplatonists and Gnostics (Farbridge 1970; Schimmel 1993; Ryken et al. 1998). These ideas espouse three basic concepts that can be seen underlying numerological constructs in 17th-century Christian thought (Schimmel 1993:16):

1. Numbers influence the character of things that are ordered by them;
2. Thus, the number becomes the mediator between the Divine and the created world; and
3. If one performs operations with numbers, these operations also work upon the things connected with the numbers used.

The first and third of the above ideas clearly reiterate the sympathetic association between numbers and objects, a basic and universal element in magical thought and operation (Thomas 1971; Frazer 1996).

Every number has its particular symbolic meaning and/or power, which may be enhanced or expressed through sums or multiples (Farbridge 1970; Metzger and Coogan 1993). This can be demonstrated by analyzing the number seven, which represents perfection, but as a sum of three (the divine) and four (earthly directions and seasonality), that sense of perfection takes on a deeper nuance of totality, unity, and divine design. Of course, seven could also be construed as the sum of two (duality, division, polarity) and five (interrelationship between human and divine), which suggests a re-membering of the sundering of divine unity that occurred at the time of creation and that set humans apart from the godhead (Cohen 1986). Multiples of a number increase its influence exponentially, which is seen especially in the number *nine* being *three* times *three*, and considered one of the most powerful of all numbers in cultural and religious systems worldwide. Regardless of the multiple permutations and meaningful combinations abstractable from numbers, within the Christian tradition of 17th-century English colonists three numbers seem to have wielded the greatest symbolic meaning and magical power: three (ternary/triad), five (quinary/quintet), and seven (septenary/heptad) (Farbridge 1970; Metzger and Coogan 1993; Schimmel 1993; Ryken et al. 1998).

The following sections will examine the Christian meanings of the numbers three, five, and seven, and their uses in magical charms, remedies, and counter-witchcraft magic using a variety of 17th-century source documents and artifactual evidence from Britain and Colonial America.

Ternary

Christian cosmology espouses a tripartite cosmos divided into two supernatural realms (heaven and hell) and one mortal world sandwiched between. The vertical hierarchical arrangement of these three realms also has implications for understanding the significance and meaning of vertical and horizontal placement and association, which will be discussed in relationship to numerology at the conclusion of this article.

The tripartite structure of the cosmos repeats in the triune godhead of Father-Son-Holy Ghost (Figure 1)—a construct that serves as the numerical model, as well as the source of supernatural power, underlying magical charms (Thomas 1971).

Numerous charms dating from antiquity to the 19th century require the repetition of phrases or actions three times (or multiples of 3: 6, 9, 12, 15, and 21, most usually) and often include an invocation of the Trinity or other biblical figures. Testimonies of suspected bewitchment or demonic temptation frequently claim three visitations, seductive attempts, or days elapsing during which the events transpired (Burr 1914; Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977). An example of this correlation of time with a ternary construct comes from Cotton Mather's (1914:261,265) "A Brand Pluckt out of the Burning," an account of the sufferings of the apparently bewitched Mercy Short, which states that "after what was little short of an Entire and a Total Fast for about Nine Dayes together, in those miseries, at length she gained about Three Dayes Remission," and then again later, "[s] hee having obtained a liberty of eating for three dyaes after a fast of nine days, was immediately compelled unto another fast, which lasted for about fifteen days together."

Cotton Mather (1692:142–159), in his treatise *On Witchcraft*, reminds readers of the Devil's three temptations of Jesus, which would certainly have been the model for the 17th-century faithful describing their struggles against Satan's minions. Likewise, it must be remembered that Jesus' resurrection occurs on the third day, after which he appeared three times to his disciples. This idea of restoration from the grip of bewitchment through Christ would have been an internalized belief for Puritans; thus, incorporating the numerical correlate of three days to recovery or demise is culturally logical in Christian thought. The

Bible, of course, literally overflows with triads (Schimmel 1993), a motif not lost on those who endeavored to live their lives by the Holy Book as literally as possible.

The use of the number three is well documented in written charms, magical medicinal cures, and magical material culture. The following few examples, abstracted from scores of similar charms and cures, illustrate the widespread and apparently essential inclusion of ternary elements as the efficacious catalysts in magical work; from Ady, *Candles in the Dark* (1655), as cited in Brand (1888:749–750):

An old woman in Essex, who was living in my time ... every night she lay down to sleep she charmed her bed, saying:

"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Bless the bed that I lie on"

This would she repeat three times.

