

FIRE ON THE MOUNTAIN: THE BRONZE AND IRON ALPINE ASH ALTAR
MATERIAL IN THE FRANKFURTH COLLECTION AT THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC
MUSEUM

by

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ABSTRACT

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Under the Supervision of Professor Bettina Arnold

Milwaukee Public Museum (MPM) Accession 213 is one of many collections orphaned by nineteenth century antiquarian collecting practices. Much of the European prehistoric and early historic material in MPM Accession 213 was collected in a single two-year period from December 1889 to December 1891, but the sudden death of the donor—William Frankfurth—and the passage of a decade between collection and donation left the museum without much context for the materials. Among the artifacts in MPM Accession 213 is a collection of almost 350 metal objects from prehistoric and early historic Europe that have yet to be examined or contextualized. Through archival research and comparative analysis, I demonstrate that the prehistoric metalwork present in this collection comes from one or more of seven identifiable sites—the Grumserbühel, the Sinichkopf, the Segenbühel/Hochbühel, the Fachegg, the Tartscherbühel, the Sonnenburgerbühel, and the Tuifflslammer—all of which have produced evidence of a specific type of prehistoric context called *Brandopferplätze* [places for burnt sacrifices], also known as Alpine ash altar sites. Alpine ash altar sites offer a unique glimpse into the ritual life of prehistoric European populations because they were in continuous use from

the Bronze Age to the Roman period. Using the excavation history of each of these sites, it was possible to narrow down the probable candidates to three of the known sites, as well as at least one unknown Roman site. The artifacts were then categorized and analyzed for presence/absence and degree of damage against existing collections from other Alpine ash altar sites to assess the likelihood of the material coming from this type of context. It was expected that the material profile would closely match the presence/absence of materials from more recently excavated Alpine ash altar sites, and thus provide a foundation for further research into the origins of MPM Accession 213.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Introduction

Milwaukee Public Museum (MPM) Accession 213 includes approximately 412 objects identified as having a prehistoric (or early historic) European origin that were accumulated by German-American industrialist William Frankurth (1829-1891) (Fig. 1.1). The low number of this accession indicates that it is one of the earliest collections at



Figure 1.1 William Frankurth (Historic Photo collection/Milwaukee Public Library 2011)

the Milwaukee Public Museum. It is also one of the largest and most eclectic of the MPM's nineteenth century holdings and although the object categories overlap to some extent with other early MPM collections—like those of Charles (Carl) Dörflinger or Adolf Meinecke (both contemporaries of Frankurth's with similar ties to German-speaking Europe and actively collecting there at around the same time)—this collection differs from the others in several ways. One important difference is that the sudden and unexpected death of the collector in December of 1891 in Vienna resulted in a separation

between the material collected and its context that must now be painstakingly restored, a process that began with Alyssa Caywood's 2011 Masters' thesis project on a selection of the Roman pottery and continues with the current thesis, which focuses on the prehistoric and early historic bronze and iron objects. Equally significant is the fact that Frankfurth's investigations and collecting activity in the southern Tirol and Innsbruck area were noted and reported in the local press, particularly the *Meraner Zeitung (MZ)*, whose back issues had only just become available online when Professor Bettina Arnold (UWM Department of Anthropology) began searching for additional documentary information regarding Frankfurth's explorations in Austria and Italy in 2010 (<http://dza.tessmann.it/tessmannPortal/Zeitungsarchiv/Details/Zeitung/1/MEZ>). Finally, the Tartscherbühel, the Hochbühel and the Sonnenburgerbühel, all sites where Frankfurth is now known to have conducted limited explorations, have continued to be studied and the MPM artifacts from those sites should be published in a form that would allow scholars in Austria and Italy to include them in their archaeological surveys of the region.

Nineteenth Century Collecting and MPM Accession 213

The practices of nineteenth century antiquarians have left American museums with a number of collections lacking proper provenience information (Arnold 2013; Maxwell 2013). Early recording practices were often incomplete, resulting in collections of mismatched artifacts from various points in time and space, making it difficult for current researchers to properly assess their significance. MPM Accession 213, donated by or in the name of William Frankfurth, is an example of such a collection. Although stored by the museum for over a century, attempts to identify and classify these materials have

faced major challenges. Currently, only the *terra sigillata* component has been intensively analyzed (Caywood 2011), although some of Frankfurth's lake-dwelling material was included in two previous Masters theses (Johnson 2006; Lillis 2005). It was the presence of *terra sigillata* in the collection that led the initial cataloguers of the collection to assume the metalwork was also Greek and Roman and label it as such. Through archival and comparative analysis, I will demonstrate that the European metalwork from Accession 213 is mostly prehistoric and early historic, though some is clearly provincial Roman, and that the sites where this material originated include several known *Brandopferplätze* in the Austrian/Italian Tyrol, ash altar sites that were in use from the Bronze Age to the early Roman period in the Alpine region.

Caywood's (2011) Masters' thesis did much to advance our understanding of this collection. She was able use the *terra sigillata* to conclude that William Frankfurth's collection was probably the result of excavations rather than purchased from antiquities dealers, as was often the case with nineteenth century collections of this kind (Arnold 2013). The level of interest Frankfurth had in excavation efforts—and the artifacts he produced through this activity—makes it unlikely that the materials he donated to the MPM were carefully selected from a larger pool of artifacts. Caywood was able to identify archival materials that allowed her to narrow the date range of these excavations and reconstruct Frankfurth's relationships with both the MPM specifically and the city of Milwaukee in general. Most meaningfully for this project, she—with the help of Dr. Bettina Arnold—was able to demonstrate that Frankfurth's excavations of prehistoric materials were carried out in the Austrian and Italian southern Tyrol rather than, as was

originally thought, Roman Italy or Germany. Additional research by Dr. Arnold indicated that six of the identifiable sites Frankfurth investigated in the Etschtal—the Grumserbühel, the Sinichkopf, the Hochbühel, the Tartscherbühel, the Tuiflslammer, and the Sonnenburgerhügel—are all reported as including evidence for ash altars, which served as a helpful starting point in recontextualizing the metalwork for this thesis (Figure 1.2).

The significance of this collection’s recontextualization is evident in the nineteenth



Figure 1.2 Map of the Tyrol, with towns mentioned in this thesis represented by white triangles and labeled. White squares indicate sites Frankfurth is known to have visited. For more detailed maps see Chapter 3. Produced using Tiroler Atlas (tirolatlas.uibk.ac.at).

century texts as well as more recent publications from overseas, which bemoan the loss of the materials recovered during William Frankfurth's excavations. Researchers as early as Franz Tappeiner (1892a), who excavated the Hochbühel mere months after Frankfurth, recognized that there was a missing component to the artifacts recovered in the previous excavations. Similarly, more current researchers such as Lunz (2006:43), having read through the original reports of the Frankfurth excavations in the Austrian newspapers, noted that some specific artifacts from these sites—particularly five iron axeheads described as being found by Frankfurth at the Tartscherbühel—had never been seen by European scholars. Thus, recontextualizing the prehistoric pieces in MPM Accession 213 will serve to fill gaps in knowledge on both sides of the Atlantic. The results of this study will not only shed light on the collection for the MPM, but will also make this material available for European researchers who have assumed it was lost for over a century or are unaware that it exists at all.

This thesis will address the following questions about the prehistoric and early historic metalwork in MPM Accession 213:

- Can a reasonable link be established between the metalwork in MPM Accession 213 and the sites Frankfurth visited in Austria?
- Can the archival evidence and excavation histories of these sites help us delimit the number of possible sites for the metalwork's provenience?
- Does the metalwork appear to have been deposited intentionally as votive offerings, and if so, are the types of materials present and the treatment of these materials consistent with what is known about Alpine ash altar contexts?

- How can this collection of metalwork contribute to the ongoing discussion of Frankfurth's collecting activity in this area specifically and ash altars more generally?

Collection Background

Accession 213 consists of archaeological, natural historical, and ethnographic material William Frankfurth collected both in the United States and abroad. He is known to have taken several trips overseas, and supposedly brought materials back with him each time he returned to Milwaukee to expand the MPM's collection (Caywood 2011; Franz Frankfurth pers. comm.). The MPM assigns accession numbers based on the donor rather than the origin of the collection, so Accession 213 contains not only the materials from Frankfurth's last Austrian excursion, but also anything else he may have donated or that may have been donated in his name before his death in 1891. Some of these materials were catalogued in 1900, six years before the ash altar and *terra sigillata* collections were accessioned (MPM Collection Catalogue Vol. 4).

The Austrian component of Accession 213 was the last material in the William Frankfurth collection to be catalogued and some of it remains uncatalogued to date. These materials were collected over a two-year period between 1890 and 1891 while the Frankfurth family was traveling in Europe. William Frankfurth was a prominent Milwaukee businessman and a founding member of the MPM who conducted and funded numerous excavations and collecting expeditions over several decades. Unfortunately, he died suddenly in Vienna in December 1891 before he had the chance to accompany his collection back to the United States in person. The seven boxes of archaeological material

Frankfurth had gathered during his travels in Europe in 1890 and 1891 were stored in Bremen for a time before being shipped or transported back to Milwaukee (*Milwaukee Sentinel* 24. Dec 1891:3), where his son Lorenz Frankfurth eventually delivered them to the Milwaukee Public Museum in 1906. Then MPM Director Henry Ward wrote in a letter to Lorenz Frankfurth dated September 25, 1906, “I am sorry to find that so few of the specimens have adequate data preserved with them to make them of scientific value. Most of the pottery I have set aside until such time as I can secure the services of some expert who may be able to supply the requisite information concerning it” (MPM *Letters* Vol. 16 August 22, 1906-April 1, 1907). Some of the material was finally cataloged in 1917 by a Dr. Hawkes, aided by a Mr. Lytton (reportedly of the American Museum of Natural History, New York). According to the *MPM Monthly Report* Vol. 5 of June 1917:

A considerable amount of Dr. Hawkes’ time during this month has been spent on working over the European archaeological collection and installing a large part of the same. This collection was originally cataloged by locality only, but inasmuch as various localities contained two or more distinct cultures it was necessary to make a careful examination of these specimens in order to separate them according to the different culture periods represented (*MPM Monthly Report* 5:247).

It is clear that the artifacts were accompanied by a large collection of books and pamphlets, but Ward judged these as having little value and passed them along to the public library (MPM *Letters* Vol. 16 August 22, 1906-April 1, 1907). It is thought that additional provenience information could have been contained within these books and pamphlets, but additional documentation only came to light at the MPM in April 2014 and was not discovered in time to be included in this thesis (Bettina Arnold pers. comm.). An opportunity to interview Lorenz Frankfurth was briefly considered potentially

important in the late 1980s (Sumpter 1987:15), but no one from the MPM followed up and a family member contacted by the author in March 2013 had no knowledge of any papers or relevant documents (Franz Frankfurth pers. comm.).

The earliest records state that Accession 213 contains 625 specimens (*MPM Accession Cards* 1910; 1916), although the accessioned materials recorded in the collection number 830 (some 33 accession numbers are recorded but are apparently unused). Of these, 321 were certainly not recovered from sites Frankfurth is recorded as visiting in the Austrian Alps—including post-medieval and lake-dwelling materials—and so the majority of the recorded objects accession is made up of prehistoric and Roman artifacts (509), many of which were probably gathered during Frankfurth's 1889-1891 journey through Europe. Of these, 245 are Roman ceramic vessels of various kinds—mostly *terra sigillata* (Caywood 2011:14 reports that the accessioned *terra sigillata* fragments number 169), but also including bottles and lamps—while 246 consist of prehistoric and early historic metalwork. Caywood (2011:14) also reports approximately 553 unaccessioned pieces of *terra sigillata* in the Frankfurth collection. In April 2012, Dr. Bettina Arnold and Alyssa Caywood found an additional 36 accessioned objects that did not appear in the prior records, and it should also be noted that most of the straight pins and many of the unidentified pieces of metalwork in the collection were not given separate accession numbers and do not appear in the MPM drawer sheet records, thus the actual count of 350 objects of prehistoric and early historic metalwork is higher than the recorded number. Additionally, a large quantity of uncataloged pottery sherds—both prehistoric and Roman—were identified as probably belonging to this accession in the

course of research conducted for this thesis. One hundred and eighty two of these have since been catalogued by Anthropology Masters student Barbara McClendon under the supervision of Dawn Scher Thomae under Accession #29433 (seven of the metal objects in MPM Accession 29433 are probably historic). It would be optimistic to say that every component of the Frankfurth collection has now been identified, but it is clear that the number of artifacts associated with William Frankfurth is much larger than the existing MPM records indicate (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Number of artifacts in each component and component percentages of the Frankfurth collection (MPM Accessions 213 and 29433).

Component	Number	Percentage
Pre- and Early Historic Metalwork	350	21.20
<i>Terra Sigillata</i>	722	43.73
Other Greek/Roman Ceramics	76	4.60
Prehistoric Ceramics	171	10.36
Medieval/Post-Medieval	225	13.63
Lake-Dwelling	107	6.48
Total	1651	100.00

An attempt appears to have been made to catalog part of the Frankfurth collection in 1910, but the majority of the catalog work on the ash altar materials was done by Hawkes and Lytton in December 1916 and January 1917; this included most of the metalwork and some of the *terra sigillata*. Some of the *terra sigillata* was catalogued and described by independent scholar James Wrabetz in the 1980s (Caywood 2011), but his study ended before he could publish his work, and although overtures have been made to Mr. Wrabetz requesting the results of his work, he has not responded (Carter Lupton pers. comm.; Bettina Arnold pers. comm.) and it is feared that he may have died before providing the MPM with documentation of his analysis of the Roman ceramic material.

This has resulted in the problematic breakdown of catalogued and uncatalogued

artifacts described above, which will undoubtedly be refined as more work is done on the collection. The various people involved in the artifacts' examination—and their various skill levels with regards to identifying prehistoric and early historic artifacts—has led to a disjointed collection with a number of misidentified artifacts. While several of the initial misidentifications have been rectified, it is an ongoing process, and there are likely artifacts in the History section of the museum that are earlier or later in date than is currently recorded (Bettina Arnold pers. comm.). Caywood (2011) established that the *terra sigillata* collection was almost certainly the result of excavation rather than purchase because of the many fragmentary and non-diagnostic pieces present; the same is true of the metalwork. The more sought-after pieces represented in MPM Accession 213 include the fibulae and the weapons, and while most of the weapons are relatively intact, the fibulae show a ratio of two whole to 39 broken pieces. Likewise, the large number of small, unidentifiable bronze objects that make up a large part of the metalwork are unlikely to have been purchased, leading to the conclusion that the prehistoric and early historic metalwork was excavated by Frankfurth personally. For similar reasons, it can be said that Frankfurth's collection was not subjected to the “high grading” bias—the selection of interesting, relatively whole artifacts and discarding of unsightly or uninteresting fragments—seen in many older museum collections. The *terra sigillata* collection may have been excavated at the same time as some of the Roman metalwork presented in this thesis and those parts of the collection not analyzed by Caywood (2011) should be studied with that possibility in mind.

William Frankfurth

William Frankfurth's life in Milwaukee has already been partially reconstructed in a previous thesis project (Caywood 2011; see Appendix A), but a more detailed understanding of his character and disposition are integral to reconstructing his actions in the last two years of his life, which are the main focus of this study. According to numerous contemporary documentary sources, Frankfurth, a native of Germany, was born in Arnstadt/Guttenberg, Hessen-Kassel on 28 October 1829 (there is some disagreement in the Wisconsin Historical Society's documents related to his death notices regarding his place of birth, though most say Guttenberg; Conard 1896:435). More recent documents in Germany have provided both a confirmation and a correction: he was born in Gudensberg, Hessen (Sippel via Rossner 2012b:5), and returned there at least once during his European trip. At the age of twenty, he arrived in the United States as one of the so-called forty-eighters who fled Germany in the aftermath of the failed 1848 revolution (Conard 1896:435). He arrived in New York and made his way to Milwaukee via Sandusky, Ohio and Chicago, Illinois, and upon reaching Milwaukee worked for Pfister and Vogel's tannery and managed a grocery store with Christopher Reuter before becoming a book-keeper in John Pritzlaff's hardware store (Conard 1896:435-436). He married Magdalena Maschauer in 1855 and, having spent time working for a hardware company in Germany, founded the company that would become the William Frankfurth Hardware Company in Milwaukee in 1862 (Conard 1896:436). In 1870, Frankfurth's first biological child was born: a son named William. At some point prior to this Frankfurth and his wife had adopted a girl named Amalia. Two more sons followed, Lorenz and Hans in 1872 and 1875, respectively, and their final child was a daughter,

Clara, who was born in 1877. By this time, Frankfurth's business had made him quite wealthy, and he had begun to use this wealth to pursue his many civic, naturalist, and archaeological interests.

Records of Frankfurth's contributions to the Milwaukee community are many. Having never attended a formal institute of higher education, he impressed contemporaries with the breadth of his knowledge of science and literature, which he had reportedly taught himself (Conard 1896:437). He helped establish the German-English Academy (now part of the University School of Milwaukee) both by serving on its board and by donating land for its construction (*History of the German-English Academy* 1901:71-72). His interest in education also led him to serve a term as president of the German-American National Teachers Seminary; he was lauded for his energy and sound advice while in that position. He was also noted as a member of the board for Milwaukee's first public library and what eventually became the Milwaukee Public Museum. Although he is mentioned as severing ties to the group in 1861, he served as president of the Milwaukee Turnverein Association (*Past Presidents of the Turnverein* n.d.:11). He never ran for public office, but he took an active interest in both local and national politics, helping to organize the anti-slavery Republican Party in Milwaukee and being later named vice president of the American Constitutional Union, whose platform attacked corruption in Congress (*Milwaukee Daily News* 7. Aug. 1873). A founding member of the Natural History Society of Wisconsin, he was instrumental in the formation of the MPM, and continued to donate many items of interest to its collections after its establishment.

Frankfurth's passion for natural history and archaeology led him to pursue these interests in addition to his civic duties. An amateur archaeologist, Frankfurth's donations to the MPM included prehistoric pottery excavated in Wisconsin, and he is known to have introduced a motion at the Natural History Society of Wisconsin in favor of preserving the works of the so-called mound builders (*Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Wisconsin* 1884-1888:47). His teenaged sons are listed as donating specimens to the museum as well, probably at his urging (Caywood 2011:22). It is reported that he took the city's youth on excursions to teach them the natural history of the state (Conard 1896:437).

At the same time, the forceful personality that allowed Frankfurth to parlay a small hardware company into one of the largest businesses in Milwaukee may have led to his being perceived as somewhat pushy. While noted as an honored citizen at his funeral, the *Milwaukee Sentinel's* curious report that he "severed his connection [with the Milwaukee Turnverein Association]" seems somewhat diplomatic, as if the severance had not been entirely amicable. Despite this, a contemporary description of Frankfurth ascribes to him "the heart of a child," and it is reported that "deep and genuine mourning filled the hearts of his numerous friends" when he died (*Milwaukee Sentinel* 24. Dec 1891:3).

Frankfurth's reputation among the people of Milwaukee at the time of his death appears to have been characterized by honesty, charity, and hard work. Frankfurth died in Vienna on 1 December 1891 (*The Evening Wisconsin* 2. Dec. 1891), and his body was sent back to Milwaukee for a funeral on 23 December. Archival evidence suggests that his wife Magdalena and his children Hans and Clara traveled from Vienna to Kassel after

Frankfurth's death while son Lorenz Frankfurth and brother-in-law Lorenz Maschauer—Magdalena's brother and the executor of Frankfurth's estate—managed Frankfurth's business and assets (*History of the German-English Academy* 1901:71). Eventually, this included the archaeological materials Frankfurth gathered during his excavations in Austria.

Factors Governing Attitudes toward Frankfurth in Austria

Frankfurth's excavations were conducted against the backdrop of late nineteenth century socio-political developments, and understanding the ideological and societal factors that led to his experiences in the Tyrol is essential. If the people there were predisposed to dislike Frankfurth and his actions, this is relevant for a number of reasons. First, it would have informed Frankfurth's actions overseas, and it may explain why he disappeared from the region's records for a number of months. Second, such an attitude toward German-Americans would have informed the responses of the local and regional governments, who seem to have had an active interest in Frankfurth's activities while he was excavating as well as after his departure. Third, it could have motivated local antiquarians and archaeologists to respond to Frankfurth's actions by visiting or excavating the sites he investigated. Finally, it could help account for the discrepancy between the descriptions of his character in Milwaukee—which are overwhelmingly positive—and his eventual vilification in Austria in some quarters (see Chapter 3). It should be noted that despite the original negative attitude toward Frankfurth's actions, more recent accounts of his activities (e.g. Lunz 2006; Rossner 2012a; Rossner 2013b) are largely positive.

The main socio-historical forces that colored Frankfurth's excavations and local reactions to his activities were European nationalism and the increased concern with local and regional prehistory that accompanied it. Nationalism and archaeology both had their adolescences in the nineteenth century and developed more or less in tandem (Díaz-Andreu 2007:30). Nationalism functions as a social and political system that manipulates people into believing they belong not just through institutional enforcement but through inspiration and personal engagement with the nation-state (Díaz-Andreu 2007:59). Trigger (1989) identifies most early European archaeological traditions as nationalistic in orientation, and asserts that certain excavation trends and emphases on particular time periods may be the result of nationalist agendas. For the majority of the nineteenth century, nationalism encouraged the collection of archaeological materials from abroad, but after the liberal revolutions of the 1860s in Europe, nationalist archaeologists began to turn their attention increasingly to prehistory (Díaz-Andreu 2007:372). A nation's prehistory was considered a part of its ethnic past, and consequently prehistoric materials were thought to belong in local or national institutions (ibid.).

The second force that Frankfurth had to deal with was the rise of professionalism in archaeology that was just barely making its way into the Tyrol during his visit. By the time he arrived in late 1889 and began to pursue his interest in prehistoric monuments over the next year, Franz Tappeiner—who fancied himself a legitimate scholar despite some cutting remarks regarding his *bona fides* by Oswald Menghin (1911:300)—had been investigating sites in the Etschtal for decades. Conrad Fischner, a museum curator in Innsbruck, obviously also considered himself an authority, as did at least one public

servant who reached out to him for help when Frankfurth was working in his district (*MZ* 14. Okt 1890). Fridolin Plant had been dealing antiquities in Meran for at least five years when Frankfurth arrived there (Plant 1890) and was held in very high esteem by fellow Meran prehistorian Alois Menghin, Oswald Menghin's father (O. Menghin 1962:249). An Innsbruck nobleman working at the Ferdinandeum in the 1890s and early 1900s—Franz von Wieser—also visited the Etsch Valley to survey newly discovered prehistoric sites. Each of these men was a native Austrian, and they were considered the experts on prehistory in this region of the Alps when Frankfurth arrived there in 1889.

The last force that appears to have worked against Frankfurth was a general European disdain for Americans with new money. Among the many things printed about Frankfurth were several remarks that suggest the extent of his disposable income was considered somewhat distasteful (*IN* 30. Sep 1890; *MZ* 1. Okt 1890). This makes a certain amount of sense considering Frankfurth's background; born to a middle-class German family and having made his fortune as a hardware store owner in an American city with a large immigrant population (Conard 1896:435-438), he hardly would have had the social graces that were supposed to accompany wealth and status in Europe. As a “48er”, he probably also put people's backs up by not deferring to social rank as Europeans at the time were expected to do.

For these reasons, it is easy to see why Frankfurth's excavations might have met with criticism. His stated goal, to bring prehistoric materials back to the MPM, was seen as cultural robbery by some of his detractors, which Frankfurth pointed out was hypocritical given the Roman and Egyptian collections housed at the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck (*MZ*

7. Feb 1890). The established antiquarians and prehistorians in Austria were unhappy with an amateur entering their territory, and perhaps his status as a foreigner garnered him more criticism for his methods than a native would have received (Tappeiner's methods were called into question only after his death; cf. O. Menghin 1911:303 and Lunz 1976:50). His status as a wealthy foreigner may have further upset the locals, making it even more likely that he would draw negative attention from some of the intelligentsia of the southern Tyrol during his excavations. Frankfurth, though he only seldom answered his detractors, did devote the last sentence of a manuscript posthumously published in a local newspaper to defend his activities: “Bemerkung: Ich habe niemals Nachgrabungen gehalten, ohne vorher Erlaubnis dazu eingeholt zu haben [Note: I never excavated anywhere without first obtaining permission to do so]” (MZ 9. Feb 1890). Documents recently discovered in the MPM archives suggest that this was an accurate statement, as several of them (written in *Deutsch Schrift* and now being transcribed and translated) are official excavation permits for sites discussed in this thesis (Bettina Arnold pers. comm.).

Review of Literature

William Frankfurth left two different archaeological legacies on either side of the Atlantic. In Milwaukee, his actions resulted in the growth of the MPM's European collection, just as he had hoped they would. In Austria, however, his excavations led to a renewed interest in the southern Tyrol's prehistory, and the sites he reportedly identified and investigated—especially the Hochbühel and the Tartscherbühel—were foundational for two separate interpretive perspectives. The initial phase of this discourse began with

the discussion of the so-called *Wallburgen*, or hillforts, in Austria (O. Menghin 1962), but eventually focused on prominent examples of *Wallburgen* that were reevaluated as *Brandopferplätze*, or ash altar sites. In order to properly recontextualize the prehistoric metalwork in MPM Accession 213, it is imperative to understand the evolution of ideas regarding these two very different terms and the contexts to which they were assigned in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Ringwall and Wallburg Studies

Gleirscher (2002) identifies the *Ringwall* and *Wallburg* studies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as marking the inception of interest in the Alpine ash altar site phenomenon. Initially understood as hillforts, *Ringwälle* were a fairly common subject of study in the German-speaking regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Surviving examples of early scholarship on the subject (e.g. Komers 1883; Neudeck 1871) are frustratingly vague, however, and offer no defining quality that would lead to their identification as such. Instead of describing a specific type of site in terms of size, form, date, or apparent function, it seems as though *Ringwall* was simply a general term used to refer to any site that possessed some kind of encircling earthwork.

The identification of *Wallburg*—or walled fortress—sites began in Germany and spread into the Austrian Alps in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Schubert (1991:452) credits the discussion surrounding the Sinichkopf, Grumserbühel, Hochbühel, and St. Hippolyt—all but the last sites reportedly investigated by William Frankfurth—as a seminal moment in Austrian *Wallburg* studies. The early *Wallburg* sites were discussed extensively by Tappeiner (1892a; 1892b; 1892c; 1895), who applied the term to all four

of the aforementioned sites in spite of St. Hippolyt's Neolithic date, which makes it much earlier than the other three. Tappeiner's views of the Frankfurth sites will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4; noteworthy, however, is his use of the *Wallburg* term, which was not used by Austrian scholars prior to this point. Schubert (1991:452) also mentions that local amateur archaeologist Fridolin Plant (see Chapter 4) was actually responsible for introducing the term to Austrian circles, but this claim is not substantiated by other sources. Other Austrians who adopted the *Wallburg* term during this time were Mazegger (1891) and von Wieser (1898), both of whom followed Tappeiner's usage.

Oswald Menghin, a prominent Austrian archaeologist in the early twentieth century, is perhaps the best-known of the European scholars to take an interest in *Wallburg* sites, and in his publications he seems to use the terms *Wallburg* and *Ringwall* interchangeably. Menghin (1911) was the first to synthesize the information gleaned from *Wallburg* excavations in the Etschtal, and he included maps and site plans of multiple Austrian *Wallburgen* within a single publication. He was also, however, the first Austrian to question the application of the term to the sites it was being used to describe; in the case of the so-called *Wallburgen* in the vicinity of Meran, he remarked that although he would have liked to envision a series of fortified settlements on defensible hilltops surrounding a settlement in the valley, he felt the evidence supporting this interpretation was insufficient (O. Menghin 1911:303). Instead, he suggested that some *Wallburg* sites—including the Hochbühel—might have served festive or ritual rather than defensive purposes (O. Menghin 1911:305), an idea he later expanded upon after further excavations were conducted at the Tartscherbühel (O. Menghin 1920). After the 1920s,

Menghin's focus shifted more into racial theory and politics (Arnold 1990), perhaps causing his interest in *Wallburgen*—which had dominated his early career—to wane. He later revisited the subject for a short summary of the field (O. Menghin 1962), but this was little more than a brief review of previous studies and contained no new information. Due to his Nazi sympathies, he and his wife had to emigrate to Argentina after 1945, so it is doubtful he ever made it back to the region in later years (Arnold 1990:#).

Interest in *Wallburgen* and *Ringwälle* continued into the ensuing decades, but the theory surrounding these sites advanced little. Both terms were used to describe more or less the same kinds of sites, and which of the two terms an author chose seems to reflect little more than personal taste. Thus, Bierbaum (1928) refers to a supposedly Slavic site as a *Ringwall* while just three years later Moravek (1931) refers to a similar Slavic site as a *Wallburg*; likewise, Wagner (1937) names a Bronze Age site in Germany a *Ringwall* while while Hild (1941) names a similar Bronze and early Iron Age German site a *Wallburg*. The systematic study of these sites continued into the 1960s and 1970s, with various authors (e.g. Pescheck 1963; Foltiny 1970; Gensen 1973; Schmidt 1975; Mitja 1976) publishing the results of their excavations at specific *Wallburg* sites but rarely discussing the phenomenon as a whole. The notable exceptions are Lunz (1974) and Innerebner (1975), who both provide catalogs of *Wallburg* sites but offer little in the way of theoretical discussion regarding their presumed function(s).

Schubert's (1991) discussion of *Wallburgen* in the southern Tyrol finally served to draw attention to each of the several types of site the term had come to encompass. He identified six types of *Wallburg* sites found in the southern Tyrol and provided examples

of each type, successfully demonstrating that the term as it had been used to that point was much too broad. His first four types were settlements and included most of the examples from the southern Tyrol. Types A and B comprised simple, undefended raised settlements differentiated by ease of access (Schubert 1991:457, 459), Type C comprised settlements with a single enclosing embankment (Schubert 1991:460), and Type D comprised settlements with multiple enclosing embankments (Schubert 1991:466). The final two categories, he remarks, are more difficult to interpret as to function: Type E consists of a pyramid of stones surrounded by one or more enclosing embankments (Schubert 1991:469), and Type F consists of sites with nonstandardized layouts with a complex systems of embankments (Schubert 1991:473). Even in the decades before Schubert's discussion, the designation *Wallburg* seems to have fallen into disfavor, and the term is rarely used today, with many of the sites formerly known as *Wallburgen* referred to as *Brandopferplätze* if, in addition to fortifications, they have yielded evidence for burning and votive deposition.

Alpine Ash Altar Sites

Schubert's (1991) typology serves as a useful segue into a discussion of Alpine ash altar sites because his *Wallburg* Types E and F have mostly been reclassified as such. Large numbers of burnt objects concentrated in single area, often embedded in a large pile of ash, bone, and other material, characterize these sites. Gleirscher (2002:592) attributes the exponential growth in the number of identified ash altars during the 1970s and 1980s to efforts by Lunz (1976) and Schubert (1984) to reclassify previously misidentified *Wallburgen*. Key to this discussion is the demarcation between settlement

sites and ritual sites, which is complicated by the fact that several have yielded evidence that they served both functions. The Tartscherbühel is a notable example.

Krämer (1966) was the first mainstream scholar to argue that the ash altar sites were ritual in nature and deserved a special classification. His study included 25 sites in the southern Tyrol, eastern Switzerland, Bavaria, and Austria; on the basis of excavation reports he drew analogies to sacrificial sanctuaries located elsewhere in the Mediterranean basin (Figure 1.3, Krämer 1966:114). Parallels to this practice, Krämer

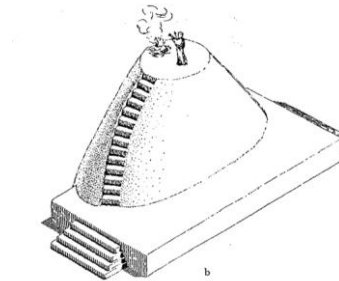


Figure 1.3 Classical altar on which ash has been allowed to accumulate, which Krämer argues is an analogue to Alpine ash altars (Krämer 1966:114).

(1966:120) pointed out, existed in the Classical world. The Roman historian and geographer Pausanias famously described a large sacrificial altar to Hera on Samos where the ash was left in place when the fires burned down, eventually resulting in a mound so high it was reportedly possible to see the entire island from its summit. Bronze Age precursors of Classical Greek ash altar sites—the so-called Mycenaean and Minoan peak sanctuaries—were also known (Faro 2008; Peatfield 1983), but the rituals associated with these sanctuaries may not have been restricted to places with high visibility from the lowlands and did not necessarily include ash piles (Briault 2007:132). However, the issue of intervisibility has been identified as a factor in the placement of these sanctuaries (Briault 2007:136), which may be a significant parallel because the Hochbühel,

Grumserbühel, and Sinichkopf are also within sight of one another. Krämer argued that a similar function must have characterized the Alpine sites, with compacted ash and artifactual materials indicating a long use-life but without the features of other prehistoric Alpine settlements (Krämer 1966:121). Later authors would note the similarity of ash altar sites to the Classical Lykaion and the Bronze Age sanctuary at Carphi (Gleirscher 2002:620). Krämer coined the term *Brandopferplatz* [burned offering place] for this new type of site (Krämer 1966:114). In English, the term ash altar is borrowed from Classical archaeology to describe *Brandopferplätze*, a convention which will be followed in this thesis (justified in that a German term closer to the English—*Aschenaltäre*—is used interchangeably with *Brandopferplatz*, albeit much less frequently; Gleirscher et al. 2002:175).

Krämer's interpretation and nomenclature were slowly adopted by German-speaking academics working in the Alpine region after 1966. As noted above, authors continued to publish on sites classified as *Wallburgen* or *Ringwälle* for twenty years after his 1966 article was published. The study of Alpine ash altar sites was significantly advanced by Amei Lang (1995; 1996; 2002), who excavated an ash altar site called the *Spielleitenköpfl* near Farchant in the Loisachtal in the mid 1990s. She characterized these sites as sacrificial areas where the earthly and heavenly realms intersected, which she believes explains why all of them are located on raised areas under the open sky (Lang 1995:6). She also noted the presence of an embankment and a stone altar (which matches Schubert's *Wallburg* Type E), and further postulated that pits like those she had found on the *Spielleitenköpfl* existed elsewhere but had not yet been identified. It was in

these pits, she says, that practitioners disposed of burnt bones and plant remains after the feasts that accompanied ritual sacrifices (ibid.). She also makes a connection between the objects found at ash altars and what she calls Hallstatt “*Sinnbilder höherer Mächte* [symbols of higher power]” (Lang 1995:7): birds, horses, and boats carrying the sun. This, to her, solidified the interpretation of ash altar sites as centers of ritual activity. After further excavations, she believed she could elaborate on the rituals taking place there on the basis of La Tène artistic representations, with a special focus on the ritual feasting aspect (Lang 1996:33). Lang (1995:12; 1996:34) also commented on the intra- and interregional movement of people and goods across the Alps and believed ash altar sites offer a unique perspective of shifting trends in the economy and trade systems because of their long use-lives and evidence for a highly mobile population.

By the early 2000s, all six of the sites at which Frankfurth is known to have excavated had been reclassified as ash altar sites from their previous designations as settlements (Gleirscher et al. 2002:237, 240, 243, 244). Most of the discussion has centered around three major sites excavated in the 1990s: the aforementioned Spielleitenköpfl excavated by Lang (1995; 1996), as well as the Pillerhöhe in Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998) and the Rungger Egg in Italy (Gleirscher et al. 2002). The amount of available information on ash altar sites greatly increased with the 2002 publication of *Kult der Vorzeit in den Alpen/Culti nella preistoria delle Alpi* [Prehistoric Cultic Activity in the Alps], which included several chapters about individual Alpine ash altars (e.g. Niederwanger 2002a; 2002b; Nothdurfter 2002; Rageth 2002; Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 2002). However, most of the discussions in this

volume are short and primarily descriptive, and a comprehensive synthetic comparative analysis has so far not been attempted (but see Steiner 2010).

