Antonia Davidovic-Walther

Travelling archaeological knowledge. The museum "Keltenwelt am Glauberg"

Kerstin P. Hofmann (Hrsg.)

ANTIKE IDENTITÄTEN UND MODERNE IDENTIFIKATIONEN: RAUM, WISSEN UND REPRÄSENTATION

Mit Beiträgen einer Tagung des Berliner Exzellenzclusters Topoi, 18.–19. Juni 2015

Welche Spuren hinterlassen vergangene Kulturen, Gemeinschaften und soziale Gruppen? Wer sind die historischen Akteure, die uns durch Texte, Bilder und Dinge überliefert werden? Wie stehen wir heute zu diesen in Beziehung? Die Suche nach Identitäten spielte für die Altertumswissenschaften von Beginn an eine große Rolle, auch wenn der Begriff der Identität sich erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts langsam als mehr oder minder reflektierter Terminus durchsetzte. Obwohl immer wieder der Nutzen des Identitätskonzeptes in Frage gestellt wird, bleiben Identitäten und ihre Erforschung dennoch ein zentrales und hochaktuelles Thema. Die Beiträge in diesem Band wollen klären, ob und wie dieses Konzept in den Altertumswissenschaften für konkrete Untersuchungen zu ‚übersetzen‘ ist und welche Implikationen damit einhergehen. Dabei beleuchten sie auch, welche Rolle die Altertumswissenschaften und ihre Praktiken bei modernen Identitätskonstituierungen einnehmen. Neben Theorien, Konzepten und Zugängen werden in diesem Band die Wechselspiele zwischen Identität und Wissen, Raum sowie Repräsentation inter- und transdisziplinär untersucht. Archäologisch-historische Perspektiven auf Identität werden daher ergänzt durch Beiträge aus der Philosophie, Ethnologie und Humangeographie. So werden nicht nur verschiedene mit Identitätskonstituierungen und der Identitätsforschung einhergehende Herausforderungen angesprochen, sondern auch mit Identitäts(re)konstruktionen verbundene Praktiken und Produkte untersucht. Das Spektrum reicht dabei von Ritualen und Narrativen über materielle Kultur sowie bildliche und textliche Darstellungen bis hin zu Raumbezügen, Verbreitungskarten und der Zirkulation von Wissen.

Kerstin P. Hofmann (Hrsg.)
ANTIKE IDENTITÄTEN UND
MODERNE IDENTIFIKATIONEN:
RAUM, WISSEN UND
REPRÄSENTATION

KOLLOQUIEN ZUR VOR- UND FRÜHGESCHICHTE 27

Kerstin P. Hofmann (Hrsg.)

ANTIKE IDENTITÄTEN UND MODERNE IDENTIFIKATIONEN: RAUM, WISSEN UND REPRÄSENTATION

Mit Beiträgen einer Tagung des Berliner Exzellenzclusters Topoi, 18.–19. Juni 2015

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Vorwort der Herausgeberin

Das Thema Identität stand im Mittelpunkt einer internationalen Tagung zu „Ancient Identities and Modern Identification. Space, Knowledge and Representation" des Exzellenzclusters „Topoi. The Formation and Transformation of Space and Knowledge" am 18. und 19. Juni 2015 im Jacob-und-Wilhelm-Grimm-Zentrum der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in Berlin-Mitte. Expert*innen aus verschiedenen Disziplinen – u. a. der Archäologie, Geschichte, Philologie, Ethnologie und Geographie – sprachen anhand konkreter Beispiele über Identitätspraktiken der Antike und der Moderne mit Bezug auf die Altertumswissenschaften. Diskutiert wurde darüber, welche Spuren wir von vergangenen Kulturen und Gemeinschaften finden und wie wir heute zu historischen Akteuren in Beziehung stehen. Die Antworten auf solche Fragen, die meist Formulierungen wie „die Griechen", „die Germanen", „die Elite", „Jäger" oder „Sammlerinnen" enthalten, interessieren nicht nur die Altertumswissenschaften. Bis heute werden solche Zuschreibungen zur Legitimation von Machtansprüchen und zu Ein- und Ausgrenzungen in Politik und Gesellschaft, aber auch im Privatleben verwendet. Doch lässt sich der moderne Begriff der Identität überhaupt auf das Altertum übertragen? Und wie gehen wir mit aktuellen Identitätspolitiken um, die sich auf die Vergangenheit beziehen? Nach Erörterungen zu „Theorien – Konzepte – Zugänge" wurden die für das Exzellenzcluster zentralen Themen Wissen, Raum und Repräsentation in Bezug auf Identität thematisiert.

Aufbauend auf den Vorarbeiten der Forschungsgruppe „Historische Sinnbildung. Interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zur Struktur, Logik und Funktion des Geschichtsbewußtseins im interkulturellen Vergleich" am Zentrum für interdisziplinäre Forschung der Universität Bielefeld, zweier DFG-Sonderforschungsbereiche – dem Leipziger SFB 417 „Regionale Identifikationsprozesse. Das Beispiel Sachsen" (1999–2002) und dem Freiburger SFB 541 „Identitäten und Alteritäten. Die Funktion von Alterität für die Konstitution und Konstruktion von Identität" (1997–2003) – und einem Schwerpunktprogramm am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Rom zu „Italische Kulturen des 7.–3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Süditalien und Sizilien" der Gerda Henkel-Stiftung ist die Veranstaltung hervorgegangen aus der intensiven Auseinandersetzung mit dem Thema im Rahmen des Exzellenzclusters Topoi. In Topoi I (2007–2012) fand diese fe-

derführend organisiert durch die Cross Sectional Group V „Space & Collective Identities" der *research area E* „The Processing of Space" am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Berlin unter Leitung von Hans-Joachim Gehrke statt, koordiniert von mir. In Topoi II (2012–2019) wurde diese dann weitergeführt von der *key topic group* „identities: space and knowledge related identification", die bis September 2016 als Nachwuchsgruppe an der Freien Universität Berlin von mir und danach von Stefan Schreiber geleitet wurde. Diese war in Topoi II der Area B „Constructing Historical Space" und der von Jörg Klinger und mir bzw. Stefan Schreiber geleiteten Forschungsgruppe B-4 „space – identity – locality. The construction of knowledge related identity spaces" zugeordnet (http://www.topoi.org/research-programm/). Die Arbeiten wurden überaus konstruktiv begleitet von einem *think tank;* dessen Mitglieder waren in Topoi I: Sebastian Brather (Frühgeschichtliche Arch., Freiburg), Ute Daniel (Neuere Geschichte, Braunschweig), Peter Haslinger (Osteuropäische Geschichte, Gießen/Marburg), Susanne Hummel (Historische Anthropologie, Göttingen), Matthias Jung (Soziologie, Frankfurt), Waltraud Kokot (Ethnologie, Hamburg), Stefan Pfänder (Philologie, Freiburg), Ulrike Sommer (Prähistorische Archäologie, London), Jürgen Straub (Sozialpsychologie, Bochum), Peter Weichhart (Humangeographie, Wien); und in Topoi II: Doris Bachmann-Medick (Kulturwissenschaften, Gießen), Sebastian Brather (Frühgeschichtliche Arch., Freiburg), Hans-Joachim Gehrke (Alte Geschichte, Freiburg), Ivo Hajnal (Historische Sprachwissenschaften, Innsbruck), Peter Haslinger (Osteuropäische Geschichte, Gießen/Marburg), Matthias Jung (Soziologie, Frankfurt), André Lardinois (Classics, Nijmegen), Shalini Randeria (Ethnologie, Soziologie, Genf), Ulrike Sommer (Prähistorische Archäologie, London), Roland Steinacher (Geschichte, Wien), Jürgen Straub (Sozialpsychologie, Bochum), Isabel Toral-Niehoff (Islamwissenschaften, Mainz), Miguel John Versluys (Archäologie, Leiden), Peter Weichhart (Humangeographie, Wien). Der Tagung gingen zahlreiche Veranstaltungen – Forschungsseminare mit Fellows und überwiegend auch publiziert vorliegende Workshops und Tagungen – voraus. Sie wurden durch die Mitarbeit vieler (Nachwuchs-)Wissenschaftler*innen unterstützt, genannt seien hier exemplarisch Anca Dan, Helen Dawson, Stefanie Samida, Catalin Popa und Felix Wiedemann.

Die Tagung wurde begleitet von einer Lehrveranstaltung an der Freien Universität Berlin im Modul „Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven der Prähistorischen Archäologie". Anhand der von den Studierenden selbst gewählten Themen sowie der Vorträge der Tagung und eines Abendvortrages von Johannes Nollé über „Die Thraker – Spurensuche nach einem verschollenen Volk" wurde nicht nur über die Chancen und Herausforderungen des Identitätskonzeptes und über neue Ansätze der Identitätsforschung intensiv diskutiert, sondern auch ganz praktisch Einblick in die Organisation einer Tagung gewährt. Gerade die Möglichkeit, von verschiedenen Personen das Thema aus unterschiedlichen Fachperspektiven beleuchtet zu hören, kam dabei besonders gut an. Es zeigt sich, dass Lehre durch Verbundforschung bereichert werden kann und Theorie und Empirie auch mit der Vermittlung von Praktiken der Wissenschaft sehr gut kombinierbar ist. Last but not least ist der 2009 in Berlin etablierte Theorie-Lesezirkel zu erwähnen, in dem viele zentrale Referenztexte, die sich auch in diesem Band zitiert finden, gemeinsam diskutiert wurden. Er findet inzwischen im Rahmen des Berliner Antike-Kollegs und des Verbunds Archäologie Rhein-Main (https://varm.hypotheses.org/category/ag/theorie) seine Fortführung und hat erfreulicherweise auch weitere Gründungen von Lesezirkel- und Diskussionskreisen angeregt (www.agtida.de/aktivitaeten-und-output/lesezirkel-und-diskussionskreise/).

Wenn gut sieben Jahre vergehen, bis nach einer erfolgreichen Tagung die zugehörige Publikation erscheint, dann gibt es dafür sicherlich viele gute oder weniger gute Gründe, umso mehr ist allen daran Beteiligten dafür zu danken, dass sie dem Projekt – auch trotz Publikationsortswechseln – treu geblieben sind. Dass ihre vielschichtige Betrachtung des Tagungsthemas ihre Aktualität wie Relevanz behielt, ist nicht zuletzt den – politischen, gesellschaftlichen wie wissenschaftlichen – Entwicklungen geschuldet; dies deutete sich zwar schon damals an, war letztlich aber in diesem Umfange sicherlich nicht einzuschätzen. Der Schwerpunkt des Bandes liegt auf einer archäologisch-historischen Perspektive auf Identität, ergänzt durch wichtige Beiträge aus der Philosophie, Ethnologie und Humangeographie. Im Rahmen der Tagung wurde diese von Jörg Klinger, Jan Stenger und Tudor Andrei Sala noch um eine philologische und religionswissenschaftliche Sichtweise ergänzt,

die z. T. in der Einleitung kurz aufgegriffen werden. Neben der Publikation einer großen Zahl der Tagungsbeiträge konnte ich erfreulicherweise Susanne Grunwald und Antonia Davidovic-Walther als zusätzliche Autorinnen für den Sammelband gewinnen. Mein Dank gilt allen zuvor genannten Mitstreiter*innen und den zahlreichen Diskussionsteilnehmer*innen, insbesondere den Chairs der Themenblöcke: Erich Kistler, Werner Kogge und Philipp von Rummel.

Tagung: Kurzbeschreibung und Programm von 2015

von *Kerstin P. Hofmann*

Die Suche nach Identitäten spielte in den Altertumswissenschaften seit deren Anfängen immer eine große Rolle; auch wenn der Begriff der Identität sich erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts als mehr oder minder reflektierter Terminus langsam durchgesetzt hat. Wurde andernorts – allerdings ohne großen Erfolg – schon das Ende der Debatten über Identität verkündet, scheint Identität hier erst noch zu einem zentralen Schlüsselbegriff zu werden und dies obwohl über die Frage, ob Identität eine *conditio humana* ist, in den Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften äußerst kontrovers diskutiert wird. Statt das in der Moderne entwickelte Konzept einfach auf die Vergangenheit zu übertragen, soll im Rahmen der Clustertagung diskutiert werden, wie und ob es in den Altertumswissenschaften für konkrete Untersuchungen zu ‚übersetzen‘ ist und welche Implikationen damit einhergehen. Ferner werden die Altertumswissenschaften und ihre Praktiken in Bezug auf ihre Rolle bei modernen Identitätskonstituierungen thematisiert. In vier Themenblöcken – 1) Identität: Theorien – Konzepte – Zugänge, 2) Identität und Raum, 3) Identität und Wissen, 4) Identität und Repräsentation – sollen dabei u. a. folgende Fragen erörtert werden:

