

## Ornamentirano bronasto bodalo z Iga iz zgodnje bronaste dobe

### A Bronze Ornamented Dagger from Ig from the Early Bronze Age

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#### Izvleček

V prispevku obravnavamo najdiščne okoliščine ornamentiranega bronastega bodala s polkrožno zaključeno ročajno ploščo z Iga in zgodnjebronastodobno keramiko z Ljubljanskega barja. Postavljamo tezo, da je nekje na območju eneolitских kolišč severno od Iga pričakovati tudi bronastodobno naselje in da bodalo lahko pripada temu naselju. Dejstvo, da je bilo bodalo najdeno na najdiščnem območju eneolitskega II. kolišča, je potemtakem zgolj posledica okoliščine, da se areala naselbin iz konca eneolitske in zgodnje bronaste dobe vsaj delno prekrivata.

Pojasnitev, da bodalo najverjetneje ni ritualno odložena močvirska najdba, temveč je naselbinska najdba, odpira vprašanja o izvoru in pomenu več drugih arheoloških – predvsem kovinskih – najdb z Ljubljanskega barja.

**Ključne besede:** Ljubljansko barje; zgodnja bronasta doba; ornamentirano bronasto bodalo s polkrožno zaključeno ročajno ploščo; naselbinska ali posamezna močvirska najdba

#### Abstract

The article discusses the site circumstances of the bronze ornamented dagger with a semicircular hilt plate from Ig and Early Bronze Age pottery from the Ljubljansko barje. A thesis is set that somewhere in the area of Eneolithic pile-dwellings north of Ig, a Bronze Age settlement can be expected and that the dagger could belong to this settlement. The fact that the dagger was found at the site area of the Eneolithic Pile-dwelling II is hence solely the consequence of the circumstance that the areas of the settlements from the end of the Eneolithic and the Early Bronze Age at least partly overlap.

The clarification that the dagger is most probably not a ritually deposited marsh find but rather a settlement find opens up questions regarding the provenience and the significance of several other archaeological, primarily metal finds from the Ljubljansko barje.

**Keywords:** Ljubljansko barje; Early Bronze Age; bronze ornamented dagger with a semicircular hilt plate; settlement or stray marsh find

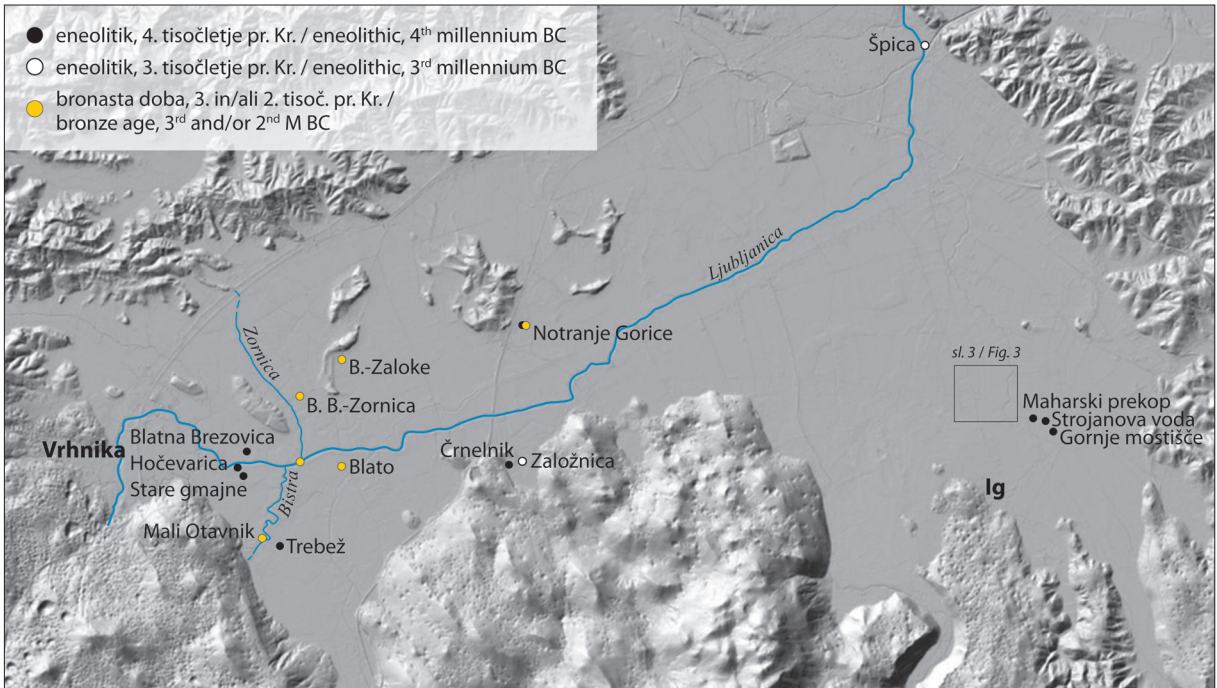
Posebno pozornost zaslužijo odmevne prazgodovinske arheološke najdbe z Ljubljanskega barja, ki jih hranijo v zbirkah Narodnega muzeja Slovenije. Poleg npr. antropomorfne posode<sup>1</sup> mednje gotovo sodi tudi ornamentirano bronasto bodalo trian-

gularne oblike oz. bodalo s polkrožno zaključeno ročajno ploščo.<sup>2</sup>

Od odkritja v letu 1876 bronasto bodalo spremlja pestro dogajanje. V barjanskem okolju pri vasi

<sup>1</sup> Velušček 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Glej Ložar 1943, 71–75; Gabrovec 1971, 88; Vuga 1982, sl. 14; Pavlin 2007, 19; Šinkovec 1995, 99; 1996, 142.



Sl. 1: Ljubljansko barje – naselbine in domnevne naselbine, omenjene v besedilu.

Fig. 1: The Ljubljansko barje – settlements and presumed settlements mentioned in the text. (podlaga / basemap: <https://geohub.gov.si>)

Studenc, današnjem naselju Ig, ga je našel Karel Dežman, ko je izkopaval ostanke prazgodovinskih kolišč (sl. 1; 3). Že kmalu je dobilo prostor v znamenitih delih Roberta Munroja<sup>3</sup> in Oscarja Monteliusa.<sup>4</sup> Pisatelj in duhovnik Janez Jalen mu je zagotovil literarno nesmrtnost v priljubljene trilogiji Bobri.<sup>5</sup> Leta 1985 so bodalo ukradli iz muzeja, a ga je po 33 letih Interpol izsledil na dražbi v Angliji. Z obsežno dokumentacijo je bilo dokazano, da je last Narodnega muzeja Slovenije. Leta 2018 je bilo zato vrnjeno in je danes na stalni razstavi ponovno na ogled.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe* iz leta 1890 (po Montelius 1900, 233).

<sup>4</sup> Montelius 1900, 128–131, sl. 318; 1903, sl. 85.

<sup>5</sup> "Jelen se ni obotavljal. Pri priči je vrgel stran bodalo. Zazvenel je bron na mostišče. Pritekla je Sinjeoka in je pobrala bratovo orožje. Ta hip se je pa Karpovo bodalo zasvetilo nad Ostrorogovo glavo. Jelen je neokretno Karpovo roko zagrabil s svojo okretno za zapestje. Bodalo mu je z drugo izvil iz pesti. Zalučal je smrtno nevarno rezilo daleč proč v jezero. ... Naslednje dni je Neokretni Karp skrbno iskal na dnu jezera svoje bronasto bodalo. Najprej bolj naskrivaj, potem pa kar očitno. Ni ga našel. Nikoli več ne. In nihče drugi tudi ne. Morda je bilo prav tisto, ki je danes v ljubljanskem muzeju izmed vseh bodal, izkopanih pod nekdanjimi kolišči, najlepše. Morda" (Jalen 1964, 53–54).

<sup>6</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177; P. Turk 2020, 104.

Čprav natančne okoliščine odkritja najdbe z Barja niso znane,<sup>7</sup> se v strokovni literaturi o njih vendarle ugiba. Nekako sprejeta je teza, da je bodalo ležalo v barjanskem okolju nad koliščarsko kulturno plastjo, kar je pripeljalo do zaključka, da gre verjetno za posamezno močvirsko najdbo.<sup>8</sup> Na podlagi te predpostavke so se nato pojavile različne razlage: da je predmet na prostor nekdanjega kolišča bodisi zašel povsem slučajno – je bil izgubljen<sup>9</sup> – bodisi gre za najdbo, ki je rezultat premišljenih ritualnih praks v vodnem ali močvirskem okolju<sup>10</sup> ali na mestu že več stoletij opuščene naselja oz. kolišča.<sup>11</sup>

Po drugi strani so v manjšini avtorji, ki so do takšne pojasnitve skeptični in popolnoma ne izključujejo možnosti, da bi lahko šlo za najdbo,

<sup>7</sup> Npr. Gabrovec 1971, 88.

<sup>8</sup> Npr. Šinkovec 1995, 99; Gaspari 2002, 39; 2004, 41; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177, 183; P. Turk 2020, 104.

<sup>9</sup> Pavlin 2007; prim. Vuga 1982, 20; Šinkovec 1996, 125, 162.

<sup>10</sup> Npr. Šinkovec 1996; Teržan 1996; Gaspari 2004, 41; Pavlin 2007, 19; P. Turk 2007, 215; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 183; prim. Gabrovec 1983, 40; Dular 1987, 84.

<sup>11</sup> Npr. Vuga 1982, 20–21; Gaspari 2014, 74; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 172.

ki je bila – morda povsem naključno – odložena v naselju.<sup>12</sup>

Ker so torej okoliščine odkritja bronastega bodala z Iga<sup>13</sup> zelo zamegljene, na tej podlagi pa se sklepa na status in iz njega na pomen, se zdi smotrno, da na novo, predvsem pa kritično ovrednotimo vire, ki posredno ali neposredno odstirajo tančico skrivnosti o času, mestu in širšem kontekstu odkritja, ter ponudimo morebitne nove ugotovitve, kar je vsebina tega prispevka.

## BODALO

Bodalo s polkrožno zaključeno ročajno ploščo z Iga v dolžino meri 20,6 cm (sl. 2). Najširše, 5,8 cm, je na ročajni plošči, ki je polkrožne oblike in ima šest zakovic. Na prehodu v rezilo rombičnega preseka se rahlo usloči. Z ročajne plošče se na rezilo nadaljuje ornament iz vrezanih črt, visečih trikotnikov in polkrogov. Po analizi kovine (SAM) je iz bron, v katerem prevladujeta baker z več kot 81 % in kositer z nekoliko manj kot 9 %. V analizirani zakovici je nekoliko manj kositra (–8 %).<sup>14</sup>

Stane Gabrovec<sup>15</sup> bronasto najdbo datira na konec zgodnje bronaste dobe v stopnjo Bd A2, kar se bolj ali manj ujema z mnenjem drugih raziskovalcev.<sup>16</sup> Nekoliko širšo datacijo v stopnji Bd A2 do B1 (17.–16. st. pr. Kr.) v strokovnih prispevkih predlaga Peter Turk.<sup>17</sup>

Bodalo je bilo odkrito leta 1876 na območju II. (Dežmanovega) kolišča (sl. 3). O tem priča opis v krajšem poročilu druge sezone raziskovanj, ki je trajala od julija do oktobra 1876<sup>18</sup>: “*Bronzeobjecte*<sup>19</sup> sind bisher sehr spärlich vorgekommen. In Ganzen

<sup>12</sup> Korošec 1955, 266; Velušček 2008, 35; prim. Dular 1999, 84.

<sup>13</sup> Enostavnejšo formulacijo “*bodalo z Iga*” uporabljamo po Gabrovcu (1971, 88) in drugih avtorjih (npr. Šinkovec 1996, 142; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177), čeprav je bilo bodalo najdeno dejansko na barjanskem svetu severno od naselja Iga.

<sup>14</sup> Šinkovec 1995, 99; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177; P. Turk 2020, 104.

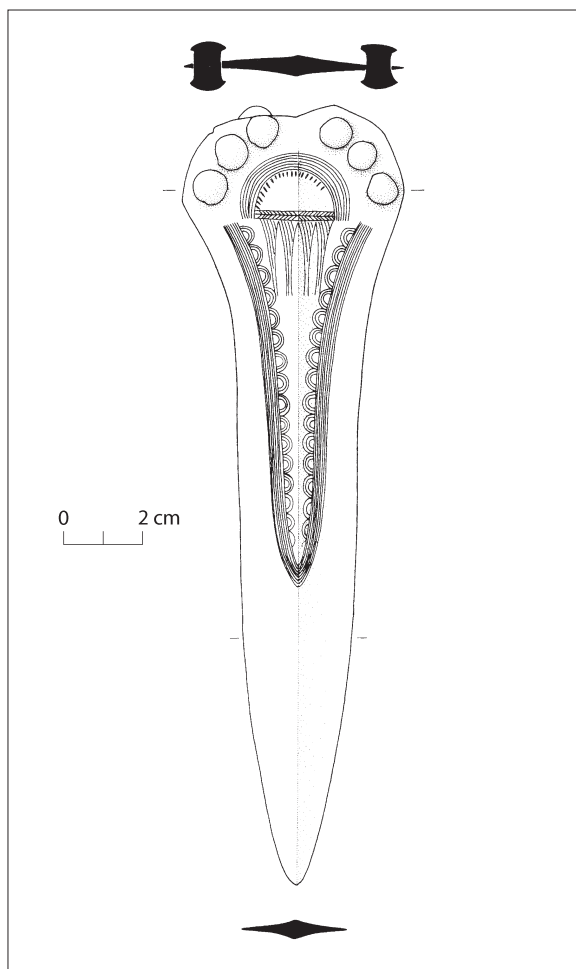
<sup>15</sup> Gabrovec 1983, 31–32.

<sup>16</sup> Npr. Hänsel 1968, 36, 43; Šinkovec 1995, 99; 1996, 142; Pavlin 2006; P. Turk 2007.

<sup>17</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177; P. Turk 2020, 104.

<sup>18</sup> Kos 1978, 53.

<sup>19</sup> Iz celotnega Dežmanovega besedila je razvidno, da z izrazom “*Bronzeobjecte*” označi vse kovinske najdbe, tako bakrene kot bronaste, iz prvih dveh izkopavalnih let (Deschmann 1876, 474–475; prim. Deschmann 1875, 280; za komentar o poimenovanju kovine glej Korošec 1955, 257).



Sl. 2: Bodalo z Iga (po Šinkovec 1995, t. 28: 193).

Fig. 2: Dagger from Ig (after Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 28: 193).

wurden deren nur 12 Stück gefunden: ... e) ein 20 Cm. Langer, mit beiderseitiger Ciselirung in Strichen, Parallellinien und Halbkreisen schön verzierter Dolch mit 6 anstehenden Nieten zur Befestigung an die Handhabe, unstreitig das schönste Kunstobject der bisherigen Funde; ...”<sup>20</sup>

Tako imenovano II. koliščarsko naselje je Dežman izkopaval leta 1876 in nato še v letu 1877 (sl. 3). Označil ga je za glavno kolišče (v izvorniku *der Hauptpfahlbau*).<sup>21</sup> Pridevnik je dobilo bržčas zaradi bogatih najdb, pa tudi večjega števila kolov, ki so bili debelejši in postavljeni bolj na gosto.

Nekateri avtorji menijo, da ni nikakršnih podatkov, povezanih z odkrivanjem ornamentiranega bodala,<sup>22</sup> oz. je bila najdba odkrita na naselbini 2, toda

<sup>20</sup> Deschmann 1876, 474.

<sup>21</sup> Deschmann 1878, 4; Leghissa 2021, 12. Za pomisleke o lokaciji glavnega kolišča glej Ložar 1942, 89.

<sup>22</sup> Ložar 1943, 67; Gabrovec 1971, 88.

brez spremljajočega keramičnega gradiva.<sup>23</sup> Drugi navajajo zelo pomembne stratigrafske podatke, ki pa se med seboj razlikujejo. Po eni razlagi naj bi bodalo ležalo brez drugih predmetov približno 1 m nad naselbinskimi najdbami.<sup>24</sup> Po drugi razlagi,<sup>25</sup> ki bodalo enako postavlja nad eneolitsko kulturno plast in za katero je takoj jasno, da gre zgolj za ugibanje, je njegova stratigrafska lega primerljiva z lego bronastega kratkega meča pol metra nad koliščarskimi naselbinskimi ostanki, datiranega najverjetneje na začetek kulture žarnih grobišč<sup>26</sup> in odkritega leta 1875 na I. kolišču pri Igu (sl. 3).<sup>27</sup>

Eduard von Sacken, ki je jezičastoročajni meč objavil prvi,<sup>28</sup> za kovinske najdbe s I. kolišča,<sup>29</sup> med katerimi so poleg meča zanimivi še bakreno<sup>30</sup> bodalo,<sup>31</sup> cela bronasta igla s profilirano bikonično glavico (sl. 3)<sup>32</sup> in odlomljena bronasta igla s trombastim zaključkom (sl. 3: 5),<sup>33</sup> navaja, da skupaj z drugimi koliščarskimi ostanki izhajajo iz enotne plasti pod šoto in so tako pomembne za določitev starosti naselja.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Gabrovec 1983, 31.

<sup>24</sup> Šinkovec 1995, 99; Pavlin 2007, 19; prim. Gaspari 2004, 41.

<sup>25</sup> Glej P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177, 183; P. Turk 2020, 104.

<sup>26</sup> Za datacijo kratkega meča prim. Dular 1974, 15; Gabrovec 1983, 46; Harding 1995, 30; Šinkovec 1995, 103–104; P. Turk 2007, 215; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 183, sl. 230.

<sup>27</sup> Deschmann 1875, 280.

<sup>28</sup> Sacken 1876, 29, t. 1: 21.

<sup>29</sup> Kovinske predmete, najdene leta 1875 med izkopavanjem t. i. I. kolišča, navaja že Dežman: "ein gut erhaltenes dolchartiges Schwert in der bekannten Schilfform, ein roh gearbeitetes an der Rändern gehämmertes, wahrscheinlich durch Umguss von Bronze hervorgebrachtes Messer, eine ganze mit einem Knopf versehne, eine abgebrochene Haarnadel ..." (Deschmann 1875, 280). To nato povzemajo in dopolnjujejo drugi avtorji, npr. Sacken (1876, 28–29, t. 1: 21–23) in Vuga (1980a, 201, 206, sl. 1: 17; 2: 5), ki najdbe iz bronaste in železne dobe tudi prva objavita.

<sup>30</sup> "... von kupferreicherer Legirung als die ersteren" (Sacken 1876, 29; prim. Korošec 1955, 257).

<sup>31</sup> Sacken 1876, 29, t. 1: 23. Rajko Ložar (1943, 66–71) je to in primerljive najdbe označil za bodala, kar se je nato v modernejši literaturi nekako uveljavilo (npr. Korošec 1955, 257; Dimitrijević 1979, 321). Je pa tudi res, da se že od odkritja pojavljajo različne razlage, ki odvisno od interpretacije povsem spremenijo funkcijo in pomen najdbe (nekateri primeri: Deschmann 1875, 280: nož; Sacken 1876, 29: nož ali bodalo; Müllner 1879, 141: sulična konica; Ložar 1943, 66–71: bodalo; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 156, sl. 198: sulična konica ali bodalo).

<sup>32</sup> Sacken 1876, 29, t. 1: 22.

<sup>33</sup> Sacken 1876, 29; Vuga 1980a, 201, op. 6, sl. 2: 5.

<sup>34</sup> Sacken 1876, 28.

Alfons Müllner, na katerega se očitno sklicuje Turk,<sup>35</sup> o najdbi kratkega meča navede podatek, da je ležal "einen halben Meter höher im Moore, als die Kupfer- und Knochengewärthe".<sup>36</sup> Zanimivo, da je podrobnejša pojasnitev okoliščin navedena samo za jezičastoročajni meč, saj Müllner<sup>37</sup> na isti strani, kjer opisuje tako meč kot ornamentirano bodalo z ročajno ploščo, enakovrednega oz. primerljivega stratigrafskega podatka za bodalo ne navede. Zato je pomenljivo, da imenitna bronasta predmeta v besedilo uvede z besedami "Auch unser Pfahlbau lieferte bisher ein paar Fundstücke aus Bronze, zwar merkwürdigerweise sind beide Waffen",<sup>38</sup> katerih kronološki pomen postane jasnejši na ravni celotnega poglavja, kjer bronastih predmetov ne oddvoji od siceršnjih najdb s koliščarskega naselja.<sup>39</sup>

Podobno, toda kronološko in razvojno vendarle drugače razmišlja Dežman. Na podlagi najdb z istega območja raziskovanja, ki so iz različnih materialov, iz kamna, bakra in bronca, ter zaradi velike količine kosti in kuhinjskih ostankov sklene, da je to dokaz o dolgem, večstoletnem trajanju kolišča.<sup>40</sup> Artefakte, izdelane iz različnih surovin, razloži razvojno: na začetku je v rabi prevladoval kamen, v nadaljevanju se je pojavil baker,<sup>41</sup> nato prideta bron in železo, a slednjega, kot poudari, na kolišču niso našli.<sup>42</sup>

Pomembno se zdi, da je Walter Šmid (tudi Schmid)<sup>43</sup> izpostavil, kako na kovinskih najdbah s kolišč pri Studencu ni patine. Enako sta pred njim opazila že Sacken<sup>44</sup> in Dežman.<sup>45</sup> Medtem ko Sacken piše o predmetih in procesih, ki so se odvijali "besonders unter Torf",<sup>46</sup> pa Šmid<sup>47</sup> za ta pojav ponudi razlago – da je odsotnost patine posledica učinkovanja huminske kisline, ki jo najdemo še

<sup>35</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019; P. Turk 2020.

<sup>36</sup> Müllner 1879, 147.

<sup>37</sup> Müllner 1879, 147.

<sup>38</sup> Müllner 1879, 147.

<sup>39</sup> Glej Müllner 1879, 136–154.

<sup>40</sup> Deschmann 1876, 484.

<sup>41</sup> "In den meisten dieser Werkzeuge spricht sich der Uebergang aus der Stein- in die Bronzezeit aus, namentlich repräsentiren die Objecte a c d h [naštete so najdbe iz bakra; op. pisca] sozusagen die ersten Anfänge in der Bearbeitung des Metalls" (Deschmann 1876, 474).

<sup>42</sup> Deschmann 1876, 474.

