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On the Significance of Divje babe I Cave for the Stratigraphy, Sedimentology, and Chronology of Palaeolithic Cave Sites in Slovenia

O pomenu jame Divje babe I za stratigrafijo, sedimentologijo in kronologijo jamskih paleolitskih najdišč v Sloveniji

Matija TURK, Janez TURK

Izvleček

V članku sta podana pregled razvoja in razlaga postopkov, uporabljenih pri proučevanju profila paleolitskega jamskega najdišča Divje babe I. Podatke smo pridobili iz objav, arhivskega gradiva in osebnih informacij Ivana Turka, ki je vodil izkopavanja in ciljno usmerjal laboratorijske raziskave. Profil Divjih bab I je trenutno najbolje raziskan in kronološko opredeljen mlajšepleistocenski jamski profil v Sloveniji. Različni sedimentološki in drugi podatki iz standardnega profila so bili prvič nadgrajeni z istimi podatki, pridobljenimi na standardnih tlorisnih površinah in globinah. Ugotovljena je bila velika prostorska (lateralna) variabilnost, povezana s sicer sočasnimi, vendar različnimi jamskimi mikrookolji, na katera je odločilno vplivala različna prisotnost vode v vseh agregatnih stanjih. Brez upoštevanja časovne in prostorske dimenzije ne bi bilo mogoče povezati vseh statističnih množic zbranih podatkov o sedimentih, njihovi vsebini in klimatskih parametrih v enovit sistem.

Ključne besede: jama Divje babe I; mlajši pleistocen; variabilnost sedimentov; jamska mikrookolja; kongelifrakcija; korozija; klima

Abstract

The article reviews the development and interpretation of procedures used in the study of the sedimentary sequence of the Divje babe I Palaeolithic cave site. The data were obtained from publications, archives, and personal information provided by Ivan Turk, who directed the excavations and directed the laboratory investigations. The profile of Divje babe I is currently the best researched and chronologically defined Late Pleistocene cave profile in Slovenia. For the first time, various sedimentological and other data from the standard profile were upgraded with the same data obtained on standardized ground plan surfaces and depths. A large spatial (lateral) variability was discovered, associated with generally contemporaneous but different cave microenvironments, which were crucially influenced by different amounts of water in all aggregate states. Without taking into account temporal and spatial dimensions, it would not be possible to combine all statistical sets of collected data on sediments, their contents, and climatic parameters into a unified system.

Keywords: Divje babe I cave; Late Pleistocene; sedimentary variability; cave microenvironments; congelifraction; corrosion; climate

Fig. 1: The view of the north slope of the Šebreljska planota (Šebrelje plateau) with the entrance to the Divje babe I cave (marked by a circle) and a location map.
Sl. 1: Pogled na severno pobočje Šebreljske planote z označenim položajem jame Divje babe I (označeno s krogom).

The palaeontological and archaeological cave site Divje babe I is located in western Slovenia, in the pre-Alpine hills, under the edge of the Šebreljska planota (Šebrelje plateau) (*Fig. 1*). The cave, formed in dolomite, opens on the steep, north-facing slope above the valley of the Idrijca River at an altitude of 450 m a.s.l. The site is widely known for the discovery of the unusually perforated femur of a young cave bear, which is interpreted as a Neanderthal musical instrument (M. Turk *et al.* 2018). However, the site is also interesting because of other important finds and innovative research approaches (Turk 2007a; 2014a).

In the years 1978–1986, Mitja Brodar carried out systematic excavations in Divje babe I. The excavations were continued in 1989–1999 by Ivan Turk and Janez Dirjec. The second excavation campaign brought some completely new approaches to the interpretation of the cave clastic and chemical sediments. I. Turk was their conceptual creator. Because of the potential of the findings from these approaches for the study of cave sites, this paper presents a summary with additional explanations of his ideas and findings published in numerous articles. Some previously unpublished data and findings are reproduced according to the extensive documentation from the archives of the Institute of Archaeology ZRC SAZU.[1]

Pleistocene cave sediments are important, both for their archaeological and/or palaeontological content and for the possibilities they offer for various other interdisciplinary studies. The study of sediments determines their formation, origin, and diagenesis. All this can be observed more or less continuously (depending on interruptions in sedimentation) in a given sedimentary profile. In contrast, such observation is usually not possible for archaeological and palaeontological finds, due to the presence of sediments without finds. Since cave sediments vary according to their micro-location due to the specific sedimentary environment, the interpretation of sedimentological research must necessarily take into account their spatial variability, to which too little attention has been paid thus far (see Farrand 2001).

The study of Pleistocene sediments in Palaeolithic cave sites has a long tradition in Slovenia (S. Brodar 1939; 1958; 1966; M. Brodar 1959; Osole

[1] Turk, I. 2002, Elaborat Divje babe I. Izkopavanja 1989–1999, Archives of the ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archaeology.

1961; 1968; 1986). It was mainly limited to karst caves formed in limestone. In contrast, the Divje babe I cave is formed in dolomite, and at the beginning of M. Brodar's excavations, this site was an exception without a corresponding comparative practice due to the different sediments (M. Brodar 1999, 39). Thus, Divje babe I became a seemingly unsolvable, or at least difficult to solve, problem in the field of Pleistocene cave sedimentology in Slovenia. The question even arose as to what sense the routine sedimentological analysis valid at that time would have in this case. In 1997, when the opportunity arose for systematic radiometric dating of the Divje babe I profile with electron spin resonance (ESR),[2] I. Turk decided to carry out a parallel pilot analysis of sediments from all layers, dated by this method. After the end of the systematic excavation in 1999, he started a thorough analysis of all excavated sediments based on his own idea and started an informal cooperation with the geologist Dragomir Skaberne from the Geological Survey of Slovenia.[3]

THE RESEARCH METHODS AND THEIR USE IN SLOVENIAN PALAEOLITHIC CAVE SITES WITH EMPHASIS ON THE NEW METHOD APPLIED IN DIVJE BABE I

Let us first present the main characteristics of the primary working method in sedimentology of Palaeolithic sites in Slovenia until 1999. The results of investigations of cave sediments in Palaeolithic sites in Slovenia were usually a component part of the chronology of sites and Palaeolithic finds. In research, the qualitative and deductive method was used almost exclusively, which presupposed certain regularities in sedimentation (e.g., alternation of gravel and clay layers) based on hypotheses. For example, it was assumed that the cave gravel was typical of colder climates and the cave clay of warmer climates (S. Brodar 1958; M. Brodar 1959, 438; Osole 1961), which is a fundamental fallacy (White 2007). The main assumption that climate was a key factor influencing cave sediments during the Pleistocene has never been tested from site to site. Therefore, the deviation of the values of the analysed attributes (parameters), mainly grain (clasts) size, in Pleistocene sediments from those of Holocene sediments, formed in a more or less known climate, was never determined. Not a single example of such a test is known from anywhere else. Exceptionally, the repeatability of the results of the technical part of the method has been verified within a single site by the samples from different profiles (M. Brodar 1959; Farrand 1975, and others). From the multitude of sedimentological attributes that may or may not be related to climate, the most influential attribute or attributes were never selected by the consistent application of the abstraction method. Therefore, once a particular attribute was analysed, which was usually the distribution of fine grain size fraction in profiles analysed by the quantitative method, no attempt was made to link it to other sedimentological attributes using the synthesis method. Indeed, this was not possible as other attributes were not adequately quantified but were at best descriptively stated.

After almost 70 years of extensive, including multidisciplinary research (see Stritar *et al.* 1967) in numerous Palaeolithic cave sites in Slovenia, the excavations at Divje babe I and the innovative sedimentological research of I. Turk mark a turning point (Skaberne *et al.* 2015a; 2015b). We expect his findings to be useful at other sites with similar sedimentary environments and similar phenomena, such as congelifracts, cavernously corroded clasts, and phosphate aggregates. In Slovenia, such sites are caves Jama pod Herkovimi pečmi, Matjaževe kamre, Mokriška jama, Njivice and Potočka zijalka. For the analysis of sediments from Divje babe I, Turk used the empirical method, supported by statistics, not neglecting the qualitative signs of attributes, which he combined with the quantitative ones. Each hypothesis, either his own or adopted, he tested within the given possibilities, also experimentally if possible. In order to test the old chronological scheme for the classification of Middle Palaeolithic sites in Slovenia, he laid the foundations for an independent radiometric chronology in informal cooperation with foreign colleagues (Nelson 1997; Ku 1997; Lau *et al.* 1997; Blackwell *et al.* 2007; 2009). To the extent possible, he applied the method of abstraction and removed all sedimentological attributes irrelevant to the

[2] The site was first dated in 1990 using the then-new AMS ^{14}C method. The method was developed by D. E. Nelson and his team (Nelson 1991; 1997). Divje babe I is one of the first Palaeolithic sites in Europe to be dated using this method.

[3] The sediment analysis project was not approved. Nevertheless, sediment analysis was carried out in the 1999–2014 period within the limited financial and technical possibilities.

climate model, including the distribution of fine grain size fraction. During the fieldwork, I. Turk developed a new model of the sedimentation process in the cave environment based on the interrelated sedimentological attributes reflecting both climatic conditions and sedimentation rate. The latter was insufficiently or not at all considered in the old model. The only attributes that are important are those that are undoubtedly related to climate and that occur continuously in time (vertical dimension) and space (lateral dimension) at the site. Previously, too little attention had been paid to the collection and statistics of continuous data on sediment properties and their spatial variability. Despite the opportunities offered by each major excavation and computer support to process the data sets, in most cases, this opportunity was not taken. The main reason for this was the technique of frontal excavation by layers from profile to profile and collecting finds without sieving the sediments. The new sedimentation model could only be developed on the basis of excavation by spits and quadrats and the wet sieving of all sediments, including the archaeologically sterile ones.

The vertical dimension

In Divje babe I, the vertical dimension was mainly represented by spits used to remove sediments. After 1989, the spit thickness was always 12 cm, which is the optimal thickness considering the texture of the sediments, which contain many clasts larger than 10 cm. Spits can be equated with sedimentation levels, a stratigraphic category used and defined in Divje babe I by I. Turk. Sedimentation levels follow the dip of layers when the boundaries between layers are not horizontal in the transverse and/or longitudinal directions. If necessary, several successive sedimentation levels

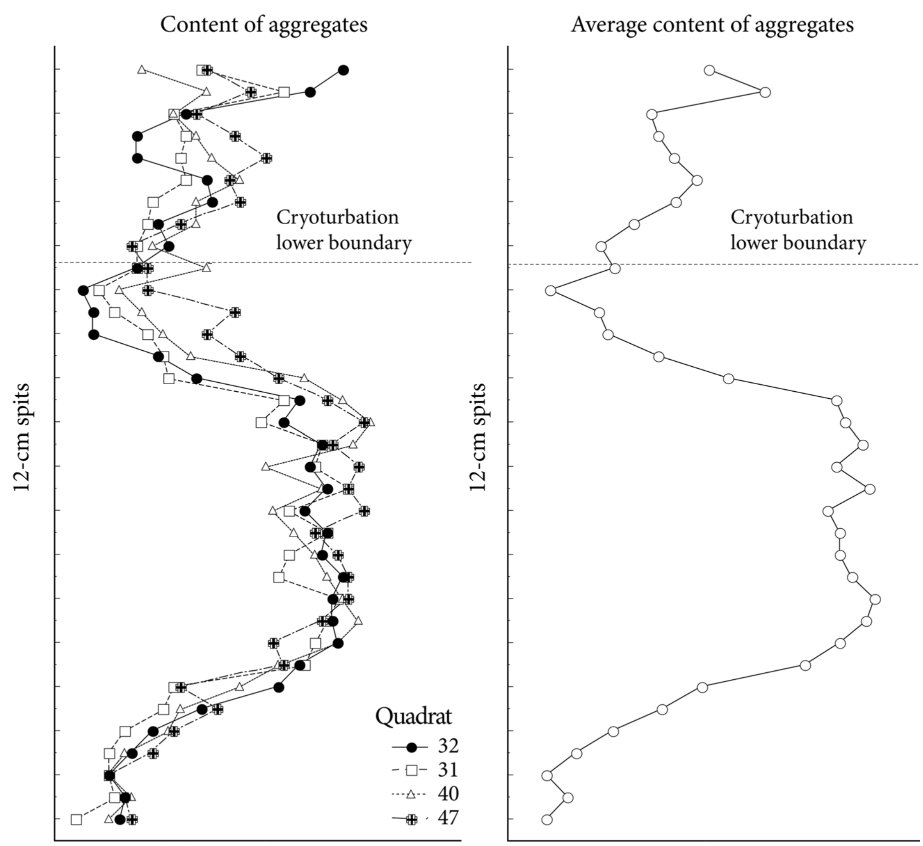

Fig. 2: A simplified presentation of variability of aggregate content in the lateral direction according to spits and quadrats (left) and their mean value (right) in a constant volume of sediments of constant ground plan surface, which represents 0.73% of the entire cave surface.
Sl. 2: Poenostavljen prikaz variabilnosti vsebnosti agregatov v bočni smeri po režnjih in kvadratih (levo) ter njihova srednja vrednost (desno) v stalnem volumnu sedimentov stalne tlorisne površine, ki predstavlja 0,73 % celotne površine jame.

can be joined into a larger unit, such as a layer, and several layers in their sequence (see Skaberne *et al.* 2015a).

A geological layer, by its definition, is a homogenous unit formed (theoretically) under the same physicochemical conditions and in uniform processes and their uniform sequence. Each layer is separated from the lower and upper layers on the basis of one (or more) basic sedimentary characteristics. The characteristics of the layers are influenced by physical, chemical, biological (including anthropological), geological and diagenetic conditions. As a rule, stratification occurs in the sediment when changes arise in the material that is being deposed. In the cave environment where clastic sediments prevail, this is not a frequent occurrence. Invisible sedimentary hiatuses (gaps) between layers, which affect the completeness of the chronological record, result from interruption of sedimentation, erosion, or changes in sedimentation conditions. If we manage to determine hiatuses using dating and sedimentological research, we can distinguish multiple sedimentation cycles separated by interruptions in sediment deposition (see Blackwell *et al.* 2020; J. Turk 2011). When excavating new layers, this obviously cannot all be determined simultaneously in the field. Therefore, so-called geological layers determined in the field are only a temporary working aid for stratigraphic and chronologic sorting of finds, carrying no significantly greater weight than artificial spits until the true nature of each individual layer or sequence of specific layers is determined by routine analytical techniques. A layer may contain archaeological and other finds either distributed throughout the entire thickness of the layer or concentrated in one or more levels (I. Turk 2003).

Both layers and sedimentation levels belong to time intervals of different lengths, since the

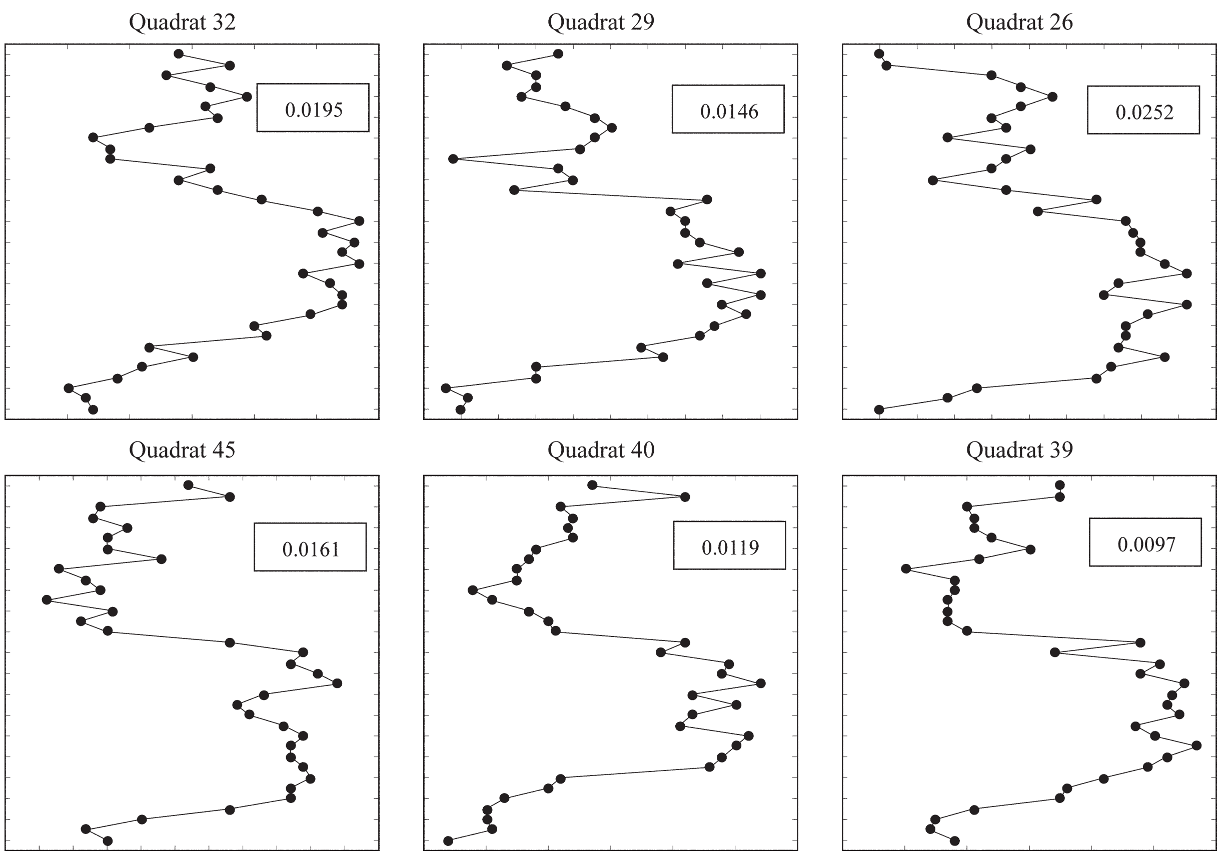

Fig. 3: A simplified example of selecting the most (quadrat 26) and least divergent profile (quadrat 39) of aggregates from six profiles using a calculation procedure (numbers in the right corner of the graphs). The profile includes data from spits 2–36, layers 2–17a1 in six quadrats.
Sl. 3: Poenostavljen primer izbora najbolj (kvadrat 26) in najmanj odstopajočega profila (kvadrat 39) agregatov izmed šestih profilov s pomočjo računskega postopka (številke v desnem vogalu grafov). Profil zajema podatke iz režnjev 2–36, plasti 2–17a1 v šestih kvadratih.

sedimentation rate is not constant. In the cave environment, sedimentation takes place (or not) depending on various internal and external conditions of local and/or global nature. Thus, the sedimentation rate is a very important variable on which the rate of sediment modification, sediment distribution, and temporal unity or disunity of archaeological and other finds depend (I. Turk 2003). Temporal unity is not necessarily guaranteed with the occurrence of finds in a particular layer. Namely, the interruption or deceleration in sedimentation may cause the mixing of finds from different time periods.

In addition to determining layers and sedimentary hiatuses, chronology is crucial in any research. Therefore, stratigraphy (i.e., the vertical dimension of the phenomenon under study) is of paramount importance. In Divje babe I, Turk defined the vertical dimension (i.e., the profile) quantitatively and qualitatively in two different ways (*Figs. 2* and *3*):

1 – Using the mean values of the data set of a particular sedimentological attribute in a sufficiently large volume of stratified cave fill with ground plan area that comprised 15% (83 m²) of the total present-day cave area (550 m²) (I. Turk 2003, Fig. 6a). The data were arranged by sedimentation levels, represented by 12 cm thick spits. Once excavation was complete, sedimentation levels were arranged to roughly follow the dip of the layers in the direction of the longitudinal axis of the cave. *Fig. 2*, like the already published Figs. 6a and 7a (I. Turk 2003), show that the mean values of the sedimentological attributes change in the proportion of the sampled area to the total ground plan area, and that the larger the proportion of the sampled area, the more reliable they are.

2 – Using two profiles from the available set of profiles of a particular sedimentological attribute that were maximally different and represented the two extremes of a stratigraphic sequence: a) the profile that deviated the least from all available profiles, and b) the profile that deviated the most (*Fig. 3*). Both were more reliable the larger the set of profiles from which they were selected both visually and computationally. The profile that deviated the least from all available profiles represents the so- called type profile (I. Turk 2003). *Fig. 3* shows considerable variability of the studied attribute in space (quadrats), which is to be expected for the cave environment. Thus, a very accurate and sophisticated analysis at a particular micro-location does not mean that the results obtained in this way are representative of the whole, which has not been subjected to such an analysis. It is a shortcut that can also be used when revising a specific site and can lead to a significantly different result than the original. However, we still do not know which result is more and which is less correct.

The lateral dimension

In Divje babe I, the lateral dimension was represented by 1×1 m quadrats. The sedimentary environment of the cave consists of microenvironments. These change with the size of the cave entrance and the distance from it, so the phenomenon of gradient or gradual decrease of external influences proportional to the distance from the entrance and its size occurs. At the same time, the changes in microenvironments may be influenced by other factors that do not depend directly on the size of the entrance and distance from it. In particular, these other factors influence fossil remains and underground water (i.e., the percolating water and the moisture in the sediments). The variability of cave sediments is the result of the action of various factors. A great variability is the main characteristic of cave sediments. For all these reasons, documenting and analysing the lateral characteristics of sedimentological attributes can be as important as documenting and analysing their vertical characteristics.

The new methodological approaches could be applied without adapting the archaeological field method to the new requirements resulting from the application of the different post-excavation analytical methods and procedures than were used in Slovenia until the end of the first phase of excavation at Divje babe I in 1986. The sedimentological research at Divje babe I was carried out in such a way that, in addition to the above written, the accuracy and reliability of the data, on which the credibility or accuracy of the interpretation depends, were checked at the same time.

– The accuracy of the data collected depends primarily on the method, the time invested, and the precision of those performing the method. Accuracy controls that provide an estimate of the error are essential.

– Data reliability does not always depend on the precision with which the data are collected. The number of data is also important. A large number of less accurate data may provide a more reliable result than a small number of very accurate data. Reliability can only be evaluated based on a set of data related to each of the attributes analysed.

– The credibility or accuracy of the interpretation of the data collected depends on how reliable the data are. However, the reliability of the data in itself does not guarantee the credibility of the interpretation. Therefore, any interpretation is only hypothetical until it is confirmed or disproved by verification with other independent data and methods. A verified assertion remains valid until it is replaced by another substantiated assertion or proven false. The credibility of the interpretation does not mean that the interpretation is correct. Any interpretation should be based on an analysis of the accuracy and significance of the original data (facts). In Slovenia, only M. Brodar (1959) attempted to adhere to this principle in his granulometric analysis of the sediment in the Mokriška jama cave.

In studying problems related to past events and phenomena, we usually infer the causes and processes that lead to a particular current state from the consequences (i.e., facts). The problem with this is that different causes and processes can have similar consequences. This means that every interpretation and every conclusion carries a certain risk of being wrong. The risk can be reduced if we treat the facts not individually, but together with other available facts, by analysing their relationships and identifying meaningful links that lead to systematic solutions.

To summarise, we may say that I. Turk has upgraded the old methods, which were based on logical thinking, intuition, and experience, with research methods that derive their quality from quantity. He limited himself to autochthonous cave sediments and the site of Divje babe I, where he had the most personally collected data and the possibility of maximum verification of analytical results. It is understandable that his new findings did not always coincide with those obtained by other methods, including those he had used before following the example of his predecessors, and with the results of analyses of allochthonous admixtures in cave sediments. The latter are often treated preferentially, although they constitute an insignificant proportion of the cave sediments and may be episodic in nature.

THE GOAL AND INNOVATIVE APPROACH OF SEDIMENTOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN DIVJE BABE I

In the case of Palaeolithic sites, the study of Pleistocene sediments has a specific goal: to determine the origin and, more importantly, the age of the sediments. In the case of the sediments from Divje babe I, both have been more or less clarified. Due to the sedimentary environment and the structure of the sediments, there is no doubt about the almost exclusively autochthonous origin of most of the sediments. Numerous radiometric dates also explained the basic chronological questions raised by M. Brodar (1999). What remained was the question of additional (alternative) aims of the sedimentological analysis (for routine procedures, see Farrand 2001; Woodward, Goldberg 2001). These were:

– to determine the factors responsible for sediment deposition (including the finest fraction), weathering and further diagenesis of sediments;

– and possibly to determine indicators of basic climatic parameters.

Together with palynological, anthracotomical, macro- and microfaunal data, these factors would contribute to the reconstruction of the palaeoclimate. The palaeoclimate, together with radiometric data, is currently the only basis for a more or less reliable climatochronological placement of the site in the scheme of the contemporary global (climato)chronology of the Late Pleistocene, since the so-called complete division of Würm has long ceased to be relevant (see I. Turk, Verbič 1993).

In pursuing the goals set, I. Turk analysed samples of sediments taken from the profiles, as well as samples of sediments taken after spits and quadrats in the excavated area.[4] A precise analysis of sediments from the profile is usually primarily or exclusively representative of a particular section of the profile, but it also has a broader significance, as each individual analysed value of a specific sediment characteristic in a profile certainly belongs to a population with a particular range of values. Thus, using data from individual profiles *sensu stricto*, we can compare the results of the analysis of sets of sedimentological data collected at spits and later combined into sedimentation levels, with so-called geological layers, as were determined

[4] Samples of sediments are kept together with other finds in the National Museum of Slovenia.

visually in profiles. The data collected according to spits pertained to the following categories:

– mass of dolomite blocks and fractions from fine-grained gravel to silt;
– volumetric mass of sandy fraction;
– fossil and archaeological remains.

Although sedimentological data were in no way as precise as the corresponding data from the profiles, their number (ranging from a few hundred to about 2,500 unpublished data points for a single category from layer 2 to including layer 16a, or an average of 150 data point for each excavated layer)[5] made them statistically significant and thus allowed the recognition of the variability of the collected data according to the above categories. Since they were stratigraphically objectively defined with an accuracy of 12 cm, they could be compared quite well with the stratigraphically presumably comparable data from profiles, the comparative analysis could be carried out and the correlation between the sedimentation levels and the geological layers could be verified. In order to understand better the whole process of sedimentation and sediment diagenesis, I. Turk and his colleagues systematically studied:

a – the grain size distribution (of clasts and aggregates) of the various fractions;
b – the average grain size in each clast fraction;
c – the post-sedimentary fragmentation of clasts (the so-called congelifracts);
d – the corrosion of clasts (the so-called cavernously corroded clasts);
e – the volumetric (specific) mass of the fine sediment fractions;
f – the chemical composition of the individual sediment fractions with emphasis on the fine fraction.[6]

I. Turk focused on certain universal characteristics of clastic sediments (weathering, congelifraction, corrosion, cementation), which he assumed to be directly related to climatic parameters (temperature, humidity). Using radiometric dates, he managed to directly parallel them with global climatic temperature fluctuations (Blackwell *et al.* 2007; Turk 2007b), whereas modern palaeoclimate and palaeoenvironmental research does so on the basis of other parameters that can only be indirectly paralleled with dated climate curves (Ellwood *et al.* 2004; Spötl *et al.* 2006; Aubry *et al.* 2010). Congelifracts are thought to be highly correlated with temperature, whereas cavernously corroded clasts and various structural aggregates with cement binding are correlated with humidity or precipitation. He was able to reliably correlate cavernously corroded clasts with stagnations in the predominant mechanical weathering of the cave ceiling. These are also reflected in a discontinuity in the ESR dates in the Divje babe I profile. To date, no one has paid much attention to the relationship between hiatuses and cavernously corroded clasts, not even authors who have dealt specifically with stratigraphic hiatuses in cave sites (Campy, Chaline 1993). Structural aggregates have also never been analysed quantitatively, as was done in Divje babe I.

In the analysis of the sediments of Divje babe I, Turk proceeded from general knowledge of the weathering and cementation of sedimentary rocks (which is also dolomite), as well as from his own field observations during 19 years of excavations at Divje babe I. His basic ideas regarding the correlation between weathering and cementation with climate came from wet sieving and examination of all excavated sediments in 1990–1999. Unfortunately, these ideas only emerged towards the end of the excavations, so it was not possible to verify congelifracts and cavernously corroded clasts in their lateral dimension, as was the case with structural aggregates.

Weathering

Weathering is a combination of inextricably linked mechanical and chemical processes that lead to the decomposition of rock (I. Turk 2006, 21). Weathering of the dolomite parent rock could have been primary, *synsedimentary, syngenetic* (on the ceiling, walls, and shelves of the cave) and/or secondary, *post-sedimentary, post-genetic* (on/in the cave ground). The mass of post-sedimentary weathering products is the same as the mass of synsedimentary if there is no transport out of the cave or a major influx of allochthonous regolith. Both weathering categories are similar processes occurring under different sedimentary conditions (humidity, temperature, transport). Therefore, the final products may also be different. However, the products of one or the other type of weathering can only be distinguished in exceptional cases.

[5] Unpublished data from the Archives of the ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archaeology: Turk, I. 2002, Elaborat Divje babe I. Izkopavanja 1989–1999.

[6] The latter in cooperation with the geologist D. Skaberne.

Both synsedimentary and post-sedimentary weathering take place continuously, except in cases in which the protective layer of weathering products (on the shelves or ground) or chemical sediments such as sinter (on the ceiling, walls, shelves, and ground) begins to form. Weathering may be uniform or non-uniform. To what extent the weathering is non-uniform depends primarily on the degree of anisotropy of the rock (fracturing, etc.). If there is a prolonged interruption of primary weathering, corrosion lesions occur on the ceiling and walls. When the cave ceiling thus affected begins to fracture again, cavernously corroded clasts accumulate in the sediments. Under similar conditions, they can also occur in the ground.

Erosion, which plays an important part in the weathering of deposits in the open, was the exception rather than the rule in Divje babe I. It was only possible for the finest sediments washed into the pores and vacuoles between clasts by percolating water, and possibly from the cave if surface runoff occurred. Evidence of erosive solifluction is found only on the slope in front of and below the cave, where an unknown portion of the Pleistocene sediments is apparently missing. Also, the sediments of layer 2 at the present cave entrance were partly (anthropogenically?) removed (I. Turk 2007c, Fig. 4.1b).

Synsedimentary weathering, which takes place on a small area represented by the cave ceiling and shelves, is accompanied by the constant erosion of the weathering products due to gravity, which is greatest on the ceiling and the least on the shelves. In terms of quantity, the results of synsedimentary weathering are mainly coarse fractions conditioned by primary macrocracks in the dolomite parent rock. Despite the potentially greater number of microcracks, the proportion of fine fractions conditioned by primary microcracks and the crystalline structure of the dolomite is relatively small due to the relatively small surface exposed to weathering.

Postsedimentary weathering, which occurs over a large area represented by the surfaces of all clasts and includes the occurrence of secondary cracks, is inversely proportional to synsedimentary weathering. This is because the rapid deposition of continually new sediments from the cave vault slows weathering of previously deposited sediments, while slow deposition allows greater weathering of previously deposited sediments. Post-sedimentary weathering depends not only on the climate and sedimentation rate of the gravitational gravel/debris that retains the moisture necessary for weathering but also on the amount of biomass. The result of post-sedimentary weathering is primarily fine fractions, which are usually the subject of analysis of grain size distribution and micromorphology. The experiments of I. Turk have shown that gelifraction is most efficient when the sediment is flooded with water. This, of course, is possible mainly in/on the ground, if the necessary conditions are met (the presence of a less permeable ground in the form of a trampled surface). Under such conditions, silt and sand-sized clasts detached first, followed by coarse-grained clasts and so on, until large fragments break off that can reach half the size of a primary clast. Large fragments formed by frost action are called congelifracts.

Based on the basic law of syn- and post-sedimentary weathering, the grain size distribution in the profile of Divje babe I has been explained, especially the coarsest and finest fractions (Skaberne *et al.*, Fig. 17.2.1). These are not as clearly related to climate, as assumed by M. Brodar and some other authors. Both fractions are inversely proportional and predominantly of different origin. The coarse fraction, as already mentioned, was created predominantly synsedimentary in connection with the unstable cave vault. The finest fraction was created primarily post-sedimentary in connection with breaks in the sedimentation of the coarse fraction during periods of stable cave vault. Gravitationally, it is the most mobile fraction, which over time can fill all the pores between clasts.

The sedimentation rate of all gravitational cave sediments depends on the climate (temperature, humidity, seasonal distribution of precipitation), the nature of the rock (degree of fraction and structure), the inter-granular porosity of the clastic sediments, and seismic activity. Early chemical diagenesis (the formation of chemical deposits) depends on the physical and physicochemical properties of the sediment and the solutions flowing through it. These properties depend on the composition of parent rock and sediments, as well as on exogenous conditions (climate, plant and animal compounds, living environment). Therefore, it was essential to consider all these factors in explaining the results of sediment analysis. Some of them are interrelated. For example, the sinter could not have formed without a plant cover on the slope above the cave. The size of the populations of herbivorous cave bears that contributed to the organic component of the sediments was directly dependent on food or vegetation. The latter, in turn, was associated with higher temperatures, higher humidity, and longer summers.

MODEL USED TO INTERPRET SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF CLASTIC SEDIMENTS AND DIVJE BABE I

The model is based on the following general facts

Because underground caves do not receive direct sunlight, they have a special microclimate that can also be influenced by the microclimate in the immediate vicinity of the cave. The microclimate in caves is influenced by the size of the cave entrance, the temperature of the soil (including and especially of the cave sediments), the presence of people (fire), and the vegetation above and in front of the cave (trees, bushes, barren land). All of these factors may change in relation to climate change, and some of them may change in the context of natural disasters (forest fires, ice-break in the forest, etc.). While microclimate affects cave sediments in the short term and are specific to a single site, the atmospheric climate has a long-term and global influence that allows comparisons on a global scale.

The humidity in the caves appears as condensed water vapour and as underground (ground) water. Underground waters are all waters below the surface, including the water in the porous part of the cave sediments. Both condensed water vapour and ground water depend on the outside air temperature and precipitation. Humidity in the cave environment is closely related to differences between cave and outdoor temperatures, which are negatively correlated with the size of the entrance (see *Fig. 4*).

The inflow of underground water, such as percolating water in the horizontal underground caves, depends on precipitation. *Fig. 5* shows the results of occasional measurements of underground inflow (percolating water) from the ceiling area of 91 m² in Divje babe I from January 2000 to February 2001. The average value is 22.7 litres in one hour or 0.25 litres per 1 m² in one hour if the underground inflow of water was evenly distributed over the entire area of 91 m². The highest value for the 91 m² area was 112 litres per hour and the lowest was 2 litres. Therefore, 2,190 litres of water could drip onto 1 m² of cave floor each year, which is just above the local average precipitation for the period 1961–1990, which is 2,098 litres (Nadbah 2012). Unlike precipitation, the underground outflow is constant. It increases rapidly after rainfall and then decreases in the form of an exponential curve. The latter decreases rapidly at first and then decreases very slowly after a certain point of runoff and probably never reaches the value of 0. The underground outflow depends on the separation of precipitation into the surface and subsurface outflow and on evapotranspiration (evaporation of water from the earth's surface).

For the interpretation of humidity in the cave environment of Divje babe I, I. Turk used the following microclimatic model:

– *At lower temperatures*, the air contains less and the ground more humidity due to reduced evapotranspiration. For a 30-year average annual temperature of 10°C and 1,800 mm of precipitation, both measured in the vicinity of the cave, the evapotranspiration amounts to 572 mm per year

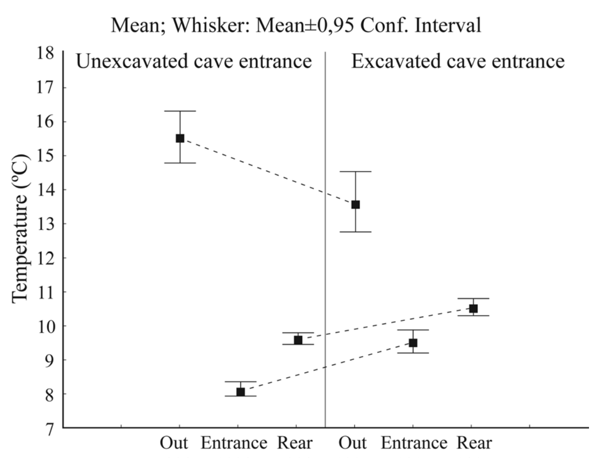

Fig. 4: The change of summer temperature in Potočka zijalka, connected with the changed size of the entrance as a result of the excavations that took place in 1928–1935. In 1929, S. Brodar collected 87 measurements for each part of the cave and outside the cave and 107 analogous measurements in 1935 (data: S. Brodar, Archives of the ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archaeology).

Sl. 4: Sprememba poletne temperature v Potočki zijalki, povezana s spremenjeno velikostjo vhoda kot posledico izkopavanj v letih 1928–1935. V letu 1929 je S. Brodar zbral 87 meritev za vsak predel in 107 meritev za vsak predel v letu 1935 (podatki: S. Brodar, Arhiv ZRC SAZU Inštitut za arheologijo).

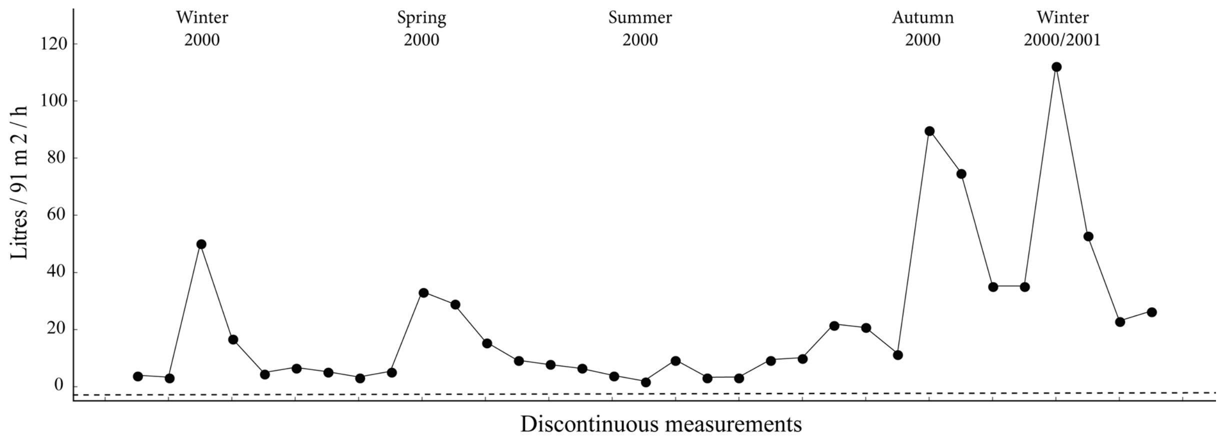

Fig. 5: The inflow of underground water into Divje babe I in the 2000–2001 period.
Sl. 5: Dotok podzemne vode v Divje babe I v obdobju 2000–2001.

(cf. Verheye *et al.* 1991, Table 1). If the average annual temperature falls by 5°C and precipitation remains the same, evapotranspiration falls by 35%, equivalent to 372 mm per year. In the long term, this means less condensed water vapour (i.e., condensation humidity) in the cave environment and more groundwater. The latter is more aggressive due to the lower temperature and may produce more cavernously corroded clasts in the ground, which may be joined by clasts detached from the cavernously corroded cave vault of the previous warmer period with more condensation humidity and corrosion (see I. Turk *et al.* 2005, Fig. 7). Precipitation primarily increases groundwater inflow because it does not have a major influence on evapotranspiration. With an average annual precipitation of 2,500 mm, which is probably close to the possible maximum for this area, and an average annual temperature of 5°C, annual evapotranspiration would be 425 mm, which is only 12% more than with a precipitation of 1,800 mm. Grass vegetation, typical of a colder climate, increases the vertical permeability of the ground, which has a positive effect on the underground water flow, which can increase by up to 50% as a result (Ćirić 1986, 123s). In contrast, the day-night temperature amplitude is smaller at lower temperatures than at higher temperatures. A smaller amplitude also means less condensation humidity. The temperature amplitudes are smaller in the caves with the smaller entrance. This was demonstrated during the excavation in the Potočka zijalka, which took place in the summer of 1929–1935 and was accompanied by daily temperature measurements inside and outside the cave (S. Brodar 1934) (*Fig. 4*). In 1929, before the entrance was enlarged, only 13% of the air temperature fluctuations behind the entrance ($n = 87$, $p = 0.001$) and 24% of the air temperature fluctuations at the end of the cave ($n = 87$, $p < 0.001$) were explained by fluctuations in the outside air temperature. After the entrance was enlarged by excavation, variations in outside air temperature in 1935 explained 64% of the variation in air temperature behind the entrance ($n = 107$, $p < 0.001$) and 72% of the variation in air temperature at the end of the cave ($n = 107$, $p < 0.001$). With a statistical significance of 95%, the average air temperature behind the enlarged entrance increased by 1.3–1.5°C in 1935 and by 0.8–1.0°C at the end of the cave, even though the average outside air temperature decreased by 1.8–2.0°C in the same year compared to 1929, when the entrance had not been enlarged. Looking at the difference in average outside air temperature, the largest average increase was 3.5°C behind the entrance and 3°C at the end of the cave. Analogous to the increase in summer temperatures would be the decrease in winter temperatures in the cave due to the enlarged entrance.

– *At higher temperatures*, the air contains more humidity and the ground less due to higher evapotranspiration. In the long run, this means more condensation in the cave environment and somewhat less underground water. Precipitation increases the inflow of underground water, but much less than at lower temperatures. With an average annual precipitation of 2,500 mm and a temperature of 10°C, annual evapotranspiration would be only 2% higher than at the same temperature and 1,800 mm precipitation. The runoff deficit (the difference between the amount of water that has fallen on a given area and the amount of water that has run off from that area; it is roughly equivalent to evapotranspiration) is also increased by forest vegetation, which can be expected to be more developed in a warmer climate than in a colder climate. Therefore, precipitation at higher temperatures increases condensation humidity more than at lower temperatures. The amount of condensation humidity also increases due to the greater temperature amplitude, which is a consequence of higher temperatures. The larger temperature amplitude may also be caused by the smaller cave entrance *(Fig. 4)*.

– Since condensation humidity accelerates the corrosion of the cave vault, we can theoretically expect more cavernously corroded clasts to appear in the sediments after warmer periods than after colder periods. The extent of corrosion depends primarily on the stability of the cave vault and partly on the amount of precipitation. The cave vault is destabilised by earthquakes and frost. Since frost depends on temperature and underground (percolating) water, it is minor at higher average annual temperatures. This has a positive effect on the development of corrosion on the cave walls and ceiling.

– Since underground water accelerates the formation of aggregates, breccias, and sinter, these formations are to be expected in both cold and warm periods. The freezing of ground with a silty-sandy matrix, as found in the Divje babe I sediments, further contributed to the formation and consolidation of structural aggregates (Williams, Smith 1989, 42, 46). The range and development of these formations depend on the amount of precipitation, which more or less directly affects the amount of (percolating) underground water. Lower temperatures and more water accelerate the action of frost, which destabilises the cave vault and increases the post-sedimentary fragmentation of clasts (gelifraction) and the formation of cavernously corroded clasts and aggregates in the cave ground. The instability of the cave vault only further reduces the already limited efficiency of corrosion. The likelihood of slope erosion also increases. If erosion destroys the vegetation above the cave, which could have happened in the past at Divje babe I due to the very steep, ridge-like terrain above the cave, there are no longer conditions for sinter to form. The eroded slopes also increase surface water outflow, possibly causing the percolating underground water inflow to decrease. On the present erosion-instable slope above Divje babe I, we cannot expect thicker deposits of clay, which water would substantially wash into the cave. Since there is practically no clay in the Pleistocene sediments of Divje babe I, we can assume that in the Pleistocene slope above the cave was as steep and unstable as the present one.

The proposed microclimatic model is comparable to climate models based on temperature change. The long-term change in average annual temperature does not mean that summer and winter temperatures would have changed equally. On the contrary, it is more likely that winter temperatures would change much more than summer temperatures. The consequence of the temperature changes would be the changed amount of precipitation, which would be distributed differently in winter than in summer. This would affect the thickness of the snow cover, which is one of the main regulators of ground temperature in cold climates (cf. Williams, Smith 1989, 81).

Since, according to the proposed model, humidity and temperature are interdependent climatic parameters in the cave environment, it was possible to verify the extent to which findings based on presumed sedimentological attributes for temperature and humidity, represented by congelifracts, cavernously corroded clasts, and aggregates, are consistent. These currently presumed climatic attributes were represented by completely independently obtained continuous sedimentological data related to syngenetic and various post-genetic processes. Since the results of the analyses of selected sedimentological data agree well, we can trust the explanation of climate based on the proposed model. Since the influence of temperature and humidity on carbonate rocks is universal, the method of I. Turk can be applied in all similar sedimental environments with similar results of post-sedimentary processes.

SYNTHESIS

The synthesis of the pioneering sedimentological research in Divje babe I was only possible on the basis of numerous dates of layers using the electron spin resonance (ESR).[7] By dating the layers and comparing analytical findings with the oxygen

[7] After 1999, when the informal project of sedimentological analyses was carried out, dating was kindly provided by Bonnie A. B. Blackwell (MA lab: Dept. Of Chemistry, Williams College, RFK Research Institute, Williamstown, MA, USA) (Blackwell *et al.* 2007; 2009).

isotope stage (OIS) temperature curve and similar curves for the period of the Late Pleistocene (see I. Turk, Verbič 1993), it was possible to identify the boundary between the warm Early Glacial (OIS 5) and the cold Full Glacial (OIS 4) in the curves of congelifracts, cavernously corroded clasts and structural aggregates.[8] This boundary, set by agreement at 74,000 years before present (I. Turk 2007b), divides the Divje babe I profile into two parts with statistically different characteristics of clastic and chemical sediments (Skaberne *et al.* 2014; 2015a; 2015b). The lower part of the profile represents the warm and dry Early Glacial, while the upper part represents the cold and humid Full Glacial (Pleniglacial). Within both parts, sediments reflect major or minor millennial climate changes defined by temperature and humidity (I. Turk *et al.* 2001; 2005; J. Turk, M. Turk 2010; Skaberne *et al.* 2014; 2015a; 2015b; Blackwell *et al.* 2009). I. Turk's findings on humidity in the Early and Full Glacial contradict the commonly accepted belief that there were humid-warm periods in the Early Glacial and dry-cold periods in the Full Glacial. This belief is based primarily on the loess sediments that are typical of the Glacial climate. However, the formation and growth of glaciers are conditioned by abundant snowfall combined with a more humid climate and lower summer temperatures.

The cornerstones of I. Turk's synthesis

1 – In both chronostratigraphically delineated parts of the profile, the proportion of cavernously corroded clasts (*Fig. 6a*) that he associated with condensation and ground humidity is significantly different ($p < 0.05$) (Skaberne *et al.* 2014, Fig. 17.2.2). Thus, the differences in amplitude and proportion of cavernously corroded clasts between the upper (OIS 3) and lower part of the profile (OIS 5) could reasonably have been explained by the stable and dry climate in the lower part of the profile and the unstable, humid climate in the upper part. The ceiling corrosion features could be explained by smaller or larger temperature differences between the air outside and inside the cave, while increased precipitation accounts for the ground corrosion feature (I. Turk *et al.* 2001; 2005). There were more ceiling corrosion features in the warm climate. However, due to the larger entrance, the temperature differences between the air outside and inside the cave were smaller. In contrast, there was more corrosion in the ground in the cool climate with the same amount of precipitation. By reducing the size of the entrance during the period of the cold climate, the temperature differences between the air outside and inside the cave increased, which consequently led to more corrosion on the ceiling. Since condensation and groundwater depend on temperature, it is significant that the distribution of the proportions of cavernously corroded clasts, in general, matched the distribution of the proportions of post-sedimentary fragments (Skaberne *et al.* 2014, Fig. 17.2.2).

2 – The proportion of congelifracts with sharp edges (*Fig. 6a*) and fresh (not-weathered) fracture surfaces differs significantly ($p < 0.05$) in both chronostratigraphically delineated parts of the profile (Skaberne *et al.* 2015a, Fig. 7). The proportion of congelifracts has been related to the number of days in a year when it freezes, or to the average winter temperature in a relatively short period before new sediments are deposited (I. Turk *et al.* 2001). Thus, the differences in amplitude and percentage of congelifracts between the upper and lower parts of the profile could be explained by a stable, globally warmer climate in the lower part of the profile (OIS 5) and the unstable, globally colder one in the upper part (OIS 3) or by higher and lower temperatures. The size of the entrance influenced the congelifraction in an inverse way compared to the corrosion of the cave vault. Namely, it was accelerated in the lower part of the profile by the larger entrance and slowed down in the upper part by the smaller entrance.

Since the inflow of underground water in Divje babe I was recorded even during prolonged winter periods of drought and low temperatures, there was at least just enough water, if not abundant, also during the days of frost under glacial climatic conditions. The measured minimum in the central part of the cave, at the end of a one-month period of extremely cold and dry conditions by Slovenian standards in the winter of 1999/2000, was 1.05 litres/m^2 in 24 hours. At the end of an even drier and colder two-month period with below-average temperatures and, above all, below-average precipitation in the winter of 2001/2002, the absolute minimum was measured at 0.68 litres/m^2 in 24 hours. In both cases, icicles formed on the floor but not on the ceiling, up to 19 metres from the

[8] OIS 4 is poorly represented by finds due to interrupted sedimentation. Completely without sediments (and consequently without finds) are OIS 2 and the younger part of OIS 3.

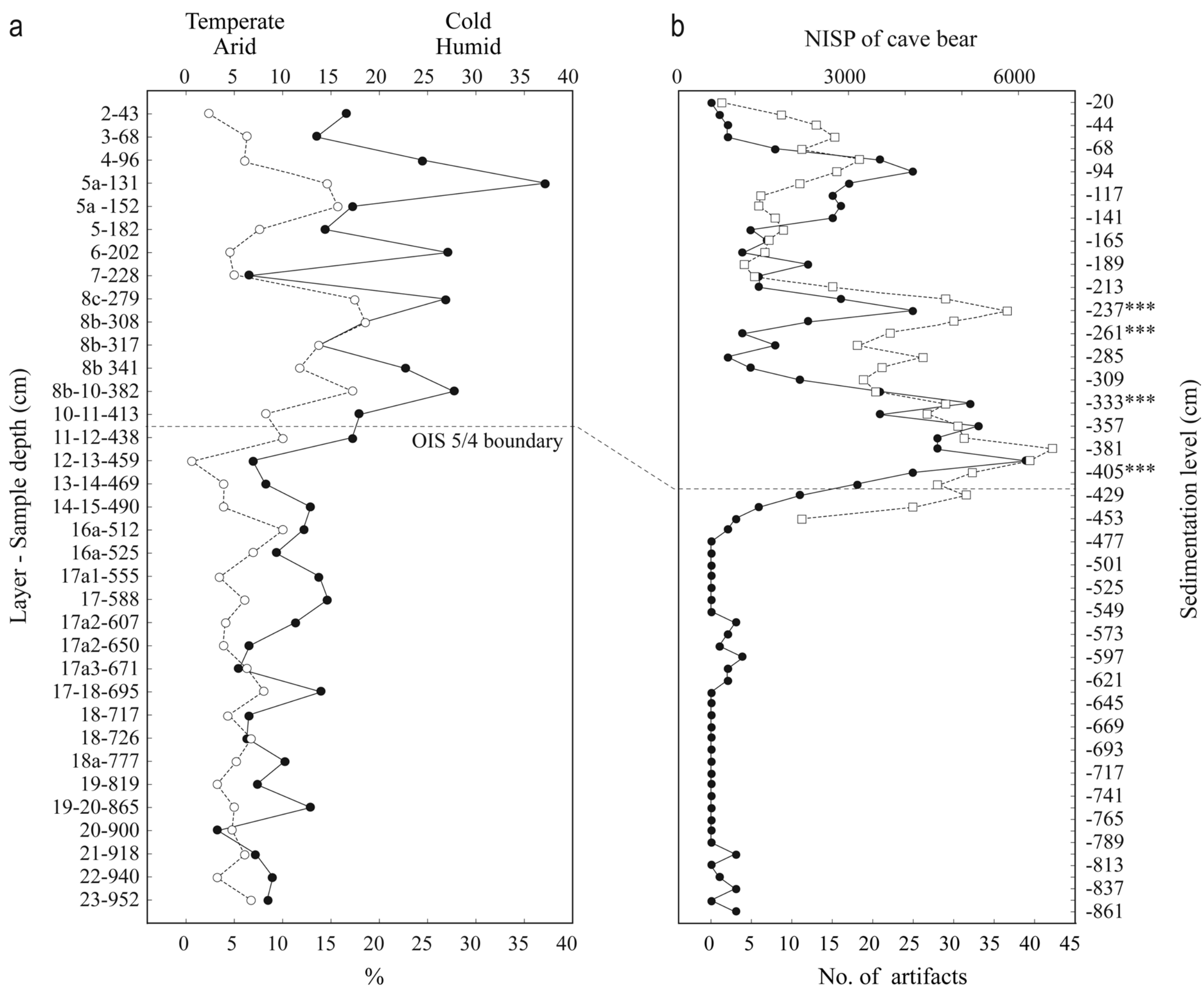

Fig. 6: The relation between palaeoclimate and the presence of humans and cave bears in Divje babe I: ***a*** – palaeoclimate reconstructed on the basis of the percentage (%) of congelifracts (●) and cavernously corroded clasts (○) (see I. Turk *et al.* 2005; Skaberne *et al.* 2015a); ***b*** – human and cave bear presence defined on the basis of the number of artefacts (●) and all determinable cave bear remains (□) (NISP) (I. Turk, Dirjec 2007, Tab. 12.4.1; I. Turk 2014b, Fig. 3.2, Tab. 3.1). Sedimentation levels with hearth remains are marked with three asterisks (***).
Sl. 6: Odnos med paleoklimo ter prisotnostjo ljudi in jamskega medveda v Divjih babah I: ***a*** – paleoklima, rekonstruirana na podlagi številčnih deležev (%) kongelifraktov (●) in reliefno korodiranih klastov (○) (glej I. Turk *et al.* 2005; Skaberne *et al.* 2015a); ***b*** – prisotnost ljudi in jamskega medveda, opredeljena na podlagi števila artefaktov (●) in vseh določljivih ostankov jamskega medveda (□) (NISP) (I. Turk, Dirjec 2007, tab. 12.4.1; I. Turk 2014b, sl. 3.2, tab. 3.1). Sedimentacijski nivoji z ostanki ognjišč so označeni s tremi zvezdicami (***).

entrance. If the ice surrounded the cracked, more or less corrosively rounded pieces of gravel on/in the ground only once per winter, they turned into congelifracts in ten to twenty winters. Then, at temperatures above 0°C, the process of re-rounding the fresh edges of the newly created clasts on/in the ground began. Rounding and congelifraction kept alternating until new sediments covered the ground and both processes slowed down considerably or even stopped. Only congelifracts with fresh fractures surrounded by sharp edges formed just before the coverage by new sediments were used for the approximation of the negative temperature.

3 – The proportion of structural aggregates in the sandy fraction, simplified expressed by volumetric mass, has been related to precipitation by ground moisture. In both chronostratigraphically delineated profile parts, the proportion is significantly different ($p > 0.05$) (Skaberne *et al.* 2015a, Fig. 7). The difference in the volumetric mass of the sandy fraction between the upper and lower parts of the profile was reasonably explained by the globally

drier and warmer climate in the lower (OIS 5) and the globally more humid and colder climate in the upper part of the profile (OIS 3) (I. Turk *et al.* 2005). Since the formation of structural aggregates and the corrosion agency in the ground inevitably requires water in the form of ground moisture, it is important that the distribution of structural aggregates matches the distribution of corroded clasts as well as corroded bones, in the sediments of the stratigraphic sequence. The rough correspondence of the distribution of structural aggregates with congelifracts could be the result of the formation and consolidation of aggregates due to the segregation of ice in the ground (Williams, Smith 1989, 42, 46). Aggregates compressed in this way are more resistant than unconsolidated aggregates from warmer climatic periods and could therefore be preserved in larger quantities.

Fossilised cave bear hair and hair imprints were discovered for the first time in larger structural aggregates (*Fig.* 7) (I. Turk *et al.* 1995). The discovery was later independently confirmed with similar finds of the Pleistocene age at Ozark Cave in the USA (Schubert, Kaufmann 2003). The Iron Age find from Čadrg near Tolmin (Kavkler 2016) with identical mineralised structures of wool fibres, such as fossilised hair (*Fig. 7*), showed that two-and-a-half millennia are sufficient for hair fossilisation. From this, we can conclude that the fossilised hairs and their associated aggregates in Divje babe I originated syngenetically (i.e., almost contemporaneously with sediment deposition) rather than epigenetically.

4 – The distribution of the fossil remains of the cave bear, which with regard to the mortality rate in the cave den could have depended on the duration and characteristics of a winter (humid, dry), is clearly different between the upper part and the lower part of the profile (*Fig. 6b*). The remains are much more numerous in the upper part of the profile, deposited in a cold and humid climate. Since the land was covered with mixed forests at that time (OIS 3), as indicated by the analyses of charcoal and pollen (Šercelj, Culiberg 1991; Culiberg 2007; 2011), living conditions were favourable for the cave bear population during the warm season. It might have been different in the cold season, when mainly female bears with cubs and older, weaned cubs stayed in the cave. When winter conditions were unfavourable (at the time of increased humidity), rivalry for cave dens could have occurred between male bears on one side and female bears with cubs on the other. The mortality rate was the highest among cubs up to one year old, which constitute 70% or more of the fossil population in the upper part of the profile, excavated in 1989–1999 (Debeljak 2002).

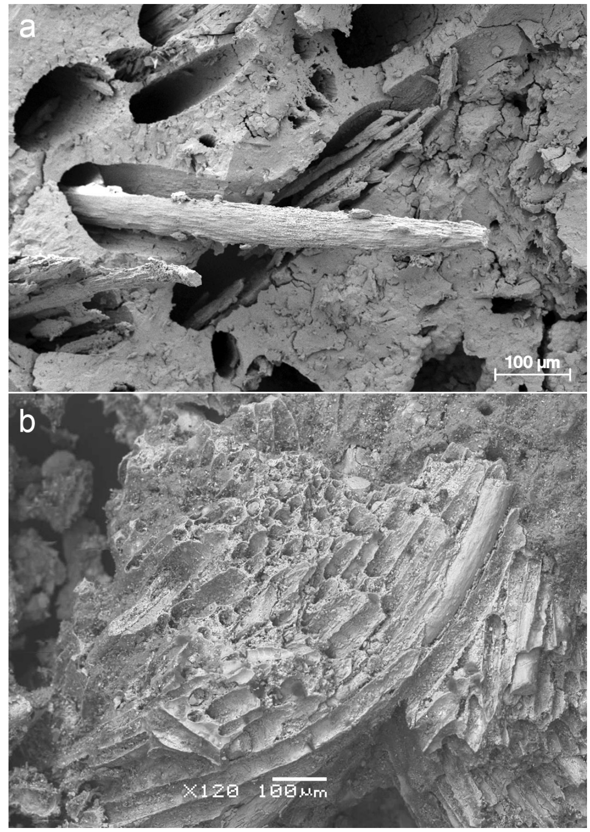

Fig. 7: ***a*** – examples of fossilised hair and hair impressions from Divje babe I (Turk *et al.* 1995, Fig. 5); ***b*** – examples of wool fibres of Iron Age textile from Čadrg (Kavkler 2016, Fig. 3).
Sl. 7: ***a*** – primerki fosiliziranih dlak in odtisov dlak iz Divjih bab I (Turk *et al.* 1995, sl. 5); ***b*** – primerki volnenih vlaken železnodobne tkanine iz Čadrga (Kavkler 2016, sl. 3).

5 – A similar pattern as with cave bears is seen in the distribution of Palaeolithic artefacts (*Fig. 6b*). These show the intensity of cave visits by the local Neanderthal population and their use of the cave as a shelter from bad weather. Thus, the cave visits correspond well with the approximate values for temperature and humidity (*Fig. 6*). The archaeological remains, such as artefacts and fireplaces/hearths, roughly reflect the density of the local Neanderthal population. In the harsh Glacial climate, they were forced to retreat from central Europe toward the Mediterranean. This led to a greater population density and also to increased visitation to caves in the area. It is well known that in the warm Interglacial climate finds in the open

predominate, while in the cold Glacial climate finds in caves are much more numerous. This pattern is now clearly expressed and confirmed also in Divje babe I.

6 – Analysis of the rich stratified microfauna revealed that the climate was more humid at the time of sedimentation in the upper part of the profile (OIS 3) than at the time when the layers of the lower part of the profile (OIS 5) were deposited (Toškan, Kryštufek 2007; Toškan, Dirjec 2011). As these are discontinuous data, it was not possible to compare the results in detail with the sedimentological results.

7 – The findings from the microfauna remains were supplemented by palaeobotanical analyses of stratified pollen and several thousand charcoal pieces. They confirmed that the climate at the time of deposition of certain layers in the upper part of the profile (OIS 3) was colder than at the time of deposition of the layers in the lower part (OIS 5) (Šercelj, Culiberg 1991; Culiberg 2007; 2011). Again, these are discontinuous data that cannot be compared in detail with sedimentological data.

The first natural science synthesis of the multidisciplinary analysis of an individual Palaeolithic site in Slovenia yielded consistent results. Numerous collected data from different fields of natural science create a uniform system. Divje babe I can therefore rightly be regarded as one of the key cave sites for the OIS 5 and OIS 3 stage, which are little known in terms of environment and Palaeolithic finds. In the second half of OIS 3, there was a complete replacement of the human population in Europe, with the arrival of new species and associated cultural changes, which was not the case at any earlier or later time.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the synthesis of the results of all the analyses carried out on the sediments of Divje babe I and their content, we come to these reliable conclusions:

1 – The analysed profile of Divje babe I, although incomplete due to hiatuses, is currently the most illustrative profile for the major part of the Late Pleistocene in Slovenia (I. Turk 2006; I. Turk 2007c, Fig. 4.1b). It is certainly more illustrative than the profiles of Črni Kal and Betalov spodmol, which have long been considered reference profiles for this period (M. Brodar 2009). Its potential is far from exhausted, for the sediments on the slope below the cave, whose entrance was once moved far forward, are probably 50 m deep and reach far back into the Pleistocene. It need not be particularly emphasised that caves with such thick sediments containing archaeological and palaeontological finds are an extreme rarity. Moreover, most of the cave interior has not been excavated, while the sediments of Črni Kal have been completely removed and only a small part has been preserved in Betalov spodmol.

2 – The sediments excavated in Divje babe I were formed under the influence of individual cave microenvironments in the microenvironment of a cave as a whole. Cave microenvironments, including sedimentary environments, are primarily shaped by unevenly distributed underground water in all aggregate states, which depend on temperature. The latter can be generalised to all horizontal caves. In Divje babe I, cave microenvironments are expressed in a mosaic image. This was established on the basis of a comprehensive spatial analysis of various data recorded during the excavations and afterwards using samples of sediment fractions. The mosaic environment is thus conditioned by space and time. When solving problems of the cave sedimentary environment, it is therefore essential that these two dimensions are taken into account. Traditional approaches that consider almost exclusively the dimension of time on a given vertical of a given profile in a cave would have been appropriate if the same conditions, expressed by temperature and humidity, were present in the entire ground plan, or if there were no microenvironments. Otherwise, misleading interpretations may result, especially if generalised to the entire site.

3 – A microenvironment forms and changes due to the influence of various factors (global climatic, microclimatic, etc.) that are constant or change over time. One of the most important factors is certainly the atmospheric climate, which is known to be constantly changing on a global scale.

4 – The most important factors affecting the microenvironment in Divje babe I are the parent rock, the global climate, the presence of cave bears, and the volume of the cave. None of these factors was constant in time and space. The main characteristics of the parent rock (cracking, porosity) could have changed from one rock layer to another. The global climate was certainly not the same all the time (i.e., for 90,000 years

Fig. 8: Distinct cryoturbation in the transverse profile x = 10 m.
Sl. 8: Izrazita krioturbacija v prečnem profilu x = 10 m.

of sedimentation). The visits of cave bears and Neanderthals who used Divje babe I as a den and shelter fluctuated. The cave entrance and geometry of the cave gradually changed, and the cave volume constantly decreased. This had a direct impact on the microclimate in the cave. Before the Last Glacial Maximum (OIS 2) the entrance was only 1 m high. Due to this, and the northern position of the entrance, a deeply frozen ground without an active layer, which normally thaws in summer, gradually formed in the cave during the period of the glacial maximum. During the formation of permafrost, strong cryoturbation of the sandy-silty sediments occurred (*Fig. 8*). Since the temperature in the cave thus remained negative throughout the year, the cave was no longer a suitable shelter for humans and animals, even if the low entrance was not closed by perennial snow and ice. Such a condition lasted several thousand years, possibly even several tens of thousands of years, and caused a long hiatus in sedimentation and the complete absence of any kind of finds from this period, due to the extremely hostile living environment.

5 – Diagenetic-pedogenetic processes that occur in a cave environment are processes of transformation of rock clasts, processes of transformation of organic remains, and migration processes. Among the latter, migrations of uranium are especially analytically significant (Skaberne *et al.* 2015b). In the cave ground, there was no biological circulation of minerals between the animate and inanimate nature, which is typical of ordinary pedogenetic processes. The transformation processes occurred differently in a cave than in the open. In the cave, the regolith was formed by the weathering of the parent rock on the ceiling and walls rather than by the weathering of the bedrock, which was protected from weathering by thick layers of detrital and other sediments because there was no major erosion. The processes of transformation of parent rock and minerals are mainly secondary in nature, as they took place almost exclusively in the regolith in/on the cave ground.

The processes of transformation of organic remains resulted at best in the formation of a parahumus horizon, but not humus horizons. The organic remains were mainly represented by mass remains of animal origin and remains introduced from the outside.

The migration processes transferred products of transformation by leaching or accumulation, and corresponding (para-)horizons (cambic, eluvial, illuvial) were formed in the cave sediments. The migration processes were more complicated in the cave than in the open air, because the transformation products from the ground and the rock strata above the cave could be leached and accumulated in the cave sediments. Fine particles could also be brought into the cave by the wind, as revealed by chemical analysis of the sediments (Skaberne *et al.* 2015b). Leaching was unevenly distributed across the space. Migrations within the profile were confirmed by analysis of uranium content, which migrated from the upper part of the profile to the lower part (*ibid.*), as well as within individual layers, due to breaks in sedimentation.[9] In Divje babe I, this affected the dating of the upper and lower part of the profile based on uranium series, meaning that certain dates from the lower part of the profile were younger than the dates from the upper part of the profile, giving the impression of a reversed stratigraphy (Ku 1997).

6 – Processes associated with the activities of particular factors also took place in the cave ground. These processes included cryoturbation and oxidation associated with the presence of stagnant water in the sediments. In caves with sandy-silty sediments, cryoturbation is particularly strong between the lateral walls. Walls prevent the lateral expansion of the frozen sediments, whose volume expands greatly (*Fig. 8*). Cryoturbation is often mistakenly associated with the mixing of sediments and finds from different layers. In reality, no mixing occurs, as confirmed by distinct boundaries between cryoturbated layers. Finds are not mixed earlier than during excavations because it is not possible to reliably follow the cryoturbatic folds according to layers.

[9] In preparation: I. Turk, J. Turk, M. Turk, Uran (U) in torij (Th) v sedimentih Divjih bab I, dinamika sedimentacije in ESR kronologija. / Uranium (U) and thorium (Th) in Divje babe I cave sediments, sedimentation dynamics and ESR chronology.

The excavations of 1989–1999 have by far not exhausted the potential of the site. They provided guidelines for possible further exploration of this promising site and reliably achievable goals were defined. With the application of the presented new methods and approaches to all sediments excavated in the future, it would be possible to verify and improve the existing findings. The proposed new standards would be strengthened and in time they would bring new insights into the Palaeolithic in Slovenia and into the Palaeolithic in general.

The main goal remains to obtain as detailed and reliable a chronological sequence of climatic events as possible, to determine sedimentation hiatuses, and to find out how these hiatuses and the climate influenced the formation of the site. New excavations could further improve the field method of sediment sampling and test the credibility of the results of the 1989–1999 excavation campaign and their definitions obtained on the basis of the new model to explain the cave clastic sediments.

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O pomenu jame Divje babe I za stratigrafijo, sedimentologijo in kronologijo jamskih paleolitskih najdišč v Sloveniji

Prevod

Paleontološko in arheološko jamsko najdišče Divje babe I leži v zahodni Sloveniji, v predalpskem hribovju, pod robom Šebreljske planote (*sl. 1*). Jama, izoblikovana v dolomitu, se odpira na strmem severnem osojnem pobočju nad dolino reke Idrijce, na nadmorski višini 450 m. Najdišče je znano predvsem po najdbi nenavadno preluknjane stegnenice mladega jamskega medveda, interpretirani kot neandertalsko glasbilo (M. Turk *et al*. 2018). Vendar je najdišče zanimivo še zaradi drugih pomembnih odkritij in inovativnih raziskovalnih pristopov (I. Turk 2007a; 2014a).

V Divjih babah I je v letih 1978–1986 sistematično izkopaval Mitja Brodar. Izkopavanje sta v letih 1989–1999 nadaljevala Ivan Turk in Janez Dirjec. Njuno izkopavanje je prineslo nekatere povsem nove pristope za razlago jamskih klastičnih in kemičnih sedimentov. Njihov idejni tvorec je bil I. Turk. Zaradi pomembnosti izsledkov teh pristopov za raziskovanje jamskih najdišč sva avtorja v pričujočem članku pripravila povzetek z dodatno razlago njegovih zamisli in izsledkov proučevanj, objavljenih v številnih člankih. Nekateri doslej neobjavljeni podatki in izsledki pa so povzeti po obsežnem elaboratu, ki ga hrani arhiv ZRC SAZU Inštituta za arheologijo.[1]

Pleistocenski jamski sedimenti so pomembni tako zaradi arheološke in/ali paleontološke vsebine kot tudi zaradi možnosti, ki jih ponujajo za različne druge interdisciplinarne raziskave. S proučevanjem sedimentov ugotavljamo njihov nastanek, izvor in diagenezo. Vse to lahko spremljamo bolj ali manj zvezno – odvisno od prekinitev v sedimentaciji – v določenem profilu. Takšno spremljanje običajno ni mogoče pri arheoloških in paleontoloških najdbah, in sicer zaradi prisotnosti sedimentov brez najdb. Ker so jamski sedimenti zaradi posebnega sedimentnega okolja spremenljivi glede na njihovo mikrolokacijo, je treba pri razlagah izsledkov sedimentoloških raziskav nujno upoštevati tudi njihovo prostorsko variabilnost, čemur pa se je doslej namenjalo bistveno premalo pozornosti (glej Farrand 2001).

[1] Turk, I. 2002, Elaborat Divje babe I. Izkopavanja 1989–1999, Arhiv ZRC SAZU Inštitut za arheologijo.

Proučevanje pleistocenskih sedimentov v paleolitskih jamskih najdiščih ima v Sloveniji dolgo tradicijo (S. Brodar 1939; 1958; 1966; M. Brodar 1959; Osole 1961; 1968; 1986). Omejeno je bilo predvsem na kraške jame, ki so se izoblikovale v apnencu. Zato je jama Divje babe I, ki je nastala v dolomitu, zaradi drugačnih sedimentov na začetku izkopavanj M. Brodarja pomenila izjemo brez ustrezne primerjalne prakse (M. Brodar 1999, 39). Divje babe I so tako začasno postale na videz nerešljivo ali vsaj težko rešljivo vprašanje s področja pleistocenske jamske sedimentologije v Sloveniji. Postavljalo se je celo vprašanje, kakšen smisel bi v tem posebnem primeru imela tedaj veljavna rutinska sedimentološka analiza. Ko je I. Turk leta 1997 dobil novo priložnost za sistematično radiometrično datiranje profila Divjih bab I z elektronsko spinsko resonanco (ESR),[2] se je odločil izvesti vzporedno pilotsko analizo sedimentov vseh s to metodo ponovno datiranih plasti. Po zaključku sistematičnih izkopavanj leta 1999 se je lotil temeljite analize vseh odkopanih sedimentov po lastni zamisli in se pri tem povezal z geologom Dragomirjem Skabernetom z Geološkega zavoda Slovenije.[3]

RAZISKOVALNE METODE IN NJIHOVA UPORABA V SLOVENSKIH PALEOLITSKIH JAMSKIH NAJDIŠČIH S POUDARKOM NA NOVI METODI, UPORABLJENI V DIVJIH BABAH I

Naj najprej predstaviva glavne značilnosti prvotne metode dela v sedimentologiji paleolitskih najdišč v Sloveniji do leta 1999. Rezultati proučevanja jamskih sedimentov v paleolitskih najdiščih Slovenije so bili običajno sestavni del kronologije najdišč

[2] Prvič je bilo najdišče datirano leta 1990 s tedaj novo metodo AMS ^{14}C, ki jo je s svojo ekipo razvil D. E. Nelson (1991; 1997), kar Divje babe I uvršča med prva s to metodo datirana paleolitska najdišča v Evropi.

[3] Projekt analize sedimentov ni bil odobren. V okviru omejenih finančnotehničnih možnosti je bila analiza sedimentov vseeno opravljena v letih 1999–2014.

in paleolitskih najdb. Pri raziskavah se je skoraj izključno uporabljala kvalitativna in deduktivna metoda, ki je predpostavljala določene zakonitosti v sedimentaciji (npr. menjavanje gruščnatih in ilovnatih plasti) na podlagi hipotez. Tako se je npr. predpostavljalo, da so jamski grušči značilni za hladnejšo klimo in jamske ilovice za toplejšo (S. Brodar 1958; M. Brodar 1959, 438; Osole 1961), kar je v osnovi zmotno mišljenje (White 2007). Temeljna domneva, da je bila v pleistocenu klima glavni dejavnik, ki je vplival na jamske sedimente, se od najdišča do najdišča ni preverjala. Tako se ni ugotavljalo odstopanje vrednosti analiziranih atributov (parametrov) – predvsem velikosti zrn (klastov) – v pleistocenskih sedimentih od vrednosti atributov v holocenskih sedimentih, ki so nastali v bolj ali manj poznani klimi. Tudi drugod ni poznan niti en primer takšnega preverjanja. Se je pa samo izjemoma preverila ponovljivost rezultatov tehničnega dela metode v okviru posameznega najdišča z vzorci iz različnih profilov (M. Brodar 1959; Farrand 1975 in drugi). Iz množice sedimentoloških atributov, ki so lahko – ali pa tudi ne – povezani s klimo, se ni nikoli izločil najvplivnejši atribut ali najvplivnejši atributi z dosledno uporabo metode abstrakcije. Zato se po opravljeni analizi določenega atributa – običajno je bila to porazdelitev velikosti drobnih zrn, analiziranih s kvantitativno metodo – tega ni poskušalo povezati z drugimi sedimentološkimi atributi z metodo sinteze. Dejansko to ni bilo mogoče, ker drugi atributi niso bili ustrezno količinsko ovrednoteni, temveč v najboljšem primeru zgolj opisno navedeni.

Po skoraj 70 letih obsežnih, tudi multidisciplinarnih raziskav (Stritar *et al.* 1967) v številnih paleolitskih jamskih najdiščih po Sloveniji so premik v novo smer prinesla prav izkopavanja v Divjih babah I in Turkova inovativna študija sedimentov (Skaberne *et al.* 2015a; 2015b). Domnevamo, da so njegove temeljne ugotovitve uporabne tudi na drugih najdiščih s podobnim sedimentnim okoljem in podobnimi pojavi, kot so zmrzlinski klasti (kongelifrakti), reliefno korodirani klasti in fosfatni agregati. Takšna najdišča so v Sloveniji Jama pod Herkovimi pečmi, Matjaževe kamre, Mokriška jama, Njivice in Potočka zijalka. I. Turk je za analizo sedimentov Divjih bab I uporabil empirično metodo, podprto s statistiko. Pri tem pa ni zanemaril kvalitativnih znakov atributov, ki jih je kombiniral s kvantitativnimi. Vsako prevzeto ali lastno hipotezo je preveril v okviru danih možnosti, tudi eksperimentalno, če je bilo mogoče. Z namenom preverjanja stare kronološke sheme za umeščanje srednjepaleolitskih najdišč v Sloveniji je z neformalno pomočjo tujih sodelavcev postavil temelje neodvisne radiometrične kronologije (Nelson 1997; Ku 1997; Lau *et al.* 1997; Blackwell *et al.* 2007; 2009). V okviru možnosti je uporabljal metodo abstrakcije, s katero je odstranil vse za klimatski model nebistvene sedimentološke atribute, med katere sodi tudi porazdelitev velikosti drobnih zrn. Med terenskimi raziskavami je I. Turk razvil nov model poteka sedimentacije v jamskem okolju. Ta je osnovan na spletu med seboj povezanih sedimentoloških atributov, izbranih z metodo abstrakcije, ki odslikavajo tako klimatske razmere kot hitrost sedimentacije. Slednja je bila v starem modelu premalo ali pa sploh ni bila upoštevana. Pomembni so samo tisti atributi, ki so nesporno povezani s klimo in ki na najdišču nastopajo zvezno v času (navpična razsežnost) in prostoru (bočna razsežnost). Zbiranju in statistiki zveznih podatkov, ki se nanašajo na lastnosti sedimentov in njihovo prostorsko variabilnost, se je v preteklosti posvečalo premalo pozornosti. V večini primerov se obojega, kljub možnosti, ki jo ponujata vsako večje izkopavanje in računalniška podpora za obdelavo podatkovnih množic, ni izkoristilo. Glavni razlog za to je bil v izkopavalni metodi čelnega izkopavanja po plasteh od profila do profila in pobiranja najdb brez sejanja sedimentov. Nov model sedimentacije je bilo mogoče razviti šele na podlagi izkopavanj po režnjih in kvadratih ter mokrega sejanja vseh, tudi arheološko sterilnih sedimentov.

Navpično razsežnost

so v Divjih babah I predstavljali v prvi vrsti režnji, izkopi enake debeline, s katerimi so se odstranjevali sedimenti. Debelina režnjev je bila po letu 1989 stalno 12 cm, kar je optimalna debelina glede na teksturo sedimentov, ki vsebujejo veliko klastov, večjih od 10 cm. Režnje lahko enačimo s sedimentacijskimi nivoji, stratigrafsko kategorijo, ki jo je v Divjih babah I uporabil in opredelil I. Turk. Sedimentacijski nivoji sledijo naklonu plasti, če meje med plastmi niso vodoravne v prečni in/ali vzdolžni smeri. Več zaporednih sedimentacijskih nivojev lahko po potrebi združimo v večjo celoto, kot je npr. plast, več plasti pa v njihovo zaporedje (glej Skaberne *et al.* 2015a).

Po definiciji je geološka plast homogena celota, ki je (teoretično) nastala pod enakimi fizikalno-kemičnimi pogoji pri enotnih procesih in njihovem enotnem zaporedju. Plast je ločena od podlage in krovnine glede na eno (ali več) osnovnih značilnosti sedimentov. Na značilnosti plasti vplivajo fizikalni, kemični, biološki (vključno z antropološkimi), geološki in diagenetski pogoji. Plastnatost nastaja v sedimentu praviloma ob spremembah v materialu, ki se odlaga. To v jamskem okolju, kjer prevladujejo klastični sedimenti, ni ravno pogosto. Nevidne sedimentacijske vrzeli med plastmi (hiati), ki vplivajo na popolnost kronološkega zapisa, nastanejo zaradi prekinitve v sedimentaciji, delovanja erozije ali sprememb pogojev pri sedimentaciji. Če nam uspe ugotoviti hiate na podlagi datacij in sedimentoloških raziskav, lahko razlikujemo več sedimentacijskih ciklusov, ki so med seboj ločeni s prekinitvami v odlaganju sedimentov (glej Blackwell *et al*. 2020; J. Turk 2011). Med odkopavanjem vedno novih plasti vsega tega seveda ni mogoče sproti ugotavljati na terenu. Zato so na terenu ugotovljene t. i. geološke plasti samo začasni delovni pripomoček za stratigrafsko in kronološko razvrščanje najdb, ki nima bistveno večje teže od arbitrarnih režnjev, dokler ne ugotovimo prave narave vsake posamične plasti ali zaporedja določenih plasti z rutinskimi analitskimi postopki. Plast lahko vsebuje arheološke in druge najdbe. Te so bodisi razpršene po celotni debelini plasti bodisi zgoščene v enem ali več horizontih (I. Turk 2003).

Tako plasti kot sedimentacijski nivoji pripadajo različno dolgim časovnim intervalom, saj hitrost sedimentacije ni enakomerna. Sedimentacija v jamskem okolju poteka ali pa ne, odvisno od različnih notranjih in zunanjih pogojev, lokalne in/ali globalne narave. Hitrost sedimentiranja je torej zelo pomembna spremenljivka. Od nje sta odvisni stopnja preoblikovanosti sedimentov ter zastopanost in časovna enotnost oziroma neenotnost arheoloških in drugih najdb (I. Turk 2003). Časovna enotnost ni nujno zagotovljena s pripadnostjo najdb določeni plasti. Zaradi zastoja v sedimentaciji lahko namreč pride do mešanja različno starih najdb.

Kronologija je poleg določitve plasti in sedimentacijskih vrzeli med plastmi ključnega pomena pri vsaki raziskavi. Zato je nadvse pomembna stratigrafija, ki jo predstavlja navpična razsežnost proučevanega pojava. I. Turk je v Divjih babah I opredelil navpično razsežnost (profil) kvantitativno-kvalitativno na dva načina (*sl. 2* in *3*):

1 – S pomočjo srednjih vrednosti množice podatkov določenega sedimentološkega atributa v primerno velikem volumnu stratificiranega jamskega zasutja s tlorisno površino, ki je obsegala 15 % (83 m^2) celotne današnje površine jame (550 m^2) (I. Turk 2003, sl. 6a). Podatki so bili razporejeni po sedimentacijskih nivojih, ki so jih predstavljali 12-centimetrski režnji. Ti so bili po končanih izkopavanjih razvrščeni tako, da so v grobem sledili padcu plasti v smeri vzdolžne osi jame. *Sl. 2* ter tudi že objavljeni sl. 6a in 7a (I. Turk 2003) kažejo, da se srednje vrednosti sedimentoloških atributov spreminjajo s spreminjanjem deleža vzorčene površine od celotne tlorisne površine in da so tem bolj zanesljive, čim večji je delež vzorčene površine.

2 – S pomočjo dveh profilov iz razpoložljive množice profilov določenega sedimentološkega atributa, ki sta se maksimalno razlikovala ter tako predstavljala obe skrajnosti stratigrafskega niza: a) profil, ki je najmanj odstopal od vseh razpoložljivih profilov, in b) profil, ki je od teh najbolj odstopal (*sl. 3*). Oba sta bila tem bolj zanesljiva, čim večja je bila množica profilov, izmed katerih sta bila izbrana, vizualno ali računsko. Profil, ki najmanj odstopa od vseh razpoložljivih profilov, predstavlja t. i. tipični profil (I. Turk 2003). Na *sl. 3* je razvidna znatna variabilnost proučevanega atributa v prostoru (kvadratih), kar je pričakovano za jamsko okolje. Zato zelo natančna in sofisticirana analiza na določeni mikrolokaciji ne pomeni, da so tako dobljeni rezultati reprezentativni tudi v primeru celote, ki ni bila podvržena takšni analizi. Gre za bližnjico, ki jo lahko uporabimo tudi pri reviziji določenega najdišča, in pri tem lahko dobimo bistveno drugačen rezultat od prvotnega. Pri tem pa še vedno ne vemo, kateri rezultat je bolj pravilen in kateri manj.

Bočno razsežnost

so predstavljali v Divjih babah I kvadrati velikosti 1×1 m. Jamsko sedimentacijsko okolje je mozaično okolje, sestavljeno iz mikrookolij. Ta se spreminjajo že s samo velikostjo vhoda in oddaljenostjo od njega, tako da prihaja do pojava gradienta ali postopnega zmanjševanja zunanjih vplivov sorazmerno z oddaljenostjo od vhoda in njegovo velikostjo. Sočasno lahko na spremembe vplivajo tudi drugi dejavniki, ki niso neposredno odvisni od velikosti in oddaljenosti vhoda. Ti zlasti vplivajo na fosilne ostanke in podzemno vodo, pri čemer ni mišljena podtalnica, temveč prenikajoča voda in z njo povezana večja ali manjša prisotnost vlage v sedimentih. Posledica delovanja različnih dejavnikov je variabilnost jamskih sedimentov. Velika variabilnost pa je temeljna značilnost jamskih sedimentov. Zaradi vsega naštetega je dokumentiranje in analiziranje značilnosti sedimentoloških atributov v bočni smeri lahko prav tako pomembno kot dokumentiranje in analiziranje njihovih navpičnih značilnosti.

Vseh novih metodoloških prijemov seveda ni bilo mogoče izpeljati brez prilagajanja arheološke terenske metode novim zahtevam, ki jih prinaša uporaba drugačnih poizkopavalnih analitskih metod in postopkov, kot so bili pri nas v rabi do konca prve faze izkopavanj v Divjih babah I leta 1986. Raziskava sedimentov Divjih bab I je v osnovi potekala tako, da je poleg naštetega sproti preverjala natančnost in zanesljivost podatkov, od katerih je odvisna verodostojnost oziroma točnost razlage.

– Natančnost zbranih podatkov je odvisna predvsem od metode, vloženega časa in natančnosti tistih, ki metodo izvajajo. Nujne so kontrole natančnosti, ki dajo oceno napake.

– Zanesljivost podatkov ni vedno odvisna od natančnosti, s katero so podatki zbrani. Pomembno je tudi število podatkov. Veliko število manj natančnih podatkov lahko da bolj zanesljiv rezultat kot skromno število zelo natančnih podatkov. Oceno zanesljivosti lahko naredimo samo na podlagi množice podatkov, ki se nanašajo na posamezne proučevane atribute.

– Verodostojnost oz. točnost razlage zbranih podatkov je odvisna od tega, kako zanesljivi so podatki. Vendar zanesljivost podatkov ni sama po sebi porok za verodostojnost interpretacije. Zato je vsaka razlaga samo hipotetična, dokler je ne potrdimo ali ovržemo na podlagi preverjanja z drugimi neodvisnimi podatki in metodami. Preverjena trditev ostane veljavna, dokler jo ne nadomestimo z drugo dobro utemeljeno trditvijo ali dokažemo, da je napačna. Verodostojnost razlage še ne pomeni, da je razlaga pravilna. Vsaka razlaga bi morala temeljiti na analizi natančnosti in zanesljivosti izhodiščnih podatkov (dejstev). Tega načela se je v Sloveniji poskusil držati le M. Brodar (1959) pri analizi zrnavosti sedimentov Mokriške jame.

Pri proučevanju problemov, povezanih s preteklimi dogodki in pojavi, običajno iz posledic (dejstev) sklepamo na vzroke in procese, ki so privedli do določenega aktualnega stanja. Težava je v tem, da imajo različni vzroki in procesi lahko podobne posledice. To pomeni, da je vsaka razlaga in vsako sklepanje povezano z določenim tveganjem, da ni pravilno. Tveganje lahko zmanjšamo, če dejstva ne obravnavamo posamično, temveč skupaj z drugimi razpoložljivimi dejstvi, tako da analiziramo njihove medsebojne odnose in ugotavljamo smiselne povezave, ki pripeljejo do sistemskih rešitev.

Če povzamemo, lahko rečemo, da je I. Turk stare metode, ki so temeljile na logičnem razmišljanju, intuiciji in izkušnjah, nadgradil z raziskovalnimi metodami, ki kvaliteto črpajo iz kvantitete. Pri tem se je omejil na avtohtone jamske sedimente in na najdišče Divje babe I, kjer je imel na voljo največ osebno zbranih podatkov in možnost maksimalnega preverjanja rezultatov analiz. Razumljivo je, da se njegovi novi izsledki niso vedno skladali z izsledki, pridobljenimi z drugačnimi metodami. Tudi tistimi, ki jih je prej sam uporabljal po zgledu svojih predhodnikov, in z izsledki analiz alohtonih primesi v jamskih sedimentnih okoljih. Slednje se pogosto obravnavajo prednostno, čeprav predstavljajo neznaten delež v jamskih sedimentih.

CILJ IN INOVATIVNE METODE SEDIMENTOLOŠKIH RAZISKAV V DIVJIH BABAH I

Proučevanje pleistocenskih sedimentov ima v paleolitskih najdiščih določen cilj. To je običajno ugotoviti izvor in predvsem starost sedimentov. Oboje je bilo pri sedimentih Divjih bab I bolj ali manj pojasnjeno. Zaradi sedimentnega okolja in posebne skeletne zgradbe sedimentov ni dvoma o skoraj izključno avtohtonem izvoru večine sedimentov. Številni radiometrični datumi so pojasnili tudi osnovna kronološka vprašanja, ki jih je postavil M. Brodar (1999). Ostalo je torej vprašanje dodatnih (alternativnih) ciljev sedimentološke analize (za rutinske postopke glej Farrand 2001; Woodward, Goldberg 2001). Ti so bili:

– ugotoviti dejavnike, odgovorne za odlaganje sedimentov (vključno z najbolj drobno frakcijo), preperevanje in nadaljnjo diagenezo sedimentov;

– po možnosti določiti kazalnike temeljnih klimatskih parametrov.

Tako bi skupaj s palinološkimi, antrakotomskimi, makro- in mikrofavnističnimi podatki prispevali k rekonstrukciji paleoklime, ki je poleg radiometričnih podatkov trenutno edina podlaga za kolikor toliko zanesljivo klimatokronološko umestitev najdišča v shemo sodobne globalne kronologije mlajšega pleistocena, saj t. i. popolna členitev Würma že dolgo ni več aktualna (glej I. Turk, Verbič 1993).

V zasledovanju zastavljenih ciljev je I. Turk analiziral vzorce sedimentov iz profilov in vzorce sedimentov, odvzetih po režnjih in kvadratih v prostoru, na katerem so potekala izkopavanja.[4] Natančna analiza sedimentov iz profila je sicer reprezentativna predvsem ali samo za določen odsek profila, vendar ima tudi širši pomen, ker vsaka posamezna analizirana vrednost določene značilnosti sedimentov v profilu nedvomno pripada množici z določenim razponom vrednosti. Na podlagi podatkov iz posamičnih profilov *sensu stricto* lahko tako primerjamo izsledke analize množic sedimentoloških podatkov, ki so bili zbrani po režnjih in pozneje združeni v sedimentacijske nivoje, s t. i. geološkimi plastmi, kot so bile določene vizualno v profilih. Podatki, zbrani po režnjih, so se nanašali na naslednje kategorije:

– maso dolomitnih blokov in frakcij od vključno drobnega grušča do melja;
– na volumsko maso peščene frakcije;
– na fosilne ter arheološke ostanke.

Čeprav sedimentološki podatki niso bili v nobenem pogledu tako natančni kot ustrezni podatki iz profilov, so bili zaradi svoje številnosti (od nekaj 100 do ok. 2500 arhiviranih in neobjavljenih podatkov[5] za posamezno kategorijo od plasti 2 do vključno plasti 16a ali povprečno 150 podatkov za vsako odkopano plast) statistično zanesljivi in so tako omogočili spoznati variabilnost zbranih podatkov po omenjenih kategorijah. Ker so bili stratigrafsko objektivno opredeljeni z natančnostjo 12 cm, jih je bilo mogoče dosti dobro vzporediti s stratigrafsko domnevno primerljivimi podatki iz profilov, narediti primerjalno analizo in preveriti korelacijo med sedimentacijskimi nivoji in geološkimi plastmi. Da bi bolje spoznal celoten potek sedimentacije in preobrazbe sedimentov, je I. Turk s sodelavci sistematično proučil:

a – porazdelitev velikosti zrn (klastov in agregatov) različnih frakcij;
b – povprečno velikost zrn v posameznih frakcijah klastov;
c – posedimentno fragmentiranje klastov (t. i. zmrzlinske klaste ali kongelifrakte);
d – korozijsko razjedenost klastov (t. i. reliefno korodirane klaste);
e – volumsko (specifično) maso drobnih sedimentnih frakcij;
f – kemično sestavo posameznih sedimentnih frakcij s poudarkom na drobni frakciji.[6]

Pri tem se je osredotočil na nekatere univerzalne značilnosti klastičnih sedimentov (preperelost, kongelifrakcija, korozija, cementacija), za katere je domneval, da so neposredno povezane s klimatskimi parametri (temperaturo, vlago). Na podlagi radiometričnih datumov mu jih je uspelo neposredno korelirati z globalnimi klimatskimi nihanji temperature (Blackwell *et al.* 2007; I. Turk 2007b), medtem ko se pri modernih paleoklimatskih in paleookoljskih raziskavah to počne na podlagi drugačnih parametrov (Ellwood *et al.* 2004; Spötl *et al.* 2006; Aubry *et al.* 2010), ki se jih lahko samo posredno primerja z datiranimi klimatskimi krivuljami. Visoko korelativni s temperaturo naj bi bili zmrzlinski klasti (kongelifrakti), z vlago oziroma padavinami pa korozijsko razjedeni klasti in različni strukturni agregati s cementnim vezivom. Korozijsko razjedene klaste je lahko zanesljivo povezal tudi z zastoji v pretežno mehanskem preperevanju jamskega svoda. Ti se odslikavajo tudi v diskontinuitetah datumov ESR v profilu Divjih bab I. Doslej ni bil nihče posebej pozoren na povezavo med hiati in korozijsko razjedenimi klasti, vključno z avtorji, ki so se posebej ukvarjali s stratigrafskimi hiati v jamskih najdiščih (Campy, Chaline 1993). Tudi strukturni agregati niso bili nikdar analizirani tako, kot je bilo to storjeno v Divjih babah I.

V analizi sedimentov Divjih bab I je I. Turk izhajal iz splošnega znanja o preperevanju in cementiranju sedimentnih kamnin (kamor prištevamo tudi dolomit) ter lastnih terenskih opažanj iz obdobja 19-letnih izkopavanj v Divjih babah I. Temeljne zamisli o povezavi preperevanja in cementiranja s klimo je dobil pri mokrem sejanju in pregledovanju vseh odkopanih sedimentov v letih 1990–1999. Vendar žal šele proti koncu izkopavanj, zato mu kongelifraktov in korozijsko razjedenih klastov ni uspelo preveriti v njihovi bočni razsežnosti tako, kot je to storil s strukturnimi agregati.

Preperevanje

je kombinacija neločljivo povezanih mehanskih in kemičnih procesov, ki privedejo do razkroja kamnine (I. Turk 2006, 21). Preperevanje matične dolomitne kamnine je bilo lahko primarno, *sinsedimentno, singenetsko* (na stropu, stenah in policah jame) in/ali sekundarno, *posedimentno, postgenetsko* (na/v jamskih tleh). Masa posedimentne preperine je enaka masi sinsedimentne preperine, če ni nobenega transporta preperine iz

[4] Vzorce sedimentov skupaj z drugimi najdbami hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije.

[5] Turk, I. 2002, Elaborat Divje babe I. Izkopavanja 1989–1999, Arhiv ZRC SAZU Inštitut za arheologijo.

[6] Slednje v sodelovanju z geologom D. Skabernetom.

jame ali izdatnejšega dotoka alohtone preperine. Pri obeh vrstah preperevanja gre za podobna procesa, ki potekata pod različnimi sedimentacijskimi pogoji (vlaga, temperatura, transport). Zato so lahko končni proizvodi različni. Vendar proizvode enega in drugega preperevanja lahko razlikujemo samo izjemoma.

Tako sinsedimentno kot posedimentno preperevanje potekata neprekinjeno, razen v primerih nabiranja zaščitnega sloja preperine (na policah in na tleh) ali kemičnih sedimentov, kot je siga (na stropu, stenah, policah in na tleh). Preperevanje je lahko enakomerno ali neenakomerno. Do kakšne mere je preperevanje neenakomerno, je odvisno predvsem od stopnje anizotropnosti (pretrtosti idr.) kamnine. Ob daljšem zastoju v primarnem preperevanju nastanejo na stropu in stenah korozijske razjede. Ko se tako preoblikovan jamski svod začne ponovno krušiti, se v sedimentih nabirajo reliefno korodirani klasti. V podobnih okoliščinah lahko ti nastanejo tudi v tleh.

Erozija, ki ima pomembno vlogo pri preperevanju usedlin na prostem, je bila v Divjih babah I bolj izjema kot pravilo. V poštev pride le pri najdrobnejših sedimentih, ki jih je podzemna voda spirala v pore in vakuole med klasti, lahko pa tudi iz jame ob površinskem curljanju. Dokazi za erozivno soliflukcijo so samo na pobočju pred jamo in pod njo, kjer evidentno manjka neznan del pleistocenskih sedimentov. Delno odstranjeni (antropogeno?) so bili tudi sedimenti plasti 2 pri sedanjem jamskem vhodu (I. Turk 2007c, sl. 4.1b).

Sinsedimentno preperevanje, ki poteka na majhni površini, ki jo predstavljata jamski svod in police, spremlja stalna erozija preperine zaradi delovanja težnosti. Ta je največja na stropu in najmanjša na policah. Količinsko gledano, so rezultat sinsedimentnega preperevanja predvsem debele frakcije, pogojene s primarnimi makrorazpokami v matični dolomitni kamnini. Delež drobnih frakcij, pogojenih s primarnimi mikrorazpokami in kristalinsko zgradbo dolomita, je kljub potencialno večjemu številu mikrorazpok relativno majhen zaradi relativno majhne površine, ki preperева.

Posedimentno preperevanje, ki poteka na veliki površini, ki jo predstavljajo površine vseh klastov, in vključuje tudi nastajanje sekundarnih razpok, je obratno sorazmerno s sinsedimentnim preperevanjem, ker hitro odlaganje vedno novih usedlin z jamskega svoda zavira preperevanje prej odloženih sedimentov. Nasprotno počasno odlaganje novih usedlin z jamskega svoda omogoča močnejše preperevanje prej odloženih sedimentov. Posedimentno preperevanje pa ni odvisno samo od klime in hitrosti sedimentacije gravitacijskega drobirja, ki zadržuje za preperevanje nujno potrebno vlago, temveč tudi od količine biomase. Rezultat posedimentnega preperevanja so predvsem drobne frakcije, ki so običajno predmet analize porazdelitve velikosti zrn in mikromorfologije. Poskusi I. Turka so pokazali, da je delovanje zmrzali (gelifrakcija) najučinkovitejše, če je sediment dobesedno zalit z vodo. To je seveda mogoče predvsem v/na tleh, če so za to izpolnjeni potrebni pogoji (prisotnost manj propustnega sloja v obliki zahojene površine). V takšnih pogojih se najprej odkrušijo klasti v velikosti melja in drobnega peska. Nato začne odpadati debelejši pesek in tako naprej do velikih odlomkov, ki lahko dosežejo polovico velikosti zamrznjenega klasta. Veliki odlomki, ki so nastali zaradi delovanja zmrzali, so t. i. zmrzlinski klasti ali kongelifrakti.

Na podlagi temeljne zakonitosti sin- in posedimentnega preperevanja je bila razložena porazdelitev velikosti zrn v profilu Divjih bab I, predvsem najdebelejše in najdrobnejše frakcije (Skaberne *et al.* 2014, sl. 17.2.1). Ti nista tako izrazito povezani s klimo, kot so predpostavljali M. Brodar in nekateri drugi avtorji. Obe frakciji sta obratno sorazmerni in večinoma različni po izvoru. Najdebelejša frakcija je, kot rečeno, nastala pretežno sinsedimentno v povezavi z nestabilnim jamskim svodom. Najdrobnejša frakcija je nastala predvsem posedimentno v povezavi z zastoji v sedimentaciji najdebelejše frakcije v obdobjih stabilnega jamskega svoda. Predstavlja gravitacijsko najbolj mobilno frakcijo, ki lahko sčasoma zapolni vse pore med klasti.

Hitrost sedimentacije vseh gravitacijskih jamskih sedimentov je odvisna od klime (temperature, vlage, sezonske razporeditve padavin), narave kamnine (stopnje pretrtosti in zgradbe), medzrnske poroznosti klastičnih sedimentov in potresne dejavnosti. Zgodnja kemična diageneza (nastanek kemičnih usedlin) je odvisna od fizikalnih in fizikalno-kemičnih lastnosti sedimenta in raztopin, ki se pretakajo skozenj. Te lastnosti pa so odvisne od sestave okolnih kamnin in sedimentov ter eksogenih pogojev (klima, rastlinske in živalske primesi, živo okolje). Pri razlagi rezultatov analize sedimentov je bilo zato nujno upoštevati vse te dejavnike. Nekateri so med seboj povezani. Tako npr. siga ni mogla nastati brez rastlinskega pokrova nad jamo. Velikost populacije rastlinojedega jamskega medveda, ki je prispevala k organski komponenti sedimentov, je bila odvisna od hrane oziroma vegetacije. Ta pa je bila spet povezana z višjimi temperaturami, večjo vlago in daljšimi poletji.

MODEL, UPORABLJEN ZA RAZLAGO IZBRANIH ZNAČILNOSTI KLASTIČNIH SEDIMENTOV V DIVJIH BABAH I

Model temelji na naslednjih splošnih dejstvih

Ker v podzemnih jamah ni direktnega sončnega obsevanja, je v njih posebna mikroklima, na katero lahko vpliva še mikroklima v neposredni okolici jame. Na jamsko mikroklimo vplivajo velikost vhoda, temperatura tal (vključno in predvsem jamskih sedimentov), prisotnost človeka (ogenj) in vegetacija nad jamo in pred njo (drevje, grmovje, goličava). Vsi ti dejavniki se lahko spreminjajo soodvisno, nekateri tudi neodvisno od klimatskih sprememb v povezavi z naravnimi katastrofami (gozdni požari, ledolomi ipd.). Medtem ko vpliva mikroklima na jamske sedimente kratkoročno in specifično za posamezno najdišče, vpliva atmosferska klima dolgoročno in globalno, kar omogoča primerjave na globalni ravni.

Vlaga v jamah nastopa kot kondenz in kot podzemna (talna) voda. Podzemne vode so vse vode pod površino zemlje, vključno z vodo v porozni sredini jamskih sedimentov. Tako kondenzna vlaga kot podzemna talna voda sta odvisni od zunanje temperature zraka in padavin. Vlaga v jamskem okolju je močno povezana z razlikami med jamskimi in zunanjimi temperaturami, ki so v negativni korelaciji z velikostjo vhodne odprtine (glej *sl. 4*).

Podzemni dotok vode, kot je prenikajoča voda v horizontalnih jamah, je odvisen od padavin. Na *sl. 5* so prikazani izsledki občasnih meritev podzemnega dotoka (prenikajoče vode) s stropne površine 91 m^2 v Divjih babah I od januarja 2000 do februarja 2001. Povprečje meritev je 22,7 litra v eni uri ali 0,25 litra na 1 m^2 v eni uri, če bi bil podzemni dotok vode enakomerno razporejen po površini 91 m^2. Največja vrednost za površino 91 m^2 je bila 112 litrov na uro, najmanjša pa 2 litra. V enem letu bi lahko tako na 1 m^2 jamskih tal pricurljalo 2190 litrov vode, kar je malo več od lokalnega povprečja padavin za obdobje 1961–1990, ki znaša 2098 litrov (Nadbah 2012). Podzemni odtok je v nasprotju s padavinami stalen. Po padavinah hitro naraste, potem pa pade v obliki eksponencialne krivulje. Ta se najprej hitro spušča, od določene točke pretoka pa zelo počasi in se verjetno nikoli ne spusti na vrednost 0. Podzemni odtok je odvisen od ločevanja padavin na površinski in podpovršinski odtok ter evapotranspiracije (izhlapevanja vode z zemeljskega površja).

Za razlago humidnosti v jamskem okolju Divjih bab I se je I. Turk oprl na naslednji mikroklimatski model:

– *Pri nižjih temperaturah* je v zraku manj, v tleh pa več vlage zaradi manjše evapotranspiracije. Ta pri 30-letni povprečni letni temperaturi 10 °C in 1800 mm padavin, oboje izmerjeno v okolici jame, znaša 572 mm na leto (primerjaj Verheye *et al.* 1991, tab. 1). Pri znižanju povprečne letne temperature za 5 °C in nespremenjenih padavinah bi se evapotranspiracija zmanjšala za 35 %, tako da bi znašala 372 mm na leto. V jamskem okolju to dolgoročno pomeni manj kondenzne vlage in več podzemne vode. Slednja je zaradi nižje temperature agresivnejša in lahko v tleh proizvede več reliefno korodiranih klastov, ki se jim lahko pridružijo klasti z reliefno korodiranega jamskega svoda iz predhodnega toplejšega obdobja, ko je bilo več kondenzne vlage in korozije (glej I. Turk *et al.* 2005, sl. 7). Padavine povečajo predvsem dotok podzemne vode, ker nimajo večjega vpliva na evapotranspiracijo. Pri povprečnih letnih padavinah 2500 mm, ki so verjetno blizu možnega maksimuma za to območje, in povprečni letni temperaturi 5 °C bi bila letna evapotranspiracija 425 mm, kar je le 12 % več kot pri 1800 mm padavin. Travniška vegetacija, značilna za hladnejšo klimo, povečuje navpično prepustnost tal, kar ugodno vpliva na pretok podzemne vode, ta se lahko tako poveča tudi do 50 % (Ćirić 1986, 123s). Po drugi strani je dnevno-nočna temperaturna amplituda pri nižjih temperaturah manjša kot pri višjih temperaturah. Manjša amplituda pomeni tudi manj kondenzne vlage. V jami so temperaturne amplitude manjše pri manjšem vhodu. To se je lepo pokazalo med izkopavanji v Potočki zijalki, ki so potekala poleti v letih 1929–1935 in so jih spremljale dnevne meritve temperature v jami in zunaj nje (S. Brodar 1934) (*sl. 4*). Pred povečanjem vhoda je bilo z nihanji zunanje temperature zraka leta 1929 pojasnjene samo 13 % variacije temperature zraka za vhodom ($n = 87$, $p = 0,001$) in 24 % variacije temperature zraka na koncu jame ($n = 87$, $p < 0,001$). Po povečanju vhoda z izkopavanji je bilo z nihanji zunanje temperature zraka leta 1935 pojasnjene že 64 % variacije temperature zraka za vhodom ($n = 107$, $p < 0,001$) in 72 % variacije temperature zraka na koncu jame (n = 107, p < 0,001). Pri 95-odstotnem zaupanju se je povprečna temperatura zraka za povečanim vhodom leta 1935 zvišala za 1,3–1,5 °C, na koncu jame pa za 0,8–1,0 °C, in to kljub padcu povprečne zunanje temperature zraka za 1,8–2,0 °C istega leta v primerjavi z letom 1929, ko vhod še ni bil povečan. Če upoštevamo še razliko v povprečni zunanji temperaturi zraka, je bilo največje povprečno povišanje 3,5 °C za vhodom in 3,0 °C na koncu jame. Analogno zvišanju poletnih temperatur bi bilo znižanje zimskih temperatur v jami zaradi večjega vhoda.

– *Pri višjih temperaturah* je v zraku več vlage, v tleh pa manj zaradi večje evapotranspiracije. V jamskem okolju to dolgoročno pomeni več kondenzne vlage in nekoliko manj podzemne vode. Padavine povečajo dotok pozemne vode, vendar bistveno manj kot pri nižjih temperaturah. Pri povprečnih letnih padavinah 2500 mm in temperaturi 10 °C bi bila letna evapotranspiracija namreč samo za 2 % večja kot pri enaki temperaturi in 1800 mm padavin. Odtočni deficit (razlika med količino vode, ki je padla na določeno območje, in količino vode, ki je s tega območja odtekla ob iztoku – v grobem je enak evapotranspiraciji) povečuje tudi gozdna vegetacija, ki je v toplejši klimi pričakovano bolj razvita kot v hladni klimi. Zato padavine pri višjih temperaturah tudi bolj povečujejo kondenzno vlago kot pri nižjih temperaturah. Količina kondenzne vlage se poveča tudi zaradi večje temperaturne amplitude, ki je posledica višjih temperatur. Večjo temperaturno amplitudo lahko povzroči tudi manjši jamski vhod (*sl. 4*).

– Ker kondenzna vlaga pospešuje korozijo jamskega svoda, lahko po toplejših obdobjih teoretično pričakujemo v sedimentih več reliefno korodiranih klastov kot po hladnejših obdobjih. Obseg korozije pa je odvisen predvsem od stabilnosti jamskega svoda in delno od količine padavin. Jamski svod destabilizirajo potresi in zmrzal. Ker je zmrzal odvisna od temperature in podzemne (prenikajoče) vode, je manjša pri višjih povprečnih letnih temperaturah. To ugodno vpliva na razvoj stenskih in stropnih korozijskih tvorb.

– Ker podzemna voda pospešuje nastanek agregatov, breč in sig, lahko te tvorbe pričakujemo tako v hladnih kot toplih obdobjih. Zmrzovanje tal z meljasto-peščeno osnovo, kot jo imamo v sedimentih Divjih bab I, je dodatno prispevalo k nastanku in konsolidaciji strukturnih agregatov (Williams, Smith 1989, 42, 46). Obseg in razvitost teh tvorb pa sta odvisna od količine padavin, ki bolj ali manj direktno vpliva na količino podzemne (prenikajoče) vode. Nižje temperature in več vode pospešujejo delovanje zmrzali, ki destabilizira jamski svod in povečuje posedimentno razpadanje klastov (gelifrakcija) ter nastanek reliefno korodiranih klastov in agregatov v jamskih tleh. Nestabilnost jamskega svoda samo še zmanjšuje možnosti za že tako omejeno učinkovitost korozije. Povečajo se tudi možnosti za pobočno erozijo. Če erozija uniči vegetacijo nad jamo, kar se je v primeru Divjih bab I v preteklosti lahko dogajalo zaradi izredno strmega, slemenasto oblikovanega terena nad jamo, ni več pogojev za nastajanje sige. Erodirana pobočja tudi povečajo površinski odtok, zaradi česar se (lahko) zmanjša dotok podzemne vode. Na današnjem erozijsko nestabilnem pobočju nad Divjimi babami I ne moremo pričakovati debelejših nanosov ilovice, ki bi jo voda izdatneje splakovala v jamo. Ker v pleistocenskih sedimentih Divjih bab I praktično ni ilovice, lahko sklepamo, da je bilo podobno strmo in nestabilno kot sedanje tudi pleistocensko pobočje nad jamo.

Predlagani mikroklimatski model je primerljiv s klimatskimi modeli, ki temeljijo na spremembi temperature. Dolgoročna sprememba povprečne letne temperature ne pomeni, da bi se enakomerno spremenila tudi poletna in zimska temperatura. Nasprotno temu je verjetneje, da bi se precej bolj kot poletne spremenile zimske temperature. Posledica temperaturnih sprememb bi bila spremenjena količina padavin, ki bi bile spet drugače razporejene pozimi in poleti. To bi vplivalo na debelino snežne odeje, ki je eden glavnih regulatorjev temperature tal v hladni klimi (prim. Williams, Smith 1989, 81).

Ker sta vlaga in temperatura na podlagi predlaganega modela v jamskem okolju soodvisna klimatska parametra, se je lahko preverilo, kako se medsebojno ujemajo izsledki, dobljeni na podlagi domnevnih sedimentoloških atributov za temperaturo in vlago, ki jih predstavljajo zmrzlinski klasti, korozijsko reliefno razjedeni klasti in agregati. Te za zdaj domnevne klimatske atribute so predstavljali povsem neodvisno pridobljeni zvezni sedimentološki podatki, ki so se nanašali na singenetske in različne postgenetske procese. Ker se rezultati analiz izbranih sedimentoloških podatkov dobro ujemajo, lahko zaupamo razlagi klime, ki temelji na predlaganem modelu. Ker gre za univerzalno delovanje temperature in vlage na karbonatne kamnine, se da metodo I. Turka uporabiti v vseh podobnih sedimentnih okoljih s podobnimi posledicami posedimentnih procesov.

SINTEZA

Sinteza pionirskih sedimentoloških raziskav v Divjih babah I je bila mogoča šele na podlagi številnih datacij plasti z metodo elektronske spinske resonance (ESR).[7] Na podlagi datacij plasti in primerjanja analitskih izsledkov s temperaturno krivuljo kisikovih izotopskih stopenj (OIS) in njej podobnih krivulj za obdobje mlajšega pleistocena (glej I. Turk, Verbič 1993) je bilo mogoče v krivuljah kongelifraktov, reliefno korodiranih klastov in strukturnih agregatov prepoznati mejo med toplim zgodnjim glacialom (OIS 5) in hladnim visokim glacialom (OIS 4).[8] Ta meja, ki je po dogovoru postavljena 74.000 let pred sedanjost (I. Turk 2007b), deli profil Divjih bab I v dva dela s statistično različnimi značilnostmi klastičnih in kemičnih sedimentov (Skaberne *et al.* 2014; 2015a; 2015b). Spodnji del profila predstavlja topel in suh zgodnji glacial, zgornji del pa hladen in vlažen visoki glacial (pleniglacial). Znotraj obeh delov se v sedimentih odslikavajo še večje ali manjše tisočletne spremembe klime, opredeljene s temperaturo in vlago (I. Turk *et al.* 2001; 2005; J. Turk, M. Turk 2010; Skaberne *et al.* 2014; 2015a; 2015b; Blackwell *et al.* 2009). Izsledki I. Turka o vlagi v obdobjih zgodnjega glaciala in visokega glaciala so nasprotni od splošno sprejetega mnenja o vlažnih toplih in suhih mrzlih obdobjih zgodnjega in visokega glaciala. To mnenje temelji predvsem na puhličnih sedimentih, ki so značilni za glacialno klimo. Vendar so za nastanek in rast ledenikov pogoj izdatne snežne padavine, povezane z bolj vlažno klimo in nižjimi poletnimi temperaturami.

Gradniki sinteze I. Turka

1 – Delež reliefno korodiranih klastov (*sl. 6a*), ki jih je povezal s kondenzno in talno vlago, je v obeh kronostratigrafsko razmejenih delih profila statistično značilno različen (p < 0,05) (Skaberne *et al.* 2014, sl. 17.2.2). Razlike v amplitudi in deležu reliefno korodiranih klastov med zgornjim (OIS 3) in spodnjim delom profila (OIS 5) so se zato lahko smiselno razložile s stabilno in globalno suho klimo v spodnjem delu profila in nestabilno globalno vlažno klimo v zgornjem delu. Oziroma z manjšimi in večjimi temperaturnimi razlikami med zrakom zunaj jame in v njej za stropne korozijske tvorbe in s povečanimi padavinami za talne (I. Turk *et al.* 2001; 2005). Stropnih korozijskih tvorb je bilo več v topli klimi. Vendar so bile zaradi večjega vhoda temperaturne razlike med zrakom zunaj jame in v njej manjše. Talnih pa je bilo več v hladni klimi pri enaki količini padavin. Zaradi krioklastične sedimentacije, ki je v obdobju hladne klime zmanjšala velikost vhoda, so se večale temperaturne razlike, kar je imelo za posledico tudi večjo stropno korozijo. Ker sta kondenz in talna voda odvisna od temperature, je pomembno, da se je porazdelitev deležev reliefno korodiranih klastov v splošnem ujemala s porazdelitvijo deležev posedimentnih fragmentov (Skaberne *et al.* 2014, sl. 17.2.2).

2 – Delež kongelifraktov z ostrimi robovi (*sl. 6a*) in svežimi (nepreperelimi) prelomnimi ploskvami se v obeh kronostratigrafsko razmejenih delih profila statistično značilno razlikuje (p < 0,05) (Skaberne *et al.* 2015a, sl. 7). Zastopanost deležev kongelifraktov je bila povezana s številom dni v letu, ko zmrzuje, oziroma s povprečno zimsko temperaturo v relativno kratkem časovnem obdobju pred zasutjem z novimi sedimenti (I. Turk *et al.* 2001). Razlike v amplitudi in deležu posedimentnih fragmentov med zgornjim in spodnjim delom profila so bile lahko smiselno razložene s stabilno, globalno toplejšo klimo v spodnjem delu profila (OIS 5) in nestabilno, globalno hladnejšo v zgornjem (OIS 3) oziroma z višjimi in nižjimi temperaturami. Velikost vhoda je vplivala na kongelifrakcijo obratno, kot na korozijo jamskega svoda. V spodnjem delu profila jo je zaradi večjega vhoda pospeševala, v zgornjem pa zavirala.

Ker je bil v Divjih babah I zabeležen dotok podzemne vode tudi v daljših zimskih obdobjih suše in nizkih temperatur, je bilo vode v dneh, ko zmrzuje, tudi v pogojih glacialne klime vsaj za silo dovolj, če ne v izobilju. Izmerjeni minimum v osrednjem delu jame na koncu enomesečnega za slovenske razmere skrajno mrzlega in suhega obdobja pozimi leta 1999/2000 je bil 1,05 l/m^2 v 24 urah. Na koncu še bolj suhega in mrzlega dvomesečnega obdobja s podpovprečnimi temperaturami in predvsem podpovprečnimi padavinami pozimi leta 2001/2002 pa je bil izmerjen absolutni minimum 0,68 litra/m^2 v 24 urah. V obeh primerih so nastale na tleh, ne pa tudi na stropu, ledene sveče

[7] Datacije je po letu 1999, ko je stekel neformalni projekt sedimentoloških analiz, ljubeznivo priskrbela Bonnie A. B. Blackwell (MA lab: Dept. Of Chemistry, Williams College, RFK Research Instiute, Williamstown, MA, USA) (Blackwell *et al.* 2007; 2009).

[8] OIS 4 je z najdbami slabo zastopan zaradi prekinjene sedimentacije. Popolnoma brez sedimentov (in posledično najdb) je OIS 2 in mlajši del OIS 3.

v oddaljenosti do 19 m od vhoda. Če je led samo enkrat na zimo vklenil že napokane bolj ali manj korozijsko zaobljene kose grušča v tleh, so se ti v desetih do dvajsetih zimah spremenili v kongelifrakte. Potem pa se je začel proces ponovnega zaobljevanja svežih robov na novo nastalih klastov na/v tleh pri temperaturah nad 0 °C. Zaobljevanje in kongelifrakcija sta se izmenjavala še naprej, vse do zasutja z novimi sedimenti, ko sta se oba procesa močno upočasnila ali celo ustavila. Za približek negativni temperaturi so služili izključno kongelifrakti s svežimi odlomi, obkroženi z ostrimi robovi, ki so nastali tik pred zasutjem z novimi sedimenti.

3 – Delež strukturnih agregatov v peščeni frakciji, poenostavljeno izražen z volumsko maso, je bil prek talne vlage povezan s padavinami. Delež je v obeh kronostratigrafsko razmejenih delih profila statistično značilno različen (p > 0,05) (Skaberne *et al.* 2015a, sl. 7). Razlika v volumski masi peščene frakcije med zgornjim in spodnjim delom profila je bila smiselno razložena z globalno bolj suho in toplo klimo v spodnjem (OIS 5) in globalno bolj vlažno in mrzlo klimo v zgornjem delu profila (OIS 3) (I. Turk *et al.* 2005). Ker je za nastanek strukturnih agregatov in za delovanje korozije v tleh nujno potrebna voda v obliki talne vlage, je pomembno, da se je porazdelitev strukturnih agregatov ujemala s porazdelitvijo korodiranih klastov, pa tudi korodiranih kosti, v sedimentih stratigrafskega niza. Grobo ujemanje porazdelitve strukturnih agregatov s kongelifrakti pa je lahko posledica nastajanja in konsolidacije agregatov zaradi segregacije ledu v tleh (Williams, Smith 1989, 42, 46). Tako stisnjeni agregati so odpornejši od nekonsolidiranih iz toplejših klimatskih obdobij in so se zato lahko ohranili v večjem številu.

V večjih strukturnih agregatih so bile prvič odkrite fosilizirane dlake in odtisi dlak jamskega medveda (*sl. 7*) (I. Turk *et al.* 1995). Odkritje je bilo pozneje neodvisno potrjeno s podobnimi najdbami pleistocenske starosti v jami Ozark v ZDA (Schubert, Kaufmann 2003). Železnodobna najdba iz Čadrga nad Tolminom (Kavkler 2016) z enakimi mineraliziranimi strukturami volnene tkanine, kot so fosilizirane dlake (*sl. 7*), je pokazala, da za fosilizacijo dlak zadostuje že poltretje tisočletje. Zato lahko sklepamo, da so fosilizirane dlake in z njimi povezani agregati nastali v Divjih babah I singenetsko, tj. skupaj z odlaganjem sedimentov, ne pa epigenetsko.

4 – Porazdelitev fosilnih ostankov jamskega medveda, ki je bila, ko gre za smrtnost v jami-brlogu, lahko odvisna od trajanja in značaja zime (vlažna, suha), je v zgornjem delu profila bistveno drugačna kot v spodnjem (*sl. 6b*). Ostankov je precej več v zgornjem delu z znaki hladne in vlažne klime. Ker je bila v tem obdobju (OIS 3) pokrajina porasčena z mešanim gozdom, kot kažejo analize oglja in peloda (Šercelj, Culiberg 1991; Culiberg 2007; 2011), so bile življenjske razmere za populacijo jamskega medveda v toplem delu leta ugodne. Drugače je lahko bilo v mrzlem delu leta, ki so ga zlasti medvedke z mladiči in že samostojni mladiči prebili v jami. V neugodnih zimskih razmerah, kot je povečana vlaga, je lahko prihajalo tudi do tekmovanja za jamske brloge med samci na eni strani ter samicami in mladiči na drugi strani. Smrtnost je bila največja med mladiči do enega leta starosti, ki predstavljajo 70 % in več fosilne populacije v zgornjem delu profila, raziskanega v letih 1989–1999 (Debeljak 2002).

5 – Podoben vzorec kot pri jamskem medvedu se je ponovil tudi pri porazdelitvi paleolitskih artefaktov (*sl. 6b*). Ti predstavljajo intenzivnost obiska lokalne populacije neandertalcev v jami in njene uporabe kot zavetišča pred vremenskimi neprilikami. Zato se obiskanost jame dobro ujema s približki temperature in vlage (*sl. 6*). Arheološke ostaline, kot so artefakti in ognjišča/kurišča, v grobem odslikavajo številčno stanje lokalne populacije neandertalcev. V zaostreni glacialni klimi so bili ti prisiljeni umakniti se iz srednje Evrope proti Sredozemlju. To je imelo za posledico večjo gostoto poseljenosti in tudi večji obisk jam nasploh na tem območju. Znano je, da v topli interglacialni klimi prevladujejo najdbe na prostem, v mrzli glacialni klimi pa najdbe v jamah. Ta vzorec je zdaj jasno izražen in potrjen tudi v Divjih babah I.

6 – Analiza bogate stratificirane mikrofavne je pokazala, da je bilo podnebje v času odlaganja plasti zgornjega dela profila (OIS 3) vlažnejše kot v času nastanka plasti spodnjega dela profila (OIS 5) (Toškan, Kryštufek 2007; Toškan, Dirjec 2011). Ker gre za nezvezne podatke, izsledkov ni bilo mogoče podrobno primerjati s sedimentološkimi rezultati.

7 – Izsledke na podlagi ostankov mikrofavne so dopolnile paleobotanične analize stratificiranega peloda in več tisoč primerkov oglja. Te so potrdile, da je bilo podnebje v času odlaganja določenih plasti zgornjega dela profila (OIS 3) hladnejše kot v času nastanka plasti spodnjega dela (OIS 5) (Šercelj, Culiberg 1991; Culiberg 2007, 2011). Tudi v tem primeru gre za nezvezne podatke, ki jih ne moremo podrobno primerjati s sedimentološkimi.

Prva naravoslovna sinteza multidisciplinarne analize posameznega paleolitskega najdišča v Sloveniji je dala skladne rezultate. Številni zbrani podatki iz različnih področij naravoslovja tvorijo enovit sistem. Divje babe I lahko zato upravičeno štejemo za eno redkih tipskih jamskih najdišč za slabo poznano stopnjo OIS 5 in OIS 3, ko gre za okolje in paleolitske najdbe. V drugi polovici OIS 3 je prišlo v Evropi do popolne zamenjave človeške populacije z novo vrsto in s tem povezanih sprememb, kar se ni zgodilo ne kdaj prej ne pozneje.

SKLEPI

Na podlagi sinteze izsledkov vseh analiz, izvedenih na sedimentih Divjih bab I in njihove vsebine, lahko naredimo nekaj zanesljivih sklepov:

1 – Analizirani profil Divjih bab I je zaradi sedimentacijskih hiatov sicer nepopoln, vendar trenutno še vedno najbolj izpoveden za večji del mlajšepleistocenskega obdobja v Sloveniji (I. Turk 2006; I. Turk 2007c, sl. 4.1b). Vsekakor je izpovednejši od profila Črnega Kala in Betalovega spodmola, ki sta dolgo veljala za referenčna profila tega obdobja (M. Brodar 2009). Njegov potencial še zdaleč ni izčrpan, saj so sedimenti na pobočju pod jamo, katere vhod je bil nekoč pomaknjen daleč naprej v smeri pobočja, domnevno debeli 50 m in segajo globoko v pleistocen. Da so jame s tako debelimi sedimenti ter pripadajočimi arheološkimi in paleontološkimi najdbami velika redkost, ni treba posebej poudarjati. Poleg tega je nedotaknjen večji del notranjosti jame, medtem ko so sedimenti Črnega Kala v celoti odstranjeni, v Betalovem spodmolu pa jih je ohranjen le manjši del.

2 – Sedimenti, odkopani v Divjih babah I, so nastali pod vplivom posamičnih jamskih mikrookolij v mikrookolju jame kot zaključene celote. Jamska mikrookolja, vključno s sedimentnimi, oblikuje predvsem neenakomerno razporejena podzemna voda v vseh agregatnih stanjih, ki so odvisna od temperature. Slednje lahko posplošimo na vse vodoravne jame. Jamska mikrookolja se v Divjih babah I izražajo v mozaični sliki. To smo ugotovili na podlagi izčrpne prostorske analize različnih podatkov, zabeleženih med izkopavanji ali po njih na podlagi vzorcev sedimentnih frakcij. Mozaično okolje je torej pogojeno s prostorom in časom. Pri reševanju problemov jamskega sedimentnega okolja je zato nujno treba upoštevati ti dve dimenziji. Običajni pristopi, pri katerih se je upoštevala skoraj izključno dimenzija časa na določeni vertikali določenega profila v jami, bi bili ustrezni, če bi v tlorisu povsod vladali enaki pogoji, podani s temperaturo in vlago, oziroma če ne bi bilo mikrookolij. V nasprotnem primeru lahko pride do zavajajočih razlag, zlasti če jih posplošimo na najdišče kot celoto.

3 – Mikrookolje se oblikuje in spreminja zaradi vpliva različnih dejavnikov (globalnih klimatskih, mikroklimatskih idr.), ki so stalni ali pa se v času spreminjajo. Eden glavnih dejavnikov je nedvomno atmosferska klima, za katero vemo, da se nenehno spreminja na globalni ravni.

4 – Glavni dejavniki, ki so vplivali na mikrookolje v Divjih babah I, so matična kamnina, globalna klima, prisotnost jamskega medveda in prostornina jame. Nobeden od teh dejavnikov ni bil stalen v času in prostoru. Glavne lastnosti kamnine (razpokanost, poroznost) so se lahko spreminjale od ene kamninske plasti do druge. Globalna klima zanesljivo ni bila ves čas, tj. 90.000 let, enaka. Obisk populacij jamskega medveda in neandertalcev, ki so uporabljale Divje babe I za svoj brlog in zavetišče, je doživljal vrhunce in padce. Jamski vhod in konfiguracija jame sta se postopno spreminjala, prostornina jame pa se je vztrajno zmanjševala. To je neposredno vplivalo na jamsko mikroklimo. Pred glacialnim vrhuncem (OIS 2) je bil vhod visok samo še 1 m. Zaradi tega in severne lege so v času glacialnega vrhunca v jami postopno nastala globoko zamrznjena tla brez aktivnega sloja, ki se sicer odtaja čez poletje. Med nastajanjem permafrosta je prišlo do močne krioturbacije peščeno-meljastih sedimentov (*sl. 8*). Ker je bila posledično temperatura v jami vse leto negativna, jama ni bila več primerno zatočišče za ljudi in živali, tudi če nizkega vhoda nista zaprla večni sneg in led. Takšno stanje je trajalo več tisoč let, lahko tudi več deset tisočletij in povzročilo dolgotrajen zastoj v sedimentaciji ter popolno odsotnost vseh vrst najdb iz tega obdobja, zaradi skrajno neprijaznega bivalnega okolja.

5 – Diagenetsko-pedogenetski procesi, ki pridejo v poštev v jamskem okolju, so procesi transformacije kamninskih klastov, procesi transformacije organskih ostankov in procesi migracije. Pri slednjih so analitsko pomembne predvsem migracije urana (Skaberne *et al.* 2015b). V jamskih tleh ni bilo biološkega kroženja mineralnih snovi med živo in neživo naravo, značilnega za običajne pedogenetske procese. Procesi transformacije so potekali v jami drugače kot na prostem. V jami je nastajala preperina (regolit) s preperevanjem stropne in stenske

matične kamnine namesto s preperevanjem talne matične kamnine, ki je bila pred preperevanjem zaščitena z debelimi sloji detritičnega in drugega sedimenta, ker ni bilo izdatnejše erozije. Procesi transformacije matične kamnine in mineralov so večinoma sekundarne narave, ker so potekali skoraj izključno v regolitu v/na jamskih tleh.

Procesi transformacije organskih ostankov so pripeljali kvečjemu do nastanka parahumusnega horizonta, ne pa do humusnih horizontov. Organske ostanke so predstavljali predvsem množični ostanki živalskega izvora in nanosi od zunaj.

S procesi migracije so se premeščali proizvodi transformacije, tako da so se izpirali ali zbirali, pri čemer so tudi v jamskih sedimentih nastajali ustrezni talni (para)horizonti (kambični, eluvialni, iluvialni). Procesi migracije so bili v jami kompleksnejši kot na prostem, ker so se v jamske sedimente lahko spirali in zbirali tudi proizvodi transformacije iz tal in kamninskih skladov nad jamo. Z delovanjem vetra so v jamo drobni delci lahko prišli tudi z oddaljenih lokacij, kar je pokazala kemična analiza sedimentov (Skaberne *et al.* 2015b). Samo spiranje pa je bilo neenakomerno razporejeno v prostoru. Migracije znotraj profila je potrdila analiza vsebnosti urana, ki je iz zgornjega dela profila migriral v spodnjega (*ibid.*), in tudi znotraj posameznih plasti, zaradi zastojev v sedimentaciji.[9] To je v Divjih babah I vplivalo na datacije zgornjega in spodnjega dela profila na podlagi uranovih serij. Nekatere datacije spodnjega dela profila je toliko pomladilo, da je nastal vtis obrnjene (inverzne) stratigrafije (Ku 1997).

6 – V jamskih tleh so potekali tudi procesi, povezani z delovanjem posebnih dejavnikov. Takšna procesa sta bila npr. krioturbacija in oksidacija, povezana z zastajanjem vode v sedimentih. Krioturbacija je v jamah s peščeno-meljastimi sedimenti posebno močna med stranskima stenama, ki preprečujeta bočno raztezanje zamrznjenih sedimentov, ki se jim močno poveča volumen (*sl. 8*). Krioturbacija se pogosto zmotno povezuje z mešanjem sedimentov in najdb iz različnih plasti. Dejansko ne prihaja do mešanja, kar je potrjeno z razločnimi mejami med nagubanimi plastmi. Najdbe se pomešajo šele pri izkopavanjih, ker ni mogoče zanesljivo slediti zapletenim gubam po plasteh.

[9] V pripravi: I. Turk, J. Turk, M. Turk, Uran (U) in torij (Th) v sedimentih Divjih bab I, dinamika sedimentacije in ESR-kronologija. / Uranium (U) and thorium (Th) in Divje babe I cave sediments, sedimentation dynamics and ESR chronology.

Z izkopavanji v letih1989–1999 potencial najdišča še zdaleč ni bil izčrpan. Podane so bile zgolj smernice za morebitne nadaljnje raziskave tega vsestransko obetavnega najdišča in opredeljeni zanesljivo dosegljivi cilji. Z uporabo predstavljenih novih metod in pristopov na vseh v prihodnje izkopanih sedimentih bi bilo mogoče preveriti in izpopolniti dosedanje izsledke. Utrdili bi predlagane nove standarde, ki bi sčasoma prinesli nova spoznanja o paleolitiku v Sloveniji in o paleolitskem obdobju nasploh.

Glavni cilji ostajajo ugotoviti čim bolj podrobno in zanesljivo kronološko zaporedje klimatskih dogodkov, ugotoviti zastoje/prekinitve (hiate) v sedimentaciji in to, kako so hiati in klima vplivali na celotno podobo najdišča in na naše predstave o njem. Z nadaljevanjem izkopavanj bi se dalo izboljšati terensko metodo vzorčenja sedimentov in preveriti zanesljivost rezultatov izkopavanj v letih 1989–1999 in njihovih razlag, pridobljenih na podlagi novega modela za razlago jamskih klastičnih sedimentov.

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Illustrations: Fig. 1 (photo: Carmen Narobe). – *Fig. 8* (photo: Ivan Turk).
Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 1 (foto: Carmen Narobe). – *Sl. 8* (foto: Ivan Turk).

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Naselbina iz poznega neolitika in zgodnje bakrene dobe v Stopercah (Haloze)

Late Neolithic and Early Copper Age settlement at Stoperce (Haloze, NE Slovenia)

Bine KRAMBERGER, Marija LUBŠINA TUŠEK, Tjaša TOLAR

Izvleček

V članku so predstavljeni rezultati interdisciplinarnih raziskav naselbine v Stopercah, ki je bila raziskana leta 2009 ob gradnji vzporednega plinovoda v Halozah. V pozni neolitik je opredeljena jama (SE 128) s keramičnim inventarjem savske skupine lengyelske kulture, večina mlajših ostalin pa pripada naselju lasinjske kulture iz zgodnje bakrene dobe. Naselje je obsegalo v raziskanem delu vsaj štiri hiše, grajene s stojkami, zemljanko z ognjiščem in šest manjših lesenih objektov. Analiza najdb in rezultati datiranja z metodo radioaktivnega ogljika ^{14}C po postopku AMS kažejo, da je poznoneolitska jama iz sredine 5. tisočletja pr. n. št., naselje lasinjske kulture pa iz konca 5. ali začetka 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. Arheobotanične analize kažejo, da so v zgodnji bakreni dobi za gradnjo uporabljali pretežno les venčasto poroznih listavcev, analize semen pa na gojenje vsaj dveh vrst pšenic (*Triticum monococcum* in *T. dicoccum*). Maloštevilni živalski ostanki pripadajo prašiču (*Sus* sp.).

Ključne besede: severovzhodna Slovenija; Stoperce; pozni neolitik; zgodnja bakrena doba; naselje; kronologija; datacije AMS ^{14}C; arheobotanika; arheozoologija

Abstract

The article presents the results of interdisciplinary study of the settlement in Stoperce, excavated during the construction of the parallel gas pipeline in Haloze in 2009. One pit (SE 128) contained ceramic assemblage of the Sava group of the Lengyel culture (Late Neolithic), while the later settlement belongs to the Lasinja culture (Early Copper Age). The settlement consisted of at least four houses built with post-holes, a pit-house with a fireplace and six smaller wooden structures. The analysis of finds and the results of ^{14}C AMS dating indicated that the Late Neolithic pit dates back to the middle of the 5th millennium BC, and the Lasinja settlement to the end of the 5th / beginning of the 4th millennium BC. Archaeobotanical analyses indicate that in the early Copper Age mainly the wood of ring porous deciduous tree taxa was used for building activities, and the cultivation of at least two types of wheat (*Triticum monococcum* and *T. dicoccum*) was implemented. Few animal remains belong to a pig (*Sus* sp.).

Keywords: NE Slovenia; Stoperce; Late Neolithic; Early Copper Age; settlement; chronology; AMS ^{14}C dates; archaeobotany; archaeozoology

Leta 2006 so bili pri ekstenzivnih površinskih pregledih na trasi načrtovanega vzporednega plinovoda med Kidričevim in Rogatcem[1] na njivi pri vasi Stoperce v občini Majšperk odkriti praz-

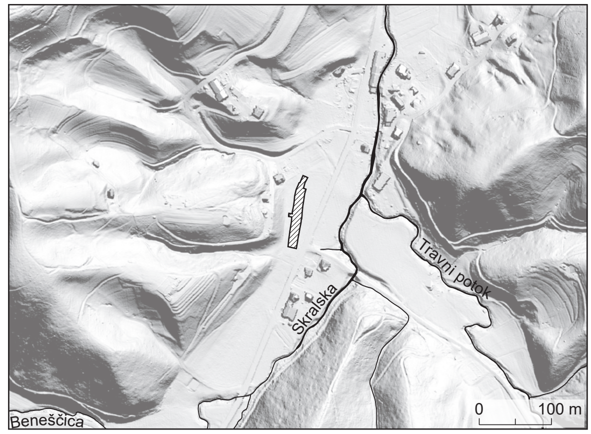
[1] Podjetje PjP, d. o. o., iz Slovenske Bistrice je opravljalo terenske preglede kot podizvajalec Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije (ZVKDS), OE Maribor (Lubšina Tušek, Predan 2006). Arheološke raziskave so potekale v skladu z Uredbo o lokacijskem načrtu za vzporedni plinovod M 1/1 na odseku Kidričevo–Rogatec (Uradni list RS, št. 34/01, 34/06 in 54/10) in po uveljavljeni metodi arheoloških raziskav, ki so potrebne pred tovrstnimi posegi v prostor.

godovinski keramični odlomki, leta 2009 je sledilo izkopavanje.[2]

Z najdiščem Stoperce sem se ukvarjal prvopodpisani avtor v doktorski disertaciji (Kramberger 2014b). Analize v okviru te so pokazale, da so ostanki poselitve v Stopercah iz dveh kronoloških horizontov iz 5. tisočletja pr. n. št.: zgodnejšega, ki ga predstavlja jama (SE 128), opredeljena v poznoneolitsko savsko skupino lengyelske kulture, in poznejšega, ki je bil opredeljen v lasinjsko kulturo zgodnje bakrene dobe.[3] Jama poznoneolitske savske skupine je novost v severovzhodni Sloveniji, saj sta bili doslej iz poznega neolitika na tem območju znani le dve jami iz Andrencev v Slovenskih goricah in ena iz Bukovnice na Goričkem, v katerih so bile odkrite najdbe pozne lengyelske kulture oz. stopnje Lengyel III.[4] Jama v Stopercah z razmeroma bogatim keramičnim gradivom torej kaže, da je segala poselitev, kot jo poznamo v porečju Save, vse do Haloz v severovzhodni Sloveniji.[5]

Doslej največji izbor najdb iz Stoperc je bil skupaj s tremi radiokarbonskimi datacijami in tlorisi jam, iz katerih so bili pridobljeni datirani vzorci, objavljen leta 2014 v članku, v katerem sem povzel glavne ugotovitve disertacije.[6] Leta 2019 je bil najdišču posvečen sestavek v publikaciji *Rastline – živali – ljudje skozi tisočletja*,[7] leto pozneje pa je bilo vključeno v diskusijski prispevek o relativni in absolutni kronologiji poselitve v celinskem delu Slovenije v 5. tisočletju pr. n. št.[8]

V članku so rezultati arheološkega izkopavanja na najdišču Stoperce predstavljeni celostno, ovrednoteni so naselbinski konteksti, keramične in kamnite najdbe, rezultati radiokarbonskega datiranja ter analize rastlinskih in živalskih ostankov.[9]



Sl. 1: Stoperce. Lokacija izkopnega polja.
Fig. 1: Stoperce. Location of the excavation area.
(Vir / Source: lidar©ARSO, Hidrografija©GURS)

LEGA NAJDIŠČA IN ARHEOLOŠKA SLIKA PROSTORA

Stoperce ležijo v dolini potoka Skralska (tudi Skrabska ali Skrabski potok; 290 m n. m.) v jugozahodnem delu Haloz. Gre za gričevnato pokrajino južno od Dravske ravni, ki je večinoma sestavljena iz peščenih laporjev in kremenovih peščenjakov. V dolinah so potoki odložili ilovnate nanose, ob pobočjih gričev pa plasti gline in melja, na katerih nastajajo globoke prsti. Ker je površje razrezano z ozkimi dolinami v podolžni in prečni smeri, je pokrajina težje prehodna. Lažje prehode omogočajo le doline daljših potokov, zato potekajo po njih cestne povezave.[10]

Potok Skralska izvira v razčlenjenem gričevju zahodno od Donačke gore in teče od juga proti severu (*sl. 1*). V zgornjem delu si utira pot po ozki dolini, imenovani Stara graba, nato pa po širši dolini, imenovani dolina potoka Skralska. V Stopercah se Skralski pridružita iz zahoda potok Beneščica in iz vzhoda Travni potok, nato nadaljuje svojo pot proti severu, kjer se dobrih 7 km od Stoperc (pod vasjo Skrblje pri Majšperku) izliva v reko Dravinjo.

[2] Prazgodovinska keramika je bila odkrita na parceli št. 858/1 (danes št. 858/8), k. o. Stoperce. Izkopavanje je med 7. in 14. 3. 2009 izvedla ekipa ZVKDS, OE Maribor, pod vodstvom M. Lubšina Tušek in na raziskani površini skupne velikosti 1224,23 m^2 odkrila sledove prazgodovinske poselitve.

[3] Kramberger 2014a, 238–241.

[4] Medtem ko je bila jama iz kv. 199 v Bukovnici že v prvi objavi opredeljena v pozno lengyelsko kulturo (Šavel 1992, 59–60; prim. z Bánffy 1995c, 180; *id.* 2002, 42; Velušček 2006, 33), pa sta bili jami v Andrencih prvotno opredeljeni v lasinjsko kulturo (Pahič 1973, 17–21; *id.* 1976a). Danes sicer prevladuje mnenje, da gre tudi pri Andrencih za najdišče pozne lengyelske kulture (Bánffy 2002, 46; Velušček 2006, 33; Kavur 2010, t. 1; Tomaž 2010, 164; prim. s Šavel 1992, 60–61; Šavel 1994, 48–50; Horváth, Simon 2004, 66, op. 89; Kerman 2013, 27, 29, 32).

[5] Prim. Guštin 2005b s Kramberger 2014a, 248–250.

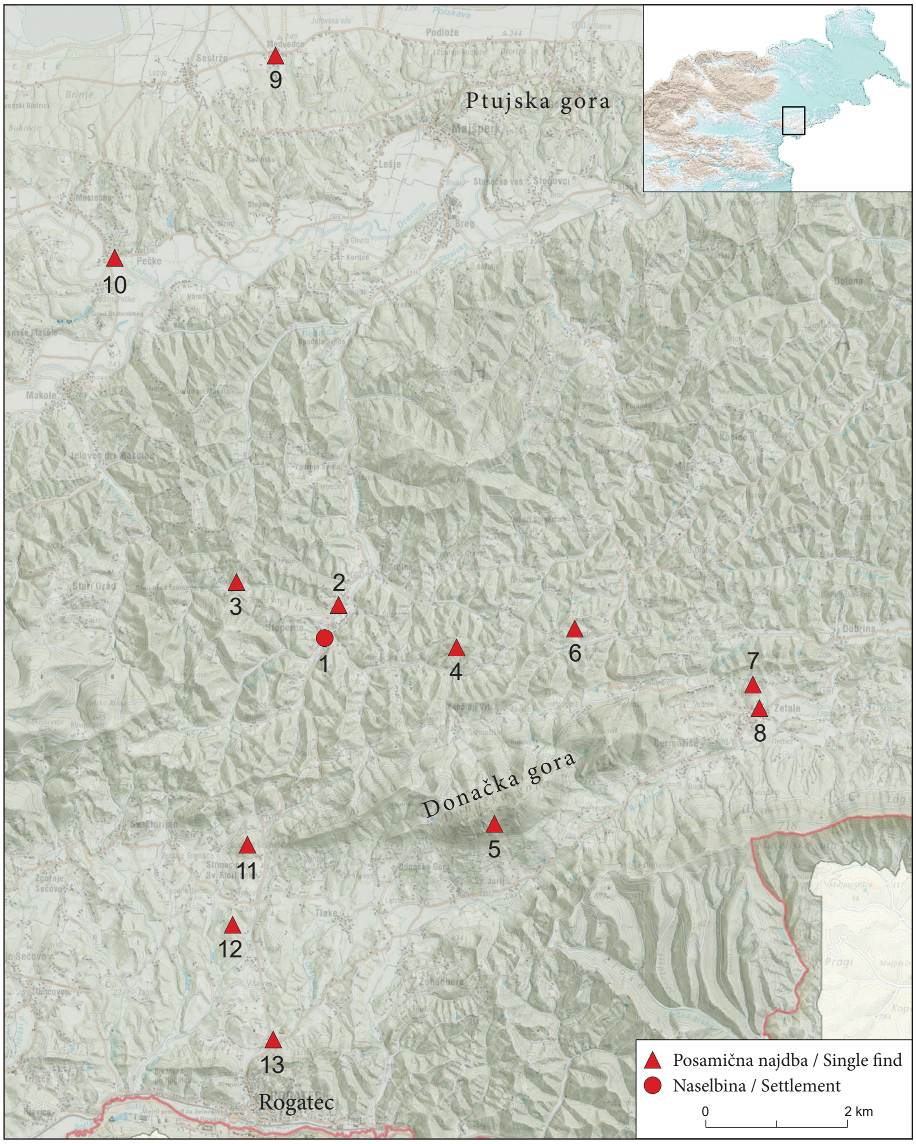
[6] Prim. Kramberger 2014a, t. 3–4 z *id.* 2014b, t. 9–18 in tu *t. 1–14*.

[7] Črešnar *et al.* 2019, 14.

[8] Kramberger 2020a, 59, sl. 2: 17–30.

[9] Živalske kosti in zobe je analiziral Borut Toškan, arheobotanične analize opravila Tjaša Tolar (oba z Inštituta za arheologijo ZRC SAZU). Borutu Toškanu se avtorji članka za opravljene analize zahvaljujemo.

[10] Vovk 1998, 616–618.



Sl. 2: Naselje iz poznega neolitika in zgodnje bakrene dobe v Stopercah ter najdbe kamnitih orodij in bakrene sekire oz. ingota v okolici. Označeni so tudi Rogatec in prazgodovinski višinski naselbini na Ptujski gori in na Donački gori.
Fig. 2: Settlement from the Late Neolithic and Early Copper Age in Stoperce and finds of stone tools and the copper axe or ingot in the surrounding area. Rogatec and prehistoric hilltop settlements on Ptujska gora and Donačka gora are also marked.
(Vir / Source: DTK50©GURS; podatki / data: Register nepremične kulturne dediščine, MK RS. [http://rkd.situla.org/] (2022-8-27), Arheološki kataster Slovenije, ZRC SAZU, IZA [http://arkas.zrc-sazu.si/] (2022-8-27), GIS podatkovna baza ZVKDS CPA in / and Lubšina Tušek 1993)

1 – Stoperce; **2** – Osnovna šola v Stopercah; **3** – Sv. Ana v Halozah; **4** – Cerkev Sv. Mohorja in Fortunata; **5** – Donačka gora; **6** – Nadole; **7** – Žetale; **8** – Žetale; **9** – Medvedce; **10** – Pečke; **11** – Kamenjak; **12** – Ravnica; **13** – Rogatec

Po dolinah Skralske, Stare grabe in Travnega potoka sta danes speljani regionalni cesti. Ena (Ptuj–Majšperk–Rogatec) poteka iz Dravske ravni prek Ptujske gore do Majšperka in nato po dolini Skralske in Stare grabe čez prelaz pri Strmcu do Posotelja in od tam do Posavja. Druga povezava poteka prečno na njo, iz Stoperc vodi po dolini Travnega potoka mimo Donačke gore do Čermožiš in Žetal in od tam proti Hrvaškemu Zagorju. Prazgodovinske naselbinske ostaline so bile odkrite dobrih 80 m zahodno od izliva Travnega potoka v potok Skralska, v neposredni bližini križišča omenjenih regionalnih cest in stičišča prehodnih dolin (*sl. 1*; *2:* 1).

Sl. 3: Stoperce. Pogled z jugozahoda na območje prazgodovinske naselbine med izkopavanjem. Puščica označuje zemljanko 1 (jama SE 150) ob odkritju (pred razširitvijo izkopnega polja). Desno oz. vzhodno od izkopnega polja je regionalna cesta Ptuj–Majšperk–Rogatec, v ozadju današnje naselje Stoperce.
Fig. 3: Stoperce. View from the southwest of the area of the prehistoric settlement during excavation. The arrow indicates Pit-house 1 (pit SU 150) at the time of its discovery (prior to the expansion of the excavation area). Right, respectively to the east of the excavation area, the Ptuj–Majšperk–Rogatec regional road is visible. In the background is the present settlement of Stoperce.

V bližini prehodne doline Skralske sta znana prazgodovinska naselbinska kompleksa. Najdišči ležita na strateško pomembnih točkah na robu Haloz. Prvi naselbinski kompleks predstavlja še ne dobro raziskano naselje na Ptujski gori z domnevno pripadajočimi gomilami v Spodnjem Savinjskem in Podložah ter planim žarnim grobiščem v Doklecah.[11] Ta naselbina je v starejši železni dobi in morda že v pozni bronasti dobi[12] dominirala nad južnim Dravskim poljem in glede na njeno lego morda nadzorovala povezavo ob reki Dravinji in prehod čez Ptujsko goro do doline Skralske (*sl. 2*: Ptujska gora).

Drugi pomemben prazgodovinski kompleks najdišč je na območju že omenjene Donačke gore (staro ime Rogaška gora ali Rogač). Gre za visok hrib s tremi markantnimi vrhovi (884 m n. m.), leži severno od Rogatca, s katerega sega pogled po celotnih Halozah, na Dravsko ravan, v Hrvaško Zagorje in Posotelje (*sl. 2*: Donačka gora). Na severovzhodni strani Donačke gore je bil leta 1898 v Završju pri Čermožišah odkrit bogat bronast depo iz stopnje Ha A, sestavljen iz orožja in orodja, kot so srpi, sulične osti, sekire, dleta, meči, bodala in noži ter fragmenti posod.[13] Na umetno narejenih terasah na strmem južnem pobočju Donačke gore so bili ugotovljeni sledovi poznoantične in starejše prazgodovinske naselbine (iz pozne bronaste in/ali starejše železne dobe). Tukaj so bile odkrite tudi trasa stare ceste, ki jo domačini imenujejo "rimska cesta", rimskodobne grobne najdbe in posamične najdbe iz različnih obdobij, med katerimi sta najzgodnejši kamnita sekira in ploščata bakrena sekira oz. ingot.[14]

Kamnita sekira in ploščata bakrena sekira ali ingot z Donačke gore sta iz bakrene dobe in spadata med najstarejše najdbe v Halozah (*sl. 2:* 5). Podobne kamnite sekire, prav tako brez podrobnih okoliščin odkritja, so znane tudi z drugih lokacij v Halozah. Več jih je bilo odkritih predvsem v 19. in 20. st. v vzhodnih Halozah, manj v nekoliko višjih in hribovitejših zahodnih Halozah.[15]

[11] Teržan 1990, 81, 348–351; Lubšina Tušek 1996.

[12] Če je naselbini pripadalo plano žgano grobišče v Doklecah (Teržan 1990, 350, t. 70: 10–14).

[13] Smodič 1955; Teržan 1995, 138–147; Turk 1996, 108–113.

[14] ANSL 1975, 288; Ciglenečki 1974, 126; Ciglenečki 1985, 275–276; MMC 2016. Kamnito sekiro (inv. št. A 60; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 106, t. 15: 19) in bakren ingot ali sekiro (inv. št. A 1351; Teržan 1995, 235, t. 2: 12; Šinkovec 1996, 131; prim. s Kramberger 2018, 74) z Donačke gore hrani Pokrajinski muzej Maribor.

[15] Lubšina Tušek 1993, 38, pril. 1.

Dve taki kamniti sekiri hrani v svoji zbirki tudi osnovna šola v Stopercah (*sl. 2:* 2).[16] Okoli 1500 m severozahodno od šole je bila leta 1972 odkrita kamnita sekira pri okopavanju njive severno ob cerkvi sv. Ane nad Starim gradom Štatenberg (*sl. 2:* 3).[17] Približno dva kilometra vzhodno od najdišča v Stopercah je bila odkrita kamnita sekira v nekdanjem Leskoschkovem vinogradu, pri cerkvi sv. Mohorja in Fortunata na Kupčinjem Vrhu (*sl. 2:* 4).[18] Vzhodno od tod, v Nadolah, naj bi bila prav tako najdena kamnita sekira (*sl. 2:* 6),[19] dve pa izvirata iz Žetal, dobrih 7 km vzhodno od Stoperc, kjer F. Kovačič domneva neolitsko naselbino (*sl. 2:* 7–8).[20] Lokacije sekir med Kupčinjim Vrhom in Žetalami so zanimive, saj so v bližini omenjene poti, ki vodi od Stoperc mimo Donačke gore do Žetal (*sl. 2:* 4–8).

Severno od Stoperc je bilo doslej v Halozah najdenih manj kamnitih sekir. Še najbližja je lokacija sekire v Pečkah (*sl. 2:* 10) v Dravinjski dolini, naslednja lokacija pa so že Medvedce (*sl. 2:* 9) ob južnem robu Dravske ravni, kjer je bila leta 1930 najdena (danes izgubljena) kamnita sekira pri premogovniku.[21]

Južno od Stoperc je treba omeniti najdbo žrmelj na sedlu pri prelazu pri Strmcu pod Kamenjakom, enim zadnjih haloških gričev ob cesti Ptuj–Majšperk–Rogatec. Žrmlje so našli ob hiši na ploskem hribu, na katerem je vidna (domnevno umetno narejena) terasa (*sl. 2:* 11).[22] Približno 1 km južno od tod so pri obdelovanju njive odkrili kamnito sekiro še na Ravnici v Tlakah ob cesti Ptuj–Majšperk–Rogatec (*sl. 2:* 12).[23] Dve kamniti sekiri pa sta znani iz Rogatca (*sl. 2:* 13).[24]

ARHEOLOŠKA IZKOPAVANJA V STOPERCAH

Na trasi plinovoda v Stopercah je bilo leta 2009 raziskano območje dolžine 100,4 m in povprečne širine 14 m, skupne površine 1224,23 m^2. Izkopavalo se je stratigrafsko, s kombiniranjem strojnega in ročnega odstranjevanja plasti (SE 001 in 002; deloma 003) in ročnim izkopom jam (*sl. 3*).[25]

Jame in jame za stojke so bile odkrite 39 m južno od severozahodnega roba izkopnega polja in 21,2 m severno od južnega roba izkopnega polja, le ena jama (brez najdb) je bila odkrita južneje (SE 282)[26] od tega območja. Ker niti ob arheološkem nadzoru na trasi plinovoda zunaj izkopnega polja jame niso bile odkrite, lahko domnevamo, da sta bila v Stopercah raziskana severni in južni rob prazgodovinske naselbine, najdišče pa se širi zunaj izkopnega polja v smeri proti vznožju strmega griča (kjer ni več veliko primernega prostora za poselitev) in v neznani razdalji proti potoku Skralska na vzhodu (*sl. 4*).

Skupno je bilo odkritih 330 jam, 6 jarkov in 13 plasti: ena velika jama in devet jam za stojke je iz poznega neolitika, 320 jam, dva jarka (SE 45, SE 249) in sedem plasti je iz bakrene dobe, štirje jarki in jama so novodobni.

Prazgodovinske jame lahko razdelimo na manjše ovalnega ali okroglega tlorisa, srednje velike in velike jame. Manjše jame so bile povprečne velikosti od 0,15 × 0,15 m do 0,30 × 0,30 m in globine 0,1–0,3 m. Od skupaj 310 takih jam je bil približno v 20 % viden odtis kola (*sl. 5*). V nekaterih je bilo oglja in ožgane ilovice veliko (*sl. 6*), nekatere pa so bile obložene s kamni (*sl. 7*). Očitno je, da gre za jame za stojke, pri čemer jih vsaj del glede na njihovo razporeditev v prostoru predstavlja sledove hiš, grajenih s stojkami (*sl. 4*: objekti II–V), in manjših lesenih objektov (*sl. 4*: PO1–6).

[16] Mikl-Curk 1974a, 95, sl. 2, 4, 5; *ead.* 1975, 174; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 38, 106, t. 16: 1–2.

[17] Hrani jo župnijski urad v Stopercah (Mikl-Curk 1974b, 92, sl. 6: 2; *ead.* 1975, 174; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 106).

[18] Pokrajinski muzej Maribor, inv. št. A 2516 (Baš 1937; Saria, Klemenc 1939, 20; Pahič 1976b, 5; ANSL 1975, 328; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 106, t. 15: 20).

[19] Gre za veliko kladivasto sekiro iz šolske zbirke v Žetalah (Mikl-Curk 1974c, 95, sl. 2: 3). To sekiro je po informaciji L. Jeriča iz Žetal 22 v Nadolah našel neki Fldršek. V šoli vedo le, da jo je prinesla učenka iz okolice Čermožiš (Mikl Curk 1975, 173; glej tudi Lubšina Tušek 1993, 105; Pahič 1990, 149).

[20] Sekiro z neznane lokacije iz Žetal hrani Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj - Ormož (inv. št. 21054; Lubšina Tušek 1993, t. 15: 17). Sekiro, najdeno pri hiši Žetale 22, pa naj bi najditelj L. Jerič dal nekemu geologu iz Ljubljane (Mikl Curk 1975, 174). Domneva o neolitski naselbini: Kovačič 1926, 3 (glej tudi ANSL, 1975, 328).

[21] Pečke: Pahič 1950, 170; Pahič 1983, 44; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 126. Medvedce: Saria, Klemenc 1939, 41; ANSL 1975, 318.

[22] Ciglenečki 1978b; Vuga 1979, 345.

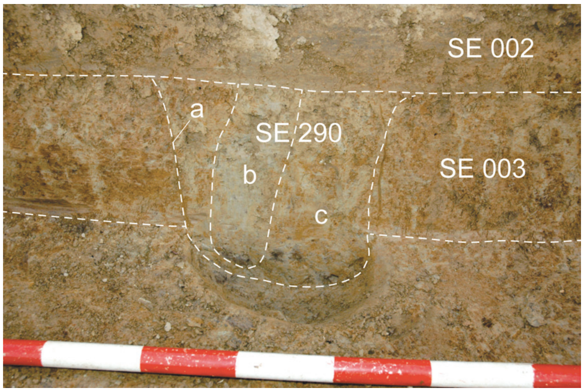
[23] Ciglenečki 1975; *id*. 1978a.

[24] Kamniti sekiri hrani Universalmuseum Joanneum, inv. št. 3200 in 3257 (ANSL 1975, 288).

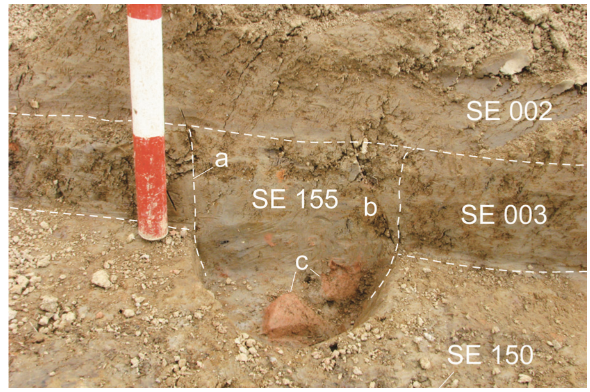
[25] Oznake SE 001–009 so bile rezervirane za plasti, SE 1–400 za jame in jarke. Pozneje se je za nekatere stratigrafske enote, prvotno opredeljene kot jame, izkazalo, da gre verjetneje za plasti (npr. SE 284, 3).

[26] Jama je ležala slabih 9 m južno od izseka izkopnega polja, prikazanega na sl. 4.

Sl. 4: Stoperce. Tloris raziskanega območja z označenimi lokacijami profilov (koordinatni sistem D48/GK). M. = 1:200.
Fig. 4: Stoperce. Site plan with locations of profiles marked (coordinate system D48/GK). Scale 1:200.



Sl. 5: Stoperce. Zahodni profil jame za stojko SE 290: **a** – vkop jame; **b** – odtis stojke; **c** – ilovnato zasutje jame. Jama je bila del hiše iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (objekt II). Podobno kot druge jame iz zgodnje bakrene dobe je bila vkopana v plast SE 003.
Fig. 5: Stoperce. Western profile of the post-hole SU 290: **a** – a cut of the pit; **b** – the remains of the post; **c** – filling of the post-hole. The pit was part of a house from the Early Copper Age (Structure II) and, like other pits from the Early Copper Age, was dug into layer SU 003.



Sl. 6: Stoperce. Jama za stojko SE 155: **a** – vkop v plast SE 003; **b** – zasutje jame; **c** – veliki kosi ožgane ilovice v zasutju. V spodnjem delu je bila jama za stojko vkopana v zasutje jame SE 150 (zemljanka iz zgodnje bakrene dobe).
Fig. 6: Stoperce. A post-hole SU 155. Visible are: **a** – a cut of the pit in the layer SU 003; **b** – pit filling; **c** – large pieces of burnt clay in the pit filling. In the foreground the filling of pit SU 150 (pit-house from the Early Copper Age), in which the post-hole was dug.

Sl. 7: Stoperce. Jama za stojko SE 135: **a** – vkop jame v rumeno sivo ilovico, SE 003; **b** – stojka oz. njen odtis; **c** – venec iz kamnov; **d** – zemljeno zasutje jame. Stojka je podpirala konstrukcijo jugozahodne stene hiše iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (objekt III).
Fig. 7: Stoperce. A post-hole SU 135: **a** – a cut of the pit in the layer SU 003; **b** – remains of the post; **c** – wreath of stones; **d** – pit filling. The post supported the construction of the southwestern wall of the house from the Early Copper Age (Structure III).

Srednje velikih jam je bilo 16 (vel. med 0,5 × 0,7 m in 1,6 × 2,5 m), tri so bile večjih dimenzij (vel. med 2,6 × 3,2 m in 3,4 × 6,3 m). V šestih primerih pa gre za različne plasti s prazgodovinskimi najdbami.

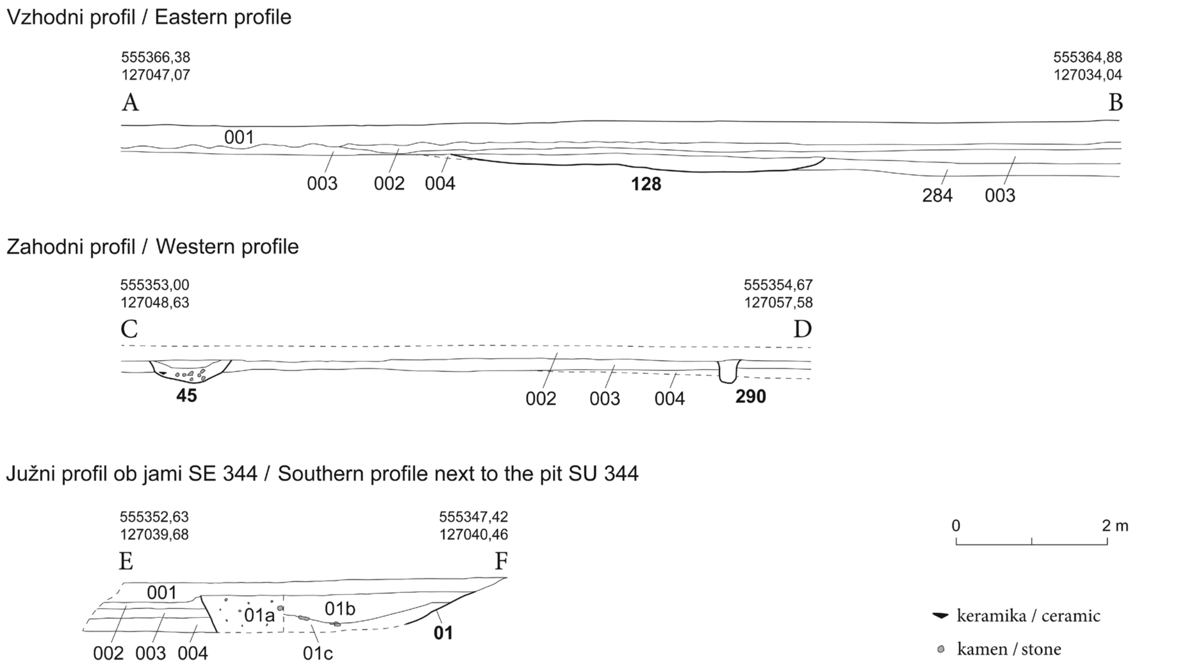
Za razumevanje stratigrafije so se izkazali najbolj povedni vzhodni profil izkopnega polja nad jamo SE 128, zahodni profil izkopnega polja med jarkom SE 45 in jamo SE 290 ter južni profil razširitve izkopnega polja ob jami (zemljanki) SE 344 (*sl. 4; 8:* A – B, C – D, E – F).

Faza 1 (pozni neolitik)

Iz vzhodnega profila je razvidno, da je bila najstarejša jama (*sl. 8:* SE 128) odkrita 0,45 m pod površino, pod ornico (SE 001, 002) in rumenosivo ilovnato plastjo (SE 003). Vkopana je bila v arheološko sterilni plasti, v sivkastorjavo ilovico z železovimi oksidi, ki jo razlagajo kot naplavino (*sl. 8:* SE 284), in v spodaj ležečo rumenorjavo meljasto ilovico (*sl. 8:* SE 004). V jami so bile najdbe iz poznega neolitika (*t. 1 – t. 5:* 6), v plasti SE 003 pa najdbe iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*sl. 8:* 003).[27]

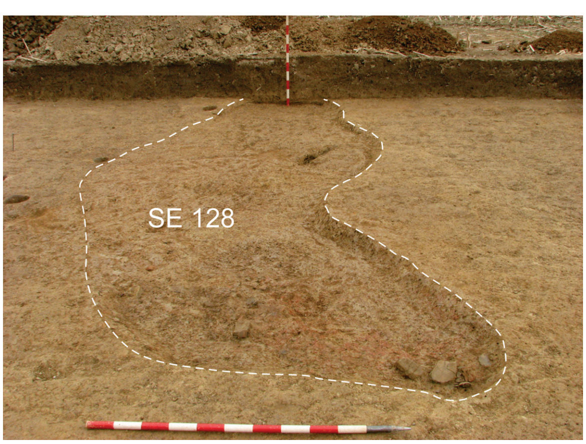
Ob robu jame SE 128 in deloma v njej je bilo odkritih devet jam za stojke (*sl. 4:* modra barva). Te kažejo, da je bila z veliko nepravilno jamo najbrž povezana lažja lesena konstrukcija (*sl. 4:* I). Jame za stojke so bile gl. med 0,08 in 0,18 m, z drobci oglja in ožgane ilovice, le v jami za stojko SE 341 so bili večji kosi ožgane ilovice, v jami SE 342 pa je bil odkrit ročaj keramične posode (*sl. 4:* SE 341–342).

[27] Skupaj 82 odlomkov. Med njimi ni tipološko značilnih kosov.



Sl. 8: Stoperce. Profili izkopnega polja. **A-B**: vzhodni profil z jamo iz poznega neolitika (SE 128); **C-D**: zahodni profil z jamo za stojko (SE 290) in jarkom (SE 45) iz zgodnje bakrene dobe; **E-F**: razširitev izkopnega polja z novodobnim jarkom (za plinovod) (koordinatni sistem D48/GK; M. = 1:100).
Fig. 8: Stoperce. Profiles of the excavation area. **A-B**: eastern profile with a Late Neolithic pit (SU 128); **C-D**: western profile with a post-hole (SU 290) and an Early Copper Age ditch (SU 45); **E-F**: extension of the excavation area with a modern ditch (for a gas pipeline) (coordinate system D48/GK; Scale 1:100).

01 – Vkop jarka za plinovod iz l. 1975 / Cut of the pipeline ditch from 1975; **01a** – Zasutje iz prodnato ilovnate plasti / Loamy layer with gravel (fill of the pipeline ditch); **01b** – Zasutje iz sivorjave ilovnate plasti / Grey-brown loamy layer (fill of the pipeline ditch); **01c** – Zasutje iz sive in rumene ilovice / Grey and yellow loam (fill of the pipeline ditch); **001** – Sivorjava humusna ornica / Greyish humus (topsoil); **002** – Siva ilovnata subhumusna plast / Grey loamy sub-humus layer; **003** – Rumenosiva ilovnata plast z najdbami iz zg. bakrene dobe / Yellow-grey loamy layer with Early Copper Age finds; **004** – Rumenorjava ilovnata plast / Yellowish-brown loamy layer; **45** – Temno siva meljasta ilovica z najdbami iz zg. bakrene dobe (jarek) / Dark grey silty loam with Early Copper Age finds (ditch); **128** – Sivorjava zemlja z ožgano ilovico in poznoneolitskimi najdbami (jama) / Grey soil with burnt clay and Late Neolithic finds (pit); **284** – Sivkasto rjava ilovica z železovi oksidi (naplavina) / Greyish-brown loam with iron oxides (alluvium); **290** – Svetlo siva ilovica z drobci oglja (jama za stojko) / Light grey loam with charcoal fragments (post-hole)



Sl. 9: Stoperce. Jama iz poznega neolitika, SE 128 (pogled proti vzhodu).
Fig. 9: Stoperce. A Late Neolithic pit, SU 128 (view towards the east).

Jama SE 128 in objekt I (sl. 4: SE 128, I; *9*; *t. 1–t. 5: 6)*

Edina večja jama iz poznega neolitika je bila raziskana v velikosti 5,9 × 3,45 m, globoka je bila 0,2 m in nepravilne oblike (*sl. 9*). V rjavi zemlji v jami je bilo odkritih skupaj 1185 keramičnih odlomkov iz poznega neolitika oz. 850 kosov po sestavljanju (*t. 1–4*). Med kamnitimi najdbami je treba omeniti izvrtek sekire (*t. 5:* 1), odlomek polizdelka kamnite sekire (*t. 5:* 2) ter štiri orodja na odbitkih in klinah (*t. 5:* 3–6). V jami je bila tudi večja količina ožgane ilovice in oglja, med to je bil en košček datiran z metodo radioaktivnega ogljika ^{14}C po postopku AMS.[28]

[28] Kramberger 2014a, 241, sl. 9–10.

Sl. 10: Stoperce. Objekt III – hiša iz zgodnje bakrene dobe. V ozadju izkopana jama SE 128, v ospredju jama SE 150 (zemljanka) (pogled proti jugovzhodu).
Fig. 10: Stoperce. Structure III – Early Copper Age house. Excavated pit SU 128 in the background, pit SU 150 (pit-house) in the foreground (view towards the south-east).

Faza 2 (zgodnja bakrena doba)

Plast SE 003 izkopavalci razlagajo kot izravnavo terena po prvi fazi poselitve. Ker so bile v njej najdbe iz zgodnje bakrene dobe, je lahko povezana z začetkom druge faze poselitve.[29] Je mlajša od jame SE 128 in starejša od nekaterih jam druge faze poselitve, kar je razvidno iz zahodnega profila izkopnega polja, saj so bili v to plast vkopani jami za stojko SE 290 in jarek SE 45 iz druge faze poselitve (*sl. 5; 8:* SE 290, 45).

V jarku (SE 45) so bili odlomki lončenine iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (npr. *t. 11:* 1–6). Jama za stojko SE 290 severno od jarka SE 45 je bila brez najdb. Verjetno pa je bila v povezavi z 32 drugimi jamami za stojke, saj tvori z njimi v prostoru pravokotni tloris. Te jame zato interpretiramo kot sledove pravokotne hiše iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*sl. 4*: II).

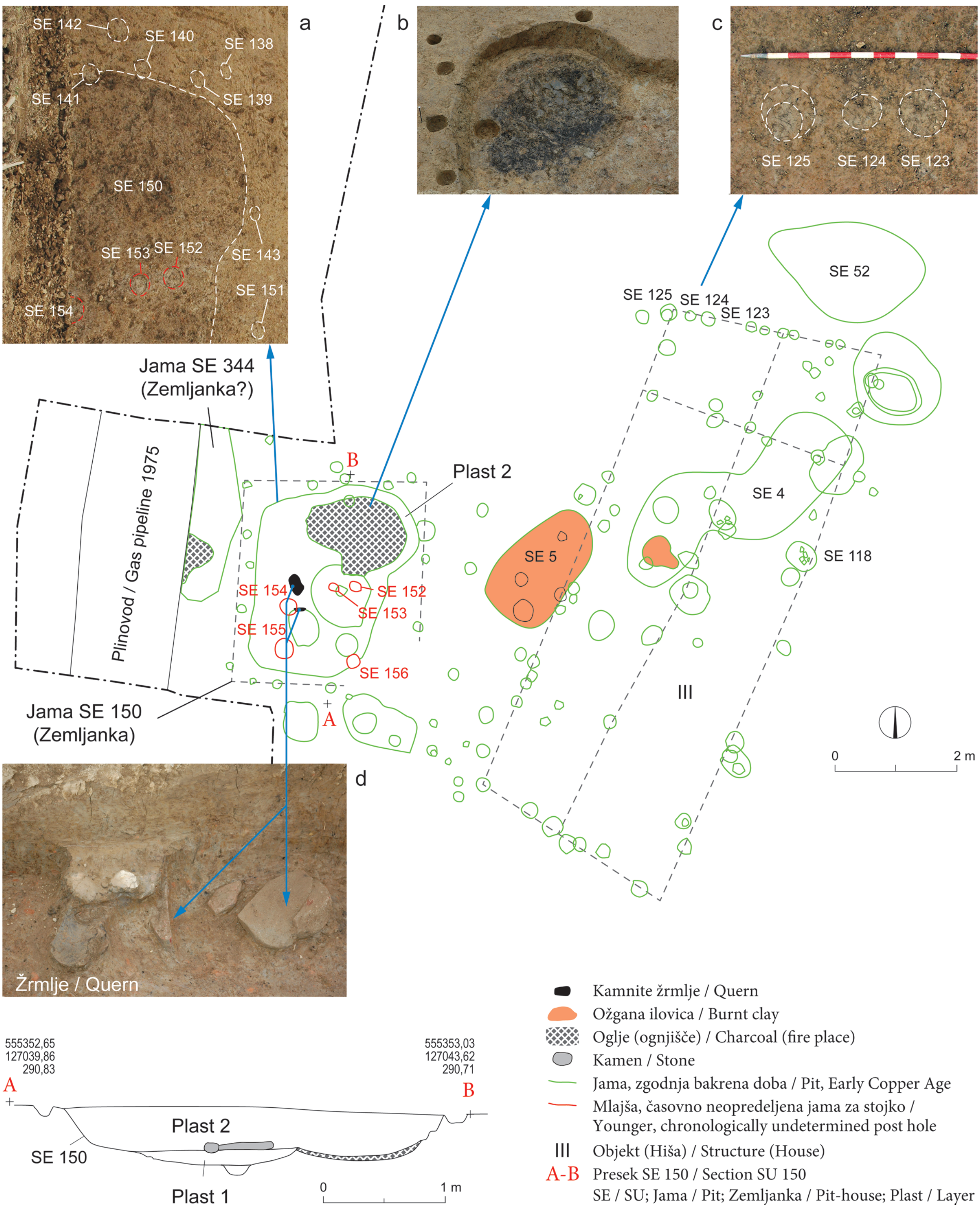
V enaki stratigrafski legi kot jama SE 290 in jarek SE 45, torej pod ornico (SE 001, 002) in nad rumenosivo ilovnato plastjo (SE 003), je bila odkrita večina jam in jam za stojke. Tudi te jame so, kot kaže, (vsaj večinoma) iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (faze 2) glede na primerjavo z najdbami iz jam za stojke. Nekaj jam iz zgodnje bakrene dobe je bilo odkritih tudi pod plastjo SE 003 (torej v enaki stratigrafski legi kot jama SE 128). Na te jame za stojke so naleteli v osrednjem delu izkopnega polja pri poglabljanju terena z bagrom, ki je potekalo hkrati s širjenjem izkopa proti zahodu (prim. *sl. 3* s *sl. 4*: z1, SE 150, 344). Če bi sklepali po nivoju odkritja teh jam, bi morale biti starejše od zgodnje bakrene dobe. Toda veliko jih je bilo v vrsti z jamami za stojke, odkritimi višje nad plastjo SE 003, zato je verjetno, da so tudi te jame iz zgodnje bakrene dobe, vendar višje njihov obris ni bil zaznan.[30] Iz poznega neolitika so verjetno le jame za stojke, odkrite pri poglabljanju terena pod SE 003, na robu jame SE 128 (*sl. 4:* modra barva).

Objekti II, III, IV in V (hiše iz zgodnje bakrene dobe) (sl. 4: I, II, III, IV, V*; 10; 11)*

Zahodno od jame SE 128 je bilo na območju skupne dolžine 39 m in širine 9,5 m odkritih več jam za stojke, ki se združujejo na štirih območjih in sestavljajo deloma pravokotne tlorisne zasnove.

[29] V plasti SE 003 je bilo poleg prazgodovinskih tudi nekaj novoveških keramičnih odlomkov, ki so najverjetneje infiltrati.

[30] Npr. jame za stojko SE 299–304, 308, 314–318, 320–322, 324–329, 332, 334–339, 345 so bile v vrsti z jamami za stojke objekta III, odkritimi višje (*sl. 4:* objekt III). Drugi primer je jama za stojko SE 312, ki je bila razporejena skupaj z jamami za stojke SE 108–112, 114–116 okoli jame SE 100 in je interpretirana kot del pomožnega objekta 6 (*sl. 4: PO* 6; *t. 12:* 3–5).



Sl. 11: Stoperce. Načrt dela najdišča z objektom III, zemljanko (SE 150), jamama SE 344 in SE 52, zgostitvami ožgane ilovice in ognjiščema in presek jame SE 150. **a** – jame za stojke in jama SE 150 pred izkopavanjem; **b** – ognjišče v jami SE 150; **c** – jame za stojke SE 123-125 pred izkopavanjem; **d** – odlomka spodnjega dela v celoti ohranjenih žrmelj (*t. 8:* 1) v jami SE 150 (koordinatni sistem D48/GK).

Fig. 11: Stoperce. Plan of part of the site with Structure III, pit-house (SU 150), pits SU 344 and SU 52, clusters of burnt clay and fireplaces and section of pit SU 150. **a** – post holes and pit SU 150 before excavation; **b** – the fireplace in pit SU 150; **c** – post holes SU 123-125 before excavation; **d** – pieces of the lower part of the quern (*Pl. 8:* 1) in pit SU 150 (coordinate system D48/GK).

Gre za hiše, grajene s stojkami, ki so glede na ugotovljeno stratigrafsko zaporedje mlajše od jame SE 128 (prim. *sl. 8*: SE 290 s *sl. 8*: SE 128).

Prvo hišo (objekt II) predstavlja skupaj 33 jam za stojke, vkopanih v plast SE 003 (*sl. 4:* II; *5*). Raziskana je bila skoraj v celoti, le na skrajni zahodni strani se je širila zunaj izkopnega polja. V raziskanem delu je merila okoli 4,1 × 6,3 m. Kot kaže, je bila postavljena v smeri SZ–JV ter je imela večji prostor na severozahodni strani in manjšega (vel. 1,5 × 3,9–4,1 m) na jugovzhodni. Ob jugovzhodnem vogalu hiše je na podlagi razporeditev jam za stojke mogoče domnevati vhod v hišo, kar pomeni, da bi lahko manjši prostor služil kot vetrolov.

Naslednja hiša (objekt III) je bila odkrita okoli 4,5 m južno od objekta II (*sl. 4*; *10*; *11*).[31] Podobno kot objekt II je bila pravokotnega tlorisa in približno enako široka (š. 3,7 m). Raziskana je bila v celoti, v dolžino je merila 8,6 m na zahodni strani in 9,7 m na vzhodni. Tloris hiše je dobro viden na podlagi razporeditve 41 jam za stojke (*sl. 11:* SE 118, 123–125 itd.). Znotraj tlorisa hiše je bilo odkritih 23 jam za stojke, med temi je pet takih, ki bi lahko predstavljale sledove manjšega prostora na severni strani v notranjosti hiše. Devet jam za stojke v osrednjem delu hiše je verjetno služilo za vrsto podpornih stojk za slemensko lego dvokapne strešne konstrukcije. Okvirna datacija hiše je mogoča na podlagi treh keramičnih odlomkov, odkritih v jami za stojko SE 118 (*sl. 4:* SE 118; *11:* SE 118).[32]

Objektoma II in III v Stopercah primerljivo dvoprostorno hišo poznamo iz lasinjskega naselja Zgornje Radvanje v Mariboru (objekt 27), datirano v lasinjsko kulturo zgodnje bakrene dobe na podlagi radiokarbonske datacije vzorca oglja iz ene od jam za stojke (SE 111).[33] Objekt 27 iz Radvanja je zlasti primerljiv z objektom II v Stopercah, saj sta enake usmeritve in podobne velikosti, oba pa sta imela večji prostor na severozahodni strani in manjšega na jugovzhodni, pri čemer je ob jugovzhodnem vogalu na podlagi razporeditve jam za stojke mogoče domnevati vhod v hišo.[34]

Primerljive dvoprostorne hiše poznamo tudi iz lasinjskih naselij na Hrvaškem, Madžarskem in iz epilengyelskega obdobja v Avstriji, kjer pa so bile grajene s t. i. temeljnimi jarki, v dna katerih so bile vkopane jame za vertikalno postavljene stojke.[35] Poleg enako grajenih enoprostornih hiš predstavljajo osnovni stavbni tip v epilengyelskem obdobju. Gre za tradicijo iz pozne lengyelske kulture, ki je bila na Madžarskem in v Avstriji predhodnica lasinjske kulture.[36] Nekatere hiše so bile podobne velikosti kot objekt III, druge večje. Standardizirane so bile le po načinu gradnje in obliki tlorisa.

Okoli 1,2 m južno od objekta III so naleteli na naslednjo večjo skupino jam za stojke (*sl. 4:* IV). Jame so bile odkrite v treh vzporednih vrstah, deloma pa med temi vrstami v vzhodnem delu skupine. Na skrajni južni strani je bilo v vrsti pet jam za stojke, v osrednji osem in v severni sedem. Te vrste jam za stojke nakazujejo oglato površino dolžine okoli 6,7 m in širine med 5 m (na jugovzhodni strani) in 3,85 m (na severozahodni strani). Objekt bi lahko bil nepravilnega pravokotnega tlorisa (če manjkajo jame v severozahodni steni hiše) ali petkotnega tlorisa, kar je primer hiš v prvem krogu naselja lasinjske kulture v Zgornjem

[31] V prvi objavi smo ta objekt opredelili kot "objekt III – prostor 1" ob predpostavki, da bi lahko bila z njim (glede na razporeditev jam za stojke) povezana pravokotna jama SE 150 z ognjiščem ("objekt III – prostor 2") (Kramberger 2014a, 239, sl. 6, sl. 8).

[32] Gre za odlomke ostenj posod, ki so po načinu izdelave in lončarski glini (odlomek posode, izdelane iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline, nepopolno oksidacijsko žgane, redukcijsko v končni fazi, in odlomka nepopolno oksidacijsko žganih posod iz drobnozrnate lončarske gline s kremenčevim peskom kot pustilom) primerljivi s keramiko iz lasinjskih jam (SE 150, 52 in 45), zato jih okvirno datiramo v zgodnjo bakreno dobo.

[33] Kramberger 2021b, 36–41, 49–50, 98, sl. 41a in b, 50, 91.

[34] Hiša v Radvanju je merila 5,9 × 3,65–4,6 m (Kramberger 2021b, sl. 44).

[35] Na Hrvaškem jih poznamo z najdišč Beketinci – Bentež (prim. *sl. 4:* objekt II z Minichreiter, Marković 2013, sl. 53; prim. *sl. 11:* objekt III z *ib*., sl. 48–50), Tomašanci-Palača (Balen 2020, sl. 3), Čepinski Martinci-Dubrava (Kalafatić 2009, 23, sl. 5), Donji Miholjac-Mlaka (Nodilo 2012, 12, 13) in Donji Miholjac-Đanovci (Tkalčec 2016, 49–51, sl. 2–5). Na Madžarskem so bile odkrite npr. na najdiščih Balatonszárszó – Kis-erdei-dűlő (prim. *sl. 4:* objekt II z Oross *et al.* 2010, sl. 9), Lébény – Bille-domb (prim. *sl. 4:* objekt II z Németh 1994, sl. 12), Győr – Szabadrétdomb (Virág, Figler 2007, 352–354, 348, sl. 2: 5–11), Mosonszentmiklós – Pálmajor (Virág, Figler 2007, 357–359, sl. 7, 455, sl. 6), Zalavár – Basasziget (Virág 2003, 377–380, sl. 2; *id*. 2005, 61–63, sl. 3–8) in Zalaegerszeg-Andrashida, Gebarti-to (II.) (Barna, Kreiter 2006, 62, sl. 1), v Avstriji na najdišču Münchendorf (Carneiro 2002, 46–49, sl. 2, sl. 5). Pri objektu 27 v Radvanju ter objektih II in III v Stopercah temeljni jarki niso bili odkriti, kar sicer ne kaže nujno, da so bile hiše grajene drugače. To bi lahko bilo tudi posledica slabše ohranjenosti objektov (prim. z Balen 2020, 116, sl. 4; Oross *et al.* 2010, 383, sl. 6; Minichreiter, Marković 2013, 56–57, sl. 41, sl. 42).

[36] Npr. Oross *et al.* 2010, 385–388; Mladoniczki *et al.* 2012, sl. 2–4; Ilon 2004, 151, sl. 31.

Radvanju v Mariboru.[37] Osrednja oz. najdaljša vrsta jam za stojke je verjetno služila za stojke, ki so podpirale dvokapno strešno konstrukcijo hiše.

Skupina 37 jam za stojke je bila odkrita 2,8 m južno od objekta IV (*sl. 4:* V), morda gre za ostanke pete hiše, delno raziskane (in slabše ohranjene?), usmerjene SV–JZ, dolžine okoli 8 m in širine 5,85 m. Keramični odlomki iz treh jam za stojke (SE 244, 246 in 277) so po tehniki izdelave in lončarski glini tudi v tem primeru verjetno iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*sl. 4:* V).

Pomožni objekti 1–3 (sl. 4: PO1, PO2, PO3*)*

Tri skupine jam za stojke na najdišču Stoperce so bile videti v prostoru razporejene v obliki črke L.[38] Morda gre za slabše ohranjene oz. delne tlorise pravokotnih objektov,[39] ki pa so, kot kaže, izrazito manjši od objektov II–V, zato smo jih označili kot "pomožne objekte" (*sl. 4:* PO1, PO2, PO3).

Pomožni objekt 1 je stal severno od pomožnega objekta 2 in severovzhodno od objekta III. Najdaljša stranica je merila 2,8 m, nanjo pravokotna 2,6 m, najkrajša, pravokotna na prvo ter zadnji vzporedna, pa 0,65 m. Pomožni objekt 2 zamejujejo stranice dolžin 1,9 m, 1,3 m in 0,6 m, pomožni objekt 3, ki je stal zahodno od objekta V, pa 1,9 m, 1,3 m in 0,6 m.

Za datacijo so na voljo trije keramični odlomki (po načinu izdelave lasinjski) iz jame za stojko SE 281 v južni steni pomožnega objekta 3.

Pomožni objekti 4, 5 in 6 (hrambne jame) (sl. 4: PO4, PO5, PO6; *12*; *t. 12:* 3–5*)*

Posebno skupino pomožnih objektov v Stopercah predstavljajo srednje velike jame ovalnega tlorisa, obkrožene z jamami za stojke. Odkrite so bile ob pomožnih objektih 1 in 2, v skrajnem severovzhodnem delu izkopnega polja (*sl. 4*: PO4, PO5, PO6).

Prva taka je jama SE 13 velikosti 1,12 × 1,1 m in globine 0,18 m (*sl. 4:* PO4; *12:* Pomožni objekt 4). Na robu jame je bilo odkritih pet jam za stojke (SE 14–18), ki so deloma poškodovale steno jame. V jami je bila siva ilovica z drobci oglja, ožgane ilovice in odlomkom posode, po načinu izdelave in fakturi sodeč iz zgodnje bakrene dobe; na dnu jame so bili odkriti kosi peščenjaka in laporja.

Približno 2,6 m jugozahodno od jame SE 13 je bila odkrita jama SE 19, na njenem robu pa štiri jame za stojke: SE 20–23 (*sl. 4:* PO5; *12:* Pomožni objekt 5). Jama je bila ovalnega tlorisa, hruškastega preseka, velikosti 0,86 × 0,83 cm in globine 0,19 m. V sivi ilovici v jami so bili drobci oglja, ožgane ilovice in dva keramična odlomka iz zgodnje bakrene dobe. Na dnu jame so bili podobno kot pri jami SE 13 odkriti koščki laporja in peščenjaka.

Ob jugovzhodni steni objekta III, južno od pomožnega objekta 2, je bila odkrita jama SE 100 (*sl. 4:* PO6; *12:* Pomožni objekt 6). Gre za ovalno jamo plitvega U-profila, na njenem robu in v neposredni bližini je bilo razporejenih devet jam za stojke (SE 108–112, 114–116, 312). Jama je bila odkrita pod ornico in je merila 1,7 × 1,45 m, v globino pa 0,17 m. Imela je neenotno zasutje, v polkrožnem osrednjem delu je bila zelo temno siva ilovica, drugod je bila ilovica svetlejša. V njej je bilo precej drobcev prežganih kosti, oglja in ožgane ilovice ter skupaj 78 odlomkov keramičnih posod iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*t. 12:* 3,4) in kamnit tolkač (*t. 12:* 5). Koščki oglja v jami so opredeljeni kot hrast ali kostanj, deloma pa kot venčasto porozni listavci (skupaj 5 kosov). V jami je bilo tudi seme zvezdnice in trije kosi zoglenelih ostankov hrane ali lesne smole.

Hruškast profil jame (PO5, jama SE 19) kaže, da gre po vsej verjetnosti za hrambno jamo, jame za stojke verjetno predstavljajo sledove konstrukcije strehe oz. pokrova nad jamo. Podobni jami iz zgodnje bakrene dobe sta bili doslej na Slovenskem znani iz Bukovnice ("peč" v kv. 199) in predvsem iz Malečnika (jama 53), kjer sta bili prav tako tik ob jami hruškastega profila odkriti jami za stojki.[40]

Jame globokega hruškastega profila so v prazgodovini pogosto uporabljali za trajnejše shranjevanje žit, v nekaterih regijah srednje Evropi vse od zgodnjega neolitika do starejše železne dobe.[41] Drugi način je shranjevanje žit v velikih shrambnih posodah, kakršen je pri nas značilen za mlajša obdobja prazgodovine. V naselju iz pozne bronaste dobe na Pobrežju v Mariboru so

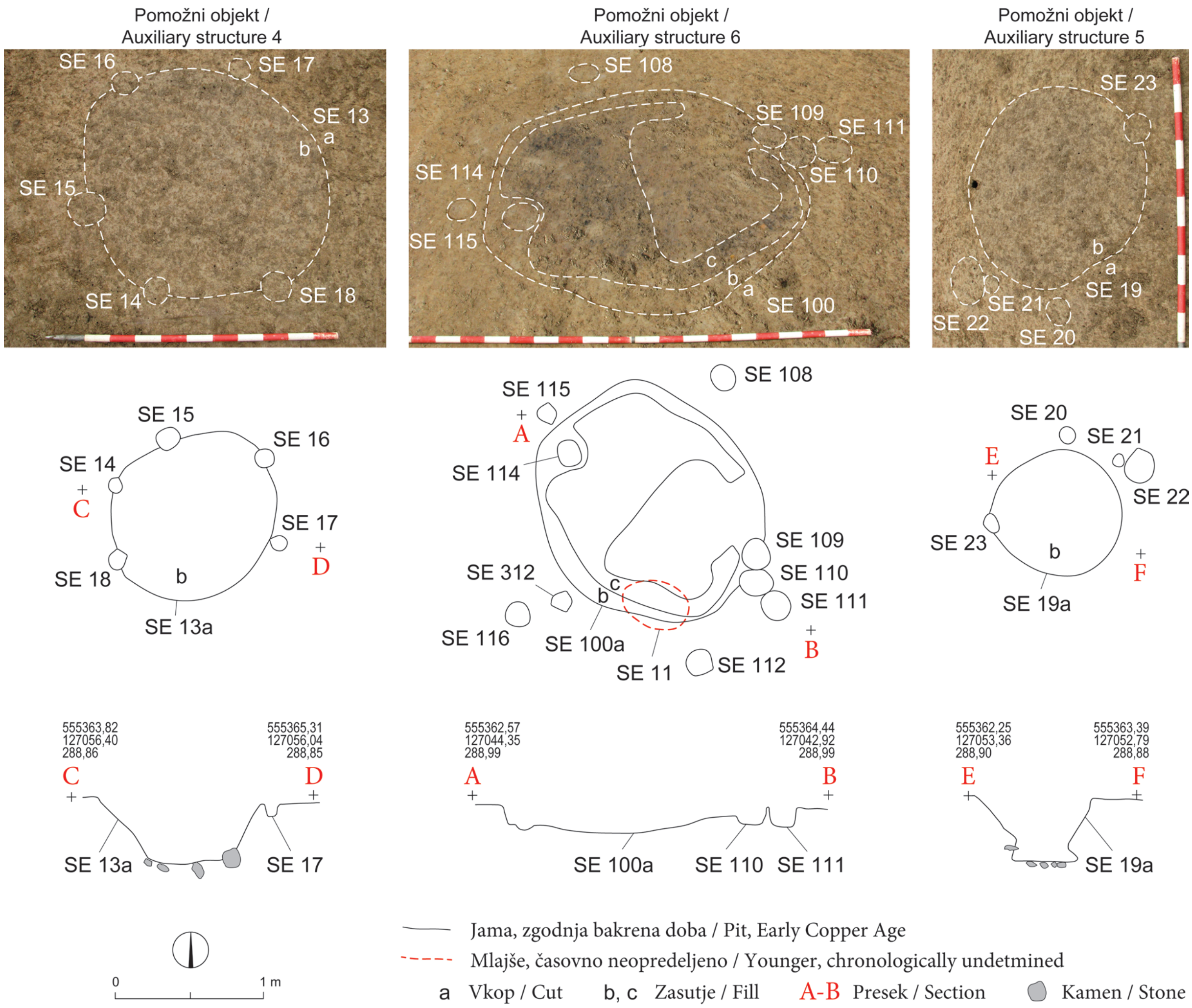
[37] Kramberger 2021b, 36–44, sl. 41a–b: objekti 32–34, sl. 43.

[38] V prvi obravnavi najdišča ti objekti na tlorisu niso bili posebej označeni (Kramberger 2014a, 38–240, sl. 6).

[39] Prim. npr. z Balen 2020, 116, sl. 4.

[40] Šavel 1992, 68, pril. 5; Kramberger 2021a, 37, 117–118. Jama iz Bukovnice je bila ob prvi objavi interpretirana kot peč (Šavel 1992, 59). Ožgana ilovica je pogosto najdena ob robovih hrambnih jam. Preden so jamo začeli uporabljati, so jo namreč (če je bilo treba – odvisno od geološke podlage) zamazali z ilovico, nato pa jo pogosto tudi prežgali, da so jo očistili. Eksperimenti kažejo, da ogenj najučinkoviteje izsuši jamo in uniči mikrofloro v njej (Reynolds 1974).

[41] Npr. Griebl 2004, 122–123; Gašpar 2017; Tripković 2011; Miret i Mestre 2006.



Sl. 12: Stoperce. Načrti pomožnih objektov 4–6: fotografije pred izkopavanjem (različna merila in orientacije), tlorisi posameznih srednje velikih jam z jamami za stojke na njihovem robu in preseki jam (koordinatni sistem D48/GK).
Fig. 12: Stoperce. Plans of auxiliary structures 4–6: photos of pits before excavation (orientation and scale not specified), ground plans of individual medium-sized pits and post-holes on their edge and cross sections of pits (coordinate system D48/GK).

bile npr. odkrite številne velike hrambne posode tik ob hišah, v jamah, ki so bile komaj kaj večje od posod.[42] Ena taka skoraj v celoti ohranjena hrambna posoda je bila odkrita tudi v Spodnjih Hočah, vendar v nekoliko večji, srednje veliki jami. To jamo je treba omeniti, ker so bile na njenem zunanjem robu tri jame za stojke, na njenem notranjem robu pa odtisi kolov.[43] Verjetno gre za sledove lesene konstrukcije, ki je, podobno kot pri jamah v Stopercah, prekrivala hrambno jamo.[44] S koli grajene strešaste pokrove poznamo tudi pri hrambnih jamah v Sredozemlju, v katerih so shranjevali žita in drugo hrano.[45]

Jama SE 150 – zemljanka (sl. 4: Z1; *10*; *11:* Jama SE 150; *t.* 5: 7 – del, 8–11,*6–8)*

Ob zahodnem robu najdišča je bila odkrita jama SE 150 pravokotnega tlorisa z zaobljenimi robovi, velikosti 3,2 x 2,5 m (*sl. 10*). V rumenosivo ilovico (SE 003) je bila vkopana do 0,3 m, v njej sta bili ugotovljeni dve kulturni plasti in ognjišče.

[42] Kramberger, Črešnar 2021, 57.

[43] Kramberger *et al.* 2021, 19–21, 49, sl. 18, 19.

[44] Arheobotanične analize vzorcev oglja so pokazale, da je bila konstrukcija nad jamo iz pozne bronaste dobe zgrajena iz hrasta, rezultat radiokarbonskega datiranja enega od vzorcev pa, da je jama iz konca 2. ali začetka 1. tisočletja pr. n. št. (Kramberger *et al.* 2021, 36, sl. 37, 38; Culiberg, Šercelj 2021, 39–40).

[45] Miret i Mestre 2006, 214–217, sl. 3.

V zgornji plasti (plast 2) so bili odlomki oglja, ožgane ilovice, keramičnih posod iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*t. 5:* 8–11; *6:* 1–9; *7:* 1–4; *5:* 7 – del), skoraj v celoti ohranjena spodnji (*t. 8:* 1) in zgornji del žrmelj (*t. 8:* 4) ter praskalo (*t. 8:* 2) in klina (*t. 8:* 3). Spodnja plast (plast 1) je bila brez najdb in se je od zgornje ločila po svetlejši barvi. Ognjišče je bilo v posebno oblikovanem severovzhodnem delu jame in se je kazalo kot okoli 2 cm debela ovalna plast oglja z nekaj koščki ožgane ilovice (*sl. 11:* ognjišče).

V okolici jame SE 150 je bilo odkritih več jam za stojke. 19 jih je bilo na robu jame SE 150 (*sl.* 11: SE 138–143, 151 itd.), tri na dnu jame pod plastjo 2, nekaj pa jih je bilo odkritih na vrhu (!) zasutja jame (SE 152, 153, 154, 155, 156), kar pomeni, da so od jame SE 150 mlajše (*sl. 6*; *11:* rdeča barva).

Glede na obliko večje pravokotne jame in razporeditev jam za stojke okoli nje jamo SE 150 interpretiramo kot zemljanko. Jame za stojke v dveh vzporednih vrstah vzhodno od jame SE 150 kažejo, da bi lahko bila povezana z večjo hišo (objektom III).[46]

Štiri podobne pravokotne jame z zaobljenimi robovi so bile odkrite na naselju lasinjske kulture v Radvanju, ena v Zbelovem v Dravinjski dolini in ena na Turnišču v Prekmurju, vendar so brez ognjišč in imajo le posamične jame za stojke v notranjosti velike jame.[47] Tudi na lasinjskem naselju Beketinci – Bentež na Hrvaškem je bilo odkritih več pravokotnih jam dolžine od 2 do 5 m in globine okoli 0,5 m, ki so imele zgornje robove ter tudi robove na prehodu s stene v dno zaobljene.[48] Med njimi je jama, ki je imela podobno kot jama SE 150 v Stopercah jame za stojke razporejene na zunanjem robu v obliki pravokotnika. Razlagajo jo kot delovno jamo, nad katero je morala biti lesena strešna konstrukcija.[49]

Jama SE 344 – zemljanka? (sl. 4: SE 344; *11:* SE 344; *t. 9:* 1–4; *5:* 7 – del*)*

Okoli 0,5 m zahodno od jame SE 150 je bila ob razširitvi izkopnega polja proti zahodu odkrita jama z zgostitvijo oglja z ožgano ilovico v južnem delu, podobna tisti v jami SE 150 (sledovi ognjišča?) (*sl. 4:* SE 344; *11:* Jama SE 344). V raziskanem delu je bila ohranjena v dolžino 2,84 m in v širino 0,45 m; na zahodni strani jo je uničil vkop jarka za plinovod iz leta 1975. V jami so bili sivorjava ilovica s koščki oglja in ožgane ilovice, kamni (lapor in peščenjak) ter odlomki keramičnih posod (*t. 9:* 1,3,4) in kamnit odbitek (*t. 9:* 2).

Morda tudi jama SE 344 predstavlja sledove zemljanke.

Jama SE 52 (sl. 4: SE 52; *13*; *t. 9:* 5–12; *10:* 1–4,5 – del*)*

Ob krajši severovzhodni steni objekta III, na zunanji strani hiše, je bila odkrita jama SE 52 (*sl. 4:* SE 52; *13*). Gre za jamo ovalnega tlorisa in U-oblike v profilu (dolžine 2,45 m, širine 1,35 m in globine 0,32 m). V temno sivi do črni ilovici v jami so bili ploščat peščenjak (v osrednjem delu jame), več kosov ožgane ilovice in oglja, od najdb pa 551 odlomkov keramičnih posod iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*t. 9:* 5–12; *10:* 1–3), koščki ožganih kosti, kamnita klina (*t. 10:* 4) ter del kamnite sekire z luknjo (*t. 10:* 5 – del).

Jarek SE 45 (sl. 4: SE 45; *t. 11)*

Med objektoma II in III je bil odkrit jarek (SE 45); potekal je od skrajnega zahodnega roba izkopa v dolžini 12,1 m proti vzhodu, kjer se je zaključil tik pred vzhodnim robom izkopa. V širino je meril do 0,95 m in globino do 0,18 m, presekali so ga novoveški jarek (brazda pluga) in tri jame za stojke. V jarku je bilo 253 odlomkov lončenine iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*t. 11:* 1–6), polizdelek kamnite sekire iz amfibolita (*t. 11:* 7) in trije kosi žrmelj (*t. 11:* 8–10).

Jama za stojko SE 96 (sl. 4: SE 96; *t. 12:* 6–8*)*

Gre za jamo za stojko, vkopano v jarek SE 45. Bila je ovalnega tlorisa, velikosti 0,75 × 0,7 m, globine 0,08 m (*sl. 4:* SE 96). Zelo temno siva ilovica v jami je vsebovala veliko oglja in 37 odlomkov lončenine iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (med njimi *t. 12:* 6–8).

Jama SE 250 (sl. 4: SE 250; *t. 12:* 1*)*

Odkrita je bila jugovzhodno od objekta V, v južnem delu izkopa (*sl. 4:* SE 250). Bila je ovalnega tlorisa, velikosti 2,3 × 1,5 m. V jami je bila siva zemlja z 19 odlomki lončenine iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (med njimi t. *12:* 1).

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[46] Glej tudi Kramberger 2014a, 239. Tudi lasinjske hiše v drugih naseljih imajo pogosto ob veliki hiši manjši prostor, ki se naslanja na zunanjo steno hiše (npr. Kalafatić 2009, sl. 5; Nodilo 2012, sl. 12C; Németh 1994, 256, sl. 10; Tkalčec 2016, 50, sl. 4; Balen 2020, 115–116, sl. 3, 4.).

[47] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, 134–230, objekti 1, 18, 19, 21); Zbelovo (V. Pahič 1983, 137, "seliščni prostor A"); Turnišče (Tomaž 2012, 57–64, PO 24).

[48] Minichreiter, Marković 2013, 39–41.

[49] *Ib.*, 41, sl. 17, 18, jama 2642.

Sl. 13: Stoperce. Jama iz zgodnje bakrene dobe, SE 52.
Fig. 13: Stoperce. A pit from the Early Copper Age, SU 52.

Jarek SE 249 (sl. 4: SE 249; *t. 12:* 2*)*
Jame SE 250 se je dotikal (ali jo celo sekal?) 0,75 m širok jarek SE 249, ki je potekal od njenega roba proti severovzhodu v skupni dolžini 3,4 m (*sl. 4:* SE 249). V jarku je bila temno rjava zemlja z drobci ožgane ilovice in 12 keramičnimi odlomki iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (med njimi *t. 12:* 2).

Jama SE 9 (sl. 4: SE 9; *t. 13:* 1–7*)*
Odkrita je bila pod ornico, južno od objekta III, in se je deloma prekrivala s tlorisom objekta IV. Ker sta bili jami za stojki objekta IV (SE 186 in 187) odkriti pod jamo SE 9, je jama morda mlajša od objekta. Bila je ovalnega tlorisa, velikosti 3,0 × 2,25 m in globine do 0,1 m (*sl. 4:* SE 9). Ob zahodnem robu jame je bila odkrita zgostitev oglja, ob južnem in vzhodnem robu pa kamni laporja in peščenjaka. V jami je bilo 23 odlomkov lončenine iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*t. 13:* 1–6) in odlomek sekire iz serpentinita (med njimi *t. 13:* 7).

SE 3 – plast (sl. 4: SE 3; *t. 13:* 9–16; *14:* 1–2*)*
Odkrita je bila pod ornico (SE 001) in subhumusno plastjo (SE 002) na območju objekta III, na površini 11,9 × 5,1 m. Bila je temno sive do rumenosive barve, nepravilnega tlorisa, debeline do 0,1 m. V njej so bili drobci oglja in ožgane ilovice ter zgostitvi ožgane ilovice (SE 5, 4). Najdbe: kamniti tolkač iz serpentinita (*t. 14:* 2) in 318 keramičnih odlomkov, med katerimi je eden iz poznega neolitika (*t. 13*: 12), preostali pa iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*t. 13*: 9–16; *14:* 1). Keramika je bila razpršena.

Morda gre za del plasti SE 003, ki je bila pretežno odstranjena strojno (*sl. 4:* SE 3; *8:* SE 003).

SE 5 – zgostitev ožgane ilovice (sl. 4: SE 5; *t. 13:* 8*)*
Zgostitev ožgane ilovice (vel. 2,0 × 1,1 m) je bila odkrita v plasti SE 3 na globini 0,35 m, in sicer ob zahodni steni objekta III (*sl. 4:* SE 5; *11:* SE 5). Med ožgano ilovico, debelo le okoli 0,1 m, je bilo poleg drobcev oglja odkritih 25 odlomkov keramičnih posod iz zgodnje bakrene dobe in odlomek kamnite kline (*t. 13:* 8).

Morda gre za ostanek stene hiše (objekta III), ki se je porušila na zunanjo stran hiše (*sl. 4:* III; *11:* Objekt III).

SE 4 – zgostitev ožgane ilovice (sl. 4: SE 4*)*
Gre za zgostitvi ožgane ilovice, ki ju je povezovala temno siva zemlja (*sl. 4:* SE 4; *11:* SE 4). Odkriti sta bili znotraj tlorisa objekta III, pri čemer je bila tista v severovzhodnem delu lise nepravilnega tlorisa in manj izrazita, tista v jugozahodnem delu lise pa je bila izrazita in okroglega tlorisa (ognjišče ali ostanek stene?). V temno sivi plasti med zgostitvama ožgane ilovice so bili odkriti kamni (10 kosov), koščki ožgane ilovice in 14 odlomkov lončenine iz zgodnje bakrene dobe.

Faza 3 (srednja bakrena doba?)

Nekaj jam za stojke na najdišču Stoperce je glede na stratigrafsko lego mlajših od jame iz zgodnje bakrene dobe. Gre za jame (SE 152, 153, 154, 155, 156), ki so bile odkrite na vrhu zasutja večje jame SE 150, kar pomeni, da so bile vanjo vkopane (*sl. 4:* rdeča barva; *6*). Te jame so starejše od ornice (SE 001 in SE 002) in kažejo, da je bila na mestu zemljanke iz zgodnje bakrene dobe pozneje postavljena še ena lesena konstrukcija, ki z njo ni bila sočasna (prim. *sl. 6* s *sl. 11:* SE 155).[50]

[50] Jama za stojke te konstrukcije (SE 155) je bila dokumentirana v zahodnem profilu izkopnega polja (*sl. 3, 6*) pred izkopavanjem zemljanke (SE 150) in razširitvijo izkopnega polja proti zahodu (prim. *sl. 6* s *sl. 4* in *sl. 11:* SE 155). Glede na radiokarbonsko datacijo (infiltriranega?) vzorca oglja iz jame SE 150 bi lahko bi lahko bila mlajša konstrukcija iz srednje bakrene dobe (glej tu: Radiokarbonske analize).

Faza 4 (novodobni posegi)

Plast SE 003, jamo SE 290, jarek SE 45 in druge jame iz bakrene dobe sta prekrivali ilovnata subhumusna plast (SE 002) in sivorjava humusna plast (SE 001). Slednja je nastala z moderno poljedelsko rabo prostora, zato se v njej mešajo prazgodovinske (10 keramičnih odlomkov in retuširan odbitek *t. 14:* 3), rimskodobne (18 keramičnih odlomkov) in novoveške najdbe (872 keramičnih odlomkov). Prekrivala je tudi jarek za plinovod iz leta 1975, kar je razvidno iz južnega profila razširitve izkopa ob jami SE 344 (*sl. 8:* SE 001). Plast SE 002 je zgodnejša od jarka za plinovod iz leta 1975 in predstavlja morda starejšo ornico (*sl. 8:* SE 002). V njej so bili odkriti le trije odlomki novoveške lončenine.

Novodobni so tudi štirje jarki in jama, odkriti v izkopnem polju. Jarki so bili vzporedni s smerjo oranja, v njih so bile recentne kosti in novodobna keramika, zato jih razlagamo kot brazde pluga. Jama (SE 2) je glede na stratigrafsko lego novodobna. Odkrita je bila pod ornico SE 001 ter nad jamama SE 100 in 128.

NAJDBE

Pri izkopavanju najdišča Stoperce je bilo skupaj odkritih 4876 keramičnih odlomkov; 2522 oz. 14,58 kg (52 %) jih je iz zgodnje bakrene dobe, 1186 oz. 4,28 kg (24 %) iz poznega neolitika, preostali so iz rimskega obdobja (27 fragmentov; 0,5 %) in novega veka (1141 keramičnih odlomkov oz. 23,5 %).[51]

Prazgodovinski keramični odlomki so bili odkriti v vseh treh velikih jamah (SE 128 – objekt I, SE 150 – zemljanka, SE 344), dveh jarkih (SE 45, 249), v desetih srednje velikih jamah (SE 9, 13 – pomožni objekt 4, SE 19 – pomožni objekt 5, SE 52, 99, SE 100 – pomožni objekt 6, SE 133, 137, 250, 260), v 17 jamah za stojke (SE 11, 46, 96, 98, 118, 129, 145, 244, 246, 254, 258, 263, 264, 267, 276, 277, 281) in v petih plasteh (SE 003, 3–5 in 95). Skupaj jih je v keramičnem repertoarju iz Stoperc 3708, kar predstavlja 76 % odkrite keramike. Po primarni obdelavi se je to število zmanjšalo na 2564 oz. približno za 30 %: med njimi je 147 kosov keramike, ki nam služijo za oporo pri datiranju naselbine (odlomki ustij, okrašenih ostenj, dna itd.). Najdeni so bili tudi kosi oglja (skupaj 80 vzorcev), 838 kosov ožgane ilovice, 31 drobcev kosti, 521 kamnitih odbitkov in kamnov ter 15 kamnitih artefaktov.

Značilne najdbe so predstavljene v Katalogu: *t. 1–4*; *5:* 1–6 (jama iz poznega neolitika); *t. 5:* 7–11; *6–13; 14:* 1–3 (naselje iz zgodnje bakrene dobe).[52]

Pozni neolitik

Večina keramičnih odlomkov iz poznega neolitika v Stopercah je bila odkrita v jami SE 128 (*t. 1–4*; *5:* 1–6), en pa skupaj z odlomki iz zgodnje bakrene dobe v plasti SE 3 (*t. 13:* 12[53]). Delež poznoneolitske keramike se je po primarni obdelavi zmanjšal s 1186 na 850 kosov (za 28 %), pri čemer je bilo mogoče tri posode rekonstruirati v zgornjem delu in v precejšnjem delu trebuha (*t. 1:* 2,3; *2:* 10),[54] devet jih ima rekonstruiran zgornji del (*t. 1:* 1; *2:* 1–3, 9; *3:* 1,4,6,7), v preostalih primerih pa gre za različno velike dele posod, ki so bili sestavljeni iz 2–10 keramičnih odlomkov.

Od 850 kosov keramike iz jame SE 128 je bilo analiziranih 646 (76 %).[55] Ti pripadajo 49 posodam, med katerimi je 22 odlomkov ustij z ostenji (od tega 9 z enim ali dvema ročajema; med njimi: *t. 2:* 3, 8–10; *3:* 1,4,6,7), 16 odlomkov ostenj posod (npr. *t. 3:* 8; *4:* 1–2)[56], pet kosov dna z ostenji (*t. 4:* 10–14), en odlomek ročaja (*t. 4:* 9), štirje fragmenti votlih nog (*t. 1:* 8–11) in rekonstruirana skleda na nogi (*t. 1:* 3[57]). Trije kosi posod so popolnoma prežgani (*t. 1:* 12; *4:* 8[58]), zato za analize načina izdelave lončenine in okrasa niso bili primerni.

Slaba polovica poznoneolitske lončenine je bila izdelana iz lončarskih glin brez primesi (zelo finozrnate – 42 %), preostale pa iz glin s posameznimi zrni kremena (finozrnate – 58 %). Pred žganjem

[51] Rimskodobni in novoveški keramični odlomki so bili najdeni v ornici in v štirih jarkih, ki jih razlagamo kot brazde pluga.

[52] Najdbe so shranjene v depoju ZVKDS, CPA na Vičavi 5 na Ptuju.

[53] Sodeč po videzu keramike in okrasu bi lahko šlo za del vratu lonca iz jame SE 128 (*t. 3:* 4).

[54] Lonec *t. 2:* 10 je bil sestavljen iz kar 124 keramičnih odlomkov.

[55] Preostali 204 (24 %) kosi predstavljajo manj značilne keramične odlomke, večinoma ostenja.

[56] Gre za kose z največjimi obodi posod (*t. 4:* 1,2), z ornamentom (*t. 2:* 5–7; *3:* 2,3,5,8,10,11) in kose z ročajem ali prehodi v ročaje (*t. 2:* 8; *3:* 9).

[57] Odlomki noge so bili odkriti skupaj s fragmenti zgornjega dela posode in so po videzu povsem enaki.

[58] V tretjem primeru gre za odlomek najširšega oboda lonca.

je bila površina posod večinoma brisana (91 %) in pri 15 posodah (dobrih 32 %) dodatno premazana z glinenim premazom. Prevladujejo premazi rdeče barve (*t. 1:* 1–3,10; *2:* 1,2; *4:* 6; *4:* 9), posamezne posode pa so imele premaz svetlo rdeče (*t. 1:* 4,6), bledo rdeče (*t. 4:* 6,7), rdečerjave (*t. 2:* 8), rdečerumene (*t. 1:* 5) in črne barve (*t. 3:* 9).[59] Posode so bile žgane nepopolno oksidacijsko (87 %), nekatere pa nepopolno oksidacijsko in redukcijsko v končni fazi (13 % – *t. 2:* 3,4,9; *3:* 11; *4:* 1,10).[60]

Od 46 odlomkov iz poznega neolitika je z okrasom 22 kosov (dobrih 47 %). Okras je bil narejen na različne načine pred žganjem, najpogosteje z apliciranjem oz. lepljenjem plastičnih nalepk[61] (30 % – *t. 1:* 1,3; *2:* 1,2,9; *3:* 6) in vtiskovanjem (30 % – *t. 2:* 6,7; *3:* 4,11; *4:* 5,12), sledijo vrezovanje (13 % – *t. 2:* 4; *3:* 5,10), kombinacija vrezovanja in vtiskovanja (13 % – *t. 2:* 5,10; *3:* 1) ter apliciranja in vtiskovanja (9 % – *t. 3:* 7,8); ena posoda pa je bila okrašena v kombinaciji apliciranja in vrezovanja (5 % – *t. 3:* 2).

Okrašene so sklede (*t. 2:* 1,2), sklede na nogah (*t. 1:* 1,3), vrč (*t. 2:* 9) in lonci (*t. 2:* 5–7,10; *3:* 1–8,10,11; *9:* 5). Vrč (*t. 2:* 9), skledi (*t. 2:* 1,2) in skledi na nogah (*t. 1:* 1,3) so bili okrašeni s plastičnimi nalepkami. Na šestih loncih je okras narejen z vtiskovanjem (*t. 2:* 6,7; *3:* 3,4,11; *4:* 5), na treh v kombinaciji vtiskovanja in vrezovanja (*t. 2:* 5,10; *3:* 1), na dveh vtiskovanja in apliciranja (*t. 3:* 7,8), na dveh z vrezovanjem (*t. 3:* 5,10[62]), na dveh z apliciranjem (*t. 3:* 6,9) ter na enem z apliciranjem in vrezovanjem (*t. 3:* 2).

Sklede

Kot sklede smo opredelili 10 keramičnih fragmentov, enega kot miniaturno skledo (*t. 1:* 2). Večinoma so imele glinen premaz. Med seboj se razlikujejo po oblikovanosti roba ustja: šest jih ima izvihan rob ustja (*t. 1:* 1,3–7), ena je polkroglaste oblike (*t. 1:* 12), dve imata ravni rob ustja nagnjen navznoter (*t. 2:* 1,2) in ena rahlo navzven (*t. 2:* 3).

Sklede z izvihanim robom ustja so značilne za lengyelsko kulturo iz poznega neolitika in se pojavljajo na širokem prostoru srednje Evrope. Na votlih nogah ali brez noge so že v najzgodnejši oz. "formativni" fazi lengyelske kulture v Avstriji ter na Slovaškem in Madžarskem, imenovani faza Lengyel I po Kaliczu.[63] Pogosto okrašene s slikanim okrasom so značilne tudi za poznejšo zgodnjo (Lengyel Ib) in srednjo fazo lengyelske kulture (Lengyel II po Kaliczu).[64] Brez slikanega okrasa, a z glinenim premazom pa so običajne v pozni lengyelski kulturi (faza Lengyel III po Raczkyu in Kaliczu).[65]

V severovzhodni Sloveniji so bile sklede z izvihanim robom ustja odkrite na poznolengyelskem najdišču Andrenci, po ena na Ptujskem gradu, na Gradu Borl in v Zgornjem Radvanju, nekaj na Ptuju – Šolskem centru, dve v Ormožu.[66] Več jih je znanih z najdišč savske skupine lengyelske

[59] Barve premazov so bile določene z barvno lestvico *Munsell Soil Color Charts*. V prispevku so predstavljene le opisno.

[60] Kramberger 2014a, 244–247, sl. 27–29, 32.

[61] Izraz plastična nalepka enačimo z izrazom aplika. Aplika ali aplikacija pomeni "našit, nalepljen okrasek"; plastična nalepka "kar se nalepi za okras" in "ki ima izrazite, vidne oblike" (SSKJ[2] 2014). Oba izraza v arheologiji označujeta majhne bunčice različnih oblik, ki so bile oblikovane iz gline in v procesu izdelave na posode pred žganjem nalepljene (Kramberger 2021b, 52, op. 25; *id.* 2022, 25, op. 51). Ker je aplika tujka, dajemo prednost izrazu plastična nalepka, čeprav se izraz aplika pogosteje uporablja (plastična nalepka: Velušček 2004, 170, 193 – Tip L18, 230; *id.* 2006, 27–33; *id.* 2011b, 109–134, 139–162; Grahek 2013; Kramberger 2018; *id.* 2020b; *id.* 2021a; aplika: npr. Guštin 2005b, 12–13; Guštin *et al.* 2005, 50–55; Turk, Svetličič 2005; Horvat 2020; Tomaž 2022). V nekaterih primerih se za enak okras uporablja tudi izraz bradavica (npr. Dular *et al.* 1991; Tomaž 2012; Šavel, Karo 2012; Šavel, Sankovič 2011).

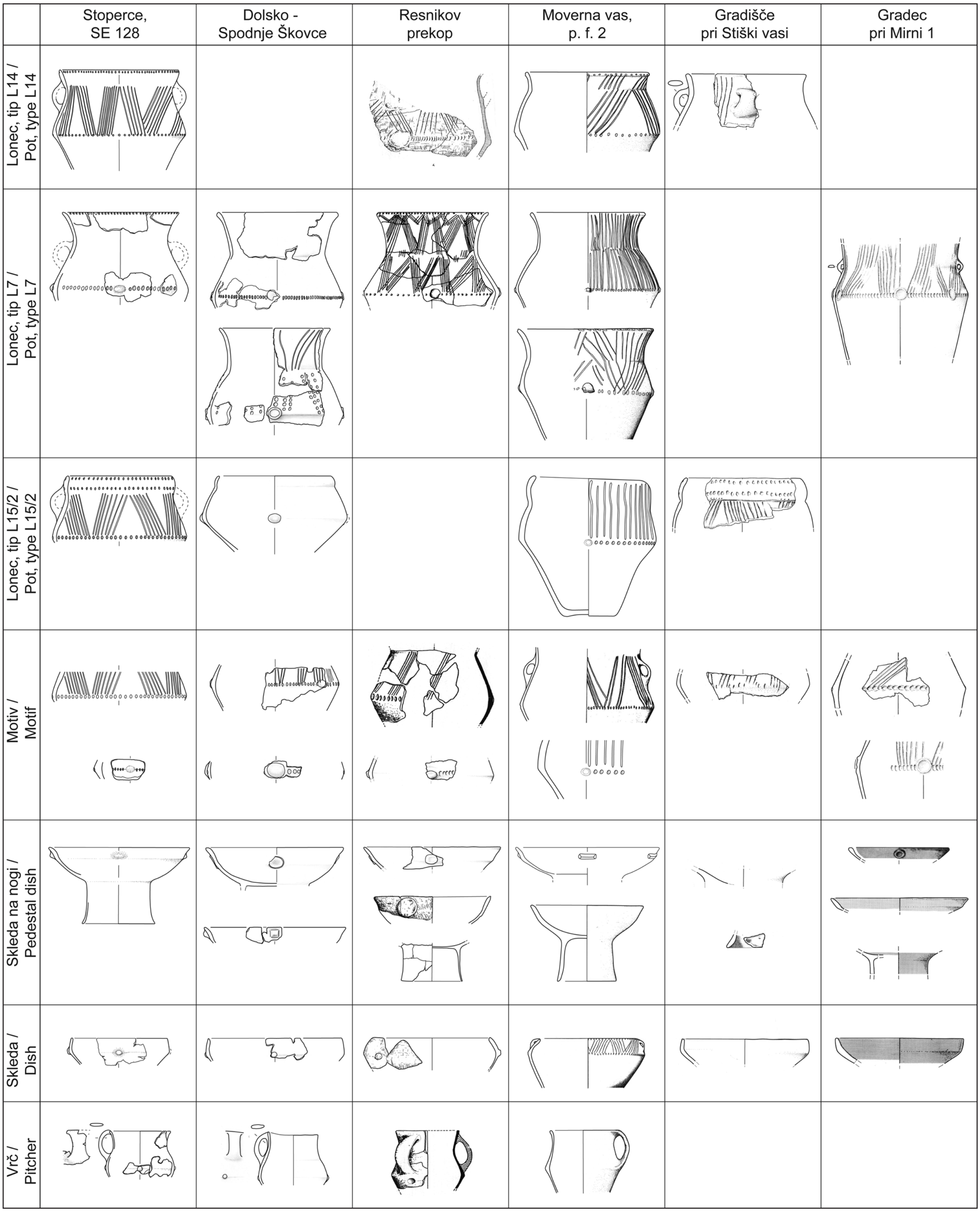
[62] Morda je tudi odlomek odebeljenega ustja posode z vrezanim okrasom del lonca (prim. *t. 2:* 4 s *t. 3:* 1, 4).

[63] Kalicz 2006; glej tudi Barna 2017, 26–27, 370. Primerjave za sklede: Friebritz, grob 134 (Stadler, Ruttkay 2007, t. 1: 6); Svodín, grob 9 (Pavúk 2007, sl. 3: 6,9), Sormás-Török-földek (Barna 2017, t. 14: 9–18; 15: 6,7).

[64] V Avstriji so sočasna lengyelska najdišča opredeljena v t. i. moravsko-vzhodnoavstrijsko skupino s slikano keramiko (MOG) in na Slovaškem v fazo moravske slikane keramike (MBK) (Barna 2017, 103–106). Nekaj primerjav: Kamegg (Stadler, Ruttkay 2007, t. 3: 1–6; Stadler, Ruttkay 2006, 19: št. 552, 568; 22: št. 397, 405; 23: št. 596, 613, 614; 31: št. 159; 32: št. 848; 41: št. 24; 42: št. 27, 48 in 93; 46: št. 387; 50: št. 221, 222, itd.); Zalaszentbalázs-Pusztatető (Bánffy 1995a, t. 22: 88); Nagykanizsa-Palin, Anyagnyerőhely (Barna *et al.* 2016, sl. 12: 1a–b, 14), Hlohovec (Pavúk 2007, sl. 4: 7).

[65] Raczky 1974; Kalicz 1991. Primerjave za sklede: Zalaszentbalázs-Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, t. 57: 65,67; 62: 103; 74: 202); Veszprém (Regenye 2007, t. 1: 18; 5: 1; Raczky 1974, sl. 11: 5; 17: 2); Pleszów (Pavúk 2007, sl. 7: 1,6–7).

[66] Andrenci (Pahič 1976a, t. 1: 27; 2: 8,9; 3: 3,23), Ptujski grad (Korošec 1965, t. 10: 5; Tomanič-Jevremov *et al.* 2006a, 117, sl. 2: št. 2), Grad Borl (Lazar *et al.* 2022, t. 2: 17; opredelitev najdb: Kramberger 2022); Ptuj – Šolski center, objekta I in II (*id.* 2014b, t. 27: 301–303; 41: 480); Ormož (Tomanič-Jevremov *et al.* 2006b, najdbi št. 11, 12); Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, najdba št. 703).



Sl. 14: Oblike in okras poznoneolitske lončenine v Stopercah in primerjave na najdiščih savske skupine lengyelske kulture na Gorenjskem (Gradišče pri Stiški vasi), v osrednji Sloveniji (Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce in Resnikov prekop), v Posavju (Gradec pri Mirni) in v Beli Krajini (Moverna vas, SE 056 – p. f. 2) (vir podatkov: Korošec 1964; Harej 1975; Velušček 2006; Budja 1995, sl. 4; Velušček 2005; Dular *et al.* 1991; Dular 2001; Tomaž 1999; Kramberger, 2023). Ni v merilu.
Fig. 14: Vessel shapes and decoration of Late Neolithic pottery in Stoperce and comparisons at sites of the Sava group of the Lengyel culture in the Gorenjska region (Gradišče near Stiška vas), in central Slovenia (Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce and Resnikov prekop), in Posavje (Gradec pri Mirni) and in Bela Krajina (Moverna vas, SU 056 – p. f. 2) (data source: Korošec 1964; Harej 1975; Velušček 2006; Budja 1995, Fig. 4; Velušček 2005; Dular *et al.* 1991; Dular 2001; Tomaž 1999; Kramberger, 2023). Not to scale.

kulture v osrednji in jugovzhodni Sloveniji, kjer se med posameznimi najdišči razlikujejo po okrasu; to bi po eni od raziskav lahko bilo deloma povezano z različno starostjo najdišč.[67] Za tiste na najdiščih Čatež – Sredno polje in Dragomelj je namreč značilno, da so bile pogosto okrašene s plastičnimi nalepkami in vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih jamic na klekastem prehodu ali/in tik pod vrhom ustja.[68] Enako so okrašene še ena od skled iz najnižje kulturne plasti v Moverni vasi (SE 056, tj. 2. poselitvena faza), skleda z višinskega najdišča Podgorje pri Pišecah, omenjeni skledi s Ptujskega gradu in gradu Borl ter dve iz Dolskega – Spodnjih Škovc v Ljubljanski kotlini.[69]

Preostale sklede iz spodnje kulturne plasti v Moverni vasi in iz Spodnjih Škovc so ali brez okrasa, ali okrašene s posameznimi velikimi vtisnjenimi jamicami, ali z okroglimi plastičnimi nalepkami na največjem obodu; ena skleda iz spodnje kulturne plasti v Moverni vasi ima vrezan cikcakast okras, dve pa sta podobno kot skledi na nogi iz jame SE 128 v Stopercah okrašeni s podolgovato vodoravno plastično nalepko (*sl. 14:* Skleda na nogi, Moverna vas, p. f. 2).[70]

Tudi na Resnikovem prekopu, v spodnji plasti na Gradcu pri Mirni in na poznoneolitskem najdišču Dolenji Leskovec v Posavju so sklede z izvihanim robom ustja okrašene z okroglimi plastičnimi nalepkami na največjem obodu (*sl. 14:* Skleda na nogi), v Dolenjem Leskovcu so številne tudi s posameznimi velikimi vtisnjenimi jamicami.[71]

V Moverni vasi se sklede z izvihanim robom ustja pojavljajo še v stratigrafskih enotah SE 050 in SE 022, ki sta v stratigrafski sekvenci interpretirani kot poselitveni fazi 4 in 5. Na Gorenjskem so znane z Drulovke in neolitsko-eneolitske jame v Kranju, v hrvaškem Pokolpju z najdišča Ozalj – Stari grad, na Kočevskem s Spahe pri Predgradu, na Dolenjskem z najdišč Ponikve pri Trebnjem, Col 1 pri Podgračenem, Ajdovska jama in Grac pri Selih pri Zajčjem vrhu.[72] Primerki s teh najdišč so večinoma neokrašeni, nekateri so okrašeni s snopi vrezov med vodoravnima nizoma vtisnjenih jamic, prav noben pa ni okrašen s plastično nalepko ali z vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih jamic.

Najdišča Ponikve pri Trebnjem, 4. in 5. poselitvena faza v Moverni vasi, Ozalj – Stari grad in najzgodnejše najdbe z Drulovke pri Kranju smo na podlagi skupnih značilnosti v oblikovanosti lončenine in okrasu opredelili v mlajšo fazo savske skupine, savsko skupino II, za najdišča Ajdovska jama, Col 1 pri Podgračenem, neolitsko-eneolitska jama v Kranju in Grac pri Selih pri Zajčjem ugotavljamo, da so na njih odkrite tipične lasinjske najdbe.[73] Glede na doslej znane radiokarbonske datacije vzorcev oglja in zoglenelih ostankov z najdišč Ponikve pri Trebnjem in Moverna vas je mlajša faza savske skupine iz 45. in/ali 44. st. pr.

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[67] Kramberger 2014a, 249–250; *id.* 2020a.

[68] Čatež – Sredno polje (Tomaž 2005, najdbe št. 3, 4, 6, 21, 23–27, 28–35; Tomaž 2022, najdbe št. 25, 26, 30, 207–213, 216–233, 237–244, 346, itd.); Dragomelj (Turk, Svetličič 2005, najdbe št. 1, 2, 21, 31, 33, 35, 40, 43).

[69] Moverna vas, 2. poselitvena faza (Tomaž 1999, t. 3: 1); Podgorje pri Pišecah (Ciglenečki 1979, 260, sl. 3: 1), Ptujski grad (Tomanič-Jevremov *et al.* 2006a, 177, sl. 2, najdba št. 2); Grad Borl (Lazar *et al.* 2022, t. 2: 17); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, najdbi št. 18 in 19; Žorž, Nadbath 2010).

[70] Iz plasti SE 056 v Moverni vasi je poznanih skupaj 12 skled z izvihanim robom ustja, od tega so 3 brez okrasa (Tomaž 1999, t. 2: 3; 3: 3; 4: 6), 3 okrašene s posameznimi večjimi vtisnjenimi jamicami (*ib*., t. 4: 1–3), 2 z okroglimi plastičnimi nalepkami (*ib*., t. 5: 1,3), 1 z vrezi v obliki cikcaka (*ib*., t. 4: 5) in 2 s podolgovatimi vodoravnimi plastičnimi nalepkami (prim. t. 1: 1,3 s Tomaž 1999, t. 4: 4; 5: 2). Od 35 skled z izvihanim robom ustja iz Dolskega je 16 odlomkov brez okrasa (Kramberger, 2023, najdbe št. 4, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 79, 82, 85, 86, 159, 205, 230, 233, 266), 16 je okrašenih z okroglimi plastičnimi nalepkami na klekastem prehodu (Kramberger, 2023, najdbe št. 1, 7, 12, 14, 77, 78, 83, 148, 150, 151, 203, 204, 206, 227, 263), 1 z veliko vtisnjeno okroglo jamico (*ib*., najdba št. 231).

[71] Resnikov prekop (Korošec 1964, t. 7: 1; 8: 1; 15: 4; 17: 2; 18: 3,4; Harej 1975, t. 2: 10; 3: 1; 7: 7–9; Velušček 2006, t. 9: 10,12; 19: 3,4), spodnja plast na Gradcu pri Mirni (Dular *et al.* 1991, t. 22: 3,8; 24: 11). S poznoneolitskega najdišča Dolenji Leskovec so doslej znane le najdbe iz t. i. objekta 3, v katerem je bilo 27 skled z izvihanim robom ustja, od tega jih je 11 brez okrasa (Hlad 2015, t. 14: 48; 15: 53,56,58; 16: 60,61,63,64; 17: 68; 19: 83; 20: 85), 5 je okrašenih s plastično nalepko (*ib*., t. 14: 50; 15: 55; 17: 74; 18: 77; 19: 80) in 11 s posameznimi velikimi vtisnjenimi jamicami (*ib*., t. 14: 49,51,52; 15: 54; 16: 62; 17: 67,69; 18: 78,79; 19: 81,82).

[72] Drulovka pri Kranju (Korošec 1960, t. 15: 5; 32: 7; 33: 5,7,10; 34: 4; Guštin *et al.* 2005, 44, najdbi št. 10 in 16); Kranj – Savska cesta (Dolinar 2016, najdbe št. 164, 165, 198, 199); Ozalj – Stari grad (Težak-Gregl 2005, najdbe št. 3, 4, 6, 13, 16); Moverna vas 4, SE 050 (Tomaž 1999, t. 18: 2–4; 19: 3–5; 20: 2), Moverna vas 5, SE 022 (Tomaž 1999, t. 28: 1,5; 29: 1); Spaha pri Predgradu (Velušček 2011b, t. 4.8: 5; 4.33: 7; 4.37: 4); Ponikve pri Trebnjem (Ravnik, Tica 2018, najdbe št. 12, 13, 211–213, 218–221, 229, 356, 697, 797, 808); Col 1 pri Podgračenem (Horvat 2020, najdbe št. 40, 41, 44, 45); Ajdovska jama (Korošec 1975, t. 6: 4); Grac pri Selih pri Zajčjem vrhu (Pavlin 2006, najdba št. 5).

[73] Kramberger 2020a, 63–64, 70–74, sl. 4, 7.

n. št.[74] V ta časovni okvir pade tudi ena od dveh datacij ^{14}C vzorcev oglja iz neolitsko-eneolitske jame v Kranju, druga datacija pa je mlajša in kaže na zadnjo tretjino 5. tisočletja pr. n. št., kar se prekriva z datacijami lasinjske kulture.[75] Z datacijami lasinjske kulture se prekrivajo tudi datacije ^{14}C iz faze pokopov v Ajdovski jami in edina datacija ^{14}C iz Cola 1 pri Podgračenem.[76]

Polkroglasta skleda iz jame SE 128 v Stopercah predstavlja kronološko manj občutljiv tip posode (*t. 1:* 12). Podobne srečamo na poznoneolitskih najdiščih, kot so Resnikov prekop, Andrenci in najnižja plast v Moverni vasi,[77] na najdišču Ponikve pri Trebnjem,[78] ter tudi na lasinjskih najdiščih, kot so pokopi v Ajdovski jami in naselje Zgornje Radvanje pod Pohorjem v Mariboru.[79]

Pomembnejše so sklede z ravnim robom ustja (*t. 2:* 1–3). V poznoneolitski jami v Stopercah so bili odkriti trije kosi: dve skledi sta imeli ravni rob ustja nagnjen navznoter oz. uvihan (*t. 2:* 1,2), ena pa nagnjen navzven (*t. 2:* 3). Slednja ima ročaj, ki je bil na skledo pritrjen na največjem obodu in v spodnjem delu trebuha, medtem ko sta preostali skledi brez ročaja in na največjem obodu okrašeni z eno (*t. 2:* 2) ali dvema okroglima plastičnima nalepkama, ki sta druga ob drugi (*t. 2:* 1).[80]

Sklede z uvihanim ravnim robom ustja so značilne za poznejše faze lengyelske kulture, nato pa nadaljujejo svojo tradicijo v lasinjsko kulturo zgodnje bakrene dobe. Okrašene z manjšimi okroglimi aplikami na največjem obodu (*t. 2:* 1,2) so značilne za najdišča pozne lengyelske kulture. Srečamo jih na madžarskih naselbinah Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező in Győr-Szabadrétdomb ter na približno sočasnem naselju Michelstetten v Avstriji,[81] pri nas na najdiščih savske skupine lengyelske kulture Resnikov prekop in Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (*sl. 14:* Skleda, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce; Resnikov prekop).[82]

Tudi skleda z navzven nagnjenim ravnim robom ustja in ročajem, pritrjenim na največjem obodu in pod njim (*t. 2:* 3), predstavlja tipološko mlad kos keramike v poznoneolitski jami v Stopercah. Primerljive so sklede z lasinjskih naselbin Dobri – Alsó-mező, Újperint-Kavicsbánya in Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida, Gébárti-tó II, vendar z uvihanim robom ustja.[83]

Votle noge posod

V jami SE 128 je bilo odkritih pet fragmentov votlih nog (*t. 1:* 8–11). Eden od njih je del sklede na nogi, ki jo je bilo mogoče delno rekonstruirati (*t. 1:* 3), pri eni skledi pa je ohranjen prehod v dno in votlo nogo (*t. 1:* 1).

Trije kosi posod na nogah imajo površino premazano z glinenim premazom (*t. 1:* 1,3,10), kar je značilnost votlih nog s cilindričnim zgornjim delom iz prve polovice in začetka druge polovice 5. tisočletja pr. n. št.[84]

Lonci

Večje posode s konkavno oblikovanim ali rahlo zaobljenim ostenjem v spodnjem delu, rameni, vratovi in ročaji so v jami SE 128 najštevilneje zastopane. Gre za lonce, ki jih je bilo v petih primerih mogoče v celoti rekonstruirati v zgornjem delu (*t. 2:* 10; *3:* 1,4,6,7), v preostalih pa gre za odlomke največjih obodov (*t. 2:* 6,7; *3:* 2,8–11; *4:* 2), zgornjih delov posod z ustjem (*t. 4:* 3,5) ter odlomke okrašenih ostenj z delom ramena in prehodom v vrat (*t. 2:* 5; *3:* 3,5).

Lonci so bili izdelani iz zelo finozrnatih (*t. 2:* 6; *3:* 1,2; *3:* 10,11) in finozrnatih lončarskih glin

[74] Ravnik, Tica 2018, 77, sl. 123, 124; Kramberger 2014a, 252–253; *id.* 2020a, 63–66, sl. 4; *id.* 2021b, 53, 57, 84–85; Sraka 2014, 379, sl. 3. Ker temelji datiranje na oglju, je sicer mogoče, da so ta najdišča še nekoliko mlajša (možnost "efekta starega lesa").

[75] Dolinar 2016, 38, sl. 42; prim. npr. z Velušček 2011a, 231, tab. 5.2; Kramberger 2014a, sl. 36.

[76] Sraka 2020, 13, sl. 5, App.; Horvat 2020, 120, sl. 75.

[77] Resnikov prekop (Harej 1975, t. 4: 7; Velušček 2006, t. 14: 17,18); Andrenci (Pahič 1976a, t. 6: 17); Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, t. 3: 4).

[78] Ponikve pri Trebnjem (Ravnik, Tica 2018, najdbe št. 205, 206, 208–210, itd.).

[79] Ajdovska jama (Korošec 1975, t. 7: 9, t. 11: 6,8; Horvat 2009, sl. 5: 1); Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, G516).

[80] Skledi z uviham ravnim robom ustja bi lahko pripadal tudi kos, okrašen z vrezi tik pod ustjem (*t. 2:* 4), če ni pripadal loncu (prim. s *t. 3:* 1,4).

[81] Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, t. 66: 139,144,147; 90: 113; 91: 118,120; 107: 242); Győr-Szabadrétdomb (Virág, Figler 2007, sl. 1: 1); Michelstetten (Stadler, Ruttkay 2006, 80: 4476 in 4275; 84: 5701; 88: 5341; 99: 5648: 104: 4779; glej tudi Carneiro 2001, 54, sl. 3 in 4).

[82] Resnikov prekop (Korošec 1964, t. 17: 7; Harej 1975, t. 7: 1,2); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, najdba št. 92).

[83] Dobri – Alsó-mező (Horváth, Simon 2004, sl. 5: 12, sl. 7: 9); Újperint-Kavicsbánya (Karolyi 1992, t. 34: 1); Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida, Gébárti-tó II (Barna, Kreiter 2006, sl. 8: 6).

[84] Kramberger 2018, 87–93, sl. 14. Prim. npr. *t. 1:* 3 s Tomaž, Kavur 2006, najdba št. 10; Korošec 1964, t. 14: 5; Turk, Svetličič 2005, najdba št. 32; Pahič 1976a, t. 6: 8.

(*t. 2:* 5,7,8,10; *3:* 3,4,7–9; *4:* 2,3,5) ter nepopolno oksidacijsko žgani, le dve posodi sta bili žgani nepopolno oksidacijsko, redukcijsko v končni fazi (*t. 3:* 11; *4:* 5). Pogosto so bili tudi okrašeni: na največjem obodu, na ramenih in na vratu, večkrat tudi na vseh treh mestih hkrati (*t. 2:* 10; *3:* 1).

Kronološko pomembna značilnost loncev je, da so bili okrašeni z okroglimi in ovalnimi plastičnimi nalepkami na največjem obodu. Na posodah se pojavljajo plastične nalepke kot samostojen okras (*t. 3:* 6) ali v kombinaciji z vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih jamic (*t. 3:* 8,7) ali vrezi (*t. 3:* 2). Gre za ornament, ki je na Slovenskem značilen za najdišča savske skupine lengyelske kulture iz prve polovice in sredine 5. tisočletja pr. n. št., npr. Dragomelj, Čatež – Sredno polje, Resnikov prekop *(sl. 14:* Motiv, Resnikov prekop), Dolenji Leskovec in Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce *(sl. 14:* Motiv, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce).[85] V Moverni vasi (*sl. 14:* Motiv, Moverna vas, p. f. 2) in na Gradcu pri Mirni (*sl. 14:* Motiv, Gradec pri Mirni 1) ga srečamo na loncih iz najstarejših kulturnih plasti, v severovzhodni Sloveniji na poznolengyelski keramiki v Andrencih in Bukovnici.[86]

Po oblikovanosti ramen in vratu ter dolžini vratu v primerjavi z rameni lahko lonce iz poznoneolitske jame razdelimo na tri tipe: z visokimi ravnimi rameni in kratkim izrazito usločenim vratom (*t. 2:* 10; morda tudi *t. 4:* 3,5), z ravnimi rameni in srednje dolgim izrazito usločenim vratom (*t. 3:* 7), z visokimi zaobljenimi rameni in kratkim rahlo usločenim vratom (*t. 3:* 6) ter z ravnimi rameni in uvihanim oz. elipsoidnim vratom (*t. 3:* 1,4).

Delno rekonstruiran lonec z visokimi ravnimi rameni in kratkim izrazito usločenim vratom (*t. 2:* 10) je okrašen na največjem obodu in tik pod ustjem z vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih jamic, na ramenih s snopi vrezov v cikcaku. Najustreznejši primerjavi mu najdemo med najdbami iz spodnje kulturne plasti v Moverni vasi v Beli krajini (*sl. 14:* Lonec, tip L14, Moverna vas, p. f. 2) in na Resnikovem prekopu (*sl. 14:* Lonec, tip L14, Resnikov prekop), slabše ohranjenega z Gradišča pri Stiški vasi (*sl. 14:* Lonec, tip L14, Gradišče pri Stiški vasi).[87] Gre za tipičen okras na loncih z najdišč savske skupine na Dolenjskem, v osrednji Sloveniji in na Gorenjskem (*sl. 14:* Motiv),[88] medtem ko ga na najdiščih lengyelske kulture na Madžarskem, v Avstriji ali na Slovaškem ne poznamo, čeprav so na najdiščih pozne (!) lengyelske kulture zastopani podobni lonci z izvihanimi vratovi in s trakastimi ročaji.[89]

Na prostoru od Bele krajine do Gorenjske srečamo tudi najustreznejše analogije za lonec z ravnimi rameni in srednje dolgim izrazito usločenim vratom, ki je bil na največjem obodu okrašen z vtisnjenimi jamicami in ovalno plastično nalepko, vtisnjene jamice pa je imel tudi tik pod ustjem (*t. 3:* 7). Podobno oblikovane in okrašene lonce poznamo na Ljubljanskem barju z Resnikovega prekopa, iz Dolskega – Spodnjih Škovc, v Posavju iz Dolenjega Leskovca in najstarejše kulturne plasti na Gradcu pri Mirni, v Beli krajini iz spodnje kulturne plasti v Moverni vasi (*sl. 14:* Lonec, tip L7).[90]

Dva lonca iz jame SE 128 v Stopercah sta imela ravna ramena in uvihan oz. elipsoidni vrat. Eden ima nekoliko daljši vrat in je okrašen z vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih jamic na največjem obodu in tremi na vratu (*t. 3:* 4), drugi je bil okrašen z vodoravnimi nizi vtisnjenih jamic na največjem obodu in dvema na vratu, na ramenu s snopi vrezov v cikcaku (*t. 3:* 1). Skoraj enako oblikovan in okrašen lonec poznamo z Gradišča pri Stiški vasi (*sl. 14:* Lonec,

[85] Resnikov prekop (Korošec 1964, t. 4: 6; 7: 11; 8: 2; 9: 8; 14: 8; 18: 1; Harej 1975, t. 1: 1,2,6; 2: 1,3; 4: 10; Velušček 2006, t. 2: 3–5; 5: 2–9,13,15–17; 6: 1–7; 7: 1; 13: 1; 14: 3,5 itd.); Dragomelj (Turk, Svetličič 2005, najdbe št. 13, 14, 44); Čatež – Sredno polje (npr. Tomaž 2005, najdbe št. 9, 10, 13, 38, 41); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, t. 1: 3; 2: 4,5; 3: 9–11; 4: 12,15; 5: 16,17; 6: 19,21; 7: 23; 8: 24,25; 10: 29,30; 11: 32,34; 13: 44; 30: 188,191–194); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, najdbe št. 33, 35, 36–41, 44, 45, 46, 105, 106, 109, 111, 165, 167–171, 175, 223, 235, 241).

[86] Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, t. 6: 3; 10: 4; 11: 3; 14: 1); Gradec pri Mirni (Dular *et al.* 1991, t. 23: 2,3,5; 24: 8, 9; glej tudi Dular 2001); Andrenci (Pahič 1976a, t. 2: 22,23; 3: 10,15–19; 5: 10); Bukovnica (Šavel 1992, t. 5: 1–3,5,9,16; glej tudi Šavel 1994 in 2006).

[87] Moverna vas, SE 056 (Tomaž 1999, t. 12: 1–2); Resnikov prekop (Korošec 1964, t. 4: 6).

[88] Glej tudi Drulovka (Guštin *et al.* 2005, najdbi št. 24, 26), Gradišče pri Stiški vasi (Velušček 2005, najdbe št. 12, 13, 15), Zamedvedica pri Plešivici (Turk, Vuga 1984, sl. 4: 20), Gradec pri Mirni (Dular *et al.* 1991, t. 22: 5,12; 23: 5, 6; Dular 2001), Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, t. 11: 32).

[89] Npr. Veszprém (Raczky 1974, sl. 15: 1–5,8; 17: 10,11); Andrenci (Pahič 1976a, t. 3: 22; 5: 24; Kramberger 2014a, t. 1: 9; t. 2: 31); Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, t. 53: 18; 55: 45; 57: 66; 69: 174; 80: 15–19, itd.); Győr-Szabadrétdomb (Virág, Figler 2007, sl. 4: 10); Nagykanizsa-Inkey-Kápolna (Horváth, Kalicz 2006, najdbe št. 24–26).

[90] Resnikov prekop (Harej 1975, t. 1: 3); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, najdbe št. 37, 38, 167); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, t. 7: 23); Gradec pri Mirni (Dular *et al.* 1991, t. 23: 5); Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, t. 14: 1).

tip L15/2, Gradišče pri Stiški vasi).[91] Lonca tega tipa sta bila odkrita tudi v spodnji kulturni plasti v Moverni vasi (*sl. 14:* Lonec, tip L15/2, Moverna vas, p. f. 2), eden v Dolskem – Spodnjih Škovcah (*sl. 14:* Lonec, tip L15/2, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce), elipsoidno oblikovani vratovi loncev (podobnih oblik?) pa v objektu I na Ptuju – Šolski center in na najdišču Ponikve pri Trebnjem.[92]

Lonec z visokimi zaobljenimi rameni in kratkim rahlo usločenim vratom iz jame SE 128 je bil okrašen z okroglo plastično nalepko na največjem obodu in je oksidacijsko žgan ter ima povsem gladko površino zelo bledo rjave barve (*t. 3:* 6). Podobno oblikovane in okrašene poznamo z najdišča Michelstetten vzhodnoavstrijske skupine s slikano keramiko in z najdišča Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező pozne lengyelske kulture na Madžarskem, eno s Čateža – Srednega polja.[93]

Vrči

V zasutju jame SE 128 so bili odkriti tudi odlomki vsaj enega vrča (*t. 2:* 9). Gre za manjšo posodo z rahlo presegajočim večjim trakastim ročajem, izdelano iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline, nepopolno oksidacijsko žgano, redukcijsko v končni fazi. Vrč je bil v spodnjem delu konveksno oblikovan, ima zaobljen prehod v zgornji del in izvihan vrat, ki je približno enake dolžine kot rame. Na največjem obodu je bil okrašen z okroglo plastično nalepko.

Na pojavljanje podobno oblikovanih in okrašenih vrčev na slovenskih poznoneolitskih in madžarskih najdiščih pozne lengyelske kulture so opozorili že L. Horváth, N. Kalicz in A. Velušček.[94] Podobno oblikovane posode poznamo npr. iz Andrencev, iz Spodnjih Škovc (*sl. 14:* Vrč, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce), iz Dolenjega Leskovca, z Resnikovega prekopa (*sl. 14:* Vrč, Resnikov prekop) in na Madžarskem s poznolengyelskih najdišč Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező in Nagykanizsa-Inkey-Kápolna.[95] Te posode se med seboj razlikujejo le po dolžini vratov v primerjavi z dolžino ramen in po poziciji ročajev, saj so bili ti pri nekaterih vpeti tik pod ustjem, pri drugih pa na ustju. S paličastim držajem z dvema izboklinama ga poznamo iz zgodnjelengyelskega groba 12 v Györu.[96]

Del vrča sta morda tudi ustje z dolgim usločenim vratom in prehodom v ročaj (*t. 4:* 4) ter največji obod manjše posode z delom večjega trakastega ročaja, na kateri je premaz rdečerjave barve (*t. 2:* 8). Ta posoda je imela pod največjim obodom konkavno ostenje, oster prehod v izvihan vrat, na drugi strani ročaja pa odebelitev od ročaja ali plastične nalepke. Podobno oblikovane posode (velikokrat okrašene z okroglimi plastičnimi nalepkami na največjem obodu) poznamo v hrvaškem Pokolpju iz Ozalja – Stari grad, v Beli krajini iz spodnje kulturne plasti v Moverni vasi, na Dolenjskem iz Dolenjega Leskovca in v osrednji Sloveniji iz Spodnjih Škovc.[97] Bolje ohranjeni primerki iz Moverne vasi kažejo, da so imeli pogosto premaz in po en ročaj na ramenih ali pa je ta povezoval največji obod in ustje posode (*sl. 14:* Vrč, Moverna vas, p. f. 2).[98]

Kamnite najdbe

Med kamnitimi izdelki so bili v jami SE 128 odkriti izvrtek kamnite sekire (*t. 5:* 1), kos amfibolita z oklesanimi robovi – polizdelek sekire (*t. 5:* 2), klina brez retuše (*t. 5:* 6) in tri kamnita orodja: retuširan odbitek (*t. 5:* 4), praskalo na odbitku (*t. 5:* 3) in sveder na odlomku kline (*t. 5:* 5). Klina in orodja na odbitkih so bili narejeni iz roženca, katerega izvorna opredelitev na podlagi petrografske analize ni mogoča, izvrtek sekire pa iz serpentinita, ki izdanja Stopercam najbližje na Pohorju in Medvednici. Iz serpentinita so v severovzhodni Sloveniji pogosto izdelane prazgodovinske kamnite sekire,[99] vendar nimamo podatkov, da so omenjena vira kamnin v poznem neolitiku ali bakreni dobi dejansko izkoriščali.[100]

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[91] Velušček 2005, 25, najdba št. 8.

[92] Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, t. 11: 3; Budja 1992, 103, sl. 4); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, najdba št. 46); Ponikve pri Trebnjem (Ravnik, Tica 2018, najdbi št. 200, 625); Ptuj – Šolski center (Kramberger 2014b, t. 39: 456).

[93] Michelstetten (Stadler, Ruttkay 2006, 139, t. 6: 8); Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, t. 71: 177); Čatež – Sredno polje (Tomaž 2022, najdba št. 1556).

[94] Horváth, Kalicz 2006, 58; Velušček 2011a, 241–242.

[95] Andrenci (Kramberger 2014b, t. 2: 44); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, najdba št. 25); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, t. 6: 18); Resnikov prekop (Harej 1975, t. 1: 5); Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, t. 80: 15,18); Nagykanizsa-Inkey-Kápolna (Horváth, Kalicz 2006, predmet št. 23).

[96] Zalai-Gaál 2003, 287, 295–301, sl. 2.

[97] Ozalj – Stari grad (Težak-Gregl 2005, najdbi št. 26 in 29); Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, t. 9: 1–5,7,8; 10: 2); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, t. 9: 26; 12: 39); Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, najdba št. 162, verjetno tudi najdbe št. 24, 31, 32, 163).

[98] Npr. Tomaž 1999, t. 9: 1–5.

[99] Npr. Lubšina Tušek 1993.

[100] Verbič 2022, 62.

Zgodnja bakrena doba (eneolitik)

Iz bakrene dobe so bili v Stopercah odkriti kamniti izdelki, odbitki in kline (*t. 8:* 1–4; *9:* 2; *10:* 4,5; *11:* 7–10; *12:* 5; *13:* 7,8; *14:* 2,3) ter skupaj 2522 keramičnih odlomkov (14,58 kg), kar predstavlja več kot 53 % keramičnih najdb. Večji del teh je bil najden v zasutjih jam SE 150 (*t. 5:* 8–11; *5:* 7 – del; *6:* 1–9; *7:* 1–4; *8:* 1–4), SE 344 (*t. 5:* 7 – del; *9:* 1–4) in SE 52 (*t. 9:* 5–12; *10:* 1–4; *10:* 5 – del) ter v jarku SE 45 (*t. 11:* 1–10). Pomembne keramične in kamnite najdbe so bile odkrite tudi v jarku SE 249 (*t. 12:* 2), v jamah SE 250 (*t. 12:* 1) in SE 100 (*t. 12:* 3–5), v jami za stojko SE 96 (*t. 12:* 6–8), v jami SE 9 (*t. 13:* 1–7) in v plasteh SE 5 (*t. 13:* 8), SE 3 (*t. 13:* 9–11,13–16; *14:* 1–2) in SE 001 (*t. 14:* 3).

Po pregledu odlomkov se je število bakrenodobne keramike zmanjšalo z 2522 na 1714 kosov.[101] Analiziranih je bilo 964 kosov (38 %), ti pripadajo 98 posodam, preostalo so manj značilni keramični odlomki, večinoma ostenj. 36 odlomkov predstavlja zgornje dele posod z delom ustja (med njimi *t. 5:* 7,10; *6:* 1–5; *7:* 1,3,4; *9:* 1,3,4,6,8,9,10; *10:* 1; *11:* 4–6; *12:* 1,2,4,6; *13:* 2–4,11,14; *14:* 1), od tega jih je 7 z ročajem (*t. 6:* 1; *7:* 1; *9:* 8–10; *10:* 1; *11:* 6). V 12 primerih gre za ostenja posod z okrasom ali prehodom iz enega v drugi del posode (med njimi *t. 5:* 8; *6:* 7; *10:* 3; *11:* 2,3; *12:* 7; *13:* 5,10,13). 18 odlomkov predstavlja dna z ostenji posod (med njimi *t. 6:* 8,9; *9:* 11,12; *13:* 15,16), 18 odlomkov ostenja z ročajem (med njimi *t. 5:* 11) in 8 fragmente votlih nog (*t. 5:* 8; *9:* 5,7; *11:* 1; *12:* 3; *13:* 1,6,9). V enem primeru gre za rekonstruirani lonec (*t. 10:* 2), v dveh za rekonstruirana spodnja dela posod (*t. 6:* 6; *12:* 8) in v enem za odlomek recipienta zajemalke (*t. 7:* 2).[102]

Analize so pokazale, da je bila v 88 % površina posod pred žganjem brisana, v 10 % glajena in v 2 % spolirana. Dobra polovica posod (57 %) je bila žgana nepopolno oksidacijsko, preostale nepopolno oksidacijsko, redukcijsko v končni fazi (40 %) ali redukcijsko (3 %).[103]

Posode so bile v nasprotju s tistimi iz jame SE 128 brez premaza. Okrašenih je bilo le 14 kosov oz. 15 %. Okras je bil najpogosteje narejen z vtiskovanjem (36 %; *t. 5:* 8; *7:* 3; *9:* 8; *11:* 1; *13:* 13) ter v kombinaciji vtiskovanja in vrezovanja (28,5 %; *t. 6:* 7; *9:* 9; *11:* 2; *13:* 4). Del posod je bil okrašen z apliciranjem (28,5 %; *t. 5:* 7,9; *10:* 3; *12:* 6) in z vrezovanjem (7 %; *t. 11:* 3).

Okrašene so sklede (*t. 5:* 7,9; *7:* 3), votle noge posod (*t. 5:* 8; *11:* 1), skodela (*t. 12:* 6) in vrči (*t. 6:* 7; *9:* 8,9). V preostalih primerih gre za manjše odlomke okrašenih posod neopredeljenega tipa. Ena od njih je okrašena z navpičnim gladkim plastičnim rebrom na največjem obodu (*t. 10:* 3), druga z vtisnjenimi jamicami (*t. 13:* 13), tretja pa z navpičnim vrezanim cikcakastim okrasom na ramenu (*t. 11:* 3).

Primerljiva navpična gladka plastična rebra poznamo iz stekleničaste posode in iz ostenja posode z lasinjskega najdišča Beketinec na Hrvaškem.[104] Navpični vrezan cikcakast okras je značilen za najdišča poznejše savske skupine in lasinjske kulture. Na Gorenjskem lahko omenimo npr. posode s podobnim okrasom z Drulovke, Kamnika – Malega gradu, na vzhodnem robu Ljubljanske kotline v Posavskem hribovju z Gradišča nad Dešnom.[105] Na Kočevskem in v Beli krajini ga poznamo s poznoneolitskega in bakrenodobnega najdišča Spaha, iz mlajših neolitskih poselitvenih faz v Moverni vasi in z najdišča Gradac – Grajski park, na sosednjem Hrvaškem z najdišča savske skupine Ozalj – Stari grad.[106] Priljubljen okras je bil tudi na najdišču pozne savske skupine Ponikve pri Trebnjem na Dolenjskem ter na istem prostoru na najdiščih lasinjske kulture, npr. Ajdovska jama, lasinjske jame na Čatež – Srednem polju in Grac pri Selih pri Zajčjem vrhu.[107]

V severovzhodni Sloveniji so bile s podobnim cikcakastim ornamentom okrašene nekatere posode v lasinjskih naseljih, npr. v Zgornjem Radvanju, Hardeku, Popavi 1 pri Lipovcih, Goricah pri Turnišču, Kalinovnjeku pri Turnišču.[108]

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[101] Kramberger 2014a, sl. 26.

[102] Dva keramična odlomka (odlomek ročaja in odlomek največjega oboda posode) sta prežgana, zato v analizo načina izdelave lončenine nista bila vključena.

[103] Kramberger 2014a, 244–247, sl. 27–32.

[104] Homen 1990, sl. 2: 1; *id*. 1980a, 46–47, sl. 4.

[105] Drulovka (Korošec 1960, t. 18: 12; 19: 6); Kamnik – Mali grad (Sagadin 2005, najdba št. 9); Gradišče nad Dešnom (Pavlin, Dular 2007, t. 7: 11).

[106] Spaha (Velušček 2011b, t. 4.3: 5; 4.4: 16; 4.20: 9; 4.29: 17, itd.), Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, t. 29: 4; 30: 1,2; 31: 1,4; 35: 16); Gradac – Grajski park (Mason 1995, t. 1: 3); Ozalj – Stari grad (Težak-Gregl 2001, t. 4: 3).

[107] Ponikve pri Trebnjem (Ravnik, Tica 2018, najdbe št. 624, 643, 713); Ajdovska jama (Šoberl *et al.* 2014, sl. 5: 61 AJ, 04 AJ, 60 AJ); Čatež – Sredno polje (Tiefengraber 2006, najdba št. 7); Grac pri Selih pri Zajčjem vrhu (Pavlin 2006, najdba št. 66).

[108] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, najdba št. 945); Hardek (Žižek 2006b, najdba št. 35); Popava 1 pri Lipovcih (Šavel, Karo 2012, najdbe št. 291, 341, 365, 433, 440, 467, itd.); Gorice pri Turnišču (Plestenjak 2010, najdba št. 5); Kalinovnjek pri Turnišču (Kerman 2013, najdbi št. 245, 362).

Sklede

Odkrite so bile v jamah SE 150 (*t. 5:* 7 – del,9; *7:* 3), SE 249 (*t. 12:* 2) in SE 344.[109] Dve skledi iz jame SE 150 imata uvihan rob ustja (*t. 5:* 7,9), tretja iz iste jame in skleda iz jame SE 249 sta polkroglaste oblike (*t. 7:* 3; *12:* 2).

Datacijsko oprijemljivi sta skledi z uvihanim robom ustja (*t. 5:* 7,9). Gre za posode, izdelane iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline, nepopolno oksidacijsko žgane, redukcijsko v končni fazi in na največjem obodu okrašene z visečimi jezičastimi plastičnimi nalepkami. Predstavljajo keramično obliko, ki je splošno značilna za lasinjska najdišča, kjer so pogosto na nizki ali visoki votli nogi, včasih pa tudi na dnu brez votlega podstavka.[110]

Votle noge

Med kronološko značilne najdbe iz zgodnje bakrene dobe spadajo votle noge, ki so bile praviloma sestavni del skled z visečimi jezičastimi nalepkami. Fragmenti teh so bili odkriti v jamah SE 150 (*t. 5:* 8), SE 52 (*t. 9:* 5,7), v jarku SE 45 (*t. 11:* 1), v jamah SE 100 (*t. 12:* 3), SE 9 (*t. 13:* 1,6) in v kulturni plasti SE 3 (*t. 13:* 9). Drugače od odlomkov votlih nog iz jame SE 128 so bile noge iz lasinjskih jam brez premaza, večinoma izdelane iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline in nepopolno oksidacijsko žgane, redukcijsko v končni fazi.

Vse bolje ohranjene noge iz lasinjskih jam v Stopercah sodijo v skupino votlih nog z rahlo izbočenim zgornjim delom (*t. 5:* 8; *11:* 1; *12:* 3; *13:* 6), značilnih za lasinjska najdišča.[111] Med njimi sta dve okrašeni v zgornjem delu z vodoravnima nizoma vtisnjenih okroglih jamic (*t. 5:* 8; *11:* 1), kakršne poznamo iz plasti SE 370 in SE 1004 v Zgornjem Radvanju, z Brezja pri Turnišču, iz Bukovnice, Hodiškega jezera in morda z najdišča Ludbreški Ivanac-Polje na Hrvaškem.[112] V Radvanju je bil del tako oblikovane in okrašene noge odkrit skupaj s pripadajočo skledo v plasti SE 1004 nad objektom 10, zgornji del noge pa v plasti (SE 370), ki je prekrivala SE 1004. Iz tega objekta so znane tri radiokarbonske datacije vzorcev oglja, med katerimi sta dve najmlajši na naselbini, iz konca zadnje tretjine 5. tisočletja pr. n. št.; ena se nanaša na vzorec oglja iz plasti SE 1004, druga na jamo za stojko (SE 1039), ki bi lahko bila vkopana v objekt z nivoja plasti SE 1004.[113] Še nekoliko mlajši sta radiokarbonski dataciji oglja iz Brezja pri Turnišču, kjer so bili v okviru bakrene dobe odkriti sledovi poselitve iz zgodnje bakrene in začetka srednje bakrene dobe, obe padeta v prvo polovico 4. tisočletja pr. n. št.[114] Dve dataciji pa sta na voljo tudi iz jame z dvojnim dnom iz kv. 200, 199, 174 in 175 v Bukovnici, iz katerih je podobno oblikovana in okrašena votla noga. Kot kaže, so bili datirani zogleneli ostanki na lončenini, pri čemer se dataciji ujemata z najzgodnejšimi datacijami za lasinjsko kulturo, pribl. 4400–4200 pr. n. št.[115]

Skodele

Gre za skledam podobne, a nekoliko globlje bikonične posode z uvihanim robom ustja (*t. 5:* 10; *6:* 1; *11:* 5; *12:* 6; *13:* 3). V Stopercah so bile odkrite v jamah SE 150 (*t. 5:* 10; *6:* 1; morda tudi *t. 5:* 11; *6:* 2) in SE 344 (*t. 9:* 1), v jarku SE 45 (*t. 11:* 5), v jami za stojko SE 96 (*t. 12:* 6) in v jami SE 9 (*t. 13:* 3). Ena posoda ima na ustju presegajoč ročaj (*t. 6:* 1; morda *t. 5:* 11), druga je okrašena na največjem obodu z veliko okroglo plastično nalepko (*t. 12:* 6), tretja pa ima naknadno (po žganju) prevrtano ostenje (*t. 13:* 3), morda za popravilo posode.[116]

Skodele s presegajočimi ročaji na uvihanem robu ustja se pojavljajo že na najdiščih pozne lengyelske kulture in savske skupine lengyelske kulture,[117] v skoraj nespremenjeni obliki pa jih srečamo na poznejših lasinjskih najdiščih, kjer gre za pogosto keramično obliko. V Prekmurju jih poznamo npr. s Turnišča, Popave 1 pri Lipovcih, najdišča Na Plesi, na Dravski ravni iz Malečnika, Zgornjega Radvanja, Ptujskega gradu, Hardeka in

[109] V tej jami je bil odkrit le del sklede – drugi del v jami SE 150 (*t. 5:* 7 – del).

[110] Na visoki votli nogi (npr. Kramberger 2021b, najdbe št. 65, 509, 558; Regenye 2006, sl. 22: 1; Dimitrijević 1979, t. 21: 1); na nizki votli prstanasti nogi (npr. Kramberger 2021b, najdbi št. 23, 183; Kramberger 2020b, t. 10: 3; Samogyi 2000, sl. 7: 2); na dnu (npr. Šavel, Karo 2012, najdbi št. 508 in 509; Kerman 2013, najdba št. 268; Virág, Figler 2007, sl. 8: 13).

[111] Npr. Kramberger 2018, 87–89, sl. 14A.

[112] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2014a, najdba št. 558), Brezje pri Turnišču (Novšak *et al.* 2013, najdba št. 97), Bukovnica (Šavel 1992, t. 7: 4; Šavel 1994, 44, pril. 19: 12 – risba je nepopolna, noga je okrašena v zgornjem delu z dvema vodoravnima nizoma vtisnjenih jamic); Hodiško jezero (Samonig 2003, t. 40: 435); Ludbreški Ivanac-Polje (po Marković 1983, 257, najdba št. 8).

[113] Kramberger 2021b, 70, 96–99, 182–183.

[114] Tomaž 2013; Grootes, Nadeau 2013, 126, sl. 53, 54.

[115] Sraka 2020, sl. 11, pril.

[116] Prim. npr. s Kramberger 2021b, najdbe št. 43, 184, 207, 208, 284, 360, 591 itd.

[117] Npr. Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, t. 106: 235,240); Moverna vas, SE 056 (Tomaž 1999, t. 2: 4); Čatež – Sredno polje (Tomaž 2022, najdba št. 1531); Ponikve pri Trebnjem (Ravnik, Tica 2018, najdbi št. 424, 795).

Hajndla, v Posavju iz Ajdovske jame.[118] Pogoste so tudi na madžarskih lasinjskih najdiščih, npr. naselbine Gellénháza Városrét, Szakály, Győr-Szabadrétdomb, Letenye-Szentkeresztdomb, grob 1 na najdišču Dobri – Alsó-mező, in naselbine Nagykanizsa-Sánc, Szombathely-Reiszig erdő alatti dűlő, Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida, Gébárti-tó II[119] ter seveda tudi v hrvaških lasinjskih naseljih, npr. Beketinci Bentež, Dubranc, Beketinec,[120] pa tudi z naselbine Budmerice skupine Ludanice na Slovaškem.[121]

Na lasinjskih najdiščih so primerjave tudi za skodele, okrašene z velikimi okroglimi plastičnimi nalepkami na največjem obodu, ki se od nekaterih skodel in skled z najdišč savske skupine in lengyelske kulture razlikujejo le po velikosti plastične nalepke in načinu izdelave.[122] Omenimo lahko podobne z najdišč Na Plesi, Turnišče, Gradišče nad Dešnom, Zalavár-Basasziget, Nagykanizsa-Sánc, Beketinci Bentež in Hodiško jezero. Najdemo jo tudi v delu najdišča Mosonszentmiklós-Pálmajor, ki ga opredeljujejo v skupino Ludanice.[123]

Lonci

Kot lonce smo opredelili 22 posod, od katerih jih predstavljamo 15 v Katalogu: 2 je bilo mogoče skoraj v celoti rekonstruirati (*t. 7:* 4; *10:* 2), 4 so ohranjeni v zgornjem delu (*t. 6:* 5; *9:* 6; *10:* 1; *14:* 1), 2 med največjim obodom in dnom (*t. 6:* 6; *12:* 8), v preostalih primerih pa gre za odlomke ustij z ostenji (*t. 6:* 3,4; *9:* 3,4; *12:* 1,4; *13:* 11).

Odlomki lasinjskih loncev so bili odkriti v jamah SE 150 (*t. 6:* 4–6; *7:* 4), SE 344 (*t. 9:* 3,4), SE 52 (*t. 9:* 6; *10:* 1,2), SE 250 (*t. 12:* 1), SE 100 (*t. 12:* 4), v jami za stojko SE 96 (*t. 12:* 8) in v kulturni plasti SE 3 (*t. 13:* 11; *14:* 1). So brez okrasa, izdelani iz lončarskih glin brez primesi, tj. zelo finozrnatih lončarskih glin (*t. 6:* 3,5,6; *7:* 4; *9:* 4; *10:* 2; *11:* 4; *12:* 1,4; *13:* 11), ali iz lončarskih glin, ki jim je bila pridana različna količina kremenčevega peska, tj. finozrnatih (*t. 9:* 3), drobnozrnatih (*t. 9:* 6; *10:* 1; *12:* 8) in grobozrnatih (*t. 6:* 4; *14:* 1). Večinoma so bili žgani nepopolno oksidacijsko (*t. 6:* 3,5,6; *9:* 4,6; *10:* 1,2; *11:* 4; *12:* 1,4,8; *13:* 11; *14:* 1), le dva lonca sta bila žgana nepopolno oksidacijsko in redukcijsko v končni fazi (*t. 6:* 4; *7:* 4).

Lonci iz lasinjskih jam v Stopercah imajo večinoma profil v obliki črke S (*t. 6:* 5; *7:* 4; *9:* 6; *14:* 1). Večinoma so ohranjeni le v zgornjem delu,[124] le eden je ohranjen tudi v spodnjem delu posode. Ta ima zaobljen prehod iz ramen v visok konkavni spodnji del in je v ohranjenem delu brez ročajev (*t. 7:* 4). Enako oblikovane posode so znane iz Ajdovske jame, Popave 1 pri Lipovcih in z najdišča pri Muri pri Lendavi ter imajo ročaja na ustju.[125]

Druga oblika lonca iz lasinjske jame ima visok konkavni spodnji del, zaobljen prehod v zgornji del posode ter dolg lahko usločen vrat (*t. 10:* 2), tretja pa konkavni spodnji del, visoka rahlo zaobljena ramena in kratek vrat z odebeljenim ustjem (*t. 10:* 1). Loncu s konkavnim spodnjim delom in zaobljenim prehodom v zgornji del ter dolgim rahlo

[118] Turnišče (Tomaž 2012, najdbe št. 5, 340, 341), Popava 1 pri Lipovcih (Šavel, Karo 2012, najdbe št. 551, 630, 733), Na Plesi (Sankovič 2020, t. 2: 5; 6: 1), Malečnik (Kramberger 2021a, najdba št. 31), Zgornje Radvanje (*id.* 2021b, najdbe št. 389, 491, 583, 766), Ptujski grad (Korošec 1965, t. 14: 1), Hardek (Žižek 2006b, najdba št. 32), Hajndl (Žižek 2006a, najdba št. 84); Ajdovska jama (Korošec, Uršič 1965, t. 5: 1).

[119] Gellénháza Városrét (Horváth, Simon 2003, sl. 24: 6; 26: 1); Szakály (Kalicz 1991, sl. 6: 12); Győr-Szabadrétdomb (Virág, Figler 2007, sl. 5: 4); Letenye-Szentkeresztdomb (Kalicz 1995, sl. 8: 7); Dobri – Alsó-mező (Horváth, Simon 2004, sl. 21: 5); Nagykanizsa-Sánc (Kalicz 1991, sl. 8: 1–4, 6); Szombathely-Reiszig erdő alatti dűlő (Ilon 2004, t. 14: 2); Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida, Gébárti-tó II (Barna, Kreiter 2006, sl. 5: 3).

[120] Beketinci Bentež (Minichreiter, Marković 2013, t. 2: 3; 5: 3); Dubranc (Balen 1998, t. 5: 4); Beketinec (Homen 1980b, t. 18: 2).

[121] Budmerice (Pavúk 2004, sl. 1: 6).

[122] Na najdiščih savske skupine in pozne lengyelske kulture imajo namreč manjše okrogle plastične nalepke (glej npr. Bánffy 1995b, t. 66: 139,144,147; 90: 113; 91: 118,120; 107: 242; Korošec 1964, t. 17: 7), skodeli iz jame SE 128 v Stopercah in iz Spodnjih Škovc tudi glinen premaz (prim. t. 2: 2 s t. 12: 6; Kramberger, 2023, najdba št. 92; *sl. 14:* Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce).

[123] Na Plesi (Sankovič 2020, t. 6: 2); Turnišče (Tomaž 2012, najdba št. 2); Gradišče nad Dešnom (Pavlin, Dular 2007, t. 12: 5,6); Zalavár-Basasziget (Virág 2005, t. 2: 6; 3: 9; 6: 3); Nagykanizsa-Sánc (Kalicz 1991, sl. 7: 5, 7); Beketinci Bentež (Minichreiter, Marković 2013, t. 5: 2); Hodiško jezero (Samonig 2003, t. 11: 116–118); Mosonszentmiklós-Pálmajor (Virág, Figler 2007, sl. 8: 3, 6).

[124] Prim npr. z lonci iz Popave 1 pri Lipovcih (Šavel, Karo 2012, najdbi št. 478, 481), Turnišča (Tomaž 2012, najdbe št. 7, 8, 10, 26, 159–160, 62–63, 150, 201, 454, 456), Goric pri Turnišču (Plestenjak 2010, najdbi št. 13, 31), Sormása (Straub 2006, sl. 4: 6), najdišč Zalaszentbalazs-Pusztateto (Bánffy 1995a, t. 32: 129), Nagykanizsa (Kalicz 1975, t. 9: 4), Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida (Barna, Kreiter 2006, sl. 8: 4), Kanzel bei Graz (Artner *et al.* 2012, t. 1: R30-R42+R69) in Jakšič (Marković 1985, 160, sl. 3); glej tudi Kramberger 2020a, 87–90, sl. 9.

[125] Ajdovska jama (Horvat 2009, sl. 5:11); Popava 1 pri Lipovcih (Šavel, Karo 2012, najdbi št. 377, 479); Pri Muri pri Lendavi (Šavel, Sankovič 2011, najdba št. 92). Ročaja na največjem obodu (Šavel, Karo 2012, 480).

usločenim vratom (*t. 10:* 2) najdemo podobne na najdiščih Popava 1 pri Lipovcih, Hardek pri Ormožu in Hodiško jezero,[126] loncu s konkavnim spodnjim delom, visokim rahlo zaobljenim ramenom in kratkim pokončnim vratom z odebeljenim ustjem (*t. 10:* 1) pa na lasinjskem naselju Zgornje Radvanje in v lasinjski jami v kvadrantu 350/375 v Bukovnici.[127]

Vrči

Vrči iz naselja iz zgodnje bakrene dobe v Stopercah so oblikovani podobno kot lonci, a so manjši. Bolje ohranjeni kosi so bili odkriti v jamah SE 150 (*t. 7:* 1) in SE 52 (*t. 9:* 8,9) ter jarku SE 45 (*t. 11:* 6), fragmenti največjih obodov v jami SE 150 (*t. 6:* 7), jarku SE 45 (*t. 11:* 2) in kulturni plasti SE 3 (*t. 13:* 10), odlomek ustja s presegajočim ročajem v jami SE 52 (*t.* 9: 10) ter odlomka okrašenega ustja in največjega oboda v jami SE 9 (*t. 13:* 4,5).

Lasinjski vrči so bili večinoma izdelani iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline, nepopolno oksidacijsko žgani in redukcijsko v končni fazi ter imajo povsem gladko površino sive ali temno sive barve, ki je bila vsaj v nekaterih primerih spolirana (*t. 6:* 7; *7:* 1).

Okrašenih je pet vrčev, pri čemer je eden okrašen z vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih trikotnih jamic ob ročajih in dvema na sredini ramen posode (*t. 9:* 8), preostali s snopi vrezov, ki jih obrobljajo na obeh straneh nizi vtisnjenih jamic (*t. 6:* 7; *9:* 9; *11:* 2; *13:* 4), med njimi dva na največjem obodu dodatno z vtisnjenimi jamicami (*t. 6:* 7; *11:* 2). Motiv z dvema nizoma vodoravnih vtisnjenih jamic nad največjim obodom (*t. 9:* 8) najdemo tudi na loncih iz Zgornjega Radvanja, Spodnjih Hoč, Brezja pod Brinjevo goro, Ptujskega gradu, na lončku iz Bukovnice, na Popavi 1 pri Lipovcih in v Ajdovski jami, na Madžarskem na loncu z najdišča Dobri – Alsó-mező in na Hrvaškem na miniaturni stekleničkі iz Bukovja.[128] Še več je primerjav za snope vrezov, obrobljenih na obeh straneh z nizi vtisnjenih jamic (*t. 6:* 7; *9:* 9; *11:* 2; *13:* 4). Tak okras se pojavlja na večini lasinjskih najdišč in spada ponekod med bolj priljubljene.[129]

Vrče iz lasinjskih jam je mogoče razdeliti na tri tipe. Prvi tip predstavljajo bolje ohranjeni vrč iz jame SE 150 (*t. 7:* 1), eden od dveh vrčev iz jame SE 52 (*t. 9:* 9) in vrč iz jarka SE 45 (*t. 11:* 6). Za te vrče so značilni visoko zaobljeno rame, postopen prehod v kratek vrat in zaobljen prehod iz spodnjega v zgornji del posode. Podobno oblikovane posode z ročajem so bile odkrite na lasinjskem najdišču Letenye-Szentkeresztdomb na zahodu Madžarske, brez ročaja in z manjšim presegajočim ročajem v jami v kvadrantu 175 v Bukovnici, z drugačnim okrasom na najdišču Hodiško jezero na avstrijskem Koroškem, v skupinskem grobu v Potočanih in v t. i. 9. poselitveni fazi v Moverni vasi.[130] Vrča iz Moverne vasi, eden z najdišča Hodiško jezero ter – zanimivo – tudi vrč iz lasinjskega skupinskega groba v Potočanih imajo šrafirani krivolinijski okras, ki je značilen za poznejši horizont keramike z brazdastim vrezom.[131] V to obdobje datirajo tudi najdbe iz 9. poselitvene faze v Moverni vasi,[132] medtem ko datirajo skupino lončenine iz Hodiškega jezera, v katero uvrščajo omenjeni vrč, še v lasinjsko kulturo, a v najmlajšo fazo, ki jo vzporejamo s horizontom keramike z brazdastim vrezom.[133] Kot kaže, gre torej pri vrčih z visokim zaobljenim ramenom, kratkim vratom in zaobljenim prehodom iz spodnjega v zgornji del posode za tip lončenine, značilen za lasinjska najdišča, z drugačnim okrasom pa nadaljujejo svojo tradicijo v poznejšem horizontu keramike z brazdastim vrezom.

Drugi bolje ohranjeni vrč iz jame SE 52 je brez ramena, z dolgim rahlo usločenim vratom in izrazitim oz. ostrim prehodom iz zgornjega v spodnji del posode (*t. 9:* 8). Tretji tip lasinjskega vrča v

[126] Popava 1 pri Lipovcih (Šavel, Karo 2012, najdba št. 371); Hardek (Tušek 1999, t. 2: 8); Hodiško jezero (Samonig 2003, t. 13: 133).

[127] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, najdbe št. 507, 521, 947, 1004); Bukovnica (Šavel 1994, 45, pril. 21: 1, 2).

[128] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, najdbe št. 551, 633, 761, 1011), Hoče – Orglarska delavnica (*id.* 2020b, t. 13: 15; 14: 1; 15: 1), Brezje pod Brinjevo goro (*id.* 2018, t. 9: 6,7), Ptujski grad (Tomanič-Jevremov *et al.* 2006a, najdba št. 3), Bukovnica (Šavel 1992, t. 11: 8), Popava 1 pri Lipovcih (Šavel, Karo 2012, najdba št. 17); Ajdovska jama (Korošec 1975, t. 8: 1); Dobri – Alsó-mező (Horváh, Simon 2004, sl. 19: 5); Bukovje (Homen 1985, sl. 1).

[129] Npr. Brezje pod Brinjevo goro – Podgraškova domačija (Kramberger 2018, t. 6: 8; 10: 1–7,29); Šafarsko (Šavel 1994, 35, pril. 12: 3–5, 23, 32); Bukovnica (Šavel 1994, 44, pril. 19: 8, 15, 19); Beketinci – Bentež (Minichreiter, Marković 2013, t. 11: 1–5,8,9; 12: 1; 15).

[130] Letenye-Szentkeresztdomb (Kalicz 1995, sl. 16: 1a; *id.* 1991, sl. 3: 1), Bukovnica (Šavel 1994, 44, pril. 20: 2); Hodiško jezero (Samonig 2003, sl. 22: tip K5, t. 13: 138), 9. poselitvena faza Moverne vasi (Tomaž 1999, t. 41: 3); Potočani (Vitas 2021; predmet hrani Arheološki muzej v Zagrebu).

[131] Npr. Velušček 2004, 237–251, sl. 5.3.3: 6, 7, sl. 5.3.15: 3, 4; Pavlin, Dular 2007, t. 13: 5,15,16,18; 14: 5,7, itd.; Kalicz, Horváth 2010, sl. 11: 8–21. Datacije kosti iz skupinskega groba v Potočanih: Janković *et al.* 2017.

[132] Velušček 2004, 251, sl. 5.3.15.

[133] Prim. Samonig 2003 s Kramberger 2021a, 44.

Stopercah pa nam predstavlja odlomek iz kulturne plasti SE 3 (*t. 13:* 10). Verjetno gre za del vrča z nizkimi zaobljenimi rameni in usločenim vratom ter ostrim prehodom v spodnji del posode, ki se med seboj razlikujejo po proporcionalnem razmerju med spodnjim in zgornjim delom posode.[134]

Keramična zajemalka (?)

Za zajemalko gre morda v primeru odlomka majhnega polkroglastega recipienta iz jame SE 150 (*t. 7:* 2). Ker ni ohranjen držaj ali nastavek zanj, je opredelitev nezanesljiva.[135]

Kamnite najdbe

Iz jame SE 52 in plasti SE 3 ali SE 001 izvira kamnita sekira z luknjo, izdelana iz serpentinita (*t. 10:* 5). Gre za tip sekire, kakršni hrani osnovna šola v Stopercah in sta bili nekje v bližini odkriti že pred arheološkim izkopavanjem (prim. s *t. 14:* 4,5).[136] V isti jami je bila odkrita še kamnita klina iz rdečerjavega roženca (*t. 10:* 4).

V pravokotni jami SE 150, ki jo razlagamo kot zemljanko, so bili najdeni praskalo na odlomku odbitka (*t. 8:* 2), klina brez retuše (*t. 8:* 3) in skoraj v celoti ohranjene žrmlje, sestavljene iz 60 × 30,4 cm velikega kremenovega peščenjaka s konkavno izbrušeno površino (spodnji del žrmelj: *t. 8:* 1) in 16,8 × 13,2 cm velikega kremenovega peščenjaka s konveksno izbrušeno površino (zgornji del žrmelj: *t. 8:* 4). Tovrstne žrmlje so se v prazgodovini uporabljale kot pripomoček za mletje žita[137] in verjetno tudi drugih snovi, npr. pigmentov.[138]

V bakrenodobnih jamah v Stopercah je bilo odkritih tudi več fragmentov podobnih žrmelj, kar trije v jarku SE 45 (*t. 11:* 8–10), kjer je bil najden tudi polizdelek oz. nedokončana kamnita sekira iz amfibolita (*t. 11:* 7). V jami SE 344 je bil odkrit kamniti odbitek (*t. 9:* 2), v plasti SE 5 klina (*t. 13:* 8), v plasti SE 001 retuširan odbitek (*t. 14:* 3), v jami SE 9 zgornji del kamnite sekire iz serpentinita (*t. 13:* 7) ter v jami SE 100 (*t. 12*: 5) in kulturni plasti SE 3 (*t. 14*: 2) kamnita tolkača iz serpentinita.

[134] Npr. Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, 61–63, sl. 60, npr. najdbe št. 33, 38, 80), Hoče – Orglarska delavnica (*id*. 2020b, 90–91, t. 3: 11,13; 13: 1,3), Brezje pod Brinjevo goro (*id*. 2018, 84–85, t. 2: 3), Gorice pri Turnišču (Plestenjak 2010, najdba št. 12).

[135] Prim. npr. s Kramberger 2021b, 74–75, sl. 67.

[136] Mikl-Curk 1974a, 95, sl. 2, 4, 5; *ead*. 1975, 174; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 38, 106, t. 16: 1–2.

[137] Npr. Turk 2009, 281–282.

[138] Npr. Sotiropoulou *et al.* 2010, 1833, sl. 2: a, e.

RADIOKARBONSKE ANALIZE

Z metodo radioaktivnega ogljika ^{14}C po postopku AMS so bili leta 2013 v laboratoriju Beta Analytic v Miamiju datirani trije vzorci oglja.[139] Pogled na radiokarbonske datacije z neolitskih najdišč kaže, da se datacije vzorcev oglja pogosto razlikujejo od datacij vzorcev drugih snovi, zato je pri izboru vzorcev oglja in lesa za radiokarbonsko datiranje in pri interpretaciji rezultatov treba biti vselej pazljiv.

Problem je zlasti "efekt starega lesa", ki izhaja iz dejstva, da vsak drevesni obroček (branika) po koncu letnega cikla preneha izmenjavati ogljik z biosfero, zaradi česar le zunanji obroček odraža dejanski čas sečnje lesa, medtem ko je les iz notranjih branik starejši, najstarejši prav v notranjosti drevesa. Razlika v starosti med zunanjim obročkom in jedrom debla je odvisna od starosti drevesa in lahko znaša tudi več sto let. Zato je pomembno, da se za datiranje uporabi les oz. oglje iz zunanjih branik dreves; kar pa je pri datiranju seveda pogosto problem, saj za večino vzorcev oglja z arheoloških najdišč tega podatka ne poznamo.[140] Drugi problem je zakasnela uporaba lesa. Ker je les obstojen, ga je mogoče namreč uporabljati še dlje časa po tem, ko je bil življenjski krog rastline prekinjen, mogoča je celo ponovna uporaba posekanega lesa iz starejšega konteksta v poznejšem obdobju.[141] Zaradi omenjenih problemov se pri raziskovanju za datiranje raje uporabljajo zoglenela žitna zrna, plodovi in semena, ki se nanašajo le na posamezno vegetativno dobo, ali koluti lesa, pri katerih je jasno prepoznavna zadnja branika tik pod skorjo oz. lubjem (v primeru kolišč), ali kolagen iz živalskih in človeških kosti.[142]

Med radiokarbonsko datiranimi vzorci oglja iz Stoperc (*sl. 15*) je bil en pridobljen iz poznoneolitske jame (SE 128) in dva iz zgodnjebakrenodobne jame SE 150, pri čemer v nobenem primeru ni znano, kateri braniki je datirano oglje pripadalo, zato nam lahko rezultati datiranja kažejo zgolj okvirno starost kontekstov. V primeru jame SE 128 je bil datiran drobec oglja, verjetno jesena (*Fraxinus* sp.), sprijet z ožgano ilovico (Beta-339594). Pri prvem od

[139] Kramberger 2014a, 239–240, sl. 9, 10.

[140] Npr. Schiffer 1986; Whittle 1990; Brock *et al.* 2010; Oross *et al.* 2010, 392–398, t. 2; Nowak *et al.* 2017, 189.

[141] Npr. Nowak *et al.* 2017; Kim *et al.* 2019.

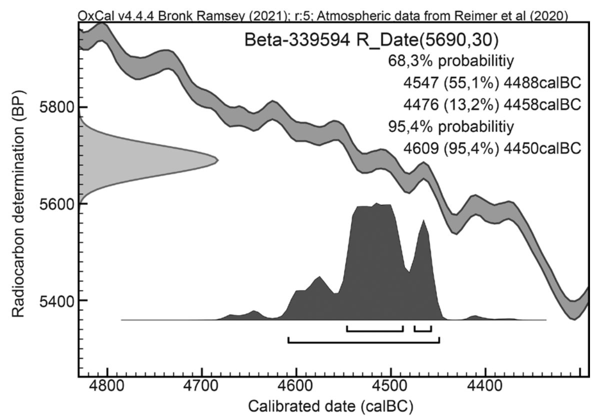
[142] Glej npr. Regenye *et al.* 2022; Stadler *et al.* 2006; Stadler, Ruttkay 2007; prim. s Tomaž 2022, 27–32, 73–84; Sraka 2014; *id*. 2012; *id*. 2020.

Kontekst / Context	Kultura / Culture	Lab. Koda / Lab.-Code	Snov / Material	^{13}C / ^{12}C Ratio	BP	SD (±a)	Cal BC (68,3 %)	Cal BC (95,4 %)
jama / pit SE 128	savska skupina / Sava group	Beta-339594	oglje / charcoal	-25.4 o/oo	5690	30	4547-4458	4609-4450
jama / pit SE 150	Lasinja	Beta-362539	oglje / charcoal	-25.8 o/oo	5200	30	4043-3972	4157-3957
jama / pit SE 150?	Lasinja?	Beta-339595	oglje / charcoal	-26.2 o/oo	4820	30	3644-3533	3648-3528

Sl. 15: Stoperce, izkopavanja leta 2009. Seznam vzorcev oglja, datiranih z metodo radioaktivnega ogljika ^{14}C po postopku AMS (po Kramberger 2014a, 241, sl. 9).
Fig. 15: Stoperce, excavation in 2009. List of ^{14}C AMS dated samples of charcoal (after Kramberger 2014a, 241, Fig. 9).

dveh vzorcev iz jame SE 150 (Beta-339595) je bil datiran del 15 × 30 cm velikega zoglenelega lesa, pozneje opredeljen kot les hrasta (*Quercus* sp.), pri drugem (Beta-362539) pa del oglja iz velike zgostitve oglja, za katero so poznejše arheobotanične analize pokazale, da pripada mešanemu spektru lesa, deloma opredeljenemu kot hrast (*Quercus* sp.) in deloma kot rožnice (*Rosaceae*).[143] Ta zgostitev oglja je bila odkrita na dnu jame SE 150 in jo interpretiramo kot ognjišče (*sl. 4*; *11*; *15:* Beta-362539; *17*), medtem ko natančna lokacija 15 × 30 cm velikega zoglenelega lesa znotraj jame SE 150 ni znana (*sl. 15:* Beta-339595; *18*).[144]

Radiokarbonska analiza vzorca oglja iz jame SE 128 je pokazala konvencionalno starost 5690 ± 30 BP, kalibrirano 4547–4458 (68,3-odstotna verjetnost) oz. 4609–4450 Cal BC (95,4-odstotna verjetnost) (*sl. 16:* Beta-339594). Če primerjamo to datacijo z datacijami z najdišč, pri katerih je mogoče opaziti največ skupnih točk v keramičnih oblikah in okrasu (*sl. 14*),[145] lahko ugotovimo, da se datacija vzorca oglja iz jame SE 128 v Stopercah dobro prekriva z datacijo vzorca zunanje branike enega od kolov na najdišču savske skupine Resnikov prekop na Ljubljanskem barju, datacijama vzorca zoglenelega semena (seme gloga) in zoglenelih ostankov z enega izmed loncev v neolitski jami (SE 1099) na najdišču Dolenji Leskovec in datacijo vzorca oglja iz večje poznoneolitske jame (jame 1, SE 194) v Dolskem – Spodnjih Škovcah.[146]



Sl. 16: Stoperce. Radiokarbonska datacija vzorca oglja iz jame SE 128 (po Kramberger 2014a, 241, sl. 9).
Fig. 16: Stoperce. Radiocarbon-dated charcoal sample from pit SU 128 (after Kramberger 2014a, 241, Fig. 9).

Nekoliko mlajši sta se izkazali dve dataciji na vzorcih kolagena iz živalskih kosti iz najnižje kulturne plasti na Gradcu pri Mirni (od koder izvirata artefaktna skupka 1 in 2) in štiri datacije na živalskih zobeh (apatit) iz jame 1 na najdišču Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce, saj kažejo na razpon približno 4500–4350 pr. n. št., če jih kalibriramo s 95,4-odstotno verjetnostjo.[147] Starejši pa so vzorec oglja iz iste jame, kot sta omenjeno seme in lonec z zoglenelimi ostanki v Dolenjem Leskovcu, vzorec oglja iz jame 2 (SE 200) v Dolskem – Spodnjih Škovcah ter vzorci oglja in zogleneli ostanki iz plasti SE 056 v Moverni vasi; kažejo časovni razpon cca 4800–4600 pr. n. št.[148]

143 Arheobotanične analize so bile izvedene leta 2022, torej po tem, ko so bili vzorci že datirani. Rezultati se nanašajo na oglje v preostalih delih vzorcev, iz katerih so bili poslani na datiranje drobci oglja.

144 Konvencionalna vrednost letnic je bila kalibrirana s programom OxCal, verzija 4.4, in uporabo kalibracijske krivulje IntCal 20 (Reimer *et al.* 2020; Bronk Ramsey 2009).

145 Lončenina najdišč Savska skupina Ib (Kramberger 2020a).

146 Resnikov prekop (Velušček 2006, 36, sl. 14, Hd-24038); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015,13; Sraka 2016, 105, t. 4.3.1: Poz-66248, Poz-66249); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, Beta-591316).

147 Gradec pri Mirni (Sraka 2020, sl. 2, pril.: Poz-72746 in Poz-72747); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, KIA37351, KIA37350, KIA37346, KIA37349).

148 Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, 13; Sraka 2016, 105, t. 4.3.1: Poz-66250); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger, 2023, KIA 37347); Moverna vas (Sraka 2012, pril.; *id.* 2014, pril.).

Kot lahko vidimo, se tudi med vzorci v istih jamah savske skupine datacije razlikujejo. Če upoštevamo samo jame, iz katerih imamo na voljo več vzorcev, so se v primeru jame 1 v Spodnjih Škovcah datacije vzorcev zob izkazale za mlajše od datacije vzorca oglja. Datacije na zobeh se prekrivajo s tistimi na kolagenu iz živalskih kosti z Gradca pri Mirni in so najmlajše v okviru najdišč s primerljivo keramiko. Drug primer je Dolenji Leskovec, kjer se dataciji na vzorcu semena in na vzorcu zoglenelih ostankov z lonca prekrivata, datacija vzorca oglja pa je občutno starejša.

V severovzhodni Sloveniji so dataciji vzorca oglja iz jame SE 128 iz Stoperc primerljive datacije, pridobljene na zoglenelih ostankih s poznolengyelske lončenine iz Andrencev in Bukovnice, na zahodnem Madžarskem na oglju in na kolagenu iz dveh živalskih kosti z najdišča Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező, pri čemer so datacije kolagena ponovno nekoliko mlajše.[149] Primerljive datacijam kolagena z najdišča Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező so se izkazale tudi datacije kolagena iz živalski kosti na poznolengyelskem najdišču Szombathely metro in večinoma na živalskih kosteh na najdišču Michelstetten, faze MOG IIa.[150] Datacije s poznolengyelskih najdišč se prekrivajo tudi z datacijami kolagena iz živalskih kosti iz spodnje plasti na Gradcu pri Mirni, na zobeh iz Dolskega, z datacijo zoglenelega semena in zoglenelih ostankov iz Dolenjega Leskovca ter z datacijami oglja z najmlajših najdišč savske skupine.[151]

Danes lahko torej opazimo, da se datacije kolagena iz živalskih kosti, zob in zoglenelega semena z najdišč Savske skupine Ib in pozne lengyelske kulture, ki ju kronološko vzporejamo, prekrivajo in so deloma mlajše od datacij vzorcev iz drugih organskih snovi. Najzgodnejše so prav datacije na vzorcih oglja, v primeru Moverne vasi pa tudi zoglenelih ostankov s keramike. Prav datacije na vzorcih iz kratkoživih snovi pa so tiste, na katerih temelji kronologija lengyelske kulture na zahodnem Madžarskem in primerljive vzhodnoavstrijske skupine s slikano keramiko.[152]

Pri savski skupini v Sloveniji natančnega časovnega okvira še ne moremo postaviti zaradi majhnega števila datacij kolagena iz kosti in zanesljivejših kontekstov, predvsem jam, v katerih bi bile odkrite značilne posode skupaj s kostmi in drugimi vzorci iz kratkoživih snovi. Na podlagi datacije vzorcev iz kratkoživih snovi in lesa iz zunanje branike kola na Resnikovem prekopu lahko predlagamo le okvirni časovni razpon za skupino najdišč Resnikov prekop, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce, spodnja plast na Gradcu pri Mirni in Dolenji Leskovec (SE 1099). Gre za najdišča, ki se ujemajo v večini keramičnih tipov in tudi v motivih okrasa, zaradi česar jih obravnavamo kot del enotne kronološke faze, datirane v čas okoli 4600/4550–4400/4350 pr. n. št.[153] V to fazo glede na lončenino datiramo tudi jamo SE 128 (objekt I) v Stopercah; iz nje je datiran del lesa, v katerem se je prekinilo izmenjavanje ogljika ^{14}C iz biosfere v sredini oz. na začetku druge polovice 5. tisočletja pr. n. št. (*sl. 16:* Beta-339594). Ker ni jasno, iz katere branike je les (verjetno jesena, *Fraxinus* sp.), nam lahko ta datacija pomeni le okvirno starost, terminus post quem za časovno opredelitev jame SE 128 in poselitve savske skupine iz poznega neolitika v Stopercah.

Keramični zbiri iz poznega neolitika z najdišč na območju celinskega dela Slovenije so raznoliki[154] in po mnenju nekaterih bi lahko bile razlike med najdišči regionalnega značaja.[155] To se nam zdi malo verjetno, ker najdišča določenega tipa glede na najdbe niso vezana le na določen del Slovenije, pač pa se pojavljajo od Gorenjske pa vse do Dolenjske, Bele krajine, Haloz v severovzhodni Sloveniji in hrvaškega Pokolpja. To velja tako za najdišča, ki smo jih opredelili kot Savsko skupino Ia (Dragomelj, Čatež – Sredno polje), kot za najdišča skupine Ib, kamor sodi jama SE 128 v Stopercah (Resnikov prekop, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce, Gradec pri Mirni, Dolenji Leskovec, Gradišče pri Stiški vasi, Stoperce), in najdišča skupine II (Drulovka pri Kranju, Ponikve pri Trebnjem, Moverna vas 4 in 5, Ozalj – Stari grad).

Datacije najmlajše skupine so znane z dveh najdišč, Ponikve pri Trebnjem in Moverna vas.[156]

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[149] Andrenci (Kramberger 2014a, sl. 4–5: Beta-339593); Bukovnica (Sraka 2014, pril.: Poz-53989, Poz-53990); Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Hertelendi 1995, 105, deb-3365, deb-3378, deb-3385, deb-3379, deb-3379).

[150] Szombathely metro (Ilon 2004, sl. 26); Michelstetten (Stadler, Ruttkay 2007, t. 1–4).

[151] Najdišča, na katerih je bila odkrita lončenina savske skupine II (Kramberger 2020a). Datacije so doslej znane le z najdišča Ponikve pri Trebnjem (Ravnik, Tica 2018, 77, sl. 123, sl. 124) ter 4. in 5. poselitvene faze v Moverni vasi (Sraka 2014, 379, sl. 3).

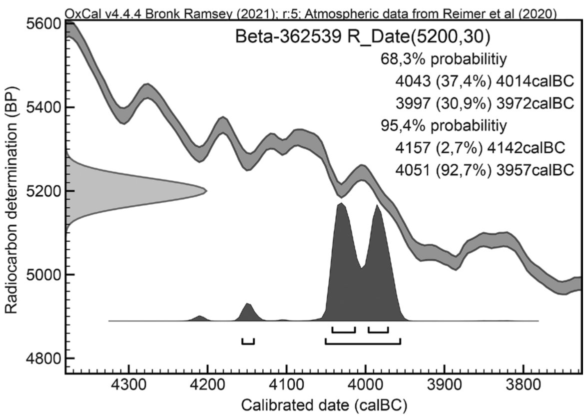
[152] Oross *et al.* 2010; Regenye *et al.* 2022; Stadler *et al.* 2006; Stadler, Ruttkay 2007.

[153] Savska skupina Ib (Kramberger 2020).

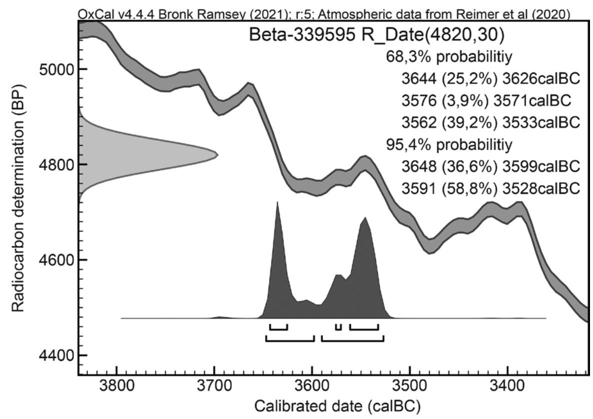
[154] Kramberger 2014a; *id.* 2020a; Horvat 2020, 121.

[155] Velušček 2011a, 240.

[156] Ravnik, Tica 2018, 77, sl. 123; 124; Sraka 2012; *id.* 2014.



Sl. 17: Stoperce. Radiokarbonska datacija vzorca oglja iz ognjišča v jami SE 150 – zemljanki (po Kramberger 2014a, 241, sl. 9).
Fig. 17: Stoperce. Radiocarbon-dated charcoal sample from the fireplace in pit SU 150 – pit-house (after Kramberger 2014a, 241, Fig. 9).



Sl. 18: Stoperce. Radiokarbonska datacija oglja iz dela 15 × 30 cm velikega kosa zoglenelega lesa iz jame SE 150 (po Kramberger 2014a, 241, sl. 9).
Fig. 18: Stoperce. Radiocarbon-dated charcoal sample of a 15 × 30 cm piece of charred wood from pit SU 150 (after Kramberger 2014a, 241, Fig. 9).

Prekrivajo se z najmlajšimi datacijami z najdišč skupine I, iz Dolskega – Spodnjih Škovc in Gradca pri Mirni, vendar ker gre le za datacije vzorcev oglja in zoglenelih ostankov (ki so se deloma prav tako izkazale za problematične),[157] bo treba na kakršnekoli zaključke še počakati. Podobno velja za zaključke o absolutnem datiranju najdišč Čatež – Sredno polje in Dragomelj ter tudi začetku lasinjske kulture in s tem začetku zgodnje bakrene dobe v celinskem delu Slovenije.

Datacija vzorca iz lasinjske jame SE 150 v Stopercah, ki se nanaša na ognjišče, je bila kalibrirana na konec 5. in na začetek 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. (*sl. 15:* Beta-362539; *17*), medtem ko kaže datacija prvega vzorca oglja iz te jame na drugo četrtino 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. (*sl. 15:* Beta-339595; *18*). Ker smo ugotovili, da so najdbe iz jame SE 150 homogene in ker na najdišču Stoperce niso bile odkrite najdbe iz druge četrtine 4. tisočletja pr. n. št, smo v prvi objavi pokazali, da je datacija vzorca Beta-339595 premlada glede na arheološki kontekst.[158]

Ob predstavljenih stratigrafskih podatkih se danes zdi mogoče, da gre v resnici za vrinjen vzorec iz poznejše faze poselitve; morda iz ene od jam za stojke, ki je bila pozneje vkopana v jamo SE 150 (*sl. 6, 11:* SE 152–156). V kontekstu predstavljenih stratigrafskih podatkov in prepoznanih poznejših človeških dejavnosti na mestu jame SE 150 iz zgodnje bakrene dobe se zdi manj verjetno, da med 15 × 30 cm kosom lesa, na katerega se navezuje mlajša radiokarbonska datacija (*sl. 18*), in mlajšimi jamami za stojke ni povezave. Nasprotno, na podlagi te radiokarbonske datacije lahko domnevamo, da je bilo arheološko najdišče Stoperce poseljeno še enkrat v prvi polovici 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. oz. v horizontu keramike z brazdastim vrezom ali fazi Protoboleraz,[159] pri čemer jedro poselitve iz tega časa leži zunaj raziskanega dela najdišča, ob vznožju strmega griča zahodno od jame SE 150 ali na ravnini, v smeri proti potoku Skralska, oz. vzhodno od jame SE 150.

RASTLINSKI OSTANKI (ARHEOBOTANIČNA ANALIZA)

Na najdišču Stoperce je bilo poleg vzorcev oglja med rastlinskimi ostanki pridobljenih tudi nekaj semen oz. plodov. V večini primerov gre za posušene ostanke oglja in semen, ki so deloma ohranjena v zoglenelem in deloma v nezoglenelem stanju. Večji kosi oglja so bili med izkopavanjem vzorčeni posebej, manjši vzorci oglja in semena pa so bili pridobljeni z mokrim sejanjem sedimenta skozi sita premera por do 1 mm po koncu izkopavanja in deloma skozi sita premera por 0,355 mm pred izvedbo arheobotaničnih analiz leta 2022.

Rastlinski makroostanki so bili posušeni na zraku in pregledani s stereomikroskopom Leica z do

[157] Npr. Mlekuž *et al.* 2013, 132–133, t. 1.
[158] Kramberger 2014a, 239–240.
[159] Kalicz 1991; Kalicz, Horváz2010; Kramberger 2021a, 44–45.

50-kratno povečavo in svetlobnim mikroskopom Nikon z do 500-kratno povečavo. Določitev rastlinskih vrst je potekala z uporabo lastne referenčne zbirke semen, plodov, lesa in oglja ter slikovnih identifikacijskih ključev.[160]

Vzorci oglja so ohranjeni v izjemno slabem stanju. V večini so zdrobljeni na manjše koščke ali celo močno vpeti v strjeno in presušeno glino, zato identifikacija do vrste natančno pogosto ni bila mogoča.

Semena oz. plodovi

Semena oz. ostanki plodov so bili ohranjeni v petih vzorcih iz naselbinskih jam, ki so bili posebej mokro presejani skozi finejše sito, tj. s premerom por 0,355 mm. Semena, ki so kazala znake novodobnega izvora, smo prepoznali kot infiltrate, zato smo jih iz nadaljnje obravnave izključili.

Med prazgodovinskimi rastlinskimi ostanki gre v večini primerov za semena oz. plodove ruderalnih vrst, kot so metlika, dresen, zvezdica in šaš. Od petih vzorcev je bil le en vzorec z ohranjenimi (zoglenelimi) ostanki semen oz. plodov kulturnih rastlin, tj. vzorec 24, ki je bil pridobljen iz jame z ognjiščem (SE 344), datirane v zgodnjo bakreno dobo (*sl. 19*).

V 10 ml sprane organske frakcije, ki se je ujela na situ s premerom por 0,355 mm, smo ugotovili 38 ostankov enozrne pšenice (*Triticum monococcum*), 11 ostankov dvozrne pšenice (*T. dicoccum*) in 16 nedoločljivih ostankov žit (Cerealia). Ker gre v večini za ostanke trebljenja zrelih žitnih klasov (tj. plev), lahko potrdimo poljedelsko dejavnost v naselju iz zgodnje bakrene dobe in gojenje vsaj dveh vrst pšenice, ki sta na Slovenskem značilni za bakreno dobo.[161]

Oglje

Analizirano oglje je bilo ohranjeno v 32 vzorcih iz različnih srednje velikih in velikih jam, iz plasti SE 3, z območja ognjišča in v 15 vzorcih iz jam za stojke. Štirje drobci oglja se nanašajo na sediment iz poznoneolitske jame SE 128, preostali so bili pridobljeni iz zgodnjebakrenodobnih jam.

Vrstna pestrost vzorcev oglja, ki izhajajo iz različnih jam in z območja ognjišča, ni velika (*sl. 20*). Skupno je bilo določenih 61 odlomkov oglja iz 7 taksonov. V številčnosti prevladujejo vrste z venčasto poroznim lesom, kamor sodijo hrast, jesen in pravi kostanj (64 % identificiranih primerkov oglja; prisoten v 20 jamah; kar je 63 %). Zaradi slabe ohranjenosti in lomljivosti oglja največkrat teh treh vrst ni bilo mogoče ločiti. Hrast in jesen sta zagotovo zastopana, medtem ko za kostanj ni zanesljivo. V dveh jamah smo našli oglje z agregiranimi trakovi, ki so značilni za les leske, jelše in gabra. Oglje iglavcev je bilo redkeje ugotovljeno, prisotno le v enem vzorcu iz poznoneolitske jame (vzorec 13; SE 128).[162] Tudi javor je bil odkrit v le enem vzorcu, v jarku iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (vzorec 14; SE 45), medtem ko smo oglje rožnic (kamor sodijo *Malus, Pyrus, Prunus, Sorbus, Crataegus* idr.) našli v 6 vzorcih iz različnih jam (v 19 % jam z vzorci), en primerek rožnic je bil odkrit tudi ob ognjišču v jami SE 150, interpretirani kot zemljanka (vzorec 40; SE 150). Skupno je bilo opredeljenih 6 primerkov oglja rožnic, kar je 9,8 % ID oglja.

Posebej smo obravnavali tudi oglje iz jam za stojke. Pregledanih je bilo 15 vzorcev, pri čemer se je izkazalo, da je oglje v teh jamah precej degradirano, zato v večini primerov opredelitev ni vrstno specifična. Analize so pokazale, da je vrstna pestrost v jamah za stojke majhna, saj s 65 % identificiranih primerkov in v 10 od 15 pregledanih vzorcev (67 %) prevladuje oglje venčasto poroznih drevesnih

[160] Berggren 1981; Anderberg 1994; Cappers, Bekker, Jans 2006; Jacomet 2006 in Schweingruber 1990.

[161] Prim. npr. s Tolar *et al.* 2011.

[162] Druga dva vzorca iz te jame pripadata jesenu.

Kulturna rastlina / Cultivated plant		**Rastlinski ostanek / Plant remain**	**Št. ostankov / No. of remains**
Triticum monococcum	enozrna pšenica / einkorn	C rahis z odlomkom plev / C spikelet fork	7
		C baza pleve / C glume base	31
Triticum dicoccum	dvozrna pšenica / emmer	C rahis z odlomkom plev / C spikelet fork	6
		C baza pleve / C glume base	5
Triticum sp.	pšenica / wheat	C fragment	16

Sl. 19: Stoperce. Ostanki kulturnih rastlin v vzorcu št. 24 iz jame SE 344 (zgodnja bakrena doba).
Fig. 19: Stoperce. Remains of cultivated plants in sample No. 24 from pit SU 344 (Early Copper Age).
C – zoglenel / carbonised

Drevesni takson / Tree taxa		Št. ID primerkov oglja / No. of ID specimens	Št. jam s posameznim taksonom oglja / No. of pits with ID specimens
cf. *Abies alba*	cf. jelka / fir	2	1
Acer sp.	javor / maple	2	1
Quercus sp.	hrast / oak	8	5
Fraxinus sp.	jesen / ash	3	2
Quercus/Castanea sativa	hrast/kostanj / oak/chestnut	13	10
Fraxinus/Castanea	jesen/kostanj / ash/chestnut	4	3
Quercus/Castanea/Fraxinus	hrast/kostanj/jesen / oak/chestnut/ash	2	2
Corylus/Alnus/Carpinus	leska/jelša/gaber / hazel/alder/hornbeam	2	2
Rosaceae	Rožnice / Rose fam.	6	6
DPL / DPW		10	7
VPL / RPW		9	4

Sl. 20: Stoperce. Lesno oglje iz jam.
Fig. 20: Stoperce. Charcoal remains from the pits.
DPL/DPW – difuzno porozni listavec / diffuse porous wood; VPL/RPW – venčasto porozni listavec / ring porous wood

Drevesni takson / Tree taxa		Št. ID primerkov oglja / No. of ID specimens of charcoal	Št. jam za stojke s posameznim taksonom oglja / No. of post-holes with ID specimens
iglavec / Coniferous tree taxa	cf. jelka / fir	1	1
Pinus sp.	bor / pine	1	1
Acer sp.	javor / maple	2	2
Fagus sylvatica	bukev / beech	1	1
Quercus/Castanea sativa	hrast/kostanj / oak/chestnut	2	2
Fraxinus/Castanea sativa	jesen/kostanj / ash/chestnut	4	3
Quercus/Castanea/Fraxinus	hrast/kostanj/jesen / oak/chestnut/ash	4	4
DPL / DPW		1	1
VPL / RPW		1	1

Sl. 21: Stoperce. Lesno oglje iz jam za stojke.
Fig. 21: Stoperce. The charcoal originating from the post holes.
DPL/DPW – difuzno porozni listavec / diffuse porous wood; VPL/RPW – venčasto porozni listavec / ring porous wood

Lesen objekt / Wooden structure	Jama za stojko / Post-hole	Drevesni takson / Tree taxa		Št. ID primerkov oglja / No. of ID specimens of charcoal
Objekt I	SE / SU 113	*Quercus/Castanea/Fraxinus*	hrast/kostanj/jesen / oak/chestnut/ash	1
Objekt III	SE / SU 166	*Fraxinus/Castanea sativa*	jesen/kostanj / ash/chastnut	1
Objekt IV	SE / SU 197	*Fraxinus/Castanea sativa*	jesen/kostanj / ash/chestnut	1
Objekt V	SE / SU 228	VPL / RPW		1
Pomožni objekt 1	SE / SU 27	DPL / DPW		1

Sl. 22: Stoperce. Lesno oglje iz jam za stojke poznoneolitske in zgodnje bakrenodobnih hiš.
Fig. 22: Stoperce. Charcoal from the post holes related to the Late Neolithic and Early Copper Age wooden structures.
DPL/DPW – difuzno porozni listavec / diffuse porous wood; VPL/RPW – venčasto porozni listavec / ring porous wood

Kontekst / Context	Opomba / Note	Takson / Taxa	Sk. element / Sk. element	Št. / No.	Tafonomske opazke / Taphonomic remarks
SE / SU 52	V jami na globini 60 cm / In the pit at a depth of 60 cm	*Sus* sp.	dens ($M_?$)	2 fr.	Morda isti zob / Possibly a single tooth
SE / SU 150	Ognjišče / Fire place	*Sus* sp.	dens ($M_?$)	3 fr.	Morda isti zob; sežgano / Possibly a single tooth; burnt
SE / SU 150	V jami, pri ognjišču / In the pit, next to the fire place	*Sus* sp.	dens ($M_?$)	1 fr.	Sežgano / Burnt

Sl. 23: Stoperce. Seznam taksonomsko opredeljenih živalskih ostankov.
Fig. 23: Stoperce. List of taxonomically identified animal remains.

vrst (tj. hrast, jesen, kostanj). V enem primeru je bil vzorec opredeljen kot bukev, v dveh kot javor, v dveh jamah za stojke pa celo kot iglavca: jelka in bor (*sl. 21*).

Med identificiranim ogljem iz jam za stojke je pet vzorcev domnevno povezanih s konstrukcijami prazgodovinskih objektov. Jama za stojko SE 113, v kateri je bil domnevno kol konstrukcije iz poznega neolitika (t. i. objekt I), je bila opredeljen kot hrast ali kostanj ali jesen. Preostale jame za stojke so povezane s hišami iz zgodnje bakrene dobe. Jami za stojki objekta III (SE 166) in objekta IV (SE 197) sta vsebovali oglje, opredeljeno kot jesen oz. kostanj. Tudi vzorec oglja iz ene od jam za stojke objekta V (SE 228) je bil opredeljen kot verjetno venčasto porozni listavec, vzorec oglja iz manjšega pomožnega objekta 1 (SE 27) pa kot difuzno porozni listavec (*sl. 22*).

Izsledki raziskave oglja iz jam za stojke v Stopercah so primerljivi z obsežnejšimi analizami lesa kolov bivališč in palisad s poznoneolitskega in bakrenodobnih koliščarskih naselbin na Ljubljanskem barju. Raziskovalci ugotavljajo, da so za gradnjo na koliščarskih naselbinah prav tako najpogosteje uporabljali les hrasta, jesena in tudi jelše, poleg teh pa še les jelke, javorja, leske, belega gabra, bukve, topola in bresta.[163]

ŽIVALSKI OSTANKI (ARHEOZOOLOŠKA ANALIZA)

Zbir živalskih ostankov vključuje nekaj deset večinoma manj kot cm velikih kostnih drobcev sesalcev (Mammalia), pridobljenih s spiranjem vzorcev sedimenta iz zasutij jam iz poznega neolitika (SE 128) in zgodnje bakrene dobe (SE 52, 99, 100, 150, 215 in 341) skozi sita. Mnogo primerkov je sežganih, največkrat so kalcinirani. Ožje taksonomsko je bilo mogoče opredeliti le šest odlomkov kočnikov iz jam iz zgodnje bakrene dobe, vsi so bili pripisani prašiču (*Sus* sp.). Nekateri so bili odkriti blizu skupaj in bi utegnili pripadati istemu zobu (*sl. 23*).

Zaradi slabe ohranjenosti prašičjih zob na podlagi morfoloških in/ali metričnih značilnosti odlomkov ugotavljanje, ali ti pripadajo domačemu prašiču (*Sus domesticus*) ali njegovemu divjemu zarodniku (*S. scrofa*), ni mogoče. Na podlagi najdb iz različnih prazgodovinskih in zgodovinskih obdobij s širšega območja Haloz, Podravja in Kozjanskega je razvidno, da je z začetkom kovinskih obdobij delež prvega praviloma precej višji.[164]

ZAKLJUČEK

Stoperce, sploh prvo raziskano prazgodovinsko najdišče v osrčju Haloz, so bile poseljene vsaj v dveh kronološko in kulturno ločenih horizontih, v savski skupini poznega neolitika[165] (jama SE 128) in v lasinjski kulturi zgodnje bakrene dobe; nekaj jam za stojke (SE 152–SE 156) pa je glede na stratigrafijo mlajših od zemljanke (SE 150) naselja lasinjske kulture. Poseljeno je bilo območje v neposredni bližini izliva Travnega potoka v potok Skralska, v bližini stičišča prehodnih dolin.

V pozni neolitik je datirana večja jama in devet jam za stojke (*sl. 4:* SE 128, I; *9*), medtem ko je naselje lasinjske kulture v raziskanem delu najdišča obsegalo vsaj štiri hiše, grajene s stojkami (brez poglobljenih tal), zemljanko z ognjiščem in šest manjših lesenih objektov (*sl. 4:* zelena barva; *11*). Med njimi so tri srednje velike okrogle jame, obdane z jamami za stojke, ki jih razlagamo kot hrambne (*sl. 12:* pomožni objekti 3–6).

163 Npr. Čufar, Velušček 2012, 53.

164 Bartosiewicz 1999, 315–316; Toškan, Dirjec 2010; Toškan 2021.

165 Guštin 2005b.

Analiza stavb je pokazala, da je imela vsaj ena lasinjska hiša v Stopercah dva prostora (*sl. 4*: II; morda tudi objekt III). Podobna hiša je bila odkrita v Zgornjem Radvanju (objekt 27), številne poznamo z lasinjskih naselij na Madžarskem in Hrvaškem, kjer so bile v nasprotju s predstavljenimi grajene s pomočjo temeljnih jarkov, v dna katerih so bile vkopane jame za stojke. Skupaj z enoprostornimi hišami s temeljnimi jarki predstavljajo osnovni stavbni tip v lasinjski kulturi, tradicija tako grajenih hiš pa sega v lengyelsko kulturo.

Največ skupnih točk v oblikah in okrasu za lončenino iz poznoneolitske jame v Stopercah (SE 128) je bilo ugotovljenih z gradivom z najdišč Gradišče pri Stiški vasi na Gorenjskem, Resnikov prekop na Ljubljanskem barju, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce na severovzhodnem robu Ljubljanske kotline, Gradec pri Mirni (prva poselitev) in Dolenji Leskovec v Posavju ter z gradivom iz spodnje kulturne plasti (SE 056) na najdišču Moverna vas v Beli krajini (*sl. 14*). Analize keramičnih najdb torej kažejo, kot ugotavlja že A. Velušček,[166] da je treba v savsko skupino vključiti tudi najdišča v Beli krajini in v severovzhodni Sloveniji. Kot kažejo naše raziskave, se pojavljajo najdišča s tako lončenino vsaj do Stoperc v Halozah, le najdišči Andrenci v Slovenskih goricah in Bukovnica na Goričkem imata najdbe, ki so bolje primerljive z najdišči pozne lengyelske kulture na Madžarskem.

Na podlagi podobnosti v keramičnih oblikah in okrasu ugotavljamo, da najdišča savske skupine ne predstavljajo enotnega kronološkega horizonta.[167] Tako poznoneolitsko jamo v Stopercah (SE 128) skupaj s primerljivimi najdišči opredeljujemo v savsko skupino Ib. Odstopanje z najdiščema Čatež – Sredno polje na Dolenjskem in Dragomelj v Ljubljanski kotlini (savska skupina Ia) je predvsem v okrasu, saj je tam lončenina večinoma okrašena z vtisnjenimi jamicami. Tako po oblikah kot po okrasu pa so očitne razlike z najdišči Drulovka na Gorenjskem, Ponikve pri Trebnjem v Posavju, 4. in 5. poselitvena faza v Moverni vasi v Beli krajini in Ozalj – Stari grad v hrvaškem Pokoplju, ki jih datiramo na konec savske skupine (savska skupina II).[168]

V širšem srednjeevropskem kontekstu je mogoče gradivo iz jame SE 128 v Stopercah časovno korelirati s stopnjo Lengyel III po P. Raczkyju in N. Kaliczu.[169] To kažejo zlasti vrč z izvihanim vratom, okrašen z okroglo plastično nalepko na največjem obodu, sklede z navznoter nagnjenim ravnim robom ustja, okrašene z okroglimi vtisnjenimi jamicami na največjem obodu, pa tudi lonci z izvihanimi vratovi in trakastimi ročaji, ki jih v zgodnejših fazah lengyelske kulture ne poznamo.

Na podlagi rezultatov radiokarbonskega datiranja se eden od vzorcev oglja iz poznoneolitske jame (SE 128) v Stopercah nanaša na les iz okvirno sredine ali začetka druge polovice 5. tisočletja pr. n. št. (*sl. 16*), jama SE 150 (zemljanka), v kateri so bile odkrite značilne najdbe lasinjske kulture, pa je po eni dataciji vzorca oglja okvirno s konca 5. ali iz začetka 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. (*sl. 17*). Druga datacija vzorca oglja iz te jame je mlajša (*sl. 18*); kaže na časovni razpon druge četrtine 4. tisočletja pr. n. št., kar bi časovno ustrezalo horizontu keramike z brazdastim vrezom in fazi Protoboleraz. Zato postavljamo hipotezo, da bi lahko bila ta datacija povezana z jamami za stojke, ki so bile vkopane v jamo SE 150, kar bi pomenilo, da je bilo območje ob zahodnem robu izkopnega polja in/ali ravnica proti potoku Skralska, kamor se najdišče širi, poseljeno tudi v srednji bakreni dobi (*sl. 4:* rdeča barva; *6*; *11:* rdeča barva).

Pri arheobotaničnih analizah oglja iz jam za stojke se je pokazalo, da so za gradnjo v zgodnji bakreni dobi uporabljali pretežno les venčasto poroznih listavcev. Analize zoglenelih ostankov semen oz. plodov oz. žitnih klasov pa kažejo gojenje vsaj dveh vrst pšenice na naselju iz zgodnje bakrene dobe (*Triticum monococcum* in *T. dicoccum*), kar je v skladu z dosedanjimi arheobotaničnimi raziskavami bakrenodobnih kolišč na Ljubljanskem barju, kjer so rastlinski makroostanki neprimerno bolje ohranjeni. Tudi živalski ostanki so slabo ohranjeni, večinoma gre za ožgane in deloma tudi za kalcinirane kosti. Taksonomsko ožje opredeliti je bilo mogoče le šest odlomkov kočnikov iz jam iz zgodnje bakrene dobe, za katere je bilo ugotovljeno, da pripadajo prašiču (*Sus* sp.), bodisi domačemu (*Sus domesticus*) ali njegovemu divjemu zarodniku (*S. scrofa*).

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[166] Velušček 2011a, 239.

[167] Kramberger 2014a; *id*. 2020a.

[168] S tem se sicer ne strinja A. Tomaž, ki postavlja hipotezo, da med poznoneolitskimi najdišči v osrednji in jugovzhodni Sloveniji ni kronoloških razlik ter da poznoneolitska najdišča v Beli krajini in severovzhodni Sloveniji ne sodijo v savsko skupino (Tomaž 2022, 98–103). Vendar pri tem niso upoštevana poznoneolitska najdišča, ki prinašajo nove podatke o razprostranjenosti, najdbah in absolutnem datiranju savske skupine lengyelske kulture (Tomaž 2022, 97–106; prim. z Ravnik, Tica 2018; Sraka 2016, 91–98, 103–107; Kramberger 2014a).

[169] Raczky 1974; Kalicz 1991, 350, 355, sl. 2.

KATALOG NAJDB

Najdbe in dokumentacijo z najdišča Stoperce hrani na Ptuju ZVKDS, CPA. Določitev kamnin, iz katerih so kamniti artefakti, je opravil Viljem Podgoršek (Druga gimnazija Maribor). Analize lončarskih glin, žganja in obdelave površine posod so bile narejene makroskopsko po predlaganih parametrih Milene Horvat (1999), barve so bile določene s pomočjo barvne lestvice *Munsell soil colour chart* in so na tem mestu predstavljene opisno.

Okrajšave:
d. = dno
najv. ob. = največji obod
odl. = odlomek
ohr. viš. = ohranjena višina
ost. = ostenje
PN = posebna najdba
pr. = premer
pribl. = približno
SE = stratigrafska enota
š. = širina
št. risbe = številka risbe
u. = ustje
vel. = velikost

Tabla 1

1. Skleda na nogi – odl. u. z ost. in odl. ost. s prehodom v nogo; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka in rdeče rumene barve, na njej je premaz rdeče barve. Tik pod ustjem okrašena s podolgovato vodoravno plastično nalepko. Pr. u.: pribl. 27,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST145.
2. Miniaturna skleda (na nogi?) – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo bledo rjave barve, na njej je premaz rdeče barve. Pr. u.: pribl. 9,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST108.
3. Skleda na nogi – odl. u. z ost. in prehodom v d. ter odl. roba noge; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, zelo bledo rjave in svetlo rdeče barve, na njej je premaz rdeče barve. Tik pod ustjem okrašena s podolgovatimi vodoravnimi plastičnimi nalepkami. Pr. u.: pribl. 27 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST141 = ST149.
4. Skleda (na nogi?) – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo bledo rjave barve, na njej je premaz svetlo rdeče barve. Vel.: 3,1 x 2,5 cm in 2,4 x 2,2 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST147.
5. Skleda (na nogi?) – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, sive barve, na njej je premaz rdeče rumene barve. Vel.: 2,9 x 1,4 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST128.
6. Skleda (na nogi?) – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo bledo rjave barve, na njej je premaz svetlo rdeče barve. Pr. u.: 27 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST142.
7. Skleda (na nogi?) – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, svetlo rjave in rdeče rumene barve, delno poškodovana. Vel.: 5,3 x 2,3 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST126.
8. Odl. votle noge posode (verjetno sklede); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, svetlo rjave barve. Pr. noge: 18 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST125.
9. Odl. noge posode (verjetno sklede); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, svetlo rjave barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. noge: 16 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST150.
10. Odl. noge posode (verjetno sklede); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, rdeče rumene barve, na njej je premaz rdeče barve. Pr. noge: 11,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST130.
11. Odl. noge posode (verjetno sklede); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, rdeče rumene in sive barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. noge: 12 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST135.
12. Skleda – odl. prežganega u. z ost. Površina je lisasta, svetlo rdeče, rdeče rumene in zelo temno sive barve. Vel.: 3,6 x 3,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST129.

Tabla 2

1. Skleda – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, zelo bledo rjave, svetlo sive in temno sive barve, na njej je premaz rdeče barve. Na največjem obodu okrašena z dvema okroglima plastičnima nalepkama. Pr. u.: 22,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST143.
2. Skleda – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, svetlo rdeče barve, na njej je premaz rdeče barve. Na največjem obodu okrašena z okroglo plastično nalepko. Pr. u.: 19,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST144.
3. Skleda – odl. u. z ost. in ročajem; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, sive barve. Pr. u.: 13,5 cm, ohr. viš.: 4,2 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST119 = ST121.
4. Odl. u. z ost. posode (sklede?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, sive barve. Pod ustjem okrašena s poševnimi vrezi. Pr. u.: 19,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST117.
5. Lonec – odl. ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, svetlo rjave in sive barve. Na ramenu okrašena z vtisnjenimi jamicami, na vratu z navpičnimi žlebovi. Vel.: 3,9 x 2,4 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST104.
6. Lonec – odl. ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, bledo rjave in temno sive barve. Na ramenu okrašena z vtisnjenimi jamicami. Vel.: 2,4 x 2,8 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST109.
7. Lonec – odl. ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, bledo rjave barve. Na največjem obodu in tik nad njim okrašena z vodoravnima nizoma vtisnjenih jamic. Vel.: 3,1 x 2,3 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST116.
8. Lonec – odl. ost. z delom ročaja; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, svetlo sive barve, na njej je premaz rdeče rjave barve. Na drugi strani ročaja je na največjem obodu odebelitev od ročaja ali plastične nalepke. Pr. najv. ob.: 10 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST140.

9. Vrč – odl. u. z ost. in ročajem; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, sive barve; delno poškodovana. Na največjem obodu okrašen z okroglo plastično nalepko. Pr. u.: 10,5 cm, ohr. viš.: 8 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST127.
10 Lonec (delno rekonstruiran); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je lisasta, svetlo rjave, rdeče rumene, rožnate, sive, temno sive in zelo temno sive barve. Na najširšem obodu in tik pod ustjem okrašena z vodoravnima nizoma vtisnjenih jamic, na ramenu s snopi žlebov v cik-caku. Pr. u.: 24 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST132.

Tabla 3

1. Lonec – odl. u. z ost. in delom ročaja; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, zelo bledo rjave in sive barve, delno poškodovana. Na vratu okrašena z dvema in na največjem obodu z enim vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih jamic, rame okrašeno s snopi žlebov v cik-caku. Pr. u.: 14 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST105 = ST107.
2. Lonec – odl. okrašenega ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je groba, lisasta, rjave in sive barve; delno poškodovana. Na največjem obodu okrašen z okroglo vtisnjeno jamico, na vratu s snopom poševnih žlebov. Vel.: 3,9 x 6,0 cm in 4,2 x 4 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST133 = ST137.
3. Lonec – odl. ost. s prehodom v ročaj; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo bledo rjave barve. Rame okrašeno z vtisnjenimi jamicami. Vel.: 5,6 x 3,2 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST157.
4. Lonec – odl. u. z ost. in prehodom v ročaj; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je groba, lisasta, svetlo rjave, rjave, sive in temno sive barve. Na vratu okrašen s tremi, na največjem obodu z enim vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih jamic. Pr. u. 13,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST106.
5. Lonec – odl. ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, rjave, svetlo rjave in temno sive barve. Okrašena s snopom poševnih vrezov. Vel.: 4,8 x 4,0 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST120.
6. Lonec – odl. u. z ost. in odl. ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo bledo rjave barve. Na največjem obodu okrašena z okroglo plastično nalepko. Pr. u.: 14,4 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST154.
7. Lonec – odl. u. z ost. in delom ročaja; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, sive in temno sive barve. Tik pod ustjem okrašena z vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih jamic, na najširšem obodu z vtisnjenimi jamicami in ovalno plastično nalepko. Pr. u.: 17 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST112.
8. Lonec – odl. ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, rožnate barve; oškodovana. Na najširšem obodu okrašena z vtisnjenimi jamicami in okroglo plastično nalepko. Vel.: 7,2 x 4,4 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST153.
9. Lonec – odl. ost. z največjim obodom; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, sivo rjave barve, na njej je premaz črne barve. Na ramenu delno ohranjeni izboklini (plastični nalepki?). Pr. najv. ob.: 14 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST118.
10. Lonec – odl. ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, svetlo rjave in temno sive barve. Na ramenu okrašena s snopom poševnih vrezov. Pr. najv. ob.: 16 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST115.
11. Lonec – odl. ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo temno sive barve. Na ramenu okrašena s snopom iz drobnih vtisnjenih jamic. Pr. najv. ob.: 24 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST139.

Tabla 4

1. Odl. ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo temno sive barve. Pr. najv. ob.: 8,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST114.
2. Lonec – odl. ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo bledo rjave barve. Pr. najv. ob.: 24 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST138.
3. Lonec – odl. u. in ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina groba, lisasta, zelo bledo rjave in sive barve. Pr. u.: 17 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST156.
4. Odl. u. z ost. in odl. ost. s prehodom v ročaj posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, rdeče rumene barve, na njej je premaz sive, svetlo rdeče rjave in rdeče barve. Pr. u.: 10,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST156.
5. Lonec – odl. u. z ost. in delom ročaja; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, bledo rjave in temno sive barve. Pod ustjem okrašena z vtisnjenimi jamicami. Pr. najv. ob.: 25 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST122.
6. Odl. u. z ostenjem majhne posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, rdeče barve, na njej je premaz rjave barve. Pr. u.: 7,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST152.
7. Odl. u. z ost. majhne posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo bledo rjave barve, na njej je premaz rjave barve. Vel.: 1,8 x 1,8 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST148.
8. Odl. u. z ostenjem posode; prežgan. Površina je temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 18 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST134.
9. Odl. ročaja posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, rožnate barve, na njej je premaz rdeče barve. Vel.: 3,6 x 1,8 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST146.
10 Odl. d. z ostenjem posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, črne barve. Pr. d.: 4,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST124.
11. Odl. d. z ostenjem posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, zelo bledo rjave in

zelo temno sive barve. Pr. d.: 9,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST136.
12. Odl. d. z ostenjem posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, rjave, svetlo rjave in temno sive barve. Na prehodu v ostenje posode so odtisi prsta. Pr. d.: 9 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST131.
13. Odl. d. z ostenjem posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, sive barve. Pr. d.: 13,5 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST110.
14. Odl. d. z ostenjem posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina gladka, lisasta, rjave in temno sive barve. Pr. d.: 15 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST123.

Tabla 5

1. Izvrtek sekire iz serpentinita. Vel.: 1,9 x 1,9 x 1,45 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST162.
2. Odlomek amfibolita z oklesanimi robovi; polizdelek kamnite sekire? Vel.: 5,7 x 7,1 x 1,45 cm. Jama SE 128, PN 17; št. risbe ST166.
3. Praskalo na odbitku iz temno sivega roženca. Na distalnem delu na dorzalni strani je izdelano čelo praskala. Na levem lateralnem robu na dorzalni strani se nahajajo retuše. Vel.: 1,65 x 2,0 x 0,9 cm. Jama SE 128, PN 14; št. risbe ST169.
4. Retuširan odbitek iz temno sivega roženca. Na srednjem in distalnem delu levega lateralnega roba na dorzalni strani so izdelane retuše. Vel.: 1,6 x 2,15 x 0,4 cm. Jama SE 128, PN 19; št. risbe ST168.
5. Sveder na odlomku kline iz temno sivega roženca. Vel.: 0,8 x 1,9 x 0,7 cm. Jama SE 128, PN 15; št. risbe ST170.
6. Klina iz temno sivega roženca. Vel.: 0,9 x 2,2 x 0,4 cm. Jama SE 128; št. risbe ST176.
7. Skleda (na nogi?) – odl. u. z ost. in visečo jezičasto nalepko; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, zelo temno sive barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. u.: 23,5 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150) in zemljanka 2 (jama SE 344); št. risbe ST12.
8. Odl. zgornjega dela noge posode (sklede?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je sive barve. Na največjem obodu okrašena z vodoravnima nizoma vtisnjenih jamic. Pr. najv. ob.: 15,3 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST21.
9. Skleda (na nogi?) – odlomek ost. z visečo jezičasto nalepko; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi žgana redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, temno sive barve. Vel.: 9,9 x 6,3 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST23.
10. Skodela – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je neravna, lisasta, zelo bledo rjave, rdeče rumene in sive barve. Pr. u.: 23 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST24.
11. Odl. ost. s prehodom v ročaj posode (skodele?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je neravna, zelo bledo rjave, svetlo sive in temno sive barve. Vel.: 8,4 x 8,7 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST26.

Tabla 6

1. Skodela – odl. u. z ost. in delom ročaja; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz drobno zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, rjave, svetlo sive, sive in temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 25 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST25.
2. Odl. u. z ost. posode (skodele?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina neravna, lisasta, zelo bledo rjave, svetlo sive in temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 12,5 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST22.
3. Odl. u. z ost. posode (lonca?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, sivo rjave in črne barve. Pr. u.: 13,5 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST31.
4. Lonec – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi žgan redukcijsko, iz grobo zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je zelo temno sive barve, na zunanji strani ravna in gladka, na notranji neravna. Pr. u.: 21 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST03.
5. Lonec – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je neravna, hrapava in zelo bledo rjave barve. Pr. u.: 11,4 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST33.
6. Lonec – odl. d. z ost. in delom ročaja; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je neravna, hrapava in lisasta, zelo bledo rjave, svetlo rjavo sive, sive in zelo temno sive barve. Na notranji strani posode so ohranjeni zogleneli organski ostanki. Pr. d.: 10,2 cm, ohr. v.: 11,5 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST01 = ST06.
7. Odl. okrašenega ost. posode (vrča?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je zelo temno sive barve, na zunanji strani gladka in svetlikajoča se (spolirana), na notranji gladka in mat. Na največjem obodu okrašena z vtisnjenimi jamicami, na ramenu in v zgornjem delu trebuha s snopi navpičnih vrezov, ki jih na obeh straneh obrobljajo vtisnjene jamice. Pr. najv. ob.: 14,4 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST04.
8. Odl. d. z ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, črne barve. Pr. d.: 10,5 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST29.
9. Odl. d. z ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, zelo bledo rjave in sive barve. Pr. d.: 12,5 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST28.

Tabla 7

1. Vrč – odl. u. z ost. in ročajem; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je zelo temno sive barve, na njej so lise bledo rjave barve, na zunanji strani gladka in svetlikajoča se (spolirana), na notranji gladka in mat; delno izprana. Pr. u.: 12,7 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST19.
2. Zajemalka – odl. recipienta; redukcijsko žganje, iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je neravna in črne barve. Pr. u.: 6,9 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST32.

3. Skleda – odl. u. z ostenjem; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, temno sive barve. Okrašena z veliko vtisnjeno jamico. Vel.: 3,4 x 3,3 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST08.
4. Lonec (delno rekonstruiran); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, temno sive barve, na njej so lise svetlo sive barve; mestoma prežgana. Pr. u.: 19 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150); št. risbe ST02.

Tabla 8

1. Skoraj v celoti ohranjen spodnji del žrmelj iz sivega kremenovega peščenjaka z rdeče rjavimi lisami. Delovna površina konkavno izbrušena, robovi in spodnja ploskev zaobljeni (oklesani). Vel.: 60,0 x 30,4 cm; deb: med 5,4 in 10,1 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150) in plast SE 58; št. risbe ST178.
2. Praskalo na odlomku odbitka iz temno sivega do rjavega rożenca. Na proksimalnem delu na dorzalni strani je izdelano čelo praskala. Vel.: 1,4 x 2,1 x 1,4 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150), PN 20; št. risbe ST173.
3. Klina iz belega rožencа. Vel.: 1,4 x 3,6 x 0,55 cm. Zemljanka 1 (jama SE 150), PN 16; št. risbe ST172.
4. Zgornji del žrmelj iz sivega kremenovega peščenjaka z rdeče rjavimi lisami. Delovna površina konkveksno izbrušena, spodnja ploskev polkrožno oklesana, robovi zaobljeni (oklesani). Vel.: 16,8 x 13,2 x 6,1 cm. Zemljanka 1 (SE 150 – kamen 2); št. risbe ST179.

Tabla 9

1. Skodela – odl. u. z ost.; redukcijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in črne barve. Pr. u.: 20 cm. Jama SE 344; št. risbe ST14 = ST16.
2. Odbitek iz svetlo sivega rožencа. Talon je fasetiran. Vel.: 2,8 x 2,8 x 0,7 cm. Jama SE 344, PN 21; št. risbe ST174.
3. Lonec – odl. prežganega u. z ost.; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, svetlo rdeče in rdeče rumene barve. Pr. u.: 13,5 cm. Jama SE 344; št. risbe ST15.
4. Lonec – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in rdeče rumene barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. u.: 15 cm. Jama SE 344; št. risbe ST13.
5. Odl. roba noge posode (verjetno sklede); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in sive barve. Pr. noge: 15,6 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST53.
6. Lonec – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz drobno zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je neravna, bledo rjave in temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 10,8 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST55 = ST57.
7. Odl. roba noge posode (verjetno sklede); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in temno sive barve. Vel.: 2,7 x 2,4 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST64.
8. Vrč – odl. u. z ost., ost. z ročajem, in okrašenega ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in zelo temno sive barve. Na največjem obodu okrašena z vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih jamic, ki prehajajo v dva vodoravna niza vtisnjenih jamic. Pr. u.: 9,3 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST52 = ST75.
9. Vrč – odl. u. z ost., ročaj, in odl. okrašenega ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in lisasta, sive in temno sive barve. Na ramenu je okrašena s snopi navpičnih in poševnih žlebov, ki jih obrobljajo okrogle vtisnjene jamice. Pr. u.: 8,4 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST63.
10. Vrč – odl. u. z ost. in delom ročaja; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 10 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST63.
11. Odl. d. z ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz drobno zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in lisasta, bledo rjave in sive barve. Pr. d.: 13,5 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST48.
12. Odl. d. z ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, prav tako lisasta, bledo rjave in sive barve. Pr. d.: 9,5 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST49.

Tabla 10

1. Lonec – odl. u. z ost. in dvema ročajema; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz drobno zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in lisasta, bledo rjave, svetlo rjavo sive, sive in temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 14,1 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST60.
2. Lonec – odl. u. z ost. in delom ročaja, odl. ostenja z ročajem in odl. dna z ostenjem; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganjem; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in lisasta, bledo rjave, sive in temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 21 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST46.
3. Odl. okrašenega ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz drobno zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in svetlo rjavo sive barve. Na največjem obodu okrašena z navpično podolgovato plastično nalepko. Vel.: 4,8 x 5,1 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST59.
4. Klina iz rdečerjavega rožencа. Vel.: 1,0 x 2,5 x 0,55 cm. Jama SE 52; št. risbe ST177.
5. Dva odl. kamnite kladivaste sekire, izdelane iz serpentinita. Čelo je rahlo zoženo s sledovi tolčenja, vsi robovi in obe ploskvi izglajeni. Vel.: 12,2 x 7,4 x 6,9 cm. En del kopače je iz jame SE 52 (PN 10), drugi iz plasti SE 3 ali SE 001 (PN 1); po navedbi v terenskem dnevniku je del kopače (PN 1) ležal na meji plasti SE 001 in SE 3; št. risbe ST167.

Tabla 11

1. Odl. roba noge in odl. zgornjega dela noge posode (verjetno sklede); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, sive in temno sive barve. Na največjem obodu okrašena z vodoravnima nizoma okroglih vtisnjenih jamic. Pr. noge: 13,5 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST77.
2. Odl. okrašenega ost. posode (vrč?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in temno sive barve; delno poškodovana. Na največjem obodu okrašena z ovalnimi vtisnjenimi jamicami, na ramenu s snopom

poševnih žlebov, ki ga obrobljajo ovalne vtisnjene jamice. Pr. najv. ob.: 13,2 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST76.
3. Odl. okrašenega ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je temno sive barve. Na ramenu okrašena s plitvimi kanelurami (motiv smrekove vejice ali navpični cik-cak). Vel.: 4,2 x 3,9 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST71.
4. Odl. u. z ost. posode (verjetno lonca); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in lisasta, bledo rjave in temno sive barve. Vel.: 2,7 x 3,3 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST72.
5. Skodela – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, bledo rjave in zelo temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 15 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST79.
6. Vrč – odl. u. z ost. in delom ročaja; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, rjave, svetlo rjave in zelo temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 10 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST73.
7. Polizdelek kamnite sekire iz amfibolita. Vel.: 8,1 x 15,1 x 1,7 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST180.
8. Zgornji del žrmelj iz sivega kremenovega peščenjaka. Delovna površina konkveksno izbrušena, ohranjeni tri ravno oklesani robovi. Vel.: 24,3 x 13,6 x 6,7 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST183.
9. Fragment žrmelj iz rdeče rjavega do sivo rjavega grobozrnatega peščenjaka. Delovna površina konkavno izbrušena, ohranjeni tri robovi in del spodnje ploskve polkrožno oklesani. Vel.: 6,3 x 13,7 x 5,4 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST181.
10. Fragment žrmelj iz sivo rjavega peščenjaka, ki deloma prehaja v konglomerat. Delovna površina konkavno izbrušena, ohranjen polkrožno oklesan rob. Vel.: 3,3 x 8,6 x 5,2 cm. Jarek SE 45; št. risbe ST182.

Tabla 12

1. Lonec – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, temno sivo rjave in rdeče barve. Pr. u.: 17,5 cm. Jama SE 250; št. risbe ST37.
2. Skleda – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in bledo rjave barve, na njej je lisa temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 19 cm. Jarek SE 249; št. risbe ST161.
3. Odl. roba noge posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz drobno zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je lisasta, temno sive in zelo temno sive barve. Pr. noge: 15,5 cm. Jama SE 100; št. risbe ST39.
4. Lonec – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in lisasta, rdeče rumene in temno sive barve. Pr. u.: 15,5 cm. Jama SE 100; št. risbe ST42.
5. Kamniti tolkač iz serpentinita s črnimi vključki (verjetno magnezita). Obe ploskvi in en rob delno izglajeni. Sledovi tolčenja na vseh robovih in na obeh ploskvah. Vel.: 5,2 x 7,5 x 4,4 cm. SE 100, PN 13; št. risbe ST165.
6. Skodela – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, rjave in zelo temno sive barve; delno ožgana. Na največjem obodu okrašena z okroglo plastično nalepko. Pr. u.: 27 cm. Jama za stojko SE 96; št. risbe ST44.
7. Odl. ost. z največjim obodom posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, rdeče rjave in rožnato sive barve. Pr. najv. ob.: 11,5 cm. Jama za stojko SE 96; št. risbe ST43.
8. Lonec – odl. dna z ostenjem in odl. ostenja z največjim obodom; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz drobno zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in lisasta, rjave in zelo temno sive barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. najv. ob.: pribl. 19 cm. Jama za stojko SE 96; št. risbe ST45.

Tabla 13

1. Odl. roba noge posode (sklede?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in temno sive barve. Pr. noge: 14,5 cm. Jama SE 9; št. risbe ST80.
2. Odl. u. z ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in temno sive barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. ustja: 13,5 cm. Jama SE 9; št. risbe ST84.
3. Skodela – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in zelo temno sive barve. Ostenje je bilo na enem mestu prevrtano (sledovi popravljanja?). Pr. u.: 24 cm. Jama SE 9; št. risbe ST81.
4. Odl. u. z okrašenim ost. posode (vrča?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in temno sive barve. Pod ustjem okrašena s snopi poševnih žlebov, ki jih obrobljajo okrogle vtisnjene jamice. Pr. u.: 14 cm. Jama SE 9; št. risbe ST82.
5. Odl. ost. z največjim obodom posode (vrča?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in temno sive barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. najv. ob.: 13,5 cm. Jama SE 9; št. risbe ST83.
6. Skleda na nogi – odl. d. z ost. in z zgornjim delom noge; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, bledo rjave in temno sive barve. Pr. d.: 15,3 cm. Jama SE 9; št. risbe ST85.
7. Odl. sekire iz serpentinita. Vel.: 5,5 x 3 x 3,4 cm. Jama SE 9; št. risbe ST163.
8. Klina iz rdečerjavega roženca. Vel.: 2 x 3 x 0,5 cm. SE 5 (med stojkama 117 in 129), PN 6; št. risbe ST175.
9. Odl. roba noge posode (sklede?); nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo fino zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in sive barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. noge: 15 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3; št. risbe ST93.
10. Vrč – odl. ost. z največjim obodom; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in temno sive barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. najv. ob.: 12,3 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3; št. risbe ST98.
11. Lonec – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, lisasta, temno sivo rjave in sive barve. Vel.: 3,3 x 2 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3; št. risbe ST101.
12. Odl. okrašenega ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina

je gladka in lisasta, rdeče rjave in temno sive barve. Okrašena z ovalnimi vtisnjenimi jamicami. Vel.: 2,6 x 2,4 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3; št. risbe ST99.

13. Odl. okrašenega ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in sive barve; delno poškodovana. Na največjem obodu okrašena z ovalnimi vtisnjenimi jamicami. Vel.: 2,8 x 3,2 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3; št. risbe ST100.
14. Odl. u. z ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in sive barve. Pr. u.: 10,2 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3; št. risbe ST94b.
15. Odl. d. z ost. posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, zelo temno sive barve. Pr. d.: 14,2 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3; št. risbe ST94.
16. Odl. d. z ost. nekoliko manjše posode; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje, v končni fazi redukcijsko; iz zelo finozrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka in temno sive barve. Pr. d.: 6,3 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3; št. risbe ST96.

Tabla 14

1. Lonec – odl. u. z ost.; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; iz grobo zrnate lončarske gline. Površina je gladka, bledo rjave in temno sive barve; delno poškodovana. Pr. u.: 21,5 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3; št. risbe ST103.
2. Kamniti tolkač iz serpentinita. Ena ploskva je zglajena, ravna; na drugi ploskvi in na robovih sledovi tolčenja. Vel.: 6,5 x 9,2 x 5,0 cm. Kulturna plast SE 3, PN 22; št. risbe ST164.
3. Retuširan odbitek iz bledo rjavega roženca. Na desnem lateralnem robu na ventralni strani, na distalnem delu in na desnem lateralnem robu na dorzalni strani se nahajajo retuše. Vel.: 1,6 x 1,7 x 0,6 cm. SE 001, SN 10; št. risbe ST171.
4. Del kladivaste sekire iz zelene kamnine. Vel.: 11,5 x 4 x 3,4 cm. Hrani osnovna šola v Stopercah, podatki o okoliščinah odkritja neznani (po Mikl-Curk 1974, 95, sl. 2: 4).
5. Pri luknji odlomljena kladivasta sekira iz sive kamnine. Vel.: 10 x 5,2 x 4,8 cm. Hrani osnovna šola v Stopercah, podatki o okoliščinah odkritja neznani (po Mikl-Curk 1974, 95, sl. 2: 5).

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Late Neolithic and Early Copper Age settlement at Stoperce (Haloze, NE Slovenia)

Translation

In 2006, a systematic surface survey on the route of a planned parallel gas pipeline between Kidričevo and Rogatec[1] revealed prehistoric ceramic fragments in a field near the village of Stoperce in the municipality of Majšperk, which led to an excavation in 2009.[2]

[1] The company PjP, d. o. o. from Slovenska Bistrica conducted the surface survey as a subcontractor of the Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine / Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, OE Maribor (Lubšina Tušek, Predan 2006). Archaeological research was carried out in accordance with the regulation "Uredba o lokacijskem načrtu za vzporedni plinovod M 1/1 na odseku Kidričevo–Rogatec (Uradni list RS, št. 34/01, 34/06 in 54/10)" and with the established methods of archaeological research, which are necessary before such interventions take place in the landscape.

[2] Prehistoric ceramic fragments were discovered on the plot of land No. 858/1 (today No. 858/8), k. o. Stoperce. During excavation, which was carried out between 7 March 2009 and 14 March 2009 by the team of ZVKDS, OE Maribor, under supervision of M. Lubšina Tušek,

Analyses of the finds and settlement features from Stoperce carried out as part of the doctoral thesis of the main author of a paper (Kramberger 2014b), showed that the prehistoric settlement remains belong to two chronological horizons, both dating to the 5th millennium BC. The earlier one, represented by the pit (SU 128), was attributed to the Late Neolithic Sava Group of the Lengyel Culture, and the later one to the Lasinja Culture, *i.e.*, the Early Copper Age.[3] The pit of the Late Neolithic Sava Group represents a novelty in north-eastern Slovenia, since until this discovery only three Late Neolithic pits had been known from this area, two from Andrenci in the Slovenske gorice hills and one from Bukovnica in the Goričko hills, all of which yielded finds of the Late Lengyel Culture (Lengyel III phase).[4] The pit found in Stoperce, with its rich ceramic material, thus shows that the settlement, as we know it in the Sava River basin in central and south-eastern Slovenia, extended as far as Haloze in north-eastern Slovenia.[5]

The largest selection of finds from Stoperce to date was published in 2014, together with three radiocarbon dates and ground plans of the pits from which ^{14}C dated samples were recovered, in a paper summarising the main findings of a PhD thesis.[6] In 2019, a paragraph was dedicated to the site in the publication *Rastline – živali – ljudje skozi tisočletja*,[7] and a year later the site was included in a paper on the relative and absolute chronology of settlement in the continental part of Slovenia in the 5th millennium BC.[8]

The results of the archaeological excavation carried out at Stoperce and the analysis of prehistoric settlement remains discovered there are comprehensively presented in this paper. The analyses include an evaluation of settlement contexts, ceramic finds, and stone tools, the results of radiocarbon dating, as well as analyses of plant and animal remains.[9]

SITE LOCATION AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF THE AREA

Stoperce is situated in the valley of the Skralska stream (also Skrabska or Skrabski potok; 290 m a.s.l.), in the southwestern part of Haloze. It is a hilly landscape south of the Drava Plain, consisting mainly of sandy marls and quartz sandstones. In the valleys, the streams deposited clay sediments, and clay and silt deposits were deposited on the slopes of the hills, on which deep soils were formed. As the surface is cut longitudinally and transversely by narrow valleys, the permeability of the landscape is limited. Easier crossings were only possible through the valleys of longer streams, which is why important road connections run today along them today.[10]

The Skralska stream rises under the hills west of the Donačka gora mountain and flows from south to north (*Fig. 1*). In the upper part, it makes its way through a narrow valley called Stara graba, and then through a wider valley, the valley of the Skralska stream. In Stoperce, the Skralska stream joins the Beneščica stream from the west and the Travni potok stream from the east into a single channel. It then continues its journey northwards, until it flows into the Dravinja river about 7 km north-east of Stoperce (below the village of Skrblje near Majšperk).

Today, regional roads run through the valleys of the Skralska, Stara Graba, and Travni potok streams. One road (Ptuj–Majšperk–Rogatec) leads from the Drava Plain via Ptujska gora to Majšperk and then along the Skralska and Stara graba valleys via the pass near Strmec to Posotelje and from there to Posavje. Another regional road runs in the opposite direction; from Stoperce it leads along the valley of the Travni potok, past Donačka gora to Čermožiše

traces of a prehistoric settlement were discovered on the area totalling 1224.23 m².

3 Kramberger 2014a, 238–241.

4 If the pit discovered in sq. 199 in Bukovnica was attributed to the Late Lengyel Culture already in the first publication (Šavel 1992, 59–60; *cf.* with Bánffy 1995c, 180; *id.* 2002, 42; Velušček 2006, 33), two pits found in Andrenci were originally attributed to the Lasinja Culture (Pahič 1973, 17–21; *id.* 1976a). Today, however, the prevailing opinion is that ceramic finds found in both pits in Andrenci can also be attributed to the Late Lengyel Culture (Bánffy 2002, 46; Velušček 2006, 33; Kavur 2010, Pl. 1; Tomaž 2010, 164; *cf.* Šavel 1992, 60–61; Šavel 1994, 48–50; Horváth, Simon 2004, 66, note 89; Kerman 2013, 27, 29, 32).

5 *Cf.* Guštin 2005b with Kramberger 2014a, 248–250.

6 *Cf.* Kramberger 2014a, Pls. 3–4; with *id.* 2014b, Pls. 9–18 and here *Pls. 1–14*.

7 Črešnar *et al.* 2019, 14.

8 Kramberger 2020a, 59, Fig. 2: 17–30.

9 Animal bones and teeth were analysed by Borut Toškan, archaeobotanical analyses were conducted by Tjaša Tolar (both from the Institute of Archeology ZRC SAZU). The authors of the article would like to thank Borut Toškan for the analysis.

10 Vovk 1998, 616–618.

and Žetale, and from there to Zagorje in Croatia. Prehistoric settlement remains were discovered 80 m west of the confluence of the Travni potok and Skralska streams, in the immediate vicinity of the intersection of the above-mentioned regional roads and the junction of passable valleys (*Fig. 1*; *2:* 1).

Two prehistoric settlement complexes are known in the vicinity of the Skralska valley. Both are located at strategically important points on the edge of the Haloze. The first settlement complex is a not yet well-researched settlement on Ptujska gora with allegedly associated burial mounds in Spodnje Savinjsko and Podlože and an Urnfield cemetery in Doklece.[11] This settlement dominated the southern part of the Drava Plain in the Early Iron Age and perhaps also in the Late Bronze Age,[12] possibly controlling the connection along the Dravinja river and the passage over Ptujska gora to the valley of the Skralska stream (*Fig. 2:* Ptujska gora).

Another important prehistoric settlement complex is located in the area of the above-mentioned Donačka gora mountain (old name: Rogaška gora or Rogač). It is a high hill with three prominent peaks (884 m a.s.l.), north of Rogatec, from which the view extends over the entire Haloze, the Drava Plain, Zagorje in Croatia, and Posotelje (*Fig. 2:* Donačka gora). In 1898, on the north-eastern side of Donačka gora, in Završje near Čermožiše, a rich bronze depot from the Ha A phase was discovered, consisting of weapons and tools, including sickles, spearheads, axes, chisels, swords, daggers and knives, as well as fragments of vessels.[13] Traces of late antique and earlier prehistoric settlements (from the Late Bronze and/or Early Iron Age) were found on the artificially created terraces on the steep southern slope of Donačka gora. In addition, the route of the old road, which the locals refer to as the “Roman road”, Roman grave finds, and individual finds from different periods were also discovered there, including a stone axe and a flat copper axe or ingot.[14]

A stone axe and a flat copper axe or ingot from Donačka gora date to the Copper Age and are among the earliest finds in Haloze (*Fig. 2:* 5). Similar stone axes without detailed find circumstances are also known from other locations in Haloze. A large number of them were discovered in the 19th and 20th centuries in eastern Haloze, and fewer in the slightly higher and hillier western Haloze.[15] Two such stone axes are included in the collection of the Stoperce primary school (*Fig. 2:* 2).[16] About 1,500 m northwest of the school, a stone axe was discovered in 1972 while digging a field north of the church of St Anna (*sv. Ana*) above the Old Castle of Štatenberg (*Fig. 2:* 3).[17] Approximately two kilometres east of the prehistoric site in Stoperce, a stone axe was discovered in the former Leskošek›s vineyard, near the church of St Hermagoras and Fortunatus (*sv. Mohor and Fortunat*) on Kupčinji vrh (*Fig. 2:* 4).[18] A stone axe was also found to the east of it, in Nadole (*Fig. 2:* 6),[19] and two stone axes in Žetale, approximately 7 km east of Stoperce, where Kovačič assumed a Neolithic settlement (*Fig. 2:* 7– 8).[20] The locations of the axes between Kupčinji vrh and Žetale are interesting, as they are located near the aforementioned route leading from Stoperce past Donačka gora to Žetale (*Fig. 2:* 4–8).

Fewer stone axes have been found to the north of Stoperce in Haloze. The closest finding location of the axe is the village Pečke (*Fig. 2:* 10) in the Dravinja Valley, and the next location is Medvedce

[11] Teržan 1990, 81, 348–351; Lubšina Tušek 1996.

[12] If the Urnfield cemetery in Doklece belonged to the settlement as well (Teržan 1990, 350, Pl. 70: 10–14).

[13] Smodič 1955; Teržan 1995, 138–147; Turk 1996, 108–113.

[14] ANSL 1975, 288; Ciglenečki 1974, 126; *id.*1985, 275–276; MMC 2016. A stone axe (Inv. No. A 60; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 106, Pl. 15: 19) and a flat copper axe or ingot (Inv. No. A 1351; Teržan 1995, 235, Pl. 2: 12; Šinkovec 1996, 131; *cf.*, Kramberger 2018, 74) from Donačka gora are kept in the Pokrajinski muzej Maribor.

[15] Lubšina Tušek 1993, 38, App. 1.

[16] Mikl-Curk 1974a, 95, Figs. 2, 4, 5; *ead.* 1975, 174; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 38, 106, Pl. 16: 1–2.

[17] It is kept by the Parish Office in Stoperce (Mikl-Curk 1974b, 92, Fig. 6: 2; *ead.* 1975, 174; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 106).

[18] Maribor Regional Museum, Inv. No. A 2516 (Baš 1937; Saria, Klemenc 1939, 20; Pahič 1976b, 5; ANSL 1975, 328; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 106, Pl. 15: 20).

[19] It is a large hammered axe, kept by the school collection in Žetale (Mikl-Curk 1974c, 95, Fig. 2: 3). According to the information of Jerič from Žetale 22, the hammered axe was found in Nadole by someone named Fldršek. However, the school only holds the information that the axe was brought by a student from the Čermožiše area (Mikl Curk 1975, 173; see also Lubšina Tušek 1993, 105; Pahič 1990, 149).

[20] The axe from an unknown location from Žetale is kept by the Provincial Museum Ptuj – Ormož (Inv. No. 21054; Lubšina Tušek 1993, Pl. 15: 17). The axe found at Žetale 22 was said to have been given by the finder, L. Jerič, to a geologist from Ljubljana (Mikl Curk 1975, 174). Assumption about a Neolithic settlement: Kovačič 1926, 3 (see also ANSL, 1975, 328)

(*Fig. 2:* 9) on the southern edge of the Drava Plain, where a (now lost) stone axe was found in 1930 at the coal mine.[21]

To the south of Stoperce, it is necessary to mention the discovery of the quern on the saddle at the pass near Strmec below Kamenjak, one of the last Haloze hills along the Ptuj–Majšperk–Rogatec road. It was found next to the house on a flat hill on which a (presumably artificial) terrace is visible (*Fig. 2:* 11).[22] Approximately 1 km south of it, a stone axe was discovered while cultivating a field at Ravnica in Tlake near the Ptuj–Majšperk–Rogatec road (*Fig. 2:* 12),[23] and two stone axes are known from Rogatec itself (*Fig. 2:* 13).[24]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN STOPERCE

In 2009, an area 100.4 m and 14 m wide on average, totalling 1224.23 m², was excavated on the gas pipeline route in Stoperce. The excavations were carried out based on stratigraphic principles, with a combination of mechanical and manual removal of layers (SU 001, 002; partly 003) and manual excavation of pits (*Fig. 3*).[25]

A dense concentration of pits and post holes was discovered 39 m south of the north-western edge of the excavated area and 21.2 m north of the southern edge of the excavated area, only one pit (without finds) was found further south (SU 282).[26] Since no pits were discovered during the later archaeological inspection on the route of the gas pipeline, it can be assumed that the northern and southern boundaries of the prehistoric settlement in Stoperce were found and that the settlement only extended westwards to the foot of the steep hill (where there is little space left for the settlement), and at an unknown distance towards the Skralska stream in the east (*Fig. 4*).

A total of 330 pits, 6 ditches, and 13 layers were discovered: one large pit and nine post holes date to the Late Neolithic, 320 pits, two ditches (SU 45, 249), and seven layers to the Copper Age; and four ditches and one pit are modern.

Prehistoric pits can be divided into smaller pits with an oval or round ground plan, medium-sized pits, and large pits. Smaller pits were, on average, between 0.15 × 0.15 m–0.30 × 0.30 m in size and 0.1–0.3 m deep. Approximately 20% of a total of 310 such pits contained visibly darker spots in the centres (*Fig. 5*). Some of them contained large amounts of charcoal and burnt clay (*Fig. 6*), while fewer were lined with stones (*Fig. 7*). It is obvious that these are post holes, and that at least some of them represent traces of houses built with posts (*Fig. 4:* Structures II–V) and smaller wooden structures (*Fig. 4:* PO1–6) due to their arrangement in space.

Sixteen medium-sized pits (between 0.5 × 0.7 m and 1.6 × 2.5 m), and three of larger dimensions (between 2.6 × 3.2 m and 3.4 × 6.3 m) have been found. Additionally, six layers that contained prehistoric finds have been found.

The eastern profile of the area excavated above pit SU 128, the western profile of the area excavated between ditch SU 45 and pit SU 290, and the southern profile of the extension of the area excavated next to the pit (pit-house?) SU 344 proved to be the most informative for understanding the stratigraphy of the prehistoric site (*Fig. 4*; *8:* A-B, C-D, E-F).

