

Notranjsko-kraška halštatska skupina Uvodnik in kratek oris

The Notranjska-Kras Hallstatt group An introduction and brief outline

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Izvleček

Notranjsko-kraška skupina se na osnovi vseh dosedanjih arheoloških raziskav, zlasti najnovejših (arheološka izkopavanja, lidarska snemanja s terenskimi preverjanji), kaže kot izredno kompleksno strukturirana socialna tvorba, kar zadeva tako značilnosti njene poselitve kot družbeno sfero. Svojo vlogo so zagotovo igrale geografska razgibanost prostora in naravne danosti za poselitev, kot so na eni strani notranjska polja in podolja s svojimi obrobji ter na drugi strani Kraška planota, kar je pogojevalo boljše ali slabšo povezanost posameznih lokalnih skupnosti v okviru celotne kulturne skupine. Novejše raziskave so pokazale, da so bile skupnosti teritorialno dobro organizirane in so svoj teritorij nadzorovale in varovale, kar najbolj jasno nakazuje obrambne zapore na severnem kraškem robu. Glede na različnost v načinu pokopavanja ter na specifičnosti v nošnji/nakitu pridejo do izraza tudi druge fasete njene identitete, njene družbene strukturiranosti. Po samosvojem kulturnem izrazu se jasno razlikuje od sosednjih kulturnih skupin.

Ključne besede: Notranjska; Kras; starejša železna doba; kronologija; poselitev; teritorialna organiziranost; pogrebni običaji; nošnja; družbena strukturiranost; depojske najdbe

Abstract

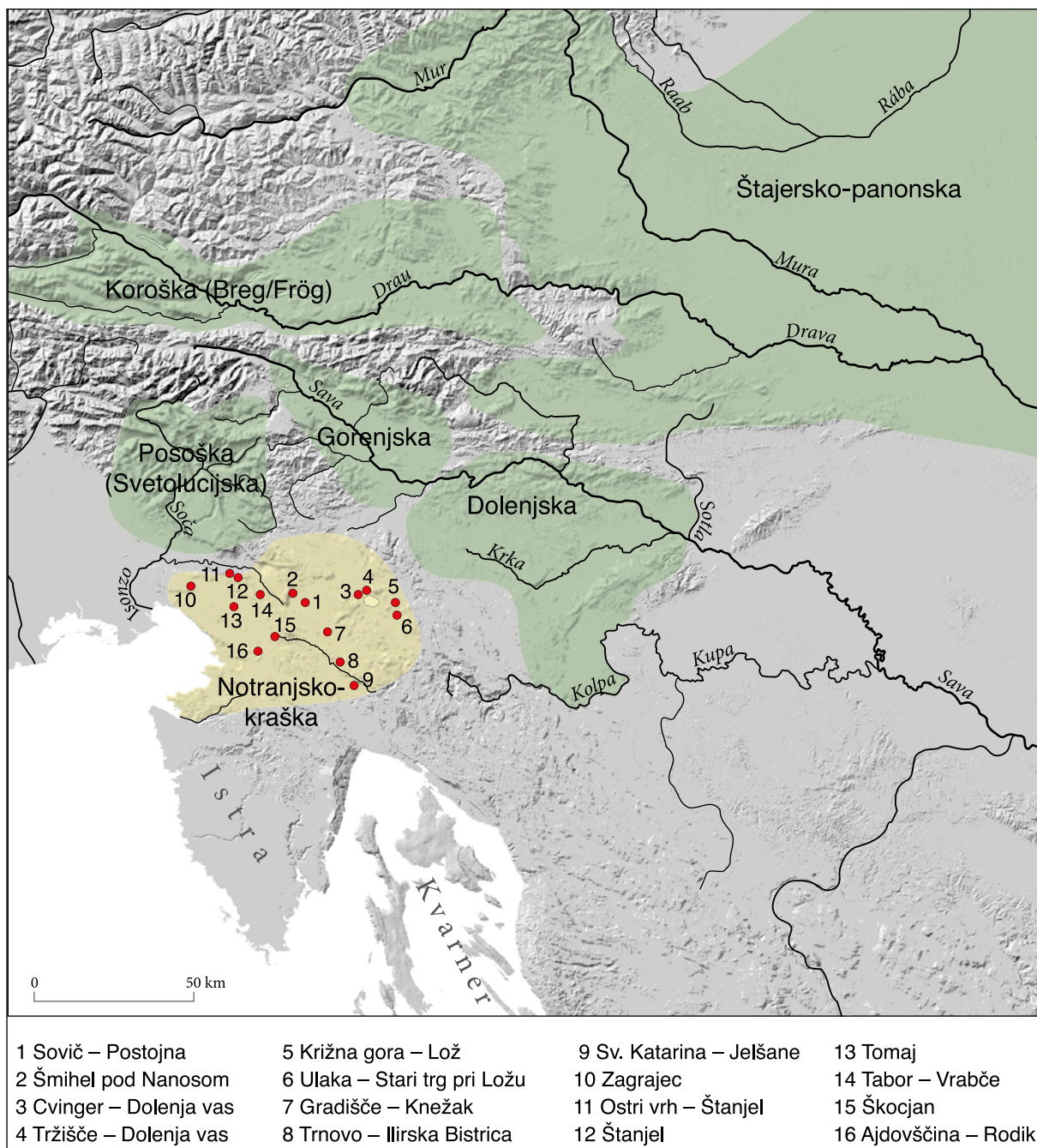
Archaeological investigations, past and more recent ones in particular (archaeological excavation, LiDAR scanning combined with ground-truthing), reveal the Notranjska-Kras group as a highly complex entity with regards to its settlement and social structure. This was in part certainly due to the mountainous terrain and other natural conditions for habitation, with upland plateaus (*polje*, *podolje*) and their fringes in Notranjska, on the one hand, and the Kras plateau, on the other; these predetermined the degree to which individual settlements/communities were connected to each other and how they were involved in the cultural group as a whole. Recent research has shown that the settlement communities were well-organised in terms of territories they controlled and protected; this is most clearly visible in the barrier system along the northern edge of the Kras plateau. The differences in the burial rite (poly-rituality) and the specifics of the costume/jewellery reflect the different facets of the group's identity and social structure. It also boasts a specific cultural expression, in which it is distinguishable from the groups in its neighbourhood.

Keywords: Notranjska; Kras; Early Iron Age; chronology; settlement; territorial organisation; burial rite; costume; social structure; hoard finds

“Gabrovčev dan”, posvečen spominu na akad. prof. dr. Staneta Gabrovca, se je odvijal 17. januarja 2019 že tretjič. V okviru tematskega sklopa “Halštatske kulturne skupine na območju Slovenije”, od katerega sta bili doslej obravnavani štajersko-panonska (AV 70) in dolenska skupina (AV 71), so bile tokrat na znanstvenem srečanju predstavljene nove raziskave zadnjih let z obmo-

čja notranjsko-kraške kulturne skupine. Čeprav niso vsi predavatelji oddali svojega članka, lahko vendarle z zadovoljstvom ugotovimo, da je v tem zvezku AV zbrana večina prispevkov s simpozija.¹

¹ Prispevke s simpozija, ki so objavljeni v tej publikaciji, navajam s priimkom avtorja v oklepaju, kot npr. (Bavdek).



Sl. 1: Halštatske kulture skupine v Sloveniji in sosednjih pokrajinah. Območje notranjsko-kraške skupine (rumeno) in lega kompleksnih arheoloških najdišč, ki so obravnavana v prispevkih simpozija.

Fig. 1: Hallstatt cultural groups in Slovenia and neighbouring regions with marked area of the Notranjska-Kras group (yellow) and the complex archaeological sites mentioned in the contributions at the Gabrovec Day symposium.

Notranjski halštatski skupini je Stane Gabrovec pripisal celotno pokrajino Notranjske in Krasa vse do Tržaškega zaliva.² Gre za območje, kjer se stikata alpski in dinarski svet in kjer so v pokrajinskih značilnostih izražene geografske in geomorfološke

razlike. Na Notranjskem prevladuje razmeroma gorat in razgiban svet, razčlenjen s kraškimi polji, medtem ko je Kras visoka planota nad Tržaškim zalivom.³ Ta raznolikost je vplivala tako na pose-

² Gabrovec 1987, 151–152.

³ Kranjc 1999, 9–11. Glej še druge prispevke v isti publikaciji (npr. Šebela 1999; Mihevc 1999) in v monografiji Mihevc 2005.

litev kot tudi na kulturne razmere, zato predlog za razširitev poimenovanja v "notranjsko-kraška skupina" (sl. 1). Čeprav so notranjska in tudi kraška arheološka najdišča, predvsem z mogočnimi kamnitimi nasipi obdana gradišča, že zelo zgodaj pritegnila pozornost raziskovalcev,⁴ je ostala materialna kultura tega območja zaradi razmeroma skromnih najdb manj poznana. Gabrovec je zato lahko gradil svojo študijo o notranjski skupini le na sorazmerno maloštevilnih najdiščih, kot so bile takrat nove objave arheoloških izkopavanj Mehtilde Urleb na Križni gori⁵ in Carla Marchesettija pred prvo svetovno vojno na Brežcu pri Škocjanu⁶ ter različnih železnodobnih najdišč, katerih najdbe, hranjene v muzejih na Dunaju in v Ljubljani, je zbral v posebni monografiji Mitja Guštin.⁷ Novejše raziskave pa kažejo, da gre za dokajšnjo kulturno raznolikost, zato se zdi upravičeno razširjeno poimenovanje skupine, kar podpirajo tudi tu predstavljeni prispevki. Osrednja študija o Notranjski izpod peresa Alme Bavdek nudi izčrpen prikaz zgodovine arheoloških raziskovanj, govori pa tudi o njeni poselitvi in organiziranosti prostora, o rezultatih novjših arheoloških izkopavanj na naselbinah na Soviču nad Postojno in Cvingerju pri Dolenji vasi pri Cerknici ter na nekropoli pri Trnovem pri Ilirski Bistrici (Bavdek). To sliko dopolnjujejo strokovno poročilo o arheoloških izkopavanjih na Soviču (Omahen), predstavitev gradišč vzdolž gornjega toka Reke na osnovi ovrednotenja lidarskih posnetkov in topografskih pregledov (Vidojević) ter prva objava bogatih grobnih najdb iz okolice Ulake nad Starim trgom pri Ložu (Laharnar, Murgelj). Temu sklopu notranjskih najdišč sledijo prispevki o novih, predvsem naselbinskih raziskavah na Krasu (Bratina; Vinazza) ter opazovalnem stolpu in obrambnih zaporah ob severnemu robu Kraške planote (Teržan, Turk). Opozorimo naj tudi na obravnavo keramike s kraških najdišč, pri kateri gre za poskus razlikovanja med bronasto- in železnodobno lončenino glede na sestavo lončarskih glin in način izdelave (Vinazza). Posebna študija je posvečena depojem z orožjem, ki daje zanimiv vpogled v vojaške in vojne razmere tistega časa (Guštin, Božič). Poleg naštetih prispevkov o novih raziskavah na Notranjskem in Krasu sta

pomembna tudi strnjena prikaza kulturne podobe njenega južnega sosedstva, na eni strani Kvarnerja (Blečić Kavur) in na drugi Istre (Mihovilić), pri čemer so ponovno prišle do izraza očitne razlike med Kvarnerjem kot sestavnim delom liburnskega kulturnega prostora in histrsko Istro na eni strani ter na drugi strani, kako malo skupnega ju družijo z notranjsko-kraško kulturno skupino kot nedvomno samostojno entiteto.

KRONOLOGIJA

Arheološke najdbe na območju notranjsko-kraške skupine, ki tvorijo osnovo za kronološko periodizacijo, so manj številne in bolj skromne v primerjavi z bogatimi grobnimi najdbami dolenske halštatske skupine. Vzrok za to so drugačni pogrebni običaji s prevladujočimi žganimi grobovi v tradiciji kulture žarnih grobišč, torej z razmeroma preprosto osebno opravo in maloštevilnimi grobnimi pridatki. Zato je kronološka razčlenitev materialne kulture na Notranjskem in Krasu bolj zapletena in zahtevna. V tej zvezi je treba poudariti, da je bilo na osnovi detajlnih analiz grobišč s Križne gore⁸ in iz Brežca pri Škocjanu⁹ za vsako posebej izdelanih že več predlogov kronološke periodizacije, vendar se je uveljavila za železno dobo na Notranjskem in Krasu enotna kronološka shema z osmimi časovnimi stopnjami, ki jo je predložil Guštin¹⁰ in jo je sprejel tudi Gabrovec.¹¹ Datacije za posamezne časovne stopnje oz. podstopnje/faze zgodnje železne dobe smo poskušali preveriti tudi z radiokarbonskimi analizami izbranih vzorcev kosti iz grobov s Križne gore, Trnovega pri Ilirski Bistrici in Zidance pri Podnanosu.¹² Ob tem kaže poudariti, da pri naslavljanju posameznih sklopov obravnavanih grobov, kot npr. polmesečaste fibule in čolničaste fibule, nismo želeli uvajati novih oznak za posamezne časovne stopnje ali horizonte v okviru kronološke sheme za Notranjsko in Kras, temveč le navesti, katere vrste predmetov nam je uspelo radiokarbonsko datirati in v kateri časov-

⁴ Glej tu Bavdek (z zelo izčrpnim in natančnim pregledom zgodovine arheoloških raziskav na Notranjskem) pa tudi Vidojević, Bratina in Vinazza.

⁵ Urleb 1974.

⁶ Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977.

⁷ Guštin 1979.

⁸ Urleb 1974, 19–44; ead. 1973; Guštin 1979, 19–22, sl. 8–11; Cirone et al. 1990, 169–181, Tav. 74–81.

⁹ Vitri 1977, 39–42, Fig. 12; Guštin 1979, 18–23, sl. 6–7, 11; Malizia et al. 1990, 150–158.

¹⁰ Guštin 1973; id. 1979, 18–32, sl. 11.

¹¹ Gabrovec 1987, 154–162, 903, sl. 9–10, t. 16–18; glej tudi Gabrovec 1999; Parzinger 1989, 22–24; Taf. 26–28; Borgna et al. 2018, Fig. 2.

¹² Bavdek, Urleb 2014; Bratina 2014. Glej tudi tu Vinazza, sl. 5.

ni stopnji se pojavljajo. Čeprav radiokarbonske datacije vzorcev iz obdobja starejše železne dobe (8.–4. st. pr. n. št.) zaradi "halštatskega platoja" na kalibracijski krivulji niso najbolj natančne in so njihovi verjetnostni časovni razponi razmeroma dolgi, smo pri njihovem ovrednotenju uporabili posebej modelirane vrednosti, ki lahko služijo le kot približek "absolutni" dataciji posameznih izbranih grobnih celot oz. najdb. Pokazalo se je, da moramo začetek železnega horizonta na Notranjskem iskati že v 10.–9. st. pr. n. št.,¹³ da pa se datiranje posameznih časovnih stopenj bistveno ne spreminja, morda le njihov začetek; tako se stopnja Notranjska II (a–c) začne v času poznega 9. st. oz. okrog 800 pr. n. št. in se nadaljuje do zgodnjega 7. st. pr. n. št., ko se najpozneje sredi tega stoletja začne uveljavljati nov tipni spekter, značilen za stopnjo Notranjska III.¹⁴

POSELITEV

Kronološki oris

Na osnovi kronoloških pokazateljev bomo poskusili na kratko orisati poselitveno sliko na Notranjskem in Krasu, pri čemer je namen opozoriti na nova spoznanja, ki so jih prinesle novejša raziskave, predvsem tiste, predstavljene na tem simpoziju, pa tudi druge že prej objavljene v strokovni literaturi.

Do intenzivnejše poselitve na območju notranjsko-kraške skupine je prišlo v obdobju pozne bronaste dobe, v času kulture žarnih grobišč. Na to kažejo prenekatero keramične najdbe, predvsem tiste z značilnim psevdovrvičastim okrasom, ki jim lahko sledimo od obalnega območja, od gradišč na Tržaškem, kot npr. na kaštelirjih Katinara/Cattinara, Dolga krona/Monte d'Oro in Jelarji/Elleri ter pripadajoči nekropoli pri Sv. Barbari pri Korošcih,¹⁵ pa tudi na Sv. Mihaelu pri Štorjah, Tomaju in Taboru pri Vrabčah vse do Cvingerja pri Dolenji vasi in Gradišča na Slivnici ob Cerkniškem

jezeru (Bavdek, pril. 1; Vinazza, t. 2: 21–23).¹⁶ Deloma gre za gradišča, ki so bila poseljena v teku srednje bronaste dobe, nekatera celo že v zgodnji bronasti dobi, kot npr. Slivno/Slivia, Jelarji/Elleri in Sv. Mihael pri Štorjah¹⁷ ter morda novoraziskani Sovič, kjer so bile odkrite naselbinske plasti tako na vrhu hriba kot ob njegovem vznožju (Bavdek; Omahen), deloma pa gre za povsem nove postojanke, kot nakazujejo poleg Cvingerja in Tržišča pri Dolenji vasi ob Cerkniškem jezeru ter Tabora pri Vrabčah še nekatera druga notranjsko-kraška najdišča (Bavdek; Vinazza). Za gradišča v Tomaju in na Taboru pri Vrabčah so na razpolago tudi radiokarbonske datacije, ki kažejo na čas naselitve obeh gradišč med pribl. 11. in 9. st. pr. n. št. (Bratina, sl. 11; Vinazza, sl. 5).¹⁸ S psevdovrvičastim ornamentom okrašena keramika je bila razširjena tudi na nekaterih istrskih najdiščih, predvsem pa v širšem furlanskem in venetskem prostoru, kjer je zlasti na osnovi naselbinskih najdb iz Pozzuola del Friuli¹⁹ in naselbini Frattesina-Fratta Polesine pripadajočih nekropol²⁰ dobro opredeljena v čas *Bronzo finale* 2–3 oz. v stopnji Ha A2/B1–2 v smislu Müller-Karpejeve kronologije. Zdi se verjetno, da so s tovrstno keramiko in tudi z nekaterimi drugimi najdbami bronastih predmetov, npr. s Cvingerja pri Dolenji vasi (Bavdek, t. 3: 1,15) ter kalupa za izdelavo plavutastih sekir in obročev iz naselbinskega kompleksa Sermin,²¹ nakazane novosti ter spremembe, ki so zajele celoten prostor notranjsko-kraške skupine in ki nakazujejo izrazitejšave navezave tod bivajočih skupnosti s severnojadranskim in furlansko-venetkim kulturnim krogom.

Tak vtis daje tudi eno ključnih najdišč tega obdobja v notranjsko-kraški kulturni skupini, to je Škocjan pri Divači na Krasu, od koder je poleg naselbinskega kompleksa²² znanih več nekropol in slavne depojske najdbe iz brezen Mušja in

¹³ Na zgodnji pojav smo sklepali že na osnovi nekaterih železnih predmetov iz grobov pod Brežcem pri Škocjanu, prim. Vitri 1977, 39, Fig. 12; Teržan 1995, 353, 359–361, Abb. 28: 3,10; Trampuž Orel 2012, 21–23, Fig. 3.