Alpine ash altar studies have largely inherited the single-site focus that characterized publications about *Wallburgen* and *Ringwille*, but Gleirscher (2002), Lang (2006), and Steiner (2010) have all made efforts to synthesize some of the information gathered at multiple sites. Lang's (2006) study focused on the burnt faunal remains, attempting to explain the reason for the long continuation of this practice, suggesting that burned animal sacrifice could have been a cultural fixture as early as the Paleolithic. She also identified the three most common animal remains deposited at ash altar sites; unsurprisingly they are cow, sheep/goat, and pig, all protein staples that she believes support her assertion that ash altars were sites of ritual feasting (Lang 2006:21).

Gleirscher (2002) sought not only to integrate his findings at the Rungger Egg into a larger discussion of Alpine ash altar sites, but also to catalog the known localities. He made a number of important generalized observations in his publications on the Rungger Egg, including the fact that ash altar sites dating from the Bronze Age may have been located near important lakes or springs (Gleirscher 2002:618), several ash altar sites appear to have seen a hiatus in use between the late La Tène and early Roman periods (Gleirscher 2002:627), and people occasionally may have been sacrificed alongside animals and objects at the Rungger Egg (Gleirscher et al. 2002:176).

Currently, Alpine ash altar sites are defined as outdoor ritual sites at which burnt offerings were made. They are mostly concentrated in Alpine valleys and are conspicuously absent in most of the rest of Europe. An early attempt to type Alpine ash

altar sites was made by Schubert (1980), and was greatly expanded by Gleirscher (2002); the most common type includes a stone altar, evidence of deposited materials, and an associated *Festplatz* where feasting took place. The deposited materials range from charred animal bones to vegetable foodstuffs, along with common ceramics and ornamental metalwork. At least some of the ornamental metalwork found in ash altar contexts is finely made or symbolic in form, but it is almost always made of bronze rather than gold and silver. The sites' primary value, apart from adding to our understanding of prehistoric activity in Alpine religion, is in the length of their use lives; they are considered to be the only ritual sites where activity in some cases continued uninterrupted from the third millennium B.C. to the third or fourth century A.D. (Lang 1996:21). This is not, however, to say that materials deposited at these sites were homogenous through time; indeed, if the Spielleitenköpfl and Pillerhöhe are representative, there was a noticeable evolution of material types and depositional activities from the Bronze Age through the Iron Age and into the Roman period (Lang 1996; Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 2002). The use lives of these sites do seem to vary, however, with some either in use for only a relatively short time or undergoing a discontinuity within their use lives (Table 1.2).

Summary

Alpine ash altar sites that have been systematically excavated are relatively rare, and many identifications of new ash altar sites are based on excavations that occurred before 1950 (Gleirscher et al. 2002:218). The ash altar sites that have been excavated more fully are frequently published and used to draw conclusions about the phenomenon as a whole,

despite the fact that the material profiles of these sites—apart from broken ceramics and calcined bone—are highly variable (Steiner 2010:438-439). As such, any additional artifacts that can be attributed to Alpine ash altar sites could greatly enhance our understanding of these unique, long-lived sites.

Connecting the prehistoric metalwork in MPM Accession 213 to some of the Alpine ash altar sites Frankfurth is known to have excavated has the potential to add to the excavated data currently available. Of the six sites we know Frankfurth investigated, four have not been systematically explored since 1895, and only two have been investigated in the last fifty years (see Chapter 3). Thus, the analytic value of MPM Accession 213 is potentially quite significant, especially because one site—the Hochbühel—was destroyed during the Second World War (Torggler-Wöß 1953). Before that is possible, however, we must fit Alpine ash altar sites into their proper theoretical place and develop a profile of artifacts we would expect to see recovered based on more recently excavated Alpine ash altar contexts.

Chapter 2 Theory and Methods

Introduction

Placing the prehistoric metalwork in MPM Accession 213 back into its context requires a better understanding of the sites Frankfurth excavated by establishing the types of materials that could be expected from those sites. In this sense the metalwork is easier to contextualize than the *terra sigillata* examined by Caywood (2011). Whereas that set of material had to be placed into a hypothetical framework derived from other Roman sites, the prehistoric metalwork can be compared to sites Frankfurth is known to have excavated. Thus, the contextualization of the prehistoric metalwork must be examined from two different angles: first, it has to be seen whether the objects in the collection fit the expected categories stylistically and temporally and display the same depositional hallmarks found at other sites that are identified as ash altar sites (this chapter), and if so, it has to be determined whether the presence or absence of the material types represented in MPM Accession 213 matches what is known about the specific sites Frankfurth visited based on later, better-documented excavations (Chapter 4).

Ash Altar Sites and Ritual Deposition: Towards a Theoretical Model

This discussion of Alpine ash altar sites fits into the larger research project of understanding ritual deposition in prehistoric Europe. Until 1980, the paradigmatic shift toward a more scientific archaeology concerned with subsistence and exchange left little room in its theoretical program for interpreting ritual contexts or behaviors. Even after Richard Bradley's influential 1982 paper on the subject, the archaeological community at large was slow to develop approaches to interpreting ritual deposition. It was largely

thanks to Richard Bradley's (1982, 1988, 1991, 1998) continued scholarly output on this topic that the study of ritual deposition has recently regained traction in Old World—and especially European—archaeology and now it is generally recognized that votive deposition “matters because the exchange of objects for supernatural returns has, in many societies, been both socially and economically significant” (Osborn 2004:2).

Ritual deposition can be viewed as a specific subset of ritual behavior more generally. Taking cues from cultural anthropology, Bradley summarizes the archaeological attitudes towards ritual behavior as follows:

Ritual has been treated as a particular kind of communication, a way of acting out fundamental propositions about the world. It occupies a specialized arena in which the sacred penetrates the mundane. From this perspective, ritual is often equated with the expression of religious belief and is marked by a high degree of formality (Turner 1969; Bloch 1989; Rappaport 1999). It is performed using prescribed movements, gestures, and utterances and is often conducted through particular media such as music or dance. It can happen at special places and times, and it may involve restricted groups of people and unusual kinds of artifacts (Bradley 2003:5).

The degree to which this definition—which sets ritual behavior apart from everyday life—can apply to past societies is called into question by Bradley (2003) and Chadwick (2012). They argue that premodern societies do not conceptualize the sacred and profane as binary opposites, but rather as two interlocking and interdependent parts of the spiritual world they inhabit. Thus, it is more helpful to view ritual in terms of a continuum, wherein an action can be viewed as more or less ritualistic regardless of whether it serves a practical purpose or not (Chadwick 2012:303). Bradley (1998) also argues that the impetus behind rituals is not as caught up in subsistence practices as was previously thought, but rather often persisted despite changes in economy and ecology.

Because of this, he argues that certain ritual actions—specifically citing votive deposition in watery places—persist into the *longue durée* scale of time, crosscutting and outlasting individual cultural horizons (Bradley 1998:211).

Such a view of ritual behavior gives researchers a great degree of latitude in interpreting depositional material as ritualistic in nature. Up to this point, there has been much discussion of whether certain types of deposit were ritualistic or non-ritualistic. This is especially true of so-called hoards, for which there is early literary precedent for either interpretation (Bradley 1998:6). Theoreticians have been struggling for decades to create clear delineations between the two, mostly based on the types of materials present and the ease of recovering the materials after deposition. Interpretations are complicated by the fact that hoards in western Europe are more likely to be associated with industrial activity while hoards with the same materials are described as ritualistic in northern Europe (Bradley 1998:15). Bradley (1982) also questioned the usefulness of a distinction between the two types of deposits, and by the second edition of *The Passage of Arms* he regrets having abandoned his original position of considering both as part of the same phenomenon (Bradley 1998:xvi). Other authors have followed suit in recent years, with Hamerow (2006) arguing that deposits that seem like rubbish at first glance were probably also ritualistic in some way and Hendon (2000) arguing that practical storage and ritual deposition served similar social functions.

Spaces of Ritual Deposition in Prehistoric Europe

Ritual deposits in prehistoric Europe fall into 'wet' and 'dry' site categories. Wet deposits make up the bulk of the documented sites, being found in rivers, lakes, and bogs throughout western, northern, and central Europe. Examples include the rich lakeside

sanctuary at La Tène (Kaenel 2007; Kubicek 2008; Schwab 1972) and the many hoards and human bodies found in Scandinavian and Irish bogs (Bradley 1982; Kelly 2006; Ravn 2010). Dry deposits, on the other hand, are somewhat less common. One example, the Swiss site of Mormont, shows evidence for animal and perhaps human sacrifice in a dry context (Kaenel 2007; Dietrich et al. 2007, cited by Arnold 2010). Despite being treated as two separate kinds of site, Bradley (1998:9) believes the differences between hoards and votive deposits are mostly superficial.

The recognition of structured sanctuaries in prehistoric Europe is a relatively new development; drawing on Classical sources such as Tacitus, it was long assumed that most prehistoric European rituals took place in “sacred groves”, open air locations without much artificial construction (referred to as atectonic). This conception has been modified for the late Iron Age with the recognition of timber bridges over Lake Neuchâtel at La Tène and the existence of central and western European *Viereckschanzen*, both of which indicate that formalized, delineated spaces existed for the performance of certain rituals in pre-Roman Celtic Europe (Bradley 1998:175). The early Iron Age does seem to reflect a largely atectonic ritual complex, but most early Iron Age ritual sites have Bronze Age precursors and many persisted into the Roman period, so these distinctions are problematic. In some ways, Alpine ash altar sites resemble *Viereckschanzen*, but more parallels can be drawn between the ash altar sites in the Alps and the ash altar sites of the pre-Classical Mediterranean and Near East. The offering of burnt sacrifices on mountaintops or other spectacular locations at so-called ash altar sites was common in the Mediterranean (Randsborg 1995:75), but is only archaeologically attested in remote, pre-Classical locations. The accumulation of ash is known from Mycenaean peak sanctuaries

(Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004:137), which is what led Krämer (1966) to develop the term *Brandopferplatz* in the first place. These sanctuaries are described by Classical authors such as Plato and Pausanias (Burkert 1983:101). Thus, Alpine ash altar sites constitute a type of ritual sanctuary that is part of the prehistoric temperate European religious tradition, but is comparable to contemporary early sanctuaries in the Classical world. The Mediterranean and temperate European sites appear to share a common starting point in the Early Bronze Age, so it is difficult to determine influence or direction of conceptual flow.

These sanctuaries were maintained so that sacrifices and offerings could be made there. The objects being sacrificed varied by time period, but mainly consisted of food offerings, precious metals, personal ornamentation, weapons, armor, horse gear, and tools (Kiernan 2009:3). Often, the metal objects were intentionally scratched, broken, or burned to remove them from circulation for good (Randsborg 1995:115). This phenomenon is known as ritual killing and is thought to release the essence of objects by transforming their shape and nature (Merrifield 1987). The use of non-precious metal—such as bronze—is seen as indicative of a more individualistic sacrifice than the presence of precious metals, which were ostentatious enough to gain prestige for the people offering them (Bradley 1998:39). Gold votive deposits are much more common in the late Bronze Age in northern Europe and are not known from many Alpine contexts (where Iron Age examples of gold jewelry like the Erstfied Hoard are usually interpreted as hoards). Bronze objects may reflect personal items offered to the gods in exchange for supernatural help, much like the Roman *votum* offerings (Kiernan 2009:5).

Fire and Sacrifice in the Ancient World

The idea of sacrificial consumption by fire has a precedent in almost every literate Indo-European culture, and some version of it still exists in modern Hinduism. In these cases, a great deal of emphasis is placed on fire as a purifying agent, transforming mundane animals or objects into sacrifices fit for divine consumption. The release of smoke is also remarked by Mediterranean sources as having a pleasing odor that drew the gods' attention (e.g. Hesiod 1998:19; cf. Burkert 1983). Finally, the odor and the accompanying smoke may have suggested that the object's spirit was released through burning, essentially making the object inert just as breaking would do (Merrifield 1987:30).

Classical accounts of burnt sacrifices usually involve the offering of animals rather than inanimate objects, like those deposited early on in the use life of Alpine ash altar sites in the late Bronze and early Iron Age. Ancient Greek and Roman sources record burnt animal sacrifices in both cultures, and various other sources indicate that most cultures both within and outside the Mediterranean basin—including the Hebrews, Carthaginians, and Germanic peoples—practiced similar forms of burnt sacrifice (Burkert 1983:9-10). The transalpine Celtic peoples were no exception, though the offering of human sacrifice was especially interesting to Roman authors, who turned much of their attention to ceremonies such as the infamous wicker man scene reported by Caesar (Green 1998). This was reputedly a type of burnt human sacrifice that involved several people trapped inside a large woven likeness of a human and burned alive. The Celts' indisputable practice of human sacrifice (though likely occasional) has somewhat sensationalized the study of pre-Roman European burnt sacrifice, but there are several known contexts—such as in the sanctuaries at Gournay and Ribemont-sur-Ancre in

France—where Celtic animal sacrifice is known to have taken place (Lowry 2005; Méniel 2007). The historical record of pre-Roman Celtic animal or object sacrifice is relatively spotty, however, due to the Classical fascination with and sensationalization of supposed human sacrifice, and it is perhaps more fruitful to view Alpine ash altar sites in the context of ritual practices as described by the Greeks.

The ancient Greeks had two forms of burnt animal sacrifice—*holocaust*, in which the animal was entirely consumed by flames, and *thyesthai*, in which a meal would be shared among participants in the ritual and the inedible portions would be offered to the gods. This is apparently a practice of considerable antiquity, with a justification for it given in Hesiod's *Theogony*, one of the earliest known works of Greek literature:

For when the gods and mortal men were coming to a settlement at Mekone, he [Prometheus] had carved up a big ox and served it in such a way as to mislead Zeus. For him he laid out meat and entrails rich with fat in the hide, covering it in the ox's stomach, while for men he laid out the ox's white bones, which he arranged carefully for a cunning trick by covering them in glistening fat. Then the father of gods and men said to him, "Son of Iapetus, outstanding among all the lords, my good sir, how unfairly you have divided the portions." So chided Zeus, whose designs do not fail. But crooked-schemer Prometheus, smiling quietly and intent on deceit, said to him, "Zeus greatest and most glorious of the eternal fathers, choose whichever of them the spirit in your breast bids you."...With both hands he [Zeus] took up the white fat; and he grew angry about the lungs, and wrath reached him to the spirit, when he saw the white ox-bones set for a cunning trick. Ever since that, the people on earth have burned white bones for the immortals on aromatic altars (Hesiod 1999:19).

Hesiod's account of the portions offered to the gods is relevant to the study of Alpine ash altars because the gods' portions are described as not fit for human consumption. This is reflected at Alpine ash altar sites by the presence of bones from inedible parts of the animals (Kokabi and Wahl 2002:949; Zohman et al. 2010:835). The bones associated

with the edible cuts of fatty meat, which Hesiod reports Prometheus keeping for human consumption, are usually found in pits away from the ash altars and near what Gleirscher (2002) calls the *Festplatz*, probably an open-air area reserved for the human feasting that would accompany the burnt sacrifice, suggesting such superior cuts were set aside for consumption at a communal feast (Zohman et al. 2010:839).

The presence of food-related waste associated with feasting suggests that rituals taking place at Alpine ash altar sites may have been similar to those described in Greece. This assertion is supported by the similarities found between Alpine ash altars in the late Bronze Age and contemporary ash altar sites in the Aegean during the Mycenaean period (Faro 2008; Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004). A description of early Greek sacrificial practice and the accompanying feasting survives in Homer's *Iliad*:

At once the men arranged the sacrifice for Apollo, making the cattle ring his well-built altar, then they rinsed their hands and took up the barley...and as soon as the men had prayed and flung the barley, first they lifted back the heads of the victims [cattle], slit their throats, skinned them and carved away the meat from the thighbones and wrapped them in fat, a double fold sliced clean and topped with strips of flesh...Once they had burned the bones and tasted the organs they cut the rest into pieces, pierced them with spits, roasted them to a turn and pulled them off the fire. The work done, the feast laid out, they ate well and no man's hunger lacked a share of the banquet (Homer 1990:92-93).

The Greek sources—which should not by any means be used to reconstruct all the details of Alpine sacrificial practice—are helpful in establishing the initial impetus that may have led to an Alpine ash altar's establishment, as well as the possible attitudes people had toward the sacrifices they were conducting. It seems likely that these could be similar cross-culturally because in both the Alps and Greece the ash altar phenomenon outlasts individual cultures and later political and social upheaval and transformation.

Deposition of Metal Artifacts

Viewing the deposition of metalwork in the context of burnt sacrifice is complicated by the fact that no Classical authors describe such depositional activities in the barbarian world (Green 1998). In addition, examples of metalwork in prehistoric European ritual depositional contexts mostly come from wet sites, where people deposited weapons, tools, and jewelry in lakes or rivers over long periods of time (Bradley 1998; James 2005:94). The inclusion of metal objects in Alpine ash altar assemblages is relatively unique in the array of prehistoric European ritual sites, not least because the practice is unknown in other contexts where immolation is part of the sacrifice. Metal offerings are also known in Greece, kept in treasure houses located near shrines to particular deities; such structures also apparently existed at some Alpine ash altar sites (Steiner 2010). Given the originally feast-oriented nature of Alpine ash altar sites, the transition from animal to metal sacrificial deposition at such sites as the Pillerhöhe described by Tschurtschentaler and Wein (2002) seems to reflect a different set of practices and may require closer investigation.

There are two potential explanations for why metalwork is found in such abundance at some Alpine ash altar sites and not at others. The first supposes another similarity between the Alpine ash altar sites and Classical sacrificial practice, with the sacrificial animals wearing some sort of costume that included decorative metalwork. Such a view would also suppose that the Pillerhöhe is not representative of Alpine ash altar sites as a whole (Tschurtschentaler and Wein 2002), and that animal and foodstuff sacrifice continued to be practiced there into the late Iron Age and Roman periods. The second explanation is that the nature of the practices at Alpine ash altar sites changed

significantly over several centuries or varied by location, and that the communal feasting that originally played a large part in Alpine ash altar practice was no longer of primary importance in later periods, with inanimate wealth being considered more appropriate to sacrifice than animal wealth.

Since no documentation has survived to the present detailing the relationship between the materials Frankfurth excavated and the faunal remains that he doubtless came across, the first explanation cannot be adequately tested by the metalwork in MPM Accession 213. The uncatalogued ceramics from Accession 213 could potentially allow a future researcher to assess whether the collection contains evidence for foodstuffs being offered into the La Tène period, but for current purposes Tschurtschentaler and Wein's (2002) report will be used to inform our interpretation of the Frankfurth collection. This is particularly true of the uncatalogued and recently accessioned ceramics that may have been from the Sonnenburgerbühel, and the Roman pottery, which is consistent with a settlement deposit. The assumption that the metal ornaments were all secondary to the offering of an animal also does not explain the presence of every category present; while fibulae could conceivably be part of the costume for a sheep, for example, finger rings, bracelets, and axeheads are considerably less likely to be. Thus, it is suggested that the transition from animal sacrifices to metal sacrifices did occur in some areas, and that offering the two separate types of sacrifice at the same place represents a continuity of practice and ideas in those locations.

The obvious point of such continuity involves the ritual death of the objects being offered and the significance of place. In the case of the animal sacrifices made in the Bronze and early Iron Ages, this death was literal; later, when the transition to metalwork

was made, the death was metaphorical. Ritual killing is a practice known from other depositional contexts in prehistoric Europe, with many ritually deposited artifacts being broken, bent, or destroyed in some way (Merrifield 1987:30; James 2005:93). On one level, this makes sense because it renders the objects useless in everyday life; they have been robbed of their original function so that they can serve as gifts for the gods. On another level, the destruction of wealth represents the difficulty that is inherent in the loss of something to an individual. For the purposes of this project, both breaking and burning will be considered forms of ritual killing, because while the manner in which the artifacts are broken may be different, the end result is the same: a depositional process that has rendered an object useless and spiritually inert (Merrifield 1987:27).

Miniature objects must also be included in this discussion because Accession 213 includes a broken fibula in the shape of miniature bronze tongs (Figure 2.1). Similar



Figure 2.1 MPM Acc.# 15992, a fibula shaped like a miniature set of blacksmiths' tongs.

fibulae are known from other sites in the Alps, such as Pfatten (Lunz 2006:246). The foot of what may be the same fibula appears to have been first broken and then hammered flat (Figure 2.2), an additional destructive step other objects also appear to have been subjected to in this collection. This could be linked to the wider practice of offering of

miniature replicas in place of full-sized items, which became widespread during the Roman period in temperate Europe (Kiernan 2009:40). These materials are thought to be symbolic of the objects reproduced at a smaller scale (Kiernan 2009:218). The recreation of tongs is unusual for miniature votive objects, however, because tools are rarely if ever reproduced for this purpose (Kiernan 2009:213).

To conclude, it is necessary to place Alpine ash altar sites into their analytical and theoretical context before attempting to analyze the MPM material likely associated with such sites. The practices taking place at Alpine ash altar sites were likely ritualistic in nature and served little practical (as we would use the word) purpose. Temporally, they represent locales exemplifying Bradley's (1998) idea of ritual as a phenomenon that becomes part of a culture's *longue durée*. They are clearly delineated areas where particular rituals resulting in dry deposition took place over long periods, qualifying them as votive sanctuaries. The deposition of artifacts included so-called ritual killing, with many metal pieces being intentionally broken before entering the archaeological record. By definition, the ritual killing that occurred at Alpine ash altar sites often also included burning. Following the general pattern of deposited objects from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, the sacrifice of inedible parts of animals and foodstuffs—evidenced by the presence of faunal remains and pottery (see above)—as well as metalwork and potentially drink offerings were also involved. The limited number of weapons and rare occurrence of ostentatious (i.e. gold and silver) personal ornament sets Alpine ash altar sites apart from other contemporary votive sites—such as those found in rivers and lakes—and perhaps indicates that the rituals taking place there were focused more on local and personal concerns than on public displays of political power or wealth. Ritual practice at

Alpine ash altar sites could also reflect elemental beliefs, but whether they involved the elements of earth or air, or carried chthonic connotations, is currently unclear based on the archaeological data available.

Data and Methods

Because Caywood (2011) has reconstructed much of the detail associated with Frankfurth's life and dealings in Milwaukee, this study will focus more intensively on his activities overseas. Central to assessing Accession 213's potential to contribute to archaeological research is placing it in its proper site and regional context. For this reason, the excavation and publication history of each ash altar site from the time of Frankfurth's documented excavations in Austria to the present will be thoroughly investigated. This was primarily made possible by searching through issues of the *Meraner Zeitung*, *Burggräfler*, *Bote für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, and *Bozener Zeitung* from the time of Frankfurth's visit for the names of sites Frankfurth visited, the activities he conducted there, and the artifacts he is reported as finding. Each named site will receive a reconstructed narrative of shifting opinions on its function—from Menghin's *Wallburg* studies to the present *Brandopferplatz* interpretation by Gleirscher et al. (2002)—and a description of the known materials gathered there. In doing this, I narrowed down the number of sites that could have yielded metal materials like those in MPM Accession 213 to two or three probable candidates.

The identifiable metal material in Accession 213 consists of 250 bronze and iron pieces, 154 of which are complete enough to identify (Table 2.1 and Figure 2.2; see Appendix B-C for photographs of most artifacts [not all artifacts were photographed]). The largest identifiable categories within the assemblage are fibulae and fibula fragments

(41), straight pins (72), and iron weapons or tools (12). A number of objects of personal adornments not related to clothes fastening are also present, including finger rings (9),

Table 2.1 Number of identifiable bronze and iron objects in MPM Accession 213 likely to be from Frankfurth's 1889-1891 expedition.

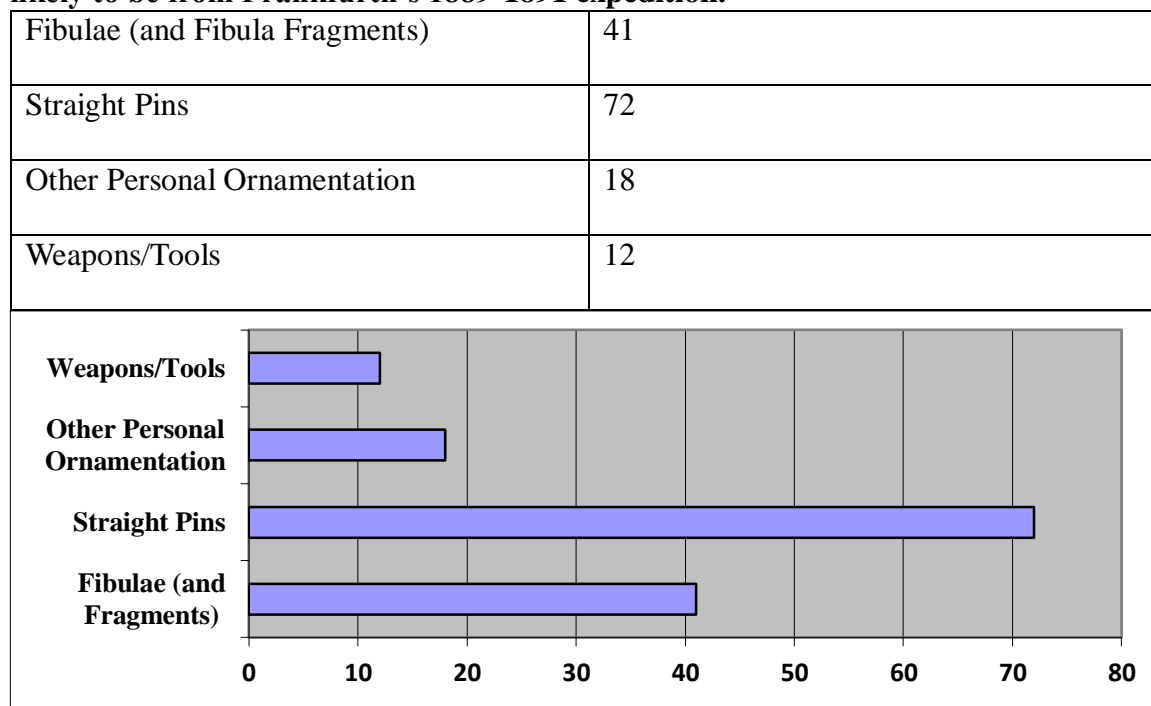


Figure 2.2 Comparison of the number of identifiable bronze and iron objects in MPM Accession 213 likely to be from Frankfurth's 1889-1891 expedition.

pendants (2), bracelets (5), and an incised sheet of bronze that is identical to a bracelet fragment excavated on the Hochbühel by Tappeiner (1891a:49; see Figure 4.25 in Chapter 4). One of the finger rings also bears a striking resemblance to a similar piece found on the Hochbühel (see Figure 4.23 in Chapter 4), further suggesting a link between the MPM materials and this particular site. Among the other personal ornamentation is a sheet bronze pendant that probably adorned a stylized anthropomorphic object. A number of less common artifacts also appear, including rivets, a cowbell, a clapper for a cowbell, a possible leg for a tripod, and a spoon-like object; many of these artifacts are probably medieval or modern in date and were not photographed. However, this thesis

represents only the first attempt to re-create context for the metal objects from this collection and as more information becomes available some of these metal objects, including those not yet cataloged, may turn out to have come from one of the ash altar sites discussed here. The rest of the assemblage appears to consist of utilitarian or semi-decorative fixtures, with buckles (2) and many more of the remaining artifacts potentially belonging to harnesses for animals, primarily horses. Apart from the weapons or tools, all of the items are made of bronze (95.2% bronze to 4.8% iron). The majority are probably Iron Age in date, but the use of straight pins ended with the late Bronze Age and several of the artifacts (including fibulae, a wine sieve fragment, and buckles) are clearly Roman, meaning that the materials represent a minimum date range of 1200 B.C.-A.D. 200.

Because this collection does not contain enough metalwork with good context to draw meaningful conclusions from a quantitative analysis, the analysis of these artifacts was largely qualitative. The first step was to classify the materials into nested categories based on function. The overarching categories are personal ornamentation, other ornamentation, tools/weapons, and miscellaneous functional objects. Subcategories of personal ornamentation will include clothing fasteners—further subdivided into fibulae and straight pins—and jewelry—further subdivided into finger rings, pendants, bracelets, and bangles/hanging jewelry. Other ornamentation mostly includes decorative objects with signs of having been affixed to something else. In the miscellaneous functional objects category—which includes cowbell fragments, and a possible coin—only the coin is significant enough to warrant discussion here. This is because coins have been found to replace other metal objects during the Roman use phases of some Alpine ash altar sites

(Gleirscher 2002; Tschurtschentaler und Wein 2002). Tools and weapons are grouped together because the precise function of the curved blade and axes is unknown. The spearheads mentioned above were probably acquired in Germany during Frankfurth's trip to Hessen in spring/summer 1891 rather than Austria, and will be omitted from this analysis. This is based mainly on the different label style, which could suggest the pieces were purchased rather than excavated by Frankfurth. The location indicated on the labels is Gudensberg—Frankfurth's reported birthplace—in Hessen. While a possible site of the right date (the Baunsberg hillfort, dated to the early to late Iron Age) is known to have been visited there by Frankfurth shortly before his death (Rossner 2012b), this lead has yet to be pursued further (see Chapter 5). Where possible, individual pieces will also be assessed to connect them with known chronological series assembled over the past hundred years of Iron Age studies. The majority of the pieces that can be dated in such a manner are the fibulae, which not only have an established Europe-wide relative chronology, but can be fit into an existing chronology of fibulae in Alpine ash altar contexts (Hye 2013:52-53).

The categories of metalwork established as represented in Accession 213 may then be compared to the categories of metalwork known from European collections associated with identified sites Frankfurth excavated to assess, in conjunction with the archival records, which of the documented sites could have produced the MPM materials. The presence/absence of the categories present in the MPM materials will be compared to presence/absence of the same categories in other Alpine ash altar sites to assess the likelihood of the MPM material coming from this site type. Since the sites Frankfurth reportedly excavated exhibit many similarities, including earthworks, stone walls, and

piles of ash with significant amounts of burned bone, it is hypothesized that the aggregate materials from the Frankfurth sites will match most of the categories for ash altar sites. There are more than two dozen sites that can serve as useful examples for comparison, many of which appear in Table 2.2. Those that do not include the Ganglegg (Gleirscher et al. 2002), the Pillerhöhe (Tschurtschentaler and Wein 1998; 2002), and the Spielleitenköpfl (Lang 1995; 1996; 2002). The degree of completeness will also be analyzed to assess which of the MPM materials may have been ritually killed. Per the discussion above, fire damage from burning as well as intentional breaking will be treated as possible evidence of ritual killing. This may make it possible to connect the materials at the MPM to available information on related collections overseas, allowing researchers on both sides of the Atlantic to carry out further research with a more complete dataset.

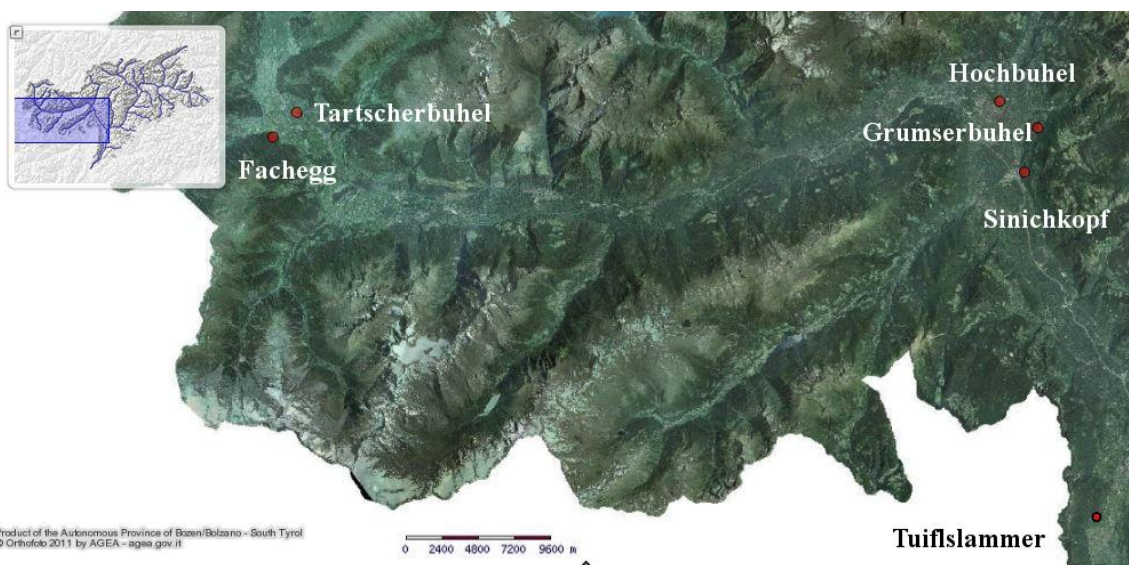
Summary

A sound theoretical and methodological grounding is key to recontextualizing MPM Accession 213. Frankfurth's known excavations at certain types of site in the Alps certainly help, as the existing documentation provides a starting point for identifying their possible prehistoric function. Using comparisons to other objects found in depositional contexts—both within and outside the prehistoric Alping world—it should be possible to assess whether or not MPM Accession 213 represents an assemblage that was the result of ritual deposition. Using the archival evidence offers a further advantage, as we can compare the Frankfurth materials with materials recovered by others at sites where he is known to have engaged in excavations.

Chapter 3 The Frankfurth Sites

A Note on Spelling and Language

Currently, six of the sites visited by Frankfurth are in the Italian province of the southern Tyrol (Alto Adige), no more than 20 km from the Austrian border (Figure 3.1). In 1890, however, the southern Tyrol was part of the County of Tyrol, which owed its allegiance to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Because of its proximity to Trento, the



Figures 3.1 Sites in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano visited by Frankfurth. Map generated in Autonomous Province of Bolzano's GeoBrowser Online GIS System.

people living in the southern Tyrol were a mix of German and Italian speakers. For the purposes of this thesis, the German place names will be used, not only because they were used by Frankfurth as a native German speaker, but also because most archival sources on the excavations and subsequent publications about the sites are in the German language. Thus, Meran is used instead of Merano and Bozen is used instead of Bolzano.

Although the archival evidence for Frankfurth's excavations is rich, the spellings of the place names associated with the site locations were not standardized in the late

nineteenth century. While the names are recognizably similar, they are often not identical, even within the same publication. In cases where there are alternate spellings, these will be given in parentheses, but a single form will be used consistently (except in direct quotations) to avoid confusion. The forms used will be Grumserbühel (alternate spellings Grunserbühl, Grunserbichl, Grumserbichl, and Gronesbühl), Sinichkopf (alternate spelling Sinnichkopf), Hochbühel (which later became conflated with the nearby Segenbühel), Fachegg (which Frankfurth called the Glurnserlöft and O. Menghin [1911] called the Glurnser Köpfl), Tartscherbühel (which often appears in the separated forms Tartscher Bühel or Tartscher Bichl), and Sonnenburgerbühel (which later appears as Sonnenburger Hügel). The Tuiflslammer has only one name.

A final note concerns the spelling of a dialectical German suffix that appears in most of the site names. The word *Bühl* is a regional term in the southern Tyrol and other German-speaking parts of Europe used for a hill or rise. Like the place names mentioned above, the spelling of this term was not standardized and is still used indiscriminately today. Appearing as a suffix, it is variously spelled *-bühl*, *-bühel*, *-büchl*, *-büchel*, or *-bichl*, and the spelling may change even within individual archival publications. Although *-bühl* appears to be the more standard German spelling of the word, the majority of the more recent publications use the spelling *-bühel*, so this is the spelling that will appear in this thesis.

