Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 42

Srednjeveški Blejski otok v arheoloških virih

Medieval archaeology of Bled Island

Urednik / Edited by:
Benjamin Štular

Zbirka / Series **OPERA INSTITUTI ARCHAEOLOGICI SLOVENIAE 42**
Uredniki zbirke / Editors of the series Jana Horvat, Andrej Pleterski, Anton Velušček

Benjamin Štular (ur. / ed.)

Srednjeveški Blejski otok v arheoloških virih
Medieval archaeology of Bled Island

Recenzenti / Reviewed by Stefan Eichert, Jiří Macháček, Janez Dular, Slavko Ciglenečki
Jezikovni pregled / Language Editors Špela Križ, Proof-Reading-Service.com Ltd
Prevod / Translation Sunčan Patric Stone, Meta Osredkar, Andrej Pleterski, Maja Sužnik
Tehnična ureditev in prelom / Technical Editor and DTP Mateja Belak
Oblikovanje ovitka / Front cover design Tamara Korošec
Založnik / Publisher Založba ZRC
Zanj / Represented by Aleš Pogačnik
Izdajatelj / Issued by ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo
Zanj / Represented by Anton Velušček
Tisk / Printed by Present d. o. o., Ljubljana
Naklada / Print run 650 izvodov / copies

Izid knjige sta podprla / Published with the support of Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost RS (Slovenian Research Agency), Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU (Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

Fotografija na naslovnici / Front cover photo Tomaž Lauko

Ljubljana 2020; prva izdaja, prvi natis / first edition, first print

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3986/9789610502609

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

904(497.4Bled)«653«

SREDNJEVEŠKI Blejski otok v arheoloških virih = Medieval archaeology of Bled Island / avtorji prispevkov, contributors Polona Bitenc ... [et al.] ; urednik, edited by Benjamin Štular ; [prevod Sunčan Patric Stone ... et al.]. - 1. izd., 1. natis = 1st ed., 1st print. - Ljubljana : Založba ZRC, 2020. - (Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae ; 42)

ISBN 978-961-05-0191-6
1. Vzp. stv. nasl. 2. Bitenc, Polona, 1958- 3. Štular, Benjamin
COBISS.SI-ID 304268288

ISBN 978-961-05-0260-9 (pdf)
COBISS.SI ID 304274176

Raziskava je del programa (P6-0064 (B)) in projektov Svetišča (J6-6836) in Poselitev jugovzhodnoalpske regije v zgodnjem srednjem veku (J6-9450), ki jih sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz državnega proračuna ter ciljnega raziskovalnega projekta Popis, analiza in ovrednotenje primarnih in sekundarnih virov slovenskih raziskovalcev o posoškem staroverstvu (V6-1923), ki ga sofinancirata Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije iz državnega proračuna.
The authors acknowledge the financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency (research core funding Nos. P6-0064 (B), J6-6836, J6-6836 and V6-1923) and the Ministry of Culture (research core funding No. V6-1923).

SREDNJEVEŠKI BLEJSKI OTOK V ARHEOLOŠKIH VIRIH

MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF BLED ISLAND

Avtorji prispevkov / Contributors:
Polona Bitenc, Timotej Knific, Benjamin Štular,
Petra Leben-Seljak, Andrej Pleterski, Zvezdana Modrijan

Urednik / Edited by
Benjamin Štular

ZALOŽBA ZRC

LJUBLJANA 2020

VSEBINA

CONTENTS

PREDGOVOR / FOREWORD

Knjiga, ki je pred vami, je nastala v sklopu več raziskovalnih projektov. Ideja in analiza arheoloških podatkov sta nastali v okviru temeljnega raziskovalnega projekta *Svetišča*. Med najobetavnejšimi najdišči za iskanje dokazov o zgodnjesrednjeveških svetiščih je bil tudi Blejski otok. Vendar se je izkazalo, da je bila potrebna celostna in poglobljena analiza najdišča kot celote. Delo smo zato dokončali v okviru raziskovalnih projektov *Poselitev jugovzhodnoalpske regije v zgodnjem srednjem veku* in *Popis, analiza in ovrednotenje primarnih in sekundarnih virov slovenskih raziskovalcev o 'Posoškem staroverstvu'*. Analiza grobišča je nastala v okviru programa *Arheološke raziskave*.

V takšni knjigi bi običajno pričakovali enotno arheološko in antropološko analizo, analizo pisnih virov ter v zaključku *soočenje* spoznanj. Vendar to v primeru Blejskega otoka v srednjem veku ni mogoče. Arheološki viri so namreč najbolj natančni za 10. stoletje, precej manj natančno lahko opredelimo dogajanje v 11. in 12. stoletju. Zaradi metode izkopavanja od 13. stoletja dalje kontekstualiziranih arheoloških podatkov nimamo. Obratno je s pisnimi viri. Najstarejši neposredni pisni vir o Blejskem otoku je iz leta 1185, sledita skromni omembi v 13. stoletju. Šele od 14. stoletja so pisni viri dovolj izpovedni, da je mogoče tkati kontinuirano interpretacijo.

Ob tem ostaja še druga, morda celo pomembnejša razlika med pisnimi in arheološkimi viri o zgodnjem in visokem srednjem veku. Prvi so v veliki večini tendenciozni zapisi izpod peres izjemno ozkega in izoliranega družbenega sloja menihov in duhovnikov. Drugi so njihovo nasprotje: nehote – ali vsaj brez zavedanja, da jih bo kdaj mogoče *brati* – so jih producirali vsi živeči. Posledica je znana: zgodovinopisje srednjega veka se – vsaj tisto, ki preučuje obravnavani prostor – osredotoča na preučevanje sosledja pravnih dejanj (prim. pogl. 8.1.1). Arheologija se osredotoča na preučevanje materialne kulture (prim. pogl. 2) ali zgodb posameznikov in posameznih skupnosti v kontekstu procesov dolgega trajanja (prim. pogl. 8.1.2).

Pri slednjem smo se spotaknili še ob nepredvideno dihotomijo med arheologijo materialne kulture *per se* in arheologijo posameznikov ali posameznih skupnosti.

The book you are reading was written within the framework of three research projects. The idea was conceived and the analysis of archaeological data was performed within the scope of the seminal research project *Sanctuaries*. Blejski otok (Bled Island), an island on the Lake Bled, seemed one of the most promising sites for finding evidence of an Early Medieval sanctuary. It turned out, however, that a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the site as a whole would be needed. The work was therefore finished within the framework of research projects, entitled *The settlement of the Southeastern Alpine region in the Early Middle Ages* and *Inventory, analysis and evaluation of the primary and secondary sources of Slovene researchers on 'the old faith in the region of Soča river'*. Cemetery analysis took place within the programme *Archaeological research*.

Such a book would normally be expected to contain a consolidated archaeological and anthropological analysis, an analysis of written sources, and a confrontation of the findings in the conclusion. But, when it comes to Bled Island in the Middle Ages, this is not possible. The most comprehensive archaeological sources are those from the 10th century, and the events of the 11th and 12th centuries cannot be identified with much accuracy. Due to the excavation method, there is no contextualised archaeological data from the 13th century onwards. When it comes to written sources, the situation is reversed. The earliest direct written source for Bled Island dates to 1185 and is followed by two brief mentions in the 13th century. Only from the 14th century onwards do written sources become informative enough to enable the creation of a continuous interpretation.

There is a second, perhaps even more significant difference between the written and archaeological sources for the Early and High Middle Ages. The vast majority of the former are biased writings produced by the extremely narrow and isolated social class of monks and priests. The latter are exactly the opposite: they were unwittingly – or at least without the knowledge that one day they would be readable – produced by all people. The consequences are well known: medieval historiography – at least when it comes to the study of the discussed area – focuses on

Izjemen primer prvega pristopa je v to knjigo prišel izpod peresa Polone Bitenc in Timoteja Knifica, primer drugega je moje delo. V procesu nastajanja te knjige sem prišel do spoznanja, ki je morda tudi širšega pomena za arheologijo: ne gre za *boljšo* ali *slabšo*, še manj za *pravilno* in *napačno* metodo, kot učijo nekateri univerzitetni programi. Gre za veji arheologije, ki istemu arheološkemu zapisu, arheološkim sledem istih ljudi iz preteklosti, postavljata različna vprašanja. Več vprašanj prinese več odgovorov in poznavanje preiskovane preteklosti je zato bogatejše.

Slednje je ključno vplivalo na sestavo knjige. Omenjeni analizi sta nastajali vzporedno in neodvisno druga od druge. Prvotna razdelitev nalog na analizo grobišča (Knific, Bitenc) in stratigrafsko ter stavbno analizo (Štular) se je izkazala za neizvedljivo. Zaradi prepletanja virov smo vsi raziskovali vse. Končna izdelka smo nameravali združiti v homogeno celoto. Vendar se je kmalu pokazalo, da so podvajanja prej izjema kot pravilo, bogastvo različnih pristopov pa neizmerno. Zato sta oba dela predstavljena neokrnjena, uporabljata pa seveda enoten znanstveni aparat: katalog grobov, table predmetov, reprodukcije izvirne dokumentacije.

Zaradi izjemno slabega stanja arhiva kostnega gradiva antropološke analize ni bilo mogoče enakovredno vključiti v proces interpretacije najdišča. Vendar z namenom pripraviti celostno objavo vsega dostopnega gradiva v dodatku predstavljamo tudi antropološko gradivo (Leben Seljak).

Temu sledi širši pogled, ki nova spoznanja postavi v kontekst arheološke pokrajine mikroregije Bled (Pleterski).

Pomemben element knjige so izsledki izkopavanj pri Bodeščah (Modrijan).

Benjamin Štular

the study of a sequence of legal acts (*cf.* Chapter 8.1.1). Archaeology focuses on the study of material culture (*cf.* Chapter 2), on the stories of individuals and individual communities within the context of long-term processes (*cf.* Chapter 8.1.2).

Here, we have stumbled upon an unexpected dichotomy between the archaeology of material culture per se and the archaeology of individuals and communities. This volume contains an outstanding example of the first approach, written by T. Knific and P. Bitenc, and an example of the second approach, written by me. During the process of the creation of this book, I have come to a realisation that might be of a broader significance for archaeology: there is no better and worse method; even less so a right and wrong method, as it is taught by some university programmes. What we are seeing are two distinct scientific fields of archaeology that ask different questions of the same archaeological record about the same people from the past. More questions result in more answers and our knowledge of the studied past is therefore enriched.

The above realisation had a key effect on the structure of this book. Individual analyses were conducted in parallel with, and independently from, each other. The original separation of tasks into a cemetery analysis (Knific, Bitenc) and a stratigraphic and building analysis (Štular) proved infeasible. The intertwined archaeological record forced everybody to investigate everything. Our intent was to merge the two final products into a homogeneous whole. Soon, however, it was found that duplications were the exception rather than the rule, and the advantages of two different approaches were immense. Both the cemetery and the structures analysis are therefore presented intact. Naturally, both exploit the same catalogue of graves, plates with artefacts, and reproductions of original documents.

The very poor state of preservation of the bone archive meant that an anthropological analysis could not be included in the process of interpretation of the site on an equal footing with archaeological data (Leben Seljak).

This is followed by taking a broader perspective, where the new findings are placed in the context of the archaeological landscape of the Bled micro-region (Pleterski).

Important for the book are the findings of the excavations near the village of Bodešče (Modrijan).

Benjamin Štular

1. SREDNJEVEŠKO GROBIŠČE NA BLEJSKEM OTOKU

1. MEDIEVAL BURIAL GROUND ON BLED ISLAND

Polona BITENC, Timotej KNIFIC

Jože Kastelic in Vinko Šribar med arheološkimi izkopavanji na Blejskem otoku.
Jože Kastelic and Vinko Šribar during the archaeological excavations on Bled Island.

Sl. 1.1: Blejska pokrajina, pogled od jugozahoda proti Karavankam.
Fig. 1.1: Bled landscape, view towards the Karavanke mountain range, from the southwest.
(Foto / Photo: J. Hanc)

1.1 UVOD

Na Blejskem otoku so v letih 1962–1965 raziskali grobišče in ostanke cerkvenih zidov iz srednjega veka. Delo je potekalo pod vodstvom Vinka Šribarja iz Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani.[1] Najdišče je eno od številnih v blejski mikroregiji,[2] a je kot kraj – otok na jezeru – posebnost med najdišči v Sloveniji.

Arheološko bogata pokrajina okrog Blejskega jezera je najviše ležeči del Ljubljanske kotline: na zahodu je ločena od gorenjskih ravnin z globokim koritom Save Dolinke, na drugih straneh jo obdajajo planote Jelovica, Pokljuka in Mežakla (*sl. 1.1* in *1.2*). Jezero v središču pokrajine je tektonsko-ledeniškega izvora, dolgo 2120 m, široko 1080 m in globoko do 30 m. Na jezeru je otok, od najbližjega brega oddaljen dobrih 500 m; otok se

[1] Podatki o najdišču so zbrani v Šribarjevem osnutku besedila o izkopavanjih na Otoku (glej pog. 12.4, *arhiv* 489, str. 339). – O arheološkem delu V. Šribarja z bibliografijo: Svoljšak 1998; Dular, Jerin 1998.

[2] Knific 2008.

Sl. 1.3: Blejski otok od jugozahoda, v ozadju grad, prvič omenjen leta 1011 (*castellum Veldes*), in župna cerkev sv. Martina.
Fig. 1.3: Bled Island from the southwest, in the background we can see the castle, first mentioned in 1011 (*castellum Veldes*), and the parish church of St. Martin.
(Foto / Photo: J. Hanc)

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The burial ground and the remains of the mediaeval church walls were researched between 1962 and 1965. The work was headed by Vinko Šribar from the National Museum in Ljubljana.[1] The site is one of many in the Bled microregion,[2] but as a location – an island in the middle of a lake – it is one of a kind amongst the sites on Slovenia.

The archeologically rich landscape surrounding lake Bled is the highest laying part of the Ljubljana basin: to the west it is separated from the Gorenjska plains by the deep river bed of the Sava Dolinka, while on the remaining three sides it is surrounded by the plateaus of Jelovica, Pokljuka and Mežakla (*Figs. 1.1* and *1.2*). The lake in the centre of the landscape is of a tectonic-glacial origin, 2120 m long, 1080 m wide and up to 30 m deep.

* Translation Sunčan Patrick Stone.

[1] The data on the site is gathered in Šribar's draft of the text on Bled Island for publication (see Chapter 12.4, *archive* 489, p. 339). – For data on the archaeological work performed by V. Šribar and his bibliography see: Svoljšak 1998; Dular, Jerin 1998.

[2] Knific 2008.

Sl. 1.2: Zgornja Gorenjska *z* blejsko pokrajino.
Fig. 1.2: Upper Gorenjska with the Bled landscape.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: V. Bitenc)

dviga 18 m nad gladino in je približno 170 m dolg in 90 m širok (*sl. 1.3*).

Na ograjeni ploščadi na vrhu otoka stoji cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja (nekdaj cerkev sv. Marije na jezeru Bled, cerkev Matere božje na Jezeru).[3] Do cerkve in samostojno stoječega zvonika ob njej vodijo stopnice z južne in severne strani, ob robu ploščadi sta hiši proštije in mežnarije ter hiša, imenovana Puščavica, tudi "puščava" (nekdanje bivališče puščavnika).[4] Arheološko izkopavanje je zajelo ploščad okoli cerkve, notranjost cerkve in območje zvonika (*sl. 1.4*).

Slightly over 500 m away from the closest shore an island rises from the lake; at its peak it reaches 18 m above the surface of the lake and is approximately 170 m long and 90 m wide (*Fig. 1.3*).

The church of the Assumption of Mary (formally known as the church of St Mary on the lake Bled, Church of the Mother of God on the Lake) stands on the fenced-in plateau at the top of the island.[3] On the south and north two stairways lead up to the church and the independently standing bell tower alongside it; the Provost's house, the caretaker's quarters and the house known as the Puščavica or Puščava ('Hermit'; the former residence of a hermit) are located at the edge of the plateau.[4] The archaeological excavations covered the plateau around the church, the church interior and the area of the bell tower (*Fig. 1.4*).

[3] Zapisi o cerkvi in njeni zgodovini: Kimovec 1908, 17–35, Gornik 1990, 147–240.

[4] Puščavica: Kimovec 1908, 28–29; Gornik 1967, 172–175; Gornik, 1990, 164–171; "puščava": Šribar 1972a, 6–7 (s tlorisom Blejskega otoka).

[3] Records on the church and its history: Kimovec 1908, 17–35, Gornik 1990, 147–240.

[4] Puščavica: Kimovec 1908, 28–29; Gornik 1967, 172–175; Gornik, 1990, 164–171; 'Puščava': Šribar 1972a, 6–7 (with the ground plan of Bled Island).

Sl. 1.4: Območje arheoloških raziskav na Blejskem otoku (šrafirano). Obstoječe stavbe in objekti: 1 – cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja, 2 – zvonik, 3 – Puščavica, 4 – proštija, 5 – mežnarija, 6 – južno stopnišče, 7 – severno stopnišče, 8 – zid okrog ploščadi.
Fig. 1.4: The area of archaeological excavations on Bled Island (hatched). Existing buildings and objects: 1 – Church of Assumption of Mary, 2 – bell tower, 3 – Puščavica, 4 – Provost's house, 5 – caretaker's quarters, 6 – south staircase, 7 – north staircase, 8 – wall surrounding the plateau.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: V. Bitenc; podlaga / source PISO Bled, DOF5 + DOF1)

1.2 ZGODOVINA RAZISKAV

Arheološko raziskovanje na Blejskem otoku je bilo prvo večje terensko delo Centra za staroslovanske in zgodnjesrednjeveške študije, ki je bil tedaj ustanovljen kot poseben oddelek Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani.[5] Potek izkopavanj je v vseh letih nadzoroval direktor Narodnega muzeja Jože Kastelic. Prvi dve leti je pri terenskem delu sodeloval tudi arheolog Andrej Valič iz Gorenjskega muzeja v Kranju.

Med 5. junijem in 18. avgustom 1962 so najprej izkopali tri poskusne jarke, *sonde 1–3* (*sl. 1.5*: S 1–S 3).[6] V njih so našli dele človeških okostij, prazgodovinske naselbinske sledi, ostanke kamnitih zidov in več drobnih najdb, predvsem lončene črepinje iz različnih obdobij. *Sondo 3* so nato razširili v *izkopno polje IP 1/1* in raziskali približno 200 m^2 veliko zemljišče med cerkvijo in Puščavico (*sl. 1.5:* IP 1/1). Izkopali so 64 skeletnih grobov, zakladno najdbo 38 srednjeveških srebrnikov[7] in ostanke zidov iz srednjega veka ter prazgodovinsko kurišče.[8] Vzhodno od raziskanega zemljišča so z jarkom (*izkop med apsido in oktogonom*) sledili ostankom zidu vzdolž severne cerkvene stene med stransko kapelo in veliko zakristijo (*sl. 1.*5).

Med 6. majem in 6. avgustom 1963 so delo nadaljevali v notranjosti cerkve in zunaj nje ob južni steni med stransko kapelo in malo zakristijo.[9] Pod tlakom cerkvene *ladje* (*sl. 1.5:* 1) so našli prazgodovinske stavbne ostanke in odkrili deloma ohranjene zidove starejših cerkvenih stavb in ob njih 9 grobov oziroma ostanke grobnih jam. Izkopane zidove so v času raziskovanja različno opredeljevali, najstarejše med njimi – ostanke podkvaste apside in temelje s polkrožno apsido – so pripisali predromanskima[10] oziroma romanskima cerkvama. [11] Grobove so našli tudi pod tlemi vhodnega *preddverja* (*sl. 1.5:* 2), kjer so izkopali 27 grobov, 6 pa ob južni steni cerkve, kjer so *sondo 2* razširili *v izkopno polje IP2/2* (*sl. 1.5:* IP 2/2).

Raziskovalni program za leto 1964 so razdelili na dve obdobji, poletno in zimsko. Med poletnim terenskim delom, ki je potekalo od 25. maja do konca avgusta, so raziskali *izkopni polji IP 1/2* in *IP 1/3* na severni in vzhodni strani cerkve, na južni strani cerkve tri sektorje *izkopnega polja 2,* označene *IP 2/1–3* (*sl. 1.5:* IP 1/2,3; IP 2/1–3), ter površini znotraj *male zakristije* in *zvonika* (*sl. 1.5: 5,*6). Ob prazgodovinskih ostankih, različnih

[5] Kastelic 1963; Šribar 1962–1964; Kastelic 1964–1965, 119. – Center je deloval do leta 1987, potem pa se je delo nadaljevalo v okviru kustodiatov za arheologijo zgodnjega ter visokega in poznega srednjega veka (Stare 1993).

[6] Šribar 1962; Kastelic 1963; Šribar 1962–1964.

[7] Pegan 1965–1967.

[8] Šribar 1962; Šribar 1962–1964.

[9] Kastelic 1963; Šribar 1965.

[10] Šribar 1965, 158.

[11] Kastelic 1963.

1.2 RESEARCH HISTORY

The archaeological excavation on Bled Island was the first large undertaking in the field carried out by the Centre for Ancient Slav and Early Mediaeval studies, which was at that time established as a special department at the National Museum in Ljubljana.[5] Throughout the years the excavations were supervised by Jože Kastelic, the director of the National Museum. During the first two years the archaeologist Andrej Valič from the Gorenjska Museum in Kranj also cooperated in the fieldwork.

Three trial trenches, *trenches 1–3* (*Fig. 1.5*: S 1–S 3) were dug between 5th June and 18th August 1962.[6] These trenches revealed parts of human skeletons, prehistoric settlement traces, remains of stone walls and several small finds, mainly pottery fragments originating from an array of periods. *Trench 3* was extended into *excavation area IP 1/1,* within which an area measuring approximately 200 m^2 – between the church and Puščava – was researched (*Fig. 1.5:* IP 1/1). 64 skeletal graves, a treasure trove containing 38 medieval silver coins,[7] the remains of a mediaeval wall and a prehistoric fireplace were unearthed in this section.[8] East of the research area, *between the apse and the octagon,* another trial trench was created; the trench followed the remains of the wall along the north church wall between the side chapel and the large sacristy (*Fig. 1.*5).

The work continued between 6th May and 6th August 1963 when it focused on the church interior and along the south wall between the side chapel and the small sacristy outside of the church.[9] Prehistoric building remains and partially preserved walls belonging to an earlier church, together with 9 graves or grave pit remains were found underneath the occupation surface in the church *nave* (*Fig. 1.5:* 1). The unearthed walls were given different categorisations during the excavations, the earliest wall – the remains of the horseshoe shaped apse and the foundations of a semicircular apse – were described as parts of Pre-Romanesque[10] or Romanesque period churches.[11] 27 graves were unearthed below the occupation surface in the entrance *lobby* (*Fig. 1.5:* 2), and 6 graves were excavated alongside the south wall of the church, where *Trench 2* was extended into *excavation area IP2/2* (*Fig. 1.5:* IP 2/2).

The 1964 excavation plan was divided into two periods, summer and winter. During the summer excavations, which took place between 25th May and the end

[5] Kastelic 1963; Šribar 1962–1964; Kastelic 1964–1965, 119. The centre operated until 1987, after which the work continued within the frame of the custodians of Archaeology of the Early, High and Late Mediaeval periods (Stare 1993).

[6] Šribar 1962; Kastelic 1963; Šribar 1962–1964.

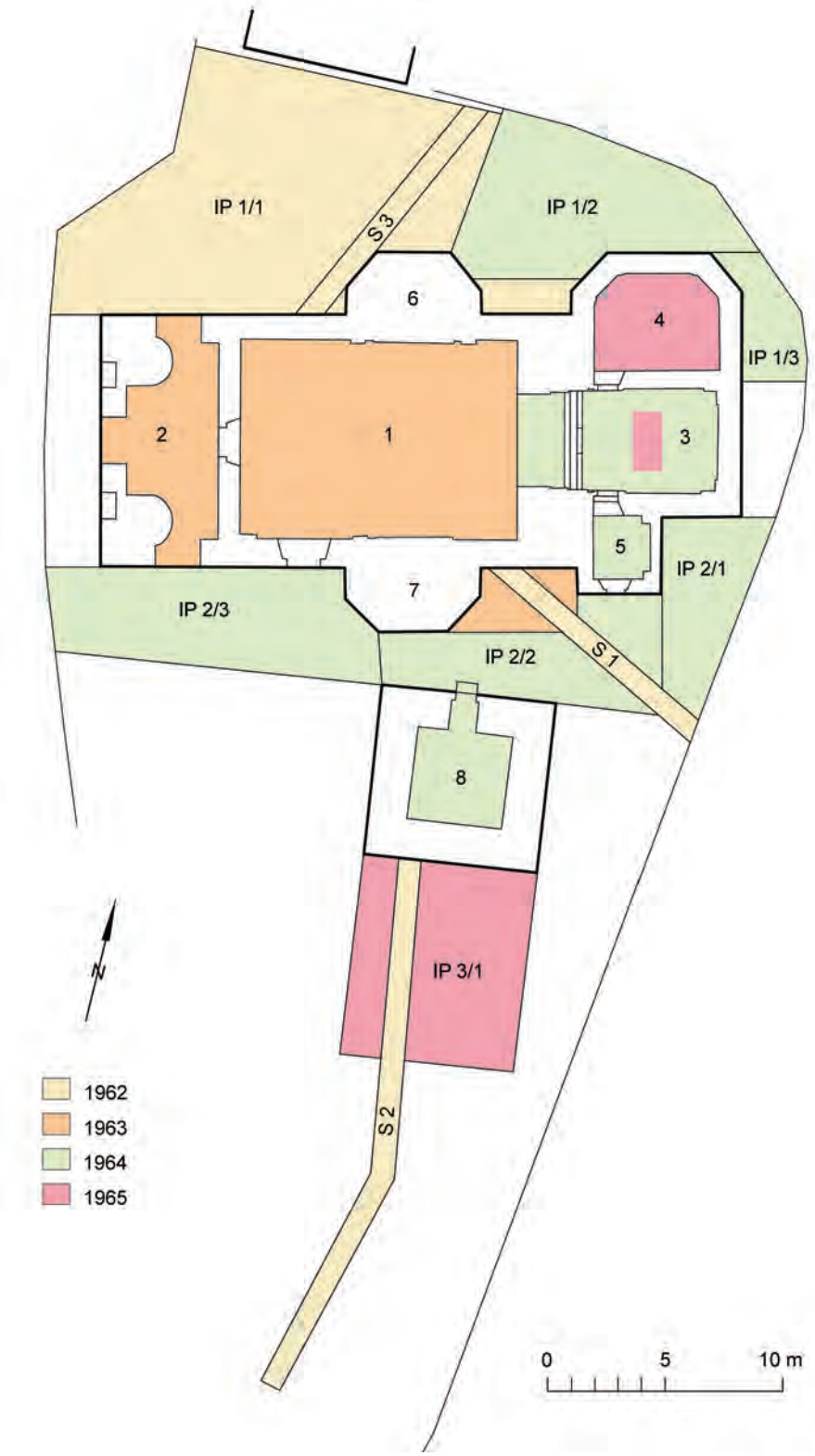
[7] Pegan 1965–1967.

[8] Šribar 1962; Šribar 1962–1964.

[9] Kastelic 1963; Šribar 1965.

[10] Šribar 1965, 158.

[11] Kastelic 1963.



Sl. 1.5: V letih 1962–1965 raziskano območje na Blejskem otoku z vrisanimi sondami (S 1–3), izkopnimi polji (IP 1–3), prostori v cerkvi (1–7) in zvonikom (8). Prostori v cerkvi: 1 – ladja, 2 – preddverje, 3 – prezbiterij, 4 – velika zakristija, 5 – mala zakristija, 6 in 7 – severna in južna stranska kapela.
Fig. 1.5: The area on the Bled Island that was archeologically excavated between 1962 and 1965; trial tranches (S1–3), excavation areas (IP1–3), areas within the church (1–7) and bell tower (8). Areas within the church: 1 – nave, 2 – lobby, 3 – presbytery, 4 – large sacristy, 5 – small sacristy, 6 and 7 – north and south side chapels.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: I. Murgelj; po načrtu / supplemented after V. Šribar)

zidovih in jamah za lesene stebre so povsod (razen v IP 1/3) odkrili skeletne grobove ali prazne grobne jame.[12]

Med raziskavami v zimskem obdobju, ki so se začele 2. novembra 1964 in se nadaljevale do 15. marca 1965, so raziskali tla v *prezbiteriju* in *veliki zakristiji* (*sl. 1.5:* 3,4). Odkrili so ostaline, povezane s cerkveno arhitekturo, ob njih pa še 5 grobov.

Delo v prezbiteriju in veliki zakristiji, predvsem dokumentiranje ostalin, so nadaljevali tudi med 4. majem in 5. avgustom1965,[13] z izkopavanjem južno od zvonika, kjer so odprli *izkopno polje IP 3/1* (ob *sondi 2* iz leta 1962; *sl. 1.5:* IP 3/1), pa so terenske raziskave na Blejskem otoku zaključili.

Dokumentacijo o izkopavanjih, najdbe in človeške kostne ostanke hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije v Ljubljani (NMS). Dokumentacijo lahko razdelimo na dva sklopa, na gradivo, ki je nastalo med izkopavanji, in gradivo, ki je nastalo po terenskem delu; navedena je v *Seznamu dokumentacije v Arheološkem oddelku NMS* (pogl. 12.4). Osnovna dokumentacija obsega terenske zapiske (*arhiv* 476–486, 490, 493, 494), risbe (*Rn* 221/1–118) in fotografije (*negativi* 1–34, 232, 245–398, 949–960, 2826–2920, 2928–2964, 4427–4903, 5753–5821, 5832–5855, 5896–6331, 6590–6656, 6698–6715, 8470–8553). Podatki o izkopavanjih v posameznih obdobjih so povzeti v letnih poročilih in različnih seznamih (*arhiv* 487, 488, 491, 492, 495–497). Opisi grobov, arhitekturnih ostankov in arheoloških površin so zbrani v prvem delu Šribarjevega osnutka besedila za objavo (*arhiv* 489); s tem besedilom so povezani številni prerisi terenskih risb in načrtov (*Rn* 222/1–100, 223/1–42, 224/1–4; 235–238). Drugi del omenjenega besedila je bil namenjen interpretaciji odkritih arheoloških ostalin. Najdbe z Blejskega otoka so v arheološkem depoju NMS vpisane pod inv. št. S 1796–S 2010, kostni ostanki iz grobov pa v osteološkem depoju NMS pod št. 1–161. Najdišče je bilo spomeniško urejeno v letih 1971 in 1972, ko sta bili po načrtih arhitekta Toneta Bitenca prenovljeni notranjščina in okolica cerkve na Blejskem otoku.[14] Manjša kontrolna arheološka raziskava je bila opravljena v cerkvi oktobra 2016 med obnovitvenim deli v mali zakristiji.[15]

O arheoloških odkritjih v šestdesetih letih na Blejskem otoku so poročali zapisi v dnevnem[16] in strokovnem tisku že med izkopavanji,[17] njim pa je sledilo – ob člankih o zakladu srednjeveških srebrnikov[18] in kostnih

[12] Tipkopis "Izkopavanja na Blejskem Otoku – Poročilo (elaborat o raziskovanjih poleti 1964)", avtorja V. Šribar in J. Kastelic (pogl. 12.4, *arhiv* 496).

[13] Šribar 1966b.

[14] Petru 1974.

[15] Brezigar 2017.

[16] Kastelic 1963.

[17] Šribar 1962; Šribar 1962–1964; Kastelic 1964–1965, 119; Šribar 1965. O primerih zibljivih mandibul pri okostjih iz grobov na Blejskem otoku, izkopanih v letih 1962–1963, je pisal V. Wolf (1964).

[18] Pegan 1965–1967.

of August, the work focused on *excavation areas IP 1/2* and *IP 1/3* to the north and east of the church, the three sectors within *excavation area 2,* marked *IP 2/1–3* to the south of the church (*Fig. 1.5:* IP 1/2,3; IP 2/1–3), and the surfaces within the small sacristy and bell tower (*Fig. 1.5:* 5,8). Alongside the prehistoric remains, various walls and holes for wooden pillars, skeletal graves or empty grave pits were found everywhere (except in IP 1/3).[12]

The floor in the *presbytery* and the *large sacristy* were researched during the winter excavations, which started on 2nd November 1964 and continued until 15th March 1965 (*Fig. 1.5:* 3,4). During this period remains linked to church architecture and five graves alongside them were unearthed.

The work in the presbytery and the large sacristy, mainly focusing on documenting the remains, continued between 4th May and 5th August 1965.[13] The fieldwork on Bled Island was brought to an end with the excavation work south of the bell tower, where *excavation area IP 3/1* (alongside *trial trench 2* created in 1962; *Fig. 1.5:* IP 3/1) was opened.

The documentation on the course of excavations, finds and human bone remains is kept in the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana (*NMS*). The documentation can be divided into two parts, i.e. the material that emerged during the excavation process itself, and the material that emerged after the fieldwork was completed; the documentation is listed in the *List of Documentation in the NMS Archaeological Department* (Chapter 12.4). The primary documentation consists of field notes (*archive* 476–486, 490, 493, 494), drawings (*Rn* 221/1–118) and photographs (*negatives* 1–34, 232, 245–398, 949–960, 2826–2920, 2928–2964, 4427–4903, 5753–5821, 5832–5855, 5896–6331, 6590–6656, 6698–6715, 8470–8553). The data on the excavations within individual periods is summarised in the annual reports and various lists (*archive* 487, 488, 491, 492, 495–497). The descriptions of graves, architectural remains and archaeological surfaces are gathered in the first part of Šribar's draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489); numerous copies of fieldwork sketches and plans were created for this text (*Rn* 222/1–100, 223/1–42, 224/1–4; 235–238). The second part of the aforementioned text was aimed at the interpretation of the unearthed areological remains. The finds from Bled Island are recorded in the NMS archaeological depository under inv. Nos. S 1796 – S 2010, while the bone remains found in the graves are recorded in the NMS osteological depository under Nos. 1–161. The site was protected as a monument in 1971 and 1972, when the interior and the surroundings of the church on Bled Island were renewed according to the plans of the architect Tone Bitenc.[14]

[12] Typescript 'Excavations on Bled Island – report (elaborate on the research carried out during the summer of 1964)', by V. Šribar and J. Kastelic (Chapter 12.4, *archive* 496).

[13] Šribar 1966b.

[14] Petru 1974.

ostankih iz grobov[19] – nekaj objav, v katerih je V. Šribar obravnaval predvsem razvoj otoške cerkvene arhitekture, nazadnje leta 1972.[20]

V. Šribar je pripravil tudi besedilo in slikovno gradivo za monografijo o najdišču, ki naj bi izšla v zbirki razprav Narodnega muzeja *Situla* (*arhiv* 489). Delo je predložil uredniku J. Kastelicu, ki je ocenil, da je treba besedilo precej spremeniti in dopolniti. V Šribarjevem tipkopisu, ki ga hrani arhiv NMS, je veliko popravkov, vendar popravljanje in dopolnjevanje ni bilo zaključeno, delno spremenjeno besedilo ni avtorizirano, niti ni bila predložena za natis nova inačica besedila.

Pozneje so bili z Blejskega otoka obravnavani nekateri predmeti iz zakladne najdbe[21] in grobov[22] ter človeški kostni ostanki.[23] Stavbni razvoj otoške cerkve, kot ga je prikazal V. Šribar, je bil večkrat povzet,[24] datacija najstarejše cerkve v čas zgodnjega srednjega veka se ni spremenila.[25] Najdišče na Otoku je bilo vključeno tudi v prikaze blejske mitične pokrajine.[26] Celovito objavo najdišča smo začeli ponovno pripravljati leta 2014 v okviru raziskovalnega projekta "Svetišča".

[19] Tomazo, Teran, Filipič 1971–1972; v članku so avtorice povzele ugotovitve iz diplomskega dela Filipič, Teran, Tomazo 1971. – V članek o razvoju zobne gnilobe pri prebivalcih Slovenije v preteklosti je V. Krušič (1970–1971) vključil tudi podatke o tem pojavu pri umrlih z Blejskega otoka.

[20] Šribar 1967, Šribar 1972a, Šribar 1972b.

[21] Šribar, Stare, Bregant 1972–1973, 39, 41, t. 1: 1.

[22] Korošec 1979, 100/I, sl. 10; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 108, kat. št. 362–363; Knific 2004, 108, sl. 20; Pleterski 2013b, 320, 334.

[23] Leben-Seljak 1996, 22, 85–101, 244–245, 301–311.

[24] S slikami npr. v *Enciklopediji Slovenije* 1, 1987, 285, in v *Slovenskem zgodovinskem atlasu*, 2001, 49.

[25] Korošec 1979, 164–166/I, 277–228/I, sl. 25, 34; Zadnikar 1982, 53; Stopar 1987, 41; Knific 1998, 192–193.

[26] Pleterski 2004; Pleterski 2014, 243–244, 274–286.

During the October 2016 renovation works within the small sacristy, a small control archaeological excavation was performed within the church.[15]

Articles on the archaeological discoveries on Bled Island appeared in daily[16] and scientific newspapers and magazines already in the 1960s, at the time of the excavations.[17] These were followed – alongside the articles on the treasure trove consisting of mediaeval silver coins[18] and the bone remains found in the graves[19] – in several publications in which V. Šribar focused on the development of church architecture on the island, the last of which was published in 1972.[20]

V. Šribar also prepared the text and picture material for a monograph that was supposed to be published in *Situla,* a series of discussions published by the National Museum (*archive* 489). He suggested the publication to the editor J. Kastelic, who believed the text needed a thorough revision. Šribar's typescript, which is kept in the NMS archive, includes numerous corrections, however the corrections and additions were not finished, the partially changed text was not authorised, nor was a new version of the text submitted for print.

Certain artefacts from the treasure trove,[21] the graves[22] and human bone remains from Bled Island were discussed at a later stage.[23] The development of the island church building, as shown by V. Šribar, was summarised on numerous occasions,[24] and the date of the earliest church as one belonging to the Early Medieval period did not change.[25] The site on the island was also included into the presentations of the Bled mythical landscapes.[26] We started to prepare a detailed publication on the site in 2014, within the frame of the research project 'Sanctuaries'.

[15] Brezigar 2017.

[16] Kastelic 1963.

[17] Šribar 1962; Šribar 1962–1964; Kastelic 1964–1965, 119; Šribar 1965. V. Wolf (1964) wrote about the rocking mandibles found in the skeletons from Bled Island excavated in 1962–1963.

[18] Pegan 1965–1967.

[19] Tomazo, Teran, Filipič 1971–1972; in the article the authors summarised the conclusions from the graduation thesis of Filipič, Teran, Tomazo 1971. – V. Krušič (1970–1971) included the data into his article on the development of caries in the inhabitants of Slovenia in the past.

[20] Šribar 1967, Šribar 1972a, Šribar 1972b.

[21] Šribar, Stare, Bregant 1972–1973, 39, 41, Pl. 1: 1.

[22] Korošec 1979, 100/I, Fig. 10; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 108, Cat. No. 362–363; Knific 2004, 108, Fig. 20; Pleterski 2013b, 320, 334.

[23] Leben-Seljak 1996, 22, 85–101, 244–245, 301–311.

[24] With pictures in, for instance, *Enciklopedija Slovenije* 1 (*The Slovenian Encyclopaedia 1)*, 1987, 285 and in the *Slovenski zgodovinski atlas (Slovenian Historic Atlas)*, 2001, 49.

[25] Korošec 1979, 164–166/I, 277–228/I, Fig. 25, 34; Zadnikar 1982, 53; Stopar 1987, 41; Knific 1998, 192–193.

[26] Pleterski 2004; Pleterski 2014, 243–244, 274–286.

1.3 ARHEOLOŠKO OBMOČJE

Pri prikazu najdišča smo ohranili prvotno razdelitev arheološkega območja, poimenovanje odsekov in oštevilčenje grobov, pri meritvah se sklicujemo na uporabljeni koordinatni sistem. Ti podatki so ključni za razumevanje dokumentacije o terenskih raziskavah na otoški ploščadi (glej pogl. 12.4). Raziskave so potekale severno od cerkve na *izkopnih poljih IP 1/1* in *IP 1/2*, vzhodno od cerkve na *IP 1/3*, južno od cerkve na *IP 2/1*, *IP 2/2* in *IP 2/3* ter južno od zvonika na izkopnem polju *IP 3/1*; raziskali so tudi tla v notranjosti Marijine cerkve, v *ladji*, *preddverju, prezbiteriju* ter v *veliki* in *mali zakristiji*, ter v *zvoniku* (*sl. 1.5*).

Pri meritvah so uporabljali standardni koordinatni sistem, po katerem so začrtali dve koordinatni mreži (*sl. 1.6:* A, B), prvo na območju severno od cerkve (IP 1/1–2), drugo v cerkvi in zunaj nje na južni in vzhodni strani (IP 1/3; IP 2/1–3, IP 3/1). Prva mreža, začrtana leta 1962, je pokrivala severni del baročne ploščadi med Puščavico, zidom okrog ploščadi in severno steno cerkve (*sl. 1.6:* A). Prostor je bil razdeljen na kvadrante 4 x 4 m, ki so v dokumentaciji oštevilčeni praviloma z rimskimi številkami. Mreža je bila usmerjena S–J (v tej smeri je potekala os *y*), točko 0 so postavili 2 m južno od Puščavice, na pravokotnici skozi točko, oddaljeno 2 m od jugozahodnega vogala Puščavice; nadmorska višina točke 0, izmerjena na tedanji hodni površini, je bila 493,70 m.[27] Višine na tem območju so pozneje merili od točke z nadmorsko višino 493,97 m na severozahodnem vogalu stopnice pri severnem prehodu skozi preddverje cerkve[28] in od točke z nadmorsko višino 494,07 m na pragu tega prehoda (*sl. 1.6*).[29]

Zaradi izkopavanj v ladji in preddverju cerkve so leta 1963 koordinatno mrežo prilagodili orientaciji cerkve, tako da je bila točka 0 pri severozahodnem vogalu cerkve in je *os y* potekala po severni, *os x* pa po zahodni steni cerkve (*sl. 1.6:* B).[30] Višinska točka 0 je bila odmerjena na pragu vrat v proštijo, na nadmorski višini 493,87 m. S koordinatami točk so določali predvsem lego profilov (*sl. 1.7*), pri dokumentiranju tlorisov pa so meritve praktično navezovali na zidove obstoječe cerkve in zvonika, kar kažeta tudi meji IP 2/1–3 in IP 3/1 (*sl. 1.5*).[31]

[27] Pogl. 12.4, *arhiv* 489, 491, obakrat str. 18; *Rn* 221/03, 04.

[28] *Arhiv* 482: meritve s te višinske točke v letu 1962 (od julija) obsegajo podatke o grobovih (št. 23, 29–64), zakladu srebrnikov in raziskanih površinah v IP 1/1. Severni prehod skozi cerkev s stopnico in pragom je dokumentiran npr. na *Rn* 321/04 in *negativu* 8533–4.

[29] *Arhiv* 477: meritve z višinske točke 494,07 m v letu 1964 obsegajo podatke o grobovih (št. 26, 110, 111, 113, 115–117) in raziskanih površinah v IP 1/2.

[30] Načrt z vrisano drugo koordinatno mrežo: *arhiv* 489, priloga št. 1 (označitvi za osi *x* in *y* sta na načrtu zamenjani).

[31] *Arhiv* 489, str. 156.

1.3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL AREA

In our presentation of the site, we kept to the original division of archaeological area, the original names for the sections as well as the original grave numbers, and we relied upon the measurements that were obtained from the original coordinate system. This data is of key importance for the understanding of the fieldwork documentation from the island site (see Chapter 12.4). The excavations took place north of the church (excavation areas *IP 1/1* and *IP 1/2)*, east of the church (*IP 1/3)*, south of the church (*IP 2/1*, *IP 2/2* and *IP 2/3)* and south of the bell tower (*IP 3/1)*; they also took place within the *nave, lobby* and *presbytery of* St Mary's church as well as in its *large* and *small sacristy* and the *bell tower* (*Fig. 1.5*).

A standard coordinate system was used for the measurements. Two coordinate grids (*Fig. 1.6:* A, B) were established within the system, the first in the area north of the church (IP 1/1–2), the second to the south and east of the church and in the church interior (IP 1/3; IP 2/1–3, IP 3/1). The first grid, drawn in 1962, covered the north part of the Baroque platform between Puščavica, the wall surrounding the platform and the north church wall (*Fig. 1.6:* A). The area was divided into quadrants measuring 4 x 4 m, which were marked in the documentation with Roman numerals. The grid had a N-S orientation (the *y* axis ran in this direction), point 0 was set 2 m south of Puščavica, on the perpendicular line through the point, 2 m away from the southwest corner of Puščavica the altitude of point 0, measured on the occupation surface at the time, was measured at 493.70 m.a.s.l.[27] The heights in this area were later measured from a point in the northwest corner of the step in the north passage through the church lobby[28] (altitude of 493.97 m), and from a point on the threshold of this passage (altitude of 494.07 m; *Fig. 1.6*).[29]

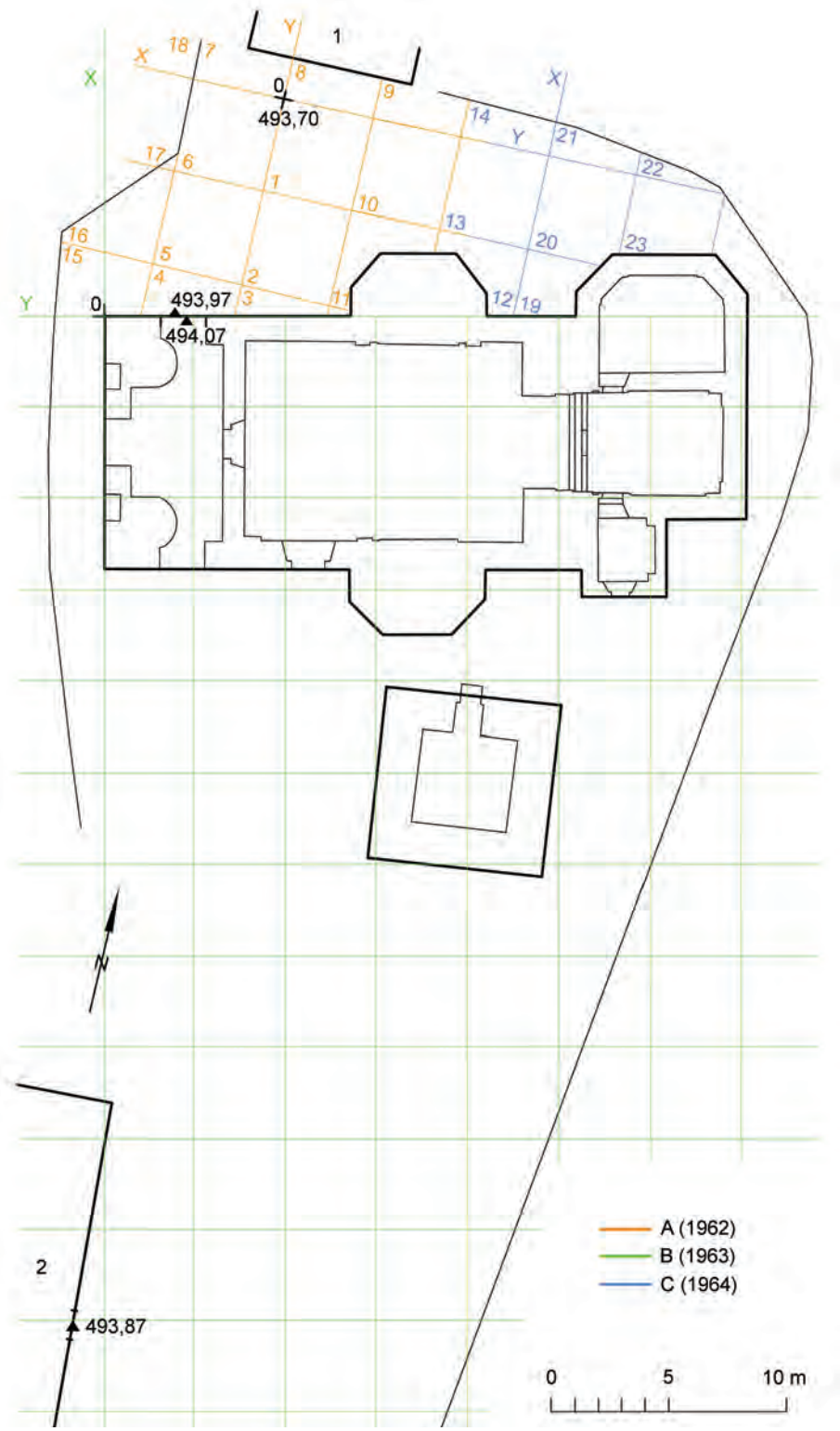
As a result of the excavations in the nave and the church lobby, the coordinate grid was adjusted to fit the church orientation in 1963. The new point 0 was set at the northwest corner of the church with *axis y* running along the north, and *axis x* along the west church wall (*Fig. 1.6:* B).[30] The altitude point 0 was measured on the threshold of the door into the Provost's house, at an altitude of 493.87 m. The obtained coordinates of the points were primarily used to define the positions of the profiles

[27] Chapter 12.4, *archive* 489, 491, in both occasions pg. 18; *Rn* 221/03, 04.

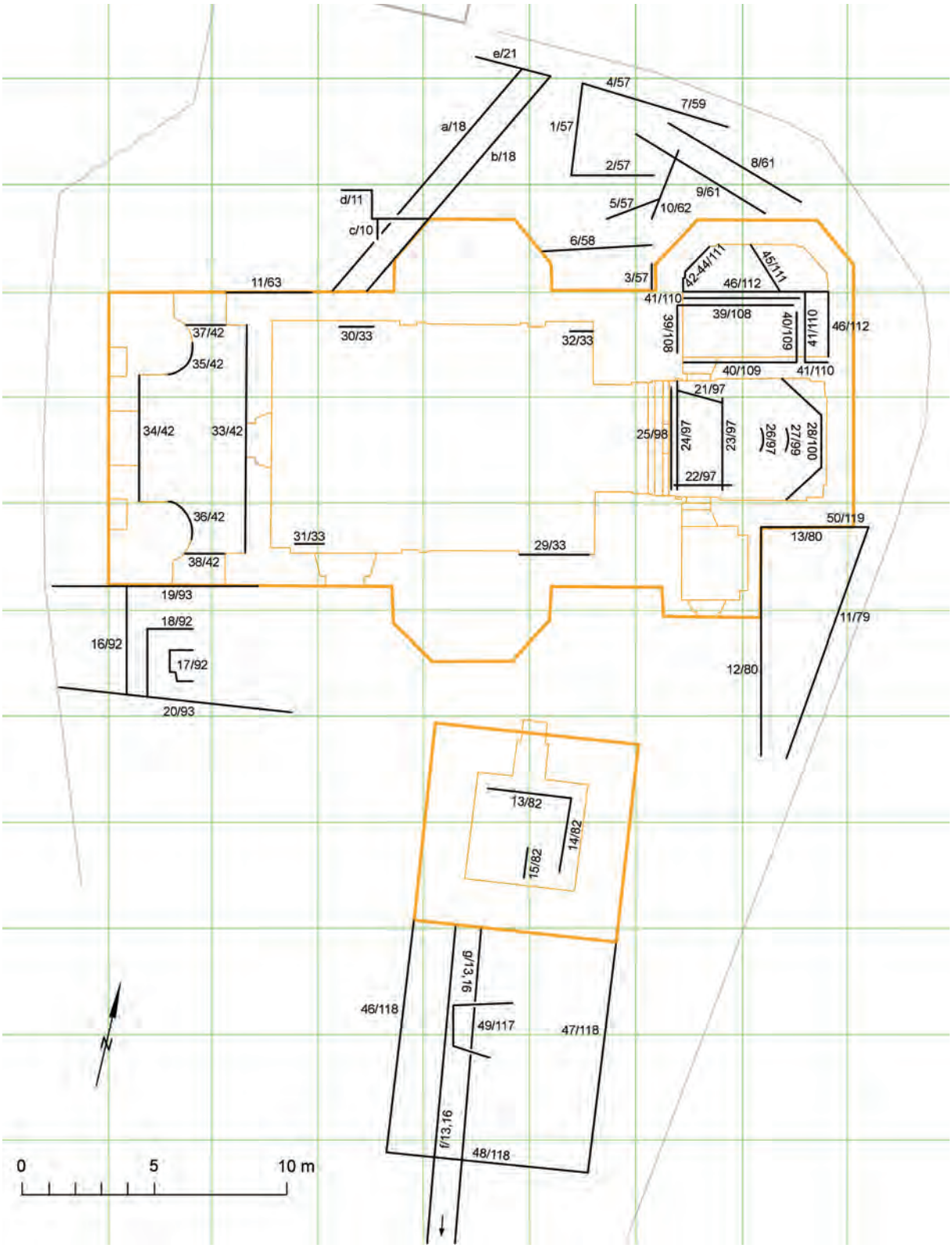
[28] *Archive* 482: measurements from this point (from July 1962 onwards) include the data on graves (Nos. 23, 29–64), the treasure trove of silver coins and the researched areas in IP 1/1. The north passage through the church, with the step and the threshold, is documented in *Rn* 321/04 and the negative 8533–4 amongst others.

[29] *Archive* 477: measurements from the altitude point of 494.07 m (in 1964) include the data on graves (Nos. 26, 110, 111, 113, 115–117) and the researched areas in IP 1/2.

[30] The map with the second coordinate grid: *archive* 489, appendix No. 1 (axes *x* and *y* were switched in the plan).



Sl. 1.6: Koordinatni sistem raziskanega območja na Blejskem otoku: A – mreža severno od cerkve, usmerjena leta 1962 po straneh neba (os *y* v smeri S–J), B – mreža v notranjosti in južno od cerkve, navezana leta 1963 na potek severnega in zahodnega cerkvenega zidu (os *y* v smeri cerkve Z–V, azimut 78°), C – prvotna mreža severno od cerkve leta 1964 s spremenjeno smerjo osi y (Z–V). Izpisane so izhodiščne višinske točke meritev (nadmorske višine pri trikotnikih). Stavbi: 1 – Puščavica; 2 – proštija.
Fig. 1.6: The coordinate grid for the researched area on the Bled Island: A – grid north of the church, created in 1962 in line with the four sides of the sky (axis *y* runs in the N-S direction), B – grid in the interior of the church and south of it, created in 1963 in line with the north and west church walls (axis *y* runs in the direction of the church (W–E), azimuth 78°), C – original grid north of the church, created in 1964, with the changed direction of axis y (W–E). The starting points for measuring altitude are also recorded (the altitudes are marked next to the triangles). Buildings: 1 – Puščavica; 2 –Provost's house.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: I. Murgelj; po načrtih / after V. Šribar).



Sl. 1.7. V letih 1962–1965 dokumentirani profili na raziskanem območju. Njihova lega je določena s koordinatnimi točkami po sitemu iz leta 1963, usklajenim s smerjo cerkve. Označeni so z zaporedno številko profila v dokumentaciji (na prvem mestu) in številko terenske risbe v seznamu *Rn 221* (na drugem mestu). Drugače je le pri profilih iz leta 1962, pri katerih je namesto prve številke navedena črka po abecednem zaporedju. (Izdelava / Elaborated by: I. Murgelj; po načrtih / afrer V. Šribar).
Fig. 1.7. The profiles documented within the excavated area between 1962–1965. Their positions are defined by the coordinate points determined on the 1963 grid, adjusted to the orientation of the church. They are marked with the consecutive number of the profile as specified in the documentation (position one) and the number of the field drawing (list *Rn 221*; position two). A different system was used for the 1962 profiles, where the first number was replaced by a letter running in alphabetical order.

Ko so leta 1964 nadaljevali izkopavanje na območju severno od cerkve (IP 1/2), so uporabili prvo koordinatno mrežo in nadaljevali številčenje kvadrantov, zamenjali pa so smer osi *y*, ki je zdaj potekala v smeri Z–V (*sl. 1.6:* C).[32] Skladno s to mrežo so odmerili tudi več profilov, vendar so koordinate točke pozneje popravili in prilagodili mreži B iz leta 1963 (*sl. 1.6*).[33] Koordinatno mrežo B so uporabljali do konca izkopavanj leta 1965 in nanjo se veže večina izmerjenih koordinatnih točk, zapisanih v terenski dokumentaciji in njenih prerisih.[34]

Izkopavanje je potekalo po režnjih, debelino teh so določili glede na različne terenske okoliščine. Reženj so dokumentirali z risbo in opisom na spodnji ravnini (*planum*), potek plasti, zgradbo zidov in lego nekaterih grobov pa s presekom skozi zemljišče (*profil*). Višine površin, plasti in grobov so nadmorske (*absolutna višina*). Na raziskanem območju je bilo največ srednjeveških ostalin, odkrili pa so tudi starejše najdbe, iz prazgodovinske in rimske dobe.

1.4 STAREJŠE NAJDBE

Površina okrog cerkve na Blejskem otoku je bila zravnana in obdana s kamnitim zidom. Območje vrha otoka je bilo tako urejeno že v 17. stoletju, v času številnih gradenj, med katerimi so prezidali tudi Marijino cerkev (*sl. 1.8*).[35] Ploščad okrog cerkve je nastala, kot so pokazala arheološka izkopavanja, z nasipavanjem zemlje, v kateri je bilo veliko gradbenih ostankov. Otok iz anizijskega dolomita[36] je bil nekdaj bolj strm, pobočja so se spuščala k jezerski gladini s skalnatega grebena, ki poteka v smeri S–J. Razkriti greben je bil najvišji pri zvoniku, kjer je živa skala dosegla nadmorsko višino 494,74 m; proti jugu se greben položno spušča proti stopnišču, proti severozahodu pa se nadaljuje pod cerkveno ladjo do severnega stopnišča, kjer je le za meter nižji kot pri stolpu (*sl. 1.9*).[37]

[32] *Arhiv* 477, skica na str. 2.

[33] *Rn* 221/57 in 221/62.

[34] Koordinate točk na območju IP 1/1 so določili po mreži A (1962); profili v terenski dokumentaciji in pri prerisih niso bili oštevilčeni, zato smo jih zaradi lažje identifikacije navedli po abecednem zaporedju in črkam dodali številko terenske risbe v seznamu *Rn* 221 (*sl. 1.7:* npr. a/18). Drugod so koordinate točk odmerjene po mreži B (1963). Z njimi je označeno predvsem mesto profilov, izmere so večinoma zapisane pri prerisih terenskih risb (*Rn* 222 in 223), na terenskih risbah le redko (*Rn* 221). Ti profili so bili označeni z zaporedno številko profila v dokumentaciji in številko terenske risbe v seznamu *Rn* 221 *(sl. 1.7:* npr. 1/57). Pozitivnih (+) in negativnih (–) predznakov pri odčitkih koordinatnega sistema od osi *x* in *y* niso zapisovali dosledno.

[35] Gornik 1990, 154–156, 158–160.

[36] Bavec, Novak, Herlec 2008, 42.

[37] Podatke o reliefu Otoka povzemamo po terenski dokumentaciji, Šribarjevem tipkopisnem besedilu (*arhiv* 489)

(*Fig. 1.7*), while in the ground plans the measurements were linked to the walls of the existing church and bell tower, which is clearly shown by borders IP 2/1–3 and IP 3/1 (*Fig. 1.5*).[31]

When the excavations in the area north of the church (IP 1/2) were continued in 1964, the first coordinate grid was used and the numbering of the quadrants continued in the same way, however, the direction of *axis y* was changed and now ran in the W–E direction (*Fig. 1.6:* C).[32] A number of profiles were measured with this grid, however the coordinate points were later corrected and adjusted to fit grid B from 1963 (*Fig. 1.6*).[33] Grid B was used until the end of the excavations in 1965 and most of the measured coordinate points recorded in the field documentation and copies of its drawings are linked to it.[34]

They excavated through segments, the thickness of which was determined by various circumstances in the field. The segment was documented with a drawing and a description on the lower level (*planum*), while the course of the layer, the structure of the walls and the position of certain graves were documented with a cross-section of the area (*profile*). The heights of the profiles, layers and graves were measured as heights above sea level (*absolute height*). Mediaeval remains represented the most common finds in the researched area, however, earlier finds, from prehistoric and Roman periods, were also found.

1.4 EARLIER FINDS

The area surrounding the church on Bled Island was levelled and encircled by a stone wall. The area at the top of the island was arranged in this way already in the 17th century, in a period that saw a number of building projects, including the rebuilding of Mary's church (*Fig. 1.8*).[35] Archaeological excavations have shown that the platform surrounding the church was created when the

[31] *Archive* 489, pg. 156.

[32] *Archive* 477, sketch on pg. 2.

[33] *Rn* 221/57 and 221/62.

[34] The coordinates of points in area IP 1/1 were defined with grid A (1962); the profiles in the field documentation and the copies of the drawings were not enumerated, thus we have listed them in alphabetical sequence (for the purpose of easier identification) and added the number of the field drawing as found in the list *Rn* 221 (*Fig. 1.7:* e.g. a/18). In other cases the coordinates of the points were measured with grid B (1963). These points were used primarily to mark the locations of the profiles, while the measurements were mainly recorded in the copies of the field drawings (*Rn* 222 and 223), and only rarely in the field drawing themselves (*Rn* 221). These profiles were marked by the sequential number of the profile in the documentation and the number of the field drawing in the list *Rn* 221 *(Fig. 1.7:* e.g. 1/57). When reading the coordinate system from axes *x* and *y,* the positive (+) and negative (–) signs were not consistently applied.

[35] Gornik 1990, 154–156, 158–160.

Sl. 1.8: Upodobitev Blejskega otoka v Valvasorjevi knjigi *Die Ehre des Herzogtums Krain* iz leta 1689 (po J. V. Valvasor, Čast in s*lava vojvodine Kranjske,* 2010, 2. del, 8. knjiga, poglavje 5, slika na str. 805).
Fig. 1.8: Depiction of the Bled Island in Valvasor's book *Die Ehre des Herzogtums Krain* from 1689.

Na vzhodni strani grebena so bile 3 kotanje s premerom do 5 m, dna so bila prekrita s plastjo temno rdeče ilovice.[38] Različno globoke kotanje so odkrili severno od cerkve in pod tlakom v cerkvi (*sl. 1.9:* A–C). Zahodna kotanja (A) severno od cerkve je bila plitva, njeno razgibano dno je bilo za okrog 0,90 m nižje od najvišjih skal v okolici (493,74 m n. m.; *sl. 1.9:* A). Veliko niže, približno 3,5 m pod zravnano površino okrog cerkve, na nadmorski višini 489,24 m, je bilo dno vzhodne kotanje (B) severno od cerkve (*sl. 1.9:* B). Kotanja pod tlakom v cerkvi (C), na prehodu med ladjo in prezbiterijem, je bila od vrhov skal v bližini (494,18 m n. m.) nižja za okoli 1,3 m (*sl. 1.9:* C).

earth which included abundant building remains was pilled-up. The island, made of anisian dolomite,[36] used to be steeper, the slopes descended towards the lake surface from the rocky ridge that runs in the N-S direction. The ridge peaked at the bell tower, where the bedrock reached an altitude of 494.74 m; towards the south, the ridge gradually descends towards the staircase, while towards the northwest it continues underneath the church nave to the north stairwell, where it is merely one meter lower than at the bell tower (*Fig. 1.9*).[37]

To the east of the ridge 3 hollows with a diameter of up to 5 m were found; their bases were covered with a layer of dark red clay[38]. Hollows of various depths were

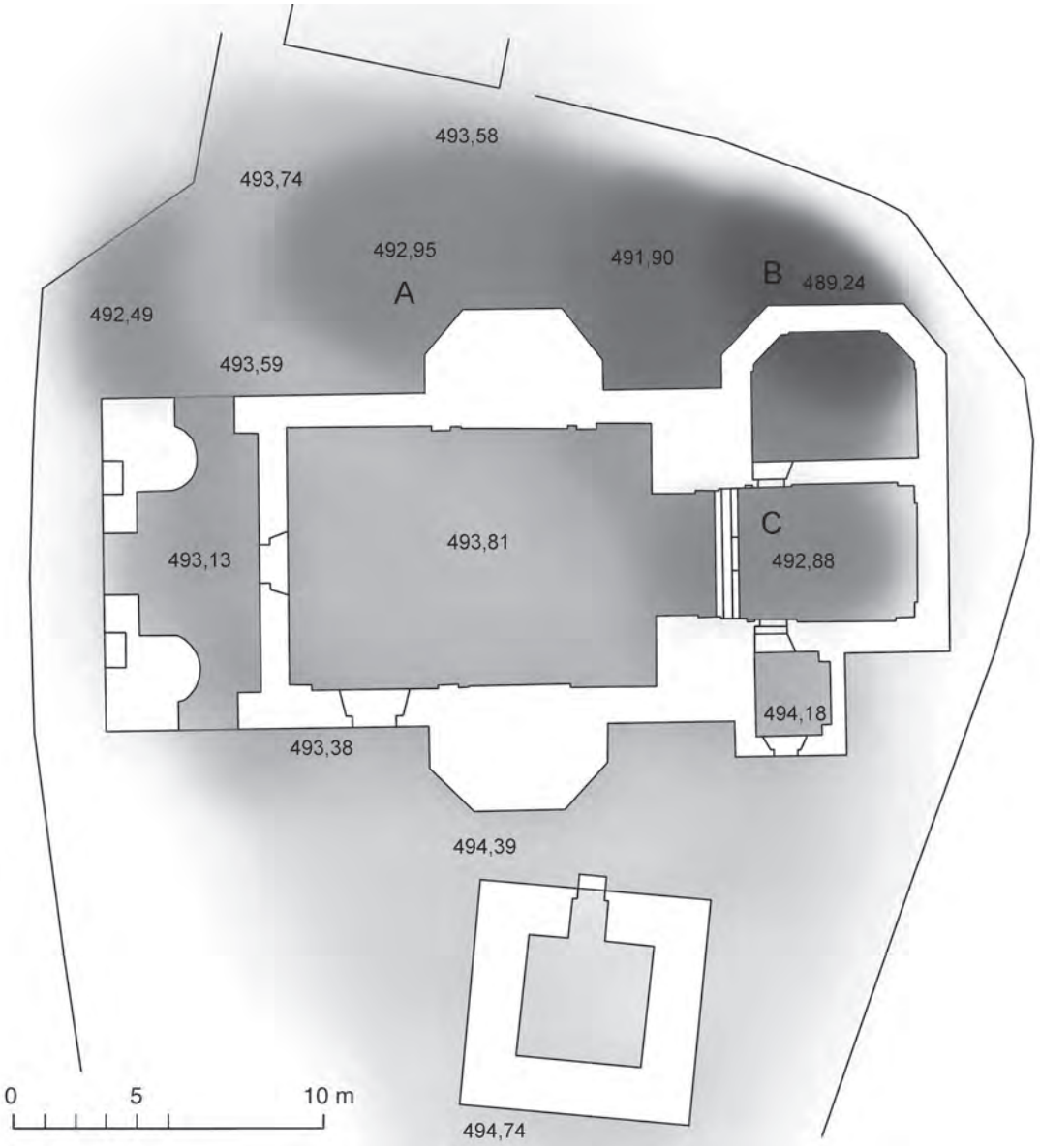
in zapisih v objavi (Šribar 1972a).

[38] V. Šribar (1972a, 10) omenja 5 kotanj, od tega 3 južno od cerkvenega zvonika (v osnutku besedila *arhiv* 489 o njih ni podatkov), 1 severno od cerkve (zdaj označena kot kotanja B) in 1 v cerkvi "*na prostoru pod zvonom želja*" (zdaj kotanja C). Kotanja na območju IP 1/1 (zdaj kotanja A) je omenjena v osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 268).

[36] Bavec, Novak, Herlec 2008, 42.

[37] The data on the island's relief was summarised from the field documentation, Šribar's draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489) and notes in publications (Šribar 1972a).

[38] V. Šribar (1972a, 10) mentions five hollows, 3 of which were south of the church bell tower (no data was found in the draft of the text for publication – *archive* 489), 1 north of the church (now marked as hollow B) and 1 in the church



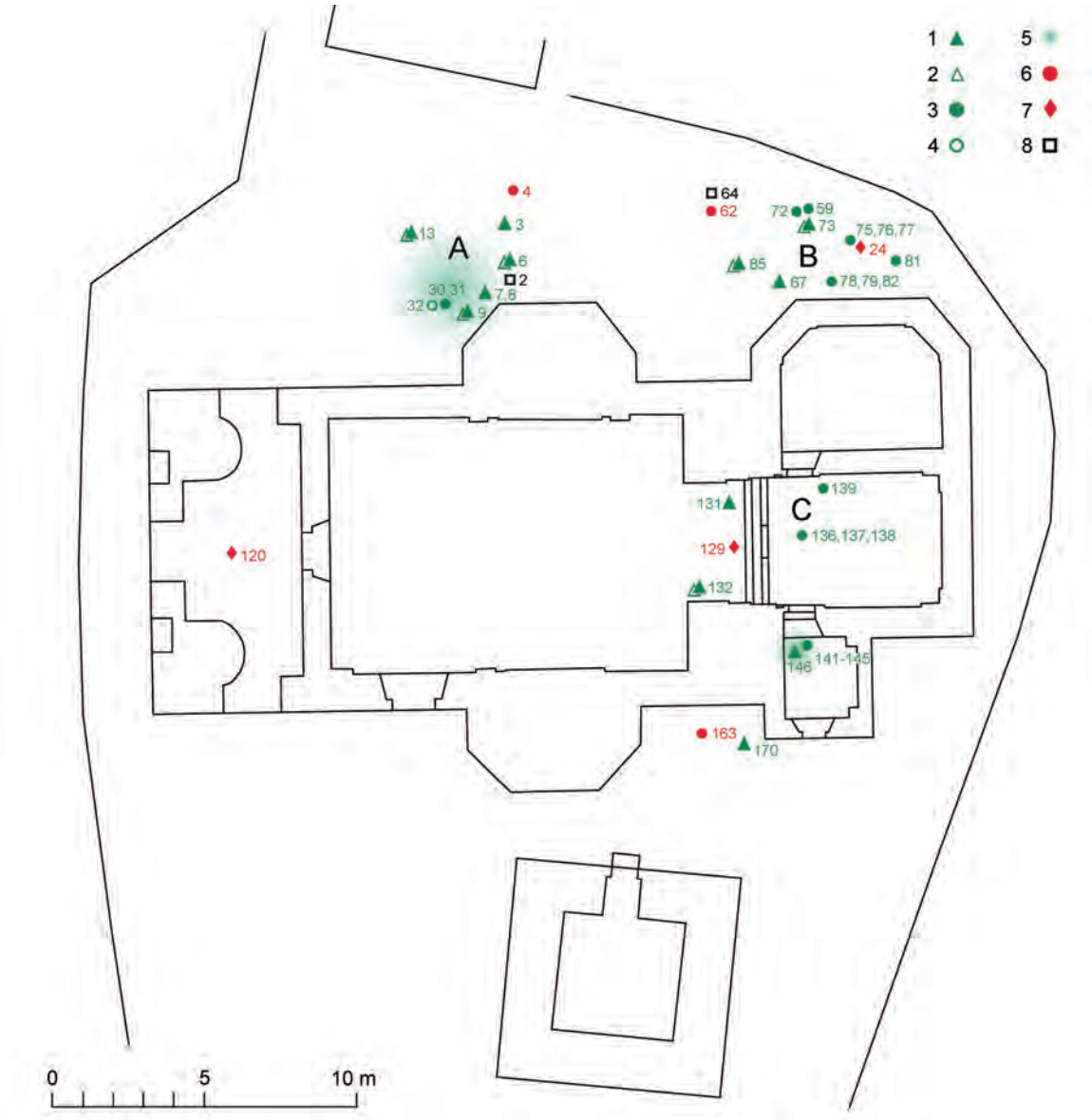
Sl. 1.9: Skalnat greben (svetlo sivo) in naravne kotanje (A–C) na območju arheoloških raziskav na Blejskem otoku.
Fig. 1.9: Bled Island. Rocky ridge (light grey) and natural hollows (A–C) in the area of archaeological excavations.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: I. Murgelj, merski podatki / metric data V. Šribar)

1.4.1 PRAZGODOVINSKI OTOK

V vseh treh kotanjah (A–C) so našli prazgodovinsko kamnito orodje, lončenino in naselbinske ostanke (*sl. 1.10*). Največ najdb je bilo na območju kotanje A, vendar so podatki o njih okrnjeni, ker je bila humozna plast, ki je pokrivala ilovico na dnu kotanje, deloma prekopana zaradi srednjeveških grobov, arheološko neraziskano pa je ostalo območje pod *zidom* 3 (*sl. 1.11:* c*; 2.2a:* 3) ter pod *zidom* 6 in *tlakom* ob njem (*sl. 1.11:* e, f; *2.2a:* 5a). Ob odkritju je bila kotanja A zapolnjena s prstjo, ki je bila zgoraj pomešana s številnimi gradbenimi

discovered to the north of the church and underneath the walking area within the church (*Fig. 1.9:* A–C). The western most hollow (A) north of the church was shallow, its uneven base was approximately 0.90 m lower than the tallest rocks in its surroundings (493.74 m.; *Fig. 1.9:* A). The base of the eastern most hollow (B) north of the church (*Fig. 1.9:* B) was located much lower, approximately 3.5 m underneath the flattened surface surrounding the church, at an altitude of 489.24 m. The hollow underneath the occupation surface within the church (C), in the passage

'underneath the wishing bell' (now hollow C). The hollow in area IP 1/1 (now hollow A) is mentioned in the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 268).



Sl. 1.10: Blejski otok. Prazgodovinske najdbe (zeleno): 1 – kamnito orodje, 2 – kamniti odbitki, 3 – keramika, 4 – ilovnat premaz, 5 – naselbinski ostanki. Rimskodobne najdbe (rdeče): 6 – keramika, 7 – steklo. Neopredeljeni starejši najdbi (črno): 8 – kovina. Ob znakih so *kataloške številke* najdb, brez njih so kamniti odbitki, za katere glej *sl. 1.17*.
Fig. 1.10: Bled Island. Prehistoric finds (green): 1 – stone tools, 2 – stone flakes, 3 – pottery, 4 – clay coating, 5 – settlement remains. Roman period finds (red): 6 – pottery, 7 – glass. Uncategorised earlier finds (black): 8 – metal. Also marked are the *catalogue numbers* of the finds, except for stone flakes (for which see *Fig. 1.17)*.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: I. Murgelj)

ostanki, le pri dnu jih ni bilo; tu so se v prvotni humozni plasti ohranili drobci oglja.

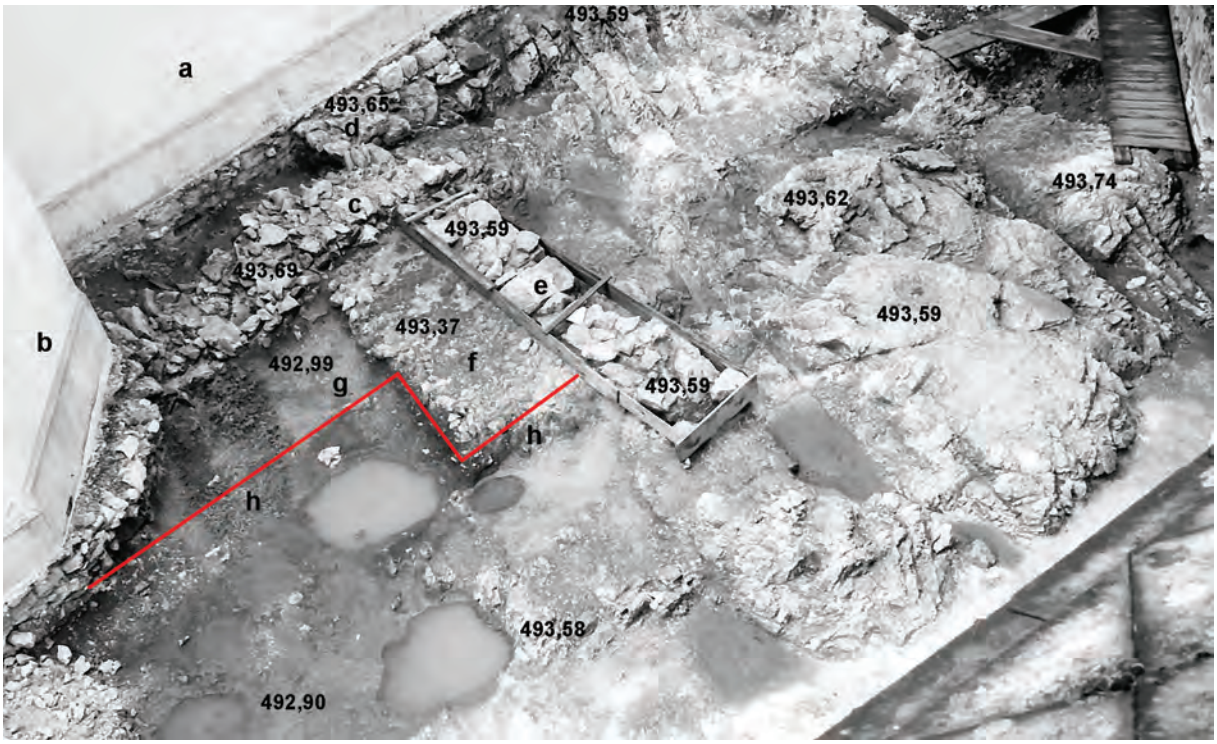
V delu kotanje A je bila nad prvotnim humusom plast prepečene ilovice, ki je bila opredeljena kot *ognjišče*[39] oziroma *prazgodovinsko kurišče* (*sl. 1.11:* g; *1.12:* a).[40] V prerezu skozi najdebelejši del polnila v kotanji A, velik 1 x 0,8 m, je bila vidna 0,5 m široka poglobitev, v kateri je bila plast prepečene ilovice debela do 15 cm

between the nave and the presbytery, was approximately 1.3 m lower than the peaks of the rocks in its vicinity (494.18 m; *Fig. 1.9:* C).

1.4.1 PREHISTORIC ISLAND

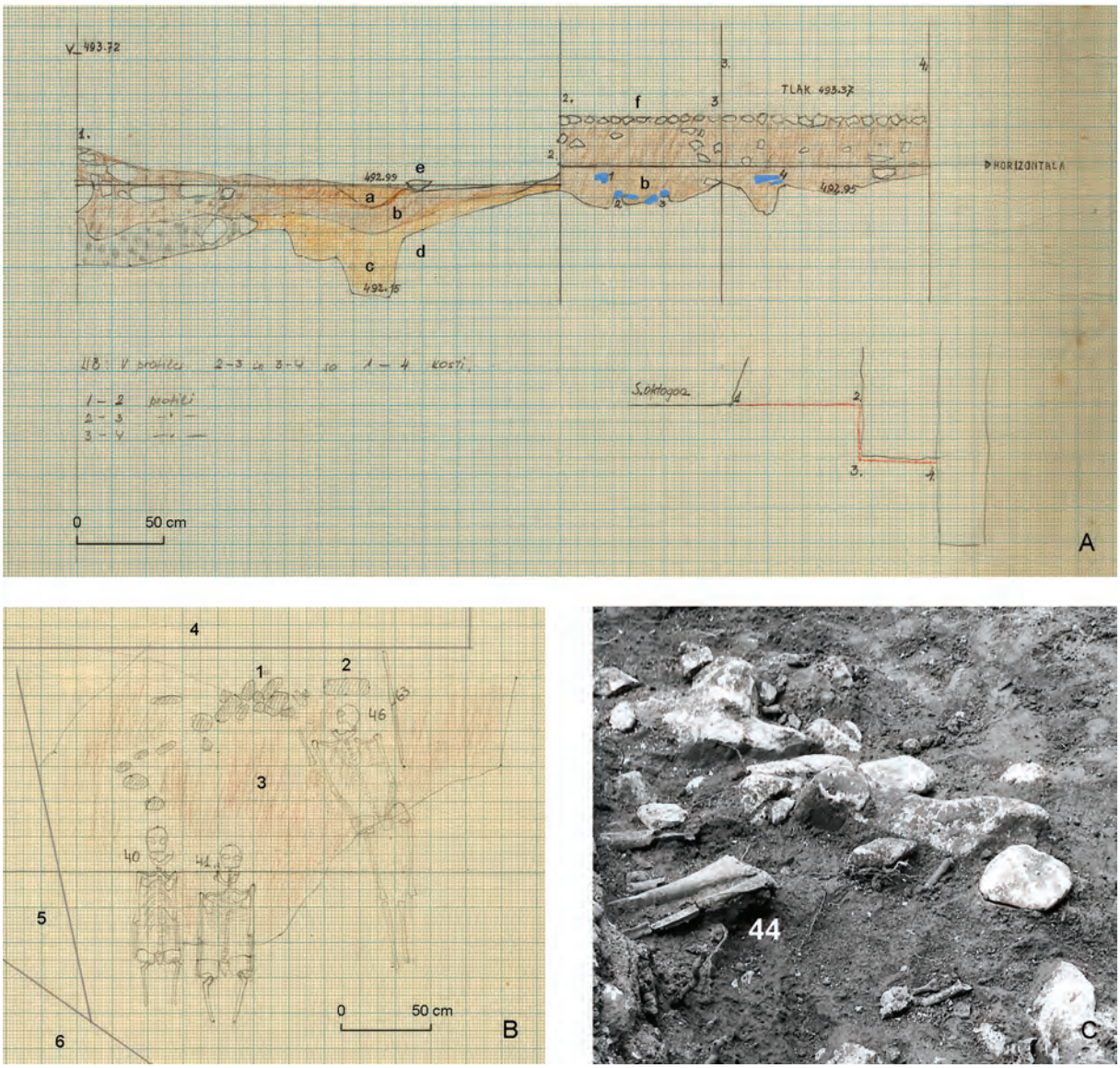
Prehistoric stone tools, pottery and settlement remains (*Fig. 1.10*) were found in all three hollows (A–C). Most finds were located within the area of hollow A,

[39] *Arhiv* 489, str. 23, 24, 73 in 74; *Rn* 221/11.
[40] Šribar 1965.



Sl. 1.11: Blejski otok, pogled od severa na IP 1/1. Dolomitna živa skala obdaja kotanjo A z zahodne in severne strani, na južni in vzhodni strani segajo v kotanjo temelji severne stene cerkve (a) in stranske kapele (b). Neraziskan je ostal del kotanje pod *zidovi* 3 (c), 4 (d) in 5 (e) ter pod *tlakom* (f). V raziskanem delu kotanje je plast prepečene ilovice (g), skozi katero je bil izkopan profil (h).
Fig. 1.11: Bled Island, view of IP 1/1 from the north. To the west and north hollow A borders on dolomite bedrock, while on the south and east side, the foundations of the northern church wall (a) and the side chapel (b) reach into the hollow. The parts of the hollow underneath *walls* 3 (c), 4 (d) and 5 (e) and underneath the *paving stones* (f) remain unresearched. The researched part of the hollow contains a layer of burnt clay (g), through which a profile was dug (h).

Sl. / Fig. 1.12 →



Sl. 1.13: Blejski otok, IP 1/1, območje prepečene ilovice. A – prerez skozi plasti na območju *ognjišča* (*Seznam dokumentacije*, *Rn* 221/11): a – prepečena ilovica, b – humus, c – ilovica, d – živa skala, e – kamen, f – *tlak*; 1–4 (zgoraj): odseki prereza; 1–4 (v plasti b): človeške kosti (označene modro). B – tloris plasti prepečene zemlje (pobarvano rdeče; *Rn* 221/7) in vrsta zloženih kamnov ob grobovih 40, 41 in 46: 1 – polkrožno zloženo kamenje, 2 – kamen za lobanjo v grobu 46, 3 – prepečena ilovica, 4 – *tlak*, 5 – *zid* 3, 6 – severozahodna stena stranske kapele. C – polkrožno zloženo kamenje (od juga).
Fig. 1.13: Bled Island, IP 1/1, area of burnt clay. A – cross-section through the layers in the area of the fireplace (*List of documentation*, *Rn* 221/11): a – burnt clay, b – humus, c – clay, d – bedrock, e – stone, f – *paving stones*; 1–4 (above): parts of the cross-section; 1–4 (in layer b): human bones (blue). B – ground plan of the layer of burnt soil (red; *Rn* 221/7) and the line of stacked stones alongside graves 40, 41 and 46: 1 – semi-circularly positioned stones, 2 – stone behind the skull in grave 46, 3 – burnt clay, 4 – *paving stones*, 5 – *wall* 3, 6 – north-west wall of the side chapel. C – semi-circular stacked stones (from the south).

←

Sl. 1.12: Blejski otok, IP 1/1, plast prepečene ilovice (a), v katero so vkopani grobovi 39, 40, 41 in 46. Za njimi je v prepečeni ilovici vrsta zloženih kamnov (b). Nad plastjo v ozadju sta *tlak* (c) in *zid* 3 (d).
Fig. 1.12: Bled Island, IP 1/1, layer of burnt clay (a), with graves 39, 40, 41 and 46. A line of stacked stones (b) was discovered behind the graves. *Paving stones* (c) and *wall* 3 (d) can be seen in the background, above the layer of burnt clay.

Sl. 1.14: Blejski otok, kosi prepečene ilovice iz prereza skozi *ognjišče* (kat. št. 32).
Fig. 1.14: Bled Island, pieces of burnt clay from the cross-section of the fireplace (cat. No. 32).
(Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

(*sl. 1.7*: d/11; *1.11:* h; *1.13a:* a). Kosi ilovice iz prereza so močno prežgani, na dveh je videti ostanke grobo zglajene površine (kat. št. 32; *sl. 1.14*). Na robu poglobitve je stal kamen, velik 20 x 25 cm (*sl. 1.13a:* e); verjetno je spadal k polkrožno zloženemu kamenju, ki je na zahodni strani obdajalo najvišji del plasti (*sl. 1.13b:* 1; *1.13c*).[41] Plast je bila prepečena do 6 cm globoko, nižje je bila pomešana s temnim humusom, ki je ležal na sterilni ilovici nad živo skalo (*sl. 1.13a:* b,c,d). Na najvišjem delu prežgane plasti so našli žganino.

V celoti je bila prepečena ilovica ohranjena na površini, veliki približno 1,6 x 2,5 m (*sl. 1.13b:* 3).[42] Neravna površina je bila deloma prekopana, saj je bilo v plast vkopanih več srednjeveških grobov. Dobro vidne so bile jame grobov 40, 41 in 46 (*sl. 1.12*), v zasutju teh grobov so bili večji kosi prepečene ilovice in drobci oglja.

Na območju s prepečeno ilovico in tudi drugod v kotanji A so našli kamnite izdelke, neobdelane odbitke kremena in odlomke lončenine (*sl. 1.10*). Najdbe so večinoma ležale v drugotni legi, v zasutju grobov, katerih jame so vkopali v prepečeno ilovico ali pa v prvotno plast humusa.[43] Med najdbami je več kamnitih artefaktov, na-

[41] *Arhiv* 573, Dnevnik izkopavanj 1962, str. 14.
[42] *Arhiv* 573, Dnevnik izkopavanj 1962, str. 13, 24, 25.
[43] *Arhiv* 489, str. 252: "*Prazgodovinske kremenčeve puš-*

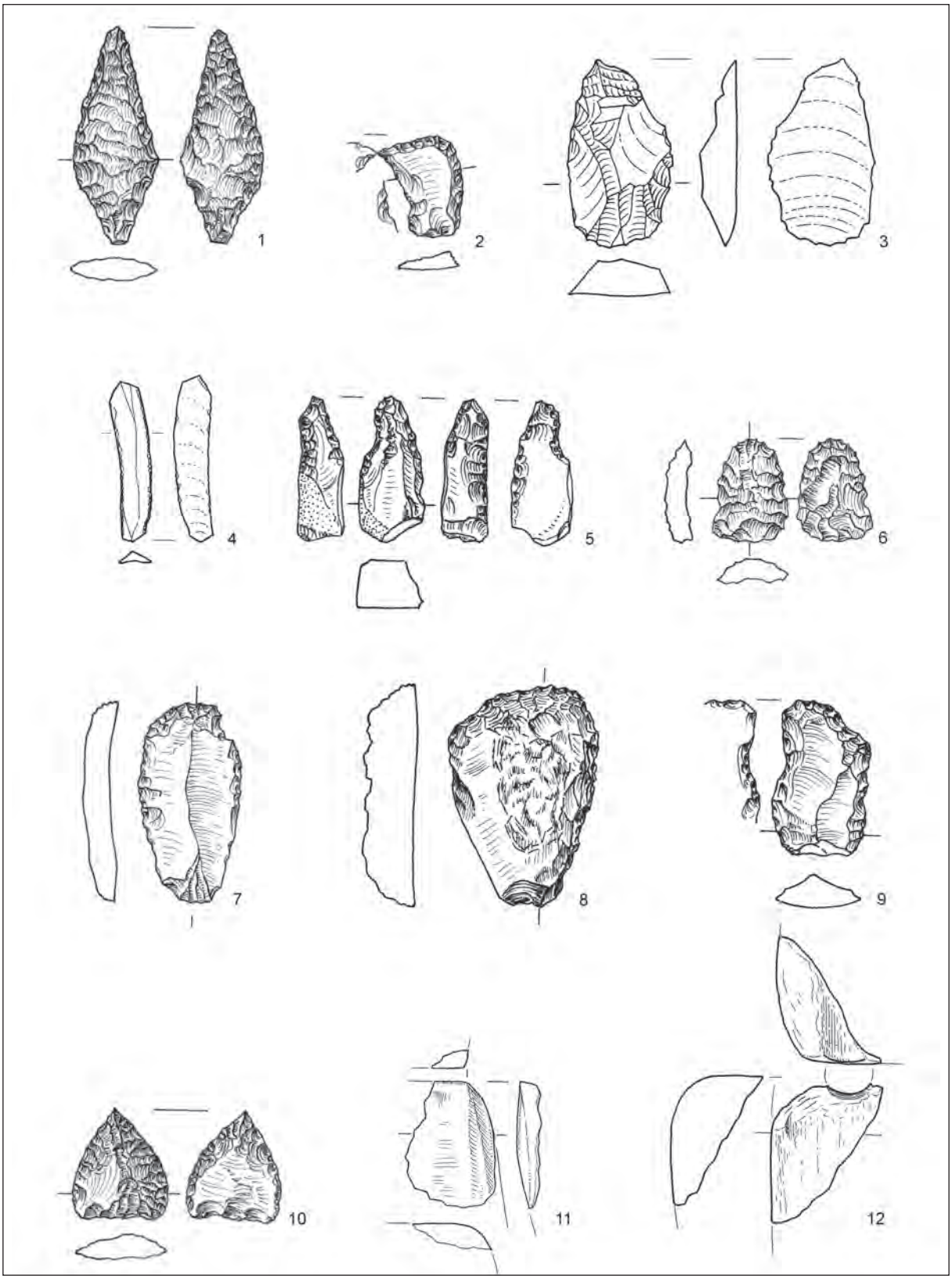
however the data related to the finds is scarce, as the humus layer, which covered the clay on the base of the hollow, was partially dug up when the mediaeval graves were created, and the areas under *wall* 3 (*Figs. 1.11:* c; *2.2a:* 3), *wall* 5 and the *paving stones* alongside it have not been archaeologically researched (*Figs. 1.11:* e,f; *2.2a:* 5,a). At its discovery hollow A was filled with soil, which was on the top mixed with abundant building remains, however no building remains were found at the base of the hollow, where only charcoal fragments remained within the humus layer.

A layer of burnt clay categorised as a *fireplace*[39] or a *prehistoric fireplace* (*Figs. 1.11:* g; *1.12:* a) was discovered underneath the humus in a part of hollow A.[40] A 0.5 m wide depression with a layer of burnt clay up to 15 cm thick (*Figs. 1.7:* d/11; *1.11:* h; *1.13a:* a) was discovered in the cross-section through the thickest part of the fill-in material in hollow A, measuring 1 x 0.8 m. The pieces of clay from the cross-section were badly charred, two of them showed remains of a roughly smoothened surface (cat. No. 32; *Fig. 1.14*). At the edge of the indentation lay a stone, measuring 20 x 25 cm (*Fig. 1.13a:* e); this stone most likely originated from the semicircular stack of stones, which surrounded the highest part of the layer on the west side (*Figs. 1.13b:* 1; *1.13c*).[41] The layer was charred up to 6 cm deep, and lower down it was mixed with dark humus that lay on sterile clay above the bedrock (*Fig. 1.13a:* b, c, d). Charred remains were found at the highest point of the burnt layer.

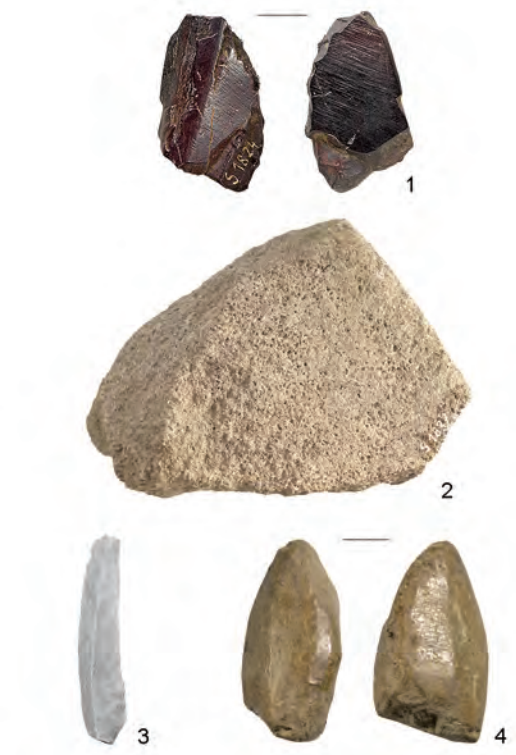
The layer of burnt clay was preserved in its entirety on the surface, measuring approximately 1.6 x 2.5 m (*Fig. 1.13b:* 3).[42] The uneven surface was partially dug up, as the layer included several mediaeval graves. The pits pertaining to Graves 40, 41 and 46 (*Fig. 1.12*) were clearly visible; the fill-in material of these graves included large pieces of burnt clay and fragments of charcoal.