¹⁴ Prim. Teržan, Črešnar 2014, 703–706, 713–718, sl. 36; 37; 39; 41; 44.

¹⁵ Maselli Scotti 1983, 207–209, Tav. 50: 2–4; ead. 1997, 51, 53, 108, Tav. 6: 19; 8: 11; 20: 21; 23: 8; 26: 1; Montagnari Kokelj 1996, t. 1: 8; 4: 1; Flego, Rupel 1993, 171–176, 201–202, 207–214 itd.

¹⁶ Bavdek 2018, 166–167, Fig. 2; 1–4; 9; Bratina 2018b, 96–99, sl. 10: 1–2; Guštin 1979, 34, t. 7: 8; 8: 1–2,9; 36: 10.

¹⁷ Hänsel, Mihovilić, Teržan 1997, 87–95, sl. 46; Mihovilić, Hänsel, Teržan 2005, 401–402; Guštin 1979, t. 7: 6,9; 9: 1,4–7; 10: 4–5. Cf. Hellmuth Kramberger 2017, 321–333, 355–357, sl. 268.

¹⁸ Bratina 2014, 587–593; ead. 2018a.

¹⁹ Càssola Guida 1983, 196–199, Tav. 47: 1–4,6–11; Adam, Càssola Guida, Vitri 1986–1987, Fig. 31–b; Càssola Guida, Vitri 1988, 234–251, t. 6: 5–8; 7–8, 10–11.

²⁰ Salzani, Colonna 2010, 303–304, Tav. 3: 9–10; 15: B1; 33: B1 itd.

²¹ Snoj 1992; Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1995–1996, 59–65, sl. 2, t. 95: 2; 103–107.

²² Glej npr. Turk, Hrobat, Bratina 2016, sl. 13; Teržan 2016a, 415–430, 465–472.

Skeletna jama oz. Jama I in Jama II na Prevali. Domnevamo, da predstavlja celotno območje Škocjana kulturno središče nadregionalnega značaja. Za to tezo govorijo kot prvo izjemna lega škocjanske naselbine nad prepadnimi stenami ponora reke Reke, kot drugo posebni značaj bronastih najdb iz obeh omenjenih jam²³ in kot tretje heterogenost grobnih pridatkov iz pripadajočih grobišč na Brežcu, v Ponikvah in na Griču nad Lisičino. Po številu grobov in njihovem bogastvu izstopa nekropola na Brežcu,²⁴ katere grobovi se po sestavi pridatkov bistveno razlikujejo od drugih sočasnih grobov kulture žarnih grobišč na širšem jugovzhodnem alpskem oz. predalpskem in panonskem prostoru. V pogrebne rituale vnašajo nove elemente, med katerimi so posebej indikativni pridatki, kot je orožje, zlasti meči.²⁵ Z njimi je namreč poudarjena vloga moške, vojaške komponente v družbi, kar uvršča Škocjan oz. skupnost, ki je pokopavala na Brežcu, v italško-villanovski kulturni koncept. V ženskih grobovih pa izstopajo predmeti nakita, katerih izvor je iskati v japonski Liki in na liburnskem severnem Jadranu.²⁶ Nekoliko drugačen značaj izkazuje drugo škocjansko grobišče na Ponikvah, v katerem so zastopani grobovi s pridatki kontinentalnega "dobovskega tipa".²⁷ Tretje grobišče, domnevno gomile, na Griču nad Lisičino pa izstopajo z nenavadnimi pridatki italške provenience.²⁸ Zato sklepamo, da je bila populacija v Škocjanu heterogena in je združevala značilnosti različnih kulturnih skupin z različnih geografskih področij.

Še bolj kompleksno podobo ponujajo depojske najdbe iz Mušje jame, katerih revizija je bila objavljena pred kratkim.²⁹ Časovni razpon predmetov kaže, da se je deponiranje vršilo med 12./11. in 8./7. st. pr. n. št. Glede na to, da je zastopanost zvrsti predmetov skozi celotno obdobje precej izenačena, domnevamo, da se ritual v teku časa ni bistveno spreminjal. Med predmeti, ki so bili deloma raz-

lomljeni, zviti in/ali uničeni, raztopljeni v ognju, preden so bili darovani numinoznim silam brezna, prevladuje orožje (sulice, meči, sekire, čelade ter prestižne bronaste posode), pri čemer ugotavljamo, da sega radij potencialne provenience posameznih tipov orožja, posod in tudi drugih predmetov od Transilvanije do srednjega Apeninskega polotoka in od Grčije pa do predelov severno od Alp in Karpatov vse do pribaltskega območja.³⁰

Posebne omembe vredno se zdi dejstvo, da je bilo v teku 8. oz. zgodnjega 7. st. pr. n. št. ritualno deponiranje v Mušjo jamo postopno opuščeno, nekoliko kasneje pa tudi pokopavanje na grobišču na Brežcu. Seveda se zastavlja vprašanje, zakaj je Škocjan izgubil svoj pomen nadregionalnega mesta kulturnega značaja, čeprav je bil obljuden tudi v mladohalštatskem obdobju, kot kažejo zakladna najdba nakita in mlajše najdbe posameznih grobov (Teržan, Turk, sl. 15).³¹

V teku 9. in zgodnjega 8. stoletja na Notranjskem pridobijo na pomenu nove postojanke, kot so Šmihel,³² Križna gora pri Ložu in Trnovo pri Ilirski Bistrici³³ (Bavdek). Svoj razcvet doživijo v 8.–7. st., čemur sledi proti koncu 7. st. oz. najkasneje na prehodu v 6. st. pr. n. št. njihov zaton, ki tako rekoč sovpada z omenjenim prenehanjem nekropole na škocjanskem Brežcu. Kljub temu življenje na Notranjskem in Krasu ni povsem zamrlo, o čemer pričajo sicer maloštevilne, povečini žal le posamezne najdbe brez ohranjenih grobnih celot, npr. iz Tržišča pri Cerknici in Šmihela pod Nanosom³⁴ ter pred nedavnimi odkrite bogate grobne najdbe z Ulake pri Starem trgu pri Ložu (Laharnar, Murgelj, t. 2–7) in tudi izpod Ajdovščine nad Rodikom (Teržan, Turk, sl. 14: 1–5). Prav nakit kot spiralne zapestnice, okrasni okrogli plošči in polmesečasti obesek v obliki glavnička³⁵ z Ulake ter spiralne zapestnice z rodiške Ajdovščine so morda odraz novonastalih razmerij moči, saj kaže na povezave s skupnostmi ob Jadranskem morju – na eni strani s histrskimi ali/in japonsko-liburnskimi, na drugi pa morda celo z nekaterimi na Apeninskem polotoku. Zato domneva, da so v 6. st. pr. n. št. na področje

²³ Szombathy 1912; Vitri 1983; Merlatti 2001; Teržan et al. 2016.

²⁴ Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977; Teržan 1990, 69–72, sl. 14; ead. 2016a, 418–423, 466–468.

²⁵ Glej npr. tudi Harding 1995, 60, 80–82, 85–86, Taf. 25: 204; 33: 253; 35: 266; Turk 2016a, 99–106, sl. 33–34.

²⁶ Glej npr. Teržan 2016b, 233–254, 269–277, sl. 76–77; 83–86; ead. 2021.

²⁷ Ruaro Loseri, Righi 1982, 12, 21, t. 5/Cq/2 14; 6/Cq/2 15, 17 ipd.; Teržan 2016a, 423–425, 469.

²⁸ Teržan 2016a, 421–423, 468–469, sl. 153.

²⁹ Prim. Szombathy 1912; Teržan, Borgna, Turk 2016. Glej še tu Guštin, Božič.

³⁰ Prim. Turk 2016b, 66–97, sl. 18; 24–25; Borgna 2016a; ead. 2016b, 141–155, sl. 47; 50; Teržan 2016a, 346–415, sl. 131–133; 137–145; 147–148; ead. 2019.

³¹ Turk 2012, 92–94, sl. 4–6; Ruaro Loseri 1983, 150–151, Fig. 26A–B.

³² Guštin 1979, 25–31, 70–78, t. 37–50; 58–60.

³³ Urleb 1974; Bavdek, Urleb 2014; Bavdek 2018, 167–171.

³⁴ Guštin 1979, t. 18–19; 60: 14–19; 61: 1–15.

³⁵ Glej tudi Mihovilić 2013, 206–208, sl. 129–130; Kunstelj 2018, 211–213, sl. 8: 4, 7; 9.

Notranjske in Krasa prodrli novi vplivi z juga in zahoda. Vendar je do ponovnega populacijskega in ekonomskega vzpona na Notranjskem in Krasu prišlo še nekoliko pozneje, s horizontom klasičnih certoških fibul, ki so zastopane na številnih notranjsko-kraških najdiščih. Pogoste so predvsem fibule tipa X, pa tudi VII in XII³⁶ kot vodilni tipi časovne stopnje Notranjska VI v 5. in 4. st. pr. n. št. (Laharnar, Murgelj, t. 2: 1; 5: 1–10; Teržan, Turk, sl. 14: 6–7).³⁷ To je obdobje bistvenih sprememb tudi v načinu pokopavanja, saj je sodilo orožje (sulice in sekire) med standardne pridelke moških grobov, kot kažejo številne najdbe npr. iz Šmihela in Socerba (Guštin, Božič).³⁸ Nova arheološka izkopavanja v Tomaju so pokazala, da sodita v mladohalštatsko obdobje tudi obnova obzidja gradišča, tretja faza (Bratina, sl. 3 in 4), in izgradnja zapor na severnem kraškem robu (Teržan, Turk, sl. 13). Vprašanje, ali so te spremembe zgolj odraz nemirnega, vojaško obremenjenega obdobja ali pa je prišlo celo do prevlade morebitnih novih prišlekov – osvajalcev, ostaja še odprto.

Poselitveni prostori

Čeprav še vedno ne poznamo dovolj dobro niti naselbin niti nekropol starejše železne dobe na Notranjskem in Krasu, kot ugotavlja tudi Alma Bavdek (Bavdek, pril. 1; Bratina), vseeno kaže predstaviti nekaj zanimivih novih dognanj, ki zadevajo poselitev prostora in gradnjo gradišč.

Pečat pokrajini dajejo visoka kraška polja kot značilnost Dinaridov, ki potekajo v smeri SZ–JV in se vzhodno od pogorja Hrušice in Javornikov vrstijo od Logaškega in Planinskega polja preko Unškega in Cerkniskega polja ter Loške doline vse do Babnega polja. Na drugi strani tega pogorja pa

so med Nanosom in Snežnikom notranjska podolja, in sicer od Postojnskih vrat oz. Pivške kotline, Spodnje in Zgornje Pivke do Podgore ter Matarskega in Jelšanskega/Brgudskega podolja (Bavdek, pril. 1; Vidojević, sl. 3 in 4). Čeprav so nekatera polja sezonsko poplavljenjena in se občasno spremenijo celo v presihajoča jezera³⁹ ter so zato za trajno poselitev neprimerna, pa je na njihovem obrobju, dvignjenem nad poplavne ravnice, dovolj ugodnih mest za naselitev. Zdi se, da gre za zelo načrtno poselitev in izrabo polj v sušnih obdobjih za kmetijske potrebe, morda pa celo za sezonski ribji ulov.⁴⁰ Vsako od polj oz. dolin obvladuje vsaj po ena večja utrjena naselbina, nekatere na zelo dominantnih, strateško pomembnih mestih, druge na nižjih vzpetinah. Več naselbin je nanizanih na obrobju Cerkniskega jezera, ki so bolj ali manj sočasne, a njihovo trajanje in medsebojna razmerja še niso povsem razjasnjena (Bavdek, pril. 1).⁴¹ Hkrati je pomenljivo, da so bili prehodi med polji in pokrajinami posebej varovani z utrjenimi postojankami, ki so omogočale tudi vizualno povezavo. Tako sta npr. Postojnska vrata na vzhodu nadzirala Sovič in Pečna reber, prelaz pri Razdrtem na zahodu pa sta verjetno kontrolirala Goli vrh in Gradišče (Bavdek, sl. 1 in 4),⁴² prehod proti Kvarnerju je na Babnem polju nadzorovala Farjevka, nad drugim prehodom proti Kvarnerju pa je bdelo gradišče na Sv. Katarini nad Jelšanami (Bavdek, pril. 1 in Vidojević, sl. 4: 11; 9–11). Nekoliko drugačno sliko nudijo naselja na Pivškem, ki se vrstijo med osrednjima gradiščema, kot sta Grad pri Šmihelu, nekoliko umaknjen od prelaza pri Razdrtem pod Nanos,⁴³ in Trnovo pri Ilirski Bistrici. Gre za niz utrjenih naselbin na visokem Taborskem grebenu vzdolž doline Pivke. S svojo lego pretežno na temenu pogorja nad prepadnimi stenami dajejo celo vtis neke vrste obrambne črte proti zahodu. Verjetno edini prelaz s Pivškega v Reško dolino pa sta morda prav tako varovali dve gradišči, Kerin in Sv. Primož, obe datirani v pozno bronasto in železno dobo (Bavdek, pril. 1).⁴⁴

Takšna poselitev na obrobju polj in dolin ter nadzor nad prehodi z utrjenimi postojankami in

³⁶ Cfr. Teržan 1976, 325–338, sl. 3–4; 25–26; 31; 35–36; 41.

³⁷ Guštin 1973, 478–480, sl. 3; Guštin 1979, t. 2: 3 (Šilentabor); 3: 6,9 (Gradišče na Čepni); 4: 8 (Gradišče na Knežaku); 5: 3 (Ulaka); 6: 3,8 (Štorje); 20: 3–16 (Tržišče); 48: 10; 50: 13–16; 51: 3,11,14,19; 52: 1,11,15; 53: 8; 54: 3–4,9; 55; 57: 8–15; 58: 2–3; 61: 16–18; 62–64 (Šmihel); Horvat 1995, t. 11: 3; 7: 1–2; 14: 8; Crismani, Righi 2002, 67–69, Fig. 4–26 (Socerb); Vinazza 2018 (Tupelče); Laharnar 2022 (Baba pri Slavini, Ambrožovo gradišče pri Slavini, Kerin nad Pivko, Primož nad Raduhovo vasjo pri Pivki, Šilentabor, Gradišče na Čepni, Gradišče nad Knežakom, Gradišče nad Gornjo Košano, Stari grad nad Uncem, Gradišče na Slivnici, Žerovinšek itd.).

³⁸ Cfr. Guštin 1979, t. 2: 1–3; 51–58; 75–79; Crismani, Righi 2002, 84–85, Fig. 168–179.

³⁹ Cf. npr. Prestor 2009; Schein 2009; Perne, Turk 2011, 29.

⁴⁰ Glej npr. Schein 2009, 48–49, 59. V tem smislu se zdi posebno indikativna lega Cvingerja pri Dolenji vasi tik nad požiralnikom Velika Karlovica (Bavdek, sl. 12 in 13).

⁴¹ Glej tudi Bavdek 2009.

⁴² Horvat, Bavdek 2009; Horvat, Bavdek 2010.

⁴³ Verjetno gre za antično Okro, glej Šašel 1974; id. 1977; Slapšak 1999, 149–151; Horvat, Bavdek 2009, 19–22.

⁴⁴ Prim. npr. tudi Horvat 1995, sl. 1; ead. 2005, 228–229, 237–243, sl. 2; glej tudi Laharnar 2022 (v tisku).

vizualno komunikacijo v marsičem spominja na poselitvene sisteme za časa bronaste in železne dobe do rimske okupacije, ugotovljene v dinarskem zaledju Jadrana, na visokih kraških poljih od Like⁴⁵ do Hercegovine.⁴⁶ Verjetno jih niso pogojevale zgolj geografske danosti, temveč tudi stopnja družbene organiziranosti tod živečih skupnosti ter njihov nadzor zlasti nad naravnimi viri, npr. pitno vodo,⁴⁷ ter pripadajočim jim ozemljem.

Drugače je na Kraški planoti, kjer ji dajejo pečat tri ali štiri večje naselbine na vzpetinah, kot so Tomaj, Skopo in Sveto ter ob severnem robu morda še Štanjel, medtem ko je vrsta gradišč gosteje nanizanih predvsem na zahodni strani planote, na številnih vrhovih nad Tržaškim zalivom in na Kraškem robu. Na jugovzhodu pa je prostor kraške skupine zamejen s poselitvenim kompleksom Škocjana in nad njim rodiško Ajdovščino.⁴⁸

Novo raziskavo, ki izhajajo iz nove metode zračnega snemanja zemeljskega površja, t. i. lidar, kar je Boštjan Laharnar upravičeno označil kot "pravo revolucijo v arheološki topografiji", pa v zadnjih nekaj letih omogočajo povsem nov vpogled v nastajanje kulturne krajine in poselitvene sisteme, tudi na Notranjskem in Krasu.⁴⁹ Ne le, da so se izluščile konture utrjenih naselbin – gradišč z veliko večjo natančnostjo kot iz letalskih zračnih posnetkov in da je ponekod razvidna tudi njihova notranja pozidava in ureditev, še več, v njihovi neposredni okolici so se pokazali različni sledovi umetnih tvorb, kot so ograde, zidovi, groblje in mejni zidovi okoli večjih arealov, ki jih povezujejo z gospodarskim – kmetijskim zaledjem posameznih naselbin. Raziskave Laharnarja in njegove ekipe v okolici Gradišča nad Knežakom se niso omejile le na lidarske posnetke in njihovo interpretacijo, temveč so izbrane tvorbe preverili tudi s sondiranjem in izkopavanjem manjšega obsega, ki so pokazala na zelo kompleksno strukturirano izrabo gradišču pripadajočega območja, ponekod zamejenega celo

s posebnim zidom (*sl.* 2). Na osnovi keramičnih najdb so jih datirali v starejšo železno dobo, obstajajo pa tudi indici, da so nekatere najdbe celo starejše, tj. iz bronaste dobe.⁵⁰ Podobno situacijo je ugotovila Tanja Vidojević v zaledju gradišča Trnovo kot osrednji utrjeni naselbini na Ilirskobistriškem, kjer se je s suhim zidom varovano območje raztezalo od Trnovega do Sv. Ahaca in Stražice kot opazovalnima in obrambnima postojankama, kar je zabeležil že Müllner (Vidojević, *sl.* 1, 7–8). Na Krasu, kjer je natančno topografijo in temeljne prostorske študije izvedel Božidar Slapšak,⁵¹ so bile odkrite podobne strukture. Glede na različno lego, velikost in utrjenost gradišč okoli Škocjana, kot so npr. Gradišče pri Divači, Graček nad Famljami in Volarija, ter glede na domnevni kamniti zid okoli celotnega škocjanskega območja sklepamo, da je bil tudi ta teritorij zamejen in posebej varovan, morda celo v podobnem smislu, kot so bili grški *temenoi*.⁵² Podobno organiziranost prostora smo na osnovi lidarskih posnetkov in terenskih preverjanj ugotovili tudi v primeru Štanjela kot osrednjega gradišča verjetno s satelitskimi naselji, kot sta bili na bližnjih Kobdilju in Kobjeglavi (Bratina *sl.* 1; Teržan, Turk, *sl.* 8, 13).⁵³ Štanjel pa ni imel pod nadzorom le svojega kraškega zaledja, temveč tudi sam dostop na kraško planoto iz Vipavske doline. V njegovi neposredni bližini smo namreč na Ostrem vrhu z arheološkimi izkopavanji odkrili opazovalni stolp, datiran v halštatsko obdobje. Zanimivo je, da je bil njemu nasproti na drugi strani doline, po kateri se vzpenja pot na kraško planoto, postavljen še en stolp, Lukovska Škratljeвица, torej je bil dostop tudi tu flankiran kar z dvema stolpoma. Glede na še druge podobne, čeprav arheološko še neraziskane kamnite ostaline, smo postavili tezo, da je bila vzdolž severnega kraškega roba postavljena vrsta utrjenih postojank, obrambnih in opazovalnih stolpov ter manjših, močno utrjenih gradišč, ki so nadzorovali in varovali dostop na kraško planoto, namenjeni so bili torej obrambi ozemlja kraške kulturne skupine (Teržan, Turk, *sl.* 1–13).