Another old woman came into an house at a time when as the maid was churning of butter, and having labored long and could not make her butter come, the old woman told the maid what was to be done ... they used a charm to be said over it, whilst yet it was in beating, and it would come straightways, and that was this:

"Come butter come,
Come butter come,
Peter stands at the Gate
Waiting for a butter'd cake,
Come butter come."

"This," said the old woman, "being said three times, will make your butter come."

In 1670, John Aubrey (1670:87) records:

To cure the Tooth-Ach:

"Mars, hur, abursa, aburse"
Jesu Christ for Mary's sake,
Take away this Tooth-Ach."

Write the words three times; and as you say the words, let the party burn on paper, then another, and then the last. He says, he saw it experimented, and the party "immediately cured."

John Aubrey (1687:12) reports:

When I was a boy a charme was used for (I think) keeping away evill spirits: which was to say thrice in a breath,

Three blew Beanes in a blew bladder,
Rattle, bladder, rattle.

In terms of magical material culture, one of the most common occurrences of ternary elements appears in or associated with witch

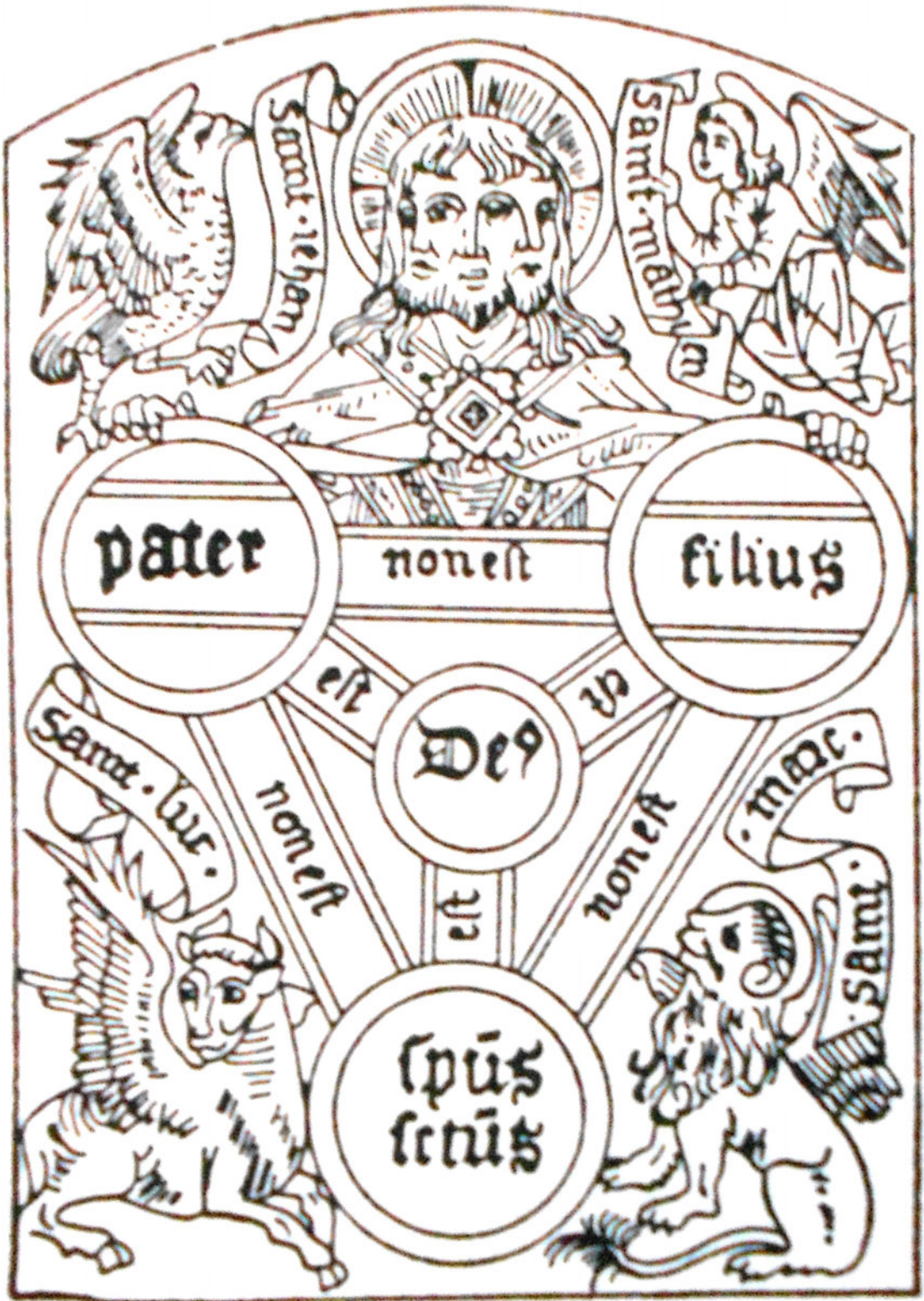


FIGURE 1. Woodcut from a book of hours, Paris, 1524. (Image, <mickeysr.hubpages.com/hub/Regular-Normal-Christianity-The-Trinity>.)

bottles, devices used to identify and retaliate against a suspected witch. Although witch-bottle forms and contents vary (Blagrave 1671; Merrifield 1987; Hoggard 2004; Becker 2005), they virtually always incorporate a ternary component as is illustrated in Blagrave's (1671:154) instructions from *The Astrological Practice of Physick* on two ways to identify a witch:

[S]top the urine of the Patient close up in a bottle, and put into it three nails, pins or needles, with a little white salt, keeping the urine always warm: if you let it remain long in the bottle it will endanger the witch's life. ... Get two new horseshoes, heat one of them red hot, and quench him in the patients urine, then immediately nail him on the inside of the threshold of the door with three nails, the heel upwards: then having the patients urine set it over the fire, and set a trivet over it, put into it three horsenails, and a little white salt: Then heat the other horseshoe red hot, and quench him several times in the urine, and so let it boil and waste until all be consumed; do this three times.

Archaeologically, triads and multiples of threes manifest not only in witch-bottle contents, but also

frequently in the number of petals on apotropaic daisy wheels (also called hexafoils) found inscribed near structural thresholds, like doors and windows, on mile or boundary markers, and on gravestones (Figure 2) (Ludwig 1966; Duval and Rigby 1978; Bouchard 1991; Easton 1999a, 1999b, 2011; Gage and Gage 2003).

