

## An Outline of the Urnfield Culture Period in Slovenia

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### Izvleček

V članku so predstavljena spoznanja arheološke vede za obdobje pozne bronaste dobe na območju Slovenije. Avtorica obravnava zgodovino raziskovanj, problematiko okrog začetka kulture žarnih grobišč, poselitev in naselja, grobišča ter depoje in posamezne najdbe.

On such an important occasion as the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *Arheološki vestnik* (further AV), if we allow ourselves an Orphean view of the period in which AV played the role of the central journal in Slovenian archaeology, then let us try to establish in what manner and to what extent has knowledge been acquired about the period that we designate culturally as the Urnfield Culture but technologically as the Late Bronze Age.

### I. AN ATTEMPT AT OUTLINING THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH

In the period from the first issue of AV, published by the Archaeological Seminar of the University in Ljubljana, up to this anniversary issue, being published under the patronage of the Academy of Sciences and Arts (Gabrovec 1979; id. 1984; Belak 1997), it is possible to trace all the changes that have affected both AV and the entire profession as a whole. Significant advances occurred primarily on the organizational and institutional level, which has greatly determined archaeological activities in Slovenia and at the same time influenced the conceptual design both of the science and also its journal AV.

### Abstract

The article presents our current comprehension of the archaeological science of the Late Bronze Age in Slovenia. The author discusses the history of investigations, issues concerning the origins of the Urnfield culture, colonization and settlements, cemeteries as well as hoards and individual material finds.

The first period includes the post-war years up to the late sixties. It was characterized by an exceptional impetus in the fields of excavation, research, and science: newly founded institutions included the Archaeological Seminar, later the Archaeology Department of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana, as well as the Section for Archaeology at (SAZU), the predecessor of the present Institute of Archaeology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) (Gabrovec 1979; id. 1984; id. 1998; Pleterski 1997). Employment possibilities for archaeologists opened up at the National Museum and in the regional museums. In these years of increased archaeological activities, knowledge was also greatly broadened of the Urnfield Culture. An overture is represented by the large scale excavations of Josip Korošec at Ptuj Castle in 1946-1949, primarily oriented to investigation of the early Slavic epoch, although among other things, the remains of a prehistoric settlement from the Late Bronze Age and the transition to the Early Iron Age were also discovered (Korošec 1951). An explosion of excavation followed in the fifties, which can almost be designated as the "heroic Period" of Slovenian archaeology: Bernarda Perc began the excavations of the Urnfield settlement at Ormož (1955-1962),<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perc 1960; ead. 1962; ead. 1962-1963; ead. 1962-1964; Lamut 1987; id. 1988-1989; Teržan 1990, 45 ff., 344 ff.; ead. 1995, 345 ff.

Stanko Pahič investigated the multilayered settlement at Brinjeva Gora and its corresponding urnfield cemetery at Brezje (1953-1963),<sup>2</sup> while he also excavated at the urnfield cemetery at Ruše (Pahič 1957)<sup>3</sup> and at Pobrežje near Maribor (Pahič 1972). Lojze Bolta undertook excavation of the settlement at Rifnik near Šentjur (1957-1963),<sup>4</sup> as did France Stare at the urnfield cemeteries in Ljubljana (Stare 1954) and Dobova (Stare 1953; id. 1957a; id. 1975). The first graves from the extensive urnfield cemeteries at Mestne njive and Bršljin near Novo mesto were also published in these years (Šribar 1958-1959, 111 ff.; Knez 1966; id. 1967). Under the leadership of Jože Kastelic, the cemetery at Pristava near Bled was researched, where in the area of the late Roman and early medieval cemeteries, they also came across cremation graves from the transition from the Urnfield Culture to the Early Iron Age (Gabrovec 1960a).

These intensive excavation activities were mostly followed in each case by publications, although some were only in the form of short reports,<sup>5</sup> as well as special scholarly studies of individual finds and sites. The exemplary work of S. Pahič particularly stands out. Publications of older material excavated before the Second World War also deserved mention, as well as scientific discussions. Thus F. Stare in the first volume of AV published the objects from the urnfield cemetery at Hajdina near Ptuj,<sup>6</sup> and particular attention was drawn by his studies of crescent-shaped razors and grave 108 from Dobova (Stare 1957b; id. 1960). An important turning point in this pioneering period of research into the Urnfield Culture in Slovenia was represented by Pahič's contribution of synthetic significance for the epochal work *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije* (1975) [The Archaeological Sites of Slovenia] (further ANSI), a work that resulted from the collective work of the Slovenian archaeologists of this first post-war generation.

As a key supplement to Slovenian research, we must cite the 1959 work of H. Müller-Karpe, *Bei-träge zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen*, a work in which finds from Slovenia discovered before Second World War played a noticeable role as the basis for the chronological systematization and periodization of the Urnfield Culture throughout the broad region

of the southeastern Alpine and pre-Alpine world. They also represented a connective link between the central European and Mediterranean-Italic chronological and cultural systems. The overwhelming and perhaps in a qualified sense even braking influence of this powerful work by Müller-Karpe on the further scientific debate of this period in Slovenia should be pointed out.

A second period in the development of Slovenian archaeology is characterized by the foundation of regional offices for the protection of monuments, and their activities in the seventies and eighties. This opened new jobs for archaeologists and conservators, who acquired an important place in the framework of archaeological activities. The entire field of the protection of monuments came under their jurisdiction, including excavation interventions. In this manner, the supervision over archaeological sites was improved, and the data about them increased immensely. The special journal *Varstvo spomenikov* (VS), established as early as 1948, at this time took over the role of reporting and publishing brief news and notes. Such disencumbrance offered the possibility for a new conceptual development of AV. The initiative was taken by the Slovenian Archaeological Society (SAD), which began to plan and regularly organize professional meetings dedicated to the topics and problems of individual archaeological periods. The contributions from these colloquia were as a rule printed in the following issue of AV, which presented excellent information about research in Slovenia and simultaneously the development of the profession, which gave - it is said - these meetings a particular elan. The thirteenth colloquium of the SAD took place in 1986 in the same atmosphere, dedicated to the Bronze Age with the inclusion of the Urnfield Culture, at which the results of recent settlement excavations were presented, as well as several other topical themes from this period (AV 39-40, 1988-1989, 111 ff.).

The majority of excavations in this period were oriented primarily towards the most urgent rescue efforts accompanying extensive construction, such as the building of residential neighborhoods and an educational center at Rabelčja vas in Ptuj, where among other things the remains of a Bronze Age and Early Iron Age settlement and cremation

<sup>2</sup> Pahič 1960; id. 1981; id. 1985; Oman 1981; V. Pahič 1988-1989; Teržan 1990, 36 ff., 339 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For new finds from the Ruše II cemetery, see Strmčnik-Gulič 1994-1995.

<sup>4</sup> Bolta 1959; id. 1962; Pirkmajer 1983; ead. 1994; Teržan 1990a, 49 ff., 366 ff.; ead. 1996a.

<sup>5</sup> This referred primarily to the analysis of material from the major settlement excavations and their publication.

<sup>6</sup> Stare 1950; compare further Müller-Karpe 1959, Pl. 116; 117; Tomanič 1969.

graves were discovered.<sup>7</sup> Investigation in the form of rescue excavations continued at the prehistoric settlement at Ormož, where a small cemetery was newly discovered next to the settlement,<sup>8</sup> as well as at the urnfield cemetery in the courtyard of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana (Puš 1971; id. 1982), and also at the site of Mestne njive in Novo mesto (Knez 1984; Križ 1995). Significant new discoveries of this period include the cremation graves from the extensive cemetery at Tolmin,<sup>9</sup> and the remains of Late Bronze Age dwellings at Most na Soči, discovered during rescue excavation primarily intended to protect the central settlement of the Iron Age Santa Lucia/Most na Soči group (Svoljšak 1988-1989). In the framework of research programs, only a very few planned and systematic excavations took place, among which, in the framework of this theme, should be mentioned before all the excavation of the Bronze Age settlement at Oloris near Dolnji Lakoš,<sup>10</sup> as a result of cooperation between the Murska Sobota museum and the Institute of Archaeology at the Academy.

Another turning point in this second developmental period is represented by the already mentioned colloquium about the Bronze Age in Slovenia, which took place in 1986 in Lendava,<sup>11</sup> and by the accompanying exhibition, presented with a short delay by the National Museum in 1987.<sup>12</sup> On both occasions the period of the Urnfield Culture was treated as an integral part of the Bronze Age, and the themes addressed were quite specific and new. It was clearly shown that this culture is better known than others - such as earlier phases of the Bronze Age - although still in a very modest and insufficient form. A similar impression is given by Gabrovec's synthetic review of the Bronze Age (1983), which came out in the fourth volume of the magnificent five volume publication *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja* [The Prehistory of the

Southern Slavic Lands], issued by the Center for Balkanological Research of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, under the excellent and strict leadership of A. Benac (PJZ 1-5, 1979-1987).

The third period, which only started in the nineties, also remained in the domain of the archaeological services of the cultural preservation offices, although this experienced significant conceptual and methodological changes. The reasons for this were large scale excavations required and dictated by the construction of highways crossing Slovenia. With this purpose in mind, the Ministry of Culture appointed an expert commission "The Group for Archaeology on the Highways of Slovenia" (SAAS), headed by B. Djurić. This commission worked out a special methodology for field survey prior to the beginning of construction, a scheme for organizing work during excavation, and plans for the publication of the excavated material. It is important to note that along with excavation, systematic sampling and the analysis of ecofacts were planned.<sup>13</sup> These excavations, which in terms of the surface areas opened (even up to 35,000 m<sup>2</sup>) greatly exceed all sites investigated to the present in Slovenia, offer entirely new insights into the organization of individual communities and settlement complexes and areas from various chronological periods. The archaeological profession thus attains a considerable advance in quality, not merely on the organizational and methodological level, but also in knowledge.

Many new sites were discovered in the framework of this, including fairly numerous settlements from the Bronze Age, some from the Urnfield Culture, such as at Slivnica, Hoče and Rogoza near Maribor,<sup>14</sup> and at Dragomelj near Domžale.<sup>15</sup> They cannot yet be discussed in more detail in this overview, although first impressions indicate that our knowledge and comprehension of the settlement

<sup>7</sup> Tomanič-Jevremov 1974; B. Jevremov 1978; id. 1979; id. 1988-1989; Strmčnik Gulič 1980; ead. 1985; ead. 1988-1989; ead. 1996; Teržan 1990a, 43 f., 345 ff.; Lubšina-Tušek 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Tomanič-Jevremov 1977; ead. 1979; ead. 1981; ead. 1983; ead. 1988-1989; M. Jevremov 1983; Tušek 1984; Lamut 1987; id. 1988-1989; Teržan 1995, 345 ff., Fig. 16-18.

<sup>9</sup> Svoljšak 1973; id. 1974; Pogačnik, Svoljšak 2000.

<sup>10</sup> Horvat -Šavel 1980; ead. 1988-1989; Šavel 1994, 55 ff.; Dular 1987; see also Dular's article in this volume of *Arh. vest.*

<sup>11</sup> *Lendavski zvezki* 8, 1986; *Arh. vest.* 39-40, 1988-1989.

<sup>12</sup> *Bronasta doba na Slovenskem*, razstavní katalog [The Bronze Age in Slovenia. An Exhibition Catalogue] (Ljubljana 1987).

<sup>13</sup> A new review was also started in the framework of the SAAS project, titled *Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije* [Archaeology on the Highways of Slovenia] (AAS), Posebna serija Vestnika Uprave Republike Slovenije za kulturno dediščino, cf. Djurić 1999. I would like to thank B. Djurić for this information.

<sup>14</sup> Excavation of sections in the Maribor vicinity have continued from 1996 onwards, directed by M. Strmčnik-Gulič, whom I would like to thank for a visit to the excavations and the published photograph. See Strmčnik-Gulič 1998.

<sup>15</sup> The work at Dragomelj is directed by P. Turk, and I would like to especially thank him for a view of the excavated material and the photograph on Fig. 14. Cf. also Turk 1997; id. 1999a; id. 1999b.

and organization of settlements in the framework of individual Slovenian regions will be significantly supplemented, if not changed entirely.

A new route has also been opened by certain other archaeological research, as is particularly indicated by the most recent publication of Bronze Age hoard and individual metal finds from Slovenian territory, the result of almost a decade of continual team work.<sup>16</sup> In the framework of this project, archaeometric analyses of the metal objects were necessary, for which suitable conditions were created on the basis of the model cooperation of the National Museum of Slovenia and the Institute of Chemistry in Ljubljana. The results of spectrometrical and metallurgical analyses convey such important and new visions of the technological, socio-economic, and cultural-historical development in the Late Bronze Age in Slovenia that they should urgently be extended - both to other material and other periods, as is presented in more detail by N. Trampuž Orel in her article here.<sup>17</sup> It is a fact that such interdisciplinary research is of key importance for the level of knowledge in archaeology, and thus has a promising future.

On this occasion, it seems necessary to mention yet another side to Slovenian archaeology, which cannot be a matter of pride. These are the valuable treatises from the pen of Stanko Pahič, published by the author himself in personally bound installments.<sup>18</sup> These contributions of Pahič to the archaeology of the Drava River basin, also including studies with Late Bronze Age themes, would undoubtedly deserve to be published in proper form, so as to be available to a broader circle of the professional public. Such a state should serve as a special admonition to Slovenian archaeological publicists, especially AV.

## II. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE URNFIELD CULTURE IN SLOVENIA

The Urnfield Culture represents in the framework of European prehistoric archaeology a generally

accepted concept with phenomenological and chronological connotations. As a special phenomenon, it was first determined in the region of central Europe and dated to the time span between BA D and Ha B3.<sup>19</sup> Despite decades long discussion, a clear definition has been avoided, hindering on the one hand by its universality and general distribution throughout almost all Europe, and on the other by its innumerable regional and local expressions and specific forms. Although the concept of the UFC represents merely a hypothetical starting point, with the constant new researches, view-points and supplementations, its defining concept is preserved at the level of the recognizable.

How much more difficult is the determination of the Urnfield Culture as a chronological and cultural dominant in Slovenia and the broader Pannonian world. Here the burial rituals with cremation of the dead are related to the earlier traditions of the Middle and perhaps even the Early Bronze Age.<sup>20</sup> It was anticipated that the oldest cremation graves in this area, known to date only from eastern and central Slovenia, appeared in the framework of what is known as the Virovitica cultural group, which occupied primarily lowlands sections along the Sava and Drava Rivers, extending all the way to Lake Balaton. This group was first distinguished by K. Vinski-Gasparini, who determined it as the initial appearance of the UFC in the southern Pannonian region, designating it as phase I in her chronological system. Chronologically it is parallel to BA C-D in the central European chronology.<sup>21</sup>

New aspects in the problems of defining the Virovitica group have been introduced by the settlement excavations in the last few years at Oloris near Dolnji Lakoš, Rabelčja vas at Ptuj, and Šiman near Gotovlje. These settlements contain, in addition to the pottery of the Virovitica group, other types of vessels, among them those decorated with wart-like extrusions and incised motifs, characteristic primarily for the pottery of the Middle Bronze Age Tumulus Culture (BA B1-C). The contexts and mutual proportions in

<sup>16</sup> Teržan 1995-1996.

<sup>17</sup> Trampuž Orel et al. 1991; ead. 1996; ead. et al. 1996; Trampuž-Orel, Heath 1998; cf. also the article by N. Trampuž Orel in this volume of *Arh. vest.*

<sup>18</sup> Over 30 volumes have been published to date, mostly in three series: *Doneski h pradavnini Podravja* 1 (1985 bis); *Naši kraji v pradavnini* 1 (1985 bis); *Moje arheološke pisarije* 1-4 (1951-1994); some volumes were published outside these series.

<sup>19</sup> Holste 1962; von Merhart 1942; id. 1969; Kossack 1954; Müller-Karpe 1959; Kossack 1995 and other articles in the same volume.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Dolenz 1972-1973, 15 ff., Fig. 4; 5; Glaser 1984, 31 ff., Fig. 1; 2; Vinski Gasparini 1973, 37 ff.; Čović 1988.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 24 ff.; ead. 1983, 552 ff.; Majnarić-Pandžić 1988; Honti 1993; Horváth 1994; Teržan 1995, 324 ff.; ead. 1996c.

which these different pottery types are found at these mentioned settlements is not entirely explained, as the investigations and analyses are still being carried out.<sup>22</sup> They nonetheless indicate that on the basis of these new investigations it will be possible in the framework of the Middle Bronze Age and its transition to the Late Bronze Age to define several chronological phases with different cultural emphasis. An additional chronological problem is the fact that the corresponding cemeteries are still unknown. The only exception would be the settlement at Rabelčja vas, to which the graves discovered in Potrčeva Street in Ptuj probably belonged (B. Jevre-mov 1988-1989). Only in rare graves of the Virovitica group can vessels be found decorated with emphasized wart-like extrusions - thus in the manner primarily associated with the Tumulus Culture. The relationship between both types of pottery from the point of view of the graves is unclear, although it seems that the contact of the Virovitica group with the earlier Tumulus Culture was only short lived. The vessels with extrusive decoration from the graves at Krka (Gabrovec 1991b) and Moravče-Draščica (Sokol 1988-1989) seem very archaic, while this was less the case for the vessels from Sirova Katalena (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, Pl. 14: 1) and the graves from Balatonmagyaród-Hídvégpuszta (Horváth 1994, Fig. 12: 1), which are nonetheless quite comparable to the pottery from Oloris near Dolnji Lakoš. Thus a dating for them is possible in the BA B2-C period or in the central Danubian MD III phase according to Hänsel.<sup>23</sup> Such a chronological assignment of these cremation graves leads to questions about the first reduction of the deceased to ashes and about the dating of the beginning of the Virovitica cultural group, and simultaneously about its relations to the Middle Bronze Age Tumulus Culture in the region of eastern Slovenia and southern Pannonia.

A particular problem is represented also by the chronological classification of the final phase of the Virovitica group in this region and the transition to the next, older period of the UFC.<sup>24</sup> The

settlement finds from Rabelčja vas also included pottery that bears witness to new elements in manufacture and in form and decoration (Strmčnik Gulič 1988-1989, 159, Pl. 7: 2), reminiscent of the eastern Alpine channelled pottery of the Baierdorf-Velatice group. Such pottery was also recently discovered at the settlement near Rogoza,<sup>25</sup> where it does not denote the final, but rather - it seems at the moment - the initial settlement phase in that site. As channelled pottery of the Baierdorf-Velatice type appears in the broader eastern Alpine and Pannonian region in the period of the earlier and older phases of the UFC (BA D and early Ha A), it is likely that changes and new elements occurred at the same time in the entire Drava River basin.<sup>26</sup> This is indirectly confirmed by a bronze pin with a disk-shaped head from the settlement at Rabelčja vas, a type that no longer appears in a Ha A2 context.<sup>27</sup>

### III. SETTLEMENT AND SETTLEMENTS

In geographic terms, the territory of Slovenia is highly varied, as this is a point of contact and interweaving of the lowland - Pannonian, mountainous - Alpine, highland - Karst/Dinaric, and sub-Mediterranean worlds, which is clearly reflected in its division into distinctive provinces and smaller geographic units with climatic and floral differences and their own special features (Gams 1990). Thus the environment with its specific natural conditions, as an important factor in the inhabitation of individual regions and provinces, also defined Urnfield period settlement of the Slovenian lands, which were not - similarly as in other prehistoric and historic periods - a single cultural, ethnic, or political unit,<sup>28</sup> rather it is necessary to distinguish at least three culturally varied settlement areas.

In the eastern and central sections of Slovenia, a "classic" image of settlement characteristic for the UFC is indicated. Lowland areas along the major rivers - the Drava, the Mura and the Sava -

<sup>22</sup> For Oloris near Dolnji Lakoš, see n. 10; for Rabelčja vas, Strmčnik-Gulič 1988-1989; ead. 1996; for Šiman near Gotovlje, Olič 1999 in Tomažič 1999.

<sup>23</sup> Horvat-Šavel 1988-1989; Šavel 1994, 55 ff.; Hänsel 1968, 88 ff., Map 18, Add. 7; Teržan 1995, 325 ff. Also see the contribution by Dular in this volume of *Arh. vest.*

<sup>24</sup> The expressions earlier, older, younger and later phases are used in the sense of Müller-Karpe's suggestion for the definition of individual periods: Müller-Karpe 1974.

<sup>25</sup> I would like to thank the director of excavations, M. Strmčnik-Gulič, for a visit to and information about the excavations.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Müller-Karpe 1959, 100 ff., Fig. 22: 22-26; Lochner 1994, 195 ff., Fig. 105-107; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 65 ff.; Vrdoljak 1994, esp. Pl. 7:1; 11:1; 31: 1-5; Oman 1981.

<sup>27</sup> Strmčnik-Gulič 1988-1989, 159, Pl. 4: 25; Müller-Karpe 1959, 103, Pl. 124: C 3; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, Pl. 10: 15 etc.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. e.g. Gabrovec 1990; id. 1991a; Guštin 1999.

were primarily settled, along with their tributaries. Positions of elevated river terraces were mostly chosen for settlements, frequently along a tributary stream joining a river, but also on rises along the rivers and at river bends, and usually with extensive rural hinterlands. Nonetheless, in the chronological span of the Urnfield period, certain changes occurred in settlement, both in terms of the choice of location, as well as the interior organization of the site. Let us review them:

The settlements of the Middle (BA B/C) and the early Late Bronze Age (BA D), such as are known from Oloris near Dolnji Lakoš on the northern side of the Mura River, Rabelčja vas in Ptuj on the Drava River, and Šiman near Gotovlje on the Ložnica River in the Savinja-Valley,<sup>29</sup> have in common that they are located in plains on low elevations along rivers, but are nonetheless in the vicinity of hilly areas. Thus the settlement at Oloris was surrounded by a stream,<sup>30</sup> perhaps only a natural river bend, or perhaps instead a deliberate channel, requiring greater efforts in the construction of the defensive ditch,<sup>31</sup> which was additionally fortified with a palisade, and served also to trap water, as a wooden well was discovered in it.

The settlement at Rabelčja vas in Ptuj must have had a similar location. It was bounded on the western edge by the Grajena Stream, and on the southern side it extended, as has been shown by new excavations in 1996, in the direction towards the Drava, all the way to present-day Potrčeva Street,<sup>32</sup> along which we can envisage a former bank of the Drava. The river has frequently changed its course, so that it is likely that in the second millennium BC its riverbed would have been much closer to the Bronze Age settlement at Rabelčja vas than it is today, which is also indicated by the course of the Drava channel in the Roman period.<sup>33</sup> It is still not known whether the settlement was specially protected on the other two sides towards the

hills. It is interesting that these settlements were abandoned at the transition to the older Urnfield period, only at Rabelčja vas the northwestern part of the same site was used for a cemetery in a later period, while a settlement again arose in the southeastern part (along Potrčeva Street).<sup>34</sup>

In the following period of the Urnfield Culture the choice of location for settlements did not change significantly, although it seems that they preferred areas where the periodic high waters were less of a menace.<sup>35</sup> From the map of the Podravje/Drava basin region (*Fig. 1*), it is apparent that there was relatively intense settlement of the high river terraces from Ruše through Maribor to Ptuj and Ormož, as well as the lowland or valley sections at the base of the Pohorje Range, particularly from Radvanje through Hoče and Slivnica to Rogoza. More rarely does one come across settlements on high elevations, characterized by dominant, strategically important positions, such as Ptujski grad (Ptuj Castle) above the crossing over the Drava River, Grajski grič at Gornja Radgona above the Mura River,<sup>36</sup> Miklavški hrib above Celje at a bend in the Savinja River,<sup>37</sup> Rifnik near Šentjur,<sup>38</sup> and Ljubljanski grad (Ljubljana Castle) above the Ljubljanica River.<sup>39</sup> It can be suggested that specifically because of their position, from which visual command over a broad area was possible, their economic and social roles differed from those of the lowland, markedly rural oriented settlements. A special position can be seen at the site of Brinjeva gora near Zreče, an exceptionally elevated settlement on the eastern foothills of the Pohorje Range.<sup>40</sup> The causes of its exceptional position should be sought in the fact that this is a settlement with continuous inhabitation from the Early Bronze Age onwards, whose economic resources can be related to the exploitation of ore from the nearby mines in the southern Pohorje Range (Teržan 1983).

<sup>29</sup> Olič 1999; Tomažič 1999.

<sup>30</sup> See n. 10.

<sup>31</sup> For extensive construction works in the Bronze Age, see Goldmann 1997, 46 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Strmčnik-Gulič 1988-1989; ead. 1996; Tušek 1993; Lubšina Tušek 1994-1995; ead. 1995. M. Lubšina Tušek is particularly due my thanks, as she exhaustively kept me informed of the excavation results, and also allowed me to publish a photograph showing the excavated area of the settlement (*Fig. 7*).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Klemenc, Saria 1936, 28 ff., Detailplan von Poetovio; Pahič 1996, Map 3.

<sup>34</sup> Strmčnik-Gulič 1980; ead. 1985; Lubšina-Tušek 1994-1995; ead. 1995; ead. 2001.

<sup>35</sup> For climatic changes in the 12th century BC, which more or less coincides with the older UFC period - Ha A1, see Harding 1982; Baillie 1995, 73 ff., Pl. 5: 2,3; id. 1998.

<sup>36</sup> Horvat Šavel 1981; Šavel 1994, 86 ff.; Teržan 1990a, 45 ff., 341 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Bolta 1951; Teržan 1990a, 353 ff.

<sup>38</sup> See n. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Ma. Horvat 1996, 113. I am particularly grateful to I. Šinkovec for information about the new excavations.

<sup>40</sup> See n. 2.

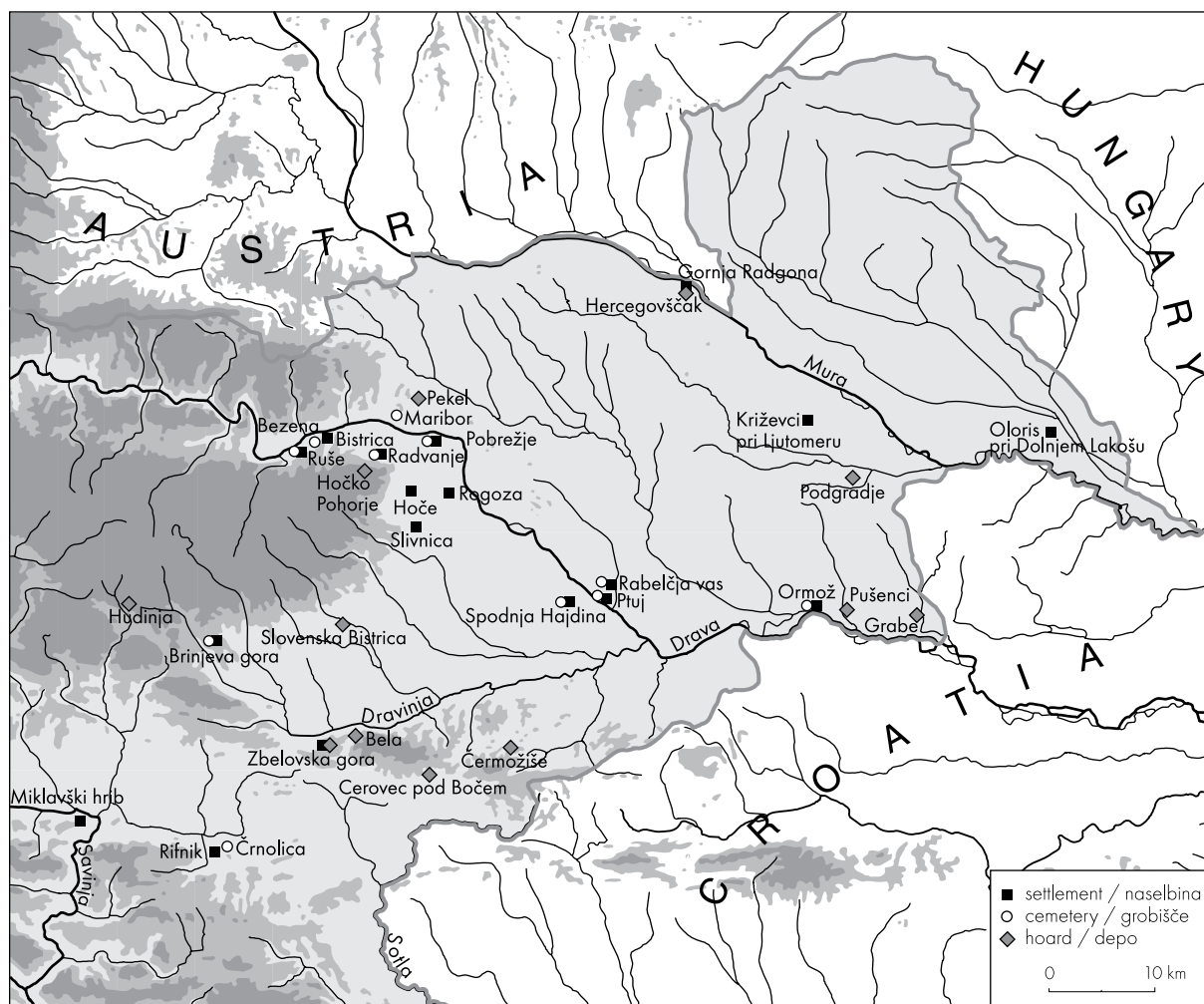


Fig. 1: Urnfield period sites in Podravje/the Drava Basin.  
Sl. 1: Žarnogrobiščna najdišča v Podravju.

