

SKLEPNA BESEDA

POHORSKO PODRAVJE V POZNI BRONASTI IN STAREJŠI ŽELEZNI DOBI

Biba Teržan, Matija Črešnar

PROLOG

Poselitev Pohorskega Podravja v pozni bronasti in zgodnji železni dobi kot tudi v drugih arheoloških obdobjih¹ je bila v večji meri soodvisna tako od geomorfoloških kot geografskih danosti, kajti Pohorsko Podravje se nahaja na stičišču vzhodnih obronkov Centralnih Alp in subpanonskega sveta. Gre za dokaj zaključeno geografsko enoto, saj jo na severu in vzhodu zamejuje gričevje Kozjaka in Slovenskih goric, na zahodu pa obronki Pohorja, ki se spustijo v nižave Dravskega polja, tam, kjer gorska reka Drava iz ozke Dravske doline preide v širjave Dravskega polja in naprej Panonske nižine. Takšna lega pogojuje tudi pomen tega prostora kot križišča različnih poti iz vseh nebesnih smeri, na eni strani tistih, ki potekajo vzdolž Drave od vzhoda proti zahodu, na drugi strani tistih, ki vodijo preko dobro prehodnih gričev in nato nižav vzdolž Pohorja od severa proti jugu ali obratno. V teh naravnih danostih je verjetno iskati vzroke za to, da je bilo to območje intenzivno poseljeno tudi v pozni bronasti in starejši železni dobi.

O raziskavah arheoloških najdišč v Mariboru in njegovi okolici je v svojih izredno izčrpnih in zanimivih razpravah pisal najboljši poznavalec štajerske prazgodovine – Stanko Pahič, dolgoletni kustos – arheolog v Pokrajinskem muzeju v Mariboru. Njegovemu spominu posvečamo tudi naše študije, zbrane v pričujočem zborniku. Njegovi temeljni znanstveni sestavki o prazgodovini Maribora z okolico so izšli v različnih publikacijah. Naj na tem mestu omenimo zlasti prispevke v zvezkih *Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje*² ter zbirki *Doneski k pradavnini Podravja in Naši kraji v pradavnini*³, ki ju je sam tudi izdajal. Vendar se ni zadovoljil samo z njimi, temveč je želel arheologijo približati tudi širši javnosti. Tako je objavil vrsto poljudnih člankov, med katerimi naj posebej opozorimo na tiste, ki so izšli v društvenem letopisu Planinskega društva Maribor Matica *Planine ob meji*⁴.

¹ Glej tu Črešnar, Zgodovina raziskav in npr. Teržan, Črešnar, Mušič 2012.

² Pahič 1966; isti 1968.

³ Pahič 1985a; isti 1985b; isti 1987 itd.

⁴ Pahič 1965–1967; isti 1972–1973.

CONCLUSION

THE POHORSKO PODRAVJE REGION DURING THE LATE BRONZE AND EARLY IRON AGES

Biba Teržan, Matija Črešnar

INTRODUCTION

The settlement dynamics in the Pohorsko Podravje region during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, as well as in other archaeological periods,¹ depended, to some extent, on the area's geomorphological and geographical affordances. Located at the junction of the eastern edges of the Central Alps and the Subpannonian region, Pohorsko Podravje functioned as a rather distinct geographical unit. It is delineated by the Kozjak and Slovenske gorice hills in the north and east, and by the Pohorje massif in the west. In the area where the latter's fringes reach into the Dravsko polje plain, the river Drava, until that point a mountainous river running through the narrow Drava valley, becomes wider whilst flowing across the Dravsko polje and onwards to the Pannonian plain. This geographical position made communication in any of four cardinal directions possible, which means that various routes intersected in the area, including, for instance, those that accompany the Drava river eastwards/westwards, and others that lead northwards/southwards across the easily traversable hills of Slovenske gorice and further along the lowlands at the edges of Pohorje massif to the south or vice versa. These natural affordances need to be considered, then, as one of the factors contributing to the region's dense settlement during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

The archaeological research in the region of Pohorsko Podravje, especially in the vicinity of Maribor, had been, for many years, conducted by Stanko Pahič, the archaeologist-curator of the Regional Museum (Pokrajinski muzej) of Maribor. He was an outstanding and leading expert on the prehistory of Styria, who discovered and excavated a large number of archaeological sites and discussed them in detailed, thorough and captivating treatises, which enormously enriched our knowledge about the discussed area. Pahič's papers were published in several different publications, of which only the various issues of the *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*² historical journal and a number of

¹ See here, for example Črešnar, History of research, or Teržan, Črešnar, Mušič 2012.

² Pahič 1966; *id.* 1968.

V zadnjih dveh oz. treh desetletjih so potekala številna arheološka izkopavanja, zlasti zaradi gradnje avtoceste in drugih večjih gradbenih del na mariborskem področju, ki jih je povečini vodila Mira Strmčnik-Gulič⁵, arheologinja – konservatorica na mariborskem spomeniškovarstvenem zavodu. Odkrita je bila vrsta novih arheoloških najdišč iz različnih obdobj, med katerimi prevladujejo najdišča iz bronzaste dobe. Te raziskave so bistveno dopolnile arheološko podobo Pohorskega Podravja, zato bomo v nadaljevanju poskusili podati povzetek naših raziskav, predstavljenih v pričujoči monografiji, ter trenutni pogled na njegovo poseljenost, tokrat le v pozni bronasti in zgodnji železni dobi (*sl. 1*).

POZNA BRONASTA DOBA

V pozni bronasti dobi, tj. v obdobju kulture žarnih grobišč, ki je zajela skorajda vso evropsko celino, kar je povezano s širjenjem novih religioznih predstav in z njimi povezanih obredov kot tudi z različnimi migracijami, je prišlo do intenzivne poselitve tudi v Pohorskem Podravju. Kot je razvidno iz uvodnega poglavja o zgodovini raziskav,⁶ so bila že v zadnjih desetletjih 19. in v prvih 20. stol. v Podravju odkrita številna arheološka najdišča, predvsem obsežna plana žgana grobišča, za katere je v strokovni literaturi uveljavljeno poimenovanje »ruška skupina kulture žarnih grobišč« in ki sodi predvsem v obdobje mlajše kulture žarnih grobišč, tj. v stopnjo Ha B. Z njo je vzdolž Drave med Rušami in Ormožem izpričana sorazmerno gosta poselitev nižinskih predelov in tudi na nekaterih izpostavljenih strateških legah, kot je Ptujski grad nad ugodnim prehodom čez Dravo, ter z izjemo Brinjeve gore, umaknjene na južne obronke Pohorja. V ta čas datiramo tudi tu predstavljeni najdišči, naselbino s pripadajočimi grobovi na Pobrežju

⁵ Strmčnik Gulič 2001; ista 2003; Koprivnik, Strmčnik Gulič, Kajzer Cafnik 2009.

⁶ Glej tu Črešnar, Zgodovina raziskav.

volumes within the *Doneski k pradavnini Podravja* and *Naši kraji v pravadini*³ series are highlighted here. The latter two were, in fact, self-published by the author. Furthermore, aspiring to bring archaeology to the general public, Pahič wrote a number of papers for a lay audience with some of his most notable texts appearing in the *Planine ob meji*⁴ almanac of the local mountaineering society Planinsko društvo Maribor Matica. Therefore, we would like to dedicate this volume of studies to his memory.

Owing to a highway construction and several large infrastructure construction projects, a number of extensive archaeological excavations took place in the wider area of Maribor over the last two to three decades. Most of these were led by Mira Strmčnik-Gulič,⁵ an archaeologist-conservator at the Maribor Regional Office of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia. While a number of new archaeological sites from different periods were discovered, the Bronze Age sites predominated in the area. Over the years, their research has substantially contributed towards a better understanding of the Pohorsko Podravje region in the past. Building on these findings, we aim, first, to summarize the results of our own research presented in this monograph, and second, to discuss the current understanding of the settlement dynamics in the region during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (*fig. 1*).

THE LATE BRONZE AGE

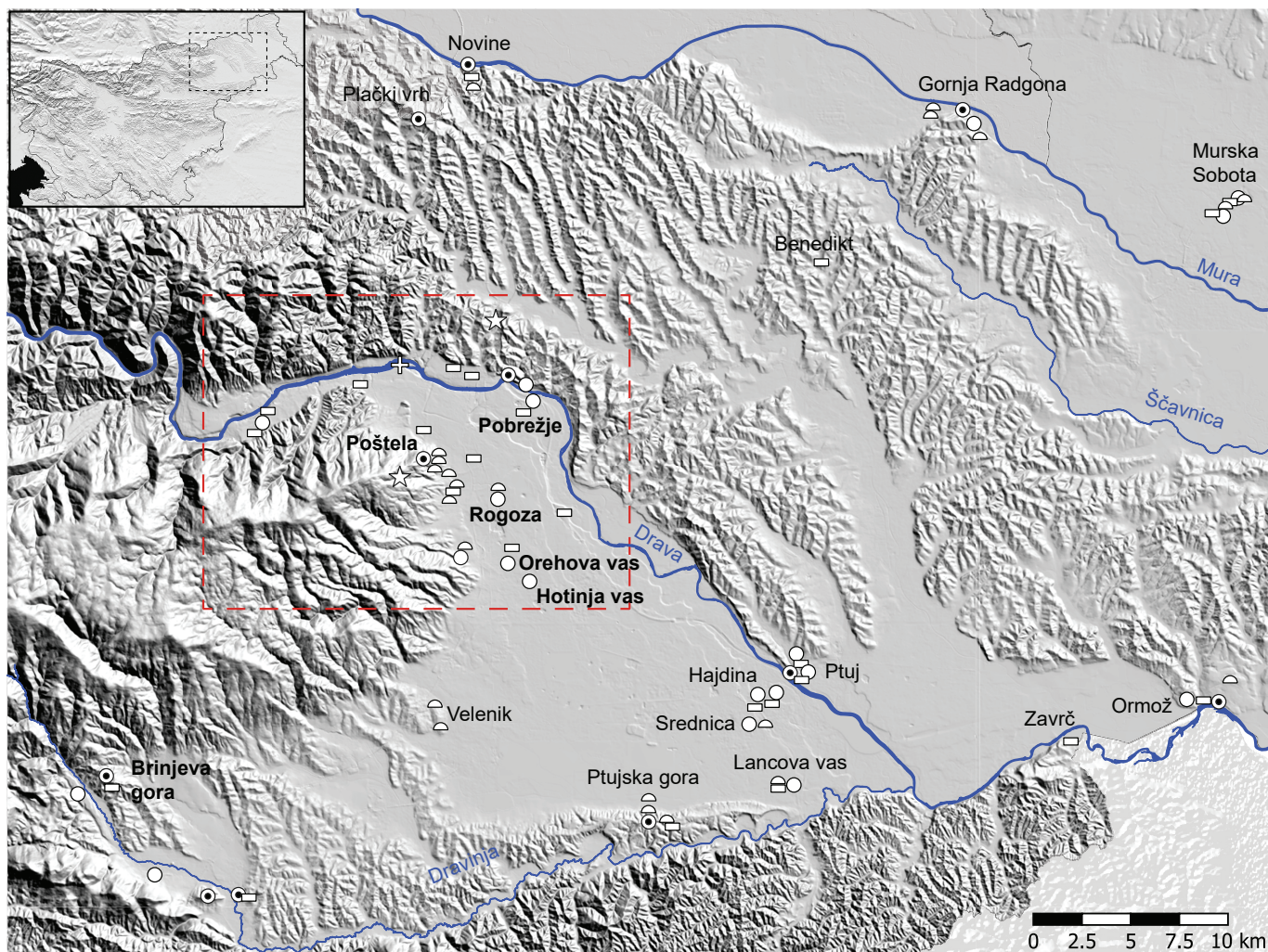
During the Late Bronze Age, the Urnfield culture gradually spread across most of the European continent and brought about new religious imagery, ideas and cult practices, as well as triggered various migrations, including within the region discussed here. As elaborated in the introductory chapter on the history of research,⁶ the first Late Bronze Age sites were discovered in the region of Pohorsko Podravje in the last decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. One of the most notable sites unearthed at that time was the extensive first Urnfield cemetery at Ruše, which became eponymous of the Ruše Urnfield cultural group, dated to the late phase of the Urnfield culture, namely the Ha B period. The Ruše-group settled the lowland area along the Drava river between Ruše and Ormož relatively densely. Its settlements also appeared on some hill-tops, including Ptuj Castle above a convenient Drava river crossing and Brinjeva gora hill, hidden on

³ Pahič 1985a; *id.* 1985b; *id.* 1987 etc.

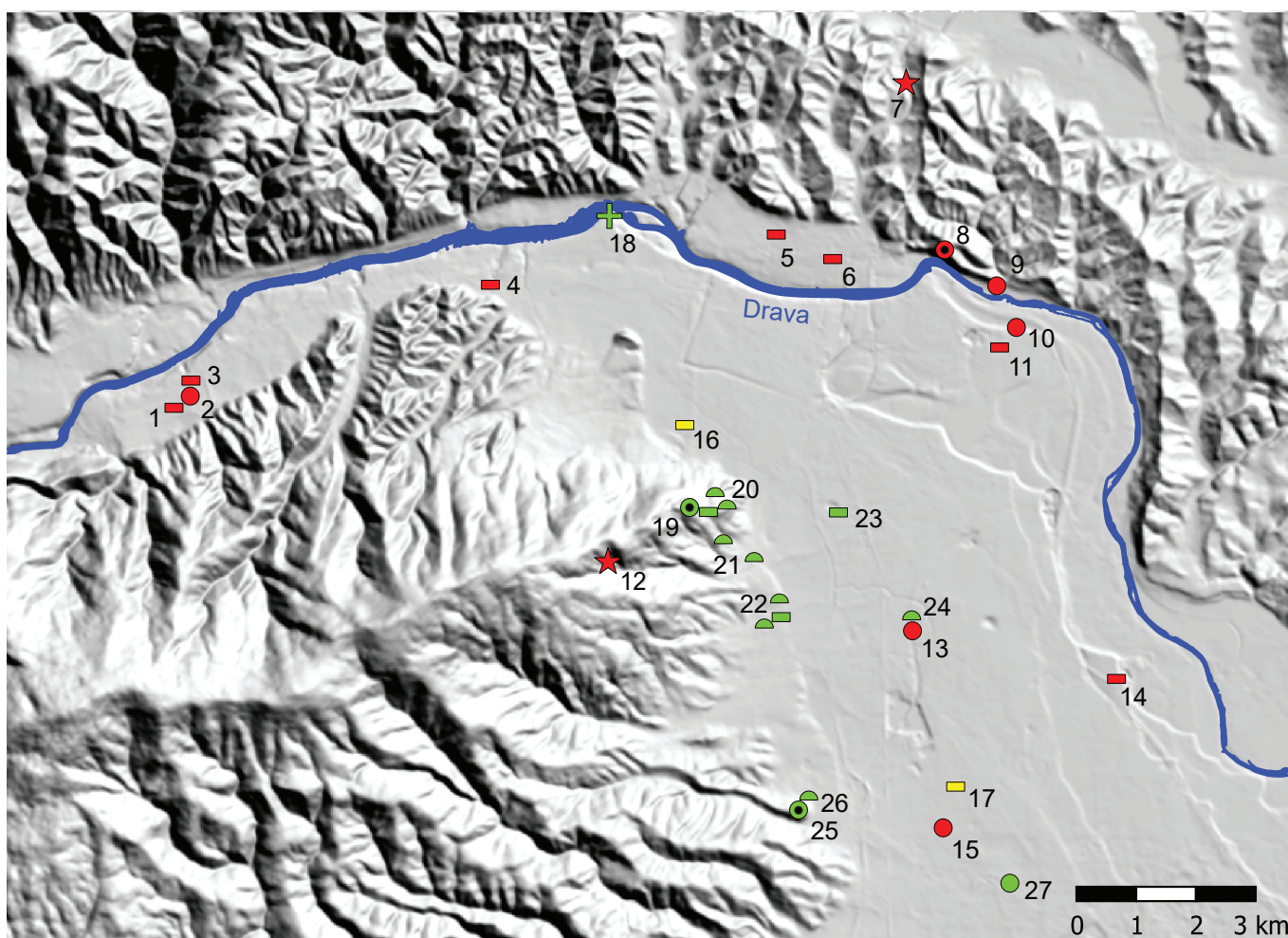
⁴ Pahič 1965–1967; *id.* 1972–1973.

⁵ Strmčnik Gulič 2001; *ead.* 2003; Koprivnik, Strmčnik Gulič, Kajzer Cafnik 2009.

⁶ See here Črešnar, History of research.



Slika 1a. Zemljevid severovzhodne Slovenije z izbranimi najdišči iz časa pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe (krog – naselje, krog s piko – višinsko oz. utrjeno naselje, pravokotnik – plano grobišče, polkrog – gomilno grobišče, zvezda – depo, križ – posamezna najdba; odebeljen napis – tukaj objavljena najdišča). **Figure 1a.** A map of north-eastern Slovenia with selected Late Bronze and Early Iron Age sites (circle – settlement, circle with dot – hilltop or fortified settlement, rectangle – flat cemetery, semicircle – tumulus cemetery, star – hoard, cross – individual find; bold text – sites published in this volume).