– Welche Theorien und Konzepte der Identitätsforschung gab und gibt es bzw. können für die Altertumswissenschaften und ihre spezifischen Quellen (Texte, Bilder, Dinge) entwickelt werden?
– Wie rekurriert(e) man bei Identitätskonstruktionen auf Raum?
– Wie wirken sich verschiedene Arten des Transfers und der Verortung von Wissen auf die Konstituierung von Identitäten aus?
– In welchem konkreten Zusammenhang stehen Repräsentation und Identität?
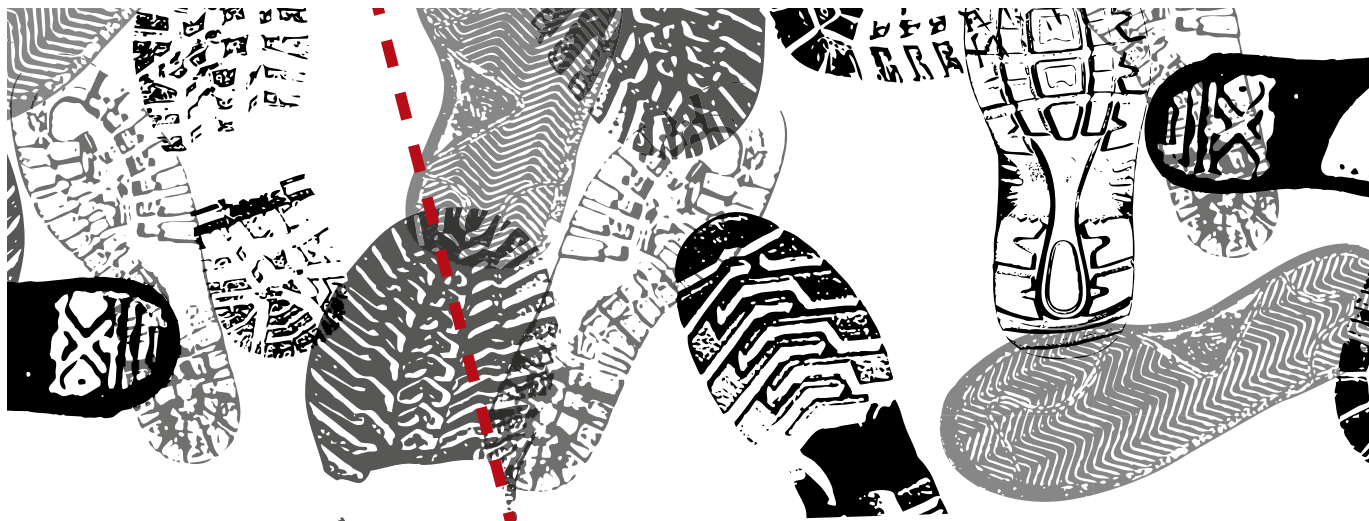
**ANCIENT IDENTITIES AND MC
SPACE, KNOWLEDGE AND REI
ANTIKE IDENTITÄTEN
RAUM, WISSEN UND**

DONNERSTAG, 18. JUNI 2015

9:00 BEGRÜSSUNG

MICHAEL MEYER UND KERSTIN P. HOFMANN

**9:15–12:15 IDENTITÄTEN:
THEORIEN – KONZEPTE – ZUGÄNGE**

WOLFGANG LUUTZ: DAS PROBLEM KOLLEKTIVER
IDENTITÄT – KONZEPTIONELLE ANNÄHERUNGEN

MICHAEL SOMMER: WORT UND EGO. ZUR
WECHSELBEZIEHUNG VON IDENTITÄT UND TEXTEN

BARBARA BORG: IDENTITÄT DURCH BILDER? EINIGE
KRITISCHE ÜBERLEGUNGEN

HANS PETER HAHN: IDENTITÄT UND DINGE –
EIN BLICK AUF EINE BRÜCHIGE BEZIEHUNG

DISKUSSION MIT CHAIR ERICH KISTLER

14:00–16:30 IDENTITÄT UND WISSEN

JÖRG KLINGER: DAS PROBLEM DER BEZEICHNUNG
KOLLEKTIVER IDENTITÄTEN IM HETHITERZEIT-
LICHEN KLEINASIEN

TUDOR SALA: THE TASTE OF HERESY: CONCOCTING
KNOWLEDGE AND IDENTITY IN LATE ANTIQUE
HERESIOLOGY

FELIX WIEDEMANN: IDENTITÄTEN AUF PAPIER ODER
PAPIERENE IDENTITÄTEN. WIE AUS HISTORISCHEN
AKTEURINNEN HISTORIOGRAPHISCHE HAND-
LUNGSTRÄGER WERDEN

ANTONIA DAVIDOVIC: ZIRKULATIONEN ARCHÄOLO-
GISCHEN WISSENS: DAS MUSEUM AM GLAUBERG

DISKUSSION MIT CHAIR WERNER KOGGE

CLUSTER-TAGUNG IM AUDITORIUM DES JACOB-UND-WILHELM-GRII

EXZELLENZCLUSTER TOPOI, KEY TOPIC IDENTITIES

**KONTAKT: KERSTIN.HOFMANN@TOPOI.ORG
WWW.TOPOI.ORG/EVENT/27795**

EXCELLENCE
CLUSTER

1   Poster mit Programm der Tagung 2015. Grafik: Birgit Nennstiel, Topoi/Berliner Antike-Kolleg.
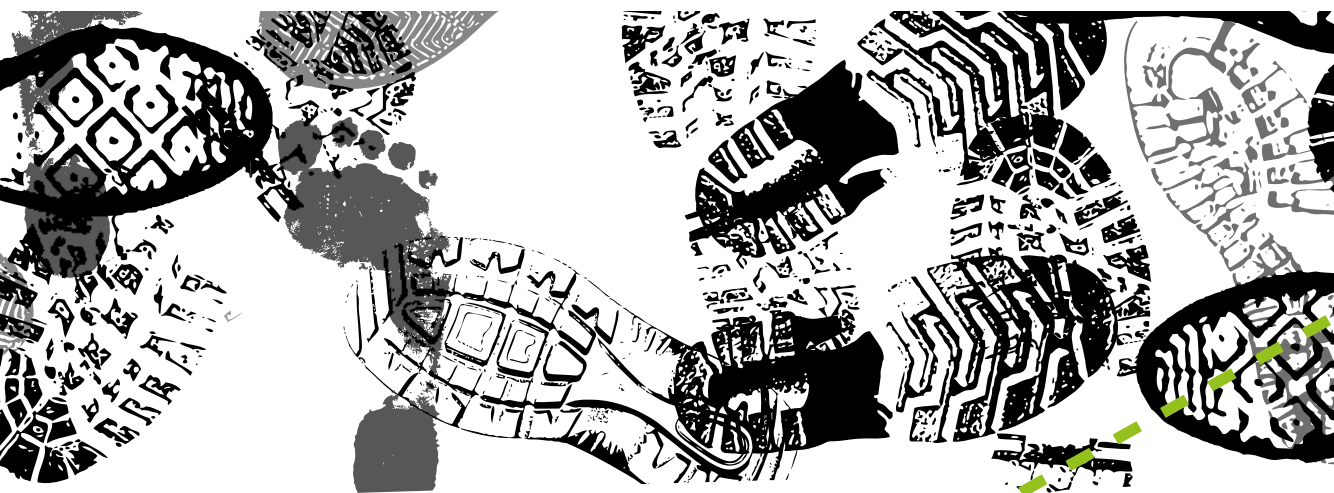
ODERN IDENTIFICATION PRESENTATION
UND MODERNE IDENTIFIKATIONEN REPRÄSENTATION

FREITAG, 19. JUNI 2015

9:15–12:15 IDENTITÄT UND RAUM

PETER WEICHHART: RAUMBEZOGENE IDENTITÄTEN

ROLAND STEINACHER: PROVINZ, HERRSCHAFT UND ETHNISCHE IDENTITÄTEN ZWISCHEN SPÄTANTIKE UND FRÜHMITTELALTER

JAN STENGER: LANDSCHAFTEN ALS SPIEGEL DES ICHS: PROJEKTIONEN KULTURELLER IDENTITÄTEN IN DER SPÄTANTIKE

PETER HASLINGER: KARTOGRAPHIE UND IDENTITÄT – KOMPONENTEN EINES MODELLS

DISKUSSION MIT CHAIR KERSTIN P. HOFMANN

14:00–17:00

IDENTITÄT UND REPRÄSENTATION

ULRIKE SOMMER: LITHISCHE ROHMATERIALIEN ALS AUSDRUCK VON GRUPPENIDENTITÄTEN?

REINHARD BERNBECK: PARTIBILITIES IN THE IRON AGE POLITY OF URARTU

SEBASTIAN BRATHER: IDENTITÄT UND REPRÄSEN-TATION. PERSPEKTIVEN DER FRÜHMITTELALTER-ARCHÄOLOGIE

CORNELIA KLEINITZ: REPRESENTING THE HERITAGES OF MOGRAT ISLAND: A REFLECTION ON IDENTIFI-CATION PROCESSES AMONG ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN SUDAN

DISKUSSION MIT CHAIR PHILIPP VON RUMMEL

17:00 ABSCHLUSSDISKUSSION
KERSTIN P. HOFMANN

MM-ZENTRUMS, GESCHWISTER-SCHOLL-STRASSE 1-3, 10117 BERLIN

TOPOI

Freie Universität Berlin

Travelling archaeological knowledge.
The museum "Keltenwelt am Glauberg"

by *Antonia Davidovic-Walther*

Keywords

Archaeological knowledge production, archaeological museum studies, heritage studies, construction of Celtic groups, reception studies of archaeological knowledge, identification, Glauberg/Hesse

Schlagwörter

Archäologische Wissensproduktion, archäologische Museumsstudien, Kulturerbe Studien, Konstruktion keltischer Gruppen, Rezeptionsstudien archäologischen Wissens, Identifikation, Glauberg/Hessen

Introduction

The main focus of the paper is the exploration of the circulation of archaeological knowledge. Circulation is meant to include production, presentation, reception, and application of knowledge. Contrary to previous research, which often treated these spheres as separate episodes in a linear transmission of knowledge from science to society, they are now conceptualised as multi-directional circulations. Knowledge travels between actors and places, being transformed in this process through local appropriation and reshaping. Therefore, the boundaries between production, presentation, reception, and application are increasingly liquefied. Archaeological knowledge is exemplary for such processes, as many non-academics are involved, and as archaeology has a positive image in society[1], with its results being widely appropriated in many formats and gaining relevance in various social spheres during the process.

The research material presented here is the result of an ongoing project contributing to an anthropology of knowledge circulation, using, beside others, a case study on the museum "Keltenwelt am Glauberg" in Hesse[2]. Research methods are based on three main approaches: (1) the analysis of media resources (exhibition texts, publications, internet sites, film documentations, novels, flyers, etc.); (2) participant observation at the site, in the museum, and in the surrounding villages; and (3) interviews with museum members, visitors, and village residents. The results are based on material collected until 2016 and interviews conducted in 2015 with three individuals linked to the museum (one staff member and the architects) and nine residents of the modern village Glauburg (seven of them spent most of their life in Glauburg and two grew up there). Six interviewees were older than 60 years, and only three were between 30 and 45 years. All were very positive regarding the project, especially the village residents who seemed to appreciate the opportunity to talk about their perception of the museum; some of them even expressed that they had been waiting for a long time to be asked for their opinion.

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1   See Holtorf 2007.
2   Based on research conducted earlier on archaeological knowledge production (Davidovic 2009), this follow-up project on presentation and reception was using two case studies of presentation formats – the other example were the excavations of former forced labour camps at Tempelhof airport in Berlin. The project follows general research questions such as how the past is materialised, narrated, and applied and how these materialisations and narrations are circulating and are transformed within these processes. A central focus explores power relations in knowledge circulation and how historic power relations are narrated.

The perspective of circulation serves as a starting point for the analysis of associations between knowledge and identification: does archaeological knowledge play a role in the construction of identities, and if yes, in what way? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to analyse which parts of knowledge are circulating in the first place. As a basis for this examination, the exhibition concept will be explored as well. Therefore, in the following, after some general remarks about 'Celts' and the current theoretical debates in Science and Technology Studies (STS), Museum Studies, and Heritage Studies, the Glauberg museum will be described, and the narrative motives explored. This will then be followed by an analysis of which knowledge is travelling into which non-academic domains, and finally a look will be taken at the role this knowledge plays in the formation of local and regional identifications.

The 'Celtic' past

Knowledge about the 'Celtic' past seems to be able to travel very far into other domains of society, which is evident in several aspects. First, exhibitions on the 'Celts' experienced a boom. Many special exhibitions were realised in the last decades, attracting high numbers of visitors[3]. Furthermore, countless TV documentaries have been produced[4]. So the 'Celts' seem to be a very attractive frame to present archaeological knowledge. Second, the ethnic connotation as 'Celtic' is a central element within most presentations. Many publications imply the existence of a 'Celtic people', by using the term 'Celtic tribes'[5]. With this, they are presenting a picture of a homogenous culture based on the argument that similarities in material culture are the expression of a shared identity. Consequently, these media show the image of constant conflicts between these 'cultures' for territorial power and cultural hegemony, permanently trying to replace each other. This image is rather speculative, considering the limited data base of the spatial and temporal distribution of objects alone. This construction of the ancient 'Celts' is turned into a narrative of continuity by transforming them into 'ancestors'[6]. Sometimes, this is combined with the aim to present 'Celts' as the first Europeans – as a predecessor of the European Union because of their wide spanning network across Europe[7].