Stone artefacts, unretouched flint flakes and pottery fragments (*Fig. 1.10*) were found in the area with burnt clay as well as elsewhere in hollow A. Most of the finds were found in a secondary position, in the fill-in material of the graves, the pits of which were dug into burnt clay or into the original humus layer.[43] The finds include numerous stone artefacts, created by striking a core: a core

[39] *Archive* 489, pg. 23, 24, 73 and 74; *Rn* 221/11.
[40] Šribar 1965.
[41] *Archive* 573, Excavation diary 1962, pg. 14.
[42] *Archive* 573, Excavation diary 1962, pp. 13, 24, 25.
[43] *Archive* 489, pg. 252: '*The prehistoric flint arrows, scrapers and flakes discovered in the mentioned graves did not give the impression that they were intentionally placed alongside a particular part of the body, for they were most commonly found in the fill-in layer underneath the skeleton, exceptionally alongside it or on top of it … Thus, we will, as a rule, treat all flint artefacts found on the island as prehistoric and as chance additions to the Early Medieval grave pits.*' This statement is repeated another two times in the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pp. 265 and 269).



Sl. 1.15: Blejski otok, kamniti artefakti. 1 (kat. št. 3); 2 (kat. št. 6); 3 (kat. št. 9); 4 (kat. št. 13); 5 (kat. št. 85); 6 (kat. št. 67); 7 (kat. št. 73); 8 (kat. št. 132); 9 (kat. št. 170); 10 (kat. št. 146); 11 (kat. št. 8); 12 (kat. št. 131). M. 1–10 = 1:1; 11,12 = 1:2.
Fig. 1.15: Bled Island, stone artefacts. 1 (cat. No. 3); 2 (cat. No. 6); 3 (cat. No. 9); 4 (cat. No. 13); 5 (cat. No. 85); 6 (cat. No. 67); 7 (cat. No. 73); 8 (cat. No. 132); 9 (cat. No. 170); 10 (cat. No. 146); 11 (cat. No. 8); 12 (cat. No. 131). Scale: 1–10 = 1:1; 11,12 = 1:2. (Risba / Drawing: 1,2,5–12 D. Knific Lunder; 3, 4 [po stari risbi / after earlier drawing] I. Murgelj)



Sl. 1.16: Blejski otok, kamnite najdbe. 1 – košček rude (kat. št. 5); 2 – odlomek žrmelj (kat št. 7); 3 – klinica (kat. št. 13); 4 – obrušen kos peščenjaka (kat. št. 14). M. 1,3,4 = 1:1; 2 = 1:2.
Fig. 1.16: Bled Island, stone finds. 1 – ore (cat. No. 5); 2 –fragment of a quern (cat. No. 7); 3 – bladelet (cat. No. 13); 4 – polished piece of sandstone (cat. No. 14). Scale: 1,3,4 = 1:1; 2 = 1:2. (Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

Sl. 1.17: Blejski otok, neobdelani odbitki iz tufa (1) in kremena (2–6). Shranjeni so v NMS: 1 (inv. št. S 1957a; kotanja B), 2 (S1922b; kotanja C), 3 (S 1982b; kotanja B), 4 (S 1836 a; grob 38, kotanja A), 5 (S 1853; grob 49, kotanja A), 6 (S 1849; grob 41, kotanja A).
Fig. 1.17: Bled Island, unretouched flakes of tuff (1) and flint (2–6). Kept in NMS: 1 (inv. No. S1957a; hollow B), 2 (S1922b; hollow C), 3 (S 982 b; hollow B), 4 (S1836 a; grave 38, hollow A), 5 (S1853; grave 49, hollow A), 6 (S1849: grave 41, hollow A). (Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

rejenih z odbijanjem: v grobu 40 so našli jedrni odbitek (kat. št. 9; *sl. 1.15:* 3; *t. 13:* 3), zunaj območja s prepečeno ilovico pa v grobu 22 puščično ost (kat. št. 3; *sl. 1.15:* 1; *t. 13:* 1), v grobu 38 praskalo (kat. št. 6; *sl. 1.15:* 2; *t. 13:* 1) in v grobu 49 ozko klinico (kat. št. 13; *sl. 1.15:* 4; *1.16: 3*).[44] V grobovih so bili tudi neobdelani kremenovi odbitki, na območju prepečene ilovice v grobu 41 (*sl. 1.17:* 6), zunaj njega v grobovih 38 in 49 (*sl. 1.17:* 4,5). V grobu 39, deloma vkopanem v prepečeno ilovico, sta ležala še odlomek glajene sekirice ali dleta (kat. št. 8; *sl. 1.15:* 11; *t. 13:* 10) in del žrmelj (kat. št. 7; *sl. 1.16: 2*; *1.18:* 1), v grobu 29 pa obrušeni košček hematita (kat. št. 5; *sl. 1.16: 1*).

tablet was found in Grave 40 (cat. No. 9; *Fig. 1.15:* 3; *Pl. 13:* 3), an arrowhead was found outside of the area with burnt clay in Grave 22 (cat. No. 3; *Fig. 1.15:* 1; *Pl. 13:* 1), a scraper in Grave 38 (cat. No. 6; *Fig. 1.15:* 2; *Pl. 13:* 2) and a narrow bladelet in Grave 49 (cat. No. 13; *Figs. 1.15:* 4; *1.16:* 3).[44] The graves also included unretouched flint flakes, found in the area of burnt clay in Grave 41 (*Fig. 1.17:* 6), and outside of it in Graves 38 and 49 (*Fig. 1.17:* 4,5). Grave 39, partially dug into the burnt clay, contained a fragment of a smoothened axe or chisel (cat. No. 8; *Fig. 1.15:* 11; *Pl. 13:* 10) and a part of a quern (cat. No. 7; *Figs. 1.16: 2*; *1.18:* 1), while a polished hematite fragment was found in Grave 29 (cat. No. 5; *Fig. 1.16: 1*).

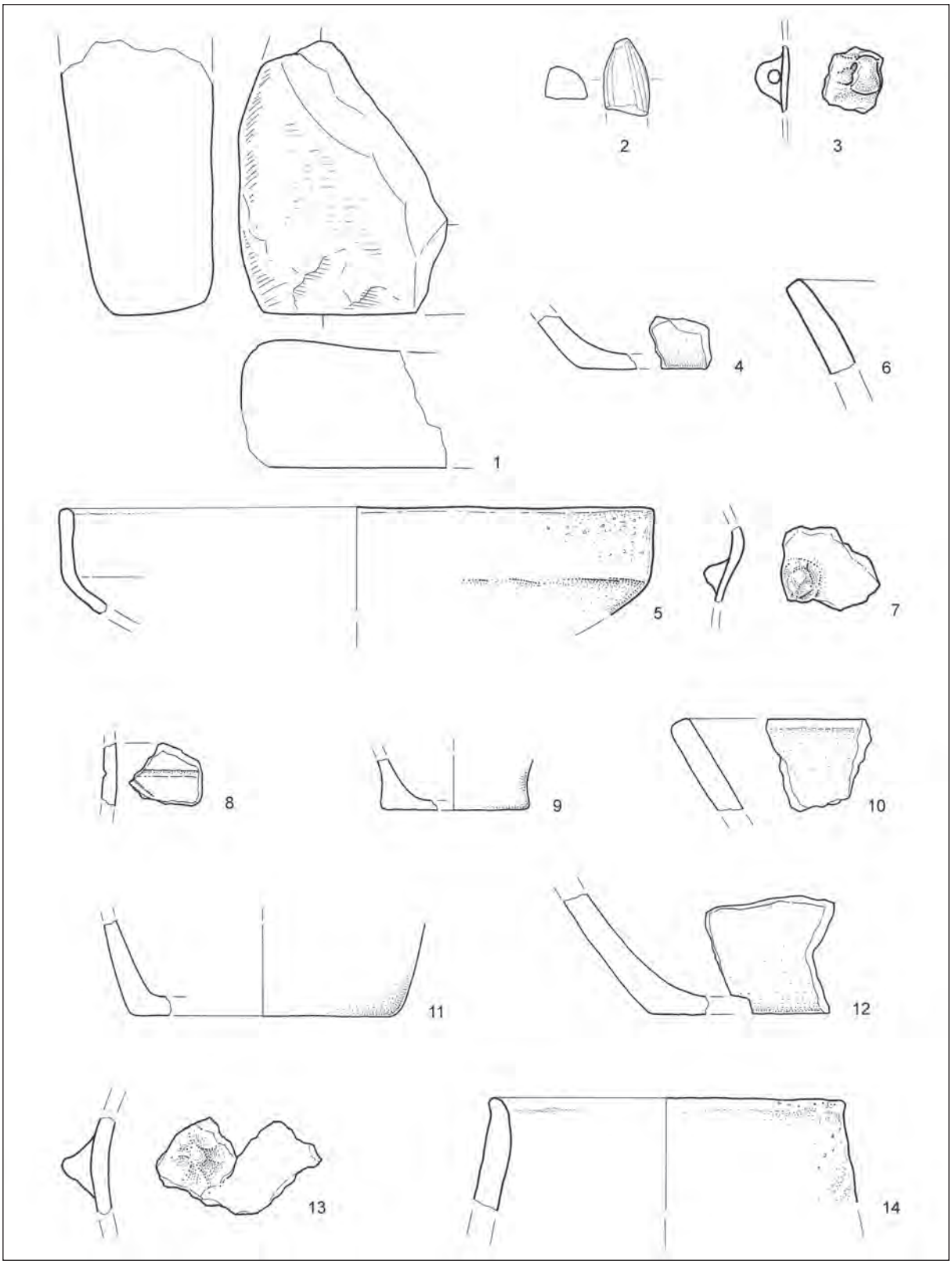
Alongside stone finds hollow A also contained small and atypical fragments of prehistoric pottery. These were mentioned in Graves 24, 39, 41, 45, 46 and 49,[45] a frag-

čice, strgala in odbitki v naštetih grobovih v nobenem primeru niso dajali vtisa, da so bili namenoma postavljeni ob določeni del telesa, temveč so bili vedno v zasipni plasti pod skeletom, izjemoma ob njem ali na njem … Zato bomo praviloma vse kremenčeve izdelke z otoka opredelili kot prazgodovinske in kot slučajen pridevek v zgodnjesrednjeveških grobnih jamah." Ugotovitev je v osnutku besedila zapisana še dvakrat (*arhiv* 489, str. 265 in 269).

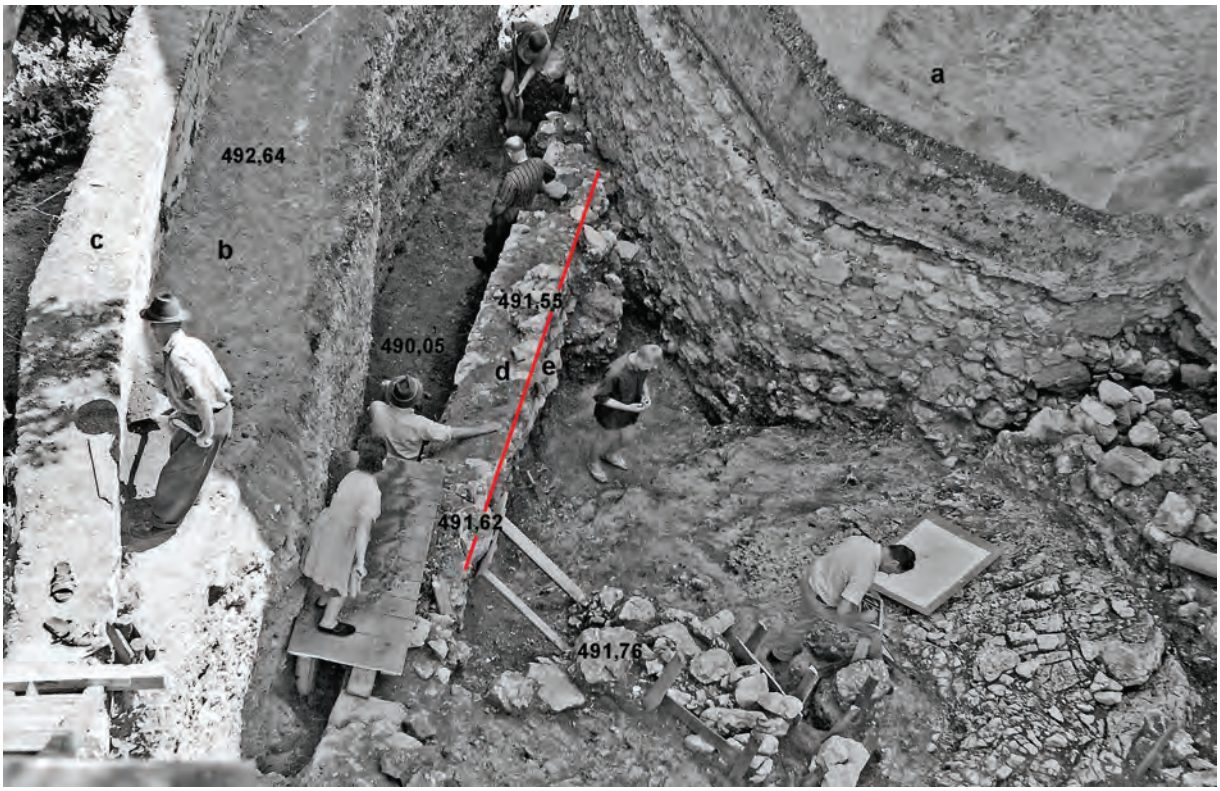
[44] Kamnite predmete z Otoka je tipološko razvrstil Boštjan Odar.

[44] The stone objects from the Island were typologically defined by Boštjan Odar.

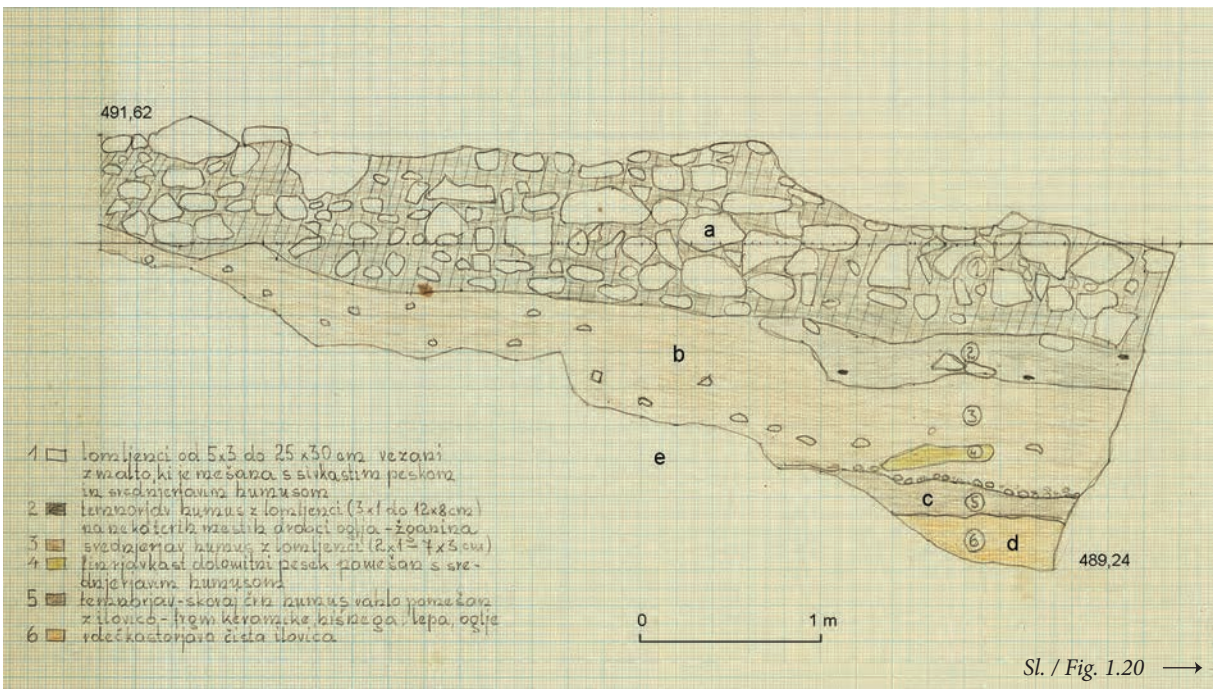
[45] *Archive* 489, pp. 37, 43, 44, 47–49.



Sl. 1.18: Blejski otok, odlomki kamnitih predmetov (1,2) in prazgodovinske lončenine (3–14). 1 (kat. št. 7); 2 (kat. št. 14); 3 (kat. št. 30); 4 (kat. št. 31); 5 (kat. št. 59); 6 (kat. št. 72); 7 (kat. št. 75); 8 (kat. št. 77); 9 (kat. št. 76); 10 (kat. št. 78); 11 (kat. št. 81); 12 (kat. št. 82); 13 (kat. št. 136); 14 (kat. št. 137). M. = 1:2.
Fig. 1.18: Bled Island, fragments of stone objects (1,2) and prehistoric pottery (3–14). 1 (cat. No. 7); 2 (cat. No. 14); 3 (cat. No. 30); 4 (cat. No. 31); 5 (cat. No. 59); 6 (cat. No. 72); 7 (cat. No. 75); 8 (cat. No. 77); 9 (cat. No. 76); 10 (cat. No. 78); 11 (cat. No. 81); 12 (cat. No. 82); 13 (cat. No. 136); 14 (cat. No. 137). Scale = 1:2.
(Risba / Drawing: 1,3,5–7,13,14 D. Knific Lunder; 2,4,8–12 Ida Murgelj)



Sl. 1.19: Blejski otok, pogled od severa na IP 1/2. Dolomitna živa skala obdaja kotanjo B z zahodne in severne strani, na vzhodni strani prehaja v pobočje, ki se spušča k jezeru, na južni strani segajo v kotanjo temelji velike zakristije (a). Neraziskan je ostal del zravnanega zemljišča (b) pri zidu okrog cerkve (c) in plasti pod *zidom* 6 (d), vzdolž katerega je potekal prerez skozi kotanjo (e; *Rn* 221/61b). Fotografija prikazuje nivo izkopa približno 0,8 m nad dnom kotanje B.
Fig. 1.19: Bled Island, view of IP 1/2 from the north. Dolomite bedrock borders on hollow B to the west and north. To the east the hollow transforms into the slope that descends towards the lake, while to the south the foundations of the large sacristy (a) reach into the hollow. Unresearched are the part of the levelled land (b) next to the wall around the church (c) and the layers underneath *wall* 6 (d), alongside which the cross-section though the hollow was dug (e; *Rn* 221/61b). The photograph shows the level approximately 0.8 m above the base of hollow B.



Sl. / Fig. 1.20 ⟶

Ob kamnitih najdbah so bili v kotanji A tudi drobni in neznačilni odlomki prazgodovinskih lončenih posod. Ti se omenjajo v grobovih 24, 39, 41, 45, 46 in 49,[45] v prerezu skozi prepečeno ilovico pa so našli odlomek ostenja z ročajčkom (kat. št. 30; *sl. 1.18:* 3, *t. 14:* 1) in odlomek z dna posode (kat. št. 31; *sl. 1.18:* 4; *t. 14:* 2).

Koncentracija drobnih prazgodovinskih najdb v naravnih kotanjah je ena od značilnosti arheoloških ostalin na otoku. Posebnost kotanje A je v tem, da so prazgodovinske najdbe našli večinoma v zasutju srednjeveških grobov. Prek grobov je najdbe mogoče zanesljivo povezati s plastjo prvotnega humusa, domnevno pa tudi s plastjo prepečene ilovice. Povezanost s humozno plastjo kažejo najdbe v grobovih, vkopanih neposredno v humus, zunaj plasti prepečene ilovice. Pri grobovih, ki so bili deloma vkopani v plast prepečene ilovice, deloma v humus, povezave niso jasne in bi najdbe v njih lahko izvirale iz ene ali druge plasti.[46]

Tudi če ti odnosi niso znani, ostajajo najdbe in plast prepečene ilovice pomembni ostanki prazgodovinske dejavnosti na območju kotanje A. Na najvišjem delu prepečene ilovice so bili odkriti ostanki kurjenja, ob njih pa vrsta kamnov, za katere se zdi, da so bili tja postavljeni, "da bi omejili omenjeno površino, na kateri je bilo brez dvoma ognjišče".[47] Ti ostanki pričajo, da so tla v velikem delu kotanje izravnali z ilovico, ki so jo nanesli na prvotno plast humusa, pozneje pa na njej kurili.

Kotanja B, v kateri stojijo kamniti temelji *velike zakristije*, je bila ob začetku arheoloških raziskav zasuta, zemljišče je bilo zravnano z debelim nasutjem in omejeno z zidom, ki obdaja ploščad okrog cerkve (*sl. 1.19:* a–c). Arheološka izkopavanja so odkrila, da nad dnom kotanje stoji *zid 6,* postavljen na plast rjavega humusa, debelo do 0,60 m (*sl. 1.19:* d; *1.20:* a; *2.2a:* 6). Ta plast je večidel ležala na dolomitni skali (*sl. 1.20:* b,e), le najnižje, na dnu kotanje, kot kaže profil na južni strani *zidu 6* (*sl. 1.7:* 9/61; *1.19:* e), sta bili med rjavim humusom in živo skalo še plast čiste ilovice, debela do 20 cm, in tanjša plast temnega, skoraj črnega humusa, pomešana z ilovico (*sl. 1.20:* c,d). V plasti temnega humusa so bili številni odlomki prazgodovinske lončenine ter koščki

[45] *Arhiv* 489, str. 37, 43, 44, 47–49.

[46] Drobni keramični odlomki in različni "odbitki" iz tufa, ki se omenjajo v obeh plasteh, za opredeljevanje niso primerni.

[47] *Arhiv* 573, Dnevnik izkopavanj 1962, str. 14.

←

Sl. 1.20: Blejski otok, IP 1/2, območje kotanje B. Prerez skozi plasti na južni strani *zidu* 6 (*Rn* 221/61b): a – *zid* 6, b – svetlo rjav humus, c – temno rjav humus z odlomki keramike in drobci oglja, d – ilovica, e – živa skala.

Fig. 1.20: Bled Island, IP 1/2, area of hollow B. The cross-section through the layers to the south of *wall* 6 (*Rn* 221/61b): a – *wall* 6, b – light brown humus, c – dark brown humus with pottery and charcoal fragments, d – clay, e – bedrock.

ment of a vessel wall with a small handle (cat. No. 30; *Fig. 1.18:* 3, *Pl. 14:* 1) and a fragment of a vessel base (cat. No. 31; *Fig. 1.18:* 4; *Pl. 14:* 2) were found in the cross-section through the burnt clay.

The concentration of small prehistoric finds in natural hollows is characteristic of the archaeological remains on the island. Hollow A is special in the fact that the prehistoric finds were found predominantly in the fill-in material of the mediaeval graves. Through the graves the finds can be reliably linked to the layer of original humus, and most likely also with the layer of burnt clay. The connection with the humus layer is shown through the finds in the graves, buried directly into the humus, outside of the layer of burnt clay. The graves that were partially dug into the layer of burnt clay, partially into humus, did not show a clear connection and the finds within them could have originated from either of the layers.[46]

Even if these relationships aren't clear, the finds and the layer of burnt clay remain important remains of prehistoric activities in the area of hollow A. Fireplace remains were found at the highest point of the burnt clay, and alongside the remains lay a line of stones, which seem to have been placed there intentionally, 'to limit the surface, which undoubtedly represented a fireplace'.[47] These remains indicate that the floor in a large part of the hollow was levelled with clay, which was applied over the original layer of humus and that fires were burnt on this layer.

At the beginning of the archaeological research, hollow B, which included the stone foundations of the *large sacristy*, was filled-in; the ground was levelled with a thick layer of fill-in material and encircled by the wall that surrounds the plateau around the church (*Fig. 1.19:* a–c). Archaeological excavations revealed that *wall* 6*,* placed on a layer of brown humus, up to 0.60 m thick (*Figs. 1.19:* d; *1.20:* a; *2.2a:* 6) stands above the base of the hollow. This humus layer lay mainly on dolomite rock (*fig. 1.20:* b,e), only at the lowest point, at the base of the hollow (as shown by the profile on the south side of *wall 6; Figs. 1.7:* 9/61; *1.19:* e), a layer of pure clay, up to 20 cm thick and a thinner layer of dark, almost black humus mixed with clay were found between the brown humus and the bedrock (*Fig. 1.20:* c,d). The dark humus layer contained several fragments of prehistoric pottery as well as pieces of burnt clay and charcoal.[48] The oval base of the hollow

[46] Small pottery fragments and various tuff 'flakes', mentioned in both layers, were not suitable for categorising.

[47] *Archive* 573, Excavation diary 1962, pg. 14.

[48] According to the documentation the data in the prehistoric layer in hollow B is open to various interpretations. The drawing shows the prehistoric finds in the layer of dark brown, almost black humus, lightly mixed with clay (*Fig. 1.20:* c). The draft of the text for publication does not provide a clear description (*Archive* 489, pg. 67, 70): '*The base of the hollow was covered with clay, which was mixed with humus at the top. This layer included fragments of prehistoric pottery… The base of the hollow is covered with a layer of clay, 20 cm thick and lightly mixed with humus. It is a prehistoric cultural*

Sl. 1.21: Blejski otok, odlomki prazgodovinske lončenine iz kotanje B: 1 (kat. št. 72); 2 (kat št. 78); 3 (kat. št. 81); 4 (kat. št. 82).
Fig. 1.21: Bled Island, fragments of prehistoric pottery found in hollow B: 1 (cat. No. 72); 2 (cat. No. 78); 3 (cat. No. 81); 4 (cat. No. 82).
(Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

prežgane ilovice in drobci oglja.[48] Ovalno dno kotanje je segalo tudi pod temelje *velike zakristije*,[49] a so spodnje plasti tam ostale neraziskane, tako kot v ozkem pasu pod *zidom 6*.

Lončenina iz temne humozne plasti je ohranjena v neznačilnih odlomkih, ki ne omogočajo rekonstrukcije oblik oziroma tipov posod. Mehka, nekoliko porozna keramika je na površini svetlo rjava do temno siva, sredica je večinoma črna (*sl. 1.21*). Na dveh odlomkih so vidni deli okrasa, aplicirana bradavica (kat. št. 75; *sl. 1.18:* 7; *t. 14:* 4) in vrezani črti (kat. št. 77; *sl. 1.18:* 8; *t. 14:* 5). Nekateri odlomki so pripadali izvihanim ustjem (kat. št. 72 in 78; *sl. 1.18:* 6,10; *1.21:* 1,2), drugi dnom posod (kat. št. 76, 81 in 82; *sl. 1.18:* 9,11,12; *1.21:* 3,4; *t. 14:* 6).

[48] Podatki o prazgodovinski plasti v kotanji B v dokumentaciji niso povsem enoznačni. Po risbi so bile prazgodovinske najdbe v plasti temno rjavega, skoraj črnega humusa, rahlo pomešanega z ilovico (*sl. 1.20:* c). V osnutku besedila je opis manj jasen (*Arhiv* 489, str. 67, 70): "*Dno kotanje je bilo pokrito z ilovico, ki je bila na vrhu pomešana s humusom. V tej plasti so bili fragmenti prahistorične keramike … Dno kotanje je pokrito s plastjo ilovice, ki je debela 20 cm in rahlo pomešana s humusom. Gre za prahistorični kulturni sloj, v katerem smo našli več fragmentov keramike, kose hišnega lepa in oglje.*"

[49] *Arhiv* 489, str. 67.

also reached underneath the foundations of the *large sacristy*,[49] thus the lower levels remain unresearched, as does the narrow strip underneath *wall 6*.

The pottery from the dark humus layer has been preserved in uncharacteristic fragments, which do not permit the reconstruction of the forms or determining the shapes of vessels. The surface of the soft, slightly porous pottery, is light brown to dark grey, while the centre is predominantly black (*Fig. 1.21*). Two fragments reveal parts of the decoration, an applied wart (cat. No. 75; *Fig. 1.18:* 7; *Pl. 14:* 4) and incised lines (cat. No. 77; *Fig. 1.18:* 8; *Pl. 14:* 5). Some fragments belonged to everted rims (cat. Nos. 72 and 78; *Figs. 1.18:* 6,10; *1.21:* 1,2), others to vessel bases (cat. Nos. 76, 81 and 82; *Figs. 1.18:* 9,11,12; *1.21:* 3,4; *Pl. 14:* 6).

Three stone artefacts were also found in the area of hollow B, all of them in the vicinity of the finds in the dark humus, but slightly higher up in the fill-in material (*Fig. 1.10*). The artefacts found were a drill (cat. No. 85; *Fig. 1.15:* 5; *Pl. 13:* 4), an arrowhead (cat. No. 67; *Fig. 1.15:* 6; *Pl. 13:* 5) and a scarper (cat. No. 73; *Fig. 1.15:* 7; *Pl. 13:* 6). A tuff flake (*Fig. 1.17:* 1) was found not far from the drill, and a flint flake (*Fig. 1.17:* 3) and a fragment of a hand-made pottery earthenware bowl (cat. No. 59; *Fig. 1.18:* 5; *Pl. 14:* 3) were found next to the scraper.

Hollow C, which was discovered during the excavations underneath the occupation surface in the church, is of a similar depth as hollow A, and both lay significantly higher than hollow B. The altitudes of the bases of the hollows were measured as follows: hollow C 492.88 m, hollow A 492.95 m, and hollow B 489.24 m (*Fig. 1.9*). On the north side of hollow C, the layers were cut through by the walls of the existing church, while on the west and east edges the base is covered by the remains of earlier church walls. The original layers on top of the bedrock were preserved under the transition from the *nave* into the *presbytery* (*Fig. 1.22*).

Several prehistoric finds were found in this area, alongside the most common stone artefacts pottery fragments (*Fig. 1.10*) were especially numerous. These lay underneath the occupation surface in the presbytery, in the layer of medium and dark brown humus (*Fig. 1.23a*)[50] and in the 'prehistoric cultural layer' underneath the occupation surface at the far east of the nave.[51] The pottery finds include only a few characteristic fragments: a fragment of a vessel wall with a wart (cat. No. 136, *Fig. 1.18:* 13; *Pl. 14:* 7), a fragment of a vessel with an upright rim (cat. No. 137, *Fig. 1.18:* 14; *Pl. 14:* 8), a part of the wall at the base of the vessel with a densely grooved exterior and interior surface (cat. No. 138, *Fig. 1.24:* 1; *Pl. 14:* 9) and a fragment of a rim with a rib (cat. No. 139, *Fig. 1.24:* 2; *Pl.*

layer, in which we have found multiple fragments of pottery, pieces of clay doub and coal."

[49] *Archive* 489, pg. 67.

[50] *Archive* 489, pg. 139.

[51] *Archive* 489, pp. 121–122.

Sl. 1.22: Blejski otok, notranjost cerkve, pogled od vzhoda iz prezbiterija v ladjo. V ospredju je dno kotanje C.
Fig. 1.22: Bled Island, church interior, view from the east, from the presbytery towards the nave. The base of hollow C is in the forefront.

Na območju kotanje B so našli tudi 3 kamnite artefakte, vse v bližini najdb v temnem humusu, vendar nekoliko više v nasuti ali že prekopani zemlji (*sl. 1.10*). Ti izdelki so sveder (kat. št. 85; *sl. 1.15:* 5; *t. 13:* 4), puščična ost (kat. št. 67; *sl. 1.15:* 6; *t. 13:* 5) in praskalo (kat. št. 73; *sl. 1.15:* 7; *t. 13:* 6). V tem okolju so nedaleč od svedra našli odbitek iz tufa (*sl. 1.17:* 1), pri praskalu pa kremenov odbitek (*sl. 1.21:* 3) in odlomek lončene sklede prostoročne izdelave (kat. št. 59; *sl. 1.18:* 5; *t. 14:* 3).

Kotanja C, ki so jo raziskave razkrile pod tlakom v cerkvi, je podobno globoka kot kotanja A, obe pa ležita

14: 10). The stone finds from this area were a fan shaped endscraper (cat. No. 132; *Fig. 1.15:* 8; *Pl. 13:* 7), a part of a smoothened axe (cat. No. 131; *Fig. 1.15:* 12; *Pl. 13:* 11) and an elongated flake (*Fig. 1.17:* 2). Alongside the pottery fragments a hole for wooden pillars[52] and scattered pieces of burnt clay coating[53] were found.

An approximately 20 cm thick layer with prehistoric finds was discovered south of hollow C, underneath the occupation surface in the southwest corner of the small

[52] *Archive* 489, pg. 220.
[53] *Archive* 489, pp. 121–122, 139, 140, 243, 253.

Sl. 1.23: Blejski otok, prazgodovinski ostanki pod tlakom cerkve. A – tloris kotanje C pod zahodnim delom prezbiterija (*Rn* 221/95e): a – svetlo in temno rjav humus s prazgodovinskimi keramičnimi odlomki; b – živa skala; c – stopničast prehod iz prezbiterija v cekveno ladjo. B – tloris prazgodovinskih ostankov na prostoru male zakristije (*Rn* 221/83c): 1 – s kamni obložena jama za kol v plasti s prazgodovinskimi najdbami; 2 – grobna jama št. 109; 3 – živa skala.
Fig. 1.23: Bled Island, prehistoric remains underneath the walking surface in the church. A – ground plan of hollow C underneath the western part of the presbytery (*Rn* 221/95e): a – light and dark brown humus with prehistoric pottery fragments; b – bedrock; c – gradual transition from the presbytery to the church nave. B – location of prehistoric remains in the area of the small sacristy (*Rn* 221/83c): 1 – hole for wooden pillar, fortified with stones, in the layer with prehistoric finds; 2 – grave pit No. 109; 3 – bedrock.

precej više od kotanje B. Nadmorska višina dna je v kotanji C 492,88 m, v kotanji A 492,95 m, v kotanji B pa 489,24 m (*sl. 1.9*). Na severni strani kotanje C so plasti presekali zidovi obstoječe cerkve, na zahodnem in vzhodnem obrobju dno prekrivajo ostanki starejših cerkvenih zidov. Prvotne plasti nad živo skalo so bile ohranjene pod prehodom iz *ladje* v *prezbiterij* (*sl. 1.22*).

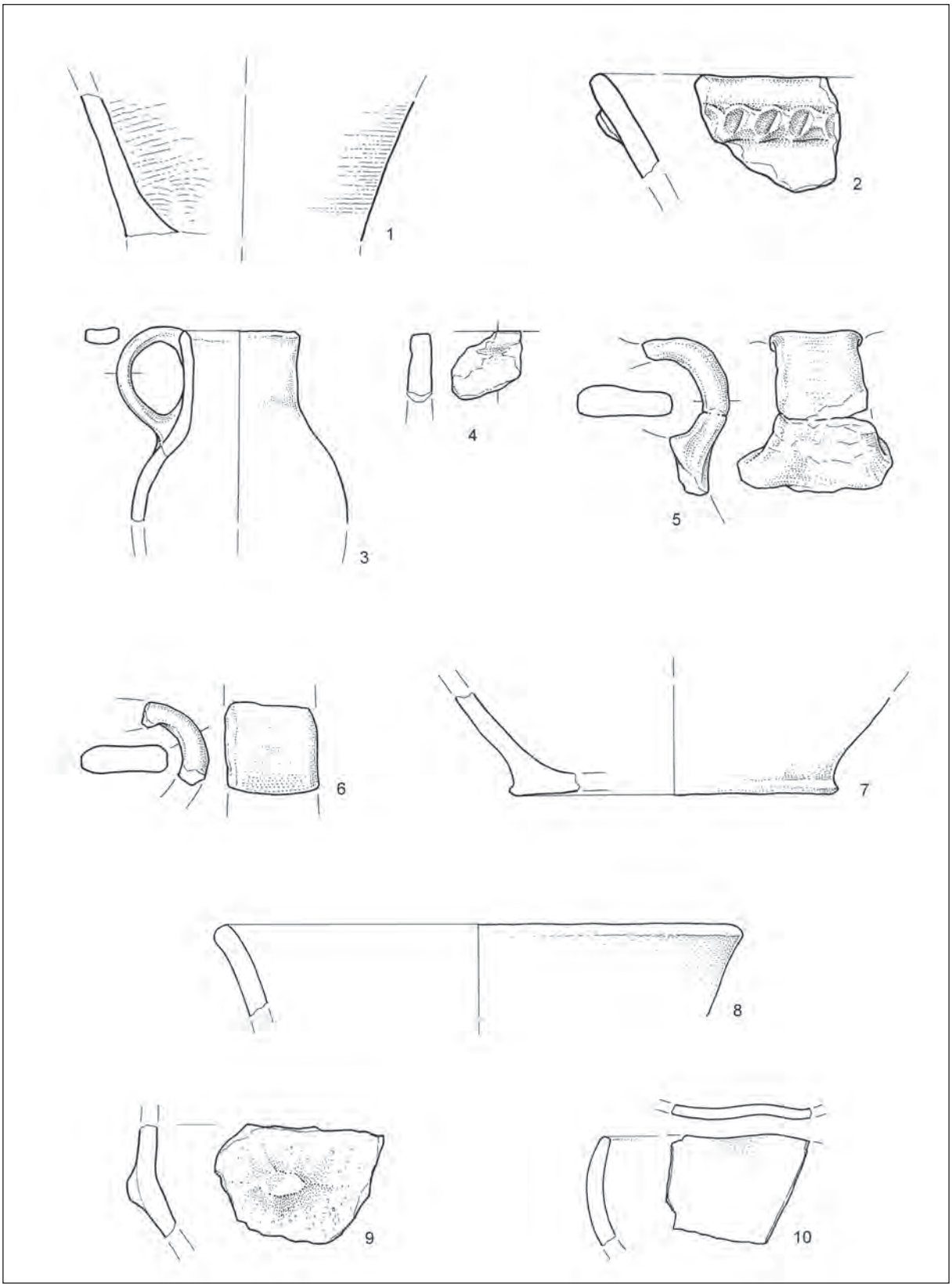
Na tem območju so našli več prazgodovinskih najdb, ob kamnitih izdelkih predvsem veliko odlomkov lončenine (*sl. 1.10*), ki so ležali pod tlakom prezbiterija v plasti srednje in temno rjavega humusa (*sl. 1.23a*)[50] in v "prazgodovinski kulturni plasti" pod tlakom na skrajnem vzhodnem delu ladje.[51] Med keramičnimi najdbami je le nekaj značilnih odlomkov posod: odlomek ostenja s plastično bradavico (kat. št. 136, *sl. 1.18:* 13; *t. 14:* 7), odlomek posode s pokončnim ustjem (kat. št. 137, *sl. 1.18:* 14; *t. 14:* 8), del ostenja pri dnu posode z gosto

[50] *Arhiv* 489, str. 139.
[51] *Arhiv* 489, 121–122.

sacristy (*Fig. 1.10*).[54] This layer lay on the bedrock, approximately 0.8 metres above the prehistoric layer in hollow C.[55] It filled and covered the oval hole for the wooden pillar, carved 0.5 metres deep into the bedrock. The central part of the hole, measuring 20 x 15 cm, was

[54] *Archive* 489, pg. 153–156. The geological composition of the prehistoric layer was not described, but according to the colour in the fieldwork drawing we can assume that it was a layer of clay (*Fig. 1.23b*). – The remnant of this layer was found during the 2016 archaeological excavation that was performed due to the planned addition of an electric cabinet into the small sacristy (Brezigar 2017, 20): *'Individual fragments of prehistoric pottery which could not be typologically and chronologically more precisely defined and a green tuff flake were found in the layer of red clay, which was preserved just above the geological base in some places.'*

[55] Due to the differences in height V. Šribar believed that the holes for the wooden pillars which were discovered in the small sacristy and in the area of hollow C, did not belong to the same building (*Archive* 489, pp. 220–221).



Sl. 1.24: Blejski otok, odlomki prazgodovinske (1–9) in rimskodobne lončenine (10). 1 (kat. št. 138); 2 (kat. št. 139); 3 (kat. št. 141); 4 (kat. št. 142); 5 (kat. št. 143); 6 (kat. št. 144); 7 (kat. št. 145); 8 (kat. št. 149); 9 (kat. št. 151); 10 (kat. št. 159). M. = 1:2.
Fig. 1.24: Bled Island, fragments of prehistoric (1–9) and Roman pottery (10). 1 (cat. No. 138); 2 (cat. No. 139); 3 (cat. No. 141); 4 (cat. No. 142); 5 (cat. No. 143); 6 (cat. No. 144); 7 (cat. No. 145); 8 (cat. No. 149); 9 (cat. No. 151); 10 (cat. No. 159). Scale = 1:2.
(Risba / Drawing: 1–7,9 D. Knific Lunder; 8,10 I. Murgelj)

nažlebljeno zunanjo in notranjo površino (kat. št. 138, *sl. 1.24:* 1; *t. 14:* 9) in odlomek ustja s plastičnim rebrom (kat. št. 139, *sl. 1.24:* 2; *t. 14:* 10). Kamnite najdbe s tega območja so pahljačasto praskalo (kat. št. 132; *sl. 1.15:* 8; *t. 13:* 7), del glajene sekire (kat. št. 131; *sl. 1.15:* 12; *t. 13:* 11) in podolgovat odbitek (sl. 1.17: 2). Ob keramičnih odlomkih so bili ponekod kosci prežganega ilovnatega premaza,[52] odkrili so tudi jamo za kol.[53]

Južno od kotanje C so pod tlemi v jugozahodnem vogalu male zakristije odkrili 20 cm debelo plast s prazgodovinskimi najdbami (*sl. 1.10*).[54] Ležala je na živi skali, približno 0,8 metra više od prazgodovinske plasti v kotanji C.[55] Zapolnila in prekrila je ovalno jamo za kol, vsekano 0,5 metra globoko v živo skalo. Osrednji del jame, velik 20 x 15 cm, je bil obdan z lomljenci, velikimi od 20 x 30 cm do 15 x 15 cm (*sl. 1.23b*).[56] V prazgodovinski plasti so našli kamnito puščično ost (kat. št. 146; *sl. 1.15:* 10; *t. 13:* 8) in številne črepinje lončenih posod, med njimi tudi odlomek ravno odrezanega ustja (kat. št. 142, *sl. 1.24:* 4), odlomek ostenja in dna s poudarjenim obrobjem (kat. št. 145, *sl. 1.24:* 7) ter dele dveh trakastih ročajev (kat. št. 143 in 144, *sl. 1.24:* 5,6; *t. 14:* 12), v zasutju jame za kol pa je ležal del vrča s trakastim ročajem (kat. št. 141, *sl. 1.24:* 3; *t. 14:* 11).

Na raziskanem delu otoka so se prazgodovinske najdbe ohranile predvsem v kotanjah A–C (*sl. 1.10*), kjer jih je veliko še ležalo v prvotni humozni plasti nad ilovico oziroma nad živo skalo. Zunaj kotanj je bilo najdb malo, južno od cerkve so v IP 2/2 našli kamnit odbitek z izjedo (kat. št. 170; *sl. 1.15:* 9; *t. 13:* 9), v sondi 2 pa ob neznačilnih koscih lončenine tudi odlomek izvihanega ustja (kat. št. 149; *sl. 1.24:* 8; *t. 14:* 13) in odlomek ostenja z bradavico (kat. št. 151; *sl. 1.24:* 9; *t. 14:* 14).

Opredelitev prazgodovinskih najdb se je med raziskovanjem spreminjala. Sprva je V. Šribar menil, da so kamniti izdelki iz kotanje A – omenja jih skupaj *s prazgodovinskim kuriščem* – sled lovske postojanke iz eneolitskega časa.[57] Pozneje, ko so na več mestih odkrili prazgodovinsko plast s številnimi odlomki lončenine, je

[52] *Arhiv* 489, str. 121–122, 139, 140, 243, 253.

[53] *Arhiv* 489, str. 220.

[54] *Arhiv* 489, str. 153–156. Geološka sestava prazgodovinske plasti ni opisana, po barvi na terenski risbi je mogoče sklepati, da je bila plast ilovnata (*sl. 1.23b*). – Ostanek te plasti so našli med arheološko raziskavo, ki so jo opravili leta 2016 zaradi načrtovane vgraditve električne omarice v malo zakristijo (Brezigar 2017, 20): "*V plasti rdeče ilovice, ki je bila na nekaterih mestih ohranjena tik nad geološko osnovo, smo odkrili posamezne odlomke prazgodovinske keramike, ki je ožje tipološko in kronološko neopredeljiva, ter odbitek iz zelenega tufa.*"

[55] Zaradi višinske razlike V. Šribar misli, da jami za kol, odkriti v mali zakristiji in na območju kotanje C, nista spadali k isti stavbi (*Arhiv* 489, str. 220–221).

[56] Šribar 1965, 156. – Jamo za kol so ponovno odkrili leta 2016 (Brezigar 2017, 20, s sliko).

[57] Šribar 1962, 241; Šribar 1962–1964.

surrounded by quarry stones measuring from 15 x 15 cm to 20 x 30 cm (*Fig. 1.23b*).[56] A stone arrowhead (cat. No. 146; *Fig. 1.15:* 10; *Pl. 13:* 8) and numerous pottery fragments, including a fragment of a straight rim (cat. No. 142, *Fig. 1.24:* 4), a fragment of a vessel wall and base with an emphasised edge (cat. No. 145, *Fig. 1.24:* 7) and parts of two strap handles (cat. Nos. 143 and 144, *Fig. 1.24:* 5,6; *Pl. 14:* 12) were found within the prehistoric layer, while the fill-in material in the hole for the wooden pillar contained a part of a jug with a strap handle (cat. No. 141, *Fig. 1.24:* 3; *Pl. 14:* 11).

In the researched part of the island the prehistoric finds were mainly preserved in hollows A–C (*Fig. 1.10*), where numerous finds lay in the original humus layer above the clay or bedrock. Elsewhere these finds were rare; a stone flake with a notch (cat. No. 170; *Fig. 1.15:* 9; *Pl. 13:* 9) was found south of the church, in IP 2/2, and a fragment of an everted rim (cat. No. 149; *Fig. 1.24:* 8; *Pl. 14:* 13) and a fragment of a vessel wall with a wart (cat. No. 151; *Fig. 1.24:* 9; *Pl. 14:* 14) were found amongst the uncharacteristic pottery fragments in trench 2.

The definitions of the prehistoric finds were changed during the research. At first V. Šribar believed that the stone artefacts from hollow A – he mentioned them alongside the *prehistoric fireplace* – were a trace of a hunting post from the Eneolithic period.[57] Later, when a prehistoric layer which included scattered and abundant pottery fragments was discovered, he concluded that the stone artefacts were used during the period of the Iron Age settlement on the island,[58] and assumed that they were used for ritual purposes.[59] He dated the earliest pottery finds into the period of the Late Urnfield Culture, but he believed that most of the finds belonged to the Early Iron Age (he mentioned the design similarities with the pottery found in the graves at Pristava, underneath the Bled Castle), while some fragments belonged to the Late Iron Age.[60] Based on pottery finds he also categorised the discovered settlement remains as belonging to the same period.[61]

The prehistoric remains on the island were only fragmentarily preserved, mainly as a result of the building and burial activities that took place in the Middle

[56] Šribar 1965, 156. – The hole for the wooden pillar was rediscovered in 2016 (Brezigar 2017, 20, with picture).

[57] Šribar 1962, 241; Šribar 1962–1964.

[58] *Archive* 489, pg. 253: '*The period of prehistoric settlement objects on the island will be conclusively defined by the chronology of prehistoric pottery. The stratigraphy of flint artefacts within the settled horizons indicates the use of stone artefacts in the period during which this settlement was used. Due to the specific typology we have to allow for the possibility that these artefacts are earlier, but we will not treat them as such.*'

[59] Šribar 1971, 11.

[60] *Archive* 489, pp. 242–244, 253. V. Šribar's notes indicate that he intended to quote the comparisons found in the publication on the burial ground in Pristava (Gabrovec 1960). – Šribar 1965, 156.

[61] Šribar 1965, 155; Šribar 1971, 10–11.

sklepal, da so kamnite artefakte uporabljali v času železnodobne naselbine na otoku,[58] domnevno celo z obrednimi nameni.[59] Najstarejše keramične najdbe je datiral v obdobje pozne kulture žarnih grobišč, v glavnem pa v starejšo železno dobo (omenja oblikovne podobnosti z lončenino iz grobov na Pristavi pod Blejskim gradom), nekatere keramične odlomke opredeljuje tudi v mlajšo železno dobo.[60] Na podlagi keramičnih najdb je kot sočasne opredelil tudi odkrite naselbinske ostanke.[61]

Na otoku so se prazgodovinske ostaline ohranile fragmentarno, vzrok za to sta bila v veliki meri gradnja in pokopavanje v srednjem veku. Arheološki podatki so okrnjeni, povezave med kamnitimi in keramičnimi najdbami ter naselbinskimi ostanki so slabo poznane. Tudi stavb, ki so jih nakazovale jame za kole in kosi ilovnatega stenskega premaza, ni bilo mogoče raziskati v večjem obsegu, ker so bili ključni deli plasti odstranjeni ali pa so prekriti z obstoječimi cerkvenimi zidovi.

Od omenjenih treh sklopov najdb so najbolj razpoznavni kamniti izdelki. Med artefakti, narejenimi z odbijanjem, so 3 praskala, jedrni odbitek, klinica, sveder in odbitek z zajedo in 3 puščične osti (*sl. 1.15:* 1–10). Slednje uvrščamo med deltoidne osti (*sl. 1.15*: 1) in osti brez trna (*sl. 1.15:* 6, 10).[62] Blejska deltoidna ost (*sl. 1.15*: 1) je ploskovno retuširana, torej izdelana v tehnologiji, značilni za čas mlajšega neolitika,[63] a tudi za bakreno dobo, o čemer pričajo kamnite konice in bodala s kolišč pri Igu.[64]

Podobno sta bili narejeni tudi otoški puščični osti brez trna (*sl. 1.15:* 6, 10). Ost z izrabljenim vrhom je oblikovno neizrazita (*sl. 1.15:* 6), ost trikotne oblike (*sl. 1.15:* 10) pa spada med osti z zajedo oziroma konkavno bazo (tip 6 po Josipoviću).[65] Takšne osti so se pojavile na koncu neolitika in so bile v rabi predvsem v bakreni dobi in še pozneje.[66] Obstajajo v več inačicah, primerjave za otoško ost (*sl. 1.15:* 10; inačica 6a) so znane z najdišč Drulovka, Predjama, Samatorca (Pečina na Lokavcu oz. Grotta Azzura), Gradišče nad Pivko pri Naklem in Kevderc na Lubniku.[67] V Blejskem kotu so našli še

[58] *Arhiv* 489, str. 253: "Čas prazgodovinskih stanovanjskih objektov bomo na otoku dokončno opredelili na temelju kronologije prazgodovinske keramike. Stratigrafija kremenčevih izdelkov znotraj poselitvenih horizontov kaže tudi na uporabo kamnitih artefaktov v času teh objektov. Zaradi specifične tipologije dopuščamo možnost, da so ti artefakti starejši, vendar jih iz tega zornega kota ne bomo obravnavali."

[59] Šribar 1971, 11.

[60] *Arhiv* 489, str. 242–244, 253. V nakazanih opombah je V. Šribar, kot je videti, nameraval citirati primerjave iz objave grobišča na Pristavi (Gabrovec 1960). – Šribar 1965, 156.

[61] Šribar 1965, 155; Šribar 1971, 10–11.

[62] Josipović 1984, 79, sl. 4, tip 1 in tip 6.

[63] Josipović 1984, 79; glej tudi Korošec 1960, 10–11.

[64] Turk 2006, 29.

[65] Josipović 1984, 79, sl. 4: 19–22.

[66] Josipović 1984, 79; glej tudi Velušček 2004, 49–50.

[67] Josipović 1984, 79, op. 40 (seznam z literaturo).

Ages. The archaeological data is partial, the connections between the stone and pottery finds and the settlement remains are unclear. The buildings that were indicated by the holes for wooden pillars and the pieces of the clay wall coating cannot be researched in greater detail, as the key parts of the layers were removed or covered by existing church walls.

From the three mentioned sets of finds the stone artefacts are the easiest to categorise. Amongst the artefacts created by striking a core we have: 3 scrapers, one core tablet, a bladelet, a drill, a flake with a notch and 3 arrowheads (*Fig. 1.15:* 1–10). The latter are categorised as deltoid arrowheads (*Fig. 1.15*: 1) and arrowheads without a thorn (*Fig. 1.15:* 6, 10).[62] The Bled deltoid flat arrowhead is retouched (*Fig. 1.15*: 1), i.e. created in a technology characteristic of the Late Neolithic period,[63] but also found in the Cooper Age, see for instance the stone arrowheads and daggers from the pile-dwelling settlement near Ig.[64]

The arrowheads without a thorn (*Fig. 1.15:* 6, 10) were made in a similar way. The arrowhead with the worn tip has an inexplicit design (*Fig. 1.15:* 6), while the triangular arrowhead (*Fig. 1.15:* 10) belongs amongst the arrowheads with notches or a concave base (type 6 according to Josipović).[65] Such arrowheads appeared at the end of the Neolithic period and were in use predominantly during the Copper Age and later.[66] There are several variants of these arrowheads; comparable to Bled Island arrowhead (*Fig. 1.15:* 10; variant 6a) are the ones found at the sites of Drulovka, Predjama, Samatorca (Pečina on Lokavec or Grotta Azzura), Gradišče above Pivka near Naklo and Kevderc on Lubnik.[67] An additional triangular stone arrowhead (variant 6c) was found in the Bled area, in a trial trench dug into the thin layer of clay at the top of Gradišče in Bodešče.[68]

At Hočevarica (on the Ljubljansko barje) a triangular arrowhead with wings (or a concave base) was found in the area of an Eneolithic pile-dwelling settlement.[69] It lay together with the finds from a later settlement phase, which included a preserved bow made from a yew tree.[70] The remains from the pile-dwelling settlement were roughly dated into the second quarter of the 4th millennium BCE. [71]

[62] Josipović 1984, 79, Fig. 4, type 1 and type 6.

[63] Josipović 1984, 79; see also Korošec 1960, 10–11.

[64] Turk 2006, 29.

[65] Josipović 1984, 79, Fig. 4: 19–22.

[66] Josipović 1984, 79; see also Velušček 2004, 49–50.

[67] Josipović 1984, 79, note 40 (list with bibliography).

[68] Knific, Pleterski 1981b; Josipović 1984, 79, note 42; Knific 2011, 80, Fig. 4 (left).

[69] Velušček 2004, 49, 51, Fig. 3.1.23, cat. No. 105. – In line with the proposed typological scheme the arrowhead from Hočevarica is the closest to variant 6b (Josipović 1984, 79, Fig. 4: 20).

[70] Velušček 2004, 42–45, 216, Fig. 3.1.10, cat. No. 23.

[71] Velušček 2004, 311.

eno kamnito ost trikotne oblike (inačica 6c), in sicer v sondi, izkopani v tenko plast ilovice na vrhu Gradišča v Bodeščah.[68]

Na Hočevarici na Ljubljanskem barju pa so našli trikotno puščično ost s krilci (oz. konkavno bazo) na območju eneolitskega kolišča.[69] Ležala je skupaj z najdbami iz mlajše naselitvene faze, med katerimi se je ohranil tudi lok iz lesa tise.[70] Ostanki kolišča so okvirno datirani v drugo četrtino 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. [71]

V poznoneolitski-eneolitski čas lahko umestimo tudi druge retuširane kamnite artefakte (*sl. 1.15:* 2–5, 7–9) in oba odlomka glajenih sekir (*sl. 1.15:* 11,12).[72] Najdeni neobdelani odbitki kažejo, da so kamnito orodje izdelovali tudi na otoku (*sl. 1.17*). Za deloma ohranjene žrmlje so iz omenjenega obdobja znane številne primerjave (*sl. 1.16:* 2), npr. s kolišča na Hočevarici.[73]

Širok časovni okvir, ki ga zarisujejo kamniti izdelki, je mogoče zožiti na podlagi datacije maloštevilnih značilnih keramičnih odlomkov, ki so ležali v isti naselbinski plasti kot kamnite najdbe. Na majhnem območju pod tlakom *male zakristije* so bili v plasti skupaj puščična ost (*sl. 1.15:* 10), del vrča (*sl. 1.24:* 3), odlomki dveh trakastih ročajev (*sl. 1.24:* 5,6), odlomek ustja (*sl. 1.24:* 4) in odlomek ostenja pri dnu posode (*sl. 1.24:* 7). Za vrč z ozkim vratom in trakastim ročajem, ki povezuje ustje z ramo posode (*sl. 1.24:* 3), poznamo primerjave med posodjem s kolišč pri Igu, datiranih v 3. tisočletje pr. n. š.[74] Trakasti ročaji, kot sta otoška primerka (*sl. 1.24:* 5,6), so tam pogosti tudi na drugih oblikah posod, npr. na loncih.[75]

V čas bakrene dobe bi lahko postavili tudi večino značilnejših keramičnih najdb iz prazgodovinske plasti v kotanjah A–C. Skupni sta jim svetlo rjava površina in siva do črna sredica (*t. 14:* 1,2,4–7,11,12). Okras je skromen, le aplicirani stožčasti bradavici (*t. 14:* 4, 7) ter sled žlebljenja in vreza na drobnem odlomku (*t. 14:* 5). Tudi ročajček (*sl. 1.18:* 3), najden v prerezu skozi *prazgodovinsko ognjišče*, odkrito v kotanji A, in v bližini najdeni odlomek ustja sklede (*sl. 1.18:* 5) bi lahko bila dela posod iz bakrene dobe.

Nekateri keramični odlomki, ki se po barvi ali okrasu razlikujejo od večine in so bili najdeni na ob-

[68] Knific, Pleterski 1981b; Josipović 1984, 79, op. 42; Knific 2011, 80, sl. 4 (levo).

[69] Velušček 2004, 49, 51, sl. 3.1.23, kat. št. 105. – Puščična ost s Hočevarice je po predlagani tipološki shemi najbliže inačici 6b (Josipović 1984, 79, sl. 4: 20).

[70] Velušček 2004, 42–45, 216, sl. 3.1.10, kat. št. 23.

[71] Velušček 2004, 311.

[72] Po mnenju Matije Turka (ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo) so kamnite najdbe z Blejskega otoka zelo verjetno iz bakrene dobe.

[73] Velušček 2004, 51, kat. št. 111–119, 216.

[74] Korošec, Korošec 1969, 64, 67, t. 18: 2; 19: 3; 22: 7. – Na primerjave na koliščih pri Igu naju je opozoril Peter Turk (Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana).

[75] Korošec, Korošec 1969, 15.

Other retouched stone artefacts (*Fig. 1.15:* 2–5, 7–9) and both fragments of polished axes (*Fig. 1.15:* 11,12) can be placed into the Early Neolithic – Eneolithic period.[72] The unretouched flakes indicate that stone tools were also made on the island (*Fig. 1.17*). Numerous comparitions have been found for the partially preserved quern from this period (*Fig. 1.16:* 2), e.g. the quern from the pile-dwelling settlement at Hočevarica.[73]

The broad timescale, indicated by the stone artefacts, can be narrowed down on the basis of the rare characteristic pottery fragments, which lay in the same settlement layer as the stone finds. An arrowhead (*Fig. 1.15:* 10), a part of a jug (*Fig. 1.24:* 3), fragments of two strap handles (*Fig. 1.24:* 5,6), a rim fragment (*Fig. 1.24:* 4) and a part of a vessel wall close to the base (*Fig. 1.24:* 7) were all found within a small area in the same layer underneath the occupation surface of the *small sacristy*. We have found comparisons for the jug with the narrow neck and the handle, which connected the rim to the shoulder of the vessel (*Fig. 1.24:* 3), amongst the pottery from the pile-dwelling settlements at Ig, dated into the 3rd millennium BCE.[74] Strap handles, similar to the ones found on Bled Island (*Fig. 1.24:* 5,6), were common at Ig also on other types of vessels, for instance on pots.[75]

Most of the identifiable pottery finds from the prehistoric layer in hollows A–C could be dated into the Copper Age. These pottery finds share a light brown surface and a centre ranging from grey to black in colour (*Pl. 14:* 1,2,4–7,11,12). Decorations are modest, for only the applied conical warts (*Pl. 14:* 4, 7), traces of grooves and the incision in the small fragment (*Pl. 14:* 5) have been found. The small handle (*Fig. 1.18:* 3), found in the cross-section through the *prehistoric fireplace* in hollow A, and the rim fragment pertaining to a bowl found nearby (*Fig. 1.18:* 5) could be parts of Copper Age vessels.

Some ceramic fragments, which differ from the majority in their colour or decoration and were found in the area of hollow C, could be later, i.e. belonging to the Bronze or Iron Age. Such are for instance: the fragment of the brick red bowl, decorated with a rib with impressions (*Fig. 1.24:* 2; *Pl. 14:* 10),[76] the fragment of the vessel with a straight rim (*Fig. 1.18:* 14; *Pl. 14:* 8) and the fragment of the vessel wall, decorated with dense grooves (*Fig. 1.24:* 1; *Pl. 14:* 9).

[72] Matija Turk (ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archaeology) believes that the stone finds from Bled Island most likely originated from the Copper Age.

[73] Velušček 2004, 51, cat. No. 111–119, 216.

[74] Korošec, Korošec 1969, 64, 67, Pl. 18: 2; 19: 3; 22: 7. – Peter Turk (National Museum of Slovenia, Ljubljana) drew attention to the comparison with the pile-dwelling settlements at Ig.

[75] Korošec, Korošec 1969, 15.

[76] Ribs with the impressions under the edge of the rim were also found on two fragments from Gradec near Mirna, in its earlier, Eneolithic settlement phase (Dular 2001, 95, Pl. 3: 2,3)

močju kotanje C, so lahko tudi mlajši, iz bronaste ali železne dobe. Takšni so odlomek opečnato rdeče sklede, okrašene s razčlenjenim rebrom (*sl. 1.24:* 2; *t. 14:* 10),[76] odlomek posode s pokončnim ustjem (*sl. 1.18:* 14; *t. 14:* 8) in odlomek ostenja, okrašen z gostim žlebičenjem (*sl. 1.24:* 1; *t. 14:* 9).

1.4.2 RIMSKODOBNI IN POZNOANTIČNI DROBCI

Najdb iz rimske dobe je na Blejskem otoku malo (*sl. 1.10*). Zanesljivo je iz tega časa odlomek lončene sklede, ki so ga našli v zasutju groba 23 (kat. št. 4; *sl. 1.25:* 2; *t. 14:* 16). Odlomek je pripadal polkroglasti skledi z izvlečenim robom ustja, ravnim dnom in glazirano notranjo površino. Med poznorimsko glazirano lončenino so takšne sklede (tip LRG 27) pogoste, značilne za čas od druge tretjine 4. do začetka 5. stoletja.[77] Blejska skleda ima vodoravno izvlečen rob ustja, kar jo uvršča med sklede inačice a (LRF 27 a).

Iz rimske dobe je verjetno tudi nekaj drugih odlomkov lončenine, ki so ležali raztreseno po najdišču. To so odlomki ustij in dna posod, dobro žganih, iz prečiščene gline, svetlo rjave do opečnato rdeče površine (kat. št. 62, 155, 158, 165; *sl. 1.25:* 4, 8–10; *t. 14:* 17–20). Odlomki pripadajo težko opredeljivi navadni lončenini. V Blejskem kotu so podobno lončenino našli v drobnih odlomkih tudi na Pristavi (najdbe v drugotni legi), v Želečah (ostanki stavbe in vanjo vkopani skeletni grobovi) in Zasipu (naselbinski ostanki).[78]

Rimskodobni bi lahko bili tudi železni pisali iz srednjeveških grobov 55 (*t. 2:* 16; *17:* 7) in 56 (*t. 2:* 18; *17:* 8). Ker manjkajo podatki o njuni natančni legi v grobu, je mogoče, da sta se znašli v zasipu kot starejši najdbi (o njuni morebitni zgodnjesrednjeveški dataciji na str. 73). Primerjave za takšna pisala iz rimskega časa so znane iz Augsta (*Augusta Raurica*) v Švici; uvrščena so v oblikovno skupino W 95 in datirana v konec 3. in začetek 4. stoletja.[79]

V Šribarjem osnutku se med verjetno rimskimi najdbami omenjata preluknjan kovanec (kat. št. 140), ki je ležal v plasti pod grobom 120,[80] in del kamnite plošče iz zasutja groba 72 (kat. št. 135a).[81] Najdbi sta

[76] Razčlenjeno rebro pod robom ustja imata odlomka z Gradca pri Mirni, najdena v najmlajši, eneolitski fazi naselbine (Dular 2001, 95, t. 3: 2,3)

[77] Cvjetićanin 2006, 34–39, LRG 27 a.

[78] Pflaum 2010.

[79] Schaltenbrand Obrecht 2012, 190–192, Abb. 192.

[80] *Arhiv* 489, str. 257: "V plasti pod kostmi nog je bil na prostoru prezbiterija zelo slabo ohranjen nedoločljiv, verjetno rimski novec. Ob zunanjem robu je bil preluknjan in se zdi, da so na *površini ostanki pozlatitve. Ni dvoma, da je ta novec, ki je bil v poznejšem času, podobno kot novci iz groba 95 z grobišča na Pristavi, uporabljen kot obesek. V premeru je imel 18 mm.*"

[81] *Arhiv* 489, str. 254: "*V globini pl. 3, v zasipnem gradivu*

1.4.2 ROMAN PERIOD AND LATE ANTIQUITY FRAGMENTS

There were merely a few Roman period finds on Bled Island (*Fig. 1.10*). We are certain that the earthenware bowl fragment, which was found in the fill-in material in Grave 23 (cat. No. 4; *Fig. 1.25:* 2; *Pl. 14:* 16) belonged to this period. The fragment belonged to a semi-spherical bowl with an everted rim, flat base and a glazed interior surface. Such bowls (type LRG 27) were common amongst Late Roman glazed pottery, characteristic of the period from the second third of the 4th to the beginning of the 5th century.[77] The Bled bowl has a horizontally everted rim, which places its amongst the bowls of variant a (LRF 27 a).

It is highly likely that a few other pottery fragments that lay scattered around the site also belonged to the Roman period. These are fragments of vessel rims and a base, highly charred, made from purified clay, with a surface light brown to brick red in colour (cat. No. 62, 155, 158, 165; *Fig. 1.25:* 4, 8–10; *Pl. 14:* 17–20). The fragments belong to the hard to categorise everyday pottery. In the Bled area small fragments of similar pottery were found also at Pristava (finds in secondary location), in Želeče (amongst the building remains and the skeletal graves dug into it) and Zasip (settlement remains).[78]

The iron styluses found in mediaeval Graves 55 (*Pls. 2:* 16, *17:* 7) and 56 (*Pls. 2:* 18; *17:* 8) could also belong to the Roman period. As there is no data on their precise location within the grave they can be categorised as earlier finds found in the fill-in material (for more on their possible Early Mediaeval dating see page 74). Comparisons for such writing implements from Roman times are known from Augst (*Augusta Raurica*) in Switzerland; they are categorised as type W 95 and dated into the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century CE.[79]

Šribar's draft of the text for publication defines the coin with a hole (cat. No. 140) which lay in the layer underneath Grave 120[80] and a part of the stone tablet from the fill-in material in Grave 72 (cat. No. 135a) as possible Roman finds.[81] These finds are missing, and the documentation includes merely two short descriptions.[82]

[77] Cvjetićanin 2006, 34–39, LRG 27 a.

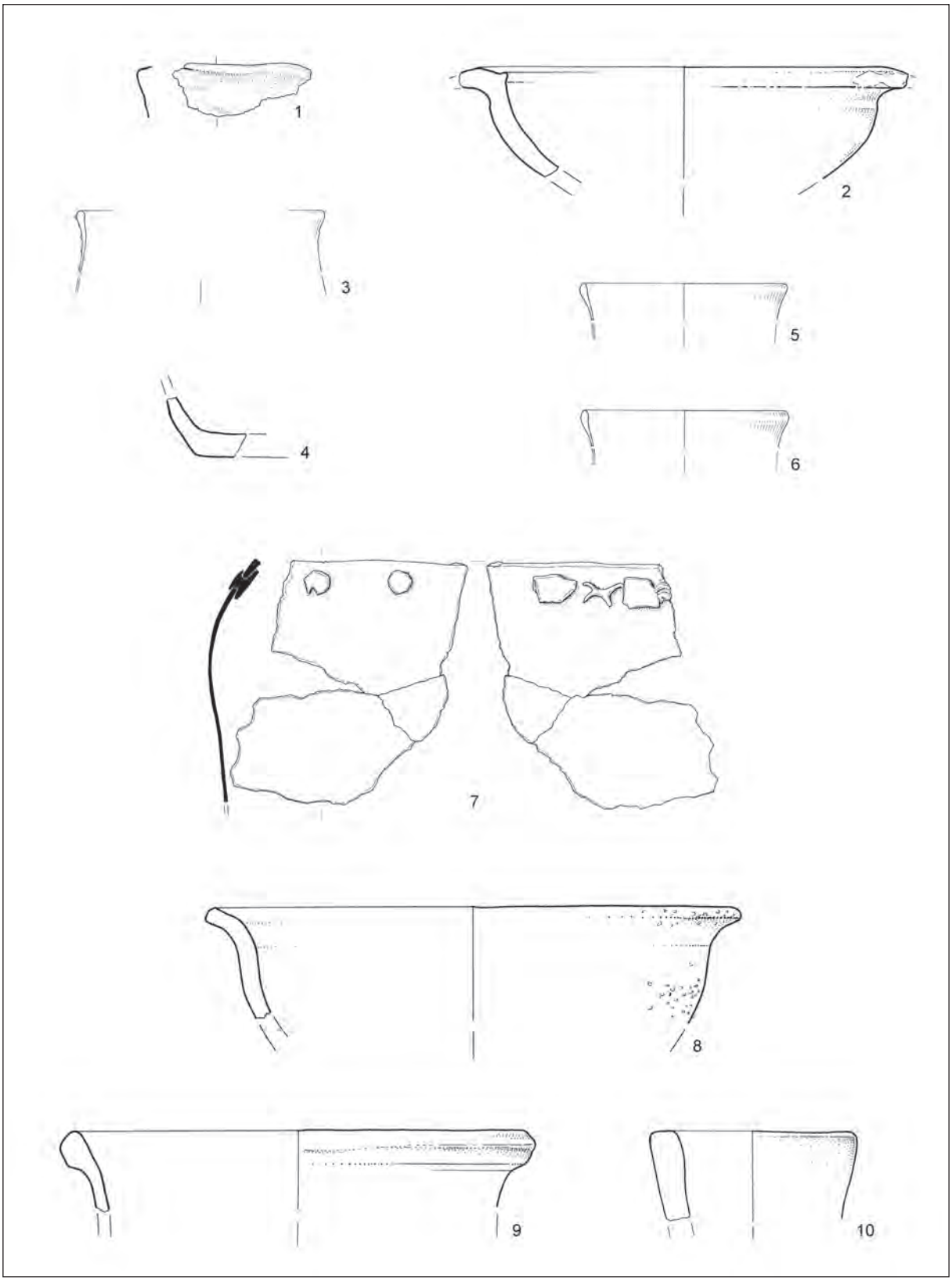
[78] Pflaum 2010.

[79] Schaltenbrand Obrecht 2012, 190–192, Abb. 192.

[80] *Archive* 489, pg. 257: *'A very poorly preserved and hard to categorise, but most likely Roman coin, was found in the layer underneath the bones of the legs, in the area of the presbytery. The coin had a hole on its outer edge and it seems that the surface showed traces of gilding. In a later period this coin was used as a pendant, similar to the coins found in Grave 95 at the burial ground at Pristava. It measured 18 mm in diameter.'*

[81] *Archive* 489, pg. 254: '*The fill-in material in grave pit 72 contained a fragment of a worked sandstone tablet (inv. No. 1934), which is the earliest worked on architectural element on the island and most likely belongs to the Roman period.*'

[82] The descriptions of the finds were written on index cards: S 1934 / Akc. No. 48 (stone tablet) and S 2001/ Akc.



Sl. 1.25: Blejski otok, rimskodobne najdbe: 2 (kat. št. 4); 3 (kat. št. 24); 4 (kat. št. 62); 5 (kat. št. 120); 6 (kat. št. 129); 8 (kat. št. 155); 9 (kat. št. 158); 10 (kat. št. 165). Neopredeljeni starejši najdbi: 1 (kat. št. 1); 7 (kat št. 64). M. = 1:2.
Fig. 1.25: Bled Island, Roman period finds: 2 (cat. No. 4); 3 (cat. No. 24); 4 (cat. No. 62); 5 (cat. No. 120); 6 (cat. No. 129); 8 (cat. No. 155); 9 (cat. No. 158); 10 (cat. No. 165). Uncategorised earlier finds: 1 (cat. No. 2); 7 (cat. no. 64). Scale = 1:2.
(Risba / Drawing: 1–9 D. Knific Lunder; 10 Ida Murgelj)

kat. št. / cat. No.	inv. št. / inv. No.	CuO	ZnO	As_2O_3	Br	Rb_2O	SrO	Y_2O_3	ZrO_2	Sb_2O_3	BaO	PbO
24	S 1988	0,007	0,002	0,001	0,0010	0,001	0,046	0	0,007	0	0	0,0005
44	S 1874	0,008	0,012	0,003	0	0,038	0,110	0	0,004	0	0,32	0,0041
120	S 1933b	0,005	0,002	0,002	0,0005	0	0,071	0,001	0,011	0,025	0	0,0013
121	S 1933c	0,005	0,006	0,001	0,0036	0,002	0,054	0	0,004	0	0	0,0024
129	S 1913	0,006	0,001	0,001	0,0004	0	0,048	0	0,006	0	0	0,0013

kat. št. / cat. No.	inv. št. / inv. No.	Na_2O	MgO	Al_2O_3	SiO_2	SO_3	Cl	K_2O	CaO	TiO_2	MnO	Fe_2O_3
24	S 1988	19,2	1,08	1,91	68,3	0,55	0,83	0,59	6,14	0,08	0,84	0,43
44	S 1874	0,74	2,69	1,87	64,7	0,57	0,22	9,14	18,39	0,04	0,68	0,48
120	S 1933b	18,8	1,01	2,54	64,9	0,60	0,79	0,59	8,79	0,17	0,83	0,85
121	S 1933c	12,4	2,13	4,07	67,2	0,15	0,92	1,97	8,32	0,18	1,39	1,18
129	S 1913	19,3	0,94	1,94	68,2	0,64	0,79	0,43	6,37	0,09	0,75	0,49

Razpredelnica 1: Podatki o steklu z Blejskega otoka, pridobljeni z meritvami po kombinirani metodi PIXE-PIGE.
Table 1: Data on the glass found on Bled Island. The data was obtained through combined PIXE-PIGE measurements.

pogrešani, v dokumentaciji sta le kratka opisa najdb.[82] V Šribarjevem osnutku besedila je omenjena tudi "rimska grobna jama", kot so označili obzidano vdolbino pod južno steno cerkve, vendar v terenski dokumentaciji o tej najdbi ni podrobnejših podatkov.[83] V zvezi z "rimsko grobno jamo" naj bi bili po mnenju V. Šribarja tudi drobci malte, ki so jih našli v zasutju grobov pod tlakom v *preddverju* (glej pogl. 2.1.2*)*.[84]

Trije stekleni odlomki, najdeni na različnih mestih, pripadajo čašam z zataljenim robom ustja (kat. št. 24, 120, 129; *sl. 1.25:* 3,5,6; *t. 16:* 5,6). Analiza z metodo PIXE-PIGE je pokazala, da so bile čaše narejene iz natronskega stekla (*razpredelnica 1*).[85] V Sloveniji so ostanki takšnih čaš pogoste najdbe, povečini v poznoantičnih višinskih naselbinah iz časa od konca 5. do

Šribar's draft of the text for publication also mentions the walled in depression underneath the south church wall as the 'Roman grave pit', however the fieldwork documentation does not provide any detailed data on this find.[83] According to V. Šribar the mortar fragments which were found in the fill-in material of the graves underneath the occupation surface in the *lobby* (see Chapter 2.1.2*)* were also connected to the 'Roman grave pit'.[84]

The three glass fragments, found in various locations, belong to glass vessels with a fire-rounded rim (cat. No. 24, 120, 129; *Fig. 1.25:* 3,5,6; *Pl. 16:* 5,6). The PIXE-PIGE analysis has shown that the vessels were made from natron glass (*Table 1*).[85] The remains of such glass vessels are common in Slovenia, prevailing in Late Antiquity highland settlements dating between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 7th century.[86] Many were found at Tonovcov grad above Kobarid, and the

grobne jame 72 je bil fragment obdelane plošče peščenca (inv. št. 1934), za katerega lahko trdimo, da je najstarejši obdelani arhitektonski element na otoku in je verjetno rimski."

[82] Opisa najdb sta na kartotečnih listih: S 1934 / Akc. št. 48 (kamnite plošča) in S 2001/ Akc. št. 2 (novec).

[83] *Arhiv* 489, str. 231: "Poseben problem predstavlja obzidana grobna jama v jugovzhodnem vogalu cerkve pod južno steno ladje med stranskim oltarjem in stransko kapelo. Od jame smo lahko odkrili le manjši delček. Bila je najprej vkopana v živo skalo, nato pa obložena s prirejenimi apnenčevimi lomljenci in ometana. Stene so bile pravokotne. Zaradi najdb v zasipnem gradivu grobov 66 in 72 domnevamo, da je bila ta zidana grobna jama rimska."

[84] *Arhiv* 489, str. 89.

[85] Odlomke stekla je analiziral Žiga Šmit na Institutu "Jožef Stefan" v Ljubljani.

No. 2 (coin).

[83] *Archive* 489, pg. 231: '*The walled in grave pit in the southeast corner of the church, underneath the south nave wall, between the side altar and the side chapel, represents a special problem. Only a small fragment of the pit was examined. Primarily it was cut into the bedrock, and then tiled with lime quarry stones and plastered. The walls were rectangular. Due to the finds in the fill-in material in Graves 66 and 72 we assumed that this walled grave pit was created during the Roman period.*"

[84] *Archive* 489, pg. 89.

[85] Glass fragments were analysed by Žiga Šmit from the Jožef Stefan Institute in Ljubljana.

[86] Milavec 2011b, 99–100.

začetka 7. stoletja.[86] Veliko so jih našli na Tonovcovem gradu nad Kobaridom, analiza 9 odlomkov s tega najdišča je pokazala, da jih 8 pripada čašam, narejenim iz stekla skupine Levantine I.[87] Steklo z Blejskega otoka je nekoliko drugačno, po sestavi bliže skupini stekla Foy 3.2 (imenovani tudi Série 3.2), podobno kot nekateri primerki s Korinjskega hriba nad Velikim Korinjem.[88] Z analizami PIXE-PIGE so bili v zadnjem času ugotovljeni vzorci stekla skupine Foy 3.2 na poznoantični višinski naselbini na Jelici v Srbiji (skupina stekla Jel 1).[89]

[86] Milavec 2011b, 99–100.

[87] Milavec, Šmit 2018, 356, 364, Fig./sl. 2; Pl./ t. 1: 5,7–13.

[88] Milavec, Šmit 2020.

[89] Balvanović, Marić Stojanović, Šmit 2018, 1177, 1181, Table 3.

analysis of 9 fragments from this site has shown that 8 of them were made from glass belonging to the Levantine I group.[87] The glass from Bled Island is slightly different, in its composition closer to the glass group Foy 3.2 (also known as Série 3.2), similar to some examples from Korinjski hrib above Veliki Korinj.[88] The PIXE-PIGE analysis has been recently used to determine the glass samples belonging to group Foy 3.2 at the Late Antiquity highland settlement on Jelica in Serbia (glass group Jel 1).[89]

[87] Milavec, Šmit 2018, 356, 364, Fig. 2; Pl. 1: 5,7–13.

[88] Milavec, Šmit 2020.

[89] Balvanović, Marić Stojanović, Šmit 2018, 1177, 1181, Table 3.

2. INTERPRETACIJA GROBIŠČA IN NAJDB

2. INTERPRETATION OF THE BURIAL GROUND AND THE FINDS

Polona BITENC, Timotej KNIFIC

2.1 INTERPRETACIJA GROBIŠČA

Arheološke raziskave so pokazale, da je bilo površje Blejskega otoka nekoč bolj razgibano, kot je zdaj. Na skalnatem grebenu na vrhu je bilo več kotanj. V njih so našli kulturne ostanke iz zgodnjega prazgodovinskega obdobja, izraziti so predvsem sledovi iz bakrene dobe. Odkriti so bili v tenki plasti temnega humusa, ki je pokrivala ilovico na dnu kotanj, deloma pa tudi v ilovici. Do zgodnjega srednjega veka se je v kotanjah nabrala približno 0,5 metra debela plast svetlo rjavega humusa, v različni debelini je bila s takšno prstjo prekrita tudi živa skala v njihovi okolici. Ko so na vrhu otoka začeli pokopavati, je bil kotanjasti relief že precej zabrisan (*sl. 1.13a; 1.20*).

2.1.1 GROBOVI

Srednjeveški grobovi so bili na več mestih, v skupinah, prilagojenih naravni razgibanosti tal ali tedaj obstoječim stavbam (*sl. 2.1; N 24*). V okolici zdajšnje cerkve in pod tlakom v njeni notranjščini so odkrili 124 skeletnih grobov.[1] Prevladujoča smer pokopavanja je bila od Z (glava) proti V (noge). Na največjem delu grobišča, na območju IP 1/1 severno od cerkve, so grobovi ležali v 5 vrstah, potekajočih v smeri S–J (*sl. 2.1; 2.2*). Na gosto so bili vkopani predvsem na prostoru kotanje A, kjer je bilo prsti več, nekoliko redkeje pa na njenem obrobju, kjer so bili grobovi deloma vkopani v skalnato osnovo.

[1] V tem poglavju uporabljamo izraze "cerkev", "preddverje", "ladja" itd. izključno kot prostorske in orientacijske podatke. Izrazi se vedno nanašajo na obstoječo cerkveno stavbo (*sl. 1.5:* 1–7).

2.1 INTERPRETATION OF THE BURIAL GROUND

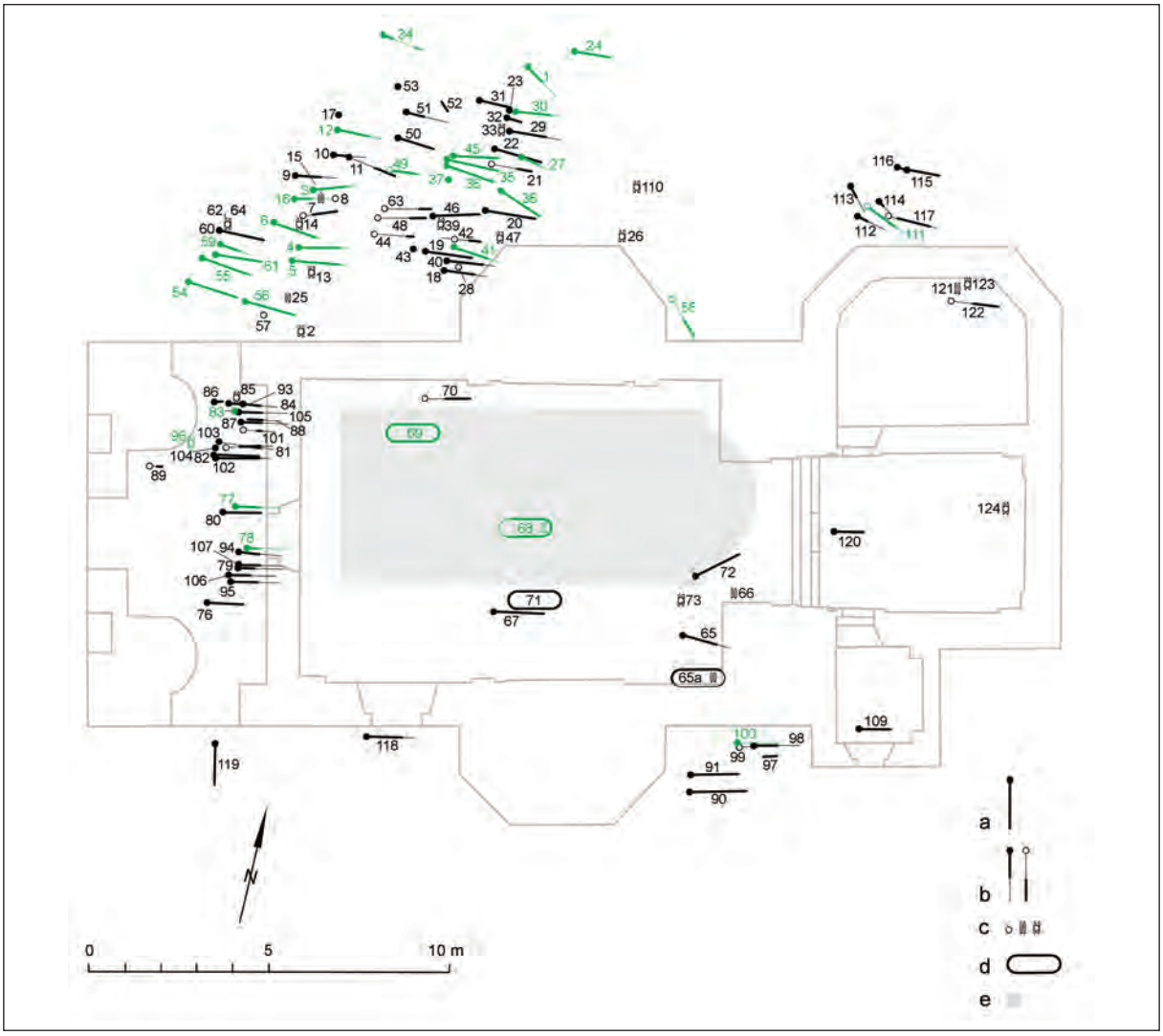
Archaeological excavations have revealed that the surface of Bled Island used to be more diverse. Several hollows were found on the rock ridge at the top of the island. The hollows contained cultural remains dating back to various early prehistoric periods, most of which belonged to the Copper Age. These were discovered in the thin layer of dark humus that covered the clay at the bottom of the hollows and to a certain degree also in the clay itself. By the Early Medieval period the hollows were covered by an approximately 0.5 m thick layer of light brown humus, and the bedrock surrounding these hollows was covered with the same soil, but of a different thickness. At the time the top of the island was started to be used as a burial ground, the hollow relief was almost invisible (*Fig. 1.13a; 1.20*).

2.1.1 GRAVES

Medieval graves were found in various locations, laying in groups that were adjusted to the relief and the buildings that existed at the time (*Fig. 2.1; N 24*). 124 skeletal graves were discovered in the surroundings of the current church and underneath the paving stones in its interior.[1] The prevailing orientation of burials was from W (head) to E (feet). In the largest part of the burial

* Translation Sunčan Patrick Stone.

[1] In this chapter we use the expressions 'church', 'lobby', 'nave' etc. explicitly as spatial and orientation data. The expressions are always mentioned in relation to the existing church building (*Fig. 2.5:* 1–7).



Sl. 2.1: Blejski otok, srednjeveško grobišče pri cerkvi (shematizirano in dopolnjeno po predlogi V. Šribarja, *Rn* 221/236). a – celo okostje; b – delno ohranjeno okostje; c – ostanki prekopanega okostja: lobanja, druge kosti ter lobanja z drugimi kostmi; d – grobne jame v skalni osnovi; e – območje prvih dveh cerkev (po V. Šribarju, *Rn* 221/237). Zeleno – grobovi s pridatki in ostanki krst (grobova 68 in 69). Zaradi nezadostnih podatkov niso vrisani grobovi 74, 75, 92 in 108.
Fig. 2.1: Bled Island, mediaeval cemetery next to the church (schematised and supplemented with V. Šribar's material, *Rn* 221/236). a – entire skeleton; b – partially preserved skeleton; c – remains of a reburied skeleton: skull, other bones and skull with other bones; d – grave pits in the bedrock; e – the areas of the first two churches (after V. Šribar, *Rn* 221/237). Green – graves with grave goods and coffin remains (Graves 68 and 69). Due to insufficient data Graves 74, 75, 92 and 108 have not been included. (Izdelava / Elaborated by: I. Murgelj)

Tretja vrsta grobov v IP 1/1 ni bila odkrita v celoti, ker so nekateri grobovi ležali pod ostanki *zidu* in *tlaka*, ki jih med arheološkimi raziskavami niso odstranili (*sl. 1.11:* e,f; *2.2a; N 24*).[2]

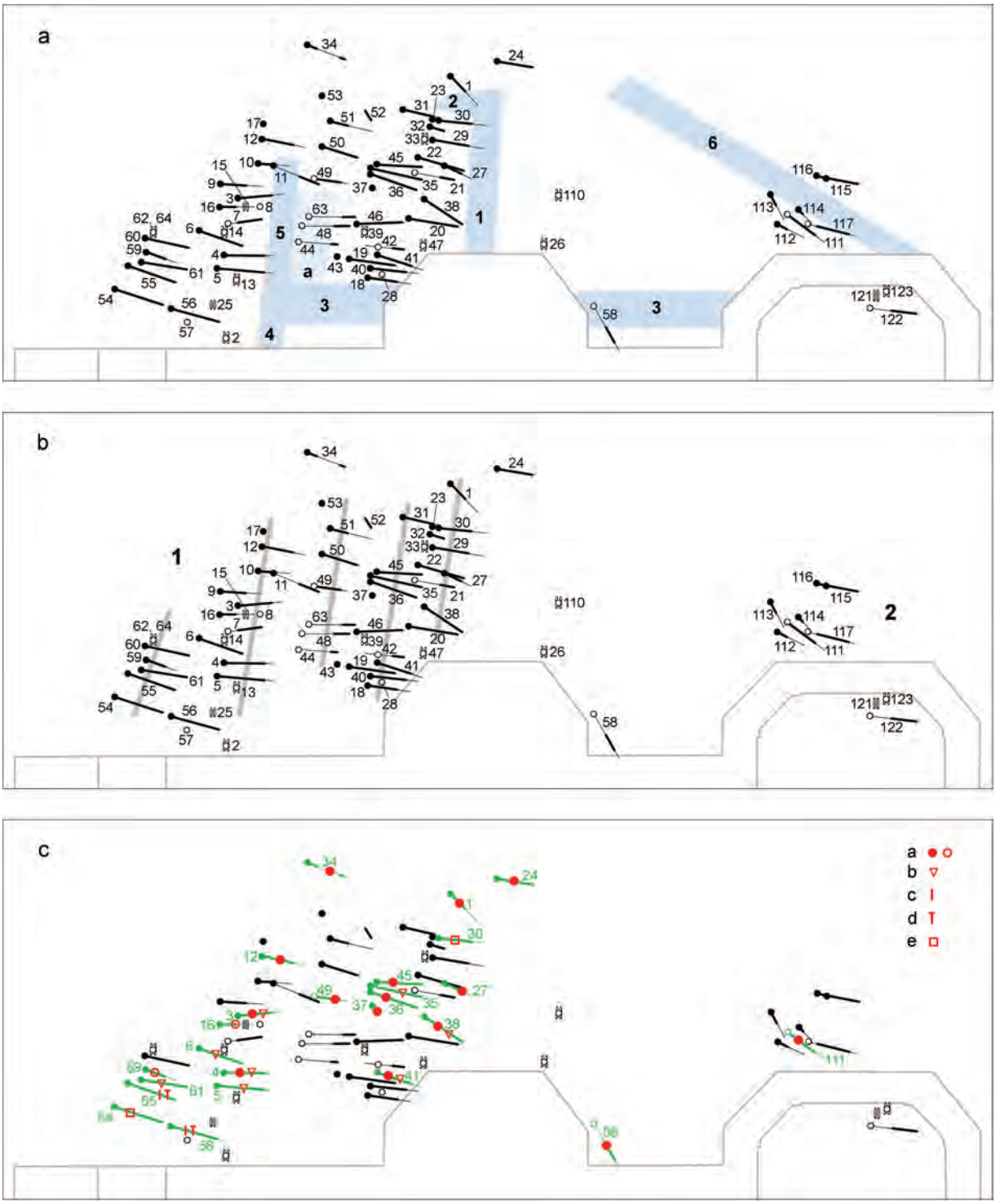
Nekatere grobne jame so bile vkopane v živo skalo deloma ali v celoti,[3] vkopi drugih grobov pa niso segli do

[2] To je bilo ugotovljeno pri grobovih 12, 44, 48 in 63.

[3] Delno ali v celoti so bili v skalno osnovo vkopani grobovi 1, 4, 9, 17, 30, 34, 45, 49, 51, 54, 55, 61, 65–69, 71, 72, 76, 78–82, 86–91, 93–95, 97–107, 109 in 118.

ground, in area IP 1/1, north of the church, the graves lay in 5 rows, in the N-S direction (*Fig. 2.1; 2.2*). The graves were particularly close together in hollow A, where there was more soil, and somewhat less dense at its edges, where the graves were partially dug into the rock base. The third row of graves in IP 1/1 was not unearthed in its entirety, as some graves lay underneath the remains of the *walls* and *paving stones* which were not removed during the archaeological excavations (*Figs. 1.11:* e,f; *2.2a*; *N 24*).[2]

[2] This was the case with graves 12, 44, 48 and 63.