Phase 1 (Late Neolithic)

The eastern profile shows that the earliest pit (*Fig. 8:* SU 128) was discovered 0.45 m below the surface, under the topsoil (SU 001, 002) and the yellow-grey clayey layer (SU 003). It was cut into an archaeologically sterile layer, in greyish-brown loam with iron oxides, interpreted as alluvium (*Fig. 8:* SU 284), and in the underlying yellow-brown silty loam (*Fig. 8:* SU 004). Finds from the Late Neolithic were found in this pit (*Pls. 1:* 1 – *5:* 6), while layer SU 003 contained finds from the Early Copper Age (*Fig. 8:* SU 003).[27]

At the edge of pit SU 128 and partly in it, nine post holes were discovered (*Fig. 4* – blue), which might have belonged to a lighter wooden

[21] Pečke: Pahič 1950, 170; Pahič 1983, 44; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 126. Medvedce: Saria, Klemenc 1939, 41; ANSL 1975, 318.

[22] Ciglenečki 1978b; Vuga 1979, 345.

[23] Ciglenečki 1975; *id.* 1978a.

[24] Stone axes are kept by the Universalmuseum Joanneum, Inv. Nos. 3200 in 3257 (ANSL 1975, 288).

[25] Numbers SU 001–009 were reserved for layers, numbers SU 1–400 for pits and ditches. Later, some stratigraphic units that were originally defined as pits turned out to be layers (*e.g.*, SU 284, 3)

[26] This pit was found 9 m south of the part of area excavated with dense concentration of pits shown in *Fig. 4.*

[27] A total of 82 ceramic fragments. No typologically characteristic fragments could be identified among them.

structure (*Fig. 4:* I). The post holes were between 0.08 m and 0.18 m deep and contained fragments of charcoal and burnt clay. Only in post hole SU 341 were larger pieces of fired clay found, and in post hole SU 342 a handle of a ceramic vessel was discovered (*Fig. 4:* SU 341342).

Pit SU 128 and Structure I (Fig. 4: SU 128, I; *Fig. 9*; *Pls. 1–4; 5:* 1–6*)*

The larger pit from the Late Neolithic period could only be partly excavated. It measured 5.9 × 3.45 m in the excavated part, was up to 0.2 m deep, and was of irregular shape (*Fig. 9*). A total of 1,185 ceramic fragments from the Late Neolithic were discovered in the brown soil found in the pit; there were 850 pieces after mending (*Pls. 1–4*). Among the stone finds, the small cone by-product of an axe drill (*Pl. 5:* 1), a fragment of a semi-finished stone axe (*Pl. 5:* 2), and four flint tools (*Pls. 5:* 3–6) are noteworthy. In addition, a large amount of burnt clay and charcoal fragments were found in the pit; one piece of charcoal was radiocarbon-dated using AMS.[28]

Phase 2 (Early Copper Age)

Layer SU 003 is interpreted by the excavators as a levelling of the terrain after the first settlement. Since it contained finds from the Early Copper Age, it can be associated with the beginning of the second settlement.[29] It is later than pit SU 128 and earlier than some pits of the second settlement, which is evident from the western profile of the excavation field, as post hole SU 290 and ditch SU 45 from the second settlement were dug into this layer (*Fig. 8*: SU 290, 45; *Fig. 5*).

Fragments of pottery attributed to the Early Copper Age (*e.g.*, *Pl. 11:* 1–6) were found in the ditch (SU 45). Post hole SU 290 north of ditch SU 45 did not contain any finds. The post hole was probably connected to a total of 32 other post holes, as it forms a rectangular ground plan together with them. We, therefore, interpret these post holes as traces of a rectangular house from the Early Copper Age (*Fig. 4:* II).

In the same stratigraphic position as pit SU 290 and ditch SU 45, *i.e.*, below topsoil (SU 001, 002) and above the yellow-grey clay SU 003), most of the pits and post holes were discovered at the archaeological site. These pits also seem to date (at least most of them) back to the Early Copper Age (Phase 2) based on comparison with the finds from the post holes and the medium-sized and large pits. A few pits from the Early Copper Age were also discovered under layer SU 003 (*i.e.*, in the same stratigraphic position as pit SU 128). These post holes were discovered in the central part of the excavation field during the deepening of the site with an excavation machine, which took place at the same time as the excavation was extended further west (*cf. Fig. 3* with *Fig. 4:* z1, SU 150, 344). Based on the position of the discovery of these pits, they could be earlier than the Early Copper Age. However, many of them are in line with the post holes discovered above layer SU 003, so it is likely that these post holes also date to the Copper Age; probably their outlines were just not detected at a higher level.[30] Only the post holes discovered during the deepening of the ground below the layer SU 003 at the edge of pit SU 128 (*Fig. 4* – blue), may be from the Late Neolithic period, as they are located close to the post holes found on the bottom of pit SU 128.

Structures II, III, IV, V (houses from the Early Copper Age) (Fig. 4: I, II, III, IV, V*; Fig. 10; 11)*

To the west of pit SU 128, a larger number of post holes were discovered over an area totalling 39 m in length and 9.5 m in width, grouped in four areas, some of which form partly rectangular ground plans. These are ground plans of houses built with posts, which are, according to the stratigraphic sequence, later than pit SU 128 (*Fig. 8*).

The first house (Structure II) is represented by a total of 33 post holes dug into layer SU 003 (*Fig. 4:* II; *Fig. 5*). It was almost completely excavated, only protruding from the excavated area on the far western side. In the examined part, it measured about 4.1 × 6.3 m. As can be seen, it was laid out in the NW-SE direction and had one larger room on the north-western side and a smaller one (size 1.5 × 3.9–4.1 m) on the south-eastern side.

[28] Kramberger 2014a, 241, Figs. 9–10.

[29] In addition to prehistoric ceramic fragments, some early modern ceramic fragments were also found in layer SU 003, which are most likely infiltrates.

[30] For example, post holes SU 299–304, 308, 314–318, 320–322, 324–329, 332, 334–339, 345 were in line with post holes of Structure III discovered higher up (*Fig. 4:* Structure III). Another example is post hole SU 312, which was arranged together with post holes SU 108–112, 114–116 around pit SU 100, interpreted as the auxiliary structure (*Fig. 4:* Auxiliary structure 6; *Pl. 12:* 3–5).

Based on the arrangement of the post holes, it is possible to assume that the entrance was at the south-eastern corner of the house, which means that the smaller room could have served primarily as a windbreak.

The remains of the next house (Structure III) were discovered about 4.5 m south of Structure II (*Figs. 4, 10, 11*).[31] It resembled Structure II with a rectangular ground plan and approximately the same width (3.7 m). The ground plan of the house could be completely exposed, and it could be seen that the house was 8.6 m long on the west side and 9.7 m long on the east side. The ground plan was clearly visible based on the arrangement of 41 post holes (*Fig. 11:* SU 118, 123–125, etc.). Within the ground plan of the house, 23 post holes were discovered, including five that could represent traces of a smaller room on the north side of the house. Nine post holes in the central part of the house probably were for the posts that supported the ridge of the gable roof. An approximate dating of the house is possible based on three pottery fragments discovered in post hole SU 118 (*Fig. 4:* SU 118; *Fig. 11*: SU 118).[32]

A two-room house comparable to Structures II and III in Stoperce is known from the Lasinja settlement of Zgornje Radvanje in Maribor (Structure 27); it has been dated to the Lasinje Culture of the Early Copper Age on the basis of the results of radiocarbon dating of a charcoal sample found in one of the post holes (SU 111).[33] Structure 27 from Radvanje compares particularly well with Structure II in Stoperce, as the houses have the same orientation and are similar in size, both had a larger room on the north-west side and a smaller one on the south-east side, and the entrance to the house can be assumed (based on the arrangement of the post holes) to be at the south-east corner of the house in both cases.[34]

Comparable two-room houses are also known from the Lasinja settlements in Croatia, Hungary, and from the Epilengyel period in Austria, where they were built with the so-called foundation ditches, in the bottom of which posts were dug.[35] In addition to the one-room houses, which were built in the same way, they represent the basic building type in the Epilengyel period. It is a tradition from the Late Lengyel Culture, which was the predecessor of the Lasinja Culture in western Hungary and Austria.[36] Some houses were similar in size to Structure III, but others were larger. They were standardised only by the construction method and the shape of the ground plan.

About 1.2 m south of Structure III, the next larger group of post holes was encountered (*Fig. 4:* IV). The pits were found positioned in three parallel rows, and partly between these rows in the eastern part of the post-hole cluster. Five post holes were found in a row on the southernmost side, eight in the centre of the cluster, and seven on the northernmost side. The position of the post holes suggests an angular ground plan about 6.7 m long and between 5 m (on the south-east side) and 3.85 m (on the north-west side) wide. The house could have had an irregular rectangular ground

[31] In the first publication, this house was defined as "Structure III – room 1", since it was assumed that it could be connected to (according to the arrangement of post holes) rectangular pit SU 150 with a hearth ("Structure III – room 2") (Kramberger 2014a, 239, Figs. 6, 8).

[32] These are fragments of vessels, comparable in terms of pottery manufacturing technology (the fragment of a vessel made of a very fine-grained fabric, fired under incompletely oxidising conditions with reducing conditions at the end of the firing process, and two fragments of vessels fired under incompletely oxidising conditions made of medium-grained fabric with inclusions of quartz sand) with ceramics found in the Lasinja pits (SU 150, 52 and 45). On this basis, we tentatively date them to the Early Copper Age.

[33] Kramberger 2021b, 36–41, 49–50, 98, Figs. 41a, b, 50, 91.

[34] The house in Radvanje measured approximately 5.9 × 3.65 to 4.6 m (Kramberger 2021b, Fig. 44).

[35] In Croatia, we know them from the sites Beketinci – Bentež (*cf. Fig. 4:* Structure II with Minichreiter, Marković 2013, Fig. 53; *cf. Fig. 11:* Structure III with *ib*., Figs. 48–50), Tomašanci-Palača (Balen 2020, Fig. 3), Čepinski Martinci-Dubrava (Kalafatić 2009, 23, Fig. 5), Donji Miholjac-Mlaka (Nodilo 2012, 12, 13) and Donji Miholjac-Đanovci (Tkalčec 2016, 49–51, Figs. 2–5). In Hungary they were found, *e.g.*, on the sites Balatonszárszó – Kis-erdei-dűlő (*cf. Fig. 4:* Structure II with Oross *et al.* 2010, Fig. 9), Lébény – Billedomb (*cf. Fig. 4:* Structure II with Németh 1994, Fig. 12), Győr – Szabadrétdomb (Virág, Figler 2007, 352–354, 348, Fig. 2: 5–11), Mosonszentmiklós – Pálmajor (Virág, Figler 2007, 357–359, Fig. 7, 455, Fig. 6), Zalavár – Basasziget (Virág 2003, 377–380, Fig. 2; *id.* 2005, 61–63, Figs. 3–8) and Zalaegerszeg-Andrashida, Gebarti-to (II.) (Barna, Kreiter 2006, 62, Fig. 1), in Austria at the site Münchendorf (Carneiro 2002, 46–49, Figs. 2, 5). In the case of Structure 27 in Radvanje and Structures II and III in Stoperce, the foundation ditches were not discovered, which does not necessarily indicate that the houses were built differently. This could also be the result of the poor preservation of the pits (*cf.* with Balen 2020, 116, Fig. 4; Oross *et al.* 2010, 383, Fig. 6; Minichreiter, Marković 2013, 56–57, Fig. 41, 42).

[36] *E.g.*, Oross *et al.* 2010, 385–388; Mladoniczki *et al.* 2012, Figs. 2–4; Ilon 2004, 151, Fig. 31.

plan (if some post holes in the north-western wall of the house were not preserved or detected) or a pentagonal ground plan, as is the case with the houses in the first circle of the Lasinja Culture settlement at Zgornje Radvanje in Maribor.[37] The middle of the longest row of post holes probably served for posts supporting the ridge of a gable roof.

A group of 37 post holes was discovered 2.8 m south of Structure IV (*Fig. 4:* V), which may be the remains of the fifth house, partially excavated (and worse-preserved?), oriented NE–SW, about 8 m long and 5.85 m wide. The pottery sherds found in three post holes (SU 244, 246 and 277) probably date to the Early Copper Age based on the pottery production method and the pottery clay material (fabric) in this case (*Fig. 4:* V).

Auxiliary Structures 1–3 (Fig. 4: PO1, PO2, PO3*)*

Three groups of post holes at Stoperce were arranged in the shape of the letter L.[38] They may also represent poorly preserved or partial ground plans of rectangular buildings;[39] however, they were much smaller than Structures II–V, and they were thus marked as "auxiliary structures" (*Fig. 4:* PO1, PO2, PO3).

Auxiliary Structure 1 was located to the north of Auxiliary Structure 2 and northeast of Structure III. The longest side measured 2.8 m, the perpendicular side 2.6 m, and the shortest side, perpendicular to the first and parallel to the last, 0.65 m. Auxiliary Structure 2 is bounded by sides of 1.9 m, 1.3 m, and 0.6 m, and Auxiliary Structure 3, which stood to the west of Structure V, by sides of 1.9 m, 1.3 m, and 0.6 m. For dating purposes, three pottery fragments are available from post hole SU 281, which was located in the southern wall of Auxiliary Structure 3 (according to the pottery production method all can be assigned to the Lasinja Culture).

Auxiliary Structures 4, 5, and 6 (storage pits) (Fig. 4: PO4, PO5, PO6; *12*; *Pl. 12:* 3–5*)*

A special group of auxiliary structures at Stoperce are medium-sized pits with an oval ground plan, which are surrounded by post holes. They were discovered next to Auxiliary Structures 1 and 2 in the extreme north-eastern part of the excavated area (*Fig. 4:* PO4, PO5, PO6).

The first of these pits is SU 13, measuring 1.12 × 1.1 m and 0.18 m deep (*Fig. 4:* PO4; *Fig. 12:* Auxiliary Structure 4). At the edge of the pit, five post holes (SU 14–18) were discovered, which partially damaged the edge of the pit. The pit was filled with grey loam-containing fragments of charcoal, fired clay, and a fragment of a vessel that, based on the characteristics of the pottery manufacture methods and the fabric, probably dates to the Early Copper Age; several pieces of sandstone and marl were discovered at the bottom of the pit.

Pit SU 19 was found approximately 2.6 m south-west of pit SU 13, and four post holes were discovered at its edge: SU 20–23 (*Fig. 4:* PO5; *Fig. 12:* Auxiliary Structure 5). The pit had an oval ground plan and a pear-shaped cross-section; its size was 0.86 × 0.83 cm, and it was 0.19 m deep. The grey loam filling of the pit contained fragments of charcoal, fired clay, and two pottery fragments from the Early Copper Age. Pieces of marl and sandstone were found at the bottom of the pit, like those found in pit SU 13.

Pit SU 100 was discovered along the south-eastern wall of Structure III, south of Auxiliary Structure 2 *(Fig. 4:* PO6; *Fig. 12:* Auxiliary Structure 6). It was an oval pit with a shallow U-shaped profile and nine post holes (SU 108–112, 114–116, 312) located at its edge and in the immediate vicinity. The pit was below the topsoil, it measured 1.7 × 1.45 m and it was 0.17 m deep. It had a non-uniform fill; in the semi-circular central part of the pit, there was a very dark grey loam; elsewhere, the loam was lighter. It contained many fragments of burnt bones, charcoal, and fired clay, as well as a total of 78 fragments of Early Copper Age pottery vessels (*Pl. 12:* 3,4) and a stone hammer (*Pl. 12:* 5). The pieces of charcoal found in the pit were identified as oak or chestnut, and some of them as crown-shaped porous hardwoods (5 pieces in total). In addition, one *Stellaria sp.* seed and three pieces of charred food or wood resin were found in the pit.

The pear-shaped profile of the pit (PO5, pit SU 19) indicates that it was most likely used as a storage pit, with the post holes probably representing traces of the wooden roof construction or cover over the pit. Similar pits from the Early Copper Age are known in Slovenia, to date from Bukovnica ("furnace" in sq. 199) and especially

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[37] Kramberger 2021b, 36–44, Fig. 41a–b: Structures 32–34, Fig. 43.

[38] In the first study of the site, these buildings were not specifically marked (Kramberger 2014a, 38–240, Fig. 6).

[39] *Cf.* with Balen 2020, 116, Fig. 4.

from Malečnik (pit 53), where post holes were also located next to the pit.[40]

Pits with a deep pear-shaped profile were commonly used for long-term grain storage in prehistory, in some regions of Central Europe from the Early Neolithic to the Early Iron Age.[41] Another possibility is the storage of grains in large ceramic storage vessels, which is characteristic of the later prehistoric periods in Slovenia. In the Late Bronze Age settlement of Pobrežje in Maribor, for example, many large storage vessels were discovered right next to the houses, in pits that were barely larger than the vessels themselves.[42] Such an almost completely preserved storage vessel was also discovered in Spodnje Hoče but in a somewhat larger, medium-sized pit. This pit is noteworthy because three post holes were found on its outer edge and impressions of small posts were found on its inner edge;[43] probably the remains of a wooden structure that acted as a cover at the time, similar to the storage pits discovered at Stoperce.[44] Roofed covers built with piles are also found with pits in the Mediterranean, where they were used to store grain and other foodstuffs.[45]

Pit SU 150 – pit-house (Figs. 4: Z1; *10*; *11:* Pit SU 150; *Pls. 5:* 7 – part, 8–11; *6–8)*

At the western edge of the site, pit SU 150 with a rectangular ground plan and rounded edges was discovered, with dimensions of 3.2 × 2.5 m (*Fig. 10*). It was dug up to 0.3 m deep into the yellow-grey loam (SU 003), and two cultural layers and a fireplace were found in it.

In the upper layer (layer 2), fragments of charcoal, fired clay, and ceramic vessels from the Early Copper Age (*Pls. 5:* 8–11; *6:* 1–9; *7:* 1–4; *5:* 7 – part), as well as an almost completely preserved lower (*Pl. 8:* 1) and upper part of the quern (*Pl. 8:* 4), a scraper (*Pl. 8:* 2) and a flint (*Pl. 8:* 3) were found. The lower layer (layer 1) was without finds and differed from the upper layer by its lighter colour. The fireplace was located in the specially shaped north-eastern part of the pit and appeared as an oval layer of charcoal about 2 cm thick with some pieces of fired clay (*Fig. 11:* fireplace).

Several postholes were discovered near pit SU 150; 19 of them were located at the edge of pit SU 150 (*Fig. 11:* SU 138–143, 151, etc.), three were found at the bottom of the pit under layer 2, and (surprisingly) a few were discovered on the top of the pit fill (SU 152, 153, 154, 155, 156), which means that they are younger than pit SU 150 (*Figs. 6*; *11* – red).

Based on the shape of the larger rectangular pit, and the arrangement of post holes around it, pit SU 150 was interpreted as the remains of a pit-house. Post holes located in two parallel rows to the east of pit SU 150 suggest that it may have been connected to a larger above-ground building next to it (Structure III).[46]

Four similar rectangular pits with rounded edges were discovered in the Lasinja Culture settlements in Zgornje Radvanje, one in Zbelovo in the Drava plain and one in Turnišče in Prekmurje, but they yielded no fireplaces and only individual post holes.[47] Several rectangular pits between 2 and 5 m long and about 0.5 m deep were also found at the Lasinja settlement of Beketinci-Bentež in Croatia, with rounded edges at the top as well as at the transition from the wall to the bottom.[48] Among them is a pit that, similar to pit SU 150 in Stoperce, yielded numerous post holes on its outer edge. It was interpreted as a working pit over which there must have been a wooden roof.[49]

[40] Šavel 1992, 68, App. 5; Kramberger 2021a, 37, 117–118. When the pit from Bukovnica was first published, it was interpreted as a furnace (Šavel 1992, 59). However, burnt loam is often found at the edges of storage pits. Before they started using the pit, it was (if necessary, depending on the geological base) smeared with clay, and then often burned to clean it. Experiments show that fire dries out the pit most effectively and destroys the microflora in it (Reynolds 1974).

[41] *E.g.*, Griebl 2004, 122–123; Gašpar 2017; Tripković 2011; Miret i Mestre 2006.

[42] Kramberger, Črešnar 2021, 57.

[43] Kramberger *et al.* 2021, 19–21, 49, Fig. 18, Fig. 19.

[44] Archaeobotanical analyses of charcoal samples showed that the structure was built of oak woad, and one of the charcoal samples was radiocarbon dated to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st millennium BC (Kramberger *et al.* 2021, 36, Fig. 37, Fig. 38; Culiberg, Šercelj 2021, 39–40).

[45] Miret i Mestre 2006, 214–217, Fig. 3.

[46] See also Kramberger 2014a, 239. Some houses (above-ground buildings) at other settlements of Lasinja Culture had also a smaller room next to the large house, leaning against the outer wall of the house (*e.g.*, Kalafatić 2009, Fig. 5; Nodilo 2012, Fig. 12C; Németh 1994, 256, Fig. 10; Tkalčec 2016, 50, Fig. 4; Balen 2020, 115–116, Figs. 3, 4).

[47] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, 134–230, Structures 1, 18, 19, 21); Zbelovo (V. Pahič 1983, 137, "seliščni prostor A"); Turnišče (Tomaž 2012, 57–64, PO 24).

[48] Minichreiter, Marković 2013, 39–41.

[49] *Ib.*, 41, Figs. 17, 18, pit 2642.

Pit SU 344 – pit-house (Fig. 4: SU 344; *Fig. 11:* SU 344; *Pls. 9:* 1–4; *5:* 7 – part*)*

After the excavation field has been extended to the west, a pit was discovered about 0.5 m west of pit SU 150, which contained a cluster of charcoal with burnt loam in its southern part, similar to that of pit SU 150 (traces of a fireplace?) (*Fig. 4:* SU 344; *Fig. 11:* Pit SU 344). It was preserved to a length of 2.84 m and a width of 0.45 m; on the west side, it was destroyed by the modern trench for a gas pipeline from 1975. The pit contained greyish loam with pieces of charcoal and burnt clay, stones (marl and sandstones), fragments of ceramic vessels (*Pl. 9:* 1,3,4) and a stone flake (*Pl. 9:* 2).

Pit SU 344 may also represent traces of a pit--house.

Pit SU 52 (Fig. 4: SU 52; *Fig. 13*; *Pls. 9:* 5–12; *10:* 1–4; *10:* 5 – part*)*

Pit SU 52 was discovered along the shorter north-eastern wall of Structure III, on the outside of the house (*Fig. 4:* SU 52; Fig. 13). It had an oval ground plan and a U-shaped profile (length 2.45 m, width 1.35 m, depth 0.32 m). The dark grey to black loam found in the pit contained a flat sandstone (in the central part of the pit), several pieces of burnt clay and charcoal, 551 pottery fragments from the Early Copper Age (*Pls. 9:* 5–12; *10:* 1– 3), pieces of burnt bone, a flint (*Pl. 10:* 4), and part of a stone axe with a hole (*Pl. 10:* 5 – part).

Ditch SU 45 (Fig. 4: SU 45; *Pl. 11)*

A ditch (SU 45) was discovered between Structures II and III, running from the far western edge of the excavated area eastwards for a length of 12.1 m, where it ended just before the eastern edge of the excavated area. It was up to 0.95 m wide and up to 0.18 m deep, was crossed by a modern ditch (plough furrow), and intersected by three post holes. The ditch contained 253 pottery sherds, attributed to the Early Copper Age (*Pl. 11:* 1–6), an axe semi-product made of amphibolite stone (*Pl. 11:* 7) and three pieces of querns (*Pl. 11:* 8–10).

Post hole SU 96 (Fig. 4: SU 96; *Pls. 12:* 6–8*)*

Post hole SU 96 was dug in ditch SU 45. It had an oval ground plan (size 0.75 × 0.7 m, depth 0.08 m) (*Fig. 4:* SU 96). The very dark grey loam in the pit contained a large amount of charcoal and 37 pottery sherds from the Early Copper Age (including *Pls. 12:* 6–8).

Pit SU 250 (Fig. 4: SU 250; *Pl. 12:* 1*)*

It was discovered to the southeast of Structure V, in the southern part of the excavated area (*Fig. 4:* SU 250). It had an oval ground plan, measuring 2.3 × 1.5 m. The pit contained grey soil with 19 pottery fragments from the Early Copper Age (including *Pl. 12:* 1).

Ditch SU 249 (Fig. 4: SU 249; *Pl. 12:* 2*)*

Pit SU 250 was adjacent to a 0.75 m wide ditch SU 249, which ran from its edge towards the north-east with a total length of 3.4 m (*Fig. 4:* SU 249). The ditch contained dark brown soil with fragments of fired clay and 12 pottery sherds from the Early Copper Age (including *Pl. 12:* 2).

Pit SU 9 (Fig. 4: SU 9; *Pl. 13:* 1–7*)*

It was discovered under the topsoil, south of Structure III and it was partially overlapping with the ground plan of Structure IV. Since the post holes of Structure IV (SU 186 and 187) were discovered under pit SU 9, the pit could have been later than the structure. It had an oval ground plan, with a size of 3.0 × 2.25 m and a depth of up to 0.1 m (*Fig. 4:* SU 9). A concentration of charcoal was discovered along the western edge of the pit, along with marl and sandstone stones along the southern and eastern edges. The pit contained 23 pottery fragments from the Early Copper Age (including *Pl. 13:* 1–6) and a fragment of a serpentinite axe (*Pl. 13:* 7).

SU 3 – layer (Fig. 4: SU 3; *Pls. 13:* 9–16; *14:* 1–2*)*

It was discovered under the topsoil (SU 001) and the sub-humus layer (SU002), which partially covered the ground plan of Structure III, and covered an area of 11.9 × 5.1 m. It was dark grey to yellowish grey in colour, irregular in ground plan, and up to 0.1 m thick. Fragments of charcoal and burnt clay were found in it, as well as two clusters of burnt clay (SU 5, 4). Finds include a serpentinite stone pestle (*Pl. 14:* 2) and 318 pottery fragments, one from the Late Neolithic (*Pl. 13:* 12) and the rest from the Early Copper Age (*Pls. 13:* 9–16; *14:* 1). The pottery was scattered.

It could be part of the layer SU 003, which was mainly removed elsewhere with a machine (*Fig. 4:* SU 3; *Fig. 8:* SU 003).

SU 5 – a cluster of burnt clay (Fig. 4: SU 5; *Pl. 13:* 8*)*

A cluster of burnt clay (size 2.0 × 1.1 m) was discovered in layer SU 3 at a depth of 0.35 m, adjacent to the west wall of Structure III (*Fig. 4:* SU 5; *11:* SU 5). In addition to charcoal fragments, 25 fragments of ceramic vessels from the Early Copper Age and a fragment of flint were discovered among the burnt clay, about 0.1 m thick (*Pl. 13:* 8).

It may be a remnant of a house wall (Structure III), which in this case collapsed on the outside of the house (*Fig. 4:* III; *11:* Structure III).

SU 4 – burnt clay clusters (Fig. 4: SU 4*)*

These are two thickenings of burnt clay, which were connected by dark grey soil (*Fig. 4:* SU 4; *11:* SU 4). They were discovered within the ground plan of Structure III, the first in the north-eastern part having an irregular and less prominent ground plan, and the second in the southwestern part having a prominent rounded ground plan (a fireplace or wall remnant?). Stones (10 pieces), fragments of burnt clay, and 14 fragments of pottery from the Early Copper Age were discovered in the dark grey layer between the clusters of burnt clay.

Phase 3 (Middle Copper Age?)

According to the stratigraphic position, some post holes at Stoperce are from a later time than the Early Copper Age pits. These are the post holes (SU 152, 153, 154, 155, 156) discovered on top of the fill of the larger pit SU 150, which means that they were dug into it (*Fig. 4* – red; *Fig. 6*). These pits are earlier than the topsoil (SU 001 and SU 002) and show that another wooden structure, was later erected on the site of the Early Copper Age pit-house, which was not contemporary with it (*cf. Fig. 6* with *Fig. 11:* SU 155).[50]

Phase 4 (modern interventions)

Layer SU 003, pit SU 290, ditch SU 45, and other pits from the Copper Age were covered by a sub--humus layer (SU 002) and a grey-brown humus layer (SU 001). The latter was formed by modern agricultural ploughing of the field, which is why prehistoric (10 pottery fragments and a retouched flake *Pl. 14:* 3), Roman (18 pottery fragments), and modern finds (872 pottery fragments) were found mixed in it. It also covered the ditch for the 1975 gas pipeline, which can be seen on the southern profile of the extension of the excavated area, next to pit SU 344 (*Fig. 8:* SU 001). Layer SU 002 is earlier than the 1975 pipeline ditch and possibly represents an older topsoil (*Fig. 8:* SU 002). Only three early modern pottery fragments were found in it.

Another four ditches and a pit that were discovered are modern. These ditches ran parallel to the direction of the plough, they contained recent bones and modern pottery, so they can be interpreted as plough furrows. The pit (SU 2) is modern based on its stratigraphic position. It was discovered under layer SU 001 and above pits SU 100 and 128.

FINDS

A total of 4,876 pottery fragments were found during the excavation at Stoperce, of which 2,522 (52%) or 14.5 kg date to the Early Copper Age, 1186 (24%) or 4.28 kg from the Late Neolithic, and the rest are from the Roman period (27 fragments; 0.5%) and the Early Modern period (1141 pottery fragments or 23.5%).[51]

Prehistoric pottery fragments were found in all three larger pits (SU 128 – Structure I, SU 150 – pit-house, SU 344), two ditches (SU 45, 249), in ten medium-sized pits (SU 9, 13 – Auxiliary Structure 4 , SU 19 – Auxiliary Structure 5, SU 52, 99, SU 100 – Auxiliary Structure 6, SU 133, 137, 250, 260), in 17 post holes (SU 11, 46, 96, 98, 118, 129, 145 , 244, 246, 254, 258, 263, 264, 267, 276, 277, 281) and in five layers (SU 003, 3–5 and 95). In total, there are 3,708 pottery fragments in the Stoperce pottery repertoire, representing 76% of the discovered pottery. After primary processing/mending or reconstruction and restoration of pottery vessels, this number was reduced to 2564 or by about 30%: this includes 147 pieces of pottery that serve as a basis for dating the settlement (fragments of rims, sherds with decoration, bottoms, etc.). Pieces of charcoal (80 samples in total), 838 pieces of burnt clay, 31 bone fragments, 521 stone flakes and stones, 15 stone tools, and other special stone artefacts were also found.

[50] The post hole of this structure (SU 155) was documented in the western profile of the excavated area (*Figs. 3*, *6*) before the excavation of the pit-house (SU 150) and before the extension of the excavated area to the west (*cf. Fig. 6* with *Figs. 4, 11:* SU 155). According to the radiocarbon dating of the (infiltrated?) charcoal sample found in pit SU 150, the younger structure could date from the Middle Copper Age (see here: Radiocarbon Analyses).

[51] Roman and Early Modern ceramic fragments were found in topsoil and in four ditches, which are interpreted as plough furrows.

Typical finds are presented in the Catalogue: *Pls. 1–4*; *5:* 1–6 (Late Neolithic pit); *Pl. 5:* 7–11; *6–13*; *14:* 1–3 (Early Copper Age settlement).[52]

Late Neolithic

Most of the Late Neolithic pottery sherds at Stoperce were discovered in pit SU 128 (*Pls. 1–4*; *5:* 1–6), and one together with fragments from the Early Copper Age in the layer SU 3 (*Pl. 13:* 12[53]). The proportion of Late Neolithic pottery decreased from 1,186 to 850 pieces (by 28%) after primary processing (mending), and three vessels could be completely reconstructed in the upper body and part of the lower body (*Pls. 1:* 2,3; *2:* 10[54]). Nine of them have a reconstructed upper body (*Pls. 1*: 1; *2*: 1–3,9; *3:* 1,4,6,7); in the remaining cases, they are pieces of various parts of vessels and various sizes, assembled from 2–10 pottery fragments.

A total of 646 (76%) of the 850 pottery sherds from pit SU 128 were analysed.[55] They belong to 49 vessels, including 22 fragments of rims with part of the body (9 of them with one or two handles; among them: *Pls. 2:* 3, 8–10; *3:* 1,4,6,7), 16 body sherds (*e.g.*, *Pls. 3:* 8; *4:* 1–2),[56] five pieces of the bottoms with part of the vessel body (*Pl. 4:* 10–14), one fragment of a handle (*Pl. 4:* 9), four fragments of hollow pedestals (*Pl. 1:* 8–11), and one reconstructed pedestal dish (*Pl. 1:* 3[57]). Three vessel fragments were badly damaged by secondary exposure to fire (*Pls. 1:* 12; *4:* 8[58]) and are therefore not suitable for the analysis of pottery production methods and decoration.

Just under half of the Late Neolithic pottery was made of clay without inclusions (very fine-grained fabric – 42%), and the rest from clay material with inclusions of individual grains of quartz (fine-grained – 58%). Before firing, the surface of the vessels was mostly sponged (91%), and 15 vessels (a good 32%) were additionally coated with coloured clay slip. Red clay slips predominate (*Pls. 1:* 1–3, 10; *2:* 1,2; *4:* 6; *4:* 9), and individual vessels had bright red slip (*Pl. 1:* 4,6), weak red (*Pl. 4:* 6,7), reddish-brown (*Pl. 2:* 8), reddish-yellow (*Pl. 1:* 5) and black (*Pl. 3:* 9).[59] The vessels were fired under incomplete oxidizing conditions (87%) and some under incomplete oxidising conditions and reducing conditions in the final stage (13% – *Pls. 2:* 3,4,9; *3:* 11; *4:* 1,10).[60]

Of the 46 pieces of pottery from the Late Neolithic, 22 pieces (a good 47%) are decorated. The decoration was done in various ways before the vessels were fired, most often by applying appliqués[61] (30% – *Pls. 1:* 1,3; *2*: 1,2,9; *3*: 6) and impressions (30% – *Pls. 2:* 6,7; *3:* 4,11; *4:* 5,12), followed by incisions (13% – *Pls. 2:* 4; *3:* 5,10), a combination of incisions and impressions (13% – *Pls. 2:* 5,10; *3:* 1) and appliqués and impressions (9% – *Pl. 3:* 7,8); and one vessel was decorated with a combination of appliqués and incisions (5% – *Pl. 3:* 2).

Dishes (*Pl. 2:* 1,2), pedestal dishes (*Pl. 1:* 1,3), pitchers (*Pl. 2:* 9) and pots (*Pls. 2:* 5-7,10; *3*: 1-8,10,11; *9:* 5) were decorated. The pitcher (*Pl. 2:* 9), dishes (*Pl. 2:* 1,2), and pedestal dishes (*Pl. 1:* 1,3) were decorated with appliqués. On six pots, the decoration was done by impressions (*Pl. 2:* 6,7;

[52] At the time of writing of this paper, the finds were stored in the depot of ZVKDS, CPA at Vičava 5 in Ptuj.

[53] Based on the ceramic fabric and the decoration, this sherd could be part of the neck of a pot from pit SU 128 (*Pl. 3:* 4).

[54] A pot *Pl. 2:* 10 was composed out of as many as 124 ceramic fragments.

[55] The remaining 204 (24%) pieces represent less characteristic ceramic fragments, mostly belly sherds.

[56] These are pieces with the largest vessel circumferences (*Pl. 4:* 1,2), with a decoration (*Pls. 2:* 5–7; *3:* 2,3,5,8,10,11) and pieces with handles or transitions into handles (*Pls. 2:* 8; *3:* 9).

[57] The fragments of a pedestal were found together with the fragments of the upper part of the dish and are completely identical in appearance.

[58] The third piece is a fragment of the widest circumference of the pot.

[59] The colours of the coloured clay slips were determined using a colour scale *Munsell Soil Color Charts*. In the paper, they are presented only descriptively.

[60] Kramberger 2014a, 244–247, Figs. 27–29, 32.

[61] In the Slovenian version of this text the term "plastična nalepka" is used, which is equated with the term "aplika". "Aplika" or "aplikacija" means "a sewn, pasted ornament"; and the term "plastična nalepka" means "that is pasted on for decoration" and "that has a distinct, visible shape" (SSKJ[2] 2014). In Slovenian archaeology, both terms refer to small bulges of various shapes, which were made of clay and were in the process of pottery production applied to the vessels before firing (Kramberger 2021b, 52, note 25; *id*. 2022, 25, note 51). Since "aplika" is a foreign word, we prefer to use the term "plastična nalepka", although the term "aplika" is more often used by Slovenian archaeologists ("plastična nalepka": Velušček 2004, 170, 193 – Type L18, 230; *id*. 2006, 27–33; *id*. 2011b, 109–134, 139–162; Grahek 2013; Kramberger 2018; *id*. 2020b; *id*. 2021a; "aplika": *e.g.*, Guštin 2005b, 12–13; Guštin *et al.* 2005, 50–55; Turk, Svetličič 2005; Horvat 2020; Tomaž 2022). In some cases, the term "bradavica" is also used for the same type of decoration (*e.g.*, Dular *et al.* 1991; Tomaž 2012; Šavel, Karo 2012; Šavel Sankovič 2011).

3: 3,4,11; *4:* 5), on three pots in a combination of impressions and incisions (*Pls. 2*: 5,10; *3*: 1), on two with impressions and appliqués (*Pl. 3:* 7,8), on two with incisions (*Pl. 3:* 5,10[62]), on two with appliqués (*Pl. 3:* 6,9) and on one in a combination of appliqués and incisions (*Pl. 3:* 2).

Dishes

Ten pottery fragments were defined as dishes, one as a miniature dish (*Pl. 1:* 2). Most of them had a coloured clay slip. They differ from each other in the shape of the rim: six of them have everted rim (*Pl. 1:* 1,3-7), one is hemispherical (*Pl. 1:* 12), two have inward curving straight rim (= inverted rim; *Pl. 2:* 1, 2) and one slightly outwarded straight rim (*Pl. 2:* 3).

Dishes with everted rims are characteristic of the Late Neolithic Lengyel Culture and appear at the sites in a wide area of Central Europe. They appear with hollow pedestals as well as with straight bases in the earliest or the "formative" phase of the Lengyel Culture in Austria, Slovakia, and Hungary, called the Lengyel I phase according to Kalicz.[63] They often have painted decoration and are also characteristic of the late Early (Lengyel Ib) and middle phases of the Lengyel Culture (Lengyel II according to Kalicz).[64] Without painted decoration, but possibly with a coloured clay slip, they are common in the Late Lengyel Culture (Lengyel III phase according to Raczky and Kalicz).[65]

In north-eastern Slovenia, dishes with everted rims were discovered at the Late Lengyel site of Andrenci, one each at Ptuj Castle, Borl Castle and Zgornje Radvanje, a few at Ptuj – Šolski center, and two in Ormož.[66] Numerous examples are known from the sites of the Sava Group of the Lengyel Culture in central and south-eastern Slovenia; their decoration differs from site to site, which, according to one research study, could be partly related to the different dating of the sites.[67] For dishes with an everted rim, found at Čatež – Sredno polje and Dragomelj, they were characteristically decorated with appliqués and with a horizontal series of impressions at the transition from the body to the rim and/or just below the top of the orifice.[68] A dish with an everted rim from the lowest cultural layer in Moverna vas (SU 056, *i.e.*, 2nd settlement phase), a dish from the hilltop of Podgorje near Pišece, the aforementioned dishes from Ptuj Castle and Borl Castle, and two from Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce in the Ljubljana basin were decorated in the same way.[69]

Other dishes from the lowest cultural layer in Moverna vas and from Spodnje Škovce are either undecorated, or decorated with individual large impressions, or with round appliqués at the transition from the body to the rim; one dish from the lowest cultural layer in Moverna vas has an incised zig-zag decoration, and two are decorated with elongated horizontal appliqués, similar to two pedestal dishes from pit SU 128 in Stoperce (*Fig. 14:* Pedestal dish, Moverna vas, p. f. 2).[70]

[62] A fragment of the thickened rim of the vessel with incised decoration may also be part of the pot (compare *Pl. 2:* 4 with *Pl. 3:* 1, 4).

[63] Kalicz 2006; see also Barna 2017, 26–27, 370. Comparable dishes: Friebritz, grob 134 (Stadler, Ruttkay 2007, Pl. 1: 6); Svodín, grob 9 (Pavúk 2007, Fig. 3: 6,9), Sormás-Török-földek (Barna 2017, Pls. 14: 9–18; 15: 6,7).

[64] Contemporary sites in Austria are referred to in archaeological literature as Moravian-Eastern-Austrian group of painted pottery (MOG) and in Slovakia as Moravian Painted Pottery (MBK) (Barna 2017, 103–106). Some examples of dishes: Kamegg (Stadler, Ruttkay 2007, Pl. 3: 1–6; Stadler, Ruttkay 2006, 19: Nos. 552, 568; 22: No. 397, 405; 23: Nos. 613, 614, 596; 31: No. 159; 32: No. 848; 41: No. 24; 42: Nos. 48, 27 and 93; 46: No. 387; 50: Nos. 221, 222, etc.); Zalaszentbalázs-Pusztatető (Bánffy 1995a, Pl. 22: 88); Nagykanizsa-Palin, Anyagnyerőhely (Barna *et al.* 2016, Figs. 12: 1a–b, 14), Hlohovec (Pavúk 2007, Fig. 4: 7).

[65] Raczky 1974; Kalicz 1991. Comparisons for the dishes: Zalaszentbalázs-Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, Pls. 57: 65,67; 62: 103; 74: 202); Veszprém (Regenye 2007, Pl. 1: 18; 5: 1; Raczky 1974, Fig. 11: 5; 17: 2); Pleszów (Pavúk 2007, Fig. 7: 1,6–7).

[66] Andrenci (Pahič 1976a, Pls. 1: 27; 2: 8,9; 3: 3,23), Ptuj Castle (Korošec 1965, Pl. 10: 5; Tomanič-Jevremov *et al.* 2006a, 117, Fig. 2: No. 2), Borl Castle (Lazar *et al.* 2022, Pl. 2: 17; dating of the finds: Kramberger 2022); Ptuj – Šolski center, Structures I and II (*id*. 2014b, Pls. 27: 301–303; 41: 480); Ormož (Tomanič-Jevremov *et al.* 2006b, Finds Nos. 11, 12); Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, Find No. 703).

[67] Kramberger 2014a, 249–250; *id*. 2020a.

[68] Čatež – Sredno polje (Tomaž 2005, Finds Nos. 3, 4, 6, 21, 23–27, 28–35; Tomaž 2022, Finds Nos. 25, 26, 30, 207–213, 216–233, 237–244, 346, itd.); Dragomelj (Turk, Svetličič 2005, Finds Nos. 1, 2, 21, 31, 33, 35, 40, 43).

[69] Moverna vas, p. f. 2 (Tomaž 1999, Pl. 3: 1); Podgorje near Pišece (Ciglenečki 1979, 260, Fig. 3: 1), Ptuj Castle (Tomanič-Jevremov *et al.* 2006a, 177, Fig. 2, Find No. 2); Borl Castle (Lazar *et al.* 2022, Pl. 2: 17); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023, Finds Nos. 18 and 19; Žorž, Nadbath 2010).

[70] A total of 12 dishes with an everted rim are known from the layer SU 056 in Moverna vas (p. f. 2), of which 3 are undecorated (Tomaž 1999, Pls. 2: 3; 3: 3; 4: 6), 3 are decorated with single large impressions (*ib*., Pl. 4: 1–3), 2 with rounded appliqués (*ib*., Pl. 5: 1,3), 1 with an incised zig-zag decoration (*ib*., Pl. 4: 5) and 2 with elongated

Moreover, at Resnikov prekop, in the lowest layer at Gradac near Mirna and at the Late Neolithic site of Dolenji Leskovec in Posavje, dishes with everted rims are decorated with round appliqués on the largest circumference (*Fig. 14:* Pedestal dish), in Dolenji Leskovec many of them also with individual large impressions.[71]

In Moverna vas, dishes with everted rims also occur in stratigraphic units SU 050 and SU 022, which are interpreted in the stratigraphic sequence as settlement phases 4 and 5. In Gorenjska, they are known from Drulovka and Neolithic-Eneolithic pit in Kranj, in the Pokolplje region in Croatia from the Ozalj – Stari grad site, in Kočevsko from Spaha near Predgrad, in Dolenjska from the sites Ponikve near Trebnje, Col 1 near Podgračeno, Ajdovska jama cave, and Grac near Sela pri Zajčjem vrhu.[72] Dishes found at these sites are mostly undecorated, some are decorated with bundles of incisions between horizontal sets of impressions, and none are decorated with an appliqué or a horizontal set of impressions.

The sites of Ponikve near Trebnje, the 4th and 5th settlement phases in Moverna vas, Ozalj – Stari grad and the earliest finds from Drulovka near Kranj were defined as the younger phase of the Sava Group, Sava Group II, due to common characteristics in pottery forms and decoration. In the Ajdovska jama cave, Col 1 near Podgračeno, a Neolithic-Eneolithic pit in Kranj, and Grac near Sela pri Zajčjem vrhu, typical Lasinja finds as well as dishes with everted rims were discovered.[73] Based on the radiocarbon dates known to date from charcoal samples and charred remains of pottery found at Ponikve near Trebnje and Moverna vas, both sites from the younger phase of the Sava Group are not earlier than the 45th to 44th centuries BC.[74] One of the two ^{14}C dates of a charcoal sample from the Neolithic-Eneolithic pit in Kranj also falls within this time frame, while the second date is younger, falling in the last third of the 5th millennium BC, which overlaps with the time span of the Lasinja Culture.[75] Radiocarbon dates from the Ajdovska jama cave and the only ^{14}C date from Col 1 near Podgračeno also overlap with the dates of the Lasinja Culture.[76]

The hemispherical dish from pit SU 128 at Stoperce represents a chronologically less distinctive type of vessel (*Pl. 1:* 12). Similar vessels are found at Late Neolithic sites, such as Resnikov prekop, Andrenci, and the lowest layer in Moverna vas,[77] in Ponikve near Trebnje,[78] and at Lasinja sites, *e.g.*, burials in the Ajdovska jama cave and the settlement at Zgornje Radvanje in the foothills of Pohorje Massif in Maribor.[79]

More important are the dishes with straight rims (*Pl. 2:* 1–3). Three pieces were discovered in the Late Neolithic pit at Stoperce: two have inward curving straight rims (*Pl. 2:* 1,2), and one has a

horizontal appliqués (compare Pl. 1: 1,3 with Tomaž 1999, Pls. 4: 4; 5: 2). Of the 35 dishes with an everted rim from Spodnje Škovce 16 fragments are without decoration (Kramberger 2023, Find Nos. 4, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 79, 82, 85, 86, 159, 205, 230, 233, 266), 16 are decorated with rounded appliqués on the belly to rim transition (Kramberger 2023, Finds Nos. 1, 7, 12, 14, 77, 78, 83, 148, 150, 151, 203, 204, 206, 227, 263), 1 with an individual large impression (*ib*., Find No. 231).

71 Resnikov prekop (Korošec 1964, Pls. 7: 1; 8: 1; 15: 4; 17: 2; 18: 3,4; Harej 1975, Pls. 2: 10; 3: 1; 7: 7–9; Velušček 2006, Pls. 9: 10,12; 19: 3,4), lowest layer at Gradec near Mirna (Dular *et al*. 1991, Pls. 22: 3,8; 24: 11). Thus far from Dolenji Leskovec, only finds from the Late Neolithic feature 3 are known, in which 27 dishes with an everted rim are published, of which 11 are undecorated (Hlad 2015, Pls. 14: 48; 15: 53,56,58; 16: 60,61,63,64; 17: 68; 19: 83; 20: 85), 5 of them are decorated with rounded appliqués (*ib*., Pls. 14: 50; 15: 55; 17: 74; 18: 77; 19: 80) and 11 of them with individual large impressions (*ib*., Pls. 14: 49,51,52; 15: 54; 16: 62; 17: 67,69; 18: 78,79; 19: 81,82).

72 Drulovka near Kranj (Korošec 1960, Pls. 15: 5; 32: 7; 33: 5,7,10; 34: 4; Guštin *et al.* 2005, 44, Finds Nos. 10 and 16); Kranj – Savska cesta (Dolinar 2016, Finds Nos. 164, 165, 198, 199); Ozalj – Stari grad (Težak-Gregl 2005, Finds Nos. 3, 4, 6, 13, 16); Moverna vas 4, SU 050 (Tomaž 1999, Pls. 18: 2–4; 19: 3–5; 20: 2), Moverna vas 5, SU 022 (Tomaž 1999, Pls. 28: 1,5; 29: 1); Spaha near Predgrad (Velušček 2011b, Pls. 4.8: 5; 4.33: 7; 4.37: 4); Ponikve near Trebnje (Ravnik, Tica 2018, Finds Nos. 12, 13, 211–213, 218–221, 229, 356, 697, 797, 808); Col 1 near Podgračeno (Horvat 2020, Finds Nos. 40, 41, 44, 45); Ajdovska jama cave (Korošec 1975, Pl. 6: 4); Grac near Sela pri Zajčjem vrhu (Pavlin 2006, Find No. 5).

73 Kramberger 2020a, 63–64, 70–74, Fig. 4, 7.

74 Ravnik, Tica 2018, 77, Fig. 123, 124; Kramberger 2014a, 252–253; *id*. 2020a, 63–66, Fig. 4; *id*. 2021b, 53, 57, 84–85; Sraka 2014, 379, Fig. 3. Since the dating is based on charcoal samples, it is possible that these sites are even slightly younger (the possibility of the “old wood effect”).

75 Dolinar 2016, 38, Fig. 42; *cf*. Velušček 2011a, 231, Tab. 5.2; Kramberger 2014a, Fig. 36.

76 Sraka 2020, 13, Fig. 5, App.; Horvat 2020, 120, Fig. 75.

77 Resnikov prekop (Harej 1975, Pl. 4: 7; Velušček 2006, Pl. 14: 17,18); Andrenci (Pahič 1976a, Pl. 6: 17); Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, Pl. 3: 4).

78 Ponikve near Trebnje (Ravnik, Tica 2018, Finds Nos. 205, 206, 208–210, *etc*.).

79 Ajdovska jama (Korošec 1975, Pl. 7: 9, Pl. 11: 6,8; Horvat 2009, Fig. 5: 1); Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, Find No. 516).

slightly outwarded straight rim (*Pl. 2:* 3). The latter has a handle that was attached to the dish on the largest circumference and on the belly, while the other dishes have no handles and are decorated with one (*Pl. 2:* 2) or two adjacent appliqués on the largest circumferences (*Pl. 2:* 1).[80]

Dishes with an inward curving straight rim are characteristic of the later phases of the Lengyel Culture, and then continue their tradition in the Lasinja Culture of the Early Copper Age. Decoration with smaller round appliqués on the largest circumference (*Pl. 2:* 1,2) is typical for the sites of the Late Lengyel Culture, examples of which can be found, for example, in the Hungarian settlements of Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező, Győr-Szabadrétdomb and in the roughly contemporary settlement of Michelstetten in Austria,[81] in Slovenia at the sites of the Sava Group of the Lengyel Culture Resnikov prekop and Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (*Fig. 14:* Dish, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce, Resnikov prekop).[82]

The dish with a slightly outward curving straight rim and the handle attached to the belly and to the transition from belly to the rim (*Pl. 2:* 3) represents, as such, a later piece of pottery type from the Late Neolithic pit at Stoperce. Dishes found in the Lasinja settlements of Dobri – Alsó-mező, Újperint-Kavicsbánya and Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida, Gébárti-tó II, are similar but have an inward curving straight rim.[83]

Hollow pedestals

Five fragments of hollow pedestals were found in pit SU 128 (*Pl. 1:* 8–11). One of them belongs to a dish with an everted rim, which could be partially reconstructed (*Pl. 1:* 3), and another to a similar dish, where the transition to the bottom and the hollow pedestal is preserved (*Pl. 1:* 1).

Three smaller fragments of vessels with pedestals have a surface covered with a coloured clay slip (*Pl. 1:* 1,3,10), which is a characteristic of hollow pedestals with a cylindrical upper part from the first half and the beginning of the second half of the 5th millennium BC.[84]

Pots

Larger vessels with concave or slightly rounded lower parts, shoulders, necks, and handles are most numerous in pit SU 128. These are pots: in five cases, they could be completely reconstructed in the upper part (*Pls. 2:* 10; *3:* 1,4,6,7), while in other cases they are presented as fragments of largest circumferences (*Pls. 2:* 6 ,7; *3:* 2,8–11; *4:* 2), upper parts of vessels with a lip (*Pl. 4:* 3,5) and fragments of decorated sherds with part of the shoulder and transition to the neck (*Pls. 2:* 5; *3:* 3,5).

The pots were made of very fine-grained (*Pls. 2:* 6; *3:* 1,2; *3:* 10,11) and fine-grained fabric (*Pls. 2:* 5,7,8,10; *3:* 3,4,7–9; *4:* 2,3,5) and fired under incompletely oxidising conditions; only two vessels were fired in incomplete oxidising conditions, reducing conditions in the final stage (*Pls. 3:* 11; *4:* 5). They were often decorated: on the largest circumference, on the shoulders, or on the necks, in several cases also in all three places (*Pls. 2:* 10; *3:* 1).

A chronologically distinctive characteristic of the pots is that they were decorated with round or oval appliqués on the largest circumferences. Appliqués appear on the vessels as independent decorations (*Pl. 3:* 6) or in combination with a horizontal series of impressions (*Pl. 3:* 8,7) or incisions (*Pl. 3:* 2). This ornament is typical for sites of the Sava Group of the Lengyel Culture from the first half and middle of the 5th millennium BC in Slovenia, *e.g.*, Dragomelj, Čatež – Sredno polje, Resnikov prekop (*Fig. 14:* Motif, Resnikov prekop), Dolenji Leskovec and Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (*Fig. 14:* Motif, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce).[85] In

[80] A piece decorated with incisions on the rim (*Pl. 2*: 4) could also belong to a dish with an inward curving straight rim, as long as it was not a part of a pot (*cf.*, *Pl. 3:* 1,4).

[81] Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, Pls. 66: 139,144,147; 90: 113; 91: 118,120; 107: 242); Győr-Szabadrétdomb (Virág, Figler 2007, Fig. 1: 1); Michelstetten (Stadler, Ruttkay 2006, 80: Nos. 4476 and 4275; 84: No. 5701; 88: No. 5341; 99: No. 5648; 104: No. 4779; see also Carneiro 2001, 54, Figs. 3, 4).

[82] Resnikov prekop (Korošec 1964, Pl. 17: 7; Harej 1975, Pl. 7: 1,2); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023, Find No. 92).

[83] Dobri – Alsó-mező (Horváth, Simon 2004, Fig. 5: 12, Fig. 7: 9); Újperint-Kavicsbánya (Karolyi 1992, Pl. 34: 1); Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida, Gébárti-tó II (Barna, Kreiter 2006, Fig. 8: 6).

[84] Kramberger 2018, 87–93, Fig. 14. *Cf. Pl. 1:* 3 with Tomaž, Kavur 2006, Find No. 10; Korošec 1964, Pl. 14: 5; Turk, Svetličič 2005, Find No. 32; Pahič 1976a, Pl. 6: 8.

[85] Resnikov prekop (Korošec 1964, Pls. 4: 6; 7: 11; 8: 2; 9: 8; 14: 8; 18: 1; Harej 1975, Pls. 1: 1,2,6; 2: 1,3; 4: 10; Velušček 2006, Pls. 2: 3–5; 5: 2–9,13,15–17; 6: 1–7; 7: 1; 13: 1; 14: 3,5, etc.); Dragomelj (Turk, Svetličič 2005, Finds Nos. 13, 14, 44); Čatež – Sredno polje (*e.g.*, Tomaž 2005, Finds Nos. 9, 10, 13, 38, 41); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, Pls. 1: 3; 2: 4,5; 3: 9–11; 4: 12,15; 5: 16,17; 6: 19,21; 7: 23; 8: 24,25; 10: 29,30; 11: 32,34; 13: 44; 30: 188,191–194); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023, Finds Nos.

Moverna vas (*Fig. 14:* Motif, Moverna vas, p. f. 2) and in Gradec near Mirna (*Fig. 14:* Motif, Gradec pri Mirni 1) it is found on pots from the earliest cultural layers, in north-eastern Slovenia on Late Lengyel pottery from Andrenci and Bukovnica.[86]

According to the shape of the shoulders and neck, and the length of the neck compared to the shoulders, the pots from the Late Neolithic pit can be divided into three types: with high straight shoulders and a short distinctly everted neck (*Pl. 2:* 10; perhaps also *Pl. 4:* 3,5), with straight shoulders and a medium-long distinctly everted neck (*Pl. 3:* 7), with high rounded shoulders and a short, slightly everted short neck (*Pl. 3:* 6) and with straight shoulders and an inverted or ellipsoidal neck (*Pl. 3:* 1,4).

A partially reconstructed pot with high straight shoulders and a short distinctly everted neck (*Pl. 2:* 10) is decorated with a horizontal series of impressions around the largest circumference and just below the orifice, and with zigzag bundles of incisions on the shoulders. The most similar pots can be found among the finds from the lowest cultural layer at Moverna vas in Bela Krajina (*Fig. 14:* Pot, type L14, Moverna vas) and at Resnikovo prekop (*Fig. 14:* Pot, type L14, Resnikovo prekop); one similar, but less well-preserved pot was found at Gradišče near Stiška vas (*Fig. 14:* Pot, type L14, Gradišče near Stiška vas).[87] Such decoration is typical of pots from the Sava Group sites in Dolenjska, central Slovenia and Gorenjska (*Fig. 14:* Motif),[88] whereas no such decoration is known from the Lengyel Culture sites in Hungary, Austria, or Slovakia, although similar pots with everted necks and handles appear (significantly) in the Late Lengyel sites.[89]

In the area stretching from Bela Krajina to Gorenjska, we also find the most suitable analogies for a pot with straight shoulders and a medium-long, distinctly everted neck, which was decorated with impressions and an oval appliqué on the largest circumference, and impressions just below the orifice (*Pl. 3:* 7). Similarly shaped and decorated pots are known in the Ljubljansko barje from Resnikov prekop, at the edge of the Ljubljana basin from Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce, in Posavje from Dolenji Leskovec and the oldest cultural layer in Gradec at Mirna, and in Bela Krajina from the lower cultural layer in Moverna vas (*Fig. 14:* Pot, type L7).[90]

Two pots from pit SU 128 in Stoperce had straight shoulders and an inverted or ellipsoidal neck. One has a slightly longer neck and is decorated with a horizontal row of impressions on the largest circumference and three rows of impressions on the neck (*Pl. 3:* 4), the other was decorated with horizontal rows of impressions on the largest circumference and two on the neck, and on the shoulders with bundles of incisions in a zigzag (*Pl. 3:* 1). An almost identically shaped and decorated pot is known from Gradišče near Stiška vas (*Fig. 14:* Pot, type L15/2, Gradišče pri Stiška vas).[91] Pots of this type were also found in the lowest cultural layer in Moverna vas (*Fig. 14:* Pot, type L15/2, Moverna vas, p. f. 2), one in Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (*Fig. 14:* Pot, type L15/2, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce), while fragments of ellipsoidal necks of the pots (of a similar shape?) are known from Structure I in Ptuj – Šolski Center and from Ponikve near Trebnje.[92]

A pot with high rounded shoulders and a short, slightly everted neck from pit SU 128 was decorated with a round appliqué on the largest circumference, fired under incompletely oxidising

33, 35, 36–41, 44, 45, 46, 105, 106, 109, 111, 165, 167–171, 175, 223, 235, 241).

86 Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, Pls. 6: 3; 10: 4; 11: 3; 14: 1); Gradec near Mirna (Dular *et al.* 1991, Pl. 23: 2,3,5; 24: 8, 9; see also Dular 2001); Andrenci (Pahič 1976a, Pls. 2: 22,23; 3: 10,15–19; 5: 10); Bukovnica (Šavel 1992, Pl. 5: 1–3,5,9,16; see also Šavel 1994 and 2006).

87 Moverna vas, SU 056 (Tomaž 1999, Pl. 12: 1–2); Resnikov prekop (Korošec 1964, Pl. 4: 6).

88 See also Drulovka (Guštin *et al.* 2005, Finds Nos. 24, 26), Gradišče near Stiška vas (Velušček 2005, Finds Nos. 12, 13, 15), Zamedvedica near Plešivica (Turk, Vuga 1984, Fig. 4: 20), Gradec near Mirna (Dular *et al.* 1991, Pls. 22: 5,12; 23: 5, 6; Dular 2001), Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, Pl. 11: 32).

89 *E.g.*, Veszprém (Raczky 1974, Fig. 15: 1–5,8; 17: 10,11); Andrenci (Pahič 1976a, Pls. 3: 22; 5: 24; Kramberger 2014a, Pls. 1: 9; 2: 31); Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, Pls. 53: 18; 55: 45; 57: 66; 69: 174; 80: 15–19, etc.); Győr-Szabadrétdomb (Virág, Figler 2007, Fig. 4: 10); Nagykanizsa-Inkey-Kápolna (Horváth, Kalicz 2006, Finds Nos. 24–26).

90 Resnikov prekop (Harej 1975, Pl. 1: 3); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023, Finds Nos. 37, 38, 167); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, Pl. 7: 23); Gradec near Mirna (Dular *et al.* 1991, Pl. 23: 5); Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, Pl. 14: 1).

91 Velušček 2005, 25, Find No. 8.

92 Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, Pl. 11: 3; Budja 1992, 103, Fig. 4); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023, Find No. 46); Ponikve near Trebnje (Ravnik, Tica 2018, Finds Nos. 200, 625); Ptuj – Šolski center (Kramberger 2014b, Pl. 39: 456).

conditions, and has a completely smooth surface of a very pale brown colour (*Pl. 3:* 6). Similarly shaped and decorated pots are known from the Michelstetten site of the Eastern Austrian group of painted pottery, from the site of the Late Lengyel Culture Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező in Hungary, one from Čatež – Sredno polje.[93]

Pitchers

Fragments of at least one pitcher were also discovered in the fill of pit SU 128 (*Pl. 2:* 9). The vessel is relatively small with a larger slightly lip-overlapping band handle, made of very fine-grained fabric, fired in incomplete oxidising conditions and reducing conditions in the final stage. The pitcher was convex in shape in the lower body and had a rounded transition to the upper body and a sloping neck that was approximately the same length as the shoulders. It was decorated with a round appliqué on the largest circumference.

Horváth, Kalicz, and Velušček have pointed out that similarly shaped and decorated pitchers appear at Late Neolithic sites in the area of present-day Slovenia and Hungary, which are attributed to the Late Lengyel Culture.[94] Similarly shaped pitchers are known, for example, from Andrenci, from Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (*Fig. 14:* Pitcher, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce), from Dolenji Leskovec, from Resnikov prekop (*Fig. 14:* Pitcher, Resnikov prekop) and in Hungary from the sites of Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező and Nagykanizsa-Inkey-Kápolna.[95] These vessels differ only in the length of the neck compared to the length of the shoulders and in the position of the handles; in some cases, the handles were clamped just below the lip, while in others they were overlapping the lip. A similarly shaped pitcher but with a rod-shaped handle with two projections is known from Grave 12 in Györ, which is dated to the early phase of the Lengyel Culture.[96]

Part of the pitcher could also be a fragment of long, fluted neck with a lip and a transition to a handle (*Pl. 4:* 4) and the largest circumference of a smaller vessel with part of a larger handle and a red-brown coloured clay slip (*Pl. 2:* 8). This vessel had a concave belly, a sharp transition into a sloping neck, and a thickening from another handle or an appliqué on the other side of the handle. Similarly shaped vessels (often decorated with round appliqués on the largest circumference) are known in Pokolplje in Croatia from Ozalj – Stari grad, in Bela Krajina in Slovenia from the lower cultural layer in Moverna vas, in Dolenjska from Dolenji Leskovec and in central Slovenia from Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce.[97] The better-preserved pieces from Moverna vas often had a coloured clay slip on the surface and a smaller handle on the shoulders, or a larger handle connecting the largest circumference and the orifice of the vessel (*Fig. 14:* Pitcher, Moverna vas, p. f. 2).[98]

Stone finds

Among the stone products found in pit SU 128 were a small cone by-product of an axe-drill (*Pl. 5:* 1), a piece of amphibolite with carved edges (probably a semi-product of an axe) (*Pl. 5: 2*), a flint without retouch (*Pl. 5:* 6), and three stone tools: retouched flake (*Pl. 5:* 4), scraper on a flake (*Pl. 5:* 3), a drill on a fragment of a flint (*Pl. 5:* 5). The flint and the flint tools were made of chert, the origin of which has thus far not been determined in Slovenia based on petrographic analysis, and a small cone by-product of an axe drill made of serpentinite. The closest source of serpentinite to Stoperce is the Pohorje Massif (NE Slovenia) and Medvednica (NE Croatia). Stone axes found at prehistoric sites in north-eastern Slovenia are often made of serpentinite.[99] However, there is currently no data available on to use of the above-mentioned rock sources in the Late Neolithic or in the Copper Age.[100]

Early Copper Age (Eneolithic)

Stone tools, flakes, and flints (*Pls. 8:* 1–4; *9:* 2; *10:* 4,5; *11:* 7–10; *12:* 5; *13:* 7,8; *14:* 2.3) dating

[93] Michelstetten (Stadler, Ruttkay 2006, 139, Pl. 6: 8); Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, Pl. 71: 177); Čatež – Sredno polje (Tomaž 2022, Find No. 1556).

[94] Horváth, Kalicz 2006, 58; Velušček 2011a, 241–242.

[95] Andrenci (Kramberger 2014b, Pl. 2: 44); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023, Find No. 25); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, Pl. 6: 18); Resnikov prekop (Harej 1975, Pl. 1: 5); Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, Pl. 80: 15,18); Nagykanizsa-Inkey-Kápolna (Horváth, Kalicz 2006, Find No. 23).

[96] Zalai-Gaál 2003, 287, 295–301, Fig. 2.

[97] Ozalj – Stari grad (Težak-Gregl 2005, Finds Nos. 26 in 29); Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, Pls. 9: 1–5,7,8; 10: 2); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, Pls. 9: 26; 12: 39); Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023, Find No. 162, most likely also Finds Nos. 24, 31, 32, 163).

[98] *E.g.*, Tomaž 1999, Pl. 9: 1–5.

[99] *E.g.*, Lubšina Tušek 1993.

[100] Verbič 2022, 62.

to the Copper Age, and a total of 2522 ceramic fragments (14.58 kg), representing more than 53% of total amount of pottery finds were discovered in Stoperce. Most of the finds were found in pits SU 150 (*Pls. 5:* 8–11; *5:* 7 – part; *6:* 1–9; *7:* 1–4; *8:* 1–4), SU 344 (*Pls. 5:* 7 – part; *9:* 1–4), SU 52 (*Pls. 9:* 5–12; *10:* 1–4; *10:* 5 – part) and in ditch SU 45 (*Pl. 11:* 1–10). Important pottery finds and stone finds were also found in ditch SU 249 (*Pl. 12:* 2), in pits SU 250 (*Pl. 12:* 1) and SU 100 (*Pl. 12:* 3–5), in post hole SU 96 (*Pl. 12:* 6–8), in pit SU 9 (*Pl. 13:* 1–7) and in layers SU 5 (*Pl. 13:* 8), SU 3 (*Pls. 13:* 9–11,13– 16; *14:* 1–2) and SU 001 (*Pl. 14:* 3).

After mending the fragments, the number of Copper Age pottery decreased from 2,522 to 1,714 pieces.[101] Of those, 964 pieces (38%) were analysed, belonging to 98 vessels, the rest being less typical pottery fragments, mostly body sherds; 36 fragments represent upper parts of the vessels with part of the lip (including *Pls. 5:* 7,10; *6:* 1–5; *7:* 1,3,4; *9:* 1,3,4,6,8,9,10; *10:* 1; 11*:* 4–6; *12:* 1,2,4,6; *13:* 2–4,11,14; *14:* 1), of which seven are with a handle (*Pls. 6:* 1; *7:* 1; *9:* 8–10; *10:* 1; *11:* 6). Twelve fragments are body sherds holding decoration or a transition from one to another part of the vessel (including *Pls. 5:* 8; *6:* 7; *10:* 3; *11:* 2,3; *12:* 7; *13:* 5,10,13). 18 fragments represent the bottoms of vessels with part of the body (including *Pls. 6:* 8,9; *9:* 11,12; *13:* 15,16), 18 fragments are body sherds with handles (including *Pl. 5:* 11), and eight fragments are parts of hollow pedestals (*Pls. 5:* 8; *9:* 5,7; *11:* 1; *12:* 3; *13:* 1, 6, 9). In one case, it is a pot with a completely reconstructed profile (*Pl. 10:* 2); in two cases, the lower part of vessels could be almost entirely reconstructed (*Pl. 6:* 6; *12:* 8); in one case, it is a fragment of a ladle (*Pl. 7:* 2).[102]

Analysis showed that the surface of 88% of the vessels was sponged before firing, 10% was smoothed, and 2% polished. A good half of the vessels (57%) were fired under incomplete oxidation conditions; the rest by incomplete oxidation conditions and reducing conditions in the final stage (40%) or reducing conditions (3%).[103]

Unlike the vessels found in pit SU 128, the vessels found in the Early Copper Age pits were not coated with coloured clay slip. Only 14 pieces or 15% were decorated. Decoration was most often impressions (36% – *Pls. 5:* 8; *7:* 3; *9:* 8; *11:* 1; *13:* 13) and a combination of impressions and incisions (28.5% – *Pls. 6:* 7; *9:* 9; *11:* 2; *13:* 4). Some of the vessels were decorated with appliqués (28.5% – *Pls. 5:* 7,9; *10:* 3; *12:* 6) and incisions (7% – *Pl. 11:* 3).

Dishes (*Pls. 5:* 7,9; *7:* 3), hollow pedestals of vessels (*Pls. 5:* 8; *11:* 1), a bowl (*Pl. 12:* 6), and pitchers (*Pls. 6:* 7; *9:* 8,9) are decorated. The remaining cases are small fragments of decorated vessels of an unspecified type. One of them is decorated with a vertical smooth rib on the largest circumference (*Pl. 10:* 3), another with impressions (*Pl. 13:* 13), and the third with a vertical incised zig-zag decoration on the shoulder (*Pl. 11:* 3).

Comparable vertical smooth ribs are known as decoration from the bottle-like vessel and from a fragment of another vessel found at the Lasinja site of Beketinec, Croatia.[104] The vertically incised zig-zag decoration is characteristic of the later Sava Group sites and the Lasinja Culture. In Gorenjska, for example, vessels with a similar decoration originate from Drulovka, Kamnik – Mali grad, on the eastern edge of the Ljubljana basin in the Posavsko hribovje from Gradišče above Dešen.[105] In Kočevsko and Bela Krajina, it is known from the Late Neolithic and Copper Age sites of Spaha, from the later Late Neolithic settlement phases in Moverna vas and from the site of Gradac – Grajski park, while in neighbouring Croatia from the site of the Sava Group Ozalj – Stari grad.[106] It was also a popular decoration at the late Sava Group site of Ponikve near Trebnje in Dolenjska, and, in the same area, at the sites of the Lasinja Culture, *e.g.*, Ajdovska jama cave, Lasinja pit at Čatež – Sredno polje and Grac near Sela pri Zajčjem vrhu.[107]

In north-eastern Slovenia, some vessels at Lasinja settlements were decorated with a similar zig-zag ornament, *e.g.*, in Zgornje Radvanje, Hardek, Popava

[101] Kramberger 2014a, Fig. 26.

[102] Two pottery fragments (a fragment of the handle and a fragment of the largest circumference of the vessel) were damaged by secondary exposure to fire and were therefore not included in the analysis of the pottery production methods.

[103] Kramberger 2014a, 244–247, Figs. 27–32.

[104] Homen 1990, Fig. 2: 1; *id*. 1980a, 46–47, Fig. 4.

[105] Drulovka (Korošec 1960, Pls. 18: 12; 19: 6); Kamnik – Mali grad (Sagadin 2005, Find No. 9); Gradišče above Dešen (Pavlin, Dular 2007, Pl. 7: 11).

[106] Spaha (Velušček 2011b, Pls. 4.3: 5; 4.4: 16, 4.20: 9, 4.29: 17, etc.), Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, Pls. 29: 4; 30: 1,2; 31: 1,4; 35: 16); Gradac – Grajski park (Mason 1995, Pl. 1: 3); Ozalj – Stari grad (Težak-Gregl 2001, Pl. 4: 3).

[107] Ponikve near Trebnje (Ravnik, Tica 2018, Finds Nos. 624, 643, 713); Ajdovska jama (Šoberl *et al.* 2014, Fig. 5: 61 AJ, 04 AJ, 60 AJ); Čatež – Sredno polje (Tiefengraber 2006, Find No. 7); Grac near Sela pri Zajčjem vrhu (Pavlin 2006, Find No. 66).

1 near Lipovci, Gorice near Turnišče, Kalinovnjek near Turnišče.[108]

Dishes

They were discovered in pits SU 150 (*Pls. 5:* 9,7 – part; *7:* 3), SU 249 (*Pl. 12:* 2) and SU 344.[109] Two dishes from pit SU 150 have an inward curving straight rim (*Pl. 5:* 7,9), the third one from the same pit and the dish from pit SU 249 are hemispherical (*Pls. 7:* 3; *12:* 2).

There are two dishes with inward curving straight rim that can be dated (*Pl. 5:* 7,9). These were made of very fine-grained fabrics, fired under incomplete oxidising and reducing conditions in the final stage and were decorated on the largest circumference with the hanging tongue-like appliqués. They represent a ceramic form that is generally characteristic of the Lasinja sites, where they often appear with a low or high hollow pedestal, and sometimes also with a flat bottom.[110]

Hollow pedestals

Among the chronologically characteristic finds from the Early Copper Age are hollow pedestals, which were often an integral part of dishes with the hanging tongue-like appliqués. Fragments of these were discovered in the pits SU 150 (*Pl. 5:* 8), SU 52 (*Pl. 9:* 5,7), in the ditch SU 45 (*Pl. 11:* 1), in the pits SU 100 (*Pl. 12:* 3), SU 9 (*Pl. 13:* 1,6) and in the cultural layer SU 3 (*Pl. 13:* 9). Unlike the fragments of hollow pedestals from pit SU 128, the pedestals from the Lasinja pits were not coated with coloured clay slip; they were mostly made of very fine-grained fabrics and fired under incomplete oxidising conditions with reducing conditions in the final stage.

All the better-preserved pedestals from the Lasinja pits at Stoperce belong to the group of hollow pedestals with a slightly convex upper part (*Pls. 5:* 8; *11:* 1; *12:* 3; *13:* 6), which are typical of the Lasinja sites.[111] Two of them are decorated with horizontal sets of impressions in the upper part (*Pls. 5:* 8; *11:* 1), as known from layers SU 370 and SU 1004 in Zgornje Radvanje, from Brezje near Turnišče, Bukovnica, Hodiško jezero, and perhaps from the Ludbreški Ivanac-Polje site in Croatia.[112] In Zgornje Radvanje, fragments of a similar pedestal were discovered together with an associated dish in layer SU 1004 above Structure 10, and the upper part of the same pedestal was found in layer SU 370 that covered SU 1004. Three radiocarbon dates of charcoal samples are known from this structure, two of which are among the youngest in the settlement and date to the end of the last third of the 5th millennium BC; one refers to a charcoal sample from layer SU 1004, the other to a post hole (SU 1039), which could have been dug into the structure from layer SU 1004.[113] Two radiocarbon dates of charcoal samples from Brezje near Turnišče, where traces of settlements from the Early Copper Age and the beginning of the Middle Copper Age were discovered, are even slightly younger, both of which date into the first half of the 4th millennium BC.[114] Two dates are also available for the double-bottomed pit from squares 200, 199, 174 and 175 in Bukovnica, where the hollow pedestal is similarly shaped and decorated. The charred remains on the pottery were dated, and they coincide with the earliest dates from the Lasinja Culture settlements, ca. 4400–4200 BC.[115]

Bowls

These are biconical vessels resembling dishes, but slightly deeper and with an inward curving straight rim (*Pls. 5:* 10; *6:* 1; *11:* 5; *12:* 6; *13:* 3). At Stoperce, they were found in pits SU 150 (*Pls. 5:* 10; *6:* 1; perhaps also *Pls. 5:* 11; *6:* 2) and SU 344 (*Pl. 9:* 1), in ditch SU 45 (*Pl. 11:* 5), in post holes SU 96 (*Pl. 12:* 6) and in pit SU 9 (*Pl. 13:* 3). One vessel has an overhanging handle on the rim (*Pl.*

[108] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, Find No. 945); Hardek (Žižek 2006b, Find No. 35); Popava 1 near Lipovci (Šavel, Karo 2012, Finds Nos. 291, 341, 365, 433, 440, 467, etc.); Gorice pri Turnišču (Plestenjak 2010, Find No. 5); Kalinovnjek near Turnišče (Kerman 2013, Finds Nos. 245, 362).

[109] Only part of the dish was discovered in this pit; the other part in pit SU 150 (Pl. 5: 7 – part).

[110] With a high hollow pedestal (*e.g.*, Kramberger 2021b, Finds Nos. 65, 509, 558; Regenye 2006, Fig. 22: 1; Dimitrijević 1979, Pl. 21: 1); with a low hollow pedestal (*e.g.*, Kramberger 2021b, Finds Nos. 23, 183; Kramberger 2020b, Pl. 10: 3; Samogyi 2000, Fig. 7: 2); with the flat bottom (*e.g.*, Šavel, Karo 2012, Finds Nos. 508 and 509; Kerman 2013, Find No. 268; Virág, Figler 2007, Fig. 8: 13).

[111] *E.g.*, Kramberger 2018, 87–89, Fig. 14A.

[112] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2014a, Find No. 558), Brezje near Turnišče (Novšak *et al.* 2013, Find No. 97), Bukovnica (Šavel 1992, Pl. 7: 4; Šavel 1994, 44, App. 19: 12; the drawing is incomplete, the pedestal is decorated in the upper part with two horizontal sets of impressions; Hodiško jezero (Samonig 2003, Pl. 40: 435); Ludbreški Ivanac-Polje (after Marković 1983, 257, Find No. 8).

[113] Kramberger 2021b, 70, 96–99, 182–183.

[114] Tomaž 2013; Grootes, Nadeau 2013, 126, Fig. 53, 54.

[115] Sraka 2020, Fig. 11, App.

6: 1; perhaps *Pl. 5:* 11), another is decorated on the largest circumference with a large round appliqué (*Pl. 12:* 6), and the third has a subsequently (after firing) perforated hole through the wall (*Pl. 13:* 3), which may have been created to repair the vessel.[116]

Bowls with overhanging handles on the inward curving straight rim have been found at the sites of the Late Lengyel Culture and the Sava Group of the Lengyel Culture;[117] however, they are also found in an almost unchanged form at the later Lasinja sites, where they are common. They are found in Prekmurje, for example, at Turnišče, Popava 1 near Lipovci, Na Plesi, on the Drava plain at Malečnik, Zgornje Radvanje, Ptuj Castle, Hardek and Hajndl, and in Posavje at the Ajdovska jame cave.[118] They are also common in Hungarian Lasinja sites, such as the settlements of Gellénháza Városrét, Szakály, Győr-Szabadrétdomb, Letenye-Szentkeresztdomb, grave 1 at Dobri – Alsó-mező, the settlements of Nagykanizsa-Sánc, Szombathely-Reiszig erdő alatti dűlő, Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida, Gébárti-tó II,[119] and, of course, at Croatian Lasinja settlements, *e.g.*, Beketinci Bentež, Dubranc, Beketinec,[120] as well as the Ludanice group settlements in Slovakia, Budmerice.[121]

At the Lasinja sites, there are also comparisons for a bowl decorated with large round appliqués on the largest circumference, which differ from some bowls and dishes found at the Sava Group and Lengyel Culture sites only in the size of the appliqué and the pottery production method.[122] Similar specimens are found at the sites Na Plesi, Turnišče, Gradišče above Dešen, Zalavár-Basasziget, Nagykanizsa-Sánc, Beketinci Bentež and from the Hodiško jezero pile dwelling. They can also be found in part of the Mosonszentmiklós-Pálmajor site, which was attributed to the Ludanice group.[123]

Pots

Twenty-two vessels were defined as pots, of which we present 15 in the catalogue: two could be almost completely reconstructed (*Pls. 7:* 4; *10:* 2), four were preserved in the upper part (*Pls. 6:* 5; *9:* 6; *10:* 1; *14:* 1), two between the largest circumference and the bottom (*Pls. 6:* 6; *12:* 8), and in the remaining fragments are upper parts of vessels with lips (*Pls. 6:* 3,4; *9:* 3:4; *12:* 1,4; *13:* 11).

Fragments of Lasinja pots were discovered in pits SU 150 (*Pls. 6:* 4–6; *7:* 4), SU 344 *(Pl. 9:* 3,4), SU 52 (*Pls. 9:* 6; *10:* 1,2), SU 250 (*Pl. 12:* 1), SU 100 (*Pl. 12:* 4), in post hole SU 96 (*Pl. 12:* 8) and in cultural layer SU 3 (*Pls. 13:* 11; *14:* 1). They are undecorated, made of clay without inclusions, *i.e.*, very fine-grained pottery fabrics (*Pls. 6:* 3,5,6; *7:* 4; *9:* 4; *10:* 2; *11:* 4; *12:* 1,4; *13:* 11) or clay to which different amounts of quartz sand were added: fine-grained (*Pl. 9:* 3), medium-grained (*Pls. 9:* 6; *10:* 1; *12:* 8) and coarse-grained (*Pls. 6:* 4; *14:* 1) fabrics. They were mostly fired under incomplete oxidising conditions (*Pls. 6:* 3,5,6; *9:* 4,6; *10:* 1,2; *11:* 4; *12:* 1,4,8; *13:* 11; *14:* 1), only two pots were fired under incomplete oxidising conditions with reduced conditions in the final stage (*Pls. 6:* 4; *7:* 4).

Pots from the Lasinja pits at Stoperce mostly have an S-shaped profile (*Pls. 6:* 5; *7:* 4; *9:* 6; *14:* 1). Most of them have only the upper body

[116] *Cf.* with Kramberger 2021b, Finds Nos. 43, 184, 207, 208, 284, 360, 591, etc.

[117] *E.g.*, Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Bánffy 1995b, Pl. 106: 235,240); Moverna vas, SU 056 (Tomaž 1999, Pl. 2: 4); Čatež – Sredno polje (Tomaž 2022, Find No. 1531); Ponikve near Trebnje (Ravnik, Tica 2018, Finds Nos. 424, 795).

[118] Turnišče (Tomaž 2012, Finds Nos. 5, 340, 341), Popava 1 near Lipovci (Šavel, Karo 2012, Finds Nos. 551, 630, 733), Na Plesi (Sankovič 2020, Pls. 2: 5; 6: 1), Malečnik (Kramberger 2021a, Find No. 31), Zgornje Radvanje (*id.* 2021b, Finds Nos. 389, 491, 583, 766), Ptujski grad (Korošec 1965, Pl. 14: 1), Hardek (Žižek 2006b, Find No. 32), Hajndl (Žižek 2006a, Find No. 84); Ajdovska jama (Korošec, Uršič 1965, Pl. 5: 1).

[119] Gellénháza Városrét (Horváth, Simon 2003, Fig. 24: 6; 26: 1); Szakály (Kalicz 1991, Fig. 6: 12); Győr-Szabadrétdomb (Virág, Figler 2007, Fig. 5: 4); Letenye-Szentkeresztdomb (Kalicz 1995, Fig. 8: 7); Dobri – Alsó-mező (Horváth, Simon 2004, Fig. 21: 5); Nagykanizsa-Sánc (Kalicz 1991, Fig. 8: 1–4, 6); Szombathely-Reiszig erdő alatti dűlő (Ilon 2004, Pl. 14: 2); Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida, Gébárti-tó II (Barna, Kreiter 2006, Fig. 5: 3).

[120] Beketinci Bentež (Minichreiter, Marković 2013, Pls. 2: 3; 5: 3); Dubranc (Balen 1998, Pl. 5: 4); Beketinec (Homen 1980b, Pl. 18: 2).

[121] Budmerice (Pavúk 2004, Fig. 1: 6).

[122] At the sites of the Sava Group and the Late Lengyel Culture, they usually have smaller appliqués (*e.g.*, Bánffy 1995b, Pls. 66: 139,144,147; 90: 113; 91: 118,120; 107: 242; Korošec 1964, Pl. 17: 7), bowls from pit SU 128 in Stoperce and one from Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce are also with a coloured clay slip (compare Pl. 2: 2 with Pl. 12: 6; Kramberger 2023, Find No. 92; *Fig. 14* – Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce).

[123] Na Plesi (Sankovič 2020, Pl. 6: 2); Turnišče (Tomaž 2012, Find No. 2); Gradišče above Dešen (Pavlin, Dular 2007, Pl. 12: 5,6); Zalavár-Basasziget (Virág 2005, Pls. 2: 6; 3: 9; 6: 3); Nagykanizsa-Sánc (Kalicz 1991, Fig. 7: 5, 7); Beketinci Bentež (Minichreiter, Marković 2013, Pl. 5: 2); Hodiško jezero (Samonig 2003, Pl. 11: 116–118); Mosonszentmiklós-Pálmajor (Virág, Figler 2007, Fig. 8: 3, 6).

preserved,[124] while only one has its lower body preserved. This pot has a rounded transition from the shoulders to a high concave lower body and is without handles in the preserved upper body (*Pl. 7:* 4). Identically shaped vessels are known from the Ajdovska jama cave, Popava 1 near Lipovci and Pri Muri near Lendava, which mostly have handles attached on the orifice.[125]

The second form of pot from the Lasinja settlement at Stoperce has a high concave lower body, a rounded transition to the upper body, and a long, slightly sloping neck (*Pl. 10:* 2), while the third shape of the pot has a concave lower body, high, slightly rounded shoulders, and a short neck with a thickened orifice (*Pl. 10:* 1). Analogies to the pot with a concave lower body, a rounded transition to the upper body and a long, slightly sloping neck (*Pl. 10:* 2) can be found at Popava 1 near Lipovci, at Hardek near Ormož and at Hodiško jezero pile dwelling;[126] to a pot with a concave lower body, a high, slightly rounded shoulder and a short cylindrical neck with a thickened orifice (*Pl. 10:* 1) at the Lasinja settlement of Zgornje Radvanje and from the Lasinja pit in quadrant 350/375 in Bukovnica.[127]

Pitchers

Pitchers from the Early Copper Age settlement at Stoperce are shaped similarly to pots but are smaller. Better preserved pieces were discovered in pits SU 150 (*Pl. 7:* 1), SU 52 (*Pl. 9:* 8,9) and in ditch SU 45 (*Pl. 11:* 6), fragments of the largest circumferences in pit SU 150 (*Pl. 6:* 7), in ditch SU 45 (*Pl. 11:* 2), and in cultural layer SU 3 (*Pl. 13:* 10), a fragment of an orifice, or mouth opening, with an overhanging handle in pit SU 52 (*Pl. 9: 10*), and fragments of a decorated neck with an orifice and the largest circumference in pit SU 9 (*Pl. 13:* 4,5).

Lasinja pitchers were usually made of very fine-grained fabrics, fired under incomplete oxidising conditions with reducing conditions in the final stage and have a completely smooth surface of grey or dark grey colour, which was polished in at least some cases (*Pls. 6:* 7; *7:* 1).

Five pitchers are decorated, one with a horizontal series of triangular impressions near the handles and two in the middle of the vessel's shoulders (*Pl. 9:* 8). Other pitchers are decorated with bundles of incisions bordered on both sides of each bundle by sets of impressions (*Pls. 6:* 7; *9:* 9; *11:* 2; *13:* 4), two of them are additionally decorated with impressions (*Pls. 6:* 7; *11:* 2) on the largest circumference. The motif of two sets of horizontal impressions above the largest circumference (*Pl. 9:* 8) can also be found on pots from Zgornje Radvanje, Spodnje Hoče, Brezje below Brinjeva gora, Ptuj Castle, Bukovnica, Popava 1 near Lipovci and Ajdova jama cave, in Hungary on a pot from the Dobri – Alsó-mező site and in Croatia on a miniature ceramic bottle from Bukovje.[128] Even more common was the motif of bundles of incisions bordered on both sides by rows of impressions (*Pls. 6:* 7; *9:* 9; *11:* 2; *13:* 4). This kind of ornament appears on pottery at most of the Lasinja sites and is among the most popular decoration motifs at some sites.[129]

Pitchers from Lasinja pits can be divided into three types. The first is represented by the better preserved pitcher found in pit SU 150 (*Pl. 7:* 1), one of two pitchers from pit SU 52 (*Pl. 9:* 9), and one from ditch SU 45 (*Pl. 11:* 6). These pitchers are characterised by a high rounded shoulder, a gradual transition to a short cylindrical neck and a rounded transition from the upper to the lower

[124] *Cf.* with pots from Popava 1 near Lipovci (Šavel, Karo 2012, Finds Nos. 478, 481), Turnišče (Tomaž 2012, Finds Nos. 7, 8, 10, 26, 159–160, 62–63, 150, 201, 454, 456), Gorice near Turnišče (Plestenjak 2010, Finds Nos. 13, 31), Sormása (Straub 2006, Fig. 4: 6), Zalaszentbalazs-Pusztateto (Bánffy 1995a, Pl. 32: 129), Nagykanizsa (Kalicz 1975, Pl. 9: 4), Zalaegerszeg-Andráshida (Barna, Kreiter 2006, Fig. 8: 4), Kanzel bei Graz (Artner *et al.* 2012, Pl. 1: R30-R42+R69) and Jakšič (Marković 1985, 160, Fig. 3); see also Kramberger 2020a, 87–90, Fig. 9.

[125] Ajdovska jama (Horvat 2009, Fig. 5 :11); Popava 1 near Lipovci (Šavel, Karo 2012, Finds Nos. 377, 479); Pri Muri near Lendava (Šavel, Sankovič 2011, Find No. 92). Handles on the maximum diameter (Šavel, Karo 2012, 480).

[126] Popava 1 near Lipovci (Šavel, Karo 2012, Find No. 371); Hardek (Tušek 1999, Pl. 2: 8); Hodiško jezero (Samonig 2003, Pl. 13: 133).

[127] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, Find Nos. 507, 521, 947, 1004); Bukovnica (Šavel 1994, 45, App. 21: 1, 2).

[128] Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, Find Nos. 551, 633, 761, 1011), Hoče – Orglarska delavnica (*id.* 2020b, Pls. 13: 15; 14: 1; 15: 1), Brezje below Brinjeva gora (*id.* 2018, Pl. 9: 6,7), Ptujski grad (Tomanič-Jevremov *et al.* 2006a, Find No. 3), Bukovnica (Šavel 1992, Pl. 11: 8), Popava 1 near Lipovci (Šavel, Karo 2012, Find No. 17); Ajdovska jama (Korošec 1975, Pl. 8: 1); Dobri – Alsó-mező (Horváh, Simon 2004, Fig. 19: 5); Bukovje (Homen 1985, Fig. 1).

[129] *E.g.*, Brezje below Brinjeva gora – Podgraškova domačija (Kramberger 2018, Pls. 6: 8; 10: 1–7,29); Šafarsko (Šavel 1994, 35, App. 12: 3–5, 23, 32); Bukovnica (Šavel 1994, 44, App. 19: 8, 15, 19); Beketinci – Bentež (Minichreiter, Marković 2013, Pls. 11: 1–5,8,9; 12: 1; 15).

body. Vessels of similar shape with a handle were discovered at the Lasinja site of Letenye-Szentkeresztdomb in western Hungary, without a handle or with a smaller overhanging handle in a pit in quadrant 175 in Bukovnica, with different decoration at Hodiško jezero in Carinthia (Austria), in a mass grave in Potočani (Croatia), and one at the 9th settlement phase in Moverna vas.[130] A pitcher from Moverna vas, one from Hodiško jezero, and, interestingly, also a pitcher from the Lasinja mass grave in Potočani are decorated with hatched curvilinear decoration made with incisions, which is a characteristic decoration in the later Furchenstich horizon.[131] Finds from the 9th settlement phase in Moverna vas were also dated to this horizon,[132] while the pottery from Hodiško jezero, in which the aforementioned pitcher is included, is dated to the Lasinja Culture, but to the youngest phase, where pottery is similar to that of the Furchenstich horizon.[133] Based on the above, pitchers with a high rounded shoulder, a short neck, and a rounded transition from the upper to the lower body are a characteristic type of pottery of the Lasinja sites, but with a different decoration they continue their tradition in the later Furchenstich horizon.

The other better-preserved pitcher found in pit SU 52 is without a shoulder, with a long, slightly sloping neck, and a distinct or sharp transition from the upper to the lower body (*Pl. 9:* 8). The third type of Lasinja pitcher at Stoperce represents a fragment found in cultural layer SU 3 (*Pl. 13:* 10). It is probably part of a pitcher with low, rounded shoulders and a long, sloping neck and a sharp transition to the lower body, differing in the proportions between the lower and upper body.[134]

Ceramic ladle (?)

A fragment of a small hemispherical piece of the pottery found in pit SU 150 may be part of the ladle (*Pl. 7:* 2). As no handle or handle attachment is preserved, the identification is unreliable.[135]

Stone finds

A stone axe with a hole made of serpentinite comes from pit SU 52 and layer SU 3 or SU 001 (*Pl. 10:* 5). Axes of the same type are kept by the primary school at Stoperce, and were probably found somewhere nearby before the archaeological excavations (compare with *Pl. 14:* 4,5).[136] A stone flint made of red-brown chert was also found in pit SU 52 (*Pl. 10:* 4).

In the rectangular pit SU 150, which is interpreted as a pit-house, a scraper made on a fragment of a flake (*Pl. 8:* 2), and a flint without retouch (*Pl. 8:* 3), and an almost completely preserved quern, made of a 60 × 30.4 cm large quartz sandstone with a concave surface (lower part of the quern – *Pl. 8:* 1) and a 16.8 × 13.2 cm large quartz sandstone with a convex surface (upper part of the quern – *Pl. 8:* 4) were found. Querns of this type were used in prehistory as tools for grinding grains[137] and probably other substances, *e.g.*, pigments.[138]

Several fragments of a similar quern were also found in the Copper Age pits at Stoperce, including three in ditch SU 45 (*Pl. 11:* 8–10), where a semi-product/unfinished amphibolite stone axe was also found (*Pl. 11:* 7). In pit SU 344, a stone flake (*Pl. 9:* 2) was found; in layer SU 5 a flint (*Pl. 13:* 8), in layer SU 001 a retouched flake (*Pl. 14:* 3), in pit SU 9 the upper part of a stone axe made of serpentinite (*Pl. 13:* 7), and in pit SU 100 (*Pl. 12:* 5) and cultural layer SU 3 (*Pl. 14:* 2) fragments of a stone pestle made of serpentinite were found.

RADIOCARBON ANALYSIS

Three charcoal samples were radiocarbon dated in 2013 at the Beta Analytic laboratory in Miami using the AMS.[139] Examination of the radiocarbon dates from the Neolithic sites shows that the dates of charcoal samples often differ from those

130 Letenye-Szentkeresztdomb (Kalicz 1995, Fig. 16: 1a; *id*. 1991, Fig. 3: 1), Bukovnica (Šavel 1994, 44, App. 20: 2); Hodiško jezero (Samonig 2003, Fig. 22: type K5, Pl. 13: 138), 9th settlement phase of Moverna vas (Tomaž 1999, Pl. 41: 3); Potočani (Vitas 2021; the find is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb).

131 *E.g.*, Velušček 2004, 237–251, Fig. 5.3.3: 6, 7, Fig. 5.3.15: 3, 4; Pavlin, Dular 2007, Pls. 13: 5,15,16,18; 14: 5,7, *etc.*; Kalicz, Horváth 2010, Fig. 11: 8–21. Dating of bones from a group grave in Potočani: Janković *et al.* 2017.

132 Velušček 2004, 251, Fig. 5.3.15.

133 *Cf.* Samonig 2003 with Kramberger 2021a, 44.

134 *E.g.*, Zgornje Radvanje (Kramberger 2021b, 61–63, Fig. 60, Find Nos. 33, 38, 80, *etc.*), Hoče – Orglarska delavnica (*id*. 2020b, 90–91, Pls. 3: 11,13; 13: 1,3), Brezje pod Brinjevo goro (*id*. 2018, 84–85, Pl. 2: 3), Gorice near Turnišče (Plestenjak 2010, Find No. 12).

135 *Cf.* with Kramberger 2021b, 74–75, Fig. 67.

136 Mikl-Curk 1974a, 95, Fig. 2, 4, 5; *ead.* 1975, 174; Lubšina Tušek 1993, 38, 106, Pls. 16: 1–2.

137 *E.g.*, Turk 2009, 281–282.

138 *E.g.*, Sotiropoulou *et al.* 2010, 1833, Fig. 2: a, e.

139 Kramberger 2014a, 239–240, Fig. 9, 10.

of samples of other substances. Therefore, care should always be taken when selecting charcoal and wood samples for radiocarbon dating and when interpreting the radiocarbon dating results.

The problem is particularly the "old wood effect", which results from the fact that each tree ring (a medullary ray) ceases carbon exchange with the biosphere after the end of the annual cycle, whereby only the outer ring reflects the actual time of felling, while the wood of the inner medullary rays is older, the oldest in the centre of the heartwood. The age difference between the outer medullary ray and the core of the log depends on the age of the tree and can be hundreds of years. It is therefore important to use wood or charcoal from the outer medullary ray of trees. Of course, this is often a problem in dating, as this information is not known for most charcoal samples from archaeological sites.[140] Another problem is the delayed use of wood. Because wood is durable, it can be used long after the plant's life cycle has been interrupted. It is even possible to reuse cut wood from an older context in a later period.[141] Because of the problems mentioned above, charred cereal grains, fruits, and seeds that refer to only one growing season, or wood slices for which the outermost medullary ray is clearly visible just below the bark and cambium (in the case of pile dwellings), or collagen from animal and human bones are more commonly used for scientific analyses.[142]

Radiocarbon-dated charcoal samples from Stoperce were recovered from the Late Neolithic pit (SU 128), two from Early Copper Age pit SU 150, and in neither case is it known to which medullary ray the dated charcoal relates, so the dating results can only give the approximate age of the contexts. A dated fragment of charcoal was found in pit SU 128, stuck together with a burnt clay, and probably belonging to an ash tree (*Fraxinus* sp.) (Beta-339594). The first of the two dated charcoal samples from pit SU 150 (Beta-339595) belonged to a 15 × 30 cm piece of charred wood, later identified as oak (*Quercus* sp.), and the second (Beta-362539) to a piece of charcoal from a large cluster of charcoal; for this sample, later archaeobotanical analyses showed that it belongs to a mixed spectrum of wood, partly identified as oak (*Quercus* sp.) and partly as rose family (*Rosaceae*).[143] This cluster of charcoal was found at the bottom of pit SU 150 and is interpreted as a fireplace (*Figs. 4*; 11; *15:* Beta-362539; *17*), while the exact location of the 15 × 30 cm piece of charred wood within pit SU 150 is unknown (*Fig. 15:* Beta-339595; *18*).[144]

Radiocarbon analysis of a charcoal sample from pit SU 128 showed a conventional age of 5690 +/- 30 BP, calibrated 4547–4458 (68.3% probability) or 4609–4450 Cal BC (95.4% probability) (*Fig. 16* – Beta-339594). If we compare this radiocarbon date with the dates of the sites where the greatest similarity in pottery forms and decoration is observed (*Fig. 14*),[145] we can see that it overlaps well with the date of the sample of the outer medullary ray from the post at the settlement Resnikov prekop in the Ljubljansko barje, the dating of a charred seed (hawthorn) and charred remains from one of the pots found in the Late Neolithic pit (SU 1099) at the Dolenji Leskovec site and the dating of a charcoal sample from the large Late Neolithic pit (pit 1, SU 194) at Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce.[146] Two dates of collagen samples from animal bones from the lowest cultural layer in Gradec near Mirna (from which artefact assemblages 1 and 2 originate) and four dates of animal teeth (apatite) found in pit 1 at Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce proved to be somewhat younger, as they indicate a range of about 4500–4350 cal BC, with a probability of 95.4%.[147] In contrast, the sample of a charcoal found in the same pit as the above-mentioned seed and the pot with charred remains in Dolenji Leskovec, the charcoal from pit 2 (SU 200) in Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce, and the sample of a charcoal and charred remains from layer SU 056 in Moverna vas are significantly earlier; they

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140 *E.g.*, Schiffer 1986; Whittle 1990; Brock *et al.* 2010; Oross *et al.* 2010, 392–398, Pl. 2; Nowak *et al.* 2017, 189.

141 *E.g.*, Nowak *et al.* 2017; Kim *et al.* 2019.

142 See, *e.g.*, Regenye *et al.* 2022; Stadler *et al.* 2006; Stadler, Ruttkay 2007; *cf.* with Tomaž 2022, 27–32, 73–84; Sraka 2014; *id.* 2012; *id.* 2020.

143 The archaeobotanical analyses were carried out in 2022, *i.e.*, after the samples had been dated. Therefore, the results presented here refer to the charcoal in the remaining parts of the samples sent for dating.

144 The conventional age was calibrated with the OxCal programme, version 4.4, using the IntCal 20 calibration curve (Reimer *et al.* 2020; Bronk Ramsey 2009).

145 Pottery from sites attributed to Sava Group Ib (Kramberger 2020a).

146 Resnikov prekop (Velušček 2006, 36, Fig. 14, Hd-24038); Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015,13; Sraka 2016, 105, Pl. 4.3.1: Poz-66248, Poz-66249); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023, Beta-591316).

147 Gradec near Mirna (Sraka 2020, Fig. 2, App.: Poz-72746 and Poz-72747); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023, KIA37351, KIA37350, KIA37346, KIA37349).

indicate a time span between approx. 4800 and 4600 BC (95.4% probability).[148]

Based on this, the dates of the samples found within the same pits of the Sava Group sites differ from each other. If we consider only the pits from which we have several samples available, as in the case of pit 1 in Spodnje Škovce, the dates of the animal teeth turn out to be younger than the date of the charcoal sample. The dates of the teeth overlap with those of the collagen from animal bones from Gradec near Mirna, these dates being the youngest among the sites with comparable pottery. Another example is Dolenji Leskovec, where the dates of the sample of charred seed and the charred remains from the pot overlap, but the charcoal sample found in the same pit is significantly older.

In north-eastern Slovenia, the date of the charcoal sample from pit SU 128 from Stoperce is comparable to the dates of charred remains from the inner surface of the Late Lengyel pottery from the settlements of Andrenci and Bukovnica, in western Hungary, the charcoal samples and collagen from two animal bones from the Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező site yielded a similar time span, although the collagen is again somewhat younger.[149] A comparable time span to the collagen dating from the Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező site proved the dates on collagen from animal bones from the Late Lengyel site of the Szombathely metro and the dating of mainly animal bones from the Michelstetten settlement in Austria, phase MOG IIa.[150] The dates from the Late Lengyel sites also overlap with the dates of collagen from animal bones from the lowest layer at Gradec near Mirna, with the teeth from Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce, and partly with the date of charred seeds and charred remains from Dolenji Leskovec, as well as with the dates of charcoal from the youngest sites of the Sava Group.[151]

We can therefore observe that the dates of collagen from animal bones, of teeth and charred seeds from the Sava Group Ib and Late Lengyel Culture sites, which we compare, overlap chronologically, and are partly younger than the dates of samples from other organic materials found at the same sites. The earliest dates are from the charcoal samples, and, in the case of Moverna vas, from samples of charred remains from pottery. It is the dates from samples of short-lived materials that form the basis for the absolute chronology of the Lengyel Culture in western Hungary and the comparable Moravian-Eastern-Austrian group.[152]

In the case of the Sava Group in Slovenia, a precise absolute time frame cannot yet be established as there are only a few dates of collagen from bones and more reliable contexts, especially pits, where characteristic vessels have been discovered together with bones and other samples of short-lived materials. Based on the dating of samples from short-lived materials and the wood from the outer medullary ray of the post from Resnikov Prekop, only a tentative time span can be suggested for the sites of Resnikov Prekop, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce, the lowest layer at Gradac near Mirna, and Dolenji Leskovec (SU 1099). These sites correlate in most of the pottery types and in the decorative motifs, which is why we treat them as part of a single chronological phase dated to c. 4600/4550–4400/4350 cal BC (95.4% probability).[153] Based on the pottery, pit SU 128 (Structure I) at Stoperce also belongs to this chronological phase, from which part of the (charred) wood has been dated, where the exchange of carbon ^{14}C from the biosphere took place in the middle or early 2nd half of the 5th millennium BC (*Fig. 16* – Beta-339594). Since it is not clear from which medullary ray the wood originated (probably ash, *Fraxinus* sp.), this date can only give us an approximate age, the *terminus post quem* for dating of pit SU 128 and the settlement remains of the Sava Group in Stoperce.

The Late Neolithic ceramic assemblages from the sites in the continental part of Slovenia are diverse,[154] and some think that the differences between the sites could be within the same chronological horizon, meaning that they are not chronologically

[148] Dolenji Leskovec (Hlad 2015, 13; Sraka 2016, 105, Pl. 4.3.1: Poz-66250); Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce (Kramberger 2023 KIA 37347); Moverna vas (Sraka 2012, App.; *id.* 2014, App.).

[149] Andrenci (Kramberger 2014a, Fig. 4–5: Beta-339593); Bukovnica (Sraka 2014, App.: Poz-53989, Poz-53990); Zalaszentbalázs – Szőlőhegyi mező (Hertelendi 1995, 105, deb-3365, deb-3378, deb-3385, deb-3379, deb-3379).

[150] Szombathely metro (Ilon 2004, Fig. 26); Michelstetten (Stadler, Ruttkay 2007, Pls. 1–4).

[151] Sites where pottery of the Sava Group II was discovered (Kramberger 2020a). Dates are thus far only available from the sites of Ponikve near Trebnje (Ravnik, Tica 2018, 77, Fig. 123, Fig. 124), the 4th and 5th settlement phases in Moverna vas (Sraka 2014, 379, Fig. 3).

[152] Oross *et al.* 2010; Regenye *et al.* 2022; Stadler *et al.* 2006; Stadler, Ruttkay 2007.

[153] Sava Group Ib (Kramberger 2020).

[154] Kramberger 2014a; *id.* 2020a; Horvat 2020, 121.

relevant.[155] This seems less likely, as the sites with a specific group of pottery are not limited to a particular part of Slovenia, but extended from Gorenjska to Dolenjska, Bela Krajina, Haloze in north-eastern Slovenia and Pokolplje in Croatia. This applies to the sites identified as Sava Group Ia (Dragomelj, Čatež – Sredno polje), to the sites of group Ib, which includes the SU 128 in Stoperce (Resnikov prekop, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce, Gradec near Mirna, Dolenji Leskovec, Gradišče near Stiška vas, Stoperce), as well as to the sites of group II (Drulovka near Kranj, Ponikve near Trebnje, Moverna vas 4 and 5, Ozalj – Stari grad).

The radiocarbon dates of the youngest group are known from two sites, Ponikve near Trebnje and Moverna vas.[156] They overlap with the youngest dates from the sites of Sava Group Ib, from Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce and Gradec near Mirna, but since only charcoal samples and charred remains were dated (which has also proved to be partially problematic[157]), any conclusions will have to wait. The same applies to the conclusions regarding the absolute dating of the Čatež – Sredno polje and Dragomelj sites, as well as the beginning of the Lasinja Culture and thus the beginning of the Early Copper Age in the continental part of Slovenia.

The date of the charcoal sample from the Lasinja pit SU 150 in Stoperce, which refers to the fireplace, has been calibrated to the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th millennium BC (*Fig. 15:* Beta-362539; *Fig. 17*), while the date of the first charcoal sample from this pit has been calibrated to the second quarter of the 4th millennium BC (*Fig. 15:* Beta-339595; *Fig. 18*). Since we found that the finds found in pit SU 150 are homogeneous, and no finds from the second quarter of the 4th millennium BC were discovered at Stoperce, it was in the first publication suggested that the date of sample Beta-339595 is too young, according to the archaeological finds.[158]

Based on the stratigraphic data presented, it now seems possible that this sample was infiltrated from a later phase of a settlement; possibly from one of the post holes later dug into pit SU 150 (*Fig. 6*; *Fig. 11:* SU 152-156). Based on the stratigraphic data presented and recognized later human activity at the area of the Early Copper Age pit SU 150, it seems less likely that there is no connection between the 15 × 30 cm piece of wood associated with the younger radiocarbon date (*Fig. 18*) and the post holes discovered later. On the contrary, based on this radiocarbon date, we can assume that the plain at Stoperce was re-settled in the first half of the 4th millennium BC, in the Furchenstich horizon or the Protoboleraz phase,[159] with the core of the settlement from this period located outside the investigated part of the site, at the foot of a steep hill west of pit SU 150 and/or on the plain, in the direction towards the Skralska stream, to the east of pit SU 150.

PLANT REMAINS (ARCHEOBOTANICAL ANALYSIS)

At the Stoperce site, in addition to charcoal samples, some seeds/fruits were also found among the plant remains. In most cases, these are dried remains of charcoal and seeds, partly preserved charred and partly uncharred. Larger pieces of charcoal were sampled separately during the excavation, while smaller charcoal samples and seed samples were obtained by wet sieving the sediment through sieves with a pore diameter of up to 1 mm after the end of the excavation and partly through sieves with a pore diameter of 0.355 mm in the archaeobotanical laboratory, which took place during 2022.

Plant macro remains were air-dried and examined with a Leica stereomicroscope with up to 50× magnification and a Nikon light microscope with up to 500× magnification. Plant species were identified using our own reference collection of seeds, fruits, wood, and charcoal, as well as identification keys.[160]

The charcoal samples are preserved in extremely poor condition. Most of them are crushed into small pieces, or even heavily embedded in hardened and dried clay, so that identification of the exact species was often not possible.

Seeds/fruit

Seeds or fruit remains were obtained in five samples from settlement pits, specially wet-sieved through a finer sieve with a pore diameter of 0.355 mm. Seeds that showed signs of modern

[155] Velušček 2011a, 240.

[156] Ravnik, Tica 2018, 77, Fig. 123, 124; Sraka 2012; *id.* 2014.

[157] *E.g.*, Mlekuž *et al.* 2013, 132–133, Pl. 1.

[158] Kramberger 2014a, 239–240.

[159] Kalicz 1991; Kalicz, Horváth 2010; Kramberger 2021a, 44–45.

[160] Berggren 1981; Anderberg 1994; Cappers, Bekker, Jans 2006; Jacomet 2006 and Schweingruber 1990.

origin were identified as infiltrates and were excluded from further consideration.

Among the prehistoric plant remains there are mostly seeds/fruits of ruderal species such as *Chenopodium*, *Polygonum* sp., *Stellaria* sp. and *Carex* sp. Of the five samples, there was only one sample with preserved (charred) remains of seeds/fruits of cultivated plants, *i.e.*, sample No. 24, which was recovered from a pit with a fireplace (SU 344) dated to the Early Copper Age (*Fig. 19*).

In 10 ml of the washed organic fraction collected on a 0.355 mm sieve, we found 38 plant remains of einkorn wheat (*Triticum monococcum*), 11 plant remains of emmer wheat (*T. dicoccum*) and 16 unidentifiable pieces of cereals (Cerealia). Since most of them are the remains of processing cereal crops (*i.e.*, chaff), we can confirm agricultural activities in the settlement from the Early Copper Age and the cultivation of at least two types of wheat, typical of the Copper Age in Slovenia.[161]

Charcoal

Thirty-two charcoal samples from various medium-sized and large size pits from layer SU 3, from the area around a fireplace and in 15 samples from post holes were analysed. Four charcoal fragments came from the sediment of the Late Neolithic pit SU 128, and the rest were recovered from pits dating to the Early Copper Age.

There is not much variety in the charcoal samples taken from different pits and from the area around the fireplace (*Fig. 20*). A total of 61 charcoal fragments were determined to seven taxa. Species with ring-porous wood dominate, including oak, ash and chestnut (64% of the identified charcoal samples; present in 20 pits; *i.e.*, 63%). Due to the poor preservation and brittleness of the charcoal, these three species could not be separated from each other in most cases. Oak and ash are present, while chestnut could not be fully confirmed. Charcoal with aggregate rays, which are typical of hazel, alder, and hornbeam wood, was found in two pits. Charcoal of conifers was found less frequently and was only present in one sample from a Late Neolithic pit (sample No. 13; SU 128). Maple was also found in only one sample, in an Early Copper Age ditch (sample No. 14; SU 45), while the rose family (which includes *Malus, Pyrus, Prunus, Sorbus, Crataegus*, *etc.*) was found in six samples from different pits (in 19% of the pits with samples), one specimen of the rose family was also found next to the fireplace in pit SU 150, interpreted as a pit-house (sample No. 40; SU 150). A total of six specimens of a charcoal of the rose family were identified, which is 9.8% of the charcoal ID.

The charcoal originating from the post holes was also analysed. Fifteen samples were examined, and it was determined that the charcoal found in these pits is quite degraded, so the identification is not species-specific in most cases. The analyses showed that the species diversity of the charcoal found in the post holes is low: 65% of the identified specimens and 10 of the 15 samples examined (67%) are dominated by charcoal of a ring-porous tree species (*i.e.*, *oak*, *ash*, *chestnut*). In one case, the sample was identified as beech, in two cases as maple, and samples from two post holes even as coniferous (*i.e.*, fir and pine) (*Fig. 21*).

Of the charcoal found in the post holes, five samples are probably related to the wooden prehistoric structures. A charcoal sample from post hole SU 113, which was probably used for a post for the Late Neolithic structure (the so-called Structure I), was identified as oak/chestnut/ash. The remaining post holes are associated with Early Copper Age houses. Post holes of Structure III (SU 166) and Structure IV (SU 197) contained charcoal identified as ash/chestnut. A charcoal sample from one of the post holes of Structure V (SU 228) was also identified as a probable ring-porous tree species, while a charcoal sample from the smaller Auxiliary Structure 1 (SU 27) was identified as a diffuse-porous tree species (Fig. 22).

The results of the analysis of the charcoal found in post holes at Stoperce are comparable to more extensive analyses of the wood from the pile dwellings and palisades of the Late Neolithic and Copper Age pile dwellings on Ljubljansko barje. The researchers note that oak, ash, and alder wood were most frequently used for the construction of the settlements on Ljubljansko barje; however, in some cases, fir, maple, hazel, hornbeam, beech, poplar, and elm wood were also used.[162]

ANIMAL REMAINS (ARCHAEOZOOLOCICAL ANALYSIS)

The assemblage of animal remains includes several dozen small (mostly sub-cm) bone fragments of mammals (Mammalia) recovered by washing

[161] *Cf.* with Tolar *et al.* 2011.

[162] *E.g.*, Čufar, Velušček 2012, 53.

sediment samples from fillings of pits from the Late Neolithic (SU 128) and Early Copper Age (SU 52, 99, 100, 150, 215 and 341) through sieves. Many bone fragments are burnt, mostly cremated. Taxonomically, only six fragments of molars from the Early Copper Age pits could be accurately identified, all of which could be assigned to a pig (*Sus* sp.). Some were found close to one another and could belong to the same tooth (*Fig. 23*).

Due to the poor preservation of pig teeth, it is impossible to determine from the morphological and/or metrical characteristics of the fragments, whether they belong to a domestic pig (*Sus domesticus*) or to its wild descendant (*S. scrofa*). Based on finds from various prehistoric and historical periods from the wider surroundings of Haloze, Podravje, and Kozjansko, it can be stated that with the onset of the metal ages, the proportion of the former is generally significantly higher.[163]

CONCLUSION

Stoperce, the first excavated prehistoric site in the heart of Haloze, was inhabited in at least two chronologically and culturally distinct horizons, in the Late Neolithic Sava Group of the Lengyel Culture (pit SU 128)[164] and in the Lasinja Culture of the Early Copper Age; with some post holes (SU 152 – SU 156) being later according to the stratigraphy than a pit-house (SU 150) of the Lasinja Culture settlement. The settlement was in the immediate vicinity of the confluence of the Travni potok and the Skralska stream, near the junction of the transitional valleys.

A larger pit and nine post holes are dated to the Late Neolithic period (*Fig. 4:* SU 128, I; *Fig. 9*), while the Lasinja Culture settlement in the investigated part of the site consisted of at least four post-houses (without sunken floors), a pit--house with a fireplace, and six smaller structures (*Fig. 4* – green; *Fig. 11*). Among them are three medium-sized round pits surrounded by post holes, interpreted as storage pits (*Fig. 12:* Auxiliary structures 3–6).

The analysis of the structures showed that at least one house of the Lasinja Culture in Stoperce had two rooms (*Fig. 4:* II; possibly also Structure III). A similar house was discovered in Zgornje Radvanje (Structure 27). Many of these houses are known from the Lasinja settlements in Hungary and Croatia, where, unlike the ones presented here, they were built using foundation ditches with post holes dug in the bottom. Together with one-room houses with foundation ditches, they represent the basic building type of the Lasinja Culture, and the tradition of houses built in this way goes back to the Lengyel Culture.

Most of the similarities in form and decoration of the pottery from the Late Neolithic pit in Stoperce (SU 128) were found in the finds from the sites of Gradišče near Stiška vas in Gorenjska, Resnikov prekop in the Ljubljansko barje, Dolsko – Spodnje Škovce on the north-eastern edge of the Ljubljana Basin, Gradec near Mirna (first settlement), and Dolenji Leskovec in Posavje, as well as with material from the lowest cultural layer (SU 056) at the Moverna vas site in Bela Krajina (*Fig. 14*). The analyses of pottery thus show, as Velušček has already noted,[165] that the sites in Bela Krajina and in north-eastern Slovenia should also be included in the Sava Group. As our research shows, there are sites with such pottery at least as far as Stoperce in Haloze, only the Andrenci in Slovenske gorice and Bukovnica in Goričko have yielded finds that are more comparable with the sites of the Late Lengyel Culture in Hungary.

The similarity of the forms and decorations of the pottery vessels leads to the conclusion that the sites of the Sava Group in Slovenia do not represent a uniform chronological horizon. The Late Neolithic pit in Stoperce (SU 128) can be assigned to Sava Group Ib together with comparable sites. The difference to the sites of Čatež – Sredno polje in Dolenjska and Dragomelj in the Ljubljana basin (Sava Group Ia) is mainly in the decoration, as the pottery there is mostly decorated with impressions. However, there are clear differences in both the forms and the decoration compared to the sites of Drulovka in Gorenjska, Ponikve near Trebnje in Posavje, the 4th and 5th settlement phases in Moverna vas in Bela Krajina and Ozalj – Stari grad in Pokoplje, Croatia, which are dated to the end of the Sava Group (Sava Group II).[166]

163 Bartosiewicz 1999, 315–316; Toškan, Dirjec 2010; Toškan 2021.

164 Guštin 2005b.

165 Velušček 2011a, 239.

166 Tomaž disagrees and hypothesises that there are no chronological differences within the Late Neolithic settlements in central and south-eastern Slovenia and that the Late Neolithic sites in Bela Krajina and north-eastern Slovenia do not belong to the Sava Group (Tomaž 2022, 98–103). However, the Late Neolithic sites that provide new information on the distribution, finds, and absolute

In the broader Central European context, the material from pit SU 128 in Stoperce can be temporally correlated with the Lengyel III phase according to Raczky and Kalicz.[167] This is indicated in particular by a pitcher with a sloping neck decorated with a round appliqué on the largest circumference, dishes with an inward curving straight rim decorated with round appliqués on the largest circumference, and pots with everted necks and handles, which are not present at the sites of the earlier phases of the Lengyel Culture.

Based on the results of radiocarbon dating, one of the charcoal samples found in the Late Neolithic pit (SU 128) at Stoperce refers to a piece of wood dating to approximately the middle or beginning of the second half of the 5^{th} millennium BC (*Fig. 16*); pit SU 150 (pit-house), where characteristic finds of the Lasinja Culture were found, dates to approximately the end of the 5^{th} or the beginning of the 4^{th} millennium BC, according to a dating of a charcoal sample (*Fig. 17*). The dating of another charcoal sample found in this pit is later (*Fig. 18*), indicating the second quarter of the 4^{th} millennium BC, which would be chronologically consistent with the Furchenstich horizon and the Protoboleraz phase. Therefore, we hypothesise that this date could be related to later post holes found on the top of pit SU 150, which would mean that the area along the western edge of the excavated area and/or the plain towards the Skralska stream, was also inhabited in the Middle Copper Age (*Fig. 4* – red; *Fig. 6*; *11* – red).

Archaeobotanical analysis of charcoal found in post holes showed that wood from ring-porous tree species was mainly used for building activities in the Early Copper Age. The analysis of charred remains of seeds/fruit or grain ears indicates the cultivation of at least two wheat species in the Early Copper Age settlement (*Triticum monococcum* and *T. dicoccum*), which is in accordance with the archaeobotanical research of the Copper Age pile dwellings at Ljubljansko barje, where the plant macro remains are much better preserved. The animal remains from Stoperce are also poorly preserved, mostly burnt and partially cremated. Only six fragments of molars from t

he Early Copper Age pits could be taxonomically determined. They were found to belong to a pig (*Sus* sp.), either the domestic pig (*Sus domesticus*) or its wild descendants (*S. scrofa*).

Proofreading: Nives Kokeza

dating of the Sava Group of the Lengyel Culture were not considered (Tomaž 2022, 97–106; *cf.* Ravnik, Tica 2018; Sraka 2016, 91–98, 103–107; Kramberger 2014a).

[167] Raczky 1974; Kalicz 1991, 350, 355, Fig. 2.

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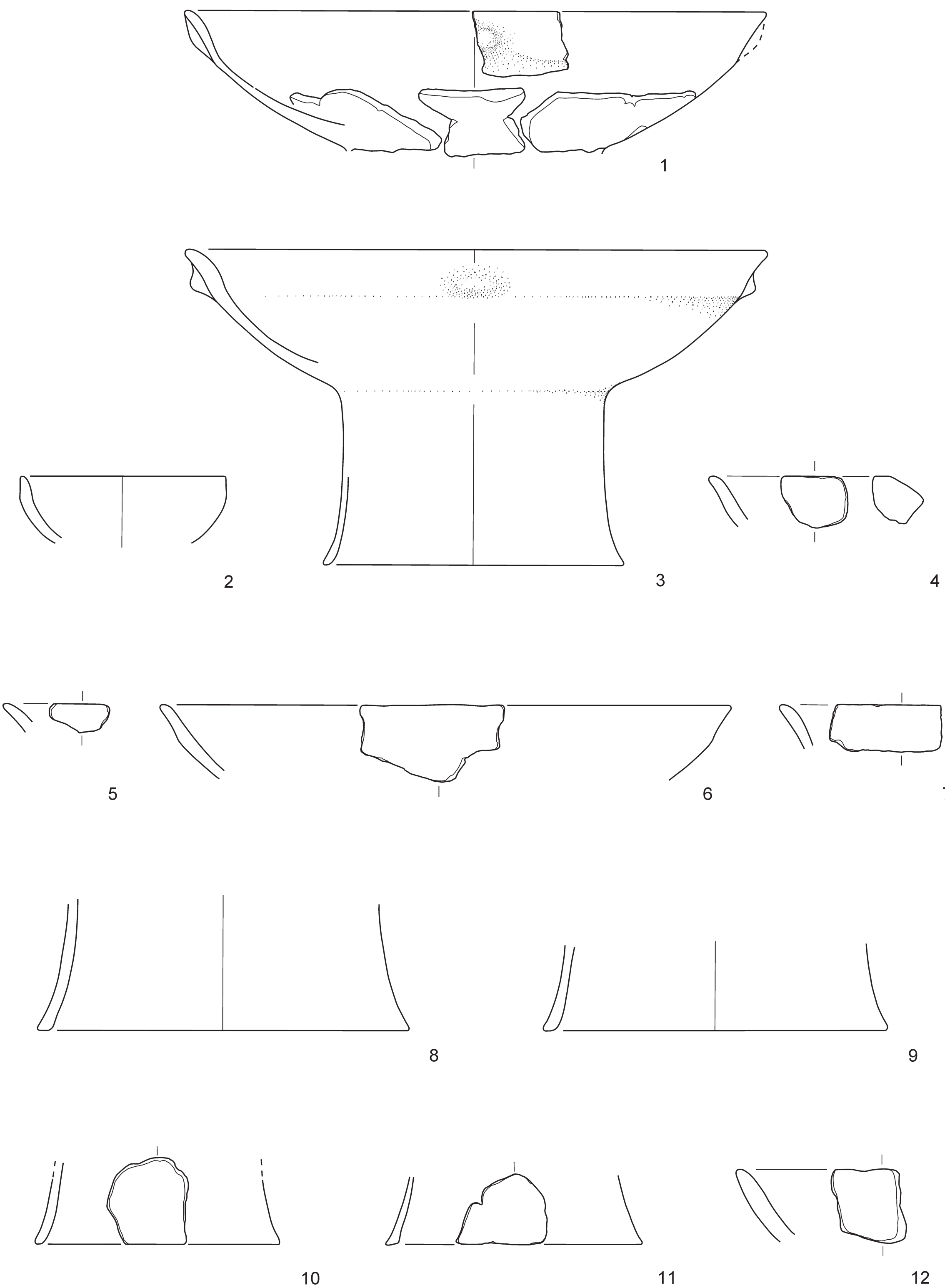
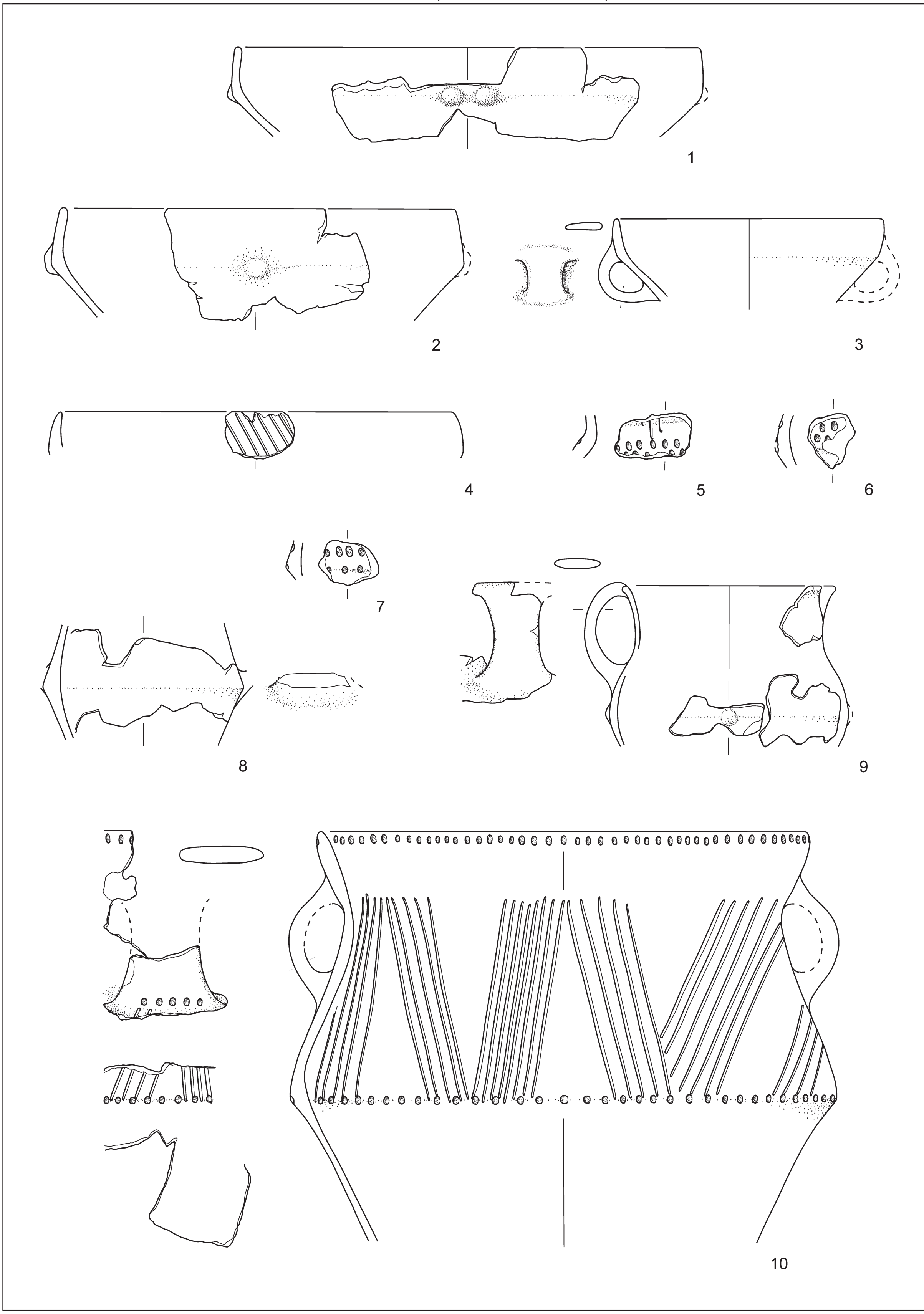
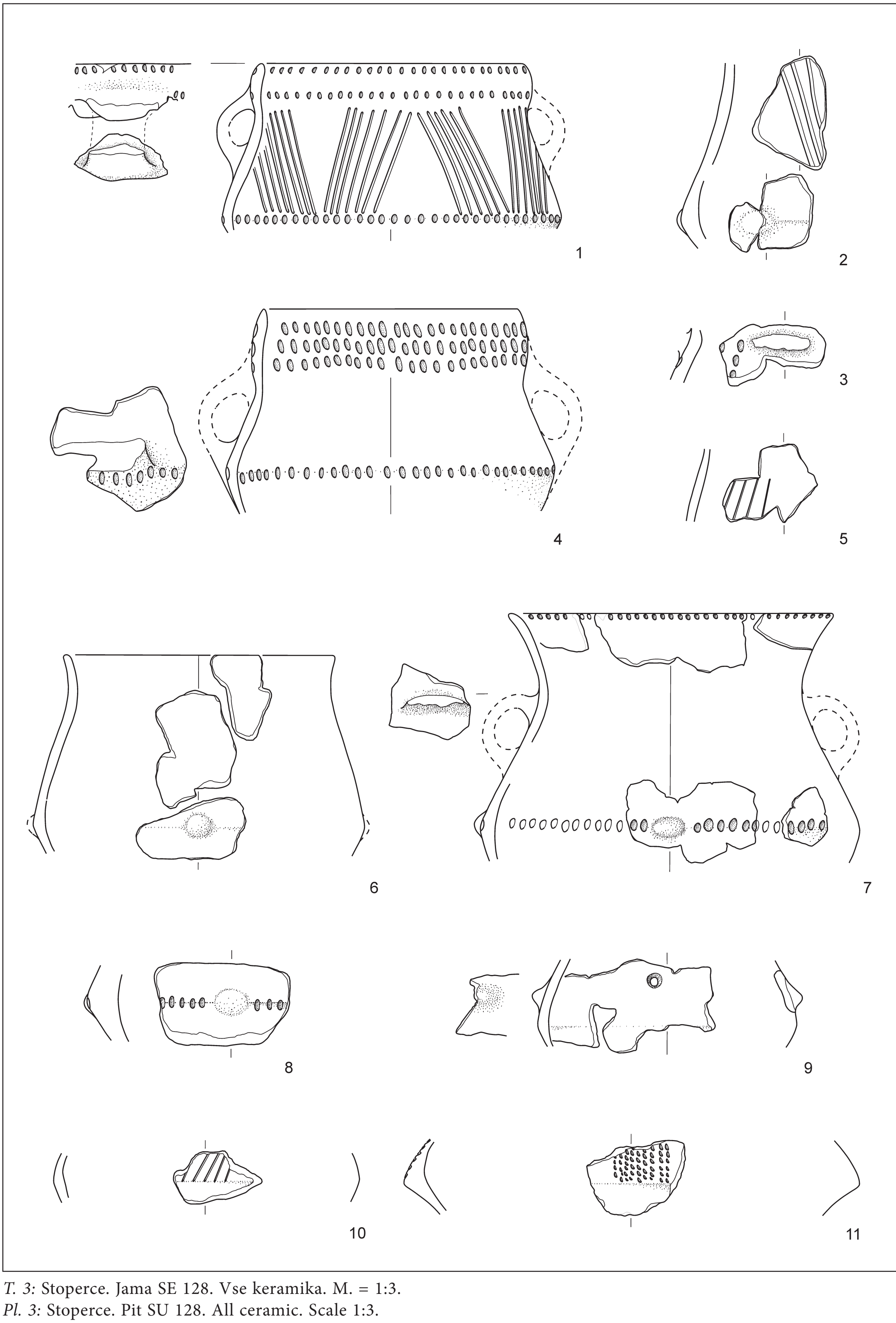
Illustrations: Figs. 1, 2 (elaborated by: Matjaž Mori, ZVKDS, CPA). – *Figs. 3, 5–7, 9*–13 (field photography: Vesna Bandelj). – *Figs. 8, 11, 12* (field drawings: Vesna Bandelj).



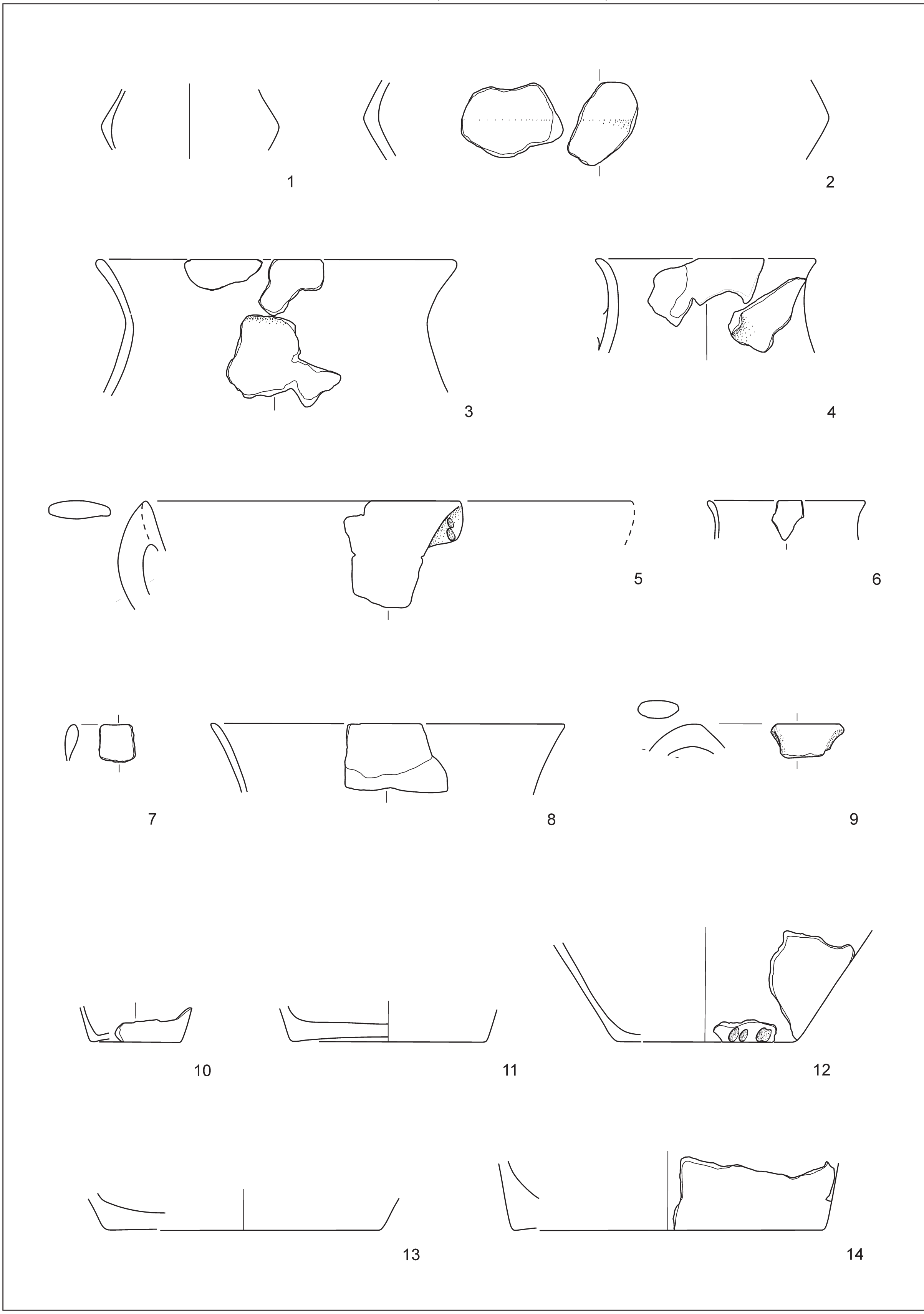
T. 1: Stoperce. Jama SE 128. Vse keramika. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 1: Stoperce. Pit SU 128. All ceramic. Scale 1:3.



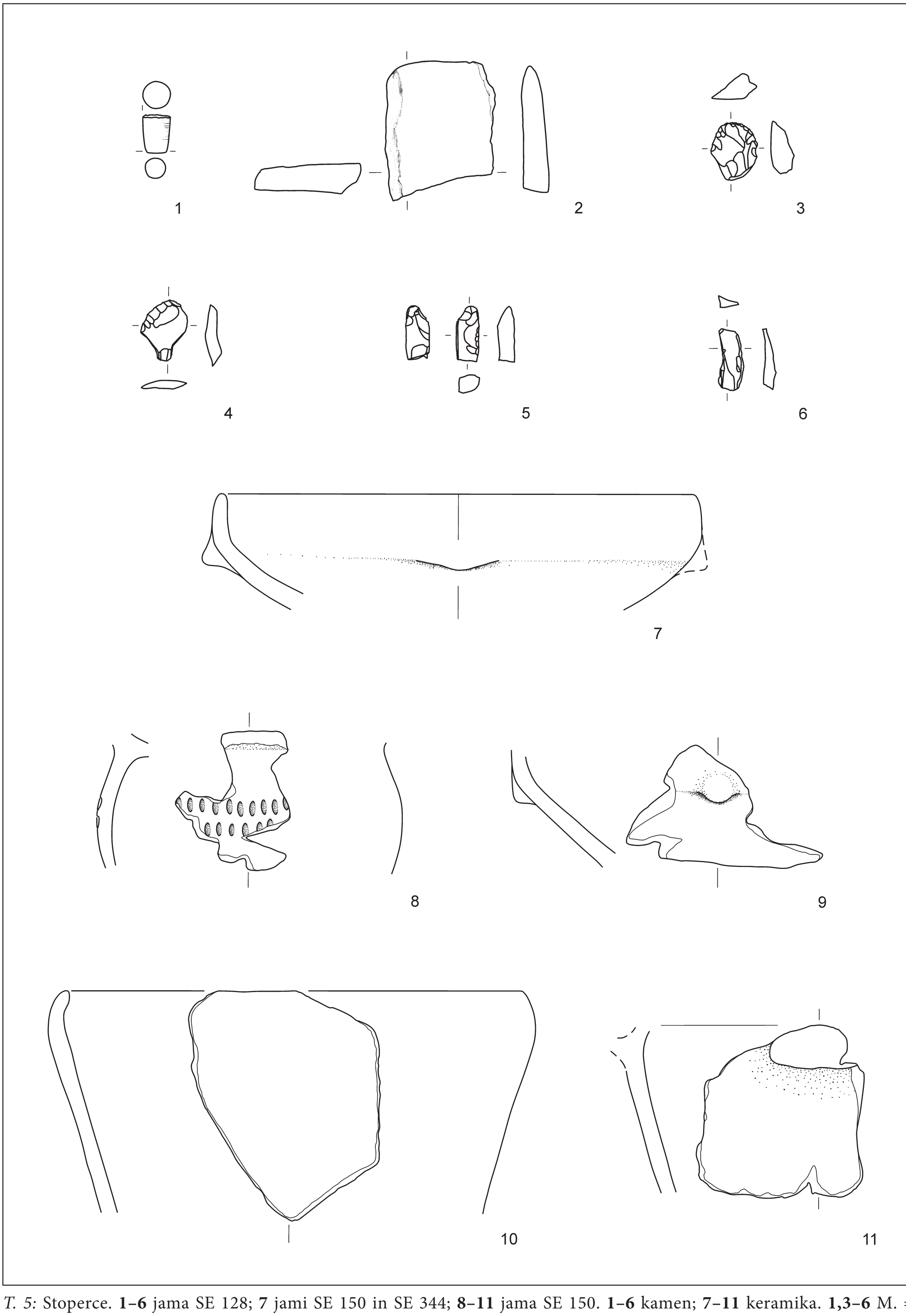
T. 2: Stoperce. Jama SE 128. Vse keramika. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 2: Stoperce. Pit SU 128. All ceramic. Scale 1:3.



T. 3: Stoperce. Jama SE 128. Vse keramika. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 3: Stoperce. Pit SU 128. All ceramic. Scale 1:3.

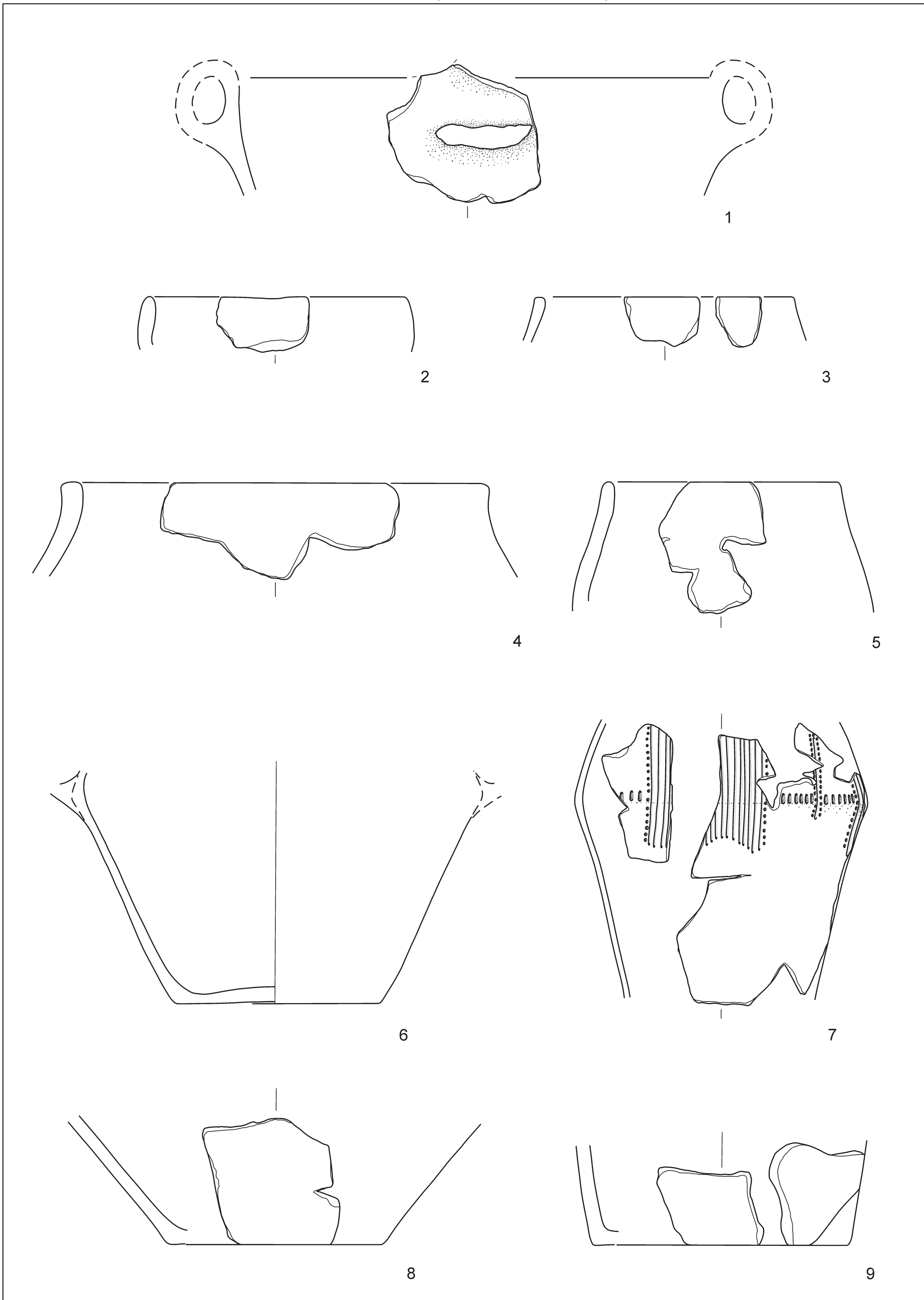


T. 4: Stoperce. Jama SE 128. Vse keramika. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 4: Stoperce. Pit SU 128. All ceramic. Scale 1:3.

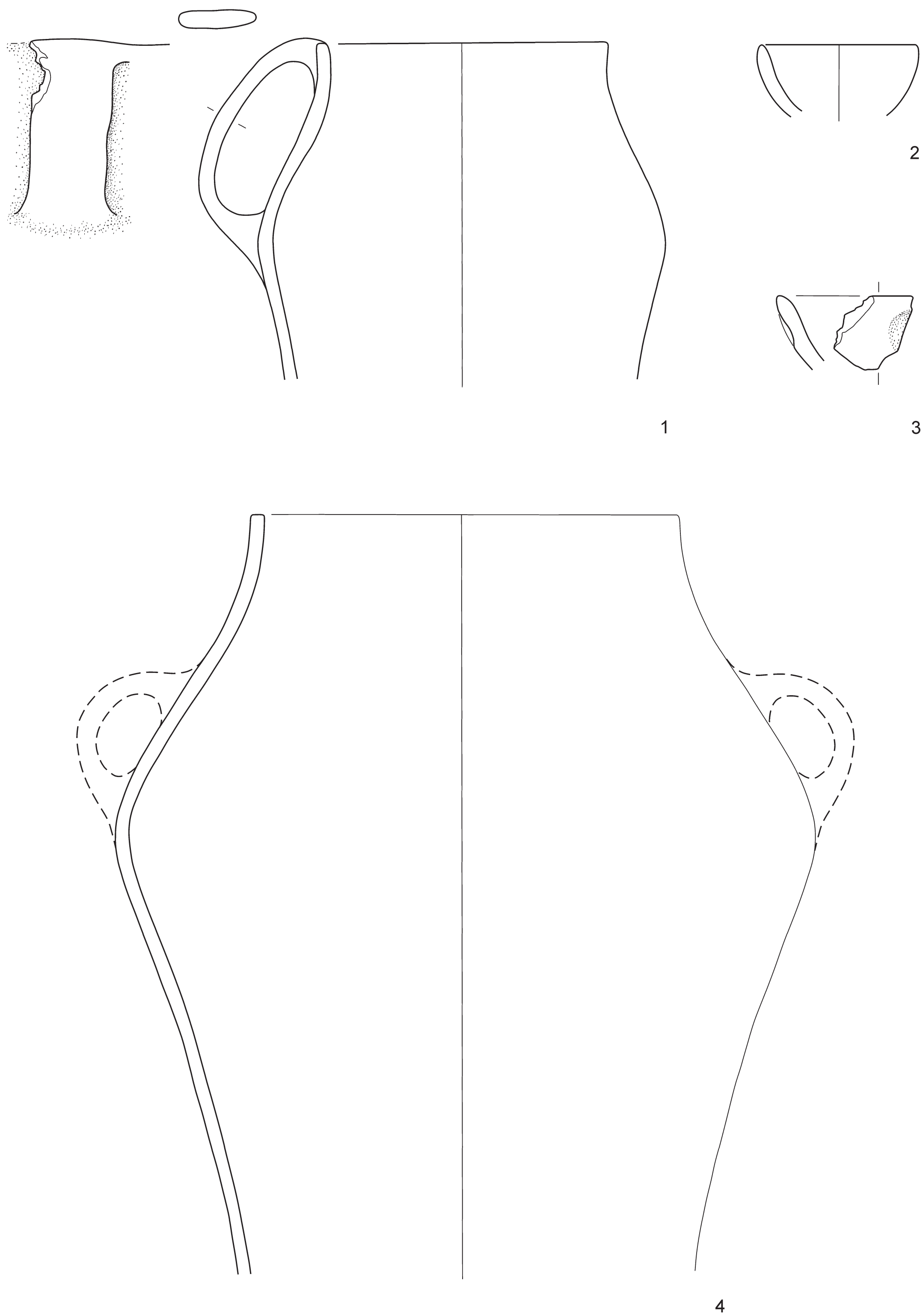


T. 5: Stoperce. **1–6** jama SE 128; **7** jami SE 150 in SE 344; **8–11** jama SE 150. **1–6** kamen; **7–11** keramika. **1,3–6** M. = 1:2; **2,7–11** M. = 1:3.

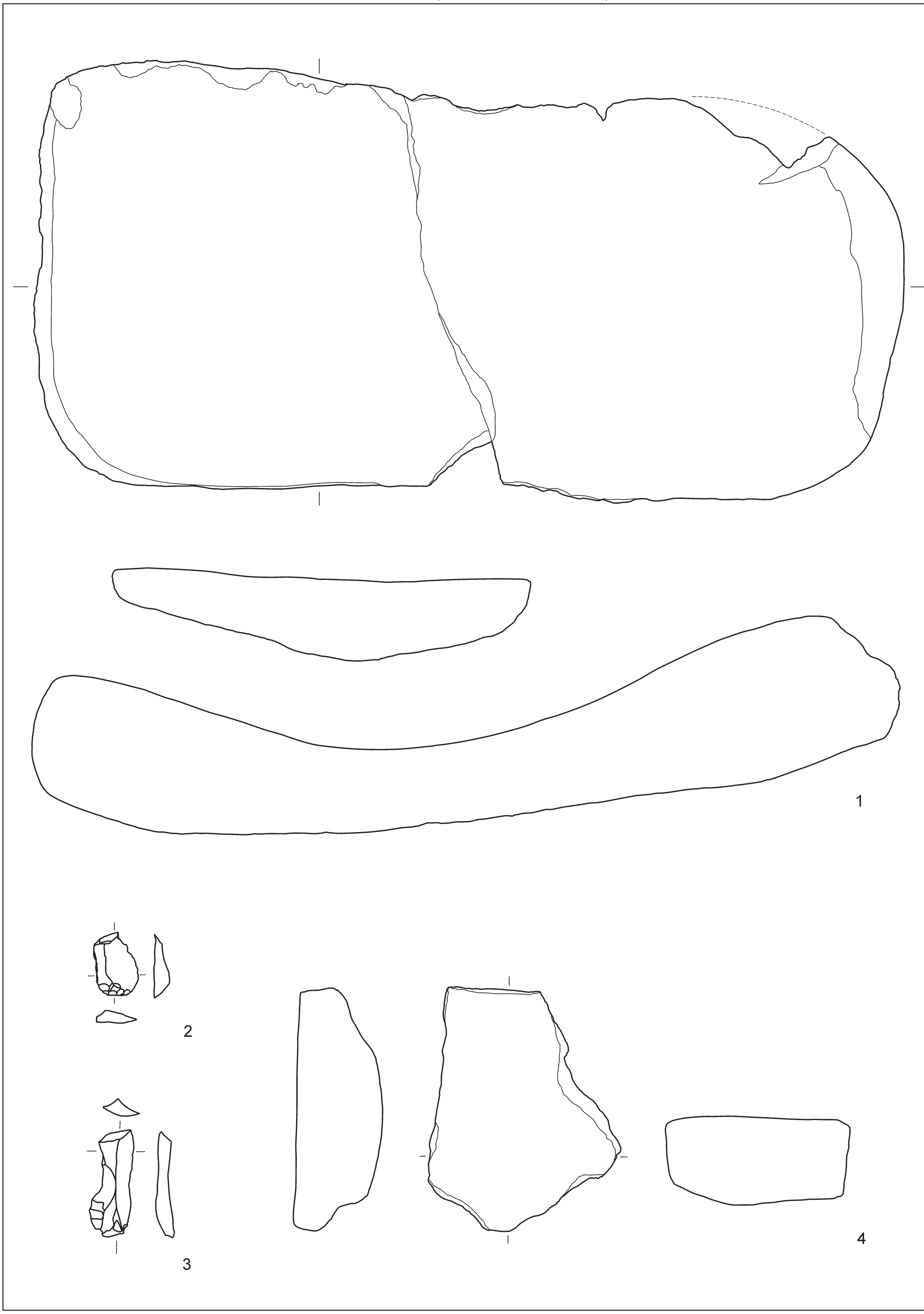
Pl. 5: Stoperce. **1–6** pit SU 128; **7** pits SU 150 and SU 344; **8–11** pit SU 150. **1–6** stone; **7–11** ceramic. **1,3–6** Scale 1:2; **2,7–11** Scale 1:3.



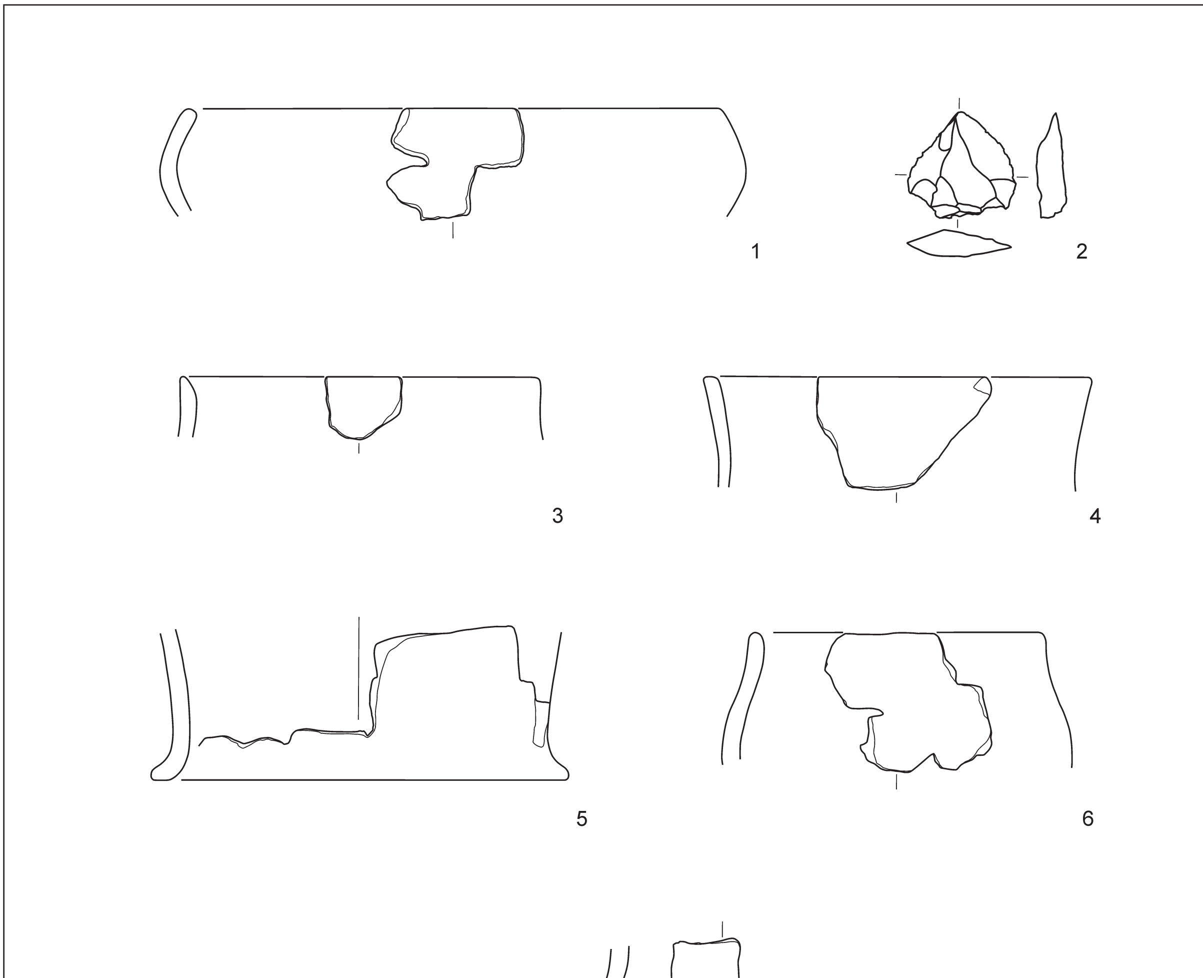
T. 6: Stoperce. Jama SE 150. Vse keramika. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 6: Stoperce. Pit SU 150. All ceramic. Scale 1:3.



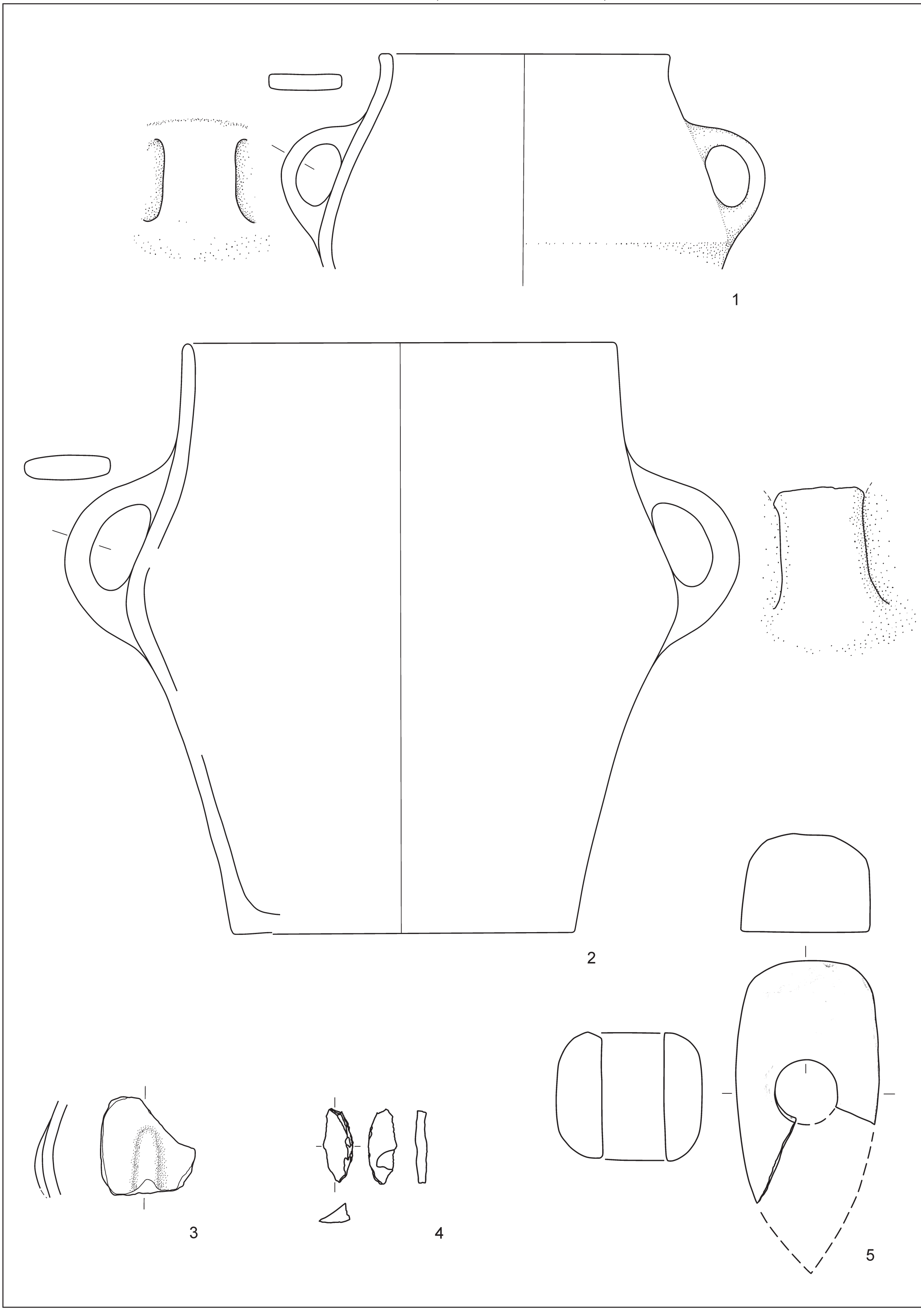
T. 7: Stoperce. Jama SE 150. Vse keramika. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 7: Stoperce. Pit SU 150. All ceramic. Scale 1:3.



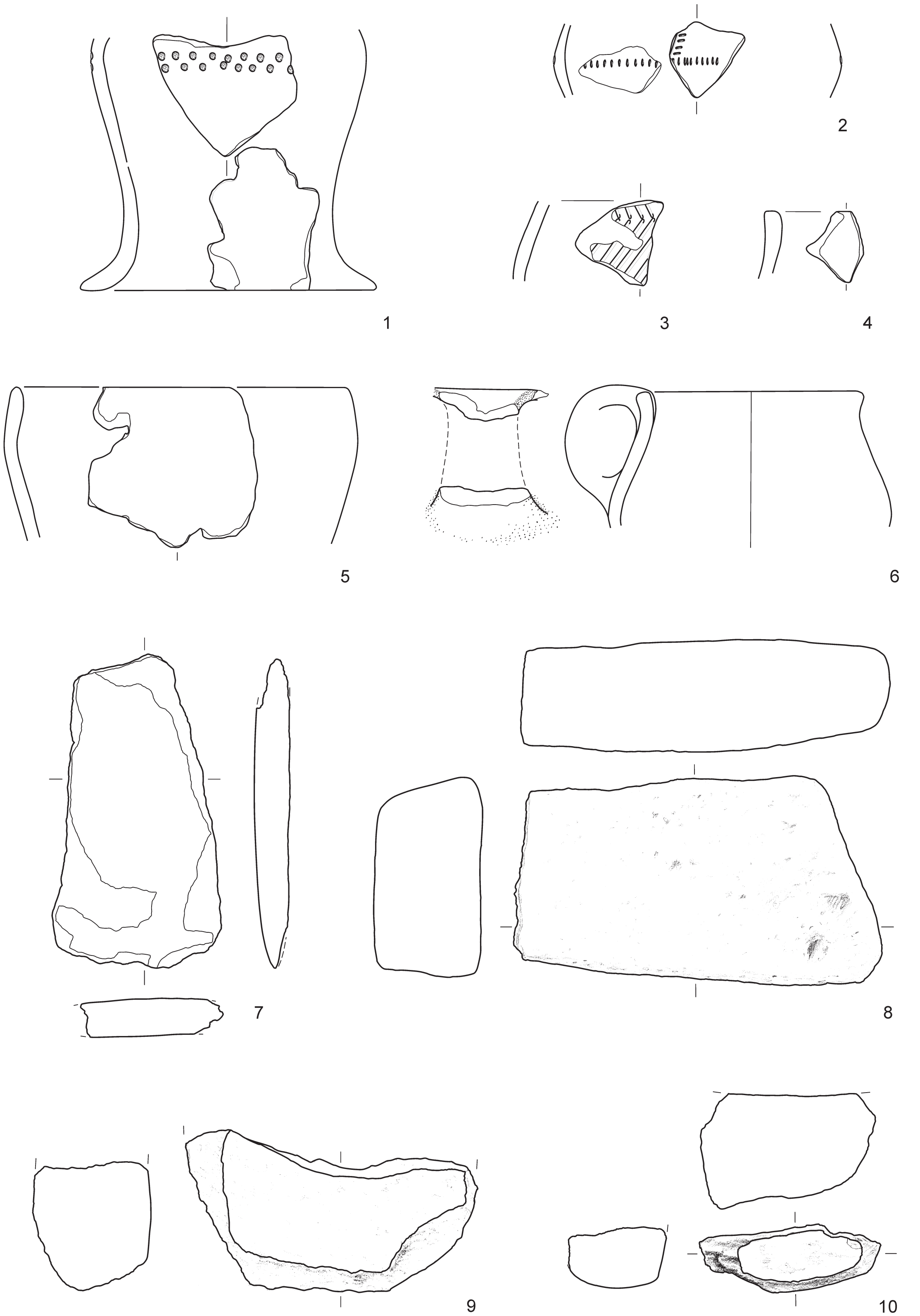
T. 8: Stoperce. Jama SE 150. Vse kamen. **2,3** M. = 1:2; **1,4** M. = 1:3.
Pl. 8: Stoperce. Pit SU 150. All stone. **2,3** Scale 1:2; **1,4** Scale 1:3.



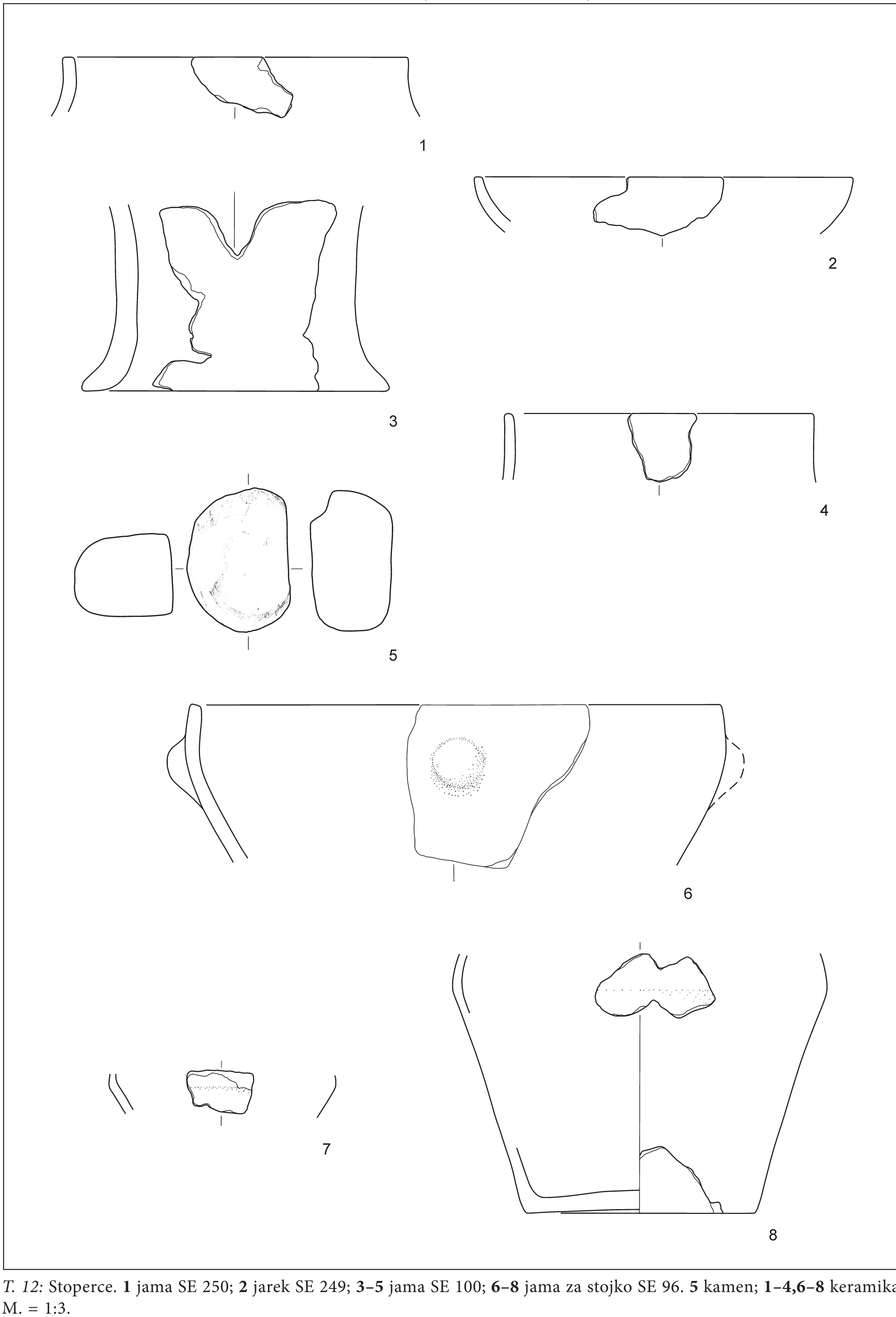
T. 9: Stoperce. **1–4** jama SE 344; **5–12** jama SE 52. **2** kamen; **1,3–12** keramika. **2** M. = 1:2; **1,3–12** M. = 1:3.
Pl. 9: Stoperce. **1–4** pit SU 344; **5–12** pit SU 52. **2** stone; **1,3–12** ceramic. **2** Scale 1:2; **1,3–12** Scale 1:3.



T. 10: Stoperce. **1–4** jama SE 52; **5** jama SE 52 in plast SE 3 ali SE 001. **1–3** keramika; **4,5** kamen. **4** M. = 1:2; **1–3,5** M. = 1:3.
Pl. 10: Stoperce. **1–4** pit SU 52; **5** pit SU 52 and layer SU 3 or SU 001. **1–3** ceramic; **4,5** stone. **4** Scale 1:2; **1–3,5** Scale 1:3.

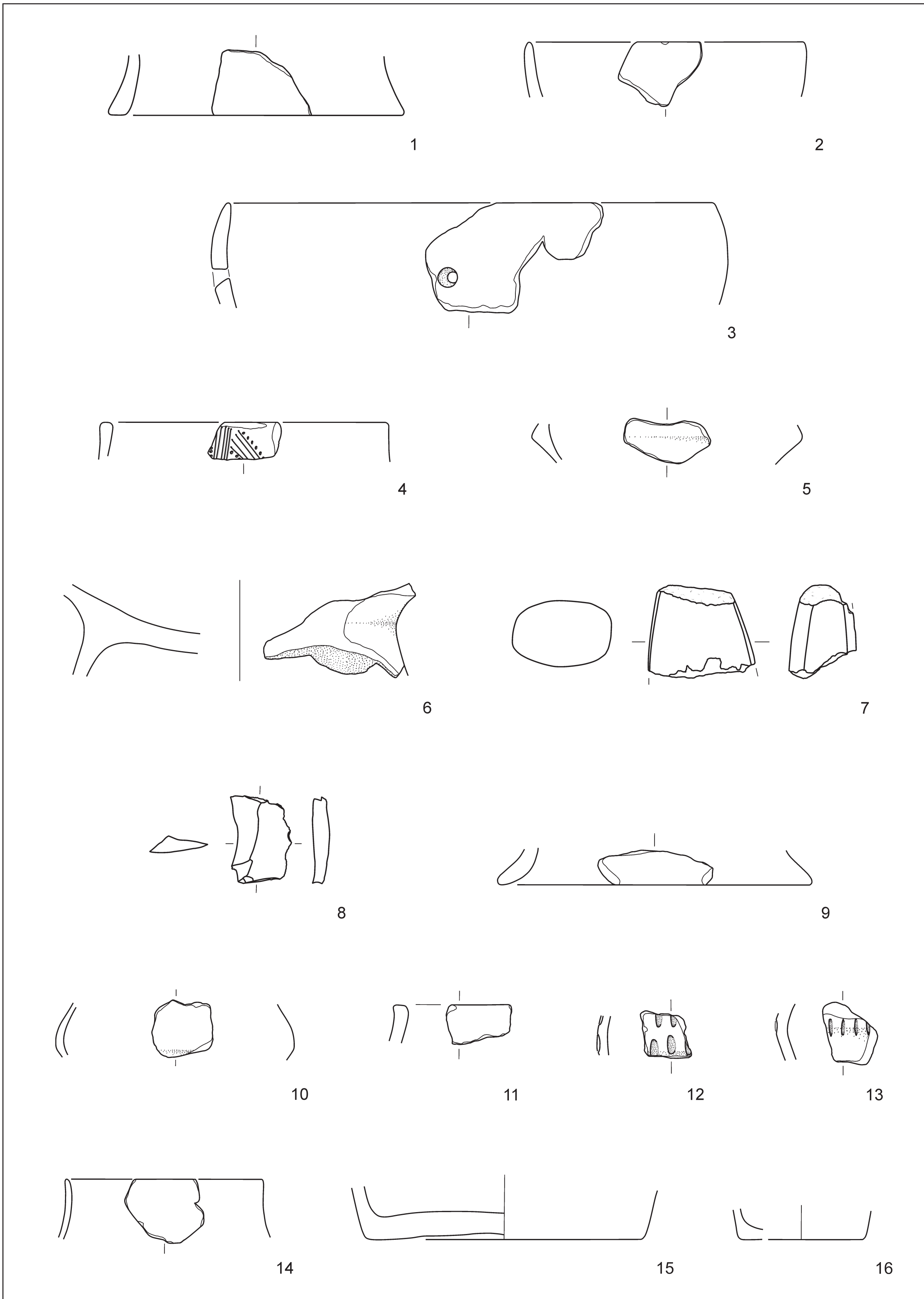


T. 11: Stoperce. Jarek SE 45. **1–6** keramika; **7–10** kamen. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 11: Stoperce. Ditch SU 45. **1–6** ceramic; **7–10** stone. Scale 1:3.

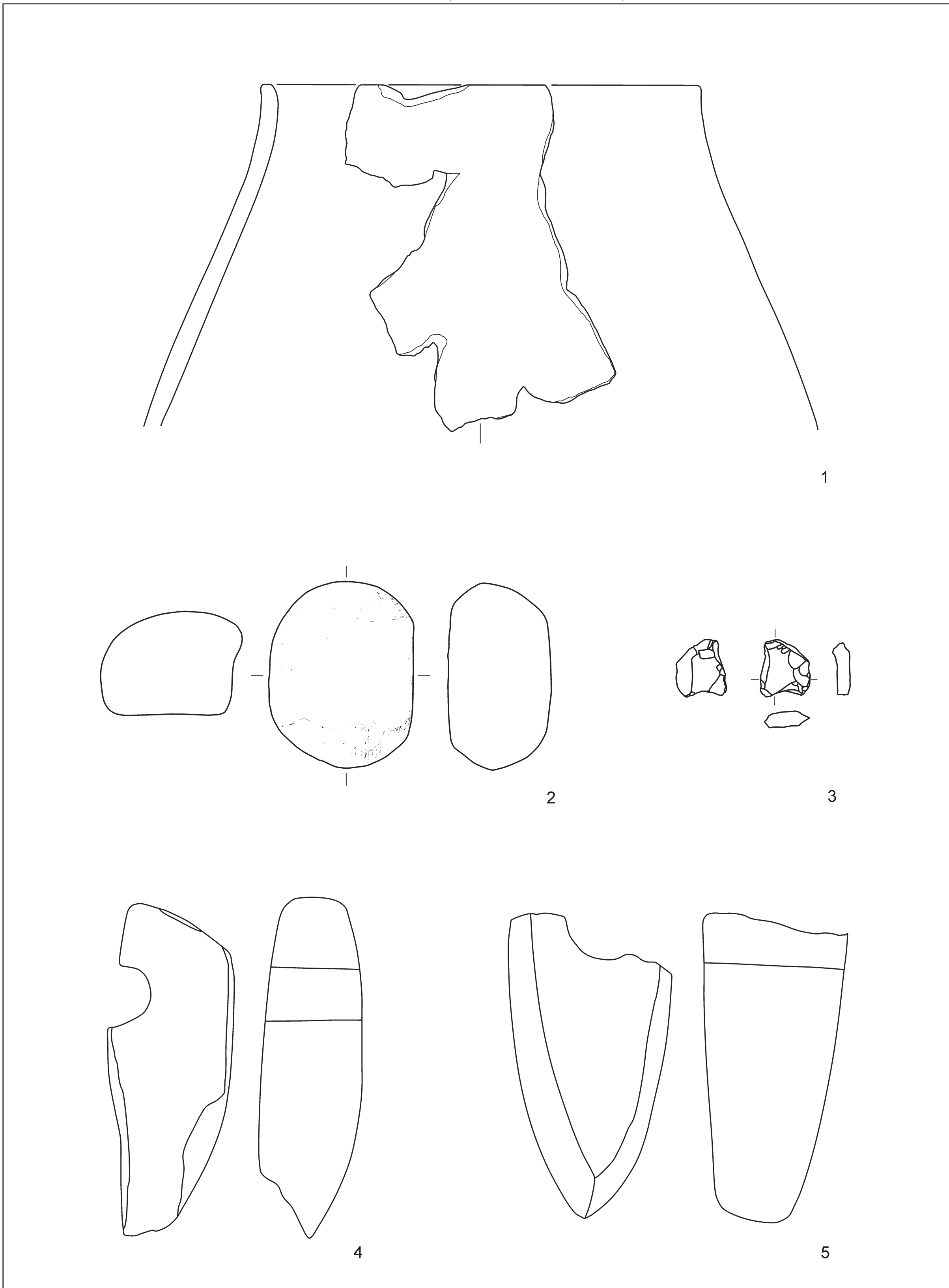


T. 12: Stoperce. **1** jama SE 250; **2** jarek SE 249; **3–5** jama SE 100; **6–8** jama za stojko SE 96. **5** kamen; **1–4,6–8** keramika. M. = 1:3.

Pl. 12: Stoperce. **1** pit SU 250; **2** ditch SU 249; **3–5** pit SU 100; **6–8** post-hole SU 96. **5** stone; **1–4,6–8** ceramic. Scale 1:3.



T. 13: Stoperce. **1–7** jama SE 9; **8** SE 5; **9–16** kulturna plast SE 3. **7,8** kamen; **1–6,9–16** keramika. **8** M. = 1:2; **1–7,9–16** M. = 1:3.
Pl. 13: Stoperce. **1–7** pit SU 9; **8** SU 5; **9–16** layer SU 3. **7,8** stone; **1–6,9–16** ceramic. **8** Scale 1:2; **1–7,9–16** Scale 1:3.



T. 14: Stoperce. **1,2** kulturna plast SE 3; **3** plast SE 001; **4,5** brez podrobnejše lokacije odkritja (po Mikl-Curk 1974, 95, sl. 4,5). **1,2** keramika; **3–5** kamen. **1,2** M. = 1:3; **3–5** M. = 1:2.

Pl. 14: Stoperce. **1,2** layer SU 3; **3** layer SU 001; **4,5** without a detailed location of the discovery (after Mikl-Curk 1974, 95, Fig. 4,5). **1,2** ceramic; **3–5** stone. **1,2** Scale 1:3; **3–5** Scale 1:2.

Bronastodobni depo iz Gorenjega Suhadola na Gorjancih

Bronze Age hoard from Gorenji Suhadol in Gorjanci

Primož PAVLIN, Petra STIPANČIĆ

Izvleček

Leta 2002 so na pobočju Gorjancev v bližini Gorenjega Suhadola naleteli na večji depo bronastih predmetov. Sestavljajo ga napadalno orožje, orodje, nakit, pločevina in ingoti. Časovni razpon predmetov sega od srednje bronaste dobe do začetka mlajšega obdobja kulture žarnih grobišč. Primerjave za večino predmetov iz depoja se najdejo v depojih druge stopnje KŽG iz Karpatske kotline in z zahodnega Balkana.

Ključne besede: Dolenjska; mlajša bronasta doba; kultura žarnih grobišč; depojske najdbe; orodje; orožje; nakit; ingoti

Abstract

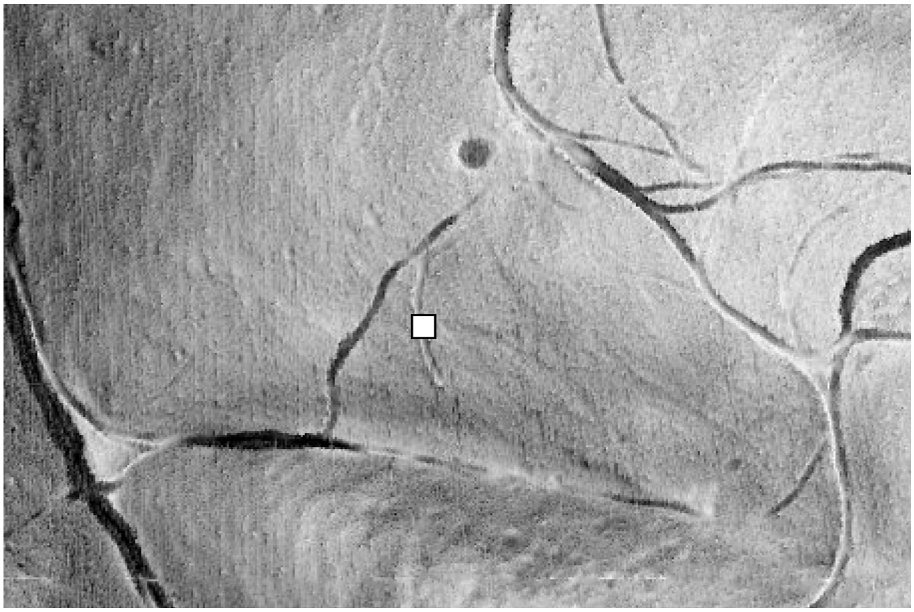
In 2002, a larger hoard of bronze objects was found on the slopes of Gorjanci, near the village of Gorenji Suhadol. The hoard consists of weapons, tools, jewellery, thin bronze sheet and ingots. The time span of the objects ranges from the Middle Bronze Age to the beginning of the Late Urnfield Period. Comparisons for most of the objects can be found in the hoards of the second phase of the Urnfield period from the Carpathian Basin and the Western Balkans.

Key words: Dolenjska; Late Bronze Age; Urnfield Culture; hoards; tools; weapons; jewellery; ingots

Pogorje Gorjanci leži na jugozahodnem robu Panonske nižine. Obsega prostor medrečja Save, Krke in Kolpe, najvišji vrh se dviguje v zahodnem delu (Trdinov vrh, 1178 m). Politično si ga delita Hrvaška in Slovenija. Zgodovina raziskav obravnavanega območja sega v osemdeseta leta 19. stoletja s prvimi poročili o arheoloških najdiščih in najdbah, ki sta jih prinašala Jernej Pečnik in Ignac Kušljan. Najdbe hranita Naravoslovni muzej na Dunaju in Narodni muzej Slovenije v Ljubljani. V okviru projekta *Utrjena prazgodovinska naselja na Dolenjskem* ob koncu 20. stoletja so sodelavci Inštituta za arheologijo ZRC SAZU, Narodnega muzeja Slovenije in ZVKDS OE Novo mesto topografsko pregledali območje Gorjancev in arheološko sondirali nekaj arheoloških najdišč. Od osemdesetih let 20. stoletja pa vse do danes je območje zanimivo tudi za nepooblaščene zbiralce in iskalce kovin.

Pregled najstarejših najdb, ki izhajajo z območja Gorjancev, prinaša katalog skupne slovensko-hrvaške razstave *Oživljene kulture, Arheološka odkritja na Gorjancih/Žumberku od prazgodovine od zgodnjega srednjega veka.*[1] V času priprave

[1] Pirnat-Spahić, Škoberne (ur.) 2002.



Sl. 1: Lega depoja Gorenji Suhadol. M. = 1:2500.
Fig. 1: The location of the Gorenji Suhadol hoard. M. = 1:2500.
(Vir / Source: Atlas okolja©ARSO)

razstave depo Gorenji Suhadol še ni bil znan. S tega območja je pomembna in primerljiva najdba depoja mešane sestave iz Črmošnjic,[2] ki jo hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije. Na Gorjancih so številna odkrita, zanesljivo pa tudi še neodkrita arheološka najdišča. Omeniti moramo Gradec nad Mihovim, Zidani gaber, Trnišča, Cerov Log in Camberk.[3]

Novembra 2002 je v Dolenjski muzej v Novem mestu občan iz Loke pri Šentjerneju prinesel na ogled bronaste predmete, ki jih je našel pri širitvi gozdne ceste na Gorjancih, na parc. št. 90/30 k. o. Gabrje, jugovzhodno od vasi Gorenji Suhadol (*sl. 1*). Muzej je od najditelja odkupil 62 bronastih predmetov. Po večkratnem pregledu terena je muzej pridobil še nadaljnje predmete.[4] Danes depo šteje 176 predmetov (*t. 1–12; sl. 2*) v skupni teži 11.667 g.

SESTAVA DEPOJA TER TIPOLOŠKA IN KRONOLOŠKA OPREDELITEV PREDMETOV

Večji depo sestavljajo orožje, orodje, nakit, pločevina in surovina, zato ga uvrščamo med depoje mešane sestave. Orožje je zastopano z bodaloma, meči, suličnima ostema in sekirami. Med orodjem najdemo srpe, dleto, (sekire), zakovico in šivanko, med nakitom pa iglo, ovratnice, zapestnice, narokvice, pas, okrasno ploščo, gumbe, aplike, obroč, dele fibul in obeske. Surovino predstavljajo planokonveksni in paličasti ingoti.

Bodali

V depoju sta dve bodali. Bodalo na *t. 3:* 8 ima v jezičastem ročaju z robniki dve luknji. Širok ročaj je ob straneh rahlo usločen, rezilo trikotne oblike se proti konici zožuje in je rombičnega preseka. S temi značilnostmi se uvršča med jezičastoročajna bodala tipa Dombovàr po Renatu Peroniju[5] oz. dolga bodala tipa A, različice 1 po Tiborju Kemenczeiju – ta imajo v ročaju eno do tri luknje za zakovice.[6] Bodala s širokim ročajem in z dvema luknjama srečamo še npr. v madžarskem depoju horizonta Kurd iz Mároka,[7] v hrvaških depojih druge faze

[2] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 148–159, sl. 37; t. 51–59; 146–149A.

[3] Dular 1997; Dular 2008; Dular 2021; Križ 2021; Udovč 2014, 26–31; Udovč 2018, 77–90; Knific, Nabergoj 2016, 39–94.

[4] Križ, Stipančić 2006, 61–62; Križ *et al.* 2009, 226–230; Dular 2021, 851, kat. št. 407 – pod imenom Kopinatova hosta. Naj na tem mestu opozoriva na napačno lokacijo depoja v Dularjevi publikaciji (Dular 2021, sl. 407/1). Nanjo naju je opozoril avtor in nama posredoval nov izsek karte (*sl. 1*), potem ko sta z Borutom Križem na terenu ponovno preverila lego najdišča.

[5] Peroni 1956, 71, 87, t. 1: 17.

[6] Kemenczei 1988, 23–24, 26, t. 7: 71,77.

[7] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, t. 91: 10.

Sl. 2: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. 12 okruškov bakrenih ingotov. Dolž. od 0,6 do 1,1 cm; teža skupno 4,5 g; inv. št. P 7270.
Fig. 2: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. 12 scraps of copper ingots. Length: from od 0.6 to 1.1 cm; Total weight: 4,5 g; Inv. No. P 7270.

kulture žarnih grobišč, kot so Brodski Varoš,[8] Podcrkavlje-Slavonski Brod[9] in Siča/Lučica,[10] v depojih horizonta II iz Jurke vasi[11] in s Hočkega Pohorja[12] ter med najdbami z Magdalenske gore[13] in iz Turjeve jame pri Robiču.[14]

Predmet na *t. 3:* 7 ima poln ročaj rombastega preseka, ki se zaključuje z obročem. Zelo verjetno gre za odlomek bodala vrste Jorj-Abaúj, ki imajo obroč na koncu okvirjastega ali polnega ročaja oz. polnega ročaja z do tremi luknjami za zakovice. Našemu podobno bodalo s polnim ročajem iz groba iz Hodonína je po spremnem gradivu datirano v zgodnjo do starejšo fazo kulture žarnih grobišč (Bd D–Ha A).[15]

Meči

V depoju je šest odlomkov mečev (*t. 3:* 1–6). Eden je del ročaja, štirje so srednji deli rezil, eden je del rezila z ročajno ploščo in sledovi štirih lukenj za zakovice. Vsi so za tipološko določitev premalo ohranjeni.

Sulični osti

Sulične osti so zastopane z odlomkom lista (*t. 6:* 2) in odlomkom tula (*t. 6:* 3), ki sta za tipološko določitev prav tako preslabo ohranjena.

Sekire

V depoju so tri vrste sekir, sekire z robniki, plavutaste in tulaste. Ohranjeni del sekire z robniki je odlomek temena z izjedo (*t. 1:* 2). Odlomek je za tipološko opredelitev preskromen. Plavutasta sekira (*t. 1:* 1) in tri različno velike tulaste sekire so ohranjene v celoti (*t. 1:* 4; *2:* 1,2), od ene sekire je ohranjen le del roba tula (*t. 1:* 3) in od dveh spodnji del rezila z ostrino (*t. 2:* 3,4).

Sekira *t. 1:* 1 ima srednje stoječe plavuti. Na temenu ima široko in plitvo izjedo. Ti dve lastnosti jo uvrščata med plavutaste sekire tipa Freudenberg. Ker ima širše telo, jo natančneje lahko pripišemo ali različici Elixhausen, posebej sekirama iz Welsa in Zöberna, ali različici Retz, od teh so naši podobne sekire iz Linza-Kleinmünchna, Bad Auseeja in Stadelbacha. Za navedene sekire najdiščne okoliščine niso znane ali pa gre za posamezne najdbe. Zaključene najdbe datirajo sekire obeh različic v zgodnje obdobje kulture žarnih grobišč (Bd D). Sekire različice Elixhausen so izpričane na Bavarskem, Solnograškem, v Zgornji in Spodnji Avstriji, na Slovaškem in v Sloveniji. Širšo razprostranjenost imajo sekire različice Retz. Te so poleg naštetih pokrajin našli še na severnem in južnem Tirolskem, avstrijskem Štajerskem, Češkem, Moravskem, Madžarskem, v Romuniji in Slavoniji.[16]

Sekira z ušescem (*t. 2:* 1) sodi med tulaste sekire sedmograškega tipa, v različico A2 po Mircei Rusuju, ki jih je datiral v stopnjo Uriu-Domăneşti.[17] Po najnovejši tipokronologiji romunskih sekir jo avtor Oliver Dietrich uvršča med sekire tipa B6, čeprav bi jo lahko uvrstili tudi v tip B1. Tipa se med seboj razlikujeta po globini stranske usločenosti dela tula pod ustjem (B1 – "raven ali rahlo usločen", B6 – "usločen"). Sekire obeh tipov se pojavljajo med gradivom starejše faze kulture žarnih grobišč (Bd D–Ha A). Razširjene so predvsem v Romuniji,

[8] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 55: 7.
[9] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 183, t. 66: 12.
[10] Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 62, t. 2: 16.
[11] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 198, t. 89: 7; 160: 31; Turk 1996, 108.
[12] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 177–196, t. 75: 24; 153: 10; Turk 1996, 108.
[13] Šinkovec 1995, 97–98, t. 27: 190.
[14] Šinkovec 1995, 222, t. 142A: 2.
[15] Peroni 1956, 71, t. 1: 20; Novák 2011, 108–109, t. 38: 251–253.
[16] Mayer 1977, 130–142, t. 35: 514,516; 39: 553,561; 40: 565.
[17] Rusu 1966, 24, sl. 1.

zahodno so posamezni primerki znani še iz Srbije in Moravske ter na vzhodu iz Ukrajine.[18]

Druga tulasta sekira (*t. 1:* 4) je brez ušesca. Pod odebeljenim ustjem tula ima vodoravno plastično rebro, s katerega visita ena v drugi dve črki V. Po Dietrichovi tipologiji se uvršča v tip D2, v različico 2m. Te sekire so prisotne skoraj izključno v depojih druge faze kulture žarnih grobišč. Razprostranjene so v Karpatski kotlini in na zahodnem Balkanu. Posamezne primerke najdemo še na Češkem in Slovaškem ter v Ukrajini, Avstriji in Italiji.[19]

Tretja sekira (*t. 2:* 2) je prav tako brez ušesca. Pod masivnim robom tula je vodoravno plastično rebro, z njega visita dve poševni rebri, ki se stikata v trikotnik. Levo in desno poteka ob trikotniku še po eno rebro; pri vrhu trikotnika se zalomi in se navpično izteče na koncu druge tretjine višine sekire. V trikotniku so tri plastične bunčice. Tako okrašene sekire je Peter König zbral v različico Budinšćina. Omejene so na območje med Blatnim jezerom in severovzhodno jadransko obalo. Najdišča so zgoščena na razmeroma majhnem območju na vzhodu Slovenije in na severozahodu Hrvaške, kjer jih je od osmih, skupaj z našim, kar polovica.[20] Sedem sekir je iz depojev, ena je posamezna najdba. Razen depoja Belica[21] (Ha A2) so datirani v drugo stopnjo depojev kulture žarnih grobišč.

Dleto

Tul dleta (*t. 2:* 5) ima pod ustjem vodoravno rebro, z njega visita dve rahlo usločeni poševni rebri, ki se stikata v trikotnik. Levo in desno pod trikotnikom je po en par ukrivljenih vzporednih plastičnih reber, ki ponazarjata plavuti. Skoraj identičen ornament je na avstrijskem dletu, posamezni vodni najdbi iz Heiligenbrunna.[22] Podobno okrašena so še dleta iz ukrajinskega depoja serije Suskovo I (Ha A2) Veľký Berezný (Mukačevo II)[23] in iz madžarskega depoja Románd[24] ter dve slovaški tulasti dleti, eno je iz naselja Šarovce, pripisanega kulturi Čaka, drugo z neznanega najdišča.[25]

Srpi

Najštevilnejša skupina predmetov v depoju so srpi. Od enaindvajsetih srpov je eden ohranjen v celoti (*t. 4:* 1), sedem je fragmentiranih (*t. 4:* 2–6; *5:* 1,3), petnajst odlomkov pripada rezilom (*t. 5:* 4–18) in eden ročaju (*t. 5:* 2). Vsi tipološko določljivi srpi sodijo v skupino jezičastoročajnih srpov z izrastkom, brez luknje v ročaju. Zastopani so srpi s petimi in tremi ročajnimi rebri ter z dvema ročajnima rebroma.

Srp s petimi ročajnimi rebri (*t. 4:* 4) sodi v različico 5.A.0.Cr3.1b in je za zdaj unikaten.[26]

Pet srpov ima na ročaju tri rebra. Pri štirih notranje ročajno rebro poteka naravnost proti hrbtnemu rebru, vsi imajo na rezilu eno rebro. Prvi (*t. 4:* 2) sodi v različico 3.A.1.1b,[27] drugi (*t. 4:* 6) s spodaj nizko razcepljenim srednjim ročajnim rebrom in vbočeno osnovo ročaja v različico 3.A.1.Lf1.1b.[28] Tudi pri tretjem in četrtem (*t. 4:* 5; *5:* 3) je srednje ročajno rebro spodaj nizko razcepljeno, osnova ročaja ima trikoten izrez, zato sodita v različico 3.A.1.Lf1.1c.[29] Pri petem srpu (*t. 4:* 3) notranje ročajno rebro zavije v rezilo in vzporedno s hrbtnim rebrom poteka proti konici srpa. Srednje ročajno rebro je zgoraj razcepljeno v obliki črke Y. S temi značilnostmi se uvršča v različico 3.E.1.Y.1a.[30] Izmed srpov z dvema ročajnima rebroma tisti (*t. 5:* 1) s kratkim notranjim ročajnim rebrom in brez ohranjene osnove ročaja sodi v različico 2.a.0.m.1,[31] drugi (*t. 4:* 1) v različico 2.C.0.m.1a.[32]

Depoji s srpi obravnavanih različic so, z nekaj izjemami, datirani v Ha A1. Njihova razprostranjenost je omejena na Karpatsko kotlino in zahodni Balkan. Vse različice srpov s tremi ročajnimi rebri imajo težišče razprostranjenosti zahodno od donavske vertikale in na zahodnem Balkanu. Nekoliko drugače je s srpi z dvema ročajnima rebroma. Medtem ko je jedro razprostranjenosti srpov različic 2.C.0.m.1a,b,d zahodno od Donave, se najdišča srpov različic 2.a.0.m.1a,b, razen našega, razprostirajo vzhodno od Donave.

Šivanka

Šivanka (*t. 6:* 10) ima razširitev z rombičnim predrtjem pomaknjeno od vrha navzdol, kar je

18 Dietrich 2021, tip B1: 317–327, 349–350; tip B6: 392–393, 399–400.

19 Dietrich 2021, 559–564, 580–581.

20 Teržan 1996, 247 op. 23, sl. 2: trikotniki; König 2004, 41–42, t. 84, seznam 6; Blečić Kavur 2014, sl. 53: trikotniki. Sekira iz Donje Doline ima ušesce.

21 Okras na sekiri iz Belice se v podrobnostih razlikuje od preostalih.

22 Mayer 1977, 220, t. 88: 1295.

23 Borkovskyj 1934, 102, t. 6: 4,4a; Kobal' 2000, 88, t. 77C: 6.

24 Mozsolics 2000, 70–73, t. 84: 21–23.

25 Novotná 1970, 70–71, t. 26: 449,451.

26 Pavlin 2023, 68, t. 9: 5.

27 Pavlin 2023, 115–116, t. 16: 15.

28 Pavlin 2023, 118–119, t. 16: 20.

29 Pavlin 2023, 119–120, t. 16: 20.

30 Pavlin 2023, 155–156, t. 22: 5.

31 Pavlin 2023, 199, t. 26: 7.

32 Pavlin 2023, 203–204, t. 27: 3.

značilno za šivanke druge skupine po Rastku Vasiću. Po tem se razlikujejo od šivank prve skupine, ki imajo ovalno ali pravokotno predrtje na vrhu.[33] Šivanke niso ravno pogost predmet v depojih. Primerjave za našo šivanko najdemo npr. v madžarskem depoju horizonta Kurd iz Püspökhatvana[34] ter v dveh srbskih depojih druge faze kulture žarnih grobišč, Nova Bingula[35] in Šetonje.[36] Pojavljajo se predvsem v naseljih in tudi grobovih. Poleg šivank z osrednjega Balkana naj omenimo še šivanko iz naselja skupine Barice-Gređani v Slavonskem Brodu[37] in dve iz grobov na Pobrežju.[38] S Slovaškega je iz dveh naselij in enega groba znanih nadaljnjih pet primerkov.[39]

Igla

Igla ima sploščeno bikonično glavo, ki je vodoravno stopničasto narebrena (*t. 6:* 11). Primerljive so npr. igle iz depojev druge faze medrečja Save in Drave Poljanci I,[40] Poljanci IV,[41] Veliko Nabrđe,[42] Brodski Varoš[43] in Gornji Slatinik[44] ter srbskih depojev Šimanovci[45] in Donji Petrovci.[46] Vasić je naštete srbske igle uvrstil delno v skupino igel z bikonično vodoravno stopničasto narebreno glavo, delno v skupino igel z zaokroženo vodoravno stopničasto narebreno glavo, saj pravi, da je razlikovanje marsikdaj težko. Pojavljajo se skoraj izključno v depojih druge faze.[47] Iz Italije so s kolišč iz okolice Gardskega jezera znane tri podobne igle, posamezne najdbe, zajete v tip Cisano.[48] Pet podobnih igel je še na Slovaškem. Za štiri najdiščne okoliščine niso znane, ena je iz groba, ki je datiran na prehod Ha A v Ha B.[49] Tri igle s sploščeno bikonično glavo poznamo tudi iz Slovenije. Naši igli je najbolj podobna igla iz bronastodobne naselbine v Rabelčji vasi.[50] Preostali dve se po okrasu razlikujeta od prej naštetih. Obe sta bili najdeni v višinskih naseljih, ena na Korinjskem hribu nad Velikim Korinjem,[51] druga na Semeniču nad Gabrom pri Semiču.[52]

Obeski

V depoju so štirje predmeti, ki jih lahko pripišemo k obeskom. Obeska na *t. 6:* 12,13 po svoji obliki sodita med lijakaste obeske. Prvi (*t. 6:* 12) spada po razdelitvi Katalin Jankovits med obeske različice B 3. Ti imajo spodnjo odprtino okrogle ali ovalne oblike, cevka je zgoraj odebeljena in vodoravno razčlenjena. Izdelani so iz belega brona in so na madžarskem prisotni le v Transdanubiji, v depojih horizonta Kurd. Zunaj Transdanubije nanje naletimo še v slavonskih depojih Brodski Varoš in Gornji Slatinik ter v moravskem depoju Přestavlky.[53] Dodamo lahko še obesek iz belega brona, ki je zgoraj okrašen s tremi vodoravnimi linijami, iz depoja Poljanci-Donje Polje.[54]

Drugi lijakasti obesek (*t. 6:* 13) spada po Jankovitsevi v različico B 5. Vanjo so zajeti obeski, ki se zgoraj zaključujejo z dvema antitetično postavljenima ptičjima glavama. Tudi ti so izdelani iz belega brona. Do zdaj znani primerki so iz depojev horizonta Kurd oz. stopnje Suseni.[55]

Fragmentiran obesek (*t. 6:* 14) je podkvaste oblike in ima kraka z rombičnim presekom. Sredina obeska je navpično preluknjana. Izdelani so bodisi iz običajnega bodisi iz belega brona. Pojavljajo se predvsem v grobovih od horizonta Koszider dalje, posebej so priljubljeni v mlajšem delu kulture gomil. V starejšem delu kulture žarnih grobišč jih najdemo tudi v depojih. Značilni so za Karpatsko kotlino, obeski iz Šlezije in z Moravskega so iz kontekstov, datiranih v čas srednje faze kulture gomil, in so verjetno import.[56]

Iz belega brona[57] je ulit tudi fragmentiran "trilistni" obesek (*t. 6:* 15), ki ga, kot kažejo primerjave

33 Vasić 2003, 130-133.
34 Mozsolics 1985, 178-179, t. 140: 20.
35 Popović 1975a, 37 št. 108, t. 35: 4; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1.
36 Vasić 2003, 47, 132, t. 48: 991.
37 Miklik-Lozuk, Ložnjak Dizdar 2011, 151-167, sl. na str. 154, 156, 158.
38 Pahič 1972, 44, t. 11: 9; 50, t. 16: 11.
39 Novotná 1980, 166-168, t. 48: 1121-1125.
40 Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 83 št. 150; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 183, t. 48: 13.
41 Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 108 št. 255.
42 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 186, t. 44: 15.
43 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 180, t. 52: 33; 53: 1,2.
44 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 186, t. 69: 8.
45 Popović 1975b, 46 št. 66, t. 44: 4; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1.
46 Popović 1994b, 31 št. 59-61, t. 23: 11-13; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1; glej še König 2004, 69-70, seznam 11, t. 90A.
47 Vasić 2003, 70-74, 76-77.
48 Carancini 1975, 239, t. 54: 1743-1745.
49 Novotná 1980, 134, t. 40: 874-878.
50 Strmčnik-Gulič 1988-1989, 153, t. 4: 25.
51 Dular *et al.* 1995, 123, t. 2: 5.
52 Dular *et al.* 2002, 177, sl. 22: 9.
53 Jankovits 2017, 259-260, 272-273, t. 94: 3278-3288.
54 Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 91 št. 183.
55 Jankovits 2017, 259-260, 275-276, t. 95: 3299-3304.
56 Jankovits 2017, 199-208, t. 71: 2516-73: 2681; Brodski Varoš: Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 52: 45; Poljanci I: Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 88 št. 173.
57 Predmeti iz obravnavanega depoja s takim opisom imajo srebrnkast videz. Kovina ni bila analizirana, zato je določitev pogojna.

iz depojev druge faze Poljanci I,[58] Poljanci II[59] in Bingula-Divoš,[60] sestavljajo dva manjša in en večji kolobar. Morda sta bila del podobnega obeska, kakršnega najdemo npr. v depojih Brodski Varoš[61] in Nova Bingula,[62] tudi kolobarja iz belega brona na *t. 6:* 16,17.

Dvojna zakovica

Za dvojno zakovico (*t. 6:* 9) štejemo predmet s paličastim telesom kvadratnega oz. okroglega preseka, ki je na koncih razkovan. Razkovana konca sta preprečevala, da bi se predrti okrogli ploščici sneli. Naša zakovica ima paličico kvadratnega preseka in ohranjeno eno okroglo ploščico. Podobni sta ji zakovici iz depoja Poljanci I[63] in groba z vozom, izkopanega leta 1905 v Mengnu v nemški zvezni deželi Baden-Württemberg.[64] Na dvojne zakovice s paličico okroglega preseka pa naletimo v depojih druge faze Brodski Varoš,[65] Pričac,[66] Slavonski Brod-Livadićeva ulica št. 7,[67] Šimanovci[68] in depoju pete faze Legrad[69] ter tudi v omenjenem grobu iz Mengna.[70]

Okrasna plošča

Okrasna plošča (*t. 9:* 1) je ulita iz belega brona. Na zgornjem delu ima izrastek v obliki nizke črke T in v sredini trn. Prečka črke T je okrašena z navpičnimi žlebovi, kratek navpični del pa je razčlenjen s tremi vodoravnimi kanelurami. Okrogli del plošče je okrašen s plastičnimi koncentričnimi krogi. Tako rekoč popolno analogijo za našo ploščo najdemo v depoju Poljanci II.[71] S plastičnimi koncentričnimi krogi so okrašeni tudi ohranjeni deli plošč s trnom iz depojev Debeli vrh pri Predgradu,[72] Kurd[73] in Veliko Nabrđe[74] ter deli plošče iz depoja Brodski Varoš,[75] pri kateri trn v sredini ni ohranjen. Pri vseh manjka (?) izrastek, rekonstruirani plošči z Debelega vrha in Brodskega Varoša ter plošča iz Kurda pa imajo enako število (sedem) koncentričnih krogov kot naša. Zelo verjetno k naštetim ploščam sodi tudi odlomek iz depoja Budinščina.[76] König glede na okrašenost oz. neokrašenost in obliko izrastka razlikuje več različic, prisotne so izključno v depojih druge faze kulture žarnih grobišč. Tudi te so, po znanih podatkih, ulite iz belega brona.[77]

Aplike

Štirje predmeti (*t. 6:* 20–23) so uliti v obliki črke H, na zadnji strani imajo zanko. Po Königu so to aplike v obliki dvojne sekire – prišite na tkanino ali usnje so služile kot okras. Aplike te velikosti niso prav pogoste. Sorodne so jim večje podobne oblike, izpričane v številnih depojih druge faze oz. horizonta Kurd severne Hrvaške in zahodne Madžarske, ter so eden vodilnih tipov teh dveh stopenj.[78] V našem depoju bi odlomek večje aplike v obliki dvojne sekire lahko predstavljal predmet na *t. 6:* 8.

Zgornjim aplikam podobne so aplike z dvojnim predrtjem (*t. 6:* 24–29). Primerjave zanje so npr. v depoju Brodski Varoš.[79]

Med aplike oz. gumbe lahko uvrstimo tudi predmeta št. 18 in 19 na *t. 6*. Imata obliko kolobarja s prečko. Srečamo jih razmeroma pogosto v depojih druge stopnje kulture žarnih grobišč, kot so Bingula-Divoš,[80] Brodski Varoš,[81] Dobrinci,[82] Esztergom-Szentgyörgymező,[83] Hočko Pohorje,[84] Mačkovac[85] in Poljanci II.[86]

Ovratnice

V depoju je osem odlomkov ovratnic (*t. 7:* 1–7,15). Glede na način izdelave in debelino žice pripadajo vsaj sedmim vrstam. Štirje odlomki imajo spiralno uvit konec in so izdelani iz žice

58 Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 76 št. 116.
59 Bulat 1973–1975, 29 št. 22, t. 16: 22; Hansen 1994, t. 31: 11.
60 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 177, t. 86: 21,22.
61 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 56: 50.
62 Popović 1975a, 40 št. 108, t. 39: 13; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1.
63 Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 76 št. 115.
64 Pare 1992, 27, sl. 30: 11.
65 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 57: 50.
66 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 183, t. 72: 1.
67 Miklik-Lozuk, Ložnjak Dizdar 2011, 163, sl. na str. 164.
68 Popović 1975b, 47 št. 106, t. 45: 25; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1.
69 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 181, t. 127: 17–22.
70 Pare 1992, sl. 30: 12.
71 Bulat 1973–1975, 28 št. 7, t. 15: 7; Hansen 1994, t. 35: 4.
72 Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 159–169, t. 66: 80; 152: 21.
73 Mozsolics 1985, 140–141, 1984, t. 24: 1.
74 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 186, t. 46: 21.
75 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 53: 38.
76 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 79: 2.
77 König, 2004, 71–73.
78 König 2004, 76–77.
79 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 57: 40,41.
80 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 177, t. 86: 15.
81 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 57: 12.
82 Popović 1994a, 19 št. 115, t. 18: 12; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1.
83 Mozsolics 1985, 116–118, t. 137: 14.
84 Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178–196, t. 82: 142,143; 155: 20; Turk 1996, 108.
85 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 181, t. 73: 11.
86 Bulat 1973–1975, 27 št. 1,2, t. 13: 1,2; Hansen 1994, t. 33: 16.

okroglega preseka (*t. 7:* 3–6). Dva imata osrednji del tordiran (*t. 7:* 3,7), pri enem je okrašen s snopi prečnih vrezov in motivom smrekove vejice (*t. 7:* 15). Tordirane ovratnice so zastopane v depojih tako starejšega kot mlajšega obdobja kulture žarnih grobišč,[87] okrašene pa predvsem v depojih starejšega dela KŽG.[88]

Zapestnice

Za zapestnice štejemo obročaste odlomke (*t. 7:* 8–14), ki so izdelani iz tanjše žice kot ovratnice in imajo manjši premer. Verjetno gre za dele sedmih zapestnic, katerih premer je meril okrog 5,6 cm. En odlomek zapestnice z uvitim koncem je tordiran (*t. 7:* 8), dve zapestnici s spiralno uvitima koncema sta neokrašeni in ohranjeni skoraj v celoti (*t. 7:* 9,10). Neokrašena je tudi polovica zapestnice na *t. 7:* 11, na odlomkih na *t. 7:* 13,14 pa je vrezan ornament.

Na tordirane zapestnice s spiralno uvitima koncema razmeroma pogosto naletimo v depojih starejše faze KŽG, taki so npr. Hočko Pohorje,[89] Poljanci I,[90] Pričac,[91] Siča/Lučica,[92] Zagreb-Medvedgrad,[93] Dobrinci,[94] Márok,[95] pa tudi v grobovih mlajšega obdobja KŽG, npr. v Dobovi, grob 305,[96] in v Ljubljani na dvorišču SAZU v grobu 258, v katerem je bila tudi gladka zapestnica s spiralno uvitima koncema.[97] Od naštetih depojev s tordiranimi zapestnicami je gladka zapestnica v depoju Siča/Lučica,[98] sicer pa jih najdemo npr. tudi v depojih Bingula-Divoš,[99] Keszőhidegkút[100] in Lengyeltóti II.[101]

Poleg obročastih zapestnic so v depoju trije odlomki, ki bi lahko pripadali trakastim pločevinastim zapestnicam. En odlomek (*t. 8:* 9) se na enem koncu zoži v navzven razprt kavelj, drugi (*t. 8:* 10) je na robovih okrašen z nizom vrezov, s katerega visijo dvojne pikčaste girlande. Podobne elemente lahko zasledimo na trakastih zapestnicah z uvitima koncema iz depojev Márok,[102] Esztergom--Szentgyörgymező [103] in Budinščina.[104]

Odlomek pločevinastega traku z dvema nizoma vbodov (*t. 8:* 6) je bil morda prvotno del spiralne narokvice in je bil sekundarno preoblikovan v zapestnico.

Narokvice

Spiralni zaključek (*t. 8:* 5) in štirje odlomki pločevinastega traku, po sredini in celotni dolžini okrašenega z rahlo poševnimi vrezi (*t. 8:* 1–4), so deli trakaste spiralne narokvice s sploščenima spiralno uvitima koncema. Primerljiv komplet, s podobnim okrasom, je v depoju horizonta Kurd, Kisapati.[105] Prvotni videz narokvic pa lahko rekonstruiramo na podlagi trakastih spiralnih narokvic v depojih Lengyeltóti III[106] in Balatonkiliti.[107] V prvem je sedem v celoti ohranjenih različno velikih narokvic, v drugem je narokvica neokrašena. Z vrezi okrašene trakove s spiralnim zaključkom najdemo še v depojih druge faze Márok,[108] Hočko Pohorje,[109] Bingula-Divoš,[110] neokrašena pa v depojih Siča/Lučica[111] in Poljanci II.[112]

Zaključek ulite narokvice na *t. 8:* 8 je okrašen s tremi pasovi plastičnih reber. Srednji pas se proti koncu razcepi v obliki lastovičjega repa. Odlična

[87] Npr. Hočko Pohorje – Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178–196, t. 79: 90; Turk 1996, 108; Brodski Varoš – Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 59: 11; Siča/Lučica – Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 78, t. 9: 149; Poljanci II – Bulat 1973–1975, 25 št. 10, t. 10: 10; Hansen 1994, t. 32: 17; Gaj – Rašajski 1975, 53 št. 3,4,6,7, t. 51: 3–6; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1; Márok – Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, t. 92: 25; Keszőhidegkút – Mozsolics 1985, 135–137, t. 35: 28,29; Sečanj – Marković 1994, 45 št. 42,43, t. 33: 1,2; Beravci – Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 211, t. 109: 13; Ivanec Bistranski – Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 180, t. 113: 10; Kenderes – Mozsolics 2000, 53, t. 49: 1–3; Jobaháza – Mozsolics 2000, 50, t. 41: 2; Románd – Mozsolics 2000, 50, t. 86: 23–26.

[88] Npr. Siča/Lučica – Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 78, t. 9: 144; Poljanci II – Hansen 1994, t. 32: 17; Bingula-Divoš – Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 177, t. 86: 28; Dobrinci – Popović 1994a, 17 št. 94, 18 št. 97,10, Pl. 17: 9,14,16; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1; Márok – Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, t. 92: 26.

[89] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178–196, t. 79: 93; Turk 1996, 108.

[90] Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 80 št. 134,136–138, 81 št. 140,141, 88 št. 172.

[91] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 183, t. 71: 34.

[92] Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 77, t. 9: 146,148.

[93] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 187, t. 75A: 7.

[94] Popović 1994a, 18 št. 106,108, t. 18: 4,8; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1.

[95] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, t. 92: 27.

[96] Stare 1975, 34, t. 44: 2; Belardelli *et al.*, 1990, 194.

[97] Puš 1971, 77–78, t. 52: 10.

[98] Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 78, t. 9: 152.

[99] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 177, t. 85: 15.

[100] Mozsolics 1985, 135–137, t. 35: 27.

[101] Mozsolics 1985, 142–143, t. 107: 29.

[102] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, t. 92: 12,14,16,17,20.

[103] Mozsolics 1985, 116–118, t. 137: 11.

[104] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 79: 12.

[105] Darnay 1897, t. 1: 31–35; 4: 1,2.

[106] Mozsolics 1985, 143, t. 108: 24,29–34.

[107] Mozsolics 1985, 91–92, t. 99: 4.

[108] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, t. 92: 18.

[109] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178–196, t. 80: 109; Turk 1996, 108.

[110] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 177, t. 85: 7.

[111] Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 77, t. 10: 164.

[112] Bulat 1973–1975, 26 št. 21,21a, t. 12: 21,21a.

primerjava naši narokvici je v depoju Márok,[113] zelo podobna pa sta še dva odlomka iz depoja Uioara de Sus.[114]

Odlomka narebrenih narokvic (*t. 8:* 11,12) pripadata dvema primerkoma. Ena je ohranjena v celoti, pri drugi je ohranjen le en prvotni rob, zato da ni mogoče z gotovostjo reči, ali je šlo za ožjo, trakasto, oz. širšo, cevasto narokvico. Narokvice (nekateri jih imenujejo tudi manšete) so razširjene od Črnega morja do vzhodne jadranske obale. V Romuniji najstarejša narebrena narokvica izvira iz srednjebronastodobnega groba, sicer pa so značilen inventar v grobovih in depojih stopnje Ha A1.[115] Na Glasincu so v grobovih faz IIb in III.[116] Na vzhodni jadranski obali jih srečamo v poznobronastodobnih grobovih pri Dalmatih[117] in Liburnih[118] ter v grobovih prve faze železne dobe pri Histrih.[119] Srečamo jih še v Makedoniji, kjer so element noše prve stopnje železne dobe.[120]

Spirale

Pri petih spiralah, izdelanih iz žice okroglega preseka (*t. 9:* 4–8), gre verjetno za odlomke fibul. Del katerih vrst fibul so bili, lahko samo ugibamo. Take spirale so kar pogost inventar depojev, npr. Hočko Pohorje,[121] Poljanci II,[122] Poljanci-Donje Polje,[123] Veliko Nabrđe,[124] Topličica I,[125] Budinščina,[126] Rudnik[127] in Karcag.[128]

Pločevina

V depoju so še štirje kosi bronaste pločevine (*t. 9:* 9–12). Manjša sta neokrašena, preostala dva sta okrašena z iztolčenimi bunčicami. Na enem izmed njih je še motiv treh koncentričnih krogcev (*t. 9:* 12). Deli katerih predmetov so ti kosi, je težko, če ne nemogoče, določiti. Odlomek pločevine z iztolčenimi bunčicami in koncentričnimi krogci bi lahko bil tudi del pasu. Enako okrašen košček pločevine iz depoja Bingula–Divoš je namreč Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier uvrstila med pasove.[129] Podobne odlomke okrašene pločevine najdemo npr. še v depojih Márok,[130] Pamuk[131] in Dobrinci.[132]

Obroč

Obroč iz belega brona (*t. 10:* 1) ima lečasti presek, njegov premer je 7,6 cm, širina kolobarja je 6 mm. Dobre primerjave najdemo v depoju tretjega horizonta slovenskih depojev Kanalski Vrh I. V njem je 62 podobnih obročev, tudi ti so izdelani iz belega brona. Oblika njihovega preseka je bodisi rombična bodisi ovalna oz. lečasta. V premeru merijo od 6 do 7,9 cm, širina kolobarjev se giblje od 3 do 6 mm.[133]

Del ulivnega sistema, prilitek

Bronast predmet na *t. 9:* 15 in *sl. 3* ima videz polizdelka. Sestavljajo ga plošča rombične oblike in dva iz nje izhajajoča izrastka. Trije robovi plošče so razmeroma dobro ohranjeni, četrti je bolj poškodovan. Površini plošče sta hrapavi, preostale površine so razmeroma gladke.

Hrapava površina nastane v ulivnem lijaku med ohlajanjem litine. Na prvi fotografiji levo zgoraj (*sl. 3:* a) se vidi, da sta levi izrastek in plošča v dveh plasteh, kar je verjetno posledica naknadnega dodajanja zlitine v kalup. Izrastka sta potemtakem pozitiva ulivnih kanalov, cel predmet pa del ulivnega sistema (slov. *prilitek;* nem. *Gusszapfen;* angl. *sprue*).[134]

Po tipologiji Bianke Nessel sodi v skupino prilitkov, ki so nastali pri ulivanju tulastih predmetov. Natančneje, gre za prilitke, nastale v kalupih, pri katerih so bili ulivni kanali nad glavo jedra.[135] Navpični pozitivi ulivnih kanalov imajo v preseku obliko črke D in so v primerjavi z drugimi tipi razmeroma široki. Prilitki te vrste so med Baltikom in Karpati redki, nastali pa so skoraj izključno pri ulivanju tulastih sekir.[136]

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[113] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, t. 92: 4.

[114] Petrescu-Dîmbovița, 1978, 132–135, t. 205: 1242,1245.

[115] Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1998, 183, t. 158: 2262–160: 2319.

[116] Drechsler-Bižić 1983, 263, t. 39: 3; Čović 1965, 64, sl. 2; t. 2: 2; Čović 1983, 424, sl. 28: 10; t. 62: 7.

[117] Batović 1983, 339–340, sl. 21: 11; t. 48: 17,18.

[118] Batović 1983, 311, sl. 20: 16; t. 44: 13–15; Blečić Kavur 2014, 82, sl. 19: 2,3,9; 46.

[119] Mihovilić 1972, 46, t. 8: 5–7; 13: 5; Mihovilić 2001, 56–57; Mihovilić 2013, 134, sl. 75.

[120] Garašanin 1983, 792, t. 109: 9,10.

[121] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178–196, t. 80: 114,115; Turk 1996, 108.

[122] Bulat 1973–1975, 26, t. 12: 9–16.

[123] Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 93 št. 192.

[124] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 186, t. 44: 12–14.

[125] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 186, t. 76: 24.

[126] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, t. 79: 9.

[127] Garašanin 1975, 92 št. 24–26, t. 79: 15,16,27.

[128] Mozsolics 2000, 51–52, t. 45: 13.

[129] Kilian-Dirlmeier 1975, 114, t. 49: 470.

[130] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, t. 92: 28.

[131] Mozsolics 1985, 168–169, t. 106: 20.

[132] Popović 1994a, 19 št. 117, t. 19: 1; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1.

[133] Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1996, 37–42, 64; t. 103: 59–107: 120.

[134] Na to možnost sta opozorila Peter Turk in Andrej Preložnik, za kar se jima najlepše zahvaljujeva.

[135] Nessel 2012, 147 "Gusszapfen von über dem Gusskern(kopf) gelegenem Eingusskanälen".

[136] Nessel 2012, 147–148, 157 Anhang, sl. 3.

Sl. 3: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Ostanek ulivnega sistema, prilitek. Pogledi z različnih zornih kotov.
Fig. 3: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. The remnant of gating system, sprue. Views from different angles.

Surovina

Večji del k teži depoja prinese surovina, ki je pogost spremljevalec predmetov v depojih. Ločimo lahko dve vrsti ingotov, planokonveksne (*t. 10:* 6–9; *11; 12*) in paličaste (*t. 9:* 2,3). 43 kosov planokonveksnih ingotov in bakrene surovine tehta 7.260 g, dva paličasta ingota 81,5 g, 12 okruškov bakrenih ingotov pa 4,5 g. Skupaj torej 7.346 g.

Planokonveksni ingoti so prisotni predvsem v depojih iz starejšega obdobja kulture žarnih grobišč.[137] Enako velja za paličaste ingote trikotnega preseka (*t. 9:* 3), ki jih dobimo npr. v depoju iz okolice Bonyháda[138] ter v depojih Futog,[139] Márok,[140] Kemecse III,[141] Szárazd I,[142] Beremend,[143] Uioara de Sus[144] in Guşteriţa II.[145] V zadnjih dveh so tudi ingoti pravokotnega preseka z dvema usločenima stranicama (*t. 9:* 2).[146]

ZAKLJUČEK

Predmeti iz depoja so bili izdelani v delavnicah zahodnobalkansko-karpatskega proizvodnega kroga, saj smo primerjave za vse predmete našli v Karpatski kotlini in na zahodnem Balkanu, predvsem v depojih z območja med Blatnim jezerom, Donavo in Savo ter jugovzhodnimi obronki Alp. V *tabeli 1* je prikazana zastopanost predmetov iz depoja Gorenji Suhadol v depojih iz Karpatske kotline in obrobja, v katerih so najmanj trije našim primerljivi predmeti. Po številu primerljivih predmetov je v ospredju depo Brodski Varoš z dvanajstimi, sledijo depoji Márok z devetimi, Poljanci II z osmimi, depoji Guşteriţa II, Uioara de Sus in Hočko Pohorje s po sedmimi, vrsta depojev s šestimi itd. Od slovenskih sta v tabeli še depoja Jurka vas in Debeli vrh pri Predgradu s štirimi oz. tremi primerljivimi predmeti.

Najstarejša predmeta v depoju sta odlomek sekire z robniki (*t. 1:* 2) in srednjebronastodobni podkvasti obesek iz belega brona (*t. 6:* 14). V zgodnjo fazo KŽG je datirana plavutasta sekira (*t. 1:* 1). Sicer pa analiza drugih predmetov kaže precejšno časovno homogenost, saj smo primerjave za večino predmetov našli v depojih druge stopnje kulture žarnih grobišč. V Sloveniji je to horizont II,[147] na Hrvaškem faza II oz. horizont Veliko Nabrđe,[148] v Srbiji faza II,[149] na Madžarskem horizont Kurd[150] in v Romuniji stopnja Suseni.[151] Od tega časovnega okvira navzdol odstopa tulasto dleto (*t. 2:* 5); ustrezni primerjavi ima v dveh mlajših depojih, od katerih je depo Vel'ký Berezný (Mukačevo II)[152] datiran previsoko (Ha A2). V depoju so namreč tudi tri sekire s podobnim okrasom, kot je na dletu. Enako oz. podobno okrašene sekire se pojavljajo v depojih stopnje Ha B1, npr. Miljana,[153] Celldömölk-Sághegy II,[154] Csorvas,[155] Mezőkővesd-okolica,[156] Nyíregyháza-Őrház,[157] Rohod-Somogyi IV,[158]

[137] Hansen 1994, 230–232.
[138] Mozsolics 1985, 102–104, t. 39: 4.
[139] Borić 1997, 59, 71, t. 17: 373,376.
[140] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, t. 95: 9.
[141] Mozsolics 1985, 132–134, t. 187: 7.
[142] Mozsolics 1985, 188–189, t. 27: 12.
[143] Mozsolics 1985, 95–96, t. 254: 11,14.
[144] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978, 132–135, t. 208: 1474,1477,1478.
[145] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978, 120–122, t. 118A: 370,372.
[146] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978, 120–122, t. 118A: 371; Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978, 132–135, t. 208: 1468.
[147] Turk 1996.
[148] Vinski-Gasparini 1973; Vinski-Gasparini 1983.
[149] Vasić 1982.
[150] Mozsolics 1985.
[151] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978.
[152] Borkovskyj 1934, 102, t. 6: 4,4a; Kobal' 2000, 88, t. 77C: 6.
[153] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 182, t. 112: 7.
[154] Mozsolics 2000, 37–38, t. 8: 4; 9: 2,3,5,7.
[155] Mozsolics 2000, 39–40, t. 23: 5.
[156] Mozsolics 2000, 56–57, t. 53: 4.
[157] Mozsolics 2000, 62, t. 86: 4.
[158] Mozsolics 2000, 69–70, t. 82: 4.

	Brodski Varoš (HR)	Márok (H)	Poljanci II (HR)	Gușterița II (RO)	Uioara de Sus (RO)	Hočko Pohorje (SI)	Budinšćina (HR)	Dobrinci (SRB)	Bingula-Divoš (SRB)	Šiča/Lučica (HR)	Veliko Nabrđe (HR)	Poljanci I (HR)	Balatonkiliti II (H)	Jurka vas (SI)	Keszőhidegkút (H)	Debeli vrh pri Predgradom (SI)	Gornji Slatinik (HR)	Kisaspati (H)	Nova Bingula (SRB)	Pričac (HR)
Število primeljivih različic / No. of comparable variants	12	9	8	7	7	7	6	6	6	6	6	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
Srp / Sickle 3.E.1.Y.1a (*t. / Pl. 4:* 3)	•		•			•	•	•		•	•		•	•	•	•				
Srp / Sickle 3.A.1.Lf1.1b,c (*t. / Pl. 4:* 5,6; *5:* 3)			•	•	•			•		•	•	•					•	•	•	•
Srp / Sickle 3.A.1.1b (*t. / Pl. 4:* 2)	•		•	•	•															
Srp / Sickle 2.a.0.1.m.1 (*t. / Pl. 5:* 1)				•																
Srp / Sickle 2.C.0.m.1a (*t. / Pl. 4:* 1)													•							
Tulasta sekira / Socketed axe D2m (*t. / Pl. 1:* 4)	•	•				•	•	•	•		•		•	•		•		•		
Spiralna narokvica / Spiral armlet (*t. / Pl. 8:* 1–5)		•	•			•			•	•			•					•		
Zap. s spir. uvitima koncema tord. / Twisted bracelet with spiral ends (*t. / Pl. 7:* 8)		•				•		•		•		•								•
Bodalo / Dagger (*t. / Pl. 3:* 8)	•	•				•				•				•						
Okrasna plošča / Decorative plate (*t. / Pl. 9:* 1)	•		•				•				•					•				
Igla / Pin (*t. / Pl. 6:* 11)	•										•	•					•			
Kolobar s prečko / Ring with crossbar (*t. / Pl. 6:* 18,19)	•		•			•		•	•											
Spirala fibule / Fibula spiral (*t. / Pl. 9:* 4–8)			•			•	•				•									
Pločevina z bunčicami / Bronze sheet with bosses (*t. / Pl. 9:* 11,12)		•						•	•											
Obesek / Pendant B 3 (*t. / Pl. 6:* 12)	•																•		•	
Trilistni obesek / »Three leaf« pendant (*t. / Pl. 6:* 15–17)	•		•						•			•								
Dvojna zakovica / Double rivet (*t. / Pl. 6:* 9)	•											•								•
Tulasta sekira s tremi bunčicami / Socketed axe with three bulges (*t. / Pl. 2:* 2)							•								•					
Sedmogr. tulasta sekira / Transylvanian socketed axe B1, B6 (*t. / Pl. 2:* 1)				•	•															
Narokvica z lastovičjim repom / Armlet with swallowtail (*t. / Pl. 8:* 8)		•			•															
Trak. ploč. zap. z girlandami / Bronze sheet bracelets with garlands (*t. / Pl. 8:* 10)		•					•													
Zap. s spir. uvitima koncema glad. / Plain bracelet with spiral ends (*t. / Pl. 7:* 9,10)									•	•					•					
Paličasti ingot / Bar-shaped ingot 1 (*t. / Pl. 9:* 2)		•		•	•															
Paličasti ingot / Bar-shaped ingot 2 (*t. / Pl. 9:* 3)				•	•															
Aplika z dvojnim predrtjem / Applique with a double piercing (*t. / Pl. 6:* 23–29)	•																			
Šivanka / Needle (*t. / Pl. 6:* 10)																			•	
Narebrena narokvica / Ribbed armlet (*t. / Pl. 8:* 11,12)	•	•		•	•									•	•					

Tab. 1: Predmeti iz depoja Gorenji Suhadol in primerjave zanje v nekaterih depojih Karpatske kotline in obrobja.
Table 1: Objects from the Gorenji Suhadol hoard and comparisons to them in some hoards from the Carpathian Basin and its periphery.

Románd,[159] Sarkad[160] itd. V prid mlajše datacije depoja Vel'ký Berezný govori tudi nož z okrašenim tulastim nastavkom za ročaj.[161] Kot je torej videti, so v našem depoju zbrani predmeti iz vsaj štirih stoletij, zakopani pa so bili v Ha B1 oz. okvirno v 10. st. pr. n. št.

Depo se s svojo lego na severnem pobočju Gorjancev vklaplja v verigo osmih depojev, ki z lego v bližini Krke povezujejo Brežiška vrata z Ljubljansko kotlino. Poleg depojev prisotnost človeka ob tej naravni komunikaciji v bronasti dobi dokazujejo še posamezne najdbe, naselja in grobišča.[162]

[159] Mozsolics 2000, 70–72, t. 84: 17.

[160] Mozsolics 2000, 73, t. 89: 2.

[161] Prüssing 1982, 145–155.

[162] Pavlin *et al.* 2019, sl. 5; http://arkas.zrc-sazu.si/arkas_v2.php (gumb Bronasta doba). Dodajamo leta 2021 odkriti depo Vodice-Na Klanem pri Mali Rački. Za informacijo se zahvaljujem Petru Turku.

KATALOG

Okrajšave: APD = Križ *et al.* 2009; dolž. = dolžina (navedena je največja dolžina predmeta); inv. št. = inventarna številka; odl. = odlomek; t. = teža

Tabla 1

1. Bronasta plavutasta sekira. Dolž. 19,5 cm; t. 593,5 g; inv. št. P 3737; APD, sl. 3: i.
2. Odl. temena bronaste sekire z robniki. Dolž. 3,4 cm; t. 25 g; inv. št. P 3745; APD, sl. 3: b.
3. Odl. ustja tulaste sekire. Dolž. 2,6 cm; t. 10 g; inv. št. P 3744; APD, sl. 3: e.
4. Bronasta tulasta sekira z visečima trikotnikoma. Na bokih sta dve luknjici. V tulu sekire tičita najmanj dva odlomka surovine. Dolž. 15,1 cm; t. 554,5 g; inv. št. P 3740; APD, sl. 3: f.

Tabla 2

1. Bronasta tulasta sekira z ušescem. Dolž. 11,1 cm; t. 250,5 g; inv. št. P 3738; APD, sl. 3: h.
2. Bronasta tulatsta sekira z visečim Y ornamentom in tremi bučicami. Dolž. 10,8 cm; t. 142,5 g; inv. št. P 3739; APD, sl. 3: g.
3. Odl. rezila sekire. Dolž. 5,5 cm; t. 102,5 g; inv. št. P 3743; APD, sl. 3: c.
4. Odl. fasetiranega rezila sekire. Dolž. 5,7 cm; t. 118 g; inv. št. P 3742; APD, sl. 3: a.
5. Bronasto tulasto dleto z okrasom dvojnih psevdoplavuti. Dolž. 9,7 cm; t. 176,5 g; inv. št. P 3741; APD, sl. 3: d.

Tabla 3

Odl. ročaja bronastega jezičastoročajnega meča s štirimi luknjami. Dolž. 6,8 cm; t. 35,5 g; inv. št. P 3766; APD, sl. 7: b.

2. Odl. rezila bronastega meča. Dolž. 4,2 cm; t. 7,5 g; inv. št. P 3754; APD, sl. 5: a.
3. Odl. ročajne plošče in rezila bronastega meča. Na obeh straneh je sredina stopničasto dvignjena, presek je lečast. Dolž. 8,7 cm; t. 61 g; inv. št. P 3765; APD, sl. 7: a.
4. Odl. rezila bronastega meča. Na obeh straneh je sredina stopničasto dvignjena, presek je lečast. Dolž. 17 cm; t. 204,5 g; inv. št. P 3763; APD, sl. 7: d.
5. Odl. rezila bronastega meča. Na obeh straneh je sredina stopničasto dvignjena, presek je lečast. Dolž. 13,2 cm; t. 100 g; inv. št. P 3764; APD, sl. 7: c.
6. Odl. rezila bronastega meča. Dolž. 2,7 cm; t. 5 g; inv. št. P7243.
7. Odl. bronastega bodala s trnastim nastavkom za držaj, ki se zaključi z obročkom. Dolž. 10,2 cm; t. 41,5 g; inv. št. P 3761; APD, sl. 8: b.
8. Bronasto jezičastoročajno bodalo z dvema luknjama v ročaju. V spodnji luknji tiči zakovica. Dolž. 20,7 cm; t. 65 g; inv. št. P 3759; APD, sl. 8: d.

Tabla 4

1. Bronast jezičastoročajni srp različice 2.C.0.m.1a. Ročajni rebri in začetek hrbtnega rebra so okrašena z jamicami. Dolž. 19,4 cm; t. 161,5 g; inv. št. P 3722; APD, sl. 2: o.
2. Odl. bronastega jezičastoročajnega srpa različice 3.A.1.1b. Dolž. 9,6 cm; t. 48,5 g; inv. št. P 3729; APD, sl. 2: m.
3. Fragmentiran bronast jezičastoročajni srp različice 3.E.1.Y.1a. Notranje in zunanje ročajno rebro sta okrašeni z jamicami. Dolž. 15,5 cm; t. 89 g; inv. št. P 3726; APD, sl. 2: l.
4. Odl. bronastega jezičastoročajnega srpa različice 5.A.0.Cr3.1b. Dolž. 11,8 cm; t. 49 g; inv. št. P 3728; APD, sl. 2: j.
5. Fragmentiran bronast jezičastoročajni srp različice 3.A.1.Lf1.1c. Ročajna rebra so okrašena z jamicami. Dolž. 17,2 cm; t. 101,5 g; inv. št. P 3725; APD, sl. 2: i.
6. Fragmentiran bronast jezičastoročajni srp različice 3.A.1.Lf1.1b. Dolž. 14,4 cm; t. 59 g; inv. št. P 3723; APD, sl. 2: b.

Tabla 5

1. Fragmentiran bronast jezičastoročajni srp različice 2.a.0.m.1. Dolž. 15 cm; t. 92,5 g; inv. št. P 3724; APD, sl. 2: g.
2. Odl. ročaja bronastega srpa. Dolž. 3,6 cm; t. 10,5 g; inv. št. P 7237.
3. Fragmentiran bronast jezičastoročajni srp različice 3.A.1.Lf1.1c. Zunanje ročajno rebro in začetek hrbtnega rebra sta okrašena z jamicami. Dolž. 14,1 cm; t. 63,5 g; inv. št. P 3727; APD, sl. 2: e.
4. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 9,6 cm; t. 52 g; inv. št. P 3730; APD, sl. 2: n.
5. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 8,9 cm; t. 29 g; inv. št. P 3731; APD, sl. 2: k.
6. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 6,8 cm; t. 28 g; inv. št. P 3732; APD, sl. 2: h.

7. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 6,7 cm; t. 40 g; inv. št. P 3735; APD, sl. 2: f.
8. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 6,3 cm; t. 29 g; inv. št. P 3733; APD, sl. 2: d.
9. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 5,4 cm; t. 24 g; inv. št. P 7236.
10. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 4,6 cm; t. 16 g; inv. št. P 7268; APD, sl. 8: a.
11. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 3,3 cm; t. 3,5 g; inv. št. P 3748.
12. Odl. konice rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 6,3 cm; t. 6,5 g; inv. št. P 3760; APD, sl. 8: c.
13. Odl. konice rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 7,4 cm; t. 24 g; inv. št. P 3734; APD, sl. 2: a.
14. Odl. konice rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 7,2 cm; t. 18,5 g; inv. št. P 3762; APD, sl. 8: a.
15. Odl. konice rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 3,7 cm; t. 12,5 g; inv. št. P 3736; APD, sl. 2: c.
16. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 6 cm; t. 11,5 g; inv. št. P 7238.
17. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 4,7 cm; t. 4,5 g; inv. št. P 7239.
18. Odl. rezila bronastega srpa. Dolž. 2,5 cm; t. 1,5 g; inv. št. P 7240.

Tabla 6

1. Odl. ulitega predmeta konične oblike s trapezastim presekom. Dolž. 6,4 cm; t. 11,5 g; inv. št. P 3749; APD, sl. 4: h.
2. Odl. lista bronaste sulične osti. Dolž. 5,8 cm; t. 15,5 g; inv. št. P 3753; APD, sl. 5: b.
3. Odl. tula bronaste sulične osti. Dolž. 3,2 cm; t. 8 g; inv. št. P 7242.
4. Odl. bronaste pločevine. Dolž. 4,1 cm; t. 2 g; inv. št. P 3746; APD, sl. 4: e.
5. Odl. bronaste pločevine. Dolž. 2,1 cm; t. 1 g; inv. št. P 7267.
6. Odl. ulitega predmeta konične oblike s pravokotnim presekom. Dolž. 5 cm; t. 14,5 g; inv. št. P 3755; APD, sl. 4: f.
7. Odl. rezila bronastega bodala (?). Dolž. 4,3 cm; t. 4 g; inv. št. P 7241.
8. Odl. bronaste falere (?). Dolž. 7,4 cm; t. 20,5 g; inv. št. P 3750; APD, sl. 4: a.
9. Bronasta zakovica. Dolž. 5,5 cm; t. 8 g; inv. št. P 3768; APD, sl. 10: a.
10. Bronasta šivanka. Dolž. 9,2 cm; t. 4 g; inv. št. P 7244.
11. Glava bronaste igle z bikonično, drobno narebreno glavo. Dolž. 2 cm; t. 12 g; inv. št. P 3767; APD, sl. 10: b.
12. Lijakasti obesek iz belega brona (gl. op. 57), cevka je zgoraj odebeljena in vodoravno razčlenjena. Dolž. 5,3 cm; t. 6 g; inv. št. P 3780; APD, sl. 13: b.
13. Lijakasti obesek iz belega brona, ki se zgoraj zaključuje z dvema antitetično postavljenima ptičjima glavama. Dolž. 4 cm; t. 15,5 g; inv. št. P 3779; APD, sl. 13: a.
14. Odl. podkvastega obeska iz belega brona. Dolž. 2,9 cm; t. 2,5 g; inv. št. P 7245.
15. Odl. „trilistnega“ obeska iz belega brona. Dolž. 4 cm; t. 2,5 g; inv. št. P 3775; APD, sl. 11: e.
16. Odl. „trilistnega“ (?) obeska iz belega brona. Dolž. 3,4 cm; t. 3 g; inv. št. P 3769; APD, sl. 11: f.
17. Odl. „trilistnega“ (?) obeska iz belega brona. Dolž. 3,4 cm; t. 3 g; inv. št. P 3770; APD, sl. 11: g.
18. Kolobar s prečko iz belega brona. Dolž. 2,6 cm; t. 1,5 g; inv. št. P 3771; APD, sl. 11: d.
19. Kolobar s prečko iz belega brona. Dolž. 2,6 cm; t. 2 g; inv. št. P 3772; APD, sl. 11: c.
20. Fragmentirana aplika iz belega brona v obliki črke H. Dolž. 2,7 cm; t. 2,5 g; inv. št. P 7248.
21. Fragmentirana aplika iz belega brona v obliki črke H. Dolž. 2,7 cm; t. 2 g; inv. št. P 7247.
22. Aplika iz belega brona v obliki črke H. Dolž. 3 cm; t. 2,5 g; inv. št. P 7246.
23. Odl. aplike iz belega brona v obliki črke H. Dolž. 2,2 cm; t. 1,5 g; inv. št. P 7253.
24. Elipsoidna aplika iz belega brona z dvojnim pravokotnim predrtjem. Dolž. 3,5 cm; t. 2,5 g; inv. št. P 3773; APD, sl. 11: b.
25. Fragmentirana elipsoidna aplika iz belega brona z dvojnim pravokotnim predrtjem. Dolž. 3,4 cm; t. 2 g; inv. št. P 3774; APD, sl. 11: a.
26. Elipsoidna aplika iz belega brona z dvojnim pravokotnim predrtjem. Dolž. 3,3 cm; t. 2,5 g; inv. št. P 7249.
27. Odl. elipsoidne aplike iz belega brona z dvojnim pravokotnim predrtjem. Dolž. 2,3 cm; t. 0,5 g; inv. št. P 7251.
28. Odl. elipsoidne aplike iz belega brona z dvojnim pravokotnim predrtjem. Dolž. 2,1 cm; t. 0,5 g; inv. št. P 7250.
29. Odl. elipsoidne aplike iz belega brona z dvojnim pravokotnim predrtjem. Dolž. 1,4 cm; t. 0,5 g; inv. št. P 7252.

Tabla 7

1. Odl. bronaste ovratnice. Dolž. 3,7 cm; t. 13 g; inv. št. P 7263.
2. Odl. bronaste ovratnice. Dolž. 7,2 cm; t. 20,5 g; inv. št. P 3757; APD, sl. 6: b.
3. Odl. bronaste tordirane ovratnice s spiralno uvitim koncem. Dolž. 6,5 cm; t. 13,5 g; inv. št. P 3777; APD, sl. 12: a.
4. Odl. bronaste ovratnice s spiralno uvitim koncem, okrašene s snopi prečnih črtic. Dolž. 6,4 cm; t. 17 g; inv. št. P 3776; APD, sl. 12: c.
5. Odl. bronaste ovratnice s spiralno uvitim koncem. Dolž. 4,8 cm; t. 3,5 g; inv. št. P 3778; APD, sl. 12: b.
6. Odl. bronaste ovratnice s spiralno uvitim koncem. Dolž. 6,2 cm; t. 4 g; inv. št. P 7254.
7. Odl. bronaste tordirane ovratnice. Dolž. 4,3 cm; t. 5 g; inv. št. P 7260.
8. Odl. bronaste tordirane zapestnice s spiralno uvitim koncem. Dolž. 2,2 cm; t. 2 g; inv. št. P 7255.
9. Fragmentirana bronasta zapestnica. Dolž. 5,8 cm; t. 6 g; inv. št. P 4315; APD, sl. 15: t.
10. Fragmentirana bronasta zapestnica. Dolž. 6 cm; t. 5 g; inv. št. P 4314; APD, sl. 15: u.
11. Odl. bronaste zapestnice D-preseka. Dolž. 5 cm; t. 4 g; inv. št. P 4317; APD, sl. 15: l.
12. Dva odlomka bronastega obroča. Dolž. 3 cm; t. 0,5 g; inv. št. P 4320.
13. Odl. bronaste zapestnice, okrašene s poševnimi črticami v obliki smrekove vejice. Dolž. 6 cm; t. 3 g; inv. št. P 4318; APD, sl. 15: k.
14. Odl. bronaste zapestnice, okrašene s tremi prečnimi črtami in dvema pasovoma poševnih črt. Dolž. 3,4 cm; t. 1,5 g; inv. št. P 7262.

15. Odl. bronaste ovratnice, okrašene s snopi prečnih črt in poševnimi črticami v obliki smrekove vejice. Dolž. 7,4 cm; t. 4 g; inv. št. P 4319; APD, sl. 15: r.
16. Odl. bronastega obroča lečastega preseka. Dolž. 5 cm; t. 4,5 g; inv. št. P 7256.
17. Odl. bronastega obroča lečastega preseka. Dolž. 5,9 cm; t. 2,5 g; inv. št. P 4313; APD, sl. 15: m.
18. Odl. bronastega obroča lečastega preseka. Dolž. 5,3 cm; t. 3 g; inv. št. P 7261.
19. Odl. bronastega obroča lečastega preseka. Dolž. 6,7 cm; t. 6 g; inv. št. P 4312; APD, sl. 15: p.

Tabla 8

1. Odl. bronaste pločevinaste spiralne narokvice, okrašen s kratkimi poševnimi zarezami. Dolž. 14 cm; t. 8 g; inv. št. P 4308; APD, sl. 15: f.
2. Odl. bronaste pločevinaste spiralne narokvice, okrašen s kratkimi poševnimi zarezami. Dolž. 7,7 cm; t. 4 g; inv. št. P 4310; APD, sl. 15: j.
3. Odl. bronaste pločevinaste spiralne narokvice, okrašen s kratkimi poševnimi zarezami. Dolž. 9 cm; t. 7 g; inv. št. P 4309; APD, sl. 15: i.
4. Odl. bronaste pločevinaste spiralne narokvice, okrašen s kratkimi poševnimi zarezami in pikami. Dolž. 3,5 cm; t. 0,5 g; inv. št. P 7259.
5. Spiralni zaključek bronaste pločevinaste spiralne narokvice, okrašen s kratkimi poševnimi zarezami in pikami. Dolž. 2,5 cm; t. 1,5 g; inv. št. P 7257.
6. Odl. bronaste pločevinaste spiralne narokvice, okrašen s kratkimi poševnimi zarezami. Dolž. 6,5 cm; t. 12,5 g; inv. št. P 4306; APD, sl. 15: b.
7. Pločevinasta bronasta narokvica, okrašena z dvema vrstama drobnih iztolčenih bunčic. Dolž. 6,2 cm; t. 12 g; inv. št. P 4305; APD, sl. 15: g.
8. Odl. bronaste ulite narokvice, okrašen s tremi pasovi plastičnih reber, srednji pas je na koncu razcepljen v obliki lastovičjega repa. Dolž. 6,1 cm; t. 10 g; inv. št. P 4303; APD, sl. 15: c.
9. Odl. bronaste pločevinaste narokvice, okrašen z vtolčenimi pikicami in na ohranjenemu robu s poševnimi zarezami. Dolž. 6,5 cm; t. 16 g; inv. št. P 4304; APD, sl. 15: e.
10. Odl. bronaste pločevinaste narokvice, okrašen z vtolčenimi pikicami in na robovih s poševnimi zarezami. Dolž. 2,9 cm; t. 3,5 g; inv. št. P 4307; APD, sl. 15: h.
11. Bronasta ulita vodoravno narebrena narokvica. Dolž. 6,1 cm; t. 38 g; inv. št. P 4301; APD, sl. 15: a.
12. Fragmentirana bronasta ulita vodoravno narebrena narokvica. Dolž. 5,3 cm; t. 21 g; inv. št. P 4302; APD, sl. 15: d.

Tabla 9

1. Okrasna plošča iz belega brona. Dolž. 19,4 cm; t. 209,5 g; inv. št. P 3721; APD, sl. 1.
2. Odl. paličastega ingota. Dolž. 3,6 cm; t. 9 g; inv. št. P 3758; APD, sl. 6: a.
3. Bronast paličasti ingot. Dolž. 18 cm; t. 72,5 g; inv. št. P 3756; APD, sl. 06: c.
4. Odl. bronaste žice uvite v spiralo. Dolž. 2,7 cm; t. 7 g; inv. št. P 4298; APD, sl. 16: a.
5. Odl. bronaste žice uvite v spiralo. Dolž. 2,8 cm; t. 5 g; inv. št. P 4300; APD, sl. 16: c leva.
6. Odl. bronaste žice uvite v spiralo. Dolž. 2,5 cm; t. 5,5 g; inv. št. P 4299; APD, sl. 16: b.
7. Odl. bronaste žice uvite v spiralo. Dolž. 2,7 cm; t. 5 g; inv. št. P 7269; APD, sl. 16: c desna.
8. Odl. bronaste žice uvite v spiralo. Dolž. 5 cm; t. 8 g; inv. št. P 7264.
9. Odl. gladke bronaste pločevine. Dolž. 3,4 cm; t. 3,5 g; inv. št. P 3781; APD, sl. 14: a.
10. Odl. gladke bronaste pločevine. Dolž. 3,3 cm; t. 2 g; inv. št. P 3782; APD, sl. 14: b.
11. Odl. bronaste pločevine okrašene z dvema vrstama iztolčenih bunčic. Dolž. 6,7 cm; t. 5 g; inv. št. P 3720; APD, sl. 14: d.
12. Odl. bronaste pločevine, okrašene z dvema vrstama iztolčenih bunčic in tremi koncentričnimi krogci s piko. Dolž. 6 cm; t. 6,5 g; inv. št. P 3719; APD, sl. 14: c.
13. Odl. bronaste dvorezne britve (?). Dolž. 2,6 cm; t. 2,5 g; inv. št. P 3751; APD, sl. 4: d.
14. Odl. rezila britve (?). Dolž. 4,1 cm; t. 8 g; inv. št. P 3747; APD, sl. 4: c.
15. Ostanek ulivnega sistema. Dolž. 4,7 cm; t. 62 g; inv. št. P 3752; APD, sl. 04: b.

Tabla 10

1. Bronast obroč lečastega preseka iz belega brona. Premer: 7,6 cm; t. 20,5 g; inv. št. P 4311; APD, sl. 15: s.
2. Kos bronaste žice okroglega preseka. Dolž. 8 cm; t. 7,5 g; inv. št. P 4316; APD, sl. 15: n.
3. Kos bronaste žice pravokotnega preseka. Dolž. 5,4 cm; t. 2,5 g; inv. št. P 7266.
4. Kos bronaste žice zaobljenega preseka. Dolž. 5,9 cm; t. 3 g; inv. št. P 7265.
5. Odl. bronaste pločevinaste zapestnice (?). Dolž. 2,1 cm; t. 1 g; inv. št. P 7258.
6. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 11,5 cm; t. 373 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
7. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 7,9 cm; t. 432,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
8. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 10,5 cm; t. 1145,5g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
9. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 12,4 cm; t. 1804 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.

Tabla 11

1. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 7,2 cm; t. 253,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
2. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 6,5 cm; t. 321 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
3. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 6,1 cm; t. 1989,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
4. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 5,6 cm; t. 215,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
5. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4,9 cm; t. 131,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
6. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 5,4 cm; t. 210 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
7. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 5,6 cm; t. 175 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
8. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 5,6 cm; t. 211 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
9. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 6,1 cm; t. 113 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.

10. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4,9 cm; t. 125,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
11. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4,7 cm; t. 178,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
12. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 5,1 cm; t. 249,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
13. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 5 cm; t. 56,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
14. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4,3 cm; t. 76,6 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
15. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4,6 cm; t. 121 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
16. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 5,2 cm; t. 141 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.

Tabla 12

1. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4 cm; t. 53 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
2. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4,7 cm; t. 87 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
3. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4,5 cm; t. 99,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
4. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 5 cm; t. 62,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
5. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 5,3 cm; t. 40 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
6. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4,5 cm; t. 51,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
7. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 3,8 cm; t. 47 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
8. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 3,5 cm; t. 30 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
9. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 3,7 cm; t. 37 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
10. Odl. bakrene surovine. Dolž. 3,4 cm; t. 17,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
11. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 3,2 cm; t. 44 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
12. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 4,1 cm; t. 20 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
13. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 2,5 cm; t. 42 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
14. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 2,5 cm; t. 25,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
15. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 2,2 cm; t. 18,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
16. Odl. bakrene surovine. Dolž. 2,5 cm; t. 12 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
17. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 3,8 cm; t. 12,5 g; inv. št. P 4411.
18. Odl. bakrenega planokonveksnega ingota. Dolž. 2,7 cm; t. 10 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
19. Odl. bakrene surovine. Dolž. 1,7 cm; t. 4,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
20. Odl. bakrene surovine. Dolž. 2 cm; t. 5 g; inv. št. P 4411.
21. Odl. bakrene surovine. Dolž. 1,7 cm; t. 4,5 g; inv. št. P 4411.
22. Odl. bakrene surovine. Dolž. 1,6 cm; t. 1 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.
23. Odl. bakrene surovine. Dolž. 1,3 cm; t. 3,5 g; inv. št. P 4411; APD, sl. 9.

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Bronze Age hoard from Gorenji Suhadol in Gorjanci

Translation

The Gorjanci Mountains are located on the southwestern edge of the Pannonian Plain, covering the area between the rivers Sava, Krka, and Kolpa; the highest peak rises in the western part (Trdinov vrh, 1178 m). Politically, it is divided by Croatia and Slovenia. The history of research in this area dates back to the 1980s, when Jernej Pečnik and Ignac Kušljan presented the first reports on archaeological sites and finds. The finds ended up in museums in Vienna and Ljubljana. As part of the project *Fortified prehistoric settlements in Dolenjsko* at the end of the 20th century, the staff of the Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU, the Narodni muzej Slovenije, and ZVKDS OE Novo mesto studied the Gorjanci area topographically and archaeologically examined some of the archaeological sites. From the 1980s until the present, the area has also been interesting for unauthorised collectors and metal seekers.

An overview of the oldest finds from the Gorjanci area is given in the catalogue of the joint Slovenian-Croatian exhibition *Reviving Culture, Archaeological Discoveries in Gorjanci*/Žumber*ak from Prehistory to the Early Middle Ages*.[1] At the time of the preparation of the exhibition, the hoard of Gorenji Suhadol was not yet known. An important and comparable find from this area is the mixed-assemblage hoard from Črmošnjice,[2] which is kept in the Narodni muzej Slovenije. In Gorjanci, there are many discovered and probably

[1] Pirnat-Spahić, Škoberne (eds.) 2002.
[2] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 148-159, Fig. 37; Pls. 51-59; 146-149A.

still undiscovered archaeological sites. Gradec nad Mihovim, Zidani gaber, Trnišča, Cerov log and Camberk should be mentioned here.[3]

In November 2002, a citizen from Loka near Šentjernej brought bronze objects to the Dolenjska Museum in Novo mesto, which he had found during the widening of the forest road in Gorjanci south-east of the village of Gorenji Suhadol. The museum bought 62 bronze objects from the finder. After several inspections of the site, the museum acquired more objects.[4] Today the hoard consists of 176 objects (*Pls. 1–12; Fig. 2*) with a total weight of 11,667 g.

COMPOSITION OF THE HOARD AND TYPOLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE OBJECTS

The larger hoard consists of weapons, tools, jewellery, thin bronze sheets, and ingots and is therefore classified as a hoard of mixed composition. Weapons include daggers, swords, spearheads, and axes. Tools include sickles, (axes), a chisel, and a sewing needle, and jewellery includes torcs, bracelets, buttons, pendants, a belt, a pin, and a decorative plate. The raw material consists of plano-convex and rod-shaped ingots.

Daggers

There are two daggers in the hoard. The dagger on *Pl. 3:* 8 has two holes in the flanged handle. The wide handle is slightly curved on the sides, and the triangular blade tapers towards the tip and has a diamond-shaped cross-section. With these features, it belongs to the daggers of the Dombovàr type according to Renato Peroni[5] or to the long daggers of the A type, variant 1 according to Tibor Kemenczei, which have one to three rivet holes in the handle. [6] Daggers with a wide handle and two holes are also found, for example, in the Hungarian hoard of the Kurd horizon from Márok,[7] in the Croatian hoards of the second phase of the Urnfield period such as Brodski Varoš,[8] Podcrkavlje-Slavonski Brod[9] and Siča/Lučica,[10] in the hoards of the horizon II from Jurka vas[11] and Hočko Pohorje,[12] and among the finds from Magdalenska gora[13] and Turjeva jama near Robič.[14]

The object on *Pl. 3:* 7 has a massive handle with a diamond-shaped cross-section ending in a ring. It is most likely a fragment of a dagger of the Jorj-Abaúj type. These daggers have a ring at the end of a frame or a massive handle or a full handle with up to three rivet holes. A dagger like ours with a full handle from a grave in Hodonín is dated to the Early Urnfield Period (BA D–Ha A) according to the accompanying material.[15]

Swords

There are six fragments of swords in the hoard (*Pl. 3:* 1–6). One is a part of the hilt, four are the middle parts of the blades, and one is a part of the blade with the hilt plate and traces of four rivet holes. All are poorly preserved for typological determination.

Spears

The spear points are represented by a fragment of a blade (*Pl. 6:* 2) and a fragment of a shaft (*Pl. 6:* 3), which are also too poorly preserved for typological determination.

Axes

There are three types of axes in the hoard: flanged axes, winged axes, and socketed axes. The preserved part of the flanged axe is a butt, with a notch (*Pl. 1:* 2). The fragment is too modest for a typological definition. One winged axe (*Pl. 1:* 1) and three socketed axes of different sizes are completely preserved (*Pls. 1:* 4; *2:* 1,2). From one axe, only a part of the mouth of the socket

[3] Dular 1997; Dular 2008; Dular 2021; Križ 2021; Udovč 2014, 26–31; Udovč 2018, 77–90; Knific, Nabergoj 2016, 39–94.

[4] Križ, Stipančić 2006, 61–62; Križ *et. al.* 2009, 226–230; Dular 2021, 851 Cat. No. 407 – under the name Kopinatova hosta. At this point, we should point out the incorrect localisation of the hoard in Dular's publication (Dular 2021, Fig. 407/1). It was brought to our attention by the author, who provided us with a new map section (*Fig. 1*) after he and Borut Križ verified the location of the hoard in the field.

[5] Peroni 1956, 71, 87, Pl. 1: 17.

[6] Kemenczei 1988, 23–24,26, Pl. 7: 71,77.

[7] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, Pl. 91: 10.

[8] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 212, Pl. 55: 7.

[9] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 217, Pl. 66: 12.

[10] Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 62, Pl. 2: 16.

[11] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 199, Pls. 89: 7; 160: 31; Turk 1996, 110.

[12] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178–197, Pls. 75: 24; 153: 10; Turk 1996, 110.

[13] Šinkovec 1995, 97–98, Pl. 27: 190.

[14] Šinkovec 1995, 221, Pl. 142A: 2.

[15] Peroni 1956, 71, Pl. 1: 20; Novák 2011, 108–109, Pl. 38: 251–253.

is preserved (*Pl. 1:* 3) and from the other two the lower part of the blade with cutting edge (*Pl. 2:* 3,4).

The axe on *Pl. 1:* 1 has median wings. On the butt there is a wide, shallow notch. Based on these two features, it is a winged axe of the Freudenberg type. Since it has a broader body, it can be assigned either to the Elixhausen variant, especially the axes from Wels and Zöbern, or to the Retz variant, of which ours similar are axes from Linz-Kleinmünchen, Bad Ausee and Stadelbach. In the case of the axes mentioned, the circumstances of discovery are either unknown, or they are individual finds. The contexts date the axes of both variants to the Early Urnfield Period (BA D). Variants of Elixhausen axes are attested in Bavaria, Salzburg, Upper and Lower Austria, Slovakia, and Slovenia. More widespread are the Retz variants of the axes. In addition to the regions mentioned, they are also found in North and South Tyrol, Austrian Styria, the Czech Republic, Moravia, Hungary, Romania, and Slavonia.[16]

The axe with loop on *Pl. 2:* 1 belongs to the socketed axes of the Transylvanian type, specifically to variant A2 according to Mircea Rusu, who dates them to the Uriu-Domăneşti phase.[17] According to the latest type chronology of Romanian axes, Oliver Dietrich assigns them to type B6, although they could also be classified as type B1. The two types differ in the depth of the lateral curvature of the part of the socket under the mouth (B1 – 'flat or slightly curved', B6 – 'curved'). Axes of both types appear among the material of the early Urnfield period (BA D–Ha A). They are distributed mainly in Romania, in the west single specimens are known also from Serbia and Moravia and in the east from Ukraine.[18]

Another socketed axe (*Pl. 1:* 4) has no loop. Under the thickened mouth of the socket, it has a horizontal plastic rib, from which two ribs forming the letter V hang into each other. According to Dietrich's typology, it is classified as type D2, variant 2m. These axes are found almost exclusively in the hoards of the second phase of the Urnfield period. They are widely distributed in the Carpathian Basin and the Western Balkans. Individual specimens are also found in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, as well as in Ukraine, Austria, and Italy.[19]

The third axe (*Pl. 2:* 2) is also without a loop. Below the solid mouth of the socket is a horizontal plastic rib, from which two oblique ribs hang down, forming a triangle. Another rib runs left and right along the triangle, which is interrupted at the top of the triangle and ends vertically at the end of the second third of the height of the axe. Inside the triangle are three bulges. Peter König collected the axes decorated in this way in the Budinšćina variant. They are restricted to the area between Lake Balaton and the north-eastern Adriatic coast. The sites are concentrated in a relatively small area in eastern Slovenia and north-western Croatia, where half of the eight sites are located, along with ours.[20] Seven axes are from hoards, one is a single find. With the exception of the Belica hoard (Ha A2), they are dated to the second phase of the Urnfield period.[21]

Chisel

On the socket of the chisel (*Pl. 2:* 5), below the mouth, there is a horizontal rib from which two slightly curved oblique ribs extend, forming a triangle. Below the triangle, to the left and right, is a pair of curved, parallel plastic ribs representing wings. An almost identical ornament is found on an Austrian chisel, a water find from Heiligenbrunn.[22] Similarly decorated chisels are known from the Ukrainian hoard Vel'ký Berezný (Mukachevo II), dated to the Suskovo I phase (Ha A2),[23] from the Hungarian hoard Romand,[24] and from Slovakia, one from the settlement Šarovce, settlement attributed to the Čaka culture, the other from an unknown site.[25]

Sickles

The most numerous type of items in the hoard are sickles. Of the twenty-one sickles, one is completely preserved (*Pl. 4:* 1), seven are fragmented (*Pls. 4:* 2–6; *5:* 1,3), fifteen fragments belong to the

[16] Mayer 1977, 130–142, Pls. 35: 514,516; 39: 553,561; 40: 565.

[17] Rusu 1966, 24, Fig. 1.

[18] Dietrich 2021, Type B1: 317–327, 349–350; Type B6: 392–393, 399–400.

[19] Dietrich 2021, 559–564, 580–581.

[20] Teržan 1996, 247 Fn. 23, Fig. 2: triangles; König 2004, 41–42, Pl. 84, List 6; Blečić Kavur 2014, Fig. 53: triangles. The axe from Donja Dolina has a loop.

[21] The decoration on the axe from Belica hoard differs in detail from the others.

[22] Mayer 1977, 220, Pl. 88: 1295.

[23] Borkovskyj 1934, 102, Pl. 6: 4,4a; Kobal' 2000, 88, Pl. 77C: 6.

[24] Mozsolics 2000, 70–73, Pl. 84: 21–23.

[25] Novotná 1970, 70–71, Pl. 26: 449,451.

blades (*Pl. 5:* 4–18) and one to the handle (*Pl. 5:* 2). All the typologically identifiable sickles belong to the group of tanged sickles with spurs and without holes in the tang. Sickles with five, three, and two tang ribs are represented.

The sickle with five tang ribs (*Pl. 4:* 4) belongs to variant 5.A.0.Cr3.1b and is unique thus far.[26]

Five sickles have three tang ribs. In four, the inner tang rib is straight to the dorsal rib, and all have a blade rib. The first (*Pl. 4:* 2) belongs to variant 3.A.1.1b,[27] the second (*Pl. 4:* 6) with a low forked middle tang rib and the concave base of the tang belongs to variant 3.A.1.Lf1.1b.[28] In the third and fourth (*Pls. 4:* 5; *5:* 3), the middle tang rib is low forked at the bottom, and the tang base has a triangular cutout, so they belong to variant 3.A.1.Lf1.1c.[29] In the fifth sickle (*Pl 4:* 3), the inner tang rib turns into the blade and runs parallel to the dorsal rib toward the tip of the sickle. The middle tang rib is split at the top in the shape of the letter Y. With these features, it is classified as variant 3.E.1.Y.1a.[30] Of the sickles with two tang ribs, one (*Pl. 5:* 1) with a short inner tang rib and no preserved tang base belongs to variant 2.a.0.m.1,[31] the other (*Pl. 4:* 1) to variant 2.C.0.m.1a.[32]

The hoards containing the discussed crescent variants are dated to Ha A1 with few exceptions. Their distribution is restricted to the Carpathian Basin and the Western Balkans. All variants of sickles with three tang ribs have their distribution centre west of the Danubian Vertical and in the Western Balkans. The situation is different for sickles with two tang ribs. If the core of distribution of sickles of variants 2.C.0.m.1a,b,d is west of the Danube, the sites of sickles of variants 2.a.0.m.1a,b, with the exception of our sickles, are distributed east of the Danube.

Needle

The needle (*Pl. 6:* 10) has an extension with a rhombic hole moved from the top down, which is typical for the needles of the second group, according to Rastko Vasić. This distinguishes them from the needles of the first group, which have an oval or rectangular perforation at the top.[33] Needles are not commonly found in hoards. Comparisons for our needle can be found, for example, in the Hungarian hoard of the Kurd horizon from Püspökhatvan[34] and in two Serbian hoards of the second phase of the Urnfield period, Nova Bingula[35] and Šetonje.[36] They are found mainly in settlements but also in graves. Besides the needles from the central Balkans, needles from the settlement of the Barice-Gređani group in Slavonski Brod[37] and two from graves on Pobrežje[38] should be mentioned. Another five specimens come from Slovakia, from two settlements and one grave.[39]

Pin

The pin has a flattened biconical head that is horizontally ribbed (*Pl. 6:* 11). Comparable are, for example, needles from the hoards of the second phase between the rivers Sava and Drava Poljanci I,[40] Poljanci IV,[41] Veliko Nabrđe,[42] Brodski Varoš[43] and Gornji Slatinik,[44] as well as the Serbian hoards Šimanovci[45] and Donji Petrovci.[46] Vasić classified the mentioned Serbian pins partly in the group of pins with biconical, horizontally ribbed head, partly in the group of pins with round, horizontally ribbed head, since in his opinion the distinction is often difficult. They occur almost exclusively in hoards of the second phase of the Urnfield period.[47] From Italy, three similar pins, individual finds, from pile dwellings around Lake Garda are assigned to the Cisano type.[48] Five similar pins are known from Slovakia. For four of them the circumstances of being found are unknown, one of them comes from a grave dated to the transition from Ha A to Ha B.[49] Three pins with flattened biconical

[26] Pavlin 2023, 338, Pl. 9: 5.
[27] Pavlin 2023, 363, Pl. 16: 15.
[28] Pavlin 2023, 364, Pl. 16: 20.
[29] Pavlin 2023, 364, Pl. 16: 20.
[30] Pavlin 2023, 383, Pl. 22: 5.
[31] Pavlin 2023, 406, Pl. 26: 7.
[32] Pavlin 2023, 409, Pl. 27: 3.
[33] Vasić 2003, 130–133.

[34] Mozsolics 1985, 178–179, Pl. 140: 20.
[35] Popović 1975b, 37 No. 108, Pl. 35: 4; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1.
[36] Vasić 2003, 47, 132, Pl. 48: 991.
[37] Miklik-Lozuk, Ložnjak Dizdar 2011, 151–167, Figs. on pp. 154, 156, 158.
[38] Pahič 1972, 45–46, Pls. 11: 9; 53; 16: 11.
[39] Novotná 1980, 166–168, Pl. 48: 1121–1125.
[40] Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 83 No. 150; 108 No. 255; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 218, Pl. 48: 13.
[41] Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 108 No. 255.
[42] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 221, Pl. 44: 15.
[43] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 214, Pls. 52: 33; 53: 1,2.
[44] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 221, Pl. 69: 8.
[45] Popović 1975a, 46 No. 66, Pl. 44: 4; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1.
[46] Popović 1994b, 31 Nos. 59–61, Pl. 23: 11-13; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1; see also König 2004, 69–70, List 11, Pl. 90A.
[47] Vasić 2003, 70–74, 76–77.
[48] Carancini 1975, 239, Pl. 54: 1743–1745.
[49] Novotná 1980, 134, Pl. 40: 874–878.

heads are also known from Slovenia. The most similar is the pin from the Bronze Age settlement in Rabelčja vas.[50] The other two differ in decoration from the one above. Both were found in hilltop settlements, one on Korinjski hrib above Veliki Korinj,[51] the other on Semenič above Gaber near Semič.[52]

Pendants

Four objects in the hoard can be considered pendants. The pendants on *Pl. 6:* 12,13 are the funnel pendants. The first one (*Pl. 6:* 12), according to the classification of Katalin Jankovits, belongs to the pendants of variant B 3. These have a lower opening of round or oval shape, the tube is thickened at the top and decorated with horizontal ribs. They are made of white bronze and are found in Hungary only in Transdanubia in the hoards of the Kurd horizon. Outside Transdanubia, they are also found in the Slavonian hoards of Brodski Varoš and Gornji Slatinik, and in the Moravian hoard of Přestavlky.[53] We add a pendant made of white bronze, decorated with three horizontal lines on the top, from the hoard of Poljanci-Donje Polje.[54]

The second funnel-shaped pendant (*Pl. 6:* 13) belongs to variant B 5 according to Jankovits and includes pendants ending with two antithetically arranged bird heads. These are also made of white bronze. The specimens known so far are from the hoards of the Kurd horizon or Suseni phase.[55]

The fragmented pendant (*Pl. 6:* 14) is horseshoe-shaped and has arms with a rhombic cross-section. The central part is vertically pierced. Pendants like this one are made of either common or white bronze. They occur mainly in graves from the Koszider horizon onwards and are especially popular in the younger part of the Tumulus Culture. In the older part of the Urnfield Culture, they are also found in hoards. They are typical for the Carpathian Basin, pendants from Silesia and Moravia come from contexts of the Middle Tumulus Culture and are probably imports.[56]

A fragmented 'three-leaf' pendant (*Pl. 6:* 15), as comparisons from second-phase hoards Poljanci I,[57] Poljanci II,[58] and Bingula-Divoš[59] show, consists of two smaller and one larger ring and was also cast from white bronze.[60] Perhaps they were part of a similar pendant, such as in the hoards Brodski Varoš[61] and Nova Bingula,[62] two rings of white bronze on *Pl. 6:* 16,17.

Double rivet

A double rivet (*Pl. 6:* 9) is a rod of square or round cross-section extended at the ends. The extended ends prevented the two round, perforated lamellae from falling off. The double rivets from the Poljanci I hoard[63] and from a wagon-grave excavated in 1905 at Mengen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany,[64] have a square cross-section like ours. Double rivets with round cross-sections are found in the hoards of the second phase, Brodski Varoš,[65] Pričac,[66] Slavonski Brod-Livadićeva Street No. 7,[67] Šimanovci,[68] in the hoard of the fifth phase Legrad,[69] and in the cited grave from Mengen.[70]

Decorative plate

The round decorative plate (*Pl. 9:* 1) is cast of white bronze. It has a low T-shaped outgrowth on the upper part. The crossbar of the letter T is decorated with vertical grooves and the short vertical part with three horizontal grooves. The round part of the plate has concentric circles and a spike in the centre. An almost perfect counterpart can be found in the hoard of Poljanci II.[71] Also decorated with plastic concentric circles are the preserved parts of plates with a spike from the hoards Debeli vrh near Predgrad,[72] Kurd[73] and

[50] Strmčnik-Gulič 1988–1989, 153, Pl. 4: 25.
[51] Dular *et al.* 1995, 123, Pl. 2: 5.
[52] Dular *et al.* 2002, 177, Fig. 22: 9.
[53] Jankovits 2017, 259–260, 272–273, Pl. 94: 3278–3288.
[54] Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 91 No. 183.
[55] Jankovits 2017, 259–260, 275–276, Pl. 95: 3299–3304.
[56] Jankovits 2017, 199-208, Pls. 71: 2516–73: 2681; Brodski Varoš: Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 212, Pl. 52: 45; Poljanci I: Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 88 No. 173.
[57] Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 76 No. 116.
[58] Bulat 1973–1975, 29 No. 22, Pl. 16: 22; Hansen 1994, Pl. 31: 11.
[59] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 211, Pl. 86: 21,22.
[60] Objects from the hoard in question with such a description have a silvery appearance. The metal was not analysed, so any determination is limited.
[61] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 212, Pl. 56: 50.
[62] Popović 1975a, 40 No. 108, Pl. 39: 13; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1.
[63] Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 76 No. 115.
[64] Pare 1992, 27, Fig. 30: 11.
[65] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 212, Pl. 57: 50.
[66] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 218, Pl. 72: 11.
[67] Miklik-Lozuk, Ložnjak Dizdar 2011, 163, Fig. on p. 164.
[68] Popović 1975b, 47 No. 106, Pl. 45: 25; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1.
[69] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 216, Pl. 127: 17–22.
[70] Pare 1992, Fig. 30: 12.
[71] Bulat 1973–1975, 28 No. 7, Pl. 15: 7; Hansen 1994, Pl. 35: 4.
[72] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 159–170, Pls. 66: 80; 152: 21.
[73] Mozsolics 1985, 140–141, 1984, Pl. 24: 1.

Veliko Nabrđe,[74] as well as parts of the plate from the hoard Brodski Varoš, where the spike in the middle is not preserved.[75] All of them lack (?) an outgrowth, but the reconstructed plates from Debeli vrh and Brodski Varoš and the plate from Kurd have the same number (seven) of concentric circles as ours. It is very likely that the fragment from the Budinščina hoard also belongs to the listed plates.[76] König distinguishes several variants according to the decoration or lack of it and the shape of the outgrowth, which are exclusively present in the hoards of the second phase of the Urnfield period. According to the known data, these are also cast from white bronze.[77]

Appliqués

Four objects (*Pl. 6:* 20-23) are cast in the shape of the letter H, with a loop on the back. According to König, these are appliqués in the shape of a double axe, which were sewn onto cloth or leather and used as decoration. Appliqués of this size are not very common. Related to them are larger, similar forms attested in many hoards of the second phase in northern Croatia or the Kurd horizon in western Hungary, which belong to the leading types of these two phases.[78] In our hoard, a fragment of a larger appliqué in the form of a double axe may represent the object on *Pl. 6:* 8. Similar are appliqués with a double piercing (*Pl. 6:* 24-29). Comparisons can be found, for example, in the Brodski Varoš hoard.[79]

Among the appliqués or the buttons can also belong the pieces No. 18 and 19 on *Pl. 6*. They have the form of a ring with a bar. We find them relatively often in the hoards of the second phase of the Urnfield period, such as Bingula-Divoš,[80] Brodski Varoš,[81] Dobrinci,[82] Esztergom-Szentgyörgymező,[83] Hočko Pohorje,[84] Mačkovac[85] and Poljanci II.[86]

[74] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 221, Pl. 46: 21.

[75] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, Pl. 53: 38.

[76] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, Pl. 79: 2.

[77] König, 2004, 71-73.

[78] König 2004, 76-77.

[79] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 212, Pl. 57: 40,41.

[80] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 211, Pl. 86: 15.

[81] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 212, Pl. 57: 12.

[82] Popović 1994a, 19 No. 115, Pl. 18: 12; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1.

[83] Mozsolics 1985, 116-118, Pl. 137: 14.

[84] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178-197, Pls. 82: 142,143; 155: 20; Turk 1996, 110.

[85] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 216, Pl. 73: 11.

[86] Bulat 1973-1975, 27 Nos. 1,2, Pl. 13: 1,2; Hansen 1994, Pl. 33: 16.

Torcs

There are eight fragments of torcs in the hoard (*Pl. 7:* 1-7,15). Depending on the way they were made and the thickness of the wire, they belong to at least seven types. Four fragments have a spirally coiled end and are made of wire with a round cross-section (*Pl. 7:* 3-6). In two of them the central part is spirally twisted (*Pl. 7:* 3,7), and in one the central part is decorated with bundles of transverse incisions and a spruce branch motif (*Pl. 7:* 15). Spirally twisted torcs are present in both the hoards of the older and younger part of the Urnfield Culture,[87] but the decorated ones are mainly in the hoards of the older part of the Urnfield Culture.[88]

Bracelets

The ring-shaped fragments (*Pl. 7:* 8-14) are bracelets made of thinner wire than the torcs and have a smaller diameter. They are probably parts of seven bracelets that had a diameter of about 5.6 cm. A fragment of a bracelet with a spirally coiled end is twisted (*Pl. 7:* 8), and two bracelets with spirally coiled ends are undecorated and almost completely preserved (*Pl. 7:* 9,10). Half of the bracelet on *Pl. 7:* 11 is also undecorated, and an incised ornament is found on the fragments *Pl. 7:* 13,14. Spirally twisted bracelets with spirally coiled ends are relatively common in the hoards of the Early Urnfield Period, *e.g.* Hočko Pohorje,[89] Poljanci I,[90] Pričac,[91] Siča/Lučica,[92] Zagreb-Medvedgrad,[93]

[87] Hočko Pohorje - Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178-197, Pl. 79: 90; Turk 1996, 110; Brodski Varoš - Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 212, Pl. 59: 11; Siča/Lučica - Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 79, Pl. 9: 149; Poljanci II - Bulat 1973-1975, 25 No. 10, Pl. 10: 10; Hansen 1994, Pl. 32: 17; Gaj - Rašajski 1975, 53 Nos. 3,4,6,7, Pl. 51: 3-6; Vasić 1982, 268, sl. 1; Márok - Mozsolics 1985, 146-149, Pl. 92: 25; Keszőhidegkút - Mozsolics 1985, 135-137, Pl. 35: 28,29; Sečanj - Marković 1994, 45 Nos. 42,43, Pl. 33: 1,2; Beravci - Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 211, Pl. 109: 13; Ivanec Bistranski - Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 214, Pl. 113: 10; Kenderes - Mozsolics 2000, 53, Pl. 49: 1-3; Jobaháza - Mozsolics 2000, 50, Pl. 41: 2; Románd - Mozsolics 2000, 50, Pl. 86: 23-26.

[88] Siča/Lučica - Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 78, Pl. 9: 144; Poljanci II - Hansen 1994, Pl. 32: 17; Bingula-Divoš - Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 211, Pl. 86: 28; Dobrinci - Popović 1994a, 17 No. 94, 18 Nos. 97,100, Pl. 17: 9,14,16; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1; Márok - Mozsolics 1985, 146-149, Pl. 92: 26.

[89] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178–196, Pl. 79: 93; Turk 1996, 108.

[90] Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 80 Nos. 134,136-138, 81, Nos. 140,141, 88 No.172.

[91] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 218, Pl. 71: 34.

[92] Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 78, Pl. 9: 146,148.

[93] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 222, Pl. 75A: 7.

Dobrinci,[94] Márok,[95] etc., as well as in the graves of the late Urnfield period, for example, grave 305 in Dobova[96] and grave 258 in Ljubljana,[97] where a plain bracelet with spirally coiled ends is also found. Of the listed hoards with twisted bracelets, one plain bracelet is found in the Siča/Lučica hoard.[98] Plain bracelets can be found, for example, in the hoards of Bingula-Divoš,[99] Keszőhidegkút[100] and Lengyeltóti II.[101]

In addition to the ring bracelets, there are three fragments in the hoard that could belong to bronze sheet bracelets. One fragment (*Pl. 8:* 9) tapers at one end to an outwardly open hook, and the other (*Pl. 8:* 10) is decorated at the edges with a series of incisions from which double-dotted garlands hang. Similar elements can be seen on ribbon bracelets with twisted ends from the Márok,[102] Esztergom-Szentgyörgymező,[103] and Budinščina[104] hoards.

A fragment of a strip of bronze sheet with two rows of punctures (*Pl. 8:* 6) may have originally been part of a spiral bracelet, which was secondarily transformed into a bracelet.

Armlets

The spiral-shaped end piece (*Pl. 8:* 5) and four fragments of a bronze sheet strip decorated with slightly oblique incisions in the centre and along the entire length (*Pl. 8:* 1–4) are parts of a spiral-shaped armlet with flattened, spirally twisted ends. A comparable set with similar decoration is found in the hoard of Kurd horizon, Kisapati.[105] The original shape of the armlet can be reconstructed from the spirally striped armlets in the hoards of Lengyeltóti III[106] and Balatonkiliti.[107] In the first hoard, there are seven completely preserved armlets of different sizes; in the second one, the armlet is undecorated. Strips with spiral ends and decorated with oblique incisions are also found in the hoards of the second phase Márok,[108] Hočko Pohorje,[109] Bingula-Divoš,[110] and undecorated in the hoards Siča/Lučica[111] and Poljanci II.[112] The end of the cast armlet on P*l. 8:* 8 is decorated with three bands of plastic ribs. The middle band splits towards the end in the shape of a swallowtail. An excellent comparison with our find comes from the hoard of Márok,[113] and two other fragments from the hoard of Uioara de Sus[114] are very similar.

Fragments of ribbed armlets (*Pl. 8:* 11,12) belong to two specimens. One is completely preserved, while the other has only one original edge, so it is not possible to say with certainty whether it is a narrower, striped armlet or a wider, tubular one. Armlets (some call them cuffs) are common from the Black Sea to the eastern Adriatic coast. In Romania, the oldest ribbed armlet comes from a grave of the Middle Bronze Age, otherwise they are typically found in graves and hoards of the Ha A1 period.[115] In Glasinac, they are found in graves of phases IIb and III.[116] On the eastern Adriatic coast, they are found in Late Bronze Age graves in Dalmatia[117] and Liburnia,[118] and in graves of the first phase of the Iron Age in Istria.[119] They are also found in Macedonia, where they are an element of the attire of the first phase of the Iron Age.[120]

Spirals

The five spirals made of wire with round cross-section (*Pl. 9:* 4–8) are probably fragments of fibulae. To what kind of fibulae they belonged can only be guessed. Such spirals are a common inventory of hoards, for example, Hočko Pohorje,[121]

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[94] Popović 1994a, 18 Nos. 106,108, Pl. 18: 4,8; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1.

[95] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, Pl. 92: 27.

[96] Stare 1975, 34, Pl. 44: 2; Belardelli *et al.* 1990, 194.

[97] Puš 1971, 77–78, Pl. 52: 10.

[98] Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 79, Pl. 9: 152.

[99] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 211, Pl. 85: 15.

[100] Mozsolics 1985, 135–137, Pl. 35: 27.

[101] Mozsolics 1985, 142–143, Pl. 107: 29.

[102] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, Pl. 92: 12,14,16,17,20.

[103] Mozsolics 1985, 116–118, Pl. 137: 11.

[104] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 212, Pl. 79: 12.

[105] Darnay 1897, Pls. 1: 31–35; 4: 1,2.

[106] Mozsolics 1985, 143, Pl. 108: 24,29–34.

[107] Mozsolics 1985, 91–92, Pl. 99: 4.

[108] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, Pl. 92: 18.

[109] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178–197, Pl. 80: 109; Turk 1996, 110.

[110] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 211, Pl. 85: 7.

[111] Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, 78, Pl. 10: 164.

[112] Bulat 1973–1975, 26 Nos. 21,21a, Pl. 12: 21,21a.

[113] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, Pl. 92: 4.

[114] Petrescu-Dîmbovița, 1978, 132–135, Pl. 205: 1242,1245.

[115] Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1998, 183, Pls. 158: 2262–160: 2319.

[116] Drechsler-Bižić 1983, 263, Pl. 39: 3; Čović 1965, 64, Fig. 2; Pl. 2: 2; Čović 1983, 424, Fig. 28: 10; Pl. 62: 7.

[117] Batović 1983, 339–340, Fig. 21: 11; Pl. 48: 17,18.

[118] Batović 1983, 311, Fig. 20: 16; Pl. 44: 13–15; Blečić Kavur 2014, 82, Figs. 19: 2,3,9; 46.

[119] Mihovilić 1972, 46, Pls. 8: 5–7; 13: 5; Mihovilić 2001, 56–57; Mihovilić 2013, 134, Fig. 75.

[120] Garašanin 1983, 792, Pl. 109: 9,10.

[121] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 178–196, Pl. 79: 92,93; Turk 1996, 108.

Poljanci II,[122] Poljanci-Donje Polje,[123] Veliko Nabrđe,[124] Topličica I,[125] Budinščina,[126] Rudnik[127] and Karcag.[128]

Thin bronze sheet

The hoard contains four fragments of a thin bronze sheet (*Pl. 9:* 9–12). Two smaller pieces are undecorated; the other two are decorated with hammered-out bosses. One of them also has a motif of three concentric circles (*Pl. 9:* 12). It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine to which objects these pieces belong. A bronze sheet fragment with bosses and concentric circles could be part of a belt. An identically decorated piece of sheet metal from the Bingula-Divoš hoard was classified as a belt by Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier.[129] Similar fragments of decorated metal sheets are found in the hoards of Márok,[130] Pamuk[131] and Dobrinci.[132]

Ring

The ring made of white bronze (*Pl. 10:* 1) has a lenticular cross-section; its diameter is 7.6 cm and the width of the ring is 6 mm. Comparisons can be found in the Kanalski Vrh I hoard, which is dated to the third horizon of Slovenian hoards. It contains 62 similar rings, also made of white bronze. The cross-sections of the rings are either rhombic, oval, or lenticular. They have a diameter of 6 to 7.9 cm, and the width of the rings varies between 3 and 6 mm.[133]

A part of the gating system, the sprue

The bronze object on *Pl. 9:* 15 and *Fig. 3* has the appearance of a semi-finished product. It consists of a diamond-shaped plate and two outgrowths emerging from it. Three edges of the plate are relatively well preserved; the fourth is damaged. Both surfaces of the plate are rough. The other surfaces are relatively smooth.

When the cast bronze cools in the gate of the mould, a rough and concave surface is produced. In the first photo on the upper left (*Fig. 3:* a), it can be seen that the left outgrowth and the plate are made of two layers, which could be the result of the subsequent addition of alloy to the mould. Thus, the outgrowths are a positive replica of the runners, and the entire object is a positive replica of part of the gating system, the sprue (germ. *Gusszapfen*).[134]

According to the typology of Bianka Nessel, it belongs to the group of sprues created during the casting of socketed objects. More precisely, they are sprues made in moulds where the runners were above the head of the core.[135] The vertical positives of the runners have a D-shaped cross-section and are relatively wide compared to other types. These sprues are rare between the Baltic and the Carpathians, but they were created almost exclusively during the casting of socketed axes.[136]

Raw material

Most of the weight of the hoard is accounted for by raw material, which is commonly found in the hoards of the Urnfield period. Two types of ingots can be distinguished: plano-convex (*Pls. 10:* 6–9; *11; 12*) and bar-shaped (*Pl. 9:* 2,3). Forty-three pieces of plano-convex ingots and raw copper material weigh 7,260 g, two bar-shaped ingots weigh 81.5 g and 12 fragments of copper ingots 4.5 g. A total of 7,346 g.

Plano-convex ingots are mainly found in hoards of the Early Urnfield period.[137] The same is true for bar-shaped ingots with triangular cross-sections (*Pl. 9:* 3), which occur, for example, in the hoard at Bonyhád,[138] as well as in the hoards of Futog,[139] Márok,[140] Kemecse III,[141] Szárazd I,[142] Beremend,[143] Uioara de Sus,[144] and Guşteriţa II.[145]

[122] Bulat 1973–1975, 26, Pl. 12: 9–16.

[123] Miklik-Lozuk 2009, 93 No. 192.

[124] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 221, Pl. 44: 12–14.

[125] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 220–221, Pl. 76: 15.

[126] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 212, Pl. 79: 9.

[127] Garašanin 1975, 92 Nos. 24–26, Pl. 79: 15,16,27.

[128] Mozsolics 2000, 51–52, Pl. 45: 13.

[129] Kilian-Dirlmeier 1975, 114, Pl. 49: 470.

[130] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, Pl. 92: 28.

[131] Mozsolics 1985, 168–169, Pl. 106: 20.

[132] Popović 1994a, 19 No. 117, Pl. 19: 1; Vasić 1982, 268, Fig. 1.

[133] Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1996, 38–43, 66, Pls. 103: 59–107: 120.

[134] Peter Turk and Andrej Preložnik pointed out this possibility to me, for which I am very grateful.

[135] Nessel 2012, 147 "Gusszapfen von über dem Gusskern (kopf) gelegenem Eingusskanälen".

[136] Nessel 2012, 147–148, 157 Anhang, Fig. 3.

[137] Hansen 1994, 230–232.

[138] Mozsolics 1985, 102–104, Pl. 39: 4.

[139] Borić 1997, 59, 71, Pl. 17: 373,376.

[140] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, Pl. 95: 9.

[141] Mozsolics 1985, 146–149, Pl. 187: 7.

[142] Mozsolics 1985, 188–189, Pl. 27: 12.

[143] Mozsolics 1985, 95–96, Pl. 254: 11,14.

[144] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978, 132–135, Pl. 208: 1474,1477,1478.

[145] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978, 120–122, Pl. 118A: 370,372.

In the latter two hoards, ingots with rectangular cross-sections and two depressed sides are also found (*Pl. 9:* 2).[146]

CONCLUSION

The objects collected in the hoard were made in the workshops of the Western Balkan-Carpathian production circle. Comparisons for all objects were found in the Carpathian Basin and the Western Balkans, especially in hoards from the area between Lake Balaton, Danube and Sava and the south-eastern slopes of the Alps. *Table 1* shows the distribution of objects in 20 hoards containing three or more objects comparable with ours. As far as the number of comparable objects is concerned, the Brodski Varoš hoard tops the list with twelve, followed by the Márok hoard with nine, the Poljanci II hoard with eight, the Guşteriţa II hoard, the Uioara de Sus hoard and the Hočko Pohorje hoard with seven each, a number of hoards with six, etc. Among the Slovenian hoards, the Jurka vas and Debeli vrh near Predgrad hoards should also be mentioned, with four and three comparable objects, respectively.

The oldest objects of the hoard are a fragment of a flanged axe (*Pl. 1:* 2) and a Middle Bronze Age horseshoe-shaped pendant made of white bronze (*Pl. 6:* 14). A winged axe (*Pl. 1:* 1) is dated to the Early Urnfield Period (BA D). Otherwise, the analysis of the other objects shows considerable temporal homogeneity, as comparisons for most of the objects were found in the hoards of the second phase of the Urnfield Culture. In Slovenia, this is horizon II,[147] in Croatia the phase II or Veliko Nabrđe horizon,[148] in Serbia phase II,[149] in Hungary the Kurd horizon,[150] and in Romania the Suseni phase.[151] Below this time frame is the socketed chisel (*Pl. 2:* 5), which has a corresponding comparison in two younger hoards, of which the Vel'ký Berezný (Mukachevo II) hoard[152] is dated too high (Ha A2). In the hoard, there are also three axes with similar decoration to that of the chisel. The same or similarly decorated axes are found in hoards of the Ha B1 phase, such as Miljana,[153] Celldömölk-Saghegy II,[154] Csorvas,[155] Mezőkővesd-surroundings,[156] Nyíregyháza-Őrház,[157] Rohod-Somogyi IV,[158] Románd,[159] Sarkad,[160] etc. A lower dating of the Vel'ký Berezný hoard is also supported by a knife with a decorated socket for the handle.[161] As can be seen, objects from at least four centuries are gathered in our hoard, and they were buried in Ha B1 or tentatively in the 10th century BC.

With its location on the northern slope of Gorjanci, the hoard is part of a chain of eight hoards which, due to their location near the Krka River, connect Brežiška vrata with the Ljubljana basin. Besides the hoards, the human presence along this natural connection in the Bronze Age is also evidenced by individual finds, settlements and graves.[162]

[146] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978, 120–122, Pl. 118A: 371; Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978, 132–135, Pl. 208: 1468.

[147] Turk 1996.

[148] Vinski-Gasparini 1973; Vinski-Gasparini 1983.

[149] Vasić 1982.

[150] Mozsolics 1985.

[151] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1978.

[152] Borkovskyj 1934, 102, Pl. 6: 4,4a; Kobal' 2000, 88, Pl. 77C: 6.

[153] Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 216, Pl. 112: 7.

[154] Mozsolics 2000, 37–38, Pls. 8: 4; 9: 2,3,5,7.

[155] Mozsolics 2000, 39–40, Pl. 23: 5.

[156] Mozsolics 2000, 56–57, Pl. 53: 4.

[157] Mozsolics 2000, 62, Pl. 86: 4.

[158] Mozsolics 2000, 69–70, Pl. 82: 4.

[159] Mozsolics 2000, 70–72, Pl. 84: 17,17.

[160] Mozsolics 2000, 73, Pl. 89: 2.

[161] Prüssing 1982, 145–155.

[162] Pavlin *et al.* 2019, Fig. 5. http://arkas.zrc-sazu.si/arkas_v2.php (button Bronasta doba). In the year 2021 discovered hoard Vodice-Na Klanem near Mala Račna has been added. Thanks to Peter Turk for the information.

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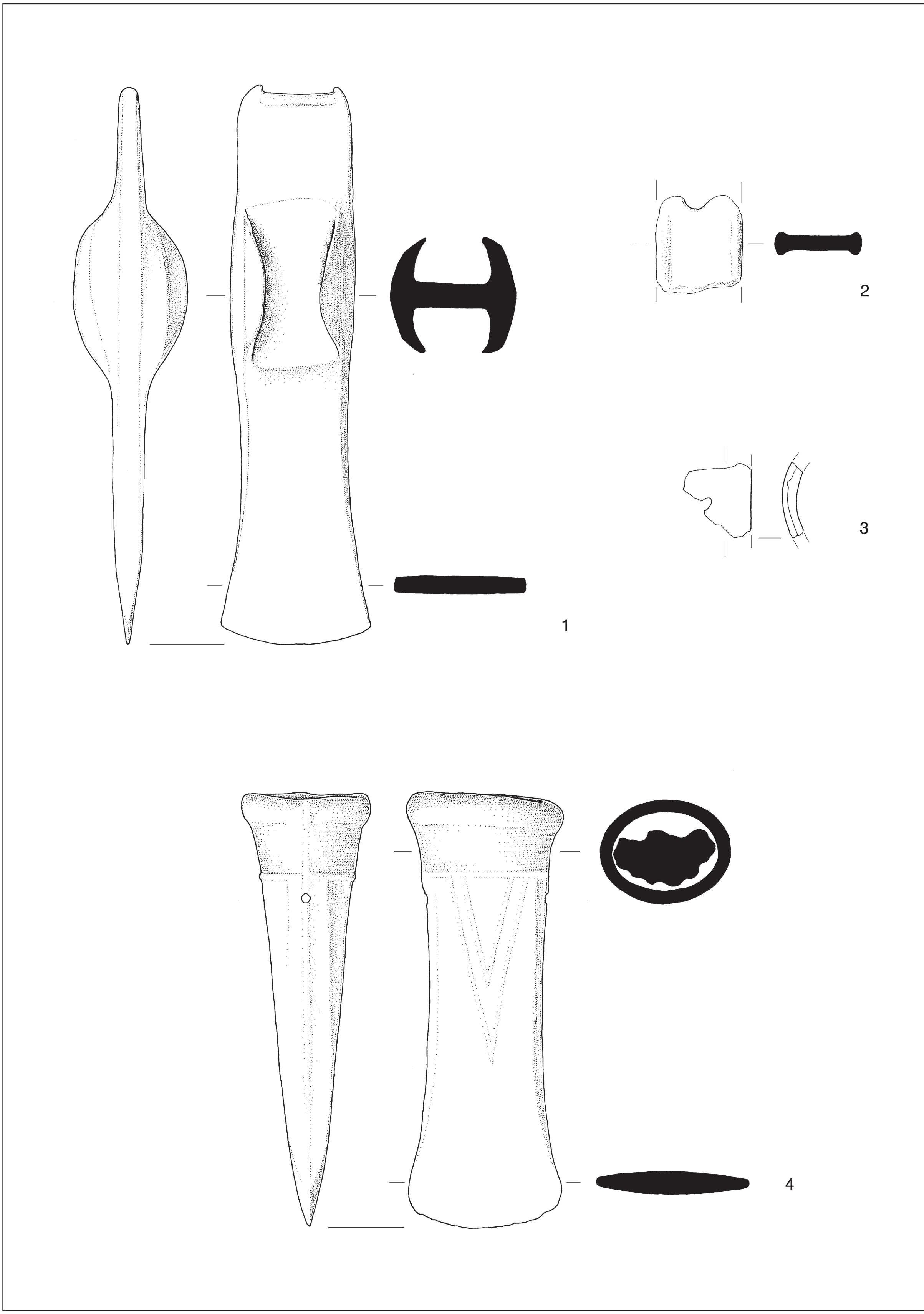
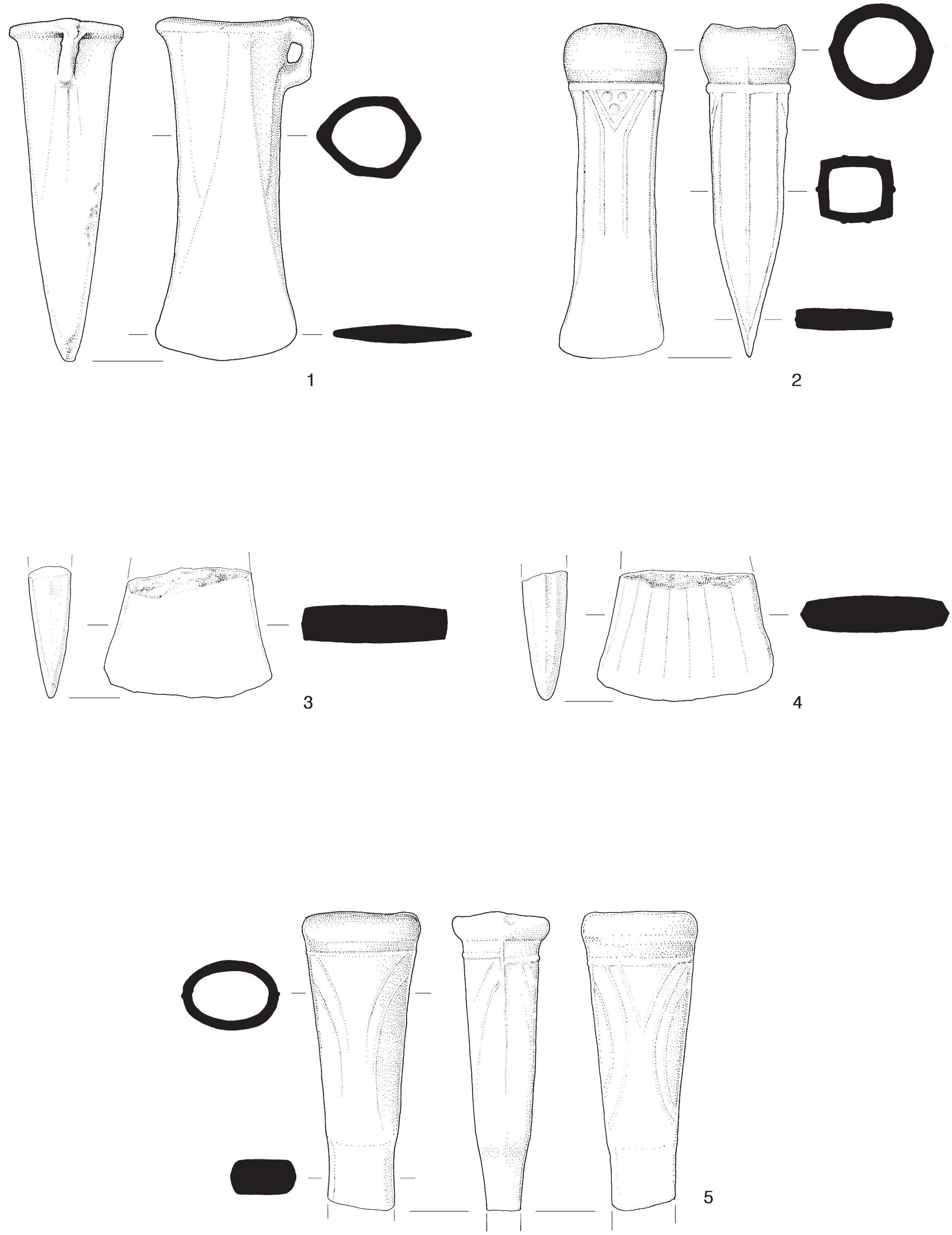
Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 2; 3 (foto: Borut Križ, Dolenjski muzej Novo mesto). – *T. 1–12* (risba: Maja Rudolf Markovič, Dolenjski muzej Novo mesto).
Illustrations: Figs. 2; 3 (photo: Borut Križ, Dolenjski muzej Novo mesto). – *Pls. 1–12* (drawing: Maja Rudolf Markovič, Dolenjski muzej Novo mesto).



T. 1: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Vse bron. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 1: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



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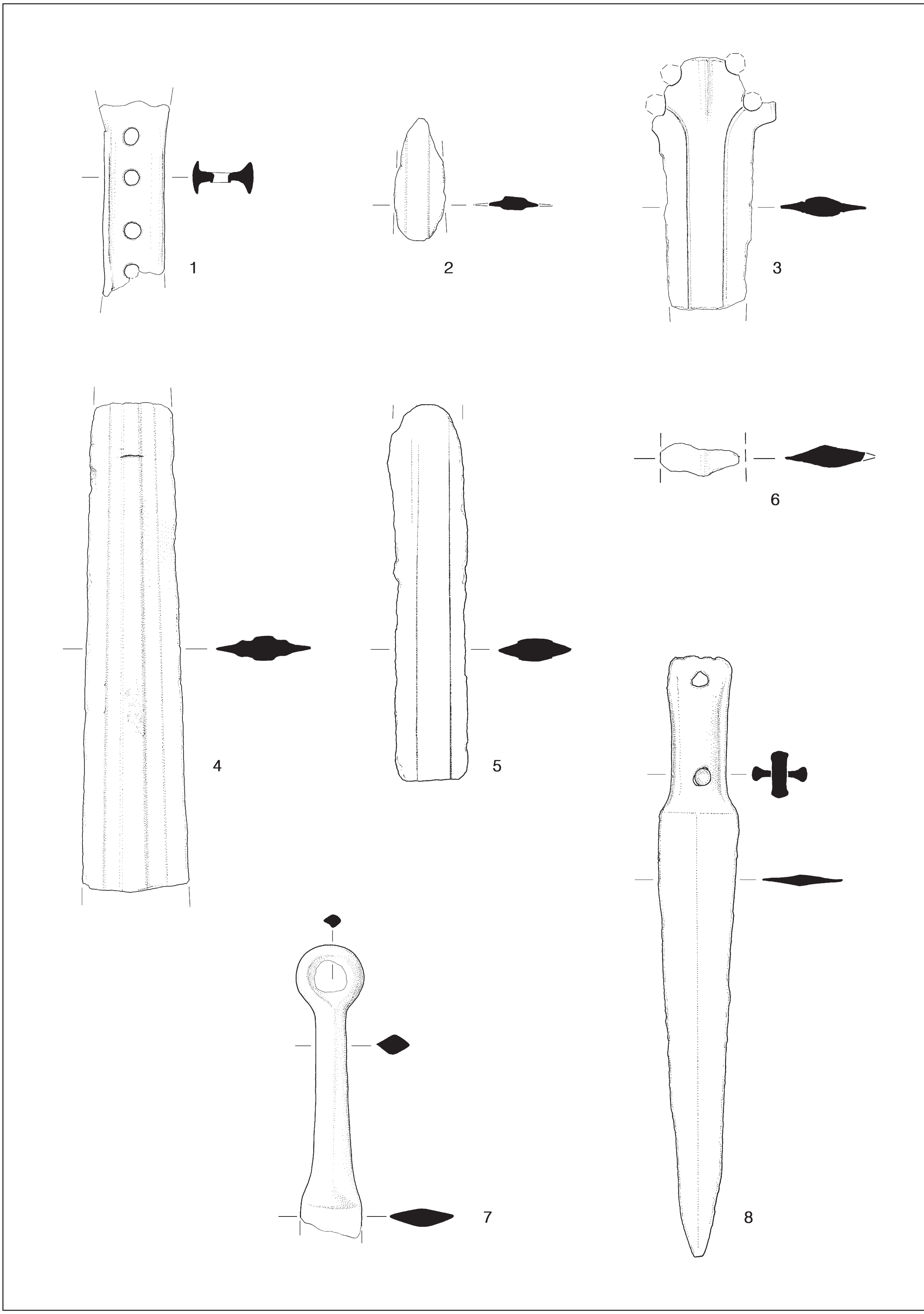
Pl. 2: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



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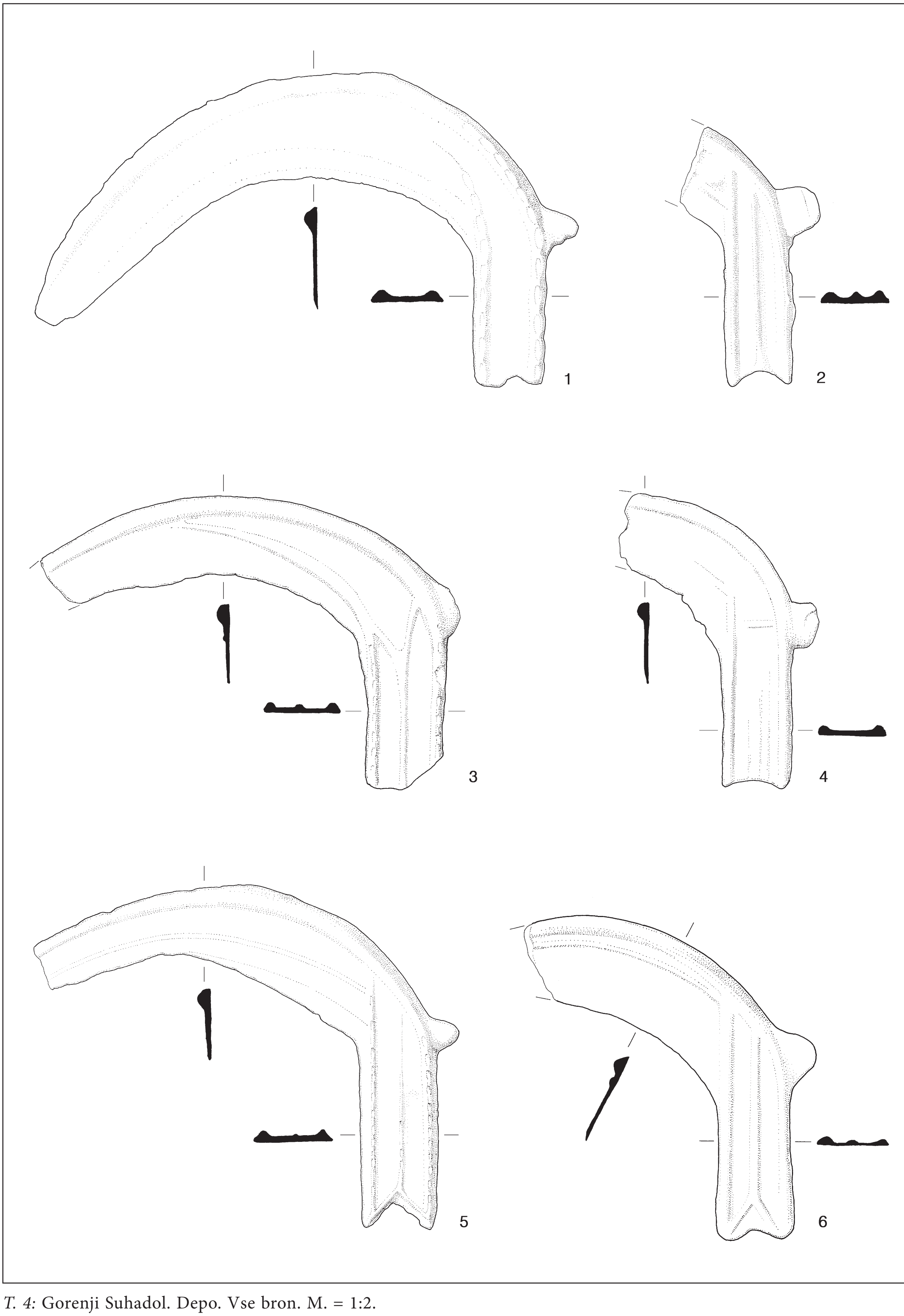
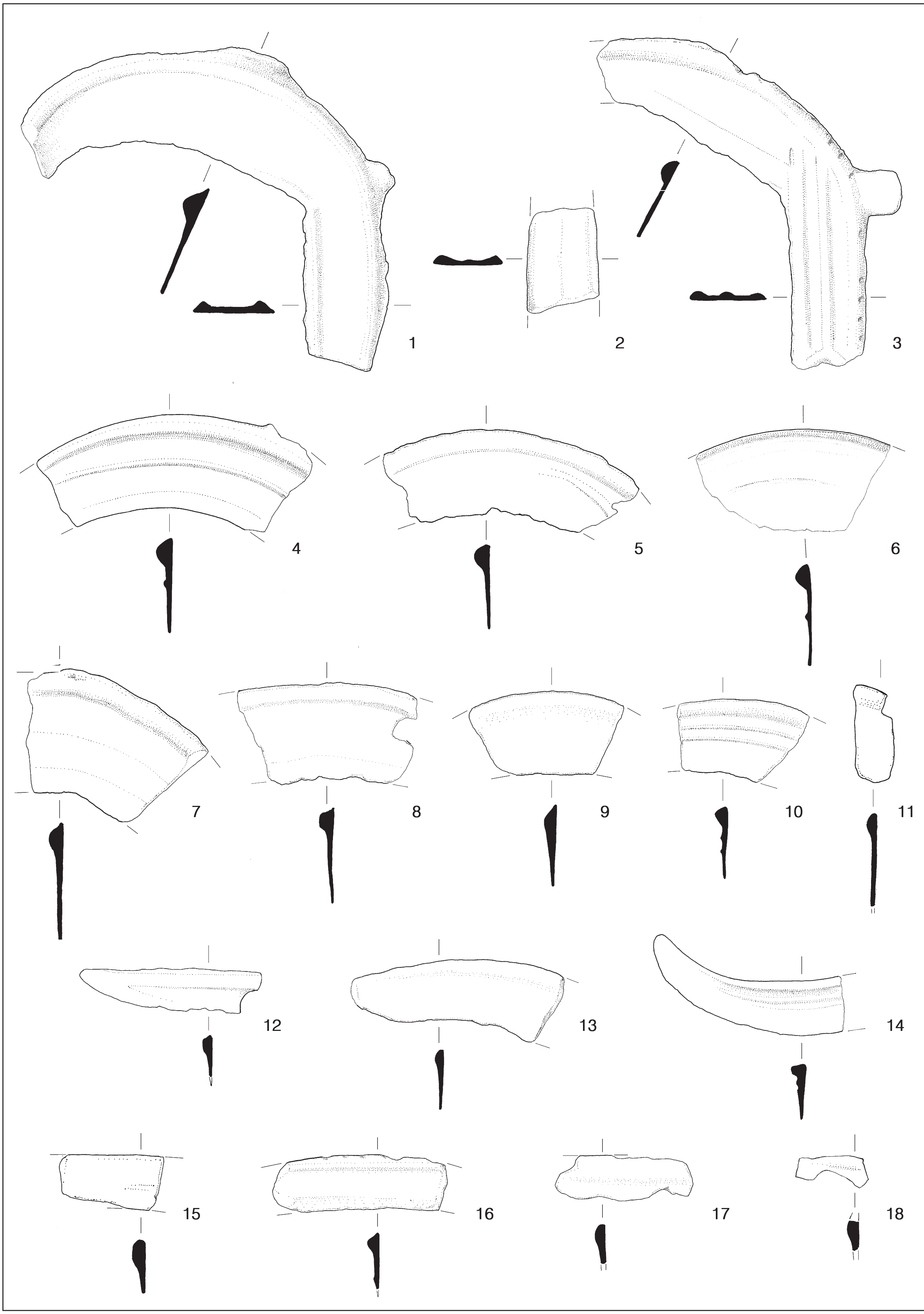
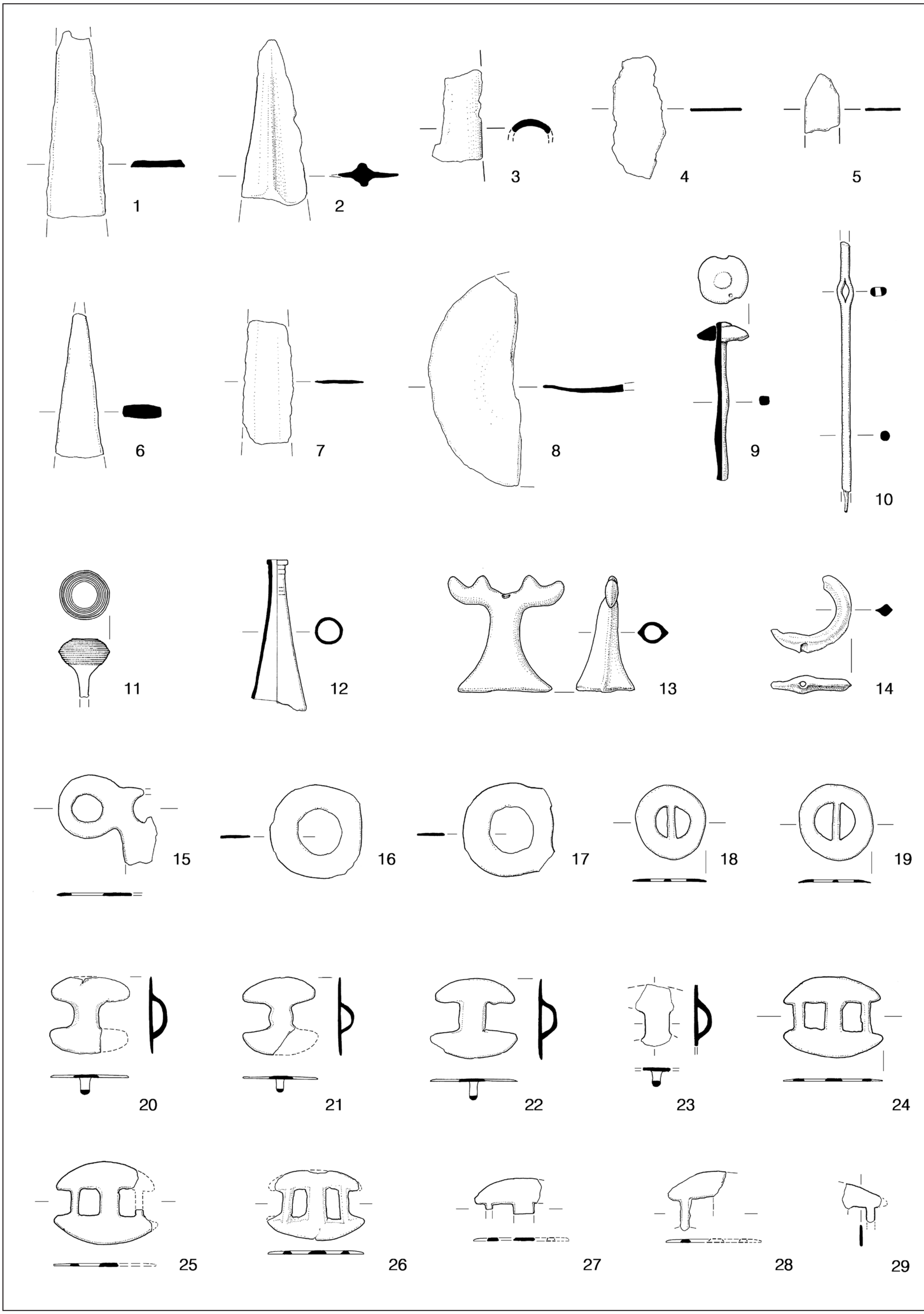
Pl. 3: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



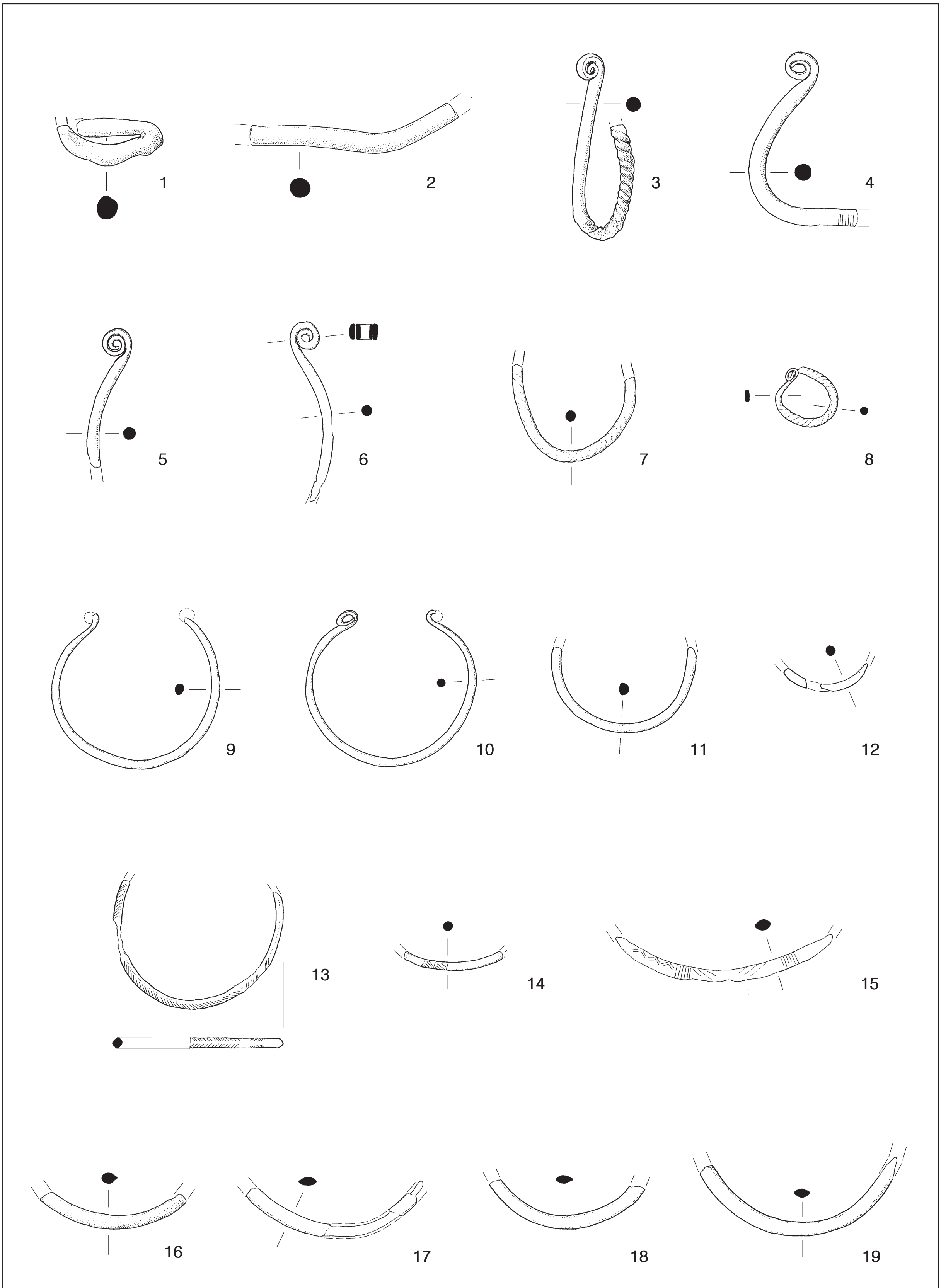
T. 4: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Vse bron. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 4: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



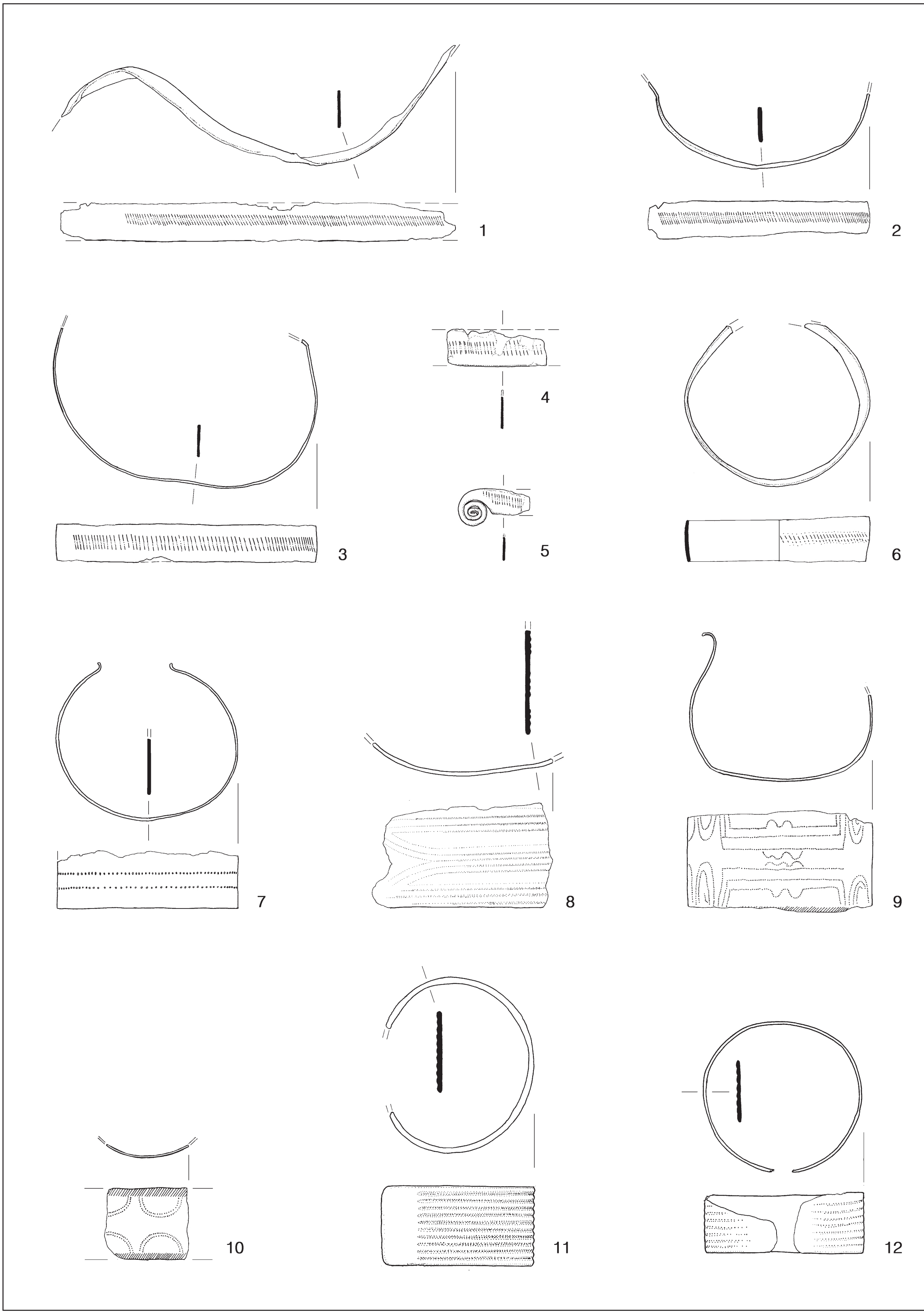
T. 5: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Vse bron. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 5: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



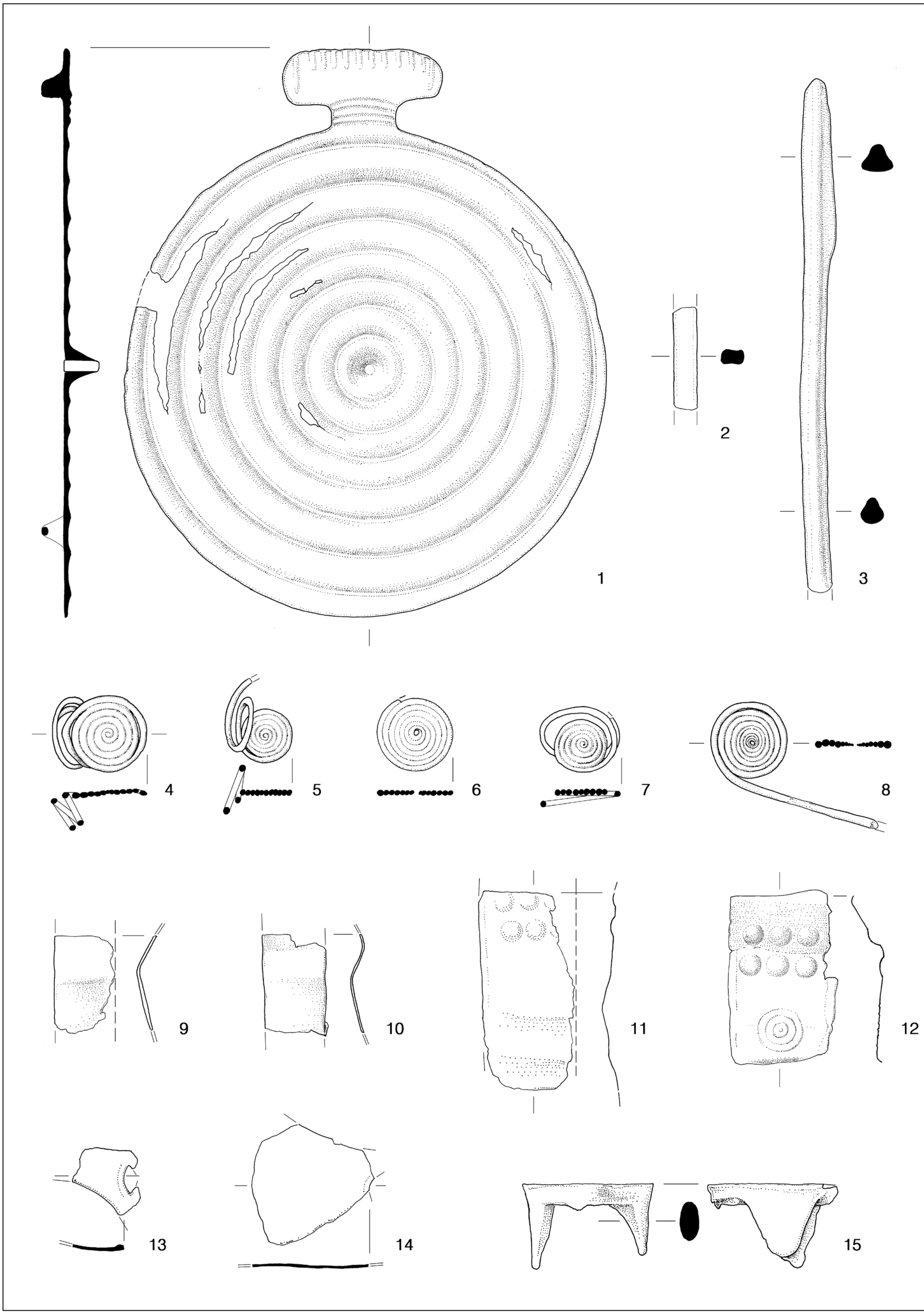
T. 6: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Vse bron. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 6: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



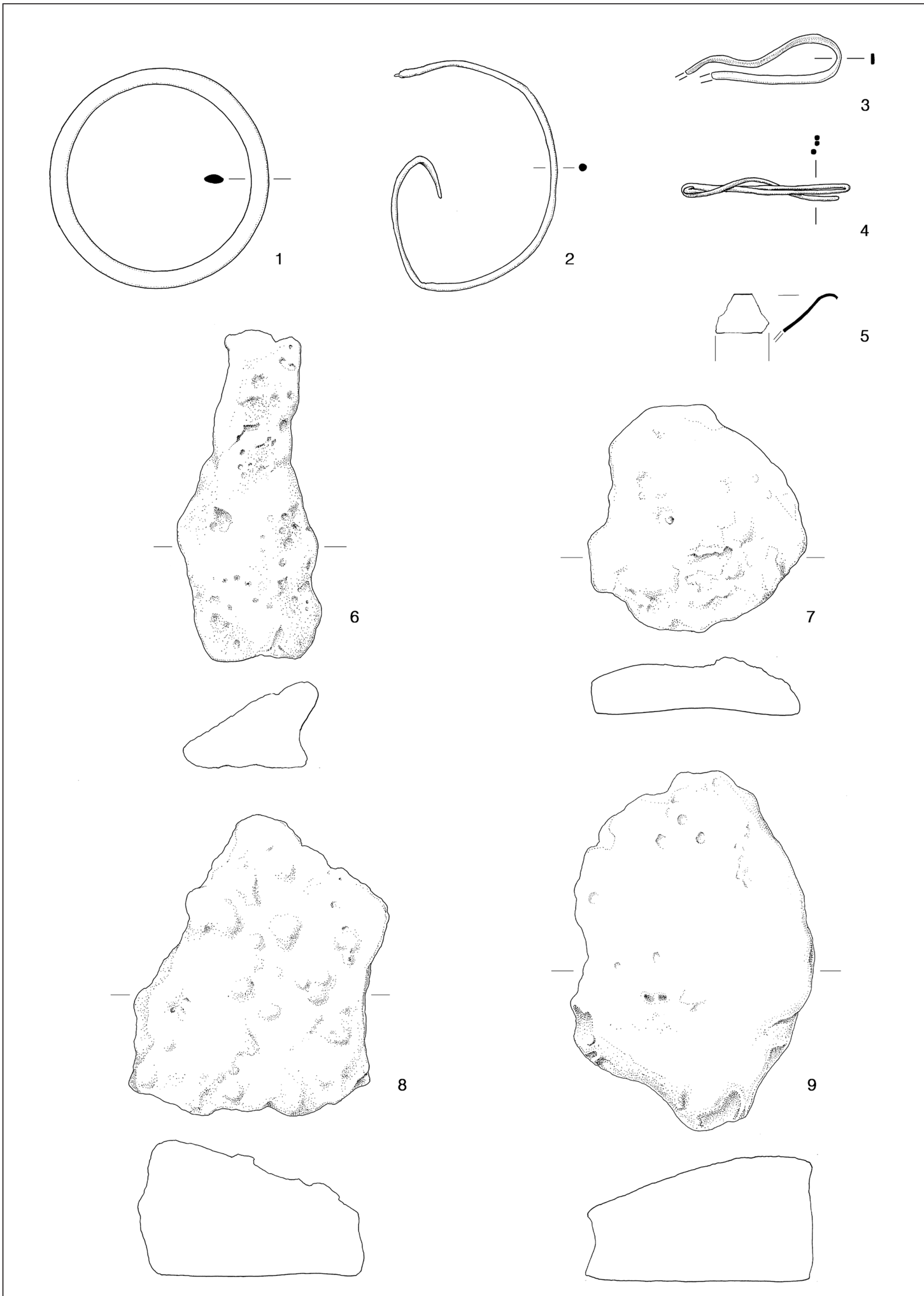
T. 7: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Vse bron. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 7: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



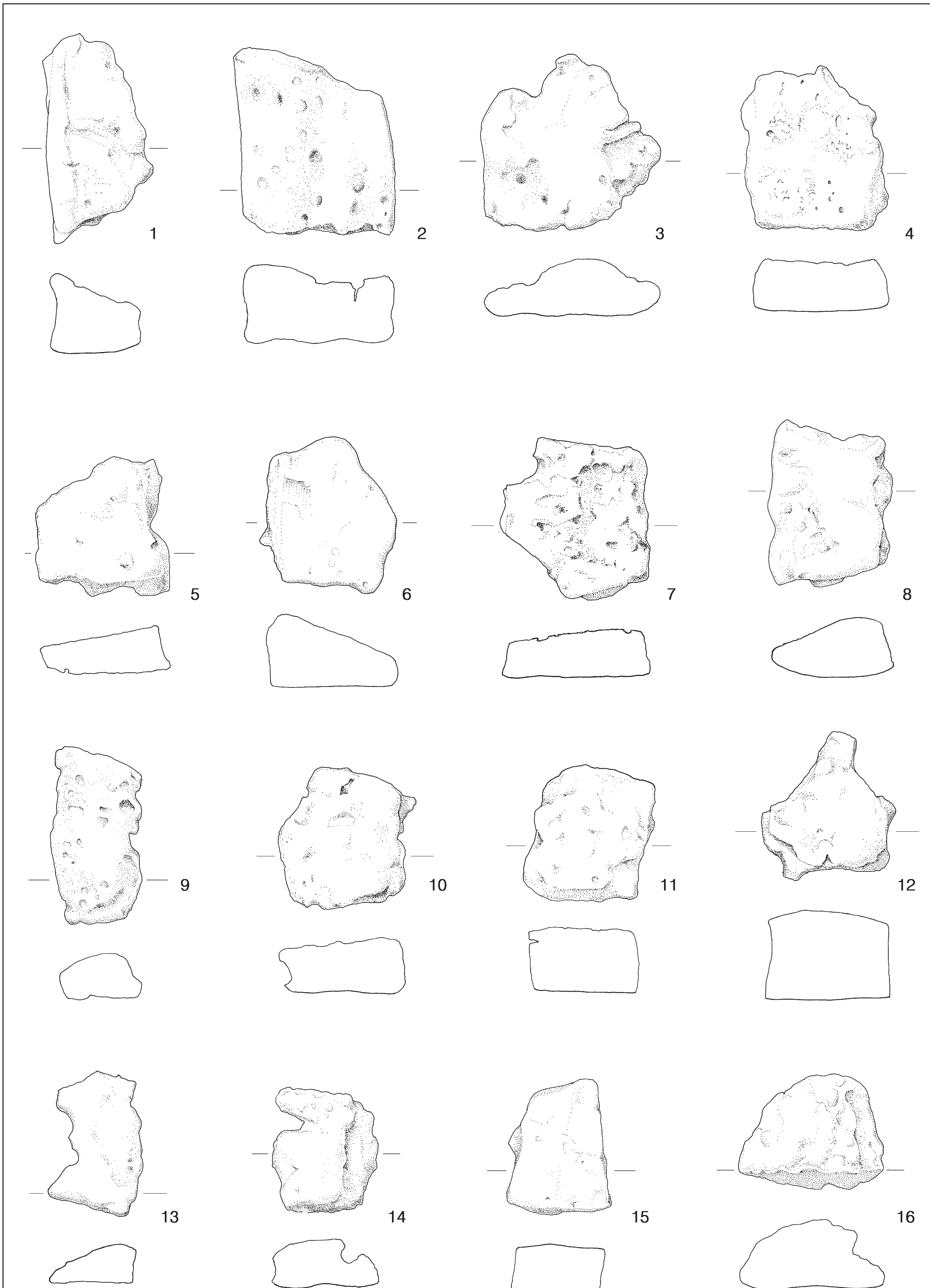
T. 8: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Vse bron. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 8: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



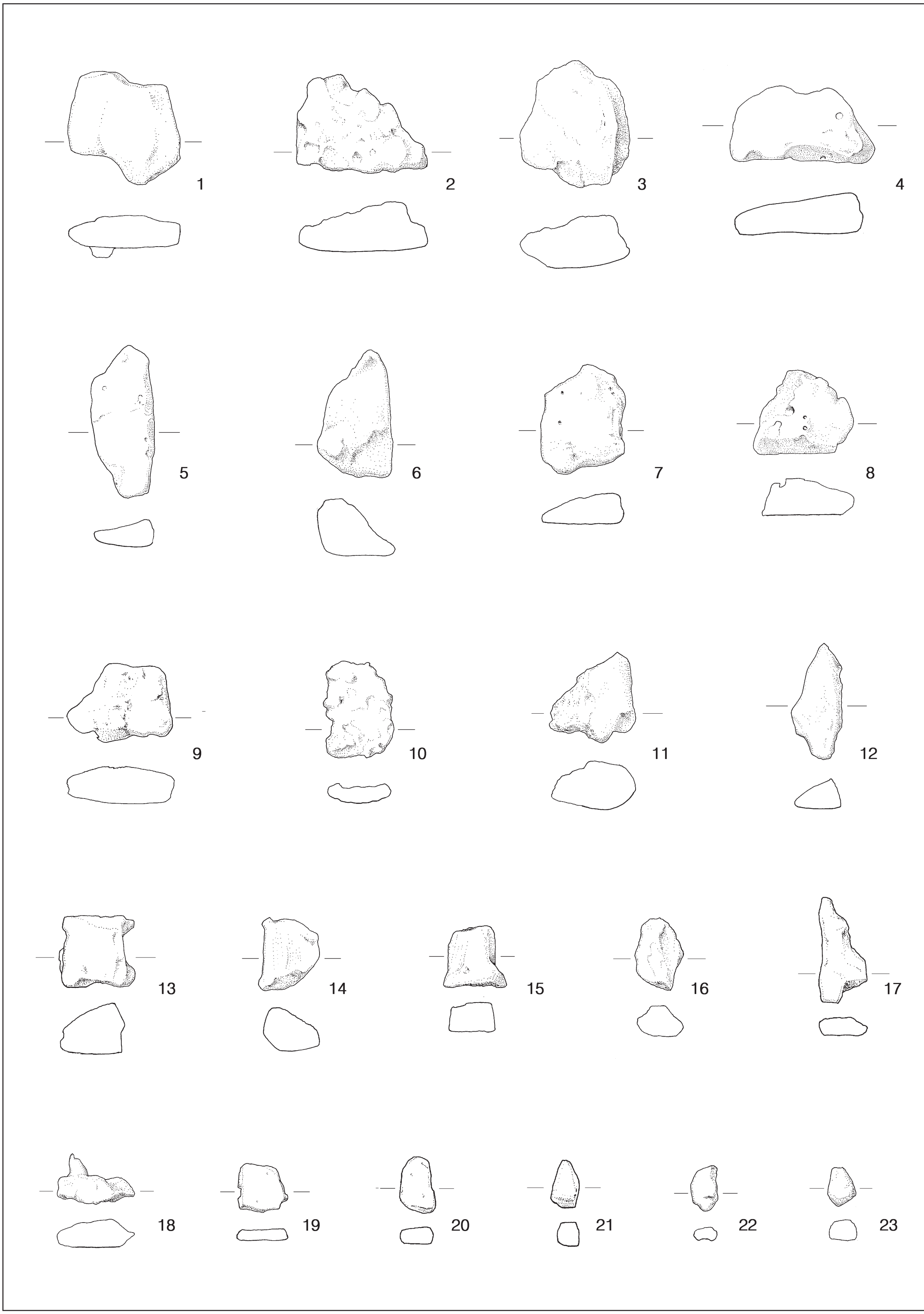
T. 9: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Vse bron. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 9: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



T. 10: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. 1–5 bron, 6–9 baker. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 10: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. 1–5 bronze, 6–9 copper. Scale = 1:2.



T. 11: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Vse baker M. = 1:2.
Pl. 11: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All copper. Scale = 1:2.



T. 12: Gorenji Suhadol. Depo. Vse baker M. = 1:2.
Pl. 12: Gorenji Suhadol. Hoard. All copper. Scale = 1:2.

Two Graves from Batina: An indication of the economic role and social status of women near the Danube in the Early Iron Age

Grobova iz Batine kot primera ekonomske vloge in družbenega statusa žensk ob Donavi v starejši železni dobi

Daria LOŽNJAK DIZDAR, Carola METZNER-NEBELSICK, Petra RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ, Antonela BARBIR, Julia Katarina FILEŠ KRAMBERGER

Izvleček

Večina ženskih grobov iz starejše železne dobe v srednjem Podonavju – na grobiščih Batina, Dalj, Vukovar, Sotin in Doroslovo v severovzhodnem delu Hrvaške in na severozahodu Srbije – je imela žaro, set keramičnih posod ter kdaj pa kdaj tudi dele noše in nakita, kot so okrasje za lase, obeski in fibule. Prispevek vključuje interdisciplinarne analize, obravnava kronologijo grobov 101 in 105 z grobišča v Batini ter interpretira vlogo žensk v tam živečih skupnostih v starejši železni dobi.

Ključne besede: srednje Podonavje; starejša železna doba; ženski grobovi; pogrebni običaji; fibule; keramika; vijčki

Abstract

The majority of the Early Iron Age cremation graves of women near the Middle Danube in northeast Croatia and northwest Serbia, in the cemeteries of Batina, Dalj, Vukovar, Sotin and Doroslovo, contained an urn, a set of ceramic vessels, and sometimes costume accessories and additional jewellery items, such as hair bands, pendants, or fibulae. The present paper uses interdisciplinary analysis and interpretation to examine the chronology of graves 101 and 105 from the cemetery of Batina and the role of the women in the community that lived on the site in the Early Iron Age.

Keywords: Middle Danube region; Early Iron Age; female graves; mortuary practice; fibulae; pottery; spindle-whorls

The material remains from the Early Iron Age cemeteries and settlements in the Middle Danube River valley reflect the life of the communities near the river (*Fig.* 1). Graves provide the most abundant information. We can associate grave inventories with the remains of buried individuals and treat them as an expression of their identity and their role in the life of the community to which they once belonged. The material expression of specific Iron Age communities in the Danube region points to the local production of objects as well as intensive communication within the local and broader regional networks.

Local products, such as ceramic vessels, tools used in the funerary rituals, and animals sacrificed for the funerary feast and the last farewell, are reflections of everyday life in mortuary practices. Additionally, specific costume accessories that belonged to the deceased women were components of a wider regional production sphere. They are possible indications of trade, barter, or even exogamy.

In this paper, two graves, 101 and 105 from Batina, with different funerary assemblages but the same type of fibulae, will serve as examples to illustrate the status of the buried women in the community that lived in the area in the Early Iron Age as well as the then current burial customs.

BATINA – LATE BRONZE/EARLY IRON AGE SETTLEMENT AND CEMETERY

Batina is a multi-layered site on the steep north-eastern edge of the Bansko Brdo plateau. The site had been inhabited since the Neolithic due to its geostrategic position on a ford of the Danube River. The particular importance of the site during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages is indicated by an extensive settlement on the extreme north-eastern point of the Bansko Brdo. Its cemetery was laid out along the only path leading to the settlement (*Fig.* 2). Most of the deceased were buried in flat cremation graves; however, the cremated remains of a few obviously prominent members of the community were buried in funerary chambers under earth mounds (*i.e.*, tumuli). Rescue excavations have been conducted at Batina for decades, and systematic excavations of the settlement were undertaken from 1970 to 1972 by the Museum of Slavonia (Muzej Slavonije) led by Danica Pinterović together with the Smithsonian Institute in Washington D.C., represented by Stephan Foltiny, and Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu) (Pinterović 1971, 55–58). The cemetery has been continuously explored since 2010 by Archaeological Museum Osijek (Arheološki muzej Osijek) and the Museum of Slavonia (Muzej Slavonije) together with the Institute of Archaeology (Institut za arheologiju) in Zagreb and the HAZU Archaeology Department (Odsjek za arheologiju HAZU) (Bojčić *et al.* 2011; 2018). According to the current excavation results, the cemetery was in use during the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Ages from the 11th to the end of the 7th century BC. After a break, burials resumed in the Roman period during the 2nd to 3rd century AD (Dizdar *et al.* 2019, 95–97; Dizdar *et al.* 2021, 19–24). This dating range is reflected by the so-called old finds from graves, which were uncovered by unsystematic amateur excavation activities in the first decade of the 20th century without attention paid to their context and find associations (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 28–32).

GRAVES 101 AND 105 FROM BATINA

Graves 101 and 105 are located in the eastern part of the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age cemetery at the Sredno site in Batina, near tumulus 2 (*Fig.* 3).

Grave 101 (*Pl. 1*) was found in trench 18 (*Fig. 3*). The grave pit was rectangular with rounded corners, measuring 1.20 × 0.90 m, with vertical sides and a relative depth of 0.66 m. Its fill was dark brown and contained pottery sherds and cremated human bones. A pottery urn (*Pl. 1:* 9) with cremated bones and ashes, probably from the pyre, stood in the western part of the grave pit. It also contained a burnt bronze ringlet (*Pl. 1*: 2), two ceramic spindle-whorls (*Pl. 1:* 4–5), and an iron knife (*Pl. 1:* 3). This urn was covered with an overturned bowl (*Pl. 1:* 8). Ashes with cremated bones and burnt fragments of a bronze fibula (*Pl. 1:* 1) were found east of the vessel, in the central part of the grave. A *kantharos* (*Pl. 1:* 7) was found north of the urn, and a bowl stood east of the ash deposit (*Pl. 1:* 6).

Grave 105 (*Pl.* 2) was located in trench 19 (*Fig. 3*). The grave pit was rectangular with rounded corners, measuring 1.28 × 0.83 m, with vertical sides and a relative depth of 0.28 m. The grave's fill was dark brown. A pottery urn (*Pl. 2:* 8) with cremated bones and ashes, probably from the pyre, stood in the eastern part of the grave pit. It also contained twenty spindle-whorls (*Pl. 2:* 9–28), a burnt iron knife (*Pl. 2:* 6), burnt iron rings (*Pl. 2:* 3–4), a bronze fibula (*Pl. 2:* 1), and a stone pendant (*Pl. 2:* 2). The urn was covered with an overturned bowl (*Pl. 2*: 7). A *kantharos* (*Pl. 2:* 5) was located just to the southwest of the urn and animal bones were found in the southwestern part of the grave pit.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Urns

The closest parallels to the urn from Grave 101 (*Pl. 1:* 9) were found in Doroslovo Grave 64 and 114 (Trajković 2008, 84–85, 235, Grave 64: 1; 121–122, 269–270, Grave 114: 1).

There are no closer parallels to the urn from Grave 105. The urn from this grave has a unique height and elongated body shape; it was decorated with carved relief cordon decor (*Pl. 2:* 8). A similar

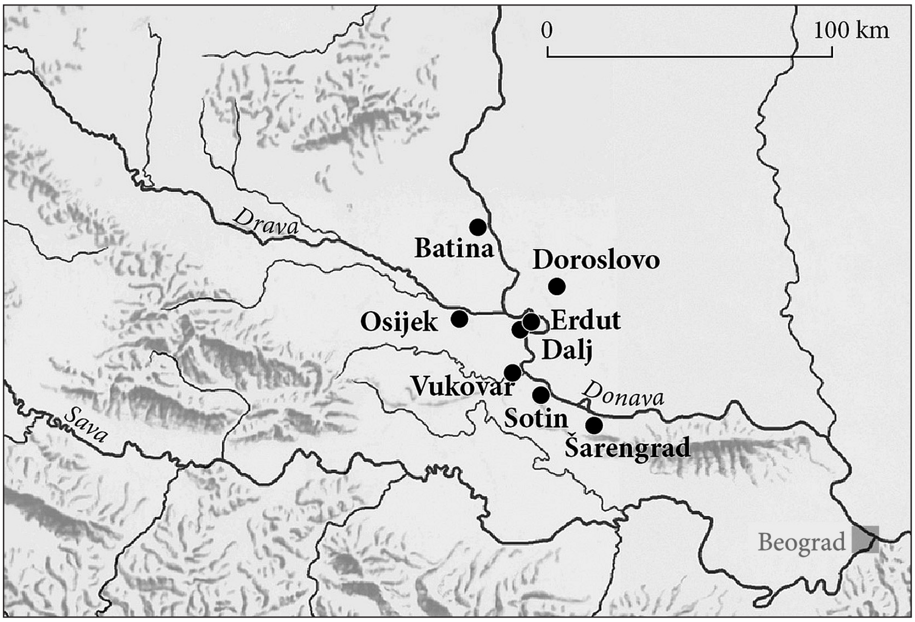


Fig. 1: Cemeteries from the Late Bronze / Early Iron Age in Middle Danube Region.
Sl. 1: Grobišča iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe v srednjem Podonavju.

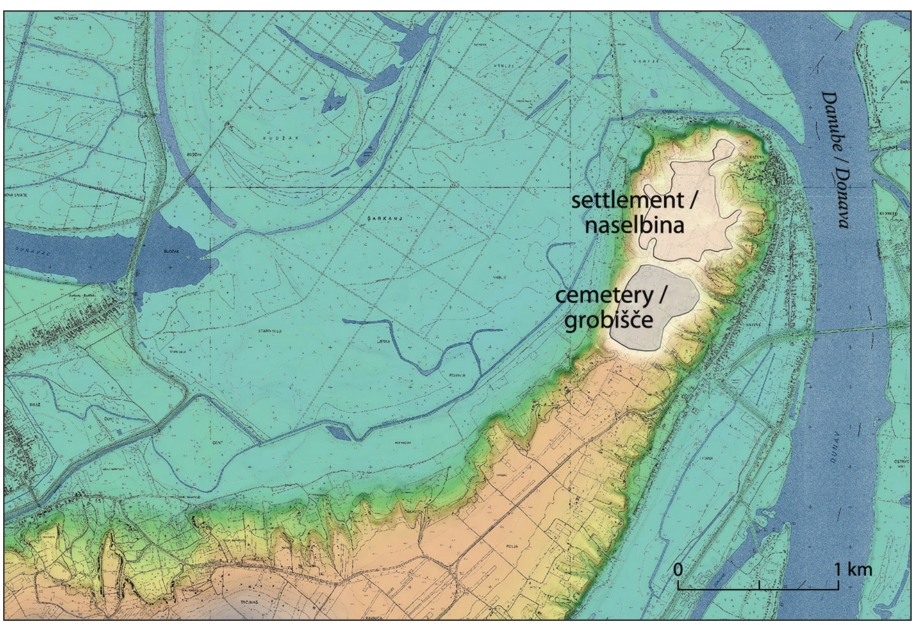


Fig. 2: Batina. A map of the site with marked settlement area and cemetery.
Sl. 2: Batina. Načrt najdišča z označenima območjema naselbine in grobišča.
(after / po: Dizdar *et al.* 2021, 8–9)

urn with a more pronounced belly and decorated with four vertical ribs was found in Grave 68 in Doroslovo (Trajković 2008, 238, Grave 68: 1). Another similarly shaped urn lay in Doroslovo, Grave 111 (Trajković 2008, 117–118, 266, Grave 111: 1).

A distant parallel without a decorated shoulder is among the old finds from Batina (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, Pl. 2: 1). Moreover, large double-conical vessels with four symmetrically arranged handles on the lower part of the body have a wider distribution within the Carpathian Basin (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 114–118; 115: Fig. 42; 505–506).

Bowls

The bowl that served as a lid in Grave 101 (*Pl. 1:* 8) has a parallel in Grave 111 in Doroslovo (Trajković 2008, 117–118, 266, Grave 111: 3). Bowls with a rounded body and inverted rim, which are

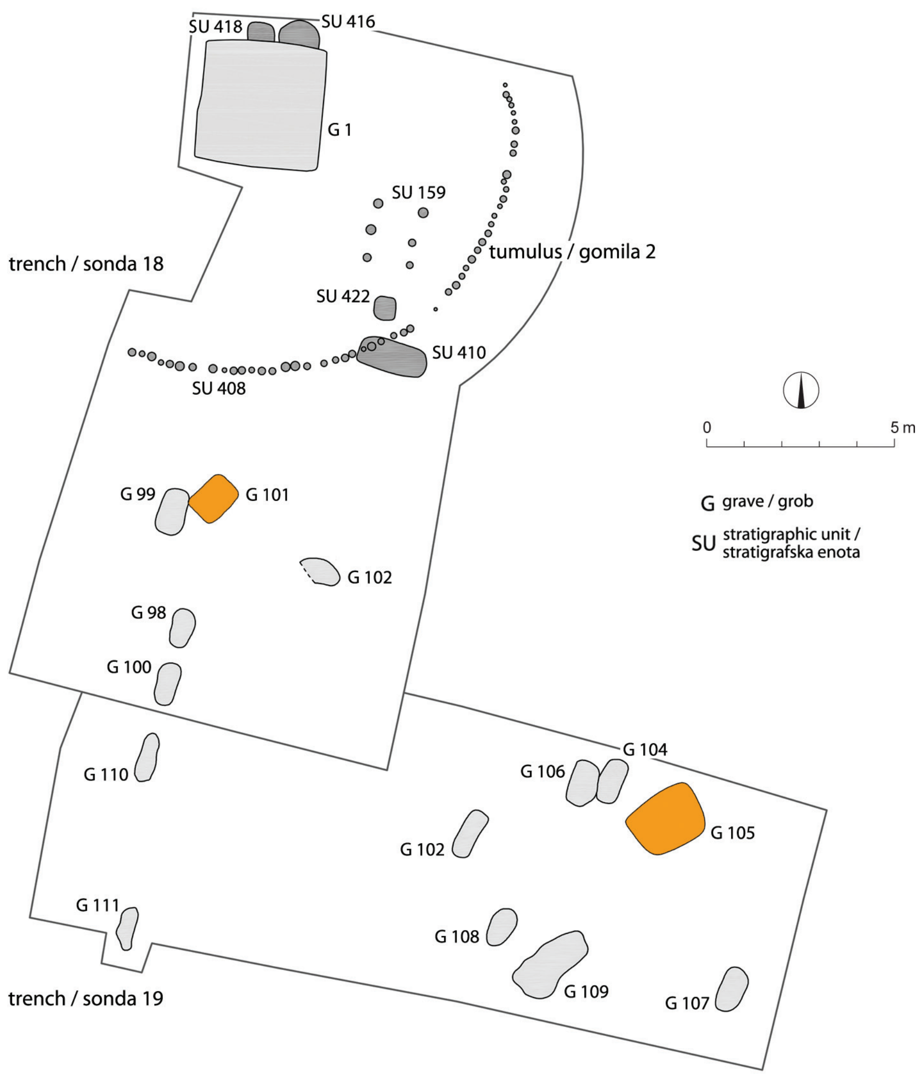


Fig. 3: Batina. A map of trenches 18 and 19 in cemetery with marked positions of graves 101 and 105.
Sl. 3: Batina. Načrt sond 18 in 19 na grobišču z označeno lego grobov 101 in 105.

decorated with one facet, are a common feature of the grave inventories in the Danube region (Hoffiller 1938, Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, Pl. 16: 9; 34: 11–12; Trajković 2008, Grave 1: 6; Grave 7: 9).

A bowl, very similar in shape to the bowl with a lid from Grave 105 (*Pl. 2:* 7), was found in Batina with a rim decorated with horizontal facets (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, Pl. 24: 10).

Kantharos

The *kantharos* from Grave 101 (*Pl. 1:* 7) has the characteristic shape of *kantharoi* from the contemporary graves in Batina, Doroslovo, and Sotin. The fluted shoulder of the *kantharos* from Grave 101 is decorated with distinct groups of vertical channels. The *kantharoi* of this form and decoration style are characteristic of ceramic horizons IIIb and IV (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 125, 174–175, Figs. 75: 9; 76: 5) and are known from the old diggings in Batina (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 613–614, Pl. 22: 5; 616, Pl. 26: 2; 620, Pl. 30: 12; 639–640, Pl. 35: 1). Moreover, Grave 23/1911 from the Panišić vineyard at the Dalj cemetery, which is dated to horizon IIIb, also contained a fluted *kantharos* decorated with groups of vertical channels (Hoffiller 1938, Pl. 13: 11; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 667, Pl. 68: 1).

In the Doroslovo cemetery, *kantharoi* decorated with groups of vertical flutes alternating with undecorated parts but with small differences in the shape of the *kantharoi* were also discovered (Trajković 2008, 52, 210, Grave 31: 5; 70, 222, Grave 46: 3; 118, 266, Grave 111:5). This decor also appears on *kantharoi* and shallow bowls in

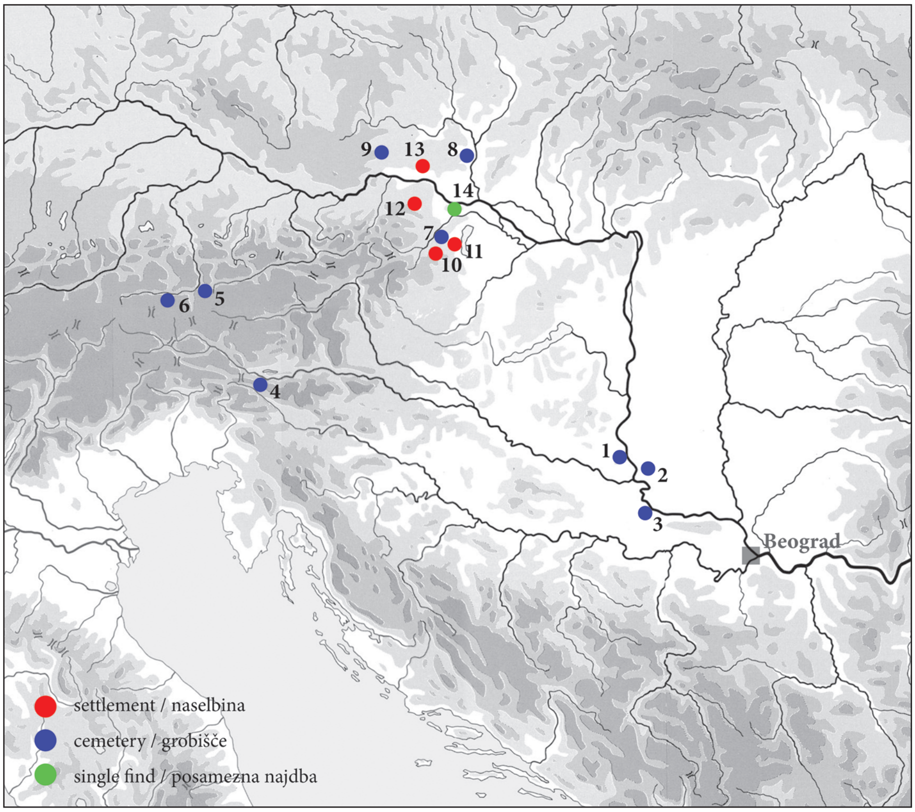


Fig. 4: Distribution of double-looped fibulae with an indented bow.
Sl. 4: Razprostranjenost dvozankastih fibul s sedlasto uvitim lokom.
(after / po: Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, Fig. 190)

1 – Batina (HR), grave context / grobna najdba (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, Pl. 19: 7); grave / grob 101 (*Pl. / t. 1:* 1); grave / grob 105 (*Pl. / t. 2:* 1); **2** – Doroslovo (SRB), grave / grob 58 (Trajković 2008, 232: 4); **3** – Sotin (HR), grave / grob 164 (Ložnjak Dizdar *et al.* 2019, 20); **4** – Frög (A), tumulus 235, grave / grob 1 (Tomedi 2002, 563; Pl. 90:1); **5** – Bischofshofen (A), grave / grob 67 (Lippert, Stadler 2009, 16, Pl. 22: 3) with twisted bow / s tordiranim lokom; grave / grob 261 A (Lippert, Stadler 2009, 53, Pl. 66: 6) with twisted bow / s tordiranim lokom; **6** – Uttendorf (A), grave / grob 56 (Moosleitner 1981, Fig. 2: 6; Metzner-Nebelsick 2007, 714 Fig. 2: 4) with a twisted bow / s tordiranim lokom; **7** – Loretto (A), grave / grob (unpublished, information / neobjavljeno, informacija L. D. Nebelsick); **8** – Hohenau (A), grave find / grobna najdba (Hörler 1953, Pl. 98); **9** – Maiersch (A), grave / grob 61 (Berg 1954, Pl. 20) with twisted bow and triangular foot / s tordiranim lokom in trikotno nogo; **10** – Sopron-Warischberg (H), fortified settlement / utrjeno naselje (Patek 1981, 8 Fig. 4: 8) with twisted bow and triangular foot / s tordiranim lokom in trikotno nogo; **11** – Oslip (A), settlement / naselbina (Burgenländisches Landesmuseum Eisenstadt, unpublished, information / neobjavljeno, informacija K. Kaus); **12** – Maria Enzersdorf (A), hillsite settlement / višinsko naselje (Kyrle, 1912, 225); **13** – Großmugl (A), settlement / naselje (Lauermann 1990, Fig. 24); **14** – Bad Deutsch Altenburg (A), chance find / naključna najdba, (Mahr 1914, 158, No. 12752)

Dalj, Vukovar, and Vinkovci (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, Figs. 67; 70: 4 I/3). The *kantharos* from Grave 105 in Batina (*Pl. 2:* 5) has a similar shape to one from Grave 101. The only difference is that the decoration on the *kantharos* from Grave 105 consists of continuous vertical channelling with no interruptions except right under the handles. Such examples are rare in the Middle Danube region. It is worth noting that no chronological difference has been observed among the *kantharoi* described above.

Fibulae

Double-looped fibulae with indented bows, which are characteristic of the North Pannonian and Alpine regions (*Fig. 4*), were found in Batina graves 101 (*Pl. 1:* 1) and 105 (*Pl. 2:* 1). Other fibulae of this type had been found during earlier diggings in Batina (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, Pl. 8: 1) and in Grave 58 in Doroslovo (Trajković 2008, 81, 232, Grave 58: 4). Recently, another example has been discovered in Grave 164 in Sotin (Ložnjak Dizdar *et al.* 2019, 20). Thus, five fibulae of this type have been found in this small segment of the Middle

Danube Region. Outside this cluster, such fibulae were particularly common in the Kalenderberg group in Lower Austria and Burgenland (Romsauer 1992; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 422: Fig. 190; 538). In addition, they are known from the Hallstatt cemeteries in Bischofshofen with specimens from two graves (Lippert, Stadler 2009, 16, Pl. 22:3; 53, Pl. 66: 5) and Uttendorf in the state of Salzburg (Moosleitner 1981, Fig. 2:6) and Frög in Carinthia (Tomedi 2002, 563; Pl. 90: 1). All contextualised fibula of this type been discovered in women's graves, so it can be seen as a dress accessory with a distinctly female connotation. The context of the fibula example from Uttendorf, Grave 56 is particularly interesting (Moosleitner 1981, Fig. 2: 6; Metzner-Nebelsick 2007, 714: Fig. 2). It was found together with five additional fibulae: two horse-shaped fibulae (another specifically female fibula type (Metzner-Nebelsick 2007)), a boat-shape fibula with a decorated bow, a fragmented bow fibula and a semi-lunular fibula. What makes the Uttendorf cremation grave such an interesting comparison to Batina Grave 105 is that the entombed woman was identified as a spinner and weaver. A double-conical spindle-whorl in this grave was accompanied by seven miniature loom weights. Five of them were decorated with target ("Kreisaugen") décor. Although the grave pits in the Alpine cemetery of Uttendorf are small and thus modest in comparison to eastern Hallstatt burial chambers, the high status of the woman in Grave 56 is evident. Her elaborate dress accessories include one of the most abundant fibulae assemblages in a grave of the early Hallstatt period. In addition, the loom weights in this grave belong to the few that were found in Hallstatt Period funerary contexts (Teržan 1996, 513–517). The decoration of the loom weights and the fact that they were carved from stone emphasise the exceptional character of this grave good. These grave goods were accompanied by a bear tooth amulet, which constitutes additional symbolic value. The ensemble not only reflects a woman of high status but very probably also her role as a performer of rituals within her community.

Regarding the date of this fibula type, they belong to the developed Early and the beginning of the Late Hallstatt period. One example comes from the child Grave 61 in Maiersch in Lower Austria, where it was found on the upper part of the body in this Ha D1 burial (Berg 1962, 30–31, Pl. 20: 1). The find from Grave 58 in Doroslovo dates to the same period. The fibula is associated with horizon IV pottery types, according to Metzner-Nebelsick. A small iron bow fibula in this grave confirms the dating to the transition from the Early to the Late Hallstatt period (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 422, Fig. 190). The fibula from Grave 105 in Batina with an hourglass-shaped foot is older, as are the examples from central Austria. It dates to the 7th century BC (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 411–415, Fig. 184; Heilmann 2016, 17, Fig. 7A). The fibulae from the inner Alpine cemetery of Uttendorf and Bischofshofen, Grave 261A (Lippert, Stadler 2009, Pl. 66: 6)[1] date to the Ha C2 period. In the Bischofshofen grave, the fibula is accompanied by two bronze rings with overlapping ends, a tweezer, and another fibula with a double-looped bow. Interestingly, the bow of this second fibula is attached to the pin by two rivets (Lippert, Stadler 2009, Pl. 66: 5). This mode of construction is not characteristic of a particular type of bow fibula and has a wide distribution with a concentration in the western and central Balkans and Romania (map: Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 421 Fig. 189). It is also attested in Batina and in Dalj Busija from the grave vineyard Poštić 1911/23 (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 419–421, Fig. 188–189; Pls. 32: 9; 39: 15; 101: 10). The accompanying finds of Grave 67 from Bischofshofen (Lippert, Stadler 2009, 16, Pl. 22: 3) do not allow a more precise dating. The fibulae from Uttendorf are the most western examples of this specific construction known thus far. This may indicate that this inner Alpine community had close contact with the Middle Danube region. The fibula from Frög, tumulus 235, Grave 1 was associated with bronze wire, while the additional finds from this grave, excavated in 1890 by an amateur, were not recorded (Tomedi 2002, 563; Pl. 90: 1). Thus far, double-looped fibulae with indented bows from settlement contexts are only known from the distribution cluster in eastern Austria and northwest Hungary.

Due to the new finds from Batina and the comparison from the Salzburg area, the double-looped fibula with an indented bow can now be described as a type with quite a long lifespan. This is so if one only considers the specific form of the indented and mostly twisted bow as being definitive. As is the case with many other fibula types, the form of the foot proves to be a trait that is more chronologically sensitive.

[1] The sex of the deceased could not be determined (Renhart in Lippert, Stadler 2009/1, 307).

Ringlet

Ringlets of bronze wire have often been found in graves in Dalj, Sotin, and Batina (*Pl. 1: 2*). The territory of the southern part of the Middle Danube region is the meeting point of two types of hair jewellery made of bronze wire. The southern Pannonian type is documented in graves of the Urnfield culture, and the Lower Danube type is found in graves associated with the Bosut group (Vasić 1996, 16–17, Fig. 1). The bronze-wire ringlet appeared at the end of the Late Bronze Age, in graves from Batina and Sotin, where they can be dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. One of the latest assemblages with a hair ornament of this type is Grave 141 in Doroslovo, which contains a double-looped bow fibula with a foot in the shape of a Boeotian shield (Trajković 2008, 307–308, Grave 141, 17–25). This grave is dated to the first quarter of the 6th century BC after R. Vasić (2008, 348) or to the 7th and 6th centuries BC according to the work of Heilmann (2016, 16, Fig. 5). These ringlets may be considered to be a local type of Early Iron Age hair jewellery native to the southern part of the Middle Danube region.

Bracelets or anklets

The remains of iron rings, probably bracelets or anklets of similar diameter as the specimens from Grave 105 in Batina (*Pl. 2:* 3–4), were also discovered in graves 26, 58, and 135 in Doroslovo (Trajković 2008, Grave 26: 10; Grave 58: 11, Grave 135: 10). Similar finds of smaller diameter were found in Grave 28 in Doroslovo (Trajković 2008, Grave 28: 11–12). Anklets of the same diameter were discovered in Grave 5b and inhumation graves 6, 8, 17 in Vajuga Pesak, dated to the 8th century BC (Popović, Vukmanović 1998, 20–21, 26, Figs. 13; 21; Pls. 6: 13–15, 17–18; 7: 22–23, 27; 19: 10–13). One hypothesis, based on the assumed diameter size and the square section of these rings, is that this ring jewellery was also worn as anklets.

Pendant

Stone artefacts are not uncommon in graves in the Danube region. These are most often grinding stones (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 398–402), but there are small stones as well (Trajković 2008, Grave 11: 5–7). An object of worked stone, which could have been worn as a pendant, was discovered in Grave 99 in Doroslovo (Trajković 2008, Grave 99: 6). A stone pendant was found together with cremated bones in Grave 69 in Sotin. Another example was recorded in Grave 34 in Nova Tabla in Prekmurje (Guštin *et al.* 2017, 446, Cat. No. 1047). There is also a stone pendant in the collection of Early Iron Age grave finds from Dalj, although without recorded associated finds (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, Pl. 49: 11). The stone object from Grave 105 in Batina (*Pl. 2:* 2) is not perforated, but its shape and groove may indicate that it might have been a pendant.

Knives

The metal objects found in the urns in Grave 101 and Grave 105 included iron knives with curved blades and tangs (*Pls. 1:* 3; *2:* 6). Numerous parallels for similar iron knives were documented in the Doroslovo cemetery, where they are also most frequent in female graves dated to pottery horizons IIIa–b and IV (Trajković 2008, 48, 200, Grave 21: 9; 52; 206, Grave 27: 8; 70; 222, Grave 46: 9). Three variants of knives were identified: elongated knives with a tang; knives with a curved blade; and knives with an angular, curved blade. They do not have a precise chronological identification within the Hallstatt period (Vasić 2008, 343, 349). Iron knives appear in both female and male graves according to archaeological analysis in south-eastern Pannonia (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 409).