Likewise, other apotropaic markings, like circles noted by researcher Timothy Easton (1999a, 1999b), occur in triplicate on hearthstones and burned on rafters. Lloyd et al.'s (2001) examination of burn marks on doors, rafters, and hearths mentions "multiple groupings," but does not specify the actual number, an oversight not uncommon even for those researchers specifically studying evidence of magical belief and practice. Paying closer attention to the number of marks will potentially yield more examples of magically associated numbers and objects. Additionally, triangles, the geometric triad, can be found repeatedly on hearth lintel supports called witch posts (Figure 3), gravestones, and mile markers.



FIGURE 2. Gravestone of Sara Safford 1712, Merrimac Valley, Massachusetts. (Photo by author, 1998.)

That the number three was used magically is reinforced by Robert Calef's (1914:317) admonition in using it with such intent, when he warns in 1700: "I must earnestly Intreat all my readers to beware of any superstitious conceits upon the Number Three"; however, he continues by admitting he has witnessed healing from bewitchment associated with three fasts and three days of recovery. The plethora of charms, invocations, and material examples utilizing the number three or its multiples could easily fill an entire volume. It would be misleading to imply, however, that this particular number held a monopoly on magico-spiritual importance.



FIGURE 3. Witch post. Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton le Hole, UK. (Photo courtesy Ryedale Folk Museum, 2012.)

Quinary

As noted, each number has its own meaning, yet many are implicated with others in ways other than as sums or multiples. The number five is one such case. Although the number five has its own biblical associations, the most common quinary-based symbol in 17th-century Anglo-American society was the pentagram or pentangle—a figure comprised of three triangles—an observation certainly not lost on the devout Christian. When the human form and the pentangle were overlaid, a natural relationship was perceived that is reiterated in humans having five fingers per hand, five toes per foot, and five senses (Figure 4).

These ideas find explicit expression in John Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism and Judaism* (1687:51):

This figure of three triangles intersected and made of five lines, is called the pentangle of Solomon, and when it is delineated on the body of a man, it is pretended to touch and point out the five places wherein our Saviour was wounded. And therefore there was an old superstitious conceit that this figure was a *fuga Daemonum*, the Devils were afraid of it.