Sl. 2.2: Blejski otok, grobovi prve in druge skupine na severni strani cerkve in pod tlakom velike zakristije. A – ostanki *zidov 1–6* in *tlaka* (a), pod katerimi je ostal neraziskan del grobišča. B – vrste grobov v prvi skupini. C – pridatki v grobovih (zeleno): a – nakit (poln krožec: najdbe *köttlaške skupine*; prazen krožec: drugo); b – nož; c – pisalo; d – žebelj; e – svinčena ploščica.
Fig. 2.2: Bled Island, graves pertaining to the first and second group on the north side of the church and underneath the occupation surface of the large sacristy. A – remains of *walls* 1–6 and *paving stones* (a), underneath which a part of the burial site remains unresearched. B – lines of graves pertaining to the first group. C – grave goods (green): a – jewellery (filled circle: finds pertaining to the *Köttlach group*; empty circle: other); b – knife; c – stylus; d – nail; e – lead tablet.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: I. Murgelj)

dolomitne skale. V živi skali so se jame dobro videle, bile so ovalne ali pravokotne oblike z zaobljenimi vogali, z bolj ali manj navpično vkopanimi stenami. Pri nekaterih jamah so se še poznale sledi orodja, ki so ga uporabili pri kopanju, izrazito predvsem pri skupini grobov pod tlakom preddverja (*sl. 2.5; t. 32*: 3; *33:* 2).[4] Več jam so vsekali globoko v skalo, tudi do 0,8 m, bolj pogosto pa plitveje.[5] Ob okostjih so redko ležali večji kamni: v grobu 55 so bili razvrščeni ob stenah grobne jame kot obloga (*t. 30:* 3; *N 1*), v grobovih 66 (*N 7*) in 72 (*t. 31:* 6; *N 8; 9*) zloženi v dveh vrstah drug na drugem v zidec, v grobu 46 pa je za lobanjo tičal oglat kamen (*t. 28:* 3; *N 5*).

Čistejši grobni zasip je bil le v tistih grobovih, ki so bili vkopani skozi naravno plast do ilovice: v njih je bila prst, ilovica in kamnit drobir kot npr. v kotanji B (grobovi 111–118). Nekaj okostij je ležalo v plasti temne zemlje, pomešane s prazgodovinskimi ostanki; na območju kotanje A so bili to kamniti izdelki in odbitki; ob okostjih so jih našli večinoma v drugotni legi, zato najdb niso vključili med grobne pridatke. V zasutju nekaterih grobov so bili tudi odlomki prazgodovinske lončenine, v kotanji B so takšni odlomki ležali tik ob jamah grobov, izkopanih do nivoja prvotne hodne površine (glej pogl. 1.4.1). V skupini grobov v preddverju, vkopanih dosledno v živo skalo, so bili v temno rjavem humusu v zasipu drobci malte.[6]

Praviloma so umrle pokopali v samostojni grobni jami; enojni pokop je viden v grobovih na severni strani cerkve, predvsem na zahodnem robu grobišča (v IP 1/1), kjer so grobovi vkopani manj na gosto (*sl. 2.2*). Pri grobovih 40 in 41 je mogoče sklepati na dvojni pokop v skupno grobno jamo (*t. 27:* 5).

Zelo pogosti so bili pokopi na mestu starejših grobov. Groba včasih niso izkopali do globine starejšega in je okostji ločevala tanka plast zemlje, kot pri grobovih 82 in 102, v primeru grobov 84, 93 in 105 pa so okostja ležala drugo nad drugim v treh nivojih. Veliko je grobov, ki so jih enkrat ali večkrat prekopali, ostanke okostij iz njih pa zbrali na enem ali pustili na več mestih v novih grobovih. Zaradi zaporednih pokopov na skoraj istem mestu se je ponekod prvotna jama v skali postopno povečevala; nazoren primer je "skupna" jama grobov 81, 82 in 102–104 (*sl. 2.5*). Prekopanih grobov je bilo največ sredi severozahodnega dela grobišča (*sl. 2.2*), kjer je bila plast zemlje debelejša, in pod tlakom cerkvenega preddverja (*sl. 2.5*), kjer so bile "skupne jame" vkopane v živo skalo. Nekatere grobove so deloma prekopali tudi pri postavljanju zidov, npr. grob 1 (*t. 22:* 1; *N 1,2*), druge so razdrli v celoti, vendar so kosti pietetno zbrali in zložili ob zid cerkve kot pri grobu 2 (*t. 22:* 2,3).

[4] *Arhiv* 489, str. 88, 229.

[5] *Arhiv* 489, str. 228. – Od 0,4 do 0,8 metra globoko v skalo so bili vkopani grobovi 55, 65, 67, 68, 71, 72, 97, 102 in 109.

[6] *Arhiv* 489, str. 89.

Some grave pits were partially or entirely dug into the bedrock,[3] while others failed to reach the dolomite rock. The pits were clearly outlined in the bedrock; they were oval or rectangular in shape, with rounded corners and more or less vertical walls. Some pits still showed the traces of the tools that were used for digging; especially clear were the traces in the cluster of graves underneath the paving stones in the lobby (*Fig. 2.5; Pls. 32*: 3; *33:* 2).[4] Some pits were cut up to 0.8 m deep into the rock, but most of them were not as deep.[5] Large stones occasionally lay alongside the skeletons: in Grave 55 they were organised along the walls of the grave pit as tiles (*Pl. 30:* 3; *N 1*), in Graves 66 (*N 7*) and 72 (*Pl. 31:* 6; *N 8; 9*) they were stacked two rows high as a wall and in Grave 46 a square stone lay behind the skull (*Pl. 28:* 3; *N 5*).

Pure fill-in material was found only in graves that were dug through the natural layer to the clay: for instance, in hollow B (Graves 111–118) the fill-in consisted of soil, clay and gravel. A few skeletons lay in a layer of dark soil mixed with prehistoric remains; the fill-in material in hollow A often contained stone artefacts and flakes, most of which were found alongside the skeletons in a secondary position, thus these findings were not treated as grave goods. In some graves the fill-in material included fragments of prehistoric pottery; in hollow B, for instance, these fragments lay right next to the pits of the graves dug to the depth of the level of the original occupation surface (see Chapter 1.4.1). The graves of the group underneath the lobby, dug into the bedrock, were filled in with dark brown humus mixed with mortar particles.[6]

As a rule, the deceased were buried into an individual grave pit; single burials can be seen in the graves to the north of the church, especially on the west side of the burial ground (in IP 1/1), where the graves are not positioned so close together (*Fig. 2.2*). In the case of Graves 40 and 41 we have ascertained a double burial into a shared grave pit (*Pl. 27:* 5).

Burials in the locations of previous graves were very common. The new grave was sometimes not dug as deep as the earlier grave and the skeletons were separated by a thin layer of soil, as is the case for instance in Graves 82 and 102, while in the example of Graves 84, 93 and 105 the skeletons lay one above the other in three layers. There were numerous graves that were reburied once or several times, and the bone remains from them were gathered in one place or left in multiple locations in the new graves. Due to the consecutive burials in roughly the same locations, the original pit dug into the rock was

[3] Partially or entirely dug into the bedrock were graves 1, 4, 9, 17, 30, 34, 45, 49, 51, 54, 55, 61, 65–69, 71, 72, 76, 78–82, 86–91, 93–95, 97–107, 109 and 118.

[4] *Archive* 489, pp. 88, 229.

[5] *Archive* 489, pg. 228. Graves 55, 65, 67, 68, 71, 72, 97, 102 and 109 were dug between 0.4 m and 0.8 m deep into the rock.

[6] *Archive* 489, pg. 89.

Okostja so slabo ohranjena, kosti so preperele in krhke, večkrat močno razlomljene. Vsa okostja so bila v hrbtni legi, roke iztegnjene ob telesu ali položene v naročje. Po antropoloških podatkih so določljiva okostja 26 moških, 20 žensk, 3 mladostnikov in 15 otrok.[7] V petih grobovih (4, 5, 9, 45, 90) je bila pri okostjih ugotovljena zibljiva spodnja čeljustnica.[8]

Prevladujoča smer pokopa od zahoda (glava) proti vzhodu (noge) je bila izmerjena pri 65 grobovih. Odkloni od S se gibljejo v mejah od 59° do 134°, le grob 119 je bil usmerjen S–J (azimut 175°), z glavo na severni strani (*N 20*). Med grobovi s smerjo Z–V je bil najmanjši kot (59°) odmerjen pri grobu 72, ki je bil vkopan ob ostankih apside starejše cerkve,[9] odkritih pod tlakom v ladji zdajšnje cerkve, največji (134°) pri grobu 113, vkopanem globoko v kotanji B. Najpogostejši, pri 53 grobovih, je azimut med 70° in 100°. Dosledneje vzhodno usmerjenih, z majhnimi odkloni (azimut med 86° in 95°), je bilo 24 grobov, od teh kar 19 na območju severozahodno od cerkve (IP 1/1).[10] Približno v smeri zdajšnje cerkve (78°) je med 74° in 83° ležalo 21 grobov, od teh 13 pod tlakom preddverja, le dva pa na območju IP 1/1.[11] Po prikazanih desetstopinjskih izsekih so bili grobovi v izraziti vzhodni smeri najpogostejši na območju IP 1/1, v smeri cerkvene stavbe pa pod tlakom v preddverju.

Pridatki so bili v 33 grobovih (*t. 1; 2; 3:* 1–13), večina na območju kotanje A in v njeni okolici (*sl. 1.9; 2.1*); poleg osebnih predmetov (predvsem nakit in noži) so bili v grobovih 68 in 69 tudi ostanki krst (glej pogl. 2.2).

Glede na podatke o smeri pokopavanja in razporeditvi pridatkov v grobovih se grobišče deli na severni in južni del. Na načrtu grobišča približna meja med njima poteka po namišljeni črti med grobovi 56, 58 in 122 ob severni steni zdajšnje cerkve (*sl. 2.1*). Na severnem delu grobišča je večina ozko vzhodno usmerjenih grobov in grobov s pridatki, na južnem delu pa večina grobov v smeri cerkve, v katerih so pridatki le izjemoma. Velika gostota pokopov je na severnem delu grobišča, na južnem delu je bolj strnjena le skupina grobov v preddverju.

[7] Leben-Seljak 1996, 301–302.

[8] Wolf 1964.

[9] Starejši arhitekturni ostanki ("apsida", "zahodni zid"), povezani z grobovi, so v tem poglavju vedno označeni kot deli, ki pripadajo "starejši cerkvi".

[10] Grobovi severovzhodno od cerkve (IP 1/1): 5, 9–12, 18, 20, 24, 29–32, 35, 40, 41, 50, 51, 56, 60, 61; drugi grobovi: 65, 78, 86, 115.

[11] Grobovi pod tlakom preddverja: 77, 79, 80, 82, 84, 87, 93–95, 102, 103, 105, 106; drugi grobovi: 4, 45, 67, 76, 109, 118, 120, 122.

gradually expanded; a clear example of this can be seen in the 'shared' pit belonging to Graves 81, 82 and 102–104 (*Fig. 2.5*). Most of the reburied graves were located in the centre of the northwest part of the burial ground (*Fig. 2.2*), where the layer of earth was deeper, and under the paving stones of the church lobby (*Fig. 2.5*), where the 'shared pits' were dug into the bedrock. Some graves were partially reburied when the walls were erected, e.g. Grave 1 (*Pl. 22:* 1; *N 1,2*), while others were dismantled entirely, however the bones were gathered with great respect to the dead and stacked alongside the walls of the church, e.g. Grave 2 (*Pl. 22:* 2,3).

The skeletons were poorly preserved, the bones were decayed and brittle, often badly fractured. All skeletons were placed on their backs, the arms extended alongside the torso or placed onto the pelvis. The skeletons belonging to 26 men, 20 women, 3 juveniles and 15 infants were defined from the anthropological data.[7] Skeletons in five graves (4, 5, 9, 45, 90) were found to have a rocking mandible.[8]

The prevailing W (head) - E (feet) orientation of burials was established in 65 graves. The declinations from the N ranged between 59° and 134°, with the exception of Grave 119 which showed a N–S orientation (azimuth 175°), with the head laying to the north (*N 20*). Amongst the graves with the W-E orientation the lowest angle (59°) was measured in Grave 72, which was dug into the ground alongside the remains of an apse belonging to an earlier church,[9] discovered underneath the paving stones in the nave of the present day church, while the highest angle (134°) was measured in Grave 113, dug deep into hollow B. Most commonly (in the case of 53 graves), the azimuth ranged between 70° and 100°. 24 graves were oriented towards the east (with small declinations, azimuth between 86° and 95°), out of which 19 lay in the area to the northwest of the church (IP 1/1).[10] 21 graves showed a declination between 73° and 83° and thus shared the approximate orientation of the present day church (78°), out of which 13 were discovered underneath the paving stones in the lobby, and only two in the area IP 1/1.[11] According to the ten degree sections it was more common for the graves to be more explicitly orientated towards the east in the area IP 1/1, while the graves under the paving stones in the lobby of the church were mostly oriented in the same direction as the church building.

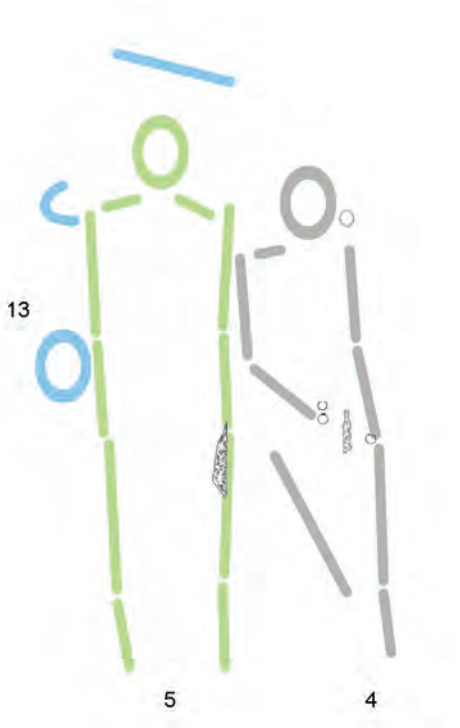
[7] Leben-Seljak 1996, 301–302.

[8] Wolf 1964.

[9] Earlier architectural remains ('apse', 'western wall'), connected to graves are in this chapter always categorised as parts that belong to an 'earlier church'.

[10] Graves laying to the northeast of the church (IP 1/1): 5, 9–12, 18, 20, 24, 29–32, 35, 40, 41, 50, 51, 56, 60, 61; other graves: 65, 78, 86, 115.

[11] Graves underneath the paving stones in the lobby: 77, 79, 80, 82, 84, 87, 93–95, 102, 103, 105, 106; other graves: 4, 45, 67, 109, 118, 120, 122.



Sl. 2.3: Blejski otok, zaporedje pokopov: najstarejši je (prekopani) grob 13 (modro), za njim je bil vkopan grob 5 (zeleno), najmlajši je grob 4 (sivo). (Risba / Drawing: Ida Murgelj)
Fig. 2.3: Bled Island, sequence of burials: the earliest is (the reburied) Grave 13 (blue), followed by Grave 5 (green), and the most recent is Grave 4 (grey).

2.1.2 GROBIŠČE

Ker so bile kotanje v zgodnjem srednjem veku deloma zapolnjene s prstjo in površina precej poravnana z okolico, je bil vrh otoka razmeroma primerno mesto za pokopavanje. Grobišče ni bilo strnjeno, grobovi so bili prostorsko razporejeni na več skupin. V kotanji A in okoli nje (območje IP 1/1) je bilo v 5 vrstah 60 grobov (*sl. 2.2b*). Tam je bila večina grobov s pridatki, 24 od skupno 33 na grobišču. Med pridatki so bili značilni zgodnjesrednjeveški predmeti *köttlaške skupine* (glej pogl. 2.2), ki so jih na širšem območju kotanje A našli v 15 grobovih, drugje na grobišču pa le v 3 grobovih. Na severni strani so ta del grobišča zamejevali 3 grobovi z najdbami *köttlaške skupine*, in sicer grobovi 1 (*t. 1:* 1,2), 24 (*t. 1:* 17,18) in 34 (*t. 1:* 22). Bili so nekoliko odmaknjeni od grobov, odkritih bliže obstoječi cerkvi, kjer je bila gostota grobov velika in je bilo zato tam tudi veliko prekopov. Na zahodni strani je grobišče zaključevala gruča grobov v peti vrsti, ki so jih vkopali v skalnato osnovo (grobovi 54, 55, 60, 61). Zadnji možni čas za te pokope določa zakladna najdba srebrnikov, skrita med letoma 1287 in 1292, ki so jo našli raztreseno nad grobovoma 54 in 55.[12] Razporeditev grobov na južni

[12] Pegan 1965–1967, 66.

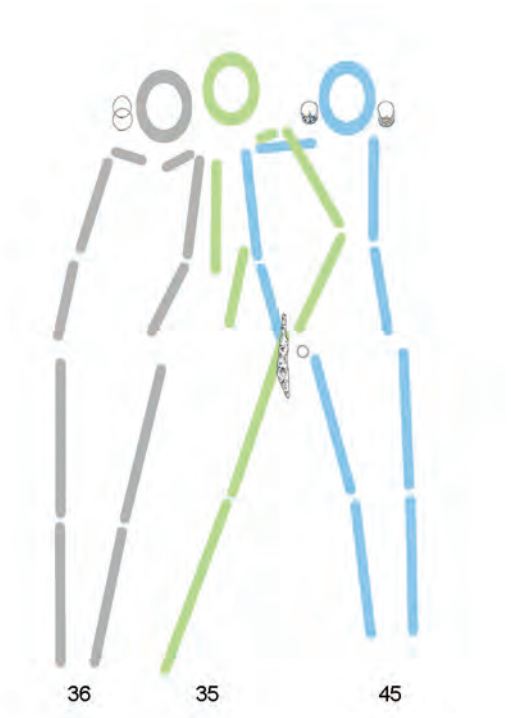
Grave goods were found in 33 graves (*Pls. 1; 2; 3:* 1–13), most of which were found in the area of hollow A and its surroundings (*Figs. 1.9; 2.1*); alongside personal objects (predominantly jewellery and knives) Graves 68 and 69 also contained the remains of coffins (see Chapter 2.2).

Taking into account the orientation of the graves and the layout of the grave goods within the graves, the burial ground can be divided into the north and south part. The approximate border between them runs along the imaginary line between Graves 56, 58 and 122, alongside the north wall of the present-day church (*Fig. 2.1*). Most of the narrow eastern oriented graves and graves with grave goods lay in the north side of the burial ground, while most graves in the south side share the orientation of the church and only exceptionally revealed grave goods. The north side of the burial ground reveals a high density of graves, while in the south only the group of graves underneath the lobby are densely packed together.

2.1.2 BURIAL GROUND

In the Early Medieval period the hollows were partially filled with soil, thus their surface appeared more or less in line with the surroundings, which made the top of the island a relatively good location for burials. The burial ground was not condensed, the graves were organised throughout the area in several groups. Hollow A and its surroundings (area IP 1/1) consisted of 60 graves in 5 rows (*Fig. 2.2b*). This is where 24 graves with grave goods (out of the total of 33 in the entire burial ground) were found. Grave goods included the characteristic Early Mediaeval artefacts belonging to the *Köttlach group* (see Chapter 2.2), which were found in 15 graves in the broader area of hollow A, while only three graves in the rest of the burial ground contained artefacts belonging to the same group. To the north the edge of this part of the burial ground was marked by 3 graves with grave goods belonging to the *Köttlach group*, i.e. Graves 1 (*Pl. 1:* 1,2), 24 (*Pl. 1:* 17,18) and 34 (*Pl. 1:* 22). They were slightly distanced from the graves discovered closer to the existing church, where the density of graves was much higher, which was why there were a lot of reburials. To the west the burial ground ended in a group of graves in the fifth row, dug into the bedrock (Graves 54, 55, 60, 61). The last possible period for these burials is defined by the hoard of silver coins which were found scattered between Graves 54 and 55 and must have been hidden between 1287 and 1292.[12] The layout of the graves in the south is unknown due to the remains of walls Nos. 3 and 4 and the existing church building. In two areas the graves with grave goods were positioned in a stratigraphic sequence, i.e. Graves 4, 5 and 13 (*Fig. 2.3*) and 35, 36 and 45 (*Fig. 2.4*).

[12] Pegan 1965–1967, 66.



Sl. 2.4: Blejski otok, zaporedje pokopov: najstarejši je grob 45 (modro), za njim je bil vkopan grob 35 (zeleno), najmlajši je grob 36 (sivo). (Risba / Drawing: Ida Murgelj)
Fig. 2.4: Bled Island, sequence of burials: the earliest is Grave 45 (blue), followed by Grave 35 (green), and the most recent is Grave 36 (grey).

strani ni znana zaradi ostankov *zidov* 3 in 4 ter obstoječe cerkvene stavbe. Na dveh mestih so bili grobovi s pridatki v stratigrafskem zaporedju, in sicer grobovi 4, 5 in 13 (*sl. 2.3*) ter 35, 36 in 45 (*sl. 2.4*).

Grobove na širšem območju kotanje A (št. 1–64) uvrščamo, kot je bilo že predlagano (*N 25:* 1),[13] v prvo od petih skupin grobov na Blejskem otoku. Poleg pridatkov je značilnost te skupine tudi izrazita usmerjenost grobov proti vzhodu: od 37 grobov, za katere je znana smer pokopa, jih je 30 imelo smer med 80° in 100°.

Vzhodno od prve skupine grobov je bila v kotanji B (na območju IP 1/2 in velike zakristije) vkopana druga skupina grobov (*sl. 2.2*).[14] Ležali so okoli 3 m niže od grobov v prvi skupini, v plasteh zemlje in ilovice nad živo skalo. Prostorsko zaključena gruča grobov je bila maloštevilna, strnjena na zemljenem dnu kotanje, pogosti so bili pokopi v starejše grobove (grobovi 111–117, 121–123). Pod temelji *zidu 6*, potekajočimi prek kotanje, je ostal neraziskan grob 114. Pri nekaterih grobovih je bil izmerjen večji odklon proti jugu (grobovi

[13] *Arhiv* 489, str. 222–223.

[14] V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 224) in na načrtu (*N 25:* 3) je V. Šribar te grobove uvrstil v tretjo skupino grobov. Vanjo je vključil tudi grob 124 v severovzhodnem delu prezbiterija.

As previously mentioned, the graves in the broader area of hollow A (Graves 1–64; *N 25:* 1)[13] are categorised within the first out of the five groups of graves on Bled Island. Alongside grave goods, the distinct orientation of the graves towards the east is also characteristic of this group: from the 37 graves, with a defined orientation of the burial, 30 revealed an azimuth between 80° and 100°.

The second group of graves was located (*Fig. 2.2*) to the east of the first group of graves, in hollow B (in area IP 1/2 and underneath the large sacristy).[14] Theses graves lay approximately 3 m deeper than the graves in the first group, in the layers of soil and clay above the bedrock. The spatially rounded cluster of graves was small, condensed in the soil bottom of the hollow; burials into earlier graves were common (Graves 111–117, 121–123). The unexcavated Grave 114 remained underneath the foundations of wall No. *6* that runs across the hollow. Some graves show a larger deviation towards the south (Graves 111–113). The only grave good to be found was a ring (*Pl. 3:* 13), which has similarities with jewellery belonging to the *Köttlach group*. This group also includes two artefacts scattered in the area of hollow B (*Pl. 3:* 15,16).

The western rows of graves in area IP 1/1 were dug south of the graves belonging to the third group, which lay underneath the paving stones in the lobby (*Figs. 2.1; 2.5*).[15] Above the graves was a layer containing numerous building remains, which covered the bedrock (to a greater extent in the area of the lobby), while dark brown soil was found only next to the west wall of the nave, and it was here that a condensed row of graves was dug deep into the rock base (77–88, 93–95, 101–107), while Graves 89 and 96 were slightly removed. Numerous Late Mediaeval pottery fragments (cat. Nos. 90–103, 108–118; see Chapter 2.3) were scattered in the layer above the graves (planes 6 and 7).[16] The graves were dug up to 1 m deeper than the graves in area IP 1/1, while their orientation was in line with the axis of the church building. This group revealed merely a few finds: two Early Mediaeval temple rings from Graves 83 (*Pl. 3:* 9,10) and 96 (*Pl. 3:* 11), which show characteristics of the *Köttlach group*, while the ring found in Grave 77 (*Pl. 3:* 7) shows less characteristics of this group. The graves in the lobby were filled-in with dark brown humus, mixed with abundant mortar fragments, obviously signs of some sort of construction.[17] The eastern

[13] *Archive* 489, pg. 222–223.

[14] In the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 224) and in the plan (*N 25:* 3) V. Šribar categorised these graves into the third group of graves. He included Grave 124 in the northeast part of the presbytery into this group.

[15] In the draft of the text for publication and in the plan these graves are categorised as belonging to the second group of graves (*archive* 489, pp. 223–224; *N 25:* 2).

[16] *Archive* 489, pg. 88.

[17] In the draft of the text for publication the 'mortar' and 'plaster' are categorised as the remains of a Roman construction, assumed to be connected to the enwalled pit ('grave pit') underneath the south wall of the church (*archive*

111–113). Edina grobna najdba je prstan (*t. 3:* 13), ki ima primerjave med nakitom *köttlaške skupine*. V to skupino predmetov spadata tudi dve raztreseni najdbi z območja kotanje B (*t. 3:* 15,16).

Zahodni vrsti grobov na območju IP 1/1 sta bili na južni strani vkopani v bližini grobov tretje skupine, ki so ležali pod tlakom preddverja (*sl. 2.1; 2.5*).[15] Nad grobovi je bila plast s številnimi gradbenimi ostanki, ki je v večjem delu na območju preddverja pokrivala živo skalo, le ob zahodnem zidu ladje je bila temno rjava prst, skozi katero je bila globoko v skalnato osnovo vkopana strnjena vrsta grobov (77–88, 93–95, 101–107), grobova 89 in 96 pa sta bila nekoliko odmaknjena. V plasti nad grobovi (planuma 6 in 7) so bili raztreseni številni odlomki poznosrednjeveške lončenine (kat. št. 90–103, 108–118; glej pogl. 2.3).[16] Grobovi so bili vkopani do 1 m globlje od grobov na območju IP 1/1, njihova usmeritev se je ujemala z osjo cerkvene stavbe. Najdb je bilo v tej skupini malo, zgodnjesrednjeveški predmeti *köttlaške skupine* so 3 naglavni obročki iz grobov 83 (*t. 3:* 9,10) in 96 (*t. 3:* 11), manj značilen je prstan iz groba 77 (*t. 3:* 7). Grobovi v preddverju so bili zasuti s temno rjavim humusom, močno pomešanim z drobci malte, očitnimi sledovi neke zidave.[17] Vzhodnih delov grobov (pri nogah pokopanih) ni bilo mogoče raziskati, ker nad njimi stoji zahodni zid cerkvene ladje (*sl. 2.5; N 25*). Grobove so vkopavali zelo na gosto, v urejeni vrsti, ob neki, zdi se, trdni meji. Na drugi, zahodni strani (pri glavah pokopanih) so bile grobne jame poravnane v dveh linijah, do zahodne linije so segali grobovi 76, 80–82, 86, 102, 104 in 106 (*sl. 2.5a* :a), do vzhodne pa grobovi 77–79, 84, 87, 93–95, 105 in 107 (*sl. 2.5a* :b). Stik med različno vkopanimi grobovi je znan v dveh primerih: v "zahodna" grobova 80 in 86 sta bila vkopana "vzhodna" grobova 77 in 84 (pod grobom 84 sta bila "vzhodna" grobova 93 in 105). Po tem stratigrafskem odnosu naj bi grobove najprej vkopavali do zahodne linije, pozneje pa je prišlo do manjšega pomika proti vzhodu. Temu ne nasprotuje razporeditev drugih grobov na tem območju. Na južni strani se je ozek prostor, ki so ga izbrali za pokopavanje, zaključil z jamo groba 76; jama je bila proti vzhodu naravnana h grobovoma 67 in 71, vkopanima v ladji cerkve (*sl. 2.1; 2.5a*).

V četrto skupino uvrščamo grobove in prazne grobne jame, odkrite pod tlakom v ladji in prezbiteriju (grobovi 65–73, 120, 123).[18] Grobne jame v ladji so bile

parts of the graves (at the legs of the deceased) were not researched, as they are covered by the west wall of the church nave (*Fig. 2.5; N 25*). The graves were very close together, laid out in an organised row, alongside what appeared to be a solid border. On the other, western side (at the heads of the deceased), the grave pits were aligned in two lines, Graves 76, 80–82, 86, 102, 104 and 106 (*Fig. 2.5a* :a) were aligned with the west line, while Graves 77–79, 84, 87, 93–95, 105 and 107 (*Fig. 2.5a* :b) were aligned with the east line. Contacts between the variously dug in graves were found in two examples: the 'eastern' Graves 77 and 84 (under the Grave 84 were "eastern" Graves 93 and 105) were dug into the 'western' Graves 80 and 86. According to this stratigraphic relation the graves were firstly dug in alignment with the western line, while the slight move towards the east occurred later. This is not contradicted by the layout of the other graves in this area. To the south, the narrow space that was used for burials ended with the pit for Grave 76; towards the east the pit was set in line with Graves 67 and 71, dug underneath the church nave (*Figs. 2.1; 2.5a*).

The fourth group includes the graves and empty grave pits discovered underneath the paving stones in the nave and the presbytery (Graves 65–73, 120, 123).[18] The grave pits underneath the nave were dug into the bedrock, approximately to the same depth, the bottoms of the pits ranging between 439.05 and 493.39 m.a.s.l. (Graves 65, 67–72). The empty pits and the pits with disturbed skeletons share the orientation of the axis of the church (Graves 68, 69, 71), while the azimuth of one of the preserved skeletons is in line with the orientation of the church (Grave 67). Two graves deviate from this prevailing orientation: Grave 65 shows a strong eastern orientation (azimuth 91°), while the orientation of Grave 72 (azimuth 59°) was adjusted, as the excavations have shown, to fit the apse of the earlier church, the remains of which were found underneath the paving stones in the nave (*Fig. 2.1*; *N 8; 9*). There were no grave goods found next to the skeletons, however Graves 68 and 69 revealed pieces of wood and nails (*Pl. 3:* 1–5), most likely the remains of coffins, while Grave 68 also revealed fabric remains (*Fig. 2.6; Pl: 20*). The walls of the pit for Grave 69 were cladded with quarry stones, bound and covered with mortar (*Pl. 31:* 5). During the excavations, Graves 68 and 69 were dated sometime after the Early Mediaeval period,[19] as was Grave 120, which was discovered under the paving stones of the presbytery.[20] The pit of Grave 120 was dug into the prehistoric layer, the skeleton shared the same orientation as the church,

[15] V osnutku besedila in na načrtu so ti grobovi uvrščeni v drugo skupino grobov (*arhiv* 489, str. 223–224; *N 25:* 2).

[16] *Arhiv* 489, str. 88.

[17] V osnutku besedila so koščki "malte" in "ometa" opredeljeni kot ostanki rimskodobne gradnje, domnevno povezani z obzidano vdolbino ("grobno jamo") pod južno steno cerkve (*arhiv* 489, str. 89). Glej tudi pogl. 1.4.2, op. 83.

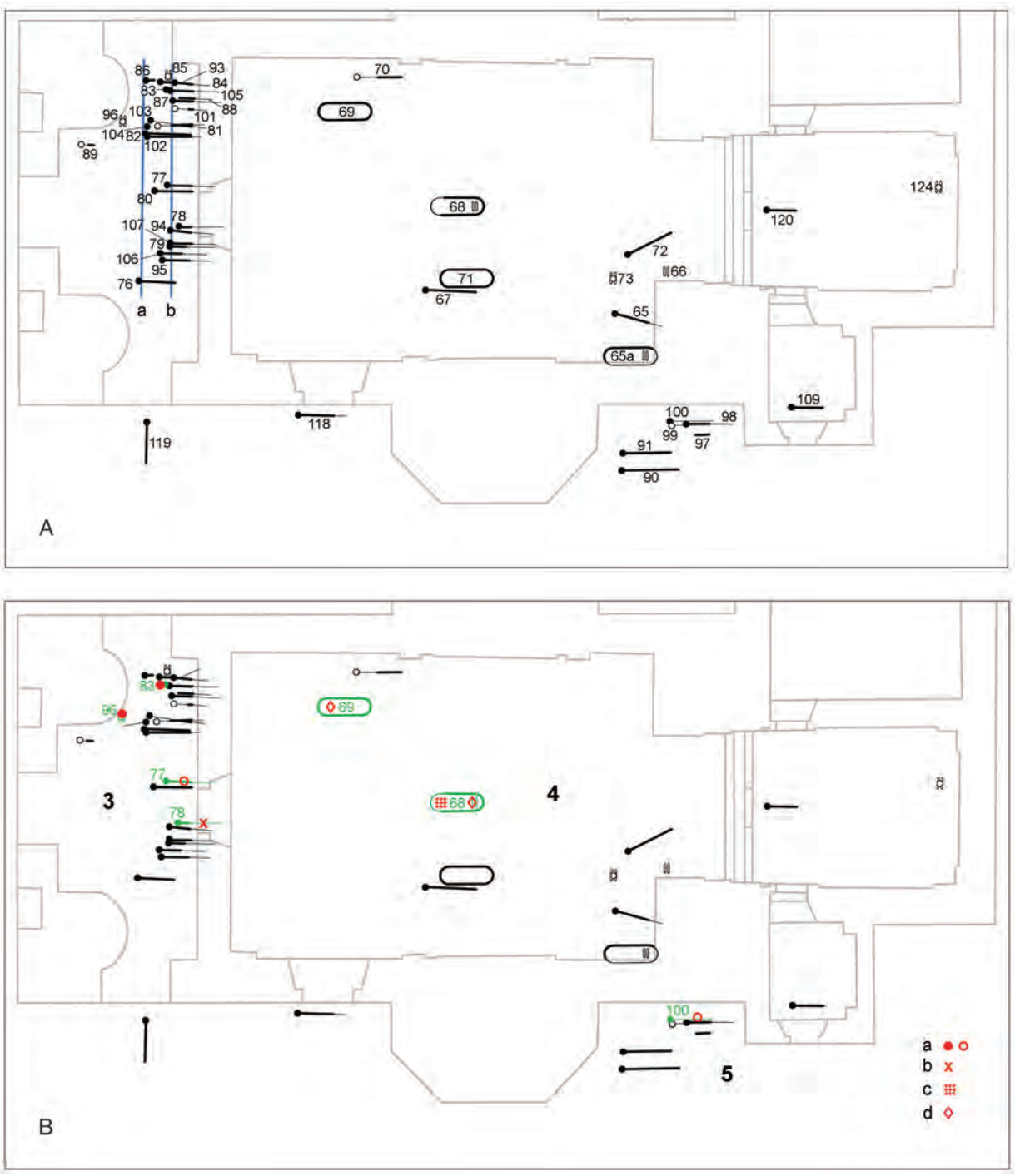
[18] V osnutku besedila in na načrtu so ti grobovi večinoma uvrščeni v peto skupino, razen grobov 65, 66, 72 in 73, ki so bili vključeni v četrto skupino (*arhiv* 489, str. 224–226; *N 25:* 4,5).

489, pg. 89). See also Chapter 1.4.2, note. 83.

[18] In the draft of the text for publication and in the plan these graves were predominantly placed into the fifth group, except for Graves 65, 66, 72 and 73, which were included into the fourth group (*archive* 489, pp. 224–226; *N 25:* 4,5).

[19] *Archive* 489, pp. 111–112, 114, 117–118, 226.

[20] *Archive* 489, pp. 126, 226, 231.



Sl. 2.5: Blejski otok, grobovi tretje (preddverje), četrte (ladja in prezbiterij) in pete skupine (ob južni steni cerkve in v mali zakristiji). A – zahodna (a) in vzhodna (b) linija okostij v tretji skupini grobov. B – pridatki v grobovih (zeleno): a – nakit (poln krožec: najdbe *köttlaške skupine*; prazen krožec: drugo); b – škarje; c – tkanina; d – ostanki krste.
Fig. 2.5: Bled Island, graves pertaining to the third (lobby), fourth (nave and presbytery) and fifth group (alongside the south wall of the church and in the small sacristy). A – west (a) and east (b) line of skeletons in the third group of graves. B – Grave goods (green): a – jewellery (filled circle: finds pertaining to the *Köttlach group*; empty circle: other); b – scissors; c – fabric; d – remains of a coffin.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: I. Murgelj)

Sl. 2.6: Blejski otok, tkanina iz groba 68.
Fig. 2.6: Bled Island, fabric from Grave 68.
(Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

izkopane v živo skalo, približno do enake globine, dna so bila v nadmorski višini med 439,05 in 493,39 m (grobovi 65, 67–72). Pri praznih jamah ali jamah z razdrtimi okostji je bila ugotovljena lega v osi cerkve (grobovi 68, 69, 71), tudi azimut enega od ohranjenih okostij je skladen z usmeritvijo cerkve (grob 67). Odklon pri dveh grobovih odstopa od te prevladujoče smeri: grob 65 je imel izrazito vzhodno smer (azimut 91°), smer groba 72 (azimut 59°) pa je bila prilagojena, kot so pokazala izkopavanja, apsidi starejše cerkve, katere ostanke so odkrili pod tlakom ladje (*sl. 2.1*; *N 8; 9*). Ob okostjih ni bilo pridatkov, so pa v grobovih 68 in 69 našli koščke lesa in žeblje (*t. 3:* 1–5), verjetno ostanke krst, v grobu 68 tudi ostanke tkanine (*sl. 2.6; t: 20*). Stene jame v grobu 69 so bile obzidane z lomljenci, vezanimi in premazanimi z malto (*t. 31:* 5). Grobova 68 in 69 so izkopavalci opredelili v čas po zgodnjem srednjem veku,[19] tako kot tudi grob 120, ki so ga odkrili pod tlakom prezbiterija.[20] Jama groba 120 je bila vkopana v zemljeno prazgodovinsko plast, okostje je ležalo v smeri cerkve, dno jame je bilo v podobni globini kot pri grobovih v ladji (na nadmorski višini 493,36 m).

Za četrto skupino je značilno, da je bila večina redko razporejenih grobov odkrita v bližini arhitekturnih ostankov starejše cerkve. O povezanosti med grobovi in cerkvijo priča le lega groba 72 ob ostankih zidane apside (*N 10*).[21] Za okostje v tem grobu je analiza C14 pokazala datacijo med letoma 869 in 1013 (verjetnost 94,2 %).[22]

[19] *Arhiv* 489, str. 111–112, 114, 117–118, 226.

[20] *Arhiv* 489, str. 126, 226, 231.

[21] *Arhiv* 489, str. 111, 118–119, 197, 225 Šribar 1972b, 390.

[22] Vzorec št. Poz-101617 (Póznanjski radiokarbonski laboratorij, Poljska).

the bottom of the pit was dug to a similar depth as the graves underneath the nave (493.36 m.a.s.l.).

Characteristic of the fourth group is that most of the sparsely spaced graves were discovered in the vicinity of the architectural remains of the earlier church. The position of Grave 72, close to the remains of the apse (*N10*), indicates a connection between the graves and the church.[21] The C14 analysis dated the skeleton in this grave between 869 and 1013 CE (94.2% probability).[22]

The fifth group included graves that were discovered alongside the south wall, outside of the church (Graves 75, 90, 91, 97–100, 118, 119) and underneath the small sacristy (Grave 109).[23] The skeletons in these graves shared the same orientation as the church, with the exception of Grave 119, which was the only grave in the entire burial ground to have a N–S orientation (*Figs. 2.1; 2.5*). The 'shared' grave pits contained numerous burials (Graves 90–91 and 97–100). Graves 118 and 119, which were discovered under the entrances to the nave and the lobby of the church respectively, were dated sometime after the Early Mediaeval period.[24] The bronze ring from Grave 75 (*Pl. 3:* 6), the only grave good that was found in this part of the burial ground, could be dated to the High Mediaeval period.

[21] *Archive* 489, pp. 111, 118–119, 197, 225; Šribar 1972b, 390.

[22] Sample: Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory, Poznan, Poland, Lab. No. Poz-101617.

[23] The draft of the text for publication and the plan categorise these graves into the fourth group of graves, with the exception of Graves 75, 118 and 119 (*archive* 489, pp. 224–225; *N 25:* 4).

[24] *Archive* 489, pg. 126.

V peto skupino smo uvrstili grobove, odkrite ob južni steni zunaj cerkve (grobovi 75, 90, 91, 97–100, 118, 119) in v mali zakristiji (grob 109).[23] Okostja v njih so ležala v smeri cerkve, razen groba 119, ki je bil edini na grobišču usmerjen S–J (*sl. 2.1; 2.5*). V "skupnih" grobnih jamah je bilo po več pokopov (grobovi 90–91 in 97–100). Grobova 118 in 119, ki so ju odkrili pod vhodoma v ladjo oziroma preddverje cerkve, sta bila opredeljena v obdobje po zgodnjem srednjem veku.[24] Bronast obroček iz groba 75 (*t. 3:* 6), edini pridatek, ki so ga našli v tem delu grobišča, je verjetno visokosrednjeveški.

Obravnavanih 5 skupin grobov je sestavljalo grobišče z razgibano prostorsko ureditvijo. Sodeč po različnih začilnostih, ki smo jih ugotovili pri posameznih skupinah, je bila takšna ureditev grobišča namerna. To kažejo grobovi v 5 vrstah na širšem območju kotanje A, velika gostota grobov na ozko zamejenem prostoru pod tlakom preddverja, območje brez grobov pod tlakom ladje in izbrano mesto za grob 72 ob apsidi sočasne cerkvene stavbe.

2.1.3 ODNOS MED GROBIŠČEM IN ARHITEKTURO

Na otoškem grobišču sta bili 2 območji, kjer ni bilo grobov ali so bili ti vkopani zelo na redko. Prvo območje je bilo v severnem delu grobišča, med grobovi prve in druge skupine (*sl. 2.1; 2.2*). Grobovi obeh skupin so bili zgoščeni na zemljišču z več prsti nad kotanjama A in B. Arheološko izkopavanje je med kotanjama razkrilo obsežno in debelo plast "gradbene nasutine", ki je ležala nad skalnato osnovo, padajočo proti kotanji B.[25] Sledov pokopavanj ni bilo, najbližji temu območju je bil grob 58, ki so ga našli ob severni steni zdajšnje cerkve.

Drugo območje z malo grobovi se je pokazalo v notranjosti cerkve in je obsegalo severni dve tretjini ladje med njeno zahodno steno in prezbiterijem (*sl. 2.1; 2.5*). Tam odkrite stavbne ostaline je V. Šribar opredelil kot ostanke dveh zgodnjesrednjeveških cerkev (glej pogl. 4, 6 in 7).[26] Od 4 grobov, vkopanih na tem območju, sta grobova 68 in 69 iz časa po zgodnjem srednjem veku, za grob 70 pa ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti, "ali gre za zgodnje- ali poznosrednjeveški pokop".[27] Za četrti, že večkrat omenjeni grob 72, vkopan tesno ob ostankih apside, v smeri, ki je posebnost na grobišču, je analiza C14 pokazala, da je zgodnjesrednjeveški, kar je zaradi stika groba s cerkvijo potrjeno tudi za najstarejšo cerkev.

[23] V osnutku besedila in na načrtu so ti grobovi večinoma uvrščeni v četrto skupino grobov, razen grobov 75, 118 in 119 (*arhiv* 489, str. 224–225; *N 25:* 4).

[24] *Arhiv* 489, str. 126.

[25] *Arhiv* 489, str. 59–60.

[26] Šribar 1972b, 389–392. – *Arhiv* 489, str. 196–202.

[27] *Arhiv* 489, str. 118.

The five grave groups form a burial ground with a diverse spatial layout. Taking into account the various characteristics that we have ascertained within the individual groups, this layout was planned. This is indicated by the graves laid out in 5 rows in the wider area of hollow A, the high density of graves in the narrow space underneath the paving stones of the lobby, the area without graves underneath the paving stones of the nave and the chosen location for Grave 72 alongside the apse of the church building that stood there at the time.

2.1.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BURIAL GROUND AND THE ARCHITECTURE

There were 2 areas in the island burial ground without any graves or where these were dug in very sparsely. The first area was in the north of the burial ground, amongst the graves of the first and second group (*Figs. 2.1; 2.2*). The graves of both groups were condensed in the area with a thick layer of soil above hollows A and B. The archaeological excavation revealed a vast and thick layer of 'building rubble' amongst the hollows, which lay above the rock base, declining towards hollow B.[25] This area did not show any traces of burials, with Grave 58, discovered alongside the north wall of the present day church, being the closest to this area.

The second area, with merely a few graves, was found in the church interior and encompassed the northern two thirds of the nave, between its west wall and the presbytery (*Figs. 2.1; 2.5*). V. Šribar categorised the building remains discovered in this area as the remains of two Early Mediaeval churches (see Chapters 4, 6 and 7).[26] From the 4 graves in this area, Graves 68 and 69 belong to the time after the Early Mediaeval period, while it is impossible to ascertain whether Grave 70 is an 'Early or Late Mediaeval burial'.[27] The C14 analysis of the often mentioned Grave 72, close to the remains of the apse, with a unique orientation for this burial ground, indicated that this was an Early Mediaeval burial; the relationship between the grave and the church confirmed that the first church also belonged to this period.

Grave pits 67 and 71 were dug deep into the rock to the south of the area in which the first church stood, while Grave 58 (*Fig. 2.1*), which included the ring (*Pl. 2:* 20) that belongs to the *Köttlach group,* lay to the north, parallel to the remains of the Early Mediaeval apse. It appears that the skull of the skeleton in Grave 58 was reburied when *wall No.3* was being built. Archaeological excavations have revealed that this wall, together with all other wall remains (*walls Nos.1–6*), as well as the *paving stones,* unearthed to the north of the present-day church, were of a later date

[25] *Archive* 489, pp. 59–60.

[26] Šribar 1972b, 389–392. – *Archive* 489, pp. 196–202.

[27] *Archive* 489, pg. 118.

Ob prostoru, na katerem je stala najstarejša cerkev, sta bili na južni strani globoko v skalo vkopani grobni jami 67 in 71, na severni strani pa, vzporedno z ostanki zgodnjesrednjeveške apside, grob 58 (*sl. 2.1*), v katerem je bil prstan (*t. 2:* 20), ki spada med predmete *köttlaške skupine*. Okostje v grobu 58 je bilo pri lobanji prekopano, kot je videti, ko so gradili *zid 3*. Zanj in za vse druge ostanke zidov (*zidovi 1–6*) in *tlaka,* razkrite ob severni strani zdajšnje cerkve, so arheološke raziskave pokazale, da so mlajši od grobov. Tudi pri gradnji temeljev za severni zid gotske cerkve so verjetno razdrli neko okostje in kosti zložili ob velike kamne temeljev (označene so kot grob 2; *t. 22:* 2,3). Oba primera pričata, da so bili grobovi prve skupine razporejeni tudi v bližini zgodnjesrednjeveške cerkve, morda tudi na zemljišču, kjer zdaj stoji stranska kapela, saj so pri njeni gradnji razdrli, deloma prekopali ali prekrili več okostij (v grobovih 18, 26, 40, 41, 47, 110).

Na zahodni strani so bili tik ob prostoru, kjer je stala zgodnjesrednjeveška cerkev, vkopani grobovi, odkriti pod tlakom v preddverju (*sl. 2.1*). Ker so tam na zelo omejenem prostoru pokopavali na gosto in zaporedoma, je očitno, da so vrsto in prostor zanjo namerno ohranjali. Če bi podaljšali obrise grobnih jam, ki jih prekrivajo temelji zahodne stene zdajšnje cerkvene ladje, bi se tako rekonstruirani grobovi povsem približali zahodnemu zidu neke starejše cerkve. Z gradnjo slednje povezujemo tudi pojav malte v zasipu grobov. S širino najstarejših cerkev je verjetno povezana tudi dolžina vrste grobov v preddverju.

Podatki o razdeljenosti grobišča po usmeritvi in pridatkih, o razporeditvi grobov na skupine, o različni intenzivnosti pokopavanja in izbiri različnih prostorov zanj odsevajo namerno urejanje grobiščnega prostora in nakazujejo čas dogajanja.

2.2 INTERPRETACIJA GROBNIH NAJDB

Na Blejskem otoku so bile najdbe odkrite v 33 srednjeveških grobovih (*t. 1, 2, 3:* 1–13). Za predmete iz 21 grobov so podatki o legi bolj ali manj natančni,[28] za najdbe iz 12 grobov so pomanjkljivi.[29] V poglavju 12.1 (*Grobovi in grobne najdbe*) so zato predmeti z zanesljivejšimi pridatki opisani v rubriki *Pridatki*, drugi v rubriki *Najdbe v grobu*. V zasutju nekaterih srednjeveških grobov so bile tudi prazgodovinske in rimskodobne najdbe (glej pogl. 1.4), njihovi opisi so vključeni v *Katalog raztresenih najdb* (pogl. 12.2).

Najdbe iz grobov se delijo na nakit in uporabne predmete. Med nakitom so uhani, naglavni obročki, okrasna zaponka in prstani, med uporabnimi predmeti noži, pisali, delno ohranjene škarje in žeblji, raba svinčenih ploščic je neznana. Tudi nekaj značilnih nakitnih

[28] To so grobovi 1, 4, 5, 6, 12, 24, 27, 34–38, 41, 45, 49, 58, 59, 61, 77, 83 in 69.

[29] Grobovi 3, 16, 30, 54–56, 68, 69, 75, 78, 100 in 111.

than the graves. It is also extremely likely that a skeleton was disturbed and the bones stacked next to the large foundation stones when the foundations for the north wall of the Gothic church were created (these bones are categorised as Grave 2; *Pl. 22:* 2,3). Both examples indicate that the graves from the first group were also found in the vicinity of the Early Mediaeval church, possibly also in the area that is today covered by the side chapel, for when this was under construction a number of skeletons (in Graves 18, 26, 40, 41, 47, 110) were disturbed, partially reburied or covered.

The graves that were discovered under the paving stones in the lobby were located (*Fig. 2.1*) to the west, next to the area where the Early Mediaeval church once stood. As the burials in this limited area were very dense and followed one another, it is obvious that the space for these graves was intentionally preserved. If we were to extend the outlines of the grave pits that are covered by the foundations of the west wall of the present-day church nave, the reconstructed graves would come very close to the west wall of the earlier church. The mortar in the fill-in material of the graves in this area is linked to this church. The length of the row of graves underneath the lobby is most likely linked to the width of the earliest churches.

The division of the burial ground according to the orientation of the graves and grave goods, the division of graves into groups, the various intensity of burials and the choice of the different locations reflect a planned layout of the burial ground and indicate the timespan of events.

2.2 INTERPRETATION OF GRAVE GOODS

Grave goods were found in 33 mediaeval graves on Bled Island (*Pl. 1, 2, 3:* 1–13). The location of the grave goods at discovery has been relatively well recorded in 21 graves,[28] while the data for the artefacts in the remaining 12 graves with grave goods lacks precision.[29] In Chapter 12.1 (*Graves and Grave Goods*) the artefacts with precise location data are described under the heading *Grave goods*, while the rest are found under the heading *Artefacts*. The fill-in material in some mediaeval graves included prehistoric and Roman period finds (see Chapter 1.4); their descriptions are included in the *Catalogue of Scattered Finds* (Chapter 12.2).

The finds from graves are divided into jewellery and useful artefacts. Jewellery consisted of earrings, temple rings, a decorative fibula and finger rings, while useful artefacts comprised knives, two styluses, partially preserved scissors and nails, while the use of lead tablets is not known. There are also some characteristic jewellery

[28] These are graves 1, 4, 5, 6, 12, 24, 27, 34–38, 41, 45, 49, 58, 59, 61, 77, 83 and 69.

[29] Graves 3, 16, 30, 54–56, 68, 69, 75, 78, 100 and 111.

predmetov, ki so jih našli raztresene na grobišču, bi lahko izviralo iz prekopanih grobov (*t. 3:* 14–18).

UHANI

Na Blejskem otoku so našli uhane v treh grobovih: štiri polmesečaste uhane v grobovih 1 (*t. 1:* 1,2; *15:* 1,2) in 45 (*t. 2:* 11,12; *15:* 3,4) ter uhan z odebelitvami na loku v grobu 4 (*t. 1:* 6; *15:* 5). Uhana iz groba 1 sta kovana in enaka, uhana iz groba 45 ulita in različna. Po osteološki analizi sta bili v grobovih 4 in 45 pokopani ženski, v grobu 1, v katerem so ob okostju ležale tudi prekopane kosti, pa moški.

Polmesečasti uhani so ena od značilnih oblik nakita med zgodnjesrednjeveškim arheološkim gradivom z območja Vzhodnih Alp. Pri tipološki in kronološki delitvi tega gradiva, nekdaj znanega kot *köttlaška kultura*,[30] je Paola Korošec leta 1961 in 1979 polmesečaste uhane uvrstila med mlajše najdbe, v *köttlaško skupino*, katere začetek je postavila v sredino 9., zaključek pa na konec 10. stoletja (s posameznimi najdbami še v zgodnjem 11. stoletju).[31] Pri novi delitvi, ki jo je leta 1980 predlagal Jochen Giesler, so bili polmesečasti uhani uvrščeni v sklop najmlajših najdb, v skupino *Köttlach II*, datirano v drugo polovico 10. in prvo polovico 11. stoletja.[32] Tudi členitev gradiva z najdišč avstrijske Koroške, delo Stefana Eicherta iz leta 2010, postavlja polmesečaste uhane med najmlajše najdbe, značilne predvsem za *skupino C3,* datirano v obdobje od leta 900 do 11. stoletja.[33] Po *klasifikacijskem sistemu* za naglavni nakit, ki ga je leta 2013 predlagal Andrej Pleterski, so kovani uhani (tip NO 0500_0710) datirani v obdobje od sredine 9. do začetka 11. stoletja, uliti uhani (tip NO 0600_0710) pa v čas od konca 9. do sredine 10. stoletja.[34]

Naštete skupine, v katere so vključeni polmesečasti uhani, so tipološko podobno sestavljene, razlika, približno za stoletje, je pri dataciji. Zgornja časovna meja je pri vseh zgodnje 11. stoletje, spodnja pa sredina 9. stoletja (*köttlaška skupina*; *skupina C3*, *klasifikacijski sistem*) ali sredina 10. stoletja (*Köttlach II*).

V Blejskem kotu so polmesečaste uhane, poleg najdb z Blejskega otoka, našli na grobiščih na Pristavi (v delu z mlajšimi pokopi),[35] Sedlu na Blejskem gradu,[36]

[30] Giesler 2001. Pregled novejših raziskav: Pleterski 2013b, 300–301; Ungerman 2016, 184–187, 225.

[31] Korošec 1961, 178–180, t. 4–6; Korošec 1979, 201–203/I, 306/I.

[32] Giesler 1980, 87, Abb. 3: 12–17; Giesler 2002, 402, Abb. 2: 40–45.

[33] Eichert 2010a, 170–173, Abb. 46.

[34] Pleterski 2013b, 319–320, 334, sl. 16.

[35] Knific 1974, 316, plan II, 3, op. 5. Kovani uhani: grobovi 6, 71, 95, 174, uliti uhani: grobovi 66, 176, 190.

[36] Valič 1964, 18, 33, 39, t. 7: 5 (grob 29); t. 23: 13 (naključna najdba); Valič 1969a, 225–226, 227, t. 2: 31,32 (grob 166).

pieces that were found scattered throughout the burial ground, which could originate from the reburied graves (*Pl. 3:* 14–18).

EARRINGS

Earrings were found in three graves on Bled Island: four crescent shaped earrings in Graves 1 (*Pl. 1:* 1,2; *15:* 1,2) and 45 (*Pl. 2:* 11,12; *15:* 3,4) and one earring with a thickenings on the arch in Grave 4 (*Pl. 1:* 6; *15:* 5). The earrings from Grave 1 were forged and shared the same design, while the earrings from Grave 45 were cast and of a different design. The osteological analysis revealed that Graves 4 and 45 contained female skeletons, while Grave 1, which alongside the skeleton also included reburied bones, contained a male skeleton.

Crescent shaped earrings are characteristic jewellery finds in Early Mediaeval archaeological material in the Eastern Alps. In the typological and chronological categorisation of this material, previously known as the *Köttlach culture,*[30] Paola Korošec categorised the crescent shaped earrings amongst later finds, into the *Köttlach group*, the beginning of which she placed in the mid-9th century, and its end in the end of the 10th century (with additional finds in the early 11th century).[31] The new categorisation, which was proposed by Jochen Giesler in 1980, places the crescent shaped earrings into the group of the latest finds, i.e. *Köttlach II*, dated in the second half of the 10th and first half of the 11th century.[32] The categorisation of the material from the sites in Carinthia (Austria), the work of Stefan Eichert, places the crescent shaped earrings amongst the latest finds, characteristic predominantly of *group C3,* which is dated between the year 900 and the 11th century.[33] According to the *classification system* for head jewellery, which was proposed by Andrej Pleterski, the forged earrings (type NO 0500_0710) are dated in the period from the mid-9th century to the beginning of the 11th century, while the cast earrings (type NO 0600_0710) are dated in the period between the end of the 9th century and the mid-10th century.[34]

The groups that include crescent shaped earrings are typologically similar, the difference can be found in their date of origin, which varies by approximately one century. The latest cut off for all was the early 11th century, while the date of origin varies from mid-9th century (*Köttlach group; group C3, classification system*) to mid-10th century (*Köttlach II*).

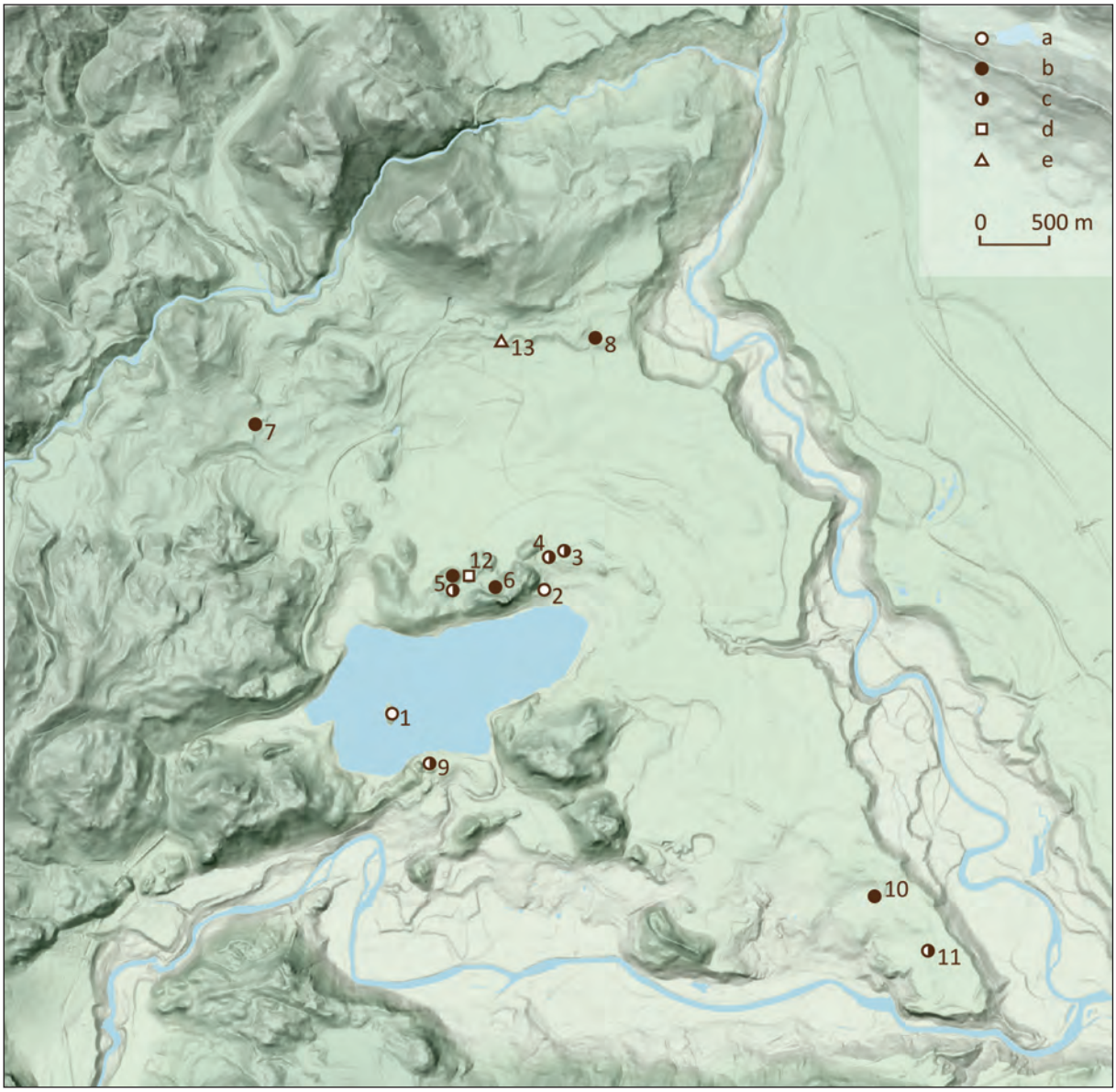
[30] Giesler 2001. An overview of more recent research: Pleterski 2013b, 300–301; Ungerman 2016, 184–187, 225.

[31] Korošec 1961, 178–180, Pl. 4–6; Korošec 1979, 201–203/I, 306/I.

[32] Giesler 1980, 87, Abb. 3: 12–17; Giesler 2002, 402, Abb. 2: 40–45.

[33] Eichert 2010a, 170–173, Abb. 46.

[34] Pleterski 2013b, 319–320, 334, Fig. 16.



Sl. 2.7: Zgodnjesrednjeveška najdišča v Blejskem kotu (glej *seznam* 1). a – grobišče z najdbami *köttlaške skupine* pri cerkvi; b – grobišče z najdbami *köttlaške skupine*; c – grobišče z najdbami iz starejšega zgodnjesrednjeveškega obdobja, d – naselbina; e – zakladna najdba.
Fig. 2.7: Early Medieval sites in the Bled area (see *List 1*). a – burial site with finds pertaining to the *Köttlach group,* next to a church; b – burial site with finds pertaining to the *Köttlach group*; c – burial site with Early Medieval finds; d – settlement; e – hoard.
1 – Blejski otok / Bled Island, **2** – Bled, Sv. Martin, **3** – Žale (Bled), **4** – Brdo (Bled), **5** – Pristava (Bled, grobišče / cemetery), **6** – Sedlo na Blejskem gradu, **7** – Spodnje Gorje, **8** – Žale (Zasip), **9** – Mlino, **10** – Dlesc (Bodešče), **11** – Došca (Bodešče), **12** – Pristava (Bled, naselbina / settlement), **13** – Sebenje.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: V. Bitenc)

Žalah pri Zasipu[37] in Dlescu pri Bodeščah.[38] Pri cerkvi sv. Martina na Bledu je polmesečasti uhan ležal v plasti

In Bled area crescent shaped earrings were – alongside the finds on Bled Island – found also in burial grounds at Pristava (in the part with later burials),[35] Sedlo

[37] Knific, Pleterski 1993, 246–247, t. 6: 32/1 (grob 32); 8: 36/1,4 (grob 36); 15: 2,3,5.

[38] Knific, Pleterski 1981a, 490, sl. 23: 27; t. 9: 30/1,2 (grob 30).

[35] Knific 1974, 316, map II, 3, note 5. Forged earrings: Graves 6, 71, 95, 174, cast earrings: Graves 66, 176, 190.

z ostanki prekopanih grobov,[39] le po pripovedovanju je znana najdba emajliranih uhanov na grobišču v Spodnjih Gorjah.[40] Na omenjenih grobiščih prevladujejo najdbe, ki so tipološko značilne za *köttlaško skupino* (ali za skupini *Köttlach II* in *C3*). Grobišča te vrste so najpogostejša zgodnjesrednjeveška najdišča v Blejskem kotu, le dve, na Blejskem otoku in pri Sv. Martinu, sta bili odkriti ob zdajšnjih cerkvah, druga so stran od njih (*sl. 2.7:* 1,2,5–8,10; *seznam 1*: 1,2,5–8,10). Na Dlescu pri Bodeščah, Žalah pri Zasipu in Sedlu na Blejskem gradu so našli polmesečaste uhane v grobovih, ki jih A. Pleterski s pomočjo stratigrafske in topografsko-kronološke analize pripisuje tretji in četrti generaciji prebivalcev, pokopanih na *vaških grobiščih* (brez cerkve) med letoma okoli 870 in 960.[41]

Polmesečasti uhani z vzhodnoalpskih najdišč so kovani ali uliti, kovani imajo večinoma črtni, uliti emajlni okras. Poleg dveh načinov izdelave in številnih oblikovnih podrobnosti je za polmesečaste uhane značilna raznovrstna motivika okrasa.[42] Ta je zlahka prepoznavna pri vrhunsko narejenih uhanih, manj pri izdelkih, ki te posnemajo. Pri kakovostnih ulitih uhanih je okras upodobljen v celičnem emajlu, kot palmeta na paru uhanov z grobišča pri župni cerkvi v Kranju (*sl. 2.8:* 1,2),[43] na posnetkih, okrašenih z jamičastim emajlom, je ta rastlinski motiv bolj zabrisan, npr. pri uhanih z grobišča v Mostah pri Žirovnici (*sl. 2.8:* 5,6),[44] ali komaj prepoznaven kot pri uhanu iz Križevske vasi (*sl. 2.8:* 12).[45] Na skrbno izdelanem kovanem uhanu z grobišča pri župni cerkvi v Kranju je vrezan zoomorfni preplet, motiv dveh stiliziranih živali z iztegnjenima jezikoma (*sl. 2.8:* 3),[46] na podobnem uhanu z grobišča pri križišču Iskra v Kranju pa rastlinski motiv, ena od inačic palmete (*sl. 2.8:* 4).[47] Kovane uhane so krasili tudi z geometrijskimi motivi, pogosto vrezanimi z drobnim cikcakom (tresoči vrez), kot so polkrogi na uhanih z grobišča v

[39] Sagadin 1986, 285, sl. 65: 1.

[40] Knific, Pleterski 1993, 235.

[41] Pleterski 2013b, 306–311, 315–320, 327–328, 331–334, sl. 6b; 8b; 10; 15. Na sl. 15 sta pomotoma zamenjani najdišči pri rumenem (pravilno Sedlo) in modrem stolpcu (pravilno St. Peter).

[42] Podrobna obravnava uhanov: Eichert 2010a, 65–75.

[43] Uhana iz groba 132/1953 hrani Gorenjski muzej Kranj, inv. št. GM KFC 1943a,b. Objava: Kastelic 1960, 46, sl. 6 (prvi na levi v zgornji vrsti, drugi z desne v spodnji vrsti); Šribar, Stare 1974, 31, t. 4: 3,4 = Šribar, Stare 1975, 31, Taf. 4: 3,4; Pleterski, Štular, Belak, Bešter 2019, 84–86 .

[44] Uhana hrani NMS, inv. št. S 2239 (*sl. 2.8:* 5) in S 2240 (*sl. 2.8:* 6).

[45] Uhan hrani NMS, inv. št. S 2020. Objava: Gabrovec 1954, 132, risba 1.

[46] Uhan iz groba 2/1953 hrani Gorenjski muzej Kranj, inv. št. GM KFC 1537b. Objava: Kastelic 1960, 47–48, sl. 4c; Pleterski, Štular, Belak, Bešter 2019, 39, 40. – Za motiv zoomorfnega prepleta glej Sagadin 2018, 180, sl. 3.

[47] Sagadin 1988, 21, 83 (grob 90), t. 15: 10; 60: 12; Sagadin 2018, 180, sl. 1c.

on the Bled castle,[36] Žale near Zasip[37] and Dlesc near Bodešče.[38] At the church of St Martin in Bled a crescent shaped earing lay in the layer together with the remains from reburied graves,[39] while the enamelled earrings from the burial ground in Spodnje Gorje are known only by word of mouth.[40] In the aforementioned burial grounds finds prevail which are typologically characteristic of the *Köttlach group* (or for groups *Köttlach II* and *C3*). Burial grounds of this kind were the most common Early Mediaeval sites in the Bled area; only two, the one on Bled Island and the one next to St Martin, were discovered alongside present-day churches (*Fig. 2.7*: 1,2,5–8,10; *List 1*: 1,2,5–8,10). At Dlesc near Bodešče, Žale near Zasip and Sedlo on the Bled castle crescent shaped earrings were found in graves, which A. Pleterski, with the aid of stratigraphic and topographic-chronological analysis categorised as belonging to the third and fourth generation of inhabitants buried in *village burial grounds* (without a church) between approx. 870 and 960.[41]

Crescent shaped earrings from the sites in the Eastern Alps were forged or cast; the forged earrings are often decorated with linear motifs, cast earrings have enamelled decorations. Even though crescent shaped earrings share two common manners of production and numerous design similarities, they characteristically have diverse decorative motifs.[42] These are instantly recognisable with the high-quality earrings, and less with products that try to mimic them. With the high-quality cast earrings the decoration is depicted in cloisonné, as found for instance in the palm in the pair of earrings from the burial ground at the parish church in Kranj (*Fig. 2.8:* 1,2).[43] On the imitations, decorated with enamel in pits (champlevé), for instance earrings from the burial ground in Moste near Žirovnica (*Fig. 2.8:* 5,6),[44] this vegetative motif is less visible, or almost non-recognisable as is the case with the

[36] Valič 1964, 18, 33, 39, Pl. 7: 5 (Grave 29); Pl. 23: 13 (chance find); Valič 1969a, 225–226, 227, Pl. 2: 31,32 (Grave 166).

[37] Knific, Pleterski 1993, 246–247, Pl. 6: 32/1 (Grave 32); 8: 36/1,4 (Grave 36); 15: 2,3,5.

[38] Knific, Pleterski 1981a, 490, Figs. 23: 27; Pl. 9: 30/1,2 (Grave 30).

[39] Sagadin 1986, 285, Fig. 65: 1.

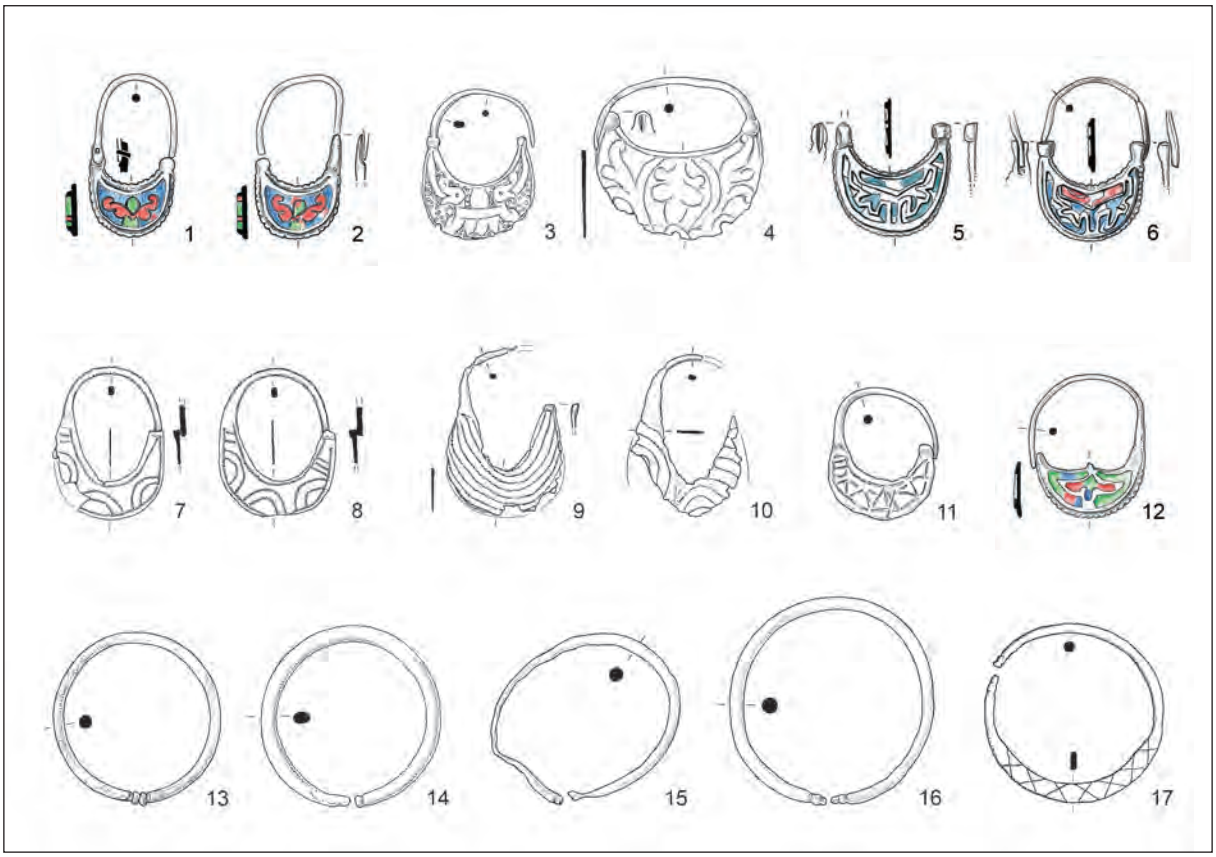
[40] Knific, Pleterski 1993, 235.

[41] Pleterski 2013b, 306–311, 315–320, 327–328, 331–334, Figs. 6b; 8b; 10; 15. In Fig. 15 the burial grounds in the yellow and blue column should be corrected to Sedlo and St Peter respectively.

[42] Similar categorisation of earrings: Eichert 2010a, 65–75.

[43] The earrings from Grave 132/1953 are kept at the Gorenjska Museum in Kranj, inv. No. GM KFC 1943a,b. Publication: Kastelic 1960, 46, Fig. 6 (first to the left in the upper row, the second from the right in the bottom row); Šribar, Stare 1974, 31, Pl. 4: 3,4 = Šribar, Stare 1975, 31, Taf. 4: 3,4; Pleterski, Štular, Belak, Bešter 2019, 84–86 .

[44] The earrings are kept by NMS, inv. No. S 2239 (*Fig. 2.8:* 5) and S 2240 (*Fig. 2.8:* 6).



Sl. 2.8: Zgodnjesrednjeveške najdbe *köttlaške skupine* z nekaterih grobišč pri cerkvah v Sloveniji: 1–17 bron, 1,2,5,6,12 emajl. M. = 1 : 2.
Fig. 2.8: Early Medieval finds pertaining to the *K*öttlach group, from some burial sites next to churches in Slovenia: 1–17 bronze, 1,2,5,6,12 enamel. Scale = 1:2.
1–3 Kranj, Župna cerkev, **4** Kranj, Križišče Iskra (*Sagadin 1988*); **5–8** Moste; **9,10** – Spodnje Duplje; **11** – Ljubljana, Šempeter; **12** – Križevska vas; **13** – Breg; **14** Šentpavel pri Domžalah; **15,16** – Muljava; **17** – Batuje (*Svoljšak, Knific 1976*).
(Risba / Drawing: 1–3, 5–16 D. Knific Lunder)

Mostah pri Žirovnici (*sl. 2.8:* 7,8)[48] ali trikotniki na uhanu iz Šempetra v Ljubljani (*sl. 2.8:* 11).[49] Omenjena najdišča so bila odkrita pri zdajšnjih cerkvah, tako kot večina grobišč z najdbami *köttlaške skupine* v Sloveniji, razen Blejskega kota, kjer so pogostejša grobišča brez cerkve (*sl. 2.9:* 4,8,9,15,16; *seznam 2*: 4,8,9,15,16).

Okras na paru kovanih uhanov z Blejskega otoka (*t. 1:* 1,2; *15:* 1,2) se opisani motiviki izmika, po vzporedno vrezanih lokih ga lahko primerjamo z okrasom na uhanih iz Spodnjih Dupelj (*sl. 2.8:* 9)[50] in Sankt Daniela v Ziljski dolini v Avstriji.[51] Roglji so podobno okrašeni, razlika je v srednjem delu okrasa, ki je na blejskem

earring from Križevska vas (*Fig. 2.8:* 12).[45] A zoomorphic motif, depicting two stylised animals with tongues hanging out (*Fig. 2.8:* 3), was engraved in the meticulously made forged earring found in the burial ground at the parish church in Kranj,[46] while a similar earring from the burial ground at the Iskra crossroads in Kranj shows a vegetative motif, one of the palm variants (*Fig. 2.8:* 4).[47] Forged earrings could also be decorated with geometric motifs, which were often engraved with a slight zigzag, such as the semi-circles in the earrings found at the

[48] Uhana hrani NMS, inv. št. S 2238 (*sl. 2.8:* 7) in S 2237 (*sl. 2.8:* 8).

[49] Uhan hrani NMS, inv. št. S 2233. Objava: Ložar 1937, 135, sl. 1g.

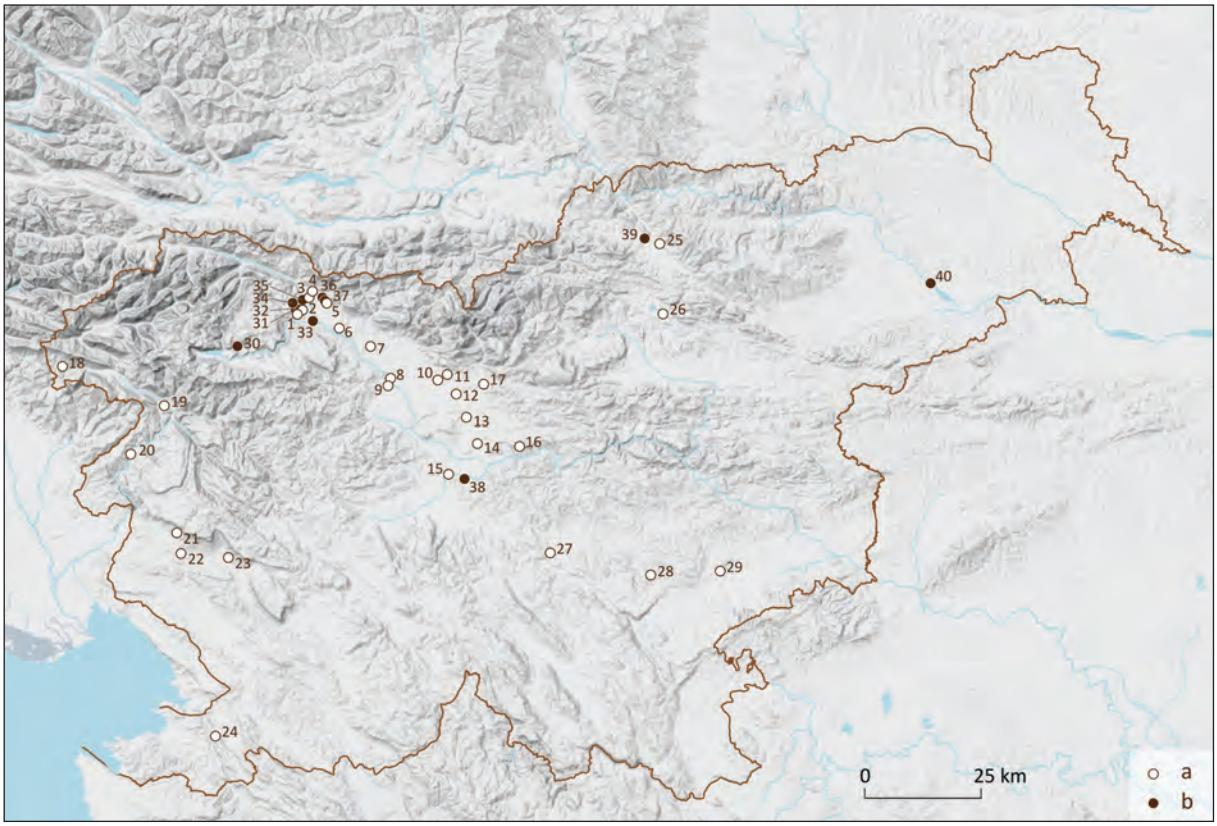
[50] Valič 1969b, 231, sl. 2 (desni uhan). – Uhana hrani Gorenjski muzej Kranj, inv. št. 1625 (*sl. 2.8:* 9) in 1624 (*sl. 2.8:* 10).

[51] Eichert 2010a, 239, Taf. 28: 1, Sankt Daniel.

[45] The earring is kept by NMS, inv. No. S 2020. Publication: Gabrovec 1954, 132, drawing 1.

[46] The earring from Grave 2/1953 is kept by the Gorenjska Museum in Kranj, inv. No. GM KFC 1537b. Publication: Kastelic 1960, 47–48, Fig. 4c; Pleterski, Štular, Belak, Bešter 2019, 39, 40. – For the motif of zoomorphic interlacement see Sagadin 2018, 180, Fig. 3.

[47] Sagadin 1988, 21, 83 (Grave 90), Pl. 15: 10; 60: 12; Sagadin 2018, 180, Fig. 1c.



Sl. 2.9: Zgodnjesrednjeveška grobišča z najdbami *köttlaške skupine* v Sloveniji (glej *seznam* 2). a – grobišča pri cerkvi; b – druga grobišča.
Fig. 2.9: Early Medieval burial sites with finds pertaining to the *Köttlach group* in Slovenia (see *List* 2). a – burial sites next to a church; b – other burial sites.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: V. Bitenc)

uhanu vrezan s pokončnimi črtami. Če je bil okras na (zdaj poškodovanih) blejskih uhanih simetričen, njegova zasnova spominja na uhane s krilatim motivom, kot je prikazan na uhanu iz Kanala ob Soči.[52]

Ulita in z jamičastim emajlom okrašena polmesečasta uhana iz otoškega groba 45 spadata po obliki med uhane s srednjim rogljem, eden je okrašen z živalskim (*t. 2:* 11; *15:* 3), drugi z rastlinskim motivom (*t. 2:* 12; *15:* 4). Uhani s podobo živali so zelo značilna in razširjena inačica, znanih je 20 primerkov z 10 najdišč (*sl. 2.10*; *seznam 3*). Najdišča so najbolj strnjena na Gorenjskem (poleg Mengša po dve na Bledu in v Kranju), druga so bolj razpršena – v Sloveniji še Ptujski grad, v Furlaniji Corno di Rosazzo/Koren, v severni Avstriji pa Krungl, Köttlach in Micheldorf/Kremsdorf (*sl. 2.11*; *seznam 3*). Uhane so našli na velikih grobiščih, največ, šest primerkov, na grobišču pri župni cerkvi v Kranju (*sl. 2.12:* 2–6: *seznam 3:* 6–11).

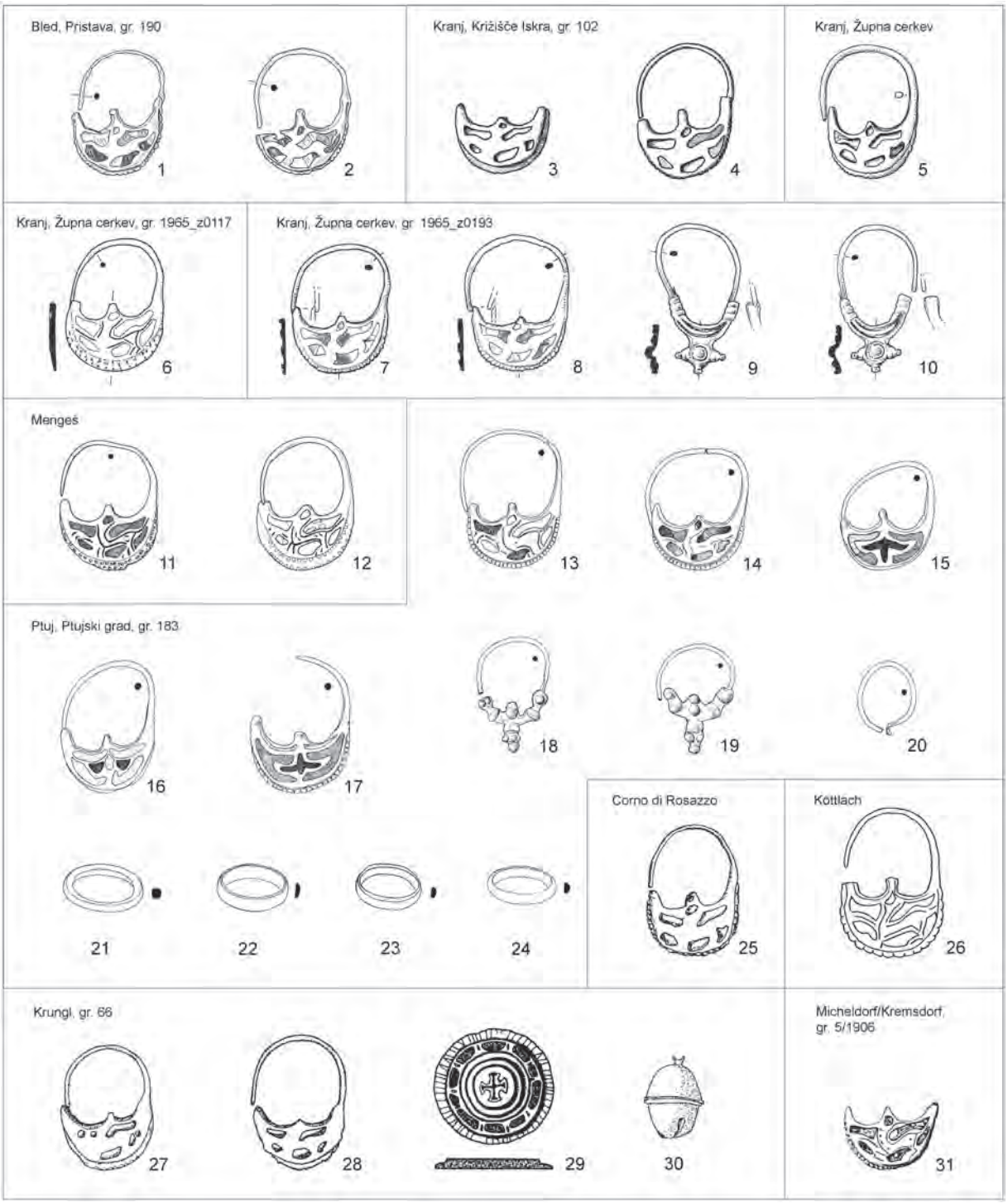
Pri župni cerkvi v Kranju so par uhanov našli v grobu 1965_z0193 skupaj z ulitima uhanoma z zvezdastim priveskom (*sl. 2.10:* 7–10).[53] Na tem grobišču so uhan z

[52] Knific 2009–2010, 185–186, sl. 1: 1; 2: 1.
[53] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 91–92, sl. 1–4.

burial ground in Moste near Žirovnica (*Fig. 2.8:* 7,8)[48] or triangles on the earring from Šempeter in Ljubljana (*Fig. 2.8:* 11).[49] The aforementioned sites were discovered next to present-day churches, as were most of the burial grounds with finds belonging to the *Köttlach group* in Slovenia (*Fig. 2.9:* 4,8,9,15,16; *List 2*: 4,8,9,15,16), except in Bled area, where burial grounds without churches are more common.

The decoration on the pair of forged earrings from Bled Island (*Pls. 1:* 1,2; *15:* 1,2) avoids the described motifs, however their parallel engraved arches are comparable to the decorations found on the earrings from Spodnje Duplje (*Fig. 2.8:* 9)[50] and Sankt Daniel in Gailtal in Austria.[51] The prongs are similarly decorated, the difference lies in the central part of the decoration, which is represented by engraved vertical lines in the Bled earring. If the decoration on the (now damaged) Bled earrings

[48] The earrings are kept by NMS, inv. No. S 2238 (*Fig. 2.8:* 7) and S 2237 (*Fig. 2.8:* 8).
[49] The earring is kept by NMS, inv. No. S 2233. Publication: Ložar 1937, 135, Fig. 1g.
[50] Valič 1969b, 231, Fig. 2 (right earring). – The earrings are kept by the Gorenjska Museum in Kranj, inv. No. 1625 (*Fig. 2.8:* 9) and 1624 (*Fig. 2.8:* 10).
[51] Eichert 2010a, 239, Taf. 28: 1, Sankt Daniel.



Sl. 2.10: Polmesečasti uhani s podobo živali z raznih najdišč (prim. *seznam 3*). M. = 1 : 2.
Fig. 2.10: Crescent earrings with depictions of animals, various sites (compare *List 3*). Scale = 1:2.

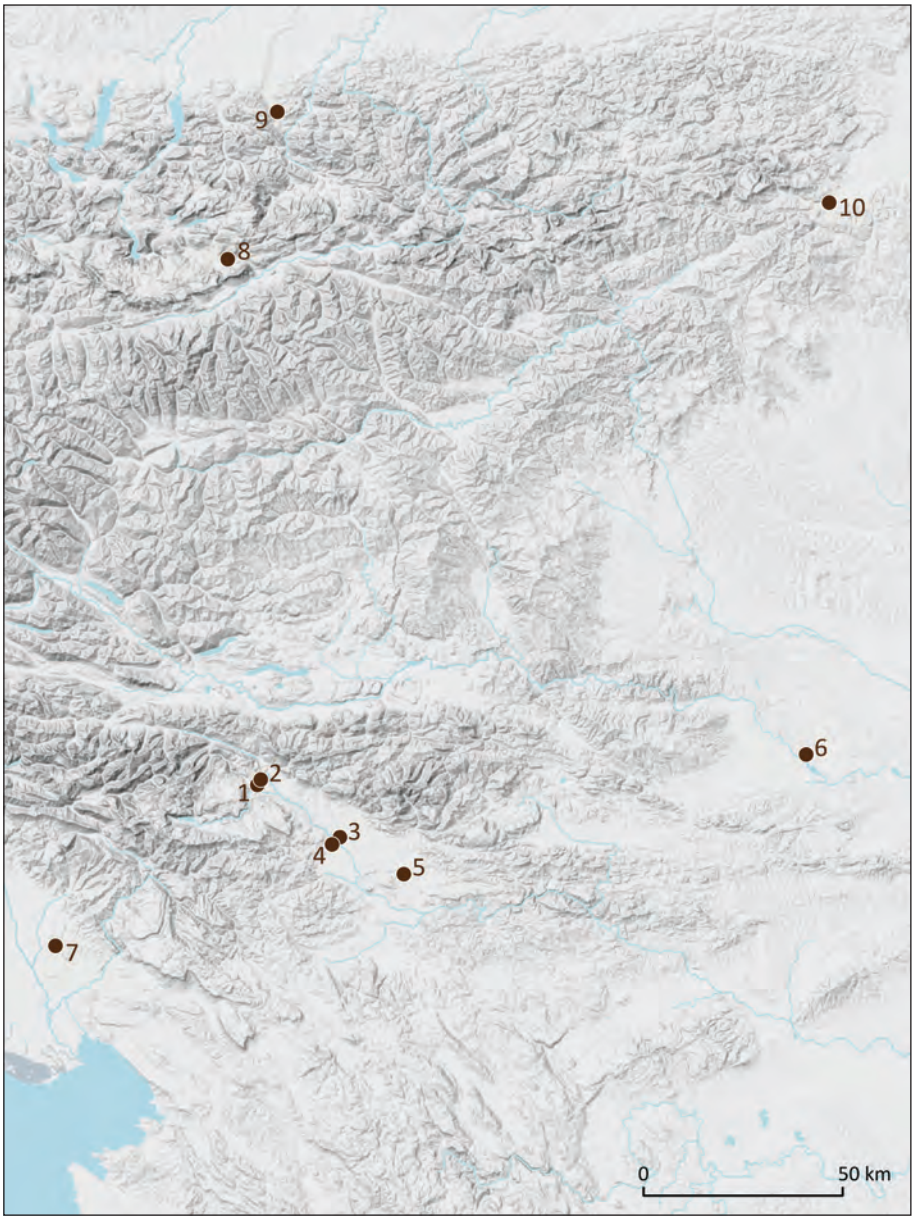
zvezdastim priveskom našli tudi v grobu 1971_z0098,[54] kot raztreseno najdbo pa na bližnjem grobišču Križišče Iskra.[55] V Sloveniji so takšen uhan našli tudi na Ptujskem gradu, v grobu 269, skupaj z ulitim uhanom, okrašenim

[54] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 161, sl. 2.
[55] Sagadin 1988, 50–51, 116, t. 44: 10; 60: 9.

was symmetrical, their design would be reminiscent of the earrings with wing motifs, as found on the earring from Kanal ob Soči for instance.[52]

Due to their shape, the cast crescent shaped earrings decorated in technique *champlevé*, found in Grave 45,

[52] Knific 2009–2010, 185–186, Figs. 1: 1; 2: 1.



1– Blejski otok / Bled Island
2 – Pristava (Bled)
3 – Kranj, Župna cerkev
4 – Kranj Križišče Iskra
5 – Mengeš
6 – Ptuj, Ptujski grad
7 – Corno di Rosazzo
8 – Krungl
9 – Micheldorf / Kremsdorf
10 – Köttlach

Sl. 2.11: Najdišča polmesečastih uhanov s podobo živali (prim. *seznam 3*).
Fig. 2.11: Sites with crescent earrings with depictions of animals (compare *List 3*)
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: V. Bitenc)

z jamičastim emajlom.[56] Uhani z zvezdastim priveskom so imeli dolg razvoj, od 7. do 11. stoletja, ki se je končal z ulitimi izdelki, kot so omenjeni primerki s slovenskih najdišč.[57]

Grobna celota s parom uhanov s podobo živali je znana tudi s Ptujskega gradu (*sl. 2.10:* 13–24).[58] Poleg ulitih polmesečastih uhanov je bil v grobu 183 še par ulitih grozdastih uhanov, ki imata na krakih dvojno odebelitev (*sl. 2.10:* 18,19). Takšni uhani so na belobrdskih

belong in the group of earrings with a central prong; in this case one is decorated with an animal (*Pls. 2:* 11; *15:* 3), and the other with a vegetative motif (*Pls. 2:* 12; *15:* 4). Earrings with animal motifs are characteristic and widely-spread, as 20 examples from 10 sites are known (*Fig. 2.10*; *List 3*). The sites are the most densely concentrated in Gorenjska area (apart from Mengeš there are two in Bled and two in Kranj), while the rest are more broadly scattered – in Slovenia at Ptuj castle, in Friuli in Corno di Rosazzo, in northern Austria in Krungl, Köttlach and Micheldorf/Kremsdorf (*Fig. 2.11*; *List 3*). Earrings were found in large burial grounds, the most numerous find,

[56] Korošec 1999, 24, t. 31: 12,13.
[57] Sagadin 1988, 50–51, 116.
[58] Korošec 1999, 20, t. 19: 1–12.