Frankfurth's Journey to Austria

The final five years of William Frankfurth's life saw tragedy for his family. In 1887, his eldest son William died. By 1889, both his wife and his youngest son Hans were also ill, and he contrived to take them to the Austrian Alps (the region would not be divided

between Austria and Italy until after World War I) for a rest cure. Leaving his business in the hands of his brother-in-law, Lorenz Maschauer, Frankfurth took his two remaining sons and only biological daughter to Austria sometime after 26 November 1889 (this assumption is based on his filing a signed copy of his will on that date in the city of Milwaukee; Frankfurth 1889:54). Not content to simply sit still or play the tourist, it appears he actively sought ways to pursue his archaeological interests overseas, which in Austria were chronicled primarily by the local newspapers *Meraner Zeitung (MZ)* and *Der Burggräfler (BG)*, but also in other publications listed below. So far, his movements can be tracked to five sites currently in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano, Italy (Figure 3.2) and at least one site near Innsbruck, Austria, as well as a hillfort called the Baunsberg near his hometown in Hessen, Germany. In late February 1890 he came into

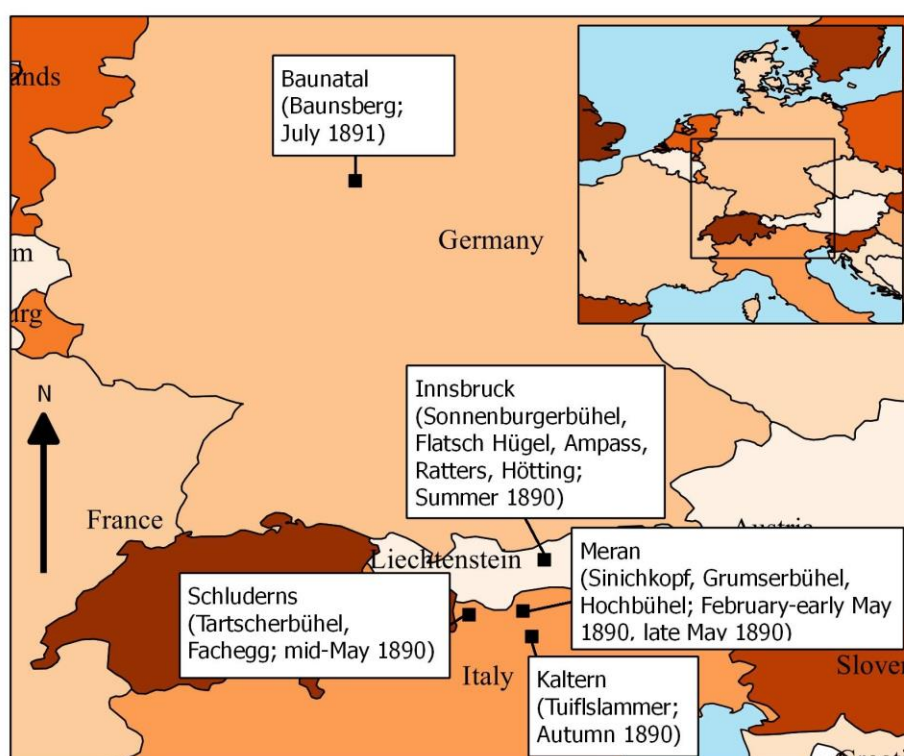


Figure 3.2 Map showing Frankfurth's known movements during his 1889-1892 visit to Europe. Sites he visited in the vicinity of each known town in parenthesis.

contact with an Austrian antiquarian named Fridolin Plant.

Fridolin Plant

Variously described as a bookseller (*MZ* 9. Apr 1890), art and antiquities dealer, (Plant 1890), Fridolin Plant (abbreviated F. Plant in many of the documents discussed here) appears to have been a well-known figure in late nineteenth century Meran. This is attested by Frankfurth himself, who postulates his publishing the discovery of the Hochbühel in the *BG* was because the *MZ*'s readership was familiar with Plant, his belief that some mountains around Meran contained prehistoric earthworks, and his previous archaeological discoveries (*BG* 7 June 1890). Plant's guidebooks on the Meran area—*Neuer Führer durch Meran und dessen Umgebung* and *Burg-, Berg- und Thalfahrten bei Meran und Bozen*—are still published and sold today. The front matter of the 1889 English translation of *Neuer Führer durch Meran und dessen Umgebung* describes Plant as an antiquities dealer and guide who worked from a shop on the Giselapromenade in Meran, but he seems to have been involved in several additional economic pursuits, evidenced by the various ways he is described in the archival records and by a curious advertisement promising the cheapest fruit-packing materials in the area (*BG* 6 Aug 1890:6).

Apart from the varied services his business claimed to provide, there is some archival evidence that Plant, while respected, was thought of as something of an eccentric. Stray references report his dealings with the local magistrate and the literal collapse of his shop's roof, which apparently had happened multiple times by February 1891 (*MZ* 6 Feb 1891). Plant suspected there were prehistoric materials on the Grumserbühel as early as his guidebook's first publication in 1886, but it appears he was

alone in his belief until his explorations there with Frankfurth in 1890 yielded results (*MZ* 9 Apr 1890).

Plant's intimate knowledge of the surrounding area and his occupation as an antiquities dealer made him one of the closest things to an expert in local prehistory that Meran possessed at the time of Frankfurth's visit. Franz Tappeiner, a botanist and amateur archaeologist who was active throughout the southern Tyrol, appears to have become interested in the region only after Plant's activities there began (Tappeiner 1892a; 1892b). Frankfurth's interest in archaeology would naturally have drawn him to Plant—perhaps he had even read about some of the sites he would eventually excavate in Plant's guidebook—who seems initially to have been enthusiastic about the partnership, showing Frankfurth sites he believed were prehistoric beginning in late February 1890 (*BG* 3 Mai 1890). Perhaps eager to demonstrate to the people of Meran that he was correct about the prehistoric sites in the area, Plant took Frankfurth to the Hochbühel/Segenbühel on two separate occasions in an attempt to convince him to conduct an excavation there (*ibid*).

Plant's working relationship with Frankfurth appears to have deteriorated considerably in the months during which they collaborated. Although they are frequently reported as working together through March and April of 1890, Frankfurth is not mentioned in an article covering Plant's excavations at the Hochbühel in May of that year (*MZ* 10 Mai 1890). The pair came into public conflict over the Hochbühel's discovery; Frankfurth asserted that he and Plant had discovered it together in late April (*BG* 17 Mai 1890), while Plant claimed he had known of the prehistoric defenses there for several years (*ibid*). Whatever the truth of the matter, Plant seems to have regretted his decision to allow Frankfurth to keep a third of the materials found on the Hochbühel in return for

funding the excavation, going so far as to fraudulently claim in *Der Burggräfler* that Frankfurth was hauling two thirds of the collection back to America (*BG* 14 Mai 1890), a claim that was echoed later in 1890 by Conrad Fischnaler (see below).

The Excavations

It is currently unclear how William Frankfurth was introduced to Plant, but clearly his interest would have been piqued by Plant's expertise in local prehistory, and in late February he climbed to the Hochbühel/Segenbühel on the Küchelberg (Figure 3.1 and

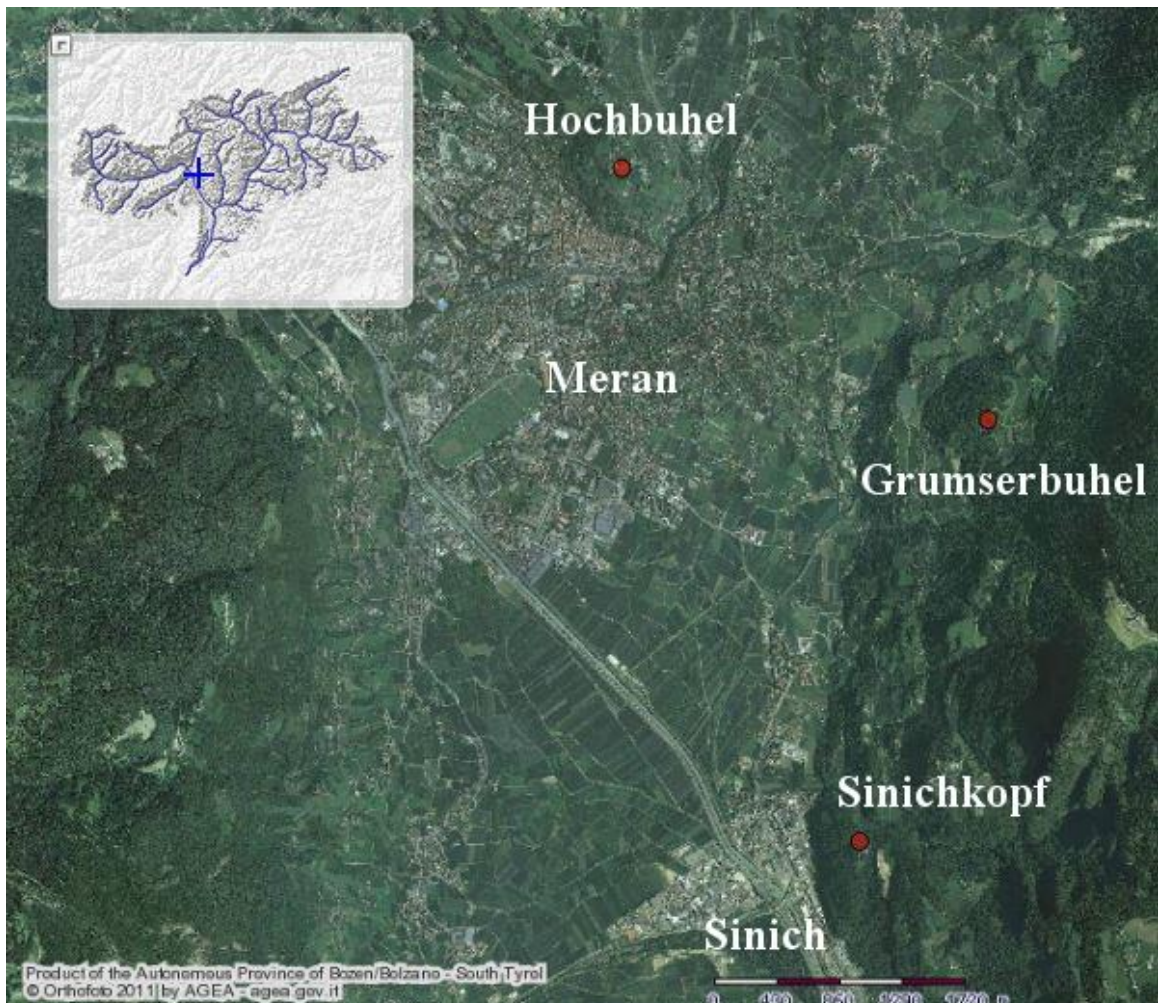


Figure 3.3 Sites investigated by William Frankfurth in the Meran area. Map generated in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano's GeoBrowser Online GIS System.

3.3) accompanied by Plant to investigate the possible existence of a prehistoric fortification system there (*MZ* 11. Mai 1890). Although Frankfurth initially seemed unimpressed by what he saw on the Küchelberg, he returned to Meran on 25 March 1890, and he, his son Lorenz, Fridolin Plant, and another man named Peter Reuter began excavating on the nearby Grumserbühel, finding “26 Stück Thonscherben [26 clay sherds]” there (*MZ* 9. Apr 1890). Plant had been arguing for the existence of a prehistoric site on the Grumserbühel for decades, with the *MZ* noting that he was finally vindicated in his expectations by this preliminary exploration with Frankfurth; apparently he had had to contend with considerable skepticism from other citizens of Meran regarding his theories before this date (*ibid*). Further excavations of the Grumserbühel were conducted on 3 April 1890, and this investigation yielded “68 Scherben [68 sherds]” (*ibid*).

Buoyed by his apparent success in proving the existence of a prehistoric site on the Grumserbühel, Fridolin Plant appears to have entreated William Frankfurth to take another look at the Hochbühel/Segenbühel, which he did with his family on 8 April 1890 (*MZ* 11. Mai 1890). He returned the next day with Plant, giving Plant another chance to convince him (*ibid*). However, no excavations appear to have taken place there. No further excavations were reported in April until 28 April 1890, when William Frankfurth, traveling with his family from Schloss Auer, visited the Hochbühel—which was so close to the Segenbühel that the two have become conflated and the names are now used interchangeably (P. Gleirscher pers. comm.)—and he identified a feature similar to the one on the Grumserbühel (*BG* 17. Mai 1890). The next day, 29 April, he claims to have returned with Fridolin Plant, and both were subsequently convinced that there was a prehistoric site there (*BG* 7. June 1890). Between 30 April and 7 May excavations were

conducted on the Hochbühel; William Frankfurth's involvement is implied by the fact that he and Plant agreed to each take a third of the materials they found (the remaining third going to the city of Meran), but while Frankfurth provided most of the funding for these excavations, it is uncertain whether he was physically present for all of them (*BG* 3. Mai 1890; *BG* 7. Mai 1890; *BG* 7. Jun 1890). On 8 May 1890, William Frankfurth was still in Meran, having written a signed and dated letter to the *MZ* that day; by this point he had conducted excavations at the Grumserbühel, the Hochbühel, and the Sinichkopf (*MZ* 11. Mai 1890; Figures 3.1-3.3). Frankfurth appears to have left Meran at that point while Plant directed additional excavations at the Hochbühel. Traveling east to the town of Glurns, Frankfurth visited Fridolin Plant's brother, the local *Stadtarzt* [city doctor]. His visit there was made on the advice of Fridolin Plant, who spent the time Frankfurth was away encouraging prominent Meran citizens like Alois Menghin to shut down his and Frankfurth's joint excavations, which Frankfurth alleged was because he had not expected such a rich assemblage and did not want to share it with his American partner (*BG* 17. Mai 1890).

In the vicinity of Glurns, Frankfurth's interest was drawn to two sites (Figure 3.4). The first, on a spur of what he called the Glurnserlöft (later authors would call it the Glurnser Köpfl or Fachegg), was on land that a Director Schwarz was preparing to develop into an arboretum (*MZ* 11. Mai 1890). In the process of planting trees for the arboretum, Director Schwarz had uncovered interesting potsherds that appeared to be prehistoric. Frankfurth, upon being shown the potsherds, remarked “...*das diese mit denen auf dem Grumserbühel bei Meran vorgefunden grosse Aenlichkeit haben*” [they were very similar to those found on the Grumserbühel in Meran] (*ibid*). He and his



Figure 3.4 Sites investigated by William Frankfurth in the vicinity of Glurns. Map generated in Autonomous Province of Bolzano’s GeoBrowser Online GIS System.

sons—guided by Dr. Plant—proceeded to dig there, finding “*ausser Scherben auch Schlacken und ein Stueck Bronzeguss*” [apart from potsherds also slag and a piece of bronze casting] (ibid). His final opinion on the site was that it was probably a sacrificial place that served a secondary function as a cemetery, but he admits that his investigations were cursory (ibid).

The second site Frankfurth investigated with Dr. Plant was the Tartscherbühel, which was located on the valley floor between Mals and Glurns approximately three km from where he had dug on the Glurnser Köpfl (*BG* 14. Mai 1890; *MZ* 11. Mai 1890)(Figure 3.4). He and Dr. Plant found evidence for several artificial earth walls on the hilltop there, as well as the footprint of a wall running along the northern slope of the hill. In part of a letter printed by the *MZ* (11. Mai 1890) and reprinted some days later by the *BG* (14. Mai 1890), Frankfurth reports:

Wir ließen nachgraben und fanden sowohl rhätische als auch anscheinend römische Scherben vor, ferner Kohlen und fünf eiserne Beile, die

vielleicht dem Mittelalter entstammen mögen, sowie ein menschliches Gerippe. – Dieser Tartscherhügel hat zu Zeiten der Rhäter, Römer, des Mittelalters und der Franzosenzeit ungewisethaft eine große Rolle gespielt. Umfassendere Nachgrabungen mögen auch hier Resultate ergeben, welche auf die alte Geschichte mehr Licht werfen [We began excavating and found Raetian as well as Roman potsherds, also charcoal, and five iron axes that could be medieval, along with a human skeleton. This Tartscher Hügel (sic.) undoubtedly played a large role in the Raetian, Roman, medieval, and French periods. Comprehensive excavations could also yield results that would shed more light on its ancient history]. (BG 14. Mai 1890)

No further investigations by Frankfurth or his sons are reported on the Tartscherbühel, and it seems safe to assume from his last sentence that he was content to leave such comprehensive investigations to someone else.

The five iron axes Frankfurth describes are mentioned by several authors, including Tappeiner (1892b:52), O. Menghin (1911:308), Schubert (1980), and Lunz (2006:42-43). Working from Tappeiner's (1892b) descriptions, and due to the 2000 discovery of Raetian houses at the site, Lunz believed these axes were La Tène in date. MPM Accession 213 includes five iron axes, four of which appear to be from the Iron Age and one of which appears to be medieval, but may not be from the Tartscherbühel, based on a partially preserved label. These axes were the first definitive link between the sites Frankfurth reportedly excavated in the Etschtal in 1890 and MPM Accession 213 (Bettina Arnold pers. comm.).

Frankfurth had returned to Meran by 12 May, submitting a letter to the *Burggräfler* about the desirability of establishing a museum there (BG 17. Mai 1890). On 14 May he was in Schloss Labers (just northeast of Meran), again submitting a letter to the *Burggräfler*. The *Burggräfler* is a biweekly newspaper, so both of these letters were printed together (ibid). By 20 May William Frankfurth and Fridolin Plant had deposited

a third of the finds they had made near Meran up to then with the city. These consisted of 27 pin fragments, 34 whole bronze pins, 11 “unidentified bronze objects”, many prehistoric and Roman sherds and something described as a tubular handle. These objects were deposited in the old castle (*MZ* 21. Mai 1890). During the month of May, conflicts apparently developed between Fridolin Plant and William Frankfurth, as both claimed to have been the discoverer of the site on the Hochbühel; Frankfurth considered Plant’s claim spurious and submitted a dated letter justifying his claim as discoverer to the *Burggräfler* from Innsbruck on 2 June 1890 (*BG* 7. 1890).

Frankfurth then disappears from the newspaper records until late September 1890; while he was probably excavating elsewhere during this time, this activity either was not reported or it took place outside of the Etschtal. A later report indicates that excavations at the Hochbühel had been suspended by the town of Meran (O. Menghin 1911:303). At some point during the summer, Frankfurth began excavations at a site called the Sonnenburgerbühel, which was reported as being near Innsbruck (*MZ* 1. Okt 1890). The Sonnenburgerbühel is an alternate name for the Sonnenburger Hügel, which was the subject of salvage excavations in the early 1960s (see Stadler 1985 and Messner n. d.). Frankfurth’s Sonnenburgerbühel excavations were mentioned by the *Innsbrucker*

Nachrichten:

Als reicher Amerikaner verfügt er [Frankfurth] über die Mittel, um seinen Sammeleifer in ausgiebiger Weise zu befriedigen. Bereits hat er mehr oder minder umfassende Grabungen und Versuche dieser Art am Sonnenburgerbühel, in der Gegend von Natters, in Hötting u. a. D. veranstaltet, das ist an jenen uralten Culturstätten unserer Heimath, welche schon wiederholt zahlreiche und wissenschaftlich höchst wertvolle Funde ergeben haben und einiges Licht werfen auf die ersten Ansiedlungen der Menschen im Innthale...Gegenwärtig arbeitet Herr Frankfurth mit seinen Söhnen noch in der Gegend von Hötting, wo er bereits verschiedene alte

Töpferarbeiten, besonders Urnen, sowie Steinwerkzeuge zu Tage gefördert haben soll. Schade, dass in Tirol niemand die Mittel besitzt, um solche historisch-bedeutsame Funde unserem Lande zu erhalten und derartige Grabungen in systematischer und wissenschaftlicher Art betreiben zu lassen. [As a rich American he [Frankfurth] has the means to gratify his enthusiasm for collections in a substantial way. He has already carried out more or less comprehensive excavations and tests of this kind on the Sonnenburgerbühel, in the vicinity of Natters, in Hötting, and at other ancient cultural sites of our homeland that have already demonstrated rich and scientifically valuable finds and shed light on the first human settlement in the Inn Valley...Presently Mr. Frankfurth is working with his two sons in the vicinity of Hötting, where, to date, he has revealed ceramic workshops, especially urns, as well as stone tools. It is unfortunate that no one in the Tyrol has the means to conserve such historically meaningful finds within our own region, or to conduct such excavations in a systematic and scientific manner.] (IN 30. Sep 1890)

A paraphrase of this article in the *MZ* has a significantly more negative flavor:

Es ist lebhaft zu bedauern, dass diese interessanten Fundstücke nicht dem Lande erhalten bleiben, sondern über den Ozean wandern sollen. Leider scheint es in Tirol sowohl an Geld, als an Interesse für dergleichen Unternehmungen zu fehlen. [It is to be actively regretted that these interesting finds should not stay in their homeland, but should wander overseas. Unfortunately it seems that the Tyrol lacks both the money and the interest for similar undertakings.] (MZ 1. Okt 1890)

Although Hötting is mentioned several times in reference to excavations by Frankfurth, a specific site name is not given. Frankfurth also identified what he called a sacrificial altar close to Eppan on the Mendelstrasse, described as consisting of a pyramid of stones (MZ 21. Sep 1890; *Bote für Tirol und Vorarlburg* 4. Nov 1890). This site would later be named the Tuiflslammer (Lunz 1986:109; Figure 3.5). Frankfurth was writing letters to the *MZ* from Innsbruck again by 6 October, and remained there until at least 17 October (MZ 8. Okt 1890; MZ 17. Okt 1890). The final known mention of Frankfurth in the Meran newspapers during his lifetime was on 26 October 1890, when he submitted a

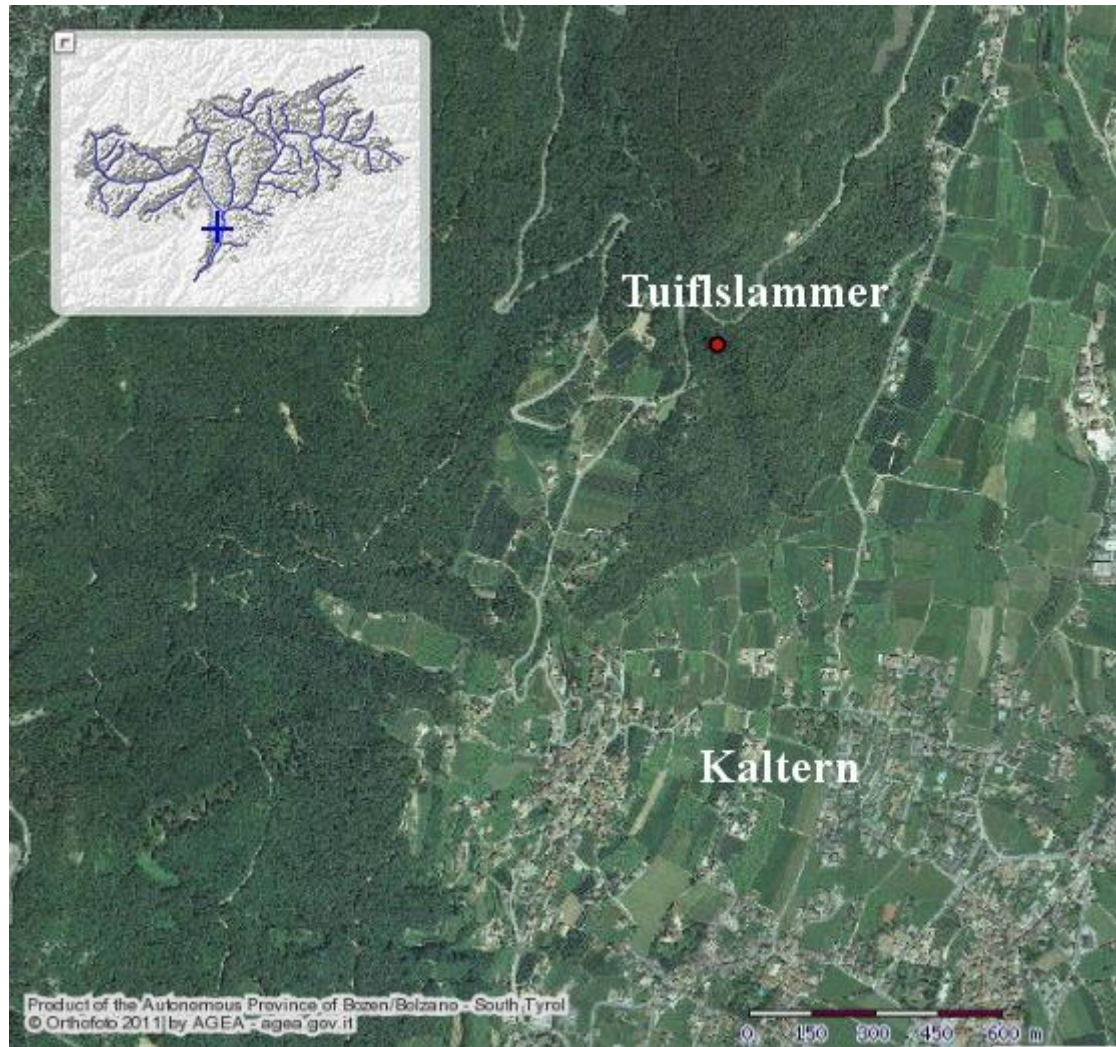


Figure 3.5 Location of the Tuiflslammer near Kaltern. Map generated in Autonomous Province of Bolzano's GeoBrowser Online GIS System.

summary of the rich prehistoric resources in the vicinity of Meran to the *MZ* (*MZ* 26. Okt 1890). It seems that after his investigations in the Tyrol, Frankfurth journeyed to Hessen, Germany (the state in which he had been born), where he joined the *Verein für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* [Society for Hessian History and Culture]. He is noted as becoming an active member on 21 July 1891, and during his time there he found yet another *Ringwall* site in the Baunsberg nature preserve near what is now Baunatal, Hessen (Figure 3.6; Rossner 2012b:5). The description of his discovery makes it unclear

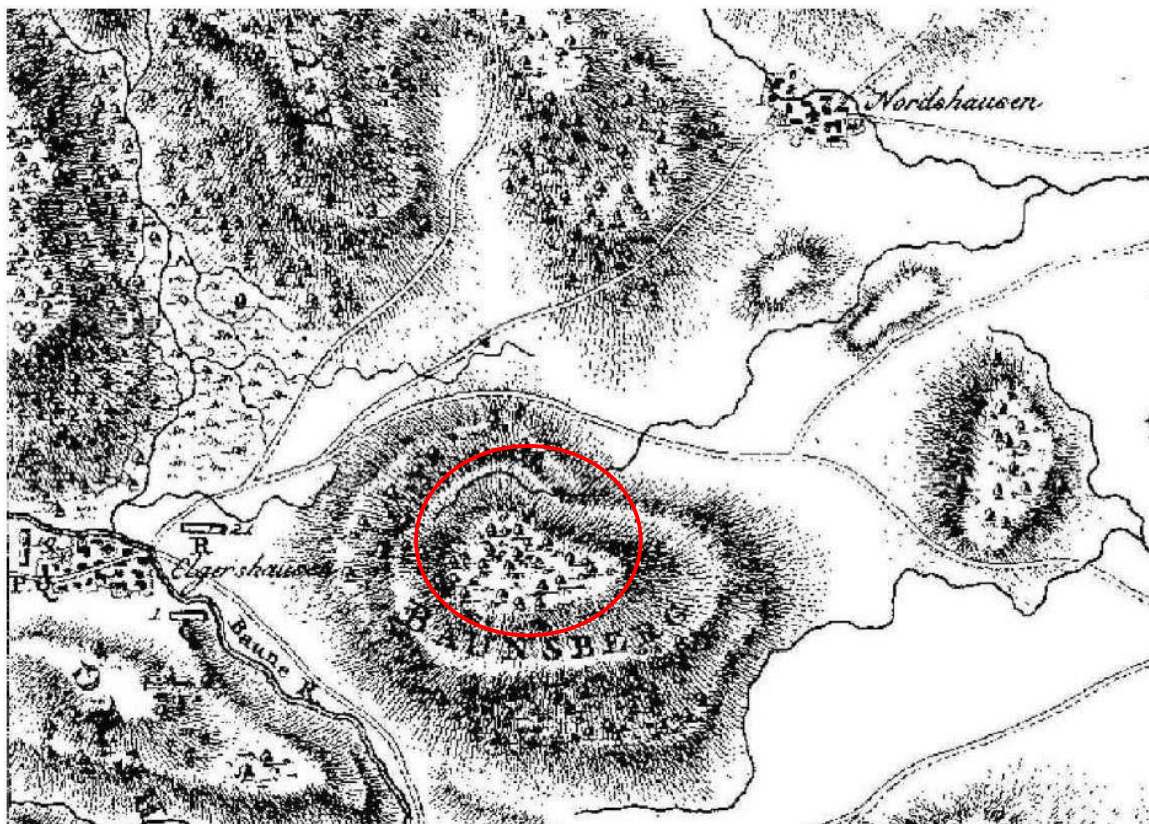


Figure 3.6 An early map of the Baunsberg, where Frankfurth identified a prehistoric *Ringwall* (highlighted in red).

whether he excavated there. Based on the extensive amount of Roman pottery in the MPM collections, it is likely that Frankfurth's activities during this period also included the excavation of an as yet unidentified provincial Roman military-civil settlement, possibly a *vicus* (Caywood 2011). Many of the finials and horse/chariot trappings in the collection probably came from this unknown Roman site rather than one of the sites mentioned in newspaper sources.

It is known that Frankfurth's elder son Lorenz had returned to the United States in the early autumn of that year, arriving in New York City en route to Milwaukee on 24 September 1891. A newspaper report after Frankfurth's death confirms that Lorenz had been in Milwaukee for two months by that time (*Milwaukee Sentinel* 24. Dec 1891:3); it

also mentions that Frankfurth had expressly wanted his wife to visit Kassel upon his death, which she seems to have done before returning to the United States. Labels on some of the MPM materials indicate that part of Accession 213 was acquired from the region near Frankfurth's hometown, which he visited in the spring and summer of 1891. Based on an online publication of an excursion to the Baunsberg in 2012 by the local historical society, which mentions Frankfurth's discovery of the site during his sojourn there, we now know he was certainly there in July of 1891. He joined the local historical society at that time, and his new membership and death are reported in the same publication (Rossner 2012b). Letters discovered in the MPM archives in April 2014 that Frankfurth wrote from Hessen also confirm his stay there (B. Arnold pers. comm.). In early February 1892, Frankfurth's wife Magdalena submitted the draft of a letter he had written to the people of Meran. The letter was published posthumously in three parts in the *Meraner Zeitung* on 6, 7, and 9 February 1892 and provides a short description of his archaeological activities while he was in Austria. This letter includes references to as-yet unidentified sites Trefassi near Cles (*MZ* 7. Feb 1892) and the Flatschhügel near Innsbruck (*MZ* 9. Feb 1892), both of which Frankfurth identified as Neolithic because of the ceramics and stone tools he found and the dearth of metalwork.

Frankfurth's description of his excavation on the Flatschhügel also reveals something of his excavation methods and concerns. The passage reads as follows:

Wir entfernten zuerst sorgfältig eine 5 cm dicke Humusschicht, welche mit dichtem Rasen bewachsen war, dann kam eine sandige Lehmschicht von 30 cm Stärke. In derselben fanden wir vielerlei Scherben, sowie ein vollkommenen erhaltenes Webergewicht aus Ton, welches die Ureinwohner in Verbindung mit ihren Webstühlen gebrauchten. Nun folgte eine ungefähr 35 cm dicke Schicht schwarze Erde, die viel Spuren von Feuer zeigte, mit Asche, Kohlen, Knochen, und Scherben vermischt [First, we carefully removed a 5 cm thick humus layer,

which was overgrown with thick grass, and then came a layer of sandy loam with a thickness of 30 cm. In this layer we found many potsherds, as well as a complete loom weight made out of clay, which the original inhabitants [of the site] needed in connection to their weaving looms. After that followed an approximately 35 cm thick layer of black earth that showed many traces of fire, intermixed with ash, coal, bones, and potsherds]. (MZ 9. Feb 1892).

This report implies that Frankfurth was concerned with recording the site's stratigraphy and possessed a basic understanding of the meaning of different soil colors. He goes on to give detailed measurements of several more complete vessels he found at the Flatscherhügel, but it is open to question whether these measurements (which seem approximated) were exact.

The final site worth mentioning in connection with the prehistoric and early historic metalwork in MPM Accession 213 that Frankfurth reported visiting was Carnuntum—a significant addition to the list because, as a *castrum*, it could account for the presence of what appears to be Roman military gear in the collection. Carnuntum, located on the Danube not far from present-day Vienna, was one of the most important Roman defensive fortifications on the Danube *limes*, or military frontier (Wilkes 2005). Founded during the reign of Augustus, Carnuntum was continuously occupied until the fourth century A.D. and, in that time, grew wealthy because of its position along the so-called Amber Road connecting amber supplies from the Baltic Sea to consumers in Roman Italy. Carnuntum is a celebrated site and currently operates as an archaeological park, offering the public a chance to see reconstructed Imperial Roman buildings and reenactments of Roman life (www.carnuntum.co.at). It is unknown whether Frankfurth actually dug at Carnuntum—his reference to it is frustratingly fleeting (MZ 6. Feb 1892)—but if he did, its dual nature as a fortress and trade town offers an enticing

explanation for the *vicus*-like assemblage studied by Caywood (2011) and the military gear among the Accession 213 metalwork.

Post-Frankfurth Excavation Histories

The original newspaper reports used non-standardized terms to describe the sites where Frankfurth and Plant conducted investigations in the Tyrol. The Grumserbühel, Sinichkopf, and Hochbühel are all called *Ringwälle* [ring-walls] (*MZ* 11. Mai), while the Tuiflslammer is called an *Opferaltar* [sacrificial altar], which was a term apparently used by Frankfurth himself (*MZ* 21. Sep). Their identification as *Ringwälle* drew these sites into the ongoing academic discussion of how to interpret the so-called *Wallburgen* in the central Alps. Oswald Menghin, one of the first archaeologists to publish on the prehistoric sites in the vicinity of Meran, identifies the Hochbühel and Tartscherbühel as *Wallburgen* (O. Menghin 1911; 1920), although he was clearly aware of the possibility that the Hochbühel was a ritual site rather than a fortress or settlement (Gleirscher 2002:595; O. Menghin 1911:303). Nevertheless, this designation has continued up to the present day, and the Autonomous Province of Bolzano lists the sites as settlements rather than *Brandopferplätze*, despite the fact that most of them probably functioned as both. Here it is important to note that, since none of these locations have been excavated extensively in more recent time—with the exception of the Tartscherbühel—the possibility of multiple functions and re-use of these locations after periods of abandonment cannot be ruled out. This is especially true in the case of the Sonnenburgerbühel, discussed below. In order to contextualize the metalwork in Accession 213, it is important to understand the subsequent work conducted at each of the sites known to have been investigated by Frankfurth, even if the information available

is incomplete. Constructing a series of site narratives—to parallel the narrative of Frankfurth's excavations—will serve to create possible contexts against which the finds from Accession 213 can be compared and analyzed.

Grumserbühel

The Grumserbühel was the first of the three sites in the so-called Meraner *Landesraum* to be identified by Fridolin Plant. His 1886 guidebook mentions a prehistoric earthwork on the Grumserbühel, a short hike from Meran (Plant 1890:27). Local oral history, however, characterized the earthwork as much more recent, dating it to the French invasion of 1809 despite the fact that the actual battle was known to have taken place across the valley. The Grumserbühel was also the first site that Frankfurth visited after meeting Fridolin Plant sometime in late February/early March, 1890. According to archival evidence, Frankfurth's two day excavations at the site yielded 92 ceramic sherds (MZ 9. Apr 1890). It is possible that some of the uncatalogued ceramics in MPM Accession 213 were recovered at the Grumserbühel, but a more thorough investigation will need to be carried out in order to demonstrate this.