Current anthropological discourses regard the ethnic interpretation as very problematic[8], arguing that without oral or written sources, any interpretation of internal group identifications in the past remains speculative. The inhabitants of Central Europe in pre-Roman times have not left any written sources about their self-identification[9]. The term 'Celt' is used in ancient textual remains only from an external perspective, by Greek and later Roman sources (first mentioned around 500 BC for example by Herodotus[10], and later, beside others, by Caesar[11]). These earliest sources are very vague and even contradict each other, for example, regarding the location of the areas inhabited by 'Celts'. It remains unclear whether the Greek authors have been there themselves or just recount other sources. As a consequence, it remains questionable whether the inhabitants of Central Europe have seen themselves as 'Celts' or used other names, or developed other group boundaries[12]. The external perspective of Greek and Roman authors may display a process of othering[13], by trying to construct the other as totally different in order to define the inner group. As the German archaeologist Erich Kistler has shown, Celts were presented in various ways, mostly negative, but sometimes they were also depicted in a positive way. But in both cases, these images were used as the dichotomic other, giving "Denkfiguren aus dem mentalen Haushalt der Griechen

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3   For example, in the museum *Völklinger Hütte* in Völklingen in 2010/11 ("Die Kelten. Fürsten. Krieger. Druiden"), the *Landesmuseum* in Stuttgart in 2012/13 ("Die Welt der Kelten. Zentren der Macht – Kostbarkeiten der Kunst") as well as various smaller museums like Herne 2014 and Bonn 2015. The same applies at international level: for example the exhibition in the British Museum in 2014/15 with the title: "Celts. Art and Identity".

4   To mention only one example: a three-hour-long documentary about "The Celts/Die Kelten" by BBC and ZDF.

5   For example, Grewenig 2010, 19.

6   For an analysis of this ethnic interpretation see, for example, Dietler 1994; Dietler 2006; Fernandez-Götz 2009; Collis 2003; Collis 2007.

7   For example, Koch 2002, 4.

8   For example Raetzel-Fabian 2001, 119; see also Brather 2004; Jones 1997.

9   Merriman 1987, 113.

10   Herodotus 2,33; 3–4,48–50, quoted in Dobesch 1989, 37.

11   De bello gallico VI 11–20, quoted in Demandt 2007, 13.

12   Merriman 1987, 113.

13   See for example Spivak 1985, 252; Said 1978.

eine literarische oder materielle Gestalt"[14]. The academic debate is even more complex as the term 'Celt' is used differently in various academic communities. The linguistic discussion refers to pre-Roman language groups, while the archaeological term is defined by a specific assemblage of finds, and in modern socio-political understanding certain contemporary non-English-speaking countries, regions, and languages are perceived as 'Celtic'.

But when it comes to the presentation to wider audiences, these ambivalences in archaeological debates are rarely or only selectively reflected in the exhibition narratives. Instead of choosing the archaeologically defined designations 'Hallstatt period' and 'Latène-period' of the pre-Roman Iron Age during the 1st millennium BC, the ethnonym 'Celts' is often used in presentations of this time period. Some presentations even imply the existence of a 'Celtic folk' by speaking of 'the Celts'[15]. The

reason for this ethnic connotation might lie in the presupposition that such narratives may help to 'sell the product' and assure financial support of archaeological research. But as some archaeologists point out, the ambivalences and difficulties should be transported into wider audiences as well[16].

Furthermore, the 'Celts' have travelled into contemporary culture (literature, music, fashion), religion (the so-called Neo-druidism, a neo-pagan form of spirituality)[17], and even politics (various national movements in the so-called 'Celtic Nations'[18]). All these aspects show that the 'Celtic past' is often charged with an ethnicising meaning, produced from outside by various actors. The case of the 'Celts' can serve as basis of an analysis of the practices of ethnic interpretations, and how they are narrated and appropriated, and why archaeological narrations regularly resort to ethnicising arguments.

Theoretical approaches to archaeological knowledge circulation

Science and Technology Studies

For the topic of this paper, most relevant debates take place in Science and Technology Studies (STS), Museum Studies, and Heritage Studies. The field of STS focuses on the practices and the actors of knowledge production, emphasising the agency of human and non-human actors[19] like instruments, laboratories, finds, computers etc. Most research so far concentrated on production of knowledge, while presentation and reception are rather explored within the context of policy counselling, analysing the transfers of academic knowledge into political decision making processes, and thereby focusing on mediation processes and legitimation in society and on the civic involvement in decision making[20].

The various entanglements of academic and non-academic spheres and of production, presentation, and adaption are described by the concept of circulation as multi-directional travels between various actors and places. In their analysis of knowledge of nature, the ge-

ographers Mara Goldman and Matthew Turner point out that many questions in this field transcend the conventionally understood division of production, application, and reception of knowledge[21], and this is also the case with archaeological knowledge. Presentation and reception are always influencing production processes, and non-academics, financiers, politicians or local volunteer experts are participating as well. Therefore, the implication of a strict boundary between production, presentation, and reception seems to be no longer plausible. The concept of circulation includes all spheres and seems to be able to address the entanglements and interactions[22], but it should rather not imply a circular movement or structure or a possible end. The concept aims to enable an analysis of how knowledge is travelling between different actors, domains, genres, and fields in various ways and how it is transformed in this process. However, this does not mean that differences between production, presentation, and reception lost their influence. Instead, these differences should be addressed

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14 Kistler 2009, 14.
15 For example, Frey 2002, 47.
16 As, for example, Burmeister and Sommer argued in an interview, quoted in Davidovic 2009, 185.
17 See, for example, Merriman 1987; Karl et al. 2012; Wiedemann 2012.

18 Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Cornwall, Isle of Man, and Brittany.
19 See, for example, Latour 1987; Law 1992; Beck 1997.
20 See, for example, Maasen / Weingart 2005.
21 Goldman / Turner 2011, 3.
22 Goldman / Turner 2011, 4.

from an analytical perspective on the construction of such boundaries. It should also be taken into account that this is not always a smooth process – sometimes travel is limited or even interrupted, faces resistance, or stimulates a divergent development.

Another topic in science studies relevant for this analysis is the focus on epistemological questions and narrative practices[23]. One particularly interesting concept is the idea of 'styles of reasoning', developed by the US-American philosopher Arnold Davidson. Certain stylistic figures are manifestations of specific styles of reasoning[24] by bringing knowledge into format in order to signal validity and plausibility of the narration. This requires operations of selection of certain stylistic elements (images, illustrations, graphics, objects, etc.), while others are omitted. Based on concepts by Ian Hacking and Michel Foucault, Davidson argues that such 'styles of reasoning' help to establish a specific truth regime. The identification of these stylistic elements allows examining how 'truth' is constructed, and why certain arguments count as plausible[25]. Specific formats, he argues, are always historically specific[26], as they must be coherent with political, social, and cultural contexts of the audience. As a consequence, the accurateness of academic results is not always the most successful argument, as Arturo Escobar and others also pointed out[27]. Davidson developed his model with regard to the history of academic knowledge production in various disciplines[28], but it can be transferred to the situation in museums, as comparable selection and formatting processes occur in display designs as well.

Museum Studies

The multidisciplinary field of Museum Studies with its focus on production, presentation, and reception of knowledge[29] in ethnographic, historical, science or art museums[30] developed in the wake of the museum boom[31] of recent decades. Today, the debates that have emerged in museology are characterised by a multi-disciplinary approach and critical reflection[32]. The British anthropologist Sharon MacDonald describes the perspective to understand the museum and the meaning of its contents not as fixed and bounded but as situated, contextual, and contingent[33]. Therefore, presentations are always embedded in specific social, cultural, and political contexts. Museums today are places for the creation of meaning and the visualisation of knowledge orders. MacDonald points out that "production, distribution, and consumption of knowledge are always political" in the sense that "power is involved in the construction of truths, and knowledge has implication for power"[34]. Consequently, as the German ethnologist Larissa Förster argues, museums "translate knowledge orders into space and vice versa", by concretising, materialising, stabilising, and transmitting them in and through artefacts[35]. By placing objects in space they "make arguments comprehensible visually and sensually", as they make "certain ways of seeing and knowing the world not just plausible but also authoritative and so they reinforce existing or envisaged power relations"[36]. According to MacDonald, politics lies not only in policy statements but as well in the "architecture of buildings, the classification and juxtaposition of artefacts in an exhibition, the use of glass cases or interactives, and the presence or lack of a voice-over on a film"[37]. Therefore, Förster recommends that museums should rather be understood as "epistemic machines that construct their own systems of knowledge"[38]. Consequently, MacDonald suggested a research perspective that looks at how meanings come to be inscribed and by whom, and how some come to be regarded as "right" or taken as given[39]. Furthermore, museums function as sites of production of knowledge as well, as the German cultural anthropologist Gisela Welz argues: "Die Ausstellungsmacher greifen in einen Gegenstand ein und erfinden ihn bisweilen ganz neu"[40].

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23 See, for example, Saupe / Wiedemann 2015; Wiedemann 2017.

24 Davidson 1999, 125.

25 A similar concept can be found in the 'Denkstil' by Ludwik Fleck (Fleck 1980, 54–55).

26 Davidson 1999, 127.

27 Their conclusions are drawn from the analysis of knowledge of nature, but their approach can be applied to museum displays, too (Escobar 1999; Haraway 1989; Fujimura 1998).

28 See also for example Beck 1997 looking at the truth regimes in folklore studies.

29 For example, Hooper-Greenhill 1992; MacDonald 1998; MacDonald 2006; Korff 2002; Korom 2002.

30 For example, Gable 2010.

31 Baur 2010, 7. According to the British anthropologist Sharon MacDonald, several aspects might be responsible for this museum boom: anxieties about "social amnesia" and forgetting the past; quests for authenticity, "the real thing", and "antidotes" to the throwaway consumer society; attempts to deal with the fragmentation of identity and individualisation; and desires for life-long and experiential learning (MacDonald 2006, 5).

32 For example, Karp 1991; MacDonald / Fyfe 1996.

33 MacDonald 2006, 2–3.

34 MacDonald 1998, 3.

35 Förster 2014, 8.

36 Förster 2014, 12.

37 MacDonald 1998, 3.

38 Förster 2014, 12.

39 MacDonald 2006, 3.

40 "The exhibition makers intervene in the object and occasionally reinvent it entirely" (Welz 2002, 263); see also Förster 2014, 7.

As a consequence, one of the central aims of museum studies is to examine in which ways "museum displays contribute to the knowledge construction process"[41].

Another topic in museum studies relevant for the scope of this paper are perspectives on audience reception and their various perceptions of museums and their exhibitions[42]. Most audience research has focussed on questions of visitor structure, often based on quantitative methods that examined visitor demographics and frequency of visits[43], thereby concentrating on marketing and economic issues. Subsequently, the interpretative agency of visitors became an issue[44]. The US-American cultural anthropologist Constance Perin pointed out already in the 1990s that visitors process their reception (on-site and later) through transforming the objects and knowledges into new forms, therefore they must be seen as proactive and autonomous in their perception. Consequently, she defines the visitors as "interpretive communities"[45]. Visitors are not mere consumers but rather producers of knowledge[46] and active interpreters and performers of meaning-making practices[47]. Therefore, current research focuses on understanding how visitors frame their experience culturally, going beyond whether or to what extend they 'got the message', and aim to explore how they decode and recode their experiences[48]. Therefore, it is emphasised that the role of museums "is not to impose their views, but to participate in debates with the range of different audiences they seek to attract"[49]. The museum should be understood as a place of dialogue that aims to understand the public not as a relatively homogeneous and rather passive mass but as diverse, plural, and active[50]. As, for example, the British archaeologist Stephanie Moser showed, visitors come to exhibitions with an array of previously acquired knowledge, interests, skills, assumptions, and beliefs about a subject, and "these can strongly affect their learning/viewing experience"[51]. This diversity must be taken into account[52].

Until recently, the presentation of archaeological content was rarely the subject of scientific research[53], which is surprising considering the success (in terms of audience numbers) many archaeological display formats experienced. The anthropologist Jonathan Roth, for example, researched archaeological presentations in German museums and the strategies behind the 2000-year commemoration of the so-called 'Varusschlacht' (battle of the Teutoburg Forest) in 2009[54]. The sociologist Matthias Jung conducted a reception study of a special museum display of 'Celts' in 2010[55], which, using qualitative research methods, explored visitor experiences and their appropriation of knowledge. His results show that visitors rarely go beyond a systematic overview of the whole exhibition. In the attempt to see all objects, they are inspecting them in a rather cursory way without any intensive engagement. Consequently, such visiting strategies do not lead to any substantial change of knowledge for most visitors[56].

The British curator Nick Merriman pointed to the contextual nature of archaeological museums as always reflecting historical context, often by presenting a "partial, commodified and mythical past" to serve the needs of different interest groups[57]. He criticised the "notion that there is an objective and monolithic past that awaits revelation by the informed expert"[58], and suggested to accept the existence of "many versions of the past, all constructed in relation to the present and hence changeable"[59]. In order to develop new display concepts, Merriman proposed to follow approaches developed in anthropology to integrate indigenous people into exhibition teams. As indigenous societies presented in the exhibitions began to question their depiction, ethnographic museums now aim to incorporate their perspective[60] in a cooperative way. However, since archaeology in many cases lacks such an external political imperative, a "self-critical re-examination has been slower to

41 Moser 2003, 4.
42 MacDonald 2006, 2.
43 Kirchberg 2010, 179.
44 See, for example, Lord / Piacente 2014, 40–53.
45 Perin 1992, 183.
46 See as well Bagnall 2007; Gable 2010; Kirchberg 2010.
47 For example Hooper-Greenhill 2006, 362; see also Gessner et al. 2012; Kretschmann 2003; Hooper-Greenhill 1992.
48 MacDonald 2002, 219, quoted in Hooper-Greenhill 2006, 373.
49 Moser 2003, 9.
50 MacDonald 2006, 8.
51 Moser 2003, 9.
52 Interpretative agency can even involve a resistance against the presented knowledge and can result in attempts to produce a counter narration, as the British geographer Kevin Hetherington shows in his case study of Stonehenge and the conflict about how modes of ordering are represented within the site, in which several audience groupings were involved (Hetherington 1996, 157).
53 Fagan 1977, but see, for example, Hetherington 1996; Chabot 1989; Jones / Pay 1990; Potter 1994; Holtorf 1994; Feder 1984.
54 Roth 2012.
55 The special exhibition "Keltenland am Fluss" in the *Schlossmuseum Aschaffenburg*.
56 Jung 2013, 318. Further research projects on archaeological presentations in Germany included, for example, an analysis of the presentation of Islamic art and culture by the sociologist Christine Gerbich (for example Gerbich / Kamel 2012) or the presentation of archaeology in school books by the archaeologist Miriam Sénécheau (Sénécheau 2006).
57 Merriman 2000, 300.
58 Merriman 2000, 302.
59 Merriman 2000, 302–303.
60 Moser 2003, 3.

take hold"[61]. Regarding the narrative composition, Merriman argues against abandoning narrative structures completely. Museums should continue to tell a story, but they should not restrict themselves to one narrative, but rather tell many different versions of the past. Archaeological museums could be "places where people learn to evaluate evidence"[62], for example by giving "indications of how different interpretations are arrived at"[63], therefore being a place for "exploration of the nature of evidence and interpretation of the past, leading to a critically informed judgement about the past"[64]. Similar to general trends in museum studies, he argues for a "museum of dialogue", in which the public is not seen as a passive recipient of information but is perceived as active participants and informants, and therefore collaborators in the interpretative process[65]. Here, the role of the curator is transformed into being an enabler, an arbitrator, a critic. But Merriman emphasises that not all interpretations are equally plausible. By presenting and discussing the different arguments for various interpretations, museums can show that some versions of the past are less likely than others[66].

