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A decorated Late Postclassic Mixtec human skull from Teotitlán del Camino, Oaxaca, Mexico, possibly dating to c.1400–1520 CE. The type of adhesive used to affix the mosaic to the skull raised some doubts about the authenticity of the object. Photo P. Erdil. (Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Coll.No. RV-4007-1.)

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Grave goods from Sveta Lucija (Slovenia) in Groningen (the Netherlands)

Contextualising old study collections

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Abstract: This paper discusses six tombs from Sveta Lucija (Slovenia) that were bought in 1923 from Prof. Rudolf Much (Vienna) by Prof. Albert Egges van Giffen (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen) for the collection of what is now the Groningen Institute of Archaeology. These tombs, excavated in 1890, form part of one of the largest Hallstatt cemeteries known archaeologically, consisting of thousands of tombs. Walking 40 km north from Sveta Lucija, one can reach the Triglav, at 2864 m the highest mountain of the Julian Alps. The site itself is located in a valley, in a strategic location at the confluence of two rivers emerging in these Alps. During the Iron Age, Sveta Lucija functioned as a transitional site between Italy, the Balkans and Austria. This frontier character is reflected in its entire history, starting in the 8th century BC, when it emerged as a settlement centre. The article provides a biography of old study collections since c. 1850 and discusses the role of some influential archaeologists in the history of the excavations at Sveta Lucija since the 1880s. The article then contextualizes the artefacts held at Groningen, concentrating on the 7th to early 5th century BC. The numerous excavations in the burial grounds and settlement for more than a century, make Sveta Lucija one of the more thoroughly investigated European Iron Age settlement centres with a couple of hundred inhabitants. Finally, the article introduces the still-enigmatic development of the site from an Iron Age centre to a Roman village, addressing the decline of its archaeological visibility during the intervening centuries and its correlation with Celtic groups.

Keywords: Carlo Marchesetti, Josef Szombathy, Matthäus and Rudolph Much, Albert Egges van Giffen, old study collections, Most na Soči or Sveta Lucija, Slovenia, centralisation, legacy data, Este, Hallstatt, Veneti, Venetia et Histria, Celtic groups, Carni, frontier settlement, situla art, Venetic alphabet, exchange network.

Introduction

The Groningen Institute of Archaeology (GIA) has from its origins in the early 1920s, housed an extensive study collection that is still used in courses today. The collection consists of artefacts from numerous excavations by the Institute itself, as well as finds acquired from old collections. The first chair of the Institute, Prof. Albert Egges Van Giffen, was an especially avid accumulator, like so many of his international contemporaries. One of his purchases from 1923 has escaped attention until now. It concerns some finds from the well-known Iron

Age burial ground comprising around 7 000 tombs at the site known as Sveta Lucija or Most na Soči, which was excavated almost in its entirety between 1880 and 1902 (Gabrovec & Svoljšak 1983: 30-3).¹ In those years, the site was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and variously known as Sankt Lucia bei Tolmein (German), Santa Lucia di Tolmino (Italian), or Sveta Lucija (Slovene). The linguistic diversity of the names directly reflects the frontier character of the region in the modern era, but it had this character during the Iron Age as well, due to its geographic position in the *Caput Adriae*.

¹ Most na Soči and Sveta Lucija are used as synonyms in this paper. Most na Soči in Slovene is translated as Bridge over the Soča in English. The river Soča flows into the Adriatic Sea and is known in Italian as Isonzo. Carlo Marchesetti is also referred to as Carlo de Marchesetti.



Fig. 1. The red-burnished vase in the collection of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology that started this investigation.

This investigation started with one of the ceramic vessels in the GIA collection, which I recognised as having a paste from the 7th century BC in the Veneto, north-eastern Italy. The red-burnished vase is labelled with elegant lettering in white ink: “St. Lucia 1890. Gr. 33.” (Fig. 1). The object is compelling for several reasons. The biographies of old archaeological collections, such as the one at the GIA, are interesting. The history of excavations at St. Lucia itself during the last 100 years is noteworthy, as it shifted from being a parish in the Austro-Hungarian Empire to belonging to Italy (1918-1943/1947); to Yugoslavia; and, finally, with the dismantling of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in June 1991, to the nation state of Slovenia. Lastly, the site itself is remarkable, being of archaeological importance from the 7th to 4th centuries BC as a frontier between north-eastern Italy and central Europe; between the Este culture, or *Veneti* and the south-eastern Hallstatt area (Fig. 2).

From the beginning of archaeology as a discipline in the 19th century, the site has been considered important. Continued research during the 20th century provided much information, not just on this Iron Age centre, but also on the historiography of archaeology itself. It is especially the archaeological significance of the site Most na Soči that led to this article. Sveta Lucija

is one of the more enduring settlements that emerged in Hallstatt Europe, occupying an intermediary position between the Veneto and the Hallstatt culture. Stimuli from Italy, especially from the Este culture, are evident from the early 7th century BC onwards, both in accessories, particularly fibula types, and in pottery forms. From the 8th century BC, the site emerged as a regional centre, which is documented by, amongst other aspects, its 7 000 tombs. The cluster of settlements known as the Sveta Lucija group is considered to be on the frontier of the south-eastern Hallstatt zone (Teržan 2018). Substantial sections of this proto-urban settlement from the 6th-4th centuries BC, including a district set aside for workshop activities, have been excavated and were recently published (Svoljšak & Dular 2016). The site allows researchers to detail early processes of centralization in Iron Age central Europe from the 8th-4th centuries BC and to answer the question to what extent it was affected by Celtic incursions into Italy in the 5th-1st centuries BC. Most archaeological evidence from Sveta Lucija is dated to the Iron Age, when the site flourished. Due to its strategic location at a confluence controlling exchange routes (Fig. 2), it was probably inhabited from the Late Bronze Age onwards without significant interruption, although the La Tène-Roman settlement was likely to have been half the size of the Iron Age site (Horvat 2009; Svoljšak & Dular 2016: 17-29). This article focuses predominantly on the Iron Age, in line with the date of the Sveta Lucija artefacts held in the GIA collections.

Most na Soči and the biography of archaeological collections such as the one at the GIA

The contents of the thousands of Sveta Lucija tombs are a good example of the dispersion of archaeological artefacts during the early 20th century. Artefacts from the excavations at Most na Soči ended up in at least 14 European collections for various reasons, while it took more than 90 years to publish most of the finds excavated under the direction of Josef Szombathy in 1886, 1887 and 1890 (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 13-5). The museums housing the majority of artefacts from Sveta Lucija are the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Museo Civico di Storia et Arte in Trieste. Smaller collections of finds from Most na Soči are held in museums in Copenhagen, Oxford, Hannover, Berlin, Cambridge, Ljubljana (previously held at Pula), Nova Gorica, Leiden, Aarhus, Sarajevo, Göttingen and the Institut für Ur- und

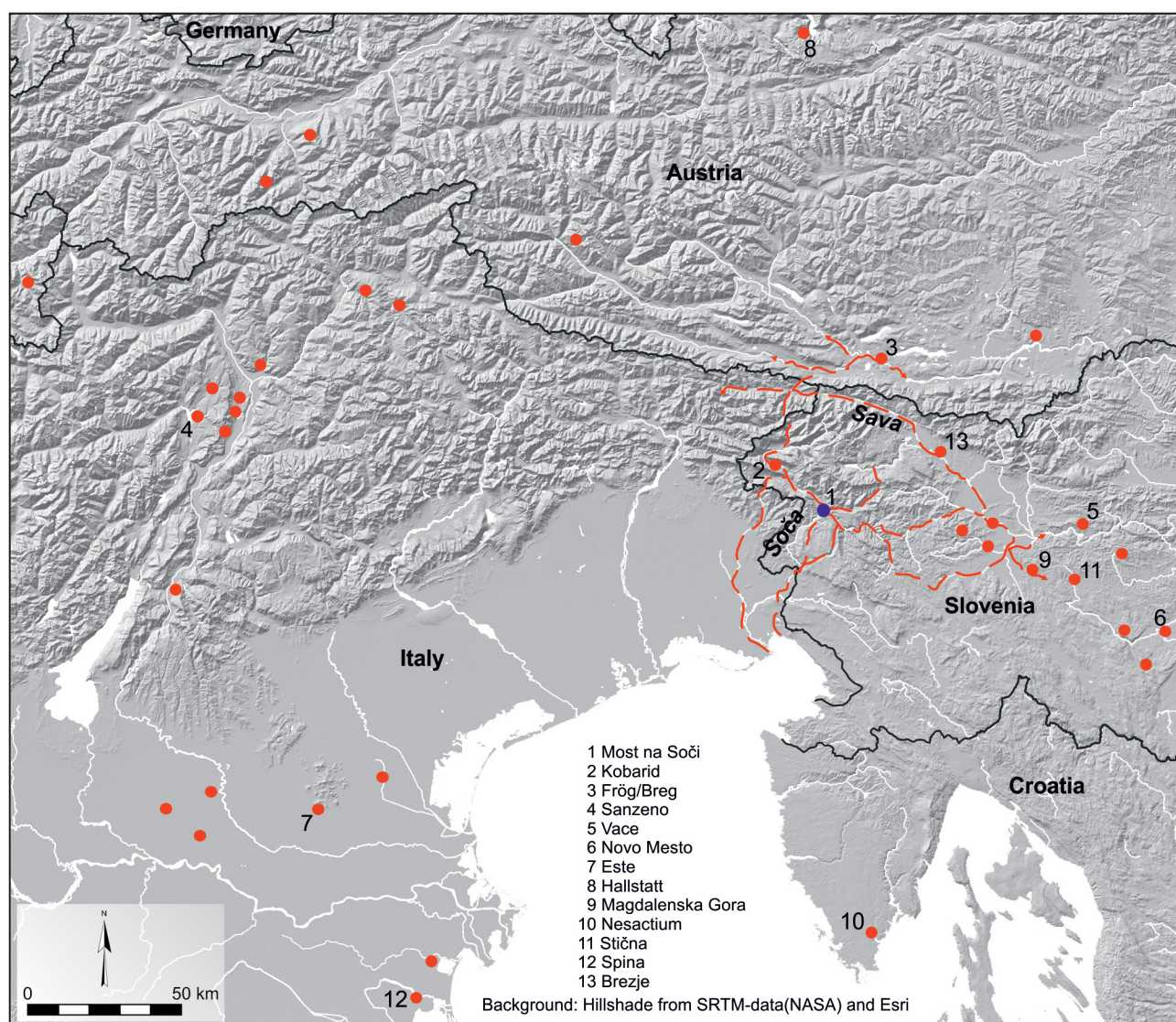


Fig. 2. Map with the location of Most na Soči (1) at the perimeter of the Julian Alps in Slovenia and with the rivers Soča / Isonzo and Sava. The red dots mark the distribution of situla art (late 7th - 4th century BC), which is interpreted as a representation of an elite exchange network in this part of Europe. The red lines represent the exchange routes feasible when starting in Most na Soči (map by E. Bolhuis (GIA), modified from Zaghetto 2001: Fig. 1; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018, Fig. 83).

Frühgeschichte of Universität Wien (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 8-15).² Many of these started as study collections, and the archaeological study collections of the universities of Göttingen, Vienna and Groningen never obtained museum status.

The finds from Most na Soči at the GIA have escaped attention until now, since the GIA collection is unfortunately not accessible online. This omission of the St. Lucia artefacts at Groningen from the vast corpus of

published finds and literature on the site is also in part due to the tumultuous conditions in Austria itself after the collapse of its empire following World War I. Many collectors or their widows in the countries that previously were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were in need of funds, especially during these years of hyperinflation. It seems that this state of affairs contributed to the transfer of the tomb contents from Vienna to Groningen in 1923, and to the acquisition during the

² Teržan (pers. comm. 19 May 2020) specifies that some finds were transferred: the finds from Pula and Sarajevo to the museum in Ljubljana; the finds from Hannover to Göttingen; and some finds from Copenhagen to Aarhus. The artefacts from three St. Lucia tombs in Leiden were acquired in 1923 by Dr. Jan Hendrik Holwerda from Dr. Adolf Mahr for the Leiden museum (RMO; <https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/?term=&department=&object=&period=&material=&place=Lucia&inventory>). They are Szombathy (Sz) tombs excavated in 1890 with Gr. (Grab, or tomb) numbers 13, 24 and 44. I thank Dr. Leo Verhart for this information. The contents of these tombs were excavated in 1890, in the vicinity of the tombs whose contents are held at the GIA.

1920s of so many other archaeological artefacts in the GIA collection from this part of Europe.

This section first describes how the Most na Soči artefacts were bought by Van Giffen. It then introduces the issue of the biography of archaeological collections in the decades 1870-1930. Finally, it presents a full catalogue of the few artefacts from Most na Soči in the collection of the GIA (Appendix 2).

In 1923, Van Giffen bought, for 275 Dutch guilders, a collection of archaeological artefacts from Rudolf Much of Vienna (1862-1936) for the Groningen Institute of Archaeology, which had been officially established in 1920. The GIA archive contains five letters written in German referring to this transaction, covering the period 20 February-12 May 1923. One topic in the letters from Much concerns the archaeological collection of Josef Hinterstoisser (1844-1921), which was (partly) acquired as well by the GIA in 1923. Rudolph Much seems to have acted as intermediary in this exchange. In his letters, Much singles out the artefacts from one site, Most na Soči. His first letter, from February 20, specifies that he himself acquired some of the St. Lucia finds in exchange for a number of early medieval artefacts, under the condition that he had to inform the Naturhistorisches Museum (Vienna) of their whereabouts since they planned to publish all the finds from the Szombathy excavations at the site. Rudolph Much states that this final, full publication was most unlikely to be effected (Fig. 3). It eventually came about in 1984-1985 (Teržan *et al.* 1984-1985), although without the inclusion of the few St. Lucia artefacts in the GIA collection. With the present publication, this requirement by the museum in Vienna is finally fulfilled.