Slika 1b. Zemljevid Pohorskega Podravja z izbranimi najdišči iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe (krog – naselje, krog s piko – višinsko oz. utrjeno naselje, pravokotnik – plano grobišče, polkrog – gomilno grobišče, zvezda – depo, križ – posamezna najdba; rdeče – pozna bronasta doba, zelena – starejše železna doba, rumena – obe obdobji oz. prehodno obdobje). **Figure 1b.** A map of the Pohorsko Podravje region with selected Late Bronze and Early Iron Age sites (circle – settlement, circle with dot – hilltop or fortified settlement, rectangle – flat cemetery, semicircle – tumulus cemetery, star – hoard, cross – individual find; red – Late Bronze Age, green – Early Iron Age, yellow – both phases or transitional period).

Seznam najdišč na sl. 1b / List of sites on fig. 1b: 1–3 – Ruše, 4 – Limbuš, 5–6 – Maribor, 7 – Pekel, 8 – Meljski hrib, 9 – Malečnik, 10–11 – Pobrežje, 12 – Hočko Pohorje, 13 – Rogoza, 14 – Miklavž na Dravskem polju, 15 – Orehova vas; 16 – Razvanje, 17 – Slivnica (Ob Polanskem potoku); 18 – Mariborski otok, 19 – Poštela, 20 – Habakuk/Lepa ravna, 21 – Razvanje, 22 – Pivola, 23 – Bohova (E.Leclerc), 24 – Rogoza, 25–26 – Čreta pri Slivnici, 27 – Hotinja vas (glej tudi / see also: Teržan 1990, 255–353; Črešnar 2010, 74–80; Dular 2013, 101–110; Črešnar, Vinazza 2019; Vinder, Ciglar 2018).

v Mariboru in grobišče Gračič pod Brinjevo goro nad Zrečami (*sl. 1; 8*).⁷

Nekoliko drugačno je bilo doslej stanje raziskav, ki se je navezovalo na starejše obdobje kulture žarnih grobišč. Če smo na poselitev v Podravju v stopnji Ha A v Müller-Karpejevem smislu⁸ še v 90. letih 20. stol. lahko sklepali le na osnovi depojskih najdb, kot sta npr. tisti, odkriti na Hočkem Pohorju in Peklu pri Košakih,⁹ pa jo sedaj dokazujejo na novo odkrita arheološka najdišča, zlasti tista naselbinskega značaja, ki se vrstijo ob severozahodnem robu Dravskega polja in od katerih tu objavljamo rezultate arheoloških raziskav iz Orehove vasi¹⁰.

Zanimivo je, da je kar nekaj naselbin nastalo na krajih, ki so bili poseljeni že v starejših obdobjih, bodisi že v eneolitiku bodisi v zgodnji bronasti dobi oz. na njenem prehodu v srednjo bronasto dobo, v času tako imenovane kulture s pramenasto keramiko (oz. Litzen – licensko keramiko), čeprav nikakor ne gre za poselitveno kontinuiteto na enem in istem kraju. To velja tako za Rogozo¹¹ kot za Orehovo vas¹², pa tudi za nekoliko mlajše Pobrežje¹³. Očitno je pri izboru za naselitev botrovala ustrezna konfiguracija terena, morda na kakšni nizki vzpetini, dvignjeno nad ravnico in morebitno močvaro, kot to velja za Rogozo.¹⁴ Pomembno vlogo je morala imeti tudi bližina tekoče pitne vode, saj sta bili obe omenjeni naselbini – tako Rogoza kot tudi Orehova vas – postavljeni tik ob potoku, Pobrežje pa je stalo na visoki terasi nad reko Dravo.¹⁵

Večinoma so bile to naselbine »raztresenega gručastega tipa«, ki so temeljile na kmečkem gospodarstvu. Kot so pokazale natančne analize stavbnih ostalin, zlasti razporeditev jam za nosilne lesene stebre, kot najboljših arheoloških indikatorjev za razpoznavanje stavbnih tlorisov, so obstajale v vsaki od obravnavanih naselbin stavbe različnih velikosti in

the southern fringes of Pohorje massif. The two sites presented in this volume – the settlement and its accompanying graves at Pobrežje in Maribor and the cemetery at Gračič below Brinjeva gora near Zreče (on the edge of the Pohorje massif) – both date, likewise, to the Ha B period (*Figs. 1; 8*).⁷

Somewhat different was the state of research on the early phase of the Urnfield culture that has undergone a radical change in recent years. Until the 1990's, the settlement dynamics of the Pohorjsko Podravje region during the Ha A period (*sensu* Müller-Karpe⁸) could only be inferred on the basis of some hoard finds such as those discovered at Hočko Pohorje and Pekel near Košaki.⁹ The recently discovered sites, most notably various settlements at the edge of the Dravsko polje plain, now unequivocally confirm the Ha A settlement of the area. In this volume, we present results of archaeological research at one of those settlements, namely Orehova vas.¹⁰

Interestingly, several settlements of the Urnfield culture were located in places that had already been occupied in earlier periods such as the Eneolithic and the Early Bronze Age or during transition of the latter to the Middle Bronze Age (i.e. in the period of the "Litzen" culture). Whilst in no way proving a long-term settlement continuity, the resettlement of such sites as those at Rogoza,¹¹ Orehova vas¹² and the somewhat younger Pobrežje¹³, indicated a number of distinct settlement preferences that persisted across millennia. It appears that people continued to favour slightly elevated points in the landscape, which were chosen due to their raised position above the plain that might have been, as in the case of Rogoza,¹⁴ marshy at the time. Considering that both Rogoza and Orehova vas were erected close to a stream, another important factor in the selection of the settlement site would have been the proximity of running

⁷ Glej tu Kramberger, Črešnar; Koprivnik, Pobrežje in Gračič.

⁸ Müller-Karpe 1959, 108, 226–229, Abb. 64; Taf. 131 (depo iz Hočkega Pohorja je voden pod imenom Špure).

⁹ Teržan 1995, 335–338, Abb. 9; Kajzer 1995, 177–197, T. 74–87; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 206–211, T. 120–123.

¹⁰ Glej tu Grahek.

¹¹ Strmčnik Gulič 2001, 122; Črešnar 2009; isti 2010a; isti 2014, 228–231.

¹² Grahek 2014, 250–255, sl. 14.1.3; 14.1.5–7; Grahek 2015.

¹³ V neposredni bližini žarnogrobiščne naselbine na Pobrežju sta bila odkrita tudi dva grobova iz pozne srednje bronaste dobe, ki pripadata horizontu Oloris–Podsmreka in služita kot indikatorja, da je morala v bližini obstajati istočasna naselbina. Glej tu Kramberger, Črešnar.

¹⁴ Zaradi intenzivne poljedelske izrabe v zadnjih desetletjih 20. stol. je območje povsem izravnano in je pokrajina izgubila svojo nekdanjo valovitost.

¹⁵ Strmčnik Gulič 2001, 122–125, sl. 9 b; 11; Črešnar 2010b, 9, pril. 2–3; glej tu Grahek.

⁷ See here Kramberger, Črešnar; Koprivnik, Pobrežje and Gračič.

⁸ Müller-Karpe 1959, 108, 226–229, Abb. 64; Taf. 131 (Note that the hoard from Hočko Pohorje is documented under the name of Špure).

⁹ Teržan 1995, 335–338, Abb. 9; Kajzer 1995, 177–197, Pls. 74–87; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 206–211, Pls. 120–123.

¹⁰ See here Grahek.

¹¹ Strmčnik Gulič 2001, 122; Črešnar 2009; *id.* 2010a; *id.* 2014, 228–231.

¹² Grahek 2014, 250–255, figs. 14.1.3; 14.1.5–7; *ead.* 2015.

¹³ Notably, two graves from the late phase of the Middle Bronze Age were discovered in the direct proximity of the Urnfield settlement site at Pobrežje. Considering they are dated into the Oloris–Podsmreka chronological horizon, a concurrent settlement site would have existed in the area nearby. See here Kramberger, Črešnar.

¹⁴ The once slightly undulating area has been, due to the intensive agricultural practices of the last decades of the 20th century, completely flattened.

verjetno namembnosti. Nekatere izmed njih izkazujejo tudi popravila in predelave, kar dopušča postavko o večfaznosti bodisi le posameznih stavb bodisi celotnih naselbin. Na primeru Rogoze je tako moč sklepati, da so bile stavbe različnih velikosti pogosto razporejene okrog razmeroma praznega prostora – dvorišča ter da lahko na ta način grupirane stavbe pripišemo posameznemu gospodarstvu oz. kmetiji (*sl.* 2). Na območju arheološko raziskane površine za avtocesto v Rogozi so bila tako vsaj štiri takšna gospodarstva, katerim lahko pripišemo večino od razpoznanih 33 stavb. Zagotovo jih je bilo še več, saj je bil raziskan le ozek pas po obsegu mnogo večje naselbine. Omeniti velja tudi večji prazen predel v naselbini, ob katerem so nanizane kmetije in ki daje vtis, da gre za namenoma nepozidan osrednji prostor v naselbini.¹⁶ Ureditev naselja po gručah se kaže tudi v Orehovi vasi, kjer sta bili severno od potoka vsaj dve grupaciji stavb z domnevno pripadajočimi dvorišči, na katerih so bile razporejene jame različnih namembnosti, medtem ko na južni strani potočka izstopa skupina krožno razporejenih stavb, ki jo prav tako razumemo kot gospodarsko enoto v smislu večje kmetije.¹⁷ V Orehovi vasi po gradnji odstopa le en objekt, za katerega pa ni gotovo, ali gre za posebno stavbo ali morda celo za mostič čez potok, ki je povezoval kmetije na desni in levi strani potočka.

Rogoza in Orehova vas sta predstavnici stopnje Ha A v Pohorskem Podravju, hkrati pa eponimni najdišči za tako imenovan radiokarbonsko datiran horizont Rogoza–Orehova vas, ki zaobjema čas 12.–11. stol. pr. n. št.¹⁸ Ob tem je pri Rogozi moč prepoznati tudi notranji razvoj oz. rast naselja. Kot že opaženo, se večfazne stavbe pojavljajo le v osrednjem delu naselbine (*sl.* 2), podobno pa velja za keramične najdbe, saj so bile tiste s primerjavami v predhodnem horizontu Oloris–Podsmreka oz. v virovitiški kulturni skupini najdene le tam.¹⁹ Takšno tezo podpirajo tako najdbe, ki so značilne za sledečo stopnjo Ha B, kot tudi dodatne radiokarbonske datacije, ki so bile narejene predvsem na vzorcih oglja iz objektov južnega in severnega dela najdišča (*sl.* 2–3).

Nekoliko drugačen tip naselbine glede na razporeditev stavb predstavlja naselbina na Pobrežju, ki pa je nekaj mlajša od Rogoze in Orehove vasi. Naselbina na Pobrežju namreč okvirno sodi v mlajšo stopnjo kulture žarnih grobišč, tj. v čas Ha B, čeprav

– i.e. drinkable – water, besides that also Pobrežje stood on the high terrace above the Drava river.¹⁵

With their subsistence based on farming, most of the sites functioned as “semi-compact, dispersed settlements”. Data on their building remains were rigorously analysed by examining the layouts of numerous post holes, especially those associated with the load bearing wooden posts. Such features are, in fact, one of the best archaeological indicators for recognising distinct ground plans of various buildings. According to the analysis, each settlement had buildings of different sizes and most likely, of different functions. Given that some structures were repaired and sometimes even re-modelled, they (and perhaps even the entire settlements) would have been multi-phased. As demonstrated at the Rogoza site, buildings of varying sizes were clustered around a relatively empty central space that functioned as a courtyard. Such clusters belonged to individual households or farmsteads (*Fig.* 2). During the archaeological excavation preceding the highway construction at Rogoza, for example, some 33 buildings, most of them split among four individual households, were identified. Given that only a rather narrow belt of the settlement area was unearthed, the site of Rogoza would most likely have consisted of a much greater number of such households. Notably, the settlement also had a large, central empty space that would have intentionally been left without buildings with the individual farms nested around it.¹⁶ A similar, semi-compact settlement structure has also been unearthed at Orehova vas: there, two clusters of buildings with associated courtyards and a number of pits of different functions were identified north of the stream. On the stream’s southern bank, meanwhile, there was a group of buildings arranged in a semi-circular fashion, which most probably belonged to a large farmstead.¹⁷ A single structure at the Orehova vas site stood out due to its unusual construction. Its position close to the stream may suggest that it functioned either as a special building or as a bridge connecting the farms on both banks.

The two settlements, Rogoza and Orehova vas are representative of the Ha A period in the Pohorsko Podravje region and are eponymous for the radiocarbon dated Rogoza – Orehova vas chronological horizon corresponding with the 12th–11th centuries

¹⁶ Črešnar 2010b, 59–70, 97–98, pril. 2–3; isti 2014, 231–243. Podobno organizacijo je imela tudi na primer naselbina Pince pri Lendavi (Kerman 2018, *sl.* 16).

¹⁷ Grahek 2014, 250–251, *sl.* 14.1.4; glej tu Grahek.

¹⁸ Črešnar 2014; Grahek 2014; Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 689–695, *sl.* 30.

¹⁹ Črešnar 2010b.

¹⁵ Strmčnik Gulič 2001, 122–125, *figs.* 9 b; 11; Črešnar 2010b, 9, pril. 2–3; see here Grahek.

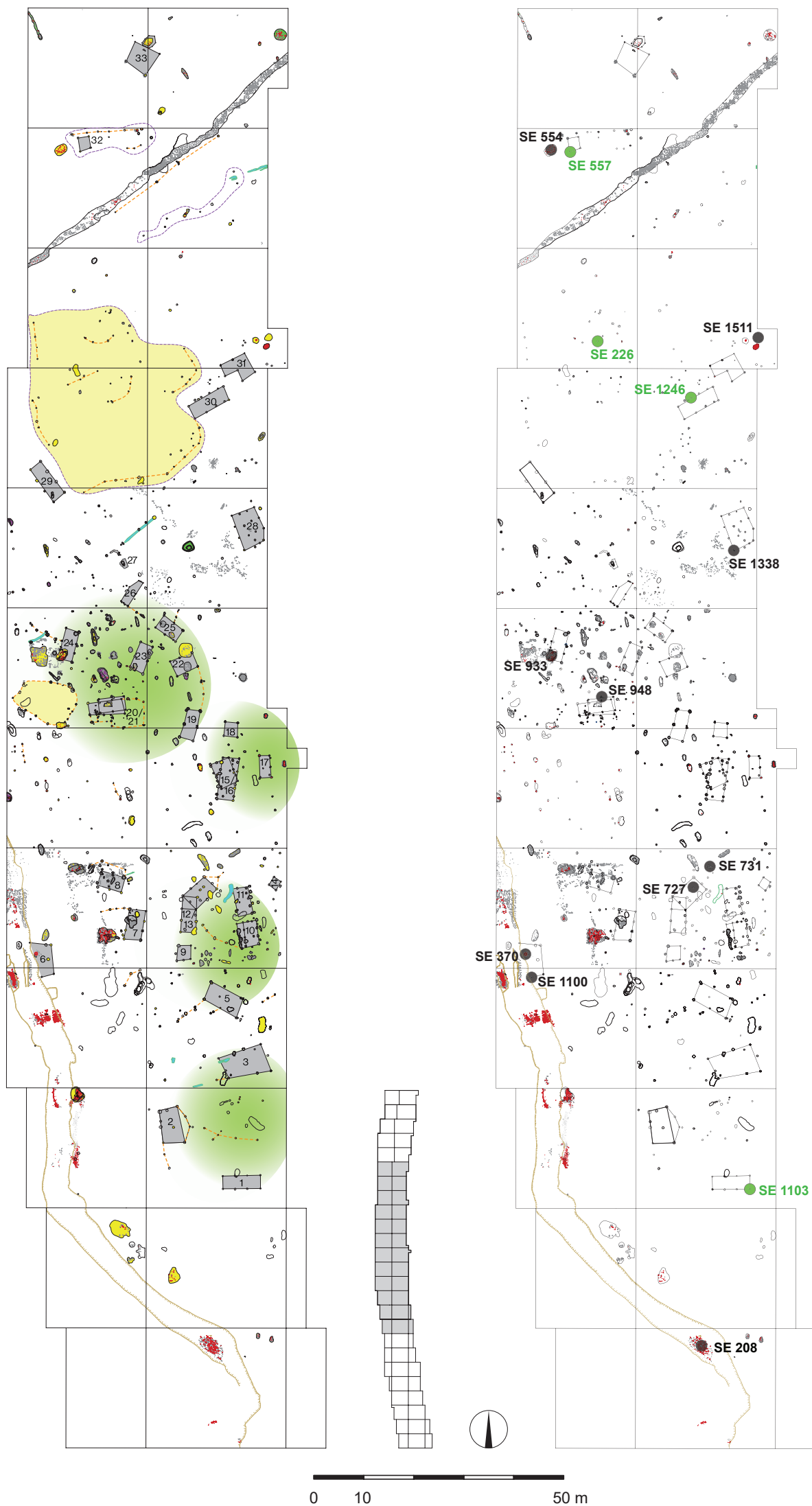
¹⁶ Črešnar 2010b, 59–70, 97–98, Appx. 2–3; *id.* 2014, 231–243. Similar settlement organisation was also identified at Pince near Lendava, for example (Kerman 2018, e.g. *fig.* 16).