Arheološko izkopavanje stolpa na Ostrem vrhu je omogočilo tudi odličen vpogled v način suho-

⁴⁵ Glej npr. Drechsler-Bižič 1975, Plan 2.

⁴⁶ Benac 1975, Plan 1; id. 1985, 56–69, 90–94, 135–146, 181–187, Karta 1–4 in še posebej Karta 5.

⁴⁷ O tem, kako pomemben je bil npr. dostop do pitne vode, glej Šašel 1992a, 524–528.

⁴⁸ Slapšak 1995; id. 1999, 158–163. Glej tudi Flego, Rupel 1993; Zupančič 1990, 19–21; Càssola Guida, Càssola 2002, 7–10, Fig. 4.

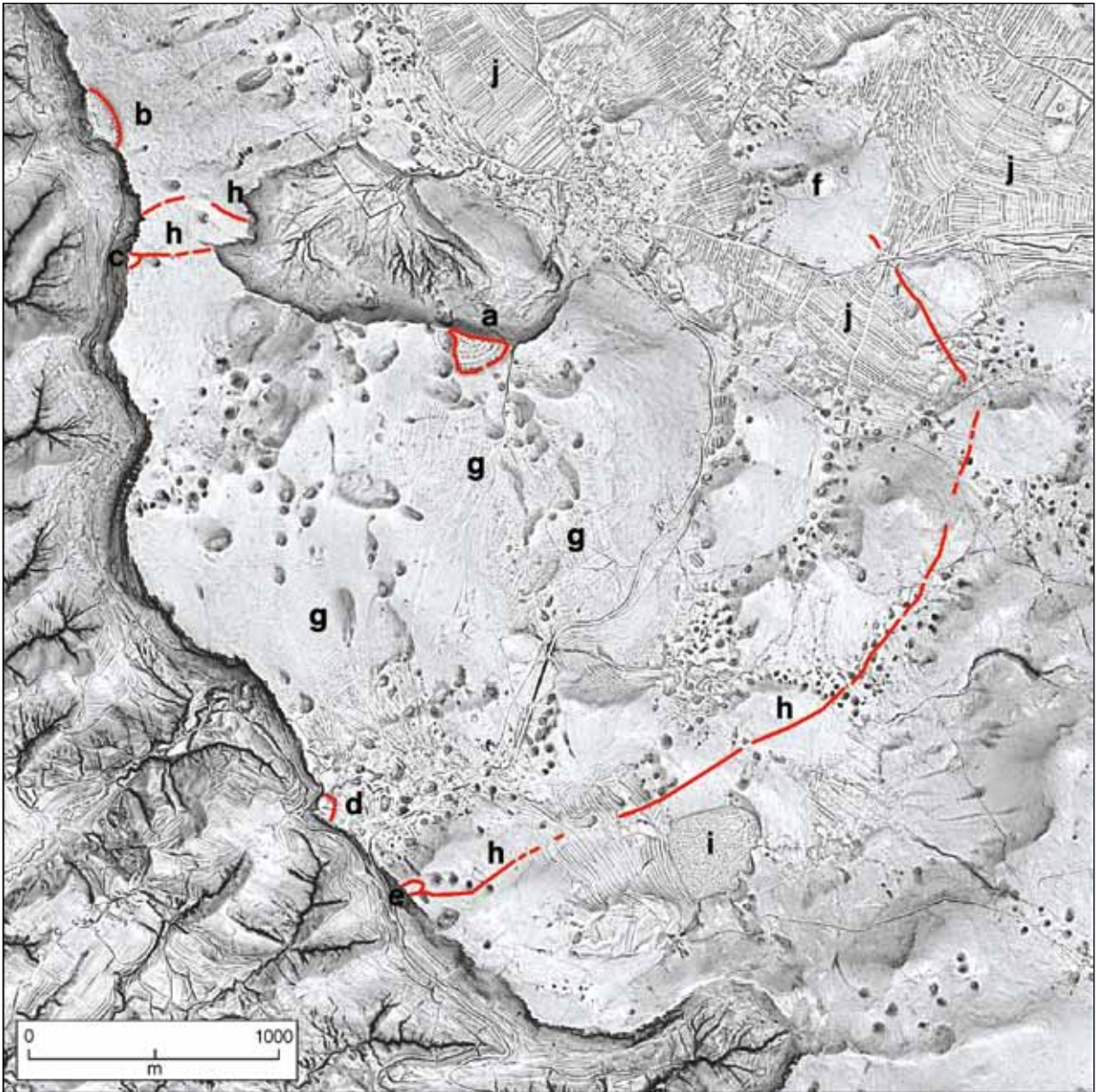
⁴⁹ Laharnar 2018, 30. Pri tem kaže omeniti, da B. Laharnar vodi raziskovalni projekt, v okviru katerega potekajo prav raziskave gradišč in njihovega zaledja na Notranjskem, predvsem na Pivškem. V pripravi za tisk je tudi njegova monografija Laharnar 2022 (v tisku).

⁵⁰ Laharnar 2018, 30–34, *sl.* 3; Laharnar, Lozić, Štular 2019, Fig. 2–5. Za rimsko obdobje na Knežaku glej Laharnar, Lozić, Miškec 2020.

⁵¹ Slapšak 1995; id. 1999.

⁵² Turk, Hrobat, Bratina 2016, *sl.* 13; Teržan 2016a, 416–417, *sl.* 151–152; Mlekuž 2019.

⁵³ Za Štanjel glej tudi Bratina 2019. Za lociranje grobov v bližini Kobjeglave, ki so bili pripisani štanjelski nekropoli, glej Vinazza 2018.



Sl. 2: Gradišče nad Knežakom z okolico. Arheološka interpretacija po lidarskih posnetkih: **a** – Gradišče nad Knežakom; **b** – Gradišče na Čepni; **c** – Zrmzlek (majhno gradišče?/stolp?); **d** – Gradišče pri Šembijah; **e** – Breg pri Šembijah (majhno gradišče); **f** – Gradišče Obroba; **g** – groblje; **h** – mejni zid območja; **i** – Šembijsko presihajoče jezero; **j** – srednje- in novoveška polja (prirejeno po Laharnar, Lozić, Štular 2019, Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Gradišče above Knežak and its surrounding area, archaeological interpretation based on LiDAR images: **a** – Gradišče above Knežak; **b** – Gradišče on Čepna; **c** – Zrmzlek (minor hillfort?/tower?); **d** – Gradišče near Šembije; **e** – Breg near Šembije (minor hillfort); **f** – Gradišče Obroba; **g** – cairn; **h** – boundary wall of a territory; **i** – intermittent Šembije Lake; **j** – medieval and post-medieval fields (adapted after Laharnar, Lozić, Štular 2019, Fig. 2).

zidne gradnje. Pokazalo se je, da ne gre le za zelo skrbno zloženo kamenje s poravnanim notranjim in zunanjim licem zidu, temveč so bili pomemben element tudi leseni stebri kot oporniki celotne konstrukcije (Teržan, Turk, sl. 1–6). Zato naša domneva, da so bila tudi obzidja gradišč grajena na podoben način (Bratina, sl. 3 in 4). Vsekakor pa so novejša izkopavanja pokazala, da gradišča niso

obdajali kamniti nasipi ali okopi, kot je bilo to do nedavnega pogosto zaslediti v literaturi, temveč da so dandanašnji kamniti nasipi ruševine mogočnih zidov. Ti imajo zunanje in notranje lice praviloma zgrajeno iz večjih kamnov ali kamnitih blokov, vmesni prostor, ki je lahko širok tudi več metrov, pa je povečini zapolnjen z manjšimi kamni in ponekod še z zemljenim zasutjem, npr. na Gradu pri

Šmihelu,⁵⁴ Cvingerju pri Dolenji vasi pri Cerknici (Bavdek, sl. 14), Taboru pri Vrabčah (Vinazza, sl. 3) in Tomaju (Bratina, sl. 3 in 4). Pri morebitnem obnavljanju zidu so na zunanji strani prizidali dodatni podporni zid ali celo več front zidu, npr. na gradiščih na Ajdovščini nad Rodikom,⁵⁵ Gračku pri Famljah⁵⁶ in v Tomaju⁵⁷ (Bratina, sl. 3 in 4). Ogromne kamnite ruševine (npr. Vidojević, sl. 10; Bratina) kažejo na mogočne zidove, grajene na suho, ki so morali v višino meriti tudi več metrov. Izgradnja gradišč z obrambnim obzidjem pomeni torej zelo zahtevne in velike, tako rekoč inženirske podvige, ki so jih lahko izpeljale posamezne skupnosti le pod vodstvom izkušenih mojstrov in dobro organizirane družbe.

NAČIN POKOPAVANJA IN DRUŽBENA STRUKTURA

V okviru notranjsko-kraške skupine so svoje preminule pokopavali na različne načine, prevladujoč običaj je bilo sežiganje in shranjevanje bodisi v žare bodisi v preproste grobne jame, nezanemarljivo pa je bilo tudi inhumiranje (Bavdek; Laharnar, Murgelj). Pri obeh načinih pokopa so bili pridani v grobove deli noše oz. nakita, ponekod drobno orodje, ne pa orožje. V nasprotju z dolensko halštatsko kulturno skupino, kjer je bilo orožje (sekira in sulice) praviloma sestavni del vsake moške grobne oprave, se v tej skupini pojavlja le izjemoma, npr. v nekaterih grobovih pozne bronaste oz. zgodnje železne dobe na grobišču na Brežcu pri Škocjanu in vsega treh grobovih na Križni gori.⁵⁸ Šele v stopnji Notranjska VI, tj. v poznem halštatskem obdobju, predvsem pa v latenskem obdobju, je orožje postalo pogost in običajen grobni pridelek. Redkeje so bile poleg žar pridane še druge posode, izjema so grobovi na Križni gori, kjer so verjetno služile za popotnico v onstranstvo.

Grobišča so bila praviloma plana, čeprav se v literaturi omenjajo tudi gomile,⁵⁹ v katerih pa pokopi z arheološkimi izkopavanji doslej še niso bili dokazani. Povečini so bile v njih odkrite črepinje posod, ne pa tudi druge najdbe, na osnovi

katerih bi bilo možno sklepati na grobove. Zato je verjetno, da gre za kamnite groblje, kakršne je Laharnar raziskal na območju pod Gradiščem pri Knežaku in ki jih povezuje s kmetijsko izrabo prostora.⁶⁰ Nekropole so ležale praviloma na pobočjih neposredno pod naselbinami, npr. na Križni gori⁶¹ in Trnovem pri Ilirski Bistrici (Bavdek), pa tudi pod Jelarji pri Sv. Barbari pri Korošcih,⁶² medtem ko je bilo v bližnji okolici Škocjana⁶³ in Gradu pri Šmihelu⁶⁴ več grobišč.

Tako biritualnost v načinu pokopavanja kot tudi obstoj več sočasnih grobišč ali skupin grobov, bolj ali manj oddaljenih od naselbin, morda lahko razumemo kot odraz več različnih družbenih enot v smislu družin ali rodbin ter njihovega medsebojnega spoštovanja pri sobivanju tako v okviru posameznih naselbin kot tudi celotne notranjsko-kraške kulturne skupine.

Zanimiv vpogled v družbeno strukturiranost posameznih naselbin ponuja analiza grobov glede na način pokopa in sestavo grobnih pridatkov, kot se kaže na primeru križnogorskega in šmihelskih grobišč.

Od grobišč okoli dobro utrjene naselbine na Gradu pri Šmihelu sodita dve v zgodnjo železno dobo – Pod Kaculjem in na Mačkovcu.⁶⁵ Čeprav sta sočasni, se grobni pridatki, zlasti v ženskih grobovih, med seboj razlikujejo, kar daje slutiti, da gre za dvoje različnih družbenih skupnosti/rodbin. Na grobišču Pod Kaculjem prevladujejo v ženski noši očalaste fibule in zapestnice in ji tudi dajejo poseben pečat (sl. 3), medtem ko so grobovi z ločnimi fibulami zastopani v občutno manjšem številu in predstavljajo opazno manjšino

⁶⁰ Glej Urleb 1974, 13, pril. 1; Osmuk 1988; Laharnar 2019, 266–268.

⁶¹ Urleb 1974, 11–14, sl. 2, pril. 1.

⁶² Montagnari Kokelj 1996; ead. 1997, Tav. 23–26; Maselli Scotti 1997, 7–11, Fig. 1–2; 12; 25–28; Škvor Jernejčič 2018, 538–545, Fig. 2.

⁶³ Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977, 19–22, Fig. 6; Turk, Hrobat, Bratina 2016, sl. 13.

⁶⁴ Guštin 1979, 13, sl. 3.

⁶⁵ Hoernes 1888, 217–249; Guštin 1979, 70–75, Abb. 3, Taf. 37–50. V objavljeni študiji Teržan 1992, 464–471, Abb. 9–10, katere rezultate povzemamo na tem mestu (glej sl. 3–5), smo se oprli tako na objavo Hoernesa kot Guština, pri čemer smo prevzeli oštevilčenje grobov po Guštinu, da bi bilo lažje poiskati opisni in slikovni prikaz posameznih grobov. Vendar naj opozorim, da Guštinovo preštevilčenje grobov ni najbolj posrečeno, saj so z njim na eni strani neupoštevane oz. zabrisane lokacije posameznih grobišč, na drugi strani pa niso omenjeni in upoštevanji grobovi brez grobnih pridatkov.

⁵⁴ Urleb 1990.

⁵⁵ Slapšak 1985.

⁵⁶ Novaković, Turk 1991a; Novaković, Turk 1991b; Zupančič, Vinazza 2015, 694–695, sl. 3.

⁵⁷ Bratina 2018b, 96–97, sl. 8–9.

⁵⁸ Urleb 1974, t. 1: 8; 3: 15; 9: 4; Teržan 1990, 70–71, sl. 15.

⁵⁹ Guštin 2011, 40.

Št. groba / Grave No.	Pokop/ Burial		Nedoločljiv / Indeterminable	Vijček / Spindle whorl	Nakit / Jewellery				Fibule / Fibulae			Igla / Pin	Drugo / Other	Noša / Costume
	Žara / Urn	Skleda / Bowl			Jagode / Beads	Obeski / Pendants	Ovratnica / Torques	Zapestnica / Bracelet	Ločna / Bow	Polmesečasta / Crescent	Očalasta / Spectacle			
32	1	1	×		×			1?		1	2	1		
36	1	1	×		×	×		2	2		2			
30	1	1						2			2	1		I
8		1				1		2			2			
56/57								2	1	1	1	1		
5			×					2?			2			
21	1							1			2			
50								1?			2			
34/35			×			×		1		1	1			
61	1	1						1	2		1			
58								1?	2		1			III
31	1	1			×			1			1			
29		1						1			1			
22								1			1			
19								1			1			
13	1	1	×				1		1	1	1		Pr	II
46			×			×			1		1	1		
26	1	1		×		×			1		1			
60	1	1									2			
9		1				×					2			V
2					×						1			
52											2	1		
28											1			
17											1			

* Pr = Prstan / Fingerring

Sl. 3: Šmihel – Pod Kaculjem. Grobovi z nakitom, ki jim dajejo poseben pečat očalaste fibule (glej *op.* 66).
Fig. 3: Šmihel – Pod Kaculjem. Graves with jewellery marked by spectacle fibulae (see *Fn.* 66).

(sl. 4).⁶⁶ Fibule obeh tipov se skupaj pojavljajo le v redkih grobovih in kažejo morda na ožje sorodstvene vezi osebe z eno in drugo skupnostjo. Na osnovi preostalih sestavin noše in nakita, kot

⁶⁶ V okviru očalastih in ločnih fibul na slikah ne upoštevam njihove morebitne tipološke ali kronološke razlike (pod ločnimi fibulami so zabeležene tako eno- kot dvozankaste in polmesečaste fibule). Oznake noše I-VII se nanašajo na kategorizacijo Teržan 1978.

so jagode, obeski in ovratnice, so poleg osnovnih označevalcev (fibula/zapestnica) razpoznavne še druge kombinacije, ki ustrezajo tipom noš in njihovi kategorizaciji glede na stan in status, kot prikazano na osnovi analize skeletnih, glede na spol in starost antropološko opredeljenih grobov s Križne gore.⁶⁷ Razen razlik v nošnji fibul se zdi

⁶⁷ Urleb 1974, 14–19, sl. 3; 5; Teržan 1978.

Št. groba / Grave No.	Pokop / Burial			Nakit / Jewellery				Fibule / Fibulae			Igla / Pin	Drugo / Other	Noša / Costume
	Žara / Urn	Skleda / Bowl	Skeletni / Inhumation	Nedoločljiv / Indeterminable	Jagode / Beads	Obeski / Pendants	Ovratnica / Torques	Zapestnica / Bracelet	Ločna / Bow	Polmesečasta / Crescent			
62	1	1			×		2	1				2 Uo	
45				×		×	2	1				1 Pr	
44	1	1+×				×	2	1				1 Pr	I/III
33				×		×	4	2					
51							1	1			1		
53				×			1		1?				
49			S				1						II
12								1					
20								1					
10		1						1					V
4								1?					
15								1?					
39						×	2						
16							2						
43							2						IV
64			S				2						
40				×	×	×							
7				×		×							
11		1		×		×							VII
6				×									
23				×									

* Uo = Uhan/obroček / Earring/ring; Pr = prstan / Fingerring

Sl. 4: Šmihel – Pod Kaculjem. Grobovi z nakitom, ki jim dajejo poseben pečat ločne fibule (glej *op.* 66).