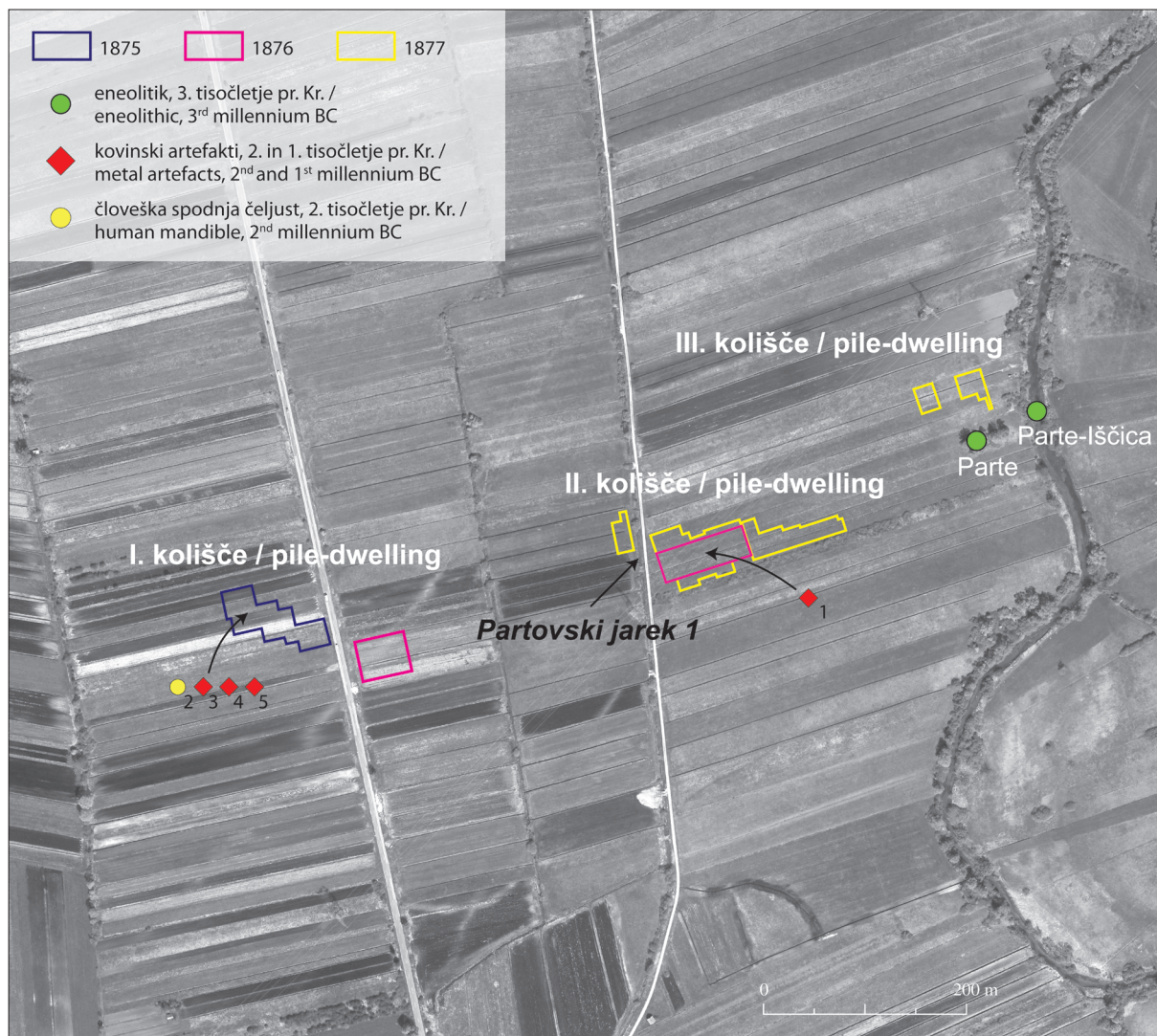
<sup>43</sup> Šmid 1909, 118.

<sup>44</sup> Sacken 1876, 29.

<sup>45</sup> Deschmann 1876, 475; 1878, 7.

<sup>46</sup> Sacken 1876, 29.

<sup>47</sup> "An den Bronzeobjekten von Brunndorf hat sich keine Patina angelegt, da die im Moorboden vorhandene Humus-säure die Patinabildung verhindert hat" (Šmid 1909, 118).



Sl. 3: Območje prvih treh Dežmanovih kolišč (prirejeno po Leghissa 2021, sl. 1).

Fig. 3: The area of the first three of Dežman's pile-dwelling settlements (after Leghissa 2021, Fig. 1).

posebno v šoti.<sup>48</sup> Kar dovoljuje sklepati, da on vse koliščarske najdbe, tudi tiste iz bakra in bron, brez izjem zmotno postavlja v šotno plast.<sup>49</sup> Ker pa vemo, da pri Igu ta stratigrafsko prekriva plast s koliščarskimi najdbami in je potemtakem kronološko mlajša,<sup>50</sup> je morda v delno prilagojenem razumevanju stratigrafskih odnosov iskati izvor razmišljanja, da je bilo bodalo odkrito v šoti pribl. 1 m nad kulturno plastjo.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Tancik 1965, 67; Kroflič 2007, 7; De Melo et al. 2016, 967–968.

<sup>49</sup> Prim. Schmid 1910, 93a.

<sup>50</sup> Npr. Ložar 1942, 86.

<sup>51</sup> Npr. Šinkovec 1995, 99; Gaspari 2002, 39; Pavlin 2007, 19.

### Pramenasta keramika in bodalo

V zadnjih letih se je povsem uveljavilo mnenje, da je leta 1876 Dežman raziskoval prostor na barjanskem svetu severno od naselja Ig tudi na območju vzhodno od Partovskega jarka 1, kar je nedavno grafično lepo prikazala Elena Leghissa<sup>52</sup> in kar prepoznavamo kot osrednji del lokacije II. kolišča (sl. 3).

Še trdneje stoji teza, da večina najdb z območja II. kolišča sodi okvirno v sredino 3. tisočletja pr. Kr.<sup>53</sup> Izjem, ki so po starosti znatno mlajše, je

<sup>52</sup> Leghissa 2015, sl. 1; 2021, sl. 1; prim. Bregant 1964–1965, 180; Harej 1974, 76; Vuga 1982, 7; Velušček 1997, 20.

<sup>53</sup> Glej Leghissa 2017a; 2017b; 2021.

malo. Mednje<sup>54</sup> poleg triangularnega bodala lahko prištejemo tudi fragmente keramike s t. i. pramenastim okrasom,<sup>55</sup> za katere je sicer veljalo, da so brez znanih najdiščnih kontekstov.<sup>56</sup> Da to ne drži povsem, kažejo izsledki raziskave Elene Leghissa. Kot ugotavlja, moremo pripisati II. kolišču vso keramiko, ki so jo našli v letih 1876 in 1877 ter je ornamentirana z odtiskovanjem niti (v izvorniku *schnurförmige Eindrücke*),<sup>57</sup> sem sodijo tudi trije fragmenti posod s pramenastim okrasom. Kot dodatni argument je na njih najti znak X – zanj se predvideva, da večinoma označuje posode, ki so bile najdene leta 1877 in bržčas izvirajo z II. kolišča.<sup>58</sup> Tezo podpira manjši fragment keramike, na katerem je “s tehniko ovite niti” manj skrbno narejen motiv pasu (sl. 4),<sup>59</sup> ki je bil pobran kot površinska najdba leta 1970 na območju II. kolišča ob Partovskem jarku 1 (sl. 3).<sup>60</sup>

Na arheološkem najdišču se ostanki keramike običajno štejejo za indikator obstoja bodisi naselbine<sup>61</sup> bodisi grobišča (groba), ki ga sicer ni pričakovati v močvirju<sup>62</sup> pribl. 450 m od roba trdinskega vršaja. Če upoštevamo razlage o pojavu keramičnih najdb na posameznih odsekih v Ljubljani (sl. 1),<sup>63</sup> tudi ne more biti daleč proč misel, da fragmente iz okolice Iga lahko obravnavamo kot posamezne močvirske najdbe in jih razložimo kot posledico

<sup>54</sup> K njim ne prištevamo skodelic (Leghissa 2017b, t. 127: 1–3), ki se sicer pripisujejo vplivu unjeteške kulture (npr. Gabrovec 1983, 33–34, sl. 1: 7), ker so, kot je pokazala Elena Leghissa (2017a, 188–189), nedvomno precej starejše.

<sup>55</sup> Npr. Korošec 1957, t. 1: 1–3; Korošec, Korošec 1969, t. 7: 10a,b; 54: 14; 55: 11; 56: 6; 118: 7; 119: 3; Gabrovec 1983, t. 1: 1–2; Dular 1999, sl. 2: 2–3; Leghissa 2017b, t. 43: 5; 128: 1–2; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, sl. 215.

<sup>56</sup> Npr. Gabrovec 1983, 24–25; Dular 1999, 93.

<sup>57</sup> Po Leghissa 2021, 41; glej še Deschmann 1876, 478; 1878, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 58–61, 78–79; 2017b, 43, 128, t. 43: 5; 128: 1,2; prim. Leghissa 2021, 41.

<sup>59</sup> Iz risbe predmeta sklepamo, da je ornament narejen z vtiskovanjem navite vrvice (Harej 1974, t. 6: 8; prim. Črešnar 2010, sl. 2: D). Obenem opozarjamo, da je zelo vprašljiva orientacija risbe pribl. 3 cm velikega fragmenta, na kateri pas z odtisi poteka vodoravno, odtisi vrvice pa so usmerjeni na desno.

<sup>60</sup> Harej 1974, 76, 89, t. 6: 8.

<sup>61</sup> Prim. Gabrovec 1983, 24.

<sup>62</sup> Na območju II. kolišča je zagotovo prišlo do sukcesije jezerskega ekosistema, kjer je zaradi naplavljanja delcev in sedimentiranja dela lastne organske proizvodnje začelo rasti močvirje in šotno barje (glej npr. Kroflič 2007; Achino 2022, 8–12).

<sup>63</sup> Glej npr. Gaspari 2012, 181–185, t. 1: 3–7; 2: 8,10–12; Erjavec, Gaspari 2012, 269–277, t. 1–3; Istenič 2019, 223–229.

“drugačne, nevsakdanje dejavnosti bronastodobnih ljudi na dolgo opuščenih krajih”.<sup>64</sup> Ne smemo pozabiti, znani grob z Vrhniko (sl. 1), iz katerega je poznana tudi keramična posoda,<sup>65</sup> naj bi bil pravzaprav depo oz. je malo verjetno, da gre za sočasno odložene najdbe.<sup>66</sup>

Zaradi tega so pri iskanju statusa bodala prav najdbe keramike s pramenastim okrasom zelo pomembne. Zdi se, da še niso povedale vsega, kar bi lahko. Zato jih je vredno natančneje preučiti.

Med zadnjimi se je z njimi največ ukvarjala Elena Leghissa,<sup>67</sup> ki je keramiko z Dežmanovih izkopavanj iz Narodnega muzeja Slovenije tudi prvič predstavila s kvalitetnimi risbami. Eksperimentalno je še pokazala, da naj bi bil pramenasti okras izdelan z vtiskovanjem sukane dvojne vrvice.<sup>68</sup>

Leghissa je uporabo ornamentalne tehnike vtiskovanja dvojne sukane niti prepoznala na štirih fragmentih keramike.<sup>69</sup> Za dvoročajno posodo,<sup>70</sup> ki izvira s I. kolišča,<sup>71</sup> je našla zelo prepričljive analogije v kulturi vrvičaste keramike,<sup>72</sup> kar jo potemtakem izloča iz nadaljnje obravnave v okviru zgodnjebronastodobne problematike.

Drugače je s preostalimi fragmenti, ki se sicer obravnavajo različno, vsi pa bržčas izhajajo z II. kolišča. Paola Korošec<sup>73</sup> v sklopu keramike z “*licensko ornamentiko*” navede tri fragmente z Iga, Gabrovec<sup>74</sup> samo dva. Janez Dular<sup>75</sup> meni, da so “*Von der Litzenkeramik von Ljubljansko barje sind nur einige Stücke bekannt*”, s tem, da z Ižanskega objavi ista fragmenta kot Gabrovec.

Leghissa<sup>76</sup> dva fragmenta uvršča v zgodnjo bronasto dobo. Za fragment, kot meni, dvoročajne kroglaste posode z ljakastim vratom<sup>77</sup> pa najde analogije v eneolitski kulturi vrvičaste keramike. Tudi sicer v sklopu keramičnih najdb z II. kolišča

<sup>64</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 172.

<sup>65</sup> Gabrovec 1983, t. 2: 1–4.

<sup>66</sup> P. Turk 2007, 215–216; Škvor Jernejčič 2020, 479–480.

<sup>67</sup> Leghissa 2015; 2017a; 2017b.

<sup>68</sup> Leghissa 2015, 284–285; prim. Kruh 2019, 47–49.

<sup>69</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 85; 2017b, t. 43: 5; 65: 1; 128: 1–2; prim. Korošec, Korošec 1969, t. 7: 10a,b; 54: 14; 55: 11; 56: 6.

<sup>70</sup> Leghissa 2015, sl. 1: 10; Korošec, Korošec 1969, t. 7: 10a,b.

<sup>71</sup> Sacken 1876, Taf. 2: 1; Leghissa 2017a, 125.

<sup>72</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 125–128.

<sup>73</sup> Korošec 1957, t. 1: 1–3.

<sup>74</sup> Gabrovec 1983, t. 1: 1–2; prim. Korošec, Korošec 1969, t. 54: 14; 55: 11.

<sup>75</sup> Dular 1999, 84, sl. 2: 2–3.

<sup>76</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 86.

<sup>77</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 86, 128–130; 2017b, t. 43: 5; glej še Gabrovec 1983, t. 1: 2; Dular 1999, sl. 2: 3.

prepozna elemente, ki se navezujejo na tradicijo kultur vrvičaste keramike in kroglastih amfor, toda samo v oblikah prej omenjenih posod ter v mestu okrasa na ramenskem delu, ne pa v izvedbi vrvičastega ornamenta, saj na tem kolišču izrazito prevladuje okras vtiskovanja niti, navite na ploščat predmet.<sup>78</sup>

Drugačnega mnenja je Ana Kruh. Za ornament na navedenem fragmentu meni, da je bil narejen z vtiskovanjem debelejših vrvice, pri njem so odtisi usmerjeni na levo, zato posodo uvršča v kulturo Kisapostag, v njen starejši regionalni horizont Nova tabla I.<sup>79</sup>

Dejansko je prisotnost najdb kulture Kisapostag na Ljubljanskem barju prvič izpostavljena pri Malem Otavniku (*sl. 1*).<sup>80</sup> Medtem ko je najdišče Blatna Brezovica – Zornica (*sl. 1*) uvrščeno v njen starejši horizont,<sup>81</sup> se za Mali Otavnik zaradi večjega števila najdb lahko predvideva intenzivnejša poselitve v mlajšem horizontu Nova tabla II.<sup>82</sup> Še več, v sklopu mlajšega horizonta najdb z Malega Otavnika je najti ornament, narejen v maniri pramenaste keramike z vtiskovanjem dvojne sukane vrvice, na skodelah podobnih oblik, kot jih poznamo v kulturi Kisapostag,<sup>83</sup> kar namiguje na uvajanje novosti v izdelavi ornamenta, ki nato postane značilen za pramenasto keramiko.<sup>84</sup>

Za zgodnje obdobje bronastodobne poselitve na Ljubljanskem barju je značilna tudi groba keramika z metličnim ali/in glavničnim<sup>85</sup> ornamentom, ki ga je najti predvsem na loncih z lijakastim vratom. Naj na tem mestu navedemo samo tisto z najdišč Mali Otavnik<sup>86</sup> in Blatna Brezovica – Zornica.<sup>87</sup>

Pred odkritjem Malega Otavnika leta 2006<sup>88</sup> sta bila najbolj znana kosa keramike s pramenastim okrasom fragment skodele z Iga<sup>89</sup> in predvsem skodela iz Notranjih Goric (*sl. 1*).<sup>90</sup> Zanju ni dvoma, da sodita v zgodnejši odsek bronaste dobe.<sup>91</sup>

Ana Kruh<sup>92</sup> z zadržkom, zaradi slabše izpovednosti ohranjenega kosa, uvršča fragment z Iga k tipu skodel S1. Pripadnost tem skodelam je odločilo dejstvo, da sta na očitno lijakastem vratu<sup>93</sup> dva pasova v obliki valovnice, narejena z vtiskovanjem sukane dvojne vrvice, kar je značilno za pramenasto keramiko, tako v izvedbi okrasa kot v motivu.<sup>94</sup> Motiv valovnice oz. cikcaka<sup>95</sup> se pogosto pojavlja na posodju iz Prekmurja, na Štajerskem, Dolenjskem ter v severnem delu hrvaškega medrečja Save in Drave. Z njim se povezujejo posamezne enako okrašene keramične posode, odkrite na območju Transdanubije in Slavonije, kar lahko trdimo tudi za posodo z Iga.

Ana Kruh<sup>96</sup> uvršča skodelo iz Notranjih Goric k tipu S2, za katerega so značilne konične posode z lijakastim, navzven nagnjenim in lahko rahlo usločenim vratom ter ravno dno. Imajo trakast ročaj, ki povezuje rame s sredino vratu. Vrat posode je ornamentiran z najpogosteje tremi, lahko tudi štirimi vodoravnimi pasovi iz vzporednih odtisov vrvice. Enega ali več navpičnih pasov je pogosto najti tudi na ročaju. Posebnost skodele iz Notranjih Goric je droben ročaj oz. vodoravno predrta bradavica na prehodu vratu v rame na skodeli, kar je opredeljeno kot značilen element skodel tipa S1. Skodele tipa S2<sup>97</sup> so znane z najdišč v Spodnji Avstriji in na Gradiščanskem ter v Slavoniji. Posamezne posode zasledimo še v Transdanubiji, v osrednji Bosni in tudi na Ljubljanskem barju.

Najdbam z Ljubljanskega barja bližnje in pomembne analogije za pramenast okras je najti na najdišču Loke 2 pri Družinski vasi, kjer se pojavljata motiva tako valovnice kot tudi vzporednih pasov.<sup>98</sup> Najdišče je zanimivo še po tem, da so med pramenasto keramiko najpogosteje zastopane prav

<sup>78</sup> Po Leghissa 2017a, 266–267; 2021, 42, 44.

<sup>79</sup> Kruh 2019, 187.

<sup>80</sup> Črešnar 2010.

<sup>81</sup> Kruh 2019, 184–188.

<sup>82</sup> Kruh 2019, 189–213.

<sup>83</sup> Matija Črešnar (2010, 126) tri skodele imenuje trebušaste skodele ter je nasprotnega mnenja od Andreja Gasparija in Ane Kruh (glej Gaspari 2008, 62, t. 2: 3,4; 12: 1; Kruh 2019, 215, sl. 57). Po njegovo je okras izdelan v maniri kulture Kisapostag, medtem ko je oblika posodja iz kroga pramenaste keramike.

<sup>84</sup> Kruh 2019, 215.

<sup>85</sup> Ker je pri rabi izrazov metličenje in glavničenje (angl. *brushing and combing*) v literaturi najti veliko nedoslednosti, pogosto se ju zamenjuje, tudi sicer se obe metodi pojavljata na keramiki z istih najdišč (npr. Harej 1976, 95; 1981–1982, 44; 1986, 100; Kruh 2019, 159, 193, 195; Leghissa 2021, 41), ju v tem prispevku pomensko ne razlikujemo.

<sup>86</sup> Gaspari 2008, npr. t. 4: 1–5; 5: 1–4,6–8; 6: 1–4; 7: 1–4.

<sup>87</sup> Dirjec 1991, npr. t. 1: 1; 2: 1,2; 3: 1–4.

<sup>88</sup> Gaspari 2008.

<sup>89</sup> Npr. Dular 1999, sl. 2: 2.

<sup>90</sup> Npr. Dular 1999, sl. 2: 1.

<sup>91</sup> Npr. Gabrovec 1983, 26; Dular 1999, 93.

<sup>92</sup> Kruh 2019, 38, sl. 16: 10.

<sup>93</sup> Prim. risbi najdbe pri Dular 1999, sl. 2: 2, in Leghissa 2017b, t. 128: 1.

<sup>94</sup> Kruh 2019, 49.

<sup>95</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 49, 50.

<sup>96</sup> Kruh 2019, 38.

<sup>97</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 40, 42.

<sup>98</sup> Glej Kruh 2019, sl. 32: 1–3,5–8.

skodele tipa S1. Pojavljajo se v istih naselbinskih jamah, torej bržčas v sočasnih kontekstih, kjer med keramičnim gradivom največji delež pripada loncem z lijakastim vratom, površina teh posod pa je praviloma ornamentirana z glavničenjem. Čeprav Ana Kruh<sup>99</sup> za pramenasto keramiko z najdišča Loke 2 največ analogij najde predvsem na severovzhodu Slovenije, ugotavlja, da se med območji vendarle kažejo razlike v vrsti grobe keramike, kar odpira vprašanje o morebitnih regionalnih razlikah v okviru kroga pramenaste keramike.

Grobo keramiko z metličenim ali glavničenim ornamentom poznamo tudi z območja kolišč pri Igu<sup>100</sup> in iz Notranjih Goric<sup>101</sup> ter iz Ljublanice okrog izliva Zornice (sl. 1), ki se obravnavajo kot posamezne vodne najdbe.<sup>102</sup>

Največ naj bi je izviralo z II. kolišča.<sup>103</sup> Zorko Harej<sup>104</sup> meni, da je med gradivom iz Partovskega kanala/jarka I (oz. z II. kolišča) "ta tehnika kar številna, zato je upoštevati možnost, da Dežmanovrstne keramike ni pobiral". V okviru Dežmanovih izkopavanj je na navado odmetavanja manj kakovostne keramike, seveda po merilih poznega 19. st., opozorila Tatjana Bregant<sup>105</sup> z odkritjem keramičnih najdb v drugotni legi, kar povzemajo in z novimi dognanji dopolnjujejo še drugi avtorji.<sup>106</sup>

Precej pogosto jo najdemo tudi na najdišču Parte (sl. 3),<sup>107</sup> kjer pa se metličen ali glavničen ornament pojavlja na loncih z visokim valjastim vratom,<sup>108</sup> kar jih oblikovno in kronološko postavlja ob bok loncem z barbotinom iz sredine 3. tisočletja.<sup>109</sup>

Povsem drugače je z manjšim loncem z lijakastim vratom z območja II. kolišča. Ta je po celotni zunanji površini okrašen z metličenim ali glavničenim ornamentom v pasovih, ki so posebej izraziti na vratu.<sup>110</sup> Zanj najdemo analogije v nekem drugem podobno okrašenem, toda večjem loncu,

domnevno prav tako z II. kolišča pri Igu,<sup>111</sup> ter tudi na Malem Otavniku,<sup>112</sup> v Ljublanici v bližini izliva Zornice<sup>113</sup> in v Lokah 2 pri Družinski vasi.<sup>114</sup>

Kot je bilo omenjeno, je keramiko z metličenim (ali glavničenim) okrasom najti tudi na kolišču v Notranjih Goricah,<sup>115</sup> kjer so prva izkopavanja potekala v letih 1907 in 1908.<sup>116</sup> Podobno kot v primeru nekaterih kolišč pri Igu<sup>117</sup> je bilo območje najdišča obljudeno večkrat: prvič v 4. tisočletju pr. Kr.<sup>118</sup> in drugič, kot kažejo redke keramične najdbe, najverjetneje še na začetku 2. tisočletja.<sup>119</sup>

Paola Korošec med bronastodobnimi keramičnimi najdbami iz Notranjih Goric vidi v obliki podobnost med dvema loncema z lijakastim vratom in glavničenim okrasom<sup>120</sup> ter skodelo s pramenastim okrasom.<sup>121</sup> Harej<sup>122</sup> meni, da gre pri loncih za eno posodo z najboljšimi analogijami v loncu z II. kolišča.<sup>123</sup> Ana Kruh<sup>124</sup> lonca iz Notranjih Goric uvršča v starejši regionalni horizont kulture Kisapostag.

V Notranjih Goricah naj bi bilo metličene (ali glavničene) keramike malo.<sup>125</sup> Horizontalno-stratigrafsko pa je vendarle zanimiv fragment z metličenim ornamentom, najden zunaj ožjega območja kolišča,<sup>126</sup> kar morda kaže na le delno prekrivanje poselitvenih območij naselbin iz 4. in 2. tisočletja pr. Kr.<sup>127</sup> Kot zanimivost, ob njem

<sup>111</sup> Korošec, Korošec 1969, t. 65: 8, oz. Leghissa 2017b, t. 74: 1. Fragment lonca ima inv. št. B1778 in je brez drugih oznak, ki se sicer pojavljajo na več fragmentih z Dežmanovih izkopavanj pri Igu. Med njimi so fragmenti z inv. št. okrog št. B1778, vsi okrašeni z glavničenjem (glej Leghissa 2017b, t. 73: 1,2,5; 74: 2–6), kar kaže, da je tudi ta fragment bržčas z istega kolišča (prim. Leghissa 2017a, 58–61).