From such an image of settlement in the Podravje/Drava basin, in intensity almost comparable to that in the preceding period, it can be inferred to have been based primarily on a rural economy exploiting well cultivated land, engaging in stockbreeding along with agriculture. Unfortunately, this is just a hypothesis, as our knowledge of agricultural tools (other than sickles),<sup>41</sup> or the cultivation of fields is still very modest. Analyses of the vegetative macro remains and pollen, as well as the faunal remains from the cited settlements are mostly stiff unpublished. It seems that the inhabitants of the settlement at Oloris near Dolnji Lakoš raised grains such as wheat, millet, and rye. As is indicated by pollen values for alder (*Alnus*) and

hazel (*Corylus*), the human encroachment on the surrounding forest was already such that degraded pastures existed (Šerclj 1987), perhaps indicating extensive stock-raising.

The data from the settlement at Ormož are equally scarce. Bartosiewicz (1987) hypothesized that this was an agricultural settlement with a few heads of cattle, which at 62.5% represented the most important source of meat at this settlement. Less pigs were raised, while sheep and goats were evidently unimportant. It is interesting that they also bred horses, not as food, but rather for riding, and accordingly at the same time they would have been valued as “prestigious” and “exchange” goods.

<sup>41</sup> Only bronze sickles have been preserved in large amounts, and are known mainly from hoard finds - cf. Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 38-41; 47; 52-57 etc; Čerče, Turk 1996, 14 ff., Pl. 3; 4; Pavlin 1997. For the production and use of sickles, cf. the archaeometric analyses in Trampuž et al. 1996.



Fig. 2: Rogoza, an excavated part of the settlement. Photograph: M. Strmčnik-Gulič.

Sl. 2: Rogoza, pogled na izkopani predel naselbine. Foto: M. Strmčnik-Gulič.



Fig. 3: Rogoza, house remains with postholes. Photograph: M. Strmčnik-Gulič.

Sl. 3: Rogoza, ostaline stavbe z jamami za stebre. Foto: M. Strmčnik-Gulič.

It is to be hoped that in the new settlement excavations, and especially those carried out in the framework of the SAAS, a greater emphasis will be given to the systematic sampling and collecting of the remaining flora and fauna and their analysis, whose prompt publication could shortly thereafter aid in better knowledge of the basic economic branches during the Urnfield period in Slovenia.

Only a small number of Urnfield period settlements have been investigated to the extent that one could delineate in more detail their interior organization, with the arrangement of individual houses as well as their purposes.

Too little areas have been excavated at most of them to be able to spot some larger angle of a house corner, and entire plans of buildings, such as at the settlement in Ormož (Fig. 5), were an exception until recently. Only the new excavations preceding the highway construction, where areas from 1 to 3.5 hectares were investigated, promise a better view into the organization and structure of prehistoric settlements. Nonetheless, it seems that sufficient elements are available to sketch the basic characteristics of settlement in the lowland sections of Slovenia.

The settlement at Oloris near Dolnji Lakoš, which was surrounded by a wooden fence and defensive ditch, as mentioned, was most densely walled at two places right in the center, where the

elevation was the highest. The houses, built of wooden support beams and wattle walls, stood on the southern rise, one close to another, although arranged in a group around a yard area, where several large hearths or ovens were discovered. This is certainly the impression received on the basis of what has been published to the present,<sup>42</sup> from which it is not apparent whether this was a single- or multi-phased grouping. Nevertheless, it can be suggested that this was a village settlement with individual farms, in the complex of which were several dwelling structures.

A similar arrangement can also be perceived at Rabelčja vas, where several dwelling structures were also excavated, arranged in two groups, separated by a road that twisted through the settlement.<sup>43</sup> It is not possible to offer a more detailed description of the structures discovered in 1996 along Potrčeva Street, as the publication of the material is still underway.

A different interior organization of a settlement is testified to by the settlements excavated in the last three years at Rogoza near Maribor (Fig. 2-4) and Dragomelj near Domžale, that can be preliminarily dated to the older and middle Urnfield phases.<sup>44</sup> If I can judge from impressions gathered on my short visits to the excavations and the data offered to me by the excavators, both cases would be settlements of the "dispersed type".<sup>45</sup> The houses were placed some dozen meters apart and were

<sup>42</sup> See n.10.

<sup>43</sup> See n. 32.

<sup>44</sup> As indicated by the pottery, Rogoza was probably settled from the Baierdorf-Velatic phase to the transition to the Early Iron Age. Radiocarbon analyses for Dragomelj have shown that it was settled between the 12th and 10th centuries BC: Turk 1999a, 28.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. e.g. Schauer 1995, 121 ff., Fig. 1; 3; 4; 52; 64, etc.



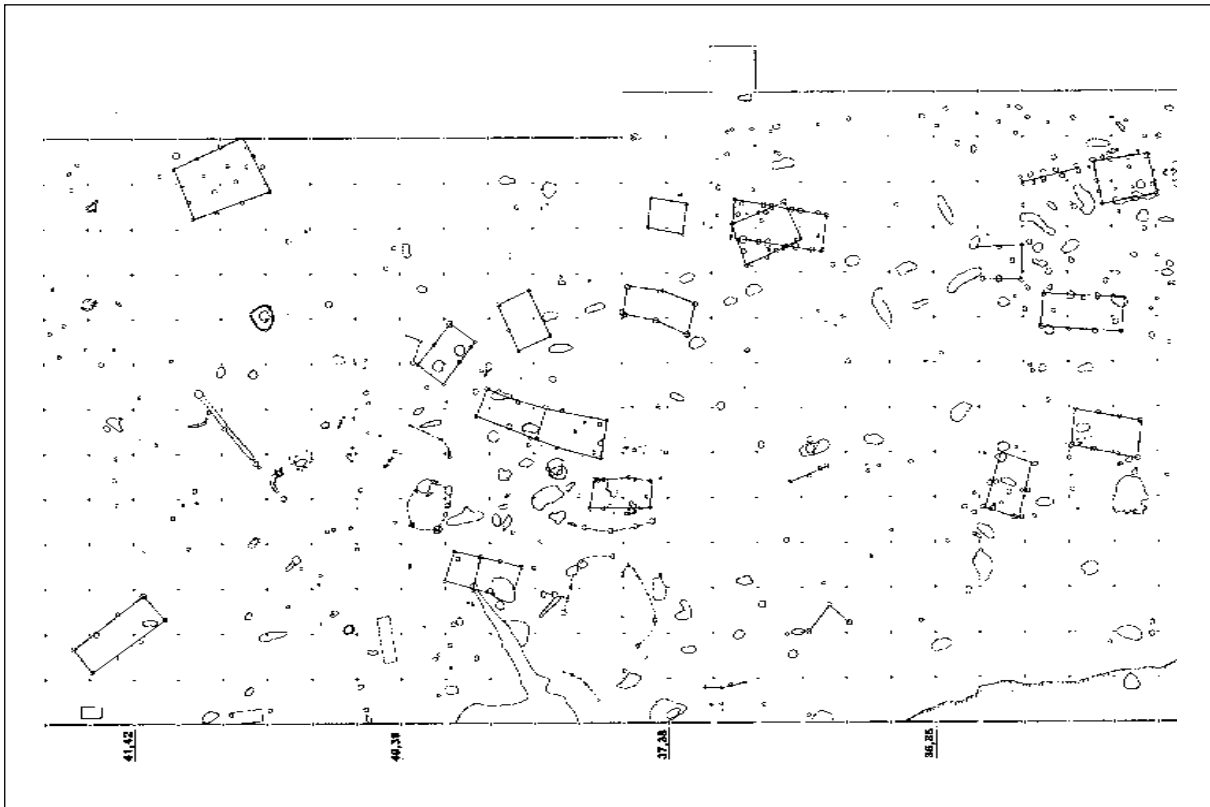


Fig. 4: Rogoza, plan of part of the excavated settlement. After M. Strmčnik-Gulič.

Sl. 4: Rogoza, načrt dela izkopane naselbine. Po predlogi M. Strmčnik-Gulič.

primarily of small dimensions. It seems indicative that at both settlements metallurgical activity was also established: at Rogoza, a large copper ingot covered with an enormous pot shard was discovered next to or in some structure, while Dragomelj contained two hoards (Fig. 14) and other casting instruments (Turk 1997; id. 1999a, 27 f.). These finds offer entirely new aspects for understanding the economic potential of these village communities. Despite these special activities in the settlements, neither of them has to date contained any special defensive ditch or stockade, thus they very probably represented an open type of settlement, although Dragomelj very probably extended on a bend of the Pšata River, and Rogoza spread along a stream winding towards the Drava.

An entirely different type is represented by the fortified settlement at Ormož, which was settled in the chronological span of the late Urnfield and Early Iron Age.<sup>46</sup> The settlement, occupying a surface area of around 1.5 hectares, was surrounded by an earthen bank (and probably also a palisade) and a deep defensive ditch, which gave the entire

community an interior consistency and safety, as it was well protected and separated from the nearby surroundings. As can be gathered from the numerous notes and periodic reports about the excavations, which have taken place, as was already mentioned, from the fifties onwards, the interior of the settlement was to a great extent built densely and to plan. The structures were arranged fairly regularly, in an orthogonal system along the main cobblestone paved village roads, perpendicularly placed so as to create larger and smaller courtyards with streets between them (Fig. 5; 6). Such an arrangement of dwellings gives the impression that these were closed units in the sense of individual farms with several structures. It is interesting that the structures were of varied size, suggesting that they had different purposes. The large two- or three naved houses, as a rule renovated several times, as is indicated by the numerous postholes, were perhaps dwelling houses, inhabited by a large family or a prosperous farmer. The other smaller structures, which were frequently exceptionally elongated and narrow, with at most two support beams in the center, perhaps accompa-

<sup>46</sup> See n. 1 and 8.

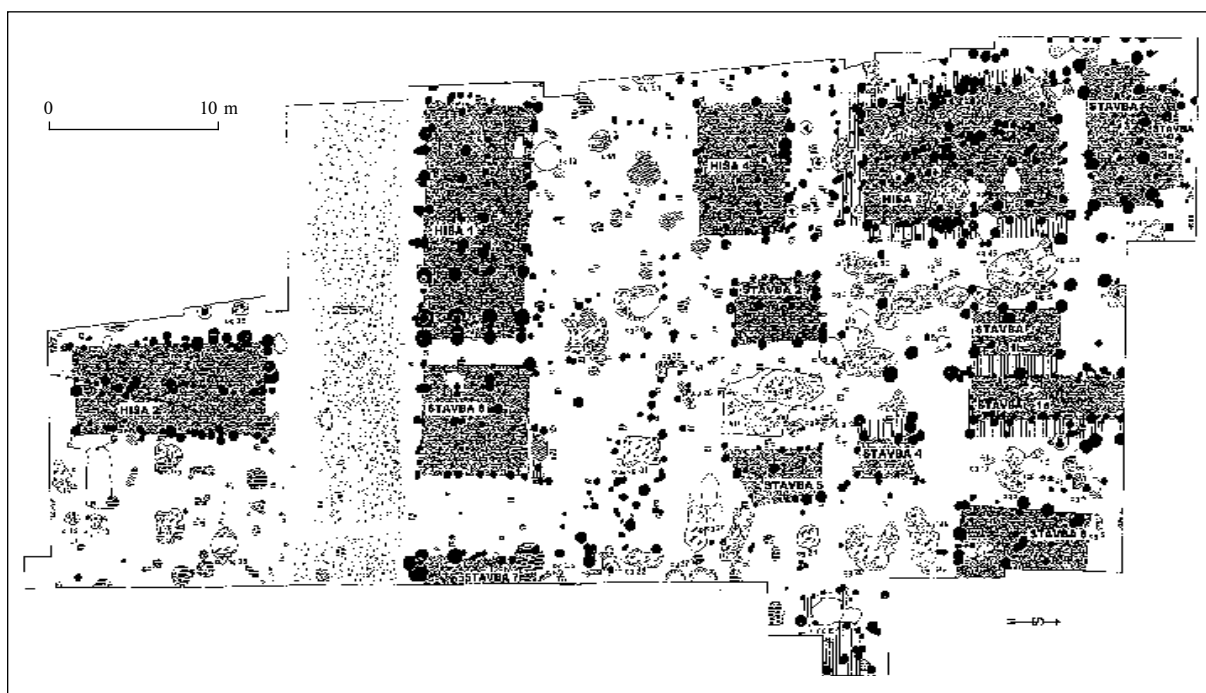


Fig. 5: Ormož, plan of part of the settlement, excavated in 1955-1957 (after Lamut 1987, 47).

Sl. 5: Ormož, načrt predela naselbine, izkopane v l. 1955-1957 (po Lamut 1987, 47).

nying outbuildings. It is certainly not excluded that these variations in dwelling size could have been a reflection of social stratification. Reasons for this are seen by B. Lamut (1987) in the developed economic activities of this settlement, of which metal working particularly stands out. Numerous casting implements were found, such as smelting pots, spoons, moulds, conically flattened bungs, a portable forge with bars, and remains of slag.<sup>47</sup> The fact is also important that the majority of these finds come from well determined and closed contexts, indicating that they were activities related to specific houses (or their courtyards: Fig. 5), from which it can be concluded that this was a specialized craft, not merely of local significance, but rather important for the entire settlement. Research to the present (Lamut 1987; id. 1988-1989) has indicated that the settlement at Ormož was established deliberately and in one stroke: the more or less regular division into lots for placing individual houses or farms was carried out according to plan, the settlement did not grow, but was rather established and built in the lifetime of "only one generation". Such an act

of foundation in no way excludes later repairs to houses and the addition of new structures, as is normal for a settlement that was settled throughout a lengthy period (Ha B-C).

As is indicated by several recent excavations, the settlement at the same time developed outside the fortified site - on its northwestern side, where we could hypothesize a gate and a road leading along the Drava to Ptuj. This would apparently be some kind of suburbium, for which comparisons can be found, for example at Feudvar near Mošorin on the Tisza River.<sup>48</sup> It is interesting that settlement remains were also discovered in the same direction on the following rise - at Hajndl, and this settlement was protected with a palisade and ditch, not comparable in terms of depth with that at Ormož. As can be concluded on the basis of the pottery finds, this settlement also existed partly in the same period as Ormož,<sup>49</sup> although it must have had a different character.

The Ormož settlement, as a complex with a clearly distinguished differentiation (a fortified town with various dwelling structures and craft

<sup>47</sup> Cf. also Hvala-Tecco 1987; Wanzek 1989.

<sup>48</sup> Hänsel, Medović et al. 1991, 201 ff., Fig. 54; Hänsel, Medović 1998, 26 ff.; Falkenstein 1998, 129 ff.

<sup>49</sup> I am grateful to M. Lubšina Tušek, I. Žižek and B. Djurić for data from the systematic trench survey carried out in 1998-1999 because of highway construction. The pottery finds indicate that this was a settlement from the transition from the Urnfield period to the Early Iron Age. Large quantities of slag were also discovered, indicating that this settlement was perhaps involved with processing iron ore.

activity, suburbium, and a settlement of different nature - Hajndl - in the immediate vicinity), exhibits accordingly certain characteristic elements that permit us to classify it among sites with proto-urban traits.<sup>50</sup>

A special place among the Drava River basin sites of the late Urnfield period is held in light of its position by the settlement at Ptujski grad (Ptuj Castle), as dominating the Ptuj plan and controlling an important crossing of the so-called "Amber Road" across the Drava. It must also simultaneously have had some special role in the framework of the Ptuj micro-region, as other hamlets and settlements existed alongside it, such as the large settlement complex at the former military warehouses, or rather the Capucin Monastery, which in terms of construction and the size of the structures is reminiscent of the settlement at Ormož (Fig. 7), and the settlement on the right bank of the Drava near Sv. Rok in Spodnja Hajdina.<sup>51</sup> The settlement at Ptuj Castle, uncovered by the excavations of J. Korošec in the tournament field, resulted in relatively rich remains of buildings, hearths, and refuse pits from the late Urnfield period and the Early Iron Age. It is hard to reconstruct how the buildings in this area were truly arranged, as they were damaged by the numerous later construction interventions. Despite this, the hypothesis of M. Roeder is worth mention (1997, 613), who suggested a cult site or sanctuary in this area, as concluded on the basis of comparisons with similar sites in the broader Danubian-Carpathian region. In this sense, the settlement at Ptuj Castle would represent not merely a strategically important stronghold, but also a (regional?) cult center.

To summarize in brief form our knowledge about settlements in the period of the Middle and Late Bronze Age in the lowland sections of Slovenia: in the period of the Middle and initial Late Bronze Age, settlements existed with individual farms and densely arranged buildings, and occasionally with a protective fence and defensive ditch (Oloris near Dolnji Lakoš, Rabelčja vas). With the abandonment of these settlements, a new type appears,



Fig. 6: Ormož, part of the settlement: house remains with post-holes, excavated 1979-1980. Photograph: M. Tomanič-Jevremov.

Sl. 6: Ormož, izkopavanja l. 1979-1980. Pogled na predel naselbine z ostalinami stavbe in jamami za stebre. Foto: M. Tomanič-Jevremov.

the so-called open settlement of scattered type, probably of markedly rural character, although other activities also took place at them, such as metallurgy (Rogoza, Dragomelj). At the transition to the late phase of the Urnfield period, new proto-urban centers also appeared in addition to these rural settlements (Ormož and Ptuj - the latter with Ptuj Castle and the settlement between Potrčeva Street and Rabelčja vas), which flourished partly due to the lively trade along the Drava,<sup>52</sup> as well as across it (along the "Amber Road"), and partly also due to other factors, perhaps because of the profusion of ore from the southern Pohorje Range,<sup>53</sup> and perhaps also because of the gold-bearing Drava itself.<sup>54</sup>

An entirely different image of settlement is indicated in Dolenjska/Lower Carniola, with the exceptionally low lying sections of the lower Sava River Basin and the Sotla River Basin, for which a similar model of settlement as in the Podravje can probably be suggested, as is indicated by the numerous urnfield cemeteries in the vicinity of Dobova, and further to the east along the Sava at Velika Gorica and Zagreb. In the hilly world of Lower Carniola, what are known as elevated

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Hänsel 1996.

<sup>51</sup> Korošec 1951; Teržan 1990a, 346 f., Fig. 92; Tušek 1993; Lubšina-Tušek 1994-1995; ead. 1995; ead. 2001.

<sup>52</sup> The sites of the Ruše group along the Drava attest to contacts with the Danubian region from Slavonia and Vojvodina to the Wallachian lowlands, cf. e.g. Oman 1981, 148 ff.; Teržan 1995, 349 ff., Fig. 20; 21; Hänsel 1976, 118 ff. Some role in such connections may have been played by barges, which in the recent past reached almost as far as the mouth of the Danube - cf. Juvan 1986.

<sup>53</sup> Prim. Drovenik, Pleničar, Drovenik 1980 with a metallurgical map of Slovenia; Drovenik 1987; Teržan 1983; Velušček, Greif 1998.

<sup>54</sup> For the gold-bearing nature of the Drava River, see Drovenik, Pleničar, Drovenik 1980, with a metallurgical map of Slovenia; Teržan 1990a, 81; Šašel Kos 1998.



Fig. 7: Ptuj, the area of the former military warehouse on Potrčeva Street, part of the settlement, excavated 1996. Photograph: M. Lubšina-Tušek.

Sl. 7: Ptuj, izkopavanja l. 1996. Prostor bivših vojaških skladišč ob Potrčevi ulici, pogled na predel naselbine. Foto: M. Lubšina-Tušek.

settlements (to distinguish them from the later Iron Age hillforts) are characteristic. The majority have been discovered only in the last decade, when the Institute of Archaeology, under the direction of J. Dular, oriented its research to the systematic discovery and test trenching of fortified settlements of the elevated type in this region.<sup>55</sup> Such an orientation of research could otherwise mean that only one sequence in the settlement of the hills of Lower Carniola, at the moment indicated as characteristic, has been embraced. The most recent excavations of Milena Horvat on the route of the highway near Bič have discovered the remains of a settlement from the Late Bronze Age at Sela near Dob, which lies in a valley, at the foot of a low elevation, seemingly a small hamlet that cannot be classified in the category of elevated settlements.<sup>56</sup>

The characteristics of these elevated settlements include small dimensions, while some are fortified with earthen banks and palisades. Dular dates most of them to the chronological span of the late Urnfield period (Ha B), and has established that most of them were abandoned at the beginning of the Early Iron Age (Ha C1 or the Podzemelj horizon). Such an interpretation gives this kind of Lower Carniolan settlements a particular historical weight, and an attempt is made to understand them as a result of restructuring in

the formation period of the newly created Hallstatt centers. Problems with this thesis are indicated in the case of large Hallstatt hillforts, or rather their accompanying cemeteries, whence individual finds of Urnfield age are also nonetheless known. On the basis of the latter, it can be hypothesized that some of these settlements were also populated in the Urnfield period, although perhaps to a lesser extent. Such finds are known, for example, from Velike Malence,<sup>57</sup> Libna,<sup>58</sup> and Magdalenska gora near Šmarje,<sup>59</sup> and a surprising fact is that some of them even take part among the repertory of the earlier UFC. This again opens questions about the beginnings of the settlement of Lower Carniola in the earlier phase of the Urnfield period and about a possible continuity of these settlements into the Early Iron Age.

At the same time it seems important that several other elevated settlements from the earlier period of the UFC are known, such as that at the dominant position of Korinjski hrib above Veliki Korinj in the Suha krajina region (Dular et al. 1995, 91 ff., Pl. 2), as well as at Žlebič near Ribnica (Puš 1988-1989), and at Kostel on the Kolpa River (Velušček 1996), which are interpreted as strategically important strongholds on the road towards the Lika region and the Kvarner Bay, as is also indicated by several hoards (Udje, Ribnica, Debeli vrh) and individual finds.<sup>60</sup> It is interesting that in the Hallstatt period, these connections and areas lose all importance.

Settlement in the Urnfield period in western Slovenia is yet again different - both in hilly Notranjska/Inner Carniola, as well as on the Karst plateaus (Kras) and the remainder of the maritime region (Primorje). Especially in the Karst, fortified settlements surrounded by powerful stone walls are predominant, called "gradišče" or "castelliere", which have given the entire cultural phenomenon in the Karst region and Istria the name "the Castellieri Culture" (Marchesetti 1903; Gabrovec 1983, 46 ff.). Its beginnings in the Karst region and Istria should be sought in the developed Early Bronze Age, and its decline in the period of the Late Iron Age.<sup>61</sup> Although our knowledge of the Castellieri Culture is still very modest, as

<sup>55</sup> Dular et al. 1991; id. 1993; id. et al. 1995; id. 1999.

<sup>56</sup> I would like to thank Milena Horvat for a visit to and data about the excavations. The report on the excavations is in press: Mi. Horvat 2000.

<sup>57</sup> V. Stare 1960-1961, Pl. 1; 10: 3; Stare 1960, Fig. 14; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 112 ff., Pl. 89: 8; Guštin 1996, Fig. 6: 3.

<sup>58</sup> Guštin 1976, Pl. 13: 12; 59: 10; 80: 15.

<sup>59</sup> Hencken 1978, Fig. 296 e; Šinkovec 1995, 97 f., Pl. 27: 190.

<sup>60</sup> Hirschbäck-Merhar 1984; Teržan 1984; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 159 ff., 212, 223, Pl. 60-68; 88 B; 136-138; Šinkovec 1995, 106 f., 111, Pl. 30: 210; 32: 219; ead. 1996, 156 ff., Fig. 17; 19.

<sup>61</sup> Čović 1983a, 122 ff.; Mihovilić 1987; ead. 1994; Cardarelli 1983; Teržan, Mihovilić, Hänsel 1999.

not a single settlement has been systematically excavated on Slovenian territory, and we must depend primarily on research in the Karst area near Trieste,<sup>62</sup> and Istria,<sup>63</sup> it is clear that this was not an entirely uniform phenomenon with a continuous development. Instead, in the chronological span of the existence of the Castellieri Culture certain changes and shifts can be perceived, both in terms of the interior colonization and territorial spread into the continental hinterland, as well as in view of the choice of location for individual settlements and their construction. Spatial research into the Castellieri Culture in the Karst region has mainly been undertaken by B. Slapšak (1995), who established that this was a settlement system which logically depended on the utilization of fertile cultivable land, which is relatively scarce in this area. At the same time, numerous caves were also populated in the Bronze and Iron Ages,<sup>64</sup> the majority of which can be interpreted as periodic habitats - probably of shepherds, so that cave finds could also be one of the indicators for another important economic branch in this region, and otherwise for extensive grazing. In the framework of the Karst settlement system, Slapšak hypothesized multiple micro-regions, which he sees as connected in some kind of reciprocal hierarchical relationship, while it was not strictly defined whether this organization of this region, or even this relationship between them, changed depending on the modality of various factors. Also in the framework of individual micro-regions, he distinguished between topographically and functionally different types of settlement, which he attempted to classify hierarchically and connect logically to the interior system of the micro-region. Unfortunately, Slapšak's idealized theoretical model of settlement in the Karst region lacks a temporal dimension, as it deals with the Karst Castellieri

Culture *en bloc*, which is understandable given the present state of research in this region. Exactly because of this, his study represents an imperative for planning systematic research with extensive excavations.

The chronological period of settlement can be perceived for only a very few fortified settlements in the Slovenian Karst.<sup>65</sup> The pottery from the site at Šmihel above Štorje<sup>66</sup> indicates that the Castellieri Culture in the Middle and Late Bronze Age occupied the entire Karst plateau to its northern edge, while it probably did not penetrate into Inner Carniola (Notranjska).<sup>67</sup> As is indicated, certain changes occurred not earlier than the young or late Urnfield period, i.e. at the transition to the Early Iron Age.<sup>68</sup> Thus pottery decorated with a pseudo-corded design is known from Cvinger near Dolenja vas on Cerknica Lake,<sup>69</sup> similar to that at the site near Šmihel above Štorje (Guštin 1979, Pl. 7: 8; 8: 9), as well as at numerous castellieri in the Trieste region Karst, such as at Cattinara and in the graves at Santa Barbara, which belonged to the castelliere at Jelarji.<sup>70</sup> This is characteristic pottery with a pseudo-corded decoration, carried out in the same manner as the early Este pottery. Pottery decorated in this manner is distributed throughout the broad Venetic and Friulian region,<sup>71</sup> as well as at numerous Istrian sites.<sup>72</sup> It seems likely that with this type of pottery, changes that also took place in Inner Carniola in this period are indicated, such that significant shifts occurred in the orientation of the Inner Carniolan area, fostering closer ties to the coastal-Karst and northern Adriatic cultural regions, as is also shown by several hoard and individual finds in Inner Carniola and the maritime province of Primorje.