Ceramic spindle-whorls

Ceramic spindle whorls are frequently found in the graves in Batina. Most often, the finds consisted of a single spindle-whorl, but some graves contained several (*e.g.*, Grave 36, Bojčić *et al.* 2018, 166–167, Pl. 1: 1). Grave 105 (*Pl. 2:* 9–28) is an outstanding find context. The urn from this grave contained as many as 20 biconical spindle-whorls of different sizes and weights (Hršak *et al.* 2017, 41–42, Figs. 2–3).

The biconical spindle-whorls from Grave 101 (*Pl. 1:* 4–5) have parallels in Batina, Dalj and Erdut (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 599, 667, 687; Pl. 5: 11; 65: 5; 106: 7). A biconical spindle-whorl of a very similar size has was found among the cremated remains of a female and child in Grave 1 in Sotin (Ložnjak Dizdar 2019, 97, Pl. 2: 3).

Two small biconical spindle-whorls were found in graves 110 and 138 in Doroslovo (Trajković 2008, 117; Grave 110: 7–8; Grave 138: 20). The shape of the spindle-whorls from Grave 101 and Grave 105 in Batina belong to the spindle-whorl type that was commonly in use in the area of the Dalj group. Examples are known from Dalj, Erdut, and Batina (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 667,

Pl. / T. 2:	Weight / Teža (g)	Diameter / Premer (cm)	Height / Višina (cm)	Diameter of the hole / Premer luknje (cm)
9	55	4.7	3.6	1.5
10	19	3.1	2.5	0.9
11	17	3.2	2.8	1.0
12	14	2.9	2.2	0.8
13	14	2.9	2.3	0.7
14	13	2.9	2.2	0.8
15	13	2.9	2.1	0.8
16	12	2.8	2.2	0.7
17	12	2.6	2.1	0.8
18	11	2.7	2.1	0.7
19	8	2.5	2.0	0.8
20	7	2.2	1.6	0.6
21	6	2.2	1.7	0.6
22	5	2.2	1.8	0.6
23	5	2.0	1.6	0.5
24	5	2.0	1.5	0.5
25	4	2.0	1.4	0.6
26	4	1.9	1.5	0.5
27	4	1.9	1.5	0.6
28	4	1.9	1.6	0.5

Tab. 1: Batina. Measures and weight of the spindle whorls found in Grave 105.
Tab. 1: Batina. Mere in teža vijčkov iz groba 105.

599, 687; Pl. 65: 5 106: 7; 5: 11; Hršak *et al.* 2017, 41–42, Figs. 2–3; Bojčić *et al.* 2018, 166–167, Pl. 1: 1). The graves in the Doroslovo cemetery most often include one or two spindle-whorls; biconical spindle-whorls were the most numerous (Vasić 2008, 342; Trajković 2008, Grave 6: 5–10). Spindle-whorls can be considered to be a characteristic gendered object appearing mostly in the graves of women during all the phases at the Dalj group cemeteries, including Batina and Sotin. In Doroslovo, there were also spindle-whorls in male graves, as established by anthropological analyses (Trajković 2008, 229, Grave 52: 6–7; 249–250, Grave 90: 12; 252–253, Grave 92: 11–12; 310, Grave 144: 4; 318, Grave 149: 6–7; Živanović 2008, Pl. 3). Although it is not possible to discuss this in detail here, it is likely that they either represent a gift to the deceased man by a woman or reflect changing activities in men's lives. Undecorated biconical spindle-whorls appear during the Kalakača horizon (Bosut IVa) in the settlement of Gradina na Bosutu (Medović, Medović 2011, 282, Fig. 258: 1, 4) in Syrmia.

Spindle whorls are attested as grave goods in south-eastern Pannonia, the eastern Alpine region (Grömer 2016, 83–84, Fig. 39), and in Donja Dolina in northern Bosnia. They are not a frequent grave good in the Glasinac territory and the area of the Basarabi culture, nor do they occur in graves of the Füzesabony-Mezőscát group in neighbouring Hungary. This clear cultural difference was pointed out by Metzner-Nebelsick (2002, 201). The small size and weight of the spindle whorls found in Grave 101 in Batina may reflect the production of fine woollen yarn that was common in the Hallstatt period (Grömer 2016, 87).

Grave 105 included a large spindle-whorl weighing from 55 to 4 g (*Tab. 1*). This grave has the largest set of spindle-whorls in Batina. These two sets belong to the group of light spindle-whorl sets weighing up to 25 g, which have the best performance with thin threads of yarn up to 0.7 mm thick (Grömer 2016, 86–87, Fig. 41). Woollen textiles are usually thinner and are made of a single yarn (1–2 mm thick). Textiles became thinner and finer from the Late Bronze Age onwards, especially in the Early Iron Age (Belanová Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 12).

Similar but smaller spindle-whorl sets were found in graves in Doroslovo, where 28 graves contained spindle-whorls in numbers ranging from 1 to 10 (Trajković 2008, Grave 6: 5–10). The most numerous are single spindle-whorls (in 12 graves), then two (in 8 graves), three (in 4 graves), five (in 1 grave), and six spindle-whorls (in 2 graves). Grave 138 has the largest set of spindle-whorls: 10 specimens with diameters ranging from 2.2 to 5 cm (Trajković 2008, 151–152, 301–302, Grave 138: 11–20).

The largest assemblage of spindle-whorls forms a grave of the eastern Hallstatt culture and comes from a cremation burial in the tumulus necropolis of Frög in Carinthia. Tumulus BDA 193 contained most likely a double burial indicated by male and female grave goods. The surviving burnt items with a female connotation included three fragmented fibulae, several rings, amber pieces and 33 spindle-whirls of different sizes and shapes, most of them decorated (Ebner-Baur 2020, 155, Fig. 106; 361–364, Figs. 156–159). They were placed in one spot next to a broken clay spacer with a waterfowl's head (Ebner-Baur 2020, 342 Fig. 154–155).

One question raised by the deposition of textile production tools in graves is whether a certain tool

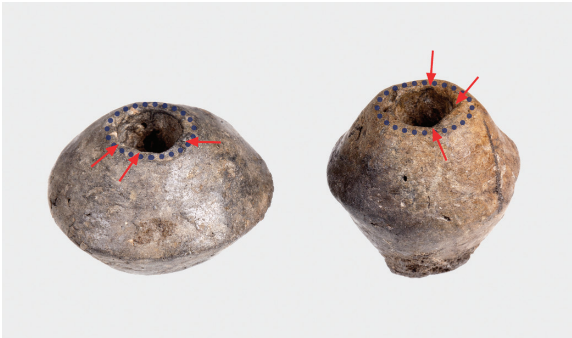


Fig. 5: Batina, Grave 101. Two spindle whorls. Blue dots represent the surface that has been smoothed or rounded, probably by repeated rubbing of yarn on the spindle while spinning. Red arrows indicate places where there are visible spall detachments, possibly results of wedging the spindle shaft or some other material between it and the whorl for securing it in place.
Sl. 5: Batina, Grob 101. Keramična vijčka. Modre pike kažejo zglajeno ali zaobljeno površino, verjetno obrabljeno zaradi večkratnega predenja. Rdeče puščice označujejo vdolbinice, ki so morda nastale ob zagozditvi preslice v vijček.

had been used by the deceased (or their community) prior to the funeral or if it was produced specifically for use as a funerary gift (Forte, Lemorini 2017, 166). It is also important to note the possible distinction between the intended function of an object and its actual function. For example, an object might have been produced in the shape of a whorl with spinning as its intended function, but it may have been actually used as a bead or pendant, a funerary offering or for any other unidentified purpose (Crewe 1998, 61). Scholars have addressed this question (Crewe 1998; Forte, Lemorini 2017; Forte *et al.* 2019; Żebrowska 2020) by comparing use-wear traces and residues of wear and use noted on various archaeological collections with results obtained from an experimental approach of weaving and spinning with copies of original loom-weights and whorls, respectively. The low-whirl drop-spindle technique, which is considered to be the predominant one used during prehistory in the northern Mediterranean (Gleba 2008, 100) and in Central Europe (Grömer 2016, 79), tends to leave specific use-wear traces along the edges of the perforation and on the surfaces within the hole itself (Forte *et al.* 2019, 4/8). Usually, these traces are seen as flattening, rounding, or even smoothing or polishing of the edge or surface, as well as spall detachments surrounding the perforation (Forte *et al.* 2019, 4/8). The rounding and smoothing of the protruding surface and the edges of the whorl perforation could be a result of a repetitive and continual rubbing of the yarn being spun and wound onto the spindle (Żebrowska 2020, 132). Indentations close to the hole edge are likely to be the result of chipping of the baked clay material as a result of the repeated insertion of the spindle shaft through the whorl perforation (Forte, Lemorini 2017, 167), as well as wedging in some other material between the spindle shaft and whorl, to keep the whorl secure (Crewe 1998, 61).

Most of the spindle whorls from graves 101 and 105 have some of the mentioned use-wear traces visible around the edges of the perforations. The two spindle whorls from Grave 101 (*Fig. 5*) both have visible rounding and smoothing of the edge and the surface around the perforation, as well as several visible spall detachments. Similarly, almost all spindle whorls from Grave 105 show smoothing or levelling around the perforation edges, as well as irregular indentations as a result of spall detachments. These traces suggest that these spindle whorls were not specifically produced with the sole function of a funerary gift. Moreover, they were probably used as spinning tools, at least for a short time, either by the deceased and placed in the grave as their belongings or by the community as a parting gift.

Sets were most often found in the graves of specialists; their different weights and shapes affected the quality of yarns for different types of textiles (Gleba 2009, 72).

However, it should not be ruled out that the women whose graves contained spindle-whorls had other textile-making skills as well, judging from other finds related to weaving and textile sewing skills, such as from grave A014 in Statzendorf, which contained a small box with a sewing kit (Grömer 2016, 276–277, Fig. 149). The frequent finds of spindle whorls in graves indicate that many community members probably spun and that it was an important everyday activity for the economy of the community.

The analysis of the grave goods deposited with the women buried in graves 101 and 105 (the combination of a knife and sets of spindle-whorls) reveals a frequently encountered custom in the eastern Hallstatt world, in flat cemeteries as well as in tumuli (Ložnjak Dizdar 2015, 35, 39–40, Map 2). The observed combination appears in graves with a large number of ceramic vessels (*e.g.*, Slatina: Ložnjak Dizdar 2015), Nova Tabla Grave 70 (Guštin *et al.* 2017, 492–495) and in the graves of women equipped with a number of costume accessories (Trajković 2008, Grave 128:

11–18). Ensembles of this type correspond with the custom of the south-eastern Hallstatt culture, which is further evidence that the area between the Drava and Sava rivers is a part of the Hallstatt world, albeit in a peripheral position. Loom weights are a frequent find in graves, mostly in richly furnished graves of prominent female members of society (Teržan 2004, 222). The presence of spindle-whorls, or perhaps judging from the finds of several spindle-whorls (2–3 examples), even of complete spindle sets, probably indicates the special skills and perhaps the social status of the buried women, who may have been experienced spinners in life; otherwise, this may have been a parting gift from the community.

Both graves (*i.e.*, 101 and 105) can be dated to the middle to the second half of the 7th century BC, *i.e.*, to ceramic horizons IIIb and IV based on the typology of ceramic vessels and fibulae from grave assemblages.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF CREMATED REMAINS FROM GRAVES 101 AND 105

The human cremated remains from the graves were analysed using standardised techniques to gather information about the macroscopic appearance of the bone (colour, weight and completeness of the bone), the demographic profile of the individual (age and sex determination), and the presence of pathological conditions (Schmidt, Symes 2015).

Sex and Age

Grave 101 contained the skeletal remains of a single individual. The individual was estimated to be an older adult (35+ years) and possibly female.

The bone deposits in Grave 105 comprised a single individual. The individual was estimated to be an adult and possibly female.

Weight

In both graves, all bone fragments were weighed according to their category and the obtained values were converted into percentages. Bones from all the parts of the skeleton were present, including very small hand and foot bones. The majority of the bone pieces could only be identified within broad anatomical categories, such as a long bone, axial skeleton, or skull bones (*Tab. 2–3*).

The total amount of human bones in Grave 101 amounted to 1173.5 g (*Tab. 2*). The long bones were the most prevalent remains. Two groups of bones were under-represented: hand and foot bones and the axial skeleton. Most of the bones were found in the urn. A smaller amount of bones, mainly parts of the skull and several pieces of long arm/leg bones, were found in the central part of the grave, commingled with ash.

The 1664.4 g of bones were recovered from Grave 105 (*Tab. 3*). Again, the most prevalent remains were the long bones. Three categories are under-represented in this grave: skull bones, axial remains and hand/foot bones.

Anatomical region / Anatomski predel	**Weight / Teža (g)**	**%**
Total / Skupaj	1173.5	100.0
Cranial bones / Lobanjske kosti	182.0	15.5
Teeth / Zobje	3.3	0.3
Long bones / Dolge kosti	457.6	38.9
Axial bones / Aksialne kosti	3.2	0.3
Hand and foot bones / Kosti rok in nog	20.9	1.8
Unidentified bone fragments / Neopredeljivi kostni delci	506.5	43.2

Tab. 2: Batina. Human remains from Grave 101.
Tab. 2: Batina. Človeški ostanki iz groba 101.

Anatomical region / Anatomski predel	**Weight / Teža (g)**	**%**
Total / Skupaj	1664.4	100.0
Cranial bones / Lobanjske kosti	55.3	3.3
Teeth / Zobje	5.3	0.3
Long bones / Dolge kosti	660.6	39.7
Axial bones / Aksialne kosti	8.9	0.5
Hand and foot bones / Kosti rok in nog	6.1	0.4
Unidentified bone fragments / Neopredeljivi kostni delci	929.1	55.8

Tab. 3: Batina. Human remains from Grave 105.
Tab. 3: Batina. Človeški ostanki iz groba 105.

According to the literature, the weight of both graves was in the adult female range. McKinley (1993) estimates that the weights of British females for two samples can vary from 1227.4 g to 2216.0 g, with an average of 1615.8 g. The weight of female remains from contemporary cremations of Portuguese individuals lies between 1280.9 g and 3237.4 g, with an average of 2226.7 g (Gonçalves 2011). The average weight for Norwegian Bronze Age female burials was 455,6 g, with a range from 30 to 1950 g, while that for the Danish material was 700 g, ranging from 5 to 1913 g. In both samples, the weights were rather light when compared to the data from modern crematoria. However, according to the authors, the amount of bones found in graves is only a small part of a completely cremated skeleton, and there is no real reason for this disparity (Holck 2008[3]).

In both graves, the long bones were the most prevalent remains. The percentages for all categories of bone remains were below the expected values for each skeletal category in an inhumation burial. According to the literature, the weights of the cranial, axial, and limb bones have the expected values of 20%, 25% and 55%, respectively (Silva, Crubézy, Cunha 2009, 638). Two groups of bones were under-represented in both graves: hand/foot bones and the axial skeleton. One possible explanation is that the small bones of the hand and foot are usually on the edges of pyres and, therefore less accessible for gathering. The explanation for the lack of axial fragments lies in their nature since they have a higher content of trabecular bone, which can be destroyed because of taphonomic factors. The third under-represented category in Grave 105 was the skull bones. According to the published values, we would expect that around 20% of the skull bones would be preserved. To reach an explanation, we need to compare our values to those of the whole community buried in Batina. At present, we cannot exclude the possibility that there was a deliberate selection of a certain part of the skeleton for burial.

Colour

All the human bones collected in both graves had been exposed to heat. The predominant colour was grey/white in Grave 101 and white in Grave 105. The grey (incomplete oxidation) and white (complete oxidation) colours observed in all skeletal categories suggest that the majority of the remains of both individuals were exposed to high temperatures (>600–800°C) for some time.

ARCHAEOZOOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ANIMAL REMAINS FROM GRAVE 105

Material and methods

This study includes the animal remains collected from Grave 105. For the anatomical and taxonomical determination, we used a comparative collection of the Institute for Quaternary Palaeontology and Geology of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU). Traces of manipulation (burning and cut marks) were observed with a hand magnifier (×10). Acid from the soil caused heavy breakage and erosion of the surface of the faunal assemblage. For that reason, it was impossible to determine the sex of the animal, and it is difficult to determine the relative age of the animal. Where accurate taxonomical identification was not possible, bone fragments were categorised as animals of small, medium, or large size.

Results

The mammalian taxa identified in Grave 105 only included domestic animals: cattle (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus* sp.), sheep or goat (*Ovis / Capra*), and a category of animals of small to medium size (possibly sheep or goat, pig or a calf) (*Tab. 4*). In total, 430.1 g of bones were collected, of which 309.6 g belong to cattle. Cattle were the predominant taxon by the weight of collected bones, but also by the number of anatomical parts recovered (mandible, pelvis, lumbar vertebrae, sacrum, and phalanx III). The pelvic girdle in this is highly fragmented because of taphonomic processes (*i.e.*, high soil acidity). Nevertheless, part of the pelvic fragments can be refitted. The cattle remains from this grave belong to an adult animal and are probably part of the same individual. The dominant cattle are followed by animals of small to medium size, with 55.8 g of collected bones (ribs, vertebrae, and humerus). The pig remains consist of one tibia (13.3 g) and one instance from sheep or goat of one phalanx I (0.8 g). The weight of indeterminate bones is 50.6 g. The collected bones are unburnt but heavily eroded and highly fragmented. Cut marks were mostly observed on the cattle pelvis (*Fig. 6*), but one was recorded on the cattle mandible as well.

Interpretation

Distinguishing between the remains of sacrifices and feasts is rather complicated because these two events can be combined; animals may be sacrificed and then consumed by the mourners (Russel 2011; Hamilakis, Konsolaki 2004). In addition,

Taxon / Takson	anatomical element / anatomski del	weight / teža (g)	interpretation / interpretacija
Bos sp.	pelvis	166.3	sacrifice or remains of funeral feast / žrtvovanje ali ostanki pogrebne pojedine
	sacrum	59.8	
	lumbar vertebrae	39.7	
	mandible	41.2	
	distal phalanx	2.6	
Sus sp.	tibia	13.3	food offering / jedilna daritev
	humerus	38.9	
Ovis/*Capra*	proximal phalanx	0.8	non-food offering / nejedilna daritev
animal of small to medium size / srednje velike in majhne živali	costa	10.5	food offering / jedilna daritev
	vertebrae	6.4	
Indet.	–	50.6	–

Tab. 4: Batina. Animal remains from grave 105.
Tab. 4: Batina. Živalski ostanki iz groba 105.

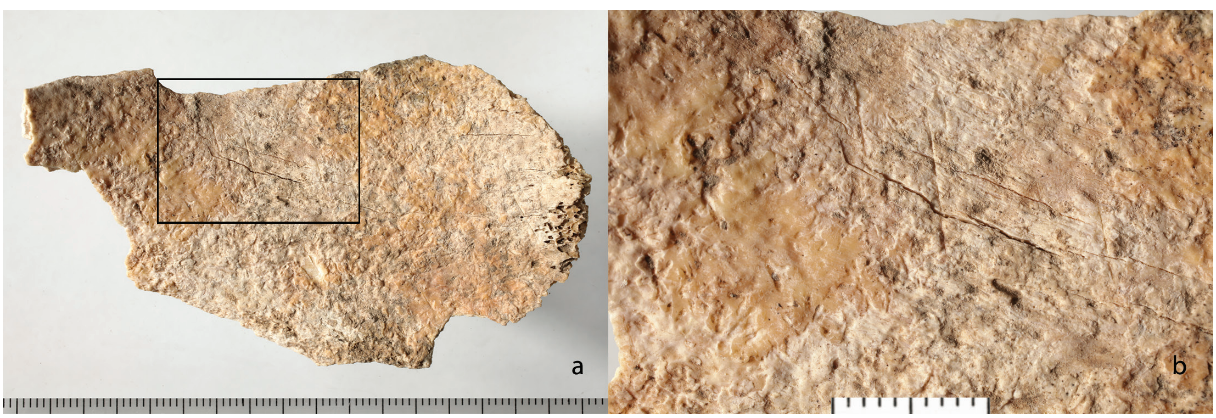


Fig. 6: Batina, Grave 105. Traces of multiple cut marks on the cow pelvis.
Sl. 6: Batina, Grob 105. Sledovi vrezov na goveji medenici.

animal sacrifice and the post-ritual distribution of animal parts may be essential to assign ritual efficacy and strengthen a community (Insoll 2010). Societies usually have a strict and narrow selection of preferred animal species in ritual sites (Horwitz 1999). With two domestic species (*Bos taurus*, *Sus* sp.) and an ovicaprid category (*Ovis / Capra*), Grave 105 fits into the above-mentioned strict social norms. Moreover, Russel (2011) states that although the remains of sacrifices and feasts appear in burial contexts in a wider variety of communities, they are largely limited to domestic animals. The fact that feasting remains come primarily from domestic animals perhaps indicates that they originated from a sacrifice (Russel 2011). Taking into consideration which bone elements of which species are placed in the grave, it can be assumed that cattle were probably used primarily in the funeral feast. According to Russel (2011), meaty animal parts showing signs of consumption are likely to be the remains of the funeral feast, while partial, non-meaty animal remains and intact animals may come from sacrificed animals. The cattle's pelvic girdle has obvious traces of consumption (multiple cut marks on the pelvis) and, along with valuable meaty parts, it fits better into the "remains of a funeral feast" category (*Fig. 6*). Other taxa in graves are represented by one or a few anatomical, mostly non-meaty, parts. The tibia fragments of a pig can indicate a food offering but are generally considered as a lower-quality cut (Binford 1978); therefore, they may be interpreted as a symbolic offering. In contrast, bone fragments such as phalanges are typical non-meaty parts and show no traces of human manipulation. Phalanges could represent non-food offerings that were thought to have protective power and could have been used as tokens or talismans (Kyselý *et al.* 2020). Pauli (1975) proposed that teeth, claws, and single animal bones from Hallstatt graves served as amulets, often associated with children and women as those most likely to need extra protection (Frie 2020, after Pauli 1975). Frie (2020) raised questions about whether these items belonged to the dead or were restricted to the mortuary sphere and whether these items served to protect the living from the dead or to protect the dead individual (Frie 2020). Three different domestic taxa whose presence had three different possible explanations were placed in a female grave. The fact that animals were important companions in Iron Age communities is well known, but their significance in mortuary rites remains obscured by complex rituals.

INTERPRETATION OF THE BATINA GRAVES

This concluding exemplary interpretation of the archaeological record of the Batina cemetery regarding these two graves will be done on the basis of multi-layered analyses (Härke 1993; Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 59–100). With the description of their context, the objects in them, and the biological remains, we will attempt to obtain detailed insights into the Early Iron Age funerary rituals.

Mortuary practices

The burial ceremony that led to the creation of Grave 101 was probably performed in the following way. An adult person, probably a woman aged 35+, was burned on the pyre. The remains of the pyre were first put in some organic container of a documented shape in the prepared grave pit. The urn was placed in the grave containing selected cremated remains of the dead and broken parts of her costume, which were partly exposed to the fire. Next to the urn, the mourners added parts of a ceramic set (*kantharos* and bowl) with food and drink as departing gifts. They placed the *kantharos*, probably filled with liquid, near the urn; then they added a bowl on the other side of the pile with the remains of the pyre. Then the grave pit was then covered.

The burial ceremony that created Grave 105 was probably performed in a more modest way. An adult person, probably a woman, was burned on the pyre with her spinning tools. The rest of the pyre (*i.e.*, the cremated remains of the dead along with remains of her costume and sets of spindle-whorls) was deposited in the urn and then covered with the bowl. The covered urn was laid in the grave. The *kantharos* was placed near the urn, and segments of an animal body as a meat offering were put west of the urn.

Potential burial rites can be reconstructed from the identified contexts of the funerary complex and the traces of grave goods (Sofaer 2015, 137; Fülöp, Váczi 2016; Nebelsick 2016, 22–28). Bidding farewell to the dead is a complex emotional event; in the Danube Basin in the Early Iron Age, this event followed some rules, which can be identified in the cemeteries with many investigated graves (Trajković 2008, 19). The transformation of the body by burning took place in the first part of the burial rite (Nebelsick 2016, 22–28, Fig. 1/1: 1); it was followed by the construction of the grave with the remains of the dead and the grave inventory, which certainly required earlier preparation of food and drinks as farewell gifts and their transport to the grave. The urn, the cremated remains of the dead, and the vessels were deposited according to a predefined plan, as indicated by the size of the burial pit. Graves with fewer vessels had a smaller burial pit, while graves with more vessels had a larger burial pit. The burial pits of graves 101 and 105 in Batina were dug taking the size of the urns and the other grave goods into account. The procedures and construction of such burials played an important role in the process of mourning and the handling of emotions of the community that bid farewell to the dead (Sofaer, Stig Sørensen 2013; Sofaer 2015, 145; Nebelsick 2016, 31). The preserved traces of objects in the graves allow us to reconstruct a part of that complex process and to interpret the meaning it had for the community.

Costume and personal items

The composition of the grave, which was set up at the end of the ritual and before the filling of the pit, meant the end of one cycle and the beginning of another (van Gennep 1909; Sofaer 2015, 147; Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 15). Traces of the previous life, burnt on the pyre and/or destroyed by breaking, were laid in the urn together with the bodily remains. They can be interpreted as personal items of the buried women. Considering their sizes, the fibulae probably belonged to the adult women buried in separate urns. Fibulae are not frequent grave goods in the graves of the Dalj group. Based on their typological characteristics, most fibulae

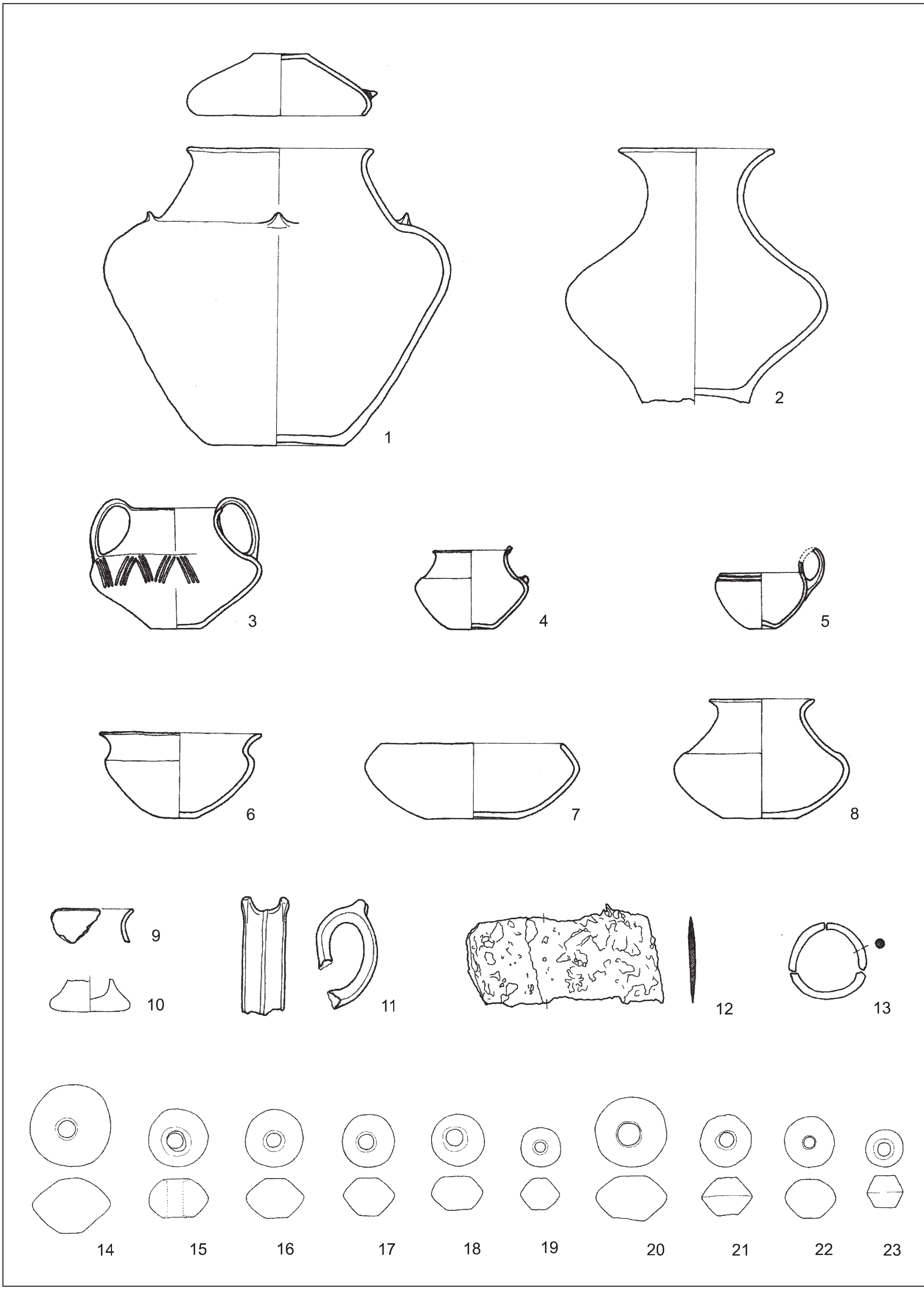


Fig. 7: Doroslovo, Grave 138. 1–11, 14–23 ceramic; 12 iron; 13 bronze. Not to scale.
Sl. 7: Doroslovo, Grob 138. 1–11, 14–23 keramika; 12 železo; 13 bron. Ni v merilu.
(after / po: Trajković 2008, 301–302)

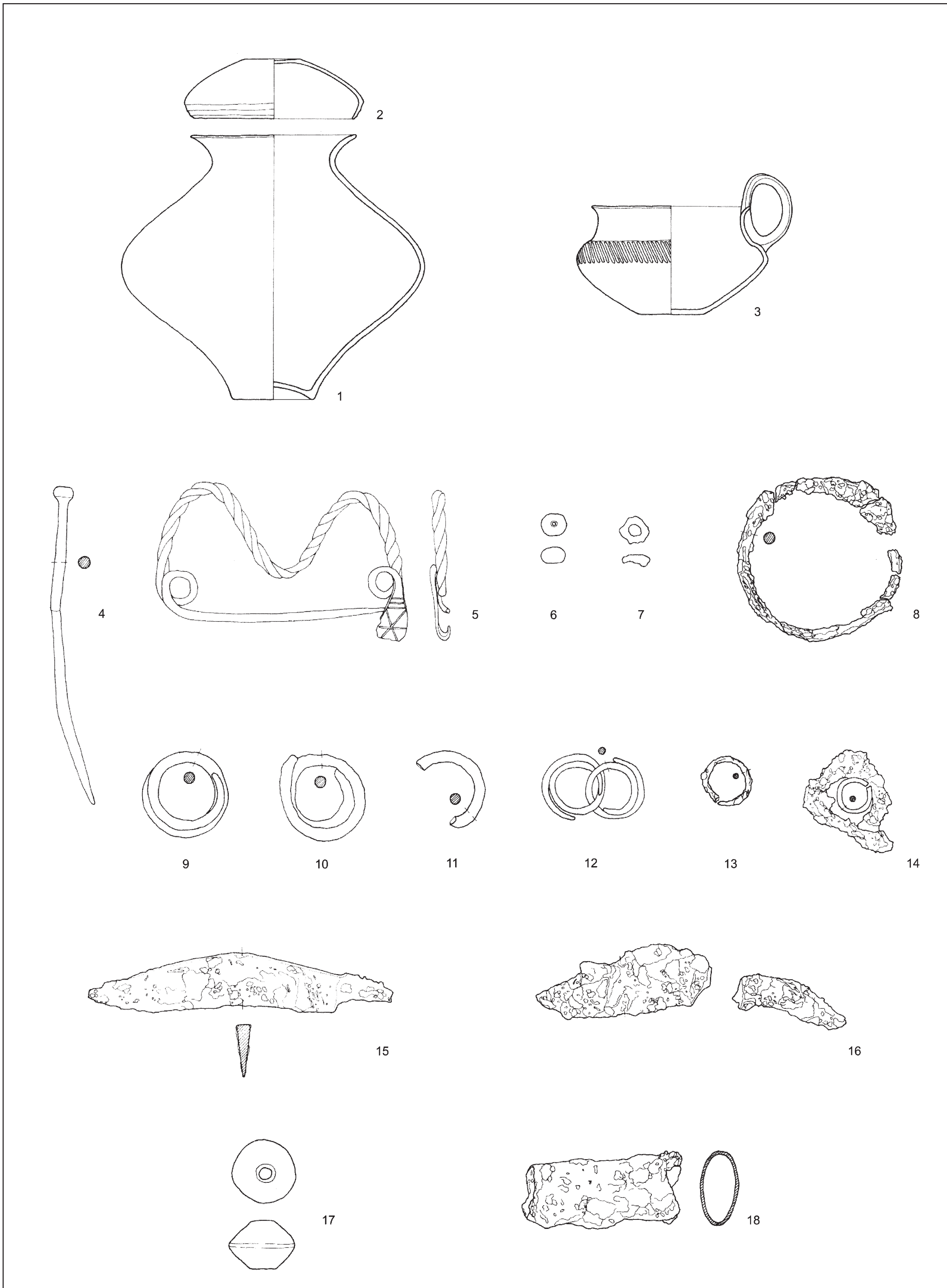


Fig. 8: Doroslovo, Grave 58. 1–3, 17 ceramic; 4–5, 9–13 bronze; 6–7 amber; 14 bronze and iron, 8, 15–16, 18 iron. Not to scale.
Sl. 8: Doroslovo, Grob 58. 1–3, 17 keramika; 4–5, 9–13 bron; 6–7 jantar; 14 bron in železo, 8, 15–16, 18 železo. Ni v merilu.
(after / po: Trajković 2008, 232–233)

belong to types worn within the eastern Hallstatt sphere (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 413–426, Figs. 184, 190), while there are fewer finds of fibulae that can be associated with the Balkans sphere (Vinski, Vinski-Gasparini 1962, Figs. 108–112; Pls. II: 47; V: 62–63; VII: 75–80; VIII: 55, 58, 60–61; Heilmann 2016, 12–16, Figs. 3, 5; Gavranović 2007, 163–165, Fig. 8). Fibulae that can be associated with the Danube sphere are more rare finds in the graves related to the burial rite of the Dalj group, as in the case of Grave 75 from Vukovar Lijeva Bara (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 163, Pl. 124: 5–7). They are common grave goods in the inhumation graves recorded on the edge of the Dalj group, at the furthest western extent of their distribution (Balen-Letunić 2004, 17, 19–20, Pl. 5: 6–7; Vasić 1999, 59, Pl. 65). The individuals buried in inhumation graves may represent immigrants from the Basarabi cultural complex (Metzner-Nebelsick 2004). The distribution of double-looped fibulae with indented bows (*Fig. 4*) indicates that the area around Batina represents the eastern border of the distribution of this fibula variant, which is usually associated with the north-western Pannonian and the eastern and central Alpine regions.

A petite spindle-whorl found among the cremated bones in Grave 101 in Batina is smaller than the ones usually found in the graves of the Dalj group in Doroslovo (Trajković 2008, Grave 6: 5–10) and Batina (Bojčić *et al.* 2018, 166–167, Pl. 1: 1). It could point to the production of very fine yarn for specialised weaving. It is also possible that spindle-whorls could have been personal costume accessories of an adult, functioning as beads on an organic belt. If the spindle-whorls from both graves had served their basic purpose in the production of fine wool yarn, it is likely that the women from graves 101 and 105 were skilled in spinning and the production of textiles.

Different items related to textile production are common grave goods in the graves of the eastern Hallstatt sphere (Teržan 1996; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 201; Ložnjak Dizdar 2015, 39–40, Map 2) and are associated with the social status of the female members of the community (Teržan 1996, 529; 2004, 222; Eibner 2000/2001; Grömer 2016, 262–265).

The rich Grave 138 from Doroslovo (*Fig. 7*) is a close parallel to Grave 105 from Batina. It contained not only a pottery set but also tools (*i.e.*, a similar set of spindle-whorls) for textile production (Trajković 2008, 301–302, Grave 138: 11–20). Moreover, wealthy grave goods accompanying spinning equipment in these graves prove that these women had skills that guaranteed them a certain status within their community.

Another close parallel to Batina Grave 105 is Grave 58 from Doroslovo, which has a similar assemblage (*Fig. 8*) (Trajković 2008, 232–233, Grave 58). The grave contained an urn covered with a bowl, a large cup with a handle reaching above the rim, the same fibula type as in graves 101 and 105 in Batina, and an iron bracelet, 2 knives, and 1 spindle-whorl. The assemblage from Doroslovo Grave 58 also included bronze and iron rings, a bronze pin, and amber beads.

Farewell gifts

The custom of putting ceramic sets into graves was common in the Middle Danube Basin or the eastern Hallstatt sphere at the end of the Late Bronze Age and especially during the initial phases of the Early Iron Age (Nebelsick 1994, 312–315, 357, Fig. 4; 1997, 32; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 179–180, Figs. 79–80; Nebelsick 2016, 22–31).

The vessel set combining a bowl and a *kantharos* containing a liquid was a more modest one, pointing to the custom of providing farewell gifts for the voyage to the afterlife, which was common practice in the cemeteries of the Dalj group (Vinski-Gasparini 1983, 609; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 179–180, Figs. 79–80; Trajković 2008, 19). This custom was practised in the Early Iron Age, specifically during the IIIa–V ceramic horizons. However, no precise information can be given about the actual contents of the *kantharos* before performing residue analyses. A combination of a grave assemblage consisting of an urn with a lid and grave goods in the form of a *kantharos* and/or a bowl, and sometimes animal bones that are the remains of meat offerings, was recorded in the Batina cemeteries for graves other than Grave 105, *e.g.*, Grave 38 (Dizdar *et al.* 2021, 152–154). It is also known from Erdut (Minichreiter 1985, 26–27, Pl. XVI), Sotin (Ložnjak Dizdar, Hutinec 2014, 9–11, Fig. 3), and Doroslovo (Trajković 2008, 33; 188, Grave 8; 50–51, 203–204; Grave 26; 53, 207, Grave 28; 80–81, 232, Grave 58). The presence of this funerary vessel combination is not related to the sex of the deceased, according to anthropological analyses.

Unburned pieces of meat were a common grave good in the eastern Carpathian Basin and along the Danube ever since the Late Bronze Age (Ložnjak Dizdar, Rajić Šikanjić 2016, 117, Fig. 5). These unburned pieces of meat were deposited in graves in Doroslovo, where bones of cattle (*Bos*

Taurus) were found in almost all the graves, while parts of pigs were found in only a few burials (Blažić 2008, 360–361, Tab. 1). Cattle portions were also deposited in graves in the cemeteries of Füzesabony, Sirok, and Dormánd in the Tisza Basin (Metzner-Nebelsick 1998, Figs. 7, 10). Parts of cattle were also found in various forms in barrows of the northeast Alpine Hallstatt region (Nové Košariská, Bad Fischau-Malleiten, Hochholz, Bratčice, Langenlebarn). Bones with less meat or without meat, like astragali, were more frequent. It cannot be excluded that the remains of different animals found in the same place and prepared in the same way were the remains of a specific dish (Kmeťová 2017, 72–73, Tab. 2).

The quantity and composition of farewell gifts probably reflect the economic potential of the community or of the close relatives responsible for sending the dead on their way to the afterlife. This means that farewell gifts also give indirect evidence of the status of the dead and their close relatives in the community.

CONCLUSION

Graves 101 and 105 in Batina belonged to adult women. Their costumes included a fibula belonging to a type associated with the north-western Pannonian area of Lower Austria and the area of western Hungary. Moreover, Grave 101 contained a bronze ringlet like the aforementioned female graves from Batina and Doroslovo; these ringlets were a very frequent grave good in the women's graves of the Dalj group (Ložnjak Dizdar, Rajić Šikanjić 2016, 117–120, Fig. 6: 4). Based on the costume and personal items, it can be concluded that these women carried little bags of organic material such as cloth that were unusual in their community and that they were skilled in producing fine yarns. The individual buried in Grave 105 was a spinning specialist. Both urn types from these graves are similar to the canonical vessel type used as urns in the cemeteries of the Dalj group. The addition of other ceramic vessels in the grave is an indication of an extended burial ritual. The high frequency of graves with smaller sets of ceramic vessels as containers for provisions for the afterlife or as farewell gifts may indicate more egalitarian communities in this part of the Danube Basin during the Early Iron Age. These more modest graves with fewer grave goods in Batina may indicate that a large part of the community consisted of people with a similar or the same social standing, with the exception of those individuals buried in the richer graves under the tumuli. Tumulus graves in the Dalj group only occur in Batina, making it likely that this site was one of the centres of the eastern Hallstatt world (Metzner-Nebelsick 1997; Hršak *et al.* 2013; Dizdar *et al.* 2021).

The woman from Grave 105 in Batina was a distinguished member of her community, judging from her unique urn, her personal items: a fibula, and sets of spindle-whorls dating from the middle and second half of the 7th century BC. The tools in her grave indicate her valuable skills in textile production. Many depictions of women in the Early Iron Age show activities related to textile production, in particular spinning and weaving (Eibner 1986, 39–40; Eibner 2000/2001; Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 151–152, Fig. 7.2, Pls. 4–5). Textile production was very important for the household economy. Women who were skilled spinners and weavers possessed an important role in society, as attested in the wider European context by grave inventories, figurative scenes on vessels such as the famous vessel from Sopron, tumulus 27, the *tintinnabulum* (bell-shaped pendant) from Bologna, *Tomba degli ori*, or the wooden throne from Verruchio, *Tomba del trono, Rocca Malatestiana*, dated to the 7th century BC (Eibner 2000/2001, 108–109, Figs. 2–4; 2014, 47–48, Pl. 5: 33; Teržan 2004; Gleba 2009, 69). Textile symbolism is a central element in Early Iron Age burials in wider areas of central Europe, according to the archaeological record. Textile elements and images of spinning and weaving in burials refer to the high standing of women in Early Iron Age societies; it may also be connected with a ritual sphere (Eibner 1986; Nebelsick 1997, 127; Huth, Kondziella 2017). Specific fibula types as dress accessories indicate that the community in Batina was included in a wider communication network within the Pannonian plain and beyond, reaching as far as the inner Alpine area to the west. The fibulae from both graves 101 and 105 identify more prominent female members of the community of Batina during the Iron Age who owned and wore more exclusive jewellery of eastern Hallstatt fashion. The funerary rite (*i.e.*, the burial practice and related objects in these graves) represents female community members that did not stand out because of being given unusually numerous symposial grave goods. Instead, they were exceptional because of items used for textile production and specific jewellery that may rather reflect their skills and personal identity within the community that bid them farewell and prepared and selected their grave goods. Rebay-Salisbury hypothetically relates the presence of tools for textile production in graves to the seasonal nature of burials and activities taking place in the community in winter, which may also have affected the choice of grave goods (Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 70–71, Fig. 4.5).

Graves 101 and 105 in Batina illustrate the important role of women in Early Iron Age communities in the Danube region. The archaeological evidence for spinning equipment (spindle-whorls) indicates the high esteem their skills in textile production possessed in their community. The different sizes and weights of these spindle whorls (*Tab. 1*) are evidence for the refined production of yarn and, consequently, textiles in this region. The fibulae worn by those women represent not only their individual taste but also their contacts with more distant communities.

CATALOGUE OF GRAVE GOODS

Abbrevations: l. = lenght; w. = weight; h. = height.

GRAVE 101 (*Pl. 1)*

1. Bronze double-looped fibula with indented bow, the foot and one loop are is not preserved. Preserved l.: 8.3 cm.
2. Fragments of a burnt bronze ringlet. Preserved l.: 1.0–1.3 cm.
3. Small iron knife with a sharp curved blade and a tang. L.: 11.2 cm.

4-5. Two biconical spindle-whorls of dark grey clay with a polished finish. W.: 3.0 g.

6. Bowl with spherical biconical body and inverted rim. The bottom is flat. The outer surface is dark brown and occasionally dark grey to black, with a polished finish. The inner surface is dark brown with a partly polished finish. H.: 7.8 cm.
7. Kantharos with biconical body and two strap handles, thicker along the edges, reaching slightly above the rim of the vessel. The bottom is flat. On the shoulder, there is a metope decoration with groups of vertical grooves alternating with undecorated portions. Outer and inner surfaces are black with a markedly polished finish and are graphite-coated. H.: 13.2 cm.
8. Bowl with a spherical body and inverted rim. The bottom is flat and pronounced. The outer surface is dark brown and occasionally dark grey and black, with a partly polished finish. The inner surface is dark brown with a partly polished finish. H.: 9.2 cm.
9. Vessel with biconical body and conical neck. The rim is missing. The bottom is flat. On the shoulder, there is a shallow horizontal groove. The outer surface is black with a polished finish. The inner surface is dark brown and occasionally black, with a polished finish. H.: 32 cm.

GRAVE 105 (*Pl. 2*)

1. Fragments of a double-looped fibula with a twisted indented bow and hammered foot with a sundial shape. H.: 4.5cm; W.: 0.2 cm.
2. Oval pendant of a grey-white stone. One side, diagonally arranged, carried three small holes, possibly the remains of perforations. L.: 4.7 cm.
3. Fragments of an iron ring, probably a bracelet or anklet. Preserved l.: 9.0 cm.
4. Fragments of an iron ring, probably a bracelet or anklet. Preserved l.: 9.5 cm.
5. Kantharos with biconical body, with two strap handles that reach slightly above the rim of the vessel. On the shoulder, there is a decoration consisting of a series of vertical grooves. Only the space below the handles is undecorated. The outer and inner surfaces are dark brown to black with a polished finish. H.: 13.5 cm.
6. Fragments of an iron knife with a slightly curved blade. Preserved l.: 7.5 and 4.0 cm.
7. Bowl with a biconical body and inverted rim and a flat bottom. In the widest part of the bowl, there is a tongue-shaped, horizontally punctured lug. The outer surface is dark brown with a polished finish; the inner surface is black with a polished finish. H.: 8.4 cm.
8. Vessel with biconical body and tall conical neck ending in a funnel-shaped everted rim. On the shoulder, there is a horizontal rib with short oblique incisions. On two opposite sides below the rib, there are short vertical relief ribs with oblique incisions. The lower part of the body carries four symmetrically arranged downturned tongue-shaped handles. The outer surface is ochre to dark brown and black with a polished finish. The inner surface is ochre to light brown with a polished finish. H.: 61.6 cm.

9–28. Twenty biconical spindle-whorls with brown, grey-brown to dark grey colour, with a polished finish. One spindle-whorl is larger (*Pl. 2: 9*), while others belong to two sets of different sizes and colours. See *Tab. 1*.

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Grobova iz Batine kot primera ekonomske vloge in družbenega statusa žensk ob Donavi v starejši železni dobi

Povzetek

Materialni ostanki grobišč in naselij iz starejše železne dobe v srednjem Podonavju zrcalijo življenje tedanjih skupnosti, naseljenih ob Donavi (*sl. 1*). Največ podatkov prispevajo grobovi. Grobne pridatke je mogoče povezati z osteološkimi ostanki pokopanih oseb in jih preučevati z vidika njihovih identitet, prav tako njihovo vlogo v življenju skupnosti, ki so ji pripadali. Materialne sledi odsevajo lokalno proizvodnjo predmetov ter komunikacije znotraj lokalnih in širših regionalnih mrež.

Lokalni izdelki, kot so lončenina in pripomočki, uporabljeni v pogrebnih običajih, ter žrtvovane živali za pogrebne pojedine in poslednje slovo od preminulega so odraz vsakdanjega življenja v pogrebnih praksah. Značilni deli noše pokojnikov so bili del širše regionalne produkcijske sfere in so možni indici trgovine, menjave ali celo eksogamije.

V prispevku analizirana grobova 101 in 105 iz Batine, ki imata sicer različni grobni ansambel najdb, vendar isti tip fibule, sta ilustrativen primer statusa pokopanih ženskih oseb ter pogrebnega običaja v skupnostih, živečih na tem območju v starejši železni dobi.

BATINA − NASELJE IN GROBIŠČE IZ POZNE BRONASTE IN STAREJŠE ŽELEZNE DOBE

Batina je večslojno najdišče na severovzhodnem obrobju Banskega Brda v Baranji. Območje z geostrateško lego ob prehodu prek reke Donave je bilo naseljeno od neolitika. Naselbinski ostanki na skrajni severovzhodni točki planote Banskega Brda kažejo na pomembnost najdišča v pozni bronasti in starejši železni dobi. Sočasno grobišče se je razprostiralo vzdolž poti proti naselju. Večina tedanjih prebivalcev je bila pokopana v planih grobovih, le sežgane ostanke očitno nekoliko uglednejših pripadnikov skupnosti so pokopali v kamrah pod zemljenimi gomilami – tumuli.

V Batini so zaščitna izkopavanja potekala desetletja. Sistematična izkopavanja naselja pa je v letih od 1970 do 1972 opravil Muzej Slavonije pod vodstvom Danice Pinterović skupaj s Stephanom Foltinyjem, predstavnikom Smithsonian Institute Washington D. C., ter v sodelovanju s Ksenijo Vinski-Gasparini iz Arheološkega muzeja v Zagrebu (Pinterović 1971, 55–58). Grobišče so od leta 2010 sistematično raziskovali Arheološki muzej Osijek, Muzej Slavonije, Institut za arheologiju in Odsjek za arheologiju HAZU (Bojčić *et al*. 2011; 2018). Po dosedanjih rezultatih teh izkopavanj je bilo grobišče v uporabi v pozni bronasti in starejši železni dobi, od 11. do konca 7. st. pr. Kr. Po daljši prekinitvi so na tem mestu ponovno pokopavali v rimskem času, v 2. in 3. st. po Kr. (Dizdar *et al*. 2019, 95–97; Dizdar *et al*. 2021, 19–24).

GROBOVA 101 IN 105 IZ BATINE

Grobova 101 in 105 sta bila odkrita v vzhodnem delu grobišča iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe na Srednem v Batini, ležala sta v bližini tumula 2 (*sl. 3*).

Grob 101 (*t. 1*) je bil odkrit v sondi 18 (*sl. 3*). Grobna jama je bila velika 1,20 × 0,90 m in globoka okoli 0,66 m. Imela je pravokotno obliko z zaobljenimi ogli in navpične stene. Zapolnjena je bila s temnorjavo zemljo, ki je vsebovala odlomke keramike in sežgane človeške kosti. Keramična žara (*t. 1:* 9) s sežganimi kostmi in pepelom, verjetno z grmade, je stala v zahodnem delu grobne jame. V njej so bili najdeni še sežgan bronast obroč (*t. 1:* 2), dva vijčka (*t. 1:* 4, 5) in železen nož (*t. 1:* 3). Na žaro je bila poveznjena skleda (*t. 1:* 8). Pepel s sežganimi kostmi in deli sežgane bronaste fibule (*t. 1:* 1) so bili najdeni vzhodno od posode v osrednjem delu groba. Kantaros (*t. 1:* 7) je stal severno od žare, skleda (*t. 1:* 6) pa vzhodno od žganine.

V grobu 101 so bili ostanki kosti odrasle osebe, stare okoli 35 let. Verjetno gre za žensko. Teža žganih človeških kosti je znašala 1173,5 g (*tab. 2*). Najštevilnejše ohranjene so dolge kosti, slabše so zastopane kosti rok in nog ter hrbtenice. Večina kosti je bila najdena v žari. Manjša količina kosti, večinoma delov lobanje ter nekaj delov dolgih kosti, je bila pomešana s pepelom v osrednjem delu groba.

Grob 105 (*t. 2*) je bil odkrit v sondi 19 (*sl. 3*). Grobna jama je bila velika 1,28 × 0,83 m in globoka okoli 0,28 m. Imela je pravokotno obliko z zaobljenimi ogli in navpične stene. Zapolnjena je bila s temnorjavo zemljo. Keramična *žara* (*t. 2:* 8) s sežganimi kostmi in pepelom, verjetno z grmade, je bila položena v vzhodni del groba. Vsebovala je 20 vijčkov (*t. 2:* 9–28), sežgan železni nož (*t. 2:* 6), sežgane železne obroče *(t. 2:* 3–4), bronasto fibulo (*t. 2:* 1) in kamnit obesek (*t. 2:* 2). Na žaro je bila poveznjena skleda (*t. 2:* 7). Kantaros (*t. 2:* 5) je bil položen jugozahodno od *žar*e, živalske kosti so bile najdene v jugozahodnem delu grobne jame.

V grobu 105 so bili kostni ostanki odrasle osebe, verjetno *žen*ske, njihova teža je bila 1664,4 g (*tab. 3*). Večina ohranjenih ostankov pripada dolgim kostem. Slabše so zastopane kosti lobanje, hrbtenice in kosti rok/nog.

V grobu 105 identificirane živalske kosti pripadajo domačim živalim: govedu (*Bos taurus*), svinji (*Sus* sp.), ovci ali kozi (*Ovis/Capra*) ter živalim male ali srednje velikosti (mogoče ovce ali koze, svinje ali teleta) (*tab. 4*). Skupna teža odkritih živalskih kosti je bila 430,1 g, od tega pripada govedu 309,6 g.

Oba groba – 101 in 105 – je po tipologiji keramičnih posod in fibul iz grobnih setov mogoče datirati v drugo polovico 7. st. pr. Kr. oziroma v keramični horizont IIIb in IV.

Interpretacija teh grobov izhaja iz arheološke, antropološke in arheozoološke analize (Härke 1993: Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 59–100). Opis njunih kontekstov, pridatkov in bioloških ostankov pa daje detajlni uvid v pogrebne običaje starejše železne dobe na tem območju.

POGREBNI OBIČAJI

Pogrebni običaj v primeru groba 101 se je verjetno odvil na naslednji način. Odrasla oseba, stara okoli 35 let, verjetno ženskega spola, je bila sežgana na grmadi. Ostanke grmade so zbrali v organsko posodo (zaboj) in jo postavili v zanjo pripravljeno grobno jamo. V grob položena žara pa je vsebovala izbrane sežgane posmrtne ostanke pokojnice in zlomljene dele noše, ki so bili delno izpostavljeni ognju. Poleg žare so žalujoči pripadniki skupnosti kot poslovilni dar v grob položili keramični set (kantaros in skledo) s hrano in pijačo. Zraven žare postavljen kantaros je bil verjetno napolnjen s tekočino, na drugo stran kupčka ostankov z grmade so dodali skledo. Zatem so grobno jamo zasuli.

Pogrebni običaj v primeru groba 105 je bil skromnejši. Odrasla oseba, verjetno ženska, je bila sežgana na grmadi skupaj s priborom za predenje. Ostanke grmade – sežgane posmrtne ostanke pokojnice z ostanki njene noše in setom vijčkov – so položili v žaro in jo pokrili s skledo. Pokrito žaro so položili v jamo. Kantaros je bil postavljen zraven žare, deli žrtvovane živali so bili položeni zahodno od žare.

Iz grobnih kontekstov in sledov na grobnih pridatkih je mogoče rekonstruirati potencialne pogrebne običaje (Sofaer 2015, 137; Fülöp, Váczi 2016; Nebelsick 2016, 22–28). Slovo od preminulih je bil kompleksen emotivni dogodek: da so v Podonavju v starejši železni dobi sledili nekim pravilom, je mogoče ugotavljati na grobiščih, kjer je bilo odkritih več grobov (Trajković 2008, 19). Transformacija s sežiganjem trupla je bila prvi del pogrebnega običaja (Nebelsick 2016, 22–28, sl. 1/1: 1); po sežigu je sledil pokop posmrtnih ostankov pokojnika in grobnih pridatkov, kar je predhodno zahtevalo pripravo hrane in pijače kot pogrebnih darov ter njihov prenos do groba. Žara in posode so bile položene v grob po predhodno izdelanem načrtu, kar kaže velikost grobne jame. Jame grobov z manj številnimi posodami so bile manjše, tiste s številnejšimi posodami pa večje. Velikost grobnih jam 101 in 105 iz Batine je bila prilagojena velikosti žare in drugih grobnih pridatkov. Pogrebni ceremonial je imel pomembno vlogo v procesu žalovanja in soočanja z emocijami skupnosti, ki se je poslavljala od preminulega člana (Sofaer, Stig Sørensen 2013; Sofaer 2015, 145; Nebelsick 2016, 31). Ohranjene sledi na predmetih v grobu omogočajo prepoznavanje dela tega kompleksnega procesa in interpretacijo pomena, ki ga je imel za skupnost.

NOŠA IN OSEBNI PREDMETI

Na koncu pogrebnega rituala zasut grob je označeval konec enega cikla in začetek drugega (v. Gennep 1909; Sofaer 2015, 147; Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 15). Skupaj s posmrtnimi ostanki so bili v žaro položeni sežgani in/ali razlomljeni predmeti iz življenja preminulega. V primeru grobov 101 in 105 jih lahko interpretiramo kot osebne predmete odraslih žena, za kar bi govorila velikost fibul, ki sta jima pripadali. V grobovih daljske skupine fibule niso pogost predmet. Večina fibul s tega območja pripada tipom, ki so se nosili v vzhodnohalštatskem krogu (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 413–426, sl. 184; 190), le nekaj jih je mogoče povezati z balkanskim kulturnim krogom (Vinski, Vinski-Gasparini 1962, sl. 108–112; t. II: 47; V: 62–63; VII: 75–80; VIII: 55, 58, 60–61; Heilmann 2016, 12–16, sl. 3, 5; Gavranović 2007, 163–165, sl. 8). S Podonavjem povezane fibule so precej redke v grobovih daljske skupine, npr. v grobu 75 iz Vukovarja Lijeve Bare (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 163, t. 124: 5–7). Pogosteje so pridane v skeletne grobove, znane z obrobja skupine Dalj, in pomikajo mejo njihove pojavnosti proti zahodu (Balen-Letunić 2004, 17, 19–20, t. 5: 6–7; Vasić 1999, 59, t. 65). Morda so bile osebe, pokopane v skeletnih grobovih, imigranti iz kulturnega kompleksa Basarabi (Metzner-Nebelsick 2004). Vzhodna meja razprostranjenosti dvozankastih fibul s sedlasto uvitim lokom (*sl. 4*), ki so bile razširjene v severozahodni Panoniji ter vzhodnem in osrednjem alpskem prostoru, se nakazuje na območju okoli Batine.

Med žganimi kostmi najdena vijčka v grobu 101 sta manjša od običajne velikosti tovrstnih najdb v grobovih daljske skupine v Doroslovu (Trajković 2008, grob 6: 5–10) in Batini (Bojčić *et al.* 2018, 166–167, t. 1: 1). Morda nakazujeta izdelovanje zelo finega prediva za specializirano tkanje. Lahko bi bila tudi del osebne noše in sta morda služila kot jagoda na pasu iz organske snovi. Če so vijčki iz obravnavanih grobov služili svojemu osnovnemu namenu izdelave finega volnenega prediva, je možno, da sta bili ženski, pokopani v grobovih 101 in 105, vešči predenja in izdelave tekstila.

Različni pripomočki za izdelavo tekstila so običajni pridatki v grobovih vzhodnega halštatskega kroga (Teržan 1996; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 201; Ložnjak Dizdar 2015, 39–40, karta 2) in se povezujejo z družbenim statusom pripadnic skupnosti (Teržan 1996, 529; 2004, 222; Eibner 2000/2001; Grömer 2016, 262–265).

Po sestavi pridatkov je grobu 105 iz Batine podoben bogati grob 138 iz Doroslova (*sl. 7*). Tudi ta je vseboval set keramičnih posod in vijčkov za izdelavo tekstila (Trajković 2008, 301–302, grob 138: 11–20). Bogati grobni pridatki, povezani s pripomočki za predenje, pričajo, da so te ženske posedovale veščine, ki so jim zagotavljale določen status v njihovih skupnostih.

Drugo bližnjo primerjavo za grob 105 iz Batine predstavlja grob 58 iz Doroslova (*sl. 8*) s podobnim inventarjem (Trajković 2008, 232–233), ki je vseboval s skledo pokrito žaro, skodelo s presegajočim ročajem in isti tip fibule kot grobova 101 in 105 v Batini, poleg tega pa še železno narokvico, dva noža in vijček ter bronaste in železne obroče, bronasto iglo in jantarne jagode.

POSLOVILNI DAROVI

Ob koncu pozne bronaste dobe in še zlasti v začetni fazi starejše železne dobe je bilo v srednjem Podonavju in vzhodnem halštatskem krogu v navadi prilaganje keramičnih setov v grobove (Nebelsick 1994, 312–315, 357, sl. 4; 1997, 32; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 179–180, sl. 79–80; Nebelsick 2016, 22–31).

Set posod v kombinaciji sklede in kantarosa je eden skromnejših. Povezuje se z običajem prinašanja poslovilnih darov za pot v onstranstvo, kar je bila navada v daljski skupini v starejši železni dobi oziroma v času keramičnih horizontov IIIa–V (Vinski-Gasparini 1983, 609; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 179–180, sl. 79–80; Trajković 2008, 19). V kantarosih naj bi bila shranjena tekočina, vendar pred opravljenimi analizami organskih ostankov s sten posod ni mogoče opredeliti njihove dejanske vsebine. Kombinacija žare s pokrovom in pridatki v obliki kantarosa in/ali sklede ter ponekod živalskih kosti kot ostankov mesnega obroka je prisotna ne le v grobu 105, temveč tudi v drugih grobovih v Batini, npr. v grobu 38 (Dizdar *et al.* 2021, 152–154). Prav tako je znana iz Erduta (Minichreiter 1985, 26–27, t. XVI), Sotina (Ložnjak Dizdar, Hutinec 2014, 9–11, sl. 3) in Doroslova (Trajković 2008, 33; 188, grob 8; 50–51, 203–204; grob 26; 53, 207, grob 28; 80–81, 232, grob 58). Ta kombinacija posod v pogrebnem ritualu po rezultatih antropoloških analiz ni povezana z določenim spolom pokojnika.

Nežgani ostanki mesa so običajen grobni pridatek v vzhodnem delu Karpatske kotline in vzdolž Donave od pozne bronaste dobe. Pridani so bili v grobove v Doroslovu, med njimi so povsod zastopane kosti goveda (*Bos Taurus*) in le v nekaterih grobovih tudi deli svinje (Blažić 2008, 360–361, tab. 1). Deli goveda so bili pridani v grobove na grobiščih Füzesabony, Sirok in Dormánd v Potisju (Metzner-Nebelsick 1998, sl. 7; 10), prav tako so bili najdeni v grobnih kamrah severovzhodno alpske halštatske regije (Nové Košariská, Bad Fischau-Malleiten, Hochholz, Bratčice, Langenlebarn). Pogosteje so pridane kosti manj mesnatih ali brezmesnih delov. Ni mogoče izključiti, da so ostanki različnih živali, najdeni skupaj in pripravljeni na isti način, ostanki specifične jedi (Kmeťová 2017, 72–73, tab. 2).

Količina in sestava poslovilnih darov verjetno zrcali ekonomske zmožnosti skupnosti ali bližnjih svojcev, zadolženih za slovo od preminulega. To bi pomenilo, da so poslovilni darovi indirektni dokaz statusa mrtvih pa tudi njihovih svojcev v skupnosti.

ZAKLJUČEK

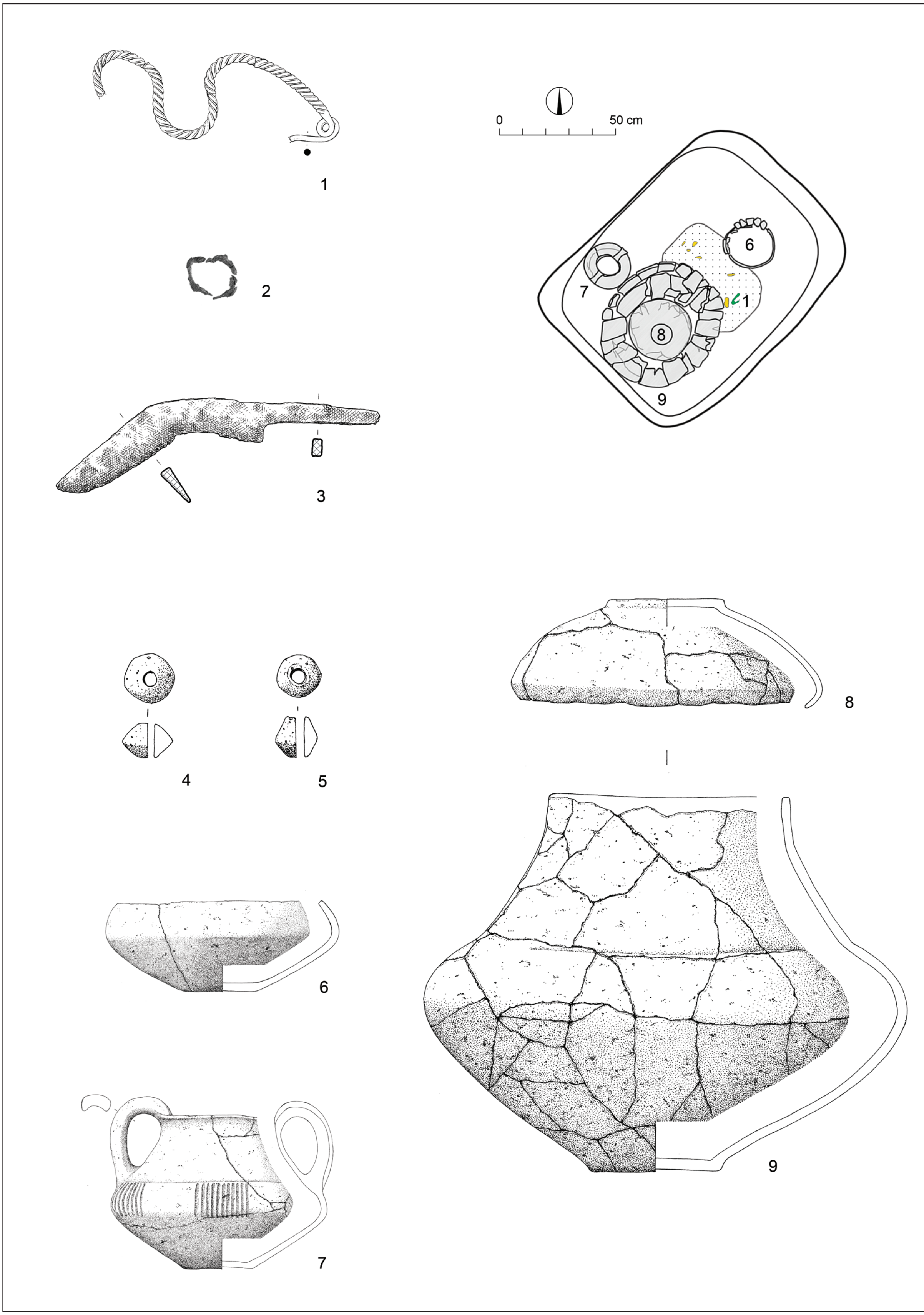
V grobovih 101 in 105 v Batini sta bili pokopani odrasli ženski. Njuna noša je vključevala fibulo, ki pripada tipu, povezanemu s severozahodno Panonijo oziroma območjem današnje Spodnje Avstrije in zahodne Madžarske. V grobu 101 je bil še bronast obroč, kakršni so pogosti v ženskih grobovih skupine Dalj (Ložnjak Dizdar, Rajić Šikanjić 2016, 117–120, sl. 6: 4). Po neobičajni noši in osebnih predmetih lahko sklepamo, da sta obravnavani ženski imeli majhni mošnji iz organske snovi in da sta bili vešči izdelovanja finega prediva, posebno tista, ki je bila pokopana v grobu 105. Žari z njunimi posmrtnimi ostanki sta podobni in predstavljata kanonski tip posod, uporabljenih za žare v grobovih skupine Dalj. Preostale pridane keramične posode odsevajo pogrebni ritual. Številčnejši grobovi z manjšimi keramičnimi seti s hrano in pijačo kažejo na bolj egalitarno družbo v tem delu Podonavja v starejši železni dobi. Da so tudi skupnost v Batini sestavljali večinoma ljudje podobnega ali enakega družbenega položaja, nakazujejo mnogoštevilni grobovi s skromnimi pridatki. Izjema so posamezniki, pokopani v bogatih grobovih v gomilah. Taki grobovi se v skupini Dalj pojavljajo samo v Batini in nakazujejo, da je bilo to najdišče eden izmed pomembnih centrov vzhodnohalštatskega sveta (Metzner-Nebelsick 1997; Hršak *et al.* 2013; Dizdar *et al.* 2021).

Ženska, pokopana v grobu 105 v Batini, je bila pomembna pripadnica svoje skupnosti, sodeč po žari in osebnih predmetih – fibuli in setu vijčkov –, ki datirajo v sredino in drugo polovico 7. st. pr. Kr. Pridani pribor kaže na njene dragocene veščine v izdelavi tekstila. Ženske v starejši železni dobi so pogosto prikazane v povezavi s to dejavnostjo, predvsem s predenjem in tkanjem (Eibner 1986, 39–40; Eibner 2000/2001; Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 151–152, sl. 7.2, t. 4–5). Izdelava tekstila pa je bila pomembna za hišno gospodarstvo. Vešče predilke in tkalke so imele v družbi pomembno vlogo, kar nakazujejo grobni inventarji v širšem evropskem kontekstu in figuralne upodobitve, kot so na posodi iz Soprona, tumulus 27, *tintinnabulum* (zvon*čast obesek*) iz Bologne, *Tomba degli ori*, ali na lesenem tronu iz Verruchia, *Tomba del trono, Rocca Malatestiana*, iz 7. st. pr. Kr. (Eibner 2000/2001, 108–109, sl. 2–4; 2014, 47–48, t. 5: 33; Teržan 2004; Gleba 2009, 69). Simbolika tekstila je po arheoloških virih osrednji element v grobovih starejše železne dobe na širšem prostoru srednje Evrope in odseva visok družbeni status tedanjih žensk, povezana pa je tudi z ritualno sfero (Eibner 1986; Nebelsick 1997, 127; Huth, Kondziella 2017).

Značilni tipi fibul v batinski noši kažejo, da je bila ta skupnost vključena v širšo komunikacijsko mrežo, ki je segala od panonske ravnice do notranjosti Alp na zahodu. Fibuli iz grobov 101 in 105 v Batini razkrivata ugledni pripadnici železnodobne skupnosti z ekskluzivnim nakitom vzhodnohalštatske mode, medtem ko pogrebni ritual ne kaže razlik v primerjavi z večino, saj jima ni bil pridan bogat keramični set s številnejšimi posodami. Njuno posebnost kažeta pridan pribor za izdelavo tekstila in specifičen nakit – odsevata verjetno njune veščine in osebno identiteto v skupnosti, ki je pripravila in izbrala grobne pridatke ob njuni smrti. Rebay-Salisbury hipotetično povezuje prisotnost pribora za izdelavo tekstila v grobovih z označevanjem letnega časa pokopa in dejavnostjo pozimi, kar bi prav tako lahko vplivalo na izbor grobnih pridatkov (Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 70–71, sl. 4.5).

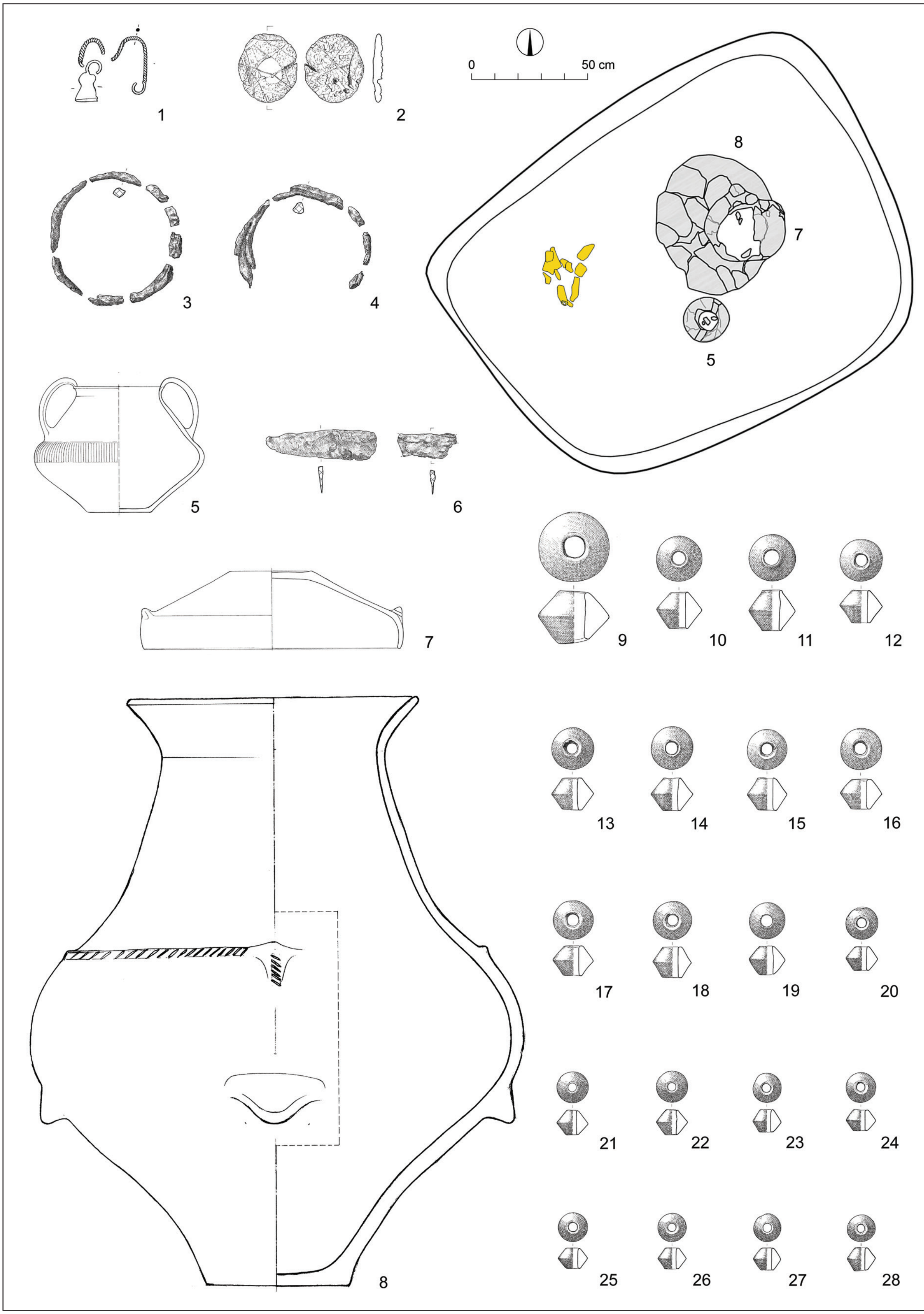
Grobova 101 in 105 v Batini ilustrirata pomembno žensko vlogo v skupnostih starejše železne dobe v Podonavju, povezano s tekstilno dejavnostjo. Različne velikosti in teža vijčkov (*tab. 1*) so dokaz prefinjene izdelave preje in tekstila v tej regiji. Fibule, ki so jih nosile ženske, pa ne pričajo samo o njihovem osebnem okusu, temveč tudi o njihovih stikih z zelo oddaljenimi skupnostmi.

Prevod: Sneža Tecco Hvala



Pl. 1: Batina, Grave 101. 1–2 bronze, 3 iron, 4–9 ceramic, yellow – cremated bones, green – bronze fibula. Scale 1–5 = 1:2; 6–9 = 1:5.

T. 1: Batina, Grob 101. 1–2 bron, 3 železo, 4–9 keramika, rumeno – žgane kosti, zeleno – bronasta fibula. M. 1–5 = 1:2; 6–9 = 1:5.



Pl. 2: Batina, Grave 105. 1 bronze, 2 stone, 3–4, 6 iron, 5, 7–28 ceramic, yellow – unburnt animal bones. Scale 1–4, 6 = 1:4; 5, 7–8 = 1:6; 9–28 = 1:4.

T. 2: Batina, Grob 105. 1 bron, 2 kamen, 3–4, 6 železo, 5, 7–28 keramika, rumeno – nežgane živalske kosti. M. 1–4, 6 = 1:4; 5, 7–8 = 1:6; 9–28 = 1:4.

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Illustrations: Fig. 3 (drawing: Arheoplan Ltd). – *Fig. 5* (photo: B. Jobst; marked by: J. K. Fileš Kramberger). – *Fig. 6* (photo: D. Doračić). – *Pl. 1* (drawing: M. Marijanović Lešić and M. Rončević). – *Pl. 2* (drawing: A. Kapuran and M. Rončević).
Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 3 (risba: Arheoplan d. o. o.). – *Sl. 5* (foto: B. Jobst; dodelava: J. K. Fileš Kramberger). – *Sl. 6* (foto: D. Doračić). – *T. 1* (risba: M. Marijanović Lešić in M. Rončević). – *T. 2* (risba: A. Kapuran in M. Rončević).

A Tauriscan Lt D obol from Lobor hillfort (Hrvatsko Zagorje, Croatia)

Tavriskijski mali srebrnik z gradišča pri Loborju iz obdobja Lt D (Hrvaško Zagorje, Hrvaška)

Tomislav BILIĆ

Izvleček

Med strokovnimi arheološkimi izkopavanji na gradišču pri Loborju so našli srebrni novec, podoben tavriskijskim malim srebrnikom tipa *Augentyp-Stamm*. Naselje je bilo utrjeno v poznem latenu (Lt D), kar je najverjetneje tudi časovni okvir, v katerem je bil novec odložen. Ta trditev je podkrepljena z dejstvom, da na najdišču ni sledov poselitve v zgodnjem cesarskem obdobju. Predpostavimo lahko, da je bil novec skovan v obdobju Lt D1, kar ustreza uveljavljeni kronologiji kovanja tavriskijskih novcev. Podobni novci so bili najdeni na primerljivih višinskih naseljih na ozemlju Tavriskov, vendar njihove prisotnosti predvsem zaradi maloštevilnosti in pomanjkljivih stratigrafskih podatkov, za zdaj ni mogoče poenostavljeno razložiti z uporabo v trgovini.

Ključne besede: Hrvaška; Lobor; Tavriski; gradišča; mlajša železna doba; novci; mali srebrniki

Abstract

A small silver coin complementary to the *Augentyp-Stamm* Tauriscan obols was found in controlled archaeological excavations at the Lobor hillfort. The hillfort was fortified in the late La Tène period (Lt D), which is also the most likely depositional context of the coin, since the site was clearly not occupied during the early imperial age. It can be assumed that the coin was produced in the earlier part of late La Tène (Lt D1), in accordance with the presently accepted chronology of Tauriscan coins. Similar obols were found at comparable hillfort sites in the Tauriscan area, but, due to their small number and lack of secure stratigraphic contextualization, this phenomenon is not easily explained in terms of commercial exchange.

Key words: Croatia; Lobor; Taurisci; hillforts; La Tène period, coins; obols

The hillfort at Lobor upon which the Our Lady of the Mountain sanctuary (Croatian: Majka Božja Gorska) now stands (henceforth 'the Lobor hillfort') is a multi-layered and multi-period site excavated in controlled archaeological excavations starting in the late 1990s.[1] It appears that the occupational activity on the site follows the general pattern established for the hillfort sites in the region, *i.e.*, an increased activity during the Lt D (starting with Lt D1) period followed by a late antiquity renewal of defensive structures established in prehistoric

[1] The fullest overview remains Filipec 2007. I would like to thank Krešimir Filipec for allowing me the opportunity to study and publish this coin.

periods.[2] A single Late Iron Age (hereafter 'LIA') coin was found at the Lobor hillfort, unfortunately, in an unclear stratigraphic context. Nevertheless, it is possible to offer some plausible interpretations with respect to both the issuing and deposition date – in general terms – for this coin via an analysis of the published data concerning the Lobor hillfort in combination with a comparison with other similar sites in the region.

The coin in question is a Tauriscan obol complementary with the *Augentyp-Stamm* Tauriscan obols.[3] Its poorly preserved obverse is lentil-shaped (*Buckelavers*), with a depiction of a horse to the left on the reverse (*Fig. 1*). Its weight is 0.59 g, with a diameter of 9.5 mm. It was most likely made of silver bullion, possibly with an admixture of copper or a copper alloy. Since no metallurgical analysis of the coin was conducted, this particular conclusion is based on the analyses of analogous coins from certain comparable sites in modern Slovenia (see below). Its recorded stratigraphic position does not reveal much: the coin was found outside the 'cinktor', an arcaded porch surrounding the later church building, surely in a secondary context (recorded as PN = 'Find No.' 434).

TYPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The obol – a small LIA silver coin[4] – found at the Lobor hillfort cannot be precisely classified with respect to the hitherto published Tauriscan obols.[5] It can, however, be generally associated with certain typologically differentiated groups of these small LIA coins. In terms of typology, metrology and style, it is most akin to an *Augentyp-Stamm* after KNS 749–755 group of obols from Celje, more precisely, from the bed of the Savinja River, of a median weight of 0.2 g (0.596–0.429 g) (*Fig.*

Fig. 1: Tauriscan obol from the Lobor hillfort. Scale = 3:1.
Sl. 1: Tavriški mali srebrnik z loborskega gradišča. M. = 3:1.

2: Augentyp-Stamm after KNS No. 3-749–755).[6] These obols are part of a larger class of Tauriscan obols with a lentil-shaped bulge on the obverse (*Buckelavers*) and a horse to the left on the reverse.[7] Their median weight is 0.4745 g, and most of the coins weigh between 0.55 and 0.40 g (*Fig. 2*: *Buckel*-horse).[8] These obols differ from the typologically similar *Karlsteiner Art* obols of a median weight of 0.4229 g (*Fig. 2*: *Karlsteiner Art*), which were also found in large numbers in Celje (the Savinja), which is perhaps also the place where both of these coin types were issued.[9]

Another notable class of Tauriscan obols has a depiction of a head on the obverse.[10] These small silver coins correspond to the Tauriscan tetradrachms of the Đurđevac (Gjurgjevac) and *Frontalgesicht*

[2] For bibliography, see the discussion in the continuation of the paper. The important later activity on the hillfort (in the first place, in the medieval period) will not be discussed here.

[3] For a preliminary publication of the coin, see Bilić 2021b and Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127.

[4] For a thorough discussion of metrological issues related to Tauriscan obols, see Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 119–120. 'Obol' is throughout used as a convenient provisional name for the LIA small silver coins (*cf.* Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 112 No. 58).

[5] On some current problems with the classification of Tauriscan obols, see Militký 2015, 143.

[6] KNS Celje No. 3-749–755, T. 22: 23–29 = Kos 1976, 217 Tab. II: 7–12. Similar pieces were found at Frauenberg (Schachinger 2001, 21–23 Nos. 13–17, *cf.* 18–19, weight range 0.68–0.56 g, median weight 0.58 g; *Fig. 2*: Frauenberg). They were perhaps struck at the site, since, along with the die-related coins, ceramic coin pellet mould tray fragments, of a size consistent with the size of flans used for small silver coins, were also recovered from the site (Schachinger 2001, 27–28). The site of Frauenberg is a sanctuary dated to the late La Tène period (presumably in use throughout the Lt D phase), and all the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols were found in the earliest occupational layer, thus clearly pertaining to an LIA horizon (presumably Lt D1); they might have been deposited as votive offerings (Schachinger 2001, 18).

[7] Kos 1976, 220–221, Pl. II: 2–14; KNS pp. 29–33, 63–67, Pl. 22: 14–36; 23; 24: 1–17; 40: 18–19,21–25; 42: 22–26. Previously, these coins were in general called 'East Norican', but today they are appropriately referred to as 'Tauriscan' (Schachinger 2020, 60).

[8] KNS pp. 28, 62.

[9] KNS pp. 28, 62; Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 120.

[10] Kos 1979.

Groups of obols mentioned in the text / Mali srebrniki, omenjeni v članku	**Median weight / Mediana teže**	**Weight span / Razpon teže**
horse-horse / konj-konj	0.90 g	1.00–0.66/0.67 g
Đurđevac	0.830 g	0.96–0.63 g
[head-horse / glava-konj]	[0.62 g]	[0.97 (Kos 1979)/0.92 (Kos 2015)–0.404 g]
Frauenberg	0.58 g	0.68–0.56 g
Lobor	0.59 g	
Augentyp-Stamm / očesni tip (after / po KNS 3-749–755)	0.52 g	0.596–0.429 g
Buckel-horse / *lečasto izbočenje*-konj	0.4745 g	0.55–0.40 g (most pieces / večina); 0.770–0.190 g (all / vsi)
Karlsteiner Art / *Karlsteinska zvrst*	0.4229 g	

Fig. 2: Median weights and weight spans of different groups of obols mentioned in the text.
Sl. 2: Srednje vrednosti in razponi tež različnih skupin malih srebrnikov omenjenih v članku.

type.[11] The median weight of these (at the time, the only three known coins of this type) obols is 0.62 g (*Fig. 2*: [head-horse]),[12] but this value should no longer be taken as confirmed, since the documented weight of the coin Kos 1979, No. 3 = Kos 2015, No. 10 was subsequently dismissed as unreliable.[13] Without this piece, the median weight can be calculated on the basis of mere two coins. Certainly, the weight of the Đurđevac obols calculated from a much larger corpus of coins that have appeared in the meantime (mostly on the numismatic market) is more relevant. Thus, the median weight of the Đurđevac obols of Kos' group 1 (of a head-horse type) is 0.830 g, with the weights ranging between 0.96 and 0.63 g (*Fig. 2*: Đurđevac).[14]

The chronology of Tauriscan obols, including the coin found at the Lobor hillfort, is derived from the chronology of corresponding tetradrachms. The time span in question encompasses the period from the late first half of the 2nd c. BC onwards, *i.e.*, from the late Lt C2 or the Lt C2/D1 transition onwards.[15] Instead of tediously repeating the arguments for this particular time-frame as the starting-date for the issuing of Tauriscan coins in general, I will here merely refer the reader to a study offering the latest extensive overview of all the available evidence.[16] This thorough analysis points out certain problems in the proofs upon which this dating is based (the Ljubljanica and Enemonzo hoards) but concludes that there is no solid evidence contradicting it, thus allowing it to stand, at least until new finds would make this dating no longer tenable.

Considering the larger weight of the horse-horse obols, it seems possible (solely on metrological grounds) to somewhat narrow down the proposed time frame for the Lobor piece. The *Buckel*-horse obols (their issue and use) can thus be dated to the Lt D period (150–15 BC), most likely Lt D1 (150–80 BC), which, as will be shown below, corresponds to the available archaeological data, while their deposition, as will also be shown below, could not have been later than the end of the Lt D2 period. Naturally, this (perhaps overly precise) chronological frame will have to be either corroborated or falsified by stratigraphically positioned finds from controlled archaeological excavations.

[11] In Kos 2015, 458 Cat. No. 10, the coin Kos 1979, No. 3 (here classified as *Augentyp-Stamm*) is now reclassified as a Đurđevac-type coin.

[12] Kos 1979, 32–33.

[13] Kos 2015, 458, 465.

[14] Kos 2015, 464–465.

[15] For the dating of early Tauriscan obols, see Bilić, Dizdar 2016 (Lt C2); these obols, depicting a horse on both sides, are of a median weight of 0.90 g (Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 119).

[16] Bilić 2022. The key work is Kos, Šemrov 2003; see also Kos 2007; 2012; Kos, Mirnik 2011.

STRATIGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

Unfortunately, the Lobor hillfort obol is not such a securely contextualized find, since it was found, as already noted, in a secondary context, and not in a stratigraphically indicative setting. Nevertheless, there are indeed traces of LIA layers on the Lobor hillfort that provide an adequate context for the obol. The largest-scale construction works on the Lobor hillfort were conducted during the 'late La Tène period', *i.e.*, during 'the 2nd–1st c. BC'.[17] A ditch and an earthen rampart with a timber palisade were part of this construction works, together with traces of large-scale levelling and the remains of a large spacious building dating from the late La Tène period, more precisely, from the turn of the old and new era.[18] Furthermore, only a modest number of 1st and 2nd c. – the early post- La Tène period – small finds was recovered from the Lobor hillfort.[19] At the earliest during the Marcomannic Wars, but more realistically in the 3rd–4th c., the prehistoric hillfort was converted into a late antique fortified stronghold, with the erection of a stone wall on top of the La Tène-period earthen rampart.[20] Roman provincial pottery of the 3rd–4th c. and coins of the 3rd–5th c. are the dominant small finds on the Lobor hillfort datable to antiquity.[21] The analysis of numismatic record documented in the archaeological excavations shows that the earliest – and significantly worn – Roman coin is a Trajan's sestertius of 108–109/110.[22] As such, it cannot support any speculations on the activities conducted at the site during the 2nd c. A more intensive, although still modest in volume and intermittent, presence of coins on the hillfort is documented from the second third of the 3rd c. onwards.[23]

The stratigraphic situation at the Lobor hillfort is comparable with two other hillfort sites in the region, Kuzelin and Graci-Donje Orešje, both on Medvednica Mountain.[24] At Kuzelin, LIA finds are exclusively dated to the LT D1 period, *i.e.*, 150–80 BC.[25] After the late La Tène occupation of the site, which most likely ended in the late 1st c. BC, there are no traces of Roman presence until the second half of the 2nd c., an observation which includes the numismatic finds.[26] In terms of numismatic record, a similar situation obtains at the Graci-Donje Orešje site, where five heavily worn copper and bronze asses issued during the reign of Antoninus Pius represent the earliest imperial coins recorded on the site, where a significant number of LIA coins was also recovered.[27] Unfortunately, there is no study of the circulation of Antonine bronzes in the region, but it is known that they were used as small change in the north-western provinces of the Empire during the Severan Period.[28] The state of wear of Antonine copper and bronze asses from the Graci-Donje Orešje site suggests that these coins might have also been in circulation here for a longer period, perhaps precisely in the same period as their counterparts in the north-western provinces of the Empire.

It seems evident that the situation determined at these two hillfort sites from Medvednica is at least partially comparable with the Lobor hillfort. The numismatic records from all three sites are analogous in that they all contain LIA coins but no early imperial ones, as well as in that there is a renewal of some numismatic activity in the late 2nd or early 3rd c. Furthermore, the numismatic record from these sites corresponds to the other

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17 Filipec 2002, 16; 2007, 415; 2008, 58; Filipec 2021a, 31. It remains unclear whether the periods encompassed by the time-frame 2nd–1st c. BC (*i.e.*, 200–1 BC), that is, Lt C2–D2 (Drnić 2015, 13) are meant here, or specifically the late La Tène period proper, *i.e.*, Lt D1–D2, 150–1 BC (Drnić 2015, 13). Taking into account the date proposed for the structure mentioned immediately below in the main text, it can be presumed that the latter is correct.

18 *Cf.* Filipec 2007, 415; 2008, 82–83; 2021a, 31 (where the building is dated to the 1st c. BC); Ciglenečki 2016, 12; Filipec, Heinrich-Tamáska, Šimek 2020, 213.

19 Filipec, Heinrich-Tamáska, Šimek 2020, 213; Filipec 2021b, 33; Filipec 2007, 415 (*cf.* Filipec 2021b, 39) interprets these finds as settlement remains, but without further elaboration. At the same time, he emphasized a 3rdc. increase in the number of finds. Filipec, Heinrich-Tamáska, Šimek 2020, 218 seem to accept Ciglenečki's alternative interpretation of the 1st–2nd c. material.

20 Filipec 2002, 17; 2007, 415–416 (late antiquity, 3rd–4th c.); 2008, 58, 60 (Marcomannic Wars); 2021b, 35 (late antiquity, 3rd–4th c.), 33, 39 (2nd/3rd c., after Marcomannic Wars); Ciglenečki 2016, 17–18 (late antiquity, 3rd–4th c.).

21 Filipec 2007, 417; 2008, 65. Filipec 2021b, 37 distinguishes two phases of use of ceramic vessels: from the 1st to the mid-3rd (less) and thenceforth to the 6th c. (more pronounced).

22 See Nađ 2021 and Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127.

23 Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127–128.

24 See Bilić 2017, 236; 2019; 2022 (an in-depth analysis).

25 Dizdar 2011, 87–88. The dates for Lt D1 in Drnić 2015, 13.

26 Sokol 1994, 200–201; 1997, 221; 1998, 10; 2003, 201; 2009, 154; Bilić 2017, 236; Migotti 2019, 93.

27 Bilić 2019, 75, Figs. 89, 94, 97–98, 100 (imperial coins).

28 Kemmers 2009, 147, 158.

archaeological finds. In the case of Kuzelin, this claim is supported by previously published material, while, in the case of Graci-Donje Orešje, somewhat less so but still sufficient for the claim to stand.[29]

These three sites, situated roughly between Medvednica and Ivanščica mountains, are part of a much wider phenomenon of (re)using elevated positions in late antiquity and can be compared with a large number of similar sites in the broader region. Furthermore, some of these sites can be directly compared with the Lobor hillfort by the presence of *Augentyp-Stamm* obols in similar contexts. In general terms, this re(activation) of elevated positions can be dated at the earliest to the second half of the 3rd c.[30] Even though it was occasionally claimed that both Kuzelin and the Lobor hillfort, perhaps also the Graci-Donje Orešje site, offer some proof for an earlier date, it does not seem prudent to draw general conclusions on the functioning of archaeological sites in certain periods based on a small number of sporadic finds, coins or otherwise.[31] Thus, the occupation of the site of Veliki vrh nad Osredkom pri Posredi is dated to the middle or the second half of the 3rd c.,[32] despite the presence of an (worn) as of Hadrian and a dupondius of Commodus in the numismatic record.[33] A comparable situation obtaining at the Tonovcov grad site is interpreted in very similar terms.[34] It is thus possible to recognize certain patterns in numismatic and archaeological records, but only a comprehensive analysis of the entire record is necessary in order to reach generalized conclusions based on the remains of material culture.

What can be inferred, with some certainty, from this discussion of occupational activity on the Lobor hillfort, which, moreover, conforms to the settlement pattern in the immediate vicinity and in the wider region, is that the LIA coin found at the hillfort almost certainly pertains to the site's LIA context, even though it cannot be claimed with any certainty whether this context is limited to the early Lt D1 period, despite the fact that LIA coins, including obols, were circulating deep into the early imperial period in the region.[35]

These assertions are further corroborated by the appearance of a similar phenomenon on several sites in modern Slovenia, which share the same cultural background with the sites in modern Croatia analysed thus far. In archaeological terms, this is the area encompassed by the LIA Mokronog group or, in terms of tribal affiliations, the area occupied by the Taurisci tribal alliance. Thus, one *Augentyp-Stamm* obol was found in comparable circumstances at the Korinjski hrib site.[36] Unfortunately, the comparison also extends to the non-revealing stratigraphic context of the find. The obol was found 'na strmini pod nasipom / at the steep slope beneath the rampart'.[37] It can be presumed that the rampart in question is a late antiquity rampart, since a La Tène one is not mentioned in the description of LIA layers and finds at Korinjski hrib.[38] Furthermore, it appears that the coin is kept in a private collection, suggesting a find obtained by a metal detector, rather than in controlled archaeological excavations.[39]

Nevertheless, considering that there is a well-documented La Tène horizon at the site, it is presumed that the obol should be understood as coming from a LIA context of the 2nd–1st c. BC.[40] The LIA horizon on Korinjski hrib is dated to the Lt D1 and D2 periods,[41] which corresponds with the situation at the Lobor hillfort. Moreover, Korinjski hrib is also a late antique fortified elevated stronghold, which is another suggestive parallel with Lobor. It appears that in both cases (*i.e.*, the Lobor hillfort and Korinjski hrib) a comparable situation obtains, where a LIA (more precisely,

[29] See Mačković 2019, 35, 40, 43 (metal La Tène objects, (late) antique finds); Drnić 2019 (metal and ceramic La Tène objects); Migotti 2019, 93–94 (possible late antique stronghold). For the Lobor hillfort, see above and Nikšić 2021.

[30] Ciglenečki 1990, 147, 155–156, 164, 166–168; 1994, 239, 241–243; 1999, 292, 306, where he explicitly dismisses the possibility that the hillforts were settled and/or fortified in the second half of the 2nd c. (*cf.* 1990, 155, 166; 2016, 14); 2008, 485–487; 2016, 14–16; Migotti 2019, 93.

[31] For a sceptical view on the possibility that Kuzelin was settled and fortified during the Marcomannic Wars, see Ciglenečki 2016, 14–15.

[32] Ciglenečki 1990, 152–153, 166.

[33] Ciglenečki 1990, 150.

[34] Kos 2011, 229–231; Modrijan, Milavec 2011, 166.

[35] For the use of the LIA coins during the Julio-Claudian period at Sisak, Ljubljana and Magdalensberg see Bilić 2018; 2021a; Kos 2006, 72; Krmnicek 2010, 96–98, 127–139, respectively. See also KNS pp. 34, 68.

[36] Kos 2020, 123 Cat. No. 4, Fig. 5.1:4; 130, 136 Cat. No. 4 (weight 0.65 g).

[37] Kos 2020, 123.

[38] Grahek 2020, 296–298.

[39] Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 132 No. 6; Kos 2020, 136 Cat. No. 4.

[40] Kos 2020, 123.

[41] Ciglenečki, Milavec, Modrijan 2020, 335–336; Grahek 2020, 296–298, 304.

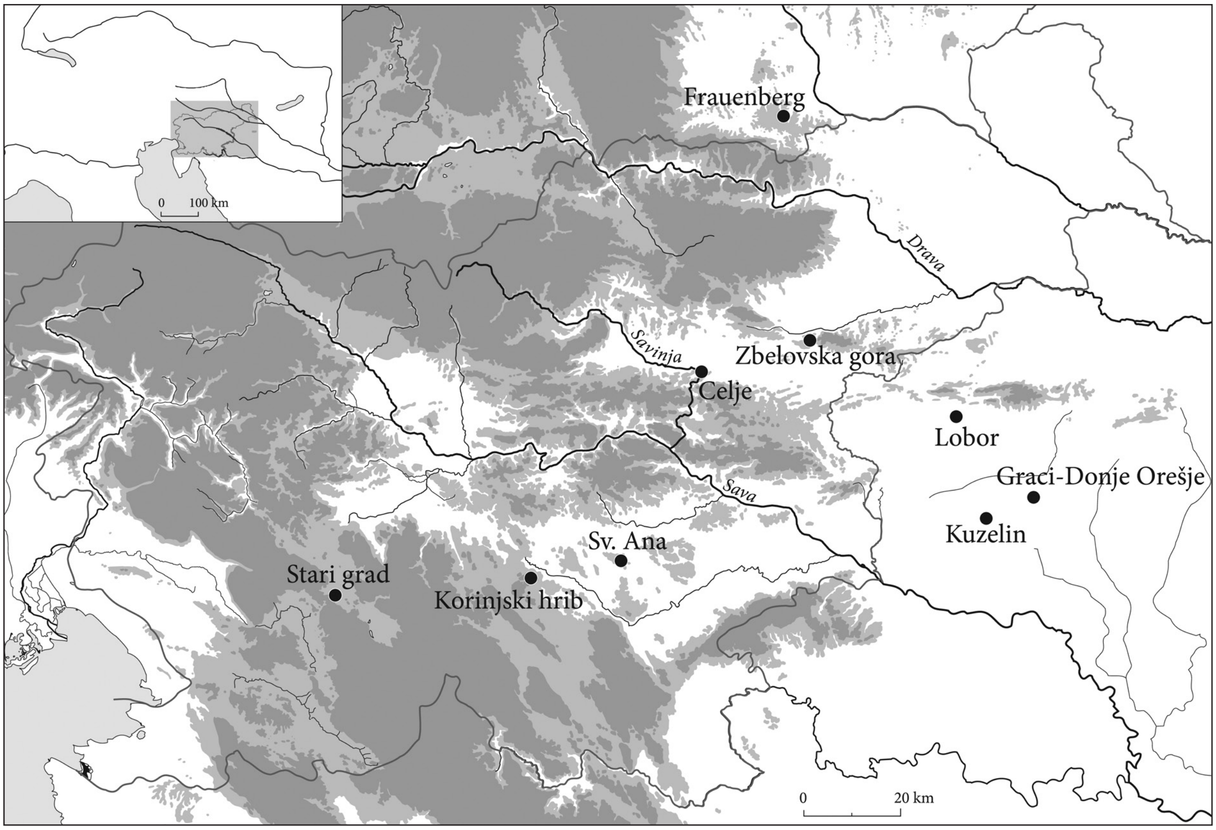

Fig. 3: Map displaying sites mentioned in the text.
Sl. 3: Karta najdišč, omenjenih v besedilu.

late La Tène) horizon at a site represents the depositional context of a Tauriscan obol, while later late antique settlement and fortification at the site cannot in any plausible way be associated with the deposition. It can thus be inferred that the depositional context of the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols (both those found at the Lobor hillfort and Korinjski hrib and elsewhere) in terms of relative chronology, is the Lt D period, which is also, it can be presumed, the date of their production.

In addition, these two coins are not unique finds of their type: three more *Augentyp-Stamm* obols were found at elevated fortified sites in modern Slovenia (*Fig. 3*). However, all three coins (from Stari grad-Hošperk above Unec, Sveta Ana above Vrhpeč and Zbelovska gora) are apparently kept in private collections, which once again suggest that they were found with the aid of metal detectors.[42] Thus we can only presume that their depositional context is similar to the Lobor hillfort obol. A metallurgical analysis of these three coins, together with the analysis of the Korinjski hrib piece, has shown that the obols of the *Augentyp-Stamm* type were produced mainly of silver, with certain additions of copper, tin, and lead. Moreover, these coins have a silver-enriched surface, with a much larger share of copper in their core.[43]

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The Tauriscan obol found at the Lobor hillfort was undoubtedly deposited during the late La Tène period (Lt D). It was also very likely produced in the same period, probably during its earlier part (Lt D1). It is very similar to the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols defined by Peter Kos, with a characteristic lentil-shaped bulge on the obverse and a Tau-

[42] Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 131 No. 1 (0.68 g), 131–132 No. 8 (0.51 g), 132 No. 5 (0.71 g).

[43] For the results of the surface metallurgical (PIXE) analysis of the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols from the sites in Slovenia see Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 133 Nos. 1, 5, 6, 8; Šmit *et al.* 2020. For the PGAA analysis of the bulk composition of the coins (but only in terms of Ag and Cu), see Šmit *et al.* 2020. It can be presumed that the Lobor hillfort obol had a similar metal composition.

riscan-type horse on the reverse. It seems that these obols regularly appear at elevated fortified sites throughout the region, which were occupied during the Lt D period (starting with Lt D1), but then abandoned, or almost abandoned, until the second half of the 3rd c. at the earliest. They do not appear in large numbers (in fact, only a single coin appears per site), so their function cannot be unambiguously determined. Recently, a careful study of coin production and use in temperate Europe has reintroduced the established and astute argument that the appearance of fractions in a system of coinage suggests the existence of regular commercial exchange. However, the context that the authors of this study observe is composed of a series of large open settlements emerging in the 3rd c. BC (perhaps in the mid-century), where large quantities of coins were found.[44] This is hardly a parallel for the Lobor hillfort and the comparable sites studied here, where a low number of sporadic coin finds, including obols, is scattered over a number of fortified, often difficult to approach, hillforts. Another model associates the use of coins in market exchange with the emergence of oppida in the 2nd half of the 2nd c. BC in northern Gaul, which functioned (occasionally) until the end of the 1st c. BC. The model is sustained by the existence of a trimetallic system, the significant rise in the amount of coins in circulation, and, especially, the appearance of smaller denomination coinage in the form of silver fractions and bronze/potin coins.[45] The situation in the Tauriscan area fits much better into this model,[46] but there are still major differences in that there is little or no evidence for the use of bronze coinage (although there is evidence for a debasement of silver coins),[47] there are only a handful of settlements with a significantly increased number of coin finds, including smaller denomination coins (the hillforts with a modest volume of coin finds, as already noted, were also current in this period), and, of course, there is no trimetallic system. At the same time, the extremely large number of small LIA coins from the Savinja at Celje, including a number of the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols, cannot be compared with the hillfort sites, due to the different character of the settlements and the fact that the Savinja find most probably represents a temple treasury (*i.e.*, a series of votive deposits).[48] Nevertheless, the Savinja finds do show that the small Tauriscan coins were produced in large numbers, which indeed offers a partial parallel with the situation envisaged by Hiriart *et al.* and, especially, Wigg-Wolf. However, the overall distribution and actual usage of these small coins (*i.e.*, their function in Tauriscan society) must remain an open question until more information becomes available.[49]

[44] Hiriart *et al.* 2020, 205, *cf.* 183, 195–196.

[45] Wigg-Wolf 2011, 307–312. Potin coins are small cast bronze pieces.

[46] *Cf.* Schachinger 2020, 63–64, 68, who summarily applies a similar model to a later phase of Carnic-Norican-Tauriscan coinage (increased quantity and wider distribution of coins, introduction of smaller denominations).

[47] See Bilić 2022, where this debasement is interpreted in non-market terms.

[48] Šemrov 2011, 11; Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 127; *cf.* Tiefengraber 2011, 95. On temple depositions of coins in the LIA period see Wigg-Wolf 2005.

[49] Tellingly, the Savinja finds account for as much as 84 % of all small LIA silver coins in the entire territory of modern Slovenia (Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 127 No. 5).

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Tavriskijski mali srebrnik z gradišča pri Loborju iz obdobja Lt D (Hrvaško Zagorje, Hrvaška)

Povzetek

TIPOLOŠKA RAZMIŠLJANJA

Raziskave višinskega naselja nad Loborjem, kjer je danes cerkev Matere Božje Gorske, so se odvijale v zadnjih dveh desetletjih. Rezultati arheoloških izkopavanj kažejo, da gre za večplastno najdišče, ki je bilo obljudeno v različnih – prazgodovinskih in zgodovinskih – obdobjih.[1] Poselitvena dinamika ustreza vzorcu, značilnemu za višinska naselja v regiji. Opazni povečani aktivnosti v obdobju Lt D (z začetkom v Lt D1) sledi poznoantična obnova prazgodovinskih obrambnih struktur. Na loborskem gradišču je bil najden le en keltski novec, žal brez jasnega stratigrafskega konteksta. Kljub temu je mogoče z analizo objavljenih raziskav na gradišču in primerjavo z drugimi podobnimi najdišči v regiji ponuditi razmeroma verodostojno interpretacijo časa njegovega nastanka in odlaganja.

Novec iz pozne železne dobe je mali srebrnik plemenske zveze Tavriskov, primerljiv s tavriskijskimi malimi srebrniki očesnega tipa (*Augentyp-Stamm*).[2] Na averju je *lečasto izbočenje* (*Buckelavers*), na reverju pa konj, usmerjen v levo (*sl. 1*). Teža novca je 0,59 g, premer pa 9,5 mm. Dokumentirana stratigrafska lega ne razkriva veliko: novec je bil najden zunaj cerkvene ograde, obokanega portika, ki obdaja poznejšo cerkev, nedvomno v sekundarnem kontekstu (dokumentiran kot PN 434).

Loborskega malega srebrnika ni mogoče natančno opredeliti na podlagi objavljenega tavriskijskega drobiža. Kljub temu ga je mogoče tipološko, meroslovno in stilno povezati s skupino tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov iz Savinje v Celju s povprečno težo 0,52 g (*sl. 2: Augentyp-Stamm* po KNS, št. 3-749–755).[3] Ti sodijo v večjo skupino tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov z lečasto grbo na averju (*Buckelavers*) in konjem, usmerjenim v levo, na reverju.[4]

Kronologija tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov, vključno z loborskim primerkom, izhaja iz kronologije ustreznih tetradrahem. Kronološki razpon obsega obdobje od pozne prve polovice 2. stoletja pr. n. št., tj. od poznega Lt C2 ali od prehoda Lt C2/D1 naprej.[5] Da bi se izognili ponavljanju argumentov, ki so bili podlaga za postavitev tega časovnega okvira za splošno datiranje kovanja tavrijskijskih novcev, se sklicujem na končni temeljni pregled vseh razpoložljivih dokazov in razpravo o njih.[6] V omenjeni analizi so izpostavljeni nekateri problemi pri interpretaciji dokazov, na katerih temelji datacija (zakladni najdbi iz Ljubljanice in Enemonza), vendar po ugotovitvah ni trdnih dokazov, ki bi jo ovrgli, vsaj dokler se ne pojavijo nova spoznanja, zaradi katerih je lahko ta datacija nevzdržna.

Ob upoštevanju večje povprečne teže najzgodnejših tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov tipa konj-konj (*sl. 2:* konj-konj), bi lahko le na podlagi analize tež predlagani okvir za datacijo loborskega novca nekoliko zožili. Kovanje in uporabo malih keltskih srebrnikov tipa *lečasto izbočenje*-konj bi lahko datirali v obdobje Lt D (150–15 pr. n. št.), najverjetneje v Lt D1 (150–80 pr. n. št.), kar ustreza razpoložljivim arheološkim podatkom. Njihovo odlaganje, o čemer bo več govora v nadaljevanju, ne more biti poznejše od konca Lt D2. Seveda bodo morale ta morda preveč natančen časovni okvir potrditi ali ovreči stratigrafsko umeščene najdbe, pridobljene s strokovnimi arheološkimi raziskavami.

STRATIGRAFSKA RAZMIŠLJANJA

Čeprav za loborsko najdbo ni znana natančna stratigrafska lega, so sledovi mlajšeželeznodobnih plasti na najdišču primeren kontekst za datacijo

[1] Filipec 2007. Zahvaljujem se Krešimirju Filipcu za možnost študije in objave novca.

[2] Preliminarna objava v Bilić 2021b in Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127.

[3] KNS št. 3-749–755, t. 22: 23–29 = Kos 1976, 217 tab. 2: 7–12. Podobni mali srebrniki so bili najdeni in verjetno kovani na Frauenbergu, poznolatenskem svetišču, kamor so bili morda položeni kot votivni darovi (Schachinger 2001, 18–19, 21–23 št. 13–17, 27–28).

[4] Kos 1976, 220–221, tab. 2: 2–14; KNS, 29–33, 63–67, t. 22: 14–36; 23; 24: 1–17; 40: 18–19,21–25; 42: 22–26

[5] Za datiranje zgodnjih tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov glej Bilić, Dizdar 2016 (Lt C2).

[6] Bilić 2022. Temeljno delo je Kos, Šemrov 2003; glej še: Kos 2007; 2012; Kos, Mirnik 2011.

tavriskijskega malega srebrnika. Najobsežnejša gradbena dela na najdišču so bila opravljena v poznem latenu, v obdobju od 2. do 1. st. pr. n. št.[7] Poleg tega je število najdb, ki jih lahko datiramo v zgodnje rimsko obdobje (1. in 2. st.), zelo skromno.[8] Najverjetneje v obdobju 3.–4. st. so prazgodovinsko gradišče preuredili v veliko poznoantično trdnjavo s postavitvijo kamnitega obzidja na ostankih latenskega zemljenega nasipa.[9] Med antičnim gradivom prevladuje rimska provincialna keramika 3.–4. st. in novci iz 3.–5. st.[10] Analiza numizmatičnega gradiva je pokazala, da je najzgodnejši rimski novec Trajanov močno obrabljen sesterc, kovan med letoma 108 in 109/110.[11] Kot tak ne more podpreti domnev o aktivnostih na najdišču v 2. st. Od druge tretjine 3. st. je prisotnost denarja na gradišču opazno intenzivnejša, čeprav še vedno skromna in občasno prekinjena.[12]

Stratigrafska situacija na najdišču Lobor-Majka Božja Gorska je primerljiva z višinskima naseljema Kuzelin in Graci-Donje Orešje na Medvednici.[13] Ta tri najdišča so del širšega pojava ponovne uporabe višinskih naselij v pozni antiki in jih je mogoče primerjati z velikim številom podobnih nahajališč v širši regiji. Še več, nekatera od teh najdišč lahko po prisotnosti tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov očesnega tipa v podobnih kontekstih neposredno primerjamo z Loborjem. To ponovno aktiviranje višinskih naselij lahko datiramo najprej v drugo polovico 3. stoletja.[14] Čeprav se včasih trdi, da najdbe s Kuzelina in Loborja, morda tudi z najdišča Graci-Donje Orešje, ponujajo dokaze za zgodnejšo datacijo, se sklepanje o življenju arheoloških najdišč na podlagi redkih posameznih najdb, naj gre za novce ali drugo gradivo, ne zdi pravilno.[15] Tako datiramo poselitev Velikega vrha nad Osredkom pri Podsredi v sredino ali drugo polovico 3. stoletja,[16] ne glede na prisotnost obrabljenega Hadrijanovega asa in Commodovega sesterca v numizmatičnem zapisu najdišča.[17] Primerljiva situacija na Tonovcovem gradu je interpretirana zelo podobno.[18] Torej je mogoče prepoznati določene vzorce v numizmatičnih in arheoloških zapisih, toda samo z izčrpno analizo vseh podatkov lahko pridemo do splošnih zaključkov na podlagi ostankov materialne kulture.

Ta razmišljanja podkrepi tudi pojav fenomena, ki je primerljiv z loborsko najdbo tavriskijskega malega srebrnika, ponavlja pa se na več najdiščih v Sloveniji (Korinjski hrib, Stari grad-Hošperk nad Uncem, Sveta Ana nad Vrhpečjo, Zbelovska gora; *sl. 3*).[19] Ta imajo skupno kulturno ozadje s tukaj analiziranimi najdišči na Hrvaškem. Gre za območje, poseljeno z nosilci mlajšeželeznodobne mokronoške skupine, v etničnem smislu Tavriski.

ZAKLJUČNA RAZPRAVA

Tavriskijski mali srebrnik, najden na Loborju, je nedvomno prišel v zemljo v poznolatenskem obdobju (Lt D). Zelo verjetno je tudi skovan v istem obdobju, verjetno v starejšem delu (Lt D1). Zelo je podoben tavriskijskim malim srebrnikom očesnega tipa iz KNS, št. 3-749–755, z značilno grbo na averju in konjem na reverju. Zdi se, da se takšni novci praviloma pojavljajo na višinskih naseljih iz obdobja Lt D (z začetkom v Lt D1) v širši regiji. Ta so bila po koncu mlajše železne dobe opuščena ali skoraj opuščena, najmanj do druge polovice 3. stoletja. Majhno število novcev (zabeležen je le en tovrstni mali srebrnik na najdišče) onemogoča nedvoumno določitev njihove funkcije v tavriskijski družbi.

Mali srebrniki manjše vrednosti, ki izhajajo iz osnovne tavriskijske tetradrahme, bi lahko nakazovali nastanek ali obstoj redne tržne menjave. Vendar so konteksti, s katerimi bi bilo mogoče priti do takšnega zaključka (večje število velikih neutrjenih naselbin, nastalih v 3. stoletju pr. n. št., znotraj katerih je bilo najdenih veliko novcev),[20] slabe vzporednice situaciji na Loborju in primerljivih najdiščih v regiji. V težko dostopnih višinskih naseljih je namreč število naključno najdenih novcev majhno, vključno s srebrnim drobižem. Drug pri-

[7] Filipec 2002, 16; 2007, 415; 2008, 58; Filipec 2021a, 31. Verjetno je govor o obdobju Lt D1–D2, 150–1 pr. n. št. (Drnić 2015, 13).

[8] Filipec 2007, 415; 2021b, 33, 39; Filipec, Heinrich-Tamáska, Šimek 2020, 213, 218.

[9] Filipec 2002, 17; 2007, 415–416; 2008, 58, 60; 2021b, 33, 35, 39; Ciglenečki 2016, 17–18.

[10] Filipec 2007, 417; 2008, 65; 2021b, 37.

[11] Nađ 2021; Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127.

[12] Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127–128.

[13] Glej Bilić 2017, 236; 2019; 2022 (obširna analiza).

[14] Ciglenečki 1990, 147, 155–156, 164, 166–168; 1994, 239, 241–243; 1999, 292, 306; 2008, 485–487; 2016, 14–16; Migotti 2019, 93.

[15] *Cfr.* za Kuzelin Ciglenečki 2016, 14–15.

[16] Ciglenečki 1990, 152–153, 166.

[17] Ciglenečki 1990, 150.

[18] Kos 2011, 229–231; Modrijan, Milavec 2011, 166.

[19] Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 131–132; Kos 2020, 123, 136.

[20] Hiriart *et al.* 2020, 205, *cfr.* 183, 195–196.

merljiv model povezuje uporabo kovancev v tržni menjavi s pojavom oppida in temelji na obstoju trimetalnega sistema, povečanem številu novcev v obtoku ter pojavu manjših apoenov v srebru in ulitih v bronu.[21] Razmere na območju Tavriskov se bolje ujemajo s tem modelom,[22] vendar so tudi pomembne razlike: malo je dokazov o uporabi bronastih kovancev, malo je naselij z večjim številom numizmatičnih najdb, vključno z drobižem, in trimetalni denarni sistem ni prisoten. Veliko število malih srebrnikov iz struge Savinje v Celju se ne more primerjati z višinskimi naselbinami zaradi njihovih različnih značajev in dejstva, da najdbe iz Savinje verjetno predstavljajo tempeljsko zakladnico.[23] Vendar kaže, da so bili tavriskijski mali srebrniki kovani v večjih količinah, kar predstavlja določeno vzporednico s prej opisanimi modeli. Po drugi strani ostaja model distribucije in dejanske uporabe teh malih kovancev, tj. njihova vloga v tavriskijskih skupnostih, nerešeno vprašanje, dokler ne bo na voljo več podatkov.

Prevod: Primož Pavlin

21 Wigg-Wolf 2011, 307–312.

22 *Cfr*. Schachinger 2020, 63–64, 68 za podoben model.

23 Šemrov 2011, 11; Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 127; *cfr*. Tiefengraber 2011, 95.

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Illustrations: Fig. 1 (photo: I. Krajcar).
Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 1 (foto: I. Krajcar).

Ostrogoths in Slovenia? Case study of a Late Antique cemetery in Miren, western Slovenia

Vzhodni Goti v Sloveniji? Raziskave grobišča iz obdobja pozne antike v Mirnu, zahodna Slovenija

Vesna TRATNIK, Špela KARO

Izvleček

Na Japnišču v Mirnu so arheologi med letoma 2009 in 2013 raziskali del grobišča s konca 5. in iz zgodnjega 6. stoletja. Gre za majhno grobišče, na katerem je raziskanih devet grobov in leži ob nekdaj pomembni prometni komunikaciji med Akvilejo in Emono. Posamezne človeške kosti v uničenih plasteh in zasutjih sicer nakazujejo, da je bilo pokopov prvotno več. Posebnost grobišča so določeni vzhodnogermanski elementi, ki se odražajo v noši in namensko preoblikovanih lobanjah. Po našem mnenju ti elementi nakazujejo prisotnost Germanov, glede na zgodovinske vire najbolj verjetno Vzhodnih Gotov. Pri interpretaciji mirenskega grobišča izhajamo iz natančne tipo kronološke analize predmetov, raziskali smo pojav predmetov iz spodnjega Podonavja na slovenskih najdiščih ob koncu 4. in v začetku 5. st. ter vzhodnogermanskih elementov s konca 5. in prvih desetletij 6. st. Mirensko grobišče smo primerjali s podobnimi grobišči v Italiji in Avstriji.
Ključne besede: Slovenija; Miren; pozna antika; Germani; Vzhodni Goti; vzhodnogotsko kraljestvo; grobišče; višinske naselbine

Abstract

The archaeological investigations conducted between 2009 and 2013 at Japnišče, a site in Miren, unearthed part of a cemetery from the late 5th and early 6th century. It is a small cemetery located at a formerly major road that connected Aquileia and Emona. Nine burials have thus far been investigated, though the scattered finds of human bones in the mixed layers and fills of pits suggest the burial ground was originally larger. A particular feature of the cemetery is the East Germanic elements visible in the costume and the artificially deformed skulls. We argue that these elements indicate the presence of a Germanic population, with historical sources pointing to the Ostrogoths as the most likely people. The interpretation of the Miren cemetery relies on a meticulous typo-chronological analysis of the recovered grave goods, as well as a study of objects from the late 4th and early 5th centuries that originated from the Lower Danube Basin, and the study of East Germanic elements from the late 5th and the initial decades of the 6th century unearthed at sites in Slovenia. Finally, the site is compared with similar cemeteries in Italy and Austria.
Keywords: Slovenia; Miren; Late Antiquity; Germani; Ostrogoths; Ostrogothic Kingdom; cemetery; hilltop settlements

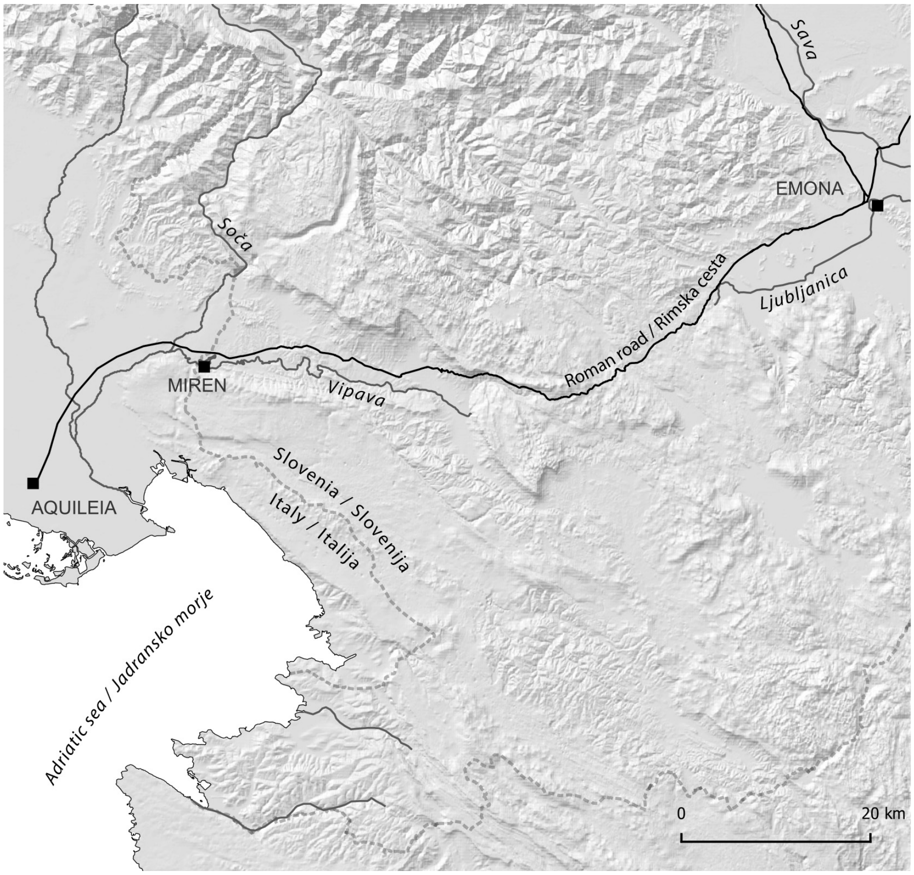

Fig. 1: Miren – Japnišče. Location of the site between the Roman cities of Emona and Aquileia. (base map: ©ARSO)
Sl. 1: Miren – Japnišče. Lokacija najdišča in rimskih mest Emona in Akvileja. (podlaga: ©ARSO)

Miren is a settlement at the River Vipava, at the western state border of Slovenia (*Fig. 1*). In its southern part, in the hamlet of Japnišče, the remains of a Late Antique cemetery came to light on the left bank of the river. The plain surrounding Japnišče, formed of Late Pleistocene river deposits, is delimited in the south by the Kras plateau (*Fig. 2*).

The earliest traces of habitation in the area date back to prehistory. The elevation now holding Miren Castle presumably hosted a prehistoric hillfort with habitation continuing into the Roman period.[1] The Roman road from Aquileia to Emona led past Miren,[2] next to which the remains of a Roman-period settlement were unearthed.[3] At the end of the 19th century, Simon Rutar reported that brick tombs came to light in Japnišče.[4] The first inhumation burials were unearthed in 2009. The archaeological work in 2009 comprised the documentation and partial excavation of two inhumations, as well as a rough assessment of the extent of the cemetery. In the north, excavations revealed pits and ditches filled with pieces of Roman brick, pottery sherds, stones, plaster and mortar; these have been interpreted as the remains of different buildings, features and use of space in the Roman or Late Antique periods. The east–west orientation of the skeletons and the finds in the fills of the grave pits indicated a Late Roman or early medieval date of the two inhumation burials.[5]

Investigations in 2011 examined a 13 × 20 m large area of the cemetery (*Fig. 3*) with seven burials.[6] These seven included one that had been partially excavated two years prior (Grave 1/2009).[7] The results of the investigations in 2009 and 2011 were published together with the anthropological and

[1] Marchesetti 1903, 53, Pl. 5, Fig. 5; Pergar 2007.
[2] Rutar 1899, 28; Cuntz 1902, 154; Puschi 1903; Bosio 1991, 206–207; Sticotti 1951, No. 380.
[3] Žbona Trkman 1981; Žbona Trkman 1985; Bratina 2001; Bratina 2009; Fabec, Tratnik 2010.
[4] Rutar 1899, 28.
[5] Fabec 2018.
[6] More details in Tratnik 2018b.
[7] Grave 2/2009 was documented, protected and backfilled in 2009, and not re-excavated in 2011 (Fabec 2018, 11–14).

Fig. 2: View of Japnišče (Miren) from the south with marked location of the cemetery. (after Tratnik 2018a, Fig. 2)
Sl. 2: Pogled na Japnišče (Miren) z juga; označena je lega grobišča. (po Tratnik 2018a, sl. 2)

archaeozoological analyses, as well as the analysis of select metal objects in the monograph entitled Miren – grobišče iz obdobja preseljevanja ljudstev.[8] In 2013, archaeologists documented another child burial and several bones of an adult individual to the north of the area investigated in 2011.[9] There is a gap between the burials unearthed in 2009–2011 and those found in 2013, most likely due to the extent of investigations limited to areas of construction work on partially already built-up plots. Investigations were again conducted in 2016 and 2017, on a plot located some 30 m north of the previously unearthed part of the cemetery. Pieces of Roman brick and human bones were found in twelve pits. Several pits contained the bones of at least two individuals. None of the pits held complete skeletons, which suggested the graves were either heavily damaged or robbed, while the absence of grave goods hinders the dating. The burials could be either Roman or later and form part of the previously investigated cemetery from the 5th and 6th centuries.[10]

LATE ANTIQUE CEMETERY

Nine graves or their remains were excavated between 2009 and 2013. They were not aligned, but all were oriented with the head roughly in the west (*Fig. 3*). The grave pits were dug into the gravel to a depth of 0.1–0.6 m without noticeable remains of a stone lining or wooden coffins. The graves did not overlap, suggesting they were marked above ground in the time when the cemetery was in use. Next to Grave 1, excavation revealed three pits set in a line (*Fig. 3*), which may represent the remains of a structure, possibly funerary, of an as yet unclear form and date. The three pits were filled with dark brown earth that contained pieces of Roman-period building material, pottery sherds and bits of animal bones.[11] Small fragments of Roman pottery, glassware and building material, as well as animal bones dating between the 1st and the 4th century also came to light in the fills of the grave pits, haphazardly distributed without apparent concentrations, some even under the skeletons.[12]

[8] Tratnik, Karo 2018.
[9] Turk, Rupnik 2013.
[10] Brezigar, Rupnik 2017.

[11] Tratnik, Karo 2018, 34–36.
[12] Tratnik, Karo 2018, 25–34.

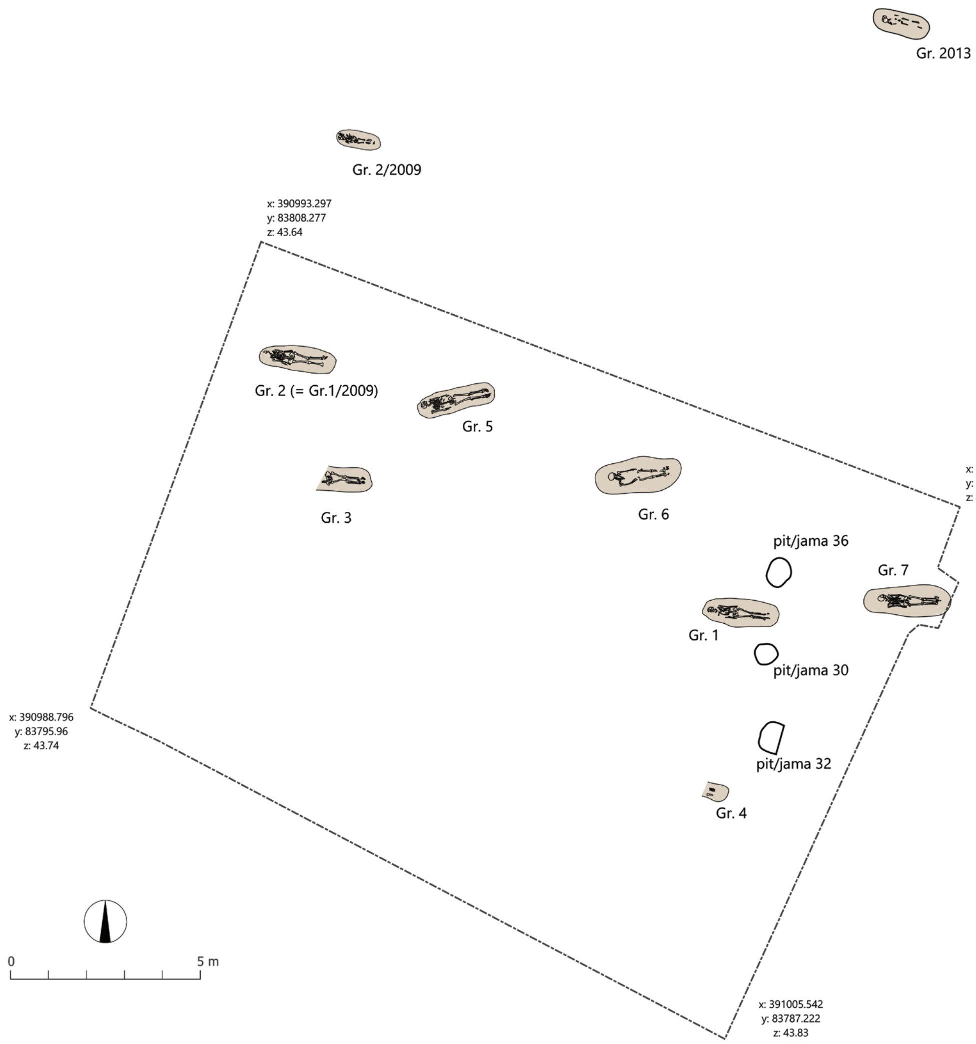

Fig. 3: Miren – Japnišče. Plan of the investigated part of the Late Antique cemetery. The broken line marks the edge of the area excavated in 2011. (D96/TM coordinate system)
Sl. 3: Miren – Japnišče. Tloris grobov v raziskanem delu poznoantičnega grobišča. S črto je označen rob izkopnega polja raziskav v letu 2011. (koordinatni sistem D96/TM)

CATALOGUE OF GRAVES AND GRAVE GOODS

The catalogue is based on the fieldwork documentation and subsequent desk-top analysis. Anthropologist Petra Leben Seljak analysed the skeletal remains and identified the sex and age of the deceased, estimated their stature (using the Manouvrier method), analysed the dentition remains, epigenetic traits, physical activity markers, pathological changes and potential other features.[13] The basic data on a skeleton are given in the description of each grave. Eva Menart, Narodni muzej Slovenije, conducted XRF analyses on a selection of metal items. Author of drawings and tables: Ida Murgelj, Narodni muzej Slovenije. Author of pencil drawings (*Pls. 1:* 11,12; *4:* 10,11) Teja Gerbec, Goriški muzej. Drawings of graves in ground plan (scale = 1:20): Manca Vinazza (Oddelek za arheologijo, Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani), Miha Mihelič, Nives Zupančič (Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, Center za preventivno arheologijo).

The grave goods have been restored and are now kept in the regional museum of Goriški muzej.[14]

Silver = alloy with predominant silver content (Ag), other elements (such as Cu, Sn, Pb) are present in smaller shares.
Bronze = alloy with predominant copper (Cu) and tin content (Sn), other elements (such as Pb) are present in smaller shares.
Abbreviations: l. = length, diam. = diameter, reconstr. = reconstructed, w. = width, h. = height.

[13] Leben Seljak 2018.

[14] We thank Ana Kruh, curator at the Goriški muzej, for granting us access to the archaeological finds.

Fig. 4: Miren – Japnišče. Individual graves viewed from above.
Sl. 4: Miren – Japnišče. Posamični pogledi na grobove.

Graves 2009

Grave 1/2009 = Grave 2/2011 (*Figs. 3; 4*)
Burial of an adult individual. The grave was in part excavated in 2009 and integrally in 2011, when it was also marked as Grave 2.

Grave 2/2009 (*Figs. 3; 4*)
Burial of a child. The collected bone samples revealed the deceased was between 1 and 2 years of age at death. The child was in an extended supine position with the head in the west. Without grave goods.[15]

Graves 2011

Grave 1 (*Pl. 1:* Gr. 1; *Figs. 3; 4; 13*)
Burial of a woman (*adultus I*), around 30 years old, height 150 cm. She was in an extended supine position with the arms extended beside the torso and the head in the west. The bones were largely in anatomical position. Her skull has frontal-occipital deformation, which makes the skull short, forehead flat and severely inclined, occiput completely vertical. She is of very gracile build, probably left-handed. The radiocarbon analysis of a bone sample gave a broad dating from the early 5th to the mid-6th century (*Fig. 5*). She was found with a pair of gilded silver bow brooches (*Pl. 1:* 1,2) on the upper chest, two amber beads (*Pl. 1:* 8,9) on the lower chest, a silver belt buckle (*Pl. 1:* 3) above the

[15] Fabec 2018, 11–14, Fig. 11.

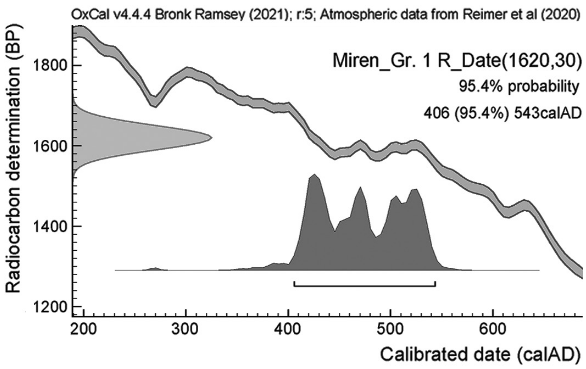

Fig. 5: Miren – Japnišče. Grave 1, radiocarbon dating of the bone sample. The analysis was conducted in the Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory in Miami, USA.
Sl. 5: Miren – Japnišče. Grob 1, radiokarbonska datacija kosti. Analiza je bila opravljena v Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory v Miamiju, ZDA.

pelvis and a small lead ring (*Pl. 1:* 4) next to the buckle. A bone spindle whorl (*Pl. 1:* 10) lay beside the right hand, a rod-shaped iron fragment (*Pl. 1:* 6) near the left hand. A similar iron fragment (*Pl. 1:* 7) was found beside the left tibia. Two fragments of thin sheet silver (*Pl. 1:* 5) lay at the feet. The fill of the grave, just above the skeleton, revealed a small silver nail or rivet (*Pl. 1:* 11) and a small bronze hook (*Pl. 1:* 12).

1. Radiate-headed bow brooch with five knobs on the head-plate. Gilded chip-carved decoration with a pair of opposing spirals on the semicircular head-plate, lozenges on the foot-plate and an animal head on the foot terminal. The edges of the head and foot, and the midline of the bow are decorated with a double line of opposing punched triangles with niello inlays. Round collets for gemstones (not surviving) are at the lateral corners of the foot-plate. The spring holder is cast together with the brooch and held an iron spring attached via an axis. The catch is composed of two parts, namely a small lug cast together with the brooch and a small separately made copper plate that held the pin. Silver, gilding, copper, iron, niello. Remains of linen fibres survive on the brooch. L. 7.3 cm. Inv. No. AG 12199.
2. Radiate-headed bow brooch with five knobs on the head-plate. Gilded chip-carved decoration with a pair of opposing spirals on the semicircular head-plate, lozenges on the foot-plate and an animal head on the foot terminal. The edges of the head and foot, and the midline of the bow are decorated with a double line of opposing punched triangles with niello inlays. Round collets for gemstones are at the lateral corners of the foot-plate; one gemstone survives – a garnet, almandine Type I. The spring holder is cast together with the brooch and held an iron spring attached via an axis. The catch is composed of two parts, namely a small lug cast together with the brooch and a small separately made copper plate that held the pin. Silver, gilding, copper, iron, niello. L. 7.2 cm. Inv. No. AG 12200.
3. Belt buckle. The loop is oval with a thinner strap bar. The tongue has a slightly widened club-shaped terminal, and a hook for attaching to the strap bar. Silver. L. 3.9 cm. Inv. No. AG 12201/1.
4. Ring. Lead. Diam. 1.8 cm. Inv. No. AG 12202.
5. Fragments of a thin folded metal sheet, with a border of embossed dots. Two of the fragments have a rivet hole and one surviving rivet. Silver. Reconstr. L. 2.2 cm, w. up to 1.2 cm. Inv. No. AG 12204.
6. Fragment of a rod-like object. Iron. L. 5.2 cm. Inv. No. AG 12206.
7. Fragment of a rod-like object. Iron. L. 2.6 cm. Inv. No. AG 12207.
8. Bead, annular, biconical. Amber. Diam. 2.3 cm. Inv. No. AG 12203/1.
9. Bead, annular, flat. Amber. Diam. 1.6 cm. Inv. No. AG 12203/2.
10. Loom weight, annular, flat, with horizontal incisions along the outer edge. Bone. Diam. 3 cm. Inv. No. AG 12205.
11. Small nail or a rivet with a disc head. Silver. H. 0.5 cm. Inv. No. AG 12201/2.
12. Fragment of an object bent at one end (hook). Bronze. L. 1.9 cm. Inv. No. AG 12235.

Grave 2 (*Pl. 2:* Gr. 2; *Figs. 3; 4*)
Burial of a young man (*adultus I*), around 25 years old, height 163 cm. He was in an extended supine position with the arms extended beside the torso and the head in the west. The grave pit and the skeleton were partially damaged. The surviving bones were in anatomical position. He was of a medium strong build, probably right-handed. He was found with a silver belt buckle (*Pl. 2:* 1) above the right pelvic bone and a group of items above the left one, comprising an iron knife with a wooden handle (*Pl. 2:* 6), a fire flint (*Pl. 2:* 7), a small bronze buckle with plate (*Pl. 2:* 4), bronze tweezers (*Pl. 2:* 3), fragment of an iron object (*Pl. 2:* 5) and several unidentifiable iron fragments. A fragment of folded sheet silver (*Pl. 2:* 2) was found at the left foot. A small silver nail or a rivet (*Pl. 2:* 8) was recovered from the fill of the grave pit.

1. Belt buckle. The loop is oval with a thinner strap bar. The tongue has a club-shaped terminal and a hook for attaching to the strap bar. Silver. L. 3.2 cm. Inv. No. AG 12208/1.
2. Fragment of a thin folded metal sheet fastened together with two rivets, with a border of embossed dots. Silver. L. 1.9 cm. Inv. No. AG 12214.
3. Tweezers with triangular terminals. The arm-terminal junction is decorated with parallel horizontal incisions. Bronze. L. 6.8 cm. Inv. No. AG 12210.
4. Small buckle with plate. The loop is oval with a thinner strap bar. The plate is separated (broken off) from the loop and not completely preserved. It has a solid body with a roughly 2 mm wide kidney-shaped metal frame into which a colourless glass inlay of the corresponding shape was set. One rivet survives on the plate. Bronze, glass inlay. Loop size 1.5 × 1.2 cm, belt plate size 1 × 0.6 cm. Inv. No. AG 12209.
5. Fragment of an unidentifiable object. Iron. L. 3.8 cm. Inv. No. AG 12212.
6. Knife with a flat tang. Part of the wooden handle, covered with a layer of corrosion, survives on the tang. Iron, wood. L. 8.6 cm. Inv. No. AG 12211.
7. Fire flint. Size 2.4 × 1.8 cm. Inv. No. AG 12213.
8. Small nail with a disc head. Silver. H. 0.5 cm. Inv. No. AG 12208/2.

Grave 3 (*Pl. 1:* Gr. 3; *Fig. 3*)
Burial of a young individual, presumably woman (sex unreliable, *adultus I*), roughly 25 years old, height 157 cm. The deceased was in an extended supine position, with the head in the west. The grave pit and skeleton were damaged, the latter missing the upper body. The bones of the lower body were largely in anatomical position. For a woman, the body build is relatively robust.
The damaged grave contained no grave goods.

Grave 4 (*Pl. 1:* Gr. 4; *Fig. 3*)
Burial of an adult woman, over 18 years old, height 158 cm. She was buried with the head in the west. The grave pit and the skeleton were heavily damaged, with only part of the lower legs surviving. The appropriate distance between the bones suggests they survived in anatomical position. Body build is gracile.
The damaged grave contained no grave goods.

Grave 5 (*Pl. 2:* Gr *5; Figs. 3; 4*)
Burial of a man, between 50 and 65 years old (*maturus II–senilis*), height 166 to 168 cm. He was in an extended supine position with the head in the southwest. The skeleton survived almost complete, the bones were largely in anatomical position. Body build is robust and of an above-average height. Pathological alterations indicate a well-healed fracture below the left elbow.
A silver belt buckle with surviving textile remains (*Pl. 2:* 1) was found above the left pelvic bone, large curved mounts of thin sheet silver and a suspended ring (*Pl. 2:* 2) were at the left tibia. Lower down, at the left foot was a fragment of a bronze item with a ring, possibly tweezers (*Pl. 2:* 3). An iron knife (*Pl. 2:* 4) and a fire flint (*Pl. 2:* 5) were at the right elbow.

1. Belt buckle. The loop is oval with a thinner strap bar. The tongue has a club-shaped terminal and a hook for attaching to the strap bar. Remains of a linen fabric survive on the buckle. Silver or silvered brass. L. 4.2 cm. Inv. No. AG 12215.
2. Two fragments of an oval or round mount. The U-sectioned strap of thin sheet metal has three small (l. 1 cm) moulded transverse mounts attached with a rivet. The mount also incorporates a ring attached with an omega-shaped loop. Mount: silver; ring: bronze. Longer section l. 20.3 cm, shorter section l. 8.4 cm, w. of folded strap 0.5 cm. Inv. No. AG 12216.
3. Tweezers on a ring. Only the arms survive, without the terminals. Bronze. Ring diam. 1.4 cm, arm l. 3.3 cm. Inv. No. AG 12217.
4. Knife with a straight back and flat tang. Iron. L. 12.8 cm. Inv. No. AG 12218.
5. Fire flint. Size 2.6 × 2.4 cm. Inv. No. AG 12219.

Grave 6 (*Pl. 3; Figs. 3; 4*)
Burial of a man, between 50 and 60 years old (*maturus II*), height 157 cm. He was in an extended supine position with the head in the southwest. He was of a medium robust build and low stature.
A large and a small belt buckle, both with surviving textile remains (*Pl. 3:* 1,2), were found at the left hip. A group of iron objects was at the right hip that comprise the mount of a belt-purse (*Pl. 3:* 3), awl (*Pl. 3:* 4), knife blade (*Pl. 3:* 5), iron knife with part of the handle (*Pl. 3:* 6), several unidentifiable iron objects (*Pl. 3*: 7–8) and a fire flint (*Pl. 3:* 9). A small jar (*Pl. 3:* 10) filled with earth and gravel was found at the left foot; the analysis of its contents did not reveal identifiable organic remains.

1. Belt buckle. The loop is kidney-shaped with oblique incisions on the upper surface. The tongue is decorated with transverse incisions. The underside holds surviving textile threads of an unidentifiable fabric in plain weave. Iron. L. 5 cm. Inv. No. AG 12220.
2. Belt buckle. The loop is oval with a thinner strap bar. The underside holds textile remains of an unidentifiable fabric. Iron. L. 3.1 cm. Inv. No. AG 12221.
3. Mount of a belt-purse. The loop terminals are thinned and upturned. The centre holds a square buckle with a missing tongue. Iron. L. 8.9 cm. Inv. No. AG 12222.
4. Awl. It has a round openwork loop and a bent tip. Iron. L. 9.9 cm. Inv. No. AG 12224.
5. Blade fragment of a knife. Iron. L. 10.5 cm. Inv. No. AG 12223.
6. Blade and handle fragment of a knife. The partially surviving wooden handle is covered in corrosion products; the small round protuberance on it is probably a rivet. Iron, wood. L. 9.8 cm. Inv. No. AG 12225.
7. Fragment of an object, unidentifiable. Iron. L. 4.8 cm. Inv. No. AG 12227/1.
8. Fragment of an object, unidentifiable. Iron. L. 4.5 cm. Inv. No. AG 12227/2.
9. Fire flint. Covered with corrosion products on both sides, use-wear not visible. Size 2.7 × 2.4 cm. Inv. No. AG 12226.
10. Jar, biconical, with a short and slightly everted rim. Hand-built, with circular traces made with a comb-like object on the interior. Not symmetrical. Fabric: medium-grained with inclusions of calcium carbonate, and naturally present mica and iron oxides. Surface treatment: wiping. Firing: incomplete oxidation atmosphere, very hard. Interior and exterior surface colour: greyish-brown. H. 11.6 cm. Inv. No. AG 12228.

Grave 7 (*Pl. 4; Figs. 3; 4*)
Burial of a young woman, 22 years old (*adultus I*), height 155 cm. She was in an extended supine position with the head in the west. Her skull has frontal-occipital deformation. She was of a gracile build with the exception of rather robust fibulae and astragali.
A pair of iron crossbow brooches (*Pl. 4:* 1,2) were found on the chest. Several glass (*Pl. 4:* 5,7,8) and one amber bead (*Pl. 4:* 6) were to the right of the lumbar vertebrae. An iron belt buckle (*Pl. 4:* 3) was above the right pelvic bone, a glass beaker (*Pl. 4:* 4) at the right foot; the beaker content was analysed but could not be identified. The fill of the grave pit revealed one glass (*Pl. 4:* 9) and one amber bead (*Pl. 4:* 10), a small iron nail (*Pl. 4:* 11) and part of a loom weight (*Pl. 4:* 12).

1. Crossbow brooch with a firm catch plate, probably the Invillino type. Bow is short and semicircular in section, foot is triangular-sectioned with a missing terminal. Head and spring are heavily corroded, number of coils not identifiable. Iron. L. 4.9 cm. Inv. No. AG 12229.
2. Crossbow brooch with a firm catch plate, the Viminacium type. Bow and foot are flat and roughly equally

long, foot has a rolled end. Catch is heavily corroded, but appears to be bent up to reach the foot. Spring is corroded, chord runs above the spring and not around the head, number of coils is unidentifiable. Pin is missing. Iron. L. 4.5 cm. Inv. No. AG 12230.
3. Belt buckle. Loop is oval and thinned at the strap bar. Iron. L. 5.1 cm. Inv. No. AG 12231.
4. Beaker with a concave base and a fire-rounded and thickened rim edge. Colourless, slightly greenish glass. Reconstr. h. 6.2 cm. Inv. No. AG 12234.
5. Bead, spherical. Dark blue glass with red and white inclusions. Diam. 1.3 cm. Inv. No. AG 12232/1.
6. Bead, annular. Amber. Diam. 2.6 cm. Inv. No. AG 12232/2.
7. Bead, annular. Blue-green glass. Diam. 2.1 cm. Inv. No. AG 12232/3.
8. Bead, annular. Green glass. Diam. 1.2 cm. Inv. No. AG 12232/4.
9. Bead, biconical. Transparent glass. Diam. 0.6 cm. Inv. No. AG 12232/5.
10. Bead, flat, crushed. Amber. Size 1.2 × 0.9 cm. Inv. No. AG 12232/6.
11. Small nail with a hemispherical head, shank missing. Iron. Head diam. 0.8 cm. Not inventoried.
12. Half of a biconical loom weight. Clay. H. 1.8 cm. Inv. No. AG 12233.

Grave 2013 *(Fig. 3)*

Burial of a child. The child was 5–6 years old at death, buried in an extended supine position with the head in the west. The grave contained no grave goods.[16]

[16] Turk, Rupnik 2013, 5–6, 9, 12, Figs. 3–5.

TYPO-CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE GRAVE GOODS

Brooches

The two radiate-headed brooches from Grave 1 (*Pl. 1:* Gr. 1/1,2; *Fig. 6*) belong to the type with spiral decoration on a semicircular head-plate, lozenge-shaped foot with chip-carved lozenge decoration and animal-headed foot terminal.[17] Herbert Kuhn identified them as the Gurzuf type that incorporates numerous brooches that differ in details;[18] Dieter Quast identified them as the Szentes-Trento type (Trient in German), which is more uniform.[19] Both authors date them to the second half of the 5th and first half of the 6th century.[20] Quast distinguishes between earlier (length most frequently 5 to 6 cm) examples, with a wide bow and a clearly depicted animal head on the foot terminal, and later examples (length 7 to 15 cm), which are marked by more precisely rendered decorative details on the head and foot, different proportions and the head and foot commonly bordered with a pattern of triangles with niello inlays.[21] The brooches of the early group are most frequent in Pannonia,[22] for example in the cemeteries at Szentes-Kökényzug and Szentes-Nagyhegy,[23] Sirmium,[24] with individual examples also found in northern Italy (Trento),[25] in Altenerding[26] and the Crimean.[27] The distribution of the late forms in the west spans from northern Italy to central Germany, with examples from Brescia,[28] Weimar,[29] Straubing,[30] while in the east they concentrate in the Crimean.[31]

The origin of the large radiate-headed bow brooches is sought[32] in the Danube Basin in the second half of the 5th century, when these areas were inhabited predominately by Germanic peoples. Burials in Pannonia that revealed cast objects with chip-carved decoration, including radiate-headed bow brooches, have been dated to Phase D3 or the second half of the 5th century.[33] In this time, a characteristic female costume developed

[17] Bierbrauer 1975, 108–114; Bierbrauer 2010, 67.
[18] Kühn 1974, 728–742.
[19] Quast 2002, 589–590.
[20] Bierbrauer 1975, 104–106.
[21] Quast 2002, 589–593, Pl. 4.
[22] Kazanski, Mastykova 2017, 158; Quast 2002, 590, Fig. 3.

[23] Vinski 1972–1973, 193–195, Note 84, Pl. 2: 24,25; Kühn 1974, 732, 734, Pl. 261: 64/19, 46/23; Slabe 1975, 58, 59.
[24] Kazanski, Mastykova 2017, Pl. 3: 1.
[25] Cavada 1994, 228, Figs. III. 131; III. 132.
[26] Losert, Pleterski 2003, 95, Fig. 9: 3.
[27] The Kerč site: Kühn 1974, Pl. 262: 64/55.
[28] Werner 1961, 25, Pl. 18: 80a, 80b; Bierbrauer 1975, 104, 339, Pl. 52: 1.
[29] Bierbrauer 1975, 104, Pl. 73: 3; Kühn 1981, 388–389, Pl. 87: 596.
[30] Geisler 1998, 26, Pl. 24: Gr. 100/1,2.
[31] Quast 2002, 590, Fig. 3; Khairedinova 2019, 132, Fig. 7.
[32] Popović, Kazanski, Ivanišević 2017, 267–268; this refers to the group of large cast radiate-headed bow brooches of different subtypes.
[33] Heinrich-Tamáska, Straub 2015, 634: the contribution deals with the areas of *Pannonia Prima* and *Valeria*, where the two authors joined the burials with such items in Type 5.

Fig. 6: Miren – Japnišče. Grave 1, bow brooch with surviving garnet inlay, front and back. Not to scale.
Sl. 6: Miren – Japnišče. Grob 1, ločna fibula z ohranjenim granatom, pogled na sprednjo in hrbtno stran. Ni v merilu.

in the Danube Basin that Jaroslav Tejral calls the 'Danubian–East Germanic cultural complex' (donauländisch-ostgermanischer Kulturkomplex)[34] and Volker Bierbrauer 'East Germanic koiné' (ostgermanische Koiné),[35] while Michel Kazanski uses a more general term devoid of an ethnic connotation, namely 'Danubian fashion' (mode danubienne).[36]

Brooches and several other decorative objects from graves in Pannonia (for example from the cemetery at Zsibót-Domolopspuszta) are similar to those from Italy under the Ostrogothic Kingdom, but it is not possible to tie these burials either to specific historical events in Pannonia or to a specific Germanic ethnic group (*gentes*).[37] The material evidence from the Danube Basin of the 5th century, particularly the grave goods associated with members of the upper class, does display similarities identifiable as an East Germanic koiné, but without enabling a more precise ethnic identification.[38]

In their detailed decoration, in the border pattern of triangles with niello inlays and the slightly elongated foot, the pair of brooches from Miren belong to the later group of the Szentes-Trento type brooches according to the Quast typology, datable to the late (second half of the) 5th and first half of the 6th century. The forms, distribution and manner of wearing such items suggest that the objects from Miren's Grave 1 point to connections with the Danube Basin, on the one side, and with Italy under the Ostrogothic Kingdom, on the other. In Slovenia, other brooches of the late group of the Szentes-Trento type came to light in the cemeteries in Dravlje[39] and Kranj-Lajh,[40] in the hilltop settlements on Gradec near Velika Strmica,[41] Zidani gaber[42] and as a stray find in Ljubljana.[43]

The two brooches from Miren are cast and share the same form and decorative details of the head- and foot-plates, only slightly differing in length, by 1 mm. Their XRF analyses[44] have shown they are made of a silver alloy (roughly 88% Ag, as well as Cu, Zn and Pb), gilded (the presence of mercury suggests the process of fire gilding) and decorated with niello inlays. The punched triangles that form the decorative borders are inlaid with a dark substance that measurements revealed as containing copper, zinc, lead and sulphur (up to 1%), with the last element being an indicator of one of the several known niello production methods.[45] Only one gemstone survives (*Pl. 1:* Gr. 1/2; *Fig. 6*); it is a garnet, more precisely a Type I almandine,[46] such as most commonly originate from India.[47]

The marked similarity in the form, decoration, base alloy composition and production process for gilding and niello suggest that the production of the two brooches was closely related, possibly in the same goldsmith's workshop. This assumption is supported by their position in the same grave, where they were placed as a pair (set).

The pin of one of the two brooches (*Pl. 1:* Gr. 1/1) also bore the remains of linen fibres (*Linum usitatissimum*) surviving in corrosion products. They survive in a condition too poor to identify the weave,[48] but do allow a conclusion that the deceased in this grave was buried in a linen garment.

34 Tejral 2012, 117–126.
35 Bierbrauer 2011, 375–376.
36 Kazanski 1989.
37 *op. cit.*, Fig. 7: 3.
38 Bierbrauer 2011, 375–376; Heinrich-Tamáska, Straub 2015, 634; Rácz 2019, 780–789.

39 Slabe 1975, 13, Pl. 1: 1,2.
40 Urek *et al.* 2016a, 233, Fig. 123.
41 The head-plate with scrollwork decoration survives: Klasinc 1999, 18, Pl. 1: 2; Bitenc, Knific 2008, Fig. 2: 8.
42 Bitenc, Knific 2008, Fig. 2: 13a, b.
43 Bitenc, Knific 2008, Fig. 2: 14.
44 For the purposes of base alloy measurements, we selected a spot on the underside of the foot-plate that has a shiny, silvery surface without visible patina. Measurements by: Eva Menart, Narodni muzej Slovenije; Hitachi X-MET 8000 (XRF handheld analyzer).
45 Newman, Denis, Farell 1982.
46 Kramar, Kavkler, Dolenec 2018, 55.
47 Mathis *et al.* 2008; Šmit *et al.* 2014.
48 Kramar, Kavkler, Dolenec 2018, 56–57.

The iron examples from Grave 7 (*Pl. 4:* 1,2) are crossbow brooches with a firm catch plate. The brooch on *Pl. 4:* 2 is of the Viminacium type.[49] This is a type classified between the early (bow longer than foot) and the late crossbow brooches (bow shorter than foot) and dated from the second third of the 5th to the early 6th century.[50] They are most common in the Balkans, in the forts and cemeteries along the Danube limes; but individually also occur north of the Danube.[51] Alongside the brooch from Limberk,[52] the example from Miren is the most western known brooch of this type.

The other crossbow brooch (*Pl. 4:* 1) has a short bow and a long foot, indicating a later production attributable to the late 5th and early 6th century.[53] The length of the spring is not discernible, hence the brooch is tentatively identified as the Invillino type. Brooches of this type are most common in the south-eastern Alpine area, several examples are also known from the western Balkans.[54]

It is as yet unclear whether the crossbow brooches with a firm catch plate were part of the male (Roman) or female (Germanic) costume. The archaeological contexts indicate they were worn by both Roman and Germanic populations.[55] In the case of Miren, the paired position on the chest, the associated grave goods, the skeletal remains ascribed to a woman and the artificially deformed skull show that the two crossbow brooches can be seen as parts of a Germanic female costume.

Belts

Belt buckles came to light in four graves at Miren. Three substantial silver buckles (*Pls. 1:* Gr. 1/3; *2:* Gr. 2/1, Gr. 5/1) have an oval round-sectioned loop and a triangular or semicircular-sectioned tongue with a club-shaped terminal. The 2–3 cm of interior diameter and the position on the lower abdomen indicate they served to fasten belt straps.

Such buckles were widespread in the 5th and 6th centuries and particularly common at the sites in the Danube Basin associated with a Germanic population,[56] though examples also came to light in the Balkans[57] and the eastern Mediterranean.[58] In Italy, silver buckles of this shape are common on sites associated with the Goths.[59] At Frascaro in northern Italy, for example, such a buckle was found in a grave together with a quarter siliqua of Theodoric (491–518), which shows the burial should be dated to or after the time of Theodoric.[60] Also associated with the Goths is such a buckle from Globasnitz/Globasnica in Austria.[61]

In Slovenia, parallels came to light in the graves from Dravlje,[62] Rifnik[63] and Kranj-Lajh.[64]

Also associated with belts in Miren are the two small silver nails from Graves 1 and 2 that likely served as belt mounts or rivets with a disc head (*Pls. 1:* Gr. 1/11; *2:* Gr. 2/8). Such rivets occur in 6th-century graves in Illyricum together with silver oval buckles with a straight tongue and buckles with a shield tongue.[65] They are widespread among barbarian populations along the Danube, at sites associated with the Gepids,[66] but also in northern Italy at sites associated with the Goths.[67]

Grave 6 held three buckles (*Pl. 3:* 1–3). The large iron buckle (interior loop diam. of 4 cm) was presumably fitted on a belt, the smaller iron buckle (interior loop diam. of 2.4 cm) on a narrower strap attached to a purse and the iron mount with a buckle (interior loop diam. of 1.2 cm) formed part of the purse proper (see the chapter on purse buckles).

Such iron belt buckles were in use in Europe from the Late Roman period, in the eastern part of

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[49] Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 605–608, Fig. 11; Milavec 2009, 240.

[50] Milavec 2009, 224–225.

[51] Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 606; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 17, Fig. 8: 13–16; Milavec 2009, 240.

[52] Milavec 2009, Pl. 1: 1.

[53] Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 642–643.

[54] Milavec 2011a, 26–27, Fig. 2: 1.

[55] Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 593, Notes 2 and 5, 694; Bierbrauer 2015, 203–208, 291–294; Milavec 2009.

[56] Csongrád-Kattöshalom, Kiszombor, Szolnok-Szanda (for more detail, see Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 22), as well as Szentes-Kökényzug, Szentes-Nagyhegy, Szentes-Berekhát (Csallány 1961, Pl. XII:1; XXXV: 3; LXIX: 7; LXXVIII: 10), which are sites traditionally associated with the Gepids.

[57] Singidunum, Viminacium, Knin, Prahovo: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 22 (with further references for individual sites).

[58] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 22.

[59] Giostra 2007, 303–305.

[60] Micheletto 2003,

[61] Glaser 2006, 96, Fig. 10.

[62] Slabe 1975, Gr. 43, Pl. 16: 5.

[63] Bolta 1981, Gr. 74.

[64] In Graves 60, 75 and 110 (Stare 1980, Pls. 27: 1; 30: 4; 41: 3); the burials cannot be more precisely dated.

[65] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 26, Pls. 24: 38/7; 144: 144/4.

[66] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 26.

[67] Micheletto 2003, 702, Fig. 7.

Fig. 7: Miren – Japnišče. Grave 5, textile remains on the silver belt buckle. Not to scale.
Sl. 7: Miren – Japnišče. Grob 5, ostanki tkanine na srebrni pasni sponi. Ni v merilu.

the Roman Empire from the 4th century onwards;[68] they are relatively frequently associated with Germanic burials.[69] In the Balkans, they are known in the cemeteries of the 5th and 6th centuries.[70]

The buckle on *Pl. 2:* Gr. 5/1 and both iron buckles (*Pl. 3:* Gr. 6/1,2) hold textile fibres remains.[71] For the small iron buckle (*Pl. 3:* Gr. 6/2), the weave and fabric could not be ascertained. Preserved best are the textile fibres on the silver buckle (*Fig. 7*), where analysis revealed plain woven linen (*Linum usitatissimum*). For the buckle on *Pl. 3:* Gr. 6/1, analysis could only show that the fabric was plain woven. The weave density is greater on the remains on the silver buckle compared with that on the iron example; this suggests that the deceased man buried in Grave 5 wore a silver buckle and a garment of a fabric more finely woven than the garment of the deceased woman buried with an iron belt buckle in Grave 6.[72]

Purse buckles

The iron mount from Grave 6 (*Pl. 3:* 3) with a small buckle in the centre formed part of a purse. Typologically, it belongs to purse mounts with a straight central part and loop terminals.[73] They are not always readily identifiable, particularly when poorly preserved, as iron strike-a-lights may have a similar shape.[74] The similar mounts from the cemeteries at Altenerding, Basel-Kleinhüningen and Fellbach-Schmiden have been dated between 450 and 525, the mount from the cemetery at Pleidelsheim between 530 and 555.[75] Purses with such mounts were frequent among the Franks and Alamanni,[76] and less common in the Balkans,[77] Pannonia[78] and the Crimean.[79]

However similar purse mounts came to light in the cemetery at Kranj-Lajh[80] and the settlements on Tonovcov grad[81] and Rudna near Rudnica.[82]

Purses are frequent finds in the graves of men and sometimes children buried in the 5th and 6th centuries.[83] They were usually made of textile or leather and are most frequently unearthed in graves in the waist area; those recovered from the cemetery in Kranj are often at the head.[84] These purses contained small items for daily use. Considering the position of the items in Grave 6, the purse from this grave is believed to have contained an awl, two knives, a fire flint and two other objects that could not be identified (*Pl. 3:* 4–9). The purse in Grave 2 held tweezers, an iron knife, a fire flint and another iron item (*Pl. 2:* 3,5–7).

68 Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 20.

69 For example in Straubing (Geisler 1998, 12, 24, 65, 114, 190, Pls. 11: Gr. 47/1; 21: Gr. 94/1; 61: Gr. 240/1; 61: Gr. 241/1; 109: Gr. 357/1; 188: Gr. 517/1) and Altenerding in Bavaria (Losert, Pleterski 2003, 202–203, 307–308, Fig. 33), where the buckles were found almost without exception in the waist area of both male and female skeletons.

70 Dravlje (Slabe 1975, *e.g.* Pls. 2: 14; 3: 1); Kranj-Lajh (Stare 1980, *e.g.* Pls. 3: 1; 15: 6; 19: 9), Knin (Vinski 1991, Pls. 5: 7; 7: 11). Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 21 (e.g. Viminacium, Golemanovo Kale).

71 Kramar, Kavkler, Dolenec 2018, 56–58.

72 Kramar, Kavkler, Dolenec 2018, 56–58.

73 Losert, Pleterski 2003, 374–375.

74 For a comparison between purse mounts and strike--a-lights, see: Roes 1967.

75 Losert, Pleterski 2003, 375, Fig. 96: 9. List A445; Sage 1984, 165, Pl. 77: 11; Koch 2001, 84–85, 301–302, Fig. 22, Pl. 38: Gr. 95/6).

76 Losert, Pleterski 2003, 375. They are less common in the Langobard or Thuringian cemeteries.

77 Viminacium (unclear whether it is a strike-a-light or a mount with a buckle): Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 44, Pl. 44: Gr. 2142/ 5; they cite parallels from Kormadin-Jakovo; Golemanovo Kale: Uenze 1992, 193, Pl. 11: 7, she also cites a parallel from Rakovčani (BIH).

78 Cemetery on the south side of the fort at Keszthely--Fenékpuszta from the mid-5th century: Straub 2011, Pls. 3: 6; 6: 4.

79 Aibabin, Khairedinova 2017, Fig. 123: 2,7 (purse mount, with slightly different upturned terminals).

80 Stare 1980, Pls. 18: 6; 40: 1; 41: 10; 55: 11; 60: 6; 64: 13; 85: 2; 99: 3; 103: 5; 125: 1; Knific 1995, 34, 36, Fig. 9: 2; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 71, 72, Cat. No. 225; Urek *et al.* 2016a, 160, 164, 251–252, Figs. 164; 165; Urek *et al.* 2016b, Pls. 116: 5 (Gr. 60/2009); 120: 3 (Gr. 67/2009).

81 Milavec 2011a, 46, Pl. 8: 21.

82 Bitenc, Knific 2001, 74, Cat. No. 240.

83 Vinski 1980, 26; Losert, Pleterski 2003, 371–372.

84 Urek *et al.* 2016b, Pls. 86; 90; 96; 116.

Fig. 8: Miren – Japnišče. Grave 2, purse buckle. Not to scale.
Sl. 8: Miren – Japnišče. Grob 2, spona na torbici. Ni v merilu.

Fig. 9: Miren – Japnišče. Grave 5, silver mounts. Not to scale.
Sl. 9: Miren – Japnišče. Grob 5, srebrn okov. Ni v merilu.

The small bronze buckle with plate (*Pl. 2:* Gr. 2/4; *Fig. 8*) belongs to the group of Mediterranean miniature buckles with a kidney-shaped plate.[85] Its interior loop diameter of 1 cm and the position at the level of lumbar vertebrae alongside tweezers, a fire flint and a knife (*Pl. 2:* Gr. 2/3,6,7) suggest it was used to fasten a purse.

There are two known variants of such buckles (Type C2), which served to fasten footwear or purse straps. The earlier variant (with the earliest examples dating to the second third of the 5th century) has a mount with a central bar that divides it into two parts, each of which holds a cloisonné almandine; this variant is only known in the Crimean.[86] The buckle from Miren belongs to a slightly later variant,[87] which has a one-piece plate with a kidney-shaped and either almandine or glass inlay.[88] Some examples of this variant came to light in the Crimean, but they are more numerous in the central Danube Basin, with individual examples also known from Italy and Bavaria.[89]

Grave 5 held a fragmented mount of a folded thin silver sheet (*Pl. 2:* Gr. 5/2*; Fig. 9*), which was found at the left tibia of the deceased. The short transverse mounts presumably served to fix the oval mount to the base. The deformation makes it unclear whether the mount was also originally oval; if so, it would measure more than 10 cm in diameter. The lower edges of the mount are 0.15–0.3 cm apart and the rivets on the transverse straps are 0.2–0.3 cm long.

Two similar oval mounts were found in the Early Bavarian cemetery at Straubing[90] and the Alamannic cemetery at Dittenheim in Germany;[91] Both have been interpreted as part of a purse. Also of a similar shape is the rim mount of the precious purse lid of sheet gold and semi-precious stones found in the ship-burial at Sutton Hoo.[92]

Also made in this fashion are the rim mounts of wooden vessels,[93] but they are round and usually survive together with several other metal mounts, attachments and a handle. Similar U-sectioned mounts with a similar manner of attachment are also used as scabbard guttering.[94]

The U-sectioned mount from Miren may have formed part of a purse, a vessel or some other object. Analyses of the soil sample taken near the mount revealed no wood or other organic material (leather).[95] The length of the rivets and the thickness of the lower edge suggest that the mount was fitted on leather or very thin pieces of wood or other material.

Tweezers

Tweezers such as those from Miren (*Pls. 2:* Gr. 2/3; *2:* Gr. 5/3) were mostly made of bronze, rarely iron, and were used for personal hygiene and medical purposes already in the Roman period, but also in Late Antiquity.[96] In the 5th and 6th centuries, they

[85] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 86–88.
[86] *op. cit*. 87, including Notes 396 to 398.
[87] The earliest date to the last third of the 5th century: Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 87, 89.
[88] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 87–88.
[89] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, distribution map in Fig. 29. Central Danube Basin: Csallány 1961, Pl. CXCI: 1. Bavaria: Straubing (Geisler 1998, Pl. 24: 5, in Grave 100 together with a pair of Szentes-Trento bow brooches).
[90] Geisler 1998, 130–131. Pl. 124: 8.
[91] Dannheimer 1987, 68, Fig. 44.
[92] Carver 1998, 34–35, 126–127.
[93] Freeden, von 2018, 91–93.
[94] *Cf.* Viminacium: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, Pl. 39: Gr. 1876: 2; Straubing: Geisler 1998, Pl. 168: 469/3.
[95] Kramar, Kavkler, Dolenec 2018, 58.
[96] Riha 1986, 36; Milavec 2011a, 62–63.

were common goods in male burials, where they are mostly found in the waist area.[97] The bronze ring inserted into the loop of the tweezers from Grave 5 indicates they could have been suspended (from a belt?), while others may have been stored in purses.[98]

Iron knives

In Late Antiquity, iron knives were very common goods in the graves of both men and women and their form witnessed relatively minor changes over a long period of time.[99] The knives with a straight back have a wide distribution across the former Roman Empire, but also in Barbaricum; in the Balkans, they are common in the graves from the 5th and 6th centuries.[100] In Miren, knives came to light in Graves 2, 5 and 6 (*Pls. 2:* Gr. 2/6, Gr. 5/4; *3:* Gr. 6/5,6), all burials of men and all with knives in the waist area, together with other items of everyday use such as fire flints and tweezers. The position of the knives recovered from burials associated with Germanic populations suggest that men commonly wore them together with other items in a purse, whereas women wore them on a strap suspended from a belt.[101]

Two of the knives from Miren survive with part of the wooden handle (*Pls. 2*: Gr. 2/6; *3:* Gr. 6/6). Only the knife from Grave 5 (*Pl. 2:* Gr. 5/4) could be reconstructed in length, measuring roughly 13 cm. Knife blades measured between 1.6 and 2.2 cm in width. Knives of a similar size came to light in the graves of men and women in the cemeteries in Dravlje[102] and Kranj-Lajh, where those in the graves of men were stored in a purse, placed next to a purse or found lying in the waist or tibia area.[103]

Iron object, probably awl

Grave 6 yielded an item (*Pl. 3:* 4) that has its upper end curved to form a loop and is tentatively interpreted as an awl. Awls were used in the processing of leather, textile, wood and bone.[104] In Late Antiquity, awls are common in the graves of men attributed to the Romans[105] and those attributed to different Germanic peoples.[106] The Late Antique burials from the Crimean and from Viminacium rarely contain awls,[107] but they are very frequent in the Bavarian cemetery at Straubing, where graves could even hold more than one example.[108]

Glass and amber beads

Beads could be strung onto necklaces, bracelets or strings suspended from belts. The beads from Graves 1 and 7 (*Pls. 1:* Gr. 1/8,9; *4:* Gr. 7/5–10) were found in the chest area, suggesting they formed necklaces. Parallels are known from numerous sites of the 5th and 6th centuries.[109]

The grave goods from the cemeteries of the 5th and 6th centuries show an extensive use of amber beads of different shapes and sizes in combination with glass beads of different shapes, sizes and colours. This is also the case at Viminacium, where a parallel came to light for the bead from Miren of dark blue glass with applied red and white dots (*Pl. 4*: Gr. 7/5).[110] Such beads were widespread from the Black Sea to Gaul and northern Europe. They appeared in the second quarter of the 5th and were most common in the second half of the 5th century.[111] Those from the cemeteries in the Danube Basin have been dated to the second third and second half of the 5th century, those from the graves in northern Italy to the second half of the 5th century. At the fringes of the Danube area they remained in use to the mid-6th century, with only rare examples of a later date, which led

[97] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 34–35, Figs. 17; 42: 7–9; Losert, Pleterski 2003, 246–247. *Cf.* Graves 6/2004 and 80/2009 of the cemetery at Kranj-Lajh (Podobnik 2016, 73–76, Pl. 5; 6; Urek *et al.* 2016a, 251–256; Urek *et al.* 2016b, 73, Pl. 128: 6 (Gr. 80/2009).

[98] Slabe 1975, 70, 71; Klasinc 1999, 69, 70.

[99] Miletić 1970, 151; Slabe 1975, 72; Losert, Pleterski 2003, 240.

[100] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 45.

[101] Losert, Pleterski 2003, 237–238, 380; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, Pls. 22: 135; 28: 145; 30: 151; 44: 2195.

[102] Slabe 1975, 72.

[103] Podobnik 2016, 69, 75; Urek *et al.* 2016a, 248–249.

[104] Losert, Pleterski 2003, 387–388, Fig. 99: 12–22.

[105] Horvat, Žbona Trkman 2015, 113.

[106] Miletić 1970, 149–150; Losert, Pleterski 2003, 388.

[107] Lučistoje, Crimean: Aibabin, Khairedinova 2008, awl-like object on Pl. 73: 7. Viminacium (no awls): Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006.

[108] Giesler 1998, Pls. 218: 620/11,12; 272: 749/14,15.

[109] *E.g.* Slabe 1975, 51–53; Vinski 1980, 23; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 65–66, Cat. No. 202; 71, Cat. No. 224; 80, Cat. No. 257; 82, Cat. No. 266; Losert, Pleterski 2003, 250–262; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 51–117; Podobnik 2016, 53–60; Micheletto, Giostra, Bedini 2019, 370, 371, Fig. 5.

[110] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, Figs. 51: 1–12; 72.

[111] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, Type 34, 73–76, Fig. 67: 53–54 (with earlier references and parallels from other cemeteries).

authors to presume that their production ended before that.[112]

At sites in Slovenia, this bead type occurs individually in the cemeteries at Kranj-Lajh[113] and Dravlje,[114] but also at the hilltop settlements on Sveta gora in the Zasavje region, Kicelj near Gorenja vas pri Šmarjeti,[115] Korinjski hrib[116] and Tonovcov grad.[117]

Footwear

Remains of footwear may be identified in the mounts of thin sheet silver found at the feet of the deceased (*Pls. 1:* Gr. 1/5; *2:* Gr. 2/2). The metal sheet is folded along one edge and the two parts fixed together with a rivet and the edges decorated with embossed dots. The two mounts are very similar, but occurred singly in two different graves. Mounts and strap ends of different forms and made of thin sheet silver or bronze, exceptionally even gold, but also small buckles that belonged to footwear came to light in the cemetery at Kranj-Lajh.[118] Many different sets of footwear from the 5th and 6th centuries have been published as part of graves in the south-western Crimean,[119] though none that would be close parallels for the items from Miren. Footwear strap ends typically have a rivet on the folded part, while the pieces from Miren have a pair of rivets just below the folded edge, with the length of the surviving rivets measuring 0.3 cm. The mounts may also have formed part of wooden vessels,[120] which would have very thin, up to 0.3 cm thick walls/staves; such vessels usually have several mounts of this kind.

Loom weights – spindle whorls

Graves of women in Miren held two such items (*Pls. 1:* Gr. 1/10; *4:* Gr. 7/12). The bone weight in Grave 1 was lying at the right palm, while the weight in Grave 7 was made of clay and found in the fill of the grave pit. In the Late Antiquity biconical clay weights were widespread in the Balkans, among the barbarian populations in the Danube Basin and on Byzantine territory at the Black Sea.[121] The bone weights of this period are disc-shaped and frequently decorated with incisions, with parallels including those from the Late Antique fort at Golemanovo Kale.[122] The parallels from the cemeteries at Kranj-Lajh,[123] Viminacium[124] and Straubing[125] indicate that the loom weights were frequently suspended on straps hanging from belts.

Fig. 10: Miren – Japnišče. Grave 7, walls and base of a glass beaker. Not to scale.
Sl. 10: Miren – Japnišče. Grob 7, ostenje in dno steklenega kozarca. Ni v merilu.

Glass beaker

The glass vessel from Grave 7 (*Pl. 4:* 4; *Fig. 10*) is an Isings 106 beaker, the distribution of which spans the Roman Empire; they were most common from the 4th to the mid-5th century. In hilltop settlements, they continued to be used in the second half of the 5th and the 6th century.[126]

Ceramic jar

The jar from Grave 6 (*Pl. 3:* 10) is hand-built and biconical. Similar jars came to light in the cemetery at Viminacium, in a grave from the first half of the 6th century,[127] and at Hács-Bendekpuszta (western Hungary), Ivanovice and Šaratice (Moravia).[128] Based on form alone, these jars cannot be dated more precisely.

[112] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 73–76.
[113] Urek *et al.* 2016a, 66, Pls. 108; 135: 2; Urek *et al.* 2016b, 235, 238.
[114] Slabe 1975, 25, 28, Pls. 11: 3–5; 15: 30.
[115] Bitenc, Knific 2001, 82, Cat. No. 266.
[116] Milavec 2020, 76, Fig. 3.2. (top bead), Pl. 13: 2.
[117] Milavec 2011a, 32–33, Pl. 4: 7.
[118] Vinski 1980, 23; Stare 1980, Pls. 2: 5; 21: 8; 27: 5,6; 97: 8; 106: 12.
[119] Khairedinova 2003.
[120] Freeden, von 2018, 90–91; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, Pl. 37: 1516/ 3.
[121] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 46.
[122] Uenze 1992, Pl. 14: 9–17.
[123] Podobnik 2016, 68, Pl. 3; Urek *et al.* 2016b, Pls. 81: Gr. 4; 84: Gr. 10.
[124] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Popović 2006, Pl. 37: 1516/ 2.
[125] Geisler 1998, Pls. 196: 546/ 9; 208: 600/ 11.
[126] Milavec 2011b, 105–106. Milavec 2020, 87, Pl. 30: 10,12.
[127] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 216, Pl. 40: 2005.
[128] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 48 (with references).

The Late Antique graves from Slovenia most frequently hold drinking vessels and rarely other types of pottery. Five of the graves from Rifnik held small, roughly 7 cm high beakers,[129] a single-handled beaker was also placed in two of the graves on Ajdovski gradec above Vranje.[130]

OBJECTS OF LOWER DANUBIAN ORIGIN FROM THE LATE 4th AND EARLY 5th CENTURIES IN SLOVENIA

The interpretation of the Miren cemetery opens with a discussion on the artefacts that shed light on the beginning of intensified contacts with the Danube Basin and the presence of foreign elements, also Germanic, on the territory of Slovenia towards the end of the 4th and the early 5th century.

This is a time when objects appear at Slovenian sites that draw their origin from the Lower and Middle Danube Basin. These objects are associated with the late phase of the Chernyakhov-Sîntana de Mureş culture in modern-day Ukraine, Romania and Moldova. Over a brief period, the objects characteristic of this (post-) Cherrnyakhov culture spread across central and western Europe as far as central Spain.[131] It is also a time when the 'foederati' culture developed in the provinces along the Danube limes that combined (post-)Chernyakhov and provincial influences.[132] Both phenomena are important for understanding the complex process of migrations, the fusing of different cultures and the creation of new administrative entities (kingdoms) that were to flourish later, in the 6th century.

The objects that originate from the southern Danube Basin include crossbow brooches of the early type, which Timotej Knific and Marjana Tomanič-Jevremov presented in greater detail.[133] They are two-piece brooches of bronze or iron that have an inverted foot. In Slovenia, they were found at Ptuj (*Fig. 11:* 1) and Čepna above Zagorje (*Fig. 11:* 3).[134] The latter site revealed two brooches, the other one being an example with a firm catch plate from the same time frame.[135] The iron brooch from Ptuj was found as the only good in an inhumation burial, on the chest of a young man interred in the ruins of an abandoned Roman building.[136] Ptuj also yielded two bronze brooches, but without known context data (*Fig. 11:* 2,4).[137] The brooches of this form appeared in the Danube Basin in the 3rd and were most common in the 4th century, while in the late 4th and early 5th century they spread to central Europe;[138] the evidence of this spread are also the brooches from Ptuj and Čepna.

Another type of brooches that represent elements of the (post-)Chernyakhov culture and associated with foederati are bow brooches. Towards the end of the 4th century, examples with a semicircular head-plate spread from the northern Black Sea regions westwards; they were most numerously recovered at sites along the limes in the Tisa Basin and along the Middle Danube.[139] In Slovenia, a small bronze brooch with a semicircular head-plate and lozenge foot-plate decorated with series of punched dots was found at Ptuj and dates to the late 4th or early 5th century (*Fig. 11:* 5).[140] The bow brooch from Sv. Lambert near Pristava nad Stično has a triangular head-plate with three knobs and belongs to the Bratei type (*Fig. 11:* 6);[141] these are less numerous and spread to the Middle Danube Basin and the Balkans in the first half of the 5th century, where they remained in use to the middle of the century.[142]

The small foot-and-bow fragment of a brooch from Zidani gaber above Mihovo (*Fig. 11:* 7) may belong to the 'classic' sheet-metal bow brooches

[129] Bolta 1981, Gr. 6, 22, 40, 44, 86. In a grave of a child (Pl. 5: Gr. 37), all grave goods were placed into a jar. A total of 109 burials was excavated on Rifnik.

[130] Petru, Ulbert 1975, Fig. 41: Gr. 12; 43: Gr. 25. In the cemetery at Kranj-Lajh, a jar was recorded as placed in one grave – probably Grave 44 excavated by Schulz (Stare 1980, 122, Gr. 572; corrected number of the grave personally related by Kaja Pavletič).

[131] Jiřik, Pinar Gil, Vávra 2019, 415, 428–433: these authors see a characteristic (post-)Chernyakhov assemblage as composed of buckles with a thickened loop, with or without belt plates, sheet-metal bow brooches, crossbow brooches, combs with a bell-shaped grip of the Thomas III type and burnished pottery. Also see Pinar Gil 2015.

[132] Jiřik, Pinar Gil, Vávra 2019, 422.

[133] Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996.

[134] Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, Figs. 3: 1; 4: 1.

[135] Laharnar 2022, 95, 329–335, Pl. 16: 36–37.

[136] Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 371–373.

[137] Pflaum 2000, 121–122, Pl. 32: 196,197.

[138] Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 374–375; Pflaum 2000, 121; Tica 2017, 129.

[139] Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 377, Fig. 6.

[140] Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 377.

[141] Bierbrauer 1989.

[142] Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 377–378, Fig. 7; Bitenc, Knific 2008, 98–99.

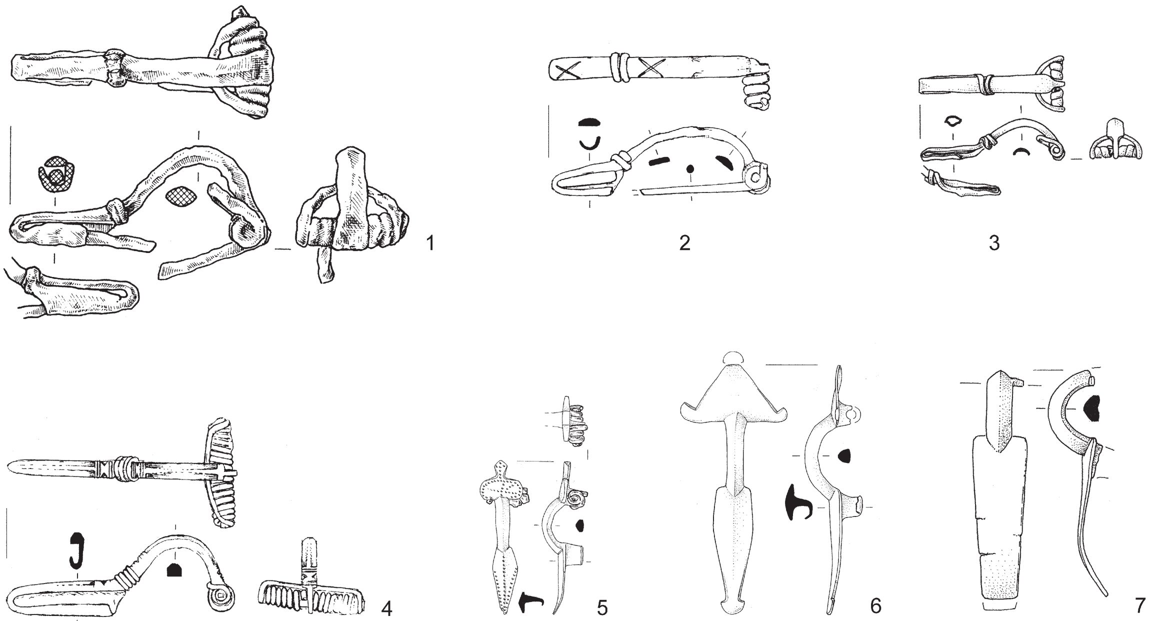

Fig. 11: Brooches from the late 4th and early 5th centuries that originate from the Lower Danube Basin and were found at Slovenian sites.
Sl. 11: Fibule iz spodnjega Podonavja s konca 4. in iz zgodnjega 5. st. na slovenskih najdiščih.

1, **2**, **4**, **5** Ptuj (Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, Fig. 3: 1; 5: 1; Pflaum 2000, Pl. 32: 196, 197), **3** Čepna above Zagorje (Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, Fig. 4: 1), **6** Sv. Lambert near Pristava nad Stično (Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, Fig. 5: 2), **7** Zidani gaber above Mihovo (Bitenc, Knific 2008, Fig. 1: 3). Scale / M. = 1 : 2.

characteristic of the late phase of the Chernyakhov culture, though it might also be an imitation;[143] the fact it is cast of brass rather suggests the latter possibility.

Brooches originating in the Danube Basin came to light at four Slovenian sites (*Fig. 12*). Their occurrence has most frequently been attributed to the incorporation of Germanic mercenaries (foederati) in the units of the Roman army.[144]

One of the four sites is Ptujski grad, where a group of burials shows that a small company of foreigners, most likely of Germanic origin, lived in the late 4th and the early 5th century alongside the local population in Poetovio, a Roman city at a strategically significant crossing of the River Drava on the major road from Savaria to Celeia.[145] The group consists of seven excavated graves that contained common Late Roman objects, but also two bone combs with a high grip, bone pyramidal pendants and a small silver buckle that shows ties with the southern and Middle Danube Basin.[146]

The two brooches from the hilltop settlements on Sv. Lambert and Zidani gaber are stray finds and can therefore not be more precisely interpreted, but they certainly indicate a connection with the southern Danube Basin and the foederati culture, ranking among the rare items that prove hilltop settlements were inhabited in the first half of the 5th century.

The pair of such brooches from Čepna came to light in a different context; they are the typologically latest items of a considerable assemblage of finds that were presumably votive offerings in a Roman sanctuary.[147]

For a clearer picture, we should take a look at objects from neighbouring regions that can be seen as early evidence of 'eastern' influences or migrations of barbarian groups of eastern origin

[143] Bitenc, Knific 2008, 99.

[144] Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996; Bitenc, Knific 2008, 98; Ciglenečki 2006.

[145] Ciglenečki 1993; Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 376–379.

[146] Jevremov, Tomanič-Jevremov, Ciglenečki 1993, 227–228, Pls. 1: Gr. 410/1, Gr. 416/1; 2: Gr. 415/1,3.

[147] The numerous other, also prehistoric objects of the assemblage include an amphora-shaped strap-end and two bracelets from the 4th and early 5th centuries (Laharnar 2022, 93–106, 332, Fig. 4:19, Pl. 16: 36,37).

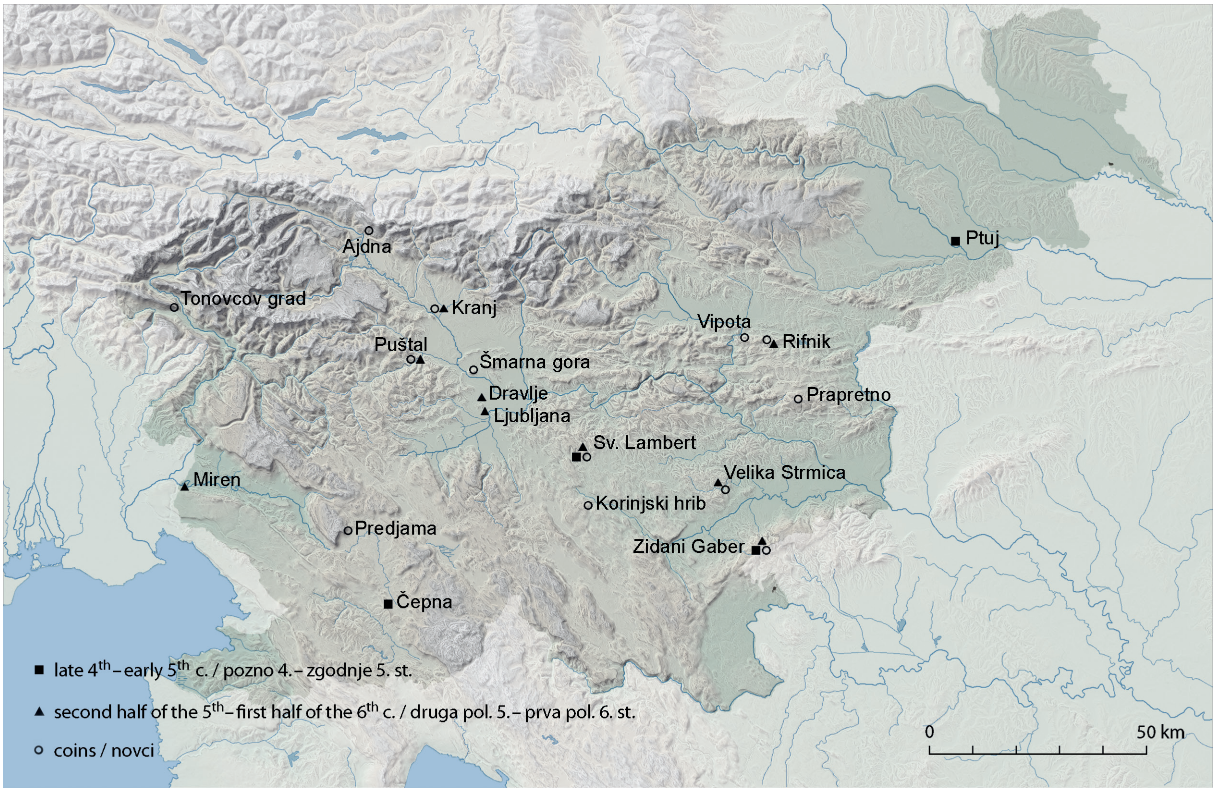

Fig. 12: Map of the sites with Germanic finds mentioned in the text.
Sl. 12: Karta v članku obravnavanih najdišč z germanskimi najdbami.

in the early 5th century. In Italy, artefacts linked in their origin with the area of the (post-)Chernyakhov culture mainly came to light in the north-eastern part, along major roads.[148] The most characteristic are the sheet-silver brooches from the first half of the 5th century; they came to light in the cemeteries at Sacca di Goito[149] and Pollenzo,[150] a pair of brooches was found at Villafontana[151] and another pair from a grave in Castelbolognese.[152] Sacca di Goito is the westernmost site in Italy that revealed items linked with the (post-)Chernyakhov and foederati culture of the D1 to D2/D3 phases. The presence of these items has been associated with the inclusion of foederati of Germanic and other origins (for instance Alans) into the units of the Roman army and their deployment at key strategic points on the major roads leading to Italy.[153] Zosimus reports that, after the death of Stilicho, more than 30 000 barbarian soldiers were settled on Italian soil together with their families.[154]

The individual brooches from the mid-5th century that came to light in the countryside villas and settlements in Friuli have also been associated with the foederati settled here who originated in the Danube Basin.[155]

Several items from the cemetery in Frauenberg, Austria, that date to the late 4th and early 5th century (crossbow brooches, belt buckles) and burials with artificial cranial deformation have also been linked with barbarian immigrants from the Lower Danube Basin.[156]

As already noted above, archaeological research indicates that towards the end of the 4th and in the early 5th century objects associated with the (post-)Chernyakhov culture spread to the southeast (Crimean) and the north into the Middle Danube Basin, in a small measure also to more distant regions of central and western Europe. In literature, these objects are frequently described as the 'foederati' culture and indicate

148 Villa 2008, 25; Buora 2010, 189.
149 Sannazaro 2006; Giostra 2011.
150 Bierbrauer 2007, 94–98, Fig. 2: 1,2.
151 Bierbrauer 2007, 99, Fig. 6: 3,4.
152 Bierbrauer 2007, 101, Fig. 5: 1,2.
153 Jiřik, Pinar Gil, Vávra 2019, 428 with further references.
154 According to Bierbrauer 2007, 103.
155 Villa 2006; Buora 2010, 189.
156 Steinklauber 2002, 184–188.

that different barbarian peoples shared a common material culture that reflect the influences / origin in the (post-)Chernyakhov culture and the Roman provincial tradition.[157] These objects cannot be tied to Germanic populations alone, but partly also to Alans, Huns and other barbarian groups.

EAST GERMANIC ELEMENTS FROM THE LATE 5th AND OPENING DECADES OF THE 6th CENTURY IN SLOVENIA

The East Germanic traces from Slovenian sites that date to the time of the Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy are more revealing. Such objects attributable to the late 5th and the opening decades of the 6th century mainly came to light in cemeteries and hilltop settlements, rarely as stray finds and modest remains of (timber) dwellings in regional centres (*Fig. 12*).

Among them are the burials at Miren dated to the late 5th and early 6th centuries on the basis of a typo-chronological analysis of the grave goods that is corroborated by the, albeit very broad, radiocarbon dating of the bone sample from Grave 1 (*Fig. 5*).[158] Excavations of the relatively small cemetery thus far revealed nine burials in simple grave pits. The deceased consisted of three men and four women of different ages, as well as two children. The human bone fragments recovered from the layers above indicated that several graves had already been destroyed. The grave goods belong to both the female (*Fig. 13*) and the male costume. The radiate-headed brooches from Grave 1 fastened the garment of the deceased woman on the upper chest (*Pl. 1:* Gr. 1/1,2); the same can be said of the pair of iron crossbow brooches that held the garment of the woman buried in Grave7 (*Pl. 4:* Gr. 7/1,2).[159] The men wore items of everyday use, such as a knife, tweezers, awl and fire flint, around the waist and metal mounts indicate that some most likely carried them in purses (*Pls. 2:* Gr. 2,5; *3:* Gr. 6). The burials of children had no grave goods.

Some peoples in Late Antiquity, including the Ostrogoths, practised artificial cranial deformation.[160] Two skulls with such deformations also came to light at Miren. The skull of the skeleton buried in Grave 7 was altered using circular binding that made the skull very tall and narrow, while the skull of the individual from Grave 1 had frontal-occipital deformation without the use of circular binding that resulted in a short and very tall skull.[161] In Slovenia, artificially deformed skulls have also been found in the cemeteries at Kranj-Lajh, Dravlje and on the skeleton of a young man buried in Ptuj;[162] the young man was buried in an abandoned Roman lime kiln and is presumed to have been of Asiatic origin.[163]

The Kranj-Lajh cemetery revealed five artificially deformed skulls, all belonging to women. Two of these were deformed using circular binding, others show a lower degree and/or different type of deformation.[164] Many more artificially deformed skulls were presumed to have been found at Dravlje; the skulls of two women and six men were initially reliably identified as deformed and further five male skulls were presumably deformed.[165] The recent palaeopathological analysis, however, has shown that not all of these were intentionally deformed. The sample of five included a single skull reliably identified as artificially deformed, belonging to a woman, while three showed an asymmetry that may also have been the consequence of torticollis.[166] The analysis also revealed pyramidal or single-rooted molars in two skeletons, which might indicate an eastern, Asiatic origin of the deceased.[167]

The cemetery in Dravlje, in the north-western part of Ljubljana, is larger than the one in Miren. Altogether 49 graves have been excavated, with more than ten others destroyed during construction

157 Jiřik, Pinar Gil, Vávra 2019, 439; Rácz 2019.

158 2sigma 406–543 (95% probability).

159 It is a manner of fastening clothes that in Pannonia predominated in the first half and middle of the 5th century, while in the second half and towards the end of the 5th century it was more common to fasten garments with brooches in the waist area (Rácz 2016, 315–316, Fig. 10).

160 Heinrich-Tamáska, Straub 2015, 631–634, Fig. 6: 1b; Rácz 2016, 326–327; Miházi-Pálfi 2019.

161 Leben Seljak 2018, 61–62.

162 Three other skulls, from Graves 54, 56 and 58 from the Rifnik cemetery (Bolta 1981, 14, 34) were also believed to have been deformed. However, the recent anthropological analysis of skeletal remains has revealed that the skull from Grave 56 is not artificially deformed, but rather has an extremely thinned bone tissue. The skulls from the other two graves, now missing, may have shared the same pathology, indicating the deceased were related (Leben Seljak 2006, 440).

163 Knific, Nabergoj 2017, 22, Figs. 15; 16.

164 Leben Seljak 2018, 67.

165 Pogačnik, Tomazo Ravnik 1975, 147.

166 Leskovar, Županek 2020, 479–481.

167 Leskovar, Županek 2020, 478.

Fig. 13: Miren – Japnišče. Goods from Grave 1. Not to scale.
Sl. 13: Miren – Japnišče. Predmeti iz groba 1. Ni v merilu.

work before archaeologists arrived at the site.[168] The deceased were buried either directly in pits, in wooden coffins or the skeletons were lined / covered with wooden boards, two skeletons were even most likely buried in tree trunks.[169] The grave goods revealed predominantly Germanic elements, primarily Ostrogothic according to Marijan Slabe.[170] Women were buried with a pair of gilded silver radiate-headed bow brooches, a gilded bronze and silver belt buckle with garnet inlays and a gold strip finger ring with a round garnet-inlaid bezel in Grave 1,[171] a pair of gilded silver bow brooches with a radiate (fan-shaped) head-plate in Grave 15[172] and a disc brooch with glass inlays in Grave 33.[173] Both pairs of brooches lay in the waist area. Grave 25 of a man revealed a rectangular belt buckle with garnet inlays.[174] Most other graves held only modest goods, most frequently antler or bone combs, silver, bronze or iron buckles of different sizes, necklaces of glass and amber beads, bronze earrings with a polyhedral bead, finger rings, worn Roman coins, iron knives and strike-a-lights. Exceptional is the grave of an adult man buried with a single-edged iron sword in its scabbard, three differently sized knives and an iron strike-a-light, as weapons were only rarely placed in the graves of this time.[175]

The grave goods excavated at Kranj-Lajh show a cemetery used towards the end of the 5th and in the opening decades of the 6th by the local population and inhabitants of Germanic origin. Eleven of the roughly 720 graves investigated thus far[176] revealed characteristic East Germanic elements. These comprise silver radiate-headed bow brooches of different types and decorations, ornate belt buckles with garnet inlays including two of the Kranj type, smaller buckles with a club-shaped tongue and coins of Ostrogothic rulers.[177] The incomplete documentation of the early excavations prevents us from establishing

[168] Slabe 1975, 7–10.

[169] Slabe 1975, 36–37, Fig. 4.

[170] Slabe 1975, 77–79.

[171] Slabe 1975, 12–14, Pls. 1: 1,2,7; 2: 13; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 65–66, Cat. No. 202.

[172] Slabe 1975, 16–17, Pl. 3: 4,5; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 66, Cat. No. 203.

[173] Slabe 1975, 22–24, 51, 61, Pl. 10: 1–3.

[174] Slabe 1975, 12–14, Pl. 7: 3; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 66, Cat. No. 203.

[175] Slabe 1975, 18–19, Pl. 6; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 66, Cat. No. 204; Tica 2017, 287–288.

[176] Lux, Ravnik 2008, 67–68; Knific, Lux 2015, 31.

[177] Bierbrauer 1975, 90, 91, 99, 100, 104; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 63–64, Cat. Nos. 191, 192, 195, 196; Knific 2005, 331–334, Fig. 1: 1–3; Bitenc, Knific 2008, 101–103, Figs. 2: 1–4; 4: 1,2; Knific, Lux 2015, 33, Figs. 8: 1; 2; 9 top; Podobnik 2016, 66, 85–86, Pl. 8: 1,2 (Gr. 12/2004); Urek *et al.* 2016a, 231–233, 242, 246; Urek *et al.* 2016b, Pls. 82: 4; 101: 6; 114: 2 (Gr. 56/2009); 115: 1 (Gr. 57/2009); Tica 2017, 294–307.

whether the burials with these goods are limited to a particular part of the cemetery.[178]

The cemetery associated with the hilltop settlement on Rifnik revealed rare East Germanic elements. These consist of a bronze radiate-headed bow brooch with ties to the Danube Basin, which was found in Grave 9 of a woman together with a necklace of glass and amber beads, and a pair of bronze earrings with a glass polyhedral bead.[179] The brooch fastened the garment on the shoulder and was worn singly. Another potential Germanic item is the iron oval buckle with a club-shaped tongue, found in the waist area of the man buried in Grave 21; placed under his head were items of everyday use that were probably kept in a purse.[180] The settlement on Rifnik also yielded a coin of Theodoric minted in 518–526.[181]

Fragments of radiate-headed bow brooches and belt plates, including one belonging to a Kranj type belt plate came to light in the fort on Gradec near Velika Strmica.[182] Also found here was a large gilded silver radiate-headed bow brooch with five knobs and chip-carved decoration that forms part of the jewellery of the Karavukovo group and is slightly earlier, dated to the second half of the 5th century; such brooches have been linked with the Danube Basin whence Goths presumably brought them on their way to Italy.[183]

The small cast and gilded radiate-headed bow brooch with three knobs and chip-carved decoration from Sv. Lambert[184] also has parallels in the Danube Basin dated to the second third and second half of the 5th century.[185] Other objects found at this hilltop site with parallels in the Germanic items from the time of the Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy include fragments of two bow brooches and a belt buckle.[186]

Finds from Zidani gaber above Mihovo include fragments of bow brooches, the loop and tongue fragments of belt buckles, a gold mount with garnet inlays and a fragment of a silver strainer.[187] A fragment of a gilded silver bow brooch comes from Puštal above Trnje near Škofja Loka.[188]

Fifteen sites, most of them hilltop settlements, revealed more than thirty, mainly silver coins, minted in the name of Ostrogothic rulers.[189] Some sites yielded a single coin, others several examples. At Puštal, one coin of Theodoric minted between 518 and 526 was found in the northern part of the settlement and five coins were found together in the south-eastern part. The five coins were minted in the final years of Ostrogothic rule and were probably kept in a purse or as a hoard.[190] Very well-preserved are also the four coins from Zidani gaber, one minted between 491 and 518, three in the first third of the 6th century.[191] Five coins were unearthed in the vicinity of the entrance to the settlement on Tonovcov grad near Kobarid. They were minted in the name of Theodoric and his successor Athalaric, and their good condition indicates a short-term use.[192]

Researchers ascribe the Germanic finds from hilltop sites to small garrisons stationed under the Ostrogothic rule in settlements and forts that protected the corridors and communications.[193] Rifnik, for example, is a dominant elevation visible from great distances that controlled one of the routes leading from Pannonia to Emona. Another example is Puštal, which controlled the passage into the Selca Valley, at the entrance to the Poljane Valley it also controlled the routes leading to the

[178] For the plan of the cemetery, see Lux, Ravnik 2008.

[179] Bolta 1981, 31, Pl. 2: 7–10; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 68–69, Cat. No. 214.

[180] Bolta 1981, 31–32, Pl. 4: 6–14; Tica 2017, 329.

[181] Demo 1994, 16, 186, No. 116; FMRSl II, 367/1–78.

[182] Klasinc 1999, 82, Pls. 1: 1–3,5; 2: 18; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 67–68, Cat. Nos. 209 and 210; Knific 2005, 332–334, Fig. 3: 1; Ciglenečki 2006, Fig. 7; Bitenc, Knific 2008, 99–103, Figs. 1: 4; 2: 7,8; 4: 3.

[183] Klasinc 1999, 37; Knific 2005, 332; Bitenc, Knific 2008, 99, Fig. 1: 4.

[184] Bitenc, Knific 2001, 68, Cat. No. 213; Ciglenečki 2006, Fig. 12: 2.

[185] Tejral 1997, 349.

[186] Bitenc, Knific 2001, 68, Cat. No. 213; Bitenc, Knific 2008, Figs. 2: 6; 4: 4.

[187] Bitenc, Knific 2001, 33, 68–69, Cat. Nos. 88 and 215; Bitenc, Knific 2008, 100–103, Figs. 1: 3; 2: 9–13; 4: 5, 6; Tratnik 2020, 79, 82–83, Pls. 8: 72,73; 9: 82; 10: 99.

[188] Bitenc, Knific 2001, 68, Cat. No. 212; Bitenc, Knific 2008, Fig. 2: 5; Knific, Lux 2015, 36–37, Fig. 12.

[189] Ajdna above Potoki, Gradec near Prapretno, Gradec near Velika Strmica, Korinjski hrib above Veliki Korinj, Kranj (cemeteries at Lajh and Križišče Iskra, settlement), Predjama, Puštal above Trnje pri Škofji Loki, Rifnik near Šentjur, Sv. Lambert near Pristava nad Stično, Šmarna gora near Ljubljana, Tonovcov grad near Kobarid, Vipota above Pečovnik, Zidani gaber above Mihovo (Demo 1994, 183; Kos 2000, 113, Map 3; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 64–65, Cat. Nos. 194–201; Bratož 2014, 411–412; Knific, Lux 2015, 33, 37–38, Fig. 8; 12).

[190] Knific, Lux 2015, 37, Figs. 8: 4; 12; 13.

[191] Tratnik 2020, 127, 222, Nos. 154–157.

[192] Kos 2011, 226, 237, Nos. 158–162; Ciglenečki 2020, 213.

[193] Ciglenečki 2006, 113–117; Ciglenečki 2020, 213.

Cerkljansko area and further on to Friuli.[194] Tonovcov grad hosted a settlement with a naturally protected and strategic location at the doorstep of Italy, and a Gothic garrison there would guard the route from the upper Soča Valley to Friuli.[195] Records of such posts can be found in ancient texts, for example Procopius, who mentions Cotian Alps where Goths of higher classes lived together with their wives and children, guarding the border.[196]

The role of the settlements on Zidani gaber, Sv. Lambert and Gradec near Velika Strmica is less clear. Within the Ostrogothic Kingdom, these settlements formed part of the Savia province.[197] They were established in safe and slightly remote locations that did not offer an optimal visual control of the main communications in use in the Roman period (road connecting Siscia and Emona). This would lead to two conclusions: either other (alternative) routes became strategically significant in Late Antiquity[198] or these settlements played a different role, possibly of small local centres of administration or of settlements enjoying great regional importance.[199]

The former urban centres yielded few traces from the Ostrogothic period. In the late 4th and early 5th centuries, Emona changed in appearance; its city walls were reinforced in certain places, some of the entrances were walled and the south defensive ditch was cleaned, while a large part of the sewage system was no longer maintained. The temple in the forum is believed to have been torn down at this time and several large public buildings, as well as buildings intended for Christian religious rituals constructed.[200] Modest traces of barbarian presence in the city have been recorded in individual burials in the northern cemetery of Emona and in the garden of the Narodni muzej Slovenije.[201] There is only scarce evidence of life in the city after the middle of the 5th century. The investigations that Walter Schmid conducted in 1910 in Insula VII, in the southwest part of the city, unearthed the foot of a bow brooch.[202] The closest parallel is a pair of bow brooches from the cemetery in Dravlje.[203] The layers of Emona, in Insula XV in the area of Jakopičev vrt, reportedly yielded a kidney-shaped belt buckle made in the cloisonné technique, dating to the late 5th and the opening decades of the 6th century.[204]

The situation was different in Kranj, Late Antique Carnium located at the river confluence of the Sava and the Kokra, with clear habitation remains from the 5th and 6th centuries. In addition to the already discussed goods from the Kranj-Lajh cemetery, Ostrogothic evidence also came to light in the settlement, in the form of a bow brooch fragment and a silver coin of Theodoric.[205] Recent investigations in the city centre of Kranj have brought to light the remains of timber houses and pottery characteristic of Germanic (primarily Langobard) populations, as well as two coins of Theodoric (minted before 522) and Athalaric (ruled between 527 and 534), respectively.[206]

It should be noted that the (East) Germanic elements recovered at Slovenian sites are not necessarily evidence of the presence or settlement of members of foreign ethnic groups on the territory of Slovenia; an alternative interpretation is that they are merely traces of the exchange of goods and trading connections with areas of their origin, i.e. the Danube Basin or the Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy.[207]

CEMETERIES WITH EAST GERMANIC ELEMENTS IN NEIGHBOURING AREAS

Historical sources reveal that after 473, when the Ostrogoths finally left Pannonia, several groups joined the journey to Italy under their lead. The largest among them was the group led by Theodoric, starting towards Italy in 488 on the behest of the Eastern Roman Emperor Zeno with the aim of overthrowing Odoacer and conquering Italy. Together with the associated groups of different peoples that comprised men, women and children, the Goths set out from the southern Danube Basin towards Italy, initially following the Roman roads

[194] Ciglenečki 2015, 416, 419; Knific, Lux 2015, 38.
[195] Ciglenečki 2011, 287.
[196] Bierbrauer 2015, 296.
[197] Bratož 2014, 375.
[198] Ciglenečki 2015, 415.
[199] Tratnik 2020, 156.
[200] Županek 2021, 30–34.
[201] Vuga 1985; Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 380–386.
[202] Bitenc, Knific 2001, 68, Cat. No. 211; Bitenc, Knific 2008, Fig. 2: 14.
[203] Slabe 1975, 58–59, Pl. 1: 1,2.
[204] The Mestni muzej Ljubljana bought the buckle in an antiquities shop, hence the findspot and origin data are not reliable; Slabe 1978.
[205] Sagadin 2008, 142, Figs. 29; 30; Knific, Lux 2015, 31.
[206] Urankar, Bešter 2014, 26–28, 37–39, 42; Knific, Lux 2015, 31, Fig. 4c, Notes 11 and 12; Tica 2017, 293.
[207] *Cf. e.g.* Barbiera 2010, 124–128.

along the Danube and later on probably along the River Drava. They spent the winter on Gepid territory in the area of Sirmium and continued their journey in the late spring of 489.[208] They are presumed to have crossed Slovenian territory in the direction from Poetovio westwards to Celeia and Emona, through the Vipava Valley and on to Italy. No literary sources report on the number of Ostrogoths on this journey, hence the scholarly estimates vary greatly; the multitude of warriors together with their families is estimated to have numbered from 40 000 to around 100 000 persons. Odoacer, who set up camp at the crossing of the River Soča/Isonzo, was defeated in a battle that took place on 28 August 489, leaving Theodoric unimpeded passage to Italy. The Ostrogoths crossing the River Soča/Isonzo is also symbolically significant and marks the beginning of their state in Italy that existed just over four decades and spanned the whole of Italy with Sicily, southern Gaul, both Rhaetiae and western Illyricum.[209]

The cemeteries in Miren, Dravlje and Kranj are located at the eastern fringes of Ostrogothic Italy. In interpreting the Miren cemetery, we may thus examine the evidence from several comparable and better-investigated sites in Austria (Globasnitz/Globasnica) and northern Italy, including Frascaro, Collegno and Tortona.

North of Slovenia, burials associated with a Germanic population came to light in Globasnitz/Gobasnica. This cemetery belongs to a settlement next to the Roman roadside station of Iuenna, at the foot of the hill of Hemmaberg. Two cemeteries have been investigated here; the western one used in the Early and Middle Imperial periods, while the eastern one revealed several elements, such as artificial cranial deformation and artefacts, that suggest Germanic individuals buried alongside the Roman population. Franz Glaser believes these to be Ostrogothic elements most prominently observable in the military outfit. Grave 11, for example, presumably held an army officer buried without weapons in accordance with the funerary customs, but with goods including a richly decorated belt with a substantial iron buckle with inlaid decoration and mounts decorated with glass inlays and bird-head terminals that show the deceased's high status. The young man with an artificially deformed head from Grave 15 is also believed to have been a soldier. The identification of several deceased as soldiers is supported by the injuries on their skeletal remains such as fractures and blows sustained from weapons.[210] The presence of soldiers has been ascribed to the activity of the roadside station of key importance for controlling the road leading from Virunum to Celeia.[211] The subsequent investigations of the cemetery, which thus far revealed some 500 burials and one or possibly even two churches, and a reassessment of the grave goods have led Paul Gleirscher to see no evidence of the eastern cemetery only being in use at the time when the territory formed part of the Ostrogothic state (493–536/537), and no evidence that the man buried in Grave 11 and other soldiers were Goths.[212] Gleirscher's scepticism seems at least partially justified as new research and interpretations increasingly show that the artefacts cannot be associated with one particular ethnic group, while the size of the cemetery in Globasnitz suggests that it was used over a long period of time and primarily by the local inhabitants.

At Frascaro in northern Italy, a small settlement was investigated in the vicinity of a former road that was inhabited from the late 5ᵗh to the middle or third quarter of the 6th century. It revealed three rectangular buildings of timber and branches, as well as a water well, while the deceased were buried some 100 metres away from the settlement.[213] Twenty-seven burials have been investigated. Burials were found in groups, most likely reflecting family ties, with men, women and children buried either directly into a grave pit or in tree trunks. The female costume appears fairly uniform, comprising earrings, a necklace of glass beads, gilded silver bow brooches worn singly or in pairs on the shoulder or at the waist, belt buckles, large glass and amber beads, as well as bronze rings suspended from a belt. Buried without weapons, men had an iron knife and a belt fastened with a buckle, two also had a coin. Two graves of children and one of an adult individual held a small vessel presumed to have contained provisions for the afterlife. Artificial skull deformation was established on two skeletons. The cemetery and the settlement have been ascribed to East Germanic immigrants who presumably lived separately from the local community, in the area of a former countryside villa

[208] Gračanin, Škrgulja 2014, 178–181.

[209] Bratož 2014, 372–375.

[210] Glaser 2006, 94–98, Figs. 7–10.

[211] Glaser 2006, 102.

[212] Gleirscher 2021, 39–42.z

[213] Micheletto 2003, 698–704; Micheletto, Giostra, Bedini 2019, 367, Fig. 1.

and near the road they were presumably tasked to control.[214]

The contemporary settlement with the associated cemetery at Collegno was constructed on a river terrace also near a major road, which led from *Augusta Taurinorum* (Torino) towards the Alpine valley of Susa and Gaul; the road crossed the River Dora in the vicinity of the settlement. The small family burial grounds revealed eight burials of men, women and children distributed around the central Grave 4, which had a deep pit with a lining of cobbles and other stones and held the skeleton of an elderly man, presumably the head of the family. Two of his belt buckles survived, one of them of gilded brass. The anthropological analysis has revealed skeletal indicators of physical stress that point to the man being a rider, but also that he had an artificially deformed skull. The latter was also established for the adult individual in Grave 5. Pieces of costume came to light in Graves 3 and 6 of women and comprise necklaces of glass and amber beads, bow brooches, a pigeon-shaped brooch, an ornate belt buckle with its plate, bronze belt buckles, as well as large glass and amber beads hanging from the belt. One of the graves of men also held a bone comb. Several graves had no goods. The cemetery has been interpreted as the burial grounds of the members of East Germanic, probably Gothic upper class who lived in the settlement only several metres away, in houses built of clay-bonded masonry and timber, and who used the strategic location of the settlement to control nearby areas.[215]

The city of Tortona enjoyed a strategic location at the River Scrivia and the *via Postumia* that connected the Adriatic with Liguria and had already developed in the Roman period. It decreased in size in Late Antiquity and was not enclosed with city walls. In its hinterland was a stronghold, which might be the one that Theodoric had in mind in his letter 'to all the Gothic and Roman inhabitants of Dertona (Tortona)' dated to the beginning of the 6th century, commanding that the 'camp near you shall at once be fortified' and 'good private houses' built (Cassiodorus I, 17). Caterina Giostra presumes that the city folk retreated to this stronghold in times of danger.[216]

The city in Late Antiquity witnessed the formation of small habitation areas with timber buildings, a church and a cemetery.[217] Traces of timber buildings with several items associated with the Ostrogoths have come to light at the main road in the north part of the city, interpreted as the living space of a small community complete with its burial grounds.[218] At the south-western outskirts of the city, at the road leading into the river harbour still active in the 6th century, archaeologists investigated four burials, while a fifth one, presumably of a child, had already been largely destroyed. The graves of women reveal their costume, which included pairs of radiate-headed bow brooches fastening the garment on the upper part of the chest; in addition to these, Grave 3 also held a bone comb, as well as large glass beads and an iron buckle in the waist area. The grave of a child contained a buckle of rock crystal with a gold tongue, three gold drop-shaped appliques, a small gold buckle with its plate and an iron blade. The grave goods suggest this was a family burial grounds with Ostrogothic elements that was only used for a short time. Following the period of the Ostrogothic rule, the city was inhabited by the Langobards.[219]

In the time of the Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy, the area of Miren mainly gravitated towards Aquileia and the Friuli region. In Aquileia, the presence of a Gothic population can only be surmised from individual artefacts that formed part of the female costume.[220] In Friuli and Trentino-Alto Adige/South Tyrol, artefacts associated with the Ostrogoths mainly came to light along important routes, for example in the Planis cemetery at the edge of Udine/Videm[221] and in Trento.[222]

CONCLUSION

How can we understand the cemetery in Miren and the Germanic elements in its graves? The above-discussed cemeteries from Italy (Frascaro, Collegno, Tortona), Austria (Globasnitz) and Slovenia (Dravlje, Kranj) show a commonality in that they all lie in the lowland and along major

[214] Bierbrauer 2007, 106–113; Micheletto, Giostra, Bedini 2019, 370–372.

[215] Pejrani Baricco *et al.* 2019, 373–378, Figs. 1; 3–6.

[216] Giostra 2007, 285; Crosetto 2018, 177.

[217] Giostra 2007, 285.

[218] Giostra 2007; Crosetto 2018, 186–187.

[219] Crosetto 2018, 191–194, Figs. 18–22.

[220] Buora 2010, 188; Bierbrauer 1975, 102.

[221] Buora 2008, 87–88; Buora 2010, 189.

[222] Cavada 1994, 224–231.

land or river routes or junctions. Most are small, presumably family burial grounds located next to a settlement; only the graves with East Germanic elements at the Kranj-Lajh cemetery formed part of a larger, multi-ethnic cemetery associated with a regional centre of Carnium, the inhabitants of which used the burial grounds over long periods of time.

Considering the chronological attribution of the grave goods and the known historic events, the Miren cemetery was mostly likely in use in the time of the Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy, which spanned the last decade of the 5th and the early 6th century. We presume that it was the burial grounds of an East Germanic community associated with the group led by Theodoric, i.e. the Ostrogoths mentioned in ancient texts. The analysis of the ancient DNA may reveal whether the deceased interred at Miren were also related to each other.[223]

The settlement associated with the cemetery in Miren has as yet not been identified. One possible location might be on the nearby elevation now hosting Miren Castle (*Fig. 2*). Parallels from Italy point to another possibility, namely that the settlement stood in immediate proximity to the cemetery. Its inhabitants may be sought among the newcomers, to whom Theodoric granted farming land within his kingdom following the victory over Odoacer.[224] The settlement may also have been a small one of a temporary nature that hosted one of the groups of newcomers who headed for Italy under Theodoric's lead in 489. In connection with this march, we should mention a battle at the bridge across the Soča/Isonzo recorded in historical sources at *Ponte Sonti*, a site at modern-day Mainizza/Majnica north of the Vipava/Vipacco and Soča/Isonzo confluence, which is located only a few kilometres from the cemetery in Miren.[225]

Although it is possible that the artefacts with characteristic East Germanic elements recovered in hilltop settlements and forts were merchandise, we believe they should rather be associated with small Germanic garrisons deployed under the Ostrogothic rule to locations where they were tasked with protecting and controlling the corridors and communications. It is as yet unclear whether their presence was permanent or temporary, as most of these artefacts are stray finds without a stratigraphic context.

Translation: Andreja Maver

[223] The cemetery in Miren is included in the HistoGenes international research project. Tina Milavec from the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, is project coordinator for Slovenia (Pohl *et al.* 2021).

[224] Bratož 2014, 379.

[225] Bratož 2014, 373–374.

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Vzhodni Goti v Sloveniji? Raziskave grobišča iz obdobja pozne antike v Mirnu, zahodna Slovenija

Povzetek

Grobišče iz poznoantičnega obdobja leži na južni strani Mirna v zaselku Japnišče, na levem bregu reke Vipave (*sl. 1; 2*). Mimo Mirna je peljala trasa ceste Akvileja–Emona,[1] ob njej so odkrili sledi rimskodobne naselbine[2] in grobove.[3] Leta 2009 so na Japnišču odkrili prva dva skeletna grobova in sledi poselitve ter jih preliminarno datirali v rimsko ali zgodnjesrednjeveško obdobje.[4]

V letu 2011 je bil raziskan del grobišča (*sl. 3*), na njem so izkopali 7 grobov,[5] dve leti pozneje pa še en otroški grob.[6] Rezultati raziskav v letih 2009 in 2011 so bili skupaj z antropološko in arheozoološko analizo ter izsledki preiskav izbranih kovinskih predmetov objavljeni v monografiji Miren – grobišče iz obdobja preseljevanja ljudstev.[7]

Prostorska vrzel, ki se kaže med grobovi, odkritimi v letih 2009, 2011 in 2013, je najverjetneje posledica obsega raziskav. Na parceli, ki leži približno 30 m severno od odkritega grobišča, so arheologi odkrili še 12 vkopov, v njih so bile poleg kosov rimskodobne opeke tudi posamezne človeške kosti, domnevno iz uničenih ali izpraznjenih grobov. Grobovi bi bili lahko rimskodobni ali pa gre za del že prej raziskanega grobišča iz 5. in 6. st.[8]

POZNOANTIČNO GROBIŠČE

Med letoma 2009 in 2013 je bilo skupaj izkopanih devet grobov oz. njihovih ostankov. Razporejeni so bili posamično, ne v vrsti, usmerjeni so bili tako, da so imeli pokojniki glavo na zahodni strani, z manjšimi odkloni (*sl. 3*). Grobne jame so bile preproste, vkopane v prod v globini 0,1–0,6 m, ostankov kamnitih oblog ali krst nismo opazili. Grobovi se niso prekrivali, zato domnevamo, da so bili v času uporabe grobišča na površini označeni in zamejeni. Ob grobu 1 so bili v linijo postavljeni trije okrogli vkopi (*sl. 3*), razlagamo jih kot jame, morda ostanek (grobne) strukture, njena funkcija in datacija nista jasni.[9] Tudi v zasutjih grobnih jam so bili manjši odlomki rimskodobne lončenine, stekla in gradbenega materiala ter živalskih kosti, umestimo jih lahko v čas od 1. do 4. st. Ti odlomki so ležali razpršeno, brez opaznih zgostitev, lahko tudi pod skeleti.[10]

[1] Rutar 1899, 28; Cuntz 1902, 154; Puschi 1903; Bosio 1991, 206–207; Sticotti 1951, št. 380.

[2] Žbona Trkman 1981; Žbona Trkman 1985; Bratina 2001; Bratina 2009; Fabec, Tratnik 2010.

[3] Rutar 1899, 28.

[4] Fabec 2018, 11–14.

[5] Odkrili smo tudi posamezne sledi iz rimske dobe in novega veka; podrobno v Tratnik 2018b.

[6] Turk, Rupnik 2013.

[7] Tratnik, Karo 2018.

[8] Brezigar, Rupnik 2017.

[9] Tratnik, Karo 2018, 34–36.

[10] Tratnik, Karo 2018, 25–34.

KATALOG GROBOV IN NAJDB

Katalog je izdelan na podlagi dokumentacije in analiz. Skelete je preučila antropologinja Petra Leben Seljak,[11] njihovi osnovni podatki so v opisih grobov. Na izbranih kovinskih predmetih je Eva Menart (Narodni muzej Slovenije) izvedla XRF-analizo. Poimenovanje srebro uporabljamo za zlitino, v kateri prevladuje delež srebra (Ag), prisotni pa so še drugi elementi (npr. Cu, Sn, Pb) v različnih manjših deležih. Poimenovanje bron uporabljamo za zlitino z večinskim deležem bakra (Cu) in kositra (Sn), v manjšem deležu so lahko prisotni še drugi elementi, npr. svinec (Pb).

Za risbe in oblikovanje tabel je poskrbela Ida Murgelj (Narodni muzej Slovenije). Avtorica risb predmetov (*t. 1*: 11,12; *t. 4*: 10,11) v svinčniku je Teja Gerbec (Goriški muzej). Izris tlorisov grobov (M. = 1:20) je delo Mance Vinazza (Oddelek za arheologijo, Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani), Miheta Miheliča in Nives Zupančič (Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, Center za preventivno arheologijo). Gradivo je konserviral in ga trajno hrani Goriški muzej.[12]

[11] Leben Seljak 2018.

[12] Za dostop do gradiva se najlepše zahvaljujeva kustosinji Ani Kruh.

Grobova 2009

Grob 1/2009 = Grob 2/2011 (*sl. 3; 4*)
Grob odrasle osebe. V celoti je bil izkopan leta 2011, označen kot grob 2.

Grob 2/2009 (*sl. 3; 4*)
Otroški grob. Iz pobranih vzorcev kosti je antropologinja določila starost otroka, in sicer 1–2 leti. Ležal je na hrbtu, v iztegnjeni legi. Pridatkov ni imel.[13]

Grobovi 2011

Grob 1 (*t. 1:* Gr. 1; *sl. 3,4,13*)
V grobu je bila pokopana ženska (*adultus* I), stara okrog 30 let, visoka 150 cm. V frontalno-okcipitalni smeri je imela namensko preoblikovano lobanjo. Radiokarbonska analiza vzorca kosti je pokazala rezultat s širokim razponom od začetka 5. do sredine 6. st. (*sl. 5*).
Na prsih je imela pokojnica pozlačeni srebrni ločni fibuli (*t. 1:* 1–2), v spodnjem delu prsnega koša jantarni jagodi (*t. 1:* 8–9), nad medenico srebrno pasno spono (*t. 1:* 3) in ob njej manjši svinčen obroček (*t. 1:* 4). Ob desni roki je bilo koščeno vretence (*t. 1:* 10), ob levi pa neprepoznaven odlomek železa (*t. 1:* 6). Podoben železen predmet je ležal tudi ob levi golenici (*t. 1:* 7). Ob stopalih sta bila odlomka tanke srebrne pločevine (*t. 1:* 5). V zasutju groba, tik nad skeletom, sta bila srebrn žebljiček (*t. 1:* 11) in manjši bronast kaveljček (*t. 1:* 12).

Grob 2 (*t. 2:* Gr. 2; *sl. 3, 4*)
V grobu je bil pokopan mlad moški (*adultus* I), star okrog 25 let, visok 163 cm.
Nad desno medenično kostjo je ležala srebrna pasna spona (*t. 2:* 1), nad levo pa skupek več predmetov: železen nož z lesenim ročajem (*t. 2:* 6), kresilni kamen (*t. 2:* 7), manjša bronasta pasna spona z okovom (*t. 2:* 4), bronasta pinceta (*t. 2:* 3), odlomek železnega predmeta (*t. 2:* 5) in nekaj neprepoznavnih železnih odlomkov. Ob levem stopalu je bil predmet iz upognjene srebrne pločevine (*t. 2:* 2), v zasutju groba pa še majhen srebrn žebljiček (*t. 2:* 8).

Grob 3 (*t. 1:* Gr. 3; *sl. 3*)
V grobu je bila pokopana mlada ženska (spol ni zanesljivo določljiv, *adultus* I), stara okrog 25 let, visoka 157 cm. Grob in skelet sta bila poškodovana, pridanih predmetov nismo našli.

Grob 4 (*t. 1:* Gr. 4; *sl. 3*)
V grobu je bila pokopana odrasla ženska, stara nad 18 let, visoka 158 cm. Grob in skelet sta bila močno poškodovana, ohranjen je bil le spodnji del nog, pridanih predmetov nismo našli.

Grob 5 (*t. 2: Gr. 5; sl. 3, 4*)
V grobu je bil pokopan moški, star 50–65 let (*maturus II–senilis*), visok 166–168 cm. Nad levo medenično kostjo je bila srebrna pasna spona z ohranjenimi ostanki tkanine (*t. 2:* 1). Ob levi goleni sta bila večja kosa okova iz tanke srebrne pločevine s pritrjenim bronastim obročkom (*t. 2:* 2). Ob stopalu je bil odlomek bronastega predmeta z obročkom, morda pinceta (*t. 2:* 3), ob desnem komolcu železen nož (*t. 2:* 4) in kresilni kamen (*t. 2:* 5).

Grob 6 (*t. 3; sl. 3, 4*)
V grobu je bil pokopan moški, star 50–60 let (*maturus* II), visok 157 cm. Ob levem boku sta ležali večja in manjša železna pasna spona (*t. 3:* 1,2), obe z ohranjenimi ostanki tkanine. Ob desnem boku v višini pasu je bil najden skupek železnih predmetov: okov torbice (*t. 3:* 3), šilo (*t. 3:* 4), rezilo noža (*t. 3:* 5), železen nož z delno ohranjenim ročajem (*t. 3:* 6), nekaj neprepoznavnih železnih predmetov (*t. 3:* 7–8) in kresilni kamen (*t. 3:* 9). Ob levi nogi je bil manjši lonec (*t. 3:* 10), zapolnjen z zemljo in prodom.

Grob 7 (*t. 4; sl. 3, 4*)
V grobu je bila pokopana mlada ženska, stara 22 let (*adultus* I), visoka 155 cm. V frontalno-okcipitalni smeri je imela namensko preoblikovano lobanjo.
Na pokojničinih prsih sta bili železni samostrelni fibuli (*t. 4:* 1,2). V višini ledvenih vretenc na desni strani so bile tri steklene (*t. 4:* 5,7,8) in ena jantarna jagoda (*t. 4:* 6). Desno nad medenično kostjo je bila železna pasna spona (*t. 4:* 3), ob desni nogi pa steklen kozarec (*t. 4:* 4). V zasutju groba so bili steklena (*t. 4:* 9) in jantarna (*t. 4:* 10) jagoda, železen žebljiček (*t. 4:* 11) in del uteži za vreteno (*t. 4:* 12).

Grob 2013 (*sl. 3*)

Otroški grob. Otrok je bil star 5–6 let. Ležal je na hrbtu, v iztegnjeni legi. Pridatkov ni imel.[14]

TIPOLOŠKA IN KRONOLOŠKA ANALIZA PREDMETOV

Fibule

Fibuli iz groba 1 (*t. 1:* 1,2; *sl. 6*) tipološko sodita v skupino ločnih fibul z okrasom spiral na polkrožni glavi in z nogo rombične oblike.[15] Herbert Kuhn je take združil v veliko skupino fibul tipa Gurzuf.[16] Dieter Quast jih je zbral v bolj enotno skupino, poimenovano tip Szentes-Trento (nem. Trient).[17] Oba jih datirata v drugo polovico 5. in prvo polovico 6. st.[18] Quast jih je naprej razdelil na razvojno starejše fibule (dolžina največkrat 5–6 cm), s širokim lokom in jasno izdelanim zaključkom noge v obliki živalske glavice, ter na mlajše, za katere so značilni natančneje izdelan okras na glavi in nogi ter drugačni proporci.

[13] Fabec 2018, 11–14, sl. 11.

[14] Turk, Rupnik 2013, 5–6, 9, 12, sl. 3–5.

[15] Bierbrauer 1975, 108–114; Bierbrauer 2010, 67.

[16] Kühn 1974, 728–742.

[17] Quast 2002, 589–590.

[18] Bierbrauer 1975, 104–106.

Glava in noga sta pri mlajših pogosto obrobljeni z vzorcem trikotnikov, zapolnjenih z niellom.[19]

Izvor velikih ločnih fibul z roglji na glavi raziskovalci[20] domnevajo v Podonavju v drugi polovici 5. st., na območjih, ki so jih poseljevala germanska plemena.

V Panoniji grobove, v katerih so uliti predmeti, okrašeni s klinastim vrezom, kamor sodijo tudi ločne fibule z roglji, datirajo v fazo D3, tj. v drugo polovico 5. st.[21] V tem času se je v Podonavju oblikovala značilna ženska noša, ki jo je Jaroslav Tejral poimenoval "donauländisch-ostgermanischer Kulturkomplex",[22] Volker Bierbrauer jo je označil kot "ostgermanische Koiné",[23] Michel Kazanski pa uporablja bolj splošno poimenovanje, brez etnične oznake, in sicer »mode danubienne«.[24] V Podonavju se v 5. st., še posebej v grobovih pripadnikov višjega sloja, odražajo podobnosti, ki ne dopuščajo ožjih etničnih opredelitev.[25]

Fibuli iz Mirna glede na detajlno izdelan okras, obrobo trikotnikov, zapolnjenih z niellom, in nekoliko podaljšano nogo uvrščamo v mlajšo skupino fibul tipa Szentes-Trento po razdelitvi D. Quasta ter ju datiramo v konec (drugo polovico) 5. in prvo polovico 6. st. Oblika, razširjenost in način noše v grobu 1 iz Mirna nakazujejo povezavo po eni strani s Podonavjem in po drugi strani s severno Italijo v času vzhodnogotskega kraljestva. Izrazite podobnosti v obliki, okrasu, sestavi osnovne zlitine, izdelavi pozlate in niella govorijo za tesno povezavo med fibulama, morebiti za izdelavo v isti zlatarski delavnici. Tako razmišljanje podkrepi lega v istem grobu, kjer sta bili uporabljeni kot par (komplet). Okrasni kamen granat je ohranjen le na eni fibuli (*t. 1:* Gr. 1/2; *sl. 6*) in spada med almandine tipa I;[26] taki najverjetneje izvirajo iz Indije.[27] Ostanki vlaken, ohranjeni na igli fibule (*t. 1:* Gr. 1/1), kažejo, da je bila pokojnica oblečena v laneno oblačilo.

Železni fibuli iz groba 7 (*t. 4*: 1,2) spadata med samostrelne fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle. Fibula (*t. 4:* 2) sodi k tipu Viminacium,[28] datiranemu v čas med drugo tretjino 5. in začetkom 6. st.[29] Fibule tega tipa so pogoste predvsem na Balkanu, v kastelih in na grobiščih vzdolž donavskega limesa, posamične so našli severno od Donave.[30] Mirenska fibula je najzahodneje najdeni primerek.

Druga fibula (*t. 4:* 1) ima kratek lok in dolgo nogo, zato sodi k fibulam pozne sheme s konca 5. in začetka 6. st.[31] Verjetno je tipa Invillino, ki je pogostejši na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru, nekaj primerkov je tudi na zahodnem Balkanu.[32] Konteksti, v katerih se pojavljajo samostrelne fibule s trdnim nosilcem igle, nakazujejo, da so jih verjetno nosili tako Germani kot Romani.[33]

Pasne garniture

Tri masivne srebrne spone (*t. 1:* Gr. 1/3; *2:* Gr. 2/1, Gr. 5/1) so spenjale jermen pasu. Take spone so bile v 5. in 6. st. široko razširjene, posebno pogoste so na najdiščih v Podonavju, ki jih pripisujejo Germanom,[34] znane so na Balkanu in v vzhodnem Sredozemlju.[35]

Srebrna žebljička oz. pasni zakovici v obliki žebljička z ravno okroglo glavo (*t. 1*: Gr. 1/11; *2*: Gr. 2/8) imata primerjave v grobovih iz 6. st. v Iliriku, kjer se ti pojavljajo skupaj s srebrnimi ovalnimi sponami z ravnim trnom in sponami s ščitasto bazo trna.[36]

V grobu 6 so bile tri železne spone (*t. 3:* 1–3). Večja je verjetno spenjala pas, manjša jermen s torbico, okov s spono pa je del torbice. Na sponi

[19] Quast 2002, 589–593, t. 4.

[20] Popović, Kazanski, Ivanišević 2017, 267–268; citat se navezuje na skupino velikih ulitih ločnih fibul z roglji, različnih podtipov.

[21] Heinrich-Tamáska, Straub 2015, 634: članek se nanaša na prostor *Pannonia Prima* in *Valeria*, avtorja sta opisane grobove združila v Tip 5.

[22] Tejral 2012, 117–126.

[23] Bierbrauer 2011, 375–376.

[24] Kazanski 1989.

[25] Bierbrauer 2011, 375–376; Heinrich-Tamáska, Straub 2015, 634; Rácz 2019, 780–789.

[26] Kramar, Kavkler, Dolenec 2018, 55.

[27] Mathis *et al.* 2008; Šmit *et al.* 2014.

[28] Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 605–608, sl. 11; Milavec 2009, 240.

[29] Milavec 2009, 224–225.

[30] Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 606; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 17, sl. 8: 13–16; Milavec 2009, 240.

[31] Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 642–643.

[32] Milavec 2011a, 26–27, sl. 2: 1.

[33] Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 593, op. 2 in 5, 694; Bierbrauer 2015, 203–208, 291–294; Milavec 2009.

[34] Najdišča Csongrád-Kettöshalom, Kiszombor in Szolnok-Szanda (podrobno navajajo Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 22) ter najdišča Szentes-Kökényzug, Szentes-Nagyhegy, Szentes-Berekhát (Csallány 1961, t. XII:1; XXXV: 3; LXIX: 7; LXXVIII: 10), ki jih tradicionalno pripisujejo Gepidom.

[35] Najdišča Singidunum, Viminacium, Knin, Prahovo: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 22 (s podrobnimi citati za posamezna najdišča).

[36] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 26, t. 24: 38/7; 144: 144/4.

(*t. 2:* Gr. 5/1, sl. 7) in na obeh železnih sponah (*t. 3:* Gr. 6/1,2) so ohranjeni ostanki tkanine.[37]

Spone in okovi torbic

Železen okov iz groba 6 (*t. 3*: 3) tipološko sodi med okove torbic z ravnim osrednjim delom in zankastima zaključkoma.[38] Podobni okovi so datirani v čas med letoma 450 in 525 oziroma med letoma 530 in 555.[39] Torbice s takimi okovi so bile pogoste pri Frankih in Alemanih,[40] manj jih je na Balkanu,[41] v Panoniji[42] in na Krimu.[43]

Majhna bronasta pasna spona z okovom (*t. 2:* Gr. 2/4; *sl. 8*) sodi v skupino mediteranskih miniaturnih spon, ki so služile za spenjanje jermena obuval ali torbice.[44] Znani sta dve različici takih spon (tip C2),[45] spona iz Mirna sodi k mlajši različici[46] z enodelnim okovom z vložkom ledvičaste oblike, lahko gre za almandin ali steklo. Največ takih je v srednjem Podonavju, posamezne so na Krimu, v Italiji in na Bavarskem.[47]

Za predmet iz zapognjene tanke srebrne pločevine (*t. 2:* Gr. 5/2; *sl. 9*) domnevamo, da je okov torbice. Podobno ovalno oblikovana okova so našli v Straubingu[48] in na grobišču Dittenheim v Nemčiji;[49] v obeh primerih sta sodila k torbici. Podobno oblikovan je tudi okov, ki obroblja pokrov dragocene usnjene torbice, najdene v grobu na ladji na najdišču Sutton Hoo.[50] Druge možnosti so, da je okov del lesene posode ali nožnice meča.

Torbice so pogoste v moških, manj jih je v otroških grobovih iz 5. in 6. st.[51] Običajno so bile izdelane iz tkanine ali usnja, največkrat jih v grobovih najdemo na pasu, na grobišču v Kranju so pogosto ob glavi.[52] V torbicah so nosili drobne vsakdanje pripomočke (*t. 3:* Gr. 6/4–9; *t. 2:* Gr. 2/3,5–7).

Železni noži

V Mirnu so bili noži v moških grobovih 2, 5 in 6 (*t. 2*: Gr. 2/6, Gr. 5/4; *3:* Gr. 6/5,6) vedno v predelu pasu, skupaj z drugimi vsakdanjimi pripomočki, kot sta kresilni kamen in pinceta. Glede na lego v grobovih z drugih grobišč je mogoče razbrati, da so jih moški najpogosteje nosili skupaj z drugimi predmeti v torbici, ženske pa obešene na trakovih, ki so viseli s pasu.[53]

Okova iz tanke srebrne pločevine

Okova iz tanke srebrne pločevine, ki sta ležala ob stopalih pokojnikov (*t. 1:* Gr. 1/5; *2:* Gr. 2/2) verjetno sodita k obuvalu. Različno oblikovane okove in jezičke iz tanke srebrne ali bronaste pločevine, izjemoma tudi zlate, ter tudi majhne spone za jermene, ki so del obuvala, so našli na grobišču Kranj – Lajh.[54] Mnogo različnih setov obuval iz 5. in 6. st. je iz grobov na jugozahodnem Krimu,[55] vendar neposrednih primerjav mirenskima nismo našli.

Steklene in jantarne jagode

Steklene in jantarne jagode (*t. 1:* Gr. 1/8,9; *4:* Gr. 7/5–10) so v mirenskih grobovih št. 1 in 7 ležale na predelu prsi, kar nakazuje, da so bile najverjetneje nanizane na ogrlici, primerjave zanje pa najdemo na številnih najdiščih 5. in 6. stoletja.[56]

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[37] Kramar, Kavkler, Dolenec 2018, 56–58.

[38] Losert, Pleterski 2003, 374–375.

[39] Losert, Pleterski 2003, 375, sl. 96: 9, seznam A445; Sage 1984, 165, t. 77: 11; Koch 2001, 84–85, 301–302, sl. 22, t. 38: gr. 95/6.

[40] Losert, Pleterski 2003, 375. Redkeje jih najdejo na langobardskih ali tirinških grobiščih.

[41] Viminacium (ni popolnoma jasno, ali gre za kresilo ali za okov s spono): Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 44, t. 44: gr. 2142/ 5; navaja še primerjave z najdišča Kormadin-Jakovo; Golemanovo Kale: Uenze 1992, 193, t. 11: 7, navaja še primerjavo z najdišča Rakovčani (BiH).

[42] Grobišče na južni strani utrdbe Keszthely-Fenékpuszta iz sredine 5. st.: Straub 2011, t. 3: 6; 6: 4.

[43] Aibabin, Khairedinova 2017, sl. 123: 2,7 (okov torbice, zaviti konci so nekoliko drugačni).

[44] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 86–88.

[45] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 86–88, op. 396–398.

[46] Najstarejše so datirane v zadnjo tretjino 5. st.: Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 87, 89.

[47] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, karta razprostranjenosti sl. 29. Srednje Podonavje: Csallány 1961, t. CXCI: 1. Bavarska: Straubing (Geisler 1998, t. 24: 5, v grobu 100, skupaj s parom ločnih fibul tipa Szentes-Trento).

[48] Geisler 1998, 130–131, t. 124: 8.

[49] Dannheimer 1987, 68, sl. 44.

[50] Carver 1998, 34–35, 126–127.

[51] Vinski 1980, 26; Losert, Pleterski 2003, 371–372.

[52] Urek *et al.* 2016b, t. 86; 90; 96; 116.

[53] Losert, Pleterski 2003, 237–238, 380; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, t. 22: 135; 28: 145; 30: 151; 44: 2195.

[54] Vinski 1980, 23; Stare 1980, t. 2: 5; 21: 8; 27: 5,6; 97: 8; 106: 12.

[55] Khairedinova 2003.

[56] Npr. Slabe 1975, 51–53; Vinski 1980, 23; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 65–66, kat. št. 202; 71, kat. št. 224; 80, kat. št. 257; 82, kat. št. 266; Losert, Pleterski 2003, 250–262; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 51–117; Podobnik 2016, 53–60; Micheletto, Giostra, Bedini 2019, 370, 371, sl. 5.

Steklen kozarec

Steklen kozarec (*t. 4:* Gr. 7/4; *sl. 10*) tipološko sodi med kozarce brez noge (tip Isings 106), ki so bili razprostranjeni na območju celotnega rimskega imperija, najbolj v času od 4. st. do sredine 5. st., na višinskih naselbinah pa so v uporabi še v drugi polovici 5. in v 6. st.[57]

Glinen lonec

Glinen lonec (*t. 3:* Gr. 6/10) je izdelan prostoročno in sodi med posode bikonične oblike. Podobne lonce so odkrili na grobišču v Viminaciju v grobu iz prve polovice 6. st.[58] in na najdiščih Hács-Bendekpuszta (zahodna Madžarska), Ivanovice ter Šaratice (Moravska).[59] Loncev samo po obliki ni mogoče ožje datirati.

POJAV PREDMETOVIZ SPODNJEGA PODONAVJA NA SLOVENSKIH NAJDIŠČIH OB KONCU 4. IN V ZGODNJEM 5. STOLETJU

Kot uvod v interpretacijo mirenskega grobišča predstavljamo posamezne predmete, ki nakazujejo začetek intenzivnejših stikov s Podonavjem in odražajo prisotnost tujih, tudi germanskih, elementov na slovenskem ozemlju ob koncu 4. in v zgodnjem 5. st. Takrat se na slovenskih najdiščih pojavijo predmeti, ki izvirajo iz spodnjega in srednjega Podonavja in ki jih povezujemo s pozno fazo kulture Černjahovo-Sîntana de Mureş na prostoru današnjih Ukrajine, Romunije in Moldavije.

V skupino predmetov iz spodnjega Podonavja uvrščamo samostrelne fibule zgodnje sheme. To so iz brona ali železa izdelane dvodelne fibule z nazaj zavito nogo. Našli so jih na Ptuju (*sl. 11:* 1,2,4) in na Čepni nad Zagorjem (*sl. 11:* 3). V spodnjem Podonavju se pojavijo že v 3. st. in so v uporabi predvsem v 4. st. V poznem 4. in zgodnjem 5. st. se razširijo vse do srednje Evrope.[60] V ta časovni okvir lahko uvrstimo tudi primerke s Ptuja in Čepne.

Druga vrsta fibul, ki jih štejemo k elementom (post)černjahovske kulture, so ločne fibule. Te so se iz severnega Pričrnomorja ob koncu 4. st. razširile proti zahodu. Na slovenskih najdiščih so znane s Ptuja (*sl. 11:* 5), Sv. Lamberta pri Pristavi nad Stično (*sl. 11:* 6) in Zidanega gabra nad Mihovim (*sl. 11:* 7).

Sočasno so se tudi na sosednjih ozemljih pojavili predmeti, ki jih lahko razumemo kot vzhodni vpliv oz. sledi migracij barbarskih skupin z vzhoda v zgodnjem 5. st. V Italiji so take predmete, med katerimi so najbolj značilne srebrne pločevinaste fibule, našli večinoma v severovzhodnem delu ob glavnih prometnih vpadnicah.[61] Povezujejo jih z vključevanjem federatov germanskega ali drugega izvora v enote rimske vojske in z njihovo namestitvijo na ključne strateške lokacije ob pomembnih vpadnicah v Italijo.[62] Zosimus namreč poroča, da je bilo po smrti Stilihona na italskih tleh skupaj z družinami naseljenih več kot 30.000 vojakov, barbarov.[63]

Tudi na grobišču v Frauenbergu v Avstriji nekatere predmete s konca 4. in začetka 5. st., kot so samostrelne fibule in pasne spone, ter pokope z namensko preoblikovanimi lobanjami povezujejo z barbarskimi priseljenci iz spodnjega Podonavja.[64]

Arheološke raziskave nakazujejo, da so se ob koncu 4. in v zgodnjem 5. st. predmeti, ki jih povezujemo s (post)černjahovsko kulturo, razširili po eni strani na jugovzhod (Krim) in severno v srednje Podonavje, v manjšem številu pa tudi v bolj oddaljene regije srednje in zahodne Evrope. V literaturi se ti predmeti opisujejo tudi kot "federatska" kultura in nakazujejo, da so različna barbarska ljudstva imela skupno materialno kulturo, v kateri se odražajo vplivi/izvor iz (post) černjahovske kulture in rimske provincialne tradicije.[65] Teh predmetov ne moremo povezovati le z Germani, temveč tudi z Alani, Huni in drugimi barbarskimi skupinami.

VZHODNOGERMANSKI ELEMENTI S KONCA 5. IN IZ PRVIH DESETLETIJ 6. STOLETJA NA SLOVENSKIH NAJDIŠČIH

Predmeti s konca 5. in iz prvih desetletij 6. stoletja, ki odražajo vzhodnogermanske značilnosti, so bili najdeni na grobiščih in v višinskih naselbinah, v naselbinskih plasteh regionalnih središč (Kranj,

[57] Milavec 2011b, 105–106. Milavec 2020, 87, t. 30: 10,12.

[58] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 216, t. 40: 2005.

[59] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 48 (s citirano literaturo).

[60] Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 374–375; Pflaum 2000, 121; Tica 2017, 129.

[61] Sannazaro 2006; Bierbrauer 2007, 94–99, 101, sl. 2: 1,2; 5: 1,2; 6: 3,4; Villa 2008, 25; Buora 2010, 189; Giostra 2011.

[62] Villa 2006; Buora 2010, 189; Jiřik, Pinar Gil, Vávra 2019, 428 z dodatnimi citati.

[63] Po Bierbrauer 2007, 103.

[64] Steinklauber 2002, 184–188.

[65] Jiřik, Pinar Gil, Vávra 2019, 439; Rácz 2019.

Ljubljana) so našli le posamezne najdbe in v Kranju skromne ostanke (lesenih) bivališč (*sl. 12*).

Na grobišču v Mirnu so pokopavali v poznem 5. in zgodnjem 6. st. Na tako datacijo kaže tipološko-kronološka analiza predmetov, s katero se prekriva tudi sicer zelo široka radiokarbonska datacija vzorca kosti iz groba 1 (*sl. 5*). V preprostih grobnih jamah so bili pokopani trije moški in štiri ženske iz različnih starostnih obdobij ter dva otroka. Pri pridatkih v grobovih smo prepoznali vzhodnogermanske elemente. Po en par ločnih fibul v grobovih 1 (*sl. 13*) in 7 je oblačilo pokojnic spenjal na zgornjem delu prsi (*t. 1:* Gr. 1/1,2; *t. 4:* Gr. 7/1,2). Moški so imeli v predelu pasu vsakdanje uporabne predmete, kot so nož, pinceta, šilo in kresilni kamen, kovinski okovi pa kažejo, da so bili nekateri izmed njih najverjetneje shranjeni v torbici (*t. 2:* Gr. 2,5; *3:* Gr. 6). Dve pokojnici sta imeli preoblikovani lobanji. Ta praksa je bila v poznoantičnem obdobju razširjena med pripadniki nekaterih barbarskih ljudstev, tudi Germanov,[66] zasledimo pa jo na grobiščih Kranj – Lajh, v Dravljah in pri skeletu mlajšega moškega na Ptuju.[67]

Grobišče v Dravljah je v primerjavi z mirenskim večje. Raziskanih je bilo 49 grobov, več kot deset pa uničenih že predtem.[68] Predmeti v grobovih kažejo na prevladujoče germanske elemente, nekatere bi lahko povezovali z Vzhodnimi Goti.[69]

Na velikem grobišču Kranj – Lajh lahko na podlagi nekaterih predmetov sklepamo, da so tu ob koncu 5. in v prvih desetletjih 6. st. poleg lokalnega prebivalstva pokopavali tudi Germani. Izmed okrog 720 doslej raziskanimi grobovi[70] pri 11 prepoznavamo vzhodnogermanske elemente. Za zdaj ni mogoče ugotoviti, ali so bili grobovi s tovrstnimi predmeti prostorsko omejeni le na določen del grobišča.

Na višinskih najdiščih se posamični predmeti, ki jih lahko povezujemo z Germani, pojavljajo na Rifniku[71], Gradcu pri Veliki Strmici,[72] Sv. Lambertu,[73] Zidanem gabru[74] in Puštalu nad Trnjem pri Škofji Loki.[75] Najdenih je bilo tudi več kot 30 novcev, predvsem srebrnikov, kovanih v imenu vzhodnogotskih vladarjev, večina v višinskih naselbinah (*sl. 12*).[76] Germanske najdbe na višinskih najdiščih raziskovalci povezujejo z manjšimi vojaškimi posadkami, ki so bile v času vzhodnogotske oblasti nameščene v naselbinah in utrdbah na lokacijah, od koder so lahko varovale prehodna območja in nadzorovale prometne poti.[77]

Z Rifnika, dominantne in daleč vidne vzpetine, bi bilo mogoče nadzorovati eno izmed tras ceste, ki je iz Panonije vodila proti Emoni, iz naselbine Puštal nad prehodom v Selško dolino in blizu vstopa v Poljansko dolino pa poti, ki so vodile prek Cerkljanskega v Furlanijo.[78] Na Tonovcovem gradu, naselbini z naravno obrambno lego in strateško lokacijo pred vrati Italije, bi vojaška posadka lahko varovala prehod iz zgornjega Posočja v Furlanijo.[79] Zapise o tovrstnih postojankah zasledimo že pri antičnih piscih; Prokopij omenja Kotijske Alpe, kjer so prebivali Goti višjega sloja skupaj z ženami in otroki ter varovali mejo.[80]

Vloga naselbin na Zidanem gabru, Sv. Lambertu in Gradcu pri Veliki Strmici ni tako jasna; te so v okviru vzhodnogotskega kraljestva stale na ozemlju province Savija.[81] Postavljene so bile na varnih, nekoliko odmaknjenih legah, ki pa niso zagotavljale najboljšega vidnega nadzora nad glavnimi komunikacijami, ki so bile v uporabi v rimski dobi (povezava Siscija–Emona). Zato bi kazalo upoštevati dvoje: da so bile v pozni antiki strateško pomembne druge (alternativne) poti[82] ali pa so imele te naselbine drugačno vlogo, morda je šlo za manjša lokalna upravna središča oz. so imela večji regionalni pomen.[83]

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[66] Heinrich-Tamáska, Straub 2015, 631–634, sl. 6: 1b; Rácz 2016, 326–327; Miházi-Pálfi 2019.

[67] Leben Seljak 2018, 67; Leskovar, Županek 2020, 478–481.

[68] Slabe 1975, 7–10.

[69] Slabe 1975, 77–79.

[70] Lux, Ravnik 2008, 67–68; Knific, Lux 2015, 31.

[71] Bolta 1981, 31–32, t. 2: 7–10; 4: 6–14; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 68–69, kat. št. 214; Tica 2017, 329.

[72] Klasinc 1999, 37, 82, t. 1: 1–3,5; 2: 18; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 67–68, kat. št. 209 in 210; Knific 2005, 332–334, sl. 3: 1; Ciglenečki 2006, sl. 7; Bitenc, Knific 2008, 99–103, sl. 1: 4; 2: 7,8; 4: 3.

[73] Bitenc, Knific 2001, 68, kat. št. 213; Ciglenečki 2006, sl. 12: 2; Bitenc, Knific 2008, sl. 2: 6; 4: 4.

[74] Bitenc, Knific 2001, 33, 68–69, kat. št. 88 in 215; Bitenc, Knific 2008, 100–103, sl. 1: 3; 2: 9–13; 4: 5, 6; Tratnik 2020, 79, 82–83, t. 8: 72,73; 9: 82; 10: 99.

[75] Bitenc, Knific 2001, 68, kat. št. 212; Bitenc, Knific 2008, sl. 2: 5; Knific, Lux 2015, 36–37, sl. 12.

[76] Demo 1994, 183; Kos 2000, 113, karta 3; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 64–65, kat. št. 194–201; Bratož 2014, 411–412; Knific, Lux 2015, 33, 37–38, sl. 8; 12.

[77] Ciglenečki 2006, 113–117; Ciglenečki 2020, 213.

[78] Ciglenečki 2015, 416, 419; Knific, Lux 2015, 38.

[79] Ciglenečki 2011, 287.

[80] Bierbrauer 2015, 296.

[81] Bratož 2014, 375.

[82] Ciglenečki 2015, 415.

[83] Tratnik 2020, 156.

V nekdanjih urbanih središčih je sledov iz vzhodnogotskega obdobja malo. Emona je konec 4. in v začetku 5. st. spremenila svojo podobo. V tem času skromne sledove barbarske prisotnosti v mestu zasledimo v posameznih grobovih severnega emonskega grobišča in na vrtu Narodnega muzeja.[84] Dokaze o obljudenosti mesta po sredini 5. st. težko najdemo; morda o tem pričata odlomek ločne fibule iz insule VII[85] in pasna spona, izdelana v tehniki *cloisonné*, iz poznega 5. in prvih desetletij 6. st. iz emonskih plasti, domnevno insule XV na Jakopičevem vrtu.[86]

Drugače je bilo v poznoantičnem Karniju ob sotočju rek Save in Kokre, ta je bil v 5. in 6. st. zanesljivo poseljen. Poleg že obravnavanih najdb z grobišča Kranj – Lajh je germanska prisotnost z odlomkom ločne fibule in Teoderikovim srebrnikom izpričana v naselbinskih plasteh.[87] Novejše raziskave v mestnem jedru so razkrile še ostanke lesenih hiš, v katerih sta bila poleg lončenine, značilne za Germane (predvsem Langobarde), najdena novca Teoderika (skovan pred letom 522) in Atalarika (vladal v letih med 527 in 534).[88]

Na koncu obravnave (vzhodno)germanskih elementov na slovenskih najdiščih kaže omeniti, da predmeti tujega izvora na naših najdiščih omogočajo tudi drugačno interpretacijo.[89] Ti predmeti namreč ne dokazujejo nujno prisotnosti ali naselitve pripadnikov tujih etničnih skupin na našem ozemlju, ampak bi njihov pojav lahko nakazoval zgolj izmenjavo in trgovske stike z njihovim izvornim območjem, s Podonavjem oz. vzhodnogotskim kraljestvom v Italiji.

GROBIŠČA Z VZHODNOGERMANSKIMI ELEMENTI NA SOSEDNJIH OZEMLJIH

Zgodovinski viri razkrivajo, da je po letu 473, ko so Vzhodni Goti dokončno zapustili Panonijo, v Italijo šlo več skupin pod njihovim vodstvom. Največja med njimi je bila tista, ki jo je vodil Teoderik; ta se je proti Italiji napotila leta 488. Sestavljali so jo Goti skupaj s pridruženimi skupinami pripadnikov različnih ljudstev, med katerimi so bili tako moški kot tudi ženske in otroci.[90] Naslednje leto naj bi današnje slovensko ozemlje prečkali v smeri od Petovijone proti zahodu prek Celeje in Emone ter skozi Vipavsko dolino proti Italiji. V bitki 28. avgusta 489 je Teoderik ob prehodu čez reko Sočo premagal Odoakra, s čimer si je utrl pot v Italijo. Prehod Vzhodnih Gotov prek Soče simbolno pomeni tudi začetek njihove države v Italiji, ki je obstajala dobra štiri desetletja in se je raztezala na ozemlju takratne Italije s Sicilijo, južne Galije, obeh Recij ter Zahodnega Ilirika.[91]

Na vzhodnem obrobju vzhodnogotske Italije je bilo tudi grobišče v Mirnu, zato se pri njegovi interpretaciji lahko opremo na nekatera primerljiva in bolje raziskana najdišča v soseščini.

Severno od našega ozemlja so bili grobovi, ki jih povezujejo z Germani, odkriti na vzhodnem grobišču v Globasnici (Globasnitz). Na njem bi nekatere značilnosti, kot so namensko preoblikovane lobanje in posamezni predmeti, lahko kazale, da so tam poleg romanskega prebivalstva pokopavali tudi Germani. Franz Glaser meni, da gre za vzhodnogotske elemente, ki se najbolj odražajo v vojaški noši, prisotnost vojakov pa povezuje z delovanjem obcestne postaje, ki je bila ključna tudi za nadzor ceste iz Virunuma do Celeje.[92] Kot na podlagi nadaljnjih raziskav grobišča in ponovnega ovrednotenja najdb v grobovih nasprotno meni Paul Gleirscher, ni dokazov za to, da so na vzhodnem grobišču pokopavali le v času, ko je ozemlje sodilo v okvir vzhodnogotske države (493–536/537), prav tako ni dokazov, da so bili pokopani vojaki Goti.[93]

Na strateško pomembnost lokacij v poznoantičnem času kažejo najdišča v severni Italiji. V kraju Frascaro je bila v bližini nekdanje cestne povezave raziskana manjša naselbina iz časa med poznim 5. in sredino oz. tretjo četrtino 6. st. z grobiščem. Grobišče s skupinami družinsko povezanih grobov in naselbino pripisujejo vzhodnogermanskim priseljencem, ki so živeli odmaknjeno od lokalne skupnosti, na prostoru nekdanje podeželske vile in v bližini ceste, ki naj bi jo nadzorovali.[94]

84 Vuga 1985; Knific, Tomanič-Jevremov 1996, 380–386.

85 Bitenc, Knific 2001, 68, kat. št. 211; Bitenc, Knific 2008, sl. 2: 14.

86 Slabe 1978.

87 Sagadin 2008, 142, sl. 29; 30; Knific, Lux 2015, 31.

88 Urankar, Bešter 2014, 26–28, 37–39, 42; Knific, Lux 2015, 31, sl. 4c, op. 11 in 12; Tica 2017, 293.

89 Prim. npr. Barbiera 2010, 124–128.

90 Gračanin, Škrgulja 2014, 178–181, s sklici in citati na antične vire.

91 Bratož 2014, 372–375.

92 Glaser 2006, 102.

93 Gleirscher 2021, 39–42.

94 Micheletto 2003, 698–704; Bierbrauer 2007, 106–113; Micheletto, Giostra, Bedini 2019, 367–372, sl. 1.

Tudi sočasno naselbino s pripadajočim grobiščem v kraju Collegno so zgradili ob pomembni cesti, ki je vodila iz *Augusta Taurinorum* (Torino) proti alpski dolini Susa in Galiji; v bližini najdišča je cesta prečkala reko Doro. Majhno družinsko grobišče interpretirajo kot grobišče vzhodnogermanskih – verjetno gotskih – pripadnikov višjega sloja, ki so prebivali v le nekaj deset metrov oddaljeni naselbini, od koder so lahko s strateške pozicije nadzirali cesto.[95]

V mestu Tortona, na strateški lokaciji ob reki Scrivia in ob komunikaciji *via Postumia*, ki je povezovala jadranski prostor z Ligurijo, so se v poznoantičnem obdobju oblikovali manjši zaselki z lesenimi stavbami, cerkvijo in grobiščem.[96] Ob glavni cesti v severnem delu mesta so odkrili sledi lesenih stavb in več predmetov, ki jih povezujejo z Vzhodnimi Goti.[97] Na jugozahodnem robu mesta, ob poti v rečno pristanišče, ki je bilo v 6. st. še aktivno, so raziskali nekaj grobov. Po predmetih v njih domnevajo, da gre za manjše družinsko grobišče z vzhodnogotskimi elementi, na katerem so pokopavali le krajši čas.[98]

Območje Mirna se je v obdobju vzhodnogotskega kraljestva v Italiji navezovalo na njegovo vzhodno obrobje. Prisotnost Gotov v bližnji Akvileji za zdaj lahko domnevamo le na podlagi posameznih najdb, ki sodijo k ženski noši.[99] V pokrajinah Furlanija in Trentinsko – Zgornje Poadižje/Južna Tirolska so več predmetov, ki jih povezujejo z Vzhodnimi Goti, našli večinoma vzdolž pomembnih tranzitnih poti, npr. na grobišču Planis na obrobju mesta Udine (Videm)[100] in v kraju Trento.[101]

ZAKLJUČEK

Kako torej razumeti grobišče v Mirnu in germanske elemente v raziskanih grobovih? Glede na omenjena grobišča iz Italije (Frascaro, Collegno, Tortona), Avstrije (Globasnica) in Slovenije (Dravlje, Kranj) je skupna točka vseh, da ležijo v nižini ob pomembnih cestnih oz. rečnih povezavah ali križiščih. Največkrat gre za manjša, domnevno družinska grobišča, ki so bila v bližini naselbine. Grobovi z vzhodnogermanskimi elementi na grobišču Kranj – Lajh pa so znotraj večjega, večetničnega pokopališča v pokrajinskem središču, na katerem so prebivalci Karnija pokopavali dlje časa.

Na podlagi časovne umestitve predmetov in zgodovinskih dogodkov se zdi najverjetnejša uporaba mirenskega grobišča v obdobju vzhodnogotskega kraljestva v Italiji, tj. v zadnjem desetletju 5. in v zgodnjem 6. st. Avtorici domnevava, da so na grobišču pokopavali pripadniki vzhodnogermanske skupnosti, povezani z v virih izpričano skupino pod vodstvom Teoderika, torej pod vodstvom Vzhodnih Gotov. Ali so bile med pokojniki tudi družinske povezave, bodo morda osvetlile analize starodavne človeške DNA.[102]

Naselbina, ki ji je pripadalo grobišče v Mirnu, še ni bila odkrita, ena od možnih lokacij je bližnja vzpetina z mirenskim gradom (*sl. 2*). Druga možnost – po analogijah iz severne Italije – je, da je stala naselbina v neposredni bližini grobišča. Prebivalci naselbine bi lahko bili med tistimi prišleki, ki jim je Teoderik po zmagi nad Odoakrom v svojem kraljestvu podelil obdelovalno zemljo.[103] Morda pa je šlo za manjše začasno naselje, v katerem je bila nastanjena skupina prišlekov, ena izmed tistih, ki so bile leta 489 pod Teoderikovim vodstvom na pohodu v Italijo. V zvezi z njegovim pohodom se v zgodovinskih virih namreč omenja bitka pri mostu čez reko Sočo (*Ponte Sonti*), tj. blizu današnje vasi Majnice (Mainizza) severno od izliva Vipave, nedaleč stran od katere leži mirensko grobišče.[104]

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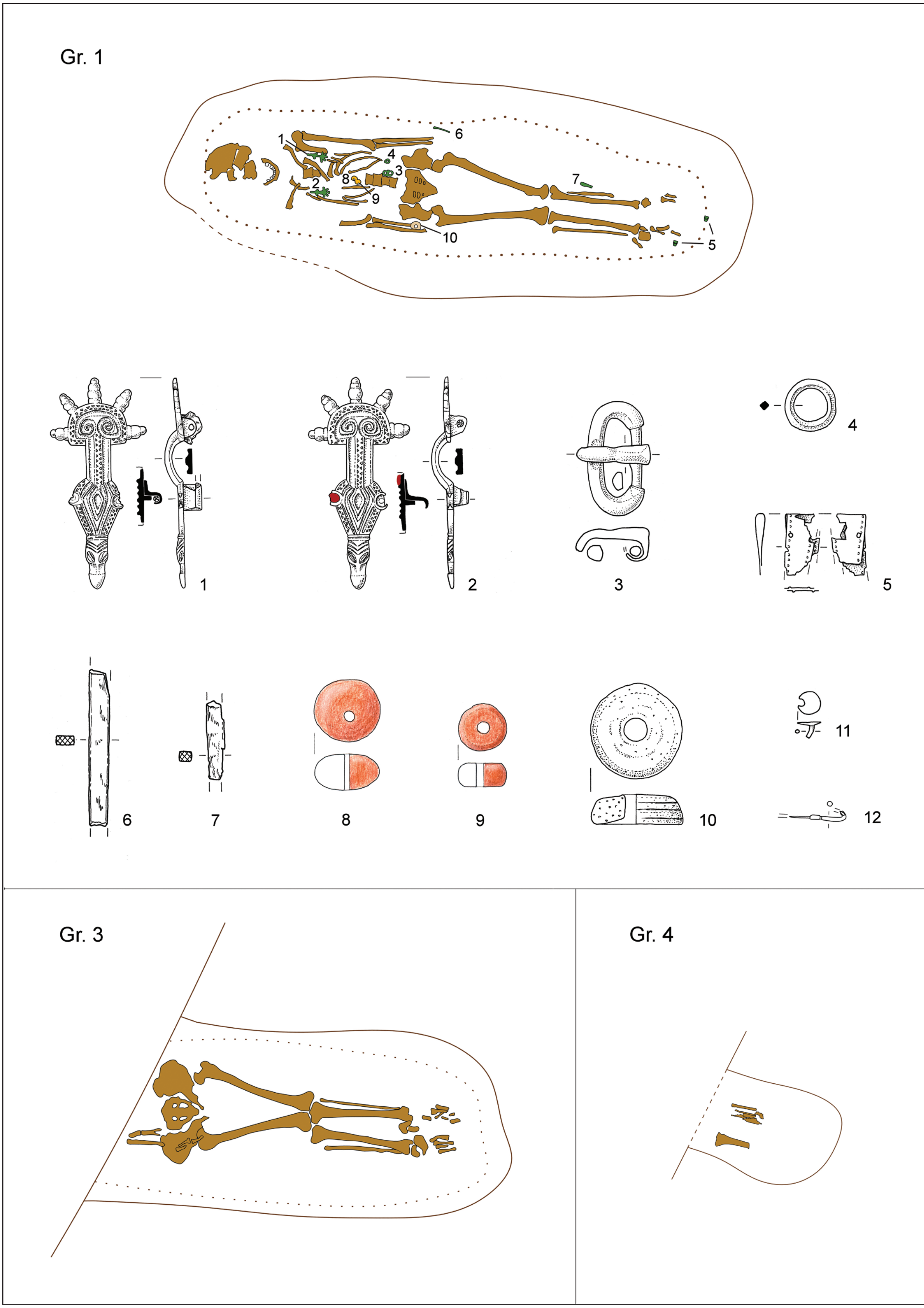
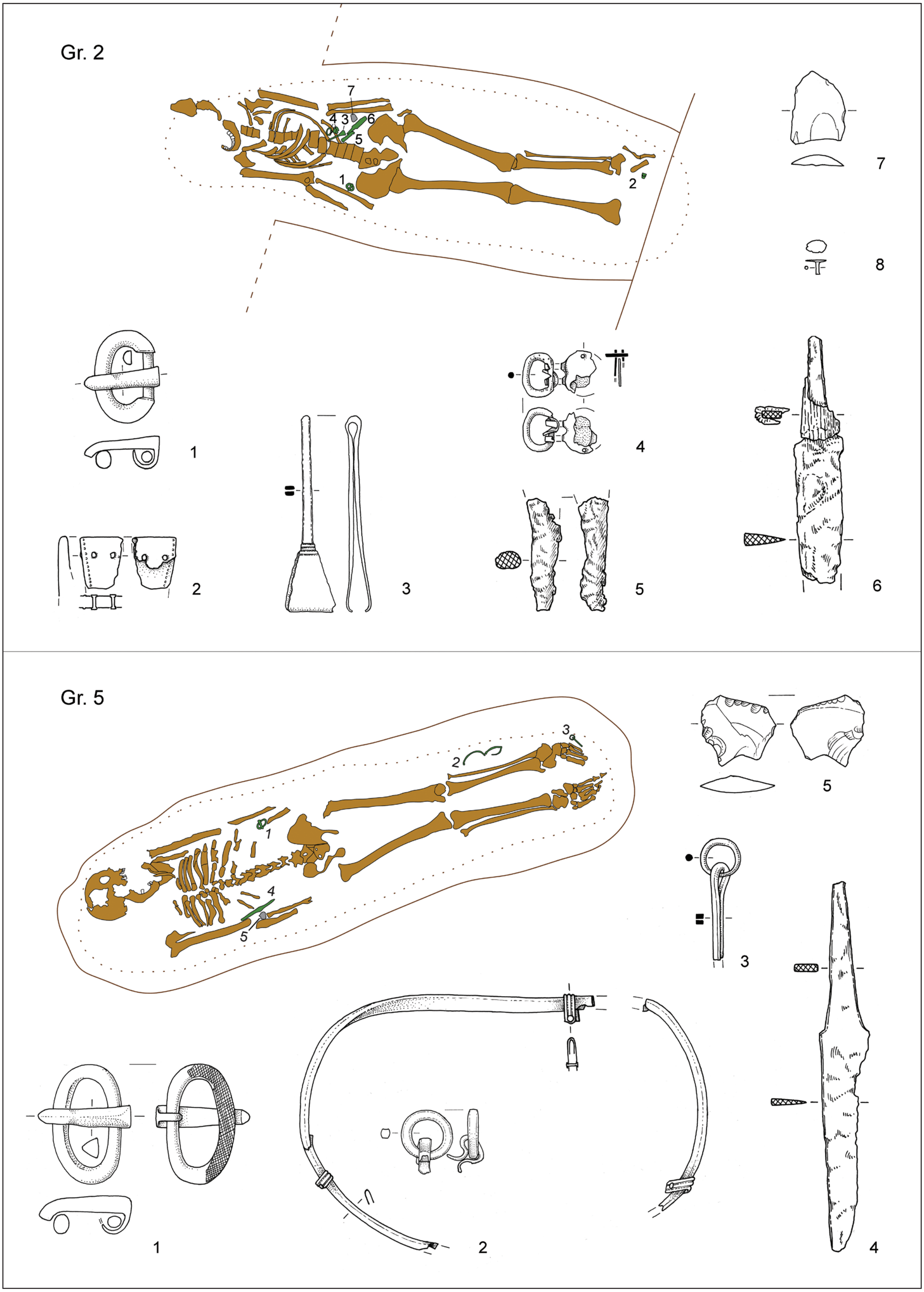
95 Pejrani Baricco *et al.* 2019, 373–378, sl. 1; 3–6.
96 Giostra 2007, 285.
97 Giostra 2007; Crosetto 2018, 186–187.
98 Crosetto 2018, 191–194, sl. 18–22.
99 Buora 2010, 188; Bierbrauer 1975, 102.
100 Buora 2008, 87–88; Buora 2010, 189.
101 Cavada 1994, 224–231.
102 Grobišče v Mirnu je vključeno v mednarodni raziskovalni projekt HistoGenes. Koordinatorka za Slovenijo je dr. Tina Milavec z Oddelka za arheologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani (Pohl *et al.* 2021).
103 Bratož 2014, 379.
104 Bratož 2014, 373–374.

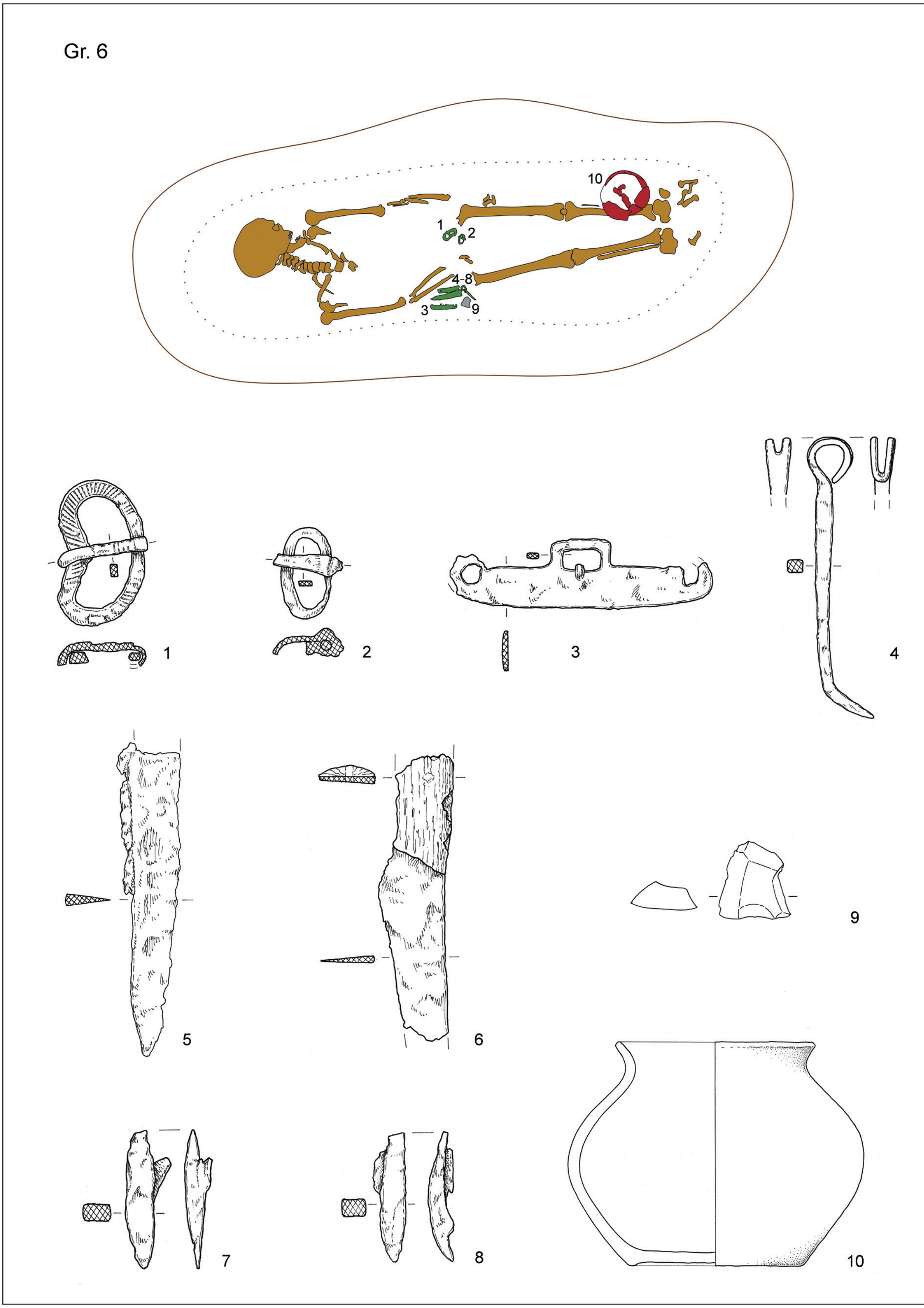


Pl. 1: Miren – Japnišče. Grave **1**. 1–2 silver, gilded; 3, 5,11 silver; 4 lead; 6–7 iron; 8–9 amber; 10 bone, 12 bronze. Scale = 1:2.
T. 1: Miren – Japnišče. Grob **1**. 1–2 srebro, pozlata; 3, 5,11 srebro; 4 svinec; 6–7 železo; 8–9 jantar; 10 kost, 12 bron. M. = 1:2.

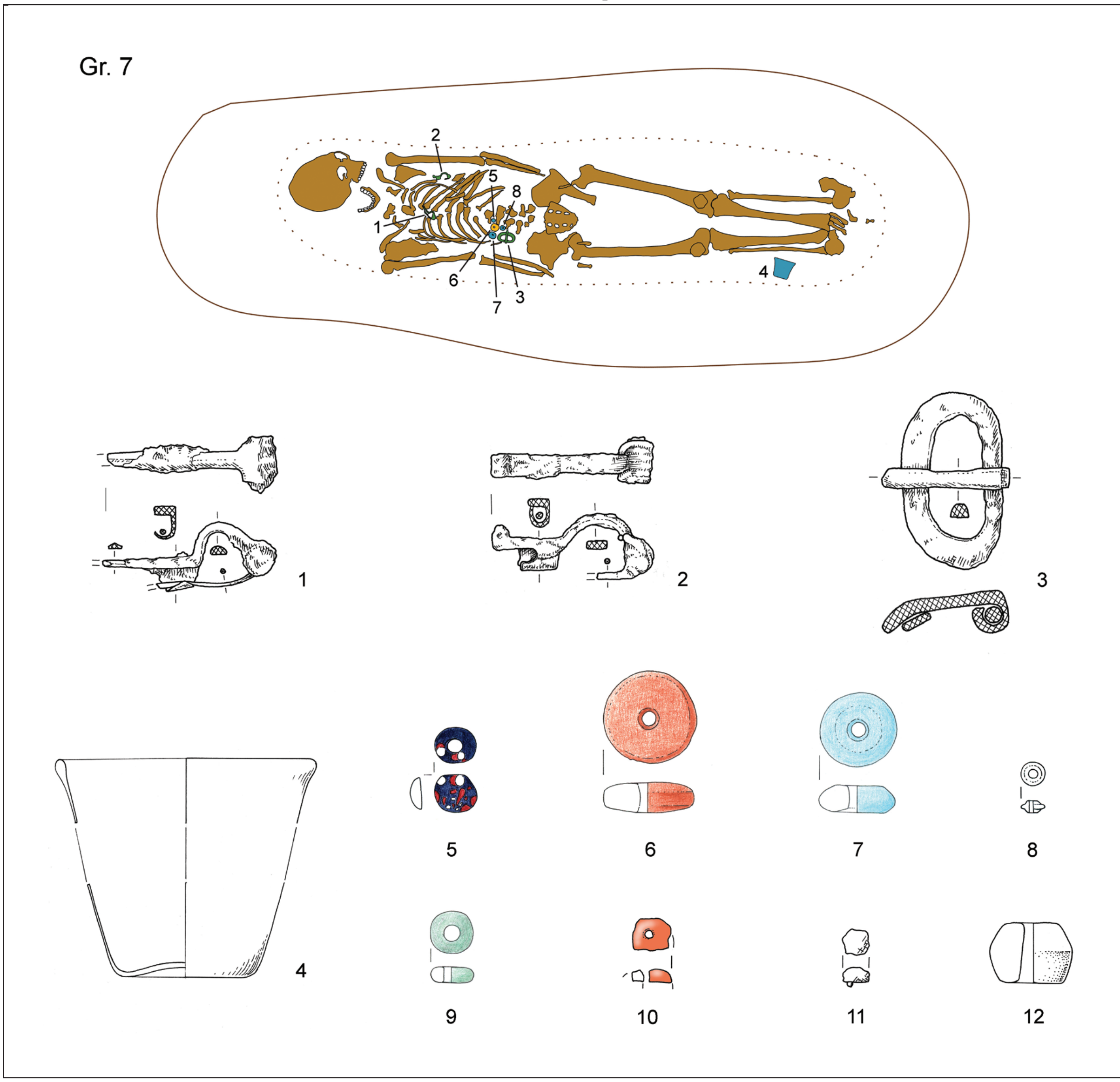


Pl. 2: Miren – Japnišče. Grave **2**. 1–2,8 silver; 3–4 bronze; 5–6 iron; 7 stone. Grave **5**. 1–2 silver; 3 bronze; 4 iron; 5 stone. Scale = 1:2.

T. 2: Miren – Japnišče. Grob **2**. 1–2,8 srebro; 3–4 bron; 5–6 železo; 7 kamen. Grob **5**. 1–2 srebro; 3 bron; 4 železo; 5 kamen. M. = 1:2.



Pl. 3: Miren – Japnišče. Grave **6**. 1–8 iron; 9 stone; 10 ceramic. Scale 1–9 = 1:2; 10 = 1:3
T. 3: Miren – Japnišče. Grob **6**. 1–8 železo; 9 kamen; 10 keramika. M. 1–9 = 1:2; 10 = 1:3



Pl. 4: Miren – Japnišče. Grave **7**. 1–3,11 iron; 4–5, 7–9 glass; 6,10 amber; 12 ceramic. Scale = 1:2.
T. 4: Miren – Japnišče. Grob **7**. 1–3,11 železo; 4–5, 7–9 steklo; 6,10 jantar; 12 keramika. M. = 1:2.

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Illustrations: Fig. 1 (elaborated by: Nejc Dolinar). – *Fig. 3* (elaborated by: Nuša Kovačič). – *Fig. 4* (photo: Tomaž Fabec; Manca Vinazza). – Figs. *6–10,13* (photo: Marcel Kump). – *Fig. 11.* (drawings: Dragica Knific Lunder; Ida Murgelj). – *Fig. 12* (elaborated by: Ida Murgelj).
Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 1 (izdelava: Nejc Dolinar). – *Sl. 3* (izdelava: Nuša Kovačič). – *Sl. 4* (foto: Tomaž Fabec; Manca Vinazza). – *Sl. 6–10,13* (foto: Marcel Kump). – *Sl. 11* (risba: Dragica Knific Lunder; Ida Murgelj). – *Sl. 12* (izdelava: Ida Murgelj).

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Družbena struktura poznoantičnih grobišč v Sloveniji

Late Antique Social Structure: the Cemeteries in Slovenia

Kaja PAVLETIČ

Izvleček

V članku je predstavljena analiza sedmih poznoantičnih grobišč na območju Slovenije o tem, kateri aspekti družbene strukture so izraženi v poznoantičnem grobnem ritualu, na kakšen način in zakaj. Uporabili smo metodo soočenja namernih in funkcionalnih podatkov ter kontekstualni pristop, analize pa so bile izvedene z uporabo podatkovne baze, izdelane za ta namen, in geografskega informacijskega sistema QGIS. Rezultati so pokazali, da je grobni ritual tesno povezan s starostjo in spolom pokojnika. Pogrebni ritual pri otrocih in starejših nakazuje njihov nižji družbeni položaj, medtem ko se največ bogastva kaže v grobovih mladostnikov in pokojnikov v zgodnji odrasli dobi. To se odraža v večjem številu grobnih pridatkov in vrst pridatkov, pogosti uporabi dragocenih materialov in grobnih konstrukcij ter večji globini grobne jame. Po premožnosti najbolj izstopajo grobovi žensk v rodni dobi, kar lahko povežemo s stresom, ki ga je za družbo predstavljala njihova visoka smrtnost.
Ključne besede: Slovenija; pozna antika; grobišča; družbena struktura; starost; spol

Abstract

This article presents the analysis of seven Late Antique burial sites in Slovenia, the aim of which was to explore which aspects of social structure are expressed in the Late Antique burial ritual, in what ways, and for what reason. Comparative analysis of intentional and functional data, as well as contextual approach, were used, and analyses were carried out using the database created for this study and the Qgis geographic information system. The results of the analyses have revealed a strong connection between the burial ritual and the age and sex of the deceased. Children and the elderly appear to be of lower social standing in the context of the burial ritual, while the greatest concentration of wealth is found in the graves of youths and young adults. This is reflected in the largest number and a wide variety of grave goods, as well as in the frequent use of precious materials and grave structures and the greater depth of the grave pit. Graves of women of childbearing age appear to be the wealthiest, which may be linked to the stress a society faced when these frequent deaths of young women occurred.
Keywords: Slovenia; Late Antiquity; cemeteries; social structure; age; sex; gender

Grobovi in grobišča so pomemben vir za preučevanje preteklih družb in so še posebej ključni za obdobja, za katera pisni viri niso na voljo ali pa so zelo redki. Ti nam kljub svoji skromnosti pozno antiko predstavljajo kot izrazito dinamičen čas, ki so ga zaznamovali številni premiki, družbene spremembe in nestabilnost. V teh lahko morda vidimo razloge za to, da so bili nekateri aspekti identitete močneje poudarjeni v kontekstu pokopa, katerega rezultat so grobovi in grobišča. V zadnjih desetletjih je mogoče opaziti premik od obravnav grobišč, ki temeljijo na tipoloških in kronoloških opredelitvah grobnih pridatkov, k interdisciplinarnim raziskavam, ki se osredotočajo na kompleksna vprašanja o poznoantični družbi (Hakenbeck 2011; Amorim *et al.* 2018; Csáky *et al.* 2020). V članku so predstavljeni teoretsko ozadje, metodologija in izsledki analiz, katerih namen je bil preučiti, kateri elementi družbene strukture so izraženi na poznoantičnih grobiščih na slovenskem ozemlju, na kakšen način in zakaj. Na podlagi metode soočenja namernih in funkcionalnih podatkov ter kontekstualnega pristopa je analiziranih 244 grobov iz sedmih grobišč, datiranih v čas med 5. in sredino 7. st.

METODOLOGIJA

Metoda soočenja namernih in funkcionalnih podatkov ter kontekstualni pristop

Grobovi so le drobec pogrebnega rituala ter so posledično izredno kompleksni in s simboliko prežeti depoziti. Na njihov nastanek so poleg pokojnika samega vplivali tudi tisti, ki so ga pokopali, in pogrebna skupnost, ki je temu prisostvovala. V poznoantični in zgodnjesrednjeveški arheologiji so bile v preteklosti interpretacije grobov osredotočene predvsem na etnične opredelitve, v zadnjih letih in desetletjih pa je mogoče opaziti večjo raznolikost pristopov. Sebastian Brather na primer meni, da je etničnost le eden izmed vidikov posameznikove identitete, ki se odraža v pokopu, ter da so bili v pozni antiki veliko bolj pomembni status, pripadnost družini, poklic, zakonski stan in starost (Brather 2002, 171). Predvsem starost je v povezavi s spolom pri preučevanju grobov v Sloveniji že dolgo zapostavljena tema (za pregled preteklih in trenutnih pristopov v arheologiji grobišč pozne antike in zgodnjega srednjega veka glej Pavletič 2020).

V prispevku predstavljene analize izhajajo iz avtoričinega magistrskega dela (Pavletič 2018) in so bile usmerjene v preučevanje družbene strukture v širokem pomenu. Ta obsega različne vidike identitete, kot so starost, spol, status in družbeni položaj. Pri tem je bilo upoštevano, da so identitete večplastne, spremenljive, odvisne od situacije in konteksta, lahko pa tudi namerno poudarjene ali zamolčane. Za preučevanje poznoantičnih grobišč je bila izbrana metoda soočenja namernih in funkcionalnih podatkov, ki jo je v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja razvil Heinrich Härke (1993; 1994; 1997). Svojo metodo je teoretsko podprl z ugotovitvami etnologa Wilhelma Mühlmanna (1938, 108–114, nav. v Härke 1994, 33), ki je razlikoval med dvema vidikoma življenja: življenjem kot zavestjo (mišljenje) in življenjem kot aktivnostjo (početje). Z metodo soočenja namernih in funkcionalnih podatkov je Härke poskušal odgovoriti na vprašanja o tem, kako naj iz pokopov, ki so posledica rituala in ki morda sploh ne odražajo resnične slike o življenju, razberemo karkoli o njem. Po njegovem mnenju so grobovi namreč zrcala, ki odsev popačijo (nem. *Zerrspiegel des Lebens*), naloga arheologa pa je, da ta popačenja prepozna in poskuša poiskati razloge zanje. Zato je Härke predlagal soočenje dveh vrst podatkov, namernih in funkcionalnih. Med namerne je uvrstil predvsem arheološke podatke (tip pokopa, grobna konstrukcija, pridatki, lokacija), saj jih je namerno določila in izbrala skupnost, na katero so med drugim vplivali mišljenje, religija in ideologija. Te podatke je po njegovem mnenju treba primerjati oziroma soočiti s funkcionalnimi podatki, ki predstavljajo nepristranske informacije o življenju in na katere pogrebni ritual ni vplival. Mednje je uvrstil predvsem podatke o skeletih, kot so spol, starost v času smrti, telesna višina, zdravje in dedne značilnosti (Härke 1994, 31–35). Poleg teh je izpostavil še tehnične podatke o grobnih pridatkih (velikost, sestava in znaki uporabe ali uničenja na predmetih) ter podatke o okolju. Če je bil predmet popravljen, bi šlo za funkcionalni podatek, medtem ko bi bilo ritualno uničenje predmeta namerni podatek. Podobno velja za podatke o okolju. Če je bila v grob pridana hrana, lahko govorimo o namernem podatku, medtem ko so ostanki rastlin in žuželk v grobovih najpogosteje naključni in jih lahko zato opredelimo kot funkcionalni podatek (Härke 1994, 31–35).

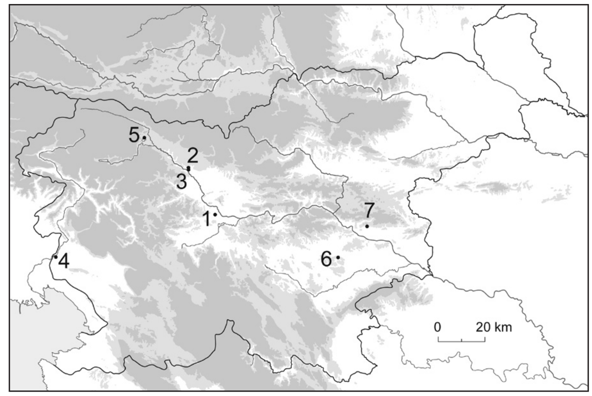
Metodo namernih in funkcionalnih podatkov je Härke uporabil pri preučevanju anglosaških pokopov z orožjem, pri čemer je poskušal ovreči takrat trdno zasidrano idejo, da grob z orožjem nakazuje, da je bila v njem pokopana oseba bojevnik. Namesto tega je orožje v grobovih iz obdobja med 5. in 7. st. označil za večpomenske in simbolično nabite pridatke, ki so po njegovem mnenju odražali predvsem posameznikovo spolno in starostno identiteto, morda pa tudi etničnost (Härke 1990; 1992a; 1992b). Opisana metoda je bila v slovenski arheologiji po nam znanih podatkih do zdaj uporabljena samo enkrat (Štular 2007). Za našo raziskavo smo jo izbrali, ker nam na podlagi že obstoječih arheoloških in osteoloških podatkov, ki so sicer pogosto objavljeni ločeno in brez upoštevanja drug drugega, omogoča nov vpogled v družbeno strukturo v pozni antiki.

V raziskavi so bili uporabljeni tudi nekateri elementi simbolnega oziroma kontekstualnega pristopa. Ta temelji na domnevi, da se pri ritualih srečujemo z uporabo formaliziranega vedenja in simbolnih dejanj, kamor spadata tudi način, na katerega je bil pokojnik položen v grob, in to, kako so bili k njemu položeni grobni pridatki. Poleg tega ta pristop pojmuje grob kot simbolni jezik, ki ga je treba brati v časovnem, prostorskem, družbenem in religioznem kontekstu (Pader 1980, 143; Härke 1997, 21–22). Kontekstualni pristop se pri preučevanju grobišč močno opira na dela Ellen-Jane Pader (1980), kar v obravnavanem primeru pomeni, da so analize potekale na različnih ravneh. Najprej je bil z opazovanjem lege pridatkov preučevan kontekst groba, sledila je analiza grobov v kontekstu grobišča, na koncu pa so bili grobovi in grobišča združeni v skupno obravnavo.

Uporabljeni podatki

Zaradi narave metode, ki temelji na soočenju namernih in funkcionalnih podatkov, smo v analize vključili grobišča z opravljeno antropološko analizo. Prvotni namen je bil analizirati vsa poznoantična grobišča, ki bi ustrezala temu kriteriju, vendar so se nekatera izkazala kot neprimerna. Med slednjimi kaže izpostaviti tista dvofazna grobišča, pri katerih grobov ne moremo vedno z gotovostjo pripisati eni ali drugi fazi, kot je grobišče na Puščavi nad Starim trgom v Slovenj Gradcu (Pleterski, Belak 2002). Kot problematična so se izkazala še nekatera druga grobišča, na katerih so sicer bile izvedene antropološke analize, a skelete danes težko povežemo z grobovi, ki naj bi jim pripadali. Taki grobišči sta Rifnik pri Šentjurju (Bolta 1981; Leben-Seljak 2006) in Lajh v Kranju (Stare 1980; Kiszely 1980).

Iz obdobja od približno 5. do sredine 7. st. je bilo tako analiziranih 244 grobov iz sedmih grobišč (*sl. 1*). Na grobišču Ljubljana – **Dravlje**[1](Slabe 1975; Pogačnik, Tomazo-Ravnik 1975) je bilo najprej strojno uničenih približno 10 grobov, pozneje pa je bilo z arheološkimi izkopavanji odkritih še 49 grobov, kar naj bi predstavljalo celotno grobišče. Osemnajst arheološko izkopanih grobov je bilo predhodno prekopanih ali premočno poškodovanih, zato smo jih izključili iz analiz, prav tako



Sl. 1: Karta analiziranih poznoantičnih grobišč.
Fig. 1: Map of the analysed Late Antique cemeteries.

1 Ljubljana – **Dravlje**; **2** Kranj – Križišče **Iskra**; **3** Kranj – **Lajh**; **4 Miren** – Japnišče; **5** Bled – **Pristava I**; **6** Gorenji Mokronog – **Vrajk**; **7 Vranje** – Ajdovski gradec (glej *op. 1* / see *Fn. 1*)

pa še grobova 3 in 26, ki jima ni bilo mogoče določiti niti starosti niti spola. Skupno je bilo torej obravnavanih 29 grobov. Pri raziskavi smo upoštevali tudi novo antropološko analizo skeletov iz grobov 1, 19, 25, 38 in 41 (Leskovar, Županek 2020). Grobišče Kranj – Križišče **Iskra** (Sagadin 1987; Tomazo-Ravnik 1987) ima tako poznoantično kot tudi zgodnjesrednjeveško fazo, do zdaj pa naj bi bila odkrita polovica ali morda le tretjina grobišča. V analize smo vključili vse grobove, ki jih je za poznoantične opredelil avtor objave (Sagadin 1987, pril. 15, 16 in omemba groba 110 na str. 40), razen groba 187, pri katerem ni bilo mogoče določiti starosti in spola pokojnika. Z grobišča Kranj – **Lajh** (Stare 1980; Podobnik 2016) smo v analize vključili zgolj grobove, odkrite z izkopavanji v letih 2004 in 2005, za katere je bila na voljo zanesljiva antropološka analiza (poročili Leben-Seljak 2004 in 2014; Podobnik 2016, 21). Pri tem je bilo treba izločiti še grobove 5/2004, 10/2004, 11/2004, 1/2005 in 3/2005, saj so bili predhodno izkopani ali premočno poškodovani. Sodeč po študiji v teku, je skupno število na Lajhu izkopanih grobov trenutno ocenjeno na okrog 700, zato velja opozoriti, da je deset grobov, vključenih v analize, le majhen in glede na premožnost grobov izjemen del celotnega grobišča. Naslednje analizirano grobišče je Japnišče v **Mirnu** pri Novi Gorici (Tratnik, Karo 2018; Leben-Seljak 2018), kjer je bilo do zdaj odkritih devet grobov, celotnega obsega grobišča pa za zdaj ni mogoče oceniti. Iz analiz smo izključili grob otroka, odkrit leta 2009, ki je bil zgolj zabeležen, a ne izkopan, ter grobova 3 in 4, saj sta bila premočno poško-

[1] V nadaljevanju je včasih uporabljen le krepko zapisan del imen grobišč.

Najdišče / Site	Datacija / Dating	Število analiziranih grobov / No. of analysed graves	Izkopavanja / Excavations	Delež obravnavanega grobišča / Share of emetery analysed
Dravlje	konec 5. st.–sredina 6. st. / end of the 5th–mid–6th cent.	29	1968, 1969	50 % ?
Iskra	6. st. / 6th cent.	27	1977	30–50 % ?
Lajh	pozno 5. st.–začetek 7. st / late 5th–beginning of the 7th cent.	10	2004, 2005	< 2 %
Miren	pozno 5. st.–začetek 6. st. / late 5th–beginning of the 6th cent.	6	2009, 2011, 2013	?
Pristava I	6. st.–prva tretjina 7. st. / 6th cent.–first third of the 7th cent.	133	1949, 1951, 1975–1978	> 90 % ?
Vrajk	konec 6. st.–začetek 7. st. / end of the 6th–beginning of the 7th cent.	17	1996	?
Vranje	pozno 4. st.–konec 5. st. / late 4th–end of the 5th cent.	22	1970, 1971	100 %

Tab. 1: Podatki o dataciji, številu obravnavanih grobov in izkopavanjih na analiziranih poznoantičnih grobiščih.
Tab. 1: Data on dating, number of graves and excavations of the analysed Late Antique cemeteries.
(Viri / Sources: Ljubljana – Dravlje (Slabe 1975); Kranj – Križišče Iskra (Sagadin 1987); Kranj – Lajh (Stare 1980); Miren – Japnišče (Tratnik, Karo 2018); Bled – Pristava I (Knific 1983); Vranje – Ajdovski gradec (Petru, Ulbert 1975); Gorenji Mokronog – Vrajk (Bavec 2003).

dovana. Na grobišču **Pristava I** pri Bledu (Knific 1983; Škerlj 1953; Leben-Seljak 1996) so bili v raziskavo vključeni vsi grobovi, ki jih je Timotej Knific opredelil kot poznoantične, razen grobov 206, 208, 309–318 in 331, za katere antropološka analiza ni bila opravljena, izključen pa je bil tudi grob 319, ker pokojniku ni bilo mogoče določiti spola in starosti. Na skeletnem gradivu sta bili opravljeni dve antropološki analizi. Kjer je bila na voljo novejša opredelitev Petre Leben-Seljak (1996), smo to upoštevali, sicer pa smo se oprli na analizo Boža Škerlja (1953). V raziskavo je bilo vključeno tudi grobišče na Ajdovskem gradcu nad **Vranjem** pri Sevnici (Petru, Ulbert 1975; Orožen-Adamič *et al.* 1975), ki je bilo domnevno izkopano v celoti, a je bilo tu iz analiz treba izključiti več grobov. Gre za grobove 5, 23 in 24, v katerih je bilo pokopanih več težko določljivih posameznikov, in grobove 14, 17 in 19, saj pokojnikom v teh ni bilo mogoče določiti starosti in spola. Zadnje od analiziranih grobišč je **Vrajk** v Gorenjem Mokronogu (Bavec 2003; Leben-Seljak 2003), kjer je bilo iz obravnave treba izključiti predhodno uničena grobova 11 in 15 ter grob 20, v katerem je bil skelet povsem preperel. Pri do zdaj odkritih grobovih na Vrajku gre le za majhen del grobišča.

Opozoriti velja na to, da je pozna antika zelo razgibano obdobje, v katerem lahko pričakujemo raznolikost zaradi kronoloških in geografskih razlik med najdišči, vključenimi v raziskavo. Razlikujejo se po kakovosti izkopavanj in objav, pa tudi po velikosti in ohranjenosti, kar je seveda močno vplivalo na rezultate v okviru skupne obravnave (*tab. 1*).

Analize

S pregledom arheološke literature in antropoloških poročil smo zbrali tri vrste podatkov, in sicer o skeletu, grobu in grobnih pridatkih. Podatki o skeletu vključujejo informacije o biološkem spolu pokojnika, starostni skupini (infans I, infans II, juvenis, adultus, maturus, senilis, s podskupinami, kjer so bile navedene), okvirni oceni starosti v času smrti, telesni višini, posebnostih skeleta (npr. namerna preoblikovanost lobanje) ter legi skeleta v grobu (na hrbtu, trebuhu, boku, iztegnjena ali pokrčena) in položaju rok.

Med podatke o grobu spadajo tip groba (enojni ali skupinski) in grobne konstrukcije (grobna jama, lesene deske, lesena krsta, kamnita obloga ipd.) ter globina grobne jame. Zadnje se je izkazalo za posebej problematično, saj je bila možnost opazovanja globine odvisna predvsem od narave najdišča in ohranjenosti groba, pojavljale pa so se tudi razlike pri načinu merjenja, zato so bili ti podatki večkrat neprimerljivi. Podatki o pridatkih vključujejo dele noše, nakit in druge predmete, za katere lahko upravičeno domnevamo, da so bili namerno priloženi pokojniku. Za vsako vrsto pridatka so bile v podatkovno bazo vnesene informacije o njihovem številu, materialu, iz katerega so bili izdelani, ter njihovi legi v grobu. Pri nekaterih najdbah, kot so uhani, fibule, glavniki in novci, je v podatkovni bazi tudi tipološka opredelitev predmeta. Pri ogrlicah je bilo navedeno število jagod, pri nožih pa njihova dolžina.

Analize so potekale tako, da smo s filtriranjem in razvrščanjem v podatkovni zbirki opazovali različne kategorije podatkov in povezave med njimi. V okolju geografskega informacijskega sistema (QGIS) smo te raznovrstne informacije lahko opazovali v prostorskem kontekstu grobišča.

Del analiz so bile tudi ocene premožnosti groba. Prva ocena je temeljila na metodi ocenjevanja vrednosti grobov Chrisa Arnolda (1980), ki je upošteval število vrst pridatkov in izhajal iz predpostavke, da je eden izmed aspektov premožnosti posameznikova sposobnost pridobitve čim bolj raznolikih predmetov (Arnold 1980, 108). Tej metodi smo dodali število pridatkov, saj se nekatere vrste predmetov v grobovih pogosto pojavljajo z več kot enim primerkom (npr. fibule, uhani, zapestnice, pasne spone in noži) in je to pri ocenjevanju premožnosti groba pomenljiv podatek. Pri oceni premožnosti 1 je vsak pridatek vreden eno točko, pri čemer smo ogrlico, čeprav je sestavljena iz številnih jagod in bi morda lahko šlo za dva predmeta, šteli kot en predmet. Če sta bili v grobu dve fibuli različnega tipa, smo ju upoštevali kot eno vrsto predmeta. Arnoldova metoda obravnava raznolikost grobnih pridatkov kot neposreden odsev premožnosti pokopane osebe. Drugi način ocenjevanja premožnosti groba pa v nasprotju s tem pridatkov ne izenačuje neposredno s premožnostjo pokojnika, temveč se osredotoči na dragocenost materialov. Temelji na metodi, ki jo je uporabil že Härke (1992a, 159), in upošteva pridatke, izdelane iz dragih materialov. Ti so razdeljeni v tri kategorije po kakovosti:

– dragoceni materiali 1: kositer, svinec, jantar;

– dragoceni materiali 2: srebro, posrebritev ali dragi kamni;

– dragoceni materiali 3: srebro in dragi kamni, pozlata, zlato.

Iz obravnave dragocenih materialov je bilo treba izključiti grobišče Pristava I, pri katerem podatki o materialu vseh predmetov niso bili dostopni. Pri ocenah premožnosti velja izpostaviti, da gre za zelo poenostavljen pristop, ki nam lahko da oceno nekaterih vidikov premožnosti, ne pa nujno dejanskega stanja. Ustreznejše bi bile analize, ki bi upoštevale tudi količino in dostopnost materiala ter čas in znanje, potrebna za izdelavo takih predmetov, vendar pa gre v našem primeru za večinoma nepoznane informacije. Hkrati lahko pričakujemo, da so imeli nekateri predmeti v grobnem ritualu simbolno vrednost, ki je tako ocenjevanje premožnosti grobov pravzaprav ne more zajeti.

Ena izmed omejitev, ki so se pokazale pri uporabi izbrane metodologije, je razmeroma majhno število grobišč, primernih za analize, z izbranega študijskega območja. Za dobre statistične analize je premajhen tudi vzorec grobov z nekaterih najdišč, kot so Kranj – Lajh, Gorenji Mokronog – Vrajk in Miren – Japnišče. Kljub temu so podatki s teh manjših grobišč uporabni za skupno obravnavo poznoantičnih grobišč, na katero pa so imela večja grobišča (Bled – Pristava I in Ljubljana – Dravlje) sorazmerno večji vpliv. Treba je poudariti, da je podatkovna baza s skupno 244 pokopi razmeroma majhna in vsebuje mestoma nepopolne podatke v primerjavi s podobnimi bazami, ki so običajno precej obsežnejše; Härke (1992a) in Stoodley (1999; 2000) sta pri svojih analizah na primer uporabljala podatke za približno 3400 pokopov. Da bi bile analize zanesljivejše in bi lahko pridobili še več podatkov, bi torej potrebovali večjo bazo grobov s še več najdišči. Razširitev podatkovne baze poznoantičnih grobišč bo mogoča šele z revizijo starejših izkopavanj, antropološkimi analizami skeletnih serij in novimi izkopavanji, ki bi idealno zajela celotna grobišča. Take baze bi bile koristne tudi za primerjavo z grobišči iz drugih časovnih obdobij. Potencialno problematična je prostorska, delno pa tudi časovna raznolikost obravnavanih grobišč, ki pa kljub temu do neke mere odsevajo raznoliko strukturo poznoantične družbe na današnjih slovenskih tleh.

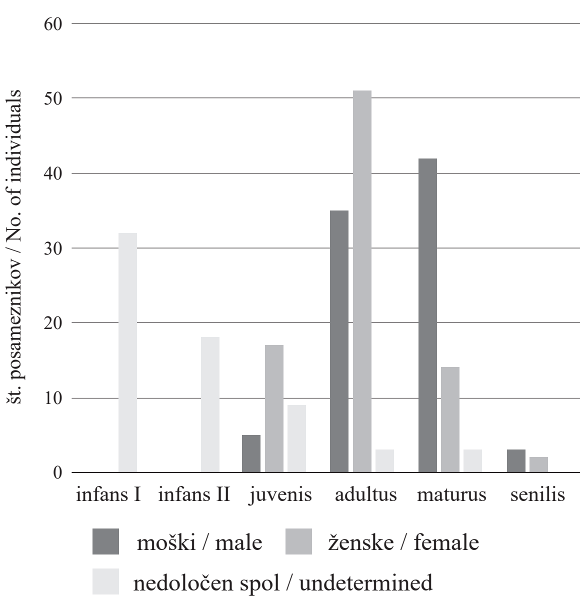
REZULTATI

Obravnavana populacija poznoantičnih grobišč

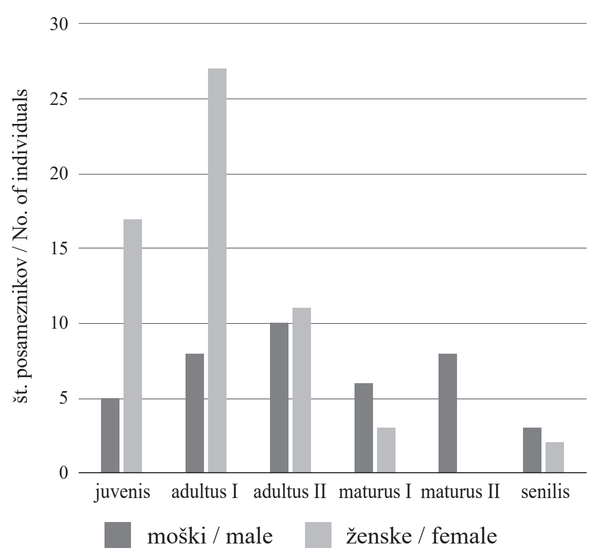
V predhodni študiji (Pavletič 2018) je bilo vsako izmed omenjenih sedmih grobišč najprej obravnavano samostojno, saj lahko družbene odnose najboljše preučujemo znotraj skupnosti, torej v okviru konteksta posameznega grobišča. V nadaljevanju so zaradi obsega članka predstavljeni le rezultati njihove skupne obravnave. Analize so pokazale, da sta spolna in starostna sestava populacije na vseh obravnavanih poznoantičnih grobiščih približno enaki (*tab. 2*). Spola ni bilo mogoče določiti 69 skeletom (28,3 %), pri čemer

Najdišče / Site	infans I		infans II		juvenis		adultus		maturus		senilis		♂		♀		spolno neopredeljeni / undetermined sex	
	št. / No.	%	št. / No.	%	št. / No.	%	št. / No.	%	št. / No.	%	št. / No.	%	št. / No.	%	št. / No.	%	št. / No.	%
Dravlje	2	6,9	3	10,3	3	10,3	16	55,2	4	13,8	1	3,4	15	51,7	9	31,0	5	17,2
Iskra	2	7,4	1	3,7	3	11,1	15	55,6	4	14,8	-	-	10	37,0	12	44,4	5	18,5
Lajh	1	10,0	1	10,0	2	20,0	5	50,0	1	10,0	-	-	3	30,0	5	50,0	2	20,0
Miren	1	16,7	-	-	-	-	3	50,0	2	33,3	-	-	3	50,0	2	33,3	1	16,7
Pristava I	22	16,5	13	9,8	17	12,8	37	27,8	38	18,6	-	-	37	27,8	46	34,6	50	37,6
Vrajk	2	11,8	-	-	3	17,6	5	29,4	5	19,4	2	11,8	8	47,1	7	41,2	2	11,8
Vranje	2	9,1	-	-	3	13,6	8	36,4	7	31,8	-	-	11	50,0	7	31,8	4	18,2
Σ	32	13,1	18	7,4	31	12,7	89	36,5	61	25,0	3	1,2	87	35,7	88	36,1	69	28,3

Tab. 2: Starostna in spolna sestava pokopanih na analiziranih poznoantičnih grobiščih. Deleži grobov v posamezni kategoriji odražajo stanje posameznega grobišča in ne celotne populacije.
Tab. 2: Age and sex structure of the buried at the analysed Late Antique cemeteries in Slovenia. Percentage shares in each category correspond to a single cemetery and not the entire population.



Sl. 2: Starostna in spolna sestava analizirane populacije na obravnavanih poznoantičnih grobiščih v Sloveniji.
Fig. 2: Age and sex structure of analysed population from the analysed Late Antique cemeteries in Slovenia.



Sl. 3: Moški in ženski grobovi po starostnih podskupinah na obravnavanih poznoantičnih grobiščih v Sloveniji.
Fig. 3: Male and female graves by age subgroup from the analysed Late Antique cemeteries in Slovenia.

gre v večini za skupini infans in juvenis, v natančne starostne skupine pa ni bilo mogoče opredeliti 6 skeletov (2,5 %).

Največja odstopanja v starostni in spolni sestavi prebivalstva je bilo mogoče opaziti na grobiščih, ki niso bila obravnavana v celoti. Pri teh je bilo zaradi delne raziskanosti grobišča ali neustreznosti določenih grobov za nadaljnjo obdelavo večinoma obravnavanih le malo pokopov, zaradi česar je zelo verjetno, da so ta odstopanja zgolj naključna. Pri drugih grobiščih so odstopanja opazna predvsem pri otrocih, ki so bili v nadaljevanju obravnavani ločeno od preostale populacije. Spolna sestava je na večini analiziranih grobišč razmeroma uravnotežena s približno 10-odstotnim deležem v prid moški ali ženski populaciji. Od tega poleg manjših grobišč nekoliko odstopata le grobišče na Ajdovskem gradcu nad Vranjem, kjer je bilo iz analiz zaradi večkratnih pokopov in slabe določljivosti večjega števila skeletov treba izključiti veliko grobov, in grobišče Dravlje, kjer bi bila, če bi vključili tudi prekopane grobove, spolna sestava bolj uravnotežena. Skupna obravnava vseh skeletov, pri katerih je bilo spol mogoče določiti z antropološko analizo, je pokazala, da je razmerje med spoloma na analiziranih grobiščih skoraj povsem uravnoteženo.

Starostna sestava prebivalstva po obdobju otroštva nakazuje najvišjo smrtnost v obdobju adultus (36,5 %), predvsem adultus I. Sledita obdobji maturus (25 %) in juvenis (12,7 %). Zabeleženih je bilo izredno malo posameznikov, ki so dočakali 60 let ali več (1,2 %), vsi ti podatki pa pričajo o razmeroma kratki pričakovani življenjski dobi. V obravnavani populaciji je v posameznih starostnih skupinah zaznati tudi velike razlike z vidika spola. Izrazito visoka smrtnost žensk je bila ugotovljena v obdobjih juvenis in adultus I, medtem ko je v obdobju adultus II približno primerljiva umrljivosti moških, slednja pa je potem od obdobja maturus izrazito višja kot pri ženskah (*sl. 2* in *3*).

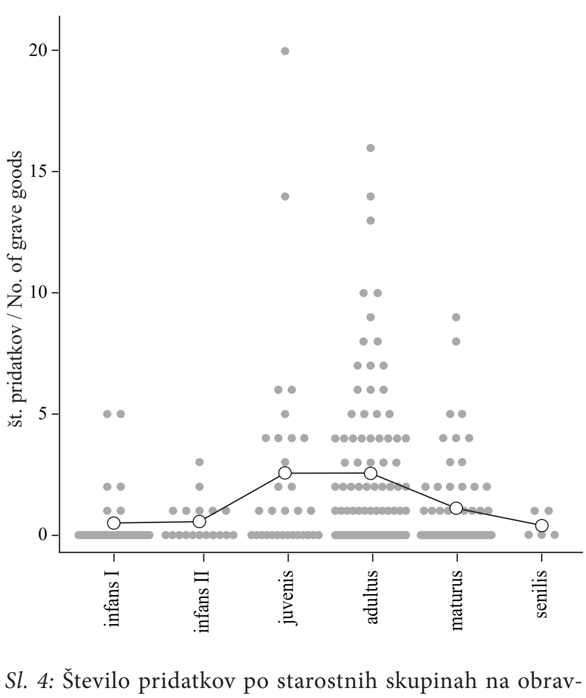
Pokopi otrok

Otroški grobovi po opazovanih značilnostih odstopajo od preostale družbe. Koncept otroštva je v zahodnem načinu dojemanja življenjskega cikla nerazdružljivo povezan z nasprotnima pojmoma odraslosti in zrelosti, iz česar izhaja tudi razumevanje otroštva kot obdobja, ko je posameznik odvisen od staršev oziroma odraslih. Otroštvo je pravzaprav zelo širok pojem, ki se lahko nanaša na posameznike v različnih stopnjah razvoja, odnos do njih in njihovo dojemanje pa se lahko od kulture do kulture močno razlikujeta (Sofaer 2006, 88). Pri tem velja poudariti, da je opredelitev starostnih kategorij v času življenja pravzaprav družbeni konstrukt, vendar pa lahko kljub temu upravičeno domnevamo, da je tesno povezan s telesnim razvojem (Crawford 2007, 83). Zato se zdi vpeljava bioloških kategorij zaradi slabega poznavanja družbenega vidika življenjskega cikla v pozni antiki morda dober začetek preučevanja otroštva. Zaradi narave uporabljene metode so otroci v nadaljevanju opredeljeni na podlagi antropološke opredelitve v starostni skupini infans I (0–6 let) in infans II (7–14 let).

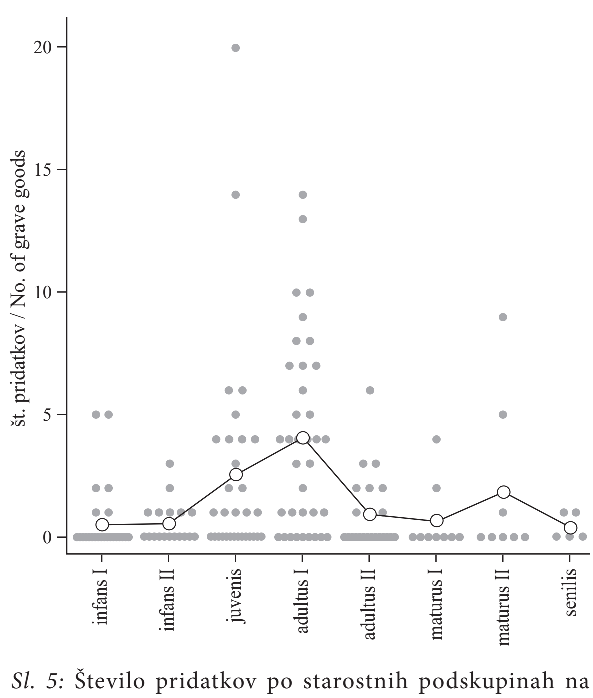
Otroci predstavljajo 22,1 % analizirane populacije, kar se zdi razmeroma malo ob pričakovani smrtnosti otrok v arheoloških obdobjih. Ta se pogosto primerja s smrtnostjo v predindustrijskih obdobjih, ki je ocenjena na 30 % (Lewis 2007, 22), a naj bi bila po večini ocen še precej višja. Za antično obdobje je bila na primer smrtnost otrok ocenjena na približno 50 % (Pilkington 2013, 6), podobne podatke pa zasledimo tudi za prazgodovinsko in zgodnjesrednjeveško Skandinavijo (Wicker 1998, 213). Delež otrok, pokopanih na analiziranih poznoantičnih grobiščih z območja Slovenije, se torej zdi izrazito prenizek, vendar pa je bil tak pojav ugotovljen tudi na številnih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobiščih na tem območju (Leben-Seljak 1996, 229–230) ter poznoantičnih grobiščih v drugih delih Evrope (Crawford 2007; Stoodley 2000). Razlogi za to se pogosto pripisujejo dejstvu, da so otroški skeleti bolj podvrženi razkroju, a je treba na grobiščih, kjer so okostja odraslih razmeroma dobro ohranjena in bi lahko torej pričakovali tudi dobro ohranjenost otroških okostij, upoštevati tudi možnost vpliva kulturnih dejavnikov. Ena izmed pogosto omenjenih razlag je pokopavanje otrok v plitvejše grobne jame, zaradi česar so ti grobovi pri oranju bolj izpostavljeni uničenju, mogoče pa je tudi, da so otroke pokopavali drugje kot preostalo skupnost, na primer v okviru naselbin (Crawford 2008). Pri obravnavnih najdiščih je zanimiva popolna odsotnost otrok do prvega leta starosti, čeprav bi prav pri teh zaradi šibkega imunskega sistema lahko pričakovali najvišjo umrljivost. Na večini grobišč so zastopani šele otroci od 4. leta starosti, kar morda nakazuje, da so bili mlajši od njih obravnavani drugače. Morda bi lahko bili pokopani na ločenih delih grobišča, kar v okviru te raziskave ni bilo opaženo, ali pa bi lahko bili pokopani v naselbinah. Poznoantična grobišča v naselbinah sicer niso bila vključena v raziskavo, vendar pa je pri nekaterih, na primer Tonovcovem gradu (Modrijan 2011, 18–20) in Ajdni nad Potoki (Leben-Seljak 1995), mogoče opaziti, da je v cerkvah in ob njih večje število otroških grobov.

Pogost parameter otroštva je poleg upoštevanja starosti tudi razvoj dojemanja družbenega spola, pri čemer so v številnih kulturah otroci v začetku življenja razumljeni kot nepopisan list, ki skozi otroštvo postopno pridobivajo značilnosti svojega spola (Sofaer 2006, 88). Določanje spola na podlagi antropološke analize skeleta je pri otrocih izjemno težavno zaradi neizrazitega spolnega dimorfizma pred puberteto (Effros 2000, 636). To pomeni, da se lahko v okviru te raziskave opiramo zgolj na pridatke, katerih neposredno povezovanje s spolom pa je problematično. Pridatke je vsebovalo le približno 24 % otroških grobov, v njih pa je bilo v povprečju manjše število in manj vrst pridatkov kot pri preostali populaciji (*sl. 4*). Poleg tega so bili predmeti v teh grobovih le redko izdelani iz dragocenih materialov, od teh je bil zabeležen le jantar (*sl. 7*). Na podlagi vzporejanja vrst grobnih pridatkov z antropološko opredelitvijo spola pri odraslih se zdi, da je večina pridatkov v otroških grobovih spolno nevtralna (pasne spone in glavniki), vendar se pojavljajo tudi predmeti, ki jih pri odraslih povezujemo z ženskami, npr. uhani, zapestnice in ogrlice. Guy Halsall (1996) je podobno opazil pri sočasnih merovinških grobiščih in kot možni razlagi predlagal dve možni razlagi. Po prvi bi lahko bile vloge spola vsaj pri nekaterih deklicah prepoznane prej kot pri dečkih, po drugi pa naj bi bili otroci razumljeni kot podaljšek matere in zato pokopani s tipično ženskimi pridatki ne glede na njihov spol (Halsall 1996, 14).

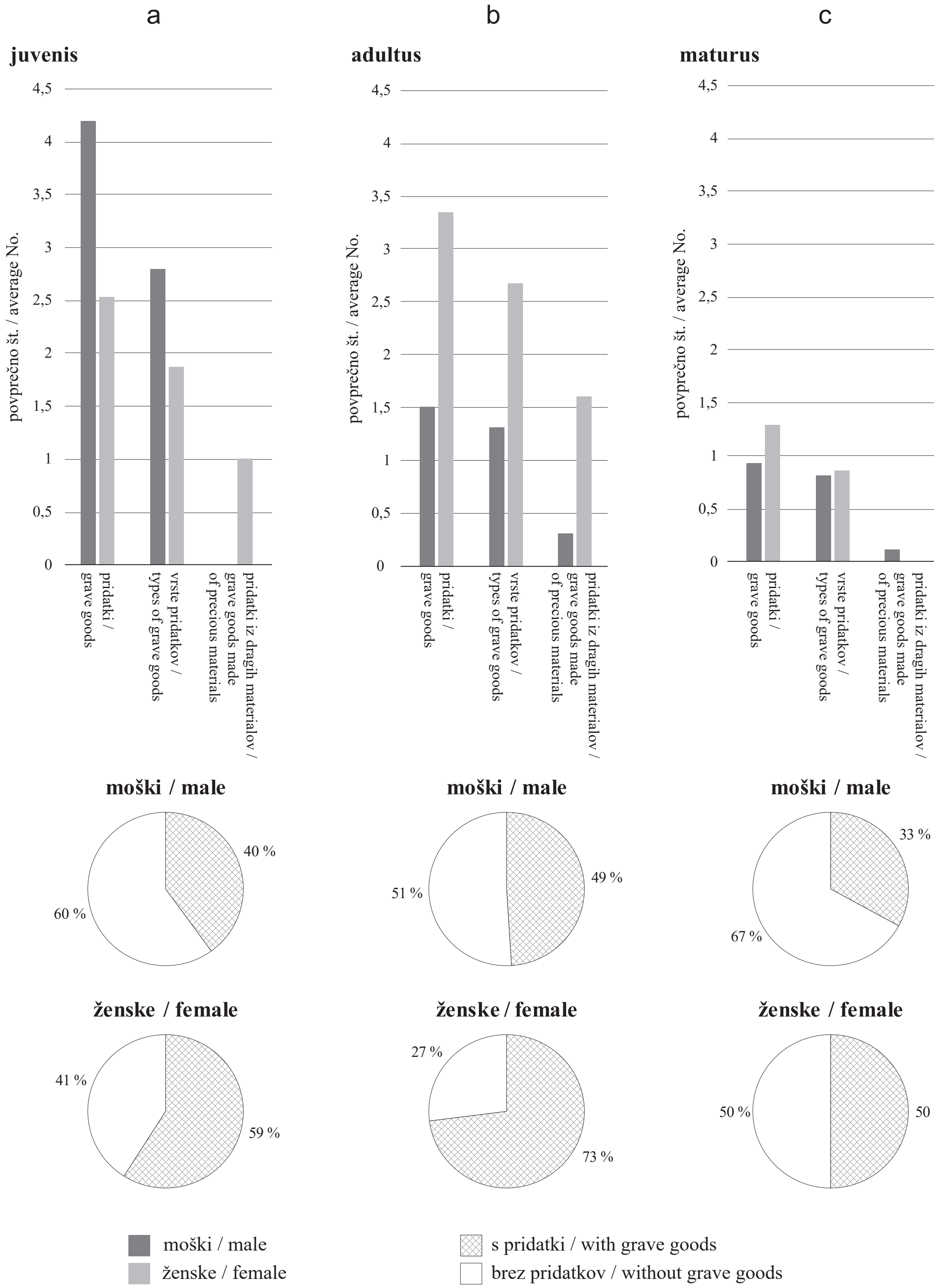
Nekaj posebnosti grobnega rituala je bilo pri otrocih mogoče opaziti tudi pri sestavi groba, torej pri globini grobne jame, grobnih konstrukcijah in pokopavanju v skupinske grobove. V primeru grobišč Dravlje v Ljubljani, Lajh v Kranju in Vrajk v Gorenjem Mokronogu, kjer je bilo mogoče opazovati in primerjati globine grobnih jam, se je izkazalo, da so grobne jame otroških grobov v povprečju plitvejše od grobnih jam odraslih. To bi lahko preprosto pojasnili s tem, da otroci zaradi svoje velikosti ne potrebujejo tako globokih grobnih jam kakor odrasli, vendar pa je tu morda v ozadju tudi izkazovanje družbenega položaja, saj manjša grobna jama pomeni manj vloženega truda v njen izkop. Da bi pri otrocih morda lahko šlo tudi za ta vidik, kaže dejstvo, da so bile plitvejše grobne jame ugotovljene tudi pri skupini maturus, za predstavnike katere lahko z gotovostjo trdimo,



Sl. 4: Število pridatkov po starostnih skupinah na obravnavanih poznoantičnih grobiščih v Sloveniji. S črto je označeno povprečno število pridatkov.
Fig. 4: Number of grave goods by age group from the analysed Late Antique cemeteries in Slovenia. The line represents an avarage number of grave goods.



Sl. 5: Število pridatkov po starostnih podskupinah na obravnavanih poznoantičnih grobiščih v Sloveniji. S črto je označeno povprečno število pridatkov.
Fig. 5: Number of grave goods by age subgroup from the analysed Late Antique cemeteries in Slovenia. The line represents an avarage number of grave goods.



Sl. 6: Povprečno število pridatkov, vrst pridatkov in pridatkov, izdelanih iz dragih materialov ter zastopanost grobov s pridatki pri skupini juvenis (*a*), adultus (*b*) in maturus (*c*) na obravnavanih poznoantičnih grobiščih v Sloveniji.
Fig. 6: Average number of grave goods, types of grave goods and grave goods made of precious materials, as well as share of graves with grave goods in male and female graves of juvenis (*a*), adultus (*b*) and maturus (*c*) group from the analysed Late Antique cemeteries in Slovenia.

da so potrebovali enako globoko grobno jamo kot nekdo v obdobju adultus, a nam večina aspektov grobnega rituala nakazuje na to, da je bil njihov družbeni položaj nekoliko nižji ali izražen tako, da deluje nižji.

Posebnost otroških grobov na večini obravnavanih grobišč se kaže tudi v grobnih konstrukcijah. Na grobiščih Kranj – Lajh in Vranje – Ajdovski gradec so bile kamnite ali lesene grobne konstrukcije najdene le pri odraslih, pri otrocih pa ne, v primeru Dravelj v Ljubljani, kjer se grobne konstrukcije pojavljajo pri več kot polovici vseh grobov, pa so bile te izrazito odsotne pri skupini infans I, zaslediti pa jo je bilo le v enem grobu skupine infans II. Od tega se precej razlikuje situacija na grobišču Kranj – Iskra, kjer so imeli skoraj vsi grobovi grobne konstrukcije in so bili v ta običaj brez izjeme vključeni tudi otroci. Pri otrocih je bilo opaženo tudi njihovo pogosto pojavljanje v skupinskih pokopih, ki so sicer pri nas v obdobju pozne antike razmeroma redki. Skupno je bilo odkritih devet skupinskih grobov, in sicer na grobiščih Dravlje (dvojni grob 23, 24), Iskra (dvojni grob 51, 52) in Pristava I (dvojni grob 218, 219, trojni grob 241, 424, 432, trojni grob 245, 246, 247, dvojni grob 281, 286, trojni grob 296, 297, 298, dvojni grob 322, 323 in skupinski grob 336, 337, 338, 339). Vsi razen dveh skupinskih pokopov vključujejo otroke. Podatek, da je bilo kar 18,5 % vseh otrok pokopanih v skupinskih grobovih, lahko morda pojasnimo s tem, da gre za najobčutljivejše predstavnike družbe. Ti so najpogosteje umirali zaradi nalezljivih bolezni, ki jih lahko vidimo kot eno izmed možnih razlag za skupinske pokope in domnevno sočasno smrt več posameznikov. Podobno razlago bi morda lahko pripisali tudi razmeroma velikemu številu starostnikov v teh pokopih, hkrati pa se zdi pomenljivo prav njihovo skupno pojavljanje z otroki. Večkrat je bilo predlagano, da gre pri otrocih za ritualno posebej občutljivo skupino, ki bi pri prehodu, kot ga predstavlja smrt, morda potrebovala spremstvo odrasle osebe (Crawford 2007, 90; Gilchrist 2012, 208–209; Stoodley 2002, 121).

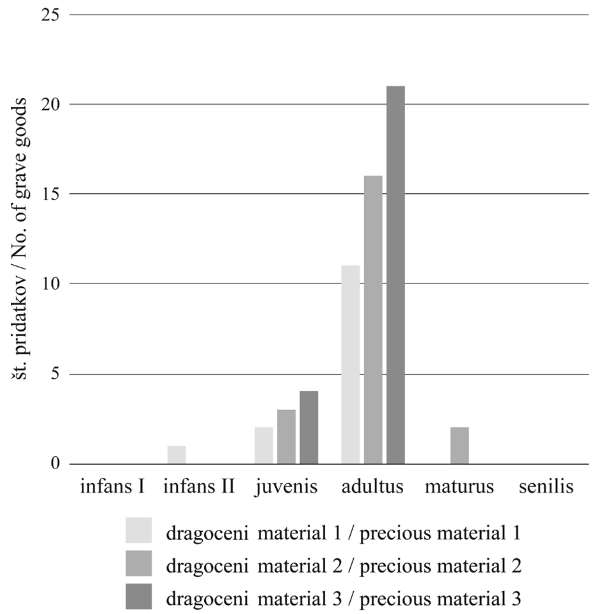
Pokopi mladostnikov in odraslih

Po obdobju otroštva lahko v kontekstu grobov opazujemo tudi spol. V skupini juvenis se sicer še vedno pojavlja precej grobov, pri katerih posameznikom ni bilo mogoče določiti spola, kar lahko pripišemo majhnemu spolnemu dimorfizmu v obdobju pred biološko odraslostjo. Kljub temu je tu, podobno kot tudi pri skupini adultus, posebno pa adultus I, opazna veliko večja smrtnost žensk v primerjavi z moškimi, kar lahko najverjetneje povežemo z visoko smrtnostjo žensk pri porodu (*sl. 3*).

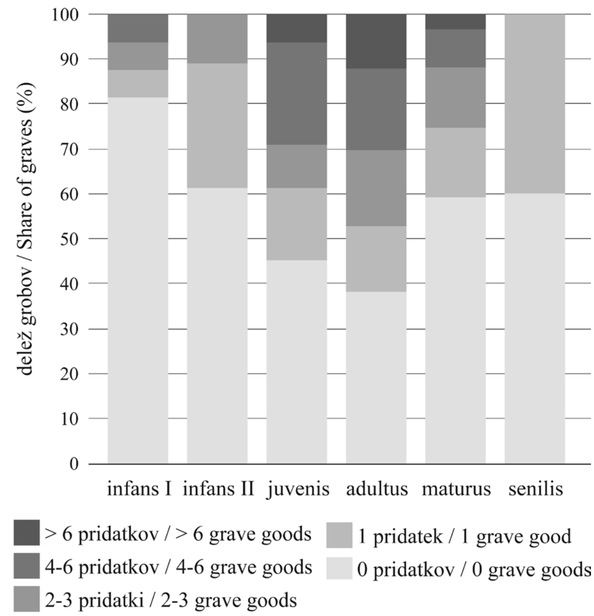
V mladostniškem obdobju in obdobju zgodnje odraslosti, ki sta si precej sorodni, so pridatki prisotni v največjem deležu grobov, in sicer v 54,8 % grobov pri skupini juvenis, pri skupini adultus pa v 61,8 % grobov, pri čemer je ta delež še veliko večji pri skupini adultus I (75 %)(*sl. 5*). S prehodom iz otroštva v obdobje juvenis sta opazna velika rast v številu grobnih pridatkov (*sl. 4*) in pojav nekaterih novih vrst predmetov, ki pri otrocih niso bile zabeležene. Gre predvsem za orodja (kresilo, šilo, škarje), pojavljajo pa se tudi prstan, pinceta, vretence, ključ, novec in keramični lonček. Prstani in pincete so večinoma povezani z umrlimi v obdobjih juvenis in adultus, medtem ko so vretenca in kresila omejena izključno na ti dve obdobji. Pri pokojnih te starosti so izrazito številne tudi ogrlice, ki imajo v povprečju več jagod kot ogrlice v otroških grobovih in grobovih starejših prebivalcev. Grobovi so navadno globlji in imajo pogosteje leseno ali kamnito grobno konstrukcijo.

Razvidno je tudi, da se pri obeh starostnih skupinah pridatki veliko pogosteje pojavljajo v ženskih grobovih (*sl. 6a* in *6b*). Poleg tega so pridatki v ženskih grobovih izrazito številnejši, zastopanih je več vrst pridatkov in več takih, ki so izdelani iz dragocenih materialov. Iz *slike 6a* je sicer razvidno, da je povprečno število pridatkov in vrst pridatkov pri skupini juvenis večje v moških grobovih, a gre za močno popačen podatek, ki je posledica groba 6/2004 z grobišča Lajh (Podobnik 2016, 25), kjer je bil 20-letni moški pokopan z 20 pridatki, poleg tega pa je v celotni skupini *juvenis moški* samo 5 grobov. Od dragocenih materialov, ki so bolj ali manj omejeni le na ženske pokope, so bili v skupini juvenis najdeni predvsem jantar, srebro ter srebro s pozlato, pri skupini adultus, posebej adultus I, pa poleg tega pogosto še zlato in granati.

Kako torej razložiti to izrazito koncentracijo dragocenih pridatkov v grobovih mladih žensk? Halsall (1996) premožnost grobov povezuje s stopnjo stresa, ki ga je družba občutila ob smrti posameznika, ta pa naj bi bil v veliki meri povezan s tem, kako je smrt vplivala na odnose v družbi. Grobovi otrok naj bi bili po tej tezi torej preprostejši zato, ker njihova smrt ni pretrgala številnih vezi in ni prinesla potrebe po izrazitem preoblikovanju družbe (Halsall 1996, 13). Teza bi ustrezno pojasnila tudi izjemno bogastvo nekaterih ženskih grobov v



Sl. 7: Zastopanost kategorij dragocenih materialov po starostnih skupinah na obravnavanih poznoantičnih grobiščih v Sloveniji.
Fig. 7: Representation of different categories of precious materials by age group from the analysed Late Antique cemeteries in Slovenia.



Sl. 8: Delež grobov glede na število pridatkov po starostnih skupinah na obravnavanih poznoantičnih grobiščih v Sloveniji.
Fig. 8: Share of graves according to number of grave goods by age group from the analysed Late Antique cemeteries in Slovenia.

obdobjih juvenis in adultus I. Pri teh naj bi njihov družbeni položaj opredeljevali predvsem poroka in zmožnost rojevanja otrok, o čemer pričajo tudi sočasni pisni viri. Zakonika *Lex Salica* (okoli leta 500) in *Lex Ribuaria* (7. st.) namreč navajata za uboj ženske v rodni dobi trikrat tolikšno denarno kazen kot za uboj odraslega moškega ali ženske, ki ne more več imeti otrok (*Lex Salica* XXIV, v: Fisher Drew 1991; *Lex Ribuaria* XII, v: Barfield 1958). Kot poudarja Halsall (1996), je torej velika vrednost mlade ženske za njeno družino temeljila na njeni zmožnosti rojevanja otrok in potencialnega sklepanja zavezništev z drugimi družinami prek poroke. Če je ženska umrla mlada, je to pomenilo pretrganje številnih vezi in velik stres za družbo, kar se je morda izrazilo v bogastvu in nekaterih specifičnih vrstah grobnih pridatkov. V tem lahko morda vidimo tudi trud po ohranitvi potencialnih vezi, ki so bile ustvarjene s poroko, toda pretrgane s smrtjo (Halsall 1996, 15). Da gre pri teh izrazito premožnih grobovih mladih žensk za prehod oziroma stanje, ki najverjetneje ni povezano le z biološko odraslostjo, kaže starost pokojnic, ki se v povprečju giblje okrog 24 let. Povsem mogoče se torej zdi, da gre za premožnejši pokop, povezan z družbenim vidikom odraslosti, poroko ali pomembno vlogo matere.

Izenačenje v spolni sestavi se kaže v skupini adultus II, v kateri sta deleža moških in žensk primerljiva, medtem ko je za skupino maturus značilen večji delež moških pokojnikov. To razliko v spolni sestavi v primerjavi z mlajšimi starostnimi skupinami lahko pojasnimo kot posledico višje umrljivosti žensk v obdobjih juvenis in adultus, v manjši meri pa kot možne napačne antropološke opredelitve nekaterih skeletov, saj ženske lobanje v obdobju maturus pridobivajo nekatere tipično moške značilnosti (Weiss 1972, 245). Skupini adultus II in maturus povezuje tudi zmanjšanje deleža grobov s pridatki, poleg tega pa tudi upad števila pridatkov, števila vrst pridatkov in števila pridatkov, izdelanih iz dragocenih materialov. To je pri skupini maturus posebej izrazito (*sl. 6c, 7 in 8*), podobno pa je bilo ugotovljeno pri starejšem prebivalstvu tudi na anglosaških (Stoodley 2000, 463–464) in merovinških grobiščih (Halsall 1996, 11). Ta upad ni zgolj posledica večjega števila moških grobov, ki z vidika pridatkov navadno delujejo revnejši, saj je bilo podobno situacijo mogoče opaziti tudi v ženskih grobovih. Grobovi skupine maturus so torej vsebovali več pridatkov kot grobovi otrok, toda manj kot grobovi skupin juvenis in adultus.

Halsall (1996) je zmanjšanje bogastva v grobovih žensk nad 40. letom starosti pripisal spremembi vlog v vsakdanjem življenju. Otroci teh že nekoliko starejših žensk so sčasoma tudi sami dosegli odraslo dobo, vloga njihovih mater v gospodinjstvu se je postopno zmanjšala in je prešla na naslednjo generacijo. S tega vidika je smrt starejših, podobno kot pri otrocih, povzročila manj družbenega stresa (Halsall 1996, 21). Prav tako naj bi starejše ženske svoj nakit prepustile hčeram, kar je po Halsallovem mnenju tudi ozadje opisa bogatega pokopa neke ženske brez otrok, za katero je Gregor Tourski v 6. st. zapisal, da je »*bila pokopana v cerkvi blizu Metza z veliko zlata in obiljem nakita*« (Gregor Tourski, *Historia Francorum*, VIII: 21, v: Thorpe 1974). Podobne vzroke bi verjetno lahko našteli tudi za zmanjšanje bogastva v grobovih starejših moških, ki je povsem sorazmerno zmanjšanju bogastva v ženskih grobovih. Čeprav se je družbeni status v starosti morda spremenil in je pogrebni ritual postal manj razkošen, kar se potencialno izraža tudi v plitvejših grobnih jamah ter redkejših kamnitih in lesenih grobnih konstrukcijah, pa, kot opozarjata Hadley in Moore (1999, 37), to ne pomeni, da je postal posameznik manj pomemben. Poleg spremembe vlog bi lahko šlo tudi za to, da aspekti družbenega položaja, ki so sicer izraženi v bogatih pokopih, pri starostnikih niso več relevantni. Pri skupini maturus so večje spremembe prepoznavne v zastopanosti nekaterih vrst grobnih pridatkov. Ogrlice, fibule in posamične jagode se pojavljajo veliko redkeje, kresila in vretenca pa povsem izginejo. Pri slednjih gre za pridatke, za katere se zdi, da so močno povezani s spolom (glej spodaj), morda bi lahko rekli, da postane spol s starostjo v oziru na pridatke manj izražen.

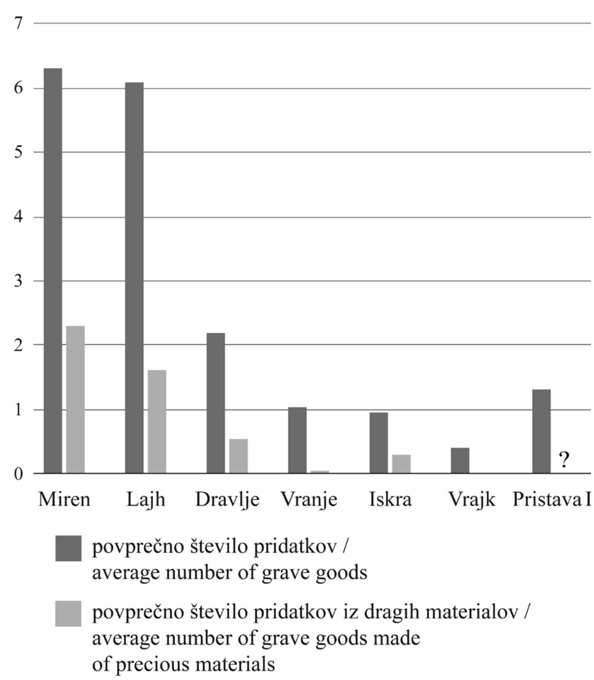
V poznoantičnem grobnem ritualu se je, kot že večkrat omenjeno, poleg starosti morda še bolj očitno izražal posameznikov spol. Kot opozarjata Joanna Sofaer in Marie Louise Stig Sørensen (2013), je pripisovanje kulturnega spola predmetom prek njihove povezave z biološko opredeljenim spolom skeleta problematično, saj zmotno izenačuje biološki in kulturni spol. Iskanje in opazovanje kulturnega spola je v arheologiji grobišč metodološko težavno, saj se arheologi brez etnografskega opazovanja odnosa med osebami in predmeti pravzaprav ne morejo izogniti biološkemu determinizmu (Sofaer, Sørensen 2013, 532). V okviru analiz se na podlagi biološke opredelitve spola pri skeletih niso pokazale izrazitejše razlike pri globini in konstrukciji groba, prav tako ne pri legi v kontekstu grobišča, so bile pa večje razlike opazne pri grobnih pridatkih. Kot že omenjeno, so bili ženski grobovi v vseh starostnih skupinah premožnejši od moških, ko gre za število pridatkov, število vrst pridatkov in število pridatkov, izdelanih iz dragocenih materialov. Poleg tega se je pokazalo, da lahko z vidika fizične antropologije govorimo o obstoju moškega in ženskega grobnega sestava. Med tipično ženske predmete lahko uvrstimo prstane, fibule, uhane, igle, vretenca, stekleno posodje ter nakit iz steklenih in jantarnih jagod. V nasprotju s tem lahko z moškimi povežemo kresila, kresilne kamne, škarje, šila, keramiko in orožje. Poleg tega je za moške grobove značilno, da se v grobu pojavi tudi več pasnih spon. Moški in ženski grobni sestav se med seboj večinoma izključujeta, vendar se nekateri predmeti pojavljajo pri obeh in so bili posledično opredeljeni kot spolno nevtralni. Gre za pasne spone, nože, glavnike in novce, morda pa bi sem lahko uvrstili tudi zapestnice, ki se po večini sicer pojavljajo v ženskih grobovih, in pincete, ki so večinoma povezane z moškimi grobovi. Iz te razdelitve nekoliko odstopajo nekateri pokopi na Bledu – Pristavi I, kjer se v štirih moških grobovih pojavijo uhani, v ženskem grobu 358 (Knific 1983, T. 25) pa je bilo med množico drugih predmetov, od katerih je veliko tipično ženskih, najdeno tudi kresilo. Prav kresilo je eden izmed pridatkov, ki jih velja posebej izpostaviti. Razen prej omenjenega bogatega ženskega groba 358 s Pristave I se kresilo pojavlja le v moških grobovih, in sicer le pri skupinah juvenis in adultus, zaradi česar se zdi, da gre za predmet, ki je v grobnem ritualu vseboval sporočilo, povezano z življenjskim ciklom. Tako v prej omenjenem ženskem grobu 358 s Pristave I kot tudi v moških grobovih se kresilo vedno pojavlja v grobovih z velikim številom pridatkov, navadno z eno ali več pasnimi sponami, nožem in kresilnimi kamni. Zdi se, da lahko kresila povežemo z mladimi moškimi, hkrati pa gre za simbolni predmet, ki morda odraža tudi nek specifičen družbeni položaj. V vsakdanjem življenju se kresilo včasih povezuje s potovanjem, saj gre za predmet, ki ga je popotnik potreboval, da si je zakuril ogenj. Pri bronastodobnih pokopih v Britaniji ga povezujejo tudi s simboličnim potovanjem v posmrtno življenje (Teather, Chamberlain 2016). Morda bi lahko kresila in ogenj povezovali tudi z razsvetljevanjem posmrtnega življenja, kakršna je vloga oljenk v rimskih grobovih (Alcock 1980, 60), svetila pa so bila v antiki uporabljena tudi v obredju, ki je potekalo na grobiščih (Toynbee 1982, 63). V ženskih grobovih lahko sorodno vlogo simbolnega pridatka, ki ni neposredno povezan z nošo, pripišemo vretencem. Na obravnavanih grobiščih se pojavljajo le pri skupinah juvenis in adultus, najpogosteje v obdobju zgodnje odraslosti, v vseh primerih pa gre za grobove z velikim številom predmetov, med katerimi so tudi pridatki, izdelani iz dragocenih materialov. Vretenca se kot grobni pridatek pojavljalo v širokem prostorskem in časovnem okviru ter so razumljena kot simbol ženskosti v različnih kulturah (McCafferty, McCafferty 1991). V nekaterih dekliških in ženskih grobovih v rimskem obdobju so bila eden izmed predmetov, ki jih je mogoče povezati s t. i. prerano smrtjo oziroma *mors immatura*. Povezujemo jih z boginjami Parcae, ki naj bi tkale usodo ljudi (Martin-Kilcher 2000, 65), za to poznamo primerjavo tudi v skandinavski mitologiji (Ekengren 2013, 187). Vreteno je tudi izraz, ki ga oporoka anglosaškega kralja Alfreda Velikega iz 9. st. uporabi za označbo ženske strani družine (*Oporoka Alfreda Velikega*, v: Keynes, Lapidge 1983).

Razlogov za to, da imajo ženski grobovi v povprečju več pridatkov kot moški, je verjetno več. Kot nam je obdobje pozne antike znano iz pisnih virov, se zdi malo verjetno, da bi imele ženske večjo ekonomsko ali pravno moč kakor moški. Verjetneje se zdi, da je ženska noša vključevala več elementov, ki so se ohranili v arheološkem zapisu, njeno bogastvo, ki med drugim odseva v uporabi dragih materialov, pa kaže, da je bilo izkazovanje družbenega položaja in drugih aspektov identitete v grobnem ritualu pri ženskah morda pomembnejše kot pri moških. Spol, vsaj biološki, je v grobnem ritualu obravnavanih grobišč torej nedvomno razviden, toda kakšen je razlog za njegovo izražanje? Najbolj neposredna razlaga bi bila, da gre za odsev različnih vlog v času življenja, vendar pa gre za sporno interpretacijo, ki sloni na preslikavi stereotipnih predstav o vlogi spolov 19. in 20. st. v daljno preteklost. Kot je poudaril Heinrich Härke (2011, 103), pa ta razlaga prav tako ne pojasni, zakaj je spolna identiteta manj jasno izražena v grobnem ritualu rimske dobe ter visokega in poznega srednjega veka. Namesto tega bi bilo izražanje spola morda lahko povezano s tem, da sta bila pozna antika in zgodnji srednji vek izrazito nestabilni obdobji, zaznamovani z migracijami. Te pogosto privedejo do tega, da se nekatere kulturne, družbene in politične meje zabrišejo ali celo povsem izginejo, kar lahko vpliva tudi na tradicionalne vloge spolov. Härke meni, da je v obdobju tovrstne ideološke negotovosti ritual eden izmed načinov za poudarjanje in ponovno vzpostavljanje zamejitev, ki so v resničnem življenju morda postale bolj nejasne. V primeru spola po njegovem mnenju grobni ritual torej predstavlja družbeni red – ne kakršen je, temveč kakršen bi moral biti (Härke 2011).

Podobnosti in razlike med analiziranimi grobišči

Na vseh analiziranih grobiščih so se glede na navedene značilnosti pokazali podobni vzorci, kar bi lahko nakazovalo na to, da je bilo mišljenje v ozadju pogrebnega rituala pri vseh grobiščih sorodno, številne vzporednice pa je bilo mogoče opaziti tudi na številnih sočasnih grobiščih v drugih delih Evrope. Kljub temu se zdi, da se je to mišljenje na obravnavanih grobiščih manifestiralo na nekoliko različne načine, kar se kaže v razlikah med posameznimi grobišči.

Največ podobnosti je opaziti med grobiščema Miren – Japnišče (Tratnik, Karo 2018), datiranim v čas poznega 5. in začetek 6. st., in Kranj – Lajh (Podobnik 2016; Stare 1980), ki ga uvrščamo v čas od poznega 5. do začetka 7. st. Zanju je značilno pojavljanje velikega števila pridatkov, vključno s tistimi iz dragocenih materialov (*sl. 9*). Ti dve



Sl. 9: Povprečno število pridatkov in pridatkov, izdelanih iz dragih materialov na analiziranih poznoantičnih grobiščih v Sloveniji.
Fig. 9: Average number of grave goods and grave goods made of precious materials in the analysed Late Antique cemeteries in Slovenia.

grobišči sta razmeroma dobro primerljivi po številu pridatkov v moških in ženskih grobovih, tudi tu pa so z vidika pridatkov ženski pokopi premožnejši. Izrazita sorodnost med njima se kaže tudi v materialni kulturi ter v legi pridatkov v grobu. Podobna materialna kultura je bila, sicer z izrazito manjšim številom pridatkov, ugotovljena tudi na grobišču Dravlje v Ljubljani (Slabe 1975), ki je datirano v čas od konca 5. do sredine 6. st. Pri vseh treh zasledimo pogosto pojavljanje pasnih spon, nožev, fibul, pincet in novcev, na grobišču v Dravljah in na Lajhu pa tudi glavnikov in prstanov. Za vsa tri grobišča je značilna tudi prisotnost posameznikov z namerno preoblikovanimi lobanjami, primerljiva pa so tudi z vidika lege grobišča, saj gre za lokacije z izrazito strateško lego v bližini pomembnih cestnih povezav. Grobišče Miren – Japnišče, katerega pripadajoča naselbina sicer še ni bila odkrita, leži v neposredni bližini rimske ceste, ki je povezovala Emono in Akvilejo (Tratnik 2018, 6). Podobno se predvideva za še neodkrito naselbino, katere prebivalci so pokopavali na grobišču v ljubljanskih Dravljah. Ta naj bi nastala v predelu zunaj Emone in nadzorovala bližnje cestno križišče (Slabe 1975, 93). Pomembno strateško lego je imel tudi Karnij (Kranj), ki je bil v poznoantičnem obdobju najpomembnejša naselbina na današnjem slovenskem ozemlju. Gre za naravno dobro utrjeno naselbino, ki je nedvomno nadzorovala cesto in prehod čez reko Savo v neposredni bližini. Pri Mirnu, Dravljah in Kranju gre torej, vsaj glede na njihovo lego, za naselbine, katerih vloga je bila verjetno izrazito dominantna. Vsaj del prebivalstva, ki je pokopavalo na omenjenih treh grobiščih, se na podlagi grobnih pridatkov že od samih začetkov izkopavanj povezuje z germanskimi prišleki oziroma vojaško elito. V primeru Mirna in Dravelj se na podlagi materialne kulture sklepa predvsem na prisotnost Vzhodnih Gotov (Tratnik, Karo 2018, 77; Slabe 1975, 80), medtem ko naj bi bila etnična sestava Karnija še bolj raznolika. Tu naj bi ob romaniziranem staroselskem prebivalstvu živeli tudi Vzhodni Goti in Langobardi, nekateri predmeti pa imajo primerjave tudi na naselitvenih območjih Frankov in Alemanov (Werner 1962, 121–130; Bierbrauer 1984, 57–58; Vinski 1980; Knific, Lux 2015, 31). Čeprav so tovrstne etnične opredelitve na podlagi pridatkov v grobovih izredno problematične (Jones 1997; Brather 2002; 2017; Rummel 2007; Pohl 2010; Halsall 2011), se zdi upravičeno trditi, da je prostor današnje Slovenije v času pozne antike naseljevalo kulturno precej raznoliko prebivalstvo, oziroma lahko na podlagi grobov iz Lajha predvidevamo vsaj raznolikost elite. V primeru Dravelj, Mirna in Lajha gre za skupnosti, ki so imele stike z različnimi deli Evrope ter dostop do luksuznih dobrin, ki so si jih pripadniki tamkajšnjih elit v skladu z lastnimi pogrebnimi običaji lahko privoščili tudi zakopati v grob.

Dober primer raznolikosti prebivalstva, včasih tudi na majhnem območju, sta razmeroma sočasni grobišči v Kranju na območjih Lajha in Iskre, ki ju ločuje le reka Sava. Grobišče Iskra (Sagadin 1987), datirano v 6. st., bi morda lahko pripadalo za zdaj še neodkriti naselbini na desnem bregu reke, čeprav ne gre izključiti niti možnosti, da bi šlo za prebivalstvo Karnija, ki zaradi takšnih ali drugačnih razlogov ni pokopavalo na Lajhu. Pokojnike so na grobišču Iskra pokopavali s precej manjšim številom ter drugimi vrstami pridatkov kot tiste na Lajhu, prav tako se tu redkeje pojavljajo predmeti, izdelani iz dragocenih materialov. Te razlike grobišče Iskra jasno ločujejo od Lajha, Dravelj in Mirna, zato se zdi upravičeno, da ga uvrstimo v drugo skupino analiziranih grobišč, kamor bi po podobnostih lahko uvrstili tudi nekoliko zgodnejše grobišče na Ajdovskem gradcu pri Vranju (Petru, Ulbert 1975), datirano v čas od poznega 4. do konca 5. st. Materialna kultura je bila v obeh primerih sorodna, čeprav po številu razmeroma skromna. Zanju je značilno pogostejše pojavljanje zapestnic in uhanov ter redkeje pasnih spon. Fibul med pridatki ni bilo, so pa v tej skupini grobišč zabeleženi pokopi s keramičnimi lončki, a so ti zelo redki. Sorodnost omenjenih grobišč je vidna tudi v kamnitih grobnih konstrukcijah. Te se sicer razmeroma pogosto pojavljajo tudi na Lajhu, a so imeli tamkajšnji grobovi, vključeni v našo raziskavo, le lesene grobne konstrukcije. Drugače od Kranja – Iskre, kjer so bili grobovi obdani ali obloženi večinoma s prodniki, so grobne konstrukcije na Vranju narejene po večini iz skal. V obeh primerih se zdi, da bi hkrati s posnemanjem stare rimske tradicije pokopavanja v sarkofagih pri grobnih konstrukcijah lahko šlo tudi za neideološke vzroke, saj bi na obeh grobiščih grobne konstrukcije vsaj delno lahko pojasnili tudi kot posledico vkopavanja grobov v geološko podlago, ki jo na grobišču Iskra sestavljajo prodnati rečni nanosi, na Vranju pa grobe skale. Višinska utrjena naselbina Ajdovski gradec nad Vranjem je imela v nasprotju s Kranjem izrazito odmaknjeno lego stran od pomembnejših cest. Potencialno bi v to drugo skupino grobišč lahko uvrstili tudi Vrajk v Gorenjem Mokronogu (Bavec 2003), datiran v čas od konca 6. do začetka 7. st., saj sta bila tako grobišče kot njemu pripadajoča naselbina Grad na nekoliko odmaknjeni, višinski lokaciji, z grobiščem Iskra v Kranju pa ga poleg sorodne materialne kulture povezuje še domnevna prisotnost cerkve. Čeprav temelji, odkriti na severnem delu grobišča Iskra, morda niso ostanki prvotne, poznoantične cerkve, pa je Milan Sagadin (1987, 66) mnenja, da je ta stala na istem mestu. Podobno je bilo zabeleženo tudi na Vrajku, če sprejmemo interpretacijo Uroša Bavca (2003), da stojke ovalne stavbe v jugozahodnem delu grobišča dejansko predstavljajo ostanek poznoantične cerkve. Na Ajdovskem gradcu nad Vranjem sta bili dve cerkvi, vendar pa sta stali znotraj naselbine, medtem ko je bilo grobišče zunaj obzidja ob domnevni dohodni poti. Omeniti je treba, da je grobišče datirano v pozno 4. in 5. st., medtem ko naj bi bili cerkvi postavljeni šele v poznem 5. st. (Knific, Nabergoj 2016, 29), zato sočasnost ni povsem zanesljiva. Pri populacijah z grobišč Iskra, Vrajk in Vranje lahko torej najverjetneje pričakujemo močan vpliv krščanstva, ki pa ga v tem formativnem obdobju gotovo zaznamujeta še velika raznolikost ter sinkretizem poganskih in krščanskih elementov. Prebivalstvo, ki je pokopavalo na grobiščih druge skupine, bi na podlagi materialne kulture morda lahko označili pretežno za romanizirane staroselce, katerih pogrebni rituali so sicer bolj neenotni kot tisti v prvi skupini grobišč, a kljub temu kažejo podobnosti. Pridatki v grobovih druge skupine grobišč so manj številni ter izdelani predvsem iz železa in brona (*sl. 9*), kar kaže, da to prebivalstvo ni imelo dostopa do predmetov iz dragocenih materialov ali pa teh, morda v skladu z *romanitas*, niso prilagali v grobove. Za potrditev oziroma izključitev te druge možnosti bi bila potrebna primerjava materialne kulture grobišč in pripadajočih naselbin. Na Ajdovskem gradcu pri Vranju gre pri naselbinskih in grobiščnih najdbah za primerljive predmete, medtem ko naselbina, ki ji je pripadalo grobišče Iskra v Kranju, še ni znana, slabo raziskana in neobjavljena pa ostaja tudi naselbina Grad v Gorenjem Mokronogu, ki ji je pripadalo grobišče na Vrajku.

Grobišče Bled – Pristava I (Knific 1983) zaznamujejo številne posebnosti in ga ne moremo uvrstiti v nobeno skupino tu obravnavanih grobišč. Tam so nehali pokopavati domnevno najpozneje, in sicer šele v prvi tretjini 7. st. Materialna kultura je podobna kot na drugih analiziranih grobiščih, vendar pa je v tem primeru mogoče opaziti odsotnost germanskih elementov in veliko pogostejše pojavljanje uhanov in zapestnic, kar Pristavo umešča bolj v krog druge skupine grobišč. Ti predmeti, sicer značilni za ženske grobove, se na Pristavi I občasno pojavljajo tudi v grobovih, ki so bili z antropološko analizo opredeljeni kot moški. Nasprotno pa se na Pristavi I predmeti, kot sta nož in pinceta, ki so na preostalih grobiščih bolj značilni za moške, tu pogosteje pojavljajo v ženskih pokopih. Prav tako je bila na Pristavi I ugotovljena nekoliko drugačna obravnava otrok, sploh najmlajših, saj so v njihovih grobovih pridatki, medtem ko jih na drugih grobiščih po večini nimajo. Tu je bil tudi precej velik delež skupinskih pokopov, v katerih se pojavljajo predvsem otroci in starejši, kar prav tako kaže na številne paralele med starostnima skupinama. Tudi po razmeroma majhnem številu pridatkov v grobovih *(sl. 9)* in nekoliko odmaknjeni legi še neraziskane naselbine na blejski grajski vzpetini je grobišče Pristava I sicer v večini ozirov bolj podobno drugi skupini grobišč, torej Iskri, Vranju in morda Vrajku, tudi to grobišče pa je pripisano romaniziranemu staroselskemu prebivalstvu.

SKLEP

Na obravnavanih poznoantičnih grobiščih so se pokazale skupne značilnosti, povezane s starostjo in spolom pokojnikov, kar je seveda povezano tudi s samo metodo soočenja namernih in funkcionalnih podatkov. Za najpremožnejše so se izkazali grobovi oseb, ki so umrle v mladosti ali zgodnji odraslosti, kar se kaže v večjem številu pridatkov in vrst pridatkov ter uporabi dragih materialov, poleg tega pa tudi v pogostejšem pojavljanju lesenih ali kamnitih grobnih konstrukcij in globljih grobnih jamah. Veliko število pridatkov in pojavljanje dragih materialov sta še posebej značilni za ženske, kar, sodeč po sočasnih pisnih virih, morda odraža velik pomen ženske za skupnost, ki je povezan s sklepanjem zavezništev s poroko in rojevanjem otrok. Vsekakor se zdi, da je v večini primerov smrt mlade odrasle osebe za družbo pomenila velik šok in je privedla do potrebe po njenem preoblikovanju. Slednje je morda tudi argument za to, da so grobovi starejših v primerjavi med opazovanimi kategorijami manj premožni, kar se podobno kot pri otrocih zrcali v manjšem številu grobnih pridatkov, redki uporabi dragih materialov in plitvejših grobnih jamah. Obe skupini sicer povezuje tudi pogosto pojavljanje v skupinskih pokopih. Po spolu je bilo mogoče razločiti ženski in moški grobni sestav, nekateri pridatki pa se pojavljajo pri obeh in so zato označeni kot spolno nevtralni. Ti so pogosto zabeleženi tudi v grobovih otrok, v katerih so včasih pridani tudi predmeti, ki jih sicer povezujemo z ženskami. Kot zanimiv pridatek v moških grobovih se je izkazalo kresilo, v ženskih pa vretence. Pojavljata se namreč skoraj izključno v grobovih oseb, ki so umrle v mladostniški dobi ali zgodnji odraslosti, in sicer večinoma v pokopih, ki jih glede na ocene premožnosti označujemo za bogate. Zdi se torej, da jih v kontekstu poznoantičnih grobišč lahko označimo za simbolne pridatke. Vretenca so pogosto obravnavana z vidika simbolike in mitologije, povezuje pa se jih predvsem s prerano smrtjo, usodo in plodnostjo. Tovrstne obravnave kresil so precej redkejše, njihov pomen v kontekstu grobov pa še nekoliko bolj izmuzljiv. Morda bi njihovo povezavo z ognjem lahko razložili kot simbolno razsvetljevanje posmrtnega življenja.

Večina analiziranih grobov ustreza omenjenim značilnostim, vendar pa nam ključne podatke posredujejo tudi tisti grobovi, ki od teh norm odstopajo. Pri takšnih grobovih gre morda računati z aspekti identitete, ki niso neposredno povezani z življenjskim ciklom, temveč izražajo neke druge dejavnike, ki vplivajo na posameznikov položaj v družbi. Ti dejavniki so nedvomno večplastni ter povezani s statusom posameznika in njegove družine; ta je lahko pridobljen ali prirojen, povezan z ekonomsko močjo, pravnim položajem, resničnim ali namišljenim poreklom, etničnostjo, vero ali povsem simbolnimi aspekti, ki danes morda sploh niso več razpoznavni ali razumljivi. Dober primer tega so redki otroški grobovi z večjim številom pridatkov, vključno s tistimi iz dragocenih materialov. Pri teh lahko verjetno sklepamo o visokem družbenem položaju, ki je bil glede na mladost pokojnika najverjetneje deden.

Kljub temu velja na tej točki poudariti, da ni nujno, da so vsi poznoantični prebivalci današnjega slovenskega ozemlja sploh želeli izražati družbeni položaj v kontekstu pokopa in da ta morda ni bil izražen skozi opazovane kategorije. Upoštevati je namreč treba, da se *romanitas* načeloma ne kaže v bogatih pokopih in da nam lahko podatke o družbenem položaju pokojnika posreduje tudi lokacija pokopa. To v kontekstu obravnavanih grobišč sicer ni bilo ugotovljeno, izjema je le nekoliko pogostejše pojavljanje otrok ob robovih ali poteh skozi grobišče. Zato bi bilo v nadaljnje analize koristno vključiti tudi pokope v cerkvah, ki so pri nas predvsem del višinskih naselbin.

Pri preučevanju grobov je problematično, da se v arheologiji srečujemo le z drobcem pogrebnega rituala, ki je gotovo odseval različne, spreminjajoče in prekrivajoče se vidike pokojnikove identitete, hkrati pa tudi interese in ambicije tistih, ki so ga pokopali. Ker gre pri pokopu za simbolni kontekst, ki ga zaradi časovne in kulturne oddaljenosti le s težavo razumemo, je nujno, da pri njegovem preučevanju arheološkim ostankom dodamo nove informacije. Pri tem nam je, kot je bilo prikazano pri analizi poznoantičnega pogrebnega rituala, lahko v veliko pomoč metoda soočenja namernih in funkcionalnih podatkov, ki nam omogoča raziskovanje ritualne in slabo poznane narave pokopov skozi objektivne kategorije osteoloških analiz. Pri tem je treba opozoriti, da se večino časa ukvarjamo z biološkimi opredelitvami, ki nimajo nujno neposredne povezave s kulturnimi opredelitvami obravnavane družbe. Da bi se pri preučevanju grobov izognili vrtenju v krogih, se torej zdi koristna vpeljava neodvisnih podatkov. Pri tem nam lahko o življenju pokojnika veliko pove fizična antropologija, pomembno vlogo pa imajo tudi genetske raziskave in analize izotopov, ki nam lahko posredujejo nove informacije o prehrani, mobilnosti in družinskih povezavah (Amorim *et al.* 2018; Csáky *et al.* 2020).

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Late Antique Social Structure: the Cemeteries in Slovenia

Summary

Burials are complex ritual contexts that provide us with valuable information on the social structure of past societies. Given the relative paucity of documentary sources this is particularly relevant when studying Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. However, burials can, at best, convey an indirect and distorted reflection of the identity of the deceased, which is understood to be multi-layered and context specific. The purpose of this article, based on the author's master's thesis (Pavletič 2018), is to explore which elements of social structure are displayed in graves from late antiquity, how they are displayed and for what reason. While the graves were initially analysed in the context of each individual cemetery (included in Pavletič 2018), this article mostly deals with combined data from all seven cemeteries.