In her exploration of how visual representations of the past are constructed in museums, Moser analyses the role of archaeological museums in academic knowledge production. She states that these images are not merely by-products of academic research but also feed back into scholarly discourse[67]. "The arrangement of ancient material culture for visual consumption has created interpretive frameworks that have served to structure ideas" not only in the museum display but also for academic communities[68]. Regarding the narrative structures of presentations, Moser points out that a museum "creates a 'picture' that facilitates the understanding of a particular theme, cultural group or historical episode"[69]. To analyse such interpretive frameworks, Moser developed a framework for the examination of the conventions and canonical elements in narratives of archaeological museums. With regard to media reports, she identifies several conventions for shaping knowledge about the past: "a focus on discovery of the unknown;

the typecasting of archaeology as adventure; and the celebration of the never-ending mystery of the past"[70]. Many of these elements can be found in archaeological museum displays as well. In a detailed analysis of exhibitions of human evolution, Moser recognises a canon with several core elements, which she describes as: specific sets of key events; specific iconographies and display formats; the imagination of human evolution as a "seemingly uncomplicated linear sequence"; and the lack of any connection with the "present and its politics"[71]. In order to avoid such canon-driven displays, she proposes five strategies for change: (1) "engaging with the present, by encouraging debate, stimulate critical thinking and promote social action"[72]; (2) challenging the iconography[73]; (3) abandoning the narrative: encouraging visitors to reflect on, for example, what the word 'progress' implies, or showing them that different ways of living are not necessarily less or more progressive[74]; (4) telling different stories: giving visitors the possibility to decide which scenarios they find more plausible[75]; and (5) "harnessing emotion": developing an emotional concept of the display. But here, Moser points out that "we should be clear about what kinds of emotions museums should cultivate in their exhibitions"[76]. Translating Moser's analysis into a general research concept, the examination may focus on which of these strategies for change are applied in a museum display: possible connections with the present, a challenging of standard iconographies, an abandoning of the straight, authoritative and singular narrative and the presentation of different stories, and finally which emotions are evoked and how they are employed.

Heritage Studies

Heritage Studies also can contribute to discussions of archaeological knowledge circulation. Initially focused on questions of conservation, Heritage Studies today concentrate on "interests in politics, and, more recently,

61 MERRIMAN 2000, 302.
62 MERRIMAN 2000, 303.
63 MERRIMAN 2000, 304.
64 MERRIMAN 2000, 305.
65 MERRIMAN 2000, 305.
66 MERRIMAN 2000, 307.
67 MOSER 2009, 1067.
68 MOSER 2003, 4. Other works in the field of archaeological museum studies include, for example, the analysis by British archaeologist Susan Walker of the new concept of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (WALKER 2014) or the special issue of Museum Worlds in 2016 on current approaches to Museum Archaeology, concentrating on curation practices in archaeological museums (FLEXNER 2016).

69 MOSER 2003, 4.
70 MOSER 2009, 1067.
71 MOSER 2003, 9.
72 MOSER 2003, 10.
73 In the case of presentations of human evolution, for example, by replacing familiar cave settings and hunting scenes with other, less stereotypical moments in the lives of prehistoric people (MOSER 2003, 12).
74 MOSER 2003, 14.
75 For example, by incorporating displays on the biography or life history of artefacts (MOSER 2003, 15).
76 MOSER 2003, 16.

the phenomenology of heritage"[77], seeing heritage as a "social, economic and political phenomenon of late modern societies", in which almost anything can become heritage[78]. It started with a narrower definition by concentration on the material form (monuments, buildings, objects etc.), with intangible heritage being included later as well[79]. Similar to museum studies, contextual perspectives are now emphasised, seeing heritage as being "primarily not about the past, but instead about our relationship with the present and the future". Therefore it is not a "passive process of simply preserving things from the past that remain, but an active process of assembling a series of objects, places and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future"[80]. As a consequence, the process of inscription is of central importance: the act of labelling something as heritage is already altering the object itself[81]. Such a status as heritage is produced through "metacultural operations"[82], for example through conservation, listing, or transforming it into an object of the tourist gaze[83]. MacDonald points out that heritage is an "especially efficacious element in the European memory complex, capable of reorganising land- and cityscapes and validating certain social groups (and not others)"[84]. Furthermore, heritage is usually set in a context of "appearing as something that is desirable, and that has commercial, political or social value"[85]. The Australian archaeologist Laurajane Smith points out that archaeology as a form of expertise and intellectual discipline occupies a privileged position in debates about the past.

This power, she argues, justifies seeing archaeological knowledge as a technology of government[86].

Heritage Studies contributed to the discussion of the role of spatial aspects of museums, as heritage is almost always connected with a place. Even objects are emplaced by origin or by display. Therefore, the past can be seen as being connected with the present through place. Like many others, Bernhard Tschofen showed how the heritage-label turns the past into something which "can be visited"[87]. Tschofen calls this the "Präsenzeffekt": the past's presence is made visible and can be touched[88]. This material 'rooting' generates a specific emotional affection of 'feeling' the past. MacDonald describes it as the "capacity of places to 'touch' those who come to them – and thus the affective resonance of history presented as heritage"[89]. The archaeologist Christopher Tilley pointed in a similar direction by referring to the effect of archaeological sites to "allow the stones to 'exert their muted agency in relation to us'"[90] in ways that he describes as "likely to echo those of prehistoric peoples"[91]. So it seems that archaeological sites are most successful in generating a 'feeling' of connection with ancient times. Emotional aspects in form of nostalgia play an important role in this regard: MacDonald describes this nostalgia as a "more or less general longing for the past, often, but not necessarily, including the longing for home"[92]. Since it is based on materialised traces from the past, archaeological knowledge has therefore always been a central element in the construction of heritage, and this is also true for museums and historic parks like Glauberg.

The museum "Keltenwelt am Glauberg"

Before analysing the circulating process and the identification potential of the Glauberg museum, the history of the museum, the architecture and the surrounding landscape as well as the concept and narratives of the exhibition are first described. As the analysis of the museum presentation and the photographic documentation are based on fieldwork conducted in 2015, presentations, designs, and narratives may have changed in the meantime.

77 MacDonald 2013, 17.
78 Harrison 2013, 3.
79 MacDonald 2013, 17.
80 Harrison 2013, 4.
81 See, for example, Tauschek 2013, 16.
82 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 162.
83 Urry 1990, quoted in MacDonald 2013, 18.
84 MacDonald 2013, 18.

85 Harrison 2013, 7.
86 Smith 2004, 2.
87 Tschofen 2007, 26.
88 Tschofen 2007, 29, quoted in MacDonald 2013, 18.
89 MacDonald 2013, 94.
90 Tilley 2004, 219, quoted in MacDonald 2013, 95.
91 MacDonald 2013, 95.
92 MacDonald 2013, 87.

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History of the site and the museum

The museum "Keltenwelt am Glauberg" is located at the mount Glauberg, close to the commune Glauburg (consisting of two villages: Glauberg and Stockheim) in the region 'Wetterau' in Hesse, about 45 km north-east of Frankfurt a. M. It lies on the slope of an elongated plateau, a foothill of the volcanic massif 'Vogelsberg' with a height of 276.5 m above sea level. On top of the plateau and along the slopes, remains from Neolithic times to the Middle Ages were discovered. First excavations were conducted during National Socialist times in the 1930s by the "Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst" (FAD)[93] at the plateau where the settlement was expected to be located. In 1945, during the last days of the Second World War, a fight between German soldiers and American troops destroyed the whole documentation and the finds. In the 1990s, a re-excavation started, aiming to recover the old excavation trenches. After sightings of features in aerial photographs, the excavation was extended to the southern slopes and into the surrounding fields, leading to the recovery of two burial mounds with three graves, containing highly valuable grave goods. Additionally, an almost fully preserved (except for the feet) life-size sandstone statue of an armed man was excavated in 1996[94] *(fig. 1)*, found in the ditch around mound 1, later followed by the recovery of fragments of three other stone statues of the same style in the surrounding area. The finds are dated to around 500 BC, i. e. the early Latène-period.

The museum opened in May 2011, placed closely to the site of the graves. But this was only after a long conflict about the location of the museum. Initially it was planned to present the finds in the "Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt", south of Frankfurt a. M. and c. 80 km away from the Glauberg, while on-site, only copies would have been displayed. One of the reasons was security concerns about keeping such a huge amount of gold and a priceless statue in a remote building. But this decision met with resistance from local stakeholders[95]. Local resident Gisela Taucher[96], a 77 year old former administration employee, in an interview in 2015 recollected the various forms of protest: they organised so-called 'Montagsdemos' with up to 200 par-

ticipants, conducted torchlight processions, and staged the ancient burial ritual on the site. Furthermore, a petition was brought to the Hessian Landtag (the legislative assembly of the Hessian state) in Wiesbaden, with the demonstrators dressed in 'Celtic' clothes for this occasion. Other activities included demonstrations in front of the museum in Darmstadt. Following the suggestion of some other places in the Wetterau (which met even more resistance from the local residents), finally, in 2006, the Hessian government revised their decision and agreed to finance a new building on the site. Udo Corts (CDU), the Hessian minister for science and art in office during that time, declared during a publicity event in Glauburg: "Der Keltenfürst soll dort gezeigt werden, wo er gefunden wurde"[97]. He imagined the museum as a cultural "Leuchttum für die Region"[98], promising a stimulation for the economically underdeveloped region of the eastern Wetterau[99]. The expenses of the construction, estimated at 6 million euros, finally increased to 9.1 million euros and were paid by the Hessian state. One of the reasons for this amendment of the decision seemed to be the new concept of a decentralised Landesmuseum with several locations[100]. It is possible that the protest helped as well, but Petra Manke, a local resident in her mid-thirties and administrative employee, assumed they weren't the crucial point.

Description of the museum

The landscape surrounding the museum, which includes medieval ruins, the reconstructions of one of the burial mounds and several earthworks, and also the architecture of the museum can be seen as expressions of orders of knowledge[101] *(fig. 2)*, and therefore will be analysed together. The plateau, the reconstructed areas, and the museum are part of an archaeological park with an area of c. 20 hectares. Most of the visible remains are of medieval origin, probably covering and destroying older structures. Many of the ruins are now restored and equipped with information boards. These boards are structured as a tour with 21 stations *(fig. 3)*. Information boards are placed at all archaeological remains and the reconstructed areas, with some additional ones dedi-

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93   A state labour service organisation in National Socialist times.

94   KELTENWELT 2012, 63.

95   See ZINN-THOMAS 2012.

96   The names of all interview partners were changed into pseudonyms. Persons mentioned in newspapers etc. are quoted with their real name.

97   "The Celtic prince must be shown where he was found".

98   "Lighthouse for the region".

99   Jens Joachim: "Keltenfürst wird auf den Glauberg zurückkehren", Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 28 June 2006.

100   In 2016, Glauberg was the second spot, following the Roman fort *Saalburg*.

101   FÖRSTER 2014, 9.

1   The early Latène-period sandstone statue from the Glauberg on display in the museum.

2   The museum "Keltenwelt am Glauberg".
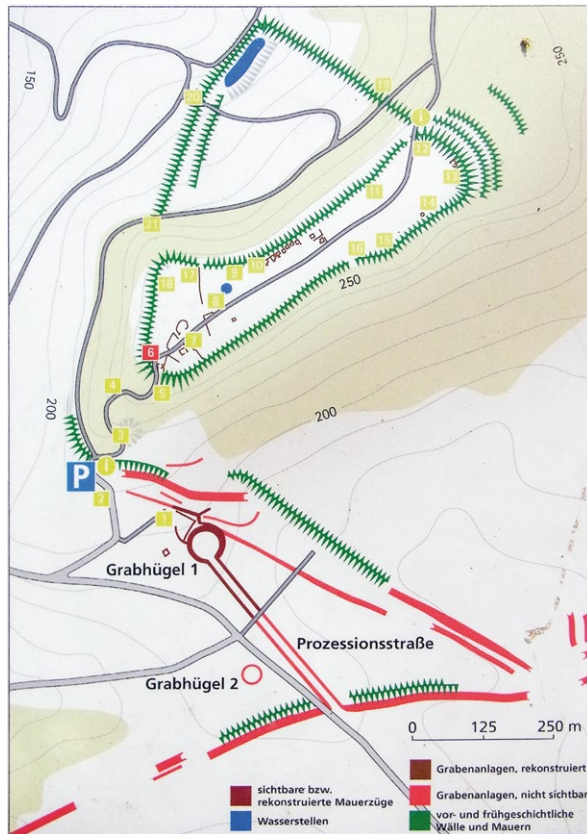
3   Map of the archaeological park surrounding the museum with 21 stations (yellow squares) as displayed on the information panel.

cated to explaining geological, environmental, or ecological features[102].