Sl. 2.12: Polmesečasti uhani s podobo živali (prim. *seznam 3*). M = 1 : 1.
Fig. 2.12: Crescent earrings with depictions of animals. Scale = 1:1.
1 – Blejski otok, gr. 45 (z grafičnim obrisom podobe živali / with an outline of an animal), **2** – Kranj, Župna cerkev, gr. 1965_z0117 (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 59, sl. 1); **3, 4** – Kranj, Župna cerkev, gr. 1965_z0193 (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 92, sl. 1 in 2); **5** – Kranj, Župna cerkev, 1973, neznana lega / unknown location (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 272, sl. 2); **6** – Kranj, Župna cerkev, brez podatkov / no data (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 355, sl. 9); 7, 8 – Mengeš. (Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

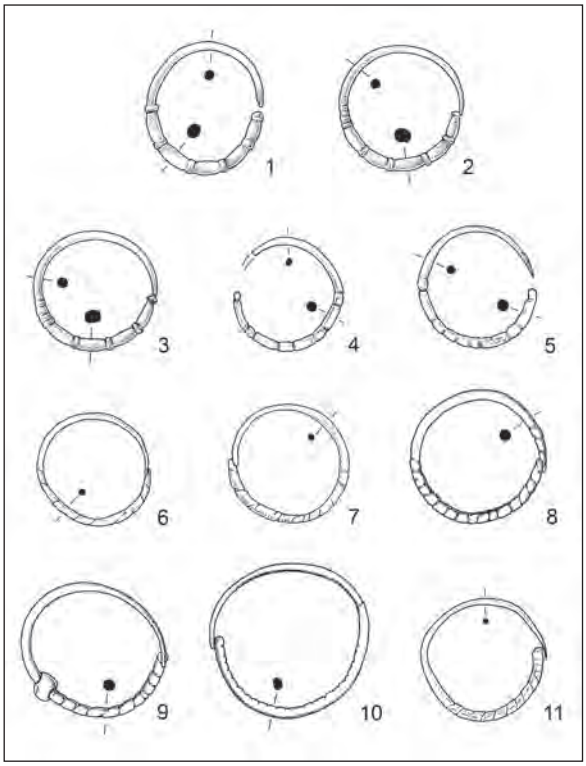
najdiščih v Sloveniji pogosti (na Ptujskem gradu so jih našli 30),[59] večinoma so grobo izdelani, le redko so bili uliti v kakovostnem kalupu. Ti so bili blizu srebrnim prototipom volinjskega tipa, izdelanim v tehniki filigrana in granulacije, ki so se razširili okrog leta 1000 iz Kijevske Rusije tudi v Potisje, v 11. stoletju so njihove imitacije postale ena najbolj priljubljenih oblik nakita v medrečju Drave, Donave in Save (tip 17b po J. Gieslerju).[60]

Podobo živali na polmesečastih ulitih in emajliranih uhanih so različno opisovali, kot štirinožno žival,[61]

six earrings, was found in the burial ground at the parish church in Kranj (*Fig. 2.12:* 2–6: *List 3:* 6–11).

At the parish church in Kranj a pair of earrings was found in Grave 1965_z0193 together with cast earrings with a star-shaped appendix (*Fig. 2.10:* 7–10).[53] An earring with a star shaped appendix was also found in Grave 1971_z0098 at this burial ground,[54] as well as amongst the scattered finds at the nearby burial ground Iskra crossroads.[55] In Slovenia a similar earring was also found in Grave 269 at Ptuj castle, together with a cast earring, decorated with pits filled with enamel.[56] Earrings with a star shaped appendix have a long development, they emerged in the 7th century and lasted to the 11th century, when they were brought to an end with cast artefacts similar to the aforementioned examples from Slovenian sites.[57]

[59] Knific, Tomanič Jevremov 2005, 164–165.
[60] Vinski 1970, 58–61; Giesler 1981, 94–103, 165–166, Taf. 51: 2; Tomičić 1993, 552; Tomičić 1994–1995, 79.
[61] Giesler 1989, 235, Abb. 58b; Šribar, Stare 1979, 24 (uliti uhani skupine L).
[53] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 91–92, Figs. 1–4.
[54] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 161, Fig. 1.
[55] Sagadin 1988, 50–51, 116, Pl. 44: 10; 60: 9.
[56] Korošec 1999, 24, Pl. 31: 12,13.
[57] Sagadin 1988, 50–51, 116.



Sl. 2.13: Uhani z razčlenjenim obročkom. M = 1 : 2.
Fig. 2.13: Earrings with an articulated loop. Scale = 1:2.
1 – Blejski otok, gr. 4; **2,3** – Moste (Žirovnica), gr. 10 (Valič 1982); **4,5** – Kranj, Župna cerkev, gr. 1973_z0289; **6,7** – Kranj, Župna cerkev, gr. 1973_z0275; **8,9** – Kranj, Župna cerkev, gr. 1984_z0008; **10** – Kranj, Župna cerkev, gr.1984_z0010; **11** – Kranj, Župna cerkev, gr. 1965_z0243 (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016; 2017).

žival z nazaj obrnjeno glavo[62] ali kot panterja.[63] Ob rastlinskih motivih in geometrijskih vzorcih je živalska figuralika na ulitih uhanih običajna, upodobitev v kovini, ki jo obdajajo jamice z emajlom, je pogosto dopolnjena z vrezanim obrisom živali.[64]

Tudi drugi uhan iz otoškega groba 45, uliti in z jamičastim emajlom okrašeni polmesečasti primerek z rastlinskim motivom (*t. 2:* 12; *15:* 4), uvrščamo med uhane s srednjim rogljem. Med njimi je ob uhanih s podobo živali zelo številna in razširjena tudi inačica z okrnjenim rastlinskim motivom, ki ji pripada npr. uhan

[62] Dinklage 1941b, 9; Korošec, P., 1950, 321; Sagadin 1988, 49, 115. – Podoba živali z nazaj obrnjeno glavo je pogost okrasni motiv na ulitih in z emajlom okrašenih zgodnjesrednjeveških okrasnih zaponkah z območja Slovenije (Preložnik 2018). Večino zaponk so našli na grobiščih z najdbami *köttlaške skupine.*

[63] Dinklage 1941a, 371; Šribar, Stare 1978–1979, 215; Šribar, Stare 1979, 24 (uliti uhani skupine L); Šribar 1983, 299; Sagadin 1988, 49, 115; Sagadin 2018, 182, sl. 9.

[64] Giesler 1989, 235, Abb. 58b.

A grave with a pair of earrings with animal images is also known from the Ptuj castle (*Fig. 2.10:* 13–24).[58] Apart from the cast crescent shaped earrings, Grave 183 also included a pair of cast grape-shaped earrings with double thickening at the endings (*Fig. 2.10:* 18,19). Such earrings were common in the *Bijelo Brdo culture* sites in Slovenia (30 were found at Ptuj castle),[59] most of them rough in design, and only rarely were they cast from a high-quality cast. These were close to the silver prototypes of the Volyn type, made in filigree and granulation techniques, which spread around the year 1000 from Kiev all the way to the Tisa river basin, and by the 11th century their imitations became one of the most popular forms of jewellery in the area between the rivers Drava, Donava and Sava (type 17b in J. Giesler's categorisation).[60]

There are various descriptions of the animal motifs found on cast and enamelled crescent shaped earrings, ranging from a four-legged animal,[61] an animal with its head turned backwards[62] to a panther.[63] Alongside vegetative motifs and geometrical patterns, animal figures were also very common on cast earrings; the depiction in metal, surrounded by pits filled with enamel, is often emphasised by an engraved outline of the animal.[64]

The second earring from Grave 45 on Bled Island, the cast crescent shaped example decorated with a dimpled enamelled vegetative motif (*Pls. 2:* 12; *15:* 4), belongs amongst the group of earrings with a central prong. Alongside earrings with animal motifs these also include a wide spread and numerous version with a downgraded vegetative motif, e.g. the earring from Križevska vas (*Fig. 2.8:* 12),[65] while the example from Bled Island with a more prominent vegetative motif belongs amongst the rare finds, with comparisons in the damaged earring from the burial ground at the parish church in Kranj.[66]

[58] Korošec 1999, 20, Pl. 19: 1–12.

[59] Knific, Tomanič Jevremov 2005, 164–165.

[60] Vinski 1970, 58–61; Giesler 1981, 94–103, 165–166, Taf. 51: 2; Tomičić 1993, 552; Tomičić 1994–1995, 79.

[61] Giesler 1989, 235, Abb. 58b; Šribar, Stare 1979, 24 (cast earrings belonging to group L).

[62] Dinklage 1941b, 9; Korošec, P., 1950, 321; Sagadin 1988, 49, 115. – The image of an animal with its head turned backwards is a common decorative motif found in Early Mediaeval cast decorative fibulae decorated with enamel, discovered in present-day Slovenian territories (Preložnik 2018). Most fibulae were found in burial grounds together with finds belonging to the *Köttlach group.*

[63] Dinklage 1941a, 371; Šribar, Stare 1978–1979, 215; Šribar, Stare 1979, 24 (cast earrings belonging to group L); Šribar 1983, 299; Sagadin 1988, 49, 115; Sagadin 2018, 182, Fig. 9.

[64] Giesler 1989, 235, Abb. 58b.

[65] Map and List of sites: Knific, Žbona-Trkman 1990, 511, Fig. 3: 1–12. – The additions to the data for the site parish church in Kranj: Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 33, Grave 1964_z0017, Fig. 1; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 201, 272, Grave 1972_z0224, Figs. 2,3; unknown position, Fig. 1.

[66] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 220, quadrant XX,

iz Križevske vasi (*sl. 2.8:* 12),[65] primerek z Blejskega otoka z bolj jasnim rastlinskim motivom pa spada med redke najdbe, s primerjavo v poškodovanem uhanu z grobišča pri župni cerkvi v Kranju.[66]

Med nakitom z Blejskega otoka je posebnost uhan iz groba 4, s svitkastimi in valjastimi odebelitvami na spodnjem delu loka (*sl. 2.13*: 1; *t. 1:* 6; *15:* 5). Primerjave ima v paru uhanov z grobišča pri Sv. Martinu v Mostah pri Žirovnici (*sl. 2.13*: 2,3).[67] Vsi trije uhani so izdelani zelo natančno: členitev je ritmična, okrašena je le polovica obročka, zaključka sta oblikovana različno, eden koničasto, drugi odebeljeno (podobno kot pri polmesečastih uhanih). Po *klasifikacijskem sistemu* za določanje značilnih lastnosti so obročki z astragalnimi odebelitvami opredeljeni kot tip NO 0700_0810.[68] Nekoliko manj natančno, vendar z jasno členitvijo, sta bila narejena uhana iz groba 1973_z0289, ki so ju odkrili pri župni cerkvi v Kranju (*sl. 2.13*: 4,5).[69] Pri več drugih obročkih s tega najdišča je členitev locna bolj površna, nakazana le z vrezi, sta zaključka locnov prav tako različna, eden, koničasti in drugi odebeljen (*sl. 2.13*: 6–11).[70] Ti primerki so očitno posnetki kakovostnih vzorcev, kot so uhani z Blejskega otoka in iz Most pri Žirovnici (*sl: 38:* 1–3). Drugačen je naglavni obroček iz St. Petra pri Spittalu na avstrijskem Koroškem, ki je na enem koncu sicer razčlenjen s poševnimi žlebiči, vendar sta njegova zaključka enaka, z enojnima odebelitvama,[71] zaradi česar je obroček zgolj podoben uhanom z astragalnimi odebelitvami.[72] Namero po oblikovni spremembi naglavnega obročka (obsenčnika) v polmesečast uhan jasno kaže primerek z grobišča v Batujah (*sl. 2.8:* 17).[73]

The earring from Grave 4, with astragal-shaped thickenings on the lower part of the loop (*Fig. 2.13*: 1; *Pls. 1:* 6; *15:* 5) stands out from the jewellery found on Bled Island. Comparisons were found in the pair of earrings from the burial ground at St Martin in Moste near Žirovnica (*Fig. 2.13*: 2,3).[67] All three earrings are extremely finely crafted: the division is rhythmical, only one half of the loop is decorated, the endings are variously formed, one is pointed, the other thickened (similar to the case with the crescent shaped earrings). According to the *classification system* used for defining typical characteristics, the rings with astragal-shaped thickenings are categorised as type NO 0700_0810.[68] The earrings from Grave 1973_z0289, which were discovered at the parish church in Kranj were made somewhat less precisely, but with clearly articulated thickenings (*Fig. 2.13*: 4,5).[69] Numerous rings from this site have a more superficial division of the loop, indicated merely with incisions, however the loop endings differ, one is pointed and the other thickened (*Fig. 2.13*: 6–11).[70] These examples are obviously copies of high-quality earrings, such as the ones found on Bled Island and at Moste near Žirovnica (*Fig: 38:* 1–3). The temple ring from St Peter near Spittal in Carinthia (Austria) is different with its loop ornamented with transversal grooves at one end, but both of its bulges are the same, with single thickenings,[71] which makes the temple ring appear similar to earrings with astragal-shaped thickenings.[72] The intent to change a temple ring into a crescent shaped earring can be clearly seen in the example from the burial ground in Batuje (*Fig. 2.8:* 17).[73]

[65] Karta in seznam najdišč: Knific, Žbona-Trkman 1990, 511, sl. 3: 1–12. – Dopolnitev podatkov za najdišče Kranj, Župna cerkev: Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 33, grob 1964_z0017, sl. 1; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 201, 272, grob 1972_z0224, sl. 2,3; neznana lega, sl. 2.

[66] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 220, kvadrant XX, sl. 3. – Maloštevilni so tudi uhani z motivom ptic pri vodnjaku žive vode (Sagadin 2018, 180; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 289, grob 1984_z0013 sl. 1,3).

[67] Par uhanov so našli v grobu 10, ki so ga odkrili v vhodni lopi. Ulita bronasta obročasta uhana, pri katerih se en konec zaključuje koničasto, drugi z odebelitvijo, imata obroča razčlenjena, eden s petimi dolgimi in petimi kratkimi odebelitvami (viš. 3,35 cm, šir. 3,25 cm, deb. 0,37 cm), drugi pa s štirimi dolgimi in štirimi kratkimi odebelitvami (viš. 3,31 cm, šir. 3,27 cm, deb. 0,4 cm). Uhana hrani Gorenjski muzej Kranj, inv. št. A 1454 in A 1455. Objava: Valič 1982.

[68] Pleterski 2013b, 315, 320; 331, 334; sl. 16.

[69] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 266–267, grob 1973_z0289, sl. 1,2.

[70] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 107, grob 1965_z0243, sl. 1; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 263, 287–288, grob 1973_z0275, sl. 1,2; grob 1984_z0008, sl. 1,2; grob 1984_z0010, sl. 1.

[71] Eichert, Rogl 2010, 212, Taf. 36: 2, grab 85. Prim. Eichert 2010b, 169.

[72] Prim. Pleterski 2013b, 315, 331.

[73] Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 50, 65, t. 29: 1; 59: 3.

Fig. 3. – Earrings with motifs of birds next to fountains are also rare (Sagadin 2018, 180; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 289, Grave 1984_z0013 Figs. 1,3).

[67] A pair of earrings was found in Grave 10, which was discovered underneath the occupation surface in the entrance lobby. The rings in a pair of cast bronze ring earrings, with one end ending in a point and the other in a thickening, are in one of the earrings divided by five long and five short thickenings (h. 3.35 cm, w. 3.25 cm, th. 0.37 cm) and in the other by four long and four short thickenings (h. 3.31 cm, w. 3.27 cm, th. 0.4 cm). The earrings are kept by the Gorenjska Museum in Kranj, inv. Nos. A 1454 and A 1455. Publication: Valič 1982.

[68] Pleterski 2013b, 315, 320; 331, 334; Fig. 16.

[69] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 266–267, Grave 1973_z0289, Figs. 1,2.

[70] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 107, Grave 1965_z0243, Fig. 1; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 263, 287–288, Grave1973_z0275, Figs. 1,2; Grave 1984_z0008, Figs. 1,2; Grave 1984_z0010, Fig. 1.

[71] Eichert, Rogl 2010, 212, Taf. 36: 2, Grave 85. *Cf.* Eichert 2010b, 169.

[72] *Cf.* Pleterski 2013b, 315, 331.

[73] Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 50, 65, Pl. 29: 1; 59: 3.

NAGLAVNI OBROČKI

Med zgodnjesrednjeveškimi predmeti z Blejskega otoka so najštevilnejši naglavni obročki, v literaturi znani tudi kot obsenčni obročki ali obsenčniki. V 12 grobovih (št. 3, 12, 24, 27, 34, 36–38, 49, 59, 83, 96) so jih našli 20, tri pa kot raztresene najdbe na severnem delu grobišča (kat. št. 69, 74 in 88; *t. 3:* 14–16). V osmih grobovih sta bila po dva obročka: v šestih primerih gre za pare, med seboj podobna obročka sta bila v grobu 24 (*t. 1:* 17,18), različna pa v grobu 49 (*t. 2:* 13,14). Po en obroček so našli v štirih grobovih, od katerih so bili trije deloma prekopani (grobovi 34, 59 in 96). V šestih grobovih so bile pokopane ženske (3, 12, 36, 38, 49, 59), v štirih otroci (24, 27, 37, 83), v dveh primerih spola zaradi slabe ohranjenosti okostij ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti (grobova 34 in 96).

Večina naglavnih obročkov ima z odebelitvami profilirana konca, z enojno odebelitvijo 14 obročkov (*t. 1:* 3,4,14,17,18,22; *2:* 1–4,6,14; *3:* 11,16). Pri dveh parih obročkov (iz grobov 27 in 83) je bila enojna odebelitev le na enem koncu (pri enem obročku sicer ni ohranjena), drugi konec je ravno odrezan (*t. 1:* 19,20; *3:* 9,10). Obročka, ki so ju našli zunaj grobov, sta razčlenjena z dvojno (*t. 3:* 15) oziroma trojno odebelitvijo (*t. 3:* 14). Par obročkov iz groba 36 ima na koncih enojno odebelitev, zareze ob njih pa dajejo vtis večkratne odebelitve (*t. 2:* 1,2).

Obročki so različno veliki, najmanjši, 2,5 x 2,4 cm, je obroček iz groba 38 (*t. 2:* 6), največji, 5,1 x 4,4 cm, je iz groba 34 (*t. 1:* 22). Z drugimi najdbami so bili skupaj le v treh grobovih, dvakrat z nožem (grobova 3 in 38) in enkrat s prstanom (grob 37). V enem grobu (grob 49) je bil obroček z odebeljenima koncema v paru z obročkom z S-zanko in ravno odrezanim koncem locna, edinim naglavnim obročkom drugačne oblike na grobišču.

Med zgodnjesrednjeveškim arheološkim gradivom z območja Vzhodnih Alp so naglavni obročki s profiliranima koncema ena od značilnih oblik nakita. Datirani so v pozno obdobje, v tipološke sestave najdb *köttlaške skupine,*[74] skupine *Köttlach II*,[75] v koroško skupino *C* (780–11. stoletje).[76] Koroški primerki so razdeljeni na sedem tipov, na začetek njihovega razvoja, v pozno 8. stoletje, so postavljeni obročki z enojnimi valjastimi odebelitvami (tip *Kb*), na konec, v 10. stoletje, pa obročki z več odebelitvami (tip *Kf*).[77]

Po *klasifikacijskem sistemu* za naglavni nakit so obročki z enojno odebelitvijo opredeljeni kot tip NO 0100_0808, obročki z večkratno odebelitvijo pa kot tip NO 0100_0909.[78] Obe vrsti sta sočasni, s tem da so prvi

[74] Korošec 1961, 179, t. 6: 16; Korošec 1979, 189/I.

[75] Giesler 1980, 87, Abb. 3: 9; Giesler 2002, 402, Abb. 2: 35.

[76] Eichert 2010a, 1, Abb. 46.

[77] Eichert 2010a, 40–45, Abb. 10.

[78] Pleterski 2013b, 302, sl. 2.

TEMPLE RINGS

Temple rings, in literature also known as head circlets are amongst the most common Early Mediaeval artefacts found on Bled Island. 20 were found in 12 graves (Nos. 3, 12, 24, 27, 34, 36–38, 49, 59, 83 and 96), while three were found as scattered finds in the north part of the burial ground (cat. Nos. 69, 74 and 88; *Pl. 3:* 14–16). Eight graves contained two rings: in six cases these were found in pairs, two rings of a similar design were found in Grave 24 (*Pl. 1:* 17,18), while two different rings were found in Grave 49 (*Pl. 2:* 13,14). Four graves revealed a solitary ring; three of the graves have been partially redug (Graves 34, 59 and 96). Women were buried in six of the graves (3, 12, 36, 38, 49 and 59), children in four (24, 27, 37 and 83), while the sex in two graves could not be determined due to the poor condition of the skeletons (Graves 34 and 96).

Most of the temple rings have moulded endings, 14 rings have single bulges (*Pls. 1:* 3,4,14,17,18,22; *2:* 1–4,6,14; *3:* 11,16). Two pairs of rings (from Graves 27 and 83) have a single thickening at one end (in one of the rings this was not preserved), while the other end is straight (*Pls. 1:* 19,20; *3:* 9,10). The two rings that were found outside of the graves had a double (*Pl. 3:* 14) or triple thickening (*Pl. 3:* 15). The pair of rings from Grave 36 has a single thickening at the end, however the engravings next to it give the impression of multiple thickenings (*Pl. 2:* 1,2).

The rings are of various sizes, the smallest, 2.5 x 2.4 cm, is the ring from Grave 38 (*Pl. 2:* 6), while the largest, 5.1 x 4.4 cm, was found in Grave 34 (*Pl. 1:* 22). Only in three graves were they found together with other finds, twice with a knife (Graves 3 and 38) and once with a finger ring (Grave 37). Grave 49 contained a ring with thickened endings paired with a ring with an S-shaped loop and a straight ending, the only temple ring of a different shape at this burial ground.

Temple rings with moulded endings represent characteristic jewellery form within the Early Mediaeval archaeological material found in the area of the Eastern Alps. They were dated into the typological group of finds belonging to the *Köttlach group,*[74] *Köttlach II*,[75] and the Carinthian group *C* (780–11th century).[76] The Carinthian examples are divided into seven types; the rings with singular cylindrical thickenings (type *Kb*) are placed at the beginning of their development, in the late 8th century, while the rings with multiple thickenings (type *Kf*) are placed at the end of their development, in the 10th century.[77]

According to the *classification system* for head jewellery the rings with a single thickening are categorised as type NO 0100_0808, while the rings with multiple

[74] Korošec 1961, 179, *Pl.* 6: 16; Korošec 1979, 189/I.

[75] Giesler 1980, 87, Abb. 3: 9; Giesler 2002, 402, Abb. 2: 35.

[76] Eichert 2010a, 1, Abb. 46.

[77] Eichert 2010a, 40–45, Abb. 10.

datirani v obdobje od zadnje tretjine 9. do začetka 11. stoletja, drugi tip naj bi se pojavil nekoliko pozneje, v prvi tretjini 10. stoletja.[79]

Zgornje opredelitve obročkov z odebelitvami se kronološko ujemajo v drugi polovici 10. stoletja in v zgodnjem 11. stoletju. Ker so takšne obročke pogosto našli tudi na grobiščih s prevladujočimi najdbami t. i. *belobrdske kulture* v Karpatski kotlini, jih je J. Giesler vključil kot tip D v kronološko skupino *Bijelo Brdo I*, datirano v drugo polovico 10. in prvo polovico 11. stoletja.[80] Tako pozna datacija je bila ugotovljena za obročke z več odebelitvami na koncih, ki so jih na avstrijskem Koroškem našli na grobiščih pri cerkvah.[81] Obročki z enojnimi ali več odebelitvami so najštevilnejše najdbe tudi v Sloveniji, tako na grobiščih pri zdajšnjih cerkvah ali stran od njih (*sl. 2.9*, *seznam 2*), pri nekaterih cerkvah so obročki skoraj edine znane najdbe *köttlaške skupine*, npr. na Bregu pri Žirovnici (*sl. 2.8:* 13),[82] v Šentpavlu pri Domžalah (*sl. 2.8:* 14)[83] in na Muljavi (*sl. 2.8:* 15,16).[84]

Izjema med naglavnimi obročki, ki so jih našli na Blejskem otoku, je primerk z esasto ali S-zanko iz groba 49 (*t. 2:* 13; *15:* 12). Grob je bil pri lobanji prekopan, obroček je ležal ob kosteh levega komolca (*t. 29:* 4). Po *klasifikacijskem sistemu* naglavnega nakita obroček uvrščamo v tip NO0100_0506.[85] Za obročke tega tipa je značilno, da je en konec locna ravno odrezan in se ne stika z S-zanko, v katero je oblikovan drugi konec.

V Sloveniji so večino takšnih obročkov našli na grobiščih s prevladujočimi najdbami t. i. *belobrdske kulture* v Podravju in Posotelju,[86] in sicer na Ptujskem gradu, Spodnji Hajdini pri Ptuju, Cirkevci pri Središču ob Dravi, v Radvanju pri Mariboru ter na Svetih gorah nad Bistrico ob Sotli (*seznam 4:* 9, 11, 12, 14, 15; *sl. 2.14:* 9, 11, 12, 14, 15). Na Ptujskem gradu, kjer so bili obročki najštevilnejši, so bili v 53 grobovih, pogosto po več primerkov v enem grobu.[87]

Na Gorenjskem, na območju grobišč z večinskimi najdbami *köttlaške skupine*, je obročkov z S-zanko in ravno odrezanim koncem zelo malo. Na velikih grobiščih pri župni cerkvi in na križišču Iskra v Kranju so

[79] Pleterski 2013b, 320, sl. 16.

[80] Giesler 1981, 125, Taf. 52: D.

[81] Eichert 2010a, 40–45, Abb.10.

[82] Sagadin 2013b, 21, t. 2: 12.

[83] Sagadin 1996. Predmet je evidentiran v NMS, pod št. ZN 124.

[84] Neobjavljeno, obročka hrani NMS, inv. št. S 2027 (*sl. 2.8:* 15) in S 2026 (*sl. 2.8:* 16).

[85] Pleterski 2013b, 302, sl. 2.

[86] Zgodovina raziskav in najdišča v Sloveniji: Knific, Tomanič Jevremov 2005, 162–163, 167–168, 172–174, sl. 4.

[87] Obročki so bili v grobovih št. 10, 12, 13, 20, 25, 37, 42, 43, 48, 50, 51, 52, 64, 65, 68, 71, 77, 81, 97, 99, 100, 104, 113, 120, 122, 125, 143, 150, 156, 175, 178, 181, 191, 192, 204, 208, 209, 221, 222, 224, 226, 228, 237, 239, 244, 275, 296, 323, 338, 385, 386, 395, 420.

thickenings are categorised as type NO 0100_0909.[78] Both types were present at the same time, however the first are dated between the last third of the 9th and the beginning of the 11th century, while the second type most likely appeared at a slighter later date, in the first third of the 10th century.[79]

The previously mentioned types of rings with thickenings were present at the same time during the second half of the 10th century and the early 11th century. Because such rings were also common finds in burial grounds in the Carpathian valley, in which the finds of the so-called *Bijelo Brdo culture* prevailed, J. Giesler included them as type *D* in the chronological group *Bijelo Brdo I*, dated in the second half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century.[80] Such late dates were ascertained for rings with multiple thickenings on the endings, which were found in burial grounds next to churches in Carinthia (Austria).[81] Rings with singular or multiple thickenings are the most frequent finds also in Slovenia, in burial grounds next to present-day churches as well as away from them (*Fig. 2.9*, *List* 2), while at the sites next to some churches these rings are practically the only known find pertaining to the *Köttlach group*, e.g. Breg near Žirovnica (*Fig. 2.8:* 13),[82] Šentpavel pri Domžalah (*Fig. 2.8:* 14)[83] and Muljava (*Fig. 2.8:* 15,16).[84]

An exception amongst the temple rings found on Bled Island is the example with the S-shaped loop found in Grave 49 (*Pls. 2:* 13; *15:* 12). The grave was dug up next to the skull, the ring lay next to the bones of the left elbow (*Pl. 29:* 4). According to the *classification system* for head jewellery this ring was categorised as type NO0100_0506.[85] For rings of this type it is characteristic that one end of the loop is straight and does not reach the S-shaped loop, into which the other end is shaped.

In Slovenia most of such rings were found in the Drava river basin and Posotelje region in burial grounds in which finds belonging to the so-called *Bijelo Brdo culture* prevailed,[86] i.e. at Ptuj castle, Spodnja Hajdina near Ptuj, Cirkevca near Središče ob Dravi, Radvanje near Maribor and on Svete gore above Bistrica ob Sotli (*List 4:* 9, 11, 12, 14, 15; *Fig. 2.14:* 9, 11, 12, 14, 15). At Ptuj castle, where the finds of these rings were most numerous, they were found in all 53 graves, and there was often more than one example in an individual grave.[87]

[78] Pleterski 2013b, 302, *Fig.* 2.

[79] Pleterski 2013b, 320, *Fig.* 16.

[80] Giesler 1981, 125, Taf. 52: D.

[81] Eichert 2010a, 40–45, Abb.10.

[82] Sagadin 2013b, 21, Pl. 2: 12.

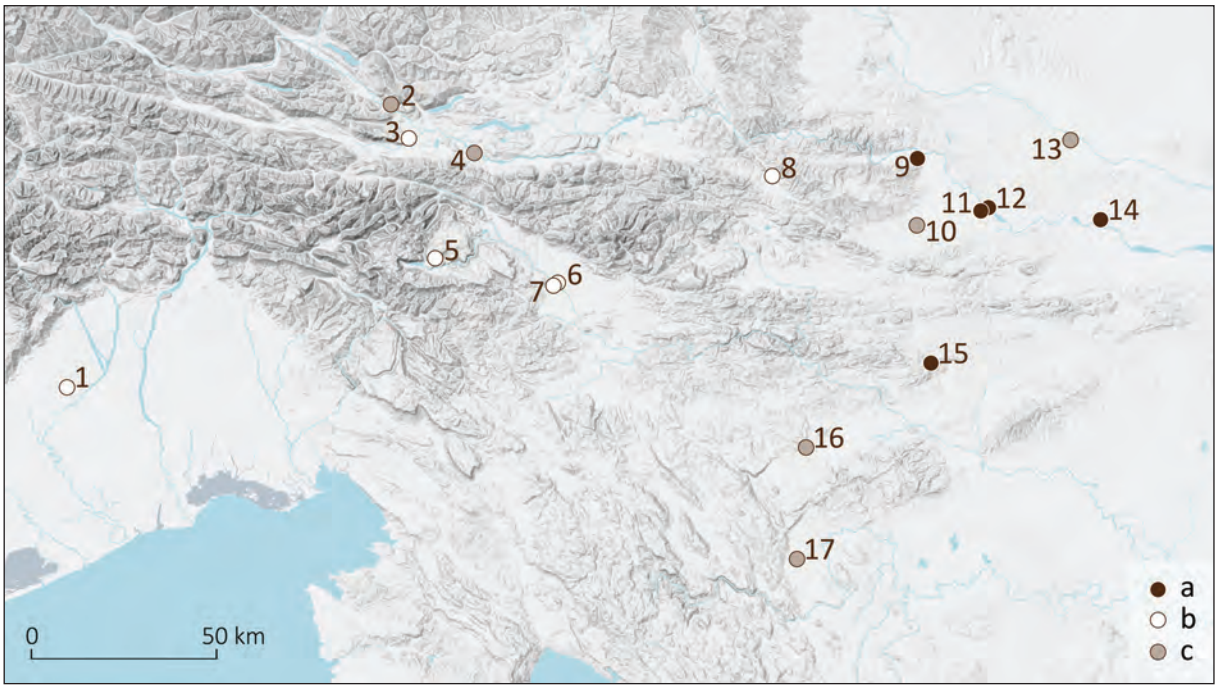
[83] Sagadin 1996. The object is catalogued by NMS, under No. ZN 124.

[84] Unpublished, the rings are kept by NMS, inv. No. S 2027 (*Fig. 2.8:* 15) and S 2026 (*Fig. 2.8:* 16).

[85] Pleterski 2013b, 302, Fig. 2.

[86] The history of research and sites in Slovenia: Knific, Tomanič Jevremov 2005, 162–163, 167–168, 172–174, Fig. 4.

[87] The temple rings were found in Graves 10, 12, 13, 20,



Sl. 2.14: Najdišča naglavnih obročkov z S-zanko in ravno odrezanim locnom v Sloveniji, Furlaniji-Julijski krajini (I) in na Koroškem (A). a – grobišča z najdbami t. i. *belobrdske kulture*, b – grobišča z najdbami *köttlaške skupine,* c – neopredeljena grobišča (glej *seznam 4*).
Fig. 2.14: Sites containing temple rings with an S-loop and a straight ending in Slovenia, Friuli-Venezia Giulia (I) and Carinthia (A). a – burial sites with finds belonging to the so-called *Bijelo Brdo culture,* b – burial sites with finds belonging to the *Köttlach group*, c – uncategorised burial sites (see *List 4*).
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: V. Bitenc)

jih našli devet, dva primerka pa na manjšem grobišču na Žalah v Srednji vasi v Bohinju (*seznam 4:* 5, 7, 8; *sl. 2.14:* 5, 7, 8). Nekaj takšnih obročkov so našli tudi *v* Veržeju, Črnomlju in na Črešnjevcu (*seznam 4:* 10, 13, 17; *sl. 2.14:* 10, 13, 17), na najdiščih, ki jih zaradi majhne raziskanosti ni mogoče natančneje opredeliti.

Zahodno in severnozahodno od najdišč v Sloveniji so obročki z S-zanko in ravno odrezanim koncem locna redke najdbe, v Italiji so jih našli v Pordenonu v Furlaniji-Julijski krajini (*seznam 4:* 1; *sl. 2.14:* 1), v Avstriji pa na Judenbichlu pri Villachu/Beljaku na Koroškem (*seznam 4:* 3; *sl. 2.14:* 3). Na obeh grobiščih so bili skupaj z najdbami, katerih večino uvrščamo v *köttlaško skupino.* Na avstrijskem Koroškem so ob manj značilnih predmetih našli dva para takšnih obročkov tudi na manjših grobiščih v Puchu pri Villachu/Beljaku in v Längdorfu/Veliki vasi (*seznam 4:* 2, 4; *sl. 2.14:* 2, 4).

Takšni obročki so zelo pogoste najdbe na grobiščih, odkritih v velikem številu vzhodno in severovzhodno od najdišč v Sloveniji, na Hrvaškem,[88] Madžarskem,[89] Slovaškem[90] in v vzhodni Avstriji.[91] Na območju Karpatske kotline so bili ena od značilnih oblik naglavnega

In Gorenjska, in the area of burial grounds with prevailing finds belonging to the *Köttlach group*, there were very few rings with an S-shaped loop and a straight ending. Nine were found at the large burial grounds at the parish church and at the Iskra crossroads in Kranj, while two examples were found at a smaller burial ground in Žale in Srednja vas v Bohinju and one at Legen (*List 4:* 5, 7, 8; *Fig. 2.14:* 5, 7, 8). A few rings of this type were also found in Veržej, Črnomelj and Črešnjevec (*List 4:* 10,13,17; *Fig. 2.14:* 10,13,17), i.e. in sites that cannot be more precisely defined as they were not sufficiently researched.

West and north-west of the sites in Slovenia rings with an S-shaped loop and a straight ending are rare, however, in Italy these rings were found in Pordenone in the Friuli region (*List 4:* 1; *Fig. 2.14:* 1), and in Austria in Judenbichl near Villach in Carinthia (*List 4:* 3; *Fig. 2.14:* 3). In both burial grounds they were found together with finds that were categorised predominantly as belonging to the *Köttlach group*. In Carinthi*a* (Austria) two pairs of such rings were found alongside less characteristic artefacts in smaller burial grounds in Puch near Villach and Längdorf (*List 4:* 2,4; *Fig. 2.14:* 2,4).

[88] Tomičič 1993, 546; Demo 2009, 447–448.
[89] Giesler 1981, 104; Obenaus 2010, 190–191.
[90] Hanuliak, Rejholcová 1999, 58–60.
[91] Obenaus 2010, 191–199

25, 37, 42, 43, 48, 50, 51, 52, 64, 65, 68, 71, 77, 81, 97, 99, 100, 104, 113, 120, 122, 125, 143, 150, 156, 175, 178, 181, 191, 192, 204, 208, 209, 221, 222, 224, 226, 228, 237, 239, 244, 275, 296, 323, 338, 385, 386, 395, 420.

nakita, v tipološki shemi najdb t. i. *belobrdske kulture* so razdeljeni po obsegu na večje (tip I) in manjše obročke (tip II), po debelini žice pa na več inačic (1–6).[92] Blejski obroček po tej razdelitvi spada med primerke tipa I, 7/2, glede na obseg 7,5 cm in debelino žice 0,18 cm. Obročki tega tipa so kronološko postavljeni v fazo *Bijelo Brdo I*, v obdobje, ki se je začelo kmalu po sredini 10. in končalo kmalu po sredini 11. stoletja.[93] Obroček z S-zanko iz groba 49 uvrščamo med predmete *belobrdske skupine*, ki se v Sloveniji in še zahodneje pojavljajo posamično, a razmeroma pogosto na grobiščih s prevladujočimi najdbami *köttlaške skupine*.[94]

OKRASNA ZAPONKA

Za okroglo okrasno zaponko (*t. 1:* 16; *16:* 1), ki so jo našli ob premaknjenih kosteh v grobu 16, ni zanesljivo, da je grobni pridatek tega groba. Na ploščici zaponke je na več mestih vrezan gost in neenakomeren cikcakast okras. Za tako imenovani okras volčjega zoba najdemo veliko primerjav na rimskih fibulah,[95] tudi z najdišč v Sloveniji.[96] Zgodnjesrednjeveški primer takšnega okrasa je na srebrni križni fibuli iz groba 63 s Fraunberga pri Sondershausnu v Nemčiji, datirani v iztekajoče se 7. ali zgodnje 8. stoletje.[97] Gost cikcak je pogosto vrezan tudi na kovanih polmesečastih uhanih[98] in okroglih okrasnih zaponkah, okrašenih z vložki emajla,[99] značilnih najdbah iz poznega obdobja zgodnjega srednjega veka v Vzhodnih Alpah.

Na hrbtni strani zaponke z Blejskega otoka so na dveh mestih ostanki kositrno-svinčeve spajke,[100] s katero sta bila verjetno pritrjena nosilec in ležišče za iglo, ki se tako kot igla nista ohranila. Pritrjevanje naprave za pripenjanje s spajkanjem je tehnološka posebnost, ki so jo ugotovili pri petih okrasnih zaponkah z grobišča

[92] Giesler 1981, 40, Abb. 7.

[93] Giesler 1981, 136–137, Taf. 53.

[94] Knific, Tomanič Jevremov 2005, 167–168, 172–174, sl. 4; Knific, Mlinar 1014, 439–440, 457–458.

[95] Pogosto na kolenčastih fibulah, npr. Jobst 1975, 63–68, Taf. 18–24.

[96] Npr. Ptuj (Ciglenečki 1990, 158–160, sl. 7; Ciglenečki 1993, 512, t. 2: 8), Kalce (Ciglenečki 1990, 160, t. 5: 4), Ilovica pri Vranskem (Lazar 2006, 39, 44–47, sl. M5, M12, M13), Tonovcov grad pri Kobaridu (Milavec 2011a, 22, t. 1: 18).

[97] Brieske 2017, 226–227, op. 21, Abb. 3: 5.

[98] Korošec 1979, t. 38: 1a; 45: 9; 46: 6; 57: 2a; 66: 2a,b; 77: 3,4.

[99] Preložnik 2018, 162–163, sl. 5: 3; 7: 5; 9: 1,3; 11: 3.

[100] Za obe mesti je meritev XRF pokazala sestavo, ki se razlikuje od drugih vzorcev, izmerjenih na površini okrasne zaponke. Sestava elementov (v odstotkih): 1. mesto – Sn 65,56; Cu 16,35; Pb 8,95; Si 4,76; Al 2,42; Fe 0,87; Zn 0,59; P 0,44; W 0,07; 2. mesto – Sn 46,62; Cu 25,32; Pb 11,51; Si 8,57; Al 4,77; Fe 1,24; Zn 0,98; P 0,85; W 0,10; As 0,03. Meritev je opravila Eva Menart, NMS.

Such rings are very common finds in burial grounds to the east and northeast of Slovenia, i.e. in Croatia,[88] Hungary,[89] Slovakia[90] and east Austria.[91] Within the Carpathian basin these temple rings represented one of the most characteristic jewellery forms, and in the typological group of finds belonging to the so-called *Bijelo Brdo culture* they were divided according to their circumference into large (type I) and small rings (type II), and into a number of variants depending on the thickness of the wire (1–6).[92] According to this categorisation the Bled temple ring, with a circumference of 7.5 cm and wire thickness of 0.18 cm, belongs amongst the examples of type I, 7/2. Rings of this type are chronologically set into phase *Bijelo Brdo I*, in a period which started soon after the mid-10th century and ended soon after the mid-11th century.[93] The temple ring with the S-shaped loop from Grave 49 is categorised as an object, typical for the the *Bijelo Brdo group*, which appear individually in Slovenia and west of Slovenia, and are found relatively often in burial grounds with prevailing finds belonging to the *Köttlach group*.[94]

BROOCH

It is uncertain whether the round brooch (*Pls. 1:* 16; *16:* 1), which was found alongside the moved bones in Grave 16, was a grave good. There is an engraved, dense and irregular zigzag decoration on numerous parts of the fibula plate. There are numerous comparisons in fibulae originating from the Roman period for the so-called decoration of the wolf's tooth,[95] including the sites in Slovenia.[96] An Early Mediaeval example of such decoration can be seen on the silver cross fibula from Grave 63 in Fraunberg near Sondershausen in Germany, which was dated in the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century.[97] The dense zigzag pattern is often engraved onto forged crescent shaped earrings[98] and round brooches, decorated with enamel inlays,[99] characteristic finds from the late Early Mediaeval period in the Eastern Alps.

[88] Tomičič 1993, 546; Demo 2009, 447–448.

[89] Giesler 1981, 104; Obenaus 2010, 190–191.

[90] Hanuliak, Rejholcová 1999, 58–60.

[91] Obenaus 2010, 191–199

[92] Giesler 1981, 40, Abb. 7.

[93] Giesler 1981, 136–137, Taf. 53.

[94] Knific, Tomanič Jevremov 2005, 167–168, 172–174, *Fig.* 4; Knific, Mlinar 1014, 439–440, 457–458.

[95] Often found on knee fibulae, e.g. Jobst 1975, 63–68, Taf. 18–24.

[96] E.g. Ptuj (Ciglenečki 1990, 158–160, Fig. 7; Ciglenečki 1993, 512, Pl. 2: 8), Kalce (Ciglenečki 1990, 160, Pl. 5: 4), Ilovica near Vransko (Lazar 2006, 39, 44–47, Figs. M5, M12, M13), Tonovcov grad near Kobarid (Milavec 2011a, 22, Pl. 1: 18).

[97] Brieske 2017, 226–227, note 21, Abb. 3: 5.

[98] Korošec 1979, *Pl.* 38: 1a; 45: 9; 46: 6; 57: 2a; 66: 2a, b; 77: 3,4.

[99] Preložnik 2018, 162–163, *Figs*. 5: 3; 7: 5; 9: 1,3; 11: 3.

na blejskem Sedlu,[101] pri okrasni zaponki z grobišča pri Sv. Urhu v Tolminu je bila z analizo PIXE določena podrobna sestava spajke.[102] Spajkanje in cikcak otoško zaponko povezujeta z drugimi okrasnimi zaponkami iz *köttlaške skupine*.

PRSTANI

Na Blejskem otoku so našli prstane v šestih grobovih (št. 4, 37, 41, 45, 77 in 111), dva prstana pa sta raztreseni najdbi (kat. št. 42 in 157). V grobovih 4 in 45 sta bili pokopani ženski, v grobu 77 moški, v grobu 37 otrok, v grobovih 41 in 111 spol pokopanega ni bil ugotovljen.

V grobu 4 sta bila prstana z okrasnim kamnom: na bolje ohranjenem prstanu je ovalen vložek iz temnomodrega natronskega stekla (*t. 1:* 7), na drugem prstanu, z obročkom, okrašenim z globokimi vrezi, je bil verjetno pritrjen okrogel vložek iz svetlomodrega stekla s tremi belimi očesci (*t. 1:* 9,10). Kovinski ležišči okrasnih kamnov se nista ohranili, so pa pod vložkom na prvem prstanu vidni ostanki spajke. Tudi tretji prstan iz tega groba je bil morda, kot je mogoče sklepati po drobnem ostanku razširjenega dela, okrašen s "kamnom" (*t. 1:* 8). Prstani so bili v grobu skupaj z uhanom z astragalnimi odebelitvami (*t. 1:* 6) in nožem (*t. 1:* 11).

V zgodnjesrednjeveških grobovih na območju Vzhodnih Alp so prstani z okrasnim kamnom – kot tudi uhani z astragalnimi odebelitvami – redke najdbe. Več primerkov obeh vrst so našli le na grobišču pri župni cerkvi v Kranju. Bronasti prstani z okrasnim kamnom so bili v petih grobovih,[103] vedno skupaj z naglavnimi obročki *köttlaške skupine*: v štirih grobovih z obročki z enojno odebelitvijo na koncih (tip NO 0100_0808), v enem z obročkoma z dvojno odebelitvijo (tip NO 0100_0909). V grobu 1984_z0102 je bil obroček prstana (okrasni kamen ni ohranjen) okrašen s poševnimi prečnimi žlebiči,[104] tako kot obročka pri blejskih primerkih (*t. 1:* 7,10). Podoben prstan (brez kamna) so na grobišču pri kranjski župni cerkvi našli tudi kot raztreseno najdbo.[105] Pri treh prstanih je okrasni vložek steklen, pri enem snov ni prepoznana.

Tudi v grobu 37 so našli prstan (*t. 2:* 5) skupaj z naglavnima obročkoma z enojno odebelitvijo na koncih (*t. 2:* 3,4). Prstan ima močno presegajoča zaključka, ker

[101] Okrasne zaponke iz grobov 9, 24, 26, 85, 143, glej Valič 1964, 15, 17, 18, 29; Valič 1969a, 221.

[102] Knific, Mlinar 2014, 427, op. 3.

[103] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 185, 194–195, 262–263, 302, 311, grob 1972_z0173, sl. 3; grob 1972_z0204, sl. 5; grob 1973_z0274, sl. 3; grob 1984_z0059, sl. 3; grob 1984_z0102, sl. 3.

[104] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 311, sl. 3.

[105] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 322, sl. 7.

The back side of the brooch from Bled Island shows remains of tin-lead soldering in two places,[100] which was most likely used to attach the hinge and the loop for the pin, which were not preserved (nor was the pin). Attaching the clasp by soldering is a technological speciality that was ascertained with five brooches from the burial ground at Bled Sedlo,[101] while the PIXE analysis revealed a detailed composition of the soldering material on the brooch from the burial ground at St Urh in Tolmin.[102] Soldering and the zigzag engraving connect the brooch from Bled Island to other brooches belonging to the *Köttlach group*.

FINGER RINGS

Finger rings were found in six graves (Nos. 4, 37, 41, 45, 77 and 111) on Bled Island, while two finger rings were categorised as scattered remains (cat. Nos. 42 and 157). Graves 4 and 45 contained female skeletons, Grave 77 a male skeleton, Grave 37 an infant's skeleton, while the sex of the buried could not be determined in Graves 41 and 111.

Grave 4 contained two finger rings with decorative stones: the better-preserved finger ring contained an inlay made from dark blue natron glass (*Pl. 1:* 7), while a light blue inlay with three eyes most likely belongs to the second finger ring, decorated with deep incisions. (*Pl. 1:* 9, 10). The metal plates for attaching the decorative stones were not preserved, however there are visible remains of soldering underneath the insert on the first finger ring. The third finger ring found in the same grave might have also been decorated with a 'stone', which is indicated by the small remnant of the widened part (*Pl. 1:* 8). These finger rings were found in a grave together with an earring with an astragal-shaped thickening (*Pl. 1:* 6) and a knife (*Pl. 1:* 11).

Similar to earrings with astragal-shaped thickenings, finger rings with a decorative stone are rare finds in Early Mediaeval graves in the area of the Eastern Alps. Several examples of both types of artefacts were found only at the burial ground at the parish church in Kranj. Bronze finger rings with decorative stones were found in five graves,[103] always together with temple rings belong-

[100] The XRF measurement in both locations showed a composition that differs from the other samples measured on the surface of the brooch. The composition of the elements (in percentages): 1. location – Sn 65.56; Cu 16.35; Pb 8.95; Si 4.76; Al 2.42; Fe 0.87; Zn 0.59; P 0,44; W 0.07; 2. location – Sn 46.62; Cu 25.32; Pb 11.51; Si 8.57; Al 4.77; Fe 1.24; Zn 0.98; P 0.85; W 0.10; As 0.03. The measurement was performed by Eva Menart, NMS.

[101] Brooches from Graves 9, 24, 26, 85 and 143, see Valič 1964, 15, 17, 18, 29; Valič 1969a, 221.

[102] Knific, Mlinar 2014, 427, note 3.

[103] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 185, 194–195, 262–263, 302, 311, Grave 1972_z0173, *Fig.* 3; Grave 1972_z0204, *Fig.* 5; Grave 1973_z0274, *Fig.* 3; Grave 1984_z0059, Fig. 3; Grave 1984_z0102, *Fig.* 3.

so njegov premer zmanjšali. Nesklenjeni prstani s trikotnim prerezom, ki so jih našli na grobiščih v Vzhodnih Alpah, so uvrščeni v skupino *Köttlach I*, datirano v drugo polovico 9. in prvo polovico 10. stoletja.[106] Pri župni cerkvi v Kranju so odkrili grobova, ki potrjujeta povezavo teh prstanov s predmeti, uvrščenimi v omenjeno tipološko skupino: v grobu 1972_z0122 sta to naglavna obročka z S-zanko, ki se zapenjata s kaveljčkom,[107] v grobu 1969_z0001 pa prstan z razširjenim zgornjim delom, drugi predmeti iz tega groba (dvoramni okrasni zaponki, naglavna obročka z odebelitvami in velika obročka z S-zanko in kaveljčkom) so značilni za skupino *Köttlach II*.[108]

Trije prstani z Blejskega otoka so masivni, nesklenjeni, z okroglimi preseki: pri prstanu iz groba 41 sta konca ravno odrezana (*t. 2:* 8), pri prstanu iz groba 45 rahlo stanjšana (*t. 2:* 10), pri prstanu iz groba 58 pa koničasta (*t. 2:* 20). Ta vrsta prstanov, odkritih na najdiščih s prevladujočimi najdbami *köttlaške skupine*, kot sta Sedlo na Blejskem gradu[109] in Križišče Iskra v Kranju,[110] je povezana z arheološkim gradivom t. i. *belobrdske kulture*. Jochen Giesler jih je vključil kot tip 25 v kronološko skupino *Bijelo Brdo I* (druga polovica 10. in prva polovica 11. stoletja),[111] Željko Demo pa jih je pri objavi grobišča Vukovar – Lijeva Bara opredelil kot inačice tipa 1.6a.[112]

Trakast prstan iz bronaste pločevine iz groba 111, okrašen z nizoma vrezanih črtic, ki ju na treh mestih prekinjajo prečno postavljeni nizi črtic (*t. 3:* 13; *t. 15*: 15), ima primerjavo na grobišču pri župni cerkvi v Kranju, vendar je tamkajšnji prstan raztresena najdba.[113] Tudi s primerjavo za otoška prstana iz groba 77 (*t. 3* :7) in raztreseno najdbo iz kvadranta 15 (*t. 3:* 18) je podobno: podatki za primerljivi prstan iz kranjskega groba 1973_z0269 so nezanesljivi, verjetno gre za najdbo iz premetane plasti.[114]

NOŽI

Noži so bili pridatek v osmih grobovih (št. 3–6, 35, 38, 41, 61). V štirih grobovih so bili edini pridatek (št. 5, 6, 35, 61), v štirih pa skupaj z nakitom, z naglavnimi obročki v grobovih 3 (*t. 1:* 3–5) in 38 (*t. 1:* 6,7), s prstanom v grobu 41 (*t. 1:* 8,9), z uhanom in prstani v grobu 4 (*t. 1:* 6–11). V treh grobovih z noži (št. 5, 6 in 61) so

[106] Giesler 1980, 86, Abb. 2: 10; Giesler 2002, 402, Abb. 2: 23.
[107] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 169, sl. 1,2.
[108] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 203–206.
[109] Valič 1964, 42.
[110] Sagadin 1988, 54, 119.
[111] Giesler 1981, 110, 113, Taf. 4: 25; 53.
[112] Demo 2009, 513, sl. 43: 1.6a[1], 1.6a[2].
[113] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 270, kvadrant III, sl. 4.
[114] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 260–261, sl. 3.

ing to the *Köttlach group*: in four graves together with temple rings with a single thickening at the end (type NO 0100_0808) and in one grave with two temple rings with a double thickening (type NO 0100_0909). Grave 1984_z0102 contained a finger ring (the decorative stone was not preserved) decorated with transversal grooves,[104] similar to the finger rings from Bled (*Pl. 1:* 7,10). A similar finger ring (without the stone) was found as a scattered find in the burial ground at the parish church in Kranj.[105] Three finger rings have a decorative glass inlay, while the material of the inlay has not been determined for one finger ring.

A finger ring (*Pl. 2:* 5) was also found in Grave 37, together with temple rings with a single thickening (*Pl. 2:* 3,4). The finger ring has strongly overhanging endings, as the finger ring's circumference was reduced. Open circle finger rings with a triangular cross-section, which were found in burial grounds in the Eastern Alps, are categorised into the group *Köttlach I*, dated in the second half of the 9th and the first half of the 10th century.[106] At the parish church in Kranj two graves confirm the connection between these finger rings and artefacts belonging to the aforementioned typological group: Grave 1972_z0122 revealed two temple rings with an S-shaped loop, which is fastened with a hook,[107] while Grave 1969_z0001 revealed a finger ring with a widened upper part, while the remaining artefacts from this grave (equal-arm fibula, two temple rings with moulded ends and large temple rings with S-shaped loops and hooks) are characteristic of the *Köttlach II* group.[108]

The three finger rings from Bled Island are massive, open circle finger rings, with round cross-sections: the finger ring from Grave 41 has straight endings (*Pl. 2:* 8), the endings on the finger ring from Grave 45 are slightly thinned (*Pl. 2:* 10), while the endings on the finger ring from Grave 58 are pointed (*Pl. 2:* 20). This type of finger rings, discovered in sites with prevailing finds from the *Köttlach group*, such as Sedlo at the Bled castle[109] and the Iskra crossroads in Kranj,[110] is linked to archaeological material belonging to the so-called *Bijelo Brdo culture*. Jochen Giesler categorised them as type 25 within the chronological group *Bijelo Brdo I* (the second half of the 10th and first half of the 11th centuries).[111] In the publication on the Vukovar – Lijeva Bara burial ground, Željko Demo categorised them as variants type 1.6a.[112]

The ribbon finger ring made from bronze sheet metal, found in Grave 111, decorated with a series of

[104] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 311, *Fig.* 3.
[105] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 322, *Fig.* 7.
[106] Giesler 1980, 86, Abb. 2: 10; Giesler 2002, 402, Abb. 2: 23.
[107] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 169, *Fig.* 1,2.
[108] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 203–206.
[109] Valič 1964, 42.
[110] Sagadin 1988, 54, 119.
[111] Giesler 1981, 110, 113, Taf. 4: 25; 53.
[112] Demo 2009, 513, *Fig.* 43: 1.6a, 1.6a.

bili pokopani moški, v vseh brez drugih najdb. Samo z nožem je bila pokopana ena ženska (v grobu 35), tri pa z nakitom (v grobovih 3, 4 in 38). Spol pokopanega v grobu 41, v katerem je bil tudi prstan, ni znan.

Štirje noži imajo značilen, proti konici poševno zalomljen hrbet rezila (*t. 1:* 5,12,23; *2:* 7). Na grobiščih z najdbami *köttlaške skupine* so takšni noži pogoste najdbe. V Blejskem kotu so jih našli na Pristavi (v grobu 108 in 149),[115] na Sedlu (v grobovih 11, 25, 27, 31, 62, in 163),[116] na Dlescu pri Bodeščah (grobova 6 in 43)[117] in v Zasipu (v grobovih 43 in 45).[118] V Batujah v Vipavski dolini so našli nože v 12 grobovih, od teh jih je bilo šest s poševno zalomljenim rezilom.[119]

Tako je oblikovano tudi rezilo noža z rogovinastim ali koščenim ročajem iz otoškega groba 38 (*t. 2:* 7; *17:* 5; *27:* 3). Platnici, pritrjeni na ročaj z železnima kovicama, sta okrašeni s prečnimi in križajočimi se vrezi. Noži z rogovinastim ali koščenim ročajem so pogosti na grobiščih iz karolinškega obdobja v zahodni Panonski nižini, npr. v Sopronkőhidi in Zalavarju. Okrašeni so predvsem s koncentričnimi krogi s piko v sredini.[120]

PISALI

Podatki o legi železni pisal v grobovih 55 (*t. 2:* 16; *17:* 7) in 56 (*t. 2:* 18; *17:* 8) so pomanjkljivi, možno je, da sta raztreseni rimskodobni najdbi (glej pogl. 1.4.2). Poznoantične primerjave za otoški pisali, datirane od 5. do 7. stoletja, najdemo na Tonovcovem gradu pri Kobaridu,[121] Invillinu v Furlaniji[122] in Hemmabergu / Sv. Hemi v Podjuni.[123] Med zgodnjesrednjeveške najdbe pa je uvrščen železen stilus z Malega gradu v Kamniku.[124]

TKANINA

V grobu 68, opredeljenem v čas po zgodnjem srednjem veku, so se med prekopanimi kostmi ohranili ostanki tkanine (*sl. 2.6; t. 20*). Preliminarne preiskave tkanine je z lupo in presevnim mikroskopom opravila Ana Motnikar (Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana). Po njenih ugotovitvah gre za več različnih tkanin z različno gostoto tkanja. Prevladuje platnena vezava, na

[115] Kastelic, Škerlj 1950, 43, sl. 15.

[116] Valič 1964, 15, 17–19, 25, t. 4: 1; 7: 3; 8: 2,4; 14: 2; Valič 1969a, 225, t. 2: 23.

[117] Knific, Pleterski 1981b, 484, 495, t. 2: 6/3; 14: 43/6.

[118] Knific, Pleterski 1993, 247–248, t. 8: 43/1; 9: 45: 2:

[119] Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 65, t. 14: 2; 15: 1; 16: 2; 21: 5; 23: 7, 27: 2.

[120] Szőke 2014, 37, 108, Figs. 26, 83.

[121] Milavec 2011b, 53, 59,414, t. 18: 5–8, 10.

[122] Bierbrauer 1987, 116, 172, 352, Taf: 57: 9–13.

[123] Ladstätter 2000, 258, Taf. 34: 42–45.

[124] Sagadin 2001, 370–371, t. 3: 12; Štular 2009, 121–122, sl. 8.2: 25.

engraved lines that are broken in three places by transversal lines (*Pl. 3:* 13; *Pl. 15*: 15), has a comparison from the burial ground at the parish church in Kranj, however the finger ring found there belonged amongst scattered finds.[113] The situation is similar when the finger ring from Grave 77 (*Pl. 3:* 7) and the finger ring found as a scattered find in quadrant 15 (*Pl. 3:* 18) are compared: the data for the comparative finger ring from the Kranj Grave 1973_z0269 is unreliable, most likely it was found in a layer of dug up material.[114]

KNIVES

Knives were found as grave goods in eight graves (Nos. 3–6, 35, 38, 41 and 61). In four graves they represented the only grave good (Nos. 5, 6, 35 and 61), while in four they were found together with jewellery, with temple rings in Graves 3 (*Pl. 1:* 3–5) and 38 (*Pl.* 1: 6,7), with a finger ring in Grave 41 (*Pl. 1:* 8,9), and with an earring and finger rings in Grave 4 (*Pl. 1:* 6–11). Three graves with knives (Nos. 5, 6 and 61) contained male skeletons, and none of them had any other grave goods. One woman was buried only with a knife (Grave 35), while three were buried with a knife and jewellery (Graves 3, 4 and 38). The sex of the buried in Grave 41, which also included a finger ring, is not known.

Four knives have a characteristic, towards the tip obliquely descending back of the blade (*t. 1:* 5,12,23; *2:* 7). At the burial grounds with finds pertaining to the *Köttlach group* knives like this were common finds. In Bled area they were found at Pristava (in Graves 108 and 149),[115] on Sedlo (in Graves 11, 25, 27, 31, 62 and 163),[116] at Dlesc near Bodešče (Graves 6 and 43)[117] and in Zasip (in Graves 43 and 45).[118] In Batuje in the Vipava valley knives were found in 12 graves, six of which had a obliquely slanting blade.[119]

This was also how the blade of the knife with a bone or antler handle from Grave 38 (*Pls. 2:* 7; *17:* 5; *27:* 3) was designed. The two sides of the handle, attached to the tang with iron rivets, are decorated with transverse and intersecting engravings. Knives with a bone or antler handle are common in Carolingian period burial grounds in the west Pannonian plain, e.g. in Sopronkőhida and Zalavar. They are most commonly decorated with concentric circles with a dot in the centre.[120]

[113] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 270, quadrant III, *Fig.* 4.

[114] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 260–261, *Fig.* 3.

[115] Kastelic, Škerlj 1950, 43, *Fig.* 15.

[116] Valič 1964, 15, 17–19, 25, *Pl.* 4: 1; 7: 3; 8: 2,4; 14: 2; Valič 1969a, 225, *PL.* 2: 23.

[117] Knific, Pleterski 1981b, 484, 495, *Pl.* 2: 6/3; 14: 43/6.

[118] Knific, Pleterski 1993, 247–248, *Pl.* 8: 43/1; 9: 45: 2:

[119] Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 65, *Pl.* 14: 2; 15: 1; 16: 2; 21: 5; 23: 7, 27: 2.

[120] Szőke 2014, 37, 108, Figs. 26, 83.

več mestih je videti vzorec, pridobljen s posebno tehniko tkanja. Na robu tkanine so bile v trak ali obrobo vtkane zlate ali pozlačene niti. Dobro je viden spoj dveh tkanin, kar kaže, da so to ostanki oblačila, sodeč po gladkih in ravnih vlaknih, zelo verjetno iz svile, vendar volne ne moremo povsem izključiti.

2.3 INTERPRETACIJA RAZTRESENIH NAJDB

Na Blejskem otoku so našli v zasutju grobov in drugod na raziskanem območju veliko posamičnih najdb in delno ohranjenih predmetov, opisanih v poglavju 12.2 (*Katalog raztresenih najdb*). Opisi si sledijo glede na glavna območja arheoloških raziskav, ki so potekale severno od cerkve, v njeni notranjosti in južno od cerkve. Na začetku kataloga so posebej opisane najdbe iz zasutja grobov, znotraj arheoloških območij so opisi razdeljeni na sklope po izkopavalnih odsekih (sonde 1–3, IP 1–3, prostori v cerkvi).

Raztresene najdbe iz prazgodovinske in rimske dobe ter poznoantičnega obdobja so obravnavane v poglavju 1.4. V tem poglavju interpretiramo srednjeveške in mlajše raztresene najdbe, ki se delijo na kovinske predmete, odlomke lončenine in stekla, koščen obesek, drobne stavbne ostanke, žitno zrnje in polžje hišice.

KOVINSKI PREDMETI

Nakit

Trije *naglavni obročki* z odebelitvami na koncih (kat. št. 69, 74 in 88; *t. 3:* 14–16; *15:* 8), ki so jih našli na grobišču severno od cerkve, lahko izvirajo iz prekopanih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov (glej *Naglavni obročki*). Tudi *prstan*, okrašen z nizom pik (kat. št. 42; *t. 3:* 17; *16:* 10), ima primerjavo v bližnjem grobu 77, odkritem pod tlakom preddverja (glej *Prstani*). Časovna opredelitev sklenjenega prstana iz sonde 2 (kat. št. 157; *t. 3:* 18) je široka, bronaste (ali še pogosteje srebrne) prstane z D-prerezom so našli na grobiščih z najdbami *köttlaške skupine,*[125] a tudi v poznejših srednjeveških grobovih.[126]

Predmeti za pritrjevanje

Na Blejskem otoku so našli dve vrsti železnih predmetov za pritrjevanje, in sicer *skobe* in *žeblje*. S skobami so spenjali lesene dele predmetov in stavbne elemente,

[125] Npr. Kranj, Križišče Iskra, grob 26 (Sagadin 1988, 16, 53, 78, 119–120, t. 6: 8); Komenda, naključna najdba št. 1999/25 (Sagadin 2013a, 261, 275, 285, t. 7: 25).

[126] Kranj, Župna cerkev, grobova 1972_p0875 in 1972_p0878 (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 82, 84, sl. 1, 2).

STYLUSES

The data on the location of the iron styluses in Graves 55 (*Pls. 2:* 16; *17:* 7) and 56 (*Pls. 2:* 18; *17:* 8) was insufficient, and it is possible, that they were scattered Roman period remains (see Chapter 1.4.2). Late Antiquity comparisons for the two styluses found on Bled Island, dated from the 5th to the 7th centuries, were found at Tonovcov grad near Kobarid,[121] Invillino in Friuli[122] and Hemmaberg in Jauntal.[123] The iron stylus from Mali grad in Kamnik is categorised as an Early Mediaeval find.[124]

FABRIC

Grave 68, categorised as post Early Mediaeval period, contained remains of fabric alongside the reburied bones (*Fig. 2.6*; *Pl. 20*). The preliminary research of the fabric was performed by Ana Motnikar (Slovenian Ethnographic Museum, Ljubljana) who used a magnifying glass and a screening microscope. Her tests revealed that these were different fabrics with different thread density. Plain weave prevails and a pattern created with the use of a special weaving technique can be seen in numerous places. The edge of the fabric had a ribbon or a hem with golden or gilded threads woven into it. The connection of the two fabrics is clearly visible and taking the smooth and straight threads into account these could be the remnants of an article of clothing made from silk – however wool cannot be entirely excluded.

2.3 INTERPRETATION OF SCATTERED FINDS

A lot of individual finds and partially preserved artefacts were found in the fill-in material of the graves as well as elsewhere in the researched area on Bled Island; these are described in Chapter 12.2 (*Catalogue of Scattered Remains*). The descriptions follow one another in relation to the main areas of archaeological research, which took place north of the church, in the church's interior and south of the church. In the first part of the catalogue the finds from the fill-in material of the graves are described, within the archaeological areas the descriptions are divided into groups according to the excavated areas (trial trenches 1–3, IP 1–3, spaces within the church).

Scattered finds from the Prehistoric, Roman and Late Antique periods are treated in Chapter 1.4. This chapter focuses on the interpretation of mediaeval and later scattered finds, which are divided into metal artefacts, pot-

[121] Milavec 2011b, 53, 59,414, *Pl.* 18: 5–8, 10.

[122] Bierbrauer 1987, 116, 172, 352, Taf: 57: 9–13.

[123] Ladstätter 2000, 258, Taf. 34: 42–45.

[124] Sagadin 2001, 370–371, *Pl.* 3: 12; Štular 2009, 121–122, Fig. 8.2: 25.

najpogostejše so skobe v obliki polovice črke H. Takšna je tudi trakasta skoba, ki je ležala "v zasipnem gradivu" nad grobom 115 (kat. št. 25; *t. 3:* 19), skupaj z odlomkom poznoantične čaše (kat. št. 24; *sl. 1.25:* 3, *t. 16:* 5) in delom zgodnjesrednjeveške lončene posode (kat. št. 23; *t. 6:* 13; *18:* 8). Poškodbe na konicah skobe kažejo, da je bila uporabljena. Podobni skobi so našli v grobu 43 na Dlescu pri Bodeščah,[127] kar bi dopuščalo domnevo, da je otoška skoba ostanek iz nekega prekopanega groba.[128] Skobe kot deli krst so znane v številnih poznoantičnih in avarskodobnih grobovih, odkritih na ozemlju Panonske nižine.[129] Skobam podoben okov, očitno zabit v les in pri konici zapognjen, so našli med ostalinami srednjeveške trdnjave Kostanjevica nad Starim gradom v Podbočju.[130] Druga otoška skoba, ki je ležala v bližini prve, nekje na območju izkopnega polja IP 1/2, je močno zravnana (kat. št. 88; *t. 4:* 14).

Ročno kovani *žeblji* so bili raztreseni na celotnem raziskanem območju. Pod tlakom cerkvene ladje so jih našli v grobovih 68 in 69, datiranih v čas po zgodnjem srednjem veku: v grobnih jamah so ležali skupaj s koščki lesa in so verjetno ostanki krst (*t. 3:* 1–5). V grobovih 55 in 56 sta bila žeblja skupaj z železnima pisaloma (*t. 2:* 16–19), a je zapisana le približna lega žeblja v grobu 56, tj. "nad glavo" okostja. V grobu 118 so žebelj našli v bližini vkopa, ki je poškodoval del okostja (kat. št. 26; *t. 3:* 20).

Številnejši so bili raztreseni žeblji na območju IP 1/2 (kat. št. 52–55, 60, 61, 71; *t. 4:* 3–6,8,9,12), pod tlakom preddverja cerkve (kat. št. 104–107; *sl. 2.15*; *t. 4:* 16,17; *5:* 1,2), v ladji (kat. št. 124, 126, 133–135; *t. 5:* 3,5,7–9) in južno od cerkve (kat. št. 152–154, 166–168, 185, 186; *t. 5:* 10–15,18,19). V preddverju so žeblji ležali v plasti nad grobovi, v kateri je bilo med gradbenimi ostanki tudi veliko odlomkov poznosrednjeveške lončenine. Nekateri žeblji so skrivljeni, zviti, pravokotno zapognjeni ali odlomljeni, kar kaže, da so bili uporabljeni (npr. *sl. 2.15*; *t. 4:* 2,3; *5:* 3,8).

Žeblji imajo oglato skovano steblo, večina podolgovato ploščato glavico, primerno za zabijanje. Med njimi so nekateri dolgi približno 10 cm (*t. 4:* 4,15), kar jih uvršča med žeblje, primerne za pritrjevanje večjih stavbnih elementov; pogosti pa so tudi žeblji dolžine okoli 8 cm (*t. 4:* 8,9) in 6 cm (*t. 5:* 2,9), ki so bili uporabni za zbijanje pohištva in stavbne opreme.[131]

[127] Knific, Pleterski 1981a, 495, t. 14: 4.

[128] Pod grobom 115 so bili *in situ* deli okostja, ki so označeni kot grob 116. Odlomki kosti so bili raztreseni tudi v okoli 0,5 m debeli plasti "nad grobno jamo s skeletoma 115 in 116" (*arhiv* 489, str. 65–67).

[129] Cseh et al. 2005, 46, 117, 137–141, Taf. 15: 5,7; 35: 3,4 (Grab 2); 55: 3,5 (Grab 45); 60: 1–3 (Grab 60); Kiss 1977, 74–75, 105, Pl. 28: 10 (grave 16), grave 12, grave 24, 1 (grave 27); 29: 4 (grave 29); 30: 4 (grave 54); 42, grave 5.

[130] Predovnik 2003, 191, t. 78, kat. št. 870.

[131] Predovnik 2003, 88–90; Štular 2009, 91.

tery and glass fragments, a bone pendant, small building remains, grains and snail shells.

METAL ARTEFACTS

Jewellery

It is possible that the three temple rings with moulded ends (cat. Nos. 69, 74 and 88; *Pls. 3:* 14–16; *15:* 8), which were found in the burial ground north of the church, originate from the redug Early Mediaeval graves (see *Temple rings*). The finger ring, decorated with a series of dots (cat. No. 42; *Pls. 3:* 17; *16:* 10), also has a comparison in the nearby Grave 77, discovered under the occupation surface in the lobby (see *Finger rings*). The time scale for the closed finger ring from trench 2 (cat. No. 157; *Pl. 3:* 18) is broad, as bronze (and even more often silver) finger rings with a D-cross-section were found in burial grounds with finds belonging to the *Köttlach group*,[125] but they were also found in later mediaeval graves.[126]

Objects for attaching

Two types of iron objects for attaching were found on Bled Island: staples and nails. Staples, which were usually shaped as half of the letter H, were used to attach wooden parts of objects or building constructions together. This was also the case with the strip staple, which lay in the 'fill-in material' above Grave 115 (cat. No. 25; *Pl. 3:* 19), together with a fragment of a Late Antique cup (cat. No. 24; *Fig. 1.25:* 3, *Pl. 16:* 5) and a part of an Early Mediaeval earthenware vessel (cat. No. 23; *Pl. 6:* 13; *18:* 8). The damages at the endings of the staple show that it was used. Similar staples were found in Grave 43 at Dlesc near Bodešče,[127] which would lead to the assumption that the staple from Bled Island was a remnant of a reburied grave.[128] As parts of coffins staples have been found in numerous Late Antique and Avar period graves discovered in the Pannonian plain.[129] Mounts similar to a staple, obviously hammered into wood and bent at the tip, were found amongst the remains of the mediaeval

[125] E.g.. Kranj, Iskra intersection, Grave 26 (Sagadin 1988, 16, 53, 78, 119–120, *Pl.* 6: 8); Komenda, chance find No. 1999/25 (Sagadin 2013a, 261, 275, 285, Pl. 7: 25).

[126] Kranj, parish church, Graves 1972_p0875 and 1972_p0878 (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 82, 84, Figs. 1, 2).

[127] Knific, Pleterski 1981a, 495, Pl. 14: 4.

[128] Parts of skeleton marked as Grave 16 were in situ under Grave 115. Bone fragments were scattered also throughout the approximately 0.5 m thick layer 'above the pit with skeletons 115 and 116' (*Archive* 489, pg. 65–67).

[129] Cseh et al. 2005, 46, 117, 137–141, Taf. 15: 5,7; 35: 3,4 (Grave 2); 55: 3,5 (Grave 45); 60: 1–3 (Grave 60); Kiss 1977, 74–75, 105, Pl. 28: 10 (Grave 16), Grave 12, Grave 24, 1 (Grave 27); 29: 4 (Grave 29); 30: 4 (Grave 54); 42, Grave 5.

Sl. 2.15: Blejski otok, železni žeblji (kat. št. 104–107), najdeni pod tlakom v preddverje cerkve.
Fig. 2.15: Bled Island, iron nails (cat. No. 104–107), found underneath the paving stones in the church lobby.
(Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

V Blejskem kotu so takšne žeblje našli v Zasipu ob zidovih stolpa iz poznega srednjega veka (13.–14. stoletje).[132]

Dva žeblja imata koničasto glavico, ki je lahko krasila predmet,[133] v katerega sta bila zabita; žeblja so našli v grobovih 69 in 118, pri obeh je steblo kvadratnega prereza, dolžina celega žeblja je 6,13 cm (*t. 3:* 4,20; *17:* 11). Z žeblji, kot je primerek s pravokotno zapognjeno glavico (kat. št. 55, *t. 4:* 6), so verjetno pritrjevali kovinske okove na leseno podlago.[134]

Ključ z votlo nogo

Med srednjeveškimi kovinskimi najdbami z Blejskega otoka je tudi železen vrtljivi ključ z brado in votlo nogo (kat. št. 65; *t. 4:* 10; *17:* 14). Takšni ključi so znani s številnih drugih slovenskih najdišč (*seznam 5; sl. 2.16*). Vrtljivi ključi z brado so tehnološka iznajdba zgodnjega srednjega veka, v osnovni obliki so v rabi še

[132] Sagadin 1990, 382, t. 3: 12–15.
[133] Predovnik 2003, 89.
[134] Predovnik 2003, 90.

castle Kostanjevica above Stari grad v Podbočju.[130] The second staple from Bled Island, which lay in the vicinity of the first, within the excavation area IP 1/2, was strongly flattened (cat. No. 88; *Pl. 4:* 14).

Hand forged *nails* were scattered throughout the entire excavated area. The nails found in Graves 68 and 69 underneath the occupation surface of the church nave were dated to the post Early Mediaeval period: as they lay in grave pits together with pieces of wood, they were most likely parts of coffins (*Pl. 3:* 1–5). In Graves 55 and 56 the nails were found together with iron styluses (*Pl. 2:* 16–19), however only the approximate location of the nail in Grave 56 was recorded, i.e. 'above the head' of the skeleton. In Grave 118 the nail was found in the vicinity of the dug-in pit, which damaged part of the skeleton (Cat. No. 26; *Pl. 3:* 20).

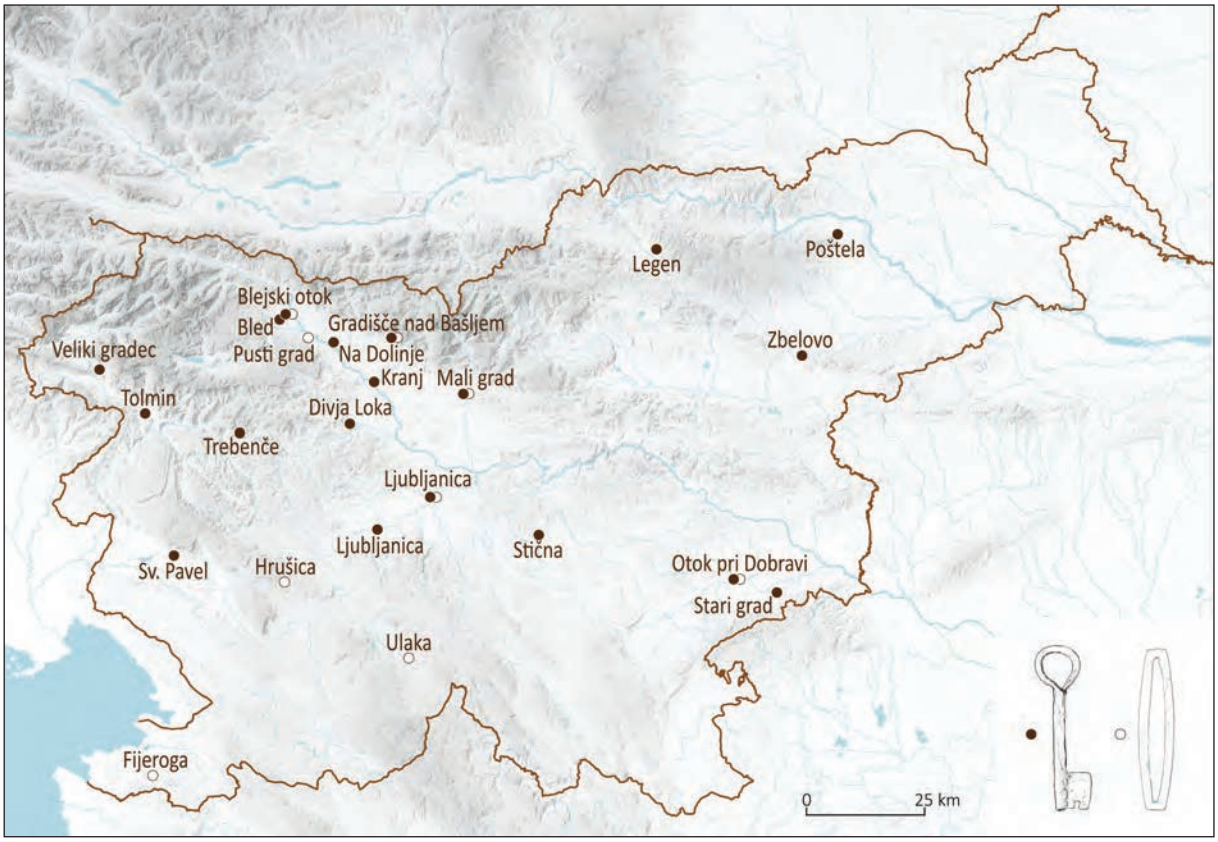
Scattered nails were more numerous in area IP 1/2 (Cat. No. 52–55, 60, 61, 71; *Pl. 4:* 3–6, 8, 9, 12), underneath the occupation surface of the church lobby (cat. Nos. 104–107; *Fig. 2.15*; *Pl. 4:* 16,17; *5:* 1,2), in the nave (cat. No. 124, 126, 133–135; *Pl. 5:* 3, 5, 7–9) and south of the church (cat. No. 152–154, 166–168, 185, 186; *Pl. 5:* 10–15, 18, 19). In the lobby the nails lay in the layer above the graves, which also included building material and numerous fragments of Late Mediaeval pottery. Some nails were bent at various angles and in different places or broken off, which indicates that they were used (for instance *Fig. 2.15*; *Pls. 4:* 2,3; *5:* 3, 8).

The nails have a shank with a square cross-section and most have an elongated flat head, suitable for hammering. The approximately 10 cm long (*Pl. 4:* 4,15) nails were suitable for assembling large building elements; also common were nails measuring approximately 8 cm (*Pl. 4:* 8,9) and 6 cm (*Pl. 5:* 2,9) in length, which were suitable for manufacturing furniture and carpentry.[131]

In Bled area such nails were found in Zasip alongside the walls of the Late Mediaeval tower (13th –14th centuries).[132]

Two nails have a pointed head which indicates that they could have been used as a decorative addition to an object[133] into which they were hammered; these two nails were found in Graves 69 and 118. Both fully preserved nails measure 6.13 cm in length and have a shank with a square cross-section (*Pl. 3:* 4,20; *17:* 11). Nails such as the example with the head bent at a right angle (cat. No. 55, *Pl. 4:* 6), were most likely used to attach metal mouts into a wooden base.[134]

[130] Predovnik 2003, 191, Pl. 78, cat. No. 870.
[131] Predovnik 2003, 88–90; Štular 2009, 91.
[132] Sagadin 1990, 382, *Pl.* 3: 12–15.
[133] Predovnik 2003, 89.
[134] Predovnik 2003, 90.



Sl. 2.16: Najdišča ključev z votlo nogo in lečastih kresil v Sloveniji (glej *seznam 5*).
Fig. 2.16: Sites where keys with hollow stems and lenticular tinder were found in Slovenia (see *List 5)*.
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: V. Bitenc)

zdaj.[135] Ključi z votlo nogo so bili izdelani iz enega kosa pločevine: srednji del je bil zvit v steblo, zgornji uvit in skovan v glavo, spodnji, najširši del je bil oblikovan v brado; ta je pogosteje iz ene plasti pločevine, kot pri otoškem ključu, redkeje je narejena iz dveh stisnjenih plasti pločevine.[136] Podobno razmerje med eno in drugo vrsto izdelave lahko opazimo na primer v Mikulčicah na Češkem, kjer so med več kot dvajsetimi ključi le trije z dvoplastno brado.[137] Ključi z votlo nogo se med seboj razlikujejo tudi po obliki glave in brade. Najstarejši naj bi bili preprosti, s kapljasto oblikovano ploščato skovano glavo in nerazčlenjeno brado, postopoma je glava postajala bolj okrogla in v preseku kvadratna, brada pa čedalje bolj razčlenjena. Te lastnosti niso povsem zanesljiv kronološki kazalec, lahko se pojavljajo v različnih kombinacijah; ključi s ploščato kapljasto glavo, a razčlenjeno brado iz Paderborna v Nemčiji so datirani v 8./9. stoletje,[138] z najdišča Emsdetten-Isendorf pa v 9./10. stoletje.[139] Številni preprosti ključi, datirani v dru-

[135] Štular 2009, 78.
[136] Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 159–160, sl. 11.
[137] Klima 1980, sl. 24–28.
[138] Mecke, Westphal 1999, 131–132, kat. št. III.14.
[139] Köhn 1999, 240, kat. št. IV.84.

Key with a hollow stem

Mediaeval metal finds from Bled Island include an iron rotary key with a bit and a hollow stem (cat. No. 65; *Pls. 4:* 10; *17:* 14). Such keys are known from numerous other Slovenian sites (*List* 5*; Fig. 2.16.* Rotary keys with a bit were an Early Mediaeval technological invention, and in their basic design they are still in use today.[135] Keys with a hollow stem were made from a single layer of sheet-metal: the central part was rolled into a stem, the upper part was rolled and forged into the bow, while the bottom, widest part was formed into the bit. Bits were most commonly made from a single layer of sheet-metal, as is the case with the island key, and only rarely were they made from two layers of sheet metal pressed together.[136] A similar ratio between the two types of manufacture can be found for instance in Mikulčice in Czechia, where only three out of the over twenty keys in total have a two-layered bit.[137] Keys with a hollow stem differ also in the shapes of the bow and the bit. Earlier keys were simpler in design, with a teardrop shaped flat bow and

[135] Štular 2009, 78.
[136] Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 159–160, Fig. 11.
[137] Klima 1980, Figs. 24–28.

go polovico 9. stoletja in 10. stoletje, so bili najdeni na Češkem, tako v naselbinskih plasteh[140] kot v zakladnih najdbah.[141] Manj pogosto so ključe našli na območju zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč, v Sloveniji so znani kot raztresene najdbe z Blejskega otoka, Brda na Bledu, iz Tolmina in Kranja. Pri župni cerkvi v Kranju so našli tri ključe, enega kot raztreseno najdbo in dva v grobovih,[142] obakrat kot edini pridatek, položen umrlemu v dlan desnice oziroma levice.[143] V Pordenonu v Furlaniji je bil takšen ključ v grobu skupaj s parom polmesečastih emajlnih uhanov.[144] Vrtljivi ključi z votlo nogo nekoliko bolj razvitih oblik so drugod po srednji Evropi datirani od 11. do 13. stoletja.[145]

Na Blejskem otoku so ključ našli severovzhodno od cerkve, v bližini temeljev zidu 6, tako kot več drugih železnih predmetov, ki jih je mogoče opredeliti kot srednjeveške, poleg obeh skob (*t. 3;* 19; *4:* 14) in žebljev (*t. 4:* 8,9,12) še nož (*t. 4:* 7), del lečastega kresila (*t. 4:* 11) in prijemalko (*t. 4:* 13).

Lečasto kresilo

Med srednjeveškimi kovinskimi najdbami z Blejskega otoka je tudi lečasto kresilo, ohranjeno v majhnem, a prepoznavnem delu (kat. št. 70; *t. 4:* 11; *17:* 15). V Sloveniji so takšna kresila našli na različnih najdiščih (*seznam 5; sl. 2.16*). Doslej edina grobna najdba je kresilo iz Fijeroge pri Pomjanu, ki so ga našli v grobu pri razvalinah cerkve sv. Štefana, skupaj s kamnitimi kresilniki ob kosteh leve podlakti.[146] Zanj so bile navedene primerjave iz naselbinskih plasti na Otoku pri Dobravi (*Gutenwerd*), na Hrušici (nad plastmi rimskodobne trdnjave *Ad Pirum*), Pustem gradu nad Lipnico pri Radovljici (*Waldenberg*) in iz struge Ljubljanice pri Črni vasi. Na podlagi slovenskih in bližnjih srednjeevropskih primerjav je bilo fijeroško kresilo datirano v 12. ali 13. stoletje.[147]

Pri objavi najdb z Malega gradu v Kamniku je Benjamin Štular obravnaval tudi tamkajšnje lečasto kresilo na verigi.[148] Ob drugih evropskih primerjavah je opozoril na najstarejša zanesljivo datirana lečasta kresila

[140] Klima 1980, 54–65, 100, sl. 24–28.

[141] Bartoškova 1986, 43–44, sl. 21: 19, 20; Geisler, Kohoutek 2014, 111, sl..21: D2/14.

[142] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 35 (pri grobu 1972_ p0672).

[143] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 277 (grob 1984_p0016, v desnici), 309–310 (grob 1984_z0095, v levici).

[144] Mader 1993, 247–248, Grab/tomba 23: 2.

[145] Štular 2009, 78–85; Knific, Mlinar 2014, 436; Cavada 1996, 100, 101; Raffaelli 1996a, 137–138 (t. i. normanski ključi, ki oblikovno izvirajo iz severnih območij Evrope); Raffaelli 1996b, 168–171; Schwoerbel 1998, 74–75.

[146] Knific 1994, 53–55, sl. 26: 6,8–17.

[147] Knific 1994, 60, 62, sl. 28.

[148] Štular 2009, 73, 189, t. 1: 3; sl. 5.3: a.

a solid bit, and through time the bow became rounder and squarer in the cross-section, while the bit became increasingly varied. These characteristics do not represent a reliable chronological indicator, for they can appear in various combinations; keys with a flat teardrop shaped bow, but with bit indented with clefs, from Paderborn in Germany are dated to the 8th/9th centuries,[138] while similar keys from Emsdetten-Isendorf were dated to the 9th/10th century.[139] Numerous simple keys, dated to the second half of the 9th and the 10th centuries, were found in Czechia, in settlement layers[140] as well as in hoards.[141] Less common were keys found in the area of Early Mediaeval burial grounds; in Slovenia they are known as scattered finds from Bled Island, Brdo in Bled, Tolmin and Kranj. Three keys were found at the parish church in Kranj, one as a scattered find and two in graves,[142] both times as the only grave good, placed into the deceased's right and left palm respectively.[143] In Pordenone in Friuli such a key was found in a grave together with a pair of crescent shaped enamel earrings.[144] Rotary keys with a hollow stem that show slightly more developed forms are elsewhere in Europe dated between the 11th and 13th centuries.[145]

On Bled Island the key was found northeast of the church, in the vicinity of the foundations of wall 6, similar to a number of other iron artefacts, which can be categorised as mediaeval, alongside both staples (*Pls. 3;* 19; *4:* 14) and nails (*Pl. 4:* 8,9,12) as well as a knife (*Pl. 4:* 7), a part of a lenticular strike-a-light (*Pl. 4:* 11) and a tong (*Pl. 4:* 13).

Lenticular strike-a-light

Mediaeval metal finds on Bled Island include a lenticular shaped strike-a-light, preserved in a small, but recognisable part (cat. No. 70; *Pl. 4:* 11; *17:* 15). This type of strike-a-light was found in various sites in Slovenia (*List 5; Fig. 2.16*). So far the only grave good is a strike-a-light from Fijeroga near Pomjan, which was found in the grave alongside the ruins of the church of St Stephen, together with a flint alongside left ulna bones.[146] Comparisons for

[138] Mecke, Westphal 1999, 131–132, cat. No. III.14.

[139] Köhn 1999, 240, cat. No. IV.84.

[140] Klima 1980, 54–65, 100, Figs. 24–28.

[141] Bartoškova 1986, 43–44, Fig. 21: 19, 20; Geisler, Kohoutek 2014, 111, Fig..21: D2/14.

[142] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 35 (alongside/near Grave 1972_p0672).

[143] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 277 (Grave 1984_p0016, in the right hand), 309–310 (Grave 1984_z0095, in the left hand).

[144] Mader 1993, 247–248, Grave 23: 2.

[145] Štular 2009, 78–85; Knific, Mlinar 2014, 436; Cavada 1996, 100, 101; Raffaelli 1996a, 137–138 (so-called Norman keys, the style of which originates from northern Europe); Raffaelli 1996b, 168–171; Schwoerbel 1998, 74–75.

[146] Knific 1994, 53–55, Fig. 26: 6,8–17.

z vzhodnonemškega grobišča Penkun, ki je opredeljeno v čas od 1180 do okoli 1200. Kresilo z Malega gradu stratigrafsko spada med najdbe iz faze 4b, datirane v večji del 13. stoletja.[149]

Na verigo je obešeno tudi lečasto kresilo z Ulake nad Starim trgom pri Ložu; veliko kresilo (dol. 13,3 cm), odkrito z iskalnikom kovin, je okrašeno z vrezano mrežo; okvirno je datirano v čas od 13. do 15. stoletja.[150] Še večje (dol. 14,8 cm) je kresilo z Gradišča nad Bašljem, prav tako okrašeno z vrezano mrežo in tudi najdeno z iskalnikom kovin; na kresilo je nataknjen ovalen obroček, na katerega bi bila lahko pripeta veriga, tako kot je pri kresilih z Malega gradu in Ulake.[151]

Lečasto kresilo so našli tudi na grobišču belobrdske kulture Vukovar – Lijeva Bara. Kresilo iz groba 89 ima luknjico za obešanje, našli so ga skupaj s kresilnikom, označeno je kot kresilo elipsasto-pravokotne oblike.[152] Zgodnje primerjave zanj iz hrvaškega Podonavja, spodnjega Potisja in madžarske Baranje so datirane v prvo polovico 11. stoletja, za kresila iz širšega območja se omenja datacija v čas 11.–12./13. stoletja.[153]

Noži

Od štirih nožev, ki so jih kot raztresene najdbe našli na Blejskem otoku, je le delno ohranjeno rezilo (*t. 4:* 1), podobno nožem iz grobov 3, 5, 35 in 38, ker ima tako kot ti proti konici poševno zalomljen hrbet rezila (*t. 1:* 5,12,23; *2:* 7).

Drugi trije noži so značilni za poznosrednjeveški in še mlajši čas. Najstarejši med njimi je nož s trnom za ročaj in z vloženim bakrenim križem na rezilu (kat. št. 178; *t. 5:* 16; *17:* 17). Srednjeveški noži s trnom, na katerega je bil nasajen enodelen ročaj, so bili običajni do 14. stoletja, od začetka tega stoletja pa so izdelovali tudi nože s trakastim nastavkom za dvodelne ročaje, ki so se v tej obliki dokončno uveljavili šele v 15. stoletju.[154] Ker so nožarji začeli z žigi izdelovalca označevati kakovostne nože v 14. stoletju,[155] lahko otoški nož datiramo najbolj zgodaj v to stoletje, zanesljivejšo datacijo pa bi verjetno pokazale primerjave za enostranski znak na rezilu, križ z razcepljenimi kraki, ki pa jih ne poznamo.