<sup>112</sup> Npr. Gaspari 2008, t. 4: 6.

<sup>113</sup> Gaspari 2012, sl. 9: 5; t. 1: 5.

<sup>114</sup> Kruh 2019, sl. 32: 15.

<sup>115</sup> Pred leti je bil k sklopu najdb iz 4. tisočletja pridružen tudi lonec z lijakastim vratom in glavničenim ornamentom (Velušček (ur.) 2004, 228; pri Harej 1976, t. 1: 4), ki ga moremo uvrstiti bržčas v zgodnjo bronasto dobo (prim. Gaspari 2008, t. 6: 1; 7: 4), kar zagovarja tudi Ana Kruh (2019, 184).

<sup>116</sup> Schmid 1910.

<sup>117</sup> Npr. Velušček, Čufar, Levanič 2000.

<sup>118</sup> Npr. Parzinger 1984; Velušček (ur.) 2004, 225–228.

<sup>119</sup> Npr. Gabrovec 1983, 26.

<sup>120</sup> Korošec 1957, 16, t. 6: 1,2; Harej 1976, t. 1: 4.

<sup>121</sup> Npr. Harej 1976, t. 1: 1.

<sup>122</sup> Harej 1986, 100, op. 975, t. 15: 2.

<sup>123</sup> Glej Harej 1986, t. 8: 2.

<sup>124</sup> Kruh 2019, 184.

<sup>125</sup> Harej 1976, 95.

<sup>126</sup> Harej 1980, 85, 87–88, t. 1: 3.

<sup>127</sup> Prim. Gabrovec 1983, 26.

<sup>99</sup> Kruh 2019, 158–159, 210, 218, sl. 32: 1–3.

<sup>100</sup> Npr. Harej 1974, t. 6: 7; 1978, t. 4: 10; 6: 1; 1981–1982, 44, t. 15: 8; 25: 2; 31: 3,4; 1987, t. 9: 2,5,6,8,9.

<sup>101</sup> Npr. Korošec 1957, t. 6: 1,2.

<sup>102</sup> Glej Dolenc 1982, t. 11: 206; Gaspari 2012, t. 1: 5.

<sup>103</sup> Harej 1986, 62, op. 560; Leghissa 2021, 41.

<sup>104</sup> Harej 1986, 62, 150, op. 560.

<sup>105</sup> Bregant 1964–1965, 180–181.

<sup>106</sup> Npr. Harej 1974, 76; 1976, 95; Leghissa 2017a, 56–57.

<sup>107</sup> Prim. Harej 1981–1982, 44.

<sup>108</sup> Npr. Harej 1978, t. 6: 1; 1987, t. 9: 2.

<sup>109</sup> Prim. Parte: Harej 1981–1982, t. 29: 1; 1987, t. 11: 1; Založnica: Velušček, Čufar 2003, t. 1: 1; 6: 8; 12: 7.

<sup>110</sup> Harej 1986, 62, t. 8: 2.



je bila skodela s koničnim ročajem.<sup>128</sup> Zanj smo našli analogije po najdiščih od zgodnje do začetka srednje bronaste dobe v severni Italiji.<sup>129</sup> Podobno meni Robert Erjavec za na prvi pogled primerljivo skodelo s trakastim ročajem iz Ljubljane pri izlivu Borovniščiце, ki jo tako datira v stopnjo Bronzo Antico 2–Bronzo Medio 1.<sup>130</sup>

Ana Kruh, kot omenjeno, je kulturo Kisapostag v Sloveniji razdelila na dva horizonta, Nova tabla I in II. Starejši horizont je trajal okvirno med 2200 in 2000 pr. Kr.,<sup>131</sup> mlajši pa med pribl. 2000 in 1750 pr. Kr.<sup>132</sup> Zgodnjebronastodobna najdišča, kot so Iga, kar je okrajšava za območje II. kolišča, Blatna Brezovica – Zornica, Mali Otavnik, Bevke – Zaloke (sl. 1) in Notranje Gorice, je uvrstila v horizont Nova tabla I.<sup>133</sup> Za večino keramičnih najdb z Malega Otavnika pa je našla analogije v mlajšem horizontu Nova tabla II.<sup>134</sup>

V obeh horizontih so pogosti lonci z lijakastim vratom, ki jih na Barju poznamo z najdišč, kot so Blatna Brezovica – Zornica, Mali Otavnik in Notranje Gorice.<sup>135</sup> V starejšem horizontu so lonci praviloma okrašeni z nepravilnim metličanjem, s tem da je pri nekaterih posodah metličena celotna zunanja površina.<sup>136</sup> V okviru mlajšega horizonta je bil ornament na loncih z Malega Otavnika podoben, saj je večinsko izdelan tako, da se je potegovalo po površini posode z metlico ali glavniku podobnim orodjem v vse smeri.<sup>137</sup> V najmanj enem primeru so vrezi v pasovih po celotni posodi, pri čemer je videti, da so na lijakastem vratu bolj urejeni oz. so postavljeni vertikalno.<sup>138</sup> Za tovrsten okras je najti analogije na II. kolišču pri Igu,<sup>139</sup> na posodi iz Ljubljane<sup>140</sup> in v Lokah 2.<sup>141</sup> Pojavlja se tudi v Prekmurju, kjer so pasovi po celotni zunanji površini pri manjšem številu posod, so pa ti bolj

urejeni.<sup>142</sup> Organiziran tovrstni okras najdemo tudi v Lokah 2.<sup>143</sup>

Ana Kruh<sup>144</sup> poleg več variant loncev z lijakastim vratom v starejši horizont postavlja tudi polkroglaste globoke skodele, ki so lahko okrašene z vodoravnimi odtisi sukane vrvice pod ustjem. Poznamo jih z najdišča Blatna Brezovica – Zornica.<sup>145</sup> Na njem je bila najdena tudi manjša skleda z analogijami v severovzhodni Sloveniji, ki pa je neokrašana.<sup>146</sup> V starejši horizont prav tako uvršča posodo z II. kolišča pri Igu,<sup>147</sup> ki naj bi bila okrašena z vtiskovanjem debelejšje vrvice pod ustjem, in bržčas tudi vrček z Malega Otavnika, na vratu okrašen z vtiskovanjem navite vrvice.<sup>148</sup>

Kot omenjeno, so po Ani Kruh<sup>149</sup> najdbe mlajšega horizonta Nova tabla II poznane samo z Malega Otavnika. Lonce z lijakastim vratom smo že omenili. Sem spadajo tudi bikonične skodele z lijakastim vratom in vrvičastim okrasom,<sup>150</sup> na katerih je prepoznati značilnosti dveh kulturnih skupin: Kisapostag v obliki in pramenasto keramiko v ornamentu.<sup>151</sup> Prisotne so tudi polkroglaste ali konične skodele s kratkim lijakastim vratom.<sup>152</sup>

Ob tem posodju najdemo v Notranjih Goricah<sup>153</sup> in na območju II. kolišča pri Igu<sup>154</sup> tudi značilno pramenasto keramiko, ki je ne moremo uvrstiti v kulturo Kisapostag. Ker se po Ani Kruh<sup>155</sup> pojavlja na najdiščih starejšega horizonta Nova tabla I, se postavlja vprašanje, kaj to pomeni?

Če sledimo Matiji Črešnarju in Bibi Teržan,<sup>156</sup> *“je prehod med horizontom Kisapostag in tistim s pramenasto keramiko iskati proti koncu 19. stoletja pr. n. št. A hkrati se zastavlja vprašanje, kakšen je njun medsebojni odnos. Ali morda lahko predpostavimo, da je keramika, okrašena s prameni, le odvod keramike mlajše stopnje Kisapostag, ki je okrašena s cikcakastimi prameni, valovnicami ter*

<sup>128</sup> Harej 1980, 87–88, t. 1: 2.

<sup>129</sup> Perini 1994, sl. 19; Bermond Montanari et al. 1996, 57–62, sl. 3: 21, 38.

<sup>130</sup> Erjavec, Gaspari 2012, 274, t. 1: 4.

<sup>131</sup> Kruh 2019, 187–188.

<sup>132</sup> Kruh 2019, 211–213.

<sup>133</sup> Kruh 2019, 184–188.

<sup>134</sup> Kruh 2019, 194–195, 200–202.

<sup>135</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 184, 194–196.

<sup>136</sup> Kruh 2019, 184.

<sup>137</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 195.

<sup>138</sup> Gaspari 2008, t. 4: 6; glej še Kruh 2019, 195.

<sup>139</sup> Glej Korošec, Korošec 1969, t. 65: 8, oz. Leghissa 2017b, t. 74: 1; Harej 1986, t. 8: 2.

<sup>140</sup> Gaspari 2012, t. 1: 5.

<sup>141</sup> Kruh 2019, sl. 32: 15.

<sup>142</sup> Kruh 2019, 194–195, sl. 45; glej npr. Guštin et al. 2017, sl. G231, G395, G396, G417–G419, G422, G440, G441, G509.

<sup>143</sup> Glej Kruh 2019, sl. 32: 13,14.

<sup>144</sup> Kruh 2019, 186–187.

<sup>145</sup> Glej Dirjec 1991, t. 5: 6,8,10.

<sup>146</sup> Dirjec 1991, t. 5: 9.

<sup>147</sup> Glej npr. Dular 1999, sl. 2: 3.

<sup>148</sup> Gaspari 2008, 66, t. 2: 1; po Kruh 2019, 215.

<sup>149</sup> Kruh 2019, 189.

<sup>150</sup> Gaspari 2008, t. 2: 3,4; 12: 1.

<sup>151</sup> Kruh 2019, 215.

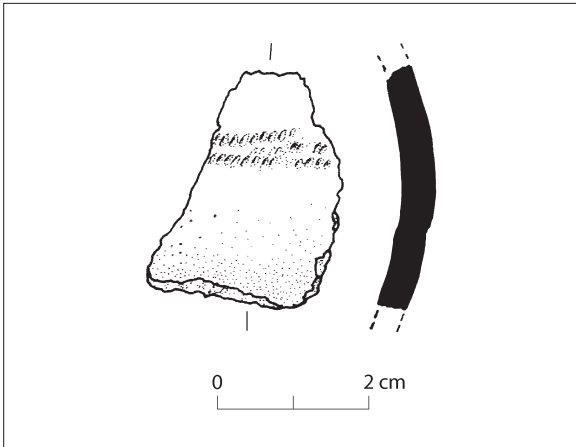
<sup>152</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 201, sl. 51; Gaspari 2008, t. 3: 3,4.

<sup>153</sup> Schmid 1910, sl. 7.

<sup>154</sup> Npr. Gabrovec 1983, t. 1: 1.

<sup>155</sup> Glej Kruh 2019, 184.

<sup>156</sup> Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 675.



Sl. 4: Fragment posode z vrvičastim ornamentom iz Partovskega jarka 1 oz. z II. kolišča (po Harej 1974, t. 6: 8).  
Fig. 4: Fragment of a vessel with corded ornament from Partovski jarek 1 or from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling settlement (after Harej 1974, Pl. 6: 8).

*žigosanimi krožci? Konec pojavljanja keramike s pramenastim okrasom je po drugi strani iskati na koncu 17. stoletja pr. n. št.*

Ana Kruh<sup>157</sup> uvršča najdbe z jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora in zahodnega roba Panonske nižine, na predelu vzhodne Slovenije, severne Hrvaške in jugovzhodnega dela Avstrije, v prvo skupino oz. najstarejšo regionalno kulturno skupino ali krog pramenaste keramike. Vanjo bi pogojno<sup>158</sup> lahko vključili tudi še prostor Ljubljanskega barja z enim, toda značilnim fragmentom skodele z Iga.

Na podlagi trenutnega stanja raziskav datira pramenasto keramiko prve skupine v stopnjo Bd A2(b-c), pri čemer pušča odprto možnost njene dodatne tipološko-kronološke členitve. Absolutno kronološko pa pojav pramenaste keramike na podlagi radiokarbonskih datacij z najdišč v Prekmurju postavlja v časovni razpon od 19. do sredine 17. st. pr. Kr., pri čemer je spodnja meja, kakor nakazuje datacija z najdišča Grofovsko 1, celo lahko pomaknjena v sredino 16. st. pr. Kr.<sup>159</sup>

Med fino keramiko najdemo kroglaste manjše in večje vrče z visokim lijakastim vratom, večje lonce in ovalne skodele z lijakastim vratom ter polkroglaste oz. konične skodele z ravnim robom ustja. Zanje je značilen okras več kot štirih nizov odtisov vrvice, pogosto sta zastopana motiv valovnice in tudi plastični okras v obliki podolgovatih

ali okroglih bradavic na prehodu vratu v rame posode.<sup>160</sup>

Groba keramika je neokrašena, prevladujejo kroglasti lonci z lijakastimi vratovi in polkroglaste ali konične skodele. Odsotnost okrasa, kot kažejo najdbe iz Dolenjske, kjer so lonci ornamentirani z glavničanjem, je očitno regionalno pogojena.<sup>161</sup> Ker je Ljubljansko barje geografsko bližje osrednji Dolenjski, lahko predvidevamo podoben razvoj tudi tu in je bržčas bil drugačen kot v Prekmurju.

Za naš prostor je pomembna tudi druga skupina,<sup>162</sup> ki jo predstavljajo najdbe z najdišč južno od Donave v Spodnji Avstriji, na Gradiščanskem in v severozahodni Transdanubiji. Posamezne primerke posod najdemo še na Solnograškem, v Spodnji Avstriji ob spodnjem toku reke March onkraj Donave, na nižinskih predelih današnje jugozahodne Slovaške in v južni Transdanubiji ter morda tudi na najdiščih v vzhodni in osrednji Sloveniji, kot so Brinjeva gora pri Zrečah, Notranje Gorice na Ljubljanskem barju in Krtina pri Moravčah, ter celo na najdišču Pod pri Bugojnu v osrednji Bosni.

V vzhodni Avstriji je po najdiščih druge skupine najti posode podobnih oblik, kot so značilne za prvo skupino. Primerjamo jih lahko s keramiko z območja Slovenije, Hrvaške in avstrijskega dela Štajerske.<sup>163</sup>

Posebnost druge skupine so večji vrči z nizkim lijakastim vratom.<sup>164</sup> Od posodja prve skupine pa so razlike predvsem v ornamentu,<sup>165</sup> kjer je značilna prevlada vzorcev v obliki vodoravnih pasov na vratu, ter predvsem okras na ramenu. Pojavijo se tudi motivi, ki jih ni zaslediti na posodah, uvrščenih v prvo skupino, predvsem motiv vitic, ki se v različnih oblikovnih izpeljankah pojavlja kot okras na ramenu posod. Pogost je tudi vrvičast okras v kombinaciji s plastičnim, v obliki okroglih ali podolgovatih bradavic, na nekaterih posodah v obliki plastičnih reber. Izjemoma sicer zasledimo posode, okrašene z motivom valovnice. Velja tudi obrnjen. Podoben motiv vodoravnih pramenov, kot ga poznamo s skodele iz Notranjih Goric,<sup>166</sup> najdemo npr. na najdišču Loke 2 iz prve skupine, kjer se sicer pogosteje pojavlja motiv valovnice v kombinaciji z enim ali več vodoravnimi prameni.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 162.

<sup>161</sup> Glej Kruh 2019, 163–164.

<sup>162</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 168.

<sup>163</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 220.

<sup>164</sup> Glej Kruh 2019, sl. 34.

<sup>165</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 167–168.

<sup>166</sup> Glej npr. Dular 1999, sl. 2: 1.

<sup>167</sup> Kruh 2019, 159.

<sup>157</sup> Kruh 2019, 218.

<sup>158</sup> Kruh 2019, 163.

<sup>159</sup> Kruh 2019, 219; prim. Teržan, Črešnar, Mušič 2012, 22.



Sl. 5: Najdbi: **a** – bronasto bodalo in **b** – sekira z robniki v naselbinskem kontekstu Fiavé 3 (po Perini 1987, sl. 1; 3).  
 Fig. 5: Finds: **a** – bronze dagger and **b** – flanged axe in the Fiavé 3 settlement context (after Perini 1987, Fig. 1; 3).

Posebnost skodele z Barja je tudi droben ročaj oz. vodoravno predrta bradavica na prehodu vratu v rame, kar je opredeljeno kot značilnost na skodelah tipa S1 v prvi skupini.<sup>168</sup> Ana Kruh<sup>169</sup> drugo skupino postavlja v stopnjo Bd B1, z mogočim začetkom že v stopnji A2.

Na podlagi analize, ki v veliki meri temelji na študiji Ane Kruh,<sup>170</sup> lahko sklenemo, da imamo na Ljubljanskem barju pestro kronološko in kulturno/slogovno mešanico zgodnebronastodobnih do (zgodnjih) srednebronastodobnih keramičnih najdb.

Lijakasti lonci z metličnim ali glavničnim okrasom so kronološko manj občutljivi in se pojavljajo tako v sklopu kulture Kisapostag, v obeh njenih regionalnih variantah, kot tudi v sklopu pramenaste keramike, kot kažejo najdbe z najdišča Loke 2 pri Družinski vasi.<sup>171</sup> Na Ljubljanskem barju jih najdemo na najdiščih Mali Otavnik, Blatna Brezovica – Zornica, Bevke – Zaloke,<sup>172</sup> v Ljubljani blizu izliva Zornice, v Notranjih Goricah in na II. kolišču pri Igu.

Konični lonci z lijakastim vratom so najpogostejši v mlajšem horizont Nova tabla II.<sup>173</sup> Lonce z vrezi v pasovih najdemo na Malem Otavniku, v Ljubljani pri izlivu Zornice, na II. kolišču pri Igu, v Lokah 2 in Prekmurju.

Podobno je z vrvičastim okrasom. Po teoriji je keramika kulture Kisapostag ornamentirana z vtiskovanjem navite vrvice, medtem ko je bil pri pramenasti okras izdelan z vtiskovanjem dvojne sukane vrvice. Za pramenasto keramiko so značilne tudi plastične nalepke, ki se pogosto pojavljajo na ramenu oz. prehodu vratu v rame vrčkov in skodel.<sup>174</sup> Na globokih skledah z najdišča Blatna Brezovica – Zornica se pod ustjem pojavlja ornament, narejen z odtisom sukane niti,<sup>175</sup> kar naj bi po analogijah za obliko posode lahko datirali v horizont Nova tabla I,<sup>176</sup> kamor naj bi sodila tudi posoda z II. kolišča,<sup>177</sup> ki pa je okrašena z odtisi debelejših vrvice,<sup>178</sup> oz. po alternativni razlagi z odtisi dvojne sukane niti.<sup>179</sup> Na območju II. kolišča je bil

<sup>168</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 40.

<sup>169</sup> Kruh 2019, 220.

<sup>170</sup> Glej Kruh 2019.

<sup>171</sup> Prim. Kruh 2019, 210.

<sup>172</sup> Črešnar 2014, 429, sl. 23.4.5: 3.

<sup>173</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 194.

<sup>174</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 214.

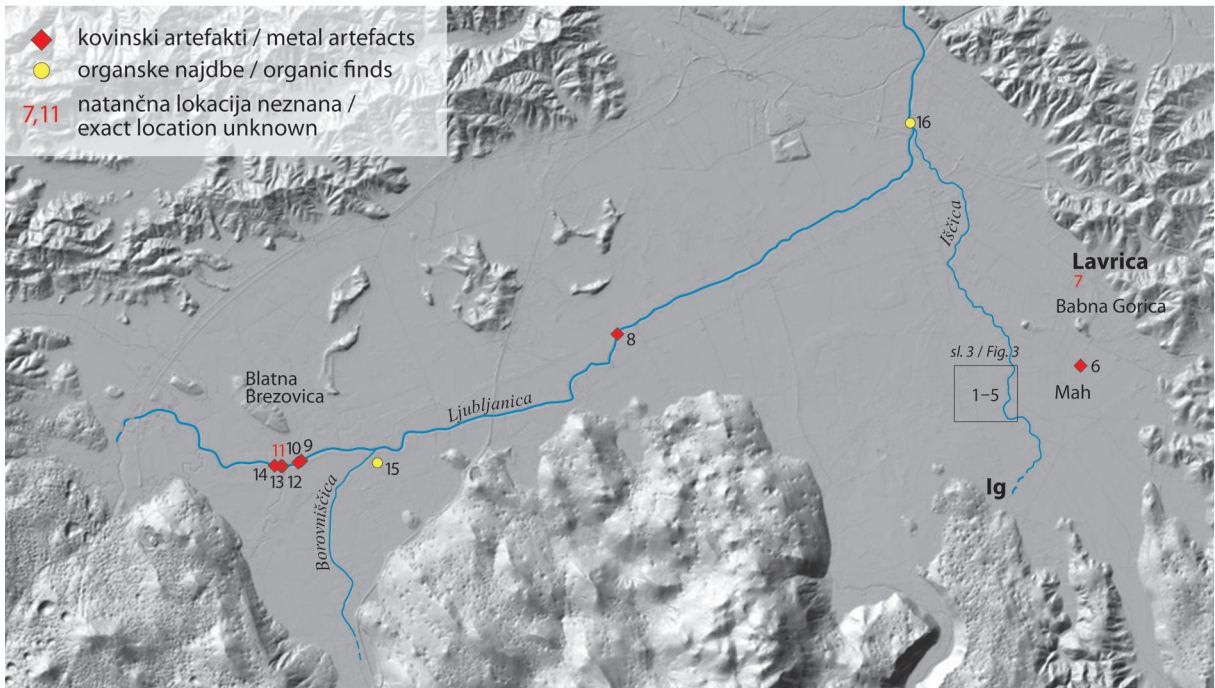
<sup>175</sup> Glej Dirjec 1991, t. 5: 6.

<sup>176</sup> Po Kruh 2019, 186–187.

<sup>177</sup> Npr. Dular 1999, sl. 2: 3.

<sup>178</sup> Kruh 2019, 187.

<sup>179</sup> Leghissa 2017b, t. 43: 5.



Sl. 6: Najdišča posameznih vodnih in močvirskih arheoloških najdb z Ljubljanskega barja, omenjenih v besedilu.  
 Fig. 6: Sites of individual water and marsh archaeological finds from the Ljubljansko barje mentioned in the text.  
 (podlaga / basemap: <https://geohub.gov.si/>)

najden še en manjši fragment, prav tako ornamentiran z odtiskovanjem debelejšje navite vrvice (sl. 4). Kronološki problem je ta, da je uporaba navite niti (tudi v obliki debelejšje vrvice) dokumentirana tudi še v mlajšem horizontu Nova tabla II kulture Kisapostag, ki je vsaj delno sočasen z razvojem pramenaste keramike.<sup>180</sup> Kaže, da ne moremo z zanesljivostjo razpravljati o kulturni pripadnosti, še posebno, če razpolagamo samo z majhnimi slabše določljivimi fragmenti.

Drugače je z zelo značilnim pramenastim okrasom, izvedenim v tehniki dvojne sukane niti, kar je ključen razlikovalni element v primerjavi s keramiko Kisapostag. Najden je na posodju z Malega Otavnika, kjer je iz oblike slutiti še navezanost na kulturo Kisapostag, in na II. kolišču ter v Notranjih Goricah, od koder pa oba primerka, kot omenjeno, nedvomno sodita k pramenasti keramiki.