Fig. 4: Šmihel – Pod Kaculjem. Graves with jewellery marked by bow fibulae (see *Fn.* 66).

indikativno tudi to, da so bile osebe z očalastimi fibulami na grobišču Pod Kaculjem pogosto pokopane v žari, pokriti s skledo (*sl.* 3), medtem ko so bile tiste z ločnimi fibulami pokopane brez žare. Izjemi sta le dve osebi z ločnimi fibulami, ki se glede na preostali nakit uvrščata med nosilke nošnje I. kategorije, tj. s parom zapestnic (*sl.* 4), torej med pripadnice najvišjega ranga v okviru ženske populacije na grobišču Pod Kaculjem.

Podobno kot grobovi z ločnimi fibulami Pod Kaculjem, ki so bili pretežno brez žar, tudi na grobišču na Mačkovcu preminulih niso pokopa-

vali v žarah, prav tako niso v grobove prilagali drugih posod, razen redkih izjem (*sl.* 5). To se zdi še posebej pomenljivo, ker so bile na grobišču na Mačkovcu označevalni element noše prav ločne fibule, saj so očalaste fibule predstavljale le redke izjeme (*sl.* 5). Čeprav so grobovi na Mačkovcu v celoti bolj skromni, pa se glede na ostale pridane noše oz. nakita (zapestnice, ovratnice, obeski in jagode) ne razlikujejo od običajnih kategorij noš, kot smo jih ugotovili Pod Kaculjem in na Križni gori. To dejstvo seveda govori za standardizirane tipe noše/kombinacije nakita glede na starostno

Št. groba / Grave No.	Pokop / Burial		Nakit / Jewellery				Fibule / Fibulae			Igla / Pin	Noša / Costume
	Žara / Urn	Skleda / Bowl	Nedoločljiv / Indeterminable	Jagode / Beads	Obeski / Pendants	Ovratnica / Torques	Zapestnica / Bracelet	Ločna / Bow	Polmesečasta / Crescent		
76					×	5	1				
71						2?	1				I
72			×			1?	2	2			
69						1	1		1		
68						1?		1			
81						1				1	II
70			×	×			1				
74			×				1				
82								1			
79	1						1				V
77							1				
78									1		

Sl. 5: Šmihel – Mačkovc. Grobovi z nakitom, ki jim dajejo poseben pečat ločne fibule (glej *op.* 66).

Fig. 5: Šmihel – Mačkovc. Graves with jewellery marked by bow fibulae (see *Fn.* 66).

obdobje, stan in družbeni status ženskih oseb, kar je bilo očitno sprejeto in razpoznavno na celotnem ozemlju notranjsko-kraške skupine in tudi v širšem prostoru jugovzhodnoalpske halštatske kulture.⁶⁸ Ženska noša/nakit je torej predstavljala pomemben družbeni regulativ, zlasti v smislu razpoznavnosti, varnosti in zaščitenosti ženskega sveta.

Ugotovljene razlike v načinu pokopavanja (žara/brez žare) in v označevalnem nakitu (očalasta fibula/ločna fibula) lahko razumemo kot specifične identitetne oznake posameznih skupnosti/družin/rodbin v okviru šmihelskega gradišča. Po grobnih pridatkih pa lahko sklepamo tudi na premoženjske razlike med njimi, saj so npr. ženski grobovi Pod Kaculjem nekaj bogatejši od tistih na Mačkovcu, kar morda kaže na socialno razslojenost prebivalstva znotraj naselbine.

⁶⁸ Za dolensko kulturno skupino prim. Teržan 1985; ead. 2008, 246–262, sl. 24; 26.

Še bolj zapleteno družbeno strukturo pa skriva v sebi nekropola pod Križno goro,⁶⁹ kjer so bili odkriti grobovi z žarami, žgani pokopi v preprostih jamah brez žar in skeletni grobovi. Na načrtu grobišča so sicer razpoznavna določena grupiranja grobov, ki pa nam jih ni uspelo jasno razmejiti ali kakorkoli opredeliti niti po načinu pokopa niti po značilnih grobnih pridatkih, kajti znotraj posamezne grupacije so povečini zastopane na različne načine pokopane osebe.⁷⁰ Kljub temu smo izvedli podrobno analizo grobov ter poskusili ugotoviti značilnosti skupnosti, ki so pokopavale na tem grobišču.

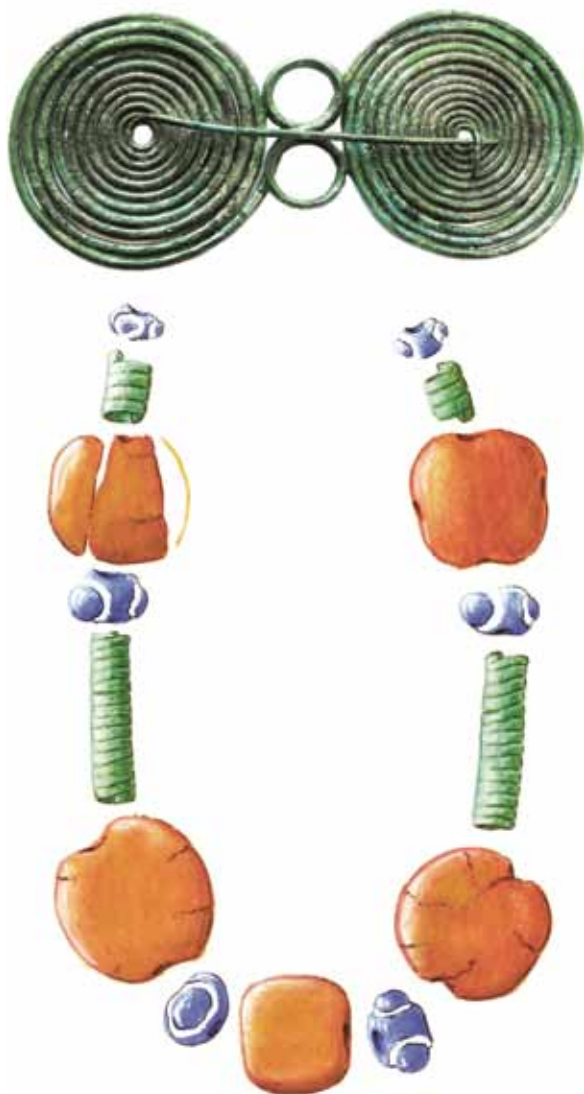
Ker smo na osnovi kombinacije grobnih pridatkov že poskušali razpoznati značilnosti posameznih noš glede na spol, stan in starost,⁷¹ nas tu zanimajo podobni fenomeni, kot so se nam razkrili v primeru grobišč pri Šmihelu, in sicer v kolikšni meri so fibule v okviru ženske nošnje na Križni gori označevalke pripadnosti določeni skupnosti/rodbini. Pokazalo se je, da so podobno kot v Šmihelu merodajne na eni strani očalaste fibule in na drugi ločne (*sl.* 7–8), ki so zastopane tako rekoč v sestavih vseh tipov/kategorij noš: I. noša s fibulo in zapestnicami v paru, II. noša z ovraticami in uhani, III. noša s posameznimi zapestnicami ali v neparnem številu, IV. noša samo s parnimi zapestnicami, V. noša samo s fibulami, obeski, jagodami itd. Ti dve vrsti fibul torej tudi na Križni gori ne gre razumeti le v smislu starostnih ali stanovskih razlik, temveč tudi kot označevalke pripadnosti določeni skupnosti/rodbini.⁷² Zanimivo pa je, da se v načinu pokopavanja kaže ravno nasprotna slika kot na obeh grobiščih Šmihela (Pod Kaculjem in na Mačkovcu): ženske osebe z ločnimi fibulami so na Križni gori pogosteje pokopane v žarah, tiste z očalastimi fibulami pa v žganih grobovih brez žar. Razumevanje tega obratnega sorazmerja otežuje dejstvo, da so tako v prvi skupini (z loč-

⁶⁹ Urleb 1974; Teržan 1978; ead. 1992, 467–469, Abb. 11–12.

⁷⁰ Prim. Urleb 1974, 35–44, sl. 16–19; Teržan 1990, 67–69, sl. 14.

⁷¹ Teržan 1978; ead. 1990, 67–69, sl. 14.

⁷² Samoumevno je, da med posameznimi grobovi z enimi ali drugimi fibulami obstajajo tudi tipološke in kronološke razlike, npr. med navadnimi iz spiralne žice zvitimi očalastimi fibulami, ki so starejše, in dvodelnimi očalastimi fibulami z nosilno ploščico, ki so mlajše, ali pa med ločnimi eno- in dvozankastimi ločnimi fibulami različnih variant itd. Vendar v okviru te raziskave kronološke dimenzije nismo upoštevali in vključili v razpravo, ker bi preseglo obseg in namen tega preglednega prispevka.



Sl. 6: Trnovo pri Ilirski Bistrici. Pridatki naključno odkritega žganega groba: bronasta očalasta fibula, ogrlica iz jantarnih in steklenih jagod ter bronastih spiralnih cevčic/saltaleonov (povzeto po Guštin 2011, 41). (Najdbe so v privatni lasti).
Fig. 6: Trnovo near Ilirska Bistrica. Goods in a cremation burial found by chance: bronze spectacle fibula, necklace of amber and glass beads, as well as bronze spiral tubes (from Guštin 2011, 41). (Goods are in private ownership).

nimi fibulami) kot drugi (z očalastimi fibulami) pogosti tudi skeletni grobovi (sl. 7–8). Kako torej razumeti to raznolikost znotraj Križne gore v načinu pokopavanja in v nošnji prav določenih vrst fibul kot označevalk pripadnosti posameznim družbenim skupnostim/rodbinam?

Kljub vrsti nerazrešenih vprašanj lahko zaključimo s tezo, da je bil sestav prebivalstva na Križni gori in Šmihelu, podobno kot tudi v Škocjanu, heterogen, čemur je morda iskati vzroke

v navezavi na različne tradicije in provenience prvih naseljencev, graditeljev gradišč. Identiteta posameznih skupnosti v okviru naselbin se je, kot kaže, ohranjala in je bila razpoznavna: 1) glede na lego grobišč v odnosu do naselbine, 2) glede na razporeditev grobov v okviru posameznih grobišč v bolj ali manj razpoznavne skupine, 3) glede na način pokopavanja in 4) glede na nošo, zlasti to velja za žensko nošo, tj. sestavo nakita, pri čemer je bil označevalen element skupinske/rodovne/rodbinske pripadnosti predvsem izbrana vrsta fibul (očalaste nasproti ločnim).

Očalaste, ločne in še nekatere druge vrste fibul pa niso bile pomembne le kot označevalke pripadnosti določeni družbeni skupnosti/rodbini znotraj posameznih naselbin, temveč so bile sestavni deli nakita "narodne noše" notranjsko-kraške skupine. V okviru očalastih fibul z osmičko, ki so bile razširjene v pozni kulturi žarnih grobišč (v časovnih stopnjah Ha A2/Ha B1–3) in zgodnji železni dobi (stopnjah Ha C 1–2/Ha D1) med Baltskim in Sredozemskim morjem, je Sabini Pabst uspelo razločiti številne regionalne in lokalne variante. Med njimi je izdvojila tudi posebno varianto očalastih fibul z veliko osmičasto pentljo, ki jo je zaradi njene pogostnosti na Notranjskem poimenovala tip Križna gora, značilen za stopnjo Notranjska II (sl. 6).⁷³ Mlajšo varianto teh fibul s prav tako veliko osmičko, vendar s trakasto ploščico kot nosilcem za iglo za pripenjanje fibule na oblačilo, je opredelila kot tip Tržišče, značilen predvsem za stopnjo Notranjska III.⁷⁴ Hkrati je njena analiza pokazala, da predstavljata obe za Notranjsko značilni varianti lokalni izvedbi očalastih fibul z najbližjimi primerjavami v japonski kulturni skupini, in sicer v tipih Kompolje in Prozor.⁷⁵ Zato lahko povzamemo, da očalaste fibule v ženski nošnji na Notranjskem na eni strani pričajo o navezavi na tradicijo kulture žarnih grobišč in izkazujejo na drugi strani neposredno povezanost s sočasno nošnjo očalastih fibul pri svojih jugovzhodnih sosedih – pri Japodih.⁷⁶ Nasprotno pa predstavljajo dvozankaste ločne fibule v notranjsko-kraški skupini izrazit balkanski tip fibul, ki mu je v številnih različicah mogoče slediti od centralnega Balkana preko Dolenjske

⁷³ Glej Lazarevski Poklar 2000; Guštin 2011, 41. Mitju Guštinu se zahvaljujem za sliko in dovoljenje za objavo.

⁷⁴ Pabst 2012, 57–59, 76, 199–209, Abb. 3: 4; 6: 1; Karte 14: 1; 20: 1; Liste 13; 25.

⁷⁵ Pabst 2012, 59–63, 76–79, Abb. 3: 5; 6: 2; Karte 14; 20.

⁷⁶ Za časovno opredelitev nošnje očalastih fibul z osmičko pri Japodih so na voljo tudi radiokarbonske datacije (Zavodny et al. 2019, Fig. 4).

Št. groba / Grave No.	Pokop / Burial					Nedoločljiv / Indeterminable	Vijček / Spindle whorl	Nakit / Jewellery					Fibule / Fibulae			Igla / Pin	Drugo / Other	Noša / Costume
	Skeletni / Inhumation	Žgan / Incineration	Žara / Urn	Posoda / Vessel	Sklada / Bowl			Gumbi / Buttons	Jagode / Beads	Obeski / Pendants	Uhani/obročki / Earring/ring	Ovratnica / Torques	Zapestnica / Bracelet	Ločna / Bow	Polmesečasta / Crescent			
25	S				1						2			2	1			
13		×		1	1			×			2	1		1				
10		×			1					×	3			1	1?			
37		×		1	1						2			1				
117		×		1	2						3?			1			I	
147		×		1	1						2?			1				
64	S										2			1				
79	S				×				×	×	2			1				
100	S				1	×			×	×	4			1				
141		×		1		×					1			1				
124	S			1	1				×	×	2	1	1	1			III	
63	S			1	1		1				1			1				
113	S			1			1				1			1				
104	S					×					1			1				
121	S			1	1						1	1		1				
126	S				1	×		×	×	×	3	1		1			II	
128	S						1				2			1				
38		×		1			1						1	2	1?			
9		×		1	1		1	×	×					2				
103	S			1	1				×	×			1	1				
36	S			1	1								2	1				
18		×		1	1									1		Kf	V	
20		×			1									1				
90		×		1										1				
23	S				1									1				
127	S				1									1				

* Kf = Kačasta fibula / Serpentine fibula

Sl. 7: Križna gora. Grobovi z nakitom, ki jim dajejo poseben pečat očalaste fibule (glej op. 66).

Fig. 7: Križna gora. Graves with jewellery marked by spectacle fibulae (see Fn. 66).

vse do Soče, torej do svetolucijske skupine, kjer poteka zahodna meja njihove razprostranjenosti. Pri tem kaže posebej poudariti, da dvozankaste ločne fibule kot tip razen redkih izjemnih primerkov niso bile razširjene v kulturnih skupinah obalnega pasu Jadrana in njegovega zaledja – niti pri Japodih, niti pri Liburnih, niti Histrih, pa tudi pri Venetih ne!⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Müller 2009, 194–195, Abb. 203: karta s shematičnim prikazom razprostranjenosti dvozankastih ločnih fibul na

Iz prikazane analize načina pokopa in nakita (sl. 3–8) lahko sklepamo, da je na Notranjskem prišlo v zgodnji železni dobi do nenavadne simbioze japodskih⁷⁸ in balkanskih elementov. Paradoksalno

Balkanu je zavajajoča oz. ni točna. Ta tip fibul namreč ni bil razširjen v obalnem pasu Jadrana. Prim. Gabrovec 1970.

⁷⁸ Omeniti kaže podobnosti v načinu pokopavanja (biritualnost) in grobnih grupacij z nekropolami predvsem na japodskem območju. Prim. Drechsler-Bižić 1987, 424–428; Balen-Letunić 2006, 33–36.

Št. groba / Grave No.	Pokop / Burial					Nedoločljiv / Indeterminable	Vijček / Spindle whorl	Nakit / Jewellery					Fibule / Fibulae				Iгла / Pin	Drugo / Other	Noša / Costume
	Skelet / Inhumation	Žgan / Incineration	Žara / Urn	Posoda / Vessel	Skloda / Bowl			Gumbi / Buttons	Jagode / Beads	Obeski / Pendants	Uhani/obročki / Earring/ring	Ovratnica / Torques	Zapestnica / Bracelet	Ločna / Bow	Polmesečasta / Crescent	Očalasta / Spectacle			
22	S			1	1					1	2	1							
52		×	Ž	1	1						2	1							
80		×	Ž		1			×			2	1							
69		×	Ž	1			1			×	2	1							
49		×	Ž				1				2	1						I	
72	S				2		1	×	×	1	2		1						
114	S			1	1					×	2	1							
84	S			1	1						2?	1							
120	S				1						2	1							
78	S			1	1						1	1							
125	S				1						1	1						III	
110		×						×		×	1	1						III	
115	S			1	1			×		1	1	(1)			1			II	
47		×	Ž	1	1					2		1							
60		×		1	1	×		×	×			1							
4		×	Ž	2	2	×		×		×		1					Ko, Ps		
122		×	Ž	1	1								1						
144		×	Ž	1	1							1							
135		×		1	1							1							
134		×		1								1						V	
11		×		1									1			1	Su		
8		×		1	1								1						
71	S				2							1							
101	S			1	1							1							
119	S											1							
95	S			1								1				1			

* Ko = Konjska oprema / Horse gear; Ps = Pasna spona / Belt clasp; Su = Sulična ost / Spearhead.

Sl. 8: Križna gora. Grobovi z nakitom, ki jim dajejo poseben pečat ločne fibule (glej op. 66).

Fig. 8: Križna gora. Graves with jewellery marked by bow fibulae (see Fn. 66).

je, da se odražajo predvsem v ženski noši, v kateri je določenim vrstam fibul/nakita torej pripadala označevalna in hkrati razločevalna vloga v smislu ožje (rodbinske?) identitete.

Med značilne fibule notranjsko-kraške skupine sodijo tudi polmesečaste fibule, predvsem dvozankaste, okrašene z iztolčenimi bunkami na razširjenem loku, ki smo jih poimenovali kot tip Križna gora,⁷⁹ in pa velike čolničaste fibule z le

rahlo usločenim širokim čolničastim lokom (Laharnar, Murgelj, sl. 3–4; t. 3: 1).⁸⁰ Tako prve kot druge so bile sestavni del nakita ženske noše v času stopnje Notranjska III. V stopnji Notranjska IV pa izkazujejo lokalne posebnosti masivno lite kačaste fibule, ki so v večjem številu doslej znane predvsem s Tržišča pri Cerknici ter posamično iz

⁷⁹ Teržan 1990, 59–60, 77, sl. 3: 1; 7: 3; 9: 2; 14.

