

GRAČIČ POD BRINJEVO GORO – NEKROPOLA KULTURE ŽARNIH GROBIŠČ

II. ANALIZA SESTAVOV GROBNIH PRIDATKOV IN DRUŽBENA STRUKTURA

Vesna Koprivnik, Biba Teržan

Grobišče kulture žarnih grobišč na Gračiču pod Brinjevo goro s svojimi 77 doslej izkopanimi grobovi, ki jih opisno in v sliki predstavljamo v katalogu,¹ nudi dovolj obsežno gradivo, da nam lahko služi kot osnova raziskave o njegovi strukturi in s tem posredno tudi o strukturiranosti in razslojenosti družbene skupnosti, ki je bivala na naselbini na Brinjevi gori.

V prispevku bomo na kratko podali rezultate arheološke analize grobnih pridatkov, njihove različne sestave glede na posamezne zvrsti predmetov, kot so keramika, nakit in drugi deli nošnje, orodje ipd. Našo raziskavo smo poskušali dopolniti tudi s podatki antropološke analize ostankov sežganih kosti preminulih oseb, ki jo je opravila J.-L. Thomas,² z namenom, da bi ugotovili, ali so morda bili grobni pridatki kakorkoli specifični glede na njihov spol in starost.

KATEGORIJE GROBOV GLEDE NA SESTAVE GROBNIH PRIDATKOV

Najprej smo grobove razvrstili glede na sestave pridatkov v štiri osnovne skupine (*sl. 1*), ki so naslednje:

- 1 – grobovi samo z bronastimi pridatki (5 grobov),
- 2 – grobovi samo s keramiko (21 grobov),
- 3 – grobovi s keramiko in bronastimi pridatki (48 grobov),
- 4 – grobovi brez pridatkov (3 grobovi).

V tej štiridelni razdelitvi je daleč najštevilnejša 3. skupina grobov s keramiko in bronastimi pridatki (62 %), sledi ji 2. skupina grobov le s keramiko (27 %), v izraziti manjšini pa sta 1. skupina grobov z le bronastimi pridatki (7 %) in pa 4. skupina grobov brez kakršnih koli pridatkov (4 %).

S podrobnejšo razčlenitvijo teh štirih osnovnih skupin grobnih pridatkov lahko ločimo kar osem

¹ Glej tu Koprivnik, Gračič, T. 1–23.

² Glej tu Thomas, Sežgane človeške kosti.

GRAČIČ BELOW BRINJEVA GORA – A NECROPOLIS OF THE URNFIELD CULTURE

II. ANALYSIS OF THE GRAVE-GOOD COMPOSITIONS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Vesna Koprivnik, Biba Teržan

The Urnfield Culture cemetery at Gračič beneath the Brinjeva Gora comprises 77 graves excavated up to now, the description and illustration of which we present in the catalogue.¹ Such number of graves offers us an adequate material base to examine the cemetery structure and with it also to research the organisation and stratification of the community, which resided in the settlement of Brinjeva gora.

In this contribution we wish to shortly present the results of archaeological analysis of grave-goods and their diverse compositions attested in graves, with regard to particular types of objects, such as ceramics, jewellery and other parts of attire, tools and the like. In the research we have incorporated also the information, obtained from the anthropological analysis of cremated human remains conducted by J.-L. Thomas,² as we wanted to find out if the grave-goods had been in whatever way specific in relation to the sex or age of the deceased.

CATEGORIES OF GRAVES REGARDING THEIR GRAVE-GOOD COMPOSITIONS

First, we classified the graves in regard to their grave-good composition into four principal categories (*fig. 1*):

- 1 – Graves with bronze grave-goods only (5 graves),
- 2 – Graves with ceramics only (21 graves),
- 3 – Graves with ceramics and bronze grave-goods (48 graves),
- 4 – Graves without grave-goods (3 graves).

Such four-part division brings forward the third group of graves, containing ceramics and bronze grave-goods, as by far the most numerous (62%), followed by the second group of graves with only ceramics (27%), while the first group of graves with only bronze grave-goods (7%) and the fourth group of graves without any grave-goods (4%) form an evident minority.

¹ See here Koprivnik, Gračič, Pls. 1–23.

² See here Thomas, Cremated human remains.

Slika 1. Gračič, kategorije grobov glede na sestave grobnih pridatkov
Figure 1. Gračič cemetery; categories of graves according to the grave-good compositions.

SKUPINE / GROUPS	SESTAVI GROBNIH PRIDATKOV / GRAVE FINDS COMPOSITIONS	GROBOVI / GRAVES	SKUPAJ / TOGETHER	PODSKUPINE / SUBGROUPS	SESTAVI GROBNIH PRIDATKOV / GRAVE FINDS COMPOSITIONS	GROBOVI / GRAVES	SKUPAJ / TOGETHER
1	BRONASTI PRIDATKI / BRONZE FINDS	13, 27, 33, 51, 55	5 = 7%	1.1	bronasti pridatki / bronze finds	13, 51	2 = 3%
				1.2	bronasti pridatki, vretenca / bronze finds, loom weights	27, 33, 55	3 = 4%
2	KERAMIČNI PRIDATKI / CERAMIC FINDS	4, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 26, 28, 41, 49, 58, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 75, 76	21 = 27%	2.1	keramične posode / ceramic vessels	4, 8, 11, 14, 16, 21, 22, 26, 28, 41, 58, 63, 64, 66, 68, 71, 75, 76	18 = 23%
				2.2	keramične posode, vretenca / ceramic vessels, loom weights	17, 49, 65	3 = 4%
3	BRONASTI IN KERAMIČNI PRIDATKI / BRONZE AND CERAMIC FINDS	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 77	48 = 62%	3.1	bronasti pridatki, keramične posode / bronze finds, ceramic vessels	2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 29, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, 67, 70, 72, 73, 74, 77	37 = 48%
				3.2	bronasti pridatki, keramične posode, vretenca / bronze finds, ceramic vessels, loom weights	1, 7, 12, 15, 30, 32, 34, 50, 60	9 = 11%
				3.3	bronasti pridatki, keramične posode, kamnite najdbe / bronze finds, ceramic vessels, stone finds	24, 69	2 = 3%
4	BREZ PRIDATKOV / NO FINDS	40, 42, 54	3 = 4%	4	brez pridatkov / no finds	40, 42, 54	3 = 4%

podskupin (*sl. 1*). Pri prvih dveh skupinah smo izločili dve podskupini, pri katerih je bila vsakokrat za uvrstitev v drugo podskupino merodajna med grobnimi pridatki prisotnost predilnega vretenca. Tretjo skupino, ki šteje največ grobov, smo razdelili v tri podskupine, pri katerih nam je bil pri uvrstitvi v drugo podskupino prav tako odločujoč pridatek vretenca, v tretji podskupini pa kamnito orodje.

Daleč največ je grobov s keramičnimi posodami in bronastimi pridatki (podskupina 3.1 = 48 %), sledijo grobovi s keramičnimi posodami (podskupina 2.1 = 23 %) ter grobovi s keramičnimi posodami, bronastimi najdbami in vretenci (podskupina 3.2 = 11 %). Izrazito manj je grobov z bronastimi najdbami in vretenci (podskupina 1.2 = 4 %), grobov s keramičnimi posodami in vretenci (podskupina 2.2 = 4 %) ter grobov brez pridatkov (podskupina 4 = 4 %). Najmanj je grobov, v katerih so le bronaste najdbe (podskupina 1.1 = 3 %), in grobov,

A more detailed analysis leads to further categorization of four principal groups of grave-good combinations into eight subgroups (*fig. 1*). In each of the first two combination-groups we differentiated two subgroups with the spindle whorl being a decisive grave-good for the definition of the second subgroup in both cases. The third principal combination-group, which contains the most graves, was partitioned into three subgroups, in which the deciding factor for the classification in the second subgroup has been as well the presence of spindle whorl in the grave, whereas the third subgroup comprises the graves containing stone tools.

By far the numerous are graves with ceramic vessels and bronze grave-goods (subgroup 3.1 = 48%), followed by graves with ceramic vessels (subgroup 2.1 = 23%) as well as graves with ceramic vessels, bronze grave-goods and spindle whorls (subgroup 3.2 = 11%). Clearly less represented are graves with

v katerih so poleg keramičnih posod in bronastih pridatkov bili najdeni tudi kamniti artefakti (podskupina 3.3 = 3 %) (*sl. 1*).

ANTROPOLOŠKA ANALIZA

Antropološka analiza sežganih kostnih ostalin oseb iz gračiškega žarnega grobišča, z namenom pridobiti podatke o njihovem spolu in starosti, skratka o demografski sliki prebivalstva Brinjeve gore, je bila opravljena v laboratoriju Univerze v Edinburghu.

Od skupno 77 izkopanih žarnih grobov je bilo v analizo vključenih 66 vzorcev ostankov sežganih kosti iz 58 grobov, med katerimi je bilo za nadaljnje raziskave primernih le 46 vzorcev. Okvirna starost je bila določena le osebam v 42 primerih, za 16 ostalih starosti ni bilo mogoče določiti.

Razen preminule osebe iz groba 53, ki je bila pogojno opredeljena kot ženska, pri drugih spola glede na ohranjenost kostnih ostalin ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti.

Med 58 osebami je bila pri 14 določena njihova potencialno najnižja možna ocena starosti, ki pa je lahko bila tudi višja (označeno z + = 24 %), 21 jih je bilo opredeljenih kot odrasle osebe (36 %), 7 kot pogojno odrasle (12 %), 16 pa jih je ostalo po starosti neopredeljenih (28 %).

Kot odrasle ali pogojno odrasle osebe (nad 15 let) je bilo potemtakem razpoznanih 37 individuov, kot mlade osebe (manj kot 15 let) jih je bilo 5, 16 pa jih je ostalo glede na starost neopredeljenih. Starost najstarejše osebe je bila 50 let ali več, najmlajše 9 let ali več. Edini osebi z razmeroma natančneje opredeljeno starostjo sta bili stari 11 ali 12 do 15 let (*sl. 2; 4; 8*).³

GROBNI PRIDATKI

Pri numeričnem popisu grobnih pridatkov se je pokazalo, da je bilo vseh najdb po številu 278, med katerimi je bilo 40 posod uporabljenih za žare, medtem ko je bilo nadaljnjih 91 posod pridanih v grob za popotnico. Bronastih najdb je bilo vsega skupaj 129, ne

bronze grave-goods and spindle whorls (subgroup 1.2 = 4%), graves with ceramic vessels and spindle whorls (subgroup 2.2 = 4%) or graves without grave-goods (subgroup 4 = 4%). The least attested are graves containing only bronze grave-goods (subgroup 1.1. = 3%) and graves including, besides ceramic vessels and bronze grave-goods, also stone artefacts (subgroup 3.3 = 3%) (*fig. 1*).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

As already indicated, the anthropological analysis of cremated bone remains from the Urnfield cemetery at Gračič has been carried out in the laboratory of the University of Edinburgh with the intention of obtaining the data regarding the sex and age of deceased and thus the information on demographic picture of the population at Brinjeva gora.

From 77 excavated graves altogether, 66 specimens of burnt bone remains from 58 graves have been sampled and from those only 46 samples of burnt bones were suitable for further analysis. The age of deceased has been determined only in 42 cases, while for the remaining 16 samples the age determination has not been possible.

Except for the deceased person from the grave 53, which has been tentatively identified as female, the sex of the deceased could not be established on the basis of the preserved bone remains, whereas it was possible to determine their age at death.

Among fifty-eight persons, the potentially lowest age level, which could however also be higher, was established in fourteen cases (marked with + = 24%). Twenty-one persons were defined as adult (36%) and seven as tentatively adult persons (12%), while in sixteen cases the age determination was not possible (28%).

Accordingly, 37 individuals were recognised as adult or tentatively adult persons (above the age of 15), 5 were defined as juvenile persons (under the age of 15) and 16 remained undetermined as regards the age. The age of the oldest person was 50 years or more and the youngest recorded age was 9 years or more, while the only two individuals with more exactly established years were aged from 11 or 12 and up to 15 (*figs. 2; 4; 8*).³

GRAVE-GOODS

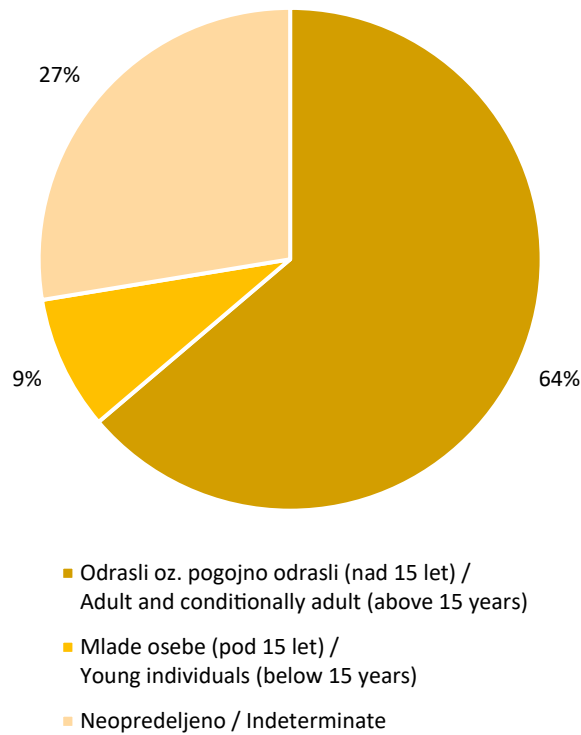
The numerical inventory of grave-goods showed a total of 278 finds, among which 40 vessels were used as urns, while further 91 vessels were placed in the graves as provision for the afterlife. The bronze finds amounted to 129, regardless of the type they

³ Glej tu Thomas, Sežgani človeški ostanki, Pril. 1.

³ See here Thomas, Cremated human remains, App. 1.