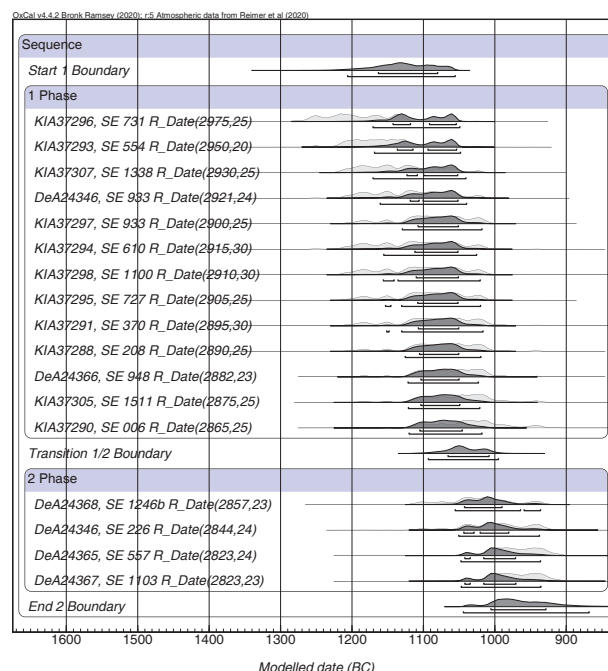
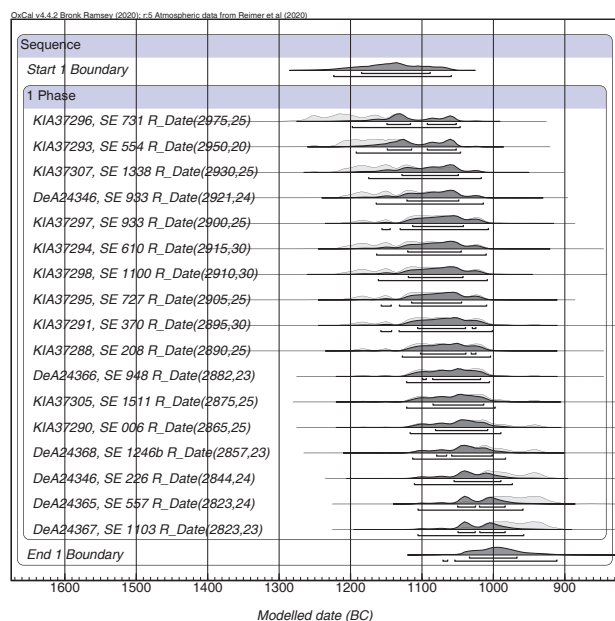
¹⁷ Grahek 2014, 250–251, *fig.* 14.1.4; see here Grahek.

Slika 2. Rogoza pri Mariboru. Naselbina iz pozne bronaste dobe s stavbami, razporejenimi v gruče – levo (po Črešnar 2010b, pril. 2).

Posebej so označena mesta odvzema izbranih vzorcev za radiokarbonske datacije – desno (glej tudi *sl. 3*).

Figure 2. Rogoza near Maribor: the Late Bronze Age settlement with clustered buildings, i.e. farmsteads – left (after Črešnar 2010b, Appx. 2). The locations of radiocarbon samples are marked separately on the map – right (see also *Fig. 3*).





Slika 3. Rogoza pri Mariboru. Radiokarbonske datacije naselbinskih ostalin iz pozne bronaste dobe, obdelane kot ena (levo) ali potencialno dve (desno) fazi poselitve (dodelano po Črešnar 2014, 231–243; glej tudi sl. 2).

Figure 3. Rogoza near Maribor: radiocarbon dates of settlement remains modelled as either one (left) or two settlement phases (right) (modified after Črešnar 2014, 231–243; see also Fig. 3).

je morda iskati njene začetke že v stopnji Ha A2.²⁰ Takšno datacijo podpira tudi časovni razpon doslej odkritih grobov na pripadajočem grobišču. Le-to je bilo odkrito že v času med obema svetovnjima vojnama, a kot kažejo vedno znova na dan prihajajoče najdbe, še ni bilo raziskano v celoti.²¹ Na pobreški naselbini je bilo odkritih najmanj 21 stavb. Med seboj se delno razlikujejo tako glede na velikost, tlorsne zasnove in usmeritev kot tudi po načinu gradnje, saj lahko prepoznamo pet osnovnih tipov.²² Pri tem se nam zdi vredno opozoriti, da sta glede na način gradnje zastopani predvsem dve vrsti stavb.

Prevladujejo stavbe, ki so bile grajene na enak način kot v obeh omenjenih starejših naselbinah – v Rogozi in Orehovi vasi, kar govori v prid navezavi na starejšo tradicijo. Stavbna konstrukcija je bila iz lesenih stebrov, na kar kažejo v zemljo vkopane jame, večinoma razporejene v vzporednih vrstah, v katerih so bile pogosto ohranjene tudi kamnite zagozde. Razen tega so bile jame večkrat obložene tudi s keramičnimi črepinjami, morda kot posebnim elementom, ki je, če gledamo zgolj iz funkcionalnega vidika, omogočal boljšo drenažo ter s tem prispeval k daljši življenjski dobi lesenih stebrov. Kljub podobnosti v načinu gradnje je treba omeniti, da so stavbe na Pobrežju večjih dimenzij, saj jih več presega 10 m dolžine, nekaj tudi za več metrov (sl. 5), stavbe pa so grajene tudi z dvema vrstama notranjih stebrov, kar je bilo doslej v Podravju opaženo le v sočasni utrjeni »protourbani« naselbini v Ormožu (sl. 4–5).²³

BC.¹⁸ During this period, an internal development in the form of gradual settlement expansion is assumed for the settlement of Rogoza. It is noteworthy that all multi-phase buildings were placed exclusively in the central part of the site (Fig. 2). The pottery finds with parallels in the preceding Oloris – Podsmreka chronological horizon and the corresponding Virovitica cultural group were, likewise, found only in the settlement's central area.¹⁹ The supposed expansion of the settlement is indicated by several ceramic finds with parallels among the Ha B ware as well as with radiocarbon dated charcoal samples obtained primarily from the buildings located in the southern and northern part of the excavated area (Figs. 2–3).

Considering its buildings' arrangement, the Pobrežje settlement represented a somewhat different settlement type. Compared to Rogoza and Orehova vas, the slightly younger site dates into the late stage of the Urnfield culture, the Ha B period; its beginnings, however, might be traced into the preceding Ha A2 period.²⁰ This dating is further supported by the chronological frame of graves found in the accompanying cemetery nearby. Whilst discovered between the two World Wars, the frequent chance finds from the graves indicate that the burial ground has not been excavated in full yet.²¹ Nevertheless, some 21 buildings discovered at the Pobrežje settlement differed in their size, ground plan and orientation, as well as their construction methods. Therefore, five basic building types were recognised at the

²⁰ Glej tu Kramberger, Črešnar.

²¹ Pahič 1972; Črešnar, Bonsall, Thomas 2014; glej tu Koprivnik, Pobrežje.

²² Glej tu Kramberger, Črešnar.

²³ Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010, 88–97.

¹⁸ Črešnar 2014; Grahek 2014; Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 689–695, fig. 30.

¹⁹ Črešnar 2010b.

²⁰ See here Kramberger, Črešnar.

²¹ Pahič 1972; Črešnar, Bonsall, Thomas 2014; see here Koprivnik, Pobrežje.

Tipi stavb / Types of buildings	Brinjeva gora	Rogoza	Orehova vas	Pobrežje	Ptuj (grad / castle)	Ormož	Poštela	Ptuj (Rabelčja vas)	Hajndl	Hotinja vas
1	○	●	●	●		●	●	?	○	
2	●				●					
3	○								●	
4	●			○			●			
5		○	○						○	●
Drugo / Other			○							

Slika 4. Različni tipi stavbnih ostalin (poln krog – prevladujoč tip, prazen krog – posamezni ali redki primeri), ki se pojavljajo na izbranih najdiščih Pohorskega Podravja (1 – jame za stebre, 2 – temeljno bruno, 3 – temeljni jarki (a) ali jarki v kombinaciji z jamami za stebre (b), 4 – suhozidni temelji (a) ali posamezni kamni v vrstah (b), 5 – vkopana tla).

Figure 4. Examples of different building types documented at the selected sites in the Pohorsko Podravje region (full circle – the dominant type, empty circle – singular or rare examples at the site).

- 1 – post-holes;
- 2 – foundational logs;
- 3 – foundational ditches (a), foundational ditches coupled with post-holes (b);
- 4 – dry stone wall foundations (a); rocks and stones aligned in lines (b);
- 5 – sunken floor.

Drugo vrsto gradnje predstavljajo stavbe s kamnitimi temelji, ki so jih tvorili skupki kamnov v vzporednih vrstah. To pomeni, da so bile te stavbe zgrajene z lesenimi sohami kot opornimi stebri konstrukcije, ki so stale na kamnitih podstavkih in ne v jamah, kot t. i. skeletne konstrukcije (oz. predalčja). Ali so bile tako grajene stavbe namenjene kakšnim posebnim gospodarskim ali stanovanjskim potrebam ali pa morda predstavljajo kakšno mlajšo novost gradnje, trenutno ni mogoče ugotoviti, dejstvo pa je, da takšnih konstrukcij v obeh starejših naselbinah – niti v Rogozi niti v Orehovi vasi – niso zasledili, kar pomeni, da gre za nek nov način, katerega izvor no področje še vedno ostaja nejasno. Primerjave jim je moč najti na vsaj delno sočasni višinski naselbini na Brinjevi gori²⁴ (sl. 4), kjer pa bi bilo brez dvoma potrebno natančno preučiti tako predlagane obrise stavb kot njihove datacije. Prav zato jih v razpravo o pojavu tega tipa stavbe v tem trenutku še ne moremo vključiti.

Tudi usmerjenost stavb v pobreški naselbini se razlikuje od zgoraj opisanih, kjer je smer stavb pogojena predvsem z razporeditvijo po posameznih kmetijah. Usmeritev je torej, razen na nekaterih delih, kot je skupina tik severno ob nekdanji strugi potoka v naselbini Orehova vas, precej raznolika (sl. 6). Nasprotno pa so stavbe na Pobrežju večinoma usmerjene v dveh glavnih smereh, in sicer ZSZ–VJV in SSV–JJZ, kar kaže na drugačen koncept ureditve naselja, ki pa v mnogo čem ponovno spominja na »protourbano« zasnovo istočasnega, a utrjenega naselja v Ormožu, kjer pa sta prevladujoči smeri S–J in V–Z (sl. 6).²⁵

²⁴ Pahič 1981, 79–98.

²⁵ Glej tu Kramberger, Črešnar.

site.²² It should also be mentioned that the majority of buildings were erected according to two types of construction.

Most were erected following the same method as those from the two earlier sites of Rogoza and Orehova vas; it therefore appears that the older, well-established building tradition was also adopted at Pobrežje. Numerous post-holes, most often arranged in parallel lines and regularly accompanied by stone wedges, indicated that the basic building structures consisted of wooden posts. The insides of the post-holes would frequently have been lined with ceramic sherds. From a functional perspective, this distinct structural element allowed for better drainage of the holes and enabled a longer lifespan of the wooden posts. Notwithstanding similarities in the building method, houses at Pobrežje had significantly larger dimensions, with several of them exceeding 10 m in length (Fig. 5). In addition, two rows of posts inside some of the buildings indicate a special building type, which has so far been attested only at one other site – the contemporaneous “protourban” settlement at Ormož (Figs. 4–5).²³

The second building type at Pobrežje is represented by the structures with foundations made of clusters of stones aligned in parallel lines. It appears that such buildings would have had a timber frame combined with wattle and daub panels. Their weight bearing posts, rather than fixed within post-holes, would have stood on stone foundations. It is unclear, at present, whether this type of building would have had a distinct economic or residential function, or whether it merely represented a constructional novelty. In any case, it was conspicuously absent from the two earlier settlements of Rogoza and Orehova vas, thus indicating a new type of house construction in the Ha B period. While its origin has not yet been ascertained, some parallels can be found at the partly contemporary Brinjeva gora hillfort²⁴ (Fig. 4).

The building orientation at Pobrežje differed from the earlier settlement sites mentioned here, where it was most often dependent on the building arrangement within individual farmsteads. The orientation of most of the buildings, with the exception of the group of buildings north of the stream at Orehova vas, was rather heterogeneous (Fig. 6). In contrast, most of the buildings at Pobrežje followed two main orientation patterns: either WNW–ESE or NNE–SSW. This implied intentional spatial planning; one that resembled, in many ways, the “proto-urban” concept of the concurrent yet fortified lowland settlement at

²² See here Kramberger, Črešnar.

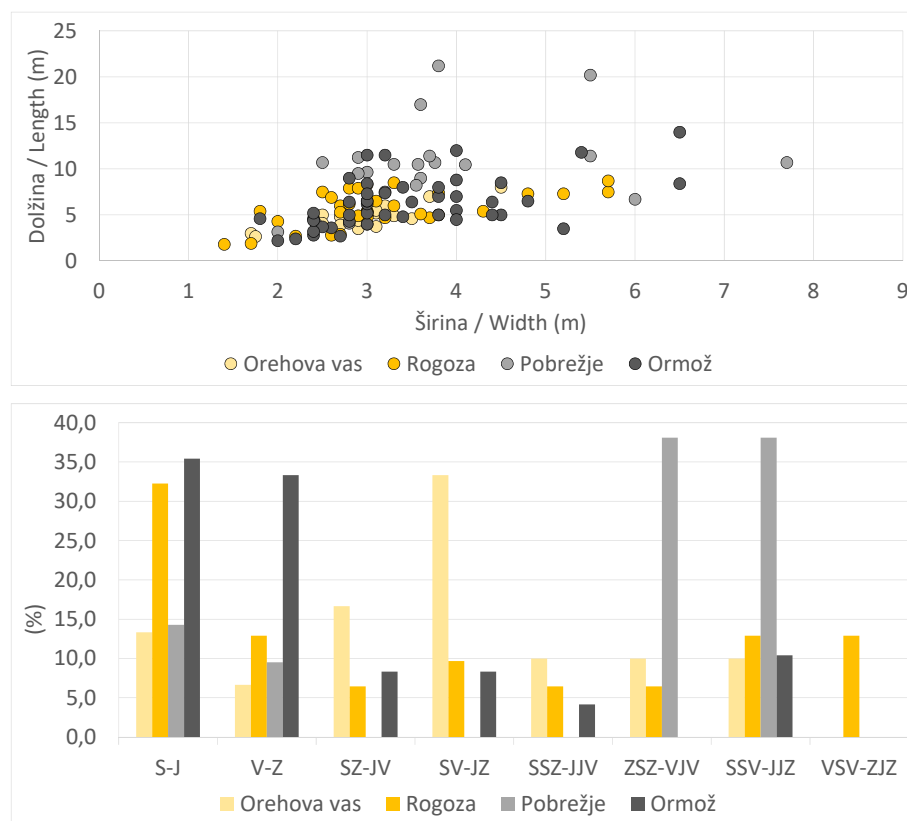
²³ Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010, 88–97.

²⁴ Pahič 1981, 79–98.

Skupno vsem trem naselbinam, tako iz časa Ha A, kot sta Rogoza in Orehova vas kot tudi iz Ha B, kot je Pobrežje, pa je, da očitno niso bile posebej zavarovane, saj z arheološkimi raziskavami doslej niso bili odkriti niti obrambni obodni jarki niti nasipi ali palisade.

Čeprav so vse omenjene naselbine temeljile na kmetovanju, predvsem na poljedelstvu, s tem da so izkoriščale plodne ravnice v njihovi neposredni okolici ter so se ob poljedelski dejavnosti ukvarjale tudi z živinorejo,²⁶ pa so se posvečali tudi drugim obrtem. V Rogozi na primer so bili odkriti pogača surovega bakra, amorfní koščki bakra, na katerih so bili tudi ostanki žlindre, in kamnito orodje, za katere domnevamo, da kažejo na livarsko dejavnost (*sl. 7*).²⁷ Spektrometrične kemijske analize rogoške pogače in drugih predmetov pozne bronaste dobe iz Pohorskega Podravja²⁸ nam še ne nudijo odgovora, ali so takratni rudosledci že poznali in tudi črpali rudna ležišča na južnih pobočjih Pohorja, kot npr. pri Okoški gori, ali pri Remšniku na Kozjaku.²⁹ Vendar pa te analize kažejo, da so bili predmeti, ki so bili med grobnimi pridatki iz žarnih grobišč na Gračiču, Pobrežju in v Rušah, izdelani iz bakra, ki se glede vsebnosti nečistoč razlikuje od tistega, ki je bil sočasno v uporabi v predelih zahodne Slovenije, kot npr. za izdelke v depojih s Kanalskega vrha. To morda pomeni, da so v Pohorskem Podravju pri izdelavi bronastih predmetov uporabljali baker, ki je izviral iz nekih še ne lokaliziranih rudišč v vzhodnih Alpah, pri čemer ne gre pozabiti na potencial Pohorja in Kozjaka. Po primerjavah vsebnosti nečistoč pa se kljub (pre)majhnemu vzorcu morda nakazuje tudi, da so se na tem območju ohranili stiki, ki so bili vzpostavljeni že v času predhodnih obdobij kulture žarnih grobišč oz. v Ha A.³⁰ Na tukaj živeče rokodelce, večše metalurških skrivnosti in spretnosti, kažejo tudi nekateri izdelki, kot so kosi nakita, npr. očalaste fibule tipov Maribor, Wels, Ruše in morda celo tipa Hallstatt (po Pabst), ki predstavljajo, kot smo pokazali v okviru analize nekropole na Gračiču pod Brinjevo goro,³¹ inovativne rokodelske izvedbe spiralnega žičnatega nakita, lastne prav ruški kulturni skupini.