METHODOLOGY

The main methodological approach chosen for this study is the comparative analysis of intentional and functional data, developed by Heinrich Härke (1993; 1994; 1997). Härke describes late antique and early medieval graves, which are the result of largely unknown burial rituals, as "distorted mirrors of life". In his opinion it is an archaeologist's task to recognize the distortions and attempt to explain them. To this purpose, Härke proposes the comparison of two distinct sets of data which were produced during the burial ritual: intentional data (type of burial, grave structure, position of the body, grave goods, etc.), which were influenced by the people conducting the burial, and functional data (sex, age, height, epigenetic markers, etc.), of which society had no control over and were thus unbiased. The other approach used in the analysis is the symbolic or contextual approach which regards burials as symbolic deposits; these in turn need to be investigated in their own context (Pader 1980). Firstly, the context of the grave was explored by observing the position of the body and the grave goods. Secondly, individual graves were studied within the context of the cemetery. Finally, data from all the cemeteries was combined for the purpose of a unified analysis. Even though the combined data represents an arbitrary context, its analysis should provide valuable insight into late antique burial rituals and ways in which they reflected the contemporary social structure. The burial sites were analysed using the geographic information system Qgis and the main analysis was carried out using a database created specifically for this study.

The burial sites dating from the 5th to the middle of the 7th century AD were selected for the study based on the availability of the osteological analysis, required for the comparative analysis of intentional and functional data. The initial goal was to analyse all late antique cemeteries in Slovenia meeting this criterion. However, some cemeteries, belonging to multiple archaeological periods, had to be excluded due to the impossibility of separating the burials into their respective time periods. Altogether, 244 graves from seven late antique cemeteries dating from the 5th to the middle of the 7th century AD were analysed: Ljubljana – **Dravlje**[1] (Slabe 1975; Pogačnik, Tomazzo-Ravnik 1975; Leskovar, Županek 2020), Kranj – Križišče **Iskra** (Sagadin 1987; Tomazzo-Ravnik 1987), Kranj – **Lajh** (Stare 1980; Podobnik 2016; Leben-Seljak 2004; 2014 unpublished, listed in Podobnik 2016, 21), **Miren** near Nova Gorica (Tratnik, Karo 2018; Leben-Seljak 2018), **Pristava I** in Bled (Knific 1983; Škerlj 1953; Leben-Seljak 1996), Ajdovski gradec above **Vranje** near Sevnica (Petru, Ulbert 1975; Orožen-Adamič *et al*. 1975) and **Vrajk** in Gorenji Mokronog (Bavec 2003; Leben-Seljak 2003) (*Tab. 1*; *Fig. 1*).

Since osteological analysis was required, the number of cemeteries and graves available for our study was very limited. Particularly problematic was the fact that the number of graves with sufficient data at some sites (Lajh, Vrajk and Miren) was inadequate for relevant statistical analyses. It is worth noting that larger sites such as Pristava I and Dravlje had a considerably stronger impact on the results. Chronologic and to some extend geographic deviation between the sites is also potentially problematic. Nonetheless, it is believed that the undertaken analysis of the chosen sites provides us with important insight into the diverse structure of late antique society in the territory of modern day Slovenia.

RESULTS

The analyses have shown a similar structure of the population regarding sex and age at the time of death in all of the studied cemeteries (*Tab. 2*). Children's graves represent 22.1% of all graves (*Fig. 2*), which is low in light of the expected child mortality, estimated at 30-50% for pre-industrial populations. This could be due to the fact that the skeletal remains of children are more prone to decay than that of the adults, however, it seems more likely to indicate differential treatment. An aspect of this might be the fact that children were generally buried in shallower grave cuts and thus their graves were more likely to be destroyed by later activities, or that some children were not buried in cemeteries with older individuals. Particularly prominent is the almost complete absence of new-borns and infants until the first year of age.

Burials of children display many similarities to graves of mature and elderly individuals, appearing modest in comparison to the rest of the population. A large proportion of their graves contains no grave goods; furthermore, the grave goods that are present are few and only exceptionally made of precious materials (*Figs. 4, 6c, 7, 8*). Moreover, the variety of grave goods in this group is smaller and stone grave structures employed less frequently, while multiple burials appear more often than in the adult group. The latter might be a consequence of the deficiency of the immune system of both children and the elderly, making them more prone to succumb to infectious diseases. Particularly in the case of children, it may also be a sign of their ritual vulnerability which would make their burial with an adult or elderly person preferable. Both children and the elderly were often buried with goods considered to be gender neutral such as belt buckles and bone combs, while gender specific objects appear less frequently. This indicates that messages linked to gender were perhaps not as relevant for children and older members of society or, alternatively, that they were not relevant in the context of the burial ritual. Children were occasionally buried with typically female objects, which could mean that gender was recognized in girls early on, or that children were understood as an extension of the mother.

In age groups juvenis and above, it is possible to observe two gender-specific sets of grave goods; jewellery made of glass and amber beads, brooches, rings, earrings, needles, spindle whorls and glass containers in female graves, while the males were provided with fire strikers, scissors, awls, pottery and in one case a sword. Gender neutral objects such as belt buckles, knives and combs were observed in both.

There is a disproportionally higher mortality of women in groups juvenis and adultus, particularly adultus I (*Fig. 3*), which can most likely be linked to a high death rate due to complications con-

[1] In the following text only the bold part of the site name is used.

nected to childbirth. In these age groups, graves appear to be the wealthiest. A large proportion of deceased were buried with grave goods and the latter were, on average, present in larger numbers (*Figs. 4, 5, 8*); they were also more varied and more often made of precious materials such as amber, silver, gold and precious stones (*Fig. 7*). Moreover, these graves also had deeper grave cuts and stone structures appear more frequently. While both male and female graves in groups juvenis and adults were, on average, wealthier, this is particularly evident in the case of females (*Figs. 6a, 6b*). The wealth present in the graves of these young women, which is characteristic for Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon burials as well, should, as many authors have suggested, not be seen as an actual distribution of wealth and power, but of the stress a society faced when a young woman died. Based on contemporary literary sources from other parts of Europe we can assume that a woman's value lay in the ability to bear children and form connections and alliances by marriage. Men tend to have fewer grave goods than women, but the average is higher with juvenis and adultus groups than with older individuals. The high average in the male juvenis group is the consequence of one particularly rich grave, 6/2004 from Lajh in Kranj, which contained 20 grave goods, since there were only three graves in the group.

Unlike in the case of the death of a young adult, the death of children and elders would most likely not require a considerable restructuring of society. This can be a factor in explaining the relative paucity of their graves. We can see it as an indication of lower social status, however, it is also possible that various aspects of identity usually reflected in graves were simply not as relevant in burials of elders and children.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ANALYSED CEMETERIES

The differences and similarities between the analysed cemeteries enabled us to divide these into three distinct groups. The cemeteries Lajh, Dravlje and Miren belong to the first group, characterised by the large proportion of graves goods which are also often made of precious materials (*Fig. 9*). Some of these grave goods, such as S-brooches, radiate-head brooches and weapons, are traditionally linked to Germanic peoples. With some individuals, an intentional deformation of the skull has also been noted, a practice believed to have foreign, that is non-Roman roots. Furthermore, these cemeteries all belonged to settlements, likely intended to control the movement of people due to their dominant locations in the vicinity of important roads. On the other hand, the Iskra cemetery was located just across the Sava river from Lajh, however, it belongs to the second group of cemeteries. At Iskra, people were often buried with bracelets and earrings typical for the "Romanic" cemeteries. Similar grave goods were also found at the cemeteries at Vrajk and Vranje, hilltop settlements in more remote locations. A low average number of grave goods is typical for all three of these cemeteries and objects found in graves were only rarely made of precious materials. Archaeological finds from Vrajk and Iskra indicate the likely existence of a church in the vicinity of the cemetery, and at Vranje, two churches were found in the nearby settlement. It is believed that cemeteries of the second group belonged to a Romanised autochthonous population. Pristava I, the latest of the analysed cemeteries, shows many similarities to Vrajk, Vranje and Iskra. This is reflected in similar grave goods, recorded in small, albeit slightly higher numbers than in the second group of cemeteries; here too, items deposited in graves were rarely made of precious materials, although the material of all the small finds from Pristava I is currently unknown. The distinctive feature of Pristava I were the multiple inhumations which were far more frequent than in the other cemeteries. They represent 14.3% of burials at Pristava I, and are almost negligible at the other cemeteries, which, along with other small differences, puts Pristava I into the third group of analysed cemeteries.

CONCLUSION

Despite the differences between the cemeteries, the majority of analysed graves displayed a similar reasoning behind the burial ritual which had a strong connection with the age and sex of the deceased. It is worth noting that this conclusion is linked to the methods we used. Some graves, however, deviate from the above mentioned norms and thus appear to display aspects of identity not directly connected to the life cycle. These aspects are multi-layered and reflect the status of the deceased or their family which could have been either gained or hereditary, linked to their economic power, legal standing, real or invented ancestry, ethnicity, religion or some other aspects that we are unable to understand today. An example of such deviation are uncommonly rich children's graves that indicate a high and most likely hereditary status.

However, it is possible that not all the people inhabiting this area in late antiquity aspired to display their status in the context of a burial ritual. Similarly, status might not have been displayed through the categories we observed. It should be noted that *romanitas* is generally not projected through a burial rich with grave goods. Rather, we can gain meaningful insight about one's social standing based on the location of their burial. This was not observed in the analysed cemeteries with the exception of a slight concentration of child burials at the edge or next to the paths leading through the cemeteries. To this purpose, it would be prudent for future studies to include burials inside churches which are, in Slovenia, mostly present in hilltop settlements.

When studying graves, we are faced with only a fragment of the burial ritual which conveyed different, overlapping and to some extend fluid aspects of the deceased's identity, as well as the interests and ambitions of those who performed the burial. We are dealing with complex deposits, rich with symbols which are chronologically distant and culturally remote, and thus often difficult to interpret. It is therefore useful to enhance our understanding with objective information such as the sex and age of the deceased as proposed by the comparative analysis of intentional and functional data. Physical anthropology thus represents a useful addition to archaeological data; furthermore, in the future, we can expect to gain even more information from genetic and isotopic analyses which provide an important insight into the diet, mobility and kinship structures.

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Stratigrafsko najstarejši zgodnjesrednjeveški grobovi in začetek pokopavanja na grobišču Župna cerkev v Kranju

Stratigraphically lowest early medieval graves and beginnings of burial in the Župna cerkev cemetery in Kranj (Slovenia)

Jernej RIHTER

Izvleček

Članek se ukvarja z analizo grobov, izkopanih pri Župni cerkvi v Kranju, ki so bili na podlagi dosedanjih raziskav opredeljeni kot najstarejši na tem grobišču. Za takšne so bili do zdaj opredeljeni grobovi (večinoma) brez pridatkov, ki so bili globoko vkopani v prostorne in med seboj pravilno razmeščene grobne jame, obložene s kamni oz. lesom in orientirane proti vzhodu. Posamezne skupine takšnih grobov, izkopanih do leta 1984, so bile na podlagi arheoloških primerjav datirane v konec 7. in v 8. st.

Analiza stratigrafije grobov celotnega grobišča, v katero smo vključili tudi ugotovitve poznejših izkopavanj in pregled zgodovine raziskav, pokažejo, da pri grobovih, do zdaj opredeljenih kot najstarejših, ni šlo vselej za stratigrafsko najstarejše grobove in da so bile med nekaterimi tudi superpozicije.

V prispevku skušamo ugotoviti čas začetka pokopavanja na podlagi starih in novih kronoloških podatkov (relativna kronologija grobov in tipokronologija). Za izbrane stratigrafsko najstarejše grobove na tem grobišču prvič prinašamo radiokarbonske datacije (^{14}C), ki smo jih časovno zožili z datacijami stratigrafsko mlajših grobov s predmeti. Obravnavani grobovi se po gradnji groba ločijo na dve skupini. Pokopavanje se je začelo najverjetneje v 8. st., pred letom 774/775 (^{14}C) s prvo skupino, z možnim trajanjem vse do začetka pokopavanja druge skupine. Druga skupina grobov ni starejša od leta 774 in se je začela že pred začetkom 9. st. ali najpozneje takrat.

Ključne besede: Slovenija; grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju; zgodnji srednji vek; stratigrafija; naglavni obročki; materialna kultura; ^{14}C; kronologija

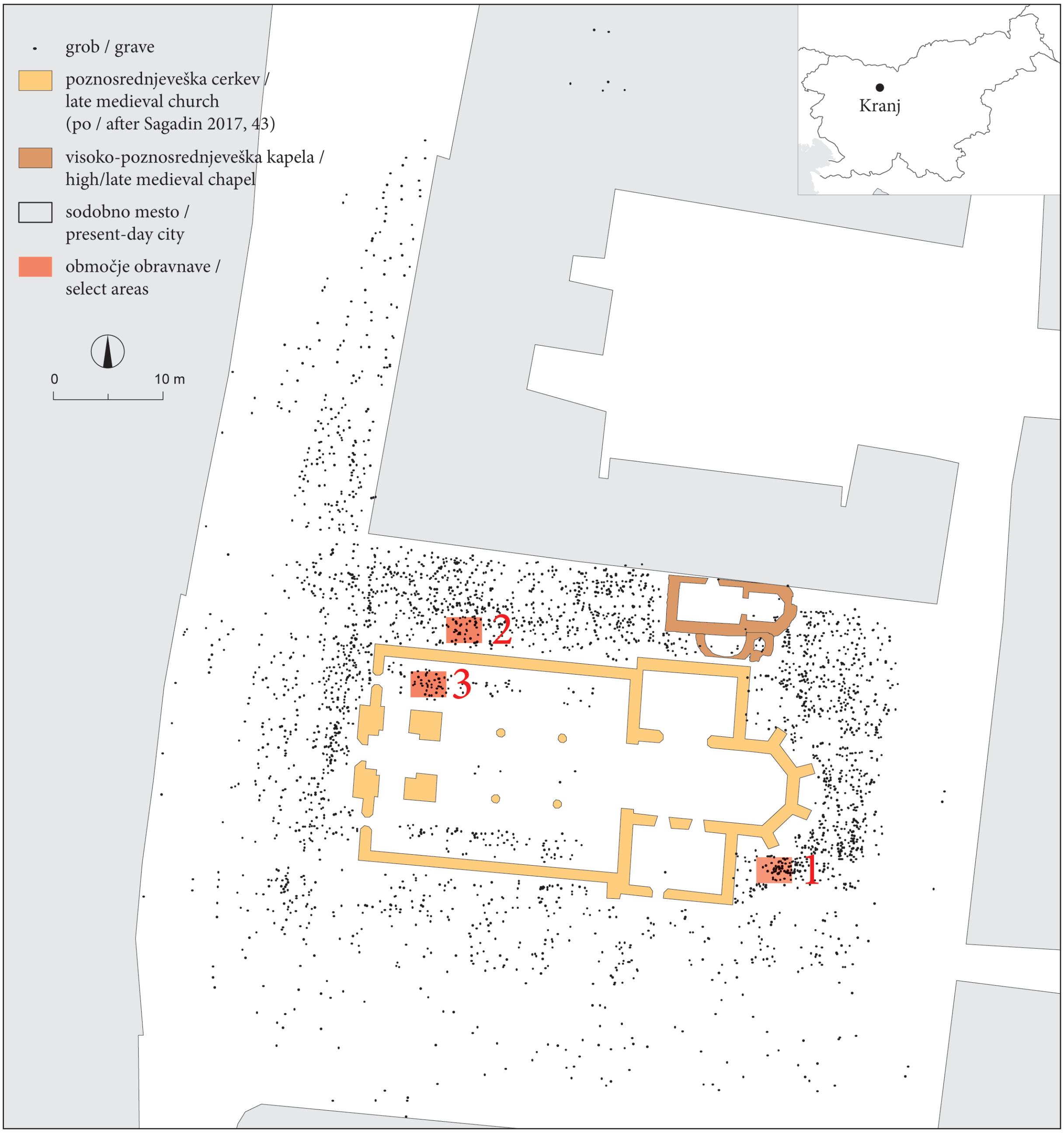
Abstract

The contribution discusses the earliest burials of the Župna cerkev cemetery in Kranj. Past research revealed that these were located at regular distances from one another and characterised by deep and spacious pits with an east-west orientation, wooden structures and/or stone lining and inhumation burials mostly without grave goods. Individual groups of these graves excavated up to 1984 were dated to the late 7th and the 8th century based on a comparative archaeological analysis.

The recent stratigraphic analysis of the whole investigated cemetery, which took into account the later excavations and the past research, has shown that the graves previously interpreted as earliest were not always stratigraphically lowest, some were superimposed on one another.

This contribution attempts to establish the beginnings of burial by using both old and new chronological data (relative chronology of graves and typo-chronology). ^{14}C dates are published, for the first time, for select stratigraphically lowest graves. Using stratigraphically later burials with grave goods, these dates are narrowed and form two successive groups. Burial in the Župna cerkev cemetery thus most likely began in the 8th century, before 774/775 (^{14}C), with the first group possibly lasting to the first graves of the second group. The latter do not predate 774 and begin prior to or in the 9th century at the latest.

Keywords: Slovenia; Župna cerkev cemetery in Kranj; early medieval period; stratigraphy; head circlets; material culture; ^{14}C; chronology

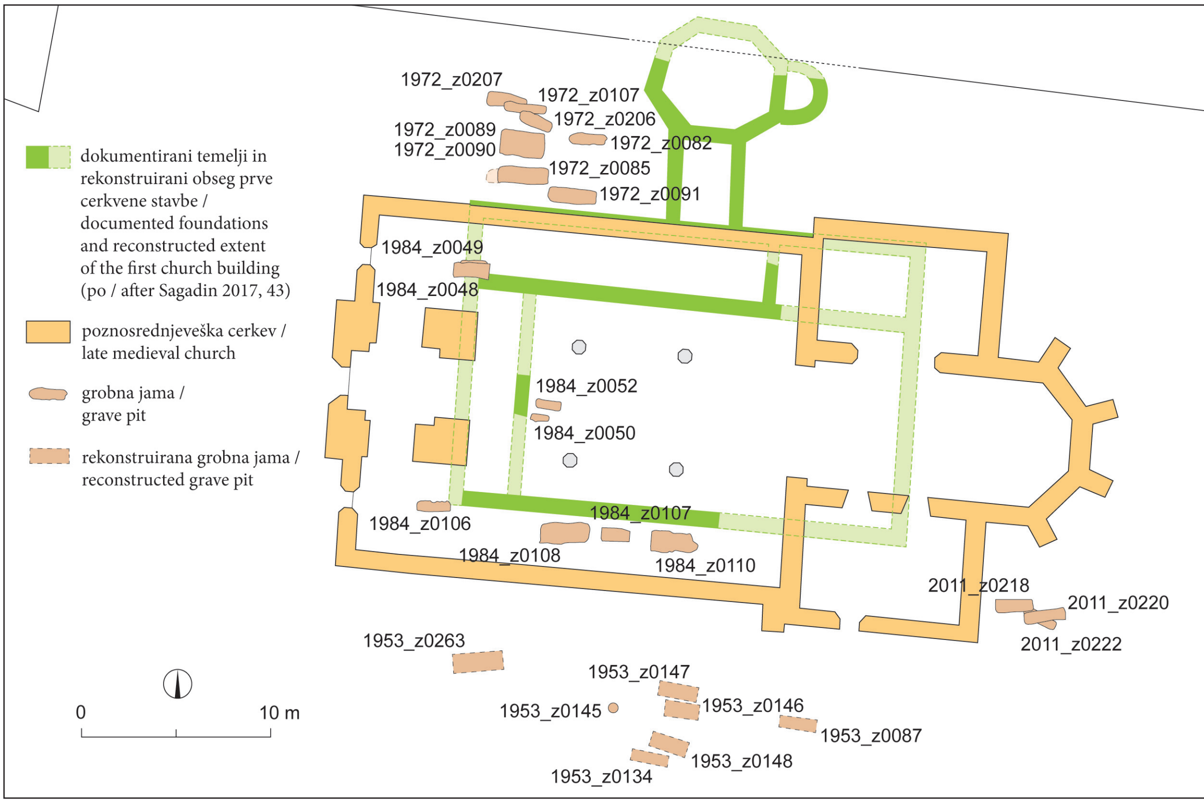


Sl. 1: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Načrt grobišča z označenimi območji obravnave 1–3 (Vir: OIAS 35, 36, 37; EMIAS 5–6, EMIAS 12; Prostorska podatkovna zbirka grobišča Župna Cerkev v Kranju, hrani: ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo).
Fig. 1: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Plan of the site with marked Areas 1–3 (source: OIAS 35, 36, 37; EMIAS 5–6, EMIAS 12; Prostorska podatkovna zbirka grobišča Župna Cerkev v Kranju, kept in: ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archaeology).

1 UVOD

Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju (v nadaljevanju Župna cerkev) je največje v vzhodnih Alpah in sodi med največja tudi v srednji Evropi (*sl. 1*). Med letoma 1953 in 2013 je bila izkopana večina grobišča (OIAS 35, 37, 38; Urankar, Bešter 2014). Grobišče ima 2943 arheološko izkopanih in kataloško objavljenih grobov (OIAS 35, 37, 38). Trenutna ocena je, da je vsaj tretjina teh zgodnjesrednjeveških. Stratigrafija (Rihter 2020) in materialni ostanki (Pleterski 2013b, 40) ter zgodovinski viri (Žontar 1982, 280) kažejo na neprekinjeno pokopavanje med 8. in koncem 18. st. na istem razmeroma omejenem prostoru (Rihter 2020) ob cerkvenih stavbah iz različnih obdobij (Sagadin 1991; *id*. 2017; *id*. 2020).

V zadnjem desetletju so bile opravljene intenzivne analize arhiva dokumentacije, arheoloških



Sl. 2: Kranj, grobišče Župna Cerkev. Načrt sedanje in predlagane najstarejše cerkvene stavbe (po Sagadin 2017) ter lega podrobneje obravnavanih grobov (Vir: EMIAS 6; OIAS 35, 36, 37; EMIAS 12; Prostorska podatkovna zbirka grobišča Župna Cerkev v Kranju, hrani: ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo).
Fig. 2: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Plan showing the present-day and the presumably earliest church buildings (from Sagadin 2017), as well as the locations of the graves discussed in the contribution (source: EMIAS 6; OIAS 35, 36, 37; EMIAS 12; Prostorska podatkovna zbirka grobišča Župna Cerkev v Kranju, kept in: ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archaeology).

najdb, antropoloških ostankov in arheoloških kontekstov (EMIAS 1, 2, 4–7, 12; Urankar, Bešter 2014; Šlaus *et al.* 2015a; *eid.* 2015b). Izdelani so bili znanstveno-kritični katalogi grobov (OIAS 35, 37 in 38), stratigrafija grobov in nekaterih drugih elementov grobišča, predvsem različnih zidov, deloma raztresenih najdb, posameznih kamnov, tlakov, jam, ognjišč ipd., ter tipokronologija zgodnjesrednjeveških naglavnih obročkov in prstanov (Rihter 2020).

Trenutno stanje raziskav grobišča omogoča premik od študij posameznih grobov in predmetov k celoviti arheološki analizi in interpretaciji grobišča, katere del je tudi ta prispevek.

V prispevku raziskujemo čas začetka pokopavanja na grobišču Župna cerkev v luči novih relativnih in absolutnih datacij grobov. Začetek pokopavanja je eno ključnih vprašanj, s katerim sta se na podlagi grobov in stavbnih ostankov, odkritih pred letom 2011, najvidneje ukvarjala Andrej Valič (1975; *id.* 1978; *id.* 1991a; *id.* 1991b) in predvsem Milan Sagadin – ta je poznavanje problematike v več razpravah (Sagadin 1985b; *id.* 1991; *id.* 2008; *id.* 2017; *id.* 2020) postavil na raven, ki omogoča dobro izhodišče za nadaljnje raziskave.

Ni dvoma, da je za razreševanje vprašanja o začetku pokopavanja ključno uspešno prepoznavanje in datiranje stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov, ki so na tem grobišču večinoma brez pridatkov. Dosedanje raziskovanje je bilo osredotočeno na globoko vkopane grobove s kamnitimi in/ali lesenimi grobnimi konstrukcijami v prostornih grobnih jamah ter na njihovo prostorsko ureditev in odnose z ostanki zidanih zgradb in njihovih rekonstruiranih potekov (Valič 1975; *id.* 1991a; Sagadin 1991; *id.* 2017). Tovrstni grobovi so zaradi opisanih lastnosti jasno odstopali od relativno mlajših zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov, ki takšnih konstrukcij grobnih jam niso imeli ali pa so bile zelo redke (gl. *pogl. 2*). Zaradi pomanjkljivih objav starejših izkopavanj (Sagadin 1991, 34; *id.* 2017, 47) in stratigrafije so bile te raziskave osredotočene na rezultate posameznih izkopavalnih kampanj, predvsem tistih iz let 1972 in 1984, objav grobov zadnjih izkopavanj (2011–2013) pa še ni bilo na voljo. Med zadnjimi izkopavanji (2011–2013), ki so zajela celoten danes dostopen areal grobišča zunaj cerkve, so bili odkriti številni novi grobovi, raziskani so bili s stratigrafsko metodo (Urankar, Bešter 2014). Med njimi so za našo raziskavo pomembni globoko vkopani grobovi brez pridatkov, odkriti na območjih, ki so že bila raziskana v kampanjah pred letom 1973. Eno izmed trenutnih vprašanj je, koliko so pravzaprav ti grobovi stari. Dodatno smo v dokumentaciji starejših izkopavanj odkrili doslej podrobneje še neobravnavane grobove, ki po stratigrafiji in gradnji grobne jame prav tako sodijo med najstarejše grobove, kar potrjujejo tudi rezultati radiokarbonskega datiranja (gl. *pogl. 2*).

Vse to je narekovalo potrebo po ponovnem pregledu problematike stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov na podlagi analizirane stratigrafije grobov (Harrisov diagram) celotnega grobišča (Rihter 2020). Ta omogoča učinkovito prepoznavanje stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov na celotnem grobišču in tudi spremljanje stratigrafskih sekvenc mlajših grobov nad njimi, s katerimi je mogoče preverjati različne kronološke podatke, kot so značilno preširoki časovni razponi radiokarbonskih datacij okostij ali topografsko-kronološke in tipokronološke opredelitve grobov (gl. *pogl. 3*).

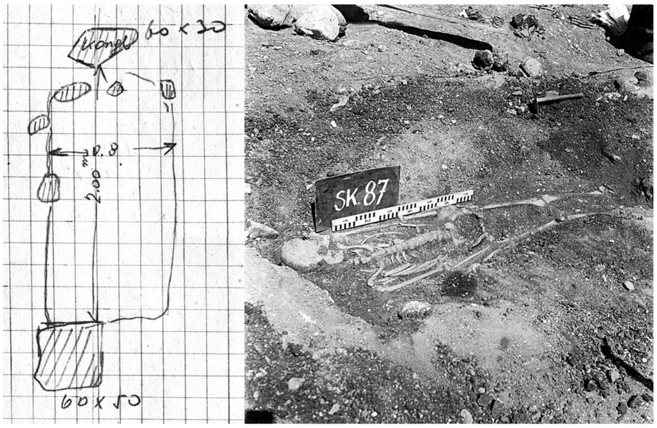
V nadaljevanju najprej predstavimo zgodovino raziskav najstarejših grobov pri Župni cerkvi s posebnim poudarkom na stratigrafiji in oblikah grobnih jam (gl. *pogl. 2*). Sledi opis splošnih in specifičnih izhodišč, ki omogočajo podrobnejšo kronološko analizo izbranih območij, to so stratigrafija, radiokarbonske datacije in veljavne tipokronologije (gl. *pogl. 3*). Zatem so predstavljena tri izbrana območja analize (*sl. 1, 2*, gl. *pogl. 4*). Ob koncu sledita povzetek rezultatov analiz z diskusijo (gl. *pogl. 5*) in sklep (gl. *pogl. 6*).

2 ZGODOVINA RAZISKAV NAJSTAREJŠIH GROBOV NA GROBIŠČU ŽUPNA CERKEV S POSEBNIM POUDARKOM NA ANALIZI STRATIGRAFIJE IN OBLIKAH GROBNIH JAM

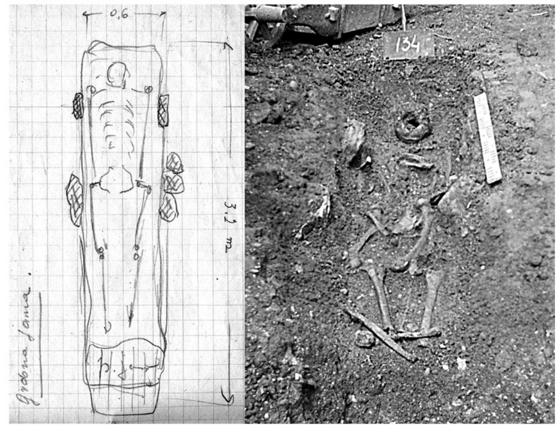
Naše vedenje o najstarejših grobovih z grobišča Župna cerkev se postopno dopolnjuje vse od prvih izkopavanj leta 1953 (npr. Kastelic 1960; Valič 1975; *id*. 1991b; pregled Sagadin 2017, 45–49; *id*. 2020, 16–17). Tedaj so južno od današnje cerkve prvič odkrili zelo globoko v ilovico vkopane grobove (*sl. 2, 3*). Med reprezentativna (najstarejša) so šteli grobova 1953_z0146 in 1953_z0147 (Kastelic 1960, sl. 3), ki sta bila brez pridatkov (OIAS 38, 90–92). Razen njunih prostornih in pravokotnih grobnih jam (dimenzije 1,8 × 0,77 m in 2,1 × 0,73 m) sledov grajenih grobnih konstrukcij niso odkrili (OIAS 38, 90–92). Prištevali so ju h grobovom "nižjega horizonta" (Kastelic 1960, sl. 3), niso pa jih datirali kot posebno skupino (Sagadin 2020, 16). Njuno stratigrafsko lego so v kontekstu metodologije arbitrarnih izkopavanj opisali kot "pod plastjo slovanskih grobov" (OIAS 38, 90–91; prim tudi OIAS 38, 65), čeprav neposredno nad grobom 1953_z0147 niso dokumentirali mlajših grobov (za prostorsko lego vseh tega leta izkopanih grobov gl. ZBIVA[1]). S tem so poudarili razliko teh (tipološko starejših) do plitveje in gosteje vkopanih grobov (prim. Kastelic 1960, sl. 2, 3), med katerimi so bile tudi relativno prostorne, deloma s kamni obložene grobne jame, vkopane v "plasti humusa", npr. grob 1953_z0134 (OIAS 38, 86), ter po drugi strani tudi do sicer globoko vkopanih in s kamni obloženih grobov, vendar z večjim številom pridatkov, npr. grob 1953_z0087 (OIAS 38, 70–71). Da se lahko relativno prostorne grobne jame, vkopane v "plast humusa" in obložene s kamni, pojavljajo – glede na pridatke – še tudi ob koncu 9. in v 10. st., jim je namreč kazal primer istega leta odkrit grob 1953_z0159 (OIAS 38, 97–98). Morda prav zato Kastelic te skupine grobov (na podlagi gradnje) ni datiral kot posebne. To najverjetneje kaže, da se je v določeni meri zavedal problematike časovnega opredeljevanja grobov na podlagi relativne globine in gradenj grobnih jam, večjo težo pa je pripisoval materialni kulturi. K "nižjemu horizontu" so tedaj prištevali še otroški grob 1953_z0145 (Kastelic 1960, sl. 4. a–b), ki je postal osnova za datiranje celotne skupine najstarejših grobov. Njegova relativna kronološka opredelitev ni temeljila na obliki grobne jame ali globini, saj so našli le kosti lobanje in ključnico (OIAS 38, 90), temveč na dataciji para srebrnih uhanov (naglavnih obročkov) z vertikalno nanizanimi votlimi jagodami (Kastelic 1960, 45–46, sl. 4 a–b). Ob tedanjem poznavanju materialne kulture predmetov nasploh in v že izkopanih grobovih ob Župni cerkvi so menili, da grobov 7. in 8. st. na tem grobišču sicer ni, a da omenjena uhana predstavljata edino starejšo izjemo "predketlaške faze" (Kastelic 1960, 42, 44–46), s čimer so merili na čas pred 9. st. (prim. Kastelic

[1] Iskanje: https://zbiva.dev.aflabs.org/iskanje/grobovi?search=1953_&page=1. (19. 3. 2023)

1953_z0087

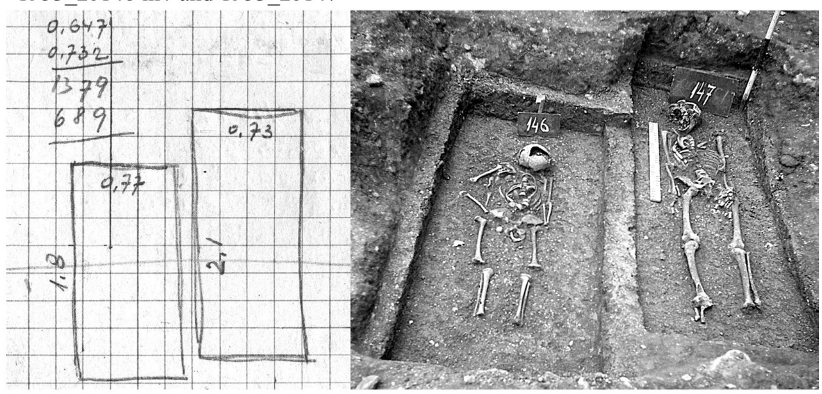


1953_z0134

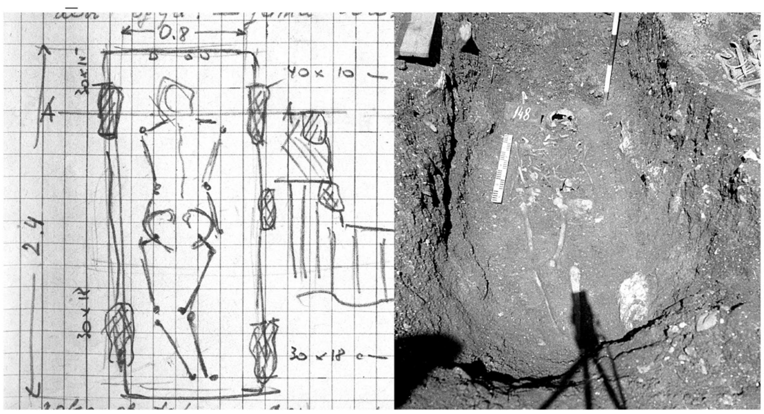


1953_z0145

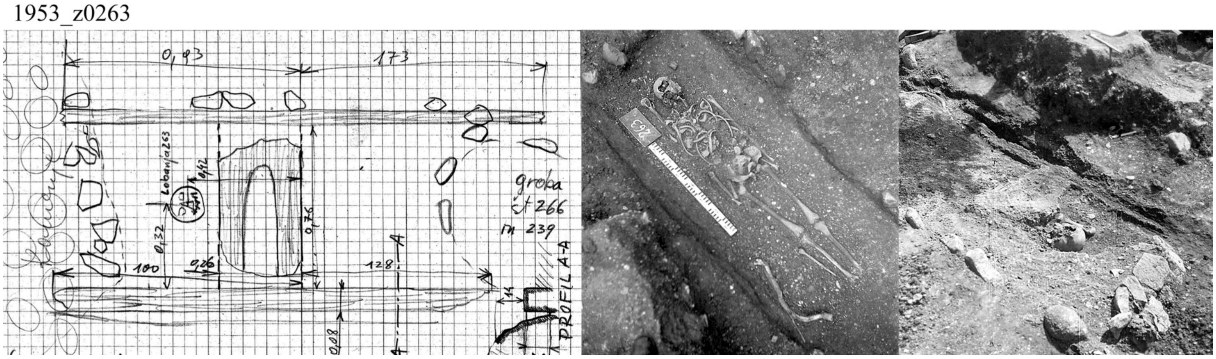
1953_z0146 in / and 1953_z0147



1953_z0148



1953_z0263



Sl. 3: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Globoko vkopani grobovi, odkriti leta 1953. Terenske skice in fotografije po objavah v OIAS 38.

Fig. 3: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Graves with deep pits unearthed in 1953. Field drawings and photographs taken from OIAS 38.

1960; Sagadin 2017, 45, op. 123). Za ta uhana je danes sicer predlagana datacija v konec 7. in v začetek 8. st. (Sagadin 2008, 128–129; *id*. 2020, 17; prim. *id*. 2013, 259–262) oziroma v drugo polovico 8. st. (Pleterski 2013b, 53–55).

Grobove z globokimi in prostornimi grobnimi jamami, (deloma) obdanimi s kamni in/ali lesom, ki pa so vsebovali pridatke (npr. nož ali preprost naglavni nakit, ki se spenja z zanko in kaveljčkom), tedaj niso prištevali med grobove "najnižjega horizonta" oziroma med najzgodnejše grobove grobišča (prim. Kastelic 1960, 42, 46). Ker so pozneje podobno narejene grobne jame (leta 1972 odkritih grobov) že prištevali med najstarejše (gl. v nadaljevanju), jih na tem mestu predstavimo podrobneje. Šlo je za grob 1953_z0148, ki je imel 2,4 m dolgo in 0,8 m široko pravokotno grobno jamo z azimutom 106°. Iz groba morda izhaja železen nož (OIAS 38, 92). Grob 1953_z0263 je imel več kot 2,6 m dolgo in 0,85 m široko pravokotno grobno jamo, deloma obloženo s kamni, ob strani pa je imela/sta bila lesena tramova (*sl. 3:* 1953_z0263). Azimut grobne jame je bil 86°. Prek prsi je bila položena lesena deska (OIAS 38, 132–134). Glede na posebno konstrukcijo nad prsnim košem in deloma premeščenimi kostmi bi lahko šlo za grob, v katerega so posegali naknadno, morda v smislu "reopening of graves", kot jih obravnavajo modernejše raziskave (npr. Skóra 2017, *id*. 2019; Klevnäs *et al*. 2021; prim. OIAS 38, 132). Iz tega groba izhaja naglavni obroček s kovano zanko in kaveljčkom (OIAS 38, 132–134). Takšni obročki so bili – med drugimi pridatki – odkriti tudi v grobu 1953_z0087 (OIAS 37, 70), ki je bil prav tako vkopan globoko v ilovico. Grobna jama z azimutom 97° je bila dolga 2 m in široka 0,8 m ter je bila ob straneh obložena s kamni. Vkopana je bila do konglomeratne skale. Pod okostjem in nad njim sta bili deski (OIAS 37, 70–71).

Na grobišču je bila tudi večja, stratigrafsko starejša kamnita groblja. Vanjo so bili vkopani številni grobovi (OIAS 38, 99–100; 114; 125; 135–136), kar je dajalo vtis njihovih kamnitih oblog, a to v osnovi niso bile (OIAS 38, 14–15, sl. 5).

Če povzamemo, so leta 1953 med prve ali najstarejše grobove večinoma šteli le tiste brez pridatkov, z globokimi, prostornimi in pravokotnimi grobnimi jamami, vkopanimi v ilovico, brez kamnitih oblog. Takšna sta bila le dva grobova (1953_z0146 in 1953_z0147). Časovno so ju na podlagi uhanov iz tretjega groba (1953_z0145), pri katerem se gradnja ni ohranila, opredelili v čas pred 9. st. – tega naj bi na grobišču predstavljali grobovi "nižjega horizonta".[2] Naše možnosti za preverjanje dejanske stratigrafije leta 1953 izkopanih grobov pa so zaradi narave tedanje metodologije dokumentiranja zelo omejene (podrobno OIAS 38, 23–38; Rihter 2020, 38–58). Danes vemo, da je enačenje horizontov nestratigrafskih izkopavanj s tipokronološkimi stopnjami oziroma fazami, vsaj za zgodnjesrednjeveško arheologijo grobišč, lahko zelo problematično (prim. Rihter 2020, 34, 40–42).

Številčna in tipološka slika globoko vkopanih grobov se je občutno dopolnila leta 1972 (*sl. 2, 4*), ko so jih odkrili tudi na severni strani cerkve (OIAS 37, sl. 2), zahodno od t. i. oktogonalne zgradbe (Valič 1975, 161–162). To stavbo je mogoče povezati z obstojem najstarejše cerkvene zgradbe, domnevno zgrajene v drugi polovici 6. st. (podrobneje gl. Sagadin 2017; *id.* 2020). A. Valič je zahodno od oktogonalnega objekta – med drugimi – odkril skupino 11 grobov odraslih oseb obeh spolov, med katerimi so bili pridatki le v grobu 1972_z0107 (OIAS 37, 163), in sicer uhana t. i. buzetskega tipa, zato je to skupino grobov povezoval s priseljenci iz Istre (Valič 1975, 161–162; *id*. 1991b, 27; *id*. 1995, 146) in jo datiral v 8. st. (Valič 1980, 115; prim. Valič 1975, 162). Ta oblika uhana se danes zgolj okvirno datira v 7. in 8. st. (Pleterski 2013b, 51–53; Sagadin 2017, 46–47). Preostalih 10 grobov ni natančneje lociral in označil (prim. Valič 1975; *id*. 1978), zato te skupine ne moremo v celoti identificirati. Izdelava njihovih grobnih jam sprva podrobneje ni bila opredeljena, pozneje je bila kot njihova značilnost izpostavljena kamnita obloga globoko vkopanih grobnih jam (Valič 1980, 115) oziroma "venec" kamnov (Valič 1991b, 26). Grob 1972_z0107 z uhanoma, po katerem je bila skupina datirana, ni imel takšne obloge iz kamenja (prim. EMIAS 5, 326–327; OIAS 37, 163–164; EMIAS 12, 138, 142 in 185; Valič 1991a, 35), zagotovo pa je imel ostanke deske nad okostjem ter ob nogah (EMIAS 5, 326–327; Valič 1978, Y200).

Analiza stratigrafije je pokazala, da grob 1972_z0107 ni bil stratigrafsko najstarejši v tej skupini (Rihter 2020, pril. 3, 220; prim. EMIAS 5, 326; OIAS 37, 163–164; EMIAS 12, 138, 142 in 185).[3] Je mlajši od groba 1972_z0207 in je bil

[2] Po tedanjih kriterijih bi mednje lahko sodil tudi grob 1953_z0206 (OIAS 38, 115), ki je po izvedbi podoben tako grobu 2011_x0220 kot 1972_z0085 (o teh več v nadaljevanju), vendar ga med izkopavanji niso opredelili med najstarejše.

[3] Njegova grobna jama je bila zanesljivo vkopana v zasutje groba 1972_z0207 (Rihter 2020, pril. 3, 220: 11076; prim. EMIAS 12, 185) vse do njegove kamnite obloge (prim.

v stratigrafskem odnosu z grobom 1972_z0206 (*sl. 2*).[4] Gre torej za prvi primer rekonstruirane stratigrafije (Rihter 2020) v tedanji skupini stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov, ki si sledijo takole: 1972_z0207 / 1972_z0107 / 1972_z0206. Morda na še eno superpozicijo opozarja grobna jama groba 1972_z0085, vkopana v starejšo – glede na dimenzije in obliko – najverjetneje grobno jamo, ki je sicer brez okostja (*sl. 2*).

Grobovi, ki so imeli kamnite obloge zahodno od oktogonalnega objekta, so torej naslednji:

1 in 2 – Grobova 1972_z0089 in 1972_z0090 sta bila v veliki pravokotni grobni jami, deloma obloženi z velikimi lomljenci in oblicami (EMIAS 5, 298; OIAS 37, 158, zgornja leva fotografija), z azimutoma 93° oziroma 96°.

3 – Grob 1972_z0091 z azimutom 96° je imel pravokotno grobno jamo z zaobljenimi vogali in kamnito oblogo, okostje je bilo pokrito z desko, ostanki teh so bili tudi pod nogami in ob straneh (OIAS 37, 158). Kamnita obloga je vsaj na južni strani grobne jame deloma segala v višino v več vrstah.[5]

4 – Grob 1972_z0082 z azimutom 91° je bil v pravokotni grobni jami z zaobljenimi vogali in kamnito oblogo,[6] pod okostjem so bili sledovi deske (OIAS 37, 154).

5 – Grob 1972_z0206 z azimutom 116°, neobičajnim za to skupino, je bil v grobni jami, ki je bila pri nogah pravokotna, pri glavi pa zaobljena in obdana z zaobljenimi kamni povsod, razen pri glavi (OIAS 37, 195).

6 – Grob 1972_z0207 z azimutom 95° je imel pravokotno grobno jamo, obloženo z zaobljenimi kamni (prim. OIAS 37, 196; EMIAS 12, 185).

Tem 6 grobovom so poleg stratigrafsko mlajšega groba 1972_z0107 prištevali tudi grob 1972_z0085 v globoki pravokotni (ca. 2,1 × 0,6–7 m veliki) grobni jami z azimutom 92°, ki pa ni imel kamnite ali lesene obloge (OIAS 37, 155; EMIAS 12, 185).[7] Če spomnimo, so dimenzijam slednjega zelo podobna in globoko vkopana grobova brez pridatkov odkrili že leta 1953 (grobova 1953_z0146 in 1953_z00147, podrobneje opisana na prejšnjih straneh), ki so ju tedaj šteli h grobovom "nižjega horizonta".

Preostalih štirih izmed 11 grobov Valičeve skupine z razpoložljivimi podatki trenutno ni mogoče identificirati. Na podlagi identificiranih grobov je razvidno, da so skupino karakterizirale precej raznolike izvedbe grobnih jam, in sicer: a) pravokotna z zaobljenimi vogali in deloma s kamni obloženimi robovi (1972_z0089-1972_z0090, verjetno 1972_z0207), b) pravokotna z zaobljenimi vogali, po robovih skoraj v celoti obložena s kamni (1972_z0082), ki so deloma segali tudi v višino (1972_z0091), c) zelo prostorna in dolga (1972_z0085) ter ožja (1972_z0107) pravokotna grobna jama brez kamnitih oblog ter d) kombinacija pravokotne in zaobljene grobne jame, ki je ob robovih skoraj v celoti obdana s kamni (1972_z0206).

Identificirani grobovi te skupine večinoma kažejo uniformno usmeritev (azimut 91–96°) ter medsebojno prostorsko upoštevanje. To je dajalo vtis časovne homogenosti najstarejše skupine grobov, katere značilnost naj bi bili tudi drobci oglja v zasutjih (prim. Valič 1975, *id*. 1980, 115; *id*. 1991b, 26). Ni dvoma, da v 7 identificiranih primerih ti grobovi stratigrafsko sodijo med najstarejše na grobišču. Toda za datacijo te skupine nosilni grob 1972_z0107 je z grobovoma 1972_z0207 in 1972_z0206, kot kaže analiza stratigrafije, soustvarjal tudi superpozicije. To – poleg izstopajoče usmeritve groba 1972_z0206 – nakazuje, da celotna skupina morda ni niti časovno niti tipološko tako homogena, kot se je zdelo doslej.

Poznavanje oblik in kontekstov najstarejših grobov se je dopolnilo tudi leta 1984, ko so izkopavanja zajela notranjost današnje cerkve. Odkriti so bili podobni in tudi bolje ohranjeni globoko vkopani grobovi (*sl. 2, 5*), tedaj prvič

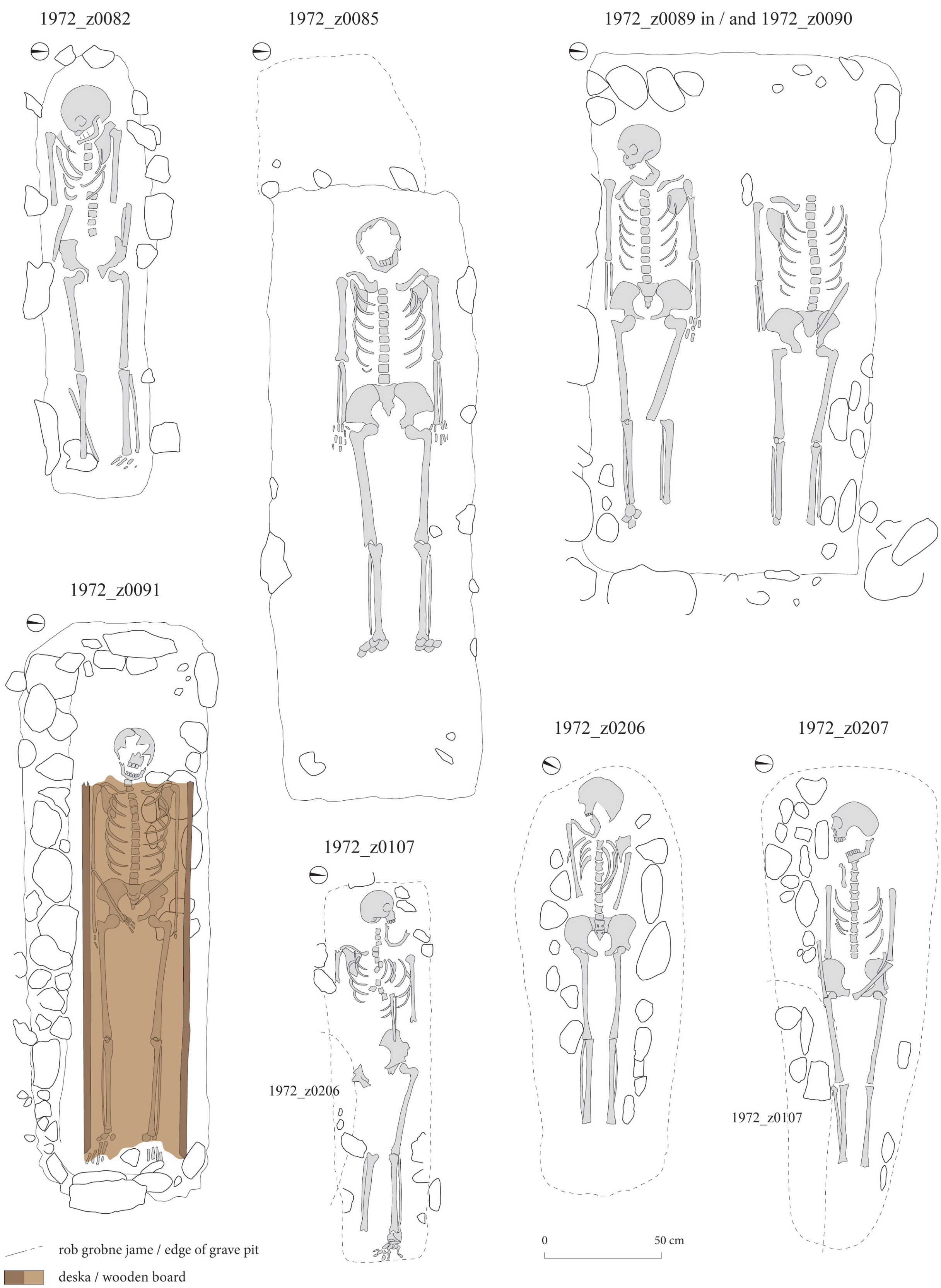
OIAS 37, 163: EMIAS 12, 165), katere del je zato viden tudi na fotografiji groba 1972_z0107 (OIAS 37, 164, slika sp. levo) in na individualni podrobni risbi okostja (prim. EMIAS 12, 142 in 165).

[4] Več okoliščin kaže, da je globlje vkopan grob 1972_z0206 mlajši od 1972_z0107 (prim. EMIAS 5, 326 in 384; EMIAS 12, 138, 142, 164–165 in 185; OIAS 37, 163 – risba, 195–196; Valič 1978, Y199). Različno dokumentirani kamni, vidni na različnih risbah in fotografiji groba 1972_z0107, so glede na superpozicije in relativne globine vseh grobov del grobnih jam 1972_z0206 in 1972_z0207, ki sta imela kamnito oblogo. Dopuščamo možnost, da so bili v zasutju groba 1972_z0107 zgolj posamezni kamni.

[5] Razvidno na fotografiji inv. št. 55/1. Arhiv najdišča Župna cerkev v Kranju (GM Kranj).

[6] Grobna jama je bila na južni in vzhodni strani deloma vkopana v stratigrafsko starejši tlak iz kamnitih oblic (EMIAS 5, 281). Pri analizi stratigrafije je tlak označen s kodo 1972_s0122 (Rihter 2020, pril.1: tab. 1, str. 8). Prebitje tlaka je lahko vplivalo na sestavo zasutja in gradnike kamnite obloge. Videz slednje bi lahko bil (deloma) tudi posledica tega dejanja.

[7] Gl. tudi fotografijo inv. št. 55/1. Arhiv najdišča Župna cerkev v Kranju (GM Kranj).



Sl. 4: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Globoko vkopani grobovi, odkriti leta 1972. Risbe po objavah v OIAS 37 in EMIAS 12.
Fig. 4: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Graves with deep pits unearthed in 1972. Drawings taken from OIAS 37 and EMIAS 12.

tudi v neposrednem stiku s temelji (Sagadin 1985b, 283–284; EMIAS 6), ki so interpretirani kot ostanki najstarejše cerkvene stavbe na tem mestu (Sagadin 1991; *id*. 2017).[8] Ohranjeni deli temeljev oz. zidov, za katere so menili, da so sestavni deli najstarejše cerkvene zgradbe, so omogočali rekonstrukcijo njenega tlorisa. Ta se tipološko povezuje z zgodnjekrščanskimi cerkvenimi stavbami, kakršne so se na območju oglejske jurisdikcije pojavile v 5. in 6. st. (*sl. 2*). Na podlagi natančnejših primerjav je bil čas nastanka cerkve zožen na drugo polovico 6. st. (Sagadin 2020, 17).

Leta 1984 so vzdolž temelja t. i. najstarejše cerkvene zgradbe na južni strani odkrili niz treh globoko vkopanih zaporednih grobov z dobro ohranjenimi različnimi grobnimi konstrukcijami (EMIAS 6, 127). Okostje v grobu 1984_z0110 azimutom 95°, ki je ležalo v 2,4 × 1,2 m veliki grobni jami, je imelo pod glavo kamen, obdajala pa ga je v višino grajena in na notranji strani kot zid poravnana kamnita obloga, naslonjena na temelj starejšega zidu (gl. Sagadin 1991, 34, sl. 3; *id*. 2017, 49; EMIAS 6, 127; OIAS 37, 315). Meter zahodneje je bil grob 1984_z0108. Imel je 2,5 × 1,1 m veliko grobno jamo, vanjo je bila položena lesena konstrukcija z okostjem, ki je imelo azimut 95° (EMIAS 6, 124, OIAS 37, 314). Tik zahodneje je bil tretji grob 1984_z0107. Imel je 1,5 × 0,7 m veliko pravokotno grobno jamo, obloženo s kamni, okostje z azimutom 95° pa je bilo v celoti prekrito z veliko desko in je imelo pridano ogrlico iz steklenih jagod (OIAS 37, 313–314; EMIAS 6, 124). Uporabljeno kamenje je bilo oblo (Sagadin 2017, 48). Za te grobove so bile po izkopavanjih strnjene bistvene značilnosti, in sicer, da ležijo najgloblje, imajo izrazite grobne konstrukcije iz kamenja (grob 1984_z0108 v celoti iz desk), so v izredno velikih grobnih jamah, ki se naslanjajo neposredno ob temelje najstarejše cerkve ali pa jih s svojo lego in usmeritvijo upoštevajo. Poleg tega ti najglobljі grobovi ne posegajo drug v drugega (kot poznejši) in so verjetno nastali v času iste generacije, ki je imela nekoliko drugačen način pokopavanja kot poznejše (prim. Sagadin 1991, 34). Grobovi brez pridatkov so bili datirani v konec 7. ali v 8. st. (Sagadin 2020, 17). Le grob 1984_z0107, ki je imel grobne pridatke, in sicer ogrlico s steklenimi jagodami, bi lahko bil na podlagi analogij datiran v sredino 8. st. (Sagadin 2017, 48).

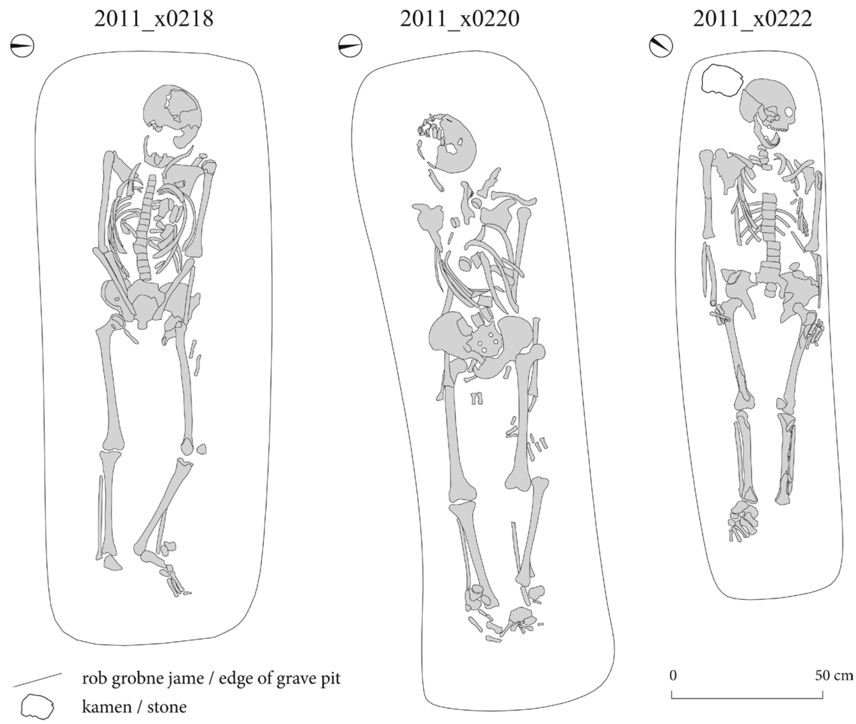
V prostoru današnje severne cerkvene ladje ni bilo grobov z izredno skrbno izdelanimi grobnimi konstrukcijami (Sagadin 2017, 42), kakršne so bile odkrite v današnji južni ladji, bila pa sta dva globoko vkopana grobova v prostornih grobnih jamah z (delnimi) kamnitimi oblogami, kot kaže naša analiza arheoloških podatkov in stratigrafije (Rihter 2020). Gre za globoko vkopana otroška grobova (1984_z0049 in 1984_z0048), ki sta tudi v stratigrafski superpoziciji in sta dela izjemno dolgih sekvenc (Rihter 2020, pril. 3, 269–281). Gre za drugi zanesljiv primer superpozicij med najstarejšimi grobovi, ob tistih, ki so bili izkopani leta 1972. Grobna jama prvega (1984_z0049) je bila vkopana do konglomeratne osnove in obdana s kamenjem. Nad njim ležeč grob 1984_z0049 je imel s kamni le deloma obloženo razmeroma veliko pravokotno grobno jamo. Grobova resda nimata tako skrbno izdelanih grobnih jam kot trije najgloblji grobovi, odkriti v današnji južni cerkveni ladji in predstavljeni v prejšnjem odstavku. Vendar sta njuni grobni jami prostorni in po velikostnih razmerjih (in kamnih delne obloge) precej podobni dvojnemu grobu 1972_z0089 in 1972_z0090, ki je bil leta 1972 odkrit le 6 metrov severovzhodneje in je del Valičeve skupine najstarejših grobov. Grobova 1984_z0049 in 1984_z0048 sta torej oblikovno in prostorsko del te iste skupine in dokazujeta, da jo lahko (prim. Valič 1995, 146) sestavljajo tudi otroški grobovi. Z njima dopolnjujemo tudi zbir najstarejših grobov grobišča, ki so v superpozicijah (*sl. 2, 4, 5*).

Med najstarejše grobove so prištevali tudi grobova 1984_z0050 in 1984_z0052 (OIAS 37, 299–300), odkrita v današnji srednji cerkveni ladji. Zanju so ugotovili, da sta bila zanesljivo vkopana pred polaganjem najstarejšega estriha oziroma da je bil ta estrih obnovljen po njunem vkopu (Sagadin 2017, 38 in 50–51). Grob 1984_z0050 z azimutom 90° v pravokotni grobni jami z zaobljenimi vogali (OIAS 37, 299) je imel ob glavi kamnito grobno konstrukcijo (pokonci postavljene ploščate kamne) naslonjeno na temelje zidu, ki je, skupaj z omenjenim estrihom, interpretiran kot del najstarejše cerkvene zgradbe (Sagadin 2017, 38–39). Grob 1984_z0052 z azimutom 88° je bil

[8] Za interpretacijo teh grobov je bilo pomembno tudi odkritje le 500 m oddaljenega grobišča Križišče Iskra leta 1977, na nasprotnem bregu reke Save, kjer so bili odkriti podobno grajeni, globoko vkopani grobovi (Sagadin 1985a; *id*. 1988). Na podlagi analogij s tega grobišča je bilo pet stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov, odkritih ob Župni cerkvi leta 1984, interpretiranih kot staroselskih (Sagadin 1985a, 283) in datiranih v 7.–8. st. (Sagadin 1991, 37). Še pozneje, med letoma 1992 in 2001, so bili podobni globoko vkopani grobovi odkriti tudi pri cerkvi sv. Petra v Komendi (Sagadin 2013, 253–254, sl. 5; *id*. 2017, 46–47, zlasti op. št. 128).

Sl. 5: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Globoko vkopani grobovi, odkriti leta 1984. Risbe po objavah v OIAS 37.
Fig. 5: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Graves with deep pits unearthed in 1984. Drawings taken from OIAS 37.

prav tako v pravokotni grobni jami z zaobljenimi vogali, pri glavi je bila obložena s kamni (OIAS 37, 300). Kot že rečeno, so vsi prej našteti najstarejši grobovi s svojo lego upoštevali usmeritev zidov oz. temeljev domnevne cerkve, vanje niso posegali in so bili v nekaterih primerih nanje s svojimi grobnimi konstrukcijami celo naslonjeni (Sagadin 2017, 48). To naj bi pričalo o pokopu že pokristjanjenih prebivalcev (Sagadin 2020, 17). Sagadin je domneval, da gre pri grobovih 1984_z0050 in 1984_z0052 morda za privilegirana staroselska pokopa v prvotni cerkvi, ko je ta še stala (Sagadin 2017, 50–51; prim. *pogl. 4–5*).



Sl. 6: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Globoko vkopani grobovi odkriti leta 2011. Risbe po objavah v OIAS 38.
Fig. 6: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Graves with deep pits unearthed in 2011. Drawings taken from OIAS 38.

Prostorska razporeditev leta 1984 odkritih grobov (glede na ostanke domnevno najstarejše cerkvene stavbe) ter siceršnje lastnosti gradenj grobnih jam in pomanjkanje pridatkov so omogočali tudi prostorsko-časovno povezavo z leta 1972 odkritimi grobovi severno od današnje cerkve (*sl. 2, 4*), datiranimi v konec 7. in v prvo polovico 8. st. (Sagadin 2017, 48).

Na podlagi analogij grobov z grobišča Križišče Iskra (gl. Sagadin 1988) so bili takšni grobovi opredeljeni kot staroselski oziroma kot nosilci staroselske tradicije (Sagadin 1985b, 283–284; *id*. 2017, 49, 54). Zanje Sagadin pravi, da ob izjemni globini in značilnih grobnih konstrukcijah (Sagadin 1985b, 283–284) ter ob redkih spremljajočih najdbah še kažejo dediščino poznoantičnega staroselskega prebivalstva (Sagadin 1985b, 283–284; *id*. 2017, 48). Kot del širšega kulturnega procesa pa kažejo tudi na enega izmed ključnih trenutkov v razvoju kranjskih poznoantičnih in (zgodnje) srednjeveških grobišč, ki ga najopazneje opredeljuje sprememba grobiščnega prostora, od t. i. (pozno)antične tradicije pokopavanja *extra muros* (grobišče Lajh) k (zgodnje)srednjeveškemu pokopu *intra muros* (grobišče Župna cerkev) (Sagadin 2020, 16; *id*. 2017, 54; gl. tudi: Aries 1989, 31–32, Klápště, Nissen Jaubert 2007). Gre torej tudi za prelom z antično tradicijo v pojmovanju mesta (Sagadin 2017, 56; *id*. 2020, 16). Sagadin meni, da se je premik grobišča staroselcev v mesto v Kranju zgodil v 7. (Sagadin 2017, 55) oziroma 8. st. (Sagadin 2020, 21).

Zadnja in hkrati površinsko največja izkopavanja na grobišču Župna cerkev so med letoma 2011 in 2013 zajela vse danes dostopne dele grobišča zunaj današnje cerkve (Urankar, Bešter 2014). V nasprotju s prejšnjimi so potekala stratigrafsko. Presenetljivi in za našo raziskavo pomembni so številni novoodkriti globoko vkopani grobovi (prim. OIAS 38; Urankar, Bešter 2014), ki pričajo, da starejša izkopavanja niso povsod dosegla dna kulturnih plasti (Rihter 2020, 71–84). Dodatni grobovi so bili odkriti na predelih grobišča zahodno in severno ob današnji cerkvi, ki so bili sicer raziskani že leta 1965 in 1972,[9] pa tudi vzhodno

[9] S prekrivanjem njihovih leg in meja starih kvadrantov smo ugotovili, da so bili ti praviloma odkriti na mestih stikov starejših izkopavalnih kampanj in/ali kvadrantov ter da je tovrstna situacija pogosta za kampanje 1965–1973. V tem času so namreč odkopali več kot polovico vseh danes znanih grobov. Poleg tega lahko razloge za takšno stanje vidimo deloma v izjemni gostoti grobov, ki je bila ugotovljena prav na območju leta 1972 izkopanega dela grobišča (Rihter 2018b; Achino *et al.* 2019, 300, Fig. 2), ter predvsem v tedanji metodologiji reženjskih izkopavanj ločenih kvadrantov, kjer so računali na natančne poterenske

grob / grave	mesto v strat. sekvenci grobov / place in the strat. sequence of graves	posebnosti / specifics	kamnita obloga / stone lining	les oz. deske / wooden structure or boards	pravokotna grobna jama / rectangular grave pit	iztegnjena lega rok ob telesu / arms extended beside the body	azimut / azimuth	^{14}C
1953_z0146	neznana / unknown				•	•	94°	
1953_z0147	neznana / unknown				•	• desnica / right arm	95°	
1972_z0082	prvi grob / first		•	•	•	•	91°	
1972_z0085	prvi grob / first				•	•	92°	•
1972_z0089	prvi grob / first	v isti grobi jami kot / in same pit as 1972_z0090	delna / partial		•	•	93°	•
1972_z0090	prvi grob / first	v isti grobi jami kot / in same pit as 1972_z0089	delna / partial		•	• levica / left arm	96°	
1972_z0091	prvi grob / first		popolna / complete	•	•	•	96°	
1972_z0107	drugi grob / second	ima pridatke / held grave goods		•	•	neohranjeno / unpreserved	96°	
1972_z0206	tretji grob / third		delna / partial		deloma / partly	neohranjeno / unpreserved	116°	
1972_z0207	prvi grob / first		delna / partial		deloma / partly	•	95°	
1984_z0048	drugi grob / second		delna / partial		•	•	93°	
1984_z0049	prvi grob / first		delna / partial	•	neohranjeno / unpreserved	neohranjeno / unpreserved	98°	•
1984_z0106	prvi grob / first		delna / partial		•	•	91°	•
1984_z0107	prvi grob / first	ima pridatke / held grave goods	delna / partial	•	•	neohranjeno / unpreserved	95°	
1984_z0108	prvi grob / first			•	•	•	95°	
1984_z0110	prvi grob / first	kamen pod glavo / stone under head	popolna / complete		•	•	95°	•
2011_x0222	prvi grob / first	kamen pri glavi / stone near head		•	•	•	125°	•

Tab. 1: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Seznam najstarejših in globoko vkopanih grobov sestavljen in dopolnjen na podlagi starih (l. 1953, 1972, 1984) in novejših raziskav (l. 2011-2013), kot ga uporabljamo v tem prispevku.
Tab. 1: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. List of the earliest and deep graves as revealed by the early (1953, 1972, 1984) and the recent investigations (2011–2013).

in jugovzhodno ob cerkvi (Urankar, Bešter 2014, 10). Gre za območji, ki sta bili izkopani leta 1953 (EMIAS 1, 8) in v letih 1969–1970 (EMIAS 5, 6; EMIAS 12, sl. 1). Ker je prvotni teren zgodnjesrednjeveškega grobišča padal proti vzhodu (Kastelic 1960, 42–43), so po srednjeveških in novoveških izravnavah nekateri najstarejši grobovi v vzhodnem delu grobišča, glede na hodno površino v času izkopavanj, pridobili tudi navidezno večjo relativno globino.

korelacije, kot je razvidno iz skopo zabeleženih in pogosto nepravilnih sklicev za medsebojno povezovanje različnih izkopavalnih kampanj ali sosednjih si kvadrantov (Rihter 2020, 71–73).

Leta 1969 izkop ni segal do cerkvene stene, saj jo je tedaj polkrožno še obdajala betonska ograja (prim. EMIAS 5, 32, 35–43, 71). Zadnja izkopavanja (2011 in 2013) pa so tja že lahko segla, saj ograje ni bilo več. S tem je bil sproščen tudi dostop v bližino temeljev prezbiterija današnje cerkve ter v njegova kota, ki jih tvori s prizidki, kjer so lahko odkopali številne nove grobove (prim. načrte: OIAS 35, 273–296; OIAS 37, 399–422; OIAS 38, 375–408). Tu se je ohranila v okviru celotnega grobišča ena najdaljših sekvenc (Rihter 2020, pril. 3) s stratigrafsko metodo izkopanih grobov (gl. Urankar, Bešter 2014), ki je pomembna tudi za razumevanje relativne kronologije tako gradenj grobnih jam kot njihovih usmeritev. Deloma intaktna skupina grobov je bila vkopavana nad grobom 2011_x0222 (*sl. 2, 6*), ki je bil vkopan globoko v ilovico, ob glavi pa je imel kamen (OIAS 38, 231). Da gre za stratigrafsko najstarejši grob tega območja, so prvi opozorili izkopavalci in z metodo ^{14}C najprej datirali vzorec lesa iz njega in iz relativno mlajšega groba 2011_x0218, pozneje tudi kosti iz groba 2011_x0222,[10] kar je podrobneje predstavljeno v nadaljevanju (gl. *pogl. 3.3*; *tab.* 1–*2*).

Pravokotna grobna jama groba 2011_x0222 z zelo izstopajočim azimutom okostja 125° je merila 1,81 × 0,43 m, v njej pa so bili ostanki desk lesene konstrukcije. Usmeritev tega groba kaže podobnost z izstopajočo usmeritvijo groba 1972_z0206, ki je del Valičeve skupine leta 1972 odkritih najstarejših grobov, datiranih z grobom 1972_z0107, od katerega je grob 1972_z0206 stratigrafsko mlajši (gl. zgoraj).

Od groba 2011_x0222 stratigrafsko mlajša grobova 2011_x0218 (Rihter 2020, 186–188; pril. 3, 289: 15387–15435) ali 2011_x0220 (OIAS 38, 230–231) pa se npr. po globini in velikosti grobne jame ne ločita bistveno od leta 1972 odkritega groba 1972_z0085 (OIAS 37, 155), ki so ga topografsko in kronološko prav tako povezovali s skupino najstarejših grobov severno od današnje cerkve (Valič 1975, 161–162; *id.* 1991b, 26–27).

Vse to so razlogi za vnovični podrobnejši pregled stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov po celotnem grobišču. Dodaten razlog je, da skupino leta 2011 odkritih grobov sestavljajo globoko vkopani grobovi tako brez pridatkov (npr. 2011_x0222 , 2011_x0220) kot tudi s pridatki (npr. 2011_x0218), kot smo videli (tudi) v prostornih pravokotnih grobnih jamah, ki so po dimenzijah in gradnji podobne nekaterim leta 1972 in 1953 izkopanim in ki so jih prištevali med najstarejše ali prvotne grobove grobišča (npr. 1953_z0146, 1953_z0147, 1972_z0107) (gl. zgoraj).

Če povzamemo. Pregled najstarejših grobov je pokazal, da so bili mednje – glede na gradnjo grobne jame, pridatke, prostorsko lego in relativno globino – prištevani raznoliki grobovi (*sl. 2–6*). Med nekaterimi dosedanjimi “najstarejšimi” grobovi so bile tudi relativne kronološke razlike. Med najstarejše grobove pa niso prištevali (le) stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov, temveč tudi relativno mlajše, kot kaže npr. stratigrafska situacija grobov 1972_z0107 in 1972_z0207 ali 1984_z0048 in 1984_z0049.

Rezultat pregleda so: 1. prostorsko identificirani (naj)starejši grobovi, kot so jih opredelili ali predlagali raziskovalci v preteklosti, ter novi, podrobneje še neobravnavani stratigrafsko najstarejši in drugi grobovi, ki jih prikazujemo na skupnem načrtu (*sl. 2*), ter 2. seznam (stratigrafsko) najstarejših grobov (*tab. 1*), kot ga lahko sestavimo ob trenutnem poznavanju; uporabljamo ga pri analizah v nadaljevanju. Pri oblikovanju seznama je bila upoštevana kombinacija podatkov o stratigrafski legi grobov v kontekstu celotnega grobišča, prisotnosti/odsotnosti različnih vrst pridatkov, globini pokopa, usmerjenosti, prisotnosti/odsotnosti kamnite obloge in obliki grobne jame ter iztegnjeni drži rok. Seznam stratigrafsko (naj)starejših grobov v kombinaciji s prostorsko lego ter stratigrafijo vseh grobov je omogočil izbiro treh primernih območij (*sl. 1: 1–3*) za podrobnejšo kronološko analizo začetkov pokopavanja (gl. *pogl. 4.1–4.3*).

3 MATERIALNA IZHODIŠČA ZA RAZISKAVO ZAČETKOV POKOPAVANJA PRI ŽUPNI CERKVI

Materialna izhodišča predstavljajo stratigrafija (najstarejših) grobov, rezultati radiokarbonskega datiranja grobov in tipokronološke opredelitve zgodnjesrednjeveškega nakita.

3.1 Stratigrafija

V primerjavi z doslej raziskanimi zgodnjesrednjeveškimi grobišči v Vzhodnih Alpah je arheološka situacija grobišča Župna cerkev specifična. Na arheološki zapis grobišča so namreč učinkovali trije dejavniki: (1) veliko število zgodnjesred-

[10] Za posredovane rezultate se zahvaljujem Rafku Urankarju in Heleni Bešter (PJP, d. o. o.).

njeveških in mlajših grobov, vkopanih na (2) omejenem prostoru v (3) 1000-letnem obdobju pokopavanja. Dodatno so na arheološki zapis vplivale številne v osnovi nepokopališke dejavnosti, predvsem gradbene. Kot kažejo številni primeri z drugih grobišč, so bili lahko gradbeni posegi posledica dejavnosti, povezanih s cerkveno zgradbo (npr. prenove ali širjenje cerkva), in/ali so bili usmerjeni na grobišča, na primer izgradnje, rušenje ter praznjenje kostnic, širjenje grobišč, zidanje pokopaliških obzidij in njihovo rušenje, naposled tudi njihova opustitev (npr. Fister 1975; Makarovič 1995, 146–147; Effros 2003, 38; Sörries 2003, 38; Podpečan 2006; Počkar 2008; Predovnik *et al.* 2008, 91; Höfler 2016, 425; Rihter 2018a, 15–28). Na (nekdanjih) pokopaliških prostorih ob cerkvah so potekale tudi različne komemoracije, npr. postavljanje mlajev (npr. Makarovič 2008, 29), ki so prav tako lahko vplivale na arheološki zapis. Nekateri gradbeni posegi so zahtevali tudi prilagoditve hodnih površin novim potrebam, kar v praksi pomeni zniževanje ali zviševanje nivelet posameznih območij. Na grobišču Župna cerkev imamo dobro izražena in dokumentirana oba primera, tako odstranjevanja (npr. Urankar, Bešter 2014, 10) kot tudi dodajanja zemljine (npr. EMIAS 6, 12–15, 56–59, 79). Prav tako so dokumentirani tudi primeri gradenj, razširjanja in rušenja različnih sakralnih objektov (Sagadin 1991; *id*. 2017; Valič 1991b) ter pokopališkega obzidja (OIAS 38, 9–12; Rihter 2020, 72–74), vse do dokončne opustitve grobišča leta 1789 (Žontar 1982, 280). V moderni dobi so k uničenju med drugimi dodatno pripomogli komunalni objekti, kar so dobro dokumentirala tudi zadnja izkopavanja (Urankar, Bešter 2014).

Nenehno pokopavanje na istem in razmeroma omejenem prostoru je ustvarjalo številne in jasne stratigrafske odnose (Pleterski 2013b, 40; Rihter 2020). Grobišče posledično kaže izrazito vertikalno časovno-prostorsko rast. Močna stratificiranost grobov pa je temeljna razlika tega grobišča v primerjavi z nekaterimi manjšimi zgodnjesrednjeveškimi grobišči, kjer so grobovi redkeje posegali drug v drugega (npr. Knific, Pleterski 1981, 499), zato je stratigrafija grobov tam redkejši pojav.

Razlogov za zgostitve pokopov na nekaterih delih grobišča, kar ima za posledico povečano število stratigrafskih odnosov, je lahko več. Lahko gre za koncentriranje grobov v bližini kultne stavbe (npr. Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 71–75, sl. 24; Nowotny 2011, 455–458, sl. 12; Vargha, Mordovin 2019, 145) ali simbolno pomembnih prostorskih točk (npr. Sagadin 2001, 366–367, sl. 7). Pri zanesljivem ugotavljanju teh so največja ovira tafonomski dejavniki, kot so mlajše kultne stavbe (npr. Vargha, Mordovin 2019, 145), ali drugi posegi (npr. Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 71–73, sl. 24). Ti so pogosto uničili elemente starejših cerkvenih faz (npr. Vargha, Mordovin 2019, 145), ki so lahko bile tudi lesene (npr. Filipec 2010). Stratigrafija pokopov pa lahko kaže tudi na družinske, socialne in druge povezave med pokojniki (npr. Nowotny 2011, 458–463) ter na pomanjkanje pokopališkega prostora.

Pregled nekaterih bolje raziskanih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč v jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru kaže, da med njimi prevladujejo takšna z izrazitejšim horizontalnim prostorsko-časovnim vzorcem rasti oziroma širjenja.[11] Takšna so na primer grobišča Mali grad v Kamniku (Sagadin 2001), Dlesc pri Bodeščah (Knific, Pleterski 1981), Žale pri Zasipu (Knific, Pleterski 1993), sv. Peter v Komendi (Sagadin 2013), Puščava nad Starim trgom (Pleterski, Belak 2002, sl. 7), Blejski otok (Štular 2020a), sv. Jurij pri Batujah (Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 60–77, sl. 24, pril. 5), Žale v Srednji vasi (Lavrenčič 2019, sl. 3.3.2) in Muljava pri cerkvi Marijinega vnebovzetja (Zagorc 2019, 15–17, sl. 3.2.–3.4), čeprav je bilo tudi pri teh na izpostavljenih oz. določenih mestih zaznati zgoščevanje pokopov in s tem stratigrafijo grobov (npr. v Batujah, Komendi in na Muljavi). Tudi med manj raziskanimi grobišči so takšna, ki na raziskanih delih kažejo razmeroma goste pokope, npr. grobišče Sv. Jurij na Legnu (Modrijan, Strmčnik Gulič 2020), in stratigrafijo, npr. v Mostah pri Žirovnici, kjer je verjetno šlo za grobišče ob cerkvi (Sagadin 1983, 129). Posebno izrazito se stratigrafija kaže na grobišču Sedlo na Blejskem gradu. Najdaljše stratigrafske sekvence s Sedla vključujejo do 4 grobove drug vrh drugega (Pleterski 1982, 136; Knific 1984, 100). To in druga (blejska) grobišča so hkrati nosilna grobišča, na katerih temeljijo lokalni tipokronološki sistemi nakita (Pleterski 2013a). Pri teh so bili kot glavno relativno kronološko orodje uporabljeni topografska kronologija grobov oz. grobišča (npr. Knific 1974), stratigrafija (Pleterski 1982) in modeli različno dolgih generacij ter naravoslovne in historične datacije (Pleterski 1982; *id*. 2013a).

Veliko grobov nima pridatkov, ki bi omogočali časovno opredelitev, vendar so bila okostja pri starejših izkopavanjih, zgodnjesrednjeveška ali mlajša, določena tudi empirično, na podlagi obarvanosti kosti (OIAS 35, 10; OIAS 37, 9), kar

[11] To seveda ne pomeni, da na takšnih grobiščih ni nikakršne stratigrafije grobov.

je lahko problematično. Kadar so bili v grobu pridatki, se je največkrat obravnavala le materialna kultura posameznih grobov (Kastelic 1960; Valič 1978) in izoliranih skupin (npr. Valič 1975; *id*. 1991a) v kombinaciji s topografsko kronologijo. Celovitejše so raziskave Milana Sagadina za grobove, izkopane leta 1984, ki vključujejo tako stratigrafske odnose med nekaterimi grobovi kot njihove odnose z arhitekturnimi ostanki (Sagadin 1991; *id*. 2008; *id*. 2017).

Naša raziskava ne izhaja le iz tipokronološke analize drobnega gradiva, temveč je utemeljena na stratigrafiji vseh grobov (prim. Pearson, Williams 1993; 89–103; Bibby 1993, 104–121). Grobišče zaradi izrazite vertikalne rasti ne omogoča klasičnega topografsko-kronološkega pristopa, omogoča pa analizo posameznih sekvenc grobov in predmetov (Rihter 2020).

3.2 Rekonstrukcija stratigrafije grobov in izbira stratigrafskih sekvenc za analizo

Ker je bila le dobra šestina grobov izkopana s stratigrafsko metodo, smo opravili stratigrafsko analizo arhiva nestratigrafskih izkopavanj (gl. Clark 1993) po metodi "retrogradne analize arheoloških podatkov" na srednjeveških najdiščih (*sensu* Štular 2005; *id*. 2008; *id*. 2009; *id*. 2020b). Rezultat je rekonstruirano stratigrafsko zaporedje grobov in nekaterih drugih elementov grobišča (Rihter 2020, 37).

Terenske risbe nestratigrafskih izkopavanj so bile v okolju geografskih informacijskih sistemov (GIS) prenesene v moderni absolutni koordinatni sistem (OIAS 35, 25–26). To je omogočilo primerjavo arheoloških podatkov z različnih izkopavanj in njihovo analizo (Rihter 2016a; *id*. 2016b; *id*. 2017; *id*. 2018b; *id*. 2020).

Zaradi slabe vidnosti grobnih jam (npr. EMIAS 4, 13, 15), kar je značilnost srednjeveških grobišč dolgega trajanja (npr. Sagadin 1988, 39), so bile grobne jame pri nestratigrafskih izkopavanjih dokumentirane le v nekaj deset primerih, zasutja oz. polnila redko, okostja pa vedno (prim. OIAS 35, 37 in 38). To kaže, da so v dokumentaciji nestratigrafskih izkopavanj grobovi metodološko dokumentirani kot stratigrafske skupine (Herzog 2004, 10; Štular 2020b, 110–111). Pri tem okostja predstavljajo najmanjši možni obris nekdanje grobne jame.

Reproducirani obris okostja je kot poligon omogočal analizo stratigrafskih odnosov v skladu z načeli arheološke stratigrafije (Harris 1989). Stratigrafske odnose smo analizirali z računalniškim programom Stratify in jih vizualizirali v obliki Harrisovega diagrama. Med analizo smo ohranjali odvečne stratigrafske odnose, predvsem zaradi poznejšega sledenja vertikalnim disturbancam med grobovi (podrobneje: Gerrard 1993, 233, 234, sl. 15.1) in dodatno zaradi razgradnje Harrisovega diagrama na posamezne, zaključene, unikatne stratigrafske sekvence grobov. Posameznih, unikatnih sekvenc, ki sestavljajo Harrisov diagram, je 16.098 (Rihter 2020, xi, pril. 3). Te omogočajo natančen vpogled v "debelino" stratigrafije grobov na kateremkoli delu grobišča in so podlaga za artefaktne in druge analize, tudi pričujoče.

Najdaljše stratigrafske sekvence grobov izvirajo z območij, na katerih je bila ugotovljena največja gostota pokopov (Achino *et al*. 2019, 301, 304–307, sl. 4–7). Severno ob cerkvi (gl. Achino *et al*. 2019, 300, sl. 2) je ponekod gostota znašala v povprečju 5,25 pokopa na m^3 (Rihter 2018b, 12). Tu je npr. do 14 grobov drug nad drugim (Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 115–128[12]). Najdaljša sekvenca grobov, ki jo opredeljujejo zgodnjesrednjeveški pridatki, šteje 9 zaporednih grobov in se nadaljuje z mlajšimi (Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 269–281[13]). Večina sekvenc z grobovi, ki vsebujejo zgodnjesrednjeveške predmete, šteje 2–3, ponekod do 5 zaporednih grobov (Rihter 2020, pril. 7, diag. 1–60). Na določenih delih – npr. leta 1973 izkopano območje (OIAS 37, 231–272, sl. 2) – pa se je pokopavanje začelo in končalo v večini primerov le z eno vrsto zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov, ki vsebujejo tipološko najmlajše oblike zgodnjesrednjeveškega nakita. S temi grobovi se je zaključilo obdobje zgodnjesrednjeveškega pokopavanja, stratigrafsko pa jim sledijo le še grobovi brez pridatkov (Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 240–247, pril. 4, 6). Grobišče lahko zato razdelimo na območja z "debelejšo" in "tanjšo" stratigrafijo zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov. Za preučevanje dolgotrajnih sprememb grobišča so sicer bolj povedna območja z "debelejšo" stratigrafijo, za razumevanje celote pa so pomembni vsi deli grobišča. In ne nazadnje, različne "debeline" stratigrafije grobov celotnega grobišča oziroma število zaporednih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov v sekvencah in tipokronološka razporeditev nakita v teh grobovih pričajo o časovnih presledkih med vnovičnimi pokopi na istem mestu.

Le nekatera območja z najdebelejšo stratigrafijo in dolgimi sekvencami grobov vsebujejo tako re-

[12] Npr. sekvence št. 5237–5248, 6026–6032, 6102–6112.

[13] Npr. sekvence št. 14343–14829.

levantne stratigrafsko najstarejše grobove, ki jih je mogoče datirati z metodo ^{14}C, kot tudi mlajše zgodnjesrednjeveške grobove z naborom tipokronološko opredeljivih nakitnih predmetov (gl. *pogl. 3.3.–3.4*). Na podlagi navedenih kriterijev so bila za analizo izbrana tri primerna območja (*sl. 1;* gl. *pogl. 4*).

3.3 Radiokarbonsko datiranje grobov in njegova uporabnost

Z metodo ^{14}C je bilo datiranih 6 okostij s seznama (stratigrafsko) najstarejših grobov (*tab. 1*) oz. 35 % (*tab. 2,* 1–6). Dodane so radiokarbonske datacije treh mlajših grobov, odkritih leta 1984 (*tab. 2:* 7–9), in dataciji organskega materiala iz dveh grobov izkopavalne kampanje 2011–2013 (*tab. 2:* 10–11).

Iz omenjene kampanje (Urankar, Bešter 2014) so na voljo radiokarbonske datacije nekostnega organskega materiala iz šestih grobov, vendar so za našo obravnavo trenutno – razen dveh (*tab. 2:* 10–11) – manj pomembne.[14]

Vse datacije so v skladu s pričakovanimi časovnimi razponi grobov ter niso v nasprotju s stratigrafskimi in trenutnimi tipokronološkimi opredelitvami predmetov grobov v sekvencah (gl. *pogl. 3.4*). Predpostavljamo, da so realni časovni razponi grobov v okviru/v mejah najširših časovnih razponov. Radiokarbonskih datacij kot takih zato ne problematiziramo z vidika dejavnikov, ki bi lahko vplivali na časovni razpon vzorca, npr. vpliv obnavljanja kostnega kolagena na biološko starost osebka (npr. Kaizer *et al.* 2019) ali vpliv *fresh water effect* na starost vzorcev (Philippsen 2013), se pa zavedamo pomena interdisciplinarnega pristopa (antropologija, genetika) pri obravnavi rezultatov ^{14}C (npr. Frolik *et al.* 2020), kadar je ta seveda mogoč.

[14] Datiranje vzorcev št. 1–5 in 7–9 (tab. 2) je bilo opravljeno v Póznanjskem laboratoriju. Vzorčenje v Gorenjskem muzeju v Kranju je opravil Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU. Za pomoč se zahvaljujemo Vereni Vidrih Perko, Veroniki Pflaum, Manci Omahen in Stanku Perčiču. Vzorci št. 6, 10–11 (tab. 2) so bili datirani na Oddelku za matematiko in fiziko Univerze v Salentu (Centro di Datazione e Diagnostico). Vzorčenje je opravilo podjetje PJP, d. o. o. (Arhiv najdišča KR SMJ 10; hrani: PJP, d. o. o.). Za posredovanje rezultatov se zahvaljujemo Rafku Urankarju in Heleni Bešter. Rezultati so bili kalibrirani s programom OxCal v4.4 (Bronk Ramsey 2021) po kalibracijski krivulji IntCal20 (Reimer *et al.* 2020). Starejše objave teh grobov navajajo starejše kalibracije (npr. Rihter 2020, 186).

Radiokarbonske datacije so ključen kronološki vir za ostanke, ki jih ni mogoče datirati z arheološkimi metodami (npr. Hueglin 2017). Zlasti so pomembne pri časovnem opredeljevanju posameznih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov na najdiščih brez stratigrafskih in drugih podatkov (npr. Eichert 2013, 427; Höglinger 2019), vendar so za grobišča s stratigrafijo in drugimi znanimi kulturnimi konteksti zaradi svojih značilno širokih kalibriranih časovnih razponov preohlapne (prim. Frolik *et al.* 2020). Konkretno, najširši (2-Σ) časovni razponi vzorcev kosti v vzhodnoalpskih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobovih pogosto obsegajo stoletje ali več (gl. primere pri: Pleterski 2013a, sl. 3; Eichert 2010a, 160–161, sl. 10; 165–167, sl. 15), nemalokrat pa skoraj celotno obdobje, v katerem se po tipokronoloških opredelitvah zgodnjesrednjeveški predmeti sploh lahko pojavljajo v grobovih (npr. Pleterski 2013a, 304–305, sl. 16; Rihter 2020, 198–199). Pri datacijah ^{14}C je treba upoštevati natančnost in matematično dejstvo, da je možnost dejanske datacije povsem enaka v okviru celotnega časovnega razpona (podrobneje Štular 2020c, 171, z navedeno literaturo).

Ker datacije ^{14}C (še) ne ponujajo krajše poti do kronološkega opredeljevanja posameznih grobov in predmetov (Pleterski 2013a, 299, 304–305), je njihovo ovrednotenje (preverjanje veljavnosti in oženje časovnih razponov) s pomočjo kulturnih kriterijev ključno in nujno (npr. Kaizer *et al.* 2019; Annaert *et al.* 2020, 271; De Mulder *et al.* 2020; Koštová *et al.* 2022, 212–216, 249–250). Med izhodiščnimi je metoda ovrednotenja kalibriranih radiokarbonskih datacij s stratigrafijo, kar omogoča tako preverjanje kot izdelavo različnih kronoloških modelov (npr. Kaizer *et al.* 2019; Rihter 2020, 186–199, sl. 74–75, tab. 13–19, graf. 2–7; Hines 2021, 186–199; Koštová *et al.* 2022, 210–216, graf 9), ki lahko vključujejo tudi različne arheološke relativne in absolutne kronološke pogoje ter omejitve (Geeraerts *et al.* 2017; Levy *et al.* 2020). Toda običajno radiokarbonske datacije niso dostopne za vse grobove v stratigrafski sekvenci, ki bi si jih želeli datirati (prim. Levy *et al.* 2020, 2). Uporaba trenutno veljavnih tipokronologij – v kombinaciji s stratigrafijo – zato ostaja trdna kronološka opora za preverjanje veljavnosti in oženje radiokarbonskih datacij. Datacijska orodja, ki jih uporabljamo pri analizi izbranih območij, so torej stratigrafija, datacije ^{14}C in tipokronološke opredelitve predmetov. Podrobneje jih predstavljamo v naslednjem poglavju.

Št. / No.	**Grob / Grave**	**Koda vzorca / Sample code**	**^{14}C**	**2-Σ**	**Vrsta vzorca / Sampled material**
1	1972_z0085	Poz-142196	1235 ± 30	680-882	kost / bone
2	1972_z0089	Poz-142197	1295 ± 30	659-775	kost / bone
3	1984_z0049	Poz-142195	1315 ± 30	654-774	kost / bone
4	1984_z0106	Poz-97549	1295 ± 30	670-775	kost / bone
5	1984_z0110	Poz-90109	1240 ± 30	678-880	kost / bone
6	2011_x0222	LTL17261A	1086 ± 45	774-1032	kost / bone
7	1984_z0052	Poz-90106	1085 ± 30	892-1020	kost / bone
8	1984_z0071	Poz-90108	945 ± 30	1027-1166	kost / bone
9	1984_z0087	Poz-149787	915 ± 30	1038-1210	kost / bone
10	2011_x0218	LTL16265A	1094 ± 45	774-1029	les / wood
11	2011_x0222	LTL16246A	1454 ± 45	546-658	les / wood

Tab. 2: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Seznam grobov in ^{14}C datacij.
Tab. 2: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. List of the graves with ^{14}C dates.

3.4 Tipokronološke opredelitve predmetov iz grobov v stratigrafskih sekvencah

Časovni razponi najstarejših grobov, datiranih z metodo ^{14}C (*tab. 2*: 1–6), skupaj prekrivajo več kot 370-letno obdobje. Zato jih časovno zožujemo posredno, s tipokronološkimi opredelitvami nakita (Eichert 2010a; Pleterski 2013a) v sekvencah z relativno mlajšimi grobovi ter z vključevanjem kronoloških opor z bolje raziskanih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč v Sloveniji (Sagadin 1988; *id*. 2001; Knific 1974; Knific, Pleterski 1981; *eid*. 1993; Pleterski 1982; Štular 2020a).

Veljavne tipokronologije (Eichert 2010a; Pleterski 2013a) zgodnjesrednjeveškega vzhodnoalpskega gradiva pomenijo trenutno stopnjo poznavanja, na kateri se radikalni premiki ne dogajajo več. Te tipokronologije niso zgrešene za več kot nekaj desetletij. Strnjen čas polaganja sorodnega nakita v grobove na grobiščih, primerljivih Župni cerkvi, namreč obsega največ 300-letno obdobje, okvirno med letoma 750 in 1050 (prim. Eichert 2010a, sl. 43, 46; Pleterski 2013a, sl. 16; Rihter 2020, 151).

Tipokronologije, utemeljene na blejskih grobiščih, kot glavno relativno kronološko orodje uporabljajo topografsko kronologijo grobov (npr. Knific 1974), deloma stratigrafijo grobov (Pleterski 1982) in modele različno dolgih generacij ter naravoslovne in historične datacije (Pleterski 1982; *id*. 2013a). Eichertova členitev gradiva z grobišč avstrijske Koroške (Eichert 2010a) temeljne časovne ločnice v precejšnji meri naslanja na politično dogajanje (Pleterski 2013a, 300). Navezava pojavov arheološkega gradiva na natančne zgodovinske letnice pa je lahko tudi problematična (npr. Sagadin 2013, 260). Metodo členitve drobnega gradiva, ki temelji na topografiji grobov, lahko prav tako ocenimo kot grobo, vendar je ta način na številnih grobiščih pogosto najbolj dostopen.

Problemi lahko torej izhajajo iz izbire vhodnih kronoloških podatkov, ki so temelj arheoloških artefaktnih kronologij. Izgradnja kronologije in njeno izboljševanje sta namreč v poteku dialektičnega procesa in sta odvisna tudi od drugih raziskav (Smith 1992, 26–28). Arheološke kronologije zato nikoli niso dokončne (prim. Neustupný 1993, 178–179; Fehring 1992, 45) in jih je treba vedno znova obnavljati (prim. Smith 1992, 29; Pleterski 2013a, 320; Harding 1999, 182–183, 216).

Relativna kronologija grobov in predmetov grobišča Župna cerkev se sklada (Rihter 2020; pril. 3–7) s trenutnimi tipokronološkimi sistemi in opažanji za področje zgodnjesrednjeveškega ženskega naglavnega nakita in prstanov v Vzhodnih Alpah (Eichert 2010a; Pleterski 2013a) ter jih v posameznih primerih tipokronološko že dopolnjuje (npr. Rihter 2020). S pomočjo teh tipokronologij in relativne kronologije grobov in nakita na grobišču

Župna cerkev (Rihter 2020, 186–198) ter datacij ^{14}C (Rihter 2020, 186–198, sl. 74) sta razvidna začetek in konec pridajanja zgodnjesrednjeveških predmetov v grobove.

Zadnjim zgodnjesrednjeveškim grobovom s pridatki stratigrafsko sledijo grobovi brez pridatkov, nato pa se v visokem in poznem srednjem veku nad njimi ponovno pojavijo grobovi s predmeti – predvsem okrogle železne spone in t. i. romarske školjke. Tem stratigrafsko sledijo novoveški grobovi z devocionalijami in deli noše (Rihter 2020, pril. 7, diag. 1–60).

Vključitev datiranja s pomočjo usmerjenosti okostij (azimut) in leg rok na tej stopnji raziskave še ni mogoča na način, ki bi veljal za celotno grobišče, saj to še ni analizirano kot celota. Podatke o usmerjenosti okostij in drži rok na nekaterih mestih uporabimo le lokalno, kot podporna datacijska sredstva.

4 ANALIZA OBMOČIJ 1–3 S STRATIGRAFSKO NAJSTAREJŠIMI ZGODNJESREDNJEVEŠKIMI GROBOVI

Na podlagi stratigrafske analize celotnega grobišča in radiokarbonskih datacij stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov so izbrana tri relevantna območja z "najdebelejšo" stratigrafijo zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov (*sl. 1:* 1–3), primerna za podrobnejšo kronološko obravnavo (*gl. pogl. 4.1–4.3*).

Gre za območja s stratigrafsko najstarejšimi grobovi brez pridatkov, kot so bili opredeljeni in prepoznani v dosedanjih raziskavah (*Območje* 2), in za nekatere doslej v tej luči podrobneje še neobravnavane grobove (*Območje* 1 in 3). Za vsak stratigrafsko najstarejši grob imamo radiokarbonsko datacijo kosti, v enem primeru tudi lesa (*tab. 2*). Nad vsakim začetnim ali stratigrafsko najstarejšim grobom smo izluščili odsek stratigrafije do 50 mlajših grobov in nekaterih drugih elementov grobišča (Harrisov diagram) (*sl. 7–8, 10*). To je število, ki še omogoča sledljivost in ustrezno vizualizacijo (prim. Mlekuž 2001).

V Harrisovem diagramu za *območje* 1 so v sekvencah grobov prikazani tudi predmeti (*sl. 7*). Za *območji* 2 in 3 so zaradi preobsežnosti za analizo ključni predmeti (izbor) prikazani na slikah *(sl. 9, 11*) vzporedno ob diagramih (*sl. 8, 10*), ki niso fazirani. Predmeti na slikah *(sl. 9, 11)* ne ohranjajo kataloške številke (po OIAS 37), kjer so sicer objavljeni podrobnejši opisi in merski podatki vseh predmetov v grobnih celotah (gl. tam).

Stratigrafski sekvenci območij 2 in 3 se začenjata s trenutno najstarejšima časovnima razponoma radiokarbonskih datacij grobov na celotnem grobišču (*tab. 2*: 2–3). Gre za grob 1972_z0089 (*Območje* 2), ki je del t. i. Valičeve skupine najstarejših grobov, in za podobno grajen grob 1984_z0049 (*Območje* 3). Njuni spodnji meji (^{14}C) možnega časovnega razpona nastanka se začenjata v šestem desetletju 7. st., končujeta pa ob začetku zadnje četrtine 8. st. Začetek zadnje četrtine 8. st. je hkrati tudi spodnja časovna meja možnega nastanka groba 2011_x0222 (*tab. 2*: 6), ki je začetni ali najstarejši grob stratigrafske sekvence grobov z *območja* 1. Njegov zgornji rob možnega časa nastanka je začetek četrtega desetletja 11. st.

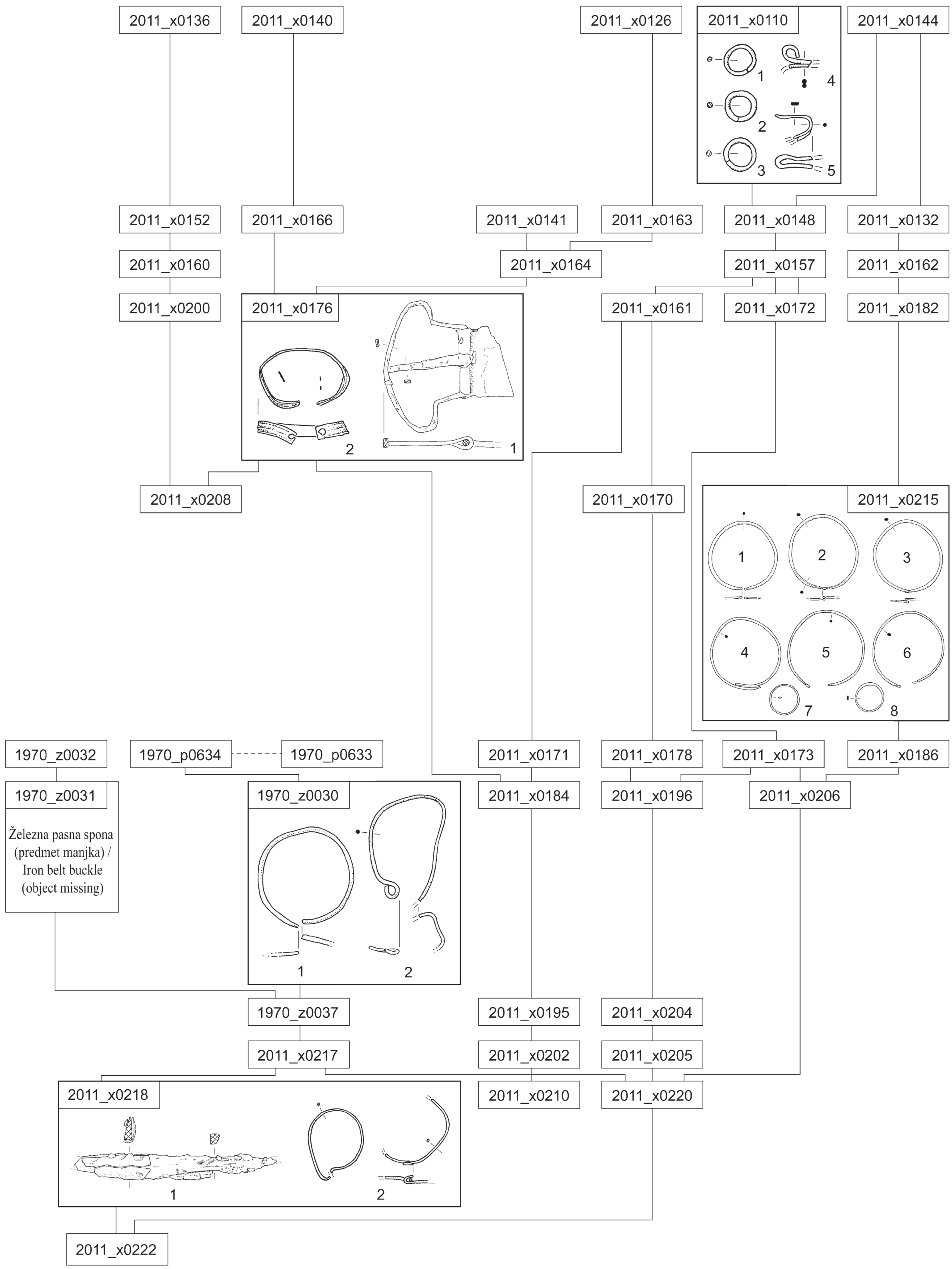
Pri posameznih območjih so predstavljene tudi radiokarbonske datacije večinoma mlajših grobov (od podrobneje obravnavanih) 1984_z0052, 1984_z0071, 1984_z0087 in 1984_z0106 (*tab. 2: 7–9*), s katerimi utrjujemo posamezne sklepe.

4.1 Območje 1

Območje 1 leži v jugovzhodnem delu grobišča med apsido in jugovzhodno steno današnje cerkvene stavbe (*sl. 1, 2)*. Gre za območje z debelo stratigrafijo grobov, kjer sekvenco začenja grob 2011_x0222 (Rihter 2020, 186). Izkopan je bil v kampanji 2011–2013 na območju, kjer so izkopavali že leta 1970. Na podlagi analize stratigrafije je bilo mogoče šest grobov kampanje 1970 zanesljivo povezati v stratigrafske sekvence z grobovi, izkopanimi v kampanji 2011–2013 (*sl. 7* in Rihter 2020, pril. 7, diag. 47).

Za razumevanje stratigrafije nad grobom 2011_x0222 so zlasti pomembne stratigrafske sekvence št. 15839, 15908, 15840, 15841, 15842, 15843, 15844, 15782, 15783, 15670, 15671, 15504 in 15399 (Rihter 2020, pril. 3).[15] Izbrane dele teh smo uporabili kot osnovo za prikaz Harrisovega diagrama (*sl. 7*), ki ga tvori 45 grobov (prim. Rihter 2020, 188, sl. 74; gl. tudi pril. 7, diag. 47), razporejenih v 11 nivojih ali "nadstropjih". Grob 2011_x0222 se v različnih stratigrafskih sekvencah celotnega grobišča pojavi 524-krat kot najstarejši grob (Rihter 2020, pril. 3; stratigrafske sekvence št. 15384–15908). Podrobneje obravnavamo tri

[15] Relevantne sekvence za *območje* 1 so bile za ta prispevek dopolnjene in korigirane, kot je prikazano v Harrisovem diagramu.



Sl. 7: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Harrisov diagram grobov s predmeti z območja 1 (prirejeno in dopolnjeno po Rihter 2020, 188, pril. 3: 15384 – 15908; pril. 7: diag. 47; risbe po OIAS 38). M. 1970_z0030, 2011_x0110, 2011_x0176/2, 2011_x0218/2 = 1 : 2; ostalo = 1 : 4.

Fig. 7: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Harris Matrix of graves and goods from Area 1. (adapted and upgraded after Rihter 2020, 188, App. 3: 15384 – 15908; App. 7: Diag. 47; drawings taken from OIAS 38). Scale 1970_z0030, 2011_x0110, 2011_x0176/2, 2011_x0218/2 = 1 : 2; other = 1 : 4.

najdaljše (povezane) sekvence z grobovi, v katerih so bili odkriti predmeti.

Grob 2011_x0222

Žensko okostje (45–50 let) ni imelo pridatkov in je ležalo v pravokotni grobni jami velikosti 1,81 m × 0,43 m (azimut 125°) (*sl. 6*). Jugozahodno ob lobanji je bil večji kamen, na zahodni in vzhodni stranici grobne jame so bili ostanki lesenih prečnih desk, na glavi in pri nogah so bili vidni ostanki deske, ki je pokrivala okostje (OIAS 38, 231).

Za grob sta na voljo dve radiokarbonski dataciji. Prva je bila opravljena na vzorcu iz deske kot dela grobne konstrukcije, druga pa na vzorcu kosti pokojnice. Najširši časovni razpon kalibrirane datacije deske (2-Σ) je 546–685 (*tab*. 2: 11), datacije kosti pa (2-Σ) 774–1032 (*tab*. 2: 6). Grob je torej lahko nastal najprej leta 774 in najpozneje leta 1032. Med teoretično najpoznejšo možno datacijo analiziranega dela deske in najzgodnejšo možno datacijo okostja je 116 let razlike. To lahko kaže, da je analizirani del deske pripadal od groba znatno starejšemu drevesu (prim. Annaert *et al*. 2020, 271), ki pa bi lahko bilo posekano teoretično tudi šele ob pogrebu, ali pa bi šlo za starejšo desko, uporabljeno v mlajšem kontekstu – pokopu. Tehnika izdelave desk pri tem ni nepomembna. Za izdelavo desk so primernejša debelejša, praviloma starejša drevesa. V našem primeru sicer ne vemo, za katero drevesno vrsto je šlo, in tudi ne, kateri del drevesa je bil predelan v eno izmed desk grobne konstrukcije. Deska lahko v rezini vključuje le dele najstarejšega drevesnega jedra ali pa vsebuje tudi mlajše dele branik oziroma oboje hkrati (gl. Hueglin 2017, 1671–72). Arheološki preostanki izdelkov enega drevesa lahko zato dajejo različne radiokarbonske datacije.

Časovni razpon deske v primerjavi s časovnim razponom kosti iz groba ter tudi kronologija posameznih vzporednih sekvenc mlajših grobov, predstavljenih v nadaljevanju, kažeta, da je grob nastal v spodnjem delu časovnega razpona radiokarbonske datacije kosti (Rihter 2020, 186–187).

Sekvenca 2011_x0222 / 2011_x0218 / 2011_x0217 / 1970_z0030 / 1970_p0634

Eden prvih stratigrafsko mlajših grobov od groba 2011_x0222 je grob 2011_x0218 v pravokotni, 1,95 × 0,65 m veliki grobni jami (azimut 90°). V njem so bili pridatki: nož (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0218/1) ter odlomka bronastega in srebrnega naglavnega obročka, ki sta se spenjala z zanko in kaveljčkom (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0218/2). V zgornjem delu zasutja, na vzhodni strani, so bili odkriti ostanki dveh lesenih desk, prav tako so bili odkriti sledovi deske pod okostjem (OIAS 38, 230). Za grob je na voljo več datacijskih opor.

Prvo datacijo (^{14}C) daje vzorec deske grobne konstrukcije, drugo absolutna tipokronološka opredelitev naglavnega nakita, tretjo pa relativnokronološka lega v stratigrafski sekvenci (TPQ/TAQ).

Najširši časovni razpon kalibrirane datacije dela deske iz groba 2011_x0218 je (2-Σ) 774–1029 (*tab. 2: 11*). Datacija se presenetljivo ujema z datacijo kosti prej obravnavanega, spodaj ležečega groba 2011_x0222 (774–1032). Pri obravnavi tega groba smo že izpostavili različne možnosti časa nastanka tako lesne surovine kot uporabljenih delov za izdelavo grobne konstrukcije. Kot bomo videli v nadaljevanju, pri vključevanju tipokronoloških datacij nakita in relativne kronologije tega in mlajših grobov lahko časovni razpon dela deske iz groba 2011_x0218 predstavlja zgolj ohlapno, vendar zanesljivo datacijo *ad quem* za grob. Na kronološki razmik, poleg superpozicij, najverjetneje kaže tudi razlika med azimutom 125° spodnjega groba 2011_x0222 in azimutom 95° zgornjega groba 2011_x0218.

Za datacijo groba 2011_x0218 je bolj povedna tipokronološka umestitev nakita. Naglavni obročki, ki se zaključujejo z nekovano zanko in kaveljčkom, so po tipokronološki opredelitvi Stefana Eicherta na avstrijskem Koroškem tipični predstavniki skupine C1, katere absolutna omejitev zajema čas med letoma 780 in 830 (Eichert 2010a, 167–168, sl. 46; gl. tudi *pogl. 3.2* in *3.4*). Na blejskih grobiščih se po tipokronološki opredelitvi Andreja Pleterskega (2013a) tovrsten nakit (kot tip NO0100_0102) v zgodnjesrednjeveških grobovih pojavlja v istem času kot na avstrijskem Koroškem, vendar na blejskih grobiščih spodnja meja še ni popolnoma določena in bi lahko segala še v čas pred letom 770, morda do sredine 8. st. Na blejskih grobiščih so pridajanje tovrstnega nakita v grobove opustili sredi 9. st. oziroma najpozneje v tretji petini 9. st. (Pleterski 2013a, sl. 16).

Ni dvoma, da lahko nastanek groba 2011_x0218 postavimo v čas po letu 774, saj je to hkrati tudi najstarejši mogoči začetek spodaj ležečega strati-grafsko starejšega groba 2011_x0222. Ob siceršnjih dolžinah zgodnjesrednjeveških delov sekvenc grobov in tipoloških sestav predmetov v tem diagramu in na drugih primerljivih grobiščih (gl. *pogl. 3.2* in *3.4*) je med grobovoma znaten časovni presledek. Med drugim ga nakazujeta njuna izrazito različna azimuta, predvsem pa stratigrafska situacija nad grobom 2011_x0218 – nad njim so še trije zanesljivo zgodnjesrednjeveški grobovi, kar skupaj tvori 5 grobov dolgo sekvenco zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov, skladno s tipokronološko in stratigrafsko sliko celotnega grobišča. Enakočlena vzporedna sekvenca (prek grobov 2011_x0220 / 2011_x0206) to ugotovitev dopolnjuje, deloma pa tudi sekvenca štirih grobov brez zgodnjesrednjeveških pridatkov nad grobom 2011_x0210, ki jo zaključuje visoko- ali poznosrednjeveški grob 2011_x0176. Kako dolg bi lahko torej bil razmik med nastankom grobov 2011_x0222 in 2011_x0218? Topografsko-kronološke raziskave (zgodnje)srednjeveških grobišč časovne presledke med grobovi pogosto zaznavajo in opisujejo kot časovno različno dolge "generacije" (prim. Eichert 2010a, 28, 160–175; *id.* 2013, 426), "vrste" (prim. Knific 1974), "skupine" (prim. Sagadin 2020, 19–20) ali "pokolenja" s trajanjem 30–40 let (prim. Pleterski 2013a) ali več let (prim. Koštová *et al.* 2022, 214). Takšne razmike uporabljajo – glede na celoten možen čas pojavljanja tovrstnih predmetov v grobovih nasploh – lokalni tipokronološki sistemi, utemeljeni na blejskih grobiščih, ki (v večini primerov) kažejo horizontalno prostorsko-časovno rast (gl. *pogl. 3.2* in *3.4*). Relativna kronologija grobov našega grobišča, neodvisno od blejskih grobišč, kaže enaka zaporedja pojavljanja najprej starejših, nato mlajših ter naposled najmlajših nakitnih oblik, le da v vertikalni smeri. Zato menimo, da je model (vsaj) 30-letnih presledkov za zgodnjesrednjeveške grobove v stratigrafskih sekvencah po trenutnem poznavanju realen, ni pa splošno zavezujoč. Ti so v posameznih primerih lahko tudi daljši ali krajši (npr. Koštová *et al.* 2022), na kar nas opozarjajo tako stratigrafija kot tipokronološki sestavi vsakokratne grobne celote.

Glede na predstavljeno postavljamo nastanek groba 2011_x0218 v čas ne pred letom 800 in verjetno ne pozneje kot okoli leta 830.

Zgodnjesrednjeveški del obravnavane stratigrafske sekvence se po kriteriju prisotnosti zgodnjesrednjeveških predmetov torej zanesljivo zaključuje s 5. členom sekvence, to je z grobom 1970_z0030, v katerem sta bila dva naglavna obročka (*sl. 7*). Drug zaključek iste sekvence predstavlja prav tako 5. grob, to je grob 1970_z0031, ki je imel železno pasno spono s pravokotnim okovom pritrdišča in s tremi zakovicami (*sl. 7:* 1970_z0031/manjkajoč predmet; OIAS 35, 266). Ker spona in okov nista ohranjena, ju ne moremo časovno opredeliti. Lahko bi šlo za zgodnjesrednjeveško (npr. OIAS 38, 358:3), lahko pa tudi za visoko- ali poznosrednjeveško spono (npr. OIAS 38, 216:1).

Nad ostankom okostja groba 2011_x0217 (OIAS 38, 229) je okostje groba 1970_z0037 (OIAS 35, 267), oba sta bila brez pridatkov. Nad slednjim je ob prekopu deloma uničen grob 1970_z0030, ki mu po terenskem dnevniku pripadata naglavna obročka (OIAS 35, 266).[16] Gre za kombinacijo tipološko starejše in relativno mlajše različice naglavnih obročkov. Za starejšo obliko bi lahko zaradi ohranjene zanke domnevali princip spenjanja z zanko in kaveljčkom (prim. Korošec 1961, 159, 161). Datacijo preprostega obročastega nakita, ki se spenja z zanko in kaveljčkom, smo že opredelili pri obravnavi groba 2011_x0218 in lahko zajema časovni razpon ca. 750/770–850/860. Relativno mlajšo obliko pa predstavlja tip naglavnega obročka z ravno odrezanima koncema.[17] Ta sodi v koroško skupino C2, ki je časovno omejena med letoma 830 in 900 (Eichert 2010a, 168–170, sl. 46). Tovrstna kombinacija v grobni celoti je časovno komaj še združljiva, vendar je znana na tem (npr. OIAS 28, 76: grob 1953_z0109; 155–156: grob 2011_x0004) in drugih grobiščih (npr. Eichert 2010a, t. 2: Augsdorf/Gr. 2: 4,10). Na blejskih grobiščih se naglavni obročki z ravno odrezanimi konci (kot tip NO0100_0606 po Pleterskem (2013a)) zagotovo pojavljajo od sredine 9. st. do sredine 10. st., pri čemer pa zgornja meja še ni določena in morda sega še v sam konec 10. st. (Pleterski 2013a, sl. 16). Po trenutnih tipokronoloških podatkih grob 1970_z0030 tako ni starejši od sredine 9. st., vendar bi teoretično lahko nastal v obdobju še vse do sredine 10. st. Ker pa grob vsebuje tudi tipološko starejšo obliko nakita ter je v stratigrafski sekvenci 5. po vrsti nad prvim grobom, ki ni starejši od leta 774, je njegov nastanek verjetnejši ob koncu druge polovice 9. st. ali najpozneje na prelomu v 10. st. kot pa v sredini 10. st. ali pozneje.

Sklep: sekvenco 2011_x0222 / 2011_x0218 / 2011_x0217 / 1970_z0037 / 1970_z0030 lahko trenutno omejimo med letom 774 in časom okoli 900. Samo radiokarbonsko datacijo prvega groba sekvence, tj. 2011_x0222, lahko s tem omejimo med letoma 774 in okoli 800.

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[16] Terenski dnevnik, ki mu dajemo prednost, ima obročka za pridatek (gl. OIAS 37, 266). Ker je bil grob prekopan, bi lahko bila grobna celota problematična, vendar kombinacija obročkov ni nemogoča.

[17] Katalog navaja en konec obročka kot priostren (OIAS 35, 266), vendar po našem mnenju ne gre za tipično koničasto izvedbo in jo trenutno prištevamo k obliki ravno odrezanih koncev.

Sekvenca 2011_x0222–2011_x0220 –preko 2011_x0186–2011_x0144

Mlajša od groba 2011_x0222 je tudi celotna sekvenca 9 grobov, ki se nadaljuje z grobom 2011_x0220 in konča z grobom 2011_x0144 (*sl. 7*). V zanesljivo zgodnjesrednjeveškem, spodnjem delu stratigrafske sekvence, kot jo opredeljuje edini grob s pridatki 2011_x0215 (*sl. 7*; gl. OIAS 38, 228–227), je 5 grobov. Pod slednjim so torej vsi grobovi zgodnjesrednjeveški in brez pridatkov. Za prvi grob 2011_x0222 imamo že omenjene radiokarbonske datacije, grob 2011_x0215 pa časovno opredeljujejo najdbe in stratigrafija.

Okostje groba 2011_x0215 je bilo v pravokotni jami dimenzij 1,6 × 0,44 m (azimut 99°). Med pridatki je 6 naglavnih obročkov (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0215/1–6) in dva sklenjena trakasta prstana z ozkim prerezom locna (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0215/7–8; OIAS 38, 228–229).

Najprepoznavnejša je skupina treh naglavnih obročkov (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0215/1–3; OIAS 38, 228–229:1–3) z enojnima odebelitvama koncev (tip NO0100_0808), ki se kot dolgotrajen tip na blejskih in drugih grobiščih pojavljajo od okoli 870 pa vse do konca 10. st. (Pleterski 2013a, sl. 16)). Med preostalimi nepoškodovanimi obročki, ki so oblikovno opredeljivi, sta obroček z enim ravno odrezanim in drugim najverjetneje enkratno odebeljenim koncem (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0215/4; OIAS 38, 228–229: 6) ter obroček z enkratno odebelitvijo enega konca in priostrenim drugim koncem (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0215/5; OIAS 38, 228–229: 4). V prvem primeru gre za tip NO0100_0608 s časovnim razponom od sredine 9. pa vse do konca 10. st. (Pleterski 2013, 319, sl. 16). V drugem primeru pa gre za obliko N00100_0708, ki jo Pleterski časovno vzporeja z obliko NO0100_0709 (podrobneje: Pleterski 2013a, 315) – ta je sicer ena najpoznejših oblik nakita zadnje tretjine 10. st. in prve polovice 11. st. (Pleterski 2013a, 319, sl. 12). Obroček (NO0100_0708) iz groba 2011_x0215 je v primerjavi z drugimi obročki tega tipa pri Župni cerkvi znatno večji, saj premer locna presega 5 cm. To je nekoliko nenavadno za ta tip, saj gre običajno za nekoliko manjše primerke. Vendar premer 5 cm dosegajo tudi vsi preostali obročki v grobu 2011_x0215, kar priča o (časovni) homogenosti skupine pridatkov, tj. da ne gre za zbir različno starih tipoloških oblik. Kombinacija sicer dolgotrajnega tipa obročka z enojnima odebelitvama koncev (NO0100_0808) in obročka NO0100_0708 v istem grobu je znana tudi z grobišča Mali grad v Kamniku (Sagadin 2001, t. 2: 9–11) ter priča o njuni sočasni uporabi vsaj nekaj časa (Pleterski 2013a, 312). Časovno razmeroma kratkotrajno grobišče na Malem gradu pa se ni začelo pred letom 950 in je trajalo do zgodnjega 11. st. (Sagadin 2001, 368–371).

Datacijo groba 2011_x0215 v konec 9. st. lahko na podlagi grobne celote izključimo. Zanesljivejša je datacija v 10. st., pri čemer bi omenjena kombinacija obročkov kot verjetnejšo kazala datacijo v drugo polovico 10. st. Da ne gre za enega najpoznejših grobov s pridatki, ki bi morda segali še v 11. st., morda posredno nakazuje razmeroma še številčen nakitni inventar v grobu. Trenutno splošno opažanje na grobišču Župna cerkev namreč kaže, da je pri stratigrafsko najmlajših zgodnjesrednjeveških grobovih opaziti manjše število in raznolikost pridatkov (primerjaj Rihter 2020, pril. 3, pril. 6: tab. 13).

Prisotnost dveh ozkih, že sklenjenih oblik prstanov v grobni celoti (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0215/7–8) posredno nakazuje datacijo v poznejši del 10. st., najverjetneje v drugo polovico. To sklepamo na podlagi grobnih celot s prstani v stratigrafskih sekvencah z grobišča Župna cerkev in drugih grobišč. V primeru groba 2011_x0215 namreč ne gre za starejšo, širšo obliko pločevinastih prstanov, ki so se spenjali z zakovico in so se v grobovih pojavljali najpozneje do sredine 10. st. (prim. Pleterski 1982, 136–137, 141). Prav tako ne gre za relativno starejšo grobno celoto, kakršno predstavlja kombinacija nesklenjenega prstana s trikotnim presekom in naglavnega obročka z enojnimi odebelitvami, ki se pri Župni cerkvi ne pojavlja v zgornjih, zaključnih delih sekvenc zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov s predmeti (gl. Rihter 2020, pril. 7, diag. 1–60).

Sekvenca 2011_x0210 – preko 2011_x0184 – 2011_x0176

Sekvenca, ki se začenja z grobom 2011_x0210, se v zgornjem delu razcepi v več posameznih vej in prehaja v stik z grobom 2011_x0222 le posredno. Tu obravnavamo le njen spodnji del, do groba 2011_x0176, ki predstavlja 5. zaporedni grob sekvence ter je kronološko opredeljiv zaradi pridatka in predmeta v zasutju. Vsi grobovi pod njim so namreč brez pridatkov.

Moško okostje groba 2011_x0176 je imelo v predelu nad medenico in med rebri železno pasno spono z locnom pravokotnega preseka v obliki lire s koničnim trnom (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0176/1; OIAS 38, 216: 1), v zasutju pa bronast trakast prstan z žlebljenim trakastim prerezom in z ravno odrezanima koncema locna, ki sta bila sklenjena z zakovico (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0215/2; OIAS 38, 216: 2). Lirasta pasna spona zanesljivo opredeljuje konec zgodnjesrednjeveških pokopov v tej sekvenci, saj gre za visokosrednjeveško ali poznosrednjeveško spono iz 13.–14. (prim. Krabath 2001, 140) oziroma 15. st. (npr. Guštin *et al*. 1993, 63–64; prim. Sawicki 2021, 113: 71).

Podobne pasne spone so znane tudi z drugih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč s trajanjem v mlajša arheološka obdobja (npr. Marušič 1987, 345, t. 3: 6/1; Knific, Mlinar 2014, 427, 436, t. 1: 20; Knific, Tomanič Jevremov 2005, 168 in tam navedena literatura). Obravnavana lirasta spona iz groba 2011_x0176 je na grobišču Župna cerkev edina z znanim grobnim kontekstom. Posamezne tovrstne spone ali njihove sestavne dele namreč poznamo večinoma le kot raztresene najdbe (npr. OIAS 37, 338, Leto 1965: 1, 357: 7–10; 358: 12–13).

V zasutju groba (2011_x0176) odkrit poškodovan prstan z žlebljenim trakastim prerezom najverjetneje izvira iz nekaj stoletij starejšega prekopanega zgodnjesrednjeveškega groba, ki je lahko obstajal na tem ali bližnjem mestu. Na to možnost bi – poleg tipokronološke opredelitve predmeta – kazale najmanj 4-člena stratigrafska sekvenca grobov pod grobom 2011_x0176, v kateri prevladujejo nepopolna okostja (gl. OIAS 38, 218, 222, 224, 227), in dodatno sosednje enakočlene in zanesljivo zgodnjesrednjeveške sekvence grobov z leve in desne strani sekvence nad grobom 2011_x0222, ki smo ju obravnavali zgoraj. Vsaj grob 2011_x0202, ki je 2. člen sekvence, se z azimutom 120° (OIAS 38, 224) zelo približa usmeritvi stratigrafsko najstarejšega zgodnjesrednjeveškega groba 2011_x0222 na tem območju.

Stratigrafsko zadnji grob, ki vsebuje predmete, je grob 2011_x0110. Ob glavi slabo ohranjenega – najverjetneje ženskega – okostja so bili odkriti trije obročki iz bele kovine (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0110/1–3; OIAS 38, 198: 3–5) za spenjanje oblačil in dva poškodovana medeninasta spenca – kaveljca (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0110/4–5; prim. OIAS 38, 198: 1–2). Čeprav je uporaba oblikovno identičnih spencev znana že v severnoevropskih zgodnjesrednjeveških kontekstih (npr. Røstad 2021, sl. 4.55), je njihov pojav v srednje- in zahodnoevropskih kontekstih datiran šele v poznosrednjeveško, predvsem pa v novoveško obdobje (Predovnik *et al*. 2008, 72–73). Primerjave kažejo (Predovnik *et al*. 2008, 72–74), da se lahko v istem grobu pojavijo tako spenci kot obročki za spenjanje oblačil (gl. Mithay 1985, 190, sl. 5: 3–4), kar ustreza našemu grobu. Na grobišču v cerkvi sv. Jerneja v Šentjerneju sta grobova 105 in 107, od katerih prvi vsebuje spence (Predovnik *et al*. 2008, t. 6: 5), drugi pa obročke za spenjanje oblačila (Predovnik *et al*. 2008, t. 7: 3), datirana v čas med 16. in 18. st. (Predovnik *et al*. 2008, 48), kar je skladno tako z našo stratigrafsko situacijo kot z opustitvijo pokopavanja na grobišču Župna cerkev leta 1789.

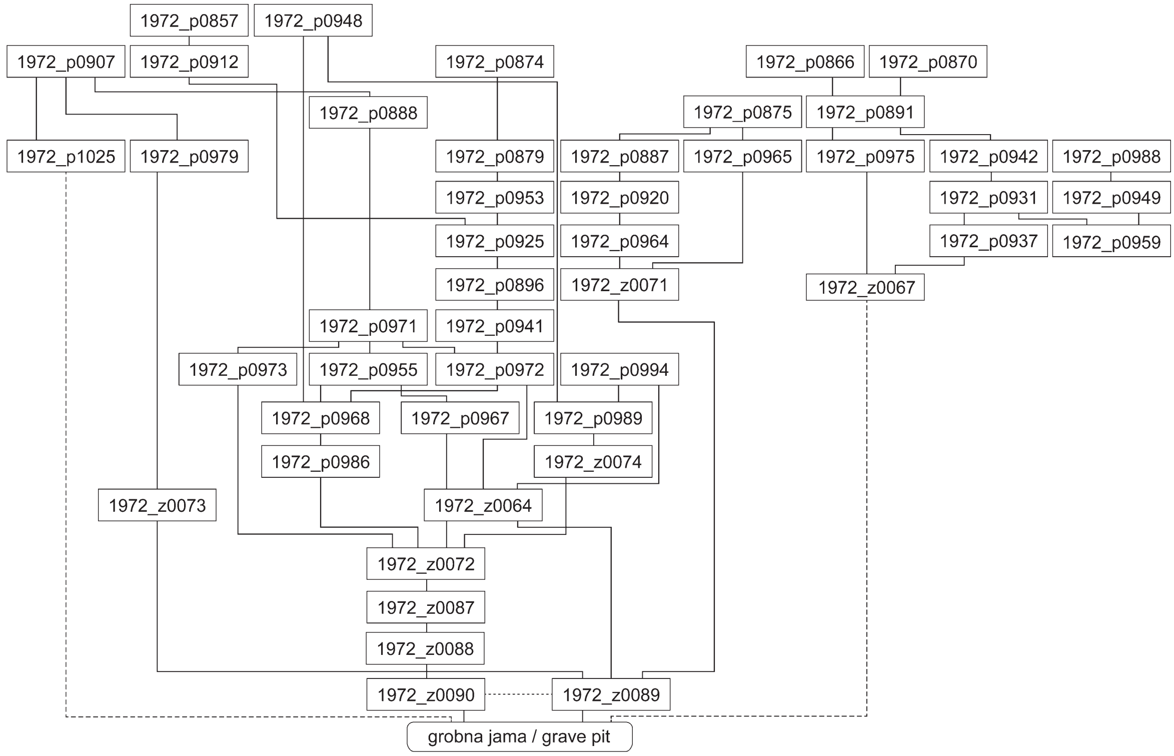
Sklep k območju 1

Na *območju* 1 so začeli pokopavati v zadnji četrtini 8. st. in nadaljevali nepretrgoma do 18. st. To dokazujeta radiokarbonska datacija prvega groba 2011_x0222 (v čas 774–1032) ter stratigrafija in materialna kultura grobov nad njima. Realni čas nastanka najstarejšega groba 2011_x0222 je zadnja četrtina 8. st. Oblika in dimenzija grobne jame 2011_x0222 sta takšni kot pri nekaterih relativno mlajših grobovih sekvence z zgodnjesrednjeveškimi pridatki (npr. 2011_x0215 in 2011_x0218), mere so 1,6–1,95 m × 0,43–0,65 m. Hkrati pa so takšne grobne jame po dimenzijah podobne tudi grobu 1972_z0085 ali 1972_z0107 t. i. Valičeve skupine najstarejših grobov. Grob 2011_x0222 je v tem smislu drugačen od stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov z *območij* 2 in 3, od teh je po radiokarbonskih datacijah tudi relativno mlajši. Grob 2011_x0222 je v gradnji torej bolj podoben relativno mlajšim grobovom, ki mu sledijo v stratigrafskem zaporedju, kot pa absolutno najstarejšim grobovom z *območij* 1 in 2.

4.2 Območje 2

Območje 2 leži ob severni steni današnje cerkve (*sl. 1, 2*), kjer je bila dokumentirana ena največjih gostot pokopov (Achino *et al*. 2019, 300–301, 304–307, sl. 4–7), ponekod je znašala povprečno 5,25 pokopa na m^3 (Rihter 2018b, 12). Gre za območje z debelo stratigrafijo grobov, kjer okostji 1972_z0089 in 1972_z0090 v skupni grobni jami sodita med stratigrafsko najstarejše pokope (Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 111–130). Za razumevanje stratigrafije na tem območju so zlasti pomembne stratigrafske sekvence št. 5040–6176[18] (Rihter 2020, pril. 3, 111–130). Dele teh smo uporabili kot osnovo za Harrisov diagram, v katerem prikazujemo 47 grobov (*sl. 8*). Ti so nad okostjema 1972_z0089 in 1972_z0090, kot relativno mlajši, razporejeni v do 15 nivojih drug nad drugim. Njuna grobna jama se v različnih stratigrafskih sekvencah pojavi

[18] Relevantne sekvence za *območje* 2 so bile za ta prispevek dopolnjene in korigirane, kot je prikazano v Harrisovem diagramu.



Sl. 8: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Harrisov diagram grobov z območja 2 (prirejeno in dopolnjeno po Rihter 2020, 188, pril. 3: 5248 – 6176; pril. 7: diag. 39 – 40).
Fig. 8: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Harris Matrix of graves from Area 2 (adapted and upgraded after Rihter 2020, 188, App. 3: 5248 – 6176; App. 7: Diag. 39 – 40).

1136-krat kot najstarejši člen stratigrafskih sekvenc grobov (Rihter 2020, pril. 3, 111–130).

Nad okostjema je v različnih stratigrafskih sekvencah skupaj 5 grobov z zgodnjesrednjeveškimi predmeti. Tem sledi številnejša skupina grobov brez pridatkov, nad katero se ponovno pojavijo grobovi s predmeti – s temi se zaključuje obdobje pokopavanja na tem grobišču.

Grobova 1972_z0089 in 1972_z0090

Vzporedno ležeči okostji *1972_z0089 in 1972_z0090*, med glavama ločeni s plastjo ilovice, sta brez pridatkov ležali v veliki pravokotni, v ilovico vkopani jami,[19] ki je bila delno obložena z velikimi kamni (OIAS 37, 157). Azimut prvega je meril 93°, drugega 96°. V zasutju prvega je bil odkrit meljak drobnice, v zasutju drugega pa kos opeke. Ob izkopavanjih so ju dokumentirali kot dvojni grob (OIAS 37, 157–158).

Na voljo imamo radiokarbonsko datacijo za južno okostje 1972_z0089, opravljena je bila na vzorcu kosti. Najširši časovni razpon kalibrirane datacije kosti je (2-Σ) 659–775 (*tab. 2: 2*).

Sekvenca 1972_z0089 / 1972_z0073

Eno krajših stratigrafskih sekvenc grobov z zgodnjesrednjeveškimi pridatki tvorita grobova 1972_z0089 in 1972_z0073 (*sl. 8*). Žensko okostje groba 1972_z0073 ima azimut 95°. Pod glavo so bili odkriti sledovi deske, ob njej pa dva večja (*sl. 9:* 1972_z0073/2–3; OIAS 37, 149: 2–3) in en manjši naglavni obroček (*sl. 9:* 1972_z0073/1; OIAS 37, 149: 1). Večja naglavna obročka imata večkratne odebelitve koncev, manjši ima en konec enojno odebeljen, drugi je ravno odrezan. Njegove dimenzije kažejo na možnost, da je bil izdelan iz večjega obročka (OIAS 37, 149), zato izvorna oblika ni znana, vendar je lahko kronološko povedna že njegova enkratna odebelitev.

Naglavni obročki z dvojnimi ali večkratnimi odebelitvami (NO0100_0909) sodijo med pozne oblike zgodnjesrednjeveškega naglavnega nakita (Pleterski 1982, 141), ki se na blejskih grobiščih pojavljajo po letu 920 (Pleterski 2013a, sl. 16). Eichert jih, kot razvojno obliko *Kf*, uvršča v koroško skupino C3, ki zajema celotno 10. st. (Eichert

[19] Pri analizi stratigrafije je grobna jama označena s kodo 1972_s0133 (Rihter 2020, pril. 1: tab. 1, str. 9).

Sl. 9: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Izbor predmetov iz grobov z območja 2 (risbe po OIAS 37). M. 1972_z0072/2 = 1 : 4; ostalo = 1 : 2.

Fig. 9: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Select goods from the graves in Area 2 (drawings taken from OIAS 37). Scale 1972_z0072 = 1 : 4; other = 1 : 2.

2010a, 40–43, sl. 10, 46). Kombinacija obročkov z dvojnima ali večkratnima odebelitvama in obročkov z enojnimi odebelitvami – ki so sicer nekoliko starejša, vendar dolgoživa tipološka oblika – na tem grobišču ni redkost,[20] poznamo pa jo tudi na drugih sočasnih grobiščih, npr. Križišče Iskra v Kranju (Sagadin 1988, t. 11: 61; 13: 68; 36: 243), Dlesc pri Bodeščah (Knific, Pleterski 1981, 489, t. 8: 22) ali grobišče na blejskem otoku (Bitenc, Knific 2020b, 300, 358, t. 2: 36), kjer je grob 36, ki vsebuje to kombinacijo, najmlajši v stratigrafskem zaporedju treh grobov (Bitenc, Knific 2020a, 51, sl. 2.4). Na grobišču Župna cerkev je tovrstna kombinacija grobnih celot v relevantnih stratigrafskih sekvencah vedno v stratigrafsko višjih (npr. Rihter 2020, pril. 7, diag. 9, 55–56), vendar ne izključno v povsem zadnjih legah zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov (npr. Rihter 2020, pril. 7, diag. 33). Ta relativnokronološka opažanja potrjujejo tudi trenutno veljavni tipokronološki sistemi v Vzhodnih Alpah (Eichert 2010a; Pleterski 2013a).

Če se osredotočimo še na relativno majhnost tretjega obročka (*sl. 9:* 1972_z0073/1) in ne toliko na tipologijo izvedbe njegovih koncev, se na podlagi primerjav zdi, da gre za lastnost, ki se pojavlja v grobovih, mlajših od sredine 10. st. (podrobneje o tem: *Območje* 3: *Stratigrafija nad grobom 1984_z0049*).

V predstavljeni sekvenci med grobovoma 1972_z0089 in 1972_z0073 zeva teoretično najmanj okoli 150 let ali več velika kronološka vrzel, ki jo za 9. st. zapolnjuje sosednja sekvenca nad grobom 1972_z0090.

Sekvenca 1972_z0090 / 1972_z0088 / 1972_z0087 / 1972_z0072 / 1972_z0064

Stratigrafska sekvenca grobov 1972_z0090, 1972_z0088, 1972_z0087, 1972_z0072 in 1972_z0064 (*sl. 8*) je kronološko bolj povedna. Prvi grob, ki je bil vkopan nad grob 1972_z0090, je 1972_z0088. Med stegnenicama okostja, ki je bilo na terenu določeno kot žensko, je bil odkrit železen nož (*sl. 9:* 1972_z0088/manjkajoč predmet), ki danes manjka (OIAS 27, 157). Podobno situacijo – da ima nad stratigrafsko najstarejšim grobom brez pridatkov prvi grob tudi nož – smo že zasledili pri sekvencah nad grobom 2011_x0222 na *območju* 1, in sicer pri grobu 2011_x0218, za katerega smo pokazali, da sodi v začetek 9. st. (gl. *pogl. 4.1*). Če v ospredje postavimo prisotnost noža in stratigrafijo, ugotovimo, da se noži (tudi v kombinaciji z drugimi predmeti) na tem grobišču lahko pojavljajo tako v stratigrafsko mlajših (npr. Rihter 2020, pril. 7, 420: diag. 50) kot najmlajših zgodnjesrednjeveških grobovih (npr. Rihter 2020, pril. 7, 412: diag. 42). Tak primer sta grobova 2012_x0520 (OIAS 38, 351) in 2012_x0516 (OIAS 38, 349). Oba imata nož in sta stratigrafsko mlajša od prvega groba 2012_x0522 (Rihter 2020, pril. 7. diag. 59) brez pridatkov in s pravokotno grobno jamo, v kateri so bili odkriti posamezni kamni (OIAS 38, 251). Poleg noža je bil v grobu 2012_x0516 sklenjen (verjetno ulit) prstan trikotnega preseka. Gre za tipološko obliko, ki po analogijah (npr. Lavrenčič 2019, 148, t. 1: 13–16; Knific, Pleterski 1981, 485–486, t. 4: 10, 13) ni značilna za (naj)starejše grobne celote, ki vsebujejo tudi prstane. Tipokronološko starejšo različico predstavlja nesklenjen prstan s trikotnim prerezom, kakršne najdemo v grobnih celotah tega (OIAS 38, 337–338: 2012_x0486) (OIAS 38, 325–326: 2012_x0451) in drugih grobišč (npr. Lavrenčič 2019, 149, t. 2: 19–20). Prav to kombinacijo (nesklenjenega prstana s trikotnim presekom in noža) pa najdemo v obravnavani sekvenci, v grobu 1972_z0072 (*sl. 9:* 1972_z0072/1–2), ki je dve mesti nad grobom 1972_z0088 (*sl. 8*). Med njima je še ostanek prekopanega groba 1972_z0087, od katerega je ostala le moška lobanja,[21] brez pridatkov (OIAS 27, 157), kar kaže na prekop že skeletiziranega trupla. Za razumevanje časa trajanja oblikovanja sekvenc grobov s tovrstnimi grobovi je pomemben podatek, da proces skeletizacije na dolgotrajnih grobiščih z ilovnato geološko osnovo lahko traja več desetletij (podrobneje: Štular 2020c, 175–176; Rihter 2020, 16–19; Skóra 2017).

V grobu 1972_z0072 so odkrili nepopolno okostje mlajšega moškega (OIAS 37, 149, 1–2). Nad njim sekvenco grobov z zgodnjesrednjeveškimi predmeti zaključuje grob 1972_z0064 brez znanih pridatkov, v njegovem zasutju pa so poleg drugih predmetov našli tudi poškodovan bronast prstan, katerega trakast prerez ima dvojni žleb (OIAS 37, 143: 1; *sl. 9:* 1972_z0064/1). Način spenjanja žlebljenega prstana iz groba 1972_z0064 ni znan. Na podlagi analogij grobnih inventarjev

[20] Npr. v grobovih 1953_z0050 (OIAS 38, 56), 1965_z0153 (OIAS 35, 75–76), 1972_z0065 (OIAS 37, 143) in 2012_x0307 (OIAS 38, 265–266).

[21] Tu naj velja kritično opozorilo: če gre v grobu 1972_z0087 za moško lobanjo, bi lahko ta teoretično izvirala tudi iz groba 1972_z0090, kjer moškemu okostju dejansko manjka le lobanja, vendar različni antropološki določitvi starosti obeh okostij tega ne potrjujeta, čeprav sta si precej blizu (prim. OIAS 37, 157).

z grobišča Župna cerkev je razvidno, da so široki prstani (z različnim številom globokih žlebov[22]) pogosto speti z zakovico (npr. OIAS 38, 216: 2011_x0176:2; 243: 2012_x0251: 6–9; 283–284: 2012_x0344: 5–6; OIAS 37, 296: 1984_z0039: 1; 171: 1972_z0128: 1), nekoliko redkeje pa gre za nesklenjene presegajoče konce (npr. OIAS 38, 83: 1953_z0127: 6; 178–279: 2012_x0336: 1). Stratigrafska analiza grobišča Bled Sedlo pokaže, da se pločevinasti prstani, speti z zakovico, pojavljajo v stratigrafsko najstarejših grobovih (npr. Pleterski 1982, 137–139: 2–4). Uliti zgodnjesrednjeveški prstani pa so na splošno relativno mlajši od trakastih in spetih z zakovico (npr. Sagadin 1988, 48, 53). Opažanje lahko potrdimo tudi pri nas. Na tistih mestih grobišča Župna cerkev, kjer so ohranjene relevantna stratigrafija in grobne celote, se prstani z žlebljenim obodom pojavljajo med stratigrafsko starejšimi grobovi (npr. Rihter 2020, pril. 7: diag. 46) oziroma pod grobovi z mlajšimi oblikami zgodnjesrednjeveškega nakita. Primer z grobišča pri sv. Petru v Komendi sicer kaže, da se takšen prstan v grobu lahko pojavi tudi s še relativno pozno obliko naglavnih obročkov z enojnimi odebelitvami masivne izvedbe (Sagadin 2013, 261), a ga lahko razumemo kot tipološko starejši predmet v mlajšem grobu. Relativno starejšo zgodnjesrednjeveško datacijo grobov s tovrstnimi žlebljenimi prstani, spetimi z zakovico (npr. Sagadin 2013, 261), ali takimi z nesklenjenima koncema posredno izpričujejo tudi mlajša zgodnjesrednjeveška grobišča 10.–11. st., kot so Mali grad v Kamniku (Sagadin 2001), Blejski otok (Bitenc, Knific 2020a) in Sv. Urh pri Tolminu (Knific, Mlinar 2014), kjer takšne oblike prstana med kovinskimi najdbami ne najdemo nikjer na grobišču oziroma na raziskanih delih (Knific, Mlinar 2014). Pri tem je za opazovanje njihovega časa pojavljanja v grobovih pomembno, da grobišče Mali grad v Kamniku ni starejše od sredine 10. st. (Sagadin 2001, 368–371). To opažanje je pomembno tudi za trakaste prstane s trikotnimi preseki nesklenjenih koncev, kakršen je v grobu 1972_z0072 (*sl. 9:* 1972_z0072/1; OIAS 37, 149: 2); na Malem gradu niso našli (Sagadin 2001), le en primerek je znan z grobišča na Blejskem otoku (Bitenc, Knific 2020b, t. 2, 5).

V zasutju groba 1972_z0064 je torej prstan, ki ga lahko tipokronološko datiramo med sredino 9. in sredino 10. st. in ki najverjetneje izvira iz prekopanega, relativno starejšega groba. Na to možnost opozarjata, poleg tipokronološke opredelitve, tudi njegova poškodovanost in stratigrafska lega. Skoraj enako situacijo smo namreč že srečali na *območju 1*, kjer je imel sicer visoko- ali poznosrednjeveški grob 2011_x0176 v zasutju tudi poškodovan zgodnjesrednjeveški trakast prstan z žlebljenim obodom, spet z zakovico (*sl. 7:* 2011_x0176/2). Grob 2011_x0176 je bil v sekvenci peti, torej na istem mestu kot naš grob 1972_z0064, z najverjetneje identično tipokronološko obliko prstana iz zasutja (*sl. 9:* 1972_z0072/1). Med odkritimi stratigrafsko starejšimi grobovi, ki so del iste sekvence, se kot možna groba za izvor tega prstana ponujata prekopan grob 1972_z0087 brez dokumentiranih pridatkov ali nepopolno okostje že omenjenega groba 1972_z0072, ki mu je sicer poznejši poseg dokumentirano premestil prstan s trikotnim presekom (OIAS 37, 149: 2, *Komentar*). V tem primeru bi imel grob 1972_z0072 dva prstana. Vendar proti tej možnosti govori dejstvo, da analogne kombinacije teh dveh prstanov na grobišču Župna cerkev večinoma izhajajo iz grobov s t. i. obsežnimi zbiri različno starih tipoloških oblik nakita, kot so v grobovih 2012_x0251 (OIAS 38, 244: 6–11), 1973_z0241 (OIAS 37, 246: 5–6) in 1969_z0001 (OIAS 35, 203–207) – sem pa grob 1972_z0072 ne sodi in je zato ta kombinacija manj verjetna.

Vrnimo se k dataciji groba 1972_z0072. Če v tej grobni celoti (*sl. 9:* 1972_z0072/1–2) ob nožu v ospredje postavimo še prstan s trikotnim presekom nesklenjenih koncev, ugotovimo, da gre za eno najpogostejših oblik prstanov na tem grobišču (gl. seznam Rihter 2020, pril. 5, 335). Skupaj z naglavnimi obročki z enojnimi odebelitvami koncev pa predstavljajo eno najpogostejših kombinacij tega grobišča. V grobnih celotah jih najdemo kar devetkrat (Rihter 2020, pril. 6, 343–370), toda le enkrat z njihovo mlajšo tipološko različico (to je *Kf*, po Eichert 2010a, 40–42, sl. 10, ali tip NO0100_0909, po Pleterski 2013a, 319–320, sl. 16), ki ima večkratne odebelitve koncev (gl. grob 2012_x0243; OIAS 38, 239: 2–3). Naglavni obročki z enojnimi odebelitvami so na blejskih grobiščih kot tip NO0100_0808 datirani v čas po letu 870 in se pojavljajo skozi celotno 10. st. (Pleterski 2013a, sl. 16). Naglavni obročki z dvojnimi ali večkratnimi odebelitvami (kot tip NO0100_0909, po Pleterski 2013a) se pojavijo šele po letu 920. Če dodamo še relativno kronologijo grobov, ki jo prinaša stratigrafija, ugotovimo, da se prstani s trikotnim presekom locna in nesklenjenih

[22] Tu ne mislimo na okras oboda zgolj s koleščkanjem izdelanih vzdolžnih serij vzporednih vrezov.

koncev na grobišču Župna cerkev ne pojavljajo niti v stratigrafsko najstarejših grobovih (npr. Rihter 2020, pril. 7, diag. 1 (Sekvenca 25), diag. 48–49) niti v stratigrafsko najmlajših grobovih (npr. Rihter 2020, pril 7: diag. 56), ki še vsebujejo zgodnjesrednjeveške predmete. Vse to nas navaja k sklepu, ki omogoča datiranje nastajanja celotne sekvence grobov med 1972_z0088 in 1972_z0072 v 9. ali morda še v začetek 10. st.

Mlajši grobovi

Konec zgodnjesrednjeveškega obdobja pokopavanja jasno opredeljujejo sekvence stratigrafsko mlajših grobov, v katerih sprva prevladujejo grobovi brez pridatkov. Šele v zgornjem ali zaključnem delu sekvenc (*sl. 8*) se v grobovih ponovno in številneje pojavijo predmeti. Večinoma gre za novoveške grobove z devocionalijami (*sl. 9:* 1972_p0857/16, 1972_p0866/1–2, 1972_p0874/1, 1972_p0888/1–2, 1972_p0891/1–2, 1972_p0907/1–2, 1972_p0948/1), kosi delov noše (*sl. 9:* 1972_p0857/1–15, 1972_p0948/2–5) in nakita (*sl. 9:* 1972_p0875/1, 1972_p0942/1) ter z zgodnjesrednjeveškimi in drugimi predmeti v zasutjih, npr. v grobu 1972_p0949 (*sl. 9:* 1972_p0949/1–2; OIAS 37, 100).

Tu prikazane devocionalije (molki, križci in svetinjice) na splošno zavzemajo širok časovni razpon pojavljanja v grobovih med 16. in 20. st. (gl. Münsterer 1983; Knez 2001; *id*. 2005, 22; Belaj 2007; Azinović Bebek 2009a; *id*. 2009b; Perkić 2010; *id*. 2017; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, 52–103). V našem primeru je zgornja časovna meja njihovega pojavljanja leto 1789 (gl. *pogl. 2*).

Mlajše grobove lahko poleg stratigrafije in predmetov časovno opredeljujeta tudi usmerjenost in lega rok. Ena izmed značilnih drž so pravokotno položene roke na prsih, npr. grobova 1972_p0875 (OIAS 37, 82) in 1972_p0949 (OIAS 37, 100), kar ni značilno za zgodnji srednji vek in je mlajšega izvora (prim. Predovnik *et al*. 2008, 92; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, 50–52, t. 2).

Med visoko- ali poznosrednjeveške grobove bi lahko prištevali grob 1972_p0887 (*sl. 9:* 1972_p0887/1) z okroglo železno spono z enojnim okvirom (prim. Krabath 2001, 132, 134, sl. 26). Časovno jih opredeljujejo v čas od druge polovice 12. do 15. st. (Predovnik *et al*. 2008, 78–79; Sawicki 2021, 97: 11), v deloma drugačnih dimenzijah in materialih tudi še v 16. st. (prim. Burić 2020, kat. A: 3–6; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, t. 25: 1–12; 26: 1–6, za možnosti različne uporabe gl.: Egan, Pritchard 1991, 21–23, t. 1; Predovnik *et al*. 2008, 79; Burić 2020, 448–449).

Sklep k območju 2

Na *območju* 2 so začeli pokopavati že pred zadnjo četrtino 8. st., v uporabi je bilo v celotnem 9. in 10. st. vse do konca 18. st. To dokazujejo najstarejši grob 1972_z0089 z radiokarbonsko datacijo (659–775) in stratigrafija ter materialna kultura grobov nad njim. Grobovi neposredno nad najstarejšim grobom vsebujejo nože, kar je podobno situaciji z *območja* 1 v začetku 9. st. Oblika in dimenzija grobne jame 1972_z0089 nista podobni grobu 2011_x0222 z *območja* 1. Grob 1972_z0089 je mnogo bolj podoben grobovoma 1984_z0049 in 1984_z0048 z *območja* 3, pri čemer si s prvim deli tudi skoraj identičen časovni razpon po metodi ^{14}C (654–774). Zato sklepamo, da je najzgodnejše pokopavanje na *območjih* 2 in 3 potekalo sočasno. Med tema območjema ležeč grob 1972_z0085 (^{14}C: 680–882), ki je del Valičeve skupine najstarejših grobov, ter tudi grob 1972_z0089, s katerim je tudi vrstno poravnan, ima od slednjega relativno mlajši časovni razpon, ki pokriva predvsem celotno 8. st., kar je zanj verjetnejša datacija kot 9. st. Bistveno se razlikujeta tudi po gradnji groba. Nobena od trenutno razpoložljivih najstarejših radiokarbonskih datacij ne pokriva celotnega 7. st., zaradi česar kot realen čas nastanka za grob 1972_z0089 predlagamo 8. st. pred letom 775. Plitvo nad grob 1972_z0089/90 vkopan grob 1972_z0088 v vsej njegovi dolžini, ne da bi ga ta poškodoval, kaže na upoštevanje lege prvega groba. To bi lahko kazalo, da časovni presledek med tema grobovoma ni bil dolg. K tej možnosti v diskusiji dodajamo tudi primer superpozicije grobov 1972_z0107 / 1972_z0206, tik severno ob *območju* 2, katerih različni gradnji in azimut morda lahko kažejo na časovno zvezen prehod od t. i. staroselskega načina pokopavanja k mlajšim oblikam grobov brez kamnitih oblog (več gl. *pogl. 5 in 6*).

4.3 Območje 3

Območje 3 leži v zahodnem delu severne ladje današnje cerkve (*sl. 1, 2*), kjer se stratigrafija grobov začenja z najstarejšim grobom 1984_z0049 (*sl. 10*), odkritim leta 1984 (Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 269–281). Za razumevanje stratigrafije ostankov zidov in relativno mlajših grobov so pomembne stratigrafske sekvence št. 14343–14830 (Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 269–281).[23]

[23] Relevantne sekvence za *območje* 3 so bile za ta prispevek dopolnjene in korigirane, kot je prikazano v Harrisovem diagramu.

Izbrani deli teh so uporabljeni za prikaz Harrisovega diagrama, v katerem je drug nad drugim razporejenih 13 nivojev ali "nadstropij" grobov (*sl. 10*). Grobna jama 1984_z0049 se v različnih stratigrafskih sekvencah celotnega grobišča pojavi 487-krat, vedno kot najstarejši člen sekvenc grobov (Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 269–281).[24]

Ob grobovih smo v diagram vključili tudi 5 stratigrafskih enot arhitekturnih elementov, ki so v posrednem ali neposrednem stiku z obravnavanimi grobovi (*sl. 10, 12*). To so: severni zid današnje cerkve (*stoječi cerkveni zid*), ob katerega so bili naslonjeni *temelji oltarnega podstavka.* Ti so deloma segali nad *prečni zid*, ki je pravokoten tako na *stoječi cerkveni zid* kot na *plast večjih kamnov* (gl. risbo pri Sagadin 2017, 49; to so kamni, pod katere sega okostje 1984_z0042), ki naj bi predstavljali podlago najmlajšemu talnemu estrihu cerkve (Sagadin 2017, 39, op. 93; prim. EMIAS 6, 8–59; Rihter 2020, 100–107). [25] *Prečni zid* ni bil organsko povezan s *plastjo večjih kamnov*, temveč je bil nanje le prislonjen (EMIAS 6, 12). Stratigrafski odnos *prečnega zidu* s *stoječim cerkvenim zidom* ni znan. Na podlagi analize se nagibamo k mlajši dataciji *stoječega zidu cerkve*. Globlje pod *prečnim zidom* in pod *plastjo večjih kamnov* ter nekaterih grobov (gl. Sagadin 2017, 49) je bil odkrit *temelj zidu*, ki naj bi – po predlogu rekonstrukcije Milana Sagadina (*sl. 2*) – predstavljal enega od temeljev najstarejše ali prve cerkvene stavbe (Sagadin 2017, s podrobno argumentacijo).

V različnih stratigrafskih sekvencah nad grobom 1984_z0049 je v krajših ali daljših sekvencah skupaj 14 grobov z zgodnjesrednjeveškimi predmeti, ki so bili dokumentirani kot pridatki. Ti v stratigrafskih sekvencah posredno določajo kot zgodnjesrednjeveške še 8 grobov brez pridatkov. Štirje grobovi imajo zgodnjesrednjeveške predmete le v zasutjih. Ker je bila nad ta del grobišča današnja cerkvena stavba razširjena šele v prvi tretjini 15. st. (Peskar 2017), zaradi česar je bil del današnje severne ladje zvišan z nasutjem, so bili nekateri poznejši grobovi vkopani v to izravnalno nasutje že v notranjosti razširjene cerkve (Sagadin 1991, 31–32; EMIAS 6, 12–15; OIAS 37). To poleg datacij predmetov stratigrafsko najmlajših grobov, kot sta 1984_p0007 in 1984_p0011, potrjujejo tudi stratigrafski odnosi nekaterih grobov in prekopov, npr. 1984_p0002/2a in 1984_p0003, ki so mlajši od *temelja oltarnega podstavka*, vkopanega ob *stoječi cerkveni zid* (*sl. 10–12*).

Časovno opredelitev nekaterih mlajših zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov, ki so v diagramu prikazani nad grobovoma 1984_z0049 in 1984_z0048, je opravil že Milan Sagadin ob objavi načrta starejših cerkvenih zgradb in predloga tlorisa najstarejše cerkve (Sagadin 1991). Leta 2017 je to objavo dopolnil z novimi tlorisi in prerezi stavbnih ostankov z novim predlogom rekonstrukcije tlorisa prve cerkve ter s tlorisi različnih grobov (Sagadin 2017). Pri tem so bile uporabljene tipokronološke opredelitve predmetov v grobovih in njihove stratigrafske lastnosti. Če se omejimo zgolj na prikazane v našem diagramu (*sl. 10–11),* gre za grobove: 1984_z0010, 1984_z0012, 1984_z0014, 1984_z0015, 1984_z0017, 1984_z0025, 1984_z0028, 1984_z0034, 1984_z0041, 1984_z0042 in 1984_z0043 (Sagadin 1991, 32–35, t. 1; *id*. 2017, 49; prim. OIAS 37, 18).

Grob 1984_z0049

V grobu 1984_z0049 je bilo okostje 3,5–4,5 leta starega otroka brez pridatkov. Pokrito je bilo z desko, grobna jama pa je bila obdana s kamenjem. Azimut okostja je bil 98° (OIAS 37, 298). Za okostje imamo radiokarbonsko datacijo kosti. Najširši časovni razpon kalibrirane datacije kosti je (2-Σ) 654–774 (*tab. 2: 3*).

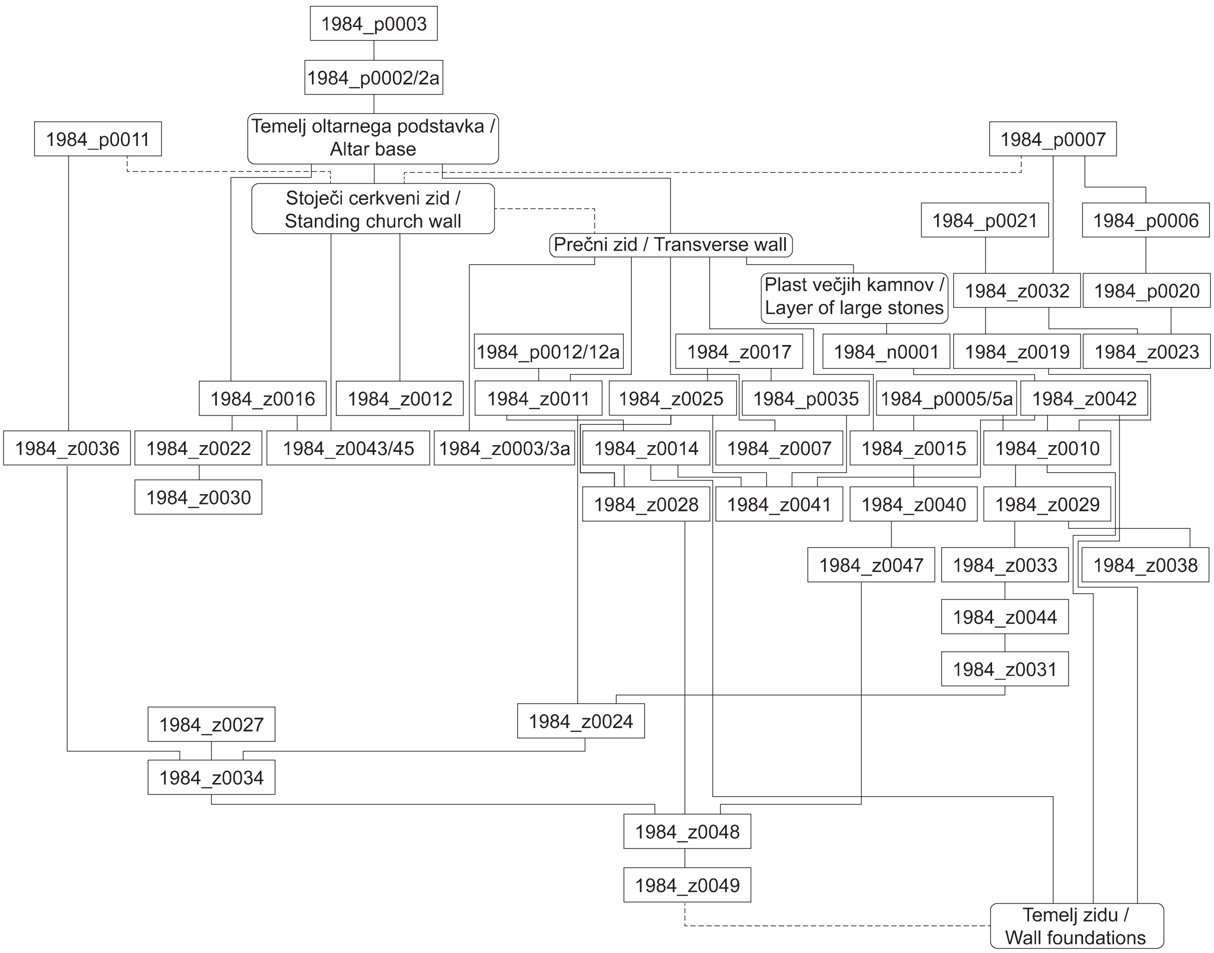
Neposredno nad njim je bil odkrit grob 1984_z0048 (*sl. 10*) v pravokotni grobni jami, deloma obloženi s kamenjem. V njej je bilo okostje 14–16 let starega otroka brez pridatkov, z azimutom 93° (OIAS 37, 298). Na podlagi lege in gradnje groba ter superpozicije menimo, da sta oba del skupine najstarejših grobov. V skupini najstarejših grobov, ki se povezujejo s t. i. staroselsko tradicijo pokopavanja (za katero so sicer med grobovi značilni horizontalni razmiki in ne superpozicije), pa ob tistih iz t. i. Valičeve skupine (gl. *pogl. 2*) predstavljata dodaten primer superpozicij.

Stratigrafija nad grobom 1984_z0049

Nad grobom 1984_z0049 se začenjajo različno dolge sekvence grobov. Ena najdaljših zanesljivo

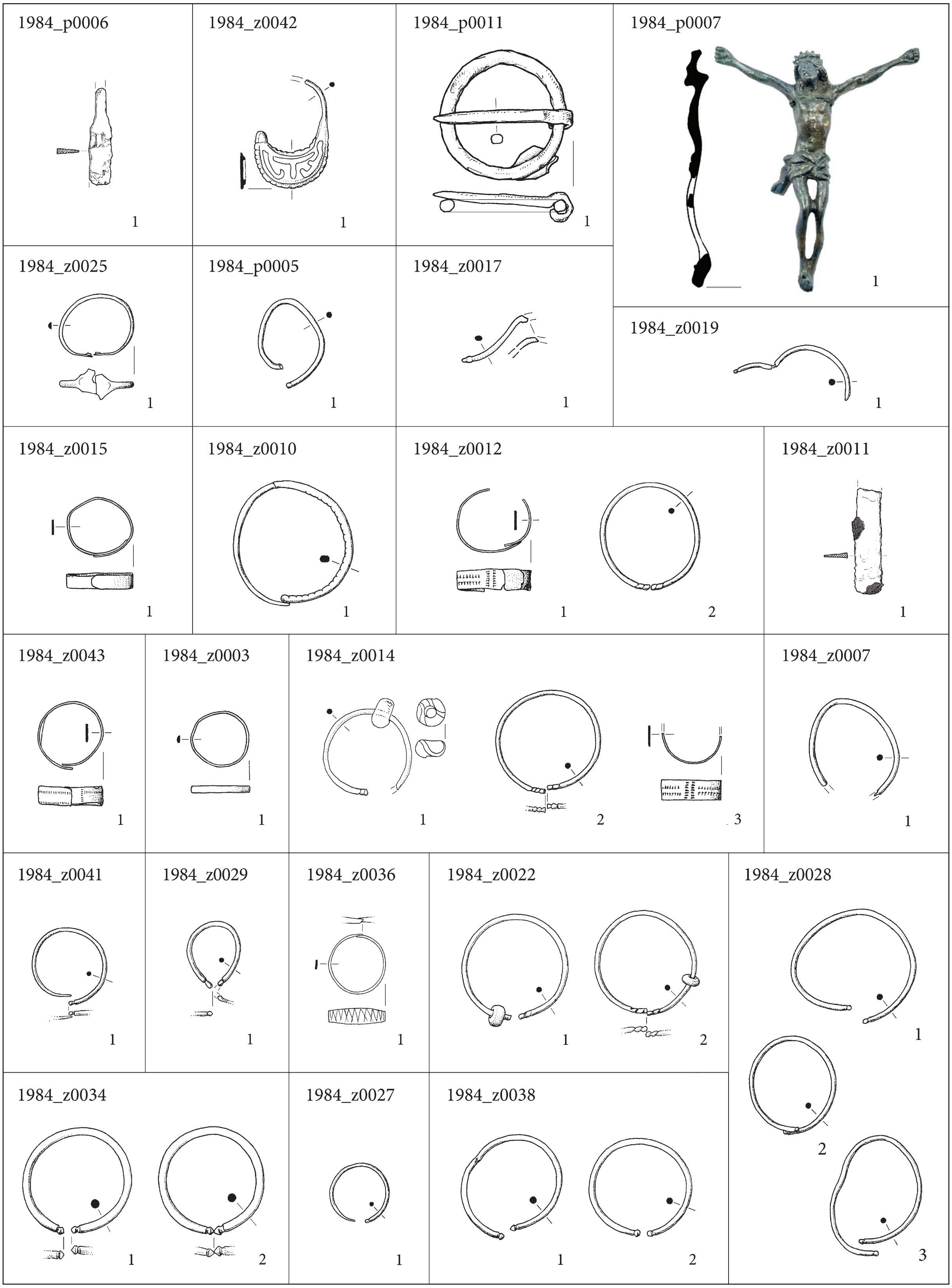
[24] Pri analizi stratigrafije je grobna jama označena s kodo 1984_s0004 (Rihter 2020, pril. 1: tab. 1).

[25] Tehnična poimenovanja stratigrafskih enot pri analizi stratigrafije in v prostorski podatkovni zbirki so: 1984_s0012 za "Prečni zid"; 1984_s0043 za "Temelji podstavka stranskega oltarja"; 1984_s0045 za "Temelj zidu"; 1973_s0228 za "Stoječi cerkveni zid" (Rihter 2020, 97–119; pril. 1: 1–19; pril. 3: 247–285). V seznamu stratigrafskih sekvenc je vrstni red stratigrafskih enot "1984_s0012-1984_s0043-1973_s0228" (Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 247–285) pomotoma zamenjan. Pravilno je "1984_s0012 / 1973_s0228 / 1984_s0043".



Sl. 10: Kranj, grobišče Župna cerkev. Harrisov diagram grobov z območja 3. (prirejeno in dopolnjeno po Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 14343 – 14829, pril. 7: diag. 42).
Fig. 10: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Harris Matrix of graves from Area 3 (adapted and upgraded after Rihter 2020, App. 3: 14343 – 14829, App. 7: Diag. 42).

zgodnjesrednjeveških sekvenc, opredeljenih z zgodnjesrednjeveškimi predmeti, šteje 7 grobov in se začenja z grobom 1984_z0034 ter končuje z grobom 1984_z0010. Sekvenca je zanimiva zaradi dolžine in relativne časovne razporejenosti številčno prevladujoče tipološke oblike naglavnega obročka z enojnimi odebelitvami koncev. Med prvim in zadnjim tovrstnim obročkom je kar 6 grobov, dodatnega vsebuje stranska sekvenca, ki ju sestavljata grobova 1984_z0038 in 1984_z0029 (*sl. 10–11*). Da je ta tipološka oblika dolgoživa, smo povzeli že na več mestih, saj se lahko pojavlja od zadnje tretjine 9. st. in zanesljivo še celotno 10. st., morda še dlje (Pleterski 2013a, sl. 16). Dolgoživost oblike potrjuje tudi stratigrafija na drugih delih grobišča Župna cerkev, kjer se pogosto pojavlja kot prvi in zadnji v sekvencah z 2–5 grobovi (npr. Rihter 2020, pril. 3, pril. 7, diag. 55–57). Zanimivo je tudi, da gre že v prvem grobu te sekvence, to je pri 1984_z0034, za masivno izvedbo obročkov (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0034/1–2), ki tehtata kar 5,9 oziroma 6 g (OIAS 37, 295, 1–2). Masivnost tovrstnih obročkov je že bila prepoznana kot kronološki pokazatelj (npr. Sagadin 2013, 258). Večje in/ali masivnejše oblike bi sicer po analogiji z blejskih grobišč pričakovali v stratigrafsko relativno mlajših grobovih, saj je bila tam dokazana kronološka vrednost debeline prereza locna, ki v opazovanem času narašča (Pleterski 2013a, 302), kar se v nekaterih primerih nakazuje tudi na grobišču Župna cerkev (npr. Rihter 2020, pril. 7, diag. 2 (Sekvenca 49), diag. 38), vendar bo za določnejšo trditev treba počakati na analizo celotnega grobišča. Zato se postavlja vprašanje, ali je mogoče, da je celotna sekvenca grobov, začenši s 1984_z0034, relativno pozna oziroma "mlada" in je nastajala v 10. in še v 11. st.? Opisana dimenzijska lastnost namreč nakazuje možnost, da je grob 1984_z0034 že iz 10. st. Nad



Sl. 11: Kranj, župna cerkev. Izbor predmetov iz grobov z območja 3 (risbe po OIAS 37). M. 1984_p0006 in 1984_z0011 = 1 : 4; ostalo = 1 : 2.
Fig. 11: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Select goods from the graves in Area 3 (drawings taken from OIAS 37). Scale 1984_p0006 and 1984_z0011 = 1 : 4; other = 1 : 2.

Sl. 12: Kranj, župna cerkev. Grobovi z območja 3. Grobna jama stratigrafsko najstarejših grobov (1984_z0049 in 1984_z0048) in mlajši grobovi. (Vir: EMIAS 6; Prostorska podatkovna zbirka grobišča Župna Cerkev v Kranju, hrani: ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo)
Fig. 12: Kranj, the Župna cerkev cemetery. Graves from Area 3. Grave pits of two stratigraphically lowest (1984_z0049 and 1984_z0048) and later graves. (Source: EMIAS 6; Prostorska podatkovna zbirka grobišča Župna Cerkev v Kranju, kept in: ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archaeology)

njim so se zvrstili še 4 grobovi brez pridatkov in šele peti grob, to je 1984_z0029, vsebuje ponovno isti tip obročka z enojnima odebelitvama koncev, vendar v zelo majhni, nenavadni izvedbi (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0029/1; OIAS 37, 294: 1). Stratigrafska lega obročka v grobu 1984_z0029 opozarja, da gre za zelo pozen primerek svoje vrste, ki bi lahko segal še v 11. st. Opažanje posredno potrjuje v južni ladji odkrit grob 1984_z0071, ki je imel pridana po dimenzijah (in ne po tipu) skoraj identično izvedena razmeroma majhna naglavna obročka (OIAS 37, 304, 1–2). Že Milan Sagadin je zanju predvidel možno datacijo v 10. st. (Sagadin 2017, 55–56) ali celo v 11. st. (Sagadin 1991, 35). Njegovo opažanje lahko potrdimo in dopolnimo z novimi. Grob 1984_z0071 tam ni najstarejši v nobeni od sekvenc (npr. Rihter 2020, pril. 3, 352: 13269–13276; 254: 13375–13381; prim. Sagadin 2017, 50). Vzorec kosti iz tega groba (1984_z0071), ki je bil datiran z metodo ^{14}C, kaže časovni razpon kalibrirane datacije (2-Σ) 1027–1166 (*tab.2: 8*). Da je tako pozna datacija groba 1984_z0071 še možna, posredno potrjujeta od njega stratigrafsko mlajši osrednji grob v grobnici 1984_z0087 (OIAS 37, 304 in 307) in njegova relativno mlajša absolutna datacija kosti, katere kalibriran časovni razpon (2-Σ) je 1039–1210 (*tab. 2: 9*). Da so tovrstne manjše izvedbe obročkov lahko mlajšega nastanka, pričajo primerki z grobišča na Malem gradu, ki je kot celota datirano v čas po sredini 10. in v začetek 11. st. (Sagadin 2001, 368–371). Obročkom v grobovih 1984_z0029 in 1984_z0071 sta po velikosti in obliki sorodna naglavna obročka z enojno odebelitvijo ter enim ravno odrezanim koncem iz malograjskega groba 14 (Sagadin 2001, 363, t. 2, 5–6). Neposredno tipološko in dimenzijsko primerjavo za obroček iz groba 1984_z0029 pa predstavlja malograjski primerek iz groba 27 (Sagadin 2001, 365, t. 3, 7).

Verjetno zelo pozno datacijo groba 1984_z0029 dodatno potrjuje tudi oblika nakita, odkrita v stratigrafsko še mlajšem grobu 1984_z0010 (*sl. 10–11*). Ta je sedmi ali zadnji grob sekvence z naglavnimi obročki. Bronast naglavni obroček iz groba ima na delu locna astragalne odebelitve (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0010/1; OIAS 37, 287: 1). Gre za tip, ki ga Pleterski uvršča med kronološko zadnje zgodnjesrednjeveške nakitne predmete na grobiščih (Pleterski 2013a, 315, sl. 16, kot tip NO070), kar lahko neodvisno potrdimo prav s stratigrafsko lego groba 1984_z0010. Tovrstni obročki so na grobiščih v Vzhodnih Alpah sicer zelo redki. Pred kratkim sta primerjave s slovenskih najdišč zbrala Polona Bitenc in Timotej Knific (Bitenc, Knific 2020a, 65–66, 74, sl. 2.13). Med njimi je največ primerkov z grobišča Župna cerkev, kjer so taki obročki različne kakovosti. Nekateri posnemajo boljše izvedbe, kot so znane z Blejskega otoka in iz Most pri Žirovnici (gl. pri Bitenc, Knific 2020a, 66, sl. 2.13, 1–3). Časovna opredelitev v konec 10. in prvo tretjino 11. st. (Pleterski 2013a, sl. 16) se na podlagi obravnavane stratigrafske sekvence zato zdi povsem verjetna. Od groba 1984_z0010 stratigrafsko mlajši grob 1984_z0019, ki je imel v zasutju le še poškodovan naglavni obroček z enojno odebelitvijo (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0019/1; OIAS 37, 291: 1), dodatno potrjuje veliko dinamiko pokopavanja na tem mestu, posredno jo kaže tudi dolžina celotne sekvence.

Če strnemo, je celotna sekvenca nad grobom 1984_z0034 relativno poznega nastanka. Med grobovoma 1984_z0048/1984_z0049 in grobom 1984_z0034 je najmanj stoletna ali večja časovna vrzel.

Z izjemo pravkar analizirane izjemno dolge sekvence grobov lahko več drugih sekvenc našega diagrama (glede na stratigrafijo in predmete) z zanesljivo zgodnjesrednjeveškimi grobovi – to so: 1984_z0041 / 1984_z0014; 1984_z0028 / 1984_z0014 / 1984_z0011; 1984_z0030 / 1984_z0022; 1984_z0034 / 1984_z0027; 1984_z0034 / 1984_z0036 (*sl. 10–11*) – opredelimo kot precej kratke. Večinoma spominjajo na stratigrafsko situacijo grobov ob zahodni steni današnje cerkvene stavbe (izkopavanje leta 1973, gl. tudi *pogl. 3.2*), ki jo lahko opredelimo kot "plitvo". Tam se stratigrafsko prvi in zanesljivo zgodnjesrednjeveški grobovi s predmeti pojavljajo le v enem nivoju ali največ v dveh superpozicijah in večinoma vsebujejo razmeroma pozne oblike vzhodnoalpskega zgodnjesrednjeveškega nakita poznega 9., predvsem pa 10. in 11. st. Grobovom s takšnimi predmeti – naglavni obročki z enojnimi, dvojnimi in večkratnimi odebelitvami, obročki z astragalnimi odebelitvami ter obročki, ki večkratne odebelitve koncev posnemajo s spiralnimi vrezi – sledijo krajše sekvence grobov brez pridatkov, nekatere med njimi pa se končajo pod zahodno cerkveno steno, ki ni starejša od prve tretjine 15. st. (prim. Peskar 2017).

Podobno "plitva" je tudi stratigrafija zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov v vzhodnem delu severne ladje vzhodno od *prečnega zidu* (*sl. 12*; Rihter 2020, 102–103, sl. 25–26),[26] kjer so zgodnjesrednjeveški grobovi v največ dveh superpozicijah. Zadnji (npr. 1984_z0001, 1984_z0008; OIAS 37, 285–288) vsebujejo bodisi obročke s spiralnimi vrezi na koncih bodisi obročke z astragalnimi odebelitvami,[27] obe obliki pa predstavljata ene izmed zadnjih primerkov nakita v zgodnjesrednjeveških grobovih.

Takšnim oblikam se v grobnih celotah pridružujejo tudi prstani, sklenjeni z dodatkom, npr. v zasutju groba 1984_z0025 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0025/1; OIAS 37, 293: 1), ki ga lahko predstavlja okrasni kamen, npr. v grobovih 1973_z0263 (OIAS 37, 258) in 1973_z0274 (OIAS 37, 262–263). Tak prstan skupaj z naglavnima obročkoma s spiralnimi vrezi na koncih je bil npr. odkrit v grobu 1984_z0059. Ta je stratigrafsko mlajši od groba 1984_z0060 (OIAS 37, 301–302; Rihter 2020, pril. 7, diag. 43), v katerem je bil obroček z večkratnimi odebelitvami, tipokronološko opredeljiv v čas po letu 920 (Pleterski 2013a, sl. 16). Tudi prstani, sklenjeni z dodatkom, ki sicer pogosto manjka, po dosedanjem vedenju verjetno zasedajo mlajši del 10. st. Takšen prstan, kot rečeno, izhaja iz zasutja groba 1984_z0025 – ta je stratigrafsko mlajši od groba 1984_z0041, ki je datiran z zelo pozno obliko naglavnega obročka

[26] T. i. prečni zid je v navedenem delu označen kot 1984_s0012 (Rihter 2020, 103).

[27] Izsledki analize stratigrafskih situacij grobov in predmetov, izkopanih v letih 1965 in 1973 ob zahodnem cerkvenem zidu, leta 1972 ob severnem cerkvenem zidu ter leta 1984 v severni ladji današnje cerkve, so bili predstavljeni v referatu z naslovom "The Last Early Medieval and First High Medieval Burials with Grave Goods from the Župna Cerkev in Kranj Cemetery (Slovenia) in the Light of Stratigraphy and Material Culture" v okviru mednarodne konference Power in Numbers: The Role of the Rural Population in Christianisation and State Formation II, Prague, 11–13. May 2022.

z enostransko priostrenim ter drugim odebeljenim koncem (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0041/1). Od groba 1984_z0025 je stratigrafsko mlajši grob 1984_z0017, ki ima v zasutju odlomek prav tako pozne oblike naglavnega obročka z večkratnimi odebelitvami (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0017/1). Tudi nekatere druge grobne celote pričajo o pozni dataciji prstanov, kakršen je v grobu 1984_z0025. V grobu 4 z Blejskega otoka sta takšna prstana odkrita v grobni celoti skupaj z naglavnim obročkom z astragalnimi odebelitvami (Bitenc, Knific 2020a, 71; *id*. 2020b, 290: 2–4). Na grobišču Mali grad v Kamniku je bil primerljiv prstan odkrit v stratigrafsko najmlajšem grobu 16, v seriji treh zaporednih grobov (Sagadin 2001, 363, t. 2, 7), v grobu 20 (Sagadin 2001, 364, t. 3, 1) ter v grobu 27 (Sagadin 2001, 375, t. 3, 8), ki so mlajši od sredine 10. st. (Sagadin 2001, 368–371).

V grobovih 1984_z0014 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z00141–2; OIAS 37, 290: 1–2) in 1984_z0022 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z00221–2; OIAS 37, 292: 1–2), ki sta dela kratkih zgodnjesrednjeveških sekvenc, sta bila odkrita naglavna obročka s spiralnimi vrezi, ki posnemajo večkratno odebelitev. Pod grobom 1984_z0014 (*sl. 10*) so v enem primeru našli od slednjega tipološko starejšo obliko obročka z enkratnimi odebelitvami koncev (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0028/1–3; OIAS 37, 293: 1–3), v drugem primeru (1984_z0041) pa obliko naglavnega obročka z enojno odebelitvijo in ostrim zaključkom na drugi strani, uporabljenega kot prstan (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0041/1; OIAS 37, 296: 1). Ta oblika je bila še v grobu 1984_z0027 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0027/1; OIAS 37, 293: 1), ki je nad grobom 1984_z0034 (*sl. 10*). Po tipokronološki opredelitvi Pleterskega (tip NO0100_0708 ali NO0100_0709) se ti pojavljajo med najmlajšim nakitom po zadnji tretjini 10. st. in v prvi polovici 11. st. (Pleterski 2013a, 315, sl. 16). Stratigrafska situacija naših grobov je s tem skladna. V zasutjih grobov, ki so stratigrafsko mlajši od groba 1984_z0041 (*sl. 10*), so našli nakitne predmete, ki jih je mogoče tipokronološko umestiti v časovni razpon od poznega 9., glede na stratigrafsko situacijo pa verjetneje v 10. st., npr. grob 1984_z0025 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0025/1; OIAS 37, 293: 1) in grob 1984_z0042 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0042/1; OIAS 37, 297: 1), kar njihov izvor umešča najverjetneje med prekopane starejše grobove na tem mestu. Edini zanesljivi zgodnjesrednjeveški grob, stratigrafsko mlajši od groba 1984_z0041, je grob 1984_z0014, ki vsebuje naglavna obročka s spiralnimi vrezi na konceh locna (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0014/1–2), kar potrjuje razmeroma pozno datacijo obeh. V predstavljenih stratigrafskih situacijah se trenutno zdijo razmeroma pozni (okoli sredine 10. st. in pozneje) tudi trakasti neokrašeni prstani, kakršen je v grobu 1984_z0015 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0015/1; OIAS 37, 290: 1), prstani, ki so okrašeni zgolj z vzporednimi linijami serij kratkih vrezov (brez vzdolžnih globokih profilacij oboda), npr. iz groba 1984_z0043 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0043/1; OIAS 37, 297: 1), in zlasti takšni, na katerih se vrezi križajo, npr. v grobu 1984_z0014[28] *(sl. 11:* 1984_z0014/3). Dodaten časovni indic za njihovo pozno datacijo je morda tudi uporaba spajkanja pri spenjanju koncev (drugače od starejšega spenjanja z zakovico), ki je potrjena za primerka v grobovih 1984_z0015 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0015/1) in 1984_z0043 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0043/1) ter še v bližnjem grobu 1984_z0012 (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0012/1), ki ni v stratigrafskem odnosu z nobenim od grobov (OIAS 37, 288: 2), v njegovem zasutju pa so odkrili naglavni obroček s spiralnimi vrezi na konceh locna (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0012/2). Na grobišču Župna cerkev so tovrstni prstani manj številni, po enega najdemo le še v grobovih 1972_z0133 (OIAS 37, 174), 2011_x0337 (OIAS 38, 279), 2012_x0377 (OIAS 38, 296) in 2012_x0401 (OIAS 38, 307), preseneča pa tudi njihova redkost med raztresenimi najdbami, kjer najdemo le enega (OIAS 37, Kvadrant III:4 na str. 270). Ali je to morda že znamenje postopnega zmanjševanja pridatkov v grobovih, bodo pokazale nadaljnje raziskave. V tem trenutku je za časovno oporo morda pomenljivo, da je redek tudi na nekaterih blejskih grobiščih, npr. primer v grobu 29 z Dlesca pri Bodeščah (gl. Knific, Pleterski 1981, t. 10. gr. 29/2), kjer so nehali pokopavati kmalu po sredini 10. st. (Pleterski 2013a, 318–319). Znan je primerek z Blejskega otoka (Bitenc, Knific 2020a,74, t. 3,13), kjer je pokopavanje potekalo celotno 10. st. in še v prvih desetletjih 11. st. (Štular 2020c, 174–175; Bitenc, Knific 2020a, 45–91). Na grobišču Križišče Iskra v Kranju, ki je trajalo dlje v srednji vek, gre morda le za en tovrsten primer v grobu 24 (Sagadin 1988, t. 6, gr. 24: 3). Na grobišču Puščava nad Starim trgom pri Slovenj Gradcu gre za en tovrsten primerek v grobu 94 (Pleterski, Belak 2002, t . 4, 17), ki leži v najmlajšem delu grobišča (Pleterski, Belak 2002, sl. 28), med grobovi z mlajšimi oblikami zgodnjesrednjeveškega nakita (Pleterski, Belak 2002, 250–251, 264: sl. 24). Grobišče na Puščavi preneha konec 9. ali v začetku 10. st. (Pleterski, Belak 2002, 233) ter se povezuje z nastankom cerkve sv. Jurija na Legnu in njenega

[28] Na pozno datacijo kaže stratigrafska lega datirane grobne celote 1984_z0014, ki jo omogoča tipološko datiran stratigrafsko starejši grob 1984_z0041.

grobišča (Pleterski, Belak 2002, 272), ki kaže na pokopavanje med koncem 9. st., predvsem pa v 10. st. (Modrijan, Strmčnik Gulič 2020). Na grobišču pri Sv. Petru pri Spitallu na Zgornjem Koroškem je tovrsten primerek v grobu 132 (Eichert, Rogl 2010, 269, t. 46) ali 133 (za vprašanje pripadnosti: Pleterski 2013a, 313), kjer gre za ena izmed stratigrafsko najmlajših zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov s pridatki (Pleterski 2013a, 213–316, sl. 12–13), ki najverjetneje segajo še prek sredine 11. st. (prim. Pleterski 2013a, sl. 15[29]), medtem ko se je tam pokopavanje nadaljevalo še vse do 15. st. (Eichert 2010b, 183).

Mlajši grobovi

Posebnost *območja* 3 je odsotnost razmeroma debele visoko- in poznosrednjeveške stratigrafije grobov, kot je bila ugotovljena na *območju* 2 in deloma tudi na *območju* 1. Tam, kjer se v sekvencah pojavljajo grobovi brez pridatkov, ki zanesljivo zaključujejo zgodnjesrednjeveško obdobje pokopavanja, so ti razvrščeni v le 1–2, zelo redko v 3–4 superpozicijah (*sl. 10*). Večina izmed teh je, glede na njihovo relativno globino, vkopanih 77–98 cm globoko, kar v severni ladji predstavlja debelino (70–90 cm) dokumentiranega izravnalnega nasutja ob gradnji poznogotske cerkve (EMIAS 6, 12–15; Sagadin 1991, 31–32). To kaže, da so bili nekateri grobovi vkopani po zgraditvi cerkve, torej po letu 1430 (prim. Peskar 2017). Tej situaciji podobna je tudi stratigrafska slika grobov vzhodno od *območja* 3 znotraj severne ladje. Eno izmed vprašanj bi torej lahko bilo, kateri dejavnik je tu upočasnil (ali zaustavil) sicer intenzivno zgodnjesrednjeveško dinamiko pokopavanja ob prehodu v visoki srednji vek oziroma ali je nemara šlo pred gradnjo poznogotske cerkve (in pred nasipanjem) tudi za odstranjevanje vrhnjih delov grobišča.

Pri stratigrafsko najmlajših grobovih iz dveh (1984_p0011 in 1984_p0007) zanesljivo izhajajo predmeti. Grob 1984_p0011 z okroglo medeninasto spono in ohranjenim organskim materialom (*sl. 11:* 1984_p0011/1; OIAS 37, 276: 1–4) ima azimut 182°, kar pomeni na tem grobišču izjemno redko pravokotno usmeritev na severno cerkveno steno. Podobno usmeritev na *območju* 3 ima le še grob 1984_p0021 (OIAS 37, 279). Globina groba 1984_p0011, usmeritev, ohranjenost organskih materialov in stratigrafska situacija kažejo, da je bil vkopan v notranjosti že stoječe cerkve (prim. EMIAS 6, 12–15; Sagadin 1991, 31–32). To se je lahko zgodilo šele po prvi tretjini 15. st., ko je bila zgrajena današnja cerkev (Peskar 2017), kar je v skladu s še možnim časom pojava primerljivih okroglih spon (prim. Predovnik *et al.* 2008, 78–79). Njihov pojav v grobovih je možen sicer še tudi v 16. st. (prim. Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, t. 25: 1–12; 26: 1–6), kar je ob upoštevanju usmeritve okostja in stratigrafije (za grob 1984_p0011) tudi najverjetnejša datacija (prim. Azinović Bebek, Janeš, 2016, 42–43, tab. 1, 310: Gr. 22, 312: Gr. 32, 314: Gr. 39).

V grobu 1984_p0007 je bila na prsih okostja odkrita medeninasta plastična aplika Križanega (*sl. 11:* 1984_p0007/1; OIAS 37, 275: 1), ki jo primerjave (prim. Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, t. 19: 2; Perkić 2017, t. 4, 9) datirajo v 17./18. st. (Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, 232; Perkić 2017, 207). Ob stratigrafsko mlajših grobovih 1984_p0005 in 1984_p0006 so bili odkriti zgodnjesrednjeveški predmeti, ki izvorno najverjetneje niso povezani s temi grobovi (*sl. 11:* 1984_p0005/1, 1984_p0006/1) in kažejo na prekopavanje starejših grobov na tem mestu. Podobno velja morda tudi za grob 1984_z0007 z nejasno pripadnostjo naglavnega obročka (*sl. 11:* 1984_z0007/1), ki bi lahko bil glede na lego desnice (OIAS 37, 287) tudi mlajšega izvora. Medtem ko ozek sklenjen bronast prstan v zasutju groba 1984_z0003 ni nujno zgodnjesrednjeveški *(sl. 11:* 1984_z0003/1).

Sklep k območju 3

Na *območju* 3 so, podobno kot na *območju* 2, začeli pokopavati že pred zadnjo četrtino 8. st. To dokazuje najstarejši grob 1984_z0049 z radiokarbonsko datacijo (654–774). Nad njim je bil, glede na obliko in gradnjo grobne jame, še v istem časovnem razponu vkopan stratigrafsko mlajši in tipološko podoben grob 1984_z0048. Oblika in dimenzija njunih grobnih jam nista podobni tistim pri grobu 2011_x0222 z *območja* 1, temveč grobovom z *območja* 2, kjer ima grob 1972_z0089 tudi skoraj identičen časovni razpon (659–775).

Za grobom 1984_z0048 na tem mestu niso pokopavali najmanj eno stoletje (ali več). Ponovno so tu začeli pokopavati morda že ob koncu 9. st., izjemno intenzivno pa v 10. st., zlasti v njegovi drugi polovici, in še v začetku 11. st. Presenetljiva je skoraj popolna odsotnost grobov visokega in dela poznega srednjega veka pred postavitvijo nove cerkve v začetku 15. st. v nasprotju z *območjema* 1 in 2, kjer so grobovi teh obdobij razmeroma dobro zastopani. Zato sklepamo, da je bilo pokopavanje

[29] Na sl. 15 sta pomotoma zamenjana napis Sedlo in St. Peter.

na *območjih* 3 in 2 sočasno in je bilo v tem času tudi del "istega" dogajanja, pozneje pa ne več, saj imata obe območji drugačno časovno kontinuiteto pokopavanja. Kot smo predstavili že pri *območju* 2, nobena od trenutno razpoložljivih najstarejših radiokarbonskih datacij ne pokriva celotnega 7. st. (gl. tudi *območje* 2), zato kot realen čas nastanka za grob 1984_z0049 predlagamo 8. st. (pred letom 774). Njegova superpozicija z grobom 1984_z0048 pri tem opozarja tudi na časovno globino začetkov pokopavanja na *območju* 3.

5 POVZETEK REZULTATOV ANALIZ Z OBMOČIJ 1–3 IN DISKUSIJA

Absolutno najstarejša grobova izhajata z območij 2 in 3. Kalibrirani radiokarbonski dataciji grobov 1972_z0089 (659–775) in 1984_z0049 (654–774) kažeta na začetek pokopavanja že pred letom 775. Stratigrafsko najstarejši grob 2011_x0222 (774–1032) z *območja* 1 pa je bil vkopan po letu 774, na podlagi tipokronološke analize predmetov v sekvencah nad njim najpozneje okoli leta 800.

Nadaljevanje pokopavanja na teh posameznih območjih ni bilo enotno, čeprav se je pokopavanje na grobišču kot celoti nepretrgoma nadaljevalo vse do konca 18. st. Medtem ko se je na *območju* 1 pokopavanje za grobom 2011_x0222 nadaljevalo nepretrgoma do 16. ali 18. st., je na *območju* 2 morda prišlo do relativno krajšega (za možnost brez razmika v neposredni bližini tega območja gl. dalje pri grobu 1972_z0206), na *območju* 3 pa do daljšega časovnega razmika, najprej med najstarejšimi in prvimi relativno mlajšimi zgodnjesrednjeveškimi grobovi, nato pa (na *območju* 3) še do prekinitve (ali zmanjšanega obsega) pokopavanja v delu visokega in poznega srednjega veka.

Grob 1972_z0089 z *območja* 2 je del skupine grobov s t. i. staroselsko tradicijo pokopavanja, ki jih Milan Sagadin časovno postavlja v konec 7. ali v prvo polovico 8. st. (Sagadin 2017, 48). Z analizo objektivno dokazujemo, da se je to zgodilo pred letom 775 ter dopolnjujemo dosedanjo prostorsko sliko najstarejših pokopov z ugotovitvijo, da so ti – kot kažeta grobova 1984_z0049 in 1984_z0048 z območja 3 – lahko tudi znotraj današnje severne cerkvene ladje (prim. Sagadin 1985b, 284; *id*. 2017, 42), v njenem severozahodnem delu, zaradi česar bi bilo treba predlagani načrt poteka zahodnega zidu (Sagadin 2017, 43, slika zgoraj "domnevni potek zidu"; prim. *sl. 2, 12*) t. i. najstarejše cerkvene zgradbe prostorsko uskladiti s potekom najzahodnejšega dela *temeljev* (starejšega) *zidu* v severni ladji, ki teh grobov ne seka (*sl. 12:* temelj zidu).

Skupino najstarejših grobov na obeh straneh današnjega severnega cerkvenega zidu so prostorsko dopolnjevali podobno usmerjeni stratigrafsko najstarejši grobovi t. i. Valičeve skupine, npr. grobovi 1972_z0085 (680–882) in 1972_z0091, 1972_z0107 ali 1972_z0207, ki so ob raznoliki gradnji grobnih jam (gl. *pogl. 2*) deloma podobni stratigrafsko najstarejšim grobovom v današnji južni cerkveni ladji, kot so 1984_z0106 (670–775), 1984_z0107, 1984_z0108 in 1984_z0110 (678–880). Razpoložljive radiokarbonske datacije kažejo na njihov relativno poznejši možni nastanek, to je po letu 670/678/680, v nasprotju z relativno starejšimi grobovi 1972_z0089 in 1984_z0049 z zgodnejšim možnim začetkom z območij 2 in 3.

Ugotovitve dopolnjujemo še s podatkom, da stratigrafsko najstarejši grob 1984_z0052 v srednji ladji (Sagadin 2017, 50–51), kot kaže radiokarbonska datacija 892–1020 (*tab. 2:7*), ni del skupine najstarejših grobov (prim. *pogl. 2*) ter je časovno bližje grobovoma 1984_z0071 in 1984_z0087. Omenjena grobova stratigrafsko opredeljujeta čas pred izgradnjo kamnite grobnice in po njej, prizidane k južnemu zidu druge cerkvene stavbe (za stratigrafijo gl.: Sagadin 2017, 49, 50 in zgornja slika, 55), in sta datirana med letoma 1027 in 1166 oziroma 1038 in 1210 (*tab. 2: 8 – 9*).

Kulturno opredeljen realni časovni razpon za grob 2011_x0222 z *območja* 1 je med 774 in ca. 800. Ta grob, sodeč tako po gradnji kot po usmeritvi ter radiokarbonski dataciji in stratigrafski situaciji nad njim, ni več del skupine grobov s t. i. staroselsko tradicijo pokopa, kakršni so na *območjih* 2 in 3. Od njih odstopa tudi s svojo oddaljenostjo. Grob 2011_x0222 že pomeni začetek novega obdobja pokopavanja, nad katerim je potekalo pokopavanje vse do 18. st. Prvi stratigrafsko mlajši (in podobno grajen) grob nad njim (2011_x0218) že ima značilno starejšo obliko naglavnega nakita, ki se spenja z nekovano zanko in kaveljčkom, pa tudi nož, kar se pojavlja tudi na drugih, npr. blejskih grobiščih. Tudi na *območju* 2 je bil drugi grob v sekvenci nad grobovoma 1972_z0089/90, to je grob 1972_z0088 – po analogiji zgodnjih grobov z *območja* 1 – morda vkopan že konec 8. ali v prvi tretjini 9. st. Da je grob 2011_x0222 z azimutom 125° že del sekvence in skupine relativno mlajših grobov z nestanovitno orientacijo, ki v tem delu grobišča dosega azimute med 90 in 125°, kaže primer sekvence grobov 1969_z0016 / 1969_z0014 (gl. Rihter 2020, pril. 3: 50, sekvence št. 1315–1345). Pri tem je v grobu 1969_z0016 z azimutom 122° (OIAS 35, 212) prstan, ki ni značilen za najstarejše zgodnjesrednjeveške grobove. Grob 1969_z0014 nad njim, z značilnimi pridatki iz konca 9. ali še iz prve polovice 10. st., pa ima azimut 93° (OIAS 35, 211).

Zakaj se v jugovzhodnem delu grobišča pojavljajo med stratigrafsko najstarejšimi (npr. 2011_x0222) in tudi mlajšimi grobovi (npr. 1969_z0016) takšni, ki imajo azimut okoli 120°, in ali gre pri tem za odziv na neko lokalno prostorsko in/ali drugačno (zunajgrobiščno) spremembo ali navezavo, v tem trenutku ne vemo. Če gre za odziv na spremenjeno stanje stavb, ki so stale na grobišču, najprej pomislimo na ostanke temeljev stavbe, interpretirane kot najstarejše cerkvene zgradbe, in na skupino najstarejših grobov t. i. staroselske tradicije, pokopanih ob te temelje, ter tiste sočasne grobove, ki to usmeritev upoštevajo. Grob 2011_x0222, ki je nastal v zadnji četrtini 8. st., te smeri ne upošteva. Vendar te smeri prav tako ne upošteva npr. grob 1972_z0206 z azimutom 116° iz t. i. Valičeve skupine najstarejših grobov na delu grobišča (tik severno pri *območju* 2), kjer se je pokopavanje pravzaprav začelo. Grob 2011_x0222 je od groba 1972_z0206 z vidika gradnje grobne jame že povsem drugačen. Stratigrafska lega groba 1972_z0206 v sekvenci treh (najzgodnejših) grobov kaže na njegov relativno najmlajši nastanek, tega poudarja tudi njegov od predhodnih dveh izrazito drugačen azimut (gl. *pogl. 1 in 2*). Ali nemara zato že ta grob – čeprav še s kamnitimi oblogami, vendar neupoštevaje usmeritve relativno starejših grobov, s katerimi je bil v stiku – naznanja prehajanje k pokopavanju z nestanovitnimi usmeritvami in manj prostornimi jamami, kot jih sicer zanesljivo uvajajo pokop 2011_x0222 in njemu podobni grobovi v "običajnejših" grobnih jamah? Se pri tem morda kaže tudi časovna globina pokopavanja v t. i. staroselski tradiciji – ali njen iztek ob prehodu k "običajnejšim" grobnim jamam –, ki jo morda naznanja (od 1972_z0206) že relativno starejši grob 1972_z0107 s starejšo usmeritvijo, vendar že brez kamnite obloge? Če to drži in če upoštevamo stratigrafijo, bi lahko šlo pri grobu 1972_z0206 za enega zadnjih pokopov starejše tradicije s kamnito oblogo in bi ga trenutno lahko postavili v drugo polovico 8. st., pred leto 774. To bi lahko bil indic za časovno zveznost prehoda med enim in drugim načinom pokopavanja na razširjenem prostoru *območja* 2. Trenutno je torej več vprašanj kot odgovorov. Kot kaže, gre za kompleksno časovno-prostorsko sliko grobišča, ki bo bolje razumljiva po analizi celotnega grobišča in dodatnem radiokarbonskem datiranju.

Na *območjih* 1 in 2 se je pokopavanje za zadnjimi zgodnjesrednjeveškimi grobovi neprekinjeno nadaljevalo tudi v mlajših obdobjih vse do 17./18. st. Razmeroma številni grobovi večinoma brez pridatkov v stratigrafskih sekvencah v več nivojih ležijo med zadnjimi zgodnjesrednjeveškimi grobovi s pridatki in pred prvimi novoveškimi grobovi z devocionalijami, ki zaključujejo obdobje pokopavanja na tem grobišču najpozneje leta 1789. V primerjavi z *območji* 1 in 2 v stratigrafiji *območja* 3 pogrešamo obsežnejšo skupino grobov brez pridatkov, ki bi sledila zadnjim zgodnjesrednjeveškim grobovom s pridatki in bi zapolnjevala čas do prvih novoveških grobov z devocionalijami. Med najmlajšimi grobovi jih je bila tu namreč večina vkopana v nasutje, ki je izenačevalo hodni nivo (Sagadin 2017, 36–37; *id*. 1985b) okoli leta 1430 nad ta del razširjene poznogotske cerkve (Peskar 2017). Zakaj tu ni potekalo obsežnejše oz. množičnejše pokopavanje v obdobju po zgodnjem srednjem veku in do okoli leta 1430 in ali so na to vplivale tudi različne zgradbe, je le nekaj vprašanj, na katera bo mogoče ponuditi odgovore šele po analizi celotnega grobišča.

6 SKLEP

Analiza posameznih območij kaže, da sta bili med stratigrafsko najstarejšimi grobovi dve skupini zgodnjesrednjeveških pokopov.

Prvo (starejšo) skupino grobov, ki se v literaturi povezuje s t. i. staroselsko tradicijo pokopavanja in so jo tipološko opredelili že najzgodnejši izkopavalci ter jo pozneje s kulturnimi kriteriji ovrednotili tudi časovno, predstavljajo globoko vkopani grobovi (z azimutom 95° ± 5°) v bolj ali manj prostornih pravokotnih jamah. Medtem ko sta relativna prostornost oz. velikost in večja globina grobne jame stalni karakteristiki teh grobov, se med seboj opazno razlikujejo po nestandardni izvedbi notranjosti grobnih jam. Lahko je šlo zgolj za v zemljino vkopane jame brez posebne gradnje (1972_z0085, 1953_z0146, 1953_z0147), v katerih so bili ponekod odkriti le sledovi lesa (1972_z0107), ali pa so bile v grobnih jamah popolnoma lesene velike grobne konstrukcije (1984_z0108). Večkrat je bil s kamni (deloma) obdan skelet oziroma rob jame (1972_z0089, 1984_z0048), v nekaterih jamah so v nekaj primerih odkrili tudi dele desk (1984_z0107, 1984_z0049). Redkeje pa so bile stene grobne jame s kamni obložene tudi v višino (1984_z0110, morda deloma tudi 1972_z0091).

Ne glede na tipološko raznolikost izvedb notranjosti grobnih jam stratigrafski konteksti nedvomno potrjujejo, da gre za skupino prvotnih grobov, med katerimi so najstarejši na podlagi ugotovitev radiokarbonskega datiranja nastali pred letom 774 in vsekakor po letu 654. Za raznolikost najstarejše skupine grobov ob kulturnih vzrokih ne moremo povsem izključiti niti kronoloških. Kronološke razlike med najstarejšimi grobovi poleg prostorske razmestitve grobov zanesljivo potrjujejo tudi stratigrafija grobov in radiokarbonske datacije.

Stratigrafija najstarejših grobov, ki upoštevajo usmeritev najstarejših ostankov temeljev zidov (ti so bili interpretirani kot ostanki prve cerkvene stavbe), kaže, da je med temi grobovi na dveh mestih prišlo do zanesljivih superpozicij. Te dokazujeta grobova 1984_z0049 / 1984_z0048 in grobova 1972_z0207 / 1972_z0107. Prostorsko sta del iste, t. i. Valičeve skupine najstarejših grobov, kamor sodijo še grobovi 1972_z0082, 1972_z0085, 1972_z0089, 1972_z0090 in 1972_z0091. Tipološko sorodna grobova 1984_z0049 in 1972_z0089 imata tudi najstarejše in hkrati podobne (^{14}C) časovne razpone, ki v najširšem časovnem obsegu datirata začetek pokopavanja po letu 654 in pred letom 775. V deloma istem časovnem razponu, pred letom 775, so pokopavali tudi na južnem delu grobišča, kot kaže v spodnjem delu sicer nekoliko mlajša datacija groba 1984_z0106. Drugi dve radiokarbonski dataciji grobov 1972_z0085 in 1984_z0110 prekrivata relativno mlajši čas 678/680–882 in se po izvedbi notranjosti grobne jame razlikujeta tako med seboj kot tudi v primerjavi z najstarejšima grobovoma 1984_z0049 in 1972_z0089. Za vse pa je značilna horizontalna razmestitev, ki daje videz prostorskega načrtovanja, z dosledno orientacijo vzhod–zahod.

Obstoj dodatne, tretje superpozicije grobov 1972_z0107 (spodaj) in 1972_z0206 (zgoraj) z različnima usmeritvama (azimut 95° oz. 116°) in izvedbama grobnih jam (navadna s sledovi desk oz. obložena s kamni) bi lahko kazal na čas, ko se pokopavanje v t. i. staroselski tradiciji (*prva skupina*) že preveša k pokopavanju v manjših grobnih jamah brez kamnitih oblog in spremenljivih azimutov, kar je sicer značilnost *druge skupine* grobov. Grobova sta prostorsko del skupine najstarejših, podobno grajenih grobov, za katero so značilni medsebojni razmiki proti vzhodu usmerjenih grobnih jam. Vendar imata značilnosti obeh skupin. Grob 1972_z0107 ima pridatke, kar predstavlja za *prvo skupino* redkost, in nima kamnite obloge. Od njega relativno mlajši grob 1972_z0206 pa sicer ima kamnito oblogo, vendar je usmerjen drugače, in sicer podobno kot grob 2011_x0222 z *območja* 1, ki je predstavnik *druge skupine*. Če grob 1972_z0206 kot najmlajši v sekvenci najstarejših grobov zares kaže ta prehod (opuščanje t. i. staroselske tradicije pokopavanja), bi ga lahko trenutno umestili v drugo polovico 8. st., v čas pred letom 774.

Popoln odmik od t. i. staroselske tradicije zanesljivo že kaže grob 2011_x0222 v jugovzhodnem delu grobišča, s prav tako odstopajočo usmeritvijo severozahod–jugovzhod (z azimutom 125°), ki se je po radiokarbonski dataciji zgodil po letu 774 ali najpozneje okoli leta 800, kot kaže tipokronološko ovrednotenje stratigrafsko mlajših grobov s pridatki nad njim. Grob 2011_x0222 nima več kamnite obloge in je predstavnik *druge skupine* (stratigrafsko) najstarejših grobov.

Druga skupina grobov, ki je mlajša od prve in je torej poznejša od leta 774, ima pravokotno ali zaobljeno in globoko, vendar manj prostorno grobno jamo (različnih azimutov, 80–125°). V njih so lahko sledovi lesa grobnih konstrukcij oziroma desk. Pogostejši so tudi pridatki. Grobu 2011_x0222 v stratigrafski sekvenci neposredno sledijo stratigrafsko mlajši grobovi s pridatki, ki še nekaj časa ohranjajo podobno gradnjo groba, vendar imajo različne azimute. Takšna situacija oziroma nadaljevanje pokopavanja pa je razvidno tudi nad grobom 1972_z0089 na severnem delu grobišča, ki ga začenjajo grobovi s tipološko podobno sestavljenimi grobnimi inventarji (kot nad grobom 2011_x0222), podobno pa je tudi število 4–5 zaporednih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov v sekvencah. Prvi pojav usmeritve grobov SZ–JV ob koncu 8. ali v začetku 9. st. morda pomeni odziv na spremembe znotraj grobišča ali v okolici, česar trenutno še ne znamo zadovoljivo pojasniti.

Za začetek pojava najstarejše, *prve skupine* grobov (in s tem za začetek pokopavanja na grobišču) ob trenutnih podatkih predlagamo prvo polovico 8. st., s trajanjem najmanj dveh generacij (60 let), kar utemeljujemo z naslednjimi argumenti:

– Odsotnost zanesljivih podatkov o obstoju grobnih najdb, ki jih je mogoče datirati le v 7. st. (prim. OIAS 35, 37 in 38; Sagadin 2017, 46; Valič 1985, 91).

– V grobovih *prve skupine*, ki vsebujejo nakit, je grob 1984_z0107 datiran v sredino 8. st., grob 1972_z0107 pa v 7. ali 8. st. (Sagadin 2017, 46).

– Nobena od radiokarbonskih datacij nima svojega razpona samo v okviru 7. st., temveč se le delno nanašajo na njegovo drugo polovico, delno pa na 8. st.

– Vse radiokarbonske datacije *prve skupine* grobov večji del prekrivajo le 8. st.

– Nobena od najstarejših radiokarbonskih datacij ne zajema prve polovice 7. st.

– Začetek pokopavanja *druge skupine* (trenutno) ni starejši od leta 774.

– Najstarejši grobovi *prve skupine* so relativno dobro ohranjeni, mlajši grobovi jih praviloma niso poškodovali v večjem obsegu. To bi lahko bil indic za časovno bližino prvih mlajših pokopov (neposeganje v nerazkrojena trupla, poznavanje starejših grobov, morebitne oznake starejših grobov).

– Med zaporednimi grobovi *prve skupine* z usmeritvijo vzhod–zahod smo v dveh primerih zaznali superpoziciji, ki kažeta na vsaj dve generaciji pokopavanja, kar lahko znaša do 60 let.

Raziskava (analiza) grobišča še ni končana, zato pričujoči prispevek ne ponuja dokončnih ugotovitev. Kljub temu pa prinaša novosti, ki dopolnjujejo naše poznavanje oblik grobov in obdobja začetka pokopavanja na tem grobišču, prvič podprte s kombinacijo absolutnih datacij, stratigrafije in materialne kulture.

Kratice / Abbrevations

EMIAS 1 = B. Štular, M. Belak (ur.) 2012a, *Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju. Dokumentacija o izkopavanjih v letu 1953.*– E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 1. (DOI: 10.3986/9789612544232)

EMIAS 2 = B. Štular, M. Belak (ur.) 2012b, *Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju. Kartoteka najdb iz leta 1953.* – E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 2. (DOI: 10.3986/9789612544263)

EMIAS 4 = A. Valič, B. Štular, M. Belak 2013, *Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju. Dokumentacija o izkopavanjih v letih 1964, 1965 in 1966.* – Zbirka E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 4. (DOI: 10.3986/9789612544775)

EMIAS 5 = N. Osmuk, A. Valič, M. Belak 2013, *Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju. Dnevniki izkopavanj 1969 do 1973.* – E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 5. (DOI: 10.3986/9789612546557)

EMIAS 6 = M. Sagadin 2014, *Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju. Dnevnik izkopavanj 1984.* – E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 6. (DOI: 10.3986/9789612547035)

EMIAS 7 = M. Belak (ur.) 2014, *Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju. Grobni zapisniki.* –E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 7. (DOI: 10.3986/9789612547042)

EMIAS 12 = M. Belak (ur.). 2021. *Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju, Bloki, terenske risbe 1969-1973*, E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 12. (DOI: 10.3986/9789610505778)

OIAS 35 = A. Pleterski, B. Štular, M. Belak 2016, *Izkopavanja srednjeveškega in zgodnjenovoveškega grobišča pri Župni cerkvi v Kranju v letih 1964–1970. Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju 1.* – Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 35. (DOI: 10.3986/9789612549732)

OIAS 37 = A. Pleterski, B. Štular, M. Belak 2017, *Raziskovanja grobišča okoli Župne cerkve v Kranju v letih 1972–2010.*– Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 37. (DOI: 10.3986/9789610500315)

OIAS 38 = A. Pleterski, B. Štular, M. Belak, H. BEŠTER 2019, *Začetek in konec raziskovanj grobišča pri Župni cerkvi v Kranju (1953 in 2011–2013).* – Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 38. (DOI: 10.3986/978961050150)3

ZBIVA = Pleterski 2016, Zbiva v. 3.11 (http://zbiva.zrc--sazu.si/) (03.12.2022).

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Stratigraphically lowest early medieval graves and beginnings of burial in the Župna cerkev cemetery in Kranj (Slovenia)

Summary

The cemetery at the Župna cerkev (parish church of St Cantianus) site in Kranj, Slovenia, is the largest known early medieval cemetery in the eastern Alps and among the largest in central Europe (*Fig. 1*). It was almost entirely excavated between 1953 and 2013, revealing 2943 graves published in a catalogue. It is estimated that at least a third of them dates to the early medieval period. The stratigraphic and material evidence, as well as historical sources indicate continuous burial from the 8th to the 18th century that took place in a relatively limited area around the church buildings from different periods (*Fig. 2*). Over the last decade, there have been a series of intensive analyses examining the site's excavation records, archaeological finds, anthropological remains and archaeological contexts (EMIAS 1, 2, 4, 5–7, 12; Urankar, Bešter 2014; Šlaus *et al*. 2014; *id*. 2015) that resulted in catalogues of graves (OIAS 35, 37 and 38), a stratigraphic sequence of burials and several other cemeterial elements (mainly different walls, partly stray finds, individual stones, pavings, pits, hearths and others), as well as a typo-chronology of the early medieval head circlets and finger-rings (Rihter 2020).

The current state of research allows us to advance from studying individual burials and categories of grave goods to a comprehensive archaeological analysis and interpretation of the cemetery. Part of this is presented here and tackles the beginnings of burial using new relative and absolute dates of the burials.

The burial beginnings is among the key topics relating to the Župna cerkev cemetery and one

already explored by researchers in the past who studied the graves and building remains unearthed prior to 2011. Of these, we should mention Andrej Valič (Valič 1975; *id*. 1978; *id*. 1985; *id*. 1991a, b) and especially Milan Sagadin, who published several contributions and enhanced the knowledge to the degree that today provides a solid starting point for further research (Sagadin 1985; *id*. 1988; *id*. 1991; *id*. 2017).

There is no doubt that a reliable identification and dating of the stratigraphically lowest or earliest graves, largely without grave goods, is essential for establishing the beginnings of the cemetery. The research thus far concentrated on the burials in deep spacious pits with stone and/or wooden lining structure (*Fig. 3–6*), as well as on their spatial distribution and relation to the remains of the unearthed and reconstructed masonry buildings (*Fig. 1, 2, 12*). This history of this research into the earliest graves – their shapes, locations and chronological attributions – is therefore presented here in detail (see *Chapter 2* in the Slovenian text).

Research motives and starting points

The incomplete publications of the early excavations and of the stratigraphy led to the research focusing on the results of individual excavation campaigns, primarily those conducted in 1972 and 1984, whereas the most recently unearthed graves (2011–2013) had not yet been published (see *Chapters 1–2* in the Slovenian text). The recent excavations (2011–2013), which explored the entire currently accessible area of the cemetery around the parish church, revealed numerous new graves that were excavated stratigraphically, including some deep graves without goods that came to light in 2011 in areas already investigated before 1973 (*Fig. 1:* Area 1, *Fig. 2, 6, 8*).

This prompted a re-examination of the stratigraphically lowest graves based on the analysis of the stratigraphic sequence of burial (Harris Matrix) across the whole cemetery, which enabled an efficient identification of the stratigraphically lowest graves (see *Chapters 3.1–3.2* in the Slovenian text). It also enabled a stratigraphic observation of the later graves above them that provided a means of verifying chronological data such as the characteristically excessively broad spans of C14 dates (see *Chapter 3.3* in the Slovenian text) of the human skeletal samples or the topographic- and typo-chronological attributions of the graves (see *Chapter 3.4* in the Slovenian text).

The examination revealed that the earliest graves showed considerable variety, differing in the grave form, grave goods, location and relative depth (*Fig. 1–6*). Some even exhibited relative chronological differences visible in the stratigraphy that were not observed in previous analyses.

The results of the examination are twofold. Firstly, it enabled a spatial identification of the early (earliest) burials as established or proposed by previous researchers and as revealed by the new stratigraphic analyses of graves not yet fully analysed, shown on a joint plan (*Fig. 2*). Secondly, it enabled us to compile a list of (stratigraphically) earliest graves based on the currently available evidence that was used for the research presented in this contribution *(Tab. 1*). The list was created by considering a combination of data on the stratigraphic position of a grave in the context of the cemetery as a whole, the presence/absence of grave goods, the depth of the grave pit, the orientation of the skeleton, the presence or absence of stone lining or wooden structures, the shape of the grave pit and the extended position of the arms (*Tab. 1*). The list of the stratigraphically early (earliest) graves in combination with the spatial position and the stratigraphy of all graves led to a selection of three areas (*Fig. 1:*1–3) suitable for a detailed chronological analysis of the burial beginnings (see *Chapters 4.1–4.3* in the Slovenian text).

Chronological analysis of the graves

Six skeletons from the above-mentioned list (*Tab. 1, Fig. 2*) were dated using the C14 method, which represents 35% (*Tab. 2:* 1–6). Also added were the C14 dates of three later graves unearthed in 1984 (*Tab. 2:* 7–9) and of three organic samples from two graves that came to light during the 2011–2013 excavation campaign (*Tab. 2:* 10–11).

A Harris Matrix was created for each of the three areas, which begins with a stratigraphically lowest grave without goods that comes with a C14 date and continues with other burials as revealed by their detailed analysis. A selection of grave goods that came to light in the stratigraphically later graves are presented within the Harris Matrix for Area 1 (*Fig. 7*) and on the figures (*Fig. 9, 11)* next to the respective matrices for Areas 2 and 3 (*Fig. 8, 10*). The earliest C14-dated burials (*Tab. 2:* 1–6) together span more than 370 years. This is narrowed down indirectly, using the typo-chronological attributions of jewellery as established for the eastern Alps (Eichert 2010a; Pleterski 2013a), using the stratigraphic sequences that include relatively later burials and by incorporating chronological indications from the better investigated early medieval cemeteries in Slovenia (Sagadin 1988; *id*. 2001; Knific 1974; Knific, Pleterski 1981; *id*. 1993; Pleterski 1982; Štular 2020) (see *Chapters 4.1–4.3* in the Slovenian text).

Results and conclusions

The analysis of Areas 1–3 has revealed two distinct groups of stratigraphically lowest or earliest graves.

The first (earlier) group (see *Chapters 4.2–4.3* in the Slovenian text) comprises burials in deep (azimuth 95 ± 5°), more or less spacious and rectangular pits; it is a group associated in literature with an indigenous burial tradition (Sagadin 1985b, 283–284; *id*. 2017, 49, 54) and one that previous researchers already typologically identified and later also chronologically attributed using cultural criteria. Apart from the shared relatively great size and considerable depth of the grave pit, these graves differ in the lining or structures in the pit. The pits could be plain (1972_z0085, 1953_z0146, 1953_z0147), in some cases revealing the remains of wood (1972_z0107), or had a large structure of wood (1984_z0108). Some graves had stones (partially) lining the skeleton or pit walls (1972_z0089, 1984_z0048). Some revealed traces of wooden boards (1984_z0107, 1984_z0049). In rare examples, stone lining was laid in several courses (1984_z0110, in part possibly also 1972_z0091) (*Fig. 3–6*).

The typological diversity of the grave form notwithstanding, the stratigraphic contexts confirm that we are dealing with a group of earliest burials, with the C14 analyses indicating that the first of these date before 774 and after 654. In addition to cultural differences, the diversity may also stem from chronological differences, the existence of which is corroborated by the spatial distribution of these burials, stratigraphy and C14 dating.

The stratigraphy of the earliest graves that respect the orientation of the earliest foundation walls (interpreted as the remains of the first church building, from the second half of the 6th century) (*Fig. 2,*) shows superposition in two places: in the case of Graves 1984_z0049 / 1984_z0048 (*Fig. 10*) and Graves 1972_z0207 / 1972_z0107 (*Fig. 2*). Spatially, they formed part of the same, ‘Valič group’ (for details see *Chapter 2* in the Slovenian text) of earliest burials that further consists of Graves 1972_z0082, 1972_z0085, 1972_z0089, 1972_z0090 and 1972_z0091 (*Fig. 2*). Typologically similar Graves 1984_z0049 and 1972_z0089 (*Fig. 4–5*) also share the earliest and similar C14 spans, which in their widest spans date the beginning of burial after 654 and before 775 (*Tab. 2:* 2–3). The dating for Grave 1984_z0106, which is slightly later in its lower limit, shows that burial took place in partly the same span, prior to 775 (*Tab. 2:* 4), in the southern part of the cemetery (*Fig. 1–2*). The other two C14 dates, of Graves 1972_z0085 and 1984_z0110 (*Tab. 2:* 1, 5), cover a relatively later time (678/680 – 882); these two graves also differ in grave form both between them and in relation to earliest Graves 1984_z0049 and 1972_z0089 (*Fig. 4–5*). Having said that, all of them are spatially distributed so as to give the impression of spatial planning, with a consistent W-E orientation.

Yet another, third example of superposition, of Graves 1972_z0107 (below) and 1972_z0206 (above) (*Fig. 2*), with differing orientations (azimuth 95° / 116°) and grave forms (simple pit with traces of wooden boards / stone-lined pit) (*Tab.1, Fig. 4*) could indicate a shift from burial according to the ‘indigenous’ tradition (first group) towards burial in smaller pits without a stone lining and of different azimuths, which are characteristic of the second group of graves (see *Chapters 4.1* and *5.0* in the Slovenian text). Spatially, these two graves are part of the group of the earliest graves of similar construction that have a E-W orientation and are spatially distributed so as to give the impression of spatial planning; however, they also show traits of the second group. Grave 1972_z0107 held goods, which is rare for the first group, and had no stone lining (*Fig. 4*). The relatively later Grave 1972_z0206 had a stone lining, but was oriented differently – similarly to Grave 2011_x0222 from Area 1 (*Fig. 2, 6*), which is a representative of the second group. If Grave 1972_z0206, as the latest in the sequence of the earliest graves, really does reflect this shift away from the ‘indigenous burial’ tradition, it could be dated to the second half of the 8th century, before 774.

A completed shift can reliably be identified in Grave 2011_x0222, located in the south-eastern part of the cemetery (*Fig. 1:* Area 1*; Fig. 2*), which shows a different, NW–SE orientation (azimuth 125°) (*Tab. 1*). The C14 dating suggests this burial took place after 774 or around 800 at the latest, also corroborated by the typo-chronological assessment of the stratigraphically later graves with goods above it (see *Chapter 4.1* in the Slovenian text). Grave 2011_x0222 no longer has a stone lining and is a representative of the second group of (stratigraphically) earliest graves.

The second group is later that the first and postdates the year 774. It comprises graves with rectangular or rounded deep pits (of diverse azimuths, between 80° and 125°) that are less spacious than those of the first group. The pits may hold the remains of a wooden structure or boards. Grave goods also become more common. In the stratigraphic sequence, above-noted Grave 2011_x0222 is directly followed by later burials with grave goods and a similar grave form, but with differing azimuths. Such a situation, *i.e.* continuation of burial, is also visible above Grave 1972_z0089, in the northern part of the cemetery (see *Chapter 4.2* in the Slovenian text), where the earliest burials show typologically similarly composed goods (as those above Grave 2011_x0222). Also similar is the number of four to five successive early medieval graves in the stratigraphic sequences (*Fig. 7–8*). The NW–SE orientation is first recorded towards the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century and may reflect the changes that occurred either within the cemetery or in its vicinity, but can as yet not be adequately explained.

The currently available evidence suggests that the earliest, first group of graves, and with it burial in the Župna cerkev cemetery, began in the first half of the 8th century and lasted for at least two generations (sixty years); the arguments speaking in favour of such dating are the following:

– Absence of reliable evidence on the existence of grave goods only datable to the 7th century (*cf.* OIAS 35, 37 and 38; Sagadin 2017, 46; Valič 1985, 91).

– The graves of the first group that held pieces of jewellery include Grave 1984_z0107 dated to the mid-8th century and Grave 1972_z0107 dated to the 7th or 8th century (Sagadin 2017, 46).

– None of the earliest C14 dates has a span only within the 7th century, but rather partly in the second half of the 7th and partly the 8th century (*Tab. 2:* 1–5).

– All C14 spans of the first group graves fall predominantly in the 8th century.

– None of the earliest C14 dates reach into the first half of the 7th century.

– The beginning of the second group burial (according to currently available evidence) postdates 774.

– The earliest graves of the first group are relatively well-preserved and mostly undamaged by the later graves, which indicates a chronological proximity with the first graves of the second group (avoiding decomposing bodies, knowledge of earlier burials, possible existence of grave markers).

– The successive graves of the first group, with a W-E orientation, include two pairs that were superimposed and as such indicate at least two generations of burials that may span up to sixty years.

The research of the cemetery is ongoing and the contribution above does not bring final results. Nevertheless, it does bring new insights that advance our knowledge of the grave forms and beginnings of burial in the Župna cerkev cemetery that are, for the first time, supported by absolute dates, as well as stratigraphic and material evidence.

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llustrations: Fig. 1, 2, 7, 8, 10 (elaborated by: Drago Valoh, ZRC SAZU). – *Fig. 9, 11* (elaborated by: Mateja Belak, ZRC SAZU). – *Fig. 12* (elaborated by: Drago Valoh, ZRC SAZU, and Mateja Belak ZRC SAZU).

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The Venetic inscription *Ts 3 from Kaštelir above Korte

Venetski napis *Ts 3 s Kaštelirja nad Kortami

Luka REPANŠEK, Maša SACCARA

Izvleček

Na odlomku skodele s Kaštelirja nad Kortami, izdelane iz sive prečiščene gline, je bil ohranjen napis v venetskem alfabetu. Napis *Ts 3 je ohranjen v celoti in vsebuje štiri grafeme *vose*, pri čemer interpretacija tretjega grafema ostaja nekoliko težavna. Sekvenca najverjetneje predstavlja osebno ime, morda v okrnjeni obliki, ki pa v korpusu venetskih napisov zaenkrat nima znane vzporednice.
Ključne besede: Slovenija; Kaštelir nad Kortami; siva venetska keramika; venetski napis; paleografija

Abstract

The Venetic inscription from Kaštelir above Korte, bearing the siglum *Ts3, was incised onto a bowl sherd of grey depurated ware. It contains four graphemes in an unfragmented sequence that most likely reads *vose*, although the paleographic interpretation of the third grapheme remains somewhat problematic. The inscription very likely represents a personal name, probably in an abbreviated form, but one that has no exact match in the available corpus of Venetic inscriptions.
Key words: Slovenia; Kaštelir above Korte; grey depurated ware; Venetic inscription; paleography

Kaštelir above Korte near Izola (hereinafter Kaštelir)[1] is an archaeological site extending in the length of 1230 m and holds the remains of one of the largest prehistoric settlements in the Slovenian part of the Istrian Peninsula. The settlement lies at 271 m asl, on the southernmost peak of a long ridge between Izola and Sečovlje, dominating the landscape above the village of Korte.

Several trial trenching campaigns and other investigations have thus far been conducted at the site.[2] In 2010, excavations examined the highest southern terrace, on lot No. 1706, cadastral municipality of Dvori nad Izolo, just below the hilltop. A roughly 3 × 10 m large trench was dug longitudinally along the terrace and revealed numerous sherds of prehistoric and Roman pottery, a bronze figurine of a dog, a bronze brooch of

[1] Listed in the Register of Immovable Cultural Heritage under Kaštelir pri Čedljah, EID: 1-07238, EŠD: 7238.

[2] Mestni muzej Piran (Elica Boltin Tome) conducted investigations in 1956, 1960 and 1962, Institute for Mediterranean Heritage of the University of Primorska (Mitja Guštin, Maša Saccara) in 2008–2010 and Institute for Archaeology and Heritage FHŠ UP (Alenka Tomaž (Tomaž, Sakara Sučević 2017, 71)) in 2014.

Fig. 1: Kaštelir above Korte. The Venetic inscription *Ts 3 on a bowl sherd of grey depurated ware.
Sl. 1: Kaštelir nad Kortami. Venetski napis *Ts 3 na dnu skodele iz sive venetske keramike.

Middle La Tène construction, an amber bead, but also a base sherd of a bowl of grey depurated ware with an inscription scratched on the underside (Sakara Sučević *et al*. 2010; Sakara Sučević 2012, 51–59). Stratigraphic evidence shows that the site was destroyed during terracing, reportedly conducted in the beginning of the 20th century. Only the southern part of the trench, where the slope is steeper, revealed intact remains, presumably a paving and several postholes, but they could not be dated. All other layers contained mixed finds (Sakara Sučević *et al*. 2010).

The diagnostic finds attributable to the early period of Romanisation include a base fragment of a bowl that appears to have been reused as an amphora lid. Its underside bears letters in a North Italic alphabet scratched into the grey slip (see below). The bowl is made of a depurated grey fabric and belongs to the pottery known as 'grey Venetic ware', which is in areas east of Aquileia associated with the Roman influence observable in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC; this pottery was produced in eastern Veneto and in Friuli (Cassani *et al.* 2007). A similar and slightly better-preserved bowl came to light at the nearby site of Stramare/Štramar near Muggia/Milje, which also bears a Venetic inscription (Maselli Scotti (ed.) 1997, 39, Pl. 9: 1).

THE INSCRIPTION (*Ts 3)

The bowl bears a short but clearly visible inscription consisting of four letters in the Venetic alphabet on the convex underside, tracing the now missing edge of the original base (*Fig. 1*). The inscription was first published in Sakara Sučević 2012, where F. Crevatin provided a tentative reading. It was also included in the map of pre-Roman inscriptions in the south-eastern Alpine region published in Laharnar, Turk 2018, Fig. 161. All the letter shapes have sinistroverse orientation and trace the circular original edge of the base, their stems extending towards the convex centre. Although the sherd is damaged, it can be established with certainty that no letter is missing. The marks on the surface suggest that the letters were incised *post cocturam*, most probably on the bowl when still complete rather than sub-

Fig. 2: Kaštelir above Korte. Close-up of the Venetic inscription *Ts 3.
Sl. 2: Kaštelir nad Kortami. Venetski napis *Ts 3 pod povečavo.

sequently on the sherd. The first (*digamma*), the second (*omicron*) and the fourth letter (*epsilon*) are neatly done and were perfectly legible even before the sherd had been cleaned. The *o* has the usual rhomboid shape and the *digamma* is of the normal *f*-type. The only problematic part of the inscription is the third grapheme. Crevatin's original reading of the sequence (Sakara Sučević 2012) as *vo.e* has a close, although imperfect parallel on a bone from *Acelum* (*REI* 2004, Asolo (Treviso) 5) that reads *vo.a* (or, alternatively, *vo.u.* if the middle hasta of the *alpha* is in fact an interpunct, as one would indeed expect). A recent autopsy of the debated inscription has shown, however, that the third sign most probably extends to the edge of the original surface and must in all likelihood represent a letter form rather than an interpunct. It is clearly bent in the lower half, while its upper part curves only very slightly to the right. When considerably enlarged (cf. *Fig. 2*), the upper part might (marked in dotted lines on the drawing to convey the uncertainty) be a typologically unrelated incision (perhaps a scratch mark), as the characteristic ridges on either side of the incisions otherwise visible in the letters *v* and *o* can only be detected in the lower curve. If this is indeed the case, the reading of the third symbol as an interpunct is probably justified. However, it is necessary to point out that in such a case the actually expected sequence would be *vo.e.*, i.e. with an additional interpunctum to the left of the letter *e*. As it stands, however, *vo.e* could only represent an example of defective spelling. Additional support for a different reading is lent by the fact that the same absence of ridge marks can be observed in the upper part of the fourth letter form (*epsilon*), where the strokes are undoubtedly part of the letter, while a macroscopic inspection reveals almost undoubtedly that the incision forming the third grapheme is deliberate and represents a single stroke. As such, the third letter form could either stand for a three-bar *sigma* (*vose*), with unsurprising leftward orientation in a sinistroverse sequence, or potentially a *jod* (*voje*). The latter of the two possibilities is much less likely, since we would expect a *j* between two vowels to be spelt as either **vo.i.iie*, **vo.i.je,* **vo.i.ije* or, if this were a Carnic inscription, **vojje*. The only parallel in the available corpus of Venetic inscriptions for a *-VjV-* sequence being spelled out defectively as *-VjV-* is *ajo-* in *]ajokos* (Ca 34) from Làgole di Calalzo, hence the possibility that *Ts 3 shows the same peculiarity is practically non-existent.

It is uncertain whether the sequence represents a *catena litterarum*, though the inscription is generally comparable with examples such as Pa 18 with the masculine name *vaso* in the nominative singular occupying the base of a cup. If we are indeed dealing with a personal name (cf. the epigraphical sources *Vosis* [*CIL* V 4891], *Voseia* [*CIL* V 1264], *Vosio* [*CIL* V 4879]), which would be the most likely possibility given the epigraphical context, a form ending in *-e* cannot represent any of the expected endings (note that Etruscan origin, which would otherwise better account for the word-final *e*, is excluded by the unambiguous presence of the *omicron*), so that an abbreviation of some kind would need to be assumed in any event. A possible parallel may be the inscribed pot from Vicenza, if it indeed contains the sequence *o.s.tie* (see Marinetti 1999, 465, Nb 13) rather than *o.s.tiv*. The obvious formal possibilities for a truncated version of a name are the following: a – *vose* standing for *vose(.i.)*, i.e. the dative singular of an *i*-stem **vosi.s.* or an *s*-stem **voses*, alternatively also the genitive singular of a **vose.i.io.s.*, b – *vose* standing for *vose(ś)*, i.e. the nominative singular of a *t*-stem, c – *vose* standing for *vose(s)*, i.e. the nominative singular of an *s*-stem, and d – *vose* representing the nominative singular *vose(.o.)*.

NB At this point a brief comment on the sigla assigned to the Venetic inscriptions from the Trieste area is in order. The fragmentary inscription from Parti near Stara Sušica (Košana), referred to in Pellegrini 1981 as "Košana II" and interpreted as *ṣḳevạ* (see, however, Repanšek 2022, 605 fn. 20, where an alternative reading *ṣṭevạ,* with the typical saltire shape of the letter *t,* is suggested), should from now on be labeled as ***Ts 2**. Following the chronology of the finds, the four-letter inscription from Kaštelir must then logically be assigned the abbreviation ***Ts 3**. Ts 1 has been traditionally allotted to the *.o..s.tiiare.i.* inscription from Škocjan (Okostna jama) (see Pellegrini, Prosdocimi 1967, 604–605), while no siglum has been assigned to the non-interpunctuated sequence *tulvis* from Stramare/Štramar near Muggia/Milje (Pellegrini, Prosdocimi 1967, 605–606). The same goes for the additional find from the same locality published in Crevatin 1997, 231.

Abbreviations / Kratice

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.
REI 2004 = PROSDOCIMI, A. L., A. MARINETTI 2004, *Rivista di epigrafia Italica*. – *Studi Etruschi* 70, 363–424.

CASSANI *et al.* 2007 = G. Cassani, S. Cipriano, P. Donat, R. Merlatti 2007, Il ruolo della ceramica grigia nella romanizzazione dell'Italia nord-orientale: produzione e circolazione. – In: G. Cuscito, C. Zaccaria (eds.), *Aquileia dalle origini alla costituzione del ducato longobardo. Territorio-Economia-Società*, Antichità Altoadriatiche 65, 1, 249–281.

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Venetski napis *Ts 3 s Kaštelirja nad Kortami

Povzetek

Kaštelir nad Kortami pri Izoli (v nadaljevanju Kaštelir)[1] je s 1230 m obsega ena večjih prazgodovinskih naselbin v slovenskem delu Istre. Naselbinsko območje leži na skrajni južni vzpetini dolgega grebena, ki poteka med Izolo in Sečovljami in dominira nad vasjo Korte na 271 m nadmorske višine.

Na najdišču je potekalo več poskusnih arheoloških raziskav in drugih raziskovalnih dejavnosti.[2] Leta 2010 je bilo izvedeno izkopavanje na prvi južni terasi, parcela št. 1706, k. o. Dvori nad Izolo, tik pod vrhom hriba. Sonda v velikosti cca. 3 × 10 m je potekala vzdolžno na teraso. Izkopavanja so prinesla številno prazgodovinsko in rimskodobno keramiko, bronasto figurico psa, bronasto fibulo srednjelatenske sheme, jantarno jagodo in dno sive venetske skodele z vpraskanim napisom (Sakara Sučević *et al.* 2010; Sakara Sučević 2012, 51–59). Stratigrafija je pokazala, da je bilo najdišče uničeno ob terasiranju, ki naj bi se zgodilo v začetku 20. st. Le na južnem delu sonde, kjer teren strmo pada, se je ohranilo domnevno tlakovanje in nekaj stojk, a jih ni bilo mogoče datirati. Vse druge plasti so vsebovale premešano gradivo (Sakara Sučević *et al.* 2010).

Med izkopanim gradivom, ki sodi v sklop zgodnje romanizacije, je tudi odlomek dna skodele, ki je bilo po vsej verjetnosti naknadno uporabljeno kot pokrovček za amforo. Na zunanji strani so bile v sivi premaz vpraskane črke v severnoitalskem alfabetu (gl. spodaj). Skodela je bila izdelana iz prečiščene sive gline. Gre za tako imenovano sivo venetsko keramiko, ki jo v 2. in 1. st. pr. n. št. na prostoru vzhodno od Akvileje lahko povezujemo z rimskim vplivom. Proizvajali so jo v vzhodni Benečiji in Furlaniji (Cassani *et al.* 2007). Na bližnjem najdišču Štramar pri Miljah je bila najdena podobna, nekoliko bolje ohranjena skodela, ki ima prav tako venetski napis (Maselli Scotti (ed.) 1997, 39, t. 9: 1).

NAPIS (*Ts 3)

Napis teče pod notranjim robom (gl. *sl. 1*), in sicer od desne proti levi, sestavljajo pa ga štirje grafemi. Prvi, drugi in četrti so dobro berljivi in zagotovo predstavljajo črke v venetskem alfabetu. Omikron (*o*) je tipično romboidne oblike, prav tako digama (*v*) in epsilon (*e*) ne odstopata od pričakovanih realizacij. Tretji grafem je v spodnjem delu nedvomno prelomljen, v zgornjem pa ima namesto pričakovanega preloma le blago krivino. Glede na obliko lahko predstavlja ali sigmo (*s*), orientirano v levo, kar je za napise, ki potekajo od desne proti levi, običajno (četudi ne diagnostično, saj je orientacija sigme v venetskih napisih dokaj fluidna), ali joto (*j*). Slednje sicer le z močnim pridržkom, saj v takem okolju (tj. med dvema samoglasnikoma) ne bi pričakovali zapisa *jote* z golim grafemom *j*, temveč z zaporedjem *.i.j*, *.i.ii* oz. *.i.ij* ali eventualno (in zgolj če bi šlo za karnijski tip venetskega alfabeta) *jj*. Venetski korpus namreč vsebuje en sam napis (Ca 34) s poenostavitvijo, kot bi jo eventualno lahko izkazovalo zaporedje

[1] V registru nepremične kulturne dediščine Kaštelir pri Čedljah, EID: 1-07238, EŠD: 7238,

2 1956, 1960, 1962: Mestni muzej Piran (Elica Boltin Tome); 2008–2010: Inštitut za dediščino Sredozemlja Univerze na Primorskem (Mitja Guštin, Maša Saccara); 2014: Inštitut za arheologijo FHŠ UP (Alenka Tomaž; glej Tomaž, Sakara Sučević 2017, 71).

napisa *Ts 3 (namreč *]ajokos*), zato je verjetnost, da gre za sekvenco *voje,* čisto tipološko gledano izredno majhna in ne prepriča. Prvotno branje napisa, objavljeno v Sakara Sučević 2012 (napis je najti tudi že na zemljevidu predrimskih napisnih spomenikov na jugovzhodnem alpskem prostoru v Laharnar, Turk 2017, sl. 161), je ponudil F. Crevatin, ki je predmet videl še pred očiščenjem in zato zaznal le srednji del črke, ki pa ga je interpretiral kot interpunkt, torej *vo.e* (primerljiv napis bi bil v tem primeru *vo.a* oz. *vo.u.* na koščici iz Asola (ant. *Acelum*); gl. *REI* 2004, Asolo (Treviso) 5). Po očiščenju je že s prostim očesom dobro vidno, da se grafem razteza vse do notranjega roba (ima torej še spodnji del) in je visok toliko kot preostale črke napisa. Ob tem je sicer treba omeniti, da se zgornji del črke (na risbi namerno označen s črtkano črto) pod povečavo (gl. *sl. 2*) tipološko nekoliko razlikuje od spodnjega – ta namreč na površini pušča brazdasto zarezo, kot je značilno za vse zareze črke *v* in *o*, zato ni mogoče povsem izključiti niti možnosti, da sta del prvotnega napisa le spodnji in srednji del, zgornji del pa kasnejša zareza oz. praska. Ob upoštevanju tega bi bilo branje napisa kot *vo.e* načelno sicer upravičeno, nasprotujejo pa mu trije argumenti: a – tudi zgornji del četrte črke se tipološko loči od preostalih zarez, a so v tem primeru te nedvomno del grafema, b – pregled s prostim očesom jasno pokaže, da je celotna zareza, ki tvori tretji grafem, namerna in izvira iz časa, ko je bil napis vpraskan v predmet, c – če bi šlo za *vo.e* in ne *vose*, bi bila sekvenca tako ali tako defektivna, saj bi pričakovali **vo.e.*, tj. s še enim interpunktom levo od epsilona.

Napis najverjetneje predstavlja osebno ime (podoben primer bi npr. predstavljal napis Pa 18 z osebnim imenom *vaso* v imenovalniku ednine, prav tako na dnu čaše), vendar izpričano zaporedje v korpusu še nima vzporednice (prim. sicer epigrafske vire *Vosis* [*CIL* V 4891], *Voseia* [*CIL* V 1264], *Vosio* [*CIL* V 4879]), prav tako pa s končnim *-e*, ki kot končnica v venetščini ni pričakovan, opozarja, da gre morda za modifikacijo oz. skrajšavo. Etruščanski izvor, ki bi tak končaj sicer zlahka pojasnil, je seveda izključen z dejstvom, da sekvenca vsebuje omikron (*o*), ki ga etruščanski napisi ne poznajo. Če gre torej za v izglasju okrajšano ime venetskega izvora, so najočitnejše formalne možnosti naslednje: a – *vose(.i.)* kot dajalnik ednine *i*-osnove **vosi.s.*, kot dajalnik ednine *s*-osnove **voses* ali kot rodilnik ednine k **vose.i.io.s.*, b – imenovalnik ednine *t*-osnove *vose(ś)*, c – imenovalnik ednine *s*-osnove *vose(s)*, č – imenovalnik ednine *vose(.o.)*.

Opomba: Po kronologiji odkritij se na tem mestu napisu s Kaštelirja dodeli sigla *Ts 3, fragmentarnemu napisu *ṣḳevạ* oz. *ṣṭevạ* (Parti pri Stari Sušici), ki ga je leta 1981 interpretiral Pellegrini, pa *Ts 2. Siglo Ts 1 od leta 1967 nosi napis iz Okostne jame *.o..s.tiiare.i.* (gl. Pellegrini, Prosdocimi 1967, 604–605), medtem ko najdbi iz Štramarja pri Miljah z neinterpunktuiranim napisom *tulvis* (gl. Pellegrini, Prosdocimi 1967, 605–606) sigla ni bila dodeljena. Prav tako ne poznejšemu odkritju z istega najdišča, objavljenem v Crevatin 1997, 231.

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Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 1 (foto: Tomaž Lauko, NMS; risba: Ida Murgelj, NMS). – *Sl. 2* (foto: Tomaž Lauko, NMS).

Lysippean models on two roman reliefs from Poetovio

Lizipovski zgledi pri dveh rimskih petovionskih reliefih

Katarina ŠMID

Izvleček

Prispevek obravnava reliefni upodobitvi, ki sledita deloma grškega mojstra Lizipa. Delno ohranjeni relief z upodobitvijo mladeniča v gibanju, ki ga zaznamuje koder las nad čelom, je bil v literaturi različno interpretiran, Josip Korošec je denimo predlagal razlago s Kairosom. Upodobitve tega božanstva si delijo izstopajoči koder las nad čelom, goloto, držo in tehtnico na vrveh, ki bi jo zlahka držal tudi petovionski lik. Glede na preostale kamnite reliefe neobičajna smer gibanja sledi upodobitvam na nekaterih gemah, ki bi – tudi zaradi odstopanj v drži rok in nižje kakovosti – lahko predstavljale neposreden zgled.

Na stranici delno ohranjenega oltarja, votivnega oziroma nagrobnega, je upodobljen Herkules, ki posnema Lizipu pripisan tip utrujenega Herkula. Ta je v nasprotju z redkeje posnemanim Kairosom eden izmed najbolj razširjenih v cesarski dobi. Upodobitev *opera nobilia* na petovionski reliefni plastiki nedvomno priča o tem, da so kultivirani prebivalci poznali in naročali posnetke dobro znanih del grškega kiparstva.

Ključne besede: Poetovio; Panonija; rimska doba; Lizip; Kairos; utrujeni Herkul; ikonografski tip; ara

Abstract

This contribution discusses two relief depictions, which follow the works of the Greek master Lysippus. One of the partially preserved reliefs, depicting a youth in motion, characterised by the lock of hair on the front has been in the hitherto literature differently interpreted; Josip Korošec explained it as Kairos. The depictions of that deity share the lock of hair above the front, nakedness, posture, and scales, attached to the cords of the scales, which could also be held by the Poetovian youth. Regarding the other stone relief, the direction of the movement is quite unusual and can be taken after gem depictions, which could (also due to some alterations in arm posture and lower quality) serve as the direct source.

In the lateral side of the ara (either votive or funerary) Hercules, who follows the type of Weary Hercules, ascribed to Lysippus is depicted. The latter is (in contrast to the rarely imitated Kairos) one of the most widespread types in the Imperial era. The depictions of *opera nobilia* in Poetovian relief sculpture doubtless attest to the fact that the cultivated inhabitants were aware of and commissioned representations of the well-known works of Greek statuary.

Key words: Poetovio; Pannonia; Roman era; Lysippus; Kairos; Weary Hercules; iconographic type; ara

Fig. 1: Relief plate with Kairos and Norican girl (Povodnov Muzej, Ptuj).
Sl. 1: Relief s Kairosom in noriško deklico (Povodnov muzej, Ptuj).

Fig. 2: Kairos, relief, detail (Povodnov Muzej, Ptuj).
Sl. 2: Kairos, relief, detajl (Povodnov muzej, Ptuj).

Fig. 3: Kairos, relief (St Nicolaus Benedictine monastery, Trogir).
Sl. 3: Kairos, relief (benediktinski samostan sv. Nikolaja, Trogir).

KAIROS

By the stairway railing of the city tower (so-called Povodnov muzej/Povoden Museum)[1] in Ptuj, Slovenia (Roman Poetovio in Pannonia Superior, German Pettau), a relief bearing the image of the youth, rapidly moving to the right, is positioned (*Fig. 1*). It was translocated to its current place between 1962–1964 when some Roman *spolia* by the Northern and Eastern towers, where the relief had been previously allocated[2] were reinstalled by the Maribor Monument Protection Institute (now Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Regional Office Maribor).[3]

The marble relief panel (0.84 × 0.47 m)[4] is divided into two tiers. Within the moulded wider right portion, a figure of the young nude is positioned (*Fig. 2*). He moves to the right with the right leg ahead. In his outstretched arms, he holds an object that is tied to the strings. A clearly visible distinctive detail is a lock of hair above his forehead. Even though the upper part of his back is damaged, some vestiges in the upper cornice could indicate the possibility of the voluminous wings that would reach above his head.[5]

In the moulded left field, a female servant stands (*Fig. 1*).[6] She is dressed in the local so-called

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[1] Povoden Museum is named after Simon Povoden (1753–1841), the local historian and vicar, who around 1830 collected and immured several Roman stones from Ptuj in the town tower and has therefore established one of the oldest lapidaries *sub divo* in the territory of the nowadays Slovenia (about Simon Povoden see Skrabar 1933).

[2] *Cf.* Abramić 1925, 139, Fig. 99.

[3] Korošec 1997–1998, 38; Curk 1962–1964, 237.

[4] Lupa 4844.

[5] *Cf.* Korošec 1997–1998, 46.

[6] Although Josip Korošec suggested a rather Roman outfit, *stolla* and *pallium*, instead of the local garment

Norico-Pannonian wear: a long tunic, overtunic and underskirt.[7] In her lifted right arm, she holds an unidentified object, a mirror (?). Or *flabellum*? In the lowered right hand perhaps a jewellery box (?). Her attributes, outfit and posture match the depictions of the so-called Norican girls, who appear to be a popular decoration of the lateral relief fields of the funerary monuments. They were widely spread mainly in the province of Noricum but are to a lesser extent also present in the neighbouring Pannonia.[8] In the unpreserved right field perhaps a male servant stands, as he is often a counterpart of the female servant in the sepulchral monuments. In all probability, the relief panel was a part of the funerary monument, whereas according to Josip Korošec it could form the upper side of the stele, just below the "architrave",[9] while the other scholars had it for the part of the funerary tomb[10] or of the ossuary.[11]

Especially captivating is the youthful figure within the main relief field, whose interpretation is made difficult due to the preservation state and the scarceness of the comparable depictions.

At first, in 1925 Mihovil Abramić described it as the dancing or striding man, who is stretching his arms towards the unpreserved figure on the right. He interpreted the scene as possibly being of grape pressing.[12]

Some years later, the same author dedicated his attention to the high-quality relief fragment of the unknown provenance in Trogir (It. Traù; St. Nicolaus Benedictine monastery; *Fig. 3*), depicting the naked winged youth, grabbing the pair of scales.[13] Due to the attributes, iconographic characteristics and especially the hair lock above his forehead,[14] he interpreted it as Kairos, the deity or *daimon* of the opportune moment, whose prototype would be the bronze statue, made by the famous Lysippus of Sicyon (*cf. Fig. 4*).[15] Without any further explanation, he dated it into the 1st century BC,[16] whereas Nenad Cambi later suggested the earlier dating to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century BC; if the latter dating is correct, the

(Korošec 1997–1998, 43), she wears the traditional costume of the Norican girl.

7 On the female Norico-Pannonian wear, see Rothe (2012, 179–183) with the cited literature.

8 *Cf.* Diez 1954, 107–110; Rothe 2012, 141–142.

9 Korošec 1997–1998, 38.

10 Lupa 4844.

11 Djurić, 2001, 119; Pochmarski 2015, 217.

12 Abramić 1925, 143, No. 159.

13 Abramić 1929; Abramić 1932; Cambi 1980–1981, 8.

14 According to Plinius the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 34.65) Lysippus dedicated great effort to the detailed hair-dress.

15 Abramić 1932, 3–12. On the relief: Schwarz 1975, 256; Cambi 1980–81; Cambi 1988; Moreno 1990, 922, No. 2; Cambi 1994–1995, 2–4; Moreno 1995, 192, No. 4.28.1; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 95–96, 141, No. 1.

16 1st century BC (Abramić 1932, 2; Schwarz 1975, 257; Moreno 1990, 922, No. 2; Moreno 1995, 192, No. 4.28.1; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 95). Marcel Gorenc dated it between the 3rd and 1st century BC (Gorenc 1967, 24).

Fig. 4: Kairos, reconstruction of Lysippus's statue (after Moreno 1990).
Sl. 4: Kairos, rekonstrukcija Lizipovega kipa (po Moreno 1990).

Fig. 5: Kairos, relief (Museo di Antichità, Turin).
Sl. 5: Kairos, relief (Museo di Antichità, Torino).

Kairos in Trogir would be the oldest replica in the stone relief of that free-standing masterpiece.[17] Due to the visual characteristics of the stone, Cambi indicated the possibility that it could be made of Pentelic marble, like the reliefs of Kairos in Turin (Museo di Antichità, Inv. No. 610; *Fig. 5*)[18] and Athens (Acropolis Museum, Inv. No. 2799);[19] to my knowledge, the characterisation of the material has not been conducted yet.[20] *Per analogiam* to the Turin relief, it could form the lateral side of the Attic sarcophagus,[21] although it is (after Cambi) unclear whether the Turin relief is *de facto* the part of the sarcophagus.[22]

Although Abramić was more than aware of both reliefs, Poetovian and Tragurian, he interpreted them differently and did not consider the Poetovian youth to be Kairos; nor did most of the other authors.

Later, Bojan Djurić noted the youth from Poetovio as "probably Actaeon",[23] whereas Erwin Pochmarski interpreted it as the satyr, whose counterpart would be the maenad, whereby the whole scene would represent the so-called type B[24] of a satyr-maenad group, in which the satyr is (in opposition to type A) represented on the left (*cf. Fig. 6*).[25]

Nevertheless, both types of satyr-maenad groups, are always represented with a uniform attitude, without exception. On all the so-called type B of the satyr-maenad group, the satyr is depicted in three-quarter view turned to the maenad with left and not right leg ahead,[26] whereas his left arm rises in the air. The maenad in type B invariably pushes him away with her right arm,[27] aimed at the thorax or grabbing him by his curly beard, as is represented on the oil lamps and on cantharos from the Hermitage. However, there are no vestiges of her right arm on the Poetovian relief nor of the tail on the satyr's tailbone, which is present in all the type B representations. Also, the hair-dress of the youth with the distinctive lock of hair above the front and beardlessness on no occasion matches the iconography of a satyr in that scene; furthermore, the object held in his arms cannot be recognised as the maenad's drapery as it always covers her only below the waist and falls smoothly down her legs.

More than seven decades after Abramić, Josip Korošec interpreted the figure as Kairos due to his dynamic movement, the distinctive hair lock above the front of his head and especially due to some iconographic resemblances to the relief in Trogir.[28] He even pointed out that it could be made after the *abozzo* of the relief in Trogir, which could also be confirmed by the gem in the Archaeological Museum in Split.[29] His interpretation was, according to my knowledge, mentioned only in the guidebook of Ptuj (as "maybe Kairos")[30] and in one footnote, in which the Poetovian relief was addressed as a comparison to the high-quality Tragurian example.[31]

The prototype of the relief depictions of Kairos is purportedly a bronze statue, which was moulded by the famous Lysippus of Sicyon during 336–334 BC for Alexander the Great in Pella.[32]

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[17] Cambi has, regarding its stylistic characteristics and sculptural treatment, ascribed it to the School of Lysippus, to one of the master's epigones (Cambi 1980–1981, 10–15; *id.* 1988, 39–40; *id.* 1994–1995 2–5).

[18] On the relief: Schwarz 1975, 257; Barra Bagnasco 1976–1977; Moreno 1990, 922, No. 4; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96–97, 142–143, No. 4; Oakley 2011, 26–27.

[19] On the relief: Cambi 1980–1981, 12; Schwarz 1975, 256; Moreno 1990, 922, No. 3; Moreno 1995, 193, No. 4.28.2; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96, 141–142, No. 2.

[20] *Cf.* Cambi 1980–1981, 40.

[21] Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96.

[22] *Cf.* Cambi 1994–1995, 5. As most probably the right lateral side of the Attic sarcophagus, it is included in corpus *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (Oakley 2011, 26–27).

[23] Djurić 2001, 119.

[24] On the so-called type B group *cf.* Matz 1956, 21–24; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 177–179; Kranz 1997, 146.

[25] Pochmarski 2015, 217. In type B the pair is applied to the oil lamps (Matz 1956, 23), to one bronze cantharos (St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv. No. 36; Matz 1956, 21), to the tomb of Spectatius (Klemenc, Kolšek, Petru 1972, 28, No. 56; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 90–91, No. 79; Lupa 13259), on the lateral side of one Attic sarcophagi (Ioannina, Archaeological Museum in Ioannina, Inv. No. 412; Matz 1968, 104–106, No. 8; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 179–180) and of one metropolitan sarcophagus, which was carved after Attic pattern (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano – Museo delle Terme; Matz 1956, 21, No. 2) and to the mosaic in cubiculum in *Édifice du satyre et de la nymphe* in Pupput, Tunisia (*in situ*; Muth 1998, 383–384, No. A 26).

[26] With the right leg ahead, he is represented only in the sarcophagus from Ioannina.

[27] Only in the sarcophagus in Ioannina does she hold her garment by both hands in the waist-line and with the right elbow fends off his assault.

[28] Korošec 1997–1998, 45, 47.

[29] Korošec 1997–1998, 47–48. On the gem: Cambi 1994–1995, 6.

[30] Lamut 1996, 42.

[31] Di Folco 2017, 165, No. 30.

[32] Moreno 1990, 922, No. 1, 925; Moreno 1995, 190. The master made some bronze replicas, of which one was located in Sicyon (Ensoli 2017a, 42).

Although the original has long since been lost, and no free-standing copy has been found,[33] its appearance is well-known from literary sources, which have, regarding the preserved depictions in several media, pointed out the possible existence of more variants of Kairos.[34] Some of them would more or less faithfully follow Lisyppus' statue, as reconstructed by Paolo Moreno (*Fig. 4*),[35] whereas others digress from the purported archetype and add some further attributes or show the deity accompanied by other figures.[36]

Especially thorough is the appearance of Lysippus's Kairos described in the epigram, ascribed to the Greek epigrammatic poet Posidippus of Pella, written within a generation after the sculptor's death:[37]

Who, whence is thy maker? Sicyon. His name is what? Lysippus. What art thou? Kairos, the all-subduer. Why doest thou stand on the tips of thy toes? I turn forever. Why hast thou double wings on either foot? I fly carried by the wind. In thy right hand why carriest thou a razor? To men a sign that quicker than any edge I am. But thy hair, why is it over the eye? In order to be grasped, forsooth, by him that meets me. The back of thy head, why is it bald? Because he, whom I have once rushed by with winged feet, will never grasp me afterwards, though he desire it. Why did the artist fashion thee? For thy sake, o stranger, he placed this warning lesson into the doorway.[38]

The famous statue has purportedly been portrayed only in one painting in the amphitheatre in Ptolemais,[39] in a small number of reliefs and a sufficiently larger group of gems.[40] Apart from the already mentioned Tragurian relief (*Fig. 3*), Kairos is represented only in the reliefs of the unknown provenance in Turin (Museo di Antichità, Inv. No. 610; *Fig. 5*)[41] and the partially preserved relief in Athens (Acropolis Museum, Inv. No. 2799) of which only the winged left leg (lacking the foot) and the lower part of the thorax have been preserved.[42] The dating of the Turin relief ranges from the Trajanic to the Antonine period,[43] while the Athenian was supposedly carved in the 1st century BC.[44]

Mutual visual characteristics to all two-dimensional depictions of Kairos are the hair-do with the distinctive hair-lock, which indicates that one can

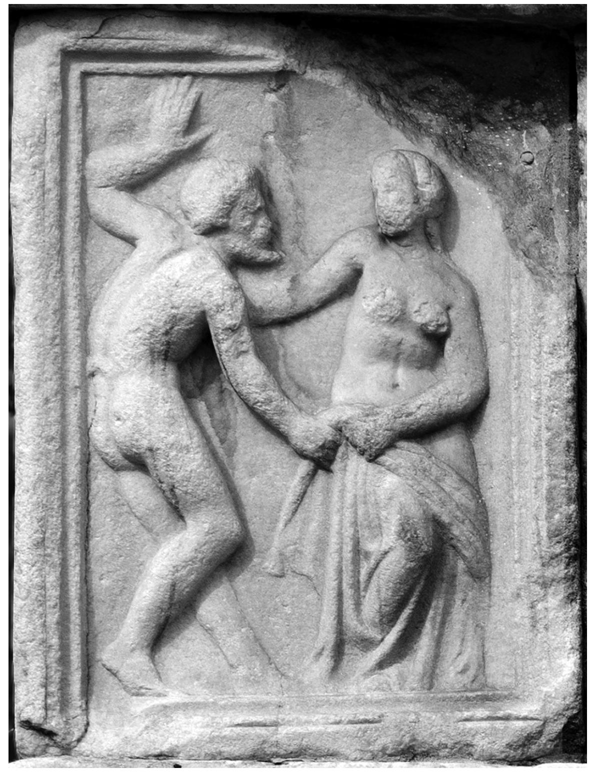

Fig. 6: Satyr and Maenad, Tomb of Spectatius (Šempeter, Roman Necropolis Šempeter in the Valley of Savinja).
Sl. 6: Satir in Menada, grobnica Spektacijev (Šempeter, rimska nekropola Šempeter v Savinjski dolini).

[33] According to tradition, Lysippus embodied in the statue of Kairos his canon and his idea of the ideal proportions, regarding the συμμετρία, ρύθμος, αχρίβια. Therefore, it was almost impossible to replicate it *a tutto tondo*, as the great master was unachievable (Stewart 1978, 163, 165–169).

[34] *Cf.* Moreno 1990, 922–923, Nos. 1–8; Adornato 2015, 168.

[35] *Cf.* Moreno 1990, 922, No. 1. On the reconstruction of the original see lately: Adornato 2015, 169–171 with the cited literature.

[36] *Cf.* Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 136–139. On attributes: Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 97–114.

[37] On the literary sources see esp. Schwarz 1975, 243–255; Barra Bagnasco 1976–1977, 14–15; Moreno 1981, 173–174; Bäbler, Nesselrath 2006, 71–72; Mattiacci 2011, 127–133; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2012, 132–134; Boschung 2013, 15, No. 24; Adornato 2015, 161–165.

[38] Translated by John E. Matzke (Matzke 1893, 315).

[39] Bacchielli 1993, 77; Ensoli 1995a, 395.

[40] Stewart 1978, 164, No. 3; Ensoli 1995a, 395; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 76; Oakley 2011, 26; Ensoli 2017a, 42; Di Folco 2017, 163.

[41] *Cf.* footnote 18. It supposedly originates from Rome, whereas its provenance is not firmly proven (*cf.* Adornato 2015, 166, No. 22). It was also considered as the Renaissance replica of the Roman original (Barra Bagnasco 1976–1977, 18), which was later generally rejected (*cf.* Cambi 1994–1995, 4–5 with the literature; Oakley 2011, 26, No. 100).

[42] *Cf.* footnote 19. Although the fragment was in the hitherto literature considered as Kairos, Dietrich Boschung stated a possibility that it could represent Tempus instead (Boschung 2013, 16, No. 32).

[43] Adornato 2015, 166–167.

[44] Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96.

only seize the Opportunity when it approaches,[45] the pair of scales held in the out-stretched hands,[46] the wings on his ankles and the dynamic movement with one leading leg, whilst the other one touches the ground on the tiptoes.[47] As the bowls of the scales are attached by strings, it can be held also by the Poetovian youth, whereas only the strings and perhaps one bowl, as there are some vestiges below his arm, would have been preserved.

All stone relief depictions share the posture (while the figure from Poetovio differs in the position of the left arm, which is hidden behind the right one) and the wings on the ankles (on the Poetovian depiction, that part of the relief has unfortunately deteriorated), as well as on the shoulders, although the latter can be omitted in the gems.[48] Nevertheless, the wings on the back have been overlooked in the literary sources, which, in contrast, emphasise the winged feet and the running pose.[49] In the Poetovian relief behind the occiput of the youth, a curve bends. It reaches the upper cornice of the relief and could hypothetically form the fringe of the wings, as was hinted at by Josip Korošec,[50] although it could merely arise as the result of the deteriorated surface.

Summa summarum, nudity, the lock of hair above the front, running pose, posture, both hands grabbing the object on the strings (*per analogiam* with other depictions of the pair of scales) and hypothetically maybe the voluminous wings allude to the interpretation of the Poetovian youth as Kairos, as has already proposed Josip Korošec.

All of the stone reliefs are oriented to the left, while Poetovian figure moves to the right. The opposite direction is not unprecedented. It is well-attested on the gems bearing the image of Tempus, whose attributes were merged with those of Kairos in Antiquity. Even more, due to the parallel analysis of the deities, the literary sources (especially Posidippus as the oldest and the most detailed) and some attributes (voluminous wings on the shoulders, the balance on the razor's edge), which are overlooked in most of the literary sources, Gianfranco Adornato has recently questioned the identification of the youth in the marble reliefs as the two-dimensional depiction of Lysippus's Kairos and as an alternative solution suggested Tempus, whose sculptural type was developed from Lysippus's free-standing Kairos.[51]

Fig. 7: Kairos, cornelian gem (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin).
Sl. 7: Kairos, gema iz karneola (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin).

In contrast to the youthful male in stone reliefs, Tempus in gems is depicted as a bearded mature man, who possesses several key attributes of Kairos (lock of hair on the front, pair of scales on the razor, winged ankles and shoulders, running pose).[52] Nevertheless, not only aged Tempus but, as attested by the cornelian gems in Berlin

[45] Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 78; Di Folco 2017, 162.

[46] Due to the presence of the pair of scales in the relief depictions, Paolo Moreno counted it among the original Lysippean attribute, whereas Annapaola Zaccaria Ruggiu (2006, 102–118; *ead.* 2012, 132, 134) had it for an attribute, designed especially for the funerary monuments, as it is explicitly mentioned only by Himerius. In contrast, Silvia Mattiacci drew attention to some deficiencies in the conclusions of Zaccaria Ruggiu, like the word *pendens* mentioned by Phaedrus (V, 8: *cursu volucri, pendens in novacula*) that could in all likelihood indicate to the scales (Mattiacci 2011, 134–136).

[47] *Cf.* Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 78–79.

[48] *Cf.* Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Inv. No. FG 7358 (Moreno 1990, 923, No. 13; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 147, No. 12; Fig. 6).

[49] Adornato 2015, 169, 175.

[50] Korošec 1997–1998, 46.

[51] Adornato 2015, 161–174.

[52] Moreno 1981, 178; Moreno 1990, 926; Paolozzi Strozzi, Schwarzenberg 1991, 313; Ensoli 2017a, 42; Di Folco 2017, 164. *Cf.* charneol in London (Collection C. Newton Robins), dating between the 1st and 2nd century AD (Furtwängler 1900, 207, No. 49, Pl. XLIII, No. 49; Moreno 1990, 922–923, No. 7; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 146–147, No. 11; Adornato 2015,

(Staatliche Museen, Inv. No. FG 7358; *Fig. 7*)[53] or in Split (Arheološki muzej Split),[54] also young beardless Kairos can be carved as moving to the right. Nevertheless, also the distinctive hair-lock of Poetovian youth better resembles the depictions in gems as the stone reliefs in Trogir and Turin. In latter cases, the lock extends horizontally above Kairos' front, while in Poetovian relief it rises vertically above the front, just as it is attested in some gems.[55] The interconnectedness of the gems and the Classic or Hellenistic statues *a tutto tondo* is well-attested, as there are numerous statues or even groups that have been preserved in both a great scale and in much smaller gems, whereby they had to a certain extent adapt to two-dimensional limited space,[56] bearing in mind that the image-makers did not have the objective of creating an exact copy of the statue but rather the recognisable, although simplified and reduced, image.[57] Due to the direction of the movement that differs from the stone reliefs but matches with some gems, the position of the hair lock and dissimilar arm positions, the Poetovian Kairos could be taken after the depictions in the easily portable gems. Its quality is *a prima vista* of far lower rank than the other preserved stone reliefs, which could also be explained (apart from the poorer skilled carver) by imitating the gem depiction that is much less detailed, concentrating on the essential attributes, than the large-scale reliefs.

The right portion of the relief is unfortunately deteriorated. As the type of Kairos, who derives from the Lysippean prototype, is always represented alone, he is in all likelihood the only figure in the Poetovian main relief field. In the outstretched arms, he holds the scales, perhaps placed on the razor.

Unfortunately, nothing firm can be said on behalf of its dating. It was found in a secondary location and is without any distinctive features that would limit its time span as the dating of the other comparable stone reliefs spreads from the 3rd century BC to the Antonine era.

167) or the gem of the unknown ownership (Furtwängler 1900, 207–208, No. 50, Pl. XLIII, No. 50).

[53] Moreno 1990, 923, No. 13; Ensoli 1995a, 397, No. 6.16.2; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 147, No. 12; Adornato 2015, 168.

[54] Cambi 1980–1981, 13, Pl. II; *id.* 1994–1995, 6.

[55] *Cf.* Stewart 1978, 165, ill. 1.

[56] *Cf.* Horster 1970, 2–6; Toso 2007, 243–244.

[57] Sena Chiesa 1966, 41–42; Horster 1970, 110; Moormann 1986, 69; Moormann 2015, 650.

WEARY HERCULES

In 1961, in the ramparts of the so-called Large Barracks ("Velika kasarna")[58] in Ptuj (Ulica heroja Lacka), which was demolished during bomb raids in 1945, a marble block (1.52 × 0.70 × 0.27 m; Ptuj-Ormož Regional Museum, Inv. No. RL 820) was found (*Figs. 8–9*).[59] Its right portion is lacking, but the preserved half bears the relief of the bearded male figure, while the counterpart has in its upper right cornice the vestiges of the Norico-Pannonian volute.[60] The man stands on the pedestal[61] in a contrapposto attitude with the left leg in motion. His right arm is hidden behind his back and the head is slightly leaned to the right. The musculature is highly stressed and underlines the relatively good quality of the depiction. Despite the partial preservation, it can easily be interpreted as one of the numerous depictions of the Weary Hercules, whose archetype is attributed to Lysippus (*cf. Fig. 10*).[62] *Per analogiam* with other depictions, he leans on the club, covered with the skin of Nemean lion.[63] However, despite its clearly visible resemblances to the Weary Hercules and relatively good quality, he has been largely overlooked, and an in-depth study has not been conducted yet.

The iconographic type of the Weary Hercules was highly popular in Hellenism and even more in the Roman period, down to the Byzantine era. It was transferred to coins or medallions,[64] small-

[58] The barracks were built in the place of the large city palace, which burnt down in 1744, and in 1754 the ruins, as well as the site were sold by the owners, Counts Sauer von und zu Ankenstein to *k.k. Militär-Invalidenhaus* which built later so-called Large Barracks (Raisp 1860, 5–6; Janisch 1885, 460; Šamperl-Purg 1985, 176).

[59] Jevremov 1988, 112, No. 125; Lupa 4217.

[60] Jevremov 1988, 112, No. 125. Unfortunately, the block is currently inaccessible (*cf.* footnote 82) and to my notion, the photo of that side has not been taken.

[61] The pedestal could allude to the free-standing statues, which embellished the villas or gardens of the well-off citizens (Boschung 1989, 14).

[62] *Cf.* Krull 1985, 4–7; Palagia 1988, 762–763; Moreno, Smith 1995a, 51–56; Moreno, Shepered 1995, 103–110, Moreno, Smith 1995b, 242–250; Ensoli 1995b, 352; Ensoli 2017b, 99; Kansteiner 2020, 123–124. On the question of the attribution to Lysippus, *cf.* Kansteiner 2020 126–128.

[63] Unfortunately, his left leg has not preserved; therefore, it is impossible to claim which exact type is represented (*cf.* Vermeule 1975, 324–331; Moreno 1982, 397–524; Kansteiner 2020, 121–124).

[64] *Cf.* Moreno 1991, 504–568.

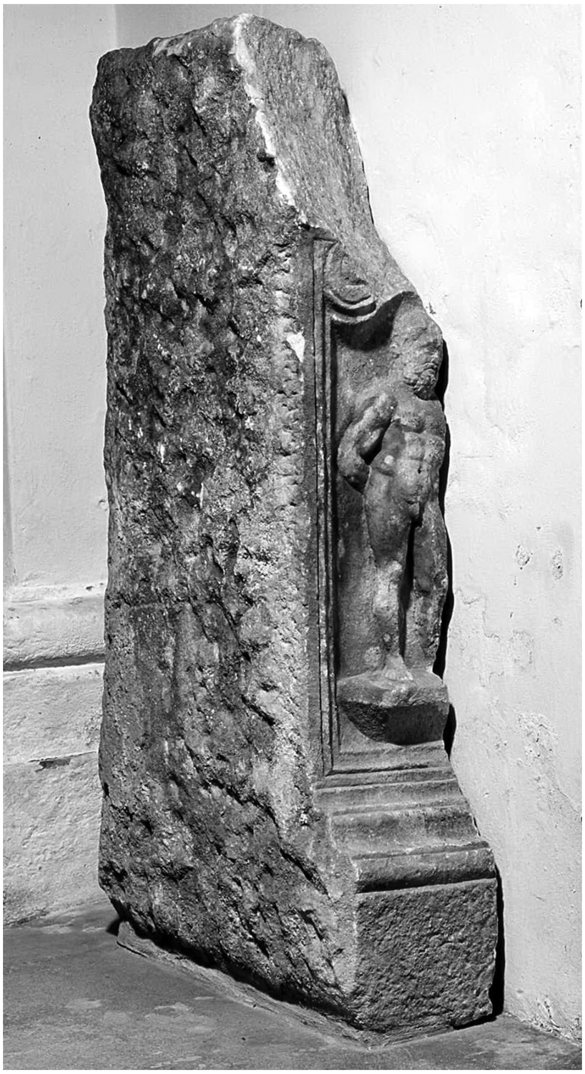

Fig. 8: Hercules, ara (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj Ormož, Ptuj).
Sl. 8: Herkul, ara (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj Ormož, Ptuj).

Fig. 9: Hercules, ara, detail (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj Ormož, Ptuj).
Sl. 9: Herkul, ara, detajl (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj Ormož, Ptuj).

and large-scale sculptures[65] and wall paintings,[66] whereas the immense widespread speaks of its importance as well as the accessibility of a model.[67] All of the mass-produced images in various media reveal the bearded hero, who reclines on his club. As is attested in the free-standing replicas, he conceals behind his back the stolen apples of the Hesperides.

In all probability, the rectangular solid was originally an altar, either funerary or votive, set in honour of Hercules. The relief of Hercules would most likely be its left lateral side,[68] the unworked side its backside, whereas the unpreserved front would be fulfilled by the inscription, which corresponds to the vast majority of the (either funerary or votive) altars.[69] Above the figural relief, a curve of the Norico-Pannonian volute is located, which marks the upper cornice of the relief field. The figure stands on the pedestal and was therefore for certain the only figure represented within the moulded frame.

In funerary art, the images of Hercules have been numerous ever since the 2nd century AD, although

[65] *Cf.* Ensoli 1995b, 352–355.

[66] *Cf.* Moormann 1986, 75.

[67] On the appropriation of the schemes of Greek *opera nobilia* in Roman provincial sculpture, see Dorka Moreno *et al.* 2021, 4–9.

[68] Although Jevremov (1988, 112, No. 125) had it for the right side, it is far more likely that it was the left side of the ara, as the unworked side could only be its back.

[69] *Cf.* Dexheimer 1998, 16.

Fig. 10: Weary Heracles, reconstruction of Lysippus' statue (after Ensoli 2017b).
Sl. 10: Utrujeni Herakles, rekonstrukcija Lizipovega kipa (po Ensoli 2017b).

the hero has been generally more in favour in non-sepulchral contexts. He was eligible mainly due to his virtues and was therefore understood as *exemplum virtutis*, alluding to the deceased's own qualities.[70] As such, he was mostly chosen by *liberti*.[71] Ever since the Claudian era, funerary altars in Rome have been embellished with figural motifs, which were frequently modelled after the famous works of the Greek statuary, whereby the sculptors had to adapt the motif to a certain extent to two-dimensional space.[72] If *opus nobile* was on the front, it could be either flanked by some assistant figures that share no interconnectedness in terms of the content or, more commonly, it could be dominated by the inscription and some decorative elements (like garlands or pillars).[73] The replication in relief of the single mythological figure on the funerary ara, in contrast, in all probability, alludes to the personal characteristics of the deceased.[74] Therefore, these monuments had to be commissioned directly and were not mass-produced, as was common for funerary aras.[75]

In Danubian provinces, the funerary altar is quite a common funerary monument, which was often chosen by the local authorities and military commanders,[76] whereas Hercules was certainly one of the most popular mythological figures in the provinces.[77]

Dedications to Hercules on votive altars, reliefs, or inscriptions were widely present from the Late Republic to the 3rd century AD in Rome, Italy and the provinces, whereas the founders were mostly *liberti* or slaves, who easily identified themselves with the hero, who achieved deification due to his valiant life.[78] However, among the several dedicands, attested in the votive inscriptions to Hercules are (apart of the well-off *liberti*) also the members of the middle class, soldiers, and officers, and even the members of *familia Caesaris*, whereas the preserved inscriptions often hint at the ascension of the social ladder by the founder.[79]

Due to the only partially preserved marble block lacking the inscription, the commissioner of the Poetovian ara remains unknown, but for certain the hero had to be of special meaning to him. Perhaps as the deity, to whom he expressed his vows or as the hero, with whom he shared some personal characteristics. The depiction is of good quality for the provincial production, which speaks in favour of the well-off and educated commissioner, who could afford to hire skilled stonemasons. To my knowledge, there is no other ara in Poetovio bearing the image of Greek *opus nobile* and the taking over the well-known motive is a display of his connoisseurship for sure. Unfortunately, the ara was found in a secondary place and therefore nothing firm can be said about its dating,

[70] Grassinger 2007, 111, 116.
[71] Wrede 1981, 114.
[72] Boschung 1989, 13, No. 40.
[73] Boschung 1989, 13–14.
[74] Wrede 1981, 105–106; Boschung 1987, 18, 49; *id.* 1989, 14; Dexheimer 1998, 18.
[75] *Cf.* Boschung 1987, 42; *id.* 1989, 14.
[76] Scholz 2012, 246–247.
[77] *Cf.* Toynbee 1977, 406–407.
[78] Maderna 2019, 274–275.
[79] Wojciechowski 2011, 449–450.

as the motif was well-known and widely imitated throughout the empire from the 1st century AD to the Severan era.[80]

Beside the altar of Hercules, four other Roman stones have also been found among the rubble of the barracks. Of special interest is the marble nude torso of the good quality of the hero or deity in contrapposto attitude (Ptuj, Ptuj-Ormož Regional Museum, Inv. No. RL 434).[81] Due to the muscularity, youthful look and contrapposto, it in all likelihood followed one of the Greek masterpieces or their derivations; regrettably, because of the current inaccessibility of the lapidarium and therefore also the torso,[82] further discussion can only be pure speculation. As the city palace of the noble family Sauer von und zu Ankenstein stood in that place, it is possible that the stones were immured into the palace and later also in the barracks.

Roman Poetovio was a thriving provincial merchant and economic centre, which was doubtless well-connected with other centres through river transport;[83] therefore, it is unsurprising that the cultivated inhabitants commissioned monuments bearing the depictions that follow the well-known and to educated Romans doubtless familiar Greek masterpieces, as Lysippus was a deeply regarded and highly copied Greek sculptor in the Roman imperial era. Lysippean patterns were widespread throughout the Roman empire ever since the Ptolemaic age,[84] whereas the type of Weary Hercules was favoured since the 1st century AD[85] In contrast to it, Kairos was mostly copied in the Late Republic and Augustan era, although the gems testify its presence also in later times.[86]

[80] Ensoli 2017a, 37; Ensoli 2017b, 109.

[81] Jalen 1950, 190–191; Bratanič 1952, 304; Lupa 9380.

[82] The lapidarium has been located in the Dominican Monastery in Ptuj since 1928. In 2012, it was moved out as the monastery has been renovated into a congress and conference centre. The stones were deposited in the crates and transferred in a neighbouring building with the promise of the new exhibition building (*cf.* Ciglenečki 2012, 187–188). However, the Roman stones have remained in the boxes and therefore hidden to the scholars, as well as to the public, which is deprived of the abundant material remnants of the Roman past.

[83] Horvat *et al.* 2003, 180–181; Djurić 2005, 75; Šašel Kos 2020, 225–226.

[84] *Cf.* Ensoli 2017a, 17–18.

[85] Ensoli 2017a, 33–34; Ensoli 2017b, 99–110.

[86] Ensoli 2017a, 42.

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Lizipovski zgledi pri dveh rimskih petovionskih reliefih

Povzetek

RELIEF Z UPODOBITVIJO KAIROSA

Pri stopniščni ograji mestnega stolpa na Ptuju (t. i. Povodnov muzej) najdemo slabše ohranjen relief (0,84 × 0,47 m)[1] z upodobitvijo noriške deklice (*sl. 1*)[2] na levem stranskem polju, desno stransko polje ni ohranjeno, osrednjega pa zapolnjuje težko razložljiva podoba golega mladeniča v profilu (*sl. 2*). Lik je obrnjen proti desni z desno nogo naprej, v predse iztegnjenih rokah drži predmet, pritrjen na vrvi. Kljub nezavidljivi ohranjenosti je dobro razviden koder las, ki se mu viha nad čelom, nekaj sledi v zgornjem kotu reliefa nakazuje možnost, da bi lahko lik na hrbtu imel velika krila,[3] po drugi strani pa lahko gre le za poškodbo površine.

Mladenič je bil različno interpretiran. Mihovil Abramić je menil, da morda pleše ali hodi ter pri tem izteza roke proti neohranjeni (eni ali več) figuri na desni, prizor pa bi morebiti lahko predstavljal stiskanje grozdja.[4]

[1] Lupa 4844.

[2] Čeprav je Josip Korošec menil, da nosi rimski oblačili, *stolla* in *pallium* (Korošec 1997–1998, 43), ima očitno na sebi lokalno nošo t. i. noriških deklic (*cf.* Diez 1954, 107–110; Rothe 2012, 141–142).

[3] *Cf.* Korošec 1997–1998, 46.

[4] Abramić 1925, 143, št. 159.

Isti avtor je nekaj let pozneje pozornost namenil delno ohranjenemu reliefu iz Trogirja (benediktinski samostan sv. Nikolaja; *sl. 3*),[5] na katerem je v profilu upodobljen goli mladenič, ki z iztegnjenimi rokami grabi tehtnico na vrveh. Zaradi atributa, ikonografskih značilnosti in zlasti poudarjenega kodra las nad čelom[6] ga je interpretiral kot Kairosa, božanstvo pravega trenutka, katerega prototip naj bi predstavljal slavni Lizipov prostostoječi bronast kip (prim. *sl. 4*).[7] Čeprav je Abramić očitno dobro poznal oba reliefa, ju je kljub nekaterim skupnim značilnostim različno interpretiral, podobno tudi nekateri drugi avtorji.

Bojan Djurić je petovionski lik označil verjetno za Aktajona,[8] Erwin Pochmarski pa je menil, da predstavlja satira – temu bi nasproti stala menada, par bi tako predstavljal tip B[9] velikokrat upodobljene skupine satira in menade (prim. *sl. 6*).[10] Skupina satira in menade tega tipa je vselej prikazana enako: satir se v tričetrtinskem zasuku obrača proti menadi z levo nogo naprej[11] in v zrak dviguje levico, menada ga odriva z desnico,[12] ki jo usmerja v toraks ali pa ga z njo, kakor je videti na oljenkah in kantaru v Ermitažu (inv. št. 36), vleče za skodrano brado. Na petovionskem reliefu ni nobene sledi morebitnega repa, ki bi bil približno v višini trtice, kakor je na vseh primerkih tega tipa, prav tako ne ustreza zasuk ohranjene figure. Tudi pričeska z izstopajočim kodrom las in golobradost se nikakor ne ujemata z ikonografijo satira v tem prizoru, pa tudi predmet, ki ga petovionski lik drži v rokah, ne more predstavljati menadine draperije, saj jo ta v vseh primerih zakriva le pod pasom in gladko polzi z njenih nog.

Več kot sedem desetletij po Abramićevi objavi je Josip Korošec zaradi dinamičnega gibanja, kodra las in ikonografskih sorodnosti z reliefom iz Trogirja lik opredelil za Kairosa.[13] Lizipov original, ki naj bi mu bolj ali manj zvesto sledile upodobitve tega božanstva, je znan iz številnih primarnih literarnih virov (najpodrobneje je opisan pri Pozejdipu iz Pele)[14] ter iz redkih likovnih upodobitev, in sicer božanstvo najdemo na le treh kamnitih reliefih v Trogirju, Torinu (Museo di Antichità, inv. št. 610; *sl. 5*)[15] in odlomku iz Aten (Muzej Akropole, inv. št. 2799),[16] na stenski sliki iz amfiteatra v Ptolemaidi[17] ter na več gemah.[18] Predlogi datacije kamnitih reliefov segajo pri trogirskem od konca 4. oziroma začetka 3. st. pr. Kr.[19] do 1. st. pr. Kr.,[20] pri torinskem od Trajanove do antoninske dobe,[21] atenski relief pa naj bi domnevno nastal v 1. st. pr. Kr.[22] Skupne značilnosti vseh reliefnih upodobitev so zlasti koder las nad čelom, golota, razgibana drža in tehtnica, pritrjena na vrvi. Večina si jih deli še krila na gležnjih in ramenih, četudi so slednja na gemah nemalokrat izpuščena,[23] prav tako jih

[5] Abramić 1929; Abramić 1932. O reliefu: Schwarz 1975, 256; Cambi 1980–81; Cambi 1988; Moreno 1990, 922, št. 2; Cambi 1994–1995, 2–4; Moreno 1995, 192, št. 4.28.1; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 95–96, 141, št. 1.

[6] Po Pliniju Starejšem (*Nat. Hist.* 34.65) je Lizip prav v detajlno pričesko vložil veliko truda.

[7] *Cf.* Moreno 1990, 922, št. 1, 925; Moreno 1995, 190.

[8] Djurić 2001, 119.

[9] O t. i. skupini B *cf.* Matz 1956, 21–24; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 177–179; Kranz 1997, 146.

[10] Pochmarski 2015, 217.

[11] Z desno nogo naprej je upodobljena le na sarkofagu iz Joanine (Joanina, Arheološki muzej Joanine, inv. št. 412).

[12] Samo na sarkofagu iz Joanine se za oblačilo drži z obema rokama, z desnim komolcem pa odbija satira.

[13] Korošec 1997–1998, 45, 47.

[14] O literarnih virih gl. predvsem: Schwarz 1975, 243–255; Barra Bagnasco 1976–1977, 14–15; Moreno 1981, 173–174; Bäbler, Nesselrath 2006, 71–72; Mattiacci 2011, 127–133; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2012, 132–134; Boschung 2013, 15, št. 24; Adornato 2015, 161–165.

[15] O reliefu: Schwarz 1975, 257; Barra Bagnasco 1976–1977; Moreno 1990, 922, št. 4; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96–97, 142–143, št. 4; Oakley 2011, 26–27. Domnevno prihaja iz Rima, četudi njegova provenienca ni trdno dokazana (*cf.* Adornato 2015, 166, št. 22). Imeli so ga tudi za renesančno repliko rimskega originala (Barra Bagnasco 1976–1977, 18), a je bilo to pozneje ovrženo (*cf.* Cambi 1994–1995, 4–5 z literaturo; Oakley 2011, 26, št. 100).

[16] O reliefu: Cambi 1980–1981, 12; Schwarz 1975, 256; Moreno 1990, 922, št. 3; Moreno 1995, 193, št. 4.28.2; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96, 141–142, št. 2. Dietrich Boschung je izpostavil tudi možnost, da ohranjeni fragment lahko pripada Tempusu in ne Kairosu (Boschung 2013, 16, št. 32). Upodobitveni tip Tempusa se je nedvomno razvil iz Lizipovega Kairosa, oba pa sta bila asimilirana že v antiki, tako da je Gianfranco Adornato celo menil, da bi na vseh kamnitih reliefih Kairosa lahko bil dejansko upodobljen Tempus (Adornato 2015, 161–174).

[17] Bacchielli 1993, 77; Ensoli 1995a, 395.

[18] Stewart 1978, 164, št. 3; Ensoli 1995a, 395; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 76; Oakley 2011, 26; Ensoli 2017a, 42; Di Folco 2017, 163.

[19] Nenad Cambi ga je sodeč po slogovnih značilnostih in izdelavi pripisal Lizipovi šoli, enemu od mojstrovih epigonov (Cambi 1980–1981, 10–15; *id.* 1988, 39–40; *id.* 1994–1995 2–5).

[20] 1. st. pr. Kr. (Abramić 1932, 2; Schwarz 1975, 257; Moreno 1990, 922, št. 2; Moreno 1995, 192, št. 4.28.1; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 95). Marcel Gorenc ga je postavil v čas med 3. in 1. st. pr. Kr. (Gorenc 1967, 24).

[21] Adornato 2015, 166–167.

[22] Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96.

[23] *Cf.* Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. št. FG 7358 (Moreno 1990, 923, št. 13; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 147, št. 12; sl. 7).

ne omenjajo literarni viri, ki poudarjajo krila na stopalih in pozo v teku.[24]

Tako koder las nad čelom, golota, drža in roke, s katerimi drži vrvi, na katere je pritrjen neki predmet (*per analogiam* z drugimi upodobitvami gre za tehtnico, od te bi se ohranile le vrvi in ena od skled, katere sledi je razbrati pod roko), kažejo na interpretacijo petovionskega lika kot Kairosa. Gibanja proti desni ni zaznati na preostalih kamnitih reliefih, temveč to smer najdemo na nekaterih gemah (prim. gema iz Berlina, Staatliche Museen, inv. št. FG 7358; *sl. 7*).[25] To bi poleg nižje kakovosti in delnega odstopanja v upodobitvi rok, leva roka je skrita za desno, kazalo na to, da bi bil petovionski Kairos lahko posnet po kateri izmed gem. Nemalo monumentalnih kipov tako klasične kot helenistične dobe je bilo namreč v močno pomanjšanem merilu upodobljenih tudi na gemah.[26] Kamnorezci so se pri tem seveda morali prilagoditi dvodimenzionalnemu in skopo odmerjenemu prostoru, zato so se praviloma osredotočili le na ključne atribute, saj njihov namen še zdaleč ni bil ustvariti repliko, temveč podati poenostavljeno, a še vedno prepoznavno podobo.[27] H gemam kot mediju, po katerem bi se zgledoval petovionski kamnosek, napelje tudi kakovost. Ta je že na prvi pogled veliko nižja kakor pri preostalih treh ohranjenih kamnitih reliefih, kar bi se dalo pojasniti s posnemanjem bistveno manj detajlnih gem s še vedno dobro razvidnimi ključnimi atributi.

Žal o natančnejši časovni opredelitvi reliefa ni mogoče reči nič določnejšega, saj je bil najden na sekundarni lokaciji, predlogi datacij drugih primerljivih reliefov pa segajo od 3. st. pr. Kr. do antoninske dobe.

OLTAR Z UPODOBITVIJO UTRUJENEGA HERKULA

Na levi stranici[28] delno ohranjenega oltarja z dimenzijami 1,52 × 0,70 × 0,27 m (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj - Ormož, inv. št. RL 820; *sl. 8–9*),[29] najdenega med ruševinami nekdanje kasarne, je deloma ohranjena upodobitev Herkula, ki že na prvi pogled spominja na tip Utrujenega Herkula, pripisanega Lizipu (prim. *sl. 10*).[30] Ikonografski tip je bil nadvse priljubljen vse od ptolemajske dobe – s klimaksom v rimski dobi – pa do bizantinskega obdobja, kar govori o pomembnosti ter tudi dostopnosti replik osnovnega modela,[31] saj ga najdemo tako na novcih oziroma medaljonih,[32] kipih in reliefih različnih dimenzij[33] ter tudi v stenskem slikarstvu.[34] Prav vse upodobitve si delijo podobo utrujenega bradatega junaka, ki se naslanja na kij ter za hrbtom skriva ukradena jabolka Hesperid.

Čelna stran z napisom na petovionskem spomeniku ni ohranjena, zato ni mogoče opredeliti, ali gre za votivni ali nagrobni oltar ter kdo ga je postavil in zakaj. Na ohranjeni stranici se nad junakom boči vijuga noriško-panonske volute, junak pa stoji na podstavku; to kaže, da je zagotovo bil edini upodobljenec na reliefnem polju.

V nagrobni umetnosti so upodobitve Herkula pogosteje nastopale od 2. stoletja naprej. Junak je s svojim krepostnim življenjem in junaštvi utelešal *exemplum virtutis*, naročnik pa se je zanj lahko odločil, da bi skozenj aludiral na lastne osebnostne kvalitete.[35] V Rimu so bili nagrobni oltarji vse od Klavdijeve vladavine okrašeni s figuralnimi motivi. Ti so pogosto sledili slavnim delom grškega kiparstva (*opera nobilia*),[36] pri tem so se seveda kamnoseki morali prilagoditi dvodimenzionalni površini, izbira lika pa je bila velikokrat odvisna od osebnih želja, zato ti niso mogli biti serijsko izdelani, kakor je značilno za nagrobne are, temveč je šlo za neposredno naročilo.[37]

Pogosti so bili tudi votivni oltarji v Herkulovo čast, ohranjeni napisi pa često pričajo o vzponu

[24] Adornato 2015, 169, 175.

[25] Moreno 1990, 923, št. 13; Ensoli 1995a, 397, št. 6.16.2; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 147, št. 12; Adornato 2015, 168.

[26] *Cf.* Horster 1970, 2–6; Toso 2007, 243–244.

[27] Sena Chiesa 1966, 41–42; Horster 1970, 110; Moormann 1986, 69; Moormann 2015, 650.

[28] Čeprav je Blagoje Jevremov (1988, 112, št. 125) menil, da gre za desno stranico oltarja, je veliko verjetneje, da gre za levo, saj neobdelana stran skoraj zagotovo predstavlja zadnjo stran, na neohranjeni čelni pa bi bil napis, kakor je na veliki večini – nagrobnih in votivnih – oltarjev (*cf.* Dexheimer 1998, 16).

[29] Jevremov 1988, 112, št. 125; Lupa 4217.

[30] *Cf.* Krull 1985, 4–7; Palagia 1988, 762–763; Moreno, Smith 1995a, 51–56; Moreno, Shepered 1995, 103–110; Moreno, Smith 1995b, 242–250; Ensoli 1995b, 352; Ensoli 2017b, 99; Kansteiner 2020, 123–124. O vprašanju atribucije Lizipu *cf.* Kansteiner 2020 126–128.

[31] O shemah, ki izvirajo iz grških *opera nobilia* in se prenesejo v rimsko provincialno kiparstvo, gl. med zadnjimi Dorka Moreno *et al.* 2021, 4–9.

[32] *Cf.* Moreno 1991, 504–568.

[33] *Cf.* Ensoli 1995b, 352–355.

[34] *Cf.* Moormann 1986, 75.

[35] Grassinger 2007, 111, 116.

[36] Boschung 1989, 13, št. 40.

[37] *Cf.* Boschung 1987, 42; *id.* 1989, 14.

posvetiteljev po družbeni lestvici, pri čemer se ti bržkone primerjajo s herojem, ki je zaradi svojega junaškega življenja bil sprejet med bogove.[38] Med dedikanti najdemo premožne osvobojence, pripadnike srednjega sloja, vojake in poveljnike ter celo člane *familia Caesaris*.[39]

Zaradi odsotnosti napisa naročnik petovionskega oltarja ostaja neznan, a za provincialne razmere vsekakor dobra kakovost priča o premožnem prebivalcu, ki si je lahko privoščil veščega kamnoseka in je bil obenem gotovo dobro seznanjen z mojstrovinami grškega kiparstva. Kakor mi je znano, na nobeni drugi petovionski ari ni upodobljeno grško *opus nobile*, odločitev zanj pa nedvomno priča o naročnikovem poznavalstvu in izobrazbi, ki ju je želel pokazati navzven. Enako kot o reliefu s Kairosom tudi pri tem oltarju žal ne moremo reči nič določnejšega o njegovi dataciji, saj je bil motiv dobro znan in močno razširjen vse do severske dobe.[40]

Rimska Petoviona je bila provincialno trgovsko in gospodarsko središče,[41] zato ni prav nič nenavadno, da se v njej najdejo liki, ki so sledili dobro znanim mojstrovinam grškega kiparstva. Lizip je bil v cesarski dobi med najpogosteje posnemanimi, upodobitve, ki odsevajo njegove stvaritve, so bile dobro razširjene po celotnem imperiju vse od ptolemajske dobe,[42] Utrujeni Herkul pa je bil priljubljen od 1. st. po Kr.[43] V nasprotju z njim je bil Kairos večinoma posneman v poznorepublikanskem in avgustejskem obdobju, a geme dokazujejo njegovo prisotnost tudi v poznejšem času.[44]

[38] Maderna 2019, 274–275.
[39] Wojciechowski 2011, 449–450.
[40] Ensoli 2017a, 37; Ensoli 2017b, 109.
[41] Horvat *et al.* 2003, 180–181; Djurić 2005, 75; Šašel Kos 2020, 225–226.
[42] *Cf.* Ensoli 2017a, 17–18.
[43] Ensoli 2017a, 33–34; Ensoli 2017b, 99–110.
[44] Ensoli 2017a, 42.

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HALŠTATSKE KULTURNE SKUPINE NA OBMOČJU SLOVENIJE

Gorenjska kulturna skupina

Znanstveni simpozij Slovenskega arheološkega društva
posvečen spominu na akad. prof. dr. Staneta Gabrovca
Ljubljana, 16. september 2021, Narodni muzej Slovenije

THE HALLSTATT CULTURAL GROUPS IN SLOVENIA

Cultural group of Gorenjska

A scientific symposium of the Slovenian Archaeological Society
dedicated to the memory of Academician Prof. Dr. Stane Gabrovec
Ljubljana, September 16, 2021, National Museum of Slovenia

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Gorenjska v halštatskem obdobju
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An introduction and brief outline

Biba TERŽAN

Izvleček

V času kulture žarnih grobišč, zlasti v prehodnem obdobju v starejšo železno dobo se je na Gorenjskem izoblikovala posebna kulturna skupina, ki jo označuje vrsta njej lastnih značilnosti: 1 – naselbine v več nivojih z jedrom na vzpetini oz. naravno zavarovanem kraju in spodnjim naseljem v dolini/ kotlini (Kranj, Bled, Mengeš, Ljubljana), za katere menimo, da prestavljajo središča lokalnega značaja; 2 – žgan pokop tako v planih grobovih/grobiščih kot tudi v gomilah, pogosto s centralnimi grobnimi kamrami; 3 – grobovi so pretežno opremljeni s skromnimi pridatki, izjeme predstavljajo le nekateri grobovi z večjim številom keramičnih posod, ki tvorijo jedilno-pivske servise in nekateri bogatejši ženski grobovi, ki izstopajo po svojem nakitu. Moški grobovi so povečini skromno opremljeni, v starejšem halštatskem obdobju v njih praviloma ni orožja. Do sprememb v prilaganju orožja v grobove je prišlo v mlajšem obdobju, kar pa ni značilno le za Gorenjsko, temveč je veliko širši fenomen.

Kljub očitnim podobnostim in stikom Gorenjske s sosednjimi kulturnimi skupinami, kot so skupina Breg/Frög na Koroškem in štajersko-panonska skupina, estenska in svetolucijska skupina ter dolenjska skupina, so razlike med njimi tako evidentne, da v samosvojost gorenjske ali gorenjsko-ljubljanske kulturne skupine v halštatskem obdobju ni za dvomiti.

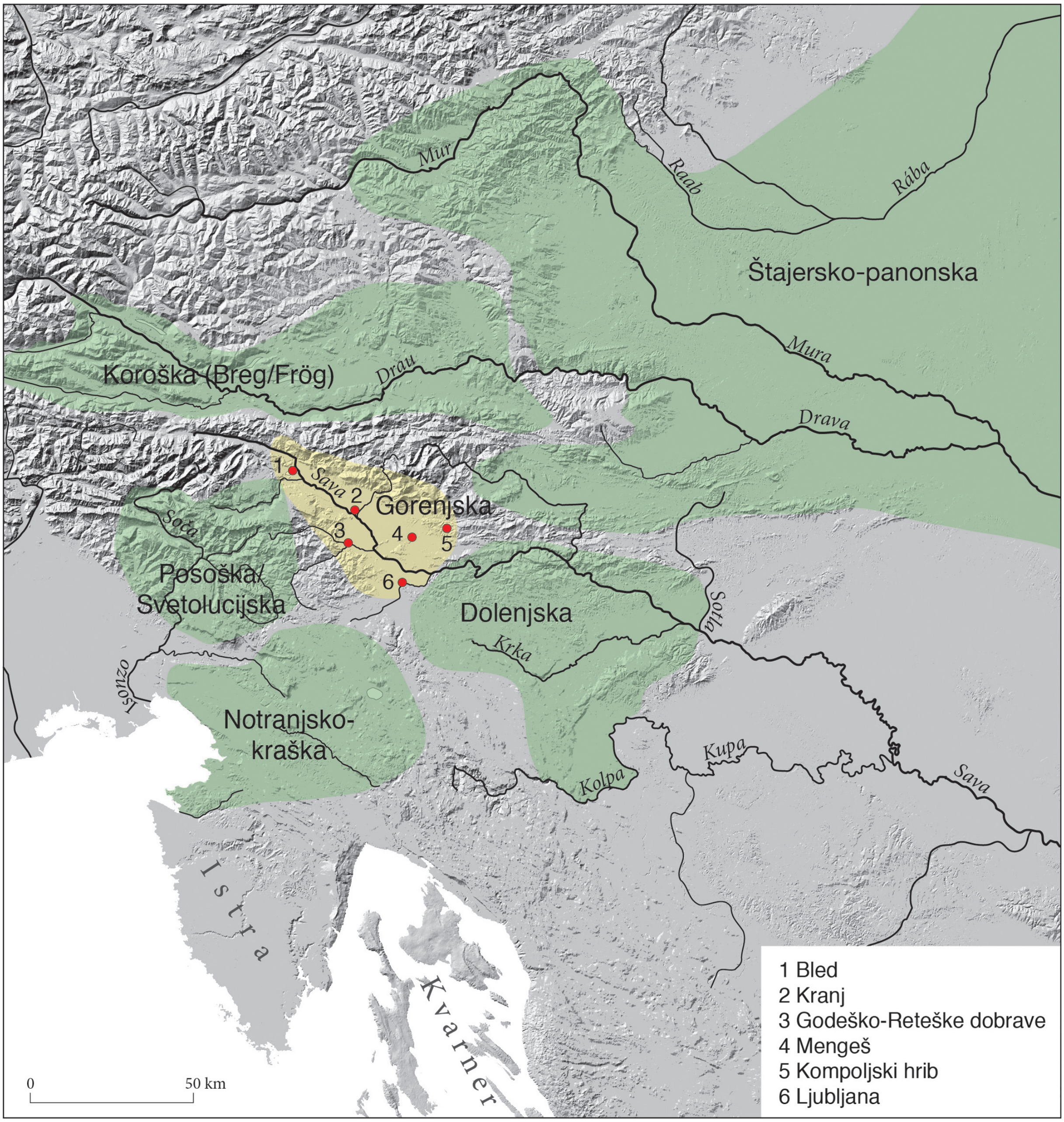
Ključne besede: Gorenjska; starejša železna doba; naselbine; depojske najdbe; način pokopa; žgan plan grob; gomile; grobni pridatki; kulturni stiki

Abstract

In the Late Urnfield culture and transition to the Early Iron Age a special cultural group developed in the region of Gorenjska, which has a number of distinguishing features: 1 – settlements extend on several levels with the core on the top of a hill or naturally protected raised ground and a lower part in the valley/plain below (Kranj, Bled, Mengeš and Ljubljana) and may be seen as local centres; 2 – cremation burial in both flat and tumulus graves/cemeteries, the tumuli frequently with central burial chambers; 3 – graves with mostly modest goods, with the exceptions being burials with a large number of ceramic vessels forming sets. The rich graves mostly belong to women, standing out in their jewellery. Men are buried with modest goods, in the Early Hallstatt period commonly without weapons. These begin to be placed in graves in the Late Hallstatt period, which is a phenomenon not limited to Gorenjska, but rather observable much wider, across the adjacent regions and cultural groups.

The community living in Gorenjska had clear commonalities and connections with neighbouring cultural groups such as the Frög/Breg group in Carinthia and the Styrian-Pannonian group, Este and Sveta Lucija, as well as Dolenjska groups. In spite of several, although different commonalities with each other of them, there are also clearly observable differences that reveal a specific and well-distinguishable nature of the Gorenjska or Gorenjska-Ljubljana cultural group in the Hallstatt period.

Keywords: Gorenjska; Early Iron Age; settlement; hoard finds; burial rites; flat cremation graves; tumuli; grave goods; cultural contacts with neigbouring groups



Sl. 1: Halštatske kulture skupine v Sloveniji in sosednjih pokrajinah. Območje gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine (rumeno) in lega kompleksnih arheoloških najdišč, ki so obravnavana v prispevkih simpozija.
*Fig. 1:*Hallstatt cultural groups in Slovenia and neighbouring regions with marked area of the Gorenjska-Ljubljana group (yellow) and the complex archaeological sites mentioned in the contributions at the Gabrovec Day symposium.

Že petič je v letu 2021 potekalo strokovno srečanje "Gabrovčev dan". Na tem so bile v tematskem sklopu "Halštatske kulturne skupine na območju Slovenije" predstavljene nove arheološke raziskave na Gorenjskem. Z njimi se je zaključil ciklus predstavitev kulturnih skupin v starejši železni dobi na Slovenskem (glej Arheološki vestnik 70–73), a je hkrati pomenil zaradi svoje uspešnosti in odzivnosti v strokovnih krogih tako doma kot v tujini spodbudo za nadaljevanje vsakoletne prireditve "Gabrovčev dan".[1] Čeprav je bilo srečanje zaradi izrednih pandemičnih razmer večkrat preloženo in končno izvedeno šele 16. septembra 2021, je bilo

[1] Tematsko bo naslednji sklop posvečen novim arheološkim raziskavam bronaste dobe. Prvo strokovno srečanje o tej temi je potekalo 26. maja 2022, predstavljene so bile nove raziskave v severovzhodni Sloveniji – v Prekmurju in na Štajerskem, prispevki bodo objavljeni v naslednji številki Arheološkega vestnika (v nadaljevanju AV).

dobro obiskano in zvrstilo se je kar 11 referatov. Žal tudi tokrat vsi predavatelji niso pripravili svojih referatov za objavo v tej številki Arheološkega vestnika, kljub temu pa zbrani prispevki prinašajo pomembne novosti in nove vpoglede v kulturno skupino, ki je poseljevala Gorenjsko v starejši železni dobi.

Prazgodovino Gorenjske je Stane Gabrovec proučeval že v svoji disertaciji (1961)[2] ter nato svoje raziskave objavil v temeljnih člankih, kot so tisti o mestu Kranja (1960a), o Bledu (1960b) in o območju Kamnika (1965), pa tudi v ključni razpravi o halštatskem obdobju v Sloveniji (1964–65 in 1966).[3] V njih je navedel glavne značilnosti materialne kulture starejše železne dobe na Gorenjskem in jih označil kot spoj kulturnih prvin svetolucijske na eni in dolenjske kulturne skupine na drugi strani. Ta ugotovitev se zdi še vedno ustrezna. Tudi pri časovni opredelitvi halštatskodobnih najdb iz Gorenjske, ki so bile takrat razmeroma maloštevilne, se je oprl na kronološko shemo svetolucijske in dolenjske halštatske skupine. Bogat ženski grob iz Kranja – Vila Prah, grob 1 – pa mu je celo služil kot vodilni predstavnik ženske nošnje za časovni horizont Podzemelj 2 v kronološki periodizaciji za dolenjsko halštatsko skupino.[4]

V svojih poznejših delih, ko je bilo v celoti objavljeno prazgodovinsko žarno grobišče, odkrito na dvorišču SAZU in Gosposki ulici v Ljubljani,[5] je Gabrovec vpeljal pojem "ljubljanska skupina".[6] Vanjo je vključil tako arheološka najdišča na Dolenjskem, kot so žarne nekropole v okolici Mokronoga in Novega mesta, kot tudi najdišča na Gorenjskem vse do Bleda.[7] Hkrati je pokazal, da moramo začetek ljubljanske skupine iskati že v času kulture žarnih grobišč, ki ga je tedaj opredelil kot stopnja Ljubljana 1 in ga vzporejal s stopnjo Ha B1 kulture žarnih grobišč.[8] V to časovno stopnjo sodijo tudi posamezni grobovi z Bleda – Pristave (glej tu Bitenc, t. 1: 17–23; 4: 13–14). Vendar so najnovejše raziskave Brine Škvor Jernejčič pokazale, da so najzgodnejši grobovi iz ljubljanske žarne nekropole na dvorišču SAZU še starejši, saj radiokarbonske datacije dovoljujejo predpostavko, da sodijo že v začetne faze pozne bronaste dobe, t.j. Bd D/Ha A1[9]. To pa pomeni, da je oznaka "ljubljanska skupina" primerna za najdišča v osrednji Sloveniji. Ta se razlikujejo od tistih iz žarnogrobiščne dobovske skupine v Posavju in vzhodnih predelih Dolenjske ter tudi od tistih iz ruške skupine v Podravju in sodijo v časovni okvir pozne bronaste dobe oz. kulture žarnih grobišč.[10] Kajti v prehodnem obdobju v zgodnjo železno dobo je zaslediti tudi na Gorenjskem vključno z Ljubljano opazne spremembe na različnih kulturnih ravneh (npr. v načinih pokopavanja in v materialni kulturi), ki so predstavljene tudi v tukajšnjih prispevkih.[11] Naše mnenje je, da se je na tradiciji kulture žarnih grobišč ljubljanske skupine, a z novimi elementi v duhu časa izoblikovala tudi na Gorenjskem nova kulturna entiteta in zanjo predlagamo prvotno poimenovanje "gorenjska" ali vsaj "gorenjsko-ljubljanska halštatska kulturna skupina".

POSELITEV IN NASELBINE

Čeprav v zadnjih desetletjih na Gorenjskem ni bilo večjih sistematičnih arheoloških izkopavanj, temveč so potekala le izkopavanja v okviru spomeniškovarstvenih zaščitnih posegov in je zato naše poznavanje tako naselbin kot nekropol iz starejše železne dobe še vedno zelo skromno, bomo kljub temu poskusili predstaviti nekaj zanimivih novih dognanj, zlasti v zvezi s poselitvijo.

Kot pokrajina je Gorenjska geografsko jasno zamejena na severu in severovzhodu s Karavankami in Kamniško-Savinjskimi Alpami, na zahodu z Julijskimi Alpami ter Škofjeloškim hribovjem in Polhograjskimi dolomiti, le na jugu je pokrajina bolj odprta, na eni strani vzdolž nižinskih predelov ob reki Savi proti jugovzhodu in na drugi strani s prostranim Ljubljanskim barjem, ki pa je vendarle predstavljalo posebne vrste bariero. Pečat pokrajini dajejo poleg visokih gora – kot impresivna scenska

[2] Disertacijo z naslovom "Prazgodovina Gorenjske" je S. Gabrovec obranil na univerzi v Zadru.

[3] Glej Gabrovec 1960a, 14–21; isti 1960b; isti 1965, 95–113; isti 1964–65, 25; isti 1966, 5–9, 24–26, sl. 2–3.

[4] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 1–3; isti 1964–65, 32; isti 1966, 24–26, sl. 2–3.

[5] Starè 1954; Puš 1971; isti 1982; isti 1983.

[6] Gabrovec 1973; isti 1983; isti 1987.

[7] Gabrovec 1973, 348; isti 1987; isti 1999, 150, 155–156, 178, 180–181.

[8] Gabrovec 1973, 351–355; isti 1983.

[9] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a; ista 2021. Za datacijo grobov na območju NUK II glej Gaspari 2014, 386–391, sl. 22. 2. 1–5.

[10] Upoštevajoč tako zgodnje radiokarbonske datacije določenih grobov iz Ljubljane že v 13. st. pr. n. št. se odpira vrsta vprašanj, npr. za kako razširjen fenomen gre pri teh začetkih "ljubljanske skupine" in katera najdišča iz pozne bronaste dobe v osrednji Sloveniji ji lahko pripišemo ter v kakšnem odnosu je bila/so bila do poselitve horizonta Oloris–Podsmreka.

[11] Glej tudi Škvor Jernejčič 2014b; ista 2018.

kulisa – nižave široke Savske doline med Jesenicami in Ljubljano, a za poselitev so bile povečini izbrane v pokrajini naravno izstopajoče točke ter višinske lege na obrobjih Savske doline in vanjo stekajočih se dolin (*sl. 1*).

Med najbolj markantne kraje gotovo sodi Kranj, ki leži na visokem platoju nad kanjonom Kokre pri njenem sotočju s Savo. Kot so pokazala številna arheološka izkopavanja zaščitne narave v današnjem mestnem jedru in tudi Na Lajhu ob vznožju Pungarta, je bil kraj prvič poseljen že v času poznega neolitika oz. zgodnje bakrene dobe,[12] nato pa znova v pozni bronasti dobi, predvsem pa v časovnih stopnjah Ha B2-3 ter Ha C, t.j. v zgodnji železni dobi, ko je bila poselitev najbolj intenzivna. Zdi se, da je kranjska naselbina po krajšem kriznem obdobju doživela ponovni vzpon v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju, v certoškem in negovskem horizontu (glej tu Sagadin).[13] Po svoji legi spominja halštatskodobna naselbina v Kranju na istodobno naselbino na Mostu na Soči, ki je prav tako zrasla na visokem, nad kanjonskim sotočjem rek Soče in Idrijce dvignjenim pomolom.[14] Zanimivo pa je, da se je halštatskodobna naselbina v Kranju razprostirala na dveh nivojih, poseljen ni bil le visoko ležeči plato pomola nad obema rekama, temveč tudi spodnja terasa Na Lajhu – tik nad Savo. Kot so pokazale arheološke, dendrokronološke in radiokarbonske analize, so bile stavbe na tej spodnji terasi prvič postavljene že okrog leta 800 pr. n. št., nato pa obnovljene med 750 in 670 pr. n. št., torej sodi poselitev te terase v čas prehodne oz. formativne faze zgodnje železne dobe in v razvito stopnjo Ha C.[15] Kakšno vlogo je imel ta spodnji del naselbine ob Savi, na osnovi dosedanjih najdb ni mogoče presoditi – ali je bil pristan in hkrati povezan s prehodom čez reko, bo treba še raziskati. Jedro naselbine je bilo dvignjeno visoko nad obe reki, širilo se je na platoju med Pungartom na jugu, severni rob naselja pa je segal še severneje od Maistrovega trga in morda celo do območja današnjega hotela Creina (glej tu Sagadin, sl. 1).[16] Odkriti so bili sledovi različnih dejavnosti, med drugim metalurška oz. livarska delavnica z ostanki šobe za vpihovanje zraka, talilnega lončka, več kalupov za vlivanje bronastih izdelkov in številni amorfni kosi brona kot preostanek metalurškega procesa [17] ter različno drugo orodje, med katerimi na primer vzbuja pozornost "vrtavka", ki je morda služila pri okraševanju keramike, kruhkov, sirovih hlebcev ali celo tkanin.[18] Na pomembnost in bogastvo kranjske naselbine v času 8./7.st. pr. n. št. pa kaže tudi bogata depojska najdba, ki je prišla na dan pri arheoloških izkopavanjih na Jelenovem klancu. Vsebovala je več stotin bronastih predmetov v skupni teži okrog 20 kg, predvsem kosov sekir različnih tipov. Vrednost depoja ni bila le v nakopičeni surovini zlitine, temveč bi predmeti lahko bili v uporabi tudi kot domnevno predmonetarno menjalno sredstvo (glej tu Sagadin).[19] Pomenljivo se zdi, da so posamezni kosi uhatih sekir istega tipa, kot so zastopani v tem depoju, bili odkriti tudi v nekaterih drugih krajih na Gorenjskem, npr. v Gorenjah pri Kranju in Kališah pri Železnikih ter na Gobavici nad Mengšem,[20] kar govori za živahno izmenjavo in tudi obrtniško dejavnost.

Podobna slika poselitve se kaže tudi na Bledu, čeprav ne povsem enaka, kar je pogojeno z naravno geografsko danostjo. Halštatskodobna naselbina je bila na vzpetini blejskega Gradu. Arheološka izkopavanja Draga Svoljšaka v letih 1985–1989 so namreč na pobočju hriba odkrila naselbinske terase, ki so na osnovi arheoloških najdb datirane v čas od pozne bronaste dobe oz. prehoda v zgodnjo železno dobo pa vse do mlajšega halštatskega obdobja.[21] Če je naselbina segala prav do vrha – do samega Gradu, kar se zdi zelo verjetno, saj gre za strateško pomembno razgledno točko, pa tega ni

[12] Dolinar 2016.

[13] Prispevke iz sklopa "Gabrovčevega dne" v tem zvezku AV v nadaljevanju citiramo le z imenom avtorjev: npr. glej tu Sagadin. Žal referenti R. Urankar, P. Janežič in G. Gruden, ki so na simpoziju poročali o arheoloških izkopavanjih v Kranju, niso oddali svojih prispevkov za to številko AV; zato gre posebna zahvala Milanu Sagadinu, ki se je odzval naši prošnji in podal tu objavljeni pregled arheoloških raziskav v Kranju.

[14] Primerjaj Svoljšak, Dular 2016, 11–15, sl. 1–3; Mlinar 2005, 4, 11, 16–17.

[15] Gerbec *et al.* 2014, 319–332; glej tudi Gruden 2016.

[16] Glej tudi Horvat 1983; Rozman 2004.

[17] Urankar 2012, 51–53, pril. 12, 35, t. 1.

[18] Janežič 2015; Janežič 2021, 35–37, 190–191, kat. št. 83 (vrtavka); ista 2021, 218, kat. št. 232 (cedila); ista 2021, 34–35, sl. 5.1.10 (tkalske uteži in vretenca). Prim. npr. Torkar, Železnikar, Žalohar 2019, 164–165.

[19] Depojska najdba z Jelenovega klanca žal še ni objavljena, a je objava menda v pripravi. Glej Sagadin 2003, 14–16, sl. 15–19. Za interpretacijo tovrstnih depojev v halštatskodobnih naselbinah na območju zahodne in osrednje Slovenije kot posebne vrste svetiščnih zakladov v smislu kapitolinskih favis (Favisae Capitolinae) glej Turk 2001; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 88–93.

[20] Glej Laharnar, Turk 2017, 89, sl. 100; Turk, Svetličič 2018, 28–30, sl. 3: 1; Ramšak 2008, 16, t. 1: 2; Nanut 2018, 139–147, sl. 11: 3–10.

[21] Gerbec 2009.

mogoče več preveriti, ker so bile ob gradnji gradu v srednjem veku do skale uničene vse eventualne starejše ostaline.[22] Posebna pozornost pa velja pred nedavnim odkritim sledovom naselbine v manjši dolini/kotlini tik pod Grajskim gričem, pri nekdanji grajski Pristavi, ki izkazujejo prazgodovinsko poselitev v več časovnih obdobjih (glej tu Ipavec, Klasinc). Glede na keramične najdbe sodi najstarejša poselitev na tem prostoru v pozno srednjo bronasto dobo oz. zgodnjo stopnjo pozne bronaste dobe, v času Bd C/D-Ha A1.[23] Na istem mestu je sledila ponovna naselitev v zgodnji starejši železni dobi, t.j. v časovnih stopnjah Ha B3/C1 do Ha D1. Kot nakazujejo posamezne najdbe bronastih kačastih in trakastih fibul (glej tu Ipavec, Klasinc t. 11: 93–96), pa je ta naselbina zamrla v teku mlajšega halštatskega obdobja.

Tudi nova arheološka izkopavanja v Mengšu in njegovi neposredni okolici so odkrila naselbinske ostaline iz pozne bronaste in zgodnje železne dobe, ki nakazujejo, da je obstajala tudi tu ob višinski naselbini na hribu Gobavica sočasna nižinska poselitev pod njo – na območju današnjega Mengša (glej tu Železnikar in Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*).[24] Pomembno je omeniti, da sta bili na Gobavici izkopani dve depojski najdbi, obdani s kamnitimi zidci. Glede na tip hrambe teh dveh zakladov bronastih predmetov, ki je primerljiv s tistim na Jelenovem klancu v Kranju, lahko sklepamo na podobnost v organiziranosti tezavriranja in kultnih običajih teh dveh sočasnih gorenjskih naselbin. Hkrati pa je pomenljivo, da so med najmlajšimi predmeti v depojih z Gobavice fragmenti fibul (ločne vaške vozlaste fibule, čolničaste fibule in kačaste/trakaste fibule), ki kažejo na zaključno fazo tezavriranja in s tem morda tudi obstoja te naselbine, kar se je moralo zgoditi v času Ha C2/D1.[25] Med najnovejšimi najdbami iz nižinske naselbine iz Mengša sta namreč bronasti trirobi puščični osti skitskega tipa, ki morda nakazujeta vzrok za zaton tudi te naselbine.[26]

Pomenljivo je, da tudi prazgodovinska poselitev na območju današnje Ljubljane izkazuje podobno večnivojsko strukturiranost naselbine. Na Grajskem griču so bili kljub obsežni gradnji srednjeveškega gradu in drugim gradbenim posegom vse do najnovejšega časa odkriti sledovi prazgodovinske naselbine. Njeni začetki sodijo po vsej verjetnosti že v zgodnje obdobje pozne bronaste dobe, obstala pa je bolj ali manj kontinuirano vse do halštatskega obdobja (glej tu Vojaković). Obsežna arheološka izkopavanja na območju današnje mestne četrti Prule, poimenovanem Tribuna, pa so pokazala, da je bil intenzivno poseljen tudi predel ob vznožju Grajskega griča, in sicer na njegovi jugozahodni strani, vse do bregov Ljubljanice. Odkrita je bila po ortogonalnem principu zasnovana naselbina, ki je bila skozi čas večkrat obnovljena in tudi prenovljena. Petra Vojaković, ki je natančno proučila vso izkopano gradivo, razlikuje v časovnem razponu med 12./11. in 5./4. st. pr. n. št. pet gradbenih faz,[27] katerih datiranje je podprto tudi z rezultati radiokarbonskih analiz (glej tu Vojaković, sl. 1).[28] Vsekakor je zanimivo, da je ulični raster z razporeditvijo stavb od II. do IV. faze skoraj povsem enak, t.j. od prehodnega obdobja pozne bronaste v zgodnjo železno dobo in tudi v starejšem halštatskem obdobju, medtem ko kaže naselbina v svoji I. fazi (čas kulture žarnih grobišč) nekoliko drugačno zasnovo, prav tako pa tudi v V. fazi (mlajše halštatsko obdobje). Kot je pokazala podrobna analiza naselbinskih ostalin vključno z drobnimi najdbami, so se v naselbini odvijale različne rokodelske in trgovske dejavnosti. Med njimi vzbujajo posebno pozornost različni metalurški pripomočki, kot so ostanki peči, šobe za podpihovanje ognja z mehovi, kalupi in zatiči za izdelavo kovinskih tulastih predmetov (npr. suličnih osti ali tulastih sekir ipd.) ter ostanki bronaste surovine, kar priča, da je tod cvetela metalurško-livarska obrt (glej tu Vojaković t. 1: 17–18; 3: 78–82; 7: 173–175; 9: 228). Glede na lego naselbine v neposredni bližini Ljubljanice pa sklepamo, da je imela pomembno vlogo tudi kot postojanka ob vodni poti vzdolž Ljubljanice

[22] Gabrovec 1960b, 10–11.

[23] Glej tu Ipavec, Klasinc, t. 1. Ker pa analiza keramike še ni v celoti objavljena, gre le za preliminarno oceno.

[24] Izkopavanja, ki so potekala leta 2022 na območju nižinske naselbine v Mengšu, je vodil Draško Josipovič. Ljubeznivo je odstopil obdelavo keramičnih najdb dvema študentoma arheologije z Oddelka za arheologijo FF UL, ki jih bosta proučila v okviru diplomskih oz. magistrskih del pod mentorstvom doc. dr. Mance Vinazza. Za informacije se jim zahvaljujem.

[25] Za Gobavico glej Turk 2001, 160–161, sl. 5-6; Pavlin 2003; Pavlin, Turk 2014; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 88–89, sl. 100, 103–105.

[26] Za podatek se zahvaljujem kolegici Petri Vojaković (glej tu Vojaković, sl. 11: 3–4). Glej tudi Teržan 1998, 521–526, sl. 8, t. 5.

[27] Podrobna analiza gradiva z arheološkega najdišča Tribuna je predložena v disertaciji P. Vojaković, ki pa je žal še neobjavljena: Vojaković 2013.

[28] Glej tudi Vojaković 2014.

med Vrhniko in reko Savo, torej ob povezovalni prometni žili med zahodom in vzhodom.[29]

Na osnovi predstavljenih štirih naselbin sklepamo, da se je na Gorenjskem razvil poseben tip naselbin s poselitvenim jedrom na hribu oz. na naravno zavarovanem kraju, obdanem s strmim pobočjem ali prepadnimi stenami (Blejski grad, Kranj, Ljubljanski grad), ob njegovem vznožju pa je v dolini/kotlini/nižini nastalo naselje – "spodnje mesto". Kot kaže, ti nižinski predeli naselbin niso bili posebej varovani, saj še ni bila odkrita nobena obrambna struktura. Tak tip naselbin doslej še ni bil zaznan pri drugih halštatskodobnih skupinah na slovenskem ozemlju, zato domneva, da je specifičen za gorenjsko halštatsko skupino. Zdi se verjetno, da so omenjene naselbine – Kranj, Bled, Mengeš in Ljubljana – predstavljale lokalna središča, kajti ob njih je obstajala vrsta drugih naselbin. To so na eni strani višinske naselbine na hribih ali vzpetinah, povečini utrjene naselbine – gradišča, ki so razmeroma številne, a večinoma še neraziskane, zato ostaja njihova časovna opredelitev neznana. Le nekatere izmed njih lahko z gotovostjo pripišemo halštatskemu obdobju, npr. Onger nad Trzinom,[30] Šmarjetno goro na desnem bregu Save nasproti Kranja, ki predstavlja sočasni kranjski naselbini zagoneten pendant (glej tu Sagadin), pa Puštal nad Škofjo Loko[31] in še nekatera druga najdišča na Škofjeloškem,[32] Brecljev hrib nad Smlednikom[33] in Vrtičnjak nad Tupaličami pri Preddvoru.[34] V kakšnem odnosu so bile med seboj, ostaja do nadaljnjih raziskav odprto vprašanje.

V zadnjih desetletjih pa so bile na Gorenjskem odkrite tudi razmeroma številne visokogorske postojanke, tako v Kamniško-Savinjskih Alpah in Karavankah kot Julijskih Alpah. Med njimi so doslej najstarejše iz pozne bakrene dobe, razmeroma maloštevilne sodijo v pozno bronasto in starejšo železno dobo, številnejše pa so iz poznejših obdobij, iz rimske dobe in zgodnjega srednjega veka.[35] Pri tem moramo omeniti, da je bil Bohinjski kot v starejši železni dobi sestavni del svetolucijske kulturne skupine,[36] kar verjetno velja tudi za visokogorske postojanke v Julijskih Alpah. Povezujemo jih s sezonskim pašništvom in planšarstvom, pa tudi z nabiranjem površinske železove rude – bobovca (glej tu Ogrin).[37] To pa lahko nakazuje, da v visokogorje Julijskih Alp niso zahajali le iz Posočja in Bohinja, temveč morda tudi iz drugih krajev Gorenjske.

NAČINI POKOPAVANJA IN GROBNI PRIDATKI

V tradiciji kulture žarnih grobišč se je na Gorenjskem običaj sežiga preminulih in žgan pokop obdržal v starejšo železno dobo. To dejstvo je bilo Gabrovcu glavni dokazni razlog za opredelitev Gorenjske kot sestavnega dela ljubljanske skupine. Tako kot žarna nekropola na dvorišču SAZU in Gosposki ulici v Ljubljani[38] je tudi halštatskodobno žarno grobišče na Bledu – Pristavi plano (glej tu Bitenc).[39] Tudi za žgane grobove v Kranju je veljalo mnenje, da so bili plani.[40] Poleg planih žganih grobov v Mengšu omenja Gabrovec od tam tudi plane skeletne grobove,[41] prav tako pa so mu bile znane iz Gorenjske številne gomile. Vendar se gomile na Gorenjskem po svoji zgradbi in načinu pokopov bistveno razlikujejo od rodovno-družinskih gomil, značilnih za dolenjsko halštatsko skupino.[42] Kot so pokazala izkopavanja gomil v Godeško-Reteških dobravah pri Škofji Loki, tako tista starejšega datuma[43] kot tudi najnovejša na Tratah (glej tu Brezigar), je v teh gomilah običajno po en žgan grob, ponekod tudi kot dvojni pokop. Le redke so izjeme z več grobovi, ena takih je gomila v Tupaličah pri Preddvoru, ki jo je na obširni nekropoli na Vrtičnjaku z okrog 40 gomilami raziskal Andrej Valič. V njej je bilo več žganih grobov, nanizanih okoli centralnega groba v kamniti grobni kamri.[44] Prav na osnovi gomile iz Vrtičnjaka lahko tudi za

[29] Prim. Dular 2009.

[30] Železnikar 2009; ista 2014.

[31] Ramšak 2008, 28, 72–86, t. 7–14; Leskovar, Vojaković 2018.

[32] Glej Ramšak 2008, 10–31; Grahek 2018.

[33] Draksler, Vojaković 2018.

[34] Vojaković 2008, 152, sl. 3–4, 9.

[35] Horvat 2020, 13, 23, sl. 1, 3–4, t. 1–2.

[36] Glej Teržan 2022, 348–350, sl. 1–2; Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, 398–401, sl. 1.

[37] Glej tudi Ogrin 2018, 43–44, sl. 1–3. Za železovo rudo v obliki bobovca glej Trampuž-Orel 2012, 17–20, sl. 1: 4–5.

[38] Glej opombi 5 in 6.

[39] Pri tem je morda treba posebej opozoriti na dejstvo, da je na istem mestu, kjer so se razprostirali grobovi iz pozne bronaste in halštatske dobe, bila tudi nekropola s skeletnimi pokopi iz pozne antike in zgodnjega srednjega veka, ki je starejše grobove delno tudi poškodovala. Številni izmed halštatskodobnih grobov so bili obloženi s kamni in/ali z njimi tudi prekriti. Glej Gabrovec 1960 b, 17–18, pril. 1–2.

[40] Gabrovec 1960a, 14.

[41] Gabrovec 1965, 96–98.

[42] Primerjaj Gabrovec *et al.* 2006; Gabrovec, Teržan 2008; Teržan 2020, 368–377.

[43] Ramšak 2008, 32–71, sl. 27–57, t. 2–6; ista 2009.

[44] Vojaković 2008,153–158, sl. 5–7, 12–14.

Godeško-Reteške gomile sklepamo, da so imele v središču grobno kamro, bodisi iz kamnov ali pa tudi leseno (glej tu Brezigar).[45] Tovrstna odkritja so spodbudila revizijo arhivskega gradiva z izkopavanj žganih grobov v Kranju, na podlagi katere je uspelo Brini Škvor Jernejčič pokazati, da v Kranju – na območju Vile Prah in Koroške ceste – ni šlo za plane žgane grobove, temveč da so tam bile gomile. Poleg tega je bila v sredini gomile pri Vili Prah ugotovljena grobna kamra z več žganimi pokopi.[46] Pred dobrim desetletjem so bile manjše gomile odkrite tudi na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani in v njih so bili prav tako žgani grobovi. V njih so zasledili ostaline grobne kamre, v plašču vsaj ene od gomil je bilo več žganih grobov, ob vznožju dveh pa celo trije skeletni pokopi (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković, sl. 3). Pomenljivo pa je, da so bile te gomile očitno sočasne s planimi žarnimi grobovi na nekropoli na dvorišču SAZU in Gosposki ulici, ki sodijo v stopnjo Ljubljana II a-b oz. III.[47]

Če strnemo dosedanje raziskave, se najstarejše gomile z žganimi pokopi pojavijo na Gorenjskem že v začetnem obdobju zgodnje železne dobe, t.j. Ha B3/Ha C1, kar velja za gomilo iz Vrtičnjaka,[48] gomilo A z Godeško-Reteških dobrav pri Škofji Loki,[49] gomilo pri Vili Prah v Kranju[50] in ne nazadnje za vsaj eno izmed gomil na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković). Ta način pokopavanja se je obdržal vse do mlajšega halštatskega obdobja, kot to nedvomno dokazujejo Godeško-Reteške gomile, v katerih so med grobnimi pridatki certoške fibule in jugovzhodnoalpska živalska fibula[51] (glej tu Brezigar, t. 1: 2, 6; 2: 8, 17; 4: 16).

Glede na zgradbo gomil s centralno grobno kamro, bodisi zgrajeno iz kamnov bodisi iz lesa ali pa le s posebej prirejenim prostorom za žgan pokop, jim najdemo najboljše in najbližje primerjave onstran Karavank, na Koroškem – v kulturni skupini Breg/Frög in v štajersko-panonski kulturni skupini.[52] Vendar se je ponekod na Gorenjskem podobno kot na plani nekropoli na dvorišču SAZU in Gosposki ulici v Ljubljani nadaljevalo pokopavanje v planih žganih grobovih tudi v mlajše obdobje, npr. na Bledu – Pristavi (glej tu Bitenc). To kaže, da je prišlo na Gorenjskem v formativni fazi halštatske kulture pri pogrebnih običajih do sožitja stare tradicije ljubljanske kulture z novostmi nove dobe, ki so se v sklopu verovanjskih predstav manifestirale v novi obliki grobnih spomenikov – v gomilah. Kako ob teh dveh tipih grobov razložiti še skeletne, čeprav le maloštevilne grobove, npr. v Mengšu in na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani, pa ostaja zaradi njihovega premajhnega števila težko rešljivo vprašanje (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković in Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*). Kljub razlikam v načinih pokopavanja in obliki grobov pa lahko gomile z žganimi pokopi, za katere kaže, da so prevladujoča oblika grobnih spomenikov na Gorenjskem, označimo kot pomemben element identitete gorenjske halštatske skupine.[53]

Če se na kratko ozremo še na grobne pridatke, ugotavljamo, da so zaradi tradicije kulture žarnih grobišč razmeroma skromni. Izjeme so le maloštevilne, povečini so to grobne oprave v centralnih grobovih, predvsem ženskih, kajti tudi na Gorenjskem v grobove praviloma niso polagali orožja, zato so moški grobovi težje razpoznavni in opredeljivi. Poskušajmo izluščiti nekaj značilnosti. Med po bogastvu izstopajočimi grobovi je grob 1 z območja Vile Prah, o katerem sta obširno že pisala tako Gabrovec kot Škvor Jernejčič,[54] zato tu le kratek komentar: v kamniti kamri sta bili dve ali tri ali morda celo štiri trebušaste posode z visokim lijakastim vratom,[55] podobna posoda je bila tudi v centralnem grobu – grobu 5 – v gomili z Vrtičnjaka pri Tupaličah[56] in v grobu 18 z Bleda – Pristave.[57] Zanimivo pa je, da jim je najti dokaj dobre primerjave tako po obliki kot številu v gomili s slavnim grobom z antenskim mečem iz Beljaških Toplic, kjer so bile v kamniti grobni skrinji kar štiri med seboj sicer ne povsem enake, a zelo podobne posode.[58] Pomenljive se zdijo ne le oblikovne podobnosti posod, temveč tudi njihovo število. Čeprav gre v gomili Vila Prah le domnev-

[45] Ramšak 2009, 40–46, 53–54, sl. 3, 16, 23.

[46] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 119–125, sl. 2–4.

[47] Primerjaj Gabrovec 1973; Škvor Jernejčič 2014b; ista 2018.

[48] Vojaković 2008, 158–178, t. 3–4.

[49] Ramšak 2009, 47, 53, t. 1: 1–4.

[50] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, t. 1–5.

[51] Ramšak 2009, 47, t. 1: 5–12; 2–3. Za certoške fibule glej tudi Teržan 1976; za jugovzhodnoalpske živalske fibule Teržan 1990, 224–225, karta 21.

[52] Vojaković 2008, 170–172; Ramšak 2009, 53–55; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 139. Primerjaj tudi Gleirscher 2011, 42–56.

[53] Glej Ramšak 2009, 54–55, sl. 23; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 130–141, sl. 11.

[54] Gabrovec, 1960a, 15–18, t. 1–3; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 125–138, t. 1–5.

[55] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, t. 3: 8; 4: 1, 3; 5: 1.

[56] Vojaković 2008, t. 4: 1.

[57] Gabrovec 1960b, t. 11: 3.

[58] Luschan 1872; Müller-Karpe 1953; Gleirscher 2008, 213–225, sl. 2a, b; 3; 5–6.

no za štiri podobne posode, pa so bile v grobu 5 gomile z Vrtičnjaka poleg omenjene trebušaste posode tudi štiri elegantne posode z visokimi stožčastimi, konkavno usločenimi vratovi – torej v enakem številu kot v gomili z Beljaških Toplic. Poleg tega je bilo tako v grobni kamri gomile Vila Prah kot v centralnem grobu – grobu 5 – z Vrtičnjaka pridano tudi več kosov pivskega in jedilnega servisa, kot so sklede/latvice, skodelice in kantár.[59] Med bogatejše grobove s keramičnimi pridatki sodita tudi grobova 1 in 2 iz Mengša. V grobu 1 vzbujata posebno pozornost visok cilindričen podstavek za posode in skleda na visoki nogi,[60] ki imata sicer primerjave med bogatim servisom v gomili s Kongresnega trga v Ljubljani (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković, sl. 5-7), a tudi na Koroškem, v gomilah na Bregu/Frögu,[61] od koder so znane v večjem številu. Zato domneva, da izvirajo tovrstne posode iz Gorenjske od tam ali pa so bile narejene po koroških vzorih. Poleg teh izjemnih oblik posod pa je treba v okviru grobnih servisov iz Mengša, Kranja in Ljubljane ter tudi z Vrtičnjaka omeniti še skodele z visokim presegajočim ročajem in situle v glini, okrašene z bronastimi žebljički. Zanje je že Gabrovec zapisal, da so "presenetljivo povezane z zahodom, s svetolucijsko in estensko kulturo".[62] Pri tem se zdi, da ne gre le za posamezne dragocene kose, temveč da je zglede za polaganje celih servisov v grob iskati prav v estenski kulturi, kjer je npr. v Padovi in Este najti v grobovih izredno bogate keramične pridatke oz. servise.[63] V repertoarju posodja v bogatejših grobovih na Gorenjskem se v zgodnjem halštatskem obdobju odražajo torej elementi, ki po eni strani kažejo – enako kot gomile z žganim pokopom –tesne stike s koroško kulturno skupino Breg/Frög, po drugi strani pa z estenskim kulturnim prostorom, a vendar z lokalnimi posebnostmi kot kazalci samosvojosti.

Zanimivo pa je, da v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju prevladujejo med keramičnimi grobnimi pridatki nove oblike posod, kot so kelihi, situle, ciboriji in pitosi, okrašeni z rdečimi ali rdeče-črno barvanimi pasovi, kot to dobro ilustrirajo gomile z Godeško-Reteških dobrav in Trat pri Škofji Loki (glej tu Brezigar, t. 2–5),[64] pa tudi posamezne posode v grobovih iz Kranja[65] in Ljubljane.[66] Tovrstne posode tako po okrasu kot tudi tipu so namreč značilnost svetolucijske skupine,[67] zato jih morda lahko razumemo kot kazalce širjenja interesne sfere svetolucijske skupine proti vzhodu – do Gorenjske.

Kovinski dodatki noše kot grobni pridatki osvetljujejo gorenjsko skupino z nekoliko drugačnega zornega kota. Med najbolj povednimi so fibule, kot sestavni deli predvsem ženske noše. V zgodnji železni dobi prevladujejo predvsem dvozankaste ločne fibule, ki so na Gorenjskem zastopane v različnih variantah. Na Bledu – Pristavi so pogoste razmeroma gracilne fibule, katerih dvozankasti lok je okrašen s finimi prečnimi vrezi, zastopane pa se tudi v Ljubljani, v grobovih na dvorišču SAZU. Že Gabrovec je poudaril, da gre za najstarejše fibule tega tipa na Gorenjskem, s primerjavami na eni strani v Rušah, v najmlajših grobovih ruške žarnogrobiščne skupine v Podravju, v časovni stopnji Ha B3,[68] na drugi strani pa v alpskem svetu med Bregom/Frögom in Bischofshofnom (glej tu Bitenc, t. 2: 18; 4: 2).[69] Poleg gladkih, neokrašenih dvozankastih ločnih bronastih in železnih fibul so razmeroma pogoste tudi vaške vozlaste fibule. Te so znane iz grobov na Bledu – Pristavi, iz Kranja – Vile Prah, Stražišča pri Kranju, Ljubljane – z dvorišča SAZU in Kongresnega trga, en fragment pa tudi iz depojske najdbe na Gobavici nad Mengšem in so značilne predvsem za bogato žensko nošo, podobno torej kot v dolenjski halštatski skupini, kjer sodijo med

[59] Vojaković 2008, 158–164, t. 2: 1–2; 3: 1, 6; 4: 14–18. Kantár enakega tipa kot na Vrtičnjaku skupaj s skodelo je v grobu 18 z Bleda – Pristave: glej Gabrovec 1960b, t. 11: 1–2. Za centralno kamro Vile Prah v Kranju glej Škvor Jernejčič 2017, t. 3: 9–10; 4: 4; 5: 2, 23; nizek kantár pa je bil na točki VIII: ista 2017, 147, t. 2: 21. Kot grobni pridatek je kantár znan tudi iz grobov z dvorišča SAZU v Ljubljani: Puš 1971, t. 10: 5; 43: 3.

[60] Gabrovec 1965, t. 1: 7; 2: 1.

[61] Za podstavek glej Tomedi 2002, t. 49; Ebner-Baur 2020, 120–122, sl. 74–75; za sklede na visoki nogi Tomedi 2002, 231–233, t. 8: 6; 20, 1–2; 28: 11; 31: 33 itd.; Gleirscher 2011, 82, sl. 2; Ebner-Baur 2020, 116–120, sl. 72 (tip 2 ali 3).

[62] Gabrovec 1965, 108–109, t. 1: 3–4; 2: 3–4; isti 1960a, 16–17, t. 1: 3, 8; Puš 1971, 55, t. 32: 8; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, t. 2: 1; 3: 10; Vojaković 2008, 158, t. 8: 9.

[63] Glej npr. Calzavara, Chieco Bianchi 1976, 229–230, 248–258, t. 48 A; 54: 36–43; 55: 26–27, 31–35; 56–57 A; Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, t. 224: 1–2; 225: 9–10; 226: 1–3, 7; 229: 1, 13; itd.

[64] Ramšak 2009, 47–52, t. 1: 6–8; 2: 3–8.

[65] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, t. 6: 4; 7: 4–7; 8: 1, 6.

[66] Puš 1982, t. 2: 1; 8: 7.

[67] Primerjaj Dular 1982, 97–105, sl. 7: 14–17; 9–10.

[68] Gabrovec 1960b, 65, t. 21: 4; 23: 2; 33: 1; za Ruše glej Müller-Karpe 1959, t. 113: A2; za Ljubljano Puš 1971, t. 49: 3.

[69] Teržan 1990, 214, karta 8–9; Tomedi 2002, 172–173; t. 22: B3; 86: B1; Ebner-Baur 2020, 130–134, sl. 85: kat. št. 174, 187; 175: 174; 177: 187.

vodilne tipe horizonta Podzemelj.[70] Omembe vredno je tudi, da so iz Kranja znane tudi posamezne ločne dvozankaste vozlaste fibule vrste 6a, značilne za štajersko halštatsko skupino,[71] pa tudi ločne dvozankaste vozlaste fibule tipa 6b po Gabrovcu, ki so lastne svetolucijski skupini.[72]

Če smemo v teh gorenjskih grobovih z dvozankastimi vozlastimi ločnimi fibulami domnevati priseljene ženske osebe iz sosednjih kulturnih sredin, pa ostaja do nadaljnjih raziskav le možna domneva.

V nasprotju z bogatimi ženskimi grobovi so moški grobovi mnogo bolj skromni, povečini z bronasto iglo za spenjanje oblačila in posameznimi posodami. V zgodnji železni dobi na Gorenjskem podobno kot v svetolucijski skupini v grobove niso prilagali orožja, izjeme so le maloštevilne. Kot primer naj navedemo le grob 71 z Bleda – Pristave, v katerem so bili fragmenti skledaste čelade, razmetani tudi v neposredni okolici groba, pri čemer gre za tip čelade, značilen predvsem za dolenjsko kulturno skupino (glej tu Bitenc, t. 3: 8–9; 5: 9–11).

Povsem drugačen spekter grobnih pridatkov pa se kaže v mlajši železni dobi. V grobovih se pojavlja orožje, kot so sulice in sekire (glej tu Brezigar, t. 1: 3–4; 4: 19),[73] ponekod tudi negovske čelade. Pri tem se zastavlja vprašanje, ali gre za podoben pojav kot v svetolucijski in notranjski skupini, kjer se prav tako v poznem halštatskem obdobju spremenijo pogrebni običaji in je v grobove pogosteje pridano orožje,[74] ali pa moramo orožje, zlasti na območju vzhodno od Kamniške Bistrice, med Lukovico in Kamnikom, morda pa tudi v Mengšu in Kranju povezati z ekspanzivno politiko dolenjske halštatske skupine. Za slednjo razlago govorita predvsem grobova z negovskimi čeladami iz Nevelj pri Kamniku[75] in Kope oz. Kompoljskega hriba pri Lukovici (glej tu Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar),[76] ki po svoji opremi spominjata na izstopajoče bojevniške grobove v dolenjski halštatski skupini kot n.pr. v Novem mestu, na Vačah in na Kovku nad Hrastnikom v Zasavju.[77] Pri tem pa moramo spomniti, da je pomenljiva predvsem strateška lega teh dveh grobov: s Kop oz. Kompoljskega hriba nad Lukovico je odličen pregled nad pomembno prometno potjo proti prelazu na Trojanah na štajersko stran, Nevlje oz. Vrhpolje pa ležijo ob vstopu v Tuhinjsko dolino, ki prav tako omogoča zložen prehod v Savinjsko dolino, hkrati pa tudi ob poti vzdolž Kamniške Bistrice proti Kamniškemu sedlu – prelazu na Koroško. Očitno je, da sta ti dve komunikaciji proti Savinjski dolini oz. Štajerski in Koroški v poznem halštatskem obdobju pridobili na pomenu, zato ni nujno, da sta bila ta dva bojevnika, katerih visok družbeni položaj označujeta prav negovski čeladi,[78] v vazalnem odnosu do enega izmed dolenjskih halštatskih knezov. Poleg teh dveh negovskih čelad, ki sta značilnega“slovenskega tipa” po Markusu Eggu, razširjenega predvsem na Dolenjskem,[79] pa izvira iz Ljubljane tudi fragment negovske čelade “alpskega tipa”.[80] Kot že ime tega tipa čelad pove, je izvorno območje le-te ljubljanske čelade iskati v tirolskih ali švicarskih centralnih Alpah in jo prav tako povezujemo z nemirnimi časi s konca halštatskega obdobja, ki so dosegli tudi Ljubljano in Gorenjsko.[81]

SKLEPNA BESEDA

V pozni bronasti dobi, v času kulture žarnih grobišč, zlasti v prehodnem obdobju v starejšo železno dobo se je na Gorenjskem izoblikovala posebna kulturna skupina, ki jo označuje vrsta

[70] Za Bled – Pristavo glej tu Bitenc t. 3: 4; Gabrovec 1960b, 65, t. 30: 1; za Kranj Gabrovec 1960a, t. 2: 8; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 131–134, t. 1: 4; 16: 1; za Ljubljano Puš 1971, t. 43: 6f; 45: 4; in za Kongresni trg glej tu Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković sl. 7–8; za Gobavico Pavlin, Turk 2014, 42–43, sl. 8 b; 9: 5; t. 7: 15. Glej tudi Gabrovec 1970, 9–12, 27–29, karta II, IV, V, VIII.

[71] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, t. 11: 11; Gabrovec 1970, 28, karta IX; Teržan 1990, 215, karta 10.

[72] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, t. 11: 12; Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 424–426, sl. 2, 1; 3: 3; Gabrovec 1970, 28, karta IX.

[73] Prim. npr. Škvor Jernejčič 2017, t. 12; 15.

[74] Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 434–437, sl. 4.3; 5; t. 20; Teržan 1977; Guštin 1973, 479–480, Sl. 3; Laharnar 2018, 82–87.

[75] Gabrovec 1950, 88–93, 111, sl. na str. 91, 93; isti 1965, 102, t. 8: 16–18; 9; isti 1985, 8. Povsem nerazumljivo je, zakaj je ime najdišča Nevlje, ki je uveljavljeno v strokovni literaturi že dobrih 70 let, v najnovejši publikaciji spremenjeno v Vrhpolje, in to brez kakršnekoli razlage in citata: Železnikar *et al.* 2022, 7–13, i. Glej tudi tu Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar.

[76] Gabrovec 1965, 101, t. 10. Če ta čelada dejansko pripada pred nedavnim z detektorjem odkritemu grobu na Kopi, kot menijo navedeni avtorji prispevka, ni povsem neverjetno, a vendar ostaja le domneva.

[77] Glej tu Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar; Železnikar *et al.* 2022; Knez 1986, t. 30–36; Božič, Gaspari, Pirkmajer 2020.

[78] Primerjaj n.pr. Teržan 1985, 90–93, sl. 12–13.

[79] Egg 1986, 66–78, 220–221, sl. 31, 35; t. 215, 221–222.

[80] Stare 1954, 93, t. 84: 78; Egg 1979, 199–202, sl. 1, 3; Egg 1986, 95–112, 246–247, sl. 52, 212; Guštin 2019, 375–379, sl. 8.

[81] Za svetolucijsko skupino v poznem halštatskem obdobju glej tudi Teržan 2022, 369–370.

njej lastnih značilnosti: 1 – naselbine v več nivojih z jedrom na vzpetini oz. naravno zavarovanem kraju in spodnjim naseljem v dolini/kotlini, npr. v Kranju, na Bledu, v Mengšu in Ljubljani – za tovrstne naselbine menimo, da predstavljajo središča lokalnega značaja; 2 – žgan pokop tako v planih grobovih/grobiščih kot tudi v gomilah, pogosto s centralnimi grobnimi kamrami; 3 – grobovi so pretežno opremljeni s skromnimi pridatki, izjeme so le nekateri grobovi z večjim številom keramičnih posod, ki tvorijo jedilno-pivske servise. Bogatejši so tudi nekateri ženski grobovi, ki izstopajo po svojem nakitu, med katerim so pomembne fibule različnih tipov kot kazalke stikov s kraji sosednjih kulturnih skupin. Moški grobovi so povečini bolj skromno opremljeni, v starejšem halštatskem obdobju v njih praviloma ni orožja. Spremembe v prilaganju orožja v grobove so se pojavile v mlajši oz. pozni halštatski stopnji, kar pa ni značilno le na Gorenjskem, temveč je veliko širši fenomen, ki je zajel tudi sosednje pokrajine oz. kulturne skupine.

Kljub očitnim podobnostim in stikom na Gorenjskem živeče skupnosti s sosednjimi kulturnimi skupinami, kot so skupina Breg/Frög na Koroškem in štajersko-panonska skupina, estenska in svetolucijska skupina ter dolenjska skupina, so razlike med njimi vendarle tako evidentne, da o samosvojosti gorenjske ali gorenjsko-ljubljanske kulturne skupine v halštatskem obdobju ni treba dvomiti.

BOŽIČ *et al.* 2020 = D. Božič, A. Gaspari, D. Pirkmajer 2020, Poznohalštatska grobova s Kovka nad Hrastnikom v Zasavju / Late Hallstatt burials from Kovk above Hrastnik, in the Zasavje region (central Slovenia). – *Arheološki vestnik* 71, 499–527. (DOI: 10.3986/AV.71.18)

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The Gorenjska region in the Hallstatt period
An introduction and brief outline

Translation

The fifth scientific symposium in honour of Acad. Prof. Dr Stane Gabrovec was held in 2021, again dedicated to the Hallstatt cultural groups in Slovenia. More specifically, this *Gabrovec Day* presented the new archaeological investigations in the region of Gorenjska as the final chapter in the Early Iron Age series (see Arheološki vestnik 70–73). The success of the symposia that were very well received both at home and abroad even gave rise to the desire to continue this annual event.[1] The fifth symposium was postponed several times due to the pandemic and finally held as late as 16 September 2021; it was well-attended and comprised eleven lectures. Most lecturers, to our dismay not all, have submitted their written contributions to be published in this volume of the Arheološki vestnik journal and their articles bring important new findings and new insights into the cultural group that inhabited Gorenjska in the Early Iron Age.

Stane Gabrovec first studied the prehistory of Gorenjska for his dissertation (1961)[2] and later published his research findings in comprehensive articles dealing with Kranj (1960a), Bled (1960b) and the Kamnik area (1965), but also in a contribution to the fundamental discussion on the Hallstatt period in Slovenia (1964–65 and 1966).[3] In them, he outlined the main characteristics of the Early Iron Age material culture in Gorenjska that he interpreted as a mixture of cultural elements of the Sveta Lucija and Dolenjska groups. Such an interpretation holds true to this day. He used the chronological framework of these two entities to date the Hallstatt-period finds from Gorenjska, which were relatively few in number at that time. The rich burial of a woman in Kranj, in Grave 1 of the Vila Prah site, even served as the leading representative of the female costume in the Podzemelj 2 horizon, within the chronology of the Dolenjska Hallstatt group.[4]

In his later works, when the prehistoric urn cemetery at the Dvorišče SAZU (translated as the SAZU courtyard) and Gosposka ulica sites in Ljubljana had been integrally published,[5] Gabrovec introduced the term 'the Ljubljana culture'.[6] In addition to Ljubljana, it comprised archaeological sites in Dolenjska such as the urn necropoleis in the Mokronog and Novo mesto areas, but also those in Gorenjska all to Bled.[7] He sought the beginnings of the Ljubljana group in the Urnfield culture, defining them as the Ljubljana 1 phase correlated with the Ha B1 phase of the Urnfield culture.[8] Several burials in the Pristava cemetery at Bled also date to this phase (see in this volume Bitenc, Pl. 1: 17–23; 4: 13–14). In the most recent studies, however, Brina Škvor Jernejčič has shown that the earliest burials in the Ljubljana urn necropolis at the Dvorišče SAZU site are even earlier, with the results of radiocarbon analyses pointing to the initial phases of the Late Bronze Age, *i.e.* BA D/Ha A1[9]. This in turn suggests that the term 'Ljubljana group' of the Urnfield period (Ha A-Ha B) is only applicable to sites in central Slovenia; they are distinct from those of the Urnfield Dobova group in the Posavje and eastern Dolenjska regions, but also from those of the Ruše group in Podravje attributable to the Late Bronze Age or the Urnfield culture.[10] However, in the period of transition into the Early Iron Age,

[1] The next thematic series will be dedicated to the new archaeological research on the Bronze Age. The first symposium of the series was held on 26 May 2022 and presented the new investigations in north-eastern Slovenia, more precisely in the Prekmurje and Štajerska regions; the lectures will be published in the following volume of Arheološki vestnik (AV).

[2] Stane Gabrovec defended his doctoral thesis on the prehistory of Gorenjska (*Prazgodovina Gorenjske*) at the University of Zadar.

[3] See Gabrovec 1960a, 14–21; *idem* 1960b; *idem* 1965, 95–113; *idem* 1964–65, 25; *idem* 1966, 5–9, 24–26, Fig. 2–3.

[4] Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 1–3; *idem* 1964–65, 32; *idem* 1966, 24–26, Fig. 2–3.

[5] Starè 1954; Puš 1971; *idem* 1982; *idem* 1983.

[6] Gabrovec 1973; *idem* 1983; *idem* 1987.

[7] Gabrovec 1973, 348; *idem* 1987; *idem* 1999, 150, 155–156, 178, 180–181.

[8] Gabrovec 1973, 351–355; *idem* 1983b.

[9] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a; *idem* 2021. For the dating of the burials excavated at the NUK II site, see Gaspari 2014, 386–391, Fig. 22. 2. 1–5.

[10] The radiocarbon dating of some graves from Ljubljana as early as the 13th century BC raises several questions including the extent of the phenomenon that these early beginnings of the Ljubljana group represent, but also which Late Bronze Age sites in central Slovenia can be ascribed to it and what is its/their relation to the settlement of the Oloris-Podsmreka horizon.

sites in Gorenjska and in Ljubljana, similarly also those in Dolenjska and other cultural groups, reveal marked changes on different cultural levels (such as burial rite and material culture); these changes are also highlighted in the contributions below.[11] In our opinion, a new cultural entity formed in Gorenjska as well, rooted in the tradition of the Urnfield culture of the Ljubljana group, but incorporating new elements brought on by the new zeitgeist of the Hallstatt period; we therefore propose the primary use of the name Gorenjska, or at least Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt cultural group.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND SETTLEMENTS

In recent decades, archaeological excavations in Gorenjska were limited to rescue investigations as part of heritage protection measures, hence our knowledge of both settlements and cemeteries from the Early Iron Age remains fairly modest. There are, however, certain observations that we can make, particularly relating to the issues of settlement.

The region of Gorenjska is geographically clearly delimited with the Karavanke Mountains and the Kamnik-Savinja Alps in the north and northeast, as well as the Julian Alps and the mountains of Škofjeloško hribovje and Polhograjski dolomiti in the west. In contrast, it is open towards the south, both along the plain of the River Sava towards the southeast and onto the vast Ljubljansko barje in the south, the latter representing a marshland barrier. In addition to the high mountains – with their impressive backdrop – the region is marked by the wide plain along the River Sava between Jesenice and Ljubljana, in which mostly elevated or naturally defended locations along the fringes of the Sava and associated valleys were selected for habitation (Fig. 1).

One of the most prominent locations is certainly in Kranj, perched on a plateau high above the canyon of the River Kokra at its confluence with the River Sava. Numerous rescue archaeological excavations in the present-day city centre of Kranj, but also at the Na Lajhu site at the foot of Pungart have shown that this location was first inhabited in the Late Neolithic or Early Copper Age,[12] and then again in the Late Bronze Age and even more so in Ha B2–3 and Ha C, *i.e.* the Initial Early Iron Age, when habitation was most intensive. This appears to have been followed by a brief period of adversity, and then a new rise in the Late Hallstatt period, *i.e.* the Certosa and Negova horizons (see in this volume Sagadin).[13] In its location, the Hallstatt-period settlement in Kranj is similar to that at Most na Soči, which was also established on a promontory high above the canyon confluence of the Rivers Soča and Idrijca.[14] What is intriguing is that the settlement in Kranj extended across two levels, covering not only the high plateau of the promontory enclosed by the two rivers, but also the terrace at the Na Lajhu site below, just above the River Sava. Archaeological, dendrochronological and radiocarbon analyses have revealed that buildings on this lower terrace were first constructed around 800 BC, then renovated between 750 and 670 BC, dating the habitation of the terrace to the transition or formative phase of the Initial Early Iron Age and developed Ha C.[15] The currently available evidence does not indicate the role of this lower settlement by the Sava, whether it was a harbour and ford, possibly also connected with a river crossing. The raised core of the settlement extended on the plateau from Pungart at the southern end to the city square of Maistrov trg and further north, possibly even to the present-day Hotel Creina (see in this volume Sagadin, Fig. 1).[16] This part of the settlement revealed remains of different activities including a metallurgy workshop or foundry, unearthing the remains of a nozzle for blowing air, a melting pot, several moulds for casting bronze objects and numerous amorphous pieces of bronze as the remains of the metallurgic process,[17] but also a variety of other tools that include a special implement in the form of a notched pivot that may have been used to decorate pottery, bread, cheese or even textile.[18] The importance and prosperity of the Kranj settlement in the 8th/7th centuries BC

[11] Also see Škvor Jernejčič 2014b; *idem* 2018.

[12] Dolinar 2016.

[13] I refer to the contributions of the Gabrovec Day in this volume of Arheološki vestnik with the names of the respective authors only (*e.g.* see in this volume Sagadin). Rafko Urankar, Polona Janežič and Gregor Gruden, who reported on the archaeological excavations in Kranj, were unfortunately not able to submit their contributions for this volume; we are therefore all the more thankful to Milan Sagadin for granting our request and preparing an overview of the archaeological investigations in Kranj.

[14] *Cf.* Svoljšak, Dular 2016, 11–15, Fig. 1–3; Mlinar 2005, 4, 11, 16–17.

[15] Gerbec *et al.* 2014, 319–332; also see Gruden 2016.

[16] Also see Horvat 1983; Rozman 2004.

[17] Urankar 2012, 51–53, App. 12, 35, Pl. 1.

[18] Janežič 2021, 35–37, 190–191, Cat. No. 83 ('notched pivot'); *idem* 2021, 218, Cat. No. 232 (colanders); *idem* 2021,

can also be gleamed from the rich hoard find that came to light during the archaeological excavation at Jelenov klanec just at the edge of (or just below) the settlement plateau. It was composed of several hundred items, mostly fragments of axes of different types, the value of which was not only in the roughly 20 kg of the metal alloy, but also in their presumed use as a pre-monetary currency of exchange (see in this volume Sagadin).[19] It is important to note that individual pieces of shaft-hole axes of the same type also came to light in several others sites across Gorenjska, namely Gorenje near Kranj, Kališe near Železniki and Gobavica above Mengeš,[20] indicating lively exchange and artisanal activities.

A roughly similar situation can be observed at Bled, with the dissimilarities attributable to the differences in the natural setting. The settlement was established on the hill of Blejski grad, now occupied by Bled Castle. The archaeological excavations that Drago Svoljšak led in 1985–1989 revealed habitation terraces on the slope of the hill that the recovered small finds dated from the Late Bronze and transition to the Initial Early Iron Age to the Late Hallstatt period.[21] It is not possible to verify whether the settlement also extended across the hilltop – though this is highly likely given the strategic prominence of the hilltop offering an unimpeded view across a wide area – as the medieval construction of the castle removed all previous remains down to the bedrock.[22] An important recent discovery is the settlement traces in a small valley or basin below the castle hill of Bled, at the former castle outbuildings (the Pristava site), which span several periods (see in this volume Ipavec, Klasinc). The pottery finds suggest that the earliest habitations here date to the late part of the Middle Bronze Age and the early part of the Late Bronze Age, *i.e.* BA C/D–Ha A1.[23] The same spot was also settled in the Initial Early Iron Age, *i.e.* from Ha B3/C1 to Ha D1. Finds of bronze serpentine and band-bow fibulae (see in this volume Ipavec, Klasinc Pl. 11: 93–96) show that this settlement was abandoned during the Late Hallstatt period.

Recent archaeological excavations in and around Mengeš also brought to light settlement remains from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. They indicate a hilltop settlement on Gobavica and contemporaneous habitations below it, in the area of the present-day town of Mengeš (see in this volume Železnikar and Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*).[24] We should also mention two hoard finds, enclosed with small stone cassettes (walls), that came to light on Gobavica. The deposition circumstances of the two bronzework hoards, which are comparable with those of the hoard from Jelenov klanec in Kranj, suggest similarities in hoarding and common cult practices in these two contemporary settlements in Gorenjska. The chronologically last items of the Gobavica hoard include fragments of fibulae (Vače knobbed bow fibula, boat and serpentine/band bow fibulae) that date the final phase of hoarding and with it possibly the end of the settlement to Ha C2/D1.[25] The recent-most finds from the lowland settlement in Mengeš also revealed two bronze trilobate arrowheads of the Scythian type, which may indicate the reason for the decline of this settlement as well.[26]

The prehistoric settlement in present-day Ljubljana also shows habitation structured in several levels. Traces of a hilltop settlement came to light on top of Grajski grič, surviving the construction of the medieval castle and later construction works up to the present. This settlement most likely began in the early part of the Late Bronze Age and existed more or less continuously throughout the Hallstatt period (see in this volume Vojaković). The extensive archaeological excavations at the Tribuna site, in the Prule area of Ljubljana, have revealed that the foot

34–35, Fig. 5.1.10 (loom weights and spindle whorls). *Cf. e.g.* Torkar, Železnikar, Žalohar 2019, 164–165.

[19] The hoard find from Jelenov klanec has unfortunately not yet been published (in preparation); see Sagadin 2003, 14–16, Fig. 15–19. For the interpretation of such hoards in Hallstatt-period settlements of western and central Slovenia as sanctuary offerings in the sense of *favisae Capitolinae*, see Turk 2001; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 88–93.

[20] See Laharnar, Turk 2017, 89, Fig. 100; Turk, Svetličič 2018, 28–30, Fig. 3: 1; Ramšak 2008, 16, Pl. 1: 2; Nanut 2018, 139–147, Fig. 11: 3–10.

[21] Gerbec 2009.

[22] Gabrovec 1960b, 10–11.

[23] See in this volume Ipavec, Klasinc, Pl. 1. This is a preliminary dating pending the final publication of the site and the results of the pottery analysis results.

[24] Draško Josipovič led the 2022 excavations in the area of the lowland settlement in Mengeš. He kindly enabled the recovered small finds to be studied at the Department of Archaeology, University of Ljubljana, where two students will analyse them as part of their diploma or master's theses under the mentorship of Manca Vinazza. I thank them for the information.

[25] For Gobavica, see Turk 2001, 160–161, Fig. 5–6; Pavlin 2003; Pavlin, Turk 2014; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 88–89, Fig. 100, 103–105.