Slika 2. Gračič, odstotni deleži zastopanosti starostnih razredov oseb na nekropoli Gračič (za podatke glej tu Thomas, Sežgani človeški ostanki, Pril. 1).

Figure 2. Gračič cemetery; representations of individual age classes present at the Gračič necropolis expressed in percentages (data according to Thomas, Cremated human remains, App. 1).



glede na to, h kateri zvrsti so pripadale. Kot značilne predmete smo pri analizi upoštevali tudi keramična predilna vretenca, ki smo jih našli 16, in kamnita orodja, kot sta kamniti brus in sileks.

Na celotnem grobišču je bilo 69 grobov s keramičnimi posodami (90 %) in le 8 grobov brez njih (10 %). V 17 grobovih so bile samo žare (22 %), v 23 grobovih žare skupaj s pridanimi posodami (30 %), v 29 grobovih pa ni bilo žare, temveč samo na žganino položene posode (38 %) (sl. 3a).

V funkciji žare so bile največkrat zastopane amfore, in sicer v devetnajstih grobovih, kar predstavlja 47 % vseh žar (sl. 3b; Tab. 3: 2, 10; 5: 4, 8; 6:

belonged to. In the analysis we considered as characteristic objects also the ceramic spindle whorls, which were 16 in number, and stone tools, such as whetstones and flints.

On the entire cemetery there were 69 graves, which contained ceramic vessels (90%), and only 8 graves without them (10%). Among the former, 17 contained only urns (22%), 23 included urns together with other vessels (30%), while 29 graves had no urns, but only vessels placed on the cremated remains (38%) (fig. 3a).

Urnas are most frequently represented by amphorae, which appear in nineteen graves and make up 47% of all the urns (fig. 3b; Pls. 3: 2, 10; 5: 4, 8; 6: 5; 7: 1, 5; 12: 15; 13: 7, 13; 14: 2; 16: 2, 5; 18: 4; 19: 1; 20: 13; 22: 2, 11; 23: 2). Vessels of various forms follow the latter in number as they have been found in seven graves (fig. 3b; Pls. 2: 2; 6: 8; 8: 3; 9: 7; 16: 7; 20: 7; 22: 7) and represent 17% of all the urns. In six graves pots or small pots were used as urns (Pls. 3: 8; 4: 3, 7, 9; 7: 6; 15: 4), resulting in 15% of all the urns, while in five graves or in 13% of cases the urns were represented by jugs (Pls. 1: 17; 2: 3; 10: 2; 19: 3; 21: 5). The urns in three graves or in 8% of cases could either be jugs or amphorae, as the poor preservation makes the definition of exact form unfeasible (figs. 3b; 4–6; Pls. 2: 8; 8: 6; 14: 8).

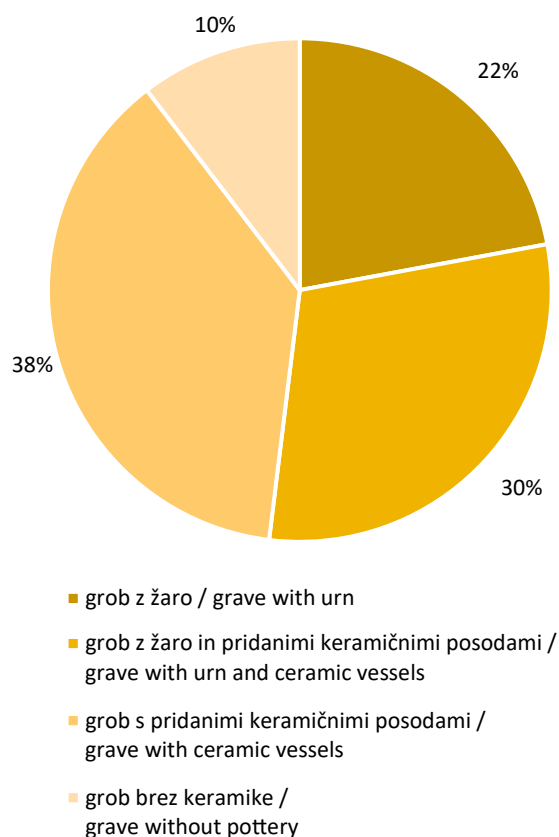
In 52 graves as much as 91 vessels were placed, which most probably served as containers for provisions (fig. 3c). Among them the most numerous are dishes with inverted rims (17 examples = 19%) and vessels or small vessels (15 ex. = 16%), less represented are single-handled cups (7 ex. = 8%), amphorae (6 ex. = 7%), jugs (5 ex. = 5%) and pots or small pots (5 ex. = 5%), while dishes or small dishes with everted rims (3 ex. = 3%), double-handled cups (2 ex. = 2%), lids (2 ex. = 2%), a three-handled vessel (1 ex. = 1%) and an amphora or a jug (1 ex. = 1%) are in minority. Included in the analysis is also a large group of vessel fragments of indefinite forms and marked with asterisk* (27 ex. = 30%), which are indicated without further data exclusively in the descriptions of graves and are not preserved (figs. 3c; 4).

Among 129 variously preserved **bronze finds**, which come from **53 graves**, there are 25 pins (20%)⁴, 21 band-shaped circlets (earrings or hair-rings, 16%), 17 circlets (with close or open ends, 13%), 14 fibulae (11%), 12 necklaces (9%), 8 wire pieces (6%), 7 bracelets (5%), 6 razors (5%), 5 circlets made from spirally coiled wire (4%), 5 pendants

⁴ The bronze pin, which has been found in the vicinity of the grave 72, is not included in the analysis of grave-goods.

Slika 3a. Gračič, odstotni deleži zastopanosti grobov z žarami, z ali brez pridanih posod, in grobov brez žar.

Figure 3a. Gračič cemetery; presence of graves with urns, either with or without additional vessels, and graves without urns, expressed in percentages.

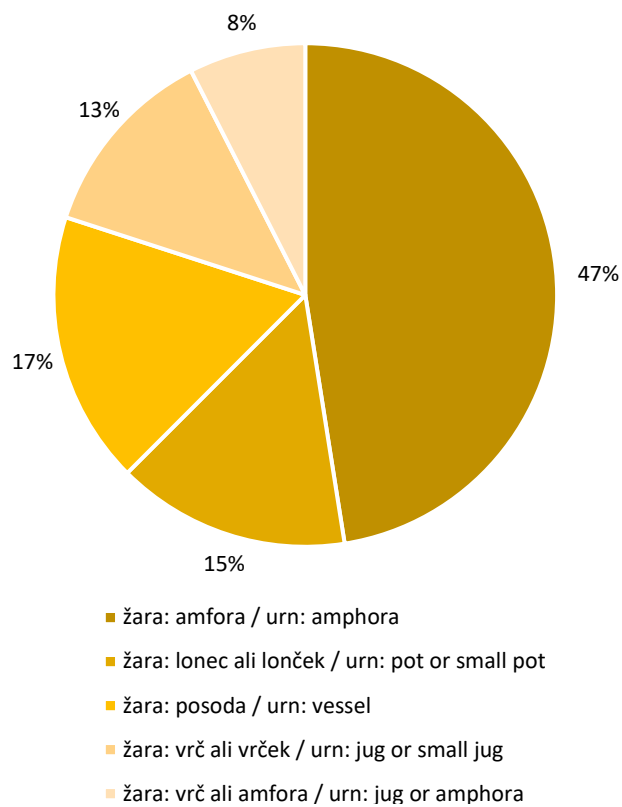


5; 7: 1, 5; 12: 15; 13: 7, 13; 14: 2; 16: 2, 5; 18: 4; 19: 1; 20: 13; 22: 2, 11; 23: 2). Po številu sledijo posode različnih oblik, ki so bile v sedmih grobovih (*sl. 3b; Tab. 2: 2; 6: 8; 8: 3; 9: 7; 16: 7; 20: 7; 22: 7*), kar predstavlja 17 %, ter lonci ali lončki v šestih grobovih (*Tab. 3: 8; 4: 3, 7, 9; 7: 6; 15: 4*), kar predstavlja 15 % vseh žar. V petih grobovih so bili v funkciji žar vrči, kar znaša 13 % (*Tab. 1: 17; 2: 3; 10: 2; 19: 3; 21: 5*), v treh grobovih pa z 8 % bodisi vrči bodisi amfore, kajti zaradi pomanjkljive ohranjenosti točne oblike ni več mogoče ugotoviti (*sl. 3b; 4–6; Tab. 2: 8; 8: 6; 14: 8*).

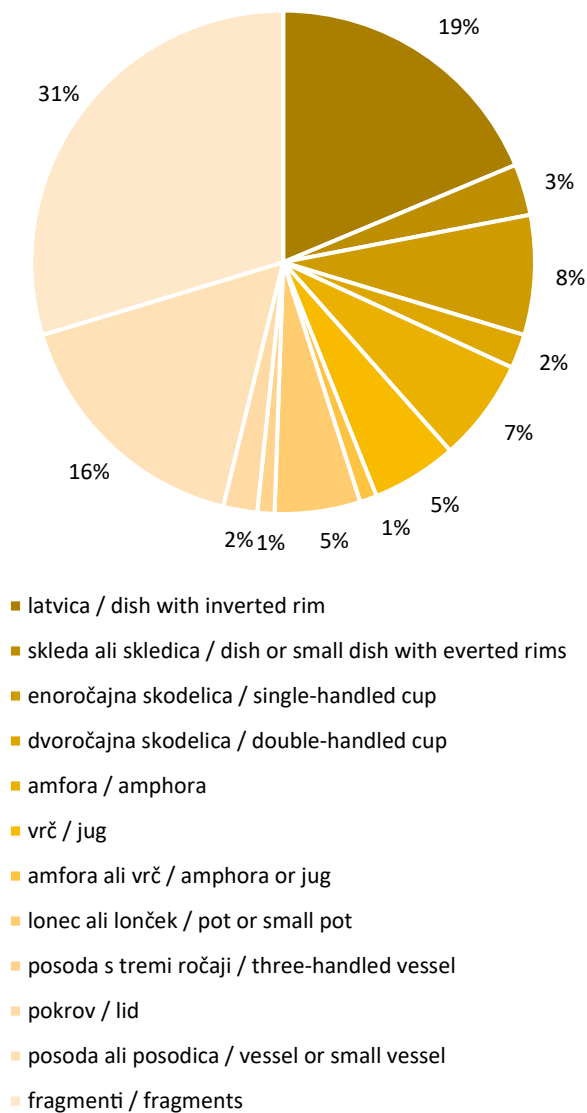
V 52 grobovih je bilo skupaj pridanih 91 posod, ki so verjetno služile za popotnico (*sl. 3c*). Med njimi so najštevilnejše latvice (17 = 19 %) in posode ali posodice (15 = 16 %), manj je enoročajnih skodelic (7 = 8 %), amfor (6 = 7 %), vrčev (5 = 5 %) ter loncev ali lončkov (5 = 5 %), medtem ko so bile v manjšini skleda ali skledica (3 = 3 %), dvoročajne skodelice (2 = 2 %), pokrovi (2 = 2 %), posoda s tremi ročaji (1 = 1 %) in amfora ali vrč (1 = 1 %). V analizo je vključena tudi velika skupina fragmentov posod nedoločljive oblike, označenih z zvezdico* (27 = 31 %), ki so brez kakršnih koli podatkov navedeni izključno v opisih grobov in niso ohranjeni (*sl. 3c; 4*).

Med 129 različno ohranjenimi bronastimi pridatki, najdenimi v 53 grobovih, je 25 igel (20 %),⁴ 21 trakastih obročkov (uhanov oz. lasnih obročkov, 16 %), 17 obročkov (sklenjenih ali nesklenjenih, 13 %), 14 fibul (11 %), 12 ovratnic (9 %), 8 kosov žice (6 %), 7 zapestnic (5 %), 6 britev (5 %), 5 obročkov iz spiralno zvite žice (4 %), 5 obeskov (4 %), 5 spiralnih cevčic oz. saltaleonov (4 %), 3 šivanke (2 %) in 1 gumb (1 %) (*sl. 3d; 4*).

Na osnovi kombinacijske analize pridatkov v grobovih smo poskušali ugotoviti, kateri pridatki, zlasti bronasti, utegnejo biti specifični glede na spol (moški/ženski), morda pa tudi glede na starost. Hkrati pa smo v analizo vključili tudi ostale pridatke, kot so keramične posode, vretenca in kamnito orodje. Pri njihovem prikazu na kombinacijski tabeli, ki se zaradi lažje primerljivosti rezultatov metodološko zgledujejo po že objavljenih analizah žarnih grobišč iz Ruš, Pobrežja in Dobove,⁵ je razpored posameznih rubrik naslednji (*sl. 4*): v prvem stolpcu je navedena številka groba, v naslednjem sklopu treh stolpcev je zabeležen način pokopa (žara ali brez žare) in z antropološko analizo ugotovljena starost preminule



Slika 3b. Gračič, odstotni deleži zastopanosti žar glede na vrst posod.
Figure 3b. Gračič cemetery; presence of urns in graves according to their vessel-type, expressed in percentages.



Slika 3c. Gračič, odstotni deleži zastopanosti pridanih posod glede na vrst.
Figure 3c. Gračič cemetery; presence of additional vessels in graves according to their type, expressed in percentages.