The museum is located on the southern slope of the plateau. The rear gives the impression of sinking into the slope, with the front oriented towards the reconstructed grave mound 1 and the earthworks at their original place, while the whole ensemble is embedded within a wide valley of the hilly landscape of the Wetterau (fig. 4). So, several presentation formats are combined: the remains with information points, the museum, and the reconstructions of the mound and the earthworks, hereby incorporating the surrounding landscapes.

The museum building has the shape of a rectangular brick, covered with so-called Corten Steel, which gives its cover a reddish-brown colour and a matted and abrasive surface. The former director, Katharina von

Kurzynski, described the architectural concept as "ein klar strukturiertes Gebäude, mit wetterfestem Baustahl (sog. Cortenstahl) verkleidet, das sich vollkommen organisch aus dem unteren Hang des Glaubergs herausschiebt und – einem großen Fernrohr gleich – den Blick der künftigen Besucher aus dem breiten Panoramafenster unweigerlich auf den bereits rekonstruierten größeren Grabhügel richtet"[103]. Obviously, Corten Steel was popular in museum architecture, also used in the museum in Kalkriese (Bramschen), which opened in 2002 at the probable site of the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest[104]. In both cases, the choice of material is similarly justified: to highlight a connection with the Iron Age. The Glauberg curators argue that iron was a central material in the Iron Age and that the reddish colour fits into the environment[105], while arguments in Kalkriese were referring to the large amount of iron found at the site[106].

The Glauberg museum building has 1300 sqm of floor space (fig. 5). From the entrance in the basement, visitors can enter the cafeteria directly or go up the stairs on the left to the upper floor to the ticket and souvenir shop and the exhibition. The souvenir shop offered not only topic-related material like publications or replicas of the finds but also regional products. Close to the ticket station, the desk of the tourist information promoted tourist attractions or accommodation possibilities in the region. Access to the research centre was located behind the museum shop. The roof terrace could be visited as well but was only accessible through a staircase.

Entering the exhibition, visitors found themselves in a small corridor, accompanied by low-keyed spherical music. The right wall presented quotes about the 'Celts' from street questioning: for example: "'die Kelten haben was mit Stonehenge zu tun'. Elisabeth H., 62 Jahre"[107] or "'Kelten? Celtic Glasgow'. Mehmed S., 32 Jahre". These were combined with quotes from ancient authors like Plinius, Caesar, Strabon, or Poseidonion. At the end of this corridor, a short video about the 'Celts' was displayed. From here, one could continue in three directions – straight ahead to the panorama window, gaining a wide view at the mound and into the valley and visit the area "Mensch und Umwelt" ("Man and Environment"), informing about botanical aspects, food, and the landscape. Or you could follow one of the two ways at the right which led into the main room. The first entrance before the film station led directly to the main

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102   As no leaflet of the stations was available – only the publication by Baitinger / Herrmann 2007 presents a plan, but unfortunately without a list of the topics of the information boards – the narrative structure was not easily apprehensible for the visitor.

103   "A clearly structured building, covered by weather-resistant construction steel (so-called Corten Steel), that rises from the lower slope of Glauberg in an entirely organic way, and – like a huge

telescope – inevitably guides the view of future visitors through the wide panorama window to the reconstructed bigger grave mound" (von Kurzynski 2010, 86).

104   See Roth 2012, 120.

105   Keltenwelt 2012, 44.

106   Roth 2012, 47.

107   "The Celts have something to do with Stonehenge. Elisabeth H., 62 years".

4   View of the reconstructed mound 1 from the museum.

5   Map of the Glauberg Museum.

exhibition of the graves. But the second entrance behind the film station was conceptualised as the main entrance (tour guides usually started here), with an overview map of the Glauberg on the floor for a general orientation.

The surrounding walls and cases displayed photos, texts, and objects illustrating the history of research at the Glauberg ("Forschungsgeschichte"), also referring to its role in National Socialist times, by presenting audio and text material under the title "Archäologie und Politik" ("Archaeology and politics"). From here, the room opened up to the presentation of the three graves displayed under the title "Herrschergräber" ("Ruler graves"), accompanied by a section about the "Siedlung" ("Settlement"). From that room, three ways were possible. At the right, one way from the 'grave room' led to a section for special exhibitions – for example in 2015 about archery – and to a video room. A second way from the grave room branched off to the right to the section with the title "Keltisches" ("Celtic"), presenting modern receptions of 'Celts', discussing for example the so-called "Keltische Baumhoroskop" ("Celtic tree horoscope") or King Arthur. Although it was meant to be visited after seeing the statue, this section attracted much attention, and many people went directly there and stayed for some time, reading and discussing the explanations. Finally, opposite the entrance, a passageway (presenting the model of the excavated Grave 1), led to the stone statue, presented under the simple title "Statue". The figure stood most prominently in the middle of a round space, surrounded by some finds from Grave 1 (only those pictured in the statue) and the fragments of the three other stone statues. Behind the figure, a passageway led to the left to a second entrance to the panorama window room, and to the right to the exit of the exhibition and back to the ticket shop.

The display structure aimed to avoid determining the movement, hereby following Moser's suggestion to give "visitors the opportunity to make choices about which path they will take"[108]. But at least some visitors were rather confused by that approach and would have preferred a clear order, especially as no catalogue explained the structure and the different stations.

The colour and lighting design inside the exhibition was rather dark. Natural light could come only through the panorama window, reaching the other rooms only through the two small passages. Artificial lighting thus was the main light source, and was rather weak. According to a publication of the museum, the low illumination was due to the needs of the fragile objects[109]. But the impression of darkness was amplified by the colour design dominated by dark grey. According to the architecture journalist Sandra Hofmeister, the visitor was supposed to enter symbolically a "dunkel schillernde Welt"[110]. The exhibition design aimed to symbolise the layers covering the finds: "die übergeordnete Idee der Ausstellungsarchitektur greift das Prinzip der Schichtung auf, orientiert sich damit an der Ausgrabungsarbeit der Archäologen und legt die Geschichte und Kultur der Kelten in räumlich gefassten Ebenen frei"[111]. Similar explanations could be found in the publication of the museum: "Die vor- und zurückspringenden Raumteiler enthalten Vitrinen und sind an das Prinzip der Bodenschichten angelehnt. Sie geben dem inhaltlichen Konzept einen gestalterischen Rahmen"[112]. "[…] Felswänden und Monolithen aus Basalt gleich, gliedern die Einbauten den Raum und unterstreichen das offene Vermittlungskonzept. […] Weg vom strengen Wissensparcours – hin zum offenen Spaziergang durch die Welt der Keltenforschung. Die nuancierte Lichtstimmung bildet den passenden Rahmen"[113].

The elaborate concept of colour and light wanted to underline the story of the exhibition, but visitors perceived it simply as a dark room. Some interview partners described the result as too dark and gloomy: "düster" and "dunkel". Such an interior design seems to have been a popular element in archaeological museums, as similarities in the colour and design vocabulary were also found in the above-mentioned Museum in Kalkriese: walls and exhibition furniture painted in dark grey, combined with low illumination[114].

Narrative motives

This chapter cannot claim to be a systematic analysis of the presentation at the Glauberg museum; it rather aims to highlight central narrative elements in the museum and in publications and explore their connections with general narrations about the 'Celts'. The analysis draws inspiration from Moser's suggestions regarding the exploration of narrative conventions by looking at whether standard images like the discovery of the unknown, the adventurous character of archaeology or the trope of mystery play a role and whether a canon can be identified, like references to specific sets of key events, specific iconographies and display formats, the imagination of a linear human evolution, and the lack of any connection with present political contexts. Furthermore, the examination aims to explore whether one of her five strategies for change are visible: to establish connections with the present, to challenge standard iconographies, to weaken the straight, authoritative and singular narrative, to present different stories, and to reflect about the emotions evoked and employed. The construction of validity and plausibility in narrative motives can be analysed following Davidson's concept of 'styles of reasoning', which suggests to examine language formats, literary strategies, metaphors, tropes, and specific staging or performative strategies with regard to their ability to signal such credibility.

As mentioned above, the Glauberg museum presentation was structured around seven fields with the titles "Forschungsgeschichte", "Archäologie und Politik", "Siedlung", "Herrschergräber", "Statue", "Mensch und Umwelt", and "Keltisches"[115]. These stations were expressions of several narrative motives, of which five seemed to be most prominent and therefore will be examined in detail.

The first central theme – as could be expected – was the statue and the three graves. Consequently, the burial and the practices around them served as a key event of the narration, taking most of the space. The statue as a perfect symbol and a powerful iconography was emphasised by placing the sculpture in the centre of the exhibition space. The finds depicted on the statue were displayed in close range, while other finds of the same grave were shown in other cases apart from the statue, closer to

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108   MOSER 2003, 14.
109   KELTENWELT 2012, 60.
110   "Dark iridescent world" (HOFMEISTER 2012, 19).
111   "The overarching idea of the exhibition architecture takes up the principle of stratification, thus orienting itself to the archaeologists' excavation work and exposing the history and culture of the Celts in spatially defined levels" (HOFMEISTER 2012, 20).
112   "The protruding and receding room dividers contain showcases and are based on the principle of soil layers. They provide a design framework for the content concept" (KELTENWELT 2012, 58).

113   "[…] Like rock walls and monoliths made of basalt, the fixtures divide the space and underline the open communication concept. [...] Away from a strict didactic trail – towards an open stroll through the world of research into the Celts. The nuanced light atmosphere provides the adequate frame" (KELTENWELT 2012, 59).
114   See ROTH 2012, 49; 120.
115   "Research history", "Archaeology and politics", "Settlement", "Ruler graves", "Statue", "Man and Environment", and "Celtic".

the entrance. Obviously, the narration wanted to emphasise the similarities between the statue and the grave artefacts, which resulted in a division of the assemblage of Grave 1 into two parts. The visual narrative of the person in the grave materialised and visualised through the statue was accompanied by presenting information about other aspects of everyday life, like the settlement or environmental aspects. Earlier or later time periods of the site were presented only marginally. One possible reason for this restriction to 'Celtic' times might be the concept of a network of decentral museums of the Hessian state, each of them dedicated to one specific time period, with Glauberg being the site of the 'Celts'. The narrative motive of the statue found its expression in the visual language, visible most prominently in the logo of the museum, which of course was based on the shape of the statue. Over the years, the emblems changed, showing various stages of abstraction and reduction, from a nearly naturalistic version of the complete statue to a pictogram referring only to a smaller part of the statue. At the end, only the most prominent aspect remained: the headdress, the so-called "Blattkrone" (leaf crown, because it resembles the shape of a mistletoe leaf), transformed into an abstract logo *(fig. 6)* featured prominently in the region, and was displayed on road signs directing to the museum, and could of course be found on all publications, flyers, and merchandising products of the museum[116].

The second central narrative element was the discussion of archaeological research practices, being the subject of one of the stations. This may have been due to the fact that a research centre was incorporated into the museum and therefore was responsible for the conception of the exhibition. The narrative strategy was embedded into a story of the archaeological work as discovery and examination, inviting the visitors to follow the archaeologists. Such an argumentation strategy was visible, for example, in explanations by the former museum director Katharina von Kurzynski. She described the display agenda as staging the visitor's trip back in time by stepping into the shoes of the archaeologists, collecting indicators, signs, and traces, and then coming back into present time and learning more about the fate of the Celts and the reception of Celts today[117]. The work of the archaeologists served therefore as the central structure and guidance. Hereby the narration resonated with sug-

6   Logos of the Glauberg Museum referring to the statue.

gestions by Moser and by Merriman to show the ways how different interpretations were established[118] and to include a segment dealing with archaeological theory and process[119], which found expression in the station about archaeology and politics. The display pointed directly to the constructive character of archaeological knowledge production by presenting quotes like "Archäologen arbeiten nicht im neutralen Raum der Wissenschaft, auch sie sind beeinflusst […]"[120], "Die Vergangenheit ist im Grunde ebenso ein Produkt der Fantasie wie die Zukunft. – Jessamyn West (1902–1984)"[121] or "Geschichte besteht aus einem Haufen Lügen über Ereignisse, die niemals stattfanden, erzählt von Menschen, die nicht dabei waren. – George Santayana (1863–

116   The development and systematic distribution of a logo is a well-established strategy in marketing and public relation of museums (see, for example, John / Günter 2008).
117   "Sammeln, wie einst die Archäologen vor ihnen, immer mehr Indizien" and finally "'reisen' die Besucher wieder durch die Zeiten zurück und erfahren viel über das weitere Schicksal der Kelten und die Keltenrezeptionen bis heute" (von Kurzynski 2010, 86).

118   Merriman 2000, 304.
119   Merriman 2000, 304.
120   "Archaeologists do not work in the neutral space of science, they too are influenced […]".
121   "The past is basically as much a product of the imagination as the future".

1952)"[122]. Furthermore, the section about modern receptions of the 'Celts' echoed Moser's recommendation to engage with the present[123].