[26] I thank Petra Vojaković for the information (see in this volume Vojaković, Fig. 11: 3–4). Also see Teržan 1998, 521–526, Fig. 8, Pl. 5.

of the hill was also inhabited, more precisely the southwestern foot with the settlement reaching to the banks of the River Ljubljanica. It had an orthogonal layout and witnessed several repairs and modifications. Petra Vojaković carefully studied the excavated finds and distinguished between five construction phases spanning from the 12th/11th to the 5th/4th centuries BC,[27] the dating of which is supported by the results of the radiocarbon analyses (see in this volume Vojaković, Fig. 1).[28] Interestingly, the street grid and the disposition of the buildings is almost identical in Phases II to IV, *i.e.* from the transition period between the Late Bronze Age to the Initial Early Iron Age and in the Early Hallstatt period, but differs slightly from those of Phase I (Urnfield culture period) and also Phase V (Late Hallstatt period). The detailed analysis of the habitation remains and recovered small finds revealed that a variety of artisanal and trading activities took place within the settlement. Particularly prominent are the various metallurgic remains such as furnaces, bellows nozzles, moulds and clay or stone supports as casting implements for the production of metal socketed artefacts (spearheads, socketed axes and others), which is evidence of a lively metallurgic-casting activity (see in this volume Vojaković, Pl. 1: 17–18; 3: 78–82; 7: 173–175; 9: 228). The location of this lower settlement in the immediate proximity to the river also suggests that it played an important role as a post on the navigable Ljubljanica between Vrhnika and its confluence with the Sava, *i.e.* the main communication connecting East and West.[29]

The four settlements presented above indicate that a special settlement type developed in Gorenjska, with a habitation core on the hilltop or naturally protected location surrounded by steep or precipitous slopes (Blejski grad in Bled, Kranj, Grajski grič in Ljubljana and Gobavica above Mengeš) associated with a 'lower city' in the valley/plain below. The lower settlements thus far revealed no defensive structures, suggesting they were not especially protected. Such a settlement type has as yet not been detected in other Hallstatt groups in Slovenia and appears to have been specific to the Gorenjska Hallstatt group. It seems likely that these settlements – Kranj, Bled, Mengeš and Ljubljana – were local centres associated with a series of other settlements. They were also established on hills or other elevated spots, *i.e.* hillforts, and are relatively numerous but mostly unexplored and hence unclear as to their dating. Only some of them can reliably be attributed to the Hallstatt period, for example Onger above Trzin,[30] Šmarjetna gora on the right bank of the Sava as an intriguing pendant to the contemporary settlement in Kranj (see in this volume Sagadin), as well as Puštal above Škofja Loka[31] and several other sites in the Škofja Loka area,[32] Brecljev hrib above Smlednik[33] and Vrtičnjak above Tupaliče near Preddvor.[34] The relationship between the main and these settlements remains open pending further investigations.

In recent decades, there were also relatively numerous high-altitude posts unearthed in Gorenjska, more precisely in the Kamnik-Savinja Alps, the Karavanke Mountains and the Julian Alps. The earliest date to the Late Copper Age, relatively few are from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, while their numbers again rise in later periods, from the Roman and the early medieval periods.[35] We should mention that the area of Bohinjski kot formed part of the Sveta Lucija cultural group in the Early Iron Age,[36] as it is also likely for the high-altitude sites in the Julian Alps. They are associated with seasonal pasturing and dairy farming, but also with surface collection of pisolitic iron ore (see in this volume Ogrin).[37] This suggests, however, that the high mountains of the Julian Alps might have been visited not only from the Posočje and Bohinj areas, but potentially also from other areas of Gorenjska.

BURIAL RITES AND GRAVE GOODS

Following the tradition of the Urnfield culture, the practice of cremation burial in Gorenjska continued into the Early Iron Age. Gabrovec saw this as the main evidence to define Gorenjska as a component part of the Ljubljana cultural group. Similarly as the urn necropolis at the Dvorišče

[27] Petra Vojaković provided a detailed analysis of the small finds from the archaeological site at Tribuna in her as yet unpublished dissertation: Vojaković 2013.

[28] Also see Vojaković 2014.

[29] *Cf.* Dular 2009.

[30] Železnikar 2009; *idem* 2014.

[31] Ramšak 2008, 28, 72–86, Pl. 7–14; Leskovar, Vojaković 2018.

[32] See Ramšak 2008, 10–31; Grahek 2018.

[33] Draksler, Vojaković 2018.

[34] Vojaković 2008, 152, Fig. 3–4, 9.

[35] Horvat 2020, 13, 23, Fig. 1, 3–4, Pl. 1–2.

[36] See Teržan 2022, 348–350, Fig. 1–2; Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, 398–401, Fig. 1.

[37] Also see Ogrin 2018, 43–44, Fig. 1–3. For the pisolitic iron ore, see Trampuž-Orel 2012, 17–20, Fig. 1: 4–5.

SAZU and Gosposka ulica sites in Ljubljana,[38] the Hallstatt-period necropolis at the Pristava site in Bled was also a flat urn cemetery (see in this volume Bitenc).[39] The cremation graves from Kranj are also believed to have been flat burials.[40] In addition to flat cremations, Gabrovec mentioned flat inhumation graves at Mengeš,[41] as well as numerous tumuli from the Gorenjska region. Having said that, the tumuli in Gorenjska differ substantially in their structure and burial rite from the clan-family tumuli that characterise the Dolenjska Hallstatt group.[42] The excavations of the tumuli at Godeško-Reteške dobrave near Škofja Loka, both those excavated some years ago[43] and those most recently discovered at Trate (see in this volume Brezigar), have revealed they mostly held a single cremation, in some cases a double burial. Only rare tumuli have several burials. Andrej Valič investigated one of these at Tupaliče near Preddvor, which formed part of a vast necropolis of roughly 40 tumuli on Vrtičnjak. The tumulus in question contained several cremations arranged around the central burial in a chamber built of stone.[44] The remains of this tumulus also allow us to infer a similar central burial chamber, of either stone or wood, in the tumuli from Škofja Loka (see in this volume Brezigar).[45] These discoveries led to a revision of the archival records from the excavations of the cremations at Kranj, in which Brina Škvor Jernejčič was able to show that the graves at the Vila Prah and Koroška cesta sites were not flat, but rather tumulus burials. She was also able to establish that the tumulus at the Vila Prah site had a burial chamber in the centre containing several cremations.[46] Just over a decade ago, small tumuli with cremation graves came to light at Kongresni trg in Ljubljana. Few revealed the remains of a burial chamber, in one case encircled by several cremations, as well as three inhumations at the edge of tumuli (see in this volume Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković, Fig. 3). It is important to note that these tumuli were apparently contemporaneous with the nearby flat urn necropolis at the Dvorišče SAZU and Gosposka ulica sites in Ljubljana dating to the Ljubljana IIa–b and III phases.[47]

To sum up the currently available evidence, the earliest tumuli with cremation burials in Gorenjska date to the beginning of the Initial Early Iron Age, *i.e.* Ha B3/Ha C1; such early examples are Tumulus 8 from Vrtičnjak,[48] Tumulus A from Godeško-Reteške dobrave near Škofja Loka,[49] the tumulus at Vila Prah in Kranj[50] and at least one of the tumuli from Kongresni trg in Ljubljana (see in this volume Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković). However, the grave goods found in the tumuli from the Škofja Loka area include Certosa fibulae and an eastern Alpine zoomorphic fibula[51] (see in this volume Brezigar, Pl. 1: 2, 6; 2: 8, 17; 4: 16) that clearly show this burial rite was practised to the Late Hallstatt period.

The closest parallels in both form and geography for the structure of the tumuli, with a central burial chamber of stone or wood, or only with a specially arranged spot for a cremation burial, are known from beyond the Karavanke Mountains, in Carinthia – more precisely in the Frög/Breg and the Styrian-Pannonian cultural groups.[52] In Gorenjska, burial in flat cremation graves continued in several places, for example at Pristava in Bled (see in this volume Bitenc), and in the Ljubljana cemetery (both the Dvorišče SAZU and Gosposka ulica sites). The burial rite in the formative phase of the Hallstatt culture in Gorenjska thus reflects a coexistence of the old tradition of the Ljubljana Urnfield culture and the new zeitgeist of the Hallstatt period that manifested in the realm of religious beliefs in a new form of funerary monuments – tumulus. Alongside cremation burials in flat and tumulus necropoleis, there is also a small number of inhumation graves, though the paucity of available evidence (Mengeš and Kongresni trg in Ljubljana) does not yet allow us to draw reliable explanations (see in this volume Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković and Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*). Despite the differences in the burial rite and

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38 See Notes 5 and 6.

39 We should note that the spot used for the Late Bronze Age and Hallstatt-period cemetery was reused for an inhumation necropolis in Late Antiquity and the early medieval period, which partly damaged the earlier graves. Many Hallstatt-period graves were lined and/or covered with stones. See Gabrovec 1960 b, 17–18, App. 1–2.

40 Gabrovec 1960a, 14.

41 Gabrovec 1965, 96–98.

42 *Cf.* Gabrovec *et al.* 2006; Gabrovec, Teržan 2008; Teržan 2020, 368–377.

43 Ramšak 2008, 32–71, Fig. 27–57, Pl. 2–6; *idem* 2009.

44 Vojaković 2008, 153–158, Fig. 5–7, 12–14.

45 Ramšak 2009, 40–46, 53–54, Fig. 3, 16, 23.

46 Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 119–125, Fig. 2–4.

47 *Cf.* Gabrovec 1973; Škvor Jernejčič 2014b; *idem* 2018.

48 Vojaković 2008, 158–178, Pl. 3–4.

49 Ramšak 2009, 47, 53, Pl. 1: 1–4.

50 Škvor Jernejčič 2017, Pl. 1–5.

51 Ramšak 2009, 47, Pl. 1: 5–12; 2–3. For the Certosa fibulae, also see Teržan 1976; for the eastern Alpine zoomorphic fibulae, see Teržan 1990, 224–225, Map 21.

52 Vojaković 2008, 170–172; Ramšak 2009, 53–55; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 139. Also *cf.* Gleirscher 2011, 42–56.

the form of the graves, the tumuli with cremations that appear to be the predominant form of funerary monuments in Gorenjska can nevertheless be seen as an important element of the identity of the Gorenjska Hallstatt group.[53]

A brief overview of the grave goods reveals they are relatively modest, in line with the Urnfield culture tradition. There are few exceptions, primarily the outfits of the individuals buried in central graves, most of them women; we should note that the population of Gorenjska did not have the custom of placing weapons in graves, which makes male burials difficult to identify. The rich graves do show some common traits. The burial that stands out is Grave 1 from the Vila Prah site; both Gabrovec and Škvor Jernejčič already published an extensive study and discussion on this burial,[54] hence I shall only offer brief remarks here. Its stone burial chamber held two, three or possibly even four vessels with a high funnel-shaped neck,[55] which have parallels from the central burial – Grave 5 – in Tumulus 8 on Vrtičnjak near Tupaliče[56] and from Grave 18 at Pristava in Bled.[57] In both form and number, they also have fairly close parallels from the renowned grave with an antennae sword from Warmbad Villach/Beljaške Toplice, where the stone cist contained as many as four similar, though not completely identical vessels.[58] What is striking is not only the formal, but also numerical similarity. Whereas Grave 1 of the tumulus at Vila Prah only presumably held four similar vessels, Grave 5 of Tumulus 8 on Vrtičnjak reliably contained the above-mentioned vessels, as well as four elegant vessels with a high concave neck – the same number as in the tumulus at Warmbad Villach. A further similarity is that both the burial chamber at Vila Prah and the central burial or Grave 5 on Vrtičnjak held several pieces of a ceramic set for drinking and eating such as dishes, bowls, cups and a kantharos.[59] The rich graves with pottery goods further include Graves 1 and 2 from Mengeš. Standing out in the former is a high cylindrical vessel stand and a dish with a high pedestal,[60] which have parallels in the rich pottery set from one of the tumuli at Kongresni trg in Ljubljana (see in this volume Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković, Fig. 5–7), but also in Carinthia, in the tumuli at Frög/Breg[61] that yielded a greater number of such items. This gave rise to the hypothesis that such vessels from Gorenjska either originate from Carinthia or were modelled on Carinthian examples. In addition, the funerary pottery sets from Mengeš, Kranj and Ljubljana, but also Vrtičnjak include bowls with a high handle and ceramic situlae decorated with bronze studs. In connection with these, Gabrovec already observed that they were ‘surprisingly connected with the West, with the Sveta Lucija and Este cultures’.[62] Moreover, they do not appear to be just individual valuable items, but rather indicate we are dealing with the practice of placing complete sets imitating that in the Este culture, where graves (for example from Padova and Este) held very rich pottery goods in sets.[63] The array of vessels in the rich Early Hallstatt graves of Gorenjska thus mirrors close ties with the Carinthian Frög/Breg cultural group (similarly as tumuli with cremation burials, as already mentioned above), on one side, and with the Este cultural area, on the other, though with local traits as expressions of individuality.

Interestingly, the pottery grave goods of the Late Hallstatt period predominantly consist of new forms such as goblets, situlae, pedestal dishes and pithoi, decorated with red and red-black painted bands; this is observable in the finds from the tumuli at Godeško-Reteška dobrava and Trate near Škofja Loka (see in this volume Brezigar, Pl. 2–5),[64] but

[53] See Ramšak 2009, 54–55, Fig. 23; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 130–141, Fig. 11.

[54] Gabrovec, 1960a, 15–18, Pl. 1–3; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 125–138, Pl. 1–5.

[55] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, Pl. 3: 8; 4: 1, 3; 5: 1.

[56] Vojaković 2008, Pl. 4: 1.

[57] Gabrovec 1960b, Pl. 11: 3.

[58] Luschan 1872; Müller-Karpe 1952; Gleirscher 2008, 213–225, Fig. 2a, b; 3; 5–6.

[59] Vojaković 2008, 158–164, Pl. 2: 1–2; 3: 1, 6; 4: 14–18. A kantharos of the same type as the one from Vrtičnjak came to light in Grave 18 at Pristava in Bled, together with a bowl: see Gabrovec 1960b, Pl. 11: 1–2. For the central burial chamber at Vila Prah in Kranj, see Škvor Jernejčič 2017, Pl. 3: 9–10; 4: 4; 5: 2, 23; the low kantharos was found at Spot VIII: *idem* 2017, 147, Pl. 2: 21. As grave goods, kantharoi also came to light at Dvorišče SAZU in Ljubljana: Puš 1971, Pl. 10: 5; 43: 3.

[60] Gabrovec 1965, Pl. 1: 7; 2: 1.

[61] For the stand, see Tomedi 2002, Pl. 49; Ebner-Baur 2020, 120–122, Fig. 74–75; for the dishes on a high pedestal, see Tomedi 2002, 231–233, Pl. 8: 6; 20, 1–2; 28: 11; 31: 33 and others; Gleirscher 2011, 82, Fig. 2; Ebner-Baur 2020, 116–120, Fig. 72 (Type 2 or 3).

[62] Gabrovec 1965, 108–109, Pl. 1: 3–4; 2: 3–4; *idem* 1960a, 16–17, Pl. 1: 3, 8; Puš 1971, 55, Pl. 32: 8; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, Pl. 2: 1; 3: 10; Vojaković 2008, 158, Pl. 8: 9.

[63] See *e.g.* Calzavara, Chieco Bianchi 1976, 229–230, 248–258, Pl. 48 A; 54: 36–43; 55: 26–27, 31–35; 56–57 A; Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, Pl. 224: 1–2; 225: 9–10; 226: 1–3, 7; 229: 1, 13; and others.

[64] Ramšak 2009, 47–52, Pl. 1: 6–8; 2: 3–8.

also individual vessels from the graves in Kranj[65] and Ljubljana.[66] In both decoration and type, such vessels are characteristic of the Sveta Lucija group[67] and may be seen as indications of an eastward spread of the Sveta Lucija interest sphere – to Gorenjska.

The metal pieces of costume as grave goods shed light on the Gorenjska group from a slightly different angle. The most diagnostic among them are fibulae that are mainly associated with the female costume. Most common in the Initial Early Iron Age are two-looped bow fibulae, with those from Gorenjska belonging to different variants. At Pristava in Bled, the most frequent examples are relatively slender with the bow decorated with fine transverse incisions; such examples also came to light in Ljubljana, more precisely in the graves excavated at the Dvorišče SAZU site. Gabrovec already noted that these were the earliest fibulae of the type in Gorenjska, with eastern parallels at Ruše, more precisely in the last of the graves of the Ruše Urnfield culture group in the Podravje region, dating to Ha B3.[68] This fibula type is also spread in the Alpine area between Frög/Breg and Bischofshofen (see in this volume Bitenc, Pl. 2: 18; 4: 2).[69] In addition to the plain, undecorated two-looped bow fibulae of bronze and iron, the Vače knobbed fibulae (Type 5a according to Gabrovec) are also known. Examples came to light in the graves at Pristava in Bled, Vila Prah in Kranj, Stražišče near Kranj, as well as Dvorišče SAZU and Kongresni trg in Ljubljana, one fragment also in the hoard from Gobavica above Mengeš. They are primarily characteristic of rich female costumes similarly as in the Dolenjska Hallstatt group, where they are among the leading types of the Podzemelj horizon.[70] Interestingly, the fibulae from Kranj also include there are two-looped knobbed bow fibulae of Type 6a, which are characteristic of the Štajerska Hallstatt group,[71] and two-looped knobbed bow fibulae of Type 6b after Gabrovec, which are typical pieces of the female attire of the Sveta Lucija group.[72]

The graves with two-looped knobbed bow fibulae (of the Types 5 a, 6a, 6b) from Gorenjska allow the hypothesis that these fibulae are indications of foreign women, who perhaps married or migrated here from neighbouring countries or cultural groups/milieus; it is a hypothesis awaiting more compelling evidence.

In contrast with the rich graves of women, the burials of men are considerably more modest and most only hold a bronze dress pin and some pottery. The people inhabiting Gorenjska in the Initial Early Iron Age did not have the habit of placing weapons and other pieces of military equipment in graves, similarly as in the Sveta Lucija group. Exceptions are rare, for example Grave 71 from Pristava in Bled that contained fragments of a Šmarjeta-type helmet, with additional fragments scattered around the grave pit; it is helmet type primarily characteristic of the Dolenjska cultural group (see in this volume Bitenc, Pl. 3: 8–9; 5: 9–11).

A completely different array of grave goods has been observed for the Late Hallstatt period. Graves now hold weapons such as spears and axes (see in this volume Brezigar, Pl. 1: 3–4; 4: 19),[73] some also Negova helmets. This raises the question of whether we are dealing with a phenomenon similar to that in the Sveta Lucija and Notranjska groups, where the Late Hallstatt period brings a change in the burial customs and weapons become more frequent items in graves,[74] or whether we should link the weapons, particularly in the area east of Kamniška Bistrica, between Lukovica and Kamnik, but possibly also in Mengeš and Kranj, with the expansive tendencies of the Dolenjska Hallstatt group. Speaking in favour of the latter is primarily the two graves with a Negova helmet from Nevlje near Kamnik[75] and Kope or Kompoljski hrib near Lukovica (see in this

[65] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, Pl. 6: 4; 7: 4–7; 8: 1, 6.

[66] Puš 1982, Pl. 2: 1; 8: 7.

[67] *Cf.* Dular 1982, 97–105, Fig. 7: 14–17; 9–10.

[68] Gabrovec 1960b, 65, Pl. 21: 4; 23: 2; 33: 1; for Ruše, see Müller-Karpe 1959, Pl. 113: A2; for Ljubljana, see Puš 1971, Pl. 49: 3.

[69] Teržan 1990, 214, Maps 8–9; Tomedi 2002, 172–173; Pl. 22: B3; 86: B1; Ebner-Baur 2020, 130–134, Fig. 85: Cat. Nos. 174, 187; 175: 174; 177: 187.

[70] For Pristava in Bled, see in this volume Bitenc Pl. 3: 4; Gabrovec 1960b, 65, Pl. 30: 1; for Kranj, see Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 2: 8; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 131–134, Pl. 1: 4; 16: 1; for Ljubljana, see Puš 1971, Pl. 43: 6f; 45: 4; and for Kongresni trg, see in this volume Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković. Pl. 7–8; for Gobavica, see Pavlin, Turk 2014, 42–43, Fig. 8 b; 9: 5; Pl. 7: 15. Also see Gabrovec 1970, 9–12, 27–29, Maps II, IV, V, VIII.

[71] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, Pl. 11: 11; Gabrovec 1970, 28, Map IX; Teržan 1990, 215, Map 10.

[72] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, Pl. 11: 12; Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 424–426, Fig. 2, 1; 3: 3; Gabrovec 1970, 28, Map IX.

[73] *Cf. e.g.* Škvor Jernejčič 2017, Pl. 12; 15.

[74] Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 434–437, Fig. 4.3; 5; Pl. 20; Teržan 1977; Guštin 1973, 479–480, Fig. 3; Laharnar 2018, 82–87.

[75] Gabrovec 1950, 88–93, 111, fig. on p. 91, 93; *idem* 1965, 102, Pl. 8: 16–18; 9; *idem* 1985, 8. For more than seventy years, the site was well-known in professional literature under the name Nevlje, but has recently been changed to Vrhpolje without providing any explanation

volume Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar),[76] the contents of which are similar to the outstanding warrior burials of the Dolenjska Hallstatt group such as are known from Novo mesto, Vače and Kovk above Hrastnik in the Zasavje region.[77]

What is particularly striking is the strategic location of the sites with the two burials containing a Negova helmet: Kope or Kompoljski hrib offers an unimpeded view of the major communication towards the Trojane Pass and the Štajerska region, whereas Nevlje or Vrhpolje lies at the entrance into the Tuhinj Valley that provides a gently ascending passage into the Savinja Valley, but also leads along Kamniška Bistrica towards the pass of Kamniško sedlo and further on to Carinthia. These two lines of communication, *i.e.* towards the Savinja Valley with Styria and towards Carinthia undoubtedly became more important in the Late Hallstatt period, hence the two warriors, whose high standing was expressed in the respective Negova helmets,[78] were not necessarily vassals to one of the princes of Dolenjska. In addition to these two Negova helmets, which are of a characteristically 'Slovenian type' according to Markus Egg that is mainly known in Dolenjska,[79] a fragment of a Negova helmet of the 'Alpine type' came to light in Ljubljana.[80] As the name suggests, the origin of the latter type is to be sought in the Alps, more precisely the Tyrolean or Swiss central Alps; they are linked to the turbulent times towards the end of the Hallstatt period and apparently also reached Ljubljana and Gorenjska.[81]

CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

A special cultural group formed in Gorenjska in the Late Bronze Age, especially in the time of the Late Urnfield culture and even more so in its transition to the Early Iron Age, which has a number of distinguishing features: 1 – settlements extend on several levels with the core on the top of a hill or naturally protected raised ground and a lower part in the valley/plain below; such settlements have been identified in Kranj, Bled, Mengeš and Ljubljana and may be seen as local centres; 2 – cremation burial in both flat and tumulus graves/cemeteries, the tumuli frequently with central burial chambers; 3 – graves with mostly modest goods, with the exceptions being burials with a large number of ceramic vessels forming sets for drinking and eating. The rich graves mostly belong to women, standing out in their jewellery that includes fibulae of different types as indicators of connections with neighbouring cultural groups. Men are buried with modest goods, in the Early Hallstatt period commonly without weapons. These begin to be placed in graves in the Late Hallstatt period, which is a phenomenon not limited to Gorenjska, but rather observable much wider, across the adjacent regions and cultural groups.

The community living in Gorenjska had clear commonalities and connections with neighbouring cultural groups such as the Frög/Breg group in Carinthia and the Styrian-Pannonian group, the Este and Sveta Lucija, as well as Dolenjska groups. In spite of several, although different commonalities with each other of them, there are also clearly observable differences that reveal a specific and well-distinguishable nature of the Gorenjska or Gorenjska-Ljubljana cultural group living here in the Hallstatt period.

Translation: Andreja Maver

as to the reason for the change: Železnikar *et al.* 2022, 7–13, i. Also see in this volume Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar.

[76] Gabrovec 1965, 101, Pl. 10. The authors of the article on this site in this volume raise the possibility that the Negova helmet belonged to the grave recently unearthed on Kopa using a metal detector; although not impossible, the possibility remains hypothetical.

[77] See in this volume Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar; Železnikar *et al.* 2022; Knez 1986, Pl. 30–36; Božič, Gaspari, Pirkmajer 2020.

[78] *Cf. e.g.* Teržan 1985, 90–93, Fig. 12–13.

[79] Egg 1986, 66–78, 220–221, Fig. 31, 35; Pl. 215, 221–222.

[80] Stare 1954, 93, Pl. 84: 78; Egg 1979, 199–202, Fig. 1, 3; Egg 1986, 95–112, 246–247, Fig. 52, 212; Guštin 2019, 375–379, Fig. 8.

[81] For the Sveta Lucija group in the Late Hallstatt period, also see Teržan 2022, 369–370.

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Bled – Pristava. Naselbina iz starejše železne dobe

Bled – Pristava. Early Iron Age settlement

Anja IPAVEC, Alenka Julijana KLASINC

Izvleček

V obdobju od julija do decembra 2019 so na Pristavi na Bledu, na območju nekdanje obrtne cone in srednjeveške pristave, potekale arheološke raziskave v okviru gradnje muzeja sodobne umetnosti *Lah Contemporary*. Izkopavanja so razkrila zapleteno stratigrafsko sliko. Na podlagi natančnejše časovne opredelitve odkritih najdb in rezultatov radiokarbonskega datiranja je bilo ugotovljenih šest naselbinskih faz. Strmo pobočje hriba Pristava je bilo v pozni bronasti in starejši železni dobi terasirano. Na izravnavah je bilo postavljenih več lesenih objektov, kurišča in številne jame. V članku so predstavljene novoodkrite ostaline ter najdbe železnodobne naselbine.

Ključne besede: Gorenjska; Bled – Pristava; starejša železna doba; naselbina; lončenina

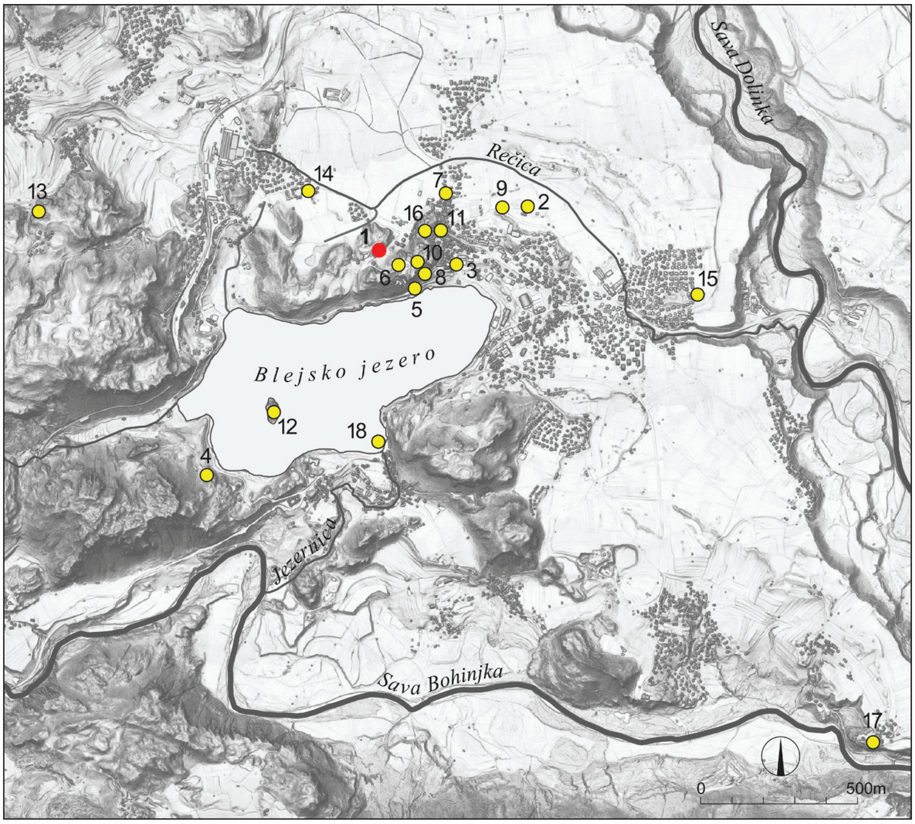
Abstract

From July to December 2019, archaeological research took place at Pristava in Bled, in the former craft zone and medieval manor. The research was conducted ahead of construction of the future museum of Contemporary art *Lah Contemporary*. The excavations revealed a complex stratigraphic sequence. Six settlement phases were defined based on a more precise chronology of the discovered finds and the results of radiocarbon dating. In the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages the steep slope of the Pristava hill was levelled with settlement terraces. On terraces, numerous wooden objects were constructed, between which layed hearths and pits. This article focuses on the newly discovered remains and finds of an Iron Age settlement.

Keywords: Gorenjska region; Bled – Pristava; Early Iron Age; settlement; pottery

PRAZGODOVINSKA NAJDIŠČA BLEDA IN OKOLICE

Sledovi človekove prisotnosti na območju Blejskega kota so vse do železne dobe precej skopi. Najstarejše posamične najdbe izvirajo iz mlajšega paleolitika ob koncu ledene dobe, ko so se začeli ledeniki umikati iz dolin. Kamniti artefakti iz tega obdobja so bili odkriti pod skalnim previsom Poglejska cerkev pri Poljšici in pri kraju Zasip (*sl.1:* 13). V Jamnikovem spodmolu na Kočni nad Jesenicami je bila najdena koščena harpuna, predvidoma iz časa mezolitika. Najverjetneje iz bakrene dobe izvirajo tri kamnite sekire, odkrite na območjih vasi Grad (*sl. 1:* 7) in Rečica (*sl. 1:* 14), ter orodja iz kremena, poznana z Blejskega otoka (Turk, Turk 2019, 160–161; *sl. 1:* 12) in Gradišča v Bodeščah (*sl. 1:* 17). Kamnita sekira izvira tudi iz lokacije Bled – na “Hočevarjevem” (Petru 1962, t. 8: 3; *sl. 1:* 11). Maloštevilne so tudi najdbe iz starejše in srednje bronaste dobe. Bronasti sekiri z robniki izhajata iz neznane lokacije na območ-

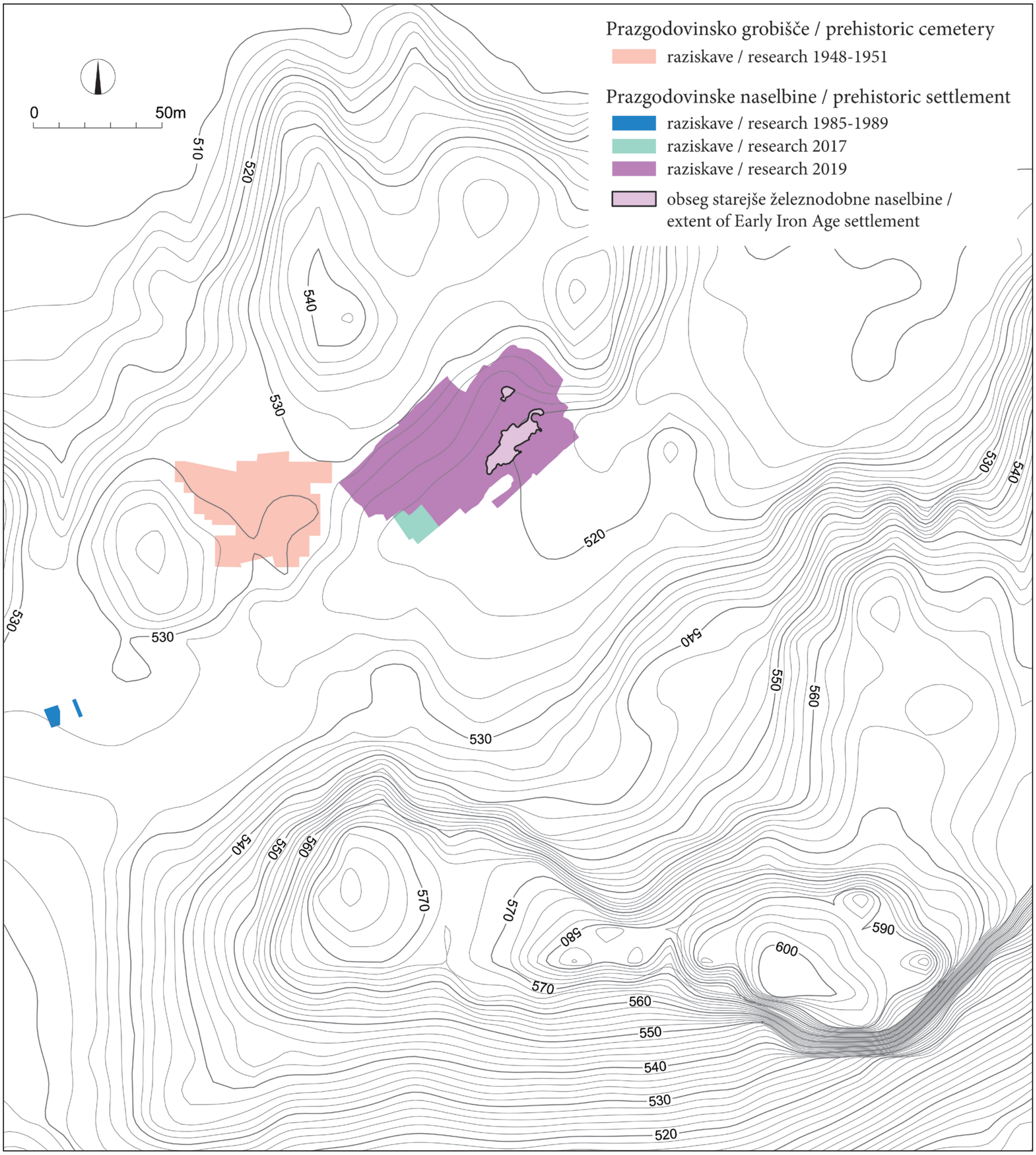


Sl. 1: Prazgodovinska najdišča v Blejskem kotu.
Fig. 1: Prehistoric sites in Blejski kot region.

1 – Pristava; **2** – Selišče; **3** – Sv. Martin; **4** – Spodnji Ak; **5** – grajsko kopališče / castle public baths; **6** – severno pobočje grajske vzpetine / northern slope of castle hill; **7** – Grad; **8** – grajski vrt / castle gardens; **9** – Žale; **10** – Na sedlu; **11** – Na Hočevarjevem; **12** – Otok; **13** – Poglejska (Polšiška) cerkev; **14** – Rečica; **15** – Dobe; **16** – Šibernica; **17** – Gradišče pri Bodeščah; **18** – iztok Jezernice / Jezernica outflow. (Podlaga / Map base: lidar©ArcGis)

ju Bleda (Šinkovec 1995, 39, t. 3: 20,21), v jami Šibernica pod severnim pobočjem Grajskega hriba pa so bili odkriti moško okostje in odlomki lončenine (*sl. 1:* 16). Iz pozne bronaste dobe oz. kulture žarnih grobišč poznamo za območja Bleda in Blejskega jezera več depojskih in posameznih najdb (Šinkovec 1995, 47, 48, 50, 88, t. 7: 44; 9: 52; 25: 164,165; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 132–134, t. 38, 39; Knific 2008, 19–20; Gaspari 2012, 308–309, sl. 4; Turk 2012; Turk, Turk 2019, 194–199). V jezeru pri Mlinem je bil pri iztoku Jezernice odkrit bronast polnoročajni meč (Gaspari 2007; *sl. 1:* 18), v Dobah (Teržan 1995, 88–89, t. 25: 165; *sl. 1.* 15) in na lokaciji Bled – sv. Martin (Teržan 1995, 88, t. 25: 164; *sl. 1:* 3) bronasti sulični osti, v Dobah bronasta plavutasta sekira (Teržan 1995, 52–53, t. 5: 52) ter v Spodnjem Aku bronasta tulasta sekira (Gabrovec 1960, 5; Teržan 1995, 47–48, t. 7: 44; *sl. 1:* 4).

Iz časa na prehodu iz bronaste v starejšo železno dobo so znani trije žgani grobovi, odkriti na Žalah (*sl. 1:* 9). Gabrovec jih postavlja v čas Ha A in jih povezuje z naselbino na grajskem sedlu (Gabrovec 1960, 9, 10). Iz železne dobe je največ ostalin z grajskega hriba in iz neposredne okolice, saj so bile poleg lončenine, odkrite v erozijskih plasteh, tudi druge drobne najdbe, žganina in živalske kosti. Grobišče iz začetka železne dobe je bilo z arheološkimi izkopavanji odkrito na območju blejske Pristave. V Selišču je Alfons Müllner izkopal železnodobno gomilo z enim žganim grobom v kamniti skrinji (Müllner 1894, 118, t. 10: 21–27; Gabrovec 1960, 12–13, t. 5: 2–5, 7; *sl. 1:* 2). V okolici Bleda zasledimo iz tega časa še ostanke na Otoku (*sl. 1:* 12), bronasto fibulo iz vasi Grad (*sl. 1:* 7) ter lončenino s Pecovc. Iz mlajše železne dobe je le nekaj posameznih najdb, in sicer meč z Žal pri Bledu (*sl. 1:* 9) in Pecovc ter zgodnjelatenski fibuli, ena iz prekopanih grobov z blejskega kopališča (*sl. 1:* 5), druga je bila najdena med železniško postajo in vasjo Rečica (Gabrovec 1960, 6; Knific 2008, 20; *sl. 1:* 14).



Sl. 2: Arheološke raziskave prazgodovinskih najdišč na območju blejske Pristave. Merilo = 1: 2500.
Fig. 2: Archaeological investigations of prehistoric sites in the Pristava area. Scale = 1:2500.
(Podlaga / Map base: plastnice terena©ArcGis; koordinatni sistem / coordinate system: D48/GK)

ARHEOLOŠKO NAJDIŠČE PRISTAVA

Blejska Pristava stoji pod blejskim gradom v manjši dolini med Grajskim gričem na jugu in slemeni vzpetine Pristava na zahodu in severu (*sl. 2*). Kot arheološko najdišče je znana od leta 1932, ko so vzdolž poti čez pristavsko sedlo pri kopanju peska naleteli na prazgodovinske žgane in zgodnjeslovanske skeletne grobove. Prva arheološka izkopavanja je leta 1943 izvedel avstrijski Inštitut za raziskovanje dežele Koroške (Institut für Kärntner Landesforschung) iz Celovca, izkopali so 23 grobov. Prva sistematična arheološka izkopavanja so stekla v letih med 1948/49 in 1951 pod vodstvom Jožeta Kastelica in Staneta Gabrovca iz Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani. V teh letih je bilo skupno odkritih 45 prazgodovinskih žganih grobov (Gabrovec 1960) ter 380 poznoantičnih in zgodnjesrednjeveških skeletnih grobov (Kastelic, Škerlj 1950; Kastelic 1960) (*sl. 2*). Prazgodovinski grobovi so bili na podlagi grobnih pridatkov opredeljeni v zgodnje halštatsko obdobje oz. v čas Ha B3/C1 po srednjeevropski shemi (Gabrovec 1960, 72).

V letih 1975, 1976 in 1978 je na območju Pristave izkopaval Oddelek za arheologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani pod vodstvom Timoteja Knifica. Odkriti so bili prazgodovinski žgani grobovi, rimske drobne najdbe, poznoantično skeletno grobišče in zgodnjesrednjeveška naselbina. Zatem je omenjeni oddelek med letoma 1981 in 1984 v sodelovanju z Inštitutom za arheologijo ZRC SAZU pod vodstvom Andreja Pleterskega izkopaval zgodnjesrednjeveško naselbino na Pristavi (Pleterski 2008, 15, 17).

Na severnem pobočju grajske vzpetine so na najdišču "pod gradom" po topografskih pregledih in manjših sondiranjih Timoteja Knifica v letih 1985–1989 potekala arheološka izkopavanja večjega obsega pod vodstvom Draga Svoljšaka. Odkrili so naselbinske ostaline iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe. Izkopano gradivo z najdišča "pod gradom" je v okviru diplomske naloge na Oddelku za arheologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani obdelala Teja Gerbec (Gerbec 2009).

Leta 2016 so na dvorišču grajske pristave, avtomehanične delavnice in parkirišča potekala arheološka sondiranja, na podlagi katerih so bila v letu 2017 izvedena arheološka izkopavanja pod vodstvom Draga Svoljšaka. Odkrite so bile naselbinske ostaline (jame za stojke, ognjišča, shrambne jame, različni ostanki lesenih konstrukcij in drenažna nasutja) ter dva grobova. V diplomski nalogi je Tine Kumerdej obravnaval le najdbe iz vodnega zbiralnika, datiral jih je v čas od kulture žarnih grobišč do mlajšega halštatskega obdobja (Kumerdej 2019, 19, 51). Severovzhodno od omenjenega območja je arheološka izkopavanja na površini 3513,8 m^2 leta 2019 izvedla ekipa zavoda Skupina STIK. Odkrita je bila naselbina z začetkom v pozni bronasti dobi in najštevilnejšimi ostalinami iz mlajše železne dobe ter sledovi poznoantične oziroma zgodnjesrednjeveške poselitve. Arheološke ostaline, odkrite leta 2017 in 2019, predstavljajo enoten prazgodovinski naselbinski kompleks. V nadaljevanju predstavljamo izsledke raziskav naselbine iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe, odkrite leta 2019; ugotovitve obsegajo le manjši del raziskanega območja.

BRONASTODOBNA NASELBINA

Na južnem pobočju hriba na blejski Pristavi, ki se zlagoma spušča proti jugovzhodu, je bila odkrita večfazna naselbina iz pozne bronaste dobe, ki predstavlja najstarejše sledove poselitve na obravnavani lokaciji. Teren je bil v tem času terasiran. Dokumentirali smo ostanke dveh teras, ki ju je zamejevala škarpa, narejena iz nasute zemljine in večje količine kamenja (SE 2374). Originalni rob škarpe je danes ohranjen le na njenem severnem robu, od tega se proti jugu nadaljuje njena ruševina. Struktura je zamejevala rob zgornje terase (zemljeno nasutje SE 1721) ter spodnjo teraso, ki smo jo prepoznali v zemljenem nasutju (SE 2321) (*sl. 3, 4*). Na terasah smo na podlagi jam za stojke zasledili ostanke več lesenih stavb (*sl. 4*). Glede na nekatere specifične najdbe (žrmlje, svitki, vretence, širok spekter različnih oblik lončenine) ter ostanke kurišč oziroma ognjišč lahko vsaj nekaj stavb opredelimo kot bivalne. Podobo naselbine predstavljajo še številne večje jame ter kurišča in ognjišča.

Odkrite naselbinske najdbe so obravnavane kot enoten kompleks pozne bronaste dobe z začetkom na prehodu iz horizonta Oloris-Podsmreka v horizont Rogoza-Orehova vas, tj. od konca 13. st. do verjetno 11. st. pr. n. št. (glej Teržan, Črešnar 2014). Nekatere oblike posodja, na primer skleda s klekom na notranji strani (*t. 1:* 1), lonec z robom ustja, oblikovanim v obliki črke T (*t. 1:* 2), skodelica z izrazitim prehodom v visok stožčast vrat (*t. 1:* 3), izkazujejo starejše elemente, značilne za horizont Oloris-Podsmreka (Bd C/D). Kronološko opredelitev v obdobje Ha A dodatno podpirata rezultata radiokarbonskega datiranja zemljenega nasutja bronastodobne terase (SE 2321, *sl. 3*) ter manjšega ognjišča (SE 2079/*2073, sl. 4*) na nivoju terasaste izravnave (SE 1721*, sl. 4*), ki kažeta na čas 1369–1052 cal BC in 1220–1003 cal BC s 95,4-odstotno verjetnostjo.[1] Na novo odkrita blejska lončenina se dobro vključuje v oblikovni repertoar posodja t. i. horizonta Rogoza-Orehova vas. Glavnina najdb ima namreč številne primerjave na obeh eponimnih štajerskih najdiščih, pri čemer za večino velja širok časovni razpon uporabe. Kot primer navajamo latvice različnih oblik (*t. 1:* 4,5), skledo z lijakastim trupom (*t. 1:* 6) ter vrč s trebušastim recipientom, okrašenim s poševnimi kanelurami in ostrim prehodom v

[1] Radiokarbonske analize je novembra 2021 izvedel Radiokarbonski laboratorij v Poznanju.

Sl. 3: Bled – Pristava, izkopavanja leta 2019. Bronastodobne terase. S polno črto je nakazana originalna linija severnega roba kamnite škarpe (SE 2374), s pikčasto linijo pa obseg njene ruševine. Južno od škarpe je zemljena izravnava spodnje terase zamejena z linijo pika-črta (SE 2321). Pogled proti severozahodu.
Fig 3: Bled–Pristava, excavations 2019. Bronze Age terraces. Stone structure's (SE 2374) original northern edge is marked with a full line, a dotted line marks its ruins. South of the stone structure lays an earthen levelling of the lower terrace, marked with dash-dotted line (SE 2321). View to the northwest.

lijakasto ustje (*t. 1:* 7). Posebno obliko, ki ji nismo našli primerjave, predstavlja posoda z valjastim trupom in robom ustja, obrnjenim navznoter v obliki narobe obrnjene črke L, ter navpičnim trakastim ročajem, prilepljenim na rob usta (*t. 1:* 8). V plasteh pozne bronaste dobe je bil najden tudi del ostenja prenosne peči z navznoter razširjeno stojno ploskvijo (*t. 1:* 9).

Menimo, da je poselitev v pozni bronasti dobi na tem prostoru vztrajala daljše časovno obdobje. Vprašanje, ali in kako dolg je bil hiatus v poselitvi, ostaja brez odgovora.

NASELBINA IZ STAREJŠE ŽELEZNE DOBE

Železnodobne ostaline so se ohranile predvsem v jugovzhodnem delu ter delno še ob severnem robu in severovzhodnem delu bronastodobne naselbine (*sl. 5*). Poselitev se je najbrž širila proti vzhodu oziroma severovzhodu zunaj izkopnega polja, proti zahodu, severu in jugu pa je bila uničena. Lokacija je bila namreč ponovno in v še večjem obsegu obljudena skozi celotno mlajšo železno dobo.

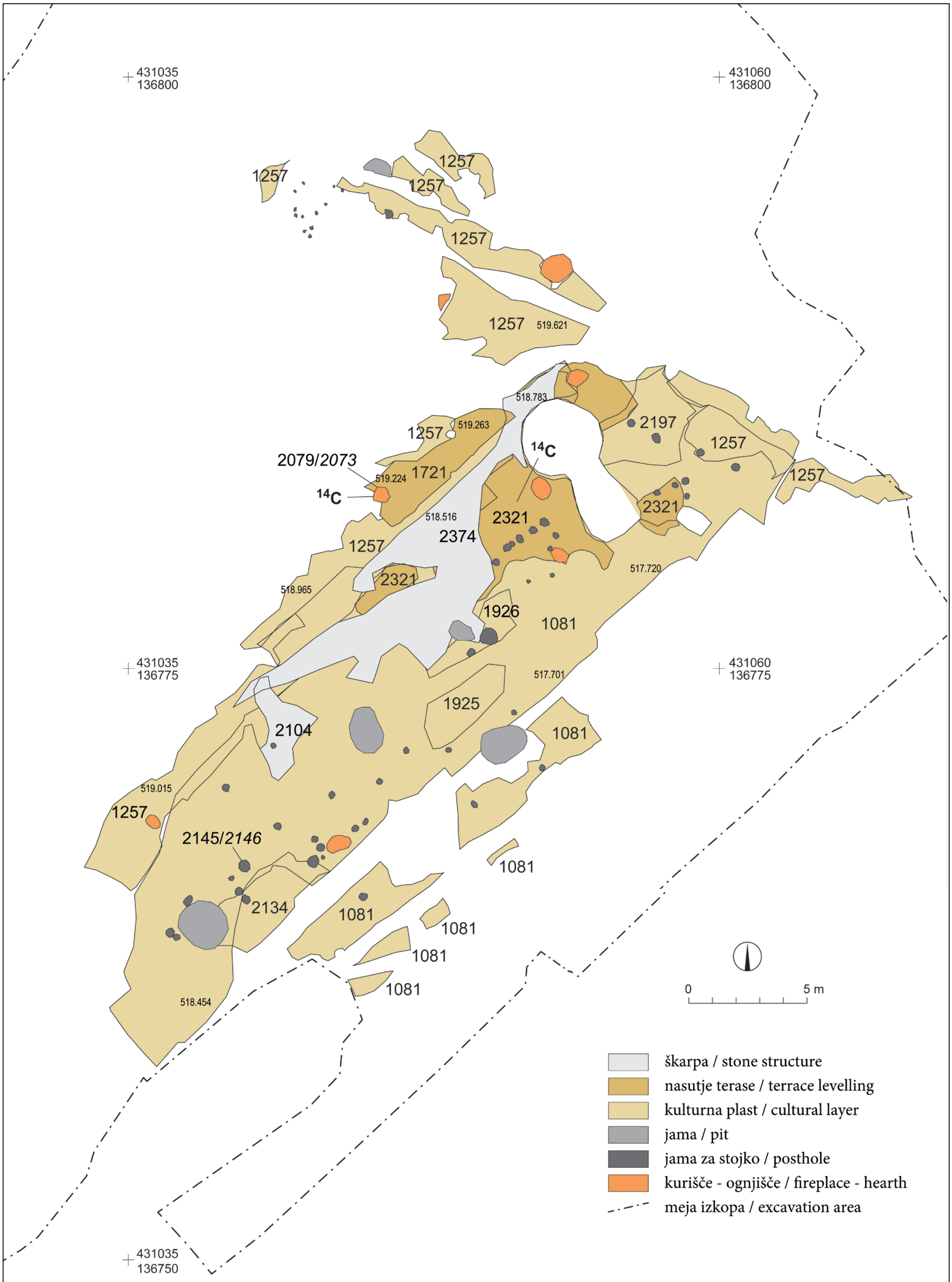
Ostaline železnodobne naselbine predstavljajo številne antropogene jame, jame za stojke, ki smo jih lahko povezovali v tlorise stavb, ter kurišča, ognjišča in kulturne plasti.

Terase

Na prostoru teras iz pozne bronaste dobe je v zgodnjem halštatskem obdobju sledilo planiranje terena z nasipavanjem in utrjevanjem robov teras. V primerjavi s predhodnimi bronastodobnimi izravnavami so strukture slabo prepoznavne, saj so skoraj povsem uničene z mlajšimi posegi. Južni rob danes neohranjene zgornje terase je zamejevala utrditev z večjimi kamni in gruščem apnenca (SE 2196, *sl. 5*). Obsežni zemljeni nasutji (SE 2133 in 2103) južno od omenjene kamnite škarpe (SE 2196) pa sta služili kot izravnavi spodnje naselbinske terase.

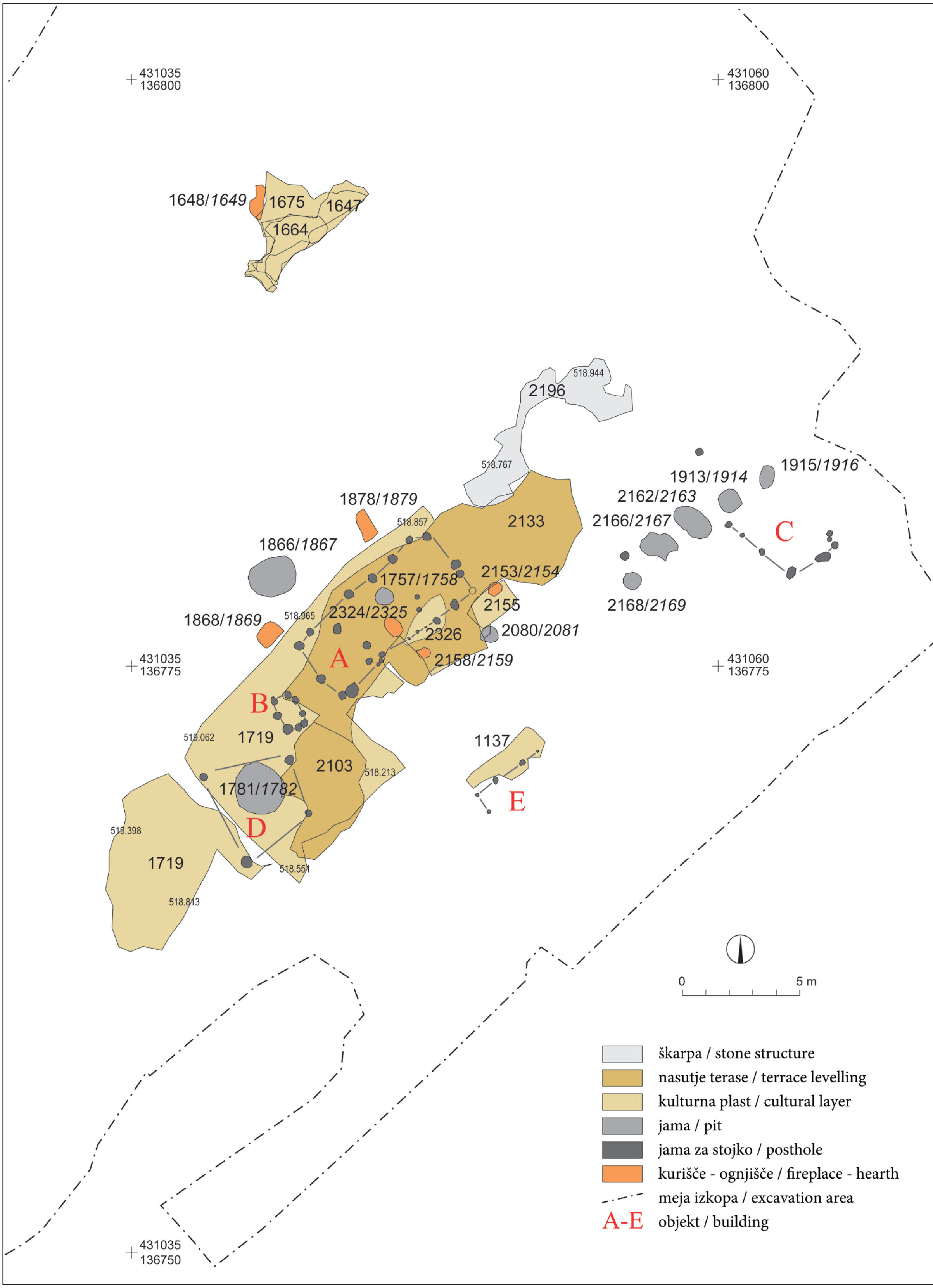
Stavbe

Na območju omenjene terase je bila kulturna plast (*sl. 5:* SE 1719), ki jo razumemo kot železnodobno hodno površino. Enotna sivkasto rjava zemljena plast je delno prekrivala nasutje terase (SE 2133). Iz plasti izhaja precejšnje število keramičnih in drugih najdb, med njimi žrmlje. Na površini plasti (SE 2133 in 1719) so bile vidne številne jame za stojke; na podlagi njihove razporeditve smo jih povezali v tlorise več lesenih objektov in jih v nadaljevanju predstavljamo le kot eno izmed možnosti razlage (*sl. 5*).



Sl. 4: Bled – Pristava, izkopavanja leta 2019. Dokumentirani ostanki večfazne bronastodobne naselbine. Merilo = 1:250. (koordinatni sistem: D48/GK)

Fig. 4: Bled–Pristava, excavations 2019. Documented features of a multi-layered Bronze Age settlement. Scale = 1:250. (coordinate system: D48/GK)



Sl. 5: Bled – Pristava, izkopavanja leta 2019. Dokumentirani ostanki železnodobne naselbine. Merilo = 1:250. (koordinatni sistem: D48/GK)

Fig. 5: Bled–Pristava, excavations 2019. Documented Iron Age settlement features. Scale = 1:250. (coordinate system: D48/GK)

Sl. 6: Bled – Pristava, izkopavanja leta 2019. Keramični svitki in utež na dnu jame SE 2080/*2081* v kv. E15. Dolžina merske palice je 0,5 m.
Fig. 6: Bled–Pristava, excavations 2019. Ceramic rings and a ceramic weight on the bottom of a pit SE 2080/*2081* in square E15. The length of ranging rod is 0.5 m.

V osrednjem delu izkopnega območja se je zarisoval tloris večje stavbe pravokotne oblike (*sl. 5:* objekt A) dimenzij 7 × 3 m. Stene stavbe, usmerjene jugozahod–severozahod, je sestavljalo 19 različno velikih jam za stojke, vkopanih v plast SE 1719 in 2133. Jame za stojke so bile povečini enotne velikosti (pr. okoli 0,3 m in gl. okoli 0,2 m), pri jugovzhodni stranici pa so bile nekoliko manjše (pr. okoli 0,15–0,2 m in gl. okoli 0,2 m) ali večje (pr. 0,4 m in gl. 0,2 m). V osrednjem delu v notranjosti objekta sta bila jama (SE 1757/*1758*) ter domnevno kurišče z večjo količino oglja (SE 2324/*2325*); domnevamo, da sta z objektom sočasna.

Razpored jam za stojke jugozahodno od omenjenega objekta A (*sl. 5)* tvori v tlorisu manjši zaključen prostor velikosti 1,5 × 0,7 m (objekt B). Morda gre za ostanek lesenega prizidka, vezanega na objekt A, njegova namembnost pa ostaja neznana.

Posamezne nekoliko slabše prepoznavne stavbe so ležale tudi na južnem delu raziskanega območja. Na nivoju kulturne plasti SE 1137 se je nakazovala severna stranica objekta E, z usmeritvijo v smeri jugozahod–severovzhod (*sl. 5*). Njen potek proti jugu je bil zabrisan z mlajšimi posegi. Še en objekt (objekt C) z usmeritvijo v smeri severozahod–jugovzhod pa je bil viden v jugovzhodnem delu izkopanega območja (*sl. 5*).

Območje s kuriščem in ognjiščno keramiko

Ob vzhodnem vogalu objekta A (*sl. 5*) je bilo na nivoju hodne površine (SE 2155), sočasne z izravnalno plastjo (SE 2133), ohranjeno kurišče (SE 2153/*2154*) premera 0,6 m in globine 0,14 m. V plasti (SE 2155), ki je vsebovala večjo koncentracijo oglja, so bili odkriti številni odlomki lončenine in odlomki pekev (*t. 7:* 74,75). V neposredni bližini omenjenega kurišča ter na robu plasti SE 2155 je bila okrogla jama (SE 2080/*2081*) premera 0,7 m in globine 0,25 m (*sl. 6*), vkopana v plast SE 2133. V vrhnjem sloju zasutja jame smo našli večjo zgostitev oglja, na dnu jame pa šest keramičnih svitkov in piramidalno utež (*t. 10:* 79–85). Zgostitev kurišč oz. ognjišč ter ognjiščne keramike (svitki, pekve) nakazuje, da je bilo to območje namenjeno posebnim dejavnostim v povezavi s pripravo hrane.

Jame

Poleg jam za stojke uvrščamo v starejšo železno dobo tudi druge antropogene jame različnih velikosti. Ob odsotnosti oblikovnih specifik jam in najdb iz njihovih zasutij, ki bi nakazovali namen njihove rabe, jih težko razlagamo. V tlorisu naselbine se nakazuje razporeditev treh večjih jam (SE 1866/*1867*, 1781/*1782* in 2080/*2081*) v neposredni bližini objektov A in B (*sl. 5*).

Večja jama (SE 1781/*1782*) je ležala jugozahodno od objekta A in objekta B (*sl. 5*). Vkopana je bila v hodno površino (SE 1719), v tlorisu je okrogle oblike s premerom do 2,2 m in globino do 0,85 m. V njenem zasutju je bilo zanemarljivo malo lončenine ter nekaj živalskih kosti. Okoli nje so bile nanizane štiri jame za stojke (*sl. 5*), ki bi lahko tvorile nadstrešek nad jamo (objekt D). Še ena večja jama je bila tudi severozahodno od objekta A (*sl. 5:* SE 1866/*1867*).

Večjo zgostitev jam smo ugotovili tudi na vzhodnem delu izkopnega polja (*sl. 5:* SE 2168/*2169*, 2166/*2167*, 2162/*2163*, 1913/*1914* in 1915/*1916*). Jame so bile v tlorisu ovalnih oblik s premerom okoli 1 m in globine od 0,2 do 0,4 m. Odsotnost specifičnih oblik jam in sestave njihovih zasutij ter najdb onemogoča razlago njihove namembnosti. Pomenljiva pa je njihova postavitev v strjeni liniji v smeri zahod–vzhod. To območje je bilo večinoma uničeno z mlajšimi posegi, jame so bile prepoznane na nivoju geološke osnove, zato je njihova datacija nekoliko nezanesljiva. V starejšo železno dobo jih uvrščamo na podlagi sicer maloštevilnih najdb, največ jih je bilo v jami SE 1913/*1914*, kjer so bile poleg lončenine tudi živalske kosti.

Ostaline na severnem delu izkopnega polja

V starejšo železno dobo so opredeljene tudi slabše ohranjene ostaline, ki jih razumemo kot ostanke nekdanjih hodnih površin (*sl. 5:* SE 1675, 1664 in 1647) z najglobljo plastjo SE 1675. Najdbe so skope, v zasutju kurišča (*sl. 5*: SE 1648/*1649*) pa je bil najden lok kačaste fibule (*t. 11:* 94).

NAJDBE

Fibule

Lok bronaste kačaste fibule z luknjico za krilca (*t. 11:* 94) iz zasutja kurišča (*sl. 5:* SE 1648/*1649*) lahko glede na obliko uvrstimo v tip V (po Sneži Tecco Hvala 2014, 133, sl. 5). Lok je sedlaste oblike in okroglega preseka, igla se ni ohranila. Ta tip fibul je značilen za jugovzhodnoalpske delavnice ter je značilen predvsem za najdišča svetolucijske in dolenjske halštatske skupine. Večina tovrstnih fibul je bila odkrita v grobovih, redkeje v naselbinah, na primer na Mostu na Soči in Starem gradu nad Uncem (Tecco Hvala 2014, 133). V uporabi so bile daljše časovno obdobje, od konca 7. st. in vse 6. st. pr. n. št., kar predstavlja stopnjo Sv. Lucija IIa v Posočju oziroma stopnjo kačastih fibul na Dolenjskem (Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 428; Tecco Hvala 2014, 159). Odlomek loka kačaste fibule, ki najverjetneje pripada tipu IV (po S. Tecco Hvala 2014, 131), je bil najden tudi v premešani latenski plasti (SE 1524) (*t. 11:* 93).

V ta čas lahko prav tako uvrstimo odlomek bronaste trakaste fibule (*t. 11:* 95) iz plasti SE 1719 (*sl. 5*). Lok fibule je od igle ločen z diskasto ploščico, noga ni ohranjena. Teržanova in Trampuževa sta tovrstne fibule opredelili v horizont Sv. Lucija IIa2 (Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 429), na Dolenjskem pa jih je Gabrovec označil kot značilnost noše ob koncu stopnje kačastih fibul z nadaljevanjem v stopnjo certoških fibul (Gabrovec 1987, 58, sl. 4: 13, t. 8: 12).

Najmlajšo obliko fibul predstavlja v novoveški premešani plasti odkrit odlomek bronaste jugovzhodnoalpske živalske fibule (*t. 11:* 96). Fibula ima dolgo samostrelno peresovino, spodvito tetivo ter deformiran sploščen lok pravokotnega preseka, okrašen z vrezi, noga in igla nista ohranjeni. Te fibule s stilizirano glavico na koncu noge so široko razprostranjene po jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru in so značilne za t. i. negovski horizont (HaD3/Lt A in Lt B), ob koncu 5. st. in v 4. st. pr. n. št. Precej pogoste so na Magdalenski gori (Tecco Hvala 2012, 19–21, 263, sl. 99: 9) ter na naselbini na Gurini na Koroškem (Jablonka 2001, 114, t. 81: 1–9).

Lončenina

Večino odkritih najdb iz starejše železne dobe predstavljajo keramični odlomki. Med temi prevladujejo fragmenti ostenj in ustij posod, kar je v večini primerov onemogočalo prepoznavanje oz. ugotavljanje njihovih oblik in s tem oteževalo natančnejšo časovno opredelitev.

Za lonce je bila povečini uporabljena zelo groba in groba lončarska masa, le v posameznih primerih drobnozrnata. Iz fine in zelo fine lončarske mase so bile izdelane predvsem latvice, iz drobnozrnate pa sklede in skodele, manj številnejše so iz grobe in zelo grobe. Največ posod je bilo žganih redukcijsko s končno oksidacijo. Številne so bile tudi redukcijsko žgane. Oksidacijsko in nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje je bilo pogosto, redkejši sta stihijsko žganje ter menjavanje redukcijskega in oksidacijskega žganja s končno redukcijo. Redukcijsko žgane posode imajo značilno temne in temno sive površine, oksidacijsko žgane pa svetle odtenke rumene, rjave in rdečkaste. Nepopolno žgane posode imajo površine različnih odtenkov rjave, rumene, rdeče in sive. Po trdoti prevladuje trda lončenina, posamezni lonci so bili zelo trdi. Najmanj je mehke lončenine.

Lonci

Na podlagi oblikovanosti ustja smo določili več tipov loncev. Primerjave za posamezne oblike smo lahko iskali le za redke primere v večjem obsegu ohranjenih posod.

Najštevilnejši so lonci z izvihanim ustjem (*t. 3:* 15; *4:* 31; *5:* 33,34; *6:* 48,50,52; *8:* 68,70,71; *11:* 86,87), ki imajo različno nagnjena ustja ter različno oblikovane vratove. V nekaj primerih gre za lonce s kratkim izvihanim ustjem in visokim stožčastim vratom, ki se razširi v jasno oddvojen recipient, a se ta pri naših primerih ni ohranil (*t. 5:* 33; *6:* 50,52; *8:* 70; *9*: 76). Lonci take oblike imajo svoje začetke v žarnogrobiščnem obdobju, kjer so povečini služili kot žare, ohranili pa so se vse do konca halštatskega obdobja. Razširjeni so na prostranem geografskem območju Podonavja in jugovzhodnih Alp (Dular 1982, 26, 27). Omenjamo primere loncev z grobišča na dvorišču SAZU v Ljubljani (Puš 1982, t. 2: 11; 7: 2), Podzemlja (Dular 1978, t. 31: 14,18) ter iz grobov na Bledu – Žale, ki se časovno uvrščajo v obdobje Ha A (Gabrovec 1960, 9, t. 2: 4; 22: 1).

Precej pogosti so tudi lonci z navznoter nagnjenim ustjem (*t. 3:* 20; *6:* 46,47,49,51; *9:* 76). Lonec konične oblike, okrašen s ploščato podolgovato bradavico (*t. 9:* 76), odkrit v kurišču (*sl. 5*: SE 1868), ima dobro analogijo na Šmarni gori pri Ljubljani. Radiokarbonske datacije to najdišče postavljajo v čas pozne bronaste dobe in začetka železne dobe (Murgelj, Nadbath 2014, 354, sl. 20: 6.2). V enem primeru je bil odkrit lonec z valjastim trupom, rahlo navznoter nagnjenim ustjem in okrasom nalepljenega gladkega rebra pod ustjem (*t. 6:* 46). Po obliki so podobni halštatskim loncem tipa L2 iz Stične (Grahek 2016, sl. 38) ali tipa L2 s štajerskih poznobronastodobnih najdišč (Dular 2013, sl. 7). Gre za obliko lonca, ki se pojavlja skozi daljše časovno obdobje in jo na Bledu najdemo že v predhodni, bronastodobni poselitveni fazi. Lonec s kroglastim trupom in močno navznoter uvihanim ustjem (*t. 6:* 49) je bil najden tudi na blejski Pristavi (Gerbec 2009, t. 27: 9) ter v Pavšlarjevi hiši v Kranju (Rozman 2004, t. 1: 5). Obe najdišči sta datirani na prehod iz pozne bronaste v železno dobo oz. v Ha B3/C1.

Manj številni so lonci z navpičnim ustjem (*t. 3:* 14; *4:* 28; *5:* 35; *8:* 69). Valjast lonec z navpičnim ustjem (*t. 4:* 28) je v zgornjem delu trupa okrašen z nalepljenim vodoravnim razčlenjenim rebrom. Podobno posodo najdemo na najdišču Kranj – Pavšlarjeva hiša (Rozman 2004, t. 9: 2) in Savska cesta (Gruden 2016, sl. 75; t. 3: 6,8). Odkriti so bili tudi na najdišču "pod gradom" na Bledu (Gerbec 2009, t. 2: 5), datirani pa so na prehod iz pozne bronaste v železno dobo. Po obliki jih lahko primerjamo z lonci tipa L3 iz stiške naselbine, kjer se najpogosteje pojavljajo v plasti k zidu 1, okvirno v času stopnje Podzemelj 1 do Stična (Grahek 2016, 222, sl. 38). Valjasti lonci z okrasom so znani tudi s štajerskih najdišč, kjer so opredeljeni kot tip L9 in so časovno zamejeni od Ha B1 do Ha C2/D1 (Dular 2013, *sl. 3, 33*). Gre torej za tip posode, ki je značilen za pozno bronasto dobo in začetne faze starejše železne dobe.

Skodele

Z gotovostjo smo kot skodelo opredelili le eno posodo. Gre za široko skodelo večjih dimenzij s polkrožnim trupom, ravnim dnom in trakastim, rahlo presegajočim ročajem, pripetim na ustje posode (*t. 7:* 58). Po obliki bi jo lahko primerjali s skodelami Sk2, ki jih Dular na podlagi primerjav s štajerskih najdišč postavlja v daljše časovno obdobje z razponom od Ha A do Ha C0 (Dular 2013, 43, sl. 12).

Sklede

Med blejskim gradivom so iz starejše železne dobe zastopane tri oblike skled. V nasutju terase (*sl. 5:* SE 2133) je bila odkrita skleda manjših dimenzij s kratkim izvihanim ustjem in rahlo zaobljenim trupom (*t. 5:* 38). Po obliki je zelo podobna posodici iz naselbine na Khislsteinu v Kranju, ki je časovno opredeljena na prehod iz pozne bronaste v železno dobo (Janežič 2015, sl. 38, 73; t. 2: 12). Primerjave najdemo tudi na drugih sočasnih najdiščih v Kranju, kot je Pavšlarjeva hiša, kjer je taka skleda okrašena (Rozman 2004, t. 17: 2), in na najdišču "pod gradom" na Bledu, kjer sta bili odkriti podobni skledici z nekoliko bolj konično oblikovanim trupom, poimenovani kot skledi tulipanaste oblike tipa 5 a (Gerbec 2009, 54, t. 22: 4; 23: 2). Primerjamo jih lahko tudi s skledico s Tribune v Ljubljani iz III. poselitvene faze oz. iz Ha B2/B3 (Vojaković 2013, t. 108: 13; 115: 11). Podobne posodice srečamo tudi na nekaterih naselbinah na slovenskem Štajerskem, na primer na Grajskem hribu v Gornji Radgoni (Dular 2013, t. 96: 8) in na Brinjevi gori v plasti 1 (Oman 1981, t. 5: 3). Rozmanova jih postavlja v čas od Ha A do začetka starejše železne dobe (Ha C1) (Rozman 2004, 77).

V zasutju jame za stojko (*sl. 5:* SE 1928/*1929*) je bil najden del konične sklede z ovalnim robom ustja (*t. 11:* 89). Primerjamo jo lahko s posodo iz sočasne naselbine "pod gradom" na Bledu (Gerbec 2009, t. 7: 7). Po obliki je podobna tudi koničnim skledam s Hajndla in iz Skolibrove ulice v Ormožu, kjer so opredeljene kot sklede tipa 4 in se pojavljajo v obdobju Ha C1 (Mele 2014, 173–175, sl. 5, tab. 2).

Latvice

Na blejski naselbini na Pristavi je bilo odkritih več latvic različnih oblik. V več primerih gre za latvice polkrožne oblike in z rahlo navznoter upognjenim ustjem (*t. 3:* 16,17; *9:* 72,73). Po obliki jih primerjamo z neokrašenimi latvicami tipa 1 po Dularju (Dular 1982, 75, št. 244–246), ki se pojavljajo v vseh stopnjah pozne bronaste dobe, tj. Ljubljana I–IIIa, na dolenjskih najdiščih pa tudi v vseh horizontih starejše železne dobe. V večjem številu so polkroglaste latvice zastopane tudi v Kranju, tako na območju Pavšlarjeve hiše (Rozman 2004, t. 6: 6,8; 47) kot tudi Savske ceste 10 (Gruden 2016, t. 1: 13,14; 24: 2).

Devet latvic je konične oblike s kratkim in navznoter upognjenim ustjem (*t. 2:* 10,12; *5:* 39–41; *7:* 53–55; *11:* 88). Prevladujejo neokrašeni primerki. Dobro primerjavo za bolje ohranjeno latvico (*t. 2:* 10) najdemo na naselbini Pavšlarjeva hiša v Kranju, (Rozman 2004, t. 6: 5;17: 10), ta sodi v čas prehoda iz bronaste v zgodnjo železno dobo.

Na latvici (*t. 2:* 12) je bil na ostenju pritrjen navpično predrt vodoravni držaj, ki ima primerjave na naselbini na Tribuni v Ljubljani (Vojaković 2013, t. 12: 8).

V enem primeru je bila odkrita latvica s poševno nažlebljenim ustjem (*t. 5:* 42). Dular take latvice opredeljuje kot tip La1 in ga s primerjavami s štajerskih najdišč postavlja v čas od Ha A do Ha B3. Podobno posodo srečamo na Grajskem griču na Ptuju in Grajskem hribu v Gornji Radgoni (Dular 2013, 32, sl. 12; t. 43: 1; 79: 3).

Drugi keramični predmeti

Prenosne peči

Na najdišču Pristava na Bledu izvirajo iz starejše železne dobe štirje odlomki posebnih oblik ognjiščne keramike. Glede na obliko stojne ploskve, ki je rahlo odebeljena navznoter in navzven, predvidevamo, da gre za prenosna ognjišča (*t. 6:* 44,45; *9:* 74,75). Odlomki kažejo enotno obliko stojnih ploskev. V dveh primerih je podstavek stožčasto oblikovan (*t. 6:* 44; *9:* 75), v dveh je navpičen (*t. 6:* 45; *9:* 74). Bolje ohranjen primer (*t. 9:* 75) ima na ostenju jezičasti držaj, od katerega poteka okras nalepljenega gladkega rebra. Podobno oblikovano stojno ploskev imajo primerki s Tribune v Ljubljani, kjer so najštevilnejše zastopani v I. poselitveni fazi (Ha A2/B1) s postopnim upadanjem do V. faze (Lt A) (Vojaković 2013, 247, t. 35: 12; 51: 4), in odlomki z drugih najdišč pozne bronaste in železne dobe, na primer v Stični in Ormožu (Gerbec 2018, t. 2: 10; 26: 186; 27: 195).

Pekve

Pekvam, ki so bile odkrite v plasteh SE 2155 in 1675 ter v zasutju jame iz mlajše železne dobe (SE 1345), je pripadal gladek ročaj ledvičastega preseka (*t. 4:* 30) ter dva odlomka okrašenih ročajev (*t. 11:* 90,91). Pri slednjih po sredini ročaja poteka širok žleb, oba dvignjena robova ročaja sta okrašena z odtisi oglate oblike.

Svitki in uteži

V zasutju ene izmed jam (SE 2080/*2081, sl. 6*) je bilo odkritih šest celih in delno ohranjenih keramičnih svitkov (*t. 10:* 79–84) ter ena piramidalna utež (*t. 10:* 85). Vsi celi svitki so enotnih velikosti s premerom približno 10 cm. Na notranji strani enega svitka (*t. 10:* 81) je vrezan okras, ki spominja na obliko drevesnega lista oz. vejice. Svitki so pogosta naselbinska najdba in so nemalokrat tudi okrašeni. Z različnimi motivi, na primer s snopi plitvih vrezov, cikcakastimi vrezi in križi, so okrašeni tudi številni svitki z naselbine na Bledu "pod gradom" (Gerbec 2009, t. 7: 20; 11: 12; 14: 3; 33: 12) in na Mostu na Soči (Grahek 2018, 283, sl. 16).

Okras na keramičnih izdelkih

Nalepljen okras

Na blejskem posodju prevladujejo nalepljena vodoravna razčlenjena rebra (*t.* 2: 11,13; *4:* 28,31; *5:* 36; *7*: 60; *8*: 65; *11:* 87,92), v manjšem številu tudi gladka rebra trikotnega preseka (*t. 3*: 23; *6:* 46; *7:* 57,61). Ostenja prenosne peči (*t. 9:* 75) ter posod (*t. 7:* 59,62) so bila okrašena z gladkim rebrom v kombinaciji z jezičastim držajem. V nekaj primerih je rebro bilo tik pod ustjem oz. na zgornji tretjini posode (*t.* 2: 13; *3:* 21; *4:* 28,31; *5:* 36; *6:* 46; 7: 57,59; *11*: 87).

Drugačna oblika nalepljenega okrasa so bradavice. Varianto okroglih nalepk predstavlja ploščata bradavica tik pod ustjem sklede (*t. 7:* 56) in na loncu (*t. 9:* 76).

Kaneliranje

Kaneliranje se pojavi le v enem primeru na ustju latvice (*t. 5:* 42). Gre za poševno nažlebljen ornament, priljubljen skozi daljše časovno obdobje ter z začetkom v obdobju kulture žarnih grobišč. Na latvicah dolenjske halštatske skupine se ohrani še v horizontu Stična-Novo mesto 1 in 2 (Dular 1982, 83).

Vtisnjen okras

Vtisnjen okras je med blejskim gradivom zelo redek. Vtis oglate oblike, narejen z uporabo posebnega predmeta, morda šila ali žiga, se pojavi na dveh ročajih pekve (*t. 11:* 90,91).

Sklep

Večina keramičnih najdb z obravnavanega najdišča na Bledu nakazuje oblikovne značilnosti posodja na prehodu iz pozne bronaste v začetno fazo starejše železne dobe oz. v obdobje Ha B3/C1 po srednjeevropski shemi. Prostor Gorenjske je Gabrovec vključil v t. i. ljubljansko halštatsko skupino (Gabrovec 1999, 178), pri čemer so najdišča v Bohinjskem kotu povezana s svetolucijsko skupino (Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 416; Teržan 2022, 349; Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, sl. 1, 399). Največ primerjav za blejsko gradivo smo našli pri naselbinah t. i. ljubljanske skupine, in sicer v sočasni naselbini na Bledu (najdišče "pod gradom"), v Kranju (Pavšlarjeva hiša, Savska cesta 10, grad Khislstein) ter v Ljubljani (Tribuna in grobišče SAZU). Na tem mestu tudi omenjamo odsotnost primerljivih oblik posodja na grobišču Bled – Pristava. Posamezni starejši elementi so oblikovno povezani s štajersko in ljubljansko žarnogrobiščno skupino. Po drugi strani je najti nekaj primerjav v Podzemlju. Odlomki bronastih fibul pa nakazujejo mlajšo datacijo. Kačasta in trakasta fibula sta namreč predstavnici začetne stopnje mladohalštatskega obdobja v Posočju (stopnja Sv. Lucija IIa) in na Dolenjskem (horizont kačastih in certoških fibul). Jugovzhodnoalpska živalska fibula pa je značilna za nošo v t. i. negovskem horizontu. Konteksti, v katerih so bile odkrite omenjene fibule na grobišču Bled – Pristava, so problematični. V plasti s trakasto fibulo ter v zasutju kurišča s kačasto fibulo namreč ni bilo keramičnih najdb, ki bi potrjevale datacijo obeh plasti v mlajši odsek starejše železne dobe. Odlomek jugovzhodnoalpske živalske fibule pa je bil sekundarno odkrit v mlajši premešani plasti, v kateri so prevladovale latenske in poznoantične najdbe. Čeprav omenjene fibule nakazujejo na obljudenost tega prostora tudi v času mlajšega halštatskega obdobja, domnevamo, da bi lahko kačasti fibuli in trakasta fibula nakazovali nenaden konec starejšeželeznodobne naselbine, medtem ko bi jugovzhodnoalpska živalska fibula lahko bila v povezavi že z mlajšo, morda latensko fazo poselitve na Pristavi.

Glavnina najdb tako izkazuje sočasnost z že odkritim žganim grobiščem na Pristavi (Gabrovec 1960) ter ponuja podobno sliko kot gradivo z izkopavanja na ravnici "pod gradom" (*sl. 2*). Tudi tu sta bili namreč ugotovljeni dve fazi, in sicer prehodna faza iz bronaste v železno dobo in mladohalštatska faza (Gerbec 2009, 112).

ZAKLJUČEK

Podobo arheološkega najdišča na Pristavi je močno zaznamovala naravna danost terena. V ledeniški dolini za Grajskim gričem je bilo prisojno pobočje griča nedvomno privlačno za poselitev. Z arheološkimi izkopavanji na obravnavani lokaciji je bila odkrita večfazna prazgodovinska naselbina, ki je bolj ali manj kontinuirano živela vse od pozne bronaste dobe in v starejšem obdobju starejše železne dobe ter skozi celotno mlajšo železno dobo.

Snovalci naselbine so se v pozni bronasti dobi na strmem pobočju griča odločili za postavitev naselbinskih teras. Zemljene izravnave so zamejevale suhozidne škarpe iz nasutega kamenja in zemlje. Zaradi mlajših posegov na najdišču se nobena terasa ni ohranila v celoti, njihovo širino ocenjujemo na okoli 5 metrov. Na terasah smo na podlagi jam za stojke sledili ostankom lesenih objektov že iz pozne bronaste dobe. Logika in uporaba prostora s sistemom teras se je nadaljevala tudi v času starejše železne dobe. Na površini železnodobne terase je bilo na podlagi razporeditve jam za stojke odkritih več lesenih stavb. V osrednjem predelu odkritega dela naselbine je stala večja stavba (objekt A) dolžine 7 m in širine 3 m ter z usmeritvijo vzdolž terase. V njeni notranjosti sta bila kurišče in večja jama. Jugovzhodno od objekta A so bili zanimiv sestav plasti z zgostitvijo ognjiščne keramike (pekve) ter kurišče in jama, kjer je bilo najdenih več svitkov in piramidalna utež. V tem primeru bi verjetno lahko govorili o prostoru, namenjenem pripravi hrane. Južno, jugozahodno in jugovzhodno od objekta A so se nakazovali obrisi vsaj še štirih manjših objektov (objekt B, C, D, E) z usmeritvijo prečno na teraso ali vzdolž te. Del naselbine predstavljajo tudi večje jame neznane namembnosti ter kurišča in ognjišča, razprostranjeni v okolici objektov.

Odkrita naselbinska lončenina kaže oblikovne značilnosti posodja v prehodni fazi iz pozne bronaste v začetek zgodnje železne dobe (Ha B3/C1). Najboljše primerjave najdemo na najdiščih t. i. gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine, in sicer na Bledu (v neposredni bližini na najdišču »pod gradom«), v Kranju (Pavšlarjeva hiša, Savska cesta 10, grad Khislstein) in Ljubljani (Tribuna, dvorišče SAZU). Odlomki kačaste, trakaste ter jugovzhodnoalpske živalske fibule pa nakazujejo obstoj ali pa morda konec naselbine na začetku mladohalštatskega obdobja ter na ponovno poselitev v latenskem obdobju.

Ob upoštevanju ugotovitev prejšnjih arheoloških raziskav na blejski Pristavi menimo, da smo s pričujočimi izkopavanji odkrili del obsežne prazgodovinske naselbine na sedlu severno od blejskega gradu, ki se je razprostirala proti jugu (Gerbec 2009) oziroma jugozahodu (Kumerdej 2019). Žgano grobišče, ki je pripadalo naselbini v njeni zgodnji fazi na prehodu iz bronaste v železno dobo (Ha B3/C1), pa je bilo ugotovljeno severozahodno od obravnavane naselbine (Gabrovec 1960).

KATALOG NAJDB

Najdbe iz arheoloških izkopavanj leta 2019 na Bledu – Pristava hrani Gorenjski muzej Na tablah je predstavljen izbor najdb iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe. V katalogu je njihova lega na območju izkopa podana z oznakami kvadranta (KV) in stratigrafske enote (SE), nekatere so zabeležene kot posebne najdbe (PN). Pri opisu keramičnih najdb smo se naslonili na smernice Milene Horvat (1999). Izris in računalniška obdelava: Petra Jendrašić.

Okrajšave:

db. – debelina	odl. – odlomek	v. – višina	PN – posebne najdbe
dl. – dolžina	ohr. – ohranjen	pr. – premer	SE – stratigrafska enota

Tabla 1

1. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice z ročajem; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 19 cm. SE 2374.
2. Odl. sklede z ročajem s klekom na notranji strani posode; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj rjava; mehka. Pr. ustja: 18 cm. SE 2374.
3. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna skodele z ročajem; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj rdeča; trda. Pr. ustja: 10 cm. SE 2374.
4. Odl. stojne ploskve in ostenja prenosne peči z okrasom; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj lisasta svetlo sivo rjava in znotraj temno siva; mehka; okras: vodoravna razčlenjena rebra na ostenju. Pr.: 34 cm; ohr. v.: 16,9 cm; db.: 0,8-1,1 cm. SE 2374, PN 1185.

Tabla 2

5. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice z vodoravno fasetiranimi rameni; brisanje; sestava fino zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj svetlo rjava; mehka. Pr. ustja: 16 cm. SE 1081.
6. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj lisasta rdečkasto rumena in rjava, znotraj lisasta sivo rjava; zelo trda; okras: nalepljeno vodoravno rebro, razčlenjeno z odtisi prstov na ostenju posode. Pr. ustja: 20 cm. SE 1926, PN 1116.
7. Odl. dna in ostenja skodele z ročajem; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj lisasta rdečkasto rumena in siva; mehka; okras: poševne kanelure na trebuhu. Pr. dna: 6,4 cm. SE 2321, PN 1182.
8. Skodelica z ročajem; poliranje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; zaporedno menjavanje redukcijskega in oksidacijskega žganja, v končni fazi redukcijsko; zunaj sivo rjava, znotraj siva; mehka. Pr. ustja: 11 cm. SE 2416, PN 1187.
9. Odl. ustja in ostenja posode; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj temno rdeča, znotraj črna; trda; znotraj je sekundarno prežgana. Dl.: 4,7 cm. SE 2071, PN 1173.
10. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj rjava, znotraj rdečkasto rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 24 cm. SE 2326.
11. Odl. ostenja posode z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, razčlenjenega z odtisi prstov; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj rumenkasto rdeča, znotraj zelo temno siva; trda. Dl.: 9 cm. SE 2326.
12. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice s horizontalnim predrtim držajem; sestava fino zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj zelo temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 20 cm. SE 2166.
13. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, računlenjenega z odtisi prstov; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; zunaj in znotraj svetlo rjava; mehka. Dl.: 4,8 cm. SE 1709.

Tabla 3

14. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazo oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj rumnekasto rjava, znotraj zelo temno siva; zelo trda. Pr. ustja: 26 cm. SE 2196.
15. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj rdečkasto rumena, znotraj svetlo rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 24 cm. SE 2196.
16. Odl. ustja sklede; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunaj lisasto siva, znotraj zelo temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 19 cm. SE 2196.
17. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede; brisanje; sestava fino zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj svetlo rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 16 cm; SE 2196.
18. Odl.ustja in ostenja sklede; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcjsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj zelo temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 34,8 cm. SE 2196.
19. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; zaporedno menjavanje redukcijskega in oksidacijskega žganja, v končni fazi redukcijsko; zunaj temno siva, znotraj zelo temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 16 cm. SE 2196.
20. Odl. ustja in ostenja posode; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in znotraj zelo temno siva; zelo trda. Pr. ustja: 14 cm. SE 2196.
21. Odl. ustja in ostenja posode z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, račlenjenega z odtisi prstov; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; zunaj rumenkasto rdeča, znotraj svetlo rjava; trda. Dl.: 4,5 cm. SE 2196.
22. Odl. ustja in ostenja posode; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj svetlo rjava, znotraj temno siva; trda. Dl.: 6,7 cm. SE 2196.
23. Odl. ostenja posode z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra trikotnega preseka; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunaj sivkasto rjava, znotraj temno siva; trda. Dl.: 3,9 cm. SE 2196.
24. Odl. ostenja posode z jezičastim držajem; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; zunaj rumenkasto rdeča; zelo trda. Dl. 3,4 cm. SE 2196.
25. Odl. bronastega votlega predmeta.Dl.: 7,2 cm. SE 2196, PN 1175.
26. Odl. ustja in ostenja posode; brisanje; sestava fino zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj sivo črna; trda. Pr. ustja: 22 cm. SE 1913.
27. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; oksidacijsko žganje; zunaj in znotraj rumenkasto rdeča; mehka. Pr. ustja: 34 cm. SE 1915.

Tabla 4

28. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, račlenjenega z odtisi prstov na ostenju; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; stihijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina lisasta rdeča in rumena; trda. Pr. ustja: 17 cm. SE 1392.
29. Odl. ustja posode; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina rumenkasto rdeča, notranja površina svetlo rdečkasto rjava; trda. Dl.: 1,9 cm. SE 2173.
30. Odl. ročaja pekve; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rjava; trda. Dl.: 6,5 cm. SE 1345.
31. Odl. ustja in ostenja ter dna lonca z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, razčlenjenega z odtisi prstov v zgornjem odseku posode; brisanje; sestava grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina svetlo rjava in notranja površina siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 36 cm. SE 2133, , PN 1179.
32. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; brisanje; sestava grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina lisasta svetlo rdeča in notranja površina temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 33 cm. SE 2133.

Tabla 5

33. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina temno sivkasto rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 18 cm. SE 2133.
34. Odl. ustja lonca; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina svetlo rdečkasto rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 24 cm. SE 2133.
35. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rdečkasto rumena; trda. Pr. dna: 10 cm. SE 2133.
36. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodelice z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, razčlenjenega z odtisi prstov pod ustjem; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina svetlo rdeča; trda. Pr. Ustja: 12 cm. SE 2133.
37. Odl. ustja manjše posode; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rumenkasto rdeča; trda. Pr. Ustja: 8 cm. SE 2133.
38. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodelice; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina črna; trda. Pr. Ustja: 11 cm. SE 2133.
39. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice; brisanje; sestava grobo zrnata; prvotno redukcijsko, sledi kratkotrajno oksidacijsko žganje, ob ohlajanju kratkotrajna redukcijska atmosfera; zunanja in notranja površina temno siva; trda. Pr ustja: 26 cm. SE 2133, PN 1176.
40. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice; brisanje; sestava fino zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja površina sivkasto rjava, notranja površina zelo temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 24 cm. SE 2133.
41. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina svetlo rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 28 cm. SE 2133.
42. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice s poševno žlebljenim robom ustja; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina temno siva notranja površina rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 24 cm. SE 2133.
43. Odl. ustja z ročajem posode; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina temno sivo rjava, notranja površina rdeče rjava; zelo trda. Dl.: 2,6 cm. SE 2133.

Tabla 6

44. Odl. stojne ploskve prenosne peči; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja površina rjava, notranja površina zelo temno siva; trda. Pr. Ustja: 22 cm. SE 2133.

45. Odl. stojne ploskve prenosne peči; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina rdečkasto rjava, notranja površina svetlo rdeča; trda. Pr. ustja: 20 cm. SE 2133.
46. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca z okrasom vodoravnega rebra trikotnega preseka pod ustjem; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina rjava in notranja površina temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 17 cm. SE 2103, PN 1167.
47. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; brisanje; sestava fino zrnata; oksidacijsko, v končni fazi redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina siva; mehka. Pr. ustja: 26 cm. SE 2103.
49. Odl. ustja in ostenja posode; brisanje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina siva; trda. Pr ustja: 18 cm. SE 2103.
48. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; stihijsko žganje; zunanja površina lisasta siva in rjava; trda. Pr. ustja; 32 cm. SE 2103.
51. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina svetlo rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 30 cm. SE 2103.
50. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina rjava in notranja površina svetlo siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 14 cm. SE 2103.
52. Odl. ustja in ostenja posode; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina siva; trdota – mehka. Pr. ustja: 11 cm. SE 2103.

Tabla 7

53. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 24 cm. SE 2103.
54. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice; brisanje; sestava fino zrnata; oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rumenkasto rdeča; mehka. Pr. ustja: 16 cm. SE 2103.
55. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina temno siva; trda. Dl. 3,5 cm. SE 2103.
56. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede z okrasom nalepljene plitbe okrogle bradavice pod ustjem; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; menjavanje redukcijskega in oksidacijskega, v končni fazi redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina temno siva. Pr. ustja: 19 cm. SE 2103.
57. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra trikotnega preseka na ostenju; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rdeče rjava; trda. Dl. 3,6 cm. SE 2103.
58. Odl. skodelice z ročajem; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina svetlo sivo rjava; trda. Pr. dna: 6,5 cm. SE 2103.
59. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca z držajem od katerega se nadaljuje vdoravno rebro, razčlenjeno z odtisi prstov v zgornji tretjini posode; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina svetlo rdečkasto rumena; mehka. Dl. 9,1 cm. SE 2103.
60. Odl. ostenja posode z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, razčlenjenega z odtisi prstov na ostenju; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; stihijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina siva; trda. Dl. 9,3 cm. SE 2103, PN 1194.
61. Odl. ostenja posode z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra trikotnega preseka na ostenju posode; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina svetlo rdečkasto rjava; mehka. Dl. 15,5 cm. SE 2103, PN 1169.
62. Odl. ostenja posode z majhnim jezičastim držajem od katerega se nadaljuje okras vodoravnega nalepljenega rebra trikotnega preseka; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina svetlo rdeča; trda. Dl. 4,6 cm. SE 2103.
63. Odl. ostenja posode z majhnim jezičastim držajem od katerega se nadaljuje okras vodoravnega rebra trikotnega preseka; brisanje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina rdeče rjava in notranja površina svetlo siva; trda. Dl. 4,6 cm. SE 2103.

Tabla 8

64. Odl. ostenja posode z držajem; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina črna; trda. Dl. 7 cm. SE 2103.
65. Odl. ostenja posode z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, razčlenjenega z odtisi prstov na ostenju; odlomek je sekundarno prežgan. Dl.; 11, 8 cm. SE 2103.
66. Odl. dna in ostenja posode; brisanje; sestava fino zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina temno siva; trda. Pr. dna: 10,6 cm. SE 2103, PN 1168.
67. Odl. vbočenega dna posode; brisanje; sestava grobo zrnata; oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rumenkasto rdeča; mehka. Pr. dna: 6 cm. SE 2103, PN 1158.
68. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; brisanje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina zelo temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 26 cm. SE 2155.
69. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina zelo temno siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 24 cm. SE 2155.
70. Odl. ustja, ostenja lonca; brisanje; sestava fino zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 15 cm. SE 2155.
71. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rdečkasto rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 26 cm. SE 2155.

Tabla 9

72. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede; brisanje; sestava fino zrnata; oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina zelo svetlo rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 26 cm. SE 2155.
73. Latvica; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rjava; mehka. Pr. ustja: 20 cm. SE 2155, PN 1159.
74. Odl. ustja in ostenja pekve; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina rdečkasto rjava, notranja površina rumenkasto rdeča; trda. Pr. ustja: 40 cm. SE 2155, .
75. Odl. ustja in ostenja pekve z majhnim jezičastim držajem, od katerega se nadaljuje okras vodoravnega rebra, razčlenjenega z odtisi prstov; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rozasto siva; trda. Pr. ustja: 26 cm. SE 2155.

76. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca z okrasom nalepljene plitve okrogle bradavice v zgornjem delu posode; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; redukcijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rumenkasto rdeča; trda. Pr. Ustja: 15 cm. SE 1868.

Tabla 10

77. Odl. ustja ter ostenja lonca z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, razčlenjenega z odtisi prstov na ostenju; brisanje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina siva in notranja površina rumeno siva; mehka. Pr. ustja: 24 cm. SE 2080.
78. Odl. lijakastega ustja lonca; brisanje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina rjava, notranja površina svetlo rdeča; mehka. Pr. ustja: 22 cm. SE 2080.
79. Odl. svitka iz sivo rdeče gline in temno sivimi lisami na površini. Dl.: 6,4 cm. SE 2080, PN 1163.
80. Svitek iz rdeče sive gline in temno sivmi lisami na površini. Pr.: 10,9 cm. SE 2080, PN 1164.
81. Svitek iz svetlo rdeče gline in sivimi lisami na površini. Na notranji strani je vrezan okras. Pr.: 10,2 cm. SE 2080, PN 1162.
82. Odl. svitka iz svetlo rdeče gline. Dl.: 5 cm. SE 2080, PN 1140.
83. Svitek iz sive gline in temno sivimi lisami na spodnjem delu površine. pr.: 10,3 cm. SE 2080, PN 1160.
84. Svitek iz sivo rjave gline in temno sivimi lisami na površini. Pr.: 9,3 cm. SE 2080, , PN 1161.
85. Odl. piramidalne uteži iz sive gline in črnimi lisami na površini. Ohr.v.: 5,5 cm. SE 2080, PN 1138.

Tabla 11

86. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rdečkasto rumena; trda. Pr. ustja: 22 cm. SE 1773.
87. Odl. ostenja lonca z okrasom nalepljenega vodoravnega rebra, razčlenjenega z odtisi prstov na ostenju; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina svetlo rdečkasto rjava in notranja površina sivo rjava; trda. Dl.: 9,1 cm. SE 1773, PN 1114.
88. Odl. ustja in ostenja latvice; brisanje; sestava zelo fino zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rdečkasto rjava; trda. Pr. ustja: 20 cm. SE 2032, PN 1127.
89. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede; brisanje; sestava drobno zrnata; nepopolno oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina temno siva; zelo trda. Pr. ustja: 10 cm. SE 1928.
90. Odl. ročaja pekve z okrasom dveh vzdolžnih žlebov in odtisi šila; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina rdečkasto rjava; trda. Dl.: 4,6 cm. SE 1675, PN 1090.
91. Odl. ročaja posode z okrasom vzdolžnega žleba in odtisi šila; glajenje; sestava zelo grobo zrnata; redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko žganje; zunanja površina sivo rdečkasto rjava; mehka. Dl.: 9,5 cm. SE 1664, PN 1081.
92. Odl. ostenja pekve z okrasom dvojnega vzporednega vodoravnega nalepljenega rebra razčlenjenega z odtisi prstov; glajenje; sestava grobo zrnata; stihijsko žganje; zunanja in notranja površina lisasta rjava in siva; zelo trda. Dl.: 5 cm. SE 1719, PN 1093.
93. Odl. loka kačaste fibule; bron. Dl.: 9,4 cm. SE 1481, PN 1058.
94. Odl. loka kačaste fibule z luknjico za krilca; bron. Dl.: 3,6 cm. SE 1648, PN 1065.
95. Odl. loka fibule z diskom – trakasta fibula; bron. Dl.: 3,7 cm. SE 1719, PN 1097.
96. Odl. loka in peresovine jugovzhodnoalpske živalske fibule; bron. Dl.: 7 cm. SE 1038, PN 1003.

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Bled–Pristava. Early Iron Age settlement

Summary

Archaeological excavations on the Pristava site at Bled (*Fig. 1*), situated in the area of the former industrial zone and still older medieval castle estate, were conducted in 2019 and revealed extensive settlement remains. These could be arranged in six different chronological phases on the basis of stratigraphic sequence, small finds, and radiocarbon dating results. In the present article, we will discuss in detail only the settlement remains and finds from the Bronze and Iron Age.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE AT PRISTAVA

The researched area lies within a smaller lowland, set between the Bled castle hill on the south and the ridges of the Pristava elevation on the west and north. The larger part of the slopes at Pristava and partly also those on the castle hill received much archaeological attention in the 20th century. At the Pristava site, a cemetery dating to the early Hallstatt period (Gabrovec 1960, 72) as well as to Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages (Kastelic, Škerlj 1950; Kastelic 1960) is attested, together with early medieval settlement remains (Pleterski 2008, 15, 17). On the northern slope of the castle hill, at the site known as 'Pod gradom' ('under the castle'), excavations between 1985 and 1989 uncovered settlement remains dating to the Bronze and Early Iron Ages (Gerbec 2009). In 2017, further archaeological excavations were carried out southwest from the research area here presented, which again revealed settlement remains and two graves (Kumerdej 2019) (*Fig. 2*).

BRONZE AGE SETTLEMENT REMAINS

The oldest settlement phase was established on the southern slopes of Pristava at Bled and can be dated to the Late Bronze Age period. The discovered remains of two levelled territories, delimited with escarpments made of earth and considerable number of stones (SU 2374), clearly demonstrated that the area had been terraced already in this period. The original line of escarpment was preserved only at the northern edge, while towards the south only its debris could be followed. The escarpment delimited the boundary between the upper terrace with earthen sediment SU 1721 and the lower terrace identified through the earthen sediment SU 2321 (*Figs. 3, 4*). On the terraces, we could identify remains of several wooden buildings due to the preserved postholes (*Fig. 4*). Several specific types of small finds, such as querns, clay rings, spindle whorls and a wide range of ceramic shapes, as well as the remains of hearths or fireplaces lead us to conclude that at least some of these buildings were dwelling houses.

The discovered settlement remains are treated as a homogeneous group from the Late Bronze Age period, which begins in the transitional period between the Oloris–Podsmreka and the Rogoza–Orehova vas horizon, that is, between the end of the 13th century BC and possibly up to the 11th century BC (*cf*. Teržan, Črešnar 2014). Such chronological definition is evidenced by different forms of dishes with inverted rims (*Pl. 1:* 4,5), a funnel-shaped dish (*Pl. 1:* 6) and a jug with rounded body decorated with oblique channels and a sharp transition to a funnel-shaped neck (*Pl. 1:* 7). Rare vessel form features that can be observed within the ceramic repertory, such as dish with internally carinated body-to-neck transition (*Pl. 1:* 1), pot with T-shaped rim (*Pl. 1:* 2) and cup with sharp transition to a high conical neck (*Pl. 1:* 3) indicate to the presence of older ceramic elements connected with the Oloris–Podsmreka horizon (Br C/D). Chronological determination to the Ha A period is further supported by two radiocarbon dating results of samples obtained from the earthen Late Bronze Age sediment (SU 2321, *Fig. 3*) and from smaller fireplace (SU 2079/*2073*, *Fig. 4*) set on the level terrace layer (SU 1721; *Fig. 4*), which both point to a time between 1369–1052 Cal BC and 1220–1003 Cal BC with 95.4% probability.[1]

[1] Radiocarbon analysis has been conducted in November 2021 by the Poznan Radiocarbon Laboratory.

EARLY IRON AGE SETTLEMENT REMAINS

Remains from this period have been preserved mostly in the south-eastern part and partly also along the northern edge and in the north-eastern part of the former Bronze Age settlement (*Fig. 5*). Very likely the settlement continued towards east and north-east, outside the excavated area of the here treated research. On the east, north, and south, the settlement was destroyed due to later interventions.

Terraces

Compared to the previous Bronze Age terraced areas, the escarpments from this period are relatively poorly preserved. We could document only one reinforcement made from limestones and gravel (SU 2196, *Fig. 5*). Extensive earthen sediments (SU 2133 and SU 2103) spread south from the mentioned reinforcement and served to level the lower settlement terrace.

Buildings

In the central part of excavated area, an outline of larger rectangular building could be delineated, measuring 7 × 3 meters (*Fig. 5:* building A). The foundations of its vertical structure for the walls consisted of 19 variously sized postholes, which were cut in the terrace sediment and occupation surface layer (SU 2133 and 1719). In the central part of this building, we uncovered a pit (SU 1757/*1758*) and a probable hearth containing larger amounts of charcoal (SU 2324/*2325*). Southwest from this building, several further postholes indicated a smaller closed space (building B), which possibly could be connected with the building A, although its function remains unknown.

Less discernible building remains have also been documented on the southern part of the excavated area. Above the cultural layer SU 1137, the northern side of the building E could be detected (*Fig. 5*). Its further course towards south was obliterated with later interventions. Building C was identified in the south-eastern part of excavated area (*Fig. 5*).

Area with hearth remains and ceramic finds

In the eastern corner of building A, an area connected with food preparation could be observed (*Fig. 6*). Such observations were further confirmed by the discovery of hearth remains (SU 2153/*2154*) and another round pit (SU 2080/*2081*) lying further towards south. The upper part of its fill contained a larger amount of charcoal, while on its bottom six clay rings together with a pyramidal weight were found (*Pl. 10:* 79–85). The hearth and the pit were connected with the layer SU 2155, within which a large number of pottery fragments and fragments from portable oven lids has been discovered (*Pl. 7:* 74,75).

Pits

In addition to the numerous postholes, we could also place into the Early Iron Age period other man-made pits of various sizes, which can chronologically be defined mostly on the basis of rare small finds discovered within the fills.

Near buildings A and B, we identified three larger pits (SU 1866/*1867*, SU 2080/*2081* and SU 1781/*1782*). The last one was surrounded by four postholes (*Fig. 5*), which could indicate that the pit had been roofed, forming building D.

SMALL FINDS

Fibulae

On the site, two fragments of two serpentine fibulae examples were discovered. The bow of serpentine fibula featuring a hole for wings (*Pl. 11:* 94) can be classified as type V (according to Tecco Hvala 2014, 133, Fig. 5). This type can be associated primarily with sites of Sv. Lucija and Dolenjska Hallstatt groups and was in use over a longer time period, that is, from the end of the 7th century BC and throughout the entire 6th century BC, representing the phase Sv. Lucija IIa in the Posočje region or the Serpentine Fibulae phase in the Dolenjska region (Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 428; Tecco Hvala 2014, 159). The second fragment of serpentine fibula, which was discovered in heterogenous layer from the La Tène period, can be ascribed to type IV (according to Tecco Hvala 2014, 131).

In the layer SU 1719, we also discovered a fragment of band bow fibula (*Pl. 11:* 95). Teržan and Trampuž assigned such fibulae in the Sv. Lucija IIa2 phase (Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 429), while in the Dolenjska region they were defined by Gabrovec as characteristic piece of costume at the end of the Serpentine Fibulae phase, with continuation in the Certosa Fibulae phase (Gabrovec 1987, 58, Fig. 4: 13, Pl. 8: 12).

Pottery

The majority of finds from the Early Iron Age is represented by ceramic fragments, among which the body and rim vessel fragments prevail, what in most cases prevented recognising or establishing their shapes and consequently made exact chronological definition difficult. In the ceramic material, we thus recognised fragments of pots, bowls and dishes, either with inverted or everted rims.

We could define several rim types, among which the most numerous are those with everted rims. Short everted rims with conical necks and clear transition to the vessel's body, which in our examples is not preserved (*Pls. 5:* 33; *6:* 50,52; *8:* 70; *9:* 76) can be compared with vessels from the cemetery at Dvorišče SAZU in Ljubljana (Puš 1982, Pls. 2: 11; 7: 2) and with graves from Bled–Žale, which can be placed in Ha A period (Gabrovec 1960, 9, Pls. 2: 4; 22: 1). Such pots begin to appear at the start of the Urnfield period and persist until the end of Hallstatt period.

In the material, we could recognise several pots with inverted rims (*Pls. 3:* 20; *6:* 46,47,49,51; *9:* 76). The conically shaped pot decorated with elongated and flattened knob (*Pl. 9:* 76), which was discovered within the hearth (*Fig. 5:* SU 1868), has a good analogy in the example from Šmarna gora near Ljubljana, a site dated to the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age period (Murgelj, Nadbath 2014, 354, Fig. 20: 6.2). The pot with rounded body and strongly inverted rim (*Pl. 6:* 49) is also attested in Pristava at Bled (Gerbec 2009, Pl. 27: 9) as well as at the Pavšlar house site in Kranj (Rozman 2004, Pl. 1: 5). Both sites can be dated to the transitional period between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age or to the Ha B3/C1 period.

A smaller dish with a short, everted rim and slightly rounded body (*Pl. 5:* 38) was discovered in the layer SU 2133 (*Fig. 5*) and features a form very similar to the vessel found within the settlement context of Khislstein castle site in Kranj. The settlement can be dated in the transitional period between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (Janežič 2015, Figs. 38, 73, Pl. 2: 12). On the 'Pod gradom' site at Bled, two similar dish examples with somewhat more conical bodies have been designated as tulip-shaped dishes of the type 5a (Gerbec 2009, 54, Pls. 22: 4; 23: 2), while on the Tribuna site in Ljubljana such dish examples are attested in the settlement phase III, dating to the Ha B2/B3 period (Vojaković 2013, Pls. 108: 13; 115: 11). Similar dishes are also attested on several settlements in the Štajerska region, as for example on the Grajski hrib in Gornja Radgona (Dular 2013, Pl. 96: 8) and at Brinjeva gora in the layer 1 (Oman 1981, Pl. 5: 3). Such dishes are dated by Rozman in the time from Ha A period to the beginning of the Early Iron Age – Ha C1 (Rozman 2004, 77).

Rounded dishes with slightly inverted rims are also attested within the material from our site (*Pls. 3:* 16,17; *9:* 72,73). In regard to their form, they could be compared with undecorated dishes with inverted rim of the type 1 according to Dular (Dular 1982, 75, Nos. 244–246), which appear throughout the entire Late Bronze Age, that is, from the Ljubljana I to IIIa period, while in the Dolenjska region they are also present during the entire period of the Early Iron Age and can further be found as well in Kranj at the sites Pavšlar house (Rozman 2004, Pls. 6: 6,8; 47) and Savska cesta 10 (Gruden 2016, Pls. 1: 13,14; 24: 2).

An example of a dish with inverted rim, bearing the oblique channelled decoration, should also be mentioned (*Pl. 5:* 42). Dular defined such dishes as the type La1 and, on the basis of analogies from sites in the Štajerska region, placed them in the time between the Ha A period and up to the Ha B3 period. Similar dishes can be encountered also on Grajski grič at Ptuj and on Grajski hrib in Gornja Radgona (Dular 2013, 32, Fig. 12, Pls. 43:1; 79: 3).

Other ceramic finds

Within the phases from the Early Iron Age, we discovered, in addition to pottery, also special forms of hearth ceramics, which in regard to their base rim parts allow us to presume that they represent portable stoves (*Pls. 6:* 44,45; *9:* 74,75). Similarly shaped base rims can be observed on the examples from the Tribuna settlement in Ljubljana, where they are most numerously attested in the settlement phase I (Ha A2/B1), while their number gradually diminishes up to the settlement phase V (Lt A) (Vojaković 2013, 247, Pls. 35: 12; 51: 4). Related fragments are also known from other Late Bronze and Iron Age sites, for example, in Stična and Ormož (Gerbec 2018, Pls. 2: 10; 26: 186; 27: 195).

CONCLUSION

The majority of ceramic finds from Pristava site at Bled clearly points to characteristic shapes of vessels attested in the transitional period from the Late Bronze Age to the initial phase of the Early Iron Age, or better, in the Ha B3/C1 period according to the chronological scheme of Central

Europe. The region of Gorenjska was included by Gabrovec into the so-called Ljubljana Hallstatt group (Gabrovec 1999, 178), whereas the sites in the Bohinj Basin are connected with the Sv. Lucija group (Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 416; Teržan 2022, 349; Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, Fig. 1, 399). The most numerous comparisons for the material from Bled could be found on the settlements of the so-called Ljubljana group, at the contemporary settlement 'Pod gradom' in Bled, in Kranj (sites Pavšlar house, Savska cesta 10, Khislstein castle) and in Ljubljana (sites Tribuna and Dvorišče SAZU cemetery). Here we should also mention the absence of comparable vessel forms at the nearby cemetery of Bled–Pristava. Separate older elements within the ceramic repertoire from our site can be related in form to the Štajerska region and to the Ljubljana Urnfield group.

The majority of the finds hence demonstrates contemporaneity with the already discovered cremation cemetery at Pristava and offers us a similar picture as the material from excavations in flat area denominated 'Pod gradom' (*Fig. 2*). At the latter site, two phases could also be ascertained: the phase from transitional period between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age together with the phase from the later Hallstatt period (Gerbec 2009, 112).

Taking into account the past archaeological research at Pristava in Bled, we are of the opinion that the excavations presented here revealed a part of an extensive prehistoric settlement located on the saddle to the north of Bled castle, which also spread towards south (Gerbec 2009) and southwest (Kumerdej 2019). The cremation cemetery, pertaining to the settlement in its early phase, during the transition between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (Ha B3/C1), was discovered to the northwest of the settlement discussed here (Gabrovec 1960).

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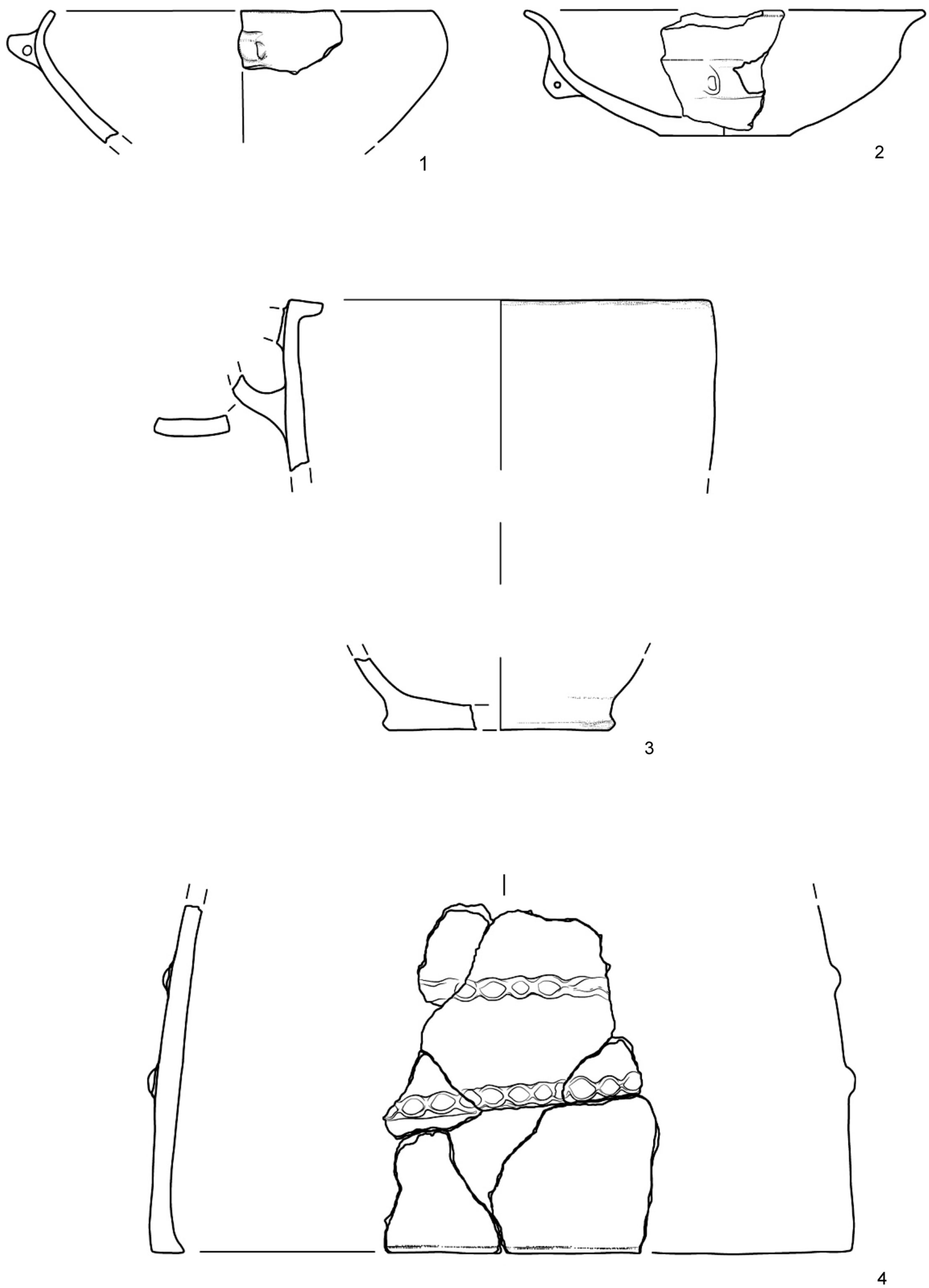
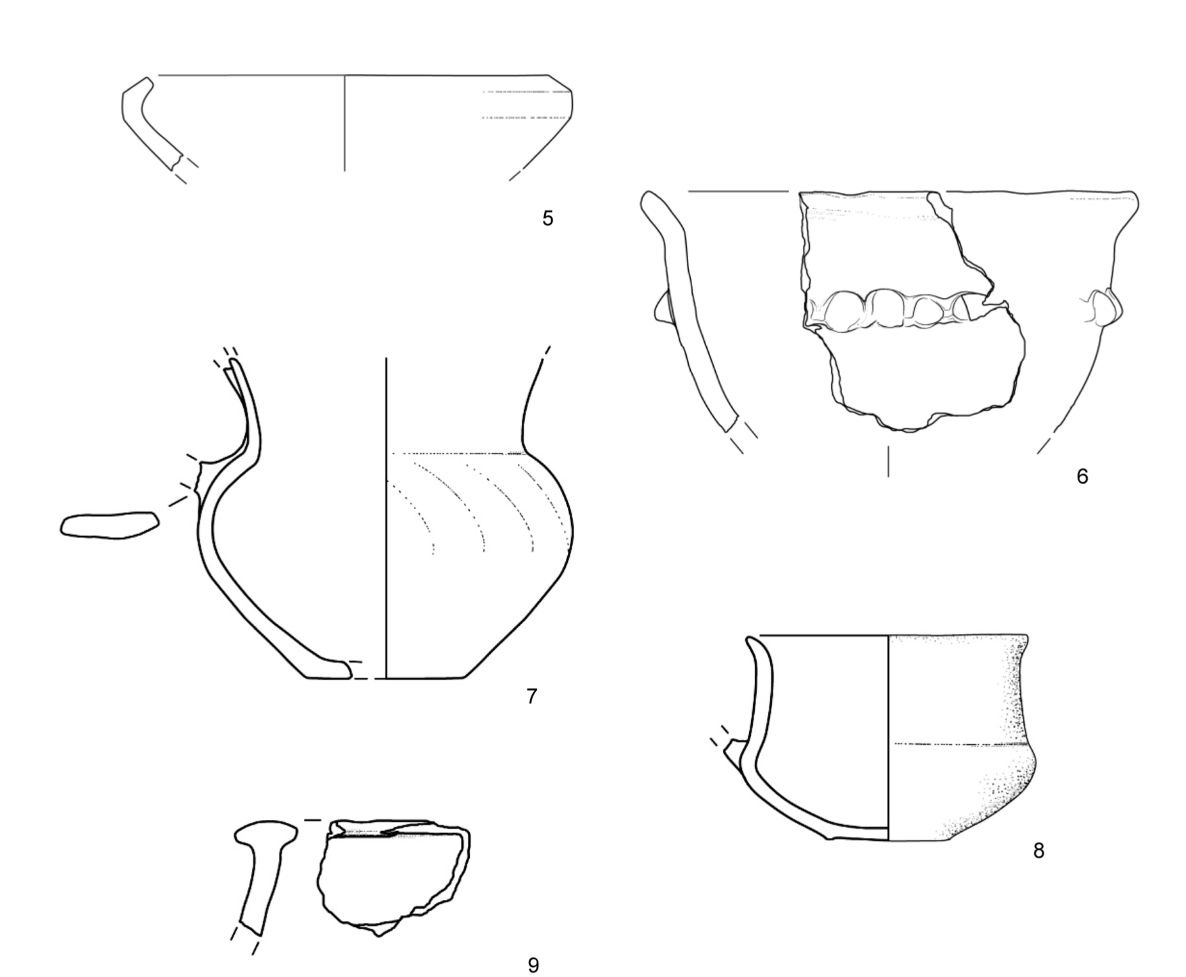
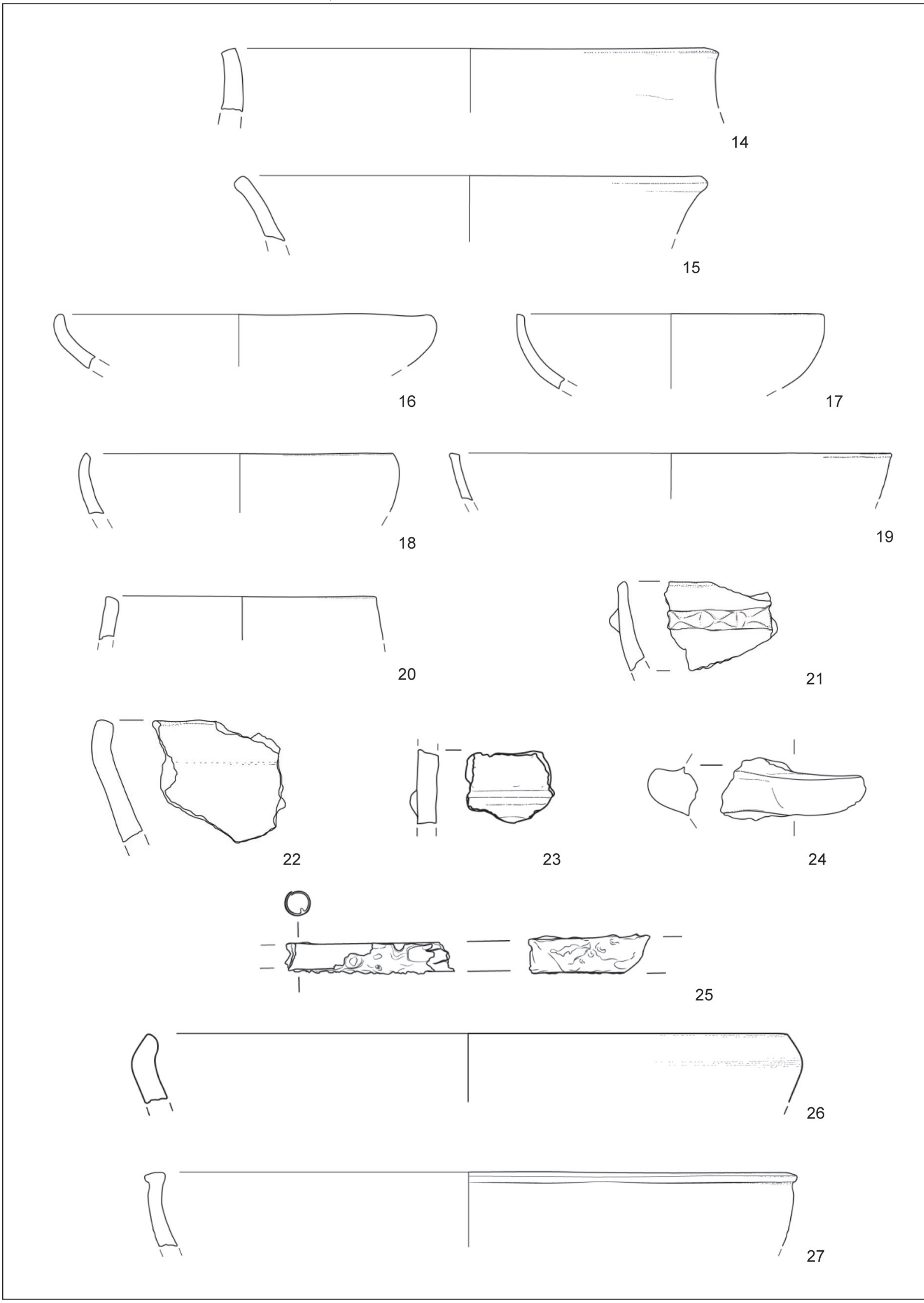


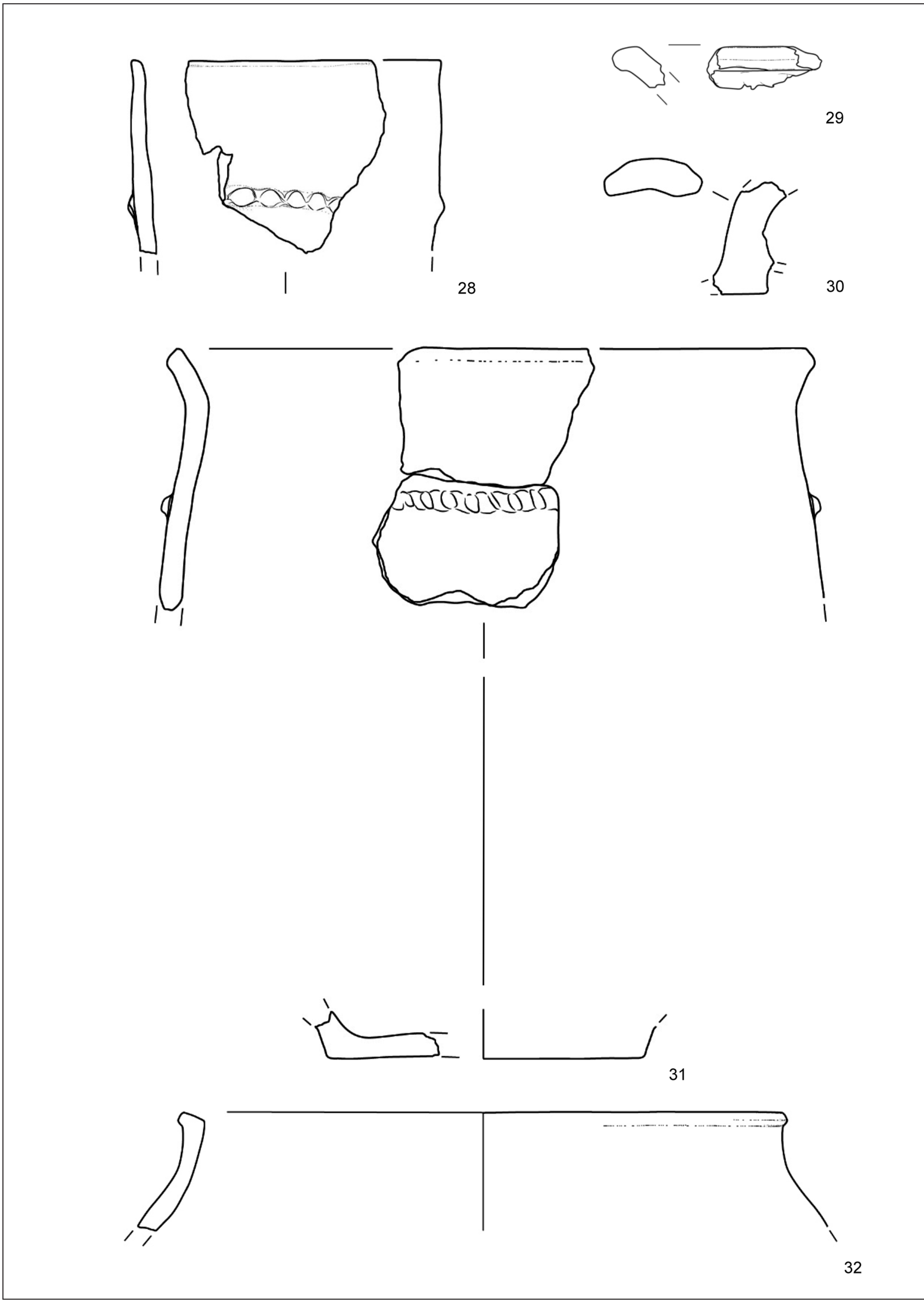
T. 1: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. Izbor bronastodobne keramike. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 1: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. Selection of Bronze age pottery. Scale = 1:3.



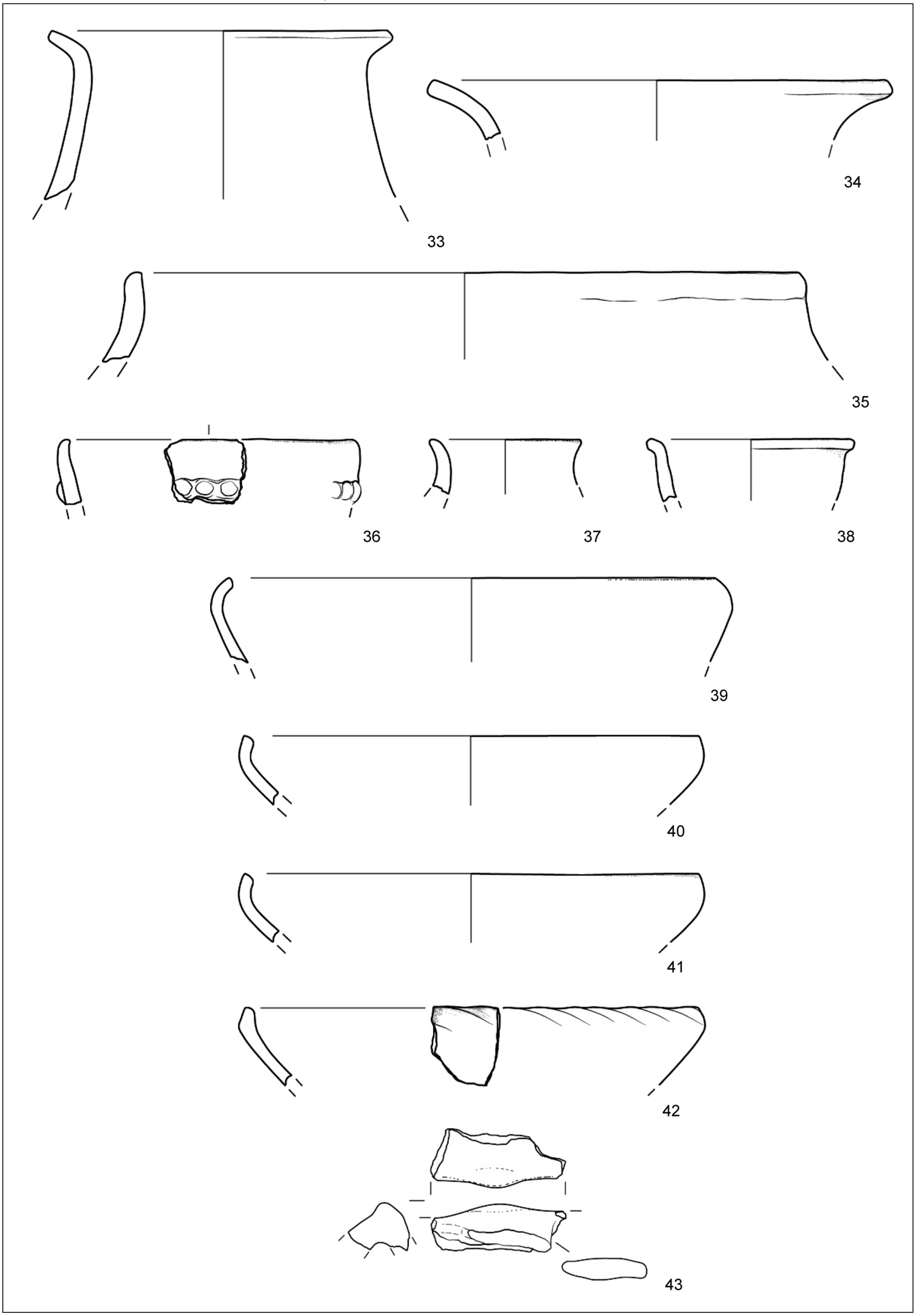
T. 2: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. 5 – 9 bronastodobna keramika. 10 – 13 halštatska keramika. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 2: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. 5 – 9 Bronze age pottery. 10 – 13 Early Iron age pottery. Scale = 1:3.



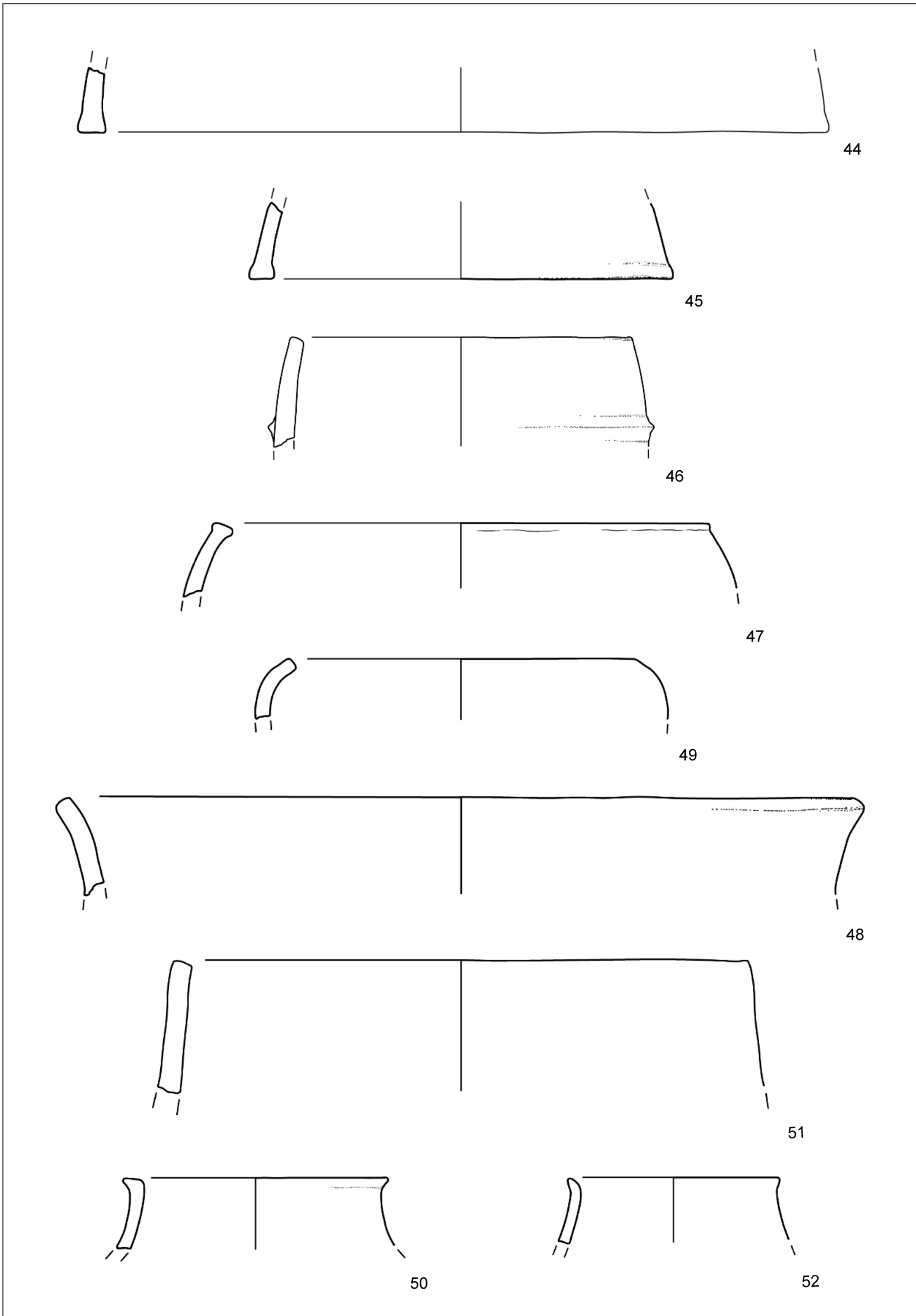
T. 3: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. 25 bron, ostalo keramika. M. 25 = 1:1 ostalo = 1:3.
Pl. 3: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. 25 bronze, other pottery. Scale 25 = 1:1, other = 1:3.



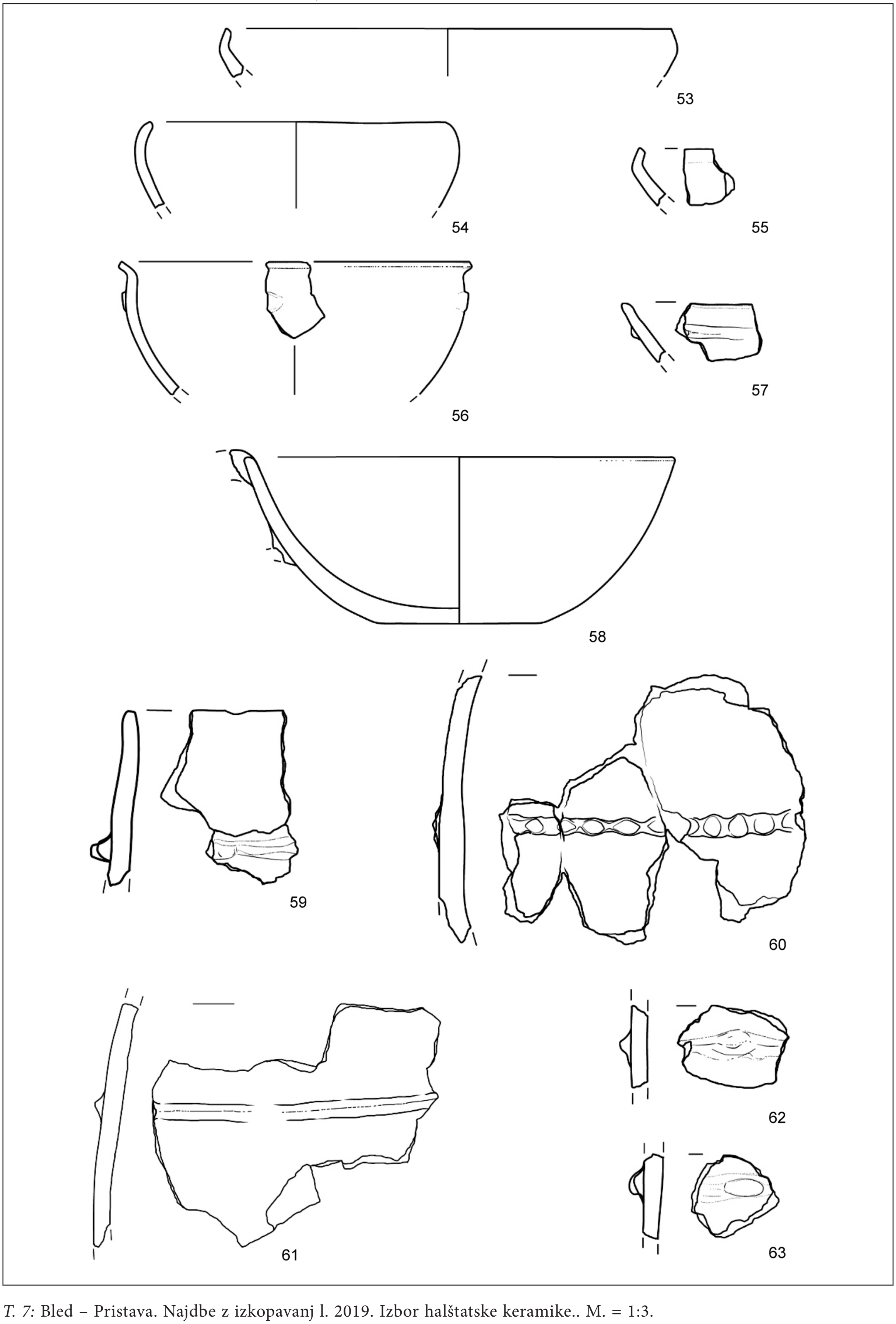
T. 4: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. Izbor halštatske keramike. M = 1:3.
Pl. 4: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. Selection of Early Iron age pottery. Scale = 1:3.



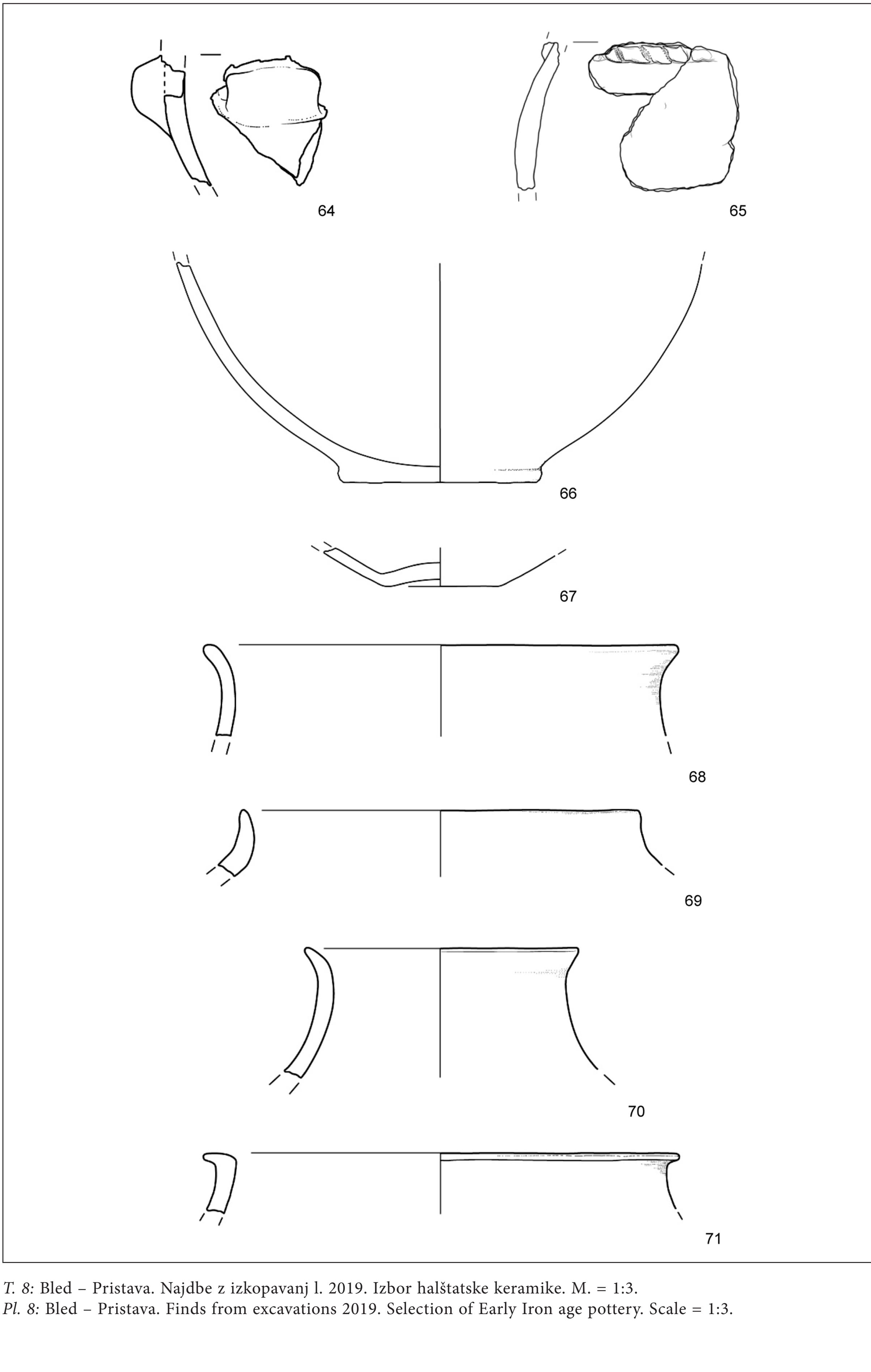
T. 5: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. Izbor halštatske keramike. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 5: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. Selection of Early Iron age pottery. All pottery. Scale = 1:3.



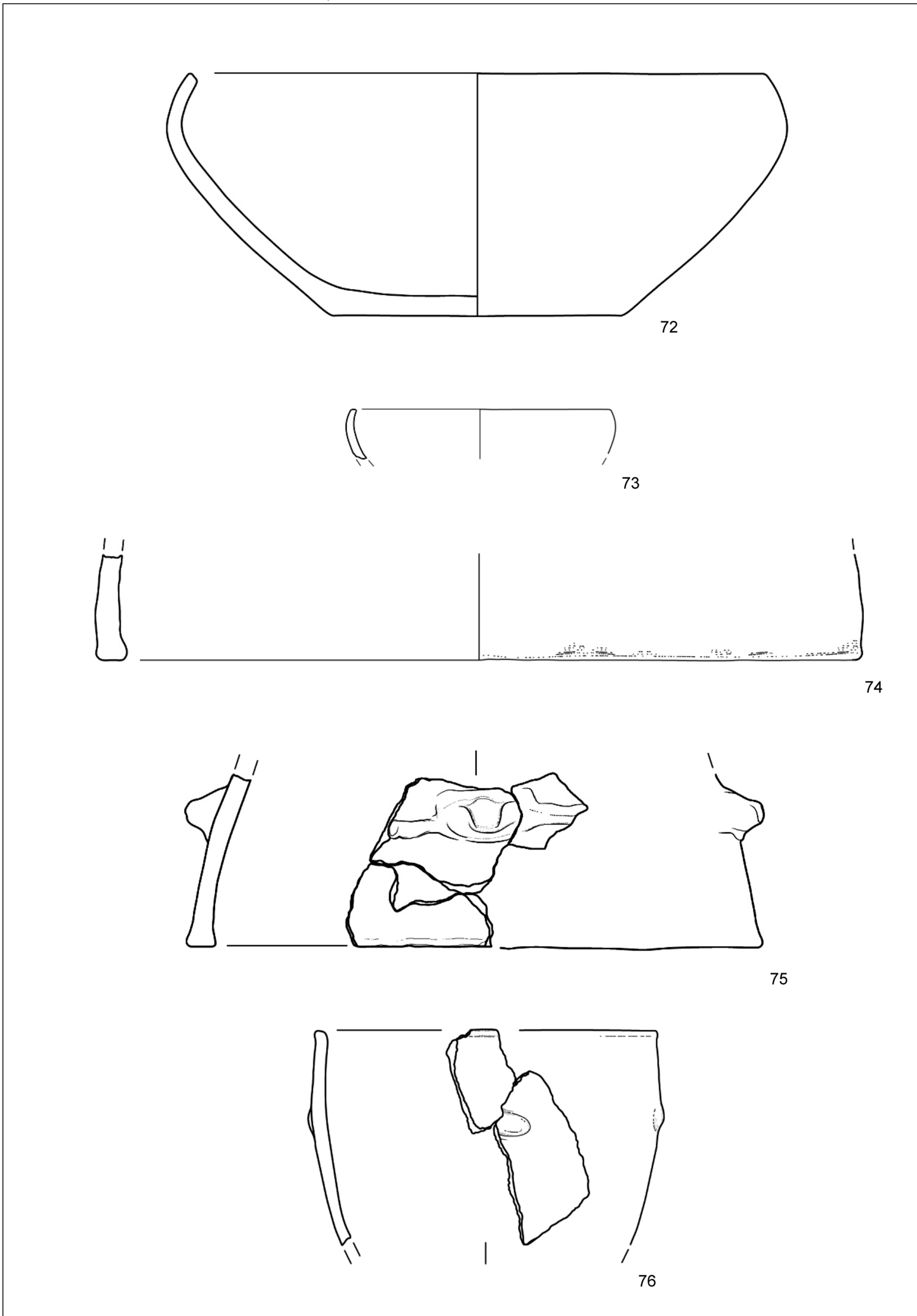
T. 6: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. Izbor halštatske keramike. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 6: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. Selection of Early Iron age pottery. All pottery. Scale = 1:3.



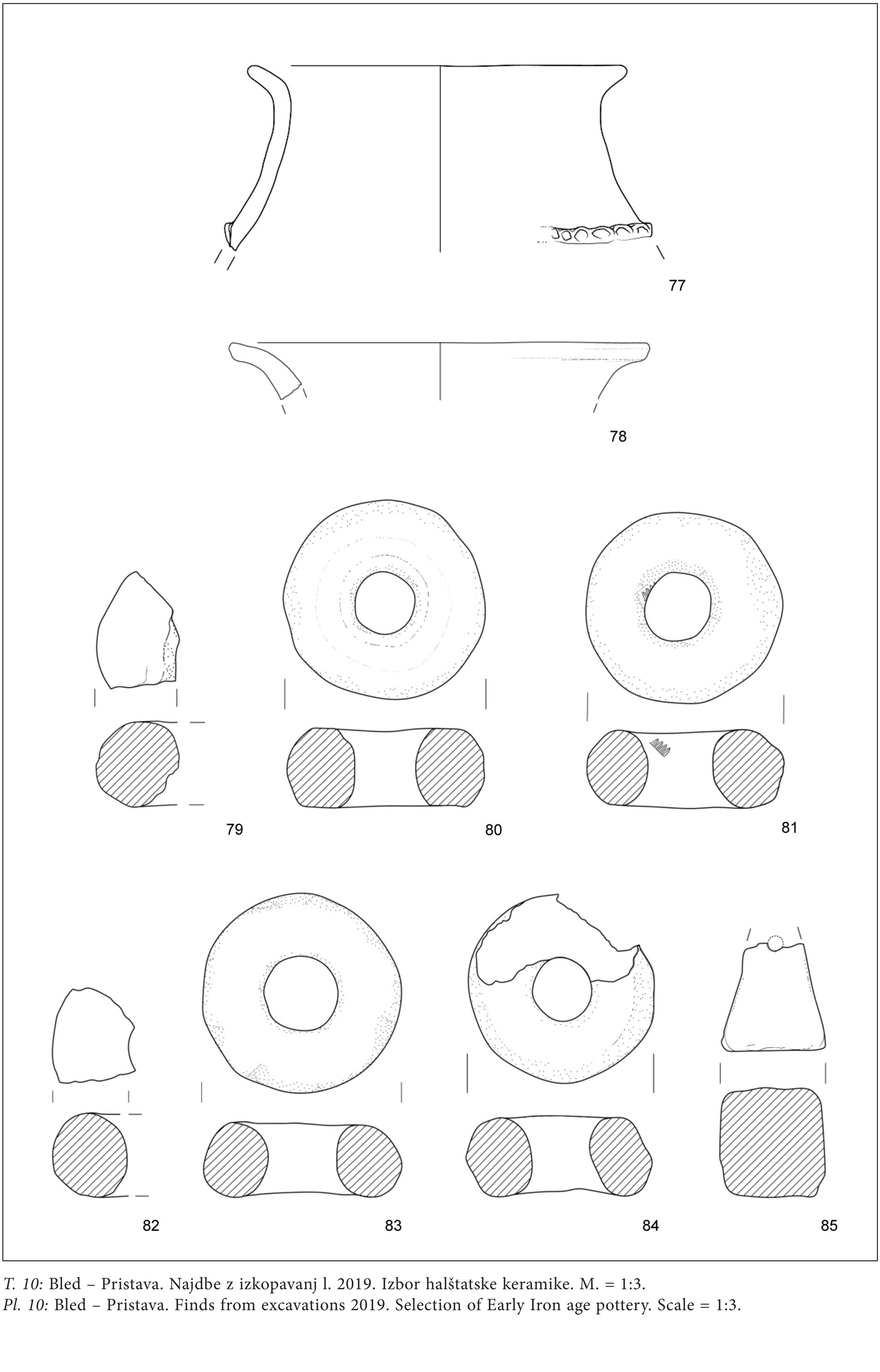
T. 7: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. Izbor halštatske keramike.. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 7: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. Selection of Early Iron age pottery. Scale = 1:3.



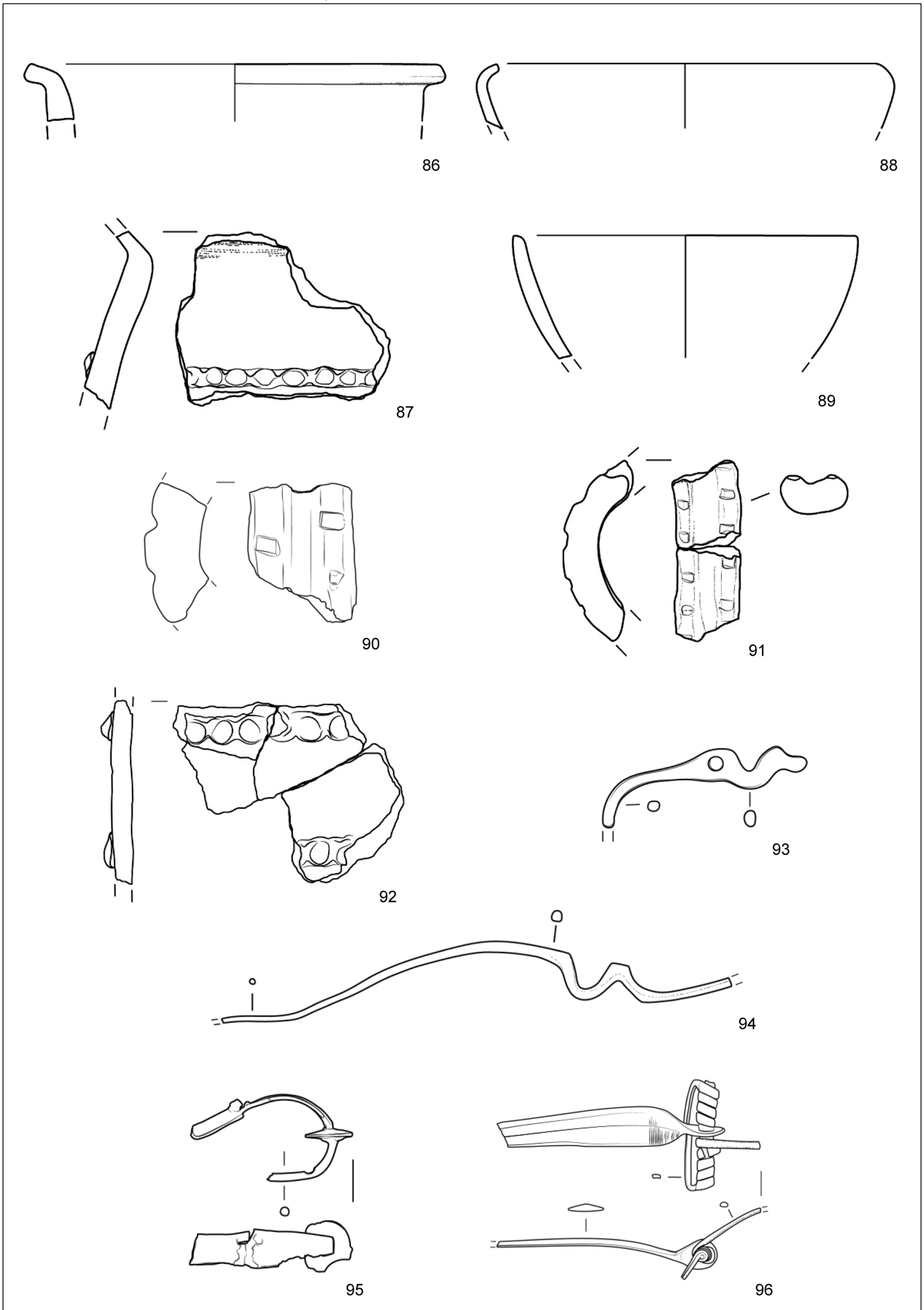
T. 8: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. Izbor halštatske keramike. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 8: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. Selection of Early Iron age pottery. Scale = 1:3.



T. 9: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. Izbor halštatske keramike. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 9: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. Selection of Early Iron age pottery. Scale = 1:3.



T. 10: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. Izbor halštatske keramike. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 10: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. Selection of Early Iron age pottery. Scale = 1:3.



T. 11: Bled – Pristava. Najdbe z izkopavanj l. 2019. 93 – 96 bron; ostalo keramika. M. 93 – 96 = 1:1; ostalo = 1:3.
Pl. 11: Bled – Pristava. Finds from excavations 2019. 93 – 96 bronze; other pottery. Scale 93 – 96 = 1:1; other = 1:3.

Prazgodovinsko grobišče na Pristavi na Bledu. Raziskave v letih 1975–1978

Prehistoric cemetery at Pristava in Bled. Archaeological investigations in 1975–1978

Polona BITENC

Izvleček

V prispevku so predstavljeni izsledki raziskav grobišča na Pristavi na Bledu v letih 1975–1978. Izkopavanja so zajela severni del nekropole, odkritih je bilo 33 železnodobnih grobov, 32 žganih in en skeletni, ter eno sežigališče. Način pokopa, pridatki iz grobov in raztresene najdbe dopolnjujejo sliko, ki so jo dala izkopavanja nekropole v letih 1948–1951. Grobišče je bilo v uporabi okrog 200 let v začetku starejše železne dobe. Lončenina in kovinske najdbe izpričujejo stike takratnih blejskih prebivalcev s sočasnimi skupnostmi na območjih Posočja, osrednje Slovenije, Koroške in Štajerske.
Ključne besede: Gorenjska; starejša železna doba; grobišča

Abstract

The excavations conducted in 1975–1978 at Pristava in Bled explored the northern part of the cemetery that had already been excavated in 1948–1951. The northern part yielded 33 Iron Age burials, of which 32 were cremations and one an inhumation, as well as a pyre site. The burial rite, grave goods and stray finds shed further light on the cemetery and show that it was in use for approximately two centuries in the initial part of the Early Iron Age. The pottery and the metal finds also reveal contacts that the inhabitants of the Bled area had with contemporary communities in the regions of Posočje, central Slovenia, Carinthia and Styria.
Keywords: Gorenjska; Early Iron Age; cemeteries

V letih 1948, 1949 in 1951 je Narodni muzej iz Ljubljane pod vodstvom Jožeta Kastelica izvedel sistematična izkopavanja na prazgodovinski in zgodnjesrednjeveški nekropoli na Pristavi pod blejskim gradom (*sl. 1*). Odkritih je bilo 318 skeletnih poznoantičnih in zgodnjesrednjeveških[1] ter 52 žganih prazgodovinskih grobov. Za prazgodovinski del grobišča je bil odgovoren Stane Gabrovec, ki je tudi objavil zgodovino raziskav in rezultate izkopavanj.[2] V letih 1975, 1976 in 1978 je Oddelek za arheologijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani nadaljeval raziskave. Prispevek obravnava tedaj odkrite prazgodovinske grobove (številke 53–85) in posamezne prazgodovinske najdbe (*sl. 2, 3*).

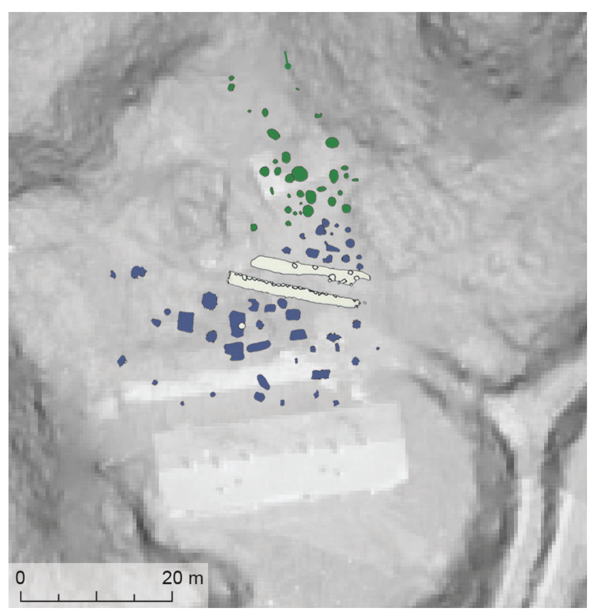
Izkopavanja je vodil Timotej Knific, v letih 1975 in 1976 je sodelovala tudi Biba Teržan, ki je vodila

[1] Kastelic 1960; Kastelic, Škerlj 1950.

[2] Gabrovec 1960a.

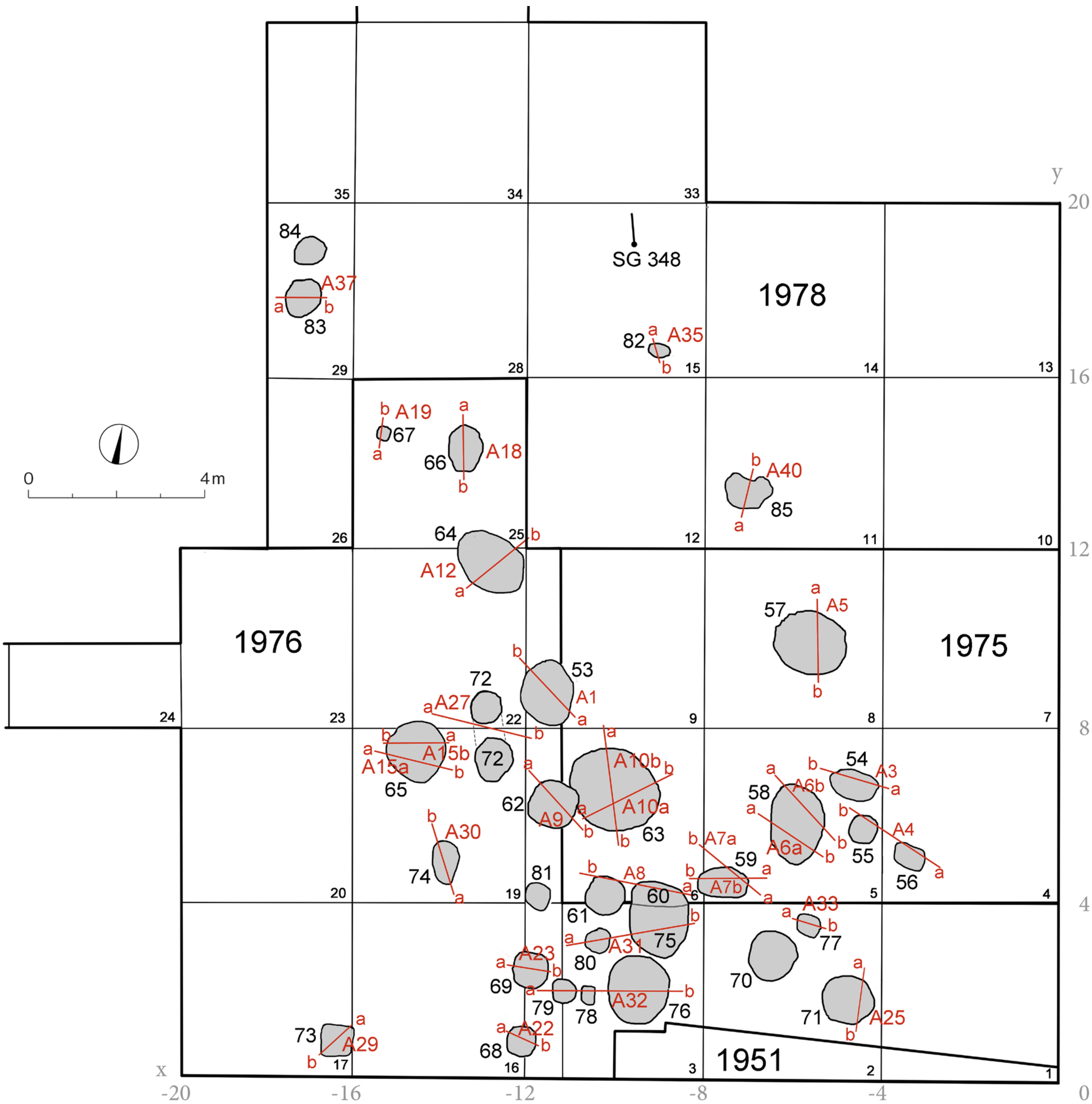
Sl. 1: Pogled na severno obalo Blejskega jezera z okolico leta 1999. Območje Pristave je označeno s puščico.
Fig. 1: Northern shore of Lake Bled with the surrounding area in 1999. The location of Pristava is marked with an arrow.

dnevnik izkopavanj za prazgodovinske grobove v letu 1975.[3] Leta 1975 so raziskali 6 kvadratov velikosti 4 × 4 m, severno od roba izkopa iz leta 1951 (*sl. 3:* kv. 4–9). Odkritih je bilo 11 žganih grobov (številke 53–63). V poročilu za to leto je navedenih 12 raziskanih prazgodovinskih grobov, a se je pozneje izkazalo, da sta lisi, označeni s številkama ŽG 6 in ŽG 7, en sam grob, zdaj grob 58. V letu 1976 so raziskali 11 kvadratov (*sl. 3:* kv. 1–3, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22–25) in dela kvadratov 6 in 9, ki leto prej še nista bila raziskana. Odkritih je bilo 17 žganih grobov in sežigališče (številke 64–81).[4] Leta 1978 so raziskali še 12 kvadratov, v devetih so bili izkopani prazgodovinski grobovi ali raztresene prazgodovinske najdbe (*sl. 3:* kv. 10–15, 26, 28, 29, 33–35). Odkriti so bili 4 žgani grobovi (številke 82–85) in skeletni grob (št. 348), v katerem je bila na roki pokojnika odkrita drobno narebrena mladohalštatska bronasta zapestnica. Izkopani sta bili tudi sondi na robu grobišča,[5] ki



Sl. 2: Pristava na Bledu. Območje prazgodovinskega grobišča: raziskano v letih 1949–1951 (modro), 1975–1978 (zeleno) in območje kamnitega suhega zidu (belo). (Podlaga: lidar©ARSO)
Fig. 2: Pristava in Bled. The areas of the prehistoric cemetery investigated in 1949–1951 (blue) and 1975–1978 (green), as well as remains of drystone constructions (white). (Base map: lidar©ARSO)

[3] Knific 1977.
[4] Knific 1979.
[5] Sonda 2 in 3; Pleterski 2008, priloga 1.



Sl. 3: Pristava na Bledu. Načrt prazgodovinskega dela grobišča, raziskanega v letih 1975–1978. Risbe označenih profilov grobov so dostopne prek povezave http://iza.zrc-sazu.si/pdf/razno/Bitenc_terenske_risbe_AV74_2023.pdf
Fig. 3: Pristava in Bled. Plan of the prehistoric cemetery investigated in 1975–1978. The section drawings of individuals graves are available at http://iza.zrc-sazu.si/pdf/razno/Bitenc_terenske_risbe_AV74_2023.pdf

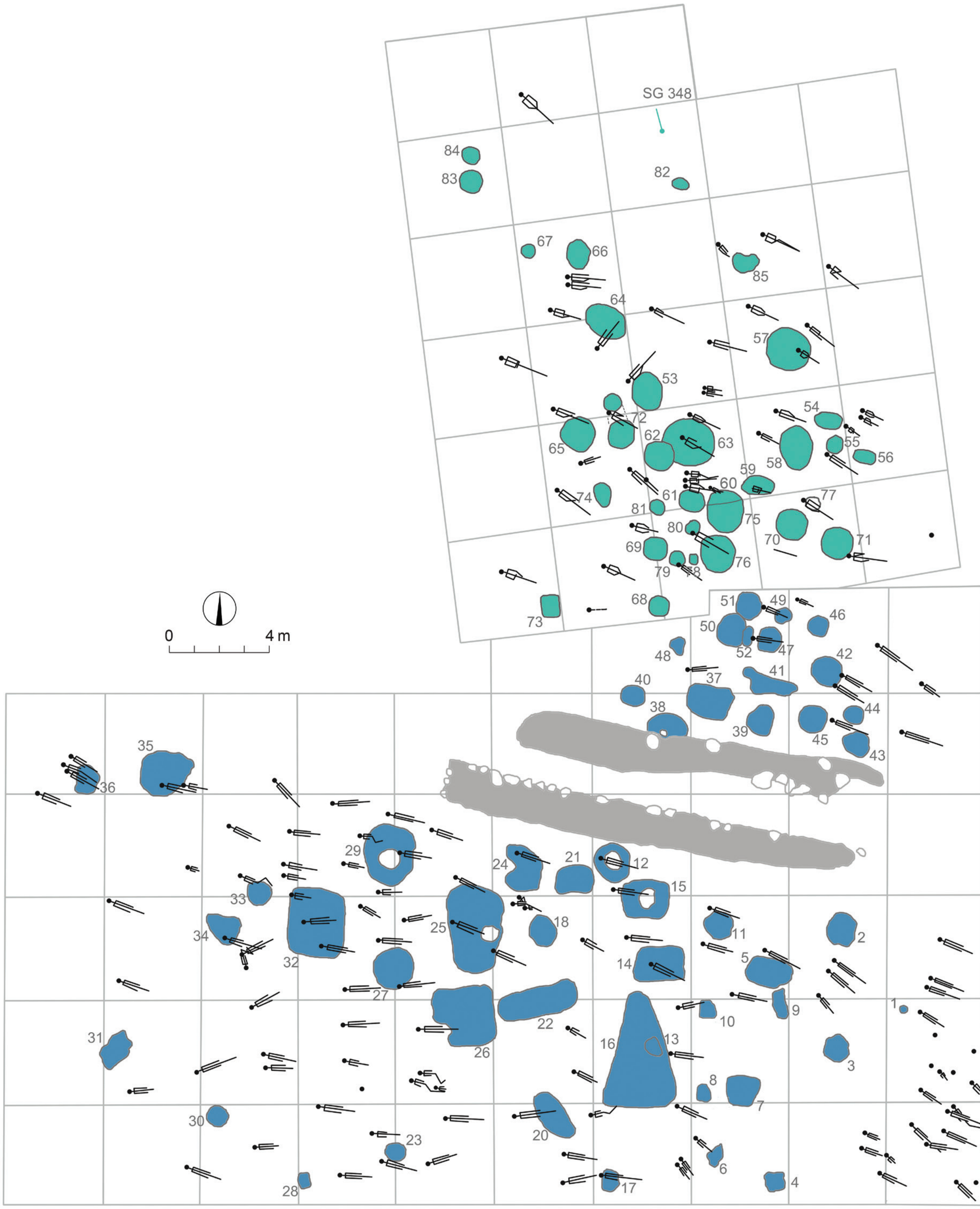
sta dali negativne rezultate, tako da je bila z njima verjetno določena tudi meja grobišča.[6]

Na območju prazgodovinskega grobišča je pozneje nastala poznoantična in zgodnjesrednjeveška nekropola, ki je zasedla nekoliko večjo površino, številni žgani grobovi so bili poškodovani ob kopanju grobnih jam za skeletne pokope (*sl. 4; 5*). Drugi vzrok za razmeroma slabo ohranjenost je bilo verjetno tudi pogosto ne preveč skrbno vkopavanje v plitvo zemljeno plast na nagnjenem zemljišču.[7]

Na nekropoli na Pristavi je bilo z raziskavami v letih 1948–1951 in 1975–1978 odkritih 83 prazgodovinskih objektov, večinoma planih žganih grobov, ki so bili razporejeni na približno 920 m^2 veliki površini. Razlika med dejanskim številom in oštevilčenjem grobov (zadnji prazgodovinski

[6] Poročila o raziskovalni nalogi za leta 1975, 1976 in 1978, Arhiv AO NMS št. 593.

[7] Gabrovec 1960a, 17, 18.



Sl. 4: Pristava na Bledu. Načrt prazgodovinskega grobišča: raziskano v letih 1948–1951 (modro), 1975–1978 (zeleno) in območje kamnitega suhega zidu (sivo) ter poznoantični in zgodnjesrednjeveški skeletni grobovi, ki so bili vkopani na tem območju (črno).

Fig. 4: Pristava in Bled. Plan of the prehistoric cemetery investigated in 1948–1951 (blue) and 1975–1978 (green) with marked drystone wall/constructions (grey) and Late Antique-early medieval inhumations (black).

grob ima številko 85) je nastala, ker je eno od obeh kultnih mest označeno z dvema številkama (Ž 13 in Ž 16) in ker se je po izkopavanjih izkazalo, da je objekt, označen kot Ž 19, zgodnjesrednjeveški.[8]

[8] Gabrovec 1960a, 22, 24, 37.

Sl. 5: Pristava na Bledu, skeletni grob 329, delno vkopan v žgani grob 57, pogled s SZ.
Fig. 5: Pristava in Bled, inhumation Grave 329 partly dug into cremation Grave 57, view from the northwest.

Sl. 6: Pristava na Bledu, skeletni grob 348 z bronasto zapestnico.
Fig. 6: Pristava in Bled, inhumation Grave 348 with a bronze bracelet.

NAČIN POKOPA

Prazgodovinski grobovi, odkriti v letih 1975–1978, so bili žgani in plani, tako kot grobovi, izkopani v letih 1948–1951. Izjema je skeletni grob 348, ki se je od drugih skeletnih (zgodnjesrednjeveških) grobov razlikoval po smeri pokopa, pokojnik pa je imel na roki mladohalštatsko bronasto zapestnico (*sl. 6*). Razmeroma slaba ohranjenost grobov v določeni meri povzroča težave pri določanju načina pokopa. Grobne jame so se med seboj po velikosti, obliki, pa tudi po skrbnosti vkopavanja precej razlikovale. Stene jam so bile poševne ali navpične. V tlorisu je bil grob viden kot lisa ovalne, okrogle, pravokotne, pa tudi nepravilne oblike, lise so imele v tlorisu premer od 0,3 m do 2 m.

Gabrovec je prazgodovinske objekte na Pristavi razdelil na 6 tipov grobov, ustrine in kultna mesta.[9] Prevzela sem njegovo delitev (*sl. 7)*, izračunani odstotki se nanašajo na celotno prazgodovinsko grobišče.

1 – grob z žaro in kamnito oblogo: 17 grobov (20,4 %); vsi so bili odkriti v letih 1948–1951;

2 – grob s kamnito oblogo in brez žare: 7 grobov (8,5 %); vsi so bili odkriti v letih 1948–1951;

3 – grob z žaro brez kamnite obloge: 7 grobov (8,5 %); 5 grobov iz let 1948–1951 in 2 grobova iz let 1975–1978;

4 – grob brez žare in brez kamnite obloge: 29 grobov (34,9 %); 7 grobov iz let 1948–1951 in 22 iz let 1975–1978;

5 – grob z nasuto žganino na širšem območju, delno prekrito s kamenjem: 7 grobov (8,5 %); vsi grobovi tega tipa so bili odkriti v letih 1948–1951;

6 – grob, pokrit s kamnito ploščo: 10 grobov (12 %); 2 grobova iz let 1948–1951, 8 grobov iz let 1975–1978;

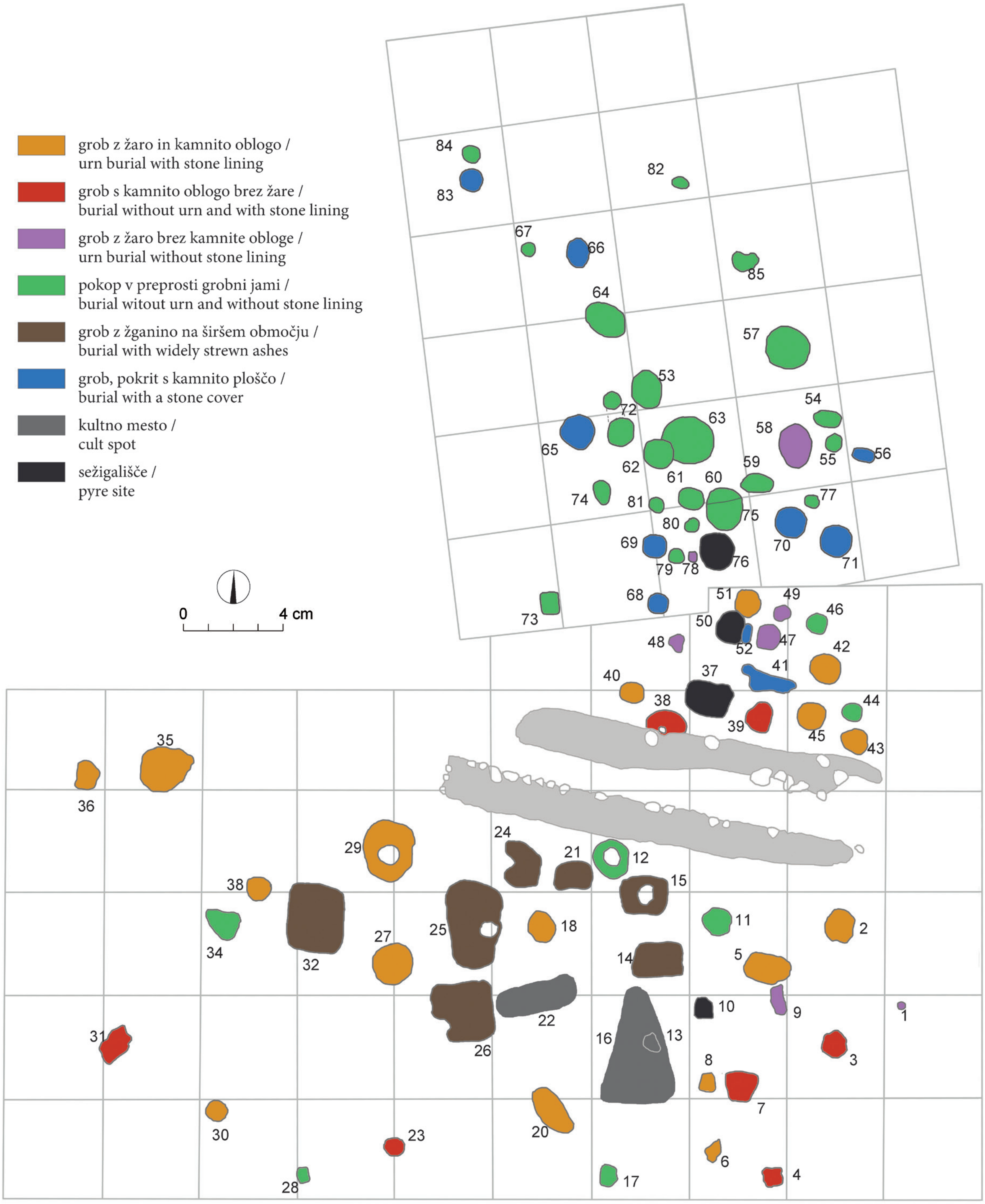
7 – kultno mesto: 2 objekta (2,4 %); odkrita sta bila v letih 1948–1951;

8 – ustrina: 4 objekti (4,8 %); 3 objekti iz let 1948–1951 in 1 objekt iz let 1975–1978.

Nobenega od grobov, izkopanih v letih 1975–1978, ne moremo uvrstiti v 1., 2. ali 5. skupino. Grobove z žaro in kamnito oblogo (1. način pokopa), ki so med prej raziskanimi objekti predstavljali največji delež, dobrih 33 %,[10] je na prvem mestu zamenjal 4. način pokopa: ostanki sežganih kosti in grmade ter pridatki so bili najpogosteje položeni kar v jamo, brez kakršne koli grobne konstrukcije ali žare. Temu načinu lahko pripišemo grobove številka 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84 in 85 (*sl. 8a–c, f*). Določanje v posamezne skupine je včasih nezanesljivo: grob 82 sem uvrstila v to skupino, čeprav bi bila posoda v grobu lahko uporabljena kot žara.

[9] Gabrovec 1960a, 37–45.

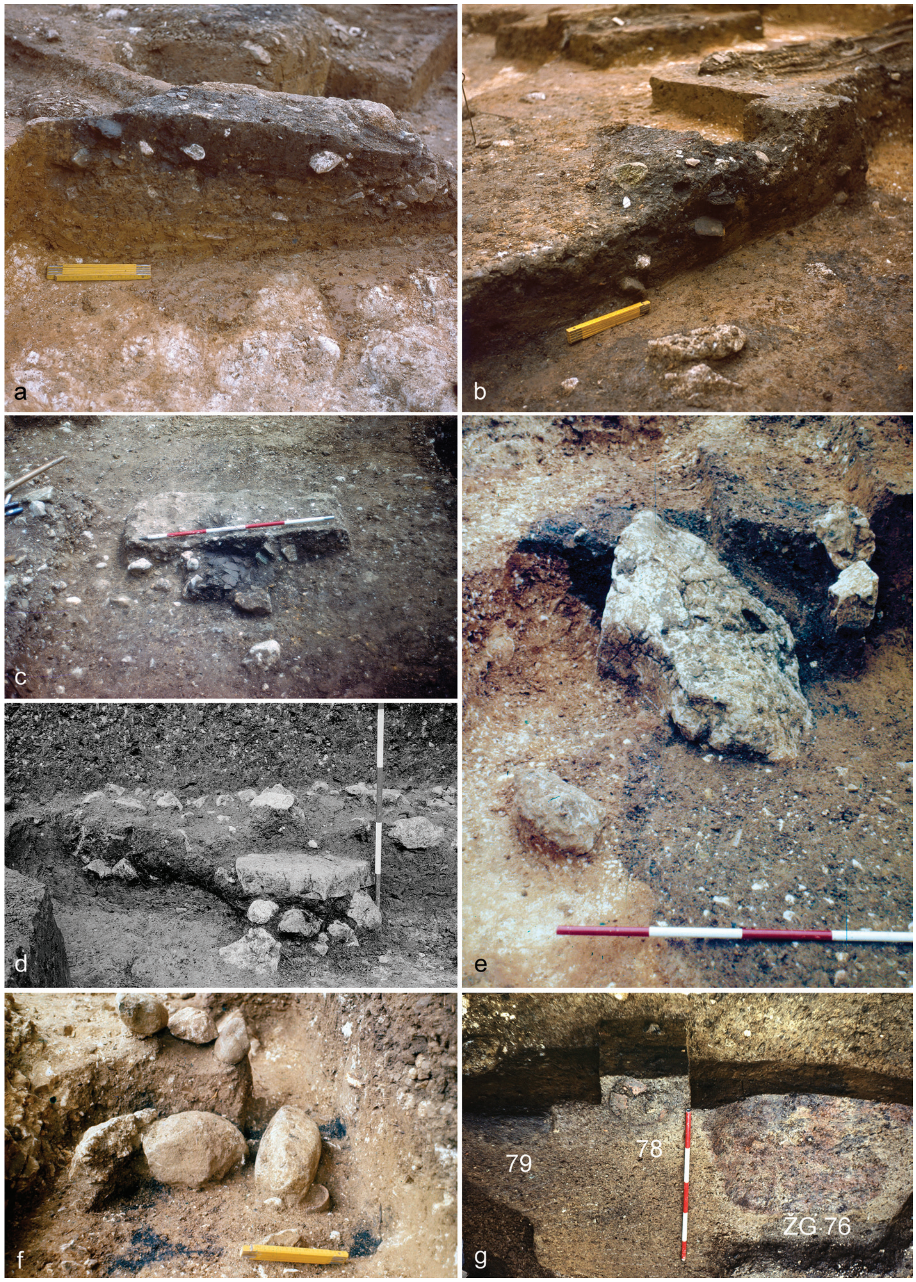
[10] Gabrovec 1960a, 37.



Sl. 7: Pristava na Bledu. Načrt prazgodovinskega najdišča z označenimi načini žganih pokopov.
Fig. 7: Pristava in Bled. Plan of the prehistoric cemetery with marked types of cremation burials and other features.

Pri šestih grobovih 4. načina pokopa (grobovi št. 54, 55, 57, 59, 62, 64), izkopanih v letih 1975–1978, je bila na dno jame najprej nasuta plast peska ali zemlje, šele na to podlago so položili ostanke grmade in sežganih kosti ter morebitne pridatke. Nasipavanje ilovice na dno grobne jame je bilo v letih 1948–1951 opaženo le enkrat, in sicer v grobu z žaro in kamnito oblogo (grob 45; 1. način pokopa).[11] V treh primerih (grobova 6 in 35 iz let 1948–1951 ter grob 77 – grobova 6 in 35 sta bila uvrščena v tip z žaro in kamnito oblogo,[12] grob

[11] Gabrovec 1960a, 34, 38.
[12] Gabrovec 1960a, 20, 29, 30.



Sl. 8: Pristava na Bledu, žgani grobovi 54 (a), 58 (b), 82 (c), 68 (d), 71 (e), 73 (f) ter 79, 78 in sežigališče (ŽG 76; g).
Fig. 8: Pristava in Bled, cremation Graves 54 (a), 58 (b), 82 (c), 68 (d), 71 (e), 73 (f), as well as Graves 79, 78 and Pyre Site (ŽG 76; g).

77 pa sem upoštevala pri 4. načinu pokopa) je bil na dno jame položen kamen, na njem je bila plast žganine, v dveh primerih (grobova 6 in 35) pa žara.

Grobovi, pokriti s kamnitimi ploščami (6. način pokopa), ki so bili v letih 1948–1951 odkriti le v dveh primerih, so bili med novejšimi izkopavanji razmeroma pogosti (grobovi 56, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 83; *sl. 8d,e*). Žganina s pridatki je bila položena kar v jamo, le enkrat (grob 68; *sl. 8d*) je bila v žari. V to skupino je uvrščen tudi grob 69, ki je bil sicer poškodovan. Ob robu grobne jame pa je ležala premaknjena kamnita plošča, ki je bila zelo verjetno povezana z grobom.

Med grobove z žaro (3. način pokopa) sta uvrščena le dva novoodkrita grobova (grob 58 in 78; *sl. 8g*); morda bi lahko prišteli še grob 82, če je bila posoda v grobu uporabljena kot žara, ter grob 68, ki pa je bil upoštevan že pri grobovih s kamnito ploščo.

Med izkopavanji v letih 1975–1978 je bilo odkrito tudi eno sežigališče (označeno kot grob 76; *sl. 8g*).[13]

[13] Knific 1977.

OPREDELITEV GRADIVA

Vsi predmeti iz 77 grobov,[14] raziskanih v letih 1948–1951 in 1975–78, so bili poškodovani v ognju. V 25 grobovih (32,5 %) so bili taki pridatki, da je bilo mogoče določiti spol pokopanega. Grobovi, ki so vsebovali fibulo, vretence ali šivanko, so uvrščeni med ženske pokope, v grobu, v katerem je bila igla, naj bi bil pokopan moški. Izmed 25 na tej osnovi opredeljivih grobov jih je 18 opredeljenih kot pokopi žensk (72 %), 4 kot pokopi moških (16 %), v treh grobovih pa naj bi bila skupaj pokopana ženska in moški (12 %). Kostni ostanki iz nekaterih grobov, odkritih v letih 1975–1978, so bili antropološko opredeljeni (podatki so navedeni v katalogu). Na blejski nekropoli v grobove niso polagali orožja, izjema je grob 71, v katerem so bili najdeni deli šmarješke čelade. Pomenljive povezave med spolom pokojnika in določenim načinom pokopa nisem ugotovila, prav tako ne med načinom pokopa in bogastvom pridatkov. Bogatejši grobovi so ženski (št. 25, 39, 44, 49 in 73; *sl. 8f; 9*), trije so dvojni pokopi ženske in moškega (grobovi 36, 51 in 71 – ob predpostavki, da je bila čelada pridatek), eden je moški (grob 18).

Lončenina

Med lončenino, najdeno med raziskavami 1975–1978 na blejski nekropoli, prevladujejo lonci. V grobovih so bili včasih uporabljeni kot žare (npr. grobovi 58, 68 in 78, morda tudi grob 82).

Lonca iz grobov 58 (*t. 1:* 18) in 68 (*t. 2:* 21) lahko uvrstimo med lonce s stožčastim vratom ljubljanske žarnogrobiščne skupine,[15] pri čemer žaro iz groba 68 lahko označimo kot tip 1 po Dularjevi tipologiji, posode iz groba 58 pa ne moremo natančneje uvrstiti v okviru te vrste posod. Lonci s stožčastim vratom so ena od pogostih oblik lončenine z grobišča SAZU v Ljubljani; oblika izvira iz obdobja kulture žarnih grobišč, najstarejše posode naj bi bile okrašene s plastičnim rebrom na spodnjem delu, prehod iz vratu v ramo je poudarjen; pozneje ta prehod postane tekoč, rebrast okras izgine. Blejski posodi nimata takšnega okrasa, prehod iz rame v vrat posode pa je še poudarjen in bi ju lahko uvrstili med tipološko nekoliko starejše, časovno

Sl. 9: Pristava na Bledu, pridatki iz žganega groba 73.
Fig. 9: Pristava in Bled, goods from cremation Grave 73.

pa na konec stopnje Ljubljana I ali začetek stopnje II.[16] Zanimivo je, da sta blejski posodi skoraj pol manjši od ljubljanskih. Žara z visokim stožčastim vratom iz groba 68 (*t. 2:* 21) je po profilaciji in razmerju med zgornjim in spodnjim delom posode zelo podobna nekaterim loncem iz Kleinkleina; tisti, ki so datirani, so postavljeni v 1. ali 2. fazo grobov.[17]

Posodam s stožčastim vratom lahko sledimo še bolj proti severu. Lonec iz groba 58 ima zelo dobre primerjave v velikih žarah s stožčastim vratom (obliki posod, ki ima izvor v kulturi žarnih grobišč) z nižjeavstrijskega najdišča Maiersch.[18] Starejše posode v okviru tega tipa so velikokrat okrašene z vrezi, žlebovi ali plastičnimi bradavicami, nekatere pa niso okrašene. Prav slednje so najboljše primerjave za posodo iz groba 58 na Pristavi – imajo izvihano ustje, jasno ločeno ramo od vratu in majhen premer dna v primerjavi z ustjem. Prepričljivost povezave moti velika krajevna oddaljenost in – kot pri ljubljanskih posodah – razlika v velikosti. Še ena zelo dobra primerjava

[14] Sežigališča in kultni mesti pri sledeči procentni oceni niso upoštevani.

[15] Dular 1982, 109.

[16] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 16–19.

[17] Dobiat 1980, 168, 231, 232, 236, 244, t. 60: 5; 61: 1, 3; 62: 4; 72: 1; 87: 5.

[18] Grobišče je datirano v Ha C. Berg 1962, 12,13, t. 3: 1; 8: 1; 11: 1; 14: 1; 22: 2; 24: 1.

izvira iz naselbine Burgstallkogel pri Kleinkleinu na avstrijskem Štajerskem. Zgornji del sicer spet še enkrat večjega lonca, datiran v čas prehoda med kulturo žarnih grobišč in starejšo železno dobo, je po oblikovanosti ustja, poudarjenem prehodu iz vratu v ramo posode ter razmerju med premerom ustja in premerom največjega oboda zelo podoben žari iz groba 58.[19] Podobne posode so pogoste tudi v Rušah in na Pobrežju. V Rušah se pojavljajo v sredini trajanja grobišča, to je v stopnji Ha B2, obdržijo pa se skozi celo stopnjo Ha B;[20] glede na to, da blejska posoda ni okrašena, bi jo lahko uvrstili med mlajše posode tega tipa. Analogijo najdemo tudi na Mostu na Soči, kjer je bila skoraj pol manjša posoda, kot je blejska, najdena v grobu s poškodovano železno fibulo, ki bi lahko sodila v stopnjo Sv. Lucija Ib.[21]

Posodo iz groba 78 (*t. 4:* 14) – del podobne sta morda tudi odlomka ustja in rame posode iz groba 65 (*t. 2:* 19) – lahko uvrstimo med posode z izvihanim ustjem, konkavnim vratom in bikoničnim trupom, ki se na ljubljanskem grobišču pojavijo v stopnji Ljubljana Ib. Najprepričljivejša primerjava je posoda iz groba 166, v katerem so bili odkriti še del fibule očalarke, odlomek latvice in odlomek ustja lončene posode.[22] Spet je opazna razlika v velikosti, blejska posoda je skoraj za tretjino manjša od ljubljanske. Številne posode te vrste iz Ljubljane so okrašene s plastičnim rebrom na največjem obodu ali tik pod njim,[23] blejska ima kratka trakasta ročaja na največjem obodu. Dobro primerjavo najdemo v prav tako nekoliko večji okrašeni posodi iz Kleinkleina, iz groba Tschoneggerfranzlwald 4, umeščenega v 1. fazo grobov, ki časovno ustreza horizontu Ljubljana IIb/IIIa.[24]

Bikoničen lonček z visokim vratom in rahlo izvihanim ustjem iz groba 73 (*t. 4:* 7) je izdelan neskrbno in ni simetričen. Razmeroma dobro primerjavo najdemo v Ljubljani. Ljubljanski lonec je sicer nekoliko večji, prehod iz rame v vrat bolj izrazit, ustje nekoliko bolj izvihano, zelo pa sta si podobna po zaobljenem spodnjem delu in visokem koničnem vratu.[25] Blejskemu je podoben prav tako nekoliko višji lonček iz Kleinkleina, iz gomile Tschoneggerfranzl 2, datiran v 3. fazo, ki časovno ustreza horizontu Stična-Novo mesto 2 glede na mlajše gradivo. Pod oznako Tschoneggerfranzl 2 so shranjene najdbe iz številnih manjših in srednje velikih gomil, raziskanih v začetku 19. stoletja, brez natančnejših podatkov.[26]

Žara iz groba 8, odkrita med izkopavanji v letih 1948–1951,[27] in lonec iz groba 82 (*t. 5:* 1) imata zelo kratek vrat in neizrazito oblikovano rahlo izvihano ustje. Oblikovno jima je nekoliko podobna dvakrat večja žara iz groba 94 z dvorišča SAZU v Ljubljani,[28] predvsem po oblikovanosti ustja in vratu, je pa manj bikonična kot blejski posodi. Razlika je opazna tudi v premerih ustja in dna – blejski imata ustje ožje kot dno, ljubljanska pa obrnjeno. V grobu 82 na Bledu ni bilo drugih pridatkov, v grobu 8 pa je bila igla z uvito glavico. V grobu 94 v Ljubljani so bili poleg žare še skodelica s presegajočim ročajem, plitev lonec, večglava igla in odlomek igle.

Plitvi lonci z nizkim, od rame dobro oddvojenim vratom so bili na Pristavi odkriti že med prvimi izkopavanji.[29] Dva od njih sta, kot odlomek lonca iz kvadrata 19, raziskanega leta 1976 (*t. 7:* 16), okrašena z nizom vrezanih šrafiranih trikotnikov. Take posode[30] so značilne za fazo Ljubljana IIIa, en primerek pa je znan tudi že iz faze Ljubljana IIb.[31] Razen lonca iz groba 198,[32] ki ima na rami vodoraven niz bronastih gumbov, ljubljanske posode niso okrašene. Podobni plitvi lonci, nekateri so okrašeni, spadajo v Kleinkleinu med mlajše oblike posod, najdene so bile v grobovih 2. in 3. faze.[33]

Med lonce lahko štejemo še posode brez vratu in s preprosto zaključenim ustjem iz objekta 22, raziskanega v letih 1948–1951, označenega kot kultno mesto,[34] ter iz grobov 55 (*t. 1:* 6) in 62 (*t. 2:* 7). Takim posodam verjetno pripadajo tudi odlomki ustij iz grobov 57 (*t. 1:* 13), 62 (*t. 2:* 9), 69 (*t. 3:* 1), 71 (*t. 3:* 20) in 72 (*t. 3:* 27) ter iz kvadrata 2 (*t. 5:* 21). Posode brez vratu s trebušastim trupom so

[19] Dobiat 1990, 28, 63, t. 5: 7.

[20] Müller-Karpe 1959, 118; Ruše: t. 109: K5; t. 111: J4; t. 112: D6; Pobrežje: t. 123: 26.

[21] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž Orel 1984–1985, t. 94: C4; Teržan, Trampuž 1975, 420.

[22] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 28, 29, t. 82: 6–9.

[23] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 28–30.

[24] Dobiat 1980, 168, 225, t. 49: 4.

[25] Grob 266, v žganini; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 112, t. 132: 7.

[26] Dobiat 1980, 21, 170, 229, t. 57: 8.

[27] Gabrovec 1960a, 20, t. 8: 3.

[28] Puš 1971, t. 8: 2.

[29] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 17: 1; 24: 5; 28: 1.

[30] Ljubljanski žarnogrobiščni tip lonca 2; Dular 1982, 111, sl. 13: 11.

[31] Puš 1971, t. 1: 9; 32: 9; 35: 8; 43: 2; Puš 1982, 50, t. 35: 5; Gabrovec 1975, razpredelnica.

[32] Puš 1971, t. 35: 8.

[33] Dobiat 1980, 169, 179, 223, 226, 241, 249; t. 44: 1; 49: 6; 82: 2; 99: 8.

[34] Gabrovec 1960a, 25, t. 13: 1.

na ljubljanskem grobišču dolgotrajna oblika, saj se pojavijo že v starejši fazi kulture žarnih grobišč,[35] najdemo jo tudi v Dobovi, v 3. skupini grobov, ki je postavljena v čas Ha B1 in kronološko ustreza stopnji Ljubljana I.[36] Podobni lonci so bili odkriti tudi v Sv. Luciji, vendar so bili v grobovih brez spremnega gradiva, ki bi omogočalo natančnejšo datacijo,[37] ter v Kleinkleinu, v 1. in 3. fazi grobišča.[38] Mlajši je lonec iz Novega mesta iz groba z oklepom, datiranega v konec 7. stoletja.[39]

Med blejskim gradivom so še lonci s kratkim izvihanim ustjem, dva sta bila najdena med raziskavami grobišča v letih 1948–1951, v grobu 45, v katerem je bila tudi železna dvozankasta fibula, in grobu 49, skupaj z bronasto dvozankasto fibulo.[40] Odlomek posode te vrste je bil najden tudi med raziskavami leta 1975 v kvadratu 6 (*t. 6:* 17). V Ljubljani so takšne posode datirane v stopnjo Ljubljana Ib.[41]

Latvice so bile odkrite tako med prvimi[42] kot med drugimi raziskavami (*t. 1:* 19; *4:* 16). Pripišemo jih lahko tipu 1 ljubljanske žarnogrobiščne skupine, ki ga poznamo v vseh fazah Ljubljane, obdrži pa se še naprej v halštatsko obdobje.[43]

Odlomek ostenja iz kvadrata 35 (*t. 7:* 25) lahko zaradi ostrega prehoda iz rame v trup uvrstimo med lonce tipa 1 ljubljanske žarnogrobiščne skupine.[44] V Ljubljani najdemo ta tip posode v grobu 82, ki leži med grobovi stopnje Ljubljana IIb, in v grobu 214, ki sodi v stopnjo IIIa.[45] Glineni lonci, ki posnemajo kovinske oblike posod, se na Križni gori pojavijo že v fazi Ia (Ha B2/B3), značilni so za fazo Ib, pozneje pa izginejo iz uporabe.[46] V Tolminu je bila najdena podobna situlasta posoda v grobu skupaj z železno večglavo iglo.[47] Kleinklein v 1. fazi pozna situlo v glini, okrašeno s kanelurami.[48]

Rdeče premazana noga posode iz groba 56 (*t. 1:* 12) je verjetno pripadala posodi z barvanimi pasovi. Drugi pridatki, bronast obroček, odlomek bronastega predmeta, steklena jagoda in odlomka lončenine (*t. 1:* 7–11), ne dajejo opore za natančnejšo datacijo. V Ljubljani poznamo tako posodo iz groba 281, kjer nastopa skupaj s kačasto fibulo in sodi v horizont Stična-Novo mesto 2. Ljubljanska posoda ima rdeče pobarvano nogo, ostanki rdečega premaza so tudi na odlomku z Bleda. Posode te vrste imajo praviloma črno pobarvane noge.[49]

Skodela s presegajočim ročajem spada med lažje opredeljive posode (*t. 5:* 20), pet je bilo odkritih že med izkopavanji v letih 1948–1951.[50] Skodele z izvihanim ustjem in ostrim prehodom iz rame v vrat so med lončenino ljubljanske žarnogrobiščne skupine mlajša oblika skodel, ki se v Ljubljani pojavijo v grobovih z dvorišča SAZU v fazi Ljubljana IIb, v uporabi pa so bile tudi v stopnji IIIa,[51] odlomki takih posod so bili odkriti tudi na Prulah.[52] Ljubljanske posode te vrste so okrašene z vrezi ali bronastimi žebljički, medtem ko so blejske, z izjemo skodele iz groba 26, brez okrasa. Odlomki takšnih skodelic so bili najdeni v Kranju,[53] podobne posode so bile odkrite v Tolminu, kjer so značilne za fazi Sv. Lucija Ia in Ib.[54] Odlomek kroglaste skodele z uvihanim ustjem in presegajočim ročajem iz groba 78 (*t. 4:* 13) lahko uvrstimo med skodele tipa 2 ljubljanske žarnogrobiščne skupine, ki je eden od vodilnih tipov skodel v fazi Ljubljana I.[55] Take skodele so v Kleinkleinu pogoste v 1. in 2. fazi grobov, obdržijo se še v 3. fazi.[56]

Med glinenimi najdbami so še vretenca. Več je bilo odkritih v letih 1948–1951, prevladujoča oblika je stožčasta.[57] V letih 1975–1978 so bila najdena štiri vretenca, tri v grobu 71 (*t. 3:* 17–19) in eno v grobu 73 (*t. 4:* 6). Ta dva grobova sta najbogatejša na novoodkritem delu grobišča.

Lončenina s Pristave je razmeroma skromno okrašena. Odlomek, okrašen z nizom vrezanih

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[35] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 48, 49.

[36] Stare 1975, t. 6: 15; 15: 12; Dular 1978, kombinacijska tabela.

[37] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž Orel 1984–1985, t. 114: G; 158: F; 252: D1.

[38] Dobiat 1980, 168, 170; t. 37: 1; 74: 7; 91: 14; 103: 9.

[39] Gabrovec 1960b, 49, sl. 9: 4.

[40] Gabrovec 1960a, 34, 35, t. 27: 1; 28: 2.

[41] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 45.

[42] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 18: 9; 21: 3.

[43] Dular 1982, 112–115, sl. 13: 17; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 75, 76.

[44] Dular 1982, 111, 112, sl. 13: 10.

[45] Puš 1971, t. 4: 2; 39: 10; Gabrovec 1975.

[46] Urleb 1974, 21, 32–38; t. 1: 1; 3: 20; 8: 7; Dular 1982, 128.

[47] Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, 62, t. 26: 6.

[48] Dobiat 1980, 168, t. 4: 2.

[49] Puš 1982, 96, t. 8: 7; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 52.

[50] Gabrovec 1960a, 55–58; t. 8: 1; 11: 2; 12: 5; 15: 10; 16: 1.

[51] Dular 1982, tip 3; 111–113, sl. 13: 16; Puš 1971, t. 21: 15; 50: 2; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 60, 61.

[52] Vojaković 2014, 396, 397, 404, 405, sl. 22.3.5, 22.3.14.

[53] Gerbec *et al.* 2014, 326, sl. 18.3: 16–18.

[54] Svoljšak 1975, 409; Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, 14, 65, 113, 140, 189; t. 4: 5; 29: 9; 53: 1; 67: 18; 88: 19.

[55] Dular 1982, 112, 113, 116, sl. 13: 15.

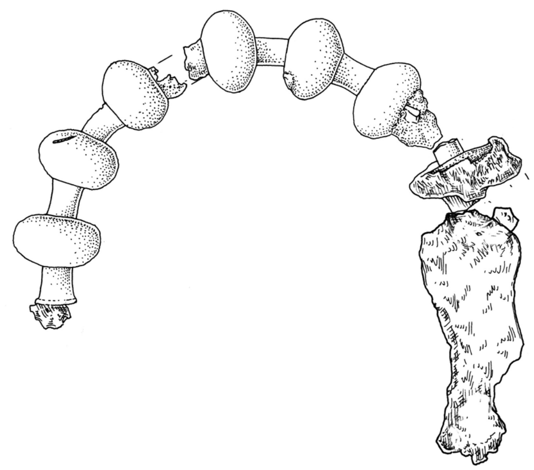
[56] Dobiat 1980, 168–170, 209–211, 213, 235, 239, 241; t. 10: 5; 12: 3, 4; 14: 15; 21: 4; 71: 6; 79: 10; 81: 3.

[57] Gabrovec 1960a, 60, 61; t. 14: 7; 18: 1, 4; 20: 5, 6; 21: 2; 24: 8; 26: 1, 3, 4, 6, 7; 30: 6.

šrafiranih trikotnikov (*t. 7:* 16), je del plitve posode z nizkim vratom. Dobro ohranjeni posodi istega tipa in okrašeni na enak način, sta bili odkriti med izkopavanji 1948–51.[58] Okras vrezanih šrafiranih trikotnikov najdemo še na odlomku neopredeljive posode[59] in na odlomku posode s stožčastim vratom (*t. 6:* 2). Posode, okrašene na ta način, so iz temno sive do črne keramike, površina je zglajena, izjema je rdeče rjav odlomek iz groba 32. V nekaterih vrezih je ohranjen ostanek belega polnila, ki je poudarjal okras. V Ljubljani se tak okras, pogosto z belo inkrustacijo, pojavlja na različnih oblikah posod, največkrat na loncih s stožčastim vratom.[60] Vrvičast okras se pojavlja na štirih odlomkih, ki so verjetno deli iste posode (grob 58, *t. 1:* 22). Na treh fragmentih je okras v vodoravni liniji (enkrat dvojni), na enem je v navpični, na enem pa imamo dvojno girlando pod vodoravno linijo. Zanimiva je kombinacija žlebljenja in vrvičastega okrasa (*t. 1:* 21). Tehniki sta vsaka zase v istem času zelo priljubljeni, skupaj pa ne nastopata. Odlomek lončene posode iz groba 54 (*t. 1:* 5) je okrašen s skoraj navpičnimi žlebovi na rami in največjem obodu posode, odlomek iz groba 65 (*t. 2:* 19) pa s širokimi plitvimi poševnimi in vodoravnimi žlebovi. Za oba načina krašenja najdemo najlepšo primerjavo na Legnu.[61] Rebro, razčlenjeno z vrezi, po navadi krasi precej grobe in velike posode v stopnjah Ha B in Ha C.[62] Razširjen okras je tudi rebro, razčlenjeno z odtisi (verjetno prsta). Blejskim odlomkom (*t. 1:* 10; *5:* 25; *6:* 3,12) ne moremo določiti oblike posod. V Ljubljani so z rebri, razčlenjenimi z vtisi, okrašene večje posode, najpogosteje v fazi Ljubljana IIa in IIb.

Kovinske najdbe

Na Pristavi sta bila odkrita odlomka loka vaške vozlaste fibule, v grobu 51[63] in grobu 71 (*t. 3:* 4). Grobova sta bila drug od drugega oddaljena 4 m, na območju, kjer je bilo najdenih največ raztresenih prazgodovinskih, predvsem kovinskih predmetov (kv. 2; *t. 5:* 7–29), kar kaže na precej poškodovan del prazgodovinskega grobišča. V grobu 71 je bila še visoka železna noga fibule (*t. 3:* 5), v kv. 2 pa je bil najden zaključek loka fibule (*t. 5:* 8), ki ima stik z nogo. To navaja na misel, da bi vsi štirje odlomki lahko pripadali isti fibuli (*sl. 10*). Domneva je precej verjetna za oba odlomka loka, saj imata oba enak premer loka in tudi enak premer odebelitev. Fibula bi tako imela šest vozlov, kot na primer fibula z Vač.[64] Opravljena analiza XRF na površini obeh odlomkov loka fibule s Pristave to verjetnost zvišuje (*sl. 11*). Pri obeh nastopajo isti elementi, razliko v količini posameznega lahko pripišemo različnemu stanju odlomkov – eden je bil temeljito očiščen, odstranjena je bila vsa patina, drugi pa še ni bil v konservatorskem postopku, zato so bili poleg patine na predmetu tudi ostanki zemlje.[65]



Sl. 10: Pristava na Bledu. Risarska rekonstrukcija vozlaste fibule iz odlomkov, najdenih v grobovih 51 (NMS, inv. št. P 9805) in 71 (*t. 3:* 4,5) ter v kv. 2 (*t. 5:* 8).
Fig. 10: Pristava in Bled. Drawn reconstruction of the knobbed brooch fragments recovered from Grave 51 (NMS, Inv. No. P 9805), Grave 71 (*Pl. 3:* 4,5) and Grid Square 2 (*Pl. 5:* 8).

Fibula po Gabrovčevi razdelitvi pripada tipu 5a, ki se pojavi na koncu stopnje Podzemelj 1 in postane vodilni tip stopnje Podzemelj 2.[66] Zaradi števila odebelitev (starejše fibule jih imajo praviloma 5 do 7), predvsem pa zaradi polnih odebelitev in železnega jedra, ki poteka po celotni dolžini loka

[58] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 17: 1; 24: 5.

[59] Grob 32; Gabrovec 1960a, t. 18: 5.

[60] Prim. Stare 1954, t. 49: 5; Puš 1971, t. 3: 8; 10: 5; 12: 4; 28: 10; Puš 1982, t. 14: 2.

[61] Strmčnik-Gulič 1979, t. 14: 7; 15: 1; 18: 3; 19: 4.

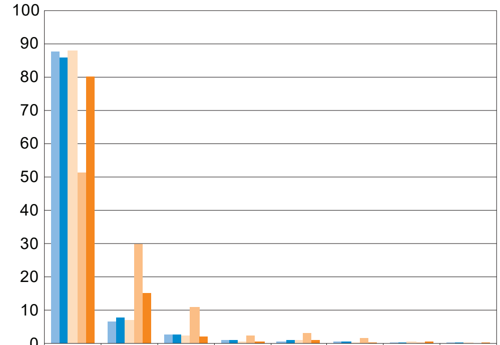
[62] Npr. Brinjeva gora: Oman 1981, 148–150, t. 1: 9; 34: 22. Kleinklein: Dobiat 1980, t. 113: 7. Ljubljana, faza I: Stare 1954, t. 5: 11; 49: 3; 51: 3; Gabrovec 1975. Ljubljana, faza IIb: Puš 1971, t. 1: 2; Puš 1982, t. 4: 7; 14: 6.

[63] S. Gabrovec je izrazil dvom o tem, da je bil odlomek fibule pridatek v grobu 51; Gabrovec 1960a, 36, t. 30: 1.

[64] Stare 1955, 21, t. 23: 4.

[65] Analizo XRF in ovrednotenje rezultatov je opravila dr. Eva Menart, Narodni muzej Slovenije.

[66] Gabrovec 1970, 27, 34, karta VIII; Gabrovec 1987a, 41.



Fibula / Brooch	Cu	Sn	Pb	Sb	Ag	As	Ni	Zn
Gr. 71_1	87,57	6,61	2,88	0,90	0,86	0,63	0,44	0,12
Gr. 71_2	85,84	7,82	2,84	1,09	1,14	0,62	0,49	0,15
Gr. 51_1	87,92	7,28	2,35	0,58	0,88	0,19	0,76	0,04
Gr. 51_2	51,40	29,76	10,89	2,51	3,30	1,80	0,34	0,00
Gr. 51_3	80,10	15,15	2,01	0,75	1,22	0,15	0,58	0,04

Sl. 11: Pristava na Bledu. Primerjava rezultatov analize XRF površine na odlomkih fibul iz grobov 71 (*t. 3:* 4; dve meritvi) in 51 (NMS, inv. št. P 9805; tri meritve).
Fig. 11: Pristava in Bled. Results of the XRF analysis of the surface of the brooch fragments from Graves 71 (*Pl. 3:* 4; two measurements) and 51 (NMS, Inv. No. P 9805; three measurements).

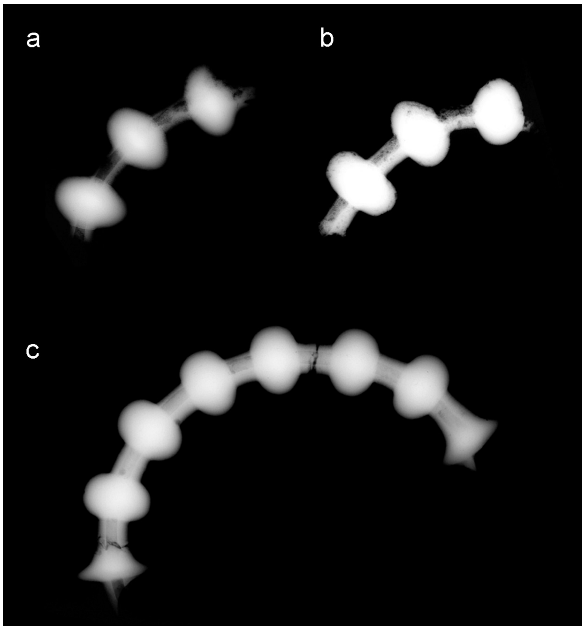
(*sl. 12*),[67] jo lahko uvrstimo v varianto 1[68] in tako spada med najstarejše primerke vaških vozlastih fibul na jugovzhodnem alpskem območju, v čas stopnje Ljubljana II.

Dvozankaste bronaste ločne fibule so bile najdene v petih grobovih, odkritih v letih 1948–1951,[69] in v dveh, odkritih v letih 1975–1978 (gr. 64 in gr. 73; *t. 2:* 18; *4:* 2), kot posamična najdba iz kvadrata 2 pa še noga bronaste verjetno dvozankaste fibule (*t. 5:* 7). V celoti je ohranjena le fibula iz groba 39. Vse imajo lok okroglega preseka, ohranjene zanke so pravokotnega preseka, ohranjene noge so nizke in zaobljeno trikotne (ramenaste), zato jih uvrščamo v tip 1a po Gabrovčevi razdelitvi.[70] Loki štirih fibul so okrašeni z drobnim spiralnim (?) vrezom, ki pri treh pokriva celotno dolžino loka (*t. 4:* 2),[71] pri eni pa je razdeljen na pasove (*t. 2:* 18). Bližnje primerjave za fibule z nekoliko masivnejšim neokrašenim lokom in nizko trikotno nogo (na primer iz grobov 44 in 49)[72] izvirajo iz Kranja, z najdišč Vila Prah in Koroška cesta ter iz Stražišča pri Kranju,[73] iz Mengša pa je znana dvozankasta fibula z nekoliko tanjšim lokom okroglega preseka, zankama kvadratnega preseka in trikotno okrašeno nogo, ki je višja od nog blejskih fibul.[74] V Ljubljani loki dvozankastih fibul praviloma niso okrašeni, izjema je fibula iz groba 243, ki ima tako kot blejske lok okrašen z drobnim gostim spiralnim vrezom po vsej dolžini, ramenasto nogo ima fibula iz groba 285.[75] V svetolucijskem prostoru so noge fibul tega tipa ramenaste, loki so redko okrašeni.[76] Dvozankaste ločne fibule nastopajo v mlajši fazi Sv. Lucija Ib,[77] v Ljubljani pa v fazah Ljubljana IIb in IIIa.[78] Blejskim zelo podobne dvozankaste bronaste fibule so pogost pridatek v grobovih 3. skupine z grobišča Bischofshofen-Pestfriedhof, datirane v horizont Ha C2. Vse imajo nizko ramenasto nogo, številne imajo lok, okrašen z drobnimi vrezi.[79] Dvozankaste bronaste fibule s široko nizko nogo so na grobišču v Bregu/Frög vodilni tip stopnje 3, ki ustreza horizontu Podzemelj 2. Med starejše v tem okviru sta uvrščeni fibuli iz gomil 61 in 202, okrašeni z drobnimi vrezi na loku, ena v pasovih, druga pa (verjetno) po celotnem loku.[80]

Na Bledu so bile najdene tri delno ohranjene dvozankaste železne fibule, v grobovih 45, 46[81] in 53 (*t. 1:* 1), nizka trikotna noga se je ohranila le pri fibuli iz groba 45. Pripadajo tipu 2a po Gabrovčevi razdelitvi.[82] V Ljubljani najdemo dvozankaste železne fibule v fazi Ljubljana IIb,[83] v svetolucijskem prostoru se pojavijo v stopnji Sv. Lucija Ib, ohranijo pa se tudi v stopnji Sv. Lucija Ic1.[84]

Bronasta dvozankasta polmesečasta fibula iz groba 73 (*t. 4:* 1; ohranjen je bogato okrašen lok z delom verižic, ki so visele z njega) se zaradi vrezanega

[67] Rentgensko snemanje predmetov sta opravila Janko Vodišek, Inštitut za metalne konstrukcije, in dr. Eva Menart, Narodni muzej Slovenije.
[68] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 103–105; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 131–133.
[69] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 6: 1; 21: 4; 23: 1; 26: 5; 28: 6.
[70] Gabrovec 1970, 24, 25.
[71] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 21: 4; 23: 1.
[72] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 26: 5; 28: 6.
[73] Škvor Jernejčič 2017, t. 1: 3; 11: 9, 10; 16: 2.
[74] Gabrovec 1965, 124, t 5: 8; Železnikar (ur.) 1999, 60, kat. 29.
[75] Puš 1982, t. 9: 9.
[76] Npr. Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž Orel 1984–1985, t. 4: B1; 8: E1, 2; 14: B4; 16: A5; 17: F1; 22: A2; 23: C1 itd.
[77] Teržan, Trampuž 1975, 420.
[78] Puš 1971, t. 31: 6; 49: 3; 50: 8; Gabrovec 1975; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 101.
[79] Lippert, Stadler 2009, 99–102, 119, t. 8: 21/2; 12: 34/2; 27: 90/4; 28: 92/3, 4; 48: 185/6; 50: 194/2; 52: 200/10; 120: 420/2.
[80] Tomedi 2002, 92, 93, 172–175, t. 22: B3, 86: B2.
[81] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 27: 3, 4.
[82] Gabrovec 1970, 24, karta V.
[83] Gabrovec 1975; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 99; Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 372–374.
[84] Teržan, Trampuž 1975, 420, priloga 1; Kruh 2022, 514, t. 2: 2.



Sl. 12: Rentgenski posnetki vozlastih fibul s Pristave na Bledu (**a**: grob 51, NMS, inv. št. P 9805; **b**: grob 71, *t. 3:*4) in z Vač (**c**: NMS, inv. št. P 129).
Fig. 12: X-ray images of the knobbed brooches from Pristava in Bled (**a**: Grave 51, NMS, Inv. No. P 9805; **b**: Grave 71, *Pl. 3:*4) and Vače (**c**: NMS, Inv. No. P 129).

okrasa na loku uvršča v tip Tolmin po Teržanovi.[85] Poleg običajne razširitve loka na zunanji strani je lok blejske fibule razširjen tudi na notranji strani, kar je sicer značilnost enozankastih fibul. Dobro primerjavo za simetrično oblikovan lok najdemo v Ljubljani,[86] bolj oddaljeno pa v Bischofshofnu.[87] Obe omenjeni fibuli imata precej ožji lok, vrezan okras je skromnejši. Presek loka ljubljanske fibule je trikoten, presek blejske pa ploščat z izrazitim sredinskim rebrom. Polmesečaste fibule so zelo pogost pridatek v grobovih iz Tolmina, med njimi sta tudi dve s sredinskim rebrom na loku, opredeljeni kot dvozankasti polmesečasti fibuli variante 1.[88] Sredinsko rebro fibule iz groba 130 v Tolminu je okrašeno s kratkimi vrezi, preostala površina loka je neokrašena. Lok fibule iz groba 439 krasita niza punciranih krožcev na vsaki strani neokrašenega sredinskega rebra.[89] Območje razširjenosti takih zaponk je majhno, oblikovno se navezujejo na starejše, enozankaste fibule s simetrično razširjenim lokom.[90] Nastanek polmesečastih dvozankastih fibul postavlja Gabrovec v Ha B3, njihov polni razcvet pa v Ha C1/2. [91] Blejsko fibulo lahko tako po obliki in po preostalem inventarju groba 73 uvrstimo med starejše, v razpon stopenj Ljubljana IIb in III.[92]

Trakaste zapestnice iz bronaste pločevine so bile na Pristavi najdene v prazgodovinskih grobovih 36, 39, 40, 44 in 49[93] ter v grobu 73 *(t. 4:* 5), deli nekoliko širše in masivnejše zapestnice so verjetno tudi odlomki iz groba 59 (*t. 2:* 2). Zapestnici iz grobov 39 in 73 imata spiralno uvita zaključka, ohranjeni zaključki na drugih zapestnicah so ravni in na koncu nekoliko zoženi. Zapestnica iz groba 73 je okrašena z nizoma vtolčenih pik ob robovih. Takšen okras najdemo na dveh zapestnicah iz Tolmina,[94] enako je okrašena tudi zapestnica iz groba 88 iz Ruš. Grob je ležal na sredini nekropole in ga tako lahko datiramo v Ha B2.[95] Bronaste trakaste zapestnice se na ljubljanskem grobišču pojavijo na koncu faze Ljubljana IIb oz. na prehodu v fazo IIIa. Nekatere so po širini primerljive z blejskimi, nimajo pa spiralnih zaključkov in tudi okras, kjer obstaja, je drugačen.[96]

Med pridatki iz groba 73 je bronast lasni obroček iz žice trikotnega preseka s spiralno zavitima zaključkoma (*t. 4:* 3). Podobne poznamo iz Ostrožnika,[97] kjer imajo prav tako spiralne zaključke, vendar so narejeni iz žice okroglega preseka. Spiralne zaključke najdemo tudi na zapestnicah iz Šmarjete, ki so narejene iz žice okroglega preseka.[98] Bronasti obročki iz žice trikotnega preseka so bili odkriti tudi na grobišču v Tolminu, nimajo pa spiralastih zaključkov.[99]

Večino bronastih gumbov s Pristave predstavljajo okrogli ploščati gumbi z zanko na hrbtni strani (*t. 4:* 4).[100] V Ljubljani se ploščati gumbi pojavljajo v fazah od Ljubljana I do IIIa,[101] znani so tudi z

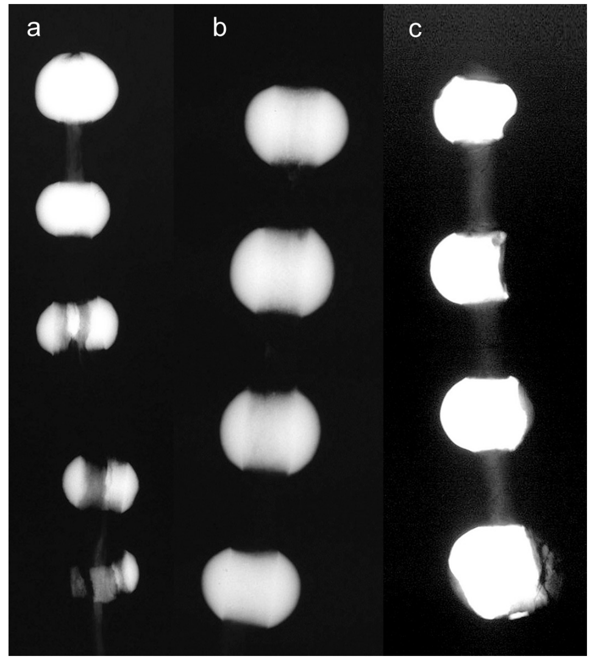
[85] Teržan 1990, 58–60, 77, sl. 6.
[86] Dvorišče SAZU, gr. 256; Puš 1971, t. 52: 2; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 109, t. 128: 2.
[87] Lippert, Stadler 2009, t. 155: 8.
[88] Pogačnik 2002, 32–35.
[89] Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2002, 57, 180, t. 23: 1; 85: 1.
[90] Teržan 2002, 96, 97.
[91] Gabrovec 1970, 35.
[92] Teržan 1990, 59–60.
[93] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 19: 6; 21: 7; 23: 2; 26: 2; 28: 5.
[94] Pogačnik 2002, 53, sl. 44 (vrsta I, varianta 2d); Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2002, 30, 80, t. 13: 10; 35: 1.
[95] Müller-Karpe 1959, 116, 122; t. 111: D1.
[96] Gabrovec 1975, 343; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 126.
[97] Gabrovec 1975, t. 5: 37–39.
[98] Stare 1963, t. 11: 20–23.
[99] Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2002, 43, 47, 157; t. 18: 8; 20: 7–10; 73: 6.
[100] Gabrovec 1960a, 26, 29; t. 14: 3; 17: 7.
[101] Ljubljana I: Stare 1954, t. 7: 8; 9: 6; 39: 6; 40: 4; Ljubljana IIIa: Puš 1971, t. 39: 5; 43: 7.

drugih najdišč. Polkroglast votel gumb s polkrožno zanko iz groba 61 (*t. 2:* 6) je na blejskem grobišču nova oblika. Najbližja primerjava so štirje gumbi iz Ljubljane, iz ženskih grobov, datiranih v čas zgodnje železne dobe.[102] Zanke gumbov so oglate in ne polkrožne kot pri blejskem gumbu, kar velja tudi za gumbe iz Brega (Frög), sicer dobro primerjavo za blejski gumb.[103] Najprepričljivejša primerjava izvira iz Stične, iz bogatega groba 72 iz gomile 48, datiranega v zgodnje ali sredino 7. st. pr. n. št.[104]

V grobu 71 so bili najdeni zaključek stranske plošče skledaste čelade (*t. 3:* 8) in žebljički, s kakršnimi bi bili lahko zapolnjeni prostori med ploščami (*t. 3:* 9). Podobne žebljičke so našli že med prvimi raziskavami. Gabrovec domneva, da gre za žebljičke, s katerimi so bile okrašene lončene posode.[105] Tej domnevi sta v prid majhnost žebljičkov in odlomek posode z bronastim žebljičkom iz groba 25.[106] Žebljički iz groba 71 pa so glede na okoliščine najdbe ter druge predmete iz groba in okolice skoraj gotovo deli skledaste čelade, čeprav so nekoliko manjši kot žebljički z drugih čelad te vrste, a razlika ni velika. Premer glavic žebljičkov čelade z Molnika je okrog 4 mm,[107] premer blejskih pa 3,5 mm. Med posamičnimi najdbami iz kvadrata 2 so bili najdeni še zaključka stranskih plošč ter zaključek temenske plošče čelade skledastega tipa (*t. 5:* 9–11).

Glede na obliko zaključka vrhnje plošče lahko čelado z Bleda uvrstimo med skledaste čelade skupine Molnik.[108] Zelo verjetno imamo lahko čelado za del inventarja groba 71. Še dva zaključka stranskih plošč in zaključek temenske plošče so bili najdeni v istem kvadratu (kv. 2, v katerem je ležal tudi gr. 71), na območju, ki je bilo pred arheološkimi raziskavami že precej razdejano. Čelada iz groba 71 je edini primerek orožja na tej nekropoli in tudi na Gorenjskem v tem času.

Igla iz kvadrata 1 ima železno jedro in pet bronastih kroglastih odebelitev (*sl. 13a*; *t. 5:* 5).[109] Večglave igle brez trombastega zaključka različnih variant so v zgodnjem halštatskem obdobju pogosteje izdelane iz brona, npr. igle iz Ljubljane,[110] Tolmina,[111] Sv. Lucije,[112] s Križne gore,[113] iz Tržišča[114] ali z Legna pri Slovenj Gradcu.[115] Večglava igla z železnim jedrom in štirimi bronastimi odebelitvami je bila odkrita v Stični, v žganem grobu 101, povezanem z začetki gomile 48 (*sl. 13c*).[116] Železni igli s štirimi bronastimi odebelitvami in brez trombastega zaključka sta znani še z Vač (*sl. 13b*)[117] in s Križne gore,[118] del železne igle z bronastimi odebelitvami (ohranjeni sta dve) pa je del zakladne najdbe iz Tomaja, datirane v 8. st. pr. n. št.[119] Železne igle z bronastimi odebelitvami in brez trombastih zaključkov iz Istre, iz Berama in



Sl. 13: Rentgenski posnetki igel s Pristave na Bledu (**a**: kv. 1, *t. 5:*5), z Vač (**b**: NMS, inv. št. P 251) in iz Stične (**c**: NMS, inv. št. P 13519).
Fig. 13: X-ray images of the multi-knobbed pins from Pristava in Bled (**a**: Grid Square 1, *Pl. 5:*5), Vače (**b**: NMS, Inv. No. P 251) and Stična (**c**: NMS, Inv. No. P 13519).

102 Puš 1971, t. 12: 8; 13: 6; 21: 8; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 148.

103 Tomedi 2002, t. 43: 21–28.

104 Teržan 2014, 454, 455.

105 Grob 12; v grobu je bilo najdenih 10 enakih žebljičkov: Gabrovec 1960a, 22, 67, t. 9: 10.

106 Gabrovec 1960a, t. 15: 3.

107 Tecco Hvala 2017, 54, t. 25: 4a.

108 Škoberne 1999, 83–86.

109 Peta (spodnja) odebelitev je le delno ohranjena, je pa lepo vidna na rentgenskem posnetku (*sl. 13:* a).

110 Gabrovec 1975, 343; Puš 1971, t. 8: 3; 33: 2; 47: 1.

111 Teržan 2002, 89.

112 Teržan, Trampuž 1975, 420–421 (stopnja I b); Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, t. 4: C1; 11: G1, H1; 37: G; 48: E; 64: G3; 95: B1; 106: B3; 113: H1; 155: C1.

113 Urleb 1974, t. 21: 12 (stopnja 1b); t. 6: 18 (stopnja 2a).

114 Guštin 1979, 35, t. 17: 7.

115 Strmčnik-Gulič 1979, t. 7: 4.

116 Gabrovec 2006, 77, 78, t. 59; Gabrovec, Teržan 2010, 45.

117 Stare 1955, 28, t. 34: 3.

118 Urleb 1974, 48, t. 1: 11.

119 Laharnar, Turk 2017, 86, sl. 96. Laharnar, Turk 2018, 86, Fig. 96.

Nezakcija, datirane v starejši del faze Istra III,[120] imajo med okroglimi še ploščate odebelitve.

Narebrena zapestnica (*t. 5:* 4) opredeljuje edini prazgodovinski skeletni grob na Pristavi v mlajše halštatsko obdobje.[121]

Steklene jagode

V grobovih 56, 72, 79 in 83 ter v kvadratu 33 so bile najdene jagode iz modrega stekla. Jagoda iz groba 56 (*t. 1:* 9) je deformirana, verjetno je bila valjasta, drobni ploščati jagodi sta bili najdeni v grobu 72 (*t. 3:* 26) in kvadratu 33 (*t. 7:* 23), tri večje temno modre, skoraj črne jagode pa v grobu 83 (*t. 5:* 2). Iz groba 79 (*t. 4:* 11) izvira jagoda s tremi očesci; v žlebu okrog enega očesca je ohranjen ostanek belega polnila. Dobro primerjavo zanjo najdemo v jagodah iz dveh starejših tolminskih grobov.[122]

SKLEP

Približno četrtina grobov, odkritih v letih 1975–1978 (št. 53, 56, 58, 64, 68, 71, 73, 78 in 79), je vsebovala pridatke, ki omogočajo dokaj dobro datacijo. Glavnino (št. 64, 71, 73, 78 in verjetno 68) lahko postavimo v čas stopnje Ljubljana IIb in IIIa, a ne moremo reči, v katero od obeh faz posamezen grob spada. Med starejše bi lahko uvrstili grobove 53, 58, 78 in 79. Grob 53 ima kot pridatek železno fibulo, ki je v Ljubljani značilna za stopnjo Ljubljana IIb. Primerjavo za lonec iz groba 58 najdemo v Ljubljani v grobu 300 iz starejšega dela grobišča (grob je ležal na območju grobov faz Ljubljana I in II), podobni pa se pojavljajo tudi v stopnji Ljubljana IIIb, ter v Maierschu, ki je datiran v razviti Ha C. Za nižjo datacijo bi govorili odlomki posod, okrašeni s kanelurami in psevdovrvičastim okrasom. Starejše poteze kažejo tudi žara in skodelica iz groba 78 ter steklena jagoda s tremi očesci iz groba 79. Zanesljivo lahko pripišemo stopnji Ljubljana IIb ali IIIa grobove 64 (zaradi dvozankaste ločne fibule), 71 (zaradi vozlaste fibule in šmarješke čelade) ter 73 (na podlagi polmesečaste in dvozankaste ločne fibule ter trakaste zapestnice). Nekoliko manj zanesljiva je datacija groba 68, v katerem je bil edini pridatek lonec, ki bi ga po analogijah iz Kleinkleina lahko datirali v čas stopnje Ljubljana IIb/IIIa, lahko pa bi bil tudi mlajši. Iz poznejšega obdobja (morda horizont Stična-Novo mesto 2) sta grobova 56, čeprav niti rdeče barvana noga posode niti bronast obroček ne omogočata natančnejše datacije, in 61, v katerem je bil bronast polkroglast gumb. Iz mlajšega obdobja starejše železne dobe je tudi skeletni grob 348 z drobno narebreno bronasto zapestnico.

Datacija grobov, odkritih v letih 1975–1978, se ne razlikuje od časovne opredelitve grobov, raziskanih v letih 1948–1951.[123] Glavnina gradiva z blejske nekropole Pristava je kronološko zelo enotna in predstavlja obdobje približno 150 do 200 let (800/750–650/600 pr. n. št.). Med starejše predmete lahko štejemo igle z uvito glavico, ki so bile najdene le na južnem delu grobišča, raziskanem v letih 1948–1951. V Ljubljani se te igle pojavljajo že v grobovih faze Ljubljana I in še v IIb, mlajše so nekoliko manjše.[124] V okviru dvozankastih bronastih ločnih fibul bi bila lahko fibula iz groba 49[125] z dvakrat uvito zanko pri prehodu iz loka v iglo in nekoliko odebeljenim lokom mlajša. Mlajši element na Pristavi, iz časa horizonta Stična-Novo mesto 2, je tudi odlomek čolničaste fibule iz groba 38.[126] Iz časovnega okvira začetka starejše železne dobe izstopajo še grob 56 (*t. 1:* 7–12) z bronastim obročkom in odlomkom rdeče barvane noge posode, ki postavlja grob v horizont Stična 2 ali pa še v mlajše obdobje, grob 61 z bronastim gumbom (*t. 2:* 6) in skeletni grob 348 z drobno narebreno bronasto zapestnico (*t. 5:* 4). S posamičnimi najdbami je izpričano življenje v rimski dobi na območju naselbine na Pristavi,[127] nekaj raztresenih najdb je bilo odkritih tudi na območju grobišča (*t. 6:* 5,8,13,18,23).

S problemom horizontalne stratigrafije se je ukvarjal že Gabrovec (1960a, 72), po njegovem mnenju se je grobišče širilo od juga proti severu. To je sklepal predvsem na podlagi igel v južnem in mlajših variant fibul v severnem delu grobišča. Vsekakor drži, da v severnem delu nekropole ni grobov, ki bi jih lahko zanesljivo datirali pred čas

[120] Druga polovica 8. oz. prva polovica 7. st. pr. n. št.; Kučar 1979, 115; t. 2: 4, 8; 3: 9; 4: 13; 6: 3, 4, 7; 11: 5; 20: 1–3.

[121] S ^{14}C analizo vzorca kosti v laboratoriju v Poznańju je bila s 95 % verjetnostjo nakazana datacija v mlajše halštatsko obdobje, v prehod med 5. in 4. st. pr. n. št.

[122] Grobova 212 in 459; Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2002, 86, 189, t. 37: 13, 14; 88: 15. Teržan 2002, 90, 95.

[123] Gabrovec 1960a, 68–75.

[124] Stare 1954, t. 7: 6; 14: 1; 50: 3; 55: 1; Gabrovec 1975, 342, 343; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 155.

[125] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 28: 6.

[126] Gabrovec 1960a, t. 20: 9.

[127] Pflaum 2010, 189–195, 197, 198.

stopnje Ljubljana IIb, so pa tudi na tem območju posamezni grobovi (53, 58 in 79), ki bi jih lahko datirali v starejši del grobišča.

Zanimiva je razporejenost posameznih načinov pokopa (*sl. 7*). Gabrovec meni,[128] da so grobovi z žaro starejši. Na severnem delu grobišča skorajda ni bilo pokopov v žarah. Grobovi z nasuto žganino na širšem območju (peti način pokopa) so bili odkriti le na območju, ki je bilo raziskano v letih 1948–1951. V petih primerih (grobovi 14, 15, 24, 25 in 26) je ta tip zanesljiv, grob 32, ki je tudi vključen v to skupino, pa je bil precej uničen. Grobovi 14, 15, 24, 25 in 26 v polkrogu obdajajo objekt Ž 22, ki je opredeljen kot kultno mesto.[129] Ta polkrog dopolnjujeta objekta Ž 13 in Ž 16 – objekt Ž 13 je opredeljen kot kurišče (0,5 × 0,5 m), ki je bilo na območju obsežne kulturne plasti, dolge približno 6 m in široke do 3 m. Ti objekti se od objektov, opredeljenih kot grobovi, razlikujejo tako po velikosti (npr. Ž 25 – ta je bil največji – je pokrival kar 3 m dolgo in do 1,9 m široko površino) kot po najdbah. Piramidalne uteži, deli različnih lončenih posod, bronasti predmeti, ohranjeni le v odlomkih, in veliko živalskih kosti niso značilne grobne najdbe, kar potrjujejo tudi zelo redki ostanki kalciniranih človeških kosti.[130] Severno od te skupine objektov je grobišče približno v smeri V–Z razdeljeno z dvema suhozidnima temeljema, za katera Gabrovec domneva, da sta nastala po opustitvi prazgodovinske nekropole.[131] Severni zid, ki je poškodoval žgani grob 38, je zanesljivo nastal v času, ko prazgodovinsko grobišče ni bilo več v uporabi. Oba zidova sta po mnenju T. Knifica ostanka poti. Južna je bila v uporabi že v času prazgodovinske nekropole, severni zid pa je nastal pozneje kot razširitev cestišča v rimskem času ali v obdobju preseljevanja ljudstev.[132] Utrjena pot bi tako delila prazgodovinsko grobišče na severni in južni del. Najstarejši grobovi so bili na južni strani, na severni so začeli pokopavati v stopnji Ljubljana IIb.

Grobišče na Pristavi je tako z načinom pokopa kot s kovinskim gradivom (na primer z iglami z uvito glavico, bronastimi dvozankastimi ločnimi fibulami, železnimi dvozankastimi fibulami) in nekaterimi oblikami lončenih posod (med najznačilnejšimi so skodele s presegajočimi ročaji in plitvi lonci z nizkim vratom) tesno povezano z ljubljansko skupino v njenem največjem razmahu, v fazah IIb in IIIa,[133] širše pa tudi z dolenjsko v času horizonta Podzemelj (na primer lasni obročki, skledasta čelada). Nekatere oblike lončenih posod in tudi način okraševanja (predvsem gradivo, ki izvira iz žarnogrobiščne tradicije: na primer lonci z majhnim premerom dna in žlebljenje) imajo dobre primerjave na koroških in štajerskih arheoloških najdiščih, kar je bilo ugotovljeno tudi za Kranj.[134] Zanimiva je tudi izrazita podobnost bronastih dvozankastih fibul z Bleda in fibul iz Bischofshofna, kjer pa so datirane v mlajše obdobje kot blejske. Močne povezave z območjem svetolucijskega kulturnega kroga so opazne v zgodnejših fazah svetolucijske skupine, primerjave z gradivom z grobišča v Tolminu so zelo dobre, na primer prek trakastih zapestnic, večglave igle in nizkih trikotnih nog polmesečastih fibul enozankaste sheme, iz katere naj bi se razvile dvozankaste ločne fibule v svetolucijskem prostoru.[135]

Grobišče na Pristavi je odraz približno dvestoletne zgodovine cvetoče starejšeželeznodobne skupnosti. O tem pričajo posamični bogatejši grobovi, razkošno okrašena polmesečasta fibula, ostanki skledaste čelade, številni odlomki pločevine in deli bronastih posod.

[128] Gabrovec 1960a, 48–49.

[129] Analiza C14 vzorca bukovega oglja z območja objekta 22 je pokazala starost med 790 in 420 pr. n. št.; Pleterski 2008, 64.

[130] Gabrovec 1960a, 22–27.

[131] Gabrovec 1960a, 14–16.

[132] Knific 1983, 11–18; Pleterski 2008, 75, 80, 93, 94.

[133] Gabrovec 1987b.

[134] Horvat 1984, 155.

[135] Gabrovec 1970, 35–37.

KATALOG GROBOV IN NAJDB

Opisi grobov so povzeti po terenskih dnevnikih in po poročilih o raziskavah Bibe Teržan in Timoteja Knifica (arhiv AO NMS št. 593), terenske risbe hrani AO NMS (arhiv št. Rn 258–Rn 260). Antropološko analizo 12 grobov, odkritih leta 1975, je naredila Tatjana Tomazo-Ravnik, izsledki so navedeni v katalogu. Najdbe hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije, inventarizirane so pod št. P 15501–15668 in P 18548–18571. Risbe profilov grobov (*sl. A1–A41)* so dostopne prek povezave http://iza.zrc-sazu.si/pdf/razno/Bitenc_terenske_risbe_AV74_2023.pdf

Okrajšave:

inv. št. – inventarna številka	deb. – debelina	odl. – odlomek	rek. – rekonstruiran	viš. – višina
ter. št. – terenska številka objekta	dol. – dolžina	pr. – premer	vel. – velikost	

Grob 53 (ter. št. ŽG 1; *sl. A1*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana približno 0,4 m globoko v ilovico. V tlorisu je bila nepravilno ovalne oblike, zgoraj velika 1,1 × 2 m, stene so bile poševne. Žganinski sloj, ki je vseboval koščke oglja in kalciniranih kosti, je bil v zgornji polovici grobne jame. V tej plasti so bili tudi pridatki, vključno s 16 odlomki različnih posod.
Maturus, spol nedoločljiv.
1. Odl. železne dvozankaste fibule; deb. loka 0,65 cm, rek. dol. fibule 8,5 cm; inv. št. P 15501 (*t. 1:* 1).
2. Odl. dna in ostenja posode. Keramika z redkimi primesmi peska je nekoliko porozna, barva prehaja od rdeče rjave na zunanji površini k temno sivi na notranji; odl. dna: rek. pr. 11 cm; vel. odl. ostenja: 6,2 × 4,3 cm in manj; inv. št. P 15502 (*t. 1:* 2).

Grob 54 (ter. št. ŽG 2; *sl. 8a, b; sl. A2, A3*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana približno 0,3 m globoko v rdečerjavo ilovico, stene so bile skoraj navpične. V tlorisu je bila ovalne oblike, zgoraj velika 1,5 × 1 m. Na skoraj ravno dno jame je bila nasuta plast sivorjave zemlje, debela 0,15 m, v kateri so bili redki drobci oglja in keramike. Nad njo je bil sloj žganine, v kateri je bilo precej lesnega oglja, nekaj kalciniranih kosti in odlomki lončene posode; na vrhu žganine je bila najdena spiralno uvita bronasta žica.
Starost in spol nedoločljiva.
1. Del bronaste peresovine, navite okrog železne osi; dol. 1,6 cm; inv. št. P 15503 (*t. 1:* 3).
2. Odl. pekve (?). Trda keramika s primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od opečnato oranžne na zunanji površini k temno sivi na notranji; viš. 2,7 cm, šir. 5 cm; inv. št. P 15504a (*t. 1:* 4).
3. Odl. ostenja posode, okrašene s pasom skoraj navpičnih gostih žlebov. Keramika je mešana s peskom, zunanja površina je črna in zglajena, barva v sredici prehaja od sive k rjavi; največji odl.: 6,2 × 6,5 cm; inv. št. P 15504 (*t. 1:* 5).

Grob 55 (ter. št. ŽG 3; *sl A2, A4*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana v ilovico približno 0,3 m globoko, na vrhu je bilo nekaj večjih kamnov. V tlorisu je bila okrogle (zgoraj pr. 0,7 m), v prerezu polkrožne oblike. Na dno je bila nasuta plast temno sive zemlje z redkimi drobci oglja, nad njo je bil sloj žganine, v katerem so bile črepinje lonca in štirje odlomki posode nedoločljive oblike. Na jugozahodnem delu je bil grob nekoliko poškodovan zaradi vkopa skeletnega groba 325.
Spol in starost nedoločljiva.
1. Odl. lonca z ravno zaključenim ustjem in ravnim dnom. Keramika s precej primesmi grobega peska, površina je napokana. Barva prehaja od opečnato rdeče k temno sivi; pr. ustja 18,5 cm, pr. dna 23 cm; inv. št. P 15505 (*t. 1:* 6).

Grob 56 (ter. št. ŽG 4; *sl. A4*)
Grobna jama ovalnega tlorisa je bila vkopana v ilovnato zemljo približno 0,25 m globoko, obris je bil v višjih plasteh nejasen. Na grobu je ležal večji kamen. V grobu so bili tudi ostanki živalskih kosti in zob ter 34 odlomkov keramike, delov različnih posod.
Otrok, spol nedoločljiv.
1. Bronast obroček trikotnega preseka. Na obeh straneh je okrašen z vtisnjenimi pikami in s poševnimi vrezanimi cikcakastimi črtami, nekatere se križajo. Na obroček je nataknjena trakasta zanka; pr. 3,1 cm; inv. št. P 15506 (*t. 1:* 7).
2. Odl. bronastega paličastega predmeta rombastega preseka. Na enem koncu je nekoliko stanjšan in zapognjen; dol. 1,7 cm; inv. št. P 15507 (*t. 1:* 8).
3. Deformirana valjasta jagoda iz modrega stekla; vel. 1,45 × 1 × 0,3 cm; inv. št. P 15508; (*t. 1:* 9).
4. Odl. ostenja posode, okrašen s plastičnim razčlenjenim rebrom. Svetlo rjava keramika z redkimi primesmi sljude; viš. 2,1 cm; inv. št. P 15510 (*t. 1:* 10).
5. Odl. ostenja posode, okrašene z nepravilno razporejenimi vodoravno vrezanimi črtami. Barva keramike prehaja od črne na zunanji površini prek sive v sredici k svetlo rjavi na notranji površini; viš. 3,8 cm; inv. št. P 15511 (*t. 1:* 11).
6. Odl. noge in ostenja posode. Keramika z veliko primesmi drobnega peska je opečnato rdeča, sredica siva. Na zunanji površini so ostanki temnejšega rdečega premaza; noga: viš. 2 cm, rek. pr. 11,8 cm; inv. št. P 15509 (*t. 1:* 12).

Grob 57 (ter. št. ŽG 5; *sl. 5, A5*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana 0,6 do 0,7 m globoko v ilovico. Razen severne so bile stene precej položne, jama ni bila posebej skrbno izkopana, v tlorisu je bila ovalna (1,7 × 1,4 m). Dno je bilo zapolnjeno s temno zemljo in gruščem, v tej plasti ni bilo najdb. V žganinski plasti groba, ki je bila v zgornji polovici jame, sta bila 5 do 10 cm debela sloja z veliko oglja in kosti, ločena s plastjo sive zemlje. Lončenina je bila v žganinskem sloju, raztresena po vsej površini groba. V grobu so bili tudi ostanki živalskih kosti in zob. Grob je bil poškodovan zaradi vkopa skeletnega groba 329.
Adultus, spol nedoločljiv.
1. Odl. ostenja, ravno odrezanega ustja in ravnega dna lonca. Keramika je porozna, površina je rumenorjavo lisasta, sredica črna; večji odl. ustja: 4,7 × 5,5 cm; rek. pr. dna 7,8 cm; inv. št. P 15512, P 15512a (*t. 1:* 13, 14).
2. Odl. ostenja in ustja posode. Keramika s primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od rdeče rjave k temno sivi; odl. ustja: 3,7 × 3,2 cm; inv. št. P 15513 (*t. 1:* 15).
3. Odl. dna in ostenja posode. Keramika je močno porozna, barva na površini prehaja od rdeče k črni, sredica je siva; viš. 3,5 cm, rek. pr. dna 6 cm; inv. št. P 15514 (*t. 1:* 16).

Grob 58 (ter. št. ŽG 6–7; *sl. 8b, A6a, b*)
Grobni jami (med izkopavanji označeni s številkama Ž 6 in Ž 7), med katerima ni bilo jasne meje, sta bili dokaj neskrbno vkopani druga poleg druge 0,3 do 0,4 m globoko v ilovico. Verjetno sta bili izkopani in zasuti istočasno. V obeh je bila žganina s koščki oglja stresena na dno jame. V eni od jam (ter. št. 7) je bila zdrobljena lončena žara, v kateri so bile kalcinirane človeške kosti, ki so v preostalem delu jame redke, v drugi jami pa jih sploh ni bilo. Črepinje drugih posod so bile raztresene v obeh jamah. V grobu sta bila še odlomek bronaste zapestnice in živalski zob.
Kostni ostanki so pripadali dvema osebama: maturus senilis, spol nedoločljiv; starost in spol nedoločljiva.
1. Odl. drobno narebrene bronaste zapestnice ovalnega preseka, ohranjeni zaključek je stanjšan; dol. 1,5 cm, deb. 0.4 cm; inv. št. P 15515 (*t. 1:* 17).
2. Odl. lončene posode – žare – z izvihanim ustjem s stanjšanim robom in ravnim dnom. Prehod iz rame v

vrat posode je poudarjen. Keramika z redkimi primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od rdeče prek sive k temno sivi. Površina je nekoliko zglajena; pr. dna 9,2 cm, rek. pr. ustja 18,5 cm; inv. št. P 15516 (*t. 1:* 18).
3. Odl. zgornjega dela skodele. Keramika je dobro prečiščena in z redkimi primesmi peska, površina je zglajena. Na enem od odlomkov je pod robom ustja plitev vodoraven žleb (?). Barva prehaja od svetlo rjave k sivi; viš. ohr. dela 2,7 cm, rek. pr. ustja 14 cm; inv. št. P 15519 (*t. 1:* 19).
4. Odl. ostenja posode, okrašene z navpičnimi vrezi. Keramika je na zunanji in notranji površini črna, sredica je rdeča; viš. 1,9 cm, šir. 2,2 cm; inv. št. P 15518 (*t. 1:* 20).
5. Odl. ostenja z največjega oboda posode. Okrašen je s pasom plitvih širokih poševnih žlebov, pod njim je vodoraven niz kratkih poševnih vrezov (odtisi vrvice ali kolesca?), ki na enem mestu seka žlebove v navpični smeri. Temno siva keramika je dobro prečiščena, površina je zglajena; viš. 6,2 cm, rek. pr. največjega oboda 19,8 cm; inv. št. P 15517a (*t. 1:* 21).
6. Odl. ostenja z največjega oboda posode. Okrašen je z vodoravnim nizom poševnih vrezov (odtis kolesca?) in dvojnim polkrožnim nizom vrezov pod njim. Črna keramika je dobro prečiščena, površina je zglajena: viš. 2,8 cm, šir. 5,8 cm; inv. št. P 15517b (*t. 1:* 22).
7. Odl. ravnega dna posode. Keramika s precej primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od rdeče rjave prek rdeče k sivi; viš. 2,3 cm, rek. pr. dna 14 cm; inv. št. P 15520 (*t. 1:* 23).

Grob 59 (ter. št. ŽG 8; *sl. A7a,b*)
Grobna jama je bila polkrožno vkopana približno 0,3 m globoko v rdečo ilovico, v tlorisu je bila verjetno ovalna. Na dno je bila nasuta siva zemlja, nad njo je bila plast žganine s pridatki, lesnim ogljem in kalciniranimi kostmi. V grobu sta bila dva živalska zoba. Grob je bil zelo poškodovan zaradi vkopa skeletnega groba 332.
Starost in spol nedoločljiva.
1. Odl. bronaste pločevine, rob je nekoliko odebeljen; viš. 1,65 cm; inv. št. P 15521 (*t. 2:* 1).
2. Odl. trakaste bronaste pločevine; šir. 1,25–1,5 cm; inv. št. P 15521 (*t. 2:* 2).
3. Odl. bronaste pločevine; vel. 1,9 × 1,6 cm; inv. št. P 15521 (*t. 2:* 3).
4. Odl. bronaste žice okroglega preseka, zapognjeni konec je stanjšan; dol. 6 cm, deb. do 0,3 cm; inv. št. P 15521 (*t. 2:* 4).

Grob 60 (ter. št. ŽG 9; *sl. A8*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana 0,2 do 0,3 m globoko v ilovico. Zgornji del groba je bil približno 1,5 m pod površino ob času izkopavanj. Obris grobne jame je bil v tlorisu slabo viden (vel. 1,2 × 0, 5 m). V jami so bile kalcinirane človeške kosti, oglje in delci živalskih kosti.
Spol in starost nedoločljiva.
1. Odl. dna posode. Keramika je zelo porozna, notranja površina in sredica sta črni, barva na zunanji površini prehaja od rumeno rjave k sivi; viš. 2,2 cm, rek. pr. dna 9,8 cm; inv. št. P 15523 (*t. 2:* 5).

Grob 61 (ter. št. ŽG 10; *sl. A8*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana 0,2–0,3 m globoko v ilovico, zgornji del groba je bil približno 1,5 m pod površino ob času izkopavanj. Dimenzije groba v tlorisu so bile 0,4 × 0,8 m. Na vrhu jame je bil najden bronast gumb.
Starost in spol nedoločljiva.
1. Bronast votel polkroglast gumb s trakasto zanko na hrbtni strani; pr. 1,38 cm, viš. 1,3 cm; inv. št. P 15524 (*t. 2:* 6).

Grob 62 (ter. št. ŽG 11; *sl. A9*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana približno 0,45 m globoko v rumeno ilovico. Zgornji del groba je bil v času izkopavanj 1,1 m pod površino, grob je bil v tlorisu okrogel (pr. 1,2 m). Dno jame je bilo dokaj ravno, nanj je bila nasuta plast sive zemlje, debela približno 0,2 m. Nad njo je bil sloj žganine z drobci oglja, kosti in keramike ter manjšimi kamni.
Spol nedoločljiv, odrasel osebek (natančneje nedoločljivo).
1. Odl. nizkega lonca z ravnim dnom. Keramika s precej primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od rdečerjave k temno sivi; pr. ustja 13,8 cm, pr. dna 11,8 cm; inv. št. P 15527, P 15528, P 15531 (*t. 2:* 7).
2. Odl. zgornjega dela posode z izvihanim ustjem. Keramika je dobro prečiščena, zunanja površina je opečnato rdeča, notranja površina in sredica sta temno sivi; viš. ohr. dela 4,4 cm, rek. pr. ustja 19 cm; inv. št. P 15525 (*t. 2:* 8).
3. Odl. ostenja zgornjega dela posode z ravno zaključenim ustjem. Keramika je porozna, površina je svetlo rjava, sredica črna; viš. ohr. dela 3,3 cm, rek. pr. ustja 18 cm; inv. št. P 15526 (*t. 2:* 9).
4. Odl. ustja posode. Trda keramika je mešana z drobnim peskom, površina je črna in nekoliko zglajena, sredica je rdeča; viš. 3,6 cm; rek. pr. ustja 10,8 cm; inv. št. P 15532 (*t. 2:* 10).
5. Odl. ustja in ostenja posode. Rob ustja je stanjšan. Keramika je mešana s peskom, površina je opečnato rdeča, sredica črna; odl. ustja 4 × 2,5 cm; inv. št. P 15529 (*t. 2:* 11).
6. Odl. ravno zaključenega ustja posode. Trda temno rjava keramika s primesmi peska, površina je nekoliko zglajena; viš. 2,8 cm, šir. 2 cm; inv. št. P 15530 (*t. 2:* 12).

Grob 63 (ter. št. ŽG 12; *sl. A10a, b*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana povprečno 0,4 m, na enem mestu 0,8 m globoko v ilovico, ponekod je segala do skalne osnove. Jama je imela tri kotanje, zasip je bil videti enoten. Zgornji del groba (lisa je bila velika 1,9 × 2 m) je bil približno 1,4 m pod površino. Grob je bil nekoliko poškodovan zaradi vkopov skeletnih grobov 340 in 341. V žganinski plasti so bili precej veliki kamni, med njimi tudi odlomek plošče, ki je ležala poševno in bolj pri dnu. Pod njo je bil kupček oglja in kosti. V jugovzhodnem delu jame sta bili še dve žganinski plasti z ostanki kosti in oglja, med katerima je bilo 15 cm višinske razlike. Kotanja pri y=5,6 m, na vrhu katere so bili večji kamni, se je zdela kot poseben grob; v njej pa razen drobcev oglja ni bilo ničesar, niti odlomkov keramike, ki so se sicer nahajali po vsej grobni jami.
Infans II.
1. Odl. posode z ravnim dnom. Porozna keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od rumenkasto sive k črni; viš. 2,6 cm, rek. pr. dna 9,8 cm; inv. št. P 15538 (*t. 2:* 13).
2. Odl. ravnega dna in ostenja posode. Temno siva porozna keramika z redkimi primesmi peska; viš. 2,1 cm, rek. pr. dna 12 cm; inv. št. P 15535 (*t. 2:* 14).

3. Odl. ravnega dna posode. Trda keramika s primesmi peska, površina je rdeča, sredica črna; viš. ohr. dela 2,4 cm, rek. pr. dna 9,8 cm; inv. št. P 15534a in P 15537 (*t. 2:* 15).
4. Odl. dna in ostenja posode. Trda keramika s primesmi peska, zunanja površina je rdečerjava, sredica in notranja površina sta temno sivi; odl. dna: 2,4 × 3,2 cm; inv. št. P 15534b (*t. 2:* 16).
5. Odl. ravnega dna posode (?). Dobro prečiščena keramika s primesmi finega peska, zunanja površina in sredica sta črni, notranja površina je rumeno rjava; vel. 4,7 × 4,8 cm; inv. št. P 15536 (*t. 2:* 17).

Grob 64 (ter. št. ŽG 13; *sl. A11, A12*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana v sivo rumeni sterilni pesek. Dno je bilo prekrito s plastjo peska, pomešanega z žganino, nad njo je bil sloj žganine. Tloris (1,5 × 1,6 m) in presek jame sta bila nepravilne oblike. V jami so bili tudi odlomki tipološko neopredeljivih lončenih posod (inv. št. P 18548 do P 18550). Grob je bil poškodovan zaradi vkopa skeletnega groba 354, ki je žgani grob presekal.
1. Odl. bronaste žice okroglega preseka, del loka dvozankaste fibule. Okrašena sta z gostim drobnim spiralnim vrezom; dol. 5,8 cm in 1,47 cm; inv. št. P 15539 (*t. 2:* 18).

Grob 65 (ter. št. ŽG 14; *sl. A13–A15*)
Grobna jama je bila plitvo vkopana v ilovico, v tlorisu je bila ovalna (1,4 × 1,2 m). Žganina z drobci kosti se je nahajala na treh mestih. V okolici groba so bili odlomki bronastih predmetov. V povezavi z grobom je bila verjetno tudi plošča iz apnenca (0,54 × 0,39 × 0,07 m). Grob je bil poškodovan zaradi vkopa skeletnega groba 359.
1. Odl. posode z izvihanim ustjem. Nekateri odlomki ostenja so okrašeni s pasom plitvih vodoravnih žlebov in snopi poševnih žlebov pod njim. Keramika z redkimi primesmi grobega peska, zunanja površina je nekoliko zglajena. Barva prehaja od rjave k črni; vel. odl. 7,2 × 3,6 cm in manj, rek. pr. ustja 25 cm; inv. št. P 15540 (*t. 2:* 19).
2. Odl. ustja posode. Temnorjava keramika je rahlo porozna in s primesmi peska; viš. 1,7 cm, šir. 2,4 cm; inv. št. P 15541 (*t. 2:* 20).

Grob 66 (ter. št. ŽG 15; *sl. A11, A19, A18*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana v rjav grušč. Nad žganinsko liso (do 1 m v premeru) je ležala ploščata skala (0,65 × 0,53 × 0,35 m); med skalo in žganinsko liso je bil tenek sloj rumenega grušča. Žganina je bila na enem mestu, na robu vkopa.
Brez pridatkov.

Grob 67 (ter. št. ŽG 16; *sl. A11, A16, A19*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana v rdečerumeno sterilno ilovico. V tlorisu je bila okrogle (pr. približno 0,35 m), v profilu pa polkrožne oblike. Žganinska plast je bila debela okrog 12 cm. Na eni strani sta bila dva kamna. V plasti žganine so bili številni drobci sežganih človeških kosti.
Brez pridatkov.

Grob 68 (ter. št. ŽG 17; *sl. 8d, A20–A22*)
Jama je bila pri dnu okrogla (pr. do 1 m), drugače pa razpotegnjena, tako da je šlo morda za dva grobova. Na dnu je bila plast žganine, v kateri so bili odlomki keramike in koščki bronaste pločevine, sežgane človeške kosti so bile v žari. Grob je bil pokrit z veliko kamnito ploščo (0,5 × 0,31 × 0,1 m) in manjšimi kamni. Grob je bil videti poškodovan.
1. Odl. lončene žare z visokim stožčastim vratom, izvihanim ustjem in ravnim dnom. Prehod iz vratu v ramo posode krasijo štiri plastične bradavice. Notranja površina je lisasta (rjava in siva), zunanja je črna in zglajena, barva sredice prehaja od rdeče k sivi; rek. viš. 28 cm, pr. dna 11,5 cm; inv. št. P 15543 (*t. 2:* 21).

Grob 69 (ter. št. ŽG 18; *sl A21, A23*)
Grob je bil v tlorisu viden kot temnejša lisa (0,8 × 0,7 m). Žganinska plast je bila debela do 0,2 m, vsebovala je drobce oglja in sežganih človeških kosti ter odlomke keramike. Ob robu groba je bila (premaknjena) kamnita plošča (0,65 × 0,38 × 0,1 m).
1. Odl. zgornjega dela posode z ravno zaključenim ustjem. Keramika z redkimi primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od svetle rdečkasto rjave k temno sivi; viš. 4,3 cm, rek pr. ustja 28,4 cm; inv. št. P 15545 (*t. 3:* 1).
2. Odl. ostenja posode z vodoravnim plastičnim rebrom, razčlenjenim s poševnimi vrezi. Trda keramika je mešana s peskom, sredica je temno siva, površina opečnato rdeča in nekoliko zglajena; viš. 3,5 cm, šir. 3,4 cm; inv. št. P 15544 (*t. 3:* 2).

Grob 70 (ter. št. ŽG 19; *sl. A24*)
Grobna jama je bila plitvo (0,15 m) vkopana v zemljišče, v tlorisu je bila nepravilne okrogle oblike (pr. do 1,1 m). Zapolnjena je bila z žganino, pomešano z drobci kosti in lončenine ter koščki bronaste žice. Nad grobom je ležala apnenčasta plošča (0,6 × 0,75 × 0,19 cm).
1. Odl. bronaste žice okroglega preseka, na enem delu je videti droben spiralen vrez; morda lok fibule (dol. 3,5 cm, pr. 0,31 cm). Inv. št. P 15647; ter. št. 76/207 (*t. 3:* 3).

Grob 71 (ter. št. ŽG 20; *sl. 8e; sl. A24, A25*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana v preperelo apnenčasto skalno osnovo, v tlorisu je bila nepravilno okrogle oblike. Nad grobom je ležala kamnita plošča (1,1 × 0,6 × 0,3 m). Pod ploščo je bil do 0,3 m debel sloj žganine z ogljem, kalciniranimi kostmi, koščki bronaste pločevine in odlomki lončenih posod.
1. Del loka vozlaste fibule z železnim jedrom in bronastim plaščem. Ohranjene so tri okrogle odebelitve; dol. 6,7 cm, deb. loka 0,7 cm, pr. odebelitev 1,7–2,05 cm; inv. št. P 15648 (*t. 3:* 4*; sl. 12b*).
2. Visoka železna noga fibule. Na zgornjem delu je ohranjen del zanke, spodnji del z ležiščem za iglo je poškodovan; viš. 6 cm, šir. 2,4 cm; inv. št. P 15649 *(t. 3:* 5).
3. Del loka z nogo in del igle bronaste fibule. Lok in noga imata okrogel presek, noga ima presek v obliki črke C; dol. 5,3 cm, viš. 1,7 cm; inv. št. P 15546 (*t. 3:* 6).
4. Tri bronaste kovice z okroglimi ploščatimi glavicami; pr. 1,2 cm,1,1 cm in 0,6 cm; inv. št P 15547 (*t. 3:* 7).
4. Bronast zaključek stranske plošče skledaste čelade; vel. 2,1 × 1,9 cm; inv. št. P 15650 (*t. 3:* 8).
6. Štirje bronasti žebljički s polkroglasto glavico; dol. 0,4 cm, pr. 0,35 cm; inv. št. P 15547 (*t. 3:* 9).
7. Odl. bronaste žice okroglega preseka; dol. 5 cm, pr. 0,53 cm; inv. št. P 15547 (*t. 3:* 10).
8. Del bronaste žice, en konec je uvit v zanko; dol. 2 cm, pr. 0,4 cm; inv. št. P 15547 (*t. 3:* 11).

9. Odl. bronastega trakastega predmeta, morda prstana; dol. 1,7 cm, šir. 0,24 cm; inv. št. P 15651 (*t. 3:* 12).
10. Odl. bronaste pločevine, plasti sta speti s kovico; vel. 3,6 × 1,5 cm; inv. št. P 15547 (*t. 3:* 13).
11. Odl. bronaste pločevine, plasti sta speti s kovico; vel. 3,9 × 2,1 cm; inv. št. P 15547 (*t. 3:* 14).
12. Del bronaste palčke okroglega preseka, en zaključek je razcepljen (del šivanke?); dol. 2,7 cm; inv. št. P 15547 (*t. 3:* 15).
13. Odl. bronastega paličastega predmeta kvadratnega preseka; dol. 1,2 cm; inv. št. P 15547 (*t. 3:* 16).
14. Glineno bikonično vretence. Keramika s primesmi belega peska, barva prehaja od rjavkasto rdeče k sivi; viš. 2,8 cm, pr. 3,4 cm: inv. št. P 15548 *(t. 3:* 17).
15. Glineno bikonično vretence, precej poškodovano. Krhka siva keramika s primesmi belega peska; viš. 1,8 cm, rek. pr. 2,5 cm; inv. št. P 18554 *(t. 3:* 18).
16. Bikonično vretence iz rdeče keramike. Na površini so ostanki črnega premaza; viš. 3,2 cm, največji pr. 3,8 cm; inv. št. P 18553 (*t. 3:* 19).
17. Odl. ustja posode. Rdeče rjava keramika s primesmi peska, temnejša površina je nekoliko zglajena; viš. 1,9 cm, rek. pr. ustja 17,8 cm; inv. št. P 18558 (*t. 3:* 20).
18. Odl. izvihanega ustja posode. Keramika s primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od bledo rjave k sivi; viš. 2,2 cm, rek. pr. 13,5 cm; inv. št. P 18562 (*t. 3:* 21).
19. Odl. ostenja posode, okrašen s plastičnim rebrom. Trda keramika z veliko primesmi drobnega peska, barva prehaja od temno sive na površini k rdeči v sredici; viš. 3,1 cm, šir. 4,3 cm; inv. št. P 18557 (*t. 3:* 22).
20. Odl. ravnega dna in ostenja posode. Trda keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od rdeče prek sive k črni; viš. 3,4 cm, rek. pr. dna 8 cm; inv. št. P 18556 (*t. 3:* 23).
21. Odl. dna in ostenja posode. Luknjičava keramika s primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od opečnato rdeče k sivi; viš. 3,2 cm, rek. pr. dna 12,5 cm; inv. št. P 18555 (*t. 3:* 24).

Grob 72 (ter. št. ŽG 21a, b; *sl. A13, A26, A27*)
V profilu grobne jame sta bila vidna višji in nižji vkop v rumeni ilovici. Žganinska plast ni bila prekinjena. V višjem vkopu (ter. št. 21a) je bila žganinska plast debelejša (do 0,3 m), v njej so bili drobci kalciniranih kosti, keramike in bronaste pločevine; vkop je bil v tlorisu okrogel (pr. 0,6 m). Tloris nižjega vkopa je bil prav tako okrogel (pr. 0,7 m), v žganinski plasti (deb. do 0,2 m) so bile sežgane kosti, odlomki lončenine, drobci brona in steklena jagoda. Na grobu in v njem je bilo več manjših kamnov.
1. Odl. bronastega pločevinastega traku; dol. 3,1 cm, šir. 0,9 cm; inv. št. P 15652 (*t. 3:* 25).
2. Ploščata okrogla modra steklena jagoda; pr. 0,6 cm, deb. 0,3 cm; inv. št. P 15653 (*t. 3:* 26).
3. Odl. ravno zaključenega ustja in ostenja posode. Opečnato rdeča keramika s primesmi grobega peska: viš. 3,6 cm, rek. pr. ustja 16 cm; inv. št. P 18565 *(t. 3:* 27).
4. Odl. izvihanega ustja posode. Keramika z veliko primesmi finega peska, površina je temno siva in zglajena, sredica je rdeča; viš. 1,8 cm, šir. 3,3 cm; inv. št P 15549 (*t. 3:* 28).
5. Odl. ustja, dna in ostenja posode. Keramika s primesmi drobnega peska, površina je črna, barva sredice prehaja od rdečkasto rjave k črni; večji odl. ustja: 2,8 × 2,9 cm; rek. pr. dna 12 cm; inv. št. P 18563 (*t. 3:* 29, 30).

Grob 73 (ter. št. ŽG 22; *sl. 8f, 9; A28, A29*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana v apnenčasto skalno osnovo. V tlorisu je bila kvadratne oblike z zaobljenimi vogali (0,6 × 0,6 m). Zapolnjena je bila z žganino (debelina plasti 0,2 m), sežgane kosti so bile zbrane na kupčku pod glineno posodo. Grob je bil pokrit s tremi večjimi kamni.
1. Ploščat lok bronaste polmesečaste fibule z veržicami. Po sredini loka poteka plastično rebro, okrašeno s poševnimi vrezanimi črtami. Ob rebru je na obeh straneh vrezan cikcakast okras, poudarjen s pikami na vrhu zunanjih trikotnikov. Ohranjena sta dela zank pravokotnega preseka; dol. 8,4 cm, šir. loka 2,15 cm; inv. št. P 15550 (*t. 4:* 1).
2. Lok in igla bronaste ločne dvozankaste fibule. Lok, okrašen z drobnim spiralnim vrezom, in igla sta okroglega, zanki pravokotnega preseka; dol. 7,8 cm, deb. loka 0,28 cm; inv. št. P 15551 (*t. 4:* 2).
3. Bronast spiralast obroček iz žice trikotnega preseka, konca sta uvita v spiralni zanki; pr. 2,5 cm; viš. 1,7 cm; inv. št. P 15552 (*t. 4:* 3).
4. Bronast okrogel ploščat gumb s trakasto zanko na hrbtni strani; pr. 2 cm, viš. 0,4 cm; inv. št. P 15553 (*t. 4:* 4).
5. Odl. trakaste zapestnice iz bronaste pločevine, ohranjen je spiralno uvit zaključek. Ob robovih je okrašena z nizom vtisnjenih pik; šir. 0,7 cm, dol. največjega odl. 4,2 cm; inv. št. P 15554 (*t. 4:* 5).
6. Glineno vretence. Keramika s primesmi peska je temnorjava, sredica rdečerjava; viš. 3 cm, pr. največjega oboda 3,7 cm; inv. št. P 15654 (*t. 4:* 6).
7. Odl. glinenega lončka z visokim cilindričnim vratom, rahlo izvihanim stanjšanim ustjem in nekoliko vbočenim dnom. Keramika s primesmi belega peska je zunaj in znotraj rdečkasto rjava, sredica je rdečerjava; rek.: viš. 11,4 cm, pr. ustja 9,5 cm; inv. št. P 15555 (*t. 4:* 7).

Grob 74 (ter. št. ŽG 23; *sl. A30*)
Grobna jama je bila polkrožno vkopana v rumeno rdečo ilovico, v njej so bili drobci žganine in kalciniranih kosti. V tlorisu je merila 0,4 × 1 m.
Brez pridatkov.

Grob 75 (ter. št. ŽG 24; *sl. A20, A31*)
Grob je bil vkopan v rumeno sterilno ilovico. Meje grobne jame so bile nejasne, kalciniranih kosti je bilo malo. Vkop je bil verjetno polkrožen.
Brez pridatkov.

Grob 76 – ustrina (ter. št. ŽG 25; *sl. 8g, A20, A32*)
Vkop je bil plitev, dno jame je bilo rdečkasto prepečeno. V jami je bilo malo kalciniranih kosti in precej oglja. Objekt ovalne oblike (1,4 × 1,2 m) je bil verjetno ustrina.
1. Odl. zgornjega dela ostenja posode. Keramika z veliko primesmi peska je zunaj opečnato rdeča, notranja površina in sredica sta temno sivi; viš. 6,3 cm; inv. št. P 15655 (*t. 4:* 8).

Grob 77 (ter. št. ŽG 26; *sl. A33*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana v rdečerjavo ilovico. V tlorisu je bila verjetno okrogle oblike, s premerom 0,7 m (zaradi lege nad profilom oblika ni bila jasno prepoznavna). Dno jame je bilo verjetno tlakovano z manjšimi kamnitimi ploščami, nanje je bil nasut pepel pokojnika.

1. Odl. spiralno zavitega ustja bronaste posode; dol. 4,2 cm, viš. 1,5 cm; inv. št. P 15657 (*t. 4:* 9).
2. Bronast obroček ovalnega preseka, na enem mestu je nekoliko stanjšan; pr. 3,3 cm; inv. št. P 15656 (*t. 4:* 10).

Grob 78 (ter. št. ŽG 27; *sl. 8g, sl. A20, A32*)
Grobna jama je bila polkrožno vkopana do rumene sterilne ilovice (globina 0,2 m) in je bila skoraj v celoti zapolnjena z lončeno posodo. Razlika med zasipom in obdajajočo zemljo je bila slabo vidna. Dimenzije vkopa v tlorisu so bile 0,3 × 0,35 cm.
1. Odl. skodelice s presegajočim ročajem. Barva keramike s primesjo peska prehaja od rdeče rjave k temno sivi. Viš. 5 cm, rek. pr. ustja 10 cm; P 15556a (*t. 4:* 13).
2. Odl. posode z izvihanim ustjem, kratkim usločenim vratom in ravnim dnom. Na največjem obodu sta kratka trakasta ročaja. Keramika s primesmi peska je zunaj lisasta, rjavo rdeča in siva, sredica in notranja površina sta sivi; rek.: viš. 19,5 cm, pr. ustja 17,2 cm; inv. št. P 15556 (*t. 4:*14).

Grob 79 (ter. št. ŽG 28; *sl. 8g, A20, A32*)
Grobna jama je bila plitvo vkopana (do 0,2 m) v sterilno ilovico. V tlorisu je bila nepravilno ovalne oblike (pr. 0,5 m). V jami so bili koščki oglja in keramike, drobci kosti so bili v dokaj strnjeni plasti na sredini vkopa.
1. Svitkasta jagoda iz modrega stekla, okrašena s tremi vrezanimi krogi na obodu, v enem so ostanki bele paste; pr. 0,76 cm, viš. 0,5 cm); inv. št. P 15557 (*t. 4:* 11).
2. Odl. vratu in največjega oboda posode. Ostenje je plitvo vodoravno nažlebljeno. Keramika z redkimi primesmi precej grobega peska, barva prehaja od temno sive na zunanji površini k rdečkasto rjavi na notranji; viš. 3,8 cm, rek. pr. oboda 14,6 cm; inv. št. P 18567 (*t. 4:* 12).

Grob 80 (ter. št. ŽG 29; *sl. A20, A31*)
Grobna jama je bila v tlorisu slabo vidna (vel. 0,4 × 0,4 m). H grobu verjetno spadajo drobci kosti in morda nekateri odlomki keramike, deli več posod.
Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 81 (ter. št. ŽG 30; *sl. A34*)
Pod skeletnim grobom 349 se je pokazala temna lisa, ostanek jame, vkopane v sterilno rdečerumeno ilovico. V jami je ležala preperela, verjetno od ognja ožgana kamnita plošča, okoli nje je bila žganina. V jami so bili tudi odlomki različnih lončenih posod in štirje kosi lepa.
1. Prodnik; vel. 5,55 × 4,1 × 3,5 cm; inv. št. P 15658 (*t. 4:* 15).
2. Odl. skodele z uvihanim ustjem in rahlo vbočenim dnom. Keramika s primesmi precej grobega peska, površina je zglajena. Barva prehaja od rdeče k temno sivi; rek. viš. 5,5 cm, pr. ustja 10,5 cm; inv. št. P 18569 (*t. 4:* 16).

Grob 82 (ter. št. ŽG 31; *sl. 8c, A35*)
Grob je bil vkopan v sivo rumeni pesek in rjavi humozni grušč, zgornji del je bil poškodovan. V tlorisu je bil videti kot ovalna lisa. Jama je bila zapolnjena z žganino.
1. Deli posode s kratkim vratom, rahlo izvihanim ustjem in nekoliko vbočenim dnom. Na največjem obodu so štiri plastične bradavice. Keramika z veliko primesmi drobnega peska, na površini barva prehaja od rdeče k rdečkasto sivi, sredica je črna; rek. viš. 23,8 cm, pr. ustja 16 cm; inv. št. P 15558 (*t. 5:* 1).

Grob 83 (ter. št. ŽG 32; *sl. A36, A38*)
Grobna jama je bila vkopana v rumeno rdečo ilovico in zatrpana z žganino, v kateri so bili drobci sežganih kosti. V tlorisu je bil grob ovalne oblike, pokrivala sta ga dva večja ploščata kamna.
1. Tri jagode iz temno modrega stekla; pr. 1,26 cm; pr. 1,2 cm; pr. 1,26 cm; inv. št. P 15659 (*t. 5:* 2).

Grob 84 (ter. št. ŽG 33; *sl. A36, A38*)
Grob je bil vkopan v rdečerumeno ilovico in zapolnjen z žganino, v kateri so bili redki drobci sežganih kosti. Premer grobne jame na vrhu je bil 0,8 m.
1. Odl. ravnega dna in ostenja posode. Keramika z redkimi primesmi drobnega svetlega peska je porozna, barva na površini prehaja od rumene k sivi, sredica je temno siva; viš. 2,4 cm, rek. pr. dna 9,8 cm; inv. št. P 15559 (*t. 5:* 3).

Grob 85 (ter. št. ŽG 34; *sl. A39, A40*)
Grob je bil plitvo vkopan v peščeni grušč in sivo rumen pesek, žganinska last je bila debela 6 cm. V tlorisu je bil viden kot lisa nepravilne oblike, ki je vsebovala kalcinirane kosti in drobce bronaste pločevine. Proti skeletnemu grobu št. 345 je zabrisano prehajala v drugo liso.
Brez pridatkov.

Skeletni grob 348 (ter. št. SG 44; *sl. 6, A41*)
Ohranjen je bil zgornji del okostja, delno še medenica, manjkali sta lobanja in leva rama. Okostje je ležalo na hrbtu, približno v smeri S–J (glava na jugu). Desna roka je bila stegnjena ob telesu, leva položena v naročje. Na desni roki je bila zapestnica.
Adultus; (ženska)
1. Bronasta narebrena zapestnica polkrožnega preseka z nesklenjenima, nekoliko stanjšanima koncema; pr. 6,2 cm, deb. 0,3 cm, šir. 0,45 cm; inv. št. S 3538 (*t. 5:* 4).

Najdbe zunaj grobov
Kvadrat 1
1. Del večglave igle z železnim jedrom. Ohranjene so zgornje štiri bronaste okrogle odebelitve, pod njimi še ena delno; dol. 6,2 cm, pr. zgornje odebelitve 0,85 cm; inv. št. P 15605 (*sl. 13a*; *t. 5:* 5).
2. Del glinenega svitka z redkimi zrnci peska, površina je oranžna, sredica siva; dol. 5,5 cm, šir. 3,5 cm, rek. notranji pr. 5 cm; inv. št. P 15606 (*t. 5:* 6).

Kvadrat 2
1. Odl. ramenaste bronaste noge fibule, ohranjen je del loka kvadratnega preseka; viš. 2,5 cm, šir. 2,6 cm; inv. št. P 15611 (*t. 5:* 7).
2. Del kovinskega predmeta, okrogla ploščica je bronasta, paličasti del je železen (morda del vozlaste fibule); dol. 1,65 cm, pr. 2,6 cm; inv. št. P 15607 (*sl. 10; t. 5:* 8)
3. Bronast zaključek temenske plošče skledaste čelade; viš. 2,3 cm, pr. 1,78 cm; inv. št. P 15608 (*t. 5:* 9).
4. Zaključek bronaste stranske plošče skledaste čelade, nekoliko poškodovan; vel. 2,6 × 2,3 cm, viš. 0,85 cm; inv. št. P 15661 (*t. 5:* 10).

5. Zaključek bronaste stranske plošče skledaste čelade, nekoliko poškodovan; vel. 2,1 × 1,88 cm, viš. 0,67 cm; inv. št. P 15660 (*t. 5:* 11).
6. Odl. bronaste pločevine s kovico; vel. 1,6 × 0,95 cm; inv. št. P 15613 (*t. 5:* 12).
7. Odl. bronaste pločevine z uvitim robom; viš. 0,7 cm, šir. 1,55 cm; inv. št. P 15614 (*t. 5:* 13).
8. Odl. bronaste pločevine s kovico: vel. 1,17 × 1,3 cm; inv. št. P 15615 (*t. 5:* 14).
9. Odl. bronaste pločevine, speti s kovicama; 2,8 × 3,4 cm; inv. št. P 15662 (*t. 5:* 15).
10. Odl. ukrivljene bronaste žice pravokotnega preseka; dol. 1,7 cm; inv. št. P 15616 (*t. 5:* 16).
11. Odl. bronaste žice okroglega preseka; dol. 1,5 cm, pr. 0,3 cm; inv. št. P 15617 (*t. 5:* 17).
12. Kos brona s poševnima vrezoma; dol. 1,6 cm, deb. 0,65 cm; inv. št. P 15621; ter. št. 76/107 (t. 5: 18)
13. Odl. bronaste žice; dol. 3,3 cm in 0,94 cm, deb. 0,25 cm; inv. št. P 15612 (*t. 5:* 19).
14. Odl. skodele z ravno odrezanim ustjem in s presegajočim trakastim ročajem. Temno siva keramika z veliko primesmi drobnega peska, površina je nekoliko zglajena; viš. ohr. dela 5 cm, šir. 6 cm; rek. pr. ustja 19,2 cm; inv. št. P 15619 (*t. 5:* 20).
15. Odl. ravno zaključenega ustja posode. Keramika z redkimi primesmi precej grobega peska. Barva prehaja od rdeče na notranji površini k črni na zunanji, površina je zglajena; viš. 3,7 cm, šir. 3,8 cm; rek. pr. 15,4 cm; inv. št. P 15622 (*t. 5:* 21)
16. Odl. sive keramike s primesmi belega peska (ročajček?); viš. 1,1 cm, šir. 1,05 cm; inv. št. P 15618 (*t. 5:* 22).
17. Odl. ustja posode. Nekoliko luknjičava keramika s primesmi peska je opečnato rdeča, sredica črna; viš. 2,5 cm, šir. 2,1 cm; inv. št. P 15627 (*t. 5:* 23).
18. Odl. ustja posode. Keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od opečnato rdeče na površini k sivi v sredici. Na površini so sledovi temnejšega premaza (?); viš. 1,8 cm, šir. 3,1 cm; inv. št. P 15628 (*t. 5:* 24).
19. Odl. ostenja posode, okrašen z vodoravnim razčlenjenim plastičnim rebrom. Keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od rdeče prek rjave k črni; 3,7 × 3,2 cm; inv. št. P 15625 (*t. 5:* 25).
20. Odl. držaja posode. Trda keramika s primesmi drobnega peska je zunaj rdeča, notranja površina in sredica sta črni; šir. 4,4 cm, viš. 2,6; inv. št. P 15624; ter. št. 76/94 (*t. 5:* 26).
21. Odl. trakastega ročaja zaobljeno pravokotnega preseka. Trda črna keramika s primesmi grobega peska; dol. 5,2 cm, šir. 4,5 cm, deb. 1,9 cm; inv. št. P 15626 (*t. 5:* 27).
22. Odl. ravnega dna in ostenja posode. Trda keramika s primesmi belega peska, barva prehaja od opečnato rdeče k črni; viš. 2,2 cm, šir. 3,8 cm; rek. pr. 10 cm; inv. št. P 15629 (*t. 5:* 28).
23. Odl. spodnjega dela posode. Dno (ali morda noga) je izdelano posebej in zlepljeno z zgornjim delom posode. Keramika s primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od rdeče k črni; viš. 2 cm; rek. pr. 14 cm; inv. št. P 15623 (*t. 5:* 29).

Kvadrat 3

1. Odl. rahlo izvihanega ustja posode s tenkimi stenami. Siva keramika je dobro prečiščena in s primesmi peska ter sljude; viš. 2,1 cm, rek. pr. 6,8 cm; inv. št. P 15630 (*t. 6:* 1).
2. Odl. ostenja posode. Okrašen je z vrezanim šrafiranim trikotnikom, viden je del sosednjega. Črna keramika s primesmi peska, površina je zglajena; viš. 5,2 cm, rek. pr. največjega oboda posode 24,2 cm; inv. št. P 15664 (*t. 6:* 2).
3. Odl. ostenja posode z vodoravnim plastičnim razčlenjenim rebrom. Keramika s primesmi peska je zunaj opečnato rdeča, znotraj temno rjava, sredica je črna; viš. 4 cm, šir. 3,6 cm; inv. št. P 15631 (*t. 6:* 3).
4. Odl. glinenega svitka, na enem je ovalna vdolbina. Dobro prečiščena keramika se plasti, barva prehaja od oranžne k sivi; večji odl.: 6,5 × 4,4 cm; inv. št. P 15632 *(t. 6:* 4).

Kvadrat 5

1. Bronasta fibula z železnim tečajem. Nizek trakast lok je okrašen z vrezanima žlebovoma in nizom pik med njima. Noga ima v preseku obliko črke T, ohranjen je del igle; dol. 3,85 cm, viš. 0,7 cm; inv. št. P 15560; ter. št. K 3 (*t. 6:* 5).
2. Odl. obročka iz bronaste žice okroglega preseka (obsenčnik?); viš 3,6 cm, deb. žice 0,2 cm; inv. št. P 15562 (*t. 6:* 6).
3. Odl. bronaste peresovine; dol. 1,8 cm, pr. 0,7 cm; inv. št. P 15561 (*t. 6:* 7).
4. Odl. ustja vrča. Bledo opečnata keramika je dobro prečiščena; viš. 2 cm, rek. pr. ustja 5 cm; inv. št. P 15569 (*t. 6:* 8).
5. Odl. zgornjega dela posode s cilindričnim vratom in ostro odrezanim robom ustja. Trda keramika z redkimi primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od temnorjave k črni; viš. 3,7 cm, rek. pr. ustja 16 cm; inv. št. P 15565 (*t. 6:* 9).
6. Odl. izvihanega usta posode. Trda keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od rjave na zunanji površini k črni na notranji; viš. 1,6 cm, šir. 2,1 cm; inv. št. P 15564 (*t. 6:* 10).
7. Odl. ostenja z največjega oboda posode, okrašene z vrezano cikcakasto črto. Trda keramika s primesmi drobnega peska, rahlo zglajena površina je črna, sredica rjava; viš. 2,1 cm, šir. 4,2 cm, rek. pr. največjega oboda 12,8 cm; inv. št. P 15563 (*t. 6:* 11).
8. Odl. ostenja posode, okrašene z vodoravnim plastičnim rebrom, razčlenjenim z vtisi. Keramika s primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od svetle rdečkasto rjave na površini k sivi v sredici; viš. 3,6 cm, šir. 4,3 cm; inv. št. P 15568 (*t. 6:* 12).
9. Odl. zgornjega dela vrča z ravno zaključenim ustjem, ohranjen je del trakastega ročaja z vzdolžnima rebroma. Keramika opečnate barve je dobro prečiščena; viš. 1,4 cm, šir. ročaja 2,3 cm; inv. št. P 15570 (*t. 6:* 13).
10. Odl. posode (del ustja ali noge?), rob je odebeljen. Trda keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od rjave k črni; viš. 2,4 cm, šir. 2,4 cm; inv. št. P 15567 (*t. 6:* 14).
11. Odl. spodnjega dela posode z ravnim dnom. Črna keramika z redkimi primesmi peska; viš. 2,3 cm, rek. pr. dna 5 cm; inv. št. P 15566 (*t. 6:* 15).

Kvadrat 6
1. Del železne igle; dol. 3,13 cm; inv. št. P 15571 (*t. 6:* 16).
2. Odl. zgornjega dela posode z izvihanim in na robu stanjšanim ustjem. Keramika je luknjičava, površina je bledo oranžna, sredica siva; rek. pr. ustja 15,8 cm; inv. št. P 15582 (*t. 6:* 17).
3. Odl. zgornjega dela vrča z rahlo odebeljenim ustjem. Pod ustjem je ostanek trakastega ročaja. Bledo rumena keramika je dobro prečiščena; rek. pr. ustja 8,6 cm; inv. št. P 15577 (*t. 6:* 18).
4. Odl. izvihanega ustja posode. Nekoliko luknjičava keramika s primesmi drobnega peska, barva prehaja od rdeče rjave k temno sivi; viš. 3,1 cm, šir. 3,2 cm; inv. št. P 15576 (*t. 6:* 19).
5. Odl. ustja posode. Nekoliko luknjičava keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od rdeče rjave k temno sivi; viš. 2,8 cm, šir. 2,3 cm; inv. št. P 15574 (*t. 6:* 20).
6. Odl. ostenja z največjega oboda posode. Okrašen je z vodoravnim nizom vtisnjenih krožcev. Trda keramika s primesmi peska, površina je črna in zglajena, sredica siva; rek. pr. oboda 15 cm; inv. št. P 15572 (*t. 6:* 21).
7. Odl. ostenja z največjega oboda posode, okrašene z vodoravnim nizom plitvo vtisnjenih okroglih jamic. Trda keramika s primesmi finega peska je črna, barva sredice prehaja od sive k rdečkasti; rek. pr. oboda 14 cm; inv. št. P 15578 (t. 6: 22).
8. Odl. ostenja vrča, ohranjen je ostanek trakastega ročaja. Keramika je dobro prečiščena, površina je bledo oranžna, sredica siva; rek. pr. oboda 13,8 cm; inv. št. P 15573 (*t. 6:* 23).
9. Odl. trakastega ročaja iz trde temno sive keramike. Po sredini ročaja poteka nizko rebro; dol. 3 cm, šir. 3,5 cm, deb. 1,5 cm; inv. št. P 15583 (*t. 6:* 24).
10. Odl. trakastega ročaja posode. Keramika s primesmi drobnega peska, barva prehaja od rjave k temno sivi, površina je nekoliko zglajen; dol. 2,7 cm, šir. 3 cm, deb. 1,2 cm; inv. št. P 15580 (*t. 6:* 25).
11. Odl. trakastega ročaja. Trda temno siva keramika s primesmi peska, površina je zglajena; dol. 1,3 cm, šir. 3,5 cm, deb. 1,2 cm; inv. št. P 15579 (*t. 6:* 26).
12. Odl spodnjega dela posode z ravnim dnom. Keramika s primesmi peska je rdečerjava, sredica temno siva; rek. pr. dna 10,8 cm; inv. št. P 15581 (*t. 6:* 27).
13. Odl. spodnjega dela posode z ravnim dnom. Keramika s primesmi grobim peskom, barva prehaja od rdeče k črni; rek. pr. dna 11,8 cm. Inv. št. P 15584 (*t. 6:* 28).

Kvadrat 8
1. Del obročka iz bronaste žice okroglega preseka (obsenčnik?); pr. 4 cm, deb. žice 0,2 cm; inv. št. P 15585 (*t. 7:* 1).
2. Del bronastega obročka (?) nepravilnega štirikotnega preseka; dol. 1,7 cm; inv. št. P 15587 (*t. 7:* 2).
3. Odl. bronaste pločevine, spet s kovico; vel. 1,2 × 1,4 cm; inv. št. P 15586 (*t. 7:* 3).
4. Odl. izvihanega ustja posode. Črna keramika s primesmi svetlega peska je rahlo porozna; viš. 1,9 cm, rek. pr. ustja 20,6 cm; inv. št. P 15589 (*t. 7:* 4).
5. Odl. ustja posode. Keramika je močno porozna, barva prehaja od sivo rumene k črni; viš. 1,6 cm, rek. pr. ustja 13,5 cm; inv. št. P 15588 (*t. 7:* 5).
6. Odl. zgornjega dela posode z izvihanim ustjem. Porozna keramika s primesmi drobnega peska je siva in bledo rumena, sredica črna; viš. 3,4 cm, rek. pr. ustja 9,2 cm; inv. št. P 15595 (*t. 7:* 6).
7. Odl. rahlo izvihanega ustja posode. Keramika je porozna, površina je siva, sredica črna; viš. 2,9 cm, šir. 2,6 cm; inv. št. P 15593 (*t. 7:* 7).
8. Odl. ostenja posode, okrašenega z okroglima vdolbinama. Trda dobro prečiščena keramika s primesmi sljude je temno siva, sredica rdeča; viš. 2,9 cm, šir. 3,5 cm; inv. št. P 15596 (*t. 7:* 8).
9. Odl. trakastega ročaja posode, okrašenega z vzdolžno vrezano črto. Keramika je močno porozna, površina je siva, sredica črna; dol. 5,9 cm, šir. 3 cm; inv. št. P 15590 (*t. 7:* 9).
10. Odl. lončenega predmeta (noga posode ali zaključek pekve s čepom?). Barva porozne keramike z veliko primesmi peska prehaja od bledo rumene k sivi; viš. 3,5 cm, pr. 3,95 cm; inv. št. P 15591 (*t. 7:* 10).
11. Odl. ravnega dna in ostenja posode. Trda svetlo rjava keramika s primesmi peska; viš. 3 cm, rek. pr. dna 11,8 cm; inv. št. P 15597 (*t. 7:* 11).
12. Odl. ravnega dna in ostenja posode. Črna keramika s primesmi peska, površina je nekoliko zglajena; viš. 2,1 cm, rek. pr. dna 9,8 cm; inv. št. P 15594 (*t. 7:* 12).

Kvadrat 9
1. Odl. bronastega šila (?), pri vrhu pravokotnega, proti konici okroglega preseka; dol. 4,2 cm, deb. 0,2 cm; inv. št. P 15598 (*t. 6:* 29).

Kvadrat 12
1. Odl. izvihanega ustja posode. Keramika je porozna in s primesmi peska, površina in zunanja polovica sredice sta bledo rumeni, notranja polovica sredice je črna; viš. 3,3 cm, šir. 5,1 cm, rek. pr. ustja 15 cm; inv. št. P 15642 (*t. 6:* 30).
2. Odl. ostenja posode s plastično bradavico. Keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od rdeče rjave na zunanji površini k črni na notranji; viš. 2,3 cm, šir. 1,8 cm; inv. št. P 15641 (*t. 6:* 31).

Kvadrat 14
1. Odl. ravnega dna in ostenja posode. Keramika z veliko primesmi peska, barva prehaja od rdeče rjave k temno sivi; viš. 2,1 cm, rek. pr. 13,8 cm; inv. št. P 15643 (*t. 6:* 32).

Kvadrat 16
1. Odl. izvihanega ustja posode. Bledo oranžna keramika je dobro prečiščena in mešana s peskom, površina je zglajena; viš. 3,2 cm, šir. 3,6 cm, rek. pr. ustja 21 cm; inv. št. P 15633 (*t. 7:* 13).

Kvadrat 16/19
1. Odl. izvihanega ustja posode. Dobro prečiščena keramika z veliko primesmi drobne sljude, barva prehaja od svetlo rjave na zunanji površini k črni na notranji; viš. 1,7 cm, šir. 2,9 cm; inv. št. P 15634 (*t. 7:* 14).

Kvadrat 19
1. Odl. bronaste žice okroglega preseka; dol. 2,8 cm, deb. 0,41 cm; inv. št. P 15635 (*t. 7:* 15).
2. Odl. posode z izvihanim ravno zaključenim ustjem. Na največjem obodu jo krasi vodoraven niz vrezanih

šrafiranih trikotnikov, v nekaterih črtah je ohranjena sled belega polnila. Keramika je dobro prečiščena s primesmi drobnega peska, površina je črna in zglajena, sredica je rdeče rjava in siva; viš. ohr. dela 5,5 cm; rek. pr. ustja 21 cm; inv. št. P 15640; ter. št. 76/237 (*t. 7:* 16).
3. Odl. ustja posode. Temno siva keramika s primesmi peska; viš. 1,7 cm, šir 1,8 cm; inv. št. P 15668 (*t. 7:* 17).
4. Odl. ročaja posode. Keramika s primesmi peska, barva na površini prehaja od opečnato oranžne k sivi, sredica je črna; dol. 3,3 cm, šir. 3,3 cm, deb. 1,14 cm; inv. št. P 15666 (*t. 7:* 18).
5. Odl. ostenja posode, okrašen s križajočimi se vrezanimi črtami. Črna keramika s primesmi peska, površina je zglajena; viš. 1,7 cm; inv. št. P 15639 (*t. 7:* 19).
6. Odl. ostenja posode, na enem je plitev vodoraven žleb. Temno siva keramika s primesmi grobega peska; največji odl.: 8,6 × 6,7 cm; inv. št. P 15636 (*t. 7:* 20).
7. Odl. ravnega dna in ostenja posode. Keramika s primesmi grobega peska, barva prehaja od opečnato rdeče na površini k sivi v sredici; viš. 3,1 cm, rek. pr. dna 8 cm; inv. št P 15665 (*t. 7:* 21).

Kvadrat 19/22
1. Odl. ravno zaključenega ustja posode. Keramika s primesmi drobnega peska, barva prehaja od rdeče rjave na zunanji površini k temno sivi na notranji, površina je zglajena; viš. 2,5 cm, šir. 2,8 cm; inv. št. P 15637 (*t. 7:* 22).

Kvadrat 33
1. Del modre steklene jagode; pr. 0,46 cm, viš. 0,14 cm; inv. št. P 15644 (*t. 7:* 23).

Kvadrat 34
1. Odl. ostenja posode z okroglo vtisnjeno jamico. Keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od črne na zunanji površini k svetlo rjavi na notranji, zunanja površina je zglajena; viš. 3,2 cm, šir. 2,5 cm; inv. št. P 15645 (*t. 7:* 24).

Kvadrat 35
1. Odl. ostenja posode. Keramika s primesmi peska, barva prehaja od rjave k temno sivi; viš. ohr. dela 17,6 cm, rek. največji pr. 24 cm; inv. št. P 15646 (*t. 7:* 25).

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Prehistoric cemetery at Pristava in Bled. Archaeological investigations in 1975–1978

Translation

In 1948, 1949 and 1951, the Narodni muzej Slovenije conducted systematic excavations in the prehistoric and early medieval necropolis at Pristava below Bled Castle, led by Jože Kastelic (*Fig. 1*). The excavations unearthed 318 inhumation burials from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,[1] as well as 52 prehistoric cremations. Stane Gabrovec was entrusted with excavating the prehistoric part; he also published the history of research and the excavation results.[2] Oddelek za arheologijo, Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani, continued the investigations in 1975, 1976 and 1978. This article discusses the prehistoric graves (Nos. 53 to 85) and the stray prehistoric finds (*Fig. 2, 3*) unearthed during the second campaign.

Timotej Knific led the 1975–1978 excavations, with the participation of Biba Teržan in 1975 and 1976 who also kept the excavation diaries for the prehistoric burials unearthed in 1975.[3] Excavations in 1975 examined six 4 × 4 m large grid squares located north of the 1951 excavation area (*Fig. 3:* Grid Squares 4–9) and revealed eleven cremation burials (Nos. 53 to 63). The report for that year states twelve investigated prehistoric burials, though the patches marked ŽG 6 and ŽG 7 were subsequently found to have belonged to a single grave, now marked Grave 58. Investigations in 1976 examined eleven grid squares (*Fig. 3:* Grid Squares 1–3, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22–25) and parts of Grid Squares 6 and 9 that remained unexplored in 1975, revealing altogether seventeen cremation burials and a pyre site (Nos. 64 to 81).[4] Further twelve grid squares were investigated in 1978, nine of which yielded prehistoric burials and stray prehistoric artefacts (*Fig. 3:* Grid Squares 10–15, 26, 28, 29, 33–35). They held four cremations (Nos. 82 to 85) and an inhumation (No. 348), in which the deceased was buried with a finely ribbed bronze Late Hallstatt bracelet on the arm. Also excavated were two trial trenches further north,[5] which gave negative results and thus suggested this area lay beyond the edge of the cemetery.[6]

The area of the prehistoric cemetery was later reused for a Late Antique and early medieval inhumation necropolis, which covered a slightly larger surface and damaged many prehistoric graves (*Fig. 4; 5*). Another reason for the prehistoric burials' poor state of preservation may also be due to the frequently imprecise preparation of the grave pits in the shallow earthen layer on the inclined terrain.[7]

The investigations conducted in Pristava in 1948–1951 and 1975–1978 unearthed 83 prehistoric features, most of them flat cremation burials dispersed across a 920 m^2 large area. There is a discrepancy between the actual number of burials and the numbering (the last prehistoric burial carried the number 85), which occurred because one of two pyre sites was marked with two numbers (Ž 13 and Ž 16) and because the desk-top analysis revealed the feature marked Ž 19 actually dated to the medieval period.[8]

BURIAL RITE

The prehistoric graves unearthed in 1975–1978 were flat and contained cremation burials, similarly as those excavated in 1948–1951, with the exception of inhumation Grave 348 that differed from other (early medieval) inhumations in the orientation of the skeleton and in a Late Hallstatt bronze bracelet (*Fig. 6*) found on the arm. The relatively poor condition of the graves causes some difficulties in establishing the burial rite. Grave pits differed considerably in size, shape and the precision of execution. The walls of the pits were either vertical or slanted. In plan, the pits were visible as oval, round, rectangular and irregularly shaped patches measuring 0.3 to 2 m across.

Gabrovec distinguished between six types of prehistoric graves, as well as pyre sites and cult

[1] Kastelic 1960; Kastelic, Škerlj 1950.
[2] Gabrovec 1960a.
[3] Knific 1977.
[4] Knific 1979.
[5] Trenches 2 and 3; Pleterski 2008, App. 1.
[6] Research reports for 1975, 1976 and 1978, archives AO NMS No. 593.
[7] Gabrovec 1960a, 17, 18.
[8] Gabrovec 1960a, 22, 24, 37.

spots.[9] I adopted his division (*Fig. 7*) to distinguish between eight types of features, with the calculated shares referring to the prehistoric cemetery as a whole:

1 – urn grave with stone lining: 17 burials (20.4%); all unearthed in 1948–1951;

2 – grave without an urn and with stone lining: seven burials (8.5%); all found in 1948–1951;

3 – urn grave without stone lining: seven burials (8.5%); five found in 1948–1951 and 2 in 1975–1978;

4 – grave without an urn and without stone lining: 29 burials (34.9%); seven found in 1948–1951 and 22 in 1975–1978;

5 – grave with widely strewn ashes and partially covered with stones: seven burials (8.5%); all found in 1948–1951;

6 – grave covered with a stone slab: ten burials (12%); two found in 1948–1951 and eight in 1975–1978;

7 – cult spot: two features (2.4%); found in 1948–1951;

8 – pyre site: four features (4.8%); three found in 1948–1951 and one in 1975–1978.

None of the graves excavated in 1975–1978 can be identified as Type 1, 2 or 5. Urn graves with stone lining (Type 1), which was the commonest form with just over 33% among the previously investigated features,[10] were now replaced in first position by Type 4, in which the cremated and pyre remains were placed together with the grave goods directly on the bottom of the grave pit without any lining and without an urn. This type comprises Graves 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84 and 85 (*Fig. 8a–c, f*). It has to be said that classification is not always clear; Grave 82, for example, is ascribed to Type 4 despite the possibility that the vessel in the grave pit was used as an urn.

Six of the Type 4 graves (Graves 54, 55, 57, 59, 62, 64) revealed a layer of sand or earth that was deposited on the bottom of the grave pit and served as bedding for the ashes and possible grave goods. A loam or sandy deposit on the bottom of grave pits was observed in a single case in 1948–1951, in a stone-lined urn grave (Grave 45; Type 1).[11] There are also three examples (Graves 6 and 35 from 1948–1951 ascribed to Type 1[12] and Grave 77 from 1975–1978 ascribed to Type 4) where a stone was laid on the bottom and then covered with ashes, in two cases (Graves 6 and 35) inside an urn.

The graves with stone covers (Type 6), of which only two examples came to light in 1948–1951, were relatively frequent in the more recent excavations (Graves 56, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 83; *Fig. 8d,e*). In these graves, ashes with grave goods were predominantly placed directly on the bottom of the pit with a single exception (Grave 68; *Fig. 8d*) where they were placed in an urn. This group also includes Grave 69 that was damaged and revealed a stone slab at the edge of the pit, which is presumed to have originally covered the burial.

Only two newly-found burials (Graves 58 and 78; *Fig. 8g*) are classified as urn burials (Type 3); possibly also Grave 82, if the vessel in the grave were used as an urn, and Grave 68 that is classified among the graves with a stone cover.

The 1975–1978 excavation also unearthed a pyre site (marked as Grave 76; *Fig. 8g*).[13]

GRAVE GOODS AND OTHER ARTEFACTS

All the small finds from the 77 graves[14] investigated in 1948–1951 and 1975–78 exhibit fire damage. Of these, 25 (32.5%) held artefacts that indicated the gender of the deceased. The graves with a fibula, spindle-whorl or needle were identified as female burials and those with a pin were seen as male burials, resulting in eighteen identified burials of women (72%), four burials of men (16%) and three holding both a man and a woman (12%). The cremated human remains from some graves excavated in 1975–1978 were anthropologically analysed (data given in the catalogue). In the Pristava necropolis, weapons were not placed in graves with the exception of Grave 71 that revealed part of a Šmarjeta type helmet (*Schüsselhelm*). I was not able to establish a relevant connection between the gender of the deceased and a specific burial rite, neither between gender and the wealth of the grave goods. Rich goods were most often associated with the burials of women (Graves 25, 39, 44, 49 and 73; *Fig. 8f; 9*), three were double burials of a man and a woman (Graves 36, 51 and 71 – considering the helmet as a grave good) and one belonged to a man (Grave 18).

[9] Gabrovec 1960a, 37–45.

[10] Gabrovec 1960a, 37.

[11] Gabrovec 1960a, 34, 38.

[12] Gabrovec 1960a, 20, 29, 30.

[13] Knific 1977.

[14] Pyre sites and cult spots are not included in this percentage estimate.

Pottery

The predominant form of pottery unearthed in 1975–1978 is that of a jar. Some jars were used as urns (in Graves 58, 68, 78 and possibly 82).

The vessels from Graves 58 (*Pl. 1:* 18) and 68 (*Pl. 2:* 21) can be identified as conical-necked jars of the Ljubljana Urnfield culture group;[15] the jar from Grave 68 is more specifically attributable to Type 1 after Dular, while the one from Grave 58 cannot be more specifically identified. Conical-necked jars are common in the Ljubljana cemetery. It is a form that draws its origin from the Urnfield culture period, in which the earliest such jars are decorated with a cordon applied on the lower body and a pronounced neck-shoulder junction; this junction later becomes smoother and the cordon decoration disappears. The two vessels from Pristava are without cordons, while the junction is still pronounced, suggesting they are typologically early, dating to the late Ljubljana I or early Ljubljana II phase.[16] Interestingly, the vessels from Pristava are almost half the size of the jars from Ljubljana. In its profile and the ratio between the lower and upper parts, the urn with a high conical neck from Grave 68 (*Pl. 2:* 21) is very similar to some of the jars from Kleinklein; the diagnostic jars from this site are attributed to the first and second burial phases.[17]

Conical-necked vessels can be traced even further northwards. The jar from Grave 58 has close parallels in the large urns with a conical neck (*i.e.* vessel form with Urnfield culture roots) from Maiersch in Lower Austria.[18] The early vessels of this type are frequently decorated with incisions, grooves or applied knobs, though some are undecorated. The latter closely resemble the vessel from Grave 58 at Pristava, having an everted rim, shoulder clearly distinguishable from the neck and base diameter smaller than the rim diameter. The connection is rendered less convincing by the great distance and, similarly as with the vessels from Ljubljana, the size difference. Another very close parallel comes from the settlement at Burgstallkogel near Kleinklein, in Austrian Styria. The upper part of this jar, twice the size of that from Grave 58 at Pristava, is dated to the transition from the Urnfield culture and the Early Iron Age, and closely resembles it in the shape of the rim, the pronounced neck-shoulder junction and the ratio between the rim diameter and maximum diameter.[19] Similar vessels are also common at Ruše and Pobrežje. At the former site, parallels appear in the middle period of the cemetery, *i.e.* in Ha B2, and continue throughout Ha B;[20] the absence of decoration of the Pristava vessel suggests it could be seen as a late example of the type. Another parallel is known from Most na Soči, where a vessel almost half the size of that from Pristava came to light in a grave with a damaged iron brooch that could be dated to the Sv. Lucija Ib phase.[21]

The vessel from Grave 78 (*Pl. 4:* 14) can be identified as a jar with an everted rim, concave neck and biconical body, such as are known from the Ljubljana Ib phase graves of the Ljubljana cemetery. Two rim-and-shoulder fragments from Grave 65 (*Pl. 2:* 19) may also belong to such a vessel. The most convincing parallel comes from Grave 166, which also held a part of a spectacle brooch, sherd of a dish with an inturned rim and a rim fragment of another ceramic vessel.[22] There is again a size difference, with the Pristava vessel almost a third smaller than the example from Ljubljana. Many vessels of this type from Ljubljana are decorated with a cordon applied at or just below maximum diameter,[23] whereas the vessel from Pristava has a pair of strap handles at maximum diameter. Another close parallel is the slightly larger and decorated vessel from Kleinklein, more precisely from the Tschoneggerfranzlwald 4 grave attributed to the first burial phase that chronologically corresponds with the Ljubljana IIb/IIIa horizon.[24]

The biconical beaker with a high neck and slightly everted rim from Grave 73 at Pristava (*Pl. 4:* 7) shows poor workmanship and a lack of symmetry. It has a relatively close parallel from Ljubljana, which is slightly larger and has a more pronounced shoulder-neck junction, as well as a more pronouncedly everted rim, but is very similar in the rounded lower part and the high conical

[15] Dular 1982, 109.

[16] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 16–19.

[17] Dobiat 1980, 168, 231, 232, 236, 244, Pl. 60: 5; 61: 1, 3; 62: 4; 72: 1; 87: 5.

[18] The cemetery is dated to Ha C. Berg 1962, 12,13, Pl. 3: 1; 8: 1; 11: 1; 14: 1; 22: 2; 24: 1.

[19] Dobiat 1990, 28, 63, Pl. 5: 7.

[20] Müller-Karpe 1959, 118; Ruše: Pl. 109: K5; Pl. 111: J4; Pl. 112: D6; Pobrežje: Pl. 123: 26.

[21] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž Orel 1984–1985, Pl. 94: C4; Teržan, Trampuž 1975, 420.

[22] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 28, 29, Pl. 82: 6–9.

[23] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 28–30.

[24] Dobiat 1980, 168, 225, Pl. 49: 4.

neck.[25] Similar to the Pristava example is a slightly taller beaker from Kleinklein's Tschoneggerfranzl 2 tumulus dated to Phase 3, which in its late finds corresponds with the Stična – Novo mesto 2 horizon. It should be noted, however, that Tschoneggerfranzl 2 is the designation under which finds from numerous small and medium-sized tumuli investigated in the early 19th century and without precise findspot are stored.[26]

The urn from Grave 8 at Pristava, unearthed in 1948–1951,[27] and the jar from Grave 82 (*Pl. 5:* 1) have a very short neck and an unpronounced, slightly everted rim. Formally somewhat similar is the twice larger urn from Grave 94 of the cemetery in Ljubljana,[28] primarily in the shape of the rim and neck, though its shape is less biconical than on the two vessels from Pristava and there is also a difference in the rim and base diameters, with the vessels from Pristava slenderer at the rim and the vessel from Ljubljana slenderer at the base. Grave 82 from Pristava revealed no other goods, while Grave 8 also held a roll-headed pin. In addition to the jar, Grave 94 in Ljubljana contained a cup with a high handle, shallow jar, multi-knobbed pin and the fragment of another pin.

Shallow jars with a low neck that is clearly separated from the shoulder came to light at Pristava already during the first excavations.[29] Two of them are, similarly as the jar sherd from Grid Square investigated in 1976 (*Pl. 7:* 16), decorated with a line of hatched triangles. Such vessels[30] are characteristic of the Ljubljana IIIa phase, while one example is dated already to Ljubljana IIb.[31] With the exception of the jar from Grave 198,[32] which is studded with a horizontal line of small bronze nails on the shoulder, the vessels from Ljubljana are undecorated. Similar shallow jars from Kleinklein, some of them decorated, rank among the late vessel forms and came to light in the graves of Phases 2 and 3.[33]

Jars further include neckless vessels with a simple rim from Feature 22, investigated in 1948–1951 and marked as a cult spot,[34] as well as from Graves 55 (*Pl. 1:* 6) and 62 (*Pl. 2:* 7). The rim fragments from Graves 57 (*Pl. 1:* 13), 62 (*Pl. 2:* 9), 69 (*Pl. 3:* 1), 71 (*Pl. 3:* 20) and 72 (*Pl. 3:* 27), as well as Grid Square 2 (*Pl. 5:* 21) probably also belong to such vessels. Neckless vessels with a rounded body are a form of long duration in the Ljubljana cemetery, already appearing in the early phase of the Urnfield culture period.[35] It was also documented at Dobova, in Group 3 of burials that is set to Ha B1, which corresponds with the Ljubljana I phase.[36] Similar jars came to light in Most na Soči, though in graves without other goods that would enable a more precise dating,[37] but also in Kleinklen, in Phases 1 and 3 of the cemetery.[38] Of a later date is the jar from Novo mesto, found in the rich grave of a dignitary together with a cuirass and dated to the late 7th century BC.[39]

The pottery finds from Pristava also comprise jars with a short everted rim. Two were unearthed in 1948–1951, one of them in Grave 45 together with an iron two-looped brooch and the other in Grave 49 together with a bronze two-looped brooch.[40] A sherd of such a vessel was also found in 1975, in Grid Square 6 (*Pl. 6:* 17). In Ljubljana, such vessels have been attributed to the Ljubljana Ib phase.[41]

Dishes with an inturned rim came to light during the first[42] and the second excavation campaign (*Pl. 1:* 19; *4:* 16). More precisely, they belong to Type 1 of such vessels in the Ljubljana Urnfield culture group that is known in all its phases and continues into the Hallstatt period.[43]

The rim sherd from Grid Square 35 (*Pl. 7:* 25) has a sharp shoulder-body junction that identifies it as a jar of Type 1 of the Ljubljana Urnfield culture group.[44] In Ljubljana, a vessel of this type was found in Grave 82, which is located among the

[25] Grave 266, among the ashes; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 112, Pl. 132: 7.

[26] Dobiat 1980, 21, 170, 229, Pl. 57: 8.

[27] Gabrovec 1960a, 20, Pl. 8: 3.

[28] Puš 1971, Pl. 8: 2.

[29] Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 17: 1; 24: 5; 28: 1.

[30] Type 2 jars of the Ljubljana Urnfield culture; Dular 1982, 111, Fig. 13: 11.

[31] Puš 1971, Pl. 1: 9; 32: 9; 35: 8; 43: 2; Puš 1982, 50, Pl. 35: 5; Gabrovec 1975, table.

[32] Puš 1971, Pl. 35: 8.

[33] Dobiat 1980, 169, 179, 223, 226, 241, 249; Pl. 44: 1; 49: 6; 82: 2; 99: 8.

[34] Gabrovec 1960a, 25, Pl. 13: 1.

[35] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 48, 49.

[36] Stare 1975, Pl. 6: 15; 15: 12; Dular 1978, combination table.

[37] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž Orel 1984–1985, Pl. 114: G; 158: F; 252: D1.

[38] Dobiat 1980, 168, 170; Pl. 37: 1; 74: 7; 91: 14; 103: 9.

[39] Gabrovec 1960b, 49, Fig. 9: 4.

[40] Gabrovec 1960a, 34, 35, Pl. 27: 1; 28: 2.

[41] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 45.

[42] Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 18: 9; 21: 3.

43 Dular 1982, 112–115, Fig. 13: 17; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 75, 76.

[44] Dular 1982, 111, 112, Fig. 13: 10.

burials from the Ljubljana IIb phase, and in Grave 214, which belongs to the IIIa phase.[45] Ceramic jars that imitate metal vessel forms at Križna gora already occur in the Ia phase (Ha B2/B3), they are most common in the Ib phase and later disappear from use.[46] At Tolmin, a similar, situla-like vessel was found in a grave together with an iron multi--knobbed pin.[47] Known from Kleinklein's Phase 1 is a ceramic situla decorated with grooves.[48]

The vessel pedestal with a red slip from Grave 56 (*Pl. 1:* 12) likely belonged to a vessel with painted bands. The associated grave goods, consisting of a bronze ring, fragment of a bronze object, glass bead and two pottery sherds (*Pl. 1:* 7–11), are not chronologically diagnostic. In Ljubljana, such a vessel came to light in Grave 281 together with a serpentine brooch and is attributable to the Stična-Novo mesto 2 horizon. The vessel from Ljubljana also has a red-painted pedestal; it should be noted that the pedestal on such vessels is usually painted black.[49]

The bowl with a high handle on *Pl. 5:* 20 is among the readily datable vessels; five examples already came to light in 1948–1951.[50] Such vessels, with an everted rim and sharp shoulder-neck junction, are a late bowl form in the Ljubljana Urnfield culture pottery, appearing in the Ljubljana cemetery in the Ljubljana IIb and remaining in use in the IIIa phase;[51] sherds of such vessels also came to light at Prule in Ljubljana.[52] The examples from Ljubljana are decorated with incisions or bronze studs, whereas those from Pristava are undecorated with the exception of the bowl from Grave 26. Other bowls are known from Kranj,[53] similar ones from Tolmin, where they are characteristic of the Sv. Lucija Ia and Ib phases.[54] The fragment of a globular bowl with an inturned rim and high handle from Grave 78 (*Pl. 4:* 13) can be identified as a Type 2 bowl of the Ljubljana Urnfield culture group, which is among the leading bowl types in the Ljubljana I phase.[55] Such vessels from Kleinklein are common in Phases 1 and 2, and persist into Phase 3.[56]

Ceramic finds further include spindle-whorls. Several examples, predominantly conical, came to light in 1948–1951,[57] additional four in 1975–1978, of those three in Grave 71 (*Pl. 3:* 17–19) and one in Grave 73 (*Pl. 4:* 6). The last two were the richest burials in the part of the cemetery investigated in 1975–1978.

The pottery from Pristava is relatively modestly decorated. One sherd bears a line of hatched triangles (*Pl. 7:* 16) and belongs to a shallow vessel with a low neck. Two well-preserved vessels of the same type, found in 1948–1951, have the same decoration.[58] Incised hatched triangles also adorn a fragment of an unidentified vessel[59] and a sherd of a conical-necked vessel (*Pl. 6:* 2). The pottery with this decoration is made of a dark grey to black fabric with a smoothed surface, with the exception of a red-brown sherd from Grave 32. Some incisions bear the remains of a white infill that highlighted the decoration. In Ljubljana, such decoration frequently involves white encrustation and occurs on different forms of vessels, but most frequently on conical-necked jars.[60] There is also corded decoration, which has been noted at Pristava on four fragments that probably formed part of a single vessel (Grave 58, *Pl. 1:* 22). Corded decoration can form a single horizontal line, a double horizontal line, a horizontal line combined with a garland below it, as well as a vertical line. Cord impressions also occur together with grooves (*Pl. 1:* 21), which is an intriguing combination as both techniques are very popular in this time, but do not appear together. The pottery sherd from Grave 54 (*Pl. 1:* 5) bears almost vertical grooves on the shoulder and at maximum diameter, while the sherd from Grave 65 (*Pl. 2:* 19) has wide and shallow grooves that are oblique and horizontal. The closest parallel for both variants of grooving comes from Legen.[61] Another decoration is a

[45] Puš 1971, Pl. 4: 2; 39: 10; Gabrovec 1975.

[46] Urleb 1974, 21, 32–38; Pl. 1: 1; 3: 20; 8: 7; Dular 1982, 128.

[47] Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, 62, Pl. 26: 6.

[48] Dobiat 1980, 168, Pl. 4: 2.

[49] Puš 1982, 96, Pl. 8: 7; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 52.

[50] Gabrovec 1960a, 55–58; Pl. 8: 1; 11: 2; 12: 5; 15: 10; 16: 1.

[51] Dular 1982, Type 3; 111–113, Fig. 13: 16; Puš 1971, Pl. 21: 15; 50: 2; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 60, 61.

[52] Vojaković 2014, 396, 397, 404, 405, Fig. 22.3.5, 22.3.14.

[53] Gerbec *et al*. 2014, 326, Fig. 18.3: 16–18.

[54] Svoljšak 1975, 409; Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, 14, 65, 113, 140, 189; Pl. 4: 5; 29: 9; 53: 1; 67: 18; 88: 19.

[55] Dular 1982, 112, 113, 116, Fig. 13: 15.

[56] Dobiat 1980, 168–170, 209–211, 213, 235, 239, 241; Pl. 10: 5; 12: 3, 4; 14: 15; 21: 4; 71: 6; 79: 10; 81: 3.

[57] Gabrovec 1960a, 60, 61; Pl. 14: 7; 18: 1, 4; 20: 5, 6; 21: 2; 24: 8; 26: 1, 3, 4, 6, 7; 30: 6.

[58] Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 17: 1; 24: 5.

[59] Grave 32; Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 18: 5.

[60] *Cf.* Stare 1954, Pl. 49: 5; Puš 1971, Pl. 3: 8; 10: 5; 12: 4; 28: 10; Puš 1982, Pl. 14: 2.

[61] Strmčnik-Gulič 1979, Pl. 14: 7; 15: 1; 18: 3; 19: 4.

slashed cordon, which usually adorns coarse and large vessels in Ha B and Ha C.[62] Also common are cordons with impressions (probably of a finger). The sherds from Pristava bearing cordons with impressions (*Pl. 1:* 10; *5:* 25; *6:* 3,12) belong to vessels of unidentifiable form. In Ljubljana, such decoration adorns large vessels, most frequently from the Ljubljana IIa and IIb phases.

Metal finds

The Pristava cemetery revealed two knobbed brooch fragments of the Vače type, one in Grave 51[63] and one in Grave 71 (*Pl. 3:* 4). The two graves lie 4 m from one another, in an area that yielded the greatest quantity of stray prehistoric, primarily metal finds (Grid Square 2; *Pl. 5:* 7–29), which indicates this was a fairly damaged part of the prehistoric cemetery. In addition to the brooch fragment, Grave 71 also held a high iron foot of a brooch (*Pl. 3:* 5), while Grid Square 2 revealed a fragment of a brooch bow terminal (*Pl. 5:* 8) that conjoins with the above-mentioned foot fragment. This suggests that all four fragments potentially belonged to a single brooch (*Fig. 10*). This is very likely true of both bow fragments that share the bow and knob diameters. The brooch thus reconstructed would have six knobs, similarly as a brooch from Vače.[64] The XRF analysis on the surface of both bow pieces supports the hypothesis (*Fig. 11*). It revealed the same elements, while the differences in their content can be ascribed to the different condition of each fragment – one was thoroughly cleaned and all the patina removed, while the other was still undergoing the conservation procedure and its surface had not only patina, but also soil remains.[65]

According to the Gabrovec typology, the brooch belongs to Type 5a that appears towards the end of the Podzemelj 1 and becomes the leading type in the Podzemelj 2 phase.[66] The number of knobs (earlier examples usually have five to seven knobs) and the fact that the knobs are solid with an iron core running along the entire length of the bow (*Fig. 12*)[67] shows it can be identified as Variant 1,[68] *i.e.* among the earliest examples of Vače knobbed brooches in the south-eastern Alpine area dating to the Ljubljana II phase.

Bronze two-looped bow brooches came to light in five graves found in 1948–1951[69] and two unearthed in 1975–1978 (Graves 64 and 73; *Pl. 2:* 18; *4:* 2), while the foot of a bronze, presumably two-looped brooch (*Pl. 5:* 7) was recovered as a stray find in Grid Square 2. Only the brooch from Grave 39 survives complete. All have a round-sectioned bow and rectangular-sectioned loops, the foot is low and rounded triangular, which identifies them as Type 1a after Gabrovec.[70] The bows of four brooches are decorated with fine spiral (?) incisions that in three examples cover the whole length of the bow (*Pl. 4:* 2)[71] and in one example form strips (*Pl. 2:* 18). Geographically closest parallels for the examples with a slightly thicker undecorated bow and lower triangular foot (*e.g.* from Graves 44 and 49)[72] are known from Kranj (the Vila Prah and Koroška cesta sites) and from Stražišče near Kranj,[73] while an example from Mengeš has a slightly thinner and round-sectioned bow, square-sectioned loops and a decorated triangular foot that is slightly higher that the feet of the brooches from Pristava.[74] The bows of the two-looped brooches from Ljubljana are predominantly undecorated with the exception of the example from Grave 243 that has fine spiral incisions along the whole length of the bow similarly as the examples from Pristava; the Ljubljana cemetery also yielded a parallel with a rounded triangular foot, found in Grave 285.[75] In the Sveta Lucija group, the brooches of this type have a rounded triangular foot and their bow is only rarely ornamented.[76] Here, two-looped bow

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62 *E.g.* Brinjeva gora: Oman 1981, 148–150, Pl. 1: 9; 34: 22. Kleinklein: Dobiat 1980, Pl. 113: 7. Ljubljana, Phase I: Stare 1954, Pl. 5: 11; 49: 3; 51: 3; Gabrovec 1975. Ljubljana, Phase IIb: Puš 1971, Pl. 1: 2; Puš 1982, Pl. 4: 7; 14: 6.

63 Stane Gabrovec was doubtful that the brooch fragment was an original grave good in Grave 51; Gabrovec 1960a, 36, Pl. 30: 1.

64 Stare 1955, 21, Pl. 23: 4.

65 Eva Menart, Narodni muzej Slovenije, performed the XRF analysis and evaluated the results.

66 Gabrovec 1970, 27, 34, Map VIII; Gabrovec 1987a, 41.

67 Janko Vodišek, Institute of Metal Constructions, and Eva Menart, Narodni muzej Slovenije, conducted the X-ray analysis.

68 Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 103–105; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 131–133.

69 Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 6: 1; 21: 4; 23: 1; 26: 5; 28: 6.

70 Gabrovec 1970, 24, 25.

71 Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 21: 4; 23: 1.

72 Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 26: 5; 28: 6.

73 Škvor Jernejčič 2017, Pl. 1: 3; 11: 9, 10; 16: 2.

74 Gabrovec 1965, 124, Pl. 5: 8; Železnikar (ed.) 1999, 60, Cat. 29.

75 Puš 1982, Pl. 9: 9.

76 *E.g.* Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž Orel 1984–1985, Pl. 4: B1; 8: E1, 2; 14: B4; 16: A5; 17: F1; 22: A2; 23:C1 and others.

brooches were worn in the late phase, *i.e.* Sv. Lucija Ib,[77] in Ljubljana they were in use in the Ljubljana IIb and IIIa phases.[78] Bronze two-looped brooches very similar to those from Pristava are common goods in the graves of Group 3 of the Bischofshofen-Pestfriedhof cemetery, where they date to Ha C2. All have a low rounded triangular foot, many have fine incisions on the bow.[79] The two-looped bronze brooches with a wide low foot from the Frög/Breg cemetery are the leading type of Phase 3, which corresponds with the Podzemelj 2 horizon. The early examples of this time frame at Frög/Breg are the brooches from Tumuli 61 and 202, decorated with fine incisions on the bow, in one example in strips and in the other (probably) covering the entire length.[80]

The Pristava cemetery in Bled also revealed three partially surviving two-looped brooches of iron, found in Graves 45, 46[81] and 53 (*Pl. 1:* 1); only the example from Grave 45 survives with the foot, which is low and triangular. The brooches belong to Type 2a after Gabrovec.[82] In Ljubljana, iron two-looped brooches are known from the Ljubljana IIb phase,[83] in the Sveta Lucija group they appear in Sv. Lucija Ib and continue to be used in Sv. Lucija Ic1.[84]

The bronze crescent-shaped two-looped brooch from Grave 73 (*Pl. 4:* 1; the surviving piece consists of a richly decorated bow with part of the chains suspended from it) bears incised decoration on the bow that identifies it as the Tolmin type after Teržan.[85] In addition to the usual exterior flange, the bow of the example from Pristava also has an interior flange, which is otherwise characteristic of single-looped brooches. A geographically close parallel for the symmetrically flanged bow can be found in Ljubljana,[86] a more distant one in Bischofshofen.[87] Both parallels have a much slenderer bow and the incised decoration is more modest. The Ljubljana example has a triangular-sectioned bow, whereas the bow of the brooch from Pristava is flat with a pronounced midrib. Crescent-shaped brooches are very common grave goods in Tolmin and include two with a midrib that have been identified as two-looped crescent-shaped brooches of Variant 1.[88] The midrib of the brooch from Grave 130 in Tolmin is decorated with short incisions, while the rest of the bow is plain. The bow of the brooch from Grave 439 is ornamented with a series of ring-and-dots on either side of the plain midrib.[89] The distribution area of such brooches is small and their form stems from earlier, single-looped brooches with a symmetrically flanged bow.[90] Gabrovec placed the beginning of the two-looped crescent-shaped brooches to Ha B3 and their greatest use to Ha C1/2. [91] In its form and the associated goods in Grave 73, the example from Pristava can be seen as early, dating to the span of the Ljubljana IIb and III phases.[92]

Band bracelets of sheet bronze came to light in Pristava in prehistoric Graves 36, 39, 40, 44, 49[93] and 73 *(Pl. 4:* 5), while the fragments from Grave 59 (*Pl. 2:* 2) probably also belonged to such a bracelet, albeit wider and more substantial. The bracelets from Graves 39 and 73 have coiled terminals, whereas the terminals of other examples are straight and slightly tapering. The bracelet from Grave 73 is decorated with a line of impressed dots along each edge. Such ornament is also known on two bracelets from Tolmin[94] and the bracelet from Grave 88 at Ruše; the latter grave was located in the central part of the necropolis and can therefore be dated to Ha B2.[95] In the Ljubljana cemetery, bronze band bracelets appear towards the end of Ljubljana IIb or at the transition to IIIa. Some are similar to those from Pristava in width, but do not have coiled terminals and also bear different ornaments, where these exist.[96]

77 Teržan, Trampuž 1975, 420.

78 Puš 1971, Pl. 31: 6; 49: 3; 50: 8; Gabrovec 1975; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 101.

79 Lippert, Stadler 2009, 99–102, 119, Pl. 8: 21/2; 12: 34/2; 27: 90/4; 28: 92/3, 4; 48: 185/6; 50: 194/2; 52: 200/10; 120: 420/2.

80 Tomedi 2002, 92, 93, 172–175, Pl. 22: B3, 86: B2.

81 Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 27: 3, 4.

82 Gabrovec 1970, 24, Map V.

83 Gabrovec 1975; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 99; Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 372–374.

84 Teržan, Trampuž 1975, 420, App. 1; Kruh 2022, 514, Pl. 2: 2.

85 Teržan 1990, 58–60, 77, Fig. 6.

86 The Ljubljana cemetery, Grave 256; Puš 1971, Pl. 52: 2; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 109, Pl. 128: 2.

87 Lippert, Stadler 2009, Pl. 155: 8.

88 Pogačnik 2002, 32–35.

89 Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2002, 57, 180, Pl. 23: 1; 85: 1.

90 Teržan 2002, 96, 97.

91 Gabrovec 1970, 35.

92 Teržan 1990, 59–60.

93 Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 19: 6; 21: 7; 23: 2; 26: 2; 28: 5.

94 Pogačnik 2002, 53, Fig. 44 (Type I, Variant 2d); Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2002, 30, 80, Pl. 13: 10; 35: 1.

95 Müller-Karpe 1959, 116, 122; Pl. 111: D1.

96 Gabrovec 1975, 343; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 126.

The goods from Grave 73 include a bronze hair ring made of triangular-sectioned wire with coiled terminals (*Pl. 4:* 3). Similar items are known from Ostrožnik,[97] also with coiled terminals, but made of round-sectioned wire. Coiled terminals occur on round-sectioned wire bracelets from Šmarjeta.[98] Rings of triangular-sectioned bronze wire also came to light in the cemetery at Tolmin, but devoid of coiled terminals.[99]

Most bronze buttons from Pristava are disc--shaped with a loop on the underside (*Pl. 4:* 4).[100] Disc buttons from Ljubljana occur in the Ljubljana I to IIIa phases[101] and are also known from other sites. The hollow hemispherical button with a semicircular loop from Grave 61 (*Pl. 2:* 6) has its geographically closest parallels in the four buttons from Ljubljana, all from the graves of women dated to the Initial Iron Age.[102] Having said that, the loops on the buttons from Ljubljana are angular rather than semi-circular, as are those on the buttons from Frög/Breg.[103] The formally closest and most convincing parallel, however, comes from Stična, from rich Grave 72 in Tumulus 48, dated to the early or mid-7th century BC.[104]

Grave 71 at Pristava held the knob of a side phalera of a Šmarjeta-type helmet (*Pl. 3:* 8) and studs such as may have filled the spaces between individual phalerae (*Pl. 3:* 9). Similar nails already came to light during the 1948–1951 excavations, which Gabrovec presumed to be pottery ornaments.[105] The small size of these nails certainly supports such an explanation, as does the fragment of a vessel with such a nail from Grave 25.[106] In contrast, the position of Grave 71 and the associated goods in and around the grave suggest the nails formed part of a Šmarjeta-type helmet. They are slightly smaller than the nails from other such helmets, but the difference is not great. The head diameter of the nails from Molnik, for instance, is roughly 4 mm,[107] of those from Pristava 3.5 mm. The stray finds from Grid Square 2 include two knobs of side phalerae and one knob of the top phalera belonging to a Šmarjeta-type helmet (*Pl. 5:* 9–11). The shape of the knob of the top phalera suggests that we may identify the helmet from Pristava as an example of the Molnik group.[108] The helmet pieces were very likely the original goods of Grave 71. Two other side phalera knobs and a top phalera knob came to light in Grid Square 2 (which also held Grave 71), which is an area severely damaged prior to the archaeological investigations. The helmet from Grave 71 is the only piece of contemporary weaponry in this necropolis and also in the whole of the Gorenjska region.

The pin from Grid Square 1 has an iron core and five bronze globular knobs (*Fig. 13a*; *Pl. 5:* 5).[109] In the Early Hallstatt period, multi-knobbed pins without a trumpet guard of different variants are more commonly made of bronze; such examples came to light in Ljubljana,[110] Tolmin,[111] Most na Soči,[112] Križna gora,[113] Tržišče[114] and Legen near Slovenj Gradec.[115] A multi-knobbed pin with an iron core and four bronze knobs was found in Stična, in cremation Grave 101 that is associated with the beginnings of Tumulus 48 (*Fig. 13c*).[116] An iron pin with four bronze knobs without a trumpet guard is known from Vače (*Fig. 13b*),[117] one also from Križna gora,[118] while part of an iron pin with bronze knobs (two survive) came to light in the Tomaj hoard from the 8th century BC.[119] The iron pins with bronze knobs without trumpet guards from Istria, more precisely from Beram and Nezakcij, are attributed to the early part of

97 Gabrovec 1975, Pl. 5: 37–39.
98 Stare 1963, Pl. 11: 20–23.
99 Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2002, 43, 47, 157; Pl. 18: 8; 20: 7–10; 73: 6.
100 Gabrovec 1960a, 26, 29; Pl. 14: 3; 17: 7.
101 Ljubljana I: Stare 1954, Pl. 7: 8; 9: 6; 39: 6; 40: 4; Ljubljana IIIa: Puš 1971, Pl. 39: 5; 43: 7.
102 Puš 1971, Pl. 12: 8; 13: 6; 21: 8; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 148.
103 Tomedi 2002, Pl. 43: 21–28.
104 Teržan 2014, 454, 455.
105 Grave 12; it revealed ten identical nails: Gabrovec 1960a, 22, 67, Pl. 9: 10.
106 Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 15: 3.
107 Tecco Hvala 2017, 54, Pl. 25: 4a.
108 Škoberne 1999, 83–86.
109 The fifth (lower) knobs only survives in part, but it is clearly visible in the X-ray image (*Fig. 13:* a).
110 Gabrovec 1975, 343; Puš 1971, Pl. 8: 3; 33: 2; 47: 1.
111 Teržan 2002, 89.
112 Teržan, Trampuž 1975, 420–421 (Phase I b); Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, Pl. 4: C1; 11: G1, H1; 37: G; 48: E; 64: G3; 95: B1; 106: B3; 113: H1; 155: C1.
113 Urleb 1974, Pl. 21: 12 (Phase 1b); Pl. 6: 18 (Phase 2a).
114 Guštin 1979, 35, Pl. 17: 7.
115 Strmčnik-Gulič 1979, Pl. 7: 4
116 Gabrovec 2006, 77, 78, Pl. 59; Gabrovec, Teržan 2010, 45.
117 Stare 1955, 28, Pl. 34: 3.
118 Urleb 1974, 48, Pl. 1: 11.
119 Laharnar, Turk 2017, 86, Fig. 96. Laharnar, Turk 2018, 86, Fig. 96.

the Istra III phase[120] and have both globular and phalera knobs.

The last metal item to be mentioned is a ribbed bracelet (*Pl. 5:* 4), which was found in the only prehistoric inhumation burial in Pristava; the bracelet dates the burial to the Late Hallstatt period.[121]

Glass beads

Beads of blue glass were found in Graves 56, 72, 79 and 83, as well as in Grid Square 33. The bead from Grave 56 (*Pl. 1:* 9) is deformed and was originally probably cylindrical. Two very small annular beads were found in Grave 72 (*Pl. 3:* 26) and Grid Square 33 (*Pl. 7:* 23), respectively. Three larger and dark blue, almost black beads were found in Grave 83 (*Pl. 5:* 2). Grave 79 (*Pl. 4:* 11) contained a bead with three eyes, one of which is surrounded with a groove that holds the remains of a white infill; its close parallels are the beads found in two early burials in Tolmin.[122]

CONCLUSION

Roughly a quarter of the graves unearthed in 1975–1978 (Graves 53, 56, 58, 64, 68, 71, 73, 78 and 79) held goods that enable a fairly precise dating. Most of them (Graves 64, 71, 73, 78 and probably 68) can be attributed to the Ljubljana IIb and IIIa phases, though it is not possible to reliably attribute them to either of the phases. We may see Graves 53, 58, 78 and 79 as early. Grave 53 held an iron brooch such as in Ljubljana characterise the Ljubljana IIb phase. A parallel for the jar from Grave 58 is the vessel from Grave 300 in Ljubljana that is located in the early part of the cemetery (with burials from the Ljubljana I and II phases), while similar ones are also known from the Ljubljana IIIb phase, as well as from Maiersch that date to developed Ha C. An earlier dating is supported by pottery sherds decorated with grooves and cord impressions. The urn and bowl from Grave 78, as well as the glass bead with three eyes from Grave 79 also indicate an early date. A chronological attribution to the Ljubljana IIb or IIIa phases can reliably be ascribed to Graves 64 (based on the two-looped bow brooch), 71 (based on the knobbed brooch and Šmarjeta-type helmet) and 73 (based on the crescent-shaped brooch, two-looped bow brooch and band bracelet). Slightly less reliable is the attribution of Grave 68, in which the only good was a jar datable to the Ljubljana IIb/IIIa phase using parallels from Kleinklein, though it could also be later. Graves 56 (though neither the red-painted pottery pedestal nor the bronze ring enable a more precise dating) and 61 (that held a bronze hemispherical button) are later, possibly from the Stična-Novo mesto 2 horizon. Also from the Late Hallstatt period is inhumation Grave 348, with a finely ribbed bronze bracelet.

The dating of the burials unearthed in 1975–1978 does not differ from the span established for the burials excavated in 1948–1951.[123] The bulk of the goods from the Pristava necropolis is chronologically homogeneous and covers roughly 150 to 200 years (800/750–650/600 BC). The early items include roll-headed pins only found in the southern part of the cemetery investigated in 1948–1951. In Ljubljana, such pins already appear in the graves of the Ljubljana I phase and continue into II b, with later ones being slightly smaller.[124] Among the known two-looped bronze bow brooches, the example from Grave 49[125] with two loops at the bow-pin transition and a slightly thicker bow could be late. Another late element at Pristava, from the Stična-Novo mesto 2 horizon, is the fragment of a boat brooch from Grave 38.[126] Also standing out from the span of the initial part of the Early Iron Age is Grave 56 (*Pl. 1:* 7–12), which contained a bronze ring and sherd of a red-painted pottery pedestal that set the burial to the Stična 2 horizon or even later, Grave 61 with a bronze button (*Pl. 2:* 6) and inhumation Grave 348 with a finely ribbed bronze bracelet (*Pl. 5:* 4). Much later, stray finds from the Roman period show human presence within the settlement at Pristava,[127] while some stray Roman finds also came to light in the cemetery (*Pl. 6:* 5,8,13,18,23).

[120] Second half of the 8th or first half of the 7th century BC; Kučar 1979, 115; Pl. 2: 4, 8; 3: 9; 4: 13; 6: 3, 4, 7; 11: 5; 20: 1–3.

[121] The bone sample analysis conducted in the Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory indicated, with 95% probability, a dating to the Late Hallstatt period, *i.e.* the transition from the 5th to the 4th century BC.

[122] Graves 212 and 459; Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2002, 86, 189, Pl. 37: 13, 14; 88: 15. Teržan 2002, 90, 95.

[123] Gabrovec 1960a, 68–75.

[124] Stare 1954, Pl. 7: 6; 14: 1; 50: 3; 55: 1; Gabrovec 1975, 342, 343; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 155.

[125] Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 28: 6.

[126] Gabrovec 1960a, Pl. 20: 9.

[127] Pflaum 2010, 189–195, 197, 198.

Gabrovec already tackled the problem of the cemetery's horizontal stratigraphy (Gabrovec 1960a, 72), concluding that it gradually spread northwards. He primarily drew this conclusion from the pins found in the southern part and the late variants of brooches occurring in the northern part of the cemetery. It is certainly true that the northern part revealed no burials that could reliably predate the Ljubljana IIb phase, but it did include burials (Graves 53, 58, 79) that could be attributed to the early period of the cemetery.

The distribution of individual types of burials brings interesting insights (*Fig. 7*). Urn burials are almost absent in the northern part of the cemetery; Gabrovec saw them as early.[128] The graves of Type 5, with widely strewn ashes only came to light in the southern part, excavated in 1948–1951. It is a type reliably identified in five examples (Graves 14, 15, 24, 25 and 26), while Grave 32 was severely damaged. Graves 14, 15, 24, 25 and 26 form a semicircle around Feature Ž 22, interpreted as a cult spot.[129] Associated with the semicircle is Features Ž 13 and Ž 16, with the former interpreted as a fireplace (0.5 × 0.5 m) located in the area of an extensive cultural layer measuring roughly 6 m in length and up to 3 m in width. These features differ from those identified as graves in their size (*e.g.* Ž 25, as the largest, was 3 m long and up to 1.9 m wide) and the associated small finds. They yielded pyramidal loom weights, different parts of pottery vessels, bronze objects only surviving as fragments and a great quantity of animal remains that are not characteristic funerary assemblages, which is corroborated by the very rare remains of calcinated human bone remains.[130] To the north of this group of features, the cemetery is divided with two drystone linear constructions running in an east-westerly direction, which Stane Gabrovec presumed were constructed after the prehistoric necropolis had been abandoned.[131] The north construction, which damaged cremation Grave 38, was certainly built when the prehistoric cemetery was no longer in use. In the opinion of Timotej Knific, the two constructions formed part of a pathway, with the south one already in use in the time of the cemetery and the north one built later, as an expansion of the path surface in the Roman or the Migration period.[132] The reinforced pathway would thus divide the prehistoric cemetery in the north and south parts; the earliest burials were located in the south and burial in the north began in the Ljubljana IIb phase.

In the burial rite, the metal artefacts (such as roll-headed pins, bronze two-looped bow brooches, iron two-looped brooches) and several of the pottery forms (the most characteristic being bowls with high handles and shallow jars with a low neck), the cemetery in Pristava is closely connected with the Ljubljana group in the time of its greatest extent in the IIb and IIIa phases,[133] but also wider with the Dolenjska group in the Podzemelj horizon (evidence of which are the hair rings and the Šmarjeta-type helmet). Some forms of pottery and also some ornaments (mainly those of the Urnfield tradition such as jars with a small base diameter and grooving) have close parallels from the archaeological sites in Carinthia and Styria; such parallels have also been noted for Kranj.[134] What is intriguing is the striking similarity of the bronze two-looped brooches from Pristava and those from Bischofshofen, with the latter dated to a later time than the former. There are also strong ties with the area of the Sveta Lucija cultural circle, which are observable in the early phases of the Sveta Lucija group and in the close parallels from the Tolmin cemetery that include band bracelets and multi-knobbed pins, but also low triangular feet of single-looped crescent-shaped brooches, from which two-looped bow brooches are believed to have developed within the Sveta Lucija group.[135]

The cemetery in Pristava reflects the life of the Early Iron Age community in this area in the span of roughly two centuries. Its prosperity can be seen in several rich burials, the lavishly decorated crescent-shaped brooch, the remains of a Šmarjeta-type helmet, the numerous sheet-metal fragments and parts of bronze vessels.

Translation: Andreja Maver

[128] Gabrovec 1960a, 48–49.

[129] The ^{14}C analysis of the beech charcoal sample taken in the area of Feature 22 revealed a date between 790 and 420 BC; Pleterski 2008, 64.

[130] Gabrovec 1960a, 22–27.

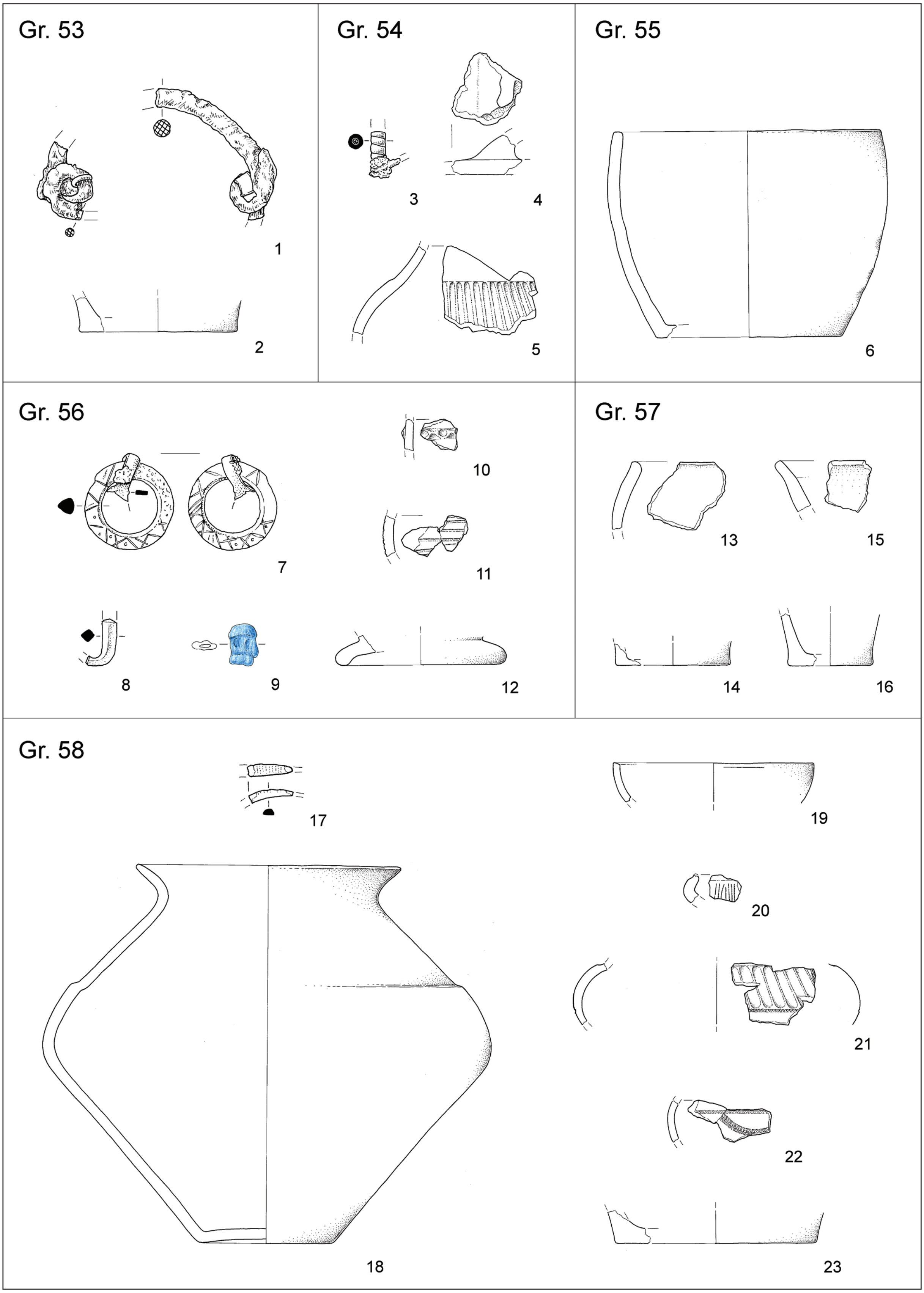
[131] Gabrovec 1960a, 14–16.

[132] Knific 1983, 11–18; Pleterski 2008, 75, 80, 93, 94.

[133] Gabrovec 1987b.

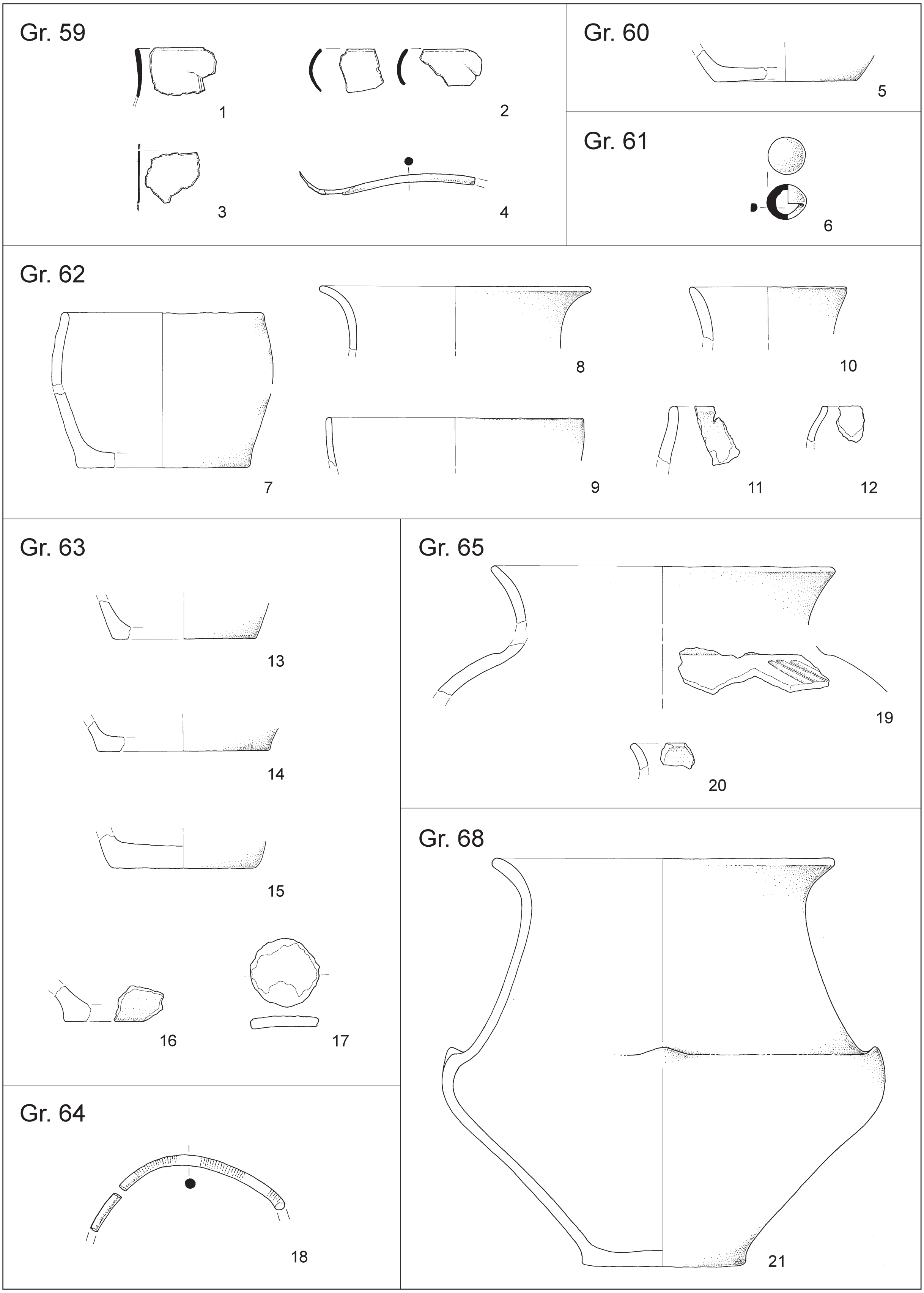
[134] Horvat 1984, 155.

[135] Gabrovec 1970, 35–37.

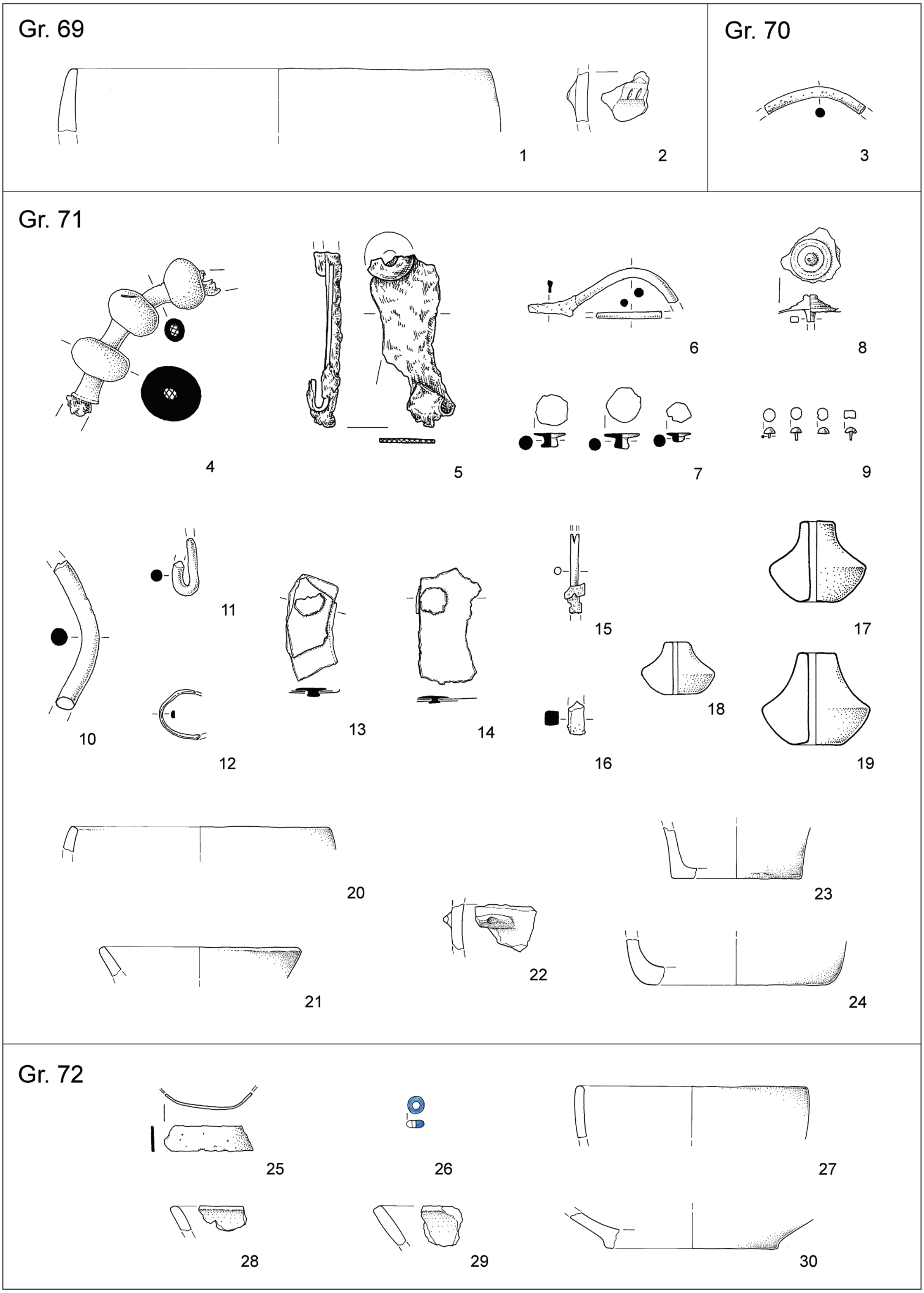


T. 1: Pristava na Bledu, pridatki iz grobov 53–58. 1 železo; 3 bron in železo; 7,8,17 bron; 9 steklo; ostalo keramika. M. 1,3,7–9,17 = 1:2; ostalo = 1:4.

Pl. 1: Pristava in Bled, goods from Graves 53–58. 1 iron; 3 bronze and iron; 7,8,17 bronze; 9 glass; other pottery. Scale 1,3,7–9,17 = 1:2; other = 1:4.

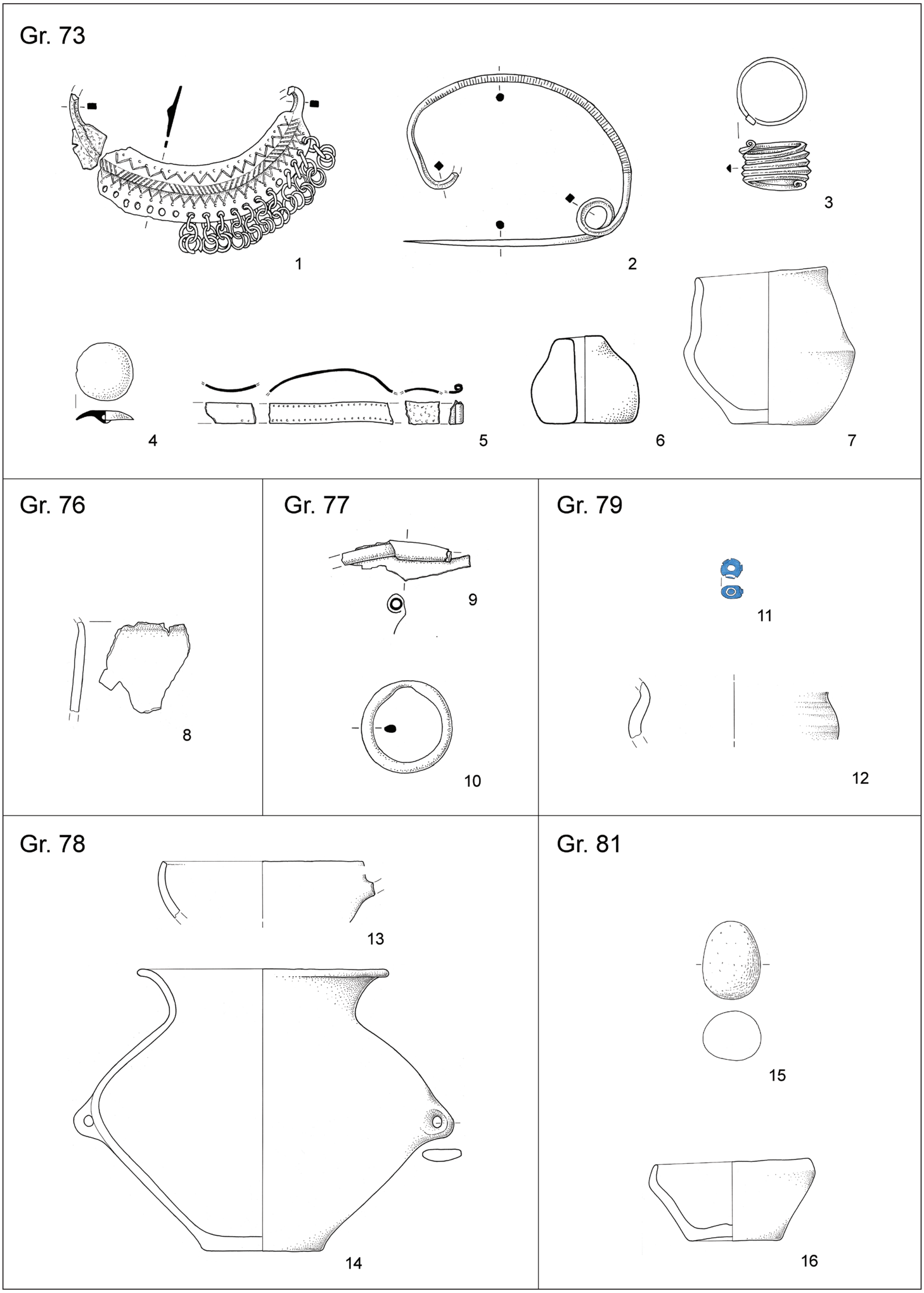


T. 2: Pristava na Bledu, pridatki iz grobov 59–65 in 68. 1–4,6,18 bron; ostalo keramika. M. 1–4,6,18 = 1:2; ostalo = 1:4.
Pl. 2: Pristava in Bled, goods from Graves 59–65 in 68. 1–4,6,18 bronze; other pottery. Scale 1–4,6,18 = 1:2; other = 1:4.



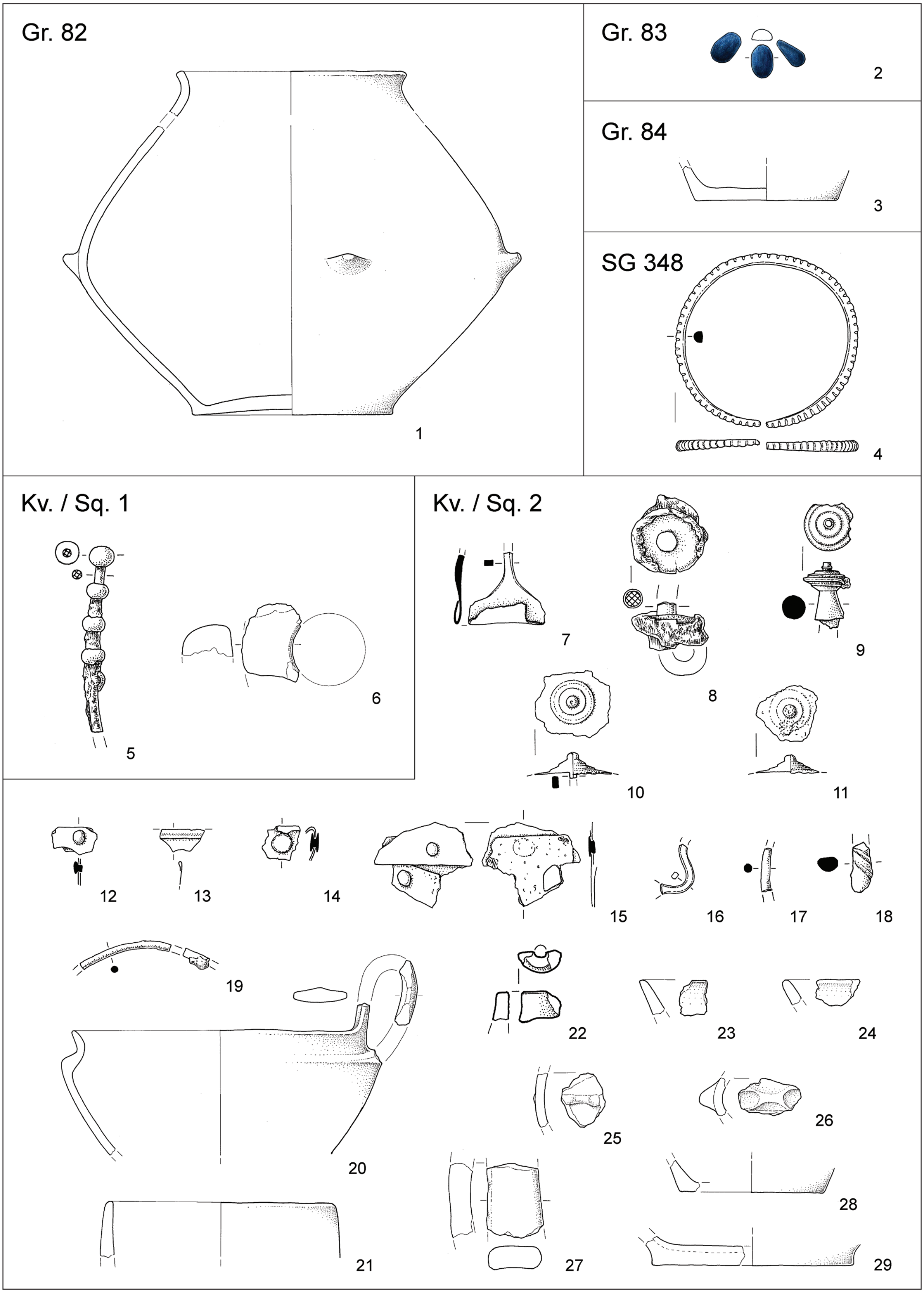
T. 3: Pristava na Bledu, pridatki iz grobov 69–72. 3,6–16,25 bron; 4 bron in železo; 5 železo; 26 steklo; ostalo keramika. M. 3–19,25,26 = 1:2; ostalo = 1:4.

Pl. 3: Pristava in Bled, goods from Graves 69–72. 3,6–16,25 bronze; 4 bronze and iron; 5 iron; 26 glass; other pottery. Scale 3–19,25,26 = 1:2; other = 1:4.

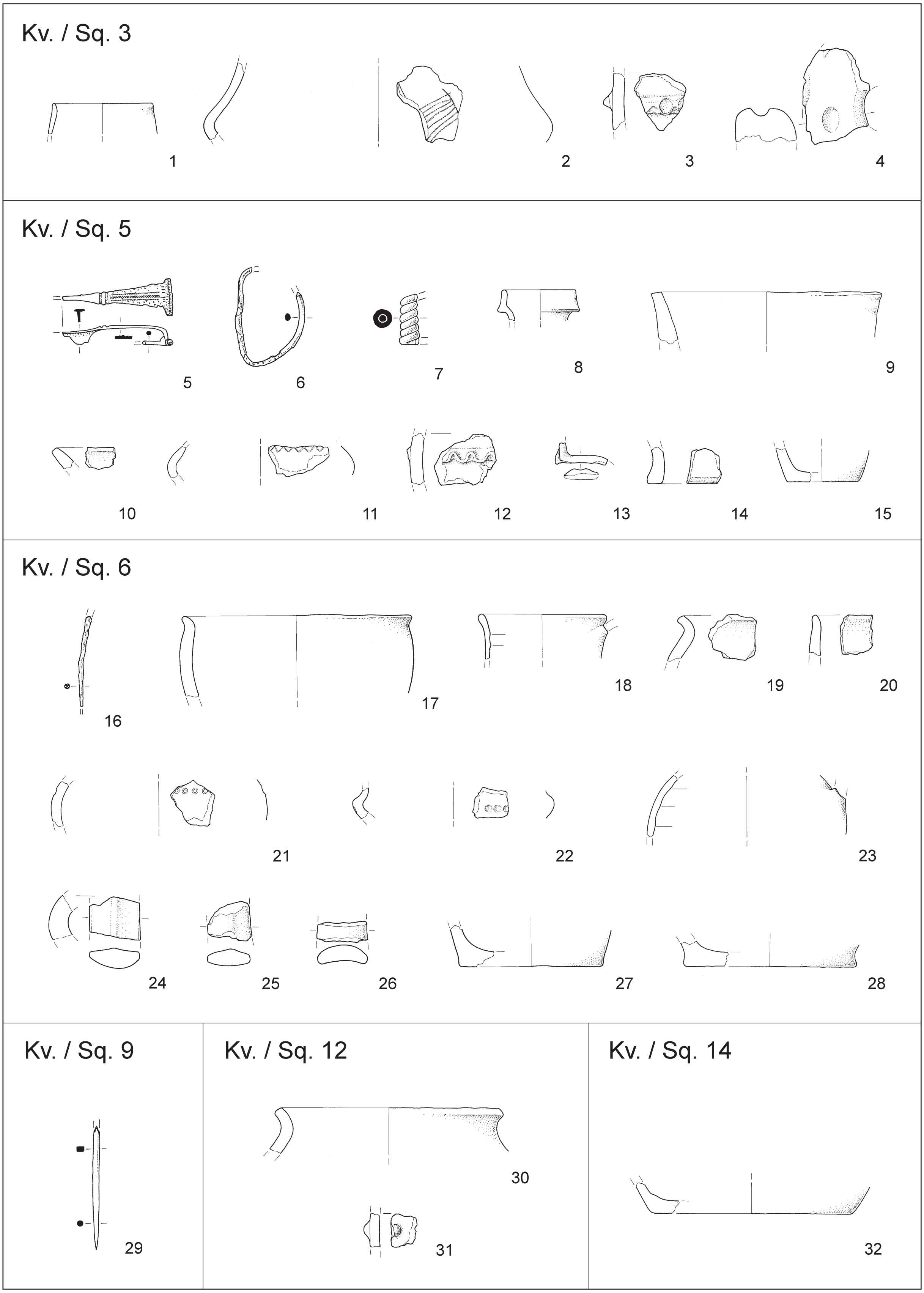


T. 4: Pristava na Bledu, pridatki iz grobov 73–81. 1–5,9,10 bron; 11 steklo; 15 kamen; ostalo keramika. M. 1–6,9–11 = 1:2; ostalo = 1:4.

Pl. 4: Pristava in Bled, goods from Graves 73–81. 1–5,9,10 bronze; 11 glass; 15 stone; other pottery. Scale 1–6,9–11 = 1:2; other = 1:4.