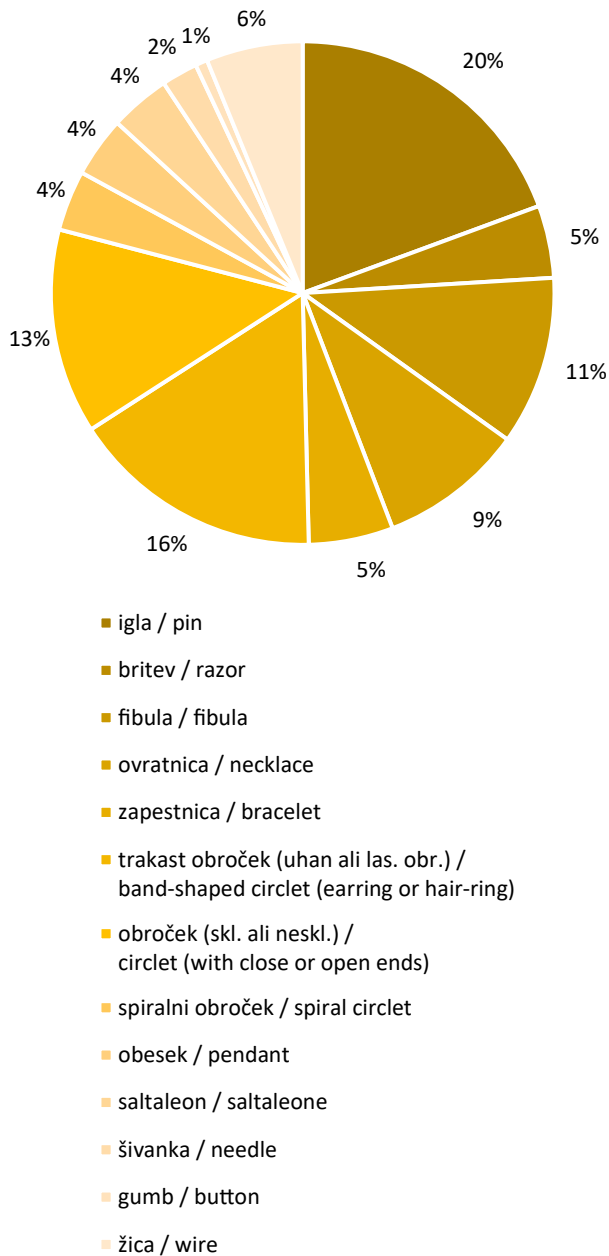
(4%), 5 spirally coiled tubes or saltaleoni (4%), 3 needles (2%) and 1 button (1%) (*figs. 3d; 4*).

On the basis of the combinatorial analysis of grave finds we made an attempt to ascertain which

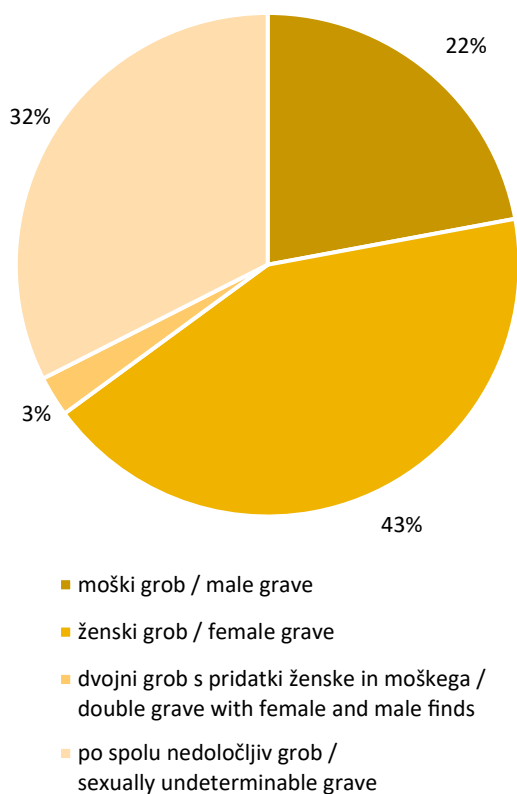
⁴ Bronasta igla, ki je bila najdena v bližini groba 72, ni vključena v analizo grobnih pridatkov.

⁵ Teržan 1995, 338–345, Abb. 12–15; ista 1999, 111–119, figs. 10–13.

Slika 3d. Gračič, odstotni deleži zastopanosti bronastih pridatkov.
Figure 3d. Gračič cemetery; presence of bronze finds in graves, expressed in percentages.



Slika 3e. Gračič, odstotni delež zastopanosti grobov glede na spol (za osnovo služijo podatki na sl. 4).
Figure 3e. Gračič cemetery; presence of graves according to the sex, expressed in percentages (according to data on fig. 4).



grave-goods, especially bronze objects, might be specific to the sex (male/female), but possibly also to their age.

At the same time we incorporated into analysis also other grave-goods, such as ceramic vessels, spindle whorls and stone tools. Their description in the combination table follows the system of already published analyses from Urnfield cemeteries of Ruše, Pobrežje and Dobova⁵ with the intention to ease the comparison of results. The arrangement of individual categories is as follows (figs. 4): the first column includes the number of the grave, while the following block of three columns deals with mode of the burial (with or without urn) and with age of deceased, determined by the anthropological analysis.⁶ In the next block of columns ceramic vessels according to separate classes and types⁷ are indicated, then follows a section of three columns with tools (spindle whorl, needle, razor/knife) and further the block of columns with jewellery and other parts of attire (pins, fibulae, circular-shaped jewellery, pendants).⁸ In the last column the type of attire is designated with the roman numbers from I to VI, whereas the column remains empty in cases of undesignated graves.

First group (**attire-type I**) is formed by nineteen graves containing one to three pins (fig. 4). Altogether, the pins are attested in 25 examples, representing approximately 20% of all the bronze objects at the cemetery (fig. 3d). Interestingly, a larger number of pins had been placed mostly in the both double graves, as the grave 30 contained as much as three pins (Pl. 11: 13–15), while the grave 12 had two (Pl. 5: 1, 3). Two pins were present also in the graves 23 (Pl. 8: 4–5) and 38 (Pl. 14: 5–6), which are almost identical as far as the grave-goods – pins and amphorae – are concerned, as well as in the grave 51 (Pl. 17: 13–14). In all probability the three mentioned graves represent single burials. The wealthier graves contained also razors (approximately 5%, fig. 3d),

⁵ Teržan 1995, 338–345, Abb. 12–15; Teržan 1999, 111–119, figs. 10–13.

⁶ In the column with anthropological age, the latter is stated with possible years of age, which however could also be higher and are subsequently marked with +. The adult persons are indicated with **Oo**, tentatively adult persons with **Oo?**, while the persons without determined age are marked with **N**.

⁷ The abbreviation **ž** designates the presence of urn.

⁸ The analysis of grave-goods compositions comprises as a separate unit (designated with asterisk*) also fragments of ceramic and bronze finds, which are indicated without further data exclusively in the descriptions of graves. Vessel finds, the type of which cannot be defined either due to their poor preservation or because they have been mislaid, are designated on diagrams and tables only as “vessels”.

Slika 4. Gračič, razpredelnica kombinacij grobnih pridatkov z iglami, z obročastim nakitom in fibulami ter posod brez kovinskih pridatkov.

Figure 4. Gračič cemetery; table of grave-good combinations within graves containing pins, circular-shaped jewellery and fibulae or no bronze grave-goods.

GROB / GRAVE	ŽARA / URN	BREZ ŽARE / NO URN	ANTROPOL. STAROST / ANTRPOL. AGE	LATVICA / DISH WITH INVERTED RIM	POSODA, POSODICA / VESSEL, SMALL VESSEL	ENOROČ. SKODELICA / SINGLE-HANDLED CUP	AMFORA / AKPHORA	VREČ, VRČEK / JUG, SMALL JUG	LONEC, LONEČEK / POT, SMALL POT	SKLEDA, SKLEDICA / DISH, SMALL DISH	DVOROČ. SKODELICA / DOUBLE-HANDLED CUP	POKROV / LID	POSODA S 3 ROČAJI / THREE-HANDLED VESSEL	FRAGMENT POSODE / VESSEL FRAGMENT*	VRETNICE / LOOM WEIGHT	ŠIVANKA / NEEDLE	BRITEV, NOŽ / RAZOR, KNIFE	IGLA / PIN	GUMB / BUTTON	SPIRALNI OBROČEK / SPIRAL CIRCLET	SALTALION / SALTALIONE	TRAKAST OBROČEK / BAND-SHAPED CIRCLET	OBROČEK / CIRCLET	FIBULA / FIBULA	ZAPESTNICA / BRACELET	OVRATNICA / NECKLACE	OBESSEK / PENDANT	KOMPLET NOŠE / ATTIRE TYPE
30		x	Oo	2			1								1	1+1?	3		1	2	2		1		1	3	I.	
12	1		Oo				ž1								1		1	2										I.
53	1		Oo				ž	1									1	1										I.
57	1		N					ž						1*			1	1										I.
56	1		Oo				ž							1*				1										I.
24	1		Oo	1	ž1	1				1								1										I.
19	1		N	1			ž											1										I.
23	1		Oo				ž?											2										I.
38	1		9+		1		ž?							1*				2										I.
36	1		Oo				ž							1*				1										I.
25	1		N					ž										1										I.
45	1		N				ž											1										I.
70	1		Oo?				ž											1										I.
52		x	Oo?							1								1										I.
29		x	Oo	1										1*				1										I.
44		x	Oo											1*				1										I.
47		x	Oo											1*				1										I.
13		x	Oo															1										I.
51		x	Oo															2										I.
17+2	12	7		5	2	1	2	1		2				7*		5	25		1	2	2		1		1	3		I.
31		X	15+	1	3	1		2	1												1?		1	1	1			II.
50		X	15+		1										1								4		1	1		II.
34	1		14+				ž								2											1		II.
73	1		11+				ž					1				1?										1		II.
55		X													1				1				2			5		II.
61		X	N											1*						1			2			1		II.
15	1		N				ž							1*	1								1		1			II.
30		X	Oo	2			1							1*	1	2	3		1	2	2		1	1		1	3	II.
60		X	16+											1*	1					1			1	1	2	1		III.
10	1		11-15	1					ž														1		1			III.
62	1		Oo		ž1																				1		1	III.
1		X	Oo?	3	2				1		1			1*	1	1				1	3	1		1			III.	
27		X	Oo												1							1	1	1				IV.
33		X	N												1							2	1	1				IV.
9	1		Oo						ž														1	1				IV.
5	1						ž?															3		1				IV.
35	1		11+				ž															2		1				IV.
37		X	N											1*					1						1			IV.
77		X	15+											1*						1					1			IV.
32	1		Oo?				ž								1					1					1			IV.
67		X		2	2									1*											1			IV.
72	1		Oo?		ž									1*							2				1			IV.
7	1		Oo		1				ž						1	1												V.
3	1		Oo?		ž																	1						V.
39	1		N		1			1	ž	1													2					V.
43	1		N				ž																1					V.
46	1				ž	1																	1					V.
48		X		1																			1					V.
74	1						ž																1					V.
2	1		16+					ž						1*					1									V.
12	1		Oo				ž1								1	1	2											VI.
6	1		Oo			1	ž					1				1												VI.
17		X	Oo											1*	1													VI.
49		X	N											1*	1													VI.
65	1		Oo				ž							1*	1													VI.
33+2	20	15		10	12	3	2	3	2	1	1	2		11*	16	3	4	5	1	5	5	21	16	14	7	12	5	
18	1					1	ž							1*									1*					
68	1		17+					ž																				
4	1							ž																				
14	1		N				ž																					
22	1		N		ž																							
20	1		50+						ž					1*														
8	1				1		ž																					
16	1				ž1		1																					
11	1			1					ž1																			
64		X				1																						
21		X	Oo				2																					
28		X	21+						1																			
71		X					1																					
63		X	Oo			1		1			1																	
41		X		1					1				1															
69		X		2			1							1*														
26		X	15+											1*														
58		X	N											1*														
59		X	N											1*														
66		X												1*														
75		X												1*														
76		X												1*														
40		X	N																									
42		X	Oo?																									
54		X																										
25	9	16		4	2	3	5	1	3		1		1	9														

osebe.⁶ V naslednjem sklopu stolpcev so navedene keramične posode po posameznih zvrsteh oz. tipih,⁷ nato sledi sklop treh stolpcev z orodjem (vretence, šivanka, britev/nož), v predzadnjem sklopu stolpcev je prikazan nakit in drugi sestavni deli noše (igle, fibule, obročasti nakit, obeski),⁸ v zadnjem stolpcu pa je z rimsko številko označen komplet noš od I. do VI, stolpec pa ostane prazen pri neopredeljenih grobovih.

Prva je skupina devetnajstih grobov z eno do tremi **igلامي (komplet I.)** (*sl. 4*), tako da jih je vseh skupaj 25 oz. približno 20 % (*sl. 3d*). Zanimivo je, da je bilo večje število igel pridano predvsem v oba dvojna grobova, pri čemer so bile v grobu 30 kar tri različne igle (*Tab. 11: 13–15*), v grobu 12 pa dve (*Tab. 5: 1, 3*). Po dve igli pa sta bili tudi v grobovih 23 (*Tab. 8: 4–5*) in 38 (*Tab. 14: 5–6*), ki sta glede na pridanke, torej igle in amfori, skoraj identična, in pa v grobu 51 (*Tab. 17: 13–14*); po vsej verjetnosti gre pri vseh treh grobovih za enojne pokope. V bogatejših grobovih so bile med pridanke tudi britve (približno 5 %, *sl. 3d*), in sicer v obeh dvojnih grobovih 30 in 12 (*Tab. 11: 16–17; 5: 2*), pa tudi v grobovih 18 in 57 (*Tab. 18: 1; 19: 2*), ki sta skromnejša. Kar se keramičnih posod v grobovih z igلامي tiče, ni bilo večjih servisov, temveč le posamezne posode, med katerimi prevladujejo amfore. Namesto njih so bili mestoma uporabljeni vrči, torej enoročajne posode, tako prve kot drugi pa so rabile pretežno kot žare. V nekaterih grobovih se kot dodatna posoda pojavlja latvica, medtem ko so črepinje povečini ostanki v pogrebem obredu razbitih posod (*sl. 3c*).

Prvo skupino grobov z označevalnim elementom noše – iglo – (komplet I.) lahko torej glede na dokaj standardizirane, čeprav razmeroma skromne pridanke pripišemo moški populaciji na Brinjevi gori, ki je povečini dosegla starostno kategorijo odraslih oseb (*sl. 4*).