It seems that Rudolf Much himself acquired these finds from the Naturhistorisches Museum in exchange for a number of early medieval artefacts (“völkerwanderungszeitliche Funde”) in his own, private collection, which makes sense considering his interest in this period and the fact that he was professor of German historical linguistics and archaeology. Prof. Rudolf Much himself is a protagonist in this exchange, and therefore an introduction is useful. He and his father, Matthäus Much (1832-1909), were at the forefront of archaeology in Austria during the decades around 1900. Both maintained an exceptional though traditional network (Urban 2002; Luckscheiter 2012; Mader 2018). The role of father and son Much is illuminating for the understanding of the development of archaeological academic collections around that time. They were involved in archaeology as a professional discipline and in private collecting. Furthermore, as side activity, they acted

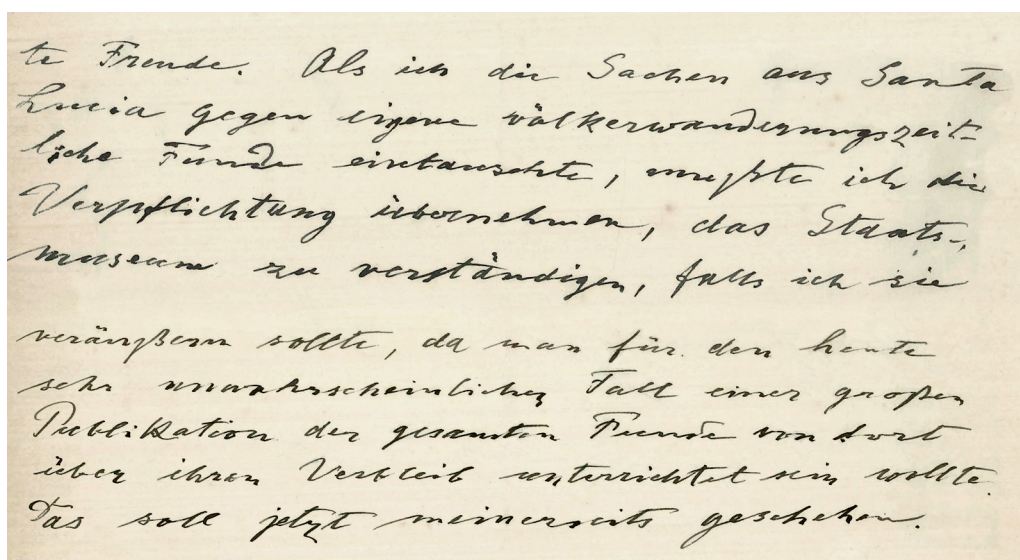
as intermediaries in the exchange of archaeological artefacts between different parties. This combination of pursuits, which is nowadays unacceptable, was in those days quite normal. The father, Matthäus Much, was a conservator and, since 1877, a member of the Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege (central committee for preservation). It was this Matthäus Much who was one of the first to report on Sveta Lucija (Much 1884). His notes on the site contributed to the subsequent intensive excavations, resulting in thousands of explored tombs. During his lifetime, he supervised and inspected countless excavations, sometimes accompanied by his son. Over a period of decades, he amassed a collection of archaeological artefacts that, after his death, was bought in 1912 by the Austrian ministry of education. Around 24 000 catalogue entries were registered, and they became the sound foundation for the study collection of the Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte of Universität Wien (Urban 2002: 12-3; Luckscheiter 2012).

Also in their subsequent reception, father and son Much were considered to be well matched as the main representatives of the prehistory of nationalist, Germanic ancestry, which is vaguely correlated with the national-socialist racial doctrine. This is symbolized by the Matthäus- und Rudolf-Much Preis, established in 1941, five years after the death of Rudolf Much, granted by the Reichsstatthalter in Vienna and funded, amongst others, by the Herman-Göring-Werke; it was awarded in 1942, 1943 and 1944 (Urban 2002: 19). This is not the place to start a debate on the role of archaeology in eugenics and the Nazi regime, apart from stating that there is a significant difference between national-socialism and the extremes of German fascism from 1935 to 1945. After World War II, the GIA, too, employed an archaeologist who had previously been active in the Forschungsgemeinschaft Deutsches Ahnenerbe e.V. (research committee of the SS, founded by Heinrich Himmler in 1935), Dr. Assien Böhmers (Carmiggelt 2019).

When the St. Lucia finds entered the GIA, they were registered in the GIA inventory books under 1923, the year of their acquisition (Appendix 1). They have remained at GIA ever since, and not much can be added to their biography until 2018, when I selected the jar in Figure 1 for a first-year student to describe and examine as an introduction to artefact studies, providing her with literature, amongst others, on Este.³ This prompted me to consult the GIA archive in more detail, with the help of Kirsten van der Ploeg, to find out what “St. Lucia 1890. Gr. 33.” stood for, resulting in this paper for the centennial of the GIA, in 2020.

3 The first-year student is Lonneke Luijendijk, who handed in her paper in April 2019. The assignment represented a limited time of investigation as an introduction to material studies, and she passed the course of 5 ECTS. No information from her paper was used for this article.

Fig. 3. Excerpt from the letter from Rudolf Much to Albert Egges Van Giffen dated 20 February 1923, stating the publication conditions for the artefacts from Most na Soči sent to Groningen. The letter is part of the Van Giffen archive at the GIA.



te Freunde. Als ich die Sachen aus Santa Lucia gegen eigene völkerwanderungszeitliche Funde eintauschte, mußte ich die Verpflichtung übernehmen, das Staatsmuseum zu verständigen, falls ich sie vergrößern sollte, da man für den heute sehr unwahrscheinlichen Fall einer großen Publikation der gesamten Funde von dort über ihren Verbleib unterrichtet sein wollte. Das soll jetzt meinerseits geschehen.

The other protagonist in this transfer of the St. Lucia finds to Groningen is Van Giffen (1884-1973), chair of the archaeological institute in Groningen from 1921 until his retirement in 1954 (<https://www.rug.nl/university-museum/history/prominent-professors/albert-van-giffen>). His work as an archaeologist was so wide-ranging that many excavations he was formally involved in are still being investigated and published (cf. Ozinga et al. 1989; Vos et al. 2005; Nieuwhof 2014, 2015; Verhart forthcoming). The present paper is a result of one of his activities: his commitment to collecting in order to create a corpus of reference artefacts for the institute. To provide an impression of this resolve, I list below just some of the information from the inventory books on assemblages that he added to the GIA study collection in 1923 (my translation):

- 1923 / I serial numbers 1 to 33 (December 1922); thanks to the mediation of Prof. C. Rothmann, Kiel, 33 artefacts from the widow M. Paulsen in Flensburg, whose husband assembled this collection.
- 1923 I serial numbers 34 to 163 from Mr. R. Oppenheim; 130 artefacts, some of which acquired on the island of Jersey dated from Palaeo- to Neolithic. Serial numbers 73 to 160 found at Lüneburg.
- 1923 / II 1-18 Coll. Hinterstoisser, Salzburg. 1.
- 1923 / II 19-53 Collection Roman ceramics (Xanten, Cologne), bought for fl. 100,- with 28 mostly prehistoric artefacts from the Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst und Vaterl. Altertümer at Emden. Some artefacts were published in 1877 with bibliography given in GIA inventory book; continues until 1923 / II 127, frequently listing place name where found.
- 1923 / X serial numbers 1 to 306 collection Hinterstoisser; mostly without provenance, relatively many Roman artefacts, including skeletal material for the archaeozoology reference collection. Previ-

ous markings: S (Schweiz) 1-12, 14-28 coll. Hinterstoisser as 1923/X/1, but found at Konstanz, Lake Constance (Schweizer Funde). Collection of axes, millstones, flints, ceramic sherds and spindle whorl (materials from pile dwellings). Serial numbers 28 to 47 from Laibacher Moor (Krain in Slovenia), organic materials, daggers and needles. Serial numbers 48 to 63 deriving from Hungary. Collection includes Etruscan and Roman material. Occasionally a provenance is given, such as 1923/X 248: found at Reichenall am Saalach near Salzburg; terracotta Roman figurine depicting a chicken H. 0.12.

- 1923 / III, serial numbers 1 to 37 bought from Prof. Much for fl. 275,- 3.II.23. Listed are: collection *Praehistorica* (Stone and Bronze Age) and a copper-alloy Roman lamp. Provenance often given, for example, one flint axe found at Helsingør, Denmark. Occasionally provenance unknown. 1923 / III 21; copper-alloy decorated bracelet, Este, Italy, in section rhomboidal, diam. 0.059; serial number 22 from Este as well, amber bead. Serial number 23 from Chiusi decorated copper-alloy bow fibula (l. 0.064). Serial number 26 from Falerii, small gold spiral found at the temple of a female skeleton. Author's note: Such spirals are frequently found in tombs dating to the 8th and early 7th century BC in the wider region around Rome. For serial numbers 27 to 36 from Most na Soči, see Appendix 1.
- 1923 IV serial numbers 1 to 16 collection Kollmann, Salzburg; predominantly copper-alloy artefacts and fragments.
- 1923 / IV serial numbers 17 to 19 from Emmen, possibly burial ground Wolfsbergen.
- 1923 / V, found by Dr. A. Böhmers at Spiennes near Mons (Belgium); serial numbers 1 to 23 obtained through various sources such as collection Prof. Rutot; flint artefacts.

1923 / VIII 1-123 artefacts from Rijckholt and St. Geertruid [The Netherlands]; systematic research supervised by Dr. A.E. van Giffen, assisted by Dr. W.G.N. van der Sleen.

There are artefacts with provenance and artefacts with few or no details. In my opinion, future, specific research could contextualise quite a number of these artefacts. Each year, while selecting objects for students to examine, I trace in the GIA study collection interesting items that are worth investigating in more depth. All in all, the GIA study collection mirrors somewhat the one assembled by Matthäus Much that was the basis for the study collection of the Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte in Vienna. Both collections are a mix of finds from excavations directed by the collectors themselves, artefacts bought from private collections, and gifts and artefacts obtained through the mediation of fellow archaeologists and other scholars. Both collections are definitely not unique in this combination of items resulting from excavations and from collecting during the period 1870-1930 (cf. Pezzati 2012). There was a lively exchange in antiquities in the early years of archaeology as an academic discipline. I would not be surprised if the GIA collection amassed by Van Giffen, especially in his primary years as chair of the institute at Groningen is, in quantity at least, equal to the one accumulated by Matthäus Much during his lifetime.

Such collections have somewhat become the neglected orphan of the older archaeological institutes, although in recent years there is more interest in these legacy data. Thus Leighton & Sørensen (2004) argue for the reinstatement of decontextualised artefacts held in old collections based on the first excavation of Gordon Childe, in 1927, at the key Hungarian site of Tószeg-Laposhalom. Van Giffen was actually involved in the excavation of this site in 1928, in exchange for some artefacts that are still in the collection of the GIA (Schalk 1981).⁴ The present paper is another example of such a reinstatement of archaeological artefacts from an old collection. More information on Van Giffen is available in a forthcoming publication by Leo Verhart.⁵

In addition to Much and Van Giffen, there is a third prominent archaeologist who is crucial to this account, namely, Josef Szombathy, under whose direction the Sveta Lucija tombs whose contents are in the GIA collection, were excavated. Szombathy was involved in

numerous excavations. The extent of his activities as an archaeologist is recorded by Brigitta Mader (2018) in a substantial book concerning the accomplishments of the Prähistorische Kommission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften from 1878-1918, including those of many of the early archaeologists presented briefly in the present paper. Mader introduces the activities of Szombathy, Marchesetti, Much and others. The Kommission itself was not involved in the Sveta Lucija excavations. Her valuable catalogue (Mader 2018: 103-578), includes crucial Iron Age sites, such as Hallstatt itself (Mader 2018: 249-60), Vače (Mader 2018: 493-507) and St. Margarethen (Slovene: Šmarjeta; Mader 2018: 436-69). Szombathy was engaged in many of them, largely as director; c. 50 sites are listed under his name as excavator in charge. Given these time commitments, it is not surprising that he hardly published on some of them, such as Sveta Lucija. As an archaeologists, though, he was a central figure with a substantial national and international network. He even corresponded with Van Giffen around 1920 about books as well as excavation projects in Austria and Hungary. In 1920, Van Giffen bought part of the Szombathy collection (listed in the GIA inventory books as 1920/VI, serial numbers 36 to 57; Verhart forthcoming).

Besides acquiring and splitting up collections in those years, as mentioned above, the institutes themselves sometimes transferred part of their collection in exchange for artefacts from other sites or institutes. I am inclined to somewhat regret that this exchange in archaeological artefacts has ended, since it was mostly based on a passion and interest for the past. Nowadays, one could design an online system that maintains the provenance of archaeological artefacts but still allows for transfer. Many archaeological objects from excavations that have been fully published could thus change hands. Since World War II, nation states have more and more become the custodians of their archaeological record in an attempt to prevent illegal excavations and illicit trade and to cherish their heritage. Cultural patrimony laws, both national and international, have made the authorised exchange of archaeological artefacts between different parties nearly impossible unless it is state organised. Thus nation states become increasingly the monopolist in the preservation of their archaeological heritage, while at the same time they seem to be unable to halt illegal excavations and private metal

4 On artefacts from the Hungarian site of Dömsöd assigned to the Early Bronze Age in the GIA collection, see Butler & Schalk 1984.

5 Dr. Verhart was so kind to send me 12 pages of the chapter "Van Giffen 1917-1939." His forthcoming publication is a double biography on two of the most influential archaeologists in The Netherlands during the period 1900-1950, Jan Hendrik Holwerda (1873-1951) and Albert Egges Van Giffen (1884-1973). Verhart made good use of the extensive GIA archive. He mentions, among other things, that Van Giffen was involved as well in providing food supplies to parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was strongly affected by economic recession after World War I. Sometimes this was reciprocated by sending archaeological artefacts to Groningen. He also provides a more extensive list of the various collections that Van Giffen acquired.

detecting activities. The nation state monopoly on preservation of its archaeological record is not in all cases desirable, especially given that the state depots for archaeological collections are frequently poorly maintained. I prefer to see a collection of archaeological artefacts in a more private setting with an interested layperson, particularly when that person knows the provenance of the exhibits, instead of seeing it in state-run archaeological depots that frequently make me somewhat blue due to their volume, the more so when they are inadequately managed. I have frequently experienced that the state is a poor custodian of its archaeological heritage, in both the Netherlands and in Italy.