Na metalurško dejavnost v teh krajih lahko morda sklepamo tudi na osnovi zakladne najdbe,



Ormož. There, the dominant building orientations included N–S and E–W (*Fig. 6*).²⁵

All three settlements, the Ha A Rogoza and Orehova vas, as well as the Ha B Pobrežje, shared a common feature: considering no defensive ditches, ramparts or palisades were discovered during the archaeological research, it appears the three sites had no particular defensive boundaries put in place.

The subsistence of all three settlements was based on farming, agriculture in particular, as may be inferred from the fertile plains in the vicinity of the sites, although livestock breeding was also common.²⁶ In addition, several distinct crafts were also practiced. At Rogoza, for example, a copper plano-convex ingot, amorphous pieces of copper, some of them even with slag remains, and stone tools indicate that copper smelting took place at the site (*Fig. 7*).²⁷ The spectroscopic analyses of neither the Rogoza ingot nor other bronze objects from the Pohorsko Podravje region²⁸ have provided a clear answer as to whether the prehistoric mining prospectors had already discovered the copper ore sources on the southern slopes of the Pohorje massif at locations such as the Okoška gora hill or Remšnik in the Kozjak hills at that time.²⁹

Slika 5. Prikaz velikosti (dolžina in širina) stavb na izbranih najdiščih Pohorskega Podravja. **Figure 5.** Dimensions (length and width) of buildings at selected sites of the Pohorsko Podravje region.

Slika 6. Prikaz usmeritev stavb po smereh neba na izbranih najdiščih Pohorskega Podravja. **Figure 6.** Building orientation in relation to the four cardinal directions at the selected sites of the Pohorsko Podravje region.

²⁶ Glej na primer: Toškan, Dirjec 2010; Črešnar et al. 2019; Omahen et al. 2019; Toškan, Črešnar 2021.

²⁷ Strmčnik Gulič 2001, 124 s, sl. 12; Črešnar 2010b, 52 ss, sl. 27–30, T. 6: 5; 14: 1–2; Črešnar 2014, 237, sl. 13.11.

²⁸ Trampuž Orel et al. 1996, 219–223, 231–232 itd., pril. A; Črešnar 2010, 52–53, Fig. 25; 28; 29 (analize pogače); glej tudi tu Urankar, Črešnar.

²⁹ Glej npr. Teržan 1983.

³⁰ Glej tu Urankar, Črešnar; glej npr. tudi Lippert 2005, 205–207, Abb. 2.

³¹ Glej tu Teržan, Gračič, kronologija.

²⁵ See here Kramberger, Črešnar.

²⁶ Glej na primer: Toškan, Dirjec 2010; Črešnar et al. 2019; Omahen et al. 2019; Toškan, Črešnar 2021.

²⁷ Strmčnik Gulič 2001, 124 s. fig. 12; Črešnar 2010b, 52 ff, figs. 27–30, Pls. 6: 5; 14: 1–2; Črešnar 2014, 237, fig. 13.11.

²⁸ Trampuž Orel et al. 1996, 219–223, 231–232 etc., App. A; Črešnar 2010, 52–53, figs. 25; 28; 29 (the ingot analyses); see also here Urankar, Črešnar.

²⁹ See, for example, Teržan 1983.



Slika 7. Rogoza. Izbor bakrenih in bronastih predmetov, odkritih v naselbini (1 – planokonvexna bakrena pogača, 2, 4 – brezoblični kos bakra, 3 – brezoblični kos bakra z ostanki žlindre, 5 – kos bronastega obroča).

Figure 7. Rogoza. A selection of copper and bronze objects discovered at the site (1 – copper plano-convex ingot, 2, 4 – amorphous piece of copper, 3 – amorphous piece of copper with slag remains, 5 – piece of a bronze ring).

odkrite že v 30-tih letih prejšnjega stoletja na Hočkem Pohorju. Zanj je Franjo Baš,³² ki jo je uspel le delno rešiti, a je raziskoval tudi na kraju najdbe, menil, da je preostanek livarske delavnice. Sestavljena je namreč iz velike količine različnih bronastih predmetov, celih izdelkov in polizdelkov, ingotov in drugih le delno ohranjenih predmetov deloma domače, deloma tuje provenience, ob tem pa je na kraju odkritja prepoznal tudi kose bronaste žlindre in ožgano kamenje. Iz neposredne okolice Maribora je znana še ena zakladna najdba iz istega časa, in sicer iz Pekla pri Košakih³³, prav tako sestavljena iz večjega števila celih in razlomljenih predmetov, med katerimi naj omenimo meče, sekire, srpe in drugo orodje ter nakit. Ne glede na to, da o pomenu zakladnih najdb kot posebnega fenomena kulture žarnih grobišč še vedno teče intenzivna diskusija, saj jih imajo nekateri za daritve božanstvom, drugi za zaklade, posvečene umrlim, tretji za skrite tovore potujočih obrtnikov in trgovcev, četrti za »staro železo«, peti za posledico nemirnih, vojnih časov itd., pa obe omenjeni zakladni najdbi kažeta na bogastvo tistih, ki so zbrali in posedovali tako velike količine dragocenih bronastih predmetov ter jih bodisi darovali bodisi skrili ali v sili zapustili na tako samotnih krajih, kot sta Pekel in Hočko Pohorje.

Kot v uvodu že omenjeno, leži Pohorsko Podravje na križišču različnih poti, zato sta morala določeno vlogo pri blagostanju ruške skupine igrati tudi izmenjava različnih dobrin in trgovanje tako s sosednjimi kot tudi z bolj oddaljenimi kraji. Na to kažejo npr. nekateri predmeti iz depoja iz Hočkega Pohorja, kot so kos ingota tipa »volovske kože« verjetno ciprske

Nevertheless, the geochemical analyses of the impurity patterns detected in bronze grave goods from the Urnfield cemeteries at Gračič, Pobrežje and Ruše, confirm the use of a distinct ore in the region that differed significantly from the copper concurrently employed in western Slovenia for objects such as those deposited in the Kanalski vrh hoards. It appears that people in the Pohorsko Podravje region utilised copper from as yet unidentified ore deposits in the eastern Alps; the copper ore deposits in Pohorje and Kozjak hills thus remain viable contenders as source deposits. Notwithstanding the rather small sample of objects analysed for impurity patterns, the results might indicate the perseverance of contacts with mining districts, first established in the early phase of the Urnfield culture, the Ha A.³⁰ The presence of skilled craftsmen and masters of the metallurgical art in the area was further suggested by a number of various jewellery items, including the spectacle fibulae of several types, namely the Maribor, Wels and Ruše types, and perhaps even the Hallstatt type (*sensu* Pabst). As demonstrated by the analysis of the grave goods from the Gračič cemetery of Brinjeva gora,³¹ these various spiral-shaped jewellery items made of bronze wire represented a distinct innovation of the Ruše cultural group.

The metallurgical activity in the area is perhaps also evidenced by the Hočko Pohorje hoard discovered in the 1930's. Franjo Baš³², who succeeded in recovering part of the hoard and conducted further investigations at the site of the discovery, suggested there should have been a copper-smelting workshop, given that a number of copper slag fragments and burnt stones were identified at the site. The hoard consisted of a large quantity of bronze objects, either in finished or semi-finished form, a number of ingots and several other partly preserved finds. The objects were of both local and non-local provenance. Another contemporaneous hoard was discovered in the direct proximity of Maribor, at Pekel near Košaki.³³ Like the Hočko Pohorje hoard, it consisted of a large number of whole and fragmented objects, including swords, axes and sickles, as well as other tools and jewellery items. The meaning of such hoards is a contested topic with different scholars arguing in favour of different interpretations. These include votive offerings to different deities; treasures assembled to honour the

³⁰ See here Urankar, Črešnar; also Lippert 2005, 205–207, Abb. 2.

³¹ See here Teržan, Gračič, Chronology.

³² Baš 1933; Pahič 1968, 26 ff, Pl. 6: 3–11; Pahič 1987; Kajzer 1995, 177–196, Pls. 74–87; Trampuž Orel et al. 1996, 219–223.

³³ Pahič 1968, 26 ff, Pl. 6: 1–2; Pahič 1984; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 206–211, Pls. 120–123; Trampuž Orel et al. 1996, 231–232.

provenience,³⁴ fragmenti koncentrično okrašenih plošč srebrnega sijaja iz tako imenovanega belega brona³⁵ in fragmenti pozamenterijskih fibul³⁶, torej izdelkov umetno-obrtnih delavnic iz osrednjih in vzhodnih predelov Karpatskega bazena. Podobno velja za nakitne pridatke iz grobov z Gračiča, kot so npr. očalaste fibule tipa Maribor in bronasta tordirana ločna fibula, ki na eni strani nakazujejo povezave z južno balkanskim prostorom (med Jadranskim in Egejskim morjem) in na drugi strani z italjskim svetom.³⁷

Depojske najdbe predstavljajo akumulacijo dragocenih kovinskih predmetov, ki jih verjetno lahko razumemo kot zbir kolektivne lastnine in kažejo na določeno blagostanje posameznih skupnosti v Pohorskem Podravju. Po drugi strani pa tako na osnovi tukaj predstavljenih naselbin, predvsem glede na njihovo notranjo organiziranost, kot glede sestavov grobnih pridatkov in strukturiranosti pripadajočih žarnih grobišč sklepamo, da prebivalstvo kulture žarnih grobišč tega območja ne kaže znakov večje socialne razslojenosti.³⁸ Kljub temu ni dvoma, da je obstajala določena delitev dela, kar se deloma kaže tudi v grobnih pridatkih, in da so morali med njimi biti tudi specializirani rokodelci, metalurgi, rudosledci ...

V poznem 9. in zgodnjem 8. stol. pr. n. št. se je začel rušiti svet kulture žarnih grobišč. Večina nižinskih naselbin in grobišč je bilo opuščениh (sl. 1; 8; 12), na kar kažejo tudi, čeprav maloštevilne, radio-karbonske datacije grobov iz Pobrežja in Gračiča pod Brinjevo goro.³⁹

deceased; hidden cargos of the itinerant craftsmen and merchants; collections of old items to be recycled; treasures hidden during periods of instability and unrest; etc. Whatever their original purpose, both hoards undoubtedly suggested the great wealth of those who assembled them and then deliberately deposited them, either to appease deities or, alternatively, to hide them in the truly desolate places, such as Pekel and Hočko Pohorje were, of the time.

As described in the introduction, the Pohorsko Podravje region was located at the junction of several different routes. The prosperity of the Ruše cultural group would, to a certain degree, have been associated with lively trade and exchange, either with neighbouring or more distant lands. For instance, the hoard of Hočko Pohorje contains a fragment of what may be an ox-hide ingot of probably Cypriot origin³⁴ as well as a number of expertly crafted objects made in the workshops of the central and eastern Carpathian Basin. These items, including several fragments of concentrically decorated plates with a white sheen made of "white copper"³⁵ and various fragments of passermenterie fibulae³⁶, all suggest long-distance trade and exchange with the cultural group in Pohorsko Podravje. In addition, the jewellery items from the graves at Gračič, such as the Maribor type spectacle fibulae and a bronze, spirally twisted bow fibula, for example, also point to contacts of the group with places in the southern Balkan (between the Adriatic and the Aegean) and Italian sites at that time.³⁷

The hoards discussed above represented collections of metal objects with inherent value. At the time, they might have functioned as an assembled collective property that would have reflected the overall wealth of the individual communities in the Pohorsko Podravje region. On the other hand, the distinct internal structuring of settlements and cemeteries, as well as specific combinations of grave goods, exhibited few signs of social stratification.³⁸ Nevertheless, as indicated by a very few specific grave finds, there was at least some labour division within the individual communities, and the existence of specialised craftsmen, ore prospectors and metallurgists may perhaps be inferred.

³⁴ Kajzer 1995, T. 86: 206; Trampuž Orel et al. 1996, 178–179. V strokovni literaturi se uporabljata za tovrstne ingote dva izraza: »ox-hide« ali pa Keftiu-ingot.

³⁵ Kajzer 1995, T. 81: 127–132; Trampuž Orel et al. 1996, 187–188. Cfr. tudi König 2004, 71–73, 179–180, Taf. 88.

³⁶ Kajzer 1995, T. 80: 113–118. Cfr. Bader 1983, 41–51, T. 5–8; 43; Pabst 2012, 403–405, Karte 35.

³⁷ Glej tu Teržan, Gračič, kronologija, sl. 2: karta očalastih fibul tipa Maribor.

³⁸ Teržan 1987, 67 ss; Teržan 1999, 114–119, 138–139, sl. 9–13; glej tu Koprivnik, Teržan, Gračič.

³⁹ Črešnar, Bonsall, Thomas 2014, 215–219; Črešnar, Koprivnik, Bonsall, Thomas 2014, 305–311; Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 695–699; Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 455, sl. 17.

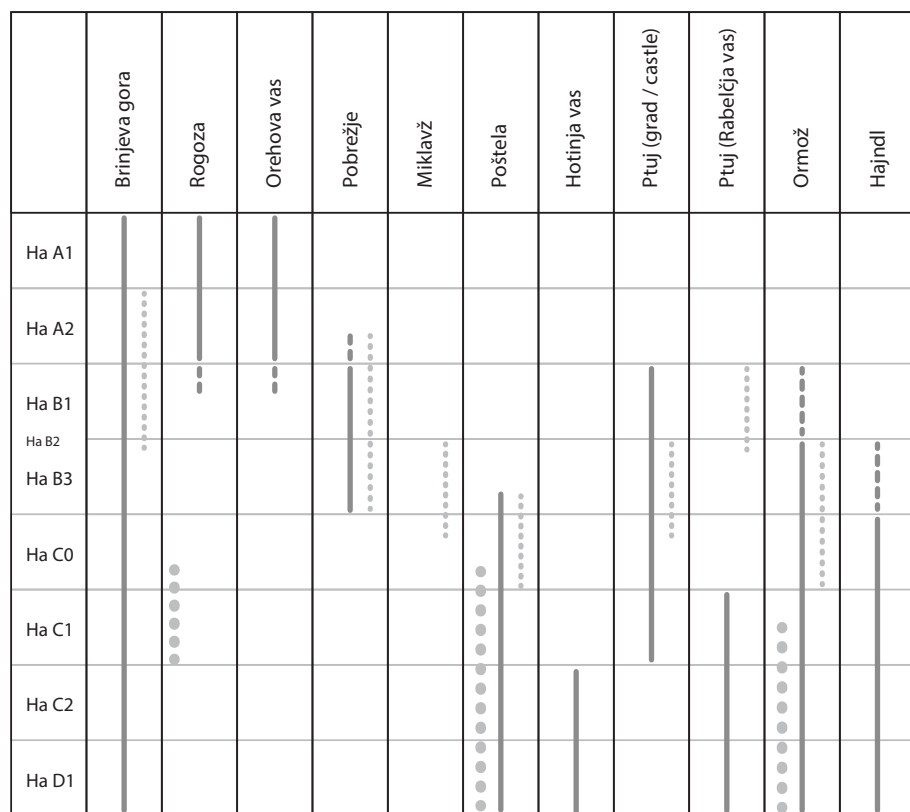
³⁴ Kajzer 1995, Pl. 86: 206; Trampuž Orel et al. 1996, 178–179. In addition to the "ox-hide ingot", these items are also known as "Keftiu ingots".

³⁵ Kajzer 1995, Pl. 81: 127–132; Trampuž Orel et al. 1996, 187–188. Cfr. also König 2004, 71–73, 179–180, Taf. 88.

³⁶ Kajzer 1995, Pl. 80: 113–118. Cfr. Bader 1983, 41–51, Pls. 5–8; 43; Pabst 2012, 403–405, Karte 35.

³⁷ See here Teržan, Gračič, Chronology, fig. 2: map of the spectacle fibulae, type Maribor.

³⁸ Teržan 1987, 67 ff; Teržan 1999, 114–119, 138–139, figs. 9–13; see here Koprivnik, Teržan, Gračič.



Slika 8. Prikaz trajanja poselitve najpomembnejših najdišč Pohorskega Podravja v pozni bronasti in starejši železni dobi (sklenjena črta – naselbine, drobne pike – žarni grobovi, večje pike – gomile). **Figure 8.** Duration of some of the most important Late Bronze and Early Iron Age sites in the Pohorsko Podravje region and the neighbouring area of Ptuj and Ormož. Uninterrupted line – settlements; pecked line (small dots) – flat urn graves; pecked line (large dots) – burial mounds.

STAREJŠA ŽELEZNA DOBA

Vzrokov za spremembe, ki so v prvih stoletjih 1. tisočletja pr. n. št. ponovno zajele večje predele evropske celine, še ne poznamo do podrobnosti. Vendar se kaže, da je bil eden izmed poglavitnih dejavnikov občutno poslabšanje klimatskih razmer (prehod iz subboreala v subatlantik), kar je sprožilo »efekt domin«, zlom »starega žarnogrobišnega sistema«, čemur je morala slediti prilagoditev nastalim razmeram. Le-te so pogojevale tudi iskanje novih virov, tako prehrabnih kot drugih, potrebnih za preživetje, kar se je odražalo tudi v novih migracijskih tokovih. Nastopila je nova doba – železna doba in z njo halštatska kultura.