Kot drugo večjo skupino grobov smo opredelili tiste, v kombinacijah katerih so kot označevalni elementi noše zastopane fibule in obročasti nakit različnih velikosti in oblik. Glede na ponavljajoče se kombinacije posameznih elementov smo jih razdelili v štiri komplete noš, čeprav se posamezni elementi lahko

⁶ V stolpcu antropološka starost so označene osebe z možno letnico starosti, ki pa je lahko tudi višja, označena z +, odrasle osebe so označene s kratico Oo, pogojno odrasle osebe s kratico Oo? in po starosti neopredeljene osebe s črko N.

⁷ Z okrajšavo ž je označena žara

⁸ V analizo strukture grobnih pridatkov so kot ena enota (označena z zvezdico*) vključeni tudi fragmenti keramičnih in bronastih najdb, ki so brez drugih podatkov navedeni izključno v opisih grobov. Pod oznako »posode« so na *sl.* (na diagramih in tabelah) navedeni tisti kosi posod, ki jih zaradi slabe ohranjenosti ali založenosti ni bilo mogoče tipološko opredeliti.

such as in the case of both double graves 30 and 12 (*Pls. 11: 16–17; 5: 2*), but also in the more humble graves 18 and 57 (*Pls. 18: 1; 19: 2*). In the graves containing pins there were no larger vessel sets, but only singular vessels, among which amphorae prevail. Instead of the latter, jugs, that is, single-handled vessels had been occasionally used. Nevertheless, both vessel types were predominantly used as urns. In several graves dishes with inverted rim appear as an additional vessel, while the fragments generally represent the remains of broken vessels during the funeral ceremony (*fig. 3c*).

The first group of graves (attire-type I) with characteristic element of attire – pin – can thus be assigned in view of relatively standardised, although modest grave-goods, to the male population at Brinjeva gora, which for the most part reached the adulthood (*fig. 4*).

As a second larger group we classified the graves which are characterised by the presence of fibulae and circular-shaped jewellery of various sizes and forms in their attire. Taking into account the repetitive combinations of individual elements we divided this group into four attire compositions or types, although the individual elements can appear in each of these attire-types and thus convey both the connective and at the same time the denotative qualities (*fig. 4*).⁹

The first type of costume with circular-shaped jewellery we designated as **attire-type II**, which is present in eight graves. Decisive for this group are primarily **necklaces**, found in 12 examples, what amounts to their 9% presence at the Gračič cemetery (*figs. 3d; 4*). In the case of the grave 55 five necklaces were found together (*Pl. 18: 8–12*), a double necklace was present in the grave 31 (*Pl. 12: 1*), while the remaining necklaces were placed in the graves separately (*Pls. 6: 1; 11: 10; 13: 6; 17: 9; 20: 3; 22: 9*). Only in two cases the necklaces have been accompanied by one bracelet (*Pls. 12: 4; 17: 10*), whereas more frequent and common jewellery objects within this attire-type represent circlets of various types, such as simple circlets and band-shaped circlets or earrings, spiral- and hair-rings as well as saltaleoni. Circlets, especially band-shaped earrings, appear, contrary to bracelets, mostly in even numbers within individual graves, but only in several cases also in pairs (*fig. 4; Pls. 11: 5–6; 17: 5–8; 18: 5–6; 20: 1–2*). The wealthier graves contained besides necklaces as

⁹ The two double graves, which contain both male and female grave-goods, are indicated in the list of attires so with the female as with the male sets of grave-goods and thus their record in the table appears twice.

pojavnijo v vsaki od njih in imajo zato tudi povezovalni in hkrati označevalni značaj (sl. 4).⁹

Prvo vrsto noše z obročastim nakitom, označeno kot **komplet II.**, je zaslediti v osmih grobovih, kar znaša 9 % zastopanost na grobišču. Za njegovo opredelitev so merodajne predvsem **ovratnice** (sl. 3d: 4). Vsega skupaj je bilo v gračiških grobovih najdenih dvanajst ovratnic, enkrat jih je bilo skupaj pet, in sicer v grobu 55 (Tab. 18: 8–12), v enem izmed grobov je bila dvojna ovratnica (grob 31, Tab. 12: 1), ostale pa so bile pridane le posamično (Tab. 6: 1; 11: 10; 13: 6; 17: 9; 20: 3; 22: 9). Le v dveh primerih jih je spremljala po ena zapestnica (Tab. 12: 4; 17: 10), medtem ko so med pogoste in običajne dele nakita te vrste noše sodili raznovrstni obročki, navadni obročki in trakasti obročki oz. uhani, spiralni ali lasni obročki ter saltaleoni. Obročki, predvsem trakasti uhani, so bili v posameznih grobovih zastopani za razliko od zapestnic povečini v sodem številu, le nekateri v paru (sl. 4; Tab. 11: 5–6; 17: 5–8; 18: 5–6; 20: 1–2). V bogatejših grobovih so bile poleg ovratnic, kot označevalnem elementu te vrste noše, pridane tudi fibule, kar velja za dvojni grob 30 ter grobova 31 in 15 (Tab. 11: 1; 12: 2–3; 6: 2–3). Pomenljivo pa je, da so bila v večini grobov z ovratnicami pridana keramična predilna vretenca, v enem primeru pa morda nož (Tab. 22: 8). Podobno kot pri moških grobovih so bile tudi pri tej skupini grobov uporabljene kot žare predvsem amfore in vrči, medtem ko druge vrste posod predstavljajo prej izjemo kot pravilo. Prevladujoč nakit v noši te skupine grobov nakazuje, da so pripadali ženskemu polu populacije, sodeč po antropoloških opredelitvah pa lahko celo postavimo tezo, da je bila takšna noša značilna za mlade ženske osebe, morda neveste (sl. 4: II.).

Druga je skupina štirih grobov z eno ali dvema **zapestnicama (komplet III.)** (sl. 4), vendar so bile v paru le enkrat, in sicer v grobu 60 (Tab. 19: 8–9), medtem ko so bile ostale nošene posamezno (Tab. 1: 3; 4: 4; 20: 5). V bogatejših grobovih so bili poleg zapestnic pridani še drugi deli noše oz. nakitni predmeti (sl. 4: III.), kot so fibula (Tab. 19: 5), navadni obročki (Tab. 19: 6), lasni obročki (Tab. 4: 5), trakasti obročki (Tab. 1: 1, 2, 6), saltaleoni (Tab. 1: 5; 19: 7) in obeski (Tab. 19: 4; 20: 4). V dveh grobovih se je nahajalo po eno keramično vretenca (Tab. 1: 8; 19: 10), v enem od njiju tudi šivanka (Tab. 1: 7). Zdi se indikativno, da sta bili v dveh grobovih kot žari uporabljeni majhni posodici ter da so bile med pridanimi posodami zastopane predvsem latvice. Glede

characteristic attire element also fibulae, such as in the case of a double grave 30 and in graves 31 and 15 (Pls. 11: 1; 12: 2–3; 6: 2–3). Relevant as well seems the fact that in most of the graves with necklaces also ceramic spindle whorls were present and in one case possibly also knife (Pl. 22: 8). In a similar manner as in the male graves, amphorae and jugs had been used as urns also in this group of graves, while other vessel types are the exception rather than the rule. In regard to the prevailing jewellery in the attire of this group of graves, it seems that the latter denote the female population. Moreover, in view of the anthropological determinations we can even advance the thesis that such attire was characteristic for young female persons, possibly brides (fig. 4: II.).

Second is the group of four graves with one or two **bracelets (attire-type III)** (fig. 4), although these were found in pair only in one case, that is, in the grave 60 (Pl. 19: 8–9), while other bracelets were worn separately (Pls. 1: 3; 4: 4; 20: 5). In richer graves also other parts of attire or jewellery objects appear besides bracelets (fig. 4: III.), such as fibula (Pl. 19: 5), simple circlets (Pl. 19: 6), hair-rings (Pl. 4: 5), band-shaped circlets (Pl. 1: 1, 2, 6), saltaleoni (Pls. 1: 5; 19: 7) and pendants (Pls. 19: 4; 20: 4). In two graves there was a spindle whorl present (Pls. 1: 8; 19: 10) and in one of the latter also a needle (Pl. 1: 7). Suggestive seems also the fact that in two graves small vessels were used as urns and, further, that among the additional vessels mostly dishes with inverted rims appear. Regarding the circular-shaped jewellery and fibulae as well as spindle whorls, which show affinities with the attire-types II and IV, we presume that also this group of graves can be defined as pertaining to female persons. On the other hand, the size of urns and the anthropological definition of age in the case of graves 10 (11–15 years) and 60 (16 years) indicate that also this jewellery combination or attire-type characterised mostly young girls or juvenile female persons.

The third cluster is designated as **attire-type IV** and comprises ten graves with **fibula**, which, as a rule and regardless of the type, was worn separately (fig. 4: IV.; Pls. 2: 4; 4: 1; 10: 6; 12: 13; 13: 3, 12; 14: 3; 21: 1; 22: 5; 23: 4). Characteristic for richer graves with fibula are mostly band-shaped circlets or earrings and simple circlets, whereas the presence of other jewellery objects, such as spiral circlets, saltaleoni and buttons, represents an exception. A typical grave-good for this group are also ceramic spindle whorls, which as a rule appear in graves in single example. Among the urns mostly amphorae are attested, similarly as in the case of the female attire-type

⁹ Dva dvojna groba z moškimi in ženskimi pridatki sta vključena tako na tabelo s kompleti ženskih kot moških pridatkov, zato njuna podvojena omemba oz. navedba.

na prifatke obročastega nakita in fibul ter vretenc, ki kažejo sorodnosti z II. in IV. kompletom noše, domnevamo, da lahko tudi to skupino pripišemo ženskim osebam. Velikost žar in antropološka opredelitev starosti oseb v grobu 10 (11–15 let) in grobu 60 (16 let) pa nakazujejo, da je tudi ta vrsta noše oz. nakita označevala predvsem mladenke oz. juvenilne ženske osebe.

Tretja je skupina desetih grobov s **fibulo** je označena kot **komplet IV**. Ne glede na tip je bila v kompletu zastopana vedno le posamezna fibula (*sl. 4: IV; Tab. 2: 4; 4: 1; 10: 6; 12: 13; 13: 3, 12; 14: 3; 21: 1; 22: 5; 23: 4*). V bogatejših grobovih so poleg fibule pogosti predvsem trakasti obročki oz. uhani in navadni obročki, medtem ko predstavljajo drugi nakitni predmeti, kot so spiralni obročki, saltaleoni in gumbi, izjeme. Med značilne prifatke te skupine sodijo tudi keramična vretenca, praviloma po en primerek v grobu. Med žarami so zastopane predvsem amfore, torej podobno kot pri ženski skupini II. kompleta noš in na splošno pri moških grobovih. Če se opremo na sicer maloštevilne antropološke podatke, med katerimi pa vendarle pretehta opredelitev »odrasla oseba«, domnevamo, da je bila IV. vrsta noše lastna predvsem odraslim ženskim osebam (*sl. 4: IV*).

V četrti skupini je osem grobov, v katerih so od nakita zastopani le obročki (*sl. 4: V*), in sicer predvsem trakasti obročki oz. **uhani ali lasni obročki (komplet V)**,¹⁰ v petih primerih z enim (*Tab. 2: 1; 16: 1, 6; 17: 2; 23: 1*), v enem primeru z dvema trakastima obročkoma (*Tab. 15: 1–2*) in v enem primeru s spiralnim obročkom (*Tab. 1: 16*). V enem primeru pa sta med prifatki tudi vretenca in šivanka (*Tab. 3: 5, 6*). Glede na nakit, kot so trakasti obročki/uhani, je ta skupina najbolj sorodna s IV. kompletom noše, le da je veliko bolj skromna, zato sklepamo, da je tudi ta vrsta noše značilna za ženske osebe, a verjetno nižjega ranga kot tiste s IV. kompletom noše. Čeprav gre le za maloštevilne antropološke opredelitve, je naša domneva, da so bile s takšnimi uhani nakitene odrasle ženske osebe (*sl. 4: V*).

Naslednja samostojna skupina je skupina petih grobov, označena kot **komplet VI**, med katerimi so trije grobovi s pridanimi le keramičnimi vretenci (*Tab. 6: 9; 17: 4; 20: 12*) ali pa grob s šivanko (*Tab. 3: 3*), zaradi česar sklepamo, da gre tudi pri teh grobovih za ženske pokope (*sl. 4: VI*). Posebnost predstavlja grob 12, ki je dvojni grob, saj vsebuje izrazito moško konotirane atribute, kot sta dve igli in britev (*sl. 4: I*), a tudi vretenca (*Tab. 5: 5*), kar kaže na to,

¹⁰ V skupini uhanov ali lasnih obročkov so združeni tako trakasti kot spiralni obročki.

II and within the male graves in general. If we take into consideration otherwise scant anthropological results, where the definition of adult persons is in the majority, we could suppose that the attire-type IV relates mostly to adult female persons (*fig. 4: IV*).

The fourth group consists of eight graves (**attire-type V**) with circlets as the only class of jewellery (*fig. 4: V*). Above all it goes for band-shaped circlets/ **earrings or hair-rings**,¹⁰ attested in five cases singularly in the grave (*Pls. 2: 1; 16: 1, 6; 17: 2; 23: 1*) and in one case with two examples (*Pl. 15: 1–2*), while one grave contains only a spiral circlet (*Pl. 1: 16*). Another is the case of the grave with both a spindle whorl and a needle as additional grave-goods (*Pl. 3: 5, 6*). Judging by the jewellery, such as band-shaped circlets/earrings, this group of graves is closely related to the attire-type IV. However, the graves in this case are much more modest, thus allowing us to conclude that the attire-type V is characteristic for females as well, but probably of lower social rank as those with the attire-type IV. Regardless of the fact that the anthropological definitions are few in number, we suppose that such earrings adorned adult female persons (*fig. 4: V*).