According to Shuffelton's (2008:36) research on biblical numbers, there was understood to be a correspondence

between the five wounds of Christ (in the hands, feet, and side), the five senses in which he was afflicted, and the five senses (or "wits") through which mankind can be tempted. The series of fives applied to the five-pointed star on Gawain's shield in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* suggests how such correspondences could be used as a kind of talismanic protection, providing both a key to understanding the hidden connections of universal order and to overcoming the world's dangers.

As noted at the beginning of this article, cosmological understanding required a consistency of ideas and associations across all domains of perception, thought, and belief to provide a sense of cosmic interrelatedness and completeness. An instance of this interconnectedness finds expression in the doctrine of signatures (Culpeper 1814:v–vi), which proposes that all God's plants have some physical attribute identifying them with their uses or the diseases they are meant to treat. Leighton (1970:87) provides some examples of this sympathetic association as it relates to disease:

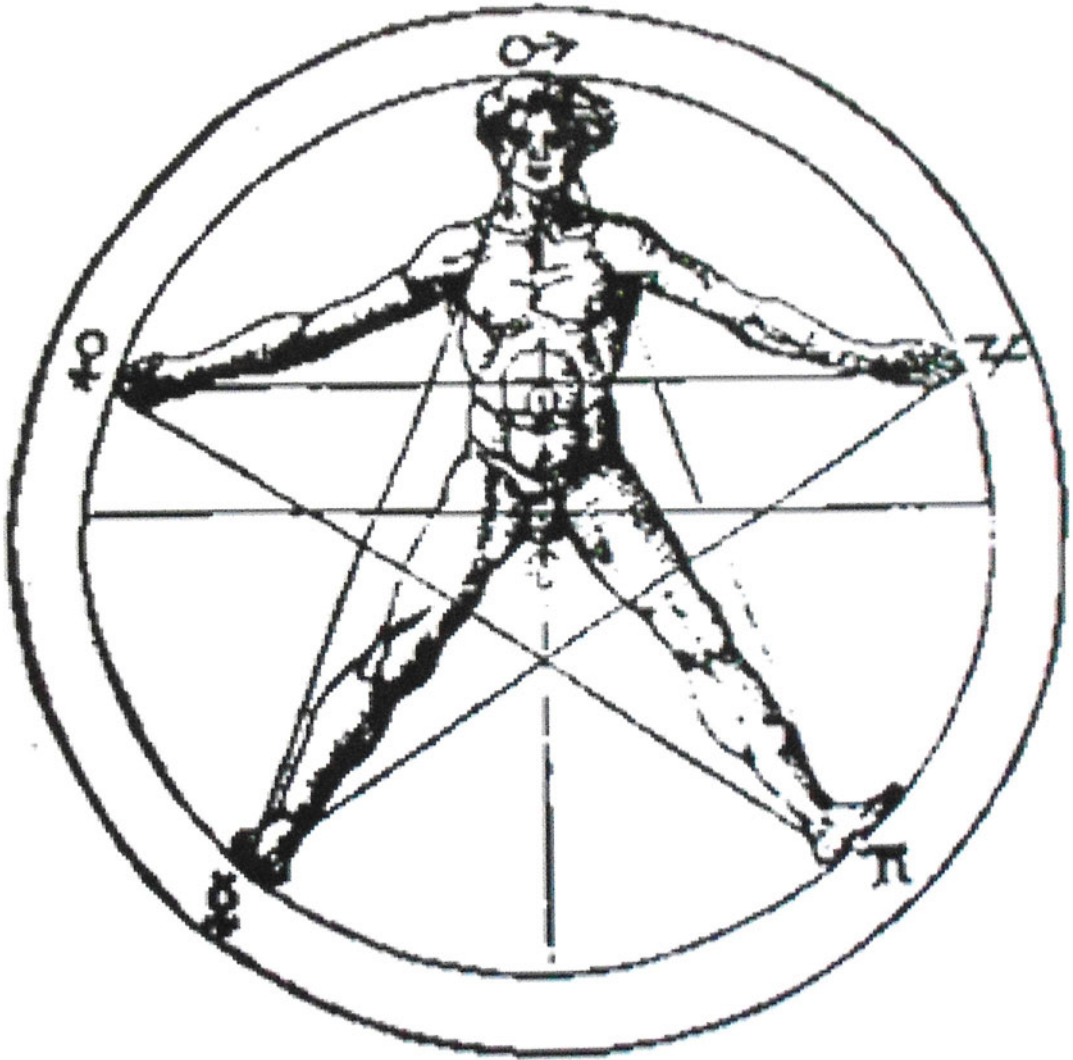


FIGURE 4. Pentangle of Solomon, from Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia Libre Tres* (The three books of occult philosophy), 1533.