Dva noža imata trakast nastavek za pritrditev dvodelnega ročaja s kovicami (kat. 57 in 183; *t. 4:* 7; *5:* 17; *17:* 13,18). Spadata med jedilne nože, kakršne so v velikem številu našli v strugi Ljubljanice in so datirani v 15. in 16. stoletje.[156]

[149] Štular 2009, 73–74, 150, 154, sl. 8.4.
[150] Nabergoj 2013.
[151] Kresilo hrani NMS, inv. št. S 4179.
[152] Demo 2009, 106–107, 414, sl. 14: 2.3.
[153] Demo 2009, 414.
[154] Predovnik 2003, 84–85; Štular 2009, 74–76.
[155] Predovnik 2003, 84.
[156] Veršnik 2009a; Knific, Nabergoj 2016, 119–120, sl. 144.

this find can be made with finds from the settlement layers at Otok near Dobrava (*Gutenwerd*), Hrušica (amongst the layers of the Roman period fortress *Ad Pirum*), Pusti grad above Lipnica near Radovljica (*Waldenberg*) and from the riverbed of the Ljubljanica river at Črna vas. Based on the comparisons in Slovenia and other nearby Central European sites, the Fijeroga strike-a-light can be dated to the 12th or 13th century.[147]

In the publication of finds from Mali grad in Kamnik, Benjamin Štular wrote about the lenticular strike-a-light on a chain.[148] Alongside other European comparisons he also drew attention to the earliest reliably dated lenticular strike-a-lights found at the east German burial ground in Penkun, dated between 1180 and 1200. Stratigraphially, the strike-a-light from Mali grad belongs amongst the finds from phase 4b, dated in the majority of the 13th century.[149]

The lenticular strike-a-light from Ulaka above Stari trg pri Ložu was also attached to a chain; the large strike-a-light (length 13.3 cm), discovered with the use of a metal detector, is decorated with an engraved grid; it is roughly dated between the 13th and 15th centuries.[150] Even larger (length 14.8 cm) is the strike-a-light from Gradišče above Bašelj, which is also decorated with an engraved grid and also found with a metal detector; the strike-a-light had an oval ring around it to which a chain could have been attached, as was the case with the strike-a-lights from Mali grad and Ulaka.[151]

A lenticular strike-a-light was also found at the *Bijelo Brdo culture* burial ground Vukovar – Lijeva Bara. The elliptical-rectangular shaped strike-a-light found together with flintstone in Grave 89 has a little hole that was used for hanging.[152] Early comparisons for this type were found in the Croatian Danube area, lower Tisa river area and the Hungarian Baranja, all of which are dated into the first half of the 11th century, while similar strike-a-lights from the broader area are dated between the 11th and 12th/13th centuries.[153]

Knives

The partially preserved blade with its back transversally angled towards the tip (*Pl. 4:* 1) belonged to the only knife (out of the four found as scattered remains on Bled Island) that was similar to the knives in Graves 3, 5, 35 and 28 (*Pls. 1:* 5,12,23; *2:* 7).

The remaining three knives are characteristic of the Late Mediaeval and later periods. The earliest amongst

[147] Knific 1994, 60, 62, Fig. 28.
[148] Štular 2009, 73, 189, Pl. 1: 3; Fig. 5.3: a.
[149] Štular 2009, 73–74, 150, 154, Fig. 8.4.
[150] Nabergoj 2013.
[151] The tinder is kept by the NMS, inv. No. S 4179.
[152] Demo 2009, 106–107, 414, Fig. 14: 2.3.
[153] Demo 2009, 414.

Prijemalka

Nenavaden predmet med otoškimi železnimi najdbami je prijemalka s trakastima krakoma (kat. št. 80; *t. 4:* 13; *17:* 16). Ležala je v izkopu za zid 6, pod nivojem njegovih temeljev (planum 11).[157] Dolga kraka prijemalke sta na koncih poškodovana, uporaba predmeta ni jasna, glede na lego je predmet verjetno srednjeveški.[158]

Svetinjica in koščen obesek

Bronasta svetinjica z motivom Sv. Družine (kat. št. 163; *t. 16:* 15) je iz prve polovice 19. stoletja. Mrtvaška glavica (*memento mori*), izrezljana iz kosti (kat. št. 39; *t. 5:* 25; *16: 9*), je bila verjetno obesek na molku s konca 17. ali iz 18. stoletja.

LONČENINA

Od srednjeveških lončenih posod so se na Blejskem otoku ohranili večinoma manjši odlomki (*t. 6–12*), nekoliko večja kosa sta ostala le od dveh posod (*t. 7:* 5; *12:* 4). Raztresene lončene najdbe so bile pogostejše v zasutju nekaterih grobov, v okolici zakladne najdbe srebrnikov, v plasti nad grobovi pod tlakom prezbiterija in v izkopnem polju IP 1/2.

Odlomki lončenine so bili v zasutju sedmih grobov (št. 1, 41, 45, 61, 71, 84 in 115). V zasipu groba 1 so našli odlomek ostenja z razčlenjenim rebrom, nalepljenim pokončno pod ustjem posode (kat. št. 1; *t. 6:* 1; *18:* 1). Vidni so sledovi prostoročne izdelave posode, glini je primešan kremenčev pesek. Podobno lončenino so našli na blejski Pristavi (najpozneje iz začetka druge polovice 10. stoletja),[159] na Krvavcu (9.–10. stoletje)[160] in na planini Krstenica nad Bohinjem.[161] Na poselitvenem območju 2 na Krstenici je največ odlomkov posod, okrašenih s razčlenjenimi rebri, med njimi so tudi trije primeri s pokončnim rebrom.[162] Odlomki pripadajo visokosrednjeveški kuhinjski lončenini, narejeni iz gline z dodanimi zrnci kremena, datirani v čas 10./11.–12. stoletja.[163] Grob 1, v katerem sta bila polmesečasta uhana (*t. 1:* 1,2), je bil delno prekopan pri vkopu za temelje zidu 2. Podoben odlomek z vodoravnim razčlenjenim rebrom je bil tudi v zasipu groba 84 (kat. št. 21; *t. 6:* 11; *18:* 7).

[157] *Arhiv* 489, str. 248.

[158] Primerjavo za prijemalko oziroma pinceto je V. Šribar videl v podobnem železnem predmetu, ki so ga našli na Otoku pri Dobravi v izkopu za železarsko jamo (*arhiv* 489, str. 248).

[159] Pleterski 2008a, 178, t. 25: 3; Pleterski 2010a, 175.

[160] Peršič 2005, pril. 39: 8, 40: 5; 41: 2,4; Pleterski, Peršič 2008, 139.

[161] Lavrenčič 2015, 53–56.

[162] Lavrenčič 2015, 52–53, sl. 30, t. 3: 6,12,16.

[163] Lavrenčič 2015, 63–64.

them is the knife with the tang for the handle and the inlayed copper cross on the blade (cat. No. 178; *Pls. 5:* 16; *17:* 17). Mediaeval knives with a tang, onto which the single part handle was impaled, were common until the 14th century; at the beginning of the 14th century knives with a strip tang used for two part handles appeared, however, they only became wide-spread during the 15th century.[154] As knife makers only started putting their maker's stamp on high quality knives in the 14th century,[155] the earliest date for the island knife would be the 14th century, while a more precise date could possibly be established with comparisons for the sign found on one side of the blade, a cross with split ends, which we have not found so far.

Two knives have a tang for applying a two-part handle onto it with rivets (cat. Nos. 57 and 183; *Pls. 4:* 7; *5:* 17; *17:* 13,18). They belong amongst cutlery, which was found in large quantities in the Ljubljanica riverbed and which is dated into the 15th and 16th centuries.[156]

Tong

The tong with two flat arms (cat. No. 80; *Pls. 4:* 13; *17:* 16) is an unusual artefacts amongst the metal finds from Bled Island. It lay in the material dug up for wall 6, underneath the level of its foundations (planum 11).[157] The long arms of the tong were damaged at the ends; it is unclear what the object was used for, but taking the location in which it was found into consideration, it is most likely a mediaeval object.[158]

Pilgrim badge and bone pendant

The bronze holy pendant depicting the Holy Family (cat. No. 163; *Pl. 16:* 15) is dated to the first half of the 19th century. The skull (*memento mori*), carved from bone (cat. No. 39; *Pls. 5:* 25; *16: 9*), was most likely a pendant on a rosary in the end of 17th and in the 18th century.

POTTERY

Mainly smaller fragments of mediaeval pottery were preserved at Bled Island (*Pls. 6–12*), with slightly larger pieces remaining only from two vessels (*Pls. 7:* 5; *12:* 4). Scattered pottery finds were more common in the fill-in material in certain graves, the vicinity of the silver coin hoard, the layer above the graves underneath the

[154] Predovnik 2003, 84–85; Štular 2009, 74–76.

155 Predovnik 2003, 84.

[156] Veršnik 2009a; Knific, Nabergoj 2017, 119–120, Fig. 144.

[157] *Archive* 489, pg. 248.

[158] V. Šribar saw the comparison for the tong in a similar iron object, which was found on Otok near Dobrava, in the material dug up for the ironmonger's pit (*archive* 489, pg. 248).

V grobu 41 je ob desni nadlahtnici ležal odlomek izvihanega ustja s strehastim, ravno odrezanim robom (kat. št. 10, *t. 6:* 2; *18:* 2; *27*: 5). Posoda je bila pod vratom okrašena z raztegnjenima enojnima valovnicama, ustje je obvrteno, na notranji strani ostenja so sledi prostoročne izdelave, in sicer odtisi navpičnih potegov s prsti, kar dopušča opredelitev odlomka med zgodnjesrednjeveško lončenino, verjetno sočasno nožu in prstanu, pridatkoma v grobu (*t. 2:* 8,9). Prostoročno sta bili narejeni tudi posodi, ki sta jima pripadala odlomka iz zasutja v grobu 45 (kat. št. 11 in 12, *t. 6:* 3,4; *18:* 3,4), v katerem so našli polmesečasta uhana in prstan (*t. 2:* 10–12). Podobno izdelavo kažeta odlomka iz groba 61 (kat. št. 15 in 16; *t. 6:* 5,6; *18:* 5,6), vidne so sledi gnetenja, a tudi dodelave na vretenu; pridatek v tem grobu je bil nož (*t. 2:* 22). Vrezane valovite in ravne vodoravne črte, pasovi vodoravnih črt in glavničenje, ki se pojavljajo na obravnavanih odlomkih, so ustaljene vrste posamičnega okrasa na zgodnjesrednjeveški lončenini npr. iz naselbinskih plasti na blejski Pristavi.[164]

Posoda, od katere se je v "zasipnem gradivu" nad grobom 115 ohranil večji odlomek, pa je bila okrašena z redkejšo vrsto sestavljenega okrasa (kat. št. 23; *t. 6:* 13; *18:* 8). Odlomek so našli skupaj s skobo (*t. 3:* 19) in odlomkom poznoantične steklene čaše (*t. 16:* 5). Okras sestavljajo ploščato izvlečeno rebro (videti je kot odebelitev ostenja), okrašeno z nizom kratkih poševnih vrezov, in tri vodoravne valovnice, vrezane nad njim, vso površino pa prekrivajo plitvi žlebiči, ustvarjeni z glavničenjem. Primerjave za tako okrašene posode so s Pristave na Bledu (rebro je nalepljeno)[165] in s Krstenice nad Bohinjem (z manj bogatim okrasom, večinoma prečnimi vrezi prek rebra).[166] Skromneje okrašenim primerkom s Krstenice je podoben tudi naključno najdeni odlomek z otoka, na katerem je rebro okrašeno s poševnimi vrezi (kat. št. 188; *t. 12:* 5; *19:* 17).

Odlomki lončenine iz zasipa groba 71, vkopanega pod tlakom ladje, so poznejši. Razen odlomka dna pripadajo lončenini, obdelani na vretenu, oziroma vrtenim posodam (kat. št. 17–20: *t. 6:* 7–10).

Drugo mesto, kjer je bilo na Blejskem otoku več raztresenih keramičnih odlomkov, je okolica zakladne najdbe srebrnikov (verjetni zakop med letoma 1287 in 1292). Z zakladom so povezovali del posode z izvihanim ustjem, vrezanim okrasom vodoravnih črt in luknjico na največjem obodu (kat. št. 36, *t. 7:* 5; *18:* 9),[167] vendar o takšni povezavi v terenski dokumentaciji ni podatkov. Ostanki prismojene hrane na ostenju pričajo, da so posodo uporabljali za kuhanje. Na notranji površini so vidni sledovi prostoročne obdelave, ustje z zaobljenim robom je obvrteno, na notranji strani ustja se nakazuje

[164] Pleterski 2010a, 41–44, sl. 2.42.

[165] Pleterski 2008a, 179; t. 26: 29; Pleterski 2010a, 47, sl. 2.46: 1.

[166] Lavrenčič 2015, 52, t. 2: 1–4,13; 4: 7,19.

[167] Šribar, Stare, Bregant 1972–1973, 39, 41, t. 1: 1.

occupation surface in the presbytery and in excavation area IP 1/2.

Pottery fragments were found in the fill-in material in seven graves (Nos. 1, 41, 45, 61, 71, 84 and 115). A fragment of a vessel wall with a rib with impressions, attached vertically below the vessel rim was found in the fill-in material of the Grave 1 (cat. No. 1; *Pls. 6:* 1; *18:* 1). There are visible traces indicating that the vessel was hand made; the clay had quartz sand mixed into it. Similar pottery was found at Pristava in Bled (at the latest from the beginning of the second half of the 10th century),[159] on Krvavec (9th–10th century)[160] and on the Krstenica mountain above Bohinj.[161] Settlement area 2 on Krstenica contained mainly vessels decorated with ribs with impressions, including three examples with a vertical rib.[162] Fragments belong to High Mediaeval period kitchenware, made from clay with an addition of quartz grains, dated in the 10th/11th–12th centuries.[163] Grave 1 on Bled Island, which included the crescent shaped earrings (*Pl. 1:* 1,2), was partially dug up when the foundations for wall 2 were created. A similar fragment with a horizontal rib with impressions was also found amongst the fill-in material in Grave 84 (cat. No. 21; *Pl. 6:* 11; *18:* 7).

A fragment of an everted rim with a roof shaped, straight edge (cat. No. 10, *Pls. 6:* 2; *18:* 2; *27*: 5) lay alongside the right humerus in Grave 41. Below its neck, the vessel was decorated with elongated single wavy lines, the rim was made on a slow wheel, while the inner side of the wall shows traces of being hand-thrown, as it shows impressions of vertical finger traces, all of which enable the fragment to be categorised as Early Mediaeval pottery, most likely from the same time as the knife and finger ring, the grave goods found in the grave (*Pl. 2:* 8,9). The fragments from the fill-in material in Grave 45 (cat. No. 11 and 12, *Pls. 6:* 3,4; *18:* 3,4), in which the crescent shaped earrings and the finger ring were found (*Pl. 2:* 10–12), also belong to hand-thrown vessels. Similar workmanship was also noticed on the fragments from Grave 61 (cat. Nos. 15 and 16; *Pls. 6:* 5,6; *18:* 5,6); traces of kneading, as well as traces of working on the spinning wheel are visible; the grave good in this grave was a knife (*Pl. 1:* 22). The incised waves and straight horizontal lines, belts of horizontal lines and combing, which appear in the addressed fragments, are established types of Early Mediaeval pottery decorations, e.g. from the settlement layers in Pristava in Bled.[164]

The vessel, a larger fragment of which was preserved in the fill-in material above Grave 115, was decorated with a rarer type of complex decoration (cat. No. 23; *Pls. 6:* 13;

[159] Pleterski 2008a, 178, *Pl.* 25: 3; Pleterski 2010a, 175.

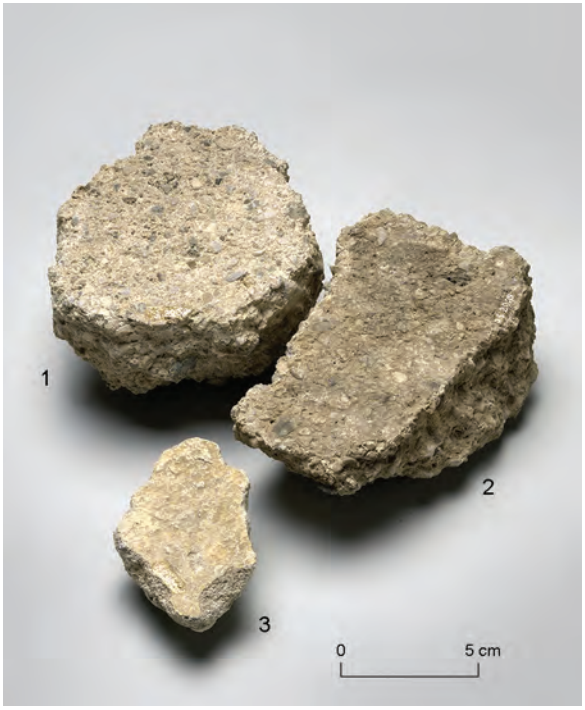
[160] Peršič 2005, appendix 39: 8, 40: 5; 41: 2,4; Pleterski, Peršič 2008, 139.

[161] Lavrenčič 2015, 53–56.

[162] Lavrenčič 2015, 52–53, Fig. 30, *Pl.* 3: 6,12,16.

[163] Lavrenčič 2015, 63–64.

[164] Pleterski 2010a, 41–44, Fig. 2.42.



Sl. 2.17: Blejski otok, odlomki maltnega tlaka (1,2) in ometa (3) iz IP 1/2 (kat. št. 83).
Fig. 2.17: Bled Island, fragments of mortar occupation surface (1,2) and plaster (3) found in IP 1/2 (cat. No. 83).
(Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

rob, ki bi bil lahko žleb za pokrovko (ustje je značilno za *skupino S5* po A. Pleterskem).[168] V bližini najdeni odlomek (kat. št. 38, *t. 7:* 6; *19:* 1) ima strehast rob ustja z napuščem (*skupina S4*).[169] Skupini sta datirani od okoli leta 800 (v zvezi z opredelitvami lončenine s Pristave) do okoli leta 950 (*skupina S4*) oziroma 1050 (*skupina S5*).[170] Na najdišču Mali grad v Kamniku so ustja takšne oblike (tipa 1F in 5D), širše značilna za čas 12. in 13. stoletja, datirana v večji del 13. stoletja (faza 4b).[171] Nekaj odlomkov, najdenih v bližini otoške zakladne najdbe (kv. 4), je iz poznosrednjeveškega obdobja (kat. št. 33–35; *t. 7:* 2–4).

Iz poznega srednjega veka je tudi večina keramičnih odlomkov iz plasti nad grobovi pod tlakom predverja (kat. št. 90–103, 108–118), z izkopnega polja IP 1/2 (kat. št. 46–51, 58, 63, 66, 68, 79), iz notranjosti cerkve (kat. št. 122, 123, 147) in z območja južno od cerkve (kat. št. 148, 150, 156, 162, 164, 174–177).

[168] Pleterski 2010a, 74, sl. 3.25: PO2A8.
[169] Pleterski 2010a, 72, sl. 3.22: PO5D1.
[170] Pleterski 2010a, 159.
[171] Štular 2009, 125–128, 153–154, sl. / Fig. 6.3.

18: 8). The fragment was found together with a staple (*Pl. 3:* 19) and a fragment belonging to a Late Antique glass cup (*Pl. 16:* 5). The decoration comprises a flat elongated rib (it appears as a thickening in the wall), decorated with a series of short slanting incisions, and three horizontal wavy lines, carved into the pottery above the rib, while the entire surface is covered by shallow grooves, created by combing. Comparisons for vessels decorated in this way were found at Pristava in Bled (the rib is attached)[165] and on Krstenica above Bohinj (with poorer decoration, mainly consisting of slanting incisions on the rib).[166] The accidental find of the fragment, on which the rib is decorated with slanting incisions (cat. No. 188; *Pls. 12:* 5; *19:* 17) is similar to the more poorly decorated examples from Krstenica.

Pottery fragments from the fill-in material in Grave 71, dug underneath the occupation surface of the nave, are of a later date. With the exception of the base fragments they belong to wheel-thrown pottery (cat. No. 17–20: *Pl. 6:* 7–10).

The second location on Bled Island to include multiple scattered pottery fragments, was in the vicinity of the silver coin hoard (most likely buried between 1287 and 1292). A part of a vessel with an everted rim, an incised decoration consisting of horizontal lines and a small hole on the largest circumference (cat. No. 36, *Pl. 7:* 5; *18:* 9)[167] was associated with the trove, however the fieldwork documentation does not contain any data that would support this connection. The remains of charred food on the wall indicate that the vessel was used for cooking. The inner surface revealed traces that indicated the vessel was hand-thrown, while the rim with the rounded edge was made on a slow-wheel. The inner side of the rim has an indication of an edge which could be a grove for a lid (according to A. Pleterski, the rim is characteristic of *group S5*).[168] The fragment found in the vicinity (Cat. No. 38, *Pl. 7:* 6; *19:* 1) has a roof like rim edge with an overhang (*group S4*).[169] Both groups are dated between approximately the year 800 (dated in connection to the pottery from Pristava) and the year 950 (*group S4*) or 1050 (*group S5*).[170] At Mali grad in Kamnik, rims of this type (type 1F and 5D), were characteristic of the 12th and 13th centuries, and were mainly dated in the 13th century (phase 4b).[171] A few fragments, found in the vicinity of the above mentioned hoard (quadrant 4), originate from the Late Mediaeval period (cat. No. 33–35; *Pl. 7:* 2–4).

Most of the pottery fragments found in the layers above the graves and underneath the occupation surface

[165] Pleterski 2008a, 179; *Pl.* 26: 29; Pleterski 2010a, 47, Fig. 2.46: 1.
[166] Lavrenčič 2015, 52, *Pl.* 2: 1–4,13; 4: 7,19.
[167] Šribar, Stare, Bregant 1972–1973, 39, 41, *Pl.* 1: 1.
[168] Pleterski 2010a, 74, Fig. 3.25: PO2A8.
[169] Pleterski 2010a, 72, Fig. 3.22: PO5D1.
[170] Pleterski 2010a, 159.
[171] Štular 2009, 125–128, 153–154, Fig. 6.3.

Sl. 2.18: Blejski otok, odlomki ometa z rdečo poslikavo iz IP 1/2 (kat. št. 87).
Fig. 2.18: Bled Island, fragments of plaster with red painting, found in IP 1/2 (cat. No. 87).
(Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

OKENSKO STEKLO

Ob južni steni cerkve so našli delno ohranjeno okroglo steklo (kat. št. 169; *t. 5:* 24; *16:* 16), eno od ploščic iz okenskega satovja, pod tlakom cerkvene ladje pa številne odlomke ravnih okenskih šip (kat. št. 128; *t. 21*). Nekaj odlomkov ravnega okenskega stekla so našli tudi pod preddverjem (kat. št. 119; *t. 5*: 22; *16:* 13) in na območju IP 1/1 (kat. št. 44; *t. 5:* 21; *16:* 11).

Za odlomek ravne šipe z območja IP 1/1 je PIXE–PIGE analiza pokazala, da gre za kalijevo, torej poznosrednjeveško ali novoveško steklo.

OSTANKI OMETA, TLAKA IN STEBRIČKA

Na območju IP 1/2, severovzhodno od zdajšnje cerkve, kjer je bilo v okolici zidu 6 raztresenih več srednjeveških najdb, so našli tudi manjše kose maltnega tlaka (kat. št. 83; *sl. 2.17*) in stenskega, rdeče slikanega ometa (kat. 87; *sl. 2.18*), ki so pripadali neki starejši cerkveni stavbi. Del cerkvene opreme je bil verjetno tudi kamnit stebriček, od katerega se je ohranil majhen odlomek, natančnejše mesto najdbe pa ni znano (kat. št. 189; *t. 12:* 6).

in the presbytery (cat. No. 90–103, 108–118), excavation area IP 1/2 (cat. No. 46–51, 58, 63, 66, 68, 79), the church interior (cat. No. 122, 123, 147) and the area south of the church (cat. No. 148, 150, 156, 162, 164, 174–177) also belong to Late Mediaeval period.

WINDOW GLASS

A partially preserved circular crown glass fragment, a window pane from a leaded window (cat. No. 169; *Pls. 5:* 24; *16:* 16) was found alongside the south church wall, while numerous fragments of flat window panes (cat. No. 128; *Pl. 21*) were found underneath the occupation surface of the church nave. A few fragments of the flat glass window were also found underneath the lobby (cat. No. 119; *Pls. 5*: 22; *16:* 13) and in area IP 1/1 (cat. No. 44; *Pls. 5:* 21; *16:* 11).

The PIXE–PIGE analysis performed on a fragment of the flat window pane from area IP 1/1 showed that this was potassium glass, i.e. Late Mediaeval or modern glass.

REMAINS OF PLASTER, PAVING STONES AND A PILLAR

In area IP 1/2, northeast of the present-day church, in the vicinity of wall 6, small pieces of a mortar occupation surface (cat. No. 83; *Fig. 2.17*) and red wall plaster (cat. No. 87; *Fig. 2.18*) were found amongst the multiple scattered mediaeval finds, both of which belonged to an earlier church building. The small stone pillar, of which only a small fragment was preserved, was most likely a part of the church furnishings, however the precise location of this find is unknown (cat. No. 189; *Pl. 12:* 6).

WHEAT GRAIN

Radiocarbon dating of the charred grains of barley and millet (cat. No. 56; *Fig. 2.19*), which lay underneath the remains of wall 5, showed they originate from between 1215 and 1282 (95,4% probability).[172] V. Šribar concluded that the carbonised wheat 'was from the period during which wall 5 was under construction or before'.[173]

[172] Sample No. Poz-107997 (Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory, Poland).
[173] Archive 489, pg. 73.

Sl. 2.19: Blejski otok, zoglenelo žitno zrnje iz IP 1/2 (kat. št. 56).
Fig. 2.19: Bled Island, charred wheat grains found in IP 1/2 (cat. No. 56).
(Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

Sl. 2.20: Hišice polžev vrste navdani pasar (kat. št. 127), najdene pod tlakom v ladji cerkve.
Fig. 2.20: Shells of true glass snails (cat. No. 127), found underneath the walking surface in the church nave.
(Foto / Photo: T. Lauko)

ŽITNO ZRNJE

Zoglenela zrna ječmena in prosa (kat. št. 56; *sl. 2.19*), ki so ležala pod ostanki zidu 5, so z analizo C 14 datirana med leti 1215 in 1282 (verjetnost 95,4 %).[172] V. Šribar je sklepal, da je karbonizirano žito "iz časa postavljanja zidu 5 ali neposredno pred njim".[173]

POLŽJE HIŠICE

Hišice navadnega pasarja (kat. št 127; *sl. 2.20*), ki so jih našli ob temeljih zgodnjesrednjeveške apside, bi lahko pričale o estivaciji polžev v poletni vročini. V hlad cerkvenega zidu bi se lahko zalezli, ko je bila apsida na prostem, preden je njene ostanke obdalo zidovje in prekril tlak mlajše cerkve. Datiranje z analizo C 14 je za hišice kopenskih polžev nezanesljivo.[174]

SNAIL SHELLS

Shells of true glass snails (cat. No. 127; *Fig. 2.20*), which were found next to the foundations of the Early Mediaeval apse, could indicate the snail aestivation during the summer heat. They could have hidden in the cold provided by the church wall, when the apse was in the open, before its remains were surrounded by a wall and covered by the occupation surface of the newer church. C14 analysis is unreliable for terrestrial snail shells.[174]

[172] Vzorec št. Poz-107997 (Poznanjski radiokarbonski laboratorij, Poljska).

[173] Arhiv 489, str. 73.

[174] Informacija Tomasza Goslarja (Poznanjski radiokarbonski laboratorij, Poljska).

[174] Information passed on by Tomasz Goslar (Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory, Poland).

2.4 ZAKLJUČKI

Prvi sledovi človekove navzočnosti na Blejskem otoku so iz tretjega tisočletja pred našim štetjem, iz obdobja bakrene dobe. Nekateri odlomki lončenine so verjetno iz železne dobe, nekaj najdb je rimskodobnih in poznoantičnih. Arheološki ostanki so se ohranili v kotanjah, deloma napolnjenih s plastjo zemlje, ki je pokrivala skalnato osnovo otoka (glej pogl. 1.4).

V zgodnjem srednjem veku so na otoku začeli pokopavati. Za grobišče so izbrali edino večje in razmeroma ravno zemljišče na vrhu otoka, na območju deloma zapolnjene kotanje (*kotanja A*), kjer je bila plast zemlje debela okoli 0,6 m. Pokopavanje je bilo prostorsko urejeno, skeletni grobovi so bili razporejeni v petih vrstah (*sl. 2.2*), odkritih je bilo 64 grobov (*prva skupina grobov*). Grobovi so ležali v prevladujoči vzhodni smeri, na osrednjem delu kotanje so bili vkopani na gosto, redkeje na obrobju, kjer so grobne jame vsekali v živo skalo (*sl. 2.2a*). Na severni strani so ta del grobišča zamejevali trije nekoliko odmaknjeni grobovi, na zahodnem robu so nekaj grobov vkopali v skalnati greben. Povezave z grobovi v globoki vzhodni kotanji (*kotanja B, druga skupina grobov*) na vzhodni strani ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti, ker je bilo zemljišče med kotanjama prekopano. Na južni strani so bili grobovi odkriti v bližini cerkvenih temeljev. Pomembna značilnost prve skupine grobov so pridatki (*sl. 2.2c*): na grobišču s 124 grobovi so veliko večino vseh pridatkov našli v grobovih te skupine, in sicer v 24 od skupno 33 grobov s pridatki (glej pogl. 2.1).

Arheološki podatki kažejo, da so pridatki predvsem osebni predmeti, s katerimi so največkrat pokopali ženske. Med najdbami je v glavnem naglavni nakit, obročki (naglavni) in uhani. Obe vrsti nakita se pojavljata v parih, ob njih je bil v grobu ponekod še prstan ali pa nož. Noži so bili kot edini pridatek tudi v treh moških grobovih. Pridatke uvrščamo v *köttlaško skupino* (po P. Korošec), ki se tipološko v glavnem ujema s *časovno skupino Köttlach II* (po J. Gieslerju) oziroma s koroško *skupino C3* (po S. Eichartu). Časovni okvir, v katerem so zajete te tipološke skupine, je dvestoletno obdobje od sredine 9. do sredine 11. stoletja. V to obdobje so po *klasifikacijskem sistemu* za naglavni nakit (po A. Pleterskem) datirani tudi polmesečasti uhani in obročki z odebelitvami na konceh, značilne najdbe vseh omenjenih tipoloških skupin (glej pogl. 2.2).

Prva skupina grobov na Blejskem otoku ima več primerjav med zgodnjesrednjeveškimi najdišči v Blejskem kotu (*sl. 2.7*; *seznam 1*). Ob žganem grobu z Došce pri Bodeščah, naselbinskih ostankih na Pristavi in zakladni najdbi iz Sebenj (*sl. 2.7*: 11–13; *seznam 1:* 11–13) so bila tam odkrita večinoma skeletna grobišča. Starejša od otoškega so bila grobišča na Žalah pri Ble-

2.4 CONCLUSIONS

The first traces of human presence on Bled Island reach into the third millennium BCE, into the Copper Age. Some pottery fragments most likely originate from the Iron Age, while some finds belonged to the Roman and Late Antique periods. The archaeological remains have been preserved in hollows, partially filled with a layer of soil, which covered the island's rock base (see Chapter 1.4).

People were first buried on the island in the Early Middle Ages. The only larger and relatively flat area at the top of the island, the area of the partially filled-in hollow (*hollow A*), where the layer of soil was approximately 0.6 m thick, was chosen as the burial ground. The burials were planned in advance, for the 64 unearthed skeletal graves (*the first group of graves*) were laid out in five rows (*Fig. 2.2b*). Most of the graves were oriented towards the east; in the central part of the hollow the graves were packed closely together, while towards the edges of the hollow, they were laid further apart, as the grave pits were carved into the bedrock (*Fig. 2.2a*). To the north, this part of the burial ground ended with three slightly remote graves, while to the west a few graves were dug into the rocky ridge. It was impossible to ascertain any connection with the graves in the deep hollow (*hollow B, second group of graves*) located on the east side, as the area between the hollows has been dug up. The graves to the south were unearthed in the vicinity of the church's foundations. Grave goods (*Fig. 2.2c*) represent an important characteristic of the first group of island graves: even though the entire burial ground on the island consists of 124 graves, the majority of grave goods were found in the graves belonging to this group, for this is where 24 graves of the total of 33 graves containing grave goods were found (see Chapter 2.1).

Archaeological data revealed that most of the grave goods were represented by personal belongings, which were most commonly added into female graves. The grave goods were most likely to be head jewellery, such as temple rings (head circlets) or earrings. Both jewellery types appear in pairs, and sometimes the grave also contained a finger ring or a knife. Knives were found as the sole grave good in three male graves. The grave goods belong to the *Köttlach group* (according to P. Korošec), which typologically matches the *period group Köttlach II* (according to J. Giesler) or the Carinthian *group C3* (according to S. Eichart). The time frame, which encompasses these typological groups, spans two hundred years, from mid-9th to mid-11th century. According to the classification system for head jewellery (as defined by A. Pleterski), the crescent shaped earrings and the temple rings with thickenings, characteristic finds in all of the previously mentioned typological groups, also belong to this period (see Chapter 2.2).

du, Brdu, Pristavi (starejši del grobišča)[175] in Mlinem (*sl. 2.7*: 3,4,5,9; *seznam 1:* 3,4,5,9). Za starejša grobišča v Blejskem kotu je značilno zgodnjesrednjeveško gradivo, ki je na območju Vzhodnih Alp opredeljeno kot *karantanska skupina* najdb (od 7. do prve polovice 9. stoletja),[176] oziroma kot tipološko primerljivi sklopi najdb v *časovnih skupinah Vor-Köttlach* in *Köttlach I* (pozno 8.–prva polovica 10. stoletja)[177] ali v koroške *skupine B in C 1–2* (740–900).[178] Takšnih najdb, kot so jih našli na starejših blejskih grobiščih, na Blejskem otoku (razen prstana v grobu 37) ni bilo.

Mlajša grobišča v Blejskem kotu so odkrili na Pristavi (mlajši del grobišča), Sedlu na Blejskem gradu, v Spodnjih Gorjah, na Žalah pri Zasipu in Dlescu pri Bodeščah (*sl. 2.7*: 5–8,10; *seznam 1:* 5–8,10). Spadajo med vaška grobišča brez cerkve, praviloma v ravninskem svetu, ob sočasnih naselbinah, kar so za najdišče na Pristavi potrdile arheološke raziskave.[179] Tem grobiščem je po urejenosti v vrste, številu grobov in pridatkih podobna prva skupina grobov na Blejskem otoku. Posebnost med vaškimi grobišči je višinska lega grobišča na Sedlu, ki smo jo poskušali razložiti z domnevnim premikom neke naselbine iz nižine (iz bližine grobišča na Brdu) na naravno dobro zavarovan grajski hrib.[180]

Na mlajših grobiščih v Blejskem kotu so v grobovih tudi redke najdbe, ki tipološko sodijo v *karantansko skupino* (oziroma skupini *Vor-Köttlach* in *Köttlach I* ter *skupine B in C 1–2*). Za naglavne obročke z grobišč na Žalah pri Zasipu, Dlescu pri Bodeščah in Sedlu na Blejskem gradu je bilo s pomočjo stratigrafske in topografsko-kronološke analize pojasnjeno, da so to starejši predmeti, najdeni v grobovih, v katerih so bili pokopani prebivalci prve in druge generacije iz bližnje naselbine, približno v času med letoma 790 in 870.[181] Na Blejskem otoku grobov, ki bi bili po starejšem naglavnem nakitu sočasni z grobovi prve in druge generacije na vaških grobiščih (brez cerkve), niso našli, na podlagi naglavnega nakita je mogoče ugotavljati sočasnost z grobovi prebivalcev tretje in četrte generacije, pokopanih med letoma okoli 870 in 960.

Med prvimi pokopanimi na Blejskem otoku je bil verjetno otrok, čigar kostne ostanke so našli v grobu 37. V grobu je bil par naglavnih obročkov z enojno odebelitvijo na konceh (*t. 2:* 3,4) in prstan trikotnega preseka (*t. 2:* 5). Tipološko prstan spada med najdbe skupine *Köttlach I* (druga polovica 9. in prva polovica 10.

[175] Za delitev zgodnjesrednjeveškega grobišča na Pristavi glej Knific 1974.

[176] Korošec 1979, 55–91/I, 305/I.

[177] Giesler 1980, 86–87, Abb. 1, 2; Giesler 2002, 402, Abb. 2: 1–26.

[178] Eichert 2010a, 164–170, Abb. 45, 46.

[179] Pleterski 2008a, 159–161.

[180] Knific 1983, 72–74.

[181] Pleterski 2013b, 306–311, 315–320, 327–328, 331–334, sl. 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 16.

The first group of graves on Bled Island has numerous comparisons amongst the Early Medieval sites in Bled area (*Fig. 2.7*; *List 1*). Alongside the cremation grave from Došca near Bodešče, the settlement remains at Pristava and the Sebenje hoard (*Fig. 2.7*: 11–13; *List 1:* 11–13) this area mainly revealed skeletal burial grounds. The burial grounds at Žale in Bled, Brdo, Pristava (the earlier part of the burial ground)[175] and Mlino (*Fig. 2.7*: 3,4,5,9; *List 1:* 3,4,5,9) predated the burial ground from Bled Island. Earlier burial grounds in the Bled area revealed characteristic Early Mediaeval material defined as the *Karantania group* of finds (between the 7th and the first half of the 9th century in the area of the Eastern Alps),[176] and the typologically comparable groups of finds from *chronological groups Vor-Köttlach* and *Köttlach I* (late 8th – first half of the 10th century)[177] or the *Carinthian groups B* and *C 1–2* (740–900).[178] With the exception of the finger ring found in Grave 37, there were no other finds on Bled Island that would be similar to those found at the earlier Bled burial grounds.

Later burial grounds in the Bled area were discovered at Pristava (the later part of the burial ground), Sedlo on the Bled castle, Spodnje Gorje, Žale near Zasip and Dlesc near Bodešče (*Fig. 2.7*: 5–8,10; *List 1:* 5–8,10). These were village burial grounds without a church, which were as a rule located on plains, next to settlements – which was confirmed for the site at Pristava by archaeological excavations.[179] The organisation of graves into rows, the number of graves and grave goods, make these burial grounds similar to the first group of graves on Bled Island. The one standing out from the village burial grounds is the burial ground on Sedlo with its higher altitude, which we tried to explain with the presumed move of the settlement from the lower lying grounds (in the vicinity of the burial ground at Brdo) to the naturally well protected castle hill.[180]

The graves in the later burial grounds in the Bled area included rare finds, which typologically belong to the *Karantania group* (or groups *Vor-Köttlach* and *Köttlach I* and *Carinthian groups B and C 1–2*). The stratigraphic and topographic-chronological analysis performed for the temple rings from the burial grounds at Žale near Zasip, Dlesc near Bodešče and Sedlo on Bled castle revealed that these were earlier artefacts, found in graves in which the settlers from the first and second generations of the nearby settlement were buried, approximately between 790 and 870.[181] On Bled Island no graves that would be contem-

[175] For the division of the Early Mediaeval burial ground in Pristava see Knific 1974.

[176] Korošec 1979, 55–91/I, 305/I.

[177] Giesler 1980, 86–87, Abb. 1, 2; Giesler 2002, 402, Abb. 2: 1–26.

[178] Eichert 2010a, 164–170, Abb. 45, 46.

[179] Pleterski 2008a, 159–161.

[180] Knific 1983, 72–74.

[181] Pleterski 2013b, 306–311, 315–320, 327–328, 331–334, Figs. 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 16.

stoletja), naglavni obročki te vrste pa se po kronologiji *klasifikacijskega sistema* pojavijo po letu 870[182] oziroma v koroškem sklopu najdb (tip Ka) v pozni stopnji skupine *C2* (830–900).[183] Najzgodnejša datacija za grob 37 bi lahko bila pozno 9. stoletje.

Najmlajši v prvi skupini grobov na Blejskem otoku so grobovi z najdbami, ki imajo primerjave med gradivom t. i. *belobrdske kulture,* v kronološki skupini *Bijelo Brdo I* (druga polovica 10. in prva polovica 11. stoletja). To so grob 49 z naglavnim obročkom z S-zanko (*t. 2:* 13), ki ima več primerjav na grobiščih z najdbami *köttlaške skupine* (*sl. 2.14; seznam 4*), ter grobovi 41, 45 in 58 z masivnimi ulitimi prstani (*t. 2:* 8, 10, 20). Za te grobove je utemeljena datacija v drugo polovico 10. stoletja, možna pa je tudi poznejša datacija, v prvo polovico 11. stoletja (glej *Prstani*).

V prid pozni dataciji prve skupine otoških grobov govori najdba dveh ulitih in emajliranih polmesečastih uhanov s srednjim rogljem, ki sta bila v grobu 45 skupaj z masivnim prstanom (*t. 2:* 10–12). Eden od uhanov iz groba, okrašen s podobo živali, ima številne primerjave (*sl. 2.11*; *seznam 3*); na Ptujskem gradu so takšna polmesečasta uhana našli v grobu 183 skupaj z ulitima grozdastima uhanoma z dvojno odebelitvijo na krakih (*sl. 2.10:* 18,19). Grozdasti uhani te vrste (tip 17b po J. Gieslerju) so se v Karpatski kotlini razširili po letu 1000.[184] Na Ptujskem gradu so našli tudi ulite polmesečaste uhane s srednjim rogljem, ki so okrašeni z rastlinskim motivom, poleg treh primerkov iz groba 183 (*sl. 2.10:* 15–17) še par uhanov iz groba 79.[185] V tem grobu so bili skupaj z masivnimi prstani z oglatim presekom (tip 27 po J. Gieslerju), ki so datirani od druge četrtine 11. stoletja.[186] Ti primeri pričajo, da so polmesečaste uhane s srednjim rogljem nosili še v prvi polovici 11. stoletja. Uhan s srednjim rogljem in takšnim rastlinskim okrasom so našli tudi v grobu 29 na Sedlu na Blejskem gradu,[187] pri razčlenitvi grobišča na podlagi stratigrafije je bil uhan uvrščen med najmlajše najdbe.[188]

Prva skupina otoških grobov ima več podobnih značilnosti z grobiščem na Sedlu. Poleg nenavadne lege (na otoku in pod vrhom hriba) je primerljivo tudi pokopavanje na izrazito skalnatih tleh. Zaradi tega so bili na obeh grobiščih pogosti zaporedni pokopi v jame, vkopane v živo skalo ali, kot je zapisano za grobove na Sedlu, v "škrape in majhne kraške jame".[189] Ob veliki raznovrstnosti najdb *köttlaške skupine* na Sedlu,

[182] Pleterski 2013b, 320, 334, sl. 16 (NO 0100_0808).
[183] Eichert 2010a, 44–45, 169; Abb. 10, 46.
[184] Giesler 1981, 165–166, Taf. 3: 17b; 51: 2; 53: 17b.
[185] Korošec 1999, 17, t. 8: 14–19.
[186] Vinski 1970, 58–61; Giesler 1981, 110–111, 113, Taf. 4: 27; 53: 27.
[187] Valič 1964, 18, 39, t. 7: 5.
[188] Pleterski 1982, 141, sl..3–5.
[189] Valič 1964, 8, priloga 2; Valič 1969a, 218.

porary with the graves of the first and second generation in the village burial grounds (without a church) were found; based on head jewellery it is possible to ascertain contemporaneity with the graves of the inhabitants of the third and fourth generation, buried between 870 and 960.

It is highly likely that one of the first to be buried on Bled Island was the infant whose bone remains were found in Grave 37. The grave contained a pair of temple rings with a single thickening at the endings (*Pl. 2:* 3,4) and a finger ring with a triangular cross-section (*Pl. 2:* 5). Typologically this finger ring belongs amongst the finds belonging to the group *Köttlach I* (second half of the 9th and first half of the 10th century), while temple rings of this kind, according to the *classification system* chronology appear post 870[182] or in the Carinthian group of smaller finds (type Ka) in the late stage of group *C2* (830–900).[183] The earliest date for Grave 37 could be the late 9th century.

The latest in the first group of graves on Bled Island are the graves with finds that are comparable to the finds from the so-called *Bijelo Brdo culture,* to the period group *Bijelo Brdo I* (second half of the 10th and first half of the 11th century). These are Grave 49 with the temple ring with an S-shaped loop (*Pl. 2:* 13), which has multiple comparisons in burial grounds with finds pertaining to the *Köttlach group* (*Fig. 2.14; List 4*), and Graves 41, 45 and 58 with massive cast finger rings (*pl. 2:* 8, 10, 20). These graves can be dated in the second half of the 10th century, however a later date, in the first half of the 11th century is also possible (see *Finger rings*).

The find of two cast and enamelled, crescent shaped earrings with a central prong, which were found in Grave 45 together with a massive finger ring (*Pl. 2:* 10–12), support the late dating of the first group of island graves. One of the earrings from this grave, the one decorated with a zoological motif, has numerous comparisons (*Fig. 2.11*; *List 3*). At Ptuj castle such crescent shaped earrings were found in Grave 183 together with the cast grape-shaped earrings with a double thickening at the endings (*Fig. 2.10:* 18,19). Grape-shaped earrings of this type (type 17b according to J. Giesler) spread through the Carpathian basin after the year 1000.[184] At the Ptuj castle, three cast crescent shaped earrings decorated with a vegetative motif with a central prong were found in Grave 183 (*Fig. 2.10:* 15–17) and a pair of similar earrings was found in Grave 79.[185] This grave also contained massive rings with an angular cross-section (type 27 according to J. Giesler), which are dated to the second quarter of the 11th century.[186] These examples indicate that crescent shaped earrings with a central prong were still worn in the first half of the 11th century. An earring with a central prong and vegetative

[182] Pleterski 2013b, 320, 334, Fig. 16 (NO 0100_0808).
[183] Eichert 2010a, 44–45, 169; Abb. 10, 46.
[184] Giesler 1981, 165–166, Taf. 3: 17b; 51: 2; 53: 17b.
[185] Korošec 1999, 17, *Pl.* 8: 14–19.
[186] Vinski 1970, 58–61; Giesler 1981, 110–111, 113, Taf. 4: 27; 53: 27.

posebno okrasnih zaponk s krščansko motiviko,[190] se osnovne oblike naglavnega nakita večinoma ujemajo, na obeh grobiščih pa so našli tudi najdbe t. i. *belobrdske kulture*.

Na grobišču Sedlo sta bila v grobu 56 ulit grozdast uhan (tip 16) in masiven prstan s stanjšanima koncema (tip 25),[191] ki tipološko spadata med gradivo skupine *Bijelo Brdo I* in ju datiramo v drugo polovico 10. in prvo tretjino 11. stoletja.[192] V grobu 143 so našli grozdasta uhana z dvojno odebelitvijo na krakih (tip 17b)[193] in ulit prstan s prečno členjeno zunanjo površino (tip 33); po kronologiji J. Gieslerja so takšni predmeti pojavijo okoli leta 1000 in se razširijo v prvi polovici 11. stoletja.[194]

Po analizi stratigrafskih odnosov med grobovi na Sedlu je A. Pleterski presodil, da ti pripadajo štirim generacijam prebivalcev, začetek pete generacije je videl v grobu 143 z belobrdskima uhanoma. Za časovno mejo med četrto in peto generacijo je predlagal leto 960,[195] pokopavanje pa naj bi se domnevno končalo pred zadnjo tretjino 10. stoletja.[196] Vendar med tem datumom in datacijo za oba tipa belobrdskih predmetov, ki so jih našli na Sedlu v grobu 143 (uhani tipa 17b, prstani tipa 33), ostaja nesoglasje, ker takšnih predmetov do časa, predlaganega za prenehanje pokopavanja, še niso izdelovali. Najzgodnejša datacija za otroški grob 143 bi zato lahko bila začetek 11. stoletja.

Posebnost med nakitom v prvi skupini grobov na Blejskem otoku je uhan iz groba 4 z astragalnimi odebelitvami na spodnjem delu loka (*t. 1:* 6; *15:* 5). Ta tip uhana, ki bi ga po eponimnem najdišču lahko poimenovali *tip Blejski otok*, ima enako kakovostni primerjavi na grobišču v Mostah pri Žirovnici, nekoliko manj natančno sta izdelana uhana z grobišča v Kranju, kjer so našli tudi več površnih posnetkov (*sl. 2.13*). V Kranju je bil par kakovostnih uhanov v grobu skupaj z naglavnim obročkom z dvojno odebelitvijo na konceh,[197] kar uhane postavlja med pozne najdbe *köttlaške skupine.* Vsi znani primerki uhanov z astragalnimi odebelitvami na loku so z grobišč pri cerkvah.

Za nekatere najdbe iz prve skupine otoških grobov – za pisali, svinčeni ploščici in žeblje – ni zanesljivo, da so grobni pridatki, v grobove bi lahko prišli tudi kot raztresene najdbe z zasutjem. Večino najdb smo kljub včasih pomanjkljivim terenskim zapisom opredelili kot grobne pridatke. Spadajo med značilne najdbe *köttlaške*

[190] Knific, Mlinar 2014, 433–434, 453–454, sl, 9: 5–9.

[191] Valič 1964, 23–24, t. 13: 2,5.

[192] Giesler 1981, 165–166, Taf. 3: 16; 51: 2; 53: 16.

[193] Glej op. 60.

[194] Giesler 1981, 111, Taf. 4: 33; 53: 33.

[195] Pleterski 2013b, 317, 319, sl. 15 (napisa St. Peter in Sedlo sta zamenjana).

[196] Pleterski 1982, 146.

[197] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 266–267, grob 1973_z0289, sl. 3.

decoration was also found in Grave 29 on Sedlo at the Bled castle,[187] where it was, as a result of the division of the burial ground based on stratigraphy, categorised as one of the most recent artefacts found at this site.[188]

The first group of Bled Island graves has numerous similarities with the burial ground on Sedlo. Apart from their unusual locations (on the island and under the top of the hill) they also share the fact that the graves were dug into explicitly rocky grounds. This resulted in common multiple burials into pits carved into the bedrock in both burial grounds or, as stated for the graves at Sedlo, into 'limestone pavements and small Karst sinkholes'.[189] Alongside the diverse finds pertaining to the *Köttlach group* on Sedlo, especially decorative fibulae with Christian motifs,[190] the two sites have the same basic forms of head jewellery, as well as finds belonging to the so-called *Bijelo Brdo culture*.

Grave 56 at the burial ground Sedlo contained a grape-shaped earring (type 16) and a massive ring with thinner endings (type 25),[191] which typologically belong to the group *Bijelo Brdo I* and are dated in the second half of the 10th or the first third of the 11th century.[192] Grape-shaped earrings with a double thickening at the endings (type 17b)[193] and a cast finger ring with a transversally divided exterior (type 33) were found in Grave 143; according to J. Giesler's chronology such objects appear approximately around the year 1000 and become wide-spread during the first half of the 11th century.[194]

Taking into account the stratigraphic relations between the graves on Sedlo, A. Pleterski concluded that these graves belonged to four generations of inhabitants, while the fifth generation graves started with the burial in Grave 143, which included the Bijelo Brdo type earrings. For the chronological border between the fourth and fifth generation he proposed the year 960,[195] while the last burial in this site is believed to have taken place before the last third of the 10th century.[196] However, there is a discord between this date and the date of the two types of the Bijelo Brdo artefacts that were found in Grave 143 (earrings type 17b, rings type 33), as artefacts like these were not made until after the proposed last burials. The earliest date for the infant Grave 143 could thus be the beginning of the 11th century.

The earring from Grave 4 with an astragal shaped thickenings on the lower part of the loop (*Pls. 1:* 6; *15:* 5) stands out amongst the jewellery finds in the first group

[187] Valič 1964, 18, 39, *Pl.* 7: 5.

[188] Pleterski 1982, 141, *Figs*..3–5.

[189] Valič 1964, 8, appendix 2; Valič 1969a, 218.

[190] Knific, Mlinar 2014, 433–434, 453–454, *Figs*, 9: 5–9.

[191] Valič 1964, 23–24, *Pl* 13: 2,5.

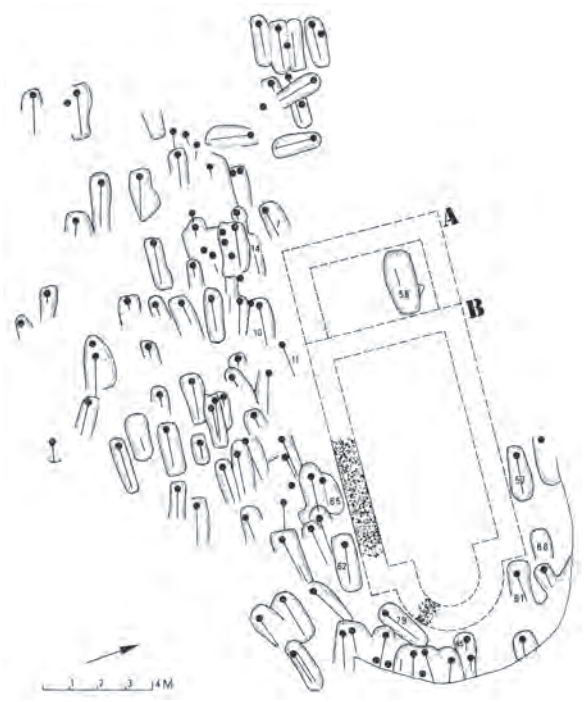
[192] Giesler 1981, 165–166, Taf. 3: 16; 51: 2; 53: 16.

[193] See note 60.

[194] Giesler 1981, 111, Taf. 4: 33; 53: 33.

[195] Pleterski 2013b, 317, 319, *Fig.* 15 (the inscriptions St Peter and Sedlo are switched around).

[196] Pleterski 1982, 146.



Sl. 2.21: Zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče s cerkvijo pri Batujah v Vipavski dolini (Svoljšak, Knific 1976).
Fig. 2.21: Early Medieval burial site next to a church from the same period, Batuje in the Vipava valley.

skupine, med katerimi je bilo tudi nekaj predmetov iz arheološkega sklopa t. i. *belobrdske kulture*. Najdbe iz prve skupine grobov datiramo v čas od poznega 9. stoletja do prve polovice 11. stoletja, za večino pa je možna tudi ožja datacija, tj. čas druge polovice 10. in prve polovice 11. stoletja.

Grobovi prve skupine so bili časovno povezani z zgodnjesrednjeveško cerkvijo. Njeni arhitekturni ostanki so datirani z grobom 72, ki so ga vkopali tesno ob apsidi cerkve, v smeri (azimut 59°), ki je posebnost na grobišču. Za okostje v grobu 72 je datacija C14 pokazala časovni 2Σ razpon med letoma 869 in 1013 (verjetnost 94,2 %), kar je zaradi stika groba s cerkvijo časovna potrditev za obstoj cerkve. Po arhitekturnih ostankih je mogoče sklepati, da se je prva skupina grobov širila severozahodno od zgodnjesrednjeveške cerkve.

V Sloveniji sta bili zgodnjesrednjeveški grobišči ob sočasni cerkvi odkriti v Batujah v Vipavski dolini in na Legnu pri Slovenj Gradcu.

Na ledini Pri svetem Juriju zahodno od Batuj so odkrili z arheološkimi izkopavanji ostanke cerkve in okoli nje skeletno grobišče s 104 grobovi (*sl. 2.21*). Ostanki cerkve so skromni, ker so jo podrli do temeljev. Glede na razporeditev grobov, delno še ohranjene zidove in potek plitvih jarkov, v katerih so zidovi stali, se je dalo razbrati, da je bila cerkev enoladijska, s polkrožno apsido

of graves on Bled Island. This type of earring, which could be named type *Bled Island* according to its eponymous site of discovery, has equally qualitative comparisons at the burial ground in Moste near Žirovnica, while the two earrings from the burial ground in Kranj, where also numerous imitations were found (*Fig. 2.13),* were not as finely made. In Kranj the two high-quality earrings were found in the grave together with the temple ring with double thickenings at the ends,[197] which places the earrings amongst the late *Köttlach group* finds. All known examples of earrings with astragal shaped thickenings are from burial grounds next to churches.

It is uncertain whether some finds from the first group of Bled Island graves (styluses, lead tablets and nails) were grave goods, as they could have found their way into the graves as scattered finds in the fill-in material. Regardless of the – at times deficient – fieldwork records, most of the finds were defined as grave goods; they are characteristic finds belonging to the *Köttlach group*, which included a few artefacts belonging to the so called *Bijelo Brdo culture.* The finds from the first group of graves are dated between the late 9th century and the first half of the 11th century, however, most can be dated more precisely, i.e. in the second half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century.

As regards the time of origin, the graves belonging to the first group were linked to the Early Mediaeval church. The church's architectural remains were dated with Grave 72, which was dug close to the apse of the church, with an orientation (azimuth 59°) that stands out at this burial ground. C14 dating of the skeleton in Grave 72 showed a temporal 2Σ span between the years 869 and 1013 (94.2% probability), which – as a result of the contact between the grave and the church – confirmed the time period of the church's existence. The architectural remains indicate that the first group of graves spread from the Early Mediaeval church towards the northwest.

In Slovenia, Early Mediaeval burial grounds next to the churches of the same period were discovered in Batuje in Vipavska dolina and in Legen near Slovenj Gradec.

Archaeological excavations in the fallow next to the church of St George, west of Batuje, revealed the remains of an old church and a burial ground with 104 graves (*Fig. 2.21*). The church remains are modest, as it was demolished to its foundations. Taking into account the layout of the graves, the partially preserved walls and the locations of the shallow ditches, in which the walls stood, one can conclude that this was a single nave church with a semi-circular apse on the east side.[198] Stone fragments with guilloche ornaments were discovered in the village already prior to archaeological excavations; they were built into two houses in Batuje, but according to oral tradition they originated from the old church of St George,

[197] Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 266–267, Grave 1973_z0289, *Fig.* 3.
[198] Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 71–77.

na vzhodni strani.[198] Že pred arheološkimi izkopavanji so v vasi odkrili kamnite odlomke s pleteninasto ornamentiko; vzidani so bili v dveh batujskih hišah, a naj bi po izročilu izvirali iz stare cerkvice sv. Jurija, ki so jo podrli leta 1764 ali malo pred tem.[199] Največ grobov je bilo na gosto vkopanih južno od cerkve, ob apsidi je bil vkopan grob 79 v podobni smeri (azimut 69°) kot grob 72 na Blejskem otoku. Pridatki iz grobov spadajo v *köttlaško skupino*, najdbe so časovno opredeljene v 9. in 10. stoletje, vendar je verjetnejša datacija v drugo polovico 10. in 11. stoletje.[200] Slednjemu v prid bi govoril tudi cerkveni zavetnik sv. Jurij, ki mu je bila cerkev lahko posvečena šele po sredini 10. stoletja.[201]

Druga zgodnjesrednjeveška cerkev z grobiščem, Sv. Jurij na Legnu, je stala na terasi na obronku zahodnega Pohorja nad Mislinjsko dolino. Izkopavanja, ki so potekala ob obnovitvenih delih v notranjščini cerkve, so odkrila temelje cerkve, zgrajene iz naloženega kamenja brez veziva.[202] Gre za preprosto enoladijsko cerkev pravokotnega tlorisa, apsida je bila ožja od ladje in zunaj pravokotno obzidana. Primerjavi za tako oblikovano cerkev sta znani iz Jeninsa v Švici[203] in Fischingena v Nemčiji.[204] Datacijo cerkve dopolnjujejo zgodnjesrednjeveški grobovi, razporejeni okrog njenih temeljev. Pridatki v grobovih spadajo med najdbe *köttlaške skupine* (naglavni obročki z enojno odebelitvijo, okrasne zaponke z emajlom). Našli so tudi naglavni obroček z S-zanko in ravno odrezanim locnom ter nakit v obliki pelte, ki ima primerjave v Porenju, datirane v 10. in 11. stoletje.[205] Grobišče ni do konca raziskano, razteza se še zunaj temeljev sedanje cerkve.

Ob zgodnjesrednjeveških cerkvah z grobišči oziroma s pokopališči v Batujah, na Legnu in Blejskem otoku[206] je v osrednji in zahodni Sloveniji veliko grobišč z najdbami *köttlaške skupine*, ki so jih v veliki večini odkrili pri cerkvah (*seznam 2; sl. 2.9*).[207] V teh primerih časovni odnos med zgodnjesrednjeveškim grobiščem in cerkvijo večinoma ni znan, vsekakor pa postavitev (tudi veliko mlajše) cerkve na starem grobišču priča o navezanosti okoliških prebivalcev na kraj pokopavanja. Ta pojav ni značilen le za Slovenijo, ampak za celotno območje Vzhodnih Alp, kje so pri nekdanjih in zdajšnjih cerkvah odkrili veliko grobišč z najdbami

198 Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 71–77.

199 Höfler 2019, 43–47.

200 Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 60–71; Höfler 2019, 45.

201 Höfler 2013, 392–393.

202 Strmčnik Gulič 1994.

203 Sennhauser 1979, 137, Abb. 11: 7.

204 Scholkmann 1997, 457, sl. 522 b: g.

205 Wamers 1994, 147–148; Pleterski 2003a, 365.

206 *Arhiv* 489, str. 269: *"Posebnost otoškega grobišča je v njegovi razbitosti na pet skupin, ki so vse v določenem odnosu do dveh oziroma treh najstarejših cerkvenih stavb na otoku, tako da grobove na otoku lahko opredeljujemo kot grobišče okoli cerkve."*

207 Knific, Mlinar 2014, 440–443, 458–459, sl. 15.

which was demolished in 1764 or slightly before.[199] Most of the graves were dug close together, south of the church, however, alongside the apse, Grave 79 showed a similar orientation (azimuth 69°) as Grave 72 on Bled Island. The grave goods belong to the *Köttlach group*, the finds of which are dated into the 9th and 10th centuries, however the dating in the second half of the 10th and 11th centuries is more likely.[200] The church patron, St George, to whom the church could be dedicated only after the mid-10th century also speaks in favour of the later date.[201]

The second Early Mediaeval church with a burial ground, St George on Legen, overlooking the Mislinja valley, stood on a terrace on the edge of the western Pohorje ridge. The excavations which took place during the renovation works in the church interior, revealed the foundations of a church built from stacked stones without the use of binding material.[202] This was a simple single nave church with a rectangular ground plan, an apse that was narrower than the nave and rectangular on the outside. Comparisons for this church are known from Jenins in Switzerland[203] and Fischingen in Germany.[204] The date of the church was confirmed by the Early Mediaeval graves which are laid out around the church's foundations. The grave goods belong amongst the finds of the *Köttlach group* (temple rings with a single thickening, enamelled brooches). They also found a temple ring with an S-shaped loop and a straight ending and jewellery in the form of *pelta*, which has comparisons in 10th and 11th century Rhineland.[205] The burial ground was not explored to the end, for it expands outside of the foundations of the present-day church.

Alongside the Early Mediaeval churches with burial grounds or graveyards in Batuje, on Legen and Bled Island,[206] central and western Slovenia have numerous burial grounds with finds belonging to the *Köttlach group*, most of which were discovered next to churches (*List 2; Fig. 2.9*).[207] In these examples the temporal relation between the Early Mediaeval burial ground and the church is usually unknown, however, the positioning of (the much later) church on the early burial ground indicates the attachment of the local inhabitants on the burial location. This phenomenon is not characteristic merely for Slovenia, but can be found throughout the territory of the Eastern Alps, where numerous burial grounds

199 Höfler 2019, 43–47.

200 Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 60–71; Höfler 2019, 45.

201 Höfler 2013, 392–393.

202 Strmčnik Gulič 1994.

203 Sennhauser 1979, 137, Abb. 11: 7.

204 Scholkmann 1997, 457, *Fig*. 522 b: g.

205 Wamers 1994, 147–148; Pleterski 2003a, 365.

206 *Archive* 489, pg. 269: *'The speciality of the island burial ground can be found in its division into five groups, which are all in a certain relation to the two or three oldest church buildings on the island, thus, the graves can be defined as a burial ground next to a church.'*

207 Knific, Mlinar 2014, 440–443, 458–459, *Fig*. 15.

Sl. 2.22: Grobišča z najdbami *köttlaške skupine* pri cerkvah na severnojadranskem in vzhodnoalpskem ozemlju (glej *seznam 6*).
Fig. 2.22: Burial sites with finds pertaining to the *Köttlach group,* next to churches in the Northern Adriatic and Eastern Alpine regions (see *List* 6).
(Izdelava / Elaborated by: V. Bitenc)

köttlaške skupine (*časovni horizont Köttlach II*, *skupina C 3*). Najdišča so najštevilnejša na Koroškem in Gorenjskem, v obsežnih kotlinah ob zgornji Dravi in Savi (*seznam 6; sl. 2.22*).

with finds belonging to the *Köttlach group* (*time horizon Köttlach II*, *group C 3*) have been found next to former or present-day churches. Such sites are most common in Koroška and Gorenjska regions, in the large basins alongside the upper Drava and Sava rivers (*List 6; Fig. 2.22*).

3. METODA STRATIGRAFSKE ANALIZE IN ANALIZE NESTOJEČIH STAVBNIH OSTANKOV

3. METHOD OF STRATIGRAPHIC ANALYSIS AND ANALYSIS OF NON-STANDING BUILDING REMAINS

Benjamin ŠTULAR

3.1 UVOD

Namen tega sklopa knjige sta stratigrafska analiza najdišča in interpretacija nestoječih stavbnih ostankov na najdišču Blejski otok. Osnovni znanstveni vprašanji tega dela sta morebiten obstoj predkrščanskega svetišča na Blejskem otoku in – v neposredni povezavi s tem – kronologija cerkva.

Kot nestoječe stavbne ostanke obravnavamo tiste, ki niso sestavni del današnje cerkvene stavbe in za katere je najpomembnejši vir podatkov arheološki zapis. Vendar so ti stavbni ostanki neločljivo prepleteni z arheološkim zapisom srednjeveškega grobišča. Zato smo za razumevanje sosledja stavbnega razvoja v stratigrafsko in prostorsko analizo pritegnili tudi grobišče. Celostna analiza grobišča, posameznih grobov in artefaktov je predstavljena zgoraj (glej pogl. 2).

3.2 METODA ARHEOLOŠKIH IZKOPAVANJ MED LETOMA 1962 IN 1964

Na tem mestu bomo na kratko predstavili metodo arheoloških izkopavanj na Blejskem otoku med letoma 1962 in 1964. S stališča moderne analize je ključen podatek, da je šlo za tako imenovana *izkopavanja po planumih* (Šribar 1974, 7; za izraz *kopanje po režnjih* prim. Novaković 2003, 56, op. 37; Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007, 28; Štular 2008, 45–47). To je metoda arheoloških izkopavanj, pri katerih se arheološki zapis odstranjuje v arbitrarno določenih horizontalnih režnjih. Veljalo je, da je *podoba enega planuma (…) horizontalni prerez skozi plasti, ki so nastajale istočasno ali pa v nekem*

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this part of the book is to present the stratigraphic analysis, and the interpretation of non-standing building remains, on the Bled Island site.* The two primary scientific questions involve the possible existence of a pre-Christian sanctuary on Bled Island and the – directly related – chronology of the churches.

Non-standing building remains are those that are not constituent parts of the present church building and for which the most important source of data is the archaeological record. These building remains, however, are inseparably intertwined with the archaeological record of the medieval cemetery. The cemetery was therefore included in the stratigraphic and spatial analysis in order to understand the sequence of building development. An integral analysis of the cemetery, individual graves and artefacts, was presented above (see Chapter 2).

3.2 THE METHOD OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION BETWEEN THE YEARS 1962 AND 1964

Here, we will briefly present the method of archaeological excavation on Bled Island between the years 1962 and 1964. From the point of view of modern analysis, the key piece of information is that this used the so-called *planum technique of excavation* (Šribar 1974, 7; for the expression *excavation in spits cf.* Novaković 2003, 56, note 37; Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007, 28; Štular 2008, 45–47). In this method of archaeological excavation, the

* Translation Meta Osredkar

časovnem zaporedju (Šribar 1974, 7–8). Izbira metode je bila skladna s tedanjimi praksami, saj gre za čas pred uvedbo enokontekstnega dokumentiranja (Harris, Ottaway 1976; Barker 1977) in stratigrafskih izkopavanj (Harris 1979). Izkopavanja na Blejskem otoku so bila med prvimi v Sloveniji (in tedanji Jugoslaviji), na katerih so uvajali to metodo (prim. Šribar 1974, 8).

Za kakovost izvedbe planumskih izkopavanj je ključna izbira naslednjih parametrov:

– debelina režnja,
– gostota kontrolnih presekov in
– prostorska natančnost dokumentiranja mesta najdb.

Vsak od naštetih dejavnikov neposredno vpliva na eni strani na kakovost arheološke informacije in na drugi strani, obratno sorazmerno, na hitrost izkopavanj. V slovenski arheologiji se je kasneje za izkopavanja v ravnini uveljavilo kopanje 0,1–0,2 m debelih režnjev, puščanje kontrolnih presekov v razmiku 4 ali 5 m in pobiranje najdb znotraj 4- ali 5-metrskih kvadrantov (prim. Šribar 1969, *passim*; Evis, Hanson, Cheetham 2016, 178). Pri izkopavanjih na Blejskem otoku so ti parametri žal mnogo manj natančni:

– debelina režnja od 0,4 m do 2 m (znotraj cerkve 0,2 m),
– brez kontrolnih presekov in
– dokumentiranje najdb zgolj po režnjih.

Pri izkopavanjih na Blejskem otoku so torej uporabili izjemno "grobo" različico izkopavanja po režnjih z neznačilno debelimi režnji in brez sistematičnega dokumentiranja mesta najdb vsaj po kvadrantih. Večina pozornosti je bila usmerjena v risarsko in opisno dokumentiranje planumov.

Ni torej naključje, da je Šribar metodo imenoval *planumska*, kasnejši izkopavalci pa so jo preimenovali v *reženjsko*. Izrazoslovje opozarja na konceptualno spremembo: prvotno težišče arheološkega angažmaja je bilo dokumentiranje naključnih horizontalnih in vertikalnih presekov, kasneje pa – pod vplivom splošnega razvoja arheološke metodologije – vse bolj sam proces izkopavanja.

Dokumentacija izkopavanj na Blejskem otoku je temeljila na arheološkem dnevniku, v katerem je vodja izkopavanj opisoval in interpretiral *arheološko situacijo*. Dnevnik so dopolnjevale občasne fotografije stanja in skice, kar je skladno s sočasnimi praksami. Poleg tega so tlorise in preseke dokumentirali še risarsko v merilu 1 : 20 ali 1 : 50, kar tedaj še ni bila povsem uveljavljena praksa (prim. npr. izkopavanja grobišča Župna cerkev v Kranju v letih 1953 ter 1964–1966: Štular, Belak 2012; Štular, Belak 2013).

Tlorisi

Kot pendant "grobim" parametrom so tlorisi planumov dokumentirani izjemno natančno. Na terenu so

archaeological record is removed in arbitrary levels or spits. It was assumed that the *face of one planum (…) is a horizontal section through the layers that were created either simultaneously or in a certain chronological order* (Šribar 1974, 7–8). The choice of method was congruent with contemporary practice, this being the time before the introduction of single-context recording (Harris, Ottaway 1976; Barker 1977) and stratigraphic excavations (Harris 1979). The excavations on Bled Island were among the first in Slovenia (and the then Yugoslavia) in which this method was introduced (*cf.* Šribar 1974, 8).

The high-quality execution of planum excavations depends on the choice of the following parameters:

– arbitrary level thickness,
– frequency of sample sections, and
– accuracy in recording of the location of finds.

Each of the listed parameters has a direct effect on the quality of archaeological information, but also – in inverse proportion – on the speed of the excavation. Digging 0.1–0.2 m thick spits, recording sample sections every 4 or 5 m, and collecting finds within 4- or 5 m quadrants later became an established practice in Slovenian archaeology for excavations conducted using the planum technique (*cf.* Šribar 1969, *passim*; Evis, Hanson, Cheetham 2016, 178). Unfortunately, these parameters were far less precise in the Bled Island excavations:

– arbitrary level thickness between 0.4 m and 2 m (0.2 m inside the church),
– no sample sections, and
– finds recorded only according to the arbitrary level.

This means that a very "coarse" excavation method was used in the Bled Island excavations: digging in spits of atypical thickness and without any systematic recording of the locations of finds, not even by quadrants. The focus was mostly on plan drawings and textual descriptions of the surfaces of arbitrary levels.

It is therefore no coincidence that Šribar referred to this method as excavation using the *planum technique*, while later excavators renamed it excavation in *spits*. This shift in terminology reflects a conceptual change: the original focal point of archaeological engagement was recording arbitrary plan and sections drawings, while later – influenced by the general development of archaeological methodology – the focus was more and more on the excavation process itself.

The documentation of the Bled Island excavations was based on an archaeological field journal, in which the director of the excavations described and interpreted the *archaeological situation*. Congruent with contemporary practice, the journal was complemented by occasional photographs and sketches of the situation. Plan and section drawings at a scale of 1:20 or 1:50 were also produced, which was not yet a fully established practice at the time (*cf.* for instance the excavations of the Župna cerkev

Sl. 3.1: Blejski otok, dokumentiranje stanja izkopnega polja 1/1 pred posegom leta 1962; načrt je orientiran glede na mrežo kvadrantov (digitalna obdelava B. Štular; vir: arhiv NMS AO Rn 222/1).
Fig. 3.1: Bled Island, trench 1/1 before 1962 excavation; plan drawing is oriented according to excavation grid (digitally remastered by B. Štular; source: NMS archive AO Rn 222/1).

risali na milimetrski papir v merilu 1 : 20. Za analizo smo imeli na voljo prerise, ki so jih risali v merilu približno 1 : 20, merilo in usmeritev pa na risbah nista označena. Prerisi so opremljeni z naslednjimi podatki:

– številkami plasti,
– opisom plasti v marginah,
– absolutnimi nadmorskimi višinami,
– izrisom vsaj dveh vogalov cerkvene stavbe in
– (v izkopnem polju IP 1/1) z izrisanimi kvadranti.

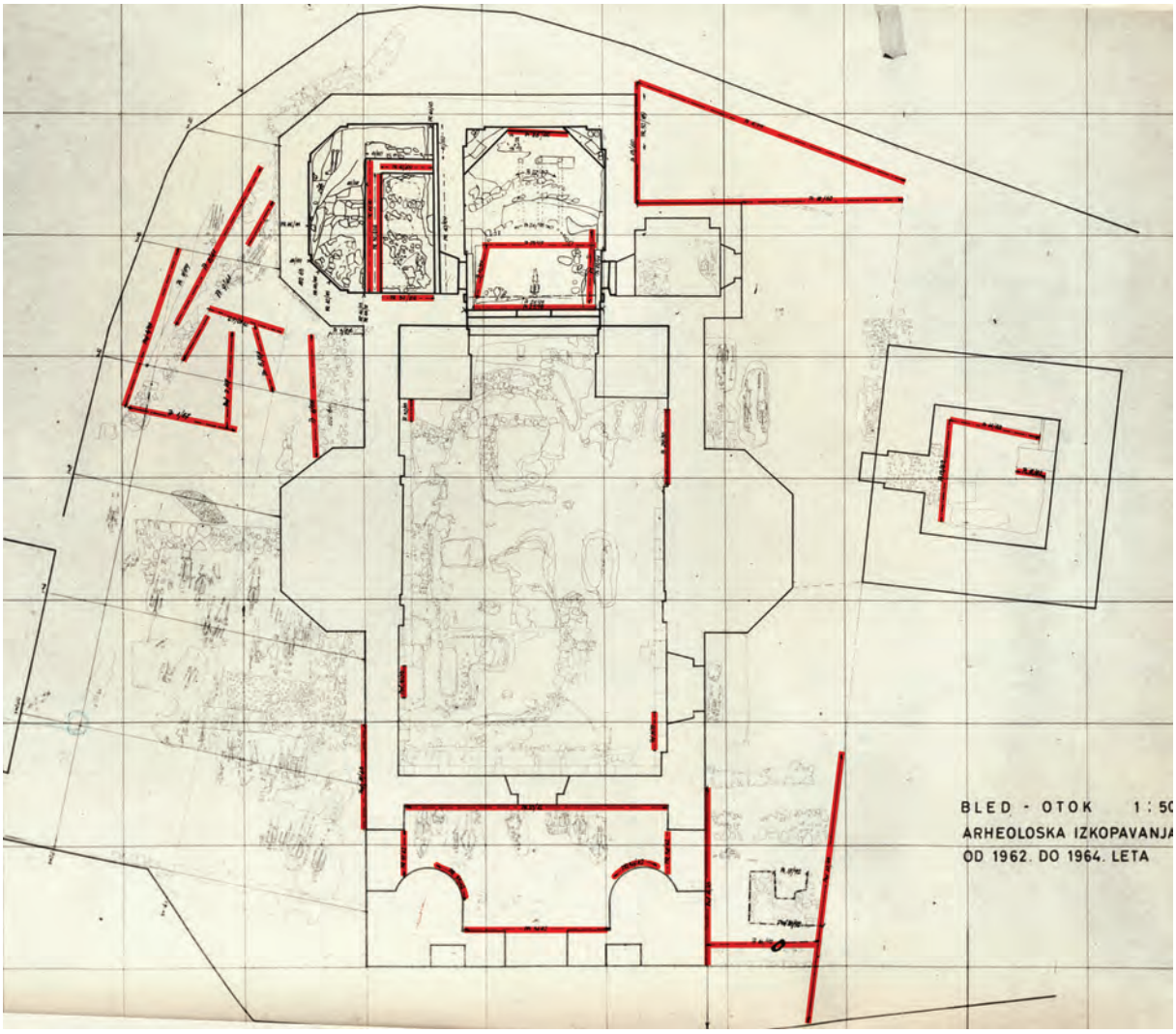
Kakovost in namen teh risb najlaže pojasnimo na konkretnem primeru planuma 1 v izkopnem polju IP 1/1 (*sl. 3.1*). Gre za tloris stanja pred izkopom, ki vključuje popis tipov travniške vegetacije ter izohipse z ekvidistanco 0,05 m. Kartiranje tipov travniške dokumentacije za arheologijo seveda ni potrebno, ekvidistanca izohips pa je zavajajoča, saj bi bilo za takšno natančnost potrebnih vsaj 20 meritev na m^2. Na tem tlorisu meritve višin sploh niso zabeležene, na ostalih tlorisih pa so izmerili približno 0,01 višine na m^2. Dejanska izmera je bila torej približno 2000-krat manj točna od natančnosti tlorisa. Da natančnost izohips ni utemeljena s točnostjo meritev, je že na prvi pogled razvidno iz oblike izohips, ki bi morale biti mnogo bolj "nazobčane" (prim. *sl. 3.13*). Dihotomije med navidezno natančnostjo dokumentiranja stanja pred posegom na eni strani in izkopavanjem dvometrcemetery in Kranj in the years 1953 and 1964–1966: Štular, Belak 2012; Štular, Belak 2013).

Plan drawings of horizontal surfaces

Contrary to the "coarse" parameters, plan drawings are recorded with high accuracy. In the field, they were drawn on millimetre paper at a scale of 1:20. The drawings available for this analysis were copies, made at a scale of approximately 1:20. Scale and orientation are not marked on the drawings. The copies contain the following data:

– context numbers,
– context descriptions in the margins,
– absolute elevations above sea level,
– drawings of at least two corners of the church building, and
– (in the IP 1/1 excavation area) drawings of measurement grid.

The quality of these drawings, as well as their purpose, can be best illustrated using the case of Planum 1 in the IP 1/1 excavation area (*Fig. 3.1*). This plan drawing of the trench before excavation lists the types of grass vegetation, and presents contours with an interval of 0.05 m. Mapping types of grassland vegetation is clearly not important for archaeology, and the interval between



Sl. 3.2: Blejski otok, lega presekov (rdeče) na načrtu izkopnih polj izkopavanj 1962–1964; načrt je orientiran glede na mrežo kvadrantov (poudarki in digitalna obdelava B. Štular; vir: arhiv NMS AO Rn 235).
Fig. 3.2: Bled Island, location of sample sections (red) marked on the plan of all trenches from 1962–1964 excavation; plan drawing is oriented according to excavation grid (digitally remastered by B. Štular; source: NMS archive AO Rn 235).

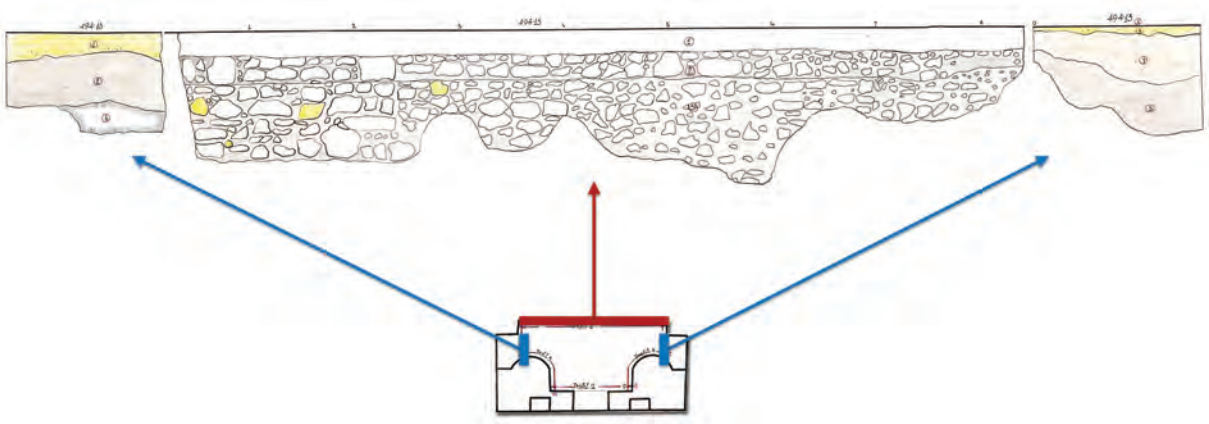
skih "režnjev" na drugi strani metodološko preprosto ni mogoče razložiti. Avtorjem risarske dokumentacije natančnost dokumentiranja arheološkega zapisa ni bila edini – morda celo ne najpomembnejši – cilj.

S stališča izpovednosti dokumentacije je še pomembnejša okoliščina, ki izhaja iz izbrane metode. Meritve višin na planumih so žal skoraj izključno meritve višin arbitrarno določenih planumov. Te dokumentirajo zgolj natančnost kopanja. Edine meritve, ki prinašajo neposredne podatke o višinah arheoloških plasti, so meritve višin skeletov v grobovih.

Preseki (t. i. profili)

Analizirana dokumentacija najdišča na Blejskem otoku vsebuje 35 arheoloških risb presekov z opisom

the contours is misleading, for such accuracy would demand at least 20 elevation measurements per m^2. No such measurements are marked in this plan drawing, while in other plan drawings, approximately 0.01 elevations were measured per m^2. The actual measurements were thus about 2000 times less accurate than the accuracy of the plan view. That the precision of the contours is not based on the accuracy of measurements is immediately apparent from the shape of the contours, which should be much more "jagged" (*cf. Fig. 3.13*). In terms of methodology, the dichotomy between the supposed accuracy of the recorded situation before the intervention on the one hand, and the excavation of 2 m thick arbitrary levels on the other, is simply unexplainable. Clearly, accurate recording of the archaeological record was not the sole – perhaps not even the main – goal for the authors of plan drawings.



Sl. 3.3: Blejski otok, preseki izkopnega polja *narteks*; zgoraj preseki, spodaj označena lega . Ni v merilu (avtor B. Štular; vir: arhiv NMS AO Rn 222/29).
Fig. 3.3: Bled Island, sample sections and the *narteks* trench; above – sections, below – location of sections. Not to scale (by B. Štular; source: NMS archive AO Rn 222/29).

plasti. Vendar ne gre za sistematično razporejene tako imenovane *kontrolne profile*, temveč večinoma za preseke robov izkopnih polj (*sl. 3.2*). Severno od današnje cerkvene stavbe so bili dokumentirani preseki testnih jarkov iz leta 1962. Teh zaradi razlik v opisih in izrisu ni mogoče uskladiti s planumi, dokumentiranimi ob izkopavanju leta 1963. V notranjosti današnje cerkvene stavbe so dokumentirali preseke na robovih izkopnih polj. Ker so bila izkopna polja omejena s stoječimi zidovi, ti preseki ležijo natančno pod obstoječimi zidovi. Zato v zgornjem delu prikazujejo zgolj stoječi zid in njegov temelj, v večjih globinah pa presek, vzporeden zidovom. Takšni preseki za analizo stratigrafskih odnosov med arheološkimi plastmi in stoječimi elementi, kar je cilj tega prispevka, niso uporabni (*sl. 3.3*).

Najdbe

Najdbe izven grobov niso bile dokumentirane sistematično. Pri kopanju testnih jarkov leta 1962 so najdbe dokumentirali znotraj sond po planumih, vendar večinoma zgolj približno, na primer *planum 4/5* (Šribar 1966a, 1–19). Pri izkopavanju leta 1963 in 1964 so najdbe izven grobov dokumentirali kot *naključne najdbe na izkopnem polju*. Najdbe iz izkopnega polja severno od današnje cerkve imajo podatek o kvadrantu, ne pa o planumu (Šribar 1966a, 56–58, 88). Najdbe iz notranjosti cerkve so umeščene v prostor opisno, večinoma brez podatka o planumu (na primer *v vogalu med obema apsidama in južnim stranskim oltarjem*; Šribar 1966a, 119–123, 139–140, 155–156). Podobno velja za najdbe iz prostora južno od cerkve (Šribar 1966a, 178–179).

Med najdbami, ki so inventarizirane v NMS, na inventarnih lističih ni prostorskih podatkov. Zaradi izjemno skromne količine inventariziranih najdb na primer iz plasti novoveških izravnalnih nasutij sklepa-

The method selected for documentation had an important effect on the value of its information. The elevation measurements recorded on the plan drawings are unfortunately almost without exception nothing more than the elevations of arbitrary levels. They only record the accuracy of how horizontal the excavation of each level was. The only informative measurements are the elevations of the skeletons in graves.

Sections

The analysed documentation from the Bled Island archaeological site contains 35 section drawings with descriptions of layers, however, these are not systematically placed sample sections, but mostly sections drawings of the individual trench edges (*Fig. 3.2*). To the north of the present church building, sections of test trenches from 1962 have been recorded. They cannot be coordinated with the plan drawings recorded in the 1963 excavations, however, due to discrepancies between the textual descriptions and the drawings. In the interior of the present church building, sections were recorded at the edges of individual trenches. Since trenches were limited by the existing standing walls, the sections are placed precisely under the existing walls. In the upper part, they only show the standing wall and its foundation, under which there is a section that is parallel to the walls. Such sections are of no relevance for the analysis of the stratigraphic relationships between archaeological layers and standing walls, which is the goal of this analysis (*Fig. 3.3*).

Finds

Finds from outside the graves were not systematically recorded. During the 1962 test trench excavation, the finds inside the trenches were recorded by arbitrary levels, but

mo, da so med izkopavanji izvajali selekcijo najdb. To je skladno s pogosto prakso na slovenskih arheoloških izkopavanjih do sredine osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, ko najdb, mlajših od zgodnjega srednjega veka – razen izjemnih *lepih kosov* – niso dokumentirali (npr. Štular 2009, 18–19).

Stanje dokumentacije

Za stratigrafsko analizo opisanih podatkov je ključna ocena, kolikšen delež stratigrafskih odnosov je bil dokumentiran.

Dokumentacija izkopavanja po planumih ne beleži (1) niti stratigrafskih odnosov med stratigrafskimi enotami, ki so dokumentirane na istem planumu, (2) niti stratigrafskih enot, ki so bile odkopane hkrati znotraj enega režnja.

Prvo (1) pomanjkljivost je na najdiščih z enotnimi, pretežno horizontalnimi plastmi mogoče deloma nadomestiti s tako imenovanimi *kontrolnimi profili*. Na najdišču Blejski otok to žal ni mogoče zaradi prej opisanega stanja. Poleg tega je stratigrafija tega najdišča zelo razgibana in večinoma poševna, tako da bi tudi sistematično dokumentirani preseki le delno omilili ta problem.

Druga (2) pomanjkljivost je na najdiščih s pretežno horizontalnimi plastmi toliko manjša, kolikor se debelina režnja približuje najmanjši debelini stratigrafskih enot. Debelina režnjev na obravnavanem najdišču je vsaj enkrat večja kot povprečna debelina plasti: v notranjosti cerkve so estrihi debeli do 0,05 m, režnji pa 0,1 m in več. Na prostoru z najgostejšimi pokopi so bili režnji debeli do 0,4 m, grobne jame pa globoke nekako od 0,1 do 0,2 m.

Izgubo podatkov smo količinsko ovrednotili v cerkveni ladji za planuma 2 in 3. Iz dosegljive dokumentacije smo na podlagi superpozicije planumov 2 in 3 rekonstruirali 79 stratigrafskih odnosov (glej v nadaljevanju). Dodatno je med stratigrafskimi enotami, ki so dokumentirane na planumu 2, 137 nedokumentiranih stratigrafskih odnosov in na planumu 3 še 81 takšnih. Rekonstruiran presek pokaže, da je bila z debelino režnja brez dokumentiranja odstranjena najmanj polovica arheološkega zapisa (*sl. 3.4*). Sklepamo lahko torej na izgubo vsaj še enkrat tolikšnega števila stratigrafskih odnosov. Ocenjeno skupno število stratigrafskih odnosov v arheološkem zapisu med planumoma 2 in 3 je torej 594, od tega jih je v dokumentaciji zabeleženih 79 ali 13 odstotkov. Na najdišču Blejski otok moramo torej računati s tem, da približno 87 odstotkov stratigrafskih odnosov (in 50 odstotkov stratigrafskih enot) ni bilo dokumentiranih.

Rezultat je primerljiv z rezultati študije, v kateri so merili učinkovitost modernih forenzičnih arbitrarnih izkopavanj. Pri teh so uporabili 0,1 m debele režnje in dokumentirali 51 odstotkov stratigrafskih odnosov

most only approximately, for example *Planum 4/5* (Šribar 1966a, 1–19). During the 1963 and 1964 excavations, finds outside the graves were recorded as *chance finds within the excavation area*. Spatial information about the grid quadrant, but not about the arbitrary level, is given for the finds from the excavation area north of the present-day church (Šribar 1966a, 56–58, 88). The location of the finds from the interior of the church is recorded descriptively, mostly without data about the level (for example *in the corner between the two apses and the southern side altar*; Šribar 1966a, 119–123, 139–140, 155–156). There is a similar situation when it comes to the finds from the area south of the church (Šribar 1966a, 178–179).

The inventory cards for the finds in the National Museum of Slovenia contain no spatial data. Due to the very small quantity of inventoried finds, for example in the Post-Medieval ground-levelling accumulations, we can assume that the finds were subjected to a rigorous selection process during excavation. This is congruent with the practice, common in Slovenian archaeological excavations up to the mid-1980s, of not recording finds from periods later than the Early Middle Ages – with the exception of some remarkable *beautiful items* (e.g. Štular 2009, 18–19).

State of documentation

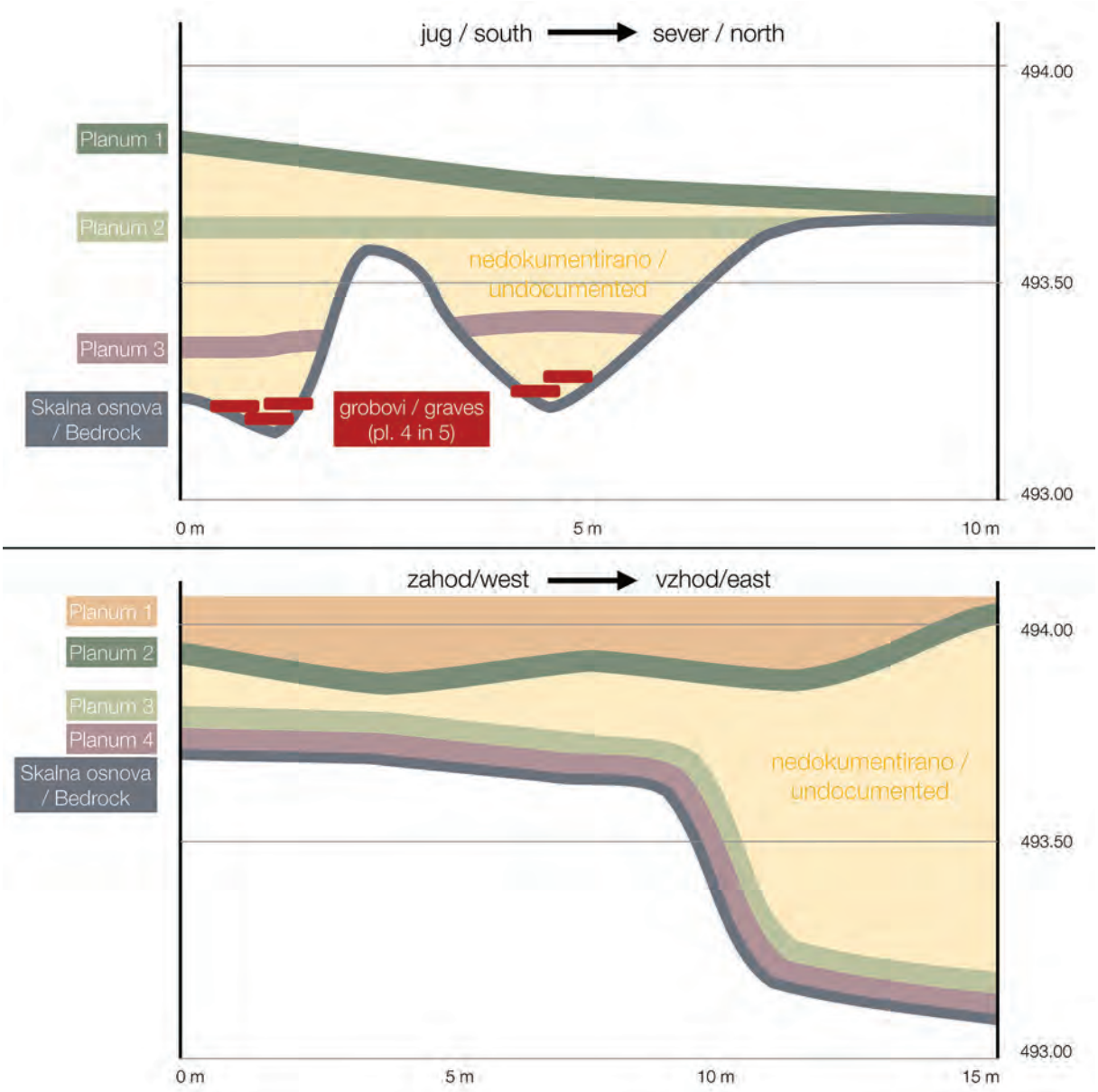
It is crucial to estimate the share of recorded stratigraphic relationships for any stratigraphic analysis of arbitrary excavation.