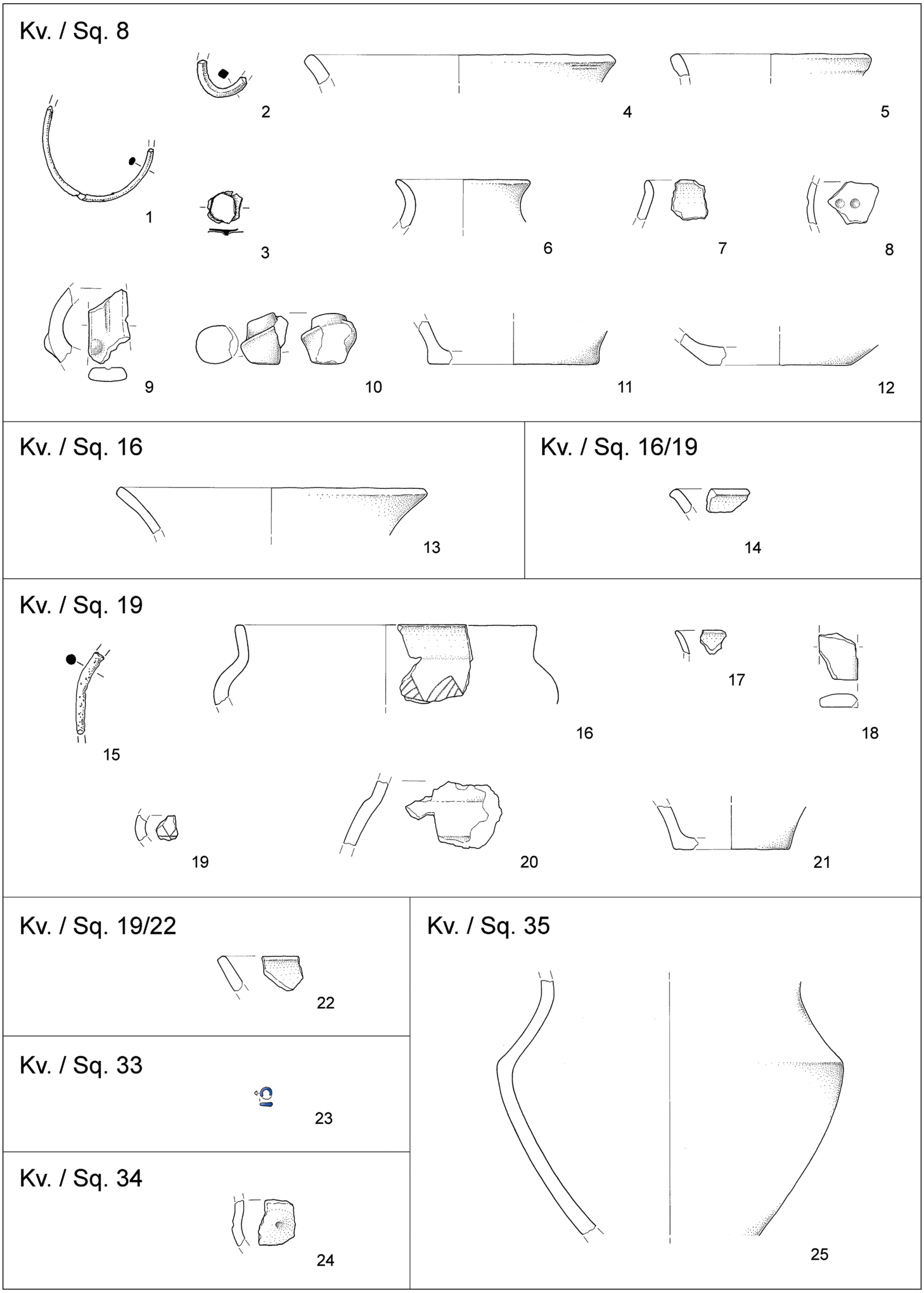


T. 5: Pristava na Bledu, pridatki v žganih grobovih 82–84 in skeletnem grobu 348 ter raztresene najdbe v kv. 1 in 2. 2 steklo; 4,7, 9–19 bron; 5, 8 bron in železo; ostalo keramika. M. 2, 4,5,7–19 = 1:2; ostalo = 1:4.
Pl. 5: Pristava in Bled, goods from cremation Graves 82–84 and inhumation Grave 348, as well as stray finds from Grid Squares 1 and 2. 2 glass; 4,7, 9–19 bronze; 5, 8 bronze and iron; other pottery. Scale 2, 4,5,7–19 = 1:2; other = 1:4.



T. 6: Pristava na Bledu, raztresene najdbe v kv. 3, 5, 6, 9, 12 in 14. 5–7,29 bron; 16 železo; ostalo keramika. M 5–7,16,19 = 1:2; ostalo = 1:4.

Pl. 6: Pristava in Bled, stray finds from Grid Squares 3, 5, 6, 9, 12 and 14. 5–7,29 bronze; 16 iron; other pottery. Scale 5–7,16,19 = 1:2; other = 1:4.



T. 7: Pristava na Bledu, raztresene najdbe v kv. 8, 16, 19, 22, 33, 34 in 35. 1–3,15 bron; 23 steklo; ostalo keramika. M. 1–3,15,23 = 1:2; ostalo = 1:4.

Pl. 7: Pristava in Bled, stray finds from Grid Squares 8, 16, 19, 22, 33, 34 and 35. 1–3,15 bronze; 23 glass; other pottery. Scale 1–3,15,23 = 1:2; other = 1:4.

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Slikovno gradivo: – *Sl. 1* (foto: Jože Hanc). – *Sl. 8a* in *b* (foto: Slavko Ciglenečki). – *Sl. 6* in *8c* (foto: Boris Vičič, ZVKDS OE Ljubljana). – *Sl. 8d, e* in *f* (foto: Borut Križ, Dolenjski muzej Novo mesto). – *Sl. 8g* (foto: Pavel Bračko). – *Sl. 9* (foto: Tomaž Lauko, Narodni muzej Slovenije). – *Sl. 10* in *t. 1–7* (risba: Ida Murgelj, Narodni muzej Slovenije). Vse fotografije so iz arhiva NMS.
Illustrations: – *Fig. 1* (photo: Jože Hanc). – *Figs. 8a* and *b* (photo: Slavko Ciglenečki). – *Figs. 6* and *8c* (photo: Boris Vičič, ZVKDS OE Ljubljana). – *Figs. 8d, e* and *f* (photo: Borut Križ, Dolenjski muzej). – *Fig. 8g* (photo: Pavel Bračko). – *Fig. 9* (photo: Tomaž Lauko, Narodni muzej Slovenije). – *Fig. 10* and *Pls. 1–7* (drawings: Ida Murgelj, Narodni muzej Slovenije). All the photographs are from the Archive of NMS.

Poselitev Kranja v starejši železni dobi – pregled raziskav

Settlement of Kranj in the Early Iron Age – an overview of research

Milan SAGADIN

Izvleček

V prispevku prinaša pregled dosedanjih raziskav v Kranju, ki so prinesle gradivo iz starejšega in mlajšega halštatskega obdobja, ter temu gradivu posvečene literature. Obseg naselbine v halštatski dobi, ki ga nakazuje razprostranjenost najdb, je razmeroma velik in presega velikost poznejšega srednjeveškega mesta. Grobne najdbe iz halštatske dobe so dosledno skoncentrirane na severno obrobje mesta, na rob nekdanje rečne terase. Bronastodobne najdbe so izrazito redke in brez kontekstov v obliki struktur. Količina najdb iz posameznih faz starejše železne dobe kaže, da je naselbina dosegla vrhunec v svoji začetni fazi (Ha B3/C1), medtem ko je v mlajši fazi sicer še ohranila svoj obseg, a je bila poselitev manj intenzivna. Prehod v latensko dobo in zgodnjo antiko je potekal brez prekinitve. V času starejšega in mlajšega halštatskega obdobja je bila dokaj intenzivno poseljena tudi okolica Kranja, zlasti Šmarjetna gora in pod njo ležeče Stražišče.

Ključne besede: Gorenjska; Kranj; starejša železna doba; halštatska doba; naselbine; grobišča

Abstract

The article provides an overview of the field research to date in Kranj, which have yielded material from the early and late Hallstatt period. The extent of settlement in the Hallstatt period, evidenced by the spread of finds, is relatively large and exceeds the size of the later medieval city. Grave finds from the Hallstatt period are consistently concentrated on the northern outskirts of the town, on the former river terrace. Bronze Age finds are very rare and without contexts in the form of structures. The amount of finds from individual phases of the Early Iron Age shows that the settlement reached its peak in its initial phase (Ha B3/C1). In the later phases, it still maintained its size, but settlement was less intensive. The transition to the La Tène and early Roman periods took place without interruption. During the early and late Hallstatt periods, the surroundings of Kranj were also quite intensively inhabited, especially Šmarjetna gora and Stražišče lying below it.

Keywords: Gorenjska; Kranj; Early Iron Age; Hallstatt period; settlements; cemeteries

GROBNE NAJDBE

Poznavanje prazgodovinske poselitve Kranja se je začelo z odkrivanjem grobov na severnem obrobju mesta. Ta odkritja so bila, tako kot vsa poznejša, posledica gradbenih posegov. Starejše omembe posameznih prazgodovinskih najdb so bile že večkrat povzete v mnogo preglednih prispevkih (Valič 1975, 171). Če od številnih pregledov, ki prinašajo sintezo starejših arheoloških raziskav na severnem obrobju mesta, upoštevamo le tiste, ki skušajo najdbe tudi natančneje časovno umestiti (Šmidt 1909; 1939; Gabrovec 1960; Valič 1981; Horvat 1983; Rozman 2004; Gruden 2016; Škvor Jernejčič 2017; Janežič 2021), lahko povzamemo naslednje: od leta 1893 so se ob različnih gradbenih delih na robu plitve rečne terase, ki se vleče od današnjega Prešernovega gaja (Partizanska cesta) do Koroške ceste, pojavljali posamezni žgani grobovi (*sl. 2:* **2**). Prvi so bili odkriti leta 1893 ob južnem zidu tedanjega pokopališča (zdaj **Prešernov gaj** – *sl. 1:* **6**) in zahodno od tod na Mayerjevi pristavi (**Mladinska ulica** – *sl. 1:* **7**, **9**) pri izkopu kleti. Na grobove so ponovno naleteli južno od pokopališkega zidu leta 1908 (Horvat 1983, 158: datirani v horizont Stična-Novo mesto; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 125: datirani v horizont Podzemelj in Stična-Novo mesto), leta 1909 pa ob **Stritarjevi ulici** (*sl. 1:* **8**) pri gradnji sirotišnice, Marijanišča in Mladinskega doma (Šmidt 1909; 1939, 3–49 z dopolnjenim pregledom najdb, odkritih do leta 1913; kovinske najdbe je datiral v 6. in 5. st. pr. Kr.). Posebna pozornost je bila namenjena znamenitemu keramičnemu trinožniku z vrta sirotišnice (Stritarjeva 5) (Šmidt 1939: datiran v 7. st. pr. Kr.; Horvat 1983, 157: datiran v 9. st. pr. Kr.). Do tedaj znane prazgodovinske najdbe z Lajha (*sl. 1:* **41**) je Šmidt pripisal uničenemu grobišču iz 5. in 4. st. pr. Kr. Njegovo tezo o prazgodovinskem grobišču na tem mestu so ovrgla novejša izkopavanja.

Med drugo svetovno vojno so v severovzhodnem vogalu gradbene jame za sedanjo stavbo občine in upravne enote (današnja Stritarjeva 8 – *sl. 1:* **11**) našli grobove iz halštatske in rimske dobe (Horvat 1983, 157: halštatski grobovi so datirani v horizont Ljubljana IIb). Ob gradnji **občinske stavbe** na Stritarjevi ulici (*sl. 1:* **10**) je bil leta 1951 najden žgani grob, od katerega se je ohranila le bronasta tulasta sekira. Stare jo je datiral v najstarejšo železno dobo (Stare 1952, 298–299), Horvatova pa natančneje v stopnjo Ljubljana II (Horvat 1983, 157).

Naključne najdbe grobov zahodno od Stritarjeve ulice so bile prvič odkrite leta 1914. Tedaj je bil na Gosposvetski cesti (današnji **Stošičevi** 1 – *sl. 1:* **3**) ob gradnji Župančičeve vile izkopan žgani ženski grob (nove najdbe še 1939), datiran v mlajše halštatsko obdobje (Stare 1954, 112–122, 115–116: horizont Vače IIa; Horvat 1983, 140–218, 158, op. 204: Stična-Novo mesto 2). Nedaleč stran, na Gosposvetski cesti (današnja **Stošičeva** 3 – *sl. 1:* **2**) sta bila leta 1939 med zemeljskimi deli za gradnjo Prahove vile najdena dva žgana grobova, bogatejši med njima predstavlja nosilni ženski grob za opredelitev horizonta Podzemelj 2 (Ha C oz. Ljubljana IIIa; Gabrovec 1964–1965, 32; Horvat 1983, 157; z dopolnitvami Škvor Jernejčič 2017). Istega leta so ob kopanju nove cestne trase tedanje Blejske ceste (danes **Koroška cesta** – *sl. 1:* **1**), tik zraven Prahove vile, naleteli na šest halštatskih in dva srednjelatenska grobova. Halštatski grobovi so datirani v stopnjo Stična-Novo mesto (Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 138). V parku na križišču **med Bleiweisovo cesto in Cesto Staneta Žagarja** (*sl. 1:* **5**) so delavci ob kopanju kanalizacije leta 1953 našli žgani grob, datiran v mlajše halštatsko obdobje (glede na certoško fibulo IV. vrste po Teržan 1976, 323, 346: konec 6. do sredine 5. st.; Stare 1954, 115: čas po letu 450 pr. Kr.). Mladohalštatskemu grobu pripada tudi železna uhata sekira, najdena leta 1963 nasproti Mayerjeve kleti ob stavbi **Mladinska 2** (*sl. 1:* **9**) (Valič 1962–1964, 172, t. 3: 21; Horvat 1983, 158), verjetno pa tudi bronasta narebrena zapestnica, najdena ob urejanju **Ulice XXXI. divizije** (*sl. 2:* **3**) (Valič 1966, 116, t. 2: 4). Keramični odlomki iz **Oldhamske ceste** 8 (*sl. 2:* **3**) so okvirno datirani v starejšo železno dobo (Josipovič 1982, 150). Zadnji žgani prazgodovinski grob je bil najden v Kranju ob zaščitnih arheoloških izkopavanjih leta 2005 na **Stošičevi ulici** pred avtobusno postajo (*sl. 1:* **4**) (Lux 2006, 76; glede na vsebino – ostanki dveh keramičnih posod, ena s črno-rdečimi pasovi, in bronaste zapestnice ter rtasta fibula – je datiran v Ha C2). Pomembno revizijo starejših najdb je prispevala Brina Škvor Jernejčič z obravnavo grobov ob Prahovi vili (Škvor Jernejčič 2017).

NAKLJUČNE NAJDBE

Podatke o vseh naključnih najdbah do leta 1960 je sintetiziral Stane Gabrovec (Gabrovec 1960). Ugotovil je, da grobišča obsegajo „domala celotno tisočletje pr. Kr.“, a je njihov razcvet v starejšem halštatskem obdobju (800–600 pr. Kr.). V tem času je v Kranju tako v materialni kulturi kot v načinu pokopa (ta je dosledno žgani, četudi v gomili) prevladoval vpliv svetolucijske skupine, šibkejši so bili v materialni kulturi vplivi Dolenjske. V 6. in 5. st. pr. Kr. je Kranj tako kot celotna Gorenjska zamiral, v poznem latenskem obdobju pa se je ponovno obujala halštatska tradicija. Ocena latenskega obdobja je bila podana pretežno na podlagi gradiva z Lajha, kjer se je predpostavljalo grobišče.

Pregled naključnih najdb s celotnega območja Kranja je podala tudi Jana Horvat v svoji objavi prazgodovinskih naselbinskih najdb ob župnijski cerkvi (*sl. 1:* **30**) (Horvat 1983, 140–218). Domnevne grobne najdbe s severne strani cerkve je upravičeno identificirala kot (potencialno) naselbinske z žarnogrobiščnim značajem in datirala v horizont Podzemelj oziroma v stopnji Ljubljana IIb in IIIa (Ha B3/C1, 800–650 pr. Kr.), ob tem pa poudarila severnojadranske povezave grobnega gradiva iz Kranja. Opozorila je na najdbo certoške fibule v naselbinski plasti oz. na možno prisotnost gradiva iz mlajšega halštatskega obdobja ter tekoč prehod v latensko dobo in zgodnjerimski čas. Že znanim grobnim najdbam s severnega obrobja mesta je dodala datacije nekaterih naključnih najdb z Lajha, ki sodijo bodisi v starejše (Ljubljana IIb, Ha C) bodisi v mlajše halštatsko obdobje (kačasti horizont – 6. st. pr. Kr. / Sv. Lucija IIb / druga polovica 6. st., certoški in negovski horizont – Horvat 1983, 157–159).

NASELBINSKE NAJDBE

Po letu 1984 se je začelo obdobje doslednih predhodnih zaščitnih izkopavanj v Kranju, ki so spremljala sanacijo mestnega obzidja in posameznih meščanskih stavb ali pa obnovo ter novogradnjo komunalnih vodov in prometnih površin (*sl. 2:* **1**). V sklopu teh posegov so bile opravljene zaščitne raziskave večjega ali manjšega obsega na številnih lokacijah, tako da je Kranj danes verjetno najbolj raziskana prazgodovinska (in poznoantična) naselbina v Sloveniji. O raziskavah obstajajo poročila, ki so bolj ali manj natančna in se zlasti pri manjših posegih zadovoljujejo zgolj z okvirnimi kronološkimi opredelitvami gradiva („prazgodovinska keramika“). Vendar so ob tem nastale tudi tri temeljitejše študije, pomembne za proučevanje prazgodovinske poselitve Kranja. Obravnavajo najdbe iz Pavšlarjeve hiše – Glavni trg 18 (Rozman 2004), s severnega dvorišča gradu Kieselstein (Janežič 2015; 2021) in z dvorišča stavbe Savska cesta 10 v Kranju (Gruden 2016).

Notranjost **Pavšlarjeve hiše (Glavni trg 18** – *sl. 1:* **22)** je bila raziskana v sklopu obsežnih restavratorskih in konservatorskih del, ki jih je izvajal leta 1991 Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine, območna enota Kranj (ZVKDS OE Kranj). Ob številnih zgodnjeantičnih in poznoantičnih najdbah je bila najbolj izstopajoča velika količina prazgodovinskega gradiva, povezana z ostanki dveh stavb. Bojana Rozman je te najdbe datirala v čas Ha B3/C1, stavbe je uničil požar v stopnji Ha C1. Opozorila pa je na nekatere dolgotrajne tipe posod, ki se začenjajo že v času Ha A2/B1 in trajajo do Ha C1 ter povezujejo Kranj z ruško in ljubljansko skupino, Koroško in srednjim Podonavjem. Posamezne oblike posod dokazujejo, da je bil Kranj poseljen tudi v mladohalštatskem in latenskem obdobju (Rozman 2004).

Severno dvorišče gradu Kieselstein (*sl. 1:* **26**) je bilo raziskano v letih 1998, 1999, 2002, 2008 in 2009 zaradi sanacije gradu in mestnega obzidja ter gradnje poletnega gledališča. Glavnino prazgodovinskih najdb s te lokacije je Polona Janežič opredelila v čas Ha B3/C1, pri čemer radiokarbonske datacije z največjim odstotkom verjetnosti kažejo čas prehoda med 9. in 8. st. pr. Kr. (Janežič 2015, 107–110). Opazila je posebej intenzivne povezave z Ljubljano in Štajersko, manj s Koroško, ter opozorila na posamezne najdbe starejše provenience (npr. bronasta igla), ki lahko sodijo še v obdobje Ha A1 (Janežič 2021, 41). Mladohalštatskih najdb ni zasledila. Kaže pa opozoriti na odlomek bronaste pločevine z ornamentom, kakršen se je uporabljal za krašenje negovskih čelad. Najdba izvira z južnega dvorišča Kieselsteina (*sl. 1:* **32**) (Sagadin 2008a, 78, t. 9: 2).

Posebne obravnave je bilo deležno tudi gradivo z zaščitnih izkopavanj na dvorišču stavbe **Savska cesta** 10 (*sl. 1:* **35),** opravljenih leta 2010 (Gruden 2016). Gregor Gruden je identificiral pet stavb, ki so bile zgrajene v treh fazah prazgodovinske poselitve druga za drugo brez prekinitev (kar se v grobem ujema z ugotovitvami, navedenimi v prvem poročilu o raziskavah – poročilo Lux 2011). Analiza keramičnega gradiva je pokazala, da je mogoče prazgodovinsko poselitev na tej lokaciji datirati v čas Ha B3/C0 oz. Ljubljana II–IIIa (Podzemelj 1 in 2). Radiokarbonske in dendrokronološke analize datirajo objekt 2 v leta od 750 do 670 pr. Kr., pri tem pa je očitno, da je objekt 1A nekoliko starejši. Očitne so povezave gradiva z Bledom, Ljubljano, Štajersko in Dolenjsko. Najdb iz mlajšega halštatskega obdobja ni in vse kaže, da je naselbina v Kranju po stopnji Ha C1 zamrla (Gruden 2016, 166–176).

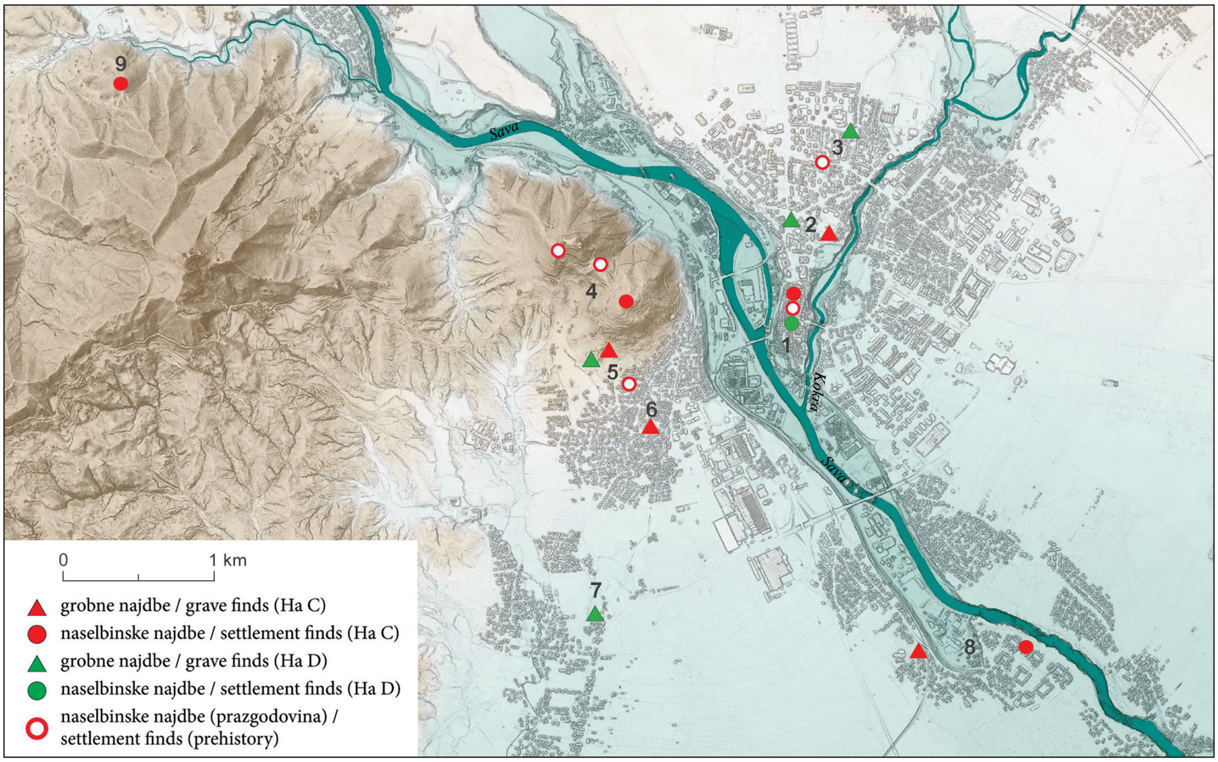
Podrobneje je bila obravnavana tudi prazgodovinska keramika z izkopavanj **v notranjosti župnijske cerkve sv. Kancijana in tovarišev** (*sl. 1*: **31**), opravljenih leta 1984. V okviru seminarske naloge jo je obravnavala Zvezdana Modrijan. Njene ugotovitve se v glavnem skladajo z ugotovitvami Jane Horvat (večina gradiva sodi v Ha B3/C1), opozorila pa je na elemente, ki omogočajo tudi starejše datiranje (Modrijan 1988, 8).

Nekatera obširnejša poročila o obsežnejših raziskavah so vsebovala tudi že osnovno kronološko opredelitev prazgodovinskega gradiva. Rezultati se okvirno ujemajo z ugotovitvami navedenih študij. Najobsežnejše raziskave so potekale od 25. 10. 2010 do 13. 6. 2013, zajele pa so dele Trubarjevega trga (Pungart), Cankarjevo ulico, Vodopivčevo ulico, Glavni trg, Poštno ulico in del južnega vrta gradu Kieselstein (*sl. 1:* **39**, **33**,


KRANJ
KOKRA
Zimsko kopališče
LOG
SEJEM
HE SAVA
Stara cesta
Ljubljanska cesta
Koroška cesta
Trg revol.
Gimn.
Hotel CREINA
GLOBUS
ISKRA COMMERCE
Šola
Partizanska cesta
Prešernov gaj
Gregorčičeva ul.
Mladinska ul.
Rotarjeva
Jurčičeva
Sv. Jožef
Župančičeva ulica
Cesta 1. maja
Knjižnica
Muzej
Sv. Kancijan
0
200 m
grobne najdbe / grave finds (Ha C)
naselbinske najdbe / settlement finds (Ha C)
grobne najdbe / grave finds (Ha D)
naselbinske najdbe / settlement finds (Ha D)
naselbinske najdbe (prazgodovina) / settlement finds (prehistory)
raziskana območja / investigated areas

Sl. 1 / Fig. 1	Najdišče / Site	Leto raziskav / Year of investigation	Poročila in objave / Reports and publications
1	Koroška c.	1939	Škvor Jernejčič 2017
2	Stošičeva ul. 3 – Prahova vila	1939	Gabrovec 1960; Škvor Jernejčič 2017
3	Stošičeva ul. 1 / Župančičeva vila	1914	Stare 1954
4	Stošičeva ul. – avtobusna postaja	2005	Lux 2006
5	Park med Bleiweisovo c. in c. Staneta Žagarja	1953	Stare 1954
6	Prešernov gaj – južno obzidje	1893, 1908	Horvat 1983, Škvor Jernejčič 2017
7	Mladinska ul. / Mayerjeva pristava – klet	1893	Horvat 1983; Škvor Jernejčič 2017
8	Stritarjeva ul. 5 in 7	1909	Šmidt 1909; 1939
9	Mladinska ul. 2	1963	Valič 1962–1964
10	Občinske stavbe	1951	Stare 1952
11	Stritarjeva ul. 8	med 2. sv. vojno	Horvat 1983; Škvor Jernejčič 2017
12	Koroška c. 5 – Hotel Creina	2007	Sagadin, Terenski dnevnik 2007
13	Ljubljanska c. 1a – Hotel Jelen	2010	Urankar 2011
14	Reginčeva ul. 8	2000	Sagadin 2006d
15	Maistrov trg	1998, 2001/02	Josipovič 2005
16	Reginčeva ul.	2005	Hofman 2005; Sagadin 2006c
17	Ljubljanska c. – parkirišče	1998	Josipovič, Sagadin 2001
18	Tomšičeva ul. 7	2007	Lux 2008a
19	Prešernova ul.	2003	Josipovič 2004; Sagadin, Josipovič 2006a
20	Tavčarjeva ul. – severni del	2004	Sagadin 2006b
21	Škrlovec 2	2003	Sagadin, Josipovič 2006b
22	Glavni trg 18 / Pavšlarjeva hiša	1991	Rozman 2004
23	Poštna ul.	2010–2013	Urankar, Bešter 2014
24	Ljubljanska c.	2009–2011	Tomažinčič 2011; 2013a; 2013b
25	Tomšičeva ul. 38	2005–2007	Josipovič, Podobnik, Rupnik 2006; Josipovič 2008; Rozman 2008
26	Tomšičeva 44 / Kieselstein – severno dvorišče	1998/99, 2002, 2008/09	Janežič 2015; 2021
27	Tomšičeva ul. 25	2008–2010	Urek, Rozman 2012
28	Glavni trg	2010–2013	Urankar, Bešter 2014
29	Tavčarjeva ul. 33	1992	Sagadin 1995
30	Župnijska cerkev sv. Kancijana – severna stran	1969–1973	Horvat 1983
31	Župnijska cerkev sv. Kancijana – notranjost	1984	Modrijan 1988
32	Tomšičeva ul. 44 / Kieselstein – južno dvorišče	2010–2013	Urankar, Bešter 2014
33	Cankarjeva ul. 2	2010–2013	Urek 2017
34	Tavčarjeva ul. – južni del	2008–2010	Urek, Rozman 2012
35	Savska c. 10	2010	Lux 2011; Gruden 2016
36	Vodopivčeva ul.	2010–2013	Urankar, Bešter 2014
37	Savska c.	2009–2010	Urek *et al.* 2016
38	Tavčarjeva ul. 28	2008–2010	Urek, Rozman 2012
39	Trubarjev trg / Pungart	1988, 1990, 2002, 2011, 2010–2013	Valič 1988, Sagadin 1991; 2001; 2008; Tomažinčič 2012; Urankar, Bešter 2014
40	Sejmišče 7	2009–2010	Urek *et al.* 2016
41	Lajh	2009–2010	Urek *et al.* 2016
42	Cankarjeva 10a	2008–2010	Urek, Rozman 2012; Urek 2013a,b
43	Tomšičeva 42	2008–2009	Rismondo 2008; Lux 2009a

Sl. 1: Kranj. Karta raziskanih območij v letih 1991–2013 s seznamom lokacij grobnih in naselbinskih najdb iz starejšega (Ha C) in mlajšega halštatskega obdobja (Ha D).
Fig. 1: Kranj. Map of investigated areas in 1991–2013 with the list of locations of grave and settlement finds from the Early (Ha C) and Late Hallstatt period (Ha D).



Sl. 2: Prazgodovinska poselitev Kranja in okolice.
Fig. 2: Prehistoric settlement of Kranj and its surroundings.
(podlaga / basemap: Atlas okolja©GURS; izdelava / elaborated by: Edisa Lozić)

1 Kranj – staro mestno jedro / old town; **2** Kranj – Partizanska, Mladinska, Stritarjeva, Stošičeva ul.; **3** Kranj – Oldhamska c., Ul. XXXI. divizije; **4** Šmarjetna gora; **5** Stražišče – Torkla, Pot na Jošta 11; **6** Stražišče – Delavska cesta, Baragov trg; **7** Zgornje Bitnje; **8** Drulovka; **9** Spodnja Besnica – Gradišče.

36, **28**, **23**, **32**) (poročilo Urankar, Bešter 2014). Gradivo raziskav s **Trubarjevega trga** (*sl. 1:* **39**) je potrdilo že ugotovljeno poselitev iz obdobja mlajšega neolitika (Sagadin 2005, 33) ter intenzivnejšo poselitev na prehodu iz pozne bronaste v zgodnjo železno dobo, iz tega časa so bile poleg keramičnih najdb odkrite tudi najmanj tri bivalne stavbe (poročilo Urankar, Bešter 2014, 9). Tudi za preostala obdobja poselitve Trubarjevega trga (Pungarta) so bile potrjene ugotovitve starejših raziskav (Valič 1988, 228; Sagadin 1991, 221; 2001b, 58–59; 2008b, 116–117). Podobne rezultate so prinesle tudi obsežnejše raziskave na Trubarjevem trgu leta 2011 ob vkopavanju energetskega kabla. Starejše železnodobne najdbe so bile datirane v čas Ha B3/C1, dobro pa je bila dokumentirana tudi poselitev v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju (certoški horizont) in latenski dobi (poročilo Tomažinčič 2012). Na **Vodopivčevi ulici** (*sl. 1:* **36**) je bilo v okviru raziskav 2010–2013 ugotovljenih več faz prazgodovinske poselitve, od pozne bronaste do konca mlajše železne dobe (poročilo Urankar, Bešter 2014). Na obširnem **Glavnem trgu** (*sl. 1:* **28**) so bile prazgodovinske plasti izredno bogate. Tako kot študija o prazgodovinski keramiki iz Pavšlarjeve hiše (Glavni trg 18, Rozman 2004) so raziskave v letih 2010–2013 nakazale, da je bilo tu jedro naselbine. Identificirane so bile številne stavbe z velikimi količinami keramike, pa tudi metalurška (livarska) dejavnost na prehodu iz pozne bronaste v starejšo železno dobo (poleg bogatih poznoantičnih plasti in številnih novih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov – poročilo Urankar, Bešter 2014, 35). Te faze poselitve osrednjega dela mesta potrjujejo tudi manjše raziskave v objektih ob trgu (poročilo Karo 2007; 2008; Sagadin 2006d; 2008a, 37–40). Na **Poštni ulici** (*sl. 1:* **23**), ki pelje od Glavnega trga proti vzhodu, je intenzivnost prazgodovinskih najdb drastično upadala (poročilo Urankar, Bešter 2014). Raziskave v **Cankarjevi ulici** (*sl. 1:* 33) v kampanji 2010–2013 niso dale otipljivih rezultatov, ker so bile plasti zaradi številnih komunalnih vodov v ozki ulici uničene (poročilo Urankar, Bešter 2014, 29). V Cankarjevo ulico so obsežnejše zaščitne raziskave posegle že v letih od 2008 do 2010, ko so bila opravljena izkopavanja tudi v južnem delu

Tomšičeve in Tavčarjeve ulice (*sl. 1:* **27**, **34**) (poročilo Urek, Rozman 2012; Urek 2013a,b). Na ozkem prostoru pred stavbo Cankarjeva 10a (*sl. 1:* **42**) so bile od prazgodovinskih najdb odkrite le latenske. Obsežnejše so bile raziskave objekta Cankarjeva 2 (*sl. 1:* **33**) v letu 2017. Prazgodovinske najdbe so omogočale datacijo v čas prehoda med bronasto in starejšo železno dobo (poročilo Urek 2017, 55). Večji del najstarejših najdb iz **Tavčarjeve ulice** je opredeljen zgolj okvirno kot „prazgodovinske", keramične odlomke pred stavbo Tavčarjeva 28 (*sl. 1:* **38**) pa na podlagi priložene fotografije lahko uvrstimo v čas Ha B3/C1 (poročilo Urek, Rozman 2012, 18, sl. 14). Severni del Tavčarjeve ulice (*sl. 1:* **20**) je bil raziskan leta 2004, tudi tu je bilo uničenje zaradi recentnih vkopov domala popolno, omenjajo se le odlomki prazgodovinske keramike (Sagadin 2006a). Prazgodovinske najdbe z dvorišča Tavčarjeva ulica 33 (*sl. 1:* **29**) so le ohlapno opredeljene (Sagadin 1995). Najdbe, odkrite pred stavbo **Tomšičeva ulica** 25 (*sl. 1:* **27**), so pripisane obdobju Ha B3/C1 (poročilo Urek, Rozman 2012, 18, 43, 45). Iz okolice Roženvenske cerkve na skrajnem južnem delu Tomšičeve ulice se prazgodovinske najdbe ne omenjajo. Leta 2009 je bila raziskana tudi notranjost objekta Tomšičeva 25, vendar prazgodovinskih najdb ni bilo (poročilo Lux 2009). Na zahodni rob kranjskega pomola oz. Tomšičevo ulico se poleg že omenjenih izkopavanj vežejo tudi raziskave južnega in severnega dvorišča gradu Kieselstein (Tomšičeva 44, Vovkov vrt – *sl. 1:* **32**), območja stavb na Tomšičevi ulici 38, 7, 26, 42 (*sl. 1:* **25**, **18**, **27**, **43**) in Škrlovec 2 (*sl. 1:* **21**). Raziskave so imele različen obseg in različno stopnjo obdelave gradiva. Vovkov (tudi Šifrerjev) vrt (*sl. 1:* **32**) je skrajni južni del južnega dvorišča gradu Kieselstein. Raziskave so bile opravljene zaradi sanacije in rekonstrukcije srednjeveškega obrambnega stolpa, med najdbami se omenjajo tudi naselbinski ostanki iz mlajše železne dobe (Tomažinčič 2013a,b; Urek 2013a,b). Dolgotrajne raziskave dvorišča in notranjosti objekta Tomšičeva 38 (*sl. 1:* **25**) so poleg izjemnih poznoantičnih najdb odkrile tudi prazgodovinsko lončenino iz poznega obdobja KŽG in zgodnje železne dobe (poročilo Josipovič, Podobnik, Rupnik 2006, 28; poročilo Josipovič 2008; Rozman 2008). Pri prenovi prostorov ZVKDS OE Kranj na Tomšičevi 7 (*sl. 1:* **18**) so bile odkrite prazgodovinske naselbinske najdbe (Lux 2008a), raziskave v objektu Tomšičeva 26 pa prazgodovinskih najdb niso odkrile (Sagadin 2008a, 43–44). Obsežnejša izkopavanja v celotnem pritličju stavbe Tomšičeva 42 (*sl. 1:* **43**) so poleg zgodnjeantičnega in poznoantičnega zidovja odkrile tudi prazgodovinske ostaline, vendar fragmenti keramike niso omogočali natančnejše datacije v okviru starejše železne dobe (Rismondo 2008; poročilo Lux 2009a). Na južnem dvorišču gradu Kieselstein (Tomšičeva 44) (*sl. 1:* **32**) je bil leta 2010 opravljen arheološki nadzor nad izkopom trase za strelovod. Poleg drugih najdb je bilo tudi nekaj kosov prazgodovinske keramike (poročilo Sagadin, A. 2010). Na južnem dvorišču gradu pa so bili v sklopu raziskovalne kampanje 2010–2013 najdeni posamezni odlomki mladohalštatske keramike (poročilo Urankar, Bešter 2014). S Tomšičevo ulico je povezana kratka slepa uličica Škrlovec. V stavbi Škrlovec 2 (*sl. 1:* **21**) so bile leta 2003 opravljene arheološke raziskave pritličja. Odkrila so posamezne prazgodovinske fragmente, a brez natančneje opredeljive datacije (Sagadin, Josipovič 2006b).

Severni podaljšek Tomšičeve ulice predstavlja **Reginčeva ulica** (*sl. 1:* **16**). Ta je bila v celoti raziskana leta 2005. Izrazita prazgodovinska plast nad ostanki bivalnih objektov je vsebovala najdbe, datirane v obdobje Ha C2, opisi ornamentov v poročilu pa omogočajo datacijo posameznih keramičnih najdb v čas Ha B3/C1 (poročilo Hofman 2005, 8–9; Sagadin 2006b). Ob sanaciji objekta Reginčeva 8 (*sl. 1:* **14**) je bil leta 2000 opravljen tudi vkop v sredico renesančnega mestnega obzidja, ki je tu debelo 10 m. Na globini 2 m (kar je cca 2,5 m nad prazgodovinskim hodnim nivojem na mestni strani obzidja) je bila najdena prazgodovinska plast s keramičnimi odlomki, ki sodijo v čas Ha B3/C1. Na podlagi tako izrazite spremembe nivoja prazgodovinske plasti je bila postavljena domneva, da je renesančno obzidje v svojo sredino vključilo prazgodovinski obrambni nasip (Sagadin 2006c).

Prešernova ulica (*sl. 1:* **19**) je bila v celoti raziskana leta 2003. Večina keramičnega gradiva je datirana v čas izteka KŽG, med najdbami pa so bili tudi trije predmeti iz slabo ohranjene bronaste pločevine z iztolčenimi bunčicami, ki naj bi bili podobni obeskom na svetolucijskih fibulah (poročilo Josipovič 2004, 14; Sagadin, Josipovič 2006a) in kakršen je že bil najden na Lajhu (Horvat 1983, 159, t. 28, 4). Glede na velikost predmeta bi bilo verjetneje, da pripada obesku s kultne palice (sceptra), datirane v obdobje Ha D (Stare 1973), če ne gre celo za večjo bronasto posodo (?). Na Prešernovi ulici so bile leta 1998 opravljene manjše raziskave tudi na dvorišču stavbe Prešernova 12. Podrobnejša kronološka analiza prazgodovinske keramike ni bila opravljena (Sagadin 2001a).

Maistrov trg (*sl. 1:* **15**) je bil v celoti raziskan v letih 1998 in 2001–2002. Poleg številnih drobnih najdb in grajenih struktur iz različnih obdobij so bile odkrite keramične in kovinske prazgodovinske najdbe, ki jih lahko trdno postavimo v obdobje Ha B3/C1 (igle z nazaj zavito glavico, značilna ornamentika in keramične oblike, koščen ščitnik za igle itd.). V ostankih renesančnega obzidja je bilo zaslediti tudi ostanke struktur prazgodovinskega nasipa. Med najdbami je bila še bronasta sulična ost, ki sodi v pozno bronasto dobo (poročilo Josipovič 2005, sl. 12, 13).

Na **Ljubljanski cesti (Jelenov klanec)** (*sl. 1:* **24**) od križišča v Savsko cesto do uvoza k nekdanjemu hotelu Jelen so bile opravljene obsežne raziskave v letih od 2009 do 2011. Identificiranih je bilo sedem prazgodovinskih objektov, trije s konca pozne bronaste dobe (horizont Ha B3/C1) in štirje s konca mlajše železne dobe (poleg poznoantičnega objekta ob hotelu Jelen). Skupaj z rezultati raziskav Savske ceste so pokazale, da v obdobju Ha B3/C1 ni bil poseljen le konglomeratni pomol poznejšega srednjeveškega Kranja, ampak tudi celotno zahodno pobočje do Save (poročilo Tomažinčič 2011; Tomažinčič 2013a,b). Izkopavanja od 2009 do 2011 pomenijo dopolnitev raziskav, opravljenih na Jelenovem klancu ob cesti in v konglomeratnih spodmolih leta 1998. Takratna gradnja parkirišča (*sl. 1:* **17**) je odkrila številne odlomke prazgodovinske keramike, značilne za obdobje Ha B3/C1 (pa tudi dve živalski figurici, dve bronasti igli s stožčasto glavico, keramiko z bronastim žebljičenjem itd.). Pri zaščitnem izkopavanju, ki je sledilo, je bil najden še depo cca 22 kg bronastih pogačastih surovcev ter odlomkov sekir, sulic in srpov (Josipovič, Sagadin 2001). Na vrhu Jelenovega klanca, na lokaciji nekdanjega **hotela Jelen** (Ljubljanska cesta 1a – *sl. 1:* **13**), je bilo pred gradnjo sedanjega poslovno-stanovanjskega objekta leta 2009 izvedeno arheološko sondiranje (poročilo Lux 2009b), na podlagi rezultatov je bilo nato leta 2010 opravljeno zaščitno arheološko izkopavanje. Odkrit je bil impozanten obrambni sistem, ki je v 16. st. varoval severni del mesta in je v dobršni meri obenem z mlajšimi posegi uničil starejše plasti. Kljub temu je bilo v vdolbinah konglomerata najdenih tudi nekaj odlomkov prazgodovinske keramike brez natančnejših kronoloških značilnosti (poročilo Urankar 2011).

Raziskave na **Savski cesti** (*sl. 1:* **37**) so bile omenjene že ob obravnavi rezultatov izkopavanj na dvorišču stavbe Savska cesta 10 (Gruden 2016). Jugovzhodno od tod na Savsko cesto sega obsežno grobišče iz obdobja preseljevanja ljudstev, **Kranj – Lajh**. Obnova komunalne infrastrukture na tem delu je zahtevala predhodne arheološke raziskave. Opravljene so bile v letih 2009 do 2010 in so segle tudi na višjo teraso **Sejmišče** (*sl. 1:* **40**). Z njimi je bila dokončno ovržena teza o poznolatenskem grobišču na Sejmišču in na Lajhu, kajti tudi tu gre za naselbinske najdbe, ki se širijo po terasah nad vzhodnim bregom Save pod konglomeratnim robom od Lajha do savskega brega ob Stari cesti. Prazgodovinske najdbe s tega območja so izključno naselbinskega značaja. Raziskana površina je bila razdeljena na sektorje. V sektorju Savska cesta (ki je obsegal območje poznoantičnega grobišča ter med objekti Savska cesta 1 in 14) so prazgodovinske najdbe datirane v pozno latensko obdobje. Najobsežnejše naselbinske raziskave so bile opravljene v sektorjih Savska cesta 10/1–5 (severno od poznoantičnega grobišča, nasproti stavbe Savska cesta 10), najdbe sodijo v starejše (Ha B3/C1) in mlajše halštatsko obdobje (certoški horizont, Ha D2–3) ter pozno latensko obdobje. V starejše halštatsko obdobje sodijo tudi najdbe iz sektorja Savska cesta 2 (pred objektom Savska cesta 6, v nadaljevanju sektorja Savska cesta 10 proti severu). Najdbe iz sektorja Sejmišče 7 (pred objektom Sejmišče 7, do razcepa Sejmišče – Savska cesta, nad Savsko cesto) so datirane v mlajše halštatsko obdobje, v sektorju Sejmišče 2 (zahodno od objekta Sejmišče 2) pa – tako kot v sektorju Sejmišče 7 – v mlajši halštat. Datumi radiokarbonske analize postavljajo naselbinski kontekst med 760 in 390 pr. Kr. (poročilo Urek *et al.* 2016, 94–101, 107). Zahodno od Savske ceste, na desnem bregu Kokre (ledina Na Lajhu), so bila leta 2007 opravljena zaščitna izkopavanja zaradi gradnje treh stanovanjskih blokov. Najdenih je bilo 145 poznoantičnih grobov, od teh jih je bilo 48 še nepoškodovanih. Prazgodovinske najdbe se ne omenjajo (Lux 2008b). Tudi ob manjših zaščitnih posegih, ki so spremljali komunalna dela na tem območju, se omenjajo le poznoantični grobovi (Sagadin 1983a; poročilo Podobnik 2005).

Po vsej verjetnosti se je prazgodovinska naselbina širila tudi severno od poznejšega srednjeveškega mestnega jedra. Leta 2007 je bila namreč ob arheološkem nadzoru nad izkopom temeljev za prizidek današnjega hotela Creina ob Koroški cesti (jugozahodni vogal hotela, Koroška cesta 5) (*sl. 1:* **12**) na globini 330 cm pod sedanjim hodnim nivojem dokumentirana strnjena prazgodovinska plast debeline cca 30 cm, ki je ležala neposredno na konglomeratni osnovi. V plasti je bilo več odlomkov prazgodovinske keramike, ki pa ni imela za datacijo oprijemljivejših značilnosti (Sagadin, terenski dnevnik 2007, 23. 3. 2007).

PRAZGODOVINSKA POSELITEV ŠIRŠE OKOLICE KRANJA

Prazgodovinska poselitev je bila ugotovljena tudi v neposredni okolici Kranja. Predvsem je zanimiv obstoj dokaj velike naselbine na bližnji Šmarjetni gori (*sl. 2:* **4**). Odlomki prazgodovinske keramike so bili najdeni na obeh njenih vrhovih ter v useku ceste na njenem sedlu (starejšo literaturo glej npr. Valič 1975, 171; 1970; za novejše najdbe pa Josipovič 1985). Predvsem so dobro vidne umetne terase na nižjem, jugovzhodnem vrhu. Tam je bilo leta 1986 opravljeno topografsko arheološko sondiranje, pri čemer so bili odkriti ostanki dveh bivalnih stavb, spremljajoče najdbe keramike pa omogočajo datacijo v čas Ha B3/C1 (Sagadin 1987). Zaščitno izkopavanje na nižjem, jugovzhodnem vrhu in v sedlu Šmarjetne gore je bilo izvedeno tudi ob napeljavi električnega kabla leta 2015. Ob tem so bili najdeni ostanki bivalnih stavb in odlomki prazgodovinske keramike, podrobnejša kronološka analiza pa še ni bila opravljena.

Prazgodovinska poselitev je bila ugotovljena tudi ob južnem vznožju Šmarjetne gore, ob zaščitnem izkopavanju leta 1987 na dvorišču stavbe **Pot na Jošta 11** (*sl. 2:* **5**). Okvirna datacija keramičnih odlomkov je halštatska doba (Sagadin 1988a).

Tej naselbini (ali naselbinam) pripadajoča grobišča ležijo južno od Šmarjetne gore, ob njenem južnem vznožju in nekoliko dlje v **Stražišču**. Ob južnem vznožju je že dolgo znano gomilno grobišče **v Torkli** (Valič 1975, 171) (*sl. 2:* **5**), od koder je znana certoška fibula vrste XIIIa po Teržanovi (Teržan 1976, 338, pril. 2, datacija: mlajše halštatsko obdobje). Grobišče (verjetno) sega še v nekdanji park Šempetrskega gradu (Schrottenturn) ob romanski kapelici sv. Petra. Tu je bil namreč leta 1982 ob kopanju temeljev za sitarsko hišo najden delno poškodovan žgani grob z bikonično žaro, zraven pa sledovi še enega žganega groba. Keramika sodi v starejše halštatsko obdobje (Sagadin 1983b). Večje plano žarno grobišče je bilo odkrito nekoliko južneje, ob stari šoli v Stražišču (**Baragov trg** – *sl. 2:* **6**). Ob gradnji te šole leta 1898 je bilo odkritih 13 planih žarnih grobov iz starejšega halštatskega obdobja (Valič 1975, 171; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 125), grobišču pa pripada tudi neznano število žarnih grobov, uničenih ob gradnji Avtohiše Vrtač in pripadajočega parkirišča (**Delavska cesta** – *sl. 2:* **6**; pobrano keramiko hrani Gorenjski muzej). Razprostranjenost najdb kaže na dokaj velik obseg grobišča. Še južneje, v **Zgornjih Bitnjah** (*sl. 2:* **7**), so znane tri večje gomile (dve sta že močno izravnani), od koder naj bi izvirali čolničasta in dve certoški fibuli, bronast scepter, dve zapestnici in štiri keramične posode (Valič 1975, 174). Tudi tu kaže, da so pokopi v večjih gomilah pojav mlajšega halštatskega obdobja.

Na širšem območju neolitske naselbine na **Drulovki** (*sl. 2:* **8**) in južno od nje so leta 1987 potekala obsežna gradbena dela ob nastajanju nove stanovanjske soseske. Ob arheološkem nadzoru je bilo odkritih več primerkov orodja iz sileksa, pa tudi številni keramični odlomki. Na lokaciji večje koncentracije keramičnih najdb so bile izkopane tri sonde. V prvi in tretji so bili najdeni zgolj atipični odlomki prazgodovinske keramike, druga pa je obsegla večjo njivsko grobljo, v katero so bili poleg kamenja nametani številni fragmenti keramičnega posodja, ki omogočajo datacijo v čas Ha B3/C1 (Josipovič 1988). Na robu vasi je bila ob trasi železniške proge (podvoz pod cesto) razkopana manjša gomila, v tej je bila najdena bronasta tulasta sekira (Valič 1960–1961; 1982, XI – datacija KŽG oz. Ha B).

Severozahodno od Kranja, v **Spodnji Besnici** (*sl. 2:* **9**), se ob vznožju Sv. Jošta, nad sotočjem potokov Besnica in Šmetinec dviguje manjši hrib z ledinskim imenom Gradišče. Zaradi značilnega imena je bil deležen pozornosti že v starejši literaturi (Pokorn 1909, 2; Valič 1982, X–XI). Leta 1987 je bilo tu opravljeno arheološko topografsko sondiranje. Dokumentirana je bila kulturna plast z odlomki atipične keramike, ki je zgolj okvirno datirana v prazgodovino (Ha B3/C1? – Sagadin 1988b).

Iz neposredne okolice Kranja je znanih še nekaj naključnih prazgodovinskih najdb, ki sicer ne sodijo v halštatsko obdobje. To sta dve latenski sulični osti, ena najdena na Gorenji Savi ob gradnji tovarne Tekstilindus (Ložar 1930, 22; Valič 1975, 170; o dataciji dvomi Gabrovec 1966, 256), druga pa v strugi Save pri tovarni Planika (Valič 1962–1964, 172; Horvat 1983, 140). Valič omenja tudi dve železni sulični osti, ki naj bi bili najdeni na Jahačevem prehodu (Valič 1981, 114) in ki naj bi jih po Valičevem mnenju prinašal tudi Gabrovec (Gabrovec 1966, 266, t. 6: 1, 2, 3). Vendar Gabrovec v svojem prispevku omenja le eno sulično ost (Gabrovec 1966, t. 6: 3); enači jo s tisto, najdeno v Savi pri tovarni Planika, druge pa ne omenja. Večkrat je omenjen tudi bronast jezičastoročajni meč tipa Traun, ki naj bi bil najden nekje na območju mesta. Valič (Valič 1981, 111) ga imenuje bodalo in citira Dularjevo objavo (Dular 1974, 15, 16, t. 1: 5), v kateri je obravnavan kot meč z datacijo bronasta doba C/D.

ZAKLJUČEK

Če po številnih novejših raziskavah prazgodovinske naselbine na prostoru starega mestnega jedra Kranja skušamo sintetizirati rezultate, lahko ugotovimo naslednje:

Glavnino najdb avtorji datirajo v obdobje Ha B3/C1. Naselbina je tedaj obsegala celotno območje poznejšega srednjeveškega mesta, prekrivala pa je tudi pobočja na levem bregu Save vse do rečnega brega. Tudi na severu je verjetno že v starejšem halštatskem obdobju presegala meje poznejšega mesta, vsaj do hotela Creina. Najdbe, ki zarisujejo tak obseg naselbine, izvirajo dosledno iz naselbinskih plasti. Pripadajoči grobovi se nizajo po robu rečne terase med Partizansko in Koroško cesto. Zdi se, da je število najstarejših grobov za tako veliko naselbino majhno, vendar so bile naselbinske raziskave opravljene na neprimerno večjem območju, kot pa so ga zajeli gradbeni posegi, ob katerih so bili odkriti grobovi. Najdbe, ki bi bile lahko starejše od Ha B3/C1, so maloštevilne, zato se zdi, da naselbina ni nastala le iz lastnih korenin. Vsi avtorji poudarjajo povezave z Ljubljano in Štajersko, nekateri tudi s srednjim Podonavjem in Koroško. V prid dotoku novega prebivalstva govori tudi sočasna velika naselbina na Šmarjetni gori. Naselbinske in grobne najdbe iz mlajših faz halštatskega obdobja so sicer razporejene še vedno po vsem območju, ki ga pokrivajo najdbe iz starejšega halštatskega obdobja, vendar so manj številne. Očitno je naselbina dosegla svoj vrhunec nekako v obdobju Ha C1, nato pa je nazadovala.

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Settlement of Kranj in the Early Iron Age – an overview of research

Summary

Knowledge of prehistoric settlement of Kranj, which lies at the confluence of the rivers Sava and Kokra, began with the discovery of graves on the northern outskirts of the town. From 1893 onwards, individual incineration graves were unearthed there by various construction works on the edge of the shallow river terrace (*Fig. 1*). Data on all incidental finds up to 1960 were synthesised by Stane Gabrovec (Gabrovec 1960). He postulated their peak in the earlier Hallstatt period (800–600 BC). In this period, both in material culture and in the manner of burial (which is consistently incineration, even under a tumulus) in Kranj, the influence of the Sveta Lucija group prevailed, while the Dolenjska influence was weaker. In the 6th and 5th centuries BC, Kranj, like the entire Gorenjska region, declined, but in the late La Tène period, the Hallstatt tradition was revived. An important revision of the early discovered grave finds was performed by Brina Škvor Jernejčič (2017).

An overview of incidental Iron Age finds from the entire area of Kranj was also given by Jana Horvat in her study of prehistoric finds revealed near the parish church (*Fig. 1:* 30) (Horvat 1983). She dated them to the Podzemelj horizon, *i.e.*, to the phases Ljubljana IIb and IIIa (Ha B3/C1, 800–650 BC). Considering the grave finds from Kranj, she emphasized the northern Adriatic connections and drew attention to the material from the Late Hallstatt period and the smooth transition to the late La Tène and early Roman periods. To the known grave finds from the northern outskirts of the town, some incidental finds from the southern area named Lajh she chronologically determined either in the early (Ljubljana IIb, Ha C) or in the late Hallstatt period (Serpentine fibulae horizon – 6th century BC / Sv. Lucija IIb / second half of the 6th century, horizons of Certosa fibulae and Negova helmets). The prehistoric settlement ceramics excavated in 1984 inside the parish church (*Fig. 1:* 31) were also analysed (Modrijan 1988). Most of the material discovered there dated to Ha B3/C1, but some elements allow for an earlier dating.

After 1984, consistently preventive archaeological excavations began in Kranj accompanying the restoration of the town walls and individual municipal buildings, or the renovation and new construction of communal lines and traffic areas. As part of these interventions, archaeological field research studies of a larger or smaller scale were carried out at many locations (*Fig. 1 with the list*). Consequently, Kranj is today probably the most investigated settlement from prehistory (and Late Antiquity) in Slovenia. The results of these excavations are presented mostly in reports with only rough chronological determinations of the finds. However, three more thorough analyses were performed, important for the study of the prehistoric settlement of Kranj. Particular attention was paid to the finds from the area of Pavšlarjeva hiša (Glavni trg 18 – *Fig. 1:* 22) and dated to the Ha B3/C1 period (Rozman 2004). The remains of the buildings indicate that they were destroyed by fire during the Ha C1 phase. Some types of vessels are long-lasting, starting as early as Ha A2/B1 and last until Ha C1 and connecting Kranj with the Ruše and Ljubljana groups, Carinthia, and the middle Danube. The individual forms of the vessels evidenced that Kranj was also inhabited during the late Hallstatt and La Tène periods. Another study considers the prehistoric finds from the northern courtyard of the castle Kieselstein (*Fig. 1:* 26) (Janežič 2015; 2021). The majority dated in the Ha B3/C1 period. Radiocarbon dates point to the transition time between the 9th and 8th centuries BC with the highest percentage of probability. The

prehistoric remains reflect intense connections with Ljubljana and Štajerska/Styria, less with Carinthia. Individual finds have earlier provenance (*e.g.*, bronze pin), which may still belong to the Ha A1 phase (Janežič 2021). In the southern courtyard of Kieselstein (*Fig. 1:* 32), a fragment of a bronze sheet was found that probably belongs to the late Hallstatt period. It bears an ornament, such as was used to decorate the Negova helmets (Sagadin 2008a, Pl. 9: 2).

Material from protective excavations in 2010 in Savska cesta 10 (*Fig. 1:* 35) was also discussed in detail. There were identified five buildings built in three phases (Gruden 2016). The analysis of the pottery indicated settlement at this location in the chronological phase Ha B3/C0 or Ljubljana II–IIIa (Podzemelj 1 and 2). The connections of the material with Bled, Ljubljana, Štajerska/Styria and Dolenjska are obvious. There are no finds from the late Hallstatt period, indicating that the settlement in Kranj ceased after the Ha C1 phase (Gruden 2016).

More recent field research into the prehistoric settlement in the area of the old centre of Kranj (*Fig. 1:* 12–43) is presented mostly in unpublished reports or in short notes (see *fig. 1*). It reveals that the settlement in the period Ha B3/C1 covered the entire area of the later medieval town, and also encompassed the slopes of the left bank of the Sava River. Even in the north, the early Hallstatt settlement probably exceeded the boundaries of the later town. On the western edge of the settlement, numerous fragments of prehistoric pottery typical of the Ha B3/C1 period were discovered (*Fig. 1:* 17), as well as two animal figurines and two bronze pins with a conical head. During the protective excavation that followed, a hoard of approx. 22 kg of bronze ingots, fragments of axes, spears, and sickles was found (Josipovič, Sagadin 2001).

For such a large settlement, the number of associated graves discovered along the northern edge seems small, but this area was less well investigated. Finds that could be earlier than Ha B3/C1 are few, so it seems that the Iron Age settlement did not arise solely from its own roots. All authors emphasize connections with Ljubljana and Štajerska/Styria, some also with the middle Danube and Carinthia. The contemporaneous large settlement on the hill Šmarjetna gora (*Fig. 2:* 4) also speaks in favour of the influx of new population. Apparently, the settlement reached its peak sometime in the Ha C1 period and then declined, as the finds from the late Hallstatt period are less numerous.

A rather large prehistoric settlement lies on the nearby Šmarjetna gora (*Fig. 2:* 4), where artificial terraces are clearly visible, especially on the lower, southeastern peak. The finds from this area allow dating to the period Ha B3/C1 (Sagadin 1987). At its southern foot, traces of another prehistoric settlement were revealed (*Fig. 2:* 5), the pottery from this location dated presumably in the Hallstatt period (Sagadin 1988a). At the southern foot of Šmarjetna gora, there is a long-known tumulus cemetery in Torkla (*Fig. 2:* 5 – Valič 1975). There incidentally a Certosa fibula of type XIII from the late Hallstatt period was found. Further to the south, thirteen flat incineration graves from the early Hallstatt period were discovered in 1898 in Stražišče (*Fig. 2:* 6 – Valič 1975; Škvor Jernejčič 2017); the amount graves destroyed during later construction interventions is not known. Three larger mounds were registered in Zgornje Bitnje (*Fig. 2:* 7 – Valič 1975). Finds from this area show that burials in the larger mounds appeared in the late Hallstatt period. The remains of a prehistoric settlement are also recorded in the area of the village of Drulovka (*Fig. 2:* 8); the numerous fragments of ceramic vessels from this area date in the Ha B3/C1 period (Josipovič 1988). On the edge of the present-day village, a small mound was excavated, in which a bronze socketed axe was found (Valič 1960–1961; 1982 – dated in Ha B). The small hill Gradišče in Spodnja Besnica near Kranj (*Fig. 2:* 9) was also inhabited in prehistoric times (Ha B3/C1? – Sagadin 1988b). These archaeological sites indicate that the surroundings of Kranj were also quite intensively inhabited during the early and late Hallstatt periods.

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Železnodobni gomili na Godeško-Reteških dobravah pri Škofji Loki

Two Early Iron Age tumuli at Godeško-Reteške dobrave near Škofja Loka

Barbara BREZIGAR

Izvleček

V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati izkopavanja dveh starejšeželeznodobnih gomil G 21 in G 22, ki pripadata gomilnemu grobišču na Godeško-Reteških dobravah pri Škofji Loki. Gomili sta bili raziskani leta 2020 v okviru zaščitnih arheoloških izkopavanj, ki so potekala zaradi širitve industrijske cone Trata. V gomili G 21 so bili odkriti trije žgani grobovi, od tega eden s pridatkom železne sulične osti, železne plavutaste sekire, fibulo in posodo. Na podlagi najdb so grobovi datirani v prvo polovico ali sredino 5. st. pr. n. št. V obeh gomilah so bili v nasutjih odkriti odlomki različnih keramičnih posod z rdeče-črnim premazom, drobci sežganih kosti ter posamezne najdbe železnih nožev in delov noše; gre za ostanke uničenih grobov in nakazujejo nekoliko širši časovni razpon gomil že od konca 7. ali 6. st. pr. n. št. naprej.
Ključne besede: Slovenija; Gorenjska; Godešič; Trata; starejša železna doba; gomile; gomilno grobišče; žgani grobovi

Abstract

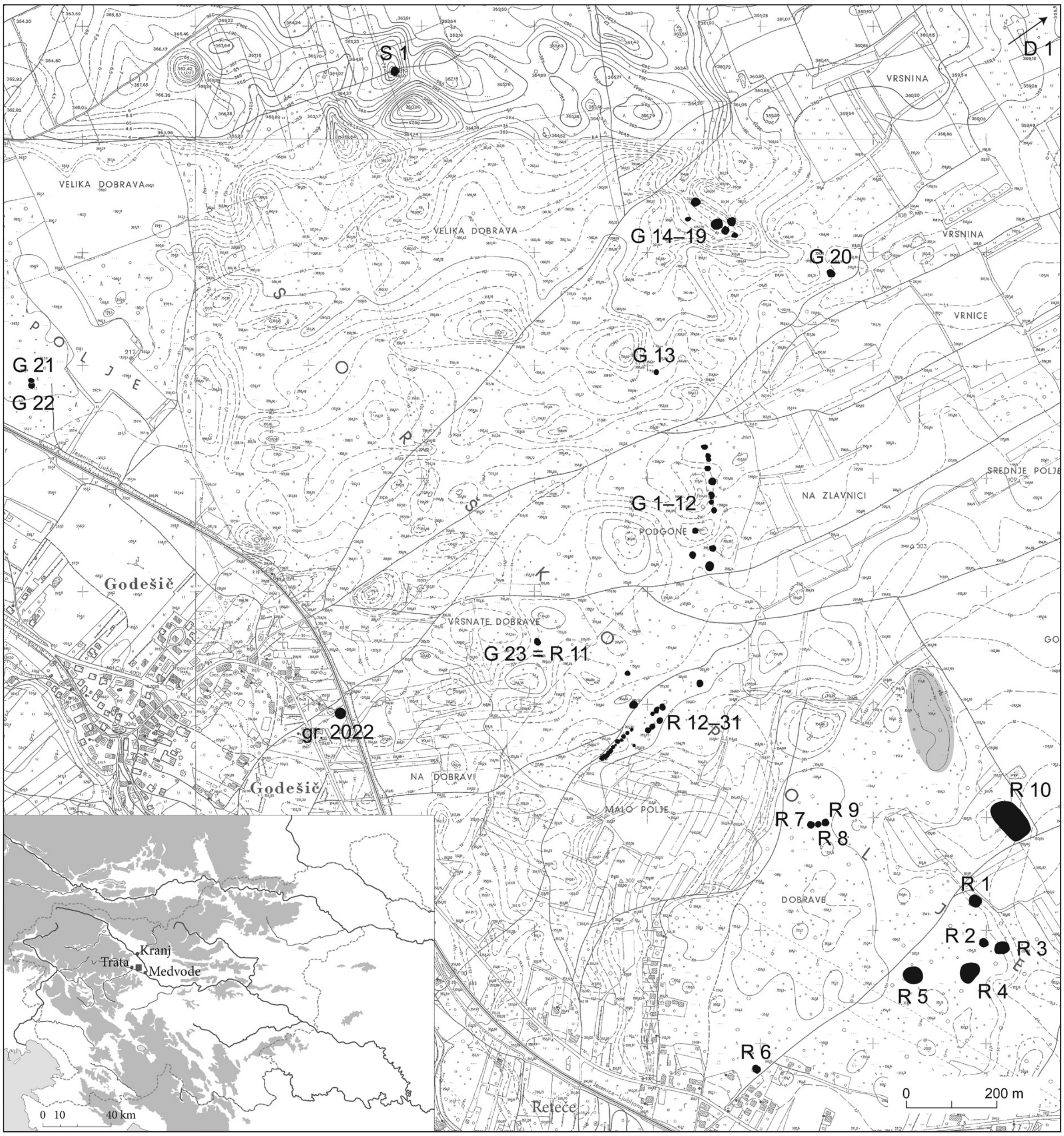
The article presents the results of the excavations of two Early Iron Age tumuli, G 21 and G 22, belonging to the tumuli burial ground at Godeško-Reteške dobrave near Škofja Loka. The tumuli were excavated in 2020 as part of rescue excavations carried out due to the expansion of the Trata industrial zone. In tumulus G 21, three cremation graves were discovered, one of which contained grave goods in the form of an iron spearhead, an iron winged axe, a fibula and a vessel. Based on the finds, the graves are dated to the first half or mid-5th century BC. Furthermore, in the fills of both tumuli, fragments of different pottery vessels with red-black paint, fragments of burnt bones, and individual finds of iron knives and parts of attire were found. This finds most likely originate from destroyed graves and indicate the possibility of a somewhat broader time span of the tumuli from the end of the 7th or 6th century BC on.
Keywords: Slovenia; Gorenjska region; Godešič; Trata; Early Iron Age; tumuli; tumuli cemetery; cremation graves

Med arheološkimi raziskavami zaradi širitve industrijske cone Trata – Filc pri Škofji Loki je bila odkrita do zdaj neznana bronastodobna nižinska naselbina, na mestu katere sta bili v času starejše železne dobe nasuti dve gomili.[1] Naselbinske najdbe so iz časa pozne srednje bronaste dobe in niso predmet tega prispevka. V članku so predstavljeni le rezultati izkopavanj železnodobnih gomil.

[1] Predhodne arheološke raziskave je izvedlo podjetje Arheoterra, d. o. o., leta 2017 (Kovač 2017, neobjavljeno poročilo); sledila so zaščitna arheološka izkopavanja, ki jih je med letoma 2018 in 2020 opravilo podjetje Avgusta, d. o. o. (neobjavljeni poročili: Brezigar, Klokočovnik 2018; Brezigar 2021) pod nadzorom pristojnih konservatork Mije Topličanec z Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine OE Ljubljana, mag. Judite Lux z Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine OE Kranj, strokovna svetovalka nadzornicama je bila Lucija Grahek, ZRC SAZU.

GEOGRAFSKA LEGA NAJDIŠČA

Gomili pripadata obsežnemu gomilnemu grobišču na Godeško-Reteških dobravah, ki leži na valovitem ravninskem svetu Sorškega polja (*sl. 1*). Sorško polje je ravnica, ki položno pada od Kranja proti Godešiču in Medvodam. Površje ravnice je mlajšepleistocenski vršaj Save. Iz prodnate ravnice se dvigajo starejšepleistocenske nizke valovite terase, prekrite z debelo plastjo gline s prodniki. Ena od teh teras je Velika Dobrava med Godešičem in Retečami, ki je na zahodni strani zamejena s



Sl. 1: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Lega gomil starejše železne dobe, domnevne železnodobne naselbine (označena s sivo barvo) in prazgodovinskega groba, odkritega leta 2022 (gr. 2022).
Fig. 1: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. The position of Early Iron Age tumuli, location of the presumed Iron Age settlement (marked grey) and a prehistoric grave discovered in 2022 (gr. 2022).

G = Godešič; **R** = Reteče; **D** = Dorfarje; **S** = Suha
(črka pred zaporedno številko gomile predstavlja začetnico imena katastrske občine, kjer se gomila nahaja / The letter in front of the serial number of the tumulus stands for the initial of the cadastral unit in which the tumulus is located)
(vir / source: TTN5©GURS; Ramšak 2009, 36, sl. 1, in / and Orehek *et al*. 2022, neobjavljeno poročilo / unpublished report)

potokom Žabnica, edinim površinskim tokom na Sorškem polju, na južni strani pa se strmo spusti proti globoko zarezani dolini Sore.[2]

Pod glino in prodom, ki prekriva ravne dele polja, leži konglomerat, ki sestavlja omenjene terase in ponekod izdanja na površje, npr. v kanjonu Žabnice – ta je od lokacije obravnavanih dveh gomil oddaljen približno 300 m proti zahodu.[3]

Večina gomil, ki ležijo v strnjenih skupinah, leži jugovzhodno od naselja Trata v smeri proti Godešiču in Retečam.[4] Proti severovzhodu sta v trenutnem stanju raziskav prepoznani le dve posamezni gomili, ki sta prav tako kilometer oz. skoraj dva oddaljeni od drugih gomil.[5]

ZGODOVINA RAZISKAV

Gomilno grobišče na Godeško-Reteških dobravah sestavlja več posameznih skupin gomil. Skupno je danes prepoznanih 55 gomil (*sl. 1*),[6] a naj bi jih bilo po nepreverjenih podatkih okoli 150, širile pa naj bi se proti severu vse do naselja Drulovka pri Kranju.[7]

Šest gomil je bilo v preteklosti že raziskanih in so datirane v čas od 7. do 5. st. pr. n. št. Izkopavanje ene od gomil na območju R 1‑6 za vasjo Reteče je omogočil odvetnik Niko Lenček leta 1936 ali 1939. Ta gomila je bila leta 1940 ponovno raziskana pod vodstvom Rajka Ložarja iz Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani, poleg nje pa še ena – R 20. Leta 1958 je France Leben v okviru Sekcije za arheologijo pri SAZU v Ljubljani in v sodelovanju z Loškim muzejem raziskal štiri gomile, in sicer R 19 (A), R 18 (B), R 22 (C) in G 3 (D).[8]

Gomili G 21 in G 22 sta bili izkopani leta 2020 v okviru zaščitnih arheoloških izkopavanj pri širjenju industrijske cone Trata. Izkopavanja je izvedlo podjetje Avgusta, d. o. o., pod vodstvom Barbare Brezigar.

Leta 2022 je bil med arheološkimi raziskavami v okviru državnega prostorskega načrta za železniško progo Ljubljana–Kranj–Jesenice odkrit prazgodovinski žarni grob z odlomki keramične posode – žare ter drobci sežganih kosti.[9] Gre za osamljen žarni grob, ki bi lahko pripadal železnodobnemu grobišču na Godeško-Reteških dobravah bodisi kot plan žgani grob in s tem primer drugačnega načina pokopa glede na pokope pod gomilo bodisi kot ostanek groba iz danes zravnane gomile, kar bi nakazovala plitka pojavnost ostankov žare in delna uničenost groba s kmetijsko obdelavo.

GOMILI G 21 IN G 22[10]

Oznaka gomil, raziskanih leta 2020, je prevzeta po Erženu in Ramšakovi, kjer je severna gomila označena kot G 21, južna pa kot G 22 (*sl. 2*).[11] Pred začetkom izkopavanja sta bili gomili izmerjeni in fotografsko dokumentirani. Ob njuni ponovni izmeri je bilo ugotovljeno, da dimenzije gomile G 21 ustrezajo meram severne gomile iz leta 2007, medtem ko dimenzije južne gomile, označene kot G 22, precej odstopajo od starejših meritev.

Gomila G 21 (*sl. 3A, B*)
Parc. št. 162/1, k. o. Godešič, severna gomila
1963: pr. 15 m; viš. 1,5 m
2007: pr. 13,64 m; viš. 0,77 m
2020: pr. 13,82 m; viš. 0,77 m

Gomila G 22 (*sl. 3A, C*)
Parc. št. 162/1, k. o. Godešič, južna gomila
1963: pr. 10 m; viš. 1 m
2007: pr. 10,25 m; viš. 0,69 m
2020: pr. 14,29 m; viš. 1 m, na vrhu gomile vidna rahla vdrtina zaradi roparskega vkopa

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[2] Žlebnik 1975, 260.

[3] Žlebnik 1975, 261.

[4] V Registru kulturne dediščine (RKD 2022) je ta sklop gomil evidentiran kot Gomilno grobišče Godešič – Arheološko najdišče Podgone, EŠD 12124.

[5] V Registru kulturne dediščine imata gomili oznako Trata – Prazgodovinska gomila, EŠD 14597, in Meja – Prazgodovinska gomila, EŠD 12134. Glej še Ramšak 2009.

[6] Ramšak 2009, 33, sl. 1.

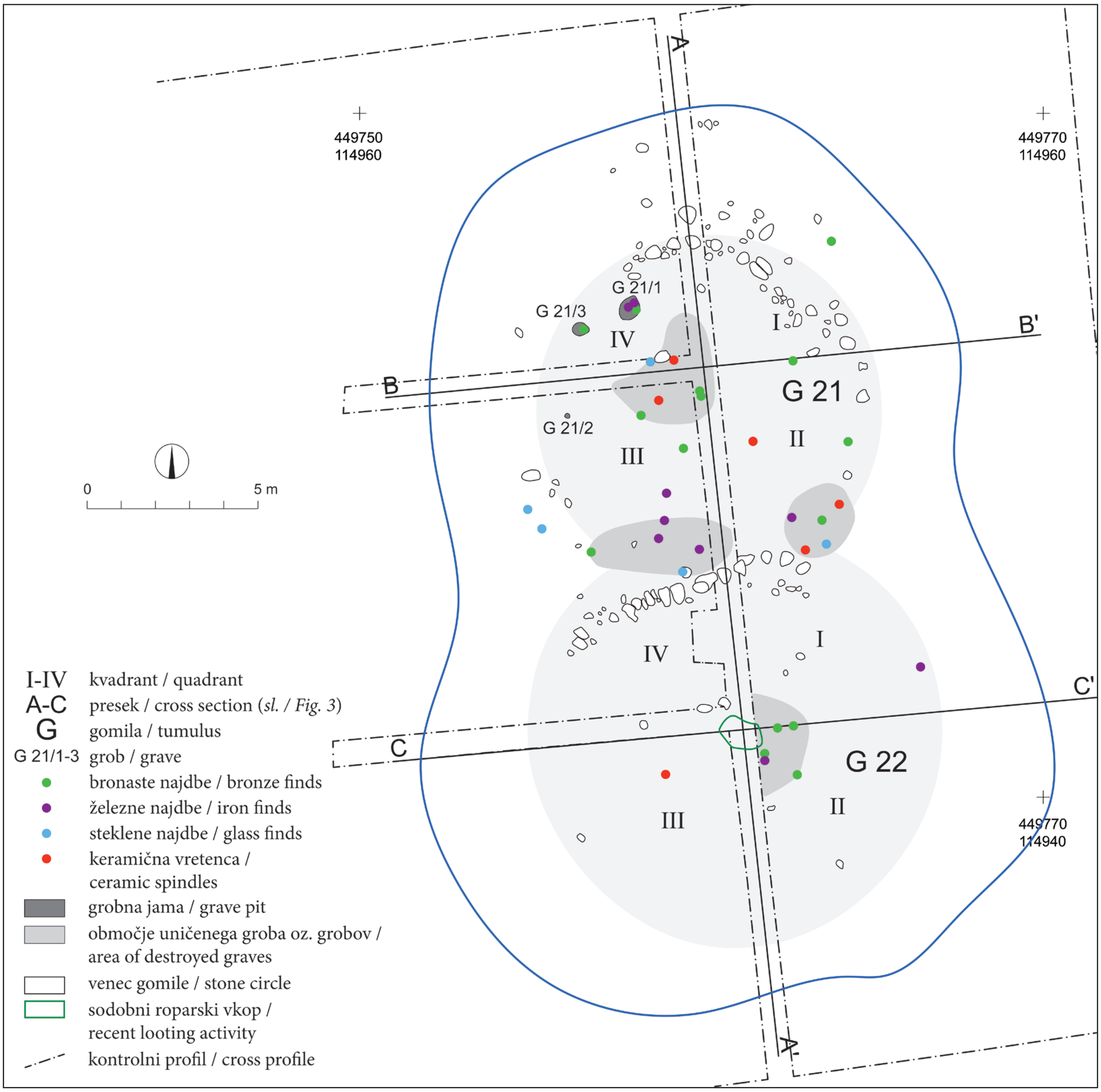
[7] Eržen 1963, 74.

[8] Gorišek 1956, 264; Leben 1959, 88‑90; Šubic 1998; Šubic 1999, 228; Rant 2000, 190; Leben 2001, 46; Ramšak 2009, 39‑53. Gomile, raziskane l. 1958, so bile označene s črkami A, B, C in D. Oštevilčenje gomil in z oznako katastrskih občin (R = k. o. Reteče; G = k. o. Godešič; D = k. o. Dorfarje; S = k. o. Suha) je l. 1963 naredil Janez Eržen po topografskem pregledu gomilnega grobišča, med katerim je bilo prepoznanih 54 gomil (Eržen 1963, neobjavljeno poročilo).

[9] Orehek *et al.* 2022, 18 (neobjavljeno poročilo).

[10] Gomili G 21 in G 22 sta bili v Registru kulturne dediščine vpisani pod EŠD 12123 Godešič – Arheološko najdišče Godeške Dobrave.

[11] Gomile je l. 1963 označil Janez Eržen (Eržen 1963 neobjavljeno poročilo). Alenka Ramšak je v okviru diplomske naloge opravila topografijo in geodetske izmere gomil ter na podlagi primerjave dimenzij v seznamu iz l. 1963 izdelala načrt (Ramšak 2009, 36, sl. 1). Kopijo Erženovega načrta in elaborata iz l. 1963 sem dobila v vpogled po zaključku terenskih del, tako da primerjava prvotnega načrta in opisov gomil s stanjem na terenu ni bila izvedena. Po pregledu opisa gomil G 21 in G 22 ter načrta niso bila ugotovljena odstopanja od podatkov, ki jih povzema Ramšakova.



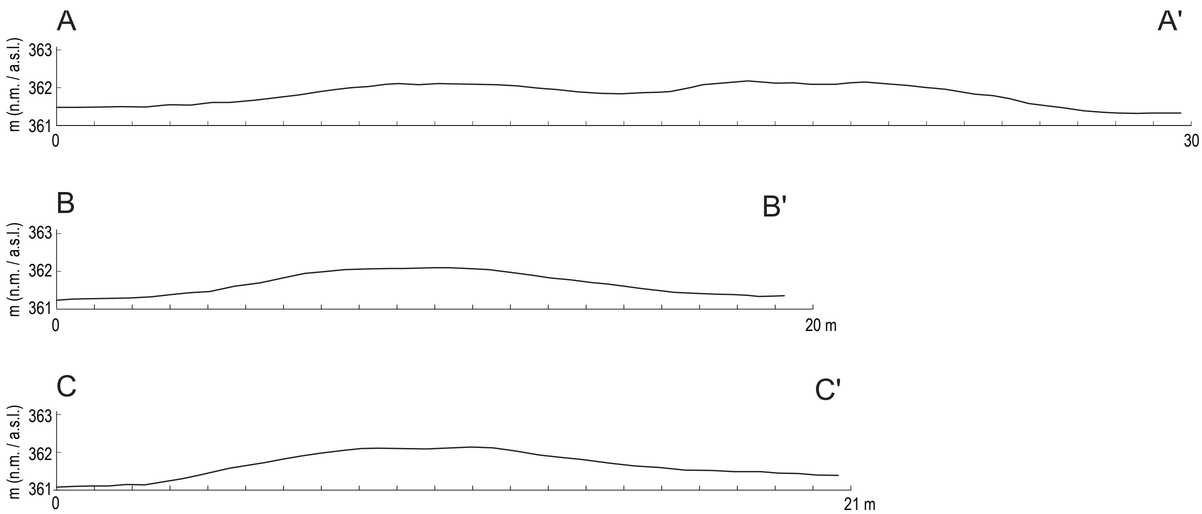
Sl. 2: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Tloris gomil G 21 in G 22.
Fig. 2: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Ground plan of tumuli G 21 and G.

Gomili G 21 in G 22 sta ležali druga zraven druge v manjšem gozdu z ledinskim imenom Kozinov boršt severno ob železniški progi Škofja Loka–Ljubljana in vzhodno od naselja Trata. Nasuti sta bili na pretežno ravnem terenu blizu roba manjše terase, ki se zalomi južno od gomil. V smeri zahoda se teren začne naravno rahlo spuščati proti potoku Žabnica.

Gomili sta se stikali, kar je najverjetneje posledica tega, da sta se sčasoma nekoliko znižali in razlezli. Po legi ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti, katera gomila je bila nasuta prva.

Premer severne gomile G 21 znaša 13,82 m, v višino je ohranjena 0,77 m, južna gomila G 22 pa je s premerom 14,29 m nekoliko večja in ohranjena v višino 1 m. Na vrhu G 22 je opazna rahla vdrtina, ki se je izkazala za posledico modernega roparskega vkopa v središče gomile.

Izkopavanje gomil je potekalo hkratno in z ohranjanjem kontrolnih presekov v smeri S–J čez obe gomili ter prečnih profilov pravokotno nanj v smeri Z–V na zahodni polovici izkopa (*sl. 3; 4*). Kontrolni preseki so bili odstranjeni ob koncu izkopavanj. Vsaka gomila je bila razdeljena na štiri kvadrante. Kvadrant I je bil določen v severovzhodnem delu gomile, kvadrant II označuje jugovzhodni del, kvadrant III jugozahodni del in kvadrant IV severozahodni del gomile (*sl. 2*).



Sl. 3: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Gomili G 21 in G 22. A – A' presek S–J čez obe gomili; B – B' presek Z–V čez gomilo G 21; C – C' presek Z–V čez gomilo G 22.
Fig. 3: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Tumuli G 21 and G 22. A – A' cross-section N–S across both tumuli; B – B' cross-section W–E across tumulus G 21; C – C' cross-section W–E across tumulus G 22.

Sl. 4: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Gomili G 21 in G 22 z ohranjenimi prečnimi profili: **a** – pogled proti jugu; **b** – pogled od zgoraj.
Fig. 4: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Tumuli G 21 and G 22 with preserved cross profiles: **a** – a view towards the south; **b** – a view from above.

Nasutja gomil so bila raziskana stratigrafsko s postopnim odstranjevanjem posameznih plasti in poglabljanjem plašča gomile po režnjih debeline 5–10 cm ter hkratnim strganjem površine do pojava posameznih sledov ostalin ali grobov.

Gomili sta bili prekriti z močno prekoreninjenim gozdnim humusom debeline do 10 cm, pod njim je bila tanjša podpovršinska humusna plast debeline 10–15 cm, ki je prav tako prekrivala obe gomili.

Gomilno nasutje je bilo homogeno iz mehke meljaste zemljine brez kamenja in vidnih sprememb v plasti zaradi nasipanja ali morebitnih vkopov. Izjema je sodobni roparski vkop v sredino gomile G 22. V nasutjih gomil so se pojavljale raztresene najdbe, med temi prevladujejo odlomki keramičnih posod, različnih kovinskih najdb in steklenih jagod, ki jih lahko datiramo v čas železne dobe, najverjetneje izvirajo iz uničenih in prekopanih žganih grobov. Pojavljali pa so se tudi številni odlomki bronastodobne lončenine, kar kaže, da zemljina za nasutje gomil izvira iz neposredne bližine, kjer se je razprostirala bronastodobna naselbina.[12] Osnovo, na katero sta bili gomili nasuti, predstavlja plast rumenkasto rjave ilovnate zemljine – vanjo so bili vkopani bronastodobni objekti – in je po strukturi in barvi enaka nasutju gomil.

[12] Bronastodobna lončenina iz nasutja gomil ni prikazana na tablah. Glede na analogije je primerljiva s keramiko iz naselbine na tem mestu, ki je preliminarno datirana v čas pozne srednje bronaste dobe (Brezigar, Klokočovnik 2018, neobjavljeno poročilo; Brezigar 2021, neobjavljeno poročilo).

Gomili sta imeli delno ohranjena kamnita venca. Okoli gomile G 21 je bil venec strnjeno ohranjen le na severnem in severovzhodnem obodu gomile, kjer se pojavlja na globini 20–40 cm pod površjem. Na preostalem delu nakazujejo potek oboda gomile le posamezni kamni. Kamnit venec gomile G 22 je bil prav tako strnjeno ohranjen le na severnem in severozahodnem delu oboda. Na stiku z gomilo G 21 so kamni ležali nekoliko globlje, na globini 69–78 cm. Posamezni kamni so ležali tudi zunaj linije venca v notranjosti obeh gomil.

Za venec so bili uporabljeni skoraj izključno veliki konglomeratni kamni, ki so bili očitno prineseni od drugod, saj se konglomerat na tej lokaciji ne pojavlja. Njegov izvor lahko iščemo v bližnjem kanjonu Žabnice, približno 350 m zahodno od lokacije gomil, kjer izdanja in se pojavlja že na površju.

Pod površinsko plastjo sta se okoli gomil pokazala koncentrična pasova temnejše obarvane zemljine, ta je prekrivala in na zunanji strani obdajala kamnit venec oz. obod gomil. Gre za del nasutja gomil, ki je sčasoma erodiral in se akumuliral ob njunem vznožju. Tako kot v nasutju gomil so se sporadične najdbe pojavljale tudi v tem temnem pasu okoli njih in najverjetneje izhajajo iz uničenih železnodobnih grobov.

Sl. 5: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Gomila G 21, grob 1.
Fig. 5: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Tumulus G 21, grave 1.

Sl. 6: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Gomila G 21, grob 2.
Fig. 6: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Tumulus G 21, grave 2.

Sl. 7: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Gomila G 21, grob 3.
Fig. 7: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Tumulus G 21, grave 3.

Grobovi

V gomili G 21 so se ohranili trije grobovi. Označeni so kot grob G 21/1, grob G 21/2 in grob G 21/3, medtem ko se v gomili G 22 ni ohranil niti en grob (*sl. 2*).

Grobovi so ležali znotraj venca na severozahodnem delu gomile G 21. Vkopani so bili v nasutje gomile in delno vkopani še v plast pod nasutjem. Ker se zasutja grobov niso razlikovala od gomilnega nasutja, vkopa in oblike grobne jame ni bilo mogo**če** določiti, grobovi so bili prepoznani šele po grobnih pridatkih ali žganini.

Grob G 21/1 (*sl. 2*: kv. IV; *5*; *t. 1*: 1–4)

Žgani grob. Vrh groba se je pojavil 35 cm pod površjem gomile, dno pa na globini 52 cm.

Velikost in oblika grobne jame nista določljivi, ker vkop ni bil viden. Najdbe in posamezni drobci sežganih kosti so ležali na površini velikosti 70 × 50 cm. V grob je bila pridana keramična posoda (*t. 1*: 1), ob kateri je bila na dnu grobne jame žganina, na vrhu te je ležala bronasta fibula (*sl. 8*: a; *t. 1*: 2). Nekaj sežganih kosti je bilo tudi v posodi. Zvita in razlomljena sulična ost je ležala ob posodi nad žganino, železna sekira pa je bila ob sulični osti zasajena v tla (*sl. 5*; *t. 1*: 3,4).

Pridatki orožja v grobu kažejo na pokop moške osebe.[13]

[13] Na podlagi antropološke analize vzorca žganine iz groba G 21/1 spol in starost osebe nista določljiva. Antropološko analizo kostnih ostankov je opravila dr.

Grob G 21/2 (*sl. 2*: kv. III; *6*; *t. 1*: 5)

Žarni grob. Vrh groba se je pojavil na globini 40 cm pod površjem gomile. Glede na linijo poteka oboda gomile je ležal na notranji strani venca, ki je bil tu sicer slabše ohranjen.

V grobni jami je bilo dno keramičnega lonca s sežganimi kostmi, lonec predstavlja žaro (*sl. 6*; *t. 1*: 5). Posamezni drobci sežganih kosti so se pojavljali tudi v zemljini ob žari. Drugih pridatkov v grobu ni bilo.

Lonec oz. njegovo dno je ohranjeno do višine 6 cm. Manjkajoč zgornji del posode kaže na možnost, da je bil grob že poškodovan, čeprav vkopa oz. poškodbe groba ni bilo mogoče razpoznati.

Antropološka analiza kostnih ostankov kaže na pokop odrasle osebe, spol ni določljiv.

Grob G 21/3 (*sl. 2*: kv. IV; *7*; *t. 1*: 6)

Žgani grob. Tudi ta je ležal na notranji strani venca gomile G 21. Vrh groba se je pojavil na globini 48 cm pod površjem, dno pa na globini 62 cm. Vkopan je bil v plast, na katero je bila gomila nasuta.

V grobni jami je bila samo žganina, na njej je ležala bronasta fibula (*sl. 7*; *8:* b; *t. 1*: 6). Žganinska plast s sežganimi kostmi in drobci oglja je obsegala površino 40 × 37 cm.

Antropološka analiza kostnih ostankov kaže na pokop verjetno odrasle osebe nedoločljivega spola.

Območja uničenih grobov in raztresene najdbe v gomilah

V nasutjih obeh gomil je bilo odkrito večje število značilnih železnodobnih grobnih najdb (*t. 2–5*). Raztresene najdbe v gomilnih nasutjih si je mogoče razlagati kot ostanke posebnih obredij, npr. odlomke posod kot ostanke daritev ob pogrebnih slovesnostih,[14] vendar distribucija, močna fragmentiranost keramičnih in kovinskih najdb, predvsem pa prisotnost sežganih kosti kažejo, da gre najverjetneje za najdbe iz poškodovanih in uničenih grobov. Homogenost nasutja obeh gomil in odsotnost vidnih roparskih vkopov bi lahko bili pokazatelj, da naj bi bili gomili v preteklosti, morda že v prazgodovini, izropani. Pomenljivo se zdi, da sta bili gomili po roparskih posegih ponovno nasuti. Dokaza, kdaj in s kakšnim namenom se je to zgodilo, nimamo, morda se je s tem zakrilo dejanje ropanja gomil. V gomilo G 22 je bilo ponovno poseženo v sodobnem času, o čemer priča vkop v njeno sredino.

Zgostitev najdb in sežganih kosti je bila zaznana na več mestih, predvsem v središču obeh gomil ter na južnem obodu gomile G 21 (*sl. 2*), glede na prisotnost sežganih kosti so bila ta območja opredeljena kot ostanki uničenega groba oz. grobov.

V sredini gomile G 21 so bili odkriti odlomki štirih ali petih posod z rdečim ali rdeče-črnim premazom (*t. 2*: 1–5), odlomki dveh drugih keramičnih posod (*t. 2*: 6–7), deli vsaj dveh fibul (*t. 2*: 8–10), železen okov (*t. 2*: 11) in štiri vretenca – od teh je eno iz steklene paste, preostala so keramična (*t. 2*: 12–15).

Na sredini gomile G 22 pa so bili odkriti odlomki posode z rdeče-črnim premazom (*t. 2*: 16), noga certoške fibule (*t. 2*: 17) in dva kosa železnega noža (*t. 2*: 18). Manjša količina najdb na tem območju je verjetno posledica sodobnega ropanja gomile.

Na južnem obodu gomile G 21 so bili na notranji strani venca na večji površini odkriti številni odlomki rdeče in rdeče-črno slikane keramike, ki pripadajo vsaj štirim različnim posodam (*t. 3*: 1–2,4–5), odlomki lonca s poudarjenim ramenom (*t. 3*: 8) in loncev z okrasom na ramenu posode v obliki vzporednih kanelur (*t. 3*: 7), kakršen se pojavlja tudi na loncu iz groba G 21/1 (*t. 1*: 1), ali z okrasom odtisov in vbodov ter v nekaterih primerih v kombinaciji z metličenjem zunanje in notranje površine (*t. 3*: 3,6). Med najdbami sta tudi dve keramični vretenci (*t. 3*: 11–12) in rezilo ukrivljenega železnega noža (*t. 3*: 14). Od pridatkov noše je bil odkrit majhen odlomek narebrene zapestnice (*t. 3*: 13). Te najdbe in sežgane kosti, ki so verjetno ostanki uničenih grobov, so ležale v zemljini iste barve in konsistence, kot je nasutje gomil.

Močno fragmentirane najdbe so se sporadično pojavljale tudi v nasutjih gomil in v erodirani temni plasti, ki se je naložila ob vznožju obeh gomil. Med najdbami so pogosti odlomki lončenine z rdeče-črnim premazom (*t. 4*: 1–4; *5*: 1–4,6,8–9)[15] in odlomki trebušastih loncev (*t. 4*: 7; *5*: 5). Z enim primerkom je zastopana oblika lonca z navznoter

Petra Leben-Seljak, fizična antropologinja, Avgusta, d. o. o. Skupno je bilo pregledanih 6 vzorcev žganine, vsi so vsebovali človeške kosti. Za vse vzorce sta značilni zelo nizka teža in močna fragmentacija, barva žganine pa kaže na kremacijo ob zelo visoki temperaturi. Sodeč po nizki teži (grob G 21/1: 6 g, grob G 21/2: 115 g, grob G 21/3: 54 g) so žganine vsebovale le majhen del celotnega skeleta (Leben-Seljak, 2022, neobjavljeno poročilo).

[14] Tecco Hvala, Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 119.

[15] Odlomki posode, prikazane na *t. 5*: 1–4, so bili raztreseni v nasutju gomile G 22 in ne pripadajo nujno eni posodi.

nagnjenim ustjem, ki ima pod robom ustja viden del vtisnjenega okrasa (*t. 4*: 5). V nasutju gomile G 21 so bili odkriti še odlomek bronaste narebrene zapestnice (*t. 4*: 11) in steklena jagoda (*t. 4*: 10) ter odlomki rezil treh ukrivljenih železnih nožev (*t. 4*: 12–14). V nasutju gomile G 22 je bila na vzhodnem obodu gomile odkrita železna rombična pasna spona (*t. 5*: 12), na drugih mestih v nasutju pa še odlomek bronastega predmeta, morda del loka certoške fibule ali gladke bronaste zapestnice (*t. 5*: 10), in odlomek železnega paličastega predmeta kvadratnega preseka, morda del šila (*t. 5*: 11).

Odlomki keramičnih posod in različnih delov noše ter orodja ali orožja so običajni pridatki v halštatskodobnih grobovih. Tudi v erodirani plasti temne zemljine, ki se je akumulirala ob vznožju gomil, so bili najdeni podobni predmeti, npr. odlomek narebrene zapestnice (*t. 4*: 15), lok fibule (*t. 4*: 16), železen nož z ukrivljenim rezilom (*t. 4*: 18) in železno sulično kopito (*t. 4*: 19) ter odlomki steklenih jagod istega tipa, kot je steklena jagoda, odkrita v nasutju gomile G 21 (*t. 4*: 17, *sl. 10*). Posebej zanimiva in izpovedna je raztresenost steklenih jagod po celotnem južnem obodu gomile G 21, pri čemer je bila ena cela jagoda najdena v nasutju gomile v drugi četrtini gomile G 21 (*t. 4*: 10), ena cela (*t. 4*: 17) ter več fragmentov ene ali več jagod istega tipa pa raztresenih na večji površini znotraj pasu akumulirane temne zemljine ob vznožju gomile G 21 v tretji četrtini gomile.

OPREDELITEV NAJDB, GROBOV IN GOMIL

Keramične najdbe

Keramika z rdeče-črnim premazom

Med odlomki lončenine je največ rdeče-črno slikane keramike. Ta keramika je vezana na posoški – svetolucijski in venetski prostor oz. območji Padove in Est. Izdelana je na lončarskem kolesu, zanjo je značilno tudi, da se rdeča in črna barva izmenjujeta v pasovih, ki so včasih ločeni z rebri.[16] Na ozemlju današnje Slovenije se pojavi proti koncu 7. in v 6. st. pr. n. št. tako v svetolucijskem kot dolenjskem kulturnem krogu.[17]

Število odlomkov različnih ustij kaže, da so bile posode z rdeče-črnim premazom pogost pridatek v obravnavanih gomilah. Razločimo lahko ostanke vsaj 13 posod z različno oblikovanimi ustji, verjetno pa ohranjeni odlomki pripadajo še več različnim posodam. Med oblikami posod z rdeče-črnim premazom lahko prepoznamo ciborije *(t. 2*: 1; *3*: 1; *5*: 2) in sklede (*t. 2*: 4; *3*: 4; *4*: 2). V večini primerov imajo zunanjo površino v celoti prevlečeno z rdečim premazom, prek tega je v pasovih nanesena srebrno siva barva, ki se je slabše ohranila, redkeje črna. V posameznih primerih so pasovi črne barve ločeni z rebri (*t. 4*: 4; *5*: 6,14), le v enem primeru je naslikan mrežast ornament (*t. 5*: 13).

Slikanje keramike je izrazit mladohalštatski način okraševanja posod. Na Dolenjskem se pojavi v fazi Stična 2, največjo priljubljenost pa doseže v kačastem in predvsem v certoškem horizontu. Slikan okras na Dolenjskem moramo povezovati z vplivi z zahoda, predvsem s svetolucijsko skupino in prek nje z estenskim prostorom.[18] Odlomek z mrežastim ornamentom iz gomile G 22 v Godeško-Reteških dobravah (*t. 5*: 13) bi lahko bil import iz estenskega prostora.[19] Na slikani keramiki dolenjske skupine je mrežast ornament redek,[20] pogosteje ga srečamo v svetolucijski skupini.[21]

Na Mostu na Soči se slikane posode, večkrat gre za situle, pojavljajo v več kot polovici primerov kot edini grobni pridatek ali kot edina slikana posoda v grobu, lahko v kombinaciji z drugim tipom posode, npr. latvico ali skodelo.[22]

Odlomki iz obravnavanih gomil pripadajo ciborijem in skledam. Ciborij je na Dolenjskem pogost tip posode in je glede na raznolikost oblik verjetno izdelek domačih delavnic.[23] V svetolucijski skupini se ta oblika pojavlja redko.

Lonci

V obravnavanih gomilah so zastopani tudi nizki trebušasti lonci z izvihanim ustjem in nizko prstanasto nogo (*t. 1*: 1; *3*: 7,10) oz. rahlo vbočenim dnom (*t. 3*: 8; *4*: 7). Nekateri imajo na ramenu vodoravne ali poševne kanelure (*t. 1*: 1; *3*: 6,7; *4*: 5) ali vbode oz. vtise (*t. 3*: 3; *5*: 5), v enem primeru je pas vtisov na ramenu kombiniran

[16] Capuis 1993; Saracino 2014 , 35.

[17] Vinazza 2011, t. 9: 103; *ead*. 2021, 77–78; Tecco Hvala 2014, 335.

[18] Dular 1982, 91.

[19] Dular 1982, 137.

[20] Znan je npr. na keramični situli iz Javorja pri Ljubljani (Guštin, Knific 1973, t. 1: 1).

[21] Npr. na Mostu na Soči, kjer se večkrat pojavlja v grobovih s kačastimi fibulami (Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel, 1984, t. 59: C4; 106: F2; 177: E3; 230: A5), in v Kobaridu (Kruh 2022, t. 12: 4).

[22] Tecco Hvala 2014, 334.

[23] Dular 1982, 51 ss.

z metličenjem na zunanji in notranji površini lonca (*t. 3*: 3). Posamezno je zastopan trebušast lonec s poudarjenim ramenom (*t. 3*: 8), s po enim primerkom pa tudi lonec z navznoter nagnjenim ustjem in vtisnjenim okrasom pod njim (*t. 4*: 5) ter lonec z rahlo odebeljenim robom ustja, ki je rahlo nagnjeno navzven (*t. 2*: 6). Odlomek lonca z izvihanim ustjem in globokimi poševnimi vtisi na ramenu, kot se pojavlja tudi v obeh raziskanih gomilah (*t. 3*: 3; *5*: 5), je bil odkrit v Serminu v naselbinski plasti, datirani v 5. ali 4. st. pr. n. št.[24] Trebušasti lonci na kratki prstanasti nogi ter lonci z vbočenim dnom in poudarjenim ramenom se tako kot keramika z rdeče-črnim premazom pojavljajo v grobovih na Mostu na Soči, kjer pa na tej obliki loncev ni zaslediti okrasa vodoravnih in poševnih kanelur, vtisov ali metličenja.[25]

V grobu G 21/2 je bil za žaro uporabljen lonec z ravnim dnom, ohranil se je le njegov spodnji del (*t. 1*: 5). Ravno dno je bilo najdeno le še v enem primerku v nasutju gomile G 21 (*t. 4*: 9). Bolj značilno je nizko prstanasto ali rahlo vbočeno dno (*t. 1*: 1; *3*: 7,8,10; *4*: 7); noga nastopa le enkrat (*t. 3*: 9).

Keramična vretenca

Med keramičnimi najdbami so v večjem številu zastopana vretenca (*t. 2*: 11–15; *3*: 11–12; *5*: 7), značilen pridatek v ženskih grobovih. Pojavljajo se v različnih velikostih in oblikah, ki niso kronološko občutljive. Tudi število odkritih vretenc ni izpovedno, saj je lahko v enem grobu več primerkov.

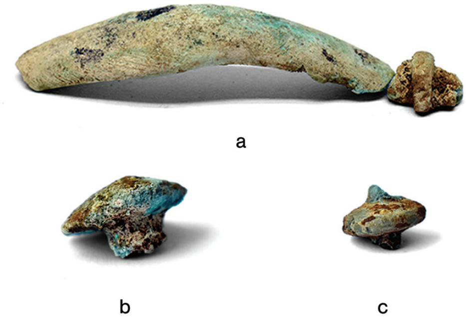
Bronaste najdbe

Fibule

Fibula iz groba G 21/1 spada med **vzhodnoalpske živalske fibule s samostrelno peresovino** (*sl. 8:* a; *t. 1*: 2). Noga fibule se zaključuje v nazaj zavito stilizirano živalsko glavico. Značilne so za širok prostor vzhodnih Alp in zahodne Panonije, kronološko pa so opredeljene v čas od druge četrtine 5. do 4. st. pr. n. št.[26]

V grobu G 21/3 je bila najdena fibula s samostrelno peresovino (*sl. 8:* b; *t. 1*: 6). Pripada **certoškim**

Sl. 8: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. **a** – vzhodnoalpska živalska fibula iz groba G 21/1 (*t. 1*: 2); **b** – certoška fibula iz groba G 21/3 (*t.1:* 6). Ni v merilu.
Fig. 8: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. **a** – Eastern-Alpine animal fibula from grave G 21/1 (*Pl. 1:* 2); **b** – a Certosa fibula from grave G 21/3 (*Pl. 1:* 6). Not to scale.



Sl. 9: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Deli fibul z območja v sredini gomile G 21: **a** – lok z rebrom certoške fibule V. vrste (*t. 2:* 8); **b** – gumb noge (*t. 2:* 9) in **c** – gumb loka (*t. 2:* 10) certoške fibule X. vrste. Ni v merilu.
Fig. 9: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Parts of fibulae from the area in the centre of tumulus G 21: **a** –bow with a rib of a Certosa fibula of type V (*Pl. 2:* 8); **b** – a knob on a foot of a fibula (*Pl. 2:* 9); c – a knob on a bow of a Certosa fibula of type X (*Pl. 2:* 10). Not to scale.

fibulam XIII. vrste, glede na kroglasto obliko gumba na nogi in prečnih reber sodi k varianti XIIIa po Teržanovi, ki je pogosta v svetolucijskem kulturnem krogu, posamezni primerki pa so znani tudi na Gorenjskem, npr. v Bitnjah in Kranju.[27] Ta vrsta fibul je mlajša v okviru certoškega horizonta, značilna za čas Sv. Lucije IIb2, v uporabi je bila še v stopnji IIc, to je v negovskem horizontu na Dolenjskem. [28]

[24] Horvat, Svetličič 1997, t. 25: 14.

[25] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984, npr. t. 8: B4; 15: A2, B3, I; 35: E; 41: D3; 42: E4; 50: A2; 57: B; 123: F; 125: C2; 139: A2; 158: A; 199: B5; 234: A8.

[26] Teržan 1990, 117, 224, karta 21; Tecco Hvala 2012, 264, sl. 99: 21.

[27] Teržan 1976, 338‒339; Gabrovec 1974, 314, t. 7: 5.

[28] Teržan 1976, 361‒362.

Na območju uničenega groba ali grobov sredi gomile G 21 je bil odkrit lok fibule s poudarjenim prečnim rebrom (*sl. 9a*; *t. 2*: 8).[29] Lok je iztegnjen in segmentnega preseka. Ti oblikovni elementi v kombinaciji s prečnim rebrom na loku so značilnosti **certoške fibule V. vrste**, ki so bile razširjene na širokem prostoru med Padom in Donavo, kjer se pojavljajo na začetku 5. st. pr. n. št. Nosile naj bi jih predvsem ženske, v moških grobovih so redke.[30]

Na istem območju sredi gomile G 21 sta bila odkrita še dva odlomka fibul, in sicer gumba, ki verjetno pripadata nogi in loku ene fibule (*sl. 9b,c*; *t. 2:* 9,10). Gobasto oblikovan gumb na nogi in razmeroma ozek ploščat gumb na loku fibule sta značilna za **certoške fibule X. vrste** variant d ali f po Teržanovi. Tudi te so značilne za pozno halštatsko obdobje.[31]

Na območju uničenega groba ali grobov na sredini gomile G 22 pa je bil odkrit odlomek noge fibule s pestičasto oblikovanim gumbom in poudarjenim prečnim rebrom na prehodu iz noge v lok (*t. 2:* 8). Glede na obliko gumba in rebra na prehodu v lok najverjetneje pripada **certoški fibuli IV.** ali **V. vrste**. Certoška fibula IV. vrste je vodilna oblika s konca 6. st. pr. n. št., medtem ko je V. vrsta nekoliko poznejša.[32]

Lok še ene fibule je bil odkrit na območju temnega pasu okoli gomile G 21. Po obliki loka segmentnega preseka je verjetno tudi ta fibula certoška, vendar je za natančnejšo opredelitev preslabo ohranjena (*t. 4*: 16). Enako velja za bronast fragment v obliki loka iz nasutja gomile G 22, ki bi lahko predstavljal odlomek certoške fibule ali gladke zapestnice (*t. 5*: 10).

Obročast nakit

Od obročastega nakita so zastopane zapestnice. Odlomki zapestnic so bili odkriti kot sporadične najdbe v nasutju gomile G 21 (*t. 4*: 11,15) ter na njenem južnem obodu, kjer naj bi bili uničeni grobovi (*t. 3*: 13). Posamezen odlomek, ki bi lahko pripadal zapestnici, je bil odkrit v nasutju gomile G 22 (*t. 5*: 10).

Gre za odlomke polnih bronastih **narebrenih zapestnic** (*t. 3*: 13; *4:* 11,15). Vsi trije primerki so bili odkriti na območju gomile G 21**,** vendar glede na obliko reber in kompozicijo okrasa z vmesnimi vrezi ne pripadajo isti zapestnici. V enem primeru (*t. 4*: 11) so med posameznimi rebri po dva ali trije vrezi, kar odlomek uvršča v različico IV po Sneži Tecco Hvala, v drugem primeru (*t. 4*: 15) gre za nesklenjeno enakomerno narebreno zapestnico različice III.[33] En odlomek narebrene zapestnice te različice je bil odkrit tudi na območju uničenega groba oz. grobov na južnem obodu gomile G 21 (*t. 3*: 13). V enem primeru bi lahko odlomek bronastega predmeta opredelili tudi kot del **gladke zapestnice** (*t. 5*: 10), vendar zaradi slabe ohranjenosti natančnejša opredelitev ni mogoča; lahko bi šlo tudi za prej omenjeni odlomek loka certoške fibule. Odkrita je bila v nasutju gomile G 22.

Narebren stil je značilen za ženski nakit dolenjske halštatske skupine, kjer se je pojavil že v stopnji Stična in ostal v uporabi v različnih variantah do negovskega horizonta.[34] Na najdiščih gorenjske kulturne skupine so narebrene zapestnice redke. Na Godeško-Reteških dobravah je bila podobna zapestnica odkrita v domnevnem ženskem grobu v gomili G 3 (D).[35]

Železne najdbe

Pasna spona

Edina odkrita pasna spona je bila najdena v nasutju gomile G 22 (*t. 5*: 12). Pripada tipu železne rombične pasne spone, na enem koncu je zavita v kavelj, na drugem pa razcepljena v dva kraka.

Železne rombične pasne spone so nosili tako moški kot ženske. Pogoste so v dolenjski halštatski skupini v stopnji kačastih fibul in zgodnjem certoškem horizontu, kjer se večinoma pojavljajo v skeletnih grobovih, izjemoma v žganih (Magdalenska gora, Stična, Podzemelj). Velikokrat se pojavljajo kot edini pridatek v grobu, lahko pa tudi v kombinaciji z noži in sulicami, kar kaže na moške grobove, ali pa z obročastim nakitom in fibulami različnih tipov, ki so atributi ženske noše.[36]

Noži

V gomilah G 21 in G 22 so bili najdeni odlomki vsaj šestih železnih nožev z ukrivljenim rezilom, vendar v vseh primerih v nasutju, brez grobne celote (*t. 2*: 18; *3*: 14; *4*: 12–14,18). Pri nobenem

[29] Del loka s poudarjenim prečnim rebrom je med konservacijo propadel.

[30] Teržan 1976, 323, 352-353.

[31] Teržan 1976, 331–334, 364–368.

[32] Teržan 1976, 323, 346, 353.

[33] Tecco Hvala, 2012, 299–306.

[34] Gabrovec 1987, 68, 74; Dular 2003, 135, 144; Grahek 2004, 146-147; Ramšak 2009, 50; Tecco Hvala 2012, 309.

[35] Leben 1959, 89-90; Ramšak 2009, 50, t. 1: 11.

[36] Tecco Hvala 2012, 165–169; *ead*. 2014, 333.

izmed nožev se ni ohranil nastavek za držaj, da bi jih lahko natančneje opredelili. Železni noži s trnastim nastavkom kronološko niso občutljivi, saj se pojavljajo skozi vso halštatsko dobo, medtem ko se noži z jezičastim nastavkom za ročaj pojavijo ob koncu certoške stopnje in ostanejo v uporabi še v negovski stopnji.[37] Ker so običajno v grobovih zastopani z enim primerkom, bi lahko v gomili G 21 računali na vsaj 5 uničenih grobov. V gomili G 22 je bil nož odkrit na sredini gomile, na območju uničenega groba oz. grobov.

Sekira

Železna sekira z dvostranskimi plavutmi (*t. 1*: 3) je bila pridana v grob G 21/1 skupaj s sulično ostjo. Železne sekire z dvostranskimi plavutmi se na Gorenjskem, Notranjskem in v Posočju pojavljajo v mladohalštatskih grobovih.[38]

Sulična ost

Železna sulična ost (*t. 1*: 4) je bila v grob G 21/1 pridana poškodovana – zvita in nalomljena. Po obliki lista ter razmerju med dolžino tula in lista jo lahko uvrstimo v drugo skupino po Sneži Tecco Hvala. Tovrstne vitke sulične osti se pojavljajo predvsem skupaj s pridatki, datiranimi v najmlajšo stopnjo halštatskega obdobja.[39]

Podobna kombinacija železne plavutaste sekire, železnih sulic in certoške fibule IV. vrste nastopa v grobu iz Kranja, datiranem v čas po sredini 5. st. pr. n. št.,[40] in v grobu 11 na Jelenšku nad Godovičem, kjer je grobišče datirano v 4. st. pr. n. št. oz. v stopnjo Sv. Lucija IIc.[41]

[37] Tecco Hvala 2012, 135.
[38] Tecco Hvala 2012, 114 z nadaljnjim citiranjem.
[39] Tecco Hvala 2012, 126–127.
[40] Stare 1954, 112–122, t. 2, 3.
[41] Bratina 1997, 146; Svoljšak 1997, 235; Bratina, Laharnar, Svoljšak 2022, 588–591.

Sulično kopito

Kot del bojne opreme lahko opredelimo tudi železno sulično kopito z votlim nasadilom za toporišče, odkrito kot sporadična najdba v nasutju gomile G 21 oz. v temni zemljini nasutja na globini 35 cm (*t. 4*: 19).

Steklene najdbe

Jagode

Steklene jagode so bile odkrite samo v gomili G 21, in sicer kot sporadične najdbe. Jagoda sodčaste oblike iz neprosojnega temno modrega stekla s plastovitimi rumeno-belimi očesci in rumenimi bradavicami, nalepljenimi na robovih (*t. 4:* 10), je bila najdena na območju uničenega groba ali grobov na južnem obodu gomile G 21 (*sl. 2*: kv. II). Polovica jagode in fragmenti ene ali več jagod istega tipa pa so bili odkriti v nasutju na povsem drugi, zahodni strani gomile G 21 (*sl. 2*: kv. III) (*sl. 10*; *t. 4*: 17). Podobne steklene jagode s koncentričnimi očesci in nalepljenimi bradavicami so pogoste na Dolenjskem, kjer so datirane v čas 5. in 4. st. pr. n. št.[42]

Vretence (t. 2:12)

Z belimi valovnicami in nalepljenimi rumenimi bradavicami okrašena jagoda iz neprosojnega stekla rjave barve (*sl. 11*; *t. 2*: 12) izvira z območja uničenega groba oz. grobov na sredini gomile G 21. Namembnost tega predmeta ni jasna, glede na velikost in obliko gre morda za stekleno vretence. Podobne steklene jagode so znane v estenskem in etruščanskem prostoru, na območju današnje Slovenije pa poznamo primerljive najdbe z najdišča Libna – Špilerjeva gomila 2,[43] v Stični iz groba 98 v

[42] Križ, Turk 2003, kat. št. 19, 49, 57, 66, 77, 92, 103, 104, 106.
[43] Preložnik 2007, 508, t. 1: 9–11.

Sl. 10: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Steklene jagode iz nasutja gomile G 21 (*t. 4*: 10). Ni v merilu.
Fig. 10: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Glass beads from the fill of tumulus G (*Pl. 4:* 10). Not to scale.

Sl. 11: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Stekleno vretence z območja v sredini gomile G 21 (*t. 2:* 12). Ni v merilu.
Fig. 11: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. A glass spindle whorl from the area in the central part of tumulus G 21 (*Pl. 2:* 12). Not to scale.

gomili 48[44] ter odlomek s Sermina.[45] Vsi navedeni primeri se od godeško-reteške jagode razlikujejo predvsem v barvi, stiška jagoda pa tudi v okrasu. Jagoda oz. vretence je verjetno sočasna prej navedenim jagodam, datiranim v 5. in 4. st. pr. n. št.

NAČIN POKOPA

O načinu pokopa v gomilah G 21 in G 22 so le delno ohranjeni indici, saj sta bili obe gomili že v preteklosti prekopani in izropani. Trije nepoškodovani grobovi v gomili G 21 ter številne najdbe fragmentiranih keramičnih posod, kovinskih najdb in drobcev sežganih kosti v nasutju kažejo, da gre za gomili z več žganimi pokopi. Koncentracija sežganih kosti in fragmentiranih najdb v sredini obeh gomil kaže, da sta verjetno imeli centralni grob. Trije ohranjeni grobovi na obodu pa kažejo dva načina pokopa:

Žgani pokop brez žare

Pri grobovih G 21/1 in G 21/3 gre za žgani pokop brez žare, čeprav sta si pokopa na prvi pogled različna. Grob G 21/1 s pridano posodo, sulico in sekiro ter fibulo je bil od vseh treh ohranjenih grobov najbogatejši. Žganina je bila posuta na dnu grobne jame, na vrhu žganine pa položena bronasta fibula, ki ni bila izpostavljena ognju.

Tudi v grobu G 21/3 je bila žganina raztresena v grobni jami, nanjo pa položena bronasta fibula, ki prav tako ni bila poškodovana v ognju.

Žgani žarni pokop

Grob G 21/2 predstavlja pokop v žari. Za žaro je uporabljen keramičen lonec. Glede na stratigrafsko situacijo in poškodovanost žare dopuščam možnost, da je bil grob v dobršni meri uničen in je bil ohranjen le njegov najgloblji del.

Na območju gorenjske halštatske skupine je bila v starejši železni dobi v načinu pokopavanja preminulih prisotna biritualnost.[46] Znana so tako plana kot tudi gomilna grobišča z žganimi pokopi. Plana žgana grobišča iz tega časa so bila odkrita v Kranju, na Bledu, v Mengšu in Smledniku.[47] Gomile se pojavljajo na Sorškem polju – poleg Godeško-Reteškega grobišča še v Torklji ob vznožju Šmarjetne gore in Zgornjih Bitnjah ter osamljena gomila na Jami pri Mavčičah. Nekoliko bolj oddaljena so gomilna grobišča na Vrtičnjaku pri Tupaličah pri Preddvoru, Golniku in Koprivnjeku pri Olševku.[48]

Po načinu pokopa obravnavani grobovi v gomili G 21 v Godeško-Reteških dobravah ne odstopajo od drugih doslej raziskanih gomil te kulturne skupine, za katere je značilnih več žganih grobov pod gomilo. To najbolje prikazuje gomila 8 z Vrtičnjaka nad Tupaličami, kjer je centralni grob obdajalo petnajst žganih grobov.[49] Manj jasno sliko dajejo leta 1958 raziskane gomile Godeško-Reteškega grobišča, a je kljub skromnim podatkom mogoče na podlagi opisov domnevati, da gre za gomile z več žganimi grobovi. Čeprav v gomili R 19 (A) grobovi niso bili zabeleženi, pa najdbe in t. i. ogljena plast kažejo na žgane pokope. V izkopanem delu gomile R 18 (B) prav tako niso bili zabeleženi grobovi in prisotnost žganine ni omenjena, vendar so se v gomilnem nasutju pojavljali odlomki keramike s sledovi grafitiranja na nekaterih kosih. Gomila R 22 (C) je bila raziskana le s kontrolnim jarkom, med izkopom pa ni bilo odkritih nikakršnih najdb. V gomili G 3 (D), ki je bila prav tako raziskana le s kontrolnim jarkom, je bil odkrit slabo ohranjen žarni grob ter več sporadičnih najdb v gomilnem nasutju.[50] Med pridatki tega groba sta certoški fibuli XIII. in II. vrste, bronasta narebrena zapestnica z nesklenjenima koncema, bronasta pravokotna pasna spona, železna noža ter odlomki več keramičnih posod, med njimi narebren pitos in situla na nogi, oba z rdeče-črnim premazom. Te najdbe kažejo na čas 5. st. pr. n. št.[51] Količina drugih, močno fragmentiranih najdb iz te gomile napeljuje na misel, da bi lahko bilo v njej več grobov, ki so bili uničeni.

ZAKLJUČEK

Godeško-Reteško gomilno grobišče lahko na podlagi najdb iz doslej raziskanih gomil datiramo

[44] Gabrovec *et al.* 2006, t. 55: 4.

[45] Horvat, Svetličič 1997, t. 2: 4.

[46] Gabrovec 1974, 287–318; *id.* 1987, 180; Vojaković 2008, 176–178; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 139–142.

[47] Kranj (Stare 1954, 112-122; Gabrovec 1960a, 11-30; Valič 1975, 159; *id.* 1980, 111-112; *id.* 1982, VI–X; *id.* 1983, 129-139), Bled (Gabrovec 1960b, 5-10, 17-49), Mengeš (Gabrovec 1965, 96-100), Smlednik (Šašel 1975, 173).

[48] Povzeto po Vojaković 2008, 176-177. Za dopolnjen seznam starejšeželeznodobnih grobišč na Gorenjskem glej tudi Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 140, sl. 11.

[49] Vojaković 2008, 153–158.

[50] Leben 1959, 88-90; Ramšak 2009, 40-47.

[51] Leben 1959, 89–90; Ramšak 2009, t. 1: 9–12; 2: 1–8.

v čas od 7. do sredine 5. st. pr. n. št., v obdobje Ha C do Ha D3.[52] Izkopavanje gomil G 21 in G 22 leta 2020 je razkrilo podobno sliko kot raziskane gomile v štiridesetih in petdesetih letih 20. stoletja.

Kot kažejo gomile R 19 (A), R 18 (B) in G 3 (D),[53] sta bili tudi leta 2020 izkopani gomili G 21 in G 22 v preteklosti že izropani. Glede na število najdb v njunih nasutjih in na območjih uničenih grobov je jasno, da moramo računati z večjim številom žganih grobov pod obema gomilama. Ohranjeni trije žgani grobovi na severozahodnem delu gomile G 21 nakazujejo, da vendarle ni bila v celoti prekopana, medtem ko v gomili G 22 ni bil ohranjen noben grob.

Grobova G 21/1 in G 21/3 datiramo na podlagi najdb v sredino 5. st. pr. n. št., v obdobje Ha D3. V grobu G 21/1 je bila pridana vzhodnoalpska fibula iz druge polovice 5. st. pr. n. št., poleg nje pa še železna sekira z dvostranskimi plavutmi in železna sulična ost. Tovrstno orožje se v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju pojavlja v svetolucijski in v notranjski halštatski skupini. V mladohalštatskih grobovih (v stopnji Sv. Lucija IIc) so železne sekire z dvostranskimi plavutmi zastopane na Idriji pri Bači, Reki pri Cerknem in Bodrežu,[54] znane so tudi kot slučajne najdbe npr. v Trnovem, Dolenji Trebuši in Zatolminu,[55] medtem ko so na Mostu na Soči in v Koritnici ob Bači pogostejše uhate ali tulaste sekire.[56] Kombinacija železne plavutaste sekire in suličnih osti nastopa tudi v moškem grobu iz Kranja, datiranem v mlajše halštatsko obdobje po pridani certoški fibuli IV. vrste, ki je vodilna oblika stopnje Sv. Lucija IIb.[57] V ta čas lahko datiramo grob G 21/3 po edinem pridatku – certoški fibuli s samostrelno peresovino XIII. vrste, medtem ko v žarnem grobu G 21/2 ni bilo pridatkov, ki bi omogočali njegovo datacijo.

Raztresene najdbe iz uničenih grobov v nasutjih obeh gomil G 21 in G 22 kažejo sicer nekoliko širši časovni razpon. Rdeče-črno slikana keramika, železna rombična pasna spona in narebrene zapestnice se na Dolenjskem pojavljajo od 6. st. pr. n. št.[58] Kljub temu lahko vse odkrite železnodobne najdbe gomil G 21 in G 22[59] datiramo v mlajše halštatsko obdobje, ki sovpada s fazo Sv. Lucija IIb-c posoške halštatske skupine in negovsko stopnjo na Dolenjskem. Pomenljiva je odsotnost starejših najdb, ki bi jih v primeru starejšega nastanka gomil lahko pričakovali vsaj med posamičnimi najdbami.

Način pokopa in najdbe v gomilah G 21 in G 22 odsevajo značilnosti gorenjske halštatske skupine, ki se stika z dolenjsko in svetolucijsko skupino. Na povezavo z dolenjsko halštatsko skupino v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju kažejo narebrene zapestnice, steklene jagode, rombična pasna spona, dolga sulična ost in ciboriji, medtem ko se vzhodnoalpska živalska in certoške fibule V., X. in XIII. vrste pojavljajo tako v dolenjski kot v svetolucijski skupini. Povezave s slednjo odsevajo predvsem slikana keramika in železna sekira z dvostranskimi plavutmi, ta se v mladohalštatskih kontekstih pojavlja v svetolucijski in notranjski skupini.

Lokacija železnodobne naselbine, ki naj bi ji pripadalo obsežno gomilno grobišče na Godeško-Reteških dobravah, se domneva na nekoliko vzdignjenem platoju nad vasjo Reteče (*sl. 1*).[60] Glede na razprostranjenost gomilnega grobišča po celotni ravnici Sorškega polja je že Eržen predpostavljal, da bi gomile lahko pripadale več nižinskim naselbinam.[61] Manj verjetna se zdi njihova pripadnost sočasnim gradiščem na obronkih Škofjeloškega in Polhograjskega hribovja, ki na več kilometrov oddaljenem nasprotnem bregu Sore na južni in zahodni strani obdajajo Sorško polje, npr. gradišče Puštal nad Trnjem pri Škofji Loki, gradišče na Kremplnovem hribu nad Hosto in gradišče na Homu.[62] Od teh je delno raziskano le gradišče Puštal nad Trnjem pri Škofji Loki, kjer je z najdbami nakazan čas življenja naselbine tudi v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju,[63] kar sovpada s časom pokopavanja v Godeško-Reteških gomilah.

[52] Ramšak 2009, 53.

[53] Leben 1959, 89–90; Ramšak 2009, t. 1: 9–12; 2: 1–8.

[54] Guštin 1991, t. 2: 3; 15: 5; 26: 2; 34: 3; 38: 1.

[55] Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, t. 3: 9–11.

[56] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984, t. 7: B; 27: F; 28: A; 153: A; 156: A; 169: A; 263: C; Kos, 1973, t. 5: 1–3; 6: 1–5; 11: 1,2.

[57] Stare 1954.

[58] Tecco Hvala 2012, 168–169; *ead.* 2014, 335.

[59] Odlomki bronastodobne lončenine v nasutju gomil kot posledica nasipanja zemlje iz bližnje okolice, kjer se je nahajala večja bronastodobna naselbina, niso upoštevani.

[60] Eržen 1963, 74–83, *id.* 1965, 191.

[61] Eržen 1963, 75–76.

[62] V Registru kulturne dediščine so evidentirana kot Trnje pri Škofji Loki – Arheološko najdišče Puštal (EŠD 9350), Hosta – Arheološko najdišče Kremplnov hrib (EŠD 12128), Sora – Arheološko najdišče Hom (EŠD 23524).

[63] Steklena jagoda, odkrita na tem najdišču, je datirana v 6. do 5. st. pr. n. št. Rupnik, Pečovnik, Klezin 2016, 5, sl. 4 (neobjavljeno poročilo); Holzer 1999, 81–96.

KATALOG NAJDB

Najdbe začasno hrani izkopavalec, Avgusta d. o. o. in bodo v trajno hrambo predane v Loški muzej Škofja Loka. Okrajšave: d. = dolžina; ohr. = ohranjen; pr. = premer; rek. =rekonstruiran; vel. = velikost; viš. = višina.

Tabla 1

Grob G 21/1

1. Lonec na nizki prstanasti nogi, z izvihanim ustjem. Na ramenu okras treh vodoravnih vzporednih kanelur. Sestava srednje zrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje nepopolno oksidacijsko; barva črna (5YR 2.5/1), temno rdečkasto siva (5YR 4/2), rdečkasto rjava (2,5YR 4/4), rdeča (2,5YR 4/4); pr. ustja 15 cm.
2. Bronasta vzhodnoalpska fibula s samostrelno peresovino in nazaj zavihanim zaključkom noge. Lok ploščatega preseka, na prehodu noge v lok in loka v peresovino okrašena s poševnimi vrezi; d. 7,4 cm.
3. Železna sekira z dvostranskimi plavutmi; d. 16,5 cm.
4. Železna sulična ost, dno tula okrašen z vzporednimi vodoravnimi vrezi; d. 29,5 cm.

Grob G 21/2

5. Dno lonca. Sestava zrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje oksidacijsko; barva zunanje površine svetlo rjava (7.5YR 6/4), rumenkasto rdeča (5YR5/6, notranja površina svetlo rjava (7.5YR5/4) in temno siva; pr. dna 10 cm.

Grob G 21/3

6. Bronasta certoška fibula XIII vrste s samostrelno peresovino, lok lečastega preseka, na nogi in na prehodu loka v peresovino narebrena; d. 6,7 cm.

Tabla 2

Območje uničenega groba/grobov na sredini gomile G 21

1. Posoda na nogi, na zunanji površini premaz rdeče barve (2,5YR 5/8), na notranji površini ohranjena črna barva. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko s končno oksidacijo; barva zunanje površine roza (7.5YR 7/4), na prelomu zelo temno siva (2,5Y 4/1) in črna; pr. ustja 15 cm.
2. Odlomek ustja posode, na zunanji površini pod robom ustja ohranjen premaz črne barve. Sestava srednje zrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje nepopolno oksidacijsko; barva rdečkasto rumena (5YR 6/6); rek. pr. ustja 23 cm.
3. Odlomek ustja posode, na zunanji strani ohranjen premaz rdeče barve (2.5YR 5/6 do 5/8), na notranji površini premaz črne barve. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva zelo bledo rjava (10YR 7/4); vel. 4 × 3,6 cm.
4. Odlomek dna posode, na zunanji površini ohranjen premaz rdeče (2.5YR 5/6) do močno rjave barve (7.5YR 5/6). Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva rdečkasto rumena (7.5YR 7/6); rek. pr. dna 6 cm.
5. Odlomka noge posode, na obeh površinah ohranjen premaz rdeče barve (2.5YR 5/6 do 5/8). Na zunanji površini nad robom ohranjene sledi črne barve, ki morda nakazujejo na pas črnega premaza. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; rek. pr. noge 14 cm.
6. Odlomek ustja posode. Sestava drobnozrnata; površina polirana; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko z dimljenjem; barva črna (7.5YR 2.5/1); rek. pr. ustja 16 cm.
7. Odlomka ostenja posode z okrasom plitkih kanelur. Sestava grobozrnata s primesjo sljude; površina glajena; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko z dimljenjem; barva črna (7.5YR 2.5/1) do zelo temno siva (10YR 3/1); vel. odl. 3,4 × 2,9 cm, 2,6 × 2,1 cm.
8. Odlomek loka bronaste certoške fibule V. vrste. Lok segmentnega preseka, na delu loka prečno rebro okrašeno s poševnimi vrezi; ohr. d. loka 3,6 cm.
9. Bronast gumb z noge fibule. Gobasto oblikovan gumb verjetno pripada certoški fibuli X. vrste; pr. gumba 1,1 cm.
10. Bronast gumb z loka fibule. Gumb je razmeroma ozek oz. ploščat. Verjetno odlomek iste fibule kot kat. št. 9; pr. gumba 0,8 cm.
11. Okov iz železne pločevine z zakovico; d. 3 cm.
12. Vretence iz temno rdečega neprosojnega stekla z dvema belima valovnicama na spodnjem delu, ki sta ločeni z vrsto nalepljenih bradavic rumene barve na največjem obodu; vrsta rumenih bradavic se ponovi še na zgornjem delu; pr. 3,3 cm.
13. Vretence. Zgornja in spodnja površina okrašeni s snopi vrezov, na spodnji površini med snopi vrezov trikrat po trije vbodi v obliki trikotnika. Sestava drobnozrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva zelo bledo rjava (10YR 7/3) do temno siva (10YR 4/1); viš. 2,5 cm.
14. Vretence. Sestava drobnozrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva roza (7.5YR 7/4); ohr. viš. 2 cm.
15. Vretence. Sestava srednje zrnata; žganje nepopolno oksidacijsko; barva temno siva (7.5YR 4/1) do svetlo rjava (7.5YR 6/4); viš. 2,2 cm.

Območje uničenega groba/grobov na sredini gomile G 22

16. Odlomek ustja posode, na zunanji površini premazana z rdečkasto rjavo barvo (2.5YR 4/4), preko katere poteka pas srebrno sive barve; notranja površina premazana s črno barvo. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko; rek. pr. ustja 23 cm.
17. Odlomek noge bronaste certoške fibule IVa ali V. vrste s pestičasto oblikovanim gumbom na nogi in rebrom na prehodu iz noge v lok; ohr. d. 2,3 cm.
18. Železen nož z ukrivljenim rezilom. Dva odlomka rezila; ohr. d. 5,7 in 4,9 cm.

Tabla 3

Območje uničenega groba/grobov na južnem obodu gomile G 21

1. Posoda na nogi, zunanja površina v celoti premazana z rdečo barvo (2,5YR 4/8), na notranji površini ohranjena črna barva. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva roza (7.5YR 7/4 do 6/4), na prelomu zelo temno siva (2,5Y 4/1) do črna; pr. ustja 18,5 cm.
2. Ustje posode, na zunanji površini ostanki premaza rdeče barve (2.5YR 5/8), na notranji površini črn premaz.

Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva zelo bledo rjava (10YR 7/3); rek. pr. ustja 18,7 cm.
3. Ustje in ostenje lonca, zunanja površina okrašena z metličenjem, na ramenu pas poševnih globokih vtisov, notranja površina metličenje. Sestava drobnozrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje redukcijsko; barva črna; rek. pr. ustja 14 cm, ohr. viš. 9,2 cm.
4. Odlomki ustja in ostenja sklede, na zunanji površini ostanki premaza rdeče barve (2.5YR 4/8), na robu ustja in na največjem obodu ostanki premaza srebrno sive barve, na notranji površini ustja ostanki premaza črne barve. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva rdečkasto rumena (5YR 7/6); rek. pr. ustja 20 cm.
5. Odlomki ustja in ostenja posode, na zunanji površini ostanki rdečega premaza (2.5YR 4/8), na notranji površini ostanki črnega premaza. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva roza do rozasto siva (7.5YR7/3 do 6/2); rek. pr. ustja 20 cm.
6. Odlomek ostenja posode z okrasom vodoravne kanelure, nad katero so kanelure v obliki trikotnikov. Sestava srednje zrnata; površina glajena; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva zelo temno siva do rjava (7.5YR 3/1 do 4/3); vel. 6,4 × 3,7 cm.
7. Lonec na nizki prstanasti nogi, ustje izvihano in odebeljeno, na ramenu okras treh vodoravnih vzporednih kanelur. Sestava srednje zrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje nepopolno oksidacijsko; barva črna, rjava (7,5YR 4/4), rumenkasto rdeča (5YR 5/6); rek. pr. ustja 15,5 cm.
8. Lonec na nizki prstanasti nogi z izvihanim ustjem. Sestava zrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje nepopolno redukcijsko; barva zelo temno siva (10YR 3/1), rjava (7.5YR), svetlo rjava (7.5YR); viš. 16,5 cm.
9. Noga in dno posode. Sestava zrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva rumenkasto rdeča (5YR 5/6), rjava (7.5YR 5/4), temno siva (10YR 4/1); pr. noge 9 cm.
10. Odlomek dna posode z nizko prstanasto nogo. Sestava zrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva zelo bledo rjava do svetlo rumenkasto rjava (10YR 7/4 do 10YR 6/4); rek. pr. dna 8 cm.
11. Odlomek vretenca. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje nepopolno oksidacijsko; barva roza (7.5YR 7/4); ohr. viš. 1,6 cm.
12. Vretence, na spodnji strani okras poševnih zarez po žganju. Sestava finozrnata s primesjo sljude; površina luknjičasta; žganje redukcijsko; barva zelo temno siva; viš. 3 cm.
13. Odlomek bronaste narebrene zapestnice, presek D oblike; ohr. d. 1 cm.
14. Železen nož z ukrivljenim rezilom; ohr. d. 11 cm.

Tabla 4

Nasutje gomile G 21

1. Ustje in vrat posode, na zunanji površini premaz šibko rdeče do rdeče barve (10R 5/4 do 5/6), na zunanjem robu ustja pas srebrno sive barve. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva zelo bledo rjava (10YR 7/4); rek. pr. ustja 24 cm.
2. Odlomki ustja in ostenja sklede, na zunanji površini premaz rdeče barve (10R 4/6) s pasovi srebrno sive barve. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva roza (7.5YR 8/4); rek. pr. ustja 14,5 cm.
3. Ustje in vrat posode, na zunanji površini premaz rdeče barve (10R 4/6), pod ustjem pas srebrno sive barve. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko s končno oksidacijo; barva zelo bledo rjava (10YR 7/4); rek. pr. ustja 23 cm.
4. Odlomek ostenja posode z vodoravnim rebrom poslikan s pasovi rdeče-črne barve. Črna barva se deloma preliva na pas rdeče do rjave barve (2.5YR 4/6 do 7.5YR 5/4). Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva roza (7.5YR 8/3 do 7/4); vel. 6,6 × 5,2 cm.
5. Odlomek na notranjo stran orientiranega ustja posode z odebeljenim robom, pod ustjem okras odtisa. Sestava srednje zrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva zelo temno sive do rjava (7.5YR 3/1 do 4/3); rek. pr. ustja 12,4 cm.
6. Odlomek ustja posode. Sestava zrnata; površina poškodovana; žganje nepopolno oksidacijsko; barva zelo bledo rjava do svetlo siva (10YR 8/2 do 7/1); rek. pr. 20,4 cm.
7. Odlomki dna in ostenja lonca, vrat posode narebren. Sestava srednje zrnata; površina glajena in luknjičasta; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacija in dimljenje; barva temno rjava do zelo temno siva (7.5YR 3/2 do 3/1); rek. pr. dna 8 cm.
8. Odlomek trakastega ročaja. Sestava drobnozrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje nepopolno oksidacijsko; barva temno siva do svetlo rjavkasto siva (10YR4/1 do 10YR 6/2); šir. 2,3 cm.
9. Odlomek dna posode. Sestava drobnozrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva zelo bledo rjava do rumena (10YR 7/4 do 7/6); rek. pr. dna 14 cm.
10. Jagoda iz modre steklene paste z rumenimi in belimi koncentričnimi očesci ter na spodnjem in zgornjem robu nalepljenimi rumenimi bradavicami; viš. 1,5 cm.
11. Odlomek narebrene bronaste zapestnice, med posameznimi rebri so dva do trije vrezi. Presek okrogle oblike; ohr. d. 3,4 cm.
12. Železen nož z ukrivljenim rezilom; ohr. d. 11,5 cm.
13. Železen nož z ukrivljenim rezilom; ohr. d. 7,7 cm.
14. Železen nož. Odlomek rezila; ohr. d. 4,1 cm.

Temen pas zemljine okoli gomile G 21

15. Bronasta narebrena zapestnica, dva odlomka. Presek D oblike; ohr. d. 6,5 cm in 1,7 cm.
16. Odlomek loka bronaste fibule, presek loka je ploščat; ohr. d. 4,4 cm.
17. Jagoda iz modre steklene paste z rumenimi in belimi koncentričnimi očesci ter na spodnjem in zgornjem robu nalepljenimi rumenimi bradavicami; viš. 1,3 cm.
18. Železen nož z ukrivljenim rezilom, dva odlomka; ohr. d. 7,4 cm.
19. Železno sulično kopito; viš. 9,9 cm, pr. 2 cm.

Tabla 5

Nasutje gomile G 22

1. Ustje in vrat posode, na zunanji in notranji površini ostanki premaza rdeče barve (2.5YR 4/6 do 4/8). Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi

oksidacijsko; barva svetlo rjava do rdečkasto rumena (7.5YR 6/4 do 7/6); rek. pr. ustja 22 cm.
2. Ostenje posode, na zunanji površini premaz rdeče (2.5YR 4/6) do močno rjave barve (7.5YR 5/6) s pasom srebrno sive barve. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva zelo bledo rjava (10YR 7/4); največji pr. oboda 28 cm.
3. Ostenje posode, na zunanji površini premaz rdeče barve (2.5YR 4/6), na prehodu ostenja v nogo pas srebrno sive barve. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacija; barva svetlo rjava do rdečkasto rumena (7.5YR 6/4 do 7/6); pr. 6,5 do 18 cm.
4. Noga posode, na zunanji površini premaz rdeče barve (2.5YR 4/6), na robu noge pas srebrno sive barve. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva svetlo rjava (7.5YR 6/4); rek. pr. noge 13 cm.
5. Lonec z izvihanim ustjem, pod ustjem okras dveh pasov vtisov. Sestava srednje zrnata; površina glajena; žganje redukcijsko; barva zelo temno siva z lisami svetlo rumenkasto rjave barve (10YR 6/4); rek. pr. ustja 13 cm.
6. Odlomek ostenja posode z vodoravnimi rebri in s pasovi, poslikane s premazom rjave (7.5YR 5/4) in črne barve. Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva svetlo rumenkasto rjava (10YR 6/4); vel. 5,3 × 4 cm.
7. Odlomek vretenca. Sestava drobnozrnata s primesjo sljude; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva rjava (7.5YR 5/4), svetlo rjava (7.5YR 6/4), rumenkasto rdeča (5YR 5/6); viš. 3,5 cm.
8. Noga posode, na zunanji površini ostanki premaza rdeče barve (2.5YR 4/6), na robu noge pas srebrno sive barve, na notranji površini premaz rdeče barve (2.5YR 4/6 do 4/8). Sestava drobnozrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacijsko; barva rdečkasto rumena (5YR 7/6); rek. pr. noge 13 cm.
9. Noga posode, na zunanji površini premaz rdeče barve (2.5YR 4/6 do 4/8), na robu noge pas srebrno sive barve; na notranji površini ostanki premaza rdeče barve (2.5YR 4/6 do 4/8). Sestava drobnozrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje redukcijsko s končno oksidacijo; barva rdečkasto rumena (7.5YR 7/6); rek. pr. noge 13 cm.
10. Odlomek bronastega predmeta, morda del loka certoške fibule ali odlomek gladke zapestnice. Presek lečaste oblike; ohr. d. 2,6 cm.
11. Železen paličast predmet kvadratnega preseka; ohr. d. 3,6 cm.
12. Železna rombična pasna spona. Na enem koncu je zavita v kavelj, na drugem je razcepljena v dva kraka; rek. d. 16,2 cm.

Posamezne najdbe iz plasti pod gomilo
13. Odlomek ostenja posode, na zunanji površini premaz rdeče barve z mrežastim vzorcem (2.5YR 4/6), na notranji površini ostanki premaza črne barve. Sestava srednje zrnata; žganje redukcijsko, v končni fazi oksidacija; barva roza (7.5YR 7/4) do rdečkasto rumena (7.5YR 7/6); vel. 6,7 × 6,3 cm.
14. Odlomek ostenja posode s poševnimi in vodoravnimi rebri, na zunanji površini ostanki premaza šibko rdeče (10R 4/4), rdeče (2.5YR 4/6), srebrno sive in črne barve, na notranji površini ostanki premaza črne barve. Sestava srednje zrnata; površina luknjičasta; žganje nepopolno oksidacijsko; barva rdečkasto rjava (5YR 5/4); vel. 7,3 × 4 cm.

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Two Early Iron Age tumuli at Godeško-Reteške dobrave near Škofja Loka

Summary

The tumuli burial ground at Godeško-Reteške dobrave extends over the undulating plain of Sorško polje, which gradually descends from Kranj towards Godešič and Medvode (*Fig. 1*). It is situated on a gravelly terrace of the Sava River, covered with a thick layer of clay with pebbles, under which there is conglomerate that outcrops to the surface in some places. On the western side, the terrace is delineated by the Žabnica stream, the only surface water at Sorško polje, while on the southern side, it steeply descends towards the deeply cut valley of the Sora River.

The cemetery encompasses 55 recognised tumuli arranged in individual clusters. Six tumuli have been researched in 1936 or 1939, one of the tumuli was excavated and restudied in 1940. The same year, tumulus R 20 was excavated, and in 1958 the tumuli R 19 (A), R 18 (B), R 22 (C), and G 3 (D) (*Fig. 1*). In tumulus R 19 (A) no graves were discovered; on the basis of the finds and the so-called charcoal layer, cremation burials are assumed here. In the excavated part of tumulus R 18 (B), no graves were recorded either; despite the fact that pottery fragments appeared in the filling of the tumulus, cremated remains are not mentioned. Tumulus R 22 (C) was only partially excavated with a control trench, that contained no finds. During the excavation of a control trench, a poorly preserved cremation grave was found in tumulus G 3 (D) at its southern rim, along with several sporadic finds in the fill of the tumulus. The quantity of highly fragmented finds indicates that the tumulus may have contained several graves that have been destroyed. Tumuli R 19 (A) and R 18 (B) were probably also looted and destroyed.

Recent archaeological excavations at Godeško-Reteške dobrave were carried out between 2017 and 2020 due to the expansion of the Trata–Filc industrial zone near Škofja Loka. During these excavations, a previously unknown Bronze Age lowland settlement was found and two tumuli from the Early Iron Age were scientifically studied. The tumuli are located one and almost two kilometres, respectively, from the other tumuli clusters of this cemetery to the west and bearing the marks G 21 and G 22 (*Fig. 1*). Furthermore, a prehistoric cremation grave with fragments of a ceramic urn and fragments of burnt bones was discovered in 2022 during preliminary archaeological survey on the Ljubljana–Kranj–Jesenice railway line. It is an isolated urn grave that could belong to an Iron Age burial ground at Godeško-Reteške dobrave, either as a flat grave and thus an example of a different type of burial costum compared to burials under the tumulus or as a remnant of a grave from the today flattened and no longer recognisable tumulus, which would be indicated by a shallow occurrence of urn remains and partial destruction of the grave by agricultural cultivation.

The 2020 investigated tumuli G 21 and G 22, which are the subject of this article, were positioned next to each other in such a way that they touched (*Figs. 2–4*), which is most likely due to the fact that they must have lowered and spread slightly over time. From their position, it was not possible to determine which tumulus had been constructed first. The tumuli were covered by forest humus and a thinner layer of subsurface humus. The fill of the tumuli was homogeneous and consisted of soft silty soil with no visible changes in the layer due to levelling or potential excavations. An exception was a modern looting pit in the centre of tumulus G 22. Scattered finds were revealed in the fill of both tumuli, including fragments of ceramic vessels, various metal finds, and glass beads. Numerous fragments of Bronze Age pottery were also discovered, indicating that the material for the tumulus fill originates from the im-

mediate area, where the Bronze Age settlement was located. The base soil on which the tumuli were built consists of a yellowish-brown loamy soil layer, into which Bronze Age structures were dug and which matches the structure and colour of the tumulus fill. The tumuli had partially preserved stone wreath made of large conglomerate stones, which were obviously brought from elsewhere since the conglomerate does not outcrop in the immediate vicinity. On the outside of the stone wreaths the two tumuli were surrounded by a concentric strip of darker soil. This was a part of the tumulus fill that eroded over time and accumulated at the bottom of the tumuli. Sporadic finds originating most likely from destroyed Iron Age graves were also found in this dark soil.

In tumulus G 21, three graves were preserved within the stone wreath in the northwestern part (*Figs. 2, 5–7*). Grave pits were dug into the tumulus fill and partially in the underlying stratum. Since the filling of the graves did not differ from that of the tumulus, grave pits could not be determined. The graves were discerned by grave goods and cremated remains.

Grave G 21/1 is a cremation grave without an urn. It contains a vessel, a spearhead, an axe, and a fibula (*Fig. 5*), indicating that it is the burial of a male. On top of the cremated remains was a bronze fibula, that had not been exposed to fire.(*Fig. 8: a*). Grave G 21/3 also did not contain an urn, but only cremated remains, again with a bronze fibula on top (*Figs. 7; 8: b*). Grave 21/3 was an urn grave: a ceramic pot served as an urn, of which only the bottom part is preserved (*Fig. 6*). It is possible that the grave was damaged in the upper part. In tumulus G 22, no graves have been preserved (*Fig. 2*).

The urn grave G 21/2 did not contain any grave goods that would allow a chronological classification, while grave G 21/1 can be dated to the middle of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century BC by the Eastern-Alpine animal fibula with a crossbow spring. In accordance with this, the iron two-sided winged axe and an iron spearhead (*Pl. 1:* 1–4) can also be dated to the same period. In the Late Hallstatt period such weapons appear in Sv. Lucija and Notranjska Hallstatt cultural groups. Grave G 21/3 is contemporary with grave G 21/1, considering the Certosa fibula of type XIII after Teržan (*Fig. 8: b; Pl. 1:* 6), which belongs to variant XIIIa due to the globular shape of the knob on the foot and the transverse ribs. Such fibulae are typical for the period of Sv. Lucija IIb2 in Sv. Lucija circle. The grave discovered in 1958 in tumulus G 3 (D) also belongs to the 5th century BC, containing two Certosa fibulae of types XIII and II, a bronze ribbed bracelet with open ends, a bronze rectangular belt buckle, two iron knives and fragments of several ceramic vessels, including a ribbed pithos and a footed situla, both with painted decoration of red and black stripes.

Scattered finds from destroyed graves that appeared sporadically in the fill of tumuli G 21 and G 22 (*Pls. 2–5*) indicate a somewhat longer timespan. Most of the pottery fragments are of red-black painted pottery among which ciboria (*Pls. 2*: 1; *3*: 1; *5*: 2) and bowls (*Pls. 2*: 4; *3*: 4; *4*: 2) can be identified as vessel forms. The red-black painting of pottery appears in the Sv. Lucija and Dolenjska cultural circles towards the end of the 7th and in the 6th century BC and is linked to the Posočje area (Sv. Lucija cultural circle) and Veneti area of Padova and Este.

In the centre of tumulus G 21, a bow of a fibula (*Fig. 9a; Pl. 2*: 8) was found, which, due to the emphasised transverse rib, can be ascribed to a Certosa type V fibula, which appeared at the beginning of the 5th century BC in a wide area between the Po and the Danube. Also discovered in the centre of this tumulus, were two bronze knobs, possibly belonging to the foot and bow of the same fibula (*Fig. 9b,c*; *Pl. 2:* 9,10). According to Teržan, a mushroom-shaped knob on the foot of the fibula and a relatively narrow flat knob on the bow are typical of Certosa fibulae of type X variant d or f, which mark the Late Hallstatt period attire. A bow of another very poorly preserved fibula, probably of Certosa type V (*Pl. 4*: 16), was found in the strip of darker soil around the rim of tumulus G 21. The fills of both tumuli also contained parts of full bronze ribbed bracelets (*Pls. 3*: 13; *4:* 11,15) and a fragment of a bronze object, possibly the bow of another Certosa fibula or a partial fragment of a bracelet (*Pl. 5*: 10). The ribbed style is characteristic of the attire of the Dolenjska Hallstatt group, where it appeared in the Stična stage and remained in use in various variants to the Negova horizon. At the tumuli burial ground at Godeško-Reteške dobrave, a similar bracelet was discovered in a presumably female grave in tumulus G 3 (D).

An iron rhombic belt buckle (*Pl. 5*: 12), which is a fairly frequent grave good of the serpentine fibula stage and in the early Certosa horizon in the area of the Dolenjska Hallstatt circle, was found in the fill of tumulus G 22.

In the fill of tumulus G 21, barrel-shaped beads made of dark blue glass with layered yellow-white eyes and yellow knobs applied at the edges were scattered (*Fig. 10; Pl. 4:* 10, 17). These beads are common in the Dolenjska region, in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Another bead from tumulus G 21 made of opaque brown glass with white wavy lines and applied yellow knobs could be defined as a spindle whorl (*Fig. 11; Pl. 2*: 12).

Despite a somewhat larger time span, all Iron Age finds discovered in tumuli G 21 and G 22 can be assigned to the Late Hallstatt period, which coincides with the Sv. Lucija IIb–c phase in Posočje and the Negova stage in Dolenjska. With the exception of the Bronze Age settlement finds, which are not discussed here, the absence of any older finds is also indicative for a dating to the Late Hallstatt period.

The graves discovered in tumuli at Godeško-Reteške dobrave do not differ from other so far researched burial grounds of the Gorenjska Hallstatt cultural group, regarding the manner of burial, for which several cremation graves under a tumulus are typical. Burial grounds of the Gorenjska Hallstatt cultural group also show connections with Sv. Lucija and Dolenjska Hallstatt cultural groups in this period, especially with ribbed bracelets, glass beads, the rhombic belt buckle, a long spearhead and the ciborium, which are connected to the Dolenjska Hallstatt group and the Eastern-Alpine animal and Certosa fibulae of types V., X., and XIII, which occur in both the Dolenjska and Sv. Lucija circles. Connections with the latter reflect primarily in the painted pottery and the iron two-sided winged axe, found in the Late Hallstatt contexts in Sv. Lucija and also in the Notranjska cultural group.

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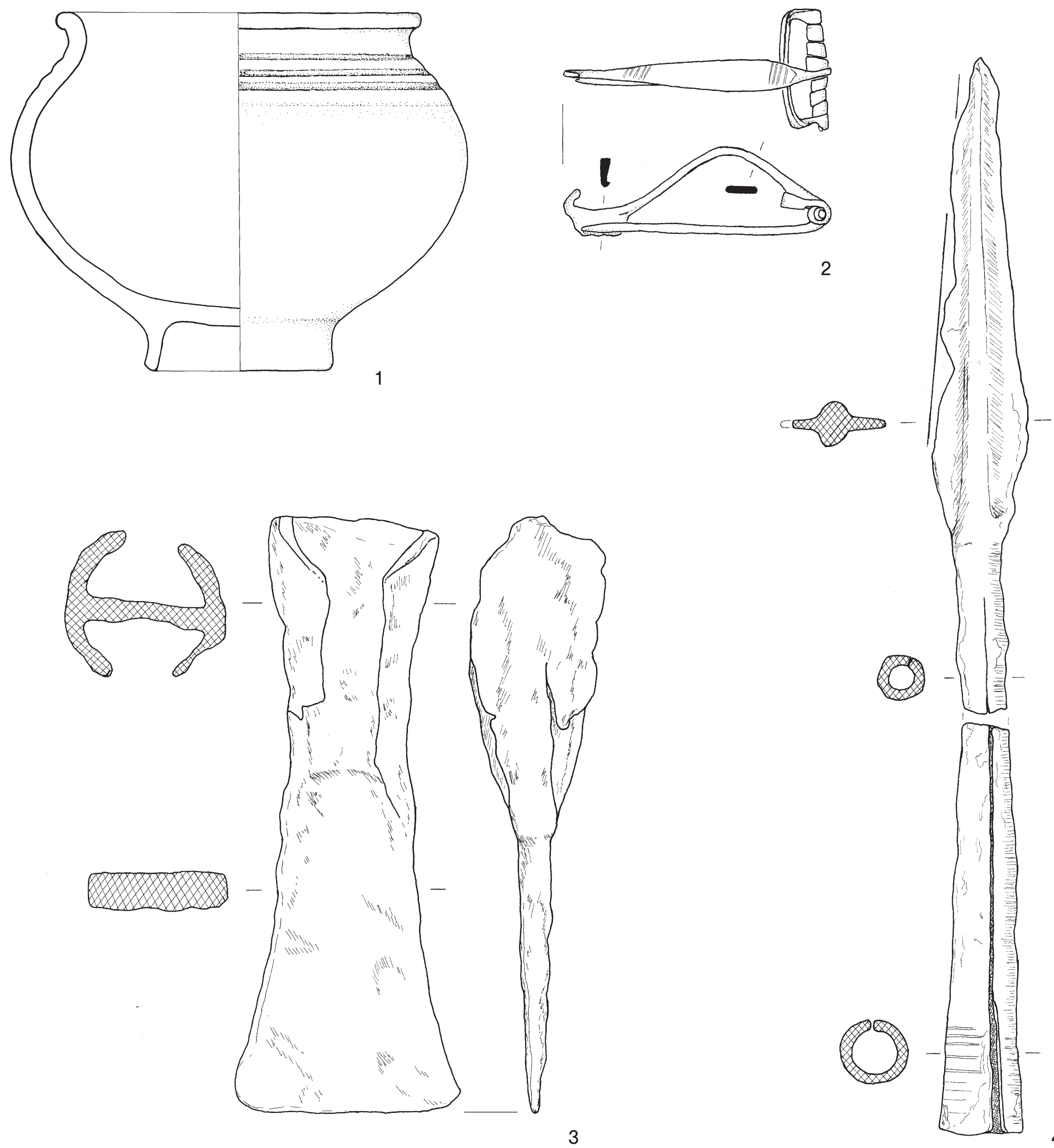
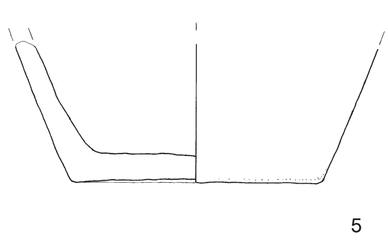
Illustrations: Fig. 2 (elaborated: Barbara Brezigar, Klemen Dremelj, Avgusta d.o.o). – *Fig. 3* (elaborated: Avgusta d.o.o.). – *Fig. 4* (photo: Ines Klokočovnik, Avgusta d.o.o.). – *Fig. 5, 6* (photo: Marko Kot, Avgusta d.o.o.). – *Fig. 7* (photo: Jan Križaj, Avgusta d.o.o.). – *Fig. 8–11* (photo: Barbara Brezigar, Avgusta d.o.o.). – *Pl. 1–5* (drawing: Barbara Brezigar, Lea Svrzikapa, Avgusta d.o.o.).

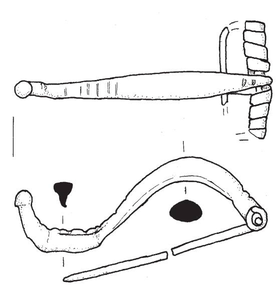
Gr. G 21/1



Gr. G 21/2

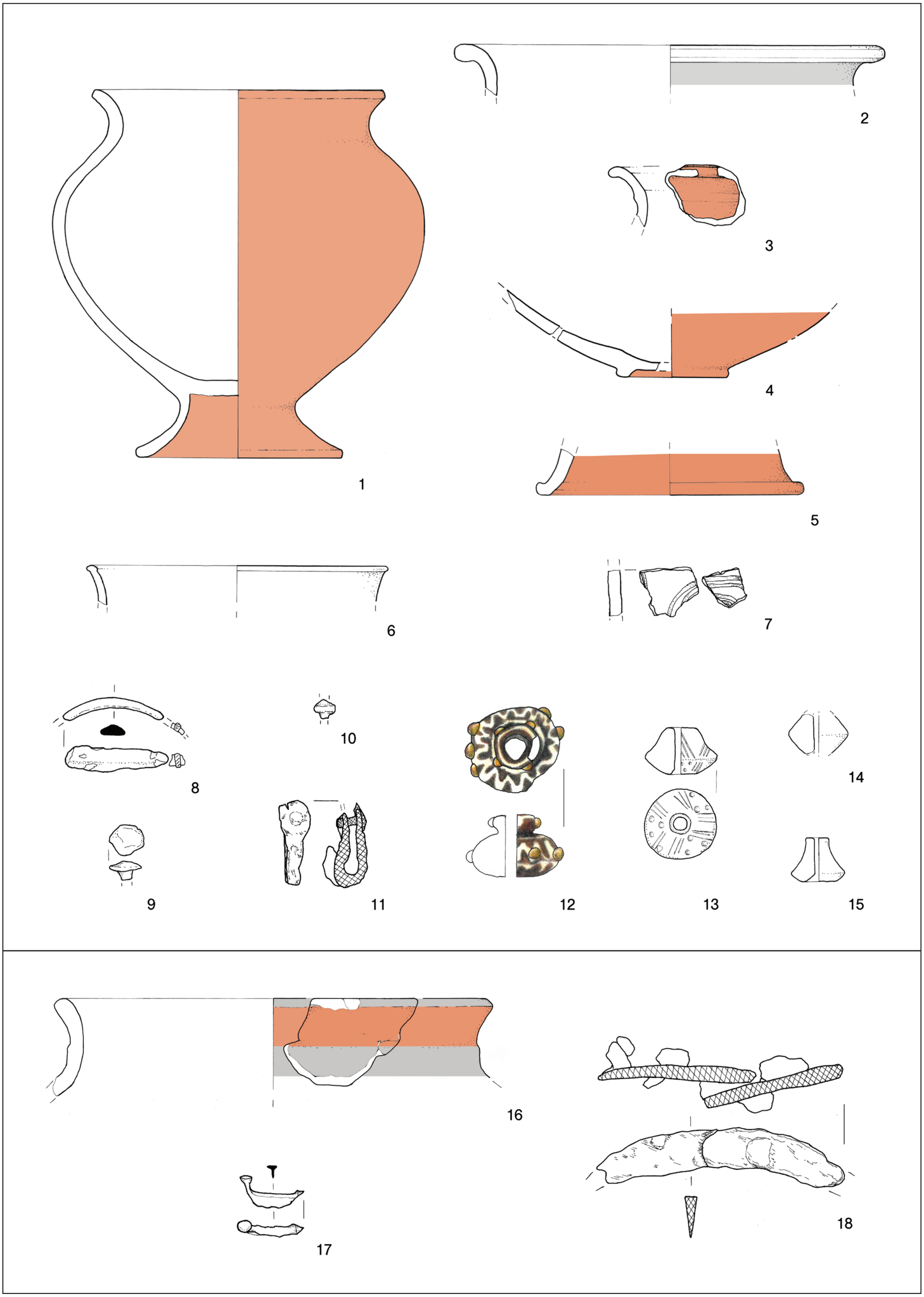


Gr. G 21/3



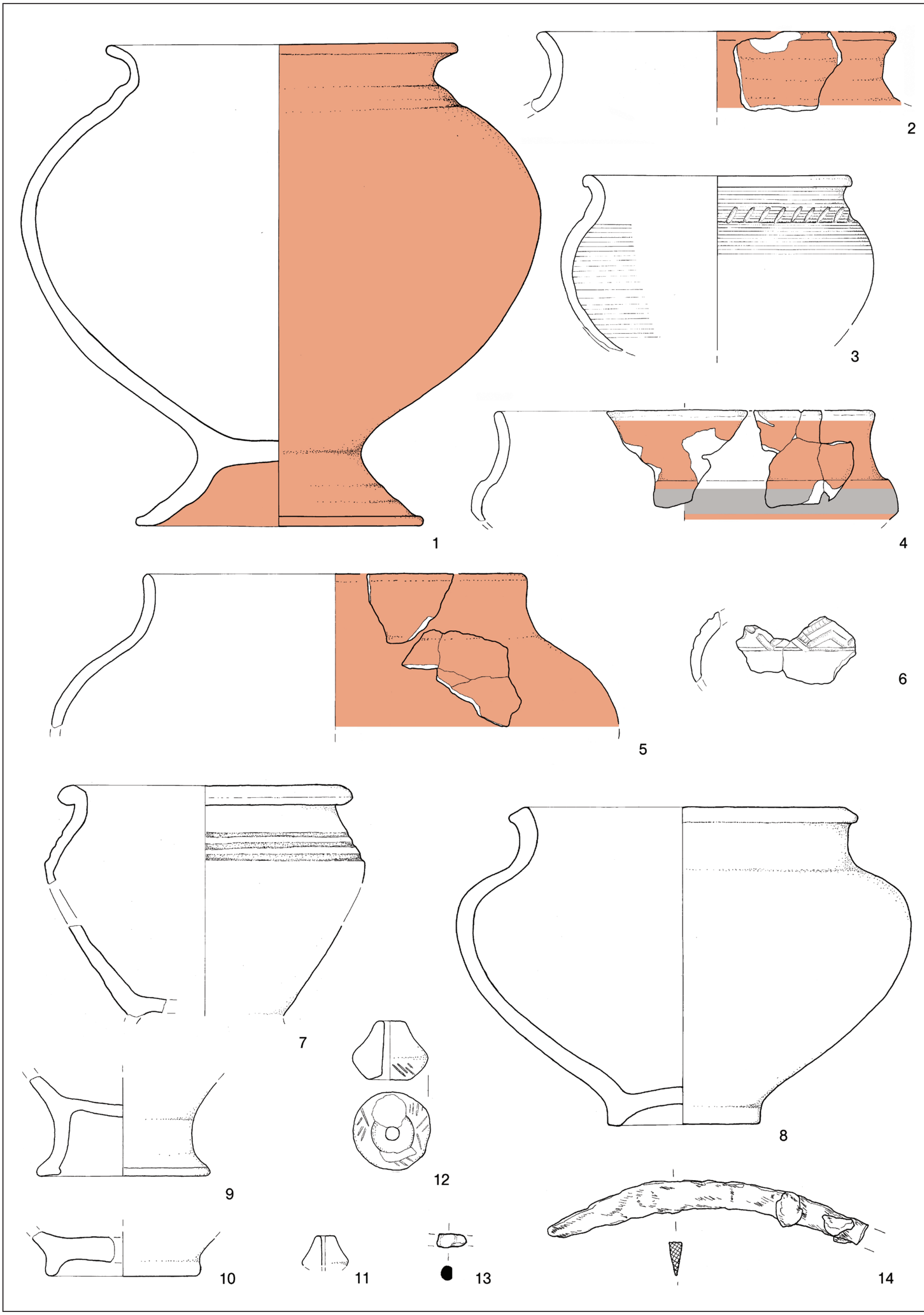
T. 1: Godeško-Reteške dobrave, gomila G 21. Pridatki v grobovih 1–3. 1,5 keramika; 2,6 bron; 3,4 železo. M. 2–4,6 =1:2, ostalo 1:3.

Pl. 1: Godeško-Reteške dobrave, tumulus G 21. Grave goods in graves 1–3. 1,5 pottery; 2,6 bronze; 3,4 iron. Scale 2–4,6 = 1:2, other 1:3.



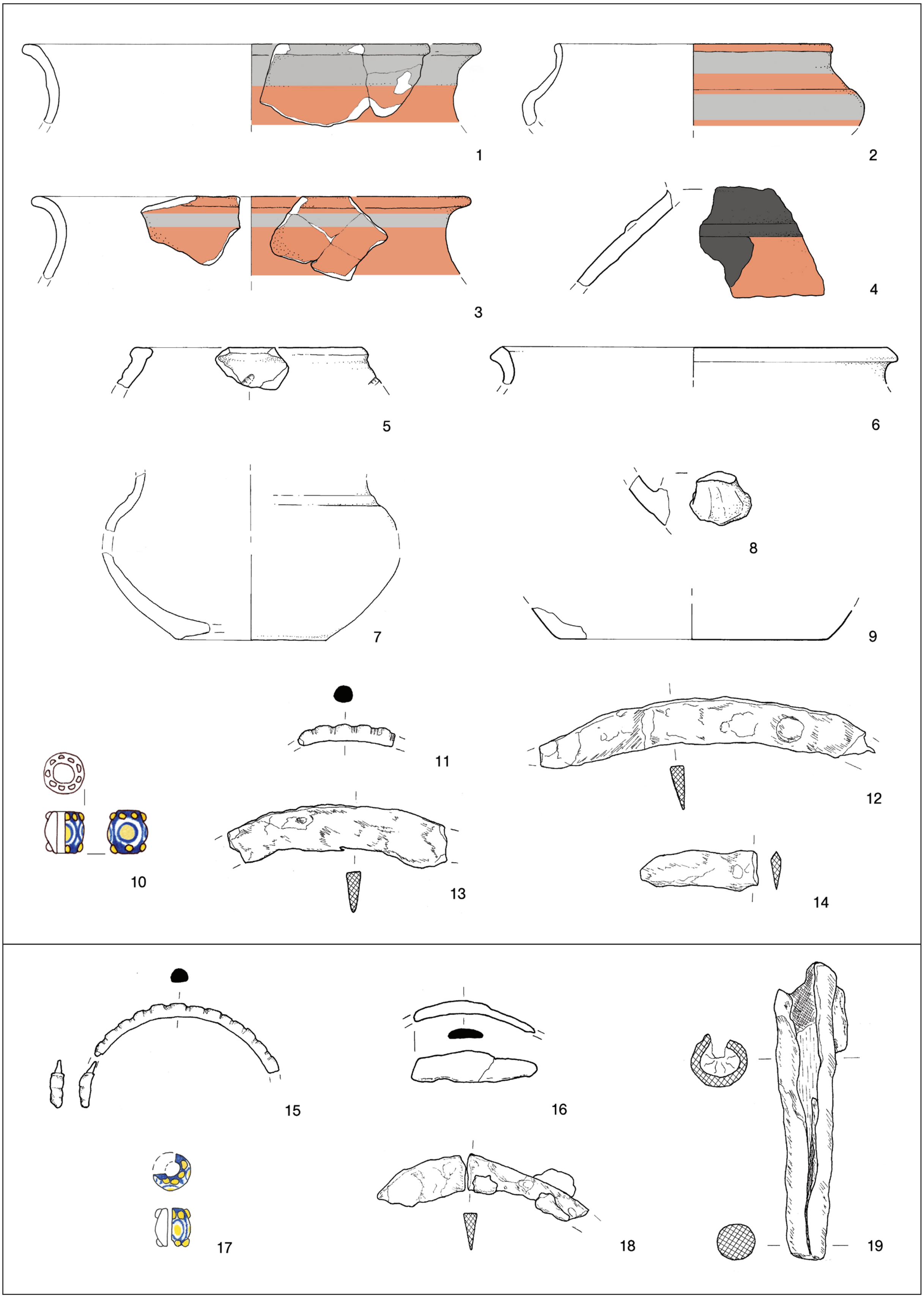
T. 2: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Najdbe z območja uničenih grobov v sredini gomil G 21 (1–15) in G 22 (16–18). 1–7,13–16 keramika; 8–10,17 bron; 11,18 železo; 12 steklo. M. 8–12,17,18 = 1:2; ostalo 1:3.

Pl. 2: Godeško-Reteške dobrave. Finds from the area of destroyed graves in the centre of tumuli G 21 (1–15) and G 22 (16–18). 1–7,13–16 pottery; 8–10,17 bronze; 11,18 iron; 12 glass. Scale 8–12,17,18 = 1:2; other 1:3.



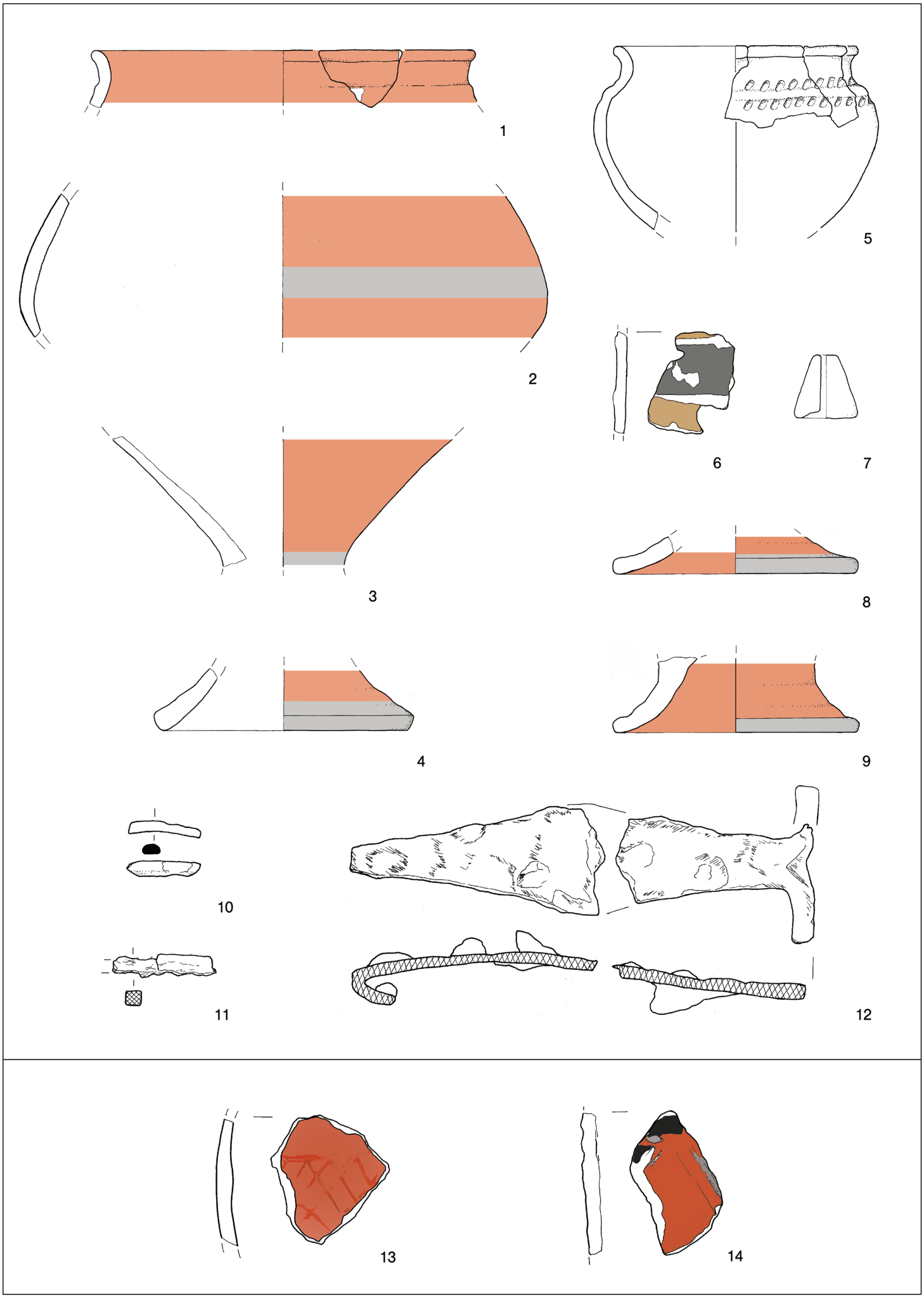
T. 3: Godeško-Reteške dobrave, gomila G 21. Najdbe iz uničenih grobov na južnem obodu gomile. 1–12 keramika; 13 bron, 14 železo. M. 13,14 = 1:2; ostalo 1:3.

Pl. 3: Godeško-Reteške dobrave, tumulus G 21. Finds from destroyed graves at the southern rim of the tumulus. 1–12 pottery, 13 bronze, 14 iron. Scale 13,14 = 1:2; other 1:3.



T. 4: Godeško-Reteške dobrave, gomila G 21. Najdbe iz gomilnega nasutja (1–14) in temnega pasu zemljine okoli gomile (15–19). 1–9 keramika; 10,17 steklo; 11,15,16 bron; 12–14,18–19 železo. M. 10–19 = 1:2; ostalo 1:3.

Pl. 4: Godeško-Reteške dobrave, tumulus G 21. Finds from the tumulus fill (1–14) and dark strap of soil around the tumulus (15–19). 1–9 pottery; 10,17 glass; 11,15,16 bronze; 12–14,18–19 iron. Scale 10–19 = 1:2; other 1:3.



T. 5: Godeško-Reteške dobrave, gomila G 22. Najdbe iz gomilnega nasutja (1–12) in plasti pod gomilo (13,14). 1–9,13–14 keramika; 10 bron, 11,12 železo. M. 10–12 = 1:2; ostalo 1:3.
Pl. 5: Godeško-Reteške dobrave, tumulus G 22. Finds from the tumulus fill (1–12) and layers under the tumulus (13,14). 1–9,13–14 pottery; 10 bronze; 11,12 iron. Scale 10–12 = 1:2; other 1:3.

Mengeš v pozni prazgodovini

Mengeš in late prehistory

Janja ŽELEZNIKAR

Izvleček

Mengeš ima bogato in pestro arheološko zgodovino, njegovo poselitveno podobo v preteklosti pa izrisujejo številne (četudi naključne) najdbe. Najzgodnejše zanesljivo potrjene sledi poselitve najdemo na hribu Gobavica. Poseljen je bil verjetno že v pozni bronasti dobi, zanesljivo pa v starejšem halštatskem obdobju (Ha C), ko je bil utrjen s kamnitim obzidjem. Njegovi prebivalci so dočakali prihod Rimljanov.

Sočasno z višinsko naselbino so sledi poselitve izpričane tudi v nižini. Severovzhodno od Gobavice je bila najdena naselbinska plast, domnevno iz pozne bronaste dobe. Na jugovzhodnem vznožju Gobavice (danes območje OŠ Mengeš) je bila v letih 2021/22 odkrita večfazna naselbina. Najstarejši arheološki ostanki (stavbe in najdbe) datirajo v čas pozne bronaste dobe, sledijo halštatske, latenske, antične in poznoantične najdbe, ki kažejo na dokaj kontinuirano rabo tega prostora.

Prazgodovinska grobišča so se raztezala od severovzhoda (Staretova drevesnica) do jugovzhoda (Zavrti, Grobeljska cesta, Zoranina in Zadružniška ulica). Pod Oranžerijo je bila najdena posoda-domnevno žara, ki nakazuje potencialno grobišče. Še eno grobišče je bilo na območju Puščave na Gobavici. Nekaj grobov je bilo najdenih tudi v Malem Mengšu ob gradnji obvozne ceste. Ali gre tu samo za ostanke nekropole ali morda tudi sočasne naselbine, bo verjetno bolje razvidno po obdelavi rezultatov raziskave. Vsa grobišča, razen tistega v Puščavi in morda pri Oranžeriji, kažejo na sočasnost skeletnega in žganega pokopa.

Ključne besede: Gorenjska; Mengeš; pozna bronasta doba; halštatska doba; latenska doba; naselja; depoji; plana grobišča; žgani grobovi; skeletni grobovi

Abstract

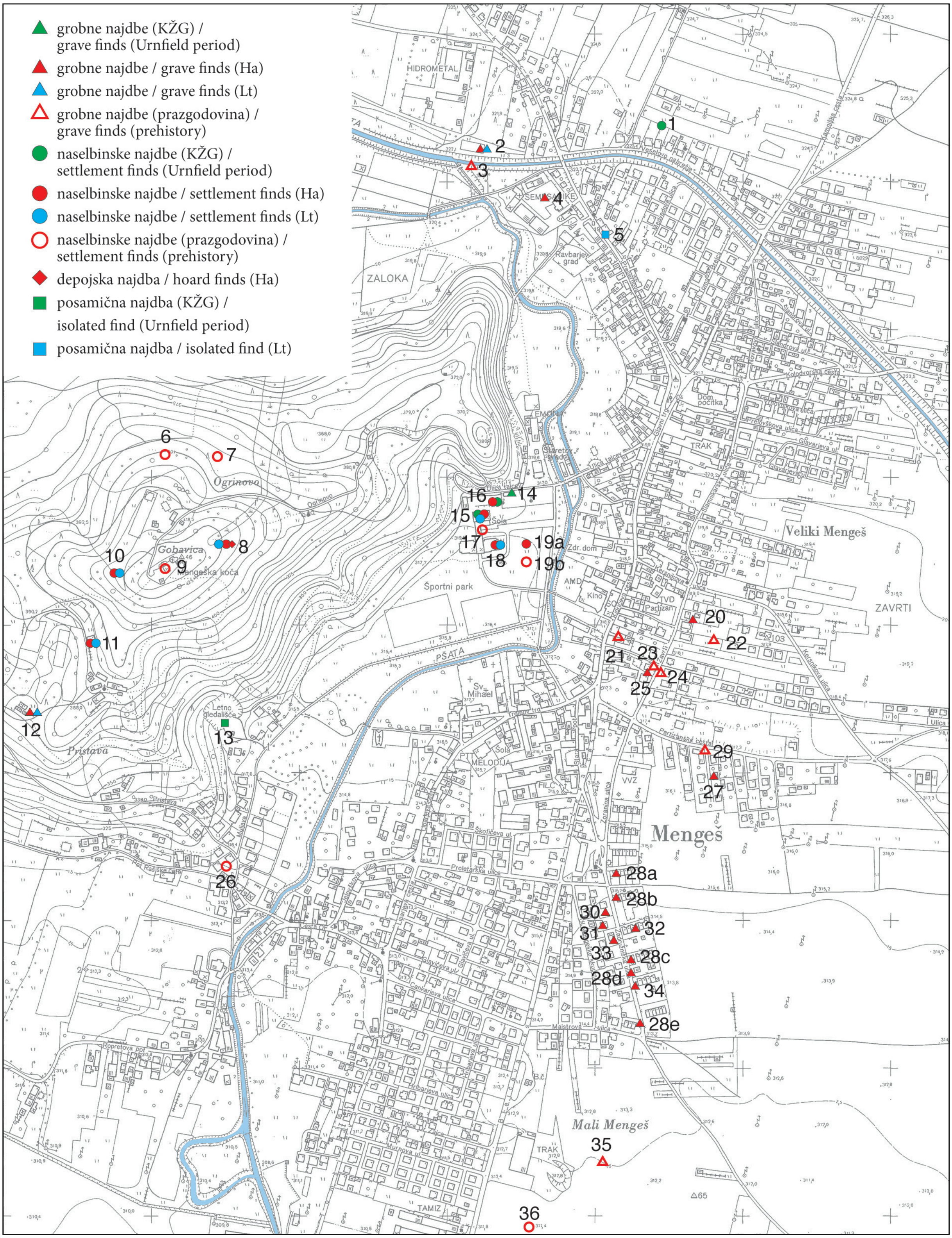
The history of archaeological discoveries in Mengeš is quite rich. Its settlement in the past is outlined by numerous (albeit incidental) finds. The earliest reliably confirmed traces of settlement were evidenced on Gobavica hill. It was probably inhabited as early as in the Late Bronze Age, but certainly in the Early Hallstatt period (Ha C), when it was fortified with stone walls. Its inhabitants encountered the arrival of the Romans.

Along with the hilltop settlement, contemporaneous lowland occupation is witnessed. Northeast of Gobavica, a settlement layer presumably from the Late Bronze Age was revealed near the Pšata stream. In 2021/22, a multi-phase settlement remains were discovered also at the south-eastern foot of Gobavica (today area of the Mengeš Elementary School). The earliest archaeological remains (buildings and finds) from this location date back to the Late Bronze Age, followed by Hallstatt, Late La Tène, Roman and Late Antiquity finds, which indicate long-term use of this area.

The prehistoric cemeteries stretched from the northeast (Staretova drevesnica) to the southeast (Zavrti, Grobeljska cesta, Zoranina and Zadružniška ulica), and one was at Puščava in the southwest slope of Gobavica. These are confirmed grave areas.

A vessel, possibly an urn, was found at the Oranžerija, marking a potential burial site. Some graves were also found in Mali Mengeš during the construction of the bypass road. After the research results have been processed, it will probably become clearer whether there are only the remains of the necropolis or perhaps also a contemporaneous settlement. All cemeteries, except for the one at Puščava and perhaps near at the Oranžerija indicate the contemporaneity of inhumation and cremation burials.

Keywords: Gorenjska; Mengeš; Late Bronze Age; Hallstatt period; La Tène period; settlements; hoards; flat cemeteries; incinerations; inhumations



Sl. 1: Lokacije odkritih najdb iz pozne prazgodovine v Mengšu (glej seznam *sl. 2*). M. = 1:10000.
Fig. 1: Locations of the late prehistoric finds in Mengeš (*cf.* list *Fig. 2*). Scale = 1:10000.
(podlaga / basemap: TTN5©GURS)

PZ – prazgodovina / Prehistory; **KŽG** – kultura žarnih grobišč / Urnfield period; **Ha** – halštatska doba / Hallstatt period; **Lt** – latenska doba / La Tène period; **A** – antika / Roman period; **PA** – pozna antika / Late Antiquity; **MMK** – Medobčinski muzej Kamnik; **NMS** – Narodni muzej Slovenije

Sl. 2: Seznam lokacij odkritih najdb iz pozne prazgodovine v Mengšu (glej *sl. 1*).
Fig. 2: List of locations of the late prehistoric finds in Mengeš (*cf. Fig. 1*).

Sl. 1 / Fig. 1	**Najdišče / Site**	**Datacija / Date**	**Leto odkritja ali prve omembe / Year of discoery or first mention**	**Vir / Source**	**Najdbe hrani / Finds are kept in**
1	Erjavčeva c. 1a	KŽG	2003	Štibernik 2003c;	Muzej Mengeš
2	Staretova drevesnica	Ha, Lt, A	1939	Gabrovec 1954; 1965; 1975; Zupančič 1979; Stražar 1993; Turk 1999; Sagadin 2020;	NMS inv. št. / Inv. Nos. P 8846–8864, 8872–8878, 10143–10150
3	Razbremenilnik za Pšato	PZ	1949/1950	Gabrovec 1965; 1975; Kolbezen 1976; Zupančič 1979; Stražar 1993; Sagadin 2020;	Neohranjeno / Not preserved
4	Dvorišče Semesadike	6. st. pr. Kr. / 6th c. BC	1979	Sagadin 1986a; 1986b; 1995; 1999; 2020; Stražar 1993; gl. tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*	Del MMK, del neohranjen / Part MMK, part not preserved
5	Prešernova c. 33a	Lt	2009	Peče 2009	Muzej Mengeš
6	Gobavica – Na Erjavci	PZ	1898	Müllner 1898; Gabrovec 1954; 1965; 1975; Stražar 1993; Sagadin 2020;	NMS inv. št. / Inv. No. P 10151a–c
7	Gobavica – 16. postaja trim steze	PZ	1989	Sagadin 1989c;	Muzej Mengeš
8	Gobavica – Depoja I in II / Hoards I and II; Sondi 1 in 2 / Trenches 1 and 2	8./7. st. pr. Kr., Lt / 8th/7th c. BC, Lt	1998	Pavlin, Železnikar 1998; Železnikar 1999; Turk 1999; 2000; 2003; Pavlin 2003; Pavlin, Turk 2014; Laharnar, Turk 2017; Sagadin 2020;	NMS inv. št. / Inv. Nos. P21566–P21716 (depo I); P21502–21519 (depo II); P 21721–21724, 21830–21835, 28339–28341, 29211–29217 (sondi 1 in 2 / trenches 1 and 2)
9	Gobavica – Mengeška koča	PZ	1952–1954; 1962	ustni viri / oral sources	Neohranjeno / Not preserved
10	Gobavica – sondiranje l. 2005 / excavations 2005	Ha, Lt	2005	Štibernik 2006a; 2007;	Muzej Mengeš
11	Pristava 16	Ha, Lt	2005	Štibernik 2006a; 2007; Sagadin 2020;	Muzej Mengeš
12	Puščava – Pristava 7–8 (prej / before 35)	Ha, Lt	1898	Gabrovec 1954; 1965; Zupančič 1979; Stražar 1993; Turk 1999; Železnikar 1999; Štibernik 2003a; Sagadin 2020;	NMS inv. št. / Inv. Nos. P 4360a–c; P 4404; sulična ost je pogrešana / the spearhead is missing
13	Kamnolom Gobavica / Quarry Gobavica	Ha A	1970	Zupančič 1979; Stražar 1993; Turk 1999; Sagadin 2020;	MMK, inv. št. / Inv. No. 2629
14	Oranžerija	9./8. St. pr Kr. / 9th/8th c. BC.	1993	Sagadin 1997; 2020; Turk 1999;	Muzej Mengeš
15	OŠ Mengeš – stara telovadnica /	KŽG, Ha, Lt, A, PA	2021/2022	Josipovič ustno / personal communication; Drolc 2022;	Začasno / Temporarily: Arheološke raziskave in publiciranje Draško Josipovič
16	med OŠ Mengeš in Oranžerijo	8./7. st. pr. Kr. / 8th/7th c. BC	1997	Josipovič, Kajfež 1997; Turk 1999;	Muzej Mengeš
17	OŠ Mengeš – dovoz v kuhinjo	PZ	1993	Sagadin 1997; 1999;	Muzej Mengeš?
18	OŠ Mengeš – vzhodni prizidek	5. st. pr. Kr., 1. st. po Kr. / 5th c. BC, 1st c. AD	2016	Urankar, Bešter 2016; Sagadin 2020;	Začasno / Temporarily: PJP d. o. o.
19a	Nova športna dvorana	Ha	2018–2020	Josipovič, ustno / personal communication 2021;	Začasno / Temporarily: Arheološke raziskave in publiciranje Draško Josipovič

19b	Območje športnega parka in nove športne dvorane	PZ	2008–2010	Novšak *et al.* 2008; 2009; 2010; Sagadin 2020;	Začasno / Temporarily: Arhej d. o. o.
20	Zavrti 14	Ha D	2003	Štibernik 2003b; 2006c;	Muzej Mengeš
21	Slovenska c. 51 (Kebrovo zemljišče)	PZ ali / or PA	1858	Rutar 1894; Gabrovec 1975; Stražar 1993;	Neohranjeno / Not preserved
22	Zavrti 9, Balantičeva 20, 22, 13b in 5	PZ	2011	Soklič 2011;	Muzej Mengeš
23	Zavrti 6	PZ	1978	Stražar 1993; gl. tu. Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*	MMK
24	Zavrti 7	PZ? PA?	1963	Stražar 1993;	Neohranjeno? / Not preserved?
25	Med Zavrti 4 in 6	Ha D	2003	Štibernik 2003b; 2006c; gl. tu. Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*	Muzej Mengeš
26	Rašiška c. 4 (prej / before Pot Rašiške čete)	PZ	1989	Sagadin 1989b; Turk 1999;	Neohranjeno? / Not preserved?
27	Grobeljska c. 16 (prej / before Partizanska c.)	Ha C	1948	Gabrovec 1954; 1965; 1975; Stražar 1993; Sagadin 2020;	Izgubljeno – premešano z najdbami iz Staretove drevesnice? (gl. *op. 3*) / Lost - mixed with finds from Staretova drevesnica? (see *Fn. 3*)
28 a–e	Zoranina ul. 20 – Zadružniška ul. 1–4, 8, 31, 41, 42	Ha C	2001/2002	Štibernik 2006b; Sagadin 2020;	Muzej Mengeš
29	Grobeljska c. 12 – steber kozolca	PZ ali / or PA	1948	Gabrovec 1965; 1975; Stražar 1993; Sagadin 2020;	Neohranjeno / Not preserved
30	Zadružniška ul. 4	8. st. pr. Kr. / 8th c. BC	1965	Gabrovec 1965; Stražar 1993; Sagadin 2020;	Neohranjeno / Not preserved
31	Zadružniška ul. 6	8. st. pr. Kr. / 8th c. BC	1964	Gabrovec 1965; Stražar 1993; Sagadin 2020;	Neohranjeno / Not preserved
32	Zadružniška ul. 11-21	8. st. pr. Kr. / 8th c. BC	1957	Gabrovec 1965; 1975; Zupančič 1979; Stražar 1993; Turk 1999; Sagadin 2020; gl. tu. Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*	NMS, inv. št. / Inv. Nos. P 11405–11408, 18585
33	Zadružniška ul. 8	8./7. st. pr. Kr. / 8th/7th c. BC	1973	Zupančič 1979; Stražar 1993; Turk 1999; Sagadin 2020;	MMK, inv. št. / Inv. No. 2630
34	Zadružniška ul.	8. st. pr. Kr. / 8th c. BC	1977	Zupančič 1979;	MMK
35	Mali Mengeš 1– obvoznica	PZ, A	2010	Olić 2010;	Začasno / Temporarily: Arhos d. o. o.
36	Mali Mengeš 2 – obvoznica	PZ	2010	Olić 2010;	Začasno / Temporarily: Arhos d. o. o.

Gobavica (433 m n. m.), hrib nad Mengšem (*sl. 1*), je skupaj z Dobenim in Rašico nudila zavetje prebivalcem tega območja vse od prazgodovine. Kamniška Bistrica je v geološki preteklosti ustvarila široko in rodovitno polje, ki je nudilo dobre pogoje za nižinsko poselitev ter lažje in hitrejše prometne povezave. Ostanki najstarejše poselitve na obravnavanem območju (Spodnje Dobeno) segajo najmanj v eneolitik (Velušček 1999, 23).

Prve arheološke najdbe so v Mengšu prišle na dan po velikem požaru leta 1834. Večina jih je bila odkrita naključno, opisal pa jih je Alfonz Müllner (1879; 1898). Pred prvo svetovno vojno so nekatere našle pot v Deželni muzej za Kranjsko po zaslugi graščaka Antona Stareta (Müllner 1898, 56; Gabrovec 1954, 7–13; 1965, 89–134). Prvi celoviti pregled odkritij in najdb v Mengšu do šestdesetih let 20. stoletja je podal Stane Gabrovec v svoji doktorski disertaciji (Gabrovec 1961). V osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja je v Mengšu izkopaval konservator Zavoda za varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine Kranj (ZVKDS OE Kranj) Milan Sagadin, ki je izsledke sproti objavljal v strokovni reviji Varstvo spomenikov in Arheološkem vestniku. Večinoma je šlo za zaščitne akcije. Enaka dinamika se je nadaljevala v prvih dvajsetih letih 21. stoletja. Številne dovoljene, pa tudi neprijavljene posege v prostor je sprva nadzoroval pristojni Muzej Mengeš (zanj Janja Železnikar, Gregor Štibernik, Šimen Peče, Jurij Soklič), pozneje ali vzporedno pa od leta 2000 predvsem različna zasebna arheološka podjetja (PJP, d. o. o., Magelan skupina d. o. o., Arhej, d. o. o., in druga).

Prazgodovinske najdbe do leta 1960 je objavil Stane Gabrovec v članku *Kamniško ozemlje v* *prazgodovini* (Gabrovec 1965, 89–134). Ta objava je temeljna za obravnavano območje v predrimski dobi. Prerez stanja raziskav halštatske dobe v Mengšu do leta 1998 je v knjigi *Poselitvena podoba Mengša in okolice* predstavil Peter Turk (1999, 31–37), za latensko dobo pa Janja Železnikar (1999, 37–39). V tem prispevku dopolnjujemo dosedanje preglede z novoodkritimi prazgodovinskimi lokacijami v zadnjih dvajsetih letih. Večinoma so bile najdene z zaščitnimi arheološkimi raziskavami, rezultati teh so predstavljeni v obliki arhivskih poročil, osebnih terenskih ogledov in tudi ustnih virov (Draško Josipovič; izkopavanja na območju stare šolske telovadnice leta 2021 in 2022).

V pripravi je zbornik, ki bo predvidoma izšel letos.[1] V njem bodo podrobno predstavljeni rezultati arheoloških raziskav v Mengšu po letu 2000. Na tem mestu povzemamo samo krajše zaključke iz poročil izkopavalcev (*sl. 2*). Izjemne naselbinske najdbe, odkrite leta 2022, bodo v okviru magistrskih nalog obdelali študenti arheologije Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani v prihodnjih letih. Podrobnejšo analizo halštatskodobnih grobov v Mengšu, predvsem skeletnih, pa prinaša prispevek Brine Škvor Jernejčič, Gregorja Štibernika in Luke Gruškovnjaka (v nadaljevanju Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*) v tej publikaciji.

NASELBINSKE NAJDBE

Najstarejša mengeška naselbina je morda nastala v pozni bronasti dobi na severnem predelu, na območju današnje **Erjavčeve ulice (št. 1a)** (*sl. 1:* 1). Leta 2003 je pred gradnjo zasebne hiše Gregor Štibernik (Muzej Mengeš) z ekipo izkopaval na 333 m^2 veliki površini. Ugotovljena je bila kulturna plast debeline 10–15 cm (na nekaterih mestih do 25 cm), v njej so bili razpršeni številni odlomki prazgodovinske lončenine. Med najdbami je tudi nekaj kamnitih odbitkov, preliminarna časovna opredelitev keramike pa je pozna bronasta doba (poročilo Štibernik 2003c).

Največ podatkov o prazgodovinskih naselbinskih najdbah je s hriba **Gobavica** (*sl. 1*: 6–12), ki predstavlja prostorsko dominanto nad Mengeškim poljem. Prva poročila segajo na konec 19. stoletja. Leta 1898 je Alfons Müllner poročal, da je kmet Ogrin (po domače Templav) na svoji njivi **na Erjavci** pod Mengeško kočo *(sl. 1*: 6) pogosto naletel na kose surovega železa pravilne piramidalne oblike v velikosti 7–8 cm (Müllner 1898, 56; Gabrovec 1954, 13; *id*. 1965, 96, karta 1; *id*. 1975, 193; Stražar 1993, 43; Sagadin 2020, 188).

V zadnjih treh desetletjih se je količina najdb z Gobavice pomnožila, gradivo pa še ni bilo zadovoljivo obdelano in objavljeno. Gradnja **planinske koče** (*sl. 1*: 9) v letih 1952–1954 in 1962, gradnja vodovoda leta 1986 ter poznejši gradbeni posegi so to območje močno poškodovali, podatkov o arheoloških ostalinah in najdb iz tega časa ni.

Leta 1989 je bil na Gobavici izkopan manjši usek za **16. postajo trim steze** (*sl. 1*: 7). Sagadin je tam opazil kamnit zid in našel številne kose prazgodovinske keramike (Sagadin 1989a, 228). Naselbinski in arhitekturni ostanki so bili najdeni tudi pri sondiranju leta 1998 **na vzhodnem delu Gobavice** (*sl. 1*: 8), ki je potekalo s ciljem preverjanja lokacije odkritja depojske najdbe. Naselbinski ostanki datirajo v pozno bronasto in železno dobo do zgodnjeavgustejskega časa (Pavlin, Železnikar 1998, 29; Železnikar 1999, 37–37, št. 39–41; Turk 1999, 31–34; št. 41; *id*. 2003, 17–21; Pavlin 2003, 16–17; Pavlin, Turk 2014; Sagadin 2020, 190, sl. 1: 12; 2: 20; 3).

Aprila 2005 so na zaščitenem območju Gobavica brez dovoljenja ZVKDS OE Kranj kopali jarek za vodovod. Pristojni konservator Milan Sagadin je nato predpisal tri arheološke sonde (*sl. 1*: 10), izkop pa je izvedel Gregor Štibernik (Muzej Mengeš) z ekipo. Tri sonde povprečne velikosti 14 × 16 × 1,6 m, ki so bile locirane severno od Mengeške koče, so dale več kot sto odlomkov naselbinske keramike ter razkrile ostanke objekta in obzidja. Še tri sonde so bile izkopane na območju hiše **Pristava 16** *(sl. 1:* 11), kjer so odkrili nekakšen kamnit nasip oziroma utrditev roba terase. Med gradivom prevladujejo najdbe iz halštatske dobe, nekaj jih je tudi iz latenske in rimske dobe (Štibernik 2006a, 98–99; poročilo Štibernik 2007; Sagadin 2020, 190).

Na jugozahodnem vznožju Gobavice, na **Rašiški cesti 4** (prej Pot Rašiške čete 4) (*sl. 1:* 26), je bila v profilih gradbene jame, izkopane za hišo leta 1989, vidna do 15 cm debela temna plast z veliko oglja, dvema vijčkoma in več odlomki prazgodovinske keramike (Sagadin 1989b, 230; Turk 1999, 34, št. 34).

Leta 1993 je Milan Sagadin ob arheološkem nadzoru pri gradnji novega **dovoza v šolsko kuhinjo OŠ Mengeš** (*sl. 1*: 17) dokumentiral na globini 1,8 m plast žganine, hišnega lepa in pretežno prazgodovinske keramike (Sagadin 1997, 173; *id*. 1999, 39–40, št. 35).

[1] G. Štibernik, J. Železnikar, B. Škvor Jernejčič (ur.), *Nova odkritja v starem Mengšu* (v pripravi).

Izkopavanja pod vodstvom Draška Josipoviča v letih 2021 in 2022 pod **staro šolsko telovadnico** (*sl. 1:* 15) – na prostoru bodoče nove šolske kuhinje, jedilnice in knjižnice – so ponudila odgovore na nekatera odprta vprašanja in spremenila pogled na rezultate sondažnih raziskav leta 1997. Takrat so Draško Josipovič, Tomo Kajfež in Katja Majdič s sodelavci izkopali okoli stare šolske telovadnice (**med osnovno šolo in oranžerijo** – *sl. 1*: 16) štiri sonde (Josipovič, Kajfež 1997, 21–22) in ostaline opredelili v tri poselitvene faze. Odkrili so ostanke prazgodovinskih stavb, jame za stojke, odlomke keramike in certoško fibulo. Pet posod, napolnjenih s pepelom, ki so približno sočasne s temi objekti, so pripisali žarnemu grobišču. V sondi 3 so bile plasti delno premešane, v njih so bile prazgodovinske in rimskodobne najdbe ter strgalo domnevno iz starejše kamene dobe. V sondi 4 je bil odkrit dobro grajen 0,70 m debel rimski zid. Nobena sonda pa ni bila kopana do naravne geološke osnove (Josipovič, Kajfež 1997, 21–22; Turk 1999, 36, št. 23, 32, 36; Sagadin 2020, 190, sl. 2: 11). Območje v okolici šole je bilo v zadnjih dvajsetih letih pregledano z različnimi metodami in tehnikami. Vse so dale podobne najdbe, ki segajo od pozne bronaste prek železne dobe do antike in pozne antike. Za celostno interpretacijo so ključne raziskave Draška Josipoviča pod **staro šolsko telovadnico** leta 2021 in 2022 (*sl. 1:* 15). S podizvajalci je marca 2021 pred izkopavanji naredil sedem jedrnih vrtin, globokih 4–7 m. Izkazalo se je, da kulturne plasti pod telovadnico niso bile uničene in da segajo več kot 3 m globoko (Draško Josipovič, marec 2021, ustno). To je bilo potrjeno z izkopavanji leta 2021 in 2022. Izkopavanja so povsem spremenila pogled na poselitev jugovzhodnega vznožja Gobavice. Predhodna domneva, da bi lahko šlo za grobišče in da so bile v sondah leta 1997 odkrite žare (Turk 1999, 36, št. 23, 32, 36), se je spremenila. V več halštatskodobnih objektih so namreč našli ognjišča, ob njih so bile vkopane posode s pepelom, pobranim z ognjišč. Na raziskanem območju so bili odkriti ostanki stavb iz različnih dob. Med najdbami iz halštatske dobe izstopajo koščene drsalke, nekaj fibul in kalup za vlivanje obročkov (Josipovič, ustno ob večkratnih terenskih obiskih; Drolc 2022). Ta nižinska naselbina je bila ob potoku Pšata, njegova struga je nekoč potekala bližje hribu Gobavica.

V letih 2008–2010 je bilo pred gradnjo vzhodnega prizidka k osnovni šoli – **nova športna dvorana** in območje športnega parka s 15 jedrnimi vrtinami pregledano 6700 m2 veliko območje (*sl. 1:* 19b). V vzorcih plasti iz vrtin so bili odlomki prazgodovinske in antične lončenine, oglje ter ožgane kosti. Na južnem delu pod šolo je bil na globini 2,8–3 m najden fragment prazgodovinske keramike (poročila Novšak *et al.* 2008; 2009; 2010; Sagadin 2020, 190, sl. 2: 4, 8).

Leta 2016 je potekalo pod vodstvom Rafka Urankarja (podjetje PJP, d. o. o.) izkopavanje na območju predvidene gradnje **vzhodnega prizidka k osnovni šoli** (*sl. 1*: 18). Pod 1,3 m debelim nasutjem so na jugovzhodnem delu izkopa naleteli na arhitekturne ostanke, ki so pripadali rimskodobni fazi poselitve (1. st. pr. Kr. in 1. st. po Kr.). Ohranile so se tudi poti med stavbami. Med drobnimi najdbami je največ odlomkov grobe kuhinjske keramike, izdelane v prazgodovinski tradiciji (poročilo Urankar, Bešter 2016; Sagadin 2020, 192, sl. 2: 4).

Ob gradnji **nove športne dvorane** pri OŠ Mengeš (*sl. 1*: 19a) je od leta 2018 do 2020 v presledkih potekal arheološki nadzor. Leta 2018 so bila na lokaciji povezovalnega trakta med športno dvorano in šolo izvedena arheološka izkopavanja pod vodstvom Draška Josipoviča (za podjetji Magelan in Arhos). Na stiku z izkopanim območjem leta 2016 (severozahodni vogal) sta bila najdena prazgodovinski lonček in del žrmelj. Pri arheološkem nadzoru leta 2019 so naleteli na dve jami za stojki in nekaj fragmentov prazgodovinske keramike. Na predelu nekoč asfaltiranega šolskega igrišča, ki je bil močno poglobljen, arheoloških ostalin ni bilo. Leta 2020 so ob šoli urejali še kanalizacijo in našli nekaj odlomkov antičnih tegul ter ustje keramične šobe za vpihovanje v peč (Draško Josipovič, februar 2021, ustno).

Ob izkopavanjih pred gradnjo mengeške obvoznice so bili na skrajnem južnem delu Mengša, na lokaciji **Mali Mengeš 2** (*sl. 1*: 36), odkriti deli prazgodovinskih posod. Poselitev na tem delu je zaradi naplavin težko opredeljiva (poročilo Olić 2010).

DEPOJSKE NAJDBE

V naselbini na **Gobavici** sta bila odkrita dva depoja mešane sestave (*sl. 1*: 8). Jeseni leta 1997 je Miran Bremšak, terenski sodelavec arheologov in odkritelj številnih novih arheoloških lokacij po Sloveniji, na Gobavici našel depo kovinskih predmetov. Maja 1998 so sledila arheološka izkopavanja dveh manjših sond pod vodstvom Primoža Pavlina in ob pomoči Lucije Lavrenčič (oba ZRC

SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo), sodelovala sta še Peter Turk (Narodni muzej Slovenije) in Janja Železnikar (Muzej Mengeš). S tem sondiranjem je bil najden še drugi depo. Vkopan je bil v geološko osnovo, v skrinji podobni kamniti strukturi je bilo 18 bronastih predmetov – fragmenti uhatih in plavutastih sekir, odlomki ovratnice, zapestnice in vozlasta fibula. V sestavu 168 predmetov iz prvega depoja pa prevladujejo odlomki sekir, ploščatih in paličastih ingotov ter nakita. Najstarejši predmeti sodijo v 10.–8. st. pr. Kr., mlajši pa v 8.–7. st. pr. Kr. (Pavlin, Železnikar 1998, 29; Železnikar 1999, 37–39, št. 39–41; Turk 1999, 31–34; št. 41; *id*. 2003, 17–21; Pavlin 2003, 16–17; Pavlin, Turk 2014, 35–78; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 88–89, 92, 212, sl. 100, 103; Sagadin 2020, 190, sl. 1: 12; 2: 20; 3).

GROBNE NAJDBE

V Mengšu lahko govorimo o najmanj šestih območjih nekropol z različnim načinom pokopa. Iz halštatske dobe so znani sočasni žgani in skeletni grobovi. Samo žgani pokop je bil odkrit na nekropoli v Puščavi in pogojno na območju Oranžerije (zgolj en grob), na preostalih območjih je zastopan biritualni pokop.

Najseverneje leži halštatskodobno grobišče na območju nekdanje **Staretove drevesnice** (*sl. 1:* 2). Tam je Viktor Herfort leta 1939 izkopal dva žgana grobova, pri obeh sta bili grobni jami obloženi s kamenjem (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl. 2). Grob 1 je vseboval glineno situlo – žaro, okrašeno z bronastimi žebljički, skodeli z uvihanim ustjem, skodelo s presegajočim ročajem, glineno stojalo (podstavek za posode) in nogo glinene posode, oba okrašena z vrezanimi črtami, fragmentiran lonec ter preluknjano bronasto ploščico in bronasto večglavo iglo. V grobu 2 so bile žara, skodeli s presegajočim ročajem in okrasom iz bronastih žebljičkov, fragmenti sklede z uvitim ustjem in bronasta večglava igla[2] (Gabrovec 1954, 10, t. 1: 1–2, 4–5; *id*. 1965, 97, 103; t. 1: 1–7; 2: 1–6; 3: 1–2; *id*. 1975, 193; Zupančič 1979, 19; Stražar 1993, 44, t. 1–2; Turk 1999, 34, št. 24, 25; Sagadin 2020, 188).

Na istem območju so bili odkriti tudi grobovi iz latenske in rimske dobe, ki jih je izkopal Rajko Ložar leta 1939. Pridatki iz teh grobov so verjetno premešani (Gabrovec 1965, 103). Med njimi so kantaros s presegajočima ročajema in cikcak okrasom, nož z usločenim rezilom in zanko na koncu ročaja. Gre za značilne najdbe iz poznolatenskega in zgodnjerimskega obdobja (od 1. st. pr. Kr. do začetka 1. st. po Kr.) (Gabrovec 1965, 103, t. 4: 1–5; 5: 1–7; Železnikar 1999, 37, št. 38).

Med gradnjo **razbremenilne struge za Pšato** *(sl. 1*: 3*)* v letih 1949–1950 so po navedbah tedanjega upravnika posestva Oroslava Oroža uničili precej prazgodovinskih grobov (Gabrovec 1965, 97–98; *id*. 1975, 193; Kolbezen 1976, 93, sl. 50, 51; Zupančič 1979, 20; Stražar 1993, 44–45; Sagadin 2020, 188).

Nekoliko južneje so bile na dvorišču podjetja **Semesadike** (*sl. 1*: 4) pri delih leta 1978 odkrite ostaline iz rimske dobe, poleg tega pa še otroški skelet z ovratnico in odlomki pitosa (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl.1: 1–5) iz halštatske dobe oz. 6. st. pr. Kr. (Sagadin 1986a, 106; *id*. 1986b, 269, sl. 37; Stražar 1993, 49; Sagadin 1995, 217, 221, sl. 11, 12, t. 3: 8–12; *id*. 1999, 39; *id*. 2020, 190, sl. 2: 5; 4; 8; 10). Grobne najdbe s teh treh lokacij prištevamo k eni nekropoli, poimenovali smo jo območje Staretove drevesnice in podjetja Semesadike.

Na jugovzhodnem vznožju Gobavice se je morda razprostiralo drugo žgano plano grobišče (*sl. 1:* 14), za kar bi govorila naključno najdena žara – posoda, ki jo je leta 1993 Brane Peterlin (lastnik lokala v **Oranžeriji**) izročil konservatorju ZVKDS OE Kranj Milanu Sagadinu (Sagadin 1997, 173; Turk 1999, 36, št. 22; Sagadin 2020, 188). Lahko bi pripadalo naselbinskemu kompleksu, ki se je raztezalo pod jugovzhodnim izrastkom Gobavice na območju stare šolske telovadnice, kjer je predvidena gradnja novih prostorov za šolske potrebe. To območje je bilo intenzivno arheološko preiskano v letih 2021 in 2022 (glej tu naselbinske najdbe). Oranžerijo uvrščam samo pogojno v pregled grobišč. Bolj logičen se zdi zaključek, da je nižinski naselbini pod Gobavico pripadalo veliko grobišče na Zavrteh do Zadružniške ulice na jugu.

Jugozahodno od najvišjega vrha Gobavice so bili v **Puščavi** (*sl. 1:* 12) že konec 19. stoletja odkriti plani žgani grobovi. Alfonz Müllner je leta 1898 poročal o žganem grobu z žaro, pokrito s skodelo, ob žari sta ležali okrašeni bronasti zapestnici. Odkrita sta bila tudi latenski železen nož in železna sulica (Müllner 1898, 56). Bronasti zapestnici in železen nož je objavil Gabrovec (1954, t. 1: 6; *id*. 1965, t. 6: 1,12–13), grob z žaro, skodelo in dvema zapestnicama iz halštatske dobe je lociral zahodno oz. severozahodno od hiše Franca Šimenca. Rekonstruirana lokacija leži severozahodno od hiše na Pristavi 7–8. Drugi žgani grob je bil odkrit

[2] Gabrovec (1965) je med pridatki groba 2 objavil dve bronasti igli, vendar ena sodi v grob 1, sodeč po terenski skici, ki jo hrani NMS (arhiv AO št. 369).

ob gradnji gospodarskega pomožnega poslopja nasproti stare hiše. V njem naj bi bile poleg žare s pepelom še zapestnice in "lončene" (verjetno jantarne) jagode. Tretji grob je bil v Puščavi najden pri širjenju poti od Šimenčeve hiše do kozolca. Sodeč po teh naključnih odkritjih lahko rečemo, da je bila v Puščavi halštatskodobna nekropola s planimi žganimi pokopi (Gabrovec 1954, t. 1: 6; *id*. 1965, t. 6: 1,12–13; Zupančič 1979, 19; Stražar 1993, 43–44, t. 6: 1–2; Turk 1999, 34; Železnikar 1999, 37; Štibernik 2003a, sl. 7; Sagadin 2020, 188). Domačini so vedeli povedati, da je bilo tukaj še več grobov.

Velika halštatska nekropola se je razprostirala na jugovzhodu, na območju, imenovanem Zavrti. V času gradenj stanovanjskih hiš od konca petdesetih let 20. stoletja do danes so prihajale na dan različne arheološke najdbe. Na tem območju se mešajo prazgodovinski skeletni in žgani grobovi ter poznoantični skeletni pokopi. Ker so podatki o odkritjih lobanj in kosti skopi, je težko ločiti, iz katerega časa so skeleti, ki so bili brez pridatkov, zato navajamo vse v virih omenjene lokacije, na karti pa so prikazane samo tiste, ki jih je mogoče opredeliti v prazgodovino (*sl. 1:* 20–25).

Nekropola **na Zavrteh** se na severu začne nekje na območju, kjer so pri gradnji telovadnice TVD Partizan leta 1930/31 našli človeško okostje. Stražar (1993, 52–53) poroča, da je bilo na tem območju najdenih več skeletov. Za okostje odraslega moškega, najdeno leta 1952 pri Tonetu Burgarju (Zavrti 12), ni drugih podatkov, za druge grobove, ki jih omenja Stražar, pa lahko na podlagi opisa pridatkov sklepamo, da so bili ali skeletni ali žgani iz halštatske dobe (Stražar 1993, 52–53).

Ali sta bila grobova, najdena leta 1858 na nekdanjem **Kebrovem zemljišču** (danes Slovenska cesta 51 – *sl. 1*: 21), v katerih je bila ogrlica iz jagod, skeletna ali žgana, ni navedeno (Rutar 1894, 184; Gabrovec 1975, 193; Stražar 1993, 53), nedvomno pa sta pripadala veliki nekropoli Zavrti. Na lokaciji **Zavrti 6** (*sl. 1*: 23) je Ivan Bergant leta 1978 pri kopanju jame za cisterno naletel na globini 75–100 cm na dva skeleta z glavama proti vzhodu (Stražar 1993, 52–53). Ob enem so bile tri zapestnice iz starejše železne dobe (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al*., sl. 1: 6–8). Že leta 1958 je Bergant pri izkopu gradbene jame za hišo našel 14 skeletov, ki naj bi ležali brez vsakršnega reda. Ob njih je našel nekaj odlomkov keramike in odlomek vrča z ročajem, najdbe pa je menda izročil Ivanu Vidaliju (Stražar 1993, 53). Osem skeletov je bilo odkritih leta 1963 pri gradnji hiše Petra Krušnika **Zavrti 7** – (*sl. 1:* 24). Vkopani so bili meter globoko v prod, v šestih so bili najdeni močno korodirani kovinski pridatki neprepoznavne oblike, v enem je bila lončena posoda, nekateri grobovi niso imeli pridatkov. Vsi skeleti so pripadali odraslim osebam (Stražar 1993, 53).

Gabrovčeva domneva o biritualnih pokopih v Mengšu se je potrdila leta 2003 z odkritji ob izkopu jarka za plinovod in individualne priključke do hiš na Murnikovi, Liparjevi, Testenovi, Testenovi, Kolodvorski in Zadružniški ulici ter na Zavrteh. Arheološki nadzor gradbenih del je opravil Gregor Štibernik (Muzej Mengeš) z ekipo. Novembra 2003 so na cestišču ob pločniku pred hišo **Zavrti 14** *(sl. 1:* 20) našli delno poškodovan žgani grob (grob 1). Med hišama **Zavrti 4** in **6** (*sl. 1:* 25) je bil najden žgani grob (grob 2) iz starejše železne dobe, v njem je bila posoda, na njej pa je ležala železna sulica. Ob grobu je bil najden popolnoma ohranjen skelet konja. Na vrtovih hiš Zavrti 4 in 6 je bil odkrit grob s človeškim okostjem (grob 4), ki je bil delno poškodovan z recentnimi vkopi. Med grobnimi pridatki so bile tri posode in bronast lasni obroček. V njem naj bi bila pokopana ženska, stara 20–40 let in visoka 155 cm. V grobu 3 pa sta bila otroška lobanja in del ključnice (poročilo Štibernik 2003c; Štibernik 2006c, 101–102; glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al*., sl. 3–7).

Pri arheološkem nadzoru leta 2011, ki ga je na Mehletovi in Balantičevi ulici ob gradnji vodovodne, plinske in telefonske infrastrukture opravil Jurij Soklič, so bili na lokacijah **Zavrti 9** ter **Balantičeva ulica 20, 22, 13b** in **5** (*sl. 1:* 22) najdeni odlomki prazgodovinske keramike. Te najdbe nakazujejo, da je grobišče Zavrti verjetno segalo proti vzhodu do sredine Balantičeve ulice (poročilo Soklič 2011).

Na južnem delu Velikega Mengša je bilo na območju med Grobeljsko cesto ter Zoranino in Zadružniško ulico še eno veliko grobišče, ki se je morda raztezalo od Zavrtov na severu do Maistrove ulice na jugu. Leta 1948 so pri izkopu temeljev za hišo na današnji **Grobeljski cesti 16** (prej Partizanska cesta 16 – *sl. 1:* 27) našli tri žare, postavljene v trikotnik. Južno od njih so na Grobeljski cesti 12 pri postavitvi nosilnega stebra kozolca (*sl. 1:* 29) našli človeško lobanjo (Gabrovec 1954, 10, t. I: 1, 2, 4, 5;[3] *id*. 1965, 98; *id*. 1975, 193; Stražar 1993, 45; Sagadin 2020, 188). Za žarne grobove lahko upravičeno domnevamo, da so iz halštatske dobe, ostankov skeleta pa časovno ne moremo opredeliti.

[3] V Gabrovčevi objavi l. 1954 so narisane zelo podobne najdbe, kot so vodene pod Staretovo drevesnico.

Na **Zoranini ulici** *sl. 1:* 28a sta bila leta 2001 odkrita žgana grobova iz halštatske dobe (grobova 20/2001 in 21/2001), v enem je bila vaška vozlasta fibula. Grobova sodita v sklop raziskav, ki so potekale leta 2001/02 ob arheološkem nadzoru gradnje infrastrukturnih vodov **na Zoranini**, **Zadružniški** in **Maistrovi ulici**, vodil pa jih je Gregor Štibernik za Muzej Mengeš (Štibernik 2006b; 2006c).

Na celotni trasi je bilo odkritih 21 grobov, od tega 17 žganih in 4 skeletni. Vkopani so bili v prodnato-peščeno plast, v več primerih drug v drugega, kar je poškodovalo grobne celote. Največja gostota pokopov je bila zaznana na severnem delu Zadružniške ulice, kjer so med hišami **Zadružniška 1** in **4** (*sl. 1:* 28b) odkrili 14 grobov (grobovi 1, 2, 5–16/2001); pred hišo **Zadružniška 28** (*sl. 1:* 28c) je bil najden žarni grob 4/2001 (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl. 10), pred hišo na **Zadružniški 31** pa žgani grob 3/2001 (*sl. 1:* 28d). Grob 17/2001 je ležal na južnem delu ulice med hišama na **Zadružniška 41** in **42** in je bil žgan (*sl. 1:* 28e) (Štibernik 2006b, 99–100; Sagadin 2020, 190, sl. 2: 14).

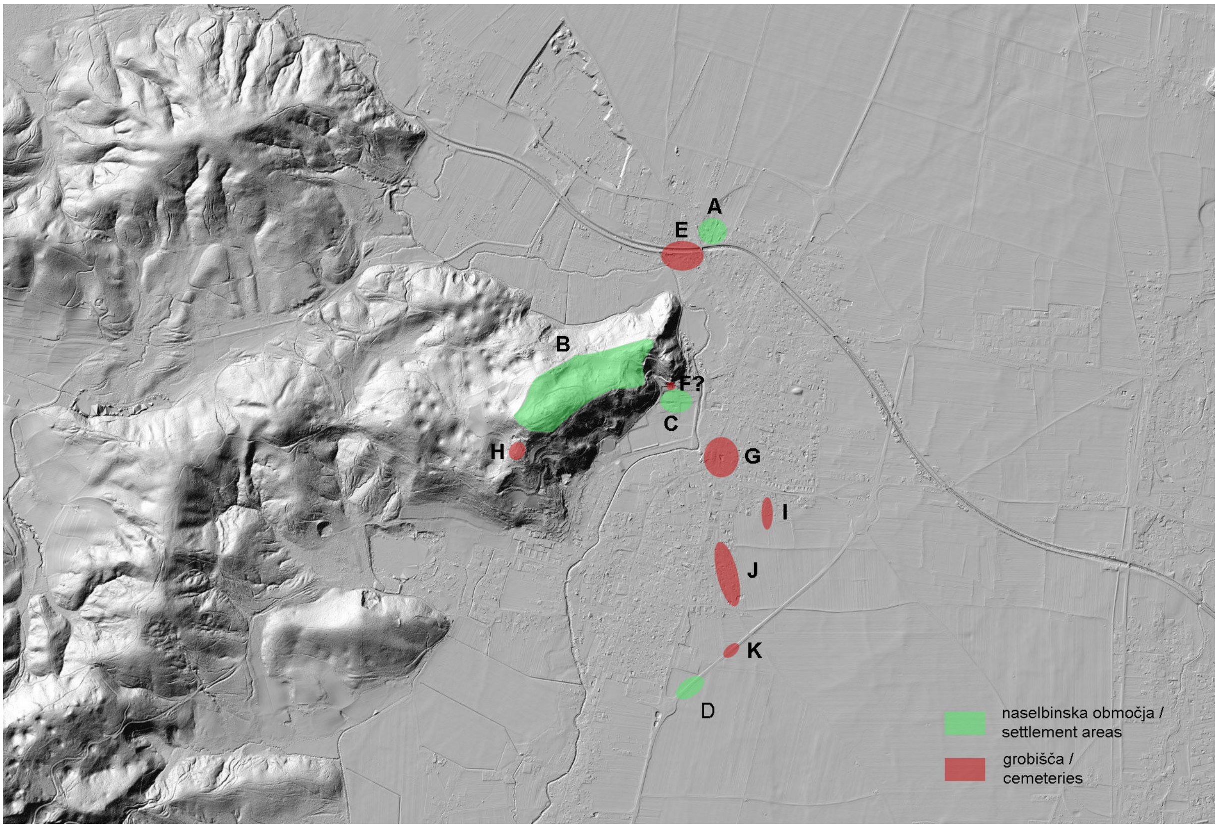
Na tem območju so že prej prihajali na dan različni predmeti iz halštatske dobe, ki kažejo na grobne pridatke. Leta 1965 so pri gradnji hiše v lasti Marije Žagar na **Zadružniški 4** (*sl. 1:* 30) naleteli na skeletne grobove s pridatki (igle, jagode); najdbe so izgubljene. Leta 1964 je Viljem Žagar pri gradnji hiše na **Zadružniški 6** (*sl. 1:* 31) našel lobanjo, pri garaži pa dve 12–15 cm dolgi bronasti igli in bronast obroček, tudi te najdbe se niso ohranile (Gabrovec 1965, 98; Stražar 1993, 45; Sagadin 2020, 188). Leta 1957 je bilo ob gradnji stanovanjskih blokov in vrstnih hiš na **Zadružniški 11–21** (tedaj se je imenovala Zadružna cesta – *sl. 1:* 32) odkritih najmanj šest skeletnih grobov, vkopanih v prod. Pri izkopavanju treh je bil prisoten Peter Petru, podatke za grobova 4 in 5 pa je zabeležil France Stare (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl. 8). Dva skeleta sta bila usmerjena proti jugovzhodu, dva na severovzhod, dva sta bila brez pridatkov. Skelet v grobu 3 je imel lasni obroček iz bronaste pločevine, dva podobna lasna obročka sta bila najdena na vsaki strani glave v grobu 4, v grob 5, ki ga je izkopal Ivan Vidali, so bili pridani dve zapestnici in odlomki uvite bronaste žice. Pridatke groba 6, ki jih je Vidali izročil Narodnemu muzeju, pa so sestavljale bronasta dvozankasta fibula in tri zapestnice. Najdbe so datirane v halštatsko dobo (Gabrovec 1965, 98, t. 3: 3–9; 6: 2–4; *id.* 1975, 193; Zupančič 1979, 19; Stražar 1993, 45, t. 3: 6–9; 6: 2–4; Turk 1999, 36, št. 27; Sagadin 2020, 188). Leta 1973 je Rudi Kunstelj z **Zadružniške 8** v severozahodnem delu parcele (*sl. 1*: 33) našel bronasto dvoglavo iglo, datirano v 8./7. st. pr. Kr. (Zupančič 1979, 19; Stražar 1993, 44; Turk 1999, 36; št. 31; Sagadin 2020, 188). Leta 1977 je bilo uničenih devet grobov pri kopanju kanalizacije na **Zadružniški ulici** (*sl. 1:* 34), pet je bilo žganih, štirje pa skeletni. Keramika iz žganih grobov je okrašena z bronastimi žebljički in šrafiranimi trikotniki (glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl. 10), enake posode so znane iz Staretove drevesnice (Zupančič 1979, 19).

Leta 2010 so pred gradnjo mengeške obvoznice potekale predhodne arheološke raziskave pod vodstvom Slobodana Olića (Arhos d. o. o.), pri čemer so na lokaciji Mali Mengeš 1 (*sl. 1*: 35) odkrili ostanke prazgodovinskega žarnega grobišča (poročilo Olić 2010).

POSAMIČNE NAJDBE

Z območja Mengša je v Deželni muzej za Kranjsko, predhodnika Narodnega muzeja, leta 1897 prišlo prek graščaka Antona Stareta železno bodalo z bronasto nožnico in gumbom na zaključku. Predmet ni ohranjen, podatek pa je naveden v akcesijski knjigi Narodnega muzeja Slovenije (pod št. 129/96 in 146/96), vendar brez natančne lokacije. Bodalo naj bi datiralo v mlajšo železno dobo (Gabrovec 1965, 100; Stražar 1993, 46; Sagadin 2020, 188). Anton Stare je muzeju leta 1912 podaril še druge naključno najdene predmete v letih pred prvo svetovno vojno. Točna lokacija teh najdb ni znana, verjetno pa so z njegovega posestva, zato je Gabrovec domneval, da so bile pobrane na gradišču Gobavica. Med najdbami so prazgodovinska in rimskodobna naselbinska keramika, nekaj ostankov živalskih kosti in žrmlje (Gabrovec 1954, 12; *id.* 1965, 96, t. 5, 9–10; Stražar 1993, 43, 48–49). Leta 1938 je Repič izročil Narodnemu muzeju halštatskodobno keramiko z neznane lokacije v Mengšu (Gabrovec 1965, 100). V Medobčinski muzej Kamnik pa je iz Sadnikarjeve zbirke leta 1964 prišla bronasta dvozankasta ločna fibula z okrašeno nogo (iz 8. st. pr. Kr.); kje v Mengšu je bila najdena, ni znano (Gabrovec 1954, 10; *id*. 1965, 100, t. 5: 8; *id*. 1975, 193; Stražar 1993, 46; Turk 1999, 36, kat. št. 29). Tudi za skeletni grob z bronasto fibulo s priveski, datirano v 8. st. pr. Kr. (Turk 1999, 36, kat. št. 30; glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl. 9), natančnejša lokacija na nekropoli Zadružniška ulica ni znana.

Najstarejša najdba z območja Gobavice je bronasta igla z bikonično glavico, ki jo je leta 1970 našel Jože Ogrin v **kamnolomu na Gobavici**



Sl. 3: Poselitvena slika Mengša v pozni prazgodovini. M. = 1:10000.
Fig. 3: Settlement image of Mengeš in the late prehistory. Scale = 1:10000.
(podlaga / basemap: LIDAR, Atlas okolja©GURS)

A – Erjavčeva c. (KŽG); **B** – Gobavica (KŽG, Ha, Lt); **C** – OŠ Mengeš (KŽG, Ha, Lt), **D** – Mali Mengeš 2 (prazgodovina); **E** – Staretova drevesnica-Semesadike (Ha); **F** – Oranžerija (Ha); **G** – Zavrti (Ha); **H** – Puščava-Pristava (Ha, Lt); **I** – Grobeljska c. (Ha); **J** – Zoranina-Zadružniška ul. (Ha); **K** – Mali Mengeš 1 (prazgodovina)
KŽG = kultura žarnih grobišč / Urnfield period; Ha = halštatska doba / Hallstatt period; Lt = latenska doba / La Tène period; prazgodovina / prehistory

(*sl. 1:* 13). Datirana je v pozno bronasto dobo, v stopnjo Ha A (Zupančič 1979, 19, t. 1: 9; Stražar 1993, 46; Turk 1999, 31–32, št. 19; Sagadin 2020, 188). Ali je šlo za naselbinsko ali grobno najdbo, je težko ugotoviti. Na **Prešernovi cesti 33a** (*sl. 1:* 5) pa je bil leta 2009 pri arheološkem nadzoru ob zamenjavi infrastrukturnih vodov najden fragment latenskodobne keramike (poročilo Peče 2009).

SKLEP

Rezultati dosedanjih raziskav kažejo, da je na hribu Gobavica v Mengšu nastala naselbina vsaj v času 8./7. st. pr. Kr. Z gradnjo planinske koče in drugimi posegi je bil najvišji vrh hriba poškodovan in plasti uničene, podatkov o arheoloških najdbah s tega predela ni. Naselbina je bila na severnem delu obzidana. Sledovi obzidja so ponekod še dobro vidni (*sl. 3*: B), na njegove ostanke so naleteli tudi pri nekaterih sondažnih raziskavah (*sl. 1:* 7, 10, 11). Obzidje naj bi bilo vsaj trikrat obnovljeno, v notranjosti pa so bili odkriti ostanki "solidno grajenih" bivanjskih objektov (Štibernik 2006a). Na vzhodnem robu naselbine sta bila v času 8./7. stoletja pr. Kr. zakopana depoja kovinskih predmetov (*sl. 1:* 8). Najdbe iz poznolatenskega in zgodnjerimskega obdobja (lončenina, zgodnjerimska konjska oprema, fibula, prstan idr.) pa kažejo, da so naseljenci Gobavice dočakali rimsko okupacijo.

Pod jugovzhodnim vznožjem hriba je bila nedavno odkrita tudi nižinska naselbina (*sl. 3*: C), od koder izvirajo številne zanimive najdbe, ki kažejo na kontinuirano rabo tega prostora. Po preliminarni opredelitvi sodijo najstarejši objekti in najdbe na prehod iz bronaste v železno dobo (9./8. st. pr. Kr.), odkriti so bili tudi ostanki iz mlajšega halštatskega obdobja (6.–4. st. pr. Kr.), latenske dobe ter antike in pozne antike. V neposredni bližini je bila na območju Oranžerije naključno najdena posoda, domnevno žara (*sl. 3:* F).

Eno od grobišč je bilo v halštatski dobi na jugozahodnem pobočju Gobavice v Puščavi – na Pristavi (*sl. 3*: H), tam so bili odkriti plani žarni grobovi. Druga so se razprostirala od severovzhoda proti jugovzhodu onkraj potoka Pšata. Najseverneje (*sl. 3*: E) je ležalo na območju Staretove drevesnice (*sl. 1:* 2), tam so odkrili plane žarne grobove iz starejšega halštatskega obdobja poleg grobov iz latenske in rimske dobe, nekoliko južneje je bil na dvorišču podjetja Semesadike (*sl. 1:* 4) najden otroški skeletni grob iz mlajšega halštatskega obdobja (6. st. pr. Kr.), več prazgodovinskih grobov naj bi po ustnih virih uničili pri regulaciji Pšate (*sl. 1:* 3). Severovzhodno od tega grobišča so znane tudi naselbinske najdbe iz pozne bronaste dobe (*sl. 3:* A). Proti jugovzhodu se je na Zavrteh razprostirala tretja nekropola (*sl. 3*: G) z žganimi in skeletnimi grobovi (*sl. 1:* 20–25) iz halštatske dobe, skeletni grobovi brez pridatkov bi lahko bili tudi poznoantični. Večja koncentracija grobov je bila prav tako odkrita na območju Zoranine in Zadružniške ulice (*sl. 3*: J). Tudi tu se mešajo žgani in skeletni grobovi, datirajo pa pretežno v starejše halštatsko obdobje (Ha C). Ali so skeletni ostanki, najdeni na območju Grobeljske ceste (*sl. 3*: I), pripadali veliki nekropoli, ki se je raztezala od severa prek Zavrtov do Zadružniške ulice na jugu in Grobeljske ceste na vzhodu, ali pa je šlo za tri ločena grobišča, bodo morda pokazala nadaljnja odkritja. Na ostanke prazgodovinskega žarnega grobišča so naleteli še južneje – na območju Malega Mengša 1 (*sl. 3:* K). Koliko je bilo dejansko nekropol v halštatski dobi, je po današnjem stanju raziskav težko oceniti.

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Mengeš in late prehistory

Summary

Mengeš is located in central Slovenia, northeast of Ljubljana (see here Teržan, Fig. 1). Its geographic position is marked by the Gobavica hill (433 m a.s.l.), which rises above a wide and fertile plain created in the geological past by the river Kamniška Bistrica (*Figs. 1* and *3*). It offers good conditions for living and communications. The settlement of this area is indicated in the late prehistory by numerous finds, which were mostly incidentally discovered by construction and other earthworks (*Fig. 2*). The finds from the pre-Roman era discovered up to 1960 were published by Stane Gabrovec (1965). Iron age finds research up to 1998 was published by Peter Turk (1999) and finds from the La Tène period by Janja Železnikar (1999). In the present paper, we supplement the previous reviews with newly discovered prehistoric sites over the previous two decades. In more detail, the archaeological image of Mengeš will be presented in the publication titled New Discoveries in Old Mengeš (editors Gregor Štibernik, Janja Železnikar, Brina Škvor Jernejčič), which is expected to be published in 2023.

According to the results of research thus far, the earlier traces of the settlement were found in the lowland area northeast of the Pšata stream (*Figs. 1:* 1; *3:* A) dated to the Late Bronze Age. Most of the data on prehistoric settlement finds are from the Gobavica hill (*Figs. 1:* 6–12; *3:* B), which show that it was inhabited at least in the $8^{th}/7^{th}$ century BC. This settlement was fortified in the north, traces of the walls are still clearly visible in some places and were revealed also by the archaeological trenches (*Fig. 1:* 7, 10, 11).

On the eastern edge of the settlement, two hoards of metal objects from the 8th/7th century BC were found (*Fig. 1:* 8). Finds from the Late La Tène and early Roman period (pottery, early Roman horse equipment, fibula, finger ring, etc.) testify that the inhabitants of Gobavica were enfaced with the Roman occupation.

Recently, traces of a lowland settlement were discovered under the south-eastern foot of the hill (*Figs. 1:* 15–19; *3:* C), from which many interesting finds originate, which indicate the long-term use of this area. According to a preliminary chronological determination, the earlier finds date to the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age (9th/8th centuries BC), also had been discovered remains from the Late Hallstatt period (6th–4th centuries BC), the La Tene period, as well as from Roman times and Late Antiquity. In the immediate vicinity, in the area of Oranžerija (*Figs. 1:* 14; *3:* F), an urn was found by chance. Less reliable is the existence of the southern settlement, in the location Mali Mengeš 2 (*Figs. 1:* 36; *3:* D), since fragments of prehistoric pottery were scattered in alluvial layers.

In the Hallstatt period, one of the cemeteries was on the southwestern slope of Gobavica hill, at Puščava – Pristava (*Figs. 1:* 12; *3:* H), where flat urn graves were unearthed. Others spread from northeast to southeast beyond the Pšata stream.

The northernmost burial grounds (*Fig. 3:* E) was located at Staretova drevesnica (*Fig. 1:* 2), where flat urn graves from the earlier Hallstatt period were discovered (see here Škvor Jernejčič *et al*., Fig. 2) along with the graves from La Tène and Roman periods. Nearby further to the south, in the area Semesadike (*Fig. 1:* 4) a child's inhumation grave from the Late Hallstatt period (6th century BC) was unearthed (see here Škvor Jernejčič *et al*., fig.1: 1–5). Several prehistoric graves were destroyed allegedly during the regulation of the Pšata stream (*Fig. 1:* 3). To the northeast of this cemetery, settlement finds from the Late Bronze Age are also known (*Fig. 3:* A).

The third necropolis from the Hallstatt period (*Fig. 3:* G) was spread towards the southeast at Zavrti, where cremated and skeletal burials were unearthed (*Fig. 1:* 20–25) (see here Škvor Jernejčič *et al*., Fig. 1: 6–8). It is also possible that the skeletal graves without grave goods date to Late Antiquity.

A larger concentration of cremated and skeletal graves was also discovered in the area of Zoranina and Zadružniška ulica (*Fig. 3:* J). They date mainly to the earlier Hallstatt period (Ha C) (see here Škvor Jernejčič *et al*., Fig. 9; 10). Whether the skeletal remains found in the area of Grobeljska cesta (*Fig. 3:* I) belong to a large necropolis stretching from Zavrti in the north to Zadružniška ulica in the south and Grobeljska cesta in the east, or were they three separate burial grounds may determine further investigations. The remains of a prehistoric cemetery were revealed even further south, in the area Mali Mengeš 1 (*Fig. 3:* K). Based on the current state of research is difficult to postulate more precisely how many graveyards there were in the Hallstatt period in Mengeš.

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Biritualna nekropola iz starejše železne dobe v Mengšu

A bi-ritual necropolis from the Early Iron Age in Mengeš

Brina ŠKVOR JERNEJČIČ, Gregor ŠTIBERNIK, Luka GRUŠKOVNJAK

Izvleček

Mengeš je s številnimi grobišči in utrjeno naselbino na Gobavici ter poselitvenim arealom neposredno ob vznožju gradišča eno pomembnejših najdišč gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine. V članku so predstavljeni rezultati arheoloških izkopavanj iz leta 2003 na grobišču Zavrti, kjer so bili odkriti skeletni in žgani grob ter pokop kobile iz mlajšehalštatskega obdobja. Arheološka datacija je bila potrjena z radiokarbonsko analizo. Gre za izjemno odkritje, saj pokop celega konja v okviru pogrebnega obreda in kulta do zdaj iz gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine še ni bil znan, prav tako je na Gorenjskem v tem času izjemen skeletni pokop. Analiza vseh skeletnih grobov iz starejše železne dobe iz Mengša je pokazala, da se je inhumacija pojavila že od konca 9./8. st. pr. n. št., tak način pokopa se je ohranil tudi v mlajšehalštatski čas. Nova odkritja potrjujejo, da je bil Mengeš v starejši železni dobi na meji interesnih območij posameznih skupnosti, še posebej svetolucijske in dolenjske halštatske skupine.

Ključne besede: Mengeš; starejša železna doba; gorenjsko-ljubljanska halštatska skupina; biritualnost; skeletni pokop; žgani pokop; pokop kobile; radiokarbonske (^{14}C) analize

Abstract

With its numerous cemeteries and fortified settlement at Gobavica together with the settlement area at its base, Mengeš represents one of the most important sites of the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group. In the article, we present the results of an archaeological excavation conducted on the Zavrti site in 2003. Here, several skeletal graves and one cremation grave as well as the burial of a mare have been discovered. All can be dated to the younger Hallstatt period, which has also been confirmed by the result of radiocarbon dating analysis. Such findings are clearly remarkable, as this is the first example to date of a complete horse skeleton burial within the funeral ritual from the Gorenjska-Ljubljana group. Furthermore, the discovered skeletal graves are also exceptional for the Gorenjska region. Analysis of all skeletal graves from the Early Iron Age period in Mengeš revealed that the practice of inhumation burial had appeared in the 9th/8th century BC and continued in the younger Hallstatt period. New discoveries confirm that in the Early Iron Age Mengeš was within the interest spheres of several communities, especially those from the Sv. Lucija and Dolenjska Hallstatt groups.

Keywords: Mengeš; Early Iron Age; Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group; bi-rituality; inhumation burial; cremation burial; mare burial; radiocarbon (^{14}C) dating

Način pokopa je bil za Staneta Gabrovca eden izmed glavnih kriterijev pri opredelitvi posameznih starejšeželeznodobnih skupin jugovzhodnoalpske halštatske kulture. Heterogenost in individualnost teh skupin je prepoznal predvsem v pogrebnih običajih (inhumacija, kremacija) in pogrebnih obeležjih (gomile, plana grobišča). Mengeške nekropole zavzemajo v okviru gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine v tem oziru prav posebno mesto, saj gre v večini za biritualne nekropole z žganimi in skeletnimi pokopi. Izjemno je odkritje celega skeleta kobile v Mengšu, saj pokop žrtvovanega konja v okviru pogrebnega obreda do zdaj iz te skupine še ni bil znan.

Gabrovec je Gorenjsko skupaj z Ljubljansko kotlino uvrstil v t. i. ljubljansko skupino,[1] ob tem pa opozoril, da gre za izrazito prehoden prostor. Prav zaradi raznovrstnosti v načinu pokopa je bil mnenja, da Gorenjska v starejši železni dobi ni predstavljala enotnega kulturnega prostora (Gabrovec 1987, 179–181; 1999, 177–178, 180–181). Na novo raziskana grobišča na ulici Zavrti v Mengšu, predstavljena v tem članku, gomilna nekropola na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani[2] in novejše objave drugih gorenjskih grobišč so Gabrovčevo tezo le še potrdili (Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, 139–143, sl. 11). V starejši železni dobi se je namreč ohranil žgani pokop, znane so tako plane nekropole kot številna gomilna grobišča. Na redkih grobiščih je bila v uporabi inhumacija, tudi v Mengšu, od koder poznamo ene najstarejših skeletnih grobov, ki sodijo na sam začetek železne dobe. Tak način pokopa se je v Mengšu ohranil tudi v mlajšehalštatski čas.

Starejšeželeznodobna grobišča so se v Mengšu razprostirala predvsem v nižini severno, vzhodno in jugovzhodno od utrjenega gradišča na Gobavici, z izjemo žganih grobov na Pristavi jugozahodno od gradišča (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 3).[3] Pod vzhodnim vznožjem Gobavice v Oranžeriji, v bližini sočasne nižinske naselbine na območju današnje osnovne šole, je bil najden žgani grob. Na severu, prav tako v nižini čez potok Pšata, so bili na območju Staretove drevesnice in podjetja Semesadike odkriti žgana grobova in otroški skeletni grob. Tako številne nekropole z različnim načinom pokopa, locirane okrog poselitvenega jedra, kažejo na velik pomen Mengša z okolico v starejši železni dobi. O pomenu Mengša ne nazadnje priča tudi naselbina na Gobavici (Gabrovec 1965, 96; Sagadin 1989; Turk 1999, 32; Štibernik 2003; 2006a; Pavlin, Turk 2014; Sagadin 2020, 190, sl. 1: 3). Gre namreč za eno večjih prazgodovinskih gradišč, utrjenih s kamnitim obzidjem. Po velikosti so med tedanjimi središči v okviru dolenjske halštatske skupine, za katera imamo sistematično zbrane podatke, večja le tri, in sicer Cvinger nad Virom pri Stični, Magdalenska gora in Veliki Vinji vrh. Gradišče na Gobavici je po površini primerljivo z velikostjo gradišč Zgornja krona na Vačah in Sv. Marjeta na Libni (Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007, sl. 88). Starejšeželeznodobna poselitev je segala tudi v ravnino ob vznožje hriba. Ostanki naselbine so bili odkriti na lokaciji Osnovna šola (Sagadin 1999, 40–41, sl. 30; 2020, 192, sl. 1: 4,14).[4]

GROBOVI IZ STAREJŠE ŽELEZNE DOBE V MENGŠU

Skeletni grobovi iz starejše železne dobe so bili v Mengšu najdeni skoraj na vseh nekropolah (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 3: E, G, I, J). Izjemi sta le žarno grobišče na Pristavi in žarni grob iz Oranžerije.[5] O žganem grobu na Pristavi (v Puščavi) je poročal Alfons Müllner (Müllner 1898, 56; gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 12; 2: 12). Iz poročila vemo, da je bila žara prekrita s skodelo, ob njej sta bili okrašeni bronasti zapestnici. Nadalje poroča, da sta bila na Pristavi odkrita tudi latenski železen nož in železna sulica. Bronasti zapestnici in železen nož so bili večkrat objavljeni (Gabrovec 1954, t. 1: 6; 1965, t. 6: 1,12–13; Zupančič 1979, 19; Stražar 1993, 43–44, t. 6: 1–2; glej tudi Turk 1999, 34; Sagadin 2020, 188). Pri tem kaže opozoriti, da so starejšeželeznodobni bronasti zapestnici in latenski železen nož v nekaterih publikacijah objavljeni kot del istega grobnega inventarja, a to ne drži (Železnikar 1999b, 37; 1999c, 58, kat. št. 21; Štibernik 2003, sl. 7). Sodeč po naključnih odkritjih še drugih žganih grobov, ki so prišli na dan ob gradbenih delih, lahko torej rečemo, da

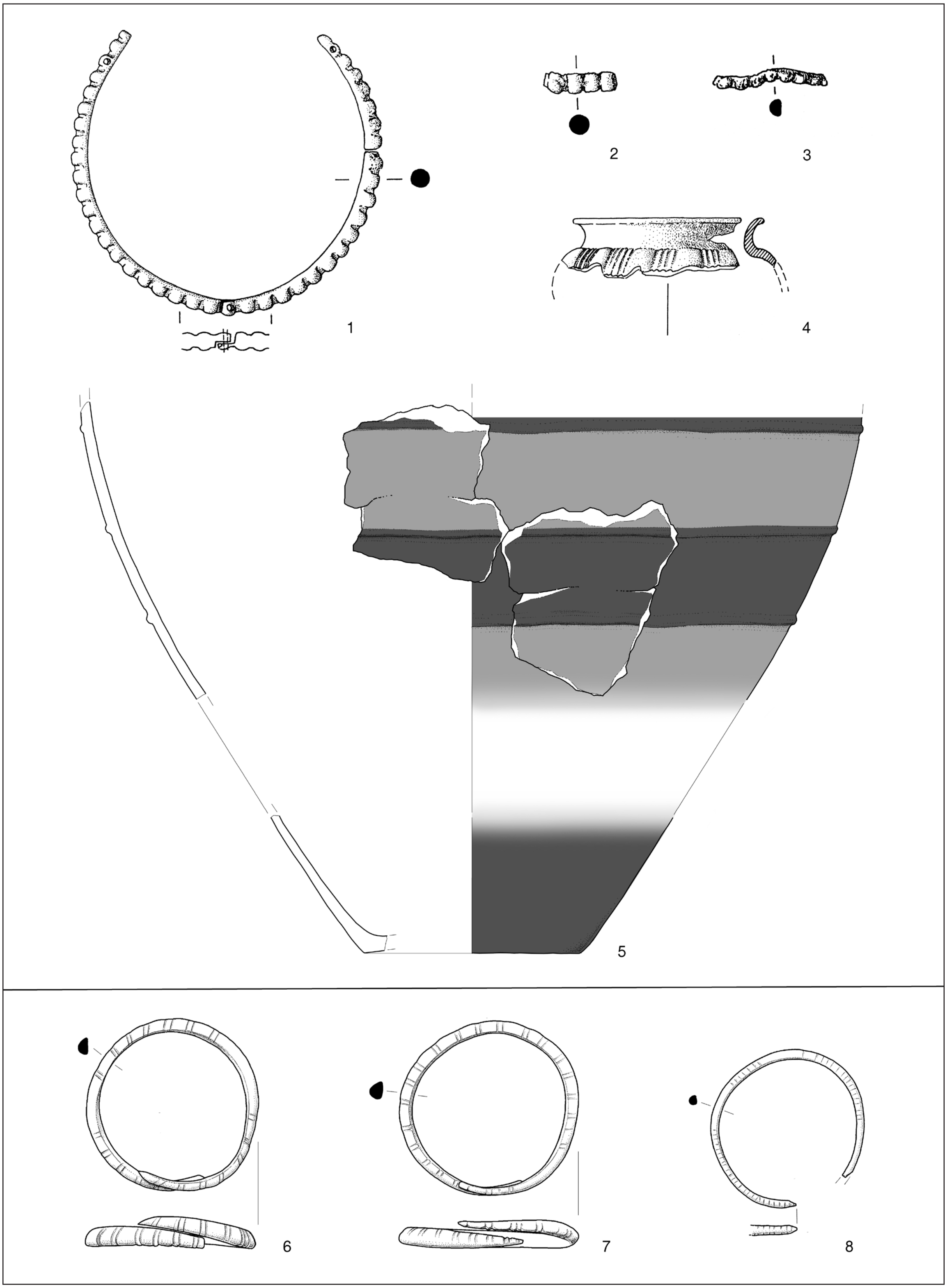
[1] Za pojem žarnogrobiščne ljubljanske skupine in starejšeželeznodobne gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine glej tu Teržan.

[2] Glej tu Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković.

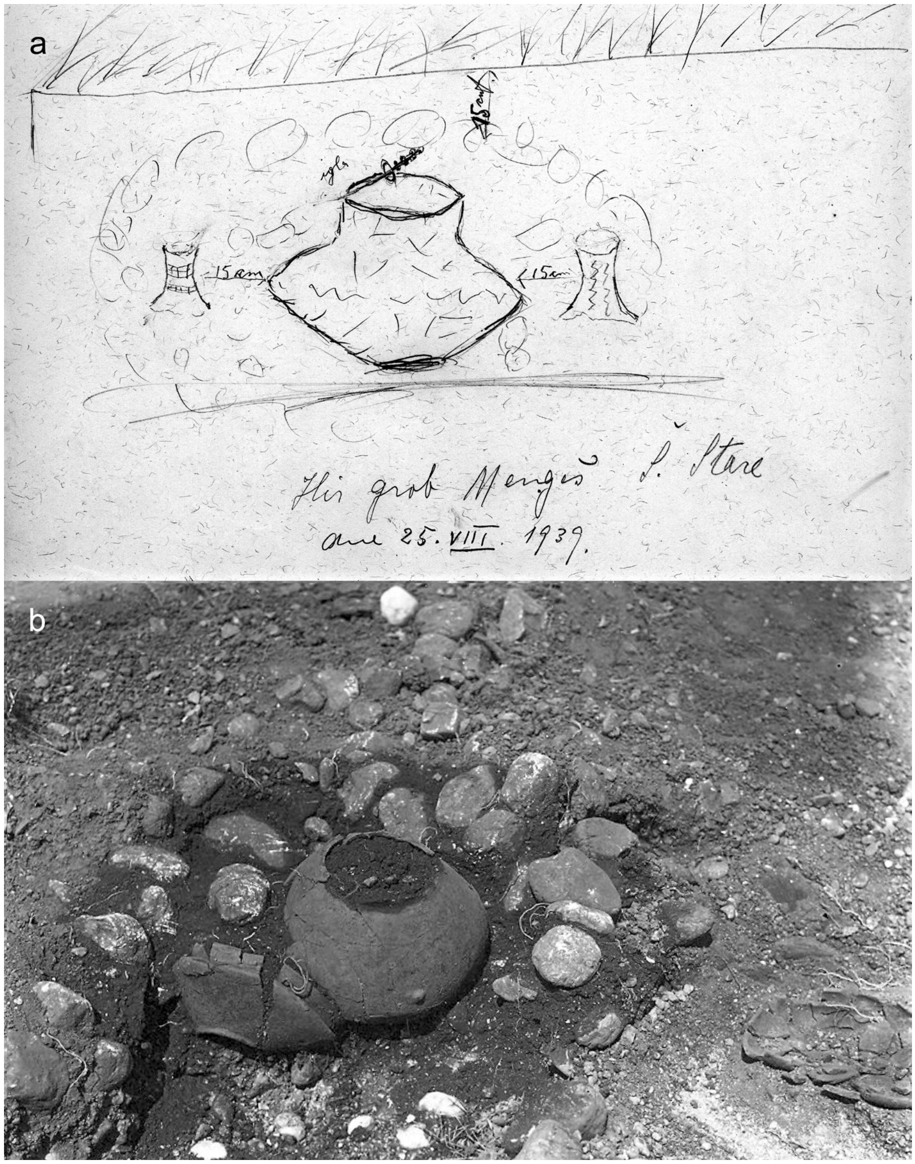
[3] Za podroben topografski pregled vseh bronasto- in železnodobnih najdišč iz Mengša glej tu Železnikar.

[4] Najnovejša arheološka izkopavanja so razkrila dobro ohranjene naselbinske ostaline in potrdila, da je bilo to območje v železni dobi intenzivno poseljeno. Za podatke v zvezi z arheološkimi raziskavami in ogled terena na lokaciji Osnovna šola se zahvaljujemo Drašku Josipoviču; glej tudi Drolc 2022.

[5] Podatki za žgano grobišče na lokaciji Mali Mengeš 1 so preskromni, da bi grobove za zdaj lahko natančneje datirali (Poročilo Olić 2010).



Sl. 1: Mengeš – Podjetje Semesadike, pridatki iz skeletnega groba (1–5); Mengeš – Zavrti 6, pridatki iz skeletnega groba, najdenega l. 1978 (6–8). 1–3,6–8 bron; 4–5 keramika. M. 1–3,6–8 = 1:2; 4–5 = 1:4.
Fig. 1: Mengeš – Podjetje Semesadike, grave goods from inhumation grave (1–5); Mengeš – Zavrti No. 6, grave goods from the inhumation grave, excavated in 1978 (6–8). 1–3,6–8 bronze; 4–5 pottery. Scale 1–3,6–8 = 1:2; 4–5 = 1:4.



Sl. 2: Mengeš, Staretova drevesnica. **a** – skica groba 1; **b** – fotografija groba 2 (Arhiv NMS št. 369).
Fig. 2: Mengeš, Staretova drevesnica. **a** – sketch of the grave 1; **b** – photo of the grave 2 (Archives of NMS, No. 369).

je bila na Pristavi halštatska nekropola z žganimi oziroma žarnimi grobovi.

En sam žarni grob je bil najden v Oranžeriji (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 14; 2: 14). G. Peterlin je leta 1993 ob kopanju ležišča za kotel v kleti hiše našel prazgodovinsko žaro (Sagadin 1994-1995a, 172–173; Turk 1999, 36; Železnikar 1999c, 58, kat. št. 22; Sagadin 2020, 188). Primerjave zanjo najdemo v posodah z ljubljanskega grobišča na Dvorišču SAZU, ki sodijo na konec bronaste dobe. Omeniti je treba posodo iz tamkajšnjega groba 44, ki je zaradi odlomkov bronaste harfaste fibule datiran v stopnjo Ha B (Stare 1954a, t. 40: 7; Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 85–86, 212, t. 21: 14). Omenjeni grob iz Oranžerije je tako eden najstarejših do zdaj znanih žganih grobov iz Mengša in sodi po vsej verjetnosti v pozno bronasto dobo.

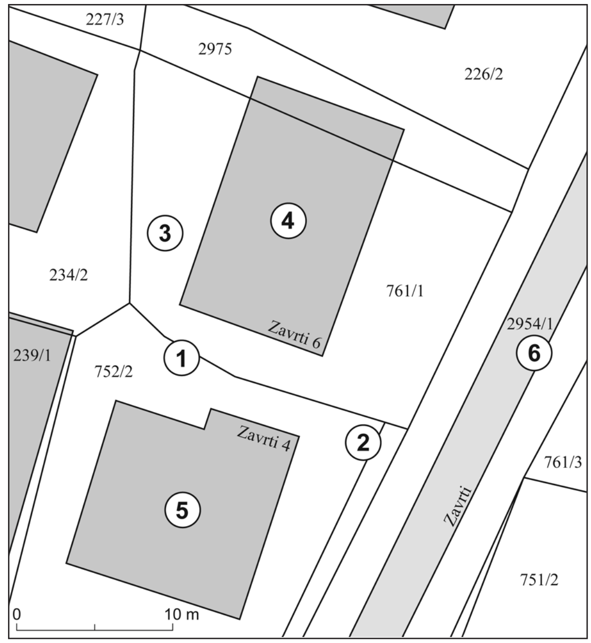
Pri vseh preostalih mengeških grobiščih gre za nekropole z žganimi in skeletnimi grobovi. V nadaljevanju jih navajamo od severa proti jugu.

Grobovi na območju Staretove drevesnice in podjetja Semesadike

V ravnini severovzhodno od gradišča na Gobavici in severno od potoka Pšata se je na območju Staretove drevesnice in podjetja Semesadike razprostiralo biritualno grobišče (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 2, 4; 2: 2, 4). Leta 1978 so pri arheoloških izkopavanjih na dvorišču podjetja Semesadike odkrili tudi otroški skelet z odlomki pitosa z barvanimi črno-rdečimi pasovi, skupaj z narebreno nanožnico,[6] odlomki še ene nanožnice ali zapestnice in lonca z okrasom navpičnih žlebov (*sl. 1:* 1–5; glej tudi Sagadin 1995, 217; Turk 1999, 34; Železnikar 1999c, 60, kat. št. 28; Sagadin 2020, 190, 193, sl. 1: 8).[7] Glede na pridatke sodi skeletni otroški grob v mlajšehalštatsko obdobje.

Odkritje skeletnega groba na lokaciji podjetja Semesadike kaže povezati z grobovoma, najdenima v neposredni bližini – na območju Staretove drevesnice. Tam sta bila že leta 1939 izkopana žarna grobova z začetka železne dobe; sta torej starejša od skeletnega groba z dvorišča podjetja Semesadike, ki sodi glede na pridatke v mladohalštatsko obdobje. Žarna grobova sta bila obdana s kamenjem (prodniki), ležala sta le 15 cm pod rušo (*sl. 2*). Iz skice groba 1, ki jo hranijo v NMS, je razvidno, da sta v enaki razdalji od žare stala na eni strani keramično stojalo, na drugi pa posoda, najverjetneje skleda na nogi (*sl. 2a*).[8] Komplet keramičnih posod so sestavljale še situla, dve skledi in skodelica s presegajočim ročajem. Sodeč po skici, je bila na ustju žare večglava igla (s trombastim zaključkom?), vanjo pa vdeta preluknjana bronasta ploščica.[9] V grobu 2 je bila žara, okrašena z bradavicami, ob njej pa je ležala skodelica s presegajočim ročajem (*sl. 2b*). Nadalje so bile v grobu skleda, še ena skodelica s presegajočim ročajem, večglava igla in uvita bronasta žica.

Južno od Staretove drevesnice je bilo v letih 1949/50 po pričevanjih na območju pri zapornici v razbremenilni strugi potoka Pšata uničenih več grobov (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 3; 2: 3; Gabrovec 1965, 97–98; Zupančič 1979, 20; Stražar 1993, 44–45; Sagadin 2020, 188). Čeprav podatkov o najdbah in načinu pokopa nimamo, bi lahko na podlagi teh indicev domnevali, da je bila na predelu med Staretovo drevesnico in podjetjem Semesadike večja nekropola z žganimi in skeletnimi grobovi.



Sl. 3: Mengeš – Zavrti 4 in 6. **1** – območje grobov 2/2003, 3/2003 in 4/2003 ter pokopa kobile 2a/2003 (raziskave leta 2003); **2** – območje domnevnega skeletnega groba (raziskave leta 2003); **3** – območje, kjer je bilo leta 1958 odkritih 14 skeletnih grobov; **4** – območje, kjer sta bila med gradnjo cisterne leta 1978 odkrita 2 skeletna grobova; **5** – območje, kjer so bili med gradnjo hiše leta 1969 odkriti ostanki vsaj 1 konja; **6** – območje skeletnih grobov 1/2000-6/2000 (raziskave leta 2000).
Fig. 3: Mengeš – Zavrti Nos. 4 and 6. **1** – area of the graves 2/2003, 3/2003, 4/2003 and the burial of a mare 2a/2003 (excavations 2003); **2** – area of presumed inhumation grave (excavations 2003); **3** – area of 14 inhumations, discovered in 1958; **4** – area of 2 inhumations, discovered in 1978 during the construction of a cistern; **5** – area of discovered remains of at least one horse, unearthed in 1969 during the house construction; **6** – area of the inhumation graves 1/2000-6/2000 (excavations 2000).

Grobovi na območju Zavrti

Med arheološkimi izkopavanji leta 2003 so bili na vrtovih med hišama Zavrti 4 in 6 odkriti žarni grob 2/2003, skeletni grob 4/2003 in okostje kobile 2a/2003, ki sodijo v mlajšehalštatsko obdobje (*sl. 3–7*).[10] V sekundarni legi, pol metra stran od pokopa kobile (grob 2a/2003), so bile najdene otroške kosti, označene kot grob 3/2003 (Štibernik 2006c). Na vrtu hiše Zavrti 4 tik ob ulici je bil najden še en skeletni grob (*sl. 3:* 2).[11] Najprej je bil odkrit žgani grob 2/2003 (*sl. 4*), ki

[6] V literaturi je predmet napačno opisan kot ovratnica (Turk 1999, 34; Železnikar 1999c, 60).

[7] Milan Sagadin omenja na lokaciji podjetja Semesadike celo več prazgodovinskih grobov (Sagadin 1995, 217).

[8] Za omenjena grobova glej Gabrovec 1954, t. 1: 1–2, 4–5; 1965, 97, 103; t. 1: 1–7; 2: 1–6; 3: 1–2; glej tudi Stražar 1993, 44, t. 1–2; 3: 1–2; Železnikar 1999c, 59, kat. št. 24–25; Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 96, sl. 88C; Sagadin 2020, 188.

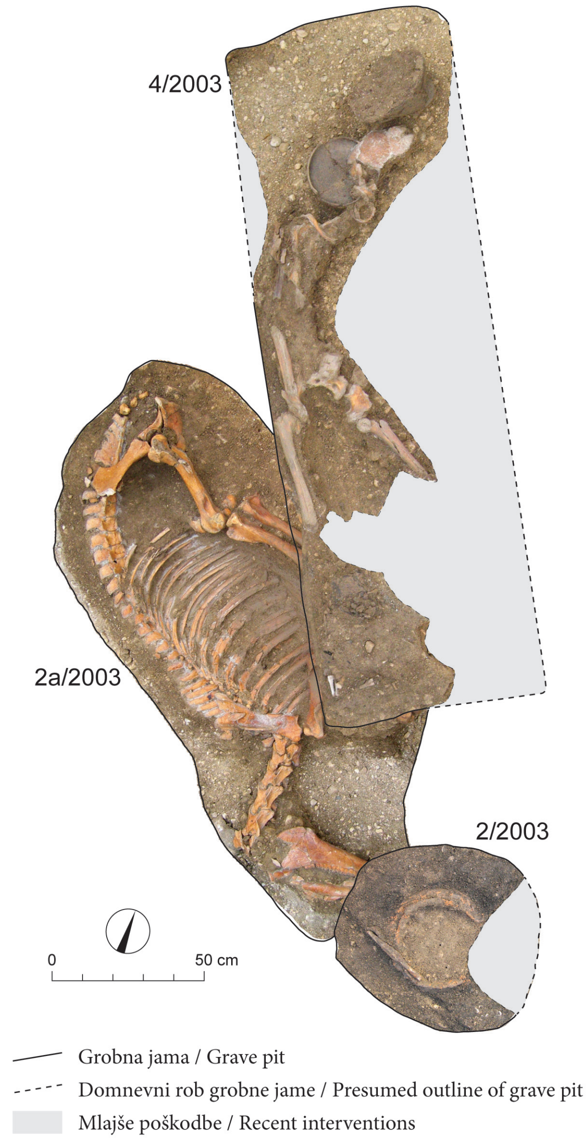
[9] Gabrovec je grobu 2 pripisal dve igli, a hkrati opozoril, da sodi verjetno ena od njih h grobu 1 (Gabrovec 1965, 97, t. 2: 6; 3: 1). Za omenjena grobova glej Gabrovec 1954, t. 1: 1–2, 4–5; 1965, 97, 103; t. 1: 1–7; 2: 1–6; 3: 1–2; glej tudi Stražar 1993, 44, t. 1–2; 3: 1–2; Železnikar 1999c, 59, kat. št. 24–25; Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 96, sl. 88C; Sagadin 2020, 188.

[10] Izsledki teh raziskav bodo podrobneje objavljeni v monografiji G. Štibernik, J. Železnikar, B. Škvor Jernejčič (ur.), *Nova odkritja v starem Mengšu*, ki je v pripravi za tisk.

[11] Grob nima številke in je omenjen samo v terenskem dnevniku.

so ga izkopali v bloku in šele po odstranitvi bloka so opazili lobanjo kobile. Grobna jama žganega groba 2/2003 je bila zasuta z žganino, ki se je razlikovala od zasutja jame, v kateri je bila pokopana kobila. V grobu je bila najdena posoda – žara, okrašena z navpičnimi kanelurami (*sl. 6:* 2). Na ustju posode je ležala železna sulica (*sl. 6:* 1), in sicer v smeri glave kobile, pokopane neposredno pod grobom 2/2003 (*sl. 4*). Antropološka analiza je razkrila, da so bili v žari groba 2/2003 sežgani ostanki odrasle osebe in domnevno tudi otroka.[12] Na podlagi prisotnosti sulice sklepamo, da je bil v grobu pokopan moški. Žgani grob 2/2003 je ležal tik nad lobanjo kobile. Kobila v grobu 2a/2003 je bila pokopana brez konjske opreme, stara je bila približno 15 let.[13] Radiokarbonska analiza enega od sekalcev potrjuje, da sodi pokop v starejšo železno dobo, 2350±40 BP oz. 725–234 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %), pri čemer je največja verjetnost zabeležena v razponu med 546 in 359 Cal BC (*sl. 7*). Pri tem je pomemben podatek, da je lastnik zemljišča Zavrti 4, veterinar Gubanc, pri gradnji hiše leta 1969, torej v neposredni bližini pokopa kobile 2a/2003, naletel na kosti vsaj še enega konja (*sl. 3:* 5). Konjske kosti, ki zagotovo ne pripadajo kobili iz groba 2a/2003, so bile najdene v neposredni bližini žganega groba 2/2003.[14] Dodatne konjske kosti so bile manj kot mesec dni pozneje (22. novembra 2003) pobrane tudi iz profila izkopa v bližini grobov 2/2003, 2a/2003, 3/2003 in 4/2003.[15] Iz tega sledi, da so bili na lokaciji Zavrti 4 in 6 najdeni ostanki vsaj treh konj.

Tik nad kostmi prednjih in zadnjih nog kobile (grob 2a/2003) ter severno od nje je bil odkrit skeletni grob 4/2003 (*sl. 4–5*). V njem je bila pokopana ženska, stara 20–40 let.[16] Vzhodna stran groba je



Sl. 4: Mengeš – Zavrti 4 in 6, medsebojni odnos med lego okostja kobile 2a/2003 in grobovoma 2/2003 ter 4/2003 (prirejeno po Štibernik 2006c, 102).
Fig. 4: Mengeš – Zavrti Nos. 4 and 6. Skeleton of a mare 2a/2003 and position of graves 2/2003 and 4/2003 (modified after Štibernik 2006c, 102).

bila poškodovana z recentnimi posegi. Ohranili so se deli lobanje, nekaj kosti trupa, kosti desne roke, medenica, obe stegnenici in kosti stopal. V poročilu se omenja, da je bila pokojnica pokopana v leseni krsti (Štibernik 2006c, 102). Ob njeni glavi so ležali glinen kelih, skleda z uvihanim ustjem in bronast lasni obroček, tretja posoda pa pri kolenu desne noge (*sl. 4–5*; 6: 3–7). Glede na pridatke sodi grob v mladohalštatsko obdobje. Rezultat radiokarbonske analize dolge kosti, 2458±26 BP oz. 756–416 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %; največja verjetnost je zabeležena v razponu med 596 in 416

[12] Rezultate antropološke analize žganih ostankov iz groba 2/2003 povzemamo po poglavju Tamare Leskovar, *Antropološka analiza žganega skeletnega gradiva iz grobov iz Mengša*, ki bo objavljeno v prej omenjeni monografiji.

[13] Rezultate arheozoološke analize ostankov kobile in drugih ostankov konj povzemamo po poglavju Boruta Toškana, *Skelet kobile 2a/2003 z najdišča Zavrti v Mengšu*, ki bo objavljeno v prej omenjeni monografiji.

[14] Konjske kosti so bile najdene 27. 10. 2003, na isti dan, ko so izkopali grob 2/2003 in pod njim odkrili lobanjo kobile. Točna lokacija konjskih kosti, ki pripadajo drugemu osebku, ni znana, locirati jih smemo v neposredno bližino groba 2/2003. V Muzeju Mengeš te kosti konja hranijo v vrečki, na kateri je zapisano: *27/10/2003, Zavrti 4, kosti ob grobu 2.*

[15] Kosti hranijo v Muzeju Mengeš s podatki: *22/11/2003, Zavrti 4, pobrano iz profila ZAVRTI 4 pri izkopu za plin.*

[16] Rezultate antropološke analize skeleta 4/2003 povzemamo po poglavju Petre Leben Seljak, *Antropološke analize skeletov iz Mengša*, ki bo objavljeno v prej omenjeni monografiji.

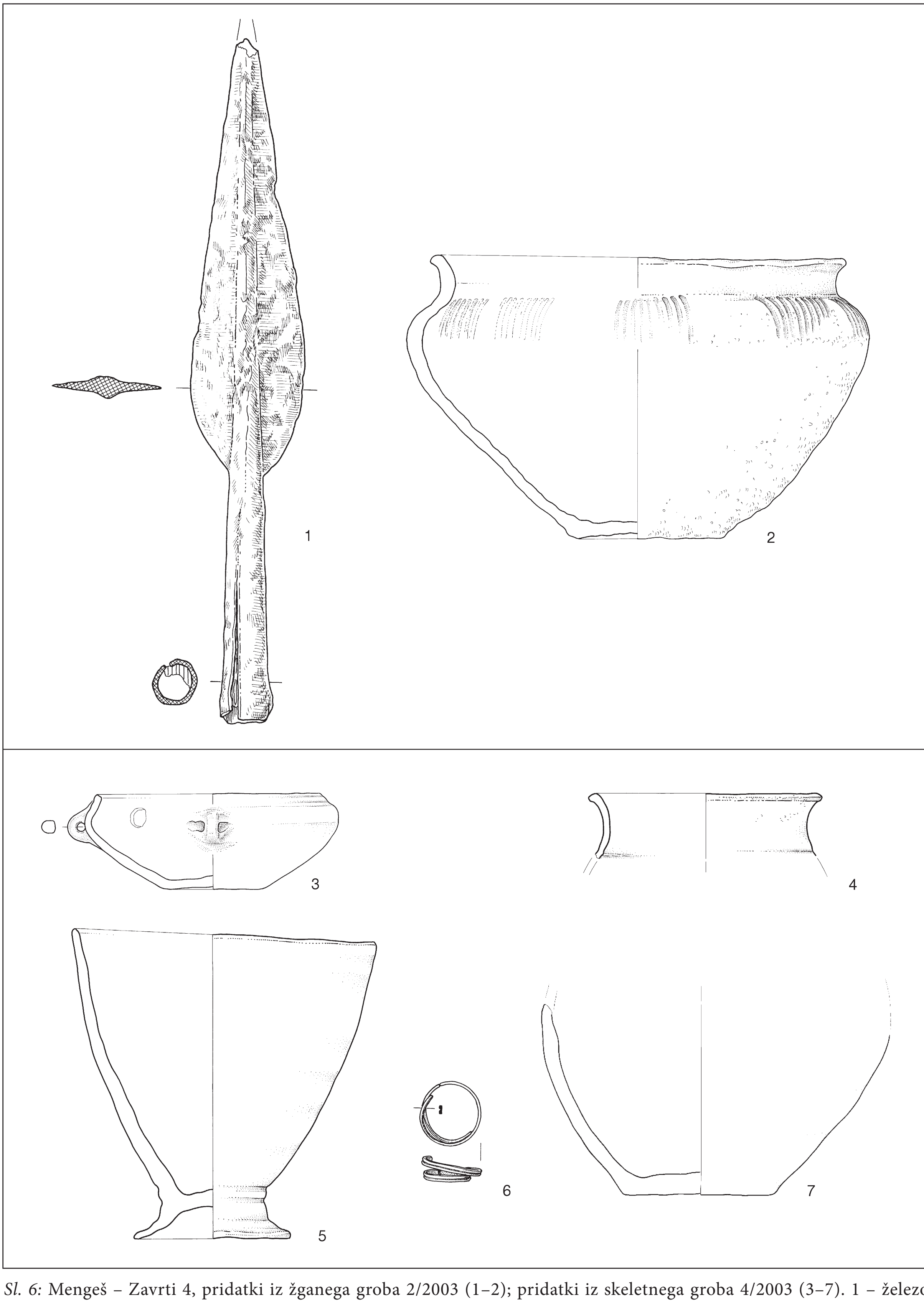
Sl. 5: Mengeš – Zavrti 4 in 6, fotografija skeletnega groba 4/2003 in pokopa kobile 2a/2003 (Muzej Mengeš, arhiv).
Fig. 5: Mengeš – Zavrti Nos. 4 and 6. Photo of the inhumation grave 4/2003 and burial of a mare 2a/2003 (Muzej Mengeš, Archives).

Cal BC), potrjuje, da sodi grob v starejšo železno dobo (*sl. 7*). Kalibrirana datacija ima zaradi t. i. halštatskega platoja sicer zelo širok razpon od 8. do 5. st. pr. n. št., pa vendar je to prvi neposreden dokaz o skeletnih grobovih iz starejše železne dobe v Mengšu, podprt z radiokarbonsko datacijo. Ker so spodnje okončine pokojnice ležale nekaj centimetrov nad kostmi prednjih in zadnjih nog kobile (*sl. 5*), je grob 4/2003 s pokopom kobile sočasen ali nekoliko mlajši, saj je bil verjetno tako kot grob 2/2003 vkopan v zasutje konjskega groba. Ali je skeletni otroški grob 3/2003, najden v sekundarni legi in brez pridatkov, prav tako sočasen z drugima dvema grobovoma in pokopom kobile, bo pokazala radiokarbonska datacija.

Pred hišo Zavrti 14 (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 20; 2: 20) je bil odkrit žgani grob 1/2003 iz starejše železne dobe (Štibernik 2006b, 99–100). Predvidevamo, da je šlo celo za dva pokopa. Večjo posodo v grobu pripisujemo starejšemu pokopu; tega je poškodoval naknadni vkop za grob, ki sodi v mladohalštatski čas.

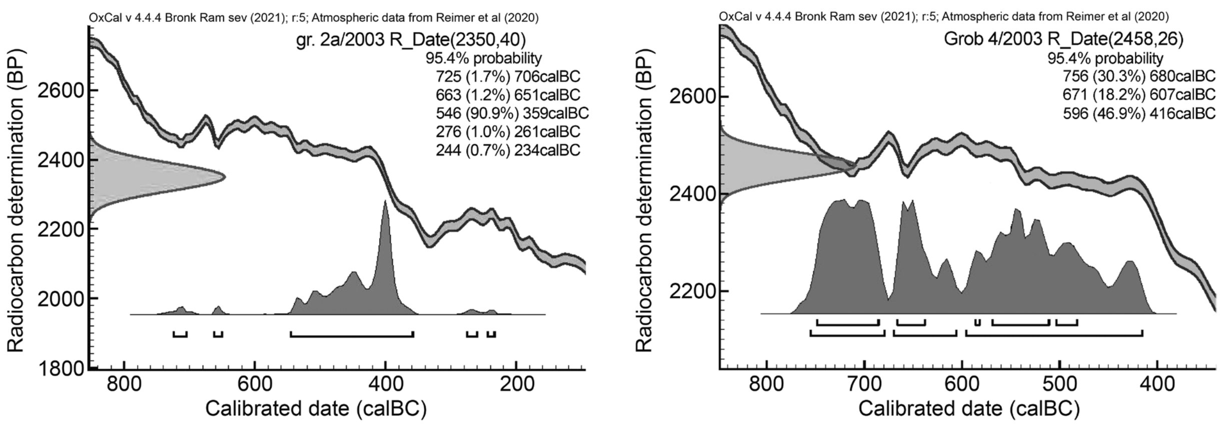
Arheološko območje Zavrti je sicer znano že iz starejših virov in objav. V večini teh starejših odkritij podatkov o natančni dataciji grobov in načinu pokopa žal nimamo. Ker vemo, da je bila na Zavrteh tudi poznoantična nekropola, ločevanje med skeletnimi prazgodovinskimi in poznoantičnimi grobovi brez pridatkov za zdaj ni mogoče. V nadaljevanju so navedena vsa starejša odkritja, pri katerih so bili najdeni skeletni grobovi, ne glede na to, da so nekateri izmed njih poznoantični.

Skeletni grobovi se omenjajo na Tičarjevem zemljišču (danes ŠD Partizan Mengeš, Slovenska c. 39), kjer so leta 1930 ali 1931 ob kopanju peska za gradnjo doma Partizan našli človeško okostje, nedatirano (Stražar 1993, 52). Okostje odraslega moškega je leta 1952 pri kopanju jame za greznico odkril Tone Burgar, in sicer nekaj deset metrov stran od svoje hiše (Zavrti 12), nedatirano. Po njegovem pričevanju je ležalo približno meter globoko v smeri S–J in brez pridatkov (Stražar 1993, 52–53). Leta 1963 so pri hiši Petra Krušnika (Zavrti 7) našli osem grobov. V šestih so bili kovinski pridatki iz brona – močno korodirani, v enem je bila lončena posoda, ob njej pa človeške kosti. Le redki grobovi so bili brez pridatkov. Vsi skeleti naj bi pripadali odraslim osebam. Pokopani so bili meter globoko v prodnato osnovo brez vsakega reda (Stražar 1993, 53). Na isti lokaciji so leta 2000 izkopali štiri poznoantične skeletne grobove (*sl. 3:* 6; Sagadin 2006, 101; 2020; 190, sl. 2). Krušnik je Muzeju Mengeš takrat izročil dele koščenega glavnika in ostanke človeških kosti, najdenih v šestdesetih letih pri kopanju temeljev za hišo. Leta 1958 je Ivan Bergant ob gradnji hiše Zavrti 6 izkopal 14 skeletov, ležali so vsak zase (*sl. 3:* 3). Ob njih je našel nekaj odlomkov keramike



Sl. 6: Mengeš – Zavrti 4, pridatki iz žganega groba 2/2003 (1–2); pridatki iz skeletnega groba 4/2003 (3–7). 1 – železo; 6 – bron; 2–5,7 – keramika. M. 1,6 = 1:2; 2–5,7 = 1:4.

Fig. 6: Mengeš – Zavrti No. 4. Grave goods from the cremation grave 2/2003 (1–2); grave goods from the inhumation grave 4/2003 (3–7). 1 – iron; 2–5,7 – pottery; 6 – bronze. Scale 1,6 = 1:2; 2–5,7 = 1:4.



Sl. 7: Mengeš – Zavrti 4, rezultata radiokarbonskega datiranja sekalca kobile iz groba 2a/2003 (Beta-206771) in kosti iz skeletnega groba 4/2003 (KIA-54852).
Fig. 7: Mengeš – Zavrti No. 4. Results of the radiocarbon analysis conducted on the samples taken from the incisor tooth of a mare from the grave 2a/2003 (Beta-206771) and from the human bone from the inhumation grave 4/2003 (KIA-54852).

in odlomek vrča z ročajem. Vse najdbe je izročil Ivanu Vidaliju (Stražar 1993, 53). Leta 1978 je Bergant ob kopanju jame za cisterno prav tako na lokaciji Zavrti 6 na globini 75–100 cm našel še dva skeleta, z glavama obrnjenima proti vzhodu (*sl. 3:* 4). Ob enem skeletu so bile v višini rok najdene tri bronaste zapestnice iz starejše železne dobe, kar potrjuje, da gre za prazgodovinski grob (*sl. 1*: 6–8; Stražar 1993, 53). Omeniti je treba še odkritje na Kebrovem zemljišču (danes pripadajoče zemljišče hiše na Slovenski c. 51), kjer so leta 1858 izkopali dva grobova, v enem je bila ogrlica iz jagod (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 21; 2: 22; Stražar 1993, 53).

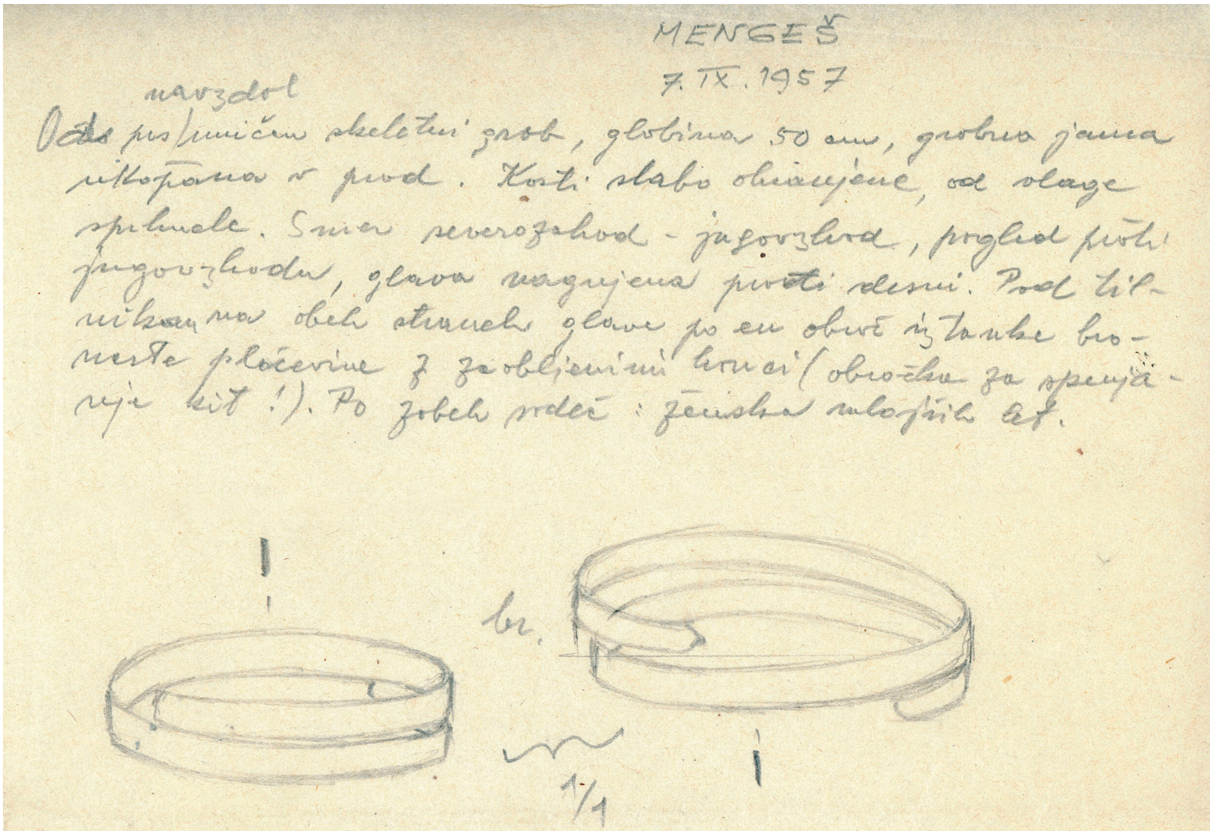
Grobovi na območju Grobeljske ceste

Leta 1948 so pri zidanju temeljev hiše Ludvika Flerina na današnji Grobeljski c. 16 naleteli na tri žgane grobove (Gabrovec 1965, 98; Stražar 1993, 45; Sagadin 2020, 188; gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 27; 2: 27). Najdene so bile tri žare, postavljene v trikotnik. V njihovi bližini, južno od današnje Grobeljske c. 12, so pri gradnji kozolca našli človeško lobanjo, nedatirano (Gabrovec 1965, 98; Stražar 1993, 45).

Grobovi na območju Zadružniške ulice

Večje biritualno grobišče se je razprostiralo tudi na Zadružniški ulici. Vsaj šest skeletnih grobov so odkrili leta 1957 na Zadružniški ulici 11–21 (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 32; 2: 32). Izmed teh sta bila dva, ki so ju ob prisotnosti Petra Petruja izkopali 28. maja, brez pridatkov. V grobu 3 je bil najden lasni obroček iz bronaste pločevine (Gabrovec 1965, t. 3: 5; Železnikar 1999c, 60, kat. št. 26; Štibernik 2003, sl. 8). Sedmega novembra so izkopali grob 4, v njem so odkrili dva podobna lasna obročka na vsaki strani glave (Gabrovec 1965, t. 3: 3–4). V njem naj bi bila po zobeh sodeč pokopana ženska mlajših let, kot je zapisal France Stare (*sl. 8*). Konec avgusta je J. Vidali izkopal skeletni grob 5, v njem pa je našel dve sklenjeni bronasti zapestnici in odlomke uvite bronaste žice (Gabrovec 1965, t. 6: 2–4). V skeletnem grobu 6, ki ga je prav tako izkopal Vidali, naj bi bile najdene dvozankasta ločna fibula in tri zapestnice (Gabrovec 1965, t. 3: 6–9; Železnikar 1999c, 60, kat. št. 27; Štibernik 2003, sl. 9).

Leta 1964 je bila pri gradnji hiše Vilijema Žagarja na Zadružniški ulici 6 odkrita “drobna” lobanja z vsemi zobmi (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 31; 2: 31). Pri garaži je našel dve igli, ena je imela kroglasto glavico, druga je bila dvoglava. Našel je tudi bronast obroček, premera 3–4 cm in debeline 3–4 mm. Pridatki so bili v temnejši sipini med kamni (Stražar 1993, 45). Leta 1965 so pri gradnji hiš Marije Žagar (Zadružniška ulica 4) in njenega soseda (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 30; 2: 30), nasproti prej omenjene lokacije vrstnih hiš na Zadružniški ulici 11–21, našli skeletne grobove s pridatki (bronaste igle, jagode), ki pa so se izgubili, zato njihova datacija ni mogoča (Gabrovec 1965, 98). Stane Stražar navaja na karti prazgodovinskih najdišč pod št. 10 na lokaciji Zadružniška ulica 40 pet žganih grobov (Stražar 1993, 54). Na isti ulici, točnejša lokacija ni znana, je bila v skeletnem grobu najdena dvozankasta bronasta fibula s petimi obročki in dvokrakimi obeski, ki sodi na sam začetek železne dobe (*sl. 9*; Železnikar 1999c, 61, kat. št. 30; Štibernik 2003, sl. 11). Sočasen temu grobu je bil tudi grob, odkrit leta 1973 na Zadružniški ulici 8 (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 33; 2: 33;



Sl. 8: Mengeš – Zadružniška ulica 11-21, skica grobnih pridatkov iz skeletnega groba 4 in zapis F. Stareta o skeletu (Arhiv NMS št. 370).
Fig. 8: Mengeš – Zadružniška ulica Nos. 11-21. Grave goods from the inhumation grave 4 as drawn by F. Stare and his written observations regarding the skeleton (Archives of NMS No. 370).

Zupančič 1979, 19; Stražar 1993, 44; Turk 1999, 36; Železnikar 1999c, kat. št. 31; Štibernik 2003, sl. 10; Sagadin 2020, 188). V njem je bila dvoglava bronasta igla, ki je značilen pridatek moške noše iz zgodnje železne dobe. Podatkov o tem, ali je bil grob žgani ali skeletni, nimamo.

Na Zadružniški ulici so leta 1977 z infrastrukturnimi deli uničili devet grobov (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 34; 2: 34), pet je bilo žganih, štirje pa skeletni (Zupančič 1979, 19). V žganem grobu 2 je bilo več posod (*sl. 10:* 1–7); vsaj ena glinena situla, okrašena z bronastimi žebljički, večja posoda, okrašena s šrafiranimi trikotniki, ohranjeni so tudi drugi odlomki s tovrstnim okrasom in dno. V žganem grobu 4 so se ohranili odlomki vsaj dveh glinenih situl, okrašenih z bronastimi žebljički (*sl. 10:* 8–9). Skeletni grobovi naj bi sodili glede na odlomke keramike v pozno antiko.

Pri infrastrukturnih posegih vzdolž Zadružniške ulice od št. 1 do 42 (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 28b-e; 2: 28b-e) je bilo leta 2001/2002 odkritih še 17 žganih grobov iz starejše železne dobe in štirje skeletni iz pozne antike (Štibernik 2006b; Sagadin 2020, 190, sl. 2: 14). Na ulici med hišami št. 1, 4 in 6 z največjo gostoto grobov (žganih in skeletnih) je bilo odkrito tudi celo okostje konja. Ostanki konja niso bili radiokarbonsko datirani, zato ni jasno, ali gre za prazgodovinski pokop. V neposredni bližini Zadružniške ulice sta bila na Zoranini ulici 20 (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 28a; 2: 28a) odkrita še dva žgana grobova iz starejše železne dobe. V enem so bili najdeni vozlasta fibula in odlomki posode, v drugem samo odlomki keramike (Štibernik 2006b).

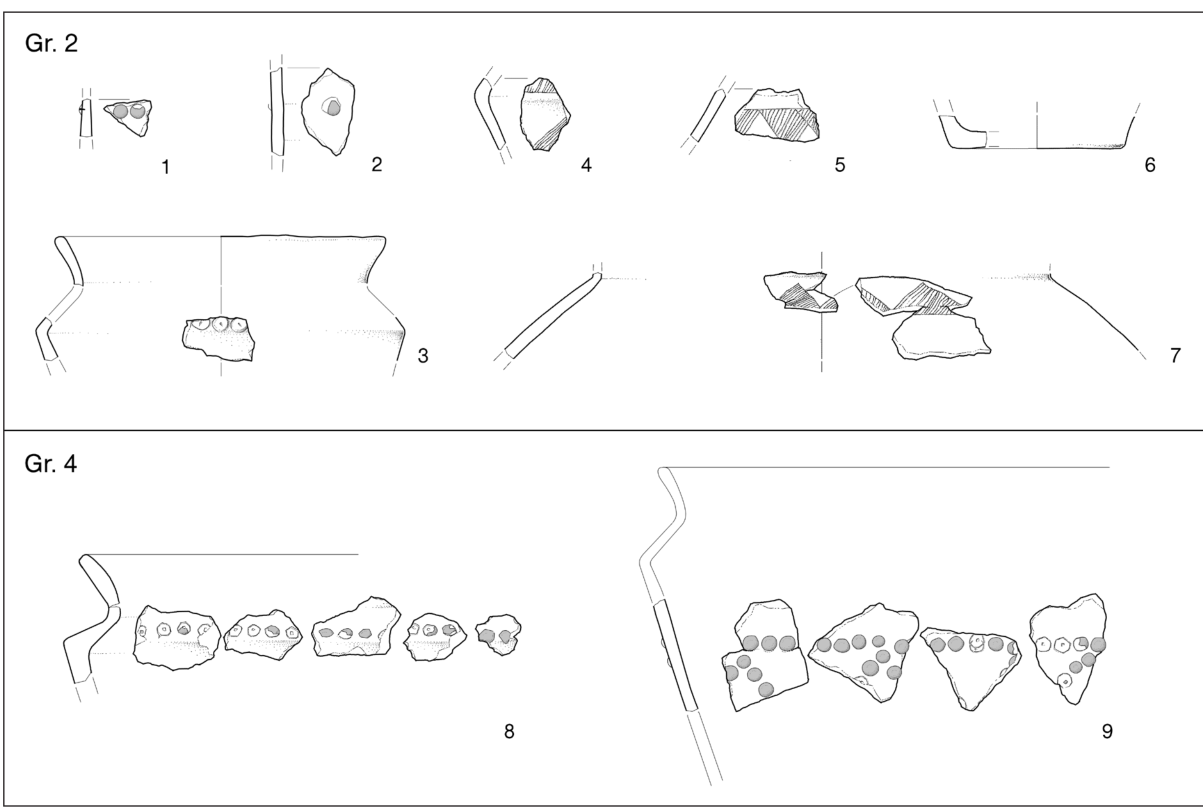
DATACIJA PRAZGODOVINSKIH SKELETNIH GROBOV IZ MENGŠA

Med starejše skeletne grobove iz Mengša sodi grob z Zadružniške ulice (Železnikar 1999c, 61, kat. št. 30; Štibernik 2003, sl. 12). Ker gre za naključno najdbo, natančnejših podatkov o lokaciji in popolni sestavi groba nimamo. Vemo le, da je bila v njem dvozankasta ločna fibula tipa 1c po Gabrovcu (*sl. 9*; Gabrovec 1970, 24–25, karta IV). Zanje je značilno, da so izdelane iz brona in imajo

Sl. 9: Mengeš – Zadružniška ulica, bronasta dvozankasta ločna fibula z obročki in obeski iz skeletnega groba.
Fig. 9: Mengeš – Zadružniška ulica. Two-looped bronze bow fibula with rings and pendants from the inhumation grave.

visoko trikotno nogo, presek loka je okrogel. Iz Mengša je znana še ena fibula tega tipa, nogo ima okrašeno s tremoliranim okrasom (Gabrovec 1954, t. 1: 3; 1965, t. 5: 8; Železnikar 1999c, 60, kat. št. 29; Štibernik 2003, sl. 11). Ker izvira iz Sadnikarjeve zbirke, podatkov o tem, kje točno v Mengšu je bila najdena in ali gre za grobno najdbo, nimamo.

Dvozankaste ločne fibule tipa 1c so se pojavile v Ha B3, konec 9. st. pr. n. št., ohranile pa so se tudi v 8. st. pr. n. št. (Gabrovec 1970, 24–25, karta IV; Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 95–98, 294–295, sl. 4.95; 2017b, 129–130, sl. 8). Glede na karto razprostranjenosti in datacije posameznih fibul se zdi, da moramo njihovo izvorno območje iskati v Spodnjem Podonavju. Posamezne fibule segajo proti jugu vse do Makedonije in Grčije ter vzdolž Donave in Save proti zahodu vse do jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora, kjer so razmeroma redke. Fibuli iz Mengša, katerih stranici trikotne noge sta že rahlo usločeni, najdemo dobre primerjave na preostalih gorenjskih najdiščih, na primer v Kranju in Ljubljani na Dvorišču SAZU (Gabrovec 1960b; Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, sl. 8: 4; t. 11: 10; Puš 1971, t. 50: 8; za novo risbo glej Škvor Jernejčič



Sl. 10: Mengeš – Zadružniška ulica, pridatki iz žganega groba 2 in 4. 1–2,8–9 keramika in bron; 4–7 keramika. M. 1–9 = 1:4.
Fig. 10: Mengeš – Zadružniška ulica. Grave goods from the cremation graves 2 and 4. 1–2,8–9 pottery and bronze; 4–7 pottery. Scale 1–9 = 1:4.

2014, t. 125: 5). Znane so tudi iz Koroške ter z redkih dolenjskih najdišč (Vače, Novo mesto, Šmarjeta). Mengeška fibula z Zadružniške ulice je še posebej zanimiva, saj kaže, da so se skeletni grobovi v Mengšu pojavili že na začetku starejše železne dobe, v stopnji Podzemelj 1/Ljubljana II, konec 9. in v prvih desetletjih 8. st. pr. n. št., torej v času, ko so se tudi na Dolenjskem pojavili prvi skeletni grobovi pod gomilo. Hkrati pa kaže, da so enak nakit nosile različne skupnosti – tiste, ki so svojce pokopavale skeletno, pa tudi tiste, ki so sežgane ostanke shranile v žaro in jih pokopale na planih grobiščih.

Nekoliko mlajši od skeletnega groba z dvozankasto ločno bronasto fibulo z Zadružniške ulice so skeletni grobovi, odkriti leta 1957 na Zadružniški ulici 11–21, v bližini druge vrstne hiše (gl. tu Železnikar, sl. 1: 32; 2: 32), ti sodijo v drugo polovico 8. st. pr. n. št. V skeletnem grobu 6 so bile najdene dvozankasta ločna fibula tipa 1a po Gabrovcu in tri bronaste zapestnice, od teh sta dve okrašeni (Gabrovec 1965, t. 3: 6–9; Železnikar 1999c, 60, kat. št. 27; Štibernik 2003, sl. 9). Za dvozankaste ločne fibule tipa 1a je značilna nižja trikotna noga z usločenimi stranicami oz. nizka pravokotna noga, lok je okroglega preseka (Gabrovec 1970, 11, 24–25, karta IV). Glede na razvoj oblikovanosti noge in loka sodijo dvozankaste ločne fibule tipa 1a z nizko pravokotno nogo, kakršna je fibula iz Mengša, v stopnjo Podzemelj 2/Ljubljana IIIa (Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, 129–131, sl. 8: 7). Sočasni s skeletnim grobom 6 so tudi skeletni grobovi 3, 4 in 5 (Gabrovec 1965, t. 3: 3–5; 6: 2–4). Omembe vreden je podatek, da gre – sodeč po pridatkih – najverjetneje za ženske grobove. Omenili smo zapis F. Stareta, da naj bi bila glede na zobe v grobu 4 pokopana ženska mlajših let (*sl. 8*).

Inhumacija se je v Mengšu ohranila tudi v stopnji Stična in še dlje v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju. Leta 1978 je bil na lokaciji Zavrti 6 najden skeletni grob (*sl. 3:* 3) s tremi bronastimi zapestnicami, dve sta okrašeni s ponavljajočima se prečnima vrezoma, tretja z zaporednimi prečnimi vrezi (*sl. 1*: 6–8). Premer vseh treh zapestnic je 5 cm, kar nakazuje, da je bila v grobu morda pokopana deklica. Tovrstne zapestnice so značilne že za stopnjo Stična. Zelo podobne zapestnice, le nekoliko drugače okrašene, najdemo na primer v Kobaridu, v grobu 122 skupaj s čolničasto fibulo (Kruh 2014, 622–624, sl. 42: 13: 2–6). Vzorec sežgane kosti iz tega kobariškega groba je bil radiokarbonsko datiran, modelirana datacija pa kaže na čas prve polovice 7. st. pr. n. št. (Kruh 2014, sl. 42.15; 42.20; Teržan, Črešnar 2014b, 716–717, sl. 41: KIA42716). V kombinaciji s čolničasto fibulo se tovrstne zapestnice pojavijo tudi na grobiščih v Beli krajini (Spitzer 1973, t. 15: 11; 17: 1,3; Škvor Jernejčič 2011, t. 13: 4, 8), prav tako so pogoste na Dolenjskem (npr. Tecco Hvala 2012, 294–295, 298, sl. 109: 6; 110). Omeniti kaže še podobne zapestnice z estenskih grobišč Casa di Ricovero in Villa Benvenuti (Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, t. 68: 9–13; 219: 24–27; 220: 28–30; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, t. 55: 37–38; 61: 3; 185: 69, 74).

Otroški skelet z lokacije podjetja Semesadike sodi po odlomkih pitosa z barvanimi črno-rdečimi pasovi, bronasti narebreni nanožnici in odlomkih lonca z okrasom navpičnih žlebov (*sl. 1*: 1–5; Sagadin 1995, 217) v mlajšehalštatski čas. Dodatno so obstoj skeletnega pokopa v starejši železni dobi v Mengšu potrdile arheološke raziskave leta 2003 na lokaciji Zavrti 4 in 6 (*sl. 3–7*). V skeletnem grobu 4/2003 je bila pokopana odrasla ženska, ob glavi je imela bronast trakast lasni obroček s presegajočimi konci (*sl. 6:* 6), primerjave zanj pa najdemo predvsem na dolenjskih najdiščih. Tovrstne obročke poznamo na primer z Magdalenske gore, največ jih je bilo najdenih v gomili 13 s Prelog (Hencken 1978, sl. 104: a; 123: b; 169: a, b; Tecco Hvala, Dular, Kocuvan 2004, t. 70A: 1–2; 96F: 3; 102D: 1; 114E: 7). Gabrovec jih je datiral v horizont kačastih fibul (Gabrovec 1987, 59, sl. 4: 12b), Sneža Tecco Hvala pa jih je opredelila kot uhane tipa 3 in 4 (Tecco Hvala 2007, 478–481, sl. 1, 3A, 3B; 2012, 328, sl. 122: 2–4, 123). Pojavili so se že v stopnji Stična 2, ohranili pa so se tudi v poznejšem času, v horizontu kačastih fibul in certoškem horizontu. Prav take obročke med drugim najdemo v dveh grobovih iz gomile v Volčjih njivah (Gabrovec 1956, 78, t. 6: 4; 15: 6). V enem izmed njih je bil najden skupaj s kačasto fibulo tipa Va po Sneži Tecco Hvala, ki so značilne za čas od stopnje Stična 2 pa vse do certoškega horizonta (Tecco Hvala 2014, 133–135, 150–152, sl. 5: 1–3, karta 8). Bronast obroček je znan tudi iz Zagorja (Gabrovec 1966, t. 4: 10). V skeletnem grobu 4/2003 iz Mengša sta bila ob bronastem obročku pri glavi najdena še keramični kelih in skleda z uvihanim ustjem (*sl. 6:* 3, 5). Taki kelihi so značilen pridatek žganih grobov v Posočju in sodijo v mladohalštatsko obdobje. Najbolj priljubljeni so bili v stopnji Sv. Lucija IIa (horizont kačastih fibul), zelo redki pa so se pojavili že v stopnji Sv. Lucija Ic (stopnja Stična). Prav tako so bili skromneje zastopani v stopnji Sv. Lucija IIb (certoški horizont), pozneje jih v grobove niso več pridajali (Dular 1982, 97–98, 103, sl. 7, 10). Na podlagi pridatkov ter rezultatov radiokarbonske analize kosti iz mengeškega groba 4/2003 in sekalca kobile iz groba 2a/2003 (*sl. 7*) se zdi verjetna datacija obeh pokopov nekje med sredino 6. in sredino 5. st. pr. n. št.

V tej zvezi kaže omeniti še žarni grob 2/2003, ki je bil najden tik ob lobanji kobile (2a/2003), nekoliko nad njo (*sl. 4*). V grobu sta bili žara in na njenem ustju železna sulica (*sl. 6*: 1–2). Posoda je okrašena z navpičnimi kanelurami. Po tipologiji Janeza Dularja bi jo lahko prišteli k skledam tipa 4, ki so bile v uporabi od stopnje Stična 2, predvsem pa v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju (Dular 1982, 70, t. 24: 221–222). Posebno pozornost vzbuja prisotnost orožja v grobu. Tega namreč v starejšem halštatskem obdobju v grobovih na Gorenjskem, tako kot v Posočju in na Notranjskem, skoraj ni bilo (npr. Gabrovec 1999, 180). Tabu orožja v grobovih kaže, da so se pogrebni običaji v teh regijah precej razlikovali od tistih v dolenjski halštatski skupini, kjer je bilo obrambno orožje pridano v grobove veljakov, enako velja za konjsko opremo in žrtvovane konje (Gabrovec 1999, 186; Teržan 2022, 356). Novosti v pogrebnih običajih v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju na Gorenjskem nakazujejo grobne najdbe orožja iz Črnivca, žganega groba v Kranju in na Trati pri Škofji loki (Valič 1988, sl. 23; Meterc 2000, sl. 12; Stare 1954b; gl. tu Brezigar). V povezavi s temi novostmi moramo razumeti tudi fragmenta negovske čelade z Dvorišča SAZU v Ljubljani (Stare 1954a, t. 84: 7–8; Egg 1979; Škvor Jernejčič 2014, t. 13: 25). Podoben fenomen je zaslediti v Posočju in na Notranjskem (npr. Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 434, 437; Gabrovec 1999, 180).

Prisotnost železne sulice v žganem grobu 2/2003 iz Mengša je torej izjemna. Njena lega na ustju žare (Štibernik 2006c, 102), usmerjena proti glavi kobile, pa se ne zdi naključna. Če sledimo tezi, da so Veneti za usmrtitev žrtvovanih konj domnevno uporabljali sulico, in ne sekir (Zaghetto 2017, 106–112; Toškan 2020, 212), se zdita lega in usmerjenost sulice še toliko povednejši.

Prav tako izjemen je pokop kobile, saj gre za prvi primer pokopa celega konja na območju gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine.[17] Izjemnost se kaže tudi v tem, da mu v drugih sočasnih pokopih konj z območja Slovenije ni mogoče najti neposrednih primerjav. Glede na celoten kontekst pokopa skupaj z žganim in skeletnim grobom se loči tako od pokopov konj iz dolenjske halštatske skupine kot iz svetolucijske skupine.[18] Pokop kobile v Mengšu, ki je bila ob zakopu razmeroma stara, morda celo skupaj z ostanki vsaj še enega konja, verjetneje pa celo več konj v neposredni bližini, s skeletnim in žganim grobom je za zdaj v jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru izjemno odkritje. Glede na pridatke in nove radiokarbonske datacije se zdi, da so bili vsi trije pokopi (2/2003, 2a/2003 in 4/2003) bolj ali manj sočasni in jih datiramo v čas med sredino 6. in 5. st. pr. n. št., torej v mladohalštatsko obdobje.

SKELETNI GROBOVI IZ MENGŠA V KONTEKSTU GORENJSKO-LJUBLJANSKE HALŠTATSKE SKUPINE

Mengeš ne kaže izjemnosti le z novimi odkritji žrtvovanih in pokopanih konj, temveč izstopa v okviru gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine tudi po biritualnem načinu pokopa že od začetka halštatske dobe. Skeletni grobovi iz starejše železne dobe so bili sicer znani že od prej (Gabrovec 1965), vendar je šlo po večini za naključna odkritja in je podatkov o posameznih kontekstih praviloma malo. Šele arheološka izkopavanja leta 2003 na lokaciji Zavrti in nove radiokarbonske datacije so dokončno utrdili prepričanje, da je bila v Mengšu v starejši železni dobi v uporabi tudi inhumacija. Tak način pokopa je za gorenjsko-ljubljansko halštatsko skupino, kjer je bil v veljavi žgani pokop, izjemen. Skeletni grobovi so redki in so datirani predvsem v mladohalštatsko obdobje (Bled – Pristava, Bitnje pri Kranju, Ljubljana – Kongresni trg, Roje pri Orlah, Gradišče nad Lukovico – Poganski britof, Trnjava – Gusin grič, Kompolje – Kopa 2).[19] Ob novih odkritjih skeletnih grobov v Mengšu in na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani se postavljajo vprašanja, zakaj so bili nekateri redki posamezniki pokopani drugače kot večina pripadnikov njihove skupnosti.

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[17] Za posamezne konjske kosti v okviru žarnogrobiščne ljubljanske in gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine glej Gabrovec 1960a, 20–24; Puš 1982, 133, t. 22, 71; Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 139–140, sl. 6.16, pril. 4; t. 153: 4–10; Sagadin 1994–1995b, 148; 2004, 42–43; Gruškovnjak 2016, 123–127, 156–157, 159, 181, sl. 2.2.2; 2.2.5; 2.2.17; Toškan 2017, 192–193, tab. 3; 2018, 55–56, 60, tab. 1; Gruškovnjak *et al.* 2018.

[18] Katalog vseh halštatskih konjskih pokopov iz Slovenije in poglavja o njihovi razlagi bodo objavljeni v monografiji G. Štibernik, J. Železnikar, B. Škvor Jernejčič (ur.), *Nova odkritja v starem Mengšu*.

[19] Za vse skeletne grobove iz starejše železne dobe na Gorenjskem in v sosednjih regijah glej podrobneje tu Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković.

Ali gre za netipične pokope, v katerih bi lahko prepoznali vplive iz drugih halštatskih skupin? Bi lahko v številnih mengeških nekropolah prepoznali skupnosti različnih provenienc, ki so svojce pokopavale na ločenih grobiščih?

V pojavu inhumacije v starejši železni dobi na Gorenjskem je Gabrovec prepoznal vpliv dolenjske halštatske skupine, za katero je bil značilen skeletni pokop pod gomilo. Prav starejšeželeznodobni skeletni grobovi iz Mengša naj bi po njegovem predstavljali do tedaj najzahodneje znane skeletne grobove (Gabrovec 1965, 109). Pri tem ne gre spregledati posameznih skeletnih grobov iz Bohinjskega kota[20] in Posočja,[21] pri katerih gre, tako kot v Mengšu, za netipične pokope. Čeprav so na Gorenjskem znane tudi gomile (Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, 139–143, sl. 11), so skeletni grobovi na tem območju plani, kar jih razlikuje od pokopov pod gomilo v dolenjski halštatski skupini. Pojava inhumacije v Mengšu tako verjetno ne moremo razlagati zgolj kot posledico vpliva iz dolenjske halštatske skupine.

Glede na geografsko lego in do zdaj znano arheološko podobo je bil Mengeš v času starejše železne dobe na meji interesnih območij posameznih halštatskih skupin. Žgani grob iz Staretove drevesnice s kompletom keramičnega posodja, okrašenega z bronastimi žebljički, lahko postavimo ob bok bogatim žganim grobovom iz Kranja in Ljubljane – Kongresnega trga (Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, sl. 88B-C; 2017b).[22] V formativni fazi, na samem začetku železne dobe, je bil torej Mengeš eden izmed pomembnejših krajev gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine. Arheološka podoba se je spremenila že v stopnji Stična, predvsem pa v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju, ko so bili vplivi svetolucijske in dolenjske skupine na ta prostor vse močnejši. Še več, prostor naj bi po mnenju Gabrovca celo podlegel svetolucijski in dolenjski halštatski skupini. Enako velja za Mengeš, kjer naj bi se po njegovem srečali in nato celo prevladali vplivi teh dveh sosednjih skupin (Gabrovec 1965, 109). Močan vpliv ali celo kolonizacijo svetolucijske skupine v Bohinjskem kotu od stopnje Sv. Lucija IIa povezujejo nekateri avtorji z iskanjem novih rudnih ležišč zaradi povečane kovinske obrti (Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 436; Gabrovec 1974, 303; Teržan 2022, 349). Nove raziskave pa so pokazale, da je vpliv svetolucijske skupine verjetno segel še dlje na Gorenjsko, vse do Ljubljanske kotline (npr. Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 256–257; 2017a, 143; Grahek 2018, 270).

Najdišča, kot so Nevlje/Vrhpolje pri Kamniku in kompleks najdišč pri Lukovici severno in vzhodno od Mengša, kjer so bili najdeni negovski čeladi in skeletni pokopi pod gomilo, v enem grobu celo skupaj z ostanki konja, je treba povezati z vplivno sfero dolenjske halštatske skupine (Gabrovec 1965, 110, t. 9–10; Sagadin 1994–1995b, 148; Dular 2021, 22–23, 26).[23] Omenili smo fragmenta negovske čelade z Dvorišča SAZU v Ljubljani. Čelad pred tem z ozemlja gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine tako rekoč ne poznamo, kar je ob tem, da je bilo prilaganje orožja v tej skupini popoln tabu, razumljivo.[24] Vpliv estenske in svetolucijske skupine se kaže predvsem v keramiki, v krašenju posod z bronastimi žebljički, pitosu z barvanimi črno-rdečimi pasovi, keramičnem kelihu (Gabrovec 1965, 108–109, t. 1: 3–4; 2: 3–4; *sl. 1:* 5; *6:* 5; *10:* 1–3, 8–9) in ne nazadnje žganem pokopu brez žare.

Dosedanje raziskave gorenjskih grobišč in tudi nekaterih naselbin[25] kažejo, da so se predvsem od 6. st. pr. n. št. dalje, verjetno pa že prej, v gorenjsko-ljubljanski halštatski skupini pojavile korenite spremembe in novosti v pogrebnih običajih. V ta čas je datiran tudi pokop kobile iz Mengša, pri čemer gre za doslej edinstveno odkritje, saj so v grobovih gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine posamezni konjski ostanki zastopani le izjemoma (glej zgoraj). Vzrokov za nastala dogajanja še ne poznamo. Mengeš s svojo geografsko lego na skrajnem severovzhodnem robu gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine iz teh sprememb ni bil izvzet. Prav v odkritjih žganega groba bojevnika 2/2003, ki je bil pokopan skupaj z železno sulico, skeletnega groba odrasle ženske 4/2003 in pokopa kobile 2a/2003 tik pod njima na lokaciji Zavrti se zrcalijo novosti v pogrebnem ritualu in večplastnost vplivov tako z zahoda kot vzhoda.

[20] Gabrovec 1974, 290, 293, 300.

[21] Marchesetti 1893, 97, 133; Urleb 1974, 18; Gabrovec 1974, 300; Svoljšak, Žbona Trkman 1985, 87; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, 363; Dular, Tecco Hvala 2018, 128–129.

[22] Glej tu Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković.

[23] Glej tudi tu Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar.

[24] Edini nam znani primerek je skledasta čelada iz groba 71 s Pristave na Bledu, ki je bila povsem fragmentirana. Glej tu Bitenc, t. 3: 8–9; 5: 9–11.

[25] Najnazorneje se to kaže na Tribuni v Ljubljani, ki je bila med 7. in prvo polovico 6. st. pr. n. št. opuščena (Vojaković 2013, 285–286, sl. 135; glej tudi tu Vojaković).

Zahvale

Janez Škrlep (Muzej Mengeš) je omogočil vpogled in analizo arheološkega in osteološkega gradiva z lokacije Zavrti 4 in 6 v Mengšu. Janja Železnikar (Medobčinski muzej Kamnik) je prijazno odstopila gradivo iz mengeških starejšeželeznodobnih grobov, ki ga hranijo v MMK. Milan Sagadin (ZVKDS, OE Kranj) je posredoval podatke in risbe o skeletnem grobu z lokacije podjetje Semesadike. Antropološke analize skeleta 4/2003 je opravila Petra Leben Seljak (Avgusta d. o. o.), sežganih kostnih ostankov iz groba 2/2003 pa Tamara Leskovar (Oddelek za arheologijo, FF UL). Arheozoološke analize kosti kobile in ostalih konjskih ostankov z najdišča Zavrti 4 je opravil Borut Toškan (ZRC SAZU, IzA). Risbe predmetov na slikah 1: 5–8 in 10 so delo Tamare Korošec, na sliki 6 pa Dragice Knific Lunder (obe ZRC SAZU, IzA). Vpogled v arhivsko gradivo, ki ga hranijo v NMS, in njegovo objavo sta omogočila Peter Turk in Polona Bitenc (oba NMS). Povzetek članka je v angleščino prevedel Miha Kunstelj. Vsem iskrena zahvala!

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A bi-ritual necropolis from the Early Iron Age in Mengeš

Summary

The cemetery sites from Mengeš hold a very particular position within the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group, as they predominantly represent bi-ritual cemeteries with both cremation and inhumation burials. Characteristic of the latter Hallstatt group was cremation or urn burial within either flat necropolises or placed under smaller tumuli, while skeletal burials were extremely rare. Unique as well, in regard to the funeral ritual, is the newly discovered complete skeleton of a mare (grave 2a/2003), found in the immediate vicinity of a cremation (grave 2/2003) and inhumation grave (grave 4/2003) at the location Zavrti in Mengeš. The interment of a sacrificed horse clearly is an exceptional finding, as up to now such an instance has not been documented within the Gorenjska--Ljubljana Hallstatt group.

Stane Gabrovec defined the area of Ljubljana Basin, within which lies also the Mengeš site, together with the Gorenjska region as a territory of the so-called Ljubljana group[1] and at the same time underlined its transitional character. Precisely because of its diversity in burial mode, he believed that the Gorenjska region in the Early Iron Age did not represent a uniform cultural sphere (Gabrovec 1987, 179–181; 1999, 177–178, 180–181). These observations have been further corroborated by the newly researched cemetery in Mengeš on the Zavrti street, which we present here, the tumulus necropolis on the Kongresni trg in Ljubljana with cremation and three inhumation graves,[2] and recent publications of other cemeteries from the Gorenjska region (Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, 139–143, Fig. 11). Interestingly, the inhumations from Mengeš can be placed among the oldest skeletal graves dating to the very beginning of the Iron Age period and are, therefore, contemporaneous with the first inhumation graves from the Dolenjska Hallstatt group. Such a burial mode persisted in Mengeš also during the Stična phase and up to the younger Hallstatt period, which has been confirmed also with recently obtained results of radiocarbon dating.

EARLY IRON AGE GRAVES FROM MENGEŠ

Cemeteries from Early Iron Age in Mengeš spread mostly in the lowland areas to the north,

[1] For the definition of the Urnfield Ljubljana group and the Early Iron Age Gorenjska-Ljubljana group, see here Teržan.

[2] See here Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković.

east and southeast of the fortified settlement at Gobavica (see here Železnikar, Fig. 3).[3] In the north, on the lowland area placed north of the Pšata River, in the area of the Staretova drevesnica (Stare tree nursery), two cremation graves from the beginning of the Iron Age were discovered, while in the area of Podjetje Semesadike (Semesadike company) a skeletal infant grave from the younger Hallstatt period has been found (Gabrovec 1965, 97–98, Pls. 1–3: 1, 2; Sagadin 1995, 217; Figs. 1: 1–5; 2; see here Železnikar, Figs. 1: 2,4; 3: E). Several necropolises were located in the flat land between the streets Zadružniška ulica, Zoranina ulica, Grobeljska cesta, and ulica Zavrti, to the east of the settlement area (Gabrovec 1965, 98, Pls. 3: 3–9, 6: 2–3; Zupančič 1979, 19; Stražar 1993, 45, 52–53; *Fig. 1:* 6–7; *3–9*; see here Železnikar, Fig. 3: G, I, J). All the above-mentioned locations represent bi-ritual cemeteries.[4] A necropolis with only cremation graves has been discovered at the site Pristava, southwest from the hillfort (Gabrovec 1965, 96–97, Pl. 6: 12–13; see here Železnikar, Fig. 1: 12; 3: H). At the eastern base of the Gobavica hill, on the Oranžerija site in the immediate vicinity of the lowland settlement in the area of the present primary school (site Osnovna šola), a cremation grave was uncovered, which most likely can be dated to the Late Bronze Age (Sagadin 1994–1995a, 172–173; see here Železnikar, Figs. 1: 14; 3: F). Analogies for the urn from Oranžerija site can be found in vessels from the Ljubljana cemetery at Dvorišče SAZU, which belong to the end of the Bronze Age period (*cf.* Stare 1954a, Pl. 40: 7; for the new vessel drawing *cf.* Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 85–86, 212, Pl. 21: 14).

Graves from the site Zavrti

Archaeological excavations in 2003, set on the garden area between the houses Zavrti no. 4 and no. 6 in Mengeš, revealed a cremation grave 2/2003, an inhumation grave 4/2003 and a skeleton of a mare 2a/2003, all of which can be placed to the younger Hallstatt period (*Figs. 3–7*; see here Železnikar, Figs. 1: 25; 3: G).[5] Half a metre away from the mare burial (2a/2003), infant bones were found in a secondary context, which have been designated as a grave 3/2003 (Štibernik 2006c). Another inhumation grave was discovered in the garden of the house Zavrti no. 4, close beside the street (*Fig. 3:* 2).[6] Found in the cremation grave 2/2003 was a ceramic vessel – urn, decorated with vertical grooves (*Fig. 6:* 2), while on its rim an iron spearhead (*Fig. 6:* 1) was placed, with its tip oriented towards the mare head (*Fig. 4*). The anthropological analysis revealed that the urn of the grave 2/2003 contained the cremated remains of an adult person and a potential infant.[7] In view of the attested spearhead, we presume that the deceased in the grave was male. The mare from the grave 2a/2003 was interred without any horse gear and was approximately 15 years old.[8] The radiocarbon analysis of the sample taken from one of its incisor teeth confirmed that the burial is dated to the Early Iron Age, 2350±40 BP or 725–234 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4%), with the highest probability between 546 and 359 Cal BC (*Fig. 7*). Here, it should be stressed that in the neighbourhood of the mare burial 2a/2003, the owner of the land plot Zavrti no. 4, a veterinarian named Gubanc, discovered animal bones of at least one further horse during the construction of his house in 1969 (*Fig. 3:* 5).

Additional horse bones, which definitely do not belong to the mare from grave 2a/2003, were found in the immediate vicinity of the cremation grave 2/2003.[9] Further horse bone remains were collected from the excavation profile close to the graves 2/2003, 2a/2003, 3/2003 and 4/2003 less

[3] For a detailed topographic overview of all Bronze and Iron Age sites from Mengeš, see here Železnikar.

[4] The information about the recently discovered cremation cemetery at the location Mali Mengeš 1 is too scarce at present to enable a more precise dating of the graves (*cf.* archaeological report Olić 2010).

[5] More detailed research results are to be published in a publication G. Štibernik, J. Železnikar, B. Škvor Jernejčič (eds.), *Nova odkritja v starem Mengšu*, which is in preparation for print.

[6] The grave has no number and is only mentioned in the field diary.

[7] Results of the anthropological analysis of cremation remains from the grave 2/2003 are based on the book chapter of Tamara Leskovar, *Antropološka analiza žganega skeletnega gradiva iz grobov iz Mengša*, which will be published in the aforementioned publication.

[8] Results of the archaeozoological analysis of the mare and other horse remains are taken after the book chapter of Borut Toškan, *Skelet kobile 2a/2003 z najdišča Zavrti v Mengšu*, which will be published in the aforementioned publication.

[9] Horse remains were discovered 27. 10. 2003, *i.e.*, on the same day, as the grave 2/2003 was excavated together with the mare skull underneath. The exact location of horse remains, which belong to another horse specimen, is not known, although they can safely be located in the immediate vicinity of the grave 2/2003. In the Mengeš Town Museum, the horse bones are kept in a bag, on which it is written: *27/10/2003, Zavrti 4, bones by the grave 2.*

than a month later, on 22nd November 2003.[10] Hence, it follows that on the location Zavrti No. 4 and No. 6, the remains of at least three horse specimens have been discovered.

Immediately above the front and rear leg bones of the mare from grave 2a/2003 and to the north of the latter, we discovered the inhumation grave 4/2003 (*Fig. 4–5*). A female individual, aged between 20 and 40 years,[11] was buried in it. The eastern side of the grave has been damaged with modern interventions. Skeleton parts of the cranium and body, bones of the right arm, pelvic bones, and both thighbones and feet bones were still preserved, while in the excavation report mention is made of wooden coffin remains (Štibernik 2006c, 102). By the deceased's head lay a ceramic goblet, a dish with an inverted rim and a bronze hair ring, while the third vessel was placed at the knee part of the right leg (*Fig. 4–5*; *6*: 3–7). In view of the grave goods, the burial could be assigned to the younger Hallstatt period. Radiocarbon analysis conducted on the sample taken from the long bone gave result 2458±26 BP or 756–416 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4%; the highest probability ranges between 596 and 416 Cal BC), which confirms the placement of the grave in the Early Iron Age period (*Fig. 7*). In spite of the relatively wide time span from the 8th to the 5th century BC due to the so-called Hallstatt plateau on the calibration curve, the calibrated date still represents the first direct evidence for inhumation graves dating to the Early Iron Age in Mengeš. In view of the fact that the lower limbs of the female individual have been discovered only several centimetres above the front and rear leg bones of a mare (*Fig. 5*), it can very likely be assumed that the grave 4/2003 is either contemporary or somewhat younger than the mare burial, as it was probably cut into the fill of the latter in a similar manner like the grave 2/2003. Whether the inhumed infant grave 3/2003, discovered in a secondary position and without any grave goods, was also buried simultaneously with the other two graves and the mare burial, will be clear after the conducted radiocarbon dating analysis.

[10] The bones are kept in the Mengeš Town Museum with the following written data: *22/11/2003, Zavrti 4, collected from the profile ZAVRTI 4 at the excavation for gas pipeline*.

[11] Results of the anthropological analysis of the skeleton 4/2003 are taken from the book chapter of Petra Leben Seljak, *Antropološke analize skeletov iz Mengša*, which will be published in the aforementioned publication.

Otherwise, the Zavrti archaeological site had been detected in previous sources and publications (Stražar 1993, 52–53; see here Železnikar, Fig. 3: G). Particularly telling is the information according to which, in 1978 during the digging of a cistern pit, two skeletons were unearthed on the location Zavrti no. 6, thus in the immediate vicinity of graves 2/2003, 2a/2003, 3/2003 and 4/2003 (*Fig. 3:* 1, 4). Both skeletons were oriented with their heads towards the east, while by one of them, three bronze bracelets were discovered at the height of his arms, which can be placed to the Early Iron Age and clearly attest that the grave, in fact, comes from prehistoric period (*Fig. 1*: 6–8).

INHUMATION GRAVES FROM MENGEŠ IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GORENJSKA-LJUBLJANA HALLSTATT GROUP

The Mengeš site stands out within the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group not only by the new discoveries of sacrificed and buried horses but also by the bi-rituality in burial practice, which can be observed from the very beginning of the Hallstatt period. Inhumation graves from the Early Iron Age had been known previously (Gabrovec 1965) but were mostly discovered by coincidence, while the information regarding separate contexts was generally scarce. Only the archaeological excavation in 2003 on the Zavrti site together with the newly obtained radiocarbon dates have finally demonstrated beyond doubt that inhumation was also practised at Mengeš during the Early Iron Age period. Such burial practice is exceptional for the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group, in which cremation burial was otherwise the norm. Inhumation burials are rare and can be placed mostly in the younger Hallstatt period (sites such as Bled–Pristava, Bitnje near Kranj, Ljubljana–Kongresni trg, Roje near Orle, Gradišče near Lukovica–Poganski britof, Trnjava–Gusin grič, Kompolje–Kopa 2).[12] New discoveries of inhumation graves in Mengeš and at Kongresni trg in Ljubljana pose a question: why had only few individuals been buried differently as the majority within their community? Should we regard them

[12] For the overview of all inhumation graves from the Early Iron Age period in the Gorenjska region and neighbouring territories, see in detail here Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković.

as atypical burials, in which influences from other Hallstatt groups could be recognised? Could we interpret the numerous cemeteries from Mengeš as pertaining to communities with diverse provenance, which buried their relatives in separate necropolises?

The appearance of inhumation burial from the Early Iron Age in Gorenjska region was seen by Gabrovec as the influence from the Dolenjska Hallstatt group, characteristic of which was inhumation burial under the tumulus. According to him, precisely the Early Iron Age inhumation graves from Mengeš would represent the most western examples of inhumation graves hitherto known (Gabrovec 1965, 109). However, separate inhumation graves from the Bohinj[13] and Soča valleys,[14] which, similarly as in the case of Mengeš represent atypical burials, should not be overlooked. Despite the fact that tumuli are also attested in Gorenjska region (Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, 139–143, Fig. 11), the inhumation burials appear as a rule as flat graves, which differentiates them from the inhumations under the tumuli in the Dolenjska Hallstatt group. Therefore, the appearance of inhumation in Mengeš probably cannot be explained solely as an influence from the Dolenjska Hallstatt group.

In view of its geographical position and currently known archaeological situation, Mengeš in the Early Iron Age period seems to be on the border of interest spheres of separate Hallstatt groups. The cremation grave from the Staretova drevesnica site consisted of a set of ceramic vessels decorated with bronze rivets and can be correlated with richly fitted cremation graves from Kranj and Kongresni trg in Ljubljana (Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, Fig. 88B-C; 2017b).[15] In its formative phase, at the very beginning of Iron Age period, Mengeš was thus one of the more important sites within the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group. The archaeological situation had evidently changed already in the Stična period, but above all in the younger Hallstatt period, when the observed influences from the Sv. Lucija and Dolenjska Hallstatt groups in this region are ever stronger. Moreover, according to Gabrovec, the region would even succumb to the Sv. Lucija and Dolenjska Hallstatt group (Gabrovec 1965, 109). In his opinion, the same could be said for Mengeš, where influences from these two neighbouring groups would first come into contact and later even prevailed in the area. A strong influence or even colonisation of Sv. Lucija group in the Bohinj Valley from the phase Sv. Lucija IIa onwards could be associated according to some authors with prospecting for ore-rich deposits due to the intensified metallurgy (Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 436; Gabrovec 1974, 303; Teržan 2022, 349). However, new research indicates that the influence of Sv. Lucija group most likely extended even farther in the territory of Gorenjska, all the way to the Ljubljana Basin (*e.g.*, Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 256–257; 2017a, 143; Grahek 2018, 270).

Sites, such as Nevlje/Vrhpolje near Kamnik or the group of sites concentrated at Lukovica, to the north and east of Mengeš, where two Negova-type helmets and inhumation graves under the tumuli are attested, in one case even together with the horse remains, should be related, on the other hand, to the sphere of influence of the Dolenjska Hallstatt group (Gabrovec 1965, 110, Pls. 9–10; Sagadin 1994–1995b, 148; Dular 2021, 22–23, 26).[16] Helmets are practically unknown in the territory of Gorenjska before the Negova period,[17] which is not surprising in regard to the fact that the presence of any kind of weapon within burials was a complete taboo in this group. Influences from Este and Sv. Lucija groups could be discerned above all in the ceramic material, either by the vessel decoration with bronze rivets or through the example of the pithos vessel with painted black and red zones or the ceramic goblet (Gabrovec 1965, 108–109, Pls. 1: 3–4; 2: 3–4; *Figs. 1:* 5; *6:* 5; *10:* 1–3, 8–9) and last, but not least in the presence of cremation burials without urns.

Research of cemeteries as well as of some settlements[18] from the Gorenjska region conducted up to now suggests, that above all from the 6th century BC onwards, but most likely even earlier, the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group experienced radical changes and innovations within the burial ritual. In the very same period, we

[13] Gabrovec 1974, 290, 293, 300.

[14] Marchesetti 1893, 97, 133; Urleb 1974, 18; Gabrovec 1974, 300; Svoljšak, Žbona Trkman 1985, 87; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, 363; Dular, Tecco Hvala 2018, 128–129.

[15] See here Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković.

[16] *Cf.* also here Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar.

[17] The only exception known to us are the remains of a bowl-shaped helmet from the grave 71 at Pristava in Bled, which was found completely fragmented. See here Bitenc, Pls. 3: 8–9; 5: 9–11.

[18] This can most clearly be seen at the settlement of Tribuna in Ljubljana, which was abandoned between the 7th and the first half of the 6th century BC (Vojaković 2013, 285–286, Fig. 135; *cf.* also here Vojaković).

can also date the burial of a mare from Mengeš, which represents hitherto a unique discovery, as in the graves of the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group separate horse remains are attested only exceptionally.[19] The causes for such events are still open to debate. Certain is only that Mengeš, with its geographical position on the very eastern edge of the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group, was no exception to these transformations. The very discovery at the Zavrti site of the cremation grave 2/2003 of a warrior buried with the iron spear, the inhumation grave 4/2003 of a mature female and the mare burial 2a/2003 immediately under the latter, best reflect the innovations in funeral ritual and multi-faceted influences arriving either from the west or from the east.

Translation: Miha Kunstelj

[19] For individual horse bones attested in the Ljubljana Urnfield group and the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group *cf.* Bled-Pristava: Gabrovec 1960a, 20–24; Ljubljana-Dvorišče SAZU: Puš 1982, 133, Pls. 22, 71; Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 139–140, Fig. 6.16, App. 4; Pl. 153: 4–10; Gruškovnjak *et al.* 2018; Gradišče near Lukovica: Sagadin 1994–1995b, 148; 2004, 42–43; see also Gruškovnjak 2016, 123–127, 156–157, 159, 181, Figs. 2.2.2; 2.2.5; 2.2.17; Toškan 2017, 192–193, Tab. 3; 2018, 55–56, 60, Tab. 1.

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Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 1: 5–8; *10* (risbe: Tamara Korošec, ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo). – *Sl. 6* (risba: D. Lunder Knific). – *Sl. 9* (foto: P. Škrlep).
Illustrations: Fig. 2: 5–8; *10* (drawing: Tamara Korošec, ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo). – *Fig. 6* (drawing: D. Lunder Knific). – *Fig. 9* (photo: P. Škrlep).

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Kopa nad Kompoljami pri Lukovici: gradišče in grobišče iz starejše železne dobe

Kopa above Kompolje near Lukovica: hillfort and cemetery from the Early Iron Age

Matic ZUPAN, Tomaž FABEC, Boštjan LAHARNAR

Izvleček

Na grebenasti vzpetini Reber nad vasjo Kompolje, vzhodno od Lukovice pri Domžalah, ležijo ostaline manjšega utrjenega naselja oz. gradišča. Odkritja s sondiranja leta 1879 datirajo gradišče v starejšo železno dobo. Greben Reber se na vzhodu konča z nekoliko višjo vzpetino, imenovano Kopa. Leta 2019 so na kolovozu, ki vodi po južnem pobočju Kope in Rebri, našli predmete iz starejše železne dobe. Na območju odkritja najdb so sledile arheološke raziskave Centra za preventivno arheologijo (2019) in Narodnega muzeja Slovenije (2021). Ugotovili smo, da najdbe izvirajo iz enega ali več skeletnih grobov. Razen dela zasutja grobne jame s keramičnim loncem in železnim nožem so bili pokopi uničeni, najdbe razmetane po nasutjih kolovoza, prav tako človeške kosti, ki so pripadale najmanj dvema osebama. Vse kaže, da so grob ali grobove razkopali ob gradnji kolovoza, morda že leta 1819, ko so najverjetneje prav tukaj našli bronasto negovsko čelado.

Ključne besede: Lukovica pri Domžalah; Kopa in Reber nad Kompoljami; starejša železna doba; gradišče; grobišče

Abstract

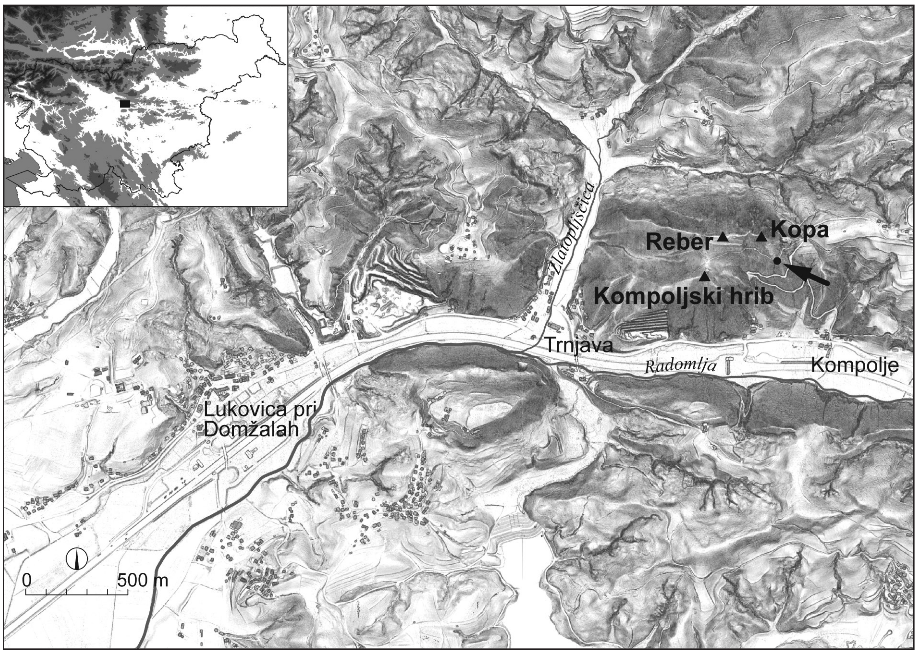
A small fortified settlement or hillfort is located on Reber, a ridge rising above the village of Kompolje east of Lukovica pri Domžalah, which the excavations in 1879 showed to date to the Early Iron Age. In 2019, artefacts from the Early Iron Age also came to light on the cartway leading along the southern slopes of Kopa and Reber, the former being the peak terminating the Reber ridge in the east. The ensuing archaeological investigations by the Centre for Preventive Archaeology (2019) and the National Museum of Slovenia (2021) revealed that the finds originated from one or more inhumations. The burials were destroyed, with the exception of a part of a grave containing a ceramic jar and an iron knife, and goods scattered across the cartway deposits. Similarly scattered were human bones that belonged to at least two individuals. The grave or graves appear to have been damaged during the construction of the cartway, possibly already in 1819, when a bronze Negova helmet was also most likely found here.

Keywords: Lukovica pri Domžalah; Kopa and Reber above Kompolje; Early Iron Age; hillfort; cemetery

Območje arheološkega najdišča[1] zajema grebenasto vzpetino Reber in južna pobočja hriba Kopa nad vasjo Kompolje, v zahodnem delu doline reke Radomlje ali Črnega grabna na severozahodnem obrobju Posavskega hribovja. Dolina Črnega grabna se pri Lukovici postopoma razširi in proti zahodu preide v Kamniško–Domžalsko polje (*sl. 1*).

Leta 1965 je izšel članek Staneta Gabrovca o kamniškem ozemlju v prazgodovini. V njem je obravnaval tudi najdišča halštatskega obdobja v

[1] Register nepremične kulturne dediščine RS: EŠD 12773.



Sl. 1: Območje med Lukovico pri Domžalah in Kompoljami. Vzhodno od Trnjave in severno od Kompolj ležita vzpetini z vrhovi Kopa in Reber ter Kompoljski hrib. Območje raziskav leta 2019 in 2021 je označeno s piko in puščico. (Vir: ©GURS)
Fig 1: Wider area of the site between Lukovica pri Domžalah and Kompolje, with the peaks of Kopa, Reber and Kompoljski hrib located east of Trnjava and north of Kompolje. The area investigated in 2019 and 2021 is marked with a dot and arrow. (Source: ©GURS)

okolici Lukovice pri Domžalah, kjer omenja Kopo in tamkajšnjo najdbo bronaste negovske čelade (*t. 1*) v zgodnjem 19. stoletju.[2]

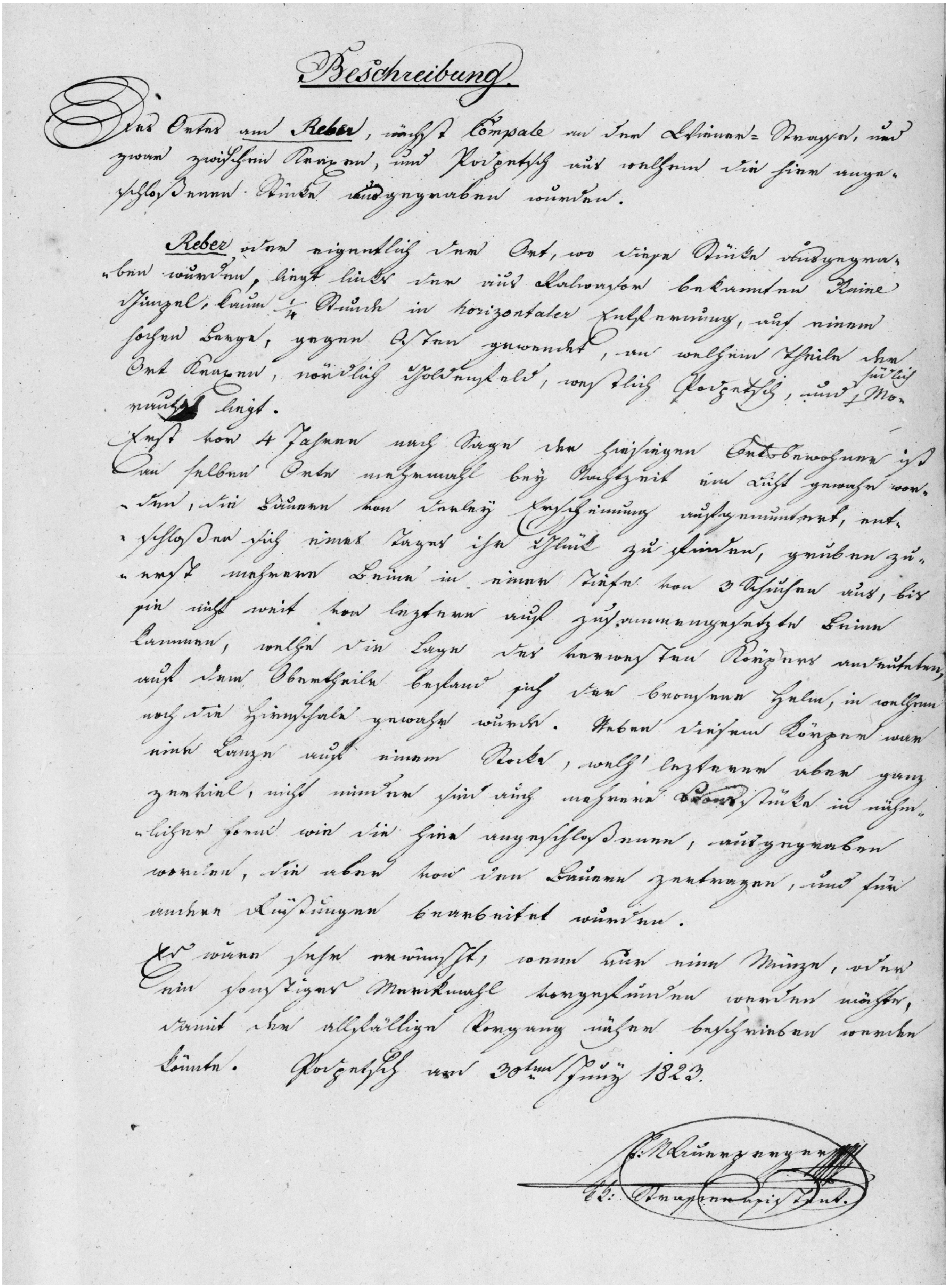
Leta 2019 so bili na pobočju Kope in Rebri z uporabo detektorja kovin odkriti predmeti iz starejše železne dobe. Zatem je ekipa Centra za preventivno arheologijo ZVKDS izvedla intenzivni terenski pregled in arheološka izkopavanja.[3] Dve leti pozneje je dodatna izkopavanja opravila ekipa Narodnega muzeja Slovenije.[4]

Značilne najdbe ter najdiščne in topografske okoliščine podpirajo mnenje o obstoju utrjenega prazgodovinskega naselja na Rebri ter grobišča iz starejše železne dobe na enem od hrbtov južnega pobočja Kope.

ZGODOVINA RAZISKAV IN TOPOGRAFIJA

V poročilih in noticah o arheoloških najdiščih na Kopi in Rebri se pojavljajo različna poimenovanja lokacij in z njimi povezanih arheoloških odkritij (Kopa, Reber, Kompoljski hrib, Gusin grič).[5] Tukaj so natančneje opisani topografska situacija in izsledki terenskih ogledov ter analize ledinskih imen na zemljevidih (*sl. 1*). Kopa se imenuje 579 m visok vrh hribovskega masiva severozahodno od vasi Kompolje med dolino potoka Zlatopoljščica in dolino Radomlje. Zahodno od Kope in nekoliko nižje (vrh na 562 m n. m.) se vije greben z imenom Reber, na katerem so ostaline utrjenega prazgodovinskega naselja oz. gradišča. Jugozahodno od Kope se dviga 554 m visok Kompoljski ali Kompolski hrib, ki je označen in varovan kot lokacija gradu iz 13. do 15. st.,[6] vendar tod ni opaziti arheoloških ostalin. Nekje na obronkih Kompoljskega hriba vzhodno od Trnjave je zabeležena lokacija Gusin grič, kjer je leta 1879 kmet Matija Jere pri poljskem delu našel skeletni grob z bronastimi predmeti.[7] V Kranjski deželni muzej so prinesli samostrelni fibuli in votli zapestnici, objavil jih je Stane Gabrovec.[8]

[2] Gabrovec 1965, 101, t. 10.
[3] Neobjavljeno poročilo Fabec *et al.* 2019.
[4] Neobjavljeno poročilo Zupan, Laharnar 2022.
[5] *ANSl*, 192; Božič v poročilu Fabec *et al.* 2019, 12–13, 16; Dular 2021, 23–26.
[6] Register nepremične kulturne dediščine RS: EŠD 12772.
[7] Dular 2021, 23.
[8] Gabrovec 1965, 101, t. 11: 4–6.

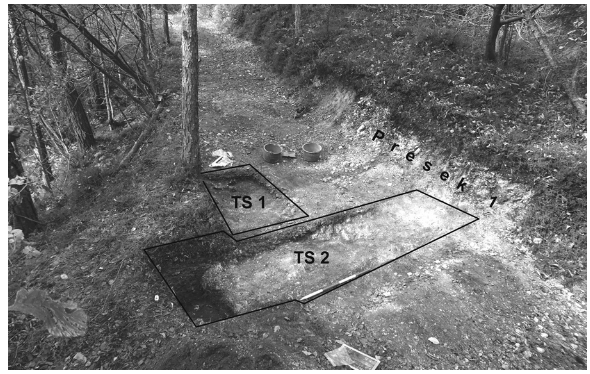


Beschreibung

Sl. 2: Dopis cestnega asistenta Auerpergerja z opisom okoliščin odkritja čelade na Rebri nad Kompoljami.
Fig. 2: Letter of Strassenassistent Auerperger describing the circumstances of discovering the helmet on Reber above Kompolje.
(po / after Železnikar *et al.* 2022, 16)

Karel Dežman je bil leta 1879 prepričan, da so bronasto čelado (*t. 1*), ki je vrsto let krasila grobo izrezljano moško doprsje nad odtočno cevjo Cerarjevega vodnjaka v Lukovici, našli pred približno 50 leti v prazgodovinskem naselju.[9] Po njegovem naročilu je zato julija leta 1879 na različnih mestih v naselju več manjših sond izkopal kajžar Korošec, Špehar iz Kompolj,[10] ter naletel na sistem zidovja in kosti. Četrtega in petega septembra istega leta je po Dežmanovem napotilu v naselju kopal Ferdinand Schulz. Petega septembra si je izkopavanja v Dežmanovem spremstvu ogledal angleški arheolog John Evans z družino. Tudi Schulz in njegovi delavci so kopali na več mestih. Na globini 2 do 3 m so našli zidovje brez malte, oglje, odlomke grobe keramike, kosti domačih živali, bronasto trirobo puščično ost in certoško fibulo. Dežman piše, da je bilo obzidje gradišča zgrajeno iz kvarcitnih blokov, ki so jih morali z veliko truda prinesti iz globeli severno od Kope.[11] Tudi te najdbe je v Kamniškem zborniku objavil Gabrovec.[12]

Dežman je v Vodniku po Kranjskem deželnem muzeju, ki je izšel desetletje po izkopavanjih na Kopi, navedel drugačne najdišče podatke o čeladi. Odkrita naj bi bila namreč v grobu na hribu Kopa nad Trnjavo.[13] Morda je Dežman izbrskal dopis Janeza Nepomuka Auerpergerja, cestnega asistenta iz Podpeči, ki ga je ta 30. junija 1823 poslal skupaj z več bronastimi predmeti v Kranjski deželni muzej (*sl. 2*). Auerperger piše, da so leta 1819 kmetje začeli kopati na Rebri, visokem hribu pri Kompoljah med Krašnjo in Podpečjo, "ker je tam večkrat svetila luč". Našli so človeške kosti, v bližini pa še celotno človeško okostje. Na lobanji je bila bronasta čelada, ob okostju sulica. Našli so še več po obliki podobnih bronastih predmetov ter jih raznesli, nekaj pa jih je pridobil Auerperger in poslal v muzej.[14] Auerpergerjeva pošiljka je omenjena šele leta 1832 na seznamu muzejskih pridobitev v letu 1823, tega je pripravil Franc Jožef Hanibal Hohenwart za Ilirski list (Illyrisches Blatt). Hohenwart kratko navede, da gre za sestavne dele antičnega oklepa, izkopane pri Krašnji.[15] Danes v muzeju ni več mogoče ugotoviti, katere najdbe, če so se sploh ohranile, bi to lahko bile.



Sl. 3: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Območje arheološkega izkopavanja leta 2019. Testni sondi (TS 1–2) in vsek v pobočje za kolovoz (Presek 1). Pogled iz vzhoda.
Fig. 3: Kopa above Kompolje. Area of the 2019 archaeological excavation. Trial trenches (TS 1–2) and cartway cut into the slope (Section 1). View from the east.

Julija leta 2019 sta posameznika na kolovozu, ki vodi prek južnega pobočja Kope in Rebri, z detektorjem za kovine odkrila bronaste in železne predmete. Predmeti so bili deloma raztreseni v dolžini približno 60 m vzdolž kolovoza (t. *2*: 1–3, 4;[16] *3*: 11), glavnina pa je bila na kupu v manjši luknji (t. *2*: 5–16; *3*: 1–4, 6,[17] 12, 14–15, 18). Najditelja sta predmete izročila Narodnemu muzeju Slovenije, kjer smo ugotovili, da gre za arheološke najdbe iz starejše železne dobe. O odkritju smo obvestili pristojno konservatorko Judito Lux (ZVDKS OE Kranj) in septembra leta 2019 je Center za preventivno arheologijo na območju odkritja železnodobnih predmetov opravil arheološko raziskavo.[18] Ekipa Narodnega muzeja Slovenije je junija 2021 izvedla dodatne raziskave.[19]

ARHEOLOŠKE RAZISKAVE V LETIH 2019 IN 2021

Namen arheološke raziskave na južnem pobočju Kope leta 2019 je bil ugotoviti najdiščne okoliščine

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9 Deschmann 1879; Deschmann v von Hochstetter 1879, 552. Ni znano, kdaj so čelado prinesli v Kranjski deželni muzej (danes Narodni muzej Slovenije), vsekakor pa je bila leta 1879 že v muzejski zbirki.

10 Podatke o arheoloških odkritjih na Kopi in Rebri nad Kompoljami v 19. st. povzemamo po poglavju *Okoliščine odkritij železnodobnih najdb z območja Kope in Rebri nad Kompoljami*, ki ga je za poročilo Fabec *et al.* 2019 pripravil Dragan Božič. Njegove ugotovitve povzema tudi Dular (2021, 24–26).

11 Deschmann v von Hochstetter 1879, 552; Dular 2021, 24.

12 Gabrovec 1965, t. 11: 7–10.

13 Deschmann 1888, 85.

14 Dular 2021, 26.

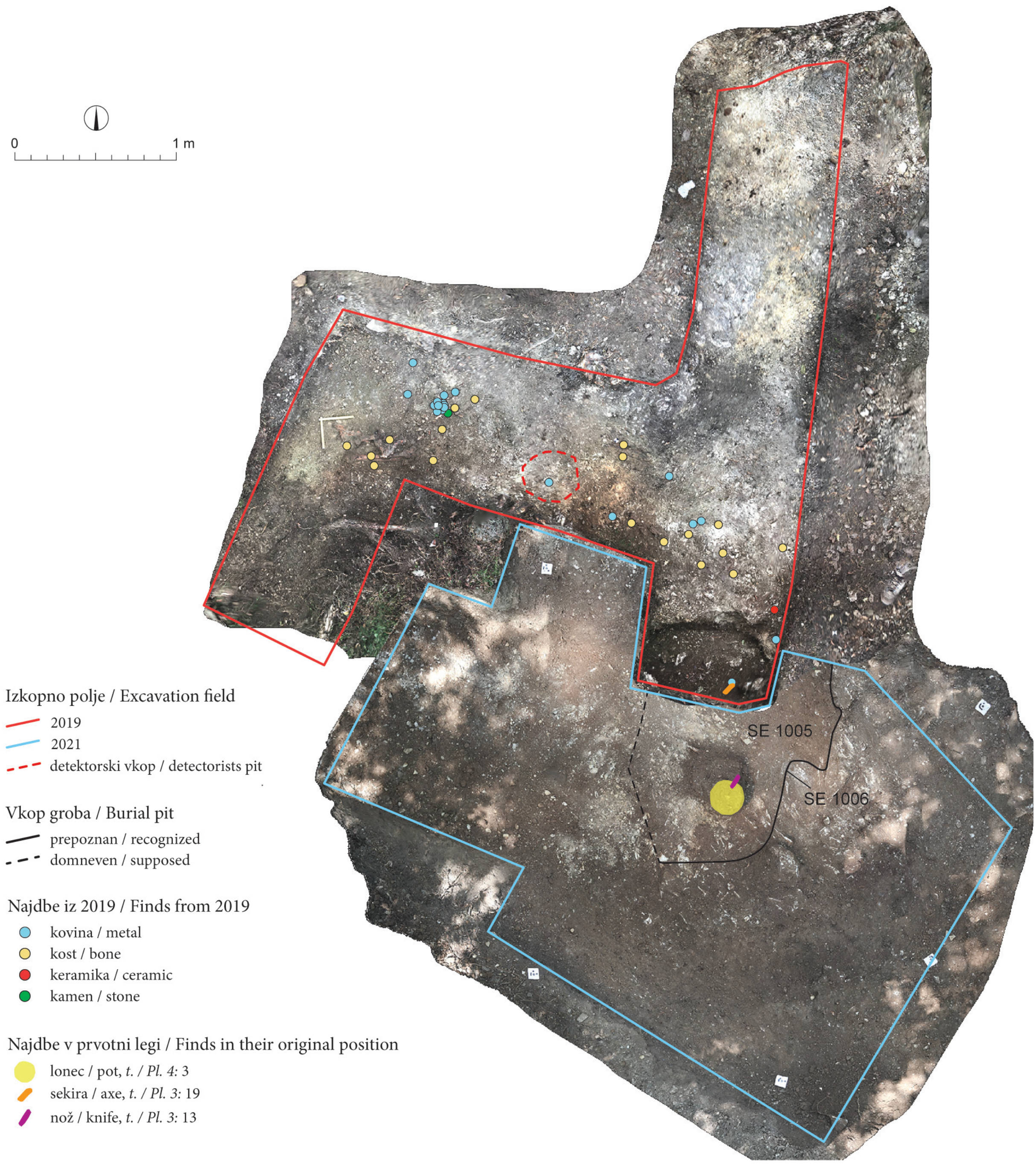
15 Hohenwart 1832, 24, št. 270.

16 Odlomek z inv. št. P 30054.

17 Gumb z inv. št. P 30048.

18 Fabec *et al.* 2019.

19 Zupan, Laharnar 2022.

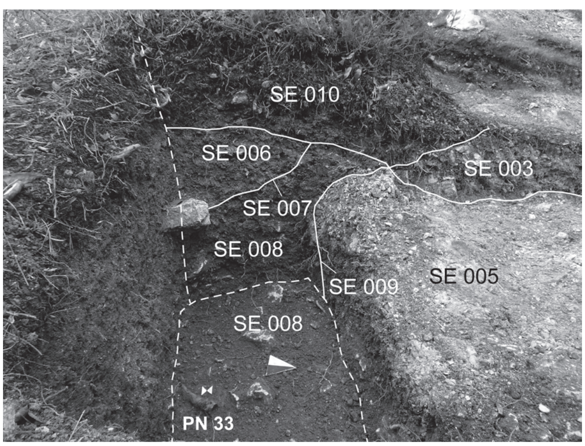


Sl. 4: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Združen tloris izkopnih sond leta 2019 in 2021 z označenimi najdbami.
Fig. 4: Kopa above Kompolje. Composite plan of the trial trenches excavated in 2019 and 2021 with marked finds.

detektorskih najdb in stratifikacijo na kraju njihovega odkritja. Izvedli smo intenzivni terenski pregled 1600 m² velikega območja z izkopom 40 × 40 × 40 cm velikih sond in pregled z iskalnikom za kovine v mreži 10 × 10 m ter izkop dveh med sabo povezanih sond v velikosti 1,5 × 1 m (TS 1) in 1 × 5 m (TS 2). Prvo smo izkopali na mestu z največ detektorskimi najdbami, drugo pravokotno čez kolovoz (*sl. 3*). Intenzivni terenski pregled in pregled z detektorjem kovin nista dala pozitivnih rezultatov.

Sondi smo izkopali na vozišču kolovoza (parcelna št. 757/9, k. o. Koreno). Zaradi odkritja dolgih kosti, ki so segale v profile izkopanega območja, smo testno sondo 1 dodatno razširili in izkopa (TS 1 in TS 2) združili v enega. Tako so izkopavanja v celoti zajela okoli 8 m² površine (*sl. 4*).

Sl. 5: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Raziskave leta 2019. Človeški stegnenici v zasutju južne kolesnice kolovoza. Ležali sta skupaj, vendar v nasprotni smeri.
Fig. 5: Kopa above Kompolje. Excavations in 2019. Two human femora in the fill of the south rut of the cartway. They were found next to one another, but of opposite orientation.



Sl. 6: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Raziskave leta 2019. Arheološka interpretacija stratigrafije.
Fig. 6: Kopa above Kompolje. Excavations in 2019. Interpretation of the stratigraphy.

SE / SU 003 – izravnava vozišča kolovoza / cartway surface; SE / SU 005 – geološka podlaga / bedrock; SE / SU 006 – zasutje jame SE 007 / fill of Pit SU 007; SE / SU 007 – jama, namembnost neznana / pit, function unknown; SE / SU 008 – zasutje vseka SE 009 / fill of Cut SU 009; SE / SU 009 – vsek v dolomitno podlago (morda vkop grobne jame) / cut into the dolomite bedrock; SE / SU 010 – humusno akumulativni (A) talni horizont / topsoil with accumulation of humus (A); PN / special find 33 – tulasta sekira / socketed axe (*t. / Pl. 3:* 19).

Območje sond je bilo v celoti preoblikovano z izgradnjo kolovoza. Zanj je bila v strmo dolomitno pobočje vsekana približno 3,5 m široka terasa. Vsek v pobočje je na severni strani v višino meril 50–80 cm (*sl. 3*: Presek 1), na južni pa le 10–20 cm. Skalnata podlaga vozišča je bila izravnana z novoveškim nasutjem grušča in peska; to je bilo debelejše na njegovi južni polovici oz. kolesnici in se je v smeri proti severnemu robu kolovoza izklinilo.

V nasutju južne kolesnice kolovoza smo našli zasut vkop, kjer sta iskalca z detektorjem kovin izkopala večino predmetov (t. *2*: 5–16; *3*: 1–4, 6,[20] 12, 14–15, 18), ter odkrili več kovinskih najdb (*t. 2*: 4[21]; *3*: 5, 6[22], 7–9), ki so ležale razpršeno v nasutju, kamnit brus (*t. 3*: 20), odlomka keramike ter kosti najmanj dveh človeških skeletov (*sl. 4*).[23]

Kosti so bile večinoma razdrobljene, glavnina odlomkov je bila velika do 5 cm, bilo pa je tudi nekaj večjih primerkov dolgih kosti. Manjši odlomki so v novoveškem nasutju ležali razpršeno, medtem ko je bilo nekaj bolje ohranjenih kosti položenih skupaj v nasutju na južnem robu kolovoza. Tudi te kosti niso ležale v anatomski legi, ampak so bile naknadno preložene. Med njimi sta bili bolje ohranjeni stegnenici, ki sta bili položeni druga poleg druge, a v nasprotni smeri (*sl. 5*). Za večje in ob robu kolovoza zložene kosti se torej zdi, da so jih najditelji, morda graditelji kolovoza, zložili z večjo skrbnostjo.

V južnem delu sonde TS 2 smo že zunaj trase kolovoza, na globini okoli 40 cm, odkrili plast peščeno-meljaste prsti temno rdečkasto rjave barve s kosi dolomita in zelo redkimi drobci oglja (SE 008). Ta plast je bila zasutje vseka v dolomitno preperino tukajšnje geološke podlage. V njej je na globini 60 cm ležala železna tulasta sekira (*sl. 6; t. 3*: 19).

Ker smo menili, da je plast s tulasto sekiro morda nepoškodovan ostanek zasutja groba, smo leta 2021 nadaljevali izkopavanje in raziskali približno 6 m^2 površine južno od sond iz leta 2019 (*sl. 4*).[24] Tudi tokrat smo odkrili novoveška nasutja z odlomki lončenine (*t. 4*: 1–2, 4–5) in človeških kosti ter kovinskima predmetoma (*t. 3*: 10,16).

Po odstranitvi nasutij smo na globini 50 cm dosegli plast (SE 008), v kateri je bila leta 2019

[20] Gumb z inv. št. P 30048.
[21] Odlomki z inv. št. P 30023–26.
[22] Gumbi z inv. št. P 30031–30042.
[23] Antropološke analize izrazito razdrobljenih najdb, ki jih je opravil Fabio Cavalli (glej poročilo Fabec *et al.* 2019, 32–33, Priloga 5), so pokazale pripadnost vsaj dvema odraslima osebama. Večji del kostnih najdb (stegnenici, odlomek desne podlahtnice in deli medenice) je najverjetneje pripadal moškemu. Na kosteh ni bilo vidnih patoloških znakov, edini odkrit zob, sekalec iz spodnje čeljustnice, pa je kazal obrabo žvekalne površine, kar je najbrž posledica uporabe zob pri delu.
[24] Neobjavljeno poročilo Zupan, Laharnar 2022.

Sl. 7: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Raziskave leta 2021. Lonec (*t. 4*: 3) s prislonjenim železnim nožem (*t. 3*: 13).
Fig. 7: Kopa above Kompolje. Excavations in 2021. Jar (Pl. 4: 3) and iron knife (Pl. 3: 13).

odkrita sekira (prim. *sl. 6*; *t. 3*: 19). Zapolnjevala je okoli 20 cm globok vkop (SE 1006) v dolomitno geološko podlago. Vkop smo z izkopavanjem njegovega zasutja (SE 1005) dokaj jasno zamejili na vzhodnem in južnem delu (*sl. 4*). Proti zahodu meje vkopa nismo našli, saj so novoveška nasutja segala vse do dolomitne geološke podlage. Na dnu vkopa sta bila keramičen lonec in nanj prislonjen železen nož (*sl. 4, 7*; *t. 3*: 13; *4*: 3). V loncu sta bila odlomka še enega železnega noža (*t. 3*: 17).[25] Vkop SE 1006 in zasutje SE 1005 sta bila del grobne jame in njenega zasutja. Keramičen lonec, noža in sekira so bili grobni pridatki v prvotni legi (*t. 3*: 13,17,19; *4*: 3). Preostali del groba je bil uničen z gradnjo kolovoza.

[25] Zemljeno polnilo lonca je bilo izpraznjeno v delavnicah Narodnega muzeja pred postopkom konserviranja in restavriranja predmeta. Laboratorijsko izkopavanje zemljenega polnila lončka ter restavriranje in konserviranje predmeta je opravil Gorazd Lemajič (Oddelek za konserviranje in restavriranje NMS). Kovinske najdbe sta konservirala Matjaž Bizjak in Anita Virag (Oddelka za konserviranje in restavriranje, NMS).

Izbrana vzorca človeških kosti iz novoveškega nasutja sta bila radiokarbonsko analizirana.[26] Rezultati so pokazali najverjetnejšo datacijo med zgodnjim 4. in poznim 3. st. pr. n. št. (*sl. 8: Kopa 21_Sample 1 in 2*). Mlajšo datacijo, v čas med sredino 1. st. pr. n. št. in 1. st. n. št., je pokazala radiokarbonska analiza odlomka človeške kosti iz nasutja kolovoza, ki smo ga raziskali leta 2019 (*sl. 8: KORENO-01*).[27]

TIPOLOŠKA IN KRONOLOŠKA ANALIZA NAJDB

Glavnino najdb sta odkrila iskalca z detektorjem kovin (*t. 2*: 1–3, 5–16; *3*: 1–4, 11–12, 14–15, 18), nekaj jih je ležalo v novoveških nasutjih (*t. 2*: 4; *3*: 5–9, 20; *4*: 1–2, 4–5), povezanih z gradnjo kolovoza. Keramičen lonec, sekira in noža (*t. 3:* 13,17, 19; *4*: 3) so ležali *in situ* in jih obravnavamo kot del grobne celote.

Bronasti fibuli (*t. 2*: 1–2) pripadata fibulam s proti loku obrnjeno stilizirano živalsko glavo (pri obeh primerkih s Kope se ta ni ohranila) oz. t. i. vzhodnoalpskim fibulam z živalsko glavo (*ostalpine Tierkopffibeln)*, ki so datirane v obdobje od druge četrtine 5. in v 4. st. pr. n. št. Fibuli s Kope sodita v različico z okrašenim lokom, ki je bila na Dolenjskem v rabi tudi v obdobju uporabe negovskih čelad. To dokazujeta fibuli iz bogatega groba moškega in ženske IV/3 na gomilnem grobišču Znančeve njive v novomeški Kandiji (*sl. 9*: 1–2),[28] v katerem so značilni pridatki stopnje negovskih čelad po relativni kronologiji dolenjske

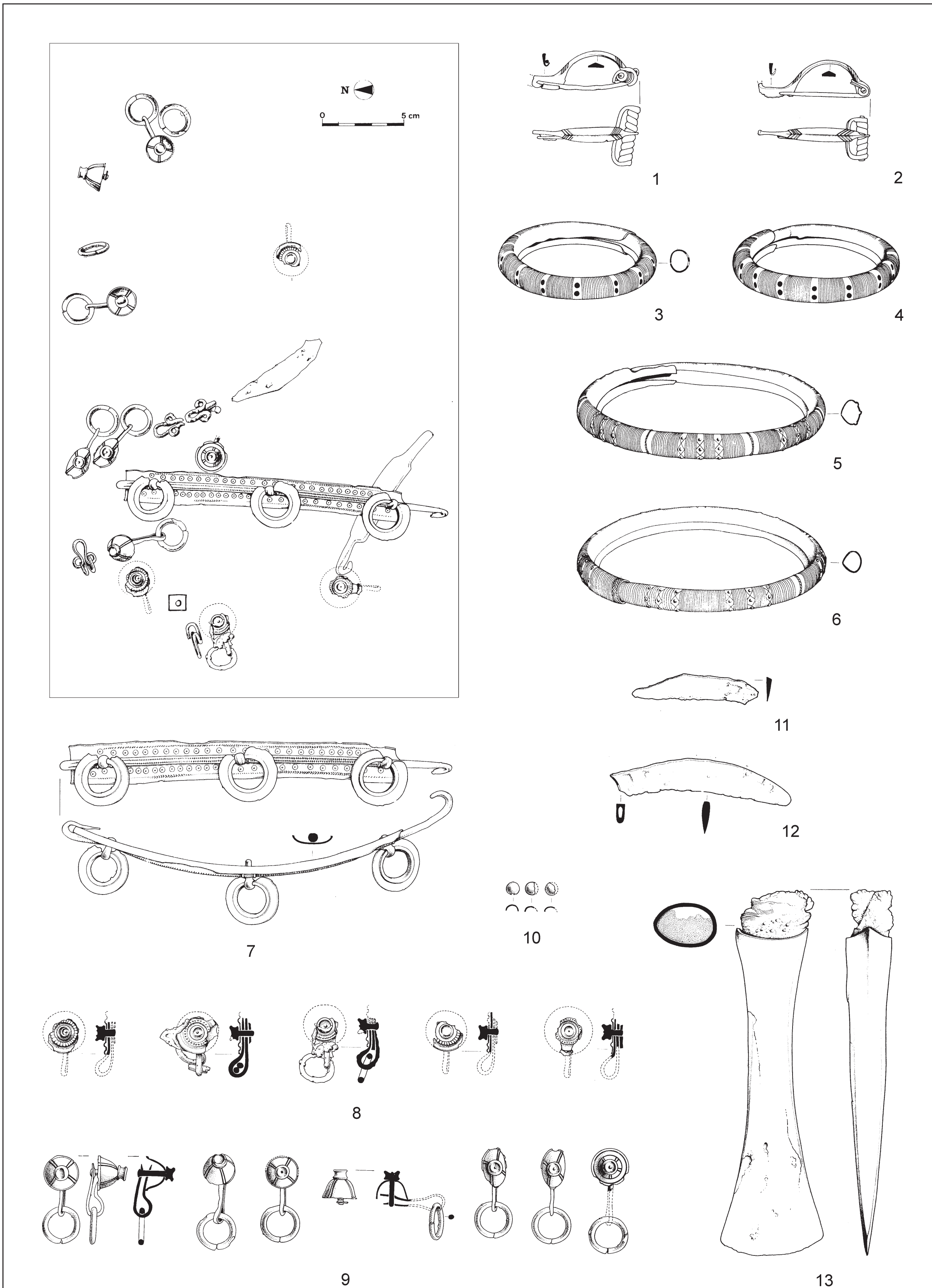
[26] Vzorca sta bila datirana v Poznan Radiocarbon Laboratory na Poljskem.

[27] Vzorec je bil datiran v Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory v Miamiju, Florida, ZDA.

[28] Knez 1986, 89, t. 36: 3; 75: IV/3.