The third central metaphor in the narratives were references to uncertainties and knowledge gaps. This was usually translated into the trope of 'mysteriousness'. These could be found in various formats in the display, for example, in the description of the process of discovery of the graves as "Rätselhafte Entdeckungen" (enigmatic discoveries) or certain objects being presented under the term "geheimnisvolle Bronzeknöpfe" (arcane bronze buttons) or "mysteriöses Objekt Nr. 01" ("mysterious object No. 1"). The argumentative strand of mysteriousness operated on two levels: first, it was meant to show that the current state of archaeological research is fragmented and therefore must leave many questions unanswered. Consequently, uncertainties in archaeological interpretations were openly addressed, by referring to the many knowledge gaps about the 'Celts'. This is often explained with the situation that no internal written sources were left or that only few remains of the Iron Age settlement were found. Here, the presentation again resonated with Moser's and Merryman's suggestion to incorporate references to knowledge production processes. But a second meaning was attached to the trope mysteriousness by reframing it as an essential characteristic of the 'Celts' in general and in particular of the person depicted in the statue. Such a narrative can be found, for example, in the title of the first exhibition of Glauberg finds in Frankfurt a. M. in 2002: "Das Rätsel der Kelten vom Glauberg. Glaube, Mythos, Wirklichkeit"[124]. This trope was similar to common stylistic elements in media reports Moser identified – to highlight the unknown and the never-ending mystery of the past[125].

A fourth central narrative element centred on the reconstruction of social structures. The story of the Glauberg was framed within the imagination of a hierarchical structure with a single person as a ruler on top of the society. The exceptionalisms of the statue and the graves were interpreted in the museum display as signs of such a person, and therefore the Glauberg is presented as a place of power and control. This is highlighted, for example, by labelling it as an 'important' site (as mentioned in the exhibition catalogue[126]), and thus, it must have been an exceptional spot with a high rank in soci-

etal and political geographical senses. Following this style of reasoning, the statue and graves were described as referring to a ruler ('Herrscher')[127]. The term was chosen as the general title for the exhibition station on the graves ('Herrschergräber'). Sometimes the 'Herrscher' was also addressed as the 'Fürst'[128] (prince), which, combined with the ethnic attribute, led to the label 'Keltenfürst' (Celtic prince). This term served as a powerful marketing trope, although in the exhibition and the catalogue, it was usually put in single quotation marks. The interpretation of such a 'Herrschergrab' was based on the argument that weapons were a sign of a 'Krieger' (warrior), while the exceptional headdress indicated a 'Würdenträger' or 'Priester' (dignitary or priest). The interpretation as a political ruler was usually relying on the opulent gold jewellery and the neck ring which might have been a sign of high rank and therefore indicated political power[129]. The Glauberg excavators Holger Baitinger and Fritz-Rudolph Herrmann[130] applied the term 'Fürstengrab' (princely tomb) as well, justified by the gold jewellery and the bronze jugs[131]. Exceptional finds and weapons served therefore as the main argument for a significantly high social status.

These various terms connected the story of the Glauberg with a specific model of Iron Age society and a certain idea of political structures. To label somebody as a 'ruler' is based on presuppositions about how political power was distributed and practiced, and in the case of the Glauberg, implying a hierarchy between ruler and his subjects. The equation of ruler and warrior connected political power with warfare or military power. Furthermore, the term 'Fürst' suggested that it was hereditary, as the German concept of 'Fürst' originated in a certain historic situation and was used to describe a specific form of political power (usually a hereditary ruling structure in feudal societies since medieval times). Labelling the person as a 'Fürst' assigns concepts from medieval times to earlier ages, although no internal written sources about the social structures in the pre-Roman Iron Ages exists so far. Therefore, the socio-political structure of those societies remains unclear.

The labelling of such exceptional graves as 'Fürstengräber' has a long tradition in archaeological interpretations already since the 19th century, followed by an almost equally long discussion history about the adequateness of

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122 "History is a pack of lies about events that never happened, told by people who weren't there".

123 MOSER 2003, 10.

124 "The mystery of the Celts of Glauberg: belief, myth, reality."

125 MOSER 2009, 1067.

126 "[…] dass der Glauberg vor 2500 Jahren ein bedeutender Ort gewesen sein muss" (VON KURZYNSKI 2010, 86).

127 For example, VON KURZYNSKI 2010, 86; KELTENWELT 2012, 24.

128 For example, KELTENWELT 2012, 9, 62

129 See also BAITINGER / HERRMANN 2007, 33.

130 Herrmann was the director of the Hessian *Landesdenkmalamt* (the Antiquities and Monument Office of the Hessian state) in the 1990s and through this position the director of the excavation of the grave mounds in Glauberg.

131 BAITINGER / HERRMANN 2007, 33.

the term. Similar to the narrative presented in the context of the Glauberg, exceptional graves were usually defined as extraordinarily equipped burials with an unusually sophisticated sepulchral structure, often located at a prominent place separated from other features[132]. But later authors realised the problematic implications of the term and aimed to introduce replacements. The German prehistorian Georg Kossack suggested the term 'Prunkgräber' (splendid or lavish graves) to emphasise the accumulation of goods and labour visible in those graves as a defining element[133]. The German prehistorian Detlef Gronenborn interpreted them as political monuments of transition periods[134] and therefore highlighted social change as the reason for such graves. The German archaeologist Heiko Steuer saw them as indicators of "offene Ranggesellschaften" (open ranked societies) in which high ranks existed but were unstable. Consequently, he interpreted the lavishness of the burial mounds and grave goods as a sign of attempts by high ranking members to strengthen their positions[135]. He introduced the term 'Elitegräber' (elite graves) which he considered to be an intra- and intercultural concept[136] with no references to certain historic times. But, despite the critique, the term 'Fürst' (prince) still appears in academic publications[137].

Alongside such socio-historical, socio-psychological, or economic explanations, ritual narrations had gained popularity as well[138]. This was also the case in the Glauberg museum, as the textual explanations interpreted the headdress as a sign of a priest, and the bronze jugs as possibly used in ritual practices or festivities. Similarly, Baitinger and Herrmann explained the earthworks around the graves as borders of a sacred area[139]. They argued that the positioning of the statue inside these earthworks made the interpretation "sehr wahrscheinlich" (very possible) that Glauberg was a site of 'Ahnenkult' (ancestor worship)[140]. The narrative was therefore referring to the story of the powerful ruler but was based on the argument of a ritual significance of the place and not following an economic or socio-political explanation.

The narrative of a stratified society can be found regularly in academic publications on the pre-Roman Iron Age. The fact that the sources leave too many gaps and uncertainties to be able to reconstruct the socio-political situation in the past was only rarely taken into account[141]. As a consequence, the arguments are often under-determined. As could be seen in the styles of reasoning by Baitinger and Herrmann, a certain feature is often interpreted in only one way, not considering that those features usually allow for more than one possible interpretation. The academic narrative reduces the story rhetorically to a singular definite interpretation. Here, we find a general style of reasoning: initially, the conclusions are characterised as very probable – and therefore claiming no certainty – but in the following are transformed into an established fact. This is also pointed out by Jung: the rhetoric figure that something cannot be excluded[142] is regularly reinterpreted as positive evidence[143] and reframed as a proof[144]. In the Glauberg museum itself, such a strategy was not applied, but could – as seen above – be found in the publication by Baitinger and Herrmann, and served regularly as a common rhetorical figure in TV-documentaries about the site[145].

The portrayal of 'rulers' in academic publications often implies an emotional connection, as Jung showed in his analysis of descriptions of late Hallstatt period 'rulers'; the authors often display a kind of emotionally submissive relationship. According to Jung, some authors seemed to identify themselves with the 'prince', their descriptions being characterised by respectfulness and sometimes even devotedness, styled in a reverential and sometimes unctuous manner[146]. As a consequence, Jung compared these narratives with a 'Hofberichterstattung' (court reporting)[147]. Although Jung focused on publications on the Hallstatt period, similarities exist with descriptions of the early Latène period Glauberg finds, for example, in a publication by the director of the Glauberg excavation, Herrmann. He spoke about the 'Herrscherpersönlichkeiten' (ruling personalities) he saw depicted in the sculptures[148]. The Glauberg museum narrative avoided such tropes of devotion. Instead, they tried not to humanise the figure, pointing out that it is not clear whether the figures depicted an actual human or rather an abstract ancestor or a divine spirit.

The general concentration on the ruling persons led to the situation that other social groupings were de-

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132 Schweizer 2006, 82–83; 92, cited in Hofmann 2013, 274.
133 Kossack 1974, 32, cited in Hofmann 2013, 274.
134 Gronenborn 2009, cited in Hofmann 2013, 274.
135 Steuer 1982, 518–525, cited in Hofmann 2013, 275.
136 Steuer 2003, 12.
137 For example, in the name of the research program "Fürstensitze". See also Grewenig 2010.
138 For example, Krausse 1999; Veit 2008, cited in Hofmann 2013, 276.
139 Baitinger / Herrmann 2007, 33.
140 Baitinger / Herrmann 2007, 33.

141 Hofmann 2013, 276.
142 "Ein behaupteter Sachverhalt lasse sich keineswegs ausschließen".
143 Jung 2010, 156.
144 Jung 2010, 161.
145 For example, the episode "Der Fürst vom Glauberg" in the successful German history series "Terra-X".
146 "ehrfurchtsvoll, manchmal salbungsvoll".
147 Jung 2010, 154.
148 Herrmann 2002, 106.

scribed only in a limited and fragmented way; for example, the settlement was presented only by a few tables and objects. This was explained by the poor preservation due to later building activities at the Glauberg; one of the texts in the exhibition stated that no residential or economic areas were found so far. Interestingly, other graves of the same period found in the area of the Glauberg (without exceptional grave goods and therefore rather not belonging to the high ranks of society) were excluded from the display as well (although in earlier versions of the exhibition these finds had been presented on a board).

In a wider discourse on the pre-Roman Iron Age, the imagination of a class of wealthy and powerful rulers regularly led to the argument that the 'Celts' in general must have been highly developed and therefore must be counted as an 'advanced civilisation'. It seems that such narrations were used in attempts to develop a counter-narration to the classical perception of the Celts as barbarians. Such reinterpretations of ancient Central European societies occurred most prominently in National Socialist Germany. They aimed to promote archaeological research in the soil of 'one's own people' by declaring prehistoric Germany to be as developed as classical Italy and Greece, and thus worthy of excavation[149]. Today, such racist and geopolitical agendas are not expressed any more, but the trope of the 'Celts' as an advanced civilisation still seems to resonate particularly in popular contexts[150]. And sometimes it still shows up in academic publications on the Glauberg, like in Herrmann's comparison of the Glauberg with Olympia[151]. In the museum, no such assumptions were made. However, the trope of the advanced civilisation still seemed to inspire and is visible, for example, in the emphasis on the virtuosity of the artisan craftwork ("meisterhaftes Kunsthandwerk") of the 'Celts'.

Finally, the fifth central trope applied in the Glauberg museum was authenticity. The original artefacts were presented at the original place in the 'authentically' reconstructed landscape. This was highlighted in most museum publications[152], and also emphasised in the press release of the Landesdenkmalamt on the opening of the museum, underlining the direct approachability of the original statue at close range without interfering

barriers[153]. This corresponded with what Tilley and MacDonald point out (as mentioned above): the materiality of archaeological sites and finds can create a feeling of connectivity to ancient people. Seeing the original finds at the original place implies an exceptional and emotional experience; simply being at the place and being close to the original objects is reframed as 'being closer to the past', which makes the narration even more plausible. Therefore, the argument that the museum has to stand exactly at this spot seemed to be particularly persuasive.

Which knowledge travels?

In order to analyse which narrations and symbols are travelling into non-academic spheres, and to which extent, this chapter aims to explore the circulation of images of and references to the museum in the village Glauburg, and to describe the perceptions of the local residents expressed in the interviews.

First, the trope of authenticity seemed to travel easily, as seen in the demands by village residents to 'bring the prince back home' before the museum was built. Village resident Gisela Taucher remembered the protest to include printing cards with the slogan: "Der Fürst will nach Hause" (the prince wants to come home). And at the opening of the museum on May 5th, 2011, Glauburg's mayor Carsten Kretschmer[154] was obviously happy to announce: "der Keltenfürst vom Glauberg ist wieder daheim"[155].

The style of reasoning of bringing him home bears resemblance with the cultural practice of repatriation of dead bodies[156], used for instance by nation states to create a heritage. Returned bodies are seen as ancestors or sons of the nation, and are described as "forms of 'cultural heritage' or 'national treasure'"[157]. In the Glauberg museum itself, the trope of an ancestor was not explicitly brought forward, but still a strong connection between the person materialised in the statue, the body, and finds in the grave, and the site was implicated, as the statements of local resident Taucher and local politician Kretschmer indicate. But it seems that the motive of authenticity circulated only partially, as only some inter-

149 S. Alfred Rosenberg in the "NS-Briefe", January 1935: "Dass Deutschland alle Ursache hat, nicht mehr so viel in Kleinasien und am Euphrat zu graben, sondern die Erde des eigenen Volkes zu durchforsten" (quoted in Baitinger 2011, 64).
150 For example, Kuckenburg 2010.
151 Herrmann 2005, 27, quoted in Jung 2010, 160.
152 "Zweifelsohne ist die fast vollständig erhaltene Statue des 'Keltenfürsten vom Glauberg' unser prominentestes Ausstellungsstück." https://www.keltenwelt-glauberg.de/mediathek/die-statue-des-keltenfuersten/ (last access 27 June 2022).