⁸⁰ Guštin 1973, 472–477, sl. 2: 24,28; t. 9: 2,7; id. 1979, t. 18: 1–5; 58: 6; 60: 11–12.

Šmihela in Čepne pri Knežaku.⁸¹ V nasprotju z očalastimi in dvozankastimi fibulami pa čolničaste in kačaste fibule odsevajo vplive z italškega oz. venetskega kulturnega prostora.

S temi nekaj primeri značilnih tipov fibul smo želeli ponazoriti svojstven kulturni izraz notranjsko-kraške skupine, ki se izkazuje ne le v kompleksnosti načina pokopavanja in v specifičnostih nošnje, temveč tudi v oblikovanju nakita, v čemer se zrcali njena identiteta.

DEPOJSKE NAJDBE

Iz pozne bronaste in zgodnje železne dobe je z območja Notranjske in Krasa znanih tudi nekaj depojskih najdb, ki pa se po najdiščnih okoliščinah in časovni dimenziji bistveno razlikujejo od že omenjenih v Mušji in Skeletni jami iz okolice Škocjana.

Pri Velikem Otoku sta bila najdena kar dva depoja – manjši, najden pri vhodu v Mačkovco jamo, vsebuje plavutasti sekiri in okrasno ploščico, večji pa bronaste surovce v obliki fragmentov kladivastih oz. bikoničnih ingotov. Ker imajo nekateri kosi posebne reliefne krožne označbe, neke vrste pečat, se domneva, da gre za posebno vrsto kovine.⁸² Dejansko so spektrometrične in metalografske raziskave Neve Trampuž Orel in njenih sodelavcev pokazale, da je v bronasti zlitini surovcev visoka vsebnost svinca in drugih slednih elementov, kar se kaže kot značilnost ingotov na našem območju v stopnji Ha B. Ingoti iz Velikega Otoka skupaj s tistimi iz depojev s Kanalskega vrha⁸³ kažejo torej na novo metalurško znanje in tehnološki napredek pri predelavi kompleksnih polimetalnih rud in izdelavi kovine s posebnimi lastnostmi za nadaljnje razpečevanje.⁸⁴ Glede na razmeroma številne podobne depoje z bikoničnimi surovci na prostoru med osrednjo Slovenijo in Furlanijo, vključno z Notranjsko, bi lahko sklepali, da so morebiti te polizdelke dragocene kovine tod izdelovali in jih posredovali v srednje evropski

kot tudi italški, morda pa tudi širši sredozemski prostor.⁸⁵

Le nekoliko kasneje se na območju zahodne Slovenije, vključno z Notranjsko, pojavi še druga vrsta depojev, ki jih je Peter Turk širokopotezno označil kot depoji tipa Bologna/San Francesco – Šempeter (pri Novi Gorici).⁸⁶ V njih so prav tako zastopani različni ingoti, od katerih so uhate sekire vredne posebne pozornosti. Predmeti so deponirani največkrat v obliki manjših fragmentov, le izjemoma celi. Takšni depoji oz. skupki koščkov kovine so bili v zadnjih dveh do treh desetletjih odkriti povečini z detektorjem kovin, in sicer pretežno v naselbinah, kar velja tudi za notranjske najdbe, npr. s Starega gradu nad Hruševjem, z Gradišča nad Zgornjo Košano, Babe nad Slavino, Gradišča nad Pivko, Gradišča nad Knežakom in Ulake (Laharnar, Murgelj, t. 1: 6–12).⁸⁷ Ob južni meji notranjsko-kraške skupine pa je bil pred nedavnim odkrit depo pri Klani, skrit v popolni divjini (Blečić Kavur, sl. 7). Zaradi povečini nenavadnega kemijskega sestava (prav tako z visoko vsebnostjo svinca), zlasti uhatih sekir, sklepamo, da njihovi fragmenti in drugi bronasti koščki v teh depojih niso bili namenjeni zgolj metalurški dejavnosti, temveč so bili v obtoku tudi kot predmonetarno plačilno sredstvo.⁸⁸ Če sledimo tej tezi Neve Trampuž Orel, moramo seveda omeniti, da imajo tako kladivasti ingoti kot tudi uhate sekire kot značilni tipi depojev tega obdobja svoje izvorno področje v italškem prostoru (oz. vzhodnem Sredozemlju).⁸⁹ To verjetno pomeni, da so bili naši kraji s prevzemom takšnih plačilnih sredstev vključeni v širši predmonetarni sistem, ki je zaobjemal poleg Apeninskega polotoka tudi alpski svet z njegovim jugovzhodnim obrobjem, kjer se je obdržal, kot kažejo nekatere depojske najdbe, vse do zgodnjega 6. st. pr. n. št.

Tretjo vrsto depojev na Notranjskem predstavljajo nenavadne najdbe večje količine orožja. Sestavljajo jih sulice, sekire, meči, ponekod še čelade in konjska oprema. Odkriti so bili povečini v neposredni bližini

⁸¹ Guštin 1973, 474–477, karta 3, sl. 2: 39; id. 1979, t. 3: 1; 19: 1–7; 60: 19; Tecco Hvala 2014, 130–131, sl. 3b, tip IIIb3, karta 6.

⁸² Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 227–229, sl. 49, t. 139; Turk, Turk 2019, 202–205, sl. 253. Točna lokacija depoja Veliki Otok I ni znana.

⁸³ Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek, 1995–1996.

⁸⁴ Trampuž-Orel 1996, 193–197, sl. 5–7, pril. A: 37; Trampuž Orel 1999, 417–419, Fig. 4; Trampuž Orel, Heath 2001, 150–163, 167–171.

⁸⁵ Turk, Turk 2019, 205, sl. 254; Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1995–1996, 64, sl. 6. Glej tudi Sperber 2000, 392–395, Abb. 11.

⁸⁶ Turk 2018, 398–400, Fig. 1; 3.

⁸⁷ Trampuž Orel, Heath 1998, 237–248, Fig. 1–5, Pl. 1; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 89–91, sl. 102; Nanut 2018, 145–147, sl. 11: 16–24.

⁸⁸ Trampuž Orel, Heath 1998, 240–246, Fig. 7, Tab. 1; Teržan 2008, 296–300, sl. 47–48; Turk 2018, 399–400; Nanut 2018, 141–145, sl. 5–8.

⁸⁹ Nadaljnja diskusija v tej smeri bi preseгла okvir tega prispevka.

naselbin, npr. ob vznožju gradišča v Tomaju ali pa Tržišča pri Dolenji vasi pri Cerknici. Peter Turk jih je poimenoval kot depoje tipa Tržišče-Porpetto in jih datiral v čas med 8. in 6. st. pr. n. št.⁹⁰ Ponovno sta jih na simpoziju predstavila Mitja Guštin in Dragan Božič ter jih poskušala kronološko in prostorsko natančneje opredeliti (Guštin, Božič). Število kosov posameznih zvrsti orožja v posameznih depojih kaže, da gre za orožje, ki je pripadalo organiziranim vojaškim enotam s poveljnikom na čelu (čelada, bronasta bojna sekira ali/in sulica), z nekaj konjeniki (konjska oprema in enorezni ukrivljeni meči) ter pešaki suličarji (železne sulice, ponekod tudi železne sekire). Njihovo deponiranje pa lahko razumemo kot *tropaia*, kot pravi Peter Turk v *interpretatio Caput Adriae*, v lokalnem obredu zmagovite vojaške demonstracije.⁹¹ Ob tem se seveda poraja vprašanje, kdo je slavil zmago, ali napadalci ali uspešni branilci dobro utrjenih gradišč.

V notranjsko-kraški skupini pridatki orožja v grobove v zgodnji starejši železni dobi niso bili običajni, zato nam je ostalo prikrito, kakšno orožje so posedovali. Tudi v sosednjih skupinah, kot so japonska, histrska in svetolucijska, orožja med grobnimi pridatki razen redkih izjem praviloma ni, kar prav tako otežuje razpoznavanje eventualnih agresorjev iz sosedstva. Morda je šlo le za medsebojna prerivanja znotraj notranjsko-kraške skupine, a ni izključeno, da so napadalci oz. plenilci prihajali tudi od drugod, kot bi morda lahko sklepali na osnovi mnogo kasnejših antičnih pisnih virov.⁹² Če bi izhajali iz nekaterih značilnih tipov orožja, kot so npr. ukrivljeni meči – mahaire, in sledili njihovemu pojavljanju v grobovih kot zanesljivemu indikatorju, da so spadali k bojni opremi preminulih, bi se pokazala naslednja slika: mahaire so v času depojev iz Tomaja ali Tržišča posedovali na eni strani bojevniki v dolenski kulturni skupini, kot kažejo grobovi v Novem mestu⁹³ in na nekaterih drugih dolenskih in belokranjskih najdiščih. Na drugi strani zasledimo mahaire, sicer bolj izjemoma, tudi pri Japodih (npr. v Prozoru) in v Istri (v Beramu, Picugih in Nezakciji).⁹⁴ Tako sta bili v histrskem Nezakciji v enem najbogatejših grobov iz sredine

6. st. pr. n. št., grobu I/12, položeni kar dve mahairi na kamnito žaro, tretja pa je ležala ob robu grobne skrinje.⁹⁵ A kot je opozoril že Guštin, so mahairam podobni veliki bojni noži znani tudi iz grobov v sosednji Furlaniji, npr. iz Pozzuola del Friuli.⁹⁶ V Istri zasledimo tudi stožčaste čelade z grebenom enakega tipa, kot so mu pripadali fragmenti čelade iz depoja s Trnovega nad Ilirsko Bistrico. Zanimivo je, da so te čelade v istrskih grobovih služile celo kot žare,⁹⁷ kar je verjetno poudarjalo bojevniški značaj preminule osebe. Če bi torej sklepali le na osnovi v grobove pridanih mahair, bi prišle v poštev plenilske tolpe bodisi iz Dolenske ali Bele krajine bodisi iz Japodije ali Istre, pa tudi Furlanije. Če bi poleg mahaire upoštevali še čelado z grebenom, bi ta kazala na Histre kot morebitne napadalce. Če pa bi se oprli na igle iz depoja v Tomaju, sta med njimi vsaj dve z majhno kroglasto glavico in svitkom pod njo, ki imata primerjave v Istri,⁹⁸ a so takšne igle s kroglasto oz. kroglastimi glavicami in svitki med njimi značilne zlasti za nošnjo v japonski skupini.⁹⁹ V tomajskem depoju je tudi nekaj fragmentov železnih igel z bronasto kroglasto glavico oz. glavicami, kakršne se pojavljajo v Istri kot del moške noše predvsem v grobovih III. stopnje, npr. v Beramu, Picugih, Rovinju in Nezakciji.¹⁰⁰ Navedene analogije za igle, mahaire in čelado dajejo misliti, da bi napadalci lahko bili Histri ali Japodi.

S tem kratkim ekskurzom o mahairah, čeladah in iglah smo želeli le opozoriti, da so v depojih z orožjem na Notranjskem in Krasu kosi, ki niso nujno lokalni, temveč verjetno tuje provenience, zato jih razumemo kot kazalnike nestabilnih časov. Vprašanje ostaja, ali lahko katerega od obravna-

⁹⁰ Turk 2018, 400–404, Fig. 2–3; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 84–87, sl. 94–96, 98.

⁹¹ Turk 2018, 403–404.

⁹² Cfr. npr. Šašel 1977; id. 1992b.

⁹³ Npr. slavni grob s Kapitelske njive I/16 z enako plavutasto sekiro, kot je bila v depoju iz Tomaja (cf. Knez 1993, t. 18: 6; 19: 46–47).

⁹⁴ Glej Guštin 1974, 77–92 s seznamom najdišč in karto razprostranjenosti.

⁹⁵ Mihovilić 2001, 84–85, 149, 165–166, t. 24: 2; 25: 1–2; ead. 1995, 284–285, Taf. 20: 1–3.

⁹⁶ Glej tu Guštin, Božič, op. 68.

⁹⁷ Kučar 1979, 90, Tab. 1: 3; Mihovilić 2013, 200, Fig. 117.

⁹⁸ Kučar 1979, Tab. 2: 4; 12: 14.

⁹⁹ Igle z majhno kroglasto glavico in diskom oz. svitkom pod njo ne predstavljata "prototipa" večglavih igel s trombastim zaključkom, kot to trdita tu Guštin, Božič, temveč gre za značilni japonski tip igel, ki se ohrani vse do zgodnjega 6. st. pr. n. št. Te japonske igle imajo od ene do več glavic, med katerimi so praviloma diski oz. svitki. Zato tudi datacija depoja iz Tomaja ni nujno 8. st. pr. n. št., lahko je tudi nekoliko kasnejši. Primerjaj Laharnar, Turk 2017, 86, sl. 96; Turk 2018, 401–402, Fig. 2, in Drechsler-Bižić 1958, 38, t. 3: 21–24; Lo Schiavo 1970, 460–461, t. 36: 1–2; Teßmann 2001, 69–70, Abb. 38–39.

¹⁰⁰ Kučar 1979, 115, t. 2: 4,8; 3: 9; 4: 13; 6: 3–4; 12; Mihovilić 2001, 79–81, sl. 64; t. 5: 3; 6: 3; 27: 3; 37: 5; 56: 8; ead. 2013, 196–199, sl. 114; Matošević, Mihovilić 2004, 19, t. 1: 4.

vanih depojev povežemo s prej omenjenimi in še nerazjasnjenimi cezurami, kot jih nakazujejo prenehanja nekropol na Brežcu pri Škocjanu, Pod Kaculjem in Mačkovcem pri Šmihelu ter na Križni gori. Če bi se oprli na kronološko razdelitev depojev, ki jo predlagata Guštin in Božič, bi lahko sklepali na periodične vojaške dejavnosti, morda v podobnem smislu, kot jih pripoveduje Odisej, čeprav je bila tudi njemu sreča opoteča:

*Preden sinovi Ahajcev pogleli polje so trojansko,
bil sem devetkrat že vodja možem in jadrnim ladjam,
zoper oddaljena ljudstva, in silo nagrabil sem plena.
Vselej izbral sem si del, še več pa dobil pri delitvi:
naglo je raslo imetje, mi hiša cvelà v blaginji,*

...

*Toda uničil je Zeus me Kronion – tako je pač hotel –,
s tropom blodečih gusarjev poslal me je v krajine tuje,
noter v Egipt, to dolga je pot, da bi tam se pogubil.
Prav na reki Aigiptu zasidral sem ladje somerne.*

...

*Moji ljudje pa, vdani nasilju, so z burnim pohlepom
vrgli na rop se in plen, po lepih egiptovskih poljih,
ženske odgnali s seboj in z njimi negotne otroke,
moške pa vse so pobili: ...¹⁰¹*

Ropanje, predvsem živine, in piratstvo je bilo, kot kaže, tradicionalna "gospodarska" panoga/dejavnost v okviru homerske družbe. Vodje kot Odisej so bili *basilei*, a ropanje in plen nista bila v korist le njim samim in njihovemu spremstvu, temveč celotni pripadajoči skupnosti.¹⁰² Povsem predstavljivo je, da so na podoben način delovale skupnosti v starejši železni dobi tudi izven grškega sveta, na zahodnem Balkanskem polotoku, v zaledju severnega Jadrana.

S tega vidika in upoštevajoč predvsem depoje z orožjem kot svojevrstne *tropaia* postanejo bolj razumljive s kamnitimi obzidji varovane naselbine – gradišča ter skrb zanje, ki se kaže v obnavljanju poškodovanih zidov (Bavdek, pril. 1; Bratina, sl. 3 in 4, 9 in 10; Vinazza, sl. 1) pa tudi

v zamejevanju bližnje okolice z zidovi (sl. 2; glej še Vidojevič), ki so verjetno služili prav varovanju prostora za kmetijsko izrabo. Ne nazadnje, varovanju širšega prostora – in ne le posameznih naselbin – je bil namenjen tudi obrambni sistem na Krasu z nizom utrjenih postojank, obrambnih ali razglednih stolpov ter manjših gradišč, vzdolž severnega kraškega roba nad Vipavsko dolino, ki so nadzorovali in zapirali dostop na kraško planoto. Kot kažejo radiokarbonske datacije z izkopavanj stolpa na Ostrem vrhu pri Štanjelu (Teržan, Turk), je bil ta sistem po vsej verjetnosti zgrajen v teku 8. st. in obnovljen v 5. st. pr. n. št.

SKLEPNA BESEDA

Na osnovi dosedanjih arheoloških raziskav se notranjsko-kraška skupina kaže kot izredno kompleksno strukturirana tvorba, kar zadeva značilnosti njene poselitve in družbeno sfero. Različnost v načinu pokopavanja ter svojskost v nošnji/nakitju sta odsev raznolikih faset njene identitete, zaradi česar se jasno razlikuje od sosednjih kulturnih skupin. Svojo vlogo so pri tem zagotovo imele geografska razgibanost prostora in naravne danosti, z notranjskimi polji in podolji na eni strani ter Kraško planoto na drugi, kar je pogojevalo boljše ali slabšo medsebojno povezanost krajevnih skupnosti posameznih območij. Novejše raziskave so pokazale, da so bile skupnosti teritorialno organizirane in so svoj teritorij tudi varovale, kar najbolj jasno nakazujejo obrambne zapore na severnem kraškem robu. Na vprašanje, ali so morebiti v svojem družbeno-političnem razvoju celo dosegle prag protourbanega v smislu arhajskega starogrškega polisa ali zgodnjerskega pomeria (*pomerium*), pa bodo lahko dala odgovor šele nadaljnja raziskovanja.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Homer, Odiseja, XIV 229–233; XVII 424–427, 431–434 (prevod A. Sovre, 1966).

¹⁰² Murray 1982, 63–65.

¹⁰³ Na koncu se želim zahvaliti Almi Bavdek, Mitju Guštinu in Boštjanu Laharnarju za konstruktivne diskusije, Mancu Vinazza za pomoč pri pripravi slik 3–8, Boštjanu Laharnarju za sliko 2, Mitju Guštinu za sliko 6 ter Sneži Tecco Hvala in Mateji Belak za pripravo slike 1.

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The Notranjska-Kras Hallstatt group

An introduction and brief outline

Translation

‘Gabrovec Day’ is a scientific symposium honouring the memory of Acad. Prof. Dr. Stane Gabrovec. It took place for the third time on 17 January 2019 and was dedicated to the third cultural group within the framework of the ‘Hallstatt cultural groups in Slovenia’; the first one presented the Styrian-Pannonian group (AV 70), the second one the Dolenjska group (AV 71) and the third, current one presents the Notranjska-Kras group. To our delight, most lecturers have submitted their written contributions, published in this volume of *Arheološki vestnik*,¹ which shed new light on the group, particularly with the results of the investigations in recent years.