Če torej povzamemo, imamo na Ljubljanskem barju zastopane vse tri horizonte oz. kulturne pojave, ki jih predlaga Ana Kruh. V najstarejši horizont Nova tabla I nedvomno sodita najdišči Blatna Brezovica – Zornica in Bevke – Zaloke (Bd A1). Tozadevno je poselitev Malega Otavnika videti pestrejša. Za nekatere oblike posod so analogije v starejšem horizontu. Več najdb pa je iz mlajšega

horizonta Nova tabla II kulture Kisapostag (Bd A2).<sup>181</sup> Delno sočasne – ali celo za spoznanje mlajše – so lahko najdbe kulture pramenaste keramike z II. kolišča (Bd A2(b-c)), medtem ko je bila poselitev v Notranjih Goricah bržčas najmlajša in jo lahko postavimo celo v stopnjo Bd B1.

Na poselitev Barja ob koncu zgodnje in v začetnem odseku srednje bronaste dobe naj bi po mnenju Janeza Dularja nakazovale tudi kovinske najdbe, kot so triangularno bodalo z Iga ter meča iz Lavrice in Ljubljanice (sl. 3; 6; 7,9).<sup>182</sup> K njim je treba dodati še najdbe iz Ljubljanice, objavljene po letu 2000: kratek meč (sl. 6: 12),<sup>183</sup> bodalo s trapezasto ročajno ploščo (sl. 6: 11),<sup>184</sup> trije levo-

<sup>181</sup> Po mnenju Andreja Gasparija (2008, 66) je na Malem Otavniku pričakovati tudi “*naselbinsko fazo s konca zgodnje bronaste dobe ali srednje bronaste dobe, pri čemer oblike posod iz Bistre nakazujejo intenzivne stike z Jadransko obalo in njenim zaledjem*”, a je iz nadaljevanja besedila videti, da je pravzaprav mišljen prehod iz srednje v mlajšo bronasto dobo. Na sliki 5 je ob legendi razporeditve najdb v prostoru za to naselbinsko fazo pripisano: “*keramika / pottery (Bd C?)*” (Gaspari 2008, 63, sl. 5).

<sup>182</sup> Dular 1999, 93; za datacijo mečev glej Neumann 2009, 105–106.

<sup>183</sup> Pavlin 2006, 75–77.

<sup>184</sup> A. Gaspari, N. Trampuž Orel, P. Turk 2009, 204–205, sl. 14; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 186, sl. 234.

<sup>180</sup> Kruh 2019, 204, 219.

ročni jezičastoročajni srpi<sup>185</sup> (sl. 6: 8,13,14) in sekira z robniki (sl. 6: 10).<sup>186</sup> Ker so bili ti predmeti malo rabljeni,<sup>187</sup> Primož Pavlin<sup>188</sup> iz njihove lege in razprostranjenosti domneva, da so bili v reko odvrženi namensko, "kot priporočilo pred plovbo ali kot zahvala po srečnem pristanku". Povsem drugače pa moremo ugibati o bodalu z ročajno ploščo z II. kolišča pri Igu, za katerega je videti, da je lahko sočasno z naselbino. Torej, pri bodalu verjetno ne gre za posamezno močvirsko najdbo,<sup>189</sup> temveč za nekaj povsem drugega, to pa zahteva dodatno pojasnilo oz. utemeljitev.

### Posamezna ali naselbinska najdba, to je tu vprašanje<sup>190</sup>

Posamezna,<sup>191</sup> posamična<sup>192</sup> ali naključna<sup>193</sup> najdba, ki je glede na lokacijo odkritja lahko vodna, močvirska, nižinska, višinska, gorska<sup>194</sup> ali jamska,<sup>195</sup> je po definiciji naključno odkrita arheološka najdba z malo ali brez povezanega arheološkega konteksta. V angleškem jeziku jo poznamo kot *a stray find*.<sup>196</sup> Posamičnost in/ali pogosto okoliščine odkritja z odsotnim ali težko razložljivim prvotnim kontekstom jo ločijo od npr. naselbinske,<sup>197</sup> grobne ali depojske najdbe.

Kakor že omenjeno v uvodu, se v kategorijo "posamezna najdba" uvršča tudi triangularno bodalo

<sup>185</sup> Pavlin 2006, 69–75, sl. 2: 1–3; glej še Gaspari 2004, 41, sl. 6: 4.

<sup>186</sup> Gaspari 2004, 41, sl. 6: 2; Pavlin 2006, sl. 1: 5.

<sup>187</sup> Prim. z npr. Potočnik 1988–1989, 392.

<sup>188</sup> Pavlin 2006, 79.

<sup>189</sup> Npr. Vuga 1982; Šinkovec 1996; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019.

<sup>190</sup> Parafraziran izrek "Biti, ne biti: to je tu vprašanje" iz Shakespearjeve tragedije *Hamlet* v prevodu Otona Župančiča (Shakespeare 1973, 63).

<sup>191</sup> Npr. Šinkovec 1996, 125.

<sup>192</sup> Npr. Miškec 2009, 293; P. Turk 2007, 215; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177, 183.

<sup>193</sup> Npr. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 180.

<sup>194</sup> Glej npr. Šinkovec 1995, 32, 33, 37, 43, 51.

<sup>195</sup> Npr. Velušček 1998, 8–10; za strokovni izraz glej Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 217–218.

<sup>196</sup> A stray find: "An archaeological object found by chance and with little or no associated archaeological context" (<https://www.oxfordreference.com>; zadnji dostop 22. avgusta 2023). V angleškem jeziku se uporabljata še izraza *an individual find* in *an isolated find* (npr. Šinkovec 1995, 99; 1996, 125), iz katerih je razbrati večji poudarek na posamičnosti najdbe.

<sup>197</sup> Z oznako "naselbinska najdba" zaobjemamo vsako arheološko najdbo, najdeno v naselbini, brez namere, da bi presojali o njeni vlogi in pomenu za tedanje prebivalce.

z Iga,<sup>198</sup> kar je seveda povsem na mestu, če najdbo izločimo od drugih predmetov z območja II. kolišča, kjer sicer izrazito prevladujejo najdbe iz okoli sredine 3. tisočletja. Kot smo pokazali, je med njimi več fragmentov keramike, ki jih lahko datiramo v 17. in morda celo 16. st. pr. Kr., torej v čas, ko je bilo bodalo izdelano, je bilo v rabi ter je bilo zelo verjetno tudi odloženo.<sup>199</sup> Najdbe bronastodobne keramike vsekakor kažejo na zelo verjeten obstoj naselbine v času kulture pramenaste keramike,<sup>200</sup> so namreč preštevilne in raznolike za kakšno drugačno smiselno razlago. Tako se zdi povsem mogoče, da je bilo bodalo odloženo oz. je bilo izgubljeno v še živem, bržčas koliščarskem naselju in tako v zvezi z njim ne razpravljamo o posamezni, v tem primeru o močvirski, temveč o naselbinski najdbi.

Teza se zdi pomanjkljiva v tem, da je iz okvirno obdobja Bd A–B v Sloveniji med bronastimi najdbami, kot so bodala, meči, helebarda, sekire, srpi in igle, skoraj polovica predmetov,<sup>201</sup> tj. 10, iz povsem nepoznatih kontekstov,<sup>202</sup> 3 igle so najverjetneje iz grobov,<sup>203</sup> 10 je vodnih najdb,<sup>204</sup> od tega jih je kar 7 z Ljubljanskega barja, kamor sodita tudi močvirska in še ena domnevno močvirska najdba.<sup>205</sup> Posamezne vodne in močvirske najdbe se običajno interpretirajo kot ritualno odložene najdbe.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>198</sup> Glej npr. Šinkovec 1995.

<sup>199</sup> Prim. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177.

<sup>200</sup> Prim. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177.

<sup>201</sup> Za primerjavo, ki ne odraža realne slike, saj so obravnavani samo meči, med katerimi so nekateri tipološko blizu bodalom in mečem z Ljubljanskega barja, je Daniel Neumann (2009, 100–106, 112–114) zbral 99 mečev iz družine Sauerbrunn-Boiu (Bd B1–C2). Kot je videti, jih 29 izhaja iz grobov, posameznih najdb je 55 (med njimi iz vodnega okolja kar 39, ena je lahko iz naselbine), 1 izvira iz naselbinske plasti, v 14 primerih izvor ni poznan.

Vredno je opozoriti še na študijo Thomasa Urbana (1993, 53–148), v kateri je pokazal, da je v severni Italiji, v naselbinah iz srednje bronaste dobe, med kovinskimi najdbami najti največ igel, sledijo bodala, sekire in meči, s tem, da samo pri slednjih v naboru vseh najdb prevladujejo vodne najdbe.

<sup>202</sup> Šinkovec 1995, t. 3: 17–21,23; 27: 180–182; 36: 253.

<sup>203</sup> Gabrovec 1983, 44, t. 1: 10; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 180, sl. 228.

<sup>204</sup> Šinkovec 1995, t. 3: 22; 28: 191,193; 29: 199,200; Gaspari 2004, t. 6: 2; Pavlin 2006, sl. 2: 1a,b–3a,b; 6; P. Turk 2007, sl. 9; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, sl. 234; za datacijo rezila helebarde iz Save pri Tomačevem glej še npr. P. Turk 2007, 215; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 178. sl. 224.

<sup>205</sup> Glej Šinkovec 1995, t. 28: 193; 29: 199.

<sup>206</sup> Neumann 2009, 102; glej še npr. Teržan 1987, 76–77; Gaspari 2004, 41; P. Turk, A. Gaspari 2009; Pavlin 2012, 266; Škvor Jernejčič 2020, 480.

Toda kovinske najdbe je bilo treba nekje izdelati. Se pravi končne izdelke, morda tiste, ki so se založili ali so bili zaradi kakršnegakoli drugega razloga opuščeni, bi teoretično lahko našli tudi v okviru naselja. Enako lahko predpostavimo za najdbe, ki so bile v naselje prinesene in so po spletu neznanih okoliščin tam ostale.<sup>207</sup>

Da se je vse to vendarle dogajalo, pričajo številne zgodnje-, predvsem pa srednjebronastodobne kovinske najdbe iz naselbin v severni Italiji (*sl. 5a, b*),<sup>208</sup> kjer so te predmete bržčas tudi vlivali, kakor dokazujejo najdbe metalurških pripomočkov<sup>209</sup> in razprostranjenost.<sup>210</sup>

Zgodnje bronaste najdbe v naseljih poznamo tudi v Sloveniji. Tako je bilo na kortinskem gradišču, ki po keramiki iz izkopavanj v letu 1973 sodi v bronasto dobo, najdeno bronasto bodalo z ročajno ploščo, datirano v Bd A.<sup>211</sup> Leta 1870 so pri gradnji vojašnice v Mariboru odkrili sekiro z rahlo nakazanimi robniki trapezne oblike, prav tako datirano v stopnjo Bd A, pozneje pa sta bila v bližini najdena še "konica puščice"<sup>212</sup> in vrč, okrašen z odtisi navite vrvice.<sup>213</sup> Zbrane najdbe kažejo na nekakšen širši kontekst, morda tudi lahko na naselbino.

Če torej na tem mestu vendarle ne štejemo bodala z območja II. kolišča pri Igu za naselbinsko najdbo, bronastih naselbinskih najdb iz obdobja Bd A–B z Ljubljanskega barja še ne poznamo, več pa jih je z eneolitskih kolišč, ki so veliko bolje in v širšem obsegu raziskana.

Na širšem območju kolišča Hočevarica (*sl. 1*) iz ok. sredine 4. tisočletja pr. Kr. sta bili najdeni kar dve bakreni sekiri,<sup>214</sup> ki sta bili za eneolitskega človeka gotovo dragocena predmeta, pozneje najbrž primerljivi bronastemu bodalu.<sup>215</sup> Najdbi sicer izvirata iz reke Ljubljanice, a se skoraj ne dvomi, da sodita h koliščarskemu naselju.<sup>216</sup> Enako velja

za raznotere najdbe iz bakra, ki jih je v večjem številu našel Karel Dežman na območju kolišč pri Igu,<sup>217</sup> pozneje pa tudi drugi izkopavalci.<sup>218</sup> Med naselbinske najdbe uvrščamo tudi več bakrenih predmetov, ki izvirajo iz Ljubljanice, z odseka okrog kolišča na Špici.<sup>219</sup> Obe koliščarski območji sodita v okvirno sredino 3. tisočletja.

To še ni vse. S teh najdišč je k najdbam iz bakra treba prišteti metalurške pripomočke, ki dokazujejo, da kovinskih predmetov niso samo poznali, temveč so jih tudi vlivali.

Dokazov o uporabi bakra in pomenu dejavnosti za koliščarje z območja Ljubljanskega barja je veliko. Kovinske najdbe, sledi bakra na brusu<sup>220</sup> in/ali metalurške pripomočke poznamo kar na desetih najdiščih, kot so Hočevarica, Notranje Gorice, Stare gmajne, Maharski prekop, Blatna Brezovica, Založnica, območja prvih treh kolišč severno od Iga in Špica (*sl. 1*). Kaže, da je bilo Ljubljansko barje za časa kolišč 4. in 3. tisočletja upoštevanja vredno središče metalurške dejavnosti.

Začetki dejavnosti sežejo v okvirno drugo četrtino 4. tisočletja pr. Kr., v obdobje kulture keramike z brazdastim vrezom, ki je poznana kot kultura, ki je v jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru uveljavila uporabo bakra, metalurško dejavnost in najverjetneje tudi že izkoriščanje lokalnih virov.<sup>221</sup> Najdbe, bodisi kovinski predmeti bodisi metalurški pripomočki, so bile doslej odkrite samo na kolišču Hočevarica.<sup>222</sup> Od njegovega odkritja v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja do danes se je število večinoma dendrokronološko datiranih koliščarskih naselbin te kulture povečalo na pet, kar je za razmeroma majhno območje Ljubljanskega barja zelo veliko. Tako moremo k Hočevarici dodati še Trebež, Črnelnik, Gornje mostišče in Strojanovo vodo (*sl. 1*).<sup>223</sup> Ne dvomimo, da z obsežnejšimi izkopavanji, ki še niso bila izvedena na nobenem izmed teh najdišč, na vsaj nekaterih od njih ne bi naleteli na predmete iz bakra in/ali metalurške pripomočke.

Nadalje sta metalurška dejavnost oz. uporaba kovinskih predmetov izpričani na koliščih druge

<sup>207</sup> Prim. Hundt 1974, 173–174; Neumann 2009, 107–108.

<sup>208</sup> Npr. Urban 1993, 53–139; De Marinis 1999, 25–85.

<sup>209</sup> Glej npr. Perini 1987, 34–35; Cierny et al. 2001, 57–77.

<sup>210</sup> Glej npr. za levoročne srpe (Pavlin 2006, 75, sl. 5) in za nekatere meče iz družine Sauerbrunn-Boiu (Neumann 2009, sl. 4). Lokalna proizvodnja se predpostavlja tudi za nekatere tipe sekir z robniki (npr. Perini 1987, 23) itd.

<sup>211</sup> Šinkovec 1995, 94, t. 27: 180; prim. Sakara Sučević 2008, 443.

<sup>212</sup> Pahič 1975, 304.

<sup>213</sup> Pahič 1975, 304; Šinkovec 1995, 36–37, t. 2: 11; Črešnar 2010, 119, sl. 6: 11.

<sup>214</sup> Velušček (ur.) 2004, 54, sl. 3.1.30; 3.1.35; 3.1.36.

<sup>215</sup> Prim. z npr. P. Turk 2007, 215.

<sup>216</sup> Prim. Gaspari 2004, 37–38; Trampuž Orel, Heath 2008, 26, 27, tab. 1, t. 1: 1,2; A. Gaspari, N. Trampuž Orel, P. Turk 2009, 204; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 152, sl. 193.

<sup>217</sup> Korošec, Korošec 1969, t. 105.

<sup>218</sup> Harej 1981–1982, 46, t. 17: 6.

<sup>219</sup> Npr. Ložar 1943, 64; Šinkovec 1995, t. 35: 237–252; A. Gaspari, N. Trampuž Orel, P. Turk 2009, 202–203.

<sup>220</sup> Bernardini et al. 2009, 274.

<sup>221</sup> Teržan 1983; Velušček, Greif 1998; Velušček (ur.) 2004; prim. Lippert 1992, 19–48; Samonig 2003, 78; Gleirscher 2007, 94–95; Trampuž Orel 2009, 59; Frank, Pernicka 2012.

<sup>222</sup> Glej Velušček (ur.) 2004, sl. 3.1.30; 3.1.35; 3.1.36.

<sup>223</sup> Out et al. 2023, Tab. 1; Velušček et al. 2023, 18.

polovice 4. tisočletja. Na Maharskem prekopu in Starih gmajnah so bili odkriti metalurški pripomočki, sledovi stika s kovino pa so vidni na brusu iz Blatne Brezovice.

Talilne posode poznamo tudi iz Notranjih Goric in jih bržčas prav tako moremo datirati v 4. tisočletje.<sup>224</sup>

Kolišča iz okvirno sredine 3. tisočletja pri Igu so kot pomemben metalurški center znana že skoraj poldrugo stoletje.<sup>225</sup> Dandanes je treba k njim dodati še Založnico<sup>226</sup> in Špico.<sup>227</sup>

O razmerah na prehodu iz tretjega v drugo in prvi polovici 2. tisočletja je manj uporabnih podatkov. Na bronasto bodalo so naleteli v okviru obsežnih izkopavanj primarno eneolitskega koliščarskega naselja pri Igu. Bodalu sorodne meče so našli bržčas nekje v močvirju pri Lavrici in pri raziskovanju struge Ljublanice južno od osamelca Blatna Brezovica (sl. 6: 7,9,12). Iz Ljublanice so znani še bodalo s trapezasto ročajno ploščo, trije srpi in bronasta sekira z robniki (sl. 6: 8,10,11,13,14). Trenutno zanesljive so tri naselbine: Blatna Brezovica – Zornica, Bevke – Zaloke in Mali Otavnik. Najdbe keramike sicer kažejo, da jih lahko pričakujemo še na širšem območju kolišča iz 4. tisočletja v Notranjih Goricah, na širšem območju II. kolišča iz 3. tisočletja pri Igu in morda tudi nekje blizu izliva Zornice ali Bistre v Ljublanico<sup>228</sup> (sl. 1).

Pri tem so še posebej zanimivi bodalo z Iga ter tipološko z njim povezani dolgo bodalo<sup>229</sup>

<sup>224</sup> Velušček (ur.) 2004, 225, 301; Trampuž Orel 2009, 58.

<sup>225</sup> Npr. Durman 1983.

<sup>226</sup> Npr. Velušček, Greif 1998, 38; Velušček, Čufar 2003, 126, t. 4: 10; Velušček 2008, 38.

<sup>227</sup> R. Klasinc, M. Ravnik, J. Kusetič, M. Jančar, S. Vučković 2010, Poročilo o zaščitnih arheoloških izkopavanjih na najdišču Špica (neobjavljeno poročilo / unpublished report); Šinkovec 2012.

<sup>228</sup> S tega območja v Ljublanici izvira keramika z metličnim ali glavničnim okrasom (glej Dolenc 2012, t. 11: 206; Gaspari 2012, sl. 9: 5; t. 1: 5), bržčas tudi skodela s trapezasto oblikovanim ročajem in kolenčastim pregibom (Dolenc 1982, t. 11: 200; za datacijo in razprostranjenost glej P. Turk, V. Svetličič 2022, 53) in še dvoročajni skodeli/vrča (Potočnik 1988–1989, 392, t. 23: 25,26) zgodnjebronastodobne kulture Wieselburg-Gata, ki je okvirno datirana med 2100 in 1700/1600 pr. Kr. (Bd A1b–A2) (Gömöri, Melis, Kiss 2018, 5). Zanju najdemo skoraj identične analogije tudi na Krasu, v Furlaniji in Padski nižini, kjer jih enako povezujejo z omenjeno kulturo (glej npr. Bermond Montanari et al. 1996, 64, sl. 4: 25–27; Salzani, Martinelli, Bellintani 1996, 285, sl. 3: 5–8; Pizziolo, Visentini 2023, sl. 103; Montagnari Kokelj, Visentini 2023, sl. 116).

<sup>229</sup> Po P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 179.

(označeno tudi za kratek meč<sup>230</sup>) in meči, o katerih Peter Turk<sup>231</sup> poda naslednjo tezo: “*Bodala in meči iz osrednje Slovenije so si med seboj podobni po okrasu in obliki ročajnih plošč in se hkrati po teh značilnostih razlikujejo od drugih. To bi dopuščalo domnevo o lokalnih metalurško-livarskih delavnicah.*”

Na morebitno lokalno proizvodnjo te vrste orožja nekje v jugovzhodnih ali vzhodnih Alpah namiguje tudi Pavlin.<sup>232</sup> Dodajmo, da je bilo tostran Alp in vzhodno od Furlanske nižine, na tleh sedanje Republike Slovenije odkritih 5 sorodnih bodal in/ali mečev, ki sodijo v skupino bodal in zgodnjih mečev s polkrožno zaključeno ročajno ploščo oz. s polnim ročajem. Štiri najdbe poznamo z Ljubljanskega barja, ena pa naj bi prvotno izhajala iz vodnega zajetja pri gradu Jablje v Loki pri Mengšu, ki je od II. kolišča na Barju v zračni črti oddaljeno manj kot 20 km. Poraja se torej misel: če iščemo delavnico za ta bodala oz. meče<sup>233</sup> nekje na območju Slovenije, potem je gotovo eden izmed najprepričljivejših kandidatov prav Ljubljansko barje z najmanj dvema naselbinama. Starejšo delavnico lahko pričakujemo v bronastodobnem naselju pri Igu, na širšem prostoru že davno opustelega kolišča iz ok. sredine 3. tisočletja, pozneje pa tudi v Notranjih Goricah, prav tako na širšem območju kolišča iz 4. tisočletja. Kot kažejo najdbe iz Ljublanice, bi naselje iz tega časa lahko slutili tudi nekje v širši okolici sotočja z Zornico oz. Bistro, morda celo na Malem Otavniku.<sup>234</sup> Tako tudi bodalo z Iga lahko pojasnimo kot proizvod delavnice z Barja, kar dodatno podpira meč, najden pri Lavrici manj kot 3 km proč (sl. 6: 7).<sup>235</sup>

## SKLEPNA TEZA

Pokazali smo, da lahko bodalo z Iga razložimo kot naselbinsko najdbo. Zavedamo se, da ob tem postavljamo pod vprašaj marsikateri artefakt in z njim povezane razlage o kulturnih praksah, ki imajo najširšo podporo v strokovni javnosti in za katere je videti, da so tako rekoč že skoraj aksiom. S pričujočim prispevkom tem tezam ne nameravamo in ne moremo oporekati. Bomo pa v sklepni diskusiji

<sup>230</sup> Pavlin 2006, 76; P. Turk 2007, 215.

<sup>231</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177; prim. P. Turk 2007, 214–215.

<sup>232</sup> Pavlin 2006, 77.

<sup>233</sup> Za datacijo mečev tipa Sauerbrunn z Ljubljanskega barja glej Pavlin 2006, 75–77, in Neumann 2009, 100–106.

<sup>234</sup> Prim. Gaspari 2008, 66.

<sup>235</sup> Prim. Hundt 1974, 164–165.

vseeno opozorili na še nekaj drugačnih izhodišč in si postavili vprašanja, ki se porajajo ob najdbi bodala z Iga.