Similar difficulties are also faced in classifying the strongholds in the Vipava valley and the Posočje/Soča River basin. D. Svoljšak (1988-1989) otherwise

<sup>62</sup> Moretti, Gerdol, Stacul 1978; Karoušková-Soper 1983; Maselli Scotti 1994; Flego, Rupel 1993.

<sup>63</sup> Bačić 1970; Čović 1983b; Mihovilić 1994; Teržan, Mihovilić, Hänsel 1999.

<sup>64</sup> Leben 1967; Montagnari Kokelj 1994; ead. 1996a.

<sup>65</sup> For the Karst region of Trieste, see the very clear work of Flego, Rupel 1993; for the rest of the Karst region, the fundamental work is still Marchesetti 1903.

<sup>66</sup> Guštin 1979, Pl. 7: 9; 9; Mihovilić 1995, map.

<sup>67</sup> Compare the pottery from Križna gora (Urleb 1974, Pl. 35; 36), Metulje on Bloke Plateau and Šmihel (Guštin 1979, Pl. 16; 72), which has somewhat different characteristics.

<sup>68</sup> There is a terminological problem in this classification, which certainly is connotative: whether to use the central European chronological system or the Mediterranean-Italic one, the latter with the beginning of the Iron Age as early as 1000 BC: cf. Müller-Karpe 1959, esp. 182 ff. Fig. 64; Peroni 1995.

<sup>69</sup> The rescue excavations, with participation by the then archaeology students A. Bavdek, J. Gospodarič, and T. Šajn, were directed by M. Urleb in 1985. My thanks to A. Bavdek for this information.

<sup>70</sup> Lonza 1973, Pl. 5; Maselli Scotti 1981, Pl. 2: 3,4; 4: 11,12; Montagnari Kokelj 1996b, Pl. 1: 8; 4: 1.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Müller-Karpe 1959, Pl. 90: A 4; B 11,17; Frey 1969; Cassola Guida, Vitri 1988.

<sup>72</sup> Mihovilić 1972.



Fig. 8: Sermin, the position of Kaštelir and the coastal settlement (after Rajšp, Trpin 1997, Section - Sectio XIX 15 and J. Horvat 1998).

Sl. 8: Sermin, lega kaštelirja in obalne naselbine (po Rajšp, Trpin 1997, Sekcija - Sectio XIX 15 in J. Horvat 1998).

placed them among the *castellieri* on the basis of the pottery finds, at the same time warning about differences, which were partly predicated by the different geomorphological conditions and hence the conditions for settlement, as is reflected in the choice of places for settlement, as well as in their fortification system.<sup>73</sup> Nonetheless, it is interesting that it is possible to note similarities in the manner of constructing buildings in this area with the already described construction in the Drava basin. At Most na Soči (It. *Santa Lucia*), house remains were discovered with vertical support beams, wedged into a deep pit or posthole, which significantly differs from the building techniques at the same site in the Iron Age, when they built somewhat standardized houses - a type of log-cabin with solid stone foundations and special drainage walls.<sup>74</sup> This indicates that these strongholds, which

Svoljšak defined as the Posočje/Soča basin group of the Urnfield Culture and are related primarily to similar sites in the Natisone River valley in Friuli, lasted only for a short time.<sup>75</sup> It seems that they are followed in this region by a new wave of settlement at the transition to the Early Iron Age, known to us as the phenomenon of the Santa Lucia/Most na Soči cultural group.<sup>76</sup>

Attention is also drawn among the coastal sites by the recently discovered lowland stronghold near Sermin at Koper, which at that time was probably situated on the bank of an island. Below the fortified site on Sermin, which strategically dominates the Bay of Koper, at its base and not far from the mouth of the Rižana River, traces of a settlement were discovered, populated in various chronological periods - at least from as early as the middle Neolithic with the Danilo Culture onwards, and

<sup>73</sup> A series of new strongholds from the Bronze Age have also been discovered during preparations for constructing the highway in the Vipava valley. As the excavations are still being performed, a more specific chronological determination is not possible. I would like to thank P. Bratina and B. Djurić.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Svoljšak 1988-1989, Fig. 3-5, Add. 1; id. 1976.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Vitri et al. 1991; Teržan 1995, 330, Fig. 4.

<sup>76</sup> See the article by S. Gabrovce in this volume of *Arh. vest.*

then further in the period of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age (*Fig. 8*).<sup>77</sup> This was probably the harbor for the castelliere at Sermin, and perhaps also for a trade and production center of broader importance. This thesis is supported by the otherwise only rare outstanding finds, among them a double mould for producing winged axes and circlets. Corresponding products can be traced in the broader hinterland of *Caput Adriae*, while the most authentic, or closest to the original, were found in a hoard from *Kanalski vrh* in the *Soča River* area. The circlets from this site were made of a special alloy with a high percentage of tin, and hence it is surmised that this represented a special form of distributing this precious metal.<sup>78</sup> Thus it seems that this harbor area in the Bay of *Koper* could be interpreted as one of the windows of the *Karst* region towards the overseas world, which began to open more intensively just in the period of the Late Bronze Age and the transition to the Early Iron Age.<sup>79</sup>

#### IV. CEMETERIES

The appearance of cremation and urn graves on the territory of Slovenia in the framework of the *Virovitica* cultural group, or perhaps even before this, parallel with the *Bronze Age Tumulus Culture*, has already been discussed in chapter II of this outline. Cemeteries from this early period, on flat ground, are characterized by relatively few graves, which perhaps is a result of the present state of research or may nevertheless reflect a relatively small local population. Despite this, it is possible to establish certain general characteristics: in graves with urns but also without them, pottery grave goods predominate, while metal grave goods are exceptional. An example of this would be the graves from *Potrčeva Street* in *Ptuj*, with a large amount of vessels, in addition to which numerous pot shards were also discovered, indicating a special ritual in the burial rite (*B. Jevremov 1988-1989*). Perhaps burial took place in the same manner in the cremation graves at *Črnelica* under *Rifnik*,

where just such highly fragmented pottery was discovered (*Vogrin 1986a; ead. 1986b*). A different image is indicated by the few graves from central Slovenia, such as are known, for example, from *Ljubljana* (*Puš 1982, Pl. 7; Teržan 1995, Fig. 5*) and *Kamnik* (*Gabrovec 1985, Fig. 1*). In addition to the urn, usually only one other pottery vessel is found in them, whether a jug or a dish, as well as more valuable metal grave goods. In general, metal jewellery is very rare in the graves of the *Virovitica* group, and weapons and tools as a rule are not included at all among the offerings, consequently a strict taboo was in place regarding them in the burial ritual. In terms of the minimal numbers of such graves in Slovenia, it is still too soon to make a conclusion about their local specific features or any possible close connections with other areas of the *Virovitica* group or any other cultural group.

Not before the transition from the earlier i.e. older to the late Urnfield period did extensive flat cremation cemeteries or urnfields, with more than a hundred graves appear in the region that is now Slovenia. These were decisive for the cultural determination of individual populations, so that several cultural groups are distinguished: the *Ruše* cultural group (*Fig. 1*),<sup>80</sup> settled in the region along the *Drava River* (*Podravje*) from *Ruše* to *Ormož*, with a series of cemeteries known (such as at *Ruše*, *Maribor*, *Pobrežje*, *Radvanje*, *Hoče*, *Hajdina* and *Rabelčja vas* in *Ptuj*, *Ormož*, and under *Brinjeva gora*),<sup>81</sup> which probably also spread on one side into the valley of the *Savinja River*, as is particularly shown by the finds from *Rifnik*,<sup>82</sup> and on the other along the *Mura River* into the region of central and upper *Styria*.<sup>83</sup> What is known as the *Dobova* cultural group inhabited the lower *Sava* basin (*Posavje*) and the *Sotla River* region (*Posotelje*), with a large concentration of cemeteries in the area of *Dobova* (*Stare 1953; id. 1957; id. 1975*), and the cemeteries in the broader region of *Zagreb* and *Velika Gorica* can probably also be attributed to this (*Vinski-Gasparini 1973; Stare 1957a*).

Central Slovenia with the hilly *Lower Carniola* (*Dolenjska*), the *Ljubljana* basin, and parts of

<sup>77</sup> Snoj 1992; J. Horvat 1997, 15 ff.; Svetličič 1997, 31 ff.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Snoj 1992, Pl. 6; 7; Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1996, 59 ff., Fig. 2; 3, Pl. 95; 103-107; Trampuž Orel 1996, esp. 188.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Teržan 1995, 353 ff., Fig. 23; 24; ead. 1996b, 251 ff.

<sup>80</sup> In addition to these terms, the expressions the „*Maribor-Ruše* group” and the „*Dobova-Ruše* group” have also been used - cf. *Gabrovec 1983, 54 ff.*

<sup>81</sup> Müller-Karpe 1959, 115 ff., Pl. 108-123; Pahič 1957; id. 1972; Strmčnik-Gulič 1980; ead. 1985; ead. 1994-1995; ead. 1998; Tomanič-Jevremov 1988-1989; V. Pahič 1988-1989.

<sup>82</sup> Teržan 1990a, 90 ff., Fig. 20.

<sup>83</sup> Modrijan 1968, 26 ff., Pl. 6-8; D. Kramer 1995, 50 f.; M. Kramer 1996, 214 ff., Fig. 5

Upper Carniola (Gorenjska) was occupied by the Ljubljana cultural group,<sup>84</sup> to which Gabrovec added the Lower Carniola sites from nearby Mokronog (Ostrožnik, Slepšek) (Gabrovec 1973, Pl. 1-10) and Novo mesto (Bršljin, Mestne njive),<sup>85</sup> and from Golobinjek near Šentjernej (Gabrovec 1973, Pl. 11), as well as Vače (Stare 1955) and sites in Upper Carniola, such as Pristava near Bled (Gabrovec 1960a) and Kranj (Gabrovec 1960b; J. Horvat 1983). The comparison of these cemeteries with that of Ljubljana nonetheless indicates that the majority began somewhat later than the cemetery in the SAZU courtyard, whether in the period of the Ljubljana I b phase or at the transition to the Ljubljana II a phase.<sup>86</sup> The Ljubljana cemetery in fact was most similar in its early period to that of Dobova, both in the burial ritual and in the repertory of grave goods, indicating that in Ljubljana at the beginning this was merely a local variant of the Dobova group. Only in the course of time, and particularly at the transition to the Early Iron Age, were specific characteristics formed, permitting this to be defined - together with the other sites - as the separate Ljubljana Group.

In relation to this, a newly discovered site in White Carniola (Bela krajina) should be mentioned, as it introduces additional new elements in the framework of the settlement of Slovenian territory in the period of the late Urnfield Culture and the transition to the Early Iron Age. While excavating at Hrib near Metlika, under a Hallstatt tumulus they came across a previous flat cemetery with cremation graves, mostly in urns, which were surrounded (either individually or in small groups) by special stone wreaths arranged one next to the other (Križ 1991). This represents some kind of allotment of the cemetery, and perhaps those individuals whose graves were marked by wreaths had held some special place in the community. Such an internal division is unknown at other cremation cemeteries of the same period. As the material from this cemetery is still to be analyzed and prepared for press, these brief observations will suffice.<sup>87</sup> It is nonetheless interesting that in the broader area of Metlika, other contemporary cremation cemeteries are known, such as at Borštek and Špitalska draga (Dular 1979), which in terms

of burial ritual and manner of burial differ from the cemetery at Hrib. The differences between these Metlika cemeteries leads to the hypothesis that culturally heterogeneous groups were settled in Metlika with varied provenience or traditions, whose continuity in the Early Iron Age was also not entirely uniform: the cemetery at Hrib evolved into tumuli, a characteristic form of cemetery of clan-family significance in White Carniola and Lower Carniola, while the others were seemingly abandoned.

Only rare urnfield cemeteries are known from the western parts of Slovenia, which hampers the determination of some specific cultural group within the Castellieri Culture. However, the cemeteries from the vicinity of Škocjan near Divača, where a cult center of more than regional significance was probably located, stand out because of their special characteristics. This thesis is supported by the exceptional location of the Škocjan settlement above the sinkhole of the Reka River, as well as by the special characteristics of the bronze hoard finds from the caves at Preval (Mušja and Skeltna jama), not to mention the grave finds from cemeteries at Brežec and Ponikve. The graves at Brežec are relatively rich, but their composition differs entirely from other graves of the Urnfield period in Slovenia, introducing totally new elements into the burial ritual. Among them I will mention only the addition of weapons in the graves, which emphasises the military, martial component, thus placing Škocjan in the cultural concept of the Italic-Villanovan religious concepts that originated at the beginning of the Iron Age in the general area of the eastern Mediterranean and Greece, as well as in the western Balkans.<sup>88</sup> Another component that can be noted at the other cemetery in Škocjan at Ponikve is also interesting, although this is more poorly preserved, having been overlaid by a La Tène necropolis. Graves recognizably of the "Dobova type" were in fact found at this cemetery.<sup>89</sup> It is thus apparent that the population at Škocjan was heterogeneous, and that in some manner it had merged the specific characteristics of varied cultural groups or regions. Considering that in terms of the burial ritual and also partly the grave goods, this phenomenon was

<sup>84</sup> Stare 1954; Puš 1971; id. 1982; Gabrovec 1973; id. 1983, 63 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Šribar 1958-1959; Knez 1966; id. 1967; id. 1984; Križ 1995.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Gabrovec 1973; for the transition from Ljubljana I b to Ljubljana II a, also see Teržan 1987b.

<sup>87</sup> Grahek 2000 (being prepared for press).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977; Teržan 1990b, 69 ff., Fig. 15; Turk 1994.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Ruaro Loseri, Righi 1982, esp. Pl. 6; Turk 1994.



related to the Škocjan cemeteries, and particularly the small cemetery of Santa Barbara near Jelarji, it seems that this could be related and renamed - as according to E. Montagnari Kokelj (1996b) - as the Škocjan group (*facies* Škocjan), but equally, as the Karst Cultural group.

The remaining larger cemeteries in western Slovenia, such are known from Križna gora, from Tržišče near Cerknica and from Šmihel, as well as from Tolmin and Most na Soči, that begin in the period of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the early 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, perhaps with the exception of Tolmin, whose origins should be sought even before this, designate in this region the beginning of a new era - the Early Iron Age, the period of growth of the Notranjska/Inner Carniola and Santa Lucia cultural groups.

A very extensive bibliography exists for the chronology of cremation cemeteries in Slovenia, which has been a central theme in Urnfield Culture research for lengthy decades, thus we will limit ourselves merely to a brief summary. On the basis of Cemetery I from Ruše, H. Müller-Karpe (1959) founded a chronological scheme for the later period of the Urnfield Culture, with three chronological phases (Ha B1-3), not merely decisive for the Ruše group, but also for the broader eastern Alpine and pre-Alpine region. A lively discussion has taken place in the last several years about whether the tripartite division is justified or not: the opponents as well as the supporters have set up arguments for and against, in which not even an attempt has been made to perceive new scientific contributions in the chronological sense, but perhaps on a culturological-interpretive level.<sup>90</sup>

For the Ljubljana group, S. Gabrovec (1973; id. 1976; id. 1983, 66 ff.), on the basis of the cemetery in the SAZU courtyard in Ljubljana and depending on the Müller-Karpe system for the Ruše group, showed that it was possible in the framework of the later Urnfield period and its transition to the Early Iron Age to distinguish between the three, or rather five, chronological stages or phases, designated by him as Ljubljana I a-b, II a-b, and III (from Ha A2/B1 to Ha B3/C1). It is interesting that if one does not consider the very earliest Ljubljana graves, which must be

dated in the framework of BA D/Ha A1,<sup>91</sup> burial at the Ljubljana cemetery intensifies in the same period as at Dobova and when the cemeteries of the Ruše group being.

A chronological scheme for the Dobova group was suggested by J. Dular (1978), who placed the initial phase of Dobova in Ha A 1, and its end in Ha B 2. He succeeded in defining four chronological horizons in this framework - Dobova 1-4, which he based on the chronological phases of the Müller-Karpe system. The problem with Dular's period system is methodological, as the objects or leading types that denote individual phases are specific primarily in terms of the sex of the deceased (see *Fig. 10; 11*): thus phase I of Dobova is defined by graves rich in jewellery, which is a characteristic of female graves, while phase II is denoted exclusively by graves with pins, shown to have been characteristic for males, indicating that phases I and II are to a great extent contemporary. Because of this lapse, we cannot accept Dular's dating and chronological division of the Dobova cemetery without reserve. Minor corrections have already been suggested in another place - with the further thesis that burial at Dobova intensifies in the same period as at the Ljubljana cemetery and at the majority of the cemeteries of the Ruše group: at the transition from the early to the late Urnfield period.<sup>92</sup>

It is interesting that at the Škocjan cemeteries of Brežec and Ponikve near Matavun burial also began in more or less the same period - at the transition from the second to the first millennium BC. Large bow fibulae with two discs on the bow are primarily important for dating of the beginning of these cemeteries, or rather the earliest graves. These fibulae are characteristic in a very broad region from the eastern part of the Mediterranean to the northern Adriatic and its hinterland for the sub-Mycenaean and proto-Geometric or late proto-Villanovan period, so that they can be placed parallel to Ha A2/B1 in the sense of Müller-Karpe's system. The chronological span of the cemetery at Brežec near Škocjan amounts to nearly four hundred years, indicating that it remained in function to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, although its zenith was in the period of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Müller-Karpe 1959, 115 ff.; Pahič 1972; Ruoff 1974; Kaerner 1988-1989; Gabrovec 1983, 55 ff.; Teržan 1990a, 21 ff.; Peroni et al. 1990, 182 ff.

<sup>91</sup> Gabrovec 1983, 66; Teržan 1995, 330, Fig. 5.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Peroni et al. 1990, 193 ff.; Teržan 1995, 338 ff., Fig. 27.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977, 39 ff., Fig. 12; Guštin 1979, 18 ff., Fig. 6; 7; Peroni et al. 1990, 150 ff.; Turk 1994; Teržan 1995, 353 ff., Fig. 23; 28.

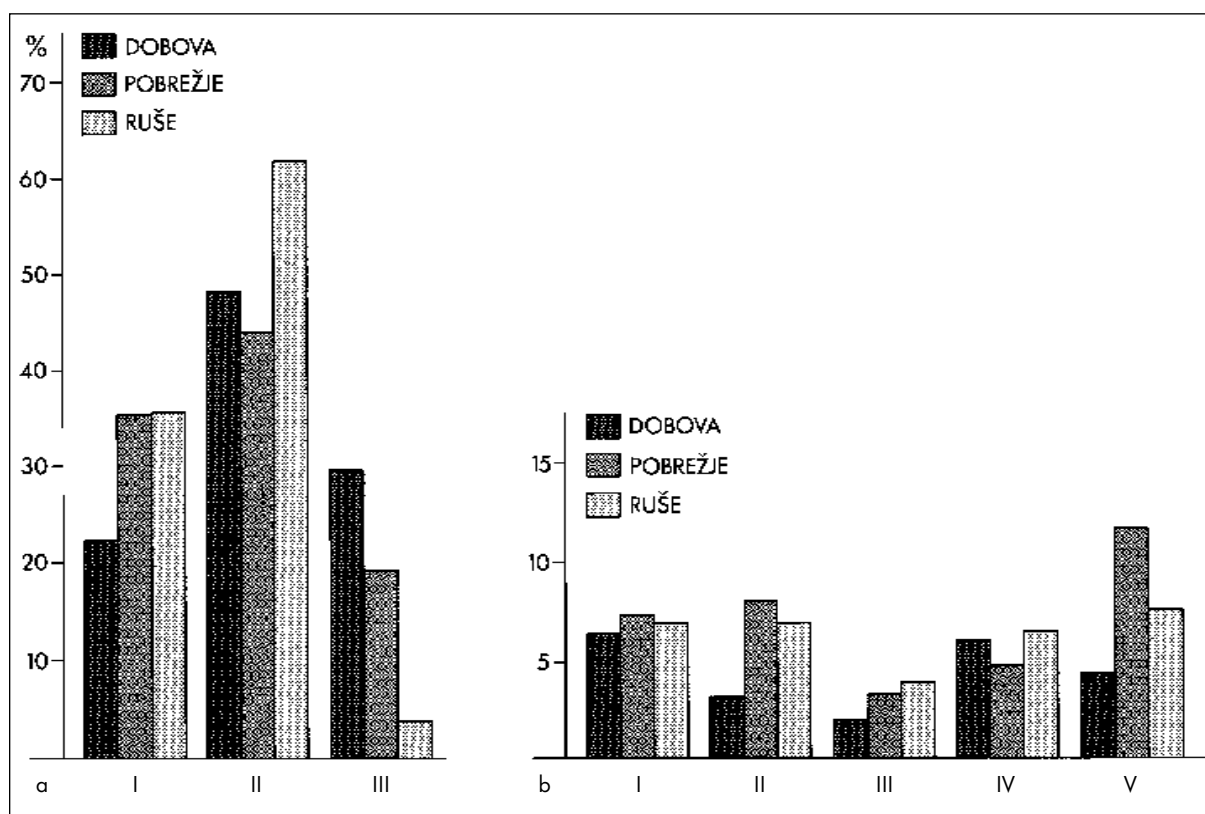


Fig. 9a: Comparison between the cemeteries of Dobova, Pobrežje, and Ruše in terms of the composition of grave goods. I - graves with metal grave goods, II - graves with pottery, III - graves without grave goods.

Sl. 9a: Primerjava grobišč Dobova, Pobrežje in Ruše glede na sestav grobnih pridatkov. I - grobovi z bronastimi pridatki, II - grobovi s posodami, III - grobovi brez pridatkov.

Fig. 9b: The main groups of "attire" from the cemeteries of Dobova, Pobrežje, and Ruše.

Sl. 9b: Glavne skupine "noš" z grobišč v Dobovi, Pobrežju in Rušah.

Only with the systematic publication of larger cremation cemeteries has the possibility been offered from the methodological point of view for research into the social structure and the specific features of individual groups in the framework of the Bronze Age cultures in the area of Slovenia. Only the first steps have been taken in this direction, summarized briefly.<sup>94</sup> Although the graves from the Urnfield period are relatively modest, analysis of the composition of the grave goods allows the gleaning of certain unwritten rules, that appear as canonized, meaning that the burial ritual and funeral of the deceased were strictly fixed. The shape of the grave and the urn, the components of the offered vessels and metal grave goods, whether parts of attire or jewellery, were not left to chance or individual choice, rather they had a designating function both in terms of the sex and age of the deceased as well as in terms of his or her position in the local, but also wider, social community.

Research performed on the material from the cemeteries of Dobova, Pobrežje, and Ruše have shown that all three places had a basic tripartite social stratification: part of the population was buried without any grave goods whatsoever, part only had pottery vessels, and part had vessels and bronze grave goods. The percentage proportion between these three groups in the framework of individual cemeteries and the comparisons between them do not differ to the extent that they could be irrelevant (Fig. 9a; 9b). The most numerous at all three places was the group of graves with pottery, followed at Dobova by the group of graves without grave goods, while such graves were in the minority at Pobrežje and Ruše. The third group consists graves with metal grave goods, mainly attire elements and jewellery. It is interesting that this "richer" group at Pobrežje and Ruše is represented so to speak with equal shares: approximately 35 percent of the entire population (Fig. 9a; 9b).

<sup>94</sup> Teržan 1985; ead. 1987, 67 ff.; ead. 1995, 339 ff., Fig. 11-15.

DOBOVA																	
grave / grob	adult / odrasli					Pin / igla	Awl-wire / šilo-žica	Knife / nož	Razor / britev	Spear / sulica	Spindle-whorle / vijček	Button / gumb	Saltstone / spiralna cevčica	Small ring / obroček	Hair ring / obsenčni obroček	Necklet / ovrtnica	Pendant / obesek
334a						1											
77						1											
90						1											
244						1											
251	x		x			1											
110						1											
I 32						1											
217						1											
164						1											
200	x					1											
61						1											
173						1											
337	x		x			1											
346						1											
9						1	1										
119						1	x										
14						1		1									
18						1		1									
411	x					1								1			
311	x					1								1			
36						1										1	
6						1					2	1	x	1	2	1	
255	x					1						1?					
171									1								
301									1				x				
254								1									1
245	x							1									
69										1							

Fig. 10: Dobova, combination group I of bronze objects from the graves.

Sl. 10: Dobova, I. kombinacijska skupina bronastih predmetov iz grobov.

Differentiation on the following level is indicated primarily in the framework of the group with bronze grave goods (Fig. 9b). On the basis of attire elements and jewellery, which have undoubted marking characteristics - in the sense of "folk attire" they are thus specific in terms of sex (male/female) and age, one can outline further five characteristic combinations of objects or "attire". A recognizable element of male attire is a pin, in rare cases razors also were part of male equipment, while a knife was not an exclusively male attribute

(Fig. 10). Weapons as a rule did not take part in the funerary equipment of males, with only rare exceptions (one grave at Dobova).

Female attire is primarily characterized by circlet-shaped jewellery (torcs, armlets, hair-rings and earrings), which appear in three different sets, while the fourth combination of grave goods was heterogeneous. The first set as a rule was composed of a torc and armlet, usually worn in pairs at Pobrežje and Ruše, while at Dobova they are commonly found in odd numbers (Fig. 11-13).

DOBOVA																		
grave / grob	Adult / odrasli	senilis	maturus	adultus	infans I/II	Spindle-whorle / vijšček	Small button / gumbek	Button / gumb	Small spiral ring / spiralni prstan	Fibula	Saitaleone / spiralna cevčica	Small ring / obroček	Hair ring / obsenčni obroček	Bracelet / zapestnica	Necklet / ovrtnica	Pendant / obesek	Glass bead / steklena jagoda	
289	x			x			x	3		1	x	x	2	9	6	7	1	
305					x		x	1						3	3			
H							x							3	2	1		
17														2	2			
111	x			x					1?					1?	2			
186			x								x			2	2			
II 64	x					1		x			x			1	2			
G							x					x		2	2		1	
350									1?					2	1			
81								1						1	1			
284													1	1	1			
13														1	1			
356														1	1			
B											x			2?				
57												x	x	2				
409								1						2				
140														2				
III 34									1					1				
49														1				
220													1	1				
320														1				
194	x									1			2					
250										1			2					
97	Sx		x										2					
42													2					
127													2					
165													2					
249													2					
180													2					
229	x		x										2					
108										2			1					belt / pasna spona
170										1			1					
33													1					
1													1					
IV 192	x					1							1					
199	x		x										1					whet-stone / brus
213	x												1					
275	x												1					
373													1					
214													1					
138-139													1					
243	x		x										1					
259													1					
266													1					
283													1					
241	x				x								1					pin / igla
347													1					
10													1					
28										1?								
135										1								
123							1			1								knife / nož
413								1			x							
216	x		x															
226							2											
286							1											
295											x							
201											x							
V 332											x?							
60													x					
12													1					wire / žica
392	x		x						1				x					
5																		
4																		sheet-metal / pločevina
202	Sx					1												
348						1												
46					x													
102						1												

Fig. 11: Dobova, combination groups II-V of bronze objects from the graves.

Sl. 11: Dobova, II-V. kombinacijska skupina bronastih predmetov iz grobov.

POBREŽJE												
grave / grob	Spindle-whorle / vijček	Needle / šivanka	Knife / nož	Button / gumb	Small spiral ring / spiralni obroček	Saltaleone / spiralna cevčica	Fibula	Small ring-hair ring / obroček-obsenčnik	Spiral ring / spiralni obroč	Bracelet / zapestnica	Necklet / ovratnica	Pendant / obesek
98	1	1					2			4	1	2
7	13+1		1			1	2			2	1	
31		1?								4	1	
50										2	1	
38	1									2	1	
27	2	1								2	1	
II 112					3			1		2	1	
16	1			x							1	
70					1						1	
84					x						1	
34											1	
99											1	
56							1				1	
35		1					1	2		2		
49						x	1			4?		
III 111	1									2		
37										1		
101										1		
32							2	1	1			
86	1						2	1	1			
IV 113							1		1			
19							1		1			
3			1				1		2			
57	1						1		1			
114a	1						1		1?			
64	1						1		1			
73		1		1				1				
58		1						1				
125		1										
80		1					1					
127				x			1					4
28							1					
V 59							1					
18					1							
97					1							
100					1							
108					1							
120					1							
94					1							
116	1				1							
17					1							
67	1	1?										
62	2											
22	1											
20	1											

Fig. 12: Pobrežje, combination groups II-V of bronze objects from the graves.