Post-publication exchange of the majority of excavated finds might actually increase interest in archaeology. It could provide some funds for conservation, research and future excavations. Leighton & Sørensen (2004: 44-5) suggested the creation of virtual museums to re-link decontextualised materials from sites that are now held in different collections around the world. This concept could be expanded to include artefacts in private collections after the excavations are fully published (publication of an excavation being the *sine qua non* before trading of the objects), promoting exchange not just in archaeological expertise, but in finds as well. The topic, briefly addressed here, requires a more profound discussion of all the pros and cons. I just state here that the present, national systems set up to deal with archaeological objects and their collection are not beyond critique when compared with the lively, more private, exchange that occurred during the period 1850-1940.

Returning to the site of Most na Soči, I will first introduce its excavation history and then the importance of the site based on the published research on Sveta Lucija since the 1970s, especially on the settlement.

The history of excavations at Sveta Lucija

Figure 4 summarises the results of the excavations from 1880 onwards, providing a map with an overview of the main Hallstatt burial grounds at Most na Soči and specifying the years of excavation. There had been some small explorations starting in 1844, mostly by the priest of the parish of St. Lucia, Tomaž Rutar. His successor as parish priest, Alojzij Carli, surveyed the remains of the site from 1877 onwards, mainly in the settlement. Carli is credited with being the first to report on Sveta Lucija to the scientific communities in Trieste and Vienna. He was important for the subsequent excavations until his death, in 1891 (Svoljšak & Dular 2016: 18-22). Excavations started in 1880, when Paolo de Bizzarro, a lawyer from Gorizia, explored 70 tombs (Gabrovec & Svoljšak 1983: 30-3; Svoljšak & Dular 2016: 17-36). This work was funded by the K. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmale in Vienna. Large-scale excavations at Most na Soči started in 1886 and continued until 1902. They involved two

central characters: Carlo Marchesetti (1850-1926) and Josef Szombathy (1853-1943). Marchesetti, also referred to in the literature as de Marchesetti, led the excavation of c. 3 610 tombs, from 1884 to 1902, while Szombathy supervised the investigation of c. 2 450 tombs, from 1886 to 1890. The tombs were numbered sequentially from 1 by each excavator and are prefaced by M for Marchesetti and Sz for Szombathy. In his last year at Sveta Lucija, Szombathy excavated 648 tombs, numbered 1 817 to 2 464, from 7 July-28 August (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 7), including the tomb inventories now held at the GIA (Appendices 1 and 2). During those years, the site was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Marchesetti was director of the museum of natural history in Trieste (il Museo Civico di Storia Naturale), and Josef Szombathy was head of the prehistoric-anthropological collection of the court museum of natural history in Vienna in the years 1885-1920 (Naturhistorisches Museum). Mader (1995: 147) writes that there was some competition between the two institutes, since Trieste was interested in creating a main regional archaeological collection, while Vienna sought finds from all countries making up the Empire. In 1918, following World War I, the western part of Slovenia (Primorska, or Küstenland) became a region of the Italian state. The Italian-Austrian Convention of 4 May 1920 led to the restitution of the contents of the first 908 Szombathy tombs excavated at St. Lucia, from Vienna to Trieste, although some were handed over to the archaeological museum in Pula (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 8).

Marchesetti and Szombathy worked predominantly independently of each other. Only in 1890, the last year Szombathy excavated at Most na Soči, did they share a plot and were present at the site contemporaneously (Gabrovec & Svoljšak 1983: 32). Originally there was some tension between them, but according to the archive of more than 70 letters and postcards they wrote each other between 1885 and 1920, this changed after 1889. From 1889, onwards it is no longer “Esteemed Sir” but “Esteemed friend” (Mader 1995: 152). From that moment there was a constructive and confidential correspondence between the two excavators that was stimulating. Thus Szombathy complimented Marchesetti on his 1893 publication on St. Lucia and even termed it pioneering (Mader 1995: 159). Marchesetti (1893) did indeed write one of the better archaeological publications of the late 19th century, based on his assessment of the circa 2 600 of tombs excavated by him up to 1892. It is not a full publication of each tomb, but much information can be obtained from studying the book, amongst others things about the significance of iron artefacts in these Iron Age tombs. The contents of the tombs excavated by Szombathy in 1886, 1887 and 1890 were sent to Vienna and an inventory was made, although they were not fully published until 1984-1985 (Teržan *et al.* 1984-1985).

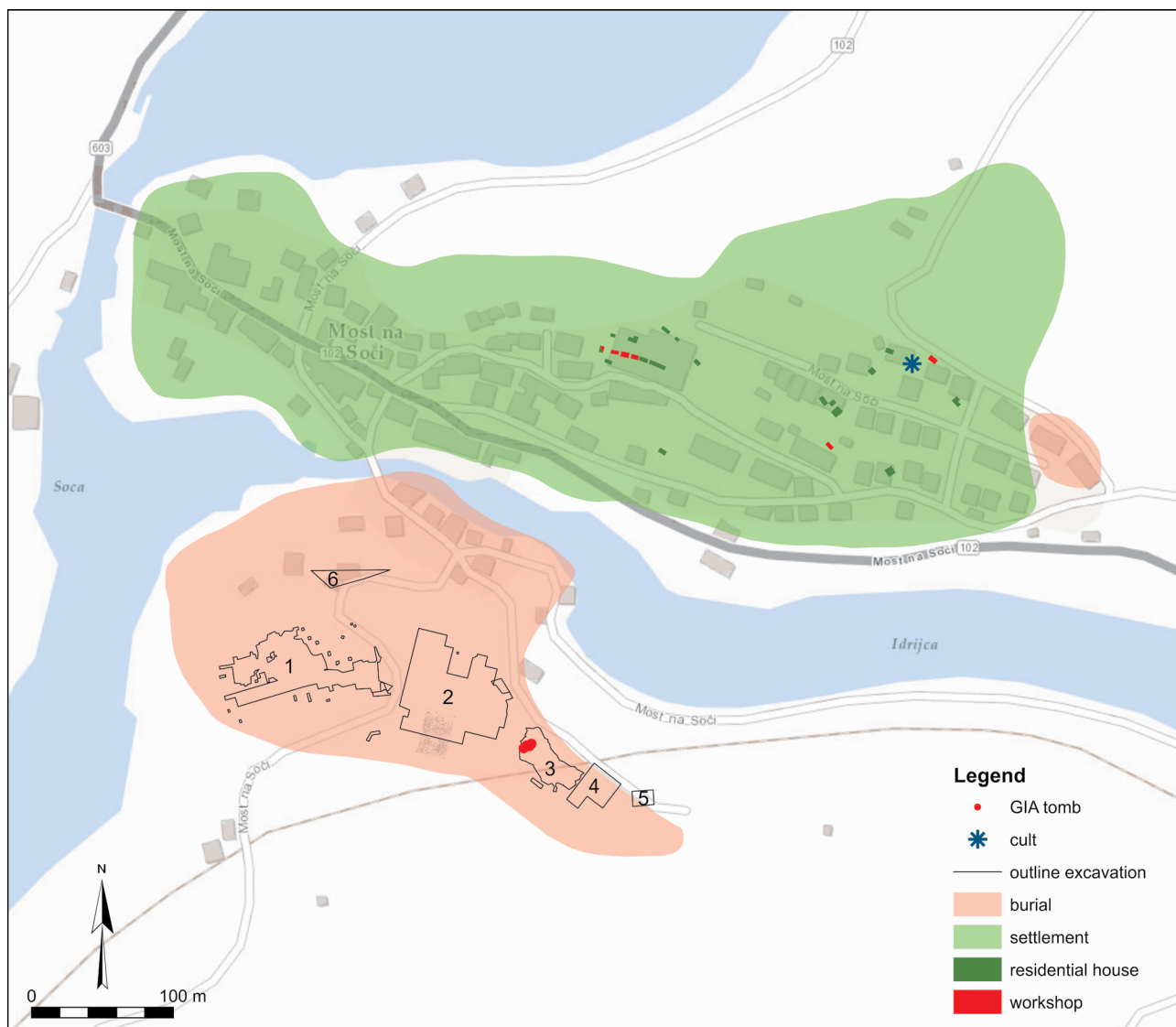


Fig. 4. Map of the site of Sveta Lucija, or Most na Soči, at the confluence of the rivers Soča and Idrija, showing the reconstructed Iron Age settlement area and burial grounds. Numbers 1 to 6 mark the excavation terrains in the main burial plot. The red dot in terrain 3 indicates the position of the tombs that contained the artefacts that are held at the GIA. 1: area excavated by Josef Szombathy, 1886-1887; 2: area excavated by Carlo Marchesetti, 1884-1898; 3: area excavated by Josef Szombathy, 1890; 4: area excavated by Carlo Marchesetti, 1899 and 1902; 5: area excavated by the Goriška Museum, 1957-1958; 6: area excavated by Bruno Forlati-Tamaro, 1927 (map by E. Bolhuis, GIA, modified from Gabrovec & Svoljšak 1983: Fig. 21; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 11, 87; Figs. 2, 60).

In 1902, Marchesetti completed his excavations at Sveta Lucija, totalling that year 175 tombs. After this time, occasionally a few more tombs were excavated, until it became an excavation project for the two regional museums, first of the Tolminski muzej, from 1957-1960, under the direction of Niko Mozetič, and subsequently of the Goriški muzej, from 1971-1984, supervised mainly by Drago Svoljšak who started excavating Hallstatt, early La Tène and Roman buildings as a rescue intervention precipitated by several building projects in the village. In those years, around 4 ha of the Iron Age-Roman settlement were excavated. The remains of 39 Iron Age houses were explored, as well as drainage ditches and a path through the settlement.

Furthermore, 32 locations of dispersed habitation traces were recorded (Fig. 4). The houses are of high-quality construction and in a fine state of preservation. They were well published by Svoljšak and Dular (2016). The exceptional archaeological data retrieved from the settlement and burial grounds provide a comprehensive understanding of the living standard at the site during the Iron Age (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018). Especially noteworthy are the crafts practised at the site in several materials, such as iron, copper, wood, ceramics and textiles. Sveta Lucija was definitely a production centre from the 7th-4th centuries BC. The houses can be reconstructed in remarkable detail, including some that were decorated with terracotta plaques. The motifs on these

architectural plaques will originally have derived from Etruria. Similar plaques are known from a few other settlements in the *Caput Adriae* (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 57-66). Dular and Tecco Hvala conclude that Sveta Lucija was an important settlement centre for its region during the Iron Age, with a couple of hundred inhabitants involved in subsistence, specialized crafts and exchange. Their comparison with the few pre-Roman, urban centres in central Europe, such as Manching and the Heuneburg, is noteworthy in its detail on such topics as level of imports, elites, and subsistence (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 90-2). The fact that there was probably continuity in activities for centuries at Sveta Lucija to me indicates more stable socioeconomic conditions, including a sustainable social hierarchy across centuries, when compared with the relatively short-lived, pre-Roman experiments in urbanization north of the Alps (see epilogue).

Nowadays, a small archaeological park shows visitors settlement structures of the Hallstatt and Roman periods. The Tolminski museum resumed responsibility for the site in 1998, with continuing excavations of the burial grounds and settlement (cf. Mlinar 2002). For a more detailed account on the history of the excavations at the site one can consult, for example, Gabrovec and Svoljšak (1983: 30-3) and Svoljšak & Dular (2016: 17-36).

The next section will examine some of the results of the interventions since 1880, re-contextualising the St. Lucia artefacts bought by the GIA.

The importance of the site of Most na Soči as a frontier in the 7th-5th centuries BC

Professor Biba Teržan (pers. comm. 19 May 2020) was so kind as to inform me that she does not know who was responsible for marking the St. Lucia vessel in Fig. 1 with “St. Lucia 1890. Gr. 33.” She noted that “Gr. 33” probably means grave (German: *Grab*) 33. It most likely indicates the 33rd burial that Szombathy excavated at St. Lucia in 1890. This would match to some extent. For example, the excavations of 1890 start with tomb number 1 817 (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 7). Some of the GIA artefacts are marked with “Gr. 55,” which, added to 1 817, gives 1 872, being the final tomb number assigned. Unfortunately, this calculation does not hold for the other Gr. numbers on artefacts from Sveta Lucija in Groningen. The lettering “St. Lucia 1890” in white ink, though, was essential for the present account. Without this information, it would have been hard to trace the provenance of the artefacts presented in Appendix 2 to Most na Soči in Slovenia. After combining the information contained in different kinds of remaining markings on the St. Lucia artefacts at the GIA with that in the

GIA inventory books, the GIA Van Giffen archive, and the publication by Teržan *et al.* (1984-1985), it became apparent that there are still four inventories of tombs at the GIA: tombs 1 843, 1 849, 1 872 and 1 874 (Appendices 1 and 2). According to the GIA inventory books, there should be copper-alloy fragments or artefacts from two additional depositions in the GIA depot, tombs Sz 1 855 and Sz 1 876, but these have not been retraced (see Table 1 in Appendix 2). From the 1923 GIA inventory, it is clear that some of the metal artefacts had already disintegrated by the time they arrived in Groningen (Appendix 1). From the topographical maps produced by Gabrovec and Svoljšak (1983), it is also obvious that the six tombs sold by Much to Van Giffen are located close to each other, within an area of roughly 30 m², between several other tombs (Fig. 4).⁶

There are two main publications on the thousands of Iron Age tombs at Most na Soči: Marchesetti (1893: 177-300), which briefly mentions each tomb, from M 211 to M 2 950, that he had excavated up to 1892, accompanied by a short but clear analysis, some scientific research on the composition of metals, 21 Plates, and a detailed contextualization of the necropolis; and Teržan *et al.* (1984-1985), which presents in two volumes, Text and Plates, the tombs excavated under the direction of Szombathy up to 1890 (tombs Sz 1 to Sz 2 464).