According to Gabrovec, the Notranjska Hallstatt group extended across the Notranjska region and the Kras all to the Gulf of Trieste.² It is an area where the Alps and the Dinaric Alps meet, hence an area of marked differences in geography and geomorphology. Notranjska is dominated by relatively mountainous, undulated terrain dotted with upland plateaus (*polje*), while the Kras/ Karst is a high plateau overlooking the Gulf of Trieste.³ This diversity influenced both the settlement and the cultural expression. The archaeological sites in Notranjska and the Kras, primarily the hillforts enclosed with mighty stone ramparts, attracted the attention of researchers very early on,⁴ but their material culture remained poorly known due to the relatively modest finds. Gabrovec based his study of the Notranjska group on relatively limited evidence such as the finds that Mehtilda Urleb excavated on Križna gora⁵ and the excavations that Carlo Marchesetti conducted prior to World War I at Brežec near Škocjan⁶ but also from other

Iron Age sites, the finds from which are kept in the museums in Vienna and Ljubljana and have been published by Mitja Guštin.⁷ Recent investigations have shown a great diversity within the cultural group that merits a broader name, i.e. the Notranjska-Kras group (*Fig. 1*), a renaming that is supported by the contributions presented in this volume. The main study on Notranjska, written by Alma Bavdek, offers an exhaustive overview of the history of archaeological research, but also the settlement of the area and its spatial organisation, the results of the latest archaeological excavations in settlements at Sovič above Postojna and Cvinger near Dolenja vas, near Cerknica, and in the cemetery at Trnovo near Ilirska Bistrica (Bavdek). Adding to this are the report on the archaeological excavations at Sovič (Omahen), the presentation of the hillforts along the upper reaches of the River Reka that is based on an analysis of LiDAR images and topographic surveys (Vidojević) and the first publication of the rich funerary finds from the area of Ulaka above Stari trg pri Ložu (Laharnar, Murgelj). The presentation of the research at the sites in Notranjska is followed by contributions presenting the recent investigations in the Kras, primarily of settlements (Bratina; Vinazza), as well as of the watch tower associated with the barriers along the northern edge of the Kras plateau (Teržan, Turk). The paper on the pottery from the Kras focuses on distinguishing between the ceramics of the Bronze and Iron Age respectively by studying the fabrics and production methods (Vinazza). A special study is dedicated to the weapon hoards that offer an interesting insight into the military and conflict situation of the day (Guštin, Božič). In addition to Notranjska and the Kras, two papers also take a look beyond the group’s southern border, to the Bay of Kvarner (Blečić Kavur), on the one side, and Istra (Mihovilić) on the other. This revealed clear differences between Kvarner as part of the Liburnian cultural milieu and Histrian Istra, but also how little they have in common with the Notranjska-Kras group as a clearly independent entity.

¹ I refer to individual contributions with the name of the author in brackets, e.g. (Bavdek).

² Gabrovec 1987, 151–152.

³ Kranjc 1999, 9–11. Also see other contributions in the same publication (e.g. Šebela 1999; Mihevc 1999) and in the monograph by Mihevc (2005).

⁴ See here Bavdek (with an exhaustive and detailed history of archaeological research in Notranjska), as well as Vidojević, Bratina and Vinazza.

⁵ Urleb 1974.

⁶ Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977.

⁷ Guštin 1979.

CHRONOLOGY

The archaeological finds that came to light on the territory ascribed to the Notranjska-Kras group, which form the basis for its chronological division, are less numerous and more modest in comparison to the rich grave finds of the adjacent Dolenjska Hallstatt group. The reason for this lies in the different funeral rites with the prevailing cremation burial following the Urnfield culture tradition, i.e. a relatively simple burial costume and modest grave goods. This renders the chronological division of the material culture in Notranjska and the Kras a more complex and demanding task. It should be noted that several chronological divisions were in the past proposed for the cemeteries at Križna gora⁸ and at Brežec near Škocjan⁹ separately, but the one that has been most widely accepted for the Iron Age in Notranjska and the Kras is the common division into eight phases proposed by Guštin¹⁰ and accepted by Gabrovec and others.¹¹ The dating of individual chronological phases or subphases of the Early Iron Age was verified by the radiocarbon analyses obtained from select human bone samples from the graves at Križna gora, Trnovo near Ilirska Bistrica and Zidanca near Podnanos.¹² When dating certain types of finds, such as crescent-shaped or boat fibulae, we did not want to introduce new names for individual phases, only stated which types of objects could be provided with an absolute dating and in which of the phases they occurred. The radiocarbon dating of samples from the Early Iron Age (8th–4th centuries BC) is not very accurate due to the 'Hallstatt plateau' on the calibration curve and the ranges are relatively long. However, specially modelled values can nevertheless bring us closer to an absolute date for select grave groups or goods. These reveal that the beginnings of the Iron Horizon in Notranjska should already be sought in the 10th–9th centuries BC,¹³ while individual phases

⁸ Urleb 1974, 19–44; Urleb 1973; Guštin 1979, 19–22, Fig. 8–11; Cirone et al. 1990, 169–181, Pl. 74–81.

⁹ Vitri 1977, 39–42, Fig. 12; Guštin 1979, 18–23, Fig. 6–7; 11; Malizia et al. 1990, 150–158.

¹⁰ Guštin 1973; id. 1979, 18–32, Fig. 11.

¹¹ Gabrovec 1987, 154–162, 903, Fig. 9–10; Pl. 16–18; also see Gabrovec 1999; Parzinger 1989, 22–24; Pl. 26–28; Borgna et al. 2018, Fig. 2.

¹² Bavdek, Urleb 2014; Bratina 2014. Also see here Vinazza, Fig. 5.

¹³ The early beginning has already been inferred from several iron objects in the graves below Brežec near Škocjan,

remain roughly the same, possibly only altered as to their beginning. The Notranjska II (a–c) phase, for example, commences in the late 9th century or around 800 BC and continues to the early 7th century BC, with a new array of types appearing in the mid-7th century at the latest that goes on to characterise the Notranjska III phase.¹⁴

SETTLEMENT

Chronological outline

The previous knowledge and the new findings from recent investigations, particularly those presented at Gabrovec Day, offer a following insight into the settlement of Notranjska and the Kras in the Iron Age.

The Notranjska-Kras group witnessed more intense settlement in the Late Bronze Age, in the time of the Urnfield culture. Evidence of this comes from numerous pottery finds, especially those with the characteristic pseudo-cord impressions that can be traced from the coastal areas and the hillforts around Trieste/Trst such as on Cattinara/Katinara, Monte d'Oro/Dolga krona and Jelarji/Elleri with the associated cemetery at S. Barbara near Korošci,¹⁵ but also on Sv. Mihael near Štorje, Tomaj and Tabor near Vrabče all to Cvinger near Dolenja vas and Gradišče on Slivnica near Lake Cerknica (Bavdek, Pl. 2: 18,21; Vinazza, Pl. 2: 21–23).¹⁶ Some of these hillforts were already inhabited in the Middle, some even in the Early Bronze Age; the latter are Castelliere di Slivia/Slivno, Jelarji/Elleri and Sv. Mihael near Štorje,¹⁷ possibly also the newly investigated Sovič, where the cultural layers were unearthed both on the summit and at the foot of the hill (Bavdek; Omaha). Other hillforts most probably appeared in

cf. Vitri 1977, 39, Fig. 12; Teržan 1995, 353, 359–361, Fig. 28: 3,10; Trampuž Orel 2012, 21–23, Fig. 3.

¹⁴ Cf. Teržan, Črešnar 2014, 703–706, 713–718, Fig. 36; 37; 39; 41; 44.

¹⁵ Maselli Scotti 1983, 207–209, Pl. 50: 2–4; Maselli Scotti 1997, 51, 53, 108, Pl. 6: 19; 8: 11; 20: 21; 23: 8; 26: 1; Montagnari Kokelj 1996; Flego, Rupel 1993, 171–176, 201–202, 207–214 and others.

¹⁶ Bavdek 2018, 166–167, Fig. 2: 1–4; 9; Bratina 2018b, 96–99, Fig. 10: 1–2; Guštin 1979, 34, Pl. 7: 8; 8: 1–2,9; 36: 10.

¹⁷ Hänsel, Mihovilić, Teržan 1997, 87–95, Fig. 46; Mihovilić, Hänsel, Teržan 2005, 401–402; Guštin 1979, Pl. 7: 6,9; 9: 1,4–7; 10: 4–5. Cf. Hellmuth Kramberger 2017, 321–333, 355–357, Fig. 268.

the Early Iron Age, for example those on Cvinger and Tržišče near Dolenja vas at Lake Cerknica, Tabor near Vrabče and several other sites in Notranjska and the Kras (Bavdek; Vinazza). For the hillforts in Tomaj and Tabor near Vrabče, we also have radiocarbon dates that place the beginning of settlement roughly between the 11th and 9th centuries BC (Bratina, Fig. 11; Vinazza, Fig. 5).¹⁸ The pseudo-cord ware recovered from these sites is not limited to this group, but also known from several sites in Istra, even more so in the wider areas of Friuli and Veneto, where it is reliably dated to *Bronzo finale* 2–3, i.e. Ha A2/B1–2 according to the Müller-Karpe chronology, particularly on the basis of the settlement finds from Pozzuolo del Friuli¹⁹ and the cemeteries associated with the settlement at Frattesina-Fratta Polesine.²⁰ It seems likely that such pottery, as well as several bronze objects found at Cvinger near Dolenja vas (Bavdek, Pl. 3: 1,15) and the mould for making winged axes and rings from the settlement complex at Sermin²¹ indicate novelties and changes that swept across the Notranjska-Kras group, revealing close cultural ties of the local communities with those living in the northern Adriatic and the Friuli-Veneto area.

Evidence in support of this comes from one of the key sites of the period within the Notranjska-Kras group – Škocjan near Divača, in the Kras. In addition to the settlement complex,²² this site includes several cemeteries and the well-known hoard finds from the abysses of Mušja jama/ Fliegenhöhle and Skeletna jama/ Knochenhöhle, also known as Jama I and Jama II at Prevala. The exceptional location of the Škocjan settlement above the precipitous slopes and associated with the water course (*ponor*) of the River Reka, the specific nature of the bronze finds from both abysses²³ and the heterogeneous nature of the grave goods from the associated cemeteries at Brežec, Ponikve and Grič above Lisičina reveal the area of Škocjan as a cult centre of a supraregional

importance. Of the cemeteries, the one at Brežec stands out in the number of burials and their rich goods,²⁴ substantially differing in the composition of grave goods from all other contemporary graves of the Urnfield culture in the wider south-eastern Alpine and Pannonian areas. They include new elements in the funerary ritual, some of which are significant, for example weapons, swords in particular.²⁵ These underline the role of the male, military component in society, which associates Škocjan or rather the community that buried their dead at Brežec with the Italic-Villanovian cultural concept. The goods that stand out in female burials are pieces of jewellery with the origin in Iapodic Lika and the Liburnian northern Adriatic.²⁶ The other Škocjan cemetery, at Ponikve, shows a slightly different character, consisting of burials with goods of the continental ‘Dobova type’.²⁷ The third cemetery, presumably a tumulus cemetery, located on Grič above Lisičina is distinguished by unusual items of Italic provenance.²⁸ We can infer that the population living at Škocjan was a heterogeneous one that combined the characteristics of different cultural groups from different geographic areas.

An even more complex picture is the one gained from the hoard finds from Mušja jama/ Fliegenhöhle, the revision of which has recently been published.²⁹ The span of the objects shows that deposition took place between the 12th/11th and 8th/7th centuries BC. The incidence of the different types of objects remained roughly the same throughout this span, indicating minimal changes in the ritual. The objects that were partly broken, bent and/or destroyed, melted in fire before being offered to the numinous forces of the abyss are predominantly weapons (spearheads, swords, axes, helmets) and prestige bronze vessels. The radius of the potential provenance of individual types of weaponry, vessels and other objects reaches from Transylvania to the central Apennine Peninsula

¹⁸ Bratina 2014, 587–593; ead. 2018a.

¹⁹ Càssola Guida 1983, 196–199, Pl. 47: 1–4,6–11; Adam, Càssola Guida, Vitri 1986–1987, Fig. 31-b; Càssola Guida, Vitri 1988, 234–251, Pl. 6: 5–8; 7–8; 10–11.

²⁰ Salzani, Colonna 2010, 303–304, Pl. 3: 9–10; 15: B1; 33: B1 and others.

²¹ Snoj 1992; Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1995–1996, 59–65, Fig. 2; Pl. 95: 2; 103–107.

²² See e.g. Turk, Hrobat, Bratina 2016, Fig. 13; Teržan 2016a, 415–430, 465–472.

²³ Szombathy 1912; Vitri 1983; Merlatti 2001; Teržan et al. 2016.

²⁴ Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977; Teržan 1990, 69–72, Fig. 14; Teržan 2016a, 418–423, 466–468.

²⁵ Also see e.g. Harding 1995, 60, 80–82, 85–86, Pl. 25: 204; 53: 253; 35: 266; Turk 2016a, 99–106, Fig. 33–34.

²⁶ See e.g. Teržan 2016b, 233–254, 269–277, Fig. 76–77; 83–86; Teržan 2021.

²⁷ Ruaro Loseri, Righi 1982, 12, 21, Pl. 5/Cq/2 14; 6, Cq 2 15,17 and others; Teržan 2016a, 423–425, 469.

²⁸ Teržan 2016a, 421–423, 468–469, Fig. 153.

²⁹ Cf. Szombathy 1912; Teržan, Borgna, Turk 2016. Also see here Guštin, Božič.

and from Greece to areas north of the Alps and the Carpathians all to the Baltic coast.³⁰

The ritual deposition into Mušja jama gradually ceased in the course of the 8th and the early 7th century BC, slightly later also burials in the necropolis at Brežec. This naturally begs the question of why Škocjan lost its significance as cult place of an overriding importance even though – as indicated by individual later graves and the jewellery hoard from the settlement itself – it continued to be inhabited in the Late Hallstatt period (Teržan, Turk, Fig. 15).³¹

During the 9th and early 8th centuries BC, new settlements gained in importance in Notranjska, for example those at Šmihel,³² Križna gora near Lož and Trnovo near Ilirska Bistrica³³ (Bavdek). They witnessed their heyday in the 8th–7th centuries BC and decline towards the end of the 7th or at the transition to the 6th century BC at the latest; this decline largely coincides with the above-mentioned end of the necropolis at Brežec near Škocjan. Few and mostly only stray finds without preserved associated grave contexts from Tržišče near Cerknica and Šmihel below Nanos,³⁴ the recently discovered rich funerary finds from Ulaka near Stari trg pri Ložu (Laharnar, Murgelj, Pl. 2–7) and Ajdovščina above Rodik (Teržan, Turk, Fig. 14: 1–5) show that life in Notranjska did not end completely. The jewellery as the spiral bracelets, decorative discs and the comb-shaped pendant³⁵ from Ulaka, as well as the spiral bracelets from Ajdovščina above Rodik may point to a newly-established balance of power and ties with the communities living along the Adriatic – with the Histri and/or Iapodes/Liburni, on the one side, and possibly with some of the communities on the Apennine Peninsula, on the other. This also suggests new influences arriving in the 6th century BC to Notranjska and the Kras from the south and/ or west. However, a new population and economic rise occurred here slightly later, in the phase of the classic Certosa fibulae, which have been unearthed at numerous sites in Notranjska and the Kras. Particularly fre-

quent are the Certosa fibulae of Type X, but also Types VII and XII,³⁶ which become the leading types of the Notranjska VI phase in the 5th and 4th centuries BC (Laharnar, Murgelj, Pl. 2: 1; 5: 1–10; Teržan, Turk, Fig. 14: 6–7).³⁷ This is also the period that witnessed significant changes in the funeral rites, with numerous finds from cemeteries such as Šmihel and Socerb³⁸ showing that weapons (spears and axes) were the standard goods in male burials (Guštin, Božič). The recent archaeological excavations at Tomaj have revealed that the renovation of the hillfort, Phase 3 of the fortification walls, as well as walls in Zagrajec (Bratina, Fig. 3–4; 9–10) and the construction of the barriers along the northern edge of the Kras plateau (Teržan, Turk, Fig. 13) also date to the Late Hallstatt period. The question that remains unanswered is whether these changes merely reflect a turbulent period with military conflicts or whether they also point to the arrival and eventual conquest from outside.

Settlement pattern

Although the knowledge of the Early Iron Age settlements and associated cemeteries in Notranjska and the Kras is still scarce, as Alma Bavdek also notes (Bavdek, App. 1; Bratina), there are several important new research results pertaining to the settlement of the area and the construction of its hillforts.

The landscape is marked by upland plateaus (*polje*) as a characteristic of the Dinaric Alps running in a NW–SE direction. East of the Hrušica and Javorniki Hills, there is a series of upland plateaus from Logaško polje, Planinsko polje, Unško polje, Cerkniško polje, Loška dolina to Babno polje. On

³⁰ Cf. Turk 2016b, 66–97, Fig. 18; 24–25; Borgna 2016a; Borgna 2016b, 141–155, Fig. 47; 50; Teržan 2016, 346–415, Fig. 131–133; 137–145; 147–148; Teržan 2019.

³¹ Turk 2012, 92–94, Fig. 4–6; Ruaro Loseri 1983, 150–151, Fig. 26A–B.

³² Guštin 1979, 25–31, 70–78, Pl. 37–50; 58–60.

³³ Urleb 1974; Bavdek, Urleb 2014; Bavdek 2018, 167–171.

³⁴ Guštin 1979, Pl. 18–19; 60: 14–19; 61: 1–15.

³⁵ Also see Mihovilić 2013, 206–208, Fig. 129–130; Kunstelj 2018, 211–213, Fig. 8: 4; 7; 9.

³⁶ Cf. Teržan 1976, 325–338, Fig. 3–4; 25–26; 31; 35–36; 41.

³⁷ Guštin 1973, 478–480, Fig. 3; Guštin 1979, Pl. 2: 3 (Šilentabor); 3: 6,9 (Gradišče on Čepna); 4: 8 (Gradišče above Knežak); 5: 3 (Ulaka); 6: 3,8 (Štorje); 20: 3–16 (Tržišče); 48:10; 50: 13–16; 51: 3,11,14,19; 32: 1,11,15; 53: 8; 54: 3–4, 9; 55; 57: 8–15; 58: 2–3; 61: 16–18; 62–64 (Šmihel); Horvat 1995, Pl. 11: 3; 7: 1–2; 14: 8; Crismani, Righi 2002, 67–69, Fig. 4–26 (Socerb); Vinazza 2018 (Tupelče); Laharnar 2022 (in print) (Baba near Slavina, Ambrožovo gradišče near Slavina, Kerin above Pivka, Primož above Raduhova vas pri Pivki, Šilentabor, Gradišče on Čepna, Gradišče above Knežak, Gradišče above Gornja Košana, Stari grad above Unec, Gradišče on Slivnica, Žerovinšček and others).