Frankfurth's interpretation of the Grumserbühel as prehistoric was subject to controversy almost immediately. Frankfurth believed the site to be a prehistoric cattle pen, but a local doctor and amateur archaeologist named Bernard Mazegger, who surveyed the site after Frankfurth, disagreed. In his view, the features Frankfurth saw as prehistoric were parts of a modern *Feldmauer* [field wall], and the prehistoric materials were coincidentally located nearby. Austrian antiquarian Franz Tappeiner, who worked as a conservator in the southern Tyrol, carried out excavations on the Grumserbühel in 1891 and 1893 with what Oswald Menghin—writing about the site twenty years later—

describes as little success. The only materials found, Menghin (1911:300) reports, were “*schwartzte, rohe Scherben, die manchmal mit Buckeln verziert waren*” [black, coarse sherds that were partly decorated with bosses]. Menghin did not have a high opinion of Frankfurth as an excavator, calling his recovery methods amateur and his reconstructions for the *Meraner Zeitung* fanciful (O. Menghin 1911:304); however, he did admit that Frankfurth had a good eye for identifying prehistoric sites in the region (O. Menghin 1911:302,305). Upon visiting the Grumserbühel for himself, Menghin reluctantly agreed with Frankfurth's initial assessment, declaring that “*den Viehpferch Frankfurths, in dem Mazegger nur eine Feldmauer sieht, glaube ich verteidigen zu können*” [I believe I am able to vindicate Frankfurth's cattle pen, in which Mazegger only saw a field wall] and investigating additional sites in the surrounding area (O. Menghin 1911:301; Figure 3.7).

The Grumserbühel is the least well published of the three sites investigated by Frankfurth in the Meraner *Landesraum*. Innerebner (1975:75-76) lists it as a settlement site of the late Bronze Age. The literature he cites shows that it was twice discussed by

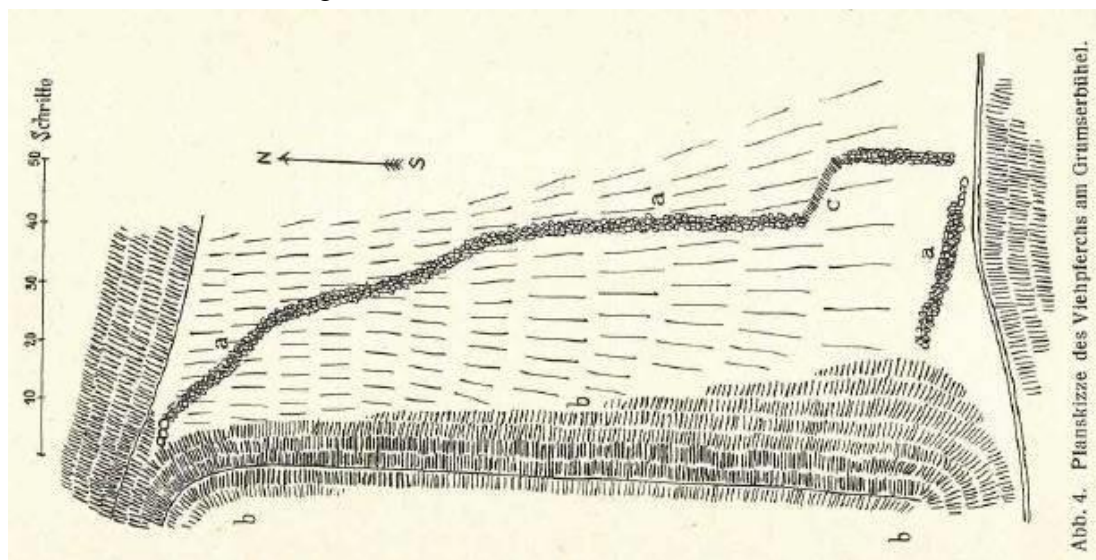


Figure 3.7 Menghin’s plan sketch of the cattle pen Frankfurth identified on the Grumserbühel (O. Menghin 1911:301, Figure 4).

Menghin (1911; 1920) after the turn of the century and only once since then (Laviosa 1934). Despite Innerebner's classification of the Grumserbühel as a settlement, Gleirscher et al. (2002) list it as a *Brandopferplatz*, offering no citations or justification. Steiner (2010) provides more insight into the reclassification, which was based on the ceramics found there coupled with copious amounts of calcined bone. The Grumserbühel (using the alternative form Gronesbühel) is still defined as a settlement in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano's ArchaeoBrowser online GIS system (www.provinz.bz.it/informatik/themen/maps-webgis.asp)

Sinichkopf

The Sinichkopf lies about six kilometers southeast of Meran, overlooking the tiny hamlet of Sinich (Lunz 2006:160-163). Menghin describes its elevation and location as “*eine 524 m hohen föhrengeläuterten Prophyrhügel am Südende des kurzen Mittelgebirgszuges von Labers und Freiberg*” [a 524 m high pine-crowned prophyry outcropping on the southern end of the short middle mountain pass between Labers and Freiberg] (O. Menghin 1911:298). The Sinich River, which lies to the north of the archaeological site, curves northwards along the base of the rise before emptying into the Etsch a short distance to the west. Like the Grumserbühel and the Küchelberg, the Sinichkopf is caught up in the local legend of Meran's involvement in the 1809 battle against the French. Reportedly, local snipers took positions on the Sinichkopf to take shots at the French general as his troops marched up the Etschtal. Thus, the citizens' claim that the earthworks on the Sinichkopf were modern was based on more sound evidence than their similar assertions regarding the Grumserbühel.

The archival evidence for the results of Frankfurth's inquiries on the Sinichkopf is

spotty. In Reimo Lunz's 2006 review of investigations carried out at the site, Frankfurth is not explicitly mentioned, although Plant, Mazegger, and Tappeiner are (Lunz 2006:160-163). Lunz dates the site to the late Bronze Age through the late Iron Age (Lunz 2006:161). The site is mentioned only twice in the *Meraner Zeitung*, which reports that some of the objects collected by Frankfurth and Plant prior to 8 May 1890 had come from there (*MZ* 21. Mai 1890). At both sites the pair reported finding “*Topfscherben, Knochen und Schlacken*” [potsherds, bones, and slag] in his first excavations, but upon further investigation by Plant—funded by Frankfurth—these two sites produced little else of interest (*MZ* 11. Mai 1890). As with the other sites he investigated, Frankfurth believed the Sinichkopf was a small fortress that he (or the local press) termed a *Ringwall* [ring fort] (*ibid*).

Frankfurth's interpretation was adopted by Mazegger (1891), who believed the Sinichkopf housed what he called an *alte G'schloss* [old castle/fort] from the Roman or post-Roman period. His investigations did, however, turn up burned material (Mazegger 1891:298). He was also the first to draw a plan of the so-called *Ringwall* (Figure 3.8). While Menghin discusses the other sites investigated by Frankfurth in the *Meraner Landesraum*, he does not mention work at the Sinichkopf by Tappeiner after the Plant and Frankfurth excavations (1911). Franz von Wieser was apparently active at the site sometime in the late 1890s; Menghin states that von Wieser and Ranke had dated the Sinichkopf to the late Bronze Age sometime before 1894 (1911).

Like the Grumserbühel, the Sinichkopf was repeatedly mentioned in publications by Menghin (1913; 1920) but interest in the site waned after 1920. During that time, it was part of the *Wallburgforschung* [Wallburg studies], and was erroneously classified as a

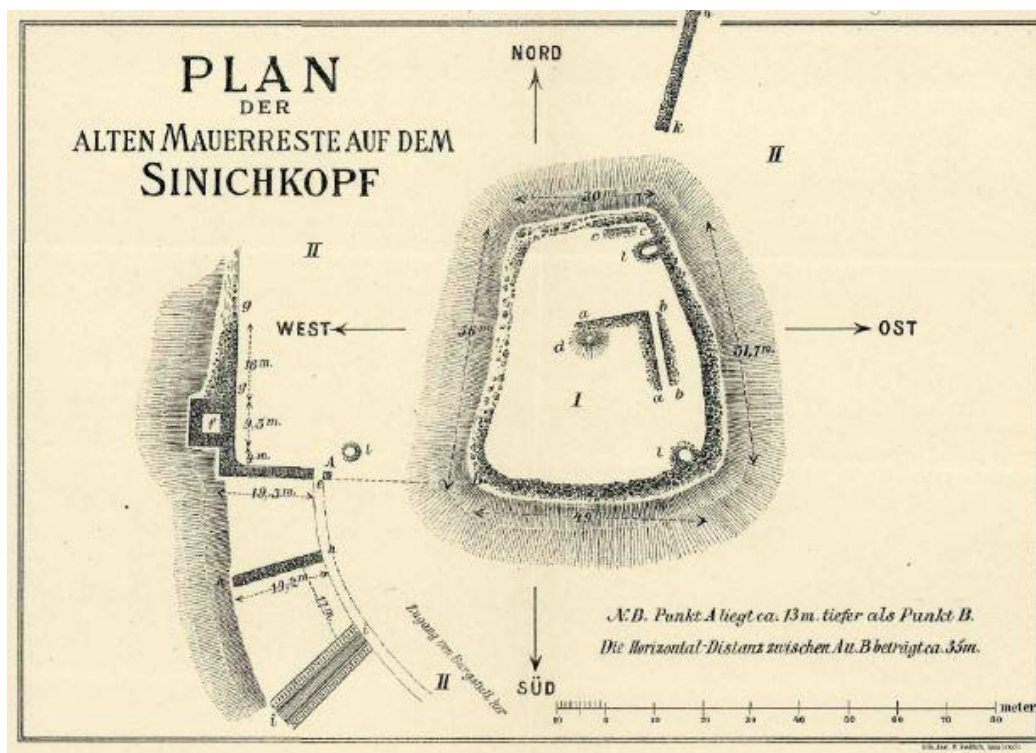


Figure 3.8 Plan sketch of the wall foundations on the Sinichkopf (Mazegger 1891:307).

settlement. It appears later in Innerebner's (1975) study of *Wallburgen* in the southern Tyrol, where it is still discussed as a settlement site. Innerebner (1975:83) does, however, mention the piles of ash and charred animal bones that are indicative of a *Brandopferplatz*. The Sinichkopf has been intermittently discussed since then, appearing briefly in Schubert (1991), Gleirscher et al. (2002), Lunz (2006), and Steiner (2010). The former classifies the Sinichkopf as a Type F *Wallburg*; the latter lists the Sinichkopf as a *Brandopferplatz*, but offers little justification for this classification. In the Autonomous Province of Bolzano's ArchaeoBrowser online GIS system, the Sinichkopf is still listed as a settlement (www.provinz.bz.it/informatik/themen/maps-webgis.asp).

Hochbühel

Of the three sites Frankfurth investigated in the Meran region, the Hochbühel is by

far the most extensively studied (Lunz 2006:120-124). Located on the southernmost spur of the Küchelberg, between the city of Meran to the south and Dorf Tirol to the north (Figure 3.9), from its summit—which Torggler-Wöß (1953:412) reports is 517 m above sea level—it is possible to see both the Grumserbühel and the Sinichkopf to the southeast (Figure 3.10). The Hochbühel lies near the Segenbühel, which has become conflated with it in recent years despite originally appearing separately in sources from the 1890s (Torggler-Wöß 1953:412). The source of this conflation may be Plant himself, who

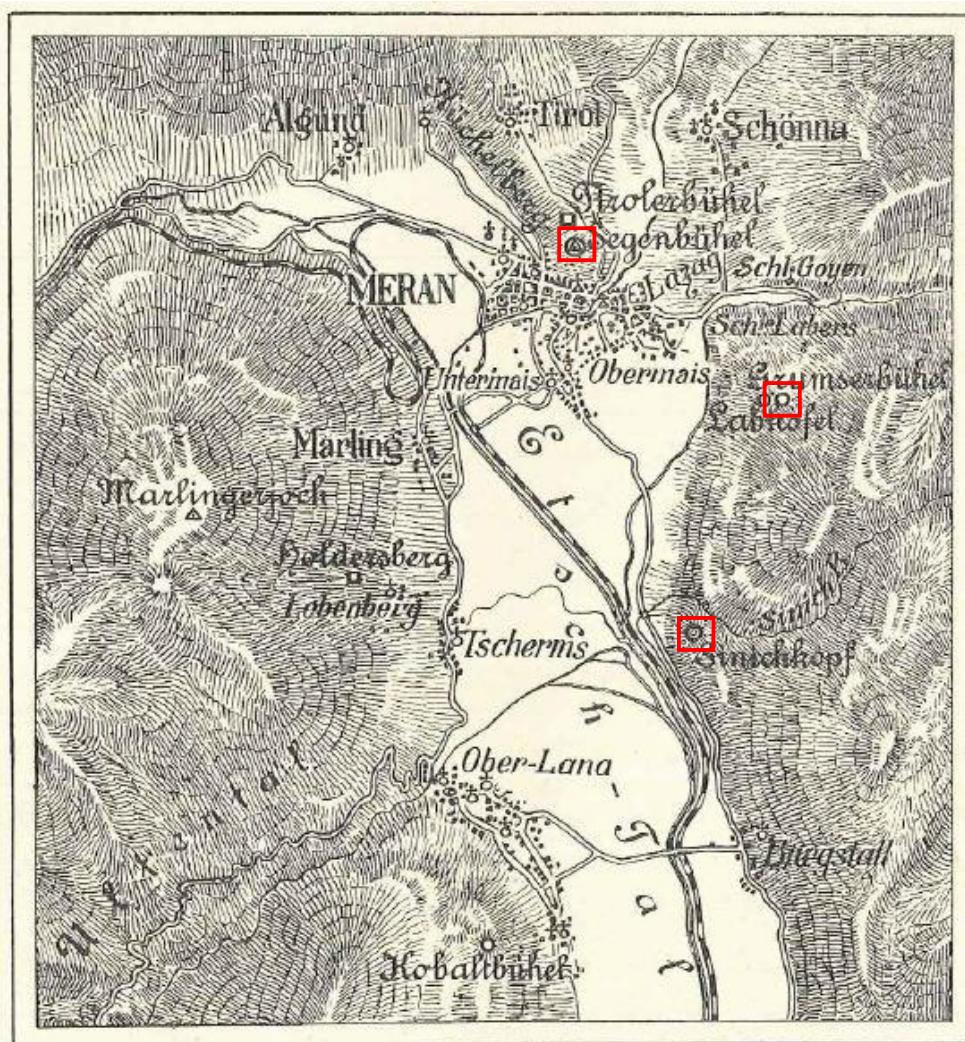


Figure 3.9 Circa 1911 map of the Meraner *Landesraum* showing the Hochbühel (called the Segenbühel), Grumserbühel, and Sinichkopf (highlighted in red) (O. Menghin 1911:295, Figure 1).

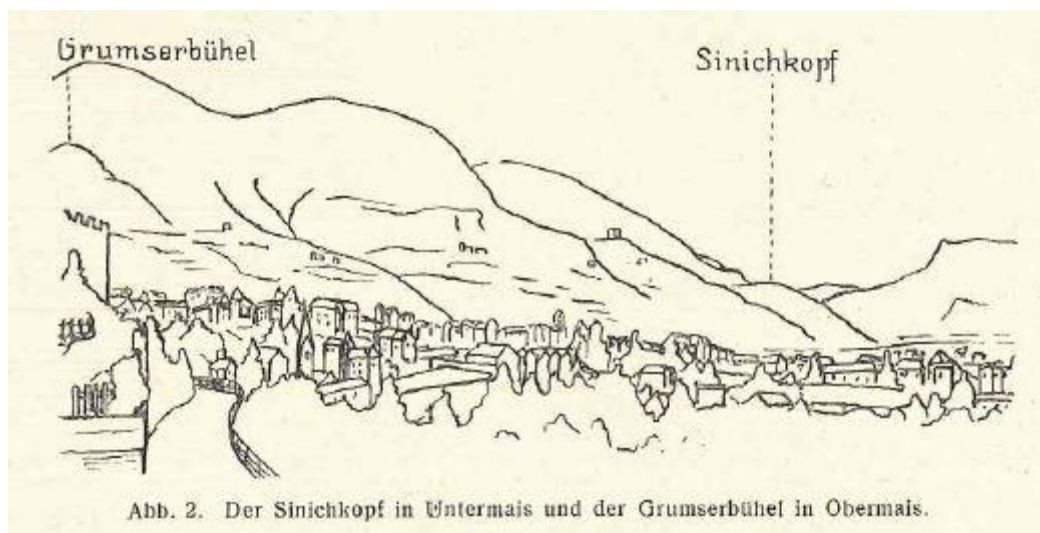


Abb. 2. Der Sinichkopf in Untermais und der Grumserbühel in Obermais.

Figure 3.10 Circa 1911 sketch of the view of the Grumserbühel and Sinichkopf from the Hochbühel site (O. Menghin 1911:297, Figure 2).

(Frankfurth alleged) used the names almost interchangeably to strengthen his claim as its discoverer. Plant had suspected the existence of an earthwork at the Segenbühel for some time, but, as with the Grumserbühel, local tradition held that these structures were Napoleonic fortifications. Raetian inscriptions have allegedly been found at the site, which would indicate both pre- and protohistoric occupations. Inscriptions were also found on an antler tine recovered at the Tartscherbühel (see below). The Hochbühel/Segenbühel site currently has protected status, which was conferred by the Autonomous Province of Bolzano. Its significance was almost immediately recognized by the city, which forbade further excavations there in mid May of 1890 (O. Menghin 1911:303; Torggler-Wöß 1953:412).

The interdiction did not last long. After months of lobbying, Franz Tappeiner was able to use his position as conservator and his connections with prominent citizens of Meran to reopen excavations at the site in October of 1890 (Tappeiner 1892a:48). Interestingly, Tappeiner compliments Fridolin Plant on his “*scharfe Augen*” [sharp eyes]

for prehistoric *Ringwälle*, which he obviously believed the Hochbühel to be (*ibid.*), ironically echoing Menghin's admiration for the same trait in Frankfurth (O. Menghin 1911:305). Among the artifacts Tappeiner recovered were arm rings, finger rings, anklets, pins, fibulae, and ceramic sherds (Tappeiner 1892a:48-51; Lunz 206:120-122, Figure 71). It was possibly these excavations—along with reports in Innsbruck newspapers about Frankfurth's continuing work in the Inntal—that prompted the number of Frankfurth-related articles and letters in the *Meraner Zeitung* to increase during the month of October after a lull of several months. This may have been encouraged by Fridolin Plant. Although Frankfurth was eager to answer his detractors, it appears he was content to do so from Innsbruck, and Tappeiner (1892a:48) reports that he never saw the Hochbühel materials Frankfurth took with him. Oswald Menghin repeats this allegation (O. Menghin 1911:304). Tappeiner's claim to being a “professional” archaeologist seems to have led to somewhat better documentation of excavation techniques than Frankfurth's; according to Lunz (1976:50), the Tappeiner Hochbühel excavations lasted three days, were conducted by five men (including Tappeiner), and uncovered 130 m². However, since none of Frankfurth's papers from this period have survived, we cannot know for certain whether his approach to recording was similar to Tappeiner's or not.

Tappeiner's October 1890 excavations were the last on the Hochbühel. At some point toward the end of 1890, Franz von Wieser visited the site, but it is unclear whether he conducted excavations there (Kyrle n. d.). Although several scholars in the last century have discussed the Hochbühel site, there is no record of anyone carrying out extensive field work there after October 1890. Due to the destructive activities carried out on the hilltop during World War II (Torggler-Wöß 1953), any subsequent discussion

of the Hochbühel's prehistoric occupation in the latter half of the twentieth century relied entirely on the materials Frankfurth left in Meran, the parts of Fridolin Plant's collection in the Ferdinandeum (Torggler-Wöß 1953:412), and the artifacts excavated by Tappeiner. Although he suggested that the site could have been a storage area, Tappeiner was fairly sure that the Hochbühel was a cult site (Tappeiner 1892a:51). Despite this, there appears to have been some debate in the decades after its discovery. According to Menghin (1911:303), Frankfurth identified the three defensive sites on the hills surrounding Meran, including the Hochbühel, as a complex of fortifications, a view that Menghin himself found attractive. After reviewing Tappeiner's reports and looking at the terrain, however, Menghin was also convinced that the Hochbühel served a ritual rather than defensive function (ibid.).

Nearly fifty years later, Torggler-Wöß (1953) reopened the question of the Hochbühel's classification. After summarizing the work done by Frankfurth and Tappeiner—as well as the subsequent publication of the site by Menghin—she expressed her opinion that each of their interpretations was based on erroneous information or misreadings of the landscape. She first attacks Frankfurth's notion that the Hochbühel was part of a network of fortresses in the Meran Landesraum, relegating this idea “*ins Reich der Phantasie*” [into the realm of fantasy] because there is no identifiable defensive wall on the hilltop (Torggler-Wöß 1953:413). Likewise, she thought it unlikely that the Hochbühel was a prehistoric storage area, as Tappeiner had suggested, or a cult or sacrificial sanctuary like Menghin and a Professor Zuckerkandl—who examined the calcined bone from the site—believed (ibid). Their classifications were based on the interpretation of a small rise on the hill as an altar, which Torggler-Wöß claims was a

natural feature (Torggler-Wöß 1953:414). She put forth an alternative hypothesis: that the materials in the Plant and Tappeiner collections were actually consistent with grave goods, and that the Hochbühel was actually a cremation cemetery (ibid). She further contended that there had been a settlement on the Hochbühel, but it had been abandoned by the Roman period, and that the Roman settlement had been intentionally placed on the valley floor away from the original settlement, potentially making the pre-Roman settlement more difficult to detect (ibid).

The Hochbühel has not been significantly explored since 1953. Torggler-Wöß's novel interpretation seems to have been ignored, however, as later references to the Hochbühel continued to describe it as a ritual space or settlement (e.g. Lunz 1974:191-192; Lunz 1976:42). The Hochbühel's classification as an Alpine ash altar site begins with a cursory mention by Gleirscher (1986:183) and Weiss (1997:183). Gleirscher later remarked that the Hochbühel had many similarities with the Rungger Egg, an Alpine ash altar site that he excavated (Gleirscher 2002:237). The Hochbühel also drew the attention of Schumacher (1992:178) because of the Raetian inscription found there. The Hochbühel/Segenbühl is classified as a *Kultplatz* [cult site] in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano's ArchaeoBrowser online GIS system (www.provinz.bz.it/informatik/themen/maps-webgis.asp).

Fachegg

The site that Frankfurth reported working on near the Glurnserlöft (also called the Glurnser Köpfl) is most probably what later became known as the Fachegg. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Tappeiner and Frankfurth were both led to the place by Dr. Plant, and the fact that Menghin (1911:313) refers to the area Frankfurth

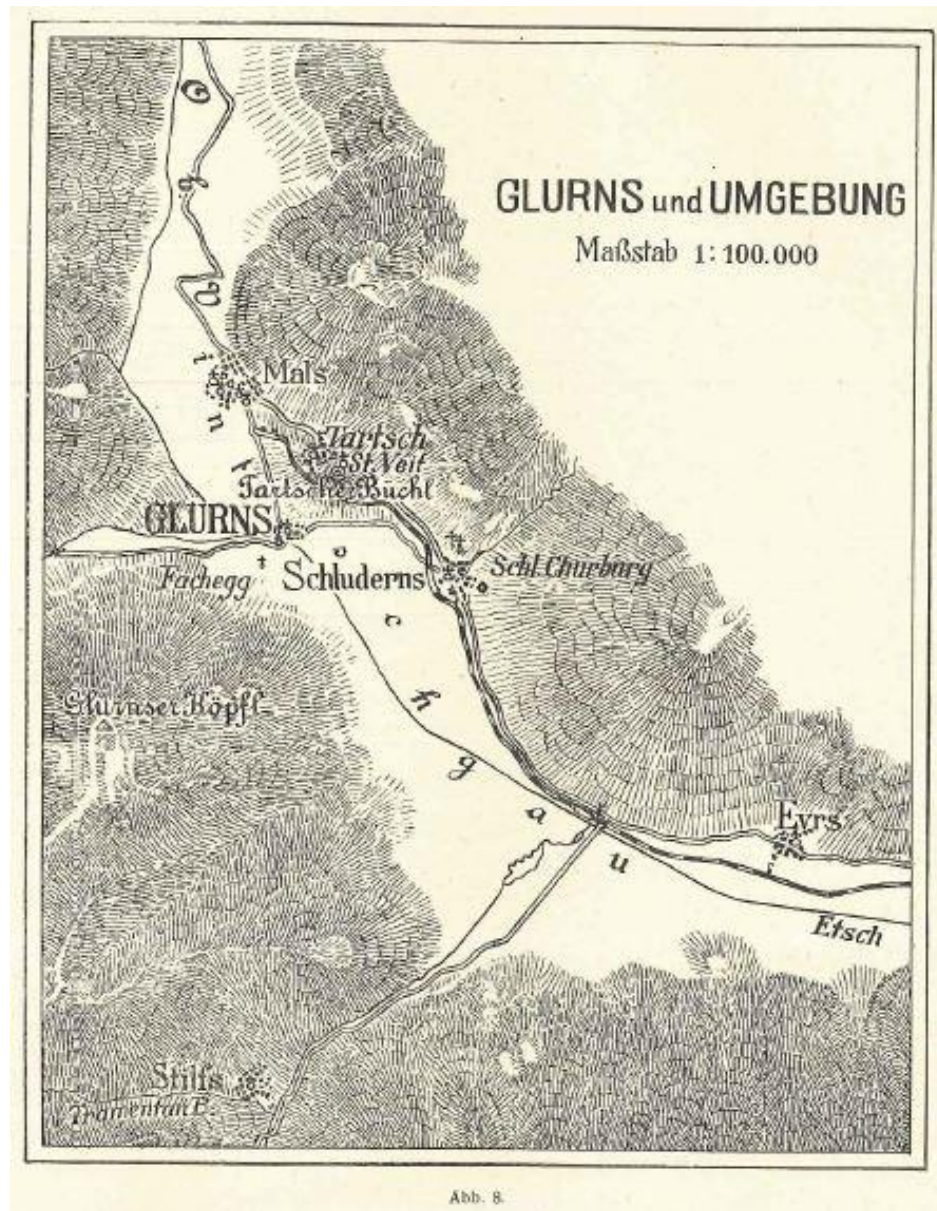


Figure 3.11 Circa 1911 map of the vicinity of Glurns showing the Fachegg and the Tartscherbühel (O. Menghin 1911:309, Figure 8).

excavated on the Glurnser Köpfl as such. At a height of 1145 m above sea level, the Fachegg overlooks Glurns and the Etsch to the east (Gleirscher 2002a:239; Figure 3.11). The site is scantily published, and even relatively current references repeat almost word for word Frankfurth's original belief that it was an *Opferstätte und Begräbnisplatz* [sacrificial place and burial ground] (ibid.). Systematic excavations of the site are

lacking, with only cursory excavations by Tappeiner conducted in the years following Frankfurth's death.

Tappeiner, accompanied by Fridolin Plant's brother, the Dr. Plant who had also led Frankfurth to the site, conducted excavations there in 1892, but was disappointed by the results:

Früh am naechsten Morgen liess ich einen der Hügel ober dem Parke durchgraben bis auf die todte Erde, aber ohne irgend etwas zu finden, darauf liess ich an mehrerern Stellen in der Umgebung Schürfungen machen, aber ebenfalls mit negativem Erfolg. Nach mittags liess ich im Parke selbst an aehnlichen stellen, wo sich beim Wegmachen Scherben fanden, graben und trafen wir wieder in dunkler schwärzlicher Erde ohne Kohlen 1 1/2 – 2 Fuss tief dieselben kleinen dicken Scherben wie früher, die Bruchstücke lagen nicht gehäuft, sondern einzeln zerstreut in der Erde. Auch wenige zerbrochene Thierknochen kamen vor. Keine Spur eines Grabbaues, weder Asche noch Kohlen. Auch die Tierknochen zeigten keine Merkmale von Feuereinwirkung [Early the next morning I began to excavate one of the hills above the park until I reached sterile soil, but without finding anything, upon which I began to excavate other places in the area, but still with negative results. After midday I excavated in the park itself in similar areas to those where sherds had been found, and we finally encountered the same small, thick sherds as before in dark black soil without charcoal 1 1/2 – 2 feet deep; the broken pieces were not concentrated, but were individually distributed in the soil. Few broken animal bones also occurred. There was no mark of a building, nor ashes or charcoal. The animal bones also showed no signs of fire damage] (Tappeiner 1892b:51)

Tappeiner reports returning the next day and finding nothing, but he did agree to look at the materials Director Schwarz, the Glurns native who originally found traces of prehistoric activity on the site, had recovered before Frankfurth's visit (ibid.). Most of these were sherds similar to those found by Tappeiner; he provided a detailed description of several pieces, all of which were described as thick and rough in make (ibid.). Professor Schwarz's material also included a small number of broken pieces of calcined animal bone. On the basis of his

investigation, Tappeiner agreed with Frankfurth's assessment that the site was probably a burial ground (ibid.).

Oswald Menghin (1911:313) states that, while he was aware of the artifacts recovered on the Fachegg, he did not have time to examine the site itself. Based on Tappeiner's reports, Menghin believed the Fachegg was probably the site of a small refuse pit, possibly accompanied by a Bronze Age cemetery (ibid). He later reversed his opinion after visiting the site in 1913; finding “*nur einen prähistorischen Scherben*” [only one prehistoric sherd], he suggested that the site was probably not a burial site at all, but was, as its earthwork suggested, a fortified settlement (O. Menghin 1920:54). Menghin also believed, on the basis of the materials he and Tappeiner were able to recover, that the settlement could not have been founded earlier than the La Tène period (ibid). Menghin further reports that noted prehistorian Paul Reinecke visited the site, finding sherds at a height of 1300 m above sea level, and told Menghin that something must have existed further up the Glurnser Köpfl that had yet to be discovered (O. Menghin 1920:55). Despite Reinecke's prediction, no targeted excavation had been carried out to locate this hypothetical site by the time Menghin wrote about his experience there in 1920 (ibid).

It appears that after Menghin's cursory investigation, the Fachegg received very little scholarly attention. It is listed as an example of a *Wallburg* in Innerebner (1975) and is mentioned in Gleirscher (2002:239) and Steiner (2010), who both believe the evidence is not strong enough to prove an ash altar was located there, even if some of the features are consistent enough with other ash

altar sites that the possibility cannot be ruled out.

Tartscherbühel

The Tartscherbühel is undoubtedly the best known of the Frankfurth sites in the southern Tyrol. It has so completely ingrained itself into the regional imagination that a poem called “Die Sage des Tartscher Bühls [The Legend of the Tartscher Bühel]” was composed by a local poet named Patriz Anzoletti. The opening line even appears as the heading on a placard erected at the site in the early 2000s, which suggests that most people living in the southern Tyrol today would be familiar with at least the first three lines (Figure 3.12). The opening verse reminds the reader that “*Der Tartscher Bühel ist wohlbekannt/im Vinschgau im Tiroler land*” [the Tartscher Bühel is well-known/in Vinschgau in the land of Tyrol] and goes on to describe the settlement there as a



Figure 3.12 Placard that greets visitors to the Tartscherbühel.

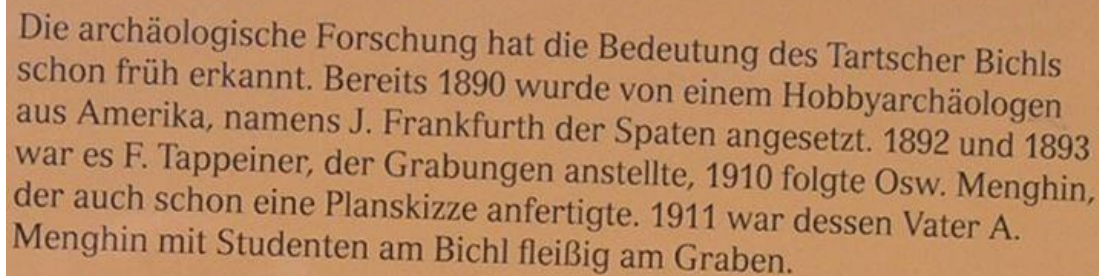
Städtchen [small city]. According to Menghin (1911:308), the hill itself rises to a point of some 1076 m above sea level and abuts Glurns to the southeast and Mals to the north. Its location offers a view of valleys in five directions, including the Etschtal that comes from the northeast and bends to head west toward Meran. The hill is currently mostly bare of tree cover, but a wooded area does exist on one of the slopes, and the only notable structure occupying a place on the hill today is the Chapel of St. Veit (Bettina Arnold pers. comm., Figure 3.13).

Unlike the Glurnser Köpfl, which was known to Dr. Plant through his contact with Dr. Schwarz, it appears that William Frankfurth was the first to identify the Tartscherbühel as an archaeological point of interest. In a quote attributed to Frankfurth in the *MZ* (11. Mai 1890), he claims that on the Tartscherbühel “*entdeckten wir auch*



Figure 3.13 Photograph of the highest point of the Tartscherbühel as it appears today. The Chapel of St. Veit’s bell tower is visible in the top left corner of the photograph (photo courtesy of B. Arnold 2013).

wirklich die Spuren prähistorischer Ringwälle, welche das ganze obere Plateau begrenzen, so dass die St. Veits-Kapelle noch innerhalb der alten Festungsmauer zu liegen kommt innerhalb der alten Festungsmauer zu liegen kommt [we discovered the traces of a prehistoric defensive wall that rings the entire plateau, so that the chapel of St. Veit is enclosed within the ancient fortification system]”. The use of *entdecken* [to discover] implies this to be a new observation, which is supported by the fact that earlier in the same article Frankfurth is quoted as saying he and Dr. Plant investigated the Tartscherbühel “*durch seine Form*” [because of its shape] rather than, as with the Fachegg, because Fridolin Plant advised him to do so (*ibid.*). This claim is echoed by Menghin (1911:308) and Lunz (2006:43), as well as the placard at the site which incorrectly lists his first initial as J. Frankfurth (Figure 3.14), but does attribute the initial



Die archäologische Forschung hat die Bedeutung des Tartscher Bichls schon früh erkannt. Bereits 1890 wurde von einem Hobbyarchäologen aus Amerika, namens J. Frankfurth der Spaten angesetzt. 1892 und 1893 war es F. Tappeiner, der Grabungen anstellte, 1910 folgte Osw. Menghin, der auch schon eine Planskizze anfertigte. 1911 war dessen Vater A. Menghin mit Studenten am Bichl fleißig am Graben.

Figure 3.14 Excerpt from the Tartscherbühel placard describing the early investigations into the site (photo courtesy of B. Arnold 2013).

discovery of the site to him. Translated, the placard says “archaeological research has long known the significance of the Tartscher Bichl. It had already been put to the spade in 1890 by hobby archaeologist from America named J. Frankfurth. In 1892 and 1893 it was F[ranz] Tappeiner who engaged in excavations, and in 1910 Osw[ald] Menghin, who also finished a plan map, followed. In 1911 it was his fater, A[lois] Menghin, who was digging on the hill with his students” (Mahlknecht n.d.). Schubert (1980:96) notes that a first century Roman coin was the first reported artifact found onsite, recovered in 1879 by

a man named Flavian Orgler and subsequently donated to the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck. The placard dates the site's occupation from the Neolithic through the Bronze and Iron Ages into the Roman Period—"a period of 4,000-5,000 years!" (Mahlknecht n.d.).

As with most of the sites investigated by Frankfurth, Tappeiner was quick to take an interest and began excavating at the Tartscherbühel as well, although Menghin (1911:309) and Lunz (2006:43) describe his investigations as much less fruitful than Frankfurth's. Tappeiner's (1892b) report includes a description of the site, which indicates that even in 1891 the hill was largely bare of vegetation, stating that „*der ganze Bühel ist infolge gänzlichen Wassermangels baum- und strauchlos, nur im Frühjahr ist er grün von kurzem Gras, im Sommer gelb und dürr*“ [the entire hill is, owing to total lack of water, tree- and shrub-less; only early in the year is it green with short grass, in summer it is yellow and sere] (Tappeiner 1892b:52). Tappeiner (1892b:52) is also the first to mention a *Triangulierungs-Granitsäule* [granite triangulation pole or benchmark] located on the hilltop, which is mentioned in several other publications but is no longer visible today (Bettina Arnold pers. comm.).