The next distinct group, designated as **attire-type VI**, represents a set of five graves, among which there are three containing only a ceramic spindle whorl (*Pls. 6: 9; 17: 4; 20: 12*) and another including only a needle (*Pl. 3: 3*). Thus, we could consider these graves as female interments as well (*fig. 4: VI*). Specific is the case of the double grave 12, which contains explicitly male-related attributes such as two pins and a razor (*fig. 4: I*), but also a spindle whorl (*Pl. 5: 5*), pointing to the fact that the female person in this grave had only a modest attire and belongs to the group of attire-type VI within the female population (*fig. 4: VI*).

All the other graves, which had no bronze or stone grave-goods,¹¹ as well as no ceramic spindle whorls, have been designated as undefined. On the basis of typological analysis of ceramic containers, both urns and additional vessels, we could namely establish no special patterns neither as regards the sex nor the age of the deceased (compare *fig. 4*). For this reason we present them in a table (*fig. 4*) without a corresponding definition or explanation, even though it seems, that we could understand them as the graves of persons with lower social rank (cfr. *figs. 3b–3c*).

¹⁰ The group with earrings and hair-rings integrates both band-shaped and spiral circlets.

¹¹ A fragment of bronze circlet and a flint represent the exception, as both finds are mentioned only in the description of the graves 18 and 69.

da je bila morebitna ženska oseba v tem grobu skromno opravljena in da je pripadala naši skupini s VI. kompletom v okviru ženske populacije (sl. 4: VI.).

Kot neopredeljeni so ostali vsi grobovi, v katerih med pridatki ni bilo bronastih ali kamnitih predmetov¹¹ in tudi ne keramičnih vretenc. Ker nam na osnovi tipološke analize keramičnih posod tako žar kot pridanih posod ni uspelo ugotoviti posebnih vzorcev, niti ne glede na spol niti glede na starost (prim. sl. 4), jih predstavljamo v spodnjem delu tabele (sl. 4), a brez ustrezne opredelitve in razlage, čeprav se zdi, da gre za grobove oseb nižjega družbenega stanu (prim. sl. 3b–3c).

Kot je dobro razvidno iz razpredelnice na sl. 4, odražajo različni sestavi nakita in delov noše v grobnih celotah veliko raznolikost in razslojenost znotraj ženske populacije na Brinjevi gori. Ugotovimo lahko, da je značilnost ženskih grobov predvsem obročasti nakit (ovratnice, zapestnice in raznovrstni obročki) ter fibule, večkrat v kombinaciji s spiralastimi žičkami/saltaleoni, obeski in šivankami, med pogoste pridatke pa štejejo tudi vretenca. Glede na njihove kombinacije, ki izkazujejo ponavljajoči se vzorec, pa lahko med njimi ločimo štiri oz. pet kompletov ženskih noš, pri čemer domnevamo, da so kompleti IV., V. in VI. označevali odrasle osebe različnega družbenega stanu, medtem ko sta kompleta II. in III. označevala juvenilne osebe, mladenke in deklice. Nasprotno pa je sestav pridatkov v moških grobovih zelo enoten (komplet I.), kajti moške grobove dosledno opredeljujejo igle, v nekaterih tudi britve, pri čemer gre pretežno za odrasle osebe (sl. 4).

Pomenljivo se zdi, da je zelo podobne gračiškimi vrstam noš oz. nakitnim kompletom moč najti v drugih krajih tako ruške kot tudi dobovske skupine kulture žarnih grobišč. Na Pobrežju in v Rušah pa tudi v Dobovi predstavlja komplet z ovratnico kot najbolj izstopajočim oz. označevalnim elementom nakita tudi najbolj bogato nošo, lastno izbranemu številu ženskih oseb. Razlike nasproti gračiški noši kompleta II. obstajajo predvsem v številu zapestnic, ki so bile v Rušah, na Pobrežju in Dobovi pogosto zastopane v sodem številu,¹² medtem ko je na Gračiču prisotna le po ena, a so zato številnejši manjši obročki (sl. 4: II.). O označevalnem pomenu ovratnic kot nakita posebne vrste noše pa priča tudi glinena figurica iz žarnega grobišča na Mladinski ulici v Mariboru (sl. 5).¹³ Upodobljena je ženska oseba v bogati noši s plisiranim krilom in z nakitom, na

As can be clearly seen from the table at fig. 4, the various sets of jewellery and parts of attire in the grave-units reflect a great variety and stratification within the female population at Brinjeva gora. We can state that the main characteristic of female graves is circular-shaped jewellery (necklaces, bracelets and diverse circlets) and fibulae, frequently found in combination with spirally coiled wires/saltaleoni, pendants and needles, while common grave-goods represent also spindle whorls. In view of their combinations, which demonstrate recurring patterns, we can distinguish four or five female costume sets with attire-types IV, V and VI denoting adult persons of different social status, while the attire-types II and III point to juvenile persons, young females and girls. On the other hand, the composition of grave-goods in male graves is extremely uniform (attire-type I) and consistently contains pins and in some cases razors, while it represents mostly adult persons (fig. 4).

It appears meaningful that very similar types of attire or jewellery sets as at the Gračič cemetery can be found also in other sites, both in Ruše as well as in Dobova groups of the Urnfield Culture. At the cemeteries of Pobrežje and Ruše, as well as at Dobova the attire set with necklace as the most distinctive and characteristic element of jewellery represents also the wealthiest attire, claimed by the limited number of females. The differences in the attire-type II between the Gračič cemetery and other sites exist mostly in the number of bracelets, which are frequently attested at the cemeteries of Ruše, Pobrežje and Dobova in even numbers,¹² while at the graves of the Gračič cemetery only singular examples appear, although consequently more numerous are smaller circlets (fig. 4: II.). The attributive meaning of necklaces as the jewellery of special attire-type is attested also in the case of a clay figurine from the urnfield cemetery at Mladinska ulica in Maribor (fig. 5).¹³ The statuette represents a female person, wearing an opulent attire with pleated skirt and adorned with a double necklace, possibly of the same type as the specimen from the grave 31 at the Gračič cemetery (Pl. 12: 1), as well as with a bracelet on the wrist.¹⁴ Her jewellery therefore corresponds not only to the already discussed female attires present at the cemeteries of Pobrežje, Ruše and Dobova, but also to the attire-type II at the Gračič cemetery.

Like at the Gračič cemetery, the bracelets designate a distinctive element of the third (III) attire-type

¹² Teržan 1999, 139, figs. 11: II; 12: II; 13: II.

¹³ Müller-Karpe 1959, Taf. 120: 45.

¹⁴ Regional Museum Maribor, invent. no. A 1290; excavated by the Museum Society in Maribor in the years 1932–33; Dimensions: H. up to 6.3 cm, W. up to 4.5 cm, T. up to 1.4 cm.

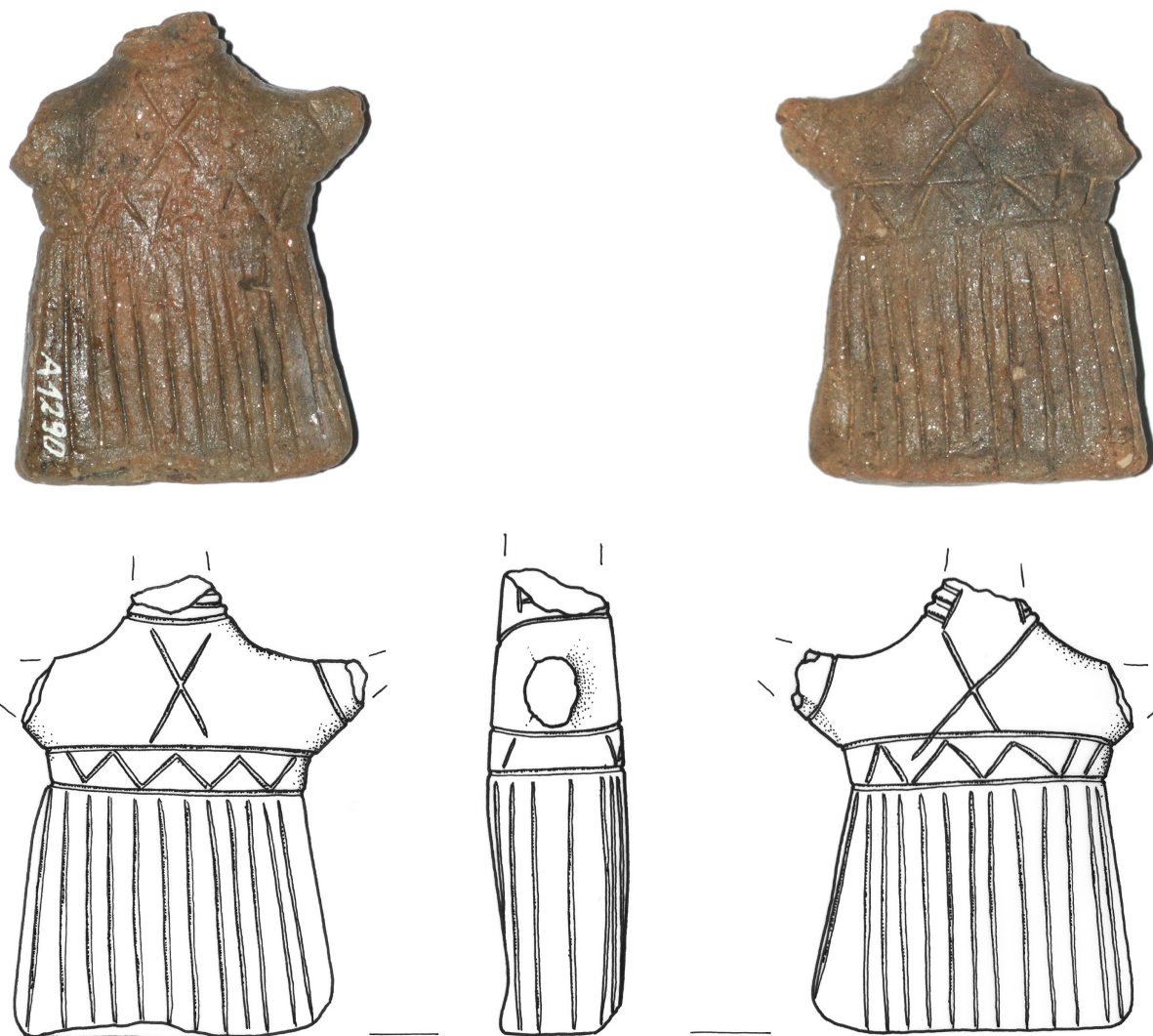
¹¹ Izjemo predstavljata fragment bronastega obročka in kamniti sileks, navedena izključno v opisu groba 18 in 69.

¹² Teržan 1999, 139, sl. 11: II; 12: II; 13: II.

¹³ Müller-Karpe 1959, T. 120: 45.

Slika 5. Maribor, Mladinska ulica, glinena ženska figurica (risba D. Oman, fotografija I. Porekar Kacafura).

Figure 5. Maribor, cemetery at Mladinska ulica; clay female figurine (drawing by D. Oman, photography by I. Porekar Kacafura).



roki z zapestnico in okoli vratu z dvojno ovratnico, morda istega tipa kot je tista v grobu 31 z Gračiča (*Tab. 12: 1*).¹⁴ Njen nakit torej ustreza omenjenim ženskim nošam ne le na Pobrežju, v Rušah in Dobovi, temveč tudi II. kompletu ženske noše na Gračiču.

Podobno kot na Gračiču označujejo tudi drugod – na Pobrežju, v Rušah in Dobovi – III. komplet ženske noše le zapestnice, ki pa so bile nošene v omenjenih krajih tako v sodem številu kot tudi posamezno, kar je najbolj pogosta nošnja zapestnice tudi na Gračiču. Hkrati pa je omembe vredno, da so tako na Gračiču kot v drugih omenjenih grobiščih osebe s to vrsto noše zastopane v razmeroma majhnem številu (*sl. 4*).¹⁵

Poleg oseb II. kompleta noše (z ovratnicami) so bile na Gračiču razmeroma številno zastopane tudi ženske osebe s IV. kompletom noše – s fibulo kot označevalnim elementom (*sl. 4: IV*). Glede na to, da je tovrstna noša dobro zastopana predvsem v grobovih na Pobrežju in v Rušah,¹⁶ medtem ko jo je v Dobovi komajda zaslediti,¹⁷ sklepamo, da gre za vr-

also at other sites – at Pobrežje, Ruše and Dobova. There they could be worn either in even numbers or separately, the latter manner being the most frequent also at Gračič. At the same time it should be mentioned that so at Gračič as in other already mentioned cemeteries the persons with this type of attire are rather poorly represented (*fig. 4*).¹⁵

Besides the individuals with necklaces of the second (II) attire-type, relatively numerous at the Gračič cemetery were also female persons with the attire-type IV containing fibula as the characteristic element (*fig. 4: IV*). Such attire-type is well represented mostly in the graves at Pobrežje and Ruše,¹⁶ while it is barely detectable at the cemetery of Dobova,¹⁷ therefore we infer that it can be considered as a characteristic attire set (possibly also dress) of the Ruše Urnfield group in Pohorsko Podravje region.

In contrast, the attire-type V at the Gračič cemetery, which is characterised by band-shaped circlets or earrings (*fig. 4: V*), appears to represent a rather specific adornment. With the exception of the cemetery at Pobrežje, such jewellery composition is

¹⁴ Pokrajinski muzej Maribor, inv. št. A 1290, izkopalo Muzejsko društvo v Mariboru v letih 1932–33, mere: v. do 6,3 cm, šir. do 4,5 cm, deb. do 1,4 cm.

¹⁵ Teržan 1999, 139, sl. 11: III; 12: III; 13: III.