153 "[…] ohne störende Sperren dem Betrachter 'hautnah' präsentiert". Press release of the *Landesdenkmalamt Hessen*, 24 May 2011.
154 Member of the Social Democratic Party in Germany (SPD).
155 "The Celtic prince of Glauberg is home again" (quoted in: B. Rieb: "Neonazis im Keltenmuseum", Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 May 2011).
156 In the Glauberg case, bones were not part of the discussion, as no bones were displayed in the exhibition.
157 MacDonald 2013, 86.

view partners highlighted this aspect, while others were not impressed and did not mention this aspect at all; some of them were not even aware that these were the original pieces.

The image of the statue seemed to have been the most successful element in terms of circulating. It was depicted, for example, at the monument for the 1200-years-jubilee of Glauberg in the centre of the village *(fig. 7)*, it was also shown as a mural on a house front at the main street in the Glauberg village *(fig. 8)*, and was even sitting in a front garden in the form of a silhouette of the upper part of the statue. And of course it travelled very easily into economic contexts. The "Ärztezentrum am Keltenberg" in the neighbouring village Stockheim used a silhouette of the statue on their website[158]. It was even appropriated in food production: a local bakery produced a pastry in the shape of the statue *(fig. 9)* and a local butcher crafted a sausage in the same form[159]. And of course, many touristic accommodation offers used the figure, for example, in advertisements of private holiday apartments in the village[160] *(fig. 10)*. Furthermore, the sculpture inspired artistic work. A painting of the statue, using local earth as colour, was bought by the communal administration of Glauburg and exhibited in the rooms of the community hall, and an abstract sculpture inspired by the finds was placed at the roundabout *en route* to the museum. An artist from Frankfurt a. M. presented – and sold – oil paintings of the museum and the statue in a local restaurant, and replicas of the jewellery and other artisan objects were for sale in the museum shop. Even a post stamp was produced. So it seemed the statue and the finds initiated a broader market for such archaeologically inspired art.

The term 'Kelten' seems to have travelled very successfully into many domains, too. It could be found in the name of the local primary school in Stockheim ("Keltenwelt-Grundschule") – hereby using the official name of the museum – and in the title of the above-mentioned medical centre in Stockheim ("Ärztezentrum am Keltenberg"). The nearby village Büdingen gave a roundabout the name "Keltenkreisel", and the local sport club changed the name of the annual fun run from "Waldlauf" (forest run) into "Keltenlauf" (mostly in order to gain the permission to run over the plateau, as 65 year old retiree Marie Peck remembered). And unsurprisingly it travelled into touristic contexts by providing a name for the holiday guest houses "Ferienhaus Keltenwelt"

7   Monument of the 1200-year jubilee of Glauburg.

and "Pension Keltenblick" in Glauberg village or the restaurant "Keltenhof" in Stockheim. "Kelten" menus were offered regularly by restaurants in the region. The regional soap producer "Gederner Seifensiederei" designed a "Keltenseife" (Celtic soap), stamped with the logo of the museum, and offered it in the museum shop. A producer and retailer of salts and herbs advertised their product "Keltensalz" (Celtic salt) with a pictogram of the statue's face[161].

Similarly, the term 'Fürst', circulated very far into society, together with its ethnicised version as 'Keltenfürst'. Not only the politicians (for example, the above-mentioned Udo Corts) but most interview partners alike referred to the term. Petra Manke mentioned in the interview that the local primary school explored the story of the 'Fürst' with all classes. Every child in Glauburg knew the narrative and knew that the 'Fürst'

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158   https://www.aerztezentrum-keltenberg.de/ (last access 5 August 2022).
159   N-TV: "Glauberg wird zur 'Keltenwelt'", 21 February 2011, http://www.n-tv.de/reise/Glauberg-wird-zur-Keltenwelt-article2664296.html (last access 5 August 2022).

160   Interestingly, for this occasion the facial expression was changed from rather angry into a happily smiling face.
161   https://www.asavi.de/bestellen (last access 5 August 2022).

8   Image of the statue at a private house in Glauburg.

9   "Kelti": Pastry in the shape of the statue.

10   Advertisement of holiday apartments in Glauburg.

was a member of the village, as she recalled the words of a friend's child: "Auch die kennt schon den Fürst. Auch die weiß schon, der gehört zu uns"[162].

This brief analysis of the circulation of objects, images, and terms shows that some Glauberg motives circulated very far into the village and the region, travelling into many different domains and genres: political, economic and touristic, into education, and also into everyday usage in private spaces of gardens and windows. But as we have seen, in most cases, only segments have travelled: the statue, in endless varieties, seems to have been the most powerful iconography, a symbol easy to remember and therefore widely distributed. In contrast to that, the museum logo circulated only as a symbol for guideposts, and did not find its way into other domains beyond marketing strategies. Beside the statue, only the terms 'Kelten' and 'Fürst' seem to have been the highest circulating elements and powerful designations for the grave finds and the statue.

While symbols, iconographies, and tropes were circulating, narrations about the history of the site do not appear to be very successful. Asking the interview partners what they know about the 'Kelten', Marie Peck mostly remembered the knowledge gaps, when she recalled the label "mystisch" (mystical), but added to remember as well that they were "handwerklich sehr begabt" (very talented artisans). Here she directly reflected one of the narratives of the museum ("meisterhaftes Kunsthandwerk"). Reinhard and Margret Hast, a couple of pensioners and former administration employees in their early 70s, remembered the uncertainties as well when they recalled that not much was known, as they did not leave written sources. Obviously, only fragments of the presented knowledge travelled. Beyond the terms 'Fürst' and 'Herrscher', the narration about the social structure did not circulate very far, so the terms remained as kind of 'empty shells'. Only the members of the "Heimat- und Geschichtsverein Glauburg e. V." (the local history club) or the "Förderverein" (friends association) of the museum knew more about the history of the recovery and excavation, and about the interpretations. This appears to confirm the results by Jung that new information does not find its way into the experience of most visitors. The Glauberg example shows that only symbols and labels were travelling.

Corresponding to the multidirectional nature of knowledge circulation, some elements also travelled back from society into academic spheres. The museum display referred to the director of the local history club, Werner Erk, who had been the first to notice the grave

162   "She already knows the prince, she already knows that he belongs to us".

mounds from aerial photography. Furthermore, the head of one of the three other statues was found by members of the history club. But this information was not easily accessible as it was presented in a short text on the floor of the showcase containing the head stating that the head is the property of the history club. Furthermore, this information was only visible when stepping at the bench in front of the showcase. The local history club was engaged in knowledge production as well, by excavating medieval remains in cooperation with professional archaeologists, but their material was not presented in the museum, probably because the focus of the Glauberg museum concept on the pre-Roman Iron Age marginalised other periods.

Identifications

This chapter aims to discuss the question of identification processes by exploring the circulation of knowledge about the museum and its presentations into discursive practices of identifications. Debates in museum studies point to the impact of museums as a powerful resource of identity making. MacDonald describes them as the "institution of recognition and identity *par excellence*". Certain cultural products are selected for "official safe-keeping, for posterity and public display – a process which recognises and affirms some identities, and omits to recognise and affirm others. This is typically presented in a language spoken through architecture, spatial arrangements, and forms of display as well as in discursive commentary – of fact, objectivity, superior taste, and authoritative knowledge"[163]. This discursive power of museums had been the reason for protests against the ways in which indigenous and other groups were represented in exhibitions, or excluded from museum attention altogether, which led to the above mentioned cooperative practices in presentations. MacDonald describes museums as "sites at which some of the most contested and thorny cultural and epistemological questions of the late 20th century were fought out"[164]. Merriman regards especially the archaeological presentations as an important factor in identity production: for him, the "his-

tory of archaeological writing and representation shows how much they have provided contemporary societies with identity-affirming origin myths"[165]. Today, "museums continue to be used to construct new national and ethnic myths and to form new identities to mould together historically disparate interest groups"[166].

Discussions in heritage studies point out that heritage and memory in general are important bases for identity constructions. Smith mentions the persuasive power of heritage to symbolise social, cultural, and historical identities at individual, community, and national level[167]. MacDonald shows in her analysis of heritage practices in Europe that memory is often "taken for granted as a dimension and even prerequisite of identity. Individual distinctiveness only really 'counts' if it endures over time and if there is self-awareness of this. In analogy to individual identity […] it is not just 'having a past' that matters, but being in possession of memory of oneself over time"[168]. She argues that a specific model of heritage ownership which she describes as "possessive individualism" is responsible for this strong connection between memory and identification[169]. The "conceptualisation of memory as a possession – as something what we 'have' rather than 'do'" then in turn "substantiate[s] the notion of identities as individuated and 'possessive'"[170]. According to MacDonald, the political theorist Crawford Brough MacPherson laid the foundations for this interpretation of heritage in the 17th century, by developing a "conception of the individual as essentially the proprietor of his own person or capacities, […] as an owner of himself"[171]. Within such an interpretive framework, memory is transformed into a possession and subsequently becomes a central indicator of personal identity. Consequently, nations can be conceptualised as well "as possessive individuals, with heritage acting as the materialised rendition of their memory as property"[172]. Possessing a "distinctive heritage, memory and culture helps to instantiate and substantiate the nation (or other collective) 'as a living individual'"[173].

Regarding the impact of museums as a central site of memory work, the Glauberg museum presentation avoided an ethnic narration of the 'Celts' and did not refer to any explicit identity construction with the 'Celts' imagined as the ancestors. The display texts remained

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163 MacDonald 2006, 4.

164 MacDonald 2006, 4. For the role of museums for national identity construction, see also, for example, Kaplan 2006, for community construction for example Crooke 2006.

165 Merriman 2000, 301. In his analysis of modern constructions of a certain ancient 'Celtic spirit', Merriman shows how 'Celticness' is used today in identity construction (Merriman 1987).

166 Merriman 2000, 301. One example were the wars in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, in which the destruction of museums and

heritage were a central part in 'ethnic cleansing' (see Chapman 1994).

167 Smith 2004, 7.

168 MacDonald 2013, 222–223.

169 MacDonald 2013, 12.

170 MacDonald 2013, 12.

171 MacPherson 1962, 3, quoted in MacDonald 2013, 12.

172 MacDonald 2013, 12.

173 Handler 1988, 41, quoted in MacDonald 2013, 12; see also, for example, Kohl 1995.

rather sceptical of ethnic interpretations and showed this critical stance explicitly by presenting a quote by the author J. R. R. Tolkien in big letters on the wall: "Das Keltische gleicht einem Zaubersack, in den man alles hineinstopfen und nach Belieben herausnehmen kann"[174]. Still, the term 'Celts' was used without quotation marks (for example on the homepage of the Glauberg museum[175]). So it seems that although the constructive character of ethnic narratives was discussed, the presentation still remained within the interpretative frame of an ethnic narration by keeping the ethnic term.

Regarding the role in identity practices of local actors, presentations by politicians and perceptions of local inhabitants showed that the ethnic interpretation did not seem to circulate. All interview partners stated explicitly that they did not see the 'Celts' as their ancestors, arguing in most cases with the huge time gap. As Elke Binst, a pensioner in her mid-60s, expressed it ironically: "also Vorfahren – das ist schon ein bisschen arg lang her"[176]. Gisela Taucher argued that her interest in the history of the Glauberg is not because of any form of imagined continuity, but is rather based on the fascination of an exciting story: "Für uns ist das einfach spannende Geschichte".

But possessive individualism still seemed to manifest in the term 'our prince' which pointed to an emotional or identificatory connection. This phrase was used, for example, by Glauburg's mayor Carsten Kretschmer in his celebration of the return of "unseres berühmtesten Glauburgers"[177], and resonated as well in the answers of some of the interview partners when speaking of "unser Keltenfürst" (our Celtic prince), indicating a perception of him as 'belonging to them'. It seemed that at least in some contexts, the statue and the person in the grave was indeed incorporated into the imagined community. By applying a form of possessive individualism, the 'Fürst' was transformed into a property of Glauburg and a member of the local community.

When asked whether the heritage of the Glauberg initiated any kind of identification processes, several interview partners admitted to some kind of connection. Some saw stronger connections to the Middle Ages, for which one reason might have been that these remains are still visible and therefore can be touched and transformed into a frame of daily practices, like, for example, being the site of children's games. The 43-year-old university teacher Bettina Hast remembered the stories

11   "Yggdrasil" in Glauberg.

connected with the site and the fascination of materialising them in her childhood fantasy among the remains. She perceived the reframing of the Glauberg into something 'Celtic' as a form of interference with her identification work: "meine Geschichte mit dem Glauberg wird damit überschrieben" ("my history with the Glauberg has been overwritten"). Pensioner Marie Peck felt excluded from the site as well, as she cannot use it any more for camping as such activities are now forbidden. Pensioner Elke Binst chose a figure of strong emotional attachment with the Glauberg mountain by claiming that "der Berg ist uns" (the mountain is ours), which illustrated the concept of possessive individualism quite clearly. So, it seemed the plateau itself had the strongest identifying impact, materialised through practices like picnic, promenading, sports, or enjoying the view, while the museum with the reconstructed burial mounds played no such role.