Tappeiner investigated the site twice in the early 1890s. His first investigation took place in July 1892, and was the subject of a short 1892 report. During that time, he employed three workers to assist in excavations on the west side of the hill away from the place Frankfurth's excavation had supposedly taken place (Tappeiner 1892b:52). Beginning some 20 m from the benchmark, he proceeded to dig a straight trench along the west side where the artificial earthwork had been identified by Frankfurth (ibid.). He found that:

Auf der westlichen Böschung des Hügels, der ganz aus ausgeschütteter Erde bestand, in der Tiefe von 1 M. Bis 1 1/2 M. wurde die Erde auffallend schwärzer und mit deutlichen Kohlensplittern durchsetzt, aber ganz ohne andere Beigaben, nur wenige Tierknochen fanden sich darin. Ich muss nach meiner Untersuchung diesen Erdhügel wirklich als einen prähistorischen Schutzwall erklären [On the western slope of the hill, which consists entirely of redeposited earth, the soil at a depth of 1 to 1 1/2 m became noticeably darker and mixed with obvious chips of charcoal, though no other inclusions apart from a few animal bones were found therein. I must declare that, through my investigation, this earthwork really was a prehistoric defensive wall] (Tappeiner 1892b:52).

The absence of artifacts is notable in the rest of the report, in which Tappeiner describes finding more dark earth and charcoal on other parts of the hill. His investigations thoroughly convinced him that the artificial elevation on the west side of the site was, indeed, a large defensive fortification, and that the complex itself acted as a prehistoric refuge during times of strife (Tappeiner 1892b:52). Despite this, Tappeiner admits to having only spent one day—12 July—excavating there (ibid.).

Tappeiner returned to the Tartscherbühel one year later in August 1893 (Lunz 2006:43). This time he focused his excavations on the hilltop itself rather than the slopes (O. Menghin 1911:310). Tappeiner's report of what he found there is as follows:

Südlich von der trigonometrischen Säule etwas tiefer fand ich in einer muldenartigen Fläche zwei Skelettgräber, etwa 4 m voneinander entfernt, 1 m unter der Oberfläche. Das erste Skelett war ganz morsch zerfallen, weder Schädel noch Extremitäten messbar, das zweite Skelett hatte wenigstens den Schädel so weit erhalten, dass er, zusammengeleimt, messbar war. Er ergab einen Index von 80.0, weibliche Charaktere, orthognath mit kurzem Gesicht, aber beide Gräber sind ohne Grabbau und ganz ohne Beigaben [South of the benchmark, somewhat deeper, I found two inhumations in a hollowed out area approximately 4 meters apart from each other, 1 meter under the surface. The first skeleton had disintegrated, with neither the cranium nor the extremities in a measurable condition; the second skeleton had been preserved at least so far that its cranium could be measured when glued together. It showed an index of 80.0, female characteristics, orthognathic with a short face, but neither grave had any

visible structure and both were without grave goods] (Tappeiner 1894).

Due to the dearth of artifactual material recovered in his excavations, Tappeiner appears to have lost interest in the Tartscherbühel and never returned after his 1893 excavations there.

The Tartscherbühel did, however, draw the attention of a young Oswald Menghin, who included it along with the other Frankfurth sites in his overview of the Venostenland's prehistory (O. Menghin 1911, Figure 3.15). He claims that he first explored the site in 1910, wanting to make observations independent of Frankfurth's and

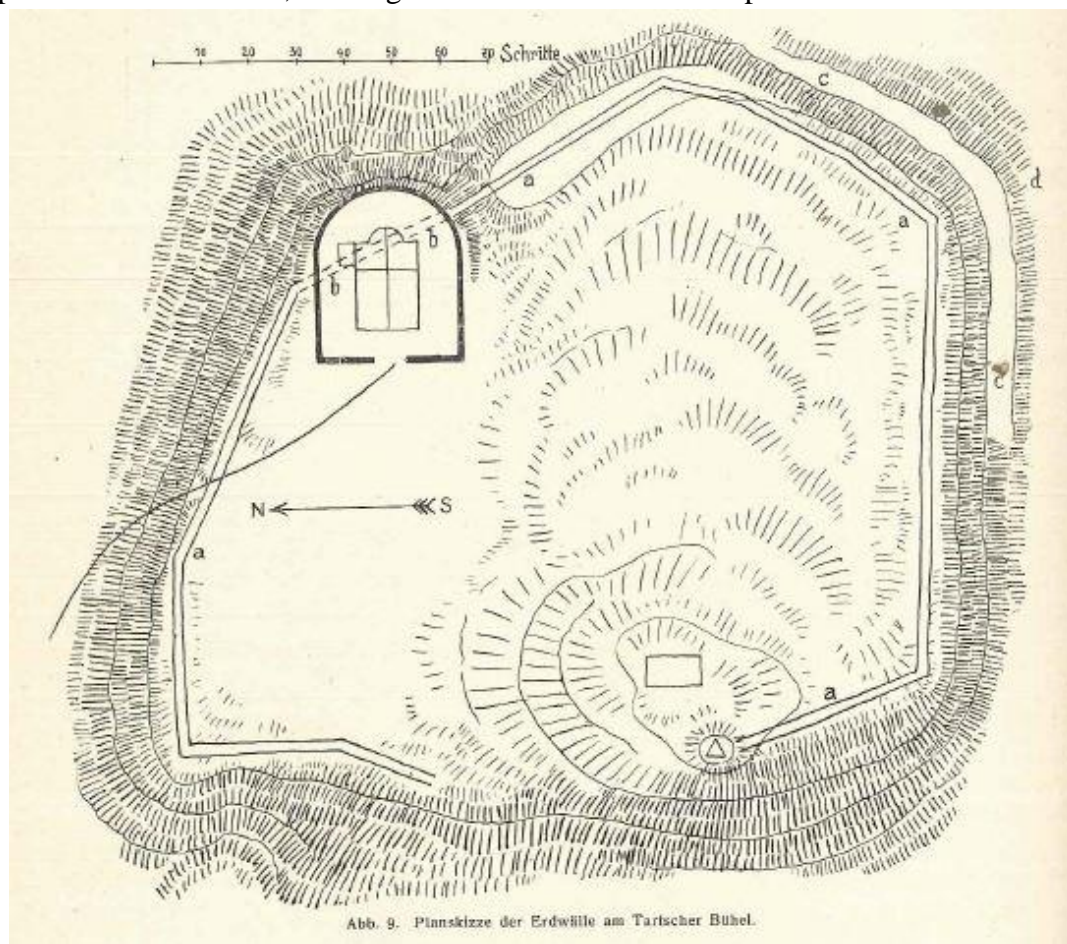


Figure 3.15 Circa 1911 plan sketch of the earth wall on the Tartscherbühel, including the enclosure surrounding the Chapel of St. Veit, with the granite benchmark pole marked by a triangle in the bottom left (O. Menghin 1911:310, Figure 9).

Tappeiner's to confirm or challenge the site's function because he found neither Frankfurth nor Tappeiner made convincing arguments (O. Menghin 1911:308,310). Menghin, like Tappeiner, reported being able to identify Frankfurth's initial excavations, although he seems not to have found the large earth wall Frankfurth described (O. Menghin 1911:311). Partly because of this, he found Tappeiner's conclusion that the Tartscherbühel was a refuge untenable, and conjectured instead—based on the darkened earth and the calcined animal bones mixed in with the soil—that an ash altar could have existed on the hilltop that was similar to that found further up the valley at St. Hyppolit (ibid.). Menghin claims that the materials found prior to 1911 at the Tartscherbühel were insufficient to establish a true chronology for the site—which Frankfurth believed to be primarily Roman and Tappeiner believed was undeniably prehistoric—and states that the artifacts not exported by Frankfurth were kept either in the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck, the Stadtmuseum at Schluderns, or the Meraner Stadtmuseum.

Oswald Menghin's observations were enough to attract the attention of his father, Alois Menghin, who began his own excavations at the site in the fall of 1912 (Lunz 2006:44). According to Oswald Menghin (1920:55), his father opened a small excavation unit near the benchmark with his local students and recovered almost 1 kg of bronze objects, most of which had been so warped by fire as not to be recognizable. He also found bone, but only one piece appeared to have been worked (ibid). Among the identifiable metalwork were two chronologically diagnostic pieces—a Kahn-type fibula with a long foot dated to the late Hallstatt or early La Tène period, and a lancehead dated to the La Tène period—that seemed to contradict Frankfurth's initial assertion that the settlement there had been predominantly Roman (O. Menghin 1920:56). Menghin did,

however, allow that the Tartscherbühel had served as a Roman watchpost or other types of small Roman military settlement at some point, as was first suggested to him by the well-known German prehistorian Paul Reinecke (*ibid*).

Although the Tartscherbühel's name remained part of local folklore in the 1921 Anzoletti poem, archaeological activity at the site came to a halt with Alois Menghin's excavations and nothing of interest was reported there until 1953 (Lunz 2006:44). In that year, a man named Luis Oberrauch discovered a small deer antler carving with an inscription on it, and linguistic analysis showed that the inscription was in Raetic, a language of unknown classification spoken in the eastern Alps before the Roman conquest (Lunz 1974). Although not systematically explored for another half century, the Tartscherbühel still yielded occasional artifacts and featured in the archaeological literature throughout the 1960s and 1970s. During this time, Bernardino Bagolini suggested that several sherds recovered in the early excavations at the Tartscherbühel were actually late Neolithic in date, pushing Menghin's assumed 500+ years of occupation back by several thousand years (Lunz 2006:44). Klaus Bliem also found an interesting artifact on the Tartscherbühel in the form of a clubhead made of serpentine, another diagnostic Neolithic piece (*ibid*). Much later, an informal 1999 investigation by Albert and Michael Pritzi yielded a sword that Steiner (1999:321) tentatively dated to the early La Tène period. By this time, the benchmark near the top of the hill that Tappeiner and Menghin mentioned had been removed (Steiner 1999:306).

Despite these advances in the archaeological understanding of the Tartscherbühel, systematic excavations were not conducted there until 2000. On 28 August 2000, in response to Steiner's report of the recovery of a Celtic sword, Gamper began excavations on the Tartscherbühel to explore possible house foundations there (Gamper 2002:49-50). The excavations were supposed to last two weeks, but were extended through the end of October, when Gamper uncovered the intact foundations of several houses (Gamper 2002:50). The structures were identified as Raetian based on associated artifacts, with foundations of local stone that were 12 m by 1.2 m with a 5 m spur coming off one end and preserved to a height of 1.3-1.8 m (Figure 3.16). One completely excavated house

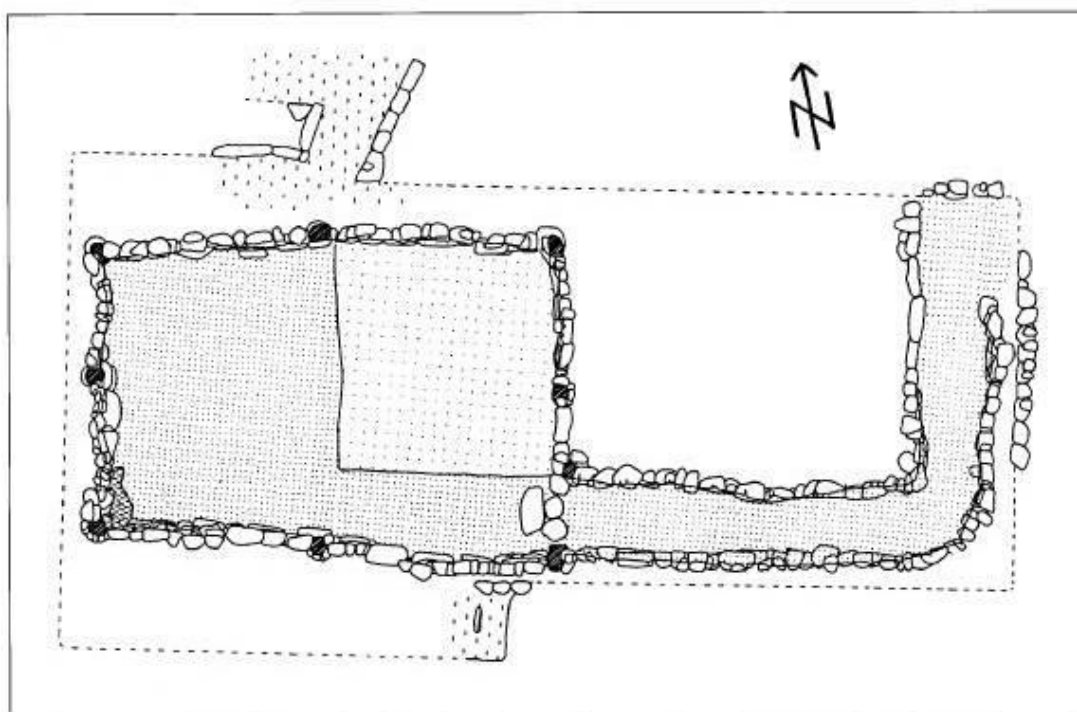


Figure 3.16 Plan sketch of one of the Raetian houses excavated in 2000 (Gamper 2002:51, Figure 2).

had a layer of charcoal 60-80 cm deep—containing burnt clay and wood, along with many artifacts—resting on top of an identifiable living surface (Gamper 2002:52). The recovered artifacts, which included nine fibulae, the handles of several knives, ten nails,

and several pins, indicated an occupation dating from the Hallstatt C to La Tène B periods (Gamper 2002:54-55). Gamper also reports finding ceramics similar to those from late Hallstatt sites elsewhere in the region (ibid.). Visitors to the Tartscherbühel today can still see the foundations of one of the Raetian houses that were uncovered during the 2000 excavations (Figure 3.17; Bettina Arnold pers. comm.). The site lay on the Via Claudia, the main Roman road through the Alpine passes to points north, and its position at the confluence of several valleys is clearly seen in hiking maps of the area (Figure 3.18).

Gamper's excavations on the Tartscherbühel were informed by his previous work at the nearby Ganglegg. The Ganglegg, which lies on a mountain slope east of the Tartscherbühel, was discovered in 1911, and isolated artifacts were periodically found there over the course of the twentieth century (Steiner and Gamper 1999:131).



Figure 3.17 Excavated foundation of a Raetian house on the Tartscherbühel (photo courtesy of B. Arnold 2013).

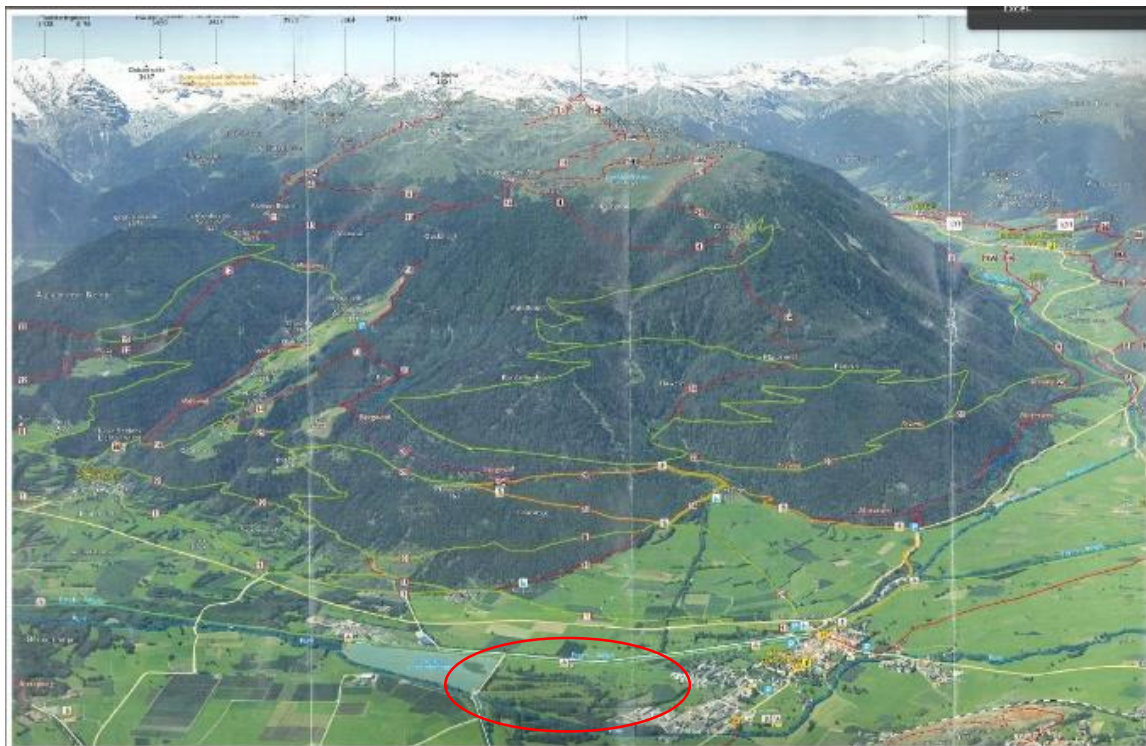


Figure 3.18 Hiking map of the area surrounding Glurns, with the Tartscherbühel highlighted in red in the bottom center and two of the valleys leading into the main Etsch Valley visible (courtesy of B. Arnold).

Excavations on the Ganglegg were carried out in 1997 (after a six-year hold on the project, which was scheduled to begin in 1991) and included the mountain's peak and 40% of its eastern slope (Steiner and Gamper 1999:135). Excavations uncovered a destroyed Bronze Age building as well as several Iron Age terraces and structures (Gamper 2000:635; Steiner and Gamper 1999:134-135,149). The initial analysis of the ceramics returned a likely date of Hallstatt A and B for the primary occupation (Steiner and Gamper 1999:149), but a year later it was determined that the most significant Iron Age occupation dated to La Tène C and D, with very few Hallstatt D to La Tène B artifacts (Gamper 2000:644-645,650,654). Interestingly, this hiatus corresponds roughly with the most intensive occupation of the Tartscherbühel, leading Gamper (2002:58) to postulate that the Ganglegg rose in regional prominence as the Tartscherbühel fell. The

material gathered by Gamper from the Ganglegg and Tartscherbühel excavations are currently housed in the Vintschger Museum in Schluderns (<http://www.vintschgermuseum.com/>).

Since these excavations yielded substantial evidence that the Tartscherbühel contained both an ash altar site and a prehistoric settlement, recent scholarship has mostly concerned itself with how these two aspects related to each other, and how, in turn, the Tartscherbühel ash altar's form relates to other ash altar sites in the region. This work has mostly been conducted by Steiner (2010), whose comprehensive description and comparison of Alpine ash altar sites heavily features the Tartscherbühel and the evidence for ancillary ritual structures associated with the altar itself. Among these is a type of building found at several other ash altar sites called a *Schatzhaus* [treasure house], where it seems votive materials may have been stored [also known from Greek sanctuaries] (Steiner 2010:264). The so-called *Schatzhaus* at the Tartscherbühel was probably constructed in the La Tène B period (Steiner 2010:196,198), and featured objects with ornate decoration, including inlays made of the only worked bone found at the site (Steiner 2010:413). Steiner was also concerned with the relationship between the settlement and the ash altar, stating that despite changes to the settlement in the late La Tène period, the ash altar itself apparently always occupied the highest point on the hill (Steiner 2010:471, 487). Through the continued interest and richness of the finds there, the Tartscherbühel has remained one of the most famous of the sites investigated by Frankfurth, and four of the five iron axes in MPM Accession 213—described as missing in the *MZ* and by several subsequent sources (Tappeiner 1892b; Menghin 1911; Lunz 2006)—constitute the single strongest link between the sites Frankfurth reportedly

excavated and the materials donated to the MPM (see Appendix E).

Sonnenburgerbühel

Frankfurth's excavations in the Inntal are poorly documented compared to those in the Etschtal. Although newspaper sources report him excavating in several places surrounding Innsbruck—including Ampaß, Ratters, and Hötting—the only identifiable archaeological site named is the Sonnenburgerbühel, which is noted in the *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* (IN) as well as the *Meraner Zeitung* (IN 30 Sep 1890; MZ 1. Okt 1890).

Figuring heavily in regional historical records from the Middle Ages on, the Sonnenburgerbühel was the site of a sizable medieval occupation beginning in the sixth century but represents a human-made deposit going back several millennia (Stadler 1985:7-8). The knoll was 744 m above sea level—some 50 m above the valley floor—and was only one km south of the Innsbruck city limits (Figure 3.19; Stadler 1985:4,7). The site was partly destroyed to make way for a bypass in the early 1960s; at present only

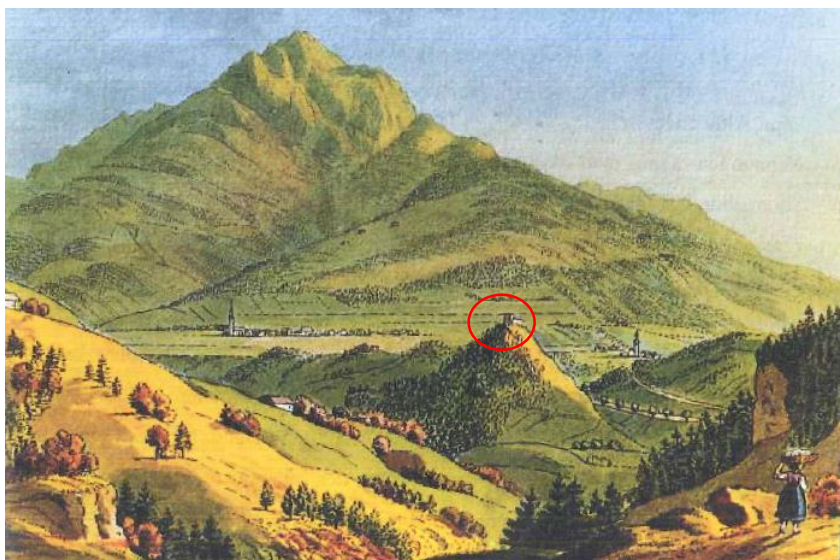


Figure 3.19 The Sonnenburgerbühel (center) with ruins of the medieval castle before it was largely destroyed to make room for a bypass outside of Innsbruck (Messner n.d.:6)

about a third of the original hill remains undisturbed, resting in a fenced-off parcel of private property just off the highway (Figure 3.20; Bettina Arnold pers. comm.).



Figure 3.20 The remaining knoll of the Sonnenburgerbühel, on private property behind the fence. Archaeologist Harald Stadler (Institute of Archaeology, University of Innsbruck) is on the right (photo courtesy of B. Arnold 2013).

It was his work at the Sonnenburgerbühel and elsewhere in the Inntal that earned Frankfurth especially vituperative local criticism. An Innsbruck museum curator, Conrad Fischner, submitted a letter to the *MZ* (14. Okt 1890) in which he denounced both Frankfurth and his work. After first correcting the misconception that Frankfurth had donated the majority of his finds to the city of Meran—which was done based on a previous letter in another newspaper—Fischner completely dismisses Frankfurth’s contribution to Tyrolean archaeology:

Herr Wm. Frankfurth...versichert, daß man seinen Spuren nur nachzugehen brauche, um wichtige Entdeckungen zu machen. Gut, ich bin den Spuren des Herrn Wm. Frankfurth nachgegangen, sie waren auch breit genug, und frage ihn nun: “Was hat er denn bei uns entdeckt? Was hat er bei Ampaß, Natters, am Sonnenburgerbühel und wo er sonst noch gegraben, entdeckt?”—Nichts! Herr Wm. Frankfurth hat an den

genannten, längst bekannten, aber noch lange nicht ganz erforschten prähistorischen Fundplätzen bloß da und dort herumgewühlt. Sein wissenschaftlicher Eifer kühlte sich aber dort sehr schnell ab; auf dem einfachen Grunde, weil sich dort nicht mit leichter Mühe Funde machen ließen, sondern weil dort nur ernste, wissenschaftliche und voraussichtlich mit schweren Geldopfern verbundene Arbeiten noch neue Ergebnisse liefern können. [Mr. William Frankfurth...promises that one need only follow in his footsteps to make important discoveries. Fine, I followed the trail of Mr. William Frankfurth—it was certainly wide enough—and I ask him now: “What did you discover near us? What did you discover in Ampaß, Natters, on the Sonnenburgerbühel, and wherever else you may have excavated?”—Nothing! Mr. William Frankfurth has rummaged here and there on named, long-known prehistoric sites that have not been completely explored as yet. His scholarly enthusiasm cooled there quite quickly for the simple reason that it was not possible to recover finds without considerable effort; rather, new results would require serious scholarly work and considerable financial sacrifice] (MZ 14. Okt 1980).

He then criticizes Frankfurth’s excavation methods, especially the inclusion of his young sons in his activities:

Ob dieselben auch, wie er selbst, ihre Studien und Forschungen in Amerika gemacht haben, weiß ich nicht, aber das weiß ich, daß eine derartige, unter dem Deckmantel wissenschaftlicher Forschung betriebene Gräberei, die vom Standpunkte methodischer Forschung nur als Raubbau bezeichnet werden kann, an den Pranger gestellt werden muß, um die “wissenschaftlichen Studien” des Herrn Wm. Frankfurth ins rechte Licht zu rücken und derartige fernere Grabungen, die gleichbedeutend mit Zerstörungen sind, im Interesse unserer vaterländischen Alterthumsfunde zu erschweren, womöglich zu verhindern. Dazu sind denn doch noch die alten Gräber und Wohnplätze der ersten Ansiedler im Innthale zu gut, um der amerikanischen Jugend Stoff zur Ferienbeschäftigung zu bieten und gelehrten Vandalen den Lorbeer des Entdeckers um die Stirne zu winden [I do not know whether his sons, like him, also carried out studies and research in America, but I do know that this kind of digging, which is carried out under the guise of methodical scholarship but in fact can only be described as looting, should be publicly exposed in order to put the so-called scholarly investigations of Mr. Wm. Frankfurth into proper perspective and to ensure that future digging of this kind, which is the equivalent of wanton destruction, will be more difficult or even entirely impossible in the interests of our local cultural patrimony. The old burial places and settlements of the first settlers of the Inn Valley are entirely too valuable to provide the youth of America with vacation projects and to allow scholarly vandals to wind the laurels of discovery about their own

brows.] (MZ 14. Okt 1980).

He closes with a direct appeal to Frankfurth to accept responsibility for destroying

Tyrolean prehistory:

Wo sind die "Reste prähistorischer Baudenkmäler", welche in Tirol immer mehr in Verfall geraten. Heraus mit der Sprache, prähistorischer Forscher! Ich kenne in Tirol kein einziges derartiges Baudenkmal, auch Herr Frankfurth kennt keines, es sei denn, daß er irgend eine mittelalterliche Schloßmauer für eine prähistorische anspricht. Was an Resten prähistorischer Baudenkmäler zum Beispiel in Nordtirol bekannt ist, kann ich gerade mit meinen beiden Händen zudecken. Es liegt vor mir auf dem Tische. Und wissen Sie, Herr Wm. Frankfurth aus Milwaukee, wo diese Reste ausgelesen wurden? Ich will es Ihnen sagen: Gerade an der Stelle in Hötting, die von Ihnen aufgewühlt und durch Ihre Schuld zerstört worden ist. [Where are the "remains of prehistoric structures of historical importance" in the Tyrol that are ever more falling into decay? Spit it out, prehistoric researcher! I do not know a single example of this type of significant structure, nor does Mr. Frankfurth, unless he speaks of some medieval castle wall and thinks it is prehistoric. What is known of remains from prehistoric sites in the Northern Tyrol I can cover with my own two hands. It's here before me on the table. And do you know, Mr. William Frankfurth from Milwaukee, where these remains were found? I will tell you: precisely the place in Hötting that you rummaged through and that is now destroyed because of you.] (MZ 14. Okt 1890)

It is unknown what happened between the two men to elicit such a strong negative reaction from Fischnaler; though Tappeiner and Menghin had mixed responses to Frankfurth's work, they did not show anywhere near the hostility Fischnaler displays here. His reaction is also puzzling given the description of Frankfurth's temperament in archival sources from Milwaukee. Fischnaler's attacks go far beyond professional disdain for an amateur or even cultural disgust at an American nouveau riche; at one point he compares Frankfurth's sons to back-alley urchins in Hötting (MZ 14. Mai 1890). We also do not know what site in or near Hötting Frankfurth is thought to have destroyed, nor does Fischnaler tell us what kinds of artifacts were found there, although the recently

discovered MPM documents may provide some new leads.

The controversy surrounding Frankfurth's work in the Inntal is telling in several ways. The fact that Fischnaler describes the site on the Sonnenburgerbühel as well-known—and that he believed Frankfurth had mistaken a medieval wall foundation for a prehistoric earthwork (*MZ* 14. Okt 1890)—shows that the medieval history of the site was so rooted in the local mindset that the notion of a prehistoric site there had not been seriously considered. This also explains the apparent lack of follow-up excavations by local antiquarians as had occurred at sites in the Vintschgau. If local scholars believed that little if any notable prehistoric material might remain after the construction of the well-documented medieval fortress, there would have been little need to corroborate Frankfurth's assertions. Another reason the sites Frankfurth explored in the Inntal were not investigated further may have stemmed from the impression—strongly stated by Fischnaler—that Frankfurth's excavation methods were so shoddy the sites were effectively destroyed by his activities. Fischnaler also recounts an anecdote about the *hiesige archäologische Beirath* [local archaeological council] showing concern over Frankfurth's sons being involved in his excavations (*ibid*). This demonstrates that his activities were drawing the attention of the authorities in the region, and that the feeling that his excavations must be stopped was by no means unique to the citizens of Meran.

It is fortunate that the Sonnenburgerbühel was a famous medieval site warranting a salvage excavation prior to its partial destruction for a bypass in 1960; otherwise its prehistoric component might not have been widely accepted. It seems most archaeologists agreed with Fischnaler that—at least until an intensive excavation was absolutely necessary—it would be a complete waste of time. There is no record of any

archaeologist excavating the site between Frankfurth's investigations and the salvage operation of 1959-1960. The only materials recovered before this were two medieval skeletons, which were turned up by a team trenching for a drainage ditch at the foot of the hill in 1940 (Stadler 1985:4). The salvage excavation was overseen by Liselotte Zemmer-Plank and took place over the course of two field seasons (Stadler 1985:35). Most of the finds from the Zemmer-Plank excavations were never published, but the ceramics from the site were the subject of a University of Innsbruck dissertation by Harald Stadler (1985).

According to Stadler (1985), the Zemmer-Plank excavations consisted of three test pits between 70 and 120 m² in size. Test pit 1, which was 7 m by 10 m, turned up a mix of cultural material, with some that appeared medieval, some definitely Roman, and a few undecorated prehistoric sherds at the very bottom (Stadler 1985:36). Test pit 2 contained a burnt layer of soil as well as some previous iterations of the earth walls, including a much smaller semicircular wall next to a stone formation that looked like a staircase, with only large stones coming from the north half of the test pit (Stadler 1985:42). The largest collection of artifacts came from Test pit 3, which yielded Roman terra sigillata, chunks of brick, rough ceramic cookware, and bone (Stadler 1985:47). It also contained the impressions of earthworks, as well as more burnt earth in the southwest part of the trench that was otherwise devoid of cultural materials (ibid). On the basis of the materials found in these test pits, Zemmer-Plank conjectured that the site was occupied in late antiquity, was abandoned for a short time, and reoccupied after A.D. 580 (Stadler 1985:51).

Stadler's analysis brought the site's timeline into clearer focus; based on the ceramic

analysis, he was able to generate a fairly detailed relative chronology of the site. The settlement began in the early Bronze Age and was used as a cremation cemetery by the Urnfield Period (Stadler 1985:121). Each subdivision of the Hallstatt period is documented, with Hallstatt A and D being best represented, Hallstatt C represented by ceramic forms that could be later in date, and Hallstatt B only represented by a single broken sherd (Stadler 1985:121-122). The La Tène assemblages show continuous occupation from La Tène A to La Tène D, followed by a hiatus of 3-5 centuries before the site was reoccupied around A.D. 200 (Stadler 1985:122). The site was then occupied continuously until the fifteenth century (*ibid*).

Despite the obvious prehistoric components at the site, neither the Hallstatt nor the La Tène objects onsite have been comprehensively published (Stadler 1985:90). Stadler also mentions that the stratigraphy is so muddled that establishing provenience for finds is nearly impossible; many of the artifacts were probably mixed together when the medieval fortress was built, so that Urnfield ceramics appear in late antique or medieval earthworks (Stadler 1985:10). Frankfurth's excavations here appear not to have been well-known, as Stadler does not mention them in his dissertation. The Sonnenburgerbühel, despite several signs that suggest it may have been the location of an ash altar site, is not mentioned by Gleirscher et al. (2002) or Steiner (2010).

A sizeable collection of previously uncataloged materials at the MPM may be from this location (Figure 3.21). These have only recently been catalogued by Barbara McClendon, who has assigned accession and catalog numbers to some 180 additional prehistoric pieces believed to be part of the Frankfurth collection as an academic project carried out in fall 2013 (Barbara McClendon pers. comm.). Among these pieces are 25



Figure 3.21 Prehistoric ceramics at the MPM probably from the Frankfurth collection, possibly excavated by Frankfurth at the Sonnenburgerbühel.

ceramics tentatively dated to the La Tène period and several others that appear to be medieval (the Roman ceramics were not cataloged). If they are part of an assemblage that comes from a single site, the Sonnenburgerbühel is the best of the known candidates, as it is the only one of the sites discussed in this chapter that has produced prehistoric, Roman, and medieval ceramics (Stadler 1985). Some photographs of the prehistoric ceramics that probably belong to the Frankfurth collection were sent to Stadler in the course of this project, and he confirmed that they closely matched what had been found on the Sonnenburgerbühel (Harald Stadler pers. comm. 2013).

Tuiflslammer

The final site known to have been investigated by Frankfurth sometime in the late summer or early fall of 1890 was the Tuiflslammer, a large, artificially constructed stone structure in the shape of a pyramid that sits atop a steep spur 168 m above the Etsch Valley near Eppan. It is an imposing site, and one that is difficult to access from all sides but the north (Steiner 2010:280). Adding to its grandeur is its immensity; the pyramid has a footprint 50 m in diameter and stands 10 m high (ibid.).

With Frankfurth's interest in prehistory, it is no surprise that he found himself drawn

to visit the Tuiflslammer, although whether he actually excavated there is unclear. The *MZ* (21. Sep 1890) simply says that Frankfurth had called attention to it as a curiosity and, unlike its coverage of his work at the Hochbühel, the newspaper makes no mention of excavations at the site. The *Bote für Tirol und Vorarlberg* (*BTV* 9. Nov 1890) is similarly vague about Frankfurth's interest in the site, suggesting that he may have visited the site without sinking a shovel into the ground.

This conclusion is corroborated by Steiner's (2010) lengthy description of the Tuiflslammer, which contains no reference to Frankfurth. To Steiner's (2010:281) knowledge, the first archaeologists to show any interest in the site were Tappeiner and Karl Atz. In a short note, Atz (1892:58) described the site's location and local ideas about its significance as well as its location relative to other important parts of the historical landscape. Tappeiner's first opportunity to study the site came in 1895; although his excavation uncovered no artifacts he did record interesting stratigraphy (Tappeiner 1895:42). On the basis of the stones sitting directly atop mixed earth and natural bedrock, Tappeiner concludes that “*es dürfte zweifellos sein, dass der Hügel nur eine Künstliche Steinausschichtung ist, darunter kein Grab mit archaeologischen Funden zu erhoffen ist*” [it could doubtless be that the hill is only an artificial rock pile, under which no grave with archaeological finds is to be expected] (*ibid*). Atz turned his attention to the site briefly in 1909. Apart from Tappeiner's and Atz's explorations, the Tuiflslammer had gained local notoriety for its impressive size, with most later interpretations in the early twentieth century following Atz (1909), who cast it as either a grave for a hero—prehistoric, Roman, or even Hunnic—or a monument commemorating a specific spectacular event (Steiner 2010:282).