³⁸ Cf. Guštin 1979, Pl. 2: 1–3; 51–58; 75–79; Crismani, Righi 2002, 84–85, Fig. 168–179.

the other side of these Hills, there are lowland areas (*podolje*) of Notranjska between Mounts Nanos and Snežnik that range from Postojnska vrata or the Pivka Basin, Spodnja Pivka, Zgornja Pivka to Podgora, Matarsko podolje and Jelšansko/Brgudsko podolje (Bavdek, App. 1; Vidojević, Fig. 3–4). The *poljes* are prone to seasonal floods and on occasion even turn into intermittent lakes,³⁹ what makes them unsuitable for permanent habitation, while their raised fringes offer enough space for establishing settlements. It appears to have been a planned settlement and agricultural use of the *poljes* in the dry seasons, possibly even seasonal fishing, especially at the end of the wet season.⁴⁰ Each of the plateaus is dominated by a substantial fortified settlement, some located on dominant and strategically important spots and others on lower elevations. Several settlements have been recorded along the fringes of Lake Cerknica, which are more or less contemporaneous, though their duration and interrelationships are as yet not fully understood (Bavdek, Fig. 12–13; App. 1).⁴¹ It is also noteworthy that the passages from one *polje* to the next are protected with fortified posts that also offered a visual control. For instance, Postojnska vrata (Postojna-Gate) has been controlled by Sović and Prečna reber in the east and in the west the Razdrto Pass presumably by Goli vrh and Gradišče,⁴² Farjevka controlled the passage to Kvarner at Babno polje, while the hillfort at Sv. Katarina above Jelšane watched over the alternative passage to Kvarner (Bavdek, App. 1 and Vidojević, Fig. 4:11; 9–11). The settlements in the Pivka area offer a somewhat different picture, succeeding each other between the two major hillforts at Grad near Šmihel, slightly removed from the Razdrto Pass below Mount Nanos,⁴³ and Trnovo near Ilirska Bistrica. They form a series of fortified settlements along the high ridge of Taborški greben along the valley of the River Pivka. With their location mainly along the apex of the ridge and beside precipitous slopes they even give the impression of a defence line towards the west. The hillforts at Kerin and Sv. Primož, both dated to the

Late Bronze and Iron Ages, may have protected the only pass from the Pivka area to the valley of the River Reka (Bavdek, App. 1).⁴⁴

Such settlement pattern along the fringes of upland plateaus (*polje* and *podolje*) and valleys together with a control over the passages between them exercised by means of fortified posts and visual communications is in many ways reminiscent of the settlement known from the Bronze to Iron Ages all to the Roman occupation in the Dinaric hinterland of the Adriatic, along the upland plateaus from Lika⁴⁵ to Herzegovina.⁴⁶ Such a settlement pattern is probably not only the result of adapting to terrain, but also of the social organisation of the communities living here who controlled the natural resources in particular, for example drinking water,⁴⁷ as well as their territories.

The situation on the Kras plateau is slightly different. It is an area dominated by three or four large settlements on hilltops such as Tomaj, Skopo and Sveto, along the northern edge possibly also Štanjel, and a series of hillforts more densely spaced along the western side of the plateau, on the numerous peaks overlooking the Gulf of Trieste and along Kraški rob. In the southeast, the territory of the Kras community is delimited with the settlement complex of Škocjan and the hillfort at Ajdovščina above Rodik.⁴⁸

The recent investigations, which apply new technologies of airborne scanning of the Earth's surface, i.e. LiDAR that Boštjan Laharnar rightfully terms a 'proper revolution in archaeological topography', have offered a completely new insight into the formation of the cultural landscape and settlement patterns in Notranjska and the Kras as well.⁴⁹ Not only have they revealed the contours of fortified settlements – hillforts – with an accuracy far exceeding that enabled by aerial photography and in some cases even revealing the buildings

⁴⁴ Cf. also e.g. Horvat 1995, Fig. 1; Horvat 2005, 228–229, 237–243, Fig. 2; also see Laharnar 2022.

⁴⁵ See e.g. Drechsler-Bižić 1975, Plan 2.

⁴⁶ Benac 1975, Plan 1; Benac 1985, 56–69, 90–94, 135–146, 181–187, Maps 1–4 and particularly Map 5.

⁴⁷ On the importance of the access to drinking water, see Šašel 1992a, 524–528.

⁴⁸ Slapšak 1995; Slapšak 1999, 158–163. Also see Flego, Rupel 1993; Zupančič 1990, 19–21; Càssola Guida, Càssola 2002, 7–10, Fig. 4.

⁴⁹ Laharnar 2018, 30. Boštjan Laharnar currently heads a research project studying the hillforts and their hinterland in Notranjska, particularly the Pivka area. A monograph on this subject is also in preparation (Laharnar 2022).

³⁹ Cf. e.g. Prestor 2009; Schein 2009; Perne, Turk 2011, 29.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Schein 2009, 48–49, 59. Particularly indicative in this sense is the location of Cvinger near Dolenja vas just above the Velika Karlovica swallow hole (Bavdek, Fig. 12–13).

⁴¹ Also see Bavdek 2009.

⁴² Horvat, Bavdek 2009; Horvat, Bavdek 2010.

⁴³ Presumably *Ocra* mentioned in ancient written texts, see Šašel 1974; Šašel 1977; Slapšak 1999, 149–151; Horvat, Bavdek 2009, 19–22.

and their layout in the interior, but also traces of a variety of artificial features in their immediate proximity such as enclosures, walls, cairns and boundaries delimiting large areas that represented the economic – agricultural hinterland of individual settlements. The research that Laharnar and his team conducted in the area of Gradišče above Knežak is not limited to LiDAR images and their interpretation only, but also involved trial trenching and small-scale excavation. These revealed a very complex use of the area associated with the hillfort, in places even delimited with a boundary wall (Fig. 2). The excavated pottery dates these features to the Early Iron Age, though some finds may be even earlier, from the Bronze Age.⁵⁰ Tanja Vidojević established a similar situation in the hinterland of Trnovo as the main hillfort in the Ilirska Bistrica area, the territory of which was protected with a stone wall reaching from Trnovo to Sv. Ahac and Stražica as watch and defence posts. Already Müllner observed this wall (Vidojević, Fig. 1; 4; 7–8). In the region of the Kras, where Božidar Slapšak conducted detailed topographic surveys and groundbreaking spatial studies,⁵¹ recent research also established the existence of similar structures. For example, the different location, size and fortification features of the hillforts around Škocjan, such as on Gradišče near Divača, Graček above Famlje and Volarija, as well as the presumed boundary wall enclosing the whole Škocjan area suggest that the Škocjan territory as well was delimited and protected, possibly in a manner comparable to the Greek *temenoi*.⁵² LiDAR images and ground-truthing revealed a most probably a similar spatial organisation at Štanjel as the central hillfort with presumed satellite settlements at nearby Kobdilj and Kobjeglava (Bratina, Fig. 1; Teržan, Turk, Fig. 8, 13).⁵³ Štanjel visually controlled not only its karst territory, but also the access to the Kras plateau from the Vipava Valley. The latter is suggested by the discovery at Ostri vrh, where archaeological excavations unearthed a watch tower from the Hallstatt period. Interestingly, another tower stood on Lukovska Škratljevica, on

the opposite side of the valley that hosts the access route to the Kras plateau; the said access was thus flanked by two towers here as well. Other similar, albeit archaeologically uninvestigated stone architectural remains have led to the hypothesis that a series of fortified posts, defence and watch towers as well as smaller heavily fortified hillforts, was established along the northern edge of the Kras plateau that controlled and protected the accesses to the plateau and with it the territory of the Kras cultural group as a whole (Teržan, Turk, Fig. 1–13).

The archaeological excavation of the tower on Ostri vrh also offered a remarkable insight into the drystone constructions. The wall was not only built of carefully laid stones forming flat interior and exterior faces, but also included wooden posts that strengthened the construction as a whole (Teržan, Turk, Fig. 1–6). We believe that the hillfort fortifications must have been constructed in a similar fashion (cf. Bratina, Fig. 3–4). Recent investigations have conclusively proven that the hillforts were not enclosed with ramparts of loose stones, as had often been suggested in literature, but rather with massive stone built walls. These walls usually had exterior and interior faces made of large stones or stone blocks, while the core, in some cases several metres wide, was mainly filled with stone rubble, at places with earth; such are the fortification walls at Grad near Šmihel pod Nanosom,⁵⁴ Cvinger near Dolenja vas near Cerknica (Bavdek, Fig. 14), Tabor near Vrapče (Vinazza, Fig. 3) and Tomaj (Bratina, Fig. 3–4). The possible fortification renovations may have included buttressing or even several additional stone rows-faces built on the exterior side of the wall; examples of this art of construction are the hillforts on Ajdovščina above Rodik,⁵⁵ Graček near Famlje⁵⁶ and Tomaj⁵⁷ (Bratina, Fig. 3–4). The massive stone ruins of the hillforts indicate mighty drystone fortification walls that must have reached several metres high (e.g. Vidojević, Fig. 10; Bratina, Fig. 3–4). The hillforts represented great feats of stonework and engineering that individual communities undertook under the guidance of master builders and a well-organised society.

⁵⁰ Laharnar 2018, 30–34, Fig. 3; Laharnar, Lozić, Štular 2019, Fig. 2–5. For the Roman period on Knežak, see Laharnar, Lozić, Miškec 2020.

⁵¹ Slapšak 1995; id. 1999.

⁵² Turk, Hrobat, Bratina 2016, Fig. 13; Teržan 2016a, 416–417, Fig. 151–152; Mlekuž 2016.

⁵³ For Štanjel, also see Bratina 2019. For the location of the graves in the vicinity of Kobjeglava, which are believed to form part of the Štanjel cemetery, see Vinazza 2018.

⁵⁴ Urleb 1990.

⁵⁵ Slapšak 1985.

⁵⁶ Novaković, Turk 1991a; Novaković, Turk 1991b; Zupančič, Vinazza 2015, 694–695, Fig. 3.

⁵⁷ Bratina 2018b, 96–97, Fig. 8–9.

BURIAL RITE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The people of the Notranjska-Kras group buried their dead in different ways, most commonly by cremating their bodies and placing the remains either in urns or in simple grave pits, though inhumation was also practiced (Bavdek; Laharnar, Murgelj). Regardless of burial rite, the deceased were buried with their costume and jewellery, in some cases small tools, but not weapons. In contrast to the Dolenjska Hallstatt cultural group, where weaponry (axe and spears) was a standard component of male grave goods, the graves of the Notranjska-Kras group only exceptionally contain weapons, for example in some of the graves from the Late Bronze or Early Iron Ages at Brežec near Škocjan and in altogether three graves at Križna gora.⁵⁸ Only in the Notranjska VI phase, i.e. the Late Hallstatt period, but particularly in the La Tène period do weapons become frequent and common grave goods. As for other goods, pottery is rare if excluding urns; the exception in this sense is Križna gora, where several vessels presumably contained provisions for the afterlife.

The cemeteries are mainly flat. Tumuli are also mentioned in literature,⁵⁹ but excavations have as yet not confirmed that such mounds contained human burials; they revealed pottery sherds but no other finds that would confirm their funerary character. It is therefore likely that they are stone mounds or cairns such as Laharnar investigated below the hillfort at Knežak and connected to agricultural land use.⁶⁰ The necropoleis are usually located on the slopes directly below the settlements, such as is the case at Križna gora⁶¹ and Trnovo near Ilirska Bistrica (Bavdek), as well as Sv. Barbara below Jelarji/Elleri,⁶² while the areas of Škocjan⁶³ and Grad near Šmihel⁶⁴ hosted several cemeteries.

Both the biritual burial and the existence of several contemporary cemeteries or clusters of

graves may reflect different social units such as extended families or clans and their mutual respect in living in the same settlement and the same cultural group.

The analysis of the graves in terms of burial rite and composition of grave goods offers a revealing insight into the social structure of individual settlements, for example those at Križna gora and Šmihel.

Several cemeteries are located around the well-fortified settlement on Grad near Šmihel, two of those, at Pod Kaculjem and Mačkovc dating to the Early Iron Age.⁶⁵ Although contemporaneous, their grave goods differ, particularly in female burials, and suggest the existence of two different social units. Prevalent in the female costume at Pod Kaculjem is spectacle fibulae and bracelets (*Fig. 3*), while the graves with bow fibulae are in a minority (*Fig. 4*).⁶⁶ The fibulae of both types occur together in only rare graves and may point to close family ties of those individuals with both communities. In addition to the basic markers (fibula/bracelet), the costume and jewellery such as beads, pendants and torques reveal other combinations that mark different costumes and their categorisation based on social standing and status, as it was shown years ago on the basis of the inhumation graves from Križna gora that have been anthropologically identified as to their sex and age.⁶⁷ With the exception of the differences in the fibulae, it also seems indicative that the individuals with spectacle fibulae at Pod Kaculjem are frequently buried in urns covered with a bowl (*Fig. 3*), while the individuals with bow fibulae mostly without an urn. Only two individuals with bow fibulae stand out, falling among the women wearing Category I costume (with a pair of bracelets) (*Fig. 4*), i.e. among the women of the

⁵⁸ Urleb 1974, Pl. 1: 8; 3: 15; 9: 4; Teržan 1990, 70–71, *Fig. 15*.

⁵⁹ Guštin 2011, 40.

⁶⁰ See Urleb 1974, 13, App. 1; Osmuk 1988; Laharnar 2019, 266–268.

⁶¹ Urleb 1974, 11–14, *Fig. 2*; App. 1.

⁶² Montagnari Kokelj 1996; ead. 1997, Pl. 23–26; Maselli Scotti 1997, *Fig. 1–2*; 12; 25–29; Škvor Jernejčič 2018, 538–545, *Fig. 2*.

⁶³ Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977, 19–22, *Fig. 6*; Turk, Hrobat, Bratina 2016, *Fig. 13*.

⁶⁴ Guštin 1979, 13, *Fig. 3*.

⁶⁵ Hoernes 1888, 217–249; Guštin 1979, 70–75, *Fig. 3*; Pl. 37–50. The study by Teržan (1992, 464–471, *Fig. 9–10*), the results of which are summarised here (see *Fig. 3–5*), considers both the publication by Hoernes and that by Guštin, with the numbering of the graves taken from the latter so as to facilitate the search for the description and drawing associated with a particular grave. It should be noted, however, that the renumbering by Guštin has its drawbacks as it disregards both the location of individual cemeteries and the graves without grave goods.

⁶⁶ The spectacle and bow fibulae are given in the *Figures 3–5* and *7–8* without considering the possible typological or chronological differences (bow fibulae comprise the single- and two-looped, as well as semilunate examples). The numbers I–VII in the *Figures 3–5* and *7–8* relate to the costume categories as shown by Teržan 1978.

⁶⁷ Urleb 1974, 14–19, *Fig. 3*; 5; Teržan 1978.

highest rank within the female population recorded in the Pod Kaculjem cemetery.

Similarly as in the graves with bow fibulae at Pod Kaculjem that are mostly without urns, the deceased at Mačkovec were also not interred in urns. Moreover, the latter graves also largely lacked other pottery. This is all the more telling when considering the fact that the most characteristic element of the female costume at Mačkovec is a bow fibula, whereas spectacle fibulae are rare (*Fig. 5*). Although the burials at Mačkovec are more modest in general, other pieces of costume or jewellery (bracelets, torques, pendants and beads) show they do not differ from the common categories of costumes established for Pod Kaculjem and Križna gora. This speaks in favour of costume types/combinations of jewellery standardised according to age, social standing and status of women, which appears to have been accepted and recognisable across the whole Notranjska-Kras group and wider in the south-eastern Alpine Hallstatt culture.⁶⁸ The female costume/jewellery therefore represented an important social regulation, particularly in the sense of marking age and rank and with it security and protection of the female sphere.

The differences established in the burial rite (urn/no urn) and distinguishing jewellery (spectacle fibula/bow fibula) can be seen as external signs of individual social units such as families/clans within the Šmihel hillfort. The grave goods, as the female burials at Pod Kaculjem are slightly richer compared to those at Mačkovec, may indicate social stratification of the settlement's population.

An even more complex social structure can be gleaned from the necropolis below Križna gora,⁶⁹ which revealed urn burials, cremation burials in simple pits without urns and inhumations. The plan of the necropolis reveals groupings, though we could not clearly distinguish them neither in burial rite nor characteristic grave goods as different rites occurred within individual groupings.⁷⁰ Not discouraged, we conducted a detailed analysis of the graves with the aim of identifying the traits of the community who buried its dead in this burial ground.

As with the study of grave good combinations already confirming the existence of costumes distinguished according to sex, rank and age,⁷¹ our attention here turned to the phenomena previously observed at Šmihel, i.e. to what extent the fibulae as pieces of the female costume identified a woman as a member of a particular social unit/family/ clan. Similarly as at Šmihel, the results showed that spectacle and bow fibulae served as distinguishing items, included in nearly all costume categories (*Fig. 7–8*): costume with a fibula and pair of bracelets (I), costume with a fibula, torques and earrings (II), costume with a fibula and bracelet (III), costume with a fibula, beads and pendants (V), and so forth. At Križna gora, these two fibula types should not only be seen as only expressing different ages and standings, but also as items identifying an individual as member of a certain social unit.⁷² Interestingly, the burial rite shows a picture contrary to that in both cemeteries at Šmihel (pod Kaculjem and Mačkovec). At Križna gora, for instance, the women with bow fibulae are more frequently buried in urns, those with spectacle fibulae in cremations without urns. Understanding this inverse proportion is hindered by the fact that both the first (with bow fibulae) and the second groups (with spectacle fibulae) include numerous inhumations (*Fig. 7–8*). How then can we understand these differences in the burial rite and use of specific types of fibulae? Did they mark social units/families/clans living in the settlement of Križna gora, which also included individuals of foreign origin?

This and numerous other questions must remain unanswered; what seems most probable is that the population living at Križna gora and Šmihel, similar as at Škocjan, was heterogeneous. The reasons for this should be sought in the different traditions and origins of the first settlers, those who constructed the hillforts. It would appear that the identity of the different communities within settlements was perpetuated and also recognisable: 1) in the location of a cemetery in relation

⁷¹ Teržan 1978; ead. 1990, 67–69, *Fig. 14*.

⁷² Clearly there are typological and chronological differences between graves with one or the other type of fibulae, for example between the simple spectacle fibulae of coiled wire, which are earlier, and two-piece spectacle fibulae with a support strip, which are later, or between single- or two-looped bow fibulae of different variants, and so forth. This chronological dimension was deliberately disregarded here as it would exceed the extent and intention of the contribution that is primarily an overview.