Značilnost nove dobe predstavlja tudi nov prevladujoči tip naselbin – gradišč, čeprav utrjene naselbine z dozdevno poselitveno kontinuiteto na tem prostoru poznamo vsaj od 12. oz. 11. stol. pr. n. št., kot je na primer Brinjeva gora (glej *sl.* 1; 8). Večina gre za višinske naselbine, postavljene na vzpetinah, gričih in hribih, ki se bolj ali manj dominantno dvigujejo nad bližnjo okolico. Z obrambnega stališča so bile praviloma dobro utrjene, bodisi z zemljenimi nasipi in leseno palisado bodisi s kamnitim obzidjem, kar so pogojevale naravne danosti. V Pohorskem Podravju predstavlja takšno novo naselbino Poštela, ki je bila postavljena na iztekajočem se jugovzhodnem pohorskem grebenu, ki se terasasto spušča proti ravnici Dravskega polja.⁴⁰ Bila je razmeroma velika, saj

⁴⁰ O Pošteli obstaja zelo obsežna literatura, predvsem izpoda peresa S. Pahiča, zato glej Pahič 1966; isti 1968; isti 1970; isti 1972–73; isti 1985b; isti 1985c; zadnji sintetični pregled pri Teržan 1990, 13 ss, 26 ss, 56 ss, 256 ss.

The late 9th and early 8th centuries BC, however, witnessed the collapse of the Urnfield culture in the area: most of the lowland settlements and cemeteries were abandoned (*figs.* 1; 8; 12). The evidence of a decline is also supplied by the rare yet unambiguous radiocarbon dates from graves of the Pobrežje and Gračič near Brinjeva gora cemeteries.³⁹

THE EARLY IRON AGE

The reasons behind the significant change, which swept across the European continent during the first centuries of the first millennium BC are only broadly known. One of the major factors might have been a substantial worsening of the climatic conditions (i.e. the transition from the Subboreal to the Subatlantic) which would have led to the “domino effect” and the collapse of “the old Urnfield culture system”. People would have responded with a series of adaptations such as seeking out new subsistence and economic resources. These changes were, in turn, associated with a new series of migration waves. All this, in effect, led to the start of the new era – the Early Iron Age and the Hallstatt culture.

Hillforts – the newly dominant settlement type were a typical feature of the new period. Notably, some of the hillfort sites in the area, e.g. Brinjeva gora (see *Figs.* 1; 8), would have been continuously settled since at least the 12th or 11th century BC. The elevated settlements were most often placed on various slopes and hilltops rising dominantly above the landscape nearby. From a defensive perspective, the sites were well-protected by either a combination of earth ramparts and a wooden palisade, or a defensive stone wall, with the fortification type depending on the natural features of the site. One such novel settlement in the Pohorsko Podravje region was Poštela: it was erected at the end of the Pohorje

³⁹ Črešnar, Bonsall, Thomas 2014, 215–219; Črešnar, Koprivnik, Bonsall, Thomas 2014, 305–311; Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 695–699; Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 455, fig. 17.

se je razprostirala na bolj ali manj ploskem pohorskem hrbtu na nadmorski višini med pribl. 540 in 495 m v dolžini slabih 350 m in širini 280 m, torej na dobrih 6 ha. Obdana je bila z mogočnim nasipom, njena notranjost pa je bila razčlenjena s številnimi umetno narejenimi terasami, zlasti v spodnji polovici, kjer so stale stavbe različnih velikosti in namembnosti ter drugi objekti. Glede na površino, organiziranost notranje poselitve in utrdbeni sistem se Poštela uvršča med velike naselbine svoje dobe in se bistveno razlikuje od predstavljenih starejših, nižinskih naselbin na Pobrežju, v Rogozi in Orehovi vasi.

Tudi njena lega je s strateškega stališča izjemno dominantna, saj vizualno obvladuje celotno Dravsko polje z obrobjem Slovenskih Goric vse do Ptuja in Haloze, proti severu pa spodnji del Dravske doline s Kozjakom in severnim predelom Slovenskih Goric, kjer so potekali prehodi preko Drave. Eden takih je bil gotovo pri Mariborskem otoku, kot kažejo najdbe, odkrite pri gradnji elektrarne,⁴¹ drugi verjetno pri Malečniku, morda pa med njima še kakšen. Od Drave so vodili preko nizkih prelazov v Slovenskih goricaх dalje proti dolinam reke Mure in Solbe. Domnevamo, da je celotno območje Pohorskega Podravja sodilo pod neposredni vpliv oz. nadvlado te dominantne naselbine.

Kdaj natančno je prišlo do preselitve iz nižinskih predelov Dravskega polja v višinsko utrjeno naselbino na Pošteli, v tem trenutku še ne moremo dati dokončnega odgovora. Pred leti smo na osnovi keramičnih najdb iz naselbine kot tudi žganih planih grobov, odkritih na Lepi ravni oz. Habakuku, oblikovali tezo, da je bila naselbina ustanovljena in hkrati tudi utrjena z zemljenim nasipom in palisado že v času stopnje Ha B3, kar smo označili kot prvo fazo naselitve – Poštela 1.⁴² To bi odgovarjalo tudi radiokarbonskim datacijam, ki jih imamo na razpolago iz nižinskih grobišč, npr. iz Pobrežja in Miklavža (sl. 12), na osnovi katerih, kot omenjeno, sklepamo, da so bile nižinske naselbine opuščene okoli l. 800 pr. n. št.⁴³ Ker pa so nove raziskave na Pošteli in njenih grobiščih odkrile, da gre na Habakuku za veliko večjo plano žgano grobišče,⁴⁴ kot smo prvotno domnevali, se sedaj zastavlja vprašanje, kakšen je njen časovni razpon. Ker raziskave še niso zaključene, torej še ni odgovora na to, kako hitro se je odvijal proces priseljevanja iz nižine v zavetje pohorskih višin in s tem nastajanja nove nekropole. Ali se je začelo morebiti že pred stopnjo Ha B3 ali pa se je pokopavanje

massif's south-eastern ridge which gradually descended, in the form of several terraces, towards the Dravsko polje plain.⁴⁰ Stretched across the relatively flat ridge-top at some 495 m to 540 m above the sea level, it was a rather large hillfort, measuring some 350 m in length and some 280 m in width, and just over 6 ha in size. An extensive rampart enclosed the settlement, while a number of man-made terraces dissected its interior, in the lower part of the site, in particular. Buildings of varying sizes and functions as well as other non-domestic structures and features stood on these terraces. Considering its size, internal structuring of space, and its fortification system, Poštela belonged among large settlements of the period. It also differed significantly from the older lowland settlements of Pobrežje, Rogoza and Orehova as discussed herewith.

The hillfort had a dominant strategic position by affording visual control across the panorama of Dravsko polje plain, all the way up to the outskirts of the Slovenske Gorice hills, Ptuj and the Haloze hills. Northwards, the unobstructed view stretched across the lower part of the Drava valley, Kozjak and northern section of the Slovenske Gorice hills. This was the area where several of the Drava river crossings would have been located: one was, undoubtedly, at the site of Mariborski otok, as attested by the finds discovered during the electric power plant construction.⁴¹ Whilst the second was most likely at Malečnik, there might have been others between the two. Once the Drava river was crossed, trails would have led northwards, across the low passes of the Slovenske gorice hills, and, further, into the Mura/Mur and Solba/Sulm river valleys. Here, we hypothesise that the hillfort of Poštela dominated the entire Pohorsko Podravje region.

At present, it remains uncertain when the re-settlement from the lowland areas of the Dravsko polje into the Poštela hillfort took place. Based on the combination of settlement pottery and flat urn graves at Lepa ravn/Habakuk, we suggested, some years ago, that the hillfort was established, and its rampart constructed during the Ha B3 period. At the time, we marked this settlement phase as the Poštela 1 period.⁴² The dating is further supported by the radiocarbon dates available for the lowland cemetery sites, such as Pobrežje and Miklavž (fig.

⁴¹ Teržan 1990, 344, T. 69.

⁴² Teržan 1990, 27–36, 60–66, 308–316, sl. 1; 11; T. 53–59.

⁴³ Glej opombo 39.

⁴⁴ Glej Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 444–445, sl. 2–3; 5; T. 2: 5–9.

⁴⁰ Extensive literature, most notably by S. Pahič, is available on Poštela. See Pahič 1966; *id.* 1968; *id.* 1970; *id.* 1972–73; *id.* 1985b; *id.* 1985c; the final synthetic overview is available in Teržan 1990, 13 ff, 26 ff, 56 ff, 256 ff.

⁴¹ Teržan 1990, 344, Pl. 69.

⁴² Teržan 1990, 27–36, 60–66, 308–316, figs. 1; 11; Pls. 53–59.

v plane žgane grobove na Habakuku nadaljevalo tudi še v čas razvite stopnje Ha C oz. stopnje Poštela 2–3, podobno kot se je ta način pokopavanja ohranil na višinskih halštatskodobnih grobiščih na Rifniku,⁴⁵ pa v tem trenutku še ne moremo reči.

Poštelški naselbini je poleg pravkar omenjenega planega žganega grobišča na Habakuku, ki leži na pohorski terasi tik pod naselbino, pripadalo tudi več gomilnih nekropol. Gomile kot nagrobni spomeniki predstavljajo namreč značilni razpoznavni pojav nove dobe – halštatskega obdobja, ne le v Pohorskem Podravju, temveč širom Evrope. Vendar izkazujejo gomile na območju štajersko-panonske skupine kot sestavnem delu vzhodno halštatskega kulturnega kroga, kamor spada tudi Pohorsko Podravje, kot smo pokazali v okviru analize poštelških gomil,⁴⁶ vrsto lokalnih značilnosti. Gre za gomile z žganimi grobovi, kar nedvomno kaže navezavo na tradicijo kulture žarnih grobišč, v primeru Poštele na običaje predhodnega življa iz nižinskih naselbin. Na Lepi ravni oz. Habakuku se vzhodno od plane žgane nekropole širijo gomile, ki so glede na konfiguracijo terena razporejene v dve večji skupini. Glede na dosedanje raziskave teh gomil sklepamo, da so najstarejše nastale že v stopnji Poštela 1, torej so bile deloma sočasne s planimi žganimi grobovi, medtem ko ena izmed mlajših gomil, gomila 4, sodi v stopnjo Poštela 3. To pomeni, da je bila gomilna nekropola v rabi v časovnem okviru celotnega obstoja naselbine.⁴⁷ Zanimive nove vidike so prinesle pred nedavnim izvedene geofizikalne raziskave. Pokazale so, da so bile gomile v severni od obeh skupin obdane z manjšimi jarki, katerih delno prekrivanje ali sekanje omogoča ugotavljanje širjenja grobišča in s tem relativnega zaporedja nastanka posameznih gomil (*sl. 9*).⁴⁸

Razen gomil na Lepi ravni oz. Habakuku je bilo nekaj večjih gomil raztresenih tudi po jugovzhodnem pohorskem pobočju vse do velike Kosove gomile v dolini tik ob Razvanjskem potoku. Med temi je tudi Velika gomila nad Razvanjem,⁴⁹ raziskave katere so dale odličen vpogled v gradnjo gomile. Zemljena gomila je prekrivala masivno grobno kamro, grajeno iz kamnov lomljencev, ugotovljeni pa so bili tudi sledovi lesene konstrukcije. Čeprav je bila gomila že v neznani preteklosti izropana, pa vendarle daje vpogled v pogrebno obredje ter bogastvo grobnih pridatkov, zlasti edinstvenih keramičnih posod. Tako velikost gomile kot njena osamljena lega na dominantni točki pod naselbino ter grobni pridatki pričajo o družbeni

12), which indicate, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, the abandonment of the lowland settlement around 800 BC.⁴³ The recent research at Poštela and its cemeteries, nevertheless, revealed that the flat, cremation cemetery at Habakuk had a much greater extent⁴⁴ than originally anticipated. This, in effect, raises the question of the cemetery's timespan. Given that the research is ongoing, no unequivocal answer on the speed of both the resettlement process and the consequent upland necropolis development is presently available. It thus remains uncertain whether the practice of interment into the flat, cremation graves at Habakuk began before the Ha B3 period or whether it continued into the Ha C/the developed settlement phase of the Poštela 2–3 period, similar to the upland cemeteries associated with the Rifnik hillfort.⁴⁵

In addition to the flat, cremation cemetery of Habakuk on the first Pohorje terrace just below the settlement, the Poštela hillfort had a number of tumulus cemeteries. Conspicuous grave-markers, tumuli, represented a distinct Hallstatt period feature not only in the Pohorsko Podravje region, but Europe-wide. Notably, the analysis of the Poštela tumuli⁴⁶ demonstrated that the tumuli of the Styrian-Pannonian cultural group exhibited, within the wider context of the eastern Hallstatt cultural circle, a number of distinct peculiarities. The tumuli contained graves with cremains which suggests a connection with the local Urnfield cultural tradition that would have been, in the case of Poštela, associated with the customs and rites of people from the earlier, lowland settlements. East of the Poštela's flat, cremation cemetery, a number of tumuli were scattered across the Lepa ravna/Habakuk plateau. Given the local topography, they were organised into two large groups. The available research data on the burial site indicate that the earliest tumuli date into the Poštela 1 settlement phase, making them partly contemporaneous with the settlement's flat, cremation graves. One of the youngest tumuli, Tumulus 4, on the other hand, dates into the Poštela 3 phase. This indicates, then, that the tumulus cemetery continued to function throughout the entire settlement's existence.⁴⁷ The recent geophysics research notably revealed that small ditches encircled the tumuli. Since ditches partly intersected and cut each other, it is possible

⁴³ See Footnote 39.

⁴⁴ See Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 444–445, *sl.* 2–3; 5; *Pl.* 2: 5–9.

⁴⁵ Teržan 1990, 90–106, 365–367, *fig.* 113: 2–3.

⁴⁶ Glej here Teržan, Poštela, Chronology.

⁴⁷ Teržan 1990, 66–70, 316–326, *fig.* 41, *Pls.* 60–62.

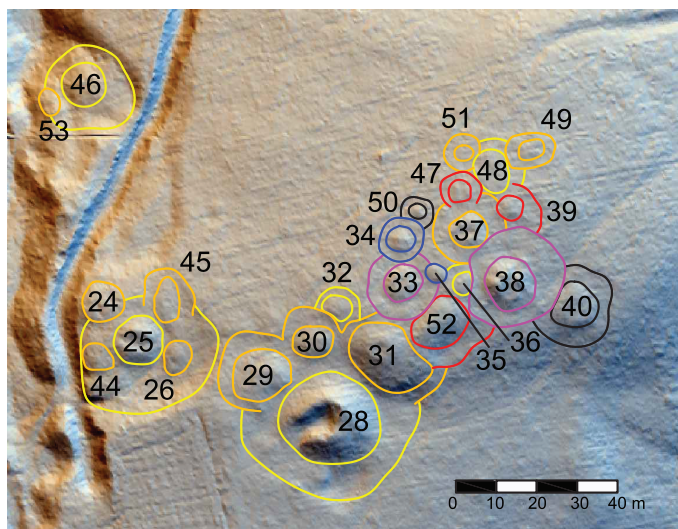
⁴⁵ Teržan 1990, 90–106, 365–367, *sl.* 113: 2–3.

⁴⁶ Glej tu Teržan, Poštela, kronologija.

⁴⁷ Teržan 1990, 66–70, 316–326, *sl.* 41, *T.* 60–62.

⁴⁸ Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 445–446, *sl.* 6.

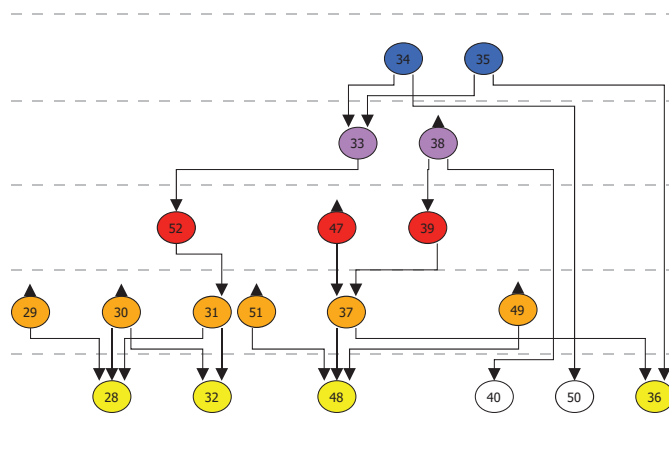
⁴⁹ Glej tu Strmčnik Gulič, Kajzer, Kramberger.



pomembnosti v gomili pokopanih oseb,⁵⁰ ki so – kot kažejo tudi kostni ostanki dveh konjev⁵¹ – sodili v sam vrh takratne elite.⁵²

Naslednja gomilna nekropola, ki je pripadala Pošteli, se je širila od Razvanjskega potoka proti jugu vse do Pivole in Spodnjih Hoč. Zadnje gomile v tej smeri tako ležijo več kot 2 km stran od naselbine. Tudi tu so bile gomile razporejene v večje in manjše skupine, vendar je danes večina že povsem izravnana in uničena. Pred nedavnim sta bili raziskani dve izmed njih, gomili 13 in 14.⁵³ V obeh gomilah sta bili grobni kamri skoraj kvadratne oblike, ki sta bili enako kot kamra v Veliki gomili zgrajeni iz večjih in manjših kamnov, razen tega pa so bili odkriti tudi elementi lesene konstrukcije. Med grobnimi pridatki posebno pozornost vzbujajo posode z meandroidno ornamentiko in bojna oprema, sestavljena iz bimetalne sekire, železnega meča in delov konjske opreme trakokimerijskega tipa. Ta komplet bojne opreme priča, da so tudi v teh gomilah pokopane osebe pripadale vrhnjemu družbenemu sloju pošteljske skupnosti in da so bile dobro vpete v širši srednjeevropski kulturni prostor.