Despite this interest, only one team received permission to excavate at the Tuiflslammer prior to 1929. A man from Eppan named Josef Schgaguler apparently applied for such permission in 1912, and was joined in his efforts by Franz von Wieser from the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck (Steiner 2010:283). The deal struck stipulated that Schgaguler could keep half of the materials recovered, while the other half would be donated to the Ferdinandeum at von Wieser's insistence. Unfortunately, both men were disappointed by the results; Franz von Wieser reported finding nothing of antiquarian interest (*ibid.*). He apparently decided to halt further excavations with Schgaguler for fear of destroying the structure while gaining nothing but useless rubbish. Hindsight—combined with knowledge derived from later excavations—begs the question of exactly how much “worthless” material the pair removed from context, but since their records were less than meticulous it will probably never be known (*ibid.*).

After this disappointing attempt, it was almost twenty years before excavations began anew on the site. Beginning on 16 September 1929, investigations into the Tuiflslammer were directed by two Italians—Ettore Ghislanzoni and Massimo Nicolussi Piuma—whose methods were much more professional by current standards (Steiner 2010:234). Hiring six workers for the duration of the project and working six days a week, Ghislanzoni's team continued work until 23 November 1929, keeping detailed weekly reports in Italian with sketches of their finds for the duration (which have been translated by Steiner [2010:284-290]). These reports dealt mostly with the features found onsite, but also included descriptions and drawings of some of the more unusual artifacts (Steiner 2010:290). When the excavation ended, Ghislazoni turned the artifacts and much of the documentation over to the Stadtmuseum in Bozen, where Steiner was able to

access it for his publication of ash altar sites in his report on St. Walburg (*ibid.*). Between the excavation and Steiner's publication, the assemblage as a whole had not been thoroughly examined, although individual artifacts recovered from the 1929 excavations were discussed by both Lunz (1976) and Gleirscher et al. (2002). A small collection of materials ostensibly from the Tuiflslammer—reportedly recovered in 1929 by a local stonemason named Ferdinand Schwartzter—was donated to the Stadtmuseum in Bozen in 1933, and no further material appears to have come from the site since (Steiner 2010:293).

The Tuiflslammer is now considered a *Brandopferplatz* of the Bozener Type, consisting of a large conical pile of stones (*Steinkegel*) that was used as an altar (Gleirscher et al. 2002). Ghislanzoni recorded a complex system of stone walls, which he sketched in some detail, including plan maps and profiles (Figure 3.22). The Tuiflslammer apparently had a long use life; the 1929 excavations uncovered ceramics from the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Middle Ages, and even the early modern periods (Steiner 2010:295). Although not as numerous as the ceramics, Ghislanzoni also recovered some metalwork—including bronze and iron axes, bronze tweezers, and a bronze fibula—and several pieces of worked stone, including a groundstone axe (Steiner 2010:291-294). This axe, made of serpentine, was one of the two artifacts that drew the attention of Lunz (2006). Rounding out the materials associated with ash altar sites was a sizable quantity of calcined animal bone, which led to the Tuiflslammer and other sites belonging to the so-called Bozener Type to be classified as *Brandopferplätze* in the first place (Steiner 2010:293). The Tuiflslammer currently lies in a large protected archaeological zone that includes most of the area between Eppan to the north and

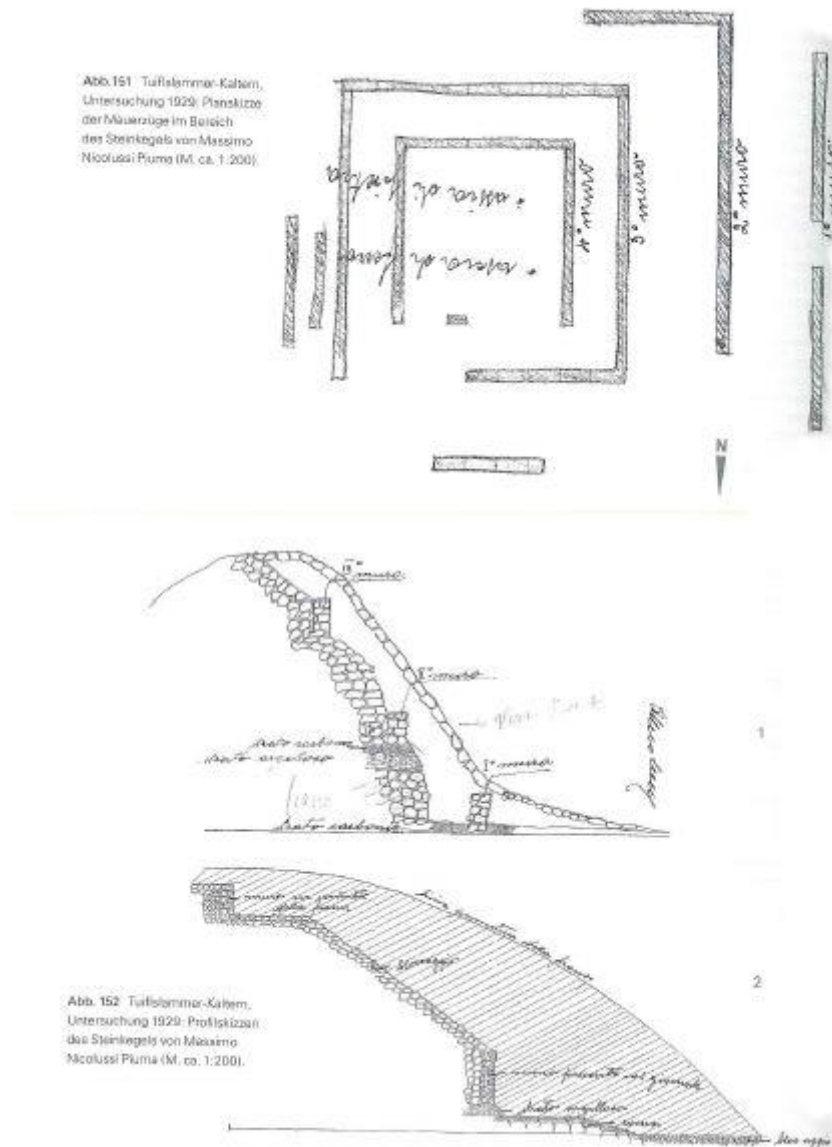


Figure 3.22 Sketches of the Tuifflammer drawn by Massimo Piuma during the Ghizlanzoni excavations (Steiner 2010:280).

Kalern to the south; the individual site does not, however, appear in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano's ArchaeoBrowser GIS service (www.provinz.bz.it/informatik/themen/maps-webgis.asp).

Summary

The Frankfurth excavations were conducted by an amateur at a time when archaeology was in its infancy, and as such the methods Frankfurth used to recover the

artifacts he found were rudimentary at best. It is assumed that some provenience information existed in the notebooks and pamphlets Frankfurth gave to the MPM that have been lost, but this may not necessarily have been the case. It is fortunate, therefore, that the climate of nineteenth century European nationalist prehistoric archaeology generated an interest in his work while it was being conducted, both by the general public and the antiquarians working in museums, universities, or even curio shops in the parts of Austria that Frankfurth visited. Through their interest—and the newspaper articles that reported on his activities—we have been able to identify some of the specific sites at which Frankfurth conducted excavations and, by extension, the sites at which the prehistoric metalwork in MPM Accession 213 were most likely to have been found.

Additional excavation and publication of these sites would allow us to confirm which ones were the source of the MPM Accession 213 materials presented in this thesis by helping to construct a profile of the materials Frankfurth is reported to have found (Tables 3.1-3.5). The sites not given tables are those where Frankfurth is either reported as finding no metalwork (e.g. the Sonnenburgerbühel and the Flatschhügel) or those where Frankfurth is known to have investigated no mention is made of excavations or

Table 3.1 Artifacts Frankfurth is reported as finding on the Grumserbühel according to the *Meraner Zeitung* (MZ), Frankfurth’s posthumous letter (Frank), Tappeiner 1892a and 1892b (Tapp), Menghin 1911 (Meng) and Lunz 2006 (Lunz).

Grumserbühel					
	MZ	Frank	Tapp	Meng	Lunz
Fibulae					
Pins					
Weapons					
Other Pers. Orn.					
Misc. Dec.					
Unidentified					
Prehistoric Ceramics					
Roman Ceramics					

Table 3.2 Artifacts Frankfurth is reported as finding on the Sinichkopf according to the *Meraner Zeitung* (MZ), Frankfurth's posthumous letter (Frank), Tappeiner 1892a and 1892b (Tapp), Menghin 1911 (Meng) and Lunz 2006 (Lunz).

Sinichkopf					
	MZ	Frank	Tapp	Meng	Lunz
Fibulae					
Pins					
Weapons					
Other Pers. Orn.					
Misc. Dec.					
Unidentified					
Prehistoric Ceramics					
Roman Ceramics					

Table 3.3 Artifacts Frankfurth is reported as finding on the Hochbühel according to the *Meraner Zeitung* (MZ), Frankfurth's posthumous letter (Frank), Tappeiner 1892a and 1892b (Tapp), Menghin 1911 (Meng) and Lunz 2006 (Lunz).

Hochbühel					
	MZ	Frank	Tapp	Meng	Lunz
Fibulae					
Pins					
Weapons					
Other Pers. Orn.					
Misc. Dec.					
Unidentified					
Prehistoric Ceramics					
Roman Ceramics					

recovered materials (e.g. the Baunsberg and the Tuiflslammer). It is also important to separate some of the more obviously Roman materials out from the main body of the metalwork collection that likely came from the unknown Roman site Frankfurth excavated. After doing so, by comparing the presence or absence of certain classes of artifacts in Accession 213 with the published artifacts from these sites, the list of possible locations can be further refined. This will allow us to contextualize the materials in a way not possible for Caywood (2011), who compared the terra sigillata in Frankfurth's

Table 3.4 Artifacts Frankfurth is reported as finding on the Fachegg according to the *Meraner Zeitung* (MZ), Frankfurth’s posthumous letter (Frank), Tappeiner 1892a and 1892b (Tapp), Menghin 1911 (Meng) and Lunz 2006 (Lunz).

Fachegg					
	MZ	Frank	Tapp	Meng	Lunz
Fibulae					
Pins					
Weapons					
Other Pers. Orn.					
Misc. Dec.					
Unidentified					
Prehistoric Ceramics					
Roman Ceramics					

Table 3.5 Artifacts Frankfurth is reported as finding on the Tartscherbühel according to the *Meraner Zeitung* (MZ), Frankfurth’s posthumous letter (Frank), Tappeiner 1892a and 1892b (Tapp), Menghin 1911 (Meng) and Lunz 2006 (Lunz).

Tartscherbühel					
	MZ	Frank	Tapp	Meng	Lunz
Fibulae					
Pins					
Weapons					
Other Pers. Orn.					
Misc. Dec.					
Unidentified					
Prehistoric Ceramics					
Roman Ceramics					

collection to known assemblages from other provincial Roman sites in the absence of evidence for excavations at any known Roman sites. One possibility mentioned in the final *Meraner Zeitung* article published posthumously is the “Martinsburg bei Biel”, but where this site was is still unknown (MZ 9. Feb. 1891), and Carnuntum is also a possibility.

Chapter 4 Analysis

Introduction

Identifying the sites where Frankfurth is known to have excavated serves as a useful starting point, but before it is possible to compare the MPM Accession 213 materials with finds from these sites, it is necessary to identify and describe the metal objects in the collection. It is only after this has been done that we can begin to examine the collection in its probable context. It is also necessary to assess the condition of the objects to test the idea that the collection primarily arose from practices associated with ritual deposition, one of the characteristics of the ash altar sites Frankfurth is known to have explored.

Fibulae

The fibulae are the most diagnostic materials present in MPM Accession 213. The collection contains 41 fibulae and fibula fragments, which include some of the most complete pieces. Contextualizing fibulae temporally is comparatively easy relative to the other metalwork in the collection, as regional fibula chronologies have existed in one form or another in west-central Europe for over half a century (Beck et al. 2000:4). The types of fibulae present, as well as trends within these types, allow for a fairly fine relative dating of the prehistoric materials Frankfurth recovered from the sites he excavated. Their analytical value is further enhanced by comparing their occurrences to documented sites elsewhere in the Alps, helping to establish the kinds of sites in which such types might be found. Photographs of examples are included in the text; for photographs of all fibulae and fibula fragments, see Appendix B.

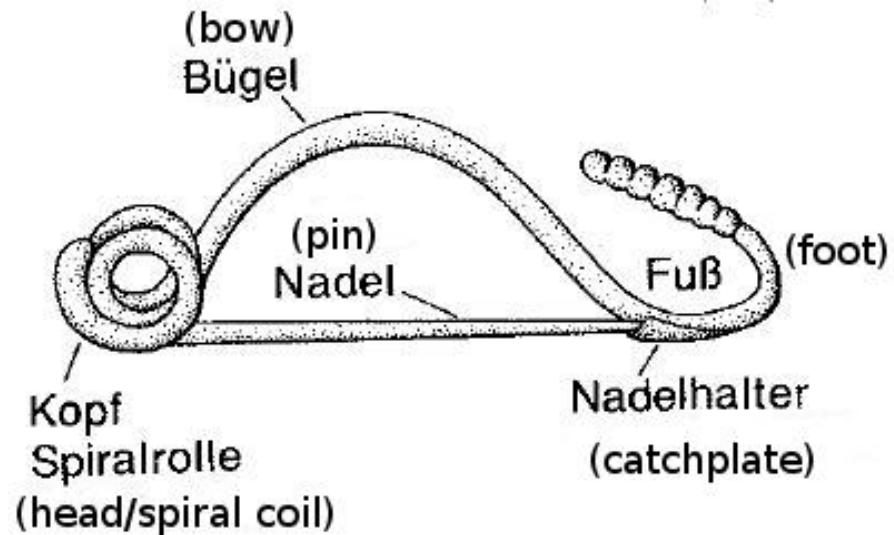


Figure 4.1 Parts of a fibula, English translations in parentheses (Beck et al. 2000:3).

Fibulae are safety pin like ornaments that, in the absence of buttons, were used to hold clothing together. They replaced the straight pin beginning in the Middle Bronze Age in Europe, and were in use throughout the Iron Age, Roman period, and Migration Period (Beck et al. 2000:7,101). Their design was fairly simple, operating on the same principle as a modern safety pin; on one end, a coiled spring maintained tension on a pin that was held at the other end by a catchplate. The terms used to describe the parts of fibulae, like those used to describe parts of ceramics, have been anthropomorphized to some extent (Beck et al. 2000:4; Figure 4.1). The basic parts of a fibula are the head, which includes the spiral coil or spring, the bow, which connects the head to the foot, the needle holder or catchplate, which holds the pin in place, and the foot. Both the foot and the bow are often decorated while the spring/coil and the catchplate also vary stylistically, from a single coil to a crossbow-style spring. The morphology of decorative elements on these basic parts has allowed researchers to develop dozens of fibula types created over the centuries of their use, which act as a shorthand to describe groups of fibulae with

similar features (*ibid.*).

Fibulae were subject to rapid style shifts, and over 250 different fibula types have been identified in the German-speaking regions of Europe alone (Heynowski 2012:14). This is partly due to their small size and, consequently, ease of production, and partly due to their prominent placement on the breast, shoulder, or neckline (Figure 4.2, Beck et al. 2000:4; Heynowski 2012:11). During the Iron Age, fibulae underwent frequent stylistic changes, but a number of stylistic elements are either shared or can be traced on an evolutionary path to earlier forms. The constant development of fibula styles complicates the process of fitting recovered artifacts into typological ideals, however, and it must be recognized that fibula types are not set in stone; instead, they represent a continuum of styles, and placing a given artifact into a type is more of a best fit process (Heynowski 2012:12).

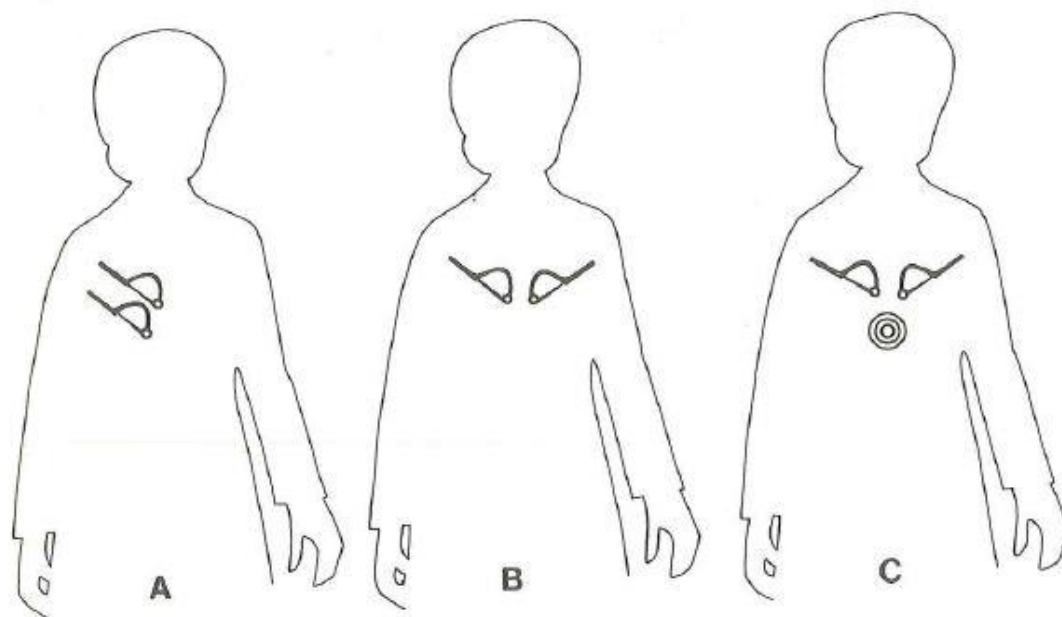


Abb. 81. Tragweise der Fibeln. A = Ha D, Phase 1; B = Ha D, Phase 2; C = Ha D, Phase 3

Figure 4.2 Examples of how fibulae were worn in the three phases of the Hallstatt D period (Beck et al. 2000:33, Figure 81).

Accession 213 contains 28 fragments complete enough to type with a degree of confidence, 21 of which appear to be prehistoric. Most of these (17) are late Hallstatt in date, while a minority (4) are La Tène. The most numerous type present is the *Bogenfibel*, of which there are 13 probable fragments (Figure 4.3). *Bogenfibel* come in a variety of forms (Heynowski 2012:55-56) and have an internal typology of their own (Beck et al. 2000:27). *Bogenfibel* were most common in the so-called East Hallstatt zone, and they are mostly found in modern Italy, Austria, Switzerland, southern Germany, and the Balkans (Heynowski 2012:54). The *Bogenfibel* also show the first of many similarities with assemblages derived from subsequent work on the Hochbühel.



Figure 4.3 (top to bottom) MPM Acc.# 15973, MPM Acc.# 15970, and MPM Acc.# 15969, three examples of *Bogenfibel* in the Frankfurth collection.

Tappeiner's descriptions indicate that he found *Bogenfibel* at during his investigation of the site, listing among the artifacts he found, “*Vier Bogen-Fibel mit langem Fuss, welcher mit 1-3 Endkopfen versehen ist. Der Bogen ist in der Mitte etwas verbreitert und oben und unten mit vier quer eingravirten Strichen verziert*” [four *Bogenfibel* with a long foot that was fitted with 1-3 knobs at the end. The bow is somewhat wider in the middle and decorated with four lateral incisions above and below] (Tappeiner 1892a:49). The *Bogenfibel* is a late Hallstatt type (Beck et al. 2000:27), and suggests a Hallstatt D date for part of the assemblage.

Another Hallstatt D fibula type in Accession 213 is the *Halbmondfibel* [crescent moon-shaped fibula], an elaborate, ostentatious design mostly found in the Alpine regions of Germany and Austria, but also occurring in Slovenia and the East Hallstatt area. This type consists of a large, crescent-shaped body with stylized horses and other decorations, as well as triangular sheet bronze pendant decorations attached to the body via chains (Heynowski 2012:55; Figure 4.4). One fibula fragment certainly belongs to this type, featuring two stylized horses—one of which is broken—facing each other in a crescent-

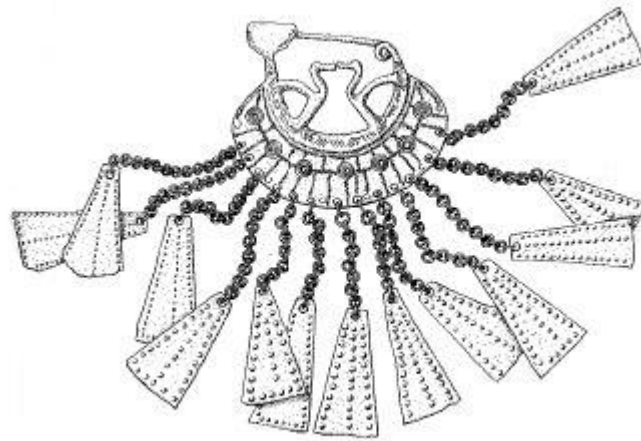


Figure 4.4 Sketch of a *Halbmondfibel* (Heynowski 2012:55).

shaped frame (Figure 4.5). This motif was also part of a known design for pendants; what makes this object identifiable as a fibula is the presence of a twice-wound spring on one of the crescent's crests, which can be seen clearly in the photo. Two other pieces may have also come from this type of fibula, including the small bronze chains and fragments of triangular pendant decorations from this type of fibula in the collection. The latter bears more resemblance to the hanging decorations on anthropomorphic representations found at the Hochbühel by Tappeiner (1892a).



Figure 4.5 MPM Acc.#16122, part of a *Halbmondfibel*.

One of the more complete fibulae—which includes a bow, foot, and fairly intact needle—belongs to the early Iron Age Certosa type (Figure 4.6). The Certosa type is characterized as follows:

Zu den charakteristischen Elementen dieser Fibel gehören eine einseitige Spirale mit zwei Windungen sowie ein asymmetrischer Bugel, der zur Mitte hin leicht anschwillt und im Kopfbereich einen kräftigen Knoten aufweist.



Figure 4.6 MPM Acc.# 16060, a Certosa fibula.

Der Nadelhalter ist mit einer lanzettförmigen Platte abgedeckt, die sich vor dem Bugelansatz kreisförmig verbreitet. Das Fussende wird durch einen linsenförmigen, schräg aufgebogenen Knopf eingenommen [Characteristic elements of these [Certosa] fibulae are a one-sided spiral wound twice as well as an asymmetrical bow that slightly rises in the middle and demonstrates a profiled knob in the head area. The catchplate is decorated with lancet-shaped patterns that widen at the junction with the bow. The foot is decorated with a bowed, lentil-shaped knob] (Heynowski 2012:59; Figure 4.7).

The Certosa fibula dates to Hallstatt D in the Alpine region and is widely distributed in Austria, southern Germany, and northern Italy, sharing many characteristics with later La Tène B-C scheme fibulae from Central Europe.

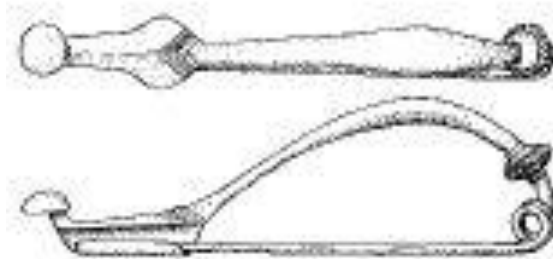


Figure 4.7 Sketch of a Certosa fibula (Heynowski 2012:59).

The presence of a Certosa type fibula is neither surprising nor conclusive evidence that it was recovered at the sites Frankfurth is known to have excavated, as the type is fairly ubiquitous in the eastern Alps and is not associated with any particular practice or activity. Certosa fibulae do, however, feature in Tappeiner's excavations of the Hochbühel and Tartscherbühel, which produced “*vier Stücke Certosa fibeln*” [four pieces of Certosa fibulae] that do not seem to have been illustrated in his report (Tappeiner 1892a:49). Apart from this link to the documentary sources—tenuous as it is, since Frankfurth conceivably could have obtained these examples anywhere in the Austrian Alps—the presence of the Certosa type at least confirms that parts of the collection date to the late Hallstatt/early La Tène period, which is consistent with the dates assigned to some of the sites Frankfurth is known to have explored.

Two other Hallstatt D types in the collection are represented by fragmentary bows. The first (Figure 4.8) is a bow from a *Sanguisuga* (Latin for ‘leech’) fibula, so named because the swelling of the bow resembles a leech (Heynowski 2012:54). The second is a *Fusszier* fibula (Figure 4.9), which is a type of fibula with a crossbow-spiral



Figure 4.8 MPM Acc.# 16085, a bow from a *Sanguisuga* fibula.



Figure 4.9 MPM Acc.#15966, a warped bow from a *Fusszier* fibula.

construction and a large decorative element on the foot (Heynowski 2012:58). A final Hallstatt fibula type in Accession 213 may be represented by a bronze spiral (Figure 4.10). This decorative element is found on a number of common Hallstatt fibula types (Beck et al. 2000:21; for examples see Heynowski 2012:38-43), making it difficult to identify its definitive type from this particular fragment. The style is, however,



Figure 4.10 MPM Acc.# 16123, spiral decoration possibly belonging to a Hallstatt fibula.

chronologically diagnostic, and suggests a slightly earlier Hallstatt B-C date than the other Hallstatt fibulae in the collection. Generally speaking, however, the Hallstatt fibula types are mostly Hallstatt D and date to the sixth or fifth century B.C.

The four La Tène fibulae, unlike the Hallstatt fibulae, do not represent a concentration of chronological evidence. Instead, they run the gamut from early to late La Tène, making it somewhat more difficult to draw concrete conclusions from them. The earliest La Tène piece (Figure 4.11) is a *Doppelzier* fibula, which dates from La Tène A-B (fifth century B.C.). This type is characterized by a crossbow spiral construction



Figure 4.11 MPM Acc.# 16131, the bow from a *Doppelzier* fibula; note the hole at the apex of the bow for a decorative element.

featuring a large ornament on the foot, much like the Hallstatt *Fusszier* fibula discussed above (Heynowski 2012:58). The difference can be seen in the bow, where there is a small hole at the apex; this would house another large ornament affixed through the hole by a screw. The second La Tène fibula, dating from La Tène B-C (approximately 300 B.C.), represents either the Marzabotto type or the Dux type (Figure 4.12). These two types possess a relatively similar construction and an upturned foot common to the more



Figure 4.12 MPM Acc.# 16138, a Marzabotto or Dux type fibula.

general Middle La Tène scheme of fibulae. In both types, the end of the foot is decorated with some kind of wider ornamentation (Heynowski 2012:60). The Dux type is highly variable and mostly found in Central Europe, but the Marzabotto type is generally found in the Alps and has a wide spiral and a large degree of symmetry across the spiral, bow, and foot (ibid.).

The final two prehistoric fibulae, one of which is in the best condition of all the fibulae in the collection (Figure 4.13), are of the Nauheim type. Heynowski describes the Nauheim type as follows:

Der bandförmige, flach gewölbte Biegel verbreitert sich dem Kopf zu bis auf die Breite der Spirale. Die kopfseitige Hälfte des Biegels ist Längsstrichen, Leiterbändern und/oder Zickzacklinien verziert. Die vierwindige Spirale besitzt eine untere Sehne. Der trapezförmige Nadelhalter ist rahmenartig durchbrochen [The band-shaped, flat arched bow widens at the head to the width of the spiral. The headwards half of the bow is decorated with long dashes, ladder bands, and/or zig-zag lines. The spiral—wound four times—has a linking strand of wire. The trapezoidal catchplate is hollowed into a frame] (Heynowski 2012:70).

The Nauheim type is common to most of Central Europe and dates to the La Tène D



Figure 4.13 MPM Acc.#16067, a Nauheim-type fibula.

period, in the second to first century B.C. This makes the Nauheim-type fibula in the collection not only the best preserved of the extant fibulae, but also the youngest of the prehistoric examples in the Accession 213 assemblage.

In addition to the prehistoric fibulae, seven of the fibulae closely follow types that were common during the later Roman period. The most complete is a part of a provincial-type fibula (Figure 4.14), and three other fragments display the large, bulky head decorations favored in the late Roman and early Migration periods (see types given by Beck et al. 2000:96; Heynowski 2012:81,92-96). Two of these are Single Knot Fibulae from the early first century A.D. (Figure 4.15), while one belongs to a type of Scheibenfibula with red and yellow enamel decoration. A more unusual type present is the *Zangenfibel*, which is a fibula shaped like a miniature set of blacksmith's tongs (Figures 4.16). A second fragment from the same fibula, identifiable as this type by its flat catchplate and upward curling foot and modified in the same way as the head



Figure 4.14 MPM Acc.# 16090, foot of a Roman bow fibula.



Figure 4.15 MPM Acc.# 15964, bow and foot from a Roman Single Knot fibula.



Figure 4.16 MPM Acc.# 15992, head of a Roman *Zangenfibel*.

fragment's bow, is also present in the collection (Figure 4.17). While this fibula is found elsewhere in the Alps, it is typically dated to the Roman period and found in military contexts (Heynowski 2012:138; Riha 1994:181); its presence could support the assertion that the majority of Frankfurth's materials were recovered from ritual contexts because of



Figure 4.17, MPM Acc.# 16087, foot of a broken *Zangenfibel*; belongs to the same fibula as MPM Acc.# 15992.

the trend in late antiquity to leave miniaturized forms of objects as votive offerings (see Kiernan 2009). These place the outer limit of the collection's date to A.D. 400, though their significance is somewhat muted by the fact that the specimens are so few and so fragmentary.

Many of the fragments (14) are non-diagnostic, including spirals from crossbow-style fibulae and pins. A subset of the fragments exists that appears to be pins broken off from the head by the spring. The fibulae that can be identified are consistent with types found in the region of the Alps where Frankfurth is reported to have worked, and date from Hallstatt D to the Roman period, with a possible hiatus during La Tène C-D (Figure 4.18). The excavations subsequently undertaken by Tappeiner also turned up fibulae that fit the general descriptions of Certosa and *Bogenfibel* (Tappeiner 1892a:49-50). The types present are also consistent with published reports on the fibulae found at ash altar sites (e.g. Gleirscher et al. 2002; Steiner 2010), though the degree to which this is significant could be called into question because of their ubiquity. Despite this, the temporal context provided by the fibulae is an invaluable tool in helping to assess the rest

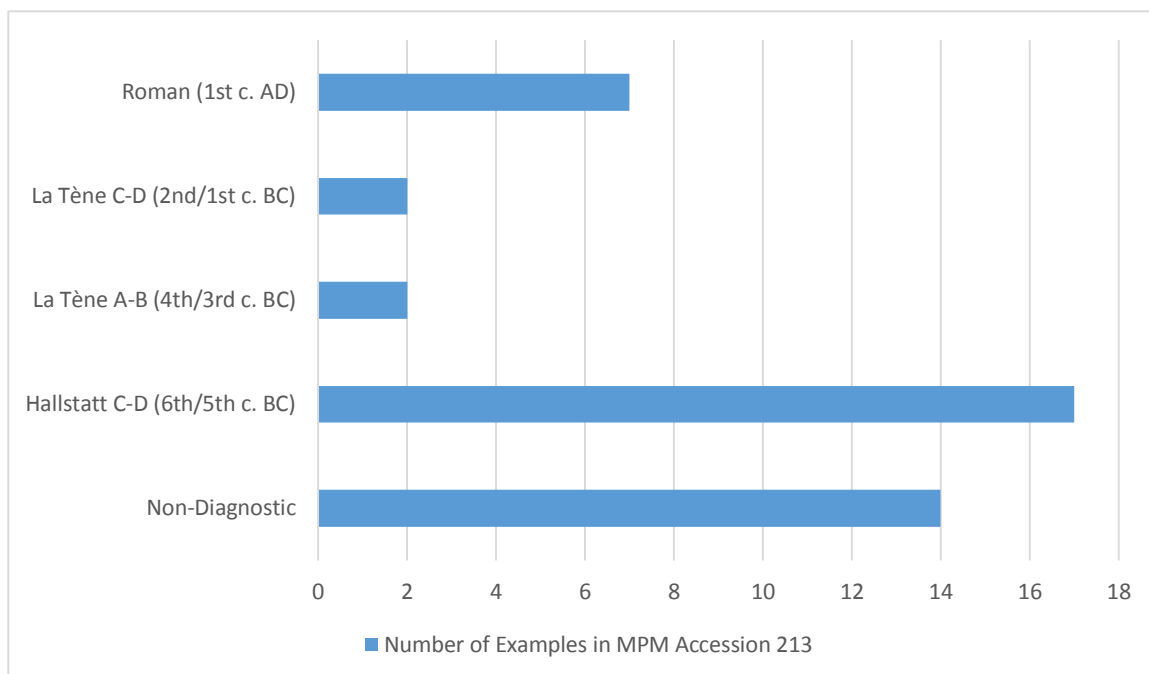


Figure 4.18 Histogram of fibulae in MPM Accession 213 by date.

of the prehistoric metalwork in MPM Accession 213 and whether they may have come from ash altar sites in the Alpine region.

Straight Pins/Stäbchen

The largest component of MPM Accession 213 is the straight pins, with 72 fragments. Only one of the straight pins/Stäbchen appears to be whole; most are broken into fragments of varying lengths. Many of the fragments were placed in a separate box in an artifact drawer and were not cataloged separately. This is one of the reasons the number of prehistoric and early historic metal artifacts physically present in the drawers moved to the Anthropology section of the MPM does not match the initial catalogued drawer sheets, which Dr. Bettina Arnold and Alyssa Caywood found to be the case in April 2012 (MPM Accession 213 Drawer Sheets). Most display the same types of decoration on one end, though some are unique within the collection.

Eight styles of pin decoration are present (Table 4.1; Figures 4.19 and 4.20). Most of the pin fragments are decorated by grooves around the head, with four having three grooves, 14 having two grooves, and four having a single groove. One further fragment has two grooves as well as a small knob at the end, whereas most feature only a rounded

Table 4.1 Straight pin/*Stäbchen* decoration styles by number of examples present in MPM Accession 213.

Grooves (2)	14
Wide Knob	6
Spiral	5
Grooves (3)	4
Grooves (1)	4
Grooves and Knob	1
Twist	1

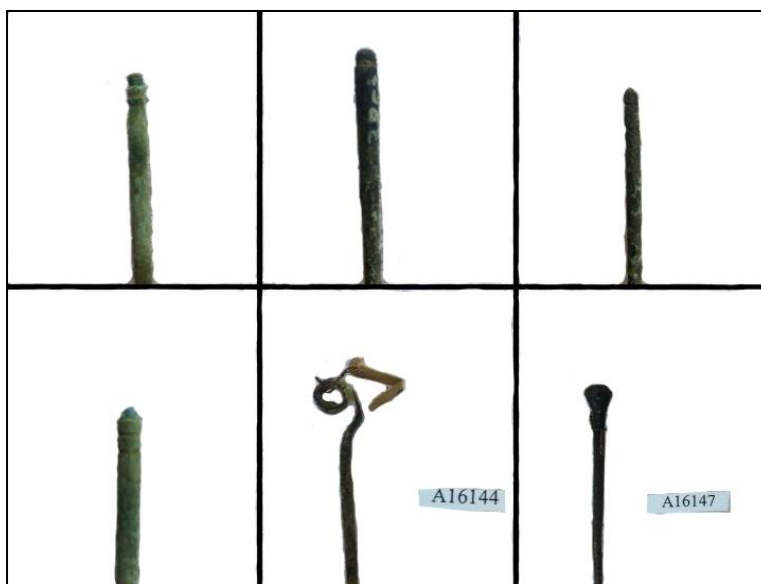


Figure 4.19 Examples of straight pin head decoration styles present in MPM Accession 213. From left to right; Top Row: Grooves (3), Grooves (1), Grooves (3); Bottom Row: Grooves and Knob, Spiral (MPM Acc.# 16144), Large Knob (MPM Acc.# 16147).