Izhodišče za najdbo so Dežmanova izkopavanja pri Studencu oz. danes Igu, ki so po zadnji oceni zajela precej več kot 12.000 m<sup>2</sup> površine,<sup>236</sup> kar se potem na Barju v vsaj približno primerljivem obsegu ni nikoli več ponovilo.<sup>237</sup> Dežman je na tem območju našel veliko keramičnih, kovinskih in drugih najdb. Iz virov je razvidno, da so med najdbami, predvsem keramiko, že na terenu opravili izbor, kaj bodo pobirali in kaj bo zavrženo. Zanj so imeli za takratne čase prepričljivo opravičilo, saj je bilo število dobro ohranjenega in razkošno ornamentiranega posodja kar zavidljivo.<sup>238</sup> Iz Dežmanovih zapiskov je razbrati, da so na koncu tretje sezone zastavili izkopavanje še na t. i. III. kolišču (sl. 3). V njegovi prisotnosti so naleteli na malo keramičnih najdb, te pa so bile bolj grobe in debelejših sten, kar je povsem odvrnilo financerje, zato si niso mogli več privoščiti niti testnega izkopa na kolišču Strojanova voda.<sup>239</sup>

Epizodo s III. koliščem navajamo zato, ker kaže, kako so se v letih med 1875 in 1877 lotevali arheoloških izkopavanj. Čeprav so po Dežmanovih besedah na terenu sledili vertikalnim kolom,<sup>240</sup> so bile za nadaljevanje izkopa vendarle ključne arheološke najdbe. Pri Notranjih Goricah smo omenili, da je Harej našel keramiko z metličnim okrasom – poleg nje še morda sočasno skodelo – zunaj osrednjega območja kolišča iz 4. tisočletja. Opozorili smo, da slednje lahko kaže na le delno prekrivanje arealov naselbin iz različnih obdobij. Morda je nekaj podobnega iskati tudi na širšem območju II. kolišča pri Igu in morda Dežman na osrednji prostor naselja iz zgodnje bronaste dobe sploh ni posegel.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>236</sup> Leghissa 2020, 20.

<sup>237</sup> Na Ljubljanskem barju so se po obsegu druga največja izkopavanja kolišč dogajala v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, ko je Tatjana Bregant na Maharskem prekopu raziskala 1208 m<sup>2</sup> površine (glej Bregant 1996, 27).

<sup>238</sup> Prim. Deschmann 1876, 472.

<sup>239</sup> Smole 1983, 155, 159; glej še Deschmann 1876, 471–472.

<sup>240</sup> Deschmann 1876, 472; 1878, 4; glej še Ložar 1942, 89.

<sup>241</sup> V katero smer bi se lahko širilo in kje bi lahko stal osrednji del bronastodobnega naselja, ni znano. Ugotovljeno je, da Dežman ni izkopal vseh lokacij na širšem območju razprostranjenosti t. i. prvih treh kolišč (Kos 1978, 58), ki so jih raziskovali pri Studencu (danes Ig) med letoma 1875 in 1877 (sl. 3) in kjer je najti kole in druge najdbe (Bregant 1964–1965, pril. 2).

Zanimive so tudi kovinske najdbe, ki so mlajše od naselbin 3. tisočletja. V prvi vrsti je to bodalo, ki je dobilo status ritualno odložene najdbe “na mestu sicer starejšega koliščarskega selišča (morda namerno prav tam, kot žrtvovanje duhovom prednikov)”.<sup>242</sup> Teza se zdi povsem mogoča, toda kot starejše selišče pride v poštev izključno naselbina iz 2. tisočletja, in ne II. kolišče, ki je bilo opuščeno najpozneje v 25. st. pr. Kr.<sup>243</sup> Po zelo konservativni oceni je med eneolitskim koliščem in bodalom več kot 700 let časovne vrzeli.<sup>244</sup> Upravičeno lahko domnevamo, da v času rabe bodala na tistem območju niso bili več vidni ostanki eneolitske poselitve. Če so jih še lahko videli, npr. kot danes gledamo kole

Naj navedemo dva primera. Tako ni raziskal vmesnega prostora med I. in II. koliščem (glej sl. 3), kjer so bili pozneje pri različnih delih večkrat odkriti vertikalni koli, najdena je bila tudi koliščarska (eneolitska) keramika (za lego vmesnega območja z najdbami glej Vuga 1970, 142; 1977, 166; 1980b, 130; 1981b, 199, sl. 6; Harej 1974, 76, sl. 1; za keramiko glej Vuga 1981b, sl. 7; 1980b, 130). Prav tako ni raziskoval prostora severovzhodno od II. kolišča na območju okrog arheološko pozitivnih sond št. 25, 27 in 31, ki jih je zastavila Tatjana Bregant (1964–1965, pril. 2).

Morda pa lahko iščemo osrednji del bronastodobnega naselja še bolj v smeri proti lokaciji III. kolišča, kjer so naleteli na grobo keramiko debelih sten in zanimivo stratigrafijo, ki je Dežmana spodbudila k razmišljanju, da: “*Man wäre versucht, hier zwei über einander gestellte Pfahlbauten anzunehmen, eine ältere aus Rundhölzern der Pappel und eine jüngere aus Spaltklötzen der Eiche bestehend*” (Deschmann 1878, 19).

Domneva se prekriva z mnenjem Elene Leghissa (2017a, 275, op. 1219; 2021, 47, op. 149), ki pri dveh posodah iz struge Iščice na območju kolišča Parte-Iščica (sl. 3) vidi podobnost z zgodnjebronastodobno keramiko (glej Velušček, Čufar, Levanič 2000, 85, t. 4: 8; 5: 1).

Podobnost v obliki je nedvomna, okras – topi vrezji/žlebovi v vseh smereh na prvi posodi, na drugi pa kombinacija barbotina z domnevno glavničnim okrasom – pa je nenavaden za regionalne skupine tako kulture Kisapostag kot tudi pramenaste keramike (prim. Kruh 2019). Kljub temu moremo pritrčiti mnenju Elene Leghissa. Uporaba ornamentalne tehnike vsaj na prvi posodi in oblika obeh posod namreč spominjata na keramiko kulture Wiesenburg-Gata (glej npr. Gömöri, Melis, Kiss 2018), katere prisotnost na Ljubljanskem barju smo že omenili.

Vsekakor, na širšem območju III. kolišča je drugačno stratigrafijo v primerjavi s I. in II. koliščem veliko pozneje s sondažnimi izkopi potrdila tudi Tatjana Bregant (1964–1965, 182–183). Enako ugotavlja Harej za najdišče Parte (za lego glej sl. 3), pri čemer označi plast, v kateri so vejice, lubje, koščki lesa in listje, ki leži nad kulturno plastjo, za naplavinsko (npr. Harej 1978, 62, sl: profili).

<sup>242</sup> Vuga 1982, 20–21.

<sup>243</sup> Glej npr. Leghissa 2021, 40–52.

<sup>244</sup> Prim. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177.



in prazgodovinske najdbe v Iščici (*sl. 6*),<sup>245</sup> se moremo vprašati, kako so si jih bronastodobni ljudje razlagali. Vedeti je treba, da so npr. na ostanke kolišč v Švici dokumentirano naleteli davno pred Ferdinandom Kellerjem, a je šele on v njih prepoznal ostanke pradavnih človeških bivališč.<sup>246</sup> Pri tem ne gre pozabiti, kako so si v preteklosti ljudje razlagali kamnita orodja. Zanje so bila nenavadno oblikovani kamni, ki jih je napravila strela. V njih nikakor niso videli tistega, kar so bili – namreč kamnite sekire oz. orodja.<sup>247</sup>

Torej se zdi obstoj naselja iz zgodnje bronaste dobe na širšem območju II. kolišča več kot verjeten,<sup>248</sup> kar je morda upravičen razlog za izvajanje svojevrstnih ritualov v stoletju ali dveh, ki sta sledili,<sup>249</sup> seveda pod pogojem, da je naselje starejše od bodala,<sup>250</sup> kar pa je, kot smo pokazali, malo verjetno. Toda kljub temu se postavlja vprašanje, kako razložiti človeško spodnjo čeljustnico, od katere je bil datiran zob, iz 15. st. pr. Kr.,<sup>251</sup> nekoliko mlajši jezičastoročajni meč, ki ga lahko postavimo v čas 13. in 12. st., iglo s profilirano bikonično glavico, ki jo moremo datirati v časovni razpon od sredine 11. do konca 10. st.,<sup>252</sup> in še mlajšo odlomljeno bronasto iglo s trombastim zaključkom?<sup>253</sup> Vse te najdbe so bile odkrite na območju I. kolišča (*sl. 3*). Müllner navaja, da je meč ležal pol metra nad koliščarsko kulturno plastjo. Za čeljustnico in igli nimamo primerljivega podatka. Še več, časovna distanca igle s profilirano bikonično glavico do I. kolišča<sup>254</sup> že presega poldrugo tisočletje. Še daljša vrzel je med eneolitiskim naseljem in najmlajšo iglo, zato Davorin Vuga<sup>255</sup> bržčas meni, da je bila najdena “*verjetno v šoti nad koliščarsko plastjo*”. Utemeljeno lahko sklepamo, da na prelomu tisočletij in v stoletjih, ki so sledila, na površju tudi ni bilo več videti ostankov naselja iz prve polovice 2. tisočletja. Narava, rast močvirja in barja, je gotovo vzela svoj davek.<sup>256</sup>

Torej se je treba vprašati, kako razložiti človeško spodnjo čeljustnico, nekoliko mlajši meč in še mlajši igli, ki so se znašli več kot 300 m proč od trdine v okolju, ki je po definiciji težko prehodno in človeku nevarno?<sup>257</sup> Kako v takšnem okolju pojasniti verjetno še nič rabljeno žarnogrobiščno tulasto sekiro z odebeljenim ustjem in ušescem, najdeno v Mahu med Babno Gorico in Igom (*sl. 6: 6*)?<sup>258</sup> Še bolj zagonetna je mezolitska harpuna, pobrana v Ljubljani pod izlivom Iščice (*sl. 6: 16*).<sup>259</sup> Raziskave so v prid tezi, da je bilo pred več kot 11.000 leti<sup>260</sup> na tistem območju jezero.<sup>261</sup> V stari strugi Borovniščice je bila tik pred njeno regulacijo odkrita sekira iz jelenovega roga (*sl. 6: 15*). Izvira najbrž iz obdobja, ko so bila na Ljubljanskem barju kolišča.<sup>262</sup> Kako je najdba zašla v korito Borovniščice, ni znano. Prav tako ni znano, ali je bila pobrana v prvotni legi oz. kako je bilo z Borovniščico v času njene odložitve. Zapleteno vprašanje o pomenu najdbe odpira tudi levoročni srp iz srednje bronaste dobe, najden v Ljubljani med Podpečjo in Lipami (*sl. 6: 8*).<sup>263</sup> Ker ugotavljamo, da so se skozi tisočletja kolišča umikala skupaj z jezerom proti središču Ljubljanskega barja,<sup>264</sup> je moralo biti v srednji bronasti dobi na mestu najdbe še jezero. Doslej najmlajše kolišče Blato je datirano okvirno na prehod iz srednje v mlajšo bronasto dobo (Bd C/D) in leži v primerjavi z najdiščem srpa precej bolj na obrobju bazena (prim. *sl. 6: 8* in *sl. 1*).<sup>265</sup>

Za vse omenjene najdbe vsekakor smemo trditi, da so se po spletu neznanih okoliščin na Ljubljanskem barju izgubile/odložile. Dokazujejo, kot je namignil Janez Dular,<sup>266</sup> sklicujoč se samo na zgodnje bronastodobne kovinske najdbe, poselitev človeka na Barju in/ali v okolici v zgodnji in srednji bronasti dobi, temu pa dodajamo še v mezolitiku, v obdobju kolišč, za časa kulture žarnih grobišč in

<sup>257</sup> Melik 1927, 5; Gaspari 2017, 396–397.

<sup>258</sup> Glej Šinkovec 1995, 68, t. 18: 102.

<sup>259</sup> Potočnik 1988–1989, t. 3: 22; I. Turk 2004, 15, sl. 2.2. Pri P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 85, sl. 122 je izvor harpune napačno pripisan odseku Ljubljane pri Blatni Brezovici. Podobno, harpuno v Iščico blizu sotočja z Ljubljani narobe postavlja tudi Gaspari (2014, 69, sl. 60). Za pravilno lego najdišča te najdbe glej Potočnik 1988–1989, 391, sl. 1: 22, oz. sl. 6: 16.

<sup>260</sup> Za radiokarbonsko datacijo harpune glej P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 85; M. Turk 2022, 43.

<sup>261</sup> Prim. Melik 1946; Verbič, Horvat 2009.

<sup>262</sup> Vuga 1980b, 137, sl. 19: 18; 1981a, 198.

<sup>263</sup> Pavlin 2006, 70, sl. 1: 3; 2: 3a,b.

<sup>264</sup> Npr. Velušček, Čufar 2008; J. Turk, A. Velušček 2013.

<sup>265</sup> Velušček, Toškan, Čufar 2011.

<sup>266</sup> Dular 1999, 93; enako pred njim Gabrovec 1983, 40.

<sup>245</sup> Npr. Velušček, Čufar, Levanič 2000; Velušček 2013, sl. 11; 2015, sl. 7; Leghissa 2020, 16.

<sup>246</sup> Hafner et al. 2020, 1–2.

<sup>247</sup> Npr. Šprajc 1982, 8; prim. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 163, sl. 207.

<sup>248</sup> Prim. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177.

<sup>249</sup> Gaspari 2014, 74.

<sup>250</sup> Prim. Kruh 2019, 184.

<sup>251</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 238–239, 241, sl. 165.

<sup>252</sup> Teržan 2002, 86–87.

<sup>253</sup> Za datacijo igle glej Vuga 1980a, 201, op. 6; prim. Gaspari 2002, 39, op. 59

<sup>254</sup> Za datacijo I. kolišča glej npr. Leghissa 2021, 41.

<sup>255</sup> Vuga 1980a, 201.

<sup>256</sup> Glej Pavšič 1989; Verbič, Horvat 2009.

na začetku železne dobe. Skratka, gre za dogajanje, ki ga težko argumentirano razložimo z ritualnimi praksami. Kot alternativno razlago, da gre za naselbinsko najdbo, v tem prispevku predlagamo za ornamentirano bodalo z ročajno ploščo z Iga.

## ZAKLJUČEK

V prispevku obravnavamo najdiščne okoliščine bronastega ornamentiranega bodala z Iga. Po analizah virov postavljamo tezo, da je bodalo sočasno z naseljem. Torej njegovo odkritje na najdiščnem območju eneolitskega II. kolišča ni slučajno, saj je bržčas prišlo do vsaj delnega prekrivanja area-

lov naselbin iz konca eneolitske dobe in zgodnje bronaste dobe. Ker smo pokazali, da najverjetneje ne gre za ritualno odloženo najdbo, ta odpira vprašanja o izvoru in pomenu več drugih arheoloških, predvsem kovinskih najdb z Ljubljanskega barja.

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## A Bronze Ornamented Dagger from Ig from the Early Bronze Age

### Translation

Significant prehistoric archaeological finds from the Ljubljansko barje kept in the collections of the National Museum of Slovenia merit special attention. In addition to, e.g., the anthropomorphic vessel,<sup>1</sup> the ornamented bronze triangular dagger or the dagger with a semicircular hilt plate certainly belongs among them.<sup>2</sup>

Since its discovery in 1876, the bronze dagger has been the subject of lively considerations. In the marshy environment near the village of Studenec (Ger. Brunndorf), the present-day settlement of Ig, it was found by Karel Dežman (Ger. Deschmann), when he excavated the remains of prehistoric pile-dwellings (Fig. 1; 3). It soon found its place in the famous works of Robert Munro<sup>3</sup> and Oscar Montelius.<sup>4</sup> A writer and priest Janez Jalen provided for its literary immortality in the popular trilogy *Bobri* (Beavers).<sup>5</sup> In 1985, the dagger was stolen from the museum, but after 33 years Interpol tracked it down at an auction in England. The vast documentation proved that it belonged to the National Museum of Slovenia. In 2018, it was thus returned and is today again on display as part of the permanent exhibition.<sup>6</sup>

Even though the precise circumstances of the find from the Barje are not known,<sup>7</sup> the expert papers still guess about them. The roughly adopted thesis says that the dagger was found lying in the marshy environment over the pile-dwelling cultural layer, which led to the conclusion that this is probably a stray marsh find.<sup>8</sup> Based on this assumption, various interpretations emerged saying that either the item had strayed totally accidentally to the area of the former pile-dwelling settlement – was lost<sup>9</sup> – or this is a find resulting from well-thought-out ritual

practices in the water or marshy environment,<sup>10</sup> or in the spot of a several centuries abandoned settlement or pile-dwelling settlement.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, those authors who display scepticism towards such explanations and do not completely rule out the possibility that it could be a find which was – perchance completely accidentally – deposited in a settlement are in the minority.<sup>12</sup>

Since the circumstances of the discovery of the bronze dagger from Ig<sup>13</sup> are very blurred, yet conclusions are still drawn on this basis about the status and from it about the significance, it seems sensible to evaluate anew and, above all, critically those sources which directly or indirectly lift the veil of mystery about the time, place, and wider context of the discovery and present potential new findings, which is the content of this contribution.

### DAGGER

The dagger with a semicircular hilt plate from Ig is 20.6 cm long (Fig. 2). It is the widest, 5.8 cm, at the hilt plate, which is semicircular in shape and has six rivets. It arches slightly at the transition into the blade of rhombic cross-section. The ornament of incised lines, hanging triangles, and semicircles continues from the hilt plate to the blade. According to the metal analysis (SAM), it is made of bronze in which copper, with more than 81%, and tin, with slightly less than 9%,

<sup>1</sup> Velušček 2007.

<sup>2</sup> See Ložar 1943, 71–75; Gabrovec 1971, 88; Vuga 1982, Fig. 14; Pavlin 2007, 19; Šinkovec 1995, 99; 1996, 142.

<sup>3</sup> *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe* from 1890 (after Montelius 1900, 233).

<sup>4</sup> Montelius 1900, 128–131, Fig. 318; 1903, Fig. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Jalen 1964, 53–54.

<sup>6</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177; P. Turk 2020, 104.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Gabrovec 1971, 88.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Šinkovec 1995, 99; Gaspari 2002, 39; 2004, 41; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177, 183; P. Turk 2020, 104.

<sup>9</sup> Pavlin 2007; cf. Vuga 1982; Šinkovec 1996, 125, 161–162.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Šinkovec 1996; Teržan 1996; Gaspari 2004, 41; Pavlin 2007, 19; P. Turk 2007, 215; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 183; cf. Gabrovec 1983, 40; Dular 1987, 84.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Vuga 1982, 20–21; Gaspari 2014, 74; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 172.

<sup>12</sup> Korošec 1955, 266; Velušček 2008, 35; cf. Dular 1999, 84.

<sup>13</sup> The simple formulation ‘a dagger from Ig’ is used according to Gabrovec (1971, 88) and other authors (e.g. Šinkovec 1996, 142; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177), even though the dagger was actually found in the marshy land north of the settlement of Ig.

prevail. Somewhat less tin (–8%) was found in the analysed rivet.<sup>14</sup>

Stane Gabrovec<sup>15</sup> dates the bronze find to the end of the Early Bronze Age, into the BA A2 stage, which more or less matches the opinion of other researchers.<sup>16</sup> A slightly wider dating from BA A2 to B1 stages (17<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century BC) is suggested in the expert articles by Peter Turk.<sup>17</sup>

The dagger was discovered in 1876 in the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> (Dežman's) pile-dwelling (Fig. 3). A shorter report from the second excavation season lasting from July to October 1876 testifies to this fact<sup>18</sup>: *'Bronzeobjecte<sup>19</sup> sind bisher sehr spärlich vorgekommen. In Ganzen wurden deren nur 12 Stück gefunden: ... e) ein 20 Cm. Langer, mit beiderseitiger Ciselirung in Strichen, Parallellinien und Halbkreisen schön verzierter Dolch mit 6 anstehenden Nietten zur Befestigung an die Handhabe, unstreitig das schönste Kunstobject der bisherigen Funde;...'*<sup>20</sup>

The so-called II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling settlement was excavated by Dežman in 1876 and later again in 1877 (Fig. 3). He marked it as the main pile-dwelling (in the original *der Hauptpfahlbau*).<sup>21</sup> It probably acquired its adjective due to rich finds and a larger number of stilts which were thicker and more densely set.

Certain authors believe that there are no data connected to the discovery of the ornamented dagger,<sup>22</sup> or that the find was discovered in settlement 2, but without the accompanying pottery material.<sup>23</sup> Others cite very important stratigraphic data but which differ from one another. According to one interpretation, the dagger was supposedly found without other objects approximately 1m

above settlement finds.<sup>24</sup> According to another,<sup>25</sup> which also places the dagger above the Eneolithic cultural layer and for which it is immediately clear that it is only conjecture, its stratigraphic position is comparable to the position of the bronze short sword half a metre above the pile-dwelling settlement remains, dated most probably to the beginning of the Urnfield culture,<sup>26</sup> which was discovered in 1875 at the I<sup>st</sup> pile-dwelling in Ig (Fig. 3).<sup>27</sup>

Eduard von Sacken, who was the first to publish the tanged sword,<sup>28</sup> states for the metal finds from the I<sup>st</sup> pile-dwelling,<sup>29</sup> among which, in addition to the sword, the copper<sup>30</sup> dagger,<sup>31</sup> a whole bronze pin with a profiled biconical head (Fig. 3)<sup>32</sup>, and a fragmented bronze pin with a trumpet-shaped terminal (Fig. 3: 5)<sup>33</sup>, are also deemed interesting, that metal finds together with other pile-dwelling remains originate from a unified layer under the peat and are thus important for determining the age of the settlement.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Šinkovec 1995, 99; Pavlin 2007, 19; cf. Gaspari 2004, 41.

<sup>25</sup> See P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177, 183; P. Turk 2020, 104.

<sup>26</sup> For the dating of the short sword cf. Dular 1974, 15; Gabrovec 1983, 46; Harding 1995, 30; Šinkovec 1995, 103–104; P. Turk 2007, 215; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 183, Fig. 230.

<sup>27</sup> Deschmann 1875, 280.

<sup>28</sup> Sacken 1876, 29, Pl. 1: 21.

<sup>29</sup> Metal objects found in 1875 during the excavation of the so-called I<sup>st</sup> pile-dwelling are listed by Dežman: *'ein gut erhaltenes dolchartiges Schwert in der bekannten Schilfform, ein roh gearbeitetes an der Rändern gehämmertes, wahrscheinlich durch Umguss von Bronze hervorgebrachtes Messer, eine ganze mit einem Knopf versehene, eine abgebrochene Haarnadel...'* (Deschmann 1875, 280), which are later adopted and supplemented by other authors, e.g. Sacken 1876, 28–29, Pl. 1: 21–23 and Vuga 1980a, 201, 206, Fig. 1: 17; 2: 5, who are also the first to publish the finds from the Bronze and Iron Ages.

<sup>30</sup> *'... von kupferreicherer Legirung als die ersteren'* (Sacken 1876, 29; cf. Korošec 1955, 257).

<sup>31</sup> Sacken 1876, 29, Pl. 1: 23. Rajko Ložar (1943, 66–71) rendered this and other comparable finds as daggers, which was then established in the modern sources (e.g. Korošec 1955, 257; Dimitrijević 1979, 321). However, it is true that ever since its discovery, different interpretations have occurred which, according to the interpretation, completely change the function and meaning of the find (a few examples: Deschmann 1875, 280: knife; Sacken 1876, 29: knife or dagger; Müllner 1879, 141: spear point; Ložar 1943, 66–71: dagger; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 156, Fig. 198: spear point or dagger).