Sl. 12: Pobrežje, II.-V. kombinacijska skupina bronastih predmetov iz grobov.

RUŠE I												
grave / grob	Spindle-whorle / vijček	Needle / šivanka	Knife / nož	Button / gumb	Wire-small ring / žica-prstan	Saltaleone / spiralna cevčica	Fibula	Ring / obroč	Hair ring / obsenčni obroček	Bracelet / zapestnica	Necklet / ovrtnica	Pendant / obesek
89						x	1	2+2		4?	1	
170			1				1			x	1	
78							3	1		2	1	
137		1							1	2	1	
62							1?		1	4	1	
41										2	1	
II 70								x		2	1	
90										2	1	
34										1	1	
140								1		2?	1	
79								2			1	
87											1	
46											1	
												pin / igla wood, sheet-metal / les, pločevina
26										2+1		
49							1			2		
III 66										2		
152							1			1		
104										1		
17										1		
												pin / igla
110		1					1					3
86							x					
149		1					1					
82		1					1					
93							1	1				
IV 99							1					
37							1					
47							1					
148							1					
67							1					
144							2					
									2	1		
88										1		
1										1		
50										1?		
64							x?					
84							x?					
36							1					
V 48							x?					
51							x					
22		1										
53		1										
60		1										
147	1											
130	1											

Fig. 13: Ruše I, combination groups II-V of bronze objects from the graves.

Sl. 13: Ruše I, II-V. kombinacijska skupina bronastih predmetov iz grobov.

Also characteristic for Dobova was a set containing several torcs. Several women with this set had even richer attire, with fibulae, bronze spiral wires, circlets, and sewing kits (needle, knife, and spindle). The anthropological analyses of the Dobova graves indicates that most were adult females with only the rare exception (the probably female child grave 305). Armlets are decisive for defining the second set: they were worn in pairs or individually. Other grave goods, such as the isolated fibula and spiral wire, are presumed to have served primarily as jewellery.

While the attires with the first and second sets of circlet type jewellery are represented at all three sites in almost entirely identical compositions and proportions, greater local differences have been noted in the "attire" of the third set. Hair-rings or earrings were primarily characteristic for the Dobova attire, worn in pairs or singly (*Fig. 11*). Most of the (recognizable) females were outfitted with such modest jewellery - 6.32%, while the few anthropological analyses would indicate an age group of adult women (*adultus, maurus*). At Pobrežje the third set, in contrast to that at Dobova, as a rule contained, in addition to one hair-ring or earring, a fibula and a spindle (*Fig. 12*). This set at Ruše was characterized primarily by one fibula, while other grave goods were rarer (*Fig. 13*).

It is to be expected that these varied female attire sets reflect the stratification of the female half of the population. The anthropological analyses are still too modest to permit the certain recognition of females of varied age or rank groups. The relative variability and variety of the female "attire" is perceivable, as there were four basic combinations with various shades, particularly in comparison with the apparent homogeneity and modest nature of the male attire. This relationship otherwise permits several hypotheses that in the framework of the upper stratum of the male world the principle of equality and simultaneous exclusivity prevailed in the burial rite: the leading position, which must have been held by this stratum of males in the community, was dialectically concealed in the grave outfittings and cult. At the same time the ratio/proportion is indicative between the "unstratified"

male half and the markedly stratified female half, leading to the thought that the basic social unit was a polygamous or polygynous family with a clear hierarchical ladder among the female community. It is interesting that the graves that stand out for their numerous and rich metal grave goods were as a rule female ones from the category of the first attire set, which is valid for Dobova, Pobrežje, and Ruše. Accordingly this would be the most "complete attire". The question is whether we can recognize in this a "married woman", a "first wife", or even a *mater familias*. Perhaps we can seek in their rich outfitting pointers for some kind of "matrilineal system", and with this a certain political role of these women in the framework of the individual groups. Attention is also drawn to the special status of certain women by astral and anthropomorphic pendants and amulets as a visual message of the special role of their bearers in the ritual performances of individual social communities.<sup>95</sup>

## V. HOARDS AND INDIVIDUAL FINDS<sup>96</sup>

Hoards in the Slovenian region, as well as the broader southern Pannonian world, are a significant phenomenon for the Urnfield period, while they occasionally appeared elsewhere as early as during the Early Bronze Age period. Earlier hoards from the Early and Middle Bronze Age are in fact extremely rare in Slovenia.<sup>97</sup> This probably means that the custom of depositing goods, such as we know in the form of hoards or buried finds, was put into effect much later here than in the eastern and northern sections of the Carpathian basin and the rest of central Europe. In the framework of the entire phenomenon of hoard deposition in the Urnfield period, it is possible to distinguish between several "hoard provinces", among which differences existed particularly in terms of the manner of deposition and the specific features of the hoard composition, as well as in terms of specific elements in the production of individual objects and the chronological relations. Hoard finds from the early and older Urnfield phases, which are particularly frequent in the eastern and

<sup>95</sup> For astral symbols, such as the wheel of the sun and the crescent of the moon, as well as various forms of anthropomorphic pendants, cf. Kossack 1954; Müller-Karpe 1978-1979; Teržan 1987a; for the special social role of women in the framework of Hallstatt communities in the southeastern Alpine and Pannonian world, see Teržan 1996a.

<sup>96</sup> This chapter mainly summarizes the achievements of the contributions in the *Hoards and Individual Metal Finds from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages in Slovenia*, Kat. in monogr. 29, 30, (Ljubljana 1995-1996).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. e.g. Innerhofer 1997; Krause 1998; for Early Bronze Age hoards in the southeastern Alps cf. Müller-Karpe 1952; Mayer 1977, 67, n. 189-209; for possible hoards from the Early and Middle Bronze Age in Slovenia cf. Šinkovec 1996, 153 ff., Fig. 10; 11.

central parts of Slovenia, can be related to similar finds primarily from southwestern Pannonia and from Friuli,<sup>98</sup> while hoards from the later Urnfield phases, most of which are known from the western Slovenian area, can be related mostly to finds from the western and southern Alpine lands and from the Apennine Peninsula all the way to Sicily.<sup>99</sup>

The chronology of hoard finds still represents a special problem, related to the creation and manner of deposition of these finds and their interpretation, which in many ways is dependent on the circumstances of burial. The first chronological system for hoards from Slovenia was proposed by H. Müller-Karpe, who classified them into a six phase scheme of the Urnfield Culture for the southeastern Alpine region (1959). In composing a chronological system of the Urnfield Culture for the broader region of southern Pannonia and the northwestern Balkans, K. Vinski-Gasparini (1973) also depended on this Müller-Karpe system, and both were followed by S. Gabrovec (1983) in his review of the Late Bronze Age in Slovenia for the series *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*. A somewhat different presentation of the chronology of hoard finds in the broader region from the Caput Adriae to Pannonia is offered by P. Turk (1996a). Turk's four phase chronological system in and of itself perhaps does not differ in essentials from those mentioned above, but it introduces important new criteria of a structural nature: both the composition of the hoard (the representation of individual types and examples of weapons, tools, jewellery, plano-convex and other ingots), as well as the degree of preservation of individual objects (in terms of whether they are whole or damaged, deliberately cut up into pieces, destroyed, etc), are important and designative for the chronological evaluation of the hoards. In this manner it is possible to distinguish between two categories of hoards: what are called the "smaller" and "larger" hoards of mixed composition, which exhibit a very standardized repertory of individual objects and their combinations, and a fairly standardized proportion of whole or fragmentary objects (Čerče, Turk 1996).

In the framework of the first hoard phase of the Urnfield period (according to Turk), hoard

finds from the category of "small hoards of mixed composition" are particularly characteristic, which primarily contain completely preserved objects, as a rule individual pieces of weaponry or tools, such as are known from Pušenci, Podgradje near Ljutomer, Slovenska Bistrica, and Tomišelj near Ig. It is possible to propose these as sets of equipment, the property of a few individuals, perhaps craftsmen and warriors. Their composition is reminiscent of the outfitting of rich male graves, particularly those from the region of northwestern Pannonia and Slovakia, characteristic for the so-called Čaka Culture and groups related to it. Thus it would be possible to see in these small hoards some kind of substitute for such graves with rich equipment, particularly since - as has already been mentioned - only a few graves are known from this period in Slovenia, most of them belonging to the Virovitica group.

The appearance of "large hoards of mixed composition" in Slovenia is tied to phase II (according to Turk's system), and is explicable and understandable only in connection to a similar constellation in the broader region of the Carpathian basin and the rest of central Europe. These hoards in terms of the composition and leading types are clearly related to the southern Pannonian -Danubian region, which is valid for the types of offensive weaponry (e.g. swords, spears, axes, etc),<sup>100</sup> defensive gear (helmets, greaves),<sup>101</sup> and various tools (e.g. sickles, axes, etc),<sup>102</sup> as well as for several types of jewellery (fibulae with pendant elements, bronze belts, etc). It is important that these connections are also indicated by archaeometric research into the metals. The latter has shown that the bronze products from this area were at a very high technological level, comparable only to the similarly produced objects in the Carpathian basin region, while it can be concluded that the remainder of central and western Europe lagged behind the Carpathian craft circle in the technological sense in this period.<sup>103</sup>

These ties probably did not exist merely in terms of metallurgy, but also mining activities. The Slovenian region was also of interest because of its ore sources.<sup>104</sup> Thus the hoard from Jurka vas contains a two-armed pick, considered to be

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Hansen 1994; Turk 1996a, 89 ff., Fig. 1-7; Trampuž Orel 1996.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Turk 1996a; id. 1997; id. 1999b; Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1996, Fig. 3-6; Trampuž Orel 1996; ead., Heath 1998.

<sup>100</sup> Hansen 1994, 27 ff.; Harding 1995, Pl. 49-52; Turk 1996a, Map; Soroceanu 1997, 396 ff., Fig. 4; Teržan 1996b, 247 f., Fig. 2.

<sup>101</sup> Hencken 1971; Hansen 1994, 11 ff.; Teržan 1996b.

<sup>102</sup> Hansen 1994, 158 ff.; Pavlin 1997.

<sup>103</sup> Trampuž Orel 1996; cf. also the article by N. Trampuž Orel in this volume of *Arh. vest.*

<sup>104</sup> See n. 52.



a special type of mining tool (i.e. Ritzeisen) and simultaneously a mining status symbol - a kind of scepter. Such two-armed picks are distributed primarily in the region of the ore-bearing Carpathian Mountains.<sup>105</sup> Another indicator of mining activity in Slovenia is the hoard from Hudinja, discovered in the immediate vicinity of mines in the southern Pohorje Range. In contrast to the two-armed pick, the Hudinja hammer has analogies in a very wide area extending from the Carpathians all the way to Cyprus, although the closest parallel was found at the copper mine at Mitterberg in Salzburg. Considering the chemical composition of the winged axes from the same hoard, indicating that they were made from so-called eastern Alpine copper, characteristic for the Austrian Alps, the hoard from Hudinja, and thus indirectly mining in the Pohorje Range, can be tied to the eastern Alpine Bronze Age mining tradition.<sup>106</sup> The question remains open as to whether the stimulus for this mining should nonetheless be sought in the eastern Mediterranean - perhaps on Cyprus itself - as several artifacts from these hoards would also indicate such - Mediterranean - connections.

Ingot fragments of a special type are found in the hoard from Hočko Pohorje, and were compared to ingots of the "ox-hide" type by N. Trampuž-Orel because of their formal and chemical characteristics.<sup>107</sup> The new find of the same type of ingots from Oberwilflingen in Württemberg<sup>108</sup> indicate that the Pohorje fragments do not represent a complete exception in the central European framework, merely being one of the precursors of trade connections with the Mediterranean lands. We can similarly explain a bronze fragment worked in the perforated technique in the hoard from Udje, considered to be part of a bronze tripod of Cypriot or eastern Mediterranean origin.<sup>109</sup> This list of unusual material can be supplemented further by an amber necklace from the hoard of Debeli vrh in the Kočevje region, a part of which was an astragaloid bead of the Tiryns type.<sup>110</sup> Such amber beads, produced from Baltic amber, were popular jewellery in a very extensive region between the Levant and the Alps, and thus the Kočevje find can be explained as a sign of a mediatory role of



Fig. 14: Dragomelj, hoards. Photograph: T. Lauko, National Museum of Slovenia.

Sl. 14: Dragomelj, depojski najdbi. Foto: T. Lauko, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana.

the Slovenian region in trade between the "north and south" of Europe. Proof that these contacts did not take place purely on the level of exchange of goods, rather that the transfer of knowledge (or know-how) was also involved, can be seen in certain forms of lettering - symbols on various tools, and mostly on winged axes, such as on an axe from the Čermožiše hoard. Such symbols in the eastern Alpine region are considered by E. Mayer to have been derived from eastern Mediterranean models and proposals.<sup>111</sup>

The contacts of this region with the eastern and central Mediterranean lands intensified particularly in the period of the transition from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the

<sup>105</sup> Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 89: 13; Teržan 1996b, 245 ff., n. 17, Fig. 1.

<sup>106</sup> Teržan 1983, 62 ff., Fig. 9: 6,7; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 88 A; Trampuž Orel, Klemenc, Hudnik 1993, 162 ff., Fig. 3; Pl. 2; Teržan 1996b, 248 ff., Fig. 3.

<sup>107</sup> Trampuž Orel 1996, 178 f; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 86: 206.

<sup>108</sup> Primas, Pernicka 1998.

<sup>109</sup> Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 136: 10; Trampuž Orel 1996, 178; Teržan 1996b, 250, Fig. 4.

<sup>110</sup> Hirschbäck Merhar 1984, 94, Pl. 9: 17; Teržan 1984, Fig. 1; ead. 1995, 353 ff., Fig. 24; Hadži, Orel 1978; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 66: 66.

<sup>111</sup> Šinkovec 1995, 57 f., Pl. 13: 173; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, Pl. 42: 2; Mayer 1976, 365 ff.

1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC - at the transition from the early to the late Urnfield period, which corresponds to phase III of hoards according to Turk (1996a). Major changes occurred in this period in the distribution of hoards, as well as in their composition. Hoards become truly rare in the eastern Slovenian regions, meaning that the custom of depositing bronze or metal objects had been abandoned. In contrast to this, the deposition of hoards increased in the more western Slovenian regions, although these hoards were significantly different in composition from the usual "large hoards of mixed composition" from the earlier Urnfield period. As a rule, they contain large quantities of broken up ingots of various types and axes, among which several were made of such alloys that their use as tools is questionable, which particularly applies to the auricular axes. Thus it is proposed that both the ingots and the axes served for distributing metals. A similar role was probably held by several types of circlets and pendants, such as those from the Kanalski vrh hoard, made of a special alloy, probably used for distributing tin, which in comparison with copper or lead was less accessible and hence more valuable.<sup>112</sup>

Changes in the realm of metallurgy deserve special mention in relation to this. As has been shown by the most recent archaeometric research,<sup>113</sup> at the transition to the late Urnfield period, a new type of bronze alloy appeared with entirely new characteristics. This particularly refers to the use of lead, as well as tin and other additions, such as antimony, nickel, arsenic, etc. As conjectured by N. Trampuž Orel, in comparison with the earlier period, a new, different raw material was in use, whose exploitation can also be perceived in the mines in this region. New technological processes also had to be introduced, stimulus for which N. Trampuž Orel particularly seeks in the Apennine peninsula, perhaps as a mediator between Cyprus and the Alps, as the latter were probably of interest given their rich ore deposits.

The fact is also surprising that contemporaneously with the mentioned new elements in "copper metallurgy", the first traces appear in the *Caput Adriae* region and in the western Balkans of the

processing of iron ore and the use of iron to manufacture the first iron products. These first steps toward a "ferrous metallurgy" in this region can be understood as a result of contacts with the Aegean region and perhaps even with Cyprus.<sup>114</sup>

The characteristics of the hoards of phases III and IV (according to Turk) from the Slovenian region differ significantly from the so-called Thraco-Cimmerian hoards or phase V hoards (following Vinski-Gasparini 1973) in Pannonia and the broader Carpathian basin, as well as in the western Balkans. This particularly applies to the western Slovenian hoards with their excellent connections to the Italic and wider Mediterranean area, offering additional arguments for the thesis (already mentioned in the chapters on settlements and cemeteries), that in this region the process began, primarily important for the further development into the Early Iron Age cultural groups, such as those of Santa Lucia/Most na Soči, Notranjska/Inner Carniola, and the Karst region.

Special problems are faced in the interpretation of the meaning of hoards: how to understand and explain the essence of these buried, discarded treasures of mostly bronze artifacts. Two main explanatory routes exist: the profane and the sacred.<sup>115</sup> Various elements offer a starting point for discussion, among which, in addition to the hoard composition and the degree of preservation of the material, those that seem decisive include the circumstances of the site, or rather what led to the choice of where to bury or preserve the goods. The majority of hoards were found outside of settlements and cemeteries, frequently in isolated areas in mountainous regions, in cliff crevices as well as in caves. An exception would be the few hoards from settlements, mostly from central and western Slovenia, that have been discovered only in the last several years, whether by rescue excavations or by modern treasure seekers with metal detectors.<sup>116</sup> These hoards were found to contain primarily entire or fragmentary plano-convex ingots, other types of ingots, and almost unrecognizably cut up sections of other metal objects, mostly auricular axes. There need almost be no doubt that these were definitely hoards of raw material,

<sup>112</sup> Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1996, Pl. 100-107; Trampuž Orel 1996, 188 ff., Pl. 9.

<sup>113</sup> Trampuž Orel 1996; ead., Heath 1998; cf. also the article by N. Trampuž Orel in this volume of *Arh. vest.*

<sup>114</sup> Teržan 1995, 353 ff., Fig. 28; ead. 1996b, 251 ff.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Čerče, Turk 1996; Hänsel 1997.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Turk 1997; id. 1999a; id. 1999b; Trampuž Orel, Heath 1998. It is interesting that these are sites from the general surroundings of Ljubljana (Dragomelj, Gobavica near Mengeš, and Kranj-Jelenov klanec), as well as strongholds in Notranjska/Inner Carniola and Dolenjska/Lower Carniola, that can mostly be dated to Ha B, and partly to Ha C. I would like to thank P. Turk and P. Pavlin for detailed information.

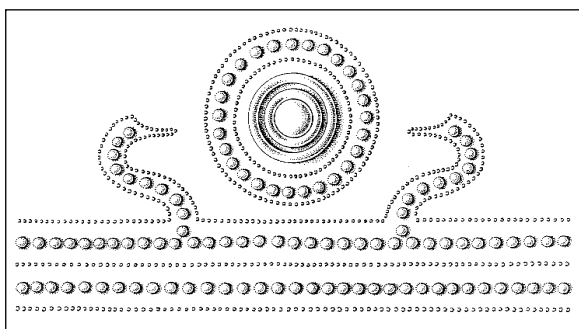


Fig. 15: Škocjan, Mušja jama (Jama na Prevali II), decoration from a fragment of a bronze pail of the Hajdúböszörmény type.

Sl. 15: Škocjan, Mušja jama (Jama na Prevali II), okras s fragmenta bronastege vedra tipa Hajdúböszörmény.

where the value of the object had been reduced exclusively to that of the metal, thus prepared for further recasting or storage. These represent indicator of intensive metallurgical activities in the settlements of central and western Slovenia in the later Urnfield period and its transition to the Early Iron Age.

These hoards thus differ greatly, both in terms of the purpose of deposition as well as their composition, from the majority of the remaining hoards that were discovered, as has been mentioned, outside of the settlements. For the “small hoards of mixed composition”, mostly containing entirely preserved objects, an explanation has already been offered that they represented individual treasures, related to special funerary customs and religious concepts. A different image is offered by the “large hoards of mixed composition”, containing a collection of variously preserved products in large quantities,<sup>117</sup> probably collected gradually in the framework of a broader community, and thus we attempt to understand them as a form of collective property. The objects, whether whole or fragmentary, in these collective hoards lead to a (hidden) characterization of the primary essence and activities of individual groups. The following elements were encompassed:

- a male component with weapons and tools, with an emphasis on the warrior and craftsman aspects (similarly as in the small hoards, which perhaps represent a connective link between both hoard categories);

- a female component marked by jewellery and perhaps sickles, with a modest proportion of jewellery, corresponding to the place of women in the society, while the sickles, if we interpret them as a “female attribute”, would emphasize

the role of females in agricultural activities and the reproductive process;

- a metallurgical-demiurgic component with an entire repertory of metallic products ranging from raw forms of the primary metal ore (representing various technological phases), through ingots and alloys, to semi-finished products, and, at the end, even scrap metal, such as various fragments of wound, broken, cut up objects, but also unsuccessful products, whose value at the moment of their being made obsolete was limited merely to the value of the metal, similar to that at the “initial phase” of the metallurgical process.

Thus an entire creative cycle is presented, perpetuating itself with a final act of deposition of this material - yet again a “still life”, a return to the Earth. This aspect allows for hypotheses, that the role of the so-called “large hoards of mixed composition” was in the religious sphere, i.e. in the symbolic depiction and perpetuation of bipolar and cyclical principles - life and creation, nature and the cosmos. A similar connotative meaning is also held by one of the leading sacral symbols of the Late Bronze Age - the water bird, as a rule depicted antithetically (*Fig. 15*), thus as a migratory bird - a herald of changes in the yearly vegetative cycle.

Yet another type of hoard should additionally be mentioned, that can be designated as “long term” hoards. Examples of this would be the hoards from Škocjan (from Jama na Prevali I and II, or Mušja and Skeletna jama),<sup>118</sup> and from Šempeter near Gorica (Furlani 1996). Their chronological span encompassed several centuries, specifically the entire Urnfield period - from phase I to IV according to Turk. Differences between these hoards remain in terms of the circumstances of the finds. Škocjan was a holy site - a holy abyss (*Fig. 16*), where valuable objects were thrown in offering, particularly bronze weapons (helmets, greaves, swords, axes, spearheads), and bronze vessels, and in the last offering of gifts to the deep/the earth, the majority of gifts had further been entrusted to fire, as many objects were deliberately damaged - burnt, melted, bent, broken, and chopped up. Considering that mainly male objects of warrior equipment were discovered in Mušja jama at Škocjan, this can be considered as a cult site of martial significance. In contrast, at Šempeter the hoard was in two vessels, probably containing the goods of a settlement, which on

<sup>117</sup> Čerče, Turk 1996, 12 ff., Fig. 2-8.

<sup>118</sup> Szombathy 1912; Vitri 1983; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 217 ff.; Turk 1994.



Fig. 16: Škocjan, Mušja jama (Jama na Prevali II), view from the abyss. Photograph: J. Hanc, National Museum of Slovenia, Ljubljana.

Sl. 16: Škocjan, Mušja jama (Jama na Prevali II), pogled iz brezna. Foto: J. Hanc, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana.

the one hand is similar to the other numerous hoards discovered in vessels (such as at Udje and Kanalski vrh), while on the other, this is also reminiscent of such depositories as holy treasuries, preserved in large vessels - *bothroi*, as known from the Italic and Aegean regions. If we attempt to comprehend the Šempeter hoard in this light, we might well succeed in similarly explaining several other hoards.

This complex is supplemented by the category of so-called "individual finds of metal objects", which are relatively common throughout the entire Slovenian region. As was shown by I. Šinkovec (1995; ead. 1996), a certain resemblance and regularity is exhibited in their "deposition", particularly in terms of their geographical position, so that we can interpret them as the result

of deliberate actions in the framework of a conscious structuring, and an exceptionally complex cultural system.

The deposition of individual objects was very common in the Urnfield period, although it is a reflection of a lengthy tradition which begins surely in the Early Bronze Age, if not even as early as the Copper Age or Eneolithic. One characteristic, in contrast to the hoard finds, is fairly well preserved, entire objects, while the material also differs typologically from the hoards. The cause of the varied preservation of objects are certainly diverse, although they can be sought in the manner and purpose of deposition, which is probably reflected in the choice of place where such an object was deposited. Šinkovec has shown that what are known as aquatic finds stand out among such finds, these being objects from rivers or river banks, as well as former river bends (oxbows), streams, marshes and swamps. This fact is given yet more fluency by the almost total lack of hoards from such "wet" surroundings. It is indicative that the aquatic finds are dominated by weapons, particularly swords and daggers, and the proportion of spears and axes is also not insignificant. Specifically because of this fact, we have attempted to explain them as offerings in the framework of a ritual cleansing and a symbolic removal of numinous elements - "impurities" - after a homicide, military conflict, victory or defeat.

In addition to aquatic individual finds, another group with a characteristic site of deposition consists of the upland or mountainous finds. Some were discovered in the vicinity of mountain passes and roads, because of which they can be related to prehistoric routes and interpreted as votive offerings. Others come from upland plateaus and mountains, and they can be tied to transhumant high mountain grazing,<sup>119</sup> which does not exclude the possibility that they could also be related to ritual activities. For the remaining individual finds, it is difficult on the basis of the available data about the circumstances of their discovery to derive any substantial elements for their interpretation. Since they fit into the overall image of the aquatic and upland finds both in terms of the representation of individual types of objects as well as the state of preservation, they should best be understood in the framework of the same interpretive possibilities: as votive offerings for the purpose of appealing to a deity for intercession.

<sup>119</sup> New research has shown that grazing in high mountain areas must be considered to have taken place from at least as early as the Eneolithic onwards: cf. Cevc et al. 1997.

## CONCLUSION

This attempt at outlining the Urnfield period in Slovenia has shown that the image of this time is still unclear, composed on the basis of highly varied sources, such as are offered by the remains of settlements and cemeteries, as well as hoards and individual finds, whose connections are not always evident. Nevertheless three main periods can be perceived in this framework.

In the eastern and central sections of Slovenia, the first period was given its character by the Virovitica Group, while this was true of the Castellieri Culture in the western sections. Other groups also existed in addition to these two, but it is still not possible to determine them more clearly. A special phenomenon of this period was the appearance of "small hoards of mixed composition", as well as what are known as "individual finds". Considering that they can be traced scattered through all of Slovenia from the mountains to the coast, they represent a special type of connecting link on the cultural and religious level.

The second period is harder to characterize, as only rare settlements and cemeteries are known. Only the new excavations at Dragomelj and Rogoza offer the first insights into the settlement culture of this time. It seems worthy of mention that remains of metallurgical activities were noted at both settlements, as it is the "large hoards of mixed composition" that give a special stamp to this period. Metallurgical activity was thus in full swing. Simultaneously, the hoards and individual finds reflect specific religious

concepts, different from those in the earlier, as well as in the later Urnfield periods.

With the third period, we wish to capture and depict the most important changes, in the sense of turning points, that occurred at the transition from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium to the 1<sup>st</sup> (at the transition from Ha A2 to Ha B1).<sup>120</sup> These affected all fundamental levels of human activity from the settlement structure, to the economic and technological fields, and further to the sphere of culture and religion. This was the period when the Ruše Group was formed in Podravje/the Drava basin, when Ljubljana and Dobova flourished, and when hilly Dolenjska/Lower Carniola was also intensively settled. The Castellieri Group of the Karst region gained in importance with new strongholds along the Adriatic coast (Sermin, Santa Barbara), and with Škocjan as a cult center of more than regional importance, which with its "multicultural" character established and mediated in contacts between the Mediterranean overseas and the continental hinterland.

A kind of prosperity and equilibrium was established, which we can understand as a process enabling the development of various economic branches, among which those that can be proven archaeologically include copper and iron based metallurgy, and a brisk trade that was caught up in a network of broader extensions. It was from such conditions that the Hallstatt Culture in Slovenia grew - with its regional groups that in manner aspects are merely continuations of the constellations created in the early centuries of the first millennium BC.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> These dates are only approximate, serving merely for a basic orientation. Discussion about the absolute dating of individual chronological phases is in progress because of new radiocarbon and dendro-chronological analyses: cf. Rychner et al. 1995; Rychner, Böhringer, Gassmann 1996.