Figure 4.20 MPM Acc.#15956, broken straight pin with twist near the head.

end. One fragment has two raised elements on the head rather than grooves. Five of the pin fragments feature a spiraled end, differentiated from the broken fibula pins (see above) by the fact that the spiral connects back to the pin rather than terminating in a breaking point. The final style with multiple examples in the collection, composed of six pieces, terminates in a knob much wider than the rest of the pin. One pin displays a twisted decoration in the center. A total of 36 pin fragments feature no decorations and may not include the decorated end portion. Each of these styles is attested in Alpine assemblages, but many appear without context, as discussed by Bauer (2002:1051-1056) and Zemmer-Plank (2002).

The presence of straight pins in the collection is yet another link between the metalwork in MPM Accession 213 and the archival sources documenting Frankfurth's excavations. *Nadeln* [pins] are reported by the *MZ* (21. Mai 1890) as being among the materials Frankfurth gave the city of Meran when his excavations there came to an end. Straight pins have also been found at other ash altar sites, and it has been suggested that they may have been hair pins from female headdresses (Brauning et al. 2012:172), and, in fact, one of Accession 213's pieces does appear to be a hair pin. Their presence has led to an interesting—though untested—hypothesis that some or all ash altar sites were gendered, and the presence of feminine hair pins might denote the presence of a ritual site

designated for female use or dedicated to female deities (Brauning et al. 2012:174.). If the roll-topped straight pins were used as clothing fasteners, they would push the date for the materials in the Frankfurth collection back into the Bronze Age, as fibulae had superseded straight pins as clothing fasteners almost completely by the early Iron Age (Beck et al. 2000:24). The best candidate for a Bronze Age pin is the roll-headed variant, represented by several examples in Accession 213 (MPM Acc.# A16147, A16145, A16144, and A16143). It has been argued, however, that bronze straight pins continued to be a part of Iron Age ritual life; a percentage analysis by Bauer (2002:1076) led to the conclusion that the ritual offering of bronze straight pins reached its zenith in the Hallstatt A and B periods.

Zemmer-Plank (2002) offers the interesting hypothesis that many of the Hallstatt “pins” found in ritual contexts are not pins at all, but are instead *Stäbchen* [small rods] used for divination. She argues that the practice of divining the will of the gods using these *Stäbchen* was transmitted to the Alpine people by the Etruscans ca. 530 B.C., and that the differing decorations present at one end allowed them to be read by those with the knowledge to do so (Zemmer-Plank 2002:1176-1177). According to this hypothesis, the other ends—which are almost all gone from the possible examples in Accession 213—were rounded rather than sharp. One of the examples of *Stäbchen* end decoration she presents does resemble the grooved decoration styles found in Accession 213, making it possible that some of the objects that are here termed straight pins should actually be ascribed a more esoteric name and function. In total, 23 of the pins in the MPM collection display a decorative style present on some of the objects Zemmer-Plank describes as *Stäbchen*.

Little can therefore be concluded based solely on the presence of straight pins in terms of links to Frankfurth's excavations; while straight pins are known from ash altar sites, they are also known from settlements and burials (Bauer 2002:1071). The presence of so-called divining *Stäbchen*, however, would support the argument that much of the assemblage was recovered from ritual contexts. However, because at least one of Frankfurth's sites was a settlement as well as a ritual site, the association in this case must remain inconclusive.

Other Personal Ornamentation

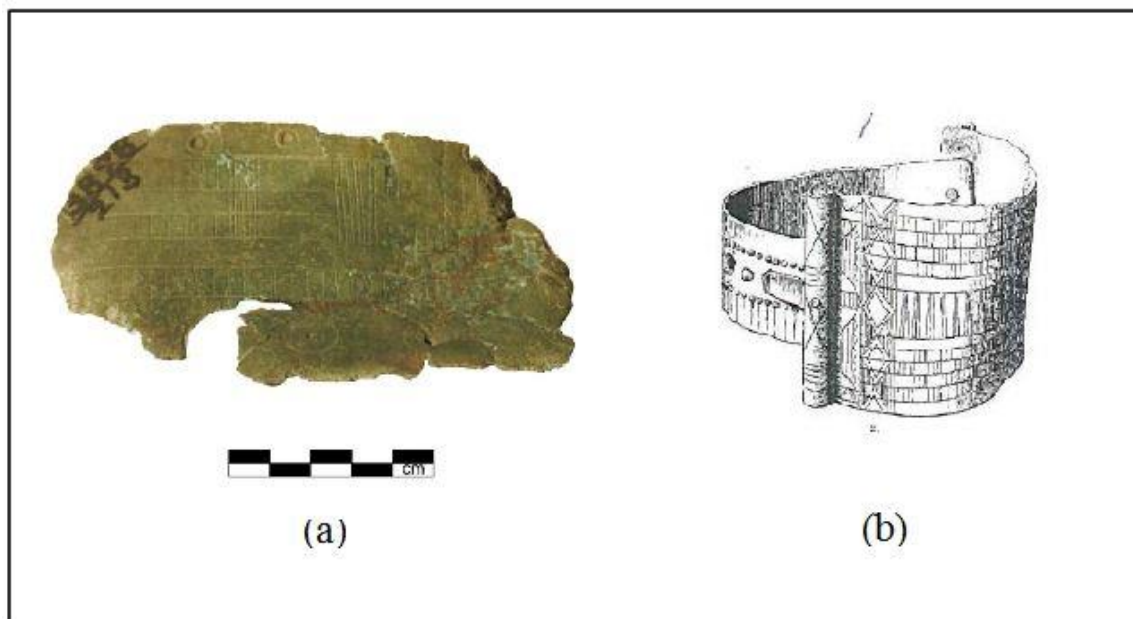
There are significantly fewer pieces of other personal ornament compared to straight pins or fibulae. Finger rings, a pendant, and several bracelets and bracelet fragments are present. Some of these pieces are temporally diagnostic, and some also provide a link between MPM Accession 213 and subsequent excavations at the sites Frankfurth is reported to have investigated, particularly the Hochbühel (artifacts from which were originally reported in Tappeiner 1892a).

The temporally diagnostic pieces are the possible pendant and the bracelet fragment. Both are of early to middle Iron Age date, reflecting art styles commonly associated with the Hallstatt period (see similar pieces in Wells 1978). This coincides with the dates offered by the fibulae and some of the other objects in the collection, providing more evidence that the majority of the collection spans the late Bronze Age to La Tène B-C, with some Roman pieces mostly related to horse trappings or leather strap decorations.

The second significant contribution provided by the other personal ornamentation is the similarity some of the objects share with published pieces from the Tappeiner excavations of the Hochbühel toward the end of 1891. Not only does one of the MPM Accession 213 rings have a nearly identical incised decoration as a ring shown in Tappeiner's (1892a) sketches, a fragment Tappeiner recovered appears to be part of the same bracelet in the the MPM collection (compare (a) and (b) in Figures 4.21 and 4.22). Most of the other materials in the collection are too generic to be linked to materials found at the same sites after Frankfurth's investigation, so the presence of such similar artifacts in MPM Accession 213 helps to establish one of the first—and possibly the strongest—tie between collection and context.



Figures 4.21 MPM Acc.# 16124 (a) ring with incised chevrons similar to sketch of a ring (b) Tappeiner (1892a:49) recovered from the Hochbühel.



Figures 4.22 MPM Acc.# 15983 (a), incised bracelet fragment, next to a sketch of a more complete example (b) Tappeiner (1892a:49) recovered from the Hochbühel.

The ring with the incised decoration in the collection is especially relevant because similar rings are found in ritual contexts in the Alps, sometimes in enormous numbers (Figure 4.23). The Alpine ash altar sites from the Urnfield and Hallstatt periods tend to have the most finger rings (Steiner 2002), but they are also known from deposits containing Roman coins (Steiner 2010:423). The Schwefelquelle von Moritzing—a depositional site next to a sulfur spring in the vicinity of Bozen—contained around 2000 incised finger rings, including some miniature versions, and little else (Lunz 2006:187). A similar site, the sulfur spring at Bergfall near Olang, also contained a large deposit of



Figure 4.23 Photograph of incised finger rings found at the site of Schwefelbad-Moritzing (Steiner 2010:424).

rings (around 600), in addition to ca. 100 pins and 80 Roman coins (Steiner 2010:423).

This suggests that finger rings in particular occupied a significant place in Alpine spirituality, and demonstrates another link between the collection and Alpine ritual deposition. The single coin in the collection, probably a *potin* (see below), may also have been deposited in such a context.

Weapons and Tools

By far the most discussed objects in publications on ritual deposition in late Iron Age contexts are weapons and tools. The deposition of weapons in wet contexts began in the European Neolithic and continued to be common practice well into the Migration Period (Bradley 1998), and many weapons—including swords and axes—have been found in Iron Age votive sites such as La Tène (P. Vouga 1923). Thus, finding prehistoric axes and a knife or possible razor in the Frankfurth collection is unsurprising, and lends credence to the assertion that some of the materials he recovered were probably deposited in the context of ritual activity.

The iron axeheads have a threefold importance for the analysis of this collection. First, four of them are clearly of La Tène date (Lunz 2006:43), again confirming the probable dates of the materials Frankfurth recovered as being mostly from the middle to late Iron Age. Second, they support the argument that the sites Frankfurth investigated were associated with ritual activity through their relationship with the wider European practice of depositing weapons and tools in votive contexts, such as at La Tène (Figure 4.23; Gross 1886; P. Vouga 1923). Third—and most importantly—they are the only materials in MPM Accession 213 that can definitely be linked to specific objects Frankfurth was reported to have found. The fact that he thought they were medieval

could be attributed to the presence of one iron bearded axehead in the collection; bearded axes were common among the Germanic peoples who migrated into the former Western Roman Empire. In spite of Frankfurth's initial dating, the descriptions given to Tappeiner—and subsequently interpreted by Lunz (2006:46)—clearly describe a type of shaft-hole axe from the La Tène period, meaning that at least four of the six iron axes in MPM Accession 213 are likely to be the ones that Frankfurth is reported as finding on the Tartscherbühel (Figure 4.24, compare to axe in Figure 4.25 likely not from the Tartscherbühel and axes in Figures 4.26 for similar axes from La Tène).

There is one further axehead in MPM Accession 213 that was not mentioned in the

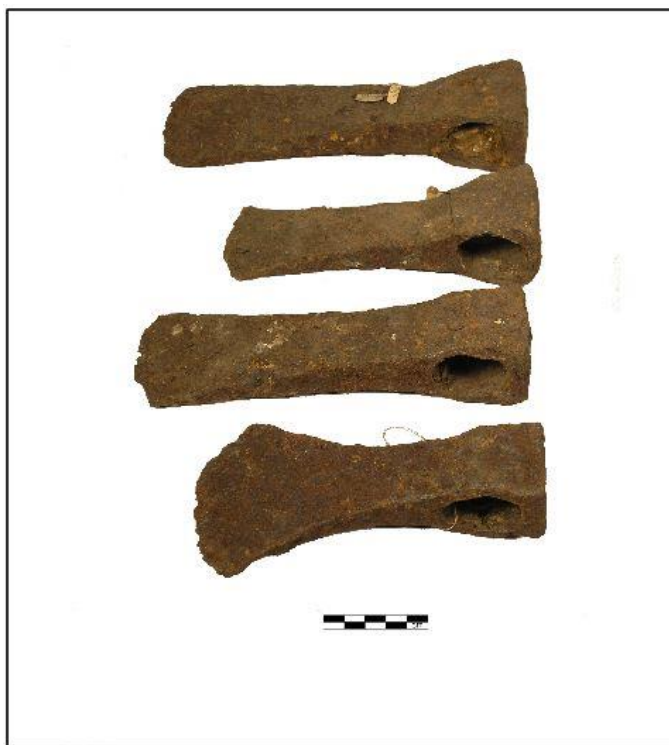


Figure 4.24 MPM Acc.#s 12283-12286, four probable La Tène shaft-hole axes.



Figure 4.25 MPM Acc.# 12282, part of a probable medieval iron axehead in Accession 213; note the difference in form to the axes in Figure 4.24 and the incomplete label.

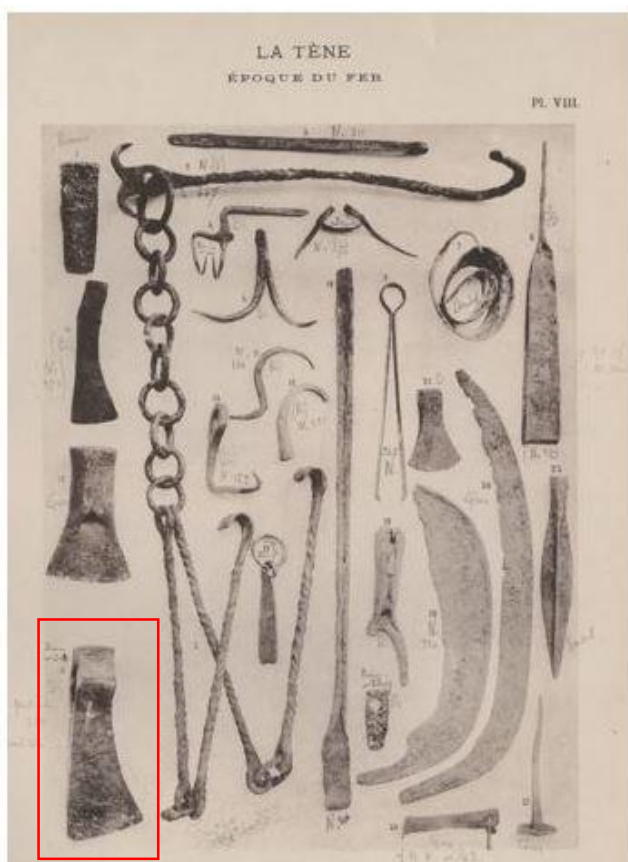


Figure 4.26 Various tools from the lakeside sanctuary at La Tène, Switzerland. Note shaft-hole axe in bottom left corner highlighted in red.

Austrian archival sources. This is a Bronze Age flanged axe. The perplexing thing about this axehead—given its diagnostic nature and excellent preservation—is the fact that it lacks an analogue on other Frankfurth sites, perhaps suggesting it came from the

unidentified prehistoric site near Hötting that Fischnaler described as being explored by Frankfurth (in *MZ* 14. Okt 1890). It may even have been purchased from Fridolin Plant or some other antiquities dealer. Still, its presence is not entirely out of place, partly because it is a type of artifact often found in ritual contexts, and partly because it exhibits an interesting form of ritual killing not found on other axes in the collection. It appears that prior to its deposition, someone had broken or filed the blade down, effectively blunting it to the point that it could no longer function (Figure 4.27). Thus, while of an



Figure 4.27 MPM Acc.# 12255, a bronze flanged axehead with its edge filed.

earlier date than most other artifacts in the collection, the flanged axe also supports the hypothesis that most of the metalwork was recovered from ritual contexts. Flanged axes also appear at the lakeside sanctuary at La Tène (Figure 4.28).

The collection includes a number of other iron weapons—including spear butts and heads—that probably did not come from the Alps (see Chapter 3). The only remaining piece that may relate to Frankfurth's Alpine excavations is a Roman knife with a similar patina to the La Tène axeheads (Figure 4.29). This blade shares many commonalities

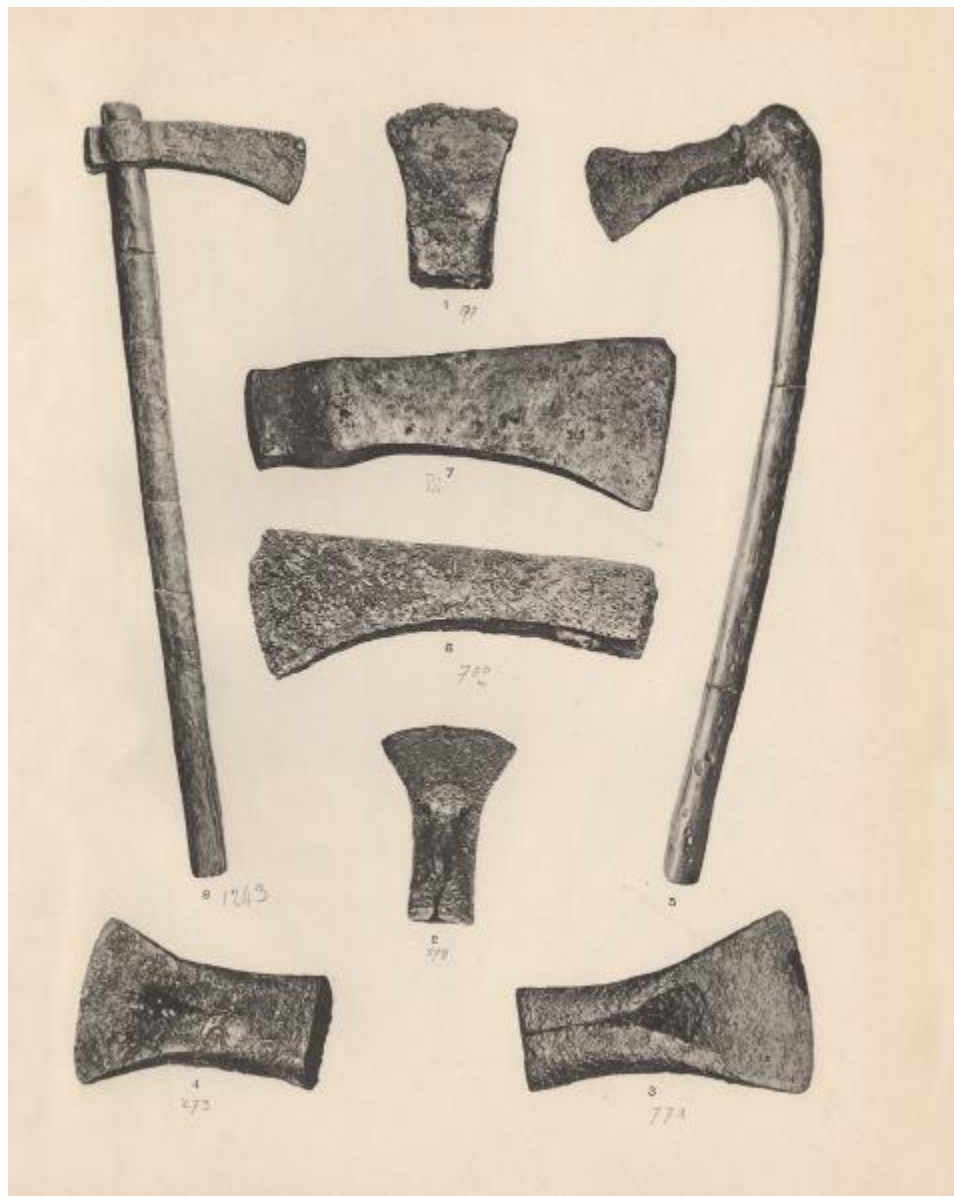


Figure 4.28 Axeheads from the lakeside sanctuary at La Tène, Switzerland, including flanged axes (P. Vouga 1923:Pl. XLIII).

with items found at La Tène that have been identified as razors used for personal grooming; they feature a steeply curved blade on one side and a relatively straight edge on the other, terminating in a short, narrow metal handle (Figure 4.30). While the knife in MPM Accession 213 cannot be linked to any of the individual sites Frankfurth excavated—as no similar objects have been found at any of them—its presence at La



Figure 4.29 MPM Acc.#12262, Roman knife.

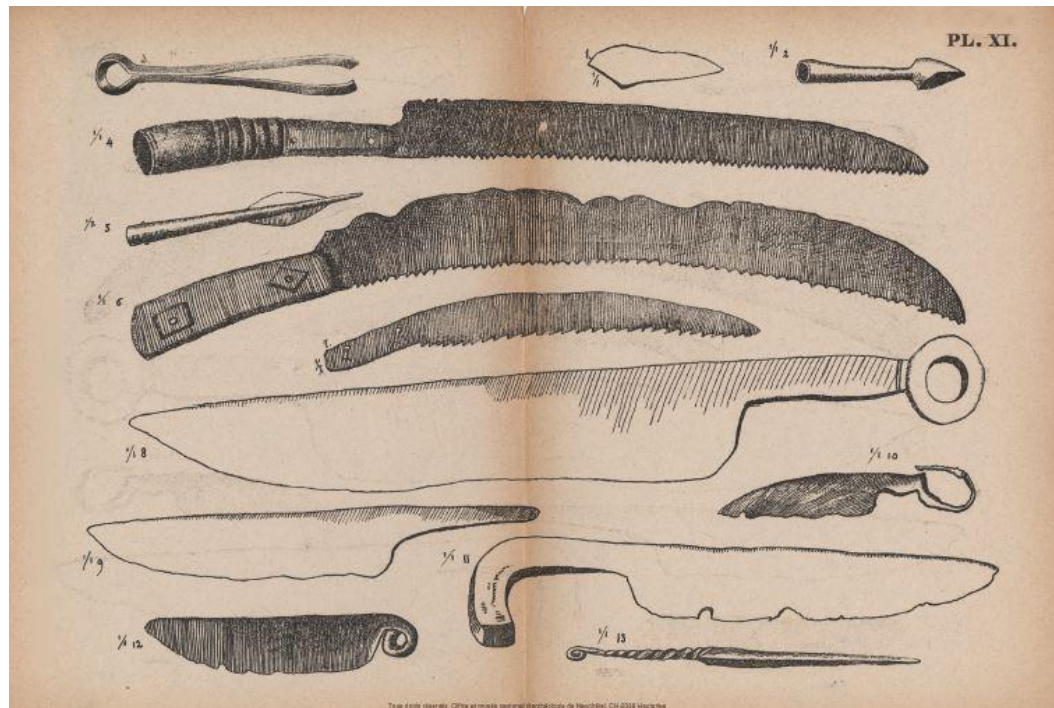


Figure 4.30 Sketches of razors found at La Tène, Switzerland (E. Vouga 1885:PL. XI).

Tène, another ritual site of Iron Age date, suggests such an object would not be out of place in a collection gathered primarily from sites associated with ritual deposition.

Fixtures, Finials, and Miscellaneous Decoration

This category was created for the metal objects that were obviously decorative and part of a larger whole. In most cases, these consist of metal embellishments originally on organic material (leather, wood) that has decomposed. There are a variety of forms in this category, some of which serve more obvious purposes and some of which are more difficult to identify. Among them are stylized bosses, sheath attachments, rivets, and decorative plaques, most of which probably would have been attached to wooden or leather objects (Figures 4.31). There are also studs (Figures 4.32) and rings too awkwardly sized to be finger rings or bracelets that may have held together or adorned leather objects—like harnesses for horses (Figure 4.33—or they may be miniature versions of the personal ornamentation whose forms they mimic (see discussion of miniature objects in Alpine ritual contexts in Brauning et al. 2012:169).

Other objects in this category are more difficult to place. Some have irregular points



Figure 4.31 MPM Acc.# 16049, miscellaneous piece of bronze decoration, possibly a finial for a Roman chariot.



Figure 4.32 MPM Acc.# 16038, a bronze stud, possibly part of an animal harness.



Figure 4.33 Metal elements from leather harnesses found at La Tène, Switzerland (Gross 1886:Pl. XII).

where they may have been affixed to another object, and some have no discernible point where they could have been attached to something. Some are broken so that it is difficult to tell what they may have been despite possessing elaborate etched decoration (e.g. Acc.#'s A16056 and A16002). It has been suggested that most of these artifacts were

chariot fixtures or resembled elements from ceremonial decorations worn by Roman cavalry units, and thus were probably excavated from the unknown Roman site postulated by Caywood (2011). The subcategory containing these artifacts was essentially created to allow unidentified but likely decorative objects to be included in the analysis, although because they cannot be identified definitely they play a supporting role and are less informative than other categories.

Other

One further identifiable object that probably dates to the Iron Age is a broken and highly corroded coin (Figure 4.34). The coin does not fit neatly into a category with any of the other objects in the collection, but the presence of Iron Age coins at other Alpine ash altar sites such as the Pillerhöhe (Tschurtschentaler and Wein 2002) and Burgstall (Steiner 2010:431) suggests the coin is relevant to this discussion. Unfortunately, it is too



Figure 4.34 MPM Acc.# 15995, probably a Gaulish *potin* coin.

corroded to identify any markings, but it does appear to be the correct size and shape to be a *potin*, which is a type of tin-rich Gaulish coin struck during the late La Tène period (Collis 1981:125). It could signify that one of the sites Frankfurth is known to have

excavated continued to operate as an ash altar into the Roman period—when jewelry and fibulae were often replaced by coins as the primary offerings in Alpine ritual contexts—but the presence of only one could also indicate it was an isolated find. On the other hand, the Tartscherbühel, with its Raetian houses excavated in 2000, could also be the source of this *potin* coin. There is also what appears to be part of a Roman sieve in the



Figure 4.35 MPM Acc.# 16034A and B, part of a Roman sieve.

collection (Figure 4.35), but whether it was used for ceremonial drinking at the prehistoric sites or more mundane purposes at the unknown Roman site is impossible to say.

Unidentified

At first glance it would seem an unidentified category would be even less useful in the analysis of this collection, as such pieces would be impossible to match with the identifiable pieces Frankfurth recovered, were excavated later, or could be identified as belonging to ritual assemblages. Their presence is, however, significant for two reasons strong enough to warrant their inclusion. The first is the newspaper reports of Frankfurth's discoveries, which mention finds of both bronze castings and slag (MZ 4.

Mai 1890; 9. Mai 1890; 21. Mai 1890). These are obviously two kinds of object neither Frankfurth nor his contemporary experts in Austria could identify, and they actually provide a link between MPM Accession 213 and the objects Frankfurth is reported to have recovered. The second reason to include them is that they have the second highest rate of burn damage in the collection, which could help establish the likelihood that the assemblage consists primarily of objects recovered from ritual contexts, although it is also possible they reflect bronze production activity.

The unidentifiable objects are usually small and irregularly shaped, often showing patterns of degradation more extreme than other objects (Figures 4.36-4.37). They lack any semblance of an attachment point and their original shapes have been lost—warped by fire—and so cannot be placed in the miscellaneous decoration category. They are also



Figure 4.36 MPM Acc.#s 16108, 16110, 16113, 16118, 16119, and 16120, small, unidentifiable pieces of bronze.



Figure 4.37 MPM Acc.# 16097, unidentified piece of warped bronze.

probably not slag, as the newspapers reported, because they appear to be solid bronze without any impurities. The presence of this category is significant in the link it provides to documentary sources and in the evidence for burn damage; most publications do not mention unidentified bronze pieces in discussions of Alpine ash altar sites so these pieces cannot be compared to other assemblages easily.

Breaking and Burning: Evidence of Ritual Killing

Determining the number of objects that have been ritually killed requires taking into account both breaking and burning, as discussed in Chapter 2. Many of the metal pieces in the Frankfurth collection do show signs of ritual killing, with certain categories being more likely to be broken or burnt than others. Breaking down these categories further will help to establish whether this aspect of the collection supports the idea that the objects were recovered from ritual contexts. Significant instances of ritual killing would allow us to state with more certainty that the prehistoric metalwork in the collection may be from the ash altar sites Frankfurth is reported to have investigated. As discussed in Chapter 2, breaking is most often associated with ritual killing, and involves either snapping an object so that a vital component is in more than one piece or twisting it so that it cannot be used. In the Alps, there are known examples of fibulae that have been

completely unraveled found in ritual contexts (Figure 4.38, see Lunz 2006:227). In MPM Accession 213, the objects that appear to have been intentionally broken are in the minority (23), although the majority of the objects are degraded in such a way that it is impossible to tell whether they were intentionally broken at the time of deposition or not.

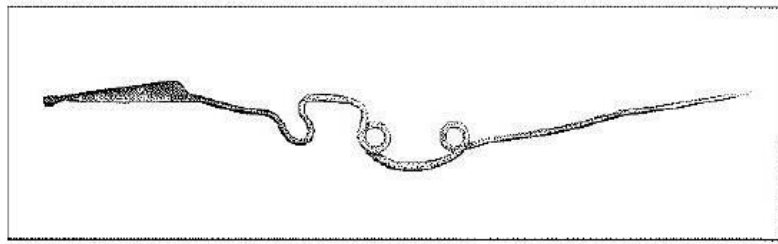


Figure 4.38 A bent *Schlangenfibel* from Salurn (Lunz 2006:227, Figure 150).

This also only takes into account the objects that could be identified with certainty; it would be even more difficult to prove that unidentifiable objects were intentionally broken.

Of the objects most likely to be broken, fibulae are the best represented, with 15 broken compared to two whole. The remaining fibulae and fibula fragments were too fragmentary to positively say the breakage was intentional. Of this latter group, five fibula pins make up a subset that may have been intentionally broken—they appear to have become detached from the rest of the fibula at the same point on the second spring spiral—but their breakage could also likely be the result of natural degradation. The fibulae were also the easiest category for which to establish criteria for brokenness and wholeness—if they were bent or broken in a way that both rendered the fibula unusable and probably would not have arisen as the result of natural degradation, they were classified as broken for the purpose of ritual killing.

The fibulae that are broken show some of the most dramatic instances of ritual

breakage in the collection. Examples include MPM Acc.# A15990, which has had its spring straightened, and A16130, which has been bent at an angle to the bow. Some of the broken pieces have also had their catchplates modified so that they can no longer function. The most common way for this to have been done in this collection is by snapping part of the catchplate off of the fibula. A more extreme form of catchplate breakage present in the collection sees the catchplate destroyed by flattening it (Figure 4.39). There are three examples of fibulae with flattened catchplates in MPM Accession 213: A16087, A16063, and A15968. One fibula appears to have been unraveled like the *Schlagenfibel* pictured above (Figure 4.40).

As in the case of the fibula pins, straight pins are inconclusive in terms of intentional



Figure 4.39 MPM Acc.# 15968, fibula with flattened catchplate.



Figure 4.40 MPM Acc.# 15990, fibula fragment probably intentionally bent.

breakage. While almost all are fragmentary, they could have reached their current state through natural decomposition. The other examples of personal ornamentation are either whole or inconclusive. None of the rings or buckles appear to be broken. Some of the bracelets, however, do appear to have been bent, and one is bent into an angular shape; one seems to have been sawn in half.

The fixtures, finials, and miscellaneous decoration category presents a problem in assessing the level of breakage in the collection for the simple reason that the objects were designed as part of a larger whole that was probably organic and is no longer present. This is especially true in the cases of a hinge-shaped object and a sheath fixture, both of which appear whole as metal objects but are merely parts of another, unidentified whole (Figures 4.41 and 4.42). Likewise, Acc.# A16092 (Figure 4.43) is a plaque with two attached rivets that are obviously whole (the breakage on the piece is modern), and



Figure 4.41 MPM Acc.# 3915, bronze hinge-shaped object, probably meant to be mounted on something wooden with corners (possibly part of a box).



Figure 4.42 MPM Acc.# 15994, fixture probably meant to sheath the end of a rectangular wooden rod or leather strap.



Figure 4.43 MPM Acc.# 16092, decorative rivets still in the plaque they were meant to affix to something.

several intact studs are present in the collection that were probably attached to leather harnesses. While the wholeness of the metal objects may not be a reflection of the wholeness of the objects to which they originally were attached, some of the decorative materials do appear to have been broken. Two of these objects—a sieve and what appears to be the lip of a bronze vessel—may belong to a Roman drinking kit, and the lip of the bronze vessel appears to have been warped prior to deposition. Given the propensity for prehistoric European peoples to use Greek- or Roman-made drinking implements in their feasting rituals, these items could be part of the Alpine ash altar

assemblage or they could have come from the Roman site along with other artifacts in this category.

The weapons/tools are also mostly intact, which is unusual in prehistoric European ritual deposits. All four of the iron axes from the Tartscherbühel are whole and unbent, as is the knife blade or razor found in the collection. This makes it somewhat exceptional among Iron Age ritual assemblages—where most weapons are bent or broken (Bradley 1998)—but some sites, such as La Tène itself, have turned up fully intact swords and razors (E. Vouga 1885; P. Vouga 1923; Gross 1886), so it is not as unusual as it might seem at first. The only weapon in the collection that has been intentionally broken is the Bronze Age flanged axe, discussed above.

While more objects in the collection show evidence of burning than are broken, the unburnt objects are in the majority. Because identifying an object is not necessary to determine whether that object shows signs of fire damage, the unidentified objects are included in the estimation of how much of the metalwork has been burnt. Counting the unidentified materials, the collection contains 64 objects that show signs of being burnt and 132 objects that do not.

The warping and degradation that accompany burning contribute to the limited diagnostic value of such pieces. More than two thirds of the unidentified objects were burnt prior to or at the point of deposition. Fibulae are the second most likely category to have been burned, with just under half showing burn damage. The warping that resulted makes the burn damaged pieces difficult to type; it is also worth noting that most of the fibulae are either burn damaged or broken, but very few of them are both. This has resulted in most of the collection's fibulae displaying ritual killing of one sort or another.

The fixtures, finials, and miscellaneous decorations are least likely to have been burnt, as are non-fibula personal ornaments like rings, while the straight pins are the least likely of the larger categories to be burnt, with only one example displaying any kind of burn damage. None of the weapons show any signs of burning.

The level of ritual killing associated with MPM Accession 213 can best be described as inconclusive with respect to using this variable to identify possible context. While many objects in the collection appear to have been broken or burnt, the majority do not. The fibulae are a notable exception to this, with the overwhelming majority either broken or burnt, rendered either physically unusable or spiritually inert. The inconclusiveness of this aspect of the collection does not necessarily preclude the conclusion that its pieces were primarily derived from ritual sites in general or from ash altar sites in particular, however; instead, it shifts the burden of analysis further onto the presence/absence of artifact categories and away from the artifacts' condition.

Discussion

The next step is to compare the collection to reported assemblages from the seven identified sites Frankfurth visited. This is a two step process; first, the materials should be compared to what Austrian sources reported Frankfurth finding at the sites, and second, the materials should be compared to other published reports of excavations conducted later. Next, it will be necessary to check the collection against assemblages from other ash altar sites, both in terms of categories present and absent and in terms of artifact condition, to test whether the materials in MPM Accession 213 support the label of ash altar site being applied to the primary sites the materials recovered have come from.

The reliable reports on the Frankfurth excavations in terms of material recovered are fairly scant compared to his overall media coverage; it would seem that, in some cases, outraged rhetoric overrode the need to publish something as mundane as descriptions of the number and type of object he was actually finding. Indeed, the reports indicate that Frankfurth was more interested in features than artifacts, drawn as he was to the prehistoric earthworks as places that might yield richer assemblages of artifacts (O. Menghin remarked upon this several times [1911:302,305]). The categories of metalwork Frankfurth is reported to have found based on newspaper sources include weapons/tools, pins, and slag (the last falling into the unidentified object category), all three of which are represented in the MPM collection. The weapons/tools have been discussed above and are probably associated with the Tartscherbühel. Slag is mentioned as having been found at the Sinichkopf and the Fachegg/Glurnserköpfl (*MZ* 11. Mai 1890), and pins are mentioned in the collection of donated objects from his excavations at the Grumserbühel, Sinichkopf, and Hochbühel (*MZ* 21. Mai 1890). Nothing is described as having come from the Tuiflslammer, and only ceramics are reported from his excavations at the Sonnenburgerbühel (*MZ* 1. Okt 1890).

Later excavations also offer a comparative framework for the categories present in MPM Accession 213. Tappeiner's excavation on the Grumserbühel added slag to the artifacts recovered there, but no new material categories were found at the Fachegg or the Sinichkopf (Tappeiner 1892b; Menghin 1911:300-301). The Hochbühel excavations in October 1891 added fibulae and other personal ornamentation—prominently including bracelets, anklets, and finger rings—to the assemblage there (Tappeiner 1892a:49-50). The Hochbühel in particular is noted to have contained sheet bronze with incised

decorations from a Hallstatt-era Alpine cultural complex known as the Fritzens-Sanzeno-Culture (Wamser 2002:1025), which is present in the collection in the form of the incised bronze bracelet fragment (see above). Similarly, Alois Menghin's excavations uncovered more weapons/tools, fibulae, and many pieces of bronze that were so damaged by fire it was impossible to identify them in his 1912 excavations at the Tartscherbühel (Table 4.1; O. Menghin 1920:55-56).