God was thought to have left little clues in the leaves of the plant, or its flowers or roots or juice as to the disease or the organ for which it was intended, as see liverwort's leaf-shape and the spots on the leaves of lungwort, poppies for hemorrhages and agrimony for jaundice, the root of mandrake for sterility, birthwort for diseases of the uterus, and so on.

This same doctrine of signatures found application in identifying magically powerful plants. One in particular was directly related to the number five and the pentangle. The rowan tree or mountain ash (*Sorbus aucuparia*) was believed to be a powerfully protective agent against witchcraft and was frequently planted at the four corners of domestic structures or in

the yard, an indicator useful for archaeologists locating a site, as well as evidence of magical practice and belief (Gazin-Schwartz 2001:273). The signature that marks this tree as inherently protective is the pentagram on the base of each fiery red berry it bears.

Numerous charms use the association of Christ, suffering, and the number five with healing magic. An example from Reginald Scot (1584:141) illustrates such a charm:

There must be commended to some poore begger the saing of five Pater nesters, and five Aves, the first to be said in the name of the partie possessed, or bewitched; for that Christ was led into the garden; secondlie, for that Christ did sweat both water and blood;

thirdlie, for that Christ was condemned; fourthlie, for that he was crucified guiltless; and fifthlie, for that he suffered to take awaie our sinnes.

Like the ternary elements found in witch bottles and incised symbols, tangible quinary magical forms can be seen in the archaeological record. In addition to the rowan berry pentagrams, other quinary forms may manifest as carved five-petalled rosettes on gravestones; as quintet grouping of objects or words; or as pentangle/pentagon designs in or on architectural or other feature components and artifacts. The latter are exemplified in a pentagonal pit containing five (or possibly more) headless chickens discovered in historic London Town, Maryland, by Al Luckenbach (2004), and a concealed bottle inscribed on one side with a pentagram, discovered in the soffit of the Raitt Homestead Farm Museum in Eliot, Maine (Manning 2012).

While apparently not as common (or at least not as frequently recognized by researchers) as ternary elements in magical usage, quinary symbolism still possessed compelling associations with divine power that found expression in magical practice (Augé 2013).

Septenary

The most common biblical number, seven, occurs over 500 times throughout the Bible, and according to Ryken et al. (1998:774): “Of the numbers that carry symbolic meaning in biblical usage, seven is the most important.” Perceived as the perfect number of God, it combines the divine Trinity with the earthly quatrain, and it represents the six days of creation and one day of holy rest (Farbridge 1970; Metzger and Coogan 1993; Ryken et al. 1998). As the framework for creation, it underlies all notions of cosmic structure and is, therefore, implicated in all other aspects of order. Most directly related to this divine order and creative construct is the seven-day week, one day of which is sacred. This seventh day, or Sabbath, signals a crucial differentiation from the other six (Ryken et al. 1998:775). Associating this connotation of exceptionality and divine power with a seventh occurrence could potentially manifest in magical practices.

The most common use of the sevens found in magical belief seems to be the power inherent in seventh sons of seventh sons or seventh

daughters of seventh daughters to effect cures, conjure spirits, or foretell the future (Leach 1950:999; Opie and Tatem 1989:346–347). It appears to signify an ultimate “completeness,” pregnant with creative or generative potential. From this perspective, frequency of the number seven in alchemical pursuits may be understood as representing the creative, transformative source of the philosopher’s stone that was believed to convert base metals into gold, cure all diseases, and indefinitely prolong human life (Pettigrew 1844). Ironically, although seven occurs more frequently in Holy Scripture than any other number and has an especially powerful spiritual association, there has been no reported observance of its use in archaeological contexts. This omission may be more indicative of the lack of researcher knowledge and attention concerning the importance and meaning of numbers than of an actual absence of septenary components in magical material culture. Heptad and quintet numerical symbols may be so hyper-obtrusive, so blatantly obvious, that archaeologists have simply not seen what is right in front of their eyes. Reanalyzing both the contexts and attributes of previously interpreted magically associated finds may reveal overlooked quinary and septenary aspects.