⁶⁸ For the Dolenjska cultural group, cf. Teržan 1985; ead. 2008, 246–262, *Fig. 24; 26*.

⁶⁹ Urleb 1974; Teržan 1978; ead. 1992, 467–469, *Fig. 11–12*.

⁷⁰ Cf. Urleb 1974, 35–44, *Fig. 16–19*; Teržan 1990, 67–69, *Fig. 14*.

to the settlement, 2) in the disposition of graves within a cemetery to form more or less clearly discernible groups, 3) in the burial rite and 4) in the costume, particularly the female costume and the composition of jewellery pieces with a specific type of fibulae (spectacle versus bow) identifying the individual as a member of a specific social unit/family/clan.

The spectacle, bow and several other types of fibulae were important not only as items identifying members of a community/clan within the settlement, but also as components of the costume specific to the Notranjska-Kras group. With regards to the spectacle fibulae with a figure-of-eight common in the Late Urnfield culture (Ha A2/Ha B1–3) and the Early Iron Age (Ha C 1–2/Ha D1) between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, Sabine Pabst succeeds in identifying numerous regional and local variants. These include a variant, with a large figure-of-eight, that was most frequent in Notranjska and hence termed the Križna gora type, characteristic of the Notranjska II phase (Fig. 6).⁷³ In comparison with it, the fibulae with a large figure-of-eight and a strip of metal as support for the pin represent a later variant of spectacle fibulae of the Tržišče type, characteristic of the Notranjska III phase.⁷⁴ Her analysis also showed that both variants were a local version of the spectacle fibulae with closest parallels in the Iapodic cultural group, of the Kompolje and Prozor types.⁷⁵ To summarise, the spectacle fibulae in the female costume of Notranjska are evidence of upholding the Urnfield culture tradition and of the direct relation to the contemporary fashion for spectacle fibulae with the neighbours to the southeast – the Iapodes.⁷⁶

In contrast, the two-looped bow fibulae in the Notranjska-Kras group represent a distinct Balkan type traceable in numerous variants from the central Balkans, Dolenjska to the River Soča, i.e. the Sveta Lucija group that marks the western border of their distribution. We should add and stress that the two-looped bow fibulae, with rare exceptions, are absent in the cultural groups inhabiting the

coastal regions of the Adriatic and its hinterland, that is among the Iapodes, the Liburni, the Histri and also the Veneti!⁷⁷

We may infer from the analysis of the burial rite⁷⁸ and jewellery (Fig. 3–8) that an unusual symbiosis of Iapodic and Balkan elements occurred in Notranjska in the Early Iron Age. Paradoxically, these are mirrored primarily in the female costume, in which certain types of fibulae/jewellery took on the role of identifying and distinguishing individuals within a narrow (family?) identity.

Also characteristic of the Notranjska-Kras group are the crescent-shaped fibulae, primarily two-looped ones decorated with embossed dots on a widened bow, termed the Križna gora type,⁷⁹ as well as the large boat fibulae with an only slightly curved and wide boat-shaped bow (Laharnar, Murgelj, Fig. 3–4; Pl. 3: 1).⁸⁰ Both formed part of the female costume in the Notranjska III phase. In the following, Notranjska IV phase, it is the solid cast serpentine fibulae that exhibit local traits, more numerous only known from Tržišče near Cerknica and individually from Šmihel and Čepna near Knežak.⁸¹ As opposed to the spectacle and two-looped fibulae, the boat and serpentine types of fibulae reflect influences from the Italian, especially Venetic areas.

These examples of characteristic fibula-types were used to illustrate that the Notranjska-Kras group is distinguishable not only in the complexity of burial practices and the specifics of the costume, but also in the shapes of the jewellery that mirror a distinct identity.

HOARD FINDS

Several hoard finds from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages have come to light in Notranjska

⁷³ See Lazarevski Poklar 2000; Guštin 2011, 41. I wish to thank Mitja Guštin for the illustration and permission to publish it.

⁷⁴ Pabst 2012, 57–59, 76, 199–209, Fig. 3: 4; 6: 1; Map 14: 1; 20: 1; List 13; 25.

⁷⁵ *Ib.*, 59–63, 76–79, Fig. 3: 5; 6: 2; Map 14; 20.

⁷⁶ The dating of the spectacle fibulae with a figure-of-eight among the Iapodes is supported by radiocarbon dates (Zavodny et al. 2019, Fig. 4).

⁷⁷ Müller 2009, 194–195, Fig. 203: the schematic distribution map of the two-looped fibulae in the Balkans is misleading and incorrect, as they are all but absent along the coast of the Adriatic. Cf. Gabrovec 1970.

⁷⁸ We should mention the similarities in the burial rite (birituality) and groups of graves within the necropoleis particularly in the Iapodic area. Cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1987, 424–428; Balen-Letunić 2006, 33–36.

⁷⁹ Teržan 1990, 59–60, 77, Fig. 3: 1; 7: 3; 9: 2; 14.

⁸⁰ Guštin 1973, 472–477, Fig. 2: 24,28; Pl. 9: 2,7; id. 1979, Pl. 18: 1–5; 58: 6; 60: 11–12.

⁸¹ Guštin 1973, 474–477, Map 3, Fig. 2: 39; id. 1979, Pl. 3: 1; 19: 1–7; 60: 19; Tecco Hvala 2014, 130–131, Fig. 3b, Type IIIb3, Map 6.

and the Kras. In their context and time span, they differ substantially from the above-mentioned hoards of long duration in Mušja jama/Fliegenhöhle and Skeletna jama/Knochenhöhle in the Škocjan area.

Two such hoards were found near Veliki Otok. The smaller one was discovered near the entrance to the cave of Mačkovca jama (two winged axes and a bronze disc). The larger one held pieces of raw bronze, mostly fragments of hammer-shaped or biconical ingots.⁸² Some pieces bear round circular markings, sort of stamps, suggesting they marked a specific type of metal. The spectrometric and metallographic analysis that Neva Trampuž Orel and her colleagues conducted have shown that the bronze alloy of these ingots had a high content of lead and other trace elements, which appears to have been characteristic of the ingots of Ha B in our and a wider Alpine area. Together with hoards from Kanalski vrh,⁸³ the ingots from Veliki otok reveal metallurgic know-how and technological advancement in the processing of complex poly-metal ores and production of metals with specific characteristics for further distribution.⁸⁴ We may infer from the relatively numerous hoards of biconical ingots between Friuli and central Slovenia, which includes Notranjska, that this was the area where the semi-finished products of a valuable metal might have been produced and from where they were distributed further to continental Europe as well as into Italy and possibly wider in the Mediterranean.⁸⁵

Slightly later, another type of hoards appeared in western Slovenia. Peter Turk gave them a wide-ranging term of the Bologna/San Francesco – Šempeter (near Nova Gorica) type.⁸⁶ These hoards also consist of different ingots, of which shaft-hole axes deserve special attention. The items were mostly deposited as small fragments, only exceptionally complete. In the last two or three decades, such hoards or assemblages of metal predominantly came to light with the help of metal detectors, mainly in settlements, including those

in Notranjska, for example from Stari grad above Hruševje, Gradišče above Zgornja Košana, Baba above Slavina, Gradišče above Pivka, Gradišče above Knežak and Ulaka (Laharnar, Murgelj, Pl. 1: 6–12).⁸⁷ In the contrast to them, the most recently discovered hoard near Klana, at the southern border of the Notranjska-Kras group, was found in a very remote location (Blečić Kavur, Fig. 7). The mostly unusual chemical composition (also with a high lead content), of the shaft-hole axes in particular, suggest that their fragments and other bronze pieces in these hoards served not only as raw material for metallurgic activities, but also as a premonetary currency.⁸⁸ In light of this hypothesis proposed by Neva Trampuž Orel, we should mention that the hammer-shaped ingots, as well as shaft-hole axes as the characteristic items in the both types of hoards trace their origins to Italy (or even the eastern Mediterranean),⁸⁹ which probably signifies that by adopting such currency these parts of Slovenia were incorporated into a wider premonetary system active across the Apennine Peninsula and the Alpine area including its south-eastern fringes, where several hoards show it survived all to the early 6th century BC.

The third type of hoards in Notranjska contain large quantities of weapons comprising spears, axes, swords and in some cases also helmets and horse gear. These mostly came to light in the immediate proximity to settlements, for example at the foot of the hillforts at Tomaj and Tržišče near Dolenja vas near Cerknica. Peter Turk named these the Tržišče-Porpetto type dating between the 8th and 6th centuries BC.⁹⁰ In their contribution in this volume, Mitja Guštin and Dragan Božič discuss this particular type of hoards and offer a more precise definition in both chronological and spatial terms. The number of pieces belonging to individual types of weapons per hoard reveals weaponry associated with organised military units with a commander at the head (helmet, bronze battle axe and/or spear), with several horsemen (horse gear and single-edged curved swords) and infantrymen-spearmen (iron

⁸² Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 227–229, Fig. 49, Pl. 139; Turk, Turk 2019, 202–205, Fig. 253. The exact findspot of the Veliki otok I hoard is unknown.

⁸³ Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek, 1995–1996.

⁸⁴ Trampuž-Orel 1996, 193–197, Fig. 5–7; App. A, 37; Trampuž Orel 1999, 417–419, Fig. 4; Trampuž Orel, Heath 2001, 150–163, 167–171.

⁸⁵ Turk, Turk 2019, 205, Fig. 254; Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1995–1996, 64, Fig. 6; see also Sperber 2000, 392–395, Abb. 11.

⁸⁶ Turk 2018, 398–400, Fig. 1; 3.

⁸⁷ Trampuž Orel, Heath 1998, 237–248, Fig. 1–5, Pl. 1; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 89–91, Fig. 102; Nanut 2018, 145–147, Fig. 11: 16–24.

⁸⁸ Trampuž Orel, Heath 1998, 240–246, Fig. 7; Pl. 1; Teržan 2008, 296–300, Fig. 47–48; Turk 2018, 399–400; Nanut 2018, 141–145, Fig. 5–8.

⁸⁹ Further discussion of this topic would go beyond the scope of this contribution.

⁹⁰ Turk 2018, 400–404, Fig. 2–3; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 84–87, Fig. 94–96; 98.

spears, sometimes also iron axes). These hoards can be seen as *tropaia*, but in the *interpretatio Caput Adriae*, as stated Peter Turk, in the local ritual of a victorious military demonstration.⁹¹ This naturally begs the question of who was the victorious party, was it the attackers or the successful defenders of the well-protected hillforts.

As already mentioned, the burial practice of the Notranjska-Kras group in the Early Iron Age did not involve offering weapons into graves, hence we have no knowledge as to the types of weapons they wielded. A similar practice has been observed in the neighbouring cultural groups such as the Iapodic, Histrian and Sveta Lucija groups, the graves of which contain weapons only exceptionally, further hindering the identification of potential aggressors from the vicinity. We may be dealing with the remains of internal disputes, though it is also possible that the aggressors or plunderers came from outside the Notranjska-Kras group; the latter possibility is raised by much later ancient written sources.⁹² We may approach this issue by tracing the occurrence of certain characteristic types of weapons such as curved swords or machairas in graves, which is a reliable indication they formed part of the deceased's battle gear. In the time of the Tomaj or Tržišče hoards, machairas were used by the warriors of the Dolenjska cultural group, as shown by the graves at Novo mesto⁹³ and several other sites in Dolenjska and Bela krajina. Machairas were also found, albeit rarely, with the Iapodes (e.g. at Prozor) and in Istra (Beram, Picugi and Nesactium).⁹⁴ For example, in Nesactium, in one of the richest burials from the mid-6th century BC, Grave I/12, two machairas were laid onto a stone urn, while yet a third one lay at the edge of the stone cist.⁹⁵ However, as Guštin already noted, large battle knives similar to machairas are also known from graves in neighbouring Friuli, for instance from Pozzuolo del Friuli.⁹⁶ Istra also yielded crested conical helmets of the same type as that of the fragments from the Trnovo hoard above Ilirska Bistrica. It is interesting that in the

Histrian graves such helmets were even used as urns,⁹⁷ which probably emphasised the special role and rank of the deceased as an outstanding warrior. If judging from the machairas as grave goods alone, we may posit the existence of plundering gangs either from Dolenjska/ Bela krajina or from the Iapodic area, as well as Istria, possibly even Friuli. If also considering the crested helmet, we may pinpoint the Histri as the aggressors. The Tomaj hoard also includes dress pins, among them several with a small spherical head and a disc on the neck with parallels from Istra,⁹⁸ but such pins with one or more spherical heads, separated by discs are particularly characteristic of the costume in the Iapodic group.⁹⁹ The Tomaj hoard further consists of several fragments of iron pins with one or more bronze spherical heads, such as form part of the male costume in the graves of Phase III in Istra, found for example at Beram, Picugi, Rovinj and Nesactium.¹⁰⁰ The parallels for the dress pins, machairas and helmet suggest that the aggressors might be sought among the Histri or Iapodes.

This short excursion into machairas, helmets and pins was aimed at drawing attention to the fact that the weapon hoards from Notranjska and the Kras contain objects that may not be local in origin, but more likely foreign and should be seen as evidence of turbulent times. The question is whether some of these hoards may be connected with the above-mentioned and as yet unexplained interruptions indicated by the end of burial in the necropoleis at Brežec near Škocjan, Pod Kaculjem and Mačkovec near Šmihel and at Križna gora. Considering the chronological division of the hoards as proposed by Guštin and Božič, we may infer on periodic military activity, possibly similar

⁹¹ Turk 2018, 403–404.

⁹² Cf. e.g. Šašel 1977; Šašel 1992b.

⁹³ E.g. the well-known Grave I/16 from Kapiteljska njiva with a winged axe identical to that from the Tomaj hoard (cf. Knez 1993, Pl. 18: 6; 19: 46–47).

⁹⁴ See Guštin 1974, 77–92 with a list of sites and a distribution map.

⁹⁵ Mihovilić 2001, 84–85, 149, 165–166, Pl. 24: 2; 25: 1–2; ead. 1995, 284–285, Pl. 20: 1–3.

⁹⁶ See here Guštin, Božič, Fn. 68.

⁹⁷ Kučar 1979, 90, Pl. 1: 3; Mihovilić 2013, 200, Fig. 117.

⁹⁸ Kučar 1979, Pl. 2: 4; 12: 14.

⁹⁹ The pins with a small spherical head/knobs and a disc or moulding below it do not represent a 'prototype' for the multi-knobbed pins with a trumpet guard, as Guštin and Božič claim (see here), but rather a characteristic Iapodic type of dress pins that was worn into the early 6th century BC. These Iapodic pins have one or more knobs that are usually separated by discs. Hence the dating of the Tomaj hoard is not necessarily the 8th century BC, it might also be slightly later. Cf. Laharnar, Turk 2017, 86, Fig. 96; Turk 2018, 401–402, Fig. 2, and Drechsler-Bižič 1958, 38, Pl. 3: 21,24; Lo Schiavo 1970, 460–461, Pl. 36: 1–2; Teßmann 2001, 69–70, Fig. 38–39.

¹⁰⁰ Kučar 1979, 115, Pl. 2: 4,8; 3: 9; 4: 13; 6: 3–4; 12; Mihovilić 2001, 79–81, Fig. 64; Pl. 5: 3; 6: 3; 27: 3; 37: 5; 56: 8; Mihovilić 2013, 196–199, Fig. 114; Matošević, Mihovilić 2004, 19, Pl. 1: 4.

to those recounted by Odysseus, although himself suffering from changing fortunes:

For before the sons of the Achaeans set foot on the land of Troy, I had nine times led warriors and swift-faring ships against foreign folk, and great spoil had ever fallen to my hands. Of this I would choose what pleased my mind, and much I afterwards obtained by lot. Thus my house straightway grew rich,...

...

But Zeus, son of Cronos, brought all to naught — so, I ween, was his good pleasure — who sent me forth with roaming pirates to go to Egypt, a far voyage, that I might meet my ruin; and in the river Aegyptus I moored my curved ships.

...

But my comrades, yielding to wantonness and led on by their own might, straightway set about wasting the fair fields of the men of Egypt; and they carried off the women and little children, and slew the men; ...¹⁰¹

Plundering, particularly livestock, and piracy appear to have been traditional ‘branches of economy’ within Homeric society. Leaders such as Odysseus were *basilei* who practised plundering to the benefit not only of themselves and their retinue, but their community as a whole.¹⁰² It is not unimaginable that the Early Iron Age communities living outside Greece, in the western Balkans and the hinterland of the northern Adriatic, operated in much the same way.

Bearing in mind such robbery operations and even more so the weapon hoards as *tropaia*, the need to protect settlements by enclosing them with stone fortification walls that had to be regularly maintained (Bavdek, App. 1; Bratina, Fig. 3–4; Vinazza, Fig. 1) and by delimiting the territory with boundary walls (Fig. 2; also see Vidojević, Fig. 1; 7–8), which probably served to protect the associated pasture and farm land, becomes much more understandable. Last but not least, the barrier system identified in a series of fortified posts, defence and watch towers, as well as small hillforts dotting the northern edge of the Kras plateau overlooking the Vipava Valley presumably also served to protect not only the accesses to the plateau or the territory of individual settlements, but also a wider area. The radiocarbon dates from the tower on Ostri vrh near Štanjel (Teržan, Turk)

¹⁰¹ Homer, *Odyssey*, XIV 229–233; XVII 424–427, 431–434 (translation A.T. Murray, 1919).

¹⁰² Murray 1982, 63–65.

show that this system was most likely constructed in the course of the 8th and renovated in the 5th century BC.

CONCLUSION

The archaeological research of the Notranjska-Kras group reveals it as an entity that is highly complex in terms of both its settlement and social structure. The differences in the burial rite and the specifics of the costume/jewellery reflect the different facets of its identity, in which it is clearly distinguishable from neighbouring cultural groups. The undulated landscape and other natural conditions certainly played their part in these differences, with the upland plateaus (*polje* and *podolje*) and other lowlands in Notranjska, on the one side, and the Kras plateau, on the other, influencing the degree to which individual settlements/communities were connected to each other and how they were involved in the cultural group as a whole. Recent investigations have also shown that the communities had their own territories which they protected, also with the barriers constructed along the northern edge of the Kras plateau. Having said, the possibility of these communities reaching the threshold of a “protourban” society similar to the Archaic polis of ancient Greece or *pomerium* of Early Rome remains unanswered until further investigations and research can provide some answers.¹⁰³

Translation: Andreja Maver

¹⁰³ I wish to thank Alma Bavdek, Mitja Guštin and Boštjan Laharnar for constructive discussions, Manca Vinazza for her help in preparing Fig. 3–8, Boštjan Laharnar for Fig. 2, Mitja Guštin for Fig. 6, Sneža Tecco Hvala and Mateja Belak for Fig. 1, as well as Andreja Maver for the translation into English.

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