These two lines of inquiry combined provide a basis for comparison for MPM Accession 213 (Table 4.2). On the basis of the documented material categories, it seems most likely that most—if not all—of the metalwork in MPM Accession 213 was collected

Table 4.2 Presence/Absence of the above categories at the sites Frankfurth is known to have investigated from contemporary records of his excavations and reports of subsequent excavations.

	Fibulae	Pins	Other Personal Ornamentation	Weapons/Tools	Unidentified	Ceramics
Grumserbühel		x			x	x
Sinichkopf		x			x	x
Hochbühel	x	x	x		x	x
Tartscherbühel	x			x	x	x
Fachegg						x
Sonnenburgerbühel						x
Tuiflslammer						

in May 1891 in the course of Frankfurth and Plant's excavations at the Hochbühel and the Tartscherbühel. These are the only two sites Frankfurth excavated at which fibulae were found in subsequent investigations (see Tappeiner 1892a; Tappeiner 1892b; Menghin 1911; Menghin 1920). The appearance of significant amounts of other metal personal ornamentation is unique to the Hochbühel, and the appearance of weapons/tools is unique to the Tartscherbühel. Likewise, the dearth of metal objects of any kind from subsequent excavations at the Grumserbühel—and the complete lack of interest in continued excavations at the Sinichkopf—suggests that the pins described in the *MZ* on 21. Mai 1890, which were a part of the donation Frankfurth made to the city of Meran, were not

recovered from all three sites in the Meraner *Landesraum*, but were instead recovered exclusively at the Hochbühel. The date range of the collection also fits with what is known for these two sites, with most objects falling within a time frame between the Bronze Age and La Tène C. The Roman material is also extensive, and these could have been recovered from the Tartscherbühel or Hochbühel, or an as yet unidentified site near Innsbruck.

The categories present also fit known assemblages from other ash altar sites, and since there is such a wide variation in the assemblages of this type of ritual site, the fact that the collection contains slight deviations from the usual pattern is not that significant. Fibulae, at any rate, are found at practically all ash altar sites, and other personal ornamentation like rings—including miniature rings and incised finger rings like those found in the MPM collection—and bracelets are also very common. Axes like those found at the Tartscherbühel are also present at several Alpine ash altar sites (Steiner 2010:438). Pins are also very common in Alpine ash altar sites (*ibid.*). All this serves to underscore the fact that MPM Accession 213 supports the current interpretation that the sites from which the metal objects primarily derive were Alpine ash altar sites (see table in Chapter 2).

Many of the fixtures, finials, and miscellaneous decoration are probably Roman in origin, likely from the unknown Roman vicus site Caywood (2011) postulates that Frankfurth investigated, and possibly from the castrum at Carnuntum on the Danube. Among these are fixtures that may have been affixed to Roman chariots, horse trappings, or even elements of ceremonial cavalry armor. These would seem to form a unit with some of the other military hardware in the collection, both from mail and cuirass styles of

late Republican/early Imperial Roman armor (Figure 4.44). Several pieces appear strikingly similar to the rivets used in first century lorica hamata armor and one buckle appears to have been an element from a leather cuirass (Figure 4.45). Several of the

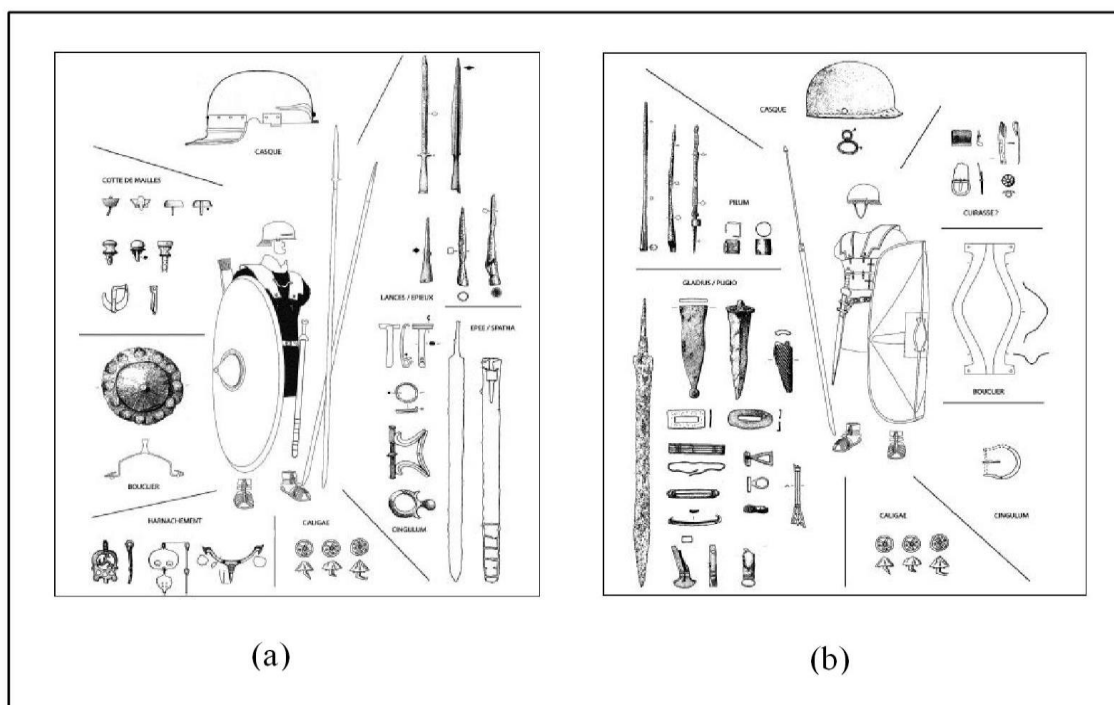


Figure 4.44 Archaeological elements from first century Roman (a) mail armor and (b) cuirass-style armor (Poux 2008: 410-411, Figures 69-70).



Figure 4.45 MPM Acc.# 16058, a Roman period buckle, probably from a set of cuirass armor.

Roman fibulae that do not appear to be modified possibly also belong to this subset of materials. This subset—while interesting—does not directly relate to the ash altar component of the collection, and so will not be discussed further in this thesis.

The level of ritual killing could be the final confirmation that this collection was the result of ritual deposition, but the results of that analysis are unfortunately inconclusive. It should be noted, however, that with the Roman artifacts removed the incidence of broken/burned artifacts increases significantly. Even so, a low rate of ritual killing cannot be used as evidence against the collection having come from Alpine ash altar sites, as some of the metalwork at other such sites—notably the Pillerhöhe—were not subjected to discernible ritual killing prior to deposition (Tschurtschentaler and Wein 2002:648).

Summary

Describing the artifact categories present in the metalwork from MPM Accession 213 has narrowed the list of likely candidates for the origins of most of the metal pieces from seven to two. Comparing the categories present to other assemblages has also allowed us to conclude with some certainty that the metal objects in this collection derive from excavations of Alpine ash altar sites, as did—albeit to a lesser extent—the assessment of the artifacts' conditions. The placement of this collection within a temporal and geographical context should serve as a helpful starting point for future research on this accession, and can also contribute to the ongoing discussion of Alpine ash altar assemblages.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

William Frankfurth and his sons were not archaeologists; they were enthusiasts. Their treatment of the material recovered in their investigations shows that their enthusiasm outweighed their scholarly contribution, but the fact that they left a collection largely devoid of provenience does not completely rob it of its archaeological value. While many collections do not have the dubious privilege of well-documented public notice, including outrage, attached to them, MPM Accession 213's storied past and newly illuminated present show that orphaned collections may still contribute to archaeological study. In the case of the Hochbühel, a collector's interest actually proved to be fortunate; it was only through Frankfurth's actions—and Tappeiner's reaction to them—that anything of the site is known at all. Likewise, Frankfurth is credited with recognizing the prehistoric occupation of the Tartscherbühel in the southern Tyrol and the Baunsberg in Hessen, the former of which inspired a poem still recited by hundreds of regional schoolchildren. Amateur endeavors like Frankfurth's are no substitute for true archaeological research, but had Frankfurth not passed an interesting undulation in the landscape one April afternoon in 1890, the Hochbühel could have been destroyed in the Second World War without anyone realizing what had been lost. His activities on the Sonnenburgerbühel may yield similar fruit if the uncatalogued ceramics at the MPM prove to be from that site and serve as a catalyst for a systematic re-examination by the University of Innsbruck's Institute for Archaeology (Bettina Arnold pers. comm.).

However, MPM Accession 213 is clearly exceptional. Without the specific circumstances surrounding Frankfurth's excavations—the interesting series of

coincidences and clashes of egos that led to the particularly heavy media attention accorded his activities—it might have been impossible to reconstruct his excavation itinerary. Indeed, there are still several months in which there is no known account of his movements, and there are numerous pieces of metalwork that do not seem to fit with the rest of the assemblage. The *terra sigillata* examined by Caywood (2011) also could not be associated with a specific site in the archival records. Frankfurth's sudden demise and the absence of MPM staff with the necessary expertise in prehistoric European material culture when the collection was first catalogued and since were also complicating factors. If Frankfurth had lived, the provenience information might not have been lost and the outcome might have been significantly different. The current obscurity of this collection resulted not from institutional negligence, but from a break in the chain of information that accompanied it to the MPM. This thesis is one more link in the effort to reconnect this material to its source(s).

Various archival records served as a helpful starting point for this project, as did the identification and classification of the sites Frankfurth is described as visiting. The latter point allowed for the development of a theoretical and methodological framework from which to contextualize MPM Accession 213. Having at least an idea of what—
theoretically—one might find in an ash altar assemblage, along with what condition the artifacts might be in, allowed for a comparative presence/absence analysis to be developed. This could be applied not only to ash altar sites in general, but also to the subsequent work done on the specific sites Frankfurth investigated. Using these three convergent lines of evidence—archival records of Frankfurth's activities, excavation histories of the sites Frankfurth is known to have investigated, and general material

profiles from ash altar site contexts—it was possible to narrow the likely candidates for the metalwork's origins to two sites: the Tartscherbühel and the Hochbühel. We were also able to conclude, based on the comparison to ash altar sites in general, that most of the assemblage probably came from contexts similar to those known from both the Tartscherbühel and the Hochbühel. However, at least the unbroken, unburned Roman metal fittings may have come from the as yet unidentified location that produced the *terra sigillata* material.

This thesis represents the second significant step toward rehabilitating the William Frankfurth collection at the Milwaukee Public Museum. A more comprehensive analysis of the Austrian newspaper sources available online and subsequent German-language publications on the sites Frankfurth is known to have visited contributes substantially to the ongoing effort of researchers trying to reestablish the provenience of some of the materials in MPM Accession 213. The artifacts in the collection were also analyzed with an eye toward answering a number of research questions to assess the likelihood that the prehistoric and early historic European metalwork in the collection was primarily excavated from Alpine ash altar contexts.

First, a reasonable link between the metalwork present in MPM Accession 213 and the sites Frankfurth visited was established. The types of artifacts present correspond to artifacts he is reported as finding at several of the sites mentioned in the documentary sources that tracked his activities. Further, the MPM materials match the artifact types recovered in subsequent excavations at several of the sites. It is likely, however, that many of the fixtures, finials, and miscellaneous decorations come from the same currently unknown Roman site the yielded the large amounts of *terra sigillata* also in the

collection, and so not all of the metalwork was collected from the documented sites Frankfurth investigated. The most likely candidates to have come from Alpine ash altar contexts are the prehistoric fibulae, the straight pins/*Stäbchen*, the other personal ornamentation, and the weapons/tools. Some of the unidentifiable warped and burned pieces of bronze also probably came from the documented prehistoric sites, though it is impossible to say how many.

The archival evidence and excavation histories consulted during the course of this thesis did offer some insight into which of the MPM Accession 213 artifacts probably came from which documented sites, narrowing the number of likely contexts for many of the artifacts even further. Subsequent sources only report fibulae being found on the Hochbühel and the Tartscherbühel. Likewise, other personal ornamentation is only reported as coming from the Hochbühel, while weapons/tools are only reported as coming from the Tartscherbühel. This suggests the likelihood that these three categories of artifacts were recovered from one or the other of these two sites. Unidentifiable bronze (in the form of slag) was found at several of the sites, as were pins, and although the documentary sources do not allow for a precise placement of these two categories, subsequent excavations show it is likely that these categories in the MPM collection also probably came from a limited number of these sites (particularly pins, documented as coming from all three sites around Meran, likely coming from the Hochbühel).

The question of whether the metalwork in MPM Accession 213 appears to have been intentionally deposited as votive offerings remains open, but the number of artifacts that appear to have been broken prior to deposition is significant, particularly when the artifacts that probably came from the unknown Roman site are separated out. The

number of burnt artifacts is likewise high in the MPM collection when the unidentifiable pieces of bronze are included in the analysis. Thus, while it cannot be said conclusively that most of the collection came from a ritual context, the amount of ritual killing it displays does at least somewhat support that hypothesis. The pieces also more or less correspond to artifact types present at Alpine ash altar sites, though the diversity of materials found at such sites does not allow for this to be a definitive confirmation that MPM Accession 213 was derived mainly from such contexts.

Directions for Future Research

The preliminary identification of the Frankfurth collection as partially originating from ash altar sites opens up several avenues for future research. The most obvious is an analysis of the prehistoric ceramics in the collection, which remain largely uncatalogued. A thorough analysis could bring the dates and origins of the materials into even tighter focus, supplementing the knowledge gained through the analysis of the *terra sigillata* and prehistoric metalwork. Additional Roman objects of glass and bone (pins as well as gaming pieces) should be reunited with the bronze horse/chariot fittings and, with the Roman ceramics, should be analyzed as a unified assemblage. Another project that could now be undertaken is a more thorough comparison of the MPM Accession 213 artifacts with those held overseas from the sites Frankfurth investigated. In particular, material at local museums (e.g. in Meran and Schluderns) and regional institutions (e.g. the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck) should be examined for parallels. With the narrative of Frankfurth's travels in the region more complete, more time may now be spent on the material on both sides of the Atlantic and less on sifting through archival records.

On a broader level, this project aims to bring the general study of Alpine ash altar

sites to the attention of English-speaking scholars, potentially introducing entirely new methods and theory to this niche field that, so far, has only attracted a localized cadre of European specialists. One very fruitful analysis could involve using geographic information systems (GIS) to develop a predictive model to identify unexcavated ash altar sites based on the ones Frankfurth is known to have worked on. Given that known Alpine ash altar sites not destroyed by looters in the nineteenth century are a rarity, such a predictive model could help to greatly advance the archaeological understanding of these sites by increasing the potential to systematically excavate undisturbed examples. So far, no such project has been published by Austrian or Italian scholars, although this is likely only a matter of time. Additional excavation at some of the sites investigated by Frankfurth (especially the Sonnenburgerbühel and the Tartscherbühel) could also provide additional information about the Frankfurth collection specifically and Alpine ash altar sites in general.

One further hope is that this project will provide a baseline against which comparable museum collections in the United States might be evaluated. The knowledge that wealthy collectors, many of whom spent time in the Alps in the nineteenth century, may have acquired materials from Alpine ash altar sites could lead to other American collections being reassessed and possibly tied to this phenomenon (Arnold 2013). Archaeological knowledge benefits most from fresh injections of interest and perspective, and it is my hope that finally bringing Alpine ash altar studies to the attention of English language scholarship will engender continuing endeavors to understand these heretofore hidden elements of the prehistoric ritual landscape in west-central Europe.

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APPENDIX A: SELECTED PASSAGES FROM WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY BOX 19

Wm. Frankfurth – born Oct. 28, 1829 in Gudesberg, by Kassel, was one of the organizers of the German School, later the German-American Academy. For years president of the Seminar and Academy. Sickness forced him to take a trip abroad, to Germany, 1889. He intended to return, but stayed on in Vienna where he died Dec. 2, 1891. His body was brought back to Milwaukee and services were held at the Milwaukee Turnhalle.

The inscription on his gravestone says:

His life was gentle and the elements so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world:

“This was a man.”

History of the German English Academy. Published by same, 1901 Milwaukee. 122 pp. pp. 71-72.

Meeting of the Society Nov. 14, 1885. Dr. Peckham in the chair. Mr. William Frankfurth moved that a committee be appointed to confer with the Wisconsin Academy of Arts, Sciences and Letters, The State Historical Society, and board of Trustees of the Milwaukee Public Museum relative to the preservation of the more characteristic Mound-builders' works located in different parts of Wisconsin. The motion was carried.

Natural History Society of Wisconsin. 1884-1888. Printed in English. Proceedings: 231 pages. p.47.

His Body Reaches Home.

Leading Merchant's Remains come from Across the Ocean.

The body of William Frankfurth, who died at Vienna on December 1, arrived in Milwaukee this morning at 11 o'clock and the funeral will be held Sunday afternoon, at 1 o'clock, from the German-English Academy. Mrs. Frankfurth, who is not well, remains in Germany, and is now in Cassell, Mr. Frankfurth's birthplace.

At the funeral service, Sunday afternoon, there will be addresses by Prof. Rosenstengel, of Madison; Alvert Walker and John J. Burke, C. H. Boffe will speak at the grave in Forest Home, where the interment is to be. There will be singing by a chorus of scholars from the German-English Academy and the Turners' Seminary, and a quartet from Bach's orchestra will furnish instrumental music.

The pall bearers will be John Marr, W. T. Jacobi, Herman Preusser, Henry Mank, Hans Boebel, Frederick Vogel, E. T. Sercombe and Rudolph Clauder. Several societies will attend the funeral, including the Turnverein Milwaukee and the Freie Gemeinde. When the body arrived this morning it was taken to Schmidt's undertaking rooms on Chestnut Street, but will be removed to the German-English Academy on Saturday. Mr. Frankfurth will be buried in the family lot at Forest Home, where the body of his son rests. His eldest son, Lorenz Frankfurth, returned from Germany before his father died, and other relatives who will be present at the funeral are Lorenz, John and Bernard Maschauer and their families, Mr. and Mrs. William Steinmeyer, and Mr. and Mrs. John

C. Pfeiffer.

The Evening Wisconsin, Thurs. Dec. 24, 1891. p.2 c.4

Wilhelm Frankfurth was one of the noblest men among the citizens of our city. He was born in Gudesberg near Kassel on October 28, 1826 and came to Milwaukee at the time of the founding of the institution. He was a giant of stature but had the heart of a child. Whoever knew him well could not resist his magic influence. He possessed a clearness of mind and a sharp intellect such as is seldom found in any man and his judgment of persons and occurrences (sic) was scarcely short of divination. He was quickly enthused about a good thing and this made any sacrifice easier. He was a true admirer of Engelmann and did whatever he was able for the academy. When the question of consolidation of the Academy with the Seminary came up he stood at the head of the movement for consolidation. He was president of the Seminary for many years and came there almost daily. His advice was always welcomed by the teachers. The illness of his wife and son Hans forced him to go to Germany in 1889. Before leaving he said: "When I return I shall unburden myself as much as possible of all business cares and arrange a room here for myself and shall work with you." This wish of his was not to be realized. A serious disease took this strong man within a few days. He died in Vienna December 2, 1891. Deep and genuine mourning filled the hearts of his numerous friends. His remains were brought across the ocean and a fitting funeral service was held for him in the Turnerhall.

"Honor to his memory" We, his co-workers, cannot better honor his memory than

through the firm resolution to carry on with doubled activity in the sense of this man for whom the poet's word is fitting:

“His life was gentle and the elements
so mixed in him that nature might
stand up and say to all the world:
This was a man”.

Upon the younger companion Lorenz Maschauer fell the responsibility for the continuation of the Wm. Frankfurth Hardware Co. and he dedicated himself to this task with the zeal of an able merchandiser. He also voluntarily accepted the task to work for school and seminary in Frankfurth's place. The friends of the institution owe him and the widow Mrs. Magdalene as well as son Lorenz great thanks.

It becomes our duty to inform the readers that John Marr the intimate friend of Frankfurth has sculpted a life like bust of our beloved dead and has donated same to the institution.

Mr. Karl Marr, the famous artist, one of the most prominent scholars of our institution, has promised us a portrait of his beloved teacher Engelmann and we rejoice and thank him in advance for this work of art.

A Short History of the German English Academy: Jubilee of Engelmanns School, May 1901 (Translation). pp. 71-72.

Wm. Frankfurth the president of the Wm. Frankfurth Hardware Co. came from this business (Pritzlaff Hdw. Co.). He was a “Self Made Man” in the truest sense of the word.

He took part in all political and spiritual affairs of the times. The 48 revolution had led this 20 year old youth to America (footnote: Born October 29, 1829 in Guttenberg, Hessen-Kassel). He came to Milwaukee in 1849 and worked as a laborer in the small tannery of Pfister and Vogel. He then started a spice store with Christoph Reuter but without success. Reuter was later on the agent for the Germany Society. Frankfurth later entered the Pritzlaff Hardware Co. as a bookkeeper. He remained here until 1862 when he founded his own business on Chestnut Street. This energetic and practical man made good use of the following years. He was able to enter the circle of wholesalers in 1875 and founded together with his brother-in-law, Lorenz Maschauer the present Wm. Frankfurth Hardware Co. and soon occupied the second place in this business line. Though he was of the same highminded and noble nature as his friend John Pritzlaff their spiritual make-up was entirely different. John Pritzlaff was a devout member of the Lutheran church whereas Frankfurth was a freethinker. The following institutions which he helped establish and liberally aided were the German-English Academy, the German-American National Teachers Seminary, and the "Freie Gemeinde". His love for natural history brought him into close contact with Increase A. Lapham and Peter Engelmann. The motto of Thomas Paine fits Frankfurth.

"The world is my fatherland and to do good my religion."

Story of the J. Pritzlaff Co., 1895. p. 265.

WILLIAM FRANKFURTH (1829-1891) was born October 28, 1829 at Guttenberg, Hessen Cassel, Germany. His father was a native of Switzerland and died when the son

was three years of age. After attending the common schools the boy was placed by his mother in the home of a clergyman with the plan of educating him for the ministry. Not caring for that profession, young Frankfurth went to Arnstadt where he became a clerk in the grocery store of an uncle. With the failure of the German revolution of 1848, Frankfurth, who had been actively interested in the movement, came to the United States, arriving at New York in 1849. Like many Europeans he believed that warring Indians still roamed throughout the United States and he brought with him a shotgun and sword for self protection.

The merchant training he had received at Arnstadt led him to become a “pack peddler” for a time in Ohio and upon going to Milwaukee he at first worked in the Pfister & Vogel tannery. Then he opened a small grocery store with Christopher Reuter as a partner, and having acquired a knowledge of bookkeeping he entered the employ of the John Pritzlaff Hardware Company. On May 13, 1855 Frankfurth married Magdalena Maschauer, of Milwaukee. He was one of the organizers of the Republican party; the anti-slavery drive won his sympathy, as did the “free soil” movement and in the campaign of 1856 he was a supporter of General John C. Fremont for the presidency.

In 1862 Frankfurth opened his own retail hardware store and five years later his brother-in-law, Lorenz Maschauer, entered into partnership with him under the firm name of William Frankfurth & Company. By 1875 their business had expanded rapidly, with the wholesale field growing to such an extent that in 1885 a large building was erected in Milwaukee’s down town section devoted exclusively to the wholesale trade. The firm was now reorganized and incorporated as the William Frankfurth Hardware Company,

with Frankfurth as president, William Johns vice president, Erwin Forster secretary and treasurer, and Maschauer general manager.

Frankfurth's interests were not devoted alone to the pursuits of business for he found the time for cultural aspects of life. He was fond of nature studies, and, known as a free-thinker in matters of religion, he became active in organizing the Milwaukee Freie Gemeinde. He was also active in the support of the German-English Academy and at the time of his death he was president of the National German Teachers' Seminary. In the affairs of business he had acquired the reputation for the strictest honesty, and he performed acts of charity without ostentation. The father of three boys, his eldest, William, died in 1887 at the age of sixteen. Two years later Frankfurth took his family on a tour of Europe. While abroad he became ill and died at Vienna on December 1, 1891. The body was brought to Milwaukee and after funeral rites at the National German Teachers' Seminary, interment took place in Forest Home cemetery. The hardware company Frankfurth founded is still doing business in Milwaukee.

Conrad, *History of Milwaukee Co.* Vol. 2, pp.435-438.

William Frankfurth Dead

He succumbs while traveling abroad for his health.

Expired in Vienna yesterday.

The head of a large manufacturing company, one of Milwaukee's most prominent citizens, his life and characteristics.

A cablegram from Consul Julius Geldson, at Vienna, received this morning, announces

the death of William Frankfurth, president of the William Frankfurth Hardware Company, of Milwaukee. A cablegram from Mrs. Frankfurth to her brother, Mr. Lorenz Maschauer, received last evening announced that he was seriously ill, which was the first intimation received that he was sick.

Mr. Frankfurth left Milwaukee for a European tour two years ago, taking with him his wife and family of three children. In fact he was indeed to take this step on account of the ill-health of his family. He intended to return to Milwaukee in the spring. A letter received from him by Mr. Maschauer, a day or two ago, announced that he was enjoying the best of health, but also (illegible) the very prophetic assertion that he should (illegible) and get all the (illegible) possible out of the trip as he did not know how long he might live.

William Frankfurth was born in Cassel, Germany, 62 years ago. He came to the United States a young man and settled in Milwaukee, where he found employment in the hardware establishment of John Nagro, then the largest institution of its kind in the northwest. He was afterwards engaged as a bookkeeper by John Pritzlaff, and in 1862 started a small retail store on his own account, at the corner of Third and Chestnut Streets. Sixteen years later he renamed his store and engaged in the (illegible) trade, which increased in volume to such a degree that in 1881 with William Frankfurth as President; Wm. John, vice president; Erwin Foerster, secretary and treasurer, and Lorenz Maschauer, general manager. A wholesale house was opened at Nos. 116 and 118 Clybourne Street. The building, a large brick structure, was erected by the company, and the business now more than \$1,000,000 a year (sic).

Mr. Frankfurth was married some twenty years ago to Miss Magdalena Maschauer, and is the father of three children, the oldest, Lorenz, a boy of 19, who was with the family in Europe, returned to this country about two months ago. Hans and Helena, the other children, are with their mother in Vienna. The remains of Mr. William Frankfurth will be brought to Milwaukee for interment.

Mr. Frankfurth was known as a just, upright and honorable man. So great were these qualities regarded by his neighbors and country that he was selected by them to settle all manners of disputes, the justice of his judgment being universally recognized and in many cases some of those interested in the expense of an (illegible) He was a great friend to and (illegible) education, and was for years a director of the German-American Academy. (illegible) on account of his zeal and liberality in the cause of education.

The Milwaukee Journal, Wed., Dec 2, 1891. p.1

APPENDIX B: REPRESENTATIVE MPM ACCESSION 213 METAL ARTIFACTS

MPM Acc.# 15969

Category: Fibula
Type: Bogenfibel
Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

**MPM Acc.# 15970**

Category: Fibula
Type: Bogenfibel
Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

**MPM Acc.# 15973**

Category: Fibula
Type: Bogenfibel
Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

**MPM Acc.# 16063**

Category: Fibula
Type: Bogenfibel
Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)



MPM Acc.# 15967

Category: Fibula
Type: Bogenfibel
Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16171

Category: Fibula
Type: Bogenfibel
Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 15974

Category: Fibula
Type: Bogenfibel
Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16135

Category: Fibula
Type: Bogenfibel
Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16129

Category: Fibula
 Type: Bogenfibel
 Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16130

Category: Fibula
 Type: Bogenfibel
 Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16132

Category: Fibula
 Type: Bogenfibel
 Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16134

Category: Fibula
 Type: Bogenfibel
 Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16140

Category: Fibula
 Type: Bogenfibel
 Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16122

Category: Fibula
 Type: Halbmondfibel
 Date: Hallstatt C (8th/7th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16060

Category: Fibula
 Type: Certosa
 Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 15966

Category: Fibula
 Type: Fusszier
 Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16085

Category: Fibula
 Type: Sanguisuga
 Date: Hallstatt D (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16131

Category: Fibula
 Type: Doppelzier Type 2
 Date: La Tène A-B (6th/5th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16138

Category: Fibula
 Type: Marzabotto/Dux
 Date: La Tène B-C (4th c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 15968

Category: Fibula
 Type: Nauheim
 Date: La Tène A-B (2nd/1st c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16067

Category: Fibula
 Type: Nauheim
 Date: La Tène A-B (2nd/1st c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16000

Category: Fibula
 Type: Scheibenfibel
 Date: Roman (1st c A.D.)

MPM Acc.# 15964

Category: Fibula
 Type: Single Knot
 Date: Roman (1st c A.D.)

MPM Acc.# 15965

Category: Fibula
 Type: Single Knot
 Date: Roman (1st c A.D.)

MPM Acc.# 16133

Category: Fibula
 Type: Spiral and Pin Fragment
 Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16146

Category: Fibula
 Type: Spiral and Pin Fragment
 Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16148

Category: Fibula
 Type: Spiral and Pin Fragment
 Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16149

Category: Fibula
 Type: Spiral and Pin Fragment
 Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16090

Category: Fibula
Type: Bow
Date: Roman (1st c A.D.)

MPM Acc.# 16087

Category: Fibula
Type: Zangenfibel
Date: Roman (1st c A.D.)

MPM Acc.# 15992

Category: Fibula
Type: Zangenfibel
Date: Roman (1st c A.D.)

MPM Acc.# 16069

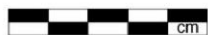
Category: Fibula
Type: Plate Foot
Date: Roman (1st c A.D.)

MPM Acc.# 15999

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16064

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16066

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16121

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 15972

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral and Pin Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16152

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral and Pin Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16141

Category: Fibula
Type: Catchplate Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16137

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral and Pin Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

MPM Acc.# 16001

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

**MPM Acc.# 16065**

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

**MPM Acc.# 16139**

Category: Fibula
Type: Spiral Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic

**MPM Acc.# 15990**

Category: Fibula
Type: Bent Bow Fragment
Date: Non-Diagnostic



MPM Acc.# 15980

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Finger Ring

**MPM Acc.# 15981**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Finger Ring

**MPM Acc.# 15982**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Finger Ring

**MPM Acc.# 16083**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Finger Ring



MPM Acc.# 16082

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Finger Ring

**MPM Acc.# 16124**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Finger Ring

**MPM Acc.# 16075**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Bracelet

**MPM Acc.# 16076**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Bracelet



MPM Acc.# 16077

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Bracelet

**MPM Acc.# 16178**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Bracelet

**MPM Acc.# 16079**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Bracelet

**MPM Acc.# 16080**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Bracelet



MPM Acc.# 15983

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Sheet Bracelet Fragment
Date: Hallstatt C-D (8th-5th c
B.C.)

**MPM Acc.# 16055**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Hanging Decoration

**MPM Acc.# 16059**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Buckle



MPM Acc.# 16147

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen

**MPM Acc.# 16145**

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen

**MPM Acc.# 16144**

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen

**MPM Acc.# 16143**

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen



MPM Acc.# 15958

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen

**MPM Acc.# 15959**

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen

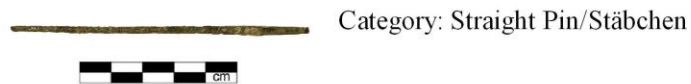
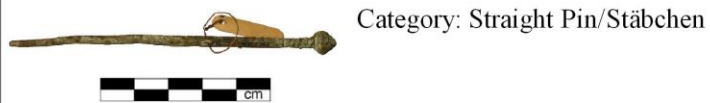
**MPM Acc.# 16150**

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen

**MPM Acc.# 16159**

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen



MPM Acc.# 15961**MPM Acc.# 15963****MPM Acc.# 16109****MPM Acc.# 16142**

MPM Acc.# 15956

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen

**MPM Acc.# 16067**

Category: Straight Pin/Stäbchen

Type: Hair Pin

Date: Possibly Bronze Age

**Uncatalogued Straight Pins**

MPM Acc.# 12283

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Shaft-hole Axe
Date: La Tène (4th-1st c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 12284

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Shaft-hole Axe
Date: La Tène (4th-1st c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 12285

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Shaft-hole Axe
Date: La Tène (4th-1st c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 12286

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Shaft-hole Axe
Date: La Tène (4th-1st c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 12287

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Axe
Date: Medieval?

MPM Acc.# 12282

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Axe
Date: Medieval?

MPM Acc.# 12252

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Spearhead
Date: Medieval?

MPM Acc.# 12257

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Spearhead
Date: Medieval?

MPM Acc.# 12255

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Axe
Date: Bronze/Iron Age

**Uncatalogued Weapon Fragments
(Medieval?)**

MPM Acc.# 15995

Category: Other
Type: Potin Coin
Date: La Tène (4th-1st c B.C.)

MPM Acc.# 16064

Category: Misc. Dec.

MPM Acc.# 16068

Category: Fixture
Type: Nail

MPM Acc.# 15963

Category: Misc. Dec.

MPM Acc.# 15996

Category: Misc. Dec.

**MPM Acc.# 16049**

Category: Misc. Dec.

**MPM Acc.# 16052**

Category: Misc. Dec.

**MPM Acc.# 16053**

Category: Misc. Dec.



MPM Acc.# 16081

Category: Misc. Dec.

**MPM Acc.# 16187**

Category: Misc. Dec.

**MPM Acc.# E3915**

Category: Misc. Dec.



Decorative Plaques



A16102



A15998



A16087



A15993



A16194



Unidentifiable (Sample)



APPENDIX C: MPM ACCESSION 213 METAL ARTIFACTS PROBABLY FROM
UNKNOWN ROMAN SITE**MPM Acc.# 16158**

Category: Fixture
Type: Decorative Terminal
Date: Roman

**MPM Acc.# 16156**

Category: Fixture
Type: Decorative Terminal
Date: Roman

**MPM Acc.# 16170**

Category: Fixture
Type: Rivet
Date: Roman

**MPM Acc.# 16092**

Category: Fixture
Type: Rivet/Plaque
Date: Roman



MPM Acc.# 16094

Category: Fixture
Type: Rivet
Date: Roman

**MPM Acc.# 15978**

Category: Fixture
Type: Rivet
Date: Roman

**MPM Acc.# 15175**

Category: Fixture
Type: Rivet/Stud
Date: Roman

**MPM Acc.# 15976**

Category: Fixture
Type: Rivet/Stud
Date: Roman



MPM Acc.# 16042

Category: Finial
Type: Chariot Finial
Date: Roman

MPM Acc.# 16041

Category: Finial
Type: Chariot Finial
Date: Roman

MPM Acc.# 16050

Category: Misc. Dec.
Type: Decorative Pendant
(probably for a horse)
Date: Roman

MPM Acc.# 16040

Category: Fixture
Type: Boss
Date: Roman

MPM Acc.# 15994

Category: Strap Fixture
Date: Roman

MPM Acc.# 16126

Category: Fixture
Type: Pin from a Chariot
Date: Roman

MPM Acc.# 16051

Category: Fixture
Type: Pin from a Chariot
Date: Roman

MPM Acc.# 16038

Category: Fixture
Type: Horse Trapping (Phalera)
Date: Roman

MPM Acc.# 16155

Category: Fixture
Type: Decorative Terminal
Date: Roman

**MPM Acc.# 12262**

Category: Weapon/Tool
Type: Knife
Date: Roman

**MPM Acc.# 15056**

Category: Misc. Dec.
Type: Piece from Knife Handle
Date: Roman

**MPM Acc.# 15979**

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Bulla
Date: Roman



MPM Acc.# 16039

Category: Fixture
Type: Horse Trapping (Phalera)
Date: Roman

MPM Acc.# 16058

Category: Other Pers. Orn.
Type: Buckle (from armor?)
Date: Roman