With the arbitrary planum method of excavation, neither (1) the stratigraphic relationships between the stratigraphic units recorded within the same planum, nor (2) the stratigraphic units excavated simultaneously in a single level are recorded in the documentation.

In sites with uniform, mostly horizontal contexts, *the first* (1) deficiency can be partly remedied by the s*ample sections*. As described above, this was unfortunately not the case at the Bled Island site. The stratigraphy of this site is furthermore very uneven, and mostly slanted, which means that even systematically recorded sample sections could only mitigate the inadequacies of the planum technique to a degree.

In sites with mostly horizontal layers, *the second* (2) deficiency is less marked if arbitrary level thickness is close to the smallest thickness of the stratigraphic contexts. At the Bled Island site, individual level thickness is at least twice the average thickness of the contexts: mortar pavements inside the church are up to 0.05 m thick, and the levels were 0.1 m or more. In the area with the highest frequency of burials, the horizontal levels were up to 0.4 m thick, and the depth of grave pits was between approximately 0.1 and 0.2 m.

The loss of data was quantified for arbitrary horizontal Levels 2 and 3 in the church nave. Based on the superposition of Levels 2 and 3, 79 stratigraphic relationships



Sl. 3.4: Blejski otok, idealizirana preseka: zgoraj grobišče severno od sedanje cerkve, spodaj notranjost sedanje cerkve. Razmerje med višino in dolžino je pretiravano (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 3.4: Bled Island, idealized sections: above the cemetery north of the present-day church, below interior of the present-day church. Scale between height and length is distorted (by B. Štular).

(Evis, Hanson, Cheetham 2016). Del razlike med 13 in 51 odstotki dokumentiranih odnosov je posledica tanjših režnjev. Pomembnejša razlika je dejstvo, da so v omenjeni študiji izkušeni arheologi stratigrafske odnose sistematično iskali in dokumentirali hkrati z odstranjevanjem plasti. Izkopavalci na Blejskem otoku pa so bili po večini nearheologi, ki stratigrafskih odnosov niso dokumentirali med odstranjevanjem arheoloških plasti.

V celoti o arheoloških izkopavanjih na Blejskem otoku med letoma 1962 in 1964 lahko rečemo, da niti količina niti kakovost dokumentiranih podatkov ne

were reconstructed from the available documentation (see the following sections). There are also 137 unrecorded stratigraphic relationships between the stratigraphic units recorded in the plan drawing of Level 2, and 81 such relationships in Level 3. The reconstructed section shows that due to the thickness of soil removal within a single level, more than half of the archaeological record was removed without being recorded (*Fig. 3.4*). It can be therefore assumed that at least twice as many stratigraphic relationships have been lost. The estimated number of all stratigraphic relationships in the archaeological record between Levels 2 and 3 is thus 594; 79 (i.e. 13%) of them

dosegata modernih standardov. Vendar je to za pol stoletja stara izkopavanja pričakovano in razumljivo. Najšibkejša točka so zagotovo krepko predebeli režnji kopanja; z izbiro že tedaj običajne debeline na primer 0,2 m zunaj in 0,1 m znotraj cerkve bi bila možna interpretacija stavbnega razvoja na mnogo višji stopnji. Glede ostalega lahko le sočustvujemo z arheologi, ki so se s tako kompleksnimi ter geomorfološko in stratigrafsko razgibanimi najdišči spopadali brez temeljnega orodja moderne arheologije, stratigrafske metode izkopavanj.

3.3 METODE ANALIZE

Interpretacija arheoloških izkopavanj je najučinkovitejša, kadar se izvaja neposredno po zaključku izkopavanj in vključuje izkopavalce. Več časa ko preteče med izkopavanji in interpretacijo, večja je možnost izgube informacij. Dodatna elementa, ki imata enak učinek, sta odsotnost izkopavalcev v procesu interpretiranja in sprememba metode. S slednjim pojmom opisujemo stanje, ko arheolog interpret nima praktičnih izkušenj z metodo, uporabljeno pri izkopavanjih, ki jih interpretira. Kadar so izpolnjeni vsi trije pogoji – od izkopavanj je minilo dolgo časa, odsotnost izkopavalcev, sprememba metode – se arhiv izkopavanj iz informacij spremeni v podatke in tedaj lahko govorimo o arhivskih izkopavanjih. V arheološki praksi to spremembo pogosto označuje uporaba izraza *arhiv izkopavanj* namesto *dokumentacija izkopavanj*.

Metodo interpretacije arhivskih izkopavanj lahko v grobem razdelimo na 4 korake (prim. Štular 2008; Pleterski 2008a, predvsem 27–40; Štular 2009, predvsem 39–46):

– inventarizacija arhiva,
– informatizacija arhiva,
– analiza podatkov in
– arheološka interpretacija.

Prva dva koraka lahko opišemo kot analizo arhiva. V primerjavi z nearhivskimi izkopavanji gre za dodatna koraka, pri katerih uporabljamo osnove metod zgodovinopisja (npr. Grafenauer 1960 zgoščeno poda za naše namene še vedno aktualno metodo). Zadnji korak se ne razlikuje od arheološke interpretacije nearhivskih izkopavanj. Orodja analize podatkov arhivskih izkopavanj pa se od običajnih metod razlikujejo. Najpogosteje je uveljavljena orodja treba nadgraditi z dodatnimi postopki, s katerimi "prevedemo" podatke v informacije, primerne za moderna orodja. Zelo izpoveden je primer prostorskih podatkov: pri modernih izkopavanjih so ti že umeščeni v prostor v modernem absolutnem koordinatnem sistemu; pri starejših izkopavanjih pa so potrebni dodatni koraki, da arhivske podatke (npr. risbe kvadrantov) umestimo v prostor in jih s tem spremenimo v prostorske podatke.

are recorded in the documentation. At the Bled Island archaeological site, we must therefore bear in mind that approximately 87% of stratigraphic relationships (and 50% of stratigraphic contexts) were not recorded.

This result is comparable with the results of a study which measured the efficiency of modern forensic arbitrary excavations. In this study, 0.1 m thick levels were used and 51% of actual stratigraphic relationships were recorded (Evis, Hanson, Cheetham 2016). The difference between 13 and 51% of recorded relationships was due to thinner spits. A more important difference is that in the above-mentioned study, stratigraphic relationships were systematically sought for and recorded by experienced archaeologists simultaneously with the removal of the layers. The majority of the excavators on Bled Island were not archaeologists, and they recorded no stratigraphic relationships during the removal of the layers.

Overall, it can be said that the quantity and quality of the data recorded in the archaeological excavations on Bled Island between 1962 and 1964 fail to meet modern standards. This, however, is both expected and understandable since the excavations took place half a century ago. The weakest point is certainly the thickness of the arbitrary excavation levels: the then-standard thickness of, for example, 0.2 m outside and 0.1 m inside the church would allow for a much higher level of interpretation of the building development. As for the rest, we can only sympathise with the archaeologists of the time: helpless in the face of such complex sites with complicated geomorphological and stratigraphic situations without the basic tool of modern archaeology, the stratigraphic excavation method.

3.3 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The interpretation of archaeological excavations is most efficient when it is conducted directly after the end of the excavations, possibly by the excavators themselves. The more time passes between the excavations and the interpretation, the greater the danger of information loss. Two additional elements with the same effect are the absence of the excavators in the process of interpretation and a change in the method. The latter notion describes the state when the interpreting archaeologist has no practical experience with the method used in the excavation that is being interpreted. When all three conditions are met – a long time has passed since the excavation, the absence of excavators, and a change in the method – the excavation archive transforms from information to data[1] and at that point one is faced with an archival excavation. In archaeological practice, this change is often reflected

[1] **Data** is the facts or details from which **information** is derived. Individual pieces of data are rarely useful alone. For data to become information, it needs to be put into context.

V nadaljevanju so v 3 sklopih opisana orodja oziroma metode, ki smo jih uporabili pri analizi arhivskih izkopavanj na Blejskem otoku.

3.3.1 UMESTITEV V PROSTOR

Temelj za morfometrične analize najdišča je poenotenje prostorskih podatkov v enotno prostorsko podatkovno zbirko (tako imenovano geodatabazo). To smo implementirali v okolju[1] GIS v koordinatnem sistemu D96/TM. Umestitev podatkov izkopavanj v prostor temelji na 68 risbah tlorisov (glej zgoraj). Te so bile risane v relativnih koordinatnih mrežah, ki so bile postavljene *ad hoc* za vsako izkopno polje posebej. Mreža kvadrantov, ki na skupnem načrtu pokriva celotno območje izkopavanj z enotno mrežo kvadrantov (*sl. 3.2*), je nastala v poizkopavalni analizi in za dokumentiranje na terenu ni bila uporabljena.

Za analizo smo pridobili fotografije koloriranih prerisov terenskih risb. Šestnajst fotografij risb z grobovi smo pridobili v polni ločljivosti, ostale pa v zmanjšani ločljivosti, shranjene z uporabo destruktivnega stiskanja (*angl*. lossy compression). Pri slednjih je bila berljivost številk in črk močno otežena ali celo ni bila mogoča. Metoda fotografiranja risb nam ni natančno znana, niti nismo imeli dostopa do metapodatkov; imamo le podatek, da je bila uporabljena izjemno kakovostna oprema in opravljena korekcija distorcije fotografskih leč s programom Adobe Photoshop. V takih okoliščinah dodatne korekcije niso smotrne.

Pri umeščanju tlorisov v absolutni koordinatni sistem smo najprej preizkusili metodo, ki smo jo razvili za sočasna arheološka izkopavanja grobišča Župna cerkev v Kranju. Metoda temelji na rekonstrukciji mreže kvadrantov, v katero so vpete posamezne arheološke risbe (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 25–26). Vendar ta metoda pri obravnavanem gradivu ni bila zadovoljiva, saj so se pojavljale napake metrskega velikostnega razreda (*sl. 3.5*). Merska analiza je pokazala, da napaka narašča zvezno z razdaljo od vsakokratnega izhodišča meritev. Dodatna okoliščina je, da kvadranti, vrisani na risbah izkopnega polja 1/1, te napake nimajo. Mrežo kvadrantov so namreč zakoličili le v izkopnem polju severno od cerkve,[2] a fizično količkov niso vzdrževali; te so nadomestili z napenjanjem vrvic (*sl. 3.6*). V nadaljevanju so količenje povsem opustili. Za meritve pri risanju večjih površin so zato uporabljali merilni okvir lastne izdelave (*sl. 3.7*), pri risanju v utesnjenih prostorih cerkvene notranjosti pa so uporabljali neke vrste improvizirano kartografsko mizo ter se mersko opirali na arhitekturne elemente (*sl. 1.22*).

[1] ArcGIS 10.5, modul ArcMap.

[2] Terenski dnevnik za leto 1962, inv. št. NMS AO 480, str. 15–16.

by the use of the expression *excavation archive* instead of *excavation documentation*.

The method of interpreting archival excavations can be roughly divided into four stages (*cf*. Štular 2008; Pleterski 2008a, especially 27–40; Štular 2009, especially 39–46):

– inventorying the archive,
– informatisation of the archive,
– data analysis, and
– archaeological interpretation.

The first two steps can be described as an analysis of the archive. Compared to non-archival excavations, they are additional stages in which the basic methods of historiography are used (Grafenauer 1960, for instance, gives a concise description of a method that is still relevant for our purpose). The last step does not differ from the archaeological interpretation of non-archival excavations. The tools for the analysis of information from archival excavations, however, differ from the standard methods. The standard tools must be enhanced with additional procedures aimed at "translating" archival data into the information suitable for modern tools. This process is easily demonstrated with the example of spatial data: in modern excavations, spatial data is already georeferenced in a modern absolute coordinate system; but additional steps are needed when dealing with archival excavations, so that archival data (for example plan drawings oriented on excavation grid) can be georeferenced and transformed into spatial information (GIS database positioned in a modern coordinate system).

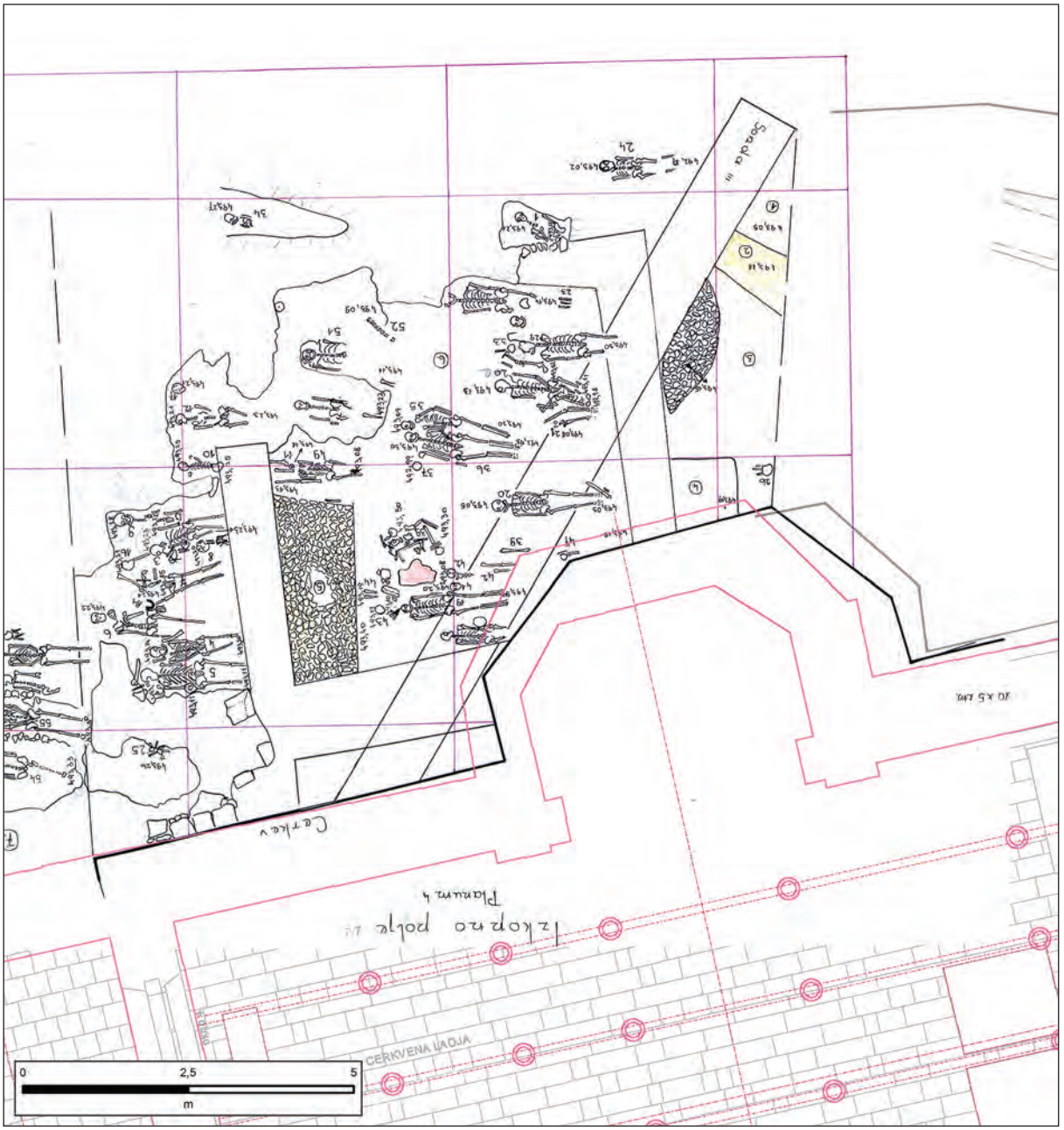
The following three segments describe the tools and methods used in the analysis of the archival excavations on Bled Island.

3.3.1 GEOREFERENCING

The basis for morphometric analyses of a site is merging the spatial data into a single geodatabase. This was implemented in the GIS environment,[2] in the D96/TM coordinate system. First, the data from the excavations was georeferenced. Sixty eight plan drawings (see above) were generated in several relative coordinate systems, designed *ad hoc* for each excavation area separately. An amalgamated plan drawing was created during the post-excavation analysis using yet another grid of quadrants – one not used for recording data in the field – covering the entire area of the excavations (*Fig. 3.2*).

Photographs of coloured copies of plan drawings were acquired for our analysis. Sixteen photographs of plan drawings that included graves were acquired in full resolution; the rest of the photographs had been saved in a lossy compression format and in diminished resolution. The numbers and letters in these photographs, were poorly or not at all legible. The exact method of photo-

[2] ArcGIS 10.5, ArcMap module.

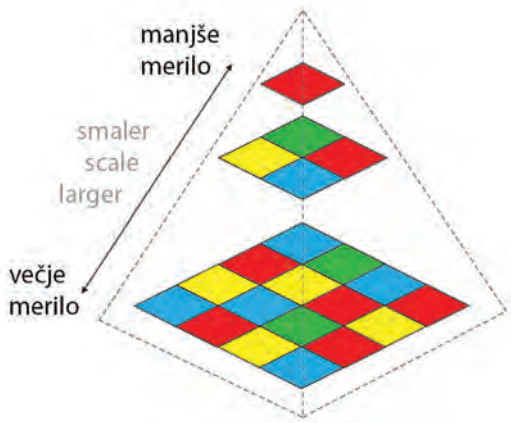


Sl. 3.5: Blejski otok, risbe grobov severno od sedanje cerkve umeščene v prostor z metodo rekonstrukcije mreže kvadrantov. Napaka je razvidna iz razlik med geodetskim posnetkom sedanje cerkvene stavbe (rdeče) in izrisoma cerkvene stavbe na dveh načrtih izkopavanja 1962–1964 (črno, sivo); načrt je orientiran glede na geografski sever (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 3.5: Bled Island, plan drawings of graves north of the present-day church georeferenced using the grid-reconstruction method. Georeferencing residual error is discernible by comparing the modern plan of the present-day church (red) with that of two plans from the 1962–1964 excavation (black, grey); plan drawing is oriented to north (by B. Štular).

→

Sl. 3.7: Blejski otok, pogled na izkopno polje severno od sedanje cerkve, kjer so za meritve pri risanju večjih površin uporabljali merilni okvir lastne izdelave (vir: arhiv NMS OA negativ št. 8531).
Fig. 3.7: Bled Island, a view of the trench north of the present-day church; during the plan drawing measurements were taken using a self-made measurement device (source: NMS archive OA film No. 8531).

Sl. 3.6: Blejski otok, pogled na izkopno polje severno od sedanje cerkve, kjer so po odstranitvi označevalnih količkov kvadranti označeni z vrvicami (vir: arhiv NMS OA negativ št. 5839).
Fig. 3.6: Bled Island, a view of the trench north of the present-day church; after the removal of the grid-stakes the grid was marked with strings (source: NMS archive OA film No. 5839).



Sl. 3.8: Shematični prikaz delovanja metode rastrskih piramid (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 3.8: Scheme of the raster pyramid method (by B. Štular).

Na podlagi povedanega in ob upoštevanju tedanje metodologije dokumentiranja planumov (Šribar 1969; Šribar 1974; Šribar 1976; Šribar 1977; Šribar 1981) sklepamo, da so pri vseh merilnih metodah nastajale sistematične napake, kjer napaka narašča z razdaljo od merskega izhodišča. Zato smo risbe umestili v prostor z metodo, ki smo jo razvili za umeščanje historičnih zemljevidov, pri izdelavi katerih so se zaradi uporabe kartografske mize pojavljale istovrstne napake (Štular 2010; prim. Conolly, Lake 2006, 86–89). Uporabo te metode je omogočilo dvoje:

– srečna okoliščina, da so bila izkopavanja v cerkvi in tik ob njej, ta pa od izkopavanj ni doživela strukturnih gradbenih posegov, in

– dejstvo, da so pri risanju upoštevali pravila dobre prakse in na vsako risbo vrisali vsaj 1 zid cerkvene stavbe z vsaj 2 vogaloma.

Tako je mogoče vsako risbo umestiti v prostor glede na relativen položaj do cerkvene stavbe.

Ker nismo imeli na voljo dovolj natančnega geodetskega posnetka cerkve, ki bi bil umeščen v koordinatni sistem D96/TM, smo uporabili metodo rastrskih piramid, s katero na podatek majhnega merila postopno umeščamo podatke v čedalje natančnejšem merilu (*sl. 3.8*; prim. Spletni vir 1). Uporabljeni podatki glede na merilo od najmanjšega so:

– procesirani in vizualizirani lidarski podatki (postopek po Štular, Lozić 2016; procesiranje E. Lozić[3]),

– digitalni ortofoto posnetek DOF025,

– geodetski posnetek cerkve iz leta 2009,

– arheološke risbe.

Lidarske podatke smo uporabili za izdelavo 2,5-razsežnega modela cerkvene stavbe. Digitalni ortofoto posnetek DOF025 je štirikrat natančnejši, a je zaradi

[3] Na tem mestu se zahvaljujem E. Lozić za procesiranje in vizualizacijo lidarskih podatkov.

graphing the drawings is unknown and we had no access to the metadata; the only available piece of information was that high-quality equipment had been used and that that the correction of camera lens distortion had been applied in Adobe Photoshop software. In such circumstances it would not be advantageous for us to apply any further corrections.

In order to georeference plan drawings in the absolute coordinate system, the method previously developed for the archaeological excavations of the Župna cerkev cemetery in Kranj was first tested. The method is based on a reconstructed grid of quadrants, onto which individual archaeological drawings are georeferenced (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 25–26). This method, however, did not yield satisfactory results, due to errors in the order of metres (*Fig. 3.5*). The analysis of the results demonstrated that the error in the original drawings increased with the distance from each starting point of the grid set up in the field. Furthermore, this error does not occur in the grid drawn in the plan drawings of Excavation area 1/1. This was because the aforementioned grid was laid out with stakes only in the excavation area north of the church,[3] but the stakes were not maintained and were replaced by strings (*Fig. 3.6*). Laying out the grid with stakes was later dropped altogether. A self-constructed measuring device (*Fig. 3.7*) was therefore used for taking measurements for plan drawings. An improvised protractor was used in the confined church interior, where architectural elements were used as the basis of measurements (*Fig. 1.22*).

On the basis of what has been said, and taking into account the then methods of recording plan drawings (Šribar 1969; Šribar 1974; Šribar 1976; Šribar 1977; Šribar 1981), it can be inferred that there were systematic errors with all measurement methods, and that the error increased with the distance from the starting (zero) point of the measurement grid. The same types of systematic errors occurred in nineteenth century maps due to the use of the protractor. The plan drawings were therefore georeferenced in GIS using the method developed for georeferencing historical maps (Štular 2010; *cf.* Conolly, Lake 2006, 86–89). The use of this method was possible due to:

– the fortunate circumstance that the excavations were conducted in the interior and the immediate vicinity of a church that has undergone no structural construction works since the excavations, and

– the fact that rules of good practice were followed and each plan drawing includes at least one church wall with at least two corners.

Each plan drawing could thus be georeferenced based on its position relative to the church building.

Since a sufficiently detailed geodetic plan of the church, which could be incorporated into the D96/TM coordinate system, was not available, we used the raster pyramids method, where a small-scale piece of information is gradually upgraded by pieces of information of

[3] Field journal for 1962, inv. no. NMS AO 480, pp. 15–16.

poševne perspektive uporaben samo za južno steno. Te podatke smo uporabili, da smo v državni koordinatni sistem D96/TM (Berk, Boldin 2017) umestili geodetski posnetek cerkvene stavbe. Ta pomeni izhodišče za umeščanje arheoloških risb izkopavanj na Blejskem otoku v omenjeni absolutni koordinatni sistem.

S to metodo je mogoče umestiti v prostor vsako risbo posebej. Vendar je za arheološko analizo prostorske dokumentacije ujemanje med posameznimi planumi pomembnejše od absolutne napake umestitve posamezne risbe. Že vizualen pregled risb je pokazal, da so risarji uporabili še eno pravilo dobre prakse, po katerem se fiksne točke v prostoru – v tem primeru cerkvene zidove – izmeri le prvič in se jih na nadaljnje planume ali tlorise preriše. Zato smo za vsako izkopno polje le prvega izmed planumov "vpeli" na cerkev z opisano metodo. Ostale planume smo "prilepili" na prvega. Povedano drugače, v prostor smo jih umestili na podlagi fiksnih točk prvega planuma namesto fiksnih točk geodetskega načrta. S to metodo smo dosegli največje možno ujemanje med posameznimi planumi. Pri tem smo uporabili transformacijo, ki ne popači notranjih razmerij na posameznem načrtu, temveč prilagaja le položaj celotnega načrta.[4] Uporabljeni postopek umeščanja načrtov v absolutni koordinatni sistem je torej optimiziran za čim manjše popačenje notranjih razmerij na posameznem načrtu in čim boljše medsebojno ujemanje planumov.

Po opisani metodi smo umestili v prostor vseh 68 planumov. Prednost dela v okolju GIS je združevanje načrtov iz različnih izkopnih polj, tekoče prehajanje med planumi in delo v absolutnem koordinatnem prostoru. Zato v nadaljevanju prispevka ne uporabljamo delovnih oznak izkopnih polj ipd.

V nadaljnjem postopku smo za potrebe prostorske analize vektorizirali vse zidove, tlake in vkope. Obliko v tlorisu smo dobili tako, da smo obrisali meje elementov v dvorazsežnem (2R) okolju GIS. Vektoriziranje smo izvajali v merilu 1 : 20. S tem smo dosegli enotno natančnost vektoriziranja, ki je primerljiva z natančnostjo zajemanja podatkov, torej prvotnega risanja tlorisov. Osnovni namen vektoriziranja je bil omogočiti stratigrafsko analizo v 2R-okolju GIS (glej spodaj).

Dodatno smo elementom, ki so imeli podatek o nadmorski višini, tega pripisali kot atribut. To omogoča prikaz vsakega elementa v 3R-prostoru. Vendar so elementi prikazani horizontalno, saj je bila večinoma izmerjena le po 1 višina za vsak element. Ne gre torej za dejanski 3R-model, saj bi za to potrebovali približno 1000-krat več meritev višin. Kljub temu simulacija elementov v 3R-prostoru omogoča vtis o medsebojnem odnosu posameznih elementov v prostoru, tudi tistih, ki so bili izkopani v različnih sezonah (*sl. 3.9*).

[4] Programski paket ArcGIS 10.5, orodje *Georeferencing*, transformacija 1. reda, to je prilagajanje (angl. *affine*).

ever more detailed scale (*Fig. 3.8*; *cf*. Internet source 1). From the smallest to the largest scale, the following data was used:

– processed and visualised airborne lidar data (procedure after Štular, Lozić 2016; processing by E. Lozić[4]),
– DOF025 digital orthophoto image,
– geodetic plan of the church from 2009,
– archaeological drawings.

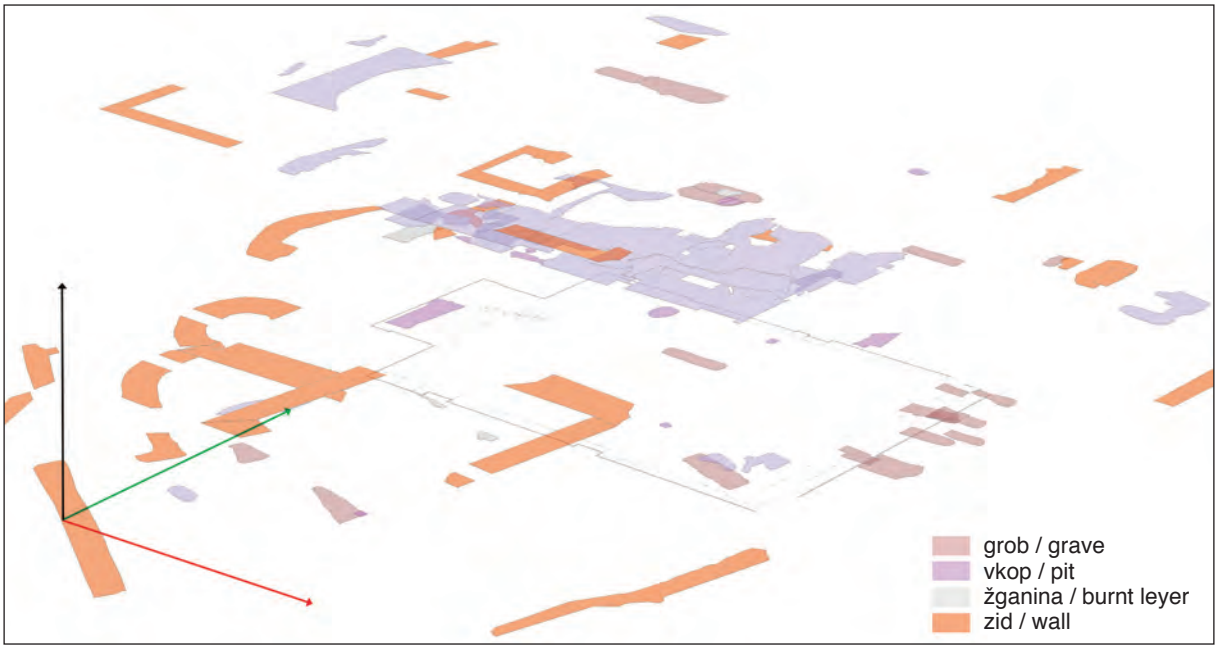
Airborne lidar data were used to create a 2.5-dimensional model of the church. A DOF025 digital orthophoto image is four times more accurate, but due to its oblique perspective, its usefulness is limited to the southern wall. This data was used to georeference the geodetic plan of the church (Berk, Boldin 2017) in the D96/TM national coordinate system. The latter is the starting point for georeferencing the archaeological drawings from the Bled Island excavations in the above-mentioned absolute coordinate system.

In this method, each drawing is georeferenced independent of each other. For the archaeological analysis of spatial documentation, however, the accuracy of matches between individual drawings is more important than the absolute georeferencing error of individual drawings. Therefore, another tweak to the method was necessary. A visual inspection of the drawings showed that another rule of good practice was followed in the field: fixed points in space – church walls in this case – were measured only once and were copied into later plan drawings. Therefore, for each excavation area, only the first of the plan drawings was "projected" onto the church using the above-mentioned method. The rest of the plan drawings were "attached" to the first one; in other words, the first plan drawing was georeferenced on the fixed points of the church and the rest on the fixed points of the first planum. Using this method, the maximum possible match between individual plan drawings was achieved. The transformation used in this process was of the type that does not distort the internal proportions of an individual plan, but only adapts the position of the plan as a whole.[5] The procedure used for georeferencing plan drawings in the absolute coordinate system is thus optimised to achieve the lowest possible distortion of the internal proportions of an individual plan while achieving the optimal overall accuracy.

All 68 plan drawings were georeferenced using the above method. Working in the GIS environment enables advantages such as combining plans from different excavation areas, smooth transitions between various plan drawings, and working in the absolute coordinate system and therefore, no labels of excavation areas etc. are used in the continuation of this contribution.

[4] The author would like to thank Edisa Lozić for the processing and visualisation of the lidar data.

[5] ArcGIS 10.5 software package, the *Georeferencing* tool, transformation of the 1st order, i.e. *affine*.



Sl. 3.9: Blejski otok, aksonometrična projekcija izbranih stratigrafskih elementov: grobov, vkopov, žganine in zidov. Višinske razlike so prikazane z 10-kratnim pretiravanjem (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 3.9: Bled Island, axonometric projection of selected stratigraphic contexts: graves, pits, burnt layers, and walls. Height-differences are shown at 10x scale (by B. Štular).

Tako pripravljeni podatki omogočajo tudi prostorsko analizo grobišča. Za potrebe teh analiz smo posamezne grobove obravnavali kot točke. Grobovi, pri katerih je mogoče rekonstruirati lego glave, so označeni s točko na mestu atlasa, to je stika glave in vratu. Pri slabše ohranjenih grobovih je točka postavljena v geometrično središče ohranjenih ostankov.

Tam, kjer je risarsko dokumentirana ohranjenost skeleta dopuščala, smo izmerili kartografski azimut na stopinjo natančno. Izmerjen je torej odklon od severa v državnem koordinatnem sistemu D96 v Mercatorjevi projekciji, ki ga ne gre zamenjevati z astronomskim azimutom.

Prostorske analize smo opravili v okolju GIS,[5] posamezni algoritmi pa so opisani v analizi.

3.3.2 GEOMORFOLOGIJA OTOKA

Otok na Blejskem jezeru je bil predvsem v zadnjih stoletjih močno preoblikovan. Glavna poteza današnje oblike otoka je baročna cerkvena arhitektura s ploščadjo okoli cerkve in stopniščem, ki se na južni strani cerkve spušča do obale (*sl. 3.10*). Za arheološko analizo je zato izjemnega pomena pridobiti čim več podatkov o geomorfologiji otoka pred opisanimi arhitekturnimi posegi.

In the further process, all walls, pavements, and cuts were vectorised for the spatial analysis. The shape in plan view was acquired by outlining the elements in a two-dimensional (2D) GIS environment. Vectorisation was conducted at a scale of 1:20. A uniform accuracy of vectorisation was thus achieved, which is comparable to the accuracy of original plan drawings. The primary purpose of the vectorisation was to allow for a stratigraphic analysis in a 2D GIS environment (see below).

If the contexts contained elevation data this was included as an attribute, thus allowing the display of each context in 3D-space. The individual contexts, however, are displayed horizontally, because in most of the cases only one elevation measurement per context was recorded. The result is therefore not a proper 3D model, which would require approximately 1000 times more elevation measurements. The simulation of the elements in 3D-space nevertheless provides an idea of the relationships between individual elements in space, including the elements excavated in different years (*Fig. 3.9*).

The data thus prepared allowed for a spatial analysis of the cemetery. For the purpose of the spatial analysis, graves were treated as points. The graves in which the position of the head could be reconstructed are represented with a point positioned at the *atlas*, i.e. the joint between the head and the neck. Poorly preserved graves are mapped with the point placed at the geometric centre of the surviving remains.

[5] ESRI ArcGIS Desktop 10.5.

Sl. 3.10: Blejski otok, pogled z obale na zahodno stran otoka (foto A. Pleterski).
Fig. 3.10: Bled Island, view from the shore to the western part of the island (photo A. Pleterski).

Planumska izkopavanja seveda ne omogočajo rekonstrukcije posameznih stratigrafskih enot in s tem metrične rekonstrukcije posameznih hodnih površin po celotni površini. V pomoč bi lahko bili sistematično dokumentirani *kontrolni preseki*, ki jih žal ni. Zato smo razvili metodo fuzije podatkov o skalni osnovi na območju pod cerkveno ploščadjo in podatkov o višini modernih tal izven tega območja. Pri tem smo se oprli na 2 podatka:

– rekonstrukcijo površine skalne osnove znotraj izkopnih polj in

– podatek, da je bila hodna površina severno od današnje cerkve v času nastanka grobišča do 1 m nad skalno osnovo (*sl. 3.4*).

Iz risb tlorisov smo pridobili 136 meritev absolutne nadmorske višine skalne osnove (*sl. 3.11*). Žal so višine skalne osnove neposredno merili le izjemoma. Neposrednih meritev je tako zgolj 63. Z interpretacijo tlorisov smo lahko pridobili še 50 posrednih meritev in 23 rekonstruiranih meritev. Med prve sodijo npr. meritve plasti zemlje v neposredni bližini skalne osnove, med druge pa npr. meritve skeleta, ki leži neposredno na

When the drawings of the skeleton allowed for this, the cartographic azimuth was measured to an accuracy of one degree. It is the deviation from the north in the D96 national coordinate system in the Mercator projection that was measured, which should not be confused with the astronomical azimuth.

The spatial analysis was conducted in a GIS environment[6] and individual algorithms are described in the analysis.

3.3.2 GEOMORPHOLOGY OF THE ISLAND

The island in Lake Bled has been significantly transformed, especially in the last few centuries. The main feature of the present-day island is a baroque church surrounded by a platform, with a staircase descending to the shore on the southern side (*Fig. 3.10*). For archaeological analysis it is therefore paramount to acquire all possible information on the geomorphology of the island prior to these changes.

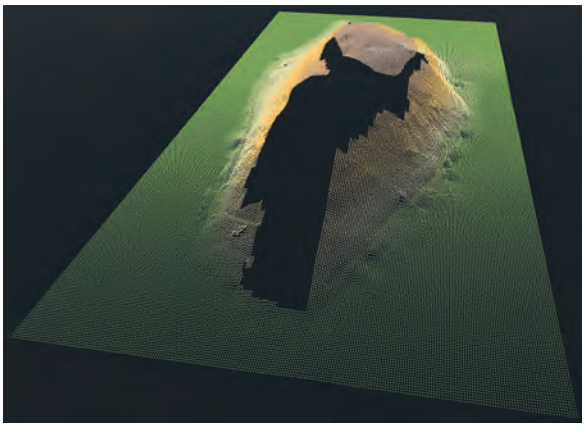
[6] ESRI ArcGIS Desktop 10.5.

Sl. 3.11: Blejski otok, lega meritev nadmorskih višin skalne osnove: 1 – neposredna meritev; 2 – posredna meritev; 3 – rekonstruirana meritev; 4 – meja izkopnega polja; 5 – obstoječi zid; 6 – neizkopano ali uničeno (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 3.11: Bled Island, location of above-sea-level measurements of the bedrock: 1 – direct measurement; 2 – indirect measurement; 3 – reconstructed measurement; 4 – excavation trench; 5 – existing wall; 6 – unexcavated or destroyed (by B. Štular).

skalni osnovi. Predvsem ti lahko od dejanskega stanja odstopajo tudi do 0,1 m, kar pa je glede na želeno merilo končnega rezultata zanemarljivo.

V naslednjem koraku smo znotraj območja meritev interpolirali površino z osnovno celico 1 m. V tovrstnih primerih statistične analize kažejo, da je najuspešnejša metoda interpolacije *kriging* (Chaplot s sodelavci 2006). Zaradi majhnega števila meritev so bile za izračun vsake celice uporabljene vse meritve.

Arbitrary planum excavations do not allow for the reconstruction of individual stratigraphic contexts, and thus a reconstruction of individual occupation surfaces over the entire area. Systematically recorded sample sections could be helpful, but unfortunately, they do not exist. We therefore developed a method that allows for a fusion of the recorded elevation data for the bedrock under the baroque platform with airborne lidar data of the surrounding area. We drew upon two pieces of information:



Sl. 3.12: Blejski otok, oblak talnih točk nepozidanega dela otoka (avtorica E. Lozić po metodi Štular, Lozić 2016; vir: zračno lasersko skeniranje Slovenije, eVode; http://gis.arso.gov.si/evode/profile.aspx?id=atlas_voda_Lidar@Arso; uporabljeni so podatki v koordinatnem sistemu D96/TM).
Fig. 3.12: Bled Island, point cloud of ground points of the unbuilt area (by E. Lozić, method after Štular, Lozić 2016; source: airborna laser scaning of Slovenia, eVode; http://gis.arso.gov.si/evode/profile.aspx?id=atlas_voda_Lidar@Arso, D96/TM coordinate system).

Podatek o današnjih tleh izven območja cerkvene ploščadi smo pridobili z analizo lidarskih podatkov (za metodo glej Štular, Lozić 2016; analiza E. Lozić). Ker je bil arheološko dokumentiran le manjši del cerkvene ploščadi, za razmeroma veliko površino nimamo nikakršnih podatkov (*sl. 3.12*).

Primerjava obeh virov podatkov je pokazala, da je ocena o hodni površini približno 1 m nad skalno osnovo, do katere smo prišli z analizo arheoloških presekov, zadovoljiva. To pomeni, da so bili po združitvi vseh podatkov prehodi med obema območjema tekoči. Zato smo rekonstruirani površini skalne osnove prišteli 1 m.

V zadnjem koraku smo podatke obeh območij združili v enoten oblak točk in z interpolacijo *kriging* izdelali digitalni model površine (DMP) za celoten otok tako (*sl. 3.13*).

Ta rekonstrukcija po našem mnenju solidno odraža geomorfologijo otoka v času pred poznosrednjeveškimi in posrednjeveškimi gradbenimi posegi. Najvišja točka otoka je bila na mestu, kjer danes stoji zvonik. Stopnice, ki danes vodijo do cerkve iz južne strani otoka, so bile zgrajene na koridorju, ki je že prej omogočal najlažji dostop na vrh. Edini razmeroma izravnan prostor na celotnem otoku je bila manjša ravnina na prostoru severnega dela današnje cerkvene ladje in tik severno od nje.

– the reconstruction of the bedrock surface inside the excavation areas, and

– the information that at the time of the foundation of the cemetery, the occupation surface north of the present-day church was up to 1 m above the bedrock (*Fig. 3.4*).

One hundred and thirty-six elevation measurements of the bedrock were acquired from the plan drawings (*Fig. 3.11*). Unfortunately, the elevation of the bedrock was only rarely directly measured and there were only 63 direct measurements. Interpretation of the plan drawings furthermore made it possible to acquire 50 indirect measurements and 23 reconstructed measurements. The former include, for example, the measurements of soil layers in the immediate vicinity of the bedrock, while the latter include, for example, the measurements of skeletons lying directly on the bedrock. The latter especially can deviate from the actual situation by as much as 0.1 m, which is, however, negligible, given the required scale of the final result.

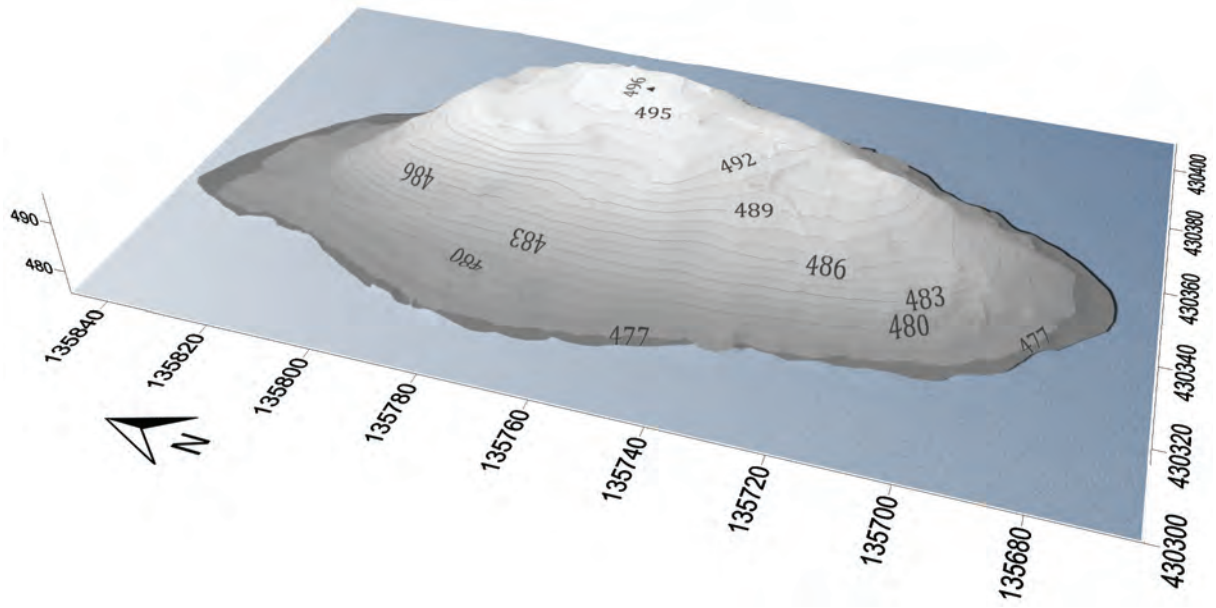
The next step was to interpolate the area with the basic cell of 1 m within the area of the measurements. Statistical analysis shows that in such cases, the most successful method of interpolation is kriging (Chaplot et al. 2006). Due to the small number of measurements, the value for each cell was calculated based on all measurements.

The information on the present-day surface outside the area of the church platform was acquired through the analysis of airborne lidar data (for the method see: Štular, Lozić 2016; analysis: E. Lozić). Since only a small part of the church platform has been archaeologically recorded, there is a relatively large surface without any data (*Fig. 3.12*).

By comparing both data sources, the estimation – based on the analysis of archaeological cross-sections, the occupation surface was about 1 m above the bedrock – was found to be satisfactory. This means that after the integration of all data, there were smooth transitions between the two areas. One metre was therefore added to the reconstructed surface of the bedrock.

In the last step, the data from both areas was fused into a uniform point cloud and then a digital surface model (DSM) was created for the entire island, using the *kriging* interpolation method (*Fig. 3.13*).

We believe that this reconstruction adequately reflects the geomorphology of the island before the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval construction works. The highest point of the island was where the bell tower stands today. The present-day staircase leading to the church from the southern side of the island was built in the location of an earlier corridor, which had allowed for the easiest access to the top. The only relatively level area on the entire island was a small flat surface in the area of the northern part of the present-day church nave and immediately to the north of it.



Sl. 3.13: Blejski otok, geomorfološka rekonstrukcija površine pred srednjeveškimi gradbenimi posegi. Aksonometrični pogled na 3-razsežni digitalni model površine; na abscisi in ordinati so koordinate državnega koordinatnega sistema, na osi z nadmorska višina (avtor B. Štular).

Fig. 3.13: Bled Island, geomorphologic reconstruction of the surface before medieval building activities. Axonometric 3D view of digital surface model; x, y and z axes are in D96/TM coordinate system (by B. Štular).

3.3.3 STRATIGRAFSKA ANALIZA

Ključno arheološko vprašanje na najdišču je odnos posameznih grobov do cerkvene stavbe. Zadovoljiv odgovor otežujeta na eni strani razmeroma majhno število zadovoljivo dokumentiranih najdb, tako znotraj kot tudi izven grobov, in na drugi strani kompleksna stavbna zgodovina. Pri delu s podatki modernih stratigrafskih izkopavanj je reševanje takšnih vprašanj rutinsko, pri analizi pol stoletja starih podatkov planumskih izkopavanj pač ne (prim. Štular 2008).

Edina možna metoda je stratigrafska analiza podatkov, čeprav so bila izkopavanja planumska. Osnova metode je enostavna: s primerjavo risb planumov, ki so v superpoziciji, prepoznati čim več stratigrafskih odnosov in iz njih zgraditi Harrisov diagram (prim. Mlekuž 2001). Če imamo na primer na planumu 11 tlak 23, ki se delno prekriva s tlakom 10 na nižjem planumu 12, je prvi nad drugim. Za vedno pa so izgubljeni stratigrafski odnosi na primer med sosednjima si tlakom 23 in nasutjem 15 na planumu 11 (*sl. 3.14*). Enako so seveda izgubljene vse sledi za vsemi tlaki in plastmi znotraj 0,5 m debelega režnja, ki niso bili dokumentirani na planumu (glej zgoraj).

Posamezni elementi so na vsakem planumu že oštevilčeni. Da bi razlikovali elemente med planumi, smo vsakemu dodali številko planuma. Zgoraj opisana tlaka, na primer, smo torej označili kot *11–23* in *12–10*.

3.3.3 STRATIGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

The key archaeological question about this site is the relationship between individual graves and the church buildings. Obtaining a satisfactory answer is made difficult on the one hand by a relatively small number of adequately recorded finds, both from the graves and from outside the graves, and on the other hand by the complex architectural history. While solving such questions is a routine matter for modern stratigraphic excavations, the analysis of half-a-century old data from arbitrary excavations is a different story (*cf.* Štular 2008).

Stratigraphic analysis of the data is the only possible method, even if the arbitrary method was used in the excavations. The principle of the method employed is simple: to recognise as many stratigraphic relationships as possible by comparing the plan drawings in superposition; these are then used to create a Harris matrix. If, for instance, Pavement 23 in Planum 11 partly overlaps with Pavement 10 in the lower Planum 12, the former is above the latter. Forever lost, though, is the stratigraphic relationship between, for example, the neighbouring Pavement 23 and Fill 15 in Planum 11 (*Fig. 3.14*). Similarly lost are all traces of pavements and layers inside the 0.5 m thick arbitrary levels that were not recorded in the plan drawings (see above).

Individual contexts are already numbered in existing plan drawings. To differentiate the contexts between

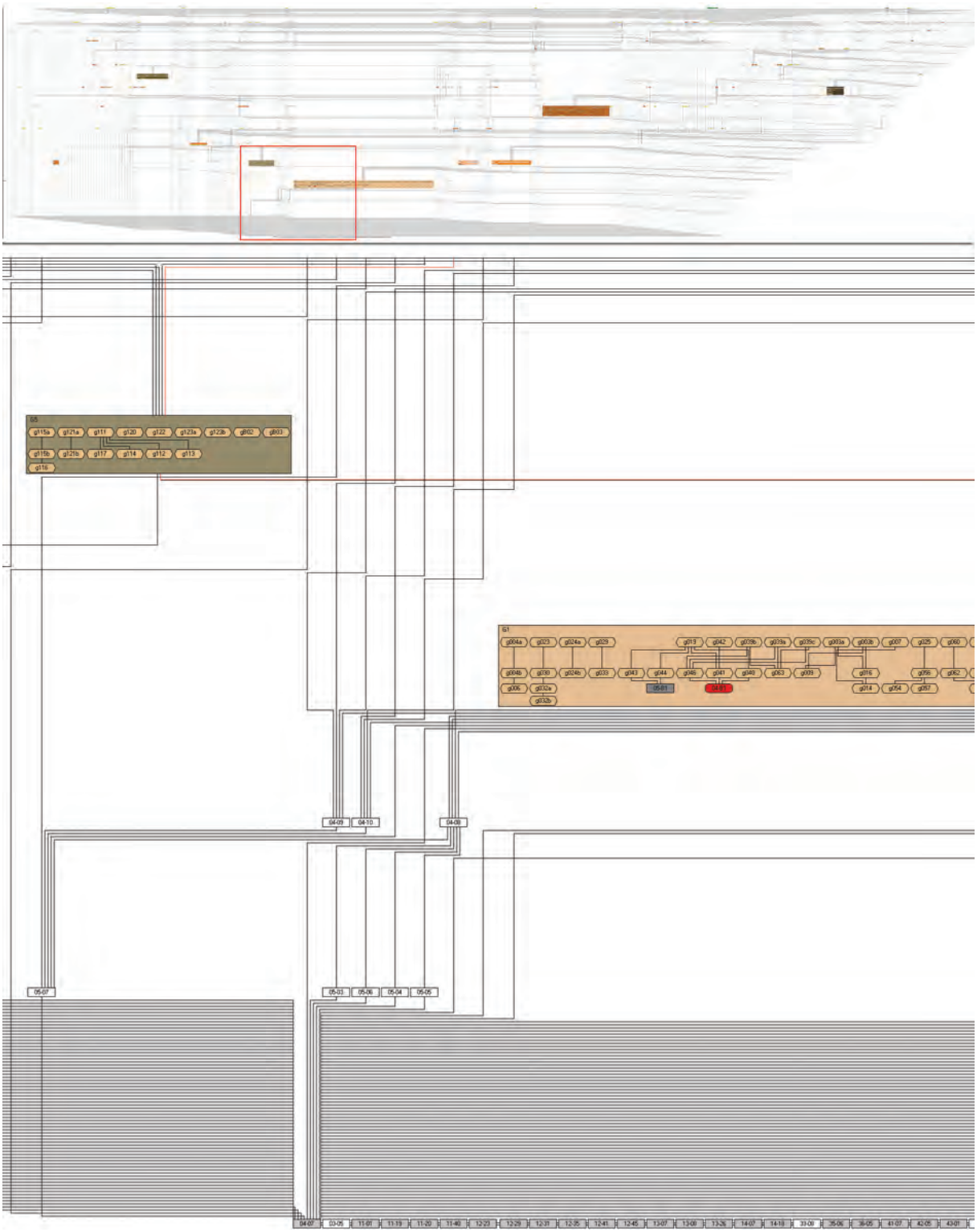
Sl. 3.14: Blejski otok, prekrivanje risb planumov 11 (sivo) in 12 (črno) iz notranjosti sedanje cerkve; načrt je orientiran proti kartografskemu severu (avtor B. Štular; vira: NMS AO Rn 222/11 in NMS AO Rn 222/12).
Fig. 3.14: Bled Island present-day church interior, overlay of plan drawings 11 (grey) and 12 (black); plan drawing is oriented to north (by B. Štular; sources: NMS AO Rn 222/11 and NMS AO Rn 222/12).

Zidovi na nekaterih planumih niso bili označeni. Te smo označili s številko planuma in zaporedno številko zidu, na primer *02-zid1*.

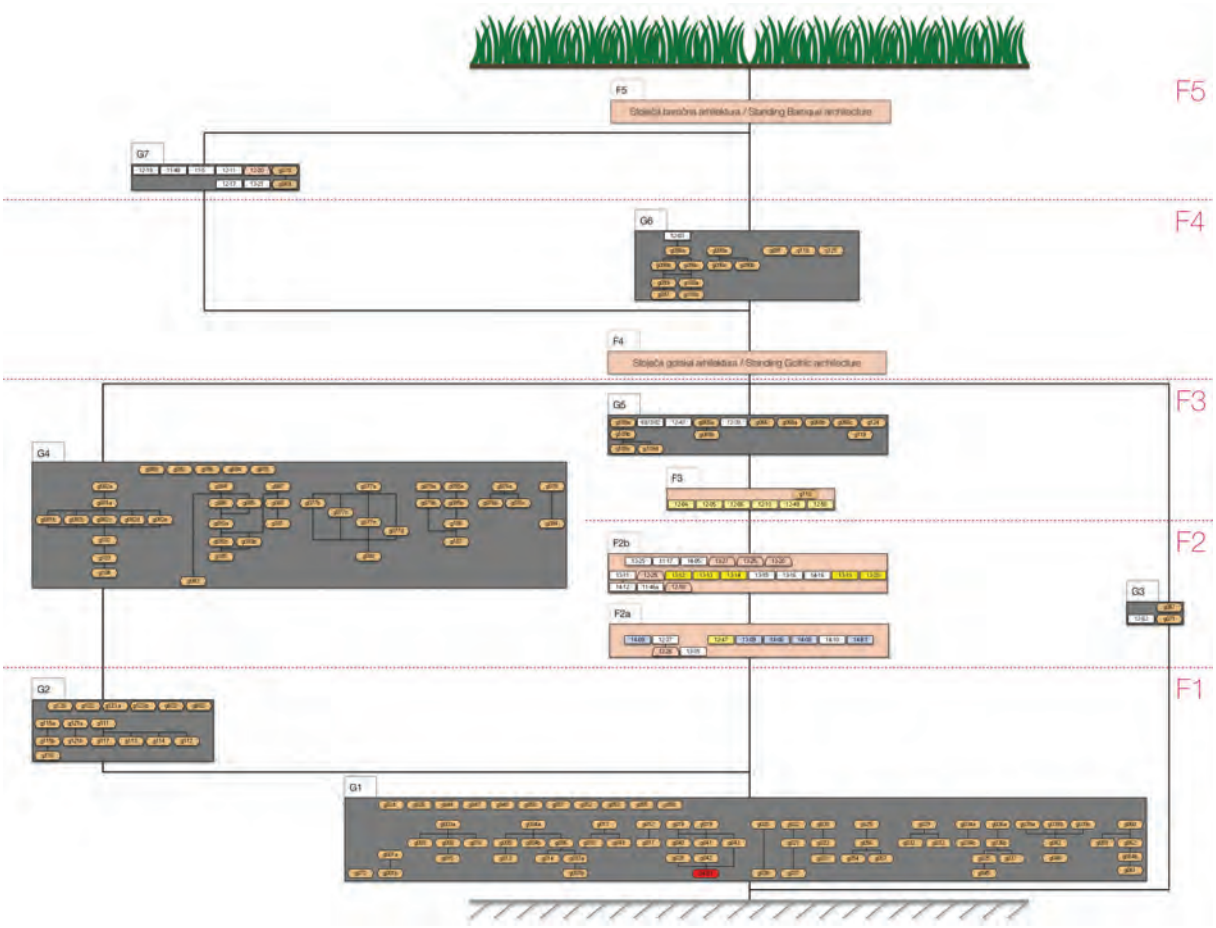
Vsak grob smo v matriko vnesli kot stratigrafsko skupino (prim. Herzog 2004, 10), kar je utemeljeno s podatki. Arheološki zapis vsakega vkopanega groba je seveda sestavljen najmanj iz vkopa, mejne površine s truplom in morebitnimi pridatki ter vsaj enega polnila. Vendar podatki izkopavanj Otoka ne razlikujejo med temi enotami: nikoli niso omenjena različna polnila

the drawings, each of them was additionally assigned the number of the drawing. The above-described pavements, for instance, were thus labelled *11–23* (No. 23 on plan drawing 11) and *12–10* (No. 10 on plan drawing 12).

Walls were not numbered in some of the drawings and were therefore labelled with the number of plan drawing and the number of wall, for example "*02_wall1*". Each of the graves was entered into the matrix as a stratigraphic group (*cf.* Herzog 2004, 10), which is justified by the data. The archaeological record of each grave is, of course,



Sl. 3.15: Blejski otok, Harrisov diagram, zgoraj celota, spodaj izrez (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 3.15: Bled Island, Harris matrix; entire matrix above, excerpt below (by B. Štular).



Sl. 3.16: Blejski otok, faziran diagram izbranih stratigrafskih skupin (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 3.16: Bled Island, Harris matrix of selected stratigraphic groups with stratigraphic phases (author B. Štular).

v posameznem grobu in le redko so omenjeni vkopi. Povedano drugače, vsak grob je bil dokumentiran kot stratigrafska skupina. Umetno drobljenje izvornega podatka na posamezne stratigrafske enote (vkop, polnilo, skelet), ki bi mu nujno sledilo združevanje v stratigrafske skupine, v tem primeru ni smiselno. Tako je vsak grob obdržal številčno oznako, ki so jo podelili izkopavalci in jo uporabljamo v katalogu grobov (glej pogl. 12.1), na primer *g001* ali grob 1. Kjer je iz dokumentacije (največkrat iz risb tlorisov) razvidno, da je z eno številko dokumentiranih več pokopov, smo oznaki dodali črke abecede (na primer *g082a* za skelet in oznake *g082b-e* za lobanje, potisnjene na rob grobne jame).

Tako smo dobili 688 stratigrafskih elementov (stratigrafskih enot ali stratigrafskih skupin), od tega 128 grobov, 213 vkopov, zidov, tlakov in hodnih površin ter 347 plasti. Tem stratigrafskim enotam smo določili 905 unikatnih stratigrafskih odnosov.

Stratigrafske odnose smo analizirali z računalniškim programom Stratify.[6] Gre za enega redkih programov

[6] Stratify 1.5, www.stratify.org

comprised of several stratigraphic contexts, at least the cut of the grave, the surface adjoining the dead body and the potential grave goods, and at least one fill. The data from the excavations on Bled Island, however, do not distinguish between these contexts: cuts are mentioned rarely, different fills in an individual grave, never. In other words, each grave was recorded as a stratigraphic group. The forced fragmentation of the original data into individual stratigraphic units (cut, fill, skeleton), inevitably followed by their integration into stratigraphic groups, is therefore not advantageous. Each grave thus kept the label it was assigned by the excavators and the same labels are used in the catalogue of graves (see Chapter 12.1), for example *g001* for Grave 1. Whenever the documentation (usually plan drawings) indicated that a single label was used for documenting multiple burials, the label was assigned alphabet letters (for example *g082a* for the skeleton and *g082b-e* for skulls, stacked at the edge of the grave pit).

The result was 688 stratigraphic elements (stratigraphic contexts or stratigraphic groups). They included 128 graves, 347 layers, and 213 cuts, walls, pavements,

mov, ki iz vnesenih posameznih stratigrafskih odnosov zgradi Harrisov diagram na podlagi matematičnih algoritmov (Herzog 2004). Poleg avtomatizacije izdelave diagrama med prednostmi programa lahko naštejemo sproten nadzor pravilnosti odnosov, upoštevanje dodatnih podatkov (absolutna datacija, lega v prostoru, globina itd.) in možnost združevanja stratigrafskih enot v stratigrafske skupine. Kot veliko slabost kaže izpostaviti grafično podobo končnega diagrama, ki je nepregledna in le težko berljiva (*sl. 3.15*).

Stratigrafska analiza je metodološko gledano količinska oziroma kvantitativna analiza: upoštevamo vse odnose, na končnem diagramu analiziramo položaj vsake stratigrafske enote v odnosu do vseh ostalih. Vendar so okoliščine stratigrafske analize najdišča Otok na Blejskem jezeru zahtevale drugačen pristop. Ključna je okoliščina, da poznamo le približno 13 odstotkov vseh stratigrafskih odnosov (glej zgoraj). Tako velike izgube podatkov ne moremo preprosto odmisliti; zavedajoč se, da manjka 87 odstotkov informacij, količinska analiza na podlagi matematičnih algoritmov ni smotrna. Poleg tega z izjemo najdb iz grobov – najdb ni mogoče umestiti v posamezne stratigrafske enote, zaradi česar bi kakršenkoli rezultat kvantitativne analize stratigrafije ne prinesel novih podatkov, temveč le dodatne informacije. Povedano drugače, s tem le povečamo informacijski šum (prim. informacija na *sl. 3.15* in podatek na *sl. 3.16*).

Zato smo se odločili za kakovostno oziroma kvalitativno analizo stratigrafije. Osredotočili smo se na grobove in tiste stavbne elemente (zidovi, tlaki, vkopi), ki so v neposrednem stratigrafskem stiku z osrednjo cerkveno stavbo. Grobove smo na podlagi lege v prostoru in znanih medsebojnih stratigrafskih odnosov združili v sedem stratigrafskih skupin (*sl. 3.16*). Podobno smo stavbne elemente združili v pet gradbenih faz.

and occupation surfaces. For these stratigraphic elements 905 unique stratigraphic relationships were recognised.

The stratigraphic relationships were analysed using the Stratify software.[7] In addition to the automatisation of the matrix creation process, the advantages of this software include constant checks on the correctness of the relationships, consideration of additional data (absolute date, position in space, depth, etc.), and the ability to integrate stratigraphic units into stratigraphic groups (Herzog 2004). A major drawback is the output of the final Harris matrix, which is a bitmap image that is hard to read (*Fig. 3.15*).

Methodologically stratigraphic analysis can be defined as a quantitative analysis: all the relationships are taken into account and the position of each stratigraphic element is analysed in relation to all others. The specific circumstances of the Bled Island site, however, called for a different approach. The fact that only about 13% of all stratigraphic relationships were recorded (see above) is crucial here. Such data loss cannot be simply ignored; when 87% of the information is missing, a quantitative analysis based on mathematical algorithms is not appropriate. Furthermore, the finds – with the exception of those from the graves – cannot be ascribed to individual stratigraphic elements, which means any result of the quantitative analysis of the stratigraphy would bring no new information, only additional data. In other words, this would only increase information noise.

We therefore decided to conduct a qualitative analysis of the stratigraphy. The focus was on the graves and on the architectural elements (walls, pavements, cuts) in direct stratigraphic contact with the central church building. On the basis of their position in space and the known stratigraphic relationships between them, the graves were divided into seven stratigraphic groups (*Fig. 3.16*). Similarly, the architectural elements were divided into five phases of construction.

[7] Stratify 1.5, www.stratify.org

4. STRATIGRAFIJA NAJDIŠČA

4. SITE STRATIGRAPHY

Benjamin ŠTULAR

4.1 UVOD

Šribar (1972, 390–391) je glede na lego v prostoru na grobišču določil *pet večjih pokopaliških skupin*, ki jih opiše takole:

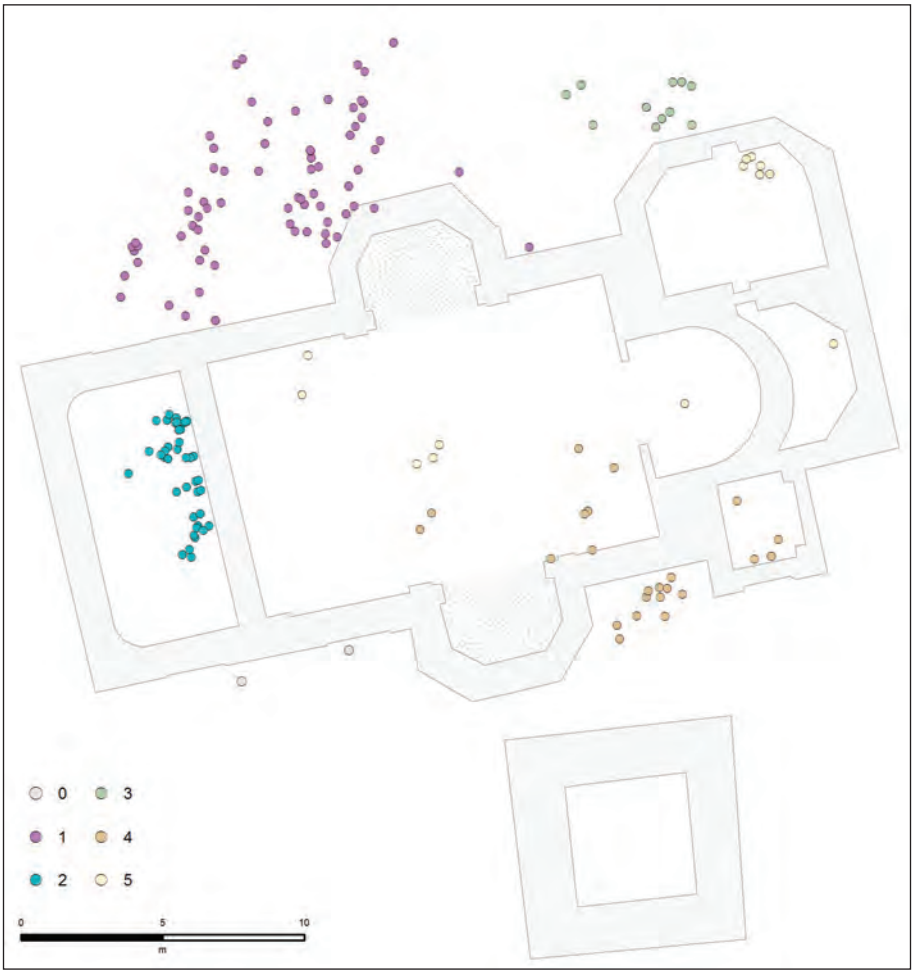
1. severno od baročne cerkve je približno 60 grobov razporejenih v šest nepravilnih vrst;
2. na prostoru tako imenovane cerkvene lope so grobovi v eni vrsti, nekateri s tremi kasnejšimi pokopi;

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Šribar (1972, 390–391) defined *five larger graveyard groups* with respect to their position in the cemetery, described as follows:

– to the north of the baroque church, there are approximately 60 graves in six irregular lines;

* Translation Meta Osredkar.



Sl. 4.1: Blejski otok, načrt Šribarjevih *pokopaliških skupin* 1 do 5 (avtor B. Štular)
Fig. 4.1: Bled Island, location of Šribar's *graveyard groups* 1 to 5 (by B. Štular).

3. v naravni kotanji je približno 10 grobov, ki so razporejeni od baročne ograje severno od velike zakristije do severovzhodnega dela baročnega prezbiterija;
4. grobovi znotraj cerkve so bili v jugovzhodnem vogalu ladje, v mali zakristiji ter v vogalu med južno steno ladje in vzhodno steno stranske kapele, približno osem grobov vključno z grobom št. 72;
5. ostali grobovi znotraj ladje in prezbiterija (*sl. 4.1*).

Te skupine je na podlagi *analize posameznih grobnih skupin* tudi kronološko opredelil: pokopavanje v skupini 1 se začne morda že pred postavitvijo *prve kapele*, zagotovo pa traja v času njene uporabe. V čas *prve kapele* sodita tudi skupini 4 in 5. V času *druge kapele* so nadaljevali pokopavanje v skupini 1, poleg tega pa tudi v skupini 5. Skupine 3 ni bilo mogoče časovno opredeliti.

Ker večina grobov nima pridatkov, stanje vede pa Šribarju še ni omogočalo dovolj natančne stratigrafske analize, je bilo opredeljevanje skupin povsem intuitivno. Predvsem to velja za relativno datiranje, ki je zato večidel napačno. Predvsem je Šribar močno precenil število zgodnjesrednjeveških na račun poznosrednjeveških in novoveških grobov.

Naše izhodišče za razumevanje najdišča je stratigrafska analiza in iz te izhajajoče stratigrafske skupine (*sl. 3.16*). Za pripadnost posamezni skupini je torej ključna stratigrafska bližina, lega v prostoru je drugotni kriterij.

Tako smo na grobišču določili 7 grobiščnih skupin (od G1 do G7) in 5 stratigrafskih faz (od F1 do F5; *sl. 4.2*):
1. grobišče, ki je starejše od najstarejše cerkvene stavbe (F1; G1, G2),
2. najstarejši cerkveni stavbi in sočasni grobovi (F2a, F2b; G3, G4),
3. tretja cerkvena stavba ter sočasni grobovi (F3; G4, G5),
4. četrta cerkvena stavba ter sočasni grobovi (F4; G6) in
5. še danes stoječa cerkvena stavba ter sočasni grobovi (F5; G7).

4.2 FAZA 1

V to fazo sodijo grobovi, ki so stratigrafsko starejši od severne fronte danes stoječe cerkvene stavbe (*sl. 4.3*). Gre najprej za grobove severozahodno od današnje cerkvene stavbe (*sl. 4.2*: G1). Ti grobovi so od ostalih ločeni s praznim prostorom in so v medsebojnem stratigrafskem stiku, ker jih prekrivajo 3 razmeroma enotne zemljene plasti (*03–07, 03–09, 03–10; 03–12; 03–16, 03–17, 03–18, 03–19*).

Stratigrafsko najstarejši element te faze je ognjišče v središču skupine grobov. Gre za *plast prepečene ilovice*, na zahodni strani obdane s *polkrožno zloženim kamenjem*. Med tem izstopa *kamen osamelec*, ki je tam stal ves čas kurjenja, *kajti barva humusa pod kamnom in okoli njega je svetlejša*. Izkopavalci so ognjišče razumeli kot prazgodovinsko, saj so ob izkopavanju ožgane zemlje

– in the area of the so-called church shed, there are graves in a single line, some of them with three later burials;
– approximately 10 graves are in a natural depression, lined from the baroque fence north of the large vestry to the northeastern part of the baroque presbytery;
– graves inside the church were located in the southeastern corner of the nave, in the small vestry, and in the corner between the southern wall of the nave and the eastern wall of the side chapel there were approximately 8 graves, including Grave 72;
– the rest of the graves inside the nave and the presbytery (*Fig. 4.1*).

Based on the *analysis of individual graveyard groups*, these groups were chronologically defined: burials in Group 1 perhaps started even before the construction of the *first chapel*, and certainly in the time of its use. Groups 4 and 5 also belong to the time of the *first chapel*. During the time of the *second chapel*, burials in Group 1 continued, and the same is true for Group 5. Group 3 could not be chronologically defined.

Since most of the graves contained no grave goods, and the state of the archaeological science did not allow Šribar to conduct a sufficiently detailed stratigraphic analysis, the groups were defined purely by intuition. This is particularly true for the relative chronology, which is mostly erroneous. Above all, Šribar greatly overestimated the number of Early Medieval graves at the expense of Late Medieval and Early Modern graves.

Our starting point for understanding the site is the stratigraphic analysis and the stratigraphic groups that are rooted in it (*Fig. 3.16*). Stratigraphic vicinity is the key criterion for belonging to a specific group, and position in space is only secondary.

Seven cemetery groups (from G1 to G7) and five stratigraphic phases (from F1 to F5; *Fig. 4.2*) were defined:
– the cemetery that is earlier that the earliest church building (F1; G1, G2),
– the two earliest church buildings and the contemporary graves (F2a, F2b; G3, G4),
– the third church building and the contemporary graves (F3; G4, G5),
– the fourth church building and the contemporary graves (F4; G6), and
– the church building that still stands today and the contemporary graves (F5; G7).

4.2 PHASE 1

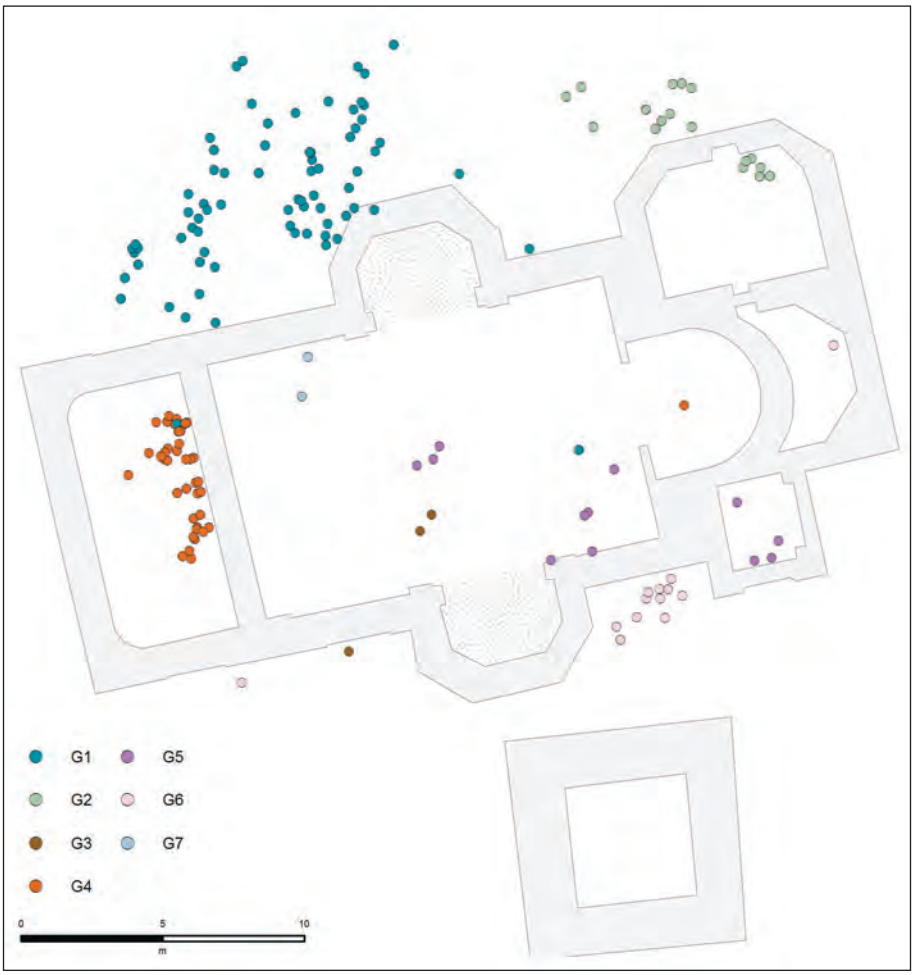
Phase 1 includes the graves that are stratigraphically earlier than the northern face of the still standing church building (*Fig. 4.3*). Firstly, these are the graves to the northwest of the present-day church building (*Fig. 4.2*: G1). Separated from the others by an empty area, these

naleteli na številne prazgodovinske najdbe (glej pogl. 1.4.1). Vendar so pri izkopavanju naredili sicer zelo pogosto napako s tem, da so prežgano zemljo obravnavali kot polnilo vkopa. V resnici so prazgodovinske najdbe del plasti oziroma polnila kotanje A, ognjišče pa je bilo zgrajeno in kurjeno **na** tej plasti. *Prepečena plast* je nastala zaradi vročine ognja, gledano s stališča plasti s prazgodovinskimi najdbami, v podepozicijskih procesih. Kurjenje ognja, stratigrafsko mejna površina, je torej mlajše od plasti s prazgodovinskimi najdbami; *prepečena plast* je del polnila kotanje A, ki je bil preoblikovan v podepozicijskih procesih (*sl. 4.4*). Je pa bilo ognjišče zagotovo uporabljeno že pred pokopi v nekaterih grobovih (št. 40, 41, 46), saj so v zasutju teh grobov kosi ožgane ilovice.

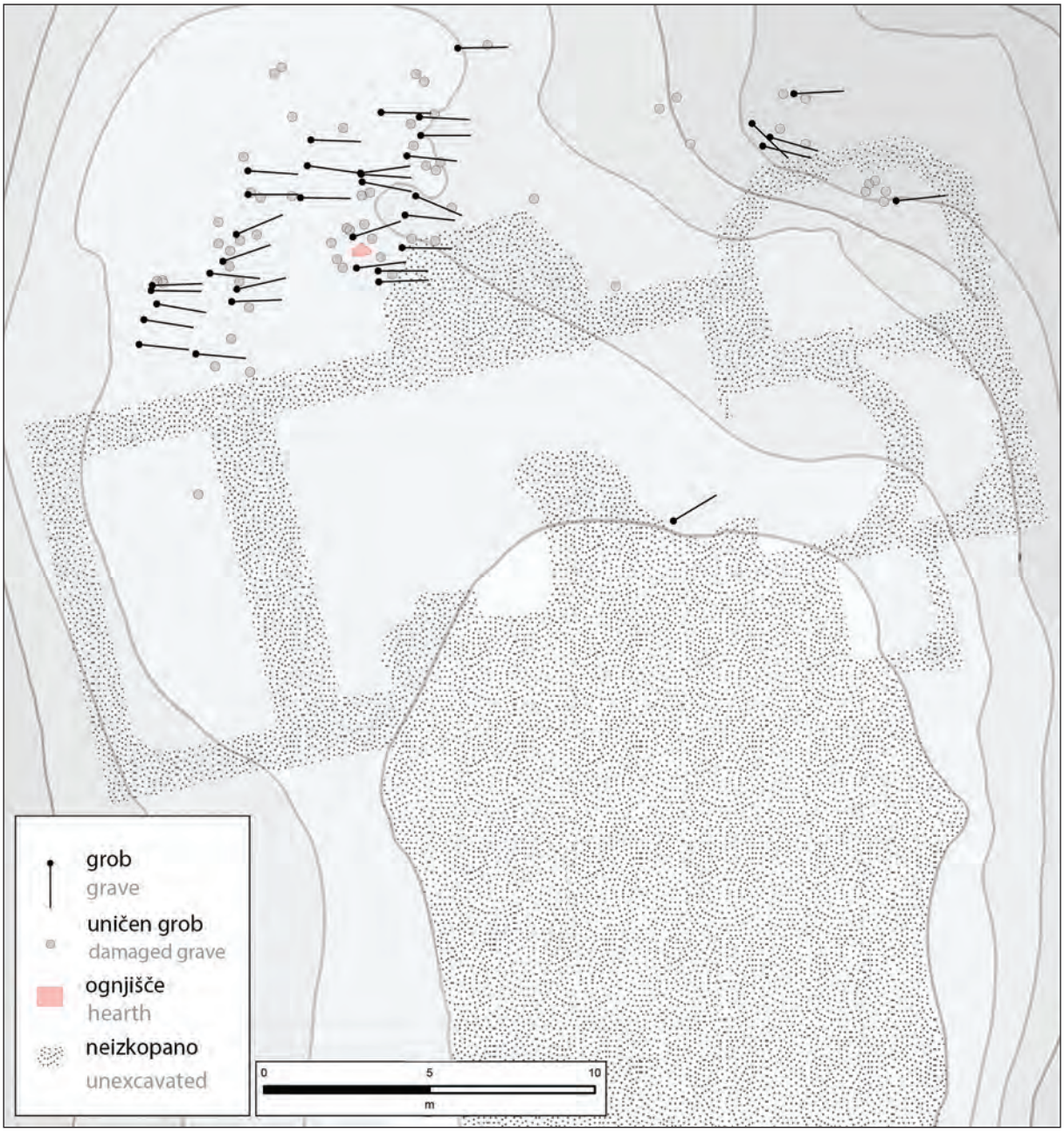
Stratigrafsko sočasna grobiščni skupini G1 je homogena in omejena skupina grobov tik ob severovzhodnem vogalu današnje cerkve (*sl. 4.2:* G2). Stratigrafsko sočasen je še osamljeni grob (št. 72), ki leži 7,3 m južno od ostalih opisanih grobov. Ta grob je hkrati stratigrafsko starejši od najstarejše cerkvene stavbe, saj leži

graves are in mutual stratigraphic contact, covered by three relatively uniform layers of soil (*03–07, 03–09, 03–10; 03–12; 03–16, 03–17, 03–18, 03–19*).

The stratigraphically earliest element of this phase is a fireplace in the centre of the group of graves. It was described as a *layer of burnt clay*, surrounded on the western side by *a semi-circular array of stones*. Prominent among them is a *solitary stone*, which must have been there at the time when the fires were burning, *because the humus under the stone and around it is of a lighter shade*. The excavators understood the fireplace to be a prehistoric feature, since many prehistoric finds were discovered during the excavation of the burnt soil (see Chapter 1.4.1). Nevertheless, a very common mistake was made during the excavation by interpreting the burnt soil as the fill of a cut. In reality, the prehistoric finds were embedded in a layer (the fill of Hollow A) **on top** of which the fireplace was built. *The burnt layer* was created due to the heat of the fire, in post-depositional processes from the perspective of the layer with prehistoric finds. The burning of the fire is an interface surface later than the layer with prehistoric finds. Therefore, *the burnt layer* is part of the fill of Hollow



Sl. 4.2: Blejski otok, načrt stratigrafskih grobiščnih skupin G1 do G7 (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 4.2: Bled Island, location of cemetery groups G1 to G7 (by B. Štular).



Sl. 4.3: Blejski otok, načrt elementov faze 1 (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 4.3: Bled Island, plan of Phase 1 (by B. Štular).

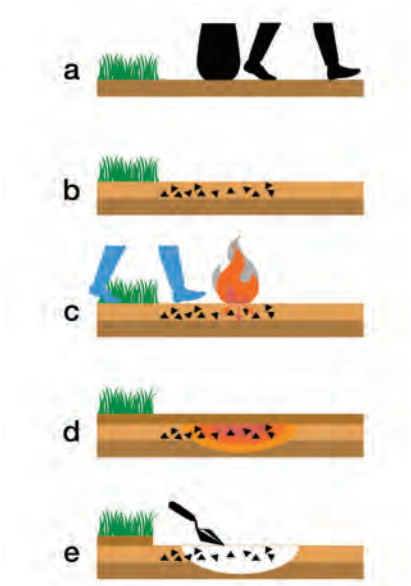
pod najstarejšo apsido (*sl. 4.5*; Šribar 1966a, 118; prim. Šribar 1966a, 199 za drugačno interpretacijo).

Absolutno kronološko opredelitev faze 1 omogočajo nakitni predmeti v grobovih (glej pogl. 7.2.1) in neposredno datiranje kosti iz groba 72. Uporabili smo radiometrično datiranje z metodo radioaktivnega ogljika v laboratoriju *Póznanjski radiokarbonski laboratorij*.[1] Nekalibriran rezultat je 1115 ± 30 BP. Rezultat je bil kalibriran s programom OxCal v4.2.3 (Bronk Ramsey, Lee 2013) po kalibracijski krivulji IntCal13 (Reimer

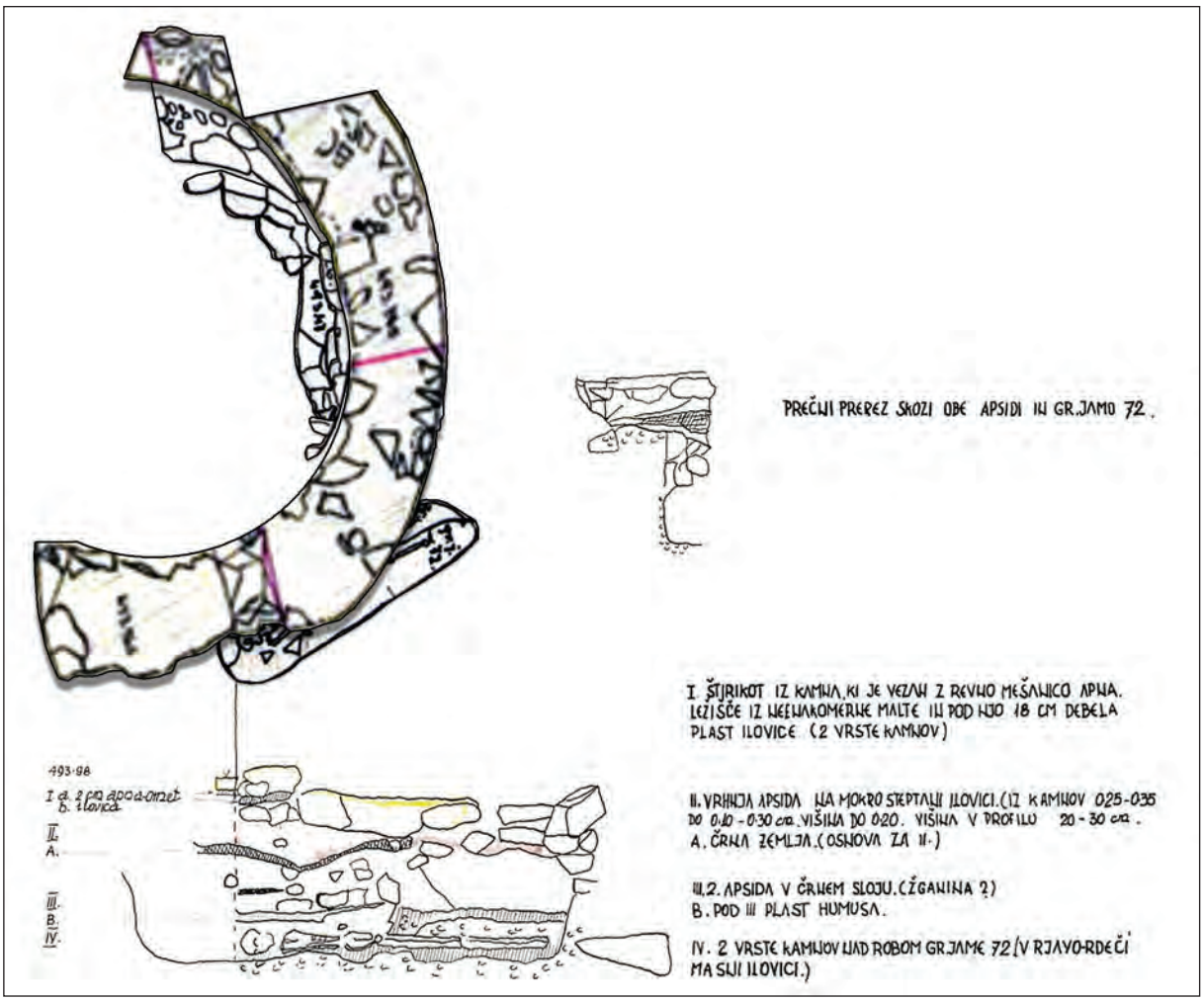
[1] Laboratorijska številka Poz-101617.

A, which was transformed in post-depositional processes (*Fig. 4.4*). The fireplace, however, was certainly used before the burials in some of the graves (nos. 40, 41, 46), for there are fragments of burnt clay in the fills of these graves.

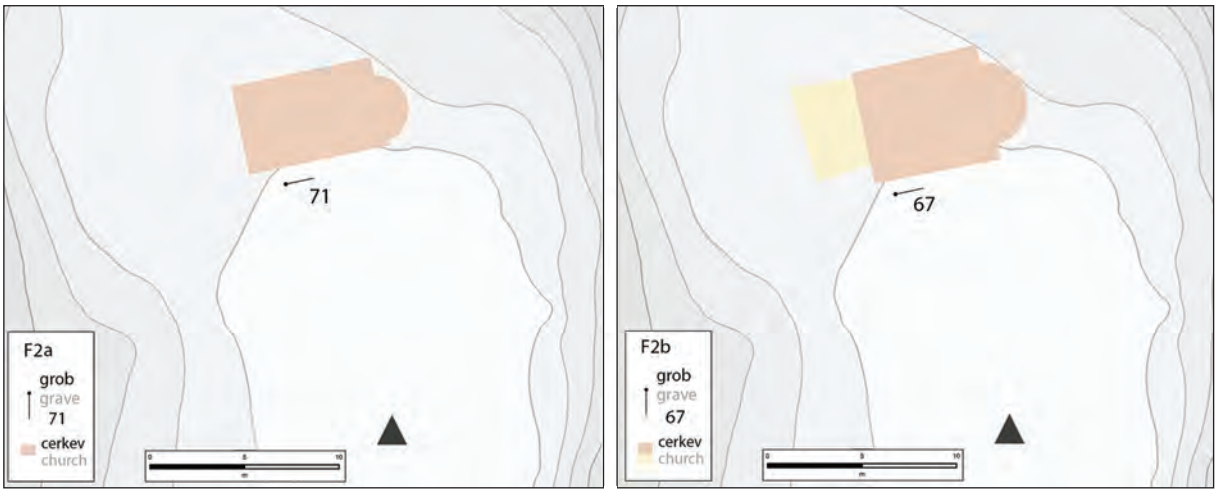
Stratigraphically contemporary with the G1 cemetery group is a homogenous and delimited group of graves in the immediate vicinity of the northeastern corner of the present-day church (*Fig. 4.2:* G2). Another stratigraphically contemporary grave is the solitary Grave 72, which lay 7.3 m to the south of the rest of the graves. Lying under the earliest apse, this grave is stratigraphically earlier than



Sl. 4.4: Shematičen prikaz procesov na ognjišču od prazgodovine do arheološkega izkopavanja: a – aktivnosti na prazgodovinski hodni površini; b – arheologizacija oz. nastanek arheološkega zapisa prazgodovinskih procesov; c – ognjišče na zgodnjesrednjeveški hodni površini; d – arheologizacija zgodnjesrednjeveških procesov; e – arheološki izkop *prepečene plasti* vsebuje prazgodovinsko lončenino (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 4.4: Illustration of the processes on the fireplace since prehistory until excavation: a – activities on the prehistoric occupation surface; b – archeologization, i.e. the creation of an archaeological record of prehistoric activities; c – fireplace on the early medieval occupation surface; d – archeologization of early medieval processes; e – archaeological excavation of the *burnt layer* that includes prehistoric pottery shards (by B. Štular).



Sl. 4.5: Blejski otok, apsidi najstarejših cerkvenih stavb. Zgoraj levo kumulativni tloris, zgoraj desno vzdolžni in spodaj prečni presek *skozi obe apsidi in grob 72* z izvirnimi opisi (avtor B. Štular; viri: arhiv NMS AO Rn 222/11, Rn 222/12, Rn 222/13, Rn 222/18).
Fig. 4.5: Bled Island, apses of the two latest church buildings. Above left: plan drawing. Above right: sample section of both apses and grave 72 by length. Below: sample section of both apses and grave 72 by width (by B. Štular; sources: NMS archive AO Rn 222/11, Rn 222/12, Rn 222/13, Rn 222/18).



Sl. 4.6: Blejski otok, načrt elementov faze 2a (F2a, levo) in 2b (F2b, desno; avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 4.6: Bled Island, plan of Phase 2a (F2a, left) and 2b (F2b, right; by B. Štular).

idr. 2013). Kalibrirana datuma znotraj 1 standardnega odklona od srednje vrednosti (σ1) sta med letoma 895 in 930 (34,6-odstotna verjetnost) in med letoma 939 in 972 (33,6-odstotna verjetnost) n. št. Kalibrirana datuma znotraj 2 standardnih odklonov (σ2) od srednje vrednosti sta med letoma 779 in 789 (1,2-odstotna verjetnost) in med letoma 869 in 1013 (94,2-odstotna verjetnost) n. št. V arheologiji najpogosteje navajamo razpon vrednosti σ1, torej 934 ± 38 n. št.

4.3 FAZA 2

Faza 2 (*sl. 4.6*) je obdobje dveh najstarejših stavb z apsido in dveh sočasnih grobov. Stratigrafsko najpomembnejša elementa te faze sta apsidi (*sl. 4.5*). Na eni strani isto mesto in ista gradbena tehnika izkazujeta gradbeno kontinuiteto, na drugi strani sta apsidi stratigrafsko jasno ločeni: *prek temeljev prve apside je pred začetkom gradnje druge apside prišel premaz iz 10 cm debele ilovice* (…); *zahodni zaključek loka* (…) *apside je deloma prekrit s tlakom* (…)*, ki pripada višje ležeči apsidi* (Šribar 1966a, 197).

Sosledje dveh zelo podobnih stavb potrjuje tudi stratigrafija grobov 67 in 71 (Šribar 1966a, 116–117). Analiza tlorisa in pisne dokumentacije kaže, da je bil najprej izkopan in uporabljen grob 71; grob je bil naknadno izpraznjen, prazna grobna jama pa zasuta. Sledil je izkop grobne jame 67 približno pol m južneje, pri čemer je bil v severnem delu presekan tedaj že izpraznjen in zasut grob 71. Zatem je bil čez obe grobni jami položen estrih. Pomenljiva je predvsem lega obeh grobov: starejši (71) je ležal tik zunaj starejše stavbe, mlajši tik zunaj mlajše, oba pa na najverjetnejšem mestu vsakokratnega vhoda (*sl. 4.2:* G3; drugače Šribar 1972, 391).