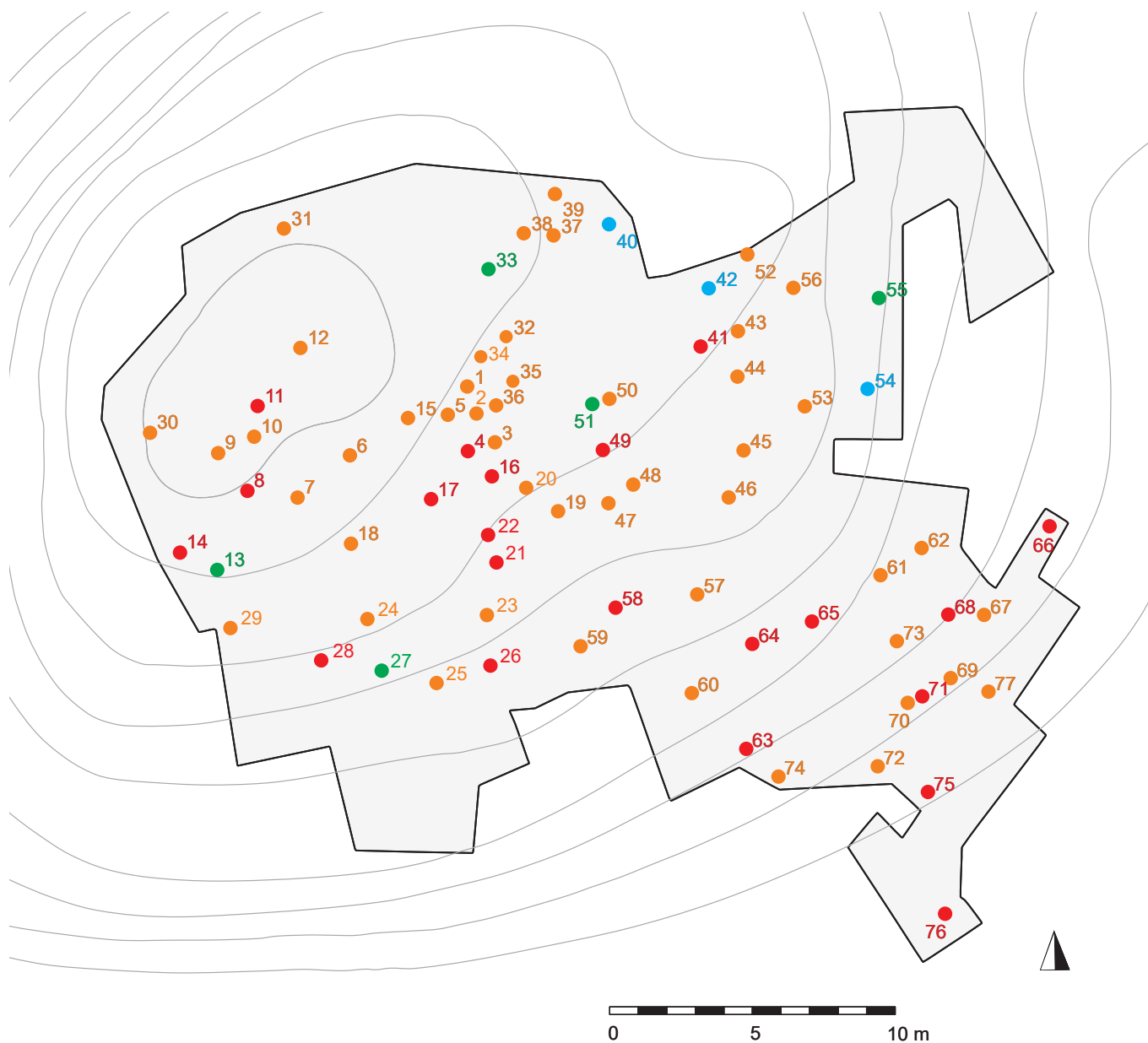
¹⁶ Teržan 1999, 139, sl. 12: IV; 13: IV.

¹⁷ Teržan 1999, 139, sl. 11.

¹⁵ Teržan 1999, 139, figs. 11: III; 12: III; 13: III.

¹⁶ Teržan 1999, 139, figs. 12: IV; 13: IV.

¹⁷ Teržan 1999, 139, fig. 11.



Slika 6. Gračič, razporeditev grobov glede na štiri osnovne kategorije sestavov grobnih pridatkov (prim. *sl. 1*):

1. kategorija (samo bronasti pridatki) – zelena, 2. kategorija (samo keramični pridatki) – rdeča, 3. kategorija (bronasti in keramični pridatki) – oranžna, 4. kategorija (brez pridatkov) – modra.

Figure 6. Gračič cemetery; distribution of graves according to four principal categories of grave-good combinations (cfr. *fig. 1*):

1st category (only bronze finds) – green, 2nd category (only ceramic finds) – red, 3rd category (bronze and ceramic finds) – orange, 4th category (no grave-goods) – blue.

sto kompleta nakita (morda tudi oblačila) značilno za ruško skupino v Pohorskem Podravju.

Za V. komplet noše na Gračiču, za katerega so značilni predvsem trakasti obročki oz. uhani (*sl. 4: V*), se zdi, da predstavlja dokaj specifičen nakit, ki ga na ostalih najdiščih v takšni obliki, razen na Pobrežju, ne zasledimo, čeprav so tudi tam zastopane noše, katerih sestavni deli so bili majhni obročki. Le v Dobovi predstavljajo majhni obročki, vendar drugačnih tipov kot na Gračiču, značilni nakit tamkajšnje IV. vrste ženske noše, ki je tam tudi najštevilnejša.¹⁸

Predilna vretenca, s katerimi smo kot značilnim, pogosto edinim pridatkom označili VI. vrsto ženskih grobov na Gračiču (*sl. 4: VI*), so seveda sestavni del oprave vseh vrst ženskih noš, a kot edini pridatek v grobovih označuje vretenca tudi v drugih krajih posebno skupino ženskih oseb.¹⁹

Medtem ko se ne le na Gračiču, temveč tudi v vseh omenjenih krajih v Pohorskem Podravju in

namely absent at other sites, where, however, attires with small circlets as their constituent part are attested. Small circlets, although of different types as at the Gračič cemetery, denote a characteristic jewellery of the female attire at the cemetery of Dobova, where they differentiate the most numerous fourth attire-type.¹⁸

The spindle whorl as a characteristic and frequently also the only grave-good, has been used to indicate the attire-type VI of female graves at the Gračič cemetery (*fig. 4: VI*). Generally speaking, spindle whorls make up part of all female attire-types, but it should be stressed that spindle whorl as the sole grave-good characterises a special group of female persons in other cemeteries as well.¹⁹

While the great variety of female attires can be observed not only at the Gračič cemetery, but also on all the other mentioned sites in Pohorsko Podravje and Posavje regions, this does not hold true for the male attires, where the constituent and characteristic part

¹⁸ Teržan 1999, 139, sl. 11: IV.

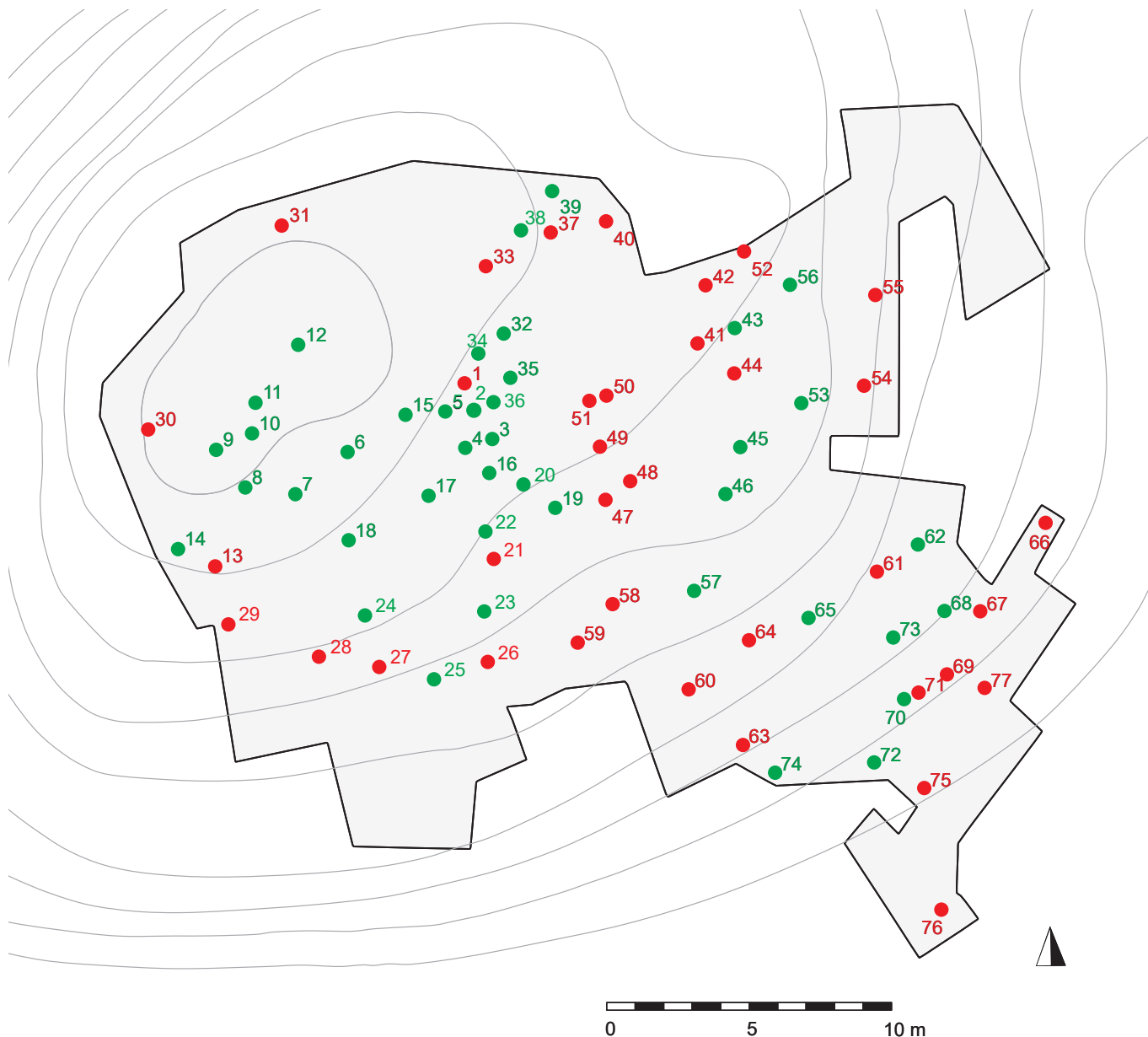
¹⁹ Teržan 1999, 139, sl. 11: V; 12: VI; 13: V spodaj.

¹⁸ Teržan 1999, 139, fig. 11: IV.

¹⁹ Teržan 1999, 139, figs. 11: V; 12: VI; 13: V below.

Slika 7. Gračič, razporeditev grobov glede načina pokopa: grobovi z žaro – zelena, grobovi brez žare – rdeča.

Figure 7. Gračič cemetery: distribution of graves according to the burial mode: graves with urn – green, graves without urn – red.



Posavju kaže raznolikost v ženskih nošah, pa to ne velja za moško nošo, kjer predstavlja povesod njen sestavni in označevalni del igla, ponekod dopolnjena s toaletnim priborom v obliki britve (*sl. 4*).²⁰

Naj povzamemo, da lahko na osnovi značilnih bronastih pridatkov in keramičnih vretenc, za katere sklepamo, da se v njih zrcalijo značilne spolne, statusne in premoženjske razlike, ločimo na Gračiču šest kombinacijskih skupin pridatkov oz. označevalcev noš. Le-te se bistveno ne razlikujejo od vrst noš oz. nakitnih kompletov v drugih krajih Pohorskega Podravja kot npr. na Pobrežju in v Rušah, pač pa nekoliko odstopa po sestavinah svojih noš Dobova. Zato sklepamo, da so bili za ruško skupino značilni specifični kompleti nakita, ki so zastopani v veliki meri tudi na Gračiču. Domnevamo, da je z njimi nakazana družbena stratifikacija prebivalstva tudi v naselbini na Brinjevi gori (*sl. 4*).