<sup>121</sup> Finally, I would like to offer special thanks for help to P. Turk and M. Erič, and for photographs and plans: M. Tomanič-Jevremov, B. Lamut, M. Lubšina-Tušek, M. Strmčnik-Gulič and N. Trampuž Orel as well as to B. Smith-Demo, D. Merhar and P. Pavlin.

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## Oris obdobja kulture žarnih grobišč na Slovenskem

Ob tako pomembnem jubileju, kot je 50. obletnica *Arheološkega vestnika* (AV), si dovolimo Orfejev pogled na čas, ko je AV igral vlogo osrednjega glasnika slovenske arheološke stroke in vede: poskušajmo ugotoviti, na kakšen način in do kolikšne mere se je izpopolnilo spoznavanje in znanje o obdobju, ki ga označujemo ali s kulturološkega vidika kot kulturo žarnih grobišč ali s tehnološkega kot pozno bronasto dobo.

### I. POSKUS ORISA ZGODOVINE RAZISKOVANJ

V obdobju od izida prvega letnika AV, ki ga je izdal Arheološki seminar Univerze v Ljubljani, pa do jubilejne številke, ki izhaja pod akademjskim okriljem (Gabrovec 1979; id. 1984; Belak 1997), lahko sledimo vrsti sprememb, ki so zadevale tako AV kot tudi celotno stroko. Do pomembnih premikov je prišlo predvsem na organizacijski in institucionalni ravni, kar je bistveno opredeljevalo arheološko dejavnost na Slovenskem in hkrati vplivalo na konceptualno zasnovano vede in tudi njenega glasila AV.

Prvo obdobje zaobsega povojna leta vse do poznih 60-ih. Označuje ga izreden razmah v stroki tako na izkopavalnem, raziskovalnem kot znanstvenem polju: ustanovljena sta bila arheološki seminar, kasnejši oddelek na Filozofski fakulteti ljubljanske univerze in Sekcija za arheologijo pri Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti (SAZU), predhodnica današnjega Inštituta za arheologijo pri Znanstvenoraziskovalnem centru SAZU (ZRC SAZU) (Gabrovec 1979; id. 1984; id. 1998; Pleterski 1997); odpirala so se delovna mesta za arheologe v Narodnem muzeju in pokrajinskih muzejih. V teh letih povečane arheološke dejavnosti se je bistveno razširilo tudi poznavanje kulture žarnih grobišč. Uverturo predstavljajo širokopotezna izkopavanja Josipa Korošca na Ptujskem gradu v l. 1946-1949, ki so bila usmerjena predvsem v raziskovanje staroslovanske epohe, vendar so odkrila med drugim tudi ostaline prazgodovinske naselbine iz pozne bronaste dobe in prehoda v zgodnjo

železno dobo (Korošec 1951). Razmah izkopavanj je sledil v 50-ih letih, ki jih lahko označimo skorajda kot herojsko obdobje slovenske arheologije: Bernarda Perc je začela z izkopavanji žarnogrobiščne naselbine v Ormožu (1955-1962),<sup>1</sup> Stanko Pahič je raziskoval večplastno naselbino na Brinjevi gori in pripadajočo žarno nekropolo v Brezju (1953-1963),<sup>2</sup> izkopaval pa je tudi na žarnih grobiščih v Rušah (Pahič 1957)<sup>3</sup> in na Pobrežju pri Mariboru (Pahič 1972). Lojze Bolta se je lotil izkopavanj naselbine na Rifniku pri Šentjurju (1957-1963),<sup>4</sup> France Stare pa žarnih grobišč v Ljubljani (Stare 1954) in Dobovi (Stare 1953; id. 1957a; id. 1975). Tudi prvi grobovi z obsežne žarne nekropole na Mestnih njivah in iz Bršljina pri Novem mestu so bili obelodanjeni v teh letih (Šribar 1958-1959, 111 ss; Knez 1966; id. 1967). Pod vodstvom Jožeta Kastelica je bilo raziskano grobišče na Pristavi pri Bledu, kjer so na območju poznoantične in zgodnjersrednjeveške nekropole zadeli tudi na žgane grobove s prehoda kulture žarnih grobišč v zgodnjo železno dobo (Gabrovec 1960a).

Tej intenzivni izkopavalni dejavnosti so zvečina sledile sprotne objave, čeprav nekatere le v obliki krajših poročil,<sup>5</sup> hkrati pa tudi že posebne študijske obravnave posameznih najdb in najdišč. Izstopajo zlasti vzorna dela S. Pahiča. Omembe vredne so tudi objave starega, pred II. svetovno vojno izkopanega gradiva in pa znanstvene razprave. Tako je F. Stare že v prvi številki AV obdelal predmete iz žarne nekropole s Hajdine pri Ptujju,<sup>6</sup> posebno pozornost pa sta vzbudili njegovi študiji o polmesečnih britvah in o grobu 108 iz Dobove (Stare 1957b; id. 1960). Pomemben mejnik tega pionirskega obdobja raziskovanj kulture žarnih grobišč na Slovenskem predstavlja Pahičev prispevek sintetičnega značaja za epohalni opus *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije* (1975), za opus, ki je plod kolektivnega dela slovenskih arheo-logov te prve povojne generacije.

Kot ključno dopolnilo domačim raziskavam pa lahko označimo l. 1959 izdano delo H. Müller-Karpeja *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen*, v okviru katerega igrajo pred II. svetovno vojno odkrite najdbe

<sup>1</sup> Perc 1960; ead. 1962; ead. 1962-1963; ead. 1962-1964; Lamut 1987; id. 1988-1989; Teržan 1990a, 45 ss, 344 ss; ead. 1995, 345 ss.

<sup>2</sup> Pahič 1960; id. 1981; id. 1985; Oman 1981; V. Pahič 1988-1989; Teržan 1990a, 36 ss, 339 ss.

<sup>3</sup> Za nove najdbe iz ruškega II. grobišča glej Strmčnik Gulič 1994-1995.

<sup>4</sup> Bolta 1959; id. 1962; Pirkmajer 1983; ead. 1994; Teržan 1990a, 49 ss, 366 ss; ead. 1996a.

<sup>5</sup> Zatajila je predvsem obdelava gradiva iz velikih naselbinskih izkopavanj ter njihova objava.

<sup>6</sup> Stare 1950; prim. še Müller-Karpe 1959, t. 116; 117; Tomanič 1969.

s slovenskega prostora opazno vlogo kot osnova za kronološko sistematizacijo in periodizacijo kulture žarnih grobišč na širšem prostoru jugovzhodnega alpskega in predalpskega sveta, ter hkrati tudi kot vezni člen med srednjeevropskimi in sredozemsko-italskimi kronološkimi in kulturnimi sistemi. Ob tem je morda treba opozoriti na premočni in morda v določenem smislu celo zaviralni vpliv tega mogočnega Müller-Karpejevega dela na nadaljnje znanstveno obravnavanje te dobe v Sloveniji.

Drugo obdobje v razvoju slovenske arheologije označuje ustanavljanje regionalnih zavodov za spomeniško varstvo in njihovo delovanje v 70-ih in 80-ih letih. V njih so se namreč odpirala nova delovna mesta za arheologe - konzervatorje, ki so si pridobili pomembno mesto v okviru arheoloških dejavnosti. Pod njihovo kompetenco je prešlo celotno spomeniško-varstveno delo, vključno z izkopavalnimi posegi. Na ta način se je izboljšal pregled in nadzor nad arheološkimi najdišči, podatki o njih so se neizmerno pomnožili. Že l. 1948 ustanovljena posebna revija *Varstvo spomenikov* (VS) je v tem času prevzela vlogo sprotnega obveščanja in objavljanja krajših novic inotic. Tako razbremenjenemu AV se je ponudila možnost za njegov nov konceptualni razvoj. Pobudo je prevzelo Slovensko arheološko društvo (SAD), ki je začelo načrtno in redno prirejati strokovna srečanja, posvečena problematiki posameznih arheoloških obdobji. Prispevki iz teh kolokvijev so bili praviloma natisnjeni v naslednjih številkah AV, kar je bila odlična informacija o raziskovanjih na Slovenskem in hkrati o razvoju stroke, ki so ji ta srečanja dajala - kot kaže - poseben polet. V tem okviru je potekal tudi trinajsti kolokvij SAD l. 1986, posvečen bronasti dobi z vključno kulturo žarnih grobišč, na katerem so bili predstavljeni predvsem rezultati novejših naselbinskih izkopavanj, obravnavane pa so bile tudi nekatere druge aktualne teme te dobe (AV 39-40, 1988-1989, 111 ss).

Večja izkopavanja so bila v tem obdobju omejena zlasti na najnujnejše zaščitne posege ob obsežnih gradbenih delih kot npr. pri gradnji stanovanjske soseske in šolskega centra v Rabelčji vasi na Ptujju, kjer so bile med drugim odkrite ostaline bronzodobne in zgodnježeleznodobne naselbine ter žgani grobovi;<sup>7</sup> v okviru zaščite se je nadaljevalo raziskovanje prazgodovinske naselbine v Ormožu, kjer je bila ob naselbini na novo odkrita tudi manjša nekropola,<sup>8</sup> pa izkopavanje na območju žarnega grobišča na dvorišču SAZU v Ljubljani (Puš 1971; id. 1982) in na Mestnih njivah v Novem mestu (Knez 1984; Križ 1995). Med pomembna nova odkritja tega časa sodijo žgani grobovi iz obsežne nekropole v Tolminu<sup>9</sup> in ostaline poznobronzodobne stavbe na Mostu na Soči, na katere so zadeli prav tako pri zaščitnem izkopavanju, namenjenem predvsem osrednji naselbini železnodobne svetolucijske skupine (Svoljšak 1988-1989). V okviru raziskovalnih programov so namreč v tem obdobju potekala le maloštevilna načrtovana sistematična izkopavanja, med katerimi je v okviru naše teme treba omeniti predvsem

izkopavanje bronzodobne naselbine v Olorisu pri Dolnjem Lakošu<sup>10</sup> kot plod sodelovanja soboškega muzeja in akademijskega inštituta.

Neke vrste mejnik tega drugega razvojnega obdobja predstavlja že omenjeni kolokvij o bronasti dobi na Slovenskem, ki je potekal l. 1986 v Lendavi,<sup>11</sup> in pa spremljajoča razstava, ki jo je s krajšim zamikom postavil Narodni muzej l. 1987.<sup>12</sup> Pri obeh prireditvah je bilo obdobje kulture žarnih grobišč obravnavano kot integralni del bronzodobne, a vendar tudi s temami, ki so bile povsem specifične in nove. Jasno se je namreč pokazalo, da sicer bolje poznamo to kulturo kot druge - iz starejših faz bronzodobne, a vendar še zelo skromno in nezadovoljivo. Podoben vtis posreduje tudi Gabrovčev sintetični pregled bronzodobne (1983), ki je izšel v IV. zvezku veličastne izdaje *Praistorije jugoslavenskih zemalja* - v okviru opusa petih knjig, ki jo je pod odličnim, a stroгим vodstvom A. Benca izdal Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine v Sarajevu (PJZ 1-5, 1979-1987).

Tretje obdobje, ki se z 90-imi leti šele začinja, ostaja sicer v domeni arheoloških služb spomeniško-varstvenih zavodov, vendar doživlja bistvene konceptualne in metodološke spremembe. Vzrok zanje predstavljajo izkopavalni posegi velikih razsežnosti, ki jih zahteva in narekuje izgradnja slovenskega avtocestnega križa. V ta namen je Ministrstvo za kulturo imenovalo ekspertno komisijo - *Skupino za arheologijo na avtocestah Slovenije* (SAAS), ki ji predseduje B. Djurić. Le-ta je izdelala posebno metodologijo za terenske preglede pred pričetkom gradbenih del, shemo za organizacijo dela med izkopavanji in za obdelavo izkopane gradiva. Pomembno je, da je ob izkopavanjih načrtovano tudi sistematično vzorčenje in analiziranje ekofaktov.<sup>13</sup> S temi izkopavanji, ki glede na odprte površine - tudi do 35000 m<sup>2</sup> - daleč presega vsa doslej raziskana najdišča na Slovenskem, se odpirajo povsem novi pogledi v organiziranost posameznih naselij, poselitvenih kompleksov in arealov iz različnih časovnih obdobji. Arheološka stroka dosega tako znaten kvaliteten premik ne samo na organizacijskem in metodološkem nivoju, temveč tudi na spoznavnem.

V tem okviru so bila odkrita že mnoga nova najdišča, med njimi razmeroma številne naselbine iz bronzodobne, pa tudi iz obdobja kulture žarnih grobišč kot npr. v Slivnici, Hočah in Rogozi pri Mariboru<sup>14</sup> ter v Dragomlju pri Domžalah.<sup>15</sup> V našem orisu jih še ne moremo podrobneje obravnavati, vendar glede na prvi vtis dajejo slutiti, da se bo naše poznavanje in razumevanje poselitve in organiziranosti naselbin v okviru posameznih slovenskih regij bistveno dopolnilo, če že ne povsem spremenilo.

Nova pota odpirajo tudi nekatere druge arheološke raziskave, kot kaže zlasti najnovejša objava bronzodobnih depojskih in posameznih kovinskih najdb s slovenskega ozemlja, ki je plod dobro desetletje trajajočega skupinskega dela.<sup>16</sup> V okviru tega projekta je treba posebej izpostaviti arheometrične raziskave

<sup>7</sup> Tomanič-Jevremov 1974; B. Jevremov 1978; id. 1979; id. 1988-1989; Strmčnik-Gulić 1980; ead. 1985; ead. 1988-1989; ead. 1996; Teržan 1990a, 43 s, 345 ss; Lubšina-Tušek 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Tomanič-Jevremov 1977; ead. 1979; ead. 1981; ead. 1983; ead. 1988-1989; M. Jevremov 1983; Tušek 1984; Lamut 1987; id. 1988-1989; Teržan 1995, 345 ss, sl. 16-18.

<sup>9</sup> Svoljšak 1973; 1974; Pogačnik, Svoljšak 2000.

<sup>10</sup> Horvat -Šavel 1980; ead. 1988-1989; Šavel 1994, 55 ss; Dular 1987; glej tudi Dularjev članek v tem zvezku *Arh. vest.*

<sup>11</sup> *Lendavski zvezki* 8, 1986; *Arh. vest.* 39-40, 1988-1989.

<sup>12</sup> *Bronzodoba na Slovenskem*, razstavni katalog (Ljubljana 1987).

<sup>13</sup> V okviru projekta SAAS je ustanovljena tudi nova revija z naslovom *Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije* (AAS), Posebna serija Vestnika Uprave Republike Slovenije za kulturno dediščino, prim. Djurić 1999. B. Djuriću se zahvaljujem za podatke.

<sup>14</sup> Dela na odsekih v okolici Maribora potekajo od l. 1996 dalje, vodi jih M. Strmčnik-Gulić, ki se ji zahvaljujem za vpogled v izkopavanja in za objavljene fotografije. Glej Strmčnik-Gulić 1998.

<sup>15</sup> Dela v Dragomlju vodi P. Turk, za vpogled v izkopano gradivo in za fotografijo na sl. 14 se mu še posebej zahvaljujem. Prim. tudi Turk 1997; id. 1999a; 1999b.

<sup>16</sup> Teržan 1995-1996.

kovinskih predmetov, za katere so bili ustvarjeni ustrezni pogoji na osnovi dobrega sodelovanja Narodnega muzeja in Kemijskega inštituta v Ljubljani. Izsledki spektrometričnih in metalografskih analiz prinašajo tako pomembne in nove poglede za tehnološki, socioekonomski in kulturno-zgodovinski razvoj v pozni bronasti dobi na slovenskem prostoru, da jih bo nujno potrebno razširiti - tudi na druge materiale in druga obdobja, kot to podrobneje predstavlja v svojem tukajšnjem sestavku N. Trampuž Orel.<sup>17</sup> Dejstvo je, da so tovrstne interdisciplinarne raziskave za spoznavni nivo v arheologiji ključnega pomena in imajo zato obetavno bodočnost.

Ob tej priliki se zdi potrebno omeniti še neko drugo plat v slovenski arheologiji, katera ji ne more biti v ponos. Gre za dragocene sestavke izpod peresa Stanka Pahiča, ki jih izdaja avtor v lastnoročno izdelanih snopičih, v samozaložbi.<sup>18</sup> Ti Pahičevi prispevki in doneski k arheologiji Podravja, med njimi tudi študije s poznobronastodobno tematiko, bi nedvomno zaslužili, da bi bili objavljeni v dostojni obliki, ki bi bila dostopna tudi širši strokovni javnosti. Takšni, kot so, so poseben opomin slovenski arheološki publicistiki, zlasti AV.

## II. ZAČETKI KULTURE ŽARNIH GROBIŠČ NA SLOVENSLEM

Kultura žarnih grobišč (KŽG) predstavlja v okviru koncepta evropske prazgodovinske arheologije splošno sprejet pojem s fenomenološkimi in kronološkimi konotacijami. Kot poseben fenomen je bila najprej opredeljena na prostoru srednje Evrope in datirana v časovni razpon med Bd D in Ha B3.<sup>19</sup> Vendar pa se kljub desetletjem dolgi diskusiji odteguje jasni definiciji, ki jo otežujejo na eni strani njena univerzalnost in splošna razširjenost skorajda po vsej Evropi, na drugi strani pa njeni nešteti regionalni in lokalni obrazi in specifičnosti. Čeprav predstavlja pojem KŽG le izhodiščno hipotezo, se z vedno novimi raziskavami, vidiki in dopolnitvami na ravni spoznavnostnega ohranjanja njen označevalni pomen.

Toliko težja je opredelitev KŽG kot kronološke in kulturne dominante na Slovenskem in širšem Panonskem svetu. Tod se pogrebni običaji s sežiganjem umrlih navezujejo na starejše tradicije srednje in morda celo zgodnje bronaste dobe.<sup>20</sup> Predvidevali smo, da se najstarejši žgani grobovi na našem prostoru, znani doslej le iz vzhodne in osrednje Slovenije, pojavljajo v okviru t. i. virovitiške kulturne skupine, ki je poseljevala predvsem nižinske predele vzdolž Save in Drave in se je širila vse do Blatnega jezera. To skupino je prva definirala K. Vinski-Gasparini, ki jo je opredelila kot začetni pojav KŽG v južnopanonskem prostoru ter jo označila kot I. stopnjo v

okviru svojega kronološkega sistema. Časovno jo je vzporejala z Bd C-D v smislu srednjeevropske kronologije.<sup>21</sup>

Novi aspekte k problematiki virovitiške skupine prinašajo naselbinska izkopavanja zadnjih let v Olorisu pri Dolnjem Lakošu, Rabelčji vasi na Ptujju in Šimanu pri Gotovljah. V teh naselbinah se namreč poleg keramike virovitiške skupine pojavljajo tudi drugačne vrste posodja, med njimi tudi take, ki so okrašene z bradavičastimi izboklinami in z vrezanimi motivi, kar je značilno predvsem za keramiko srednjebronastodobne kulture gomil (Bd B1-C). V kakšnih kontekstih in medsebojnem razmerju se te različne keramične vrste nahajajo v omenjenih naselbinah, še ni povsem razjasnjeno, ker so raziskave še v teku.<sup>22</sup> Vendar kaže, da bo na osnovi teh novih raziskav možno v okviru srednje bronaste dobe in njenem prehodu v pozno bronasto dobo definirati več časovnih faz z različnimi kulturnimi poudarki. Dodaten kronološki problem pa predstavlja dejstvo, da še ne poznamo pripadajočih nekropol; edina izjema je naselbina v Rabelčji vasi, ki ji verjetno pripadajo grobovi, odkriti v Potrčevi ulici na Ptujju (Jevremov 1988-1989). Le v redkih grobovih virovitiške skupine je namreč najti posode, okrašene z izrazitimi bradavičastimi izboklinami - v maniri torej, lastni predvsem kulturi gomil. Tako je odnos med obema vrstama keramike s stališča grobov nejasen, čeprav se zdi, da je bil stik virovitiške skupine s starejšo kulturo gomil le kratkotrajen. Zelo arhaično namreč delujejo posode z bradavičastim okrasom iz grobov iz Krke (Gabrovec 1991b) in Moravč-Draščic (Sokol 1988-1989), manj izrazite so posode iz Sirove Katalene (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, t. 14: 1) in grobov iz Balatonmagyaróda-Hídvégpuszte (Horváth 1994, sl. 12: 1), a vendarle dobro primerlji-ve s keramiko iz Olorisa pri Dolnjem Lakošu. Tako je zanje možna datacija v čas Bd B2-C oz. v srednjepodonavsko stopnjo MD III po Hänslu.<sup>23</sup> S takšno časovno opredelitvijo teh žarnih grobov pa se zastavlja vprašanje o prvem pojavu upepeljevanja umrlih in o datiranju začetka virovitiške kulturne skupine ter hkrati o njenem razmerju do srednjebronastodobne kulture gomil na območju vzhodne Slovenije in južne Panonije.

Poseben problem predstavlja tudi kronološka opredelitev zaključne faze virovitiške skupine na našem območju in prehoda v starejše obdobje KŽG.<sup>24</sup> Med naselbinskimi najdbami iz Rabelčje vasi je najti tudi keramiko, ki izpričuje novosti v izdelavi in v oblikah ter okrasu (Strmčnik-Gulič 1988-1989, 159, t. 7: 2), kar spominja na vzhodnoalpsko kanelirano keramiko t. i. baierdofsko-velatiške skupine. Takšna keramika je bila pred nedavnim odkrita tudi v naselbini pri Rogozi.<sup>25</sup> kjer pa ne označuje zaključne, temveč - kot se trenutno kaže - začetno, naselitveno fazo v tem kraju. Ker se kanelirana keramika baierdofsko-velatiškega tipa pojavlja na širšem vzhodnoalpskem in panonskem območju v času zgodnje in starejše stopnje KŽG (Bd D in zgodnjega Ha

<sup>17</sup> Trampuž-Orel et al. 1991; ead. 1996; ead. et. al. 1996; Trampuž-Orel, Heath 1998; prim. tudi prispevek N. Trampuž Orel v tej številki *Arh. vest.*

<sup>18</sup> Doslej je izšlo že preko 30 zvezkov, predvsem v treh serijah: *Doneski h pradavnini Podravja 1* (1985 bis); *Naši kraji v pradavnini 1* (1985 bis); *Moje arheološke pisarije 1-4* (1951-1994); nekateri zvezki pa so izvenserijski.

<sup>19</sup> Holste 1962; von Merhart 1942; id. 1969; Kossack 1954; Müller-Karpe 1959; Kossack 1995 in drugi prispevki v istem zvezku.

<sup>20</sup> Prim. Dolenz 1972-1973, 15 ss, sl. 4; 5; Glaser 1984, 31 ss, sl. 1; 2; Vinski Gasparini 1973, 37 ss; Čović 1988.

<sup>21</sup> Prim. Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 24 ss; ead. 1983, 552 ss; Majnarič-Pandžić 1988; Honti 1993; Horváth 1994; Teržan 1995, 324 ss; ead. 1996c.

<sup>22</sup> Za Oloris pri Dolnjem Lakošu glej op. 10; za Rabelčjo vas Strmčnik-Gulič 1988-1989; ead. 1996; za Šiman pri Gotovljah Olič 1999 in Tomažič 1999.

<sup>23</sup> Horvat-Šavel 1988-1989; Šavel 1994, 55 ss; Hänsl 1968, 88 ss, karta 18, pril. 7; Teržan 1995, 325 ss. Glej tudi prispevek Dularja v tej številki *Arh. vest.*

<sup>24</sup> Izraze zgodnja, starejša, mlajša in pozna stopnja - uporabljam v smislu Müller-Karpejevega predloga za definiranje posameznih obdobj - Müller-Karpe 1974.

<sup>25</sup> Vodji izkopavanj M. Strmčnik-Gulič se zahvaljujem za vpogled v izkopavanje in za podatke.

A), je verjetno, da so istočasne spremembe in novosti zadele tudi celotno Podravlje in (oz.) Podravino.<sup>26</sup> Posredno jih potrjuje tudi bronasta igla z diskasto glavico iz naselbine v Rabelčji vasi, ki se ne pojavlja več v kontekstih Ha A2.<sup>27</sup>

### III. POSELITEV IN NASELJA

Geografsko je slovenski prostor zelo raznolik, saj se tod stika in prepleta ravninski - panonski, visokogorski - alpski, gorati - kraško-dinarski in submediteranski svet, kar se jasno odraža v njegovi členitvi na značilne pokrajine in manjše geo-grafske enote s klimatskimi in vegetacijskimi razlikami ter njihovi-mi posebnostmi (Gams 1990). Tako je okolje s svojimi specifičnimi naravnimi danostmi kot pomemben faktor pri naseljevanju posameznih predelov in pokrajin opredeljevalo tudi poselitev slovenskih dežel v času KŽG, ki ni bila - podobno kot v drugih obdobjih prazgodovine in zgodovine - kulturno, etnično ali politično enotna,<sup>28</sup> temveč moramo razlikovati vsaj troje kulturno različnih poselitvenih področij.

V vzhodnih in osrednjih predelih Slovenije se kaže "klasična" podoba poselitve, značilna za KŽG. Naseljevali so predvsem nižinske predele vzdolž večjih rek - Drave, Mure in Save - ter njihovih pritokov. Zvečine so bile za naselja izbrane lege na visokih rečnih terasah, pogosto ob sotočju potoka z reko, ali pa na vzpetinah ob rečicah ter v rečnih okljukih, a običajno z izdatnim ruralnim zaledjem. A vendar je v časovnem razponu KŽG opaziti tudi določene premike v poselitvi, tako glede izbire prostora kot v notranji organiziranosti naselij. Oglejmo si jih:

Naselbinam srednje (Bd B/C) in zgodnje pozne bronaste dobe (Bd D), kot so znane v prekmurskem Olorisu pri Dolnjem Lakošu, ptujski Rabelčji vasi in savinjskem Šimanu pri Gotovljah,<sup>29</sup> je skupno, da ležijo v ravnini na nizkih vzpetinah ob rečicah, a vendar v bližini goric. Tako je bilo naselje v Olorisu<sup>30</sup> obdano s potokom, morda le z naravnim rečnim okljukom, morda pa vendarle z izkopanim kanalom, kar bi pomenilo, da je šlo za večji gradbeni poseg pri izgradnji<sup>31</sup> obrambnega jarka, ki je bil dodatno utrjen s palisado ter je hkrati služil tudi za zajetje vode, saj je bil v njem odkrit lesen vodnjak.

Podobno lego je morala imeti tudi naselbina v Rabelčji vasi na Ptujju, ki je bila na zahodnem robu omejena s potokom Grajeno, na južni strani pa se je širila, kot so pokazala

nova izkopavanja 1996, v smeri proti Dravi - vse do današnje Potrčeve ulice,<sup>32</sup> vzdolž katere smemo predvidevati nekdanji breg Drave. Reka je namreč svoj tok pogosto spreminjala, tako je verjetno, da je bila njena struga v 2. tisočletju pr. n. š. veliko bližje bronastodobni naselbini v Rabelčji vasi, kot je danes, za kar govori tudi potek dravske struge v rimski dobi.<sup>33</sup> Ali je bila naselbina posebej varovana tudi na ostalih dveh straneh proti goricam, je še neznano. Zanimivo pa je, da so bile te naselbine na prehodu v starejše obdobje KŽG opuščene, le v Rabelčji vasi je bil severozahodni del iste lokacije v mlajšem obdobju uporabljen za grobišče, na jugovzhodnem delu (ob Potrčevi ulici) pa je ponovno zrastle naselbina.<sup>34</sup>

V naslednjem obdobju KŽG se izbira lokacij za naselja ni bistveno spremenila, čeprav kaže, da so raje izbirali kraje, ki so jih občasne visoke vode manj ogrožale.<sup>35</sup> Iz karte Podravja (sl. 1) je razvidno, da gre za sorazmerno intenzivno poselitev visokih rečnih teras od Ruš preko Maribora do Ptujja in Ormoža ter nižinskih oz. dolinskih predelov ob vznožju Pohorja, zlasti od Radvanja preko Hoč in Slivnice do Rogoze. Redkeje se nahajajo naselbine na višjih vzpetinah, za takšne je značilna dominantna, strateško pomembna lega tako npr. na Ptujskem gradu nad prehodom čez Dravo, na Grajskem griču v Gornji Radgoni<sup>36</sup> nad Muro, na Miklavškem hribu nad Celjem<sup>37</sup> nad okljukom Savinje in na Rifniku pri Šentjurju<sup>38</sup> ter na Ljubljanskem gradu nad Ljubljano.<sup>39</sup> Zanje smemo predpostavljati, da so se prav zaradi svoje lege, s katere je bilo možno vizualno obvladovanje širšega prostora, po svoji gospodarski in družbeni vlogi razlikovale od nižinskih, izrazito ruralno usmerjenih naselij. Kot neka posebnost glede na lego pa se kaže naselje na Brinjevi gori pri Zrečah, saj gre za izrazito višinsko naselbino na vzhodnih obronkih Pohorja.<sup>40</sup> Vzroke za njeno izjemnost moramo iskati v dejstvu, da gre za naselje s kontinuirano poselitvijo od zgodnje bronaste dobe dalje, katere gospodarsko zaledje predpostavljamo v izkoriščanju rudnega bogastva iz bližnjih rudišč na južnem Pohorju (Teržan 1983).