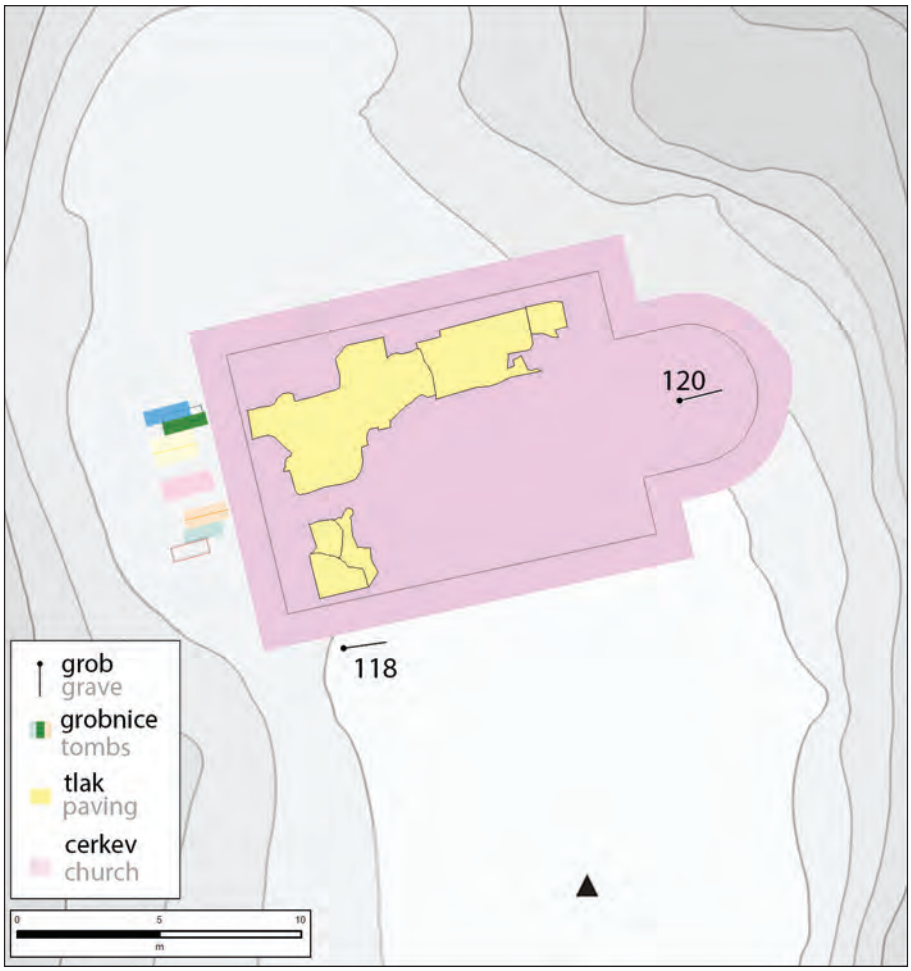
the earliest church building (*Fig. 4.5*; Šribar 1966a, 118; *cf.* Šribar 1966a, 199 for a different interpretation).

Absolute dates for Phase 1 could be obtained with the help of the jewellery in the graves (see Chapter 7.2.1) and by direct radiometric dating of the bones from Grave 72. The method used was radioactive carbon dating, carried out in the *Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory*.[1] The uncalibrated result is 1115 ± 30 BP. The result was calibrated with the OxCal v4.2.3 software (Bronk Ramsey, Lee 2013) using the IntCal13 calibration curve (Reimer et al. 2013). The calibrated dates within 1 standard deviation from the mean value (σ1) are between the years 895 and 930 CE (34.6% probability) and between the years 939 and 972 (33.6% probability) CE. The calibrated dates within two standard deviations (σ2) from the mean value are between the years 779 and 789 CE (1.2% probability) and between the years 869 and 1013 (94.2% probability) CE. In archaeology, the most commonly quoted range of values is σ1, i.e. 934 ± 38 CE.

4.3 PHASE 2

Phase 2 (*Fig. 4.6*) is the time period of the two earliest buildings with an apse and two contemporary graves. Stratigraphically, the most important elements of this phase are the two apses (*Fig. 4.5*). On the one hand, the same location and the same construction technique indicate the continuity of construction, while on the other hand, the two apses are clearly stratigraphically separated: *before the beginning of the construction of the second apse, a 10-cm-thick clay coating had been applied over the foundations of the first apse* (…); *the western end of the arch* (…) *of the apse is partly covered with a pavement* (…)*, which belongs to the apse above* (Šribar 1966a, 197).

[1] Lab. no. Poz-101617.



Sl. 4.7: Blejski otok, načrt elementov faze 3 (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 4.7: Bled Island, plan of Phase 3 (by B. Štular).

Stratigrafsko izkazana prekinitev na eni strani in jasni elementi arhitekturne in sepulkralne kontinuitete na drugi strani narekujejo delitev faze 2 na podfazi 2a in 2b. *Terminus post quem* faze 2a narekuje z metodo C14 datiran grob (št. 72; glej zgoraj pogl. 4.2) v čas zanesljivo po letu 779 n. št., najverjetneje v drugi polovici 10. stoletja. Okvirno kronološko umestitev faze 2b v zaključek zgodnjega srednjega veka poleg arhitekture narekujeta *fragmenta zgodnjesrednjeveške* lončenine, *najdena na sloju, ki je ločil po horizontali* obe najstarejši apsidi (Šribar 1966a, 108, 121). Odlomka nista ohranjena.

Zgolj zaradi preglednosti bomo v nadaljevanju to fazo opisno imenovali *predromanska*.

4.4 FAZA 3

Faza 3 (*sl. 4.7*) je stratigrafsko kompleksnejša in najverjetneje tudi dolgotrajnejša. Začetek faze označuje gradnja stavbe s podkvasto apsido. Arheološki zapis te faze pomenijo ostanki podkvaste apside (79–8, 79–9,

The sequence of these two very similar buildings is reinforced by the stratigraphy of Graves 67 and 71 (Šribar 1966a, 116–117). The analysis of the plan view and written records shows that Grave 71 was dug and used first; the grave was subsequently emptied and the empty grave pit was filled. The pit for Grave 67 was then dug about half a metre to the south, which caused a cut into the northern part of the then already emptied and filled Grave 71. After this, a mortar pavement was laid over both grave pits. The position of the two graves is particularly telling: the earlier grave (no. 71) lay immediately outside the earlier church building, the later grave (no. 67) immediately outside the later church building, and both were in the most likely position of the respective entrances (*Fig. 4.2:* G3; differently Šribar 1972, 391).

The stratigraphic discontinuity on the one hand, and clear elements of architectural and sepulchral continuity on the other, necessitate that Phase 2 be divided into Subphases 2a and 2b. The *terminus post quem* for Phase 2a is provided by the grave dated with the radiocarbon method (no. 72; see above Chapter 4.2) and is certainly

79–10), maltni estrihi (12–04, 12–05, 12–06, 12–10, 12–49, 12–50) in zob zidu v jugozahodnem vogalu današnje cerkvene ladje (*sl. 5.4*; prim. *sl. 4.8*).

V fazo 3 sodita dve skupini grobov. Stratigrafsko starejša je skupina grobov v današnjem zahodnem preddverju cerkve (*sl. 4.2:* G2). Gre za stratigrafsko homogeno skupino, ki leži pod zemljenima plastema (*24–01, 24–03*) in je bila poškodovana z zahodnim zidom cerkvene ladje v naslednji fazi 4.

Ker stratigrafski stik s sočasno stavbo ni bil dokumentiran (*sl. 3.3*), obstajata glede faziranja dve možnosti. Prva možnost je, da so grobovi sočasni stavbi faze 3, saj z nogami segajo tik do zahodnega zidu te faze. Druga možnost je, da začetek te skupine sega v fazo 2b, o čemer bi pričala lega grobov v prostoru (glej pogl. 7.3). Vsaj najmlajši pokopi te skupine torej sodijo v fazo 3 in zato skupino obravnavamo v okviru faze 3.

V fazo 3 sodi še ena, nekoliko manj homogena skupina grobov (*sl. 4.2:* G5), katerih lega je stratigrafsko vezana na stavbo s podkvasto apsido. Del grobov leži v jugovzhodnem delu sočasne stavbe, drugi del zunaj tik južno od apside.

Okvirno časovno umestitev te faze omogoča povezava s sočasno arhitekturo, zgrajeno v romanskem slogu (glej pogl. 5).

Zgolj zaradi preglednosti bomo v nadaljevanju to fazo opisno imenovali *romanska*.

4.5 FAZA 4

Faza 4 (*sl. 4.8*) ima 13 grobov južno od sočasne (in današnje) cerkvene stavbe. Večina jih je stisnjena tik ob zid na majhnem prostoru med današnjo cerkveno stavbo in zvonikom. Plitvi grobovi so vkopani do skalne osnove ali so delno vklesani vanjo in so prekriti z razmeroma tankimi zemljenimi plastmi. Zato neposreden stratigrafski stik z drugimi skupinami grobov ali stavbnimi ostanki ni ohranjen. A to območje je bilo ob gradnji gotske arhitekture močno spremenjeno z zniževanjem v cerkvi in tik ob njej (*sl. 3.13*) ter z nasipanjem tako imenovane *gotske ploščadi* nekoliko vstran. Grobovi te skupine (*sl. 4.2:* G6) torej ne morejo biti starejši od gradnje gotske arhitekture, saj bi jih ob tem uničili ob nižanju terena ali zasuli z nasipavanjem terase.

Zaradi jasnosti besedila bomo v nadaljevanju to fazo opisno imenovali *gotska*.

4.6 FAZA 5

Faza 5 *(sl. 4.8*) je čas baročne arhitekture, ki označuje cerkveno stavbo še danes. V to fazo stratigrafsko sodita sosednji si grobnici v severozahodnem delu cerkvene ladje, lega katerih je bila označena v baročnem cerkvenem tlaku (*sl. 4.2:* G7).

after 779 CE, but most likely the second half of the 10th century. The dating of Phase 2b to roughly the end of the Early Middle Ages is supported not only by the architecture but also by *two fragments of Early Medieval* pottery, *discovered on the layer horizontally separating* the earliest two apses (Šribar 1966a, 108, 121). The fragments in question have been lost.

For clarity of the text only, this phase will henceforth be descriptively termed *Pre-Romanesque*.

4.4 PHASE 3

Phase 3 (*Fig. 4.7*) is stratigraphically more complex and probably lasted longer. The beginning of the phase is marked by the construction of a building with a horseshoe-shaped apse. The archaeological record of this phase is comprised of the remains of this apse (79–8, 79–9, 79–10), mortar pavements (12–04, 12–05, 12–06, 12–10, 12–49, 12–50), and a protrusion from the wall in the southwestern corner of the present-day church nave (*Fig. 5.4*; *cf. Fig. 4.8*).

At least two groups of graves belong to Phase 3. The stratigraphically earlier one is the group of graves in the present-day western lobby of the church (*Fig. 4.2:* G4). This is a stratigraphically homogeneous group, which lies under two layers of soil (*24–01, 24–03*) and was overlaid by the western wall of the church nave in the subsequent Phase 4.

Since stratigraphic relationship with the contemporary building has not been recorded (*cf. Fig. 3.3*), there are two possible ways to interpret the phasing. The first option is that the graves are contemporary with the Phase 3 building, for the legs of the deceased reach all the way to the western wall of this phase. The second option is that the beginning of this group can be dated to Phase 2b, which could be supported by the spatial position of the graves (see Chapter 7.3). Since at least the latest burials of this group all belong to Phase 3, the group is considered in the context of Phase 3.

Phase 3 includes another, slightly less homogeneous group of graves (*Fig. 4.2:* G5), whose positions are stratigraphically linked to the horseshoe-shaped apse. Some of the graves are positioned in the southeastern part of the contemporary building, and some are outside, just south of the apse.

Approximate dating of this phase is made possible by the connection with the contemporary architecture, built in the Romanesque style (see Chapter 5).

For clarity of the text only, this phase will henceforth be descriptively termed *Romanesque*.

Sl. 4.8: Blejski otok, načrt elementov faze 4 in 5: 1 – grob faze 4; 2 – grob faze 5; 3 – zob zidu, ki priča o poteku zahodne stene v fazi 3; 4 – obstoječi zid; 5 – neizkopano ali uničeno (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 4.8: Bled Island, plan of Phases 4 and 5: 1 – Phase 4 grave; 2 – Phase 5 grave; 3 – wall protrusion that marks where western wall in Phase 3 stood; 4 – existing wall; 5 – unexcavated or destroyed (by B. Štular).

4.7 PRAZGODOVINA

Ob naštetih stratigrafskih fazah je treba omeniti še **prazgodovinske arheološke sledi**. Večina prazgodovinskih najdb je bila dokumentirana v drugotnem položaju, na primer v polnilih grobov faze 1. Na nekaterih mestih, predvsem v prezbiteriju današnje cerkve, je v dokumentaciji navedena *prazgodovinska kulturna plast*. Vendar na podlagi opisov plasti sodimo, da gre tudi v teh primerih za najdbe v drugotni legi. Zato prazgodovinskih najdb ni mogoče opredeliti kot samostojno stratigrafsko fazo.

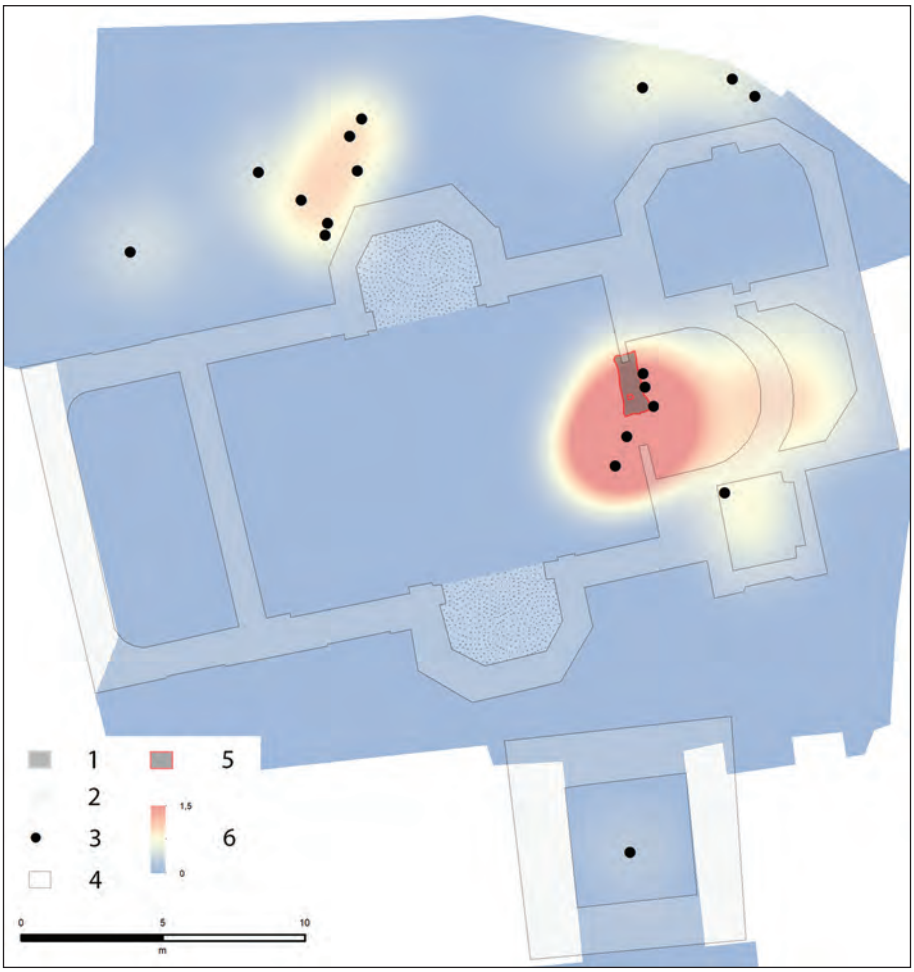
Analiza razprostranjenosti prazgodovinskih najdb kaže žarišče na prostoru prezbiterija današnje cerkve in drugotno žarišče severno od današnje cerkve (*sl. 4.9*). Prazgodovinski artefakti si vsekakor zaslužijo natančnejšo analizo, ki pa ni predmet tega prispevka.

Jamo, ki leži pod prezbiterijem današnje cerkve, obravnavamo na tem mestu, ker moramo za njeno razumevanje v argumentacijo pritegniti stratigrafske faze 1,

4.5 PHASE 4

Phase 4 (*Fig. 4.8*) includes 13 graves south of the contemporary (and present-day) church building. Most of them are huddled together near the wall, in a small space between the present-day church building and the bell tower. The shallow graves were dug into the bedrock or even partly carved into it, and are covered with relatively thin layers of soil. No direct stratigraphic contact with other groups of graves of architectural remains are therefore preserved. This area was largely transformed during the construction of the Gothic architecture by levelling the bedrock in the church and its immediate vicinity (*Fig. 3.13*) and by the accumulation of the so-called *Gothic platform* a little further away. The graves of this group (*Fig. 4.2:* G6) therefore cannot be earlier than the construction of the Gothic architecture, for they would have been destroyed during the levelling or buried under the terrace accumulation.

For clarity of the text only, this phase will be henceforth descriptively termed *Gothic*.



Sl. 4.9: Blejski otok, razprostranjenost prazgodovinskih najdb z označenimi mesti najdb kamnitih orodij: 1 – obstoječi zid; 2 – neizkopano ali uničeno; 3 – kamnito orodje; 4 – izven izkopnega polja; 5 – jama in jama za kol; 6 – število najb/m^2 (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 4.9: Bled Island, location of prehistoric finds: 1 – existing wall; 2 – unexcavated or destroyed; 3 – stone tool; 4 – outside of excavation trench; 5 – pit or posthole; 6 – no. of finds per m^2 (by B. Štular).

2 in 3. Gre za pravokoten vkop s 3 polnili in naknadnim vkopom v polnilo (*sl. 4.10*: P4 – 1, 2, 3 in 4). To so:
1. *temnorjava ilovica, pomešana z ogljem in hišnim lepom;*
2. *trda, močno pomešana ilovica z drobci oglja in h.*[išnega] *lepa (mesto kurišča);*
3. *pas trde ilovice* in
4. *črnorjava ilovica – morebitno mesto jame pravokotne oblike za kol* (op. B. Š.: opisano je polnilo naknadnega vkopa; vir: marginalije risbe Rn 221/27).

Jama je vklesana v skalno osnovo in jo prekrivajo izravnalna nasutja faze 3: plast *rdečerjave ilovice* (Šribar 1966a, 107) in *svetlorjav humus, pomešan z lomljenci in finim peskom* (Šribar 1966a, 100, št. 6 in 7). Jama in njena polnila niso v neposrednem stratigrafskem stiku ne z grobovi faze 1 ne s stavbnimi ostanki faze 2. Polnili 1 in 2, kolikor je mogoče sklepati iz opisov plasti, sta nastali v dveh ločenih dogodkih. Vsak dogodek je potekal po požigu ali požaru objekta, grajenega iz šibja in ilovice (angl. *wattle and daub*), kakršni so značilni

4.6 PHASE 5

Phase 5 (*Fig. 4.8*) is the time of the Baroque architecture, which characterises the present-day church building. Stratigraphically, it includes two neighbouring tombs in the northwestern part of the church nave, whose position was marked in the baroque pavement of the church (*Fig. 4.2*: G7).

4.7 PREHISTORY

In addition to the above-listed phases, there were **prehistoric archaeological features**. Most of the prehistoric finds were recorded in a secondary position, for instance in the fills of the Phase 1 graves. In some locations, especially in the presbytery of the present-day church, the documentation mentions a *prehistoric cultural*

Sl. 4.10: Blejski otok, tlorisi območja jame vzhodno od najstarejših apsid dokumentirani kot *planumi 3* (P3, zgoraj levo), *4* (P4, zgoraj desno), *5* (P5, spodaj levo) in *6* (P6, spodaj desno. Na tlorisu P3 sta označena kamen iz zelenega groha (št. 30) in enotna plast, ki prekriva jamo (št. 24). Na tlorisu P4 so označena polnila jame (št. 1–3) in jama za kol (št. 4) (avtor B. Štular; vir: arhiv NMS AO Rn 222/12–15).
Fig. 4.10: Bled Island, pit adjacent to the earliest two apses, plan drawing of arbitrary levels 3 (P3, above left), *4* (P4, above right), *5* (P5, below left) and *6* (P6, below right). On the P3 the green stone (No.. 30) and layer above the pit (No. 24) are marked. On P4 the pit fillings (Nos. 1–3) and posthole filling (No. 4) are marked (by B. Štular; source: NMS archive AO Rn 222/12–15).

za prazgodovino, v neposredni bližini. Morda kaže razmišljati v smeri čiščenja dela površine po požaru, vendar ne v smislu utilitarnega čiščenja pred novogradnjo, saj je količina oglja in ožgane ilovice premajhna. Polnilo 3 je očitno posledica utrjevanja dna jame, polnilo 4 pa je ostanek lege pravokotnega kola ali kamna.

S podrobno analizo risarske dokumentacije je mogoče natančneje opredeliti stratigrafski položaj jame. Izhodišče je podatek – ki je iz dokumentacije razviden posredno na več mestih (Šribar 1966a, *passim*) – da so bile hodne površine znotraj stavb dovolj vodoravne, da lahko na razdalji 25 cm (kolikor je jama oddaljena od apsid faze 2) morebitne višinske razlike zanemarimo. Na planumu 3 je prej omenjeno izravnalno nasutje rdečerjave ilovice prikazano kot kontinuirana plast, ki popolnoma prekriva jamo. Hkrati je nekoliko zahodneje

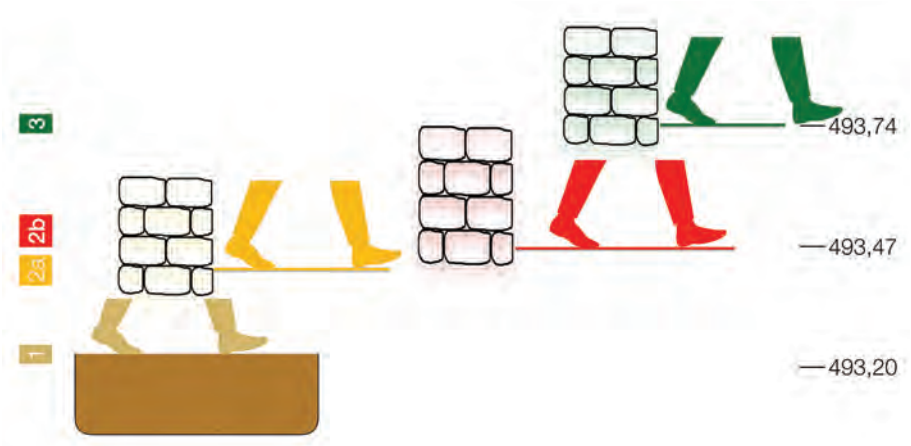
layer, however, based on the descriptions of the layers, we can assume that these too are only cases of finds in a secondary position. Prehistoric finds therefore cannot form a stratigraphic phase.

The analysis of the distribution of prehistoric finds shows a concentration in the area of the present-day church presbytery and a secondary concentration north of the present-day church (*Fig. 4.9*). While the prehistoric artefacts certainly deserve a more detailed analysis they are not the subject of this contribution.

A pit located under the presbytery of the present-day church is discussed here; in order to understand it, stratigraphic Phases 1, 2, and 3 have to be considered. It is a rectangular cut with three fills and a filled in re-cut (*Fig. 4.10*: P4 – 1, 2, 3, and 4):
– *dark brown clay, mixed with charcoal and clay daub;*
– *hard clay, mixed with many fragments of charcoal and clay daub (fireplace location);*
– *a patch of hard clay;* and
– *black-brown clay – possible location of a rectangular post-hole* (note by B. Š.: the description refers to the fill of the latest cut; source: margins of plan drawing Rn 221/27).

The pit is carved into the bedrock and covered by levelling accumulations of Phase 3: a layer of *red-brown clay* (Šribar 1966a, 107) and *light brown humus, mixed with roughly carved stones and fine sand* (Šribar 1966a, 100, nos. 6 and 7). The pit and its fills have no direct stratigraphic contact with the graves from Phase 1, nor with the architectural remains from Phase 2. As far as it can be assumed from the descriptions of the layers, Fills 1 and 2 were created in two separate events. Each event followed the burning of a building made of *wattle-and-daub* – which is typical of prehistory – in the immediate vicinity. Perhaps it can be inferred that the surrounding surface was cleared after a fire, but not in the sense of utilitarian clearing followed by a new construction, because the quantity of charcoal and burnt clay is insufficient. Fill 3 seems to have been created during the consolidation of the bottom of the pit, while the re-cut and its fill are an archaeological record of a rectangular post or stone.

A thorough analysis of plan drawings provides further details regarding the stratigraphic position of the pit. The starting point is the information – indirectly evident several times in the documentation (Šribar 1966a, *passim*) – that occupation surfaces inside the buildings were horizontal, and that any potential differences in elevation are negligible in the distance of 25 cm (the distance between the pit and the Phase 2 apses). In a plan drawing of arbitrary Level 3, i.e. Planum 3, the above-mentioned levelling accumulation of red-brown clay is depicted as a continuous layer, completely covering the pit. A little further to the west, however, *the surface of the clay at the western end of the grave pit* [72] *is at the level of its upper edge* (Šribar 1966a, 106; underlined by



Sl. 4.11: Blejski otok, stratigrafija na območju jame in treh najstarejših apsid. Prikazane so dejanske nadmorske višine (desno), vsi ostali elementi so shematizirani: 1 – faza 1, hodna površina na zasutju jame; 2a, 2b – fazi 2a in 2b, zidova predromanskih apsid s pripadajočima hodnima površinama; 3 – faza 3, romanska apsida s pripadajočo hodno površino (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 4.11: Bled Island, stratigraphy of the area of the pit and the three latest apses. The above sea level measurements are at scale, all other elements are illustrated only: 1 – Phase 1, occupation surface on the pit filling; 2a, 2b – Phases 2a and 2b, walls of pre-Romanesque apses with respective occupation surfaces; 3 – Phase 3, Romanesque apse and contemporary occupation surface (by B. Štular).

površina ilovice ob zahodnem zaključku grobne jame [72] *v ravni njenega zgornjega roba* (Šribar 1966a, 106; podčrtal B. Š.). To pomeni, da je bil planum 3 izkopan tako, da je sledil hodni površini, iz katere je bil vkopan grob 72. To opažanje potrjuje tudi analiza kompozitnega preseka: vrh jame je bil dokumentiran približno 0,2 m nižje kot vrh groba 72 (*sl. 4.11*). S precejšnjo gotovostjo torej sklepamo, da so bili jama in njena polnila v času pokopa v grob 72 prekriti z ilovnatno plastjo, tedanjo pohodno površino. Jama in njena polnila so torej stratigrafsko starejši od groba 72.

O času nastanka jame lahko sklepamo le posredno. Tik ob jami so bile *na nivoju planuma* dokumentirane številne prazgodovinske najdbe: najmanj 28 odlomkov lončenine, več kot 61 kosov ožgane ilovice, 2 kamniti orodji, *fragment rečne oblice* (NMS inv. št. S1922 a–c) in *fragment kamnite zelenkaste sekire s fino zglajeno površino velikosti 5 x 6,2 centim* (Šribar 1966a, 121–122; *t. 13:* 11). Naštete najdbe nakazujejo možnost prazgodovinskega nastanka jame, kar posredno potrjuje tudi prisotnost *hišnega lepa* v polnilih.

Trajanje uporabe jame nekoliko osvetli klesan kamen (*sl. 4.12*), ki je ležal na polnilu jame. Gre za *pravokotno oblikovan kamen, prelomljen iz zelenega groha,* dolžine približno 0,3, širine 0,2 in višine 0,25 m (vir: arhiv NMS AO Rn 222/12). Zeleni groh je ljudsko poimenovanje za kamnino, ki jo je razmeroma lahko oblikovati in je bila zlasti priljubljena na območju današnje zahodne Gorenjske za izdelavo arhitekturnih členov od konca srednjega veka do modernega obdobja (Avguštin 1971). Iz te kamnine je bila izdelana, kot se zdi na podlagi opisa, prej omenjena glajena sekira (*t. 13:* B. Š.). This means that Planum 3 was excavated at the level approximately adhering to the surface walked on at the time that Grave 72 was dug. This observation is further confirmed by the analysis of the section drawing: the top of the pit was recorded as approximately 0.2 m lower than the top of Grave 72 (*Fig. 4.11*). It can therefore be assumed with reasonable certainty that in the time of the burial in Grave 72, the pit and its fills were covered with a clay layer, which represented the occupation surface at the time. The pit and its fills are therefore stratigraphically earlier than Grave 72.

The time that the pit was dug can only be inferred indirectly. Right next to the pit, *at the burnt level*, abundant prehistoric finds were recorded: at least 28 fragments of pottery, more than 61 fragments of burnt clay, two stone tools, *a fragment of a river pebble* (NMS inv. no. S1922 a–c) and *a fragment of a greenish-grey stone axe with a finely polished surface*, measuring *5 x 6.2* cm (Šribar 1966a, 121–122). These finds imply the possibility of a prehistoric dating of the pit, which is indirectly supported by the presence of *clay daub* in the fills.

A cut stone (*Fig. 4.12*), which lay on top of the fill of the pit, can shed some light on the duration of the use of the pit. This is a *rectangularly shaped stone, cut out of green tuff,* approximately 0.3 m long, 0.2 m wide, and 0.25 m high (source: archive NMS AO Rn 222/12). Relatively easy to work, this particular green tuff (locally known as "groh") was an especially popular material for architectural elements in the area of present-day western Gorenjska from the end of the Middle Ages to the modern period (Avguštin 1971). On the basis of the description, the polished axe seems to have been made of this type

Sl. 4.12: Blejski otok, pogled na jamo vzhodno od najstarejših apsid v stanju, ki je bil dokumentiran kot *planum 3* (pogled proti jugu; vir: Arhiv NMS AO negativ št. sv4712).
*Fig. 4.*12: Bled Island, view of the pit adjacent to the earliest two apses as documented on the arbitrary level 3 (a view towards south; source: NMS archive AO film No. sv4712).

11; kat. št. 129). Uporabo zelenega groha pred srednjim vekom zanesljivo dokazuje rimskodobni nagrobnik iz bližnjih Lesc (*lupa 3726*).[2]

Opisani klesanec iz zelenega groha je ležal (i) na polnilu jame, (ii) v rdečerjavem ilovnatem izravnalnem nasutju, ki je prekrivalo jamo in je služilo kot pohodna površina v času izkopa groba 72 (glej zgoraj), ter (iii) pod estrihi faze 3. Stratigrafski (i) *terminus post quem* za namestitev kamna je torej zasutje jame pred fazo 1, (ii) *terminus ad quem* je nastanek pohodne površine, uporabljene tudi v času izkopa groba 72, (iii) *terminus ante quem* pa gradnja stavbe v fazi 3. *Terminus ante quem* izključuje možnost, da bi šlo za infiltrirani visoko- ali poznosrednjeveški arhitekturni člen, *terminus ad quem* pa dokazuje, da je bil kamen v času pokopa v grob 72 in v času gradnje najstarejših stavb viden. Izjemnega pomena je lega **na** najmlajšem polnilu jame in **v** izravnalnem nasutju. Graditelji nasutja so torej bodisi sami položili kamen na jamo bodisi so tam ležeč kamen zavestno

[2] Za podatek se zahvaljujem E. Lozić.

of stone (*Pl. 13:* 11; Cat. no. 129). The use of green tuff before the Middle Ages is further confirmed by a Roman tombstone from the nearby town of Lesce (*lupa 3726*).[2]

The cut piece of green tuff lay (i) on top of the fill of the pit, (ii) in a levelling accumulation of red-brown clay, which covered the pit and served as the occupation surface at the time Grave 72 was dug (see above), and (iii) under the mortar pavements of Phase 3. The stratigraphic (i) *terminus post quem* for the placement of the stone is thus the filling of the pit prior to Phase 1; (ii) the *terminus ad quem* is the creation of the occupation surface, which was in use at the time Grave 72 was dug; while (iii) the *terminus ante quem* is the construction of the building in Phase 3. The *terminus ante quem* excludes the possibility that this is an infiltrated High- or Late Medieval architectural element, while the *terminus ad quem* gives evidence that at the time of the burial in Grave 72 and the construction of the earliest buildings, the stone was

[2] The author would like to thank E. Lozić for this information.

pustili na mestu. Ob izravnavi pohodne površine so torej poskrbeli, da je klesanec iz zelenega groha na mestu starejše jame štrlel približno 0,2 m nad hodno površino. Najprepričljivejša interpretacija tega dejanja je, da je bil kamen uporabljen kot označevalec prostora jame.

Natančna namembnost in datacija jame in kamna nista znani. Zgornji podatki niso neposreden dokaz, da so pogrebci ob izkopu groba 72 in graditelji najstarejše stavbe z apsido – oboji hodeč po opisani hodni površini, iz katere je štrlel zelen klesan kamen – poznali lokacijo in pomen jame. Vendar se glede na redkost klesanih kamnov v zgodnjem srednjem veku ne zdi mogoče, da bi kamna ne razumeli kot prostorskega označevalca pomena (za izraz prim. Fletcher 2004, 136, op. 1; Novaković 2001, 221). Takšno interpretacijo utrjuje tudi jama za kol (glej zgoraj, polnilo 4), najverjetneje ostanek predhodnega označevalca mesta jame ali celo prvotna lega klesanega kamna. To nakazuje kontinuiteto posebnega pomena mikrolokacije, kjer si na nekaj kvadratnih metrih sledijo:
– koncentracija prazgodovinskih najdb vključno z glajeno sekiro iz zelenega groha,
– jama s polnili, ki pričajo o ponavljajoči se dejavnosti,
– kol ali kamen kot označevalec prostora,
– namensko postavljen klesanec zelenega groha,
– izjemen zgodnjesrednjeveški grob (št. 72) in
– apsidi prvih dveh apsidalnih stavb.

4.8 ABSOLUTNA KRONOLOGIJA

Okvirna kronološka opredelitev faz je torej taka:
1. Zgodnji srednji vek je označen s predmeti, absolutni *terminus ad quem* ***σ1 je 895–972 n. št.***
2. Zgodnji srednji vek je označen s predromansko arhitekturo, absolutni *terminus post quem* ***σ1 je 895–972 n. št.***
3. Visoki srednji vek je označen z romansko arhitekturo.
4. Pozni srednji vek je označen z gotsko arhitekturo.
5. Posrednjeveško obdobje je označeno z baročno arhitekturo.

Podrobnejša kronološka opredelitev je predstavljena v nadaljevanju (glej pogl. 7).

protruding above the ground. Of key importance is its position **on top** of the latest fill of the pit and **in** the levelling accumulation. This means that the people who filled the pit either put the stone on top of the pit themselves or consciously left it there. When the occupation surface was being levelled, a conscious effort was made that the cut piece of green tuff in the location of an earlier pit protruded about 0.2 m above the occupation surface. The most convincing interpretation of this act is that the stone was used as a spatial marker of the pit location.

The exact purpose and date of the pit and the stone are, therefore, unknown. The above provides no direct evidence that the people who dug Grave 72 and the people who constructed the earliest apsed building – both using the occupation surface with the protruding green cut stone – were aware of the location and the significance of the pit. Nevertheless, considering the rarity of cut stones in the Early Middle Ages, the stone must have been understood as a spatial marker of the predating pit and/or its meaning (for the expression *cf.* Fletcher 2004, 136, note 1; Novaković 2001, 221). This interpretation is further supported by the post-hole (see above, re-cut), which is most likely a remnant of an earlier marker of the location of the pit or perhaps even the original position of the cut stone. This implies a continuity of the special meaning of this micro-location, where, in an area of a few square metres, the following sequence occurs:
– a concentration of prehistoric finds, including a polished axe made of green tuff,
– a pit with fills that give evidence of a repeated activity,
– a post or a stone as a location marker,
– an intentionally placed cut stone of green tuff,
– an exceptional Early Medieval grave (no. 72), and
– the apses of the two earliest buildings with apses.

4.8 ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

A tentative chronology of the phases is therefore as follows:
1. The Early Middle Ages is defined by artefacts, the absolute *terminus ad quem* is C14 ***σ1 895–972 CE.***
2. The Early Middle Ages is defined by Pre-Romanesque architecture; the absolute *terminus post quem* ***σ1 is 895–972*** CE.
3. The High Middle Ages is defined by Romanesque architecture.
4. The Late Middle Ages is defined by Gothic architecture.
5. The Post-Medieval period is defined by Baroque architecture.

A more detailed chronology is presented in the following sections (see Chapter 7).

5. STAVBNA ANALIZA

5. BUILDING ANALYSIS

Benjamin ŠTULAR

5.1 REKONSTRUKCIJA STAVBNIH TLORISOV

Na podlagi opisane relativne stratigrafije smo sestavili načrt stavbnih elementov za vsako fazo posebej in ti omogočajo rekonstrukcijo stavbnih tlorisov.

Najstarejša oziroma **prva stavba s krožno apsido** (*sl. 5.1*) je zelo slabo ohranjena, saj je bila večidel uničena ob kasnejših gradnjah. Temelj apside (*sl. 4.5*), zgrajen iz lomljencev velikosti do 40 x 60 cm, vezanih s temnorumeno *slabo malto*, je bil širok približno 70 cm (Šribar 1966a, 105 in 199). V risarski dokumentaciji je kot vezivo kamnov navedena ilovica. Od ostalih delov stavbe so ohranjeni zgolj *vkopi v živo skalo* (prim. Šribar 1966a, 113–114) in majhna zaplata maltnega estriha (*sl. 4.8*: a; *4.2*: 13–09, 14–06, 14–08, 14–09, 14–B1). Dokumentirane vkope interpretiramo kot arheološko sled temeljev lesene stene. Šribar (1966, 198) sicer navaja še *najmanj štiri luknje za steber velikosti 15 x 20 cm na razdalji 2(-eh) m od ramena apside*, ki pa jih v risarski in fotografski dokumentaciji ni zaznati.

Na podlagi predvsem ostankov apside si tehniko gradnje verjetno lahko predstavljamo kot podobno tisti, ki je znana iz bolje ohranjene cerkvene stavbe, zgrajene sredi 10. stoletja v današnji Pragi (Malostranské trg 2). Šlo je za okroglo sakralno stavbo s temelji iz lomljenih kamnov, vezanih z ilovico. Verjetno lesena nadgradnja je bila ometana z rumeno glino. Mikroskopska analiza glinenega ometa je pokazala, da je bila stena zglajena in prebarvana z rdečim in oker-rdečim barvilom, izdelanim na temelju železovih oksidov (Čiháková 2018, 297–298).[1]

Skromne arheološke sledi ne zadoščajo za zanesljivo rekonstrukcijo tlorisa stavbe. Ta je mogoča šele ob upoštevanju kontinuitete usmeritve stavb z apsido, ki se glede na arheološko dokumentirane primerjave zdi zelo verjetna (Strmčnik-Gulič 1994; Sagadin 2017; prim. Čaval 2010, 168). Upoštevali smo usmeritev severne stene ladje z romanskimi temelji (glej pogl. 6.2.1). Ob upoštevanju te usmeritve ohranjeni ostanki apside – oziroma, natančneje, ohranjena plast znotraj apside

[1] Za podatek se zahvaljujem J. Rihterju.

5.1 BUILDING FLOOR PLAN RECONSTRUCTION

Based on the relative stratigraphy described above, a plan of architectural elements was created separately for each phase. These plans allow for a building floor plan reconstruction.

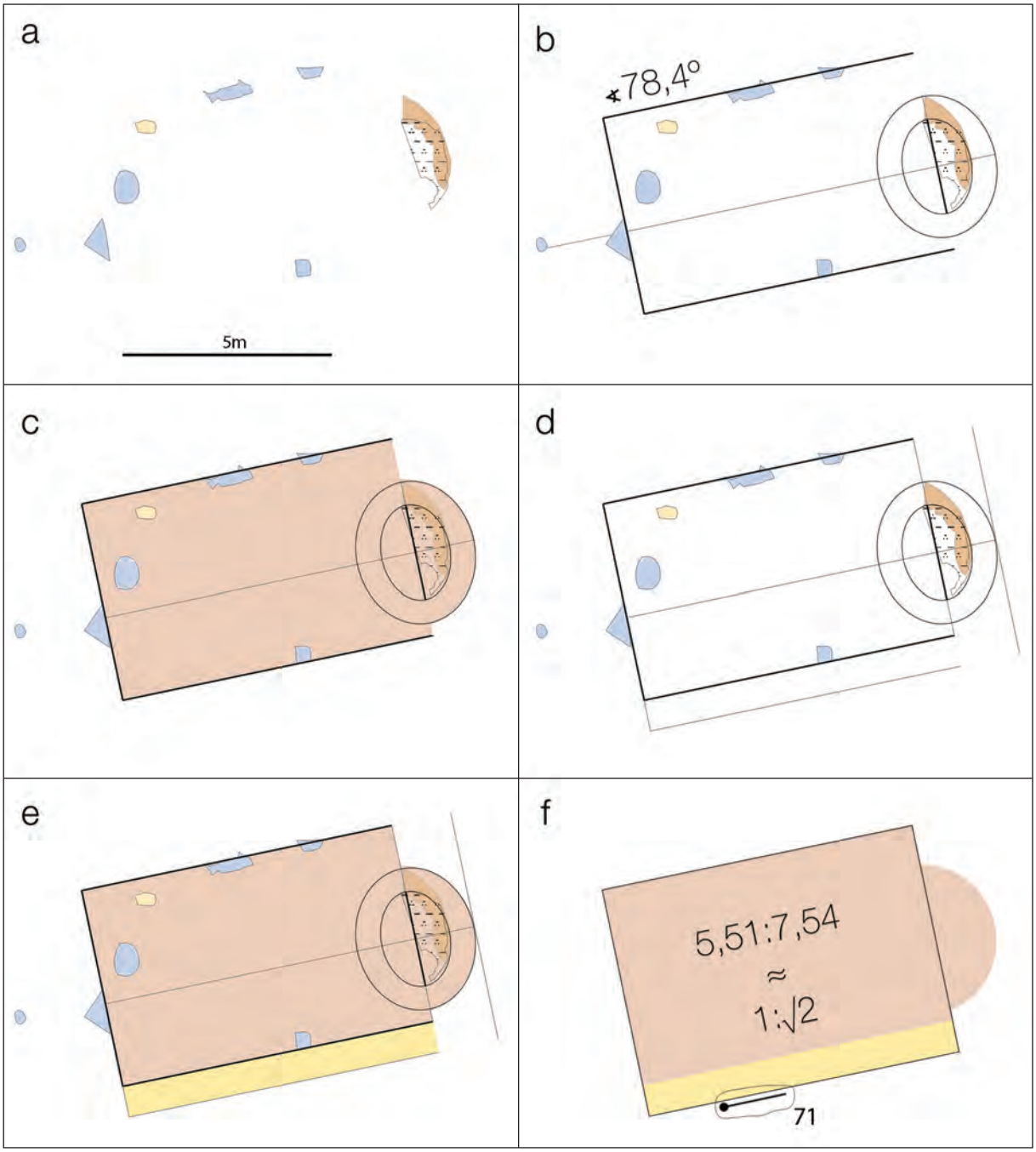
The earliest, i.e. **the first building with a circular apse** (*Fig. 5.1*), is very poorly preserved, owing to the fact that most of it was demolished by later constructions. The foundation of the apse (*Fig. 4.5*) was built from roughly worked stones up to 40 x 60 cm in size, bound with dark yellow *poor quality mortar*, and approximately 70 cm wide (Šribar 1966a, 105 and 199). According to the drawings, clay was the binding material of the stones. From the rest of the building, only *cuts in the bedrock* (*cf.* Šribar 1966a, 113–114) and a small patch of mortar pavement survived (*Figs. 4.8:* a; *4.2:* 13–09, 14–06, 14–08, 14–09, 14–B1). The recorded cuts can be interpreted as archaeological traces of the foundations of a wooden wall. While Šribar (1966, 198) lists *at least four more post-holes, measuring 15 x 20 cm, within the distance of 2 m from the shoulder of the apse*, they do not appear in the plan drawings or any other documentation.

Based mainly on the remains of the apse, the construction technique can probably be imagined as similar to that known from a better-preserved church, built in the middle of the 10th century in the present-day Prague (Malostranské trg 2). It was a round ecclesiastical building with foundations made of roughly worked stones bound with clay. The probably wooden superstructure was plastered with yellow clay. A microscopic analysis of the clay plaster showed that the wall was smoothed and painted with red and an ochre-red pigments based on iron oxides (Čiháková 2018, 297–298).[1]

The scant archaeological traces do not allow for a definite reconstruction of the floor plan of the building. The latter is only possible when the continuity of the orientation of the apsed-buildings – which, judg-

* Translation Meta Osredkar.

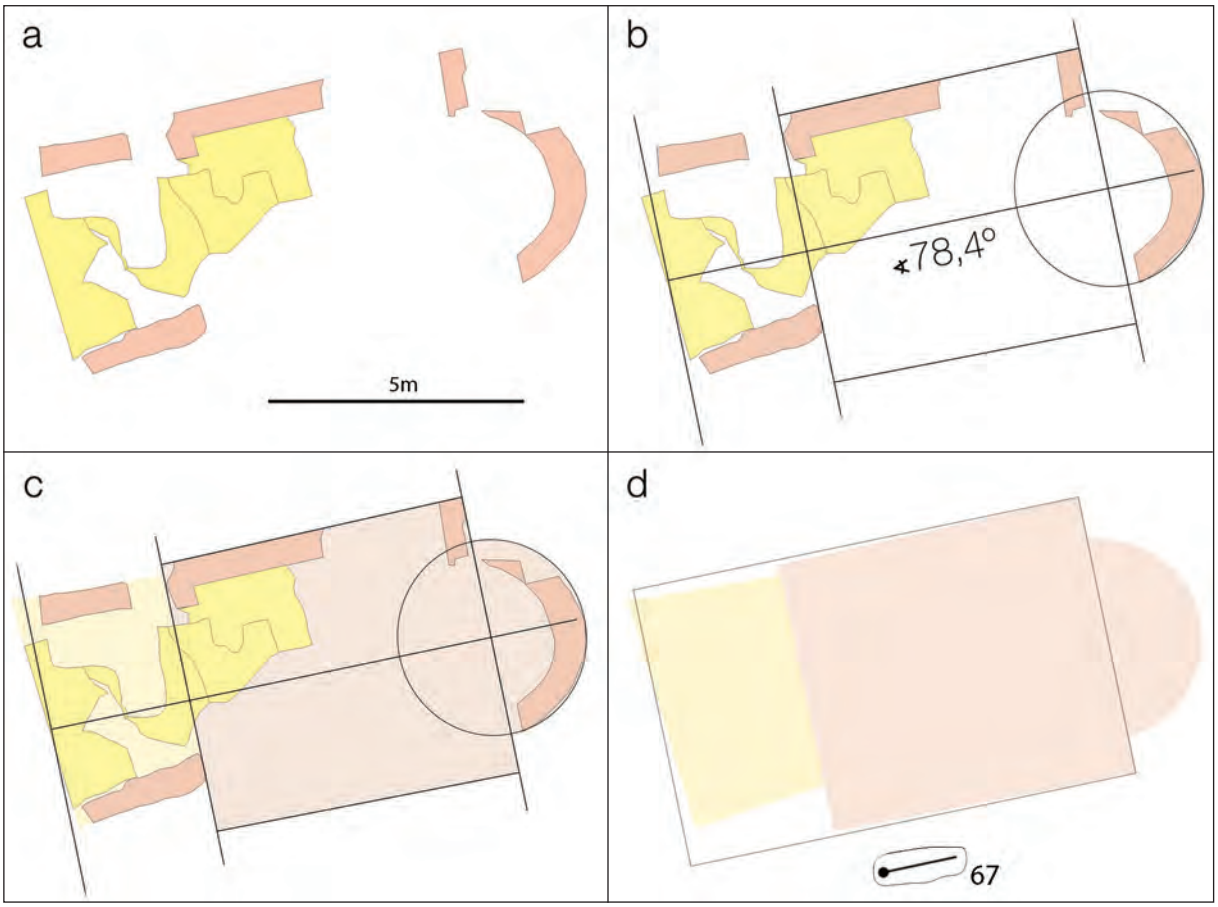
[1] The author would like to thank J. Rihter for this information.



Sl. 5.1: Blejski otok, faza 2a, prva stavba s polkrožno apsido, rekonstrukcija stavbnega tlorisa: a – arheološke sledi (vijolično vkopi, svetlo rjava maltni estrih, temno rjava temelj zidu); b – rekonstrukcija zunanje fronte zidu in središčna os apside; c – rekonstrukcija stavbne površine (rjavo); d – idealiziran potek južne fronte zidu ob upoštevanju simetrije; e – rekonstrukcija dejanske (rjavo) in idealizirane (rumeno) stavbne površine; f – razmerje med dolžino in širino idealizirane stavbne površine (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 5.1: Bled Island, Phase 2a, first building with a semi-circular apse, floorplan reconstruction: a – archaeological remains (purple for pits, light brown for mortar pavement, dark brown for wall foundation); b – reconstruction of the outer walls and central axis of the apse; c – floorplan reconstruction; d – idealized southern wall when symmetry is taken into account; e – reconstruction of actual (brown) and idealized (yellow) floorplan; f – length-width proportions of idealized floorplan (by B. Štular).

– zadostujejo za rekonstrukcijo zunanje in notranje fronte zidu apside; vkopi na severni, južni in zahodni strani pa omogočajo rekonstrukcijo ostalih sten in s tem stavbnega tlorisa (*sl. 5.1:* b, c).

ing by archaeologically recorded analogies, seems very likely (Strmčnik-Gulič 1994; Sagadin 2017; *cf.* Čaval 2010, 168) – is taken into account. The orientation of the northern wall of the nave with Romanesque foundations



Sl. 5.2: Blejski otok, faza 2b, druga stavba s polkrožno apsido, rekonstrukcija stavbnega tlorisa: a – arheološke sledi (rjavo temelj zidu, rumeno maltni estrih); b – rekonstrukcija zunanje fronte in središčna os apside; c – rekonstrukcija stavbne površine; d – rekonstrukcija dejanske (rjavo ladja, rumeno prizidek) in idealizirane (črta) stavbne površine (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 5.2: Bled Island, Phase 2b, second building with a semi-circular apse, floorplan reconstruction: a – archaeological remains (yellow for mortar pavement, brown for wall foundation); b – reconstruction of the outer walls and central axis of the apse; c – floorplan reconstruction; d – reconstruction of actual (brown for church nave, yellow for appendix) and idealized (black line) floorplan (by B. Štular).

Tako rekonstruiran tloris je asimetričen, kar je za sočasne stavbe z apsido izjema. Ker rekonstrukcija lege južne stene temelji zgolj na enem vkopu, smo preizkusili tudi možnost simetričnega poteka južnega zidu. Tako zgrajena ladja bi imela proporce 1 : √2, ki so značilni za zgodnjeromanske cerkve s polkrožno apsido (Stopar 2017, 18–33; *sl. 5.1:* d, e, f).

Vendar poleg omenjenega vkopa proti simetrični rekonstrukciji z idealnimi proporci ladje priča tudi lega groba 71 (*sl. 5.1:* f), ki bi ga v tem primeru stena prekrivala. Tako je verjetnejša rekonstrukcija z nesimetrično ladjo, ki je bila dolga 7,5 in široka 4,8 m s skupno površino 35,9 m^2. Celotna stavba je bila dolga 9 m. Apsida ima obliko polovice elipse, visoke 2,8, široke 3,5 m, torej v razmerju 4 : 5.

Druga stavba s krožno apsido (*sl. 5.2*) ima ohranjene ostanke od 0,67 do 0,72 m širokih temeljev zidov iz

(see Chapter 6.2.1) was measured. Applying this information, the recorded remains of the apse – or more precisely, the layer inside the apse – suffice for the reconstruction of the exterior and interior faces of the apse wall; the cuts on the northern, southern and western sides enable the reconstruction of the remaining walls and consequently the floor plan of the building (*Fig. 5.1:* b, c).

This reconstructed floor plan is asymmetrical, which is not common among the contemporary buildings with an apse. Since the reconstructed position of the southern wall is based on a single pit, the version with a symmetrical plan was evaluated. The proportions of the thus-constructed nave would be 1:√2, which is typical of early Romanesque churches with a semi-circular apse (Stopar 2017, 18–33; *Fig. 5.1:* d, e, f). However, not only the above-mentioned cut, but also the position of Grave 71 (*Fig. 5.1:* f), which would in this case be covered by the wall, attest against a symmetrical reconstruction

Sl. 5.3: Blejski otok, pogled na *suhi zid iz večjih apnencev in lehnjakov kvadratne oblike*, ki je bil dokumentiran kot *planum3* (pogled proti jugu; vir: Arhiv NMS AO negativ št. sv4649).
Fig. 5.3: Bled Island, view of the *dry wall made from larger limestones and square tufa stone* as documented on the arbitrary level 3 (view towards south; source: NMS archive AO film No. sv4649).

lomljencev, vezanih z malto (12–18, 12–25, 13–20, 13–25, 13–27), in maltnih estrihov (13–12, 13–13, 13–14, 13–19, 13–20; *sl. 5.2*: a). Od starejše stavbe se temelji razlikujejo zgolj po tem, da je bila ohranjena malta nekoliko svetlejše rumenkaste barve (Šribar 1966a, 198). Na podlagi teh ostankov ni mogoče z gotovostjo presoditi, ali je šlo za stavbo, zidano iz z malto vezanih lomljencev, ali za leseno stavbo, temelječo na tako zidanem vencu. Indic, da je verjetnejša prva interpretacija, je *nekaj kosov peščenca z ostanki fresk*, ki so bili v naslednji gradbeni fazi vzidani v temelj podkvaste apside (Šribar 1966a, 138).

Stavbni tloris je mogoče na podlagi ohranjenih zidov prepoznati na vseh straneh, razen na južni. Slednjo je mogoče rekonstruirati ob predpostavki, da je bila stavba simetrična. Takšno rekonstrukcijo potrjuje lega groba 67, ki v tem primeru leži tik ob steni (*sl. 5.2:* b, c).

Ladja ima obliko nepravilnega nizkega pravokotnika, širokega od 5,95 do 6,15 m in dolgega 6,75 m s skupno površino 52,3 m^2. Razmerje med dolžino in širino na ožjem delu od za predromanski slog značilnega razmerja $\sqrt{3}$: 2 odstopa za 1,6 odstotka.[2]

Na zahodni strani je bila ladja naknadno podaljšana za 3,1 m z ožjim prostorom s tlorisom v obliki nepravilnega trapeza. Gradbenega zaporedja iz dokumentiranih stratigrafskih odnosov ni mogoče razbrati, ohranjeni estrihi pa dokazujejo, da sta vsaj ob zadnji uporabi ladja in prizidek delovala kot celota (*sl. 5.2:* c).

[2] Čisto razmerje $\sqrt{3}$: 2 bi ob dolžini 6,75 m pomenilo širino 5,83 m.

with ideal proportions. The more plausible reconstruction is therefore the one with an asymmetrical nave, which measured 7.5 m in length and 4.8 m in width, and had a surface of 35.9 m^2. The entire building was 9 m long. The apse is semi-ellipse shaped with a width of 2.8 m and the length of 3.5 m, i.e. a ratio of 4:5.

In the **second building with a circular apse** (*Fig. 5.2*), the remains of 0.67–0.72 m wide foundations made of roughly worked stones bound with mortar (12–18, 12–25, 13–20, 13–25, 13–27), and mortar pavements (13–12, 13–13, 13–14, 13–19, 13–20; *Fig. 5.2*: a) survive. The foundations differ from those of the earlier building only by the colour of the surviving mortar, which was of a slightly lighter yellowish shade (Šribar 1966a, 198). On the basis of these remains it is not possible to determine with any certainty whether the building was constructed of roughly worked stones bound with mortar, or was a wooden building built on thus-constructed foundations. *A few pieces of sandstone with remains of frescoes*, built into the foundation of the horseshoe-shaped apse in the following phase, indicate that the former interpretation is more likely (Šribar 1966a, 138).

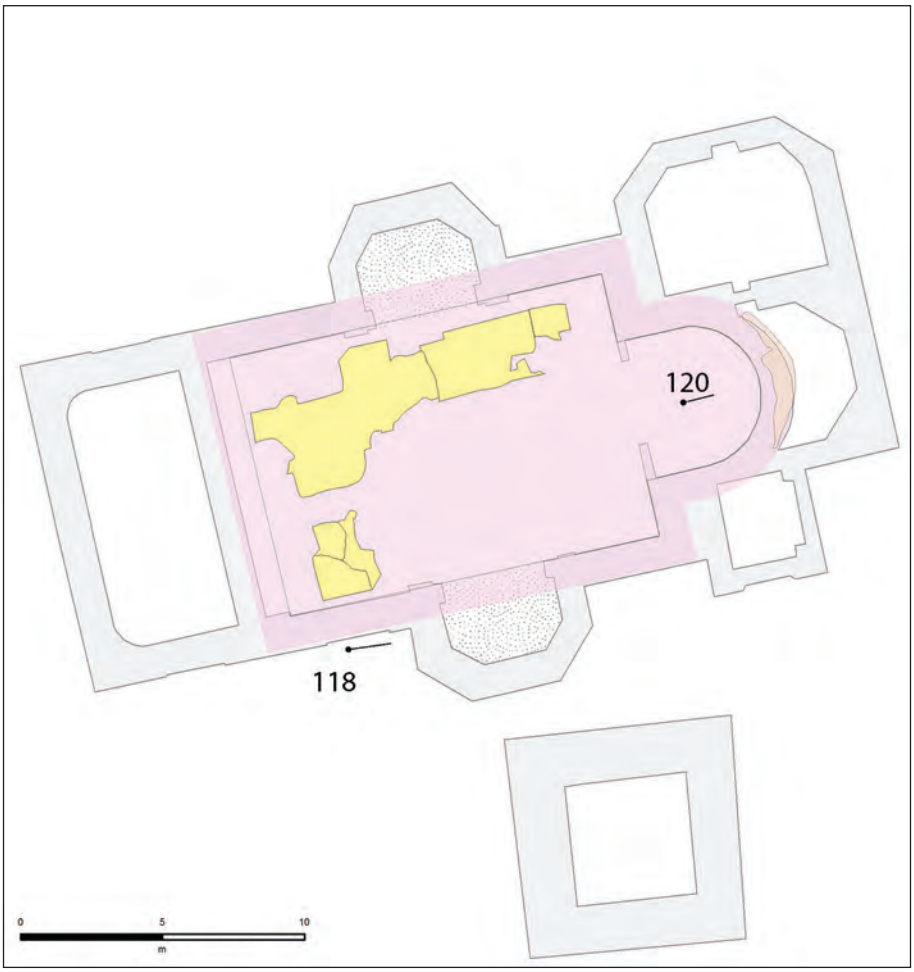
Based on the surviving walls, the floor plan of the building can be recognised on all sides, except the southern side. The latter can be reconstructed if a symmetrical building is assumed. The position of Grave 67 immediately next to the wall speaks for such a reconstruction (*Fig. 5.2:* b, c).

The nave takes the shape of an irregular low rectangle, 5.95–6.15 m wide, 6.75 m long, and with a surface of 52.3 m^2. In the narrower part, the ratio between the length and the width deviates for 1.6% from the $\sqrt{3}$:2 ratio, typical of the Pre-Romanesque style.[2]

On the western side, the nave was subsequently prolonged for 3.1 m by adding a narrow room in the shape of an irregular trapezium. While the constructional sequence cannot be inferred from the recorded stratigraphic relationships, the surviving mortar pavements testify to the fact that at least during the last phase of the building's use the nave and the extension functioned as a single room (*Fig. 5.2:* c).

Incorporated into the above-described apse was *a dry-stone wall made of large square pieces of limestone and tufa* with dimensions up to 60 x 70 cm (Šribar 1966a, 108 and 197, also the drawing of Planum 3, no. 28). While its stratigraphic relationship to the apse was not fully understood by the excavators (Šribar 1966a, 197), an analysis of photographs clearly demonstrated that it was built against the already existing apse. The wall is therefore later than the apse. There is no doubt that the second apse and the above-mentioned wall were demolished to the exact same level, i.e. simultaneously (*Fig. 5.3*). This means that at least during the last phase of their use, they were

[2] The pure $\sqrt{3}$:2 ratio would mean 0.12 m diffrence in width.



Sl. 5.4: Blejski otok, faza 3, stavba s podkvasto apsido, rekonstrukcija stavbnega tlorisa: vijolično rekonstruiran tloris, rumeno maltni estrihi, rjavo temelj zidu, sivo sedanja cerkvena stavba; označena je lega groba št. 118 (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 5.4: Bled Island, Phase 3, building with horseshoe-shaped apse, floorplan reconstruction: reconstructed floorplan in purple, mortar pavement in yellow, wall foundations in brown, present-day church walls in grey; location of grave No. 118 is marked (by B. Štular).

V opisano apsido *je bil včlenjen suhi zid iz večjih apnencev in lehnjakov kvadratne oblike* velikosti do 60 x 70 cm (Šribar 1966a, 108 in 197 ter risba planuma 3, št. 28). Stratigrafski odnos z apsido izkopavalcem ni bil povsem jasen (Šribar 1966a, 197), a analiza fotografij jasno kaže, da se ta zid naslanja na apsido. Zagotovo sta bila druga apsida in omenjeni zid porušena na isto višino, torej hkrati (*sl. 5.3*). To pomeni, da sta vsaj ob koncu uporabe delovala kot celota. Za rekonstrukcijo tlorisa morebitnega prostora ni dovolj elementov, niti ni povsem jasno, ali je sploh šlo za stavbo. Šribarjev sklep, da gre za prizidek k stavbi z drugo apsido (1966, 110), torej zgolj malenkostno popravljamo: gre za zidova, morda manjši pravokotni prostor, prizidana k drugi stavbi z apsido.

Sledila je gradnja **stavbe s podkvasto apsido** (*sl. 5.4*) s 3,2-krat večjo površino ladje od predhodne stavbe. Gre za najtemeljitejšo prezidavo v stavbni zgodo-

contemporary and functioned as a whole. There are not enough elements to allow for a reconstruction of the floor plan of the potential room; it is not even perfectly clear whether it was a building at all. Šribar's conclusion that this was an extension of the building with the second apse (1966, 110) therefore needs to be slightly modified: there were two walls, perhaps part of a small rectangular room, added to the second building with an apse.

There followed the construction of a **building with a horseshoe-shaped apse** (*Fig. 5.4*), whose surface was 3.2 times larger than the nave of the previous building. This was the most thorough rebuilding in the construction history of Bled Island, during which the previous building was razed to the ground. Such a radical action was never again repeated and most of the walls built in Phase 3 still stand as parts of the present church. More specifically, the entire northern and southern walls as well

vini Blejskega otoka, za potrebe katere je bila predhodna stavba porušena dobesedno do tal. Tako radikalen poseg se nikoli ni ponovil, saj večina zidov, zgrajenih v fazi 3, kot del sedanje cerkve še stoji. Natančneje, v današnji cerkvi so ohranjeni severna in južna stena v celoti ter deli vzhodne stene. Zahodna stena in apsida sta bili uničeni s kasnejšimi prezidavami. O legi prve pričajo ohranjeni estrihi in zob zidu v jugozahodnem vogalu današnje cerkvene ladje. Ostanki apside so bili dokumentirani arheološko (*sl. 4.5*; Šribar 1966a, 136).

Opisanim so sledile prezidave in dozidave v **gotskem** in kasneje **baročnem** arhitekturnem slogu. Sledi teh prezidav se v arheološkem zapisu večinoma niso ohranile in zato niso predmet pričujoče analize. Med slednje sodi tudi zid v obliki manjšega kvadrata, ki je bil odkrit tik pod tlakom faze 5. Stratigrafsko je mlajši od faze 2 in starejši od faze 5. Na podlagi lege v prostoru ga interpretiramo kot del opreme notranjosti cerkve v fazi 4 ali fazi 5.

V to obdobje sodijo tudi zidovi severno od današnje cerkve, ki so bili v preteklosti interpretirani kot del triladijske dvoapsidalne romanske cerkve (Šribar 1967, 63). Ker so ti zidovi stratigrafsko mlajši od gotske in starejši od baročne arhitekture, jih interpretiramo kot dele prizidkov profane namembnosti, kakršni so bili v poznem srednjem veku običajni.

5.2 INTERPRETACIJA

Arheološke sledi aktivnosti znotraj stavb niso bile ohranjene oziroma dokumentirane, zato interpretacija namembnosti stavb ni samoumevna. Vendar imamo 4 prepričljive argumente, da so vse stavbe z apsido služile kot krščanska cerkev:

– apsida je v času od 9. do 11. stoletja na obravnavanem prostoru brez nam znane izjeme uporabljena za krščanske cerkvene stavbe (prim. Stopar 2017, 18–36).

– Krščanske cerkve so vsaj od 8. stoletja grajene tako, da je oltar na vzhodu in je kongregacija med molitvijo prav tako obrnjena proti vzhodu (Gordon 1971, 213).

– Na območju jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora so vse znane stavbe, ki so dokumentirane pod temelji poznosrednjeveške cerkve in imajo isto usmeritev kot ta, interpretirane kot cerkev (Sv. Jurij, Legen: Strmčnik-Gulič 1994; Župna cerkev v Kranju: Sagadin 2017; Sv. Martin, Laško: Stopar 2017, 26; Sv. Daniel, Gailtal, Avstrija: Eichert 2012, 22–23; Molzbichl, Spittal, Avstrija: Eichert 2012, 51–55; Sv. Peter pri Edlingu, Spittal, Avstrija: Eichert 2012, 62–64; Sv. Martin, Rive d'Arcano, Italija: Gleischer 2006, Abb. 3: 2; Sv. Martin, Zell bei Kufstein, Avstrija in Sv. Martin, Pfongau, Avstrija: Gleischer 2006, Abb. 6: 2,3).

as some parts of the eastern wall survive in the present church. The western wall and the apse were destroyed in later rebuildings. The position of the former is evidenced by the surviving mortar pavements and a protrusion from the wall in the southwestern corner of the present-day church nave. The remains of the apse were recorded archaeologically (*Fig. 4.5*; Šribar 1966a, 136).

These changes were followed by conversions and extensions in the **Gothic** and later **Baroque** architectural styles. The traces of these conversions generally do not survive in the archaeological record and therefore they are not the subject of this analysis. They include, among other things, a wall in the shape of a small square, discovered just under the pavement of Phase 5. It is stratigraphically later than Phase 2 and earlier than Phase 5. On the basis of its position, it can be interpreted as part of the furnishings of the interior of the church in either Phase 4 or Phase 5.

The walls north of the present-day church, in the past interpreted as parts of a three-nave Romanesque church with two apses (Šribar 1967, 63), belong to the same period. Since these walls are stratigraphically later than the Gothic church and earlier than the Baroque architecture, they can be interpreted as parts of extensions with a secular function, which were common in the Late Middle Ages.

5.2 INTERPRETATION

Since archaeological traces of activities inside the buildings have not been preserved or recorded, the interpretation of the function of the buildings cannot be taken for granted. There are, however, four convincing arguments that all buildings with apses served as Christian churches:

– between the 9th and 11th centuries, apsed buildings in the region were – without any exception known to the author – Christian church buildings (*cf.* Stopar 2017, 18–36).

– At least from the 8th century on, Christian churches were built in such a manner that the altar was in the east and the congregation was facing the east while praying (Gordon 1971, 213).

– In the Southeastern Alpine region, all known buildings recorded under the foundations of Late Medieval churches with the same orientation are interpreted as churches (St George, Legen: Strmčnik-Gulič 1994; the parish church in Kranj: Sagadin 2017; St Martin, Laško: Stopar 2017, 26; St Daniel, Gailtal, Austria: Eichert 2012, 22–23; Molzbichl, Spittal, Austria: Eichert 2012, 51–55; St Peter near Edling, Spittal, Austria: Eichert 2012, 62–64; St Martin, Rive d'Arcano, Italy: Gleischer 2006, Abb. 3: 2; St Martin, Zell bei Kufstein, Austria, and St Martin, Pfongau, Austria: Gleischer 2006, Abb. 6: 2,3).

– Likewise, it can be said that there are no recorded cases of High Medieval graves right next to a building that was not a church.

– Podobno lahko rečemo, da ni bil dokumentiran noben visokosrednjeveški grob, ki bi ležal tik ob sočasni stavbi, ki bi ne bila cerkvena stavba.

Obstoj apside, vzhodna usmeritev stavbe, kontinuiteta rabe prostora in sočasni grobovi so torej zanesljivi argumenti, da obravnavane stavbe z apsido interpretiramo kot več gradbenih faz krščanske cerkve.

Kolikor lahko o arhitekturi sodimo na podlagi tlorisa, se zdi, da je bila najstarejša cerkev sprva načrtovana skladno z načeli predromanske cerkvene arhitekture kot simetrična stavba s polkrožno apsido in proporcem cerkvene ladje 1 : √2. Toda zaradi prilagajanja konfiguraciji terena izvedba ni sledila načrtom in zgrajena je bila nesimetrična, verjetno večidel lesena stavba. Ta cerkev je bila porušena do tal in nadomestila jo je stavba podobnega videza, velikosti in proporcev, ki pa je bila morda že zidana iz kamna. Verjetno naknadno ji je bil na zahodni strani prizidan podaljšek ladje s tlorisom nepravilnega trapeza. Ta je s svojo nenavadno obliko cerkveno ladjo funkcionalno razdelil na nesomerna dela, podobno kot pri zgodnjesrednjeveških cerkvah sv. Petra (Sclavons, Cordenone, Italija: Gleischer 2006, Abb. 3:1) in sv. Avguština (St. Margarethen, Avstrija: Gleischer 2006, Abb. 6:1). Morda je ta delitev imela podoben liturgični namen kot delitev cerkvenih ladij s kamnito pregrado s pleteninasto ornamentiko, na primer v Molzbichlu (Eichert 2012, 51–55; glej tam navedeno literaturo).

Dimenzije, oblika apsid in pravilen proporc ladje obeh stavb s polkrožno apsido so značilni elementi predromanske cerkvene arhitekture (Stopar 2017, 18–19). Temeljita rušitev najstarejših dveh cerkva nas utrjuje v interpretaciji, da sta bili stavbi vsaj delno leseni in da so rušitve posledica običajnega nadomeščanja dotrajanih stavb. Morda o trajnosti tovrstnih objektov lahko sklepamo na podlagi primerjave z bližnjo *leseno cerkvico* v Lescah. Ta je bila porušena in nadomeščena s kamnito, *potem ko je preteklo veliko časa* (*post multorum vero cursum temporum*); to trajanje je interpretirano kot 6 do 7 desetletij (Bizjak 2012).

Na Blejskem otoku je sledila zidava kamnite cerkve s podkvasto apsido, ki jo glede na velikost in obliko lahko označimo za tipično romansko arhitekturo. Drugače od obeh predhodnih cerkva, ko so se graditelji prilagajali terenu, so tokrat s klesanjem skalne osnove intenzivno posegli v prostor in izravnali površino vsaj 74,2 m^2. Ohranjeni tlaki iz maltnega estriha kažejo na enotno in dobro vzdrževano notranjost cerkvene ladje.

V nadaljevanju zgolj zaradi preglednosti starejši stavbi imenujemo prva in druga predromanska cerkev (faze 2), mlajšo pa romanska cerkev (faze 3).

The apses, the orientation of the buildings towards the east, the continuous use of space, and the contemporary graves are therefore reliable arguments that these buildings with apses can be resolutely interpreted as several construction phases of a Christian church.

Based on what a floor plan can reveal about the architecture, it seems that the earliest church was originally planned in accordance with the principles of Pre-Romanesque ecclesiastical architecture: as a symmetrical building with a semi-circular apse and the 1:√2 ratio of the nave, but owing to the adjustment to the configuration of the terrain, the implementation did not follow the plans and an asymmetrical, mostly wooden building was constructed. This church was razed to the ground and replaced by a building similar in appearance, size, and proportions, but perhaps already made of stone. It was probably later that an extension of the nave in the shape of an irregular trapezium was built on the western side. With its unusual shape, the extension functionally divided the church nave into two asymmetrical parts, similarly to the Early Medieval churches of St Peter (Sclavons, Cordenone, Italy: Gleischer 2006, Abb. 3:1) and St Augustine (St. Margarethen, Austria: Gleischer 2006, Abb. 6:1). Perhaps this division had a similar liturgical meaning as the division of church naves by stone screens with interlace decoration, for example in Molzbichl (Eichert 2012, 51–55; see the literature there cited).

The dimensions, the shape of the apses, and the regular proportions of the naves of both buildings with semi-circular apses are typical elements of Pre-Romanesque ecclesiastical architecture (Stopar 2017, 18–19). The complete destruction of the earliest two churches reinforces the interpretation that these buildings were at least partly made of wood, and that the demolition was due to the usual replacement of obsolete buildings. Perhaps an inference can be made regarding the duration of such buildings on the basis of a comparison with a roughly contemporary *small wooden church* in the nearby Lesce. This church was demolished *after a long course of time* (*post multorum vero cursum temporum*) to be replaced by a stone church; this time period is interpreted as six to seven decades (Bizjak 2012).

On Bled Island, this was followed by the construction of a stone church with a horseshoe-shaped apse, which can be, on the basis of its size and shape, described as a typical Romanesque church building. Unlike the previous two churches, in the construction of which adjustments to the terrain were made, this time the builders levelled the bedrock and made substantial changes in the geomorphology of the island, levelling the surface of at least 74.2 m^2. The surviving mortar pavements indicate a uniform and well-maintained church nave interior.

Only for the sake of transparency, the earlier two buildings are henceforth referred to as the first and the second Pre-Romanesque church (of Phase 2), and the earlier church is referred to as the Romanesque church (of Phase 3).

6. MORFOMETRIČNE ANALIZE NAJDIŠČA

6. MORPHOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF THE SITE

Benjamin ŠTULAR

6.1 GROBNI ATRIBUTI

V tem poglavju prikazujemo rezultate morfometrične analize grobnih atributov. Natančneje, opazovali smo pojavnosti različnih atributov v prostoru. Izbor ni bil pogojen z metodološkim premislekom ali konkretnimi znanstvenimi vprašanji, temveč z dostopnostjo podatkov: obravnavamo vse atribute, ki jih je bilo iz obstoječe dokumentacije možno zajeti sistematično za vse grobove iz risarske (ponovni pokopi in lega rok) in pisne dokumentacije (prisotnost oglja, malte in lončenine v zasutju, vkopanost v skalno osnovo).

6.1.1 GROBNE JAME

Pri opisovanju grobov so izkopavalci razmeroma sistematično beležili podlago, v katero je bila vkopana posamezna grobna jama. Tako so ločevali grobove:

– vkopane v humus,
– delno vkopane v skalno podlago,
– vklesane v skalno podlago, in
– grobnice.

Grobovi, vkopani v humus, prevladujejo severno od cerkve v grobiščnih skupinah G1 in G2. Na drugi strani grobovi, vklesani v skalno osnovo, prevladujejo južno od cerkve. To potrjuje pravilnost rekonstrukcije geomorfologije otoka v času pokopavanja (*sl. 3.13*).

Pri skupini G1 morda kaže omeniti trojico grobov na jugozahodnem robu te skupine, ki je bila vklesana v živo skalo. To verjetno kaže, da so pogrebci na tem delu dosegli skrajni rob grobišča, ki se jim je zdel še primeren za pokopavanje. Podobno kažejo posamezni grobovi na severnem robu te skupine, ki so bili delno vkopani v skalno podlago ali pa ležijo na njej.

Grobovi južno od cerkvene ladje potrjujejo stratigrafsko opredelitev v čas po gradnji romanske cerkve v fazi 3. Za to gradnjo je bila namreč opravljena obsežna izravnava terena s klesanjem skalne osnove in ves morebitni starejši arheološki zapis je bil tedaj uničen. Dotični grobovi so zatorej brez izjeme vklesani v skalno osnovo.

6.1 GRAVE ATTRIBUTES

This chapter presents the results of morphometric analysis of grave attributes. Specifically, a spatial analysis of various attributes was conducted. The selection of observed attributes was not conditional on methodological considerations or specific scientific questions, but unfortunately on the accessibility of data: the attributes discussed are all that could be recorded systematically for all the graves, either from the plan drawings (subsequent burials and the position of the arms) or from the textual documentation (charcoal, mortar, and pottery in the fill, being carved into the bedrock).

6.1.1 GRAVE PITS

In their descriptions of the graves, the excavators recorded the ground into which individual grave pits were dug relatively systematically. The graves were therefore classified as:

– dug into the humus,
– partly dug into the bedrock,
– carved into the bedrock, and
– tombs.

Graves dug into the humus are prevalent to the north of the church, in the G1 and G2 cemetery groups. On the other hand, graves carved into the bedrock prevail to the south of the church. This confirms the validity of the reconstruction of the geomorphology of the island at the time of the burials (*Fig. 3.13*).

In the G1 group there were three graves at the southwestern edge carved into the bedrock. This probably suggests that in that location, the grave diggers reached the very edge of the area they considered suitable for burials. Something similar is indicated by individual graves along the northern edge of this group, which are either partly dug into the bedrock or lie on the bedrock.

The graves south of the church nave confirm the stratigraphy-based dating to the period after the construction of the Romanesque church in Phase 3. The construc-

* Translation Meta Osredkar.

6.1.2 POLNILA GROBNIH JAM

Kot večkrat omenjeno, obravnavana izkopavanja niso bila stratigrafska, zato podatki o vsebini polnila grobnih jam niso natančni niti niso opisani kriteriji, po katerih je bil določen predmet pripisan *zasutju* posameznega groba. Razprostranjenost nekaterih artefaktov in ekofaktov je zato pomemben element za interpretacijo.

Drobci oglja v zasutju zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov niso neobičajni (npr. Sagadin 2001, 362–367). Na obravnavanem grobišču so v zasutju štirih grobov (**št. 18, 22, 46, 63;** *sl. 6.1*) grobiščne skupine G1. Ti grobovi so razprostranjeni na majhnem prostoru, najdlje 2,95 m od stratigrafsko sočasnega ognjišča (glej pogl. 4.2). Eden izmed grobov (št. 46) je bil vkopan delno v prežgano plast ognjišča in bi oglje lahko prišlo v grob tudi ob prekopavanju. Vendar na ognjišču oglje ni bilo ohranjeno, kar pomeni, da je bilo ognjišče po kurjenju očiščeno. V nobenem primeru pa to ni možna razlaga za preostale tri grobove (št. 18, 22, 63), ki ležijo nekoliko vstran od ognjišča in niso bili vkopani neposredno vanj. Medsebojna bližina ognjišča in grobov z drobci oglja v zasutju na eni strani ter lega ognjišča, ki se mu grobovi

6.1.2 GRAVE PIT FILLS

tion was preceded by a large-scale levelling of the ground, which included carving the bedrock, and all potential earlier archaeological record was destroyed. These graves are therefore without exception carved into the bedrock.

As has been mentioned several times, the excavations did not adhere to the stratigraphic method and consequently the data about the fills of grave pits is not accurate. There is also no description of the criteria according to which a specific object was attributed to the *fill* of a grave. The distribution of some artefacts and ecofacts is therefore an important piece of information for the interpretation.

Charcoal fragments are not unusual in the fill of Early Medieval graves (e.g. Sagadin 2001, 362–367). In the Bled Island cemetery, they are present in the fill of four graves (nos. 18, 22, 46, 63; *Fig. 6.1*) of the G1 cemetery group. These graves are distributed over a small area, no more than 2.95 m from the stratigraphically contemporary fireplace (see Chapter 4.2). One of the graves (no. 46) was partly dug into the burnt layer of the fireplace. This

Sl. 6.1: Blejski otok, črno grobovi z ogljem v zasutju; sivo – ostali grobovi (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.1: Bled Island, graves with charcoal in the filling (black); other graves in grey (by B. Štular).

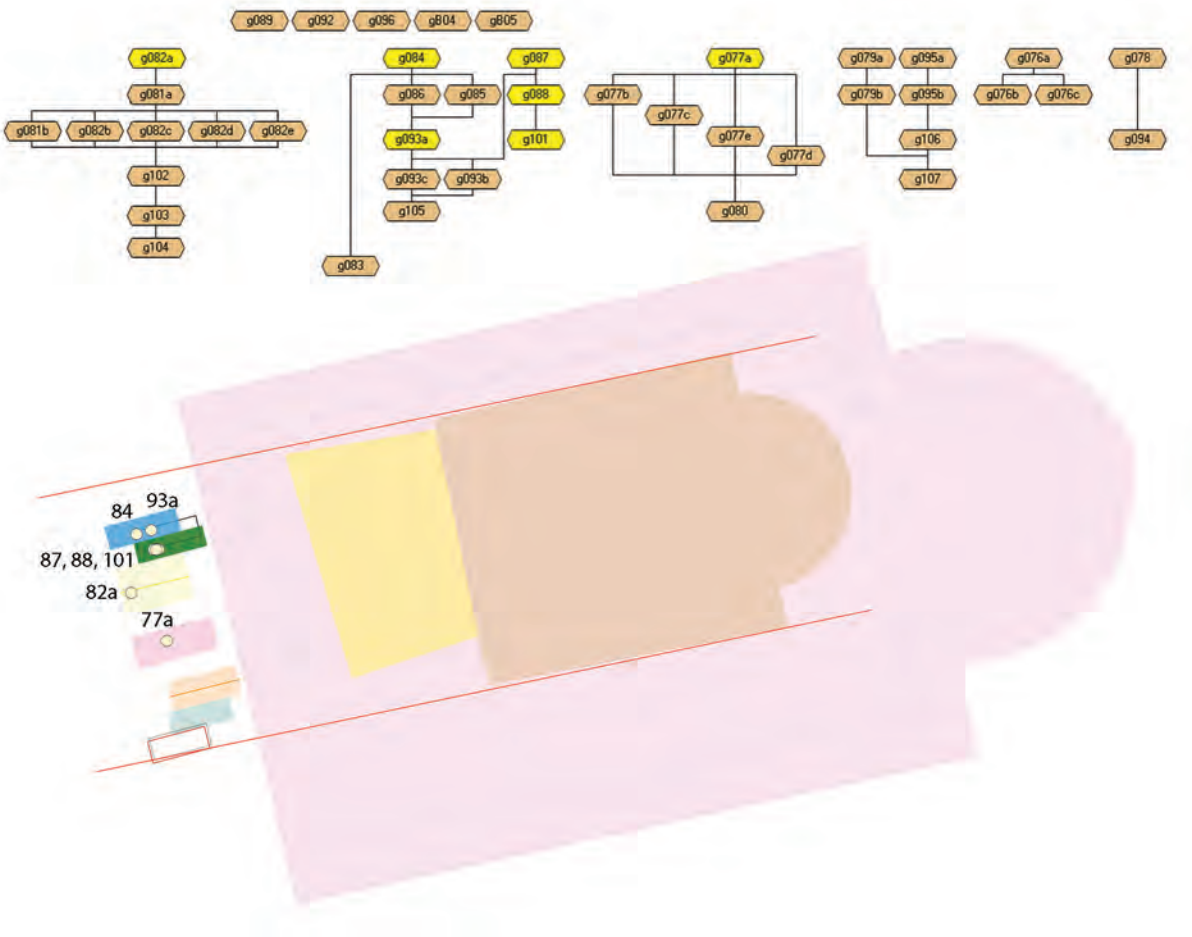
izogibajo, na drugi strani ne puščata mnogo možnosti za interpretacijo. Vir oglja v grobovih je prav to ognjišče, ki je bilo kurjeno v času med izkopom in zasutjem omenjenih grobnih jam.

Podobno interpretiramo drobce malte, dokumentirane v 7 grobovih (št. 77a, 82a, 84, 87, 88, 93a, 101) grobiščne skupine G4, in sicer v stratigrafsko mlajših grobovih te skupine (*sl. 6.2*). Ta ugotovitev je kronološko pomenljiva, saj dokazuje neposredno bližino z malto ometane stavbe v času mlajših, ne pa tudi v času stratigrafsko starejših grobov (glej pogl. 7.3). Vir malte je lahko le zahodni zid cerkvene ladje romanske cerkve faze 3 (prim. Šribar 1966a, 89), tik ob katerem so bili grobovi vkopani. Zahodna stena cerkve faze 2a je bila namreč oddaljena 6 m, faze 2b pa 3 metre.

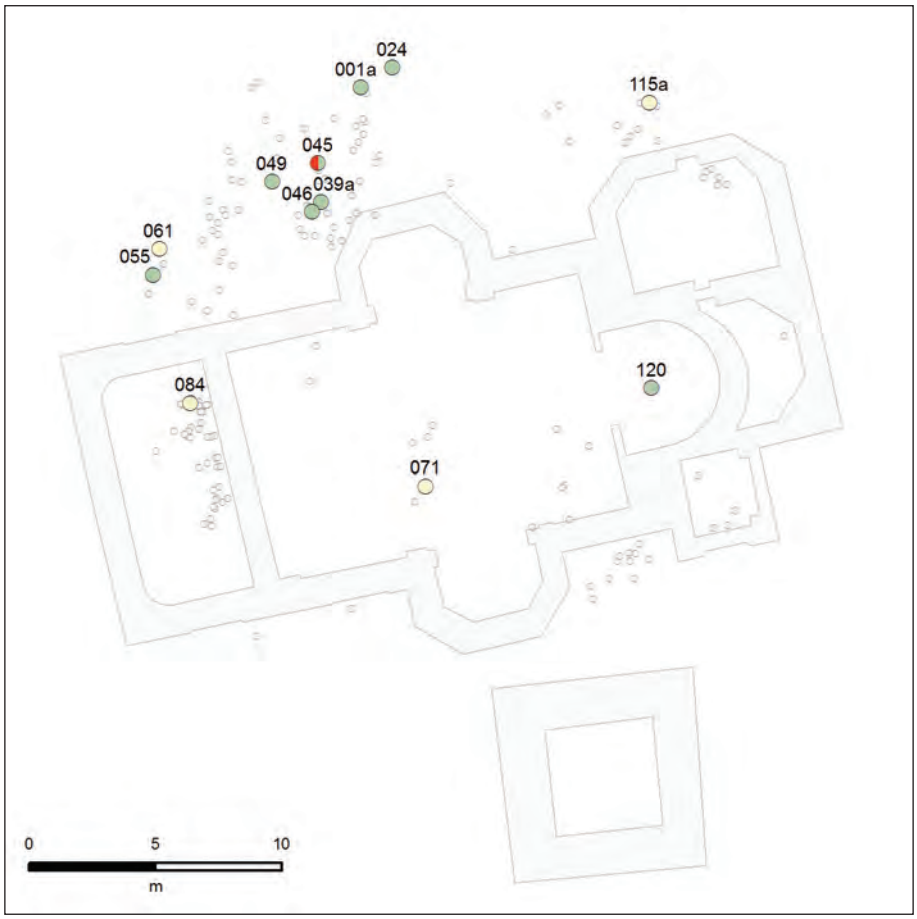
V grobovih (št. 67 in 71) je bil v zasutju dokumentiran tudi pesek. Tega ne moremo podrobneje

could have been the potential source of the charcoal in the grave, save for the fact that the charcoal does not survive in the fireplace itself, which means that the fireplace was cleared after the end of its use. Either way, the other three graves (nos. 18, 22, 63) are positioned slightly further away from the fireplace and were not dug through the fireplace. The proximity of the fireplace and the graves with charcoal fragments in their fills on the one hand, and on the other hand the location of the fireplace, which is avoided by the graves, do not leave many options for interpretation. The source of the charcoal in the graves is this very fireplace, which was used in the time between the digging of the graves and the filling of the grave pits, i.e. during the funeral.

Similarly interpreted are fragments of mortar, which were recorded in seven graves (nos. 77a, 82a, 84, 87, 88, 93a, 101) of the G4 cemetery group. These graves are among the stratigraphically latest graves of the group



Sl. 6.2: Blejski otok, fazi 2b in 3. Zgoraj Harrisov diagram (t.i. stratigrafska matrika) grobiščne skupine G. Spodaj načrt cerkvenih stavb faz 2b (rjavo cerkvena ladja, rumeno prizidek) in 3 (vijolično) ter lokacija sočasnih grobnic (barvasti pravokotniki); rumeno so označeni grobovi z malto v zasutju (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.2: Bled Island, Phases 2b and 3. Above Harris matrix of cemetery group G4. Below plan of church buildings in Phase 2b (brown for church nave, yellow for appendix) and 3 (purple) and location of contemporary grave chambers (coloured rectangles); graves with mortar in the filling are marked in yellow (by B. Štular).



Sl. 6.3: Blejski otok, grobovi z lončenino v zasutju: zeleno – prazgodovinska lončenina; rdeče – zgodnjesrednjeveška lončenina; rumeno – poznosrednjeveška lončenina; sivo – ostali grobovi (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.3: Bled Island, graves with pottery in the filling: green – prehistoric pottery; red – early medieval pottery; yellow – late medieval pottery; grey – no pottery (by B. Štular).

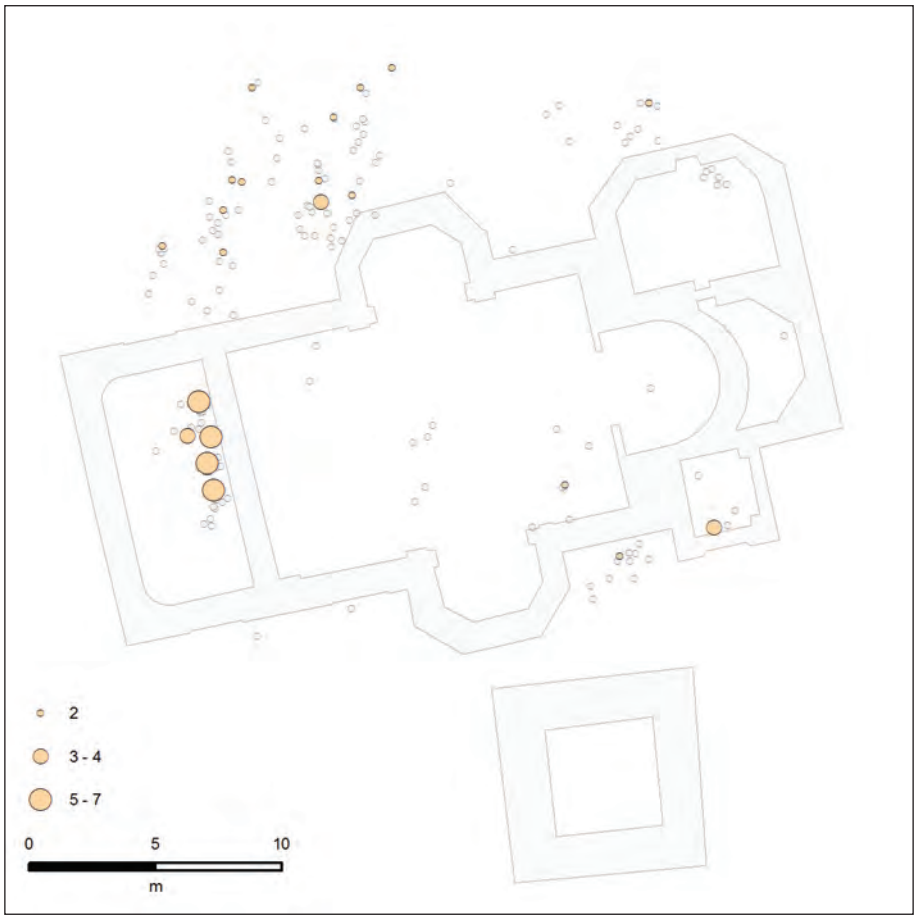
interpretirati, a verjetno ni naključje, da gre za edina grobova faze 2.

Odlomki lončenine so bili dokumentirani v 13 grobovih (*sl. 6.3*). Lončenina v 8 grobovih (št. 1, 24, 39, 45, 46, 49, 55, 120) je prazgodovinska. Ta lončenina je rezidualna, kar dokazuje tudi razprostranjenost, ki se ujema z razprostranjenostjo prazgodovinskih najdb (glej pogl. 1.4.1). V štirih grobovih (št. 61, 71, 84, 115) so odlomki lončenine, izvrtene na lončarskem kolesu, kakršno datiramo v čas od vključno 13. stoletja (*t. 6:* 5, 6, 8–13). Te odlomke interpretiramo kot infiltrirane najdbe. V grobu 45 sta dva odlomka morda zgodnjesrednjeveške lončenine (*t. 6:* 3, 4). Ker posamezne odlomke sočasne lončenine poznamo tudi z drugih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč (npr. Pleterski idr. 2019, 68, 69, 72 itd.), se zdi upravičena domneva, da je lončenina sočasna pokopu. Natančnejšo interpretacijo – na primer ali gre za namerne pridatke, ostanke pogrebnega obreda, ostanke drugih dejavnosti na prostoru grobišča ali kaj četrtega – bo treba iskati na primerljivih moderno izkopanih grobiščih.

(*Fig. 6.2*). This finding also has chronological implications, for it demonstrates the immediate vicinity of a mortar-plastered building at the time of the stratigraphically later graves – but not stratigraphically earlier graves (see Chapter 7.3). The only possible source of mortar is the western wall of the nave of the Phase 3 Romanesque church (*cf.* Šribar 1966a, 89), in the immediate vicinity of the graves. The western wall of the Phase 2a church was 6 m away and the wall of the Phase 2b church was 3 m away.

There was also sand recorded in the fills of the graves (nos. 67 and 71). While a more detailed interpretation is not possible, it is probably no coincidence that these two graves are the only graves of Phase 2.

Pottery fragments were recorded in 13 graves (*Fig. 6.3*). Eight graves (nos. 1, 24, 39, 45, 46, 49, 55, 120) contained prehistoric pottery. This is residual pottery, as confirmed by its distribution, which matches the distribution of the prehistoric finds (see Chapter 1.4.1). Four graves (nos. 61, 71, 84, 115) contained fragments of wheel-thrown pottery dated to the 13th century and later (*Pl. 6:* 5, 6, 8–13). These fragments are interpreted as infiltrated



Sl. 6.4: Blejski otok, število ponovnih pokopov v isto grobno jamo (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.4: Bled Island, map of re-burials (by B. Štular).