<sup>32</sup> Sacken 1876, 29, Pl. 1: 22.

<sup>33</sup> Sacken 1876, 29; Vuga 1980a, 201, footnote 6, Fig. 2: 5.

<sup>34</sup> Sacken 1876, 28.

<sup>14</sup> Šinkovec 1995, 99; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177; P. Turk 2020, 104.

<sup>15</sup> Gabrovec 1983, 31–32.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Hänsel 1968, 36, 43; Šinkovec 1995, 99; 1996, 142; Pavlin 2006; P. Turk 2007.

<sup>17</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177; P. Turk 2020, 104.

<sup>18</sup> Kos 1978, 53.

<sup>19</sup> It can be discerned from the entirety of Dežman's text that his expression *'Bronzeobjecte'* marks all metal finds, both copper and bronze, from the first two excavation years (Deschmann 1876, 474–475; cf. Deschmann 1875, 280; for the commentary about the denomination of the metal see Korošec 1955, 257).

<sup>20</sup> Deschmann 1876, 474.

<sup>21</sup> Deschmann 1878, 4; Leghissa 2021, 12. For remarks on the location of the main pile-dwelling see Ložar 1942, 89.

<sup>22</sup> Ložar 1943, 67; Gabrovec 1971, 88.

<sup>23</sup> Gabrovec 1983, 31.



Alfons Müllner, to whom Turk apparently refers,<sup>35</sup> cites the data about the find of a short sword that it was found ‘*einen halben Meter höher im Moore, als die Kupfer- und Knochengeräthe*’.<sup>36</sup> It is interesting that a detailed clarification of the circumstances is presented solely for the tanged sword, since on the same page where he describes both the sword and the ornamented dagger with the hilt plate, Müllner<sup>37</sup> does not provide the equivalent or comparable stratigraphic data for the dagger. Hence, it is interesting that he introduces the prominent bronze objects into the text with the following words: ‘*Auch unser Pfahlbau lieferte bisher ein paar Fundstücke aus Bronze, zwar merkwürdigerweise sind beide Waffen*’,<sup>38</sup> the chronological significance of which becomes clearer on the level of the entire chapter, in which he does not distinguish the bronze items from general finds from the pile-dwelling settlement.<sup>39</sup>

Dežman thinks similarly, yet chronologically and developmentally differently. Based on the finds from the same research area which are made of different materials (stone, copper, and bronze) and due to a great number of bones and kitchen remains, he concludes that this is the proof of the several centuries long lifetime of the pile-dwelling.<sup>40</sup> He explains artefacts made of different raw materials developmentally: in the beginning, the use of stone prevailed, then there was copper,<sup>41</sup> followed by bronze and iron, and, as he emphasises, the latter was not found at the pile-dwelling.<sup>42</sup>

It appears important that Walter Šmid (also Schmid)<sup>43</sup> highlighted that there is no patina on the metal finds from pile-dwellings near Studenec. Sacken<sup>44</sup> and Dežman<sup>45</sup> before him noticed the same. If Sacken writes about artefacts and pro-

cesses unfolding ‘*besonders unter Torf*’,<sup>46</sup> Šmid<sup>47</sup> offers the explanation for this phenomenon that the absence of patina is the consequence of the effects of humic acid, which is found primarily in peat.<sup>48</sup> This allows for the conclusion that he mistakenly places all pile-dwelling finds, including those made of copper and bronze, into the peat layer without exceptions.<sup>49</sup> Since we know that near Ig the latter stratigraphically covers the layer with pile-dwelling finds and is therefore chronologically younger,<sup>50</sup> the origin of thinking that the dagger was found in peat, approximately 1m above the cultural layer, could be sought in the partly adjusted understanding of stratigraphic relationships.<sup>51</sup>

### Litzen pottery and dagger

In recent years, the belief that in 1876 Dežman was researching the area in the marshy land north of the Ig settlement, including the area east of Partovski jarek 1, which was recently graphically nicely illustrated by Elena Leghissa<sup>52</sup> and which is recognised as the central part of the location of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling (Fig. 3), has become fully established.

Even more solidly anchored is the thesis that the majority of finds from the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling belong approximately to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC.<sup>53</sup> Exceptions, which are significantly younger, are few. Among them,<sup>54</sup> in addition to the triangular dagger, we can include the pottery fragments with the so-called Litzen

<sup>35</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019; P. Turk 2020.

<sup>36</sup> Müllner 1879, 147.

<sup>37</sup> Müllner 1879, 147.

<sup>38</sup> Müllner 1879, 147.

<sup>39</sup> See Müllner 1879, 136–154.

<sup>40</sup> Deschmann 1876, 484.

<sup>41</sup> ‘*In den meisten dieser Werkzeuge spricht sich der Uebergang aus der Stein- in die Bronzezeit aus, namentlich repräsentiren die Objecte a c d h* (copper finds are enumerated; the author’s note) *sozusagen die ersten Anfänge in der Bearbeitung des Metalls*’ (Deschmann 1876, 474).

<sup>42</sup> Deschmann 1876, 474.

<sup>43</sup> Šmid 1909, 118.

<sup>44</sup> Sacken 1876, 29.

<sup>45</sup> Deschmann 1876, 475; 1878, 7.

<sup>46</sup> Sacken 1876, 29.

<sup>47</sup> ‘*An den Bronzeobjekten von Brunndorf hat sich keine Patina angelegt, da die im Moorboden vorhandene Humussäure die Patinabildung verhindert hat*’ (Šmid 1909, 118).

<sup>48</sup> Tancik 1965, 67; Kroflič 2007, 7; De Melo et al. 2016, 967–968.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Schmid 1910, 93a.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. Ložar 1942, 86.

<sup>51</sup> E.g. Šinkovec 1995, 99; Gaspari 2002, 39; Pavlin 2007, 19.

<sup>52</sup> Leghissa 2015, Fig. 1; 2021, Fig. 1; cf. Bregant 1964–1965, 180; Harej 1974, 76; Vuga 1982, 7; Velušček 1997, 20.

<sup>53</sup> See Leghissa 2017a; 2017b; 2021.

<sup>54</sup> These do not include cups (Leghissa 2017b, Pl. 127: 1–3), which are attributed to the influence of the Únětice culture (e.g. Gabrovec 1983, 33–34, Fig. 1: 7), since they are, as shown by Elena Leghissa (2017a, 188–189), undoubtedly much older.

decoration,<sup>55</sup> the general consensus on which was that it lacked known findspot data.<sup>56</sup> That this is not entirely true is revealed by the findings of the research performed by Elena Leghissa, who finds that all pottery found in 1876 and 1877 and ornamented with cord impressions (in the original *schnurförmige Eindrücke*)<sup>57</sup> can be attributed to the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling, to which three fragments of vessels with Litzen decoration also belong. As an additional argument, they all display the mark X, which is presumed to mostly denote vessels found in 1877 and in all probability originating from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling.<sup>58</sup> The thesis is supported by a smaller pottery fragment on which a motif of a strap is less carefully made 'with the technique of the wrapped-around cord' (Fig. 4),<sup>59</sup> which was collected as a surface find in 1970 in the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling site along Partovski jarek 1 (Fig. 3).<sup>60</sup>

At an archaeological site, the presence of pottery is usually considered an indicator of the existence of either a settlement<sup>61</sup> or a cemetery (grave), which generally cannot be expected on a marshland<sup>62</sup> approx. 450 m from the edge of the dryland fan. If we also consider the explanations about the occurrence of pottery finds in individual sections of the Ljubljana (Fig. 1),<sup>63</sup> we cannot be far from the idea that fragments from the surroundings of Ig can be discussed as stray

<sup>55</sup> E.g. Korošec 1957, Pl. 1: 1–3; Korošec, Korošec 1969, Pl. 7: 10a,b; 54: 14; 55: 11; 56: 6; 118: 7; 119: 3; Gabrovec 1983, Pl. 1: 1–2; Dular 1999, Fig. 2: 2–3; Leghissa 2017b, Pl. 43: 5; 128: 1–2; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, Fig. 215.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. Gabrovec 1983, 24–25; Dular 1999, 84.

<sup>57</sup> After Leghissa 2021, 12; see also Deschmann 1876, 478; 1878, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 58–61, 78–79; 2017b, 43, 128, Pl. 43: 5; 128: 1,2; cf. Leghissa 2021, 12.

<sup>59</sup> From the drawing of the artefact, we conclude that the ornament is made by impressing a twisted cord (Harej 1974, Pl. 6: 8; cf. Črešnar 2010, Fig. 2: D). Simultaneously, we warn about the very questionable orientation of the drawing of the approx. 3 cm big fragment, on which the band with impressions runs horizontally, while the cord impressions are directed to the right.

<sup>60</sup> Harej 1974, 76, 89, Pl. 6: 8.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Gabrovec 1983, 24.

<sup>62</sup> In the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling site there was definitely a succession of the lacustrine ecosystem, where, due to the deposition of particles and sedimentation of a part of its own organic production, the march and peat bog started growing (see e.g. Kroflič 2007; Achino 2022, 8–12).

<sup>63</sup> See e.g. Gaspari 2012, 181–185, Pl. 1: 3–7; 2: 8,10–12; Erjavec, Gaspari 2012, 269–277, Pl. 1–3; Istenič 2019, 223–229.

marsh finds and explained as the consequence of 'a different, unusual activity of Bronze Age people at long-abandoned places'.<sup>64</sup> We cannot forget that the well-known grave from Vrhnika (Fig. 1), from which pottery vessels are also known,<sup>65</sup> is supposed to be a depot or it is unlikely that these are simultaneously deposited finds.<sup>66</sup>

Hence, when searching for the status of the dagger, it is the finds of pottery with Litzen decoration that are very important. It seems that they have not yet revealed everything they could. Thus, they are worthy of more detailed study.

It is Leghissa<sup>67</sup> who has been dealing with them the most of late, and it was she who presented the pottery from Dežman's excavations from the National Museum of Slovenia for the first time with quality drawings. Furthermore, she showed experimentally that the Litzen decoration was supposed to be made with impressions of twisted double cord.<sup>68</sup>

Leghissa recognised the use of the ornamental technique of impressing double twisted cord on four pottery fragments.<sup>69</sup> She found very convincing analogies for the bi-handled vessel<sup>70</sup> originating from the I<sup>st</sup> pile-dwelling site<sup>71</sup> in the culture of Corded Ware pottery,<sup>72</sup> which then excludes it from further discussion within the Early Bronze Age issue.

The situation is different with the rest of the fragments, which are indeed discussed differently but they all most probably originate from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling site. Paola Korošec<sup>73</sup>, within the cluster of pottery with 'Litzen ornamentation', mentions three fragments from Ig, and Gabrovec<sup>74</sup> only two. Janez Dular<sup>75</sup> believes that 'Von der Litzenkeramik von Ljubljansko barje sind nur einige Stücke bekannt', yet he publishes the same two fragments from the area of Ig as Gabrovec.

<sup>64</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 172.

<sup>65</sup> Gabrovec 1983, Pl. 2: 1–4.

<sup>66</sup> P. Turk 2007, 215–216; Škvor Jernejčič 2020, 479–480.

<sup>67</sup> Leghissa 2015; 2017a; 2017b.

<sup>68</sup> Leghissa 2015, 291; cf. Kruh 2019, 47–49.

<sup>69</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 85; 2017b, Pl. 43: 5; 65: 1; 128: 1–2; cf. Korošec, Korošec 1969, Pl. 7: 10a,b; 54: 14; 55: 11; 56: 6.

<sup>70</sup> Leghissa 2015, Fig. 1: 10; Korošec, Korošec 1969, Pl. 7: 10a,b.

<sup>71</sup> Sacken 1876, Taf. 2: 1; Leghissa 2017a, 125.

<sup>72</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 125–128.

<sup>73</sup> Korošec 1957, Pl. 1: 1–3.

<sup>74</sup> Gabrovec 1983, Pl. 1: 1–2; cf. Korošec, Korošec 1969, Pl. 54: 14; 55: 11.

<sup>75</sup> Dular 1999, 84, Fig. 2: 2–3.

Leghissa<sup>76</sup> assigns two fragments into the Early Bronze Age. For the fragment she believes to be a two-handled globular vessel with a funnel-shaped neck,<sup>77</sup> she finds analogies in the Eneolithic culture of Corded Ware pottery. In general, from the set of pottery finds from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling site, she recognises elements connected to the tradition of the cultures of Corded Ware and Globular Amphora, but only in the forms of the above-mentioned vessels and in the position of the decoration on part of the shoulder, and not in the execution of the corded ornament, since the decoration of impressing cord coiled on a flat object distinctly prevails at this pile-dwelling site.<sup>78</sup>

Ana Kruh is of a different opinion. She believes that the ornament on the mentioned fragment was made by impressing a thicker cord, in which imprints are directed to the left, and that is why she assigns the vessel to the Kisapostag culture, in its earlier regional horizon of Nova tabla I.<sup>79</sup>

In fact, the presence of finds from the Kisapostag culture at the Ljubljansko barje is stressed for the first time at Mali Otavnik (*Fig. 1*).<sup>80</sup> While the site of Blatna Brezovica-Zornica (*Fig. 1*) is assigned to its earlier horizon,<sup>81</sup> Mali Otavnik, based on the larger number of finds, can assume a more intensive settlement in the later horizon of Nova tabla II.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, within the later horizon of finds from Mali Otavnik, an ornament made in the manner of Litzen pottery by imprinting a double coiled cord on dishes of similar forms as are known in the Kisapostag culture,<sup>83</sup> which indicates the introduction of novelties in the making of the ornament which later becomes characteristic for the Litzen pottery.<sup>84</sup>

For the Ljubljansko barje, coarse pottery with brushed or/and combed<sup>85</sup> ornament that can

primarily be found on pots with a funnel-shaped neck is characteristic for the early period of the Bronze Age settlement. Here, we will only mention the pots from the sites of Mali Otavnik<sup>86</sup> and Blatna Brezovica-Zornica.<sup>87</sup>

Prior to the discovery of Mali Otavnik in 2006,<sup>88</sup> the most noted pieces of Litzen pottery were a bowl fragment from Ig<sup>89</sup> and mainly a bowl from Notranje Gorice (*Fig. 1*).<sup>90</sup> For them, there is no doubt that they belong to the earlier part of the Bronze Age.<sup>91</sup>

Ana Kruh<sup>92</sup>, hesitantly due to the poorer illustrativeness of the preserved piece, assigns the fragment from Ig to the S1 type of bowls. The fact that they belong to this type of bowls is the decisive fact that on the apparently funnel-shaped neck<sup>93</sup> there are two bands in the shape of an undulating line made by imprinting a double coiled cord, which is typical for the Litzen pottery, both in the execution of the ornament and the motif.<sup>94</sup> The motif of an undulating line or a zigzag<sup>95</sup> frequently appears on the vessels from Prekmurje, in Styria, Dolenjska, and in the northern part of the Croatian territory between the Sava and the Drava. It is connected with individual identically ornamented pottery vessels discovered in the area of Transdanubia and Slavonija, of which the same can be said for the vessel from Ig.

Ana Kruh<sup>96</sup> assigns the bowl from Notranje Gorice to the S2 type, for which conical vessels with a funnel-shaped, everted, possibly slightly arched neck and a flat bottom are characteristic. Their typical feature is a band-shaped handle connecting the shoulder with the middle of the neck. The vessel's neck is ornamented with, most frequently, three but possibly also four horizontal bands made of parallel cord imprints. One or

<sup>76</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 86.

<sup>77</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 86, 128–130; 2017b, Pl. 43: 5; see also Gabrovec 1983, Pl. 1: 2; Dular 1999, Fig. 2: 3.

<sup>78</sup> After Leghissa 2017a, 266–267; 2021, 15, 17.

<sup>79</sup> Kruh 2019, 187.

<sup>80</sup> Črešnar 2010.

<sup>81</sup> Kruh 2019, 184–188.

<sup>82</sup> Kruh 2019, 189–213.

<sup>83</sup> Matija Črešnar (2010, 133) calls three bowls globular bowls and is of the opposite opinion from Andrej Gaspari and Ana Kruh (see Gaspari 2008, 62, Pl. 2: 3,4; 12: 1; Kruh 2019, 215, Fig. 57). In his opinion, the ornament is made in the Kisapostag culture manner, while the vessels shape is from the circle of the Litzen pottery.

<sup>84</sup> Kruh 2019, 215.

<sup>85</sup> Since there is much inconsistency in sources regarding the use of the terms *brushing and combing*, and since

they are often interchanged, while in general both methods appear on pottery from the same sites (e.g. Harej 1976, 95; 1981–1982, 44; 1986, 100; Kruh 2019, 159, 193, 195; Leghissa 2021, 12), they are not distinguished in meaning in this article.

<sup>86</sup> Gaspari 2008, e.g. Pl. 4: 1–5; 5: 1–4,6–8; 6: 1–4; 7: 1–4.

<sup>87</sup> Dirjec 1991, e.g. Pl. 1: 1; 2: 1,2; 3: 1–4.

<sup>88</sup> Gaspari 2008.

<sup>89</sup> E.g. Dular 1999, Fig. 2: 2.

<sup>90</sup> E.g. Dular 1999, Fig. 2: 1.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. Gabrovec 1983, 26; Dular 1999, 84.

<sup>92</sup> Kruh 2019, 38, Fig. 16: 10.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. drawings of the find in Dular 1999, Fig. 2: 2, and Leghissa 2017b, Pl. 128: 1.

<sup>94</sup> Kruh 2019, 49.

<sup>95</sup> After Kruh 2019, 49, 50.

<sup>96</sup> Kruh 2019, 38.

more vertical bands can frequently also be found on the handle. The peculiarity of the bowl from Notranje Gorice is a tiny handle or a horizontally perforated knob at the transition from the neck to the shoulder on the bowl, which is defined as a typical element of the S1 type of bowls. Bowls of S2 type<sup>97</sup> are present at sites in Lower Austria, Burgenland, and Slavonija. Individual vessels are also found in Transdanubia, central Bosnia, and also at the Ljubljansko barje.

Important and nearby analogies for the Litzen decoration in finds from the Ljubljansko barje are found at the site of Loke 2 near Družinska vas, where both the motif of the undulating line and of parallel bands appear.<sup>98</sup> The site is also interesting due to the fact that among the Litzen pottery, the most frequently represented are bowls of S1 type. They appear in the same settlement pits, hence probably in simultaneous contexts where among pottery material the biggest share belongs to pots with a funnel-shaped neck, while the surface of these vessels is mainly ornamented with combing. Even though Ana Kruh<sup>99</sup> finds the most analogies for the Litzen pottery from Loke 2 primarily in the north-east of Slovenia, she nevertheless finds that there are differences between the areas in the type of coarse pottery, which poses the question of the existence of regional differences within the circle of the Litzen pottery. Coarse pottery with the brushed or combed decoration is known also from the area of pile-dwelling sites near Ig<sup>100</sup> and Notranje Gorice<sup>101</sup> and from the Ljubljana around the mouth of the Zornica (*Fig. 1*), which are discussed as stray water finds.<sup>102</sup>

Most of it supposedly originated from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling site.<sup>103</sup> Zorko Harej<sup>104</sup> believes that among the material from Partovski kanal/jarek (Eng. ditch) I (or from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling) '*this technique is quite numerous and thus the possibility should be considered that Dežman did not collect this type of pottery*'. Within Dežman's excavations the habit of discarding pottery of lesser quality, naturally by the standards of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century,

was brought to attention by Tatjana Bregant<sup>105</sup> with the discovery of pottery finds in the secondary position, which is summarised and appended with new findings by other authors.<sup>106</sup>

It is fairly frequently also found at the Parte site (*Fig. 3*),<sup>107</sup> but where the combed or brushed ornamentation appears on pots with a high cylindrical neck,<sup>108</sup> which in form and chronology sets them along the pots with barbotine from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium.<sup>109</sup>

The situation is completely different with a smaller pot with a funnel-shaped neck from the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling site, the entire surface of which is decorated with brushing or combed ornament in bands that are especially distinctive on the neck.<sup>110</sup> Analogies for it can be found in another similarly decorated but bigger pot, supposedly also from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling near Ig<sup>111</sup> and also at Mali Otavnik,<sup>112</sup> in the Ljubljana near the mouth of the Zornica,<sup>113</sup> and in Loke 2 near Družinska vas.<sup>114</sup>

As mentioned, the pottery with brushed (or combed) decoration can also be found at the pile-dwelling site at Notranje Gorice,<sup>115</sup> where the first excavations were made in 1907 and 1908.<sup>116</sup> Similarly as in the case of some pile-dwelling near Ig,<sup>117</sup> the area of the site was populated more than once: for the first time in the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC<sup>118</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Bregant 1964–1965, 180–181.

<sup>106</sup> E.g. Harej 1974, 76; 1976, 95; Leghissa 2017a, 56–57.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Harej 1981–1982, 44.

<sup>108</sup> E.g. Harej 1978, Pl. 6: 1; 1987, Pl. 9: 2.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Parte: Harej 1981–1982, Pl. 29: 1; 1987, Pl. 11: 1; Založnica: Velušček, Čufar 2003, Pl. 1: 1; 6: 8; 12: 7.

<sup>110</sup> Harej 1986, 62, Pl. 8: 2.

<sup>111</sup> Korošec, Korošec 1969, Pl. 65: 8, or Leghissa 2017b, Pl. 74: 1. The pot fragment carries inv. no. B1778 and lacks all other marks that generally appear on several fragments from Dežman's excavations near Ig. Among them are fragments with inv. Nos. around B1778, which are all decorated by combing (see Leghissa 2017b, Pl. 73: 1,2,5; 74: 2–6), indicating that this fragment is also probably from the same pile-dwelling site (cf. Leghissa 2017a, 58–61).

<sup>112</sup> E.g. Gaspari 2008, Pl. 4: 6.

<sup>113</sup> Gaspari 2012, Fig. 9: 5; Pl. 1: 5.

<sup>114</sup> Kruh 2019, Fig. 32: 15.

<sup>115</sup> Years ago, the set of finds from the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium was joined by a pot with a funnel-shaped neck and combed decoration (Velušček (ed.) 2004, 228; in Harej 1976, Pl. 1: 4), which could probably be assigned to the Early Bronze Age (cf. Gaspari 2008, Pl. 6: 1; 7: 4), which is also defended by Ana Kruh (2019, 184).

<sup>116</sup> Schmid 1910.

<sup>117</sup> E.g. Velušček, Čufar, Levanič 2000.

<sup>118</sup> E.g. Parzinger 1984; Velušček (ed.) 2004, 225–228.

<sup>97</sup> After Kruh 2019, 40, 42.

<sup>98</sup> See Kruh 2019, Fig. 32: 1–3,5–8.

<sup>99</sup> Kruh 2019, 158–159, 210, 218, Fig. 32: 1–3.

<sup>100</sup> E.g. Harej 1974, Pl. 6: 7; 1978, Pl. 4: 10; 6: 1; 1981–1982, 44, Pl. 15: 8; 25: 2; 31: 3,4; 1987, Pl. 9: 2,5,6,8,9.

<sup>101</sup> E.g. Korošec 1957, Pl. 6: 1,2.

<sup>102</sup> See Dolenc 1982, Pl. 11: 206; Gaspari 2012, Pl. 1: 5.

<sup>103</sup> Harej 1986, 62, Fn. 560; Leghissa 2021, 12.