Naša kombinacijska analiza grobnih pridatkov na gračiškem grobišču je torej pokazala, da lahko na osnovi bronastih pridatkov in vretenc (noše in

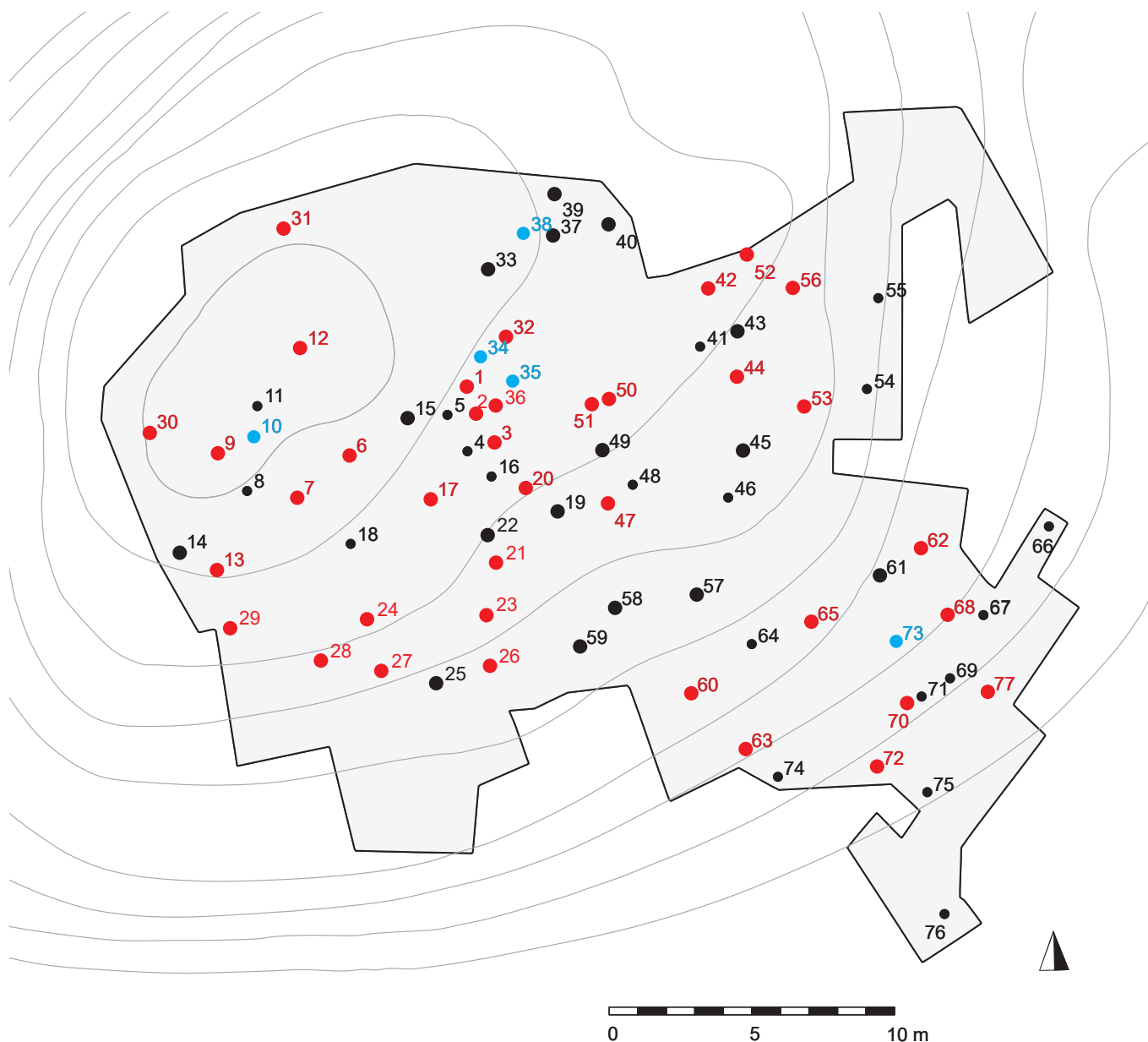
is represented always by the pin, occasionally supplemented with a toilet accessory, such as razor (*fig. 4*).²⁰

To conclude, on the basis of characteristic bronze finds and ceramic spindle whorls, for which we surmise that they reflect specific differences in sex, status and wealth, we can differentiate six combination groups of grave-goods or denotative elements of attire at the Gračič cemetery. These attire-types or jewellery sets do not differ essentially from those in other sites from Pohorsko Podravje region, such as at Pobrežje and Ruše, but they somewhat diverge from the attire components of the cemetery at Dobova. Thus, we infer that the Ruše urnfield group had been characterised by specific combinations of jewellery, which, to a large extent, are also present at the Gračič cemetery. It can reasonably be presumed that these combinations indicate also the social stratification of inhabitants, dwelling at the Brinjeva gora settlement (*figs. 4*).

The present analysis of grave-goods combinations at the Gračič cemetery therefore demonstrated

²⁰ Primerjaj Teržan 1999, 139, sl. 10.

²⁰ Cfr. Teržan 1999, 139, fig. 10.



Slika 8. Gračič, razporeditev grobov glede na starostne razrede: odrasle in pogojno odrasle osebe (nad 15 let) – rdeča, mlade osebe (manj kot 15 let) – modra, po starosti neopredeljene osebe – črna, večji krogi (prim. sl. 2).

Figure 8. Gračič cemetery; distribution of graves according to the age classes: adult and tentatively adult persons (above the age of 15) – red, juvenile persons (under the age of 15) – blue, persons of undetermined age – black, bigger circles (cfr. fig. 2).

orodja) po spolu opredelimo 52 grobov, od tega 33 ženskih (43 %), 17 moških (22 %) in 2 dvojna groba moškega in ženske (3 %), pri ostalih 25 grobovih pa ostaja njihov spol nedoločljiv (32 %) (sl. 3e).

Primerjava pravkar prikazanih vrst noš (sl. 4) z zastopanostjo osnovnih kategorij sestavov grobnih pridatkov (sl. 1) nam pokaže, da je v skupini ženskih grobov 27 grobov sestava 3. kategorije s keramičnimi in bronastimi pridatki (82 %), trije grobovi sestava 1. kategorije z bronastimi pridatki in vretenci (9 %) ter trije grobovi sestava 2. kategorije s samo keramičnimi pridatki (9 %).

V skupini moških grobov je 15 grobov sestava 3. kategorije s keramičnimi in bronastimi pridatki (88 %) in dva grobova sestava 1. kategorije samo z bronastimi pridatki (12 %). V dveh dvojnih grobovih sestava 3. kategorije z ženskimi in moškimi pridatki so bili najdeni keramični in bronasti pridatki. V skupini po spolu nedoločljivih grobov je bilo 18 grobov s keramičnimi pridatki (72 %), štirje grobovi s keramičnimi in bronastimi pridatki (16 %) ter trije grobovi brez pridatkov (12 %).

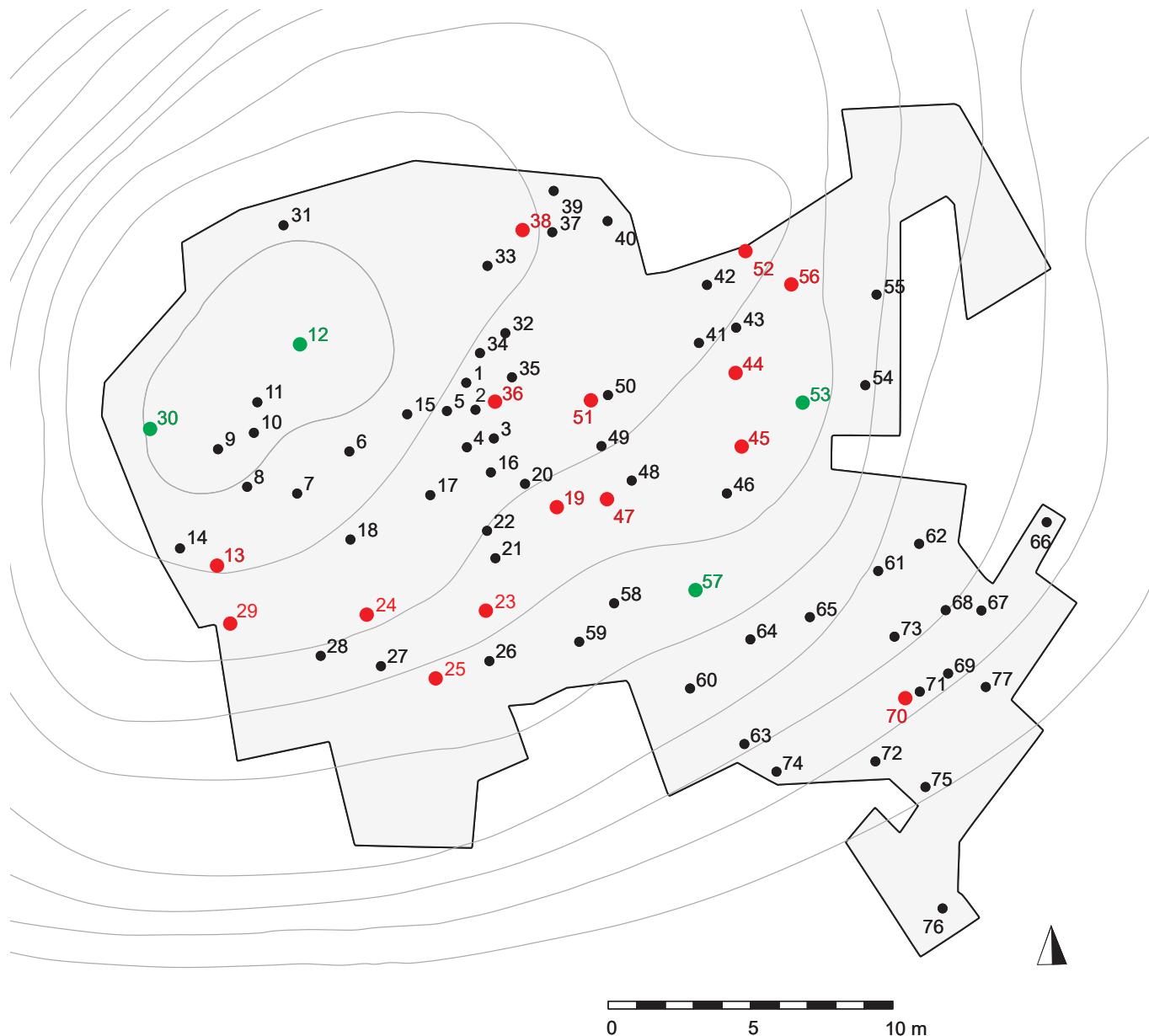
that we can define the sex of 52 graves on the basis of bronze finds and spindle whorls (attire and tools). Among them there are 33 female (43%) and 17 male graves (22%), as well as two double graves (3%) of a man and a woman, while in the case of 25 graves (32%) the sex remains undeterminable (fig. 3e).

Comparison between the attire-types presented above (fig. 4) and the presence of principal categories of grave-good compositions (fig. 1) provides us with further information. In the group of female graves there are twenty-seven graves with composition of the third category, which contains ceramic and bronze finds (82%), three graves with composition of the first category containing bronze finds and spindle whorls (9%) and three graves of the second category composition with only ceramic finds (9%).

The group of male graves comprises fifteen graves with composition of the third category including ceramic and bronze finds (88%) and two graves of the first category composition with only bronze finds (12%). Both double graves containing female and male grave-goods show composition of

Slika 9. Gračič, razporeditev grobov z iglami – rdeča ter iglami in britvami – zelena.

Figure 9. Gračič cemetery; distribution of graves containing pins – red or pins and razors – green.



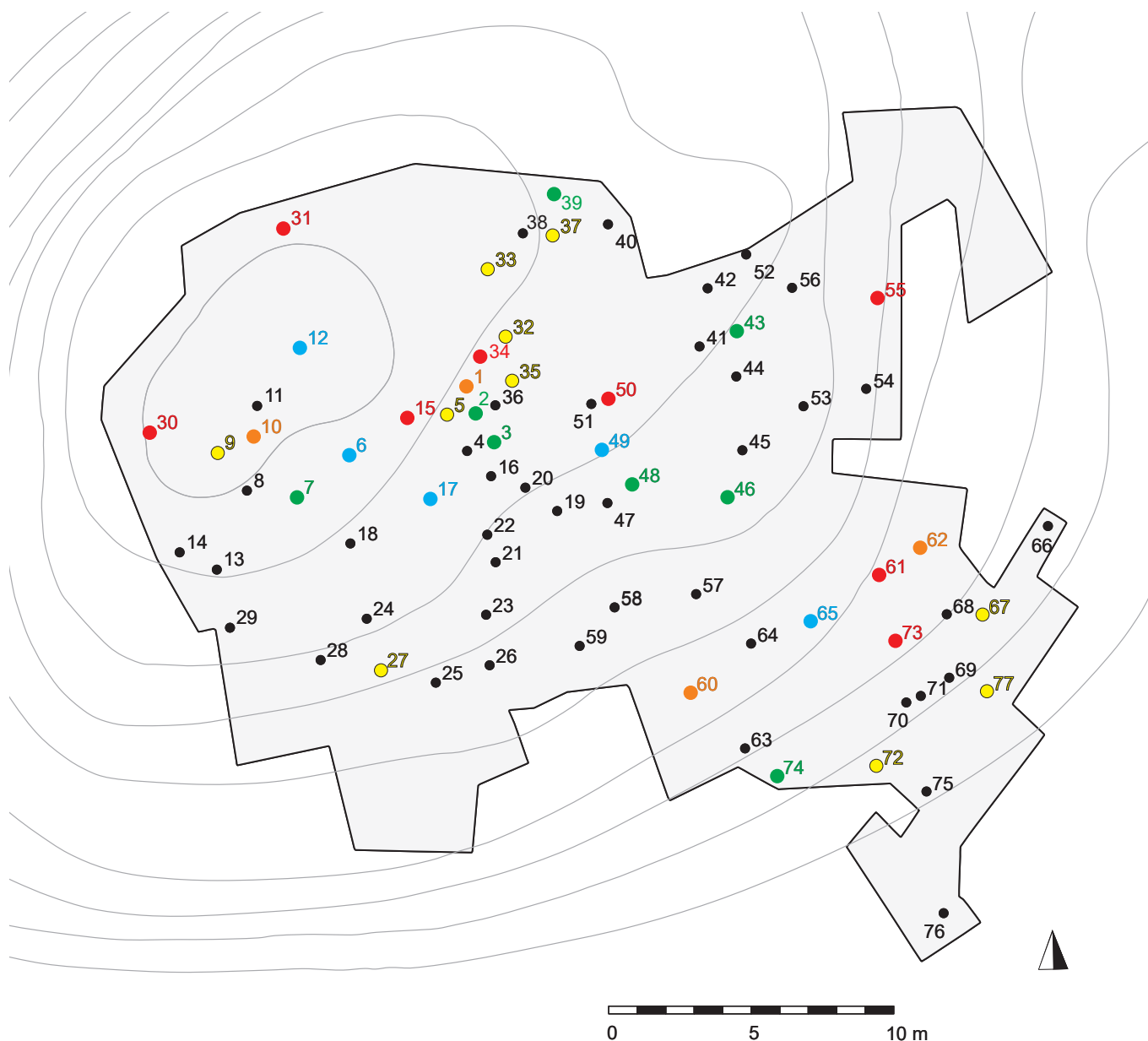
RAZPOREDITEV GROBOV NA NEKROPOLI IN DRUŽBENA STRUKTURA

Glede na podatke, ki smo jih pridobili z našimi raziskavami, smo poskušali ugotoviti prostorsko strukturiranost nekropole na Gračiču. S tem namenom smo na načrt grobišča kartirali grobove iz različnih aspektov: 1) glede na štiri osnovne kategorije sestavov grobnih pridatkov (prim. *sl. 1* in *6*), 2) glede na način pokopa, torej z žaro ali brez nje (prim. *sl. 3a* in *7*), 3) glede na starostno lestvico (prim. *sl. 2* in *8*), 4) glede na vrste noš, in sicer moške z iglami in britvami (prim. *sl. 4* in *9*) in 5) ženskih noš II.–VI. (prim. *sl. 4* in *10*), ter 6) glede na razporeditev ženskih grobov s priborom, kot so predilna vretenca in šivanke (prim. *sl. 4* in *11*). Kartiranje je pokazalo, da je bilo pokopavanje na gračiški nekropoli

the third category with ceramic and bronze finds. In the group of graves with indefinable sex there are eighteen cases with only ceramic finds (72%), four with ceramic and bronze finds (16%) and three without grave-goods (12%).