Based on these publications, on Teržan and Trampuž (1973) and on recent correspondence with Teržan, Sz tombs 1 843, 1 849, 1 872 and 1 874 at the GIA can be assigned to Sveta Lucija phases Ic 1 to IIa, or roughly 700/650-550 BC. One artefact, the rectangular belt clasp (1923 III/31), is registered in the GIA inventory books as pertaining to tomb 1 849. This cannot be correct, because it is not recorded as such in Teržan *et al.* (1985: 298) and because this artefact type is assigned to a later Sveta Lucija phase (II b-c). The finds in the catalogue under tomb 1 849 (Appendix 2) are allocated to Sveta Lucija phase Ic and roughly a century older than the clasp. Since the GIA clasp cannot be ascribed to a specific tomb, its provenance is open to debate. However, this clasp has a form that is fairly typical for Sveta Lucija. It is discussed in more detail below and in Appendix 2. The clasp moves us into the interesting 5th century BC, with the emerging Celtic incursions (see below) that affected many regions of northern Italy and Slovenia but less so the Veneto, it seems (for some comments on the absolute chronology, see the note at the beginning of Appendix 2, after Table 1). Thus the chronological range of the artefacts at the GIA allocated to the 1890 excavations led by Szombathy spans the 7th-5th centuries BC, when the site was flourishing as a settlement centre right between the Venetic culture and the south-eastern

6 See Fig. 21 of the main burial ground at Sveta Lucija and Plan C 11, where all six tombs that were sold to Van Giffen are mapped (Gabrovec & Svoljšak 1983). The location of the tombs is marked by a red dot in Fig. 4 of this paper.



Fig. 5. Small glass cups from tombs M 2 151 (a and b), M 2 038 (c), Sz 2 439 (d), Sz 1 008 (e) and Sz 2 446 (f), dating from the late 7th-early 5th century BC (reproduced with permission from Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: Fig. 78).

Hallstatt culture. This allows for the contextualising of the tombs held at the GIA during these centuries.

Szombathy tombs 1 843, 1 849, 1 855, 1 872, 1 874 and probably 1 876,⁷ which were exchanged by the museum of natural history in Vienna with Professor Rudolf Much and subsequently sold by him in 1923, are fairly typical compared with those detailed in the main publications by Teržan *et al.* (1984-1985) and Marchesetti (1893). One of the reasons that the circa 7 000 Sveta Lucija tombs are frequently left out in discussions on centralisation in Iron Age Europe is that they are relatively sober and seem to lack the attributes of grand warriors and princes found in other regions of Slovenia, such as Dolenjska and Gorenjska, along the upper Sava river (cf. Egg 1999; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007; Teržan 2007, 2014; Tecco Hvala 2012; Dular 2016). For example, Marchesetti lists that approximately one third of the tombs contained only the cremated remains (966 tombs), which he assigns mostly to children (Marchesetti 1893: 140). The nearly 2 000 remaining Marchesetti tombs excavated until 1892 contain 9 252 artefacts in total, the majority being beads (2 312 items), ceramic vessels (1 910 objects) and fibulae (1 737 pieces; Marchesetti 1893: 141). Remarkable is that of the 51 knives recorded, all but two are made of iron, as are all the weapons. This indicates that the majority of the weapons and tools at Sveta Lucija were produced in iron and that we are in the Iron Age proper and not in its incipient phase, keeping in mind that the 'Iron horizon' in Slovenia emerged from 850

BC onward (cf. Teržan & Črešnar 2014: 706-13; Nijboer 2018b). Nonetheless, weapons were seldom found in the thousands of tombs pre-dating the 5th century BC. This could reflect a restriction in the deposition of functioning weapons during the burial ceremony, as documented through archaeology in other regions (cf. Bietti Sestieri 1992: 785-6; Cuozzo 2014: 308; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 82; Nijboer 2018a: 121). The ritual treatment of weapons has been pointed out for other periods and regions in Italy as well (Bietti Sestieri *et al.* 2013: 166-7). When one can work with a dataset of thousands of tombs, as is the case at Sveta Lucija, one can state with confidence that the limited number of weapons deposited in Iron Age tombs was intentional. This funerary custom at Most na Soči, limiting the deposition of weapons, does not signal that we are dealing with the meek and feeble, as is often implied due to emphasis given in the literature to elaborate warrior tombs. Deposition of weapons and items relating to warlike rituals could take place in other arenas, for example, along riverbeds, as suggested by Dular and Tecco Hvala (2018: 82). Interesting is the deposition of weapons in the Karst cave of Mušja jama (German: Fliegenhöhle) at Škocjan (Slovenia) with a distribution of weapon types that reveals the wide-ranging exchange network of the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age (Teržan 2019). It crosses nearly the whole of Europe but especially eastern Europe and Italy north-east of Rome, from the 12th-7th centuries BC, in line with the long-distance distribution of essential though rare resources, such

⁷ Sz Tomb 1876 is not listed in Teržan *et al.* 1985 as having been given to Much, unlike the other five tombs presented here. I consider it, however, most likely that Sz tomb 1876 was also part of the exchange between Much and the museum in Vienna.

as amber, copper and tin. The extent of these exchange networks altered somewhat during the Iron Age due to the rise of several regional central places, such as Sveta Lucija (Teržan 2019).

Despite of the general sobriety of the burial ritual, there are other contexts, such as the houses, plus a whole range of artefacts from Most na Soči, that stand out or that are even unique. Foremost are the exceptional small glass cups illustrated in Figure 5, which date from the late 7th-5th century BC, coinciding with the date of the Sveta Lucija artefacts held at the GIA.⁸ All five tombs with such a glass cup can be categorized as elite due to the associated artefacts. These cups themselves are quite remarkable in their material and highly skilled manufacturing techniques. The production of the glass bowls may well have been based in the Veneto (*Caput Adriae*), since there was enough demand for small glass artefacts, especially beads (Towle & Henderson 2007; Arletti *et al.* 2010; Locatelli 2013: 368-9).⁹ Such bowls have a restricted distribution (for a discussion, see Dular & Havla 2018: 120-2). Tomb M 2 151, for example, contained a unique storage jar of copperplate that itself held a situla, wrapped in fine cloth and with a wicker lid, amongst other artefacts (Marchesetti 1893: 95-6). Tomb Sz 2 439 held a similar storage jar to tomb M 2 151, 2 situlae, 10 serpentine fibulae and some other artefacts (Teržan *et al.* 1984-1985: 382, Plates 260-2). It therefore seems that status and rank at Sveta Lucija were expressed in the funerary domain during the Iron Age, but more subtly than in another region of Slovenia, the Dolenjska. For high-ranking individuals, one needs to examine especially the burials with urns that held the cremated remains, comprising roughly 8% of all burials at Sveta Lucija (Dular & Havla 2018: 127).

I consider Most na Soči to be a relatively stable polity that governed its own socioeconomic conditions for centuries, probably in alternating alliances with other groups in its vicinity. Phases of decline are probable, especially during the 4th-2nd centuries BC, due to increasing mobility and raiding in the north of Italy (Broadhead 2000; Cunliffe 2018: 131-56). It seems, however, unlikely that the site was abandoned during the mid-La Tène period. Furthermore, the site reveals too many specific features to be designated as either Venetic or south-eastern Hallstatt, being located in between these two cultures. The wider elite network is reflected, amongst others, in the distribution of the roughly 150

artefacts of copperplate with embossed, figurative scenes inspired by images from Etruria, termed situla art, a form that is found from northern Italy to central Europe from the late 7th-4th century BC (Fig. 2; *cf.* Collis 1997: 69-73; Zaghetto 2001; Frey 2011). This emblematic art immediately reveals another idiosyncrasy of Sveta Lucija. While more than 100 copperplate situlae were recovered in the tombs, situla art is hardly present at the site. The local metal workshops producing most of these situlae at Sveta Lucija adhered to conventional, geometric designs for decoration. This reflects a number of lasting cultural customs as expressed in its funerary domain and decorative style, rooted in Urnfield or central European traditions. Hence Most na Soči is considered by many to be a frontier site to the Iron Age Hallstatt culture, slightly more so than to the Este culture. I would add that it can be regarded to have been a frontier settlement for the Veneto, or Este, culture as well, from the 8th-4th centuries BC.

To assess the exchange network in which Most na Soči participated, Dular and Tecco Hvala (2018: 110-32) examined the special finds, disclosing a wide web of contacts and a ruling faction that looked for cultural inspiration to Este and the Veneto with its appreciation for Etruscan art. Most interregional imports were recorded at Most na Soči for the 6th and 5th centuries BC, as is the case at other sites in the *Caput Adriae*, from Bologna to the communities living in the Alps. Some of the imports found at Sveta Lucija are Baltic amber; a number of pieces of coral; cultivated fig; walnut; bronze and *ramo secco* ingots; a few drinking cups and pouring jugs from Greece; some bronze table wares of Etruscan origin (*cf.* Vitri 1980); a late 7th century BC copperplate situla with decorated lid, including a figurative scene probably imported from Este; a Punic-Carthaginian glass pendant in the shape of a bearded male head from the 5th century BC, which are rare but have a wide distribution in the Mediterranean, including the Picene region in east-central Italy; and some other unusual finds (for more details, consult Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 110-32). These artefacts record that high-ranking individuals at Sveta Lucija were participating in long-distance, inter-regional exchange, although it remains open for debate whether, being perched against the Julian Alps, Sveta Lucija was mostly an end station for goods from the Este and the south-eastern Hallstatt communities or a transit centre for trade beyond its own region (see epilogue).

⁸ The height of the glass bowls in Fig. 5 ranges from c. 4 to 6 cm.

⁹ The expert publications of Leonie Koch on the glass beads of Verucchio record that some types have no parallel and were most likely made at the site (Koch 2015, 2018). She also was so kind as to inform me that the large, two-tone glass fibula bow-beads in the form of *sanguisuga* are definitely of Italian manufacture, the ones from Verucchio being slightly different than the ones from Bologna. All this indicates that manufacture of small, intricate glass artefacts such as these beads was probably occurring locally in some Iron Age central places in the *Caput Adriae*.

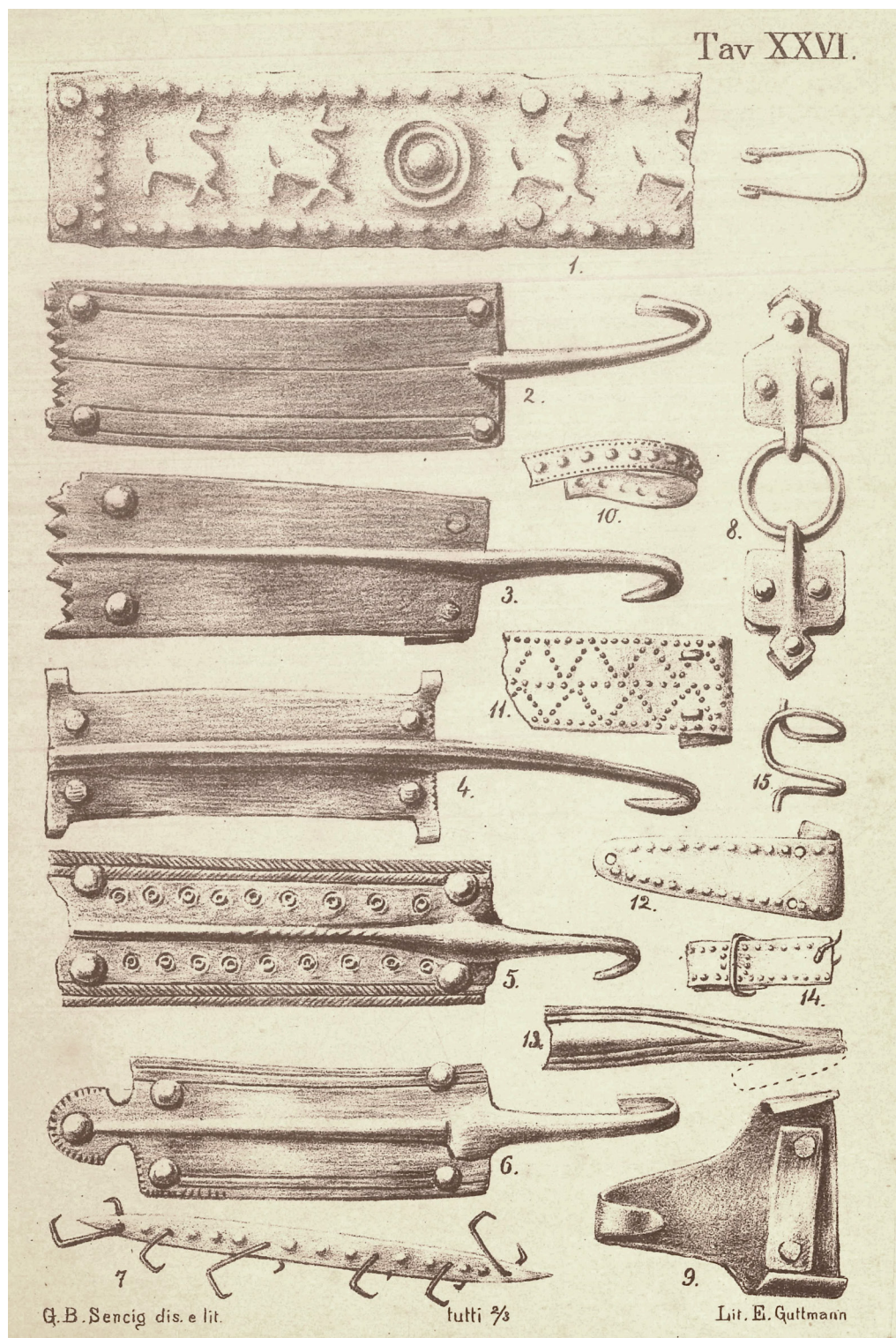


Fig. 6. Copper-alloy buckles and plates for belts from tombs at Sveta Lucija. Numbers 2 to 6 are similar to the rectangular belt clasp held at the GIA since 1923 (reproduced from Marchesetti 1893: Plate 26).

As noted above, some of these special finds move us into the 5th century BC, such as the rectangular belt clasp in the GIA depot that is assigned to Sveta Lucija phases II b-c (1923 / III 31; Appendix 2, no Sz tomb number available). It is difficult to place this type of clasp more precisely temporally, since it could well be another of the characteristic conventional features of the site, such as the spectacle fibulae for women that remained in use from the mid-8th-6th century BC (Pabst 2012: 209-21).