Iz takšne poselitvene slike v Podravju, ki je po svoji intenzivnosti skorajda primerljiva s podobno v polpretekli dobi, se da sklepati, da je temeljila predvsem na kmečkem gospodarstvu, ki je izrabljalo kvalitetno obdelovalno zemljo ter se ob poljedelski dejavnosti ukvarjalo tudi z živinorejo. Žal gre le za hipotezo, kajti naše poznavanje poljedelskega orodja (razen srpov)<sup>41</sup> ali obdelovanih polij je še zelo skromno. Tudi analize rastlinskih makro-ostalin in peloda ter živalskih ostankov iz omenjenih

<sup>26</sup> Prim. Müller Karpe 1959, 100 ss, sl. 22: 22-26; Lochner 1994, 195 ss, sl. 105-107; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 65 ss; Vrdoljak 1994, pos. t. 7: 1; 11: 1; 31: 1-5; Oman 1981.

<sup>27</sup> Strmčnik-Gulič 1988-1989, 159, t. 4: 25; Müller-Karpe 1959, 103, t. 124: C 3; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, t. 10: 15 itd.

<sup>28</sup> Prim. npr. Gabrovec 1990; id. 1991a; Guštin 1999.

<sup>29</sup> Olič 1999; Tomažič 1999.

<sup>30</sup> Glej op. 10.

<sup>31</sup> Za obsežna gradbena dela v bronasti dobi prim. Goldmann 1997, 46 ss.

<sup>32</sup> Strmčnik-Gulič 1988-1989; ead. 1996; Tušek 1993; Lubšina-Tušek 1994-1995; ead. 1995. Posebej velja moja zahvala M. Lubšina-Tušek, ker me je izčrpno seznanila z rezultati izkopavanj in mi je odstopila za objavo fotografijo s pogledom na izkopano površino naselbine (sl. 7).

<sup>33</sup> Prim. Klemenc, Saria 1936, 28 ss, Detailplan von Poetovio; Pahič 1996, karta 3.

<sup>34</sup> Strmčnik-Gulič 1980; ead. 1985; Lubšina-Tušek 1994-1995; ead. 1995; ead. 2001.

<sup>35</sup> Za klimatske spremembe v 12. stol. pr. n. š., ki bolj ali manj sovpadajo s starejšim obdobjem KŽG - Ha A1, glej Harding 1982; Baillie 1995, 73 ss, t. 5: 2,3; id. 1998.

<sup>36</sup> Horvat-Šavel 1981; Šavel 1994, 86 ss; Teržan 1990a, 45 ss, 341 ss.

<sup>37</sup> Bolta 1951; Teržan 1990a, 353 ss.

<sup>38</sup> Glej op. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Ma. Horvat 1996, 113. Posebej se zahvaljujem za podatke iz novih izkopavanj I. Šinkovec.

<sup>40</sup> Glej op. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Številno so ohranjeni le bronasti srpi, ki jih poznamo predvsem iz depojskih najdb - prim. Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, t. 38-41; 47; 52-57 itd.; Čerče, Turk 1996, 14 ss, t. 3; 4; Pavlin 1997. Za izdelavo in uporabo srpov prim. arheometrične analize Trampuž Orel et al. 1996.

naselbin so v glavnem še neobjavljene. Za naselje v Olorisu pri Dolnjem Lakošu se kaže, da so gojili žita kot so pšenica, proso in rž. Kot kažejo pelodne vrednosti jelše (*Alnus*) in leske (*Corylus*), so bili antropogeni posegi v gozdno okolje že tolikšni, da so obstajali degradirani pašniki (Šercelj 1987), ki morda kažejo na ekstenzivno živinorejo.

Prav tako skromni so še podatki iz naselbine v Ormožu. Bartosiewicz (1987) predpostavlja, da gre za poljedelsko naselje z maloštevilno govejo živino, ki pa z 62,5 % predstavlja najpomembnejši vir mesa v tem naselju. V manjši meri so gojili še svinje, medtem ko je bila drobnica očitno nepomembna. Zanimivo je, da so vzrejali tudi konje, ki pa niso služili prehrani, temveč so bili jezdnji, potemtakem so imeli hkrati vrednost "prestižnega" in "menjalnega" blaga.

Upamo, da bo pri novih naselbinskih izkopavanjih, zlasti tistih, ki potekajo v okviru SAAS-a, dan večji poudarek sistematičnemu vzorčenju in zbiranju ostalin flore in favne ter njihovim raziskavam, katerih sprotne objave bi lahko kmalu pripomogle k boljšemu poznavanju osnovnih gospodarskih panog tudi v obdobju KŽG na Slovenskem.

Le maloštevilne naselbine KŽG so bile raziskane do tolikšne mere, da bi lahko podrobneje orisali njihovo notranjo ureditev z razporeditvijo posameznih hiš ter njihovo namembnost. Zvečine so bile izkopane premajhne površine, da bi mogle zajeti kaj več kot kak hišni vogal, celotni tlorisi stavb so bili do nedavna izjeme kot npr. v naselbini v Ormožu (sl. 5). Šele nova izkopavanja pri gradnji avtocest, kjer so raziskane površine od 1 do 3,5 ha, obetajo boljši vpogled v organiziranost in strukturiranost prazgodovinskih naselij. Kljub temu se zdi, da je na razpolago že dovolj elementov za skiciranje osnovnih karakteristik naselbin v nižinskih predelih Slovenije:

Naselbina v Olorisu pri Dolnjem Lakošu, ki je bila, kot že omenjeno, obdana z leseno ogrado in obrambnim jarkom, je bila najgosteje pozidana na dveh mestih prav v sredini, kjer je vzpetina najvišja. Hiše, grajene z nosilnimi lesenimi stebri in butanimi stenami, so stale na južni vzpetini tesno druga ob drugi, vendar razporejene gručasto okoli dvoriščnega prostora, na katerem je bilo odkritih več ognjišč oz. peči. To je seveda vtis, ki ga dobimo na osnovi dosedanjih objav,<sup>42</sup> iz katerih pa ni razvidno, ali gre za eno- ali večfazno grupacijo. Vseeno pa lahko predpostavljamo, da gre za vaško naselje s posameznimi kmetijami, v sklopu katerih se je nahajalo več stavbnih objektov.

Podobno razporeditev se da naslutiti tudi v Rabelčji vasi, kjer je bilo prav tako izkopanih več stavbnih objektov, grupiranih v dve skupini, ločeni med seboj s potjo, ki se je vila skozi naselje.<sup>43</sup> Za objekte, odkrite 1. 1996 ob Potrčevi ulici, pa še ni mogoče podati podrobnejšega opisa, saj obdelava gradiva še teče.

Drugačno notranjo organiziranost naselja izpričujejo zadnjih treh letih raziskani naselbini v Rogozi pri Mariboru (sl. 2-4) in Dragomlju pri Domžalah, ki jih lahko preliminarno datiramo v starejšo in srednjo stopnjo KŽG.<sup>44</sup> Če smem soditi po vtisih z mojih kratkih obiskov izkopavanj in podatkov, ki so mi jih posredovali izkopavalci, gre v obeh primerih za naselji t. i. "raztresenega tipa".<sup>45</sup> Hiše so bile postavljene nekaj desetm metrov vsaksebi in pretežno manjših dimenzij. Indikativno se zdi, da je bila v obeh naselbinah ugotovljena tudi metalurška dejavnost: v Rogozi je bila ob oz. v nekem

objektu odkrita velika bakrena pogača, prekrita z ogromno črepijo, v Dragomlju pa kar dva depoja (sl. 14) ter drugi livarski pripomočki (Turk 1997; id. 1999a, 27 s). Te najdbe odpirajo povsem nove aspekte za razumevanje gospodarskih potencialov teh vaških skupnosti. Kljub tem posebnim dejavnostim v naselbinah pa ni bilo pri nobeni od obeh doslej odkritih posebnih obrambnih jarkov ali ograd, zato gre zelo verjetno za odprti tip naselij, čeprav se je Dragomelj zelo verjetno razprostiral na rečnem odkluku Pšate in se je Rogoza širila vzdolž potoka, ki je vijugal proti Dravi.

Povsem drugačnega tipa je utrjena naselbina v Ormožu, ki je bila poseljena v časovnem razponu mlajše KŽG in zgodnje železne dobe.<sup>46</sup> Naselbina, ki zavzema površino ok. 1,5 ha, je bila obdana z zemljenim nasipom (in verjetno tudi palisado) ter globokim obrambnim jarkom, kar je dajalo celotni skupnosti notranjo konsistenco in varnost, saj je bila dobro varovana in ločena od bližnje okolice. Kot se da razbrati iz številnih notic in občasnih poročil o izkopavanjih, ki so potekala, kot že omenjeno, od 50-ih let dalje, je bila notranjost naselbine pozidana precej na gosto in načrtno. Stavbe so bile namreč razporejene sorazmerno pravilno, v ortogonalnem sistemu vzdolž glavnih vaških poti, tlakovanih s kaldromo, ter pravokotno nanje, tako da so se tvorila večja in manjša dvorišča z uličicami med njimi (sl. 5; 6). Takšna razporeditev stavb daje vtis, da gre za zaključene enote v smislu posameznih kmetij z več objekti. Zanimivo je namreč, da so bile stavbe različnih velikosti, kar daje slutiti njihovo različno namembnost. Velike dvo- ali trodajške hiše, ki so bile praviloma večkrat obnovljene, kot kažejo številne stojke za stebre, so bile morda bivalne-stanovanjske hiše, v katerih je prebivala velika družina ali premožnejši kmet. Druge manjše stavbe, ki so pogosto izrazito podolgovate in ozke, z največ dvema nosilnima stebroma po sredini, so bile morda pripadajoča gospodarska poslopja. Seveda ni izključeno, da niso te razlike v velikosti stavb odraz socialne razslojenosti. Razloge zanjo vidi B. Lamut (1987) v razvejani gospodarski dejavnosti te naselbine, od katere še posebej izstopa livarstvo. Najdeni so bili namreč številni livarski pripomočki kot so talilni lončki, žličke, kalupi, stožčasti sploščeni zatiči ter prenosna ognjišča z rešetkami in ostanki žlindre.<sup>47</sup> Pomembno je tudi dejstvo, da izvira večina teh najdb iz dobro določljivih in zaključenih kontekstov, ki kažejo, da gre za dejavnost, vezano na prav določene hiše (oz. njihova dvorišča: sl. 5), iz česar sklepamo, da gre za specializirano obrt, ki ni bila le lokalnega značaja, temveč pomembna za celotno naselje.

Na osnovi dosedanjih raziskav kaže (Lamut 1987; id. 1988-1989), da je bila naselbina v Ormožu zasnovana premišljeno in v eni potezi: bolj ali manj pravilna parcelacija za postavitev posameznih hiš ali kmetij je bila izvedena po načrtu, naselje ni raslo, temveč je bilo ustanovljeno in zgrajeno v času "ene same generacije". Tak akt ustanovitve nikakor ne izključuje kasnejših hišnih popravil in dogradenj novih stavb, kar je normalno za naselbino, ki je bila poseljena dalj časa (Ha B-C).

Kot kažejo nekatera novejša izkopavanja, pa se je hkrati razvilo naselje tudi zunaj utrjenega mesta - na njegovi severozahodni strani, kjer smemo predpostavljati "Ptujška vrata" in pot, ki je vodila vzdolž Drave proti Ptujju. Očitno gre za neko vrsto predmestja - suburbium, ki mu je najti primerjave npr. v Feudvaru pri Mošorinu ob Tisi.<sup>48</sup> Zanimivo pa je, da so bile

<sup>42</sup> Glej op. 10.

<sup>43</sup> Glej op. 32.

<sup>44</sup> Kot kaže keramika je bila Rogoza je verjetno poseljena od baierdorfsko-velatiške faze do prehoda v starejšo železno dobo. Za Dragomelj so radiokarbonske analize pokazale, da je bil poseljen med 12. in 10. st. pr. n. š.: Turk 1999a, 28.

<sup>45</sup> Prim. npr. Schauer 1995, 121 ss, sl. 1; 3; 4; 52; 64 itd.

<sup>46</sup> Glej op. 1 in 8.

<sup>47</sup> Prim. tudi Hvala-Tecco 1987; Wanzek 1989.

<sup>48</sup> Hänsel, Medović et al. 1991, 201 ss, sl. 54; Hänsel, Medović 1998, 26 ss; Falkenstein 1998, 129 ss.

naselbinske ostaline odkrite v isti smeri tudi na naslednji vzpetini - na Hajndlu in da je bila ta naselbina varovana s palisado in jarkom, ki pa glede na globino ni primerljiv z ormoškimi. Kot se da sklepati na osnovi keramičnih najdb, je tudi ta naselbina obstajala delno v istem obdobju kot Ormož,<sup>49</sup> vendarle je morala imeti drugačen značaj.

Ormoška naselbina kot kompleks z jasno izraženo diferenciacijo (utrjeno mesto z različnimi stavbnimi strukturami in obrtnimi dejavnostimi, suburbium in naselje drugačnega značaja - Hajndl - v neposredni bližini) izkazuje potemtakem nekatere karakteristične elemente, ki dopuščajo, da jo uvrstimo med kraje s protourbanim značajem.<sup>50</sup>

Posebno mesto med podravskimi najdišči mlajše KŽG ima glede na svojo lego naselbina na Ptujskem gradu, kot dominantna nad Ptujskim poljem in kontrolna postojanka nad pomembnim prehodom t. i. "jantarske ceste" čez Dravo. Hkrati pa je morala imeti neko posebno vlogo tudi v okviru ptujске mikroregije, saj so ob njej obstajali tudi drugi zaselki in naselja kot npr. večji naselbinski kompleks na prostoru nekdanjih vojaških skladišč oz. kapucinskega samostana, ki po gradnji in velikosti stavb spominja na naselbino v Ormožu (sl. 7), in naselbina na desnem bregu Drave pri Sv. Roku na Spodnji Hajdini.<sup>51</sup> Naselbina na Ptujskem gradu, ki so jo odkrila izkopavanja J. Korošca na turnirskem prostoru, je dala sorazmerno bogate ostaline stavb, ognjišč in jam iz časa mlajše KŽG in zgodnje železne dobe. Kako so bile stavbe na tem prostoru dejansko razporejene, pa je težko rekonstruirati, ker so jih poškodovali številni kasnejši gradbeni posegi. Kljub temu je omembe vredna hipoteza M. Roederja (1997, 613), ki predpostavlja na tem prostoru kulturno mesto - svetišče, na kar sklepa na osnovi primerjav s podobnimi najdišči v širšem podonavsko - karpatskem območju. V tem smislu bi naselbina na Ptujskem gradu ne predstavljala le strateško pomembne postojanke, temveč tudi (regijsko ?) kulturno središče.

Če na kratko povzamemo naša spoznanja o naselbinah v času srednje in pozne bronaste dobe v ravninskih predelih Slovenije, se nam kaže naslednje zaporedje:

V času srednje in zgodnje pozne bronaste dobe so obstajale naselbine s posameznimi kmetijami iz gručasto razporejenih stavb ter eventualno varovalno ogrado in obrambnim jarkom (Oloris pri Dolnjem Lakošu, Rabelčja vas). Z opustitvijo teh naselbin se pojavi nova vrsta t. i. odprtih naselij raztresenega tipa, verjetno prav tako izrazito vaškega značaja, čeprav se v njih opravljali tudi druge dejavnosti, kot je npr. metalurška (Rogoza, Dragomelj). Na prehodu v mlajše obdobje KŽG se poleg teh ruralnih naselbin pojavijo nova protourbana središča (Ormož in Ptuj - s Ptujskim gradom in naseljem med Potrčevu

ulico in Rabelčjo vasjo), ki so zacvetela deloma zaradi živahne trgovine vzdolž<sup>52</sup> Drave, pa tudi preko nje (ob "jantarski cesti"), deloma pa tudi zaradi drugih dobrin, morda zaradi rudnih bogastev z južnega Pohorja,<sup>53</sup> morda pa tudi zaradi zlatonosne Drave.<sup>54</sup>

Povsem drugačna poselitvena slika se kaže na Dolenjskem z izjemo ravninskega dela Spodnjega Posavja in Posotelja, kjer verjetno lahko predpostavljamo podoben model poselitve kot v Podravju, kar nakazujejo številna žarna grobišča v okolici Dobove ter dalje proti vzhodu vzdolž Save v Veliki Gorici in Zagrebu. V gričevnatem svetu Dolenjske pa so značilne t. i. višinske naselbine. Večina jih je bila odkrita šele v zadnjem desetletju, ko je Inštitut za arheologijo pod vodstvom J. Dularja osredotočil svoje raziskave v sistematično odkrivanje in sondiranje utrjenih naselbin višinskega tipa na tem prostoru.<sup>55</sup> Zaradi takšne usmeritve raziskav je sicer možno, da je zaobjeta le ena sekvenca v poselitvi dolejskega gričevja, ki se trenutno kaže kot karakteristična. Najnovejša izkopavanja Milene Horvat na trasi avtoceste pri Biču so namreč odkrila ostaline naselbine iz pozne bronaste dobe pri Selih pri Dobu, ki leži v dolini, ob vznožju nizke vzpetine, tako da gre za manjši zaselek, ki ga ne moremo uvrstiti pod kategorijo višinskih naselbin.<sup>56</sup>

Značilnost teh višinskih naselbin je, da so manjših dimenzij; nekatere so utrjene z zemljenim nasipom in palisado. Dular jih po večini datira v časovni razpon mlajše KŽG (Ha B) in ugotavlja, da so bile z začetkom starejše železne dobe (Ha C1 oz. v horizontu Podzemelj) po večini opuščene. S takšno interpretacijo dobijo tovrstne dolenjske naselbine posebno historično težo, poskušamo jih razumeti kot posledico prestrukturiranja v času formiranja novo nastalih halštatskih središč. Problematičnost te teze se kaže na primerih večjih halštatskih gradišč oz. njim pripadajočih grobišč, od koder so vendarle znane tudi posamezne najdbe žarnogrobiščne starosti. Na osnovi le-teh predpostavljamo, da so bile nekatere od teh naselbin obljudene tudi že v času KŽG, čeprav morda v manjšem obsegu. Takšne najdbe poznamo npr. iz Velikih Malenc,<sup>57</sup> z Libne<sup>58</sup> in Magdalenske gore pri Šmarju<sup>59</sup> in kar preseneča, je dejstvo, da sodijo nekatere celo med repertoar starejše KŽG. S tem se namreč ponovno odpira vprašanje o začetkih poselitve Dolenjske v starejši stopnji KŽG in o eventualni kontinuiteti teh naselbin v starejšo železno dobo.

Hkrati se zdi pomembno, da je znanih še nekaj višinskih naselbin iz starejšega obdobja KŽG, kot so na dominantnem Korinjskem hribu nad Velikim Korinjem v Suhu krajini (Dular et al. 1995, 91 ss, t. 2), pa v Žlebiču pri Ribnici (Puš 1988-1989) ter na Kostelu ob Kolpi (Velušček 1996), ki jih interpretiramo kot strateško pomembne postojanke ob poti proti

<sup>49</sup> Za podatke, ki izvirajo iz sistematičnih sondažnih pregledov, opravljenih v l. 1998-99 zaradi izgradnje avtoceste, se zahvaljujem M. Lubšina-Tušek, I. Žižku in B. Djuriću. Glede na keramične najdbe kaže, da gre za naselbino iz prehoda KŽG v starejšo železno dobo. Odkrite so bile tudi večje količine žlindre, ki govore, da so se v tej naselbini morda ukvarjali s predelavo železove rude.

<sup>50</sup> Prim. Hänsel 1996.

<sup>51</sup> Korošec 1951; Teržan 1990a, 346 s, sl. 92; Tušek 1993; Lubšina-Tušek 1994-1995; ead. 1995; ead. 2001.

<sup>52</sup> Najdišča ruške skupine ob Dravi dobro izpričujejo stike s podonavskim prostorom od Slavonije in Vojvodine do Vlaške nižine, prim. npr. Oman 1981, 148 ss; Teržan 1995, 349 ss, sl. 20; 21; Hänsel 1976, 118 ss. Morda je igralo neko vlogo v teh povezavah tudi že splavarjenje, ki je v polpretekli dobi potekalo skoraj do ustja Donave - prim. Juvan 1986.

<sup>53</sup> Prim. Drovenik, Pleničar, Drovenik 1980 z metalografsko karto SR Slovenije; Drovenik 1987; Teržan 1983; Velušček, Greif 1998.

<sup>54</sup> Za zlatonosno Dravo prim. Drovenik, Pleničar, Drovenik 1980 z metalografsko karto SR Slovenije; Teržan 1990a, 81; Šašel Kos 1998.

<sup>55</sup> Dular et al. 1991; id. 1993; id. et al. 1995; id. 1999.

<sup>56</sup> Mileni Horvat se zahvaljujem za vpogled v izkopavanje in podatke. Poročilo o izkopavanju je pripravljeno za tisk: Mi. Horvat 2000.

<sup>57</sup> V. Stare 1960-1961, t. 1; 10: 3; Stare 1960, sl. 14; Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 112 ss, t. 89: 8; Guštin 1996, sl. 6: 3.

<sup>58</sup> Guštin 1976, t. 13: 12; 59: 10; 80: 15.

Liki in Kvarnerju, kar nakazujejo tudi nekatere depojske (Udje, Ribnica, Debeli vrh) in posamezne najdbe.<sup>60</sup> Zanimivo pa je, da sta v halštatskem obdobju ta povezava in prostor povsem izgubila na pomenu.

Zopet drugače se kaže poselitve v obdobju KŽG v zahodni Sloveniji - tako v hribovitem Notranjskem, kot na kraški planoti in ostalem Primorskem. Zlasti na Krasu prevladujejo utrjena naselja, obdana z mogočnimi kamnitimi zidovi, poimenovana gradišča - kaštelirji, ki so dali celotnemu kulturnemu fenomenu na območju Krasa in Istre ime "kaštelirska kultura" (Marchesetti 1903; Gabrovec 1983, 46 ss). Njene začetke v Istri in na Krasu je iskati v razviti zgodnji bronasti dobi, njen zaton v času pozne železne dobe.<sup>61</sup> Čeprav je naše poznavanje kaštelirske kulture še zelo skromno, saj ni bilo na slovenskem območju s sistematičnimi izkopavanji raziskano še nobeno naselje in se moramo opirati predvsem na raziskave z območja Tržaškega Krasa<sup>62</sup> in Istre,<sup>63</sup> je razumljivo, da ne gre za povsem enoten fenomen s kontinuiranim razvojem, temveč se dajo v časovnem razponu obstoja kaštelirske kulture naslutiti določene spremembe in premiki, tako glede notranje kolonizacije in teritorialne širitve v kontinentalno zaledje kot glede izbire lokacij za posamezne naselbine in njihove izgradnje. S prostorskimi raziskavami kaštelirske kulture na Krasu se je ukvarjal pred-vsem B. Slapšak (1995), ki je ugotovil, da gre za poselitveni sistem, ki se smiselno opira na izrabo rodovitne obdelovalne zemlje, ki je na tem območju razmeroma skromna. Hkrati so bile v času bronaste in železne dobe obljude številne jame,<sup>64</sup> ki jih zvečine smemo interpretirati kot občasna bivališča - verjetno pastirjev, tako so jamske najdbe lahko eden izmed kazalcev tudi za drugo pomembno gospodarsko panogo na tem območju, in sicer za ekstenzivno pašništvo. V okviru kraškega poselitvenega sistema predpostavlja Slapšak več mikrorogij, ki jih vidi povezane v nekakšen medsebojnih hierarhičnem odnosu, s tem pa ni definirana stroga ali toga organiziranost tega prostora, pač pa se ta odnos med njimi spreminja, odvisno od modalitet različnih dejavnikov. Tudi v okviru posameznih mikrorogij je razlikoval med topografsko in funkcionalno različnimi tipi naselbin, ki jih je poskušal hierarhično razvrstiti in smiselno povezati v notranji sistem mikrorogije. Žal Slapšakovim idealiziranim teoretičnim modelom poselitve na Krasu manjka časovna dimenzija, saj obravnava kraško kaštelirsko kulturo *en bloc*, kar je razumljivo zaradi trenutnega stanja raziskovanosti na tem območju. Prav zaradi

tega predstavljajo njegove študije imperativ za načrtovanje sistematičnih raziskav z izkopavanji večjih razsežnosti.

Le za zelo maloštevilne kaštelirje na slovenskem Krasu se da naslutiti, v katerem časovnem obdobju so bili poseljeni.<sup>65</sup> Keramika iz gradišča pri Šmihelu nad Štorjami<sup>66</sup> priča, da je kaštelirska kultura v srednji in pozni bronasti dobi obsegala celotno kraško planoto do njenega severnega roba, medtem ko na Notranjsko verjetno ni prodrla.<sup>67</sup> Kot kaže, je do določenih sprememb prišlo šele v obdobju mlajše ali pozne KŽG oz. na prehodu v zgodnjo železno dobo.<sup>68</sup> Tako je znana npr. iz Cvingerja pri Dolenji vasi ob Cerkniskem jezeru<sup>69</sup> keramika, okrašena s pseudovrvičastim okrasom, podobna kot na gradišču pri Šmihelu nad Štorjami (Guštin 1979, t. 7: 8; 8: 9) ter na številnih gradiščih na Tržaškem Krasu kot npr. na Cattinari in v grobovih pri Sv. Barbari, ki so pripadali kaštelirju na Jelarjih.<sup>70</sup> Gre namreč za karakteristično keramiko s pseudovrvičastim okrasom, izvedenim v isti maniri kot zgodnja estenska keramika. Na tak način okrašena keramika je razširjena na širšem venetskem in furlanskem območju,<sup>71</sup> pa tudi na številnih istrskih najdiščih.<sup>72</sup> Zdi se verjetno, da so s tovrstno keramiko nakazane spremembe, ki so v tem času zajele tudi Notranjsko, tako da je prišlo do pomembnih premikov v orientiranosti notranjskega prostora in do tesnejših navezav na primorsko-kraški in severnojadranski kulturni prostor, kar izpričujejo tudi nekatere depojske in posamezne najdbe na Notranjskem in Primorskem.

Podobno težavna je tudi opredelitev postojank v Vipavski dolini in Posočju. D. Svoljšak (1988-1989) jih je sicer na osnovi keramičnih najdb uvrstil med kaštelirske, a je hkrati opozoril tudi na razlike, ki so deloma pogojene z drugačnimi geomorfološki danostmi in s tem tudi naselitvenimi pogoji, kar se odraža v izbiri krajev za naselitev, pa tudi v njihovih fortifikacijskih sistemih.<sup>73</sup> Vendar pa je zanimivo, da je mogoče v načinu gradnje stavb na tem območju opaziti tudi podobnosti z že opisano gradnjo v Podravju. V Mostu na Soči so bile namreč odkrite ostaline hiše z vertikalnimi nosilnimi stebri, ki so bili zagozdeni v globokih jamah - stojkah, kar se bistveno razlikuje od tehnike gradnje na istem najdišču v železni dobi, ko so gradili dokaj standardizirane hiše - neke vrste brunaric s solidnimi kamnitimi temelji in posebnimi drenažnimi zidovi.<sup>74</sup> Kot kaže, so bile te postojanke, ki jih je Svoljšak opredelil kot posoško skupino kulture žarnih grobišč in se navezujejo predvsem na podobna najdišča v Nadiški dolini in Furlaniji,

<sup>59</sup> Hencken 1978, sl. 296 e; Šinkovec 1995, 97 s, t. 27: 190.