Discussion

That cosmological and, hence, religiously associated numbers permeate written, performative, and material magical practices lies beyond a doubt. The question archaeologists must consider is: can these numerical patterns be used as a guide for locating or recognizing magical material culture? In some instances of magical practice, an attendant verbal or performative element might have been the component in which the three, five, or seven manifested and, therefore, would not leave a visible marker. However, it seems plausible that given the ubiquitousness of these numeric elements in all forms of magical work, they would in some cases be materially expressed in various ways. Special attention should be given to

1. Items found in triad, quintet, or heptad groupings;
2. Marks or symbols comprising three, five, or seven repetitions or elements;

3. Depositions located at numerically corresponding architectural features or measurements (at the third-, fifth-, or seventh-floor board or rafter, or at three, five, or seven feet, yards, etc.); and
4. Three, five, or seven occurrences of either similar objects or objects with similar roles in magical practice.

Artifacts occurring in such patterns may at least suggest a magical purpose rather than random loss or intentional discard. When combined with additional evidence, like deposition associated with threshold spaces like doors, windows, walls, roofs, and other boundaries, for instance, the cumulative data more readily support a magical interpretation.

Other Cosmological Constructs

While this article has focused on numerology as an illustrative example, other cosmological constructs dealing with orientation and implicated with numerological representations would also likely be integrated into magical practice and be potentially useful for archaeologically identifying such practice. One of these constructs is the vertical hierarchy of the cosmos with the divine realm at the zenith, the human world occupying the middle zone, and the demonic spirit world situated in the lowest depths. This hierarchy found explicit expression not only in spatial order, but also in the triune interrelational order of God, human, and nature (which included the demonic spirit world). This order in turn established and reiterated analogous political, social, and familial hierarchies (Norton 1996; St. George 1998). Uprightness and its correlate, “highness,” corresponded to the godly, whereas “lowness” both symbolized and was literally the antithesis of the divine and rightness (Calvert 1992; St. George 1998). In Calvert’s (1992:32–33) examination of childrearing, she explains how verticality was of paramount concern:

American colonists regarded crawling as a demeaning, animalistic form of locomotion beneath the dignity of any human being. Moving about on all fours was fit only for beasts, savages, wild men, the insane, and the subjugated as a token of their subjection. ... Western culture inculcated a very powerful symbolic language of the hierarchy of things, from Hell below to Heaven above, from the crawling of beasts to the marching of kings.

This vertical association had a lateral correspondence as well: up (or high/correctness) correlated to the direction right and a forward orientation, while down (or low/incorrectness) correlated to left and a rearward orientation. It should be no surprise that the Latin term for left is *sinister*, which underscores the negative connotation attributed to left-ness and its other associations of down and behind. Additionally, the positive alignments were equated with men and the negative ones with women (Wile 1934; Needham 1973). Understanding the associated meanings of high/low and right/left, and their relationship to numerical correspondences of magico-religious worldviews may assist archaeologists in both recognizing artifacts as magical material culture and understanding them via the cultural logic of the people who used and believed in them.

Conclusion

As magical belief and practice were integral factors influencing daily decision-making regarding personal safety, identity, and interrelationships in many past societies, not just 17th-century Britain and Anglo-America, it is essential that archaeologists gain a better understanding of the forms and functions of such beliefs. Without recognition of these objects and behaviors, researchers lack critical data that help explain how and why past peoples negotiated and constructed particular spheres of authority and security. Beyond the recognition of magically associated material culture, and ultimately the rationale for pursuing their explication, lies the quest for understanding the multivalent nature of traditional belief systems and their roles in constituting, challenging, maintaining, or altering bounded personal and social conceptualizations.

As cited in Trigger (1989:13), the anti-positivist Frankfurt School scholars Jürgen Habermas and Herbert Marcuse “stress that social conditions influence both what data are regarded as important and how they are interpreted” by individuals. Related to Bourdieu’s idea of “habitus” and educational psychology’s “schema,” all these theories posit that people’s interpretation of any given circumstance and their subsequent decisions and actions stem from or are filtered through culturally and individually acquired

worldviews and beliefs. Historical archaeological research postulating that past peoples were first and foremost pragmatic in their daily behaviors and only secondarily (if at all) concerned with or influenced by their belief systems can only hope to create a superficial and partial picture of the past. Only with a priori knowledge of the underlying belief systems that precipitated the manifested material culture found in the archaeological record can archaeologists formulate meaningful interpretations that move magic beyond simple functionalism (Malinowski 1955) and toward a deeper understanding of the role of magic and traditional beliefs in negotiating everyday life.