For the late 7th century BC at Sveta Lucija, Pabst differentiates one group of women that followed the Italian fibula fashion and another that adhered to the traditional spectacle fibulae (Pabst 2012: 217).

Rectangular belt clasps from Sveta Lucija were first published by Marchesetti. Figure 6 presents Plate XXVI of his 1893 publication on the nearly 3 000 tombs he had excavated by 1892 and gives all types of belt hooks, including five that are listed here as rectangular belt

clasps.¹⁰ The copper-alloy clasps or buckles are fixtures for leather belts. He describes them as elegant, consisting of one or two metal plates held together by small nails for attaching the leather, and a hook on one side. Sometimes leather remains are still present near the nails. The decoration is simple, with a few incised lines and circles (Marchesetti 1893: 172-3). He reports 84 items as belts, all in bronze, among the nearly 2 000 tombs that held artefacts (Marchesetti 1893: 141). More recently, Tecco Hvala published the belt clasps from Magdalenska Gora, providing detailed contexts for the buckles as well as parallels from other regions of Slovenia (2012: 165-85). There is quite a variety in types of clasps, revealing that they were individually made and not in series. Tecco Hvala relates clasps with reinforcements, like the one in the GIA collection discussed here, to the elite of Magdalenska Gora, being often found in tombs with weapons and other markers of high status. At Most na Soči as well, the rectangular belt clasps are predominantly found in burials of males. Some of the tombs with such a clasp stand out, for example, tombs M 1 937 and M 2 184 with 'torque' (Marchesetti's terminology), M 2 038 with glass bowl (Fig. 5c), M 2 442, M 2 448 and M 2 789. Other tombs contain hardly anything besides the belt clasp (Marchesetti 1893). A similar account can be given for the Szombathy tombs. Exceptional ones with such a rectangular belt clasp are Sz 1 008 (among others with a glass bowl, shown in Fig. 5e, and an imported kylix), Sz 1 309, Sz 1 561, Sz 1 573 and Sz 1 656 (with weapons). Tombs with a belt clasp but containing hardly any other artefacts are Sz 224 and Sz 740 (Teržan *et al.* 1984-1985). It seems that such belt clasps were frequently an accessory in high-status tombs at Sveta Lucija in the decades around 500 BC but are found as well in depositions with hardly any remaining distinctive features. This mirrors somewhat the archaeological data from the settlement, where it is difficult to characterise the homes of high-ranking households apart from their access to game (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 90) – once more an indication that status differences were present but not categorically emphasised in day-to-day life at Most na Soči during the Iron Age.

The majority of the rectangular belt clasps from Sveta Lucija are associated with a Certosa-type fibula. For example, a clasp was found in tomb M 890 with Certosa fibulae types Ib and IIg (Teržan 1976: 319, 322); in tomb M 776 with Certosa fibula type 5 (Teržan 1976: 323-4);

and in tomb Sz 1656 with Certosa fibula type 6 (Teržan 1976: 358-9). The rectangular belt clasps can thus be considered a late Hallstatt item as well as an early La Tène artefact. The transition from Hallstatt D to La Tène A, around 475 BC (Lanting & van der Plicht 2006: 251), is discussed extensively in the literature since it is frequently associated with the emerging, disruptive Celtic incursions into northern Italy and beyond (*cf.* Teržan 2014). Stöllner wrote on Celtic identity that there "is no doubt that during the second quarter and the mid of the 5th century a new ideology of warriors appeared" (2014: 213). This development is somewhat mirrored in the burial record of Sveta Lucija when compared with the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Szombathy tombs with weapons and Certosa-type fibulae are Sz 45, Sz 294, Sz 306, Sz 560, Sz 593, Sz 1 775 and Sz 2 401 (Teržan *et al.* 1984-1985). There are also late La Tène tombs at Sveta Lucija with weapons (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 377; Gaspari & Mlinar 2005). Just looking at the increasing deposition of weapons in tombs during the La Tène period, Most na Soči itself reveals expanding warrior ideology during the 5th century BC.

An artefact type that is often associated with Celtic identity is the La Tène openwork belt hook, known north and south of the Alps but not from Sveta Lucija, as far as I know (Tecco Hvala 2012: 180-5; Stöllner 2014). This raises the question: To what extent did Sveta Lucija become Celtic? This is a tricky question to answer. The archaeological record of the site, both in the burial ground and in the settlement, indicates a gradual cultural transition during the 5th century BC that can be labelled Laténization or Celticization (*cf.* Koch 2007). Recorded Celtic groups in the vicinity of the Sveta Lucija cluster of settlements are known as the Carni, Norici, Taurisci, Ambisontes and Catali (Šašel 1972; Passera *et al.* 2017; Šašel Kos 2014).¹¹ The Veneti are considered a transitional population, in that Celts did arrive but seem to have integrated, while being less disruptive than what is described in the ancient texts for the rest of Italy (Cunliffe 2018; Gambacurta & Ruta Serafini 2001, 2017). This was most probably the case for Most na Soči as well, where Celtic impact may be perceptible in increasing numbers of tombs with weapons but hardly traceable in the early La Tène phase of its settlement (Svoljšak & Dular 2016; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018; Dular 2018). Yet, in its western part, an entire row of houses burnt somewhere during Sveta Lucija phases IIb and IIc, the period

10 The rectangular belt clasp is uncommon in the Veneto, as Ruta Serafini was so kind to let me know. On belts in the Veneto, or Este, see Bondini 2010; Baldini Cornacchione *et al.* 2019. However, these are belts worn by women.

11 The Ambisontes are known from ancient literature, but their location is contested. Some authors place them in the Soča valley (Šašel 1972; Šašel Kos 2010: 215-217), while others place them in the region around Salzburg (Scherrer 2002: 32; Kovacovics 2002: 166-167). See also Cecovini 2013. Therefore, I will not elaborate on this Celtic group. In theory, one could even put forward a hypothesis that the name of the polity living in the upper Soča valley in the 4th-1st centuries BC is not recorded in the surviving ancient literature.

assigned to the rectangular belt clasps discussed above. New constructions were built on top of these buildings, but these seem to have been less sophisticated than those of the preceding period (Dular 2018: 164).

The mid- and late La Tène phases at Most na Soči are not an integral part of this paper, but I note that it appears that after a decline during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, the population started to increase once more during the late La Tène–Roman period, when a vast cemetery is reported (Svoljšak & Dular 2016: 29). In a recent overview on the Iron Age settlement hierarchy of the Dolenjska region in the south-east of Slovenia, Dular (2020) records only a limited number of centres that continue throughout the early Iron Age into the late La Tène period. He mentions a marked break for most settlements in this region around 300 BC, with the arrival of Celtic groups (Dular 2020: 417). A similar disruption seems to be perceptible in the south-east of Slovenia, at Sveta Lucija and its cluster of related settlements forming the Posočje community. Nonetheless, there are a few tombs containing iron weaponry reported for the mid- and late La Tène phases at Most na Soči (Mlinar 2002).

This leads me to the final issue for this paper: the limited archaeological visibility of Celtic groups during the mid-La Tène period in Slovenia, which leaves much open for debate. While we have countless names for different Celtic groups, we often do not know what they stand for. This was already elaborated on by Alföldy in 1966 when he discussed the Taurisci and Norici. He hypothesised that the Norici originally referred to a single tribe in a region in the south of the later Roman province of Noricum, with as its main settlement Noreia. By the 2nd century BC, it grew in importance, incorporating other Celtic groups in the south of Noricum. By the late 1st century BC, the Norici formed one group near the Carni and Acquileia; one group in western Noricum; and one in eastern Noricum, labelled the Taurisci (Alföldy 1966: 235–9). A comparable geographic expansion can be reconstructed for the Carni, who for the Romans came to represent a key competitor in the Carnic and Julian Alps, moving southwards to the Mediterranean. The events during these centuries are summarized in Figure 7, providing the location of Most na Soči within the territory of *Regio X Venetia et Histria* established by Augustus around 7 BC, combined with the distribution of pre-Roman inscriptions in the Venetic alphabet before romanization (6th–1st centuries BC). This alphabet is a 6th century BC revision of Etruscan lettering from northern Etruria. Its occasional use by the Veneti for centuries, often in ritual contexts, correlates with the final phase of the Iron Age, or Hallstatt period, and with the entire La Tène sequence,

until the 1st century BC. Figure 7 shows the geographic distribution of around 300 inscriptions in the Venetic alphabet. It should be combined with the distribution map of situla art (Fig. 2), thus marking two key features of the material record of the Veneti from the late 7th–1st century BC. Figures 2 and 7 reveal a network in which they acted as key liaison. Este and Padua were their main settlement centres. To quote Broadhead: “There was little in the way of urbanization in the areas outside the territory of the friendly Veneti” (2000: 145), although I presume that they were not just friendly. Two recent papers stress the Veneti as being distinctive, having long-lasting population centres and extensively engaging in trade, while co-operating with several groups on either side of the Alps, whether we label them as Hallstatt culture, Etruscans, Celts or Romans (Smith 2017; Tomedi 2017). They seem to have maintained an effective policy of alliances with several other groups along their borders for nearly a millennium, thus maintaining some autonomy until finally aligning with the Romans and their associates in their fight against encroaching Celtic groups, which increasingly became a threat. The distribution of the Venetic alphabet (Fig. 7) shows a reduced web when compared with that of situla art (Fig. 2), but this is associated with wider historical developments during the second half of the 1st millennium BC, such as tribalization, ‘Celticization’, fragmentation; and, subsequently, romanization. For example, in Figure 7, around *Tridentum*, there are no inscriptions in the Venetic alphabet recorded because most writings in that region are of another, though related, type of alphabet, Raetic, which is linked to the Alpine Fritzens-Sanzano culture and successive Celtic incursions of various groups, such as the Norici (Marzatico 2017). At the same time, one can question the whole concept of Celtic identity, as Celtic attributes are so geographically extensive and fragmented (cf. Džino 2007; Nijboer 2020). Donnelly (2015) even suggested that Celtic should become a label for the European Iron Age regional trading and communication network, rather than one for a culture or people. I would like to add that the term Celtic in Italy, but seemingly also in Slovenia, stands for disruption, exchange, warrior ideology, variability, assimilation and reduced archaeological visibility. When they did not integrate, they were non-urban and often even seem to have resisted centralization of any kind, and this may account somewhat for their poor archaeological traces apart from the distribution of a relatively limited set of artefact types, frequently weaponry.¹² Assimilation and a fluidity of identity seem to have been characteristic for them, as Cunliffe and Colonna suggested for the Golasecca–Celtic transition in Alpine north-western Italy during the 1st millennium

12 See the numerous recent distribution maps in *Celti d'Italia* (Piana Agostinetti 2017).

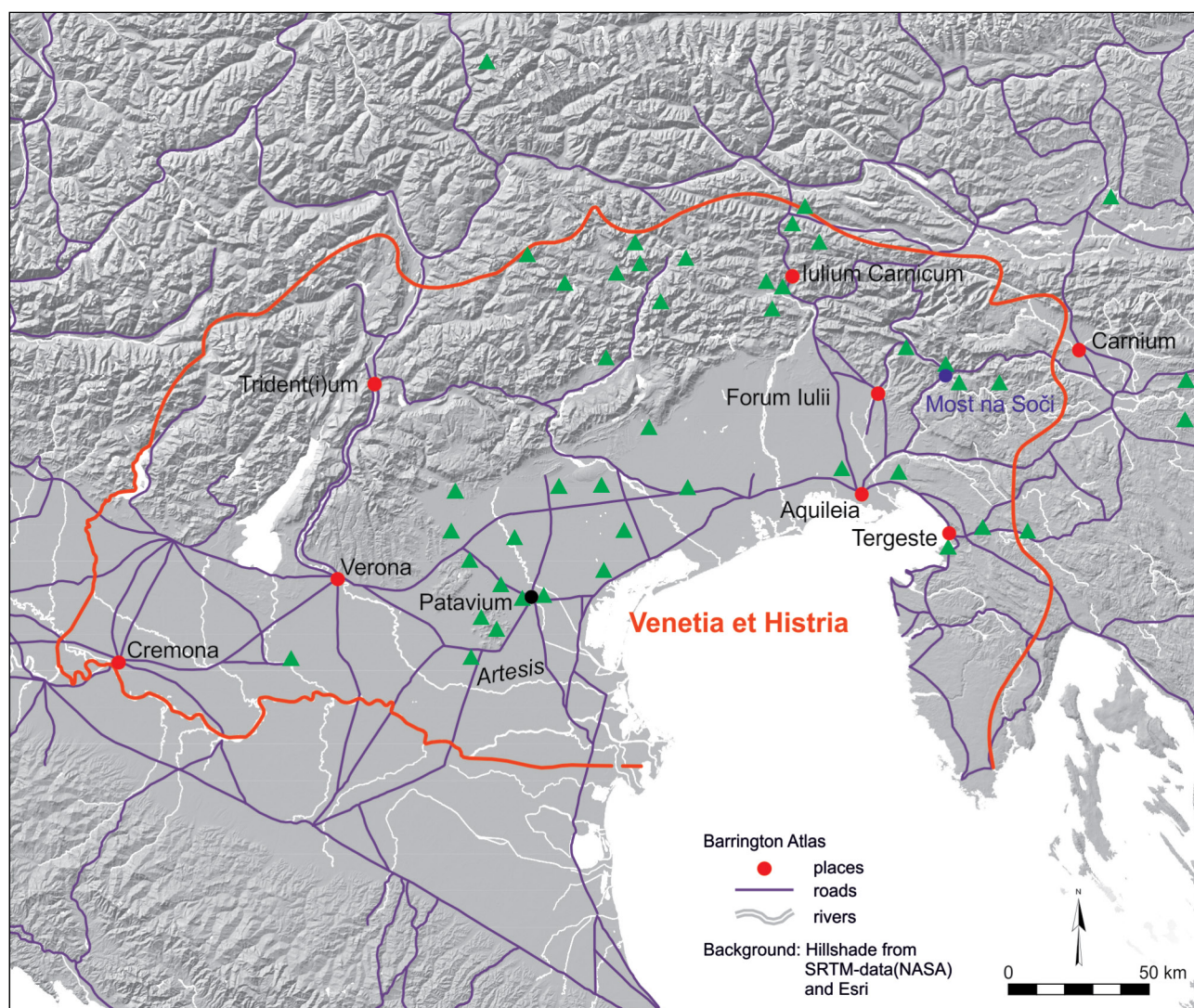


Fig. 7. Map showing Most na Soči within the territory of Regio X Venetia et Histria, established by Augustus around 7 BC, together with the distribution of inscriptions in the Venetic alphabet before romanization (6th-2nd centuries BC) (map by E. Bolhuis, modified from <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/media/bnp/p10121.jpg>; Marzatico 2017: Fig. 2).