Vzorec / Sample	**Laboratorijska koda / Laboratory code**	**Pred sedanjostjo / BP**	**Kalibrirana starost, 95% verjetnost / Calibrated Age Range, 95% probability**
Kopa 21 _ Sample 1	Poz-149306	2165 ± 30	357 pr. n. št. / BC - 278 pr. n. št. / BC (40.5 %) 234 pr. n. št. / BC - 101 pr. n. št. / BC (52.5 %)
Kopa 21 _ Sample 2	Poz-149307	2253 ± 30	392 pr. n. št. / BC - 348 pr. n. št. / BC (32.1 %) 312 pr. n. št. / BC - 206 pr. n. št. / BC (63.3 %)
KORENO-01	Beta-541062	1990 ± 30	49 pr. n. št. / BC - 72 n. št. / AD (95,4 %)

Sl. 8: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Radiokarbonske datacije vzorcev človeških kosti iz raziskav 2019 in 2021.
Fig. 8: Kopa above Kompolje. Radiocarbon dating of the human bone samples taken during the 2019 and 2021 excavations.



Sl. 9: Novo mesto – Znančeve njive v Kandiji. Izbor pridatkov iz groba IV/3. M. = 1:3.
Fig. 9: Novo mesto – Znančeve njive in Kandija. Select goods from Grave IV/3. Scale = 1:3.
(prirejeno po / adapted after Knez 1986, t. / Pl. 34–36)

halštatske kulturne skupine.[29] Gabrovec je fibule opredelil kot najmlajše kreacije halštatske kulture.[30]

Pomenljivo je, da tudi glavnini preostalih predmetov s Kope najdemo primerjave v dvojnem grobu IV/3 iz Novega mesta (*sl. 9*). To velja za votli bronasti zapestnici, okrašeni s snopi prečnih vrezov, dvojnimi cikcakastimi črtami in krožci s piko (*t. 2*: 4–5; prim. *sl. 9*: 3–6).[31] Gre za zapestnice različice V6 po Sneži Tecco Hvala. Na dolenjskih mladohalštatskih najdiščih se pojavljajo v dvojnih grobovih in pri posameznih pokopih.[32]

Med predmeti so štirje bronasti gumbi z nizko profilirano kapico (*t. 2*: 9–11)[33] ter devet bronastih gumbov z zvončasto kapico in zanko (*t. 2*: 12–16; *3*: 1–4). Na obeh različicah so obešeni obročki z enakim punciranim okrasom. Zelo podobne gumbe najdemo tudi v grobu IV/3 v novomeški Kandiji (*sl. 9*: 9), različico z zvončasto kapico pa tudi v dvojnem grobu mlajše negovske stopnje II/2.[34] Kot dokazujejo novomeške primerjave, so bili tovrstni gumbi del pasne garniture. Glede na lego gumbov v grobu IV/3 v Kandiji, ki so bili v povezavi s prekrižanima pasnima sponama, se zdi, da sta garnituro sestavljala pas in lenta (*sl. 9:* zgoraj levo).[35]

Pasno garnituro so sestavljali pasna spona (*t. 2*: 6), verjetno gumbi s polno kapico in zanko (*t. 3*: 6) ter majhni gumbi z zanko (*t. 3*: 7). O mladohalštatskih pasnih garniturah, ki so jih krasili gumbi in obeski različnih oblik, pričajo poleg groba IV/3 tudi najdbe iz groba I/20, prav tako iz Kandije v Novem mestu.[36]

Majhni gumbi s Kope (*t. 3*: 7) so podobni tistim iz groba IV/3 v Kandiji (*sl. 9*: 10),[37] medtem ko so večji gumbi (*t. 3*: 6) redkost. Podobni so gumbu iz domnevnega poznolatenskega groba na Magdalenski gori[38] in gumboma z gradišča Ajdovščina nad Zaborštom pri Dolu, kjer sta bila posamični najdbi.[39] Tudi primerka z Ajdovščine sta datirana v mlajšo železno dobo, a najdbe s Kope dokazujejo, da so tovrstni gumbi lahko že iz starejše železne dobe.

Z okrasitvijo pasu sta bržkone povezana okrašena zapognjena okova (*t. 2*: 7–8). Okov *t. 2:* 7 nakazuje debelino pasu iz organske snovi (6–7 mm), na katerega je bil pritrjen z bronasto zakovico. Ta ima takšno kapico kot zakovice zvončastih gumbov z zanko (*t. 2*: 13–16; *3*: 1–4) s podobno srebrnkasto površino. Preliminarne meritve elementne sestave zlitin kapic zakovic na zvončastih gumbih in okovu *t. 2*: 7 nakazujejo zelo visoko vsebnost kositra v bronasti zlitini. To govori v prid domnevi, da so kapice zakovic pokositrili. Enako velja tudi za majhne gumbe z zanko (*t. 3*: 7).[40] Sicer podobni okovi iz zapognjenega pločevinastega traku na dolenjskih in zasavskih najdiščih starejše železne dobe niso neznanka, le njihove zakovice so drugačnih oblik.[41]

Pasna spona je sestavljena iz treh delov: pravokotne bronaste ploščice, okrašene trakaste bronaste pločevine in sredinske prečke s kavljastim zaključkom (*t. 2*: 6). Vse tri elemente sta povezovali zakovici, a se nista ohranili. Pasno spono uvrščamo v skupino kavljastih pasnih spon s sredinsko prečko, ki se na Dolenjskem pojavljajo v bronasti in železni izvedbi. Sneža Tecco Hvala je nakazala njihov pojav v obdobju mlajše certoške in zgodnje negovske stopnje na podlagi grobnih celot iz Dolenjskih Toplic ter Novega mesta.[42]

Pravokotna plošča in sredinska prečka sta lahko izdelani iz enega kosa[43] ali pa je prečka pritrjena na ploščo z zakovicami (*sl. 9*: 7; *10*: 1).[44] Oblika sredinske prečke pasne spone s Kope je zelo podobna izvedbi sredinske prečke na pasni sponi iz Podzemlja, kjer sta se ohranili tudi dve zakovici z obročkom (*sl. 10:* 1).[45] Treba je opozoriti, da so med podzemeljskimi najdbami iz neohranjenih grobnih celot tudi zvončasti gumbi, podobni tistim s Kope (*sl. 10*: 2; prim: *t. 2*: 12–16; *3*: 1–4).[46]

Edinstvena je namestitev okrašene bronaste trakaste pločevine med sredinsko prečko in pravokotno ploščo spone. Zdi se, da moramo način izdelave pasne spone s Kope povezati z domiselnimi

[29] Teržan 1976, 392, 442; Gabrovec 1987, 70–72; Dular 2003, 143–144, sl. 86–88; Tecco Hvala 2012, 263–265.

[30] Gabrovec 1966, 30–31, karta 2.

[31] Prim. Knez 1986, t. 36: 8–9.

[32] Tecco Hvala 2012, 312–321, sl. 116: 6.

[33] Eden od gumbov je vraščen v korenino ter ni bil konserviran in restavriran, zato ni opisan v katalogu in narisan na tabli.

[34] Knez 1986, t. 13: 15; Dular 2003, 144, sl. 90: 19.

[35] Knez 1986, t. 35: 1a; 61.

[36] Knez 1986, t. 4: 1–1a.

[37] Knez 1986, t. 35: 12.

[38] Hencken 1978, 80, sl. 362: c.

[39] Pavlin, Dular 2007, 73, 85, 94, t. 6: 14, 18.

[40] Meritve z metodo XRF je opravila in rezultate preliminarno komentirala Eva Menart (Oddelek za konserviranje in restavriranje, NMS).

[41] Stare 1955, t. 2: 8; 45: 2; Knez 1986, t. 43: 8; Dular 2003, 143, sl. 85: 12–13, 16.

[42] Tecco Hvala 2012, 179–181.

[43] Npr. Stare 1973, t. 9: 9.

[44] Npr. Tecco Hvala *et al.* 2004, 51, t. 158: 2.

[45] Dular 1978, 26, t. 16: 8.

[46] Dular 1978, 26, t. 16: 9.

rokodelskimi rešitvami mladohalštatskega obdobja. Te se kažejo tudi pri nekaterih drugih svojstveno izdelanih pasnih garniturah na Dolenjskem in v Zasavju, npr. pri pasni sponi s Kovka nad Hrastnikom[47] in garnituri iz groba 13/2 na Molniku.[48]

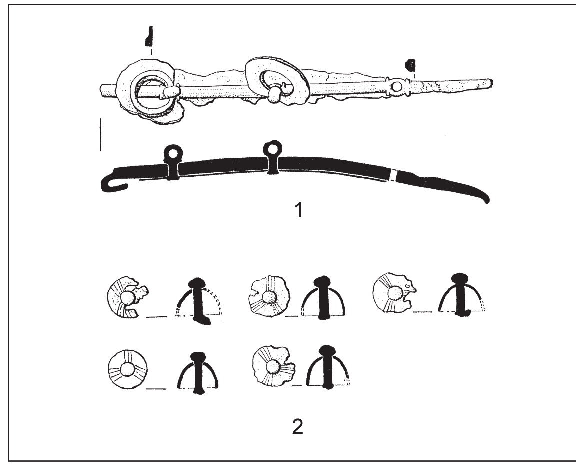
Železni noži z izbočenim (*t. 3*: 13–14) ali ravnim hrbtom (*t. 3*: 15) so pogost pridatek v grobovih halštatskega časa. Našli so jih tudi v omenjenih mladohalštatskih grobovih s pasnimi garniturami v Novem mestu[49] in na Molniku.[50]

Odlomek noža s kratkim in izbočenim rezilom ima na meji med trakastim ročajem in rezilom izrazito zajedo, ki je morda služila kot opora za prst (*t. 3*: 18). To nakazuje, da so predmet morda uporabljali kot britev.

Železna tulasta sekira *t. 3*: 19 pripada klasični bojevniški opremi mladohalštatskega obdobja v dolenjski skupini. Takrat so tulaste sekire povsem prevladovale nad preostalimi oblikami sekir in so bile del oborožitve tako veljakov kot običajnih pešakov.[51] Tulasta sekira je bila pridatek tudi v grobovih s pasno garnituro v Novem mestu in na Molniku.[52]

Kamniti brusi z luknjo za obešanje, kot je primerek s Kope (*t. 3*: 20), se pojavljajo v grobovih starejše železne dobe na Dolenjskem, kjer veljajo za del moške oprave.[53]

Med najdbami je tudi bronast odlomek predmeta z zaključkom v obliki živalske glave, morda konja ali ptiča (*t. 3*: 12). Najdba spominja na nekatere izvedbe zgodnjelatenskih figuralnih fibul z zaključki nog ali lokov, oblikovanih v podobi ptic, zveri in mask različnih domišljijskih bitij. Podobe so na fibulah pogosto postavljene antitetično ali pa krasijo le zaključke nog, izdelanih v značilni zgodnjelatenski shemi, kjer je noga fibule obrnjena nazaj proti njenemu loku in se ga pogosto dotika oz. je z njim spojena.[54] Če je naša domneva pravilna in je figuralni predmet s Kope povezan z zgodnjelatenskim umetniškim izrazom, gre za predmet, ki se je zgledoval po rokodelskih in umetniških predlogah z območij severno od Alp ali bil od tam uvožen. To ne bi bilo presenečenje, saj je v dolenjski skupini v času mladohalštatskega negovskega horizonta izpričano posnemanje ali uvažanje modnih ter vojaških novosti iz srednje- in zahodnoevropskega keltskega sveta.[55]



Sl. 10: Podzemelj. Pasna spona s sredinskim kavljem in zvončasti gumbi, bron. M. = 1:3.
Fig. 10: Podzemelj. Hooked belt plate and bell-shaped mounts, bronze. Scale = 1:3.
(po / after Dular 1978, t. / Pl. 26: 8–9)

Med keramičnimi najdbami nam je uspelo rekonstruirati skledi na nogi (*t. 4*: 1–2). Pri *t. 4*: 2 se noga ali dno nista ohranila, toda zaradi blažje usločenosti trupa, kot je sicer značilen za običajne sklede,[56] so najverjetneje tudi to odlomki sklede na nogi. Glavna značilnost obeh posod je okras ramena v kombinaciji gubanja in navpičnih kanelur, kar ju umešča med sklede na nogi tipa 2 po Dularju.[57] Gubanje posod so v dolenjski halštatski skupini razen pri izdelavi posod na nogi uporabljali pri izdelavi kernosov, ciborijev, skodel in skled.[58] Po najdbah z gomilnih grobišč v Dolenjskih Toplicah in Novem mestu je izdelava in uporaba nagubane keramike predvsem značilnost certoške in negovske stopnje.[59]

Trebušasta lonca z nekoliko napetimi rameni in kratkim, lijakasto izvihanim ustjem (*t. 4*: 3, 4) sodita v tip L 14b po tipologiji stiške naselbinske keramike, kot jo je predstavila Lucija Grahek.[60] Za take lonce je značilno krašenje vratu oz. ramena z vodoravnim žlebom, pri loncih s Kope se pojavlja tudi okras bradavic. V Stični se odlomki tovrstnih loncev pojavljajo v plasteh vseh faz halštatskih zidov, največ pa jih je iz latenskih plasti.[61]

[47] Božič *et al.* 2020, 507–513, t. 4; 4: 1–12.
[48] Tecco Hvala 2017, 38, 111, t. 9: 3–5.
[49] Knez 1986, t. 13: 9–10; 34: 8; 35: 5, 42: 3
[50] Tecco Hvala 2017, 38, t. 9: 13–14.
[51] Tecco Hvala 2012, 114–116, 121–122, sl. 46: 3-14.
[52] Knez 1986, t. 5: 1; 34: 7; Tecco Hvala 2017, 38, t. 9: 16.
[53] Križ *et al.* 2009, 289, kat. št. 34: a, d–e.
[54] Binding 1993, npr. t. 12: 10; 14: 6, 11 itd.
[55] Teržan 2015, 69–81.
[56] Prim. Dular 1982, t. 24: 226–228.
[57] Dular 1982, 73–74, t. 25: 236–243.
[58] Dular 1982, 85, sl. 4c.
[59] Božič 2018, 191–195, 203–205.
[60] Grahek 2016, 118–120, sl. 39: L14b.
[61] Grahek 2016, 118, 120, sl. 53, 55.

Sl. 11: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Izbor predmetov domnevno iz enega ali več grobov. Najdbe leta 1819 (negovska čelada), 2019 (pasna oprava, fibuli, zapestnica, odlomek z zaključkom v obliki živalske glave, železni noži, tulasta sekira, brus) in 2021 (keramičen lonec, železen nož).
Fig. 11: Kopa above Kompolje. Select goods presumably from one or more graves. Objects found in 1819 (Negova helmet), 2019 (belt set, two brooches, bracelet, fragment with an animal-head terminal, iron knives, socketed axe, whetstone) and 2021 (ceramic jar, iron knife).
(po / after Železnikar *et al*. 2022, 19)

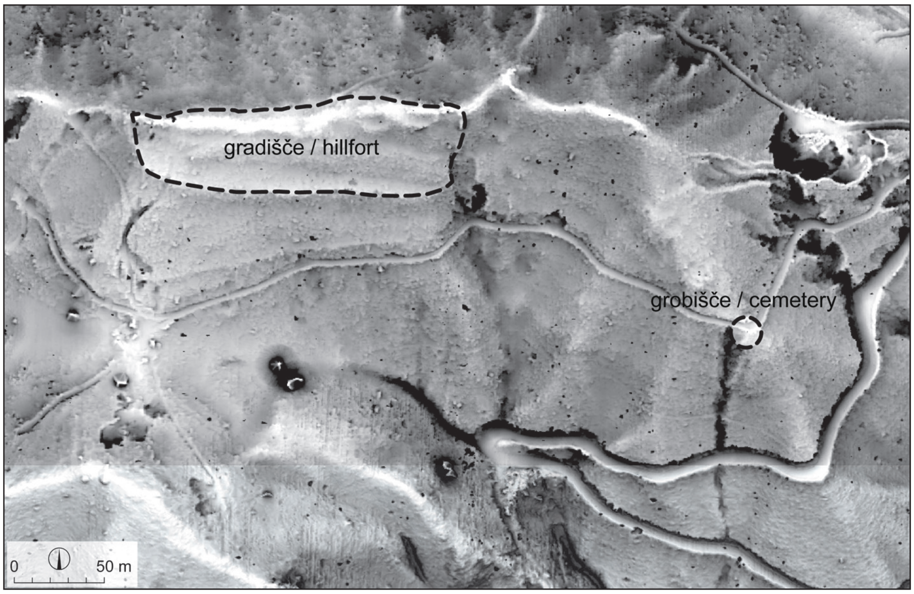
SKLEP

Arheološke raziskave leta 2019 in 2021 na pobočju Kope nad Kompoljami so pritrdile domnevi o obstoju grobišča iz starejše železne dobe.

Topografske okoliščine in človeške kosti, ki so pripadale najmanj dvema odraslima osebama, pričajo o planem skeletnem načinu pokopa.

Človeške kosti in večina drobnih najdb niso bile odkrite v prvotni legi, temveč razmetane po nasutjih, ki so bila odložena med gradnjo kolovoza. Sklepamo, da so graditelji kolovoza naleteli na grobove ter jih prekopali, pri čemer so večje kosti in verjetno del pridatkov odložili na rob kolovoza, več predmetov pa je ostalo v nasutju, s katerim je bilo cestišče izravnano. (*sl. 4–5*).

Od groba ali grobov se je nedotaknjeno ohranil del grobne jame in njenega zasutja. V njej smo



Sl. 12: Arheološka interpretacija lidarskega posnetka območja arheološkega najdišča Kope nad Kompoljami s kombinacijo vizualizacij SVF in SIM. (Vir: ©GURS)
Fig. 12: Wider area of Kopa above Kompolje. Archaeological interpretation of the LiDAR -derived DEM combined with SVF and SIM visualisations. (Source: ©GURS)

odkrili tulasto sekiro (*t. 3*: 19) in keramičen lonec, na katerega je bil prislonjen železen nož (*sl. 4, 7*; *t. 3*: 13; *4*: 3).

Ni mogoče zanesljivo ugotoviti, ali preostale najdbe izvirajo iz istega, morda dvojnega groba ali iz več grobov. Dejstvo je, da so najdbe sočasne, njihovo časovno težišče je v mladohalštatskem obdobju oz. v zadnji fazi starejše železne dobe, tj. v negovskem horizontu po kronologiji dolenjske halštatske skupine. Med najdbami so predmeti značilni za žensko in moško nošo. Glavnini najdb najdemo primerjave v bogatem in pribl. 4 × 1,5 m velikem dvojnem grobu IV/3 na Znančevih njivah v Kandiji v Novem mestu (*sl. 9*), ki velja za značilen knežji grob negovskega časa.

Postavlja se vprašanje, ali je kraj odkritja človeških kosti, "podobnih bronastih predmetov" ter človeškega okostja z negovsko čelado (*t. 1*) in sulico leta 1819 (*sl. 2*) tudi kraj naših odkritij (*sl. 11*).[62] Tej domnevi v prid govori značilen repertoar pridatkov v grobovih z negovskimi čeladami, predvsem odlična primerjava za novoodkrite najdbe s Kope v pridatkih groba IV/3 v Novem mestu.

Domnevamo torej, da so leta 1819 naleteli na človeške kosti, negovsko čelado in druge najdbe ob gradnji kolovoza prek pobočja Kope in Rebri. Kdaj natančno je bil kolovoz zgrajen, ne vemo, a na karti franciscejskega katastra iz leta 1826 je že vrisan. Na tem zemljevidu je tudi razvidno, da je kolovoz vodil iz vasi Koreno do osamljene kmetije s hišno številko 22.

Kaže, da so najditelji del najdb ("lepše predmete") raznesli (nekaj jih je pozneje pridobil Auerperger in jih poslal v muzej, negovsko čelado so uporabili za okrasitev vaškega vodnjaka v Lukovici), drobne, "manj zanimive" predmete pa pustili na najdišču. Nekateri predmeti so obležali v skupkih (vkop z detektorskimi najdbami), drugi so ostali raztreseni v nasutjih kolovoza (*sl. 4*). Z večjo pozornostjo so po odkritju zložili le nekatere bolje ohranjene dolge kosti (*sl. 5*). Tako je najdišče počakalo do ponovnega odkritja leta 2019.

Grobišče na Kopi je povezano s sočasnim utrjenim naseljem na Rebri. Slemenska pobočja Rebri in Kope z vseh strani strmo padajo v dolino, zato je za poselitev le malo primernega prostora. Naselje je bilo na severni strani dobro naravno zavarovano s strmino, na zahodni in južni strani ga je obdajalo obzidje. Znotraj gradišča je 180 × 45 m velik prostor z eno večjo in več manjšimi terasami (*sl. 12*). Naselje je z najdbami, izkopanimi leta 1879, datirano v starejšo železno dobo oz. njen mlajši del.[63] Tej dataciji ne nasprotujejo posamične najdbe iz zbirke NMS, ki so brez natančnejših najdiščnih podatkov in naj bi izvirale iz naselja. Med njimi je bronast odlomek rezila, najverjetneje uhate sekire

[62] Železnikar *et al.* 2022, 14–19.

[63] Gabrovec 1965, t. 11: 7–10.

(*sl. 13*: 3),[64] železno sulično kopito (*sl. 13*: 1) in bronast gumb z okroglo vdolbinico na sredini kapice (*sl. 13*: 2).[65]

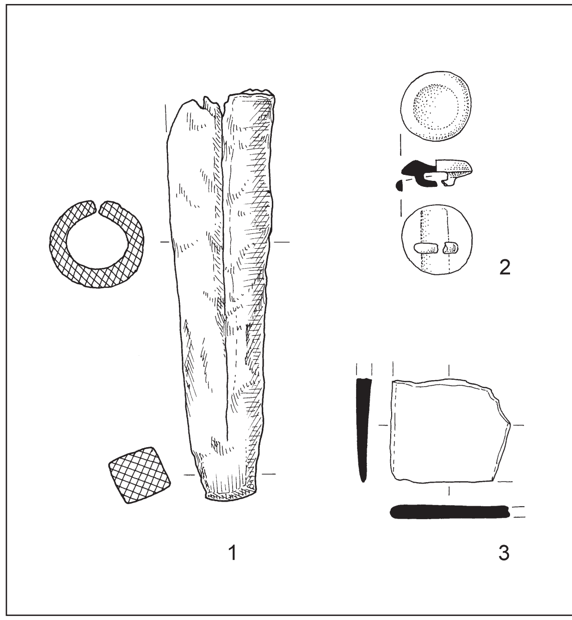
Najdišči Kopa in Reber kažeta podobnosti z najdiščem Kovk nad Hrastnikom, kjer je prav tako manjše gradišče povezano z bogatimi mladohalštatskimi grobnimi najdbami – razkošna pasna oprava in negovska čelada.[66] Po drugi strani je bil vojščak z negovsko čelado pokopan tudi v Nevljah pri Kamniku.[67] Verjetno se v teh najdiščih in najdbah zrcali izrazit vpliv dolenjske halštatske kulturne skupine ne le v Zasavje in Posavsko hribovje, ki je njen sestavni del, ampak tudi proti Gorenjski. Morda lahko na Kopi in v Kamniku slutimo utrjevanje severne meje dolenjske halštatske skupine ali organizirano obrambo poti do metalurškega središča na Vačah.

[64] Prim. Pavlin, Turk 2014, 55, t. 3: 10–19.

[65] Prim. Tecco Hvala 2017, 38, t. 9: 4.

[66] Božič *et al.* 2020.

[67] Gabrovec 1965, 102, 111, t. 9; Železnikar *et al.* 2022, 7–13; 33–34.



Sl. 13: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Posamične najdbe domnevno z območja naselja. 1 železo, 2–3 bron. M. = 1:2.
Fig. 13: Kopa above Kompolje. Stray finds presumably from the settlement area. 1 iron, 2–3 bronze. Scale = 1:2.

KATALOG PREDMETOV

Najdbe hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije.

Okrajšave:
deb. – debelina
det. najdba – detektorska najdba
dol. – dolžina
inv. št. – inventarna številka
izk. – izkopavanja
lit: – literatura
odl. – odlomek
ohr. dol. – ohranjena dolžina
pr. – premer.
rek. pr. – rekonstruiran premer
viš. – višina

Tabla 1

1. Negovska čelada slovenske vrste različice Vače po Eggu s punciranim okrasom dvojnih koncentričnih krožcev, palmet in poševnih linij s po tremi pikami tik nad vglobljenim delom kalote. Zunanji rob krajcev je zapognjen navznoter in drži nosilec podloge iz pločevine, ki je okrašena s punciranimi dvojnimi krožci. Nosilec podloge ima luknjice za namestitev podloge iz organske snovi in odlomka cevaste zanke za podbradni jermen. Luknji skozi krajce in nosilec podloge sta nastali v 19. st., ko je bila čelada pribita na doprsni kip vodnjaka v Lukovici. Bron. Deb. pločevine 1,5–2 mm, viš. 21,1 cm, pr. na krajcih 27,2 × 25,4 cm. Lit.: Gabrovec 1965, 101, t. 10; Egg 1986, 220, kat. št. 300, t. 215, 216a; Laharnar, Turk 2017, 134, sl. 153; Laharnar, Turk 2018, 134, sl. 153; Železnikar *et al.* 2022, 14–19, 30.

Tabla 2

1–2. Poškodovani vzhodnoalpski živalski fibuli. Bron. 1: Dol. 7,2 cm. Inv. št. P 30050 (det. najdba). 2: Dol. 5,8 cm, inv. št. P 30051 (det. najdba).

3. Odl. samostrelne peresovine fibule. Najverjetneje del fibule P 30050 ali P 30051. Bron. Dol. 1,7 cm. Det. najdba. Inv. št. P 30052 (det. najdba).

4–5. Votli zapestnici, okrašeni s snopi prečnih vrezov, cikcak vrezi in punciranimi krožci s piko. Bron. 4: Pr. 10 cm. Fragmentirana. Inv. št. P 30023–26 (izk. 2019), P 30054 (det. najdba). 5: Pr. 9,4 cm. Inv. št. P 30071 (det. najdba).

6. Pasna spona sestavljena iz ploščice z dvema luknjicama, profiliranega paličastega kavlja z dvema luknjicama in bronaste pločevine, okrašene s punciranimi črticami ob daljših robovih. Bron. Dol. ploščice in okrašene pločevine 6,8 cm, dol. kavlja 8,8 cm. Inv. št. P 30056, 30057 (det. najdbi).

7. Bronast okov spet z zakovico. Okrašen s punciranimi črticami ob daljših robovih in iztolčenima bunkicama ob zakovici. Bron (gumb zakovice z veliko kositra). Dol. 7,9 cm. Inv. št. P 30056 (det. najdba).

8. Bronast okov z luknjicama in okrašen s punciranim okrasom ob daljših robovih. Dol. 4,2 cm. Inv. št. P 30056 (det. najdba).

9.–11. Profilirani gumbi z zanko in obročkom. Gumbi in obročki okrašeni z vrezanim tremolo okrasom in punciranimi pikami. Bron. Gumbi pr. 1,7–2,0 cm, obročki pr. 2,2–2,4 cm. Inv. št. P 30058, P 30060–61 (det. najdbe).

12. Gumb z zvončasto kapico, zanko in obročkom. Kapica okrašena z vrezi. Zanka pritrjena na kapico z dolgo

zakovico s profiliranim zaključkom motkaste oblike. Na zanki visi profiliran obroček, okrašen s tremolo vrezom in punciranimi pikami. Kapica gumba pr. 2,2 cm, obroček pr. 2,4 cm. Inv. št. P 30062 (det. najdba).

13–16. Gumbi z zvončasto kapico, zanko in obročkom. Zanka pritrjena na kapico z dolgo zakovico z zaključkom svitkaste oblike in okroglo poglobitvijo. Na zanki visi profiliran obroček, okrašen s tremolo vrezom in punciranimi pikami. Bron, zaključki zakovic bronasta zlitina z veliko kositra ali pokositreni. Pr. gumbov 1,9 cm, pr. obročkov 2,4 cm. Inv. št. P 30063–30066 (det. najdbe).

Tabla 3

1–4. Gumbi z zvončasto kapico, zanko in obročkom. Zanka pritrjena na kapico z dolgo zakovico z zaključkom svitkaste oblike in okroglo poglobitvijo. Na zanki visi profiliran obroček, okrašen s tremolo vrezom in punciranimi pikami. Bron, zaključki zakovic bronasta zlitina z veliko kositra ali pokositreni. Pr. gumbov 1,9 cm, pr. obročkov 2,4 cm. Inv. št. P 30067–30070 (det. najdbe).

5. Zanka, najverjetneje del gumba z zvončasto kapico. Bron. Dol. 3,0 cm. Inv. št. P 30029 (izk. 2019).

6. Gumbi s polno kapico in zanko. Bron. Pr. 1,6–1,8 cm. Inv. št. P 30031–30042 (izk. 2019), P 30048 (det. najdba).

7. Šestindvajset (narisanih in na tabli predstavljenih enajst) gumbkov z zanko. Bronasta zlitina z veliko kositra ali pokositreni. Povprečni pr. 0,8 cm. Inv. št. P 30028 (izk. 2019).

8. Dvojna jagoda. Bronasta zlitina z veliko kositra. Dol. 1,1 cm. Inv. št. P 30027 (izk. 2019).

9. Drobna jagoda in odl. pločevine. Pr. 0,5 cm. Inv. št. P 30073 (izk. 2019).

10. Odl. pločevine z zakovico. Bron. Dol. 1,9 cm. Inv. št. P 30386 (izk. 2021).

11. Odl. pločevine. Bron. Dol. 2,1 cm. Inv. št. 30053 (det. najdba).

12. Odl. predmeta z zaključkom v obliki živalske glave. Bron. Dol. 4,5 cm. Inv. št. P 30055 (det. najdba).

13–15. Noži. Železo. 13: Dol. 12,1 cm. Inv. št. P 30388 (izk. 2021). 14: Ohr. dol. 8,7 cm. Inv. št. P 30044 (izk. 2019). 15: Ohr. dol. 7,7 cm. Inv. št. P 30045 (izk. 2019).

16. Odl. pločevine z zakovico (odl. ročaj noža?). Železo (pločevina), bron (zakovica). Inv. št. P 30387 (izk. 2021).

17. Odl. noža. Ohr. dol. 4,7 in 2,6 cm. Inv. št. P 30389./ V lončku inv. št. P 30381 (izk. 2021).

18. Britev (?). Železo. Ohr. dol. 6,4 cm. Inv. št. P 30047 (det. najdba).

19. Tulasta sekira z ušescem. Železo. Dol. 13,8 cm. Inv. št. P 30043 (izk. 2019).

20. Brus z luknjico za obešanje. Kamen. Dol. 10,2 cm. Inv. št. P 30046 (izk. 2019).

Tabla 4

1. Skleda z nogo z dvema rebroma na vratu, nagubanim ostenjem s pokončnimi kanelurami in visoko nogo. Keramika. Na zunanji in notranji strani temno sivorjava, sredina temno siva, gladka in drobnozrnata. Fragmentirana. Deb. 0,9 cm, rek. pr. ustja 24 cm, rek. pr. noge 13 cm. Inv. št. P 30383 (izk. 2021).
2. Skleda z nogo z rebrom na vratu in nagubanim ostenjem s pokončnimi kanelurami. Keramika. Na zunanji strani sivorjava, na notranji svetlo rjava, sredina temno siva, gladka in drobnozrnata. Fragmentirana. Deb. 0,8 cm, rek. pr. ustja 27,9 cm. Inv. št. P 30384 (izk. 2021).
3. Lonček z rebrom na vratu in tremi bradavicami na ramenu. Keramika. Na zunanji in notranji strani temno sivorjava, sredina temno siva, hrapava in drobnozrnata. Deb. 0,9 cm, pr. ustja 13,8 cm, pr. dna 9 cm. Inv. št. P 30381 (izk. 2021).
4. Lonček z rebrom na vratu in štirimi bradavicami na ramenu. Keramika. Na zunanji in notranji strani temno sivorjava, sredina temno siva, gladka in drobnozrnata. Fragmentiran. Deb. 0,7 cm, rek. pr. ustja 11,7 cm, rek. pr. dna 7,8 cm. Inv. št. P 30382 (izk. 2021).
5. Odl. ročaja, verjetno skodelice. Keramika. Na zunanji in notranji strani temno siva, sredina siva, gladka in drobnozrnata. Dol. 4,1 cm, šir. 3 cm, deb. 1,3 cm. Inv. št. P 30385 (izk. 2021).

Slika 13

1. Sulično kopito. Železo. Dol. 11 cm. Inv. št. P 30074.
2. Gumb z okroglo vdolbino na kapici, zanka poškodovana. Bron. Pr. 1,8 cm. Inv. št. P 30076.
3. Odl. ploščatega ingota ali rezila sekire. Bron. Dol. 2,7 cm. Inv. št. P 30075.

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Kopa above Kompolje near Lukovica: hillfort and cemetery from the Early Iron Age

Translation

The archaeological site[1] extends across the ridge of Reber and the southern slopes of the Kopa peak above the Kompolje village, in the western part of the valley of the River Radomlja or Črni graben that lies on the north-western fringes of the hills of Posavsko hribovje. At Lukovica, the valley of the Črni graben gradually widens and continues westwards to the plain of Kamniško–Domžalsko polje (*Fig. 1*).

Stane Gabrovec published an article on the prehistory of the Kamnik area in 1965, in which he also discussed sites from the Hallstatt period in the area of Lukovica pri Domžalah and mentioned Kopa and a bronze Negova helmet (*Pl. 1*) found there in the early 19th century.[2]

In 2019 metal detectorists unearthed objects from the Early Iron Age on the slopes of Kopa and Reber. The discovery was followed by an intensive field survey and archaeological excavation conducted by a team of the Centre for Preventive Archaeology at the Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia (hereinafter ZVKDS).[3] A team of the National Museum of Slovenia conducted further excavations two years later.[4]

The diagnostic finds, as well as the data on the findspot and its wider topography support the hypothesis of a fortified prehistoric settlement on Reber and an Early Iron Age cemetery on Kopa's southern slope.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH AND TOPOGRAPHY

The reports on the archaeological finds at Kopa and Reber give different names for the sites and place archaeological discoveries at different locations (Kopa, Reber, Kompoljski hrib, Gusin grič).[5] The text below therefore begins with a more precise description of the topography, the results of the field surveys and of the study of the local place names on maps (*Fig. 1*). Kopa is a 579 m high peak of a ridge located northwest of the village of Kompolje. The ridge is named Reber and is delimited by the valleys of the Zlatopoljščica stream and the Radomlja river, and continues west of Kopa at slightly lower altitudes (highest point at 562 m asl). It holds the remains of a fortified prehistoric settlement – hillfort. Southwest of Kopa is a 554 m high hill named Kompoljski hrib or Kompolski hrib, marked and protected as the location of a castle from the 13th to the 15th century,[6] though without visible archaeological remains. Reports mention Gusin grič, on the fringes of Kompoljski hrib east of Trnjava, as the site where farmer Matija Jere found an inhumation burial with bronze goods during farming work in 1879.[7] Two *Armbrustfibeln* and two hollow bracelets were then brought to the Krainisches Landesmuseum in Ljubljana, which Stane Gabrovec published.[8]

In 1879, Karl Deschmann was convinced that the bronze helmet (*Pl. 1*), which adorned the roughly carved bust of a man above the spout of Cerar's fountain in Lukovica for a number of years, was found some fifty years previously in the prehistoric settlement.[9] On his request, cottager Korošec, also known as Špehar from Kompolje, excavated at different spots inside the settlement in July 1879 and came across bones and a system of walls.[10] Again on Deschmann's request and in the same year, Ferdinand Schulz excavated in the

[1] Register of Immovable Cultural Heritage of Slovenia: EŠD 12773.

[2] Gabrovec 1965, 101, Pl. 10.

[3] Unpublished report in Fabec *et al.* 2019.

[4] Unpublished report in Zupan, Laharnar 2022.

[5] *ANSl*, 192; Božič in the report in Fabec *et al.* 2019, 12–13, 16; Dular 2021, 23–26.

[6] Register of Immovable Cultural Heritage of Slovenia: EŠD 12772.

[7] Dular 2021, 23.

[8] Gabrovec 1965, 101, Pl. 11: 4–6.

[9] Deschmann 1879; Deschmann in von Hochstetter 1879, 552. It is not certain when the helmet was brought to the Provincial Museum of Carniola (now the National Museum of Slovenia), but it already formed part of the museum collection in 1879.

[10] The information on the 19th century discoveries on Kopa and Reber above Kompolje are taken from the chapter describing the circumstances of the Iron Age discoveries (titled *Okoliščine odkritij* železnodobnih *najdb z območja Kope in Rebri nad Kompoljami*) that Dragan Božič wrote for the report in Fabec *et al.* 2019. His findings are also summarised by Dular (2021, 24–26).

settlement on 4 and 5 September, when Deschmann brought the British archaeologist John Evans with his family to visit the site on the second day. Schulz and his workers also excavated at several spots. At a depth of 2 to 3 m, they found a drystone rampart, charcoal, sherds of coarse pottery, bones of domestic animals, a bronze trilobate arrowhead and a Certosa brooch. Deschmann wrote that the rampart was built of quartzite blocks that required great effort to be transported to the hilltop from a hollow north of Kopa.[11] Gabrovec published these finds as well, in the journal of Kamniški zbornik.[12]

In his *Führer durch das Krainische Landes-Museum Rudolfinum in Laibach*, published a decade after the excavations on Kopa, Deschmann described different circumstances of the helmet find and noted it was believed to have been unearthed in a grave on top of the Kopa hill above Trnjava.[13] Deschmann may have come across this information in the letter that Janez Nepomuk Auerperger, *Strassenassistent* from Podpeč, sent to the museum on 30 June 1823 together with several bronze objects (*Fig. 2*). Auerperger wrote that farmers began digging on Reber, a high hill near Kompolje between Krašnja and Podpeč, in 1819 because they 'saw light there on several occasions'. They unearthed scattered human bones and a complete human skeleton. The latter had a bronze helmet on the skull and a spear next to it. They also found several bronze objects of a similar shape, some of which Auerperger managed to obtain and sent to the museum.[14] Auerperger's consignment is only mentioned in 1832 in the list of museum acquisitions for 1823, which Franz Joseph Hannibal von Hohenwart compiled for publication in *Illyrisches Blatt*. Hohenwart briefly noted that they were component parts of an ancient cuirass excavated near Krašnja.[15] Today, it is no longer possible to identify these items, if at all preserved, among the objects held in the museum collection.

In July 2019, two individuals using a metal detector found bronze and iron objects on the cartway leading along the southern slope of Kopa and Reber. Some objects were scattered in the length of some 60 m along the cartway (Pl. *2*: 1–3, 4;[16] *3*: 11), while the bulk of the finds was unearthed together in a small hole (Pl. *2*: 5–16; *3*: 1–4, 6,[17] 12, 14–15, 18). They brought the items to the National Museum of Slovenia, where we established they were archaeological finds from the Early Iron Age. We notified the competent conservator, Judita Lux (ZVKDS, Kranj Regional Office). In September 2019, the Centre for Preventive Archaeology performed archaeological investigations in the area of the Iron Age finds.[18] A team from the National Museum of Slovenia conducted further investigations in June 2021.[19]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN 2019 AND 2021

The aim of the 2019 investigations on the southern slope of Kopa was to establish the circumstances of the metal-detector finds and the stratigraphy of the findspot. The investigations took the form of an intensive field survey of a 1600 m^2 large area, the excavation of 40 × 40 × 40 cm large test pits, a metal-detector survey in a 10 × 10 m large grid and the excavation of two contiguous trial trenches measuring 1.5 × 1 m (TS 1) and 1 × 5 m (TS 2). TS 1 was excavated in the spot of the greatest concentration of metal-detector finds and TS 2 perpendicularly across the cartway (*Fig. 3*). The intensive field survey and the metal-detector survey did not yield positive results.

The trial trenches were dug on the cartway (lot No. 757/9, Koreno cadastral municipality). The discovery of long bones that reached beyond the trenches led us to extend TS 1 and join both trenches (TS 1 and TS 2). The excavated surface thus measured approximately 8 m^2 (*Fig. 4*).

The area of the trial trenches was greatly disturbed by the cartway. For the purpose of its construction, a roughly 3.5 m wide terrace was cut into the steep slope. The cut was 50–80 cm high in the north (*Fig. 3*: Section 1) and only 10–20 cm in the south. The dolomite bedrock was levelled with a post-medieval layer of rubble and sand, which was thicker in the southern half or rut and thinned out towards the north edge of the cartway.

In the fill of the south rut, we found the backfilled hole that the metal detectorists made to excavate most of the finds (Pl. *2*: 5–16; *3*: 1–4, 6,[20]

[11] Deschmann in von Hochstetter 1879, 552; Dular 2021, 24.
[12] Gabrovec 1965, Pl. 11: 7–10.
[13] Deschmann 1888, 85.
[14] Dular 2021, 26.
[15] Hohenwart 1832, 24, No. 270.
[16] Fragment with Inv. No. P 30054.
[17] Button with Inv. No. P 30048.
[18] Fabec *et al.* 2019.
[19] Zupan, Laharnar 2022.
[20] Button with Inv. No. P 30048.

12, 14–15, 18) and unearthed several additional metal objects (*Pl. 2*: 4[21]; *3*: 5, 6[22], 7–9) lying scattered across the fill of the rut, but also a whetstone (*Pl. 3*: 20), pottery sherds and the bones of at least two human skeletons (*Fig. 4*).[23]

The bones were predominantly highly fragmented, with most pieces measuring up to 5 cm and some better-preserved long bones. The smaller bone fragments were found scattered in the post-medieval deposit and some better-preserved bones together at the south edge of the cartway. The latter were not found in anatomical position; they included two femora placed one next to the other, but of opposite orientation (*Fig. 5*). The larger bones at the edge of the cartway therefore appear to have been carefully placed there subsequently, possibly during cartway construction.

Beyond the cartway in the southern part of Trench TS 2, we unearthed a layer of dark reddish-brown sandy-silty layer with pieces of dolomite and very sparse bits of charcoal at a depth of roughly 40 cm (SE 008). This layer was the fill of a cut into the dolomite regolith. It revealed an iron socketed axe found at a depth of 60 cm (*Fig. 6*; *Pl. 3*: 19).

Positing that the layer with the socketed axe may be the intact remains of a grave pit fill, we continued excavations in 2021 and explored approximately 6 m^2 south of the 2019 trenches (*Fig. 4*).[24] We again came across post-medieval deposits with pottery sherds (*Pl. 4*: 1–2, 4–5), human bone fragments and two metal objects (*Pl. 3*: 10,16).

After removing the post-medieval deposits, we came across the layer (SE 008) that revealed the axe in 2019 at a depth of 50 cm (*cf. Fig. 6*; *Pl. 3*: 19). This layer filled a roughly 20 cm deep cut (SE 1006) into the dolomite bedrock. By excavating its fill (SE 1005), we were able to fairly clearly delimit the cut in the east and south (*Fig. 4*). We could not identify the edge of the cut in the west, as the post-medieval deposits reached down to the bedrock. Found on the bottom of the fill was a ceramic jar and an iron knife leaned against it (*Fig. 4, 7*; *Pl. 3*: 13; *4*: 3). The jar contained two fragments of another iron knife (*Pl. 3*: 17).[25] Cut SE 1006 and Fill SE 1005 were parts of a grave pit and its backfill. The ceramic jar, knives and axe were the grave goods unearthed in original position (*Pl. 3*: 13,17,19; *4*: 3), while the rest of the grave was disturbed with the construction of the cartway.

The human bone remains from the post-medieval fill were sampled for a radiocarbon analysis.[26] The results revealed they most likely dated between the early 4th and the late 3rd century BC (*Fig. 8: Kopa 21_Samples 1 and 2*). The radiocarbon analysis of the human bone sample taken from the layer of the cartway investigated in 2019 revealed a later date, i.e. from the mid-1st century BC to the 1st century AD (*Fig. 8: KORENO-01*).[27]

TYPOLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FINDS

The metal detectorists found the bulk of the artefacts together (*Pl. 2*: 1–3, 5–16; *3*: 1–4, 11–12, 14–15, 18), some also in the post-medieval deposits associated with the construction of the cartway (*Pl. 2*: 4; *3*: 5–9, 20; *4*: 1–2, 4–5). The ceramic jar, axe and two knives (*Pl. 3*: 13,17,19; *4*: 3) were later unearthed *in situ* and are considered part of a single grave group.

The finds include two bronze brooches (*Pl. 2*: 1–2) that belong to examples with a stylised animal head turned towards the bow (both examples from Kopa are missing the head) or the *ostalpine Tierkopffibeln*, dated to the second quarter of the 5th and the 4th century BC. The brooches from Kopa are of a variant with a decorated bow, which in Dolenjska remained in use in the Negova phase. This continuous use is inferred from two brooches found in a rich burial of a man and woman in

[21] Fragments with Inv. Nos. P 30023–26.

[22] Buttons with Inv. Nos. P 30031–30042.

[23] The anthropological analysis of the highly fragmented osteodontological finds by Fabio Cavalli (see the report in Fabec *et al.* 2019, 32–33, Appendix 5) revealed they belonged to at least two adult individuals, with the predominant share of the bone finds (two femora, fragment of the right ulna and pieces of the pelvis) most likely belonging to a man. The bones showed no pathological alterations and the only recovered tooth – lower incisor– showed occlusal wear most likely indicative of using teeth in the work process.

[24] Unpublished report in Zupan, Laharnar 2022.

[25] The earthen fill of the jar was removed in the workshops of the National Museum of Slovenia prior to the conservation and restoration process. Gorazd Lemajič (Department of Conservation and Restoration, NMS) performed the laboratory excavation of the jar fill, as well as the restoration and conservation of the jar. Matjaž Bizjak and Anita Virag (Department of Conservation and Restoration, NMS) conserved the metal objects.

[26] The samples were dated in the Poznan Radiocarbon Laboratory in Poland.

[27] The sample was dated in the Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory in Miami, Florida, USA.

Grave IV/3 of the tumulus cemetery at Znančeve njive in the Kandija area of Novo mesto (*Fig. 9*: 1–2),[28] which held goods typical of the Negova phase according to the relative chronology of the Dolenjska Hallstatt cultural group.[29] Gabrovec identified this brooch type as the last creations of the Hallstatt culture.[30]

Significantly, most other finds from Kopa also have closest parallels in the double burial (IV/3) from Novo mesto (*Fig. 9*). These include the hollow bronze bracelets decorated with stripes of transverse incisions separated with double zigzag lines and ring-and-dots (*Pl. 2*: 4–5; *cf. Fig. 9*: 3–6),[31] which are Variant V6 after Tecco Hvala. At the Late Hallstatt sites in Dolenjska, they occur in double and single burials.[32]

The objects from Kopa include four bronze mounts with a low moulded disc (*Pl. 2*: 9–11),[33] as well as nine bronze mounts with a bell-shaped disc and loop (*Pl. 2*: 12–16; *3*: 1–4). Both variants have rings with identical punched decoration. Very similar mounts were also found in Novo mesto, more precisely in the above-mentioned Grave IV/3 (*Fig. 9*: 9), the variant with a bell-shaped disc also in the double Grave II/2 from the Late Negova phase.[34] Parallels show such mounts to be parts of belts. The position of these mounts in Grave IV/3, where they were found next to a pair of crossed belt plates, suggests that a complete set was composed of a belt and a baldric (*Fig. 9*: top left).[35]

The remains of the belt from Kopa further included a belt plate (*Pl. 2*: 6), presumably buttons with a solid head and loop (*Pl. 3*: 6) and small sheet-metal looped buttons (*Pl. 3*: 7). In addition to parallels from Grave IV/3, evidence of Late Hallstatt belts decorated with such buttons and pendants of different shapes comes from Grave I/20, also from Novo mesto.[36]

The small looped buttons from Kopa (*Pl. 3*: 7) are similar to those from Grave IV/3 in Novo mesto (*Fig. 9*: 10).[37] Parallels for the larger ones (*Pl. 3*: 6) are rare, the closest being one example from a presumably Late La Tène grave from Magdalenska gora[38] and two stray finds from the hillfort on Ajdovščina above Zaboršt pri Dolu.[39] The examples from Ajdovščina are also dated to the Late Iron Age; the finds from Kopa, however, show that such buttons were already in use in the Early Iron Age.

Probably also associated with a belt are the two mounts of folded sheet metal (*Pl. 2*: 7–8). The mount on *Pl. 2*: 7 indicates the thickness of the organic belt strap (6–7 mm), to which the mount was fixed with a bronze rivet. The head of the rivet is of the same shape as the discs of the bell-shaped mounts with a loop (*Pl. 2*: 13–16; *3*: 1–4), which also share a similar silvery surface. The preliminary measurements of the elemental composition of the said discs and of the mount on *Pl. 2*: 7 indicate very high tin content in the bronze alloy, suggesting the discs were tinned. The same is true of the small looped buttons (*Pl. 3*: 7).[40] As for the mounts of folded sheet metal, similar examples are known from sites in Dolenjska and Zasavje, but they have differently-shaped rivets.[41]

The belt plate has three parts: a rectangular bronze plate, a strip of sheet bronze with decorated borders and a central bar with a hooked terminal (*Pl. 2*: 6). The three parts were fixed together with a pair of rivets, now missing. The belt plate belongs to the group of hooked belt plates with a central bar, which in Dolenjska occur in bronze and iron versions. Sneža Tecco Hvala used the grave groups from Dolenjske Toplice and Novo mesto to show that such items were worn in the Late Certosa and Early Negova phases.[42]

The rectangular plate and the central bar could be made either of a single piece[43] or with the bar riveted to the plate (*Fig. 9*: 7; *10*: 1).[44] In form, the central bar from Kopa is very similar to that on a belt plate from Podzemelj, which survived with two

28 Knez 1986, 89, Pl. 36: 3; 75: IV/3.

29 Teržan 1976, 392, 442; Gabrovec 1987, 70–72; Dular 2003, 143–144, Fig. 86–88; Tecco Hvala 2012, 263–265.

30 Gabrovec 1966, 30–31, Map 2.

31 *Cf.* Knez 1986, Pl. 36: 8–9.

32 Tecco Hvala 2012, 312–321, Fig. 116: 6.

33 One of the mounts is attached to an ingrown plant root and could not be conserved and restored, hence it is also not listed in the catalogue and not drawn.

34 Knez 1986, Pl. 13: 15; Dular 2003, 144, Fig. 90: 19.

35 Knez 1986, Pl. 35: 1a; 61.

36 Knez 1986, Pl. 4: 1–1a.

37 Knez 1986, Pl. 35: 12.

38 Hencken 1978, 80, Fig. 362: c.

39 Pavlin, Dular 2007, 73, 85, 94, Pl. 6: 14, 18.

40 The objects were subjected to an XRF analysis performed by Eva Menart (Department of Conservation and Restoration, NMS), who also provided a preliminary commentary.

41 Stare 1955, Pl. 2: 8; 45: 2; Knez 1986, Pl. 43: 8; Dular 2003, 143, Fig. 85: 12–13, 16.

42 Tecco Hvala 2012, 179–181.

43 *E.g.* Stare 1973, Pl. 9: 9.

44 *E.g.* Tecco Hvala *et al.* 2004, 51, Pl. 158: 2.

rivets with rings (*Fig. 10*: 1).[45] In connection with this parallel, we should note that grave finds from Podzemelj include bell-shaped mounts (*Fig. 10*: 2; *cf. Pl. 2*: 12–16; *3*: 1–4) similar to those from Kopa.[46]

What is unique on the example from Kopa is the decorated strip of sheet bronze inserted between the central bar and the rectangular plate. This addition may be viewed as an imaginative solution of the artisans from the Late Hallstatt period, examples of which have already been observed on several other unique belt pieces from Dolenjska and Zasavje, for example the belt plate from Kovk above Hrastnik[47] and the belt set from Grave 13/2 at Molnik.[48]

Iron knives with a curved (*Pl. 3*: 13–14) or straight back (*Pl. 3*: 15) are common goods in the graves of the Hallstatt period. They were also present in the above-mentioned Late Hallstatt graves with belt sets from Novo mesto[49] and Molnik.[50]

The fragment of a knife with a short and curved blade has a pronounced notch between the flat tang and the blade that may have served as a finger-rest (*Pl. 3*: 18), indicating the object would have been used as a razor.

Iron socketed axes such as that on *Pl. 3*: 19 formed part of the typical warrior's outfit in Dolenjska of the Late Hallstatt period. At that time, socketed axes were the predominant axe form wielded by both dignitaries and ordinary infantrymen.[51] A socketed axe was also among the goods in the above-mentioned graves at Novo mesto and Molnik.[52]

Whetstones with a suspension hole such as the example from Kopa (*Pl. 3*: 20) occur in the Early Iron Age graves in Dolenjska, where they are considered to be male attributes.[53]

The finds from Kopa further include a bronze fragment of an object with the terminal in the shape of an animal head, possibly of a horse or bird (*Pl. 3*: 12). The fragment is similar to some versions of Early La Tène figural brooches with foot or bow terminals in the shape of birds, beasts and masks of different fantastical creatures. These figures often occur on brooches in heraldic pairs or only decorate foot terminals of a characteristic Early La Tène construction where the foot is turned back towards the bow, often touching it or joined to it.[54] If this assumption is correct and the figural fragment from Kopa is related to the Early La Tène artistic expression, we are dealing with an object either emulating the artisanal and artistic models from areas north of the Alps or was actually imported from those areas. This would not be a surprise, as such imitation or import of innovations in fashion and armament from the Celtic world of central and western Europe has already been established for the Dolenjska group.[55]

Among the pottery remains from Kopa, we were able to reconstruct two pedestal dishes (*Pl. 4*: 1–2). The one on *Pl. 4*: 2 survives without the base and pedestal, but the shape of the body that is less curved than characteristic of simple dishes[56] suggests this vessel also originally had a pedestal. The most prominent feature of both dishes is the shoulder decoration combining embossing and vertical grooving, which identifies them as pedestal dishes of Type 2 after Dular.[57] In the Dolenjska Hallstatt group, embossing on pottery was used not only on pedestal dishes, but also kernoi, pedestal bowls, bowls and dishes.[58] The finds from the tumulus cemeteries at Dolenjske Toplice and Novo mesto suggest that embossed pottery was mainly made and used in the Certosa and Negova phases.[59]

The ellipsoid jars with a gently curved shoulder and a short, funnel-shaped rim (*Pl. 4*: 3, 4) belong to Type L 14b of the pottery from the Stična settlement as published by Lucija Grahek.[60] Such jars typically bear a horizontal groove on the neck or shoulder, the jars from Kopa also have knobs. Fragments of these jars in Stična occur in the layers associated with all phases of Early Iron Age walls, but they are most numerous in the La Tène layers.[61]

CONCLUSION

The archaeological investigations conducted in 2019 and 2021 on the slope of Kopa above Kompolje confirmed the posited existence of a cemetery from the Early Iron Age.

45 Dular 1978, 26, Pl. 16: 8.
46 Dular 1978, 26, Pl. 16: 9.
47 Božič *et al.* 2020, 507–513, Pl. 4; 4: 1–12.
48 Tecco Hvala 2017, 38, 111, Pl. 9: 3–5.
49 Knez 1986, Pl. 13: 9–10; 34: 8; 35: 5, 42: 3.
50 Tecco Hvala 2017, 38, Pl. 9: 13–14.
51 Tecco Hvala 2012, 114–116, 121–122, Fig. 46: 3–14.
52 Knez 1986, Pl. 5: 1; 34: 7; Tecco Hvala 2017, 38, Pl. 9: 16.
53 Križ *et al.* 2009, 289, Cat. No. 34: a, d–e.
54 Binding 1993, *e.g.* Pl. 12: 10; 14: 6, 11 and others.
55 Teržan 2015, 69–81.
56 *Cf.* Dular 1982, Pl. 24: 226–228.
57 Dular 1982, 73–74, Pl. 25: 236–243.
58 Dular 1982, 85, Fig. 4c.
59 Božič 2018, 191–195, 203–205.
60 Grahek 2016, 118–120, Fig. 39: L14b.
61 Grahek 2016, 118, 120, Fig. 53, 55.

The topography and the finds of human bones belonging to at least two adult individuals reveal that we are dealing with a flat cemetery with inhumation burials.

The human bones and most small finds were not found in original position, but rather scattered across the deposits created during the construction of the cartway. We presume that burials were unearthed during the construction of the cartway, when they were largely destroyed, the large bone pieces and possibly also part of the artefacts placed along the edge of the cartway and other remains left in the cartway deposits (*Fig. 4–5*).

Only part of one grave pit and its backfill remained intact of the grave or graves, revealing a socketed axe (*Pl. 3*: 19) and a ceramic jar, with an iron knife leaning onto the latter (*Fig. 4, 7*; *Pl. 3*: 13; *4*: 3).

It is not possible to reliably ascertain whether the other finds originate from the same, possibly double burial or from several burials. What is certain is that the finds are contemporary and date to the Late Hallstatt period or the last phase of the Early Iron Age, i.e. the Negova phase according to the chronology of the Dolenjska Hallstatt group. They include items characteristic of both male and female costumes. Most of them have parallels in the rich double burial in a roughly 4 × 1.5 m large Grave IV/3 at Znančeve njive in the Kandija area of Novo mesto (*Fig. 9*), which is considered the quintessential princely burial of the Negova phase.

The question these finds raise is whether their findspot (*Fig. 11*) is the same as the spot where human bones, 'similar bronze objects' and a human skeleton with a Negova helmet (*Pl. 1*) and spearhead were found in 1819 (*Fig. 2*).[62] Speaking in favour of such an assumption is that if considered together, the items form an assemblage characteristic of the graves with Negova helmets; as such, it would be remarkably similar to the array of goods from the above-mentioned Grave IV/3 in Novo mesto.

With this in mind, we argue that human bones, the Negova helmet and other objects were unearthed during the construction of the cartway across the slopes of Kopa and Reber; we presume this construction took place in 1819, but certainly prior to 1826 as the cartway is already drawn on the map of the Franciscean cadastre. This map also shows the cartway led from the village of Koreno to the isolated farmstead with the house number 22.

The finders presumably took part of the ('beautiful') objects (Auerperger later acquired some of them that he sent to the museum, while the Negova helmet was used to embellish the village fountain in Lukovica), whereas the smaller, 'less interesting' objects were left at the site. Some objects were left in heaps (hole with metal-detector finds) and others scattered across the cartway deposits (*Fig. 4*). Only the well-preserved human long bones were carefully deposited after discovery (*Fig. 5*). The site then remained undisturbed until its rediscovery in 2019.

The cemetery on Kopa is associated with a contemporary fortified settlement on Reber. The slopes of Reber and Kopa are steep on all sides, which offers very limited space suitable for habitation. The settlement was naturally sufficiently protected in the north, while a rampart guarded it in the west and south. The 180 × 45 m large hillfort interior holds one large and several smaller terraces (*Fig. 12*). The finds excavated in 1879 in the settlement date to the Early Iron Age, more precisely to its later part.[63] The stray finds from the collection of the National Museum of Slovenia that are without more precise findspot data but presumably originate from this site do not contradict such dating. These finds include a bronze fragment of a blade, most likely of a shaft-hole axe (*Fig. 13*: 3),[64] as well as an iron spear butt (*Fig. 13*: 1) and a bronze looped button with a round sunken centre of the head (*Fig. 13*: 2).[65]

The sites on Kopa and Reber show certain similarities with the site at Kovk above Hrastnik, which also hosts a small hillfort associated with rich Late Hallstatt grave goods that include a lavish belt set and a Negova helmet.[66] Another warrior with a Negova helmet was found buried at Nevlje near Kamnik.[67] These sites and finds probably reflect the dominant influence that the Dolenjska Hallstatt group had not only in Zasavje and Posavsko hribovje, as its constituent parts, but also in the direction towards Gorenjska. The finds from Kopa and Kamnik may even hint at efforts to strengthen the northern border of the Dolenjska Hallstatt group or an organised defence of the route leading to the metallurgic centre at Vače.

Translation: Andreja Maver

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[62] Železnikar *et al.* 2022, 14–19.

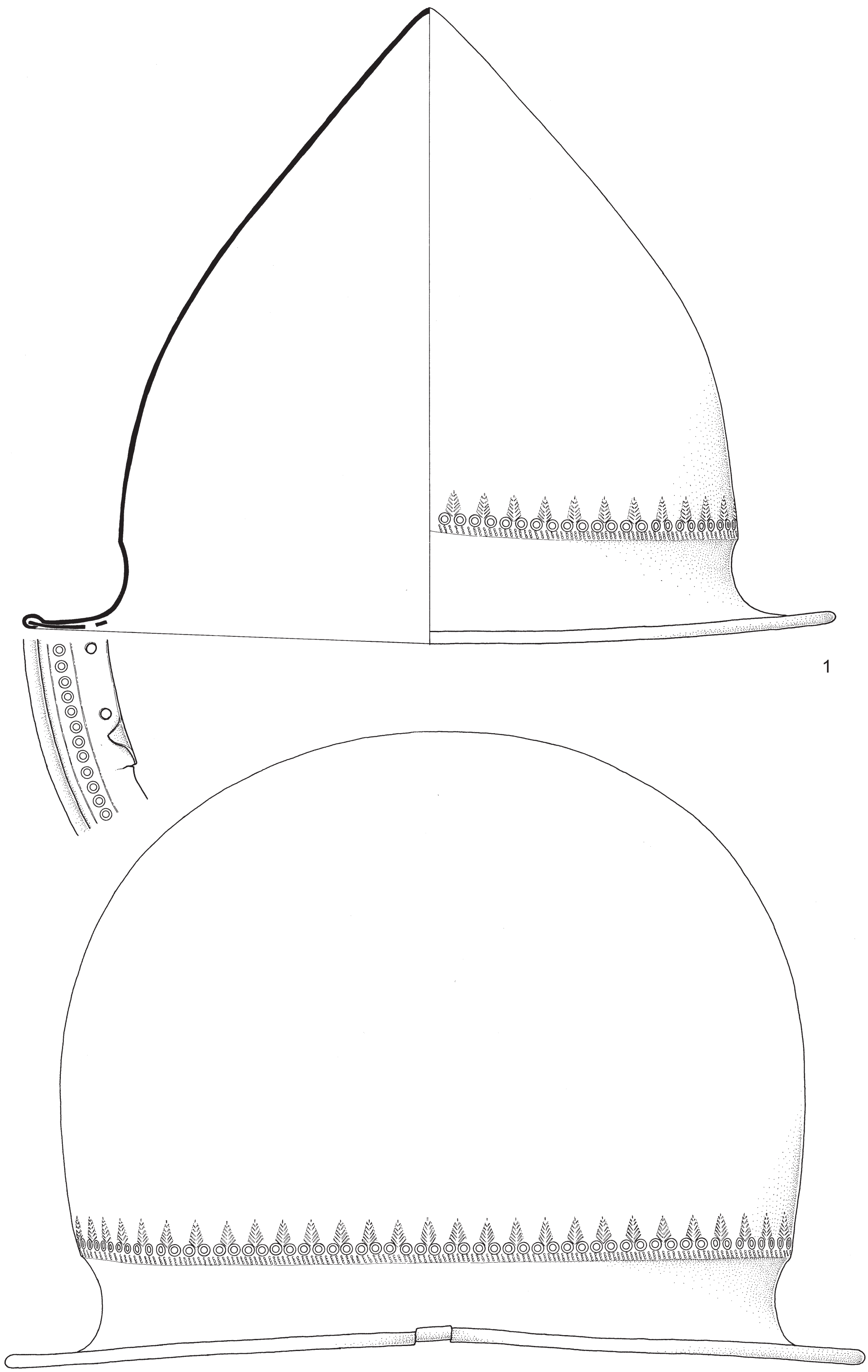
[63] Gabrovec 1965, Pl. 11: 7–10.

[64] *Cf.* Pavlin, Turk 2014, 55, Pl. 3: 10–19.

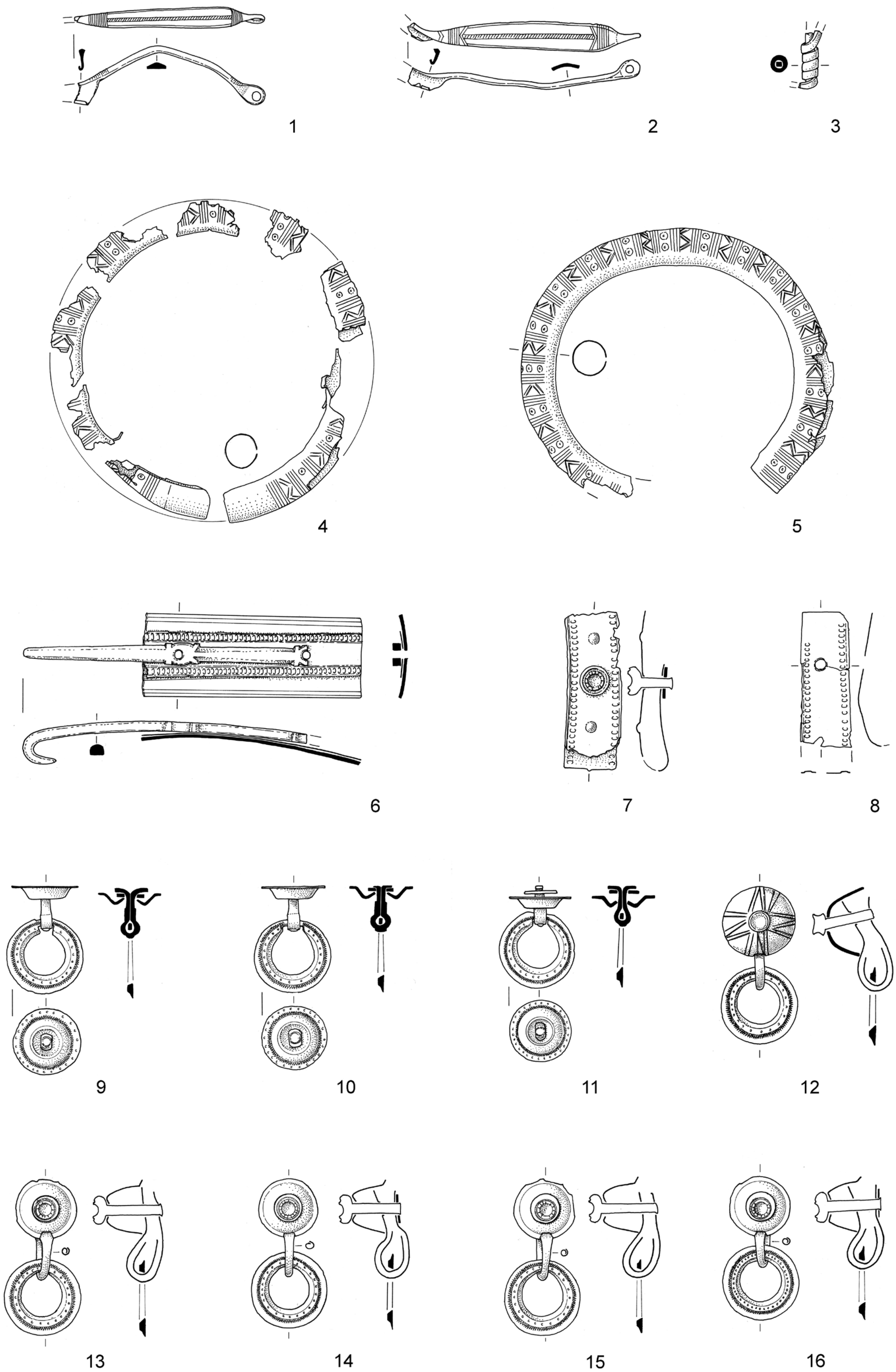
[65] *Cf.* Tecco Hvala 2017, 38, Pl. 9: 4.

[66] Božič *et al.* 2020.

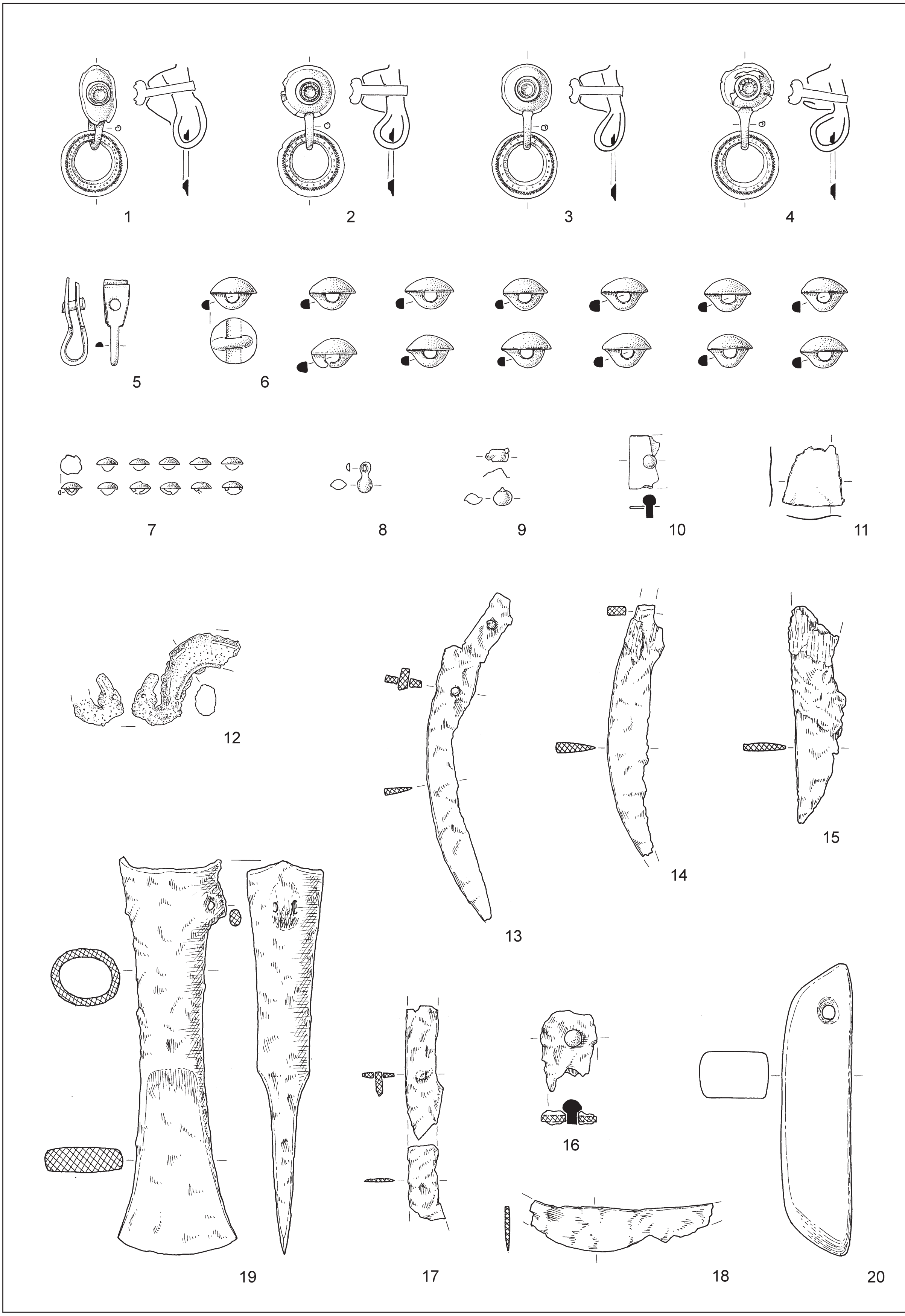
[67] Gabrovec 1965, 102, 111, Pl. 9; Železnikar *et al.* 2022, 7–13, 33–34.



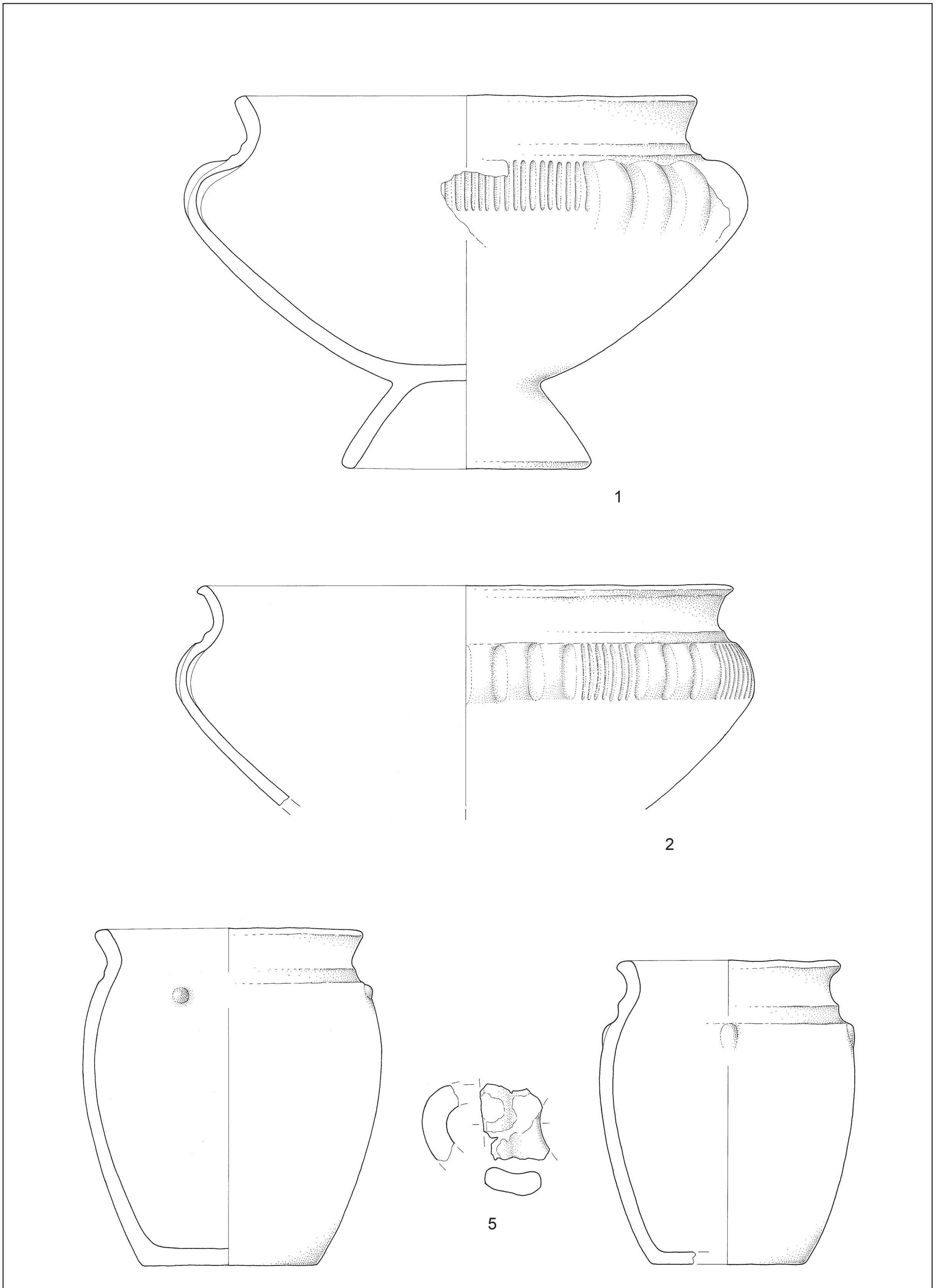
T. 1: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Negovska čelada, najdena leta 1819. Bron. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 1: Kopa above Kompolje. Negova helmet, found in 1819. Bronze. Scale = 1:2.



T. 2: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Vse bron. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 2: Kopa above Kompolje. All bronze. Scale = 1:2.



T. 3: Kopa nad Kompoljami. 1–12 bron, 16 železo in bron, 13–15, 17–19 železo, 20 kamen. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 3: Kopa above Kompolje. 1–12 bronze, 16 iron and bronze, 13–15, 17–19 iron, 20 stone. Scale = 1:2.



T. 4: Kopa nad Kompoljami. Vse keramika. M. = 1:2.
Pl. 4: Kopa above Kompolje. All pottery. Scale = 1:2.

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Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 11 (foto: Tomaž Lauko, NMS). – *Sl. 13* in *t. 1–4* (risba: Ida Murgelj, NMS).
Illustrations: Fig. 11 (photo: Tomaž Lauko, NMS). – *Fig. 13* and *Pls. 1–4* (drawing: Ida Murgelj, NMS).

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Prazgodovinska Ljubljana: urbano trgovsko središče na stičišču poti

Prehistoric settlement in Ljubljana: an urban trading centre at the crossroads

Petra VOJAKOVIĆ

Izvleček

Prazgodovinska naselbina na prostoru današnje Ljubljane je bila zgrajena na stičišču pomembnih prometnic in je delovala kot trgovsko središče že od kulture žarnih grobišč. Življenje v njej je potekalo od 13. do 5. st. pr. n. št., pri čemer je od sredine 8. in v 7. st. pr. n. št. opazen drastičen upad v poselitvi, kar se odraža tudi v majhnem številu grobov. Notranja struktura naselbine, odkrite na Tribuni (predel Prul), nam priča o premišljeni, dobro načrtovani ter strnjeni poselitvi. V njej se zrcalijo zametki urbanih elementov, sploh upoštevajoč domnevo, da je akropola stala na strateško pomembnem Grajskem hribu in da je bilo na Tribuni »spodnje mesto« večjega naselbinskega areala, v katerem so živeli in ustvarjali obrtniki (rokodelci) in trgovci. Ob reki Ljubljanici bi smeli pričakovati predel z gospodarskimi objekti oz. delavnicami ter pristan, na območju Poljan pa zaradi rodovitnih evtričnih rjavih tal polja, na katerih so uspevale kultivirane rastline.
Ključne besede: Slovenija; Ljubljana; Prule; Tribuna; pozna bronasta doba; starejša železna doba; urbana naselbina; trgovsko središče; stanovanjski objekti; gospodarski objekti

Abstract

The prehistoric settlement in the area of present-day Ljubljana, built at the crossroads of many important trade routes, had acted as a trading centre since the time of the Urnfield culture. Inhabited from the 13th to the 5th century BC, it experienced a drastic population decline from the middle of the 8th to the 7th century BC, as evidenced by a small number of contemporary graves. The internal layout of the settlement found at Tribuna (in the area of the Prule district) suggests a thoughtful and well-planned design of the prehistoric settlement space. The location of the acropolis on the strategically important castle hill and the "lower town" of Tribuna, inhabited by craftsmen and merchants, also reveal distinct early urban elements. Given the natural affordances of the wider area, a neighbourhood of workshops and warehouses could be expected near the Ljubljanica River, while the area of the present-day Poljane district, with its fertile eutric soil, might have served as arable land.
Keywords: Slovenia; Ljubljana; Prule; Tribuna; Late Bronze Age; Early Iron Age; urban settlement; trade centre; residential buildings; commercial buildings

Posamezne poznobronasto- in starejšeželeznodobne najdbe so na območju Ljubljane prišle na dan že v 19. st., a je bilo zanimanje zanje majhno.[1] To je bilo namreč usmerjeno v raziskave barjanskih kolišč in rimske Emone. Stanje se je spremenilo ob odkritju grobišča na dvorišču Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (SAZU) leta 1948 ter ob nadaljnjih raziskavah, ki so pokazale, da se je grobišče širilo tudi na območje Gosposke ulice. Dale so slutiti, da je morala biti na območju Ljubljane

[1] Müllner 1892, 17; Rutar 1891, 184; Pečnik 1904, 129.

pomembna naselbina že v času kulture žarnih grobišč.[2] Ves ta čas so tekle diskusije o lokaciji grobišču pripadajoče naselbine, ki so jo mnogi domnevali na Grajskem hribu kot strateško pomembni točki.[3] Do prelomnih odkritij, ki so končno ponudila uvid v poselitveno sliko prazgodovinske Ljubljane, pa je prišlo leta 2008. Takrat je Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine OE Ljubljana, skupaj s podjetjem Arhej, d. o. o., izvedel zaščitna arheološka izkopavanja na območju ljubljanskih Prul.[4] Na 4200 m² veliki parceli nekdanje livarne Samassa, pozneje tovarne koles in po 2. svetovni vojni tovarne otroških vozičkov Tribuna, je bilo odkrito dobro ohranjeno arheološko najdišče iz več obdobij.[5] Obdelava prazgodovinskega dela večplastne naselbine in njenih najdb je bila tema moje doktorske disertacije.[6]

METODOLOŠKI PRISTOP OBDELAVE PRAZGODOVINSKIH OSTALIN S TRIBUNE

Zaradi kompleksnosti najdišča in lažjega razumevanja najprej podajamo metodološki pristop obdelave prazgodovinskih ostalin s Tribune.

Največ časa smo posvetili izdelavi stratigrafske sekvence (Harrisov diagram).[7] Preučili smo posamezne stratigrafske enote in njihove odnose,[8] ki smo jih preverili in podprli z geodetskimi izmerami. Ob tem so nam bile v pomoč tudi fotoskice in druge fotografije. Tako smo si ustvarili podobo o stratigrafskem zaporedju arheoloških ostalin in s tem relativno kronologijo najdišča. V izdelano stratigrafsko sekvenco smo na podlagi terenskih podatkov (stratigrafskih enot) projicirali keramične, kovinske, kamnite, steklene in koščene najdbe.[9] Izkazalo se je, da je na Tribuni obstajala večfazna naselbina od časa kulture žarnih grobišč do latenskega obdobja.

Zaradi tega smo se poskušali pri poskusu rekonstrukcije notranje strukture naselbine in posameznih objektov držati vnaprej določenih kriterijev, ki so nam posamezne elemente pomagali povezati v verodostojne gradbene enote. Večino kriterijev smo povzeli po vzoru obdelave sočasne naselbine v Ormožu,[10] zaradi specifičnosti odkrite naselbine na Tribuni pa slednje tudi dopolnili. Ti kriteriji so:

– stavbe morajo imeti kamnit in/ali glinen tlak;

– koncentracije stavbnega ometa nakazujejo položaje stavb oz. uničenih sten;

– žganina in ožgani deli so v stavbah;

– ognjišča stojijo v stavbah;

– stene objektov morajo potekati v ravnih vrstah, stiki med njimi pa so pravokotni;

– če so stavbe grajene s pomočjo lesenih stebrov, morajo imeti poleg stenskih in slemenskih tudi vogalne stojke;[11]

– razpon čelne stene brez slemenske stojke ne presega 4 m, kar pa ne velja za kladni način gradnje, saj načeloma ne vsebuje slemenskih stojk;

– razpon čelne stene s slemensko stojko ne presega 6 m, kar pa ne velja za kladni način gradnje, saj načeloma ne vsebuje slemenskih stojk;

– stavbe morajo biti zamejene z uličnim rastrom (cesto, vzporedno ali pravokotno ulico ali trgom).

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[2] Stare 1954; Korošec 1955, 270; Puš 1971; *id.* 1982; Gabrovec 1973; *id.* 1983; *id.* 1987; Škvor Jernejčič 2014.

[3] Stele 1934, 4, 49; Korošec 1955, 269; Stare, 1954; Puš 1971; *id.* 1982; Vičič 1990, 178; Horvat 1991, 232–233; Puš 1992, 18.

[4] Prazgodovinsko poselitev Prul je nakazoval že leta 1952 izkopan kanalizacijski jarek, ki je potekal vzdolž Grudnovega nabrežja. Na nekaterih mestih so ugotovili kulturne plasti, ki so vsebovale najdbe iz prazgodovinskega, rimskega in srednjeveškega obdobja (Petru 1962, 271–275). Prazgodovinske plasti in lončenina so bile odkrite tudi v sondi na Zvezdarski ulici – nekdanji Virantov vrt (Stare 1954, 117), v Rožni ulici 8 (Korošec 1955, 266) ter pri izkopu za kanalizacijo leta 1992 na lokaciji Prule 10 (Vičič, ustni podatek).

[5] Vzhodno in zahodno od roba tega izkopa, tj. na Tesarski in Zvonarski ulici, so pod vodstvom M. Novšaka potekala arheološka izkopavanja tudi v letih 2017 in 2018 (poročilo Novšak *et al.* 2019). Te najdbe so še v obdelavi in niso upoštevane v tem prispevku.

[6] Vojaković 2013. Pričujoče delo je potekalo v okviru projekta Mladi raziskovalec v gospodarstvu – generacija 2010. Javni razpis je delno financirala Evropska unija, in sicer iz Evropskega socialnega sklada.

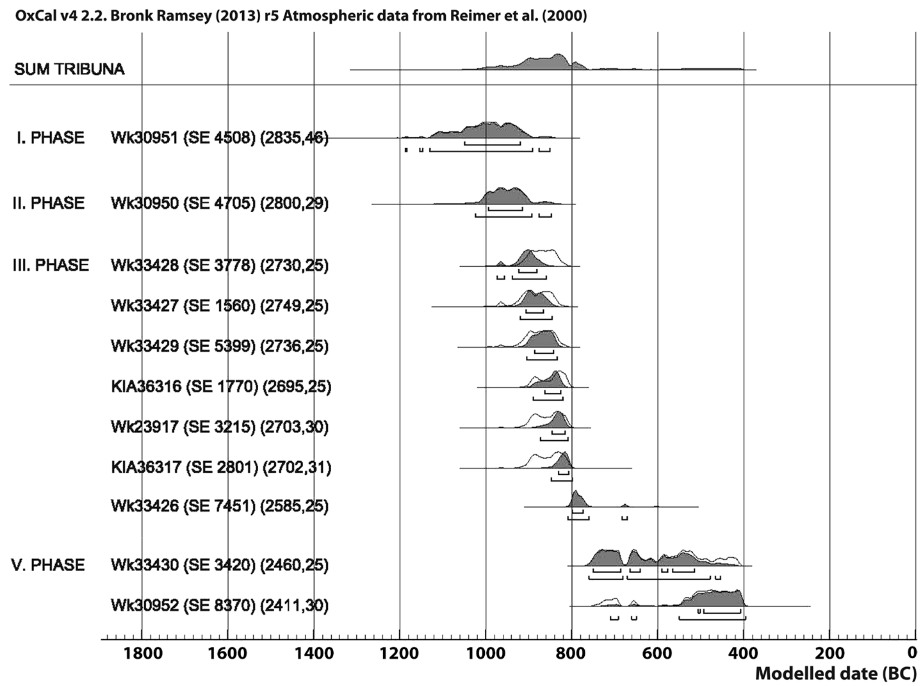
[7] Harris 1989; *id.* 1998.

[8] Na terenu je bilo skupaj odkritih in dokumentiranih 4539 prazgodovinskih stratigrafskih enot, ki smo jih vključili v stratigrafsko sekvenco.

[9] Skupaj je bilo odkritih 95.335 odlomkov prazgodovinskih najdb. Glede na določene kriterije smo 2491 odlomkov vključili v katalog in jih predstavili na 210 tablah. Zaradi izjemnega števila v prispevku predstavljamo le reprezentativne tipe po posameznih fazah.

[10] Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010, 88.

[11] Pri tem moramo opozoriti, da zaradi pomanjkanja časa in ogromnega števila stojk vse v geološki osnovi niso bile izmerjene. Nekaterim stavbam zato manjkajo vogalne stojke, vendar nam drugi elementi, npr. tlak, jame za stojke (tako stenske kot slemenske), odkrite na tlaku, in ulični raster nakazujejo, da se je morala stavba na tistem delu zaključiti. Za stojke, zabeležene v geološki osnovi, smo poskušali ugotoviti tudi kateri naselbinski fazi so pripadale, vendar številnih nismo mogli pripisati k nobeni izmed stavb ali faz, zato so ostale neopredeljene.



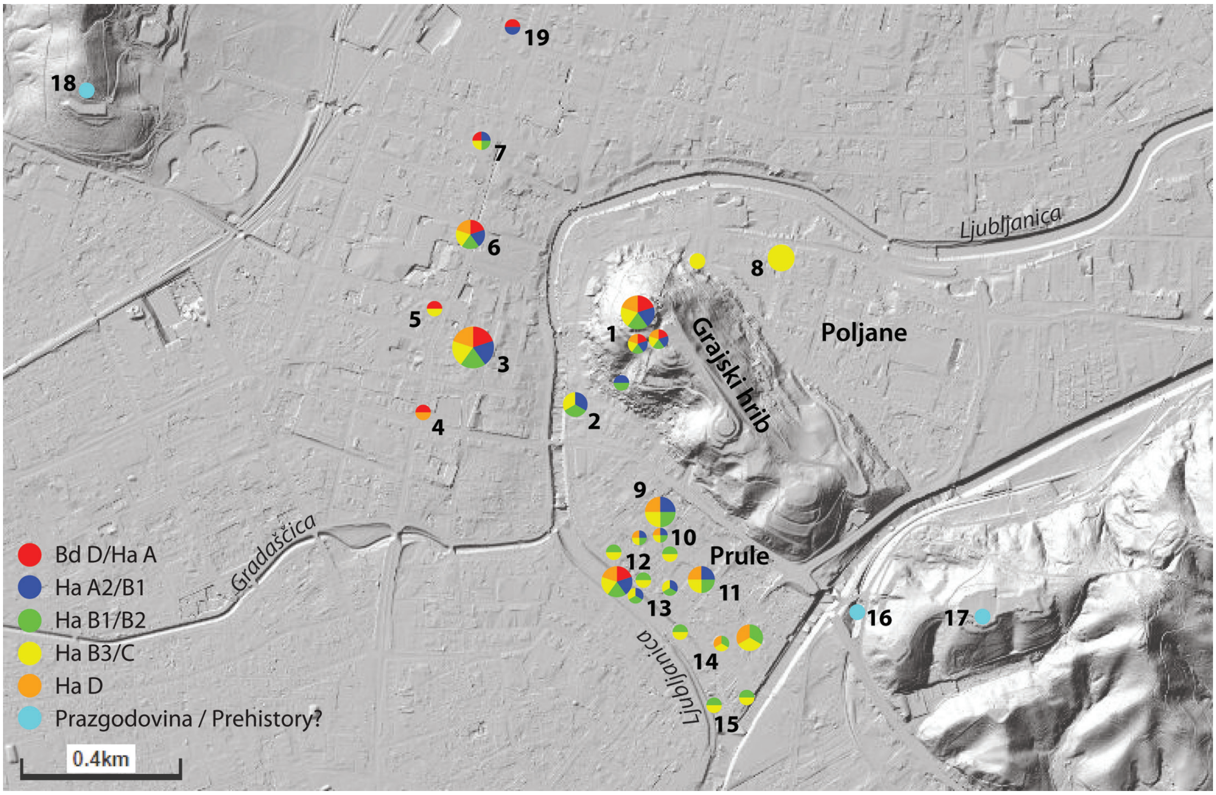
Sl. 1: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Radiokarbonske datacije posameznih naselbinskih faz in izračun verjetnega časovnega razpona poselitve (SUM TRIBUNA).
Fig. 1: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Radiocarbon dating of individual Settlement Phases and calculation of probable Tribuna settlement time range (SUM TRIBUNA).

SUM TRIBUNA: verjetni časovni razpon poselitve / probable Tribuna settlement time range; **Faza / Phase I**: Wk30951 (SE 4508 tram v stavbi 8 / beam in building 8); **Faza / Phase II**: Wk30950 (SE 4705, jama za stojko v stavbi 8 / pit in building 8); **Faza / Phase III**: Wk33428 (SE 3778, tram v stavbi 8b / beam in building 8b); Wk 33427 (SE 1560, tram v stavbi 12=13 / beam in building 12=13); Wk33429 (SE 5399, tram v stavbi 14=16 / beam in building 14=16); KIA36316 (SE 1770, tram v stavbi 12=13 / beam in building 12=13); Wk23917 (SE 3215, tram v stavbi 18 / beam in building 18); KIA36317 (SE 2801, tram v stavbi 12=13 / beam in building 12=13); Wk33426 (SE 7451, žganina v stavbi 19 / charcoal in building 19); **Faza / Phase V**: Wk33430 (SE 3420, oglje iz jame v cesti 2 / charcoal from a pit in road 2); Wk30952 (SE 8370, tram v stavbi 1b+2a / beam in building 1b+2a).

Na podlagi podrobne analize terenske dokumentacije, drobnih najdb in omenjenih kriterijev nam je uspelo razločiti pet naselbinskih faz prazgodovinske poselitve na Tribuni. Glavno izhodišče za določanje posamezne naselbinske faze so bile spremembe v uličnem rastru.[12] S spremembami uličnega rastra pa se niso spreminjale le ulice, ceste in trgi, ampak tudi lega, dolžina in usmerjenost posamezne stavbe.[13] Stavbe so bile grajene na različne načine, pri gradnji pa so uporabljali tudi različen gradbeni material. Analiza gradnje je pokazala, da so bile stavbe na Tribuni grajene na štiri različne načine (*sl. 4-5, 7-8, 12*). Pri gradnji s stojkami je glavni nosilni element lesen steber, navpično zakopan ali zabit v tla. Glavna značilnost gradnje s sohami so prav tako leseni stebri, ki pa niso zabiti v tla, ampak stojijo samostojno na čvrsti podlagi iz kamna, gline ali lesa. Kladno tehniko gradnje prepoznamo po vodoravno položenih gradbenih elementih iz netesanih ali tesanih brun, ki se v vogalih vežejo z zvezo na

[12] Vzrok za to je bilo predvsem nenehno obnavljanje stavbnih tlakov. Med 5 in 10 cm debeli tlaki so si sledili zelo na gosto (oblika torte). Celoten stratigrafski profil je meril do 50 cm, kar kaže, da so stavbe nenehno obnavljali. Posamezna obnova stavbe tako ni bila primerna za vodilo in določanje naselbinskih faz.

[13] Stavbe, ki so med naselbinskimi fazami ohranile isto usmeritev, kljub spremenjenim dimenzijam tlorisov in drugačnim načinom gradnje, so ohranile iste številke. Spremenjene številke so dobile le tiste, ki so zaradi sprememb v rastru spremenile tudi svojo usmeritev (npr. stavba 4a+6a in 4b+6b v II. naselbinski fazi) ali pa so bile zaradi sprememb v rastru (zgrajena nova ulica) razdeljene na dve novi stavbi (npr. stavba 8a in 8b v III. naselbinski fazi) ali pa so se v določeni naselbinski fazi razprostirale čez več stavb ali ulic iz prejšnje faze (npr. stavba 19+20 v II. naselbinski fazi).



Sl. 2: Poselitvena slika prazgodovinske Ljubljane.
Fig. 2: Settlement picture of prehistoric Ljubljana.

1 – Grajski hrib; **2** – Gornji / Stari trg; **3** – dvorišče SAZU, Gosposka ulica, Auerspergova palača, Novi trg; **4** – NUK II; **5** – Šumi; **6** – Kongresni trg in / and Park Zvezda; **7** – Slovenska in / and Čopova ulica; **8** – Kopitarjeva in / and Streliška ulica; **9** – Tribuna; **10** – Tesarska ulica; **11** – Prijateljeva ulica 2, 5, 11, 21, 26; **12** – Cimpermanova ulica; **13** – Prule 9, 10, 13, 15; **14** – Privoz 11, 16; **15** – Špica; **16** – Karlovški most; **17** – Golovec; **18** – Šišenski hrib; **19** – Gosposvetska ulica.

preklop. Pri kombiniranem načinu gradnje pa so združeni elementi stojkaste in sohaste tehnike.[14] Poleg načina gradnje smo opazovali še notranjo ureditev posameznih stavb ter pripadajoči keramični inventar. Spraševali smo se, ali so imele različno grajene stavbe različno namembnost in/ali se je v teh razlikah odražala socialna razslojenost nekdanjih prebivalcev. Časovna opredelitev naselbinskih faz je temeljila na stratigrafski sliki, tipološko-kronološki analizi najdb in rezultatih naravoslovnih analiz. Pri kronologiji smo se oprli na kronologijo ljubljanske skupine, ki jo je leta 1973 podal S. Gabrovec,[15] in jo delno korigirali z enajstimi absolutnimi datacijami radiokarbonskih analiz (*sl. 1*).[16]

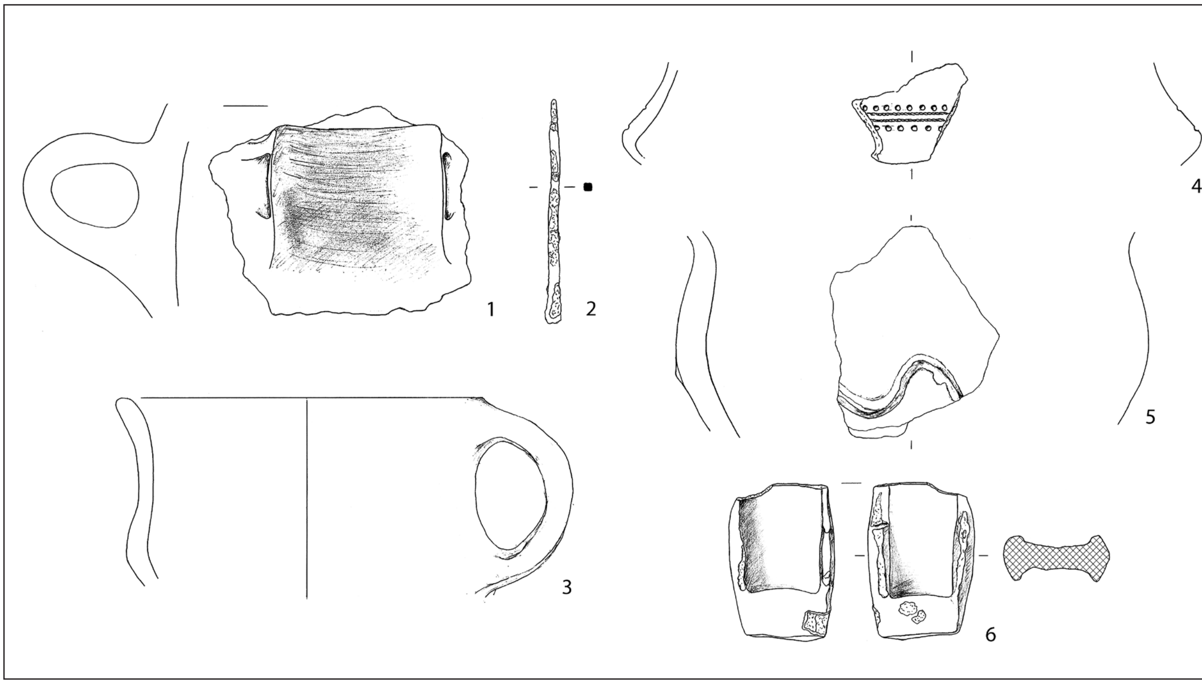
Da bi preučili organiziranost ter poselitveno dinamiko celotnega ljubljanskega prostora, smo ovrednotili tudi do leta 2013 odkrita[17] sočasna arheološka najdišča, kot so Ljubljanski grad, Gornji trg, Prule 10 in Kopitarjeva ulica (*sl. 2*). V nadaljevanju podajamo ugotovitve, s poudarkom na urbanistično zasnovanem "spodnjem mestu" na Tribuni.

[14] Dular 2008, 340; Vojaković 2013, 300–305.

[15] Gabrovčevo kronologijo je v letih 1987 in 1995 nadgradila B. Teržan (Teržan 1987, 7–42; *ead.* 1995, 323–372) ter leta 2014, 2021 in 2023 še B. Škvor Jernejčič (Škvor Jernejčič 2014; *ead.* 2021;glej tudi v tej publikaciji Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković). Ker slednja še ni v celoti objavljena, se sklicujem predvsem na prvo.

[16] Glej tudi Rychner *et al.* 1995, 455–485, in Friedrich 1996, 169–180.

[17] Zaradi povečane gradnje v zadnjih petih letih so bile na območju Prul odkrite nove prazgodovinske naselbinske ostaline, ki niso bile obravnavane v okviru doktorske disertacije, smo jih pa vključili v pregled poselitvene slike (glej *sl. 2*). Gre za območja Cimpermanove ulice 1 (poročilo Vičar, Tica, Bremc 2020), Prijateljeve ulice 5 (poročilo Tica, Vičar, Bremc 2020), Prijateljeve ulice 26 (poročilo Čakš 2016), Privoza 11 (poročilo Tica 2019) ter 16 (poročilo Lavrinc 2020).



Sl. 3: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Zastopanost Bd D/Ha A1 oblik iz naselbine. 1,3–5 keramika; 2 železo; 6 bron. M. = 1:3.
Fig. 3: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representation of Bd D/Ha A1 forms from the settlement. 1,3–5 pottery; 2 iron; 6 bronze. Scale = 1:3.

PRAZGODOVINSKA LJUBLJANA: NOTRANJA UREDITEV SKOZI ČAS

Bd D/Ha A1

V drugi polovici 2. tisočletja pr. n. št. je bila na strateško pozicioniranem Grajskem hribu, ki dominira nad ravninskim delom desnega brega Ljubljanice, zasnovana naselbina, utrjena z zemljenim nasipom (*sl. 2:* 1).[18] Na podlagi odkritih kosov značilnih posod, t. i. pitosov s tunelastimi ročaji (*t. 10:* 243–245),[19] bi lahko čas nastanka naselbine postavili v starejšo kulturo žarnih grobišč, tj. v stopnjo Ljubljana Ia1/Ia2 po B. Škvor Jernejčič (Bd D/Ha A1).[20] Takšni pitosi so bili odkriti tudi v najstarejših grobovih na dvorišču SAZU (*sl. 2:* 3)[21] ter v grobu na prostoru načrtovane nove stavbe Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice (NUK II) med Slovensko, Aškerčevo in Zoisovo cesto (*sl. 2:* 4).[22] Na podlagi podobnosti obravnavanih posod, s tistimi iz grobišča v jami Bezdanjača pri Vrhovinu, je B. Teržan že leta 1995 opozorila na zgodnje povezave ljubljanskega prostora z zahodnobalkanskim-objadranskim prostorom.[23]

Bronasta igla s kijasto glavico (*t. 11:* 249),[24] okrašena s tankimi vodoravnimi vrezi, med katerimi je vrezan motiv smrekove vejice,[25] bronast nož z jezičastim ročajem in tremi zakovicami (*t.*

[18] Puš 1973, 12–13; *id.* 1992, 18; Vičič 1990, 178; Horvat 1991, 232–233.

[19] Tip P1 in P3 po I. Murgelj (Murgelj *et al.* 2013, 34–37, sl. 31a-31b); Vojaković 2013, 354–359; *ead.* 2014a, 66–67.

[20] Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 196–212, sl. 6.1; *ead.* 2021, 119–134.

[21] Puš 1982, t. 7: 1–15; Teržan 1995, 327–330, t. 4: 1–5; 5: 1–14; Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 196–212; *ead.* 2021, 119–134. Radiokarbonska analiza sežgane kosti iz groba 278 na dvorišču SAZU je pokazala čas 2885 ± 30 BP, kar ob standardni deviaciji (68,3-odstotna verjetnost) pomeni razpon 1112–1015 BC, ob 95,4-odstotni verjetnosti pa med 1131–977 BC (Škvor Jernejčič 2021, sl. 13).

[22] Radiokarbonska analiza sežgane kosti iz groba je pokazala čas 2970 ± 40 BP, kar ob standardni deviaciji (68,3-odstotna verjetnost) pomeni razpon 1270–1120 BC, ob 95,4-odstotni verjetnosti pa 1310–1050 BC (Gaspari 2010, 22–23, sl. 12–13, tab. 1).

[23] Teržan 1995, 327–330, sl. 4: 1–5; 5: 1–14.

[24] Poročilo Žerjal *et al.* 2012, pril. 3/2; Řihovský 1979, 151; Teržan 1995, 327.

[25] Podobni sta bili odkriti tudi v grobu 146 in 277 na dvorišču SAZU (Puš 1971, t. 22: 3; *id.* 1982, t. 7: 1). Radiokarbonska analiza sežgane kosti iz groba 146 na dvorišču SAZU je pokazala čas 2985 ± 30 BP, kar ob standardni deviaciji (68,3-odstotna verjetnost) pomeni razpon 1265–1192 BC, ob 95,4-odstotni verjetnosti pa 1301–1111 BC (Škvor Jernejčič 2021, sl. 11, 18).

11: 247)[26] ter nekatere oblike keramičnih posod, npr. enoročajni lonec s cilindričnim vratom in apliciranim razčlenjenim rebrom (*t. 11:* 256),[27] pa nakazujejo, da bi lahko v drugo polovico 2. tisočletja pr. n. št. uvrstili tudi ostanke utrjene brežine nekdanje Ljubljanice, odkrite na Prulah 9 (*sl. 2:* 13).[28] Na vsaj delno obljudenost prulskega prostora v najstarejšem obdobju kažejo tudi nekatere oblike posod, odkrite na Tribuni, denimo sklede z bikoničnim trupom (*sl. 3:* 4), okras rebra v obliki valovnice (*sl. 3:* 5), skodelice s trakastim ročajem, ki ni presegajoč (*sl. 3:* 3), posoda s cilindričnim vratom in poševnimi kanelurami (*t. 1:* 9) ter tunelast ročaj (*sl. 3:* 1), za katere velja, da se v času mlajše faze KŽG ne pojavijo več.[29] V rimski plasti odkrito bronasto plavutasto sekiro z odbitim zgornjim in spodnjim delom (*sl. 3:* 6) lahko po analogiji iz Tomišlja datiramo v Bd D oz. horizont I po Turku. [30]

V zadnjih nekaj letih so prišle na plano tudi posamezne prazgodovinske lokacije z levega brega Ljubljanice, ki dajejo slutiti, da bi na tem območju poleg grobišča (*sl. 2:* 3–4, 6) lahko pričakovali tudi naselbinsko poselitev. Na območju Šumija (*sl. 2:* 5) je bilo tako v letih 2018/2019 odkritih več jam in jarkov z bronastodobno lončenino.[31] Jame, ognjišča oz. kurišča ter prazgodovinske hodne površine z bronastodobno lončenino so bili odkriti tudi na območju Kongresnega trga (*sl. 2:* 6). Slednje so bile opuščene na začetku starejše železne dobe, ko je bilo območje izravnano, na izravnavo pa je bila postavljena skupina sedmih gomil. Med oz. v bližini gomil so bili odkriti tudi posamezni plani žgani in skeletni grobovi.[32] Podobne naselbinske ostaline in/ali posamezne najdbe so izpričane še na Čopovi (*sl. 2:* 7)[33] ter Gosposvetski ulici (*sl. 2:* 19).[34] Te ostaline ponujajo novo dojemanje o poselitvi prostora Ljubljane v drugi polovici 2. tisočletja pr. n. št. Govorijo v prid obstoja več sočasnih zaselkov (*sl. 2:* 1, 5–7, 13, 19), hkrati pa postavljajo pod vprašaj tezo o reki kot ločnici med svetovom živih in mrtvih.

Vzrok za poselitev rečnega okljuka Ljubljanice je iskati predvsem v njeni legi na stičišču pomembnih poti. Ljubljanica pa ni predstavljala le izjemne naravne zaščite, vira življenja in prometne žile, po kateri je cvetela trgovina,[35] temveč so se ob ali na njej odvijali tudi verski obredi.[36] O njeni pomembnosti nam priča tudi nekoliko starejša poselitev tega območja, tj. poznoeneolitsko kolišče na Špici (sredina 3. tisočletja pr. n. št.).[37] Tradicijo izrabe ugodnih naravnih danosti pa morda nakazuje tudi na Prulah 9 odkrita bronasta igla z glavico v obliki treh obročkov (*t. 11:* 248), ki so jo našli v plasti z večjo vsebnostjo lesa in školjk nad polžarico.

Vzpostavitev "spodnjega mesta" na Tribuni in njegova vloga v širšem naselbinskem kontekstu

I. naselbinska faza; Ha A2/B1 (sl. 4)

V času od sredine 11. do prve polovice 10. st. pr. n. št. je južno od Grajskega hriba, na ravninskem predelu Prul, nastala naselbina, ki je imela, vsaj sodeč po raziskavah na Tribuni, načrtno organizirano zasnovo (*sl. 2:* 9). O tem času nam ne pričajo le odkrite najdbe, npr. skodele tipa Sk3a in 3b (*t. 1:* 13–14), ki so bile najdene tako na Tribuni kot tudi na Gornjem oz. Starem trgu (*sl. 2:* 2; *t. 13:* 276) in Prulah 10 (*sl. 2:* 13; *t. 12:* 262),[38] pa tudi v najstarejših grobovih ljubljanskega grobišča na

[26] Poročilo Žerjal, Černe 2011, pril. 3/1; Říhovský 1972, 24–30.

[27] Poročilo Žerjal *et al.* 2012, pril. 3/16. Podoben enoročajni lonec je ležal v že prej omenjenem grobu 146 z grobišča SAZU (Puš 1971, t. 22: 3; Škvor Jernejčič 2021, sl. 11: 1).

[28] Poročilo Žerjal *et al.* 2012.

[29] Vse omenjene so bile odkrite v I. naselbinska fazi, bodisi v cesti 1 bodisi v stavbi 8.

[30] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 220, t. 50: 1, 2; Turk 1996, 106–108.

[31] Poročilo Plestenjak *et al.* 2021, 167–170, 175–177.

[32] Poročilo Masaryk *et al.* 2011; glej tudi v tej publikaciji Škvor Jernejčič, Vojakovič.

[33] Poročilo Draksler *et al.* 2018.

[34] Osebni podatki, ki bodo objavljeni v končnem poročilu o arheoloških raziskavah na Gosposvetski ulici.

[35] Plovna pot po Savi in Ljubljanici, ki je vodila iz Podonavja do Vrhnike, je bila z viri izpričana šele v rimski dobi (Šašel Kos 1990, 20).

[36] Med več kot 150 kovinskimi najdbami iz pozne bronaste dobe so iz Ljubljanice v ospredju predmeti, ki jih povezujemo z moško bojevniško sfero. Ker v času pozne bronaste dobe ni bila navada, da bi pokojnemu v grob položili tudi orožje, se postavlja vprašanje, ali gre pri vodnih najdbah za dopolnilo grobnih pridatkov ali sledove verskih dejavnosti v širšem smislu besede (npr. očiščevalna obredja po vojskovanjih, prošnje ali zahvalne darove najdragocenejših predmetov božanskim silam ali heroiziranim prednikom ob pomembnih dogodkih, kot so iniciacijski rituali ali pomembna srečanja (Erjavec, Gaspari 2012, 269–282).

[37] Poročilo Klasinc *et al.* 2010; Šinkovec 2012, 251–258; Andrič *et al.* 2017, 479–498.

[38] Vojaković 2013, 225; *ead.* 2014a, 67–69.

dvorišču SAZU in jih zato uvrščamo med vodilne oblike faze Ljubljana Ia po Gabrovcu (Ha A2/B1).[39] Tudi radiokarbonska analiza tramu iz stavbe 8 datira I. naselbinsko fazo poselitve na Tribuni v čas okoli leta 1000 pr. n. št. (*sl. 1;* Wk30951).[40]

Ulični raster na Tribuni, ki so ga tvorili cesti 1 in 2 ter nanju navezujoče vzporedne in pravokotne ulice ter trgi, med katerimi so bile postavljene različno usmerjene stavbe s pravokotnim tlorisom in odklonom za približno 30° od severa (*sl. 4*), priča o premišljeni, dobro načrtovani ter strnjeni poselitvi. V njem se po eni strani nedvomno odraža izraba naravnih danosti prostora (privzdignjen del nad poplavno ravnico Ljubljanice, sončna lega, zavetrje, oskrba z vodo itd.), po drugi strani pa se zdi, da je bila mreža stavb, trgov in ulic vezana na potek glavnih dveh poti (cesta 1 in cesta 2), kar kaže na načrtno parcelizacijo, ki je morala biti vodena. Cesti 1 in 2 sta, kot kaže, že od zasnove prispevali k razlikam med vzhodnim in zahodnim delom naselbine, ki je bila naravno ločena tudi s hudourniškim potokom.

Na vzhodnem delu je raster narekovala cesta 2, ki je potekala proti Ljubljanici in je domnevno vodila proti nekdanjemu pristanu. Ob njej so na obeh straneh stale dolge večprostorne stavbe (dolžine do 30 m), vse usmerjene severovzhod–jugozahod. Izkazalo se je, da so bile stavbe na vzhodnem delu naselbine, v najstarejši I. naselbinski fazi, grajene le v sohastem (2 ×) in kombiniranem (4 ×) načinu gradnje (*sl. 4, tab. 1*). Ognjišča so bila odkrita v skoraj vseh stavbah, v stavbah 11 in 18 celo v vsakem prostoru. Skoraj vse stavbe, ki so ležale na vzhodni strani, so imele v posameznih prostorih t. i. popoln keramični inventar, kamor sodi namizno[41] (sklede (*t. 1:* 1–10), skodele (*t. 1:* 11–14), amfore (*t. 1:* 15)), kuhinjsko oz. shrambno posodje (vrči (*t. 2:* 30–31), lonci oz. lončki (*t. 2:* 39–44) in pitosi (*t. 2:* 45–49)) ter kuhinjski pripomočki (drsniki, natege, cedilca, pokrovčki, pokrovi, pekve (*t. 2:* 32–34), pekve oz. pokrovi (*t. 2:* 35–38), svitki, ognjiščne koze in prenosna ognjišča, žrmlje in terilniki). Pomenljivo je, da žrmlje niso bile odkrite v stavbah, ampak zunaj njih. Med rokodelskimi pripomočki, odkritimi v notranjosti stavb, so bila najštevilnejša vretenca za prejo. Odkrita so bila v stavbah 12=13 (*t. 1:* 19) ter 18, v teh s po enim primerkom tudi v ognjišču (*sl. 4, tab. 1*). V notranjosti stavbe 12=13 pa je bil poleg vretenc odkrit tudi kamnit kalup (*t. 1:* 18), ki je bil večkrat uporabljen in močno prežgan. Vretencem sledijo uteži za tkalske statve, ki so bile odkrite v stavbah 11 in 17*.[42] Stavbi 17 in 18 sta izstopali še po večjem številu odkritih ostankov živalskih kosti različnih vrst (poleg običajnih vrst, kot so govedo, drobnica, prašič, so bile odkrite še kosti jelena, srne in konja).[43]

Na zahodnem delu naselbine je bil razpored vzporednih in pravokotnih ulic bolj strog in pravilen, med njimi so bile manjše eno- do dvoprostorne stavbe (dolžine 6–7 m oz. 12–14 m) (*sl. 4*). Njihova usmerjenost je bila, z izjemo stavbe 8, povsem drugačna od stavb na vzhodnem delu. Usmerjene so bile namreč jugovzhod–severozahod, vzporedno s cesto 1. Grajene so bile tako v stojkastem (5 ×), sohastem (1 ×) kot tudi kombiniranem načinu (4 ×). Ognjišča smo zasledili le pri večjih, dvoprostornih stavbah 4, 6, 8 in 9 (*sl. 4*, *tab. 1*). Popoln keramični inventar (*t. 1:* 1–15; *2:* 30–49) pa v stavbah 1, 3 in 19, ki v večini niso imele ognjišč in jih pripisujemo stojkasti in kombinirani gradnji, ter v stojkastem načinu grajeni stavbi 6 in v sohastem načinu grajeni stavbi 8, ki sta imeli ognjišče.[44] V zadnjih dveh so bila odkrita tudi vretenca (*t. 1:* 22) in miniaturne posodice oz. talilni lončki (*t. 1:* 16), pri čemer je bil v stavbi 8 en primerek vretenca tudi v ognjišču. Omenjeni stavbi sta izstopali tudi po večjem številu odkritih ostankov živalskih kosti ter zastopanosti vrst (poleg običajnih vrst je bila v stavbi 6 še kost medveda in jelena, v stavbi 8 pa kostni ostanki mesnatih delov). Uteži za statve (*t. 1:* 23) so bile v stavbi 1* in 19*.

V najstarejši naselbinski fazi so bili odkriti tudi predmeti iz železa, in sicer železno šilo oz. dletce (*sl. 3:* 2), najdeno v prvem nasutju ceste 1 (SE 2858), ter predmet amorfne oblike na trgu 3 (SE 4248), oba na vzhodnem delu naselbine, kar govori v prid tezi, da so na Tribuni prišli v stik s prvimi železnimi predmeti že v 11. oz. 10. st. pr. n. št. Zanimivo je tudi, da so bili deli noše, orodja in orožja (*t. 1:* 29) ter tudi ingoti (*t. 1:* 28) na obeh delih naselbine najdeni predvsem zunaj stavb (*tab. 1*).

[39] Dular 1982, 113, 115, sl. 13: 14; Gabrovec 1973, 342.

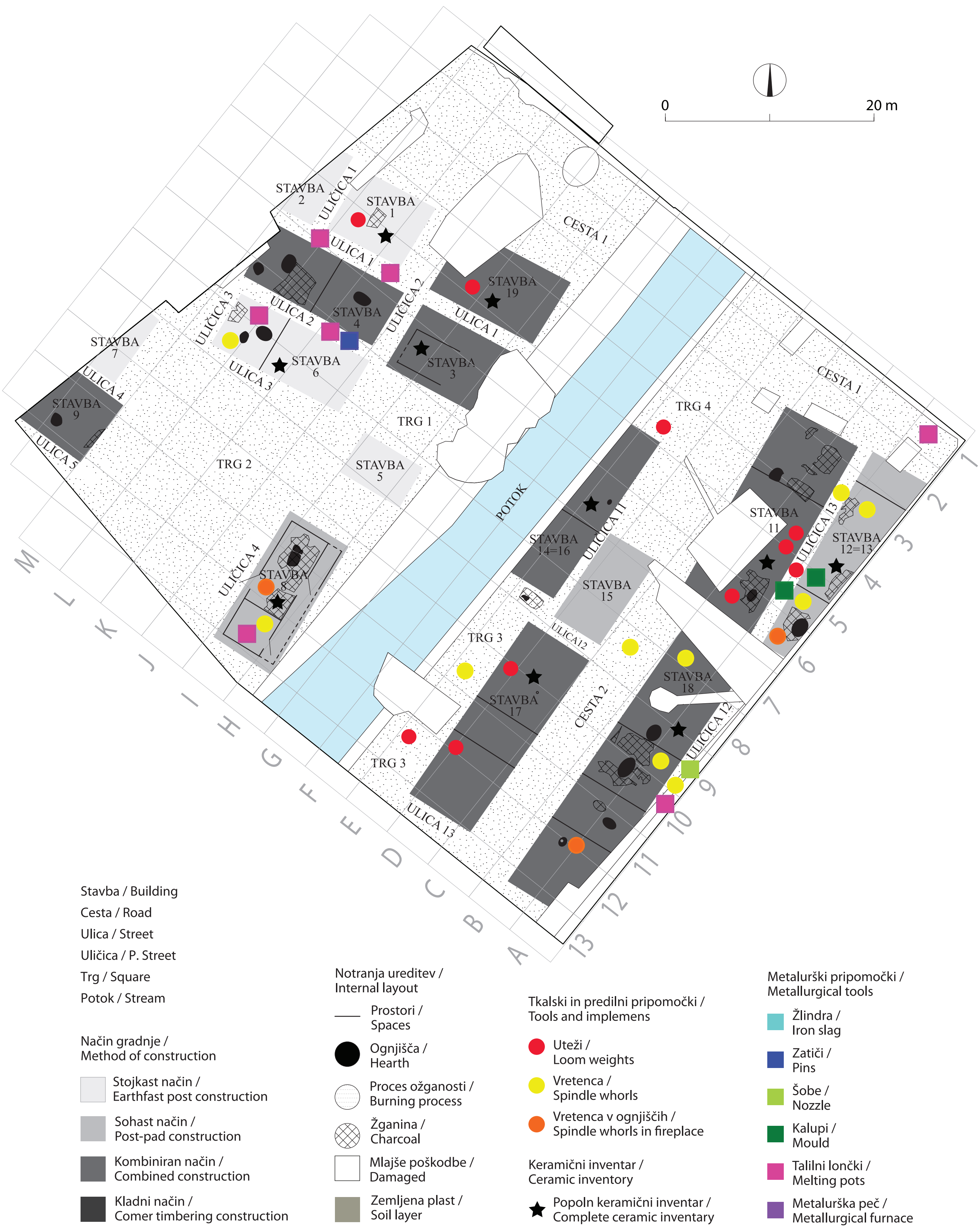
[40] Vojaković 2014b, 393–395, 397, sl. 22.3.6, 22.3.27.

[41] K namiznemu posodju sodijo še kantarosi in situle, ki pa so bili zastopani šele v III. naselbinski fazi.

[42] Z zvezdico (*) so označene stavbe iz vseh faz, v katerih so bili rokodelski pripomočki odkriti v sekundarni legi oz. v jami za stojko znotraj stavb.

[43] Ustni podatki B. Toškana, za kar se mu na tem mestu zahvaljujem.

[44] Stavbi 4 in 9 sta sicer imeli ognjišče, njun inventar pa ni bil popoln. V stavbi 4 je prevladovalo kuhinjsko oz. shrambno posodje, v stavbi 9 pa namizno in kuhinjsko oz. shrambno posodje. Stavbi 2 in 5 sta bili brez inventarja.

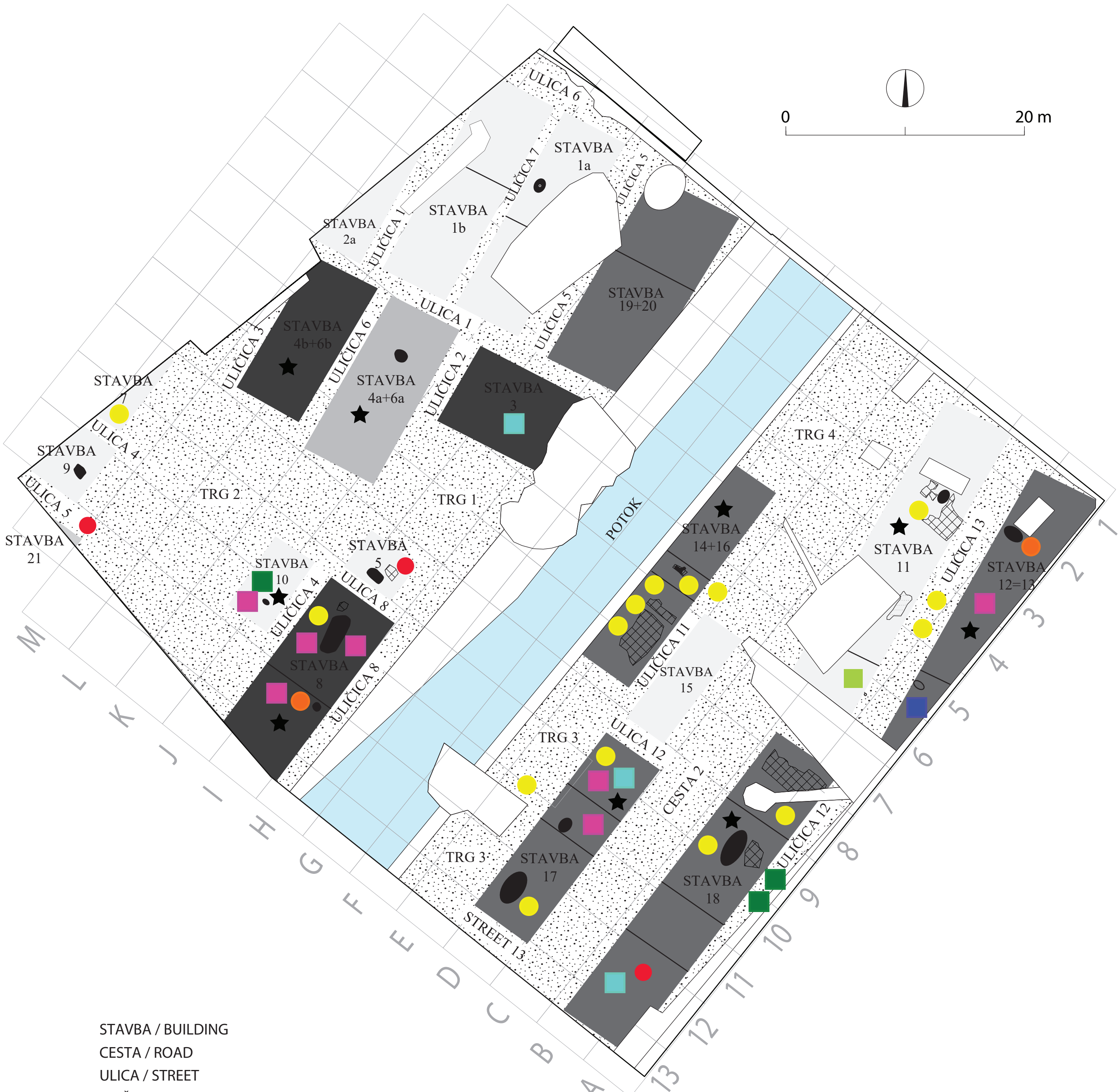

0
20 m
STAVBA 1
STAVBA 2
STAVBA 3
STAVBA 4
STAVBA 5
STAVBA 6
STAVBA 7
STAVBA 8
STAVBA 9
STAVBA 11
STAVBA 12=13
STAVBA 14=16
STAVBA 15
STAVBA 17
STAVBA 18
STAVBA 19
ULIČICA 1
ULIČICA 2
ULIČICA 3
ULIČICA 4
ULIČICA 11
ULIČICA 12
ULIČICA 13
ULICA 1
ULICA 2
ULICA 3
ULICA 4
ULICA 5
ULICA12
ULICA 13
CESTA 1
CESTA 2
TRG 1
TRG 2
TRG 3
TRG 4
POTOK
M L K J I H G F E D C B A
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
Stavba / Building
Cesta / Road
Ulica / Street
Uličica / P. Street
Trg / Square
Potok / Stream
Način gradnje / Method of construction
Stojkast način / Earthfast post construction
Sohast način / Post-pad construction
Kombiniran način / Combined construction
Kladni način / Comer timbering construction
Notranja ureditev / Internal layout
Prostori / Spaces
Ognjišča / Hearth
Proces ožganosti / Burning process
Žganina / Charcoal
Mlajše poškodbe / Damaged
Zemljena plast / Soil layer
Tkalski in predilni pripomočki / Tools and implemens
Uteži / Loom weights
Vretenca / Spindle whorls
Vretenca v ognjiščih / Spindle whorls in fireplace
Keramični inventar / Ceramic inventory
Popoln keramični inventar / Complete ceramic inventary
Metalurški pripomočki / Metallurgical tools
Žlindra / Iron slag
Zatiči / Pins
Šobe / Nozzle
Kalupi / Mould
Talilni lončki / Melting pots
Metalurška peč / Metallurgical furnace

Lokacija / Location	Število prostorov / Spaces	Način gradnje / Method of construction	Notranja ureditev (ognjišča) / Internal layout (hearth)	Keramični inventar / Ceramic inventory	Predilski pripomočki / Spinning tool	Vretenca v ognjišču / Spindle whorls in hearth	Tkalski pripomočki / Weaving tools	Metalurški pripomočki / Metallurgical tools	Orožje, orodje / Weapons, tools	Deli noše / Elements of costume	Ingoti, deli sekir, srpov / Ingots, parts of axes, sickles	Železni predmeti / Iron items
Stavba / Building 1	1	st	1?	•			1*					
Stavba / Building 3	2	st + s		•								
Stavba / Building 4	2	st + s	3									
Stavba / Building 6	2	st	2	•	1*			t				
Stavba / Building 8	2	s	1	•	1	1		t				
Stavba / Building 9	1 + 1?	st + s	1									
Stavba / Building 19	1	st + s		•			1*					
Ulica / Street 1								2 t		•		
Ulica / Street 2								z, t			•	
Uličica / P. street 4										•		
Trg / Square 1									•			
Stavba / Building 11	2	st + s	2	•			3					
Stavba / Building 12=13	3	s	1 + 1?	•	2	1		k		•		
Stavba / Building 14=16	2	st + s	1 + 1 (zunaj)	•								
Stavba / Building 17	3	st + s		•			1 + 1 ka*		•	•		
Stavba / Building 18	4	st + s	4	•	1 + 1*	1						
Cesta / Road 1								t	•	•		1
Cesta / Road 2					1							
Trg / Square 3					1		1		•	•		1
Trg / Square 4							1 ka				•	
Uličica / P. street 12					1			š, t				
Uličica / P. street 13					1		1	k	•			

Tab. 1: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Tabelarni prikaz opazovanih naselbinskih paramentrov znotraj I. naselbinske faze.
Tab. 1: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Settlement parameters of Settlement Phase I.
(s = sohast / post-pad; st = stojkast / earthfast post; t = talilni lonček / melting pot; z = zatič / pin; k = kalup / mould; š = šoba / nozzle; ka = kamen / stone; zunaj = tik ob južni steni stavbe / right next to the south wall of the building; * = v sekundarni legi / in secondary position)

←

Sl. 4: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Zastopanost tipov gradnje, notranja ureditev stavb in zastopanost keramičnega inventarja ter rokodelskih pripomočkov v I. naselbinski fazi.
Fig. 4: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representation of the types of construction, internal layouts, ceramic inventary and tools or implements in Settlement Phase I.



STAVBA / BUILDING
CESTA / ROAD
ULICA / STREET
ULIČICA / P. STREET
TRG / SQUARE
POTOK / STREAM

Način gradnje / Method of construction

- Stojkast način / Earthfast post construction
- Sohast način / Post-pad construction
- Kombiniran način / Combined construction
- Kladni način / Corner timbering construction

Notranja ureditev / Internal layout

- Prostori / Spaces
- Ognjišča / Hearth
- Proces ožganosti / Burning process
- Žganina / Charcoal
- Mlajše poškodbe / Damaged
- Zemljena plast / Soil layer

Tkalski in predilni pripomočki / Tools and implemens

- Uteži / Loom weights
- Vretenca / Spindle whorls
- Vretenca v ognjiščih / Spindle whorls in hearth

Keramični inventar / Ceramic inventory

- Popoln keramični inventar / Complete ceramic inventory

Metalurški pripomočki / Metallurgical tools

- Žlindra / Iron slag
- Zatiči / Pins
- Šobe / Nozzles
- Kalupi / Moulds
- Talilni lončki / Melting pots
- Metalurška peč / Metallurgical furnace

Lokacija / Location	Število prostorov / Spaces	Način gradnje / Method of construction	Notranja ureditev (ognjišča) / Internal layout (hearth)	Keramični inventar / Ceramic inventory	Predilski pripomočki / Spinning tool	Vretenca v ognjišču / Spindle whorls in hearth	Tkalski pripomočki / Weaving tools	Metalurški pripomočki / Metallurgical tools	Orožje, orodje / Weapons, tools	Deli noše / Elements of costume	Ingoti, deli sekir, srpov / Ingots, parts of axes, sickles	Železni predmeti / Iron items
Stavba / Building 1a	2	st	1									
Stavba / Building 1b	2	st								•		
Stavba / Building 3	1	k						1× žlindra (kovaška)		•		
Stavba / Building 4a+6a	1	s	1	•								
Stavba / Building 4b+6b	1	k	1?	•								
Stavba / Building 5	1	st	1				1* ka					
Stavba / Building 7	1	st			1							
Stavba / Building 8	2	k	2	•	1	1		3 t		•		
Stavba / Building 10	1	st	1	•				k*, t*				
Ulica / Street 1												1
Ulica / Street 4										•		
Ulica / Street 5							1 ka					
Ulica / Street 8									•			
Uličica / P. street 1												1
Uličica / P. Street 8										•		
Trg / Square 2											•	
Stavba / Building 11	2	st	1	•	1			š*		•*		
Stavba / Building 12=13	2	st+s	2?	•		1		z, t*		•	•	
Stavba / Building 14=16	3	st+s	2?	•	4							2
Stavba / Building 17	3	st+s	2	•	2			1× žlindra (neop.), 2 t	•*			
Stavba / Building 18	4	st+s	2?	•	2		1 ka	1× žlindra (neop.)		2 + 1*		
Uličica / P. Street 11					1							
Uličica / P. Street 12								2 k	•			
Uličica / P. Street 13					2				•			
Trg / Square 3					1				•		•	

Tab. 2: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Tabelarni prikaz opazovanih naselbinskih paramentrov znotraj II. naselbinske faze.
Tab. 2: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Settlement parameters of Settlement Phase II.
(k = kladni / corner timbering; s = sohast / post-pad; st = stojkast / earthfast post; t = talilni lonček / melting pot; z = zatič / pin; k = kalup / mould; š = šoba / nozzle; ka = kamen / stone; žlindra (kovaška) / iron slag (blacksmith); žlindra (neopredeljena) / iron slag (undefined); * = v sekundarni legi / in secondary position)

←
Sl. 5: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Zastopanost tipov gradnje, notranja ureditev stavb in zastopanost keramičnega inventarja ter rokodelskih pripomočkov v II. naselbinski fazi.
Fig. 5: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representation of the types of construction, internal layouts, ceramic inventory and tools or implements in Settlement Phase II.

Omenjeni elementi iz I. naselbinske faze nakazujejo, da lahko večino stavb na zahodni strani opredelimo kot bivalne, vendar pa rokodelski pripomočki v stavbi 6 in 8 nakazujejo tudi rokodelska opravila v njiju. Večja koncentracija rokodelskih pripomočkov (vretenca za prejo, uteži za statve, ostanki kamnitega kalupa ter talilni lončki) je bila odkrita predvsem v stavbah na vzhodni polovici naselbine, zato opredelitev slednjih kot gospodarskih oz. bivalno-gospodarskih ni sporna. Zanimiva je ugotovitev, da se vretenca in uteži niso pojavljali skupaj v istih stavbah, kar bi morda pomenilo, da so se v posameznih stavbah odvijale točno določene dejavnosti. Pomenljivo je tudi, da je bila zastopanost živalskih kosti na vzhodnem delu naselbine trikrat večja kot na zahodnem ter da je bilo zunaj stavb odkritih dvakrat več kosti kot v notranjosti.

II. naselbinska faza; Ha B1/B2 (sl. 5)

V 10 st. pr. n. št. je bil poseljen skoraj celoten areal Prul, poseljen pa je ostal tudi predel Grajskega hriba in Gornji oz. Stari trg (*sl. 2:* 1, 2, 9–15).[45] V tem času so se na območju Tribune zgodile prve večje spremembe v rastru naselbine, te spremembe pa smo označili kot II. naselbinsko fazo (*sl. 5*). Večina zastopane lončenine (*t. 3:* 50–63, *4:* 83–104) je bila podobna tisti iz I. faze, kar pomeni, da se je lončenina v naselbini ohranila v enaki obliki in sestavi kljub gradbenim spremembam. Pojavila pa sta se nova tipa igel, in sicer igla z vazasto glavico in okrašenim vratom (*t. 3:* 74–76)[46] ter igla z drobno profilirano glavico in odebeljenim tordiranim vratom (*t. 3:* 72–73).[47] Podobno iglo z nekoliko večjo vazasto glavico so odkrili tudi na Špici (*t. 11:* 257).[48] Na 10. st. pr. n. št. pa nakazuje tudi rezultat radiokarbonske datacije tramu iz stavbe 8 na Tribuni,[49] ki se časovno ujema s fazo Ljubljana Ib po Gabrovcu (Ha B1/B2)[50] (*sl. 1; Wk 30950*).

Na spremembe v rastru naselbine na Tribuni je nedvomno vplival odmik ceste 1 proti S, tj. zunaj izkopnega polja.[51] S tem se je sprostilo večje območje za novonačrtovano poselitev prostora, vezano na potek ceste 2. S to spremembo pa so se zabrisale razlike med zahodnim in vzhodnim delom naselbine (*sl. 5*).

Na zahodnem delu naselbine je tako opaziti popoln preobrat v rastru, s tem pa tudi v načinu gradnje in namembnosti stavb. Medtem ko so bile v prejšnji fazi skoraj vse stavbe na zahodnem delu usmerjene jugovzhod–severozahod, se je usmeritev v II. naselbinski fazi precej poenotila s tisto na vzhodnem delu, tj. severovzhod–jugozahod. Stavbe so bile v tej fazi grajene tako v stojkastem (7 ×), sohastem (1 ×), kombiniranem (1 ×) kot tudi kladnem načinu gradnje (3 ×). Popoln keramični inventar pa so imele le stavbe 4a+6a, 4b+6b, 8 in 10 (*sl. 5; tab. 2; t. 3:* 50–63; *4:* 83–104). Med stavbami je na tem delu še vedno izstopala večja, v kladnem načinu grajena stavba 8 z ognjiščem.

Na vzhodnem delu je raster ostal dokaj enak, prav tako je še vedno prevladoval kombiniran način gradnje (4 ×). Prvič pa se je pojavil stojkast način (stavbi 11 in 15). Skoraj v vseh stavbah je bilo odkrito ognjišče. Prav tako je imela večina stavb na vzhodnem delu naselbine tudi popoln keramični inventar (*sl. 5; tab. 2; t. 3:* 50–63; *4:* 83–104).

Ob upoštevanju vseh podatkov iz naselbinskih kontekstov lahko povzamemo, da se je v II. naselbinski fazi povečalo število stavb s pokazatelji rokodelske ali gospodarske dejavnosti (*sl. 5; tab. 2*). To so stavbe 3, 5*, 7, 8, 10* 11, 12=13, 14=16, 17 in 18. V stavbah 8, 11,[52] 17 in 18 so bila zabeležena vretenca skupaj s predmeti, ki jih lahko povežemo z metalurškimi dejavnostmi (*t. 3:* 63, 78–82), v stavbi 18 celo še uteži. Vretenca v ognjiščih (*t. 3:* 66) so bila v tej fazi odkrita le v stavbi 8 in 12=13. V stavbi 5* le uteži,[53] v stavbi

[45] Vojaković 2013, 341–352, 356–357.

[46] Glede na analogije iz Bologne, San Vitale, grobovi 35, 45, 190 (Carancini 1975, t. 57: 1899, 1896, 1904) in Vadene, grob 14 (Carancini 1975, t. 57: 1891), bi lahko ta tip datirali v 9. in 8. st. pr. n. št. oz. v Ha B2/B3 (Carancini 1975, 265; Teržan 1987, 8).

[47] Glede na analogije iz Tolmina–vrsta VI, varianta 1a (Pogačnik 2002, sl. 32c) oz. igle vrste Marco (Carancini 1975, 37, 203), bi jih lahko datirali v Ha B1–B2 oz. v bronzo finale (Teržan 2002, 87; Carancini 1975, 204).

[48] Poročilo Klasinc *et al.* 2010, tab. 10: 6.

[49] Vojaković 2014b, 395–397, sl. 22.3.7, 22.3.27.

[50] Gabrovec 1973, 342–343. Glej tudi dendrokronološko raziskavo švicarskih kolišč Rychner *et al.* 1995, 455–485.

[51] Cesta je bila dokumentirana v izkopu za kineto zunaj izkopnega polja, prav tako med izkopavanji leta 2018 (poročilo Novšak *et al.* 2019).

[52] V stavbi 11 je bila v prejšnji stopnji odkrita utež, v tej pa vretence, kar bi morda pomenilo, da se je s fazo spremenil ne samo način gradnje, ampak tudi namembnost.

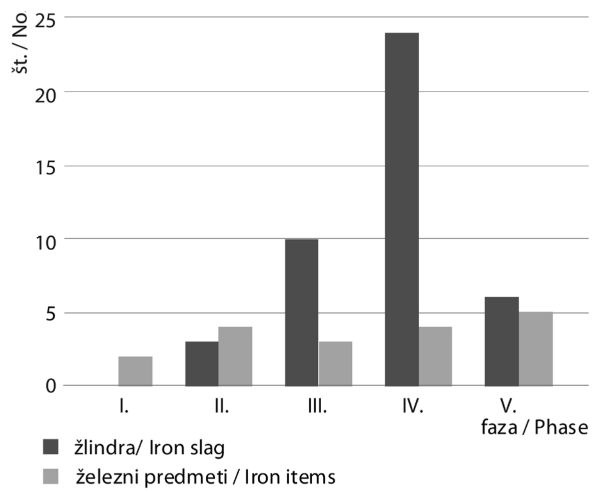
[53] Tkalski pripomočki so bili v tej stopnji odkriti le v stavbi 5* in 18, in sicer kamnite uteži, ki pa bi lahko služile tudi kot obtežitev za ribiške mreže.

7 in 14=16 vretenca,[54] v stavbah 3, 10* in 12=13 pa le ostanki metalurške dejavnosti, ki je izpričana z naslednjimi predmeti: šoba v stavbi 11* (*t. 3:* 79), zatiči v stavbi 12=13 (*t. 3:* 78), več talilnih lončkov, odkritih v stavbah 8, 10, 12=13 in 17 (*t. 3:* 63), kalup, odkrit v stavbi 10* (*t. 3:* 82), ter kosi železove žlindre, odkriti na tlakih stavb 3, 17 in 18. Pomenljivo je, da se je metalurška dejavnost v tej fazi močno okrepila, medtem ko je bila v prejšnji ugotovljena le v stavbi 12=13. Povečano število ostankov železove žlindre in železni predmeti kažejo, da so se na Tribuni s kovaštvom ukvarjali že od 10. st. pr. n. št.

Deli noše so bili v tej fazi odkriti predvsem v stavbah (*t. 3:* 72–76), orožje oz. orodje (*t. 3:* 71) pa še vedno zunaj njih (*tab.2*). Ingoti so bili tako v notranjosti stavb kot tudi zunaj (*t. 3:* 70, 77). Med kostnimi ostanki je opazna prevlada goveda v stavbi 4a+6a in 8. Kosti konj so bile ne le v stavbi 4a+6a, ampak tudi v stavbah 12=13, 14=16 in 18, pri čemer stavba 18 izstopa še po večjem številu živalskih ostankov, med drugim kosti jelena.

Gledano celostno, gre pri stavbah, v katerih so bile zabeležene rokodelske dejavnosti, za manjše in večje, dvo- ali večprostorne stavbe, ki so v tej naselbinski fazi stale tako na vzhodnem kot tudi zahodnem delu naselbine. Grajene so bile v stojkastem, kladnem ali kombiniranem načinu gradnje, v notranjosti pa so imele vsaj po eno ognjišče (razen stavba 3, ki ni imela ognjišča), popoln keramični inventar, razen stavbi 3 in 5. Zastopanost živalskih kosti na vzhodnem delu naselbine je bila v tej fazi le dvakrat večja kot na zahodnem delu.

Spremembe v rastru med fazama I in II bi lahko povezali z načrtno reorganizacijo prostora, kot posledico porasta rokodelskih in metalurških dejavnosti. Zanimivo je, da je bila železova žlindra v drugi fazi naselbine najdena tako na vzhodnem delu na tlaku dolgih stavb 17 in 18 kot tudi na zahodnem delu na tlaku stavbe 3, kjer so v prvi fazi naselbine prevladovale manjše, bivalne stavbe. O metalurški dejavnosti pričajo številni kalupi (*t. 1*: 17–18; *3*: 80–82), ki pa so bili odkriti le v prvih dveh naselbinskih fazah, kosi talilne in kovaške železove žlindre, odlomki šob (*t. 1*: 26; *3*: 79) in zatičev (*t. 1*: 27; *3*: 78). Te najdbe kažejo, da je morala obstajati lokalna proizvodnja, vprašanje je le, v kakšnem obsegu. Pomenljiv je graf, ki prikazuje število kosov železove žlindre po posameznih



Sl. 6: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Zastopanost žlindre in železnih predmetov v naselbini po naselbinskih fazah.
Fig. 6: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representation of iron slag and iron items in the settlement according to Settlement Phases.

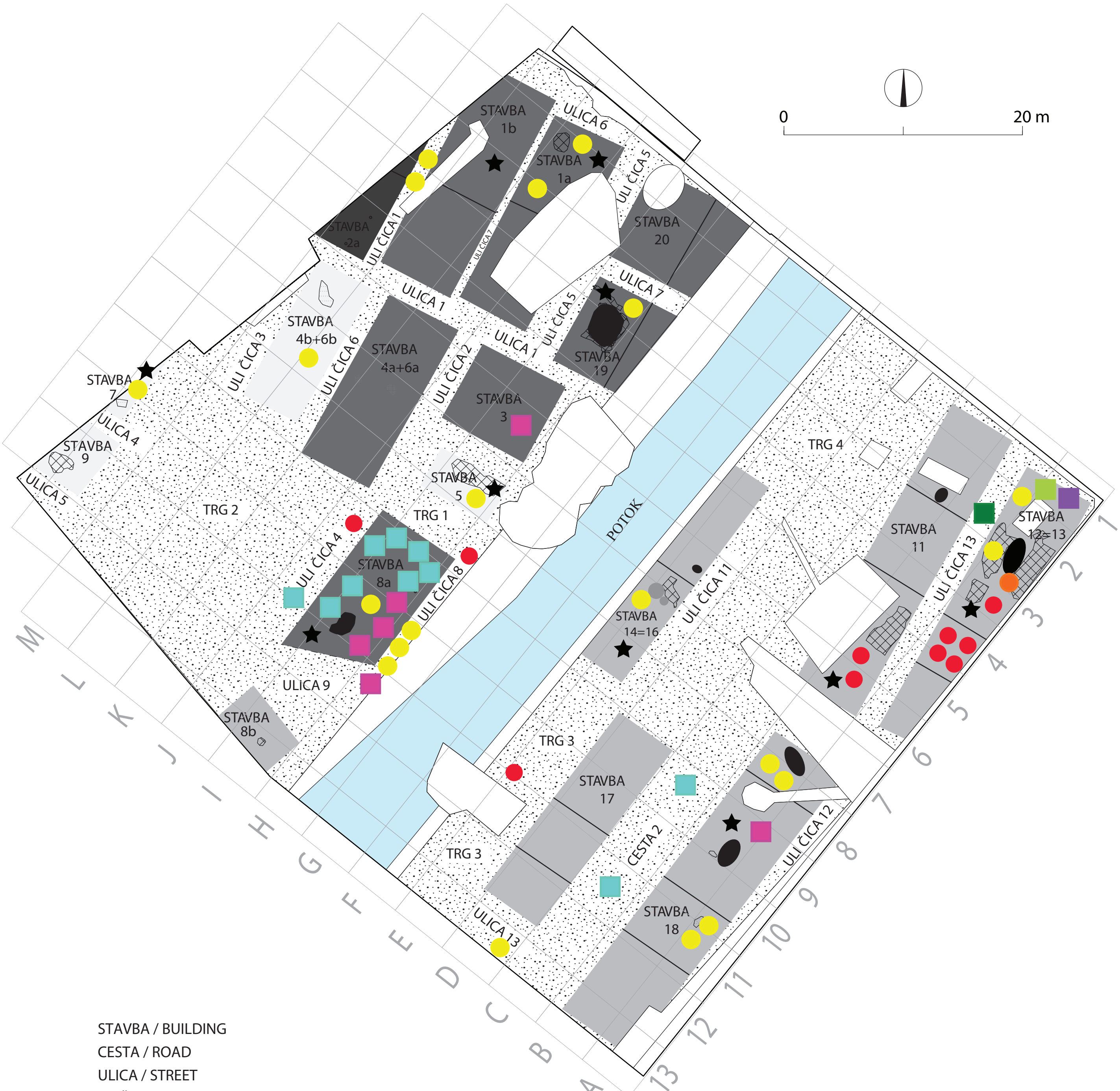
fazah. Ta je prisotna že v II. fazi, torej od 10. st. pr. n. št., ter kaže porast v IV. fazi oz. v 8. st. pr. n. št. (*sl. 6*). Zato zasluži posebno pozornost, saj kaže na zgodnje začetke železarstva v povezavi s taljenjem in kovanjem železa že v drugi fazi naselbine, torej v 10. st. pr. n. št. (*sl. 1; Wk 30950*).

III. naselbinska faza; Ha B2/B3 (sl. 7)

Ljubljanska naselbina doživi največjo razsežnost v sredini 9. st. pr. n. št., ki jo vzporejamo s koncem pozne bronaste dobe in začetkom starejše železne dobe. Tudi v tej fazi ostajajo poseljeni Grajski hrib, Prule ter Stari oz. Gornji trg (*sl. 2:* 1, 2, 9–15).[55] Ostanki človeške dejavnosti v prostoru pa so bili odkriti tudi na severni strani Grajskega hriba, na območju današnje tržnice (Kopitarjeva ulica) (*sl. 2*: 8).[56] Med najdbami, ki so značilne za omenjeno obdobje, prevladujejo igle s spiralno uvito glavico ter stožčasto oz. strešasto glavico in tordiranim vratom, odkrite na Tribuni (*t. 5:* 132–134), Prulah 9 (*t. 11:* 251–252)[57] in Špici (*t. 11:* 258),[58] na Tribuni pa je bila odkrita tudi dvojnokrižna pasna spona tipa Ljubljana (t. 5: 137).[59] Prvič pa se na Tribuni, Ljubljanskem gradu, Prulah 10 in Gornjem oz. Starem trgu pojavijo skodele SK1

[54] Stavbi 7 in 14=16 v prejšnji fazi nista vsebovali najdb, ki bi ju povezale s kakšno ožjo določeno rokodelsko dejavnostjo oz. "obrtjo".

[55] Vojaković 2013, 357; *ead*. 2014a, 69; *ead*. 2014a, 69–70.
[56] Poročilo Draksler *et al.* 2011.
[57] Poročilo Žerjal *et al.* 2012, pril. 3/4 in 5.
[58] Poročilo Klasinc *et al.* 2010, t. 10/7.
[59] Strmčnik-Gulič 1979, 120–121.



STAVBA / BUILDING
CESTA / ROAD
ULICA / STREET
ULIČICA / P. STREET
TRG / SQUARE
POTOK / STREAM

Način gradnje / Method of construction
- Stojkast način / Earthfast post construction
- Sohast način / Post-pad construction
- Kombiniran način / Combined construction
- Kladni način / Corner timbering construction

Notranja ureditev / Internal layout
- Prostori / Spaces
- Ognjišča / Hearth
- Proces ožganosti / Burning process
- Žganina / Charcoal
- Mlajše poškodbe / Damaged
- Zemljena plast / Soil layer

Tkalski in predilni pripomočki / Tools and implemens
- Uteži / Loom weights
- Vretenca / Spindle whorls
- Vretenca v ognjiščih / Spindle whorls in hearth

Keramični inventar / Ceramic inventory
- Popoln keramični inventar / Complete ceramic inventory

Metalurški pripomočki / Metallurgical tools
- Žlindra / Iron slag
- Zatiči / Pins
- Šobe / Nozzles
- Kalupi / Moulds
- Talilni lončki / Melting pots
- Metalurška peč / Metallurgical furnace

Lokacija / Location	Število prostorov / Spaces	Način gradnje / Method of construction	Notranja ureditev (ognjišča) / Internal layout (hearth)	Keramični inventar / Ceramic inventory	Predilski pripomočki / Spinning tool	Vretenca v ognjišču / Spindle whorls in hearth	Tkalski pripomočki / Weaving tools	Metalurški pripomočki / Metallurgical tools	Orožje, orodje / Weapons, tools	Deli noše / Elements of costume	Ingoti, deli sekir, srpov / Ingots, parts of axes, sickles	Železni predmeti / Iron items
Stavba / Building 1a	2	st+s	1?	•	1+1*					•		
Stavba / Building 1b	2	st+s	1?	•								
Stavba / Building 3	1	st+s						t				
Stavba / Building 4a+6a	1	st+s	1?									
Stavba / Building 4b+6b	1	st	1?		1*							
Stavba / Building 5	1	st	1?	•	1							
Stavba / Building 7	1?	st	1?	•	1							
Stavba / Building 8a	1	st+s	1	•	1m			7× žlindra (neop.), 1+2 t*		•		1
Stavba / Building 8b	1?	s	1?						•			
Stavba / Building 19	2	st+s	1	•	1							
Ulica / Street 1										•		
Ulica / Street 6										•		
Uličica / P. Street 1					2							
Uličica / P. Street 4							1	1× žlindra (kovaška)	•			
Uličica / P. Street 7										•		
Uličica / P. Street 8					3		1 ka	t	•	•		
Trg / Square 1										•		
Stavba / Building 11	3	s	2?	•			1+1 ka			•*		
Stavba / Building 12=13	4 / 3	s / st	1 / 2	•	1+1*	1	4+1ka*	š*, mp*	•	•		1
Stavba / Building 14=16	2	s	2?	•	1*				•			
Stavba / Building 17	3	s										1
Stavba / Building 18	4	s	2	•	4			t		•*		
Ulica / Street 13					1							
Uličica / P. Street 12												
Uličica / P. Street 13								k		•		
Cesta / Road 2								2× žlindra (kovaška)		•	•	
Trg / Square 3							1 ka			•		

Tab. 3: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Tabelarni prikaz opazovanih naselbinskih paramentrov znotraj III. naselbinske faze.
Tab. 3: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Settlement parameters of Settlement Phase III.
(s = sohast / post-pad; st = stojkast / earthfast post; t = talilni lonček / melting pot; k = kalup / mould; š = šoba / nozzle; ka = kamen / stone; m = motek / bobbin; mp = metalurška peč / metallurgical furnace; žlindra (kovaška) / iron slag (blacksmith); žlindra (neopredeljena) / iron slag (undefined); * = v sekundarni legi / in secondary position)

←
Sl. 7: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Zastopanost tipov gradnje, notranja ureditev stavb in zastopanost keramičnega inventarja ter rokodelskih pripomočkov v III. naselbinski fazi.
Fig. 7: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representation of the types of construction, internal layouts, ceramic inventary and tools or implements in Settlement Phase III.

(*t. 5:* 113–115; *10:* 234–236; *12:* 261; *13:* 275),[60] ki so na ljubljanskem grobišču zastopane v fazi Ljubljana II b in IIIa po Gabrovcu,[61] posode s presegajočimi ročaji, kantarosi, odkrite na Tribuni (*t. 5:* 120) in Kopitarjevi ulici (*t. 14:* 289), ter keramične posode v obliki situl, odkrite na Tribuni in Grajskem hribu (*t. 5:* 118–119; *t. 10:* 237). Iz te faze beležimo tudi največje število grobov na grobišču dvorišča SAZU.[62] III. naselbinsko fazo Tribune kot tudi preostale obravnavane naselbinske ostaline lahko tako vzporejamo s fazo Ljubljana IIa in IIb po Gabrovcu (Ha B2/B3 oz. B3/C0),[63] o čemer nam pričajo tako gradivo kot tudi radiokarbonske analize tramov, ki stavbe s Tribune časovno opredeljujejo v 9. st. pr. n. št. (*sl. 1; Wk 33428; Wk 33427; Wk 33429; KIA 36316; Wk 23917; KIA 36317; Wk 33426*).[64]

Naselbinski raster na Tribuni se v III. naselbinski fazi ni opazneje razlikoval od prejšnjega iz II. faze. Zaznati je bilo mogoče le manjše spremembe ne le v rastru, ampak tudi v načinu gradnje, notranji ureditvi stavb ter zastopanosti keramičnega inventarja (*sl. 7; t. 5:* 105–121; *t. 6:* 138–157). Zanimiva je ugotovitev, da so bile vse stavbe na vzhodnem delu naselbine v tej fazi grajene v sohastem načinu, na zahodnem delu pa je prevladoval kombiniran način gradnje. Večje razlike so bile opazne glede izenačene prisotnosti živalskih kosti med vzhodnim in zahodnim delom naselbine ter pri porastu stavb, v katerih so bile zabeležene rokodelske ali druge dejavnosti. V stavbah 8a, 12=13 in 18 so bila odkrita vretenca za prejo (*t. 5:* 127) skupaj s predmeti, kot so šoba (*t. 5:* 130), žlindra in talilni lončki, ki nakazujejo metalurške dejavnosti, v stavbi 12=13 poleg omenjenih še tkalske uteži (*t. 5:* 128).[65] V stavbi 11 so bile prisotne tkalske uteži, v stavbi 3 le talilni lonček, v stavbah 1a, 4b+6b*, 5, 7, 19, 14=16* pa le vretenca (*t. 5:* 124–126). Opazna je močna zastopanost predilne dejavnost v kar devetih stavbah. Metalurška dejavnost, kljub povečani zastopanosti predmetov, ki jih lahko povezujemo z njo, je bila zastopana le v štirih stavbah (stavba 3, 8a, 12=13, 18) (*sl. 7*; *tab. 3*). Med njimi je po številu nedvomno v ospredju stavba 8a. Zanimiva je tudi v tlak stavbe 8b zapičena bronasta tulasta sekira (*t. 5:* 123),[66] ki jo lahko na podlagi analogije iz Kranja[67] in Bologne, San Francesco,[68] datiramo v Ha B/C[69] oz. 8. st. pr. n. št.[70] Na sekiri ni zaznati sledi rabe, zato menimo, da je bila namensko deponirana. Vretenca v ognjiščih so bila v tej fazi odkrita v stavbi 12=13. Rogovi ter kosti jelena in srnjaka so bili tokrat zastopani v treh stavbah, in sicer v 1a, 8a in 12=13. V stavbi 8a so bili najdeni tudi kozji rog ter ptičja in pasja kost. Izstopala je tudi po veliki količini kosti glav goveda, drobnice in prašiča, preostale kosti so pripadale delom spodnjih okončin. Odrezan kozji rog je bil odkrit v stavbi 19, v stavbi 14=16 pa konjski zob.[71] Deli noše (*t. 5:* 132–137) ter tudi orožje in orodje (*t. 5:* 123) so bili v tej fazi odkriti predvsem znotraj stavb, ingoti (*t. 5:* 122) pa povečini zunaj njih (*tab. 3*).

Med stavbami, v katerih smo zabeležili rokodelske dejavnosti, so tudi v tej fazi prevladovale večje, dvo- ali večprostorne stavbe, ki so stale tako na vzhodnem kot tudi zahodnem delu naselbine. Grajene so bile bodisi v stojkastem (2 ×), sohastem (4 ×) ali kombiniranem (4 ×) načinu gradnje, v notranjosti pa so imele vsaj po eno ognjišče (razen stavbe 3, ki ni imela ognjišča) in popoln keramični inventar (razen stavb 3, 4b+6b in 7).

IV. naselbinska faza; Ha B3/C1 (sl. 8)

Ljubljanska naselbina ostaja istih razsežnosti tudi od konca 9. in v 8. st. pr. n. št. (*sl. 2*). V ta čas pa sodijo tudi prvi pokopi pod gomilami in prvi skeletni grobovi, odkriti na Kongresnem trgu (*sl. 2:* 6).[72] IV. naselbinsko fazo na Tribuni lahko na

[60] Vojaković 2013, 222–224, sl. 120; t. 189: 1–2; 190: 12; 192: 12, 13; 196: 7.

[61] Dular 1982, 113, 115, sl. 13: 16.

[62] Stare 1954; Puš 1971; *id.* 1982; Gabrovec 1973.

[63] Gabrovec 1973, 343; Rychner *et al.* 1995, 455–485.

[64] Vojaković 2014b, 398–407, sl. 22.3.16–22, 22.3.27.

[65] Zanimiva je ugotovitev, da so se v tej fazi vretenca prvič pojavila v kombinaciji z utežmi za statve, kar bi pomenilo, da so se v stavbi 12=13 ukvarjali tako s prejo kot tudi s tkanjem. Dodatno multifunkcionalno uporabo stavbe pa potrjujeta v njej odkrita šoba ter ostanek metalurške peči, ki nakazujeta, da se je v njej odvijala tudi metalurška dejavnost.

[66] Sekira ima odebeljeno in fasetirano ustje in ušesce. Prehod tula v list je stopničast. List se enakomerno razširi. Rezilo je zaobljeno.

[67] Stare 1952, 298, sl. 1; Šinkovec 1995, 78, t. 21: 133.

[68] Carancini 1984, t. 131: 3889.

[69] Šinkovec 1995, 78.

[70] Carancini 1984, 160.

[71] Ustni podatki B. Toškana. Za primerjavo glej Most na Soči, ki pa je precej mlajša naselbina (Toškan, Bartosiewicz 2018, 493–496).

[72] Poročilo Masaryk *et al.* 2011; Vojaković 2013, 357–358, sl. 215; Ferle 2014, 15; Gaspari 2014, 80–84.

podlagi stratigrafske slike in tipološko-kronološke analize najdb, kot so ločna fibula z listastim lokom (*t. 7:* 183), to je Gabrovec označil za novost, ki se je v 8. st. pr. n. št. razširila s severnojadranskega in picenskega prostora,[73] večglava igla tipa Redipuglia[74] (*t. 7:* 182), igla s kroglasto glavico in nasvitkanim vratom tipa Capodaglio[75] (*t. 7:* 181), igla s podaljšano stožčasto glavico tipa Rebato[76] (*t. 7:* 180) ter noža s trnastim nastavkom tipa v Bismantov[77] (*t. 7:* 176) in tipa Este[78] (*t. 7:* 177), vzporejamo s fazo Ljubljana IIIa po Gabrovcu[79] (Ha B3/C1=C0). Večina zastopane lončenine je bila podobna tisti iz III. naselbinske faze (*t. 7:* 158–167; *7:* 184–198). Na stike s picenskim prostorom pa nakazuje tudi na Grajskem hribu odkrit vodoravni ročaj, ki bi lahko pripadal posodam tipa *kothon* (*t. 10:* 246). Odkrite so bile predvsem na območju Picena in vzdolž vzhodne jadranske obale. V Picenu se takšne oblike posodja v naselbinah pojavijo že v 9. st. pr. n. št., v uporabi pa ostanejo vse do 5. st. pr. n. št. Mihovilićeva je mnenja, da se *kothoni* v Istri pojavijo sočasno, verjetno že v 9. st. pr. n. št., gotovo pa jih je najti v grobnicah iz 8. st. pr. n. št. Za liburnijsko območje pa poroča o prisotnosti teh oblik v 8. st. pr. n. št.[80] Odkriti ročaj tako nakazuje, da je imela Ljubljana stike s severnojadranskim prostorom že v 8. st. pr. n. št.

V tej fazi so na Tribuni opazne večje sprememb v rastru, ki se odražajo kot opustitev dela stavb na skrajnem zahodnem in krčenje dimenzij stavb na vzhodnem delu naselbine ter posledično vzpostavitev večjih zunanjih tlakovanih površin (trg 5 in 6). Spremembe so vidne tudi v načinu gradnje, prevladuje sohast način s kamnitimi temelji, tako na zahodnem kot tudi vzhodnem delu naselbine (stavbe 1a+1b, 3, 8a, 11, 12=13, 14=16, 18, 19+20). Vidni pa sta tudi poenotena usmerjenost, ki je v tej fazi izključno severovzhod–jugozahod, ter enakovredna zastopanost živalskih kosti med obema deloma naselbine (*sl. 8*). Opazno je manjše število stavb, v katerih so se izvajale gospodarske dejavnosti, vendar je med njimi jasna prevlada tistih, v katerih so se ukvarjali z metalurgijo (1b+2a*, 3*, 8a*, 10, 12=13, 14=16* ter 18) (*sl. 6, 8; tab. 4*). Pomenljive so tudi večje koncentracije kosov žlindre, odkrite zunaj stavb. Prva koncentracija je na zahodnem delu naselbine, med ulico 1 in uličico 7, tj. v bližini dveh stavb (1b+2a* ter 3*), v katerih so bili odkriti posamezni kosi žlindre. Drugi dve koncentraciji sta bili odkriti na vzhodnem delu, na območju trga 4 in uličice 13. Zanimiva je opazka, da v stavbah v okolici slednjih žlindra ni bila odkrita. Vretenca so bila odkrita le v stavbah 8b, 10, 12=13, 17 in 18 (*t. 7:* 168–169), uteži za statve pa le v stavbi 8a (*t. 7:* 172). Poveča se večnamenska uporaba stavb, npr. v stavbah 8a, 10, 12=13 in 18. Med njimi izstopa stavba 12=13, ne le zaradi odkritih metalurških (*t. 7:* 173) in predilnih pripomočkov, ampak tudi zaradi živalskih kosti. Njihovo število je sicer majhno (30 opredeljivih ostankov), a kaže izjemno pestrost živalskih vrst (10 različnih vrst). Poleg kosti goveda, ovce in domačega prašiča so zastopani še pes, zajec, konj, jelen in kokoš. V stavbi je bila odkrita tudi človeška kost (prstnica).[81] Pomenljivo je, da v tej fazi ni mogoče zaznati stavb, ki bi imele v ognjišče vgrajeno vretence. Orožje oz. orodje (*t. 7:* 176–177, 179) je bilo odkrito predvsem zunaj stavb, deli noše (*t. 7:* 180–183) ter ingoti (*t. 7:* 174–175, 178; *tab. 4*) pa v stavbah in zunaj njih.

Rokodelski pripomočki so bili tudi v IV. fazi najdeni predvsem v večjih, dvo- ali večprostornih stavbah, tako na vzhodnem kot tudi zahodnem delu naselbine. Te stavbe so bile grajene bodisi v kladnem (1 ×), stojkastem (3 ×), predvsem pa v sohastem (5 ×) načinu gradnje, v notranjosti pa skoraj niso imele ognjišč (razen stavb 1b+2a, 12=13, 18), prav tako ne popolnega keramičnega inventarja (razen stavb 8b, 12=13 in 18). Pomenljiva

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[73] Gabrovec 1973, 348, 351, t. 12; Müller-Karpe 1959, 283; Guštin 1973, 469, karta 2; Beinhauer 1985, 544, t. 1: 11; 9: 134; 10: 136; 17: 263; 18: 269; 29: 434; 155: 1743; 176: 1971; 188: 2201.

[74] Carancini 1975, 285.

[75] Carancini 1975, 286–288, t. 67/2197–2204; Teržan 2002, 89.

[76] Carancini 1975, 284–285, t. 67/1278; Teržan 2002, 89.

[77] Po analogijah iz Vadene (Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, sl. 18: 8) in L´Aquile, Abruzzi (Bianco Peroni 1976, t. 33: 273) bi lahko ta tip datirali v Este IIb oz. 800–760 pr. n. št. (Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, 63; Pare, Birmingham 1996).

[78] Glede na analogije iz Est (Müller-Karpe 1959, t. 58: 15), Este, Via S. Stefano, Casa di Ricovero, tomba 236 (Bianco Peroni 1976, t. 39: 341), Este, Via S. Stefano, Casa di Ricovero, tomba 287 (Bianco Peroni 1976, t. 39: 340), Dobove – groba 14 (Stare 1975, t. 7: 10) in Slepška pri Mokronogu (Gabrovec 1973, t. 10: 5) bi lahko ta tip datirali v Este II oz. 800–720 pr. n. št. oz. v 8. st. pr. n. št. (Müller-Karpe 1959, 221; Pare, Birmingham 1996; Bianco Peroni 1976, 71–72).

[79] Gabrovec 1973, 343–345, 348, 351, t. 12.

[80] Mihovilić 2007, 85–94.

[81] Ker so vse te vrste zastopane z nemesnatimi deli trupa, lahko pomislimo, da ne gre za tipične ostanke hrane (Škvor Jernejčič, Toškan 2018, 255–259).

STAVBA / BUILDING
CESTA / ROAD
ULICA / STREET
ULIČICA / P. STREET
TRG / SQUARE
POTOK / STREAM

Način gradnje /
Method of construction

Stojkast način /
Earthfast post construction

Sohast način /
Post-pad construction

Kombiniran način /
Combined construction

Kladni način /
Corner timbering construction

Notranja ureditev /
Internal layout

Prostori /
Spaces

Ognjišča /
Hearth

Proces ožganosti /
Burning process

Žganina /
Charcoal

Mlajše poškodbe /
Damaged

Zemljena plast /
Soil layer

Tkalski in predilni pripomočki /
Tools and implemens

Uteži /
Loom weights

Vretenca /
Spindle whorls

Vretenca v ognjiščih /
Spindle whorls in hearth

Keramični inventar /
Ceramic inventory

Popoln keramični inventar /
Complete ceramic inventory

Metalurški pripomočki /
Metallurgical tools

Žlindra /
Iron slag

Zatiči /
Pins

Šobe /
Nozzles

Kalupi /
Moulds

Talilni lončki /
Melting pots

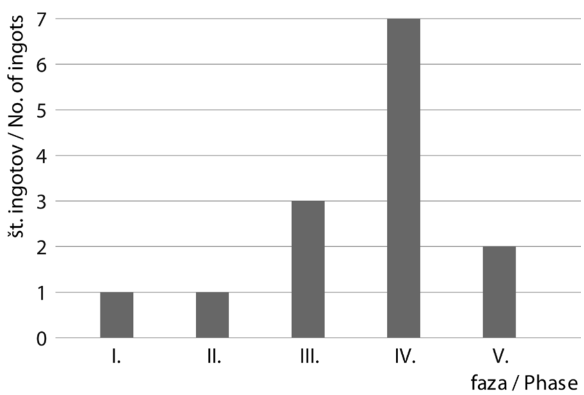
Metalurška peč /
Metallurgical furnace

Lokacija / Location	Število prostorov / Spaces	Način gradnje / Method of construction	Notranja ureditev (ognjišča) / Internal layout (hearth)	Keramični inveZntar / Ceramic inventory	Predilski pripomočki / Spinning tool	Vretenca v ognjišču / Spindle whorls in hearth	Tkalski pripomočki / Weaving tools	Metalurški pripomočki / Metallurgical tools	Orožje, orodje / Weapons, tools	Deli noše / Elements of costume	Ingoti, deli sekir, srpov / Ingots, parts of axes, sickles	Železni predmeti / Iron items
Stavba / Building 1a+1b	2	s	1?									
Stavba / Building 1b+2a	2	s	1					2× žlindra* (kovaška)		•		
Stavba / Building 3	2	k						2× žlindra* (kovaška), t*				
Stavba / BuiWa+6a	1	st+s	1	•								
Stavba / Building 8a	1	s		•			1	t*				
Stavba / Building 8b	1	st	1?	•	1							1
Stavba / Building 10	1	st			2			1× žlindra (neop.)		•	•	
Stavba / Building 19+20	2	s								•		
Ulica / Street 1								2× žlindra (kovaška)		•		
Ulica / Street 9										•		
Uličica / P. Street 2										•		
Uličica / P. Street 7								8× žlindra (kovaška)	•			
Trg / Square 1							1					
Trg / Square 2									•	•	•	1
Stavba / Building 11	2	s										1
Stavba / Building 12=13	3 / 2	s	1 / 2	•	2+3*			z	•	•*		
Stavba / Building 14=16	2	s						t*				
Stavba / Building 17	1	st			3							
Stavba / Building 18	3	s	3	•	1	1		1× žlindra (talilna), lo	•			
Uličica / P. Street 12					3							
Uličica / P. Street 13								2× žlindra (kovaška), 1× žlindra (neop.)		•		
Trg / Square 3					1							
Trg / Square 4								5× žlindra (neop.)			•	
Trg / Square 5									•			1

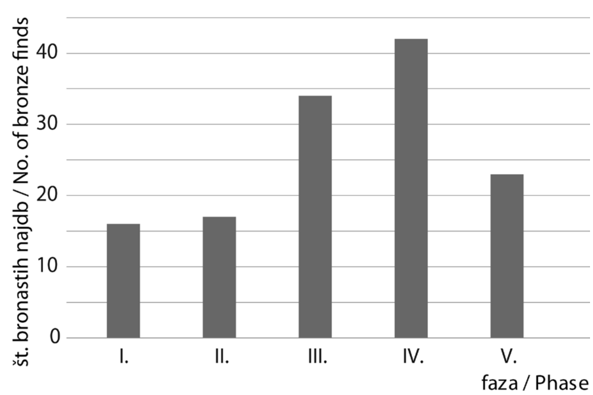
Tab. 4: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Tabelarni prikaz opazovanih naselbinskih paramentrov znotraj IV. naselbinske faze.
Tab. 4: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Settlement parameters of Settlement Phase IV.
(k = kladni / corner timbering; s = sohast / post-pad; st = stojkast / earthfast post; t = talilni lonček / melting pot; z = zatič / pin; žlindra (kovaška) / iron slag (blacksmithing); žlindra (neopredeljena) / iron slag (undefined); žlindra (talilna) / iron slag (smelting); lo = livarski ostanek / foundry residue; * = v sekundarni legi / in secondary position)

←

Sl. 8: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Zastopanost tipov gradnje, notranja ureditev stavb in zastopanost keramičnega inventarja ter rokodelskih pripomočkov v IV. naselbinski fazi.
Fig. 8: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representation of the types of construction, internal layouts, ceramic inventary and tools or implements in Settlement Phase IV.



Sl. 9: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Zastopanost ingotov v naselbini po naselbinskih fazah.
Fig. 9: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representation of ingots in the settlement according to Settlement Phases.



Sl. 10: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Zastopanost bronastih predmetov v naselbini po naselbinskih fazah.
Fig. 10: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representation of bronze items in the settlement according to Settlement Phases.

je očitna rast števila bronastih predmetov, ingotov in železove žlindre (*sl. 6, 9–10*). Med ingoti je kar nekaj takih, ki pripadajo uhatim sekiram (*t. 5:* 122; *7:* 175; *9:* 228). Spektroskopske analize (IPC–AES), ki sta jih opravila N. Trampuž Orel in D. J. Heath, so pokazale, da je večina odlomkov uhatih sekir iz bronaste zlitine z visokim odstotkom svinca. Takšne sekire niso mogle služiti kot delovno orodje, temveč drugim namenom. Trampuž-Orel predpostavlja, da so kose z nižjim odstotkom svinca uporabljali kot dodatek pri vlivanju, za izboljšavo bronaste zlitine pri končnih izdelkih, tiste z večjo količino svinca (nad 36 %) pa predvsem kot predmonetarno plačilno sredstvo.[82] Uhate sekire so pogoste predvsem na celotnem Apeninskem polotoku in v Padski nižini, odkrite pa so bile tudi na slovenskem ozemlju (Primorska, Notranjska, Gorenjska in Dolenjska).[83] Njihova izdelava in uporaba se gibljeta med 10. in 8. st. pr. n. št.,[84] njihov obtok v vlogi predmonetarnih sredstev in spravljanje v depojih pa sta izpričana vsaj do 5. st. pr. n. št.[85] Prisotnost delov uhatih sekir, odkritih na naselbini na Tribuni, dokazuje, da je bila prazgodovinska naselbina že vsaj od konca 9. st. pr. n. št. vključena v širšo gospodarsko mrežo, ki je poslovala z normiranimi predmonetarnimi sredstvi.[86]

Hiatus; Ha C2/D1

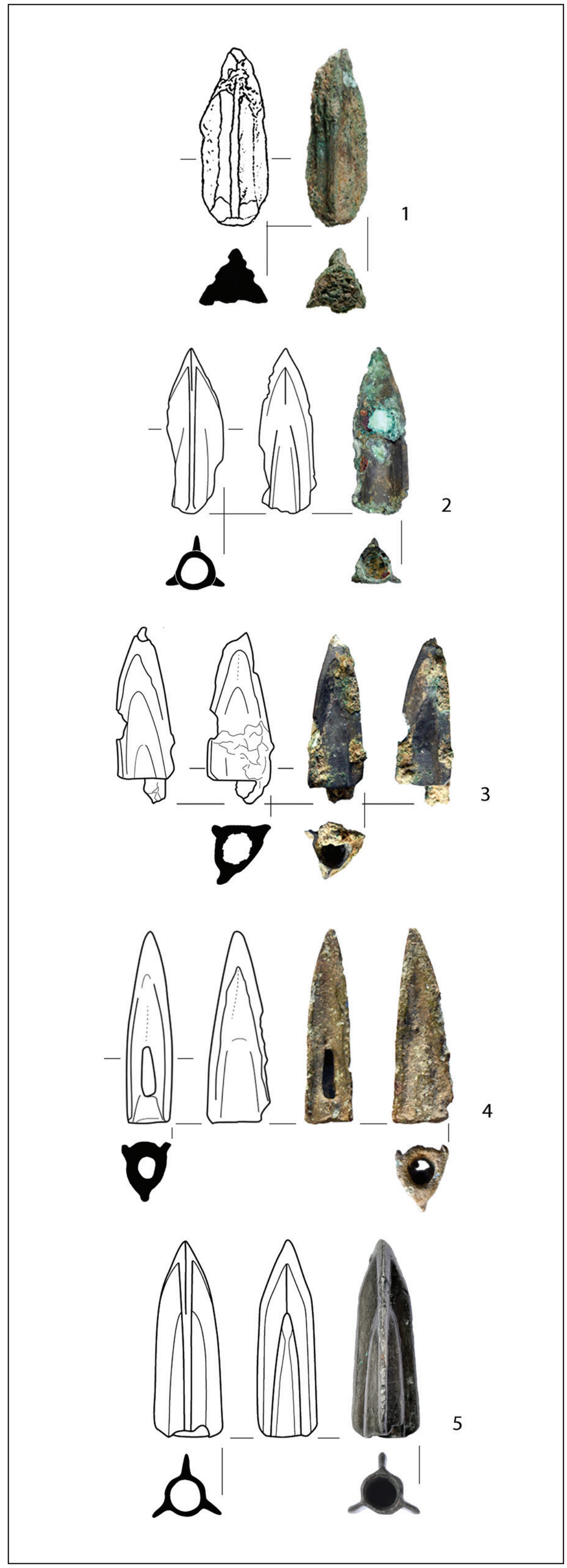
Tribunski naselbini IV. faze sledi hiatus enega ali dveh stoletij, vzrok zanj pa ostaja nepojasnjen. Je lega na stičišču poti v tem nemirnem času bila prej šibkost kot prednost? Povečano število odkritih kovinskih predmetov kot tudi ingotov iz IV. faze na Tribuni (*sl. 9–10*) daje slutiti, da je bila naselbina v drugi polovici 8. st. pr. n. št. na vrhuncu svoje moči, hkrati pa nam ti »zapuščeni« predmeti morda nakazujejo nenadno opustitev naselbine.[87] Morda je vzrok podoben kot pri naselbinah Frattestina, Montagnana, Mariconda di Melara[88] ali pa povezan s prekinitvijo trgovskih stikov z njimi oz. z zahodom? Morda so krive klimatske spremembe, s tem pa tudi spremembe v vodostaju Ljubljanice in hudourniških potočkov. Na lokaciji Prule 9 *(sl. 2: 12)* so bili namreč med tlakovano brežino iz starejšega halštatskega obdobja in tlakovano brežino iz mlajšega halštatskega obdobja odkriti močni aluvialni nanosi hudourniškega potoka (ali več teh), ki je pritekel iz Grajskega hriba.[89] Morda pa je vzrok za spremembo poselitvenega vzorca premik v gospodarski usmeritvi, saj je skoraj 80 % novih starejšeželeznodobnih naselij na Dolenjskem zraslo v bližini nahajališč železove rude, iz česar lahko sklepamo, da je postalo

[82] Trampuž-Orel, Heath 1998, 237–248, sl. 4–5, tab. 1; Trampuž-Orel 1999, 407–429.
[83] Glej karto razprostranjenosti Teržan 2008 (2010), sl. 48, in Nanut 2018, sl. 11.
[84] Teržan 2008(2010), 297–298.
[85] Pavlin, Turk 2014, 48–49; Svoljšak, Dular 2016, t. 40: 9; Nanut 2018, 139–140; Laharnar 2022, 261.
[86] Teržan 2008(2010), 297–300.
[87] Drastičen upad pokopov je mogoče zaznati tudi na grobišču (Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 237–238).
[88] Bietti Sestieri 1984a, 413–427; *ead.* 1984b, 429–464; Towle, Henderson, Bellintani, Gambacurta 2002, 7–68; Bianchin Citton 1998, 429–433; De Min 1984a, 642–650; De Min 1984b, 651–660.
[89] Poročilo Žerjal *et al.* 2012.

železarstvo pomembna gospodarska panoga.[90] So se torej prebivalci nekdanje Ljubljane preselili bližje izvornim mestom rude, na gradišča torej, ki so nekoliko odmaknjena in dobro naravno zaščitena. Ne glede na vzrok ali več teh ostaja dejstvo, da vsaj na območju Tribune[91] dobrih 100 let skoraj ne beležimo naselbinskih ostalin.

V. naselbinska faza; Ha D2/D3 (sl. 12)

Ljubljanska naselbina je bila ponovno obljudena v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju oz. v 6. st. pr. n. št. V tem času je zaznati njen zmanjšan obseg, od Grajskega hriba do dela današnjih Prul (*sl. 2*).[92] Prav tako je bila iz tega obdobja odkrita zgolj peščica grobov na dvorišču SAZU.[93] Novo, V. naselbinsko fazo na Tribuni lahko na podlagi radiokarbonske analize tramu iz stavbe 1b+2a (*sl. 1; Wk 33430, Wk30952*)[94] ter tipološko-kronološke analize najdb vzporejamo s 6. in 5. st. pr. n. št. (Ha D2/D3). Lončenina te faze je izredno neizrazna (*t. 9:* 199–205, 208–214), med drobnimi najdbami pa preseneča veliko število bronastih fibul. To so npr. kačaste fibule tipa I.1 po Nascimbenejevi (*t. 9:* 215),[95] dolgonožna fibula s trakastim lokom (*t. 9:* 217),[96] dolgonožna fibula z votlim lokom (*t. 9:* 216),[97] certoška fibula estenskega tipa IX vrste b ali c (*t. 9:* 218),[98] certoška fibula vrste IIc (*t. 9:* 219),[99] certoška fibula vrste V oz. IXb (*t. 9:* 220),[100] vzhodnoalpske živalske fibule (*t. 9:* 221), ki jih je Gabrovec označil kot najmlajše kreacije halštatske kulture in predpostavljal njihovo domovino globoko v alpskem svetu, od koder so se



Sl. 11: Skitske puščične osti. 1–5 bron. M. = 1:1.
Fig 11: Scythian arrows. 1–5 bronze. Scale = 1:1.

1 – Ljubljana, Tribuna; **2** – Ljubljana, Grajski hrib, **3**, **4** – Mengeš, Osnovna šola; **5** – Ig, Pungrt.

[90] Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007, 212–215; Tecco Hvala 2012, 363–387.

[91] Podobna slika se za zdaj kaže tudi na preostalih poselitvenih točkah v Ljubljani (Vojaković 2013, 354–359), trend prekinitve pa se nakazuje tudi na preostalih najdiščih široko po ljubljansko-gorenjski halštatski skupini (Rozman 2004, 77–78; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 139–142; glej tudi v tej publikaciji Teržan).

[92] Vojaković 2013, 358–359; *ead.* 2014a, 70–71.

[93] Grob 260, 261, 264, 276, 280, 281, 325; Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 239–240.

[94] Vojaković 2014b, 409–412, sl. 22.3.25, 22.3.27.

[95] Nascimbene 2009, 69, sl. 12.

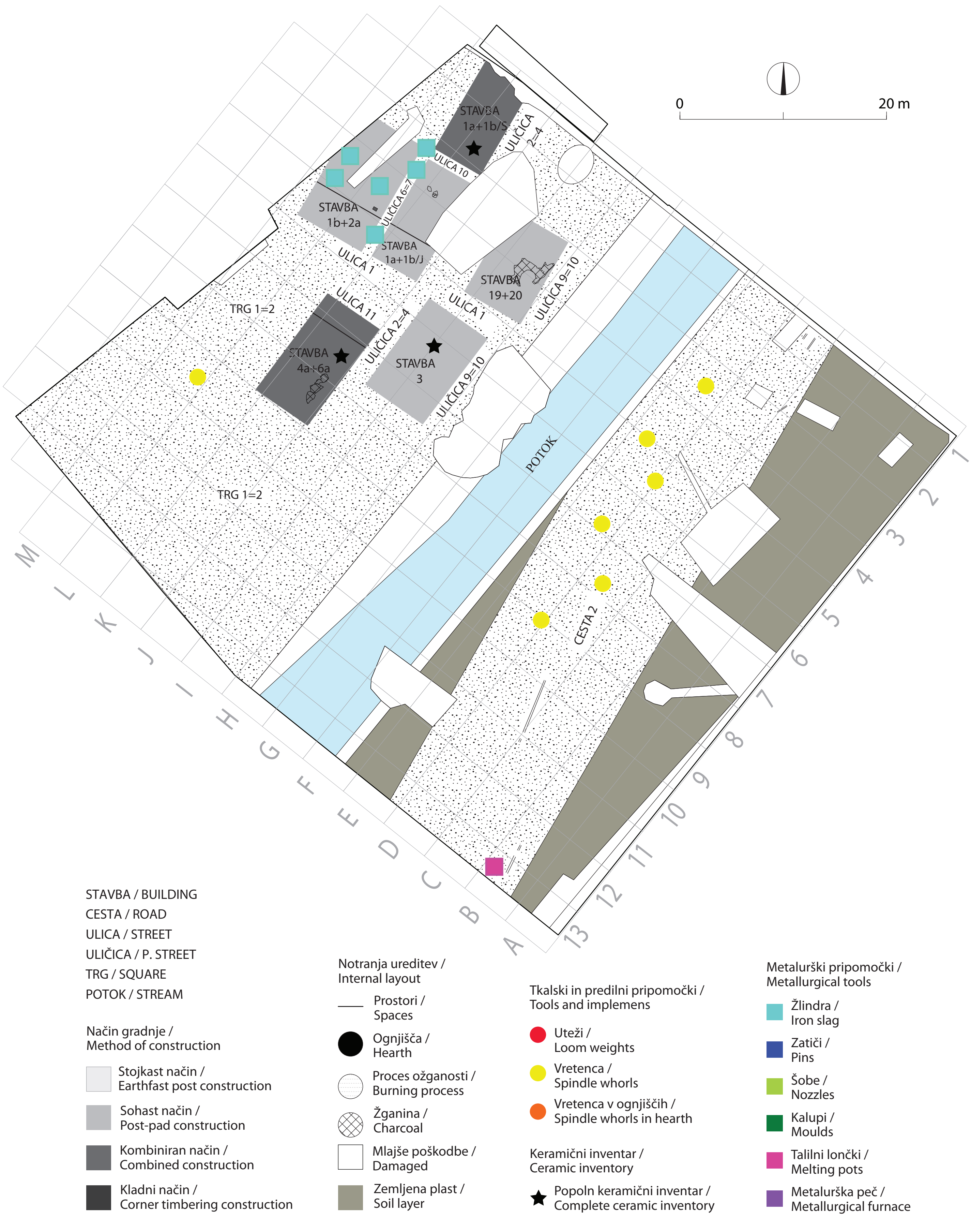
[96] Teržan, Trampuž-Orel 1973, 429–430, t. 14/15–16.

[97] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984, t. 138B: 2; Teržan, Trampuž-Orel 1973, 429–435, t. 7: 12.

[98] Teržan 1976, 329, 371, sl. 21/4–7 in 40.

[99] Teržan 1976, 321–322, 351.

[100] Teržan 1976, 323–324, 329, 353, 371, sl. 18, 21/4–7 in 40.


0
20 m
STAVBA 1a+1b/S
ULIČICA 2=4
ULICA 10
STAVBA 1b+2a
ULIČICA 6=7
STAVBA 1a+1b/J
ULICA 1
STAVBA 19+20
ULIČICA 9=10
TRG 1=2
ULICA 11
ULICA 1
STAVBA 4a+6a
ULIČICA 2=4
STAVBA 3
ULIČICA 9=10
POTOK
TRG 1=2
CESTA 2
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H
G
F
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13
STAVBA / BUILDING
CESTA / ROAD
ULICA / STREET
ULIČICA / P. STREET
TRG / SQUARE
POTOK / STREAM
Način gradnje / Method of construction
Stojkast način / Earthfast post construction
Sohast način / Post-pad construction
Kombiniran način / Combined construction
Kladni način / Corner timbering construction
Notranja ureditev / Internal layout
Prostori / Spaces
Ognjišča / Hearth
Proces ožganosti / Burning process
Žganina / Charcoal
Mlajše poškodbe / Damaged
Zemljena plast / Soil layer
Tkalski in predilni pripomočki / Tools and implemens
Uteži / Loom weights
Vretenca / Spindle whorls
Vretenca v ognjiščih / Spindle whorls in hearth
Keramični inventar / Ceramic inventory
Popoln keramični inventar / Complete ceramic inventory
Metalurški pripomočki / Metallurgical tools
Žlindra / Iron slag
Zatiči / Pins
Šobe / Nozzles
Kalupi / Moulds
Talilni lončki / Melting pots
Metalurška peč / Metallurgical furnace

Lokacija / Location	Število prostorov / Spaces	Način gradnje / Method of construction	Notranja ureditev (ognjišča) / Internal layout (hearth)	Keramični inventar / Ceramic inventory	Predilski pripomočki / Spinning tool	Metalurški pripomočki / Metallurgical tools	Orožje, orodje / Weapons, tools	Deli noše / Elements of costume	Ingoti, deli sekir, srpov / Ingots, parts of axes, sickles	Železni predmeti / Iron items
Stavba / Building 1a+1b/S	1	st+s		•				•*		
Stavba / Building 1a+1b/J	2	s	?					•		
Stavba / Building 1b+2a	2	s				3× žlindra (kovaška)				
Stavba / Building 3	1	s		•			•	•*	•*	2*
Stavba / Building 4a+6a	2	st+s	?	•						1
Stavba / Building 19+20	1	s	?					•		
Ulica / Street 11								•		
Uličica / P. Street 2=4							•	•		2
Uličica / P. Street 6=7						3× žlindra* (talilna?)		•		
Trg / Square 1=2					1		•	•		
Cesta / Road 2					6	t		•	•	

Tab. 5: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Tabelarni prikaz opazovanih naselbinskih paramentrov znotraj V. naselbinske faze.
Tab. 5: Ljubljana - Tribuna. Settlement parameters of Settlement Phase V.
(s = sohast / post-pad; st = stojkast / earthfast post; t = talilni lonček / melting pot; žlindra (kovaška) / iron slag (blacksmithing); žlindra (talilna) / iron slag (smelting); * = v sekundarni legi / in secondary position)

←
Sl. 12: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Zastopanost tipov gradnje, notranja ureditev stavb in zastopanost keramičnega inventarja ter rokodelskih pripomočkov v V. naselbinski fazi.
Fig. 12: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representation of the types of construction, internal layouts, ceramic inventary and tools or implements in Settlement Phase V.

razširile na sever in vzhod v Podonavje.[101] Slednja je bila skupaj s certoško fibulo vrste Xc odkrita, sicer v rimskem kontekstu, tudi na območju NUK II.[102] Preseneča tudi večje število razlomljenih oz. razkosanih delov noše, npr. bronasta narebrena zapestnica D-preseka (*t. 9:* 222–223),[103] bronasta narebrena zapestnica D-preseka, ki ima vmesna polja okrašena z vrezi (*t. 9:* 224),[104] bronast prstan s spiralno zavitima koncema (*t. 9:* 225),[105] bronast uhan zankami in trapezastimi obeski, okrašenimi s štirimi predrtimi krožci (*t. 9:* 226).[106] Na trgu 1=2 odkrita bronasta triroba skitska puščična ost (*sl. 11:* 1) tipa II.B.4 po Hellmuth[107] morda kaže na nenavaden konec naselbine. Spomnimo, da je bil en primerek odkrit tudi na Grajskem hribu (*sl. 11:* 2). Osti povezujejo s skitskimi vplivi oz. vdori lokostrelskih ljudstev, ki so se razširila iz severnopontskih dežel prek panonsko-karpatskega prostora. Teržanova je pokazala, da lahko skitske puščice v jugovzhodnem alpskem svetu srečamo že ob koncu starejšega halštatskega obdobja v naselbinah, v grobovih pa se pojavljajo nekoliko pozneje, v mlajšem halštatskem času.[108] Karto razprostranjenosti slednjih lahko dopolnimo še z dvema lokacijama, ki prav tako sodita v ljubljansko-gorenjsko halštatsko skupino po Gabrovcu. Prva

[101] Gabrovec 1966, 19–49, karta 2; Lunz 1974, 132, t. 82B; Parzinger 1988, t. 146: 1; Teržan 1990, karta 21; Nascimbene 2009, tab. 24, z navedbo starejše literature.
[102] Gaspari 2010, 24, sl. 14.
[103] Dular 2003, 130–136; Tecco Hvala 2012, 306–309.
[104] Dular 2003, 143–144; Tecco Hvala 2012, 306–309.
[105] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984, t. 145B: 14.
[106] Tecco Hvala, Dular, Kocuvan 2004, t. 31B: 4; 78C: 1, 2.
[107] Hellmuth 2006, 193, sl. 2.
[108] Teržan 1998, 521, 539, sl. 8: 31, t. 5: 3, 10, 13–24; 7: 4; 9: 4; 11: 1–21.

je nižinska naselbina v Mengšu (*sl. 11:* 3–4),[109] ki je bila podobno kot ljubljanska locirana pod hrib Gobavica in se je razprostirala ob reki Pšati. Odkriti sta bili dve puščični osti, tipa II.E ali F ter tipa II.D.4 po Hellmuth.[110] Obe podobno kot na Tribuni zunaj stavb, na tlakovanem območju. Druga lokacija pa je na stičišču dveh halštatskih skupin (dolenjsko in notranjsko-kraško skupino). Gre za železnodobno gradišče Pungrt nad Igom[111] (*sl. 11:* 5). V eni izmed stavb (stavba 22) je bila na tlaku odkrita puščična ost, tipa II.C.4 po Hellmuth.[112] Na istem tlaku pa je bil tudi skelet nedonošenčka v skrčeni legi. Radiokarbonska analiza kosti je pokazala čas 2953–2430 ± 30 BP, kar ob standardni deviaciji (68,3-odstotna verjetnost) pomeni razpon 542–416 BC, ob 95,4-odstotni verjetnosti pa 571–404 BC. Glede na radiokarbonsko datacijo pa ni mogoče presoditi, ali lahko te puščične osti povežemo s skitskimi plenilskimi pohodi ali z osvajanjem prostora dolenjske halštatske skupine.

V V. naselbinski fazi je na Tribuni poseljen samo še zahodni del, na vzhodnem delu ostaja v uporabi le cesta 2, ki je, kot smo že omenili, domnevno vodila do pristana (*sl. 12*). Spremembe se pojavijo tudi pri načinu gradnje ter velikosti stavb. Te so bile manjše, eno- do dvoprostorne, še vedno usmerjene severovzhod–jugozahod, grajene pa le v sohastem in kombiniranem načinu. Med stavbami z ognjišči 1a+1b/J, 4a+6a, 19+20 ima zgolj stavba 4a+6a popoln keramični inventar (*tab. 5*). Slednjega imata tudi stavbi 1a+1b/S in 3, pri katerih pa ognjišče ni bilo odkrito, kar bi morda lahko pripisali poškodovanosti v mlajših obdobjih. Med rokodelskimi pripomočki v tej fazi v stavbah ni bilo vretenc ali keramičnih uteži za prejo in tkanje, ti so bili odkriti na cesti 2 in trgu 1=2. V notranjosti stavb so bili namreč zastopani le metalurški pripomočki, natančneje žlindra, in še to le v stavbi 1b+2a* (*sl. 12*; *tab. 5*). Žlindra je bila odkrita tudi v neposredni bližini slednje, tj. na uličici 6=7. Zanimiva je tudi zastopanost živalskih vrst. Odkritih je bilo kar 10 konjskih kosti, največ v cesti 2, ter kost medveda in bobra v uličici 2=4, v stavbi 1a+1b/J ter 19+20 pa jelenova roga. V tej fazi je opazna majhna zastopanost orožja oz. orodja ter ingotov (*t. 9:* 227–228; *tab. 5*) v primerjavi s sorazmerno velikim številom delov noše (*t. 9:* 215–226; *tab. 5*), ki so prisotni tako v stavbah kot zunaj njih.

Vsi omenjeni elementi nakazujejo, da je bila večina stavb V. naselbinski fazi namenjena predvsem bivanju, razen stavbe 1b+2a*, kjer bi se lahko odvijale tudi metalurške dejavnosti. Če pomanjkanje obrtniških elementov ne gre pripisati zgolj poškodovanosti zaradi mlajših posegov, bi to pomenilo, da se je v mlajšem halštatskem obdobju spremenila ne le velikost posameznih stavb in naselbine, ampak tudi gospodarski oz. trgovski potencial naselbine.

V sredini 3. st. pr. n. št. sledi dotok nove latenske kulture, ki se odraža v drugačni noši, drugačni izdelavi lončenine itd., podoben ostaja le raster, ki se je oprl na nekdanjega.[113]

SKLEP

Pri formiranju prazgodovinske poselitve na prostoru današnje Ljubljane so bili odločilni številni dejavniki, med najpomembnejšimi pa je gotovo lega. Prazgodovinska naselbina je bila osnovana na stičišču kopenskih in vodnih komunikacij. Dodaten pomen sta ji zagotavljali strateška lega Grajskega hriba in dobra naravna zaščita ravninskega dela na okljuku reke Ljubljanice. Odlična vidljivost in razgled z Grajskega hriba sta omogočala popoln nadzor nad okolico, ugodne mikroklimatske razmere na območju Tribune (sončna lega, zavetrje in oskrba z vodo) pa so ji ponujale vse potrebne elemente za njen obstoj.

Na severovzhodnem delu, na območju Poljan, bi zaradi rodovitnih evtričnih tal lahko iskali ruralno zaledje, ki je prav tako kot lega in komunikacija imelo eno izmed pomembnejših vlog pri samozadostnosti naselbine. O obstoju slednjega nam pričajo analize semen s Tribune, ki so potrdile precejšno pestrost habitatov: obstajala so tako obdelovalna polja s pripadajočo plevelno vegetacijo (npr. ječmen, pira, pšenica, dvozrna pšenica, oves, navadno proso, proso, laški muhvič, bob, grašica, grah, navadna leča, stročnice, oljna repica) kot tudi ruderalna rastišča v neposredni bližini naselbine. O bližini vodnih teles pričajo tipični taksoni vodnih in obrežnih ter močvirskih ekosistemov. Da so bili v bližini tudi gozd, gozdno obrobje in jase, dokazujejo ostanki rastlin (breza, leska, rumeni dren, smrdljivi bezeg, črni bezeg, robida, malina, jagoda, navadno volčje jabolko,

[109] Ustni podatki D. Josipoviča, za kar se mu na tem mestu zahvaljujem.

[110] Hellmuth 2006, 193, sl. 2.

[111] Poročilo Vojakovič *et al.* 2021, sl. 4.

[112] Hellmuth 2006, 193, sl. 2.

[113] Vojaković 2014a; Novšak *et al.* 2017.

pasje zelišče, sliva in divja jablana), ki jih je človek nabiral in prinašal v naselbino za lastno prehrano. Analiza tako jasno kaže, da je bila prazgodovinska skupnost na Tribuni z vsaj štirinajstimi kultivarji poljedelska.[114] Analiza ostankov živalskih kosti pa, da so se nekdanji prebivalci ukvarjali predvsem z živinorejo (prevladuje domače govedo, drobnica in prašič), manj z lovom[115] in ribolovom.[116] S posameznimi primerki sta bila zastopana tudi konj in pes.[117]

Pri notranji organiziranosti naselbine so bile odločilne tudi funkcionalne in socialne determinante. Že med izkopavanji se je pokazalo, da ima prazgodovinska naselbina na območju Tribune strogo zasnovo skozi vse svoje naselbinske faze, kar kaže na načrtovano naselbino. Glavno notranjo komunikacijo so sestavljale ceste,[118] vzporedne in pravokotne ulice ter večja tlakovana območja oz. trgi, na katerih zaradi večje pojavnosti ingotov predvidevamo izmenjavo dobrin, druženje in trgovanje, javni značaj torej. Med njimi so stale stavbe, bivalne in takšne z rokodelsko dejavnostjo (tkalstvo, preja, livarstvo, kovaštvo, lesarstvo …). Analiza načina gradnje, notranje ureditve in keramičnega inventarja je pokazala, da je bila naselbina urbana in da družbena struktura kaže sorazmerno uravnoteženost tukaj živečih prebivalcev, ki so morali biti bolj ali manj enakega družbenega stanu. Družbena razslojenost skupnosti v pozni bronasti dobi je sicer težje razpoznavna na podlagi preučevanja grobnih najdb,[119] preučevanje naselbinskih kontekstov pa ponudi zanimiv vpogled ne samo v organiziranost posameznih stavb in s tem posameznikove dejavnosti, temveč tudi v prve urbanistične elemente prazgodovinske naselbine na območju današnje Ljubljane. Odločitev, kdaj lahko naselbino označimo kot urbano, je odvisna od definicije pojma in postavljenih kriterijev, o katerih že dolgo teče diskusija.[120] Vrsto kriterijev premore tudi prazgodovinska naselbina na območju današnje Ljubljane, vprašanje je le, ali so zadostni do te mere, da o njej govorimo kot o urbanem središču. Gledano celostno, se zdi, da je bila prazgodovinska Ljubljana, kot kaže Tribuna, trgovsko središče z zametki urbanih elementov že vsaj od okoli leta 1000 pr. n. št. in da bi smeli utrjeno akropolo iskati na Grajskem hribu, na Tribuni pa »spodnje mesto«, v katerem so glede na opravljene analize živeli in ustvarjali rokodelci, obrtniki in trgovci z nedvomno delitvijo dela.[121] Sklenemo lahko, da je bila naselbina na območju Ljubljane zasnovana na naravno dobro zaščitenem območju, pri čemer je bila na Grajskem hribu domnevno ubranjena z nasipom, medtem ko za območje naselbine na Prulah razen dobre naravne zaščite še nimamo indikatorjev utrdbenega sistema.

Zahvala

Zahvala za zaupanje in ponujeno priložnost pri obdelavi prazgodovinskega dela najdišča Tribuna gre Matjažu Novšaku. Za konstruktivne kritike, spodbudne besede in usmerjanje se zahvaljujem Bibi Teržan in Brini Škvor Jernejčič. Hvala kustosom Mestnega muzeja Ljubljana, Ireni Šinkovec, Martinu Horvatu, Bernardi Županek, za dostopnost gradiva, ki ga hrani njihov muzej. Hvala tudi konservatorju ZVKDS O. E. Ljubljana Borisu Vičiču za dokumentacijo in nasvete. Hvala Borutu Toškanu in Tjaši Tolar, Iza ZRC SAZU, za spremljevalne naravoslovne analize. Hvala Matetu Božinoviću za grafično podporo. In na koncu gre zahvala tudi vsem arheologom, ki so med izkopavanji skrbno beležili ostaline prazgodovinske Ljubljane.

[114] Poročilo Tolar 2012.

[115] Ostanki lovnih vrst predstavljajo manj kot pet odstotkov taksonomsko opredeljenih najdb, vendar je presenetljiva sorazmerno velika vrstna pestrost z najmanj devetimi različnimi vrstami, med katerimi se številne v okviru sočasnih arheoloških najdiščih jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora pojavljajo le izjemoma (poročilo Toškan, Dirjec 2012).

[116] Odkrite so bile ribje kosti iz družine krapov, ostrižev in ščuk. Preliminarne analize ribjih kosti je opravil univ. dipl. biol. Marijan Govedič.

[117] Poročilo Toškan, Dirjec 2012; Vojaković 2013, 275–276; *ead.* 2014a, 69.

[118] Za cesto 2, usmerjeno sever–jug, domnevamo, da je vodila do nekdanjega pristana, kjer je potekalo pretovarjanje oz. prekladanje dobrin.

[119] Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2020.

[120] Glej npr. Hänsel 1996, 241–251; *id.* 2002, 69–98; Smith 2016, 158, t. 10.1; Pearce 2020, 19–25; Fernandez-Götz 2020, 27–42.

[121] Zgoščeno zastopanost različnih obrtnih dejavnosti je bilo mogoče zaznati tudi na vzhodnem delu naselbine na Mostu na Soči. B. Teržan tako opozarja na predpostavko t. i. obrtno-rokodelske "mestne četrti" (Teržan 2022, 355).

KATALOG NAJDB

Ker smo imeli na Tribuni opravka z večfazno naselbino, in posledično z velikim številom odkritega prazgodovinskega gradiva (95335 kosov), smo za objavo v tem prispevku naredili izbor najbolj izpovednih predmetov po določenih kriterijih, ki so na tablah prikazani po naselbinskih fazah (od I. do V. faze) in mikrolokacijah. Reprezentativni tipi so predstavljeni tudi pri ostalih obravnavanih lokacijah, kot so Grajski hrib, Prule 9 in 10, Stari / Gornji trg in Kopitarjeva, pri čemer slednji zaradi pomanjkanja informacij niso predstavljeni v kronološkem oz. stratigrafskem sosledju. Za lažjo sledljivost so na koncu dodane številke risb (R), posebnih najdb (PN), akcesijskih (AKC.) ali inventarnih številk (INV.).

Predmete hrani Mestni muzej Ljubljana. Keramika je bila izrisana v merilu 1:3 oz. 1:6, kovina, kamen in kost v merilu 1:3 oz. 1:2. Predmete sta zrisali Larisa Skalerič in Jerica Brečić Arhej d.o.o., table sta izdelala Mate Božinović in Petra Vojaković, Arhej d.o.o., fotografije predmetov 247–256 Tina Žerjal in Jošt Hobič CPA, 257–258 Dejan Veranič, Tica Sistem d.o.o.).

Okrajšave:
odl. = odlomek
ohr. dol. = ohranjena dolžina odlomka
dol. = dolžina odlomka
šir. = širina odlomka
pr. ustja = premer ustja
pr. dna = premer dna
pr. oboda = premer oboda
viš. = višina
t. = teža
kv = kvadrant
SE = stratigrafska enota
PN = posebna najdba
R = številka risbe
INV. = inventarna številka
AKC. = akcesijska številka

Tabla 1

LJUBLJANA - TRIBUNA: I. naselbinska faza

1. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1a. Pr. ustja 18,6 cm. SE 6458 (ulica 5); kv N12; R 2134.
2. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1b. Pr. ustja 24 cm. SE 4001 (stavba 17, sediment na tlaku v prostoru A); kv D9; R 1356.
3. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2a. Pr. ustja 24 cm. SE 3156 (stavba 18, ognjiščne v prostoru D); kv B12; R 1125.
4. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna sklede S2b. Pr. ustja 14,6 cm. SE 4500 (uličica 4); kv J10; R 1757.
5. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna sklede S2c. Pr. ustja 15,8 cm. SE 4534 (stavba 8, tlak v prostoru A); kv J10; R 2497.
6. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna sklede S3a. Okras: vrezi v motivu smrekove vejice na vratu. Pr. ustja 14,2 cm. SE 4500 (uličica 4); kv J10; R 1767.
7. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S3b. Okras: vodoravni žleb na robu ustja. Pr. ustja 22 cm. SE 4524 (trg 1); kv J9; R 1829.
8. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S4. Navpičen držaj na ostenju. Pr. ustja 19,8 cm. SE 7758 (ulica 2); kv L7; R 2408.
9. Odl. ostenja sklede S5a. Okras: poševne kanelure na ramenu. Viš. 9,3 cm. SE 8677 (stavba 1, jama za stojko); kv M3; R 2209.
10. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S5b. Okras: vodoravna vreza, pod njima vrezani šrafirani trikotniki in vodoravna ter navpična črta vtisov predmeta na prehodu iz vratu v rame ter vodoravni faseti na notranji strani ustja. Pr. ustja 25,4 cm. SE 4027b (trg 3); kv E11; R 1586.
11. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK2a. Pr. ustja 15,8 cm. SE 4260a (ulica 13); kv D13, 13; R 1816.
12. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK2b. Pr. ustja 28,4 cm. SE 3297 (izravnava); kv E9; PN 2162.
13. Odl. ostenja skodele SK3a. Viš. 3,6 cm. SE 7758 (ulica 2); kv L7; R 2405.
14. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK3b. Pr. ustja 9,4 cm. SE 8655 (stavba 1, jama za stojko); kv L4; R 2253.
15. Odl. ostenja amfore A1. Okras: poševni snopi žlebov na vratu. Ohr. dol. 6,4 cm. SE 6431 (ulica 4); kv N10; R 2158a.
16. Odl. miniaturne posodice Mp oz. talilnega lončka na štirih nogicah. Pr. ustja 4,7 cm. SE 7789a (stavba 6, tlak v prostoru A); kv K7; R 2333.
17. Kamnit kalup Kk za izdelavo nožev iz kremenovega peščenjaka. Kalup je bil večkrat uporabljen in močno prežgan. Ohr. dol. 4,9 cm. SE 1479 (uličica 13); kv A5; PN 9005.
18. Kamnit kalup Kk iz kremenovega peščenjaka je bil večkrat uporabljen in je močno poškodovan. Ohr. dol. 3 cm. SE 2865a (stavba 12=13, tram v prostoru B); kv A3; PN 1810.
19. Stožčasto vretence Vr1 iz svetlo rjave gline in temno rjavih lis po celotni površini. Pr. 3,3 cm, t. 26 g. SE 2732 (stavba 12=13, ognjišče v prostoru C); kv A6; PN 1821.
20. Bikonično vretence Vr 2 iz sive gline. Pr. 3,5 cm, t. 29 g. SE 4120 (cesta 2); kv C11; PN 9060.
21. Odl. kroglastego ploščatega vretenca Vr 4 iz svetlo rjave gline. T. 25 g. SE 4122 (uličica 12); kv A9; R 1791.
22. Kroglasto vretence Vr 5 iz črne gline in sivimi lisami po celotni površini. Pr. 4,8 cm, t. 60 g. SE 7752a (stavba 6, jama za stojko v prostoru B); kv K7; PN 3411.
23. Piramidalna utež Ut1 iz sive gline ter rdečimi lisami po celotni površini. Na vrhu je odtis krogca. Dol. 5,6 cm, t. 97 g. SE 7998 (stavba 19, jama za stojko); kv H4; PN 3412.
24. Piramidalno ploščata utež Ut2 iz temno rjave gline. Dol. 7,9 cm, t. 70 g. SE 1479 (uličica 13); kv A6; R 586.
25. Kamnita okroglo ploščata utež Ut3 iz lojevca je okrašena z dvema koncentričnima linijama, narejenima s krožnimi vbodi (zunanjo linijo predstavlja 17, notranjo pa 6 krožnih vbodov). Pr. 7,5 cm, t. 80 g. SE 1376 (trg 4); kv E4; PN 9010.
26. Odl. šobe Š. Pr. 6,8 cm. SE 4122 (uličica 12); kv A9; R 2233.
27. Kamnit zatič Z za izdelavo tulastih sekir iz kremenovega peščenjaka, ki je močno prežgan. Šir. 3,5–4,5 cm. SE 7758 (ulica 2); kv K7; PN 3318.
28. Odl. bronastega jezičastoročajnega srpa Sr. Rezilo srpa je namensko uvito in zlomljeno. Ohr. dol. 6 cm. SE 1909 (trg 4); kv D4; PN 1737.
29. Odl. kamnite ploščate sekire Se5 iz tufa. Ohr. dol. 5,5 cm. SE 3285 (stavba 17, tlak v prostoru B); kv E11; PN 2184.

Tabla 2
LJUBLJANA - TRIBUNA: I. naselbinska faza

30. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna vrča V1. Pr. ustja 14 cm. SE 3407b (stavba 18, tlak v prostoru A); kv B7; R 1271.
31. Odl. ustja in ostenja vrča V2a. Pr. ustja 16,6 cm. SE 4027b (trg 3); kv E12, 13; R 2906.
32. Odl. dna in ostenja pekve Pe1. Vodoravna držaja na vrhu. Pr. dna 21,8 cm. SE 4220 (stavba 18, jama za stojko); kv C8; R 1770.
33. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna pekve Pe2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju ostenju in vodoravna držaja na ročaju. Pr. ustja 20,2 cm. SE 4202 (stavba 17, shrambna/odpadna jama); kv D9; R 2703.
34. Odl. dna in ostenja pekve Pe2b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro in vodoraven držaj na vrhu. Pr. dna 19,2 cm. SE 3357 (stavba 18, popravilo tlaka v prostoru B); kv B8; R 1202.
35. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP1a. Pr. ustja 26 cm. SE 2834 (stavba 11, žganina na popravilu tlaka v prostoru C); kv B6; R 441.
36. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP1b. Pr. ustja 28,4 cm. SE 7780 (stavba 19, tlak); kv I5; R 2359.
37. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 22,6 cm. SE 5442a (uličica 11); kv E8; R 2560.
38. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2b. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana (na nekaterih mestih). Pr. ustja 16,4 cm. SE 4122 (uličica 12); kv A9; R 1736.
39. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L1a. Okras: vodoravni in navpični snopi žlebov na ramenu. Pr. ustja 24 cm. SE 8338a (ulica 1); kv I5; R 2430.
40. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro in vodoraven držaj na max. obodu. Pr. ustja 15,6 cm. SE 2740 (stavba 12=13, žganina na tlaku v prostoru C); kv A6; R 470.
41. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2b. Okras: aplicirana bradavica na max. obodu. Pr. ustja 19,6 cm. SE 4027b (trg 3); kv E12; R 1727.
42. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2c. Pr. ustja 22,8 cm. SE 4122 (uličica 12); kv A8; R 1855.
43. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna lonca L3. Okras: glavničenje na notranji strani ostenja. Pr. ustja 14,8 cm. SE 2732 (stavba 12=13, ognjišče v prostoru C); kv A6; R 969.
44. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L5. Pr. ustja 24,4 cm. SE 4136 (stavba 18, jama za stojko v prostoru A); kv B8; R 2881.
45. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P1. Okras: vodoraven vrez, zapolnjena z belo inkrustacijo na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 43,2 cm. SE 4202 (stavba 17; shrambna/odpadna jama); kv C9; R 2690.
46. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na max. obodu. Pr. ustja 30 cm. SE 2649 (stavba 12=13, tlak v prostoru C); kv A5; R 440a.
47. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna pithosa P2b. Okras: glavničenje na notranji strani ostenja. Pr. ustja 30,2 cm. SE 8312 (stavba 19, jama za stojko); kv I3; PN: 3413; R 2861.
48. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P3. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 34,2 cm. SE 8346 (stavba 19, tlak); kv J5; R 2369.
49. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P4. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 32,4 cm. SE 7681 (stavba 3, jama za stojko); kv J6; R 2211.

Tabla 3
LJUBLJANA - TRIBUNA: II. naselbinska faza

50. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1a. Pr. ustja 22,4 cm. SE 3935 (ulica 8); kv J9, 10; R 3095.
51. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1b. Pr. ustja 19 cm. SE 3421 (ulica 13); kv D13-E13; R 1223.
52. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2a. Pr. ustja 19,8 cm. SE 2132 (stavba 11, jama za stojko v prostoru A+B); kv B3; R 411.
53. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2b. Pr. ustja 20,4 cm. SE 3935 (ulica 8); kv J10; R 3106.
54. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2c. Pr. ustja 19,8 cm. SE 8602 (stavba 1b, tlak v prostoru B); kv L5; R 2353.
55. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S3a. Pr. ustja 25,6 cm. SE 1751 (uličica 13); kv B4; R 541.
56. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna sklede S3b. Pr. ustja 15 cm. SE 8585 (ulica 1); kv L6; R 2278.
57. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S4. Pr. ustja 18 cm. SE 3852 (stavba 8, sediment na tlaku v prostoru A); kv I10; R 1367.
58. Odl. ostenja sklede S3b. Pr. max. oboda 18 cm. SE 3151 (stavba 18, podlaga za tlak v prostoru D); kv B12; R 3090.
59. Odl. ostenja z ročajem skodele SK2a. Okras: vtisnjeni krožci v obliki polkroga na ročaju. Opomba: sekundarno prevrtana. Ohr. dol. 9 cm. SE 3828 (trg 2); kv K10; R 1566.
60. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK3a. Okras: vrezan cikcak na vratu. Pr. ustja 8 cm. SE 4501 (stavba 8, podlaga za tlak); kv I10; R 2625.
61. Skodela SK3b. Okras: vrezan cikcak na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Pr. ustja 8 cm. SE 2822 (stavba 12=13, sediment na tlaku v prostoru A+B); kv B3; PN: 1801; R 11.
62. Odl. dna in ostenja amfore A1. Okras: vodoraven žleb na prehodu iz vratu v rame ter prstni odtis na notranji strani dna. Pr. dna 7,6 cm. SE 1751 (uličica 13); kv B3; R 642.
63. Miniaturna posodica Mp oz. talilni lonček. Okras: dvojni prsni odtisi na ostenju. Pr. ustja 7,4 cm. SE 2828 (stavba 12=13, jama za stojko v prostoru A+B); kv A2; R 468.
64. Stožčasto vretence Vr1 iz temno rjave gline in svetlo rjavih lis pocelotni površini. Pr. 4,8 cm, t. 32 g. SE 1751 (uličica 13); kv A3; PN 1803.
65. Bikonično vretence Vr2 iz temno rjave gline. Pr. 3,8 cm, t. 48 g. SE 1751 (uličica 13); kv B2; R 41.
66. Bikonično ploščato vretence Vr3 iz svetlo rjave gline. Pr. 2,8 cm, t. 16 g. SE 3929 (stavba 8, ognjišče v prostoru B); kv I12; PN 2471.
67. Piramidalna utež Ut1 iz temno rjave in sive gline. Dol. 5,5 cm, t. 70 g. SE 3785 (izravnava); kv J9; R 1766.
68. Piramidalno ploščata utež Ut2 iz rdeče gline. Dol. 7,3 cm, t. 147 g. SE 3785 (izravnava); kv J9; PN: 2467.
69. Kamnita okroglo ploščata utež Ut3 iz muljevca. Na predmetu so *tujki*, prilepljeni verjetno z limonitnim vezivom. Pr. 5,5 cm, t. 34 g. SE 6407 (ulica 5); kv N12; PN 3097.
70. Odl. bronaste tulaste sekire Se2 z odebeljenim ustjem. Ohr. dol. 2,7 cm. SE 1771 (stavba 12=13, tlak v prostoru A+B); kv A3; R 3330.
71. Kamnita kalupasta sekira Se4 z vidnimi retušami za nasaditev in ostrino in s sledovi uporabe na sprednji in zadnji strani iz kremenovega peščenjaka. Ohr. dol. 5,7 cm. SE 1751 (uličica 13); kv B4; PN 9019.

72. Bronasta igla z drobno profilirano glavico in odebeljenim tordiranim vratom I9. Igla ima okrogel presek. Ohr. dol. 4,4 cm. SE 4393 (stavba 17, jama za stojko); kv C13; PN 2436.
73. Odl. bronaste igle z vrezi na odebeljenem vratu I9. Igla ima okrogel presek. Ohr. dol. 1,8 cm. SE 3490 (stavba 18, tlak v prostoru A); kv B8; PN 2166.
74. Bronasta igla z vazasto glavico I7. Igla ima okrogel presek. Ohr. dol. 13 cm. SE 8580a (stavba 1a, tlak v prostoru B); kv L4; PN 3500.
75. Bronasta igla z vazasto glavico in poševnimi ter X vrezi na vratu I7. Igla ima okrogel presek. Dol. 11 cm. SE 1771 (stavba 12=13, tlak v prostoru A+B); kv B1; PN 1770.
76. Bronasta igla z vazasto glavico in pošebnimi vrezi na vratu I7. Igla ima okrogel presek. Dol. 15,5 cm. SE 4212 (stavba 18, jama za stojko); kv B11; PN 2176.
77. Odl. bronastega jezičastoročajnega srpa Sr s tremi rebri na ročaju. Ohr. dol. 1,7 cm. SE 3785 (trg 2); kv J9; PN 2472.
78. Odl. zatiča za izdelavo tulastih sekir Z. Okras: vodoravni in navpični žlebovi na ostenju. Ohr. dol. 8,2 cm. SE 2982 (stavba 12=13, sediment na tlaku v prostoru C); kv A5; R 398.
79. Odl. šobe Š. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. 6 cm. SE 2354 (stavba 11, jama za stojko); kv C3; R 485.
80. Kamnit kalup za izdelavo tulastih sekir Kk iz kremenovega peščenjaka. Kalup je bil večkrat uporabljen in močno prežgan. Ohr. dol. 5,4 cm. SE 3384 (uličica 12); kv A9; PN 9048.
81. Kamnit kalup Kk iz kremenovefa peščenjaka. Kalup je bil večkrat uporabljen in je močno poškodovan. Najverjetneje je na koncu služil kot brusni kamen. Ohr. dol. 8 cm. SE 3384 (uličica 12); kv A9; PN 2156.
82. Kamnit kalup za izdelavo dlet Kk iz kremenovega peščenjaka. Kalup je bil poškodovan. Ohr. dol. 15,3 cm. SE 3976 (stavba 10, jama za stojko); kv J11; PN 2479.

Tabla 4

LJUBLJANA - TRIBUNA: II. naselbinska faza

83. Odl. ostenja vrča V1. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno rebro in rebri v obliki valovnice na ramenu. Pr. oboda 15,8 cm. SE 6334 (ulica 4); kv N10; R 2526.
84. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna vrča V2a. Pr. ustja 16,6 cm. SE 8995 (stavba 1a, jama za stojko); kv K3; R 2838.
85. Odl. ustja in ostenja pekve Pe1; navpičen držaj na vrhu. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Ohr. dol. 7,3 cm. SE 2354 (stavba 11, jama za stojko); kv C3; R 484.
86. Odl. dna in ostenja pekve Pe2a; vodoravni držaji na ročaju. Pr. dna 14,6 cm. SE 6334 (ulica 4); kv N10; R 2538.
87. Odl. dna in ostenja z ročajem pekve Pe2b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na vrhu in vodoravna držaja na ročaju. Ohr. dol. 4,3+5,1 cm. SE 2968 (stavba 12=13, sediment na drugem popravilu tlaka v prostoru C); kv A5; R 436+437.
88. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP1a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 27 cm. SE 3943 (uličica 4); kv J11; R 2671.
89. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP1b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 29,6 cm. SE 3981 (uličica 4); kv J11; R 1375.
90. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2a. Pr. ustja 21 cm. SE 3453 (ulica 12); kv D9; R 1229.
91. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2b. Pr. ustja 30,1 cm. SE 1751 (uličica 13); kv B2; R 214.
92. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L1a. Okras: vrezan trikotnik s podaljškoma oz. zastavicama na vrhu in vtisnjeni krožci na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Pr. ustja 17 cm. SE 3935 (ulica 8); kv I10; R 1704.
93. Odl. ostenja lonca L1b. Okras: vodoravne fasete na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Pr. oboda 33,6 cm. SE 3421 (ulica 13); kv D13; R 1430.
94. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na max. obodu. Pr. ustja 23,8 cm. SE 3261 (stavba 17, sediment na tlaku v prostoru A); kv D9; R 838.
95. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2b. Pr. ustja 28,4 cm. SE 5433 (stavba 14=16, tlak v prostoru C); kv E6; R 2564.
96. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna lonca L2c. Pr. ustja 10,6 cm. SE 4075 (trg 3); kv E9; R 1632.
97. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna lonca L3. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 22 cm. SE 5431 (stavba 14=16, popravilo tlaka v prostoru C); kv E8; R 2019a.
98. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L4. Pr. ustja 28,8 cm. SE 3785 (izravnava); kv I8; R 1300.
99. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L5. Pr. ustja 16,2 cm. SE 3189 (stavba 17, ognjišče v prostoru B); kv D11; R 984.
100. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P1. Okras: vodoravni vrezi, pod njimi vrezani viseči trikotniki na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana (na nekaterih mestih). Pr. ustja 30 cm. SE 3936 (uličica 8); kv H10; R 1836.
101. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na max. obodu. Pr. ustja 35,8 cm. SE 3151 (stavba 18, podlaga za tlak v prostoru D); kv B12; R 3092.
102. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P2b. Okras: aplicirano rebro v obliki viseče črke U na ostenju. Pr. ustja 31,4 cm. SE 4501 (stavba 8, podlaga za tlak); kv H10; R 2839.
103. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna pithosa P3. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ramenu. Pr. ustja 37,8 cm. SE 1751 (uličica 13); kv B3; R 641.
104. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P4. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 31,2 cm. SE 3263 (stavba 17, tlak v prostoru A); kv D9; R 1625.

Tabla 5

LJUBLJANA - TRIBUNA: III. naselbinska faza

105. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1a. Okras: navpičen držaj na ustju in ostenju. Pr. ustja 18,2 cm. SE 3686 (uličica 8); kv H11; R 1460.
106. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1b. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 19,4 cm. SE 8270 (stavba 1a, tlak v prostoru A); kv K1; R 2797.
107. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2a. Pr. ustja 11,2 cm. SE 1476; (stavba 12=13, žganina na popravilu tlaka v prostoru C); kv A4; R 67.
108. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2b; navpičen predrt držaj pod ustjem. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 16 cm. SE 8729a (ulica 6); kv L1; R 2454.
109. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna sklede S2c. Pr. ustja 25 cm. SE 2148 (stavba 12=13, tlak v prostoru B1); kv A4; R 4.
110. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S3a. Pr. ustja 25,4 cm. SE 2055 (stavba 12=13, tlak v prostoru A); kv A2; R 193.

111. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S3b. Pr. ustja 20,4 cm. SE 3287 (trg 3); kv E12; R 1104.
112. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S4. Okras: vodoraven žleb tik pod robom ustja. Pr. ustja 24,6 cm. SE 8323a (ulica 1); kv I6; R 2283.
113. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK1a. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 18,2 cm. SE 2020 (stavba 12=13, tlak v prostoru C); kv A4; R 772.
114. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK1b. Okras: vtisnjeni bronasti žebljički na ramenu. Pr. ustja 21,2 cm. SE 2825 (stavba 12=13, ruševinska plast); kv A5; R 488.
115. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK1c. Okras: prstni odtisi na ramenu. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 20,8 cm. SE 8729a (ulica 6); kv L1; R 2470.
116. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna skodele SK2a. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 16,8 cm, pr. dna 6,6 cm. SE 2194 (stavba 12=13, ruševinska plast); kv A6; R 3143.
117. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK3a. Pr. ustja 11,2 cm. SE 1756 (stavba 12=13, tlak v prostoru A+B); kv A3; R 639.
118. Odl. ustja in ostenja situle St1b. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 25,4 cm. SE 3144 (stavba 18, zaplata keramike v prostoru C; kv B11; R 3118.
119. Odl. ustja in ostenja situle St1c. Okras: smolni premaz na zunanji strani ostenja. Pr. ustja 26 cm. SE 3785 (izravnava); kv J9; R 1548.
120. Odl. ostenja kantarosa K1. Okras: vrezani trikotniki v frizu na ramenih ter snopi navpičnih vrezov na ročajih. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. oboda 24,2 cm. SE 2857 (stavba 12=13, ruševinska plast); kv A5; R 3130.
121. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna miniaturne posodice Mp oz. talilnega lončka. Pr. ustja 8,2 cm. SE 3768 (uličica 8); kv H9; R 1349.
122. Odl. ušesa bronaste uhate sekire Se3. T. 7 g. SE 3112 (cesta 2); kv C12; PN: 2032.
123. Bronasta tulasta sekira z odebeljenim in fasetiranim ustjem in ušescem Se2. Prehod tula v list je stopničast. List se enakomerno razširi. Rezilo je zaobljeno. Dol. 13,1 cm. SE 3802 (stavba 8b, tlak); kv I12; PN 2370.
124. Stožčasto vretence Vr1 iz svetlo rjave gline. Spodnja površina je v obliki amfalosa. Pr. 4,3 cm, t. 38 g. SE 8281 (stavba 1a, jama za stojko v prostoru A); kv K2; PN 3496.
125. Bikonično vretence Vr2 iz rjave gline. Pr. 3,3 cm, t. 28 g. SE 8270 (stavba 1a, tlak v prostoru A); kv L2; PN 9109.
126. Bikonično ploščato vretence Vr3 iz bledo rjave gline. Pr. 3,6 cm, t. 39 g. SE 7790a (stavba 4b+6b, jama za stojko; kv J7; PN 3402.
127. Kroglasto vretence Vr5 iz temno rjave gline. Pr. 4 cm, t. 30 g. SE 3245 (stavba 18, popravilo tlaka v prostoru A); kv B8; PN 9061.
128. Od ognja prežgana piramidalna utež Ut1 iz sivo rjave gline. Dol. 7,5 cm, t. 133 g. SE 2025 (stavba 12=13, jama z utežmi v prostoru C); kv A4; PN 1780.
129. Kamnita okroglo ploščata utež Ut3 iz muljevca. Pr. 5,5 cm, t. 55 g. SE 3686 (uličica 8); kv H9; PN 2387.
130. Odl. šobe Š. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Ohr. dol. 11 cm. SE 2821 (stavba 12=13, ruševinska plast); kv A5; R 289.
131. Motek M iz svetlo rjave gline. T. 69 g. SE 3822 (stavba 8a, sediment na popravilu tlaka); kv J11; PN 2374.
132. Bronasta igla tipa San Vitale, varianta A I1a. Igla ima okrogel presek. Dol. 13,5 cm. SE 8323a (ulica 1); kv J5; PN 3455.
133. Bronasta igla s spiralno uvito glavico I1b. Igla ima okrogel presek. Dol. 9,6 cm. SE 3686 (uličica 8); kv H9; PN 2392.
134. Bronasta igla s spiralno uvito glavico I1b. Igla ima okrogel presek. Dol. 8,8 cm. SE 7556 (trg 1); J7; PN 3396.
135. Bronasta igla z enostavno oblikovano polkroglasto glavico I5. Igla ima okrogel presek. Ohr. dol. 8,3 cm. SE 2082 (stavba 11, podlaga za tlak); kv B3; PN 1785.
136. Bronasta igla z vazasto glavico in poševnimi ter X vrezi na vratu I7. Igla ima okrogel presek. Ohr. dol. 9,6 cm. SE 8464 (ulica 1); kv M5; PN 3470.
137. Bronasta dvojnokrižna pasna spona Ps tip Ljubljana. Dol. 5,8 cm. SE 3638 (ulica 9); kv I12; PN 2367.

Tabla 6

LJUBLJANA - TRIBUNA: III. naselbinska faza

138. Odl. ustja in ostenja vrča V1. Pr. ustja 21 cm. SE 8659 (stavba 1b, jama za stojko); kv K4; R 2688.
139. Odl. ustja in ostenja vrča V2a. Pr. ustja 16 cm. SE 3083 (stavba 18, tlak v prostoru D); kv A12; R 3388.
140. Odl. dna in ostenja pekve Pe1; vodoraven držaj na vrhu. Pr. dna 15,6 cm. SE 3331 (cesta 2); kv C12; R 1047.
141. Odl. dna in ostenja pekve Pe2b; vodoravni držaji na ročaju in dnu. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. dna 13 cm. SE 2063 (stavba 12=13, ruševinska plast); kv A6; PN: 1781; R 3048.
142. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP1a. Okras: modelirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 24,8 cm. SE 2082 (stavba 11, podlaga za tlak); kv C3; R 2820.
143. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP1b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 25 cm. SE 8463 (uličica 1); kv M5; R 2292.
144. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 32 cm. SE 3882 (uličica 4); kv J10; R 1337.
145. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 22,6 cm. SE 3811 (stavba 8, tlak); kv I10; R 1277.
146. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L1a. Okras: vrezani trikotniki in trikotniki s podaljškoma oz. zastavicama na vrhu v frizu, zapolnjeni z belo inkrustacijo in aplicirane bradavice na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Pr. ustja 26,2 cm. SE 2857 (stavba 12=13, ruševinska plast); kv A5; R 2739.
147. Odl. dna in ostenja lonca L1b. Okras: vodoravne kanelure na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. dna 12,4 cm. SE 2146 (stavba 12=13, ruševinska plast); kv A5; R 3155.
148. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 25,2 cm. SE 2169 (stavba 12=13, jama za stojko v prostoru A); kv A2; R 93.
149. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2b. Pr. ustja 16,6 cm. SE 3803 (ulica 9); kv I12; R 3085.
150. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2c. Pr. ustja 12 cm. SE 1476 (stavba 12=13, žganina na popravilu v prostoru C); kv A4; R 650.
151. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L3. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 14,8 cm. SE 1767 (stavba 12=13, žganina na popravilu tlaka v prostoru A+B1); kv A2; R 489.

152. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L4. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 23 cm. SE 2857 (stavba 12=13, ruševinska plast); kv A5; R 507.
153. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L5. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 24,4 cm. SE 2857 stavba 12=13, ruševinska plast); kv A5; R 801.
154. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P1. Pr. ustja 38,6 cm. SE 6304 (ulica 4); kv N10; R 2927.
155. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju in smolni premaz na zunanji površini ostenja. Pr. ustja 38,6 cm. SE 2148 (stavba 12=13, tlak v prostoru B1); kv B5; PN: 1792; R 2588.
156. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P2b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro nad max. obodom. Pr. ustja 31,4 cm. SE 3212 (stavba 18, tlak v prostoru C); kv B10; R 1088.
157. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P3. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro in vodoraven držaj na ostenju. Pr. ustja 32 cm. SE 2666 (stavba 12=13, jama za stojko); kv A2; R 430.

Tabla 7

LJUBLJANA - TRIBUNA: IV. naselbinska faza

158. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1a. Pr. ustja 22,6 cm. SE 8728 (stavba 1a+1b, tlak v prostoru A); kv K1; R 2473.
159. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1b. Pr. ustja 29 cm. SE 3099 (stavba 17, tlak); kv D9; R 876.
160. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2a. Okras: vodoravne fasete na ustju in ostenju. Pr. ustja 19,4 cm. SE 7567 (stavba 4a+6a, tlak); kv K7; R 2259.
161. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2b. Pr. ustja 20,8 cm. SE 3776 (stavba 8b, tlak); kv H12; R 1329.
162. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna sklede S2c. Pr. ustja 19 cm. SE 3109 (stavba 8b, popravilo tlaka); kv I12; R 995.
163. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S3b. Pr. ustja 17,8 cm. SE 3119 (stavba 18, ognjišče v prostoru C); kv B9; R 1029.
164. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK1a. Okras: vtisnjeni bronasti žebljički na ramenu. Pr. ustja 17 cm. SE 1433b (stavba 12=13, popravilo tlaka v prostoru B2); kv A4; R 9.
165. Odl. ostenja skodele Sk1b. Okras: navpične kanelure na največjem obod in aplicirana bradavica na ostenju. Pr. oboda 23,4 cm. SE 7488 (uličica 2=4); kv J6; R 2104.
166. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK2c. Okras: poševni vrezi na prehodu iz vratu v ostenje. Pr. ustja 15,6 cm. SE 7389 (stavba 1a+1b, tlak v prostoru B); kv J5; R 2254.
167. Miniaturna posodica Mp oz. talilnega lončka. Pr. ustja 8 cm, pr. dna 5,4 cm. SE 1484 (stavba 12=13, jama za stojko v prostoru A+B1); kv B2; PN 1553; R 6.
168. Stožčasto vretence Vr1 iz temno rjave gline. Pr. 4,1 cm, t. 47 g. SE 3769 (stavba 10, sediment na tlaku); kv J10; PN 9052.
169. Bikonično vretence Vr2 iz temno in svetlo rjave ter gline. Pr. 2,9 cm, t. 25 g. SE 3771 (stavba 8b, tlak); kv I13; PN 2365.
170. Bikonično ploščato vretence Vr3 iz svetlo rjave gline. Pr. 4 cm, t. 35 g. SE 3084 (uličica 12); kv A8; PN 2024.
171. Kroglasto vretence Vr5 iz temno rjave gline. Pr. 2,8 cm, t. 18 g. SE 3084 (uličica 12); kv A9; PN 9059.
172. Odl. piramidalne uteži Ut1 iz temno rjave gline. Dol. 3 cm, t. 20,2 g. SE 3640 (stavba 8a, tlak); kv I10; R 1470.
173. Kamnit zatič za izdelavo tulastih sekir Z iz kremenovega peščenjaka. Zatič ima na eni strani dve luknjici in je močno prežgan. Ohr. dol. 4,5 cm. SE 1201 (stavba 12=13, popravilo tlaka v prostoru A+B1); kv A1; PN 9045.
174. Odl. bronaste tulaste sekire Se2 z odebeljenim ustjem. Pod ustjem ima luknjico za pritrditev. Ohr. dol. 2,9 cm. SE 3120 (stavba 18, tlak v prostoru A); kv B8; PN 2028.
175. Odl. bronaste uhate sekire Se3. T. 23 g. SE 6836 (trg 2); kv M8; R 3324.
176. Bronast nož s trnastim nastavkom za ročaj N2, tip Bismantova. Rezilo je ukrivljeno. Hrbet ima nazaj pomaknjeno grbo. Dol. 16,5 cm. SE 1479 (uličica 13); kv A5; PN 1560.
177. Bronast nož s trnastim nastavkom za ročaj N3, tip Este. Rezilo je dvojno ukrivljeno. Hrbet je ojačan z rebrom in ima nazaj pomaknjeno grbo. Dol. 25,7 cm. SE 8344 (uličica 7); kv L2; PN 3501.
178. Odl. bronastega jezičastoročajnega srpa Sr z dvema rebroma na ročaju. Ohr. dol. 2,7 cm. SE 6836 (trg 2); kv M7; PN 3310.
179. Odl. konice bronaste sulične osti Su. Ohr. dol. 2,8 cm. SE 6262 (trg 2); kv N10; PN 2963.
180. Odl. bronaste igle s podaljšano stožčasto glavico I2. Glavica ni ohranjena. Igla ima okrogel presek. Ohr. dol. 14 cm. SE 8384 (ulica 1); kv M6; PN 3460.
181. Bronasta igla s kroglasto glavico in nasvitkanim vratom I3. Igla ima okrogel presek. Dol. 10,2 cm. SE 6249 (trg 2); kv N10; PN 2937.
182. Bronasta glavica večglave igle I4. Igla ima okrogel presek. Ohr. dol. 1,2 cm. SE 7208 (stavba 19+20, popravilo tlaka); kv I4; PN 3156.
183. Odl. bronaste ločne fibule F1 z ornamentiranim listastim lokom. Ohr. dol. 7,4 cm. SE 8384 (ulica 1); kv K5; PN 3466.

Tabla 8

LJUBLJANA - TRIBUNA: IV. naselbinska faza

184. Odl. ostenja vrča V1. Okras: vrezan friz na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Pr. oboda 16 cm. SE 3084 (uličica 12); kv A9; R 2737.
185. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP1a. Pr. ustja 29,4 cm. SE 3776 (stavba 8b, tlak); kv H12; R 1330.
186. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP1b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 28,8 cm. SE 8344 (uličica 7); kv L2; R 2308.
187. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2a. Okras: modelirano vodoravno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 30,2 cm. SE 1479 (uličica 13); kv B6; R 764.
188. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2b. Pr. ustja 16,7 cm. SE 5234 (ulica 12); kv E8; R 3407.
189. Odl. ostenja lonca L1a. Okras: vrezan trikotnik s podaljškoma oz. zastavicama na vratu v frizu, zapolnjen z belo inkrustacijo na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana (na nekaterih mestih). Ohr. dol. 5,6+4,5 cm. SE 3118 (stavba 18, sediment na tlaku v prostoru B); kv B9; R 3385.
190. Odl. dna in ostenja lonca L1b. Okras: vodoravni vrezi, nad njimi vrezani šrafirani trikotniki na vratu, pod njimi vrezani viseči trikotniki na ramenu. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. dna 13,2 cm. SE 3130 (stavba 18, tlak v prostoru C); kv A10; R 3120.

191. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2a. Pr. ustja 29 cm. SE 4245 (stavba 17, jama za stojko); kv E13; R 2552.
192. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2b. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 10,6 cm. SE 3084 (uličica 12); kv A9; R 824.
193. Odl. ostenja lonca L2c. Okras: aplicirana navpična rebra na ramenu in max. obodu. Pr. oboda 17,2 cm. SE 3101 (trg 3); kv E12; R 3121.
194. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L3. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro in navpični rebri na ostenju. Pr. ustja 15,4 cm. SE 3771 (stavba 8b, tlak); kv I13; R 1486.
195. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L4. Pr. ustja 16,6 cm. SE 8412 (stavba 1b+2a, posodica v tlaku v prostoru B); kv L5; PN 3462.
196. Odl. ostenja pithosa P1. Pr. oboda 60 cm. SE 4722 (stavba 10, jama za stojko); kv L9; R 2790.
197. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna pithosa P2a. Pr. ustja 36,2 cm. SE 5183; (trg 3); kv E8; PN: 2714; R 3114.
198. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P2b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro in vodoravni držaji pod max. obodom. Pr. ustja 32 cm. SE 7538 (trg 1); kv I7; R 2683.

Tabla 9

LJUBLJANA - TRIBUNA: V. naselbinska faza

199. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1a. Pr. ustja 27,6 cm. SE 7434 (stavba 4a+6a, jama za stojko v prostoru B); kv K8; R 2062.
200. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2b. Pr. ustja 22 cm. SE 8258a (stavba 1a+1b/S, jama za stojko); kv L1; R 2733.
201. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2c. Pr. ustja 18,4 cm. SE 7068 (uličica 9=10); kv I3; R 2096.
202. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK1b. Okras: vtisnjeni bronasti žebljički na ramenu in smolni premaz na notranji strani ostenja. Pr. ustja 22,6 cm. SE 3770 (uličica 2=4); kv J11, 12; R 2613.
203. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK1c. Pr. ustja 14,2 cm. SE 7057 (uličica 9=10); kv J3; R 2917.
204. Odl. ostenja situle St1a. Okras: rdeč glinen in grafiten premaz in navpične kanelure na ramenu. Ohr. dol. 2,5 cm. SE 3082 (cesta 2); kv B13; R 846.
205. Odl. dna in ostenja miniaturne posodice Mp oz. talilnega lončka. Pr. dna 5 cm. SE 3082 (cesta 2); kv B13; R 818.
206. Stožčasto vretence Vr1 iz svetlo rjave gline in temno rjavih lis po celotni površini. Pr. 2,5 cm, t. 13 g. SE 5098 (cesta 2); kv E6; PN 2580.
207. Bikonično vretence Vr2 iz temno rjave gline. Pr. 3,5 cm, t. 28 g. SE 3082 (cesta 2); kv C12; PN 2020.
208. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2a. Pr. ustja 28,6 cm. SE 5078 (cesta 2); kv /; R 2819.
209. Odl. ustja in ostenje lonca L3. Okras: vtisi predmeta na robu ustja. Pr. ustja 13,8 cm. SE 3082 (cesta 2); kv C12; R 881.
210. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L4. Okras: aplicirana bradavica na ostenju. Pr. ustja 20,2 cm. SE 8334a (stavba 1b+2a, tlak v prostoru A); kv L3; R 2257.
211. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna pithosa P2b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno rebro na max. obodu. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 30,6 cm, pr. dna 20,6 cm. SE 8232 (stavba 1a+1b/S, tlak); kv K1; R 3003.
212. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP1a. Pr. ustja 20,8 cm. SE 3082 (cesta 2); kv C11; R 857.
213. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2a. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 32,6 cm. SE 3082 (cesta 2); kv C12; R 3154.
214. Odl. ustja in ostenja pokrova/pekve PP2b. Okras: vtisi predmeta na robu ustja. Pr. ustja 19 cm. SE 3763 (uličica 2=4); kv J13; R 1628.
215. Odl. bronaste kačaste fibule F2 z diskom na loku. Ohr. dol. 7 cm. SE 3621 (trg 1=2); kv J12; PN 2335.
216. Odl. bronaste dolgonožne ločne fibule F3a z vodoravnimi vrezi na loku. Ohr. dol. 5 cm. SE 7488 (uličica 2); kv J6; PN 3403.
217. Bronasta fibula s trakastim lokom F3b. Dol. 8,5 cm. SE 7297a (stavba 3, podlaga za tlak); kv J8; PN 3387.
218. Bronasta certoška fibula Ia oz. Ib. vrste. Dol. 5 cm. SE 6828 (stavba 1a+1b/J, tlak); kv K3; PN 3493.
219. Bronasta certoška fibula IIb vrste. Dol. 3,6 cm. SE 3763 (uličica 2=4); kv J12; PN 9114.
220. Bronasta certoška fibula IIIa. vrste. Dol. 4,5 cm. SE 6776 (uličica 6=7); kv L5; PN 3285.
221. Bronasta vzhodnoalpska živalska fibula. Dol. 4,8 cm. SE 6233 (trg 1=2); kv M11; PN 2976.
222. Odl. bronaste narebrene zapestnice Z1. Ohr. dol. 1,4 cm. SE 3621 (trg 1=2); kv K12; PN 2334.
223. Odl. bronaste narebrene zapestnice Z1. Ohr. dol. 6 cm. SE 6226 (trg 1=2); kv I4; PN 2903.
224. Odl. bronaste narebrene zapestnice in z vrezi okrašenimi vmesnimi polji Z3. Ohr. dol. 2,5 cm. SE 3622 (trg 1=2); kv J9; PN 2273.
225. Bronast prstan P s spiralno zavitima koncema. Pr. 1,8 cm. SE 3763 (uličica 2=4); kv J12; PN 2355.
226. Bronast uhan U z zankami in obeski. Dol. 3,7 cm. SE 3622 (trg 1=2); kv J8; PN 2363.
227. Odl. bronastega močno poškodovanega rezila noža, srpa ali britve. Ohr. dol. 3,1 cm. SE 3622 (trg 1=2); kv M9; PN 2968.
228. Odl. ušesa bronaste uhate sekire Se3. T. 7 g. SE 7297a (stavba 3, podlaga za tlak); kv I7; PN 3225.

Tabla 10

LJUBLJANA - GRAJSKI HRIB

229. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2a. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 9,4 cm. V del izkopa za vodohram; INV. 510:LJU; 0011011.
230. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna sklede S2b. Vodoraven predrt držaj na ramenu. Pr. ustja 9,7 cm. V del izkopa za vodohram; INV. 510: LJU; 0003029.
231. Skleda S2c. Pr. ustja 9,1 cm. SE PP 3,4; S del izkopa za vodohram; INV. 510: LJU; 0010987.
232. Odl. ostenja sklede S3. Okras: vodoraven predrt držaj na ramenu. Ohr. dol. 4,6 cm. SE 0116 - grajsko dvorišče; INV. 510: LJU; 0002727.
233. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S4. Okras: vrezani šrafirani trikotniki, pod njimi vodoravni vrezi na ramenu. Ohr. dol. 3 cm. V del izkopa za vodohram; AKC. A5.PN3519.
234. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK1a. Okras: vtisnjeni bronasti žebljički na ramenu. Pr. ustja 12,2 cm. SE PP9; S del izkopa za vodohram; INV. 510:LJU; 0003031.
235. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK1b. Okras: vtisnjeni bronasti žebljički na ramenu. Pr. ustja 12,1 cm. SE / izkop za vodohram; INV. 510: LJU; 0002875.

236. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK1c. Okras: rdeč glinen premaz na zunanji strani ostenja. Pr. ustja 21,8 cm. SE PP6; S del izkopa za vodohram; AKC. A5.PN3377.
237. Odl. ostenja situle St1b. Okras: šrafirani trikotniki pod njima vodoravna vreza na max. obodu. Pr. oboda 21,9 cm. SE PP9,10; S del izkopa za vodohram; AKC. A5.PN3469.
238. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L1a. Okras: vrezani šrafirani trikotniki na vratu in prehodu v max. obod. Ohr. dol. 4,2 cm. SE 0120 – grajsko dvorišče; INV. 510: LJU; 0001146.
239. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L3. Okras: vtisi predmeta na robu ustja in aplicirane bradavice na vratu. Pr. ustja 17,5 cm. SE / izkop za vodohram; INV. 510: LJU; 0002874.
240. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L4. Pr. ustja 16,1 cm. SE PP9; S del izkopa za vodohram; INV. 510:LJU; 0011001.
241. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L5. Pr. ustja 21 cm. SE PP9; S del izkopa za vodohram; AKC. A5.PN3431.
242. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P1a. Pr. ustja 23 cm. SE jama 1-planum, S del izkopa za vodohram; AKC. A5.PN3548.
243. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna pithosa. Pr. ustja 14 cm. SE V del izkopa za vodohram; INV. 510:LJU; 0011016.
244. Odl. ostenja pithosa s trakastim ročajem. Ohr. dol. 4,7 cm. Sonda 1 - plinska postaja; INV. 510: LJU; 0003583.
245. Odl. ostenja pithosa s trakastim ročajem. Ohr. dol. 7,9 cm. Sonda 1 - plinska postaja; INV. 510: LJU; 0003582.
246. Odl. ročaja posode. Ohr. dol. 6,3 cm. Sonda 2 - plinska postaja; SE prazgodovinska plast pod srednjeveškim nasipom tik nad sterilno plastjo; INV. 510:LJU; 0002918.

Tabla 11
LJUBLJANA – PRULE 9

247. Bronast nož z jezičastim ročajem, tip Baierdorf in/ali Mahlostovice. Na ročaju so ohranjene tri zakovice ter robovi, v katerih so se ohranili organski ostanki držaja. Rezilo je ukrivljeno. Hrbet ima grbo na sredini. Dol. 16,8 cm. TJ2, SE 18.
248. Bronasta igla s tremi obročki. Obročki so trikotnega oz. koničnega preseka. Dol. 10,6 cm. SE 432, PN 662.
249. Bronasta igla s kijasto glavico. Glavica je okrašena s tankimi vodoravnimi vrezi, med katerimi je vrezan motiv smrekove vejice. Ohr. dol. 4,4 cm. SE 425; PN 645.
250. Bronasta igla s čebuličasto glavico. Vrat je neodebeljen in okrašen s horizontalnimi vrezi. Dol. 12,2 cm. SE 599; PN 595
251. Bronasta igla s polkrožno strehasto glavico in kroglastim svitkom, pod katerim je dodaten drobni svitek. Dol. 23 cm. SE 271; PN 269.
252. Bronasta igla s spiralno glavico. Dol. 12,8 cm. SE ?; PN 194.
253. Bronasta igla s podaljšano konično glavico. Na vratu sta dva svitka. Dol. 16,4 cm. SE 604; PN 596.
254. Bronasta certoška fibula VI. vrste. Dol. 9,6 cm. SE 327; PN 195.
255. Bronasta kačasta fibula z gumbom. Ohr. dol. 5,6 cm. SE 278; PN 108.
256. Enoročajni lonec s trakastim ročajem in apliciranih razčlenjenim rebrom. Viš. 13,2 cm. SE 425; PN 580.

LJUBLJANA – ŠPICA

257. Bronasta igla z vazasto glavico. Dol. 26,6 cm. PN 1790.
258. Bronasta igla s stožčasto glavico in tordiranim vratom. Dol. 22 cm. PN 1419.

Tabla 12
LJUBLJANA – PRULE 10

259. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1b. Ohr. dol. 6,6 cm. INV. 510: LJU; 0010785.
260. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2a. Ohr. dol. 4,4 cm. AKC. A38.PN0010.
261. Odl. ostenja skodele SK1c. Okras: vrezan cikcak, pod njim vodoravni žlebovi in vtisnjeni krožci zapolnjeni z belo inkrustacijo na max. obodu. Ohr. dol. 4,4 cm. INV. 510: LJU; 0010792.
262. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK3b. Okras: vodoravni vrezi, pod njimi vrezani šrafirani trikotniki na ramenu. Pr. ustja 7,6 cm. INV. 510: LJU; 0010790.
263. Odl. ustja in ostenja vrča V1. Ohr. dol. 3,1 cm. INV. 510: LJU; 0010789.
264. Odl. ostenja lonca L1a. Okras: vtisnjeni krožci, pod njimi vodoravne kanelure in snopi poševnih vrezov na max. obodu. Ohr. dol. 5,3 cm. INV. 510: LJU; 0010791.
265. Odl. ostenja lonca L1a. Okras: vrezani šrafirani trikotniki, pod njimi vodoravni vrezi in vtisnjeni bronasti žebljički na prehodu iz vratu v max. obod. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Ohr. dol. 6,3 cm. INV. 510: LJU; 0010788.
266. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2a. Ohr. dol. 4,5 cm. AKC. A38.PN0018.
267. Odl. ostenja lonca L2b. Pr. max. oboda 22,4 cm. AKC. A38.PN0039.
268. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L3. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 14,2 cm. INV. 510: LJU; 0010787.
269. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L5. Okras: prstni odtisi na ramenu. Ohr. dol. 9,1 cm. AKC. A38.PN0029.
270. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P1. Pr. ustja 16,9 cm. AKC. A38.PN0001.
271. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P2a. Pr. ustja 14,2 cm. AKC. A38.PN0004.

Tabla 13
LJUBLJANA – GORNJI / STARI TRG

272. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1a. Pr. ustja 18 cm. SE 304; kv 34/2; R 3.
273. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2b. Vodoraven predrt držaj pod ustjem. Pr. ustja 24,4 cm. SE 311; kv 34; R 18.
274. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2c. Okras: navpične kanelure na ramenu. Pr. ustja 24 cm. SE P30; kv 34/3; R 2.
275. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele Sk1c. Pr. ustja 26,2 cm. SE 316; kv 34; R 11.
276. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK3b. Pr. ustja 9 cm. SE 386; kv 34/3; R 8.
277. Odl. ustja in ostenja skodele SK4. Okras: žlebovi v frizu na prehodu iz vratu v rame. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 13,5 cm. SE 386; kv 34/3; R 9.
278. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L1a. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 21,8 cm. SE 386; kv 34/3; R 7.
279. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2a. Pr. ustja 19 cm. SE 304; kv 34/2; R 4.
280. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L3. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 32,2 cm. SE 319; kv 34/2; PN 8.
281. Odl. ustja in ostenja pithosa P1. Pr. ustja 37 cm. SE 386; kv 34/3; R 6.

282. Odl. ostenja pithosa P2b. Okras: aplicirano vodoravno razčlenjeno rebro in dva vodoravna držaja na ostenju. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. oboda 55,6 cm. SE 386; kv 34/3; R 10.
283. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna pekve Pe1. Pr. ustja 31,8 cm. SE 316; kv 34; R 14.

Tabla 14

LJUBLJANA – KOPITARJEVA ULICA

284. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1a. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 19,2 cm. SE 2020 (II. faza, izravnava); kv A6b; PN 2024.
285. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S1b. Pr. ustja 18,4 cm. SE 2020 (II. faza, izravnava); kv A6b; PN 2024.
286. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2a. Pr. ustja 10,8 cm. SE 2020 (II. faza, izravnava); kv A5d; R 15.
287. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2b. Pr. ustja 17,6 cm. SE 2020 (II. faza, izravnava); kv A6b; PN 2024.
288. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede S2c. Pr. ustja 19,2 cm. SE 2058 (I. faza, jarek); kv A5c; R 60.
289. Odl. ustja in ostenja kantarosa K1. Okras: vodoravna vreza, zapolnjena z belo inkrustacijo na prehodu iz vratu v max. obod. Opomba: odlomki tudi v SE 2058. Pr. ustja 10,4 cm. SE 2029 (I. faza, nasutje); kv A5; PN 2024.
290. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L1a. Okras: vodoravna vreza na prehodu iz vratu v max. obod. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 20,8 cm. SE 5051; sonda 20; R 4.
291. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2a. Opomba: sekundarno prežgana. Pr. ustja 27,8 cm. SE 2041 (I. faza, nastuje); kv A5; R 62.
292. Odl. ustja in ostenja lonca L2b. Pr. ustja 39,4 cm. SE 2020 (II. faza, izravnava); kv A6b; R 23.
293. Odl. ustja, ostenja in dna lonca L3. Okras: aplicirano navpično rebro na ostenju. Pr. ustja 19,8 cm. SE 1031; sonda 5; R 6.
294. Odl. ostenja pithosa P1. Okras: vodoravni žlebovi na prehodu iz vratu v max. obod. Pr. vratu 29,8 cm. SE 2040 (I. faza, hodna površina); kv A5c; R 39.

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Prehistoric settlement in Ljubljana: an urban trading centre at the crossroads

Summary

Individual finds from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages were discovered in the Ljubljana area as early as the 19th century, but there was generally little interest in them.[1] The situation changed after the discovery of the cemetery in the courtyard of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SAZU) in 1948, and further research revealed that the cemetery extended into the area of Gosposka ulica. These discoveries indicated that Ljubljana had been an important settlement at the time of the Urnfield culture.[2] The location of the settlement was debated, with many suggesting that it was strategically located on Grajski hrib.[3] In 2008, breakthrough discoveries occurred that finally provided insight into the settlement pattern of prehistoric Ljubljana. At that time, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage OE Ljubljana, together with the company Arhej, d.o.o., carried out development-led archaeological excavations in the area of Prule,[4] where a multi-period archaeological site was discovered on the 4200 m² Tribuna plot.[5]

A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE PROCESSING OF PREHISTORIC REMAINS FROM TRIBUNA

Based on a detailed analysis of the site stratigraphy and small finds, we were able to distinguish five occupational phases of the prehistoric settlement at Tribuna. The main starting point for the definition of each settlement phase was the change in the street pattern. As individual buildings were constantly being rebuilt, many of these renovations were not suitable markers for establishing longer-term occupational phases at the site. However, the less frequent changes to the street grid altered not only the streets, roads, and squares but also the location, length, and orientation of individual buildings.[6] Buildings were constructed in a variety of ways,

[1] Müllner 1892, 17; Rutar 1891, 184; Pečnik 1904, 129.

[2] Stare 1954; Korošec 1955, 270; Puš 1971; *id.* 1982; Gabrovec 1973; *id.* 1983; *id.* 1987; *Škvor* Jernejčič 2014.

[3] Stele 1934, 4, 49; Korošec 1955, 269; Stare, 1954; Puš 1971; *id.* 1982; Vičič 1990, 178; Horvat 1991, 232–233; Puš 1992, 18.

[4] The prehistoric settlement of Prule was indicated by a sewer trench excavation in 1952. The trench, which ran along the Grudnovo embankment, yielded the cultural layers with finds from the prehistoric, Roman, and medieval periods (Petru 1962, 271–275). Prehistoric layers and pottery were also found in Zvezdarska ulica - the former Virant's Garden (Stare 1954, 117), in Rožna ulica 8 (Korošec 1955, 266) and in 1992, at the site of Prule 10 (Vičič, personal communication).

[5] The processing of data related to the prehistoric phases of the multi-period settlement of Tribuna and its prehistoric finds was the topic of my doctoral thesis (Vojaković 2013). The research was carried out within the framework of the Young Researcher in Business - Generation 2010 project, funded by the European Union, European Social Fund.

[6] Buildings that have kept the same orientation, despite changes in their floor plan dimensions and construction methods used, have retained their numbers. Modified numbers were only given to buildings that changed orientation due to changes in the street layout, those that were split into two new buildings when a new street was built, or those that were enlarged in a particular phase of construction and spread over several buildings or streets from a preceding phase.

using different building materials. In addition to the method of construction,[7] the interior design of each building and the associated ceramic inventory were examined. The chronological definition of the occupational phases was based on the stratigraphic context, the typological/chronological analysis of the finds, and the results of the radiocarbon analysis. The chronology itself was based on the pre-existing chronology of the Ljubljana Group, published by Gabrovec in 1973,[8] and partially corrected by eleven absolute radiocarbon dates (*Fig. 1*).[9]

In order to study the organisation and settlement dynamics of the entire Ljubljana area, we also evaluated the contemporary archaeological sites discovered by 2013,[10] including Grajski hrib, Gornji and Stari trg, Prule 10, and Kopitarjeva ulica (*Fig. 2*). Here, we present our findings, with a focus on the urbanistically designed "lower town" at Tribuna.

PREHISTORIC LJUBLJANA: INTERNAL ORGANISATION THROUGH TIME

Bd D/Ha A1

In the second half of the 2nd millennium BC, a fortified settlement with an earthen embankment emerged on the strategically positioned Grajski hrib, dominating the flat part of the right bank of the Ljubljanica River (*Fig. 2:* 1).[11] The discovered pithoi with tunnel-shaped handles (*Pl. 10:* 243–245)[12] suggest that the settlement would have been founded in the earlier phase of the Urnfield culture, *i.e.*, in the Ljubljana Ia1/Ia2 phase according to Škvor Jernejčič (Bd D/Ha A1).[13] Such pithoi were also found in the oldest graves in the courtyard of the SAZU (*Fig. 2:* 3)[14] and in a grave on the site of the planned new building of the library Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica (NUK II) (*Fig. 2:* 4).[15]

A bronze pin with a decorated club-shaped head (*Pl. 11:* 249),[16] a bronze knife with a tongue-shaped handle (*Pl. 11:* 247),[17] and some forms of ceramic vessels, *e.g.*, a one-handled pot with a cylindrical neck (*Pl. 11:* 256),[18] all suggest that the remains of the fortified bank of the former Ljubljanica River, discovered at Prule 9 (*Fig. 2:* 13), could also be dated to the second half of the 2nd millennium BC.[19] At least partial use of the Prule area in the earliest period is also indicated by some of the vessel forms found at the Tribuna site, such as bowls with a biconical body (*Fig. 3:* 4), ribbed decoration in the shape of a wave (*Fig. 3:* 5), cups with a ribbon handle (*Fig. 3*: 3), a vessel with a cylindrical neck

[7] The buildings at Tribuna were constructed using four different construction techniques (Figs. 4–5, 7–8, 12), including earthfast posts, posts anchored in a bedding of either stone, clay, or wood (*i.e.*, post-pad construction), with the corner timbering technique and a combination of earthfast post and post-pad techniques (Dular 2008b, 340; Vojaković 2013, 300–305).

[8] Gabrovec's chronology was expanded by Teržan (Teržan 1987, 7–42; *ead*. 1995, 323–372) and later Škvor Jernejčič (Škvor Jernejčič 2014; *ead*. 2021; Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2023). As the most recent chronology has not yet been published in its entirety, I refer mainly to the former.

[9] See also Rychner *et al.* 1995, 455–485 and Friedrich 1996, 169–180.

[10] However, due to the increased construction in the last five years, new prehistoric settlement remains have been discovered in the Prule area, which were not discussed in my PhD thesis, but are included in the settlement map provided here (see *Fig. 1*). These sites include Zvonarska and Tesarska ulica (report by Novšak *et al.* 2019), Cimpermanova ulica 1 (report by Vičar, Tica, Bremc 2020), Prijateljeva ulica 5 (report by Tica, Vičar, Bremc 2020), Prijateljeva ulica 26 (report by Čakš 2016), Privoz 11 (report by Tica 2019), and Privoz 16 (report by Lavrinc 2020).

[11] Puš 1973, 12–13; *id*. 1992, 18; Vičič 1990, 178; Horvat 1991, 232–233.

[12] Type P1 and P3 according to I. Murgelj (Murgelj *et al.* 2013, 34–37, figs. 31a-31b); Vojaković 2013, 354–359; *ead*. 2014a, 66–67.

[13] Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 196–212, Fig. 6.1; *ead*. 2021, 119–134.

[14] Puš 1982, Pl. 7: 1–15; Teržan 1995, 327–330, Pl. 4: 1–5; 5: 1–14; Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 196–212; *ead*. 2021, 119–134. Radiocarbon analysis of the burnt bone from grave 278 in the courtyard of the SAZU gave a date of 2885 ± 30 BP, which with a standard deviation of 68.3% probability gives a range of 1112–1015 BC, and 1131–977 BC with 95.4% probability (Škvor Jernejčič 2021, Fig. 13).

[15] Radiocarbon analysis of the burnt bone from the grave yielded a date of 2970 ± 40 BP, which with a standard deviation of 68.3% probability gives a range of 1270–1120 BC, and with a 95.4% probability 1310–1050 BC (Gaspari 2010 22–23, Figs. 12–13, Tab. 1).

[16] Report by Žerjal *et al*. 2012, App. 3/2; Řihovský 1979, 151; Teržan 1995, 327. Similar finds were also found in Graves 146 and 277 in the courtyard of the SAZU (Puš 1971, Pl. 22: 3; *id*. 1982, Pl. 7: 1). Radiocarbon analysis of the burnt bone from Grave 146 in the courtyard of SAZU gave a date of 2985 ± 30 BP, which with a standard deviation (68.3% probability) gives a range of 1265–1192 BC, and 1301–1111 BC with a 95.4% probability (Škvor Jernejčič 2021, Figs. 11, 18).

[17] Report by Žerjal, Černe 2011, App. 3/1; Říhovský 1972, 24–30.

[18] Report by Žerjal et al. 2012, App. 3/16. A similar one-handled pot was found in the previously mentioned Grave 146 from the SAZU burial site (Puš 1971, Pl. 22: 3; Škvor Jernejčič 2021, Fig. 11: 1).

[19] Report by Žerjal *et al.* 2012.

and slanted cannelures (*Fig. 1:* 9) and a tunnel-shaped handle (*Fig. 3:* 1), which are no longer present in the younger phase of the Urnfield culture.[20] A bronze flanged axe with a bevelled upper and lower part, found in the Roman layer, also belongs to this period (*Fig. 3:* 6).[21]

The individual prehistoric sites on the left bank of the Ljubljanica River suggest that in addition to the cemetery (*Fig. 2:* 3–4, 6), a settlement might have been nearby. In 2018/2019,[22] for example, several pits and ditches with Bronze Age pottery were discovered at the Šumi site (*Fig. 2:* 5). Pits, hearths, and prehistoric walking surfaces with Bronze Age pottery were also found at the Kongresni trg locale (*Fig. 2:* 6). Similar settlement remains and/or individual finds were recorded in Čopova ulica (*Fig. 2:* 7)[23] and Gosposvetska ulica (*Fig. 2:* 19).[24] Taken together, these remains confirm the coexistence of several settlements in the Ljubljana area in the second half of the 2nd millennium (*Fig. 2:* 1, 5–7, 13, 19), while simultaneously challenging the thesis of the river as a boundary between the worlds of the living and the dead.

The settlement of the Ljubljanica River bend was mainly driven by its location at the crossroads of important routes. The Ljubljanica provided not only excellent natural protection, sustenance, and a route for trade[25] but also a place for religious ceremonies.[26]

The importance of the river is evidenced by the Late Neolithic settlement of Špica (mid-3rd millennium BC).[27] The tradition of using attractive natural conditions is also indicated by the bronze pin with a head in the shape of three rings found at Prule 9 (*Pl. 11:* 248).

The development of the "lower town" at Tribuna and its role in the wider settlement context

Settlement Phase I; Ha A2/B1 (Fig. 4)

Between the middle of the 11th and the first half of the 10th century BC, a settlement with a planned and organised layout was built south of Grajski hrib, in the flat area of Prule (*Fig. 2:* 9). This is evidenced, for example, by the cups of types Sk3a and 3b (*Fig. 1:* 13–14), which were found at Tribuna, Gornji or Stari trg (*Figs. 2:* 2; *13:* 276), and Prule 10 (*Figs. 2:* 13; *12:* 262),[28] as well as in the oldest graves in the courtyard of the SAZU cemetery. The cups are classified as the leading forms of the Ljubljana Ia phase, according to Gabrovec (Ha A2/B1).[29] Radiocarbon analysis of the beam from Building 8 further corroborates the dating of the first occupational phase of the Tribuna settlement to around 1000 BC (*Fig. 1:* Wk30951).[30]

The street pattern of Tribuna was defined by Roads 1 and 2 and their parallel and rectangular streets and squares. These were interspersed with buildings of different orientations, with a rectangular plan and a deviation of about 30° from the north (*Fig. 4*). Such a layout is indicative of a thoughtful, well-planned, and concentrated settlement. In particular, it undoubtedly reflects the deliberate use of the natural affordances of the area, including the elevated position of the land above the Ljubljanica flood plain, the sunny location, the natural protection from the wind, and the abundant water supply. At the same time, its correlation with the course of the two main roads (Road 1 and Road 2) suggests a planned and carefully managed parcellation. In fact, Roads 1 and 2 seem to have demarcated from the outset the differences between the eastern and western parts of the settlement, which were also naturally separated by a small torrential stream.

In the eastern part of the settlement, the layout was dictated by Road 2, which ran towards the Ljubljanica and presumably led to the harbour. Along both sides of the road stood long, multi-room buildings (up to 30 m long), all oriented north-east-south-west. During this phase, the

[20] All of them were found either in Road 1 or in Building 8 and are dated to Phase I.

[21] Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 220, Pl. 50: 1, 2; Turk 1996, 106–108.

[22] Report by Plestenjak *et al*. 2021, 167–170, 175–177.

[23] Report by Draksler *et al.* 2018.

[24] Personal data that will be published in the final report of the archaeological research on Gosposvetska ulica.

[25] The Sava and Ljubljanica waterways, which led from the Danube to Vrhnika, are only documented by sources from the Roman period (Šašel Kos 1990, 20).

[26] Among the more than 150 Late Bronze Age, metal finds from the Ljubljanica River are the most significant objects associated with the male warrior sphere. Considering that at the time, no weapons were typically placed in the grave of the deceased, the question arises whether the water finds served as a supplement to the grave goods or were associated with other religious activities (Erjavec and Gaspari 2012, 269–282).

[27] Report by Klasinc *et al.* 2010; Šinkovec 2012, 251–258; Andrič *et al.* 2017, 479–498.

[28] Vojaković 2013, 225; *ead*. 2014a, 67–69.

[29] Dular 1982, 113, 115, Fig. 13: 14; Gabrovec 1973, 342.

[30] Vojaković 2014b, 393–395, 397, Figs. 22.3.6, 22.3.27.

buildings in the eastern part of the settlement were constructed exclusively in the post-pad (2 ×) and combined (4 ×) construction techniques (*Fig. 4, Tab. 1*). Hearths were found in almost every building; Buildings 11 and 18 had them, in fact, in every room. Most of the buildings on the eastern side of the site yielded a complete ceramic inventory in their respective rooms, including tableware[31] (bowls (*Pl. 1:* 1–10), cups (*Pl. 1:* 11–14), amphorae (*Pl. 1:* 15)), cooking/ storage ware (jugs (*Pl. 2:* 30–31), pots (*Pl. 2:* 39–44) and pithoi (*Pl. 2:* 39–44)), as well as cooking utensils (handstones, sieves, lids, baking lids (*Pl. 2:* 32–34), baking pans or lids (*Pl. 2:* 35–38)), ceramic rings, firedogs, and portable ovens. Querns and handstones, in contrast, were not found inside the buildings but only outside. Among the craft tools and implements, ceramic spindle whorls were the most numerous. They were found in buildings 12=13 (*Pl. 1:* 19) and 18, with one example built into the hearth construction (*Fig. 4, Tab. 1*). Building 12=13 also yielded a stone mould (*Pl. 1:* 18), which had been used repeatedly and was therefore heavily burnt. Loom weights were discovered in buildings 11 and 17*.[32] Buildings 17 and 18 were also characterised by a larger number of animal bones of different species.[33]

In the western part of the settlement, the street layout was stricter and more regular, with smaller one- to two-room buildings (6–7 m and 12–14 m long) (*Fig. 4*). These were oriented south-east-north-west, parallel to Road 1, which (except Building 8) was quite different from the orientation of the buildings in the eastern part. They were built using the earthfast post (5 ×), post-pad (1 ×), and combined (4 ×) techniques. Hearths were only documented in the larger, two-room Buildings 4, 6, 8, and 9 (*Fig. 4, Tab. 1*). Complete ceramic inventories (*Pls. 1:* 1–15; *2:* 30–49) were found in Buildings 1, 3 and 19, most of which had no hearths. The three buildings were constructed in either earthfast post or combined construction techniques. Building 6 was built in the earthfast post technique, and Building 8, in the post-pad technique. The latter also had a hearth.[34] Both buildings contained spindle whorls (*Pl. 1:* 22) and miniature bowls or melting pots (*Pl. 1:* 16), with one spindle whorl built into a hearth of Building 8. These two structures were also notable for the higher number of animal bone remains found and the greater number of species represented in their bone assemblages. Loom weights (*Pl. 1:* 23) were found in Buildings 1* and 19*.

Elements of costumes, tools, and weapons (*Pl. 1:* 29), as well as ingots (*Pl. 1:* 28), were mainly found outside the buildings (*Tab. 1*). In Phase I, iron objects were also discovered. An iron awl or chisel (*Fig. 3:* 2) was, for example, found within the first embankment of Road 1 (SE 2858) and an amorphous object in Square 3 (SE 4248). Both suggest that the first iron objects reached Tribuna as early as the 11th or 10th century BC.

These elements suggest that most of the buildings in the western part may have been residential, although craft activities also took place in Buildings 6 and 8. Given that a large number of craft tools (spindle whorls, loom weights, remains of a stone mould, and melting pots) were found in the buildings in the eastern part of the settlement, their identification as household or dwelling units is undisputed. Considering that the spindle whorls and loom weights occurred in different buildings, specialised, textile-related activities may have taken place in separate buildings. It is also interesting to note that the quantity of animal bones was three times higher in the eastern part of the settlement than in the western part and that twice as many bones were found outside the buildings as inside.

Settlement Phase II; Ha B1/B2 (Fig. 5)

In the 10th century BC, almost the entire area of Prule was inhabited, with continued settlement also recorded in the area of the Grajski hrib and the Gornji and Stari trg (*Fig. 2:* 1, 2, 9–15).[35] The first major changes in the settlement pattern took place in the area of Tribuna at this time, identified as Settlement Phase II (*Fig. 5*). Most of the pottery (*Pl. 3:* 50–63, *4:* 83–104) was similar to that of Phase I. However, two new types of pins appeared, including a pin with a vase-shaped head and a decorated neck (*Pl. 3:* 74–76)[36] and a pin with a profiled head

[31] Tableware also includes canthari and situlae, which were represented from Phase III onwards.

[32] An asterisk (*) indicates buildings from all phases where handicraft tools were found in a secondary position or in earthfast posts within the buildings.

[33] Personal data by Toškan, for which I am grateful.

[34] Buildings 4 and 9 had a hearth, but their inventory was incomplete. In Building 4, the predominant items were cooking or storage wares, and in Building 9, tableware and cooking or storage wares. Buildings 2 and 5 had no inventory.

[35] Vojaković 2013, 341–352, 356–357.

[36] According to the analogies from Bologna, San Vitale, Graves 35, 45, 190 (Carancini 1975, Pl. 57: 1899, 1896, 1904) and Vadena, Grave 14 (Carancini 1975, Pl. 57: 1891), this type could be dated to the 9th and 8th centuries BC or to the Ha B2/B3 (Carancini 1975, 265; Teržan 1987, 8).

and a twisted neck (*Pl. 3:* 72–73).[37] A similar pin was also found at Špica (*Pl. 11:* 257).[38] The dating of this phase to the 10th century BC was further corroborated by the results of the radiocarbon dating of the beam from Building 8 at Tribuna,[39] which corresponds to the Ljubljana Ib phase (Ha B1/B2)[40] (*Fig. 1:* Wk 30950).

The changes in the settlement pattern at Tribuna were undoubtedly influenced by the relocation of Road 1 to the north.[41] This opened up a large area for the newly planned development, linked to the course of Road 2. This change, however, erased the distinction between the western and eastern parts of the settlement (*Fig. 5*).

In the western part of the settlement, there was a complete shift in the settlement layout, the way buildings were constructed, and their function. Whereas in the previous phase, almost all the buildings were oriented south-east-north-west, in Phase II, the orientation became much more uniform, and the structures followed a north-east-south-west alignment, similar to the buildings in the eastern part. During this phase, the buildings were constructed using the earthfast post (7 ×), post-pad (1 ×), combined (1 ×) as well as comer timbering (3 ×) construction methods. Buildings 4a+6a, 4b+6b, 8, and 10 were the only ones with a complete ceramic inventory (*Fig. 5; Tab. 2; Pls. 3:* 50–63; *4:* 83–104). Building 8, which was constructed using a comer timber construction technique and had a hearth, stood out from the other buildings in the western part of the settlement due to its considerable size.

In the eastern part of the settlement, the pattern remained the same, and the combined construction method (4 ×) continued to be the predominant building technique. Significantly, the earthfast post method appeared for the first time in this area of the settlement (*e.g.*, Buildings 11 and 15). A hearth was found in almost all buildings. Most of the buildings had a hearth and a complete ceramic inventory (*Fig. 5; Tab. 2; Pls. 3:* 50–63; *4:* 83–104).

In summary, the number of buildings with indicators of different craft or economic activities increased during Settlement Phase II (*Fig. 5; Tab. 2*) and included Buildings 3, 5*, 7, 8, 10* 11, 12=13, 14=16, 17, and 18. In Buildings 8, 11,[42] 17, and 18, for example, spindle whorls were recorded together with objects related to metallurgical activities (*Pl. 3:* 63, 78–82). Seven loom weights were discovered in Building 18. The spindle whorls built into the hearths (*Pl. 3:* 66) were only recorded for this phase in Buildings 8 and 12=13. Building 5*contained only loom weights,[43] while both, Buildings 7 and 14=16 yielded spindle whorls.[44] In Buildings 3, 10* and 12=13, only the remains of metallurgical activity were recovered, also evidenced by a nozzle in Building 11* (*Pl. 3:* 79), a pin in Building 12=13 (*Pl. 3:* 78), melting pots in Buildings 8, 10, 12=13 and 17 (*Pl. 3:* 63), and a mould in Building 10* (Pl. 3: 82). Pieces of iron slag were found on the floors of Buildings 3, 17 and 18. It seems that metallurgical activity increased significantly during this phase, in contrast to the preceding Phase I, when it was only associated with Building 12=13. Taken together, the greater number of iron slag remains and iron objects indicate that blacksmithing was practised at Tribuna from the 10th century BC onwards.

Elements of costumes were mainly found inside the buildings (*Pl. 3:* 72–76), while weapons or tools (*Pl. 3:* 71) were still found outside (*Tab. 2*). Ingots were found both inside and outside the buildings (*Pl. 3:* 70, 77).

The changes in the grid pattern between Settlement Phases I and II might have been related to the planned reorganisation of the area as a result of the increase in craft and metallurgical activities. In Phase II, iron slag was found in both parts of the settlement: specifically, in the eastern part, on the pavement of the long Buildings 17 and 18, as well as in the western part, on the pavement of Building 3. This is significant, as during Phase I, the western

[37] According to the analogies from Tolmin, specifically type VI, variant 1a (Pogačnik 2002, Fig. 32c) or pins type Marco (Carancini 1975, 37, 203), the pins could be dated to the Ha B1-B2 or to the Bronze Age Final (Teržan 2002, 87; Carancini 1975, 204).

[38] Report by Klasinc *et al.* 2010, Tab. 10: 6.

[39] Vojaković 2014b, 395–397, Figs. 22.3.7, 22.3.27.

[40] Gabrovec 1973, 342–343. See also the dendrochronological research of the Swiss mounds (Rychner *et al.* 1995, 455–485).

[41] During the 2018 excavation campaign, the road was documented in an area outside the original excavation field (report by Novšak *et al.* 2019).

[42] Considering that in Building 11, a loom weight was recorded for the preceding Phase I, and a spindle whorl for Phase II, not only its construction method but also the purpose of the building might have changed through time.

[43] The only weaving tools found in this phase were recovered in Buildings 5* and 18. They consisted of stone weights, which might also have served as weights for fishing nets.

[44] In the preceding Phase I, Buildings 7 and 14=16 contained no finds that would have linked them to any specific craft activity.

part was dominated by smaller, residential buildings. Metallurgical activity is also evidenced by the numerous moulds (*Pls. 1:* 17–18; *3:* 80–82), which were found only in the first two settlement phases, pieces of smelting and smithing iron slag, fragments of nozzles (*Pls. 1:* 26; *3:* 79) and pins (*Pls. 1:* 27; *3:* 78). Taken together, these finds indicate that there would have been local metal production at the site, although the extent of it remains unknown. The presence of iron slag as early as Settlement Phase II, *i.e.*, from the 10th century BC onwards (*Fig. 6*), indicates the early beginnings of iron production associated with iron smelting and forging (*Fig. 1:* Wk 30950).

Settlement Phase III; Ha B2/B3 (Fig. 7)

The settlement of Ljubljana reached its peak in the middle of the 9th century BC (at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age). In continuation from the earlier phases, Grajski hrib, Prule, Stari trg, and Gornji trg remained inhabited (*Fig. 2:* 1, 2, 9-15).[45] Remains of human activity were found on the northern side of Grajski hrib, in the area of the present-day marketplace (Kopitarjeva ulica) (*Fig. 2:* 8).[46] The most important finds representing this phase were the spiral-headed pins and the conical or roofed pins with twisted necks found at Tribuna (*Pl. 5:* 132–134), Prule 9[47] (*Pl. 11:* 251–252) and Špica[48] (*Pl. 11:* 258), as well as a double-cross belt buckle of the Ljubljana type[49] found at Tribuna (*Pl. 5:* 137). For the first time, cups SK1[50] appear at Tribuna, Grajski hrib, Prule 10, and Gornji and Stari trg (*Pls. 5:* 113–115; *10:* 234–236; *12:* 261; *13:* 275). In the Ljubljana cemetery, such cups are represented in Phases Ljubljana IIb and IIIa.[51] Also new were the cantaroi found at Tribuna (*Pl. 5:* 120) and Kopitarjeva ulica (*Pl. 14:* 289), and the ceramic situlae from Tribuna and Grajski hribu (*Pl. 5:* 118–119; *Pl. 10:* 237). This phase also records the highest number of graves in the courtyard cemetery of the SAZU.[52] Settlement Phase III, as well as the small finds associated with it, can thus be correlated with Phases IIa and IIb of Ljubljana (Ha B2/B3 and B3/C0).[53] This was also confirmed by the radiocarbon analyses of the beams, which placed the Tribuna buildings in the 9th century BC (*Fig. 1:* Wk 33428; Wk 33427; Wk 33429; KIA 36316; Wk 23917; KIA 36317; Wk 33426).[54]

The settlement layout associated with Phase III at Tribuna was quite similar to that of the previous phase. Only minor changes could be detected, not only in the settlement grid but also in the construction method, the internal arrangement of the buildings, and the representation of the ceramic inventory (*Fig. 7; Pls. 5:* 105–121; *6:* 138–157). All the buildings in the eastern part of the settlement were built in the post-pad technique during this phase, while a combined construction prevailed in the western part. Major differences were also observed in the distribution of bones and the functionality of the buildings. During this period, animal bones were evenly distributed between the eastern and western parts of the settlement, and there was an increase in the number of buildings associated with craft or other activities. Spindle whorls (*Pl. 5:* 127) were found in Buildings 8a, 12=13, and 18, together with objects such as a nozzle (*Pl. 5:* 130), slag, and melting pots, indicating metallurgical activity. Loom weights were found in Building 12=13 (*Pl. 5:* 128).[55] In Building 11, there were loom weights, in Building 3 only a melting pot, and in Buildings 1a, 4b+6b*, 5, 7, 19, 14=16* only spindle whorls (*Pl. 5:* 124–126). The spindle whorl built into the hearth was found in Building 12=13. This suggests that spinning activity could be associated with nine buildings. Despite the increased number of objects associated with it, metallurgical activity was represented in only four buildings (*i.e.*, Buildings 3, 8a, 12=13, 18) (*Fig. 7; Tab. 3*). A bronze hollow axe (*Pl. 5:* 123), embedded in the pavement of Building 8b, is significant and, based on the analogies from Kranj[56] and San Francesco, Bologna,[57] can be dated to the Ha B/C[58] or the 8th century BC.[59] As the axe shows no signs of use, it would have been deliberately deposited.

45 Vojaković 2013, 357; *ead.* 2014a, 69; *ead.* 2014a, 69–70.

46 Report by Draksler *et al.* 2011.

47 Report by Žerjal *et al.* 2012,App. 3/4 and 5.

48 Report by Klasinc *et al.* 2010, Pl. 10/7.

49 Strmčnik-Gulič 1979, 120–121.

50 Vojaković 2013, 222–224, Fig. 120; Pls. 189: 1–2; 190: 12; 192: 12, 13; 196: 7.

51 Dular 1982, 113, 115, Fig. 13: 16.

52 Stare 1954; Puš 1971; *id.* 1982; Gabrovec 1973.

53 Gabrovec 1973, 343; Rychner *et al.* 1995, 455–485.

54 Vojaković 2014b, 398–407, Figs. 22.3.16–22, 22.3.27.

55 In Phase III, the spindle whorls appeared together with the loom weights in Building 12=13 for the first time. This suggests that yarn spinning and weaving were both practised in the same building. Its multifunctional use is also confirmed by the discovery of a nozzle and the remains of a metallurgical furnace, suggesting metallurgical activity.

56 Stare 1952, 298, Fig. 1; Šinkovec 1995, 78, Pl. 21: 133.

57 Carancini 1984, Pl. 131: 3889.

58 Šinkovec 1995, 78.

59 Carancini 1984, 160.

The antlers and bones of deer and roe deer were found in three buildings: 1a, 8a, and 12=13. A goat horn and bird and dog bones were also found in Building 8a. The structure was also notable for the large quantity of bones from the heads of cattle, sheep, and pigs.[60]

Elements of costumes (*Pl. 5:* 132–137), as well as weapons and tools (*Pl. 5:* 123), were mainly found inside the buildings, while ingots (*Pl. 5:* 122) were mainly found outside (*Tab. 3*).

Among the buildings in which craft activities were documented, larger buildings with two or more rooms predominated. They were located both in the eastern and western parts of the settlement.

Settlement Phase IV; Ha B3/C1 (Fig. 8)

The Ljubljana settlement occupied the same area from the end of the 9th century BC to the end of the 8th century BC (*Fig. 2*). This period also saw the first burials in tumuli and the first skeletal graves in Kongresni trg (*Fig. 2:* 6).[61] Settlement Phase IV at Tribuna was identified based on the stratigraphy and the typo-chronological analysis of finds, such as a single-looped fibula with a leaf bow (*Pl. 7:* 183),[62] a many-knobbed pin of the Redipuglia type (*Pl. 7:* 182),[63] a pin with a spherical-head of the Capodaglio type (*Pl. 7:* 181),[64] a pin with an elongated conical-head of the Rebato type (*Pl. 7:* 180) [65] and knives of the Bismantov type[66] (*Pl. 7:* 176) and the Este type[67] (*Pl. 7:* 177).

The period can be paralleled with the Ljubljana IIIa phase[68] (Ha B3/C1=C0). Most of the pottery recovered was similar to that of Phase III (*Pl. 7:* 158–167, 184–198). A horizontal handle discovered on Grajski hrib, which may have belonged to the *kothon* bowl type, suggests contact with the Picenian area (*Pl. 10:* 246). Such pottery was found mainly in the Picenian area and along the eastern Adriatic coast. In Picenum, it appeared in settlements as early as the 9th century BC and remained in use until the 5th century BC.[69] The handle found indicates that Ljubljana had contacts with the northern Adriatic region as early as the 8th century BC.

During this phase, Tribuna saw major changes in the settlement pattern, reflected in the abandonment of some of the buildings in the westernmost part of the settlement and a reduction in the dimensions of the buildings in the eastern part. As a result, the abandoned areas were transformed into large, open paved spaces (*i.e.*, Squares 5 and 6). Changes can also be seen in construction methods. The predominant construction method in both the western and the eastern parts of the settlement was a post-pad construction with stone foundations (Buildings 1a+1b, 3, 8a, 11, 12=13, 14=16, 18, 19+20). There was also a uniform orientation, exclusively north–east–south–west, and an even distribution of animal bones between the two parts of the settlement (*Fig. 8*). Craft activities took place in fewer buildings, with a clear predominance of those related to metallurgy (*i.e.*, Buildings 1b+2a*, 3*, 8a*, 10, 12=13, 14=16* and 18) (*Figs. 6, 8; Tab. 4*). Also significant were the larger concentrations of slag found outside the buildings. The first concentration was located in the western part of the settlement, between Street 1 and Street 7, *i.e.*, in the vicinity of the two buildings (*i.e.*, Buildings 1b+2a* and 3*), in which individual pieces of slag were also found. The other two concentrations were found in the eastern part, in the area of Square 4 and Street 13. No slag was found in the surrounding buildings. Spindle whorls were found only in Buildings 8b, 10, 12=13, 17, and 18 (*Pl. 7:* 168–169). Loom weights were discovered only in Building 8a (*Pl. 7:* 172). The multifunctional use of the buildings, including Buildings 8a, 10, 12=13, and 18, increased. Of these, Building 12=13 stands out, not only for the metallurgical (t.

[60] Oral information by Toškan. For comparison, see Most na Soči, which is a much younger settlement (Toškan, Bartosiewicz 2018, 493–496).

[61] Report by Masaryk *et al.* 2011; Vojaković 2013, 357–358, Fig. 215; Ferle 2014, 15; Gaspari 2014, 80–84; also see Škvor Jernejčič, Vojakovič in this publication.

[62] Gabrovec 1973, 348, 351, Pl. 12; Müller-Karpe 1959, 283; Guštin 1973, 469, sheet 2; Beinhauer 1985, 544, Pls. 1: 11; 9: 134; 10: 136; 17: 263; 18: 269; 29: 434; 155: 1743; 176: 1971; 188: 2201.

[63] Carancini 1975, 285.

[64] Carancini 1975, 286–288, Pl. 67/2197–2204; Teržan 2002, 89.

[65] Carancini 1975, 284–285, Pl. 67/1278; Teržan 2002, 89.

[66] According to the analogies from Vadene (Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, Fig. 18: 8) and L´Aquile, Abruzzi (Bianco Peroni 1976, Pl. 33: 273), this type could be dated to Este IIb, i.e.,. 800–760 BC (Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, 63; Pare, Birmingham 1996).

[67] According to the analogies from Este (Müller-Karpe 1959, Pl. 58: 15), Este, Via S. Stefano, Casa di Ricovero, tomba 236 (Bianco Peroni 1976, Pl. 39: 341), Este, Via S. Stefano, Casa di Ricovero, tomba 287 (Bianco Peroni 1976, Pl. 39: 340), Dobova – grave 14 (Stare 1975, Pl. 7: 10) and Slepšek near Mokronog (Gabrovec 1973, Pl. 10: 5) this type could be dated to Este II, ie., . 800–720 BC or in the 8th century BC (Müller-Karpe 1959, 221; Pare, Birmingham 1996; Bianco Peroni 1976, 71–72).

[68] Gabrovec 1973, 343–345, 348, 351, Pl. 12.

[69] Mihovilić 2007, 85–94.

7: 173) and spinning tools found but also for the animal bones. Although small in number (*i.e.*, 30 identifiable remains), the bones show a remarkable diversity of animal species, with 10 different species identified. [70] A human bone (a phalanx) was also found in the building. In this phase, there were no buildings with a spindle whorl built into the hearth. Weapons or tools (*Pl. 7:* 176–177, 179) were mainly found outside the buildings, while parts of costumes (*Pl. 7:* 180–183) and ingots (*Pl. 7:* 174–175, 178; *Tab. 4*) were found inside and outside the buildings.

Handicraft tools were mainly found in larger buildings with two or more rooms. The latter were built using the comer timbering (1 ×), the earthfast post (3 ×), and the post-pad (5 ×) construction techniques. With the exception of Buildings 1b+2a, 12=13, and 18, they had almost no hearths inside. They also lacked a complete ceramic inventory (except for Buildings 8b, 12=13, and 18). The significant increase in the number of bronze objects, ingots, and iron slag (*Figs. 6, 9–10*) during the period is remarkable. Among the ingots, there are several belonging to shaft-holes axes (*Pls. 5:* 122; *7:* 175; *9:* 228). Their manufacture and use date between the 10th and 8th centuries BC.[71] Their circulation as pre-monetary means and their storage in hoards are attested as late as the 5th century BC.[72] The presence of fragments of the eared axes at Tribuna proves that the prehistoric settlement was part of a wider economic network bartering in the established pre-monetary resources from at least the end of the 9th century BC.[73]

Hiatus; Ha C2/D1

The Tribuna settlement of Phase IV is followed by a hiatus of one or two centuries.

Although its cause remains unclear, it is similar to the settlement discontinuity at Frattestina, Montagnana, and Mariconda di Melara[74] and the consequent interruption of trade contacts with these and other sites in the West. Perhaps climate change and the related changes in the water levels of the Ljubljanica River and its torrential streams[75] were to blame. Whatever the cause(s), the fact remains that, at least in the Tribuna area, there have been almost no recorded settlement remains for over 100 years.

Settlement Phase V; Ha D2/D3 (Fig. 12)

The area of Ljubljana was reoccupied in the Late Hallstatt period or in the 6th century BC. At the time, the settlement's extent was reduced to the area between Grajski hrib and a part of the present-day Prule (*Fig. 2*).[76] Only a few graves from this period were discovered in the courtyard of the SAZU.[77] Settlement phase V at Tribuna was dated to the 6th and 5th centuries BC (Ha D2/D3) on the basis of the radiocarbon analysis of the beam from Building 1b+2a (*Fig. 1:* Wk 33430, Wk30952)[78] and a typo/chronological analysis of the finds. The pottery of this phase was extremely inexpressive (*Pl. 9:* 199–205, 208–214). Among the small finds, there were a surprising number of bronze fibulae. These included, for example, the serpentine fibula type I.1 according to Nascimbene (*Pl. 9:* 215),[79] the long-footed fibula with a band bow (*Pl. 9:* 217),[80] the long-footed fibula with a hollow bow (*Pl. 9:* 216),[81] the Certosa fibula type IXb or c (*Pl. 9:* 218),[82] the Certosa fibula type IIc (*Pl. 9:* 219),[83] the Certosa fibula type V or IXb (*Pl. 9:* 220),[84] and the East Alpine animal-headed fibula (*Pl. 9:* 221).[85] The latter was found, together with the Certosa fibula type Xc, in the area of NUK II.[86] Also surprising was a large number of broken or cut-up elements of costumes, which included, for example, a bronze, ribbed D-shaped bracelet (*Pl. 9:* 222–223),[87] a bronze, ribbed D-shaped bracelet with

[70] As all these species were represented by non-muscled parts of the body, it is reasonable to think that they were not typical food remains (Škvor Jernejčič, Toškan 2018, 255–259).

[71] Teržan 2008(2010), 297–298.

[72] Pavlin, Turk 2014, 48–49; Svoljšak, Dular 2016, Pl. 40: 9; Nanut 2018, 139–140; Laharnar 2022, 261.

[73] Teržan 2008(2010), 297–300.

[74] Bietti Sestieri 1984a, 413-427; *ead.* 1984b, 429–464; Towle, Henderson, Bellintani, Gambacurta 2002, 7–68; Bianchi Citton 1998, 429–433; De Min 1984a, 642–650.

[75] At the site of Prule 9, thick alluvial deposits of a torrential stream flowing from Grajski hrib were found captured between two paved banks dating to the Early and Late Hallstatt periods (report by Žerjal *et al.* 2012).

[76] Vojaković 2013, 358–359; *ead.* 2014a, 70–71.

[77] Graves 260, 261, 264, 276, 280, 281, 325; Škvor Jernejčič 2014, 239–240.

[78] Vojaković 2014b, 409–412, Figs. 22.3.25, 22.3.27.

[79] Nascimbene 2009, 69, Fig. 12.

[80] Teržan, Trampuž-Orel 1973, 429–430, Pls. 14/15–16.

[81] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984, Pl. 138B: 2; Teržan, Trampuž-Orel 1973, 429–435, Pl. 7: 12.

[82] Teržan 1976, 329, 371, Figs. 21:4–7 and 40.

[83] Teržan 1976, 321–322, 351.

[84] Teržan 1976, 323–324, 329, 353, 371, Figs. 18, 21:4–7 and 40.

[85] Gabrovec 1966, 19–49, Map 2; Lunz 1974, 132, Pl. 82B; Parzinger 1988, Pl. 146: 1; Teržan 1990, Map 21; Nascimbene 2009, Tab. 24, with references to older literature.

[86] Gaspari 2010, 24, Fig. 14.

[87] Dular 2003, 130–136; Tecco Hvala 2012, 306–309.

incisions between the knobs (*Pl. 9:* 224),[88] a bronze ring with spirally twisted ends (*Pl. 9:* 225),[89] and a bronze earring with loops and trapezoidal pendants decorated with four circles (*Pl. 9:* 226).[90] In Square 1=2, a bronze trilobate Scythian arrowhead (*Fig. 11:* 1) type II.B.4 by Hellmuth[91] might have indicated a violent end to the settlement. Another example of the same type was also found on Grajski hrib (*Fig. 11:* 2).

The arrows were associated with the Scythian influence or the invasion of these equestrian nomadic peoples, who spread from the northern Pontus through the Pannonian-Carpathian area. Teržan showed that Scythian arrowheads can be found in settlements in the south-eastern Alpine area at the end of the Early Hallstatt period, while those documented in graves were not older than the Late Hallstatt period.[92] Their distribution map can be supplemented by two more sites, which also belong to the Gorenjska group, according to Gabrovec. The first is the lowland settlement of Mengeš (*Fig. 11:* 3–4),[93] which, like the Ljubljana settlement, was situated at the foot of a hill and by a river, namely the Gobavica Hill and the Pšata River. Two arrowheads were discovered (type II.E or F and type II.D.4)[94] in Mengeš. As at Tribuna, they were both found outside the buildings, in an open, paved area. The second site with the Scythian arrowheads is the hillfort of Pungrt above Ig,[95] which is located at the crossroads of two Hallstatt groups (the Dolenjska and the Notranjska groups). There, an arrowhead of type II.C.4[96] was found on the floor of Building 22. Significantly, the skeleton of a premature infant was also found in a contracted position on the floor of the same building. Radiocarbon analysis of the bones gave a date of 2953–2430 ± 30 BP, which, with a standard deviation (68.3% probability), gives a range of 542–416 BC and, with a 95.4% probability, 571–404 BC. At present, it is impossible to determine whether these arrowheads were related to the Scythian raids or to the conquest of the area by the Dolenjska Hallstatt group.

During Settlement Phase V, only the western part of Tribuna was inhabited. In the eastern part, only Road 2, probably leading to the harbour, remained in use (*Fig. 12*). The buildings were small, with one or two rooms, still oriented north-east-south-west, and built only in a post-pad and combined construction techniques. Among the buildings with hearths, *i.e.*, Buildings 1a+1b/J, 4a+6a, 19+20, only Building 4a+6a had a complete ceramic inventory (*Tab. 5*). The latter was also present in Buildings 1a+1b/S and 3, which had no hearth inside. This may be due to damage incurred in younger periods. Among the tools found in the buildings, there were no spindle whorls no loom weights. Instead, these were found in Road 2 and Square 1=2, while only metallurgical by-products were discovered inside the buildings. More precisely, slag was found only in Building 1b+2a* (*Fig. 12; Tab. 5*). It was also found in the immediate vicinity of this building, *i.e.*, in Street 6=7. Among the bones of various animal species, 10 horse bones were identified, most of them found in Road 2. Bear and beaver bones were recovered in Street 2=4, and antlers in Buildings 1a+1b/J and 19+20. The low representation of weapons or tools and ingots (*Pl. 9:* 227–228; *Tab. 5*) is notable compared to the relatively high number of costume pieces (*Pl. 9:* 215–226; *Tab. 5*) present both inside and outside the buildings.

All these elements indicate that most of the buildings in Phase V were primarily residential, except for Building 1b+2a*, where metallurgical activities would also have taken place. If the missing craft elements are not attributable to the damage caused by more recent interventions, this would indicate that the size of the individual buildings and the settlement as a whole, as well as the economic or commercial potential of the settlement, changed during the Late Hallstatt period.

In the middle of the 3rd century BC, an influx of the new elements associated with the La Tène Culture can be observed at Tribuna. This was reflected, for example, in different costumes and different pottery production, while the settlement layout remained similar to the earlier Hallstatt spatial organisation.[97]

CONCLUSION

While several factors were essential in the formation of the prehistoric settlement in the area of present-day Ljubljana, the location itself was cer-

[88] Dular 2003, 143–144; Tecco Hvala 2012, 306–309.

[89] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984, Pl. 145B: 14.

[90] Tecco Hvala, Dular, Kocuvan 2004, Pls. 31B: 4; 78C: 1, 2.

[91] Hellmuth 2006, 193, Fig. 2.

[92] Teržan 1998, 521, 539, Fig. 8: 31, Pls. 5: 3, 10, 13–24; 7: 4; 9: 4; 11: 1–21.

[93] Personal data by Josipović, for which I am grateful.

[94] Hellmuth 2006, 193, Fig. 2.

[95] Report by Vojakovič *et al.* 2021, Fig. 4.

[96] Hellmuth 2006, 193, Fig. 2.

[97] Vojaković 2014a; Novšak *et al.* 2017.

tainly one of the most important. The prehistoric settlement was located at the crossroads of land and water communication systems. At the same time, the strategic location of Grajski hrib and the good natural protection of the flat area next to the Ljubljanica river bend added to the importance of the settlement. The excellent visibility from Grajski hrib gave it full control over its surroundings, while the favourable local environmental conditions of the Tribuna area provided it with all the necessary elements for its survival. Analyses of the seeds from Tribuna revealed a considerable diversity of habitats, suggesting both the weedy vegetation of arable fields as well as ruderal vegetation in the vicinity of the site. The proximity of water bodies was indicated by the typical taxa of aquatic and riparian, and swamp ecosystems. The presence of forest, woodland, and clearings in the vicinity was also evidenced by the remains of plants collected by man and brought to the settlement. Animal husbandry (domestic cattle, sheep, and pigs) was also practised, along with hunting and fishing to a lesser extent.[98] Horses and dogs were also represented by individual specimens within the analysed bone assemblage.[99]

The internal organisation of the settlement was determined by functional and perhaps social factors. Throughout its five occupational phases, the settlement had a precise and ordered spatial layout, which is indicative of urban planning (*Figs. 4–5; 7–8; 12*). The grid consisted of roads, streets, and open larger, open paved areas or squares. The latter, given the larger number of ingots recovered in such areas, would have been public spaces where the bartering of goods, trade, and socialising would have taken place. The squares were surrounded by buildings, both dwellings and workshops, where various craft activities would have taken place, such as weaving, yarn making, casting, blacksmithing, and woodworking. The construction method, the interior layout, and the ceramic inventory of the individual buildings indicate that the settlement had an urban character and a balanced social structure with inhabitants of similar social status. While the social stratification of communities in the Late Bronze Age is more difficult to discern from the study of grave finds,[100] the study of settlement contexts offers interesting insights not only into the organisation of individual buildings and thus individual activities but also into the first urban planning elements of prehistoric settlements in the area of the present-day Ljubljana. It appears that the prehistoric settlement in the area of Tribuna was a trading centre, with the first elements of urbanism[101] dating back to at least around 1000 BC. The fortified acropolis would have been located, meanwhile, on Grajski hrib. Tribuna was, therefore, the "lower town," where artisans, craftsmen, and merchants lived and worked and where there was a division of labour,[102] which was reflected in its distinct spatial organisation.

Translation: Agni Prijatelj

[98] Fish bones from the carp, perch, and pike families were all discovered. Preliminary analyses of the fish bones were carried out by Marijan Govedič.

[99] Report by Toškan, Dirjec 2012; Vojaković 2013, 275–276; Vojaković 2014a, 69.

[100] Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2020.

[101] See Hänsel 1996, 241–251; *id*. 2002, 69–98; Smith 2016, 158, Pl. 10.1; Pearce 2020, 19–25; Fernandez 2020, 27–42.

[102] A concentrated presence of various craft activities could also be detected in the eastern part of the settlement at Most na Soči. Teržan thus suggests the existence of a so-called craft and handicraft "town district" (Teržan 2022, 355).

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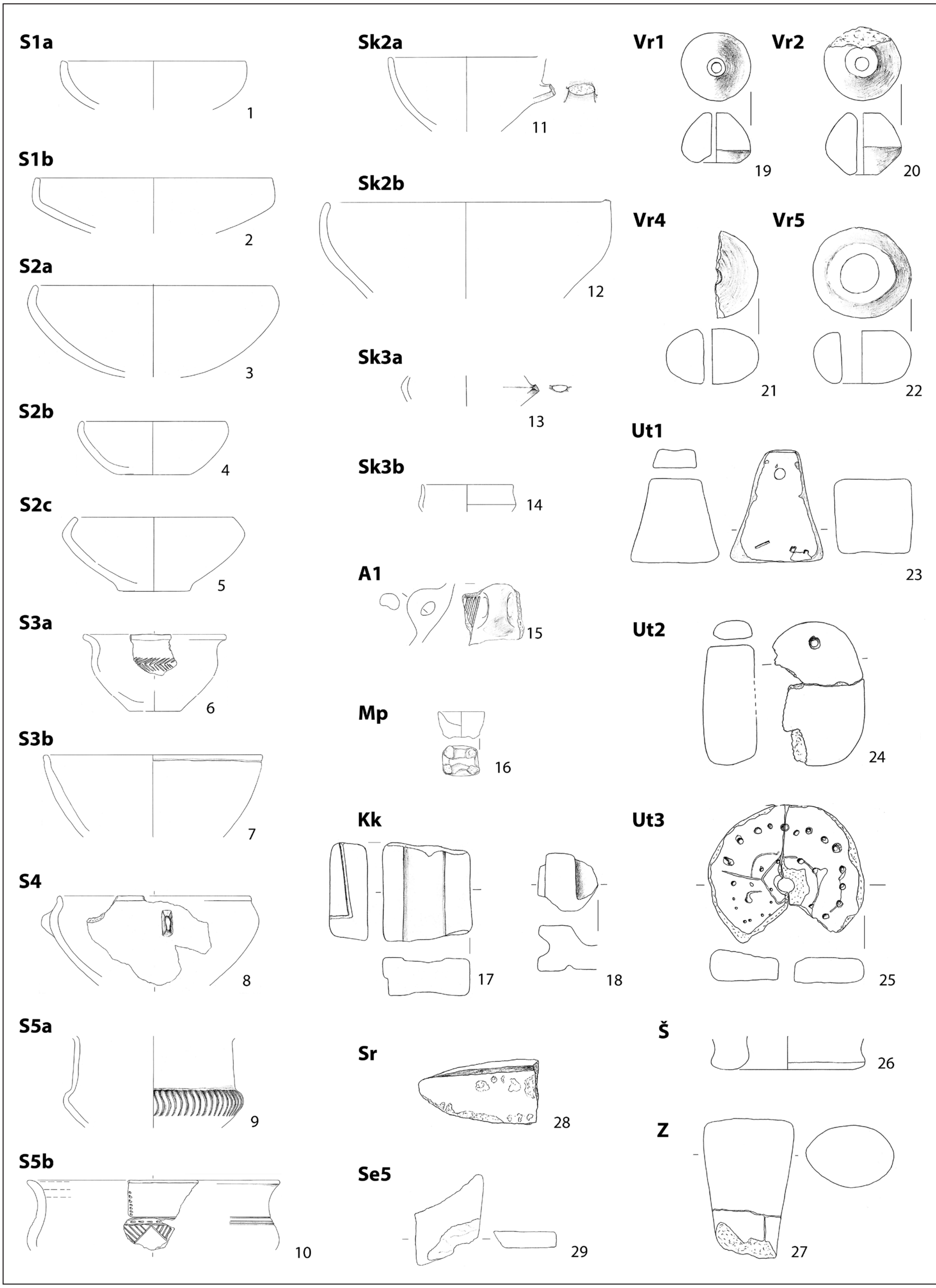
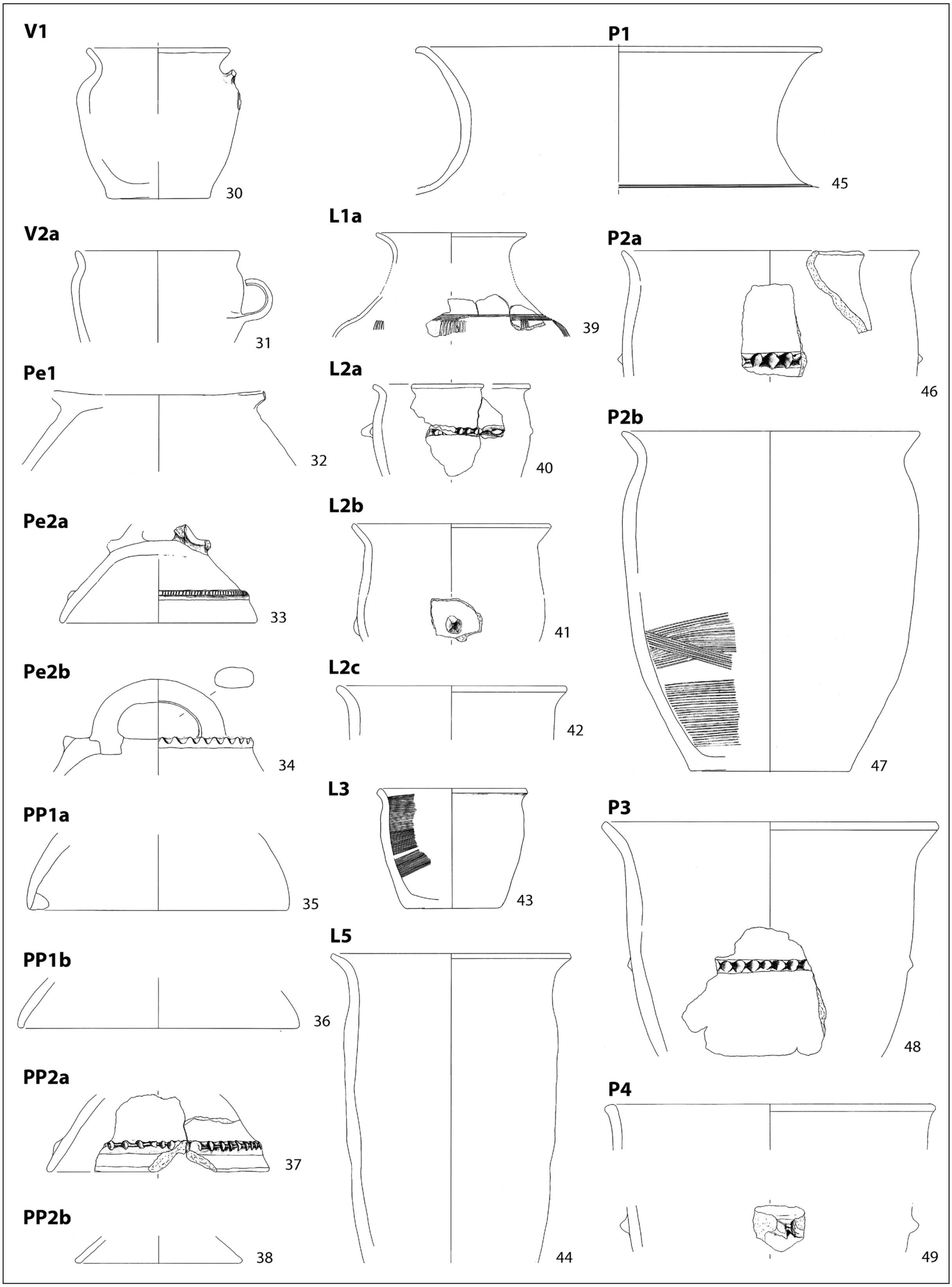
Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 4, 5, 7 in 8 (risba: Mate Božinović, Petra Vojaković). – *Sl. 11* (risba: Larisa Skalerič, Borut Plohl, Jerica Brečić; foto: Mate Božinović, Petra Vojaković, Katja Plohl, Blaž Zgaga).
Illustrations: Sl. 4, 5, 7 in 8 (drawing: Mate Božinović, Petra Vojaković). – *Sl. 11* (drawing: Larisa Skalerič, Borut Plohl, Jerica Brečić; photo: Mate Božinović, Petra Vojaković, Katja Plohl, Blaž Zgaga).

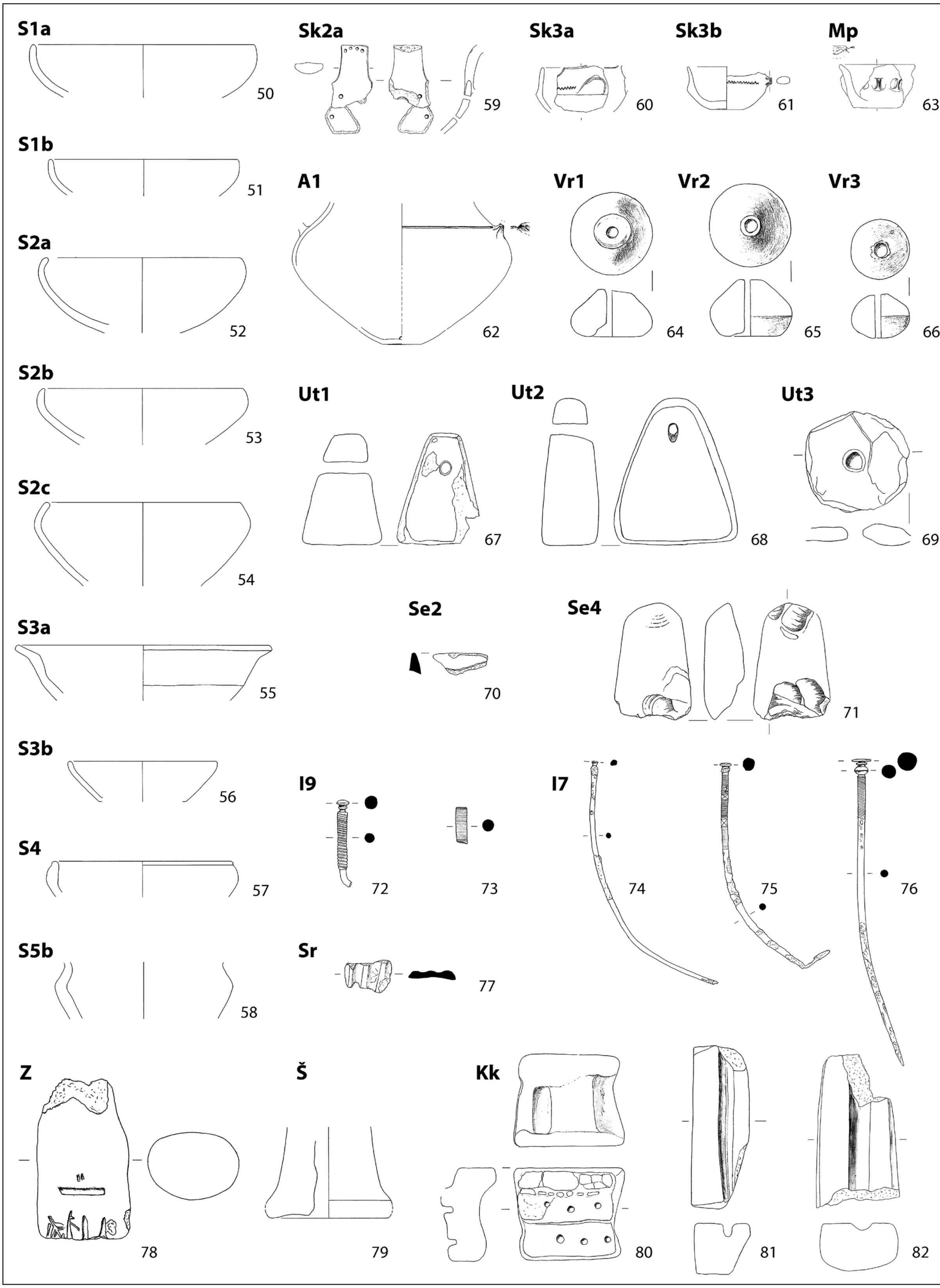


T. 1: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Reprezentativno gradivo I. naselbinske faze. 1–16,19–24,26 keramika; 17–18,25,27,29 kamen, 28 bron. M. 1–16 = 1:6; 17–29 = 1:3.

Pl. 1: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representative material of Settlement Phase I. 1–16,19–24,26 pottery; 17–18,25,27,29 stone; 28 bronze. Scale 1–16 = 1:6; 17–28 = 1:3.

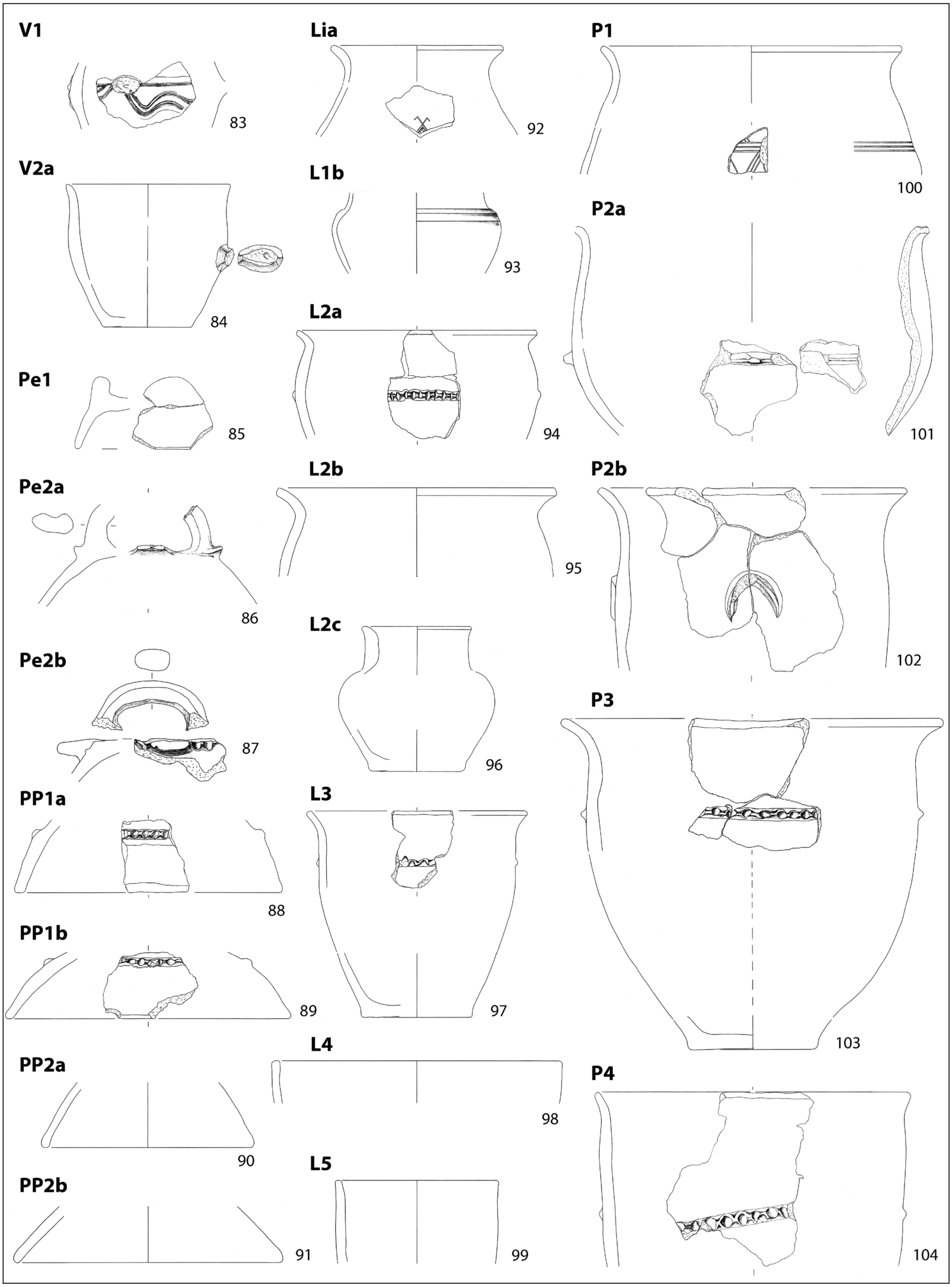


T. 2: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Reprezentativno gradivo I. naselbinske faze. Vse keramika. M. = 1:6.
Pl. 2: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representative material of Settlement Phase I. All pottery. Scale = 1:6.

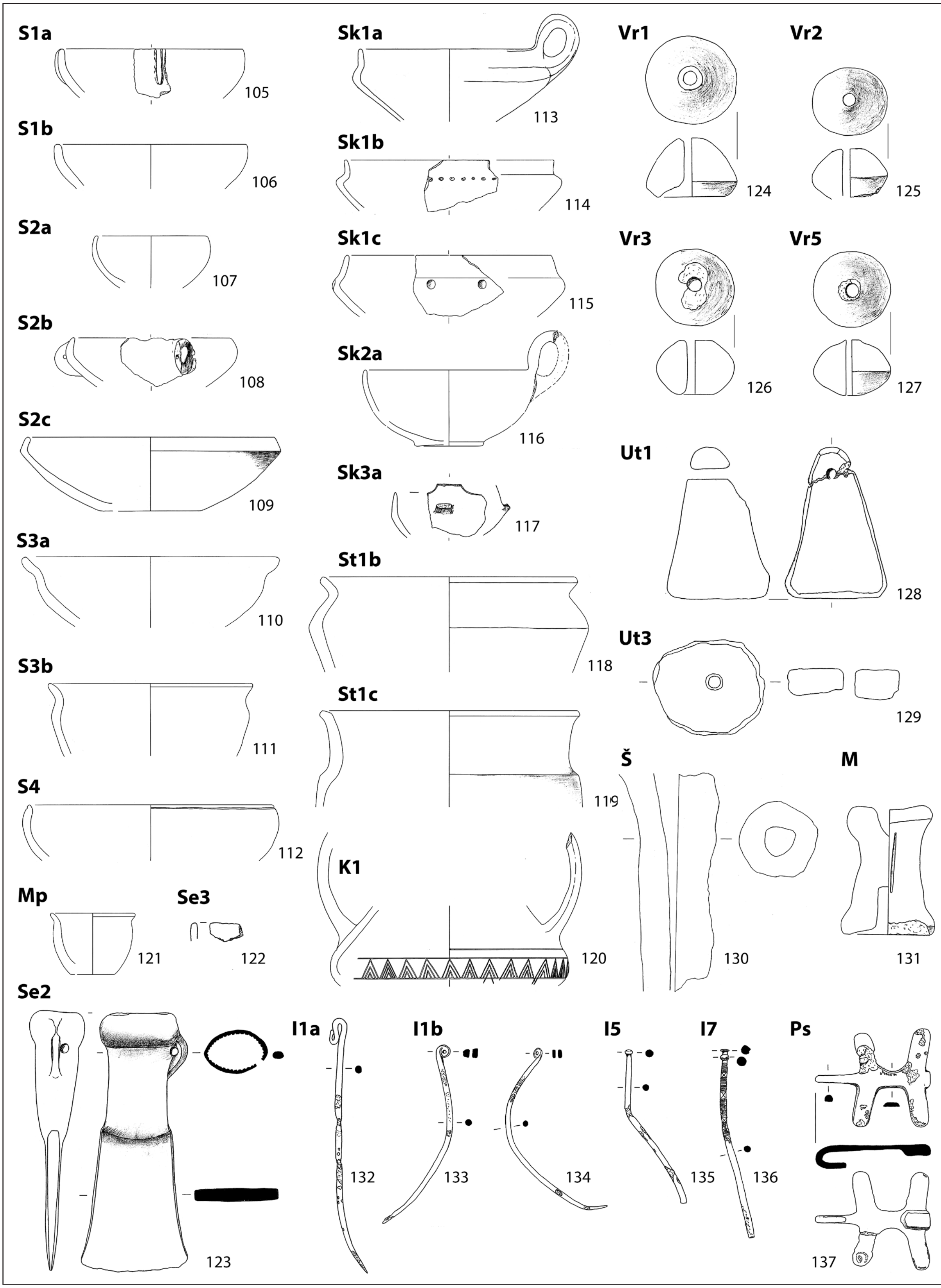


T. 3: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Reprezentativno gradivo II. naselbinske faze. 50–63,78–79 keramika; 71,80–82 kamen; 70,72–77 bron. M. 50–63,82 = 1:6, 64–81 = 1:3.

Pl. 3: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representative material of Settlement Phase II. 50–63,78–79 pottery; 71,80–82 stone; 70,72–77 bronze. Scale 50–63,82 = 1:6, 64–81 = 1:3.

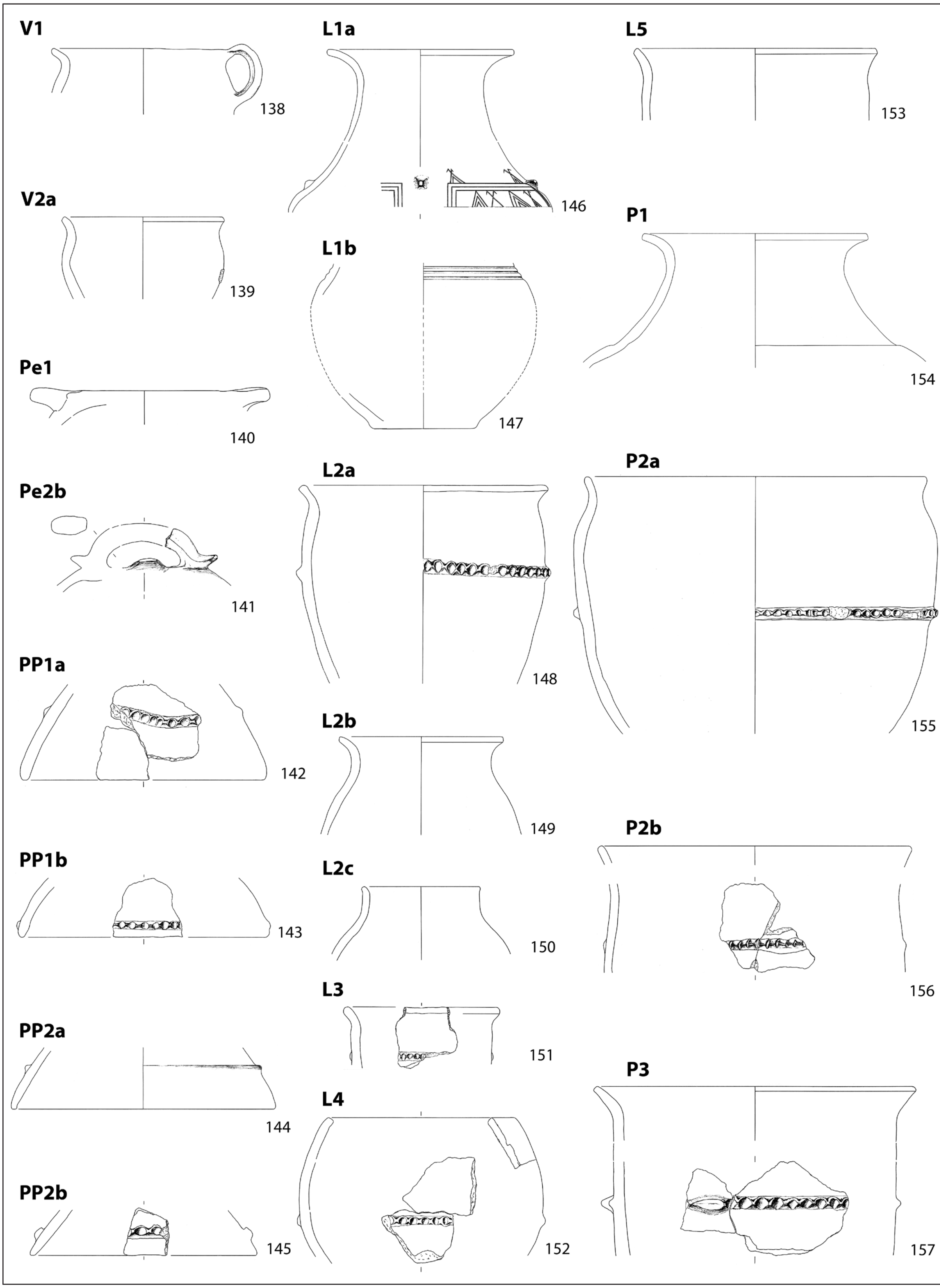


T. 4: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Reprezentativno gradivo II. naselbinske faze. Vse keramika. M. = 1:6.
Pl. 4: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representative material of Settlement Phase II. All pottery. Scale = 1:6.

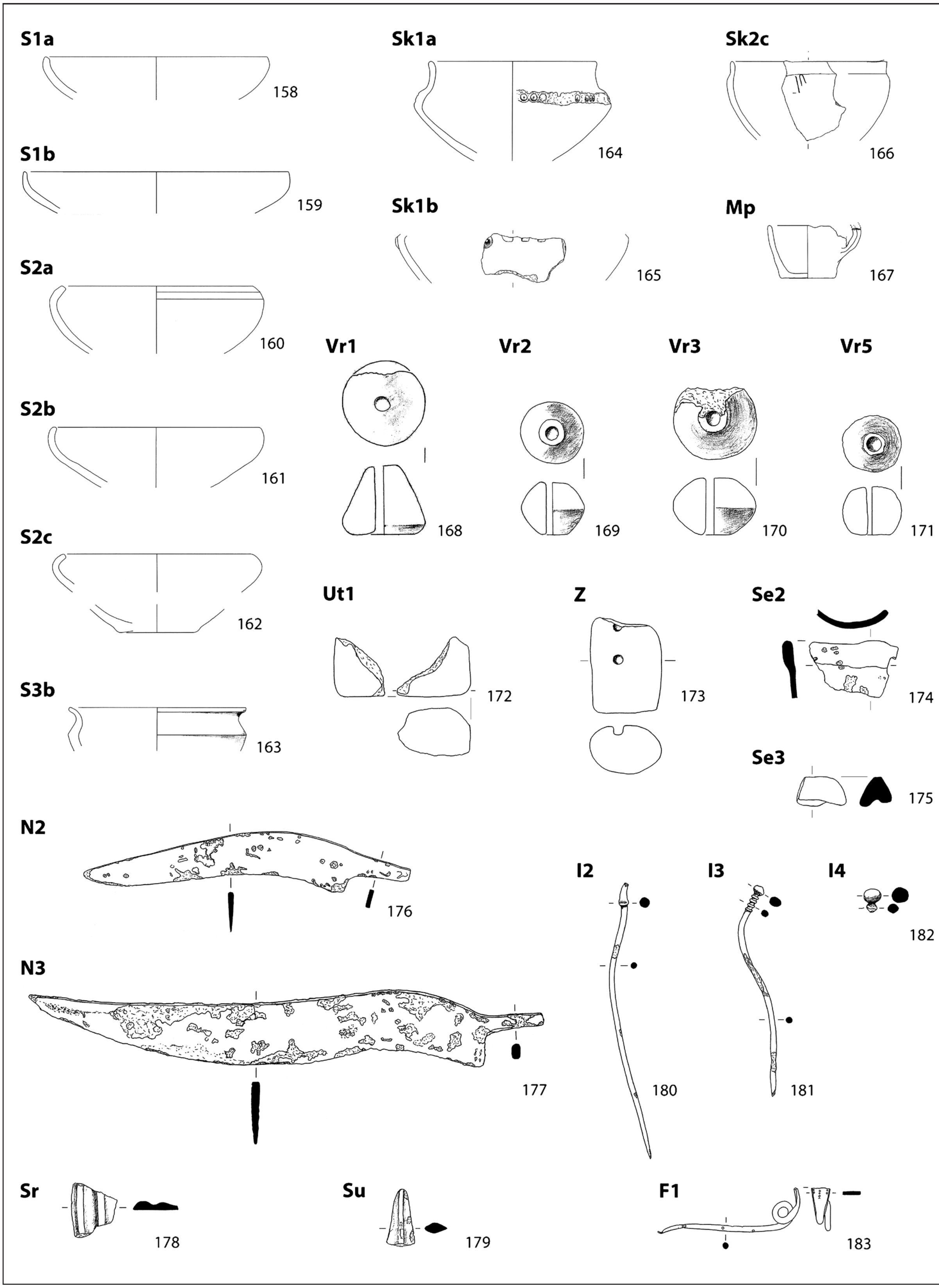


T. 5: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Reprezentativno gradivo III. naselbinske faze. 105–121,124–128,130–131 keramika; 129 kamen; 122–123,132–137 bron. M. 105–121 = 1:6, 122–137 = 1:3.

Pl. 5: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representative material of Settlement Phase 3. 105–121,124–128,130–131 pottery; 129 stone; 122–123,132–137 bronze. Scale 105–121 = 1:6, 122–137 = 1:3.

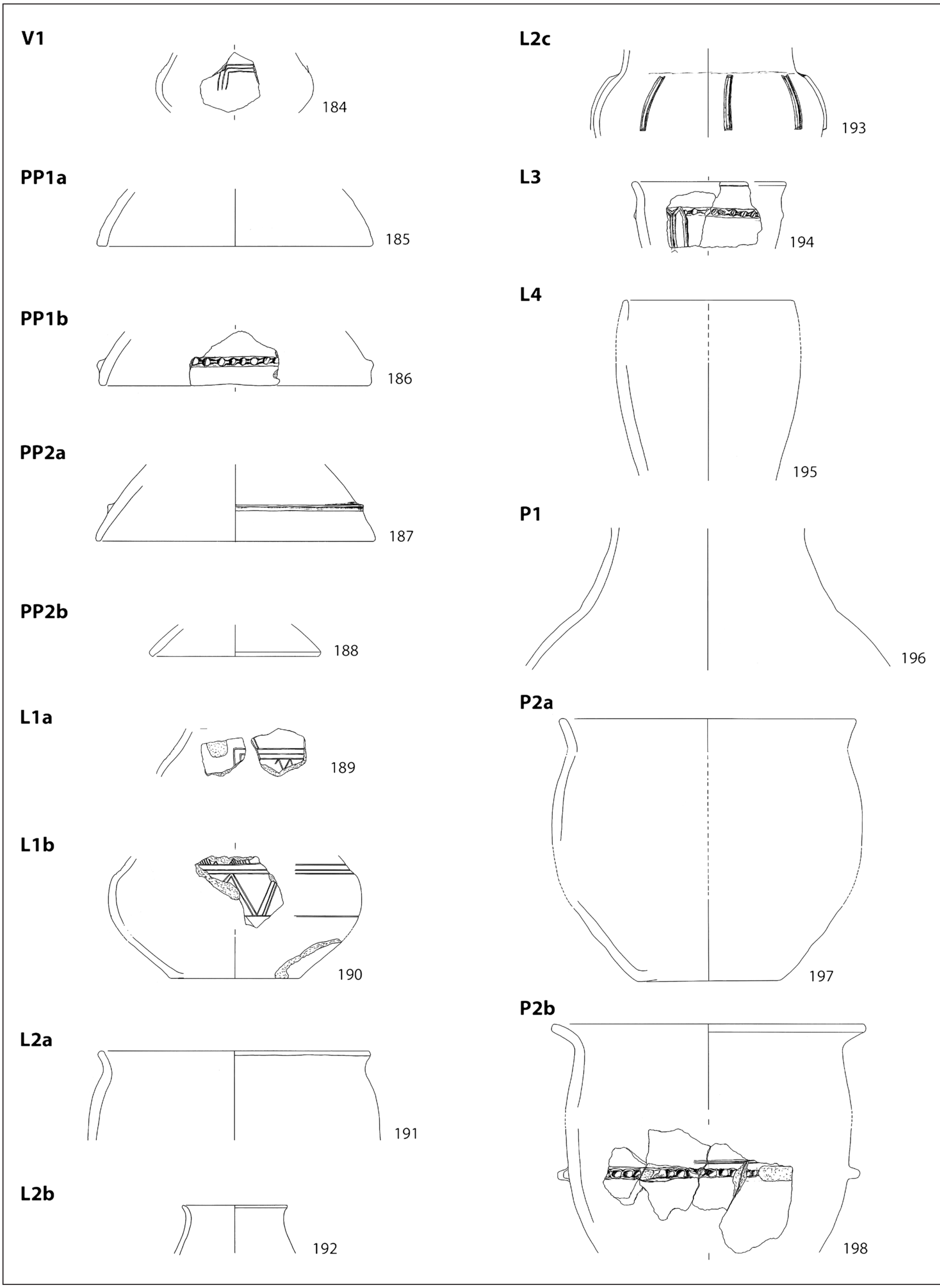


T. 6: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Reprezentativno gradivo III. naselbinske faze. Vse keramika. M. = 1:6.
Pl. 6: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representative material of Settlement Phase III. All pottery. Scale = 1:6.

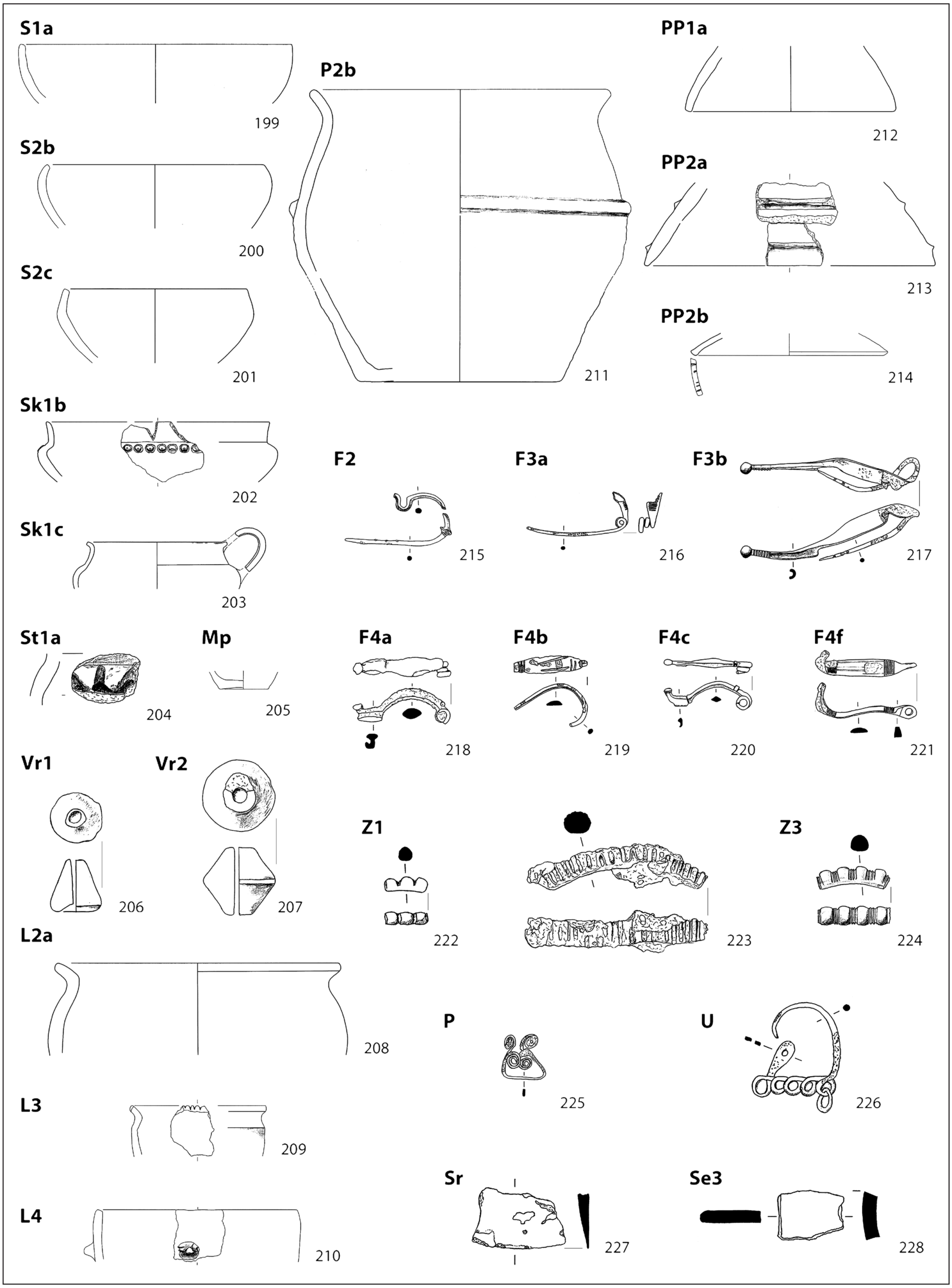


T. 7: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Reprezentativno gradivo IV. naselbinske faze. 158–172 keramika; 173 kamen; 174–183 bron. M. 158–167 = 1:6, 168–183 = 1:3.

Pl. 7: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representative material of Settlement Phase IV. 158–172 pottery; 173 stone; 174–183 bronze. Scale 158–167 = 1:6, 168–183 = 1:3.

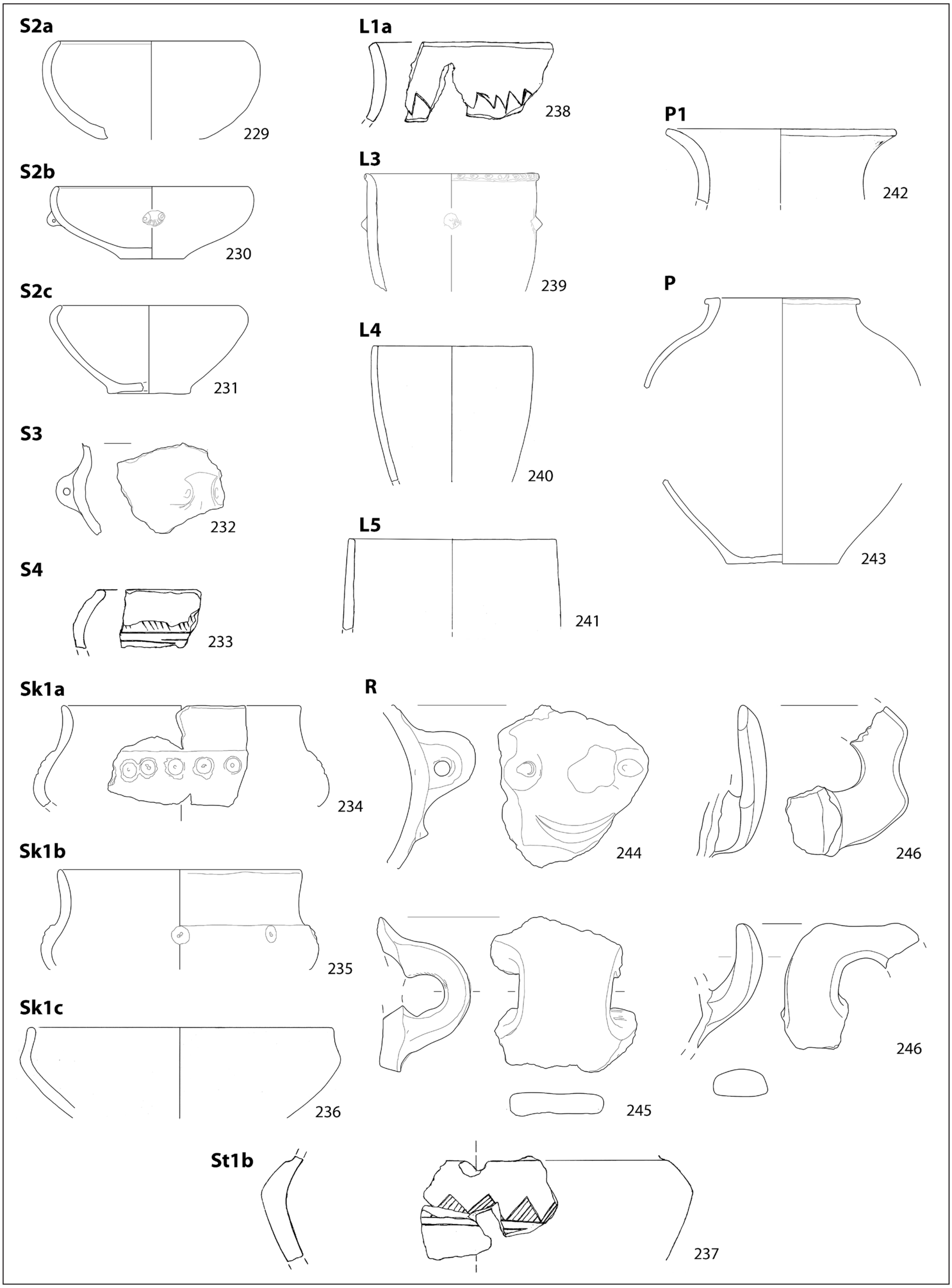


T. 8: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Reprezentativno gradivo IV. naselbinske faze. Vse keramika. M. = 1:6.
Pl. 8: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representative material of Settlement Phase IV. All pottery. Scale = 1:6.



T. 9: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Reprezentativno gradivo V. naselbinske faze. 199–214 keramika; 215–228 bron. M. 199–214 = 1:6; 215–221,225= 1:3; 222–224,226–228 = 1:2.

Pl. 9: Ljubljana – Tribuna. Representative material of Settlement Phase V. 199–214 pottery; 215–228 bronze. Scale 199–214 = 1:6; 215–221,225= 1:3; 222–224,226–228 = 1:2.

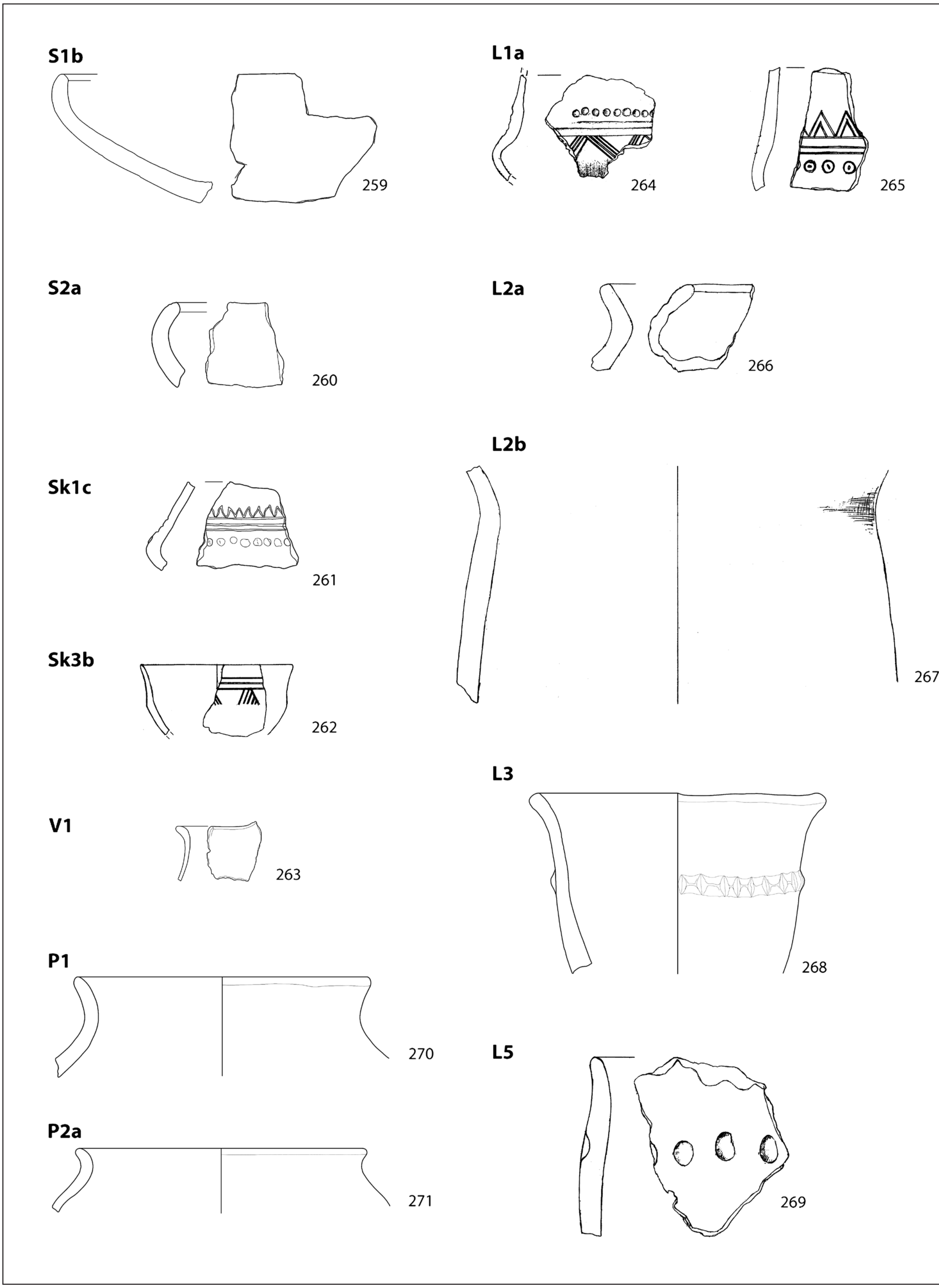


T. 10: Ljubljana – Ljubljanski grad-Grajski hrib. Reprezentativno gradivo. Vse keramika. M. 229–238,244–246 = 1:3; 239–243 = 1:6.

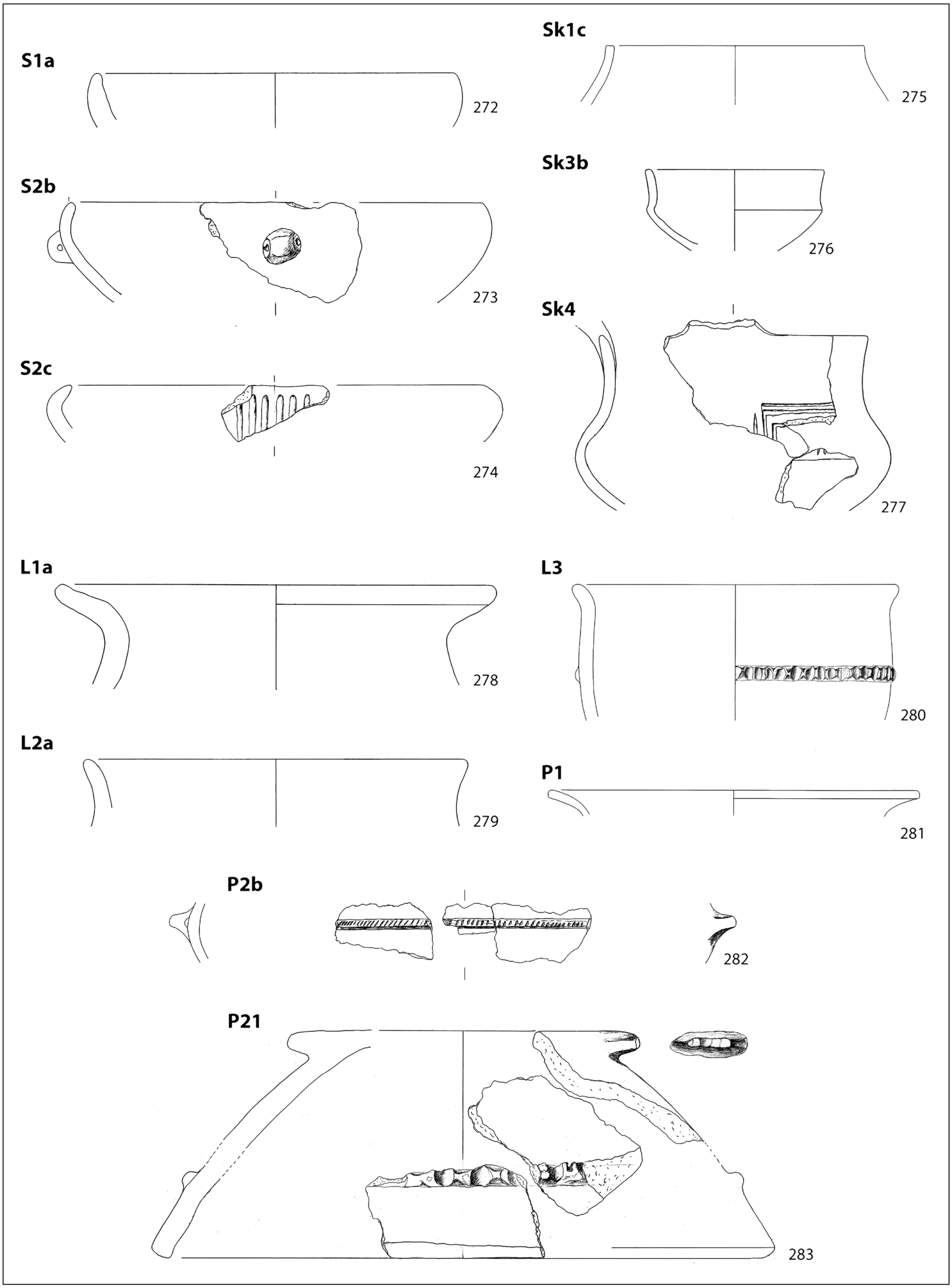
Pl. 10: Ljubljana – Ljubljanski grad-Grajski hrib. Representative material. All pottery. Scale 229–238,244–246 = 1:3; 239–243 = 1:6.

T. 11: Ljubljana – Prule 9 in Špica. Reprezentativno gradivo. 247–255,257–258 bron; 256 keramika. M. = 1:2. (po Žerjal *et al.* 2011 in Klasinc *et al.* 2010).

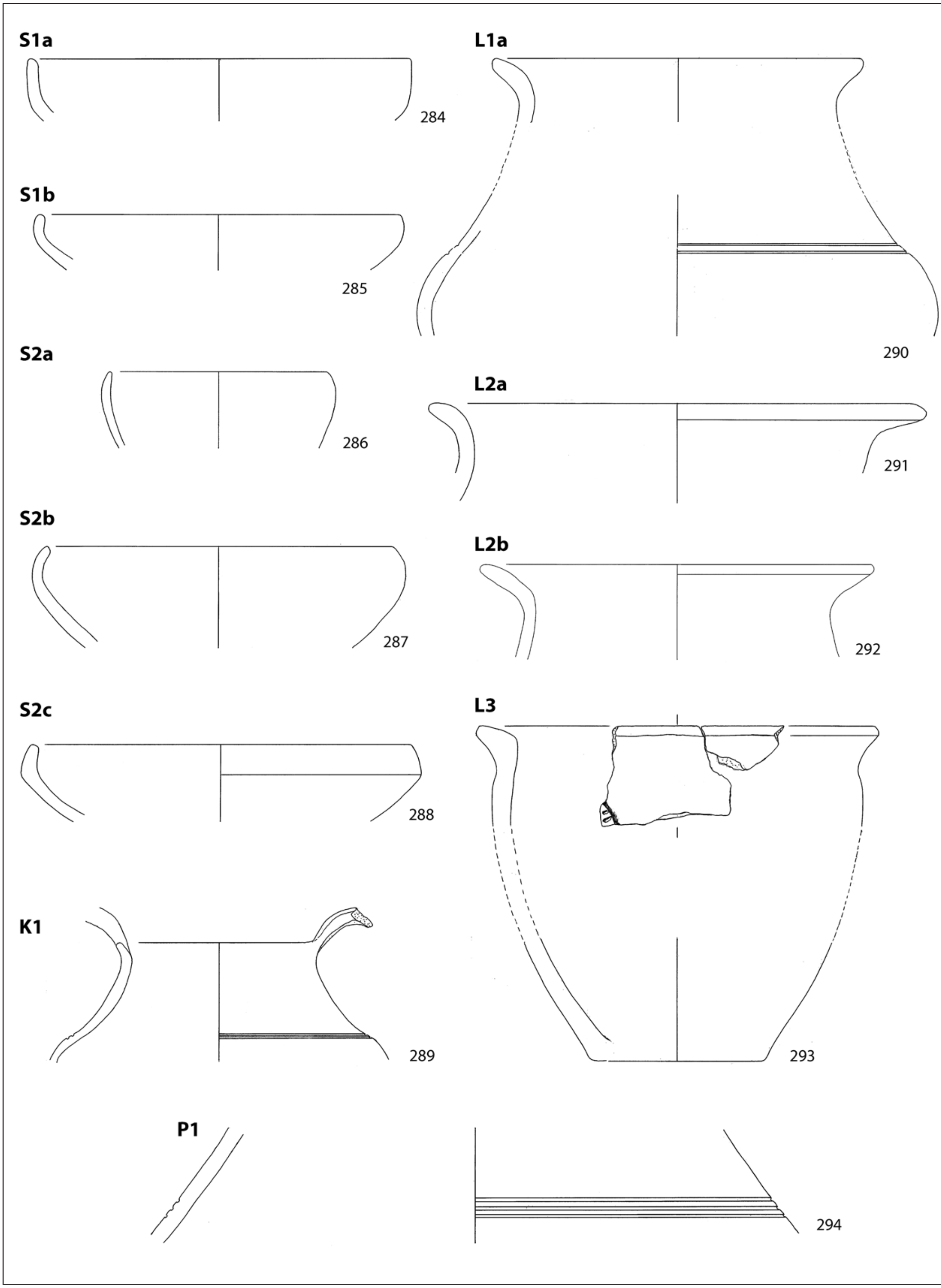
Pl. 11: Ljubljana – Prule 9 and Špica. Representative material. 247–255,257–258 bronze; 256 pottery. Scale = 1:2. (after Žerjal *et al*. 2011 in Klasinc *et al.* 2010).



T. 12: Ljubljana – Prule 10. Reprezentativno gradivo. Vse keramika. M. = 1:3.
Pl. 12: Ljubljana – Prule 10. Representative material. All pottery. Scale = 1:3.



T. 13: Ljubljana – Stari / Gornji trg. Reprezentativno gradivo. Vse keramika. M. 272–280= 1:3; 281–283 = 1:6.
Pl. 13: Ljubljana – Stari / Gornji trg. Representative material. All pottery. Scale 272–280= 1:3; 281–283 = 1:6.



T. 14: Ljubljana – Kopitarjeva ulica. Reprezentativno gradivo. Vse keramika. M. 284–293= 1:3; 294 = 1:6.
Pl. 14: Ljubljana – Kopitarjeva ulica. Representative material. All pottery. Scale 284–293= 1:3; 294 = 1:6.

Grobišča iz starejše železne dobe v Ljubljani. Različni načini pokopa kot kazalci heterogenih prazgodovinskih družbenih identitet

Early Iron Age cemeteries in Ljubljana. Different burial rites as an indication of heterogeneous social identities in prehistory

Brina ŠKVOR JERNEJČIČ, Petra VOJAKOVIĆ

Izvleček

Grobišče na Dvorišču SAZU v Ljubljani z več kot 300 žganimi grobovi iz mlajše bronaste in starejše železne dobe je še vedno eno ključnih najdišč za razumevanje gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine. Nove raziskave na Kongresnem trgu so razkrile grobišče, ki se v mnogo vidikih razlikuje od tistega na Dvorišču SAZU. Prvič so bile v Ljubljani izpričane manjše gomile s prodnatim jedrom, zemljenim plaščem in zunanjim obodnim jarkom iz zgodnje železne dobe. Po večini gre za žarne grobove v središču gomile, izstopa gomila 3 s centralnim grobom in sedmimi pokopi okrog njega. Po načinu pokopa izstopajo trije skeletni grobovi iz 8. st. pr. n. št., ti so v članku tudi podrobneje predstavljeni. Podana sta kratek oris pojava skeletnih grobov v drugih sočasnih železnodobnih skupinah in poskus razlage teh skeletnih pokopov v Ljubljani. Na podlagi analize grobnih najdb in novih radiokarbonskih datacij iz Ljubljane so na kratko predstavljene dopolnitve Gabrovčeve kronološke sheme ljubljanskega grobišča in posledično gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine, predvsem stopenj Ljubljana II in IIIa. Dopolnitve stopnje Ljubljana II tako v relativnem kot absolutnem kronološkem smislu so ključne za razumevanje začetka pokopavanja na Kongresnem trgu ter razdelitev stopenj Podzemelj 1 in 2.

Ključne besede: Ljubljana; starejša železna doba; gorenjsko-ljubljanska halštatska skupina; plana grobišča; gomile; biritualnost; atipični pokopi; kronologija

Abstract

The cemetery unearthed at the Dvorišče SAZU site in Ljubljana, with more than 300 cremations from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, remains one of the key sites for understanding the Gorenjska-Ljubljana group. The new investigations at the nearby Kongresni trg site have unearthed a cemetery that differs from it in many respects, revealing small tumuli with a pebble-clad centre and an earthen mound enclosed with a ring ditch dating to the Early Iron Age. These hold a single/double cremation in the centre with the exception of Tumulus 3, which has a central grave surrounded by seven burials. Also found were three inhumation burials from the 8th century BC, presented here in greater detail together with a brief discussion of the practice of inhumation in other contemporary Early Iron Age groups and a proposed interpretation for the inhumations from Ljubljana. The analyses of the grave goods and the radiocarbon dates from Ljubljana have led to modifications of Gabrovec's chronological framework of the Ljubljana cemetery and also the Gorenjska-Ljubljana group, primarily its Ljubljana II and IIIa phases. The modifications of the Ljubljana II phase are of key importance, in both relative and absolute terms, for understanding the beginnings of interments at the Kongresni trg site and for the division in the Podzemelj 1 and 2 phases.

Keywords: Ljubljana; Early Iron Age; Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group; flat cemeteries; tumuli; birituality; atypical burials; chronology

Sl. 1: Ljubljana. Grobišča iz bronaste in starejše železne dobe. M. = 1:2500. (Vir: TTN5©GURS)
Fig. 1: Ljubljana. Cemeteries dating to the Bronze and Early Iron Age. Scale = 1:2500. (Source: TTN5©GURS)

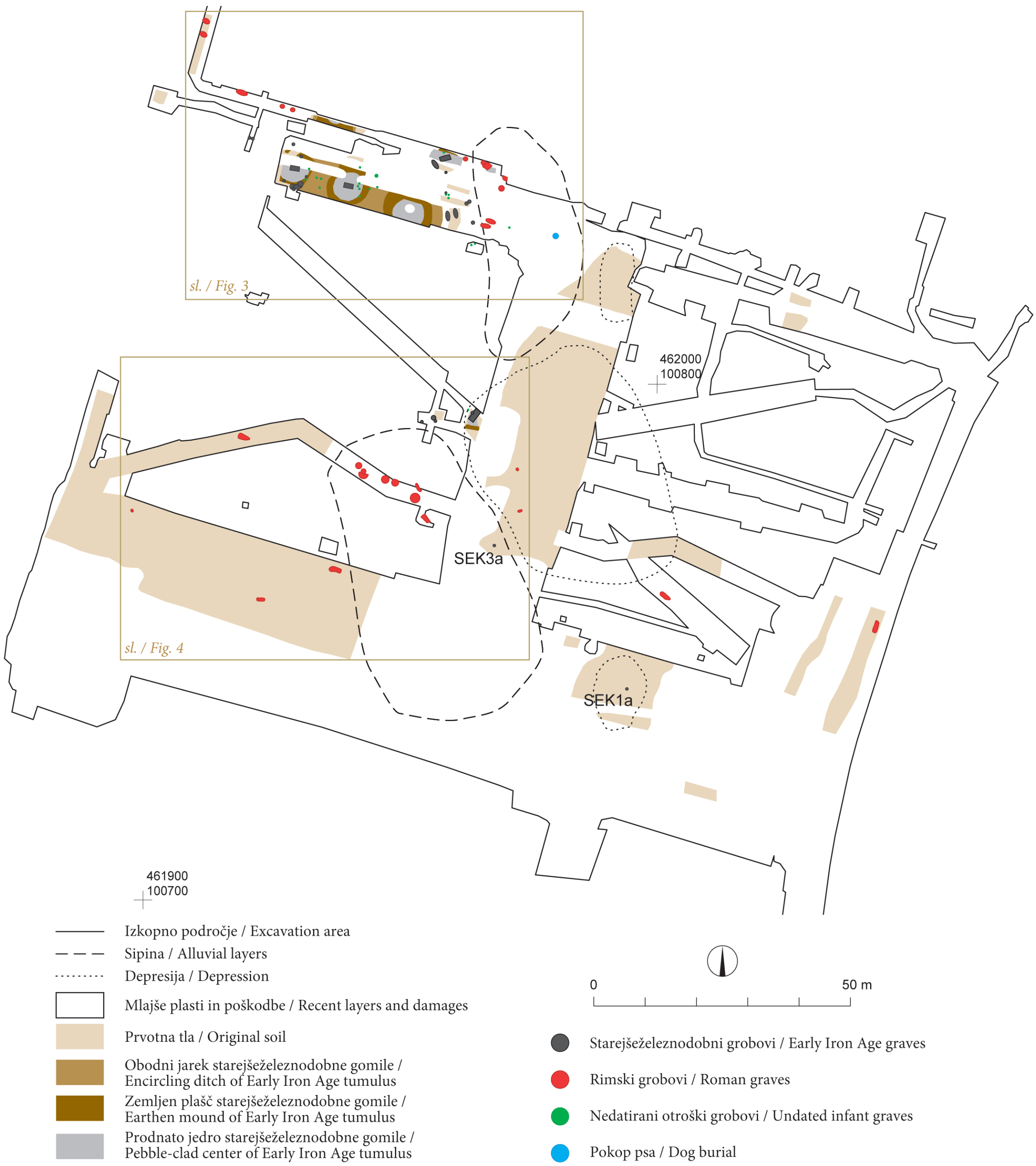
1 – Čopova ulica; **2** – Kongresni trg; **3** – Novi trg; **4** – NUK; **5** – Dvorišče SAZU; **6** – Turjaška palača; **7** – NUK 2; **8** – cerkev Sv. Florijana / St. Florian church; **9** – pri Karlovškemu mostu / near Karlovški most.

Območje današnje Ljubljane je bilo že v pozni bronasti dobi eno pomembnejših stičišč na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru. Prav v začetku zgodnje železne dobe, v drugi polovici 9. in na prehodu v 8. st. pr. n. št., so se zgodile številne družbene spremembe, kar se kaže tako v naselbinskih kot grobiščnih ostalinah v Ljubljani. Pred kratkim raziskana naselbina na Tribuni na Prulah da slutiti, da je bila ena pomembnejših naselbin v regiji pa tudi širše. O takratnih železnodobnih skupnostih, njihovih pogrebnih običajih, verovanjih in stikih z drugimi skupnostmi pričajo raziskane nekropole na levem bregu Ljubljanice. Med pomembnejše sodita grobišče na Dvorišču SAZU in nekropola na Kongresnem trgu.

Grobišče na Dvorišču SAZU, raziskano že pred več kot pol stoletja, je eno od ključnih najdišč za razumevanje prazgodovinskih skupnosti v regiji. Odkritih je bilo več kot 300 žganih grobov. Gre za eno redkih grobišč, na katerem so neprekinjeno pokopavali od začetka mlajše bronaste dobe vse do starejše železne dobe, torej več kot 600 let. Mlajši grobovi so redki. Drugačno je bilo grobišče iz starejše železne dobe na Kongresnem trgu, raziskano med letoma 2009 in 2011. Tam so bile odkrite manjše gomile s prodnatim jedrom in zemljenim plaščem, v njih so bili žgani grobovi. Odstopajo trije skeletni grobovi iz 8. st. pr. n. št.,[1] ki so za zdaj na ljubljanskih grobiščih pa tudi v okviru gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine[2] svojstven fenomen in tako odpirajo povsem nove

[1] Po zaključeni redakciji, tik pred tiskom, ko večje spremembe v članek niso bile več mogoče, smo dobili rezultat radiokarbonske analize nežgane kosti iz groba 25 s Kongresnega trga, ki kaže, da sodi skelet iz groba 25 v 1.-2. st. n. št. (Poz-160898).

[2] Za novo opredelitev gorenjsko-ljubljanske halštatske skupine glej tu Teržan; za ljubljanski tip/ljubljanska skupina glej Gabrovec 1973, 345; 1983, 63–70; Knez 1984, 125, sl. 1; Dular 1978, 38–39; Teržan 1995a, sl. 10; Teržan 1999, 137.



Sl. 2: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg (prim. *sl. 1:* 2). Starejšeželeznodobno in rimsko grobišče. Koordinatni sistem D48/GK.
Fig. 2: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg (*cf. Fig. 1:* 2). Early Iron and Roman Age cemetery. Coordinate system D48/GK.

aspekte v zvezi z načinom pokopa na tem prostoru. Na podlagi revizije vseh prazgodovinskih najdb z Dvorišča SAZU in novih radiokarbonskih datacij je bila Gabrovčeva kronološka shema starejše železne dobe gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine dopolnjena. Dopolnitve v relativni in absolutni kronologiji stopnje Ljubljana II so ključne za razumevanje začetka pokopavanja na Kongresnem trgu ter razdelitev stopenj Podzemelj 1 in 2 oz. Ljubljana II in IIIa.