<sup>60</sup> Hirschbäck-Merhar 1984; Teržan 1984; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 159 ss, 212, 223, t. 60-68; 88 B; 136-138; Šinkovec 1995, 106 s, 111, t. 30: 210; 32: 219; ead. 1996, 156 ss, sl. 17: 19.

<sup>61</sup> Čović 1983a, 122 ss; Mihovilič 1987; ead. 1994; Cardarelli 1983; Teržan, Mihovilič, Hänsel 1999.

<sup>62</sup> Moretti, Gerdol, Stacul 1978; Karoušková-Soper 1983; Maselli Scotti 1994; Flego, Rupel 1993.

<sup>63</sup> Bačić 1970; Čović 1983b; Mihovilič 1994; Teržan, Mihovilič, Hänsel 1999.

<sup>64</sup> Leben 1967; Montagnari Kokelj 1994; ead. 1996a.

<sup>65</sup> Za Tržaški Kras prim. zelo pregledno delo Flego, Rupel 1993; za ostali Kras še vedno temeljno Marchesetti 1903.

<sup>66</sup> Guštin 1979, t. 7: 9; 9; Mihovilič 1995, karta.

<sup>67</sup> Prim. keramiko s Križne gore (Urleb 1974, t. 35; 36), Metulj na Blokah in Šmihela (Guštin 1979, t. 16; 72), ki je nekoliko drugačnega značaja.

<sup>68</sup> Pri tej opredelitvi gre za terminološki problem, ki je seveda konotativen: ali se nasloniti na srednjeevropski kronološki sistem ali na mediteransko-italski z začetkom železne dobe že v času po l. 1000 pr. n. š.: prim. Müller-Karpe 1959, pos. 182 ss, sl. 64; Peroni 1995.

<sup>69</sup> Zaščitno izkopavanje, na katerem so sodelovali takrat še študenti arheologije A. Bavdek, J. Gospodarič in T. Šajn, je vodila l. 1985 M. Urleb. A. Bavdek se zahvaljujem za podatke.

<sup>70</sup> Lonza 1973, t. 5; Maselli Scotti 1981, t. 2: 3,4; 4: 11,12; Montagnari Kokelj 1996b, t. 1: 8; 4: 1.

<sup>71</sup> Prim. Müller-Karpe 1959, t. 90: A 4, B 11,17; Frey 1969; Cassola Guida, Vitri 1988.

<sup>72</sup> Mihovilič 1972.

<sup>73</sup> Vrsto novih postojank iz bronaste dobe je bilo odkritih tudi ob pripravah za gradnjo avtoceste v Vipavski dolini. Ker te raziskave še potekajo, njihova podrobnejša časovna opredelitev še ni mogoča. Za podatke se zahvaljujem P. Bratina in B. Djuriću.

<sup>74</sup> Prim. Svoljšak 1988-1989, sl. 3-5; pril. 1; id. 1976.



le kratkega trajanja.<sup>75</sup> Zdi se, da jih nasledí v tem prostoru še nova poselitev na prehodu v zgodnjo železno dobo, ki jo poznamo kot fenomen svetlocujijske kulturne skupine.<sup>76</sup>

Med primorskimi naselbinami vzbujajo pozornost tudi pred nedavnim odkrito nižinska postojanka pri Serminu na Koprskem, ki se je takrat nahajala verjetno kar na obali otoka. Pod Kaštelirjem na Serminu, ki strateško obvladuje Koprski zaliv, so namreč ob njegovem vznožju, nedaleč od ustja Rižane odkrili sledove naselja, ki je bilo obljudeno v različnih časovnih obdobjih - vsaj že od srednjega neolitika z danilsko kulturo naprej, nato tudi v času pozne bronaste in železne dobe (sl. 8).<sup>77</sup> Verjetno gre za pristanišče serminskega Kaštelirja, morda pa tudi za trgovsko in obrtniško postojanko širšega pomena. Za to tezo govorijo sicer le maloštevilne izstopajoče najdbe, med njimi dvojni kalup za izdelovanje plavutastih sekir in obročev. Ustrezne izdelke je moč zaslediti v širšem zaledju Caput Adriae, najbolj avtentični so bili najdeni v depozitu iz Kanalskega vrha v Posočju. Kanalski obroči so bili narejeni iz posebne zlitine z visokim odstotkom kositra, zato domnevamo, da gre za posebno obliko razpečevanja te dragocene kovine.<sup>78</sup> Tako se dozdeva, da lahko ta pristaniški kraj v Koprskem zalivu interpretiramo kot eno izmed oken kraškega prostora v prekomorski svet, ki so se začela intenzivneje odpirati prav v času pozne bronaste dobe in prehoda v zgodnježelezno dobo.<sup>79</sup>

#### IV. NEKROPOLE

O pojavu žganih in žarnih grobov na območju Slovenije v okviru virovitiške kulturne skupine ali morda celo že prej, paralelno z bronastodobno kulturo gomil, smo že razpravljali v II. poglavju našega orisa. Grobišča iz tega zgodnjega obdobja, ki so plana, so obeležena z razmeroma maloštevilnimi grobovi, kar je morda posledica današnjega stanja raziskanosti ali pa vendarle razmeroma majhnih krajevnih populacij. Kljub temu je mogoče ugotavljati nekatere splošne značilnosti: v grobovih z žarami ali brez njih prevladujejo keramični pridatki, medtem ko so kovinski pridatki izjemni. Kot primer lahko služijo grobovi s Potrčeve ulice na Ptujju v večjem številom posod, ob katerih so bile odkrite tudi številne črepinje posod, kar govori za poseben obred v okviru pogrebnega rituala (Jevremov 1988-1989). Morda so na enak način pokopavali tudi v žganih grobovih v Črnlolici pod Rifnikom, kjer je bila odkrita prav tako po večini močno fragmentirana keramika (Vogrin 1986a; ead. 1986b). Drugačno podoba kažejo maloštevilni grobovi iz osrednje Slovenije kot jih poznamo npr. iz Ljubljane (Puš 1982, t. 7; Teržan 1995, sl. 5) in Kamnika (Gabrovec 1985, sl. 1). V njih se poleg žare nahajajo običajno le še po ena posoda, bodisi vrč ali skodela, pa tudi dragocenejši kovinski pridatki. Na splošno so v grobovih virovitiške skupine kovinski nakitni predmeti zelo redki, orožja in orodja pa praviloma sploh ni med pridatki, zanje je torej veljal v pogrebnem ritualu strogi tabu. Glede na maloštevilnost

teh grobov na slovenskem prostoru, je seveda preuranjeno sklepati o njihovi lokalni specifičnosti ali o eventualnih ožjih povezavah z drugimi območji virovitiške skupine ali katere koli druge kulturne skupine.

Šele na prehodu iz starejšega v mlajše obdobje KŽG se na slovenskem ozemlju pojavijo prostrana plana žgana oz. žarna grobišča s tudi po več sto grobovi. Ta so bila merodajna za kulturno opredelitev posameznih populacij, tako govorimo o več kulturnih skupinah:

Ruška kulturna skupina (sl. I)<sup>80</sup> je poseljevala Podravje vzdolž Drave od Ruš do Ormoža, kjer je vrsta znanih grobišč (tako v Rušah, Mariboru, Pobrežju, Radvanju, Hočah, na Hajdini in Rabelčji vasi na Ptujju, Ormožu in pod Brinjevo goro),<sup>81</sup> verjetno se je na eni strani širila tudi v Savinjsko dolino, kar nakazujejo zlasti najdbe z Rifnika,<sup>82</sup> na drugi strani pa vzdolž Mure na območje srednje in zgornje Štajerske.<sup>83</sup> V Spodnjem Posavju in Posotelju je prebivala t. i. dobovska kulturna skupina, z večjo koncentracijo grobišč prav na območju Dobove (Stare 1953; id. 1957a; id. 1975), verjetno pa ji smemo pripisati tudi grobišča s širšega območja Zagreba in Velike Gorice (Vinski-Gasparini 1973; Stare 1957a).

Osrednjo Slovenijo z gričevnato Dolenjsko, Ljubljansko kotlino in deloma Gorenjsko je poseljevala t. i. ljubljanska kulturna skupina,<sup>84</sup> h kateri prišteva Gabrovec dolenska najdišča iz okolice Mokronoga (Ostrožnik, Slepšek) (Gabrovec 1973, t. 1-10) in Novega mesta (Bršljin, Mestne njive)<sup>85</sup> ter iz Golobinjeka pri Šentjerneju (Gabrovec 1973, t. 11), pa Vače (Stare 1955) in gorenjska najdišča, kot so Pristava pri Bledu (Gabrovec 1960a) in Kranj (Gabrovec 1960b; J. Horvat 1983). Primerjava teh grobišč z ljubljanskim pa vendarle kaže, da se zvečine začnejo nekoliko kasneje kot grobišče na dvorišču SAZU, ali v času stopnje Ljubljana I b ali pa na prehodu v stopnjo Ljubljana II a.<sup>86</sup> Ljubljanska nekropola je namreč v svojem zgodnjem obdobju podobna predvsem dobovski, tako po načinu pokopavanja kot po repertoarju grobnih pridatkov, kar govori za to, da gre v Ljubljani spočetka le za lokalno varianto dobovske skupine. Šele sčasoma, predvsem na prehodu v zgodnjo železno dobo so se izoblikovale specifične značilnosti, ki dopuščajo, da jo definiramo - skupaj z ostalimi najdišči kot posebno - ljubljansko skupino.

V tej zvezi je treba omeniti še na novo odkrito najdišče v Beli krajini, ki vnaša dodatne novosti v okvir poseljevanja slovenskega prostora v času mlajše kulture žarnih grobišč in prehoda v zgodnjo železno dobo. Pri raziskovanju gomile na Hribu pri Metliki so namreč zadeli pod halštatsko gomilo na prvotno žarno nekropolo z žganimi grobovi, pretežno v žarah, ki so bili ali posamično ali pa v manjših skupinah obdani s posebnimi kamnitimi venci, nanizanimi eden ob drugega (Križ 1991). Gre za neke vrste parcelacijo grobišča in morda so imeli pokopani, katerih grobovi so bili označeni z venci, neko posebno mesto v skupnosti. Takšna notranja delitev je na drugih žarnih nekropolah istega časa neznana. Ker pa je gradivo iz

<sup>75</sup> Prim. Vitri et al. 1991; Teržan 1995, 330, sl. 4.

<sup>76</sup> Prim. prispevek S. Gabrovca v tej številki *Arh. vest.*

<sup>77</sup> Snoj 1992; J. Horvat 1997, 15 ss; Svetličič 1997, 31 ss.

<sup>78</sup> Prim. Snoj 1992, t. 6; 7; Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1996, 59 ss, sl. 2; 3; t. 95; 103-107; Trampuž Orel 1996, pos. 188.

<sup>79</sup> Prim. Teržan 1995, 353 ss, sl. 23; 24; ead. 1996b, 251 ss.

<sup>80</sup> Razen tega poimenovanja so uprabljali tudi izraz „mariborsko-ruška skupina“ in „dobovsko-ruška“ skupina - prim. Gabrovec 1983, 54 ss.

<sup>81</sup> Müller-Karpe 1959, 115 ss, t. 108-123; Pahič 1957; id. 1972; Strmcnik-Gulič 1980; ead. 1985; ead. 1994-1995; ead. 1998; Tomanič-Jevremov 1988-1989; V. Pahič 1988-1989.

<sup>82</sup> Teržan 1990a, 90 ss, sl. 20.

<sup>83</sup> Modrijan 1968, 26 ss, t. 6-8; D. Kramer 1995, 50 s; M. Kramer 1996, 214 ss, sl. 5.

<sup>84</sup> Stare 1954; Puš 1971; id. 1982; Gabrovec 1973; id. 1983, 63 ss.

<sup>85</sup> Šribar 1958-1959; Knez 1966; id. 1967; id. 1984; Križ 1995.

<sup>86</sup> Prim. Gabrovec 1973; za čas prehoda Ljubljana I b v II a in datacijo tudi Teržan 1987b.

tega grobišča šele v obdelavi in objava v pripravi, ostajamo le pri teh kratkih opazanjih.<sup>87</sup> Vendar je zanimivo, da poznamo s širšega območja Metlike tudi druga sočasna žgana grobišča tako na Borštku in v Špitalski dragi (Dular 1979), ki pa se po pogrebem ritualu in načinu pokopavanja razlikujejo od nekropole na Hribu. Razlike med temi metliškimi grobišči navajajo k predpostavki, da so bile v Metliki naseljene kulturno heterogene skupine različnih provenienc ali tradicij, katerih kontinuiteta v obdobje starejše železne dobe tudi ni bila povsem enotna: grobišče na Hribu je preraslo v gomilo, značilno obliko grobišč rodovno-družinskega značaja v Beli krajini in na Dolenjskem, ostala pa so bila, kot kaže, opuščena.

Iz zahodnih predelov Slovenije so znane le redke žarnogrobiščne nekropole, kar otežkoča opredelitev neke specifične kulturne skupine v okviru kaštelirske kulture. Vendar izstopajo po svojem posebnem značaju nekropole iz okolice Škocjana pri Divači, kjer je bilo po vsej verjetnosti kulturno središče nadregionalnega značaja. Za to tezo govorijo tako izjemna lega škocjanske naselbine nad ponorom reke Reke kot posebni značaj bronastih depojskih najdb iz jam na Prevali (iz Mušje in Skeletne jame), pa tudi grobne najdbe iz grobišč na Brežcu in Ponikvah. Razmeroma bogati so grobovi na Brežcu, ki se v svojih sestavih povsem razlikujejo od drugih grobov KŽG na Slovenskem in prinašajo v pogrebne rituale povsem nove elemente. Med njimi naj omenim le pridajanje orožja v grobove, kar poudarja vojaško, marcialno komponento in s tem uvršča Škocjan v kulturni koncept italjsko-villanovskih religioznih predstav, ki so se porajale na začetku železne dobe v širšem prostoru vzhodnega Sredozemlja in Grčije ter zahodnega Balkana.<sup>88</sup> Zanimiva pa je tudi druga komponenta, ki jo zasledimo na drugem škocjanskem grobišču v Ponikvah, ki je sicer slabše ohranjeno, ker ga je prekrila latenska nekropola. V njem se namreč pojavljajo grobovi razpoznavno "dobovskega tipa".<sup>89</sup> Očitno je torej, da je bila populacija v Škocjanu heterogena in da je združevala specifične značilnosti različnih kulturnih skupin oz. področij. Glede na to, da je po načinu pokopa in deloma tudi po grobnih pridatkih sorodno škocjanskim nekropolam predvsem majhno grobišče iz Sv. Barbare pri Jelarjih, se zdi, da bi jih lahko povezali in poimenovali - tako kot že E. Montagnari Kokelj (1996b) - kot škocjansko skupino (facies Škocjan) ali pa kar kot kraško kulturno skupino.

Ostala velika grobišča v zahodni Sloveniji, kot so znana s Križne gore, iz Tržišča pri Cerknici in s Šmihela ali pa iz Tolmina in Mosta na Soči, ki se pričnejo v času 9. in zgodnjega 8. st. pr. n. š., morda z izjemo Tolmina, katerega začetke je iskati še prej, pa označujejo na tem prostoru pričetek nove dobe - zgodnje železne dobe, ko se porajata notranjska in svetolucijska kulturna skupina.

O kronologiji žarnih grobišč na Slovenskem, ki je bila dolga desetletja osrednja tema pri raziskovanju KŽG, obstaja zelo obsežna literatura, zato se bomo omejili le na kratek povzetek. Na osnovi I. grobišča iz Ruš je H. Müller-Karpe (1959, 115 ss) utemeljil kronološko shemo za mlajše obdobje KŽG s tremi časovnimi stopnjami (Ha B1-3), ki ni merodajna le za ruško skupino, temveč za širši vzhodnoalpski in predalpski prostor. Že nekaj let poteka živahna diskusija o tem, ali je ta

tristopenjska delitev upravičena ali ne: tako nasprotniki kot zagovorniki nizajo argumente za in proti, pri čemer pa še ni prišlo do opaznejših novih spoznanj v kronološkem smislu, pač pa morda na kulturološko-interpretativnem nivoju.<sup>90</sup>

Za ljubljansko skupino je S. Gabrovec (1973; id. 1976; id. 1983, 66 ss) na osnovi grobišča na dvorišču SAZU v Ljubljani in z naslonitvijo na Müller-Karpejevo shemo za ruško skupino pokazal, da je mogoče v okviru mlajše KŽG in njenega prehoda v zgodnjo železno dobo razlikovati med tremi oz. petimi časovnimi stopnjami oz. fazami, ki jih je označil kot Ljubljana I a-b, II a-b ter III (od Ha A2/B1 do Ha B3/C1). Zanimivo je, da če ne upoštevamo najstarejših ljubljanskih grobov, ki jih moramo datirati v okvir Bd D/Ha A1,<sup>91</sup> se pokopavanje na ljubljanski nekropoli intenzivira v istem obdobju kot v Dobovi in kot se začnejo nekropole ruške skupine.

Za dobovsko skupino je predložil kronološko shemo J. Dular (1978), ki postavlja začetek Dobove v Ha A1, njen konec pa v Ha B2. V tem okviru je uspel definirati štiri časovne horizonte - Dobova I-IV, ki jih je naslonil na časovne stopnje Müller-Karpejeve sheme. Problem, ki se kaže pri Dularjevi periodizaciji, je metodološkega značaja, kajti predmeti oz. vodilni tipi, ki označujejo posamezne stopnje, so specifični predvsem glede na spol pokopanega (prim. *sl. 10; 11*): tako je I. stopnja Dobove opredeljena z grobovi, bogatimi z nakitom, kar je značilnost ženskih grobov, medtem ko II. stopnja označujejo izključno grobovi z iglami, za katere se je izkazalo da so značilne za moške, kar govori za to, da sta stopnji I in II precej sočasni. Prav zaradi tega spodrsnjaja ne moremo sprejeti Dularjevih datacij in časovne členitve dobovskega grobišča brez zadržkov. Manjši popravki so bili že predloženi na drugem mestu - s tezo, da se tudi pokopavanje v Dobovi intenzivira v istem obdobju kot na ljubljanskem grobišču in na večini grobišč ruške skupine - na prehodu iz starejšega v mlajše obdobje KŽG.<sup>92</sup>

Zanimivo je, da tudi na škocjanskih grobiščih v Brežcu in Ponikvi pri Matavunu pričnejo pokopavati v bolj ali manj istem obdobju - torej na prehodu 2. v 1. tisočletje pr. n. š. Za datacijo začetkov tega grobišča oz. najstarejših grobov so pomembne predvsem velike ločne fibule z dvema diskoma na loku, ki so na zelo širokem območju od vzhodnega dela Sredozemlja do severnega Jadrana in njegovega zaledja značilne za submikensko in protogeometrično oz. pozno protovillanovsko obdobje, tako da jih smemo paralelizirati s Ha A2/B1 v smislu Müller-Karpejeve sheme. Časovni razpon nekropole v Brežcu pri Škocjanu znaša približno štiristo let, saj kaže, da je ostala v funkciji do poznega 7. st., vendar z viškom v času 9. in 8. st.<sup>93</sup>

Šele s sistematičnimi objavami večjih žarnih grobišč se je z metodološkega stališča ponudila možnost za raziskovanje socialnih struktur in specifičnosti posameznih skupnosti v okviru bronastodobnih kultur na slovenskem prostoru. V tej smeri so bili narejeni le prvi koraki, ki jih na tem mestu na kratko povzemamo.<sup>94</sup> Čeprav so grobovi iz časa KŽG tudi na našem območju sorazmerno skromni, je mogoče z analizo sestavov grobnih pridatkov izluščiti nekatera nepisana pravila, ki se kažejo kot kanonizirana, kar pomeni, da je bil pogrebni ritual in pokop umrlega strogo določen. Oblika grobov in žar, sestavi pridanih posod in kovinskih pridatkov, bodisi delov noše

<sup>87</sup> Grahek 2000 (v pripravi).

<sup>88</sup> Prim. Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977; Teržan 1990b, 69 ss, sl. 15; Turk 1994.

<sup>89</sup> Prim. Ruaro Loseri, Righi 1982, pos. t. 6; Turk 1994.

<sup>90</sup> Prim. Müller-Karpe 1959, 115 ss; Pahič 1972; Ruoff 1974; Kaerner 1988-1989; Gabrovec 1983, 55 ss; Teržan 1990a, 21 ss; Peroni et al. 1990, 182 ss.

<sup>91</sup> Gabrovec 1983, 66; Teržan 1995, 330, sl. 5.

<sup>92</sup> Prim. Peroni et al. 1990, 193 ss; Teržan 1995, 338 ss, sl. 27.

<sup>93</sup> Prim. Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977, 39 ss, sl. 12; Guštin 1979, 18 ss, sl. 6; 7; Peroni et al. 1990, 150 ss; Turk 1994; Teržan 1995, 353 ss, sl. 23; 28.

<sup>94</sup> Teržan 1985; ead. 1987b, 67 ss; ead. 1995, 339 ss, sl. 11-15.

bodisi nakita, niso bili prepuščeni slučaju ali individualni izbiri, temveč so imeli označevalno funkcijo tako glede na spol in starost pokopanega kot glede na njegov položaj v okviru ožje, pa tudi širše družbene skupnosti.

Raziskave, ki smo jih izvedli na gradivu grobišč iz Dobove, Pobrežja in Ruš, so pokazale, da gre na vsah treh krajih za osnovno tridelno družbeno stratifikacijo: del populacije je bil pokopan brez kakršnih koli pridatkov, del le s keramičnimi posodami in del s posodami in z bronastimi pridatki. Odstotkovna razmerja med temi tremi skupinami v okviru posameznih grobišč in primerjave med njimi se ne razlikujejo do tolikšne mere, da ne bi mogli biti relevantni (sl. 9a; 9b). Naštevnejša je v vseh treh krajih skupina grobov s keramiko, tej sledi v Dobovi skupina grobov brez pridatkov, medtem ko so ti na Pobrežju in v Rušah v manjšini. Tretjo skupino predstavljajo grobovi s kovinskimi pridatki, predvsem dodatki noše in nakit. Zanimivo je, da je ta "bogatejša" skupina na Pobrežju in v Rušah zastopana takorekoč z enakim deležem: približno 35 odstotkov celotne populacije (sl. 9a; 9b).

Diferenciacija na naslednjem nivoju pa se kaže predvsem v okviru skupine z bronastimi pridatki. Na osnovi delov noše in nakita, ki imajo nedvomno označevalni značaj - v smislu "narodne noše" in so tako specifični glede na spol (moški/ženska) in starost, se da orisati nadaljnjih pet karakterističnih kombinacij predmetov oz. "noš". Razpoznavni element moške noše je igla, v redkih primerih je spadala k opravi moškega tudi britev, medtem ko nož ni bil izključno moški atribut (sl. 10). Orožje praviloma ni sodilo k pogrebni opremi moških, le redke so bile izjeme (en grob v Dobovi).

Za žensko nošo je značilen predvsem obročast nakit (ovratnice, zapestnice, lasni obročki in uhani), ki se pojavlja v treh različnih kompletih, medtem ko je četrta kombinacija pridatkov heterogena. Prvi komplet je sestavljen praviloma iz ovratnic in zapestnic, ki so se na Pobrežju in v Rušah nosile običajno v paru, v Dobovi pa pogosteje v neparnem številu (sl. 11-13). Za Dobovo je tudi značilno, da je bilo v kompletu hkrati več ovratnic. Nekatere ženske v tej noši so bile opravljene še bogateje, in sicer s fibulo, bronastimi spiralastimi žičkami, obročki in šivalnim priborom (šivanko, nožem in vretencem). Antropološke analize dobovskih grobov kažejo, da gre zvečine za odrasle ženske z redkimi izjemami (otroški, verjetno deklinski grob 305). Za opredelitev drugega kompleta so merodajne zapestnice, ki so jih nosile ali v paru ali po eno. Za ostale pridatke, kot so posamezne fibule in spiralaste žičke, pa predvidevamo, da so služili predvsem kot nakit.

Medtem ko sta "noši" s prvim in drugim kompletom obročastega nakita zastopani v vseh treh krajih skorajda v popolnoma enaki sestavi in razmerjih, je pri "noši" s tretjim kompletom opaziti večje lokalne razlike. Za dobovsko nošo so značilni predvsem lasni obročki ali uhani, ki so jih nosile v paru ali pa po enega (sl. 11). S takšnim skromnim nakitom je bilo v Dobovi okrašenih največ (razpoznavnih) žensk - 6,32 %, maloštevilne antropološke analize govorijo za starostno skupino odraslih žena (adultus, maturus). Na Pobrežju je k tretjemu kompletu v nasprotju z Dobovo praviloma sodila poleg enega

lasnega obročka ali uhana še fibula in pa vretence (sl. 12). V Rušah je bila zanjo karakteristična predvsem po ena fibula, drugi pridatki pa so bili bolj redki (sl. 13).

Predvidevamo, da se v teh različnih ženskih nošah odraža razslojenost ženskega pola populacije. Antropološke analize so še preskromne, da bi lahko v njih z gotovostjo razpoznali ženske različnih starostnih ali stanovskih skupin. Opazna je relativna variabilnost in pestrost ženskih "noš", saj gre kar za štiri osnovne kombinacije z raznimi otenki, še posebej v primerjavi z očitno homogenostjo in skromnostjo moške noše. Ta odnos dovoljuje več predpostavk, in sicer, da je v okviru vrhnega sloja moškega sveta prevladoval v pogrebem ritualu princip egalitarnosti in hkrati ekskluzivnosti: vodilna pozicija, ki jo je moral imeti ta sloj mož v skupnosti, pa je bila v grobni opravi in kultu dialektično prikrita. Hkrati je indikativno razmerje v med "nerazslojenim" moškim polom in izrazito razslojenim ženskim polom, kar navaja na misel, da je bila osnovna družbena enota poligamna ali poliginčna družina z jasno hierarhično lestvico v skupnosti žena. Zanimivo je, da so grobovi, ki izstopajo po svojih številnejših, bogatejših kovinskih pridatkih, praviloma ženski iz kategorije s prvim nakitnim kompletom, kar velja za Dobovo, Pobrežje in Ruše. Gre potemtakem za "popolno nošo". Vprašanje pa je, ali lahko v njih predpostavljamo "poročeno ženo", "prvo ženo" ali celo *mater familias*. Morda pa smemo v njihovi bogati opravi iskati tudi kazalce za neke vrste "matrilinearost" in s tem za določeno politično vlogo teh žena v okviru posameznih skupnosti. Na poseben stan nekaterih žena opozarjajo tudi astralni in antropomorfnih obeski in amuleti kot vizualna sporočila za posebno vlogo njihovih nosilk pri obrednih opravilih posameznih družbenih skupnosti.<sup>95</sup>

## V. DEPOJSKE IN POSAMEZNE NAJDBE<sup>96</sup>

Depoji so na območju slovenskega pa tudi širšega južnopanonskega sveta značilen pojav za obdobje KŽG, medtem ko so se ponekod drugod pojavili že v zgodnejših obdobjih bronaste dobe. Starejši depoji iz zgodnje in srednje bronaste dobe so namreč na našem prostoru izredno redki.<sup>97</sup> To verjetno pomeni, da so se običaji deponiranja, kot jih zaznamo v obliki depojskih ali zakladnih najdb, tod uveljavili mnogo kasneje kot v vzhodnih in severnih predelih Karpatske kotline in ostale srednje Evrope. V okviru celotnega fenomena deponiranja v obdobju KŽG je možno razlikovati med več "depojskimi provincami", med katerimi so obstajale razlike zlasti glede na način deponiranja in na specifičnost sestavov depojev kot tudi glede posebnosti pri izdelavi posameznih predmetov ter njihovih časovnih relacij. Zakladne najdbe iz zgodnje in starejše stopnje KŽG, ki so zlasti pogoste v vzhodnih in osrednjih delih Slovenije, lahko povezujemo s sorodnimi najdbami predvsem iz jugozahodne Panonije in iz Furlanije,<sup>98</sup> depoje iz mlajše stopnje KŽG, ki so znani po večini iz zahodnih slovenskih pokrajin, pa pretežno z najdbami iz zahodno- in južnoalpskih dežel ter z Apeninskega polotoka vse do Sicilije.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Za astralne simbole, kot so sončno kolo in polmesec, ter različne oblike antropomorfnih obeskov prim. Kossack 1954; Müller-Karpe 1978-1979; Teržan 1987a; za posebno socialno vlogo žena v okviru halštatskih skupnosti v vzhodnoalpskem in panonskem svetu glej Teržan 1996a.