DISTRIBUTION OF GRAVES IN THE NECROPOLIS AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

With regard to the information obtained from our research we have tried to establish the spatial structuration of the necropolis at Gračič. To this purpose we mapped on the cemetery plan the graves, taking into consideration various aspects, such as: 1) the four principal categories of grave-good compositions (cfr. *figs. 1* and *6*); 2) the mode of burial, that is, with or without an urn (cfr. *figs. 3a* and *7*); 3) the estimated age category (cfr. *figs. 2* and *10*); 4) the male attire-type with marked pins and razors (cfr. *figs. 4* and *9*); 5) the female attire-types from type II to type VI (cfr. *figs. 4* and *10*) and 6) the distribution of female graves with tools, such as spindle whorls and needles (cfr. *figs. 4* and *11*). Such charting of the cemetery made clear



Slika 10. Gračič, razporeditev grobov z ženskimi nošami: komplet II. – rdeča, komplet III. – oranžna, komplet IV. – rumena, komplet V. – zelena, komplet VI. – modra.

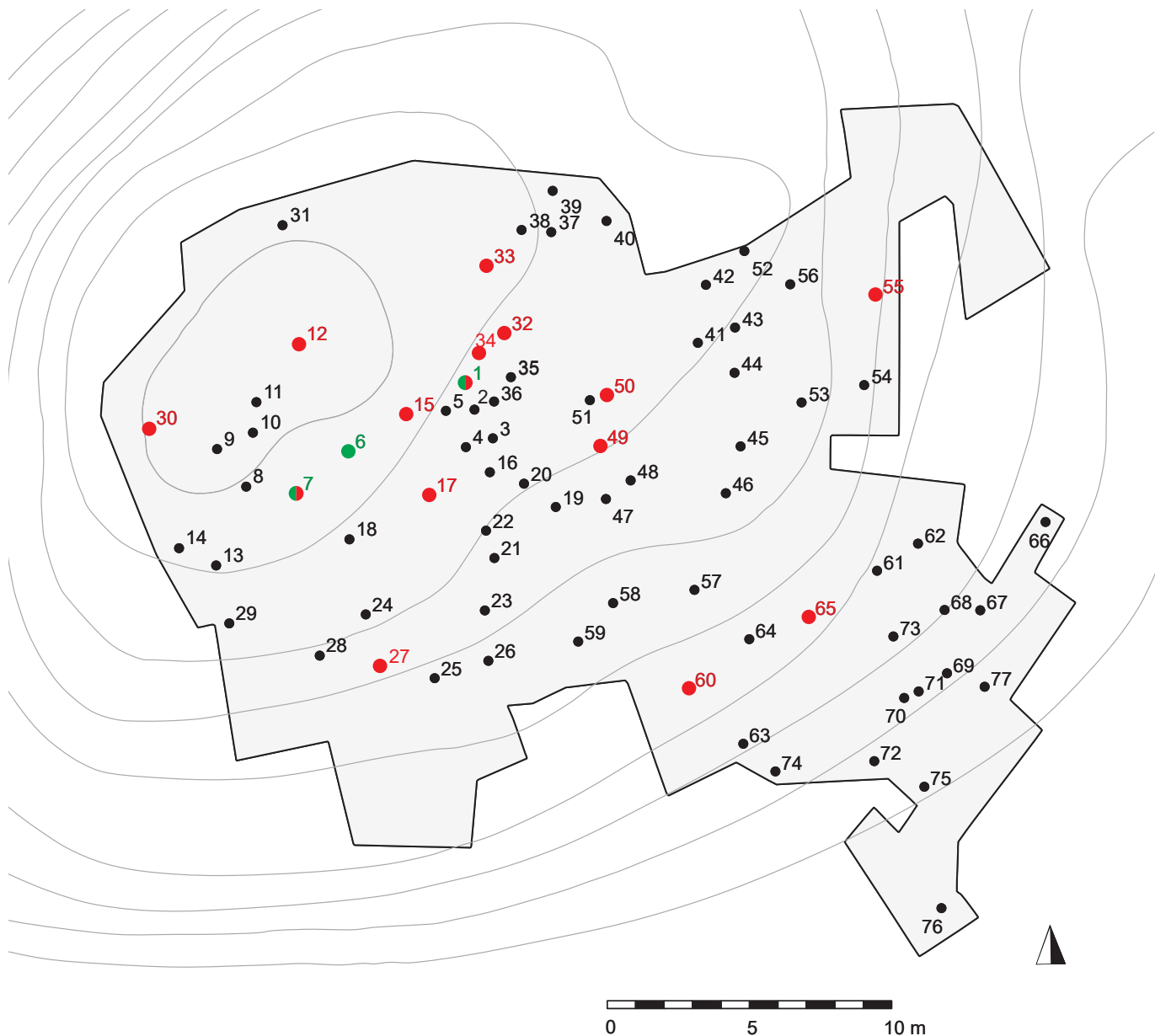
Figure 10. Gračič cemetery; distribution of graves with female attire-types: attire-type II – red, attire-type III – orange, attire-type IV – yellow, attire-type V – green, attire-type VI – blue.

izredno kompleksno in da posamezni parametri ne dajejo povsem skladne slike. A vendar gre za razmeroma enakomerno porazdelitev grobov različnih parametrov po celotni nekropoli, čeprav se med seboj razlikujejo. Pri razporeditvi grobov štirih osnovnih kategorij, med katerimi so prevladujoči tisti 3. kategorije, se je pokazalo, da imajo grobovi 1. in 4. kategorije bolj robno pozicijo v primerjavi z ostalimi (sl. 6). Če upoštevamo način pokopavanja, tj. s pokopom v žari ali brez nje, so grobovi brez žare razporejeni predvsem na pobočju ob spodnjem robu grobišča, kot npr. grobovi med 13, 29, 26, 27 itd., od katerih odstopajo grobovi 59–58, 47–48–49–50–51, ki na neki način omejujejo vzhodni rob osrednje skupine grobov na grobišču. Podobno morda velja tudi za grobove 60, 64 in 61 ter 66–76, ki omejujejo skupino grobov na pobočju na samem jugovzhodnem robu grobišča (sl. 7). Manj izpovedna je slika, ki jo nudi razporeditev grobov po antropološko ugotovljeni starostni lestvici, kaže pa, da so grobovi oseb vseh starosti razporejeni po celotni nekropoli (sl. 8).

that the interments at the cemetery of Gračič were carried out in a very complex manner and that the separate parameters do not offer a completely congruent picture. Nonetheless, the graves with different parameters appear to be quite evenly distributed across the entire necropolis, even though they differ between each other. The distribution of graves according to the four principal categories, among which those with the third category composition prevail, demonstrated that the graves of the first and fourth category compositions are located more on the fringes of the cemetery in comparison to others (fig. 6). If we consider the mode of burial, that is, the burials with or without an urn, the latter appear to be positioned mostly on the slope along the lower edge of the cemetery, as for example the graves 13, 29, 26, 27 etc. From the latter the graves 59, 58 and 47, 48, 49, 50, 51 spread out and seem to delimit, in a sense, the eastern edge of the central group of graves at the cemetery. The same possibly holds true also for the graves 60, 64, 61 and 66–76, which delineate the grave-group on the slope at the very south-eastern edge of the cemetery (fig. 7).

Slika 11. Gračič, razporeditev grobov z vretenci – rdeča in šivankami – zelena.

Figure 11. Gračič cemetery; distribution of graves containing spindle whorls – red or needles – green.



Razporeditev grobov glede na vrste noš pa je pokazala naslednje (*sl. 9–10*): Oba dvojna grobova (30 in 12) z izrazito moško komponento noše (igle in britev) sta bila locirana na sam vrh vzpetine in ležita sorazmerno blizu drug drugega. Zdi se, da se je od njiju grobišče širilo navzdol po pobočju, zato sta ta dva grobova med najstarejšimi na grobišču, kar je podprla tudi kronološka analiza grobnih pridatkov.²¹ Verjetno predstavljata začetnika vsak svoje rodovno-družinske skupnosti. Kajti ostali moški grobovi, ki jih označuje prvi komplet noše z iglami, so razporejeni bolj ali manj enakomerno, predvsem na pobočju v sredinskem pasu grobišča (*sl. 9*), a tudi v najbolj jugozahodni skupini grobov v spodnjem delu grobišča na pobočju. Podobno velja tudi za ženske grobove II.–VI. kompleta noš, kajti na celotnem področju nekropole so grobovi vseh petih vrst noš razporejeni dokaj enakomerno (*sl. 10*). Kljub temu se dajo razpoznati vsaj dva, morda pa tudi štirje predeli, kjer so ženski grobovi bolj zgoščeni oz. se jasneje grupirajo. Prvo grupacijo predstavljajo grob 30, v katerem

²¹ Glej tu Teržan, Gračič.

Less indicative is the result gained with the distribution of graves according to the age categories, which displays that the graves with individuals of all ages are spread over the entire necropolis (*fig. 8*).

The distribution of graves according to separate attire-types yielded following results (*figs. 9–10*): Both double graves (30 and 12), which contain explicitly male components of attire (pins and razor), had been located at the very top of the cemetery rise and lie relatively close to each other. It seems that the cemetery spread out downwards along the slope from those two very graves, which consequently represent one of the oldest graves at the cemetery, what was confirmed also by the chronological analysis of grave-goods.²¹ Possibly, both denote the initiators of their own extended family communities. The location of other male graves characterised by the attire-type I with pins confirms such observations, as they are spread more or less evenly across the cemetery, for the most part on the slope in the central section of the cemetery (*fig. 9*), but also in

²¹ See here Teržan, Gračič.

je poleg moške komponente noše tudi bogata ženska oprava II. vrste kompleta noše, in njemu bližnji grobovi 9, 10, 31. Druga grupacija leži pomaknjena proti vzhodu in je označena z ženskimi grobovi od grobov 15, 5 do grobov 32, 34, 35. Tretja se nahaja še dalje proti severovzhodu in ji pripadajo grobovi 33, 37 in 39. Četrta grupacija pa se širi na pobočju proti jugovzhodu in je zastopana z grobovi 60, 61, 62 vse do grobov 72 in 77.

Medtem ko je komplet noše IV. prisoten predvsem v osrednjem in na skrajnem jugovzhodnem delu grobišča, so kompleti noše II., III., V. in VI. dokaj enakomerno razporejeni po celotni površini grobišča.

Poseben pogled ponuja tudi razporeditev grobov s šivankami in predilnimi vretenci (*sl. 11*), kot predstavniki ženske domače gospodinjske obrtne dejavnosti. Medtem ko so šivanke najdene tik pod vrhnjim platojem grobišča, so vretenca razporejena predvsem v zahodnem in osrednjem delu grobišča, redkeje pa v vzhodnem delu grobišča.

Takšna razporeditev, tako moških kot ženskih grobov na nekropoli, govori za obstoj več, najmanj dveh, verjetneje pa vsaj štirih, podobno strukturiranih družbenih celic/enot. Vsaka zase je bila razslojena glede na starost, stan in status svojih članov, zato domnevamo, da gre za grupacije grobov posameznih rodovno-družinskih skupnosti brinjegorske naselbine.

the most south-western part, down on the slope. In a similar way also the female graves with attire-types II-VI could be understood, as the graves of all the five attire-types are laid out over the entire cemetery area rather evenly as well (*fig. 10*). In spite of this, at least two, but possibly even four areas can be discerned, where the female graves are more concentrated or cluster together more clearly. The first cluster connects with the grave 30, in which besides the male component of attire also a wealthy female attire of the type II is attested, and consists of nearby graves 9, 10 and 31. Second cluster lies towards east and comprises the female graves 15 and 5 up to the graves 32, 34 and 35. Third cluster is positioned further to the northeast and contains the graves 33, 37 and 39. The last, fourth cluster spreads deep down on the slope towards southeast and is represented by the graves 60, 61 and 62, up to the graves 72 and 77.

While the attire-type IV appears mostly in the central and the far south-eastern part of the cemetery, the attire-sets of the type II, III, V and VI are spread in a rather regular manner across the entire area of the cemetery.

A somewhat particular aspect is offered by the distribution of graves containing needles or spindle whorls (*fig. 11*), which testify to the female craft activities. While the needles can be found in graves, located right under the uppermost plateau of the cemetery, the spindle whorls appear mostly in the western and central part as well as, more rarely, in the eastern part of the cemetery.

Such distribution of both male and female graves in the necropolis supports the existence of several similarly structured social cells or units, which were minimally two, but very likely at least four. Each of these units had been individually stratified with regard to age, class and rank of its members. Therefore we presume that these grave groupings represent separate communities of extended families from the settlement at Brinjeva gora.

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