References

- AUBREY, JOHN
 1670 *Miscellanies upon Various Subjects*. N.p., London, UK. Reprinted 2010 by Kessinger, Whitefish, MT.
 1687 *Remains of Gentilism and Judaism, 1686–87*. Lansdowne MS 231, British Museum, London, UK. Reprinted 2010 by Kessinger, Whitefish, MT.
- AUGÉ, C. RILEY
 2013 *Silent Sentinels: Archaeology, Magic, and the Gendered Control of Domestic Boundaries in New England, 1620–1725*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Montana, Missoula. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.
- BECKER, MARSHALL JOSEPH
 2005 An Update on Colonial Witch Bottles. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 75(2):12–23.
- BLAGRAVE, JOSEPH
 1671 *The Astrological Practice of Physick*. S. G. and B. G. for Obadiah Blagrove, London, UK. Reprinted 2010 by Kessinger, Whitefish, MT.
- BOUCHARD, BETTY J.
 1991 *Our Silent Neighbors: A Study of Gravestones in the Olde Salem Area*. T. B. S. Enterprises, Salem, MA.
- BOYER, PAUL, AND STEPHEN NISSENBAUM (EDITORS)
 1977 *The Salem Witchcraft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692*. Da Capo Press, New York, NY.
- BRAND, JOHN
 1888 *Observations on Popular Antiquities, Part 2*. Chatto and Windus, London, UK. Reprinted 2009 by Kessinger, Whitefish, MT.
- BURR, GEORGE LINCOLN (EDITOR)
 1914 *Narratives of the New England Witchcraft Cases*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, NY. Reprinted 2002 by Dover, Mineola, NY.
- BURTON, DAN, AND DAVID GRANDY
 2004 *Magic, Mystery, and Science: The Occult in Western Tradition*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- CALEF, ROBERT
 1914 Another Brand Plucked Out of the Burning, or, More Wonders of the Invisible World. In *Narratives of the New England Witchcraft Cases*, George Lincoln Burr, editor, pp. 308–323. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, NY. Reprinted 2002 by Dover, Mineola, NY.
- CALVERT, KARIN
 1992 *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900*. Northeastern University Press, Boston, MA.
- COHEN, CHARLES LLOYD
 1986 *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY.
- CULPEPER, NICHOLAS
 1814 *The English Physician*. Reprinted and expanded by E. Parker and H. Hodson, London, UK.
- DAVIES, OWEN
 2009 *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- DEMOS, JOHN
 1972 *Remarkable Providences: Readings on Early American History*, revised edition. Northeastern University Press, Boston, MA.
 2004a *Circles and Lines: The Shape of Life in Early America*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
 2004b *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- DUVAL, FRANCIS Y., AND IVAN B. RIGBY
 1978 *Early American Gravestone Art in Photographs*. Dover, New York, NY.
- EASTON, TIMOTHY
 1999a Ritual Marks on Historic Timber. *Weald and Downland Open Air Museum Magazine* 1:22–30.
 1999b Scribed and Painted Symbols. In *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, Vol. 1, Paul Oliver, editor, pp. 533–534. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
 2011 Candle Power. *Cornerstone* 32(4):56–60.
- FARBRIDGE, MAURICE H.
 1970 *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism*. Ktav, New York, NY.
- FENNELL, CHRISTOPHER
 2007 *Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diasporas and Ethnogenesis in the New World*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- FRAZER, JAMES GEORGE
 1996 *The Illustrated Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, revised and abridged from 1950 edition. Softback Preview, London, UK.