BC (Colonna 2017: 11; Cunliffe 2018: 133-4). Probably there was as well in parts of the Veneto a gradual influx of groups living in the Alps from around 500 to 50 BC (Gambacurta & Ruta Serafini 2017). For Most na Soči, it may eventually be possible to be more specific about the transition taking place from the 5th-1st centuries BC.

Key dates within the lengthy process of romanization of the wider region around Sveta Lucija are the foundation of the Latin colony of *Aquileia*, in 181 BC, near the mouth of the Soča; of *Forum Iulii*, overlooking the lowlands of Friuli, in 50 BC; and of *Iulium Carnicum*, probably in 52 BC (cf. Broadhead 2000; Horvat 2009). In ancient and modern historiography, these three Latin, or Roman, establishments are each associated with the Celtic group known as the Carni from 181 BC onwards (Liv. 39,22,6f.; 40,34,2; 45,6; 54,2ff.). These three sites are located to the west of Most na Soči but relatively nearby, at distances ranging from 50-100 km (Fig. 7). It is probable that the incursions of the Carni somehow affected

the development of Sveta Lucija during the 4th-1st centuries BC (Horvat 2009: 356, 363).

In ancient literature, the Carni as a group are well known (Passera *et al.* 2017: 191-7). For example, a triumph was awarded to M. Aemilius Scaurus in 115 BC: *Fasti triumphales, de Galleis Karneis* (Henderson 1958: 195; Tansey 2003; Ströbel 2011). Nonetheless, this seems not to have been a decisive victory, and they continued to trouble the Romans and their allies for some generations. A recent, concise paper on the Carni and Carnia confirms their existence from c. 300 BC onwards in the north-east of the Italian region of Friuli; in the Carnic Alps; and in the upper Tagliamento valley, with the Alpine pass Monte Croce Carnico (Italian: Alpi Carniche; German: Karnische Alpen; Slovene: Karnijske Alpe; Passera *et al.* 2017). This pass was well known, at least from early Roman times onwards, but it was employed during the preceding centuries as well. The Carni occupied a comparable environmental niche as

the region around the central place Most na Soči in the upper Soča valley, with which parts of Carnia even seem to have shared some material culture during the 6th and 5th centuries BC (Passera *et al.* 2017: 210).

However, the Carni remain a fluid group in archaeological terms that is poorly understood, probably because they were mobile while simultaneously lacking attributes of centralization in their settlements, as those recorded above for Sveta Lucija for the 7th till 5th centuries BC. It follows that the Carni are difficult to characterise using the available archaeological record. They could as well represent a Celtic military alliance between various groups living in the south-eastern Alps. There are a few burial grounds in their core region, Carnia, with dates from the late 8th-late 2nd century BC, as well as an intriguing military cult place with weapon deposits at Monte Sorantri di Raveo, lasting for three centuries from around 300 BC. However, this cult site could have been frequented by other Celtic groups as well, such as the Norici (Passera *et al.* 2017: 230). The same ambiguity is reflected in the distribution of the early pre-Roman coins labelled Norican, from the early 2nd-late 1st century BC. They have a wide circulation and are found also in Carnia and at Sveta Lucija, as well as at some sites in its vicinity (Kos & Turkman 2009; Passera *et al.* 2017: 225-9). This whole mix of supposed identities, assimilation and mobility outside their core region of Carnia is furthermore implied by the short-lived, early Roman site known as Carnium, located in the upper Sava river, approximately 45 km to the east of Sveta Lucija, on the other side of the Julian Alps (Horvat 2009: 372; Guštin 2011). What can be stated at the moment, though, is that the Carni and the region around Most na Soči share some characteristics during the mid- and late La Tène periods, such as the occasional use of the Venetic alphabet, the increasing relevance of a warrior identity, the redistribution of pre-Roman coins, and some other aspects of material culture (*cf.* Horvat 2009; Passera *et al.* 2017). After their discussion of the available data on the Carni, Passera and his co-authors conclude their paper with the remark that “It remains difficult to sketch a coherent, overall picture of events during the period that stretches from the Late Iron Age until romanization for the area between the Alps and the Adriatic” (Passera *et al.* 2017: 231; translation by the author). As such, the Carni resemble quite a number of other proto-historical groups or peoples that vanished from history, mainly due to their poor archaeological visibility. For me, the Sabines to the east of Rome, living in the Apennines, seem an obvious comparison (Nijboer 2018a), as does the wide-spread effect of migrating and raiding Vikings in coastal north-western Europe and beyond, outside their homeland.

Future investigations at Sveta Lucija may shed more light on this still poorly understood interlude of the 4th-2nd centuries BC, branded as ‘Celtic.’ At least in

Most na Soči during late La Tène-early Roman times, one can trace this fluidity of identity with the inscriptions in the Venetic alphabet recovered in the Soča valley and dated to the 5th/4th-1st centuries BC (Turk *et al.* 2009); a hoard with Celtic tetradachms of the Kugelreiter type assigned to the 2nd century BC recording a regional exchange network in which Sveta Lucija participated (Kos 2010); some late La Tène tombs with weapons; and, finally, Roman tombstones of the Augustan period (Horvat 2009: 366). Following the full excavation and publication of the vast La Tène-Roman necropolis reported by Svoljšak and Dular (2016: 29), it may eventually be possible to retrace in more historical detail the lengthy, eventful development of Sveta Lucija from an Iron Age centre into a Roman village.

Discussion

This paper provides full documentation of some artefacts that were excavated in 1890 at Sveta Lucija in Slovenia and that entered the collection of the GIA in 1923. In order to contextualise these items, the importance of Sveta Lucija as a central place is emphasised, based on the excavations of the burial grounds and the settlement that have taken place since the 1880s. Sveta Lucija, or Most na Soči, functioned predominantly as a relatively autonomous production centre during the 7th-5th centuries BC, as a frontier between Hallstatt in central Europe and the Veneti. The biography of old study collections was illustrated with the corpus of artefacts held at the GIA and the role of some influential archaeologists in the decades around 1900, such as Carlo Marchesetti, Josef Szombathy, Matthäus and Rudolph Much, and Albert Egges van Giffen.

The artefacts from Most na Soči in the GIA collection are assigned to the period when the site flourished, the 7th-5th centuries BC. They were originally deposited in tombs with cremation remains, excavated by Josef Szombathy in 1890 and acquired a generation later by Rudolph Much, who sold them to Van Giffen in 1923. In recent years, colleagues from Slovenia have posed the question what kind of settlement Sveta Lucija was during these Iron Age centuries (Svoljšak 2001; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 90-2), assessing the applicability of such terms as village, proto-urban centre of a region, and even town, using quite a number of attributes. Thus Most na Soči was compared with Heuneburg and Manching, both relatively unstable experiments in pre-Roman urbanization north of the Alps. A comparison with similar parameters with the urbanizing centres of the Veneti, such as Este and Padua, is called for but is beyond the scope of this paper; I would not mind a sabbatical year to explore this issue.

In its entire history of nearly 3000 years, Sveta Lucija never seems to have become an early town, with a couple of thousand inhabitants. It remained mostly a village,

often with some central functions for its immediate, mountainous hinterland. The extent of this hinterland could have varied through time. During the 7th-5th centuries BC, it was most probably the key settlement for the Posočje community (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 92). Its domain during these centuries was roughly 2000 km², although established boundaries did not exist (cf. Božič 1997; Novakovic 2016; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 131). Occasionally its population rose to a couple of hundred inhabitants. Simultaneously, it is relevant to acknowledge that from a long-term perspective, the Iron Age in Slovenia, but especially in this zone, saw socioeconomic prosperity, with a high density of settlements matched only in Roman times (Novakovic 2016: 88). In other words, it was a period of almost unprecedented archaeological visibility, illustrated distinctly by the thousands of cremation tombs excavated at Sveta Lucija. It may well have been followed by a period with reduced numbers of actual tombs once the La Tène weapon burials came to the fore.

Continuity of habitation at Most na Soči was mostly based on its strategic topographical location at a confluence, ensuring a vital position within a communication network, whether large or small. This network, with Most na Soči as a starting point (Fig. 2), can be traced as well during the early Middle Ages (Milavec & Modrijan 2014: Fig. 1). It seems that the earliest Slavic pottery in this region, dating from around 700 AD, is found at the site (Milavec & Modrijan 2014: 260). Stability is best recorded in the shrines or cult places that will have been important for a wider area, although it is doubtful that Sveta Lucija ever grew into the religious centre for the entire Posočje community. Nevertheless, its Iron Age cult place was possibly in use for 500 years, until the 1st century BC (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 79-85), while its oldest parish church is recorded in the late 12th century AD.

One of the attributes for centralization is craft production. In this sense, the 7th-5th centuries BC at Most na Soči stand out when compared with other periods of its existence. Several crafts are attested in the settlement, and it definitely functioned as a production and thus exchange centre during these centuries (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 98-109). Particularly the local manufacture of essential iron or steel tools and weapons would have been an asset for a larger region (Trampuž 2012). Even the construction of low output-high value goods is plausible at the site, for example, the hammered copperplate vessels, such as storage jars and situlae. This would have stimulated its central position within a wider exchange network orchestrated by an emerging elite.

Another parameter in the assessment of the site is the level of social ranking, which is categorized as low (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 90-1). I agree that this

assessment is probably correct. Nonetheless, there are several contemporaneous central places in Italy with the highest level of elite tombs containing thrones, chariots, writing tablets and so forth that did not last to develop into towns. Many even faded after such a brisk period of extravagance in the burial ceremony. The foremost examples of such centres in Italy north of Rome are Verucchio and Marsiliana d'Albegna (Nijboer 2017: 905-6).

Most high-ranking tombs in archaeology reveal an aspiring elite, rather than an established, time-honoured social stratigraphy; the elite who formed one social class and the rest forming another. While assessing social differences, one needs to acknowledge local and regional customs in the display of wealth during burial rituals. There are many examples of ruling elites in archaeology, as well as in ethnography, that barely stress their position in terms of material opulence during the burial ceremony, since their rank is either not contended and/or is based on their central position within a carefully orchestrated redistribution web. On the whole, there is limited public appreciation in the evolution of humans for 'nouveau riche' behaviour, characterised here by private material wealth and privilege with hardly any social obligations, except the competition with their peers. For example, Rome and many Latin early towns could not have developed further during the 6th century BC if traceable personal luxury had been a condition for increasing centralization, urbanization and early state formation (Nijboer 2018a). The development of a central place with a couple of hundred inhabitants, as Most na Soči was from the 7th-5th centuries BC, into an early town with a couple of thousand citizens is frequently connected with the ability of an aspiring elite to become a persistent and persevering upper class. This is a precarious historical development that definitely lasts longer than one or two generations.

Trigger's research into several early civilizations worldwide shows that the vast majority of sustainable early towns reveal an established social stratigraphy in classes, that is, social rank and accompanying property assigned by birth for generations (Trigger 2007: 160-6). As such, the still-enigmatic 4th and 3rd centuries BC at Most na Soči can be imagined as a conflict between *Gallia Togata*, such as the Veneti, and more rural, agricultural Celtic groups from within and across the Alps, groups less influenced by the Italic, urban way of life but characterised by migrations and raiding as a fundamental part of their social arrangements (Cunliffe 2018: 155-7). Future research at Sveta Lucija may result in a fuller understanding of events taking place in this part of the Julian Alps between the 5th and 2nd centuries BC. This seems relevant because the investigations at the site since the 1880s have revealed such a fine example of

the central place it was from the 7th-5th centuries BC, the time period of the artefacts from Most na Soči that have been stored at the GIA since 1923.

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Appendix 1

The Sveta Lucija artefacts as recorded in the GIA inventory booklets of 1923

This appendix is accompanied by photographs of the artefacts.

Inventory booklet 1923 / III, serial numbers 1-36, records artefacts bought from Much. These finds derive from Denmark (flint tools), Italy (amongst others, two finds from Este), Austria, and Slovakia (a Pressburg socketed axe). The inventory booklets are in Dutch and have been translated by the author. The items with a question mark in this appendix derives from the 1923 GIA inventory but probably refers to 55, tomb 1872, in Teržan *et al.* (1984-1985: 301). Some Sveta Lucija artefacts mentioned in the 1923 GIA inventory books could not be retraced in the GIA depot. This may be due to the item having been moved within the depot itself or to another location. Or it may be due to the item having disintegrated, because many copper-alloy artefacts from Sveta Lucija are in poor condition. Or it may be due to other actions between 1923 and 2019 not accounted for. As mentioned above, the GIA collection never acquired museum status, and therefore a professional conservator was never appointed. It does function for internal use, within the GIA. I anticipate that it would take decades to properly conserve this collection while making its contents open-access according to the current standards.

Serial numbers 27-36 are listed as St. Lucia. The copper-alloy artefacts from tombs 1843, 1849 and 1872 are separated from the ceramics within the GIA serial numbering system. For a synopsis and clarification of the numbering system, see Table 1 in Appendix 2. The *Notes* inserted are comments by the author.