O visokem družbenem statusu nekaterih oseb, pokopanih v pivolski nekropoli, govore tudi gomile impozantnih velikosti, ki so ohranjene v okviru Botaničnega vrta, predvsem v gozdiču ob njegovem jugozahodnem robu, ki se kar ponujajo za nadaljnje raziskave. Nedavno so bili tako z geofizikalnimi meritvami kot izkopavanjem tudi ob robu te skupine gomil odkriti plani grobovi, ki pa še niso celostno



to trace the growth of the cemetery and the relative sequence of the construction of the individual tumuli (Fig. 9).⁴⁸

In addition to Lepa ravna/Habakuk, several other large tumuli are scattered across the south-eastern Pohorje slope, all the way down to the large Kos tumulus standing in the valley near the Razvanje stream. The research of Large tumulus above Razvanje⁴⁹ yielded some excellent data on the tumulus construction. The earthen tumulus covered a massive burial chamber built from various stones and cut rocks that would have been, based on the preserved remains, combined with a wooden construction. Whilst the tumulus was looted at some unknown point in the past, it nevertheless gives insight into distinct burial customs and the wealth of accompanying grave goods, particularly the unique pottery. The barrow's size and its solitary location in a dominant place on the slope under the hillfort, as well as the grave goods that also included skeletal remains of two horses,⁵⁰ all indicate that individuals⁵¹ of significant social standing, most likely belonging to the local elite,⁵² were buried inside.

Another tumulus group belonging to Poštela spread from the Razvanje stream southwards, all the way to Pivola and Spodnje Hoče, with the distance between the farthest tumuli and the settlement being more than 2 km. Similar to other groups, the tumuli in the area were clustered into larger and smaller groups, although most have been, over the years, flattened and destroyed. Recently, Tumulus 13

Slika 9. Habakuk / Lepa ravna pod Poštelo. Severna skupina gomil na senčenem modelu reliefa z označenimi gomilami (levo) in Harrisova matrika gomil (desno), ki ponazarjata faze nastajanja grobišča (od najstarejših do najmlajših: rumena – oranžna – rdeča – vijoličasta – modra; prazen krog – podatki ne zadoščajo za časovno opredelitev) (po Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, sl. 6).

Figure 9. Habakuk / Lepa ravna below Poštela. The northern tumulus group on a shaded digital surface model with individual tumuli marked in different colours (left). The Harris matrix of the tumulus group (right) illustrating the distinct phases of the cemetery development (from the earliest to the latest: yellow – orange – red – purple – blue; empty circle – insufficient data for relative dating) (after Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, sl. 6).

⁵⁰ Čeprav antropološka analiza ni pokazala na več pokopov (glej tu Leskovar), pa lahko glede na razporeditev žganine na dnu grobne kamre in glede na grobne pridatke domnevamo, da je bilo v grobni kamri pokopanih več oseb, verjetno moški, ženska in otrok.

⁵¹ Glej tu Toškan.

⁵² Glej npr. tudi Teržan 2011.

⁵³ Glej tu Strmčnik Gulič, Teržan; Teržan, Črešnar, Kramberger.

⁴⁸ Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 445–446, fig. 6.

⁴⁹ See here Strmčnik Gulič, Kajzer, Kramberger.

⁵⁰ See here Toškan.

⁵¹ Although anthropological analysis revealed no evidence of multiple burials (see here Leskovar), the arrangement of the burial remains on the floor of the burial chamber and the grave goods may indicate multiple burials, perhaps that of a man, a woman, and a child.

⁵² See, for example, Teržan 2011.

objavljeni.⁵⁴ V vsakem primeru lahko organiziranost tega prostora vzporejamo s planoto Habakuk, kjer sta bila prav tako v rabi oba načina pokopa, v planih grobovih in pod gomilami.

Domnevamo lahko, da se je poštska nekropola širila tudi proti vzhodu, saj je bil pri gradnji trgovske hiše E. Leclerc, od Pošte oddaljene le malo več kot grobišče v Pivoli, odkrit obročast nakit, ki verjetno izvira iz povsem uničenega žganega groba.⁵⁵ Štiri gomile so bile odkrite tudi pri Rogozi,⁵⁶ pribl. 4 km stran, a zanje ni povsem jasno, ali pripadajo Poštelu ali kakšnemu manjšemu zaselku v bližini (*sl. 1*).⁵⁷

Poštska naselbina torej s svojo dominantno višinsko lego, z mogočno utrdbo in s svojimi prostorsko razvejanimi gomilnimi grobišči kaže vse značilnosti večjega regionalnega središča, kot jih poznamo iz sosednjih pokrajin iz istega časovnega obdobja.⁵⁸ To še posebej velja, če njej nasproti postavimo na novo odkrite nižinske zaselke ob vznožju Pohorja in Slovenskih goric.

Poleg višinskih naselbin, kot sta Poštela in Čreta nad Slivnico,⁵⁹ predstavljajo namreč pomembno dopolnitev slike o poseljenosti Pohorskega Podravja v starejši železni dobi novo odkrite nižinske naselbine, kot je npr. Hotinja vas.⁶⁰ Gre za raztreseni tip naselbine ali pa za več gručastih zaselkov, razporejenih ob robu Dravskega polja,⁶¹ ki sicer v mnogočem spominjajo na tu že predstavljene nižinske naselbine iz časa kulture žarnih grobišč. Vendar je potrebno poudariti, da nikakor ne gre za poselitveno kontinuiteto. Raziskave v Hotinji vasi so namreč pokazale na več bistvenih razlik. Tako je bil že način gradnje stavb povsem drugačen, prevladujejo namreč zemljanke oz. stavbe, ki so bile delno vkopane (*sl. 4*). Podobno velja za notranjo ureditev naselja, ki odstopa od tiste iz obdobja kulture žarnih grobišč, tako od tiste starejših naselbin v bližnji Orehovi vasi in Rogozi kot tudi od tiste mlajše na Pobrežju. Tako tip stavb v Hotinji vasi kot organiziranost naselja nedvomno kažeta na priliv novih priseljencev z novimi koncepti bivanja in gospodarjenja, podobnosti pa bi lahko videli

and Tumulus 14 were both excavated.⁵³ They both contained a roughly square-shaped burial chamber which was, similar to Large tumulus, built with larger and smaller rocks that were supported by a wooden construction. Particularly noteworthy among their grave goods were pottery items with meandroid ornaments, and a warrior's equipment consisting of a bimetall axe, iron sword and several pieces of Thracian-Cimmerian horse gear. These warrior items testify to the fact that the deceased buried in the two tumuli were among those who belonged to the upper social class of the Poštela community too and were, moreover, immersed in the wider Middle-European cultural space of the time.

The high social status of several individuals from the Pivola cemetery is further indicated by the extraordinary size of a number of tumuli preserved in the area of the Botanic Garden at Pivola. Most of these are located in the small forest on the south-western edge of the Garden and would require thorough research in the future. Recently, a combination of geophysical prospection and excavation work revealed the existence of flat, cremation graves at the edge of these tumuli. Whilst still awaiting detailed publication,⁵⁴ they, nevertheless, indicate a similar spatial organisation of the Pivola cemetery to the Habakuk site where both burial types were likewise discovered.

The necropolis at Poštela might also have spread eastwards: during the construction of the E. Leclerc grocery shop located only slightly farther from the settlement than the Pivola cemetery, several circlet jewellery items (most likely from a completely destroyed cremation grave⁵⁵) were discovered in the area. Another four tumuli were detected at Rogoza,⁵⁶ some 4 km away, but it remains uncertain whether they belonged to Poštela or another, smaller hamlet nearby (*fig. 1*).⁵⁷

With its dominant position, its mighty hillfort, and its extensive tumulus cemeteries, the Poštela settlement presented all the characteristics of a major regional centre and was, at the time, comparable to others in the neighbouring regions.⁵⁸ Its regionally important character is particularly apparent when compared to the recently discovered lowland

⁵⁴ Glej Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 447–448, sl. 8.

⁵⁵ Kavur 2008; glej tudi tu Teržan, Poštela, kronologija.

⁵⁶ Glej tu Črešnar, Rogoza.

⁵⁷ Plani grobovi, ki naj bi sodili v pozno bronasto in starejšo železno dobo, so bili odkriti tudi pri gradnji industrijskega kompleksa Magna pri Orehovi vasi, a obdelava gradiva še ni zaključena (Vinder, Ciglar 2018).

⁵⁸ Glej npr. Teržan 2019.

⁵⁹ Teržan 1990, 340, T. 72: 1–9; Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 448–449, sl. 10.

⁶⁰ Glej tu Gerbec in tudi Gerbec 2014; ista 2019.

⁶¹ O podobnih zaselkih iz območja arheoloških najdišč v Slivnici in na Malečniku, ki naj bi sodili v starejšo železno dobo, je poročal B. Kramberger na strokovnem srečanju »Dan bronaste dobe« 5. decembra 2018.

⁵³ See here Strmčnik Gulič, Teržan; Teržan, Črešnar, Kramberger.

⁵⁴ See Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 447–448, fig. 8.

⁵⁵ Kavur 2008; see also here Teržan, Poštela, Chronology.

⁵⁶ See here Črešnar, Rogoza.

⁵⁷ Flat cremation graves, supposedly from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages were also discovered during the construction of the industrial complex Magna near Orehova vas. Their analysis is ongoing (Vinder, Ciglar 2018).

⁵⁸ See, for example, Teržan 2019.

v nekaterih naselbinah v Prekmurju, kot sta Nova Tabla pri Murski Soboti in Pri Muri pri Lendavi.⁶² Pomenljivo se tudi zdi, da je bilo naselje pri Hotinji vasi obljudeno le sorazmerno kratko obdobje, kot je prepričljivo pokazala Teja Gerbec, v času Ha C2/D1, kar odgovarja stopnji Pošte 3. Čeprav je naselbini v Hotinji vasi možno pripisati izrazito ruralni značaj, pa se zdi omembe vredno, da so poleg arheoloških tudi naravoslovne analize izbranih predmetov pokazale, da so se v naselbini odvijale različne gospodarske dejavnosti, med drugim naj posebej omenimo kovaštvo.⁶³

Zakaj se zdi pomembno prav kovaštvo? Med novimi viri, ki so pogojevali nastanek in vzpon nove ere – starejše železne dobe, je pomembno vlogo odigrala tudi lažje dostopna in sorazmerno razširjena železova ruda, ki jo je v obliki rdečega in rjavega železovca najti tudi na Hočkem Pohorju – na Rdečem bregu,⁶⁴ hkrati pa seveda osvojitve novih tehnoloških znanj. Taljenje železove rude je namreč zahtevalo drugačne postopke in temperaturo kot bakrove, pa tudi predelava nove kovine – železa je drugačna, zato se je razvila nova obrt – kovaštvo. Če so železnodobni prebivalci Pohorskega Podravja dejansko že izkoriščali pohorsko rudo, je še odprto vprašanje, vendar pa je pokazatelj za to dejavnost najdba večjega kosa rjavega železovca v gomili 4 na Habakuku.⁶⁵ Da pa se je izdelava predmetov iz železa začela v Podravju že zelo zgodaj, namreč že v času stopenj Ha B2/B3,⁶⁶ kažejo npr. kosi orodja in nakita, zlasti železne ovratnice iz Ruš⁶⁷ in Miklavža⁶⁸ ter fibule in zapestnice iz žganih grobov na Lepi ravni pod Poštelo.⁶⁹ Razen tega pa prav iz Pošte 3 oz. njej pripadajočih grobov izvirajo železne sekire, ki sodijo k tipu železnih tulastih sekir z razporkom in ločno oblikovanim robom tula (*sl. 10*).⁷⁰ Ta tip sekir namreč predstavlja najzgodnejše oblike tulastih sekir, izdelanih iz železa, katerih izvirno področje je iskati v Transilvaniji oz. vzhodnih predelih Karpatskega bazena, od koder se je železarsko in kovaško znanje razširilo proti srednji Evropi in doseglo tudi Pohorsko Podravje (*sl. 11*).⁷¹ Visoko

sites at the foot of the Pohorje massif and Slovenske gorice hills.

In addition to hillforts such as Poštela and Čreta above Slivnica,⁵⁹ the newly discovered lowland sites, including Hotinja vas,⁶⁰ complement our understanding of the settlement dynamics in the Early Iron Age Pohorsko Podravje. The lowland site appears to have been dispersed or, alternatively, organised into small hamlets clustered on the edges of the Dravsko polje plain.⁶¹ Whilst in many ways resembling the Late Bronze Age lowland settlements discussed above it in no way proves settlement continuity in the area. In fact, research at Hotinja vas suggests several important differences. To begin with, the building construction differed significantly from the earlier sites, considering that pit-houses or partly sunken buildings represented the dominant construction type (*Fig. 4*). The internal settlement arrangement also deviated from the spatial pattern documented either at the earlier Ha A settlements at the nearby Orehova vas and Rogoza, or at the later Ha B settlement at Pobrežje. The building type and the settlement arrangement at Hotinja vas both indicate the influx of newcomers that would have brought with them some novel dwelling concepts and subsistence strategies. Several parallels for these can be found in some of the contemporaneous settlements in the Prekmurje region, such as Nova Tabla near Murska Sobota and Pri Muri near Lendava.⁶² As convincingly demonstrated by Teja Gerbec, the Hotinja vas settlement was in use for a relatively short period during the Ha C2/D1 period (the Poštela 3 phase). Whilst the settlement had a distinct rural character, a combination of the archaeological and the archaeometric research on a number of select artefacts showed that various economic activities, including blacksmithing, all took place at Hotinja vas.⁶³

Why does blacksmithing appear to have been of particular importance at the time? Amongst various novel resources employed, iron ore was easily accessible and relatively widespread in the form of red and yellow limonite, which could also be found in the area of Hočko Pohorje at the Rdeči breg site.⁶⁴ In combination with the mastering of new technologies,

⁶² Guštin et al. 2017; Kerman 2019.

⁶³ Glej tu Gerbec.

⁶⁴ Teržan 1983, 52.

⁶⁵ Teržan 1990, 317.

⁶⁶ Teržan 2017, 117–119, Abb. 1.

⁶⁷ Wurmbrand 1879, 55–58, T. 3; 4: 28; Teržan 2017, 118.

⁶⁸ Črešnar, Murko 2014, 206–213, sl. 10.4: 1; 10.8: 1.

⁶⁹ Teržan 1990, 61–64, T. 53, 1–3; 58: 6–8; 59: 9.

⁷⁰ Teržan 1990, 299, T. 45: 2–3; Teržan 2017, 120–127, Abb. 3.

⁷¹ Seznam tulastih sekir in njihovo karto razprostranjenosti Teržan 2017, 134–135 (Liste 1), Abb. 5 lahko dopolnimo še s sekro iz Kaptola pri Slavonski Požegi, glej Pavličić, Potrebić 2013, 29, št. 1; glej *sl. 11: 21*. O povezavah

⁵⁹ Teržan 1990, 340, Pl. 72: 1–9; Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 448–449, fig. 10.

⁶⁰ Glej here Gerbec; also Gerbec 2014; *ead.* 2019.

⁶¹ Similar Iron Age hamlets from the area of Slivnica and Malečnik were reported by B. Kramberger on 5th December 2018, at the thematic conference meeting “Dan bronsaste dobe” (Eng. “*The Bronze Age Day*”).

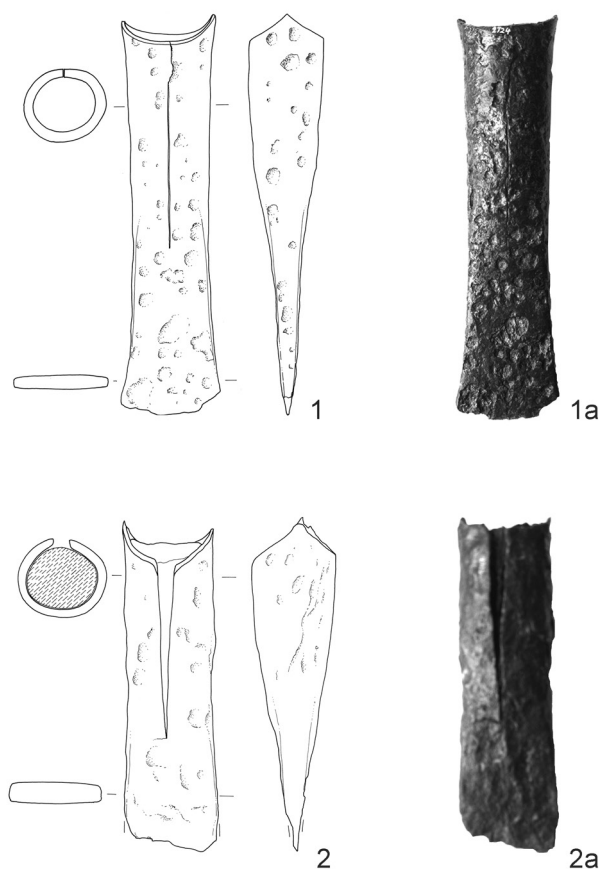
⁶² Guštin et al. 2017; Kerman 2019.

⁶³ See here Gerbec.

⁶⁴ Teržan 1983, 52.

Slika 10. Poštela, železni tulasti sekiri z razporkom in usločnim robom tula (po Teržan 2017, 122, Abb. 4).