<sup>104</sup> Harej 1986, 62, 150, Fn. 560.

and for the second, as revealed by rare pottery finds, most probably at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC.<sup>119</sup>

Among Bronze Age pottery finds from Notranje Gorice, Paola Korošec sees similarity of form between two pots with a funnel-shaped neck and combed ornament<sup>120</sup> and a bowl with Litzen decoration.<sup>121</sup> Harej<sup>122</sup> believes that these pots are one vessel with the best analogies in a pot from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling.<sup>123</sup> Ana Kruh<sup>124</sup> assigns the two pots from Notranje Gorice into the earlier regional horizon of the Kisapostag culture.

At Notranje Gorice, there is supposed to be little brushed (or combed) pottery.<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, horizontally-stratigraphically the fragment with brushed ornament that was found outside the narrow area of the pile-dwelling site is still interesting,<sup>126</sup> which could point to only partial overlapping of settlement areas of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC.<sup>127</sup> As an intriguing fact, it was found alongside a cup with a conical handle.<sup>128</sup> Its analogies were found along the sites from the Early to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in northern Italy.<sup>129</sup> Robert Erjavec is of a similar opinion on, at first glance, a comparable cup with a band-shaped handle from the Ljubljana at the mouth of the Borovniščica, which is thus dated to the Bronzo Antico 2–Bronzo Medio 1 stage.<sup>130</sup>

Ana Kruh, as mentioned before, divided the Kisapostag culture in Slovenia into two horizons: Nova tabla I and II. The earlier horizon lasted approximately from 2200 to 2000 BC,<sup>131</sup> while the later one from approx. 2000 to 1750 BC.<sup>132</sup> The Early Bronze Age sites, such as Ig, which is shorter for the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling, Blatna Brezovica-Zornica, Mali Otavnik, Bevke-Zaloke (Fig. 1), and Notranje Gorice, she assigned into horizon Nova tabla I.<sup>133</sup> However, she found analo-

gies for the majority of pottery finds from Mali Otavnik in the later horizon of Nova tabla II.<sup>134</sup>

In both horizons, pots with a funnel-shaped neck are frequent and at the Ljubljansko barje are known from the sites of Blatna Brezovica-Zornica, Mali Otavnik, and Notranje Gorice.<sup>135</sup> In the earlier horizon, the pots are generally decorated with irregular brushing, in some vessels the entire exterior surface is brushed.<sup>136</sup> Within the later horizon, the ornament on the pots from Mali Otavnik was similar, since it is mostly made in such a way that the surface of the vessel was pulled over in all directions with a brush or a tool similar to a comb.<sup>137</sup> In at least one example, bands of incisions appear over the entire vessel, where it seems that they are more arranged or set vertically on the funnel-shaped neck.<sup>138</sup> Analogies for such a decoration are found at the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling near Ig,<sup>139</sup> on the vessel from the Ljubljana<sup>140</sup>, and in Loke 2.<sup>141</sup> It also appears in Prekmurje, where bands are made along the entire exterior surface in a smaller number of vessels, although they are more regular.<sup>142</sup> Such organised decoration is also found in Loke 2.<sup>143</sup>

In addition to several variants of pots with a funnel-shaped neck, Ana Kruh<sup>144</sup> also places into the earlier horizon semi-globular deep bowls which can be decorated with horizontal impressions of a coiled cord under the rim and are known from Blatna Brezovica-Zornica.<sup>145</sup> A smaller undecorated bowl with analogies in northeastern Slovenia was also found at this site.<sup>146</sup> She also assigns a vessel supposedly decorated by imprinting a thicker cord under the rim from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling near Ig into the earlier horizon<sup>147</sup> and probably also the small jug from Mali Otavnik the neck of which is decorated by impressing a coiled cord.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>119</sup> E.g. Gabrovec 1983, 26.

<sup>120</sup> Korošec 1957, 16, Pl. 6: 1,2; Harej 1976, Pl. 1: 4.

<sup>121</sup> E.g. Harej 1976, Pl. 1: 1.

<sup>122</sup> Harej 1986, 100, footnote 975, Pl. 15: 2.

<sup>123</sup> See Harej 1986, Pl. 8: 2.

<sup>124</sup> Kruh 2019, 184.

<sup>125</sup> Harej 1976, 95.

<sup>126</sup> Harej 1980, 85, 87–88, Pl. 1: 3.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Gabrovec 1983, 26.

<sup>128</sup> Harej 1980, 87–88, Pl. 1: 2.

<sup>129</sup> Perini 1994, Fig. 19; Bermond Montanari et al. 1996, 57–62, Fig. 3: 21,38.

<sup>130</sup> Erjavec, Gaspari 2012, 274, Pl. 1: 4.

<sup>131</sup> Kruh 2019, 187–188.

<sup>132</sup> Kruh 2019, 211–213.

<sup>133</sup> Kruh 2019, 184–188.

<sup>134</sup> Kruh 2019, 194–195, 200–202.

<sup>135</sup> After Kruh 2019, 184, 194–196.

<sup>136</sup> Kruh 2019, 184.

<sup>137</sup> After Kruh 2019, 195.

<sup>138</sup> Gaspari 2008, Pl. 4: 6; see also Kruh 2019, 195.

<sup>139</sup> See Korošec, Korošec 1969, Pl. 65: 8, or Leghissa 2017b, Pl. 74: 1; Harej 1986, Pl. 8: 2.

<sup>140</sup> Gaspari 2012, Pl. 1: 5.

<sup>141</sup> Kruh 2019, Fig. 32: 15.

<sup>142</sup> Kruh 2019, 194–195, Fig. 45; see e.g. Guštin et al. 2017, Fig. G231, G395, G396, G417–G419, G422, G440, G441, G509.

<sup>143</sup> See Kruh 2019, Fig. 32: 13,14.

<sup>144</sup> Kruh 2019, 186–187.

<sup>145</sup> See Dirjec 1991, Pl. 5: 6,8,10.

<sup>146</sup> Dirjec 1991, Pl. 5: 9.

<sup>147</sup> See e.g. Dular 1999, Fig. 2: 3.

<sup>148</sup> Gaspari 2008, 66, Pl. 2: 1; after Kruh 2019, 215.

As mentioned, according to Ana Kruh<sup>149</sup> the finds from the younger horizon of Nova tabla II are known only from Mali Otavnik. We have already mentioned pots with a funnel-shaped neck. This horizon also includes biconical bowls with a funnel-shaped neck and cord ornament,<sup>150</sup> on which characteristics of two cultural groups can be recognised: Kisapostag in shape and Litzen pottery in ornament.<sup>151</sup> Semi-globular or conical bowls with a short funnel-shaped neck are also present.<sup>152</sup>

Along with these vessels, in Notranje Gorice<sup>153</sup> and in the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling near Ig<sup>154</sup> we also find typical Litzen pottery that cannot be assigned to the Kisapostag culture. Since, according to Ana Kruh,<sup>155</sup> it appears on the sites of the older horizon of Nova tabla I, the question of what that means remains.

If we follow Matija Črešnar and Biba Teržan,<sup>156</sup> *‘the transition from the Kisapostag to the Litzen pottery horizon should be sought towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century BC. It should be also noted, however, that their interrelationship could not yet be clearly defined. It could be that the Litzen pottery has only been a derivation of the second phase of the Kisapostag horizon and its characteristic pottery decorated with zigzag and wavy stripes, as well as impressed circles. The end of the Litzen pottery may be sought around the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century BC.’*

Kruh<sup>157</sup> assigns finds from the south-eastern Alpine area and the western edge of the Pannonian Basin, in the area of eastern Slovenia, northern Croatia, and the south-eastern part of Austria, into the first group or the earliest regional cultural group or circle of Litzen pottery. It could conditionally<sup>158</sup> also include the area of the Ljubljansko barje, with a single yet typical fragment of a bowl from Ig.

Based on the current state of research, she dates the Litzen pottery of the first group to the BA A2(b-c) stage, whereas she leaves open the possibility of its additional typological-chronological division. Based on radiocarbon dates from sites in Prekmurje, she sets the time span of the appearance

of the Litzen pottery, absolutely chronologically, from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century BC, with the bottom limit as indicated by the date from the site of Grofovsko 1 possibly moved to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>159</sup>

Fine pottery includes smaller and bigger globular jugs with high funnel-shaped neck, bigger pots and oval bowls with the funnel-shaped neck, and semi-globular or conical bowls with the flat rim. Typical for them is a decoration of more than four strings of cord impressions, frequently represented are also the motif of the undulating line and the applique decoration in the shape of oblong or round knobs on the transition from the neck to the shoulder of the vessel.<sup>160</sup>

Coarse pottery is undecorated, globular pots with funnel-shaped necks and semi-globular or conical bowls prevail. The absence of decoration, as indicated by finds from the Dolenjska region where pots are ornamented by combing, is apparently regionally conditioned.<sup>161</sup> Since the Ljubljansko barje is geographically closer to central Dolenjska, we can assume a similar development also here and was most probably different from the one in Prekmurje.

The second group<sup>162</sup> is also important for our area and is represented by finds from sites south of the Danube in Lower Austria, Burgenland, and north-western Transdanubia. Individual examples of vessels are also found in Salzburg, in Lower Austria along the lower stream of the March River on the other side of the Danube, in flatland parts of present-day south-western Slovakia, and southern Transdanubia, and possibly also in eastern and central Slovenia, at the sites such as Brinjeva gora near Zreče, Notranje Gorice at the Ljubljansko barje, Krtina near Moravče, and even the site of Pod pri Bugojnu in central Bosnia.

In eastern Austria, at the sites of the second group, vessels of similar shapes can be found which are typical for the first group. They can be compared to the pottery from the area of Slovenia, Croatia, and the Austrian part of Styria.<sup>163</sup>

A peculiarity of the second group are bigger jugs with a low funnel-shaped neck.<sup>164</sup> The distinction from the vessels of the first group is

<sup>149</sup> Kruh 2019, 189.

<sup>150</sup> Gaspari 2008, Pl. 2: 3,4; 12: 1.

<sup>151</sup> Kruh 2019, 215.

<sup>152</sup> After Kruh 2019, 201, Fig. 51; Gaspari 2008, Pl. 3: 3,4.

<sup>153</sup> Schmid 1910, Fig. 7.

<sup>154</sup> E.g. Gabrovec 1983, Pl. 1: 1.

<sup>155</sup> See 2019, 184.

<sup>156</sup> Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 675.

<sup>157</sup> Kruh 2019, 218.

<sup>158</sup> Kruh 2019, 163.

<sup>159</sup> Kruh 2019, 219; cf. Teržan, Črešnar, Mušič 2012, 22.

<sup>160</sup> After Kruh 2019, 162.

<sup>161</sup> See Kruh 2019, 163–164.

<sup>162</sup> After Kruh 2019, 168.

<sup>163</sup> After Kruh 2019, 220.

<sup>164</sup> See Kruh 2019, Fig. 34.

mostly in the ornament,<sup>165</sup> where the prevalence of patterns in the shape of horizontal bands on the neck and, above all, decoration on the shoulder is characteristic. Motifs that cannot be found on vessels assigned to the first group also appear, especially the motif of tendrils appearing on the vessel shoulders as decoration in various formative derivatives. Corded decoration in combination with applique one, in the form of round or oblong knobs, on some vessels in the form of applique ribs also frequently appears. Exceptionally, vessels decorated with the wavy motif are also found. A similar motif of horizontal stripes that we know from the bowl from Notranje Gorice,<sup>166</sup> can be found at e.g. the site of Loke 2 from the first group, where in general the wavy motif in combination with one or more horizontal stripes occurs more frequently.<sup>167</sup> A peculiarity of the dish from Barje is a tiny handle or horizontally perforated knob at the transition from the neck to the shoulder, which is defined as characteristic of bowls of S1 type in the first group.<sup>168</sup> Ana Kruh<sup>169</sup> places the second group into the BA B1 stage, with a possible beginning in A2 stage.

Based on the analysis, which to a great extent relies on the study by Ana Kruh,<sup>170</sup> we can conclude that at the Ljubljansko barje we have a varied chronological and cultural/stylistic mix of Early to (Early) Middle Bronze Age pottery finds.

Funnel-shaped pots with combed or brushed decoration are chronologically less sensitive and appear both within the Kisapostag culture, in both its regional variants, and within the Litzen pottery as is revealed by the finds from the Loke 2 site near Družinska vas.<sup>171</sup> At the Ljubljansko barje they are found at Mali Otavnik, Blatna Brezovica-Zornica, Bevke-Zaloke,<sup>172</sup> in the Ljubljana near the mouth of the Zornica, Notranje Gorice, and at the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling near Ig.

Conical pots with a funnel-shaped neck are most frequent in the younger horizon of Nova tabla II.<sup>173</sup> Pots with incisions in bands are found at Mali Otavnik, in the Ljubljana near the mouth

of the Zornica, at the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling near Ig, in Loke 2, and Prekmurje.

Similar is true for corded decoration. According to one theory, pottery of the Kisapostag culture is ornamented by impressing a whipped cord, while the Litzen decoration was made by impressing a double coiled cord. Plastic appliques are also characteristic for the Litzen pottery, often appearing on the shoulder or transition of the neck into the shoulder of jugs and bowls.<sup>174</sup> On deep bowls from the Blatna Brezovica-Zornica site, an ornament under the rim made by impressing the coiled cord appears,<sup>175</sup> which, according to the analogies for the form of the vessel, could be dated to the Nova tabla I horizon,<sup>176</sup> to which the vessel from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling is also supposed to belong,<sup>177</sup> but which is decorated with impressions of a thicker cord,<sup>178</sup> or, according to an alternative explanation, with impressions of a double coiled cord.<sup>179</sup> In the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling, another smaller fragment was found that was also ornamented by impressing a thicker whipped cord (*Fig. 4*). The chronological problem presented here is that the use of the whipped cord (including in the form of a thicker cord) is also documented in the younger horizon of Nova tabla II of the Kisapostag culture, which is at least partly contemporary with the development of the Litzen pottery.<sup>180</sup> It appears that, especially if we are dealing only with small, poorly definable fragments, we cannot debate their cultural belonging with certainty.

The situation is different with the very typical Litzen decoration made in the technique of the double coiled cord, which is the key distinguishing element versus the Kisapostag pottery. It can be found on the vessels from Mali Otavnik, where the form allows a presumption of the attachment to the Kisapostag culture, at the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling, and Notranje Gorice, but from where both examples, as mentioned above, undoubtedly belong to the Litzen pottery.

To recap, at the Ljubljansko barje all three horizons or cultural phenomena suggested by Ana Kruh are represented. The sites of Blatna Brezovica-Zornica and Bevke-Zaloke (BA A1) undoubtedly belong to

<sup>165</sup> After Kruh 2019, 167–168.

<sup>166</sup> See e.g. Dular 1999, Fig. 2: 1.

<sup>167</sup> Kruh 2019, 159.

<sup>168</sup> After Kruh 2019, 40.

<sup>169</sup> Kruh 2019, 220.

<sup>170</sup> See Kruh 2019.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Kruh 2019, 210.

<sup>172</sup> Črešnar 2014, 429, Fig. 23.4.5: 3.

<sup>173</sup> After Kruh 2019, 194.

<sup>174</sup> After Kruh 2019, 214.

<sup>175</sup> See Dirjec 1991, Pl. 5: 6.

<sup>176</sup> After Kruh 2019, 186–187.

<sup>177</sup> E.g. Dular 1999, Fig. 2: 3.

<sup>178</sup> Kruh 2019, 187.

<sup>179</sup> Leghissa 2017b, Pl. 43: 5.

<sup>180</sup> Kruh 2019, 204, 219.

the oldest horizon of Nova tabla I. In this respect, the population of Mali Otavnik seems more diverse. For some vessel forms, analogies can be found in the older horizon. More finds originate from the younger horizon of Nova tabla II of the Kisapostag culture (BA A2).<sup>181</sup> Partly contemporary with or even slightly younger may be finds of the culture of Litzen pottery from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling (BA A2(b-c)), while the population in Notranje Gorice was most probably the youngest and can be even set into the BA B1 stage.

Janez Dular believes that population of the Ljubljansko barje at the end of the Early and in the starting portion of the Middle Bronze Age is also indicated by metal finds, such as the triangular dagger from Ig and two swords from Lavrica and the Ljubljana (Fig. 3; 6: 7,9).<sup>182</sup> To these the finds from the Ljubljana published after 2000 need to be added: a short sword (Fig. 6: 12),<sup>183</sup> a dagger with a trapezoid handguard plate (Fig. 6: 11),<sup>184</sup> three left-handed tanged sickles<sup>185</sup> (Fig. 6: 8,13,14), and a flanged axe (Fig. 6: 10).<sup>186</sup> Since all these objects were not used much,<sup>187</sup> Primož Pavlin<sup>188</sup> assumes from their position and distribution that they were deliberately thrown into the river 'either as a form of prayer before a trip or as an offering of thanks for a safe voyage'. A completely different conclusion can be deduced in the case of the dagger with a hilt plate from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling near Ig, for which it seems that it could be simultaneous with the settlement. Hence, in the case of the dagger it is probably not a stray marsh find<sup>189</sup> but something completely

different, which requires additional clarification or argumentation.

### A stray, or a settlement find, that is the question<sup>190</sup>

A stray,<sup>191</sup> individual,<sup>192</sup> or chance<sup>193</sup> find, which according to the location of the discovery can be water, marsh, lowland, highland, mountain,<sup>194</sup> or cave,<sup>195</sup> is by definition 'an archaeological object found by chance and with little or no associated archaeological context'.<sup>196</sup> It differs from a settlement,<sup>197</sup> grave, or depot find by its individuality and/or frequently the circumstances of the discovery with the absent or difficult to explain original context.

As mentioned in the introduction, the category of 'stray finds' also includes the triangular dagger from Ig,<sup>198</sup> which is absolutely justified if we exclude the find from the other artefacts from the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling, in which in general finds from around the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium explicitly prevail. As we have shown, they include several pottery fragments that can be dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> and possibly even 16<sup>th</sup> century BC, therefore in the time when the dagger was made, used, and most probably also deposited.<sup>199</sup> Finds of Bronze Age pottery certainly indicate the very probable existence of a settlement in the time of the Litzen pottery culture,<sup>200</sup> since they are too numerous and diverse for any other sensible explanation. Thus, it seems completely possible that the dagger was deposited or lost in the still alive probably pile-

<sup>181</sup> In the opinion of Andrej Gaspari (2008, 75), at Mali Otavnik pričakovati tudi 'a settlement phase from the end of the Early Bronze Age or the Middle Bronze Age, where vessel forms from Bistra indicate intensive connections with the Adriatic coast and its hinterland,' can also be expected; however, from the continuation of the text it can be discerned that what it was actually meant was the transition from the Middle into the Later Bronze Age. On Figure 5, along the legend of the finds distribution for this settlement phase, it reads: 'keramika / pottery (BA C?)' (Gaspari 2008, 63, Fig. 5).

<sup>182</sup> Dular 1999, 84; for the dating of the swords see Neumann 2009, 105–106.

<sup>183</sup> Pavlin 2006, 82–83.

<sup>184</sup> A. Gaspari, N. Trampuž Orel, P. Turk 2009, 204–205, Fig. 14; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 186, Fig. 234.

<sup>185</sup> Pavlin 2006, 79–89, Fig. 2: 1–3; see also Gaspari 2004, 41, Fig. 6: 4.

<sup>186</sup> Gaspari 2004, 41, Fig. 6: 2; Pavlin 2006, Fig. 1: 5.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. with e.g. Potočnik 1988–1989, 392.

<sup>188</sup> Pavlin 2006, 83.

<sup>189</sup> E.g. Vuga 1982; Šinkovec 1996; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019.

<sup>190</sup> A paraphrased phrase 'To be, or not to be, this is the question' from Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet* in translation of Oton Župančič (Shakespeare 1973, 63).

<sup>191</sup> E.g. Šinkovec 1996, 125.

<sup>192</sup> E.g. Miškec 2009, 293; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177, 183.

<sup>193</sup> E.g. P. Turk 2007, 226; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 180.

<sup>194</sup> See e.g. Šinkovec 1995, 32, 33, 37, 43, 51.

<sup>195</sup> E.g. Velušček 1998, 8–10; for the technical term see Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 217–218.

<sup>196</sup> <https://www.oxfordreference.com>; last accessed on 22 August 2023. In English, expressions *an individual find* and *an isolated find* are also used (e.g. Šinkovec 1995, 99; 1996, 125), from which emphasis on the individuality of the find can be discerned.

<sup>197</sup> The marking of a 'settlement find' encompasses every archaeological find found in a settlement, without the intention to judge about its role and significance for the inhabitants of the time.

<sup>198</sup> See e.g. Šinkovec 1995.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177.



dwelling settlement and hence it is not discussed as a stray, here marsh, but rather a settlement find.

The thesis appears insufficient in the fact that from the rough BA A–B period in Slovenia, among bronze finds such as daggers, swords, a halberd, axes, sickles, and pins almost half of the artefacts,<sup>201</sup> i.e. ten, are from completely unknown contexts;<sup>202</sup> three pins are most probably from graves,<sup>203</sup> ten are water finds,<sup>204</sup> of which no fewer than seven are from the Ljubljansko barje, where also a marsh and another supposedly marsh find belong.<sup>205</sup> Individual water and marsh finds are usually interpreted as ritually deposited finds.<sup>206</sup>

Nevertheless, metal finds had to be manufactured somewhere. Final objects, possibly those which were misplaced or abandoned for some other reason, could also theoretically be found within the settlement. We can assume the same for finds that were brought to the settlement and, due to unknown circumstances, remained there.<sup>207</sup>

Numerous Early, and above all, Middle Bronze Age metal finds from the settlements in northern Italy (*Fig. 5a, b*) testify to the reality of these events,<sup>208</sup> where these objects were most probably

cast, as finds of metallurgic accessories<sup>209</sup> and distribution<sup>210</sup> prove.

Early bronze finds in settlements are known also in Slovenia. At the Korte hillfort, which according to the pottery from the excavations in 1973 belongs to the Bronze Age, we find a bronze dagger with a hilt plate dated to BA A.<sup>211</sup> In 1870, while building a military post in Maribor, an axe with slightly emphasised flanges of trapezoidal form was discovered, which is also dated to the BA A stage. Later, an ‘arrowhead’<sup>212</sup> and a jug decorated with impressions of whipped cord were found in the vicinity.<sup>213</sup> The collected finds indicate a somewhat wider context, possibly also a settlement.

If, however, at this point we do not consider the dagger from the area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling near Ig as a settlement find, for now we do not know of bronze settlement finds from the BA A–B stage from the Ljubljansko barje; there are more from Eneolithic pile-dwelling settlements which are researched much better and to a greater extent.

In the wider area of the Hočevarica pile-dwelling settlement (*Fig. 1*) from approx. the mid-4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, two copper axes were found<sup>214</sup> which for the Eneolithic man were undoubtedly precious objects, probably later comparable to a bronze dagger.<sup>215</sup> These two finds originate from the Ljubljanska River, yet there is practically no doubt that they belong to a pile-dwelling settlement.<sup>216</sup> The same is true for different finds from copper found in a greater number by Karel Dežman in the area of pile-dwellings near Ig,<sup>217</sup> and later also other excavators.<sup>218</sup> Several copper objects originating from the Ljubljanska, from the part around the pile-dwelling at Špica,<sup>219</sup> are also assigned among

<sup>201</sup> For comparison, which does not present the realistic picture because only swords are discussed among which some are typologically close to daggers and swords from the Ljubljansko barje, Daniel Neumann (2009, 100–106, 112–114) collected 99 swords from the Sauerbrunn-Boiu family (BA B1–C2). As it appears, 29 of them originate from graves, 55 are stray finds (among them no less than 39 are from the water environment, one could be from a settlement), one originates from a settlement layer, and for 14 their origin is unknown.