TOPOGRAFSKI ORIS PRAZGODOVINSKIH GROBIŠČ V LJUBLJANI

Zanimanje arheologov je bilo konec 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja usmerjeno predvsem v odkrivanje antične Emone, pri čemer so na dan prišle tudi prve prazgodovinske najdbe. Notice o prazgodovinskih grobovih zasledimo že pri Alfonzu

Müllnerju in Jerneju Pečniku. Müllner je poročal, da so pri gradnji železnice pri Karlovškem mostu pod Golovcem naleteli na žare, napolnjene s sežganimi ostanki, prstjo in ogljem (*sl. 1:* 9). Eno od žar je celo primerjal s tistimi, ki so bile najdene na takrat že znanem grobišču v Rušah iz pozne bronaste dobe, kar bi nakazovalo, da sodijo grobovi pri Karlovškem mostu v isti čas. Drugo žaro črne barve in dvema ročajema je Müllner primerjal s posodami z ižanskih kolišč, torej z bakrenodobno keramiko. Kovinskih pridatkov v grobovih ni bilo. Müllner še poroča, da so sežgane kosti v žarah pripadale otrokom.[3] Lokacija ob cerkvi sv. Florijana (*sl. 1:* 8), ki jo omenja Pečnik kot grobišče prazgodovinskih prebivalcev Grajskega griča, je nekoliko bolj nenavadna, saj bi na tem mestu glede na raziskave v zadnjih dveh desetletjih pričakovali naselbinske ostanke.[4]

Večja prazgodovinska grobišča z več 100 grobovi so se razprostirala na levem bregu Ljubljanice. Že v tridesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja so delavci ob gradnji Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice (NUK) naleteli na keramične in bronaste predmete, ki se niso ohranili (*sl. 1:* 4).[5] Sodeč po obsežnih sistematičnih izkopavanjih v desetletjih po drugi svetovni vojni na Dvorišču SAZU in Gosposki ulici[6] (*sl. 1:* 5) se je grobišče iz pozne bronaste dobe in starejšega halštatskega obdobja raztezalo tudi na območju stavbišča NUK proti zahodu. Posamezni žgani grobovi so bili najdeni tudi v neposredni okolici – na Salendrovi ulici, Novem trgu, pod Turjaško palačo in na lokaciji NUK 2 (*sl. 1:* 3,6,7).[7]

Zelo verjetno je, da so imeli prazgodovinski prebivalci Ljubljane več ločenih grobišč, in sicer v bližini glavnih poti v naselbino, locirano med Prulami, Grajskim gričem in Poljanami.[8] Ob poti proti zahodu, domnevno v bližini prehoda čez reko Ljubljanico, se je na dvignjeni rečni terasi razprostiralo večje grobišče (*sl. 1:* 3–7).[9] Drugo pomembno grobišče, na katerem so začeli pokopavati šele v zgodnji železni dobi, v 8. st. pr. n. št., je bilo na Kongresnem trgu (*sl. 1:* 2; *2–4*). Že leta 1944 sta bili ob gradnji zaklonišč najdeni dve žari s pridatki iz zgodnje železne dobe.[10] Glede na novoodkrite gomile na Kongresnem trgu sta pripadali starejšeželeznodobni gomilni nekropoli (*sl. 2:* 1-1944, 2-1944; *3:* 1-1944, 2-1944). Nekropola na Kongresnem trgu, domnevne prodnate gomile z žganimi grobovi na Čopovi ulici (*sl. 1:* 1) in posamezne najdbe z območja severne emonske nekropole na Slovenski cesti in z Gosposvetske ceste se nizajo v smeri glavne komunikacije proti Gorenjski.[11] Pri tem je treba omeniti še podatek Pečnika, da naj bi bila prazgodovinska naselbina tudi na Rožniku, prav tako omenja v hosti proti severu [od Rožnika] več gomil.[12] Prazgodovinske gomile s Šišenskega hriba omenja tudi France Stare.[13] Sondažna izkopavanja gomile v Mostecu so pokazala, da je šlo za kup navožene jalovine, in ne za gomile.[14] Lokacijo prej omenjenih žganih grobov, najdenih ob gradnji železnice ob Karlovškem mostu (*sl. 1:* 9), bi lahko povezali z glavno komunikacijo v smeri proti Dolenjski.

STAREJŠEŽELEZNODOBNO GROBIŠČE NA KONGRESNEM TRGU

Na Kongresnem trgu so potekale arheološke raziskave med letoma 2009 in 2011.[15] Najstarejši odkriti arheološki ostanki sodijo v bronasto dobo.

3 Müllner 1892, 59.

4 Pečnik 1904, 129; 1914, 15. Rutar poroča, da so bile pri cerkvi sv. Florijana odkrite naselbinske najdbe iz "*dobe mostišč*". Hkrati omenja, da so "*tudi lanskega leta meseca avgusta spravili na Kongresnem trgu (pred Fischerjevo hišo) mnogo črepinj na dan, ki so popolnoma podobne onim iz mostišč na Ljubljanskem barji*" (Rutar 1891, 184). Za prazgodovinsko poselitveno sliko Ljubljane glej tu Vojaković, sl. 1.

5 Korošec 1955, 270.

6 Korošec, Stare 1950; Stare 1954; V. Stare 1960–1961; Puš 1971; 1982; Gabrovec 1973; 1983; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a; 2014b.

7 Vahen 1995; Horvat 2002, 56–59; Gaspari 2010, 22–25; 2014a; 2014b, 76–77, 82, 88; sl. 68, 71, 75; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a; Gruškovnjak *et al.* 2018; Škvor Jernejčič 2021, 140–141, t. 1.

8 Glej tu Vojaković, sl. 1.

9 Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 4. Za domnevni potek poti glej Šinkovec 1998, 35; Gaspari 2014b, sl. 75. Podatki o posameznih najdbah z Mirja in Gradišča so preskopi, da bi lahko trdili, ali gre za depojske/votivne najdbe, tako kot v primeru najdb iz Ljubljanice (Gaspari 2014b, 75, 95, sl. 99).

10 Stare 1954, 112–113, t. 68–69; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 3, sl. 2, t. 163–164.

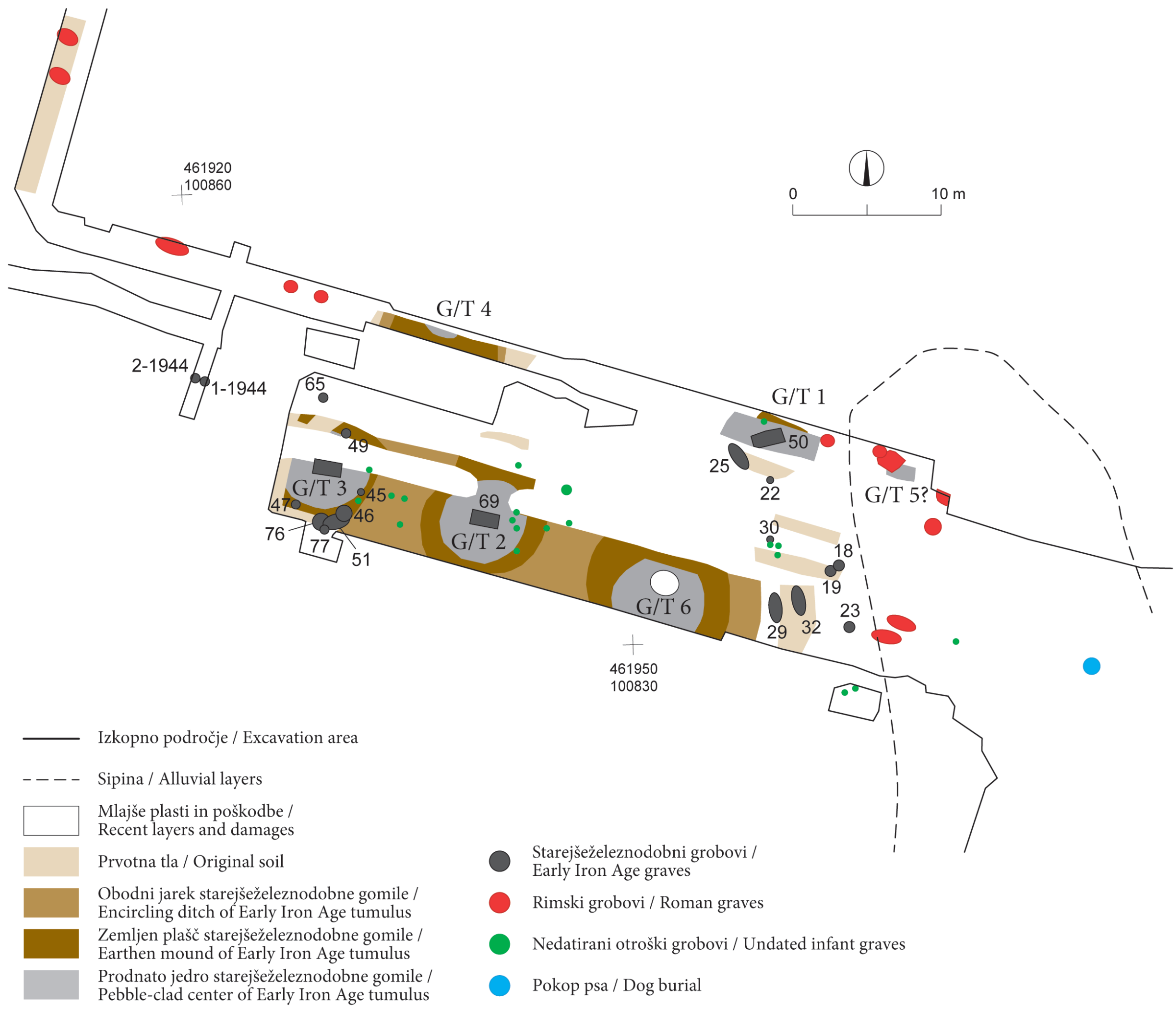
11 Za bronasto iglo s stožčasto glavico s Slovenske ceste iz zgodnje železne dobe glej Petru 1972, t. 52: 8; za domnevne žgane gomilne grobove s Čopove ulice glej Poročilo Draksler *et al.* 2018; za naselbinske ostanke z Gosposvetske ulice glej tu Vojaković, sl. 1.

12 Pečnik 1904, 128.

13 Stare 1954, 119.

14 Puš 1981, 285–286.

15 Najdišče ima v končnem poročilu o arheoloških raziskavah dve imeni – Kongresni trg in park Zvezda. Ker je park Zvezda del Kongresnega trga, uporabljamo v nadaljevanju samo to poimenovanje (Poročilo Masaryk *et al.* 2011). Celotno prazgodovinsko grobišče je v obdelavi



Sl. 3: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Severozahodni del starejšeželeznodobnega in rimskega grobišča (prim. *sl.* 2). G/T = gomila. Koordinatni sistem D48/GK.
Fig. 3: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Northwestern part of the Early Iron and Roman Age cemetery (*cf. Fig.* 2). G/T = tumulus. Coordinate system D48/GK.

Iz tega časa so izpričane jame različnih velikosti in namembnosti, ognjišča oz. kurišča ter druge naselbinske ostaline. Naselbina na tem območju je bila v začetku železne dobe opuščena, prostor pa je bil zravnan in uporabljen kot grobišče – odkritih je bilo kar šest, morda celo sedem manjših gomil z obodnim jarkom, prodnatim jedrom in zemljenim plaščem (*sl. 2–4*).[16] V gomilah so bili žgani grobovi, le v gomili 1 je bil poleg žganega najden tudi skeletni grob (*sl. 5*). Med gomilami oz. v njihovi neposredni bližini so bili odkriti posamezni starejšeželeznodobni žgani in dva skeletna grobova. Na tem območju so pokopavali tudi v rimskem času.[17]

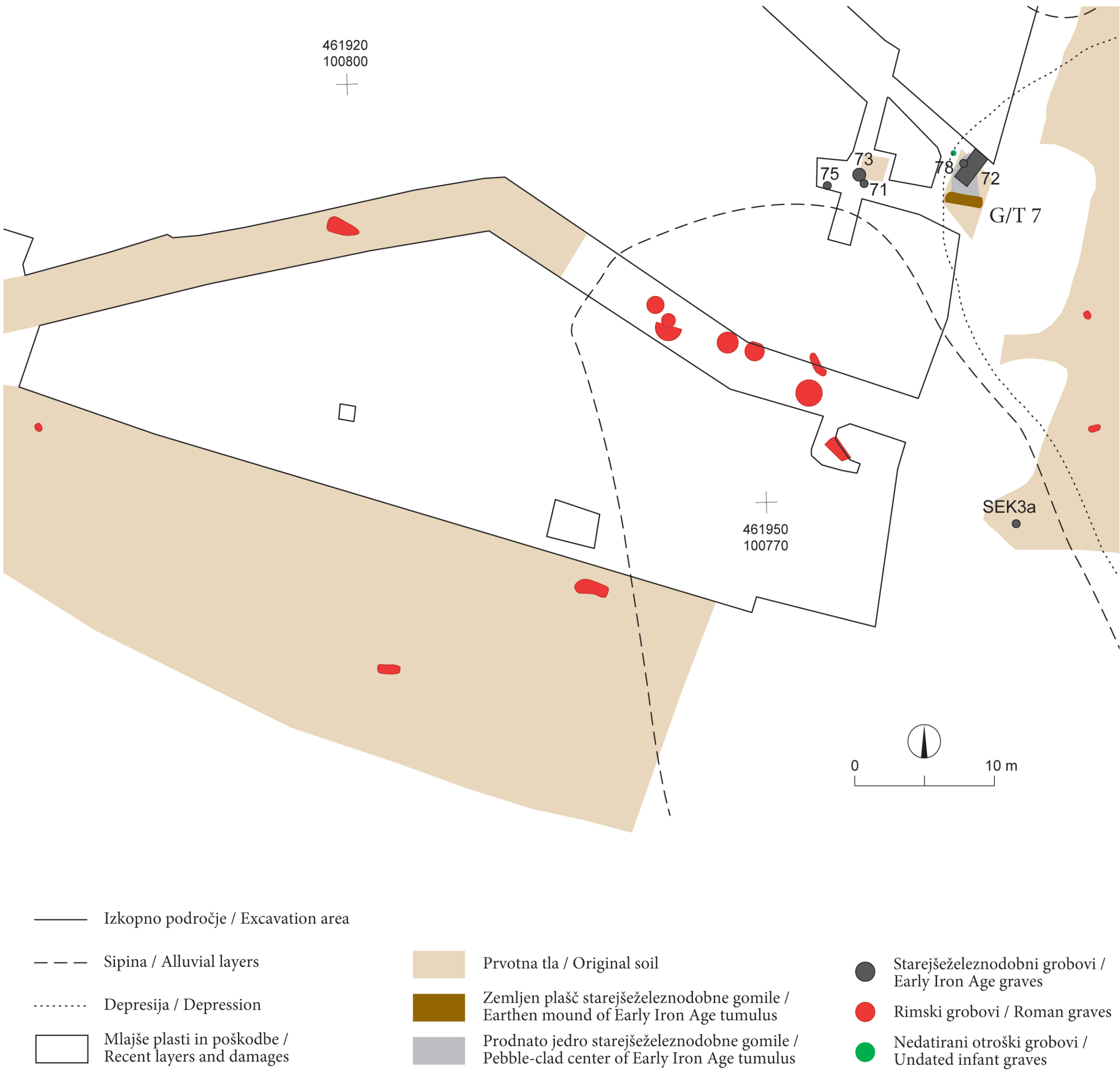
Posegi v antiki in tudi pozneje so ta del prazgodovinskega grobišča zelo poškodovali. V gomilah in ob njih je bilo odkritih tudi 18 otroških skeletnih grobov brez pridatkov, zato jih ni mogoče časovno opredeliti.[18] Domnevno naj bi bili rimskodobni,

in bo monografsko objavljeno v seriji *Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae*.

[16] Izvorno terensko označevanje grobov in gomil je bilo zaradi digitalne baze podatkov številčeno od 1000 (in ne od 1) tekoče naprej. V članku so grobovi in gomile označeni brez tisočic (npr. gomila 1001 je gomila 1 itd.). Izjema je le prva izkopana gomila 1000, ki je nismo mogli označiti s št. 0, zato je oštevilčena kot gomila 6.

[17] Rimski grobovi so bili deloma že objavljeni: Bekljanov Zidanšek 2012, 13–26; Županek 2014a, 16; Gaspari 2014b, 124–126; Gaspari *et al.* 2015, 125–169; Mason, Županek 2018.

[18] Grobovi 24, 27, 34, 36, 37, 48, 52, 53, 55, 57–62, 66–68.



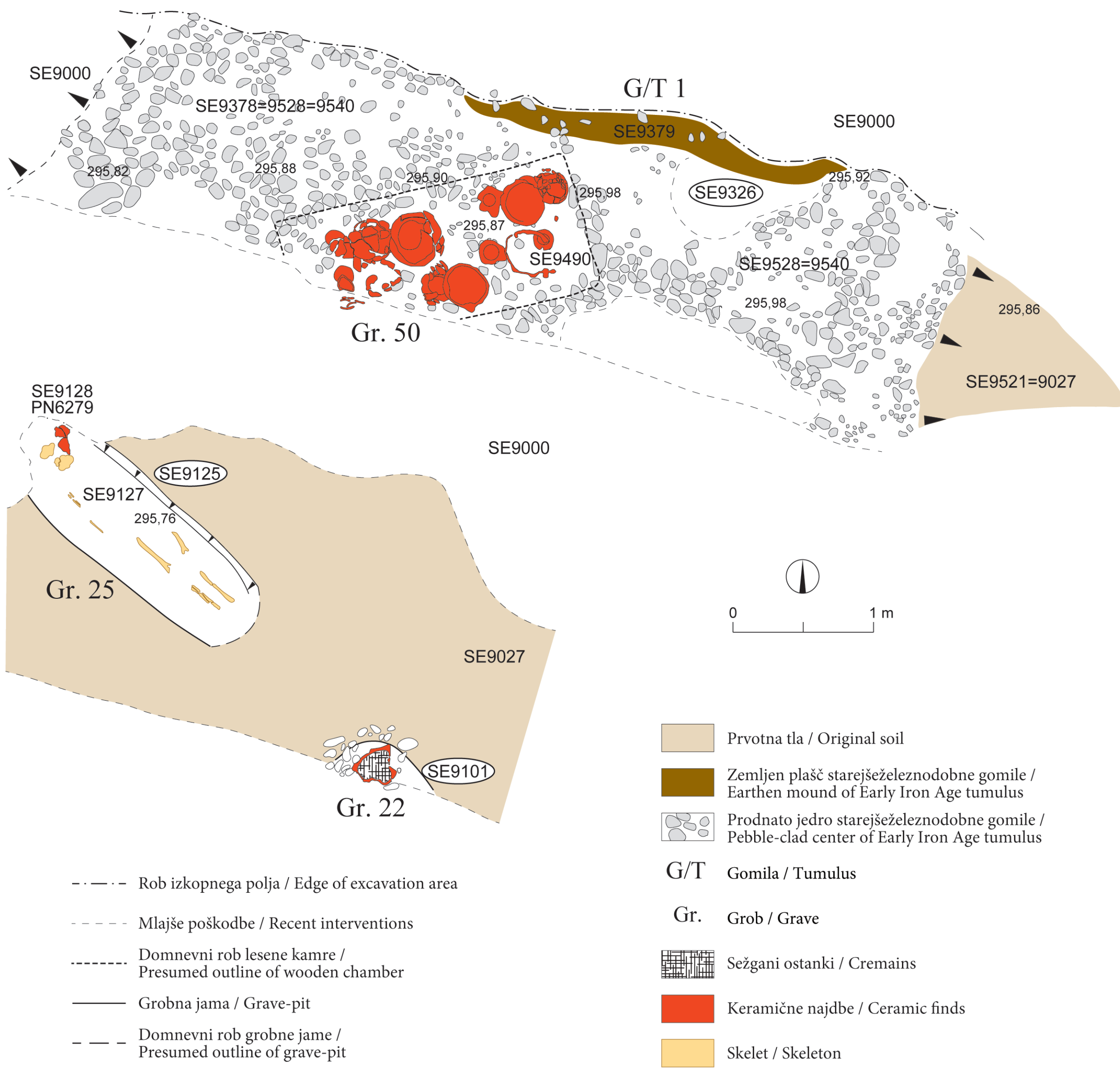
Sl. 4: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Osrednji del starejšeželeznodobnega in rimskega grobišča (prim. *sl.* 2). G/T = gomila. Koordinatni sistem D48/GK.
Fig. 4: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Central part of the Early Iron and Roman Age cemetery (cf. *Fig.* 2). G/T = tumulus. Coordinate system D48/GK.

a ne gre povsem izključiti možnosti, da bi lahko šlo za prazgodovinske pokope.

Šest, morda sedem manjših gomil je bilo strnjenih v dveh vzporednih vrstah (*sl. 2–3*). Južno vrsto so sestavljale gomile 2, 3 in 6, severno pa gomile 1, 4 in domnevna gomila 5. Po obsegu, velikosti in ohranjeni višini so se med seboj razlikovale. V premeru so merile od 6,3 do 8,1 m, v višino pa do 0,43 m. Gomile so bile poloble oblike, na vrhu nekoliko sploščene.

Ohranjene dimenzije posameznih gomil:
Gomila 1: pr. 6,6 m, viš. 0,38 m
Gomila 2: pr. 8,1 m, viš. 0,43 m
Gomila 3: pr. 7 m, viš. 0,27 m
Gomila 4: pr. 7,3 m, viš. 1 m
Gomila 5 (domnevna): pr. 2,7 m, viš. 0,50 m
Gomila 6: pr. 6,3 m, viš. 0,36 m
Gomila 7: pr. 3,6 m, viš. 1,10 m

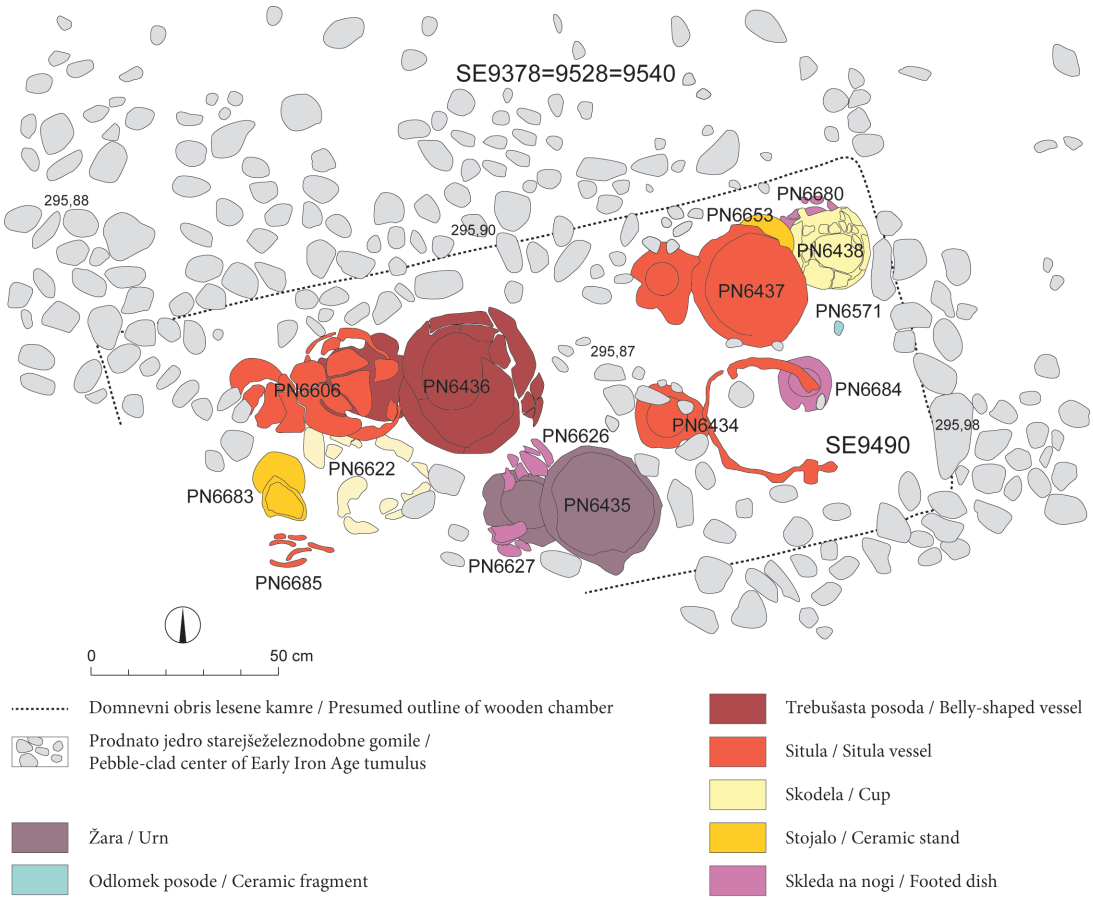
Najbolje so bile ohranjene gomile 2, 3 in 6, ki tako ponujajo vpogled v svojo zgradbo. Na prodnata tla je bila postavljena lesena kamra pravokotnega tlorisa, v njej so bili žara, pridatki, ponekod tudi živalske kosti. Prekrita je bila s prodnatim nasutjem



Sl. 5: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Gomila 1 s centralnim grobom 50, ter žgani grob 22 in skeletni grob 25 v tlorisu (prim. *sl. 3*). SE = stratigrafska enota; SE v elipsi = interfacija; PN = posebna najdba.
Fig. 5: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Ground plan of the tumulus 1 with central grave 50, together with cremation grave 22 and inhumation grave 25 (*cf. Fig. 3*). SE = stratigraphic unit (SU); encircled SE = interface; PN = special find.

v obliki groblje. Lesena kamra se je čez čas vdrla, vanjo je padlo prodnato nasutje. Čez prodnato grobljo je ležalo zemljeno nasutje – plašč gomile. Vse skupaj je obdajal obodni jarek, širok do 4 m in globok 1 m, ki se je stikal z jarkom sosednje gomile.

Vse gomile so imele enojni ali dvojni centralni grob. V gomili 3 so bili v zemljen plašč vkopani še žgani grobovi koncentrično okoli centralnega groba. Štirje izmed njih (46, 51, 76 in 77) na južnem oz. jugovzhodnem delu, kjer je bila gomila najbolje ohranjena, so bili vkopani drug čez drugega tako, da noben mlajši grob ni popolnoma poškodoval starejšega. Zahodno in vzhodno od njih sta bila najdena tudi grobova 45 in 47. Na severnem delu, kjer je bila gomila najbolj poškodovana z novodobnimi posegi, je bil odkrit še žgani grob 49. H gomili 3 pa sodi najverjetneje tudi žgani grob 65. Gomila 1 je bila delno raziskana, nadaljuje se še pod današnjo stavbo Kazine. Na severni in južni strani je bila poškodovana z recentno utrditvijo za izkop dovoza v garažno hišo, ohranili so se le del prodnatega jedra, nekaj zemljenega nasutja gomile in centralni grob 50 (*sl. 3*; *5*). H gomili 1



Sl. 6: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Tloris centralnega groba 50 gomile 1 s kompletom keramičnih posod. SE = stratigrafska enota; PN = posebna najdba.
Fig. 6: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Layout of the central grave 50 in the tumulus 1 with set of ceramic vessels. SE = SU; PN = special find.

verjetno sodita, glede na lego in oddaljenost od centralnega groba, tudi žgani grob 22 in skeletni grob 25. Na prostoru domnevne gomile 5 je bila odkrita večja jama (*sl. 3:* G/T 5). Zasuta je bila z več plastmi s prazgodovinskimi, rimskodobnimi in srednjeveškimi najdbami. Na dnu se je ohranila večja koncentracija prodnikov, žganine ter nekaj zelo bogatih keramičnih starejšeželeznodobnih najdb, zato domnevamo, da je šlo za zelo poškodovano prazgodovinsko gomilo.[19]

V osrednjem delu so bili odkriti trije žgani grobovi (71, 73, 75), v bližini pa grob 72, ki odstopa s posebno pravokotno grobno konstrukcijo, zgrajeno iz apnenčevih oblic velikosti do 25 cm. Menimo, da gre za ostanek poškodovane gomile, ki jo označujemo s številko 7. Na vrhu je bil odkrit še močno poškodovan grob 78.

Na osrednjem in jugovzhodnem območju Kongresnega trga sta bila v sektorju 1 in 3a v rimskih plasteh odkrita dva plana žgana grobova oz. žari, ki sta bila premeščena/poškodovana že v rimskem času (*sl. 2*: SEK1, SEK3a; *sl. 4:* SEK3a).

Na tem grobišču so bili poleg žarnih odkriti tudi trije skeletni grobovi iz zgodnje železne dobe (grobovi 25, 29 in 32; *sl. 5–13*). Grob 25 je ležal v neposredni bližini gomile 1 (*sl. 3*; *5*). Glede na obliko in ohranjenost prodnatega jedra gomile predpostavljamo, da je pripadal tej gomili. Skeletni grob 25 in žgani grob 22 je od gomile ločil recentni betonski obod, zgrajen za potrebe vhoda v garažno hišo (*sl. 5*). Skeletna grobova 29 in 32 pa sta bila odkrita v neposredni bližini obodnega jarka gomile 6 (*sl. 3*). Ležala sta vzporedno drug ob drugem, z glavama v smeri proti jugu (*sl. 10*). Vsi trije skeletni grobovi so imeli ovalno oblikovane grobne jame, pri grobu 25 in 29 ni bilo ostankov grobnih konstrukcij. Odstopa grob 32, pri katerem je bila grobna jama obdana s prodniki (*sl. 10*; *12*).

[19] Datacijo v starejšo železno dobo nakazuje tudi radiokarbonska datacija kosti iz te gomile (*sl. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, G/T 5).

Vsi trije grobovi so bili v zgornjem delu uničeni z rimskodobnimi ali novodobnimi posegi.

Pridatki v skeletnih grobovih s Kongresnega trga

Ob glavi skeleta v grobu 25, ki je ležal v neposredni bližini gomile 1, je bila posoda s kratkim lijakastim vratom (*sl. 5:* PN6279; *9*), kakršne s Kongresnega trga, z Dvorišča SAZU in Novega trga v Ljubljani ne poznamo. Po oblikovanosti ji je še najbolj sorodna posoda iz groba 272 z Dvorišča SAZU, pri kateri ustje sicer ni ohranjeno.[20] Nekoliko bolj izvihan rob ustja in bolj napet prehod ramen v trup imajo posode iz svetolucijske skupine, ki sodijo že v stopnjo Sv. Lucija Ib, saj se pojavljajo skupaj z železnim obročastim nakitom, bronasto večglavo iglo s trombastim zaključkom, lahko pa so tudi malo poznejše.[21] Podobno oblikovane so tudi posode iz Est.[22] Vzporednice bi lahko iskali tudi v situlah, kot jih na primer poznamo iz centralnega groba gomile I s Kapiteljske njive v Novem mestu[23] ali iz Brega/Fröga.[24] Po klasifikaciji situl S. Tecco Hvala so ji oblikovno najbližje situle tipa Ib2.[25] Na osnovi teh primerjav za posodo bi skeletni grob 25 lahko opredelili na sam začetek železne dobe, v stopnjo Ljubljana II–IIIa/Podzemelj. Ta datacija kaže, da je bolj ali manj sočasen s sosednjim, centralnim grobom 50 v gomili 1 (*sl. 5:* Gr. 50*; 6–8*). V tem je bil najden komplet vsaj 14 posod – žara, okrašena z rebrom s prstnim odtisom, ob njej sta bili postavljeni dve skledi na nogi. Severozahodno od žare je stal velik pitos, prav tako okrašen z rebrom s prstnimi odtisi, ob njem pa še situla ter stojalo skupaj s skodelico s presegajočim ročajem. Tik ob robu izkopanega območja so bili najdeni odlomki še ene situle. Na severnem delu grobne jame sta bila situla skupaj s skledo na nogi ter stojalo s skodelico s presegajočim ročajem (*sl. 6–7*). V žari so bili poleg sežganih kosti še vaška vozlasta fibula, železni zapestnici,[26] bronast obroček, bronasta glavica (igle?), trikotni bronast obesek in železen nož (*sl. 7–8*).[27] Za datacijo tega groba je najzgovornejša vaška vozlasta fibula oz. dvozankasta ločna fibula tipa 5a po Gabrovcu.[28] Fibula ima železno jedro, na loku pa sedem polnih bronastih vozlov, zalitih z bronom, zato pripada varianti 1, njihov pojav je datiran že v stopnjo Podzemelj 1. Potemtakem sodi grob 50 na konec stopnje Podzemelj 1 oz. v prva desetletja 8. st. pr. n. št.[29]

Skeletni grob 29, najden vzhodno od obodnega jarka gomile 6 (*sl. 2–3*), je bil na zahodni strani poškodovan z rimskim jarkom (*sl. 10:* SE9147). V neposredni bližini leve noge okostja je bil v jarku najden odlomek bronastega lasnega obročka, okrašenega s tremi vodoravnimi vrezi (*sl. 10:* PN6314; *14:* 3). Glede na lego in globino se zdi najverjetneje, da je iz rimskega jarka. Povsem enak, a bolje ohranjen lasni obroček s presegajočimi konci je bil prav tako najden v rimskem jarku (*sl. 10:* PN6300; *sl. 14:* 1). Gre za tip lasnega obročastega nakita z vrezi, ki se je v dolenjski in svetolucijski halštatski skupini pojavil v stopnji Stična oz. Sv. Lucija Ic. Najbližje primerjave zanju najdemo na Rojah pri Orlah, v žarnem grobu 8.[30] Obročka sta bila del noše mladenke iz gomile 48 v Stični.[31] Iz lege obročkov ob glavi se da sklepati, da gre za pridatek, ki je krasil lase oz. pričesko. Enako velja za obročke iz novomeških grobov s Kapiteljske njive.[32] Najdemo jih tudi na Magdalenski gori – na Prelogah v bogatem moškem grobu z dvogrebenasto čelado, v situlskem stilu okrašeno pasno spono in drugimi prestižnimi pridatki, datiranimi v stopnjo certoških fibul 2.[33] Na Mostu na Soči so prisotni v grobovih stopnje Sv. Lucija Ic2, na primer v grobu 1594 skupaj s trortasto fibulo in nizko dolgonožno masivno ločno fibulo.[34] Obročki iz žganih grobov v Bitnjah pri Bohinju sodijo v stopnjo Sv. Lucija

[20] Puš 1982, t. 5: 4.

[21] Teržan, Trampuž 1973, t. 2: 4; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, t. 1: F2; 18: I5; 111: F5; 174: C; Dular 1982, 95–96, sl. 7: 10.

[22] Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, t. 4: 8; Dular 1982, 138–139, sl. 25: 2.

[23] Teržan 2014, sl. 2: 2.

[24] Tomedi 2002, t. 17: 10.

[25] Tecco Hvala 2014b, 329, sl. 2: 11.

[26] Morda gre za ostanke ene spiralne zapestnice.

[27] Grob 50 gomile 1 je bil delno predstavljen na razstavi »Emona. Mesto v imperiju« (Županek 2014b, 15). Leto zatem ga je objavil Dragan Božič, vendar tudi v tej publikaciji ni predstavljen v celoti (Božič 2015, 57–58); za shematičen prikaz kompleta keramičnih posod brez žare glej tudi Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 95–96, sl. 88.

[28] Gabrovec 1970, 27–28, 34, 40, karta VIII.

[29] Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, 131–133, sl. 9: varianta 1.

[30] Puš 1984, t. 3: 8; Tecco Hvala 2017b, t. 5: 1.

[31] Grob 36/gomila 48 v Stični: Gabrovec *et al.* 2006, 42–43, t. 27: 2–3; za datacijo groba glej Gabrovec 2010, 40, sl. 21; Teržan 2010, 287.

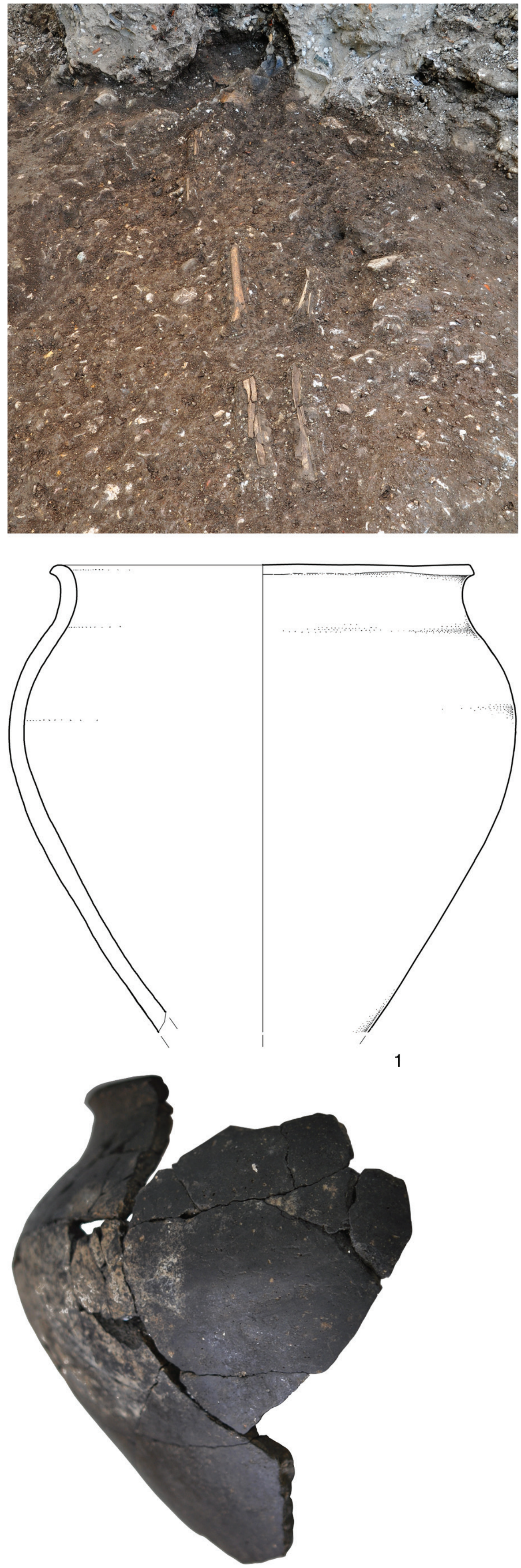
[32] Križ 1997, 42–43, t. 10: 1,4; 2013, 92, t. 16: 5.

[33] Tecco Hvala *et al.* 2004, 35–36, t. 25: 19; Dular 2003, 136, sl. 83: 9; Tecco Hvala 2012, 115, 352–353, sl. 134.

[34] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, t. 150: C3; 203: C2-3; 207: A10; 234: A5; 249: D6.

Sl. 7: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Pogled na centralni grob 50 gomile 1 in pridatki iz groba.
Fig. 7: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. View on the central grave 50 in the tumulus 1 and its grave goods.

Sl. 8: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Fotografski in rentgenski posnetek vaške vozlaste fibule iz groba 50 gomile 1. M. = 1:2.
Fig. 8: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Photo and X-ray image of the Vače type knobbed fibula from the grave 50 in the tumulus 1. Scale = 1:2.



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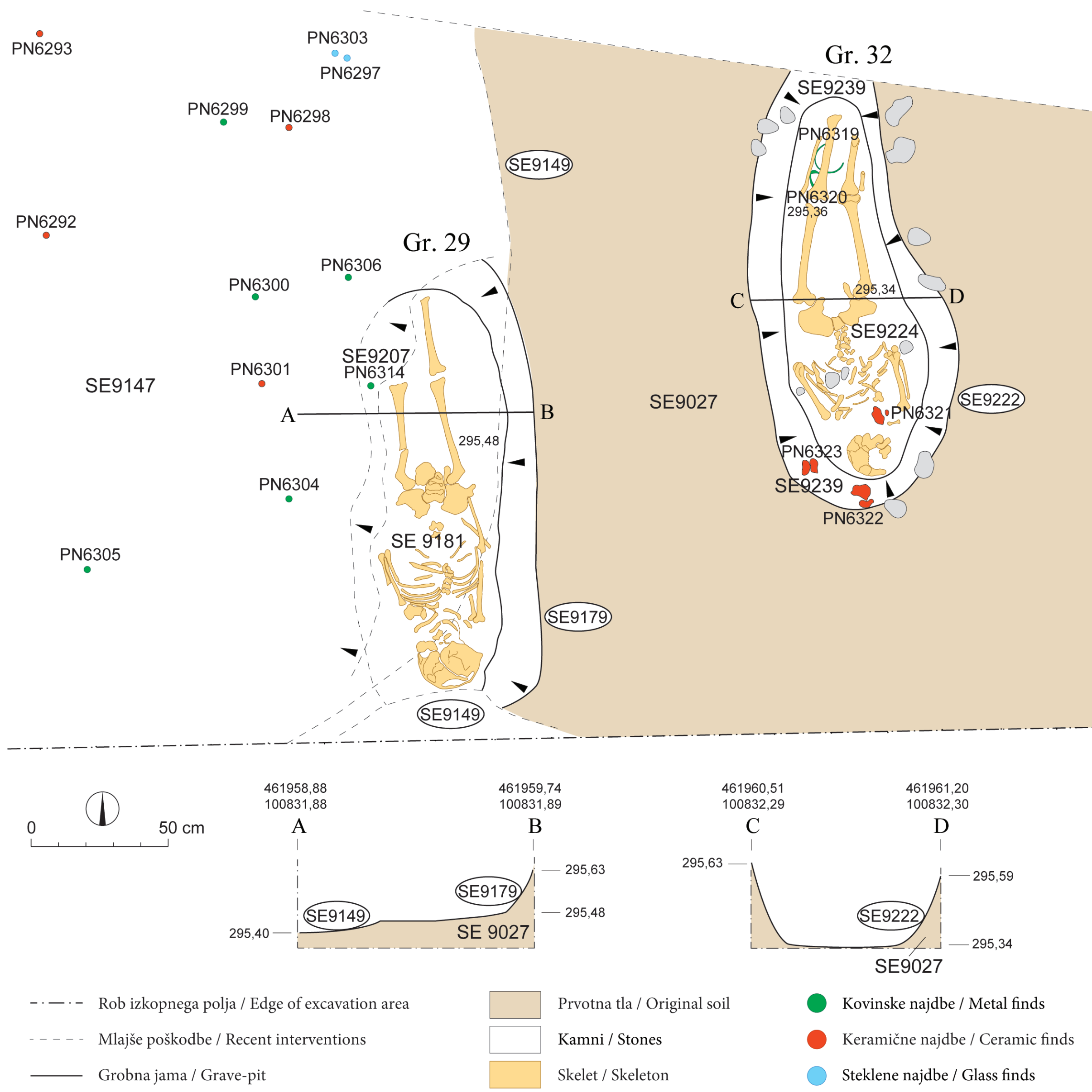
Sl. 9: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Pogled proti severozahodu na skeletni grob 25 ter risba in fotografija pridane keramične posode (M. = 1:3).
Fig. 9: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. View towards northwest on the inhumation grave 25, drawing and photo of the ceramic vessel (Scale = 1:3).

IIa, kar pomeni, da se je tovrsten nakit ohranil še v začetku mladohalštatskega obdobja.[35] Na Notranjskem so bili najdeni v Tržišču.[36] Datacija tovrstnih lasnih obročkov od stopnje Stična naprej torej kaže, da so mlajši od skeletnega groba 29, ki je bil radiokarbonsko datiran v prvo polovico 8. st. pr. n. št. (*sl. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, Gr. 29; *17*), in najverjetneje ne gre za pridatek tega groba.

Med prazgodovinskimi najdbami iz rimskega jarka, ki je poškodoval grob 29, je tudi dvokraki bronast obesek (*sl. 10:* PN6306; *14:* 4). Podobne obeske, sicer z večjo luknjico, najdemo še na drugih gorenjskih najdiščih, na primer na Vrtičniku pri Tupaličah.[37] Odtis dvokrakega obeska ima na

[35] Gabrovec 1974, 292, 294, t. 6: 8; 7: 10.
[36] Guštin 1979, t. 24: 20–22.
[37] Vojaković 2008, 152, 166, sl. 9.



Sl. 10: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Skeletna grobova 29 in 32 ter rimski jarek (SE 9147) v tlorisu in prerezu A–B in C–D (prim. *sl. 2* in *3*). SE = stratigrafska enota; SE v elipsi = interfacija; PN = posebna najdba. Koordinatni sistem D48/GK.
Fig. 10: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Ground plan of inhumation graves 29 and 32 together with the roman ditch (SU 9147) and cross sections A–B and C–D (*cf. Figs. 2* and *3*). SE = stratigraphic unit (SU); encircled SE = interface; PN = special find. Coordinate system D48/GK.

spodnji strani tudi glinena utež z bližnjega grobišča Vrtičnjak nad Tupaličami.[38] Dvokraki obesek je krasil dvozankasto bronasto fibulo iz Vile Prah v Kranju.[39] V paru s trikotnimi obeski, pripetimi na verižico, jih najdemo med najdbami brez podatkov o grobnih celotah iz Stične.[40] Nekoliko bolj podolgovati dvokraki bronasti obeski so znani iz groba 1229 na Mostu na Soči.[41] Po en sam obesek je bil pridan tudi v tamkajšnja grobova 735 in 790.[42]

[38] Vojaković 2008, 166–167, sl. 8, t. 4: 3.

[39] Gabrovec 1960b, t. 1: 1; Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, sl. 7–8, t. 1: 3.

[40] Gabrovec *et al.* 2006, t. 148: 25; 176: 142.

[41] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, t. 118: 10.

[42] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, 145, t. 73: B7; Marchesetti 1893, 129, t. 24: 24.

Sl. 11: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Pogled na skeletni grob 29 (prim. *sl. 10*).
Fig. 11: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. View on the inhumation grave 29 (*cf. Fig. 10*).

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Sl. 12: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Pogled na skeletni grob 32 (prim. *sl. 10*) in detajl z bronasto zapestnico in ovratnico pod levo nogo.
Fig. 12: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. View on the inhumation grave 32 (*cf. Fig. 10*) and detailed view with the position of bronze bracelet and torques beneath the left foot.

Na ročaju ključa iz Trichiana visi večji trikotni obesek, z njega pa šest verižic, na vsaki od njih je par dvokrakih obeskov.[43] Zelo podoben obesek s prav tako šestimi verižicami in dvokrakimi obeski je bil najden na najdišču Broje/Frojach pri Rožeku/Rosegg na avstrijskem Koroškem.[44] Trikotni obeski s šestimi verižicami so znani s Starega gradu pri Uncu in nekropole Verona-Oppeano, Le Franchine, iz groba 1.[45] Ta najdba z grobišča Oppeano v Benečiji je še posebej zanimiva, saj so bili tam poleg žganih grobov najdeni tudi redki skeletni grobovi, tako kot na Kongresnem trgu.[46] Omenimo še pet dvokrakih bronastih obeskov, ki so viseli z obročkov na dvozankasti ločni fibuli iz Mengša, groba na Zadružniški cesti.[47] Ti sicer niso uliti kot prej omenjeni obeski, temveč so oblikovani iz bronaste žice. Gre za enega najstarejših grobov s tovrstnimi obeski glede na tip dvozankaste bronaste fibule (tip 1c po Gabrovcu), ki sodi že v konec 9. oz. v prvo polovico 8. st. pr. n. št.[48] Omeniti je treba, da je bila ta dvozankasta ločna fibula z obročki in obeski

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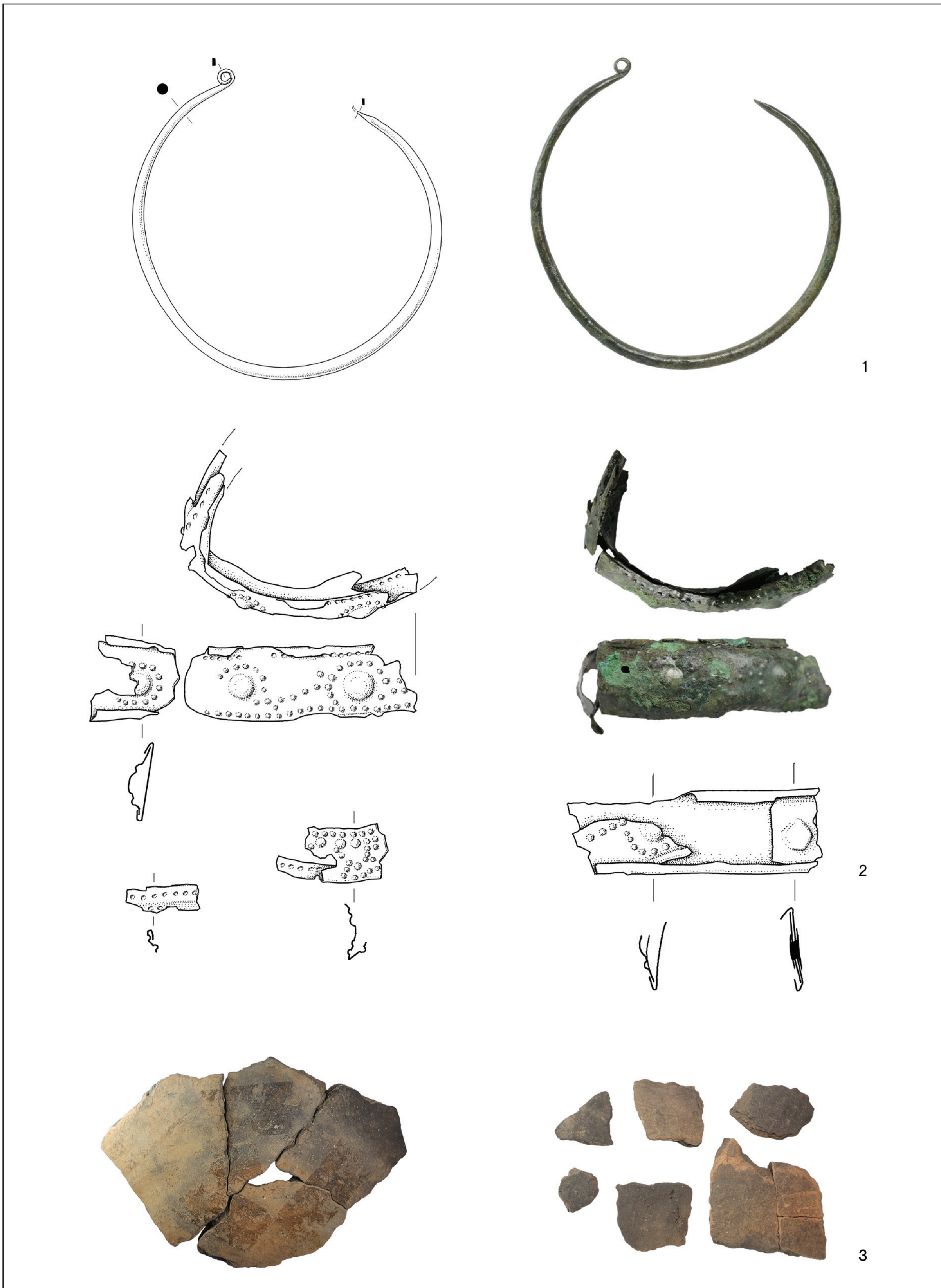
[43] Bonomi, Ruta Serafini 1994.
[44] Gleirscher 2014, sl. 2: 1; 3: 1; 9: 4.
[45] Gleirscher 2014, sl. 9: 5; prim. Salzani 1985, sl. 97.
[46] Glej v nadaljevanju. Salzani 1985, 73–74, sl. 91–92; 2018, 173, 178; Saracino, Guidi 2020, sl. 10.6: 2–3.
[47] Železnikar 1999, 61, kat. št. 30; gl. tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl. 9.
[48] Gabrovec 1970, 24, karta IV; glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*



Sl. 13: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Pridatki skeletnega groba 32. 1–2 bron; 3 keramika. M. 1 = 1:2; 2 = 1:1; 3 = 1:3.
Fig. 13: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Grave goods from the inhumation grave 31. 1–2 bronze; 3 pottery. Scale 1 = 1:2; 2 = 1:1; 3 = 1:3.

najdena v skeletnem grobu. Zelo sorodni, vendar tipološko nekoliko drugačni, so obeski na ročaju velikih bronastih situl iz nekropole Este (Casa di Ricovero in Villa Benvenuti).[49] Ti estenski primerki so zelo podobni poznobronastodobnim obeskom iz Bavarske, Češke, Švice in Srbije,[50] najdemo pa jih tudi v ljubljanskem grobu 319 z Dvorišča SAZU.[51] Dvokraki bronasti obeski so torej krasili fibule, ključe ali celo situle od konca 9. do 7. st. pr. n. št. V ta čas sodi torej tudi dvokraki obesek s Kongresnega trga v Ljubljani. V povezavi z dvokrakim bronastim obeskom omenimo še majhen bronast obroček, prav tako iz zasutja rimskega jarka, ki je poškodoval grob 29 (*sl. 10:* PN6305; *14:* 5). Obroček je morda del verižice, na kateri je bil obešen dvokraki obesek.

Med starejšeželeznodobnimi najdbami iz rimskega jarka so še glineno vretence, odlomki dveh skled in stekleni jagodi (*sl. 10:* PN6292, PN6297, PN6293, PN6301; *14:* 6–10). Jagodi sta na treh straneh okrašeni s koncentričnimi krogi, inkrustacija ni ohranjena.[52] Večja jagoda je rjave barve, med luknjico in krogi je okrašena še s tremi pikicami na vsaki strani. Manjša jagoda je modre barve. Steklene jagode so bile na Dvorišču SAZU dokaj redek pridatek v grobovih.[53] Jagodi s Kongresnega trga lahko po barvi in okrasu primerjamo z jagodo, najdeno v grobu 36 v Šmihelu, ki ga Mitja Guštin uvršča v stopnjo Notranjska IIb.[54] Po tipologiji Clausa Dobiata sodijo te najdbe med jagode s koncentričnimi krogi in okrasom pikic (*Perlen mit konzentrischen Ringen und Punktverzierung*).[55] Pogoste so predvsem v japodskem prostoru, največ jih je namreč na najdiščih v Liki, posamezne so znane z Libne na Dolenjskem in iz Benečije. Dodamo jim lahko še nove najdbe iz novomeških gomil – Kapiteljske njive, grobov IX/92 in XXII/1.[56] Jagoda iz Kandije je brez grobne celote in ni okrašena s pikicami.[57] Podobne jagode s pikicami ali brez njih in s cikcakastim okrasom okrog luknjice so bile najdene tudi na drugih italijanskih najdiščih (Bologna, Verucchio) od poznega 8. do 6. st. pr. n. št.[58] Izvor tovrstnih jagod še ni pojasnjen,[59] zagotovo pa je poveden podatek, da sodi jagoda iz žganega groba iz Šmihela – Pod Kaculjem med najstarejše. V grobu so bile namreč tudi dve enozankasti železni fibuli in očalasta fibula tipa Križna gora, kar pomeni, da sodi grob v stopnjo Notranjska II (pozno 9.–8. st. pr. n. št.).[60] Železna enozankasta ločna fibula in očalasta fibula tipa Križna gora sta bili skupaj tudi v grobu 36 s Križne gore, datiranem v stopnjo Križna gora Ib/Notranjska IIb, kar ustreza stopnji Podzemelj 1 na Dolenjskem in v Beli krajini, absolutno kronološko pa v drugo polovico 9. st. pr. n. št.[61] Radiokarbonske datacije iz Trnovega pri Ilirski Bistrici kažejo, da so se železne enozankaste ločne fibule na Notranjskem ohranile do sredine 8. st. pr. n. št.[62]

V neposredni bližini groba 29 je bil vzporedno ob njem najden skeletni grob 32 (*sl. 3*; *10*). Ob glavi in pod prsnim košem so ležali različni odlomki iste posode (*sl. 10:* PN6321–PN6323; *13:* 3).[63] Na podlagi tega sklepamo, da je bila posoda najprej razbita, posamezni odlomki pridani v grob, šele nato so vanj pokopali pokojnico. Pod njeno levo nogo je bilo tudi več odlomkov namerno uvite votle zapestnice iz bronaste pločevine, okrašene z iztolčenimi bunčicami, in gladka bronasta ovratnica (*sl. 10:* PN6319–PN6320; *12*; *13:* 1–2). Prav take zapestnice najdemo na Notranjskem, v grobovih v Šmihelu – Pod Kaculjem.[64] Omembe vreden je podatek, da je bila takšna bronasta zapestnica v tamkajšnjem grobu 36, iz katerega izvira tudi steklena jagoda s koncentričnimi krogi. Oba šmihelska primerka bronastih zapestnic sta

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[49] Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, t. 204: 1; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, t. 188: 1.

[50] Gleirscher 2014, 83–85, sl. 4: 3–5, 7, 9, s citirano literaturo. Glej tudi Rychner 1979, t. 98: 1, 21; Schumacher-Matthäus 1985, t. 54: 8; Wels-Weyrauch 1991, 80–81, 83, t. 27: 656–670; Rychner-Faraggi 1993, sl. 3; 78; t. 80: 17–20; Kossack 1995, sl. 49: 2.

[51] Puš 1978, 51–52, sl. 7; 1982, 138, t. 27: 6; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 147, sl. 4.144: 3.

[52] O sestavi okrasnih niti na jagodah gl. Koch 2011, 74–75.

[53] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 149–152.

[54] Guštin 1979, t. 42: 16; 68: 57; Dobiat 1987, t. 1: 16.

[55] Dobiat 1987, 15, 18, 90, karta 9; tudi Kompolje-Perlen (Koch 2011, 74–75 in tam citirana literatura).

[56] Križ, Turk 2003, 102, kat. št. 107; Križ *et al.* 2009, 256, sl. 5.2: 33.

[57] Knez 1986, t. 43: 15.

[58] Koch 2011, 74, sl. 23: 8; 42 s primarno literaturo.

[59] Koch 2011, 75.

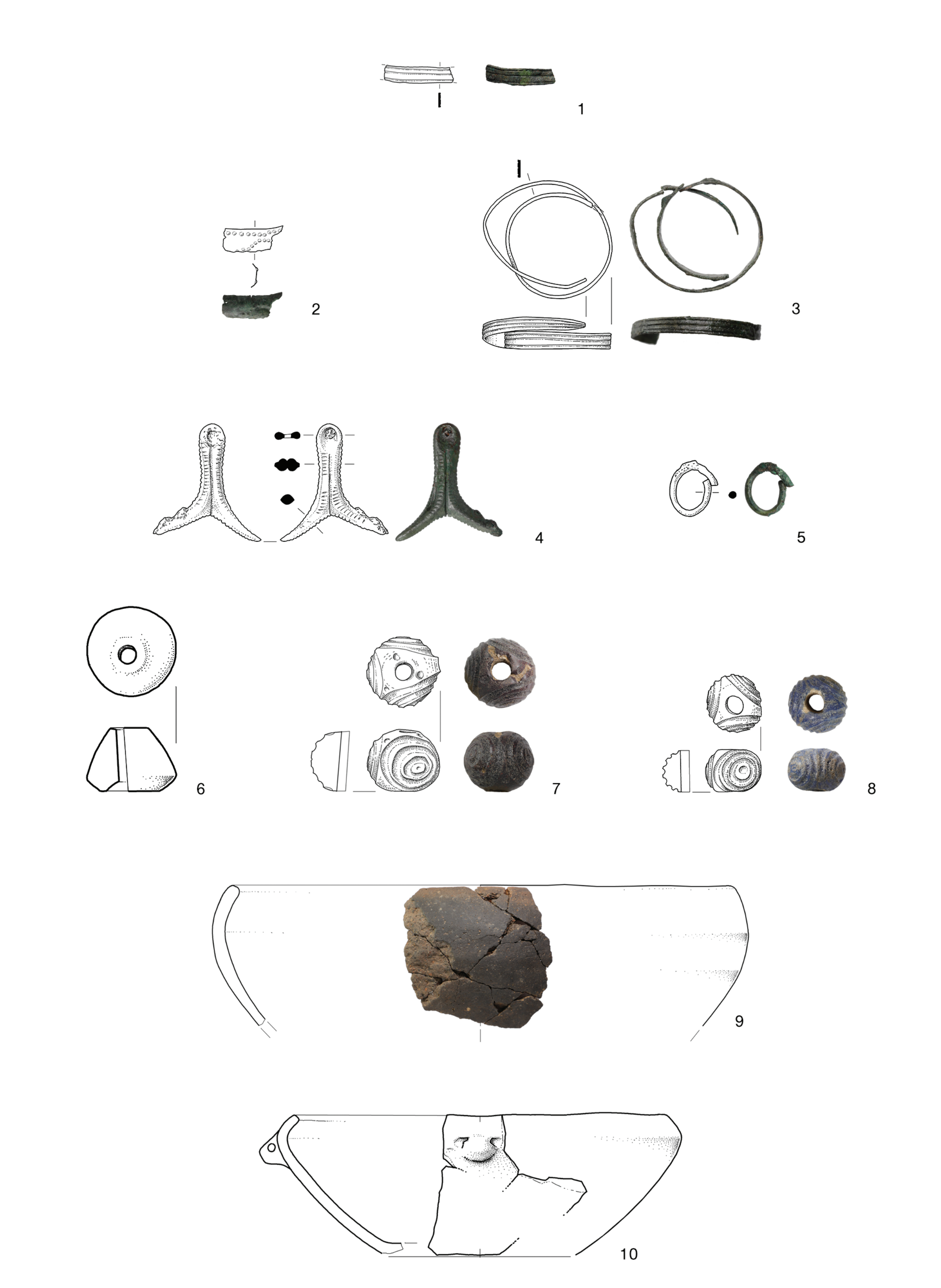
[60] Guštin 1973, 470–471, sl. 2: 5; 1979, t. 42: 10, 11, 17; za očalaste fibule tipa Križna gora glej Pabst 2012, 57–59, sl. 3: 4, karta 14.

[61] Urleb 1974, 32, t. 8: 1; Bavdek, Urleb 2014a, 526–527, sl. 32.3: 2, 3; 32.4; Teržan, Črešnar 2014b, 707; glej tudi Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 91–92, sl. 87 in tam citirano literaturo.

[62] Bavdek, Urleb 2014b, sl. 33.3: 1–2; 33.4; Teržan, Črešnar 2014b, 707.

[63] Dva odlomka, ki bi lahko po fakturi pripadala isti posodi, sta bila najdena v rimskem jarku SE 9147 (*sl. 10:* PN6298; glej *Katalog*).

[64] Guštin 1973, 471, sl. 2: 19, t. 7: 5; 1979, 39, t. 41: 6; 42: 13.



Sl. 14: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Predmeti iz starejše železne dobe, najdeni v rimskem jarku (SE 9147 – prim. *sl. 10*). 1–5 bron; 6,9–10 keramika; 7–8 steklo. M. 1–8 = 1:2; 9–10 = 1:3.

Fig. 14: Ljubljana – Kongresni trg. Finds from the Early Iron Age, discovered in the Roman ditch (SU 9147 – *cf. Fig. 10*). 1–5 bronze; 6,9–10 pottery; 7–8 glass. Scale 1–8 = 1:2; 9–10 = 1:3.

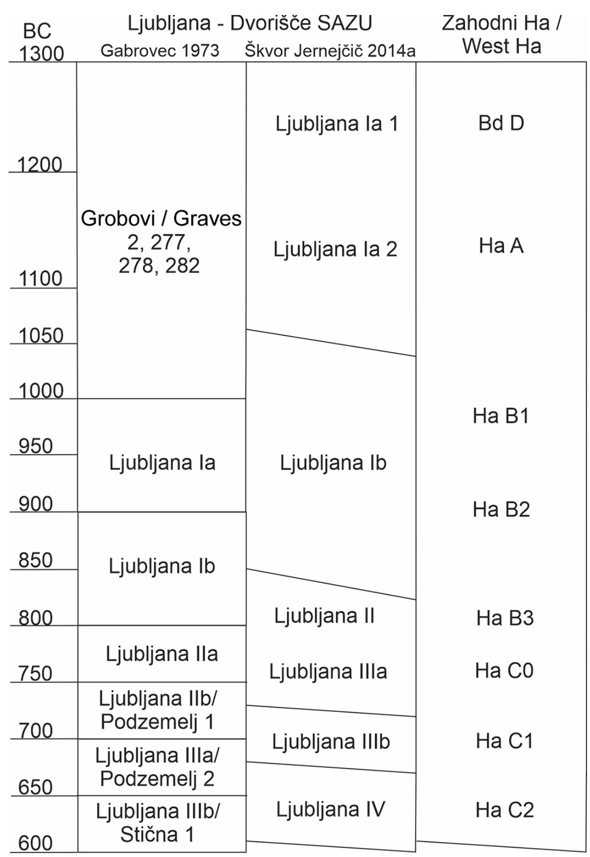
bila pridatek v žganih grobovih, čeprav je s tega grobišča znanih nekaj skeletnih grobov.[65] Guštin je zapestnice iz bronaste pločevine, okrašene z iztolčenimi bunčicami, datiral v stopnjo Notranjska IIc, ki je sočasna s stopnjo Ljubljana IIIa/Podzemelj 2. Take zapestnice so bile odkrite tudi v estenskih grobovih.[66] Primer zapestnice iz keramične situle, okrašene z žebljički v Estah, kaže na sočasnost z zapestnicami iz Šmihela in Ljubljane. Posebej zanimiv je primerek iz Est – Ville Benvenuti, kjer se je ohranilo koščeno notranje jedro, odeto z obeh strani z bronasto pločevino.[67] Enako je bila izdelana podobna zapestnica z Mosta na Soči, vendar zaradi slabe ohranjenosti ni razvidno, ali je bila okrašena z iztolčenimi bunčicami.[68]

Ob bronasti zapestnici iz groba 32 na Kongresnem trgu je ležala tudi bronasta ovratnica okroglega preseka in spiralno uvitimi konci (*sl. 13:* 1). Gladke bronaste ovratnice najdemo na bližnjem grobišču Dvorišču SAZU, in sicer že v grobovih iz pozne bronaste dobe.[69] Zelo podobna ovratnici iz skeletnega groba 32 s Kongresnega trga, tudi po velikosti, je ovratnica iz groba 214 na Dvorišču SAZU, ki sodi v stopnjo Ljubljana IIIa.[70] Nekoliko večja je bronasta ovratnica iz žganega groba 2, odkritega leta 1944 med gradnjo zaklonišč na Kongresnem trgu (*sl. 3:* 2-1944).[71] Radiokarbonska datacija kosti iz groba 32 s Kongresnega trga v čas 790–761 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4 %) (*sl. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, Gr. 32; *17*) priča, da je bila oseba pokopana v prvi polovici 8. st. pr. n. št., temu pritrjujejo tudi pridatki.

KRONOLOŠKI ORIS LJUBLJANSKIH GROBIŠČ IZ ZGODNJE ŽELEZNE DOBE

Za lažje razumevanje in umestitev treh skeletnih grobov 25, 29 in 32 ter žganega centralnega groba 50 iz gomile 1 s Kongresnega trga na kratko podajamo kronološki oris ljubljanskega grobišča na Dvorišču SAZU, predvsem stopenj Ljubljana II in IIIa. Grobišče na Dvorišču SAZU v Ljubljani je namreč že od sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja imelo ključno vlogo pri vzpostavitvi kronološke sheme pozne bronaste in zgodnje železne dobe za prostor osrednje Slovenije. Gre za eno redkih grobišč s kontinuiteto uporabe že od začetka mlajše bronaste dobe (Bd D) z neprekinjenim prehodom v starejšo železno dobo (Ha B3). Reprezentativni vzorec več kot 300 žganih grobov in datacijsko občutljivih grobnih pridatkov z Dvorišča SAZU je bil Gabrovcu osnova za relativno kronologijo ljubljanskega grobišča in ljubljanske skupine. V zadnjem desetletju so se pri pojmovanju začetka železne dobe na Slovenskem, tudi v gorenjsko-ljubljanski skupini, pojavile številne nove ugotovitve v relativni in tudi absolutni kronologiji. Na kratko jih podajamo v nadaljevanju.

Kronološke študije Staneta Gabrovca so še danes ključnega pomena. Na ljubljanskem grobišču je



Sl. 15: Kronološka tabela faz na grobišču Dvorišče SAZU v Ljubljani vzporejane s stopnjami srednjeevropske kronologije.
Fig. 15: Chronological table of phases from the cemetery Dvorišče SAZU in Ljubljana and their correlation with phases according to the Central European chronology.

[65] Guštin 1979, 16–17.

[66] Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, 72, t. 22: 23, 25, 27; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, t. 185: 76.

[67] Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, t. 6: 4.

[68] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, t. 257: C11.

[69] Stare 1954; Puš 1971; 1982; Škvor Jernejčič 2018a, 172–179; 2018b, 543–544; Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2020, 152.

[70] Puš 1971, t. 40: 7.

[71] Stare 1954, 113, t. 69: 2; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 148, t. 164: 6.

ločil šest faz in jih vzporedil s stopnjami Ha B1–C2 (v smislu Müller-Karpeja in Kossacka) (*sl. 15*).[72] Poznobronastodobni stopnji Ljubljana Ia in Ib, kot jih je opredelil Gabrovec, sta bili dopolnjeni, saj se je izkazalo, da sodijo najstarejši žgani grobovi že na sam začetek mlajše bronaste dobe (Bd D).[73] Po Gabrovcu pomeni stopnja Ljubljana IIa/Ha B3, absolutno datirana v prvo polovico 8. st. pr. n. št., izrazit prehod med pozno bronasto in zgodnjo železno dobo. Začetek železne dobe je enačil s stopnjo Ljubljana IIb/Ha B3/Podzemelj 1, absolutno kronološko pa jo je datiral v 750–700 pr. n. št.[74] Gabrovčeva kronološka shema ljubljanske skupine je bila predmet nadaljnjih študij in vrednotenj.[75] Tehtne so ugotovitve Bibe Teržan, da bi morali pojav železnega obročastega nakita, ki sodi po Gabrovcu v stopnjo Ljubljana IIb, pomakniti na prehod stopenj Ljubljana I/II.[76] Tudi stopnja Ljubljana IIb je bila po njenem mnenju datirana prenizko, saj ne more biti omejena le na čas druge polovice 8. st. pr. n. št.[77] Ključna je tudi ugotovitev, da se tako opazna retardacija v uporabi železa med Ljubljano in Notranjsko ne zdi verjetna.[78] Na tem mestu želimo na kratko opisati dopolnitve Gabrovčeve kronološke sheme, ki so rezultat ponovne analize gradiva z Dvorišča SAZU skupaj z rezultati raziskav na Kongresnem trgu, tako v relativnem kot absolutnem kronološkem smislu.

Začetek železne dobe – stopnja Ljubljana II

Stopnji Ljubljana IIa in IIb je Gabrovec razmejil na osnovi kombinacijske tabele grobnih pridatkov.[79] Meja med obema stopnjama pomeni torej po njegovem mnenju le kronološko ločnico. Po našem mnenju pa so pridatki, značilni za stopnji Ljubljana IIa in IIb, sočasni in moramo v ločnici prepoznati razmejitev med pridatki moške in ženske noše iste stopnje.[80] Na podlagi analize pridatkov z ljubljanskega grobišča Dvorišče SAZU lahko rečemo, da so pendant moškim grobovom z bronastimi iglami s strešasto in iglami s stožčasto glavico ženski grobovi s prvim železnim nakitom, kot so železne zapestnice, ovratnice in dvozankaste ločne fibule (tipa 2a/3b po Gabrovcu).[81] Tako bronaste igle kot železni nakit se pojavijo na samem začetku železne dobe, to je v stopnji Ljubljana II/Podzemelj 1, v sredini oz. drugi polovici 9. st. pr. n. št. V pojavu igel s strešasto oziroma stožčasto glavico v stopnji Ljubljana II tako ne moremo več videti končne faze KŽG,[82] temveč začetek starejše železne dobe. V ta čas sodi tudi pojav železnega obročastega nakita – zapestnic in ovratnic ter železnih ločnih fibul, značilnih za t. i. železni horizont. Začetek železnega horizonta je absolutno datiran v sredino oz. drugo polovico 9. st. pr. n. št.[83] Na sočasnost igel s strešasto oziroma stožčasto glavico in železnega obročastega nakita ter najstarejših tipov dvozankastih ločnih fibul na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru kažejo nove radiokarbonske datacije. Datirani vzorci iz grobov z iglami s stožčasto glavico, železnimi ovratnicami rombičnega preseka in železnimi dvozankastimi fibulami z Zidance pri Podnanosu, s Križne gore pri Ložu, iz Miklavža na Dravskem polju in z Dvorišča SAZU v Ljubljani kažejo, da se tovrstni nakit pojavi sočasno, in sicer v drugi polovici 9. st. pr. n. št.[84]

V tej zvezi je pomemben skeletni grob 9/5 z Dobrave pri Dobrniču.[85] Gre za edini skeletni grob s tovrstnim nakitom in enega starejših skeletnih grobov pod gomilo na Dolenjskem, ki pomenijo nov način pokopa s pojavom na samem začetku starejše železne dobe. V grobu so bili bronasta igla s strešasto glavico tipa Porto Sant'Elpidio, železni obročast nakit, zanka železne fibule in odlomek

[72] Gabrovec 1973; 1976; 1983, 63–70.

[73] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 196–219; 2018a; 2019; 2021.

[74] Gabrovec 1973, 343, tab. 2.

[75] Npr. Teržan 1987; Parzinger 1988, 24–27; Teržan 1992; Belardelli *et al.* 1990, 159–168, 200–224; Teržan 1995a; Torbrügge 1992, 578–587; Pare 1998.

[76] Teržan 1987, 8.

[77] Teržan 1990, 63.

[78] Za pojav železnih predmetov v Ljubljani že v pozni bronasti dobi glej Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2020.

[79] Gabrovec 1973, razpr. 1.

[80] Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 366; 2014c, 144, 147–148, sl. 9.

[81] Za igle s strešasto oziroma stožčasto glavico glej Škvor Jernejčič 2014c in tam citirano literaturo; za železne ovratnice in železne dvozankaste ločne fibule (tipa 2a/3b) glej Gabrovec 1970, 24, karta V–VI; Teržan 1995b, 140–142, sl. 20; Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 192–193.

[82] Gabrovec 1973, 355.

[83] Teržan, Črešnar 2014b, 706–713, sl. 37.

[84] Za posamezne radiokarbonske datacije glej Bratina 2014, sl. 34.5; Bavdek, Urleb 2014a, sl. 32.2; Črešnar, Murko 2014, sl. 10.9; Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, sl. 22.1.9; 22.1.11. Pri tem kaže opozoriti, da je datacija z Zidance (Beta-212827) nekoliko previsoka, domnevno zaradi "učinka starega lesa" (Teržan, Črešnar 2014b, 706), datacija z Dvorišča SAZU (KIA-39663) pa prenizka, kar nakazuje prevelika vsebnost ogljika in visoka vrednost δ13C (Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 374, 384–385, sl. 22.1.12; 22.1.26).

[85] Parzinger 1988–1989, st 13: 1–7; Škvor Jernejčič 2014c, sl. 9.

železnega noža.[86] Iglo s stožčasto glavico tipa Vadena najdemo v kombinaciji z železno ločno fibulo tudi na grobišču v Brežcu pri Škocjanu v grobu 85.[87] Sicer pa se igle s strešasto oziroma stožčasto glavico in železen nakit ne pojavljajo skupaj v grobovih. Kot omenjeno, je prvi razlog ta, da sodijo prve k moški, drugi pa k ženski opravi. Poleg tega je treba poudariti, da se igle s strešasto oziroma stožčasto glavico tudi sicer izredno redko pojavijo v kombinaciji z drugimi kovinskimi pridatki, na primer britvami, orožjem in konjsko opremo, železni pridatki pa so povsem izjemni.[88] Za datacijo pojava tovrstnega nakita je ključen skeletni grob C1 z najdišča Porto Sant'Elpidio v pokrajini Marke v Italiji, po katerem je tip igel tudi dobil ime.[89] V grobu so bili poleg igle s strešasto glavico še igla z vazasto glavico, bronasta fibula, polmesečasta britev tipa Grotta Gramiccia[90] in dolg železen nož. Fabiana Macerola je ta tip igel datirala v fazo 3, ki je sočasna s fazo Primo Ferro 2A (morda že konec Primo Ferro 1B) in je absolutno kronološko datirana od 850/825 pr. n. št. dalje.[91]

Povedno pa je tudi dejstvo, da so bile igle s strešasto oziroma stožčasto glavico kot del moške noše razširjene na prostoru Caput Adriae, medtem ko je bil ženski nakit železnega horizonta v uporabi na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru, pojav prvih železnih dvozankastih fibul pa povezujemo z vplivi z vzhoda. Na podlagi razprostranjenosti teh tipov lahko rečemo, da gre za dva različna fenomena, prvi je povezan z jadranskim prostorom, drugi pa s podonavsko-balkanskim prostorom. To se še posebej dobro kaže na grobišču Dvorišče SAZU, kjer sta ti dve skupini moških grobov z iglami s strešasto oziroma stožčasto glavico in ženskih grobov z železnim nakitom fizično povsem ločeni.[92] Grobovi z iglami s strešastimi oziroma stožčastimi glavicami se koncentrirajo na vzhodnem delu grobišča, železen obročast nakit in/ali železne dvozankaste fibule pa skoraj izključno na zahodnem delu grobišča. Še več, v dvojnih grobovih 39 in 40, kjer so bili moškim pridane igle s strešasto glavico, je k ženski noši sodil bronast nakit, kar kaže na močno tradicijo KŽG.[93] Prav tako je treba opozoriti, da skupine oziroma rodbine, ki so svojce pokopavale na vzhodnem delu grobišča, v zgodnji železni dobi v času stopnje Ljubljana IIIa povsem zamrejo oz. opustijo pokopavanje na tem prostoru.[94] Meja med skupinami grobov z novimi tipi igel (s strešasto in stožčasto glavico) in skupinami grobov z novim železnim nakitom verjetno ni kronološka, kot je menil Gabrovec, ampak kaže na različne interesne sfere oz. vplivna območja posameznih skupnosti oz. skupin.

Predlagamo torej, da se Gabrovčevi stopnji Ljubljana IIa in IIb združita v enotno stopnjo Ljubljana II, ki je sočasna s stopnjo Podzemelj 1. Tej sledi stopnja Ljubljana IIIa, ki jo enačimo s stopnjo Podzemelj 2 (*sl. 15*). Ločevanje med stopnjama Ljubljana II in IIIa je mogoče predvsem na podlagi pojavljanja igel in fibul z Dvorišča SAZU. V stopnji Ljubljana IIIa se pojavijo mlajši tipi dvozankastih fibul (npr. tipa 1a po Gabrovcu), vaške vozlaste fibule variante 2 in 3, v moški noši pa so nove bronaste večglave igle s trombastim zaključkom, železnemu obročastemu nakitu se pridružijo bronaste zapestnice in ovratnice.[95] Tudi stopnji Podzemelj 1 in 2, kot jih je opredelil Gabrovec, potrebujeta dopolnitev.[96]

Absolutna kronologija ljubljanskih grobišč

Relativno kronološko shemo zgodnje železne dobe gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine dopolnjujemo z izsledki novih radiokarbonskih analiz. Na vzorcih iz Ljubljane z Dvorišča SAZU, s Kongresnega trga in Tribune je bila opravljena vrsta radiokarbonskih datacij, na tem mestu nas zanimajo predvsem da-

[86] V objavi je odlomek železnega predmeta opredeljen kot rezilo noža (Parzinger 1988–1989, 555), ni pa izključeno, da gre za odlomek loka polmesečaste fibule vrste II, variante 5 (Pogačnik 2002, 33–34, sl. 15).

[87] Guštin 1973, 469.

[88] Škvor Jernejčič 2014c, tab. 1. K tabeli grobov z iglami s strešasto oziroma stožčasto glavico in orožjem velja dodati še žgani grob iz Ca'del ferro di Oppeano (Salzani 2018, 150–151, 166, t. 51: B).

[89] Carancini 1975, 273, t. 62: 2088; Bergonzi, Ritrecina 2009, 21, 22, 24.

[90] Bianco Peroni 1979, 123–136.

[91] Macerola 2018, 413–414, sl. 3, t. 337: SPILL b T.7. Za absolutne datacije glej tudi Bergonzi, Ritrecina 2009, 10; za sinhronizacijo stopenj Ljubljana II in faze Primo Ferro 2A glej Škvor Jernejčič 2014c, 143–145, sl. 10.

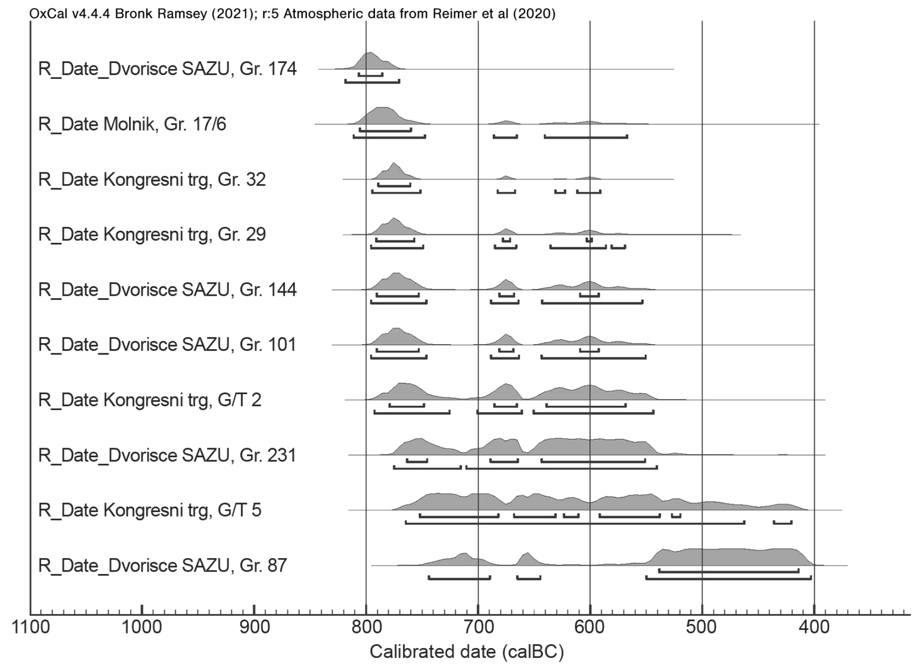
[92] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, sl. 6.25.

[93] Stare 1954, t. 34: 8–10; 35–37; 38: 1–6.

[94] Škvor Jernejčič 2018a, 181–182, sl. 11.

[95] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 220, sl. 6.23–6.24; 6.26.

[96] Na tem mestu kaže omeniti neobjavljeno diplomsko nalogo L. Gruškovnjaka. Opozoril je, da je stopnja Ljubljana IIIa verjetno vzporedna le z začetkom stopnje Podzemelj 2. Smotrno se zdi njegovo ločevanje med grobovi "zgodnjega Podzemlja 2" in grobovi, ki sodijo v "mlajši del horizonta Podzemelj 2 in horizont Stična 1" (Gruškovnjak 2016, 25–59).



Sl. 16: Tabela radiokarbonskih datacij grobov t. i. železnega horizonta z najdišč Dvorišče SAZU in Kongresni trg v Ljubljani ter Molnik (po Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, sl. 22.1.10; 22.1.12–22.1.14; Tecco Hvala 2017c, tab. 1: Poz-90906; Patterson *et al.* 2021, Supplementray Information, 153).
Fig. 16: Table of radiocarbon dating results obtained from graves dating to the so-called 'iron horizon' from the sites Dvorišče SAZU and Kongresni trg in Ljubljana and Molnik (according to Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, Figs. 22.1.10; 22.1.12–22.1.14; Tecco Hvala 2017c, Tab. 1: Poz-90906; Patterson *et al.* 2021, Supplementray Information, 153).

tacije iz t. i. železnega horizonta (*sl. 16*).[97] V tabelo z radiokarbonskimi datacijami smo vključili tudi bogat grob 17/6 z Grmade na Molniku, saj je po sestavu posod zelo podoben sestavom iz grobov s Kongresnega trga.[98]

Radiokarbonsko analiziranih je bilo pet vzorcev iz grobov z Dvorišča SAZU, ki so datirani v stopnjo Ljubljana II in IIIa, torej od 850/825 do 730/720 pr. n. št. Med starejše sodi datacija kosti iz žganega groba 174. Gre za grob starejšega moškega (*maturus*), ki je bil pokopan v grobni jami brez žare. Med sežganimi kostmi je bila med drugim najdena igla s stožčasto glavico tipa Vadena, značilni pridatek v stopnji Ljubljana II.[99] Grob je datiran na prehod iz 9. v 8. st. pr. n. št., 821–769 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %). Problematična je datacija žganega groba 101 z nakitom železnega horizonta med 769–747 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %), saj se zdi prenizka, na kar opozarja prevelika vsebnost ogljika in visoka vrednost δ13C.[100] V grobu je bil namreč kantaros, kakršen je bil najden v naselbini Tribuna v Ljubljani v ruševinski plasti stavbe 12=13, ki je prekrila tlak iz III. gradbene faze.[101] Rezultat datacije dveh tramov predelnih sten te stavbe iz III. gradbene faze pa kaže na razpon celotnega 9. st. pr. n. št.[102]

Nove so datacije žganega groba 144 z Dvorišča SAZU in dveh skeletnih grobov (29 in 32) s Kongresnega trga, ki so tako rekoč sočasne (*sl. 16–17*). Vsi trije grobovi sodijo v prvo polovico 8. st. pr. n. št. Grob 144 z Dvorišča SAZU smo po pridatkih, med katerimi so bile železni zapestnici, železna ovratnica z rombičnim presekom in bronasta fibula z listastim lokom (*sl. 18*), datirali že

[97] Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 370–385; Vojaković 2014, 398–408; glej tu Vojaković, sl. 2.

[98] Tecco Hvala 2017b, 52–55, t. 24–28; Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 94 –104, sl. 88; za rezultat radiokarbonske analize glej Tecco Hvala 2017c, 225–226, tab. 1–2.

[99] Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 370–372, sl. 22.1.9; 22.1.10.

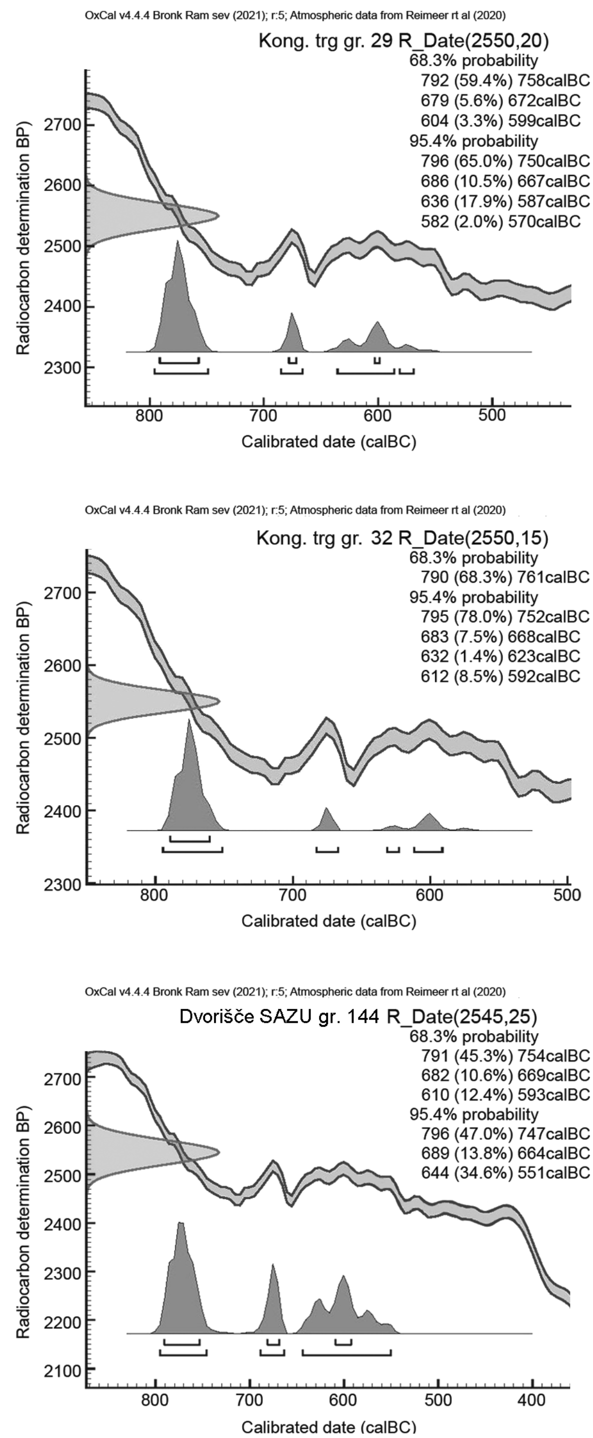
[100] Preveliko vsebnost ogljika in visoko vrednost δ13C je zaznati tudi pri nekaterih datiranih vzorcih iz Ljubljane (Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 384–385, sl. 22.1.26; Škvor Jernejčič 2021, 137–138) in vzorcih z Molnika (Tecco Hvala 2017c, 225, tab. 1).

[101] Vojaković 2014, sl. 22.3.14: 9; Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, sl. 22.1.11: 2.

[102] Vojaković 2014, 399–401, sl. 22.3.10; 22.3.14: 9; 22.3.17–22.3.18.

v stopnjo Ljubljana II/Podzemelj 1.[103] Sočasen je tudi grob 17/6 konjenika z Grmade na Molniku (*sl. 16:* R_Date Molnik, Gr. 17/6). Nekoliko mlajši se zdi centralni grob gomile 2 s Kongresnega trga, saj je bila kost prašiča (*Sus domesticus*) radiokarbonsko datirana v čas 796–750 BC Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %) (*sl. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, G/T 2). V tem grobu s kompletom več kot desetih posod (trebušasta posoda, posoda s stožčastim vratom, situle, sklede, skleda na nogi, skodelica, stojalo)[104] sta bili med drugim železna vozlasta fibula tipa 2c po Gabrovcu[105] in bronasta večglava igla s trombastim zaključkom.[106] Sestav grobnih pridatkov kaže, da sta bila v gomili pokopana moški in ženska, in sicer na samem začetku stopnje Ljubljana IIIa. Bolj ali manj sočasen je tudi grob 231 z Dvorišča SAZU (*sl. 16:* R_Date Dvorisce SAZU, Gr. 231), v katerem je bil železen nakit (zapestnica in igla s spiralno uvito glavico), ki se je ohranil tudi v tej stopnji, ter bronasta ploščata zapestnica s presegajočimi konci.[107] Med mlajše radiokarbonsko datirane grobove železnega horizonta z Dvorišča SAZU sodi grob 87, in sicer v zadnja desetletja 8. st. pr. n. št. (*sl. 16:* R_Date Dvorisce SAZU, Gr. 87).

Povzamemo lahko, da je začetek železne dobe oz. železni horizont v gorenjsko-ljubljanski skupini sočasen začetku železne dobe v drugih halštatskih skupinah v jugovzhodnih Alpah in ga moramo datirati v sredino oz. drugo polovico 9. st. pr. n. št., med 850 in 825 pr. n. št.[108] Konec železnega horizonta sodi v tretjo četrtino 8. st. pr. n. št. in je sočasen s koncem stopnje Podzemelj. Mejo med stopnjama Ljubljana II in IIIa lahko vidimo v prvih desetletjih 8. st. pr. n. št. (okrog leta 780 pr. n. št.).[109]



Sl. 17: Rezultati radiokarbonskega datiranja vzorcev dveh nežganih kosti iz skeletnih grobov 29 (PSUAMS-3055) in 32 (PSUAMS-3092) s Kongresnega trga (po Patterson *et al.* 2021, Supplementary Information, 153) ter žgane kosti iz žarnega groba 144 (KIA47827) z Dvorišča SAZU v Ljubljani.
Fig. 17: Results of the radiocarbon dating analysis conducted on bones from inhumation graves 29 (PSUAMS-3055) and 32 (PSUAMS-3092) discovered at Kongresni trg (according to Patterson *et al.* 2021, Supplementary Information, 153) as well as on the cremated bone from the grave 144 at Dvorišče SAZU (KIA47827) in Ljubljana.

[103] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 109–115, 220, 222, 226. Drugače Gabrovec in Guštin, ki sta datirala pojav fibul z listastim lokom v stopnjo Ljubljana IIb oz. Notranjska IIa (Gabrovec 1973, 351, razpr. 1, t. 12: 1; 1976, 591, sl. 3: 9; Guštin 1973, 469–471, karta 2).

[104] Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 96, op. 136.

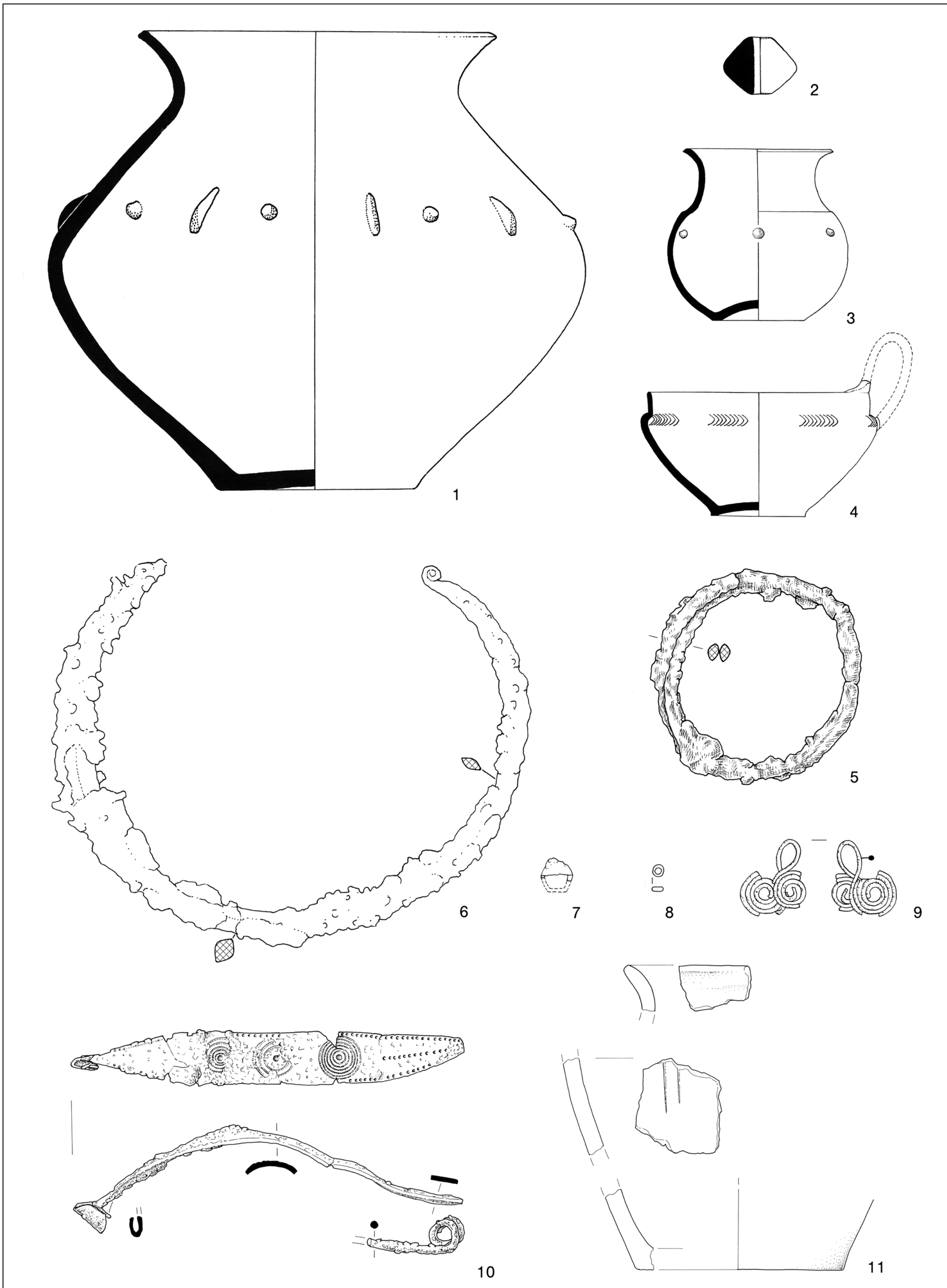
[105] Za fibulo s Kongresnega trga glej Vojaković 2013, sl. 215; za železne vozlaste fibule tipa 2c glej Gabrovec 1970, 24, karta V; Teržan 1990, 213, karta 7A; 2009, 212; Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 106–107, sl. 93–94.

[106] Za fibulo in iglo glej Vojaković 2013, sl. 215.

[107] Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 374–372, sl. 22.1.13.

[108] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 220–226, sl. 6.23; Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 699–702, sl. 33–35.

[109] Podobno tudi C. Metzner-Nebelsick, ki postavlja mejo med Ha B3 in Ha C1a v čas 780 pr. n. št. (Metzner-Nebelsick 2017, sl. 2). Glej tudi Sperber 2017, 202.



Sl. 18: Ljubljana – Dvorišče SAZU. Pridatki iz žganega groba 144. 1–4,11 keramika; 5–6 železo; 7,9–10 bron; 8 steklo. M. 1,3–4,11 = 1:4; 2,5–10 = 1:2 (1–4, 7–9 po Puš 1971).

Fig. 18: Ljubljana – Dvorišče SAZU. Grave goods from the cremation grave 144. 1–4,11 pottery; 5–6 iron; 7,9–10 bronze; 8 glass. Scale 1,3–4,11 = 1:4; 2,5–10 = 1:2 (1–4, 7–9 according to Puš 1971).

ŽGANI IN SKELETNI GROBOVI V GORENJSKO-LJUBLJANSKI SKUPINI

V mlajši in pozni bronasti dobi je za ljubljansko skupino značilen žgani pokop.[110] Znani so le redki popolni ali delni skeletni pokopi iz Dobove in z Obrežja.[111] Analiza bronastodobnih žganih grobov z Dvorišča SAZU v Ljubljani je pokazala, da so bile kljub splošni normi sežiga pokojnika na grmadi in pokopa sežganih kostnih ostankov v grobno jamo številne razlike v pogrebnih običajih.[112] V prvih fazah ljubljanskega grobišča (13.–11. st. pr. n. št.) je prevladoval pokop v žari. Število teh grobov je izredno majhno, kar daje slutiti, da je bil pokop v žari namenjen le peščici posameznikov v družbi. Ta vzorec je namreč zaznati tudi na drugih sočasnih grobiščih.[113] Šele na prehodu iz 2. v 1. tisočletje pr. n. št. so se pri pogrebnih ritualih pojavile velike spremembe. Število grobov se je v Ljubljani in tudi na drugih grobiščih zelo povečalo.[114] Na Dvorišču SAZU so se pojavili prvi grobovi brez žar. Zanimivo je, da so bili grobovi, pri katerih so bili sežgani posmrtni ostanki položeni neposredno v grobno jamo, locirani samo na vzhodnem delu grobišča, na prostoru posameznih skupin.[115] Če sledimo domnevi, da predstavljajo te skupine grobov na ljubljanskem grobišču skupnosti razširjenih družin,[116] lahko rečemo, da so se te med seboj razlikovale tudi po tem, kakšnih pogrebnih običajev so bili deležni njihovi svojci.

V starejši železni dobi je v Ljubljani število grobov znova zraslo, ohranil se je žgani pokop. Na Dvorišču SAZU so bili skoraj brez izjeme vsi grobovi spet žarni, podobna slika se kaže tudi na Kongresnem trgu. Zanimivo je, da na Kongresnem trgu niso začeli pokopavati na začetku železne dobe, torej v drugi polovici oz. na koncu 9. st. pr. n. št., temveč šele v 8. st. pr. n. št. Najstarejši železnodobni žarni grobovi z Dvorišča SAZU so namreč za nekaj generacij starejši. Planim žarnim grobovom (nekateri so bili pokriti s kamnito ploščo) so se v Ljubljani pridružili žarni grobovi pod majhnimi gomilami s prodnatim jedrom in zemljenim plaščem. Gre za nov tip grobne arhitekture v gorenjsko-ljubljanski skupini, ki je bil prvikrat raziskan prav na Kongresnem trgu. Domnevamo, da so bile podobne manjše gomile odkrite tudi na Dvorišču SAZU, vendar iz terenske dokumentacije Puševih izkopavanj ne moremo rekonstruirati tlorisov gomil.[117] Skromni ostanki prav takih gomil so bili najdeni tudi na Novem trgu in Čopovi ulici v Ljubljani.[118]

Manjše zemljene gomile, po konstrukciji sicer drugačne od gomil v Ljubljani, so se na Dolenjskem pojavile že v pozni bronasti dobi (Ha B). Omeniti je treba gomilo I s Hriba v Metliki, kjer so bile odkrite manjše zemljene gomile, ki so prekrivale žgane grobove, datirane v stopnjo Ha B. V II. fazi, sicer še v času stopnje Ljubljana I (po Gabrovcu), verjetno v 9. st. pr. n. št., sta sledila prvo nasutje in s tem nastanek večje gomile, ki je prekrila starejše grobove. V nasutje pa so bili sčasoma vkopani posamezni grobovi.[119] Podobna slika se kaže tudi na Budinjaku na Gorjancih. To gomilno grobišče, ki je ključno za razumevanje prehoda bronaste v železno dobo, še ni celovito publicirano.[120] Prav raziskave na Budinjaku so namreč pokazale, da moramo pojav inhumacije pod gomilo verjetno datirati že v 10. st. pr. n. št.[121] Sicer pa je bil v 10. in 9. st. pr. n. št. še vedno v prevladi žgani način pokopa.

Šele na samem začetku železne dobe, v formativni fazi dolenjske halštatske skupine, so se zgodile velike spremembe v pogrebnem ritualu in načinu pokopa. Gabrovec je prav na podlagi razprostranjenosti skeletnega pokopa pod gomilo prostorsko zamejil dolenjsko halštatsko skupino.[122] Med starejše sodijo skeletni grobovi iz Velikega Nerajca pri Dragatušu v Beli krajini.[123] Sočasni so tudi prvi skeletni grobovi iz Dolenjske, na primer že omenjeni skeletni grob 9/5 pod gomilo z Dobrave pri Dobrniču. Ni dvoma, da je bil proces družbenih sprememb na prehodu iz kulture žarnih grobišč v zgodnjo železno dobo zelo kompleksen, kar se kaže tudi v novih pogrebnih običajih in načinu

[110] Gabrovec 1983, 69–70.

[111] Dobova: grobovi 97, 98, 202, 305a in 354a (Stare 1975, 14, 25, 29–30, 32, 34–35), Obrežje: grobova 253/2 in 317 (Mason 2003, 202; Mason, Kramberger 2023, 494, 520, 792–793, 844–845).

[112] Škvor Jernejčič, Vinazza 2016; Škvor Jernejčič 2018a; Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2020.

[113] Škvor Jernejčič 2021, 134–139, sl. 17–19.

[114] Teržan 1999, 111.

[115] Škvor Jernejčič 2018a, 166–168, sl. 1.

[116] Škvor Jernejčič 2018a, 164, 171, sl. 10–11.

[117] Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 219, 235, 237, 246, 248, sl. 6.34; 7.3; 13.49.

[118] Gruškovnjak *et al.* 2018, 227, 242–243.

[119] Grahek 2004, 119–122, 162; sl. 13–14; 2014, 519.

[120] Škoberne 1999; 2004; Škoberne, Bugar 2017.

[121] Škoberne, Bugar 2017, 76–81, sl. 7.4–7.6, t. 1; Teržan 2020, 371.

[122] Gabrovec 1964–1965, 27–28, 43; 1966, pril. 1; 1987, 85–89; 1999, 178.

[123] Spitzer 1973; Dular 2003, 208–217; Škvor Jernejčič 2011.

pokopavanja v dolenjski halštatski skupini.[124] To ne nazadnje nakazuje sočasnost planih žganih grobov ter žganih in skeletnih grobov pod gomilo konec 9. in v 8. st. pr. n. št. Čeprav je bil za dolenjsko halštatsko skupino tipičen skeletni pokop v gomili, je bil ponekod, na primer na Magdalenski gori, delež žganih grobov v celotnem halštatskem času znaten.[125] Zanimiva je primerjava z gomilnim grobiščem na Molniku, mejni postojanki dolenjske halštatske skupine, kjer so gomilni grobovi iz starejšega halštatskega obdobja vsi žgani in se je šele v mladohalštatskem času poleg žganega pokopa pod gomilo pojavila tudi inhumacija.[126]

Gorenjsko-ljubljanska skupina pa je v nasprotju z dolenjsko skupino v starejši železni dobi ohranila žgani pokop in so bili skeletni grobovi izredno redki.[127] Najbližje primerjave trem skeletnim grobovom s Kongresnega trga najdemo na Rojah pri Orlah, v grobu 9, kjer so pod tremi večjimi kamnitimi ploščami odkrili skelet 15-letne deklice, na njenih spodnjih okončinah pa je bila žara s sežganimi ostanki otroka, starega 7–14 let.[128] Ta dvojni grob je sicer nekoliko mlajši od skeletnih grobov s Kongresnega trga. Opozoriti kaže tudi na žgani grob 8 z Roj pri Orlah, ki je ležal tik ob dvojnem grobu 9. V žari sta bila najdena bronasta lasna obročka z vodoravnimi vrezi, kakršne najdemo prav na Kongresnem trgu.[129] Največ skeletnih grobov je iz Gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine znanih iz Mengša.[130] Glede na pridatke iz planega skeletnega groba z Zadružniške ulice v Mengšu se zdi, da se je tak način pokopavanja pojavil že na začetku železne dobe. V grobu je bila najdena že omenjena bronasta dvozankasta ločna fibula s petimi obročki in dvokrakimi obeski, ki sodi v čas poznega 9. oziroma začetek 8. st. pr. n. št.[131] V starejše halštatsko obdobje sodijo tudi skeletni grobovi z Zadružniške ulice 11–21.[132] Poudariti je treba, da so bili v teh grobovih najdeni le ženski pridatki, kot so zapestnice, obročki in dvozankasta ločna fibula. Prav tako je zanimiv zapis Stareta, da je bila v grobu 4 pokopana ženska mlajših let.[133] Na lokaciji Zavrti 6 najden skeletni grob pa je mlajši, sodi v stopnjo Stična in kaže, da se je tak način pokopa ohranil še v 7. st. pr. n. št.[134] V okviru gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine moramo omeniti še tri skeletne grobove pod gomilo iz Bitenj pri Kranju, katerih datacija ni zanesljiva, saj se najdbe niso ohranile.[135] Trije zgodnježeleznodobni skeletni grobovi s Kongresnega trga so torej poleg omenjenih mengeških grobov za zdaj v okviru gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine posebni.[136]

Vsi preostali skeletni grobovi iz Gorenjske so mlajši in sodijo v mladohalštatsko obdobje. Novejše raziskave v Mengšu (Zavrti 4 in 6) so razkrile skeletni grob ženske, ki je bil tudi radiokarbonsko datiran.[137] En sam plan skeletni grob je bil najden na sicer žganem grobišču na Bledu – Pristavi.[138] Skeletni grob je bil prav tako najden pri cerkvi sv. Marjete na Gradišču nad Lukovico.[139] Na isti lokaciji so bili pozneje odkriti trije mladohalštatski skeletni grobovi in celo ostanki konja, domnevno gre za pokope pod gomilo.[140] V ta čas sodijo še skeletni grobovi, najdeni na Trnjavi – Gusin griču in v Kompoljah – Kopi 2.[141] Gabrovec je v teh skeletnih grobovih prepoznal vpliv dolenjske halštatske skupine[142] s tipičnim skeletnim pokopom pod gomilo. Z območja dolenjske halštatske skupine poznamo tudi nekatere plane skeletne gobove, na primer z Budinjaka.[143]

[124] Teržan 2020, 370.

[125] Tecco Hvala 2012, 50–79, sl. 12B.

[126] Škvor Jernejčič 2017a; Tecco Hvala 2017d, 115–118, sl. 95–96.

[127] Gabrovec 1999, 180–181; Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, 141–142.

[128] Puš 1984, 146, sl. 7–8, t. 4: 1–2; Tecco Hvala 2017d, 30–31, sl. 18, t. 6A.

[129] Puš 1984, t. 3: 1; Tecco Hvala 2017b, t. 5: 1.

[130] Gabrovec 1965, 98–100, t. 3: 3–9; 6: 2–4; Štibernik 2006, 102; glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*

[131] Železnikar 1999, 61, kat. št. 30; glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*

[132] Gabrovec 1965, 98, t. 3: 3–9; 6: 2–4.

[133] Glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl. 8.

[134] Glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl. 1: 6–8; 3: 4.

[135] Gabrovec 1960a, 13; 1960b, 14; Valič 1975, 174; 1982, 14.

[136] Na Dvorišču SAZU so bili odkriti skeletni grobovi, ki sodijo v poznoantično in zgodnjesrednjeveško obdobje (Korošec 1951). Med izkopavanji prazgodovinske žgane nekropole je Ivan Puš odkril še nekaj skeletnih grobov, ki niso bili objavljeni (Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 14, sl. 3.12). Kosti in najdbe so založene, tako da radiokarbonske analize, s katerimi bi preverili starost skeletov, niso mogoče.

[137] Glej tu Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*, sl. 4–5; 6: 3–7; 7.

[138] Bitenc 1987; glej tu Bitenc, t. 5: 4.

[139] Gabrovec 1965, 101, t. 12: 1–5.

[140] Sagadin 1994–1995, 148; 2004, 42–43.

[141] Gabrovec 1965, 101, t. 11: 4–6; glej tu Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar.

[142] Gabrovec 1965, 109–110.

[143] Škoberne 1999, 21, 29, 34, sl. 6: tip 10. Plani skeletni pokop se je v začetku železne dobe verjetno pojavil tudi v Beli krajini (Škvor Jernejčič 2011). Plani skeletni grobovi iz mladohalštatskega obdobju so znani tudi s podzemeljskih grobišč (Grahek, Kovač 2020). Za plane skeletne nekropole dolenjske skupine, ki sodijo v mlajše halštatsko obdobje, glej Draksler 2007, 149–152, sl. 45.

Omenimo naj še tri skeletne grobove iz Bitenj v Bohinju. Dva sta bila brez pridatkov, tretji je imel horizontalno nažlebljen bronast uhan.[144] Takšni uhani so značilni za stopnjo Sv. Lucija IIa, ohranijo pa se tudi v naslednji stopnji, kot kažejo denimo primerki iz bitenjske nekropole v Bohinju.[145] Bohinjski kot je v mladohalštatskem času spadal v vplivno območje svetolucijske skupine, kjer je bil v uporabi žgani pokop, tako kot na Gorenjskem. Posamezni skeletni grobovi so bili sicer odkriti tudi na Mostu na Soči.[146] Pozornost vzbuja delni skeletni pokop v kamniti skrinji, pod katero so bile po opisu Carla Marchesettija apnenčaste plošče. V skrinji so bile kosti spodnjih okončin, medenica in del hrbtenice,[147] nenavadno pa je tudi, da so bili ostanki spodnjega dela skeleta obrnjeni s koleni proti tlom. Glede na pridatke sodi pokop v mladohalštatski čas. Tudi v drugih dveh skeletnih grobovih, ki ju je izkopal Marchesetti, skeleta nista bila popolna, v enem je manjkala glava, v drugem so bile le lobanjske kosti (zatilje).

Pri obravnavi pogrebnega rituala gorenjsko-ljubljanske skupine se moramo ozreti še na koroško halštatsko skupino, kjer je bil v uporabi žgani pokop pod gomilo, plana grobišča pa so redka. Na najdišču Krnski grad/Karnburg naj bi bili najdeni celo plani skeletni grobovi.[148] Plan skeletni pokop je bil v starejši železni dobi razširjen na Notranjskem. Na grobiščih v Šmihelu in Trnovem pri Ilirski Bistrici so bili najdeni sicer redki skeletni pokopi,[149] na Križni gori pa je od vseh raziskanih grobov skoraj polovica skeletnih.[150] Pojavijo se že v najstarejši stopnji grobišča in se ohranijo vse do konca pokopavanja. Mehtilda Urleb je skeletne grobove povezala z vplivi iz zahodnobalkanskega prostora oz. predvsem z grobišči v Liki.[151] Iz japodskega prostora so znane biritualne nekropole, na grobiščih Kompolje, Prozor, Vranič in Klačenica je prevladoval skeletni pokop.[152] Omeniti kaže tudi biritualna grobišča ob reki Uni (Mekota, Jezerine, Crkvina-Golubić, Ripač) in grobišče Ostrožac, od koder je znan skeletni pokop.[153]

Posebno zanimanje vzbujajo skeletni grobovi iz 9.–8. st. pr. n. št. v Benečiji in Emiliji - Romanji, kjer je sicer značilen žgani pokop, tako kot v Posočju, na Notranjskem in Gorenjskem.[154] Skeletni grobovi se pojavljajo v naselbinah ali na njihovem robu, torej zunaj grobiščnih prostorov.[155] Sočasen s skeletnimi grobovi s Kongresnega trga je skeletni grob ženske iz naselbine Montagnana-Borgo S. Zeno, via Chisogno, ki je imela bronast obroček oziroma uhan.[156] Skeletni grobovi v naselbinah so znani tudi z najdišča Verona-Oppeano. V grobu na lokaciji Ex-Fornace je bil najden ženski skelet v iztegnjeni legi na hrbtu z rokami ob telesu, brez spodnjega dela nog, skupaj z grobnimi pridatki.[157] Omeniti kaže še skelet moškega, odkrit v veliki odpadni jami, ki je sicer mlajši (konec 6./začetek 5. st. pr. n. št.). Ležal je na trebuhu, enako kot skelet v grobu 32 s Kongresnega trga v Ljubljani.[158] Na lokaciji Montara je bil v jami (SE 73) najden nepopoln skelet moškega, datiran v 7. oz. na začetek 6. st. pr. n. št. V drugi jami (SE 72) v neposredni bližini jame s človeškim skeletom so bili ostanki dveh psov in kosti goveda.[159]

Z grobišč Verone, kjer prevladuje žgani pokop, so prav tako znani redki skeletni grobovi. Med starejše sodi skeletni grob odrasle ženske z lokacije Via Da Vinci, radiokarbonsko datiran v 9. st. pr. n. št.[160] Gre za enega najstarejših grobov na sicer žgani plani nekropoli, grob 31 pa predstavlja edini skeletni pokop. Federica Gonzato je mnenja, da bi lahko šlo za žrtvovano osebo ob vzpostavitvi

[144] Gabrovec 1974, 290, 293, t. 7: 4.

[145] Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 428–429; Gabrovec 1974, t. 2: 9; 8: 1.

[146] Marchesetti 1893, 97, 133; Urleb 1974, 18; Gabrovec 1974, 300; Svoljšak, Žbona Trkman 1985, 87; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, 363; Dular, Tecco Hvala 2018, 128–129.

[147] Marchesetti navaja pri opisu groba le spodnje okončine in medenico, drugje pa piše, da so bili v grobu še deli hrbtenice oz. vretenc (Marchesetti 1893, 97, 133).

[148] Müller-Karpe 1951, 619; Modrijan 1957, sl 18: 10; Pittioni 1954, 624–625; Teržan 1990, 184–185.

[149] Guštin 1979, 15–17; Gabrovec 1999, 180; Bavdek, Urleb 2014a, 537.

[150] Urleb 1974, 14–19; Guštin 1979, 17; Gabrovec 1999, 180.

[151] Urleb 1974, 18–19.

[152] Balen-Letunić 2004a, 228, 230; Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2021, 61–62, 74, sl. 3 in tam citirana literatura.

[153] Mulabdić 2011; Marić 1971; Raunig 1971; 1981; 1982.

[154] Za skeletne grobove iz 9. in 8. st. pr. n. št. glej Gamba, Voltolini 2018, 209 in tam citirano literaturo; Zamboni 2018, 215–216.

[155] Za skeletne pokope znotraj naselbin glej Guidi, Saracino 2010, tab. I.

[156] Bianchin Citton, De Min 1998, 399–400, sl. 247–248; Bianchin Citton *et al.* 2015, 465–466, sl. 4.

[157] Candelato *et al.* 2015, 518–520; Saracino, Guidi 2020, 159, sl. 10.6: 5.

[158] Saracino 2009, 66; Guidi, Saracino 2010, 48, tab. I; Candelato *et al.* 2015, 519; Saracino, Guidi 2020, 165, sl. 10.6: 6.

[159] Salzani 2008, 23, sl. 5–6; Saracino 2009, 66; Saracino, Guidi 2020, 161, sl. 10.6: 4.

[160] Gonzato 2018, 57–59, 96–100, 118, sl. 3.

nekropole. Skeletni grobovi so znani še z grobišč Le Franchine (grobova 42 in 70), Ponte Nuovo in Gazzo Veronese.[161] Posamezni skeletni grobovi so bili odkriti v Estah, pogostejši so na različnih grobiščih v Padovi,[162] še posebej je zanimiva slika najstarejših grobov na lokaciji Via Tiepolo – via S. Massimo.[163] V najstarejši fazi tega grobišča, to je konec 9. oziroma v prvi četrtini 8. st. pr. n. št., prevladujejo žgani grobovi, razporejeni v dve manjši skupini, prekriti pa so bili z gomilicami. Ob robu teh dveh skupin so ležali trije skeletni grobovi, in sicer grob deklice, ženske in še ene odrasle osebe, katere spol z antropološko analizo ni bil določljiv. V naslednji fazi, v drugi in tretji četrtini 8. st. pr. n. št., so grobove prekrile tri gomile.[164]

Sočasni skeletnim grobovom s Kongresnega trga v Ljubljani so tudi skeletni pokopi iz Bologne, via S. Donato-Caserna Battistini, ki sodijo v sredino in tretjo četrtino 8. st. pr. n. št.[165] Na prostoru, kjer je bila prej naselbina, je bilo najdenih šest grobov, v njih je bilo pokopanih pet odraslih oseb, en otrok in celo skelet konja. Podobni primeri so znani še z lokacije Via Cassarini, Via Sante Vicenzi, Via Beroaldo v Bologni in Castenaso.[166] Tako kot v Bologni so bili tudi na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani odkriti ostanki naselbine iz bronaste dobe, isti prostor pa je bil nato v starejši železni dobi v uporabi za grobišče. Posebno pozornost vzbujajo skeletni pokopi na grobišču San Vitale v Bologni, ki prav tako sodijo v 8. st. pr. n. št.[167] Skeletni grobovi, po večini brez pridatkov, so bili najdeni na opuščenih ognjiščih ali ob njih, v njihovi bližini pa so bili žarni grobovi. Posebej zanimiva sta grobova 755 in 760. Na opuščenem ognjišču sta ležala človeški skelet in skelet majhnega konja. Pol metra nad njima je bil odkrit žarni grob 755, ki ga lahko na podlagi ohranjenih pridatkov datiramo v 8. st. pr. n. št.[168] Iz Bologne je iz Via Belle Arti znanih 39 skeletnih grobov, najstarejši so datirani v stopnjo Villanoviano III in so torej sočasni s skeletnimi grobovi s Kongresnega trga.[169]

Za konec omenimo še izredno redke skeletne grobove iz Transdanubije, kjer je bil sicer v uporabi žgani pokop. Šest skeletnih grobov, datiranih na konec 8. in začetek 7. st. pr. n. št., je bilo najdenih na grobišču Süttő.[170] Drugačen način pokopa povezuje Katalin Novinszki-Groma kot vpliv skupine Mezőcsát in nomadskih trakokimerijskih populacij. En sam grob iz pozne bronaste dobe je znan tudi z grobišča Budapest-Békásmegyer.[171] Gre za grob odraslega moškega v t. i. žabji pozi, ob sebi je imel štiri posode ter na predelu medenice velik kamen.[172] Nenavaden način pokopa – edini skeletni grob na celotnem žarnem grobišču – interpretira Nándor Kalicz z vplivi iz vzhodnega dela Madžarske oz. s predskitskimi nomadskimi skupnostmi. Zelo verjetno moramo z vzhodnjaškimi vplivi povezati tudi skeletne grobove iz začetka železne dobe na nekropolah Vukovar-Lijeva bara, Sotin in Šarengrad.[173]

POSKUS RAZLAGE SKELETNIH GROBOV NA KONGRESNEM TRGU

Trije skeletni grobovi s Kongresnega trga predstavljajo neobičajne, posebne pokope posameznikov,[174] ki po smrti niso bili deležni enakega tretmaja in ritualov kot preostali pripadniki njihove skupnosti. Razlaga, zakaj so bili ti trije individuumi, pokopani na grobišču na Kongresnem trgu, izključeni iz normativnih pogrebnih običajev, je do monografske objave celotnega prazgodovinskega grobišča skupaj z naravoslovnimi analizami le podlaga za nadaljnje razmišljanje.

Pomembna je ugotovitev, da se trije skeletni grobovi med seboj razlikujejo glede na lego na grobišču in prisotnost oz. odsotnost grobnih pridatkov. Na dveh skeletih je bila opravljena antropološka analiza, odkrite so bile patološke spremembe na kosteh (glej *Katalog*). Skeletni grob

[161] Salzani 1985, 73–74, sl. 91–92; Gamba, Voltolini 2018, 210, op. 19 in tam citirana literatura; za nekropolo Ponte Nuovo glej tudi Salzani 2005, 34, sl. 63; 65; za nekropolo Gazzo Veronese glej Salzani, Morelato 2022.

[162] Gamba *et al.* 2014.

[163] Millo 2014.

[164] Millo 2014, 213, t. 24–25.

[165] Vanzini 2020, 21, 25, sl. 7.

[166] Za Villa Cassarini: Kruta Poppi 1976, 340, sl. 8; 10; za Castenaso: Gusberti 1994.

[167] Pincelli, Morigi Govi 1975; Taglioni 1997.

[168] Pincelli, Morigi Govi 1975, 452, 462, sl. 35; t. 46, 300: 3–4; Taglioni 1997, 218.

[169] von Eles *et al.* 2018, 301; von Eles 2021, 134, 136, sl. 5.

[170] Novinszki-Groma 2017.

[171] Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 140, sl. 348–349, t. 103: 1–4.

[172] Kalicz 2010, 17.

[173] Vinski 1955, 234, 237, 248, sl. 7, 10–12; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 164, 187, t. 125; Ložnjak Dizdar 2010, 27; Balen-Letunić 2004b, 17, 19–20, t. 5, 6, 7: 1–2. Skeletni grobovi se omenjajo tudi v Dalju in Batini (Ložnjak Dizdar 2013, 110; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 198).

[174] Glej npr. Murphy 2008; Müller-Scheeßel 2013.

25 je bil najden v neposredni bližini centralnega groba 50 gomile 1. Zaradi novodobnih poškodb z gomilo sicer ni imel stratigrafskega stika, glede na obliko in domnevni potek prodnatega jedra gomile pa se zdi zelo verjetno, da je bil z gomilo 1 povezan oz. ga je prekrival njen zemljeni plašč (*sl. 3; 5*). Skelet je ležal na hrbtu, z rokami ob telesu (*sl. 5; 9*). Ob glavi so bili pridani odlomki posode. Povsem drugače je pri grobovih 29 in 32. Najdena sta bila vzhodno od obodnega jarka gomile 6 (*sl. 3; 10*). Lahko bi celo rekli, da sta bila pokopana na obrobje, stran od gomile. Vzhodno od njiju so bili le še žgani grob 23 in dva rimska skeletna grobova (*sl. 3*). Grobova 29 in 32 sta ležala vzporedno drug ob drugem. Glede na analizo predmetov v grobu 32 in dveh radiokarbonskih datacij (*sl. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, Gr. 29, R_Date Kongresni trg, Gr. 32; *17*) sta bila sočasna s centralnim grobom gomile 6.[175] V grobu 29 je bila pokopana deklica brez pridatkov. Ležala je na hrbtu z rokami ob telesu (*sl. 10–11*). Patološke spremembe na kosteh kažejo na zdravstvene težave pred smrtjo. Ob njej je bila v grobu 32 pokopana odrasla oseba. V višini hrbtenice pokojnice so ležali štirje večji prodniki (*sl. 10*; *12*). Ležala je na trebuhu s prekrižanimi rokami. Ob glavi je imela odlomke razbite posode, pod desno nogo pa bronasto zapestnico in ovratnico. Antropološka analiza je pokazala na kosteh znake osteoartritisa in osteoporoze.

Pozornost vzbuja lega skeleta na trebuhu. Taka lega je nenavadna in kaže na odklon od takratnih norm v pogrebnih običajih.[176] Podoben primer je morda skeletni grob 84 s Križne gore, vendar iz opisa ni povsem jasna lega skeleta, risba pa to nakazuje.[177] V eni izmed gomil na Pijavi Gorici so našli grob z okostjem, ki je ležalo obrnjeno z obrazom navzdol in je imelo ob glavi kamen.[178] Delno inhumacijo v enaki pozi z Mosta na Soči smo že omenili. Nekateri avtorji interpretirajo pokope na trebuh kot posledico prepričanj, da se duša na trebuh pokopanega pokojnika ne more več vrniti v svet živih.[179] Pokojne osebe lahko postanejo ob nasilni, prezgodnji smrti za skupnost nevarne, zato so bile deležne posebnih pogrebnih ritualov ob pokopu (lega na trebuhu, pridajanje amuletov).[180] Okoliščine in vzrok smrti (prezgodnja smrt, smrt pri porodu ali bolezenskih vzrokov) se lahko odražajo v tem, kako in kje je bila oseba pokopana.[181] Otroci, porodnice, umrle pri porodu, osebe, umrle zaradi utopitve, strele ipd., so bili v zgodovinskih obdobjih velikokrat izločeni iz normativnih pogrebnih praks določenih skupnosti. Če sledimo značilnostim in definiciji atipičnih pokopov v Benečiji iz starejše železne dobe, kot jih je opredelila Elisa Perego,[182] lahko zaključimo, da sodita mednje tudi grobova 29 in 32 s Kongresnega trga v Ljubljani.

Ali sta bili deklica in odrasla ženska, pokopani v teh dveh grobovih, deležni drugačnih pogrebnih ritualov kot preostali pripadniki njune lokalne skupnosti zaradi posebnih okoliščin in/ali vzroka smrti, bi lahko v drugačnem načinu pokopa prepoznali njuno tujo provenienco? Obetamo si, da bodo (bio)arheološke raziskave, ki so v teku, in monografska objava celotnega prazgodovinskega grobišča na Kongresnem trgu ponudile nekatere odgovore na ta vprašanja.

Zahvale

Arheološke raziskave na Kongresnem trgu sta vodila Matjaž Novšak (Arhej, d. o. o.) in Martin Horvat (MGML). Irena Šinkovec in Martin Horvat (MGML) sta nama prijazno omogočila vpogled v prazgodovinsko gradivo s Kongresnega trga. Arheozoološke analize živalskih kosti je opravil Borut Toškan (ZRC SAZU, IzA), antropološke analize pa Rebecca Nicholls (Univerza v Bradfordu). Risbe predmetov na tablah so delo Tamare Korošec (ZRC SAZU, IzA), risbe na sliki *18:* 5,10-11 je narisala Ida Murgelj (NMS). Fotografije na tablah je posnel Dragotin Valoh (ZRC SAZU, IzA), fotografije predmetov na slikah 7 in 8 pa Nejc Ciglar (Arhej, d. o. o.). Rentgenski posnetek vaške vozlaste fibule je naredil Miro Klincov (Inštitut za metalne konstrukcije). Vsem srčna hvala!

[175] V centralnem grobu gomile 6 so bili odkriti komplet keramičnih situl, okrašenih z bronastimi žebljički in kositrnimi lističi, skodelice, stojala, sklede in posode s stožčastim vratom. Poleg tega so bili v grob pridani še glinen vijček, bronast obesek in zapestnica oz. ovratnica.

[176] Npr. Perego *et al*. 2020, 84.

[177] Urleb 1974, t. 18: 84.

[178] Truhlar 1975, 200.

[179] Pauli 1975, 144, 175–179; Handler 1996; Reynolds 2009; Perego 2014, 171, 174, tab. 1; Alterauge *et al.* 2020 in tam citirana literatura.

[180] Pauli 1975; Perego 2010.

[181] Müller-Scheessel *et al*. 2019, 184.

[182] Perego 2014, 178–181, tab. 1.

KATALOG

V katalogu so opisane železnodobne najdbe iz skeletnih grobov 25, 29 in 32 s Kongresnega trga ter železnodobne najdbe iz rimskega jarka (SE 9147), ki je poškodoval grob 29 (*sl. 10–11*). Vse predmete hranijo v Muzeju in galerijah mesta Ljubljane (MGML). Značilnosti keramike so navedene v naslednjem vrstnem redu: barva zunanje in notranje površine, površina, sestava, žganje, trdota in okras. Ker vsi predmeti še niso inventarizirani, navajamo ob vsakem številko posebne najdbe, obdelave, stratigrafske enote, sektorja in kvadrata. Predmeti, ki niso narisani, niso oštevilčeni – označeni so z zvezdico *.

Okrajšave:

dol. = dolžina	n. ob. = največji obod	ohr. = ohranjen/a/o	SE = stratigrafska enota	šir. = širina
kv. = kvadrat	obd. = obdelava	pr. = premer	sek. = sektor	viš. = višina

Grob 25

Lega: Ležal je v kvadrantu AF 21. Nivo vkopa, zaradi rimskodobnih posegov – izravnave območja (SE 9565) in novodobnih posegov pri gradnji oboda predvidene garažne hiše (SE 9000), ni bil ohranjen. Predvidevamo, da je bil narejen vsaj z nivoja nekdanjih tal (SE 9027), če ne višje. Grob je ležal v neposredni bližini centralnega groba 50 gomile 1 (*sl. 3*; *5*). Glede na obliko in domnevni potek prodnatega jedra gomile 1 bi ga lahko pripisali gomili 1.

Opis: Močno poškodovana ovalno oblikovana grobna jama (SE 9125) je merila 165 × 43 cm, ohranjena je bila le do 5 cm globoko (*sl. 5*; *9*). Na dnu so bili odkriti močno poškodovani ostanki skeleta (SE 9127). Ležal je na hrbtu v iztegnjeni legi z rokami ob telesu. Glava je bila obrnjena na levo lice. Orientiran je bil SZ–JV, z glavo proti SZ. Od kosti so se ohranili le deli lobanje in zobje, dolge kosti desne roke in obeh spodnjih okončin. Ohranjena dolžina stegnenice je merila 31 cm. Na severozahodnem delu grobne jame so tik ob lobanji ležali odlomki keramične posode (*sl. 5*; *9*). Grobna jama je bila zasuta s temno rjavo zemljeno plastjo s prodniki velikosti do 6 cm (SE 9126).

Živalske kosti: 1 odlomek kosti – nedoločeno, morda ne gre za živalsko kost.

Predmeti:

1. Posoda s kratkim lijakastim vratom; temno rjava; gladka; drobno zrnata; redukcijsko žgana; trda. Pr. ustja 18,3 cm. PN 6279; obd. 356; SE 9128; sek. 3b; kv. AF21.

Grob 29

Lega: Ležal je v kvadrantu AD-AE 20. Nivo vkopa, zaradi rimskodobnih posegov – izravnave območja (SE 9565), ni bil ohranjen. Predvidevamo, da je bil narejen vsaj z nivoja nekdanjih tal (SE 9027), če ne višje (*sl. 3*; *10*).

Opis: Ovalna grobna jama (SE 9179) je merila 160 × 71 cm, ohranjena je bila do 32 cm globoko. Strme stene so ostro prehajale v ravno dno. Na dnu je bil odkrit sorazmerno dobro ohranjen skelet (SE 9181). Ohranjena dolžina skeleta je znašala 120 cm, širina 35 cm, ohranjena dolžina stegnenice 32 cm. Ležal je na hrbtu v iztegnjeni legi z desno roko na medenici, levo je bila verjetno skrčena na prsni koš. Glavo je imel položeno na levo lice. Orientiran je bil S–J, z glavo proti J. Od kosti so se ohranili zdrobljeni deli lobanje in zobje, nad katerimi smo odkrili večji apnenčast kamen, dolge kosti zgornjih in spodnjih okončin, medenica, križnica, vretenca in rebra. Kosti dlani nismo zasledili. Leva golenica, mečnica in kosti stopal manjkajo, saj je bil skelet poškodovan z rimskodobnim jarkom (SE 9149). V njem so bile najdene prazgodovinske najdbe (glej v nadaljevanju; *sl. 14*). Prav tako je bila grobna jama poškodovana na južnem delu ob glavi skeleta. Na severozahodnem delu grobne jame je ob levi nogi ležal odlomek bronastega lasnega obročka, ki ne pripada grobu (*sl. 10*: PN6314; *14:* 3). Grobna jama je bila zasuta s temno rjavo zemljeno plastjo z večjo količino prodnikov velikosti do 10 cm (SE 9180).

Antropološka analiza:[1] oseba ženskega spola, stara približno 10,5 leta. Poleg tega so bili najdeni tudi zobje otroka, starega 9 let, in otroka, mlajšega od 1 leta. Patološke spremembe na okostju: poroznost očesnih streh (*Cribra orbitalia*), tvorba nove kosti zaradi krvavitve pod pokostnico (*Subperiosteal reaction*), črte na zobeh, ki nastanejo zaradi slabe mineralizacije (*Dental hypoplasia*).

Analiza starodavne DNK: I5693, analiza je potrdila, da gre za osebo ženskega spola.[2]

Živalske kosti: –.

Radiokarbonska datacija:[3] PSUAMS–3092: 2550 ± 20BP, 796–750 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %) (*sl. 17*).

Predmeti: – .

Grob 32 (*sl. 13*)

Lega: grob je bil najden v kvadrantu AE 20. Nivo vkopa, zaradi rimskodobnih posegov – izravnave območja (SE 9565), ni bil ohranjen. Predvidevamo, da je bil narejen vsaj z nivoja nekdanjih tal (SE 9027), če ne višje (*sl. 3*; *10*).

Opis: Ovalna grobna jama (SE 9222) je merila 156 × 68 cm, ohranjena je bila do 25 cm globoko. Strme stene so ostro prehajale v ravno dno. Na dnu je bil odkrit dobro ohranjen skelet (SE 9224). Ležal je na trebuhu v iztegnjeni legi z rokama, prekrižanima pod prsnim košem (*sl. 10*; *12*). Glavo je imel položeno na desno lice. V višini hrbtenice smo odkrili štiri večje prodnike (do 10 cm), položene v smeri V–Z. Orientiran je bil S–J, z glavo proti J. Od kosti so se ohranili deli lobanje in zobje, dolge kosti zgornjih in spodnjih okončin, medenica, križnica, nekoliko slabše vretenca in rebra. Ohranjena dolžina skeleta je znašala 136 cm, širina 30 cm, ohranjena dolžina stegnenice pa 37 cm. Na južnem delu grobne jame so ob lobanji ležali odlomki

[1] Antropološko analizo grobov 29 in 32 je opravila Rebecca Nicholls v okviru svoje doktorske disertacije (Nicholls 2017). Pri grobu 29 (oz. primarno 1029) je ločila med 1029 A in 1029 B, vendar nikjer ni pojasnjeno, kaj predstavlja vzorec A in kaj vzorec B (Nicholls 2017, 50–51, tab. 3.6). Predpostavljamo, da gre pri vzorcu 1029 A za skelet deklice, stare 10 let in pol. Prav tako v svojem članku avtorici žal ne navajata kontekstov (številke grobov) s Kongresnega trga v povezavi z rezultati antropološke analize (Nicholls, Buckberry 2016, 127, 132–133).

[2] Patterson *et al*. 2021, Supplementary Information, 153.

[3] Patterson *et al*. 2021, Supplementary Information, 153.

razbite keramične posode (*sl. 10:* PN6322–PN6323; *13:* 3), pod prsnim košem pa odlomki iste posode (*sl. 10:* PN6321). Pod golenico sta bili najdeni bronasta ovratnica (*sl. 10:* PN6319; *13:* 1) in bronasta zapestnica (*sl. 6:* PN6320; *13:* 2). Grobna jama je bila na koncu zasuta s temno rjavo zemljeno plastjo s prodniki, velikimi do 4 cm (SE 9223). Na severnem delu, pri nogah, je bila jama poškodovana s poznejšimi posegi.
Antropološka analiza:[4] oseba ženskega spola, stara 21 let ali več; patološke spremembe na okostju: osteoartritis, osteoporoza.
Analiza starodavne DNK:[5] I5692, analiza je potrdila, da gre za osebo ženskega spola.
Živalske kosti: 5 odlomkov ožganih kosti – nedefinirano.
Radiokarbonska datacija:[6] PSUAMS–3055: 2550 ± 15BP; 790–761 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %) (*sl. 17*).
Predmeti:
1. Bronasta ovratnica okroglega preseka z nazaj zavitima koncema. Pr. 10,5 cm. PN 6319; obd. 366; SE 9239; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.
2. Odl. votle zapestnice iz bronaste pločevine, okrašene z iztolčenimi bunčicami. Ohr. dol. 4 cm. PN 6320; obd. 367; SE 9239; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.
3. Odlomki ostenja večje posode. Na notranji strani je črn premaz. Pr. ustja 18,2 cm. PN 6321, 6322, 6323; SE 9239; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.

Rimski jarek (SE 9147) (*sl. 14*)
Starejšeželeznodobne najdbe iz zasutja rimskega jarka, ki je poškodoval grob 29 (*sl. 10*):
1. Odl. bronastega lasnega obročka z vodoravnimi vrezi. Ohr. dol. 2,3 cm. PN 6314; obd. 359; SE 9207;[7] sek. 3b; kv. AE20.
2. Odl. bronaste ploščate zapestnice, okrašene z vtolčenimi pikami. Ohr. dol. 2 PN 6299 in 6304; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.
3. Bronast lasni obroček s presegajočima koncema, okrašen s tremi vodoravnimi vrezi. Pr. 3,5 cm. PN 6300; obd. 364; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.
4. Bronast dvokraki obesek, okrašen z vrezi. Luknjica je zapolnjena z rjo, sledovi te so vidni tudi ob straneh. Dol. 3,7 cm. PN 6306; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.
5. Bronast obroček. Pr. 1,4 cm. PN 6305; obd. 361; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.
6. Bikonično vretence iz svetlo rjave gline s temno rjavimi lisami po celotni površini. Pr. 3,1 cm, teža 16,9 g. PN 6301; obd. 360; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AD20.
7. Jagoda iz rjave steklene paste, okrašena s tremi koncentričnimi krogi. Na obeh straneh, kjer je predrtina, so še trije vtisnjeni krogci. Pr. 2,5 cm, teža 13,2 g. PN 6297; obd. 362; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.
8. Jagoda iz modre steklene paste, okrašena s tremi koncentričnimi krogi. Pr. 1,8 cm, teža 6,3 g. PN 6303; obd. 363; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.
9. Odl. ustja in ostenja sklede; temno rjava; rdečkasto rjava; hrapava; drobno zrnata; oksidacijsko žgana s končno redukcijo; trda. Pr. ustja 25 cm. PN 6292; obd. 388; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AD21.
10. Skleda; temno rjava; gladka; drobno zrnata; redukcijsko žgana; trda; apliciran vodoravno predrt držaj. Pr. ustja 18,6 cm. PN 6293; obd. 389; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AE21.
* Dva odlomka ostenja večje posode. Na notranji strani je črn premaz. Vel. odl. 8,5 x 8,6 cm in 9 x 9,6 cm. PN 6298; SE 9147; sek. 3b; kv. AE20.

[4] Nicholls, Buckberry 2016, 127, 132–133; Nicholls 2017, 86, tab. 4.4; 4.7.
[5] Patterson *et al.* 2021, Supplementary Information, 153.
[6] Patterson *et al.* 2021, Supplementary Information, 153.
[7] V terenski dokumentaciji je bil predmet pripisan h grobu 29 in je bil tako tudi dokumentiran (SE 9207 predstavlja SE grobnih pridatkov), vendar se zdi verjetneje, da je bil najden v rimskem jarku (SE 9147), ki je poškodoval grob 29 (*sl. 6*).

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Early Iron Age cemeteries in Ljubljana. Different burial rites as an indication of heterogeneous social identities in prehistory

Summary

The area of the present-day Ljubljana was an important crossroads in the south-eastern Alpine region already in the Late Bronze Age. In the second half of the 9th and the transition to the 8th century BC, it witnessed numerous social changes and novelties observable in both habitation and funerary remains coming to light in Ljubljana. The most prominent sites are the cemeteries unearthed at Dvorišče SAZU and more recently at Kongresni trg (*Figs. 1:* 2, 5–6; *2*). The former revealed more than three hundred cremations and is among the rare cemeteries with continuous burial spanning more than six centuries from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age and into the Early Iron Age; later burials are rare.[1] At Kongresni trg, burial began with the onset of the Early Iron Age. This cemetery was composed of small tumuli with a pebble-clad centre covered by an earthen mound that held cremation burials. It also revealed three inhumations from the 8th century BC,[2] which are thus far unique in the Ljubljana cemeteries, but also within the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group,[3] shedding light on completely novel aspects of the burial rite in the region.

EARLY IRON AGE CEMETERY AT KONGRESNI TRG

The archaeological investigations at Kongresni trg were conducted between 2009 and 2011.[4] They

[1] Korošec, Stare 1950; Stare 1954; V. Stare 1960–1961; Puš 1971; 1982; Gabrovec 1973; 1983; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a; 2014b; 2021.

[2] After the final editing, when major changes to the article were no longer possible, we obtained the result of the radiocarbon analysis of the unburnt bone from Grave 25 from Kongresni trg, which shows that the skeleton from this grave belongs to the 1st-2nd century AD (Poz-160898).

[3] For the most recent definition of the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group, see in this volume Teržan; for the Ljubljana type/Ljubaljana group, see Gabrovec 1973, 345; 1983, 63–70; Knez 1984, 125, Fig. 1; Dular 1978, 38–39; Teržan 1995a, Fig. 10; Teržan 1999, 137.

[4] The site is published under two names in the final excavation report: 'Kongresni trg' and 'park Zvezda'. Because

unearthed six, possibly seven small tumuli from the Early Iron Age (*Figs. 2–4*).[5] The tumuli were hemispherical and differed in size and surviving height, measuring 6.3 to 8.1 m in diameter and up to 0.43 m in height. Surviving best were Tumuli 2, 3 and 6, which offer the best insight into their structure. They show that a rectangular wooden chamber was set up on the pebble ground, in which an urn, grave goods and occasionally animal bones were placed. The chamber was covered with pebbles to form a heap or cairn; as the wood decayed, the chamber collapsed and the pebbles entered its interior. The pebble-clad centre was covered with a mound of earth. The tumulus was finally enclosed with a ring ditch, up to 4 m wide and 1 m deep, that touched the ring ditch of the adjacent tumulus. The tumuli held single or double cremation in the centre (for example Tumuli 2 and 6, possibly also 4). In Tumulus 3, additional cremation graves were dug into the earthen mound, forming a ring around the central burial (*Fig. 3*). Tumulus 1 could only be partially investigated and continued under the Kazina building, while its north and south edges were damaged with recent stabilisation work for the car park entrance way. The surviving remains comprise part of the pebble-clad centre and earthen mound, as well as central Grave 50 (*Figs. 3*; *5*). The location and distance from the central grave suggest that cremation Grave 22 and inhumation Grave 25 also formed part of this tumulus. A large pit (*Fig. 3:* G/T 5) with a concentration of pebbles, ashes and several rich pottery finds on the bottom was interpreted as a heavily damaged prehistoric tumulus, marked Tumulus 5.[6] Found between the tumuli or in their immediate proximity were individual flat cremations and two inhumations. Also unearthed were eighteen inhumation burials of newborns without grave goods, which could as yet not been dated.[7] They are most probably Roman, though a prehistoric date cannot be excluded.[8]

The central part of Kongresni trg revealed cremation Graves 71, 73 and 75, in the vicinity also Grave 72, with the last one standing out in its rectangular lining of limestone cobbles (*Fig. 4*). These remains belong to a damaged tumulus, marked Tumulus 7, that included heavily damaged Grave 78 on top of Grave 72.[9]

Early Iron Age inhumation burials at Kongresni trg

In addition to cremation/urn burials, the cemetery included three Early Iron Age inhumations: Graves 25, 29 and 32. Found at the head of the skeleton in Grave 25 associated with Tumulus 1 was a vessel with a short funnel-shaped neck (*Figs. 5:* PN6279; *9*) that has no exact analogies in Ljubljana. The closest is the vessel from Grave 272 of the Dvorišče SAZU site.[10] Vessels with a slightly more everted rim and more curved shoulder-body junction are known from the Sveta Lucija group, where they are attributable to the Sv. Lucija Ib phase and occur alongside iron ring jewellery and bronze multi-knobbed pins with a trumpet guard, but also later.[11] Similarly shaped vessels are known from Este.[12] Parallels could also be sought in situlae such as the examples from the central grave in Tumulus I at Kapiteljska njiva in Novo mesto[13] or from Frög/Breg in Carinthia.[14] According to the situla classification by Tecco Hvala, those of Type Ib2 are formally closest.[15]

the park forms part of the square of Kongresni trg, we only use the latter name in this contribution (report Masaryk *et al.* 2011). The cemetery at this site is currently being comprehensively analysed and will be published as a monograph of the *Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae* series.

[5] For the purposes of the digital database, the original field recording of the tumuli began with number 1000 (rather than 1). The contribution, in contrast, uses tumulus and grave numbers without the noughts (e.g. Tumulus 1001 is marked G/T 1 and so forth) with the exception of the tumulus that was excavated first, which is marked G/T 6 rather than with a nought.

[6] The results of the radiocarbon analysis of a bone sample from this tumulus supports an Early Iron Age dating (*Fig. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, G/T 5).

[7] Graves 24, 27, 34, 36, 37, 48, 52, 53, 55, 57–62, 66–68.

[8] Kongresni trg was also used for burial in the Roman period. Part of the Roman graves was already published: Bekljanov Zidanšek 2012, 13–26; Županek 2014a, 16; Gaspari 2014b, 124–126; Gaspari *et al.* 2015, 125–169; Mason, Županek 2018.

[9] The central and south-eastern parts of Kongresni trg revealed two flat cremation burials or urns in the Roman-period layers of Sectors 1 and 3 that were already moved/damaged in Roman times (*Figs. 2*: SEK1, SEK3a; *4:* SEK3a).

[10] Puš 1982, Pls. 5: 4.

[11] Teržan, Trampuž 1973, Pl. 2: 4; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, Pl. 1: F2; 18: I5; 111: F5; 174: C; Dular 1982, 95–96, Fig. 7: 10.

[12] Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, Pl. 4: 8; Dular 1982, 138–139, Fig. 25: 2.

[13] Teržan 2014, Fig. 2: 2.

[14] Tomedi 2002, Pl. 17: 10.

[15] Tecco Hvala 2014b, 329, Fig. 2: 11.

Parallels thus suggest a dating of inhumation Grave 25 to the beginning of the Iron Age, i.e. the Ljubljana II–IIIa / Podzemelj phase. As such, the burial would be approximately contemporaneous with the adjacent, central Grave 50 of Tumulus 1 (*Figs. 5:* Gr. 50*; 6–8*), which contained a set of at least fourteen vessels. One was a ceramic urn decorated with a cordon bearing finger impressions. Standing next to it were two dishes on a foot. To the northwest of the urn was a large pithos, also decorated with a cordon bearing finger impressions, next to it a situla and a ceramic stand together with a high-handled cup. Sherds of another situla came to light at the edge of the excavation area. The north part of the grave pit held a third situla next to it a footed dish and a stand supporting a high-handled cup (*Figs. 6–7*). Found inside the urn were a Vače type knobbed fibula, two iron bracelets,[16] a bronze ring, bronze (pin?) head, bronze triangular pendant and an iron knife (*Figs. 7–8*).[17] The chronologically most diagnostic item is the Vače type knobbed fibula or two-looped bow fibula of Type 5a after Gabrovec.[18] It has an iron core and seven solid bronze knobs on the bow, revealing it as Variant 1, which first appeared already in the Podzemelj 1 phase. This suggests Grave 50 dates to the end of the Podzemelj 1 phase or initial decades of the 8th century BC.[19]

Inhumation Grave 29 contained no grave goods. It was found east of the ring ditch of Tumulus 6 (*Figs. 2–3*). Its east side was damaged by a Roman ditch (*Fig. 10:* SE9147). Inside this ditch and next to the individual's left leg was a fragment of a bronze hair ring decorated with three horizontal incisions (*Figs. 10:* PN6314; *14:* 3); its location and depth show it most likely originates from the Roman ditch. A bone sample from Grave 29 has been radiocarbon dated to 796–750 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4%) (*Figs. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, Gr. 29; *17*), attributing the burial to the first half of the 8th century BC.

Grave 32 held the inhumed remains of a woman, with sherds of a single vessel found at the head and under the chest (*Figs. 10:* PN6321–PN6323; *9*; *13:* 3),[20] as well as several fragments of an intentionally bent hollow bracelet of sheet bronze, decorated with embossed dots, and a plain bronze torc found under her left leg (*Figs. 10:* PN 6319–PN6320; *12*; *13:* 1–2). Such bracelets are known from Notranjska, from the graves at Šmihel – Pod Kaculjem[21] attributable to the Notranjska IIc phase (Ljubljana IIIa / Podzemelj 2). Parallels were also found in the graves at Este.[22] Particularly interesting is one from Este – Villa Benvenuti that had a bone core enveloped from both sides in sheet bronze.[23] The same method of production was used for the similar bracelet from Most na Soči, though its poor condition does not reveal whether it was decorated with embossed dots.[24] In Grave 32 at Kongresni trg, the bronze bracelet was found next to a bronze round-sectioned torc with coiled ends (*Fig. 13:* 1), which has parallels from the nearby Dvorišče SAZU site.[25] The bone sample from Grave 32 was radiocarbon dated to 795–752 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4%) (*Figs. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, Gr. 32; *17*), placing the burial to the first half of the 8th century BC.

Absolute chronology of the Ljubljana II and IIIa phases

The results of the new radiocarbon analyses have provided new evidence that enhances Gabrovec's relative chronological framework of the Ljubljana group,[26] which has already witnessed other slight modifications in recent times.[27] The samples taken in Ljubljana, at the Dvorišče SAZU, Kongresni trg and Tribuna sites, have provided a series of radiocarbon dates. For the purposes of this contribution, we are particularly interested in

[16] Possibly the remains of a single spiral bracelet.

[17] Grave 50 of Tumulus 1 was in part presented in the *Emona. A City of the Empire* exhibition (Županek 2014b, 15). Dragan Božič published it a year later, but also not integrally (Božič 2015, 57–58); for a schematic display of the pottery set without the urn, see Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 95–96, Fig. 88.

[18] Gabrovec 1970, 27–28, 34, 40, Map VIII.

[19] Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, 131–133, Fig. 9: Variant 1.

[20] Two sherds, possibly of the same vessel, considering their fabric, were found in a Roman ditch (SE 9147) (*Fig. 10:* PN6298; see *Catalogue*).

[21] Guštin 1973, 471, Fig. 2: 19, Pl. 7: 5; 1979, 39, Pls. 41: 6; 42: 13.

[22] Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Capuis 1985, 72, Pl. 22: 23, 25, 27; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, Pl. 185: 76.

[23] Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, Pl. 6: 4.

[24] Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, Pl. 257: C11.

[25] Stare 1954; Puš 1971; 1982; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a; Škvor Jernejčič 2018a, 172–179; 2018b, 543–544; Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2020, 152.

[26] Gabrovec 1973; 1976; 1983, 63–70.

[27] Teržan 1987; Teržan 1992; Teržan 1995a; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a; 2014b; 2014c; 2021.

those from the 'Iron Horizon' (*Fig. 16*).[28] They are presented in a table that also includes the date of rich grave 17/6 from Grmada on Molnik, which is very similar to the graves from Kongresni trg in the composition of pottery.[29]

Five samples from the Dvorišče SAZU site were analysed and dated to the Ljubljana II and IIIa phases, i.e. from 850/825 to 730/720 BC. Among the earliest is the bone sample from cremation Grave 174, of a mature man (*maturus*) buried in a pit without an urn. The artefacts found among his cremated bones include a conical-headed Vadena type pin, an item characteristic of the Ljubljana II phase.[30] The burial has been dated to the transition from the 9th to the 8th century BC or 821–769 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4%). The dating of cremation Grave 101 with jewellery of the 'Iron Horizon' to 796–747 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4%) is problematic as it seems too late, with the excessive carbon content and high δ13C value corroborating the reservations.[31] Further reservations stem from the fact that the grave also contained a kantharos identical to one found in the settlement at Tribuna in Ljubljana, in the debris layer of Building 12=13 that covered the floor of Construction Phase III,[32] with the radiocarbon dates of two beams in the Phase III partition wall of this building indicating a span throughout the 9th century BC.[33]

The radiocarbon dates of cremation Grave 144 from Dvorišče SAZU and of inhumation Graves 29 and 32 from Kongresni trg are practically contemporaneous (*Figs. 16–17*), from the first half of the 8th century BC. The grave goods from Grave 144, which include two iron bracelets, an iron lozenge-sectioned torc and a bronze fibula with a leaf-shaped bow (*Fig. 18*), place the burial to the Ljubljana II / Podzemelj 1.[34] A contemporary burial is that of a horseman in Grave 17/6 at Grmada on Molnik. The central grave in Tumulus 2 at Kongresni trg appears slightly later, with the bone of a pig (*Sus domesticus*) radiocarbon dated to 793–726 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4%) (*Fig. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, G/T 2). The grave goods from this grave include a set of more than ten vessels (ellipsoid vessel, conical-necked vessel, situlae, dishes, dish on foot, cup, stand),[35] as well as an iron knobbed fibula of Type 2c after Gabrovec[36] and a bronze multi-knobbed pin with a trumpet guard;[37] the composition of the grave goods suggests a double burial of a man and a woman interred at the beginning of the Ljubljana IIIa phase. Roughly contemporary is Grave 231 from Dvorišče SAZU (*Fig. 16:* R_Date Dvorisce SAZU, Gr. 231) that held iron jewellery (bracelet and roll-headed pin), which continued to be worn in this phase, and a bronze band bracelet with overlapping ends.[38] The later radiocarbon dated graves of the 'Iron Horizon' at Dvorišče SAZU include Grave 87, attributable to the final decades of the 8th century BC (*Fig. 16:* R_Date Dvorisce SAZU, Gr. 87).

The evidence outlined above suggests that the Iron Age or the Iron Horizon in the Gorenjska--Ljubljana group began contemporaneously with other Hallstatt groups inhabiting the south-eastern Alpine areas, i.e. in the middle or second half of the 9th century or 850/825 BC.[39] The end of the 'Iron Horizon' should be sought in the third quarter of the 8th century BC and is contemporaneous with the end of the Podzemelj phase. The boundary between the Ljubljana II and IIIa phases may be sought in the opening decades of the 8th century BC (around 780 BC).[40]

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28 Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 370–385; Vojaković 2014, 398–408; see in this volume Vojaković, Fig. 2.

29 Tecco Hvala 2017b, 52–55, Pls. 24–28; Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 94 –104, Fig. 88; for the result of the radiocarbon analysis, see Tecco Hvala 2017c, 225–226, Tabs. 1–2.

30 Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 370–372, Figs. 22.1.9; 22.1.10.

31 An excessive carbon content and high δ13C values were also observed in some samples from Ljubljana (Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 384–385, Fig. 22.1.26; Škvor Jernejčič 2021, 137–138) and Molnik (Tecco Hvala 2017c, 225, Tab. 1).

32 Vojaković 2014, Fig. 22.3.14: 9; Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, Fig. 22.1.11: 2.

33 Vojaković 2014, 399–401, Figs. 22.3.10; 22.3.14: 9; 22.3.17; 22.3.18.

34 Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 109–115, 220, 222, 226. In contrast, Gabrovec and Guštin dated the appearance of the fibulae with a leaf-shaped bow to Ljubljana IIb or Notranjska IIa phases (Gabrovec 1973, 351, Table 1, Pl. 12: 1; 1976, 591, Fig. 3: 9; Guštin 1973, 469–471, Map 2).

35 Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 96, Note 136.

36 For the fibula from Kongresni trg, see Vojaković 2013, Fig. 215; for the iron knobbed fibulae of Type 2c, see Gabrovec 1970, 24, Map V; Teržan 1990, 213, Map 7A; 2009, 212; Škvor Jernejčič 2017a, 106–107, Figs. 93–94.

37 For the brooch and pin, see Vojaković 2013, Fig. 215.

38 Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 374–372, Fig. 22.1.13.

39 Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 220–226, Fig. 6.23; Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 699–702, Figs. 33–35.

40 Similarly also Carola Metzner-Nebelsick, who sets the boundary between Ha B3 and Ha C1a to 780 BC (Metzner--Nebelsick 2017, Fig. 2). Also see Sperber 2017, 202.

CREMATION AND INHUMATION BURIAL IN THE GORENJSKA-LJUBLJANA GROUP

The Late Bronze Age population of the Ljubljana group practised cremation burial.[41] There are only rare exceptions, with complete or partial inhumations documented at Dobova and Obrežje.[42] At Budinjak, investigations have revealed that inhumation under tumuli probably began as early as the 10th century BC.[43] With the onset of the Iron Age, fundamental changes in the mortuary practices marked the formative phase of the Dolenjska Hallstatt group, with the introduction and predominance of inhumation burial under tumuli.[44] In contrast, the Gorenjska-Ljubljana Hallstatt group retained cremation burial throughout the Early Iron Age,[45] inhumations were rare.

The three inhumations unearthed at Kongresni trg have the closest parallel from Roje near Orle, in Grave 9, where the skeleton of a 15-year-old girl was found under three large stone slabs, with an urn containing the cremated remains of a 7–14-year-old child at her lower extremities.[46] The greatest number of inhumations have thus far been found at Mengeš,[47] where this burial rite appeared at the beginning of the Iron Age and was practised into the Late Hallstatt period. Inhumation burials under a tumulus came to light at Zgornje Bitnje near Kranj, though without grave goods that would reveal their dating.[48]

All other inhumations in Gorenjska date to the Late Hallstatt period. Recent investigations at Mengeš (Zavrti no. 4 and no. 6) revealed an inhumation grave of a woman that was sampled for radiocarbon analyses.[49] A single flat inhumation was found in the otherwise cremation cemetery at the Pristava site in Bled.[50] Inhumations were also found at Gradišče above Lukovica.[51] The same, Late Hallstatt dating is attributable to the inhumations from Trnjava – Gusin grič and Komplje – Kopa 2.[52] In the area of the Dolenjska Hallstatt group, flat inhumations came to light at Budinjak and in the Bela krajina region.[53]

Three inhumations were unearthed at Bitnje in the Bohinj area.[54] Individual inhumations were also found at Most na Soči.[55] Particularly striking is the partial inhumation in a stone cist that was, according to the description by Carlo Marchesetti, paved with stone slabs. The cist only contained the lower extremities, pelvis and part of the spine,[56] with a further curiosity in that the lower body remains were positioned with the knee caps facing down. The grave goods date the burial to the Late Hallstatt period. The other two inhumation graves that Marchesetti excavated also held incomplete skeletons, with one missing the head and the other only containing part of the cranium (occipital bone).

Flat inhumations came to light in Karnburg/Krnski grad within the Hallstatt group in Carinthia.[57] Such burials are also known in the Early Iron Age of the Notranjska region.[58] The Iapodic area revealed biritual cemeteries, with inhumation predominating in the cemeteries at Kompolje, Prozor, Vranič and Klačenica.[59] We should mention biritual cemeteries along the River Una (Mekota,

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41 Gabrovec 1983, 69–70.

42 Dobova: Graves 97, 98, 202, 305a and 354a (Stare 1975, 14, 25, 29–30, 32, 34–35), Obrežje: Graves 253/1, 253/2, 317 (Mason 2003, 202; Mason, Kramberger 2023, 494, 520, 792–793, 844–845).

43 Škoberne, Bugar 2017, 76–81, Figs. 7.4–7.6, Pl. 1; Teržan 2020, 371.

44 Gabroveac 1964–1965, 27–28, 43; 1966, App. 1; 1987, 85–89; 1999, 178.

45 Gabrovec 1999, 180–181; Škvor Jernejčič 2017b, 141–142.

46 Puš 1984a, 146, Figs. 7–8, Pl. 4: 1–2; Tecco Hvala 2017d, 30–31, Fig. 18, Pl. 6A.

47 Gabrovec 1965, 98–100, Pls. 3: 3–9; 6: 2–4; Štibernik 2006, 102; see in this volume Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*

48 Gabrovec 1960a, 13; 1960b, 14; Valič 1975, 174; 1982, 14.

49 See in this volume Škvor Jernejčič *et al.*

50 Bitenc 1987; see in this volume Bitenc, Pl. 5: 4.

51 Gabrovec 1965, 101, Pl. 12: 1–5; Sagadin 1994–1995, 148; 2004, 42–43.

52 Gabrovec 1965, 101, Pl. 11: 4–6; see in this volume Zupan, Fabec, Laharnar.

53 Škoberne 1999, 21, 29, 34, Fig. 6: Type 10; Škvor Jernejčič 2011; Grahek, Kovač 2020. For the flat inhumation cemeteries of the Dolenjska group that date to the Late Hallstatt period, see Draksler 2007, 149–152, Fig. 45.

54 Gabrovec 1974, 290, 293, Pls. 2: 9; 7: 4; 8: 1.

55 Marchesetti 1893, 97, 133; Urleb 1974, 18; Gabrovec 1974, 300; Svoljšak, Žbona Trkman 1985, 87; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985, 363; Dular, Tecco Hvala 2018, 128–129.

56 Marchesetti only writes of the lower extremities and pelvis in the description of the grave, whereas elsewhere he notes that the grave also contained parts of the spine or vertebrae (Marchesetti 1893, 97, 133).

57 Müller-Karpe 1951, 619; Modrijan 1957, Fig. 18: 10; Pittioni 1954, 624–625; Teržan 1990, 184–185.

58 Guštin 1979, 15–17; Gabrovec 1999, 180; Bavdek, Urleb 2014a, 537; Urleb 1974, 14–19.

59 Balen-Letunić 2004a, 228, 230; Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2021, 61–62, 74, Fig. 3 with references.

Jezerine, Crkvina-Golubić, Ripač), but slao the cemetery at Ostrožac.[60]

Particularly intriguing are the inhumations from the 9th–8th centuries BC in Veneto and Emilia-Romagna,[61] unearthed either within or at the edge of settlements.[62] A burial contemporary to the inhumations from Kongresni trg is that of a woman interred inside the settlement at Montagnana-Borgo S. Zeno, via Chisogno.[63] Inhumations within settlements are also known from Verona-Oppeano. A grave at Ex-Fornace revealed a female skeleton in supine position with the arms extended along the body, but without the lower legs, buried with grave goods.[64] We should also mention the grave of a man buried in prone position (late 6th/early 5th century BC),[65] as well as an incomplete skeleton of a man found in a grave pit at Montara (7th or early 6th century BC).[66]

The cemeteries of Verona predominantly comprise cremations, with rare inhumation burials. Among the earlier ones is the inhumation of an adult woman at the via Da Vinci site, radiocarbon dated to the 9th century BC.[67] Other inhumations came to light in the cemeteries at Le Franchine (Graves 42 and 70), Ponte Nuovo and Gazzo Veronese.[68] Individual inhumations were found in Este, a number of them also in the cemeteries of Padua.[69] Contemporary with those from Ljubljana are the inhumations from Bologna, via S. Donato-Caserna Battistini, which date to the middle – third quarter of the 8th century BC.[70] Similar examples are known from the via Cassarini, via Sante Vicenzi, via Beroaldo site in Bologna and Castenaso.[71] Inhumations came to light at the San Vitale cemetery in Bologna, also from the 8th century BC.[72] Also in Bologna, the via Belle Arti site revealed 39 inhumations, of which the earliest are contemporary with the inhumations from Kongresni trg.[73]

Although very rare, inhumations are also known from Transdanubia, where cremation was the usual practice. Six inhumations from the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC were found in the cemetery at Süttő.[74] An inhumation from the Late Bronze Age came to light in the Budapest-Békásmegyer cemetery;[75] Nándor Kalicz sees this unusual burial rite – being the only inhumation within the otherwise urn cemetery – as reflecting influences from eastern Hungary or pre-Scythian nomadic communities. Eastern influences may very likely also be sought in connection with the inhumations from the beginning of the Iron Age found in the cemeteries at Vukovar-Lijeva bara, Sotin and Šarengrad.[76]

ATTEMPT AT INTERPRETING THE INHUMATION BURIALS FROM KONGRESNI TRG

The three inhumations from Kongresni trg represent unusual, special burial of individuals[77] who did not receive the same treatment and rituals upon their death as the other members of their community. The explanation for this exclusion from the normative burial customs must await a comprehensive monograph of the entire site that includes interdisciplinary analyses.

The three burials have different positions within the cemetery and different arrays of grave goods. Grave 25 is linked to Tumulus 1 (*Figs. 3*; *5*). The skeleton was in supine position with the arms along the body (*Figs. 5*; *9*), with pottery sherds found at the head (*Fig. 13*: 3). In contrast, Graves 29 and 32 were found east of the ring ditch of

[60] Mulabdić 2011; Marić 1971; Raunig 1971; 1981; 1982.

[61] For inhumation burials from the 9th and 8th centuries BC, see Gamba, Voltolini 2018, 209 with references; Zamboni 2018, 215–216.

[62] For inhumation burials inside settlements, see Guidi, Saracino 2010, Tab. I.

[63] Bianchin Citton, De Min 1998, 399–400, Figs. 247–248; Bianchin Citton *et al*. 2015, 465–466, Fig. 4.

[64] Candelato *et al*. 2015, 518–520; Saracino, Guidi 2020, 159, Fig. 10.6: 5.

[65] Saracino 2009, 66; Guidi, Saracino 2010, 48, Tab. I; Candelato *et al*. 2015, 519; Saracino, Guidi 2020, 165, Fig. 10.6: 6.

[66] Salzani 2008, 23, Figs. 5–6; Saracino 2009, 66; Saracino, Guidi 2020, 161, Fig. 10.6: 4.

[67] Gonzato 2018, 57–59, 96–100, 118, Fig. 3.

[68] Salzani 1985, 73–74, Figs. 91–92; Gamba, Voltolini 2018, 210, Note 19 with references; for the necropolis at Ponte Nuovo, also see Salzani 2005, 34, Figs. 63; 65; for the necropolis at Gazzo Veronese, see Salzani, Morelato 2022.

[69] Gamba *et al*. 2014; Millo 2014.

[70] Vanzini 2020, 21, 25, Fig. 7.

[71] For Villa Cassarini: Kruta Poppi 1976, 340, Figs. 8; 10; for Castenaso: Gusberti 1994.

[72] Pincelli, Morigi Govi 1975; Taglioni 1997.

[73] von Eles *et al*. 2018, 301; von Eles 2021, 134, 136, Fig. 5.

[74] Novinszki-Groma 2017.

[75] Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 140, Figs. 348–349, Pl. 103: 1–4.

[76] Vinski 1955, 234, 237, 248, Figs. 7, 10–12; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 164, 187, Pl. 125; Ložnjak Dizdar 2010, 27; Balen-Letunić 2004b, 17, 19–20, Pls. 5, 6, 7: 1–2. Inhumations were also presumably found in Dalj and Batina (Ložnjak Dizdar 2013, 110; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 198).

[77] See *e.g.* Murphy 2008; Müller-Scheeßel 2013.

Tumulus 6 (*Figs. 3*; *10*); it is possible they were originally buried on the edge of the tumulus. The analysis of the grave goods from Grave 32 and two radiocarbon dates (*Figs. 16:* R_Date Kongresni trg, Gr. 29, R_Date Kongresni trg, Gr. 32; *17*) suggest they were contemporary with the central grave of Tumulus 6.[78] Grave 29 held the remains of a girl without grave goods, in supine position with the arms along the body (*Figs. 10–11*). Bone pathologies indicate health issues prior to death. Buried beside her was an adult woman in Grave 32, which revealed four large cobbles at the level of the spine (*Figs. 10*; *12*). She was found in prone position with the arms crossed, with sherds of a broken pottery vessel at the head, as well as a bronze bracelet and torc under the right leg. The anthropological analysis revealed indications of osteoarthritis and osteoporosis.

The prone position is unusual and shows a deviation from the norm.[79] Some authors interpret such burials as reflecting the belief that the spirit of an individual interred in such position cannot return to the world of the living.[80] In the case of a violent, premature death, an individual can become nefarious for a community and was therefore subject to specific burial rituals (prone position, offerings of amulets).[81] The circumstances and cause of death (premature, death in childbirth or due to disease) can be reflected in the manner and location of burial.[82] Considering the characteristics and definition of atypical Early Iron Age burials in Veneto as proposed by Elisa Perego,[83] we can conclude that Graves 29 and 32 from Kongresni trg in Ljubljana could also be defined as such.

Were the girl and adult woman in these two graves subjected to burial rituals different from those for other members of their community because of specific circumstances and/or cause of death or could the burial ritual be an indication of their different provenance? We expect that the (bio)archaeological analysis currently conducted and the monographic publication of the prehistoric cemetery unearthed at Kongresni trg will provide some answers to these questions.

Translation: Andreja Maver

78 The central grave of Tumulus 6 held a set of ceramic situlae decorated with bronze rivets and tin leaves, cups, stands, dishes and conical-necked vessels, but also a ceramic spindle whorl, bronze pendant and bracelet or torc.

79 *E.g.* Perego *et al.* 2020, 84.

80 Pauli 1975, 144, 175–179; Handler 1996; Reynolds 2009; Perego 2014, 171, 174, Tab. 1; Alterauge *et al.* 2020 with references.

81 Pauli 1975; Perego 2010.

82 Müller-Scheessel *et al.* 2019, 184.

83 Perego 2014, 178–181, Tab. 1.

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Sledovi obljudenosti v visokogorju Bohinja v starejši železni dobi – nove raziskave

Early Iron Age habitation traces in the high mountains of the Bohinj area – new research

Marija OGRIN

Izvleček

Bohinj je alpska kotlina na jugovzhodnem delu Julijskih Alp. Stalno je poseljena od starejše železne dobe, kolonizirali pa so jo ljudje iz Posočja zaradi bogatih nahajališč železove rude. Nastale so prve vasi v dolini z gospodarskim zaledjem v visokogorju, kot kažejo najdbe z Dolge planje na Prvem Voglu in Bošinke nad Dednim poljem. Keramika in ostanki temeljev koč nakazujejo možnost, da se je v tem času v visokogorju, poleg rudarjenja, začelo alpsko kmetovanje s stopenjsko pašo iz vasi na visoka naravna travnata območja – planine, ki se je ohranilo vse do danes.
Ključne besede: Vzhodne Julijske Alpe; Bohinj; starejša železna doba; poselitveni ostanki; stopenjska paša

Abstract

Bohinj is a basin in the south-eastern Julian Alps that has been permanently inhabited since the Early Iron Age, when people from the neighbouring Posočje region colonised it so as to exploit the rich deposits of iron ore. First villages appeared at this time, located at low altitudes, that had an economic hinterland in the high mountains. Evidence of the latter has been excavated at Dolga planja on Prvi Vogel and Bošinka above Dedno polje. The contemporary pottery and the building foundations at these sites suggest that the high mountains were used not only for mining activities, but also for alpine farming with vertical transhumance / alpine pastoralism (*Alpwirtschaft*), moving livestock from the low-altitude villages to the highaltitude pastureland or alps, which is a practice that survives in the area to this day.
Keywords: Eastern Julian Alps; Bohinj; Early Iron Age; habitation remains; transhumance/alpine pastoralism

Bohinj je alpska kotlina, ki obsega ves jugovzhodni del Julijskih Alp z delom Jelovice, Spodnjih Bohinjskih gora, planote Komne, Fužinarske planine in del Pokljuke. Dolina se deli na jezersko kotlino na območju Bohinjskega jezera ter na Zgornjo in Spodnjo dolino, ki ju loči hribovita pregrada Šavnice in Rudnice. V spodnjem delu leži še Nomenjska kotlina, ki se na vzhodu proti Soteski zoži. Od tod se nadaljuje Blejski kot, ki se z Bohinjem stika na Jelovici in Pokljuki (*sl. 1, 2*).

Začetki zanimanja za zgodovino Bohinja so povezani predvsem z razmahom bohinjskega železarstva v 18. in 19. stoletju in tudi z Žigom Zoisom (Hacquet 1778; Morlot 1850; Mohorič 1969). Že na začetku 19. stoletja so bile znane prve najdbe z Ajdovskega gradca, sledile so še druge najdbe z Dunaja pri Jereki in Lepenc. Pred drugo svetovno vojno je na več najdiščih v Bohinju izkopaval Valter Šmid (Schmid 1908; Gabrovec 1966; 1974; 1975; 1987; Vičič 1983). V petdesetih letih 20. stoletja

Sl. 1: Vzhodne Julijske Alpe: Bohinj s Spodnjimi Bohinjskimi gorami, Komno, Triglavskim pogorjem in Pokljuko. Pogled z jugovzhoda.
Fig. 1: Eastern Julian Alps: the Bohinj area enclosed with the mountain ridge of Spodnje Bohinjske gore, the Komna plateau, the Triglav mountain range and the Pokljuka plateau. View from the southeast.

sta Bohinj raziskovala Stane Gabrovec in Andrej Valič[1] (Gabrovec 1974; 1958–1959a; 1958–1959b; Valič 1987).

Po nekaj desetletjih premora so bila leta 1999 izvedena zaščitna arheološka izkopavanja pri cerkvi sv. Janeza Krstnika na Ribčevem Lazu (Josipovič 1999; Josipović, Gaspari, Miškec 2012; Ogrin 2015). V tem letu so bile opravljene tudi geofizikalne meritve na Ajdovskem gradcu (Mušič 1999, 370–376). Leta 2003 smo v okviru projekta Arheološki park Ajdovski gradec izvedli arheološka izkopavanja, ki so obsegala osem sond na različnih mestih naselbine (Ogrin 2003). V letu 2007 smo s sondami preverili še zgornji plato naselbine in obzidje. Raziskave sem vodila podpisana.

Od leta 1996 potekajo v slovenskem visokogorju površinski pregledi in arheološki testni izkopi, pri katerih sodelujejo različne ustanove in zunanji sodelavci (prim. Horvat 2020). Sistematične arheološke raziskave na območju Vzhodnih Julijskih Alp smo začeli v letu 2001,[2] najprej s topografskimi pregledi in nato s testnimi sondami na potencialnih arheoloških najdiščih.[3] Med prvimi odkritimi visokogorskimi arheološkimi najdišči je bila planina Klek na Pokljuki, kjer smo leta 2002 izvedli prvi arheološki testni izkop (Ogrin 2006, 103). V letih od 2005 do 2017 smo izvedli arheološka izkopavanja pod vodstvom avtorice prispevka na planinah Klek na Pokljuki (2004, 2005), Poljanica na Lepi Komni (2005), Pečana na Jelovici (2006), Kal na Zadnjem Voglu (2006), Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu (2012, 2013), Poljanica na Zadnjem Voglu (2017, 2018) in Bošinka nad Dednim poljem (2019) (Horvat 2002; Ogrin 2006; 2010; 2020).

PRAZGODOVINSKA POSELITEV BOHINJA

Bohinj (*sl. 2*) je bil v dolinskem delu obljuden že v bronasti dobi, kar kaže slučajna najdba sulične osti z Broda (Valič 1968-69, 148, t. 2: 1), stalna poselitev pa je znana od starejše železne dobe (Gabrovec 1975; 1987). Zaradi kakovostne železove rude – bobovca, ki ga je bilo mogoče nabirati površinsko, je Bohinj postal ob iztekajočem se 7. st. pr. Kr. pomembno železarsko območje, ki sodi v krog svetolucijske (posoške) kulturne skupine (Teržan 2022).

[1] V prispevku je poudarek na novejših odkritjih, ker so bile starejše arheološke raziskave Bohinja do sredine 20. stoletja že objavljene.

[2] V ekipi sodelujejo: Jana Horvat, Marija Ogrin, Lucija Lavrenčič, Tina Milavec, Janez Bizjak, † Miran Bremšak, France Stele.

[3] Številna arheološka najdišča so odkrili Janez Bizjak, Miran Bremšak, France Stele in Pavel Jamnik.

Naselbine iz starejše železne dobe (*sl. 2*) so znane na Ajdovskem gradcu pri Bohinjski Bistrici, Spodnjem gradišču nad Lepencami, Dunaju pri Jereki in verjetno na Žalah v Srednji vasi (Gabrovec 1958–1959a, 321–323; 1966, 243–249; 1974, 287–318; 1975, 164–168; 1987, 30–35; Ogrin 2003, 9–11; Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, 405–413). Strateško pomembna naselbina Ajdovski gradec je bila obljudena do poznorimske dobe (Ciglenečki 2011, 266, sl. 5.7).[4] Najdbe iz grobov na Bitnjah, Lepencah – na Kremnu, Dunaju pri Jereki – Na Sedlu, Žlanu in Brodu (Gabrovec 1958–1959b, 323–325; 1974, 287–318; Valič 1958–1959, 228; Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, 413–417) kažejo na poselitev od konca 7. st. pr. Kr. z najintenzivnejšo v 6. in 5. st. pr. Kr. (Gabrovec 1975). Sledi železarske dejavnosti so bile odkrite na Ajdovskem gradcu in Dunaju pri Jereki (Müllner 1909, 52) ter pod Studorom (Gabrovec 1975, 168). V bližini so domnevna rudišča železove rude, znana pa so tudi nahajališča v visokogorskem svetu Julijskih Alp (Valič 1987, 38–45; Rjazancev 1963a; 1963b; Bizjak 2018). V starejši železni dobi je bila obljudena tudi obala Bohinjskega jezera. Na Velikem Veglu (Mertelj 1994–1995, 202) je bila najdena certoška fibula (*sl. 6:* 7), pri cerkvi sv. Janeza Krstnika (Josipovič 1999; Josipovič, Gaspari, Miškec 2012; 389–396; Ogrin 2015) sta bila odkrita polovica bronastega kroglastega obeska in bronast trikoten obesek iz dvojne pločevine, okrašen s krožci (*sl. 6:* 6).

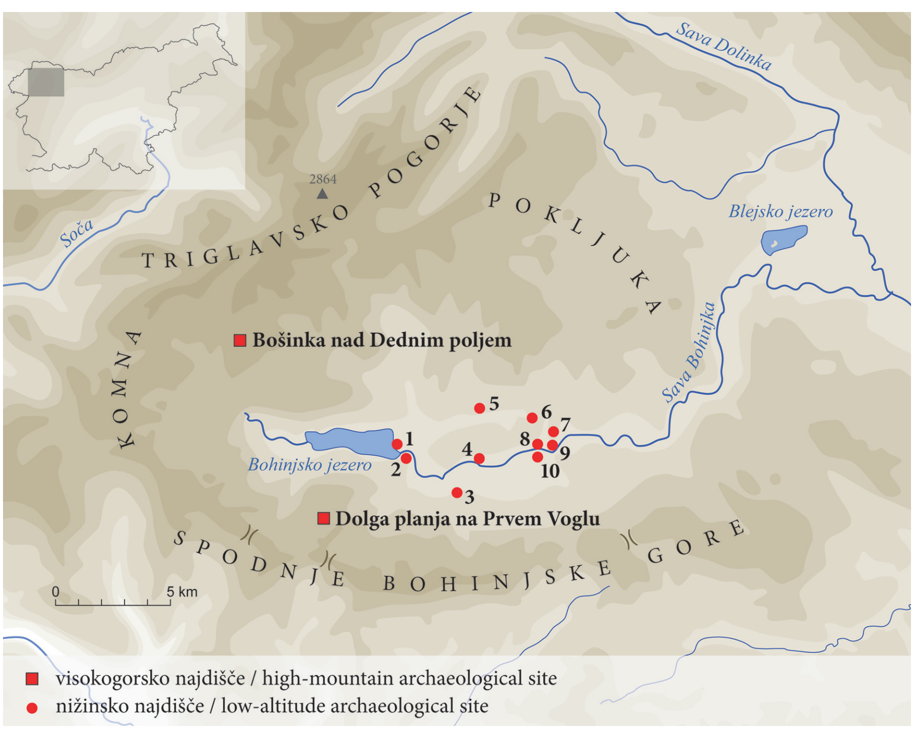
Našteta arheološka najdišča Bohinja ležijo v nižini. Kot kažejo najnovejše raziskave, so imele naselbine v določenih časovnih obdobjih svoje gospodarsko zaledje v visokogorskem svetu Julijskih Alp: na Pokljuki, v Triglavskem pogorju, na Komni, Spodnjih Bohinjskih gorah in Jelovici.

Najstarejše sledi človeka v visokogorju Bohinja so iz kurišča v Jami za Skalami v Žagarjevi glavi pod planino V Lazu, ki je na osnovi analize oglja datirano v čas 7500–6000 pr. Kr., v mezolitik[5] (Turk, Šercelj 1988, 13; Horvat 2002, 193).

S konca 4. in začetka 3. tisočletja, na prehodu iz bakrene v bronasto dobo, so znane prve postojanke na Poljanici na Lepi Komni, Malem Lepoču pod Bogatinom (Horvat 2020, 14–16), Kalu in Poljanici

[4] To potrjujejo tudi najdbe, kot je obročasta fibula, izkopana leta 2003.

[5] Obljudenost Julijskih Alp v mezolitiku potrjuje tudi radiokarbonska datacija oglja z najdišča na planini Pretovč v Krnskem pogorju (Turk *et al.* 2005, 37–47).



Sl. 2: Najdišča iz starejše železne dobe v Bohinju.
Fig. 2: Early Iron Age sites in the Bohinj area.

1 Veliki Vegl – Stara Fužina; **2** Sv. Janez Krstnik – Ribčev Laz; **3** Žlan; **4** Brod; **5** Žale v Srednji vasi; **6** Dunaj pri Jereki (Na Sedlu in Dunaj); **7** Spodnje gradišče nad Lepencami; **8** Bitnje; **9** Lepence (Na Kremnu); **10** Ajdovski gradec pri Bohinjski Bistrici

Sl. 3: Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu. Ostanki temeljev stavbe so označeni s puščico. Pogled proti severu.
Fig. 3: Dolga planja on Prvi Vogel. The arrow marks the foundation remains of a building. Nortward view.

na Zadnjem Voglu (Ogrin 2006, 99–101; 2010, 201, 202; Horvat 2020, 16).

Po nekajstoletni vrzeli je bil Kal na Zadnjem Voglu ponovno obljuden v srednji bronasti dobi (1520–1250 pr. Kr.), najdbe keramike in radiokarbonske datacije oglja pa kažejo tudi na obljudenost Mišeljske planine (1397–1216 pr. Kr.) v Triglavskem pogorju (Horvat 2020, 14–16).

V pozni bronasti dobi je bila vrsta posamičnih predmetov verjetno odloženih na posebna mesta, kot je to slučajno najdeno bronasto bodalo s planine Lipanca (Šribar 1955, 321–345; Šinkovec 1995, 99–100, t. 28: 194; Horvat 2020, 15, tab. 1: 10).

Čeprav so v dolinah znana številna železnodobna naselja in grobišča v Bohinju, na Bledu in v Posočju, pa sta bili v visokogorskem svetu na območju Bohinja odkriti za zdaj le dve železnodobni postojanki, in sicer Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu (Ogrin 2020, 62) ter Bošinka oziroma Vodene rupe[6] nad Dednim poljem (Horvat 2020, 16).

Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu

Arheološko najdišče Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu leži na območju obsežne planine Vogel in visokogorskega smučišča (*sl. 3*), na stičišču proge, ki se spušča od vlečnice Kratki plaz in sedežnice na Visokem Orlovem robu (sedežnica Šija). Dolga planja je z rušjem poraščena travnata dolina (1690 m), kjer so se na osrednjem delu, tik ob progi, v travni ruši ohranili ostanki kamnitih temeljev koče.

Terenski izvid

Visokogorsko postojanko Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu sta leta 2011 odkrila Janez Bizjak in Miran Bremšak. Na podlagi njunega odkritja smo še istega leta opravili arheološki topografski pregled s testnimi sondami. V letih 2012 in 2013 smo izvedli arheološka izkopavanja (Ogrin 2020) na celotnem območju vidnih kamnitih ostankov temeljev koče in prostora pred njo na vzhodni strani (*sl. 4*).

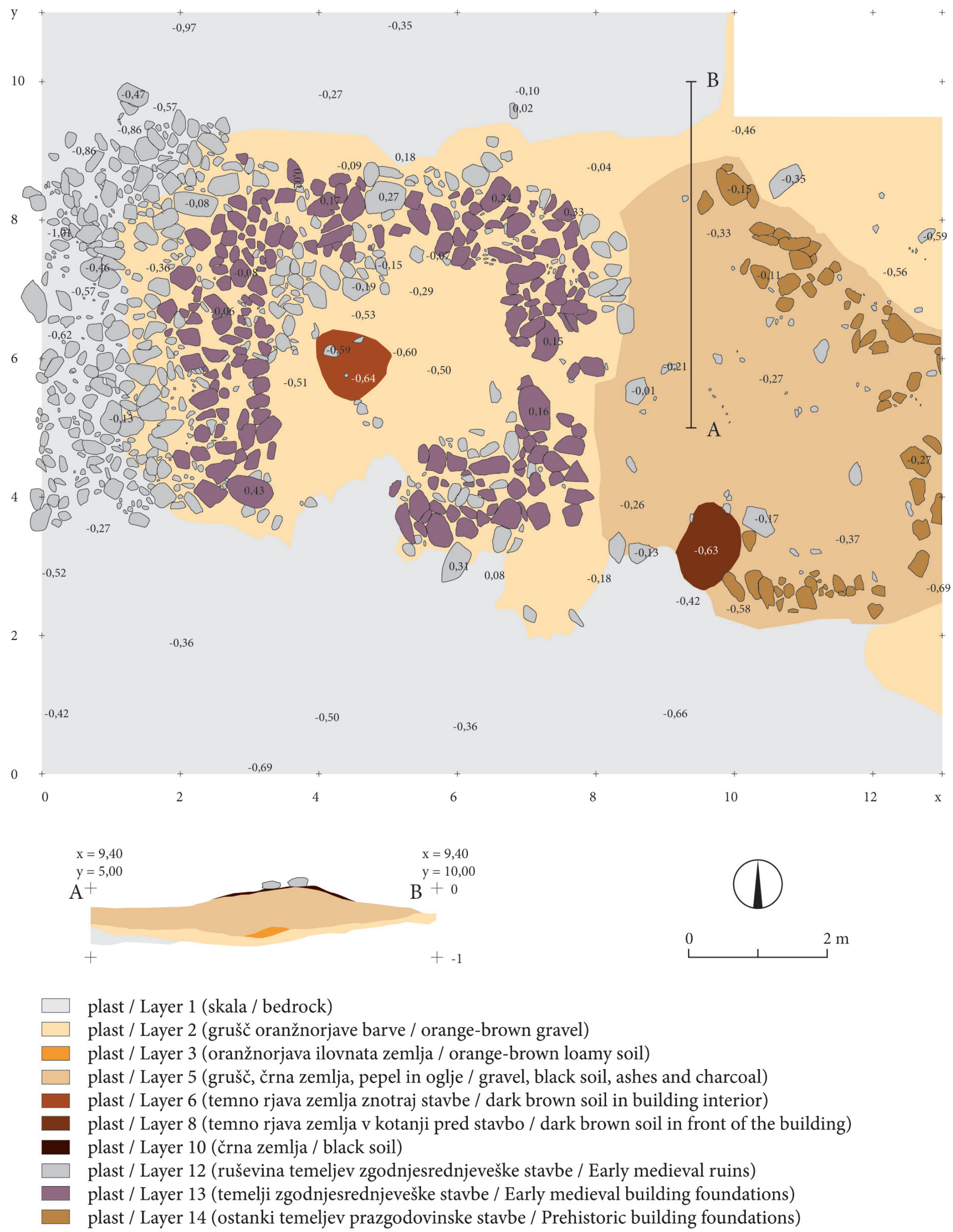
Na dnu izkopnega območja sta geološko osnovo predstavljali skala z močno razpokano površino (*plast 1*) in njena preperelina – grušč oranžnorjave barve (*plast 2*). V njej so bile oranžnorjave leče ilovnate zemlje (*plast 3*). Osnova se blago dviga od severnega, zahodnega in južnega roba izkopnega polja in v njegovem osrednjem delu tvori dvignjeno mesto, na katerega so bili postavljeni kamniti temelji zgodnjesrednjeveške stavbe (*plast 13*) oziroma njena ruševina (*plast 12*).[7]

Vzhodno od temeljev zgodnjesrednjeveške stavbe je nad geološko osnovo ležala v dolžini 6 m in širini 5 m sipka *plast 5* (*sl. 4*), ki predstavlja mešanico grušča, črne zemlje, pepela in oglja. V njej so bile kosti, keramika in železova ruda – bobovec. Vzorec oglja, vzet iz plasti 5 za radiokarbonsko analizo, je pokazal datacijo med 8. in 5. st. pr. Kr.[8] V plasti 5 so ležali kamni v dveh razmetanih vrstah (*plast 14*), ki verjetno predstavljajo ostanke

[6] Najdišče smo sprva imenovali Vodene rupe (Ogrin 2006).

[7] V prispevku obravnavam najdbe starejše železne dobe, zato ni podrobnejših opisov plasti iz drugih časovnih obdobij.

[8] Analiza je bila opravljena v laboratoriju Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory v Miamiju. Rezultat: konvencionalni datum ^{14}C: 2480 ± 30 BP, kalibriran rezultat 2 sigma (95-odstotna verjetnost): 770–480 cal BC, 440–435 cal BC.



Sl. 4: Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu. Arheološki izkop 2012/13, planum 3/4 in profil A–B.
Fig. 4: Dolga planja on Prvi Vogel. Archaeological excavation in 2012/13, Planum 3/4 and Section A–B.

temeljev prazgodovinske stavbe (*sl. 4*). Plast 5 je bila debela od 10 do 80 cm in prekrita z žganino (*plast 9*) ter na robovih s črno zemljo (*plast 10*), na kateri je ležalo še nekaj ruševinskih kamnov zgodnjesrednjeveške stavbe. Plast 5 je zaradi poznejših posegov verjetno premešana oz. delno uničena. V podolgovati kotanji med zgodnjesrednjeveško in prazgodovinsko stavbo je ležala še temnorjava zemlja (*plast 8*).

Najdbe

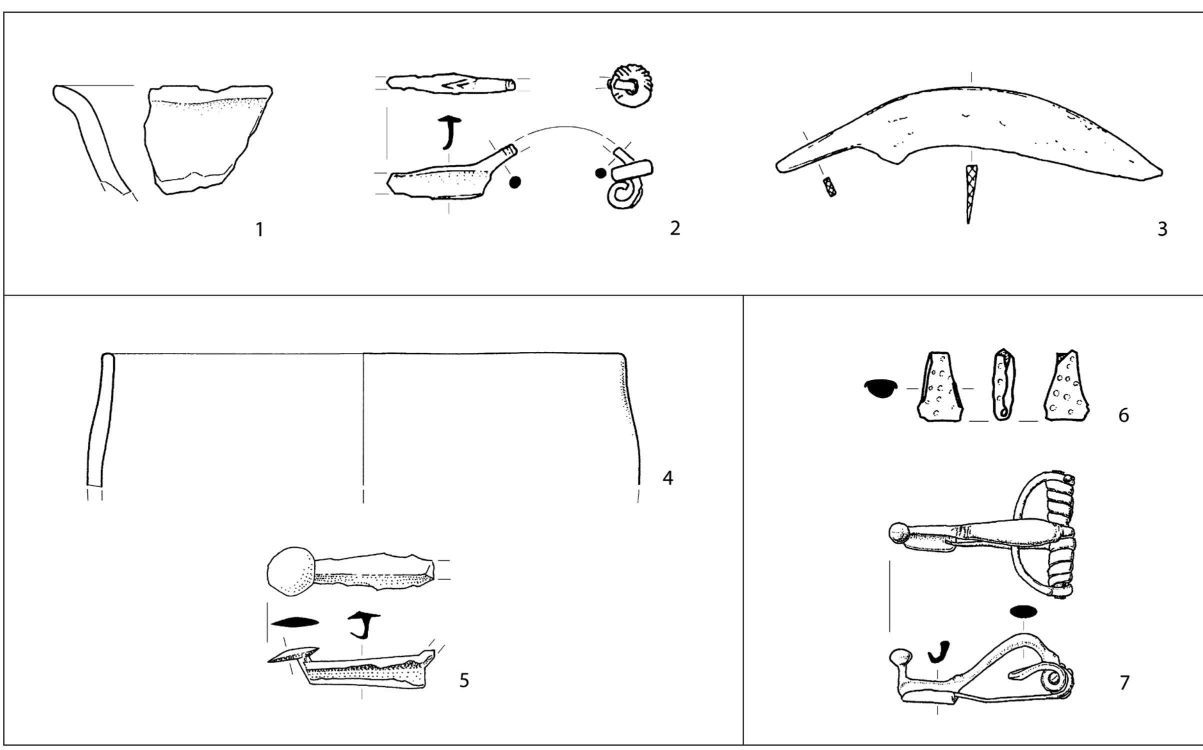
V plasti 5 smo našli odlomke keramičnih posod prostoročne izdelave iz drobnozrnate lončarske gline, zunaj in znotraj oranžno-rdeče ter v prelomu črne barve (*sl. 5*). Odkritih je bilo še 5 odlomkov ustij, 44 odlomkov ostenj in 8 odlomkov dna prazgodovinskih posod, poleg njih pa še kosti, oglje in železova ruda ter konica kamnitega strgala. Železove rude (bobovec) je bilo v tej plasti najdenih 86 kosov s težo 414,07 g, kar predstavlja 9 % teže vse tukaj najdene rude.

Odlomek izvihanega ustja sklede (lahko bi bil tudi lonec), najden v *plasti 5*, je izdelan iz drobnozrnate lončarske gline s primesmi peska (*sl. 5; 6:* 1). Najbližjo primerjavo temu odlomku najdemo na Mostu na Soči. Primerljiv je s skledami tipa 1, ki imajo široka ramena, s klekom ločena od nizkega usločenega vratu, in izvihano ustje (Grahek 2018, 270, sl. 13: 1; t. 14: 11). Uvrščene so v stopnjo Sv. Lucija IIc (Dular 2018, 147–166). Preostali odlomki ostenj posod so tipološko nedoločljivi, po načinu izdelave in redukcijsko-oksidacijskem žganju pa jih opredeljujem v starejšo železno dobo.

Ukrivljen železen nož s trnastim nastavkom (*sl. 6:* 3) je bil najden med temelji zgodnjesrednjeveške stavbe, in sicer v *plasti 10*, ki se je odložila po prazgodovinskem obdobju. Taki noži so pogost pridatek v moških grobovih na območju dolenjske halštatske skupine (Križ 2013, 79, 91, 98, 114, 123, 125, 126, 129, 131, 134), medtem ko so v grobovih svetolucijske skupine redkejši. Ukrivljeni noži s trnastim nastavkom, ki sodijo verjetno v čas starejše železne dobe, so bili najdeni tudi na Ajdovskem gradcu pri Bohinjski Bistrici in Dunaju pri Jereki (Gabrovec 1966, t. 1: 9–16; 2: 7,8; 3: 12).

Certoška fibula (*Sl. 6:* 2) je bila odkrita okoli 5 cm globoko v ruši zunaj izkopnega polja, 6 m južno od jugovzhodnega vogala temelja stavbe. Ohranila sta se noga z vrezanim V-okrasom in del loka z gumbom, ki prehaja v peresovino. Na loku je gumb diskaste oblike z vrezanim okrasom. Po obliki je najbližje XI. vrsti certoških fibul po Teržanovi, ki

Sl. 5: Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu. Arheološki izkop 2012/13, odlomki posod iz plasti 5.
Fig. 5: Dolga planja on Prvi Vogel. Archaeological excavation in 2012/13, pottery sherds from Layer 5.



Sl. 6: 1–3 Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu; 4–5 Bošinka nad Dednim poljem; 6 Sv. Janez Krstnik – Ribčev Laz; 7 Veliki Vegl – Stara Fužina. 2,5–7 bron; 3 železo; 1,4 keramika. M. 1,4 = 1:3; ostalo 1:2.
Fig. 6: 1–3 Dolga planja on Prvi Vogel; 4–5 Bošinka above Dedno polje; 6 Sv. Janez Krstnik – Ribčev Laz; 7 Veliki Vegl – Stara Fužina. 2,5–7 bronze; 3 iron; 1,4 pottery. Scale 1,4 = 1:3; other 1:2.

Sl. 7: Bošinka nad Dednim poljem in mesta z ostanki temeljev stavb. Pogled proti zahodu.
Fig. 7: Bošinka above Dedno polje. Arrows mark the locations of building foundations. Westward view.

je datirana v 4. st. pr. Kr. (Teržan 1976, 336, 368) oziroma v negovski horizont, kar sovpada s stopnjo Sv. Lucija IIc (Teržan, Trampuž 1973; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985). Fibula te vrste je bila najdena tudi na Ajdovskem gradcu pri Bohinjski Bistrici (Gabrovec 1966, t. 2: 23).

Bošinka nad Dednim poljem

Nad planino Dedno polje, pod Veliko Tičarico v Triglavskem pogorju, leži planina Bošinka. Ta kotanjasta travnata dolina na severni strani preide v strma pobočja. Po dnu doline so vrtače in verjetno tudi umetno izkopane jame. Pašna planina se proti vzhodu zapira s sedlom, ki na drugi strani preide v planino V ščavju. Na severu planine Bošinke (1762 m), pod pobočjem Vrha nad Vodeno rupo, sta dve ravnici, kjer so bili odkriti ostanki temeljev koč (stavba 1 in stavba 2). Na vzhodu planine v smeri slemena proti planini V ščavju je druga ravnica, kjer se na robu nahaja tretji temelj koče (stavba 3) (*sl. 7*).

Leta 2005 smo na planini Bošinka nad Dednim poljem izvedli prve arheološke raziskave.[9] Ugotovili smo ostanke kamnitih temeljev treh stavb (*sl. 7)* ter okoli njih izkopali testne sonde in opravili detektorski pregled. Dve stavbi (stavba 1 in 2) sta postavljeni blizu skupaj na osrednjem delu planine, tretja (stavba 3) pa leži na vzhodnem delu planine. Na pobočju južno od temeljev stavbe 1 smo odkrili rimski bronast zvonček in rimsko fibulo. Pri kamnitih temeljih stavbe 2 smo odkrili rimsko bronasto fibulo (Ogrin 2006).[10]

V letu 2014 je bila izkopana testna sonda (T1) znotraj temeljev stavbe 1. Leta 2019 smo nadaljevali na območju temeljev stavbe 1 in izkopali še sondo v velikosti 3 x 4 m z razširitvijo na vzhodni strani (sonda 1/2019) (*sl. 8)*.

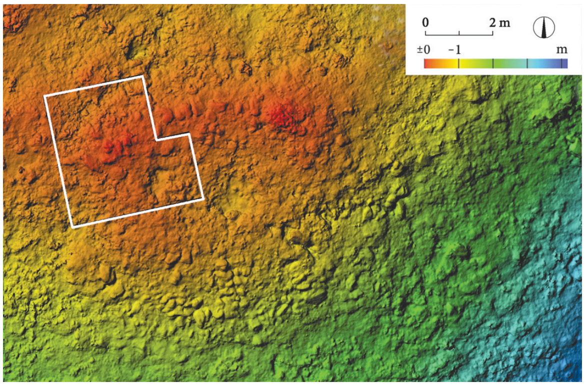
Terenski izvid

Na dnu sonde 1/2019 sta bila skala (SE 16) ali grušč (SE 11), ki so ju na različnih mestih prekrivale različne plasti črne zemlje (*sl. 9:* SE 4, 5, 6, 7, 12). Na njih so bili položeni kamni, ki so sestavljali temelje poznoantične koče (SE 14), in ruševina temeljev (SE 15).

Prazgodovinski ostanki so bili najdeni v jugovzhodnem delu izkopnega polja. Tu je bila nad gruščem s črno zemljo (SE 13) plast črne zemlje z drobci kamnov (SE 5), debela okoli 10 cm. V njej

[9] Potencialno arheološko območje sta odkrila France Stele in Janez Bizjak. Arheološki pregled planine smo 20. 6. 2005 opravili Jana Horvat, Janez Bizjak, Alenka Bremšak, Miran Bremšak in avtorica tega prispevka.

[10] Prispevek obravnava raziskave starejše železne dobe, zato ni podrobnejših opisov najdb iz drugih časovnih obdobij.



Sl. 8: Bošinka nad Dednim poljem. Lega sonde 1/2019 na digitalnem modelu reliefa stavbe 1 z okolico.
Fig. 8: Bošinka above Dedno polje. Location of Trench 1/2019 on the digital relief model of Building 1 and the surrounding area.

so bili najdeni odlomki ostenja posode, kosti, brus in bobovec. Plast črne zemlje (SE 5) je prešla proti severu v fino črno zemljo (SE 12), v kateri so bili odkriti odlomki posode iz finozrnate lončarske gline z majhnimi kremenovimi vključki, v prelomu črne barve in z luknjičasto površino (*sl. 6:* 4). Iz plasti SE 12 je bil leta 2014 vzet vzorec oglja, ki je radiokarbonsko datiran v čas med 787 in 540 pr. Kr. (Horvat 2020, sl. 1, t. 1: 15). Na plasti SE 12 so bili postavljeni temelji poznoantične koče (SE 14) – stavba 1, od katerih se je del porušil v notranjost (sl. 9).

Na zunanji zahodni strani temeljev koče so bili grušč s črno zemljo (SE 8), skala (SE 16) in grušč (SE 11), na severni strani temeljev pa sta bili mešanica grušča z rjavo zemljo (SE 6), debe-

Sl. 9: Bošinka nad Dednim poljem. Sonda 1/2019, planum 1/2 in vzhodni profil A–B.
Fig. 9: Bošinka above Dedno polje. Trench 1/2019, Planum 1/2 and east Section A–B.

line do 10 cm, in zaplata črne zemlje (SE 3). Vse plasti po celotnem izkopnem polju je prekrivala ruša (SE 1), iz katere je štrlelo tudi nekaj vrhnjih temeljnih kamnov.

Najdbe

Med prazgodovinsko keramiko prištevam najdene odlomke posode (*sl. 6:* 4), ki imajo v prelomu drobne kremenove vključke in so bili odkriti znotraj stavbe 1, v plasti fine črne zemlje (SE 12) pod temeljnimi kamni (SE 14).

Na pobočju severno od temeljev stavbe 1 smo poleg rimskih fibul odkrili nogo certoške fibule (*sl. 6:* 5). Noga certoške fibule ima T-presek in se zaključuje s sploščenim gumbom. Ker se lok fibule ni ohranil, jo je težko podrobneje opredeliti. Na podlagi dolžine noge in gumba na njej bi jo lahko pripisali X. vrsti certoških fibul po Teržanovi, ki se pojavijo v zgodnjem negovskem horizontu oziroma stopnji Sv. Lucija IIc (Teržan 1976, 331; Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 434, 435).

Po vsem pobočju okoli temeljev stavbe 1 smo našli še novejše oziroma časovno težje opredeljive predmete, kot so železni žeblji, konica železnega noža, železni odlomki, bronast obroč in bronasto paličico.

ZAKLJUČEK

Bohinj je stalno poseljen od železne dobe in – kot kažejo materialne ostaline – je bil koloniziran s posoške strani v poznem 7. oziroma na začetku 6. st. pr. Kr., predvsem zaradi površinske dostopnosti kakovostne železove rude – bobovca (Gabrovec 1966; 1974; Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 436; Teržan 2022, 349, 350). Poti, ki so povezovale Posočje in Bohinj, so potekale prek gorskih prelazov Spodnjih Bohinjskih gora (*sl. 10*), kjer so bila tudi nahajališča železove rude, primerna za rudarjenje in železarstvo. Obsežni smrekovi in bukovi gozdovi so ponujali les za oglarjenje. Naravni pašniki nad gozdno mejo pa so bili v poletnih mesecih primerni za pašo. Mogoč je bil tudi lov na divje živali. V dolini so v tem času nastale prve naselbine, kot sta Ajdovski gradec pri Bohinjski Bistrici in Dunaj pri Jereki, verjetno so bili poseljeni tudi Žale vzhodno od Srednje vasi, Ribčev Laz ob cerkvi Sv. Janeza Krstnika in Veliki Vegl pri Stari Fužini (*sl. 2;* gl. tudi Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, 398–401, sl. 1).

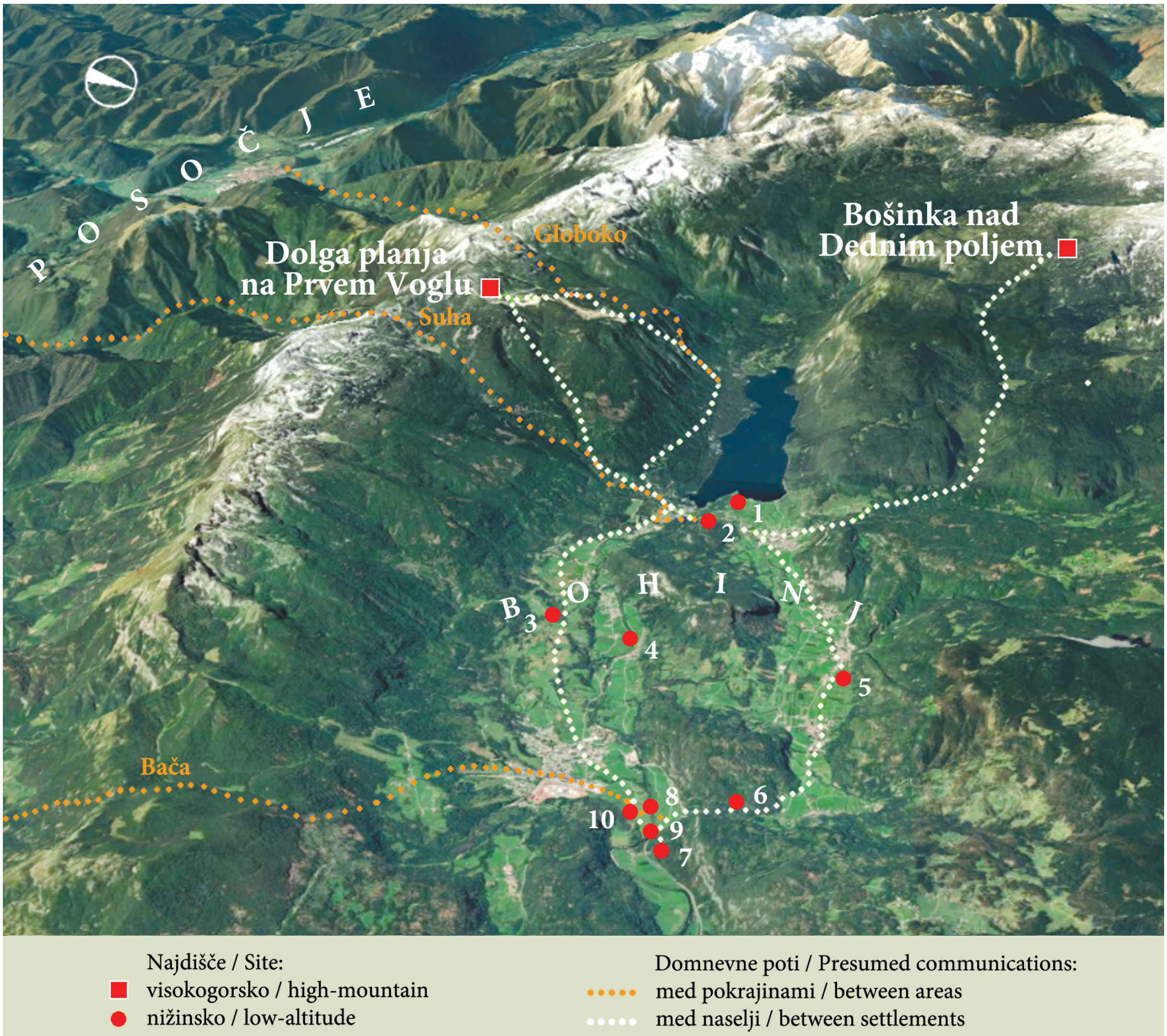
V visokogorju Bohinja sta bili iz železne dobe odkriti dve občasni postojanki. To sta Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu na Spodnjih Bohinjskih gorah in Bošinka nad Dednim poljem v Fužinarskih planinah. Dolga planja na Prvem Voglu je bila obljudena v več obdobjih: železni in rimski dobi, pozni antiki in zgodnjem srednjem veku. Z izkopavanji so bili v plasti 5 odkriti odlomki keramičnih posod (*sl. 5*), živalskih kosti, oglja in rude. Predvsem ustje sklede (*sl. 6:* 1) in radiokarbonska datacija oglja (2 sigma) opredeljujeta plast v čas med 770 in 480 pr. Kr., torej v razpon med stopnjama Sv. Lucija Ic in IIb (Teržan, Trampuž 1973). Kraj je bil obljuden tudi na prehodu v mlajšo železno dobo, v stopnji Sv. Lucija IIc, kot kaže bronasta certoška fibula XI. vrste po Teržanovi (*Sl. 6: 2*; Teržan 1976, 336–337, 381). V plasti najdena keramika in verjetni kamniti ostanki temeljev stavbe (*sl. 4:* SE 14) kažejo na daljše zadrževanje ljudi na tem območju oziroma sezonsko bivanje pastirjev, medtem ko železova ruda nakazuje možnost nabiranja oz. površinskega kopanja v bližnji okolici.

Travnata dolina Bošinka nad Dednim poljem je bila obljudena v starejši železni dobi in nato še rimski dobi ter poznoantičnem času. Postojanka je bila postavljena na prisojni legi na robu ravnice pod vznožjem Vrha nad Vodeno rupo. Na sezonsko bivanje v železni dobi kažejo keramika (*sl. 6: 4*), oglje, ki je radiokarbonsko datirano v čas med 787 in 540 pr. Kr. (2 sigma) (Horvat 2020, 16), in certoška fibula X. vrste *(sl. 6:* 5) po Teržanovi iz 5.–4. st. pr. Kr. (Teržan 1976, 331, 364).

Certoške fibule so v visokogorju dokaj pogoste najdbe (Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, 417–420). V Kamniško-Savinjskih Alpah so na planini Koren odkrili keramiko in tudi dve certoški fibuli (Horvat 2002, 196). Prva sodi v 5. st. pr. Kr., druga, certoška fibula X. vrste po Teržanovi (Horvat 2002, 196, sl. 4: 3), pa je datirana v čas od sredine 5. do sredine 3. st. pr. Kr. (Teržan 1976, 331–336, 364–368).

V visokogorju Vzhodnih Julijskih Alp v železni dobi prvič zasledimo kamnite temelje koč *(sl. 4:* plast 14), ki sovpadajo tudi s pojavom železove rude v kulturni plasti in stalno poselitvijo Bohinja. V vrsto postavljeni temeljni kamni, na katerih je bila postavljena lesena konstrukcija, so bili odkriti tudi v dolini, na Ajdovskem gradcu pri Bohinjski Bistrici (Gabrovec 1966; Ogrin 2003), in so lahko primerljivi z dobro raziskanimi temelji hiš na Mostu na Soči (Dular, Tecco Hvala 2018).

Domnevamo, da je v visokogorju gradnja trdnejših koč na kamnitih temeljih povezana z intenzivnejšo izrabo prostora, ki se začne z alpskim kmetovanjem. To domnevo potrjujejo tudi nastale naselbine v dolini, saj je sestavni del alpskega kmetovanja vertikalna transhumanca oziroma stopenjska paša



Sl. 10: Bohinj – najdišča starejše železne dobe in domnevne povezave med njimi.
Fig. 10: Bohinj – archaeological sites from the Early Iron Age and presumed communications between them.
(podlaga / base map: Google Earth V 9.189.0.02 (23. 8. 2016), *Bohinjsko jezero/Lake Bohinj, Slovenija*. 46.23769162, 13.90106924; Eye alt 16 km. Digital globe 2022; https://www.google.com/earth/index.html; dostop / accessed 7. 8. 2022).

1 Veliki Vegl – Stara Fužina; **2** Sv. Janez Krstnik – Ribčev Laz; **3** Žlan; **4** Brod; **5** Žale v Srednji vasi; **6** Dunaj pri Jereki (Na Sedlu in Dunaj); **7** Spodnje gradišče nad Lepencami; **8** Bitnje; **9** Lepence (Na Kremnu); **10** Ajdovski gradec pri Bohinjski Bistrici

živine iz doline v visokogorje (*sl. 10*). V zimskem času živina prezimi v dolini, spomladi pa se začne postopoma seliti z nižjih na višje ležeče planine, kjer ostane čez poletje. Nato se jeseni vrne v dolino (Reitmaier 2020).

V železni dobi je bil visokogorski svet Bohinja gospodarsko zaledje naselbin v dolini. Na območju Prvega Vogla in Bošinke nad Dednim poljem so v starejši železni dobi verjetno površinsko kopali železovo rudo za potrebe železarstva, ki je zamrlo konec 19. stoletja. Ostanki kamnitih temeljev kažejo na gradnjo trdnejših koč – te so uporabljali že za prvo alpsko kmetovanje pri stopenjski vertikalni paši živine, ki se je v Bohinju ohranila vse do danes, tako kot drugod v Alpah.

Zahvala

Prispevek je nastal na podlagi večletnih visokogorskih arheoloških raziskav, pri katerih sodelujejo številni sodelavci, predvsem Jana Horvat. Pri pisanju teksta me je vodila in spodbujala Biba Teržan. Vsem se zahvaljujem.

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Early Iron Age habitation traces in the high mountains of the Bohinj area – new research

Summary

Bohinj is a basin that incorporates the south-eastern mountains of the Julian Alps with part of the Jelovica plateau, the mountain ridge of Spodnje Bohinjske gore, the Komna plateau, Fužinarske planine and part of the Pokljuka plateau. It has two distinct parts. One is the basin of Lake Bohinj, while the other is composed of the valleys of Zgornja dolina and Spodnja dolina separated by the mountain masses of Šavnica and Rudnica. In the east, Bohinj also includes the Nomenj basin that narrows eastwards toward Soteska, where it borders the Blejski kot area (*Fig. 1, 2*).

Stray finds show that the low-altitude areas of Bohinj were already inhabited in the Bronze Age (Valič 1968–1969, 148, Pl. 2: 1), while permanent settlement has been recorded from the Early Iron Age onwards (Gabrovec 1975; 1987). The high-quality iron ore that could be collected on the surface made Bohinj a prominent ironworking area towards the end of the 7th century BC, when it formed part of the Sveta Lucija or Posočje cultural group (Teržan 2022).

Settlements from the Early Iron Age (*Fig. 2*) have been unearthed on the elevations of Ajdovski gradec near Bohinjska Bistrica, Spodnje gradišče above Lepence, Dunaj near Jereka and probably also in Žale at Srednja vas (Gabrovec 1966, 243–249; 1958–1959a, 321–323; 1974, 164–168; 1987, 30–35; Ogrin 2003, 9–11; Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, 405–413). The grave goods found in the associated cemeteries at Bitnje, Lepence, Dunaj near Jereka, Žlan and Brod (Gabrovec 1958–1959b, 323–325; 1974, 287–318; Valič 1958–1959, 228; Mlinar, Tecco Hvala 2022, 413–417) indicate that habitation began in the late 7th and reached its peak in the 6th and 5th centuries BC (Gabrovec 1975). Traces of ironworking activities came to light at Ajdovski gradec near Bohinjska Bistrica and Dunaj near Jereka (Müllner 1909, 52), as well as Pod Studorom (Gabrovec 1975, 168). In their vicinity, iron ore deposits were presumably located on Mount Rudnica, as well as in the high mountains of the Julian Alps (Valič 1987, 38–45; Rjazancev 1963a; 1963b; Bizjak 2018). The shores of Lake Bohinj were also populated in the Early Iron Age. A Certosa brooch (*Fig: 6: 7*) was found at Veliki Vegl (Mertelj 1994–1995, 202), for example, while half of a spherical pendant of double sheet bronze and a triangular pendant of double sheet bronze decorated with ring-and-dots (*Fig. 6:* 6) came to light near the church of John the Baptist at Ribčev Laz (Josipovič 1999; Josipovič, Gaspari, Miškec 2012; 389–396; Ogrin 2015).

Recent research shows that, in certain periods, the low-altitude settlements had their economic hinterland in the high-altitude areas of the Julian Alps.

The analysed charcoal sample from a fireplace in the rock shelter of Jama za Skalami, opening in Žagarjeva glava (Turk, Šercelj 1988, 13; Horvat 2002, 193), revealed that earliest human traces in the alpine areas of Bohinj date to 7500 - 6000 BC, i.e. the Mesolithic period.

Dating to the late 4th and early 3rd millennium are the sites at Poljanica on the Lepa Komna plateau, Mali Lepoč below Mount Bogatin (Horvat 2020, 14–16), Kal and Poljanica on Zadnji Vogel (Ogrin 2006, 99–101; 2010, 201, 202; Horvat 2020, 16).

After a gap of several centuries, Kal on Zadnji Vogel was reinhabited in the Middle Bronze Age (1520 – 1250 BC). Pottery finds and radiocarbon dates (1397 – 1216 BC) show that Mišeljska planina was also inhabited in that period (Horvat 2020, 14–16).

Attributable to the Late Bronze Age is a series of stray finds that were presumably deposited at locations of special significance (Šribar 1955, 321–345; Šinkovec 1995, 99–100, Pl. 28: 194; Horvat 2020, 15, Tab. 1: 10).

Later, there are numerous Iron Age settlements and cemeteries known in the low-altitude areas of Bohinj, Blejski kot and Posočje. In contrast, only two Iron Age sites came to light in the alpine parts of Bohinj, one at Dolga planja on Prvi Vogel (Ogrin 2020, 62) and the other at Bošinka[1] above Dedno polje (Horvat 2020, 16).

Dolga planja on Prvi Vogel

This archaeological site lies in the area of the high-altitude Vogel alp and ski resort (*Fig. 3*), in a grassy valley (1690 m) with lush mountain pine vegetation. In the centre of the Dolga planja valley, stone foundations of huts were found in the turf. The foundations belonged to an early medieval building and a prehistoric hut, the latter associated with a cultural layer (*Fig. 4*). The layer revealed pottery sherds (*Fig. 5*), bones, charcoal and iron ore. In addition, an Iron Age curved iron knife (*Fig. 6:* 3) came to light in the foundations of the medieval building and a Certosa brooch in the turf beyond the excavation area. The brooch survives as a fragment of the foot with incised chevron decoration, as well as a bow fragment with a disc knob, also decorated with incisions, and part of the spring (*Fig. 6:* 2). In its form, the brooch is closest to Type XI Certosa brooches after Teržan, which date to the 4th century BC (Teržan 1976, 336, 368), i.e. the Negova phase that is contemporary with the Sv. Lucija IIc phase (Teržan, Trampuž 1973; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž-Orel 1984–1985).

Bošinka above Dedno polje

This archaeological site is also located in a grassy valley, in the Bošinka alp above Dedno polje in the Triglav Mountains (*Fig. 7*). The valley's northern slope holds two flat areas that revealed the remains of hut foundations (Buildings 1 and 2). Another flat area is located in the eastern part of the alp, which revealed the foundations of a third hut (Building 3) (*Fig. 7*).

Archaeological investigations of Building 1 unearthed the remains of a Late Antique and a prehistoric building. The latter came to light in the southern part of the excavation area and included pottery sherds, bones, a whetstone and bog iron ore in Layer SE 5, as well as pottery sherds (*Fig. 6:* 4) in Layer SE 12. A charcoal sample from Layer SE 12 has been radiocarbon dated between 787 and 540 BC (Horvat 2020, Fig. 1, Pl. 3: 15).

The slope north of Building 1 revealed Roman brooches, but also a T-sectioned foot fragment of a Certosa brooch with a flat knob terminal (*Fig. 6:* 5). The length of the foot and shape of the knob suggest it may be identified as Type X after Teržan, which appeared in the Early Negova or the Sv. Lucija IIc phase (Teržan 1976, 331; Teržan, Trampuž 1973, 434, 435).

CONCLUSION

The Iron Age settlements in the low-altitude areas of Bohinj had their economic hinterland in the surrounding high mountains. Two high-altitude sites from this time have been archaeologically investigated, namely Dolga planja on Prvi Vogel and Bošinka above Dedno polje. The remains of stone foundations of huts at Dolga planja on Prvi Vogel are similar in method of construction to those unearthed in the low-altitude settlement on Ajdovski gradec near Bohinjska Bistrica. The two high-altitude sites were presumably inhabited with the purpose of surface collection of iron ore to be used in ironworking, an activity practised in the Bohinj area to the end of the 19th century. In addition, the huts of solid construction also suggest they were associated with the beginnings of alpine farming with vertical transhumance /alpine pastoralism (*Alpwirtschaft*), moving livestock to pastureland at higher elevations during summer *(Fig. 10),* which continues to be practised in Bohinj and elsewhere in the Alps to this day.

Translation: Andreja Maver

[1] The site was initially named Vodene rupe (Ogrin 2006).

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Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 1 (foto: Matevž Lenarčič). – *Sl. 4* (terenska risba: Lucija Lavrenčič). – *Sl. 6* (risba: Nataša Grum, Tamara Korošec, Milan Sgadin). – *Sl. 8* (izdelava: Avgusta d.o.o.).
llustrations: Fig. 1 (photo: Matevž Lenarčič). – *Fig. 4* (field drawing: Lucija Lavrenčič). – *Fig. 6* (drawing: Nataša Grum, Tamara Korošec, Milan Sgadin). – *Fig. 8* (elaborated by: Avgusta d.o.o.).

Marijan Slabe
(1932–2022)

Marijan Slabe je pripadal generaciji arheologov, ki je na strokovno pot stopila s študijem na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani v petdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja. To je bil čas novih možnosti, ki so se za slovensko arheologijo odprle po drugi svetovni vojni z ustanovitvijo stolice na univerzi in sekcije za arheologijo pri Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti, z izdajanjem časopisa *Arheološki vestnik* ter velikimi terenskimi izkopavanji na Ptujskem gradu, Bledu in v Stični, večalo se je tudi število muzejev. Študente nove generacije, Slabetove vrstnike, Elico Boltin, Toneta Kneza, Vero Kolšek, Petra Petruja, Sonjo Petru, Ljudmilo Plesničar, Ivana Puš in Mehtildo Urleb so povezovali spomini na drugo svetovno vojno, opravljena gimnazijska matura v trdih povojnih letih in zavzetost za arheologijo, ki se je takrat tako kot drugod tudi pri nas uveljavila kot samostojna veda. S študijem pod vodstvom profesorja Josipa Korošca so si pridobili naziv diplomiranega arheologa in v prihajajočih desetletjih s predanim strokovnim delom in številnimi raziskavami pomembno prispevali k razvoju slovenske arheologije.

Univerzitetno izobrazbo je Marijan Slabe zaključil z diplomsko nalogo *Neolit Grčije* (1959) in se po nekaj letih pedagoške službe zaposlil na Zavodu za ureditev stare Ljubljane. Delo na področju arheologije je začel leta 1964 v znameniti stavbi, ki se boči nad Karlovško cesto pri župnijski cerkvi sv. Jakoba. Od leta 1969 sta ustanova, preimenovana v Zavod za spomeniško varstvo Ljubljane, in Marijan Slabe kot odgovorni konservator skrbela za nepremično arheološko dediščino občine Ljubljana, številnih dolenjskih občin in Posavja. Objavi *Novo arheološko spomeniško območje v Ljubljani* in *Varovanje arheološkega spomenika v praksi* (Varstvo spomenikov XI, 1967, 10–12; Varstvo spomenikov XV, 1972, 21–26) sta odraz Slabetove službene kariere in zavzetosti za arheološke spomenike. Kot edini arheolog v tej območni enoti ZVKDS je dobrih 25 let skrbel za pravno in dejansko varovanje arheoloških spomenikov, samostojno je izpeljal več terenskih raziskav (Dravlje in Šempeter v Ljubljani, Polhograjska gora) ter spodbujal muzejske arheologe, da so arheološke posege na ogroženih terenih opravili tudi sami.

Za njegovo specialistično usmeritev na širokem področju arheologije je bila ključna najdba več grobov, na katere so naleteli leta 1968 pri gradbenih delih pri Dravljah v Ljubljani. Po prejetem obvestilu je M. Slabe z odločnim ukrepanjem zavaroval najdišče in organiziral sistematično arheološko izkopavanje grobišča. Pod njegovim vodstvom so v dveh letih odkrili 49 skeletnih grobov iz obdobja preseljevanja ljudstev. O draveljskih najdbah je M. Slabe poročal že leta 1968 na mednarodnem kolokviju o zgodnjem srednjem veku v Kranju (Arheološki vestnik 21–22, 1970–1971, 141–150). Grobišče je opredelil kot vzhodnogotsko, kar je bilo mogoče sklepati po dragocenih kosih noše, pozornost so vzbujale tudi umetno preoblikovane lobanje nekaterih pokopanih. Monografija o grobišču je bila objavljena leta 1975 v seriji Narodnega muzeja *Situla* (M. Slabe, *Dravlje, grobišče iz časov preseljevanja ljudstev*). Nova odkritja so v veliki meri zaznamovala raziskovalno delo konservatorja, ki je leta 1977 pridobil znanstveni naziv doktorja arheologije z disertacijo *Draveljska nekropola in njen delež pri proučevanju vzhodnogotskega obdobja na Slovenskem*.

Arheološkim temam iz poznoantičnega obdobja se je M. Slabe poznavalsko in pogosto posvečal tudi po odkritju nekropole v Dravljah. V *Arheološkem vestniku* so izšli njegovi članki o poznoantičnem grobu iz Dan pri Starem trgu (Arheološki vestnik 25, 1974, 417–423), o luksuzni pasni sponi iz Ljubljane

(Arheološki vestnik 29, 1978, 425–431), večkrat je pregledno predstavil "govorico arheoloških ostalin" o času preseljevanja ljudstev v Sloveniji (Arheološki vestnik 29, 1978, 379–392; Arheološki vestnik 33, 1982, 169–172), rad se je vračal k draveljskim najdbam, h krašenju predmetov (Arheološki vestnik 30, 1979, 441–458) in razlagam zanje, na primer za prstane (Arheološki vestnik 41, 1990, 455–464). Slabetove članke s podobno vsebino najdemo tudi v revijah *Zgodovinski časopis* (39, 1985, 185–191), *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* (17, 1976, 50–53) in *Balcanoslavica* (9, 1980, 9–15; 10, 1983, 29–36) ter v priložnostnih publikacijah, kot sta *Zgodovina Ljubljane: prispevki za monografijo* (Ljubljana 1984, 57–63) in *Avguštinov zbornik* (Kranj 2003, 82–90).

V ospredju Slabetovega delovanja pa je vedno bilo poslanstvo konservatorja, terenskega praktika in pisca konservatorskega etičnega kodeksa. Leta 1984 je zasluženo zasedel položaj direktorja na Republiškem zavodu za varovanje naravne in kulturne dediščine. Na tem mestu si je vztrajno prizadeval za prepoznanje pomena dediščine in uspešno delovanje spomeniškovarstvene službe. Pozneje, ko je postal svetovalec vlade za področje dediščine, je z mlajšimi kolegi enako dejavno sodeloval pri nadgradnji ohranjanja kulturne dediščine. Steletova nagrada za življenjsko delo na področju konservatorstva je bila leta 1996 podeljena pravi osebi – Marijanu Slabetu. Slovensko arheološko društvo pa mu je za njegov prispevek arheologa in konservatorja podelilo nagrado za življenjsko delo leta 2003.

In še nekaj osebnih spominov.

Med letoma 1974 in 1983 je Marijan Slabe večkrat poklical v brežiški muzej in me napotil visoko na Gorjance, kjer so ob cestnih delih odkrili temelje rimske hiše, v Sajevce ob Krki, od koder je kostanjeviški krčmar odpeljal nekaj gomil, in bližnji Stari grad nad Podbočjem, kjer se je na gradišču obetala novogradnja, ter v bližnjo Levakovo jamo, pred katero je že leta 1938 naplavilo "za vozove" človeških kosti. Poslal me je visoko v Posavsko hribovje, kjer je imel kmet v Rovišču pripravljeno kamnito ploščo z vrezanimi črkami, da jo podloži pod enega od stebrov kozolca. Slabe ni omenjal svoje preteklosti, zato sem šele ob pripravi tega besedila izvedel, da je del mladosti med drugo vojno preživel v Kostanjevici in je tudi pozneje ohranjal stik z okoljem in ljudmi. Prav zbirka predmetov z rimskim prstanom z gemo, nekaj odlomkov lončenine in žensko lobanjo iz Levakove jame, ki so jo nabrali kostanjeviški jamarji, naju je tesneje povezala, saj je želel najdbe zaščititi in objaviti (Arheološki vestnik 27, 1976, 283–288), sam pa sem na njegovo pobudo v majhni jami odkril še sledove s konca bakrene dobe in potrdil poznoantično grobišče.

Z upokojitvijo se je Marijan Slabe s svojo bogato knjižnico slovenskih tiskov priselil na Rimsko cesto v Ljubljani, kjer sva postala delovna soseda. Z mladostnim navdušenjem se je posvetil pisanju o krajih v Polhograjskih dolomitih, ki so mu bili posebej ljubi. O Polhograjski gori (1980) in Dvoru pri Polhovem Gradcu (1990) je pisal že prej, ponovno pa o arheoloških raziskavah na Polhograjski gori v zborniku *Gospod z rožo* (2009) ter v obliki krajepisov o okoliških cerkvah in krajih Horjula (Zaklanec, Podolnica, Koreno). V bližnjem "Ježu" se je zjutraj družil s prijatelji iz svojega konservatorskega kroga, občasno sem se jim pridružil tudi sam.

Generacijska razlika ni dovoljevala, da bi Marijana Slabeta spoznal pobliže. Tako sem šele ob pripravi tega spominskega zapisa naletel na njegovo zbirko črtic *Iverje*, izdano leta 2008 v jeseni njegovega življenja. V njej opisuje spomine dečka na zadnja vojna leta v Kostanjevici na Krki. Pripoveduje o moreči osami kraja in lakoti, ki je pestila kratkohlačnika in družino. Govori o pustoti in molku, ki je prekrival mesto, ter o ljudeh, ki so stopili iz hiš le v največji nuji. O stari sodniji, ki so jo najprej naselili Nemci, potem pa domobranci. O zdravniku, ki je zdravil tudi partizane, in o pribežnikih z nemške strani. "Vse je kazalo na veliko utrujenosti ljudi, ki so živeli v nenehnem strahu pred monotonim mrkom in s hladno kovino prevlečenimi osamljenimi trenutki. Pri številki deset se je oficir ustavil, prenehal mahati z desno roko in jo dvignil. Ker število odbranih očitno ni zadostovalo, so ves postopek ponovili. Kaj neki se bo zgodilo z našim? je spraševala neka ženska sosedo. Ob njej se je stiskalo dvoje otrok. Čas je tekel počasi, po polžje, in nenehno nosil v sebi grožnjo smrti. Mrtvim ni do svobode, živim ne do ječe …".

Mitja Guštin

Vida Pohar
(1934–2022)

Lansko pomlad nas je presenetila žalostna vest, da nas je zapustila profesorica Vida Pohar. Vida Pohar se je rodila v Beogradu 9. julija 1934. Po končani gimnaziji se je vpisala na študij geologije in paleontologije na Prirodoslovno-matematični fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Leta 1960 je diplomirala in se zaposlila na Katedri za kvartarologijo Oddelka za montanistiko na Fakulteti za naravoslovje in tehnologijo Univerze v Ljubljani. Leta 1981 je magistrirala z delom *Pleistocenska favna iz Jame pod Herkovimi pečmi* in leta 1991 uspešno zagovarjala disertacijo z naslovom *Poznoglacialna sesalska favna v Sloveniji*. Leta 1992 je na Naravoslovnotehniški fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani postala docentka in leta 1997 izredna profesorica. Poleg predavanj na matični fakulteti je na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani študente arheologije poučevala predmeta Geologija kvartarja ter Paleolitik in mezolitik.

Z nastopom službe na Katedri za kvartarologijo je postala strokovna sodelavka in pozneje asistentka profesorja Franca Osoleta, ki je na fakulteti nadaljeval pedagoško in raziskovalno delo Srečka Brodarja. Z njim je sodelovala na številnih izkopavanjih paleolitskih najdišč: v Ovčji jami, Zakajenem spodmolu, Županovem spodmolu, Babji jami, Matjaževih kamrah, Marovški zijalki, Jami pod Herkovimi pečmi in Lukenjski jami. Leta 1987 je vodila sistematično izkopavanje v jami Judovska hiša v Beli krajini.

Strokovno se je Vida Pohar posvečala predvsem proučevanju pleistocenske favne. Obdelala in objavila je favno iz Marovške zijalke, Jame pod Herkovimi pečmi, Lukenjske jame, Babje jame, Ciganske jame in Poljšiške cerkve. Posvečala se je tudi obravnavi holocenske favne. Tako je poleg holocenske favne iz Lukenjske jame objavila favno z mezolitskih najdišč Breg pri Škofljici, Pod Črmukljo in Mala Triglavca ter živalske ostanke, ki so bili kot pridatki priloženi neolitskim pokopom v Ajdovski jami. Poleg ledenodobnega živalstva in okolja so Vido Pohar živo zanimale paleolitske kulture. Ob sodelovanju s profesorjem Osoletom je prevedla in dopolnila tipološko listo Sonneville-Bordesove in Perrota za mlajšepaleolitska kamnita orodja in Bordesovo tipološko listo za staro- in srednjepaleolitska kamnita orodja ter tako omogočila, da sta ti splošno uveljavljeni tipološki listi, ki sta predstavljali osnovo za klasifikacijo paleolitskih kamnitih inventarjev, postali dosegljivi slehernemu slovenskemu arheologu.

Leta 1997 je začela sodelovati s profesorjem Gernotom Rabederjem s Paleontološkega oddelka Univerze na Dunaju, ki se je ukvarjal z evolucijo zobovja jamskega medveda. Skupaj sta izvedla manjša izkopavanja v Potočki zijalki, Križni jami, Ajdovski jami in Jami pod Herkovimi pečmi, da bi pridobila stratificirane vzorce zob jamskega medveda. Rezultati novih izkopavanj v prvih treh jamah so bili predstavljeni v monografijah *Potočka Zijalka: Palaeontological and Archaeological Results of the Campaigns 1997–2000* (2004), *Ajdovska Jama: Palaeontology, Zoology and Archaeology of Ajdovska jama near Krško in Slovenia* (2011) in *Križna jama: Palaeontology, Zoology and Geology of Križna jama in Slovenia* (2014), ki jih je izdala Avstrijska akademija znanosti. Pri vseh je kot urednica in avtorica sodelovala Vida Pohar.

Vida Pohar je odšla v zasluženi pokoj leta 2004. Bil sem zadnji študent, ki mu je bila mentorica pri diplomi v času zaposlitve. Vendar je tudi v pokoju ostajala predana svojemu nekdanjemu delu. Po letu 2004 je kot mentorica ali somentorica podpisana pri več diplomskih nalogah. Veliko svojega prostega časa je vložila v monografiji o Ajdovski in Križni jami, ki sta izšli v letih po njeni upokojitvi. Leta 2006 je Slovensko arheološko društvo Vidi Pohar podelilo častno članstvo. To je bilo priznanje humanistične stroke naravoslovni profesorici za njen pedagoški trud in znanstveno delo na področju paleolitske arheologije in paleontologije.

Naj napišem še nekaj osebnih vrstic o profesorici Poharjevi. Bila je profesorica stare šole, točna, natančna in metodična. Energična gospa, ki je znala poskrbeti, da se nam študentom kljub zgodnji uri njenih predavanj ni nikoli zehalo. Prizadevala si je, da bi nam podala čim boljši prikaz ledenodobnega okolja, živalstva in paleolitskih kultur. Začela je z osnovami in teorijo prepletala s prakso. Na predavanja je prinesla kosti jamskega medveda in odlitke kamnitih orodij, ki smo jih morali pravilno orientirati, poimenovati in narisati. Srečanje z materialnimi ostalinami preteklosti (pa čeprav odlitki) je bilo nekaj, kar smo takrat pri drugih arheoloških predmetih močno pogrešali. Njeno pedagoško delo ni potekalo le med štirimi stenami. Študente je rada popeljala v muzeje in na teren, na ogled paleolitskih najdišč v Pivško kotlino ali v Potočko zijalko. Tam, kjer je bilo treba pošteno zagristi v breg, je marsikateri študent komaj sledil drobni profesorici na čelu kolone. Bila je velik ljubitelj narave, posebej gora. Zato je, kadar je stopila v objem gorskih gozdov, kar poletela. To dobro vem, saj sem leta 2000 sodeloval pri izkopavanju v Potočki zijalki. Čeprav je bila najstarejša v ekipi, je bila vsako jutro med prvimi pri jami.

Vida Pohar ni bila kabinetni tip znanstvenika in predavatelja, zatopljenega v svet različnih teorij. Snov in svoje znanstvene rezultate je podajala stvarno, na podlagi dejstev, jasno in vsem razumljivo. Kot profesorica je bila vedno spoštljiva in med študenti ni delala razlik. Je pa od nekaterih pričakovala več znanja. Na prvem izpitu pri njej nad mojim znanjem ni bila ravno navdušena in rekla mi je, naj se še malo usedem in ponovno oglasim. Tiste, ki smo kazali več zanimanja in nam fizični napori niso bili odveč, nas je povabila na izkopavanja v Potočko zijalko in Križno jamo, ki sta jih organizirala s profesorjem Rabederjem. Na mizi pred Potočko zijalko smo pregledovali zemljo, ki so nam jo nosili iz jame, in med drobci kosti nestrpno pričakovali kakšen paleolitski artefakt.

Po dolgem času sem se s profesorico Poharjevo srečal poleti 2021. Bila je čila, taka, kot sem jo imel v spominu, le počasi je hodila. Povedala mi je, da kljub težavam, ki jih prinesejo leta, z možem še kdaj opravi kakšen krajši sprehod po Polhograjskih Dolomitih, časi, ko je obredla vse pomembnejše vrhove slovenskih gora in se s profesorjem Rabederjem povzpela na Grossglockner, pa so žal minili. Zanimalo jo je moje delo in spraševala je po kolegih arheologih, s katerimi ni imela več stikov. Z vsemi da je dobro sodelovala in da kljub nestrinjanjem ni nikoli nobenemu zamerila. Da, takšna je bila Vida Pohar, dobrovoljna, pozitivna in odprta oseba, ki posluša mnenja drugih in svojih ne vsiljuje drugim. Skromna, pripravljena vsakomur pomagati in z njim sodelovati, naj si bo to strokovni kolega, študent ali laik. Ostala nam bo v najlepšem spominu!

Izbrana samostojna dela profesorice Vide Pohar:

Marovška zijalka. – *Geologija* 19, 1976, 107–123.

Tipologija in statistična obdelava mlajšepaleolitskih kamenih inventarjev. – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji* 6, 1978, 7–42.

Tehnika izdelave in tipologija staro- in srednjepaleolitskega kamenega orodja. – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji* 7, 1979, 15–80.

Pleistocenska favna iz Jame pod Herkovimi pečmi. – *Geologija* 24/2, 1981, 241–284.

Holocenska favna iz Lukenjske jame. – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji* 11, 1983, 33–72.

Poznoglacialna favna iz Lukenjske jame. – *Geologija* 26, 1983, 71–107.

Favnistični ostanki mezolitske postaje na prostem Breg – Škofljica pri Ljubljani. – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji* 12, 1984, 7–27.

Kvartarni sesalci iz Babje jame pri Dobu. – *Zbornik Ivana Rakovca, Razprave IV. razreda SAZU* 26, 1985, 97–130.

Judovska hiša pri Moverni vasi – prva paleolitska postaja v Beli krajini. – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji* 13, 1985, 7–15.

Kostni ostanki z mezolitskega najdišča Pod Črmukljo pri Šembijah (Ilirska Bistrica). – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji 14*, 1986, 11–20.

Živalski kostni ostanki kot pridatki prazgodovinskih grobov v Ajdovski jami pri Nemški vasi. – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji* 16, 1988, 85–102.

Ajdovska jama pri Nemški vasi – tudi paleolitska postaja? – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji* 17, 1989, 47–52.

Sesalska makrofavna v starejšem holocenu. – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji* 18, 1990, 43–49.

Poznowürmska sesalska favna iz previsa Poljšiška cerkev. – *Razprave IV. razreda SAZU* 32, 1991, 315–339.

Mlajšewürmska favna iz Ciganske jame pri Željnah (Kočevje, južnovzhodna Slovenija). – *Razprave IV. razreda SAZU* 33, 1992, 147–187.

Veliki sesalci iz viška zadnjega glaciala v Sloveniji. – *Razprave IV. razreda SAZU* 34, 1994, 87–100.

Vpliv poznoglacialnih temperaturnih nihanj na velike sesalce v Sloveniji. – *Razprave IV. razreda SAZU* 38, 1997, 117–135.

Late Glacial mammal macrofauna in Slovenia. – *Quartär* 47/48, 1997, 149–158.

Stone- and Bone Artefacts from the Excavations 1997–2000 in Potočka zijalka (Slovenia). –V: M. Pacher, V. Pohar, G. Rabeder (ur.), Potočka Zijalka: Palaeontological and Archaeological Results of the Campaigns 1997–2000, 2004, 211–215. – Dunaj/Wien.

Matija TURK

Kristina Mihovilić
(1951–2022)

V jesenskem jutru nas je zadela žalostna vest, da se je za vedno poslovila naša velecenjena kolegica dr. Kristina Mihovilić, vrhunska znanstvenica in najboljša poznavalka istrske prazgodovine.

Kristina Mihovilić je bila rojena 17. novembra 1951 v Pulju, kjer je po dolgi in težki bolezni, s katero se je zelo pogumno borila, a ji kljub temu podlegla, 8. septembra 2022 tudi preminila.

Skupaj z le nekoliko mlajšo sestro Lili je odraščala v glasbeni družini, njun oče je bil priznan glasbeni pedagog. Umetniško ozračje je izoblikovalo njen poseben značaj, bila je zadržana in skromna, a pokončna, fina in elegantna osebnost, tako glasbena kot likovna umetnost pa sta ji bili poleg arheologije pomembni življenjski spremljevalki. Njeno stanovanje v stari meščanski vili, ne daleč od puljskega observatorija, je bilo podobno likovni galeriji in hkrati priročni znanstveni knjižnici, seveda pa ni manjkal niti pianino.

Po zaključku gimnazije v Pulju je vpisala študij arheologije na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani, kjer je leta 1976 diplomirala pri prof. dr. Stanetu Gabrovcu. Za diplomsko delo je bila odlikovana s študentsko Prešernovo nagrado. Sledila je tako rekoč monografska objava njenega dela v posebnem zvezku revije Histria archaeologica Arheološkega muzeja Istre v Pulju, in sicer pod naslovom "Nekropola Gradine iznad Limskog kanala".[1] Prav ta študija je bila ključna, da je bilo Kristini Mihovilić v soavtorstvu s prof. dr. Stanetom Gabrovcem zaupano pregledno poglavje o Istri v vele-opusu "Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja V. Željezno doba" (Sarajevo 1987).[2] S tem ji je bilo izkazano posebno priznanje in mesto v samem vrhu jugoslovanske arheološke vede. Na temo starejše železne dobe v Istri je Kristina Mihovilić na ljubljanski univerzi leta 2001 tudi doktorirala in bila promovirana v naziv doktorica znanosti. Z oddelkom za arheologijo in slovenskimi kolegi je ostala v stalnem stiku in z njimi sodelovala skoraj štiri desetletja, številni ljubljanski študentje pa jo pomnijo s terenske prakse z izkopavanj na Monkodonji. Spominjajo se je z veliko naklonjenostjo in spoštovanjem.

Že kot študentka je Kristina Mihovilić sodelovala na številnih arheoloških izkopavanjih tako v Sloveniji, npr. pri izkopavanjih na gradišču Cvinger nad Virom pri Stični pod vodstvom prof. dr. Gabrovca, kot tudi na raznih izkopavanjih v Istri, kjer se je predvsem pod vodstvom Borisa Baćića, takrat vodilnega arheologa za prazgodovinsko arheologijo in ravnatelja Arheološkega muzeja Istre v Pulju, kalila v odlično strokovnjakinjo in izvrstno poznavalko arheoloških najdišč v razgibani istrski pokrajini. Tako je leta 1974 dobila zaposlitev v Arheološkem muzeju Istre v Pulju, kjer je ostala vse do svoje upokojitve 2016. Prešla je vse poklicne stopnje v muzealstvu, najprej je bila kustodinja, nato višja kustodinja in muzejska svetnica ter hkrati vse do upokojitve dolgoletna voditeljica Prazgodovinske zbirke, v letih 1995–1996 je bila vršilka dolžnosti ravnateljice muzeja, v letih 2002–2006 pa tudi ravnateljica muzeja. Izkazala se je z izjemno discipliniranostjo, bila je zanesljiva in zelo efektivna pri svojem delu, označevale so jo izredne organizacijske sposobnosti. Iz lastnih izkušenj pri skupnih arheoloških izkopavanjih na Monkodonji in Mušegu ter pri pisanju in pripravah

[1] K. Mihovilić, Nekropola Gradine iznad Limskog kanala / La necropoli del castelliere "Gradina" sovrastante il Canale di Leme. – *Histria archaeologica* III/2, 1972 (1977).

[2] S. Gabrovec, K. Mihovilić, Istarska grupa. – V: A. Benac (ur.), *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja V. Željezno doba,* 1987, 293–338, t. 30–34. – Sarajevo.

njihovih objav dobro vem, da je bilo z njene strani vse izpeljano odlično.

Kristina Mihovilić se je v svojem bogatem znanstvenoraziskovalnem in muzejskem delu posvečala predvsem obdobjem bronaste in železne dobe v Istri. Vodila je številna arheološka izkopavanja, med katerimi naj na tem mestu omenim le nekatera, npr. v Nezakciju, na Gradcu-Turan nad Raškim zalivom, na Sv. Martinu in Limski gradini nad Limskim zalivom, Pečinovcu, v Pečini na Gradini pri Premanturi, na Punti Kašteja pri Medulinu, na Petrovcu pri Višnjanu, na Maklavunu, zaradi obnovitvenih del tudi ob stavbi Arheološkega muzeja Istre v Pulju ter na Monkodonji in Mušegu. Slednja izkopavanja so potekala pod njenim sovodstvom v okviru mednarodnega sodelovanja Arheološkega muzeja Istre v Pulju s prazgodovinskim inštitutom z berlinske Svobodne univerze in oddelkom za arheologijo ljubljanske Filozofske fakultete ter Zavičajnim muzejem Grada Rovinja. Občudovanja vredno je, da je večino svojih izkopavanj tudi promptno znanstveno obdelala in objavila, hkrati pa jih je pogosto predstavila tudi na tematskih muzejskih predstavitvah in razstavah. V času ravnateljevanja Vesne Girardi-Jurkič je bila Kristina Mihovilić avtorica ali soavtorica izredno odmevnih arheoloških razstav, ki so ponesle sloves arheološke Istre v širni svet, npr. razstave z razstavnimi katalogi "Arheologija i umjetnost Istre / Archaeologia e arte dell'Istria" 1985 (Pulj/Pula, Benetke/Venezia, Verona, Milje/Muggia),[3] "Histri i Etruščani" 1986 (Pulj/Pula, Verona, Rijeka, New York, Zadar, Sarajevo, Zenica, Dubrovnik, Priština, Mali Lošinj)[4] in "Der Zauber Istriens. Eine Ausstellung über kroatische Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur" 1999 (Dunaj/Wien)[5] itd. Tovrstno razstavno dejavnost na mednarodni ravni je Kristina Mihovilić nadaljevala tudi pozneje, saj je npr. z razstavo "Histria – Istra – Istrien. Ein archäologisches Juwel in der Adria" 2005 gostovala v Berlinu,[6] z razstavo »Monkodonja i Mušego« pa leta 2009 poleg v Rovinju tudi v Ljubljani in Kopru.[7] Še posebej pa izstopa velika razstava iz leta 2013 v novem muzejsko-galerijskem razstavišču "Sveta Srca" v Pulju pod naslovom "Histri u Istri / Gli Istri in Istria / The Histri in Istria", ki jo je spremljala tudi obsežna in bogato ilustrirana monografija s sintetičnim pregledom železne dobe v Istri.[8]

Ob številnih razstavah in obsežnem muzejskem delu, ki so zagotovo zahtevali mnogo časa, dela in truda, pa se je Kristini Mihovilić uspelo – kot že omenjeno – uspešno posvečati tudi znanstvenoraziskovalnemu delu. Je avtorica nadvse številnih strokovnih in znanstvenih člankov, objavljenih tako v domačih kot tujih strokovnih revijah in publikacijah, pa tudi v poljudnoznanstvenem časopisju.[9] Sodelovala je na številnih mednarodnih simpozijih in konferencah ter s svojimi prispevki vedno obogatila tudi njihove zadevne publikacije. Med drugim je prispevala kar nekaj ključnih razprav za Arheološki vestnik, npr. o depojskih najdbah v Istri,[10] o situli s prikazom pomorske bitke iz Nezakcija,[11] o najdbah kratkih mečev[12] in plavutastih sekir[13] iz Istre ter kot zadnje v sklopu "Gabrovčevega dne" pregled Istre v železni dobi.[14] Ob teh številnih

[3] Glej K. Mihovilić, Istra u prapovijesti. – *Arheologija i umjetnost Istre,* Monografije i katalozi 3, 1985, 15–20; K. Mihovilić *et al*., Katalog. – *Arheologija i umjetnost Istre,* Monografije i katalozi 3, 1985, 44–53; K. Mihovilić, L'Istria nella preistoria. – *Archeologia e arte dell´Istria,* Monografije i katalogi 1, 1985, 22–28; K. Mihovilić, K. Buršić-Matijašić, Katalog. – *Archeologia e arte dell´Istria,* Monografije i katalogi 1, 1985, 29–51.

[4] Glej *Histri i Etruščani / Histri ed Etruschi,* Monografije i katalozi 2, 1986.

[5] Glej K. Mihovilić, Vorgeschichte auf dem Boden des heutigen Istrien. – *Der Zauber Istriens. Eine Ausstellung über kroatische Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur,* 1999, 8–12; skupaj s soavtorico K. Buršić-Matijašić, Katalog der Gegenstände aus den vorgeschichtlichen Epochen. –*Der Zauber Istriens. Eine Ausstellung über kroatische Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur,* 1999, 16–26.

[6] K. Mihovilić, *Ein archäologisches Juwel in der Adria*. – Monografije i katalozi 15, 2005.

[7] K. Mihovilić, B. Hänsel, B. Teržan., D. Matošević, Ž. Kovačić, *Monkodonja i Mušego. Izložba Rovinj. Zavičajni muzej Grada Rovinja 18. 06.–30. 09. 2009*. – Arheološki muzej Istre. Katalog 79, 2009.

[8] K. Mihovilić, *Histri u Istri / Gli Istri in Istria / The Histri in Istria*. – Monografije i katalozi 23, 2013.

[9] Na tem mestu žal ne moremo podati njene celotne bibliografije, načrtovana je za naslednji zvezek Histrie archaeologice.

[10] K. Mihovilić, Nalazi prahistorijskih ostava na području Istre / Vorgeschichtliche Hortfunde in Istrien. – *Arheološki vestnik* 42, 1991, 207–218.

[11] K. Mihovilić, Die Situla mit Schiffskampfszene aus Nesactium. – *Arheološki vestnik* 43, 1992, 67–78.

[12] K. Mihovilić, Kratki mač – bodež s trokutastim pločom za nasad ručke iz Istre / Kurzschwerter – Dolche mit dreieckiger Griffplatte aus Istrien. – *Arheološki vestnik* 52, 2001, 173–179.

[13] K. Mihovilić, Brončane sjekire sa zaliscima u Zbirci Arheološkog muzeja Istre u Puli / Bronze winged axes in the Collection of the Archaeological Museum of Istria in Pula, Croatia. – V: S. Tecco Hvala (ur.), *Studia Praehistorica in Honorem Janez Dular.* Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 30, 2014, 113–121.

[14] K. Mihovilić, Istra kroz željezno doba / Istra in the Iron Age. – *Arheološki vestnik* 72, 2021, 509–531.

znanstvenih člankih je treba še posebej izpostaviti njene monografske objave, predvsem dve obsežni monografiji o glavnem mestu Histrov – Nezakciju, tako o arheoloških najdbah s starih izkopavanj[15] kot tudi o novejših,[16] odkritih pod njenim ostrim očesom, in pa že omenjeno obsežno sintezo o Istri v železni dobi.[17] Ne nazadnje je Kristina Mihovilić soavtorica treh monografij o arheoloških izkopavanjih na bronastodobni gradini Monkodonja in gomilah pripadajoče nekropole na Mušegu, ki dajejo povsem nov vpogled v podobo kaštelirske kulture bronastodobne Istre ter na njeno mesto kot veznem členu med kulturami Sredozemlja in srednje Evrope. To so knjige Monkodonja 1 (2015), Monkodonja 3 (2020) in Monkodonja 4 (2022), pri čemer je na tekstih slednje knjige delala dobesedno do svojega zadnjega dne.[18]

Za svoje uspešne arheološke dosežke je bila Kristina Mihovilić izvoljena v dopisno članico Nemškega arheološkega inštituta (DAI Berlin), kar je častno in izrazito prestižno imenovanje. V zvezi z arheološkimi izkopavanji na Monkodonji ter restavriranjem in prezentacijo njenih arhitekturnih ostalin je treba posebej omeniti v letu 2002 podeljeno nagrado Sveta Evrope za kulturno dediščino – Europa Nostra, "Prix Europa Nostra Award". Za razstavni projekt "Histri u Istri" je bila leta 2013 Kristini Mihovilić podeljena nagrada "Josip Brunšmid" Hrvaškega arheološkega društva, leta 2015 letna nagrada Hrvaškega muzejskega društva za soavtorstvo pri monografiji Monkodonja, leta 2016 pa je bila prejemnica nagrade za življenjsko delo "Don Frane Bulić" Hrvaškega arheološkega društva.

Kristina Mihovilić nam je zapustila zelo bogat znanstveni opus, s katerim se je trajno vpisala med najpomembnejše strokovnjake za prazgodovino Istre in Caput Adriae. Z njenim veliko prezgodnjim odhodom smo izgubili ne le nenadomestljivo strokovnjakinjo, ki jo bomo vsi zelo pogrešali, temveč tudi nadvse drago prijateljico. Ostala nam bo v nepozabnem spominu kot mila in plemenita, vse razumevajoča osebnost.

Biba Teržan

[15] K. Mihovilić, *Nezakcij. Prapovijesni nalazi 1900.–1953. / Nesactium. Prehistoric finds 1900–1953.* – Monografije i katalozi 11, 2001.

[16] K. Mihovilić, *Nezakcij – nalaz grobnice 1981. godine / Nesactium. The discovery of a Grave Vault in 1981.* – Monografije i katalozi 6, 1996.

[17] Glej opombo 8.

[18] Glej B. Hänsel, K. Mihovilić, B. Teržan, *Monkodonja. Istraživanje protourbanog naselja brončanog doba Istre. Knjiga 1. Iskopavanje i nalazi građevina / Monkodonja. Forschungen zu einer protourbanen Siedlung der Bronzezeit Istriens. Teil 1. Die Grabung und der Baubefund.* – Monografije i katalozi 25, 2015; B. Hänsel†, K. Mihovilić, B. Teržan *et al.*, *Monkodonja. Istraživanje protourbanog naselja brončanog doba Istre. Knjiga 3. Nalazi od metala, gline, kosti i kamena, kao i ljudskih i životinjskih kostiju / Monkodonja. Forschungen zu einer protourbanen Siedlung der Bronzezeit Istriens. Teil 3. Die Funde aus Metall, Ton, Knochen und Stein sowie die menschlichen und tierischen Knochen.* – Monografije i katalozi 34, 2020; K. Mihovilić, B. Teržan *et al.*, *Monkodonja. Istraživanje protourbanog naselja brončanog doba Istre. Knjiga 4. Mušego/Mon Sego – grobni tumuli – nekropola gradine Monkodonja i brončanodobni tumuli Istre / Monkodonja. Forschungen zu einer protourbanen Siedlung der Bronzezeit Istriens. Teil 4. Mušego/Mon Sego, Grabhügel – eine Nekropole von der Gradina Monkodonja und die bronzezeitlichen Grabhügel Istriens.* – Monografije i katalozi 37, 2022.

Otto-Herman Frey
(1929–2023)

Zanimanje nemških arheologov za jugovzhodno Evropo in tudi slovenske dežele je temeljilo med obema vojnama na univerzalni vedoželjnosti njihove arheološke šole za tukajšnjimi zgodovinskimi pričevanji in arheološkim gradivom, shranjenim v osrednjih državnih muzejih, predvsem v Prirodoslovno-zgodovinskem muzeju na Dunaju, pa v Zagrebu, Sarajevu, Splitu in tudi Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani. Zato ni naključje, da so septembra leta 1935 arheologi podonavskih dežel za cilj svojega potovanja izbrali prav Ljubljano in Zagreb s poudarkom na spoznavanju Japodov, prazgodovinskih gradišč, sledov osvajanj Rimljanov ter poznoantičnih zapor in utrdb. Med udeleženci je bilo deset Nemcev, šest Madžarov, dva Avstrijca, po en Anglež, Holandec in Italijan ter enajst Jugoslovanov, zbranih od Maribora do Splita. Program študijskega bivanja na Slovenskem z ogledom kolišč na Ljubljanskem barju, halštatskih gradišč in gomil, rimskih spomenikov in utrdb ter muzejev je pripravil Balduin Saria s sodelovanjem Rajka Ložarja, Franca Lorgerja in Franja Baša; ogled Gradu pri Šmihelu pod Nanosom na italijanski strani pa so izpeljali ob pomoči Giovannija Battiste Brusina.[1]

Med nemškimi arheologi je bil tudi prof. Wolfgang Dehn iz Triera, poznejši predstojnik Prazgodovinskega seminarja Univerze Philipps v Marburgu na Lahni, ki je po vojni ponovno vzpostavil dobre stike z jugoslovansko arheologijo in posebej Ljubljano. Ko se je kustos Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani Stane Gabrovec v letih 1959 in 1960 strokovno izpopolnjeval kot asistent pri prof. Walterju Kimmigu na Univerzi Eberharda Karla v Tübingenu,[2] je sodeloval tudi pri izkopavanjih znamenitega halštatskega gradišča Heuneburg ob zgornji Donavi, ki jih je vodil W. Dehn.[3] Prav heuneburška izkopavanja z okoliškimi knežjimi gomilami so bila najpomembnejša stična točka nemških arheologov železne dobe, naslednikov znamenite arheološke šole Gera von Merharta,[4] ki je iskala korenine civilizacije severno od Alp tudi v kulturah Apeninskega polotoka in Balkana.

V času bivanja v Nemčiji je prek Dehna spoznal Gabrovec njegovega asistenta Otta-Hermana Freya, s katerim ga je močno povezalo prav raziskovanje prostora severne Italije in jugovzhodnih Alp v starejši železni dobi. Zato ni naključje, da je nekaj let pozneje pri arheoloških izkopavanjih utrdb na stiškem Cvingerju, skupnem slovensko-nemškem projektu s sodelovanjem profesorja Stephena Foltinyja iz ameriške univerze Princeton, imel univerzitetni seminar iz Marburga s profesorjema Dehnom in Freyem zelo pomembno vlogo. Gabrovec se je z dragoceno izkušnjo izkopavanja stratigrafije v Heuneburgu in lastnega vodenja zahtevne raziskave Gomilarjeve gomile v obdobju 1960–1964 leta 1967 lotil večletnega projekta raziskave obrambnih zidov železnodobnega naselja na Cvingerju, pri katerem sta sodelovala tudi slovenska arheologa Franc Leben z Inštituta za arheologijo SAZU in Drago Svoljšak iz Goriškega muzeja in v katerem je Gabrovcu stala ob strani marburška ekipa s Freyem

[1] B. Saria, Šesto naučno putovanje nemačkih i podunavskih arheologa, *Jugoslovenski istorijski* časopis 1, 1935, 735–740; S. von Schnurbein, Gerhard Bersu und die „Studienfahrten deutscher und donauländischer Bodenforscher“. – *Bericht Römisch-Germanische Kommission* 100, 2019 [2020], 97–117.

[2] Stane Gabrovec, Wolfgang Kimmig. – *Arheološki vestnik* 53, 2002, 404–405.

[3] S. Gabrovec, Wolfgang Dehn (1909–2001). – *Arheološki vestnik* 53, 2002, 403–405.

[4] S. Gabrovec, Merhartova šola in njen pomen za slovensko arheologijo. – *Arheo* 4, 1984, 10–14.

na čelu in asistentom Volkerjem Pinglom, risarko Jutte Weber ter študentoma Reimom Lunzom in Herbertom Lorenzem.

Začetno sodelovanje ter zelo uspešne raziskave obzidij in pripadajočih naselbinskih slojev iz leta 1967 so Gabrovec, Frey in Foltiny skupaj izčrpno predstavili domači in tuji strokovni javnosti v prvem poročilu o naselbinskih izkopavanjih v Stični.[5] Gabrovčevo dolgoletno prijateljstvo in sodelovanje s Freyem se zrcali tudi v drugih skupnih objavah,[6] na Stično in prijatelja Staneta je Freya vezala tudi njegova priljubljena tema situlske umetnosti.[7] Rezultati večletnega uspešnega projekta raziskave naselja na Cvingerju so bili izčrpno objavljeni v monografiji, v kateri sta svoj del poročil napisala tudi Frey in Pingel.[8]

Številne med našo generacijo študentov je Frey v Stični osebno z vztrajnim strganjem naučil razlikovati posamezne zemeljske sloje z arheološkimi kulturnimi značilnostmi in prepoznati iz majhnih črepinj raznovrstno posodje. Ob nedeljah smo obiskovali dolenjska gradišča in s kompasom v roki skicirali obode nasipov in teras, pod katerimi so skrita nekdanja obzidja.[9] Za nekatere, ki smo preživljali mednarodne poletne raziskave v Stični, je bilo druženje s Freyem v mnogočem spodbuda tudi v njihovem izbornem kariernem delu (Biba Teržan, Janez Dular, Drago Svoljšak).

Sam sem doživel Freya v Stični kot projektu in terenskemu delu povsem predanega človeka, nekolikokrat pa povsem osebno ob priložnostnem obedu skupaj z Gabrovcem v znameniti gostilni v vasi Krka, znani po izborno pečenih postrvih. Z naklonjenostjo sta mi skupaj z Dehnom omogočila študijsko bivanje v Marburgu ravno v letu, ko je Frey odhajal za predstojnika v Hamburg. V zimskem semestru 1969/1970, ko se je že odpravljal, sem pri njem še opravil statistiko grobnih pridatkov iz 2500 grobov z Mosta na Soči na podlagi poročil Carla Marchesettija iz let 1885 in 1893; leta pozneje pa ga obiskal tudi v Hamburgu, kjer je odpiral nova poglavja keltskih študij z zbranimi doktoranti in revijo Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie.

Frey je bil tisti, ki je ob izjemnih najdbah iz gomil v Kandiji v Novem mestu s priporočilom odprl slovenskim muzejem vrata restavratorske delavnice v Mainzu, kjer še danes restavrirajo grobne najdbe s Kapiteljske njive v Novem mestu. Ob svojem delu se je tudi pozneje vedno znova vračal k posameznim temam železnodobne arheologije na Slovenskem, kot so fibule zahodnohalštatske vrste, halštatska oborožitev, predrte pasne spone, keramika s črno-rdečimi pasovi, naselbinska izkopavanja v Stični, nošnja halštatskih bodal in okrasna svastika z Magdalenske gore pri Šmarju.[10]

Otto-Herman Frey je bil najmlajši med znamenitimi nemškimi arheologi (Hermann Müller-Karpe, Georg Kossack, Wolfgang Kimmig, Joachim Werner), ki so s svojimi preglednimi deli močno vplivali na razumevanje pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe ter pozne antike v Evropi in tudi na Slovenskem. S svojim znanstvenim in pedagoškim opusom je Frey zaznamoval predvsem dve veliki temi evropske prazgodovine: situlsko in keltsko umetnost.

Rokopis disertacije o figurativno okrašenih situlah Wolfganga Luckeja iz leta 1939 je Frey uredil dve

[5] S. Gabrovec, O.-H. Frey, S. Foltiny, Prvo poročilo o naselbinskih izkopavanjih v Stični. – *Arheološki vestnik* 20, 1969, 177–196; S. Gabrovec, O.-H. Frey, S. Foltiny, Erster Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen im Ringwall von Stična (Slowenien). – *Germania* 48, 1970, 12–33; A fortified settlement and tumulus cemetery of the iron age at Stična in Slovenia. – *Etruscans* 2/1970–1972, 24–30, 48–54.

[6] O.-H. Frey, S. Gabrovec, K latenski poselitvi Dolenjske: prvi rezultati izkopavanj na stiškem naselju. – *Arheološki vestnik* 20, 1969, 7–26; O.-H. Frey, S. Gabrovec, Zur Chronologie der Hallstattzeit im Ostalpenraum. – *Actes du VIIIe congrès international* des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques, 1971, 193–218. – Beograd.

[7] O.-H. Frey, Ein verzierter Ohrring aus Stična. – *Jahrbuch Römisch-Germanisches Museum Mainz* 13/1, 1966, 44–48; O.-H. Frey, Über die Ostalpen zur Keltiké. – *Scripta praehistorica in honorem Biba Teržan*. Situla 44, 2007, 777–788.

[8] S. Gabrovec, Stična I, Naselbinska izkopavanja / Siedlungsausgrabungen. – *Catalogi et monographiae* 28, 1994.

[9] O.-H. Frey, Halštatska naselja na Dolenjskem (Les établissements halstattiens à Dolenjsko (Basse Carniole)), *Varstvo spomenikov* 13–14, 1968–1969, 17–22.

[10] O.-H. Frey, Fibeln vom westhalstättischen Typus aus dem Gebiet südlich der Alpen. – *Oblatio. Raccolta di studi di antichità ed arte in onore di Aristide Calderini*, 1971, 355–386; O.-H. Frey, Bemerkungen zur hallstättischen Bewaffung in Südostalpenraum. – *Arheološki vestnik* 24, 1975, 621–636; Durchbrochene Frühlatènegürtelhaken aus Slowenien. – *Opuscula Iosepho Kastelic sexagenario dicata*. Situla 14/15 1974, 129–142; O.-H. Frey, Schwarz-rot gebänderte Keramik in der Zone südlich der Alpen. – *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 4, 1974, 97–102; O.-H. Frey, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen im Ringwall von Stična (Slowenien). – V: *Symposium zu Problemen der jüngeren Hallstattzeit in Mitteleuropa*, 1974, 151–162; O.-H. Frey, Zur Tragweise hallstattzeitlicher Dolche in Slowenien (O načinu nošnje halštatskih bodal v Sloveniji). – *Gabrovčev zbornik. Zbornik, posvečen Stanetu Gabrovcu ob šestdesetletnici*. Situla 20/21, 1980, 333–342; O.-H. Frey, Ein Zierstück der späten Hallstattzeit von der Magdalenska gora bei Šmarje. – V: *Die Hallstattkultur. Bericht über das Symposium in Steyr 1980*, 1981, 227–240. – Linz.

desetletji pozneje, ga dopolnil in izdal,[11] obenem pa se je s študijskimi bivanji v krajih Rim, Bologna in Este poglobil v študij situlskih spomenikov in njihovih grobnih kontekstov v venetskem prostoru. Pri obravnavi začetkov situlske umetnosti je v habilitacijskem delu postavil kronološko shemo estenskega prostora ter utrdil tudi pojem skupnega jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora v starejši železni dobi.[12] Navedena dela še danes veljajo za temelj, brez katerega v evropski arheologiji ne moremo razpravljati o pomenu tega likovnega in kulturnega fenomena. Njegove opombe k figuraliki vzhodnohalštatskega kroga[13] so primer izbrane teme, ki je postala stalnica številnih razprav o likovnih upodobitvah halštatske dobe.

Freyeve objave so se časovno ujemale s pripravo in odprtjem velike mednarodne razstave s katalogom *Umetnost alpskih Ilirov in Venetov* v izvedbi strokovnjakov iz Padove, Ljubljane in z Dunaja (1962), kjer je bila razstava tudi predstavljena, ter nekaj pozneje tudi reprezentančne izdaje *Umetnost situl* (1965) avtorjev Giulie Fogolari, Staneta Gabrovca, Jožeta Kastelica in Karla Kromerja.[14] Pa tudi z referatom Gabrovca na kongresu Arheološkega društva Jugoslavije (1963), v katerem je, tudi s pomočjo nastajajočega rokopisa Freyevega habilitacijskega dela, povezal halštatske skupnosti Slovenije s severnoitalskim prostorom, še posebej estenskim.[15]

Z odhodom v Hamburg leta 1970 je Frey svoje delovno življenje v tradiciji von Merhartove/Dehnove marburške študijske šole intenzivno posvetil keltski civilizaciji na splošno, obenem pa tudi posameznim pojavom, kot so bili etruščanski importi in njihov vpliv na razvoj in pomen umetnostnega keltskega stila ter tudi pomenu same distribucije posameznih predmetov. V obdobju predstojništva v Hamburgu (1970–1976) in tudi pozneje ob vrnitvi v Marburg do njegove upokojitve sta bila univerzitetna inštituta z njegovim delom in doktoranti pomembni središči keltskih raziskav v Evropi tako s pogledom na njihov svet severno od Alp kot na dediščino keltskih plemen z območja severne Italije in južnoalpskih dolin.

Frey je z izdajo posebne tematske številke načel problem razumevanja prehoda iz stare halštatske v mlajšo latensko stopnjo v srednji Evropi ter spodbudil načrtno preučevanje importov iz Sredozemlja.[16] Osnove za to je imel v dobrem poznavanju etruščanske civilizacije, s katero se je spoznal že pri pripravi svoje habilitacijske študije. V njej je iskal korenine situlske umetnosti in številni etruščanski importi v zahodnohalštatske skupnosti so bili zanj pomemben element pri razumevanju nastanka in razlagi razvoja zgodnjelatenskega keltskega stila.[17]

Prav poznavanje dragocenih etruščanskih izdelkov, ki so bili predmet trgovanja ali odpiranja prostora, je Freyu omogočalo, da je lahko prepričljivo povezoval ta dva različna nazorska in likovna stila.[18] V vrsti razprav o kanonu zgodnje keltske umetnosti je dopolnjeval temeljno študijo Paula Jacobstahla *Early Celtic Art* (1944) ter sodobnejše razprave zakonskega para Ruth in Vincent Megaw.[19]

Z obravnavo bronastega figuralno okrašenega torkvesa s tremi Janusovimi glavami in levoma iz Glauberga[20] je Frey nehote napovedal odkritje ene najimenitnejših keltskih gomil in njenega obodnega jarka v Glaubergu ter obeh grobov veljakov v letih

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[11] W. Lucke, O.-H. Frey, *Die Situla in Providence*, 1962. – Berlin.

[12] O.-H. Frey, Der Beginn der Situlenkunst im Ostalpenraum. – *Germania* 40, 1962, 56–72; O.-H. Frey, Der Ostalpenraum und die antike Welt in der frühen Eisenzeit. – *Germania* 44, 1966, 48–66; O.-H. Frey, *Die Entstehung der Situlenkunst. Studien zur figürlich verzierten Toreutik von Este,* 1969. – Berlin.

[13] O.-H. Frey, Bemerkungen zu figürlichen Darstellungen des Osthallstattkreises. – V: *Festschrift für Richard Pittioni zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Arch. Austr. Beih. 13, 1976, 578–587.

[14] J. Kastelic (ur.), *Umetnost alpskih Ilirov in Venetov. Situle od Pada do Donave. Razstava Padova–Ljubljana–Dunaj*, 1962. – Ljubljana; J. Kastelic, G. A. Mansuelli, K. Kromer, *Umetnost situl*, 1965. – Beograd–Ljubljana.

[15] S. Gabrovec, Halštatska kultura Slovenije, *Arheološki vestnik* 15–16/1964–1965, 21–63, op. 84 / S. Gabrovec, Zur Hallstattzeit in Slowenien, *Germania* 44, 1966, 1–48, op. 84.

[16] O.-H. Frey, Einführung in die Problematik »Hallstatt D3 – Latene A«. – *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* II/2, 1972, 169–179.

[17] O.-H. Frey, Eine etruskische Bronzeschnabelkanne, *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon. Archéologie* 2, 1955; O.-H. Frey, Die Zeitstellung des Fürstengrabes von Hatten im Elsaß, *Germania* 35, 1957, 229–249; W. Dehn, O.-H. Frey, Southern imports and the Hallstatt and Early La Tène Chronology of Central Europe. – V: *Italy before Romans. The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods*, 1979, 489–511.

[18] O.-H. Frey, Zur Bronzeschnabelkanne in Besançon. – *Hommages à Lucien Lerat*, 1984, 293–316; O.-H. Frey, The Stone Knight, the Sphinx and the Hare. New aspects of Early Figural Celtic Art. – *Proceedings of the Prehistoy Society* 64, 1998, 1–14.

[19] O.-H. Frey, *Das Grab von Waldalgesheim.* – V: H.-E. Joachim, *Waldalgesheim. Das Grab einer keltischen Fürstin,* Kataloge Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn 3, 1995, 159–206.

[20] O.-H. Frey, Zu einem keltischen Halsring aus Glauberg. – *Ulrich Fischer zum 65. Geburtstag am 3. Juli 1980 gewidmet*, Fundberichte aus Hessen 19/20, 1979/80 (1980), 609–615.

1994 in 95 z dragocenimi pridatki.[21] Ob vznožju gomile odkrita monumentalna kamnita plastika bojevnika ter obravnava figuralike na bronastem posodju sta za naslednji dve desetletji zaznamovali njegove raziskave o prepletu etruščanske in keltske likovne mistike ter njihovem duhovnem svetu.[22] Njegov velik delež pri vrednotenju grobnih pridatkov iz gomile v Glaubergu je prepoznalo tudi ministrstvo dežele Hessen leta 2020 in mu podelilo Goethejevo plaketo, visoko priznanje za »očeta keltskih raziskav«.

Kot velik človek, učitelj številnih generacij in raziskovalec preteklosti bo ostal zapisan v spominu slovenske arheologije.

Mitja Guštin

[21] F.-R. Herrmann, O.-H. Frey, *Die Keltenfürsten aus Glauberg. Ein frühkeltischer Fürstengrabhügel bei Glauburg-Glauberg, Wetteraukreis*, Arch. Denkmäler Hessen 128/129, 1996; O.-H. Frey, F.-R. Hermann, Ein frühkeltischer Fürstengrabhügel am Glauberg im Wetteraukreis, Hessen. – *Germania* 75, 1997, 459–550.

[22] O.-H. Frey, Wer waren die Kelten? Zeugnisse aus der antiken Welt und archäologischer Befund. – V: *Das Rätsel der Kelten vom Glauberg. Glaube-Mythos-Wirklichkeit*, 2002, 47–57. – Stuttgart; O.-H. Frey, Die Fürstengräber vom Glauberg. Jenseitsvorstellungen und Bestattungsbrauchtum. – V: *Das Rätsel der Kelten vom Glauberg. Glaube-Mythos-Wirklichkeit*, 2002, 172–185. – Stuttgart; O.-H. Frey, Menschen oder Heroen? Die Statuen vom Glauberg und die frühe keltische Grossplastik. – V: *Das Rätsel vom Glauberg. Glaube-Mythos-Wirklichkeit*, 2002, 208–218. – Stuttgart; O.-H. Frey, *Keltische Kunst in vorrömischer Zeit*, Kleine Schriften 57, 2007 (ponatis 2015); O.-H. Frey, *Wer war der Mann aus Grab 2 vom Glauberg*, Kleine Schriften 60, 2014.

Knjižne ocene in prikazi / Book reviews

Mario Gavranović, Daniela Heilmann, Aleksandar Kapuran, Marek Verčík (ur.): *Spheres of Interaction. Contacts and Relationships between the Balkans and Adjacent Regions in the Late Bronze/Iron Age (13th–5th Centuries BCE). Proceedings of the Conference held at the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade 15–17 September, 2017.* Barbara Horejs, Carola Metzner-Nebelsick, Peter Pavúk (ur.), Perspectives on Balkan Archaeology 1, Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf 2020. ISBN 978-3-86757-110-4. 316 strani.

V prazgodovinski arheologiji je Balkan gotovo med najbolj zanimivimi, a hkrati tudi najbolj enigmatičnimi območji za preučevanje človeške preteklosti. Tragični dogodki vojne v nekdanji Jugoslaviji v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja so nedvomno zarezali globoko vrzel tudi v raziskovanju prazgodovine Balkanskega polotoka. Skoraj dve desetletji po tem so nove generacije kolegov iz Bosne in Hercegovine, Srbije, Češke in Nemčije v želji, da bi ponovno vzpostavili mednarodni forum predvsem mladih arheologov, ki se ukvarjajo z balkansko prazgodovinsko arheologijo, leta 2016 v Sarajevu organizirale srečanje "*The Early Iron Age: Methods and Approaches*", posvečeno starejši železni dobi. Uspešni referati, del teh je objavljen v 47. številki *Godišnjaka Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, in odmevnost konference so vodili organizatorje k ponovnemu srečanju na Inštitutu za arheologijo v Beogradu.

Knjiga *Spheres of Interaction* je zbornik druge arheološke konference, katere osrednja tema so bili stiki in odnosi med prazgodovinskimi skupnostmi z Balkanskega polotoka in sosednjih regij (Apeninskega polotoka, jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora, Karpatskega bazena, črnomorske regije in egejske Grčije) od zgodnje bronaste do starejše železne dobe (2000–500 pr. n. št.). Na simpoziju je bilo predstavljenih 26 prispevkov. V zborniku, ki je 1. zvezek novonastale serije *Perspectives on Balkan Archaeology* (PeBA), je objavljenih 14 člankov 22 avtorjev z uvodnim predgovorom urednikov serije, prologom staroste jugoslovanske arheologije Rastkom Vasićem in uvodnikom urednikov zbornika. Pobuda za nastanek zvezkov PeBA z uredniškim odborom B. Horejs, C. Metzner-Nebelsick in P. Pavúk, v kateri bodo tudi v prihodnje objavljeni članki simpozijev PeBA, zasluži prav posebno pohvalo. Nova serija, ki izhaja pri prestižni založbi Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, obeta, da bo platforma mladih znanstvenikov živela in s tem premostila zaradi tragičnih dogodkov nastalo vrzel.

Stičišče 14 člankov prvega zvezka PeBA so vprašanja o kulturnih in družbeno-ekonomskih interakcijah bronasto- in železnodobnih skupnosti Balkana, mobilnosti in migracijah posameznikov ali skupin, vprašanja, kako so različne komunikacijske ali gospodarske mreže sooblikovale družbene stike ter kako je to mogoče prepoznati v arheološkem zapisu in najdbah. Gre za vprašanja in teme, s katerimi se v zadnjem desetletju ali dveh posebno intenzivno ukvarjajo številni arheologi, in to ne samo na Balkanu, temveč mnogo širše. Interdisciplinarne študije, skupaj z najnovejšimi naravoslovnimi analizami, premikajo zmožnosti arheoloških interpretacij na področja, ki so se še nedavno zdela zunaj dometa humanistike. Kljub temu ne gre spregledati, da so se v večini prispevkov avtorji teh vprašanj lotili na "klasičen način", s preučevanjem in interpretacijo materialne kulture – keramičnih in kovinskih najdb, njihove natančnejše datacije, izvora, razprostranjenosti, uporabe in pomena.

V prvem članku zbornika (str. 21–35) z naslovom *The Challenges and Potentiality of Using Network Analysis in Exploring Interactions in the Southwestern Balkans during the Middle and Late Bronze Age* M. Gori in T. Krapf na podlagi vzorcev v razprostranjenosti lončenine, tehnologije keramike in z njo povezanega znanja ugotavljata vpetost koliščarskega naselja Sovjan in širšega območja Korçë na jugovzhodu Albanije v regionalne in nadregionalne mreže na prostoru od Karpatskega bazena do Grčije. Sledi članek (str. 37–52) z naslovom *Similarities and Differences between Material Culture of the Belegiš II-Gava Group from the Southern Pannonian Plain and the Morava River Basin*, v katerem A. Kapuran in V. Bulatović obravnavata problematiko kanelirane keramike v južni Panoniji v okviru kulturnega kompleksa Belegiš II – Gava, njeno pojavnost in vplive na območju Velike in Južne Morave ter na prostoru Železnih vrat. S. Pabst v članku *Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Central Dalmatia in the Sphere of Interaction between the Carpathian Basin, the Apennine Peninsula and the Aegean* (str. 75–93) na podlagi izvora in razprostranjenosti izbranih bronastih predmetov nakita in obrambnega orožja ponovno osvetli dogajanja v pozni bronasti dobi. Sprva intenzivnim predvsem trgovskim stikom, ki so vključevali tudi mobilnost manjših skupin, naj bi sledile migracije populacij iz Karpatskega bazena in severozahodnega Balkana na Apeninski polotok in južni Balkan prek osrednje Dalmacije in jadranskih poti. Podobne problematike se loteva tudi K. Jankovits (str. 95–113) v članku *Contacts between Transdanubia, the Balkans, Northern Italy and Greece in the Late Bronze Age as Reflected by Protective Armour*, ki na podlagi razprostranjenosti ofenzivnega orožja (golenic in oklepov) pokaže na intenzivne stike med poznobronastodobnimi skupnostmi Karpatskega bazena, Balkana, severne Italije in Grčije. Razlaga jih kot odraz trgovine na dolge razdalje, kot dokaz za obstoj najemniških vojakov ali potujočih obrtnikov. Tako M. Dizdar (str. 189–215) v članku *The Late Hallstatt Connections between the Southeastern Carpathian Basin and the Western and Central Balkans: The Beautiful Ladies from the South* kot R. Kurti (str. 217–252) v prispevku *Common Trends and Regional Particularities in the Western Balkan Iron Age: The Female Belt Adornment in the 7th–6th Centuries BCE Northern Albania* osvetlita značilnosti in posebnosti ženske pogrebne noše, Dizdar na podlagi grobnih najdb iz južnega Panonskega prostora, Kurtijeva z analizo pogrebne noše iz Albanije iz starejše železne dobe. A. Panti (str. 271–294) v članku *Typology, Production, and Distribution in Northern Greece from the Late Geometric to the Archaic Period* tipološko in kronološko obravnava železnodobno monohromno keramiko iz Termajskega zaliva, tako v kontekstu vsakdanje uporabe kot pogrebnih ritualov. V zadnjem prispevku zbornika (str. 295–315) z naslovom

Investigating Interregional Influences and Lifecycles of two Metal Vessels used as Funerary Urns in a 4th Century BCE intra muros Burial at Vergina/Aegae predstavi A. Kyriakou tri nedavno izkopane grobove iz svetišča Eukleia v antičnem mestu Aegae v osrednji Makedoniji.

Manjšina avtorjev je problematiko stikov in interakcij preučevala skozi prizmo sprememb v načinu pokopa, pogrebnih običajih ali naselbinskih ostankih, vzorcih poselitve, najdemo pa tudi prispevek o že tolikokrat obravnavani temi pomorskih ljudstev. Pogrebni običaji so bili že v prazgodovinskih obdobjih pomemben kazalnik identitete posameznika, predvsem njegove skupnosti. Spremembe v pogrebnih običajih, ki jim je mogoče slediti v arheološkem zapisu, gre lahko razumeti kot odsev sprememb v prepričanjih, vrednotah in tradiciji. Kako so na te spremembe vplivali stiki, interakcije, mobilnost ali celo migracije prazgodovinskih skupnosti? O podobnih vprašanjih, o spremembah v načinu pokopa v pozni bronasti in zgodnji železni dobi na širokem območju med južnim Karpatskim bazenom in zahodnim Balkanom se v svojem prispevku z naslovom *To Burn or not to Burn: Inhumation Versus Cremation at the End of the Bronze Age in the Region between the Southern Carpathian Basin and the Western Balkans* sprašujeta M. Gavranović in D. Ložnjak-Dizdar (str. 53–74). V članku *Some Light in the Dark Ages: Remarks on Cultural Continuity during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in West Morava Basin* (str. 177–188) M. Ljuština in K. Dmitrović razpravljata o območju Zahodne Morave v pozni bronasti in zgodnji železni dobi, tudi na podlagi načina pokopa in prisotnosti pokopa pod gomilo. A.-Z. Chemsseddoha v članku *Connections between the Balkans and the Aegean: The Case of Iron Age Burial Customs in Northern Greece* (str. 253–269) razglablja o pogrebnih običajih v zgodnji železni dobi med goro Pindus in jugozahodnimi Rodopi. Treba je omeniti, da je to eden redkih prispevkov, v katerem avtorica predstavi uporabljen metodološki in teoretični pristop. V članku *The Čepintsi Settlement (Sofia, Bulgaria) in the Context of the Final Late Bronze Age of the Central Balkans* (str. 115–139) T. Hristova obravnava poselitvene strukture in najdbe z najdišča Čepintsi v Bolgariji ter ga primerja v nadregionalnem kontekstu. Primerjavo zgodnježeleznodobnih naselbin in grobišč v Makedoniji z naslovom *Early Iron Age Settlements in Macedonia and Their Relationship to Cemeteries* najdemo v članku A. Papazovske.

Zbornik združuje prispevke z različnimi tematikami, tudi različnih kakovosti. Videti je, da so nekateri avtorji »področja medsebojnih vplivanj« raziskovali na regionalni ravni, na podlagi analize izbranih najdišč, spet drugi so se problematike lotili širše. Pomanjkljivost dobršnega dela prispevkov je manko poglavij o metodologiji, teoretičnih pristopih oz. razlagalnih modelih, ki so ga avtorji uporabili v raziskavi in nam omogočajo – do neke mere – razložiti medsebojna vplivanja, komunikacijske mreže in stike v prazgodovinskih obdobjih, za katera nimamo pisnih virov. Zdi se, da že razprostranjenost nekaterih predmetov, pogrebnih običajev in obeležij ter njihova pojavnost velikokrat služita kot dokaz za stike, interakcije med posameznimi skupnostmi. Karte razprostranjenosti so orodje za prikaz in razlago teh stikov. Brez uporabe jasno zastavljene in opisane metodologije ter teoretičnih modelov zato umanjkajo vprašanja in pojasnila, za kakšne vrste stikov je pravzaprav šlo, kako jih razumeti, jih razložiti. Skoraj povsem spregledan je aspekt, da stiki in interakcije v povezavi z mobilnostjo ali celo migracijami lahko povzročijo tudi negativne, konfliktne posledice, na kar nas ne nazadnje opominjajo dogodki v Jugoslaviji, ki so zgodili pred tridesetimi leti.

Glede na program beograjske konference je razvidno, da so iz zbornika *Sphere of Interaction* izpadli številni referati kolegov iz Slovenije in Hrvaške. Jugovzhodnoalpski prostor je tako umeščen v območje sosednjih regij in ne Balkana samega. Če pustimo ob strani definicijo Balkanskega polotoka v geografskem smislu, njegovo mejo na skrajnem severu na reki Savi, bi si v prihodnje želeli, da bi bili članki, posvečeni zahodnemu Balkanu – z mejami ne nujno na državnih mejah – v naslednjih številkah PeBA še bolj številni. Prav tako je naša želja, da bi v prihodnje interdisciplinarni pristopi in uporaba naravoslovnih analiz v arheologiji dobili nekoliko večji odmev tudi v člankih monografij PeBA. Kakorkoli že, ideja in pobuda mlajše generacije arheologov, da dobi balkanska arheologija novo platformo za diskusijo in dialog, zaslužita velik aplavz in priznanje.

Brina Škvor Jernejčič

Desiree Ebner-Baur: *Das hallstattzeitliche Gräberfeld von Frög-Rosegg. Die Grabungen des Bundesdenkmalamtes von 1962 bis 1969*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 354. Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn 2020. ISBN 978-3-7749-4277-6. 575 strani s slikovnim in tabelarnim gradivom v besedilu ter 1 listom priloge.

V uveljavljeni seriji Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, ki jo izdaja znana nemška založba dr. Rudolfa Habelta v Bonnu, je pred nedavnim izšel 354. zvezek, v katerem je objavljena disertacija Desiree Ebner-Bauer, posvečena arheološkim izkopavanjem med letoma 1962 in 1969 na Bregu pri Rožeku (Frög/Rosegg) na Koroškem. Nastala je pod mentorstvom profesorja dr. Gerharda Tomedija na arheološkem inštitutu univerze v Innsbrucku (Institut für Archäologien, Fachbereich Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Karl-Franzens- Universität Innsbruck).

Arheološko najdišče Breg pri Rožeku, ki leži ob Dravi v zahodnem delu Rožne doline, je eponimno za halštatsko kulturno skupino na Koroškem.[1] Slavno je postalo že proti koncu 19. st., ko je tam začel gomile izkopavati baron Carl von Hauser. Prvi celostni pregled gomil in najdb s teh izkopavanj je podal 1957 Walter Modrijan v 147. zvezku Carinthie,[2] moderno objavo pa je l. 2002 predložil Gerhard Tomedi.[3] Zdaj so v novi knjigi izpod peresa Desiree Ebner-Bauer objavljena tudi izkopavanja, ki jih je izvajala avstrijska centralna spomeniško-varstvena služba v letih 1961–1969 zaradi gradnje vodnega kanala

[1] Pittioni 1954, 621–633, sl. 440–446; isti 1980/ I–1, 62–63, in 1980/I–2, 154–155; Urban 2000, 249–251; Gabrovec 1964–65, 25–26; Gleirscher 2002, 35–39, sl. 1–5; isti 2011b.

[2] Modrijan 1957. Modrijanova objava je bila izhodišče za kronološko in kulturno sliko skupine Breg/Frög v delu Teržan 1990, 183–203, sl. 48–54.

[3] Tomedi 2002; *cfr*. tudi Gleirscher 2005a.

za bližnjo elektrarno na Dravi. To delo je za stroko gotovo velika pridobitev. Njeno študijo dopolnjuje poseben dodatek o antropoloških analizah sežganih človeških ostalin iz teh breških gomil, ki jih je izvedla antropologinja Silvia Renhart (str. 570–575).

Gre za zelo obsežno in detajlno razčlenjeno delo, kar je razvidno že na prvi pogled iz vsebinskega kazala, ki bolj spominja na stvarni indeks kot na običajno knjižno kazalo. Po predgovorih in uvodu s predstavitvijo teme in najdišča sledi kratko in strnjeno poglavje o zgodovini raziskav, v katerem so nekoliko podrobneje omenjena le izkopavanja treh gomil Paula Gleirscherja med letoma 2002 in 2010 (str. 18–24).[4] Nato je predstavljen popis dokumentacije s številnimi preglednicami po posameznih kampanjah arheoloških izkopavanj med letoma 1961 in 1969 (str. 25–42), ki kaže, da je avtorica vložila v študij arhivov veliko časa in truda, a pravo mesto tega popisa bi bilo bolj smiselno bodisi v uvodu v katalоški del knjige (npr. na str. 239) ali pa v poglavju o načinu pokopavanja in oblikah grobov oz. gomil (npr. na str. 172). Poseben problem, ki ga je avtorica uspešno rešila, je bilo tudi oštevilčevanje gomil in ugotavljanje njihove točne lokacije, kajti o gomilnem grobišču na Bregu obstaja več različnih načrtov, pač glede na čas izkopavanj in raziskovalce, ki pa se med seboj povsem ne ujemajo. Tako si je avtorica poskušala pomagati tudi z laserskim skeniranjem terena, kar je pripeljalo do tega, da so skupaj našteli okrog 476 gomil (str. 43–63). Kot opozarja Paul Gleirscher, pa vsaka zabeležena vzpetinica še ni nujno tudi grobna gomila.[5] Omembe vredna je tudi priložena konkordančna lista oštevilčenja gomil iz različnih izkopavanj in načrtov ter objav, ki jo najdemo v Dodatku 1 (Appendix 1 na str. 552–569), kar je izredno dragocen doprinos k poznavanju breške nekropole.

Pričakovali bi, da bi temu poglavju o osnovni izhodiščni dokumentaciji izkopavanj in o prostorskih razsežnostih gomilnega grobišča na Bregu sledilo poglavje o načinu pokopavanja in oblikah grobov oz. gomil in njihovi zgradbi, o čemer je sicer govor šele pozneje (str. 172–215). Kajti prav od načina pokopavanja (in seveda od načina izkopavanja) je odvisna ohranjenost grobnih pridatkov in kostnih ostalin pokopanih, od tega pa je odvisna tudi njihova razpoznavnost in identifikacija. Vrstni red posameznih poglavij se ne zdi povsem logičen. Nepričakovano namreč sledi poglavje z naslovom Kronologija (str. 64–74, t. 7, sl. 52–53), ne da bi pred tem avtorica analizirala posamezne gomile oz. grobove ter njihove grobne pridatke, čemur se posveti šele v sledečih poglavjih. Pri tem »uvodnem« kronološkem pregledu se avtorica povsem opre na kronološko shemo, kot jo je leta 2002 predlagal G. Tomedi.[6] Tako razlikuje med 6 fazami, kar naj bi obsegalo čas med 9./8. in koncem 6. st. pr. n. št. Vendar se zdi nujno opozoriti, da je argumentacija za nekatere faze (in kvazi "prehodne faze", glej tudi str. 161–170, sl. 109–118) razmeroma skromna in ne vedno prepričljiva, hkrati pa gre za nepotrebno ponavljanje in podvajanje tega poglavja s poglavjem, naslovljenim kot sinteza kronologije in tipologije (str. 161–170). Pri tem naj omenim, da npr. ena fibula, kot je kačasta fibula iz gomile BDA 143 (ne iz primarnega, temveč verjetno sekundarnega groba v gomili: str. 326–330, sl. 150), še ni dokaz za obstoj celotne kronološke stopnje, kaj šele življenja na pripadajoči naselbini. Ob tem se postavlja tudi vprašanje enačenja breške 6. faze s horizontom certoških fibul v dolenjski halštatski skupini in stopnjo Sv. Lucija IIb (str. 74, sl. 54). Zaradi skromnih najdb iz tega časa ne le na Bregu, temveč širše na Koroškem, in prisotnosti nekaterih najdb skitskega porekla, kot so trirobe puščice in konjska oprema oz. psalije tipa Szentes Vekerzug,[7] smo že pred leti postavili tezo, da se je tudi Koroška, podobno kot štajersko-panonska skupina, znašla v teku 6. st. pr. n. št. v težki krizni situaciji,[8] od katere si je opomogla šele nekoliko pozneje.[9]

Poglavju o kronologiji sledi tipološka in kronološka analiza najdb iz obravnavanih gomil (str. 75–160), ki pa bi morala predstavljati pravzaprav izhodišče za kronološki prikaz, ne pa obratno – "predalčkanje" najdb oz. tipov v vnaprej postavljeno shemo (str. 161–171). Avtorica najprej obravnava keramične najdbe, kar ni bila prav lahka naloga, saj je ohranjenost keramike zelo slaba, večina posod le v fragmentarni obliki – delno tudi zato, ker so bile gomile deloma že izropane ali pa prekopane že v 19. st. Kot je dandanes moderno, je najprej predstavljen način izdelave posod, ki vključuje tudi postopke površinske obdelave (glajenje, poliranje, barvanje, grafitiranje ipd.), kovinske aplike iz svinca in brona ter različne druge načine okraševanja posod, kar da dober vpogled v raznolikost posod na Bregu, pri čemer pa ni izpeljana raziskava, ali so morda posamezni načini izdelave ali okraševanja značilni prav za določene vrste posod. Tipološka analiza posod je namreč tema šele naslednjega poglavja, pri čemer poskuša avtorica posamezne zvrsti keramike, kot so posode z visokimi stožčastimi vratovi (Kegelhalsgefässe), globoke sklede s kratkim cilindričnim vratom (bauchige Gefässe mit kurzem Hals), tako imenovani lonci (Töpfe), dvoročajne posode oz. *kanthari*, situle itd., razčleniti v številne podskupine, ki pa niso vedno prepričljive in tudi ne posebno smiselne, niti z oblikovnega niti kronološkega vidika, čeprav poskuša nekatere izmed njih podpreti tudi s statistično metodo razvrščanja v skupine – *cluster* metodo. Seveda je pri tem treba priznati, da pač vsak raziskovalec in tako tudi avtorica opredeljuje keramične forme s svojega zornega kota in glede na predhodne tipološke razvrstitve, tako se je avtorica v prvi vrsti oprla na predhodno delo Tomedija. Med tipi keramičnih posod zbujajo posebno pozornost doslej na Bregu komaj poznane oblike, kot so razne kultne posode – *pseudo-kernoi* (str. 107–108, sl. 67), tako imenovani *presentatoio* (str. 123, sl. 76) in tudi trojna posodica (str. 125, sl. 80). Ti so hkrati kazalci za stike na eni strani s kraji na obrobju vzhodnih Alp štajersko-panonskih kulturnih skupin in na drugi strani z italskim kulturnim prostorom. V zvezi s povezavami z neposrednim južnim sosedstvom, zlasti z Gorenjsko, pa naj tukaj posebej omenimo poleg posod z visokimi stožčastimi

[4] *Cfr*. Gleirscher 2002; isti 2011b.

[5] *Cfr*. Gleirscher 2021, 631.

[6] *Cfr*. tudi Gleirscher 2002, 45–47, sl. 22–24.

[7] Gleirscher 2003, 25–37, sl. 1–2, 5; isti 2007 (2009), 32–33, sl. 13, 1–11, 13–14.

[8] *Cfr*. Teržan 1990, 204–206, sl. 55; ista 1998, 518–526, 530–533, 536, t. 5, 12, 15–24; Gleirscher 2007 (2009), 25–36, sl. 13.

[9] *Cfr*. Gleirscher 2005b; isti 2008a; isti 2011a; Wedenig 2005, 19–32, sl. 4–5, 12, 18, 21–23.

vratovi predvsem dvoročajne posode – *kanthare* in sklede na visoki nogi (Standfußschalen: str. 116–120, sl. 72) ter keramične podstavke za posode (Hohler Tonständer: str. 120–123, sl. 74), ki jim najdemo dobre primerjave med grobnimi pridatki v gorenjsko-ljubljanski kulturni skupini, npr. na Bledu, v Mengšu in Ljubljani ter tudi na Molniku.[10]

Pregledu keramičnih oblik sledi tipološka predstavitev kovinskih najdb, od dodatkov nošnje, kot so igle in fibule, pa vse do orodja in orožja. Zaradi fragmentiranosti najdb je njihova opredelitev v več primerih težka in tudi vprašljiva, tako npr. bronast fragment iz groba BDA 19, kat. št. 5 ni košček igle tipa Blučina (str. 129, 260–261, sl. 133, 5), temveč del igelnice, bodisi primerka iz spektra večglavih igel ali pa igel z uvito spiralno glavico.[11] Med fibulami, med katerimi na tablah in slikah nisem zasledila v tekstu omenjene dvozankaste vozlaste fibule vaškega tipa (str. 219), vzbujajo posebno pozornost harfaste fibule z listasto razširjenim lokom, za katere kaže, da gre za lokalno koroško varianto (str. 131–133, sl. 85–86). V okviru tipologije je posebno poglavje namenjeno tudi za Breg značilnim in slavnim svinčenim figuricam, ki so v obravnavnih grobovih oz. gomilah zastopane v le majhnem številu, a so v tem poglavju pregledno zbrana različna mnenja o njihovem verjetno simbolnem pomenu (str. 144–148, sl. 95–97).[12]

V naslednjem poglavju, ki smo ga pričakovali – kot že omenjeno – pred tipološkimi in kronološkimi analizami, teče beseda o načinih pokopavanja, oblikah grobov in zgradbi gomil (str. 172–215). Opazno je, da se avtorica na eni strani po nepotrebnem zgublja v razlagi v arheologiji splošno znanih in sprejetih pojmov, na drugi strani pa nekritično prevzema razna tako imenovana teoretska razmišljanja o poteku pogrebnih obredov, od priprav preminulega za pokop do svečanosti ob pokopu in po njem. Tako zaradi preveliko besed in odvečnih ekskurzov zamegli svoja spoznanja o načinu pokopavanja in strukturi gomil na Bregu, ki so vsekakor pomembna, saj prinašajo dragocena opažanja in razlage, čeprav ne povsem neproblematične. Med drugim se zdi neustrezen termin »kolektivni grobovi« (Kollektivgräber) nasproti posameznemu grobu ali morebitnemu grobu z dvojnim pokopom, tj. hkrati dveh oseb, kajti tudi pod izrazom "kolektivni grobovi" razume avtorica posamezne grobove, in ne skupinskih, ta izraz naj bi pomenil le to, da je v eni gomili več grobov (str. 177–179, 215). Na to neustrezno poimenovanje želim opozoriti tudi zato, ker so tudi na Gorenjskem v starejši železni dobi znane gomile, ki so koroškim oz. breškim gomilam po zgradbi in načinu pokopavanja podobne oz. enake. Tako je bilo npr. v gomili na Vrtičnjaku pri Tupaličah pri Preddvoru poleg centralnega groba v zidani grobni kamri tudi več žganih grobov, pri čemer ne gre za "kolektivni pokop" več oseb hkrati, temveč za posamezne grobove verjetno ene in iste skupnosti.[13] Nenavadna se zdita tudi izraza, kot je na eni strani sežig na "privatnem" in na drugi strani »javnem« sežigališču oz. grmadi (str. 215). In kaj naj pomeni zasebni ali javni pogreb v halštatski družbi?

Morda bi lahko avtorica prišla do bolj verodostojnih zaključkov o načinu oz. načinih pokopavanja, če bi pri svojih raziskavah bolj detajlno upoštevala rezultate novejših izkopavanj gomil tako na Bregu kot na drugih najdiščih na Koroškem, ki so v njenih izvajanjih predstavljeni le lapidarno. Morda bi s tem lahko rešila tudi nekatere nerazrešene in zapletene primere pokopov na Koroškem (str. 190–192).[14]

Da so bile gomile razvrščene v večje in manjše skupine, z bolj ali manj na gosto razporejenimi gomilami, je razvidno tako na terenu kot iz vseh doslej objavljenih načrtov nekropole. Predložen poskus ugotavljanja tako imenovane horizontalne stratigrafije grobišča je zanimiv doprinos, vendar nekoliko umanjka ustrezna razlaga, načrt na str. 200, sl. 120 pa je zaradi barvno nenatančnih označb tako rekoč neberljiv oz. zelo težko preverljiv (s temno rdečo barvo so namreč označene gomile 1. faze, torej najstarejše, in tiste 5.–6. faze, torej najmlajše, hkrati pa so kartirane z različnimi, ne ravno dobro razločljivimi barvami tako imenovane vmesne faze, npr. 1.–2. faza itd., ki situacijo kvečjemu zameglijo kot osvetlijo).

V drugem delu knjige je predstavljen obsežen katalog z opisi posameznih gomil, grobov in grobnih pridatkov, kar predstavlja najpomembnejši del celotne študije. Gre za zelo natančen prikaz izkopavanj s številnimi črtnimi risbami tlorisov in profilov odkritih grobov oz. gomil, opise najdb oz. predmetov po posameznih grobovih, prav tako prikazanih na slikah s črtnimi risbami, in posebno razlago oz. interpretacijo za vsako gomilo posebej (str. 233–533). Pripomniti je treba, da sta zgradba kataloga in način podajanja zelo zapletena, kar sicer kaže na to, da se je avtorica z velikim trudom prebijala skozi arhivsko dokumentacijo, da ji je sploh uspelo izluščiti ustrezne podatke. Delo vsekakor zahteva vse priznanje in občudovanje! Vendar pa je treba pripomniti, da uporaba kataloga ni enostavna, temveč precej zamudno delo. Še težje pa se je bilo med branjem besedila dokopati do slik grobnih pridatkov, ki niso tako kot v klasičnih publikacijah zbrane na zaporedno oštevilčenih tablah ali slikah na koncu besedil (glej npr. serijo KiM ali Opera IAS), temveč so v katalogu slike z risbami predmetov razporejene med tekstom k posameznim gomilam in oštevilčene zgolj pod katalоško številko "kat. št. od 1 do 283", pri čemer pa številke slik ali vsaj strani, na katerih so slike predmetov, niso navedene! To pomeni, da v besedilu skozi celotno knjigo slike predmetov niso niti slučajno navedene, temveč so citirane le zaporedne kataloške številke (Katnr.) ne glede na to, iz katere gomile izvirajo ali na kateri strani knjige se nahajajo! Skratka, knjiga ni oblikovana prijazno do bralca, temveč zahteva od njega veliko potrpljenja in časa, če želi vsaj približno slediti izvajanju avtorice! Marsikateri bralec bo verjetno

[10] *Cfr*. v tem zvezku Arheološkega vestnika prispevke v sklopu "Gabrovčevega dne".

[11] *Cfr*. npr. Tecco Hvala 2017, 54, t. 24: 3; Marchesetti 1993, t. 23: 1, 20–21; Teržan *et al*. 1984–1985, t. 25: D1; 135: A8; 222: B1.

[12] Na tem mestu naj še enkrat opozorimo na naslednje študije: Aigner Foresti 1980, 14–19, t. 3–4; Gleirscher 2002, 49–50, sl. 27–28; isti 2004; isti 2006 (2008); isti 2011b, 87–101; Teržan 1988–89; ista 2011, 245–249, sl. 6.

[13] Glej Vojaković 2008. Glej tudi v tem zvezku Arheološkega vestnika sklop prispevkov "Gabrovčev dan".

[14] *Cfr*. Gleirscher 1997, 26–42; isti 2001, 44–45, sl. 6; isti 2002, 46–48, sl. 26; isti 2008b 28–29, sl. 5; isti 2011b, 53–55; isti 2021; isti 2022; Wedenig 2005.

obupal že na samem začetku – še preden ga bodo eventualno pritegnila nova spoznanja o breških gomilah.

Kljub nenavadni strukturi knjige in kritičnim pripombam pa naj zaključim, da predstavlja delo avtorice pomemben doprinos k poznavanju nekropole na Bregu in s tem tudi halštatske skupine na Koroškem, ki pa ji avtorica sicer neupravičeno in neutemeljeno želi odvzeti "status" samostojne kulturne skupine (str. 203). Zato naj še enkrat spomnim, da tako način pokopavanja – gomile z grobnimi kamrami, grajenimi iz kamna ali lesa, v katere so bile položene ostaline upepeljenih posameznikov, ponekod tudi več oseb, ter ob centralnem grobu morebitni sekundarni pokopi v gomilah – kot tudi pridano posodje, pogosto v obliki servisov, ki izkazuje lokalne značilnosti, ter kovinski pridatki, med katerimi niso le "internacionalne forme", temveč tudi lokalne izpeljanke določenih tipov fibul, igel in drugega nakita, še zlasti pa na stotine svinčenih figurin, nedvomno kažejo na specifično identiteto skupnosti, ki je svoje preminule pokopavala v gomilah na Bregu, in s tem posebne skupine halštatske kulture v jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru. Zato ni dvoma, da je ustaljeno poimenovanje Typus Frög ali halštatska skupina Breg/Frög še kako upravičeno in aktualno, kar je prav s svojo obširno in večplastno študijo ponovno pokazala prav avtorica sama. Morda bi bilo treba premisliti in slediti predlogu Paula Gleirscherja, ki je predlagal za starejše halštatsko obdobje oznako "Tipus Frög/Breg", za mlajše oz. pozno halštatsko obdobje pa "Typus Führholz-Waisenberg".[15]

Biba Teržan

[15] *Cfr*. Gleirscher 2002, sl. 1; isti 2005b; isti 2011b; isti 2011 a; Wedenig 2005.

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Od leta 2008 so v triletnih presledkih potekali mednarodni arheološki simpoziji v Crikvenici na Hrvaškem, kjer smo se srečevali raziskovalci rimskega lončarstva in steklarstva v širši jadranski regiji. Začetni zagon je spodbudilo odkritje rimske lončarske delavnice v v tem obmorskem kraju leta 2004. Prijetna in vedno bogato obiskana srečanja so stkala številnaa poznanstva in sodelovanja med hrvaškimi, italijanskimi, slovenskimi, madžarskimi, francoskimi in avstrijskimi arheologi. Srečanja so bila posvečena analizi odkrite lončarske delavnice in njene vloge v rimskem imperiju ter eksperimentalnim, arheometričnim, tipološkim, topografskim in distribucijskim analizam rimskega lončarstva v regiji. Pod taktirko Goranke Lipovac Vrkljan in njene ekipe mlajših sodelavcev je nastal tudi zbornik zadnjega srečanja leta 2017 z 31 prispevki.

Zbornik je razdeljen na tri glavne skupine prispevkov, med katere sicer ne spada prvi članek Martine Blečić Kavur o fibulah z izkopavanj na lokaciji Igralište v Crikvenici. Predstavljen je bil namreč že na simpoziju leta 2011 v okviru analize drobnega gradiva teh izkopavanj.

Prvi sklop prispevkov je posvečen vlogi krajinskih značilnosti, kopenskih, rečnih in pomorskih poti v lončarstvu ter distribuciji lončarskih izdelkov v rimskem času. Tako Goranka Lipovac Vrkljan, Ana Konestra in Fabian Welc analizirajo transportne poti, predvsem lokacijo pristanišča, pomorske poti in cestno infrastrukturo v zaledju crikveniške delavnice, ki so služile za razpošiljanje izdelkov po regionalnem trgu ter za organizacijo dobave surovin.

Sledi prispevek Iris Bekljanov Zidanšek, Petre Vojaković in Tine Žerjal o jantarni poti med Caput Adriae in Ljubljansko kotlino. Na podlagi uvoženih lončarskih izdelkov avtorice analizirajo zgodnjo trgovsko mrežo italskih trgovcev v poznorepublikanskem obdobju. Predstavljeno je gradivo severnojadranskih obalnih emporijev (npr. lokacije Bolniška ulica v Piranu) in postojank italskih trgovcev ob jantarni poti – kakor sta lokacija Mandrga na prelazu Okra in najdišče Stara pošta v Navportu, kjer se začenja notranja rečna komunikacija po reki Ljubljanici do prazgodovinske Emone.

Carla Corti poveže različne gospodarske dejavnosti antične Mutine (današnje Modene), npr. pridelavo volne in tkalstvo z lončarstvom, oboje izpričano v antičnih virih. Ob tem predstavi najstarejšo proizvodnjo (poznorepublikanskih) oljenk, ki posnemajo pergamonske in efeške vzore, v Campi Macri (Magreta pri Modeni), kjer so potekali letni nadregionalni sejmi živine (predvsem ovc) panitalskega pomena. Veliko trgovsko ali sejemsko religiozno središče, deloma povezano z vzhodnimi centri, kakor je Delos, je očitno dalo impulz tudi lončarstvu – v okviru tega se je razvila prodaja oljenk širših razsežnosti.

Cristina Mondin je raziskala sledi glinokopov ali zajem gline kot primarne surovine rimskega lončarstva in opekarstva v severni Italiji. Omembe v ikonografskih in literarnih antičnih virih rečnih in nižinskih glinokopov se ujemajo z novimi odkritji.

Dolgoletna arheološka izkopavanja ter dendrokronološke in antrakološke analize lončarskih peči za amfore v delavnici Loron na Hrvaškem predstavljajo glavni raziskovalci v zadnjih letih: Courinne Rousse, Christophe Vaschalde, Gaetano Benčić in Davor Munda. S popolnim izkopom četrte peči leta 2017 se je potrdilo vedenje o organizaciji delavnice in delovnih postopkih, več pozornosti je bilo namenjene strategijam nalaganja kuriva v peč in sistematičnim analizam ostankov oglja, ki so pokazale na načine pridobivanja lesa in dolžino sušenja, različne drevesne vrste ter datiranje zadnje uporabe peči v konec 3. oz. začetek 4. stoletja. To je potrdilo dosedanje raziskave amfor.

Maja Grisonic in Nikolina Stepan predstavita podvodne najdbe in raziskave v Caski in Novalji na Pagu, kjer se domneva lokalna proizvodnja amfor Dr. 6B, Dr. 2–4 in lokalnih tipov Caska 1. Lokalno proizvodnjo bi potrjevali tudi žigi na opekah in amforah oseb senatorskega ranga med cezarijanskim in tiberijskim časom, ki so omejeni na Pag.

Gradivo podvodnega rekognosciranja zalivov Havišće in Lokvišća ter rta Ertak na Jadranovem (avtorji Igor Borzić, Mate Parica, Mato Ilkić in Tea Rosić) je tipično za vzhodnojadranski areal (različne rimske amfore z odlomkom amfore Crikvenica tip 5 in srednjeveško gradivo).

Zato pa toliko bolj buri domišljijo zadnji tovor ladje z brodoloma iz začetka 2. stoletja ob otočku Sv. Petar pri Iloviku. Irena Radić Rossi in Bridget Buxton opišeta že znano sestavo z amforami z ravnim dnom, kretskimi amforami in vinskimi amforami Dr. 2–4 ter drugo keramiko, izpostavita pa izjemne kose bronastega in steklenega posodja. Z rekonstrukcijo dogodkov pred potopitvijo utemeljita domneve o povezavi z znanim bronastim kipom Apoksiomena, odkritim ob otoku Vele Orjule.

Opekarstvo je tema drugega sklopa prispevkov, ki se začenja s pregledom opekarstva in lončarskih peči v Viminaciju (Ljubomir Jevtović in Ilija Danković). Alexandra Dolea predstavi tako fakturne skupine kakor tipološke oblike opek na najdišču Labraunda v Turčiji. Ranko Starac se posveti najdišču Cickini pri Malinski na otoku Krku, kjer predstavlja zanimivost poznorimska proizvodnja stenskih opek z različnimi valovnicami in upodobitvami ptic.

Med gradivom z Velike Mrdakovice pri Šibeniku Toni Brajković predstavi žige na opekah, med katerimi prevladujejo žigi delavnic (Pansiana) iz delte Pada, na amforah, pokrovčkih za amfore, pečatnih oljenkah, sigilati in steklenicah.

V zadnji, najobsežnejši sklop spadajo preostale keramološke in steklarske analize. Armand Desbat, Valentina Mantovani, Eleni Schindler Kaudelka in Roby Stuani so raziskali povezave med izdelovalci kozarcev Aco, ki so svoje izdelke označevali z imenom Hilarvs (Aco). Z arheometričnimi analizami in kalupi so potrjene delavnice La Muette in Loyasse v Lyonu in Saint-Romain-en-Gal v Vienne v Galiji. Primerjava s primerki iz severne Italije in s Štalenske gore kaže na samostojne proizvodne obrate v Padski nižini (vsaj dva, tudi z drugačno kemično-mineraloško sestavo od ronskih izdelkov). V zadnji četrtini 1. stoletja pr. n. št. se je tako več nepovezanih lončarjev podpisovalo z istim imenom Hilarvs, ki je bilo pogosto za sužnje v rimskem svetu.

Z revizijo galske sigilate v zbirki Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia je Patrizia Donat opravila študijo oblik, žigov, figurativnih motivov in posameznih proizvodenj. Prek trgovskih poti po reki Pad so prispele južnogalske sigilate že v tiberijskem času, toda glavnina primerkov spada v neronsko-flavijski čas vse do zadnjih dveh desetletij 1. st. V prvi polovici 2. st. se jim pridruži še v manjši meri srednjegalska, medtem ko so vzhodnogalske delavnice, ki so delovale med sredino 2. in sredino 3. st., le poredko zastopane.

Valentina Mantovani predstavi na novo odkrite kontekste iz Verone s primerki trevirske keramike s kovinskim leskom (ceramica metallescente/ceramique mettalescente), kar ni pogosto na območju južno od Alp. Pokojnica v uličici Vicolo Calcirelli je pripadala veronski mestni eliti 3. stoletja z zvezami v Porenju, morda je bila priseljena.

Galske amfore v Deseti regiji analizirata Andrea Cipolato in Giuseppe Indino.

Zanimivi primerki redukcijsko žgane severnoitalske sigilate (reliefna in gladka) so povezani tudi z našim območjem. Valentina Mantovani, Eleni Schindler Kaudelka, Roby Stuani, Émilie Mannocci in Carla Corti navedejo več znanih primerkov, za katere ne moremo več le domnevati vpliva močnega ognja ali požara na stanje odkritih najdb. Čeprav pogosto skromna, se črna produkcija pojavlja med različnimi sigilatnimi produkcijami celotnega imperija (t. i. moda "rouge et noir"). Vzroki so lahko različni, v severni Italiji se v avgustejsko-tiberijskem času zadnji izdihljaji keramike s črnim premazom prepletajo oblikovno in časovno z novo modo rdeče sigilate.

Študijo številnega vzhodnosredozemskega finega posodja (vzhodna sigilata A, B, C; korintska reliefna keramika) z izkopavanj kanala Anfora leta 1988 v Akvileji sta opravili Paola Maggi in Paola Ventura. Repertoar se ujema z gradivom, ki se odkrije v agru Akvileje in Tergesta tudi v Sloveniji.

Marina Ugarković in Ranko Starac prikažeta helenistično keramiko iz poznolatenskh kontekstov, izkopanih v bližini Porta Pisana v mestu Krk. Zanimiv prikaz finega namiznega posodja z različnimi premazi od 4. do 1. st. pr. n. št. zajema odlomke južnoitalske geometrijske ali linijske keramike, rdečefiguralno keramiko (morda apulske izdelave), odlomke keramike Gnathia in druge slikane keramike, keramike s črnim premazom in njene različice keramike s sivim premazom, zgodnje keramike z rdečim premazom in reliefne helenistične keramike (italo-megarske čaše različnih proizvodenj). Veliko odlomkov omenjenih zvrsti kaže na izvor v južnem Jadranu, na območju današnje Albanije, južne Italije ter na jadranskih otokih in grških kolonijah, kakor je Issa. Najmlajši izdelki so lahko produkt delavnic s srednjeitalskih jadranskih obal ali iz severne Italije.

Namizni lonci z dvema ročajema in čašastim ustjem, znani tudi kot Hoenigtopf, iz škarta delavnice v Crikvenici so predmet raziskave Ivane Ožanić Roguljić. Analize različnih vsebin na drugih lokacijah so pokazale tudi na shrambno, morda celo transportno funkcijo posod za sadje, garum (*allec*), med idr.

Sledita kratka pregleda keramičnega gradiva iz antičnega Siculi (Ivanka Kamenjarin) in rimske vile Bunje na otoku Braču (Emmanuel Botte, Kristina Jelinčić Vučković, Ana Konestra in Ivana Ožanić Roguljić).

Zadnji sklop prispevkov je posvečen antičnemu steklu. Začenjata Tania Chinni in Enrico Cirelli s prispevkom o proizvodnji in distribuciji poznoantičnega stekla in finega posodja v pokrajini Romagna med 2. in 7. st.

Irena Lazar se posveti izjemni seriji posod intenzivno obarvanega stekla s cestne postaje Romula. Skupino karakterizirajo izredno natančni profili, izdelani s šablonami, ki posnemajo oblike sigilatnega posodja. Pojavljajo se v plasteh od avgustejskega obdobja do sredine 2. st.

Ivana Jadrić-Kučan predstavi različne steklene jagode iz amfiteatra in vojaškega tabora v Burnumu; Timka Alihodžić grob 45 zadrske nekropole s steklenim askosom; Anamarija Eterović Borzić in Igor Borzić pa grob 7 poznolatenske nekropole gradišča Kopoila na otoku Korčula, v katerem so našli droben balzamarij in številne steklene jagode (datirane v čas med 3. in 1. stoletjem pr. n. št.).

Knjigo zaključujeta prispevek Bartula Šiljega in Kristine Turkalj o steklenih najdbah z najdišča Lokvišče (pri Jadranovem) ter predstavitev Monike Petrović o izkušnjah konserviranja in restavriranja arheološkega stekla v Arheološkem muzeju Istre v Puli.

Tina Žerjal

Emilio Marin, Marc Mayer, Gianfranco Paci: *Corpus inscriptionum Naronitarum II.* Ichnia 15. Macerata, Edizioni TORED 2020. ISBN 978-88-9846-40-4. 550 str. ter številne fotografije in karte.

V uveljavljeni monografski seriji Univerze v Macerati, *Ichnia*, je pred tremi leti izšla druga knjiga rimskih napisov pomembnega rimskega mesta v Dalmaciji, Narone (Vid pri Metkoviću), ki je bilo že v času pred prihodom Rimljanov pomemben grški emporij. Prva knjiga, objavljena 21 let pred to, obravnava napise, vzidane v Erešev stolp (E. Marin, M. Mayer, G. Paci, I. Rodà, *Corpus inscriptionum Naronitarum I: Erešova kula – Vid*, Macerata, Split 1999). Ta stolp je dal zgraditi v prvi polovici 19. stoletja župnik v Vidu, don Bariša Ereš, v njem je vzidanih med drugim ok. 40 bolj ali manj poškodovanih rimskih spomenikov z napisi. V pričujoči korpus (za katerega avtorji predlagajo kratico *CIN* II) so vključeni tudi spomeniki z napisi iz sosednjih krajev, poleg Metkovića še iz Desna, Opuzena in Čitluka, saj so jih za razne srednjeveške in moderne gradnje pripeljali iz Narone. Njihovo objavo so omogočili poleg Univerze v Macerati še Arheološki muzej Split, Arheološki muzej Narona, Univerza v Barceloni in Hrvaška katoliška univerza. Knjiga je napisana v italijanščini razen uvoda, ki je dvojezičen, italijanski in hrvaški. Napisi, najdeni v Naroni in njenem zaledju do začetka 20. stoletja, so bili objavljeni v največji zbirki rimskih napisov imperija, ki jo je utemeljil Theodor Mommsen: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), napisi, odkriti po *CIL*-u in do leta 1986, pa v treh zvezkih Ane in Jaroslava Šašla, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos ... repertae et editae sunt*, v Situli 5, 19 in 25, Ljubljana 1963, 1978 in 1986 (*ILJug*). Ti spomeniki z napisi so v korpusu naronskih napisov ponovno objavljeni s fotografijo, natančnim opisom in komentarjem, veliko pa je novih, ki so bili pred tem pogosto objavljeni v manj dostopnih publikacijah.

Prvi grški trgovci in raziskovalci Jadranske obale so emporij postavili na desnem bregu ob spodnjem toku reke Neretve, ki se je v antiki imenovala Naron in po kateri je mesto dobilo ime. Naselje se je v času rimske republike od 2. stoletja pr. Kr. razvilo v eno večjih in pomembnih rimskih mest, ki je že v času Cezarja postalo rimska kolonija (*colonia Iulia*). Na to kaže dejstvo, da je mesto upravljal odbor štirih mož (*quattuorviri*), meščani pa so pripadali volilnemu okrožju *Tromentina*, značilnemu za mesta, ki jim je pravice rimske kolonije podelil Cezar. Lokalno avtohtono prebivalstvo je bilo v veliki meri potisnjeno v ozadje: eden mestnih uradnikov, osvobojenec, nosi ime Epicadus, morda gre za ‚ilirsko' ime. Zelo verjetno so tudi tu v času republike delovali, podobno kot v Navportu (Vrhnika), vaški načelniki, *magistri vici*. V Naroni je bilo odkopano razmeroma veliko svetišče vladarskega kulta, *Augusteum*, odkrito leta 1995 in eno najbolje ohranjenih v imperiju (zdaj je v njem muzej), mesto pa je bilo tudi večje zgodnjekrščansko središče.

Napisi (vseh je 252) so v knjigi razdeljeni po vrstnem redu, ki je v epigrafskih publikacijah ustaljen: najprej so obravnavana posvetila bogovom in boginjam ter drugi votivni napisi, teh je 54. Sledijo vladarski napisi, napisi senatorjev in funkcionarjev v službi imperija ter vojaški napisi. Preostali napisi omenjajo mestne uradnike in svečenike ter javna dela, največ pa je nagrobnikov, ki so pripadali meščanom in drugim prebivalcem mesta.

Vsak napis, razen če je izgubljen in ni bil nikdar objavljen s sliko, je opremljen s fotografijo ali risbo, s podrobnim opisom, seznamom objav, v katerega so vključene tudi objave v elektronskih bazah napisov, in s komentarjem, ki je dvojen. Komentirane so tako slovnične posebnosti latinskega besedila kot vsebina napisa in morebitne paralele z drugih napisov imperija. Zadnja postavka je datacija napisa – ta je včasih zelo točna (po konzulih ali visokih državnih uradnikih), v večini primerov pa zanjo ni dovolj elementov in je lahko le približna. Vsi napisi so prevedeni v italijanščino, kar je nujno, saj bodo knjigo uporabljali tudi tisti, ki latinščine ne obvladajo; prevodi latinskih napisov v korpusih sicer še pred nekaj desetletji niso bili pravilo.

Med napisi, posvečenimi božanstvom, bi omenila štiri posvetila bogu zdravja in zdravilstva Eskulapu, zavetniku zdravnikov, ki je dvakrat zapisan kot *Aesclapius*, morda pod vplivom grške oblike njegovega imena, *Asclepios*. V enem primeru je bil počaščen skupaj s svojo družico, boginjo zdravja Higijo (*Hygia*). Dve posvetili sta bili postavljeni za Dioskura, polbrata dvojčka Kastorja in Poluksa, ki sta veljala za zavetnika mornarjev. Sledi posvetilo Cereri, boginji, ki je bedela nad poljedelstvom in ki so ji za njen praznik žrtvovali piro in brejo svinjo. Med drugimi božanstvi je treba omeniti povsod čaščeno boginjo narave, živalstva in lova Diano, z ženskim svetom povezano boginjo Junono, največ posvetil pa je bilo postavljenih, kot skoraj povsod po imperiju, za vrhovnega boga Jupitra, nekaj tudi za Jupitra Dolihenskega, čigar kult se je po imperiju razširil z njegovega vzhodnega dela. V Naroni je stalo tudi svetišče Očeta Libera (*Liber Pater*), boga vinogradništva in plodnosti, ki je bil v mestu, kot kažejo številna posvetila, med zelo priljubljenimi bogovi. Nič manj pomemben je bil kult Merkurija, boga trgovine in trgovanja, ki je v mestu morda nadaljeval kult grškega Hermesa. Prebivalci so častili tudi Neptuna, Nimfe, Saturna, Silvana in Venero, gotovo pa še druga božanstva, katerih posvetila se niso ohranila. Številna so tudi posvetila božanskemu Avgustu in drugim rimskim cesarjem, kar ne preseneča, saj je bil vladarski kult do prevlade krščanstva v Naroni zelo pomemben. Zanimivi sta dve lepi plošči iz apnenca s posvetilom božanskemu Avgustu in Tiberiju, ki so ga postavili veterani bližnje vasi (*pagus Scunasticus*) v zahvalo za to, da jim je mesto Narona dalo polja.

Eden najbolj zanimivih napisov v korpusu je počastitveni za Oktavijana, bodočega cesarja Avgusta, postavljen najverjetneje še leta 36 ali pa na začetku leta 37 pr. Kr., po bitki pri Navlohu (*Naulochus*) pred Sicilijo, v kateri je Oktavijanov admiral Mark Vipsanij Agripa 3. septembra leta 36 pr. Kr. odločilno premagal Seksta Pompeja, sina Cezarjevega nasprotnika Pompeja. Ker je spomenik poškodovan, ni gotovo, čemu natančno je bil namenjen, morda je šlo za bazo. Dala sta ga postaviti brata Gaj Papij Cels (*C. Papius Celsus*) in Mark Papij Kanus (*M. Papius Kanus*), najverjetneje trgovca, ki sta že v Cezarjevem času delovala precej daleč v zaledju Jadranske obale, v tistem delu Dalmacije, ki takrat še ni bil pod rimsko oblastjo. Obalni del Dalmacije so ogrožala sovražna ljudstva, ki jih je nato v letih 35 in 34 pr. Kr. Oktavijan premagal, kot natančno popisuje grški zgodovinar Apijan. V svetišču vladarskega kulta (*Augusteum*) je bila najdena neokrašena baza za kip iz črnega kamna, posvečena božanskemu Avgustu. Kmalu po Avgustovi smrti 19. avgusta leta 14 po Kr. in po tem, ko je senat cesarja 17. septembra razglasil za božanskega, jo je dal postaviti konzul Publij Dolabela (*P. Dolabella*), upravitelj province Ilirik.

Med nagrobniki je nekaj zelo lepih in tudi zanimivih, bodisi glede na ikonografijo bodisi zaradi vsebine napisov. V mesto se je naselilo veliko veteranov, tako med drugimi Publij Lastus Sceva (*P. Lastus Scaeva*) iz Florentije (Firenze), ki je bil konjenik v Sedmi Klavdijevi legiji. Ob smrti je bil star šestdeset let, vojsko je služil trideset let, nagrobnik pa je dal postaviti zase in za svoje tri sužnje, ki jih je pred smrtjo osvobodil. Omenila bi še dva nagrobna napisa. Prvi je vklesan na lepo okrašeno stelo, ki jo krasi portret pokojnika, upodobljen v niši med dvema pilastroma; nad nišo je v zatrepu izklesana rozeta, pod njo pa je uokvirjeno polje z napisom. Nagrobnik je dala postaviti nesrečna mati skupaj z očetom, nesrečnim starcem (njuno ime ni omenjeno), za sinova Gaja Publicija Romana (*C. Publicius Romanus*), ki je bil mestni svetnik in je umrl pri tridesetih letih, in Gaja Licinija Ekspektata (*C. Licinius Expectatus*) ter za pet let staro vnukinjo, ki so ji dali nenavadno ime Ilurika oz. Ilirika (*Publicia Ilurica*). Ime je torej dobila po deželi, v kateri so živeli, Ilirik. Ilirik je bil razdeljen na provinci Dalmacijo in Panonijo. Izpoveden je tudi nagrobni napis, posvečen božanskim duhovom umrlih (*Dis Manibus*). Vklesati ga je dal Artorij Felicisim (*Artorius Felicissimus*) za zelo predano ženo Emilijo Barbaro (*Aemilia Barbara*), ki je z njim živela šestinpetdeset let in pri kateri ni našel nobenega madeža. Zahvaljujoč njeni podpori se je lahko preselil iz Salone ... Nenavaden napis na žalost ni v celoti ohranjen.

Katalog napisov s komentarji zaključujejo tri pomembna poglavja. V prvem avtorji obravnavajo zgodovino nastanka mesta Narone in njegovo administrativno ureditev, v drugem jezikovne posebnosti napisov, v tretjem pa paleografijo napisov in kriterije njihove datacije. Sledijo zelo obsežna bibliografija, seznam fotografij, razčlenjeni epigrafski indeksi in kratko zaključno poglavje. V knjigi nisem opazila nobenih napak. Drugi zvezek napisov iz Narone je pomembna publikacija, ki prinaša veliko novega s področja upravne zgodovine rimske Dalmacije in posebno Narone, predvsem pa je pomemben doprinos k rimski onomastiki in prozopografiji.

Marjeta Šašel Kos

Janka Istenič, Anja Ragolič: *Roman Military Decoration Torques: literary, epigraphic, representational and archaeological evidence – Rimsko vojaško odlikovanje torkves: literarni, epigrafski in archeološki viri ter upodobitve*, Katalogi in monografije 46 – Catalogi et monographiae 46, Narodni Muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana 2023. ISBN 978-961-6981-67-5. 198 pagine, 90 illustrazioni, 2 tavole.

Nel 361 a.C., durante una delle tante azioni militari che Roma dovette condurre per contrastare le incursioni dei guerrieri celtici stanziati nella valle del Po – che periodicamente si spingevano a sud degli Appennini – il giovane Tito Manlio, figlio di Lucio Manlio Capitolino (console nel 363 a.C.), affrontò e uccise in duello un campione avversario dalla corporatura eccezionalmente robusta. Come narra Livio (*Ab Urbe condita*, VII, 10):

"…il romano, tenendo alta la punta della spada, colpì col proprio scudo la parte bassa di quello dell›avversario; poi, insinuatosi tra il corpo e le armi di quest'ultimo in modo tale da non correre il rischio di essere ferito, con due colpi sferrati uno dopo l'altro gli trapassò il ventre e l'inguine facendolo stramazzare a terra, disteso in tutta la sua mole. Tito Manlio si astenne dall'infierire sul corpo del nemico crollato al suolo, limitandosi a spogliarlo del solo *torques*, che indossò a sua volta, coperto com'era di sangue…"

È questo il "mito di fondazione" di una delle più ambite decorazioni al valor militare del mondo romano: perché Tito Manlio assunse subito il *cognomen ex virtute* di *Torquatus*, che trasmise orgogliosamente ai propri discendenti, trasformando così quel particolare oggetto strappato al nemico in un simbolo pubblico di eroismo. Di lì a qualche tempo – non sappiamo esattamente quanto, per la verità – si affermò non soltanto l'uso di spogliare i cadaveri nemici dei loro *torques*, che i guerrieri celtici indossavano abitualmente, ma di concederli a singoli combattenti o a interi reparti come premio per essersi distinti in battaglia.

Se si esclude l'attribuzione di ben 83 *torques* a Lucio Siccio Dentato, "l'Achille romano", secondo la tradizione eletto tribuno della plebe nel 454 a.C. (un evento eccezionale che precederebbe di quasi un secolo l'episodio di Tito Manlio, ma è tramandato soltanto da Dionigi di Alicarnasso, e quindi molto sospetto), la prima testimonianza epigrafica della presenza di un *torques* tra i *dona militaria* riguarda la *turma Salluitana*, un reparto di cavalleria ispanica alla quale nell'89 a.C. vennero concesse la cittadinanza romana e varie altre decorazioni (*CIL* VI 37045). Per rivedere qualcosa di simile bisogna aspettare quasi mezzo secolo: nel 45 a.C., infatti, Giulio Cesare – dopo aver sconfitto Sesto Pompeo – premiò con un *torques* il comandante della *turma Cassiana* (*Bell. Hisp.* 26).

"During the Principate", come scrive Valerie A. Maxfield nel suo fondamentale saggio *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (Berkeley – Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1981, 87), "the *torques* was regarded as one of the lesser decorations, and formed part of the combination of awards given to men of the rank of centurion and below. It was never again won by more senior officers", ma il suo uso è comunque ben attestato fino al III secolo, quando l'intero sistema dei *dona militaria* venne progressivamente abbandonato in favore di donativi in denaro. Anche il caso della *turma Salluitana* non rimase isolato, perché intere unità (soprattutto coorti o *alae* di ausiliari, a quanto sembra) vennero insignite del *torques*, assumendo il *cognomen* di *torquatae* (anche se non vi sono prove che venisse loro consegnato l'oggetto, e che lo aggiungessero al loro *signum*).

Una caratteristica fondamentale dei *dona militaria* romani era il valore simbolico e non materiale, ma nel caso del *torques* non vi è certezza sul metallo utilizzato per la loro manifattura: Plinio il Vecchio (*Nat. hist.* 33.37) parla di *torques* in argento destinati ai cittadini romani, mentre quelli d'oro sarebbero stati riservati ai *peregrini*, ovvero a chi militava tra gli *auxilia*: ma non vi è alcuna altra testimonianza che possa confermare questa distinzione.

Siamo invece piuttosto sicuri del fatto che fosse stata abbandonata la loro funzione ornamentale di "anelli da collo": i *torques* romani, di dimensioni minori rispetto agli originali (il *torques* rinvenuto nel letto del fiume Ljubljanica, ad esempio, che ha ispirato la realizzazione del catalogo di Janka Istenič e Anja Ragolič, ha misure interne di appena 115 × 75 mm, confermate da quelle di altri reperti simili), venivano portati sospesi al di sotto della clavicola, fissati a un laccio di cuoio o un nastro di tessuto che passava dietro alla testa, e per questo venivano di norma concessi in coppia.

La più celebre rappresentazione di *torques* e del modo di indossarli è il ritratto di *M. Caelius Titi filius*, della tribù Lemonia, originario di Bologna, *primipilo* della XVIII legione, caduto assieme ai suoi uomini nella *clades Variana* (la disfatta subita dall'esercito di Quintilio Varo nel 9 d.C. nella selva di Teutoburgo, circa 150 chilometri a est di Castra Vetera, oggi Xanten; *CIL* XIII 8648). La memoria dell'anziano combattente – Marco Celio aveva 53 anni, e aveva raggiunto come primo centurione della prima coorte il massimo grado del centurionato – venne celebrata dal fratello Publio con un imponente cenotafio in cui il *primipilus* viene raffigurato in quella che potremmo definire la sua alta uniforme, affiancato da due liberti: nella mano destra stringe la verga di legno di vite (*vitis*), simbolo del suo rango, mentre il capo è cinto dalla *corona civica*, il premio che spettava a chi aveva salvato un cittadino romano in battaglia; sulla parte frontale della corazza si contano poi cinque *phalerae* (una sesta è coperta dalla mano del centurione), e sotto le clavicole spiccano due *torques* sospesi a quella che sembra una spessa fascia di tessuto. I *torques* sono realizzati con estrema cura, e val la pena di riportare per esteso la descrizione che nel catalogo accompagna le belle immagini della stele, conservata al Rheinisches Landesmuseum di Bonn: "the body of the *torques* is decorated with regularly (symmetrically?) distributed droplets oriented with the tip toward the centre (*i.e.* away from the terminals); the bodies thicken evenly from the midpoint toward the contiguous and slightly expanded terminals".

La concessione in coppia dei *torques* è confermata da altre fonti epigrafiche, alcune di grande interesse storico, come la più rozza stele tombale di Tiberio Claudio Massimo, *eques* della VII legione sotto Domiziano, poi *explorator* dell'*ala secunda Pannoniorum*, due volte decorato al valore durante la guerra dacica e la campagna contro i Parti (*ob virtutem bis donis donatum bello Dacico et Parthico*), promosso al rango di *decurio* della stessa unità da Traiano, protagonista della cattura del re Decebalo (M. Speidel, *The captor of Decebalus. A new inscription fron Philippi*, JRS 60, 1970, 142–153), infine congedato con onore (*honesta missio*) da Decimo Terenzio Scauriano, governatore della nuova provincia di Mesopotamia: al di sotto del bassorilievo che lo raffigura a cavallo mentre travolge un nemico, Tiberio Claudio Massimo fece scolpire due *torques* e due *armillae* (bracciali), il cui significato di ricompense *ob virtutem* doveva essere evidentemente ben noto a tutti.

Come già ricordato, il saggio di Valerie Maxfield resta ottima base di partenza per lo studio dei *dona militaria*: ma il catalogo curato da Janka Istenič e Anja Ragolič per il Museo Nazionale di Lubiana rappresenta un contributo di eccezionale valore scientifico, che consente di approfondire in maniera fino ad oggi impensabile le nostre conoscenze sui *torques*, e segna la strada da seguire in futuro per altre categorie di oggetti analoghi. Condotto con grande rigore metodologico, *Roman Military Decoration Torques* presenta prima di tutto una attenta analisi delle fonti letterarie, seguita da una altrettanto accurata rassegna delle testimonianze epigrafiche superstiti, suddivise tra le attestazioni di attribuzioni collettive a unità combattenti ("Military units decorated with *torques*", con lista delle dieci *cohortes* e *alae* interessate) e quelle di "Individuals decorated with *torques*", queste ultime suddivise poi per tipologia della fonte (iscrizini votive, funerarie, onorifiche, diplomi militari ecc.), epoca del conferimento e tipologia dei reparti di appartenenza. A questa sezione che potremmo definire testuale, curata da Anja Ragolič, segue quella archeologica curata invece da Janka Istenič, riccamente corredata da immagini di ottima qualità, anch'essa suddivisa in due capitoli ("*Torques* in relief depictions" e "Archaeological evidence"); infine, l'opera è conclusa da un capitolo sulla concessione di singoli *torques* durante il Principato (a sua volta suddiviso in testimonianze letterarie, epigrafiche e archeologiche, di Janka Istenič).

Da studioso della guerra antica, non posso che esprimere la mia gratitudine per un lavoro che permette di comprendere in maniera scientificamente solida e impeccabilmente documentata l'importanza, la diffusione e il significato di un oggetto che ha accompagnato l'esercito romano per almeno tre dei secoli più affascinanti della sua storia.

Gastone BRECCIA

William St Clair: *Who Saved the Parthenon? A New History of the Acropolis Before, During and After the Greek Revolution*, Open Book Publishers, Cambridge 2022. ISBN Paperback: 978-1-78374-461-9, ISBN Digital (PDF): 978-1-78374-463-3, DOI: 10.11647/OBP.0136. 878 str. s številnimi reprodukcijami risb in kart.

Pred nami je izjemno obsežno delo britanskega zgodovinarja Williama St. Claira (1937–2021). Izšlo je leto po njegovi smrti, v končno verzijo sta ga oblikovala urednika David St. Clair in Lucy Barnes March.

William St. Clair, predavatelj na številnih univerzah v Veliki Britaniji, član Britanske akademije znanosti, v zadnjih desetletjih sodelavec Inštituta za angleške študije Univerze v Londonu, je bil eminenten britanski zgodovinar, čigar raziskovalno obzorje sega od preučevanja klasične antike, angleške literarne zgodovine, kulturne zgodovine romantike pa vse do zgodovine knjige in branja, suženjstva ter tudi zgodovine družinskih in osebnih biografij. Mimogrede, William St. Clair je bil tudi eden najbolj gorečih zagovornikov odprtega dostopa do znanstvene literature, kar je v zadnjem desetletju in pol uspešno promoviral prav prek založbe Open Book Publishers.

V njegovi obsežni bibliografiji, ki je nastajala skoraj šestdeset let, je, kot že rečeno, zelo veliko različnih tem, a posebno mesto zasedata atenska Akropola in Partenon. S Partenonom je začel (*Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, 1967) in tudi zaključil (*Who Saved the Parthenon*, 2022) svoj izjemen opus in k njemu se je med svojo kariero vedno vračal. Takoj naj povemo, William St. Clair ni bil zgodovinar antičnega Partenona in Aten, temveč predvsem preučevalec zgodovine branja in instrumentalizacije klasičnih starin v zadnjih treh stoletjih.

Delo ima skupaj s prilogami skoraj 900 strani. Že obseg jasno priča, da je študija nastajala več desetletij, ta pa pomeni tudi svojevrsten obračun St. Claira s Partenonom in nami, ki z njim živimo in ga "uživamo" na različne načine. Medtem ko je naslov knjige morda zavajajoč oziroma obeta neposredne odgovore o reševanju Partenona, nam podnaslov (*A New History of the Acropolis Before, During and After the Greek Revolution*) veliko bolj jasno predstavi avtorjev cilj. Monografijo sestavlja kar petindvajset poglavij in jo zaključuje šest dodatkov, predvsem prevodov oz. ponatisov pomembnih dokumentov (sultanovih fermanov, diplomatskih pisem in korespondenco drugih pomembnih zgodovinskih protagonistov ter vrsto manj znanih in težje dosegljivih besedil, objavljenih v 19. stoletju). Na tem mestu moramo še posebej opomniti na številne grafične priloge, predvsem reprodukcije starih vedut in spomenikov – teh je kar 195 in bistveno dopolnjujejo branje tega dela.

O zgodovini Partenona in atenske Akropole v zadnjih treh stoletjih je bilo napisanega že veliko. Vsem je znano kontroverzno dejanje Thomasa Brucea (Lorda Elgina), ki je na začetku 19. stoletja služboval kot britanski ambasador v Konstantinoplu. Po koncu precej uspešnega diplomatskega mandata mu je kot zasebniku uspelo pridobiti dovoljenje osmanskih oblasti, da je odnesel velik del arhitekturnega okrasa Partenona in drugih predmetov z Akropole v Britanijo, ti so pozneje postali last Britanskega muzeja. Elginovo dejanje je že v tistem času močno razburilo javnost v Evropi in še danes vznemirja številne po svetu.

Mimogrede, St. Clair je bil zelo glasen zagovornik vrnitve Elginovih marmorjev Grčiji.

Toda knjiga ne govori o tem, vsaj ne neposredno, St. Claira zanima nekaj drugega – ne zgodovina Partenona kot objekta, temveč zgodovina pogleda (*view, gaze*) na Partenon in grško antiko oziroma zgodovina pomenov Partenona, ki so jih različni protagonisti ustvarjali v obdobju po razsvetljenstvu. Partenon je, potem ko je nehal biti Atenin oz. Minervin tempelj, doživljal velike spremembe tako arhitekturno kot vsebinsko. V njem je bila zgrajena zgodnjebizantinska cerkev, pozneje tudi džamija, sama Akropola pa je tisoč in več let, praktično vse do konca grške osvobodilne vojne (1833), delovala predvsem kot vojaška utrdba. St. Clair v tem vidi bogat arzenal zgodovine konfliktnih konjunktur "konzumacije" Partenona, od katerih ga najbolj zanima obdobje neposredno pred in med grško vojno za neodvisnost (1821–1833) ter takoj po njej.

Izhajajoč iz številnih novih oz. revidiranih zgodovinskih virov, predvsem otomanskih, skuša zgraditi iz obsežne množice malih in partikularnih zgodb ter fragmentov, povezanih z različnimi etničnimi, religioznimi, političnimi in drugimi skupnostmi, ki so sobivale v Atenah, mozaično podobo pogledov na antiko in spremembe pogledov, ki so se zgodile prav v kontekstu grške osvobodilne vojne. Pogledi so metaforično in dobesedno dopolnjeni z bogatim grafičnim gradivom. In teh pogledov ni malo, predvsem pa niso vsi harmonizirani in tudi ne delujejo na istih valovnih dolžinah. Že pogledi turških mestnih in državnih oblasti se razlikujejo, tu je še pogled vojakov v utrdbi na Akropoli, nato pogled grške pravoslavne cerkve, ki se močno razlikuje od pogleda grških osvoboditeljev, spet drugače vidijo Partenon in Akropolo druge etnične in religiozne skupnosti v Atenah, in ne nazadnje je tu tudi pogled Zahoda. In tudi ta ni en sam, drugače gledajo in tolmačijo antiko katoliška cerkev, protestantska cerkev, politika različnih evropskih velesil, poraja se filhelensko gibanje …

St. Clair se naloge loti zelo ambiciozno, ne samo z vidika obsega virov, temveč tudi postavljanja lastnega pogleda. Pri tem skuša čim celoviteje predstaviti številne različne okoliščine in konjunkture, ki so oblikovale različne poglede. V prvih devetih poglavjih predstavlja zgodovinsko in družbeno ozadje dogodkov, ki so vodili v grško osvobodilno bojno, v naslednjih poglavjih pa bistvene teme, ki so označile zgodovino Partenona v zadnjih treh stoletjih. St. Clair začne s predstavitvijo naravnega okolja Aten ter danosti za življenje in gospodarstvo njenih prebivalcev, urbanega razvoja mesta, etnične strukture in oblik sobivanja, številnih elementov vsakdanjega življenja, oblačil ipd. in tudi različnih oblik sobivanja z grškimi starinami. To nas napeljuje na neke vrste braudelovsko idejo dolgoročne in srednjeročne zgodovine, a St. Claira bi težko označili za braudelovskega zgodovinarja v pravem pomenu besede, saj ne skuša eksplicitno utemeljiti zgodovinskih struktur in iz njih neposredno izpeljevati zgodovine oseb in dogodkov, a je pri analizi različnih pogledov, ki jih predstavlja St. Clair vendarle zaznati tudi braudelovski element. Vsi pogledi v veliki meri odražajo tudi moč tradicij, ki so jih oblikovale in usmerjale tudi vnaprej. Ena takih, ki je za nas še posebej zanimiva, je providencializem (zahodne) krščanske tradicije, po katerem je vsa zgodovina dokončno osmišljena pri Bogu. St. Clair v providencializmu vidi eno najstarejših razlag na Zahodu, zakaj je po antiki nastopilo krščanstvo, zakaj so poganski spomeniki v ruševinah in kakšen je bil njihov namen – etapa do pravega krščanstva.

St. Clairova nova zgodovina Partenona z novimi viri dejansko razkriva marsikaj novega ali do zdaj slabo znanega, predvsem pa jasno izpostavlja kritiki vrsto že ustaljenih pripovedi in tudi stereotipov; St. Clair številnim znanim dogodkom in dejanjem daje boljši kontekst in nove dimenzije. Tako je zelo jasno pokazal na zelo zadržan odnos grške pravoslavne cerkve do novih nacionalnih simbolov grške osamosvojitve – templjev poganskega časa –, s katerimi naj bi krščanstvo že opravilo. Pokaže jasne namene in logiko turških oblasti, ki so sprejele vrsto ukrepov za zaščito antičnih spomenikov. Kljub prepovedi čaščenja podob so bili antični spomeniki med drugim očitno zelo pomembni za oblasti zahodnih krščanskih držav in so lahko bili dober pogajalski adut. Morejski (peloponeški) paša je dal leta 1809 prevesti Pavzanija v grški jezik in tako ponudil evropskim raziskovalcem svojevrsten vodnik po starih krajih v Grčiji, ki jih po pašinih besedah "tako radi obiskujejo". Na začetku vidijo običajni pravoslavni Atenci močno povečano skrb Zahoda za Partenon in druge grške starine kot nekaj, kar jim vsiljuje Zahod in nima veliko opraviti z njihovimi kulturnimi tradicijami. St. Clair jasno pokaže na licemernost trditev britanskih oblasti, da sta bila odkup in prenos spomenikov iz Partenona in Akropole dejanje njihove zaščite pred propadanjem in brezbrižnostjo otomanskih oblasti.[1] V nasprotju s tem St. Clair navaja številne primere zahodnih popotnikov, topografov in diplomatov, ki so obiskali Akropolo in se čudili njeni ohranjenosti po več kot dveh tisočletjih. Elginovo "reševanje" je zaustavil šele francoski konzul, ki je pri turških oblasteh dosegel, da so Elginu preklicali dovoljenje. Takšnih epizod, iz katerih lahko izvemo precej novega, je v knjigi zelo veliko in jih na tem mestu ni mogoče vseh omeniti, so pa pomembne, saj nam dajejo veliko bolj celovito sliko.

Seveda ima pri St. Clairu posebno mesto filhelenizem in z njim povezan porajajoči se moderni grški nacionalizem, ki je doživel prvo kulminacijo z grško osvobodilno vojno. Kot navaja St. Clair, je prvi dokument, ki govori o simbolnem pomenu antike za nastajajočo grško nacijo, peticija, ki jo je grška diaspora naslovila na rusko cesarico Katarino Veliko leta 1790 s prošnjo, da pomaga osvoboditi Grke od turške oblasti. Grška diaspora je na splošno bila pomemben dejavnik v ustvarjanju politične klime za osvobodilno vojno. Grki v zahodnih državah so bili v veliko bolj tesnem stiku z razsvetljenskimi in nacionalističnimi idejami kot večina domačega grškega prebivalstva, ki je bila še vedno pod močnim vplivom pravoslavne cerkve. Po besedah Antimosa, patriarha grške pravoslavne cerkve, je Osmansko cesarstvo ustvaril Bog, da zaščiti prave kristjane pred razkolniško katoliško cerkvijo. Patriarhi so

[1] Partenon in Akropola sta doživela velike arhitekturne transformacije že v bizantinskem cesarstvu s kristjanizacijo, ko so bili na mestu starih zgrajeni novi objekti, veliko glavno škodo pa leta 1687, ko je beneški dož Francesco Morosini ukazal topovsko obstreljevanje Aten in je eksplodirala smodnišnica, ki jo je turška vojska imela v Partenonu. Po osvojitvi Aten je Morosini hotel odpeljati vrsto kipov iz Akropole, a so bili ti zaradi nespretnosti uničeni.

tudi javno obsojali uvažanje zahodnega razsvetljenstva in knjig s takimi idejami (str. 50). Neohelenizem se zato začne razvijati najprej pri grški diaspori, na začetku kot literarno gibanje, kmalu pa tudi kot politično, ki vse bolj načrtno črpa navdihe iz antične zgodovine. Toda nesprejemanje antične dediščine in pripovedi o antičnih prednikih se je ohranjalo še desetletja po osvobodilni vojni. St. Clair navaja zapis Seniorja Nassaua, angleškega diplomata, ki mu je neimenovani grški književnik zatrjeval, da je njihov glavni tempelj Hagija Sofija in ne Partenon (str. 333).

Osvobodilna vojna je vendarle označevala bistveni prelom, saj po njej postane ideja kontinuitete z antičnimi Grki glavna ideološka podlaga neohelenskega nacionalizma, Partenon pa glavni simbol nove identitete. Medtem ko so prej številni lokalni, tudi grški oblastniki prodajali antične starine na Zahod, je nova nacionalna oblast poslej začela zahtevati njihovo vrnitev. V ustvarjanju neohelenske nacionalne identitete je pomembno vlogo imel zahodni filhelenizem, kjer najdemo, začenši z razvpitim Byronom, številna znana literarna, filozofska in znanstvena imena, ki so ustvarjala ne samo to, kar lahko imenujemo zahodni pogled na klasično Grčijo, temveč so takšen pogled na staro Grčijo na različne načine instrumentalizirali v svojih državah, najbolj izrazito v izobraževanju.[2]

Kot eno od pomembnih predhodnic filhelenizma St. Clair vidi tudi novo znanost o antiki, ki začne nastajati iz renesančnih idej. V tej novi znanosti najdejo mesto epigrafika, numizmatika, zgodovina arhitekture, topografija, umetnostna zgodovina, arheologija. Značilnost nove znanosti so drugačni viri, predvsem materialni, ki lahko močno dopolnijo in marsikje sežejo tudi dlje od pisnih virov zgodovine. Tako je grška antika, čeprav fizično še ne ravno dostopna, že v 17. stoletju ena glavnih tem nove znanosti, ki naredi korak naprej od antikvarske misli renesančne Evrope. St. Clair kot enega osrednjih protagonistov nove znanosti vidi Jacoba Spona (1647–1685), ki v kritični diskusiji s podobnimi preučevalci antike postopno začrtuje obrise nove znanosti. Ta del knjige je še posebej zanimiv za zgodovino arheologije, ne samo klasične, saj nam razkriva nekatere od osnovnih idej, ki so oblikovale sodobno arheološko misel.

Naslednja pomembna konjunktura, ki je močno označila zahodni pogled na Partenon (in številne druge klasične spomenike), je za St. Claira estetika romantike. Zgodnejša dela o Partenonu ter drugih klasičnih spomenikih in krajih so bila pisana iz oči topografov in filozofskih izhodišč, v 18. stoletju pa se jim priključi estetizirani pogled, k čemur so veliko prispevale tudi različne slikarske in grafične stvaritve z motivi antičnih spomenikov in krajin. Glavna ideja je bila, da spomeniki antike ne sporočajo samo filozofskih ali poučnih vsebin, temveč tudi staro avtentično estetiko antike. Klasična Grčija naj bi dokončno dosegla raven, ko naj bi človekove stvaritve presegle uporabnost in dosegle umetniško-estetsko raven, ki je sama po sebi posebna lastnost takih spomenikov. Proti koncu 18. stoletja je poudarek na estetični dimenziji antike šel tako daleč, da so številni umetniki skušali odmisliti vse, kar se ve o teh spomenikih, in jih percipirati oziroma izražati na čisto »estetski« način. Grška antika je postala arzenal iskanja zakonov čiste lepote (str. 242), grški umetniški genij in ustvarjalna avtonomija posameznikov pa ideal za evropski pogled na antiko, kar je imelo dolgoročne učinke, ki še niso izginili. St. Clair opozarja: če hočemo zares razumeti dimenzije in pomene Partenona, se moramo osvoboditi (dekolonizirati) takšnega pogleda, saj romantika skriva naivno in krožno argumentacijo.

Za kontrast romantičnemu pogledu St. Clair pokaže na dejanske posledice grške osvobodilne vojne, masaker nad muslimanskim prebivalstvom v Atenah, izgon in uničenje številnih džamij in drugih objektov muslimanskega prebivalstva, med njimi tudi velikega muslimanskega pokopališča.[3] Še desetletja po vojni so na prostem ležale kosti mrtvih in med obiskovalci iz tujine se je razširila navada pobiranja lobanj kot spominkov oziroma svojevrstnih opomnikov o minljivosti življenja in preteklosti (str. 348).[4] Romantičnemu pogledu je nasprotovalo tudi presenečenje večine obiskovalcev Akropole v prvih povojnih letih; ta je bila, skupaj s Partenonom, ohranjena v bolj ali manj enaki meri, kot so te spomenike opisovali obiskovalci desetletja pred vojno.

Kako to, da so bili kljub desetmesečnemu obleganju in bombardiranju Akropole ohranjeni vsi glavni spomeniki, se sprašuje St. Clair. Številni sodobniki so o tem pisali kot o čudu in božji providenci. Medtem ko so se turške oblasti še v začetku vojne čudile, zakaj so postali antični liki in spomeniki za Grke tako pomembni, jim je to moralo postati jasno med vojno in so temu primerno morali spreminjati svojo protigrško propagando in ne nazadnje tudi dejanja. St. Clair kot enega pomembnejših razlogov, da Turki niso porušili objektov na Akropoli, vidi v zelo uspešni prikriti evropski diplomaciji in trgovanju (tudi z ujetimi Turki) s turškimi vojaškimi oblastmi, ki je uradno upor Grkov videla kot notranjepolitično situacijo v Turškem cesarstvu in v tem smislu dala sicer diplomatsko legitimacijo vojaški intervenciji proti upornikom, a hkrati apelirala na »mehkejši« pristop do antičnih spomenikov. Pri tem St. Clair še posebej omenja Stanleyja Stratforda Lane-Poola Canninga, britanskega veleposlanika v Konstantinoplu. Po St. Clairu je bil Partenon rešen uničenja, ker so se poveljniki turške vojske namenoma tako odločili in zelo selektivno bombardirali Akropolo (str. 391). St. Clair se sprašuje tudi, zakaj Turki niso, potem ko je že postalo jasno, da bodo morali zapustiti Atene, Atiko in Peloponez, za seboj pustili požganih in uničenih mest, vključno s starimi spomeniki. Tudi na to vprašanje odgovarja s tem,

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[2] Tu opozarjamo na odlično študijo Susan Marchand *Down from Olympus. Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany 1750–1970* (1996).

[3] *'The Koran could not ever put down roots in Athens', the nineteenth-century national myth-maker Dimitris Kambouroglou was later to write, 'for the dust of the ancient Hellenes buried there would prevent them from growing and would eventually uproot them'.* (St. Clair 2022, 341).

[4] Takšno lobanjo s pozneje vrezano pesmijo o Turku Nedžimu, ki je padel na Akropoli, je hranil tudi sir Edwin Arnold: *I am the skull of Nedjim, a Turk,/ Who fought at Athens with the Giaour;/ When cannon-balls were hard at work Shattering the Parthenon — that hour/ A classic fragment took me fair/ Under the waist-cloth, and so made 'Ruins' of me. For long years there/ My remnants with the rest have laid…* (St. Clair 2022, 349).

da je šlo za namerno odločitev turških oblasti. Ker naj bi se te zavedale pomena antičnih spomenikov za evropske velesile, ki so v tem času bile dovolj močne, da so lahko zelo resno ogrozile Turško cesarstvo, je bilo veliko bolj racionalno in diplomatsko logično ne izzivati jeze Evropejcev in se pokazati kot zanesljiv diplomatski partner, s katerim je mogoče dosegati mednarodne dogovore in potencialna zavezništva, kar bo recimo krimska vojna dve desetletji pozneje dobro ilustrirala.

Monografijo zaključuje pet poglavij, posvečenih Partenonu v poznejšem obdobju. Dvajseto poglavje, naslovljeno kot Zgodbe (*The Stories*), se začne z govorom grške ministrice za kulturo Meline Mercouri leta 1986 v Oxfordu. V govoru je ponovila zgodbo, bolje rečeno mit, po katerem naj bi oblegana turška vojska na Akropoli začela rušiti stare stebre, da bi iz njih dobila svinec za strelivo. Da bi to preprečili, naj bi Grki ponudili Turkom municijo in tako "žrtvovali svoja življenja" za antične spomenike. Melina Mercouri je podobno zgodbo omenjala v več govorih, med njimi tudi v Unescu. Ta zgodba naj bi bila prvič zapisana leta 1859 – in čeprav so jo kmalu demantirali sami grški zgodovinarji, je kljub temu postala obče mesto, ki se ga je ob primernih priložnostih navajalo še stoletje pozneje. Seveda, zgodba o žrtvi, ki jo je Melina Mercouri tako vneto ponavljala, ni bila več namenjena Turkom, temveč Britancem. Ti so bili sicer odnesli spomenike dobro desetletje pred osvobodilno vojno, a tudi za njih naj bi Grki bili pripravljeni žrtvovati svoja življenja. Turki jih resda niso poškodovali, a so sodelovali pri njihovi odtujitvi.

Celotno poglavje je namenjeno različnim zgodbam o pomenu in usodi spomenikov, ki so nastale po grški osvobodilni vojni. St. Clair poleg grških navaja tudi britanske zgodbe o reševanju dediščine, ki niso nič bolj resnične od že omenjene zgodbe. Pogosto se je Morosinijevo bombardiranje Akropole v 17. stoletju pripisovalo turški vojski v osvobodilni vojni. St. Clair pokaže, kako so tudi pri konservatorskih delih v Britanskem muzeju nastale hude poškodbe spomenikov pri izdelovanju mavčnih kopij, kjer so uporabili kisline, ki so uničile izvirne barve, kar St. Clair označuje kot žrtev Winckelmannove estetike beline in čistosti. Vsekakor pa je na britanski strani še vedno prevladujoča zgodba o reševanju Partenona, ki se je ohranila vse do danes: če Elgin ne bi odpeljal spomenikov, bi ti propadli.

V enaindvajsetem poglavju (*Which Pasts, Which Futures*) St. Clair precej obširno predstavlja, kako sta se Partenon in Akropola preoblikovala v arheološko-muzejski kompleks, kot ga poznamo danes. V tem procesu, ki se je začel kmalu po osvoboditvi, je bilo vse podrejeno ustvarjanju novega svetega kraja grške nacije. Vse druge zgodovinske plasti in zgodbe, prazgodovinska, bizantinska, frankovska, turška, so se morale umakniti z Akropole. V tem duhu sta bili zamišljeni tudi obnova antičnih objektov in gradnja novih, med njimi nove kraljevske palače na Akropoli, novih Aten v njenem podnožju. Obdobja in ostanki "okupatorjev" so bili obsojeni na izginotje. Treba je bilo urediti zakonske okvire varstva spomenikov, saj so jih tujci še naprej odnašali, prav tako pa tudi načrtna arheološka raziskovanja, da bi se razumelo gradnjo spomenikov za potrebo njihove obnove. Tudi tu seveda ni šlo brez angažiranja tujcev, saj Grki še niso imeli dovolj kompetentnih strokovnjakov. Raziskave in muzealizacija so trajale dobro stoletje in v tem dolgem času se je odkrila vrsta novih dejstev: arhaični Partenon (t. i. Pre-Partenon), drugi arhaični objekti in skulpture, vhodi na Akropolo. Hkrati so številne objekte obnovili, nekatere pa porušili (npr. Frankovski stolp), ker naj bi bili tujki na klasični Akropoli. Do konca 19. stoletja je bila Akropola očiščena vsega, kar je bilo mlajše od klasičnega obdobja (str. 502); akropola je bila odrezana od številnih svojih plasti preteklosti. St. Clair zaključi, da je tako današnja Akropola s spomeniki materializacija pogleda 19. stoletja in od tu smisel Akropole postane, da se "jo gleda" na predpisan način.

Večji del dvaindvajsetega poglavja (*Still a Dark Heritage*) St. Clair posveti še enemu znamenitemu kraju antičnih Aten – areopagu, toda tokrat ne s stališča njegovega pomena v klasični antiki, temveč zaradi njegove zveze z zgodnjim krščanstvom. Na tem mestu naj bi apostol Pavel (Savel iz Tarzusa) imel svoj govor, v katerem naj bi obsodil poganske bogove in verovanja. Zaradi tega je areopag že zelo zgodaj, proti koncu prve polovice 19. stoletja, kraj, ki so ga želeli obiskati številni zahodnjaki, in podobno kot pri klasičnih spomenikih je tudi za obisk svetega mesta kristjanov vladalo veliko večje zanimanje v tujini kot doma. Tu St. Clair opozarja na svojevrstno protislovje, ni boljšega kraja za obsodbo poganstva, katere vrhunec je na mogočni Akropoli nad njim, kot je skromni areopag. Ob koncu 19. stoletja so se tako zahodni obiskovalci Aten delili na tiste, ki so sledili Pavlu ali Pavzaniju, prvi so hodili na romanje in jih ni bilo ravno malo, bili pa so tudi bolj goreči.

Kako torej razrešiti to protislovje? Videti areopag brez Akropole ni bilo mogoče. Tu St. Clair ponovno vidi rast providencializma pri (zahodnih, anglofonskih) krščanskih interpretatorjih, duhovnikih in teologih. Bog je pustil ruševine, da nas spominjajo na čas pred njegovim utelešenjem v Jezusu. Če je bila božja volja pustiti Atene pri miru, se je njegov bes znesel nad Pompeji. Krščanski providencialisti so šli tako daleč, da so celo Sokratov prostovoljni odhod v smrt videli kot odrešeniško dejanje (str. 545), ker je dvomil o primernosti navad Grkov. Sčasoma je areopag postajal vse bolj priljubljeno mesto in del svetopisemskega itinerarja zahodnih romarjev, vrhunec je bil dosežen nekje na začetku 20. stoletja.

V triindvajsetem poglavju se St. Clair v naslovu sprašuje, čigav je Partenon, pri tem pa se osredotoči predvsem na usodo Partenona za časa nemške okupacije Grčije v drugi svetovni vojni. Začne ga s kratko zgodbo o dveh grških mladeničih, ki sta razobesila grško zastavo na Akropoli v znamenje protesta proti nemški okupaciji Grčije v drugi svetovni vojni, kot da bi hotel s to zgodbo priklicati v spomin tisto, ki jo je širila Melina Mercouri, in vse druge zgodbe o žrtvah za Partenon. Dejansko je to poglavje skoraj v celoti posvečeno nemški okupaciji in eksploataciji antike za nemško imperialistično in nacionalsocialistično ideologijo. S prihodom Nemcev se je razrastla do tedaj manj razširjena razlaga pomena antičnih starin – rasna razlaga. Stari Heleni naj bi bili po izvoru arijsko ljudstvo, ki naj bi se v prazgodovini priselilo iz severa. Nordijski izvor naj bi potrjevale anatomske analize klasičnih doprsnih kipov. Peloponeške vojne naj bi bile tudi vojne med dvema rasnima skupinama – rasno čisto (špartansko) in rasno mešano (atensko) (str. 599). Za Hitlerja so bili pravi Grki Špartanci in ne Atenci (str. 616). Nemci so šli tako daleč, da so leta 1941 uprizorili bitko na Maratonskem polju, z jasno konotacijo zmage nad rasno drugačnimi sovražniki. V vlogi Atencev so bili nemški vojaki, Perzijce pa so igrali ruski, britanski in francoski ujetniki.[5] Toda St. Clair opomni, da izvora tovrstne nemške eksploatacije grške antike ne smemo pripisati samo nacistični oblasti, temveč moramo pogledati še desetletja prej v nemški filhelenizem in nacionalizem.

V predzadnjem poglavju (*Parthenon in Our Time*) je opisana predvsem aktualna situacija muzejskega kompleksa na Akropoli, organizacija obiskov, itinerarjev in drugih vidikov turistične izrabe tega prostora. St. Clair pri tem raziskuje, kako so danes številne zgodovinske plasti, podobe, pripovedi in lokacije muzealizirane in zakaj so v taki obliki, kot so. Na to poglavje se navezuje zelo kratko zadnje poglavje (*Heritage*), v katerem svoja vprašanja o percepciji in prezentaciji Partenona in Akropole še razširi v duhu modernih dilem o ustvarjanju spomina. Za Partenon ugotavlja, da gre za jasen primer selektivnega ustvarjanja spomina vladajoče strani in da ne Partenon ne Akropola še zdaleč ne odsevata vseh vsebin, ki ju tvorijo. Kot spomenik je bil zamišljen in obnovljen v duhu 19. stoletja, kar je še dodaten motiv za njegovo konstantno soočanje s sodobnostjo.

Monografija St. Claira je nedvomno do zdaj najbolj kompleksno posamezno delo o zgodovini Partenona in tudi Akropole kot spomenika v sodobnem pomenu besede. Njegovo obzorje opazovanja je zelo široko in velikokrat gre v presenetljive podrobnosti in partikularnosti, tako da se zdi, da je teh ekskurzov zelo veliko. Zaradi kompleksnosti in količine besedila dobimo mestoma občutek, da avtorju pred smrtjo še ni uspelo dokončno zgladiti oziroma profilirati glavne pripovedi, ki bi se tekoče nadaljevala iz poglavja v poglavje. To so namesto njega dokončali uredniki monografije. Tega vsekakor ne jemljemo kot bistven problem, a pri več kot šeststo strani dolgem besedilu je prav dobro zastavljena pripoved lahko v veliko pomoč bralcu. Vsekakor je izjemna kvaliteta tega dela v detajlih, s katerimi nam predstavi številne epizode v zgodovini Partenona v zadnjih treh stoletjih, ki nam ta spomenik in njegovo usodo predstavljajo v veliko bolj jasni luči in podobi. Toda Partenon je samo ena plat medalje, celo bolj kot o tem spomeniku delo predstavlja različne ljudi, ideje in dejanja v zvezi z njim, kar je dejansko pravi predmet raziskave St. Claira – kako smo razumeli antiko, kaj želimo z njo početi in kaj na koncu iz tega nastane.

Predrag Novaković

[5] Tu opozarjamo na izjemen fotografski dokument tega dogodka (slika 23.16 na strani 608).