Another form of identificatory appropriation manifested within a spiritual connotation. In spring 2015, a paper could be found attached to a huge oak tree at the centre of the plateau claiming the name of the tree as "Yggdrasil", referring to a mythical ash tree in pagan Scandinavian mythology (fig. 11). The plate was decorated with mistletoe leaves and a rope knotted into a pattern supposed to express 'Celtic' style. This installation obviously seemed to express identification with the place in a religious sense. Another symbol on the plate contained a rather ambiguous meaning: the 'black sun' is used as a symbol of esoteric significance, but can be found as well

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174   "'Celtic' is a magic bag, into which anything may be put, and out of which almost anything may come" (KELTENWELT 2012, 56).
175   "Wir laden Sie ein zu einer Entdeckungsreise in die Zeit der Kelten am Glauberg vor 2400 Jahren", https://www.keltenwelt-glauberg.de (last access 27 June 2022). "The finds from three Celtic burials from the 5th century BC, and the statue of a Celtic 'prince'

are unique and recognised throughout the World as an archaeological sensation", https://www.keltenwelt-glauberg.de/en (last access 27 June 2022).
176   "Well, ancestors – that's a bit too long ago."
177   "Our most famous Glauburger" (B. Rieb: "Neonazis im Keltenmuseum", Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 May 2011).

in neo-Nazi contexts, so it might point to other interpretations. It cannot be decided whether this plate expressed National Socialist connections or should be rather located in esoteric contexts or both. Interestingly, either the creator of the plate chose artistic licence or just demonstrated lack of knowledge by deciding to attach the plate to an oak tree, while the Yggdrasil tree is described as an ash tree in Scandinavian mythology. This was commented again some time later by a second plate, pointing out that this is the wrong tree species. This episode shows how knowledge negotiation found its way into everyday practices, even manifested on a plate on a tree.

Political and economic domains resorted to an economic form of identification narrative. One of the most prominent arguments operated with the potential of economic commodification to stimulate identification. As many publications in heritage studies have shown, heritage is very easily manufactured into commodities[178], and such a narrative was adopted by several local actors in Glauburg as well. The Landrat (district administrator) of Wetterau in 2011, Joachim Arnold (SPD), argued that archaeology can become a substantial identity pillar ("einem wesentlichen Identitätsträger") when generating economic profit[179]. Similar arguments are used by the executive director of the local economic marketing agency "Wetterauer Archäologische Gesellschaft Glauberg GmbH" (WAGG), Bernd-Uwe Domes. In a newspaper interview in 2014, he described his goal as: "die Kulturschätze als Potentiale zu erkennen, erlebbar zu machen und ihnen ein Profil zu geben. Damit lassen sich dann auch spürbare Einkommenseffekte in der Region generieren. Das ist für die Einheimischen wichtig für eine höhere Identifizierung mit der Heimat. Aber auch, um Gäste zu gewinnen"[180]. According to him, the museum generated a domino-effect, recognisable, for example, by an increasing willingness to invest in new touristic infrastructure, and by significantly increased numbers of day guests after the opening of the museum. Therefore, he declared the museum to be an "Entwicklungskern" (development nucleus). The economic narrative even materialised in the institutional structure of a close cooperation between the WAGG and the museum, with Domes acting simultaneously as chairman of the

friends' association of the museum and the WAGG[181]. His statements produced a narrative of a direct connection between economy and identity: the economic commodification leads to more guests, which are leaving more money in the region, and this in turn enables identification with the site and the village. Such an economic style of reasoning is often applied in economic and political discourses and found its way regularly into marketing narratives about historical and natural heritage alike, as they both can serve as a resource for the metastory of the exceptionality of the 'Heimat' and therefore can be transformed into commodities[182].

But the economic argument did not seem to travel very far beyond political and marketing spheres. The interviews with local residents indicated that such arguments did not appear convincing. Most interview partners questioned the financial success of the museum. Only Gisela Taucher believed the museum stimulated an increase in accommodation and gastronomy, and 67-year-old former teacher Martin Schode assumed a possible correlation with some investments in the village realised at the same time the museum opened. But most interview partners doubted whether the museum brought profit to the surrounding villages at all. Consequently, they did not see how economic success might have any effect on identification processes. Therefore, the marketing narrative did not seem to be successful in circulating into other domains.

But at least the increased recognition of the name of the site and the village – initiated through the statue and the museum – had some effect on identification practices. Through far-reaching marketing strategies, the name Glauberg is now well known in the wider region and beyond. Regional and national television programmes regularly presented documentaries about the site or the museum. As some residents experienced, the location of their village is known even beyond the region. But it seemed the knowledge about the reason of this 'fame' was not travelling with it. Beyond the members of the history club and the *Förderverein*, local residents did not appear to consider this to be important. For example, 73-year-old Reinhard Hast argued that he cannot evaluate whether the site is really exceptional

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178   For example, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006.

179   B. Rieb: "Ein Palast für Keltix", Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 May 2011.

180   "To identify the potential of local cultural treasures, to make them tangible, and to give them a profile. This can generate substantial income-effects in the region. This is important for the locals for a higher identification with the homeland. But also, in order to attract guests" (Interview with B.-U. Domes: "Das ist ein Entwicklungssprung", Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 March 2014).

181   The cooperation was visible in the museum as well: the WAGG had their own desk right beside the ticket desk of the mu-

seum, aiming to promote touristic destinations of the region. According to Landrat Arnold, the aim was to keep visitors in the region ("die Gäste der Keltenwelt mit zusätzlichen interessanten Angeboten in der Region zu halten" [B. Rieb: "Ein Palast für Keltix", Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 May 2011]).

182   A possible case for a comparison to the marketing of the Glauberg museum could be the so-called "Vulkanradweg", a long-distance cycling route following the signs of the volcanic activities around the Vogelsberg mountain range which passes close to the Glauberg.

from a scholarly point of view. But what counted for him was the recognition of the name, and to see the site presented on television. And at least some knowledge circu-

lation was initiated through the prominence, as Reinhard Hast noticed the effect that he was inspired to be more interested in information about 'Celts' in general.

Conclusions

This paper aimed to explore narrative motives of the Glauberg museum and the circulation of knowledge about the Glauberg as well as analysing identification processes connected with the site. As can be shown by an examination of the museum presentation and other documents, the exhibition display tried to avoid ethnicised narrations, and reflected new approaches in Museum Studies by addressing uncertainties in the research results, while exploring the history of the site and archaeological knowledge production in general. It also aimed to engage with the present by discussing the reception of 'Celts' in modern times. The narrative elements of the display were structured around five tropes: the authenticity of the objects, which are exhibited in original at the place of origin; the contexts and politics of archaeological knowledge production; the exceptionalism of the statue and the finds; the mysteriousness of the past of the Glauberg; and the social hierarchies that produced the exceptional finds. The labelling of the statue as a (depiction of a) 'Herrscher' and particularly as a 'Fürst' implies a hierarchical social structure. It is left to future analysis whether these narrative elements are part of a canon of 'Celtic' stories, something which can only occur through comparison with other sites presenting material of the same time period. Some elements point to such a general narrative; for example, the specific iconography of 'spectacular finds' and specific tropes of the 'Herrscher' or 'Fürst' could be found in other museums as well.

So, which knowledge circulates into which domains and in which form? As had been shown by interviews with local residents and fieldwork on site, knowledge was travelling only partially. Most successful were visual formats. The statue seemed to circulate most widely – in the format of the logos of the museum, of course, but through private appropriation as well. Aside from the images, the term 'Kelten', 'Herrscher', and 'Fürst' were travelling into many different domains. The broad distribution of images and designations was at least partially amplified by museum marketing strategies, using the statue in endless varieties. The museum was a powerful formatting actor by inspiring, and even dominating, the formats used within society.

This was a form of brand making, in the sense that constant repetition made it familiar and popular. Even when reduced to a minimalistic logo, it was still able to evoke the image of the statue and the museum, while simultaneously being open enough to be translated into new variations. In this sense, it seemed to work as a kind of 'boundary object', a concept developed by the US-American sociologists Susan Leigh Star and James Griesemer which refers to the possibility of certain objects to travel between different domains even when linked to different meanings in each domain. This variety of meanings enables the circulation in the first place[183]. As visible in the case of the Glauberg, different practices such as using the logo in the museum, creating a mural of the statue at a private house, or appropriating it at the homepage of a medical office, may have been initiated by different motivations, but they were all referring to the same resource, thereby showing the success of the image as a boundary object.

As a consequence, in the process of circulation and incorporation into new contexts, knowledge is always transformed. As was evident from the residents' perceptions, it was not the knowledge about the location that was relevant, rather the 'fame' of the location was most important. So it seems that while the image of the statue circulated widely because of its prominence, academic knowledge was not travelling along with it. The narrative most remembered by interview partners was the trope of mysteriousness. It thus seems that knowledge was circulating only in fragmented versions, and this simplification might be, in fact, the reason for its wide circulation. This effect seems to resonate with the concept of a trading zone, which developed by the historian and physicist Peter Galison, and describes the ability of objects to facilitate the exchange of knowledge[184] by simplifying the communication between various social spheres[185]. But still, museum presentations have the potential to stimulate circulation, as at least some residents stated that they were more interested in the 'Celts' after the museum opened.

It seemed the museum itself didn't work very well as a boundary object. Most residents did not regard it as

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183   LEIGH STAR / GRIESEMER 1989, 393.
184   GALISON 1999, 146.

185   GALISON 1999, 154–155.

'their' museum, but rather perceived it as something overshadowing 'their' mountain and interfering with their activities at the site and their connection with the area, like for example Marie Peck: "es ist nicht mehr der Berg für die Einheimischen"[186]. It appeared the residents have rather reluctantly accepted the museum when expressing the opinion that they have made their peace with the situation. Here, the museum was perceived more like what was described by anthropologist James Clifford as a 'contact zone', referring to a concept by Marie Louise Pratt[187], which is characterised by asymmetries in the distribution of power. Clifford pointed to the different meanings of objects or places for academics and non-academics and the antagonisms and misunderstandings occurring in this process[188]. Local residents are in a position of powerlessness in the processes of knowledge negotiation and circulation, while academics or politicians have the authority to define the concepts, narratives, and images. This was visible, for instance, in the marginalisation of the knowledge production of the local history club. Therefore, the circulation of knowledge at Glauberg was characterised by different meanings and perceptions, simplifications and reductions, and asymmetrical power relations.

Regarding the question of whether knowledge of the 'Celtic' past served as an identity resource, politicians and economic actors argued that economic commodification can produce a local identity. But this argument obviously did not circulate very far beyond these domains. Most village residents were not convinced that the museum generated much income for the local economy and therefore did not perceive it as a foundation of identification. Furthermore, as most residents argued, the 'Celts' were not experienced as ancestors as too much

time had passed. Nevertheless, the finds still inspired identification in the sense of bringing attention to the village which in turn made the local residents 'proud' of 'their' mountain again. So only the prominence of the name of site and village was seen as a plausible narration in identity construction. Apart from that, the social function of the mountain as a leisure area, as a place connected with memories of childhood play or teenage parties, inspired identification. Although the historical remains and the knowledge connected with them played a certain role in this identificatory processes, the individual memories and other qualities like the view and the nature – which would work quite well even without any remains – were seen as more important.

As the narration of 'celtic ancestors' did not seem to resonate with the residents, this raises questions about the utilisation of ethnonyms in many archaeological presentations, thereby reinforcing ethnic narrations. Although the Glauberg museum transported the uncertainties about the 'Celts' into the exhibition, the term was still in use. As the interviews with village residents indicated, the ethnic connotation was not necessary in the establishment of a convincing narrative of the Glauberg's past as an exceptional site with impressive finds from a complex history. Similar observations were made by the archaeologist Sebastian Brather that archaeological identity-offers were rarely successful[189]. But, as the example of Glauberg demonstrated, when applied, the ethnic labels circulated quite easily into other domains, and became dominant terms. In order to avoid this framing, they could be replaced with non-ethnicising and more locally specific terms like, for example, referring to the archaeological term Latène-period or by just speaking about the persons living at the Glauberg.

Acknowledgements

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186   "It is not the mountain for the locals anymore."
187   Pratt 1992.

188   Clifford 1997, 192.
189   Davidovic 2009, 185.

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Abstract

Travelling archaeological knowledge. The museum "Keltenwelt am Glauberg"

This paper aims to explore the circulation of archaeological knowledge based on qualitative research of the museum "Keltenwelt am Glauberg" in Hesse. Using approaches from Science and Technology Studies, Museum Studies, and Heritage Studies, the analysis focuses on narrative motives of the Glauberg museum, the circulation of archaeological knowledge, and its role in the formation of local identifications. First results show that knowledge travels only partially. Most successful are visual formats and striking labels such as 'Keltenfürst' ('Celtic prince'). Although the museum does not initiate an explicit identification with the 'Celtic' past, the attention the museum brought to the modern village Glauburg provides a compelling argument in local identity constructions.

Zusammenfassung

Zirkulierendes archäologisches Wissen. Das Museum „Keltenwelt am Glauberg"

Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Zirkulation archäologischen Wissens auf Grundlage von qualitativer Forschung zum Museum „Keltenwelt am Glauberg" in Hessen. Basierend auf Ansätzen aus der Wissenschafts- und Technikforschung, der *Museum Studies* und den *Heritage Studies* konzentriert sich die Analyse auf die narrativen Motive des Glauberg-Museums, die Zirkulation archäologischen Wissens und seine Rolle in der Konstruktion lokaler Identifikationen. Erste Ergebnisse zeigen, dass das Wissen nur fragmentiert und punktuell zirkuliert. Am erfolgreichsten sind visuelle Formate und auffällige Etiketten wie „Keltenfürst". Während das Museum keine explizite Identifikation mit der „keltischen" Vergangenheit initiiert, liefert die Aufmerksamkeit, die das Museum dem heutigen Dorf Glauburg beschert, dennoch ein überzeugendes Argument für lokale Identitätskonstruktionen.