Also worth mentioning is the study of Thomas Urban (1993, 53–148), in which he showed that in northern Italy, in settlements from the Middle Bronze Age, the most pins are found among metal finds, which are followed by daggers, axes, and swords, keeping in mind that with the latter in the collection of all finds water finds prevail.

<sup>202</sup> Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 3: 17–21, 23; 27: 180–182; 36: 253.

<sup>203</sup> Gabrovce 1983, 44, Pl. 1: 10; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 180, Fig. 228.

<sup>204</sup> Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 3: 22; 28: 191, 193; 29: 199, 200; Gaspari 2004, Pl. 6: 2; Pavlin 2006, Fig. 2: 1a, b–3a, b; 6; P. Turk 2007, Fig. 9; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, Fig. 234; for the dating of the halberd from the Sava near Tomačevo see also e.g. P. Turk 2007, 226; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 178, Fig. 224.

<sup>205</sup> See Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 28: 193; 29: 199.

<sup>206</sup> Neumann 2009, 102; see also e.g. Teržan 1987, 77; Gaspari 2004, 41; P. Turk, A. Gaspari 2009; Pavlin 2012, 266; Škvor Jernejčič 2020, 480.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Hundt 1974, 173–174; Neumann 2009, 107–108.

<sup>208</sup> E.g. Urban 1993, 53–139; De Marinis 1999, 25–85.

<sup>209</sup> See e.g. Perini 1987, 34–35; Cierny et al. 2001, 57–77.

<sup>210</sup> See e.g. for left-handed sickles (Pavlin 2006, 82, Fig. 5) and for some swords from the Sauerbrunn-Boiu family (Neumann 2009, Fig. 4). Local production is presumed also for certain types of flanged axes (e.g. Perini 1987, 23), etc.

<sup>211</sup> Šinkovec 1995, 93–94, Pl. 27: 180; cf. Sakara Sučević 2008, 443.

<sup>212</sup> Pahič 1975, 304.

<sup>213</sup> Pahič 1975, 304; Šinkovec 1995, 36, Pl. 2: 11; Črešnar 2010, 132, Fig. 6: 11.

<sup>214</sup> Velušček (ed.) 2004, 54, Fig. 3.1.30; 3.1.35; 3.1.36.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. with e.g. P. Turk 2007, 226.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. Gaspari 2004, 37–38; Trampuž Orel, Heath 2008, 20, 22, Tab. 1, Pl. 1: 1, 2; A. Gaspari, N. Trampuž Orel, P. Turk 2009, 204; P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 152, Fig. 193.

<sup>217</sup> Korošec, Korošec 1969, Pl. 105.

<sup>218</sup> Harej 1981–1982, 46, Pl. 17: 6.

<sup>219</sup> E.g. Ložar 1943, 64; Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 35: 237–252; A. Gaspari, N. Trampuž Orel, P. Turk 2009, 202–203.

settlement finds. Both pile-dwelling areas belong roughly to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium.

That is not all. From these sites, to the copper finds should be added metallurgic accessories which prove that they not only knew metal objects but also cast them.

There is much proof about the use of copper and the importance of the activity for pile-dwellers from the area of the Ljubljansko barje. Metal finds, traces of copper on the whetstone,<sup>220</sup> and/or metallurgic accessories are known from no fewer than ten sites, such as Hočevarica, Notranje Gorice, Stare gmajne, Maharski prekop, Blatna Brezovica, Založnica, areas of the first three pile-dwellings north of Ig, and Špica (Fig. 1). It appears that in the time of pile-dwellings of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> millennia, the Ljubljansko barje was a noteworthy centre of metallurgic activities.

The beginnings of this activity reach back roughly to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, into the period of the Furchenstich pottery culture, which is known as the culture that in the Eastern Alpine region asserted the use of copper, metallurgic activities, and most probably also exploitation of local resources.<sup>221</sup> Until today, finds, either metal objects or metallurgic accessories, have only been discovered at the pile-dwelling settlement of Hočevarica.<sup>222</sup> Since its discovery in the 1990s until today, the number of mostly dendrochronologically dated pile-dwelling settlements of this culture has increased to five, which is a lot for a relatively small area of the Ljubljansko barje. Thus, to Hočevarica we can add Trebež, Črnelnik, Gornje mostišče, and Strojanova voda (Fig. 1).<sup>223</sup> There is no doubt that without more extensive research, which has not yet been performed at any of these sites, at least at some of the artefacts made of copper and/or metallurgic accessories would not have been found.

Furthermore, metallurgic activities or the use of metal objects are attested at pile-dwellings of the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium. At Maharski prekop and Stare gmajne, metallurgic accessories were discovered and visible traces of its contact

with metal were found on the whetstone from Blatna Brezovica.

Smelting vessels are known also from Notranje Gorice and can probably also be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC.<sup>224</sup>

Pile-dwellings from roughly the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium near Ig have been known as an important metallurgic centre for almost a century and a half.<sup>225</sup> Today, Založnica<sup>226</sup> and Špica need to be added to these.<sup>227</sup>

There is less useful data about the situation at the transition from the 3<sup>rd</sup> into the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium. A bronze dagger was stumbled upon within extensive excavations of the primarily Eneolithic pile-dwelling settlement near Ig. Swords similar to the dagger were most probably found somewhere in the marsh near Lavrica and during the research of the Ljubljanska riverbed, south of Blatna Brezovica (Fig. 6: 7,9,12). A dagger with trapezoid handle plate, three sickles, and a bronze flanged axe (Fig. 6: 8,10,11,13,14) are also known from the Ljubljanska. Currently reliable are three settlements: Blatna Brezovica-Zornica, Bevke-Zaloke, and Mali Otavnik. Pottery finds indicate that they can be expected also at the wider area of the pile-dwelling from the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium in Notranje Gorice, in the wider area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium near Ig, and possibly also somewhere near the mouth of the Zornica or the Bistra to the Ljubljanska<sup>228</sup> (Fig. 1).

<sup>224</sup> Velušček (ed.) 2004, 225, 301; Trampuž Orel 2009, 58.

<sup>225</sup> E.g. Durman 1983.

<sup>226</sup> E.g. Velušček, Greif 1998, 38; Velušček, Čufar 2003, 137, Pl. 4: 10; Velušček 2008, 38.

<sup>227</sup> R. Klasinc, M. Ravnik, J. Kusetič, M. Jančar, S. Vučković 2010, Poročilo o zaščitnih arheoloških izkopavanjih na najdišču Špica (neobjavljeno poročilo / unpublished report); Šinkovec 2012.

<sup>228</sup> From this area in the Ljubljanska, the pottery with the combed or brushed decoration originates (see Dolenc 2012, Pl. 11: 206; Gaspari 2012, Fig. 9: 5; Pl. 1: 5), most probably also the cup with a trapezoid-shaped handle and 'ansa a gomito' (Dolenc 1982, Pl. 11: 200; for dating and distribution see P. Turk, V. Svetličič 2022, 53), and two cups/jugs with two handles (Potočnik 1988–1989, 392, Pl. 23: 25,26) of the Early Bronze culture of Wieselburg-Gata, which is roughly dated between 2100 and 1700/1600 BC (BA A1b–A2) (Gömöri, Melis, Kiss 2018, 5). Almost identical analogies for them are found at Kras, in Friuli and the Po Plain, where they are also connected with the mentioned culture (see e.g. Bermond Montanari et al. 1996, 64, Fig. 4: 25–27; Salzani, Martinelli, Bellintani 1996, 285, Fig. 3: 5–8; Pizziolo, Visentini 2023, Fig. 103; Montagnari Kokelj, Visentini 2023, Fig. 116).

<sup>220</sup> Bernardini et al. 2009, 274.

<sup>221</sup> Teržan 1983; Velušček, Greif 1998; Velušček (ed.) 2004; cf. also Lippert 1992, 19–48; Samonig 2003, 78; Gleirscher 2007, 94–95; Trampuž Orel 2009, 59; Frank, Pernicka 2012.

<sup>222</sup> See Velušček (ed.) 2004, Fig. 3.1.30; 3.1.35; 3.1.36.

<sup>223</sup> Out et al. 2023, Tab. 1; Velušček et al. 2023, 31.

Especially interesting are the dagger from Ig and a typologically connected long dagger<sup>229</sup> (marked also as a short sword<sup>230</sup>) and swords, about which Peter Turk<sup>231</sup> presents the following thesis: *'The daggers and swords from central Slovenia share a similar decoration and shape of the handguard plates, in which they also differ from daggers and swords elsewhere. This may indicate the existence of local metallurgic-casting workshops.'*

Pavlin<sup>232</sup> also hints at the possible local production of this type of weapon somewhere in the South-eastern or Eastern Alps. We add the fact that on this side of the Alps and east of the Friuli plain, on the territory of the present-day Republic of Slovenia, five similar daggers and/or swords were found which belong to the group of daggers and early swords with semicircular hilt plate or full handle. Four finds are known from the Ljubljansko barje, while one is supposed to originate from a water reservoir near the castle of Jablje in Loka pri Mengšu, which is less than 20 km away as the crow flies from the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling at Barje. Hence, if we are looking for a workshop for these daggers or swords<sup>233</sup> somewhere on the territory of Slovenia, one of the most convincing candidates must be the Ljubljansko barje with at least two settlements. An earlier workshop can be expected in the Bronze Age settlement near Ig, in the wider area of an even longer abandoned pile-dwelling from the approx. mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium; and later also at Notranje Gorice, also in the wider area of a pile-dwelling from the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium. As revealed by the finds from the Ljubljanska, a settlement from this time could also be anticipated somewhere in the wider surroundings of the confluence of the Ljubljanska with the Zornica or Bistra, possibly even at Mali Otavnik.<sup>234</sup> Thus, the dagger from Ig can also be explained as the product of a workshop in Barje, which is additionally supported by the sword found near Lavrica, less than 3 km away (*Fig. 6: 7*).<sup>235</sup>

## THE CONCLUDING THESIS

We showed that the dagger from Ig can be explained as a settlement find. We realise that with this we are questioning many an artefact and explanations about cultural practices related to it, which have the widest support among the expert public and which appear almost to be axiomatic. This article does not intend and cannot refute these theses. However, the concluding discussion will nevertheless bring attention to a few different starting points and pose questions arising from the find of the dagger from Ig.

The starting point for the find are Dežman's excavations near Studenec or present-day Ig, which according to the last estimate encompassed a lot more than 12,000 m<sup>2</sup>,<sup>236</sup> and that has never happened again at Barje in at least roughly comparable scope.<sup>237</sup> In this area, Dežman found a great number of pottery, metal, and other finds. Sources reveal that among the finds, primarily pottery, a selection was made of what they were going to collect and what to discard on the spot. For the time, they had a convincing excuse for this decision since the number of well-preserved and richly decorated vessels was enviable.<sup>238</sup> It can be discerned from Dežman's notes that at the end of season 3, they decided to excavate also at the so-called III<sup>rd</sup> pile-dwelling (*Fig. 3*). In his presence, they came across few pottery finds, which were coarser and of thicker walls, which completely deterred the financiers and they were unable to afford even the test dig at the Strojanova voda pile-dwelling.<sup>239</sup>

The episode with the III<sup>rd</sup> pile-dwelling is presented here because it reveals how archaeological excavations were conducted between 1875 and 1877. Even though, according to Dežman, they followed vertical stilts in the field,<sup>240</sup> archaeological finds were nevertheless key for the continuation of the dig. We mentioned that at Notranje Gorice Harej found pottery with brushed ornamentation – and in addition to this possibly also a simultaneous bowl – outside the central area of the pile-dwelling

<sup>229</sup> After P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 179.

<sup>230</sup> Pavlin 2006, 82; P. Turk 2007, 215.

<sup>231</sup> P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177; cf. P. Turk 2007, 214–215.

<sup>232</sup> Pavlin 2006, 83.

<sup>233</sup> For the dating of swords of the Sauerbrunn type from the Ljubljansko barje see Pavlin 2006, 82–83, and Neumann 2009, 100–106.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Gaspari 2008, 75.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Hundt 1974, 164–165.

<sup>236</sup> Leghissa 2020, 20.

<sup>237</sup> At the Ljubljansko barje, the second largest excavations of pile-dwellings by scope were carried out in the 1970s, when Tatjana Bregant researched 1,208 m<sup>2</sup> at Maharski prekop (see Bregant 1996, 27).

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Deschmann 1876, 472.

<sup>239</sup> Smole 1983, 155, 159; see also Deschmann 1876, 471–472.

<sup>240</sup> Deschmann 1876, 472; 1878, 4; see also Ložar 1942, 89.

from the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium. We warned that the latter can point to only a partial overlap of settlement areas from different periods. Possibly, something similar can be searched for also in the wider area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling at Ig and that Dežman possibly did not even reach into the central area of the settlement from the Early Bronze Age.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>241</sup> It is not known which direction it could have spread into and where the central part of the Bronze Age settlement could have been. It was found that Dežman did not excavate all locations in the wider area of distribution of the so-called first three pile-dwellings (Kos 1978, 58), which were researched near Studenec (present-day Ig) between 1875 and 1877 (Fig. 3) and where stilts and other finds can be found (Bregant 1964–1965, Appendix 2). Here are two examples. He did not research the intermediate space between the I<sup>st</sup> and the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling (see Fig. 3), where later, during various works, vertical stilts were discovered several times, and pile-dwelling (Eneolithic) pottery was also discovered (for the position of the intermediate area with finds see Vuga 1970, 142; 1977, 166; 1980b, 130; 1981b, 199, Fig. 6; Harej 1974, 76, Fig. 1; for pottery see Vuga 1981b, Fig. 7; 1980b, 130). He also did not research the space north-east of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling in the area around archaeologically positive trenches nos. 25, 27, and 31, set by Bregant (1964–1965, Appendix 2).

Perchance, the central part of the Bronze Age settlement can be sought even more in the direction towards the location of the III<sup>rd</sup> pile-dwelling, where they unearthed coarse pottery with thick walls and an interesting stratigraphy, which led Dežman to think that: *‘Man wäre versucht, hier zwei über einander gestellte Pfahlbauten anzunehmen, eine ältere aus Rundhölzern der Pappel und eine jüngere aus Spaltklötzen der Eiche bestehend’* (Deschmann 1878, 19).

The assumption overlaps with the opinion of Elena Leghissa (2017a, 275, footnote 1219; 2021, 23, footnote 149), who in two vessels from the riverbed of the Iščica in the area of the Parte-Iščica pile-dwelling settlement (Fig. 3) sees similarity with Early Bronze Age pottery (see Velušček, Čufar, Levanič 2000, 85, Pl. 4: 8; 5: 1).

Similarity in form is undisputable, while the decoration – blunt incisions/grooves in all directions on the first vessel and the combination of barbotine with presumably brushed decoration on the other – is unusual for regional groups of both the Kisapostag culture and the Litzen pottery culture (cf. Kruh 2019). Nevertheless, we can agree with the opinion of Elena Leghissa. The use of ornamental technique, at least on the first vessel, and the shape of both vessels resemble the pottery of the Wieselburg-Gata culture (see e.g. Gömöri, Melis, Kiss 2018), the presence of which at the Ljubljansko barje has previously been mentioned.

In the wider area of the III<sup>rd</sup> pile-dwelling settlement a different stratigraphy in comparison to the I<sup>st</sup> and II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling settlements was much later also confirmed by Tatjana Bregant with trench excavations (1964–1965, 182–183). The same is determined by Harej for the site of Parte (for the position see Fig. 3), where he designates the layer, which contains sprigs, bark, pieces of wood, and

Also interesting are metal finds younger than settlements of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium. First and foremost, this is a dagger that acquired the status of the ritually deposited find *‘in the place of generally earlier pile-dwelling settlement (maybe intentionally right there, as an offering to the spirits of the ancestors)’*.<sup>242</sup> The thesis seems completely possible, but as an earlier pile-dwelling solely the settlement from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium and not the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling, which was abandoned in the 25<sup>th</sup> century BC at the latest, can be considered.<sup>243</sup> According to a very conservative estimate, there is a more than 700-year time gap between the Eneolithic pile-dwelling and the dagger.<sup>244</sup> We can justifiably assume that in the time of the dagger’s use, remains of the Eneolithic settlement were no longer visible in that area. If they could still see them, e.g. as we look at stilts and prehistoric finds in the Iščica river today (Fig. 6),<sup>245</sup> we have to ask ourselves how Bronze Age people interpreted them. We have to keep in mind that, for example, remains of pile-dwellings in Switzerland were documented to be found long before Ferdinand Keller, yet it was only he who recognised in them the remains of ancient human dwellings.<sup>246</sup> Furthermore, we should not forget how people in the past interpreted stone tools. They perceived them as unusually shaped stones made by lightning. By no means did they see in them what they really were – stone axes or tools.<sup>247</sup>

Hence, the existence of a settlement from the Early Bronze Age in the wider area of the II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling settlement appears to be more than probable,<sup>248</sup> which could be a justified reason for the performance of peculiar rituals in the century or two that followed,<sup>249</sup> naturally, under the condition that the settlement is older than the dagger,<sup>250</sup> but which, as shown above, is not probable. Nevertheless, the question remains:

leaves and is found over the cultural layer, as alluvial (e.g. Harej 1978, 62, Fig: profiles).

<sup>242</sup> Vuga 1982, 20–21.

<sup>243</sup> See e.g. Leghissa 2021, 12–30.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177.

<sup>245</sup> E.g. Velušček, Čufar, Levanič 2000; Velušček 2013, Fig. 11; 2015, Fig. 7; Leghissa 2020, 16.

<sup>246</sup> Hafner et al. 2020, 1–2.

<sup>247</sup> E.g. Šprajc 1982, 8; cf. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 163, Fig. 207.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 177.

<sup>249</sup> Gaspari 2014, 74.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Kruh 2019, 184.

how to explain the human lower jawbone, from which a tooth was dated, from the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>251</sup> a slightly later tanged sword that can be set in the time of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the pin with a profiled biconical head that can be dated to the timespan between the mid-11<sup>th</sup> until the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>252</sup> and a later fragmented bronze pin with a trumpet-shaped terminal?<sup>253</sup> All these finds were discovered in the area of the I<sup>st</sup> pile-dwelling settlement (Fig. 3). Müllner states that the sword was found half a metre above the pile-dwelling cultural layer. We do not have comparable data for the jawbone and both pins. Moreover, the difference in time between the pin with the profiled biconical head and the I<sup>st</sup> pile-dwelling<sup>254</sup> exceeds a millennium and a half. There is an even longer gap between the Eneolithic settlement and the youngest pin, therefore Davorin Vuga<sup>255</sup> believes that it was found 'probably in the peat above the pile-dwelling layer'. We can justifiably assume that at the break of the millennia and in the centuries that followed no remains of the settlement from the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium were to be seen on the surface. Nature and growth of the marsh must have taken their toll.<sup>256</sup>

Now, the question needs to be posed of how to explain the human lower jawbone, a slightly later sword, and even younger pins which were located more than 300 m away from the dryland in the environment which, according to the definition, is hardly passable and dangerous to men.<sup>257</sup> In such an environment, how can one explain the probably unused Urnfield socketed axe with an accentuated lip and an ear, which was found in Mah between Babna Gorica and Ig (Fig. 6: 6)?<sup>258</sup> Even more puzzling is the Mesolithic harpoon collected in the Ljubljana under the mouth of the Iščica (Fig. 6: 16).<sup>259</sup> Research tends towards

the thesis that more than 11,000 years ago<sup>260</sup> there was a lake in this area.<sup>261</sup> Just prior to the riverbed regulation, an axe made of deer antler (Fig. 6: 15) was discovered in the old riverbed of the Borovniščica. It probably originates from the period when pile-dwellings were alive at the Ljubljansko barje.<sup>262</sup> It is not known how the find ended up in the riverbed of the Borovniščica. Whether it was collected from the original position or what the situation was with the Borovniščica at the time of its deposition are also unknown. A complicated question about the significance of the finds is also opened up by the left-handed sickle from the Middle Bronze Age, which was found in the Ljubljana between Podpeč and Lipe (Fig. 6: 8).<sup>263</sup> Since we find that through millennia, pile-dwelling settlements withdrew together with the lake towards the centre of the Ljubljansko barje,<sup>264</sup> in the Middle Bronze Age the lake still had to be located in the place of the find. Blato, the youngest found pile-dwelling settlement to date, is dated roughly to the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age (BA C/D) and is, in comparison to the findspot of the sickle, located much more towards the edge of the basin (cf. Fig. 6: 8 and 1).<sup>265</sup>

We can certainly claim for all mentioned finds that, according to the unknown turn of events, they were lost/deposited at the Ljubljansko barje. They prove, as hinted by Janez Dular<sup>266</sup> referring only to the Early Bronze Age metal finds, the human settlement at Barje and/or in its surroundings in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, and also in the Mesolithic, in the period of pile-dwellings, in the time of the Urnfield culture and in the beginning of the Iron Age. In short, these events are difficult to argumentatively explain by ritual practices. Hence, in this article an alternative explanation is suggested for the ornamented dagger with a hilt plate from Ig, i.e. that it is a settlement find.

<sup>251</sup> Leghissa 2017a, 238–239, 241, Fig. 165.

<sup>252</sup> Teržan 2002, 86–87.

<sup>253</sup> For the dating of the pin see Vuga 1980a, 201, footnote 6; cf. Gaspari 2002, 39, footnote 59.

<sup>254</sup> For the dating of the I<sup>st</sup> pile-dwelling settlement see e.g. Leghissa 2021, 12.

<sup>255</sup> Vuga 1980a, 201.

<sup>256</sup> See Pavšič 1989; Verbič, Horvat 2009.

<sup>257</sup> Melik 1927, 5; Gaspari 2017, 396–397.

<sup>258</sup> See Šinkovec 1995, 68, Pl. 18: 102.

<sup>259</sup> Potočnik 1988–1989, Pl. 3: 22; I. Turk 2004, 16, Fig. 2.2. In P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 85, Fig. 122, the origin of the harpoon is mistakenly attributed to a section of the Ljubljana near Blatna Brezovica. Similarly, the harpoon

is erroneously placed into the Iščica near its confluence with the Ljubljana by Gaspari (2014, 69, Fig. 60). For the correct position of the findspot of this find see Potočnik 1988–1989, 391, Fig. 1: 22, or Fig. 6: 16.

<sup>260</sup> For the radiocarbon date of the harpoon see P. Turk, M. Turk 2019, 85; M. Turk 2022, 43.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. Melik 1946; Verbič, Horvat 2009.

<sup>262</sup> Vuga 1980b, 137, Fig. 19: 18; 1981a, 198.

<sup>263</sup> Pavlin 2006, 80, Fig. 1: 3; 2: 3a,b.

<sup>264</sup> E.g. Velušček, Čufar 2008; J. Turk, A. Velušček 2013.

<sup>265</sup> Velušček, Toškan, Čufar 2011.

<sup>266</sup> Dular 1999, 84; the same before him Gabrovec 1983, 40.

## CONCLUSION

The article discusses the findspot circumstances of the bronze ornamented dagger from Ig. Following analysis of the sources, we set the thesis that the dagger is simultaneous with the settlement. Hence, its discovery at the site area of the Eneolithic II<sup>nd</sup> pile-dwelling settlement is not coincidental, since at least partial overlap of the settlement areas from the end of the Eneolithic and the Early Bronze Age most probably occurred. Since we have demonstrated that this is most probably not a ritually deposited find, it poses the questions of the provenience and significance of several other archaeological, primarily metal finds from the Ljubljansko barje.

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