<sup>96</sup> V tem poglavju povzemam predvsem dosežke prispevkov iz monografije *Depojke in posamezne kovinske najdbe bakrene in bronaste dobe na Slovenskem* 1, 2, Kat. in monogr. 29, 30 (Ljubljana 1995-1996).

<sup>97</sup> Prim. npr. Innerhofer 1997; Krause 1998; za zgodnjebronastodobne depoje v jugovzhodnih Alpah prim. Müller-Karpe 1952; Mayer 1977, 67, N. 189-209; za eventualne depoje iz zgodnje in srednje bronaste dobe na Slovenskem prim.: Šinkovec 1996, 153 ss, sl. 10; 11.

<sup>98</sup> Prim. Hansen 1994; Turk 1996a, 89 ss, sl. 1-7; Trampuž Orel 1996.

<sup>99</sup> Prim. Turk 1996a; id. 1997; id. 1999b; Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1996, sl. 3-6; Trampuž Orel 1996; ead., Heath 1998.

Kronologija depojskih najdb predstavlja še vedno poseben problem, kar je povezano z nastajanjem in z načinom deponiranja teh najdb ter z njihovo interpretacijo, ki je v mnogočem odvisna od okoliščin zakopa. Prvo kronološko sistematizacijo depojev s slovenskega ozemlja je predložil H. Müller-Karpe, ki jih je razvrstil v šeststopenjsko shemo KŽG za jugovzhodnoalpsko regijo (1959). Na to Müller-Karpejevo shemo se je pri izdelavi kronološkega sistema KŽG za širše območje južne Panonije in severozahodnega Balkana opirala tudi K. Vinski-Gasparini (1973), obema pa je sledil v svojem pregledu o pozni bronasti dobi na Slovenskem za *Praistorijo jugoslovenskih zemalja* S. Gabrovec (1983). Nekoliko drugačno predstavo o kronologiji depojskih najdb na širšem območju od Caput Adriae do Panonije nam ponuja P. Turk (1996a). Turkova štiristopenjska kronološka shema se sama na sebi morda ne razlikuje bistveno od pravkar omenjenih, vnaša pa pomembna nova merila, ki so strukturalne narave: Za kronološko vrednotenje depojev sta mu namreč pomembni in označevalni tako sestava depojev - zastopanost posameznih zvrsti in kosov orožja, orodja, nakita, surovcev in ingotov ipd. - kot tudi stopnja ohranjenosti posameznih predmetov - glede na to, ali so celi ali poškodovani, namerno razkosani, uničeni itd. Na ta način je možno razlikovati predvsem med dvema kategorijama depojev: med t. i. "manjšimi" in "večjimi" depoji mešane sestave, ki izpričujejo zelo standardiziran repertoar posameznih predmetov in njihovih kombinacij ter razmeroma normiran delež celih oz. fragmentiranih predmetov (Čerče, Turk 1996).

V okviru prve depojske stopnje KŽG (po Turku) so zlasti značilne zakladne najdbe iz kategorije "manjših depojev mešane sestave", ki vsebujejo pretežno v celoti ohranjene predmete, praviloma posamezne kose orožja in orodja, kot so znani npr. iz Pušencev, Podgradja pri Ljutomeru, Slovenske Bistrice in Tomišlja pri Igu. V njih je mogoče predpostavljati komplete, last redkih posameznikov, morda obrtnikov in bojevnikov. Njihov sestav spominja na opravdo bogatejših moških grobov, zlasti tistih z območja severozahodne Panonije in Slovaške, značilnih za t. i. kulturo Čaka in njej sorodne skupine. Tako bi lahko v teh majhnih zakladih videli nekakšen substitut za takšne grobove z bogatejšo opravdo, zlasti še, ker so - kot že omenjeno - s slovenskega ozemlja iz tega obdobja znani le maloštevilni grobovi, ki pripadajo po večini t. i. virovitiški skupini.

Pojav "večjih depojev mešane sestave" je na Slovenskem vezan na čas II. stopnje (po Turku) ter razločljiv in razumljiv le v povezavi s podobno konstelacijo na širšem območju Karpatske kotline in preostale srednje Evrope. Ti depoji se namreč glede na sestav in vodilne tipe predmetov jasno navezujejo na južnopanonsko - podonavski prostor, kar velja tako za vrste napadalnega (npr. meči, sulice, sekire itd.)<sup>100</sup> kot obrambnega orožja (čelade, golenice)<sup>101</sup> ter različno orodje (npr. srpi, sekire itd.)<sup>102</sup> pa tudi za nekatere nakitne predmete

(pozamenterijske fibule, bronasti pasovi itd.). Pomembno je, da na te povezave opozarjajo tudi arheometrične raziskave kovin. Le-te so pokazale, da so bronasti izdelki z našega prostora na zelo visoki tehnološki ravni, kar je primerljivo le s podobno izdelanimi predmeti na območju Karpatske kotline, medtem ko se za ostalo srednjo in zahodno Evropo da sklepati, da je v tem obdobju v tehnološkem smislu zaostajala za karpatskim obrtniškim krogom.<sup>103</sup>

Verjetno pa ne gre le za povezave v okviru metalurških, temveč tudi rudarskih dejavnosti. Kot kaže, je bil slovenski prostor zanimiv tudi zaradi svojih rudnih bogastev.<sup>104</sup> Tako se nahaja npr. v depouju iz Jurke vasi dvokraki cepin, za katerega domnevamo, da gre za posebno vrsto rudarskega orodja (t. i. Ritzeisen) in hkrati za rudarski statusni simbol - neke vrste scepter. Takšni dvokraki cepini so namreč razširjeni predvsem na območju rudosnosnih Karpatov.<sup>105</sup> Drug kazalec za rudarsko dejavnost na naših tleh je depo iz Hudinje, ki je bil odkrit v neposredni bližini rudišč na južnem Pohorju. Za razliko od dvokrakega cepina je hudinjskemu kladivu najti primerjave na veliko širšem območju, ki sega od Karpatov pa vse do Cipra, vendar z najbližjo paralelo v bakrevom rudniku v Mitterbergu na Solnograškem. Glede na kemijski sestav plavutaste sekire iz istega depoja, ki kaže, da gre za izdelek iz t. i. vzhodnoalpskega bakra, značilnega za avstrijske Alpe, pa povezujemo depo iz Hudinje in tako posredno tudi pohorsko rudarjenje z vzhodnoalpsko bronastodobno rudarsko tradicijo.<sup>106</sup> Odprto pa ostaja vprašanje, ali ni spodbude za to rudarjenje vendarle iskati v vzhodnem Sredozemlju - morda na samem Cipru. Kar nekaj predmetov iz naših depojev govori namreč tudi za takšne - sredozemske - povezave.

V depouju iz Hočkega Pohorja se nahaja kos ingota posebne vrste, ki ga N. Trampuž Orel zaradi oblikovnih in kemijskih značilnosti primerja z ingoti tipa *ox-hide*.<sup>107</sup> Nove najdbe istovrstnih ingotov iz Oberwifflingena na Württemberskem kažejo,<sup>108</sup> da pohorski kos v srednjeevropskem okviru ne predstavlja popolne izjeme, temveč je le eden od znanilcev za trgovske stike s sredozemskimi deželami. Podobno razlagamo tudi bronast fragment, izdelan v predrti tehniki, v depouju iz Udja, v katerem vidimo del bronastega trinožnika ciprskega oz. vzhodnomediterranskega izvora.<sup>109</sup> To vrsto nenavadnih predmetov lahko dopolnimo še z jantarjevo ogrlico iz depoja z Debelega vrha na Kočevskem, katere del je bila astragaloidna jagoda tipa Tyrins.<sup>110</sup> Tovrstne jantarne jagode, izdelane iz baltskega jantara, so bile namreč priljubljen nakit na zelo širokem območju med Levanto in Alpami, tako lahko kočevsko najdbo razlagamo kot znamenje za posredniško vlogo našega prostora v menjalni trgovini med "severom in jugom" Evrope. Kot dokaz, da ti stiki niso potekali le na ravni izmenjave dobrin, temveč da je šlo tudi za prenos znanj (*know-how*), pa lahko služijo neke vrste pismenke - znaki na različnih orodjih, predvsem na plavutastih sekirah, kot npr.

<sup>100</sup> Hansen 1994, 27 ss; Harding 1995, t. 49-52; Turk 1996a, karta; Soroceanu 1997, 396 ss, sl. 4; Teržan 1996b, 247 s, sl. 2.

<sup>101</sup> Hencken 1971; Hansen 1994, 11 ss; Teržan 1996b.

<sup>102</sup> Hansen 1994, 158 ss; Pavlin 1997.

<sup>103</sup> Trampuž Orel 1996; prim. tudi prispevek N. Trampuž Orel v tej številki *Arh. vest.*

<sup>104</sup> Glej op. 52.

<sup>105</sup> Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, t. 89: 13; Teržan 1996b, 245 ss, op. 17, sl. 1.

<sup>106</sup> Teržan 1983, 62 ss, sl. 9: 6,7; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, t. 88 A; Trampuž-Orel, Klemenc, Hudnik 1993, 162 ss, sl. 3; tab. 2; Teržan 1996b, 248 ss, sl. 3.

<sup>107</sup> Trampuž Orel 1996, 178 s; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, t. 86: 206.

<sup>108</sup> Primas, Pernicka 1998.

<sup>109</sup> Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, t. 136: 10; Trampuž Orel 1996, 178; Teržan 1996b, 250, sl. 4.

<sup>110</sup> Hirschbäck Merhar 1984, 94, t. 9: 17; Teržan 1984, sl. 1; ead. 1995, 353 ss, sl. 24; Hadži, Orel 1978; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, t. 66: 66.

na sekiri v depoju iz Čeremožiš. Takšne znake z vzhodnoalpskega prostora izpeljuje namreč E. Mayer iz vzhodnosredozemskih vzorov in predlog.<sup>111</sup>

Stiki našega prostora z vzhodnimi in osrednjimi sredozemskimi deželami se intenzivirajo zlasti v času prehoda 2. v 1. tisočletje pr. n. š. - na prehodu starejše v mlajše obdobje KŽG, kar sovпада s III. depojsko stopnjo po Turku (1996a). V tem obdobju je prišlo namreč do bistvenih sprememb v razširjenosti depojev in tudi v njihovih sestavih. V vzhodnih slovenskih regijah postanejo depoji prava redkost, kar pomeni, da se je opuščal običaj tovrstnega deponiranja bronastih oz. kovinskih predmetov. Nasprotno pa se je v zahodnejših slovenskih pokrajinah deponiranje povečalo, vendar so ti depoji po sestavi bistveno drugačni od običajnih "večjih depojev mešane sestave" iz starejšega obdobja KŽG. V njih so praviloma večje količine razkosanih ingotov različnih tipov ter sekire, med katerimi so nekatere iz takšne zlitine, da je njihova uporabnost za orodje vprašljiva, kar zlasti velja za uhate sekire. Zato domnevamo, da so tako ingoti kot uhate sekire služile razpečevanju kovine. Podobno vlogo so imele verjetno tudi nekatere vrste obročev in obeskov, kot npr. tisti iz depoja s Kanalskega Vrha, pri katerih gre za posebno zlitino, verjetno za razpečevanje kositra, ki je bil v primerjavi z bakrom ali svinčcem težje dostopen in zato dragocenejši.<sup>112</sup>

V tej zvezi so posebej vredne omembe spremembe na metalurškem območju. Kot so pokazale najnovejše arheometrične raziskave,<sup>113</sup> se na prehodu v mlajše obdobje KŽG pojavijo nove vrste zlitin bronca s povsem novimi značilnostmi. To zadeva zlasti uporabo svinca, pa tudi kositra ter vsebnosti drugih primesi, kot so antimon, nikelj, arzen ipd. Kot domneva N. Trampuž Orel, gre v primerjavi s starejšim obdobjem za uporabo drugačnih, novih surovin, katerih črpanje lahko predvidevamo tudi v rudiščih na našem prostoru. Hkrati pa so morali biti vpeljani tudi novi tehnološki postopki, za katere išče N. Trampuž Orel spodbude zlasti na Apeninskem polotoku, morda kot posredniku med Ciprom in Alpami, saj so bile le-te verjetno zanimive zaradi bogatih rudnih ležišč.

Presenetljivo je tudi dejstvo, da se sočasno z omenjenimi novostmi v "barvni metalurgiji" pojavljajo na območju Caput Adriae in na zahodnem Balkanu tudi prvi sledovi predelave železove rude in uporabe železa za izdelavo prvih železnih izdelkov. Tudi te prve korake v "črni metalurgiji" na našem prostoru razumemo kot posledico stikov z egejskim prostorom in morda celo s Ciprom.<sup>114</sup>

Značaj depojev III. in IV. stopnje (po Turku) s slovenskega prostora se torej bistveno razlikuje od t. i. trakokimerjskih depojev oz. depojev V. stopnje (po Vinski-Gaspari 1973) v Panoniji in širšem Karpatskem bazenu kot tudi na zahodnem Balkanu. Še posebej velja to za zahodnoslovenske depoje z dobrimi povezavami z italiskim in širšim sredozemskim prostorom, ki prinašajo dodatne argumente za tezo (omenjeno že v poglavjih o naselbinah in nekropolah), da se je na tem območju začel proces, pomemben predvsem za nadaljnji razvoj v zgodnježeleznodobne kulturne skupine, kot so svetolucijska, notranjska in kraška.

Posebna problematika se suče okoli tolmačenja pomena depojev: kako razumeti in razložiti bistvo teh zakopanih, odloženih

zakladov pretežno bronastih predmetov. V glavnem obstajata dve smeri razlag: profana in sakralna.<sup>115</sup> Izhodišče za diskusijo nudijo različni elementi, med katerimi se zdijo poleg sestave depojev in stopnje ohranjenosti predmetov odločilne predvsem najdiščne okoliščine oz. izbira kraja, kjer je prišlo do zakopa oz. shranitve zaklada. Večina depojev je bila najdena zunaj naselbin in grobišč, pogosto na samotnejših krajih v hribovitih predelih, v skalnih razpokah, pa tudi v jamah. Izjeme predstavljajo le maloštevilni depoji v naselbinah, predvsem iz osrednje in zahodne Sloveniji, ki so bili odkriti šele v zadnjih nekaj letih bodisi pri zaščitnih izkopavanjih bodisi od modernih iskalcev zakladov z detektorji.<sup>116</sup> V teh depojih so predvsem cele ali razkosane surovinske pogače, ingoti in skoraj do nerazpoznavnosti razkosani deli drugih predmetov, predvsem uhatih sekir. Skorajda ne more biti dvoma, da gre za izrazito surovinske depoje, kajti vrednost predmetov je bila zreducirana izključno na kovino kot tako, pripravljeno torej za nadaljnjo livarsko predelavo ali pa težaviranje. So torej kazalci intenzivne metalurške dejavnosti v naselbinah osrednje in zahodne Slovenije v času mlajše KŽG in njenega prehoda v starejšo železno dobo.

Ti depoji se tako po kraju deponiranja kot po sestavih bistveno razlikujejo od večine ostalih depojev, ki so bili odkriti, kot omenjeno, zunaj naselbin. Za "manjše depoje mešane sestave", v katerih se nahajajo po večini v celoti ohranjeni predmeti, smo že omenili, da jih poskušamo razlagati kot individualne zaklade, povezane s posebnimi pogrebnimi običaji in verovanjskimi predstavami. Drugačno podobo nam nudijo "večji depoji mešane sestave", v katerih se nahaja zbir različno ohranjenih izdelkov v večjih količinah,<sup>117</sup> verjetno zbranih postopoma v okviru širše skupnosti, zato jih poskušamo razumeti kot kolektivno lastnino. S predmeti, celimi ali v fragmentih, je bila v teh skupnih zakladih (prikrito) okarakterizirana primarna bit in dejavnost posameznih skupnosti. Zaobseženi so namreč naslednji elementi:

- moška komponenta z orožjem in orodjem, s poudarkom torej na bojevniskem in rokodelskem aspektu (podobno kot pri manjših depojih, kar morda predstavlja vezni člen med obema kategorijama depojev);

- ženska komponenta z nakitom in morda srpi, pri čemer je zastopanost nakita v depojih skromna, kar ustreza mestu ženske v družbi, medtem ko je s srpi, če jih interpretiramo kot "ženski atribut" poudarjena vloga ženske v poljedelski dejavnosti in reprodukcijskem procesu;

- metalurško - demiurška komponenta s celotnim repertoarjem kovinskih izdelkov od surovcev primarne kovine (različnih tehnoloških faz) preko ingotov in zlitin do polizdelkov in popolno izdelanih predmetov in na koncu celo do odpadnega materiala, kot so različni kosi zviti, razlomljeni, razkosani predmetov ali neuspeli izdelki, katerih vrednost se v trenutku njihove dotrajanosti omeji le na vrednost kovine, podobni oni iz "začetne faze" metalurškega procesa.

Predstavljen je torej ves ustvarjalni cikl, ki se perpetuira z zaključnim dejanjem deponiranja teh predmetov - te znova "mrtve narave", vrnjene zemlji. Tak aspekt dopušča hipotezo, da je vloga tovrstnih "večjih depojev mešane sestave" v religiozni sferi, namreč v simbolnem prikazovanju in perpetuiranju bipolarnega in cikličnega principa - življenja in ustvarjanja,

<sup>111</sup> Šinkovec 1995, 57 s, t. 13: 173; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, t. 42: 2; Mayer 1976, 365 ss.

<sup>112</sup> Žbona-Trkman, Bavdek 1996, t. 100-107; Trampuž Orel 1996, 188 ss, tab. 9.

<sup>113</sup> Trampuž Orel 1996; ead., Heath 1998; prim. tudi prispevek N. Trampuž Orel v tej številki *Arh. vest.*

<sup>114</sup> Teržan 1995, 353 ss, sl. 28; ead. 1996b, 251 ss.

<sup>115</sup> Prim. Čerče, Turk 1996; Hänsel 1997.

<sup>116</sup> Prim. Turk 1997; id. 1999a; Vid. 1999b; Trampuž Orel, Heath 1998. Zanimivo je, da gre za najdišča iz širše okolice Ljubljane (Dragomelj, Gobavica pri Mengšu in Kranj-Jelenov klanec) ter za postojanke na Notranjskem in Dolenjskem, ki jih lahko pretežno datiramo v okvir Ha B, deloma še v Ha C. Za podrobnejše informacije se zahvaljujem P. Turku in P. Pavlinu.

<sup>117</sup> Čerče, Turk 1996, 12 ss, sl. 2-8.

narave in kozmosa. Podoben konotativen pomen ima tudi eden izmed vodilnih sakralnih simbolov pozne bronaste dobe - vodna ptica, ki je upodobljena praviloma antitetično (sl. 15), torej kot ptica selivka - znanilka sprememb v letnem, vegetacijskem ciklu.

Poleg teh je treba omeniti še eno vrsto depojev, ki jih lahko označimo kot depoje "dolgega trajanja", tak primer so depoji iz Škocjana (iz Jame na Prevali I in II oz. iz Mušje in Skeletne jame)<sup>118</sup> ter iz Šempetra pri Gorici (Furlani 1996). Njihov časovni razpon obsega več stoletij, namreč celotno obdobje KŽG - od I. do IV. stopnje po Turku. Razlike med temi depoji pa obstajajo glede na najdiščne okoliščine. V Škocjanu gre za sveta mesta - sveta brezna (sl. 16), kamor so metali - darovali dragocene predmete, zlasti bronasto orožje (čelade, golenice, meče, sekire, sulice) in bronasto posodje, a pred zadnjim dejanjem daritve breznu - zemlji so večino darov zaupali še ognju, kajti veliko predmetov je namerno poškodovanih - ožganih, raztaljenih, zvitih, razlomljenih in razkosanih. Glede na to, da so bili v škocjanski Mušji jami odkriti pretežno predmeti moškega - bojevnškega repertoarja, jo povezujemo s kulturnim mestom marcialnega značaja. Nasprotno gre v Šempetru za najdbo v dveh posodah, verjetno za roba naselbine, kar je na eni strani podobno kot pri številnih drugih depojih, ki so bili najdeni v posodah (npr. v Udju in Kanalskem vrhu), na drugi strani spominja takšna shramba na svetiščne zaklade, shranjene v velikih posodah - bothroih, kot jih poznamo iz italskega in egejskega prostora. V tem smislu poskušamo razumeti šempetrski depo, morda pa lahko podobno razlagamo še nekatere druge depoje.

Ta sklop dopolnjuje še kategorija t. i. "posameznih najdb kovinskih predmetov", ki so na celotnem slovenskem prostoru sorazmerno pogoste. Kot je pokazala I. Šinkovec (1995; ead. 1996), se v njihovem "odlaganju" kažejo določene podobnosti in pravilnosti, zlasti kar zadeva geografsko lego, tako da jih razlagamo kot posledico namernih dejanj v okviru zavestno strukturiranega, a izredno kompleksnega kulturnega sistema.

Deponiranje posameznih predmetov je v času KŽG zelo pogosto, vendar je odsev dolge tradicije, ki se začne gotovo v zgodnji bronasti dobi, če ne celo že v bakreni dobi. Zanje je značilno, da gre za razliko od depojskih najdb pretežno za dobro ohranjene, cele predmete, razen tega se od depojskih razlikujejo tudi tipološko. Vzroki za različno ohranjenost predmetov so gotovo raznoteri, vendar jih je iskati v načinu in namenu odlaganja, ki se verjetno odraža v izbiri mesta, kjer je bil takšen predmet odložen. Šinkovec je pokazala, da so med najdbami izstopajoče t. i. vodne najdbe, torej predmeti iz rek ali rečnih bregov ter starih rečnih rokavov, potokov, barij in močvirij. Ta podatek je toliko bolj zgovoren, ker depojev iz takšnih "mokrih" okolij skorajda ne poznamo. Indikativno je, da med vodnimi najdbami prevladujejo kosi orožja, zlasti meči in bodala, pa tudi delež sulic in sekir ni zanemarljiv. Prav zaradi tega dejstva smo jih poskusili razlagati kot daritve v okviru obredov očiščevanja in simboličnega odpravljanja numinoznega - "nečistega" - po uboju, bojnem spopadu, zmagi ali porazu.

Poleg vodnih posameznih najdb se kažejo kot značilne glede na mesto zakopa tudi hribovske oz. gorske najdbe. Nekatere so bile odkrite v bližini gorskih prelazov in poti, zaradi česar jih povezujemo s prazgodovinskimi potmi in jih interpretiramo kot zaobljubne darove. Druge izvirajo z gorskih planot in pla-

nin, tako da jih povezujemo s transhumantnim visokogorskim pašništvom,<sup>119</sup> kar ne izključuje možnosti, da tudi te ne povežemo z obrednimi dejavnostmi. Pri ostalih posameznih najdbah je na osnovi razpoložljivih podatkov o okoliščinah odkritja težje izluščiti tehtna znamenja za njihovo interpretacijo. Ker se vključujejo v sliko, ki jih dajejo vodne in gorske najdbe tako po zastopanosti tipov predmetov kot po njihovi ohranjenosti, jih poskušamo razumeti v okviru istih interpretacijskih možnosti: kot posvetilne daritve z namenom priprošnje in obračanja na božanstvo.

## SKLEPNA BESEDA

Iz našega poskusa orisa KŽG na Slovenskem se je pokazalo, da je podoba tega časa še nejasna, sestavljena na osnovi zelo raznoterih virov, kot jih nudijo ostaline naselbin in grobišč ter depojske in posamezne najdbe, katerih povezava ni vedno evidentna. Kljub temu se dajo v njenem okviru naslutiti tri glavna obdobja:

V vzhodnih in osrednjih predelih Slovenije je prvemu obdobju dajala pečat t. i. virovitiška skupina, v zahodnih predelih pa kaštelirska kultura. Ob teh dveh so obstajale tudi druge grupacije, ki pa jih še ni mogoče jasneje opredeliti. Kot poseben fenomen tega časa se kaže pojav "manjših depojev mešane sestave" in pa t. i. "posameznih najdb". Glede na to, da jih zasledimo razpršene po celotni Sloveniji od Slovenskih Goric do Krasa, predstavljajo posebne vrste povezovalni člen na kulturni in religiozni ravni.

Drugo obdobje je težje okarakterizirati, ker so poznane le redke naselbine in grobišča. Šele nova izkopavanja v Dragomlju in v Rogozi dajejo prvi vpogled v naselbinsko kulturo tega časa. Omembe vredno se zdi, da so bile v obeh naselbinah ugotovljene ostaline metalurških dejavnosti, kajti "večji depoji mešane sestave" so tisti, ki dajejo poseben pečat temu obdobju. Metalurška dejavnost je bila torej v polnem zamahu. Hkrati pa depoji in posamezne najdbe odražajo specifične verovanske predstave, različne od tistih v starejšem, pa tudi mlajšem obdobju KŽG.

S tretjim obdobjem želimo zajeti in orisati pomembnejše, v določenem smislu prelomne spremembe, do katerih je prišlo na prehodu 2. v 1. tisočletje pr. n. š. (na prehodu Ha A2 v Ha B1),<sup>120</sup> ki so zadevale vse bistvene nivoje ljudske dejavnosti od poselitvenih struktur, gospodarskih in tehnoloških področij do kulturno-religioznih sfer. To je čas, ko se je v Podravju izoblikovala ruška skupina, ko je zacvetela Ljubljana in Dobova in je bila intenzivneje poseljena tudi gričevnata Dolenjska. Hkrati je pridobila na pomenu kraška kaštelirska skupina z novimi postojankami ob Jadranski obali (Sermin, Sv. Barbara) ter s Škocjanom kot kulturnim središčem nadregionalnega pomena, ki je s svojim "multikulturalnim" značajem vzpostavil in posredoval stike med sredozemskim prekomorjem in kontinentalnim zaledjem.

Vzpostavljeno je bilo neke vrste blagostanje in ravnovesje, ki ga razumemo kot proces, ki je omogočal razvoj različnih gospodarskih panog, med katerimi so arheološko dobro dokazljivi predvsem "barvna" in "črna" metalurgija ter živahna trgovina, ki je bila vpeta v mrežo širših razsežnosti. Iz takšnih razmer je zrasla torej halštatska kultura na Slovenskem - s svojimi regionalnimi skupinami, ki so v mnogočem le nadaljevanje

<sup>118</sup> Szombathy 1912; Vitri 1983; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 217 ss; Turk 1994.

<sup>119</sup> Nove raziskave so pokazale, da moramo z visokogorskim pašništvom računati že vsaj od eneolitka dalje: prim. Čevc et al. 1997.

<sup>120</sup> Naše datacije so le okvirne in služijo le za približno orientacijo. Diskusija o absolutni dataciji posameznih kronoloških stopenj je zaradi novih radiokarbonskih in dendrokronoloških analiz v polnem teku: prim Rychner et al. 1995; Rychner, Böhringer, Gassmann 1996.

konstelacije, kot je bila ustvarjena v zgodnjih stoletjih prvega tisočletja pr. n. š.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Na koncu se želim še posebej zahvaliti za pomoč P. Turku in M. Eriču ter za fotografije in načrte M. Tomanič-Jevremov, B. Lamutu, M. Lubšina-Tušek, M. Strmčnik-Gulič in N. Trampuž Orel ter tudi B. Smith-Demo, D. Merharju in P. Pavlinu