- GAGE, MARY ELAINE, AND JAMES E. GAGE
 2003 *Stories Carved in Stone: The Story of the Dummer Family, the Merrimac Valley Gravestone Carvers, and the Newbury Carved Stones, 1636–1735*. Powwow River, Amesbury, MA.
- GAZIN-SCHWARTZ, AMY
 2001 Archaeology and Folklore of Material Culture, Ritual, and Everyday Life. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 5(4):263–280.
- GLAZIER, STEPHEN D. (EDITOR)
 1997 *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook*. Praeger, Westport, CT.
- GOODWIN, CONRAD McCALL, KAREN B. METHENY, J. KRATZER, AND ANNE YENTSCH
 1995 Recovering the Lost Landscapes of the Stockton Gardens at Morven, Princeton, New Jersey. *Historical Archaeology* 29(1):35–61.
- HALL, DAVID D.
 1989 *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- HOGGARD, BRIAN
 2004 The Archaeology of Counter-Witchcraft and Popular Magic. In *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe*, Owen Davies and Willem de Blécourt, editors, pp. 167–186. Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK.
- KITTREDGE, GEORGE LYMAN
 1972 *Witchcraft in Old and New England*. Athenaeum, New York, NY.
- LEACH, MARIA (EDITOR)
 1950 *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, Volume Two: J–Z*. Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York, NY.
- LEIGHTON, ANN
 1970 *Early American Gardens: "For Meate or Medicine."* Houghton Mifflin, Boston, MA.
- LLOYD, VIRGINA, JOHN DEAN, AND JENNIFER WESTWOOD
 2001 Burn Marks as Evidence of Apotropaic Practices in Houses, Farm Buildings and Churches in Post-Medieval East Anglia. In *A Permeability of Boundaries? New Approaches to the Archaeology of Art, Religion and Folklore*, Robert J. Wallis and Kenneth Lymer, editors, pp. 57–70. John and Erica Hedges, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 936. John and Erica Hedges, Oxford, UK.
- LUCKENBACH, AL
 2004 Fowl Play at London Town? *Maryland Archaeology* 40(2):8.
- LUDWIG, ALLAN I.
 1966 *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650–1815*. Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, CT.
- MALINOWSKI, BRONSILAW
 1955 *Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays*. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, NY.
- MANNING, M. CHRIS
 2012 The Material Culture of Household Apotropaia in the Eastern United States. Paper presented at the 45th Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Baltimore, MD.
- MATHER, COTTON
 1692 *On Witchcraft: Being the Wonders of the Invisible World*. N.p., Boston, MA. Reprinted 1988 by Bell Co., New York, NY.
 1914 A Brand Plucked out of the Burning. In *Narratives of the New England Witchcraft Cases*, George Lincoln Burr, editor, pp. 253–287. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, NY. Reprinted 2002 by Dover, Mineola, NY.
- MERRIFIELD, RALPH
 1987 *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*. New Amsterdam, New York, NY.
- METZGER, BRUCE M., AND MICHAEL D. COOGAN (EDITORS)
 1993 *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY.
- NEEDHAM, RODNEY (EDITOR)
 1973 *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.
- NORTON, MARY BETH
 1996 *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, NY.
- OPIE, IONA, AND MOIRA TATEM (EDITORS)
 1989 *A Dictionary of Superstitions*. Barnes & Noble, New York, NY.
- PETTIGREW, THOMAS JOSEPH
 1844 *On Superstitions Connected with the History and Practice of Medicine and Surgery*. Edward Barrington and George D. Haswell, Philadelphia, PA. Reprinted 2010 by Kessinger, Whitefish, MT.
- RAPPAPORT, ROY A.
 1999 *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- RUMSEY, PETER LOCKWOOD
 1986 *Acts of God and the People, 1620–1730*. UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, MI
- RYKEN, LELAND, JAMES C. WILHOIT, AND TREMPER LONGMAN III (EDITORS)
 1998 *Dictionary of Bible Imagery*. International Press, Downers Grove, IL.
- ST. GEORGE, ROBERT BLAIR
 1998 *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

- SCHIMMEL, ANNEMARIE
1993 *The Mystery of Numbers*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY.
- SCOT, REGINALD
1584 *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*. William Brome, London, UK. Reprinted 1972 by Dover, New York, NY.
- SHUFFELTON, GEORGE
2008 The Wounds and the Sins: Introduction. In *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, George Shuffelton, editor, n.p. Medieval Institute, Kalamazoo, MI.
- STEIN, REBECCA L., AND PHILIP L. STEIN
2005 *The Anthropology of Religion, Magic, and Witchcraft*. Pearson, Boston, MA.
- TAMBIAH, STANLEY JEYARAJA
1990 *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- THOMAS, KEITH
1971 *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, UK.
- TRIGGER, BRUCE G.
1989 *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- WILE, IRA S.
1934 *Handedness: Right and Left*. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston, MA.
- WILLIS, ROY (EDITOR)
1993 *World Mythology*. Henry Holt & Co., New York, NY.
- C. RILEY AUGÉ
29735 POTOMAC ROAD
BONNER, MT 59823