Figure 10. Poštela, iron socketed axes with a slit and an arch-shaped socket rim (after Teržan 2017, 122, Abb. 4).



stopnjo obvladovanja tako metalurško-livarskih⁷² kot kovaških spretnosti ne nazadnje nakazuje tudi bimentalna tulasta sekira iz gomile 14 v Pivoli.⁷³ Skratka, naša teza je, da sta železarstvo in z njim kovaštvo v Pohorskem Podravju v času starejše železne dobe predstavljala nezanemarljivo gospodarsko panogo, ki morda ni zadovoljevala le domačih potreb.

Za sam zaključek. V poselitvi Pohorskega Podravja se med pozno bronasto in zgodnjo železno dobo kažejo velike spremembe, ki zadevajo tako izbiro prostora za naselitev kot tudi načina gradnje stavb ter varovanja naselbin, v starejši železni dobi z obrambnim sistemom. Osnova nižinskih naselbin v času kulture žarnih grobišč je bilo kmečko gospodarstvo, a so se v njih odvijale tudi druge dejavnosti, med katerimi se nam zdijo s tehnološkega vidika posebej pomembne metalurške obrti. V starejši železni dobi vidimo v višinski utrjeni naselbini na Pošteli regionalno središče Pohorskega Podravja, ki bi mu morda lahko pripisali tudi »protourbani« značaj. Ob njej so v nižini obstajali tudi manjši zaselki ruralnega značaja, verjetno v satelitski soodvisnosti.

med vzhodnimi predeli Karpatske kotline in Podonavja ter z vzhodnoalpskim prostorom govori tudi keramika s področja kulture Basarabi, ki izvira iz ene izmed gomil v Pivoli: glej Teržan 1990, 70–71, 333, T. 65: 1.

⁷² Glej tu Urankar, Črešnar, sl. 6.

⁷³ Glej tu Strmčnik Gulič, Teržan, T. 16: 12; Teržan, Poštela, kronologija.

it therefore played a vital role in the emergence and development of a new era – the Early Iron Age. Compared to copper ore, iron smelting required disparate procedures and different smelting temperatures. The forms of iron refining, forging and annealing were, likewise, different and led, effectively, to the development of a new craft – blacksmithing. It remains uncertain whether the Early Iron Age inhabitants of Pohorsko Podravje exploited the local iron ore from the Pohorje massif. A large piece of brown limonite from Tumulus 4 at Habakuk⁶⁵ may indicate this was the case. Several tools and jewellery items, most notably ring necklaces from Ruše⁶⁶ and Miklavž,⁶⁷ as well as fibulae and bracelets from the flat, cremation graves from Lepa ravnja, below the Poštela hillfort⁶⁸ suggest an early start for the production of iron objects going back to the Ha B2/B3.⁶⁹ Furthermore, a number of socketed axes with a slit and an arch-shaped socket rim (Fig. 10)⁷⁰ were discovered at Poštela or, more specifically, in a number of graves in its accompanying cemeteries. Significantly, this axe type represents the earliest form of socketed axes made of iron; it originated in Transylvania/eastern areas of the Carpathian basin and gradually spread, along with iron work and blacksmithing, towards Central Europe, also reaching Pohorsko Podravje (Fig. 11).⁷¹ A high level of metalworking mastery, including casting⁷² and blacksmithing skills, are further attested by a bimetall socketed axe from Tumulus 14 at Pivola.⁷³ Accordingly, we argue that in the Early Iron Age Pohorsko Podravje, the ironwork and blacksmithing represented a significant pillar of the local economy that might also have catered for non-local needs.

To conclude: with the transition from the Late Bronze into the Early Iron Age, the settlement of Pohorsko Podravje changed significantly. At the time,

⁶⁵ Teržan 1990, 317.

⁶⁶ Wurmbbrand 1879, 55–58, Pls. 3; 4: 28; Teržan 2017, 118.

⁶⁷ Črešnar, Murko 2014, 206–213, sl. 10.4: 1; 10.8: 1.

⁶⁸ Teržan 1990, 61–64, Pls. 53, 1–3; 58: 6–8; 59: 9.

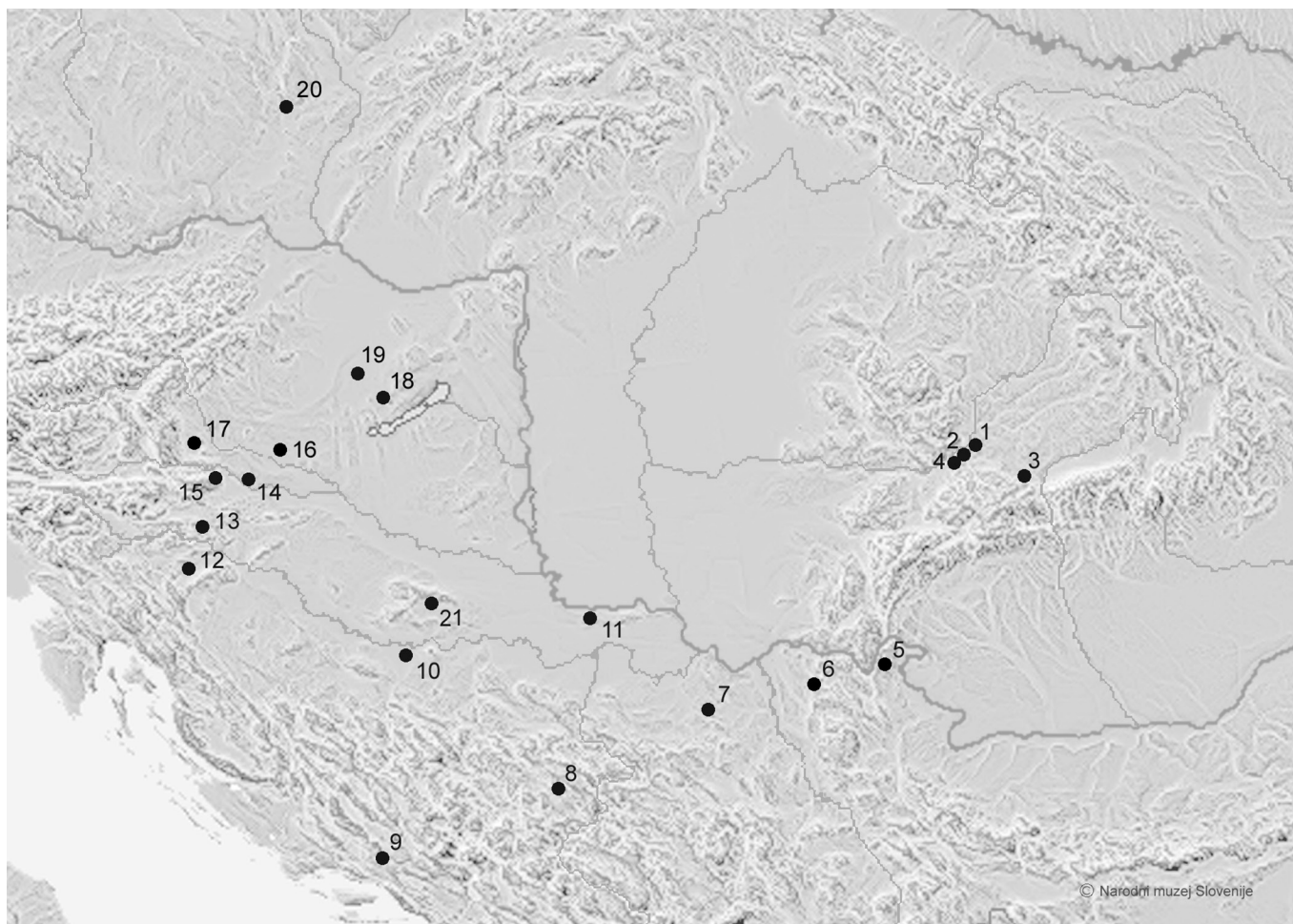
⁶⁹ Teržan 2017, 117–119, Abb. 1.

⁷⁰ Teržan 1990, 299, Pl. 45: 2–3; Teržan 2017, 120–127, Abb. 3.

⁷¹ The list of socketed axes and their distribution map in Teržan 2017, 134–135 (Liste 1), Abb. 5 can be further supplemented with the axe from Kaptol near Slavenska Požega; see Pavličić, Potrebica 2013, 29, nr. 1; see fig. 11: 21. Connections between the eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin, the Danube region and the eastern Alps are also suggested by the pottery finds of the Basarabi culture that were discovered in one of the Pivola tumuli; see Teržan 1990, 70–71, 333, Pl. 65: 1.

⁷² See here Urankar, Črešnar, fig. 6.

⁷³ See here Strmčnik Gulič, Teržan, Pl. 16: 12; Teržan, Poštela, Chronology.



Slika 11. Karta razprostranjenosti železnih sekir z razporkom (dopolnjeno po Teržan 2017, str. 123, Abb. 5).

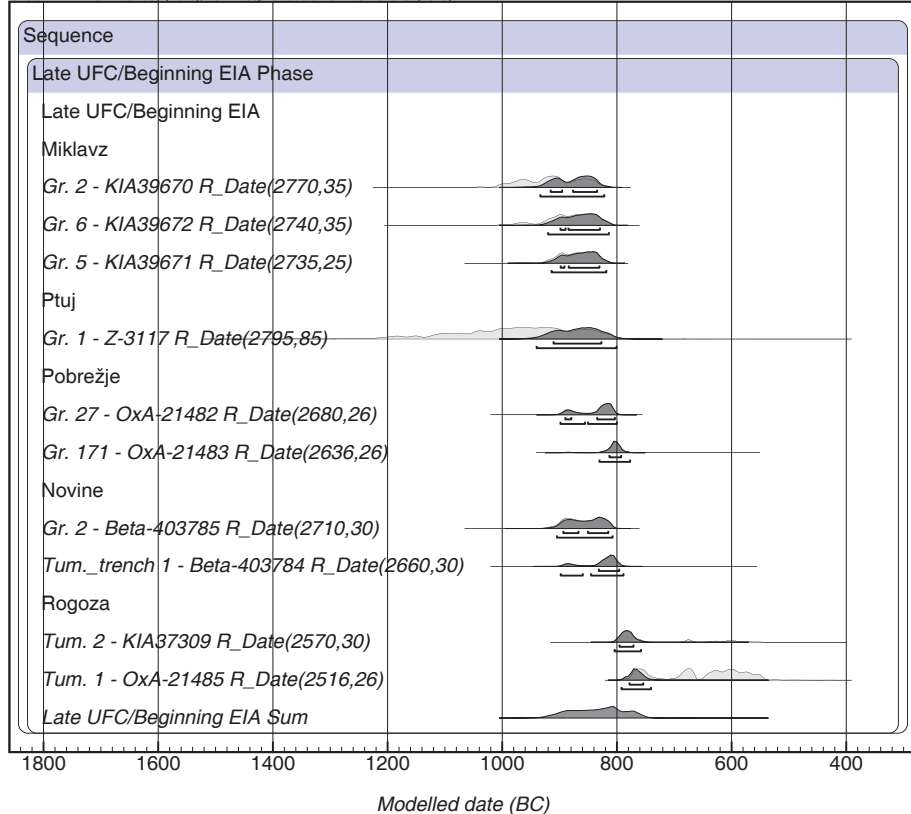
Figure 11. Distribution map of iron socketed axes with a slit and an arch-shaped socket rim (supplemented after Teržan 2017, 123, Abb. 5).

Vendar je potrebno poudariti, da je vsaj na začetku nove porajajoče se dobe, starejše železne dobe, opazna neposredna navezava na tradicijo kulture žarnih grobišč, kar se odraža predvsem v religiozni sferi, torej v načinu pokopavanja – sežiganju preminulih in v spremnih pogrebnih običajih, morda pa tudi v nekaterih gospodarskih dejavnostih, kot je npr. metalurška. Hkrati pa ni za spregledati najdb in novosti v tipih naselbin in pojavu gomil, ki dovoljujejo predpostavko, da je prišlo tudi do priliva novih priseljencev. Zlasti nove oblike nagrobnih spomenikov – gomile s povečini kamnitimi grobnimi kamrami in z drugačnimi ter pretežno bolj bogatimi sestavi grobnih oprav, med katerimi predstavljata pomembno novost orožje in konjska oprema ali pa celo žrtvovani konji, so značilne označevalke nove dobe, nove družbene ureditve z veliko bolj razslojeno družbo, kot je bila tista v pozni bronasti dobi.

Kljub navidezno razmeroma tekočem prehodu med pozno bronasto in starejšo železno dobo pa zelo verjetno govorimo o obdobju več desetletij ali morda celo celim stoletju med sredino oz. drugo polovico 9. in zgodnjim 8. stol. pr. n. št. (sl. 8; 12), ko se je oblikoval nov svet starejše železne dobe. Kot prikazano, se tako imenovani železni horizont, ki z novimi oblikami nakita in orožja, izdelanimi iz železa, pojavi – kot kažejo radiokarbonske datacije – že sredi 9. stol. pr. n. št. Sledimo mu lahko v nižinskih najdiščih

some of the most notable changes pertained to the shifts in the settlement site preferences, building construction types and settlement defence strategies that would have involved, during the Early Iron Age, distinct fortification systems. During the Urnfield culture period, the lowland settlements relied on farming that was supplemented by a number of other economic activities, including metallurgical crafts, which seem, from the technological perspective, to be an important one. In the Early Iron Age Pohorsko Podravje, the Poštela hillfort acted as a regional centre which might have had a “protourban” character with several smaller rural settlements in the lowland coexisting as its satellites.

Nevertheless, during the early phase of the gradually emerging new era – the Early Iron Age – a local Urnfield cultural tradition was still observable. The latter was mainly reflected in the religious sphere, with continuity of some distinct burial customs and rites that would have entailed cremation of the deceased. In addition, there would also have been continuity in several economic activities, such as metallurgy. At the same time, new settlement and artefact types, as well as the emergence of tumuli, all suggest there was most likely also an influx of newcomers into the area during the period. Tumuli – the novel form of grave markers – very often contained stone burial chambers and various rich grave goods. These



Slika 12.

Radiokarbonske datacije mlajše kulture žarnih grobišč in začetka starejše železne dobe najdišč v Pohorskem Podravju in severnih Slovenskih goricah.

Figure 12.

Radiocarbon dates for the sites of the Urnfield culture and the early phase of the Early Iron Age. Sites from Pohorsko Podravje and the northern part of Slovenske gorice hills.

ob Dravi, od Ormoža, Ptuja in Miklavža vse do Ruš, verjetno nekoliko kasneje pa tudi v grobovih na Habakuku pod Poštelo. V tem prehodnem obdobju še nekaj časa obstajajo oz. vegetirajo nižinske naselbine, kot npr. v Rušah in Pobrežju, čeprav v slednjem do- slej niti v naselbini niti na nekropoli ni bilo odkritih najdb, ki bi jih lahko povezali z železnim horizon- tom. Zato sklepamo, da so bile naselbine v nižinskih predelih Pohorskega Podravja opuščene postopoma in ne vse povsem istočasno.

Morda je ob tej problematiki vredno omeni- ti tudi nove raziskave v naselbini na Novinah nad Šentiljem in pripadajočih grobov, ki tudi na severnih obronkih Slovenskih gor in Pomurju orisujejo po- podobno dogajanje kot v Pohorskem Podravju. Značil- ne najdbe in radiokarbonske datacije kažejo na žarne grobove ob na novoustanovljeni utrjeni naselbini v 9. stol. pr. n. št., ob kateri je kmalu nastala tudi go- milna nekropola (*sl. 12*).⁷⁴

Če lahko prehodno obdobje med pozno bron- sto dobo oz. kulturo žarnih grobišč in starejšo žele- zno dobo in začetki halštatske kulture v Pohorskem Podravju časovno razmeroma zanesljivo opredeli- mo zlasti na osnovi radiokarbonskih datacij (*sl. 8; 12*), pa je veliko bolj zagoneten čas njenega konca. Po dosedanjih raziskavah se namreč kaže, da so železnodobne skupnosti tega območja najkasneje sre- di 6. stol. pr. n. št. doživele svoj zlom, od katerega si niso več opomogle. Pri tem pa je Pohorsko Po- dravje delilo usodo s širšim kulturnim prostorom

included, as a novelty of the time, distinct weapons and horse gear, and, in some instances, even the sac- rificed horse itself. As notable markers of the new era and new social organisation, tumuli suggested a society that was much more stratified than the Late Bronze Age one.

Despite a seemingly smooth transition between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, the process would have taken place over the course of several decades, perhaps even an entire century, from the middle of the 9th to the early 8th century BC as the new, Early Iron Age world was gradually emerging (*Figs. 8; 12*). The so-called iron horizon associated with new forms of iron-made jewellery and weap- onry began in the area, according to the radiocarbon dates, in the middle of the 9th century BC. The iron items appeared at a number of lowland sites along the Drava river, including Ormož, Ptuj, Miklavž, and Ruše, and perhaps somewhat later at Habakuk, at the necropolis of Poštela. During this transitional phase, the lowland settlements such as Ruše and Po- brežje languished; finds typical of the iron horizon were lacking at both the Pobrežje settlement and its cemetery. This suggests a gradual and non-simulta- neous abandonment of the lowland settlements in Pohorsko Podravje.