- 1923 / III 27:** Tomb 1855: Bronze fibula with single spiral and three knobs on the bow as well as knob on the latch. Notes: Tomb recorded in Teržan *et al.* 1985: 299 as having been given to Much. Not retraced in depot GIA.
- 1923 / III 28:** Tomb 1874: Bronze spectacle fibula, small bronze knob, a knob of a fibula, a ring of bronze wire; 7 fragments of a small bronze bracelet (ring). Notes: Tomb mentioned in Teržan *et al.* (1985: 301) as having been given to Much. Retraced in depot GIA (see Appendix 2). This description in the GIA booklet coincides with the inventory that was made after WW I in the Vienna museum by K. Krenn under tomb 1874 (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 301).
- 1923 / III 29:** Tomb 1872, probably; burnt bronze fibula, bronze fibula and bronze ringlet. Notes:

Tomb mentioned in Teržan *et al.* 1984-1985: 301 as having been given to Much. Not retraced in depot GIA.

- 1923 / III 30:** Tomb 1876; bronze snake fibula, five fragments of a burnt fibula. Notes: Tomb 1876 is recorded in Teržan *et al.* 1985: 302, where it is not reported as having been given to Much. Possibly the tomb number (1876) as given in the GIA inventory books is incorrect. Not retraced in depot GIA.
- 1923 / III 31:** Tomb 1849; Two bronze spectacle fibulae; 18 fragments of bronze strips, a bronze sheet. Notes: Retraced in depot GIA. Tomb mentioned in Teržan *et al.* 1985: 298 as having been given to Much. The bronze sheet inventoried is the clasp for the belt, which is not listed by Teržan *et al.* under this tomb. It may have been a mistake when numbered as 1923 / III 31 since such clasps are associated with male tombs and the spectacle fibulae with female tombs (Bergonzi *et al.* 1981). Moreover, the date does not coincide as discussed in the main text. The clasp is therefore not associated with tomb 1849 and the only obvious misnomer of the Sveta Lucija artefacts stored at the GIA, for whatever reason.
- 1923 / III 32:** Tomb 1843; two bronze fibulae a navicella, one fibula, fragments of a bronze bow fibula, eight bronze fragments. Notes: Tomb mentioned in Teržan *et al.* 1985: 297 as having been given to Much. Not retraced in depot GIA.
- 1923 / III 33:** Tomb 1849 [Fig. 1]; in white ink: "St. Lucia 1890. Gr. 33."; ceramic urn. Notes: Tomb mentioned in Teržan *et al.* 1985: 298 as having been given to Much. Retraced in depot GIA (see Appendix 2). The inventory that was made after WW I in the Vienna museum by K. Krenn also lists under tomb 1849 one large and two smaller spectacle fibulae and other copper-alloy artefacts that are recorded in the GIA inventory books under 1923 / III 31 (see above; Teržan *et al.* 1985: 298). The clasp in the photograph cannot have been part of this tomb inventory, since it is significantly

younger (see comments under 1923 / III 31, tomb 1849, and in Appendix 2).

1923 / III 34: Tomb 1872 probably; in white ink Tomb 55 1890; Ceramic urn. Notes: Retraced in depot GIA (see Appendix 2). Tomb mentioned in Teržan *et al.* (1985: 301) as having been given to Much and containing an urn and bowl (see 1923 III 35 below).

1923 / III 35: Tomb 1872; in white ink 5?; Ceramic bowl. Notes: Retraced in depot GIA (see Appendix 2). The inventory that was made after WW I in the Vienna museum by K. Krenn lists under tomb 1872 a red urn like the previous number (1923 III / 34), as well as a bowl (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 301). A detail of the exterior base of the bowl gives the Szombathy tomb number 1872 and the GIA number 1923 / III 35. It has not been determined who wrote “Sta. Lucia 1890 Gr. 5x” in white ink. The second cipher, given here as x, was erased but is probably 55, making Gr. 55, as on the urn of tomb 1 872. It is the 55th tomb that Szombathy had excavated in 1890 as reconstructed in the main text. The detail photographs of the base of the two ceramic artefacts provide information on the preservation, ceramic paste and firing conditions. The bright orange colour just underneath the surface of the damaged base reveals that the whole jar could have had this colour if fired under controlled, fully oxidising conditions. Diameter of the base of the jar varies from 5.7 to 5.8 cm. Diameter of the irregular base of the bowl varies from 5.8 to 6.2 cm.

1923 / III 36: Tomb 1843; in white ink Tomb 50 1890, ceramic bowl. Notes: Tomb mentioned

in Teržan *et al.* 1985: 297 as having been given to Much. Retraced in depot GIA (see Appendix 2). The inventory that was made after WW I in the Vienna museum by K. Krenn lists just this bowl under tomb 1843, while Szombathy noted as well four fibulae, a ring and fragments (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 297).

The original Dutch texts in the inventory books

Van no. 27 tot en met 36 vondsten uit Santa Lucia:

- **27:** Vroegere merken 20 lopen op tot 35 bij 1923 / III 36; Santa Lucia graf 1855; bronzen fibula met enkelvoudige spiraal en 3 knoppen op de boog, benevens een eindknop aan de voet. L. 0.110
- **28:** graf 1874: Bronzen spiraalfibula; een klein bronzen knopje; een eindknop van een fibula; een ring van bronsdraad; 7 fragmenten van een smalle bronzen ring (armband?)
- **29:** Santa Lucia Graf 1872; verbrande bronzen fibula, bronzen fibula, bronzen ringetje
- **30:** graf 1876: bronzen slangfibula; 5 fragmenten van verbrande fibula
- **31:** Graf 1849: 2 bronzen spiraalfibulae; 18 fragmenten van bronsband; een stuk dun bronzen blik
- **32:** graf 1843; 2 bronzen bootfibulae; 1 fibula; fragm. van een bronzen boogfibula, 8 brons fragmentjes
- **33:** Santa Lucia, Graf 33, 1890 Urn
- **34:** Santa Lucia, Graf 55, 1890; Urn
- **35:** Santa Lucia, Graf 5?, aardewerk schaal
- **36:** Santa Lucia, Graf 50, 1890; aardewerk schaal



tomb 1849



tomb 1874



tomb 1872



tomb 1843

Appendix 2

Catalogue of the Sveta Lucija tomb inventories acquired by Van Giffen for the GIA collection

The catalogue descriptions are combined with descriptions from the 1890 field notes by Szombathy and descriptions provided in Teržan *et al.* (1985: 297-302) and are accompanied by drawings.

The colour of the copper-alloy artefacts is not given because they have not been fully cleaned. It varies with the corrosion visible from Chart 1 for gley 8/2 (pale green), to 6/1 (greenish grey) to 3/1 (dark greenish grey).

Table 1. Synopsis of the various inventory numbers, of Appendix 1, of the artefacts catalogued in Appendix 2 and of artefacts listed but not retraced at the GIA. Some fragmentary artefacts were just photographed (see Appendix 1).

Original tomb number	GIA inventory number	Notes
1843	1923 / III 32 1923 / III 36	Ceramic bowl; Appendix 2 In white ink: Tomb 50, 1890 2 bronze fibulae <i>a navicella</i> , 1 fibula, fragments of a bronze bow fibula, 8 bronze fragments. Not retraced in depot GIA.
1849	1923 / III 31 1923 / III 33	Ceramic urn; 2 bronze spectacle fibulae; 18 fragments of bronze strips; Appendices 1 and 2. In white ink: "St. Lucia 1890. Gr. 33." (Fig. 1).
1855	1923 / III 27	1 bronze fibula with single spiral and three knobs on the bow, as well as knob on the latch. Not retraced in depot GIA.
1872	1923 / III 29 1923 / III 34 1923 III 35	Ceramic urn and bowl; Appendix 2. In white ink: Tomb 55, 1890 Burnt bronze fibula, bronze fibula and bronze ringlet. Not retraced in depot GIA.
1874	1923 / III 28	1 bronze spectacle fibula, 1 small bronze knob, 1 knob of a fibula, 1 ring of bronze wire, 7 fragments of a small bronze bracelet (ring); Appendix 2.
1876, probably	1923 / III 30	1 bronze snake fibula, 5 fragments of a burnt fibula. Tomb 1 876 is recorded in Teržan <i>et al.</i> (1985: 302), where it is not reported as having been given to Much. Possibly the tomb number (1 876) given in the GIA inventory books is incorrect. Not retraced in depot GIA.
Unknown	1923 / III 31	The belt buckle is not part of tomb 1849 as registered at the GIA in 1923; Appendix 2.

Of the six Sveta Lucija tombs listed in the 1923 GIA inventory book (Table 1), four can be presented in the catalogue. All six will be described, and the notes on these tombs given in Teržan *et al.* (1985: 297-306) will be added, to provide as complete a reconstruction per tomb and context of the artefacts as possible. The location of all six tombs is shown in Fig. 4.

I have tried to specify an absolute date for the six tombs, although as Teržan notes, this is complicated at present (pers. comm. 19 May 2020). For the absolute dates given here, I have employed the chronological table provided by Dular (2018: 148, Fig. 1), which links Sveta Lucija (Posočje) to Este and to central Europe, with its Hallstatt and La Tène periodisation. Simultaneously, I need to stress that this table may not be fully correct in its absolute years and that further research and

fine-tuning is required. Teržan and Črešnar (2014) provide some radiocarbon dates for the boat-shaped fibulae (*fibule a navicella*) that were a new type introduced for the use of females during Sveta Lucija phase Ic moving into phase IIa, contemporaneous with its arrival in other regions of Slovenia. The radiocarbon dates provided for contexts with this type of fibula, of 2550-2450 BP, indicate the period 700-650 BC (Teržan & Črešnar 2014: 718), while the chronological table provided by Dular (2018: 148, Fig. 1), indicates a period 50 years, or two generations, later, that is, the decades around 600 BC. Since the 'Iron horizon' in Slovenia is now dated from 850 BC onwards, I would not be surprised if other phases were to start moving as well (*cf.* Teržan & Črešnar 2014: 706-13). The final, subscribed interpretation of the radiocarbon results assigned to the European Iron Age has

been pending for decades, but there can be no doubt that it emerges in many regions some generations earlier than in the conventional absolute chronology (cf. Nijboer 2011, 2016; Gimatzidis & Weninger 2020). The subsequent phase in Slovenia, with its Certosa fibulae, gives radiocarbon dates around 2470-2410 BP (Teržan & Črešnar 2014: 719-21), in line with the radiocarbon dates mentioned in Lanting and van der Plicht for La Tène A.

According to these authors, the earliest Certosa fibulae emerge around 550 BC (2006: 245-364).¹ Here I employ the conventional absolute chronology for the six Sveta Lucija tombs held in the GIA collection, but I would like to emphasize that I think that the dates may be older by one to two generations of 25 years each.

¹ The six extensive papers by Lanting and van der Plicht in *Palaeohistoria* (1997 to 2012) covering the chronology from the Late Palaeolithic to the Merovingian period are written in Dutch, and therefore many researchers cannot consult the data and intricate arguments provided in them. They need to be bundled and translated into English.

Catalogue

Tomb 1843

At a depth of 95 cm was a stone cover plate of 70 by 70 cm under which a layer with cremation remains of 45 by 20 cm. The tomb contained a fragmented, shallow bowl with black coating (diameter 18 cm). Szombathy noted: bowl, 4 fibulae, 1 ring and fragments (Odd. Muchu; Teržan *et al.* 1985: 297).

The above description coincides with the account of the artefacts in the GIA inventory book, which is more specific concerning the type of fibulae and fragments (see Appendix 1). Only the bowl was retraced in the GIA depot.

Description: Low, solid foot, inside concave, flaring wall, incurving rim with convex lip. Two shallow, horizontal, incised lines just below lip.

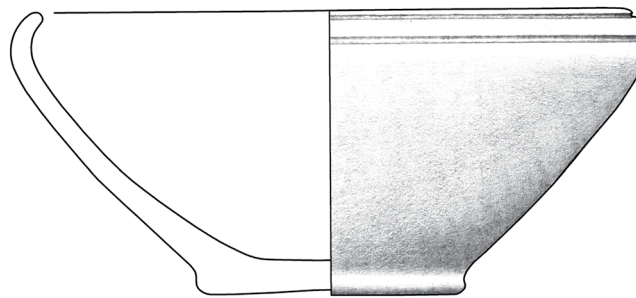
Colour: Exterior and interior 2.5YR 5/3 (reddish brown) to 2.5 YR 2.5/1 (reddish black). Slip flakes, thus revealing core 2.5 YR 5/8 (red).²

Measurements: Height 7.3 to 8.3 (not level); diameter rim 15.0 to 15.2; diameter base 7.2 to 7.4.

Compare: Dular 1982: 100, 202, 204 (intermediate between types 27 and 29); Teržan 1985: 40, 9.

Date: The bowl in combination with the description of the associated fibulae in the GIA inventory (Table 1) place this tomb in Sv. Lucija Ic 1-2. See Tombs 518 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 44A); 900 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 89F) and 1 257 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 89F), which provide similar artefacts as the GIA inventory. Teržan was so kind to date such assemblages “to Sv. Lucija Ic, perhaps rather Ic2 phase – in the early and middle of the 7 century” (pers. comm. 19 May 2020).

² The colours are given as Munsell colours and the measurements are in centimetres.



tomb 1843

Tomb 1849

At a depth of 105 cm was a stone covering plate of 50 by 55 cm. The tomb contained an urn, one large and two small spectacle fibulae (given to Much; Teržan *et al.* 1985: 298).

Apart from one missing, smaller spectacle fibula, this coincides with the account in the GIA inventory book.

Jar:

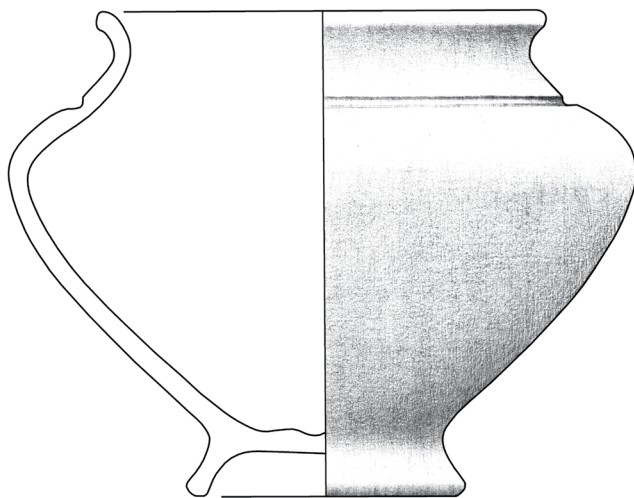
Description: Flaring base ring, inside concave, flaring wall, maximum diameter at the transition body to shoulder, out-curving rim and convex lip. One shallow, horizontal, incised line, marking the transition from shoulder to neck.

Many of the base rings of this type of ceramic jar at Sveta Lucija are more out-turning than the base of this urn. The jar is has a comparable bulbous profile with sharp transition from shoulder to neck as one at Este in the famous tomb 144 of the Casa di Ricovero necropolis (700-675 BC), which has a flat base (catalogued as artefact 33 in: Chieco Bianchi & Calzavara Capuis 1985: 73, Tavola 23, 33).

Colour: Exterior mostly 2.5 YR 5/8 (red) with patches of 2.5 YR 2.5/1 (reddish black). Colour of the paste in fully oxidising conditions 2.5 YR 6/8 (light red). Colour on the inside not given due to remnants of original content covering the original colour of the pottery.

Measurements: Height 12.8; diameter rim 11.6 to 11.8; diameter base 7.3.

Compare: Dular 1982: 96 (type 11), 201-4; Teržan 1985: 39,5; Chieco Bianchi & Calzavara Capuis 1985: 73, Tavola 23, 33.



Larger spectacle fibula:

Description: Spectacle fibula with oblique junction; pin portion is missing. The spectacle fibulae from Sveta Lucija at the GIA all pertain to the Santa Lucia type, meaning that they are constructed from a single wire, circular in section, without further decoration except for the spirals. The origin of the spectacle fibula of type Santa Lucia may well lie in the 10th century BC, based on the excavation of tombs at other sites in Slovenia (Pabst 2012: 88-91).

Measurements: Width 10.4; diameter of wire 0.4. The right half of the fibula is slightly larger (5.3) than the left half (5.0).

Compare: Teržan 1985: 24,11.

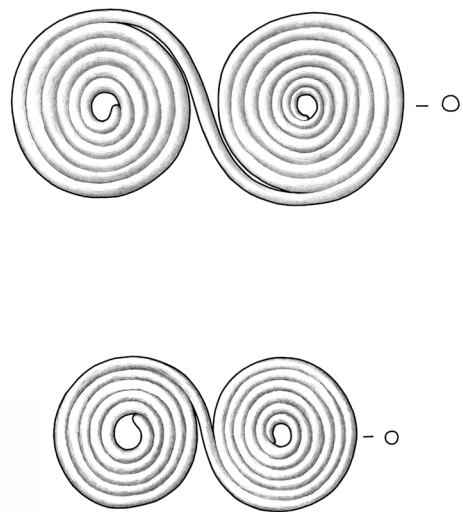
Smaller spectacle fibula:

Description: Spectacle fibula with oblique junction; pin portion is missing.

Measurements: Width 8.4; diameter wire 0.3.

Compare: Teržan 1985: 24,11

Date: See Tombs 155 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 16D), 231 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 23A), 649 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 60A) and 1558 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 144H). Assigned to Sveta Lucija Ic on account of typical ceramic vessel. The spectacle fibulae were in use for a "long time but were out of fashion in Sv. Lucija IIa. The larger spectacle fibula seems to be later than the smaller one" (Teržan pers. comm. 19 May 2020). Dated to the decades around 650 BC.



tomb1849

Tomb 1855

At a depth of 30 cm was a stone covering plate of 80 by 60 cm. The tomb contained one fibulae (given to Much; Teržan *et al.* 1985: 299).

This account coincides with the GIA inventory book, although the description of the fibula is specific and probably pertains to a *fibula a tre bottoni* or *Dreiknopffibel* (Teržan *et al.* 1984: 20-1).

Date: Based on the description of the fibula, this tomb is assigned to Sv. Lucija 1c2 (Teržan & Trampuž 1973: 438), that is, in the late 7th century BC.

Not retraced so far in GIA depot.

Tomb 1872

At a depth of 120 cm was a stone covering plate of 60 by 50 cm. The tomb contained an urn and a bowl (given to Much; Teržan *et al.* 1985: 301).

This account coincides with the GIA inventory book.

Jar

Description: broken off base ring, inside convex, flaring wall, convex shoulder, out-turning rim with convex lip, thickening on the outside. See Appendix 1 for photograph of base. Possibly with some form of base ring that could be comparable to the base of the bowl in this tomb. Most of the urns at Sveta Lucija have some kind of profiled neck. However, this jar almost immediately progresses from shoulder into everted rim, as do many bowls with raised handle at Sveta Lucija.

Colour: 2.5 YR 5/8 (red) to 2.5 YR /1 (reddish black). The broken base reveals the bright colour 2.5 YR 6/8 (light red) just underneath the surface, marking the colour when fired under fully oxidising conditions.

Measurements: Height 11 to 12.5 (not level); diameter of rim 11.7; diameter of base 5.7 to 5.8.

Compare: Dular 1982: 92-106, 200-5, Fig. 6.6.

Bowl

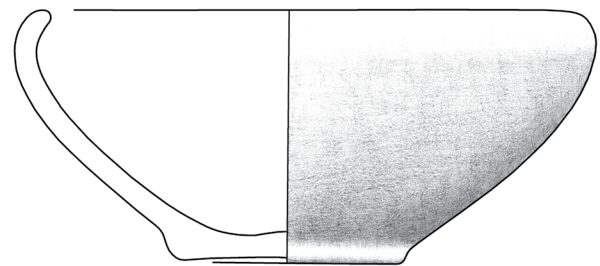
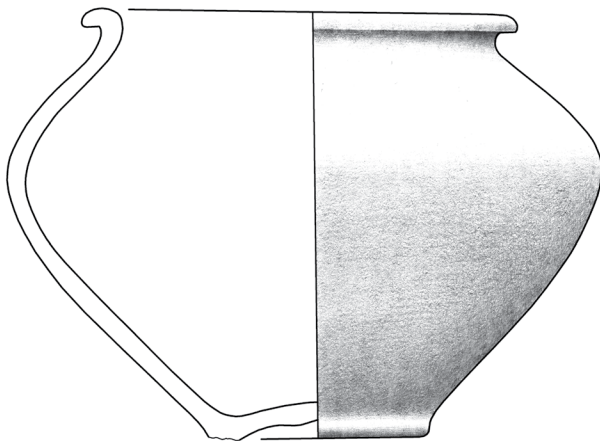
Description: Irregular, concave base, inside slightly convex, flaring wall, incurving rim with convex lip.

Colour: Exterior and interior 2.5 YR 2.5/1 (reddish black) to 2.5 YR 2.5/3 (dark reddish brown).

Measurements: Height 7; diameter of rim 13.4 to 13.5; diameter of base is irregular, 5.8 to 6.2.

Compare: Dular, 1982: 100, 202, 204 (type 27); Teržan 1985: 40,9.

Date: For similar though not identical jars, see tombs 251 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 24D), 1118 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 111F), 1566 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 142B) and 1594 (Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 150C). This shape of urn is relatively rare at Sveta Lucija. The closest parallel in profile is described by Dular as a type 2 jar (Dular 1982: Fig. 6.6) assigned to phase Sveta Lucija 1 b moving into I c (Dular 1982: 92-106, 200-5). Teržan writes that she would assign this tomb to Sveta Lucija I c with some difficulty (pers. comm. 19 May 2020). Decades around 650 BC.



tomb 1872

Tomb 1874

At a depth of 160 cm was a deposition with one spectacle fibula, a ring and some bronze fragments (given to Much; Teržan *et al.* 1985: 301).

This account coincides with the GIA inventory book

Spectacle fibula

Description: Spectacle fibula with oblique junction; the pin portion is preserved, and this fibula is illustrated in obverse and reverse.

Measurements: Width 8.8; diameter of wire 0.4; length pin 6.4.

Compare: Teržan 1985: 24,11.

Spiral hair circlet

Description: copper wire spiralled two and a half times to form a hair circlet.

Measurements: Diameter varies from 3.0 to 3.3; diameter copper wire 0.2.

Compare: Teržan *et al.* 1985: 30,4.

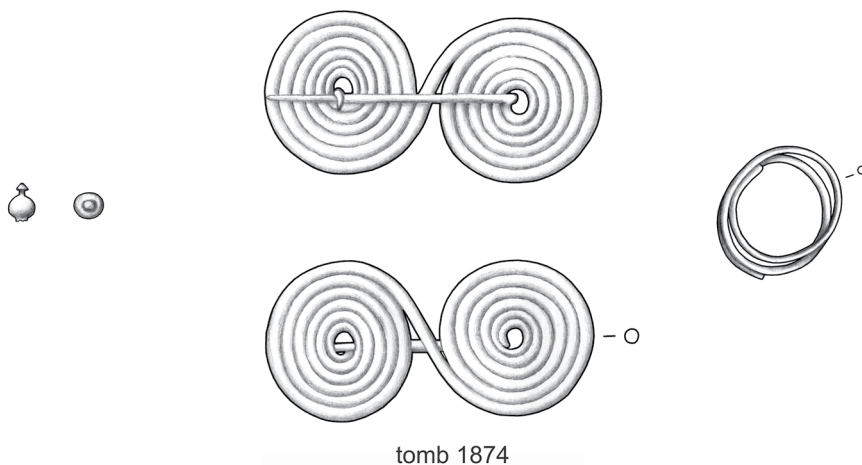
Globular fragment

Description: Hollow globular finial of a fibula or pin. This fragment may pertain either to the tip of a latch of a serpentine fibula (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 24-5) or of a pin (tomb 1 535, Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 13 I; tomb 1 918, Teržan *et al.* 1984: Plate 185D; Teržan pers. comm. 19 May 2020). Many fibula types at Sveta Lucija had a globular finial (Teržan *et al.* 1985: 18-27).

Measurements: Maximum diameter 0.8.

Compare: Teržan *et al.* 1985: 29,10, 22,12 or 24,9.

Date: The copper-alloy artefacts preserved in this tomb are generic for phase Ic2 going into IIa at Sveta Lucija, apart from the globular fragment. Date is therefore roughly 600-550 BC.



Tomb 1876, probably

- At a depth of 140 cm were
- A fragmented, bronze *Dreiknopffibula* L. 5.8 cm
- A fragmented, bronze *Protocertosa* fibula L. 3.6 cm
- A bronze snake fibula L. c. 9 cm
- Fragments of bronze strips from bracelet

Szombathy notes that no urn was found. Not recorded as having been given to Much; Teržan et. al. 1985: 302.

This account coincides somewhat with the GIA inventory book (see Appendix 1). However, the artefacts are

reported as being fragmented, apart from the snake fibula that occurs in both descriptions. The artefacts could not be retraced in the GIA depot. Based on the present information, it seems that tomb number 1876 as given in the GIA inventory books is probably correct, even though the contents are not recorded in Teržan *et al.* (1985) as having been given to Much. Based on the description, I would roughly date this tomb to the period 600-550 BC.

Unknown tomb number

- Description:** Rectangular, decorated belt clasp with hook. The front plate is embellished with larger and smaller embossed dots along the edges and a row of five larger dots centrally, framed on both sides with three thin, incised, horizontal lines. The five central dots are intertwined with a wave pattern of finely tooled points. The rear has two small rectangular strips attached on either short side of the plate with small nails, the heads of which blend in well with the design of the front plate. This construction fastened the leather of the belt to the clasp. The leather of the belt is no longer preserved.
- Measurements:** Length 13; width 3.1 to 3.3; thickness hook 0.2 to 1.0; thickness plate 0.1; thickness plate, including rectangular strips and nails 0.6.
- Compare:** Teržan *et al.* 1985: 32,1, 2. More references on belt clasps are given in the main text and below.
- Date:** Neither Teržan nor I consider the above belt buckle to be part of tomb 1849 as listed in the 1923 inventory book of the GIA (Teržan pers. comm. 19 May 2020). This tomb contains spectacle fibulae that are characteristic for the deposition of females (Bergonzi *et al.* 1981), while the belt buckle is mostly associated with men's attire. Moreover, the date does not coincide. The known belt buckles of this type are associated with fibulae of Certosa type at Most na Soči assigned to phases IIb-c and dated to the late 6th and 5th century BC. It is the most recent artefact from Sveta Lucija in the GIA collection, and it takes us into the interesting 5th century (see main text). Therefore, the tomb number from which this buckle originated, is not known. In theory, it may even derive from another site in Slovenia, but the type is well attested

at Most na Soči (Fig. 6). The comparable buckles in Figure 6, numbers 2 to 6, derive from M tombs 1353, 890, 1202, 776 and 1746 (items 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, respectively, in Fig. 6). Four of these tombs contain Certosa fibulae, but tomb M 1202 does not, according to his short description of the tombs (Marchesetti 1893). Similar buckles were found in the tombs excavated by Szombathy, such as Sz tombs 1309, 1548 and 1573, all with fibulae of Certosa type, amongst other finds (Teržan *et al.* 1984-1985). The decoration on each of these buckles at Sveta Lucija varies, although Teržan writes that "It is notable that the ornamentation of tangential connected circles (in Punkt-Buckel-Manier) on the belt (depicted above) is rather similar as on the belt buckle from tomb 1008 (Plate 105A), which is best dated with the Greek/Ionian skyphos in the Sv. Lucija IIb phase – about 500 BC" (pers. comm. 19 May 2020). Tomb Sz 1008 is a high-ranking tomb containing, amongst other things, one of the small glass bowls depicted in Fig. 5, a copperplate situla, a storage jar and an imported Ionian kylix (Teržan *et al.* 1984: 188, Plates 104A, 105A). Dular and Tecco Hvala assign this imported kylix to the period 580-540 BC, which seems somewhat too early (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2018: 113-4; Frey 1989: 298; see the note on absolute chronology at the beginning of Appendix 2). The ceramic Greek drinking bowl may be an heirloom as occasionally attested in the limed number of Alpine and Transalpine tombs of the 5th century BC that contain such an exceptional import from the Mediterranean. A generic date of the GIA belt buckle presented above can be given: in the decades around 500 BC, possibly late 6th century BC.