6.1.3 POKOPI V ISTO GROBNO JAMO

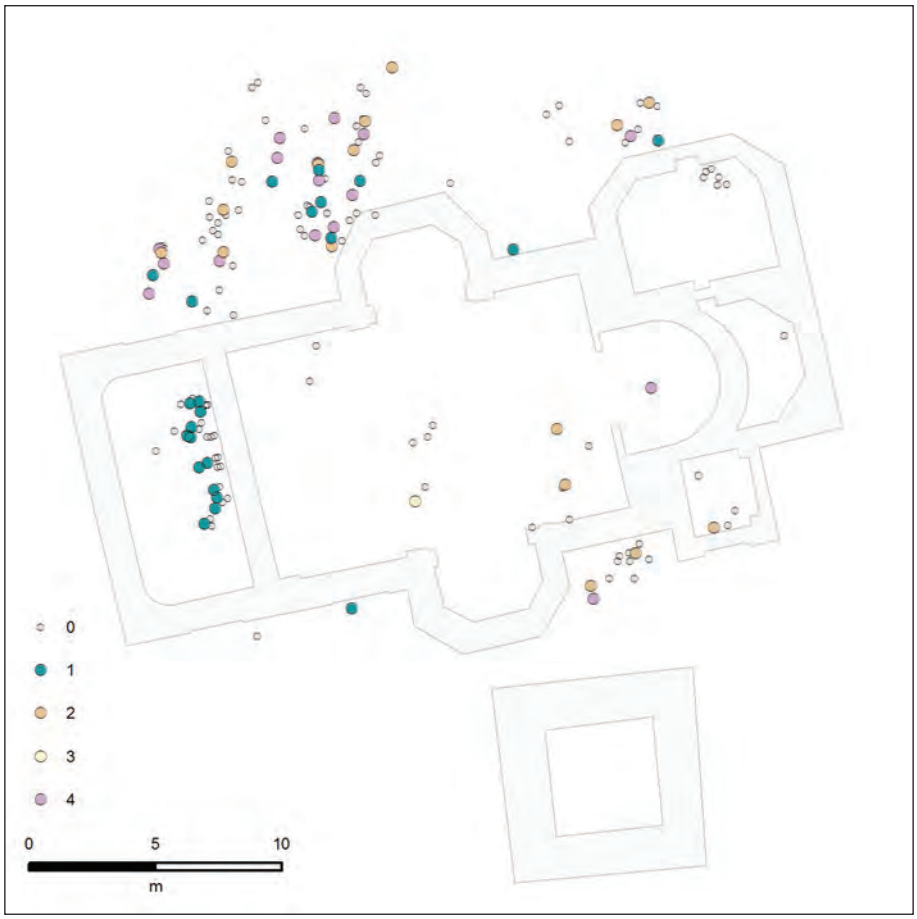
Na obravnavanem grobišču 27 odstotkov grobov kaže sledove poznejšega pokopavanja v isto grobno jamo (*sl. 6.4*). Ker so bile grobne jame identificirane le izjemoma, je o tem mogoče sklepati le posredno, glede na lego skeletov. Kot ponovne pokope štejemo le tiste grobove, ki imajo v grobu poleg dobro ohranjenega skeleta še lobanjske in/ali dolge kosti, ki so (bolj ali manj) skrbno zložene ob robovih (npr. grob št. 81 in 93; *terenske risbe N 11*).

Na večjem delu grobišča se ponovni pokopi pojavljajo sporadično, pri čemer gre za 2- do 3-kratni naknadni pokop. Štirikratni naknadni pokop je evidentiran le pri grobovih 39 in 109. V prvem primeru gre za namenski sekundarni pokop – kot se zdi na podlagi lege posameznih kosti – več pokojnikov v organski pravokotni recipient, verjetno lesen zaboj. V drugem primeru gre za kosti v zasutju, ki jih najverjetneje lahko interpretiramo kot zakop kosti, na katere so naleteli graditelji cerkvene stavbe z gotsko arhitekturo v fazi 4.

finds. One grave (no. 45) contained two fragments of possibly Early Medieval pottery (*Pl. 6:* 3, 4). Since individual fragments of contemporary pottery are known from other Early Medieval cemeteries (e.g. Pleterski et. al. 2019, 68, 69, 72 etc.), it seems justified to assume that the pottery is contemporary with the burial. A more specific interpretation – for instance whether these are intentional grave goods, the remains of the burial ceremony, the remains of other activities in the area of the cemetery, or something else – will have to be sought in other comparable cemeteries, excavated using modern methods.

6.1.3 BURIALS IN THE SAME GRAVE PIT

In the Bled Island cemetery, 27% of graves show traces of subsequent burials in the same grave pit (*Fig. 6.4*). Since grave pits were identified only exceptionally, there is only indirect evidence of this, namely the position of the skeletons. Subsequent burials are therefore defined as those where a grave contains a well-preserved skeleton as



Sl. 6.5: Blejski otok, lega rok pokojnikov: 0 – ni ohranjena; 1 – v naročju (hipogastrična); 2 – ena v naročju, druga iztegnjena; 3 – sklenjene na prsih; 4 – Iztegnjene ob telesu (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.5: Bled Island, map of the deceased's hands' position: 0 – no data; 1 – in the lap (hypogastric); 2 – one in lap the other fully stretched; 3 – on chest as if in prayer; 4 – fully stretched (by B. Štular).

Izrazito pa od ostalega grobišča v tem elementu izstopa grobiščna skupina G4. Velika večina tamkajšnjih grobov ima ponovne pokope in tudi edini primeri 5- in 6-kratnih pokopov so na tem delu grobišča.

Pokopavanje v isto grobno jamo je bilo torej na večjem delu grobišča opravljeno sporadično in ga interpretiramo kot posledico prostorske stiske. V grobiščni skupini G4 in v primeru groba 39 pa je bilo ponovno pokopavanje pravilo oziroma namerno dejanje.

6.1.4 LEGA ROK POKOJNIKOV

Drža rok pokojnikov je še ena izmed tem zgodnjesrednjeveške arheologije smrti, ki ima sicer dolgo zgodovino raziskav, a malo konkretnih arheoloških analiz. V našem primeru smo lego rok opredelili na podlagi risb in jih razdelili v 4 razmeroma ohlapno opredeljene skupine (*sl. 6.5*):

1. v naročju,
2. ena v naročju, druga iztegnjena,

well as a skull and/or other bones, (more or less) carefully placed along the edges (for example Graves 81 and 93; *field documentation N 11*).

In the larger part of the cemetery, subsequent burials appear sporadically as second or third burials. A fourth subsequent burial is only identified in Graves 39 and 109. In the first case this was an intentional secondary burial of – on the basis of the position of individual bones – several deceased in an organic rectangular receptacle, probably a wooden box. In the second case there are bones in the fill and they can probably be interpreted as the burial of bones discovered by the builders of the Gothic church in Phase 4.

When it comes to this element, the G4 cemetery group differs drastically from the rest of the cemetery. The vast majority of its graves contain subsequent burials and the only cases of a fifth and sixth subsequent burial are in this part of the cemetery.

Multiple burials in the same grave pit were therefore sporadic in most of the cemetery and are interpreted as a consequence of the lack of space. Subsequent burials were

3. sklenjene na prsih in
4. iztegnjene ob telesu.

Pokojnike z rokami v naročju najdemo na celotnem grobišču. Največ jih je v skupinah G1 in G4, vendar samo v skupini G4 tovrsten položaj rok izrazito prevladuje. V tej skupini ima to držo 92 odstotkov določljivih pokojnikov oziroma vsi razen že omenjenega groba (št. 105), ki od pravil skupine G4 odstopa v vseh analiziranih atributih.

Pokojniki z eno roko v naročju in drugo iztegnjeno oziroma z iztegnjenimi rokami ob telesu so enakomerno zastopani na vsem grobišču, razen seveda v skupini G4. Edini pokojnik z rokami, sklenjenimi na prsih (grob št. 67), je bil pokopan pred cerkvenim pragom v stratigrafski fazi 2b.

Ugotovljeno interpretiramo takole: v stratigrafski fazi 1 (G1, G2) drža rok ni bila pomembna, saj so vse različice enakomerno zastopane. Edini ohranjeni skelet iz faze 2 (G3) je tudi edini na celotnem grobišču z rokama, sklenjenima v drži molitve na prsih; to verjetno ni toliko kronološka značilnost kot posebnost tega groba (glej pogl. 8.2). Drža rok je bila pomembna pogrebcem v fazi 3 (G4), kjer imajo z eno izjemo vsi pokojniki roki v naročju. V grobovih v notranjosti ali tik izven sočasne cerkve faze 3 in 4 (G5) prevladujejo pokojniki z eno roko v naročju in drugo iztegnjeno.

6.2. ORIENTACIJA

Kot smo omenili v predgovoru, analiza grobov, pokojnikov in grobnih inventarjev ni bil naš glavni cilj, saj je temu namenjen 1. del knjige. Vendar morfologije stavbnih ostalin ni bilo mogoče analizirati ločeno od grobišča, saj so stavbe in grobovi stratigrafsko prepleteni in v nekaterih obdobjih soodvisni. Tako je na primer umestitev prve stavbe v prostor upoštevala nekatere aspekte predhodnega grobišča; na drugi strani sta na primer usmeritev in mesto grobov pod vsakokratnim cerkvenim pragom neposredna povezana s stavbo. V nadaljevanju predstavljamo analizo orientacije cerkva in grobov.

6.2.1 ORIENTACIJA CERKVA

Kot že grško-rimski templji so najkasneje od 8. stoletja tudi krščanske cerkve usmerjene proti vzhodu. Vzrok za to ima korenine globoko v prazgodovini. Človekova delitev obzornice oziroma horizonta na četrtine je najverjetneje egocentrična in izvira iz fizionomije človeškega telesa, ki zaznava 4 smeri: spredaj, zadaj, levo in desno. Sprva je šlo morda za delitev glede na orientir v naravi, kasneje glede na astronomska opazovanja. Štiridelna delitev horizonta neba je zagotovo starejša od organiziranih religij, a najkasneje s pojavom

intentional within the G4 cemetery group and in the case of Grave 39, however, and as such a part of burial customs.

6.1.4 POSITION OF THE ARMS OF THE DECEASED

The position of the arms of the deceased is another theme in the Early Medieval archaeology of death with a long history of research and few concrete archaeological analyses. In our case, the positions of the arms were taken from the plan drawings and divided into four relatively loosely defined groups (*Fig. 6.5*) where arms are positioned:

– in the lap,
– one arm in the lap, the other extended,
– clasped on the chest, and
– extended along the body.

Deceased with their hands in the lap can be found across the entire cemetery. While they are the most common in the G1 and G4 groups, it is only the G4 group where this position of the arms is distinctly predominant. In this group, arms are in the lap in 92% of the cases with an identifiable position, i.e. in all graves except for Grave 105 (which deviates from the rules of the G4 group in all analysed attributes).

The deceased with one arm in the lap and the other one extended or with both arms extended along the body are distributed evenly over the entire cemetery, except within the G4 group. The only deceased with hands clasped on the chest (Grave 67) was buried in front of the church threshold in stratigraphic Phase 2b.

These findings are interpreted as follows: in stratigraphic Phase 1 (G1, G2), the position of arms was not an important part of burial customs, since all groups are represented evenly. The only surviving skeleton from Phase 2 (G3) is at the same time the only deceased in the entire cemetery with hands clasped in the prayer position on the chest; this is probably less a chronological feature than a specific feature of this grave (see Chapter 8.2). The position of the arms was especially important in Phase 3 (G4), when, with one exception, the arms of all the deceased are in their laps. The deceased with one arm in the lap and the other one extended are prevalent in the graves inside the contemporary Phase 3 and Phase 4 churches or in the immediate vicinity (G5).

6.2 ORIENTATION

As mentioned in the foreword, the analysis of graves, the deceased and grave inventories constituted the subject of Part 1 of this book and is therefore not the main goal here. Nevertheless, in this particular case the morphology of the building remains cannot be analysed separately from the cemetery because the buildings and the graves

teh dobi tudi simbolni pomen. Tako lingvistične študije izkazujejo izjemen pomen vzhoda v svetovnem nazoru prazgodovinskih indoevropejcev, ki nedvomno izvira iz češčenja Sonca; na drugi strani zahod krščanstvo povezuje s satansko temačnostjo, žalostjo in smrtjo. Delitev se je v številnih religijah, na primer krščanski, muslimanski in judovski, prenesla tudi na pojmovanje onostranstva (Ratz 1978; prim. Evans 1989, 234).

Začetki modernih raziskav orientacije srednjeveških cerkva segajo v 19. stoletje, ko je bila na podlagi pesmi angleškega poeta iz 18. stoletja postavljena hipoteza, da so bile srednjeveške cerkve orientirane proti vzhajališču Sonca na dan cerkvenega zavetnika (Hinton 2012, 9–11). Natančna analiza pisnih virov je pokazala, da so vsaj ponekod stremeli k usmeritvi proti vzhodu Sonca ob enakonočju (Vogel in dr. 1962). Tako je v svojem breviariju srednjeveških znanosti povzel klasične gromatike Izidor Sevilski (+ 636):

> *Unde et quando templum construebant, orientem spectabant aequinoctialem, ita ut lineae ab ortu ad occidentem missae fierent partes caeli dextra sinistra aequales; ut qui consuleret atque precaretur rectum aspiceret orientem.*[1]

Da je isto veljalo še sredi 13. stoletja, sporoča francoski škof Guillame Durando v svojem povzetku večstoletne tradicije liturgičnih komentarjev:

> *Debet quoque sic fundari, ut caput recte inspiciat versus orientem (...) videlicet versus ortum solis equinoctialem ...*[2]

Moderne analize orientacij cerkva iz Slovenije (Čaval 2010; 2014), Avstrije (Eichert 2012, 244–251), severne Italije (Spinazzè 2014; 2016a; 2016b), Iberskega polotoka (Gonzáles-Garcia, Belmonte 2015, Valcárcel, Palmero 2018) in Anglije ter Walesa (Ali, Cunich 2001; Hinton 2006; 2012; Sassin Allen 2016) nedvoumno dokazujejo, da je bila vzhodna orientacija evropskih srednjeveških cerkva vsaj zaželena, če že ne vedno uresničljiva. Vendar je prav vsaka izmed navedenih študij znotraj splošne vzhodne orientacije dokumentirala nenaključne variacije. Na primer: srednja vrednost orientacij 630 srednjeveških cerkva iz Walesa od kardinalnega vzhoda odstopa za 8° proti severu (Sassin Allen 2016, 158–159).

Te variacije oziroma razlike v usmeritvi cerkva avtorji razlagajo na več načinov. Cerkve naj bi bile orientirane proti vzhajališču (ali zahajališču) Sonca na dan cerkvenega zavetnika, na veliko noč ali drug pomemben cerkveni praznik, na dan polaganja temeljev; razlike v orientaciji bi bile lahko posledica regionalnih, kronoloških ali monastičnih razlik, magnetne deklinacije,

[1] Orig. XV.4.

[2] Durand, *Rationale* I.1/8.

are stratigraphically intertwined and, in some periods, interdependent. For instance, in the positioning of the first building, certain aspects of the previous cemetery were considered. On the other hand, the orientations and positions of three graves under the respective church entrances were directly associated with the buildings in question. In the following, an analysis of the orientation of the Bled Island churches and graves is presented.

6.2.1 ORIENTATION OF CHURCHES

Like Greco-Roman temples, Christian churches have been oriented towards the east since at least the 8th century. The reasons are most likely rooted deep in prehistory. The human division of the horizon into four parts is probably egocentric and originates in the physiognomy of the human body, which knows four directions: front, back, left and right. At first this may have been based on a point of orientation in the landscape and later on astronomical observations. The division of the horizon into four parts is certainly earlier than organized religions and, with the emergence of the latter, it gained symbolic meaning. Linguistic studies point to the great significance of the East in the worldview of the prehistoric Indo-Europeans, undoubtedly originating in sun worship; in contrast, Christianity associates the West with satanic darkness, sadness and death. In religions such as Christianity, Islam and Judaism, this division was transferred to the conception of the afterlife (Ratz 1978; *cf.* Evans 1989, 234).

The beginnings of modern research into the orientation of medieval churches could be found into the 19th century, when on the basis of a poem by an English 18th-century poet, a hypothesis was established that medieval churches were oriented towards the point where the sun rose on the day of the patron saint of the church (Hinton 2012, 9–11). Nevertheless, a thorough analysis of written sources revealed that the intention was to have the church oriented towards the rising sun at the equinox (Vogel et al. 1962). In his compilation of medieval sciences, Isidore of Seville (+ 636) summarized the classical gromatists:

> *Unde et quando templum construebant, orientem spectabant aequinoctialem, ita ut lineae ab ortu ad occidentem missae fierent partes caeli dextra sinistra aequales; ut qui consuleret atque precaretur rectum aspiceret orientem.*[1]

This remained true as late as the mid-13th century, as reported by French bishop Guillame Durando in his summary of a centuries-long tradition of liturgical comments:

[1] *Orig.* XV.4.

nadmorske višine, lokalne topografije ali pokrajinskega konteksta (Sassin Allen 2016, 158–170 in tam navedena literatura). Razlage lahko strnemo v 4 skupine, ki orientacijo cerkva delijo na simbolno, pejsažno oziroma topografsko, liturgično in konstrukcijsko (Valcárcel, Palmero 2018, 175–176 in tam navedena literatura; prim. Čaval 2010, 42). Za vsako izmed navedenih razlag obstajajo argumenti za in proti, nobena pa ne pojasni vseh primerov. Zato se zdi najkoristnejša obravnava posameznih primerov ali vsaj sorodnih si skupin cerkva, in sicer v kontekstu pokrajine in ostalih merodajnih kontekstov (npr. Pleterski 2014).

Metodološko je izjemnega pomena opozorilo, da le najnovejše študije (Čaval 2010; Pleterski 2014; Gonzáles-Garcia, Belmonte 2015; Spinazzè 2016b; Valcárcel, Palmero 2018) analizirajo astronomske orientacije. Po merodajnosti se jim približa še angleška analiza kalibriranih magnetnih deklinacij (Ali, Cunich 2001). Vse ostale študije obravnavajo kartografske orientacije, zato njihovi rezultati niso primerni za analizo vzhajališča in zahajališča Sonca.

Prva študija, ki je primerljiva z Blejskim otokom, je obravnavala 167 cerkva, zgrajenih na Iberskem polotoku pred letom 1086. Največ jih je orientiranih glede na kanonično določen datum enakonočja, 25. marec po julijanskem koledarju. Orientacij, ki bi upoštevale dan cerkvenega zavetnika, študija ni zaznala (Gonzáles-Garcia, Belmonte 2015). Naslednja študija je obravnavala izbor izmed zgornjih cerkva, in sicer 49 predromanskih cerkva, zgrajenih pretežno v 10. stoletju v tako imenovanem mozarabskem slogu. Rezultati te študije so sicer potrdili prevladujočo astronomsko orientacijo, a tokrat pretežno glede na vzhajališče Sonca na pomemben krščanski praznik. Najpogostejša je orientacija na veliki šmaren, praznik Marijinega vnebovzetja 15. avgusta (Valcárcel, Palmero 2018, 185). Študiji istih cerkva torej prinašata različne zaključke.

Naslednja primerljiva je analiza 143 velikih zgodnjesrednjeveških cerkva v Angliji in Walesu, ustanovljenih večinoma v 11. in 12. stoletju. Dve petini teh je orientiranih proti vzhajališču ali zahajališču Sonca na dan cerkvenega zavetnika, nadaljnja četrtina pa proti vzhajališču Sonca na veliko noč (Ali, Cunich 2001). Razlago za slednje morda lahko vidimo v tedanji katoliški liturgiji: praznovanje velike noči na pravi datum je bil eden ključnih elementov tako imenovane ortoprakse, torej pravilnega izvajanja ritualov (Geary 2001, 197).

Prostorsko mnogo bližja blejski cerkvi je analiza 181 cerkva od švicarskih Alp do Toskane, zgrajenih pred romaniko ali v obdobju med 10. in 12. stoletjem. Večina je bila orientiranih glede na vzhajališče Sonca na praznik cerkvenega zavetnika ali glede na vzhajališče Sonca na enega od štirih Marijinih praznikov (Spinazzè 2016b). Najbližje Bledu so primerjave iz analize astronomske usmeritve romanskih cerkva v Sloveniji. Rezultat razkriva velik razpon smeri, ki se gostijo okoli pomenljivih

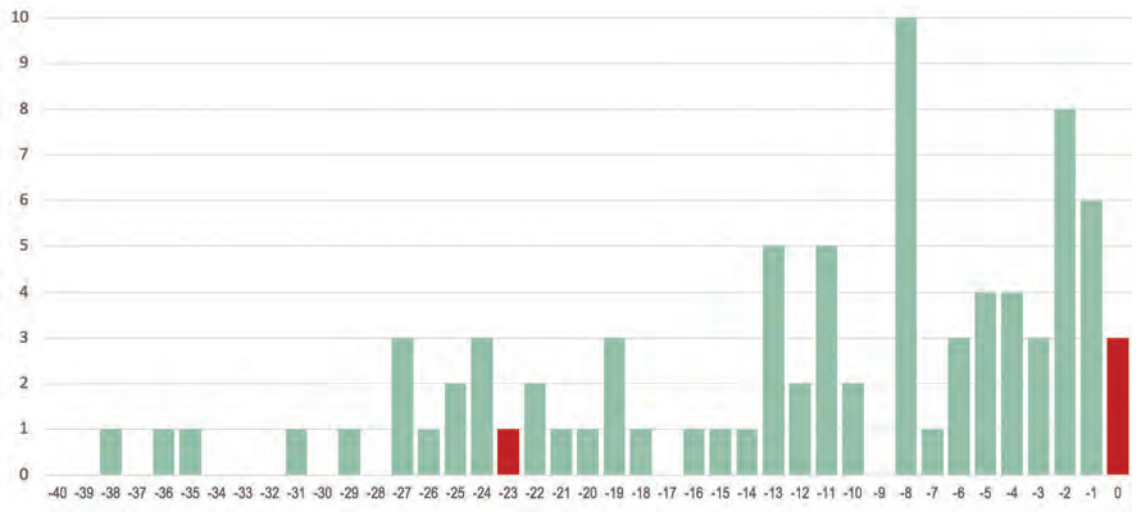
Debet quoque sic fundari, ut caput recte inspiciat versus orientem (...) videlicet versus ortum solis equinoctialem ...[2]

Modern analyses of the orientation of churches in Slovenia (Čaval 2010, 2014), Austria (Eichert 2012, 244–251), Northern Italy (Spinazzè 2014, 2016a, 2016b), the Iberian Peninsula (Gonzáles-Garcia, Belmonte 2015; Valcárcel, Palmero 2018), England and Wales (Ali, Cunich 2001; Hinton 2006, 2012; Sassin Allen 2016) fully confirm the notion that orientation towards the east was at least desired, if not always achieved. Notably, each of these studies recorded non-accidental variations within the general pattern of orientation towards the east. For instance, the mean value of the orientation of 630 medieval churches in Wales deviates from true (cardinal, geodetic) east for 8° to the north (Sassin Allen 2016, 158–159).

Recorded variations or differences in the orientation of churches have been explained in various ways. Churches were supposedly oriented towards the point where the sun rose (or set) on the day of the patron saint of the church, on Easter or some other important church holiday, or on the day the foundations were laid. Moreover, differences in orientation could be the consequence of regional, chronological or monastic differences, magnetic declination, elevation above sea level, local topography, or the regional context (Sassin Allen 2016, 158–170; see also the literature cited therein). Explanations can be summarized into four groups, classifying the orientation of churches as either symbolic, landscape-based or topographical, liturgical and constructional (Valcárcel, Palmero 2018, 175–176; see also the literature cited therein; *cf.* Čaval 2010). For each of the listed explanations there are pro and con arguments, with none explaining all cases. Therefore, the best way forward seems to be to study individual examples or at least groups of comparable churches in the context of landscapes and other relevant domains (e.g. Pleterski 2014). Methodologically, it is extremely important to note that astronomical orientations have only been analyzed recently (Čaval 2010; Pleterski 2014; Gonzáles-Garcia, Belmonte 2015; Spinazzè 2016b; Valcárcel, Palmero 2018). English analyses of calibrated magnetic declinations are of comparable methodological quality (Ali, Cunich 2001). All other studies discuss cartographic orientations and their results are not suitable for an astronomic analysis of where on the horizon the sun sets and rises.

The first study relevant to Bled Island is an analysis of 167 churches built in the Iberian Peninsula before 1086. Most of these are oriented in accordance with the canonically decided date of the equinox: 25th March by the Julian calendar. No orientations based on the day of the patron saint of the church are detected in the study (Gonzáles-Garcia, Belmonte 2015). A subsequent study has limited the selection to 49 pre-Romanesque churches, mostly built in the 10th century in the so-called Mozarabic style.

[2] Durand, *Rationale* I.1/8.



Sl. 6.6 / Fig. 6.6

dni v Sončevem in Luninem ciklu (npr. solsticijev in ekvinokcijev) bodisi na datume pomembnih liturgičnih praznikov predkrščanskega izvora. Med temi je tudi praznik Marijinega vnebovzetja, ki je pogojil usmeritev osmih cerkva. Cerkve, orientirane glede na praznik cerkvenega zavetnika, so redke (Čaval 2010; *sl. 6.6*).

Iz povedanega lahko potegnemo dva za Blejski otok pomembna zaključka. Prvič: vse študije, ki analizirajo astronomsko orientacijo, so odkrile prevladujoč delež astronomsko orientiranih cerkva; orientacije se gostijo na liturgično pomembne datume. Drugič: v alpskem svetu in morda v Angliji je določen delež cerkva orientiranih glede na praznik svojega zavetnika. Metodološko rigorozne moderne študije so torej potrdile prevladujočo astronomsko orientacijo cerkva, zgrajenih med 10. in 12. stoletjem, ki se je starejšim raziskovalcem izmikala.

Kam sodi cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja na Blejskem otoku, je pokazala Čavalova (Čaval 2010, 176–178 in 309–314). Izmerjena vzhodna astronomska usmeritev severne fasade današnje cerkve na Blejskem otoku je 76° 43', južne fasade pa 76° 34'; izračunana deklinacija vzhajališča Sonca je 11° 38'. Slednje pomeni datum 16. avgust po julijanskem koledarju z možnostjo enodnevne napake. Cerkev na Blejskem otoku je tako usmerjena proti sončnemu vzhodu na praznik Marijinega vnebovzetja. Ker je cerkev na Blejskem otoku posvečena Marijinemu vnebovzetju (glej pogl. 8.1), je to hkrati usmeritev glede na praznik zavetnika.

Z arheoastronomsko analizo ni mogoče ugotoviti, ali so graditelji cerkev orientirali glede na liturgični praznik, glede na zavetnika, ali zavestno glede na oboje hkrati. Vendar se to razlikovanje bržčas zdi pomembno le modernemu raziskovalcu, srednjeveškemu graditelju in uporabniku cerkve je oboje pomenilo isto.

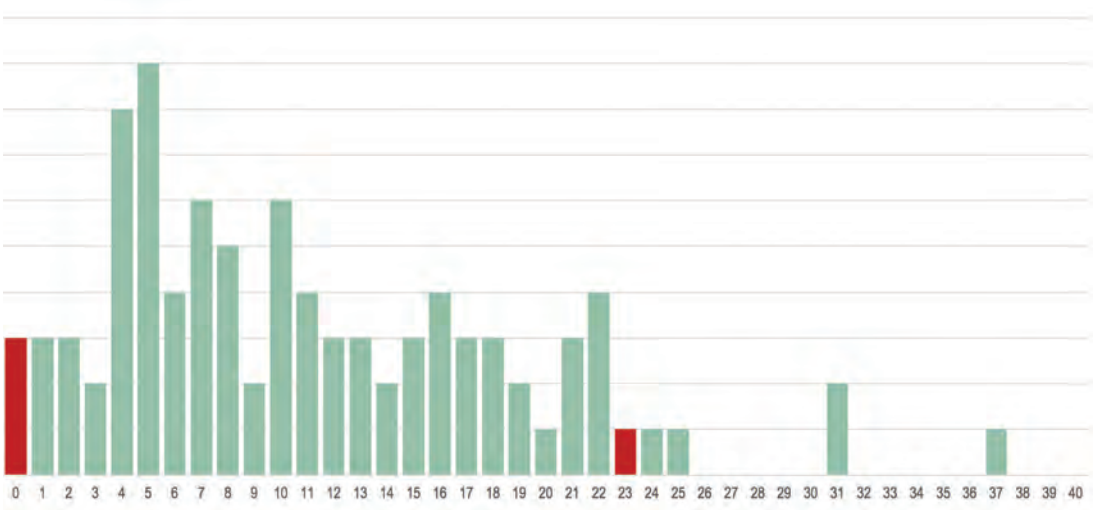
Naša analiza stavbnih ostankov na Blejskem otoku kaže, da se usmeritev cerkvenih stavb od prve ni spre-

The results of this study have confirmed the prevalence of astronomical orientation, but this time largely based on the rising point of the sun on an important Christian holiday. The most common of these dates is 15th August, the day of the Assumption (Valcárcel, Palmero 2018, 185). These two studies of the same churches have therefore offered different conclusions.

The next most comparable study is the analysis of 143 large Early Medieval churches in England and Wales, most of which were founded in the 11th and 12th centuries. Two fifths of them are oriented towards either the rising or the setting point of the sun on the day of the patron saint of the church and a quarter towards the rising point of the sun on Easter (Ali, Cunich 2001). The latter might be explained by contemporary Catholic liturgy: celebrating Easter on the right date was one of the key elements of the so-called orthopraxy, i.e. the accurate performance of rituals (Geary 2001).

Spatially much closer to the church on Bled Island is an analysis of 181 churches from the Swiss Alps and Tuscany (Italy), built either before or during the Romanesque period, i.e. between the 10th and 12th centuries. Most of them are oriented to the rising point of the sun on the day of the patron saint of the church, or to the rising point of the sun on one of the four Marian feast days (Spinazzè 2016b). Most pertinent to Bled are comparisons from an analysis of astronomical orientation of Romanesque churches in Slovenia. The result reveals a large range of directions concentrating either around meaningful days in the solar and lunar cycles (e.g. solstices and equinoxes) or the dates of important liturgical holidays of pre-Christian origin. Among them is the Assumption of Mary, which conditioned the orientation of eight churches. Few churches are oriented based on the day of their patron saint (Čaval 2010; *Fig. 6.6*).

Therefore, two conclusions directly relevant to the Bled Island analysis can be drawn. First, all of the studies



Sl. 6.6: Slovenija, vzhodne deklinacije Sonca pri romanskih cerkvah; z rdečo so označene vrednosti -23° (zimski solsticij), 0° (ekvinokcij) in 23° (poletni solsticij) (avtor B. Štular; vir: Čaval 2010, Slika 6.5).
Fig. 6.6: Slovenia, histogram of eastern declinations of the Sun at Romanesque churches; marked in red are -23° (winter solstice), 0° (equinox) and 23° (summer solstice) (by B. Štular; source: Čaval 2010, Fig. 6.5).

minjala. Astronomsko orientirana je bila najstarejša cerkev na Blejskem otoku (*sl. 5.1*), poznejše stavbe so tej orientaciji zelo natančno sledile. Povedano drugače, astronomsko orientirana je bila zgodnjesrednjeveška predromanska cerkev; visokosrednjeveška romanska cerkev (*sl. 5.4*) ni bila orientirana astronomsko, temveč v skladu s predhodno arhitekturo.

Morda je to razlog, da je usmeritev na veliki šmaren v slovenski študiji romanskih cerkva izjema, v študiji iberskih predromanskih ter italijanskih predromanskih in romanskih cerkva pa pravilo. Kot kaže, je astronomsko orientiranje cerkve glede na vzhajališče Sonca na praznik Marijinega vnebovzetja značilnost zgodnjesrednjeveških cerkva, grajenih v predromanskem slogu. Tega pravila pri gradnji novih cerkva v romanskem slogu v visokem srednjem veku niso več upoštevali; usmeritev se je tako v romanski cerkveni arhitekturi ohranila le izjemoma pri tistih cerkvah, ki so neposredno nadomestile zgodnjesrednjeveške predromanske stavbe.

6.2.2 ORIENTACIJA POKOPOV[3]

UVOD

Orientacija grobov in pokojnikov ima lahko določen pomen in je pomemben dejavnik v tistih religijah,

[3] Idejo in pobudo za analizo orientacije pokopov je dal A. Pleterski, za kar se mu na tem mestu zahvaljujem.

analyzing astronomical orientation have detected a large share of astronomically oriented churches focused on significant liturgical dates. Second, in Alpine regions and perhaps also in England, a certain proportion of churches are oriented in accordance with the feast day of their patron saint. Methodologically rigorous modern studies have thus confirmed the predominant astronomical orientation of churches built between the 10th and 12th centuries, which had eluded earlier researchers.

Čaval (2010, 176–178 and 309–314) has explained the orientation of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Bled Island. The eastern astronomical orientation of the present-day church on Bled Island was measured as 76° 43' for the northern façade and 76° 34' for the southern façade; the calculated declination of the rising point of the sun is 11° 38', which is calculated to be on 16th August by the Julian calendar, with a one-day margin of error. This means that the church on Bled Island is oriented towards the rising point of the sun on the day of the Assumption. Given that the church on Bled Island is dedicated to the Assumption of Mary (see Chapter 8.1), the orientation is identical to the feast day of the patron saint.

Archaeoastronomical analysis cannot determine whether the builders oriented this particular church in accordance with the liturgical feast day, in accordance with the patron saint, or consciously in accordance with both. Nevertheless, distinguishing between these options is probably only significant for modern researchers, whereas to medieval builders and church users it probably made no difference.

Analysis of architectural remains on Bled Island demonstrates that the orientation of church buildings did not change after the first building. The earliest church on Bled Island was astronomically oriented (*Fig. 5.1*) and later buildings followed this orientation. In other words, only the Early Medieval pre-Romanesque church was

pri katerih pogreb predstavlja pomemben del obredja (Parker Pearson 1999, 6). Srednjeveški grobovi so praviloma orientirani v smeri vzhod–zahod, z glavo proti zahodu oziroma s pogledom proti vzhodu (npr. Knific 2004; Brundke 2013, 32 s primeri in literaturo za severovzhodno Bavarsko; Nowotny 2018, 32–34). To usmeritev so zagotovo vodili podobni ali celo isti razlogi kot orientacijo sočasnih cerkva, vendar natančnega odgovora še ne poznamo. Po mnenju že omenjenega francoskega škofa Guillama Duranda iz 13. stoletja so bili pokojni tako usmerjeni zato, da bi lahko vstali obrnjeni proti mestu Kristusovega vstajenja. A to je bila najverjetneje zgolj racionalizacija dejanskega stanja (Ratz 1978; primb. Evans 1989, 234).

Pravilo so v krščanski praksi pogosto izvajali tako, da so pokopavali vzporedno s cerkvijo (Gordon 1971, 211–217; prim. Čaval 2010, 37–58 in tam navedena literatura). Vendar imajo vzhodno orientacijo tudi grobišča brez cerkve. Tehnično znanje za astronomsko določanje kardinalnega vzhoda za zgodnji srednji vek potrjuje na primer Beda Venerabilis (+ 735). Kot kaže analiza njegovih del, so ljudje vedeli, da kardinalni jug določa senca ob dnevni kulminaciji – ko gnomon meče najkrajšo senco (Hoare, Sweet 2000, 166; prim. Sassin Allen 2016, 154). Konkretno o dnevni kulminaciji Sonca izvemo:

> *Tanta autem lux cuncta ea loca perfuderat, ut omni splendore diei siue solis meridiani radiis uideretur esse praeclarior.*[4]

Beda Venerabilis še na treh mestih jasno pokaže, da so ljudje letno gibanje Sonca poznali dovolj dobro, da so se kadarkoli v letu lahko orientirali glede na položaj vzhoda Sonca v času zimskega in letnega solsticija. Tako:

> *… ab euroaustro, id est, ab alto brumalis exortus …*[5]

in

> *Incedebamus autem tacentes, … contra ortum solis solstitialem…*[6]

ter

> *…quasi contra ortum solis brumalem me ducere coepit.*[7]

To pomeni, da so bili vsaj Angli v prvi tretjini 8. stoletja sposobni ne le določanja kardinalnih smeri neba, temveč so imeli navidezno premikanje sončnega vzhoda po obzornici ves čas v zavesti. To so uporabljali

[4] Bed. Venerab. Histor. lib. 5 cap. 12 (prevod Miller 1999, 191; tam napačno označeno kot cap. XIII).

[5] Bed. Venerab. Histor. lib. 4 cap. 3 (prevod Miller 1999, 119).

[6] Bed. Venerab. Histor. lib. 5 cap. 12 (prevod Miller 1999, 189; tam napačno označeno kot cap. XIII).

[7] Bed. Venerab. Histor. lib. 5 cap. 12 (prevod Miller 1999, 191; tam napačno označeno kot cap. XIII).

astronomically oriented; the High Medieval Romanesque church (*Fig. 5.4*) was instead oriented in accordance with earlier architecture. Perhaps this is the reason why orientation in accordance with the day of the Assumption is an exception in the Slovenian study of Romanesque churches, while in the study of Iberian Pre-Romanesque and Italian Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque churches it is the rule. It seems that the astronomical orientation of a church in accordance with the rising point of the sun on the day of the Assumption is a feature of Early Medieval churches built in the pre-Romanesque style. In the construction of new Romanesque-style churches in the High Middle Ages, this rule was no longer observed, whereas in Romanesque ecclesiastical architecture orientation was preserved only as an exception in those churches that directly replaced Early Medieval pre-Romanesque buildings.

6.2.2 ORIENTATION OF BURIALS[3]

INTRODUCTION

The orientation of graves and their occupants may be significant. Indeed, it is a highly meaningful aspect of world religions in which burial is the main rite (Parker Pearson 1999). Medieval graves are usually oriented in an east-west direction, with the head towards the west, that is to say, looking towards the east (e.g. Knific 2004; Brundke 2013, 32 with examples and literature from north-east Bavaria; Nowotny 2018). While this orientation must have been prompted by similar or perhaps even the same reasons as the orientation of contemporary churches, the exact answer is not yet known. In the opinion of the already mentioned 13th century French bishop Guillame Durando, the deceased were oriented this way so that they could be resurrected facing the place of Christ's resurrection. However, this was probably only a rationalization of the existing state (Ratz 1978; *cf.* Evans 1989, 234).

In Christian practice, this rule was often applied by interring parallel to the adjacent church (Gordon 1971, 211–217; *cf.* Čaval 2010, 37–58 and the literature cited therein). However, medieval graves in cemeteries without a church were also oriented towards the east. That there was enough technical knowledge in the Early Middle Ages for the astronomical determination of true east was confirmed, for instance, by Bede the Venerable (+ 735). As demonstrated by analyses of his works, people knew that true south is determined by the shadow at the daily culmination, when the shadow of the gnomon is shortest (Hoare, Sweet 2000, 166; *cf.* Sassin Allen 2016, 154). Specifically, the daily culmination of the sun has been described as follows:

[3] The author would like to thank A. Pleterski, who contributed the idea and initiative for the analysis of the orientation of burials.

za orientacijo v prostoru, podobno kot mornarji rožo vetrov. Vendar arheoastronomske raziskave jasno kažejo, da je bilo to znanje še starejše, široko razširjeno in da so do njega različne kulture prišle neodvisno druga od druge (npr. Ministr 2007).

Orientacija pokopov v srednjeveški Evropi torej zanesljivo ni naključna. Namen pogrebcev je bil usmeriti truplo pokojnika proti vzhodu Sonca v skladu z religioznimi predstavami. Gre za orientacijo v prvotnem pomenu pojma *orientîrati*: določiti vzhod (Snoj 2015, pojem orientîrati *-am*). Moderni arheološki opisi, na primer *usmeritev vzhod–zahod* ali *z glavo proti zahodu*, so potemtakem sicer artefaktno korektni, a vsebinsko napačni. Zato bomo v nadaljevanju uporabljali izraz vzhodna orientacija ali (kot sopomenko) orientacija proti vzhodu (čeprav gre etimološko za pleonazem).

Slabo pojasnjeno pa je vprašanje, proti kateri(m) točki(am) na vzhodu so pogrebci usmerjali trupla pokojnikov.

Že prvi raziskovalci zgodnjesrednjeveških pokopov so ugotovili prevladujočo usmeritev proti vzhodu in postavili tako imenovano hipotezo solarnega azimuta (nem. *Sonnenazimutthese*). Ta pravi, da so bili pokopi orientirani po sončnem vzhodu na dan pogreba (Niederle 1931, 84–85; Karaman 1940, 10–11). Prvo tovrstno študijo za naš prostor je naredil B. Škerlj (1952), ki je analiziral Pristavo na Bledu, Ptujski grad in še tri manjša najdišča. Le pokope iz starejšega dela grobišča Pristava na Bledu, ki so ga uporabljali staroselski Romani, je interpretiral kot usmerjene proti vsakokratnemu sončnemu vzhodu. Študija je imela odmev predvsem v arheološki praksi, saj se je pri nekaterih izkopavalcih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč v naslednjih desetletjih uveljavilo dokumentiranje orientacije skeletov *in situ* (npr. Berce idr. 2012). Kljub temu pa v objavah v naslednjih desetletjih raziskovalci našega prostora orientaciji pokopov z nekaj izjemami (npr. Sagadin 1985, 96–97) niso namenjali posebne pozornosti, moderne raziskave pa so šele na začetku (Achino idr. 2019).

Hipoteza solarnega azimuta je razmeroma enostavno preverljiva. Zaradi nagnjenosti zemeljske osi za 23,5° se azimut Sonca na Zemlji glede na kardinalni oziroma pravi geografski vzhod skozi leto spreminja (npr. Strahler 2011, 54–55). Točka sončnega vzhoda zatorej navidezno potuje po horizontu in je poleti severno ter pozimi južno od pravega vzhoda. Ta točka je odvisna od geografske dolžine in je na Blejskem otoku 61,5° ± 0,5° ob poletnem in 127° ± 0,5° ob zimskem solsticiju (*sl. 6.7*; izračun A. Pleterski; prim. Škerlj 1952, 112). Kjer hipoteza solarnega azimuta drži, orientacija posameznih pokopov sledi opisani navidezni poti sončnega vzhoda. Na primer analiza grobišč ameriških staroselcev Tutelo iz Pennsylvanie (ZDA) – za katere iz drugih virov vemo, da so pokopavali skladno s solarnim azimutom – je pokazala 90-odstotno ujemanje (Evans 1989, 234-235).

Tanta autem lux cuncta ea loca perfuderat, ut omni splendore diei siue solis meridiani radiis uideretur esse praeclarior.[4]

On three further occasions, Bede the Venerable clearly demonstrated that people were sufficiently familiar with the annual movement of the sun to be able to orient themselves at any time during the year according to the rising point of the sun at winter and summer solstices. Therefore:

… ab euroaustro, id est, ab alto brumalis exortus …[5]

and

Incedebamus autem tacentes, … contra ortum solis solstitialem…[6]

as well as

…quasi contra ortum solis brumalem me ducere coepit.[7]

This means that in the first third of the 8th century, the Angles at least were able not only to determine the cardinal directions, but were constantly aware of the apparent movement of the sunrise along the skyline. This was used for orientation in the landscape in a similar fashion as the wind rose (compass rose) was used to navigate the sea. However, archaeoastronomical research has clearly revealed that this knowledge was much earlier and widely spread and that it was discovered by different cultures independently (e.g. Ministr 2007).

The orientation of burials in medieval Europe was therefore certainly not accidental. The intention of the mourners – specifically, the people in charge of digging the grave – was to direct the body towards the east, in accordance with their religious notions. It is no coincidence that the medieval meaning of the word "orient" was the direction east. Hence, modern archaeological descriptions, for example *the east–west orientation* or *with the head towards the west*, may be artefactually correct, but they do not convey the correct meaning. The terms "eastern orientation" or (as a synonym) "orientation towards the east" will therefore be used from this point forward, even though etymologically speaking they are pleonasms.

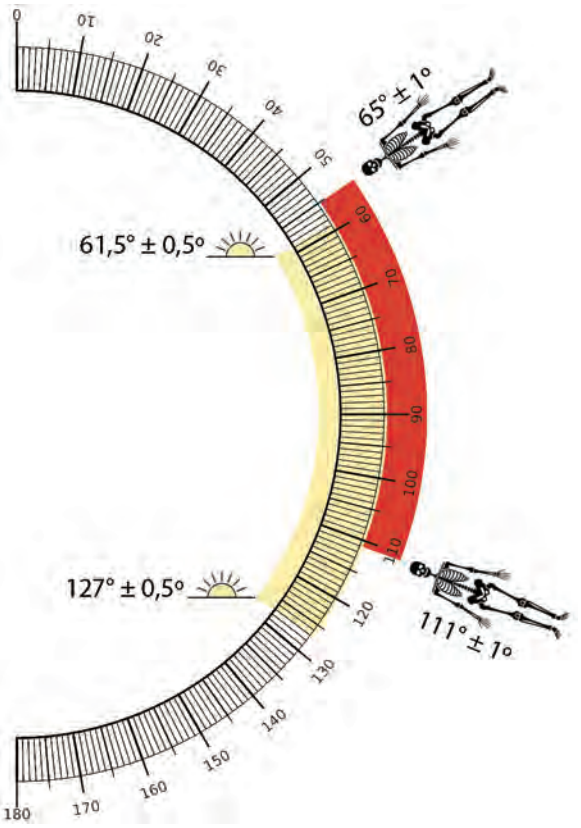
Nevertheless, it remains inadequately explained towards which point(s) in the east the mourners orientated the bodies of the deceased. The researchers of Early Medieval burials in the early 1900s set the so-called solar azimuth hypothesis (German: *Sonnenazimutthese*), which deemed that burials were oriented in accordance with the sunrise on the day of the burial (Niederle 1931, 84–85;

[4] Bed. Venerab. Histor. lib. 5 cap. 12 (translation Miller 1999, 191; there incorrectly labelled as cap. XIII).

[5] Bed. Venerab. Histor. lib. 4 cap. 3 (translation Miller 1999, 119).

[6] Bed. Venerab. Histor. lib. 5 cap. 12 (translation Miller 1999, 189; there incorrectly labelled as cap. XIII).

[7] Bed. Venerab. Histor. lib. 5 cap. 12 (translation Miller 1999, 191; there incorrectly labelled as cap. XIII).



Sl. 6.7: Blejski otok, rumeno azimut sončnega vzhoda in rdeče izmerjene usmeritve grobov (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.7: Bled Island, azimuth of sunrise in yellow and grave orientations in red (by B. Štular).

Z uporabo te metode so za zgodnjesrednjeveška grobišča številni avtorji hipotezo solarnega azimuta ovrgli (Škerlj 1952; Šolle 1959, 376–377; Hanuliak 1984, 109–114 pregledno z literaturo za Slovaško; Herrmann 1989, 186; Brundke 2013, 32–33). Ostale interpretacije o tem, kam so bili orientirani grobovi, lahko strnemo v 4 skupine, in sicer da so grobovi orientirani:

1. splošno proti vzhodu,
2. po cerkvi (na grobiščih ob cerkvi),
3. astronomsko ali
4. glede na geografski orientir.

(1) Avtorji najpogosteje usmeritev razlagajo kot *splošno usmeritev proti vzhodu* (v zadnjem času npr. Knific 2004; Brundke 2013, 32 s primeri in literaturo za severovzhodno Bavarsko; Papeša 2016; Filipec 2016; Vyroubal, Pleše, Novak 2016). Nekateri avtorji so pri tem določnejši in odstopanje od kardinalnega vzhoda razlagajo kot napako pogrebcev (Müller 2013, 152; prim. Rempel 1966, 11), pri čemer pa ne navajajo, katero definicijo vzhoda naj bi pogrebci iskali.

(2) Druga najštevilčnejša je ugotovitev, da so bili grobovi orientirani vzporedno s sočasno cerkveno stavbo (Rajchl 2001, 127–128 za Češko; Müller 2013, 152

Karaman 1940, 10–11). The first such study for the area of Slovenia was conducted by Božo Škerlj (1952), who analyzed the Pristava site in Bled, Ptuj Castle and three smaller sites. Only the burials in the earlier part of the Pristava cemetery in Bled, which was used by the indigenous Romanized population, were interpreted as oriented towards the sunrise. This study had a notable impact on archaeological practice and in the following decades it became customary for some excavators of Early Medieval cemeteries to record the orientations of skeletons *in situ* (e.g. Berce et al. 2012). In the following decades, however, researchers studying the area of Slovenia – with a few exceptions (e.g. Sagadin 1985, 96–97) – neglected the orientation of burials in publications, while modern studies are only just beginning (Achino et al. 2019).

The solar azimuth hypothesis is relatively easy to test. Due to the Earth's axial tilt of 23.5°, the azimuth of the sun on Earth with respect to the cardinal or true geographical east changes throughout the year (e.g. Strahler 2011, 54–55). The exact location of the sunrise seemingly moves along the horizon; in summer it is north of true east and in winter south of it. The exact location depends on the geographic longitude and the horizon. On Bled Island it is 61.5° ± 0.5° on the summer solstice and 127° ± 0.5° on the winter solstice (*Fig. 6.7*; calculation by A. Pleterski; *cf.* Škerlj 1952, 112). If the orientation of individual burials follows the above-described apparent movement of the sunrise on the horizon, the solar azimuth hypothesis is confirmed. For instance, an analysis of the cemeteries of the Native American Tutelo people from Pennsylvania (USA) – for whom it is known from other sources that they buried their dead facing the rising sun on the day of the burial – unveiled a 90% rate of correspondence (Evans 1989, 234-235).

By using this method, many authors have refuted the solar azimuth hypothesis for Early Medieval cemeteries (Škerlj 1952; Šolle 1959, 376–377; Hanuliak 1984, 109–114 for an overview with literature for Slovakia; Herrmann 1989, 186; Brundke 2013, 32–33). Other interpretations can be classified into four groups, specifically graves that are oriented:

1. towards the east in general;
2. parallel with the church (for cemeteries near churches);
3. astronomically; and
4. geographically, i.e. in the direction of a specific place in the landscape.

(1) The orientation of graves is most commonly explained as a *general orientation towards the east* (recently e.g. Knific 2004; Brundke 2013, 32 with examples and literature for north-east Bavaria; Filipec 2016; Papeša 2016; Vyroubal, Pleše, Novak 2016). Some authors are more specific and explain the deviation from true east as an error of the mourners (Müller 2013, 152; *cf.* Rempel 1966, 11), without stating which definition of the east mourners supposedly sought.

za Nemčijo; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016; Čimin 2016). Ta sicer enostavno preverljiva hipoteza ni v nobeni izmed navedenih študij podprta z meritvami, je pa izpričana v srednjeveškem epu, ki je nastal okoli leta 1200 (Fry 1999, 67).

(3) Izrazito astronomsko orientacijo izkazuje na primer zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče ob cerkvi v naselbini Břeclav-Pohansko (Češka). Grobovi so tam usmerjeni proti poletnemu sončnemu solsticiju, sončnemu vzhodu na enakonočje in južni polni luni (Rajchl 2001). Podobno so bili usmerjeni grobovi na grobišču v Velkých Bílovicích na Češkem (Měřínský 1985, 24). V Sloveniji so zgodnjesrednjeveški grobovi na najdišču Brezje nad Zrečami usmerjeni proti zimskemu solsticiju oziroma vzhodu božičnega sonca (Kaiser 2004).

(4) Študije, ki dokazujejo orientacijo zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov glede na geografski orientir, so sicer redke, a utemeljene s sistematičnimi analizami (Evans 1989, 244–250; Hanuliak 1984; Pleterski 2014, 115–362).

Zgornje interpretacije lahko komentiramo takole. S tem, ko je bil ovržen solarni azimut, je bila ovržena tudi razlaga, da je pogrebcem pomenil vzhod točko na obzornici, kjer je tistega dne vzšlo Sonce. Znanstveno vprašanje in s tem izhodišče raziskave moramo torej spremeniti v: kaj – ob odsotnosti kompasa, zemljevidov v kartezijski projekciji in navigacijskih naprav – je konkretnim pogrebcem predstavljalo vzhod? V odgovoru na to vprašanje je ključ do kulturne interpretacije. Najpogostejša arheološka interpretacija orientacije grobov, splošno proti vzhodu, po mnenju tega avtorja ni nič drugega kot intelektualna lenoba. Odgovor, ki ga ta razlaga ponuja na zgornje vprašanje, je: vzhod je na vzhodu. Druga najpogostejša ugotovitev, da so grobovi usmerjeni po cerkvi, sicer še čaka potrditve s sistematičnimi merskimi analizami, a se ne zdi vprašljiva. Za razlago orientacije grobov na zgodnjesrednjeveških grobiščih brez cerkve izmed navedenih torej preostaneta dve hipotezi: astronomska in/ali geografska usmeritev.

METODA

Analiza usmeritve cerkva je pokazala, da je tudi v preučevanje orientacije zgodnjesrednjeveških pokopov treba uvesti enako metodološko rigoroznost.

Najprej je treba definirati objekt meritev. Kaj v arheološkem zapisu najbolje ponazarja orientacije pokopa? Ker usmeritev pokopov preučujemo predvsem s stališča pogrebnega rituala, se zdi najbolj izpovedna usmeritev grobne jame. Ta arheološka sled ima največji potencial, da odseva (za izraz prim. Klejn 1987, 41) zavestno odločitev pogrebcev o usmeritvi. V idealnem primeru bo znana še usmeritev morebitne krste ali deske in trupla.

(2) The second most common conclusion is that graves were oriented parallel to a contemporary church building (Rajchl 2001, 127–128 for the Czech Republic; Müller 2013, 152 for Germany; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016; Čimin 2016). While easily testable, this hypothesis has not been supported by measurements in any of the studies listed. It is, however, attested in a medieval epic poem, written around the year 1200 (Fry 1999, 67).

(3) An obvious astronomical orientation is corroborated, for instance, in an Early Medieval cemetery surrounding the church within the settlement of Břeclav-Pohansko (Czech Republic). The graves have been oriented towards the summer solstice, the sunrise on the equinox and the southern full moon (Rajchl 2001). The graves of the Velkých Bílovicích cemetery in the Czech Republic had a similar orientation (Měřínský 1985, 24). In Slovenia, Early Medieval graves from the site of Brezje above Zreče have been oriented towards the winter solstice, i.e. the Christmas sunrise (Kaiser 2004).

(4) Studies demonstrating the orientation of Early Medieval graves in accordance with a specific place in the landscape are rare, but are supported by systematic analyses (Hanuliak 1984; Evans 1989, 244–250; Pleterski 2014, 115–362).

The above interpretations can be evaluated as follows. The refutation of the solar azimuth hypothesis disproves the interpretation that for the mourners, east was the point on the horizon where the sun rose on that particular day. The scientific question and the starting point of the research should therefore be changed to: what specifically represented the east – in the absence of a compass, Cartesian projection maps and navigation devices – for any particular mourners? The answer to this question is the key to a cultural interpretation. In the opinion of the author, the most common archaeological interpretation of the orientation of graves (i.e. towards the east in general) is nothing more than mental inertia. According to this interpretation, the answer to the question of what represented east to the mourners is the direction towards the east. The second most common conclusion, i.e. that graves are oriented in accordance with the church, still has to be confirmed by systematic metric analyses, but it does not appear questionable. Two hypotheses thus remain for the explanation of the orientation of graves in Early Medieval cemeteries without a church: astronomical and/or geographical orientation.

METHOD

The church orientation analysis above indicates that study of the orientation of Early Medieval graves must also be conducted with the same methodological rigour.

Po zgledu arheoastronomije bi v takem primeru vse tri meritve lahko povprečili (Čaval 2010, 113).

Žal so v arheološki stvarnosti srednjeveških grobišč krste ali grobne deske, kjer so bile uporabljene, ohranjene le izjemoma. Na obravnavanem grobišču jih ni. Tudi grobne jame so na srednjeveških grobiščih ob cerkvah praviloma problematične. Razlog za to je tako imenovana grobna črnica. To je mazava plast zelo temnorjave do črne barve, ki pogosto obsega celoten volumen arheoloških plasti srednjeveških grobišč in v kateri je le izjemoma mogoče določiti polnila grobov. Na grobiščih z večstoletno kontinuiteto je to deloma posledica pogostega prekopavanja starejših grobov in zasipavanja grobnih jam z isto prstjo. Obstaja pa še drugi, nekoliko mrakobnejši razlog, imenovan adipocera oziroma mrliški vosek. To je snov, ki nastaja pri anaerobni bakterijski hidrolizi maščobnega tkiva trupla, ko ta v procesu saponifikacije razpade na glicerol in nenasičene maščobne kisline. Slednje se nasičijo in prodirajo v tkivo in prst. Nastane zelo obstojna biocidna snov, na videz podobna vosku (Haglund, Sorg 1997, 568; Vranová, Marvo, Rejšek 2015, 1421). V ekstremnih razmerah, na primer pod vodo ali v neprodušnih krstah, to povzroči mumifikacijo notranjih organov in mišičnega tkiva (npr. Papageorgopoulou idr. 2010). V majhnih količinah pa adipocera v ilovnatih prsteh in ob prisotnosti vlage nastaja vedno (Esteves da Silva et al. 2009). V rahlo alkalnih prsteh se ta snov sčasoma kopiči (prim. Gordon, Buikstra 1981) in tako nastane grobna črnica. Takšna plast je lahko tako nasičena z adipocero, da jo izvohajo psi sledniki (Rebmann, Koenig, David 2000, 68, 122–123; Pintar, Glavaš 2017). Povedano drugače, v podepozicijskih procesih se barva in konsistenca polnila groba in okoliških plasti poenotita do te mere, da med izkopavanji ni mogoče zanesljivo določiti vkopa grobne jame.

Učinek izgine z razpadom adipocere, kar traja od nekaj stoletij do tisočletja in le izjemoma več tisočletij (prim. Papageorgopoulou idr. 2010, Table 1). V arheološki praksi to pomeni, da je grobna črnica značilna predvsem za srednjeveška grobišča s kontinuiteto pokopavanja v posrednjeveško obdobje in le izjemoma – v alkalnih prsteh z visoko vsebnostjo ilovice in visoko vlago – na starejših grobiščih.

Na grobišču na Blejskem otoku so bili dokumentirani pokopi najmanj 168 pokojnikov, a le 22 grobnih jam, od tega le 8 v celoti. Podobno ali še slabše razmerje opazujemo na mnogo večjem grobišču Župna cerkev v Kranju z izrazito grobno črnico (Pleterski, Belak, Štular 2016; Pleterski, Belak, Štular 2017; Pleterski idr. 2019).

Za preučevanje orientacije pokopov v srednjeveški arheologiji najpogosteje lahko izmerimo le orientacijo skeleta. Pri tem je treba upoštevati podepozicijske procese ob razpadanju trupla (Knüsel, Robb 2016, 661–667), na primer premike ob razpadanju trupla v votlem prostoru krste ali grobnice (Knüsel 2014, 30–35; glej tam navedeno literaturo).

First, the object to be measured needs to be defined. What in the archaeological record best mirrors the orientation of a burial? Given that the orientation of burials is predominantly studied from the perspective of burial ritual, the orientation of the grave pit seems the most informative. This archaeological trace has the greatest potential to mirror (for this expression *cf.* Klejn 1987, 41) the conscious decision of the mourners about the orientation. In an ideal case, the orientation of the potential coffin or plank and the orientation of the body would also be known. Following the example of archaeoastronomy (e.g. Čaval 2010, 113), in such an instance the average of all three measurements could be taken.

Unfortunately, in the archaeological reality of medieval cemeteries, coffins or burial planks – where they were used at all – have rarely survived. In the cemetery discussed here, there are none. Grave pits are also usually problematic in medieval cemeteries near churches. The reason for this is what can be termed cemetery dark soil. This is a very dark brown to black layer, which often encompasses the entire extent of archaeological layers in medieval cemeteries, i.e. the graves are covered by it but have also been dug into it, so the fills of the grave pits can hardly ever be distinguished from the surrounding layer. In cemeteries that have been in use for several hundreds of years, this cemetery dark soil is partly a consequence of the fact that earlier graves were often exhumed and grave pits were filled with the same soil. There is also another, more sombre reason, called adipocere or corpse wax. This is a substance formed by the anaerobic bacterial hydrolysis of body fat in a corpse in the saponification process, when the fat decomposes into glycerol and unsaturated fatty acids. The latter become saturated and penetrate the tissue and the soil. The result is a very persistent biocidal substance that has an appearance similar to wax (Haglund, Sorg 1997, 568; Vranová, Marvo, Rejšek 2015, 1421). In extreme conditions, for instance underwater or in tightly sealed coffins, this results in the mummification of the internal organs and muscle tissue (e.g. Papageorgopoulou et al. 2010). Nevertheless, small quantities of adipocere are always formed in moist clayey layers (Esteves da Silva et al. 2009). In slightly alkaline soils, this substance accumulates over time (*cf.* Gordon, Buikstra 1981) and this is how the cemetery dark soil is formed. This layer can be saturated with adipocere to such a level that sniffer dogs can detect it (Rebmann, Koenig, David 2000, 68, 122–123; Pintar, Glavaš 2017). In other words, the colour and the consistency of the fill of the grave and that of the surrounding layers become so uniform in post-depositional processes (as the adipocere penetrates in the surrounding soil regardless of the stratigraphic context) that the grave pit can no longer be identified with certainty during the excavation.

This effect disappears with the disintegration of adipocere, a process that lasts between a few centuries and one millennium and exceptionally several millennia

Druga vrsta problemov so meritve same. V preteklosti so bile najpogostejše meritve izvedene *in situ* z magnetnim kompasom, kar lahko imenujemo magnetna orientacija. Te so problematične zaradi magnetne deklinacije, odstopanja magnetnega severa od geografskega severa. Dodaten odklon lahko povzroči magnetna deviacija, ki nastane na primer zaradi bližine železnih konstrukcij ali velike vsebnosti železove rude (Čaval 2010, 113–114). Oboje je sicer mogoče naknadno računsko izničiti, a ne pri arhivskih izkopavanjih. Praviloma namreč manjkajo tako imenovani metapodatki, predvsem opis, kaj in s kakšno natančnostjo je bilo merjeno.

Če orientacijo merimo na podlagi načrtov ali meritev z elektronsko geodetsko totalno postajo, govorimo o kartografski orientaciji. Pri tej je treba upoštevati več vrst napak. Prva vrsta so napake zaradi natančnosti dokumentiranja na terenu (na primer upadanje natančnosti z risanjem v merilu 1 : 5, 1 : 10 in 1 : 20 ali, v najslabšem primeru, kabinetno vektoriziranimi razpačenimi poševnimi fotografijami). Naslednja vrsta so napake, ki se pojavljajo pri premeščanju arheoloških načrtov iz relativnih v absolutne koordinatne sisteme, torej pri umeščanju v prostor oziroma georeferenciranju. Tu napaka nastane zaradi razlik med kartezičnimi (npr. relativna mreža kvadrantov v izkopnem polju) in valjnimi (npr. državni koordinatni sistem D96/TM) koordinatnimi sistemi na eni strani ter geografskimi koordinatnimi sistemi s sferičnimi projekcijami (npr. WGS84) na drugi strani (prim. Šprajc 1991, 11–13). Arheološka dokumentacija skoraj vedno nastaja v kartezičnem (arheološka risba) ali valjnem (meritve s totalno postajo) koordinatnem sistemu, pravi geografski sever pa lahko odčitamo le na podlagi poldnevnikov oziroma meridianov v sferični projekciji (*sl. 6.8*). Tako izmerjena orientacija groba je primerna za analize v okolju GIS, predvsem za medsebojno primerjavo orientacije grobov znotraj enega grobišča, in za preverjanje orientacije glede na izbrano točko v pokrajini.

Za arheoastronomske analize moramo poznati azimut Sonca na obzornici, višino obzornice in geografsko širino; na podlagi teh podatkov je mogoče izračunati astronomsko usmeritev in deklinacijo. Deklinacija se kaže kot azimut vzhajališča ali zahajališča določenega nebesnega telesa na določeni datum na določenem kraju. Šele na podlagi deklinacije lahko izračunamo, na primer, na kateri astronomski datum je Sonce vzšlo v smeri določenega pokopa (Šprajc 1991; Čaval 2010, 112–118 in tam navedena literatura). Naštetemu dodajmo še kartografske razlike.

Študij, ki bi za preučevanje usmeritve srednjeveških pokopov uporabljale astronomski azimut in deklinacije, izmerjene in izračunane po opisanem postopku, ne poznamo (najbliže Škerlj 1952; Pleterski 2003b). Z metodološkega stališča torej kaže opozoriti predvsem na dvoje. Prvič, hipotezo solarnega azimuta lahko preverjamo samo z analizo deklinacij, kar – po našem vedenju – še ni bilo storjeno. Drugič, primerjave orientacije med

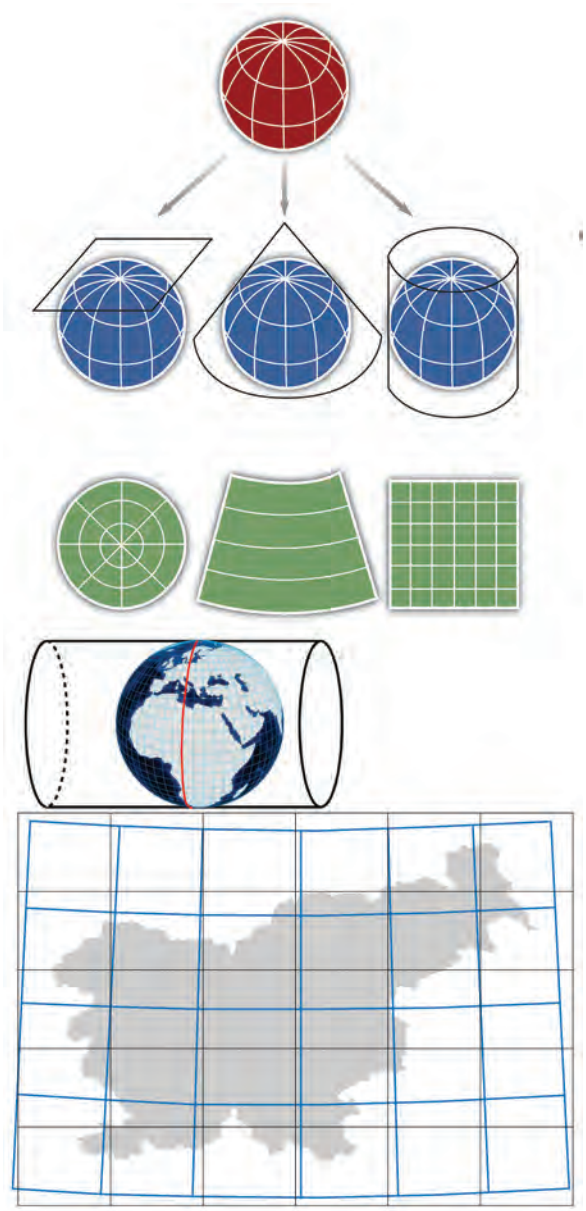
(*cf.* Papageorgopoulou et al. 2010, Table 1). In archaeological practice, this means that cemetery dark soil is typical mostly for medieval cemeteries with continuity of burials in the Post-Medieval period and only occasionally in alkaline soils with high clay and moisture content in earlier cemeteries.

The burials of at least 168 deceased were recorded in the Bled Island cemetery, but as few as 22 grave pits have been identified and only eight of them completely. A similar or even worse ratio can be found in the much larger cemetery of Župna cerkev in Kranj, with a high content of cemetery dark soil (Pleterski, Belak, Štular 2016; Pleterski, Belak, Štular 2017; Pleterski et al. 2019).

Therefore, to analyze the orientation of medieval burials, most often only the orientation of the skeletal remains can be measured. However, in order to measure orientation of skeletal remains in a meaningful fashion the post-depositional processes that occur during body decomposition must be taken into account (Knüsel, Robb 2016, 661–667). For instance, the shifts of a body decomposing within the hollow space inside a coffin or a tomb can significantly influence the position of the remains (Knüsel 2014, 30–35; see the literature cited therein).

Another type of problem pertains to the measurements themselves. In the past, the most common measurements were conducted *in situ* with a magnetic compass, called magnetic orientation. However, these measurements are problematic due to magnetic declination, i.e. the deviation of magnetic north from the geographic north. Another discrepancy can be caused by the magnetic deviation that arises due to, for instance, the vicinity of iron constructions or high contents of iron ore (Čaval 2010, 113–114). While both can later be rectified by calculations, this cannot be done for archive excavations, where so-called metadata (especially the description of what was measured and with what accuracy, i.e. metadata and/or paradata) are usually missing.

Orientations measured on the plan drawings or the plans recorded with a geodetic total station can be termed cartographic orientation. For these, several types of errors must be taken into account. The first owes to the accuracy of recording in the field (for example the decrease in accuracy by drawing in the scales of 1 : 5, 1 : 10 and 1 : 20, or in the worst case, desk-based vectorization of oblique photos). The second type comprises the errors that occur when archaeological plans are transferred from relative to absolute coordinate systems, i.e. georeferencing. This error is due to the differences between Cartesian (for example a relative grid of quadrants in the excavation area) and cylindrical (e.g. the national D96/TM coordinate system) coordinate systems on the one hand and geographic coordinate systems with spherical projections (e.g. WGS84) on the other (*cf.* Šprajc 1991, 11–13). Archaeological documentation is almost always created in a Cartesian (plan drawings) or a cylindrical (measurements taken with a total station) coordinate system and the true



Sl. 6.8: Shematični prikaz azimutne, stožčne in valjne kartografske projekcije (zgoraj) ter primerjava sferične geografske koordinatne mreže WGS84 (modro) in valjne koordinatne mreže starega državnega koordinatnega sistema D48/GK (črno) na primeru Slovenije (spodaj) (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.8: Illustration of azimuth, cone and valve cartographic projection (above); comparison of a spherical geographic coordinate grid WGS84 (blue) and valve geographic coordinate grid D48/GK (black) for Slovenia (below) (by B. Štular).

različnimi najdišči na podlagi primerjave načrtov grobišč, izrisanih v relativnih koordinatnih sistemih, niso dovolj natančne (npr. Škerlj 1952; Hanuliak 1984; Evans 1989). Možnost statistično signifikantne napake lahko izključimo šele s prenosom vseh primerjanih načrtov v enoten absoluten koordinatni sistem s sferično projekcijo. Povedano drugače, med različnimi najdišči lahko

geographical north can only be established on the basis of meridians in spherical projection (*Fig. 6.8*). If the orientation of the grave is recorded in this manner, it is suitable for analysis in the geographic information system (GIS) environment, especially for comparing the orientations of different graves in one cemetery and for checking these with respect to a selected point in the landscape.

For archaeoastronomical analysis, the azimuth of the sun, the height of the horizon and the geographic latitude need to be known. On the basis of these data, the astronomical orientation and the declination can be calculated. The declination is observable as the azimuth of the point on the horizon where a certain celestial body, for example the sun or the moon, rises or sets on a specific date in a specific location. Only on the basis of the declination can we calculate, for example, on which astronomical date the sun rose in the direction of a certain burial (Šprajc 1991; Čaval 2010, 112–118 and the literature cited therein).

The author is aware of no studies in which the orientation of medieval burials has been studied using the astronomical azimuth and declinations that are measured and calculated according to the above-described procedure (the closest are Škerlj 1952 and Pleterski 2003b). From a methodological point of view, two things should therefore be called to attention. First, the solar azimuth hypothesis can only be tested by an analysis of declinations, which according to our knowledge has never been done before. Second, comparisons of orientations in various sites based on the comparisons of site plans drawn in respective relative coordinate systems are not sufficiently accurate (e.g. Škerlj 1952; Hanuliak 1984; Evans 1989). The possibility of statistically significant error can only be ruled out if all the compared plans are transferred into a unified coordinate system with a spherical projection. In other words, when it comes to the comparison of orientations from different sites, only cartographic or even better astronomical orientations measured *in situ* can be compared.

On Bled Island, the cartographic orientation of burials was measured on the skeletons drawn into the plan drawings in the scale of 1 : 20. The measurements were conducted in the GIS environment (see Chapter 3.3.1).[8] First to be measured were the well-preserved skeletal remains of 23 individuals where the positions of the head and the pelvis could be reconstructed and no traces of post-depositional movements were detected. The cartographic azimuth was measured from the contact between the head and the spine (*os axis*) to the centre of the pelvis (*os pubis*). Where the state of preservation allowed, the second point was measured in the arithmetic mid-point between the knees and the ankles. Given that the number of these measurements was too small for quantitative analysis, the measurements of the adequately preserved

[8] The measurements were conducted using a combination of ArcGIS Desktop 10.5 software for the display and PixelStick software to measure the angle of the computer screen.

primerjamo samo kartografske ali, še bolje, astronomske orientacije, izmerjene *in situ*.

Na Blejskem otoku smo kartografsko orientacijo pokopov merili na skeletih, vrisanih v tlorise v merilu 1 : 20. Meritve smo izvajali v okolju GIS (glej pogl. 3.3.1).[8] Najprej smo izmerili 23 odlično ohranjenih skeletov, pri katerih je mogoče rekonstruirati vsaj lego glave in medenice ter ne kažejo očitnih znakov podepozicijskih premikov. Kartografski azimut smo merili od stika glave in hrbtenice (*os axis*) do sredine medenice (*os pubis*). Kjer je ohranjenost dopuščala, smo drugo točko merili na aritmetični sredini med kolenoma ali gležnjema. Ker je bilo število teh meritev premajhno za količinsko analizo, smo izmerili še 42 solidno ohranjenih skeletov. To so skeleti, pri katerih je bil dokumentiran bodisi trup s hrbtenico, bodisi nogi z medenico, bodisi je mogoče rekonstruirati lego glave in še vsaj medenice, kolen ali gležnjev. Skupaj smo izmed 168 risarsko dokumentiranih skeletov ali delov skeletov izmerili kartografski azimut 65 skeletom.

Azimut smo merili s točnostjo 1/5°. Vendar na natančnost meritev vplivajo številni prej našteti omejevalni dejavniki; v konkretnem primeru je vseeno daleč najpomembnejša slaba ohranjenost skeletov. Na podlagi poskusov z obravnavanim gradivom in primerjavami s sorodnim gradivom grobišča Župna cerkev v Kranju smo ocenili, da je natančnost izmere ± 1°. Rezultati meritev so zato zapisani brez decimalnih vrednosti.

Za arhivska izkopavanja naknadne meritve vsakega groba *in situ* z modernimi metodami seveda niso mogoče. Zato smo astronomske azimute in deklinacije preračunali iz kartografskih s primerjavo z arheoastronomsko izmero obstoječe cerkvene stavbe. Vsi obravnavani grobovi so od današnje cerkvene stavbe oddaljeni manj kot 10 m. Hkrati Blejski otok obdaja najmanj 200 in največ 1400 m jezera, zato obzornico kljub alpskemu okolju opišemo kot manj razgibano. Vse to pomeni, da lahko razlike v izračunu deklinacij zaradi odmika posameznih grobov od cerkve zanemarimo.

Izmerjena vzhodna astronomska usmeritev severne fasade cerkve na Blejskem otoku je 76° 43', južne fasade pa 76° 34' (Čaval 2010, 177). Kartografska orientacija istih v našem okolju GIS (glej pogl. 3.3.1) je 78° 59' in 78° 49'. Kartografska orientacija odstopa od astronomske za 2° 15' ± 1', oziroma s stopinjsko natančnostjo 2°. Izmerjene kartografske orientacije smo torej v astronomske orientacije s stopinjsko natančnostjo izračunali tako, da smo od izmerjenih vrednosti odšteli 2°.

Tako izračunan astronomski azimut je tudi izhodišče za izračun deklinacije vzhajališča in zahajališča Sonca. Izračunana vzhodna deklinacija cerkve je 11° 38' (Čaval 2010, 177). Vzhodno deklinacijo posameznega

[8] Meritve smo izvajali s kombinacijo programov ArcGIS Desktop 10.5 za prikazovanje in programa PixelStick za izmero kota na računalniškem zaslonu.

skeletal remains of 42 individuals were also included. These comprised examples where either the torso with the spine or the legs with the pelvis were preserved, or those where it was possible to reconstruct the position of the head and at least the pelvis, the knees or the ankles. Out of 168 recorded individuals, the cartographic azimuth was measured for 65.

The azimuth was measured with an accuracy of 1/5°. While the precision of measurements was influenced by many of the above limiting factors, the most important by far in this specific case was the poor preservation state of the skeletal remains. Based on a test with the Bled Island data and on comparisons with similar data from the Župna cerkev cemetery in Kranj, the precision of the measurements was estimated at ± 1°. The results of the measurements are therefore given without decimal values.

Of course, when it comes to archive excavations, subsequent measurements of each grave *in situ* with modern methods are not possible. Therefore, astronomical azimuths and declinations were calculated from the cartographic ones by comparing them with the archaeoastronomical measurements of the existing church building. All of the studied graves are located less than 10 m away from the present-day church building. At the same time, Bled Island is surrounded by between 200 and 1400 m of the lake, which means that despite the alpine environment, the horizon is relatively even. All of this implies that differences in the calculations of declinations due to the distance between individual graves and the church can be neglected.

The eastern astronomical orientation of the present-day church on Bled Island was measured as 76° 43' for the northern façade and 76° 34' for the southern façade (Čaval 2010, 177). The cartographic orientation of the same two façades in our GIS environment (see Chapter 3.3.1) was 78° 59' and 78° 49'. This means that the cartographic orientation differed from the astronomical for 2° 15' ± 1'. Astronomical orientations were therefore calculated from the measured cartographic orientations with 1° accuracy by subtracting 2° from the measured values.

The calculated astronomical azimuth provided the starting point for the calculation of the declinations of the sunrise and sunset. The calculated eastern declination of the church was 11° 38' (Čaval 2010, 177). The eastern declination of an individual grave (D_V) was calculated by adding the value of the astronomical azimuth of the church (A_A) with the subtracted difference between the cartographic azimuth (A_K) and the deviation of the cartographic azimuth from the astronomical azimuth ($A_K - A_A$) to the eastern declination of the church ($\boldsymbol{\delta}_V$):

$$D_V = (A_A - (A_K - (A_K - A_A))) + \boldsymbol{\delta}_V.$$

Once the values $A_{A,}$ ($A_K - A_A$) and $\boldsymbol{\delta}_V$ had been replaced by constants applicable to our case, we obtained

groba (D_V) izračunamo tako, da vzhodni deklinaciji cerkve (δ_V) prištejemo vrednost, ki jo dobimo, ko od astronomskega azimuta cerkve (A_A) odštejemo razliko med kartografskim azimutom (A_K) in odstopanjem kartografskega azimuta od astronomskega azimuta ($A_K - A_A$):

$$D_V = (A_A - (A_K - (A_K - A_A))) + \delta_V.$$

Ko vrednosti A_A, ($A_K - A_A$) in δ_V nadomestimo s konstantami, ki veljajo za naš primer, dobimo končno formulo za preračunavanje kartografskih azimutov grobov na Blejskem otoku v deklinacije:

$$D_V = (76 - (A_K - 2)) + 11.$$

Z istim postopkom izračunamo tudi zahodno deklinacijo grobov (D_Z):

$$D_Z = (256 - ((A_K+180) - 2)) + (-2).$$

Poudariti je treba, da natančnost tako izračunanih deklinacij zaradi višine horizonta upada z naraščanjem odklona astronomskega azimuta groba od vrednosti 76. Predvsem za grobove 36, 38, 55, 59, 111, 112 in 113 moramo torej izračunane deklinacije obravnavati zgolj kot orientacijske vrednosti. Vendar je na podlagi astronomskih azimutov z novimi meritvami višine obzorja deklinacije mogoče po potrebi natančno izračunati (*sl. 6.9*).

ANALIZA

Za analizo orientacije je bilo torej na voljo 65 grobov. Število grobov z izmerjeno orientacijo je premajhno za kompleksne statistične analize, zato smo uporabili metodo vizualne primerjave dejanskih vrednosti s pričakovanimi vrednostmi (*sl. 6.10*). Astronomski azimuti vseh grobov imajo razpon med 57° in 173°, se pravi od SZ do J. Vendar med temi trije grobovi izrazito odstopajo od ostalih; statistično govorimo o grobovih z robnimi vrednostmi usmeritev. Če teh grobov ne upoštevamo, so azimuti razporejeni v vzhodnem sektorju med 65° in 111°. Lahko torej rečemo, da imajo grobovi na Blejskem otoku splošno vzhodno orientacijo.

V nadaljevanju bomo kot ničelni preverili obe hipotezi, ki se v literaturi pojavljata najpogosteje: hipotezo solarnega azimuta in hipotezo pokopavanja splošno proti vzhodu.

Kot omenjeno, hipoteza solarnega azimuta predvideva orientacijo glede na vsakokratni sončni vzhod, kar na Blejskem otoku pomeni 61,5° ± 0,5° in 127° ± 0,5° (izračun A. Pleterski; prim. Škerlj 1952, 112). Kartografske orientacije grobov z Blejskega otoka so med 59° in 175°, ob neupoštevanju treh grobov s skrajnimi vrednostmi

the final formula for calculating the cartographic azimuths of the graves on Bled Island into declinations:

$$D_V = (76 - (A_K - 2)) + 11.$$

The same procedure could be used to calculate the western declinations of the graves (D_Z):

$$D_Z = (256 - ((A_K+180) - 2)) + (-2).$$

It should be emphasized that due to the height of the horizon, the accuracy of the calculated declinations decreased with the increase in the deviation of the astronomical azimuth of a grave from the value of 76°. Especially for Graves 36, 38, 55, 59, 111, 112 and 113, the calculated deviations must be understood merely as approximate values. Nevertheless, where necessary the declinations could be calculated precisely from the astronomical azimuths and new measurements of the height of the horizon (*Fig. 6.9*).

ANALYSIS

There were 65 graves available for the analysis of orientation. Given that the number of graves with measured orientations was too small for complex statistical analyses, the method of visual comparison of actual and expected values was used (*Fig. 6.10*). The astronomical azimuths of all graves was found to span between 57° and 173°, i.e. from the southwest to the south. However, three graves stand out as statistical outliers. Once these outliers are excluded, the azimuth values are distributed in the eastern sector between 65° and 111°. It can therefore be said that the orientation of the graves on Bled Island is towards the east in general.

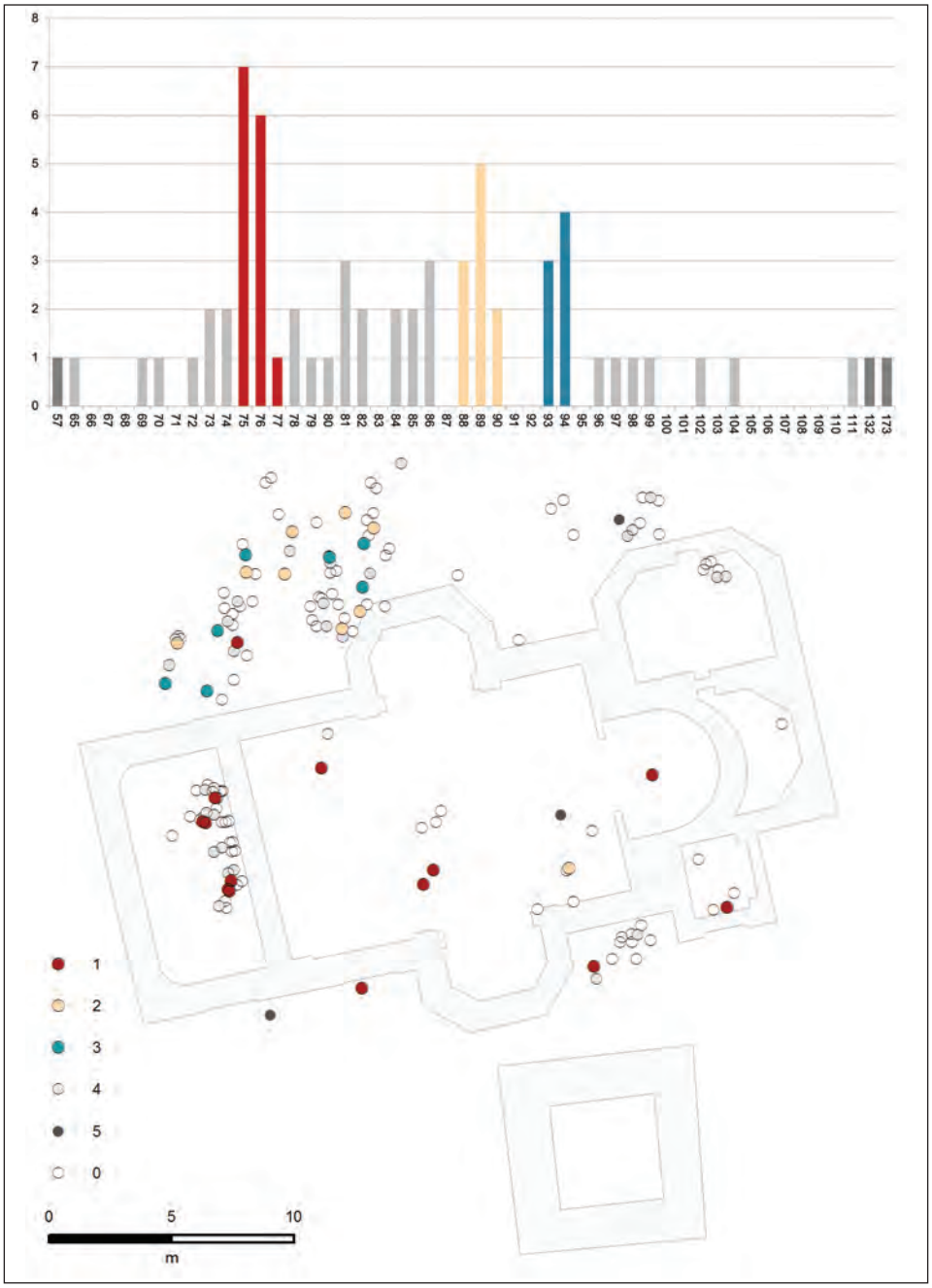
In what follows, first the two the null hypotheses are tested: the solar azimuth hypothesis and the "towards east in general" hypothesis. As already mentioned, according to the solar azimuth hypothesis, the orientation of each individual burial is to be in accordance with the sunrise on the day of the burial. On Bled Island the sun rises between 61.5° ± 0.5° and 127° ± 0.5° on the horizon (calculation by A. Pleterski; *cf.* Škerlj 1952, 112). The cartographic orientations of graves on Bled Island are between 59° and 175°, or between 65° and 111° after outliers are excluded. Apart from one grave (3a) all others fall within 61.5° ± 0.5° and 127° ± 0.5° and therefore might have been oriented towards the point in the horizon where the sun was rising on the day of the burial. A more detailed analysis, however, refutes the solar azimuth hypothesis as the sole factor in the orientation of burials. The expected mortality of people in the Middle Ages was not evenly distributed throughout the year; rather, it was highest at the end of winter (Brown 1983). The expected distribution of orientations should therefore show a marked south deviation

Grob / Grave	A_K	A_A	D_V	D_Z
3a	67	65	22	9
4a	77	75	12	-1
5	88	86	1	-12
6	96	94	-7	-20
7	71	69	18	5
10a	90	88	-1	-14
12	95	93	-6	-19
18	88	86	1	-12
19	83	81	6	-7
20a	96	94	-7	-20
22	96	94	-7	-20
24a	86	84	3	-10
29	90	88	-1	-14
30	92	90	-3	-16
32a	91	89	-2	-15
35	95	93	-6	-19
36	101	99	-12	-25
38	113	111	-24	-37
40	90	88	-1	-14
42	91	89	-2	-15
45	82	80	7	-6
46	72	70	17	4
49	91	89	-2	-15
50	98	96	-9	-22
51	92	90	-3	-16
54	96	94	-7	-20
55	99	97	-10	-23
56	95	93	-6	-19
59	100	98	-11	-24
60	91	89	-2	-15
61	88	86	1	-12
65a	91	89	-2	-15
67	78	76	11	-2
69	78	76	11	-2
71	78	76	11	-2
72	59	57	30	17
76a	80	78	9	-4
77a	83	81	6	-7
78	87	85	2	-11
79a	77	75	12	-1
80	74	72	15	2
81a	86	84	3	-10
82a	77	75	12	-1
84	80	78	9	-4
87	78	76	11	-2
90a	75	73	14	1
91	77	75	12	-1
93a	81	79	8	-5
94	83	81	6	-7
95a	78	76	11	-2
98a	75	73	14	1
102	77	75	12	-1
103	76	74	13	0
105	76	74	13	0
106	77	75	12	-1
109b	79	77	10	-3
111	106	104	-17	-30
112	104	102	-15	-28
113	134	132	-45	-58
115a	87	85	2	-11
118	78	76	11	-2
119	175	173	-86	-99
121a	84	82	5	-8
121b	84	82	5	-8
124	77	75	12	-1

Sl. 6.9: Blejski otok, tabelarični prikaz orientacij grobov; sivo so označene deklinacije, ki veljajo samo kot orientacijske vrednosti: A_A – astronomski azimut; A_K – kartografski azimut; D_V – vzhodna deklinacija; D_z – zahodna deklinacija (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.9: Bled Island, grave orientation; values in grey are approximate values only: A_A – astronomic azimuth; A_K – cartographic azimuth; D_V – eastern declination; D_z – western declination (by B. Štular).

pa med 65° in 111°. Velika večina (97,6 odstotka) grobov bi torej lahko bila usmerjena proti vsakokratnemu sončnemu vzhodu. Vendar podrobnejša analiza hipotezo solarnega azimuta kot edinega vodila pri orientaciji pokopov ovrže. Pričakovana umrljivost ljudi med letom v srednjem veku namreč ni bila enakomerna, temveč je

from the eastern direction. If mortality was highest for instance in January and February, in Bled that would mean orientations between approximately 104° and 121° (*cf.* Škerlj 1952, 113). The measured values, however, deviate markedly towards the north. In other words, should the solar hypothesis hold, most burials on Bled Island would



Sl. 6.10: Blejski otok, stolpčni grafikon kartografskih azimutov grobov (zgoraj) in načrt jasno izraženih skupin grobov: 1 – 76° ± 1°; 2 – 89° ± 1°; 3 – 94° ± 1°; 4 – ostalo; 5 – robne vrednosti; 0 – ni podatka (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.10: Bled Island, graph of cartographic azimuths of graves (above) and below map of selected groups : 1 – 76° ± 1°; 2 – 89° ± 1°; 3 – 94° ± 1°; 4 – other; 5 – marginal values; 0 – no data (by B. Štular).

največja proti koncu zime (Brown 1983). Pričakovana distribucija orientacij bi torej imela izrazit južni odklon od vzhoda. Če bi bila največja umrljivost na primer v januarju in februarju, bi to na Bledu pomenilo orientacije približno med 104° in 121° (prim. Škerlj 1952, 113). Izmerjene vrednosti imajo, nasprotno, izrazit severni odklon. Tudi brez podrobnejše analize, ki bi upoštevala

have taken place in the summer and no people would have been buried towards the end of the winter. Therefore, even without a more detailed analysis of declinations, the solar azimuth hypothesis can be ruled out with some certainty for the Bled Island cemetery (*Fig. 6.7*).

The second null hypothesis is that the graves are oriented towards the east in general and that any deviations are the consequence of the inaccuracy of the mourners.

deklinacije, lahko hipotezo solarnega azimuta v primeru grobišča na Blejskem otoku zanesljivo ovržemo (*sl. 6.7*).

Druga ničelna hipoteza je, da so grobovi orientirani splošno proti vzhodu, morebitna odstopanja pa so posledica nenatančnosti pogrebcev. Pričakovane vrednosti orientacij, ki bi to hipotezo potrdile, bi bile razporejene v obliki pravilne zvončaste oziroma Gaussove krivulje z vrhom pri 90°. Vendar dejanske vrednosti tudi tokrat pomenljivo odstopajo od pričakovanih, saj imajo tri vrhove: 76°, 89° in 94°. Dodatno je razpon vrednosti prevelik, da bi ga bilo mogoče razložiti s površnostjo pogrebcev. S tem pade hipoteza, da so grobovi na Blejskem otoku orientirani splošno proti vzhodu z večjimi in manjšimi merskimi napakami.

Zato postavimo hipotezo, ki je alternativna ničelnima hipotezama: na grobišču Blejski otok so pogrebci pokope orientirali zavestno (a ne proti sončnemu vzhodu na dan pogreba in ne splošno proti vzhodu).

Orientacije grobov na Blejskem otoku imajo 3 jasno izražene smeri, ki sledijo:

– kardinalnemu vzhodu (89° ± 1°),
– smeri grobnih vrst (94° ± 1°) in
– orientaciji cerkve (76° ± 1°).

Deset grobov ima orientacijo **89° ± 1°**. Ob upoštevanju merske napake 1° lahko rečemo, da so ti grobovi orientirani astronomsko proti kardinalnemu vzhodu. Z eno izjemo (G3: 65a) so to grobovi iz zgodnjesrednjeveške stratigrafske faze 1 (G1: 10a, 29, 30, 32a, 40, 42, 49, 51, 60), ki je starejša od najstarejše cerkvene stavbe. Ker noben izmed teh grobov ne sodi med stratigrafsko najstarejše, lahko rečemo, da gre za grobove iz mlajše stopnje najstarejše stratigrafske faze.

Hkrati so ti grobovi orientirani tudi geografsko: 5,4 km od cerkve Marijinega vnebovzetja na Blejskem otoku v smeri kardinalnega vzhoda leži cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja v Lescah. Slemeni današnjih cerkvenih stavb imata isto orientacijo, obe cerkvi sta posvečeni isti zavetnici in obe sta bili v visokem srednjem veku romarski cerkvi. Za leško cerkev v začetku 12. stoletja izvemo, da je bila kot lastniška zgrajena v *davnih časih* v čast sv. Marije, da so se vanjo stekali romarji od blizu in od daleč ter da je njihove darove obdržal zemljiški gospod (Bizjak 2012, 38 z navedbo virov; prim. Hoffler 2016a, 216). Neposredno južno od srednjeveške je v Lescah stala poznorimska zgodnjekrščanska cerkev, o kateri priča skromno ohranjen mozaik (Božič 1995). Vendar za zdaj arheoloških sledi leške cerkve v zgodnjem srednjem veku ne poznamo, zato neposredne povezave z grobovi z Blejskega otoka še ni mogoče dokazati. Je pa obstoj kraja posebnega pomena verjeten; le stežka si namreč predstavljamo uveljavljeno romarsko središče sredi 11. stoletja (glej pogl. 8.1) brez tradicije na istem prostoru v drugi polovici 10. stoletja.

The expected values of orientations confirming this hypothesis would have a normal or Gaussian distribution with a peak at 90°. However, the actual values again deviate significantly from the expected values, for the largest peak is 76°. Moreover, the span of values **± 21°** is too big to be explained by the measurement error (keeping in mind that these people were able to navigate themselves in the landscape using the sun). This refutes the hypothesis that the graves on Bled Island are oriented to the east in general and that the deviations are measurement errors.

Having refuted both null hypotheses, an alternative hypothesis must be set: in the Bled Island cemetery, the mourners oriented the burials consciously either astronomically or geographically.