Addressing the phenomenon of a transitional phase, it is worth mentioning the recently obtained data from the Novine settlement above Šentilj and its accompanying graves located at the northern edges of the Slovenske gorice hills in the Pomurje region. The site underwent a process similar to that in Pohorsko Podravje. Several typical finds and radi- ocarbon dates all indicate the presence of flat, crema- tion graves next to the newly established hillfort in the 9th century BC. Soon after, a tumulus cemetery also appeared at the site (*Fig. 12*).⁷⁴

If the transitional period between the Late Bronze Age (the Urnfield culture) and the Early Iron Age (the Hallstatt culture) is relatively well defined for the Pohorsko Podravje region thanks the radio- carbon dates (*Figs. 8; 12*), the final stages of the Early Iron Age in the area, on the other hand, remain more ambiguous. The recent research indicates that the lo- cal Iron Age communities underwent a collapse in the middle of the 6th century BC (at the latest) and never recovered from it. During this dissolution, the Pohorsko Podravje region shared its faith with the wider area of the Styrian-Pannonian cultural group. The reasons for the decline of the eastern Hallstatt cultural circle and the Styrian-Pannonian cultural group as its eminent representative may, according

⁷⁴ Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 449–454.

⁷⁴ Črešnar, Vinazza 2019, 449–454.

štajersko-panonske kulturne skupine. Naša teza je, da je vzroke za zaton vzhodnohalštatske kulture in z njo štajersko-panonske skupine, kot njene eminente predstavnice, iskati v plenilskih pohodih skitskih in njim pridruženih nomadsko-konjeniških band, ki so se začeli okoli l. 600 pr. n. št. in katerih sledovi v Karpatski kotlini se kažejo skozi celotno 6. stol. pr. n. št.⁷⁵ Bodoče raziskave, tudi gradiva, odkritega na Pošteli in Čreti v zadnjih letih, bodo morda pokazale, če in kaj se je dogajalo v Pohorskem Podravju med zatonom halštatske kulture sredi 6. stol. in prvimi prišleki keltskega porekla proti koncu 4. stol. pr. n. št., kajti trenutno se zdi, da je dežela v veliki meri opustela.

to our hypothesis, be traced back to plundering campaigns by the Scythian and other associated nomadic, horse-riding groups. Their lootings began around 600 BC and were ongoing, as it is evident from a number of sites in the Carpathian Basin, most probably for an entire century.⁷⁵ Future research, including that of the finds recently discovered at Poštela and Čreta, is required to address the question of what happened in the Pohorsko Podravje region between the decline of the Hallstatt cultural group in the middle of the 6th and the late 4th century BC, when newcomers of Celtic origin appeared in the area. At present, it seems that the land was largely abandoned.

LITERATURA / REFERENCES

Bader T. 1983

Die Fibeln in Rumänien. – Prähistorische Bronzefunde XIV 6, München.

Baš F. 1933

Zgodnjehallstattske najdbe na Pohorju in v Mariboru. – *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 28, 1933, 37–40.

Čerče P., Šinkovec I. 1995

Pekel pri Mariboru. – V/In: B. Teržan (ur./ed.), *Depojske in posamezne kovinske najdbe bakrene in bronzaste dobe na Slovenskem I / Hoards and Individual Metal Finds from the Eneolithic and Bronze Ages in Slovenia I*, Katalog in monografije 29, Ljubljana, 206–211.

Črešnar M. 2009

Rogoza pri Mariboru in njeno mesto v bronzasti in starejši železni dobi Podravja. – Doktorska disertacija / Ph. D. thesis, Oddelek za arheologijo, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani (neobjavljena / unpublished).

Črešnar M. 2010a

Poskus določitve kulturne skupine Kisapostag v vzhodni Sloveniji. – *Zbornik soboškega muzeja* 15, Murska Sobota, 107–134.

Črešnar M. 2010b

New research on the Urnfield period of Eastern Slovenia. A case study of Rogoza near Maribor / Nova spoznanja o pozni bronzasti dobi vzhodne Slovenije na primeru naselja Rogoza pri Mariboru. – *Arheološki vestnik* 61, 7–119.

Črešnar M. 2014

Rogoza pri Mariboru. – V/In: B. Teržan, M. Črešnar (ur./eds.), *Absolutno datiranje bronzaste in železne dobe na Slovenskem / Absolute Dating of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Slovenia*, Katalogi in monografije 40, Ljubljana, 225–248.

Črešnar M., Bonsall C., Thomas J.-L. 2014

Pobrežje pri Mariboru. – V/In: B. Teržan, M. Črešnar (ur./eds.), *Absolutno datiranje bronzaste in železne dobe na Slovenskem / Absolute Dating of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Slovenia*, Katalogi in monografije 40, Ljubljana, 215–219.

Črešnar M., Culiberg M., Toškan B., Dirjec J., Vintar A. 2019

Rogoza Bronze Age lowland settlement (SI) – V/In: M. Črešnar, S. Kiszter, M. Mele, K. Peitler, A. Vintar (ur./eds.), *Plants – Animals – People. Lively archaeological landscapes of Styria and Northeastern Slovenia / Pflanzen – Tiere – Menschen. Lebendige archaologische Landschaften der Steiermark und Nordostsloweniens / Rastline – živali – ljudje. Žive arheološke krajine avstrijske Štajerske in severovzhodne Slovenije*, Schild von Steier. Beiheft 10, Graz-Ljubljana, 79–83.

Črešnar M., Koprivnik V., Bonsall C., Thomas J.-L. 2014

Gračič pod Brinjevo goro. – V/In: B. Teržan, M. Črešnar (ur./eds.), *Absolutno datiranje bronzaste in železne dobe na Slovenskem / Absolute Dating of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Slovenia*, Katalogi in monografije 40, Ljubljana, 305–311.

Črešnar M., Murko M. 2014

Miklavž na Dravskem polju. – V/In: B. Teržan, M. Črešnar (ur./eds.), *Absolutno datiranje bronzaste in železne dobe na Slovenskem / Absolute Dating of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Slovenia*, Katalogi in monografije 40, Ljubljana, 205–214.

Črešnar M., Teržan B. 2014

Absolutno datiranje bronzaste dobe na Slovenskem / Absolute Dating of the Bronze Age in Slovenia. – V/ In: B. Teržan, M. Črešnar (ur./eds.), *Absolutno datiranje bronzaste in železne dobe na Slovenskem / Absolute Dating of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Slovenia*, Katalogi in monografije 40, Ljubljana, 661–702.

⁷⁵ Cfr. Teržan 1990, 54–55, 118–121, 204–207, sl. 11; 26; 55; Teržan 1998, 518–526, Abb. 4–8; Teržan 2010; Hellmuth 2006; Hellmuth 2010; Hellmuth Kramberger 2017.

⁷⁵ Cfr. Teržan 1990, 54–55, 118–121, 204–207, figs. 11; 26; 55; Teržan 1998, 518–526, Abb. 4–8; Teržan 2010; Hellmuth 2006; Hellmuth 2010; Hellmuth Kramberger 2017.

- Črešnar M., Vinazza M. 2019
Nove raziskave višinskih naselij na vzhodnih obronkih Pohorja in v severnih Slovenskih gorah/ New research of hilltop settlements on the eastern fringes of Pohorje and the northern Slovenian slopes (NE Slovenia). – *Arheološki vestnik* 70, 437–472.
- Dular J. 2013
Severovzhodna Slovenija v pozni bronasti dobi / Nordostslowenien in der späten Bronzezeit, Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 27, Ljubljana.
- Dular J., Tomanič Jevremov M. 2010
Ormož. Utrjeno naselje iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe / Ormož. Befestigte Siedlung aus der späten Bronze- und der älteren Eisenzeit, Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae 18, Ljubljana.
- Gerbec T. 2014
Hotinja vas. – V/ In: B. Teržan, M. Črešnar (ur./eds.), *Absolutno datiranje bronaste in železne dobe na Slovenskem / Absolute Dating of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Slovenia*, Katalogi in monografije 40, Ljubljana, 275–286.
- Gerbec T. 2019
Hotinja vas in nižinska poselitev na zahodnem obrobju Panonske nižine v starejši železni dobi. Ureditev naselja in njegovo časovno mesto / Hotinja vas and lowland settlement on the western edges of the Pannonian plain in the Early Iron Age. The organization of the settlement and its chronological position. – *Arheološki vestnik* 70, 473–486.
- Grahek L. 2014
Slivnica pri Mariboru, Orehova vas / Slivnica near Maribor, Orehova vas. – V/In: B. Teržan, M. Črešnar (ur./eds.), *Absolutno datiranje bronaste in železne dobe na Slovenskem / Absolute Dating of Bronze and Iron Ages in Slovenia*, Katalogi in monografije 40, Ljubljana, 249–273.
- Grahek L. 2015
Orehova vas, Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije 46, Ljubljana.
- Guštin M., Tiefengraber G., Pavlovič D., Zorko M. 2017
Nova tabla pri Murski Soboti. Prazgodovina, Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije 52/1, Ljubljana.
- Hellmuth A. 2006
Pfeilspitzen. Untersuchungen zu den sogenannten skythischen Pfeilspitzen aus der befestigten Höhensiedlung von Smolenice-Molpír, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 128, Bonn, 12–205.
- Hellmuth A. 2010
Bogenschützen des Pontischen Raumes in der Älteren Eisenzeit. Typologische Gliederung, Verbreitung und Chronologie der skythischen Pfeilspitzen, Teil 1–2, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 177, Bonn.
- Hellmuth Kramberger A. 2017
Archäologische Hinweise zu kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit reiternomadischen Gruppen im östlichen Mitteleuropa und im Vorderen Orient. – V/In: E. Mirošayová, Ch. Pare, S. Stegmann-Rajtár (ur./eds.), *Das nördliche Karpatenbecken in der Hallstattzeit*, Archaeolingua 38, Budapest, 571–589.
- Kajzer M. 1995
Hočko Pohorje. – V/ In: B. Teržan (ur./ed.), *Depojske in posamezne kovinske najdbe bakrene in bronaste dobe na Slovenskem I / Hoards and Individual Metal Finds from the Eneolithic and Bronze Ages in Slovenia I*, Katalog in monografije 29, Ljubljana, 177–196.
- Kerman B. 2018
Pod Grunti – Pince pri Pincah, Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije 55, Ljubljana.
- Kerman B. 2019
Naselbine iz starejše železne dobe v Prekmurju / Settlements from the Early Iron Age in Prekmurje. – *Arheološki vestnik* 70, 381–398.
- König P. 2004
Spätbronzezeitliche Hortfunde aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina, Prähistorische Bronzefunde XX/11, Stuttgart.
- Koprivnik V., Strmcnik Gulič M., Kajzer Cafnik M. 2009
Aktualna arheološka odkritja. – *Muzejski listi* 35, Maribor.
- Lippert A. 2004
Bodenschätze, Handel und Besiedlung im inneren Ostalpengebiet während der Eisenzeit. – V/In: B. Hänsel (ur./ed.), *Parerga praehistorica. Jubiläumsschrift zur Prähistorischen Archäologie – 15 Jahre UPA*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 100, Bonn, 203–219.
- Müller-Karpe H. 1959
Beiträge zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen, Römisch-Germanische Forschungen 22, Berlin.
- Omahen M., Črešnar M., Toškan B., Koprivnik V. 2019
Brinjeva gora prehistoric hillfort – V/In: M. Črešnar, S. Kiszter, M. Mele, K. Peitler, A. Vintar (ur./eds.), *Plants – Animals – People. Lively archaeological landscapes of Styria and Northeastern Slovenia / Pflanzen – Tiere – Menschen. Lebendige archaologische Landschaften der Steiermark und Nordostsloweniens / Rastline – živali – ljudje. Žive arheološke krajine avstrijske Štajerske in severovzhodne Slovenije*, Schild von Steier. Beiheft 10, Graz-Ljubljana, 70–75.
- Pahič S. 1965–67
Arheologija na višavah. – *Planine ob meji* 1965–67, 9–19.
- Pahič S. 1966
Arheološko raziskovanje v Mariboru. – *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje n.v.* 2, 3–45.
- Pahič S. 1968
Maribor v prazgodovini. – *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje n.v.* 4, 9–63.
- Pahič S. 1972
Pobrežje, Katalogi in monografije 6, Ljubljana.
- Pahič S. 1972–73
Sprehod na Poštelo. – *Planine ob meji* 1972–73, 110–134.
- Pahič S. 1981
Brinjeva gora 1953. – *Arheološki vestnik* 32, 71–143.
- Pahič S. 1985a
Arheološka dediščina mariborskega kraja, Doneski k pradavnini Podravja 1, Maribor.
- Pahič S. 1985b
Okrog Razvanja pred tisočletji, Naši kraji v pradavnini 2, Maribor.
- Pahič S. 1987
Hočko Pohorje, Doneski k pradavnini Podravja 3, Maribor.
- Pahič S. 2005
Razvanje pred tisočletji. – V/ In: *Razvanje skozi čas 985-1985-2005*, Maribor, 4–5.

- Pavličić M., Potrebica H. 2013
Zlatna dolina na pragu Europe. Prikaz materiala iz kneževskog tumula 6 s nekropole Kaptol – Gradci. Katalog izložbe. – Požega.
- Strmčnik-Gulič M. 2001
Nova podoba prazgodovinske poselitve na zahodnem obrobju Dravskega polja. – *Arheološki vestnik* 52, 117–130.
- Strmčnik Gulič M. 2003
Malečnik pri Mariboru, Slivnica pri Mariboru I–II. – V/In: D. Prešeren (ur./ed.), *Zemlja pod vašimi nogami – Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije. Vodnik po najdiščih*, Ljubljana, 181–182, 237–239.
- Trampuž Orel N., Heath D. J., Hudnik V. 1996
Spektrometrične raziskave depojskih najdb pozne bronaste dobe/ Spectrometric Research of the Late Bronze Age Hoard Finds. – V/ In: B. Teržan (ur./ed.), *Depojske in posamezne kovinske najdbe bakrene in bronaste dobe na Slovenskem II / Hoards and Individual Metal Finds from the Eneolithic and Bronze Ages in Slovenia II*, Katalog in monografije 30, Ljubljana, 165–242.
- Teržan B. 1983
Das Pohorje – ein vorgeschichtliches Erzrevier? / Pohorje – prazgodovinski rudarski revir? – *Arheološki vestnik* 34, 51–84.
- Teržan B. 1990
Starejša železna doba na Slovenskem Štajerskem / The Early Iron Age in Slovenian Styria, Katalogi in monografije 25, Ljubljana.
- Teržan B. 1995
Stand und Aufgaben der Forschungen zur Urnenfelderzeit in Jugoslawien. – V/ In: *Beiträge zur Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen. Ergebnisse eines Kolloquiums Hermann Müller-Karpe gewidmet*, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Monographien 35, Bonn, 323–372.
- Teržan B. 1998
Auswirkungen des skythisch geprägten Kulturkreises auf die hallstattzeitlichen Kulturgruppen Pannoniens und des Ostalpenraumes. V/ In: B. Hänsel/ J. Machnik (ur./eds.), *Das Karpatenbecken und die osteuropäische Steppe. Nomadenbewegungen und Kulturaustausch in den vorchristlichen Metallzeiten (4000–500 v. Chr.)*, Südosteuropa-Schriften 20 – Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa 12, München-Rahden/ Westf., 511–560.
- Teržan B. 2010
Hallstattzeitliche Kriegereliten an der westlichen Grenze der skythischen Welt. – V/ In: J. Leskovar, M. Ch. Zingerle (ur./eds.), *Goldener Horizont. 4000 Jahre Nomaden in Ukraine*, Linz, 86–94.
- Teržan B. 2011
Hallstatt Europe: some aspects of religion and social structure. – V/ In: G.R. Tsetskhladze (ur./ed.), *The Black Sea, Greece, Anatolia and Europe in the First Millennium BC*, Colloquia Antiqua 1 (Suppl. to the Journal Ancient West & East), Leuven-Paris-Walpole MA, 233–264.
- Teržan B. 2017
Zum frühen Eisen im Südostalpenraum. – V/ In: E. Miroššayová, C. Pare, S. Stegmann-Rajtár (ur./eds.), *Das nördliche Karpatenbecken in der Hallstattzeit*, Archaeolingua 38, Budapest, 117–142.
- Teržan B. 2019
Štajersko-panonska halštatska skupina. Uvodnik in kratek oris / The Styrian-Pannonian Hallstatt-Group. An introduction and brief outline. – *Arheološki vestnik* 70, 319–334.
- Teržan B., Črešnar M., Mušić B. 2012
Pogledi v preteklost: Poštela – »staro mesto« na obronkih Pohorja in njegova okolica. O arheoloških raziskavah. – *Dialogi* 48/1–2, 2012, 17–58.
- Toškan B., Črešnar M. 2021
Analiza živalskih kostnih ostankov – V/In: M. Črešnar, *Rogoza pri Mariboru*, Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije, Ljubljana (v tisku/in print).
- Toškan B., Dirjec J. 2010
Ekonomska specializacija in socialna diferenciacija v pozno-bronastem in zgodnježeleznodobnem Ormožu: arheozoološki pogled / Economic specialization and social differentiation of the late Bronze and early Iron Age Ormož (north-eastern Slovenia): an archaeozoological perspective – V/In: J. Dular, M. Tomanič Jevremov, *Ormož. Utrjeno naselje iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe / Ormož. Befestigte Siedlung aus der späten Bronze- und der älteren Eisenzeit*, Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae 18, Ljubljana, 99–121, 203–212.
- Vinder J., Ciglar I. 2018
Poročilo o arheološkem testnem izkopu, arheoloških raziskavah ob gradnji in arheološkem izkopavanju v Slivnici pri Mariboru in Orehovi vasi zaradi gradnje industrijske cone in kablovoda – Neobjavljeno poročilo / Unpublished report, Slovenska Bistrica.
- Graf Wurmbrand G. 1879
Das Urnenfeld von Maria-Rast, Archiv für Anthropologie 11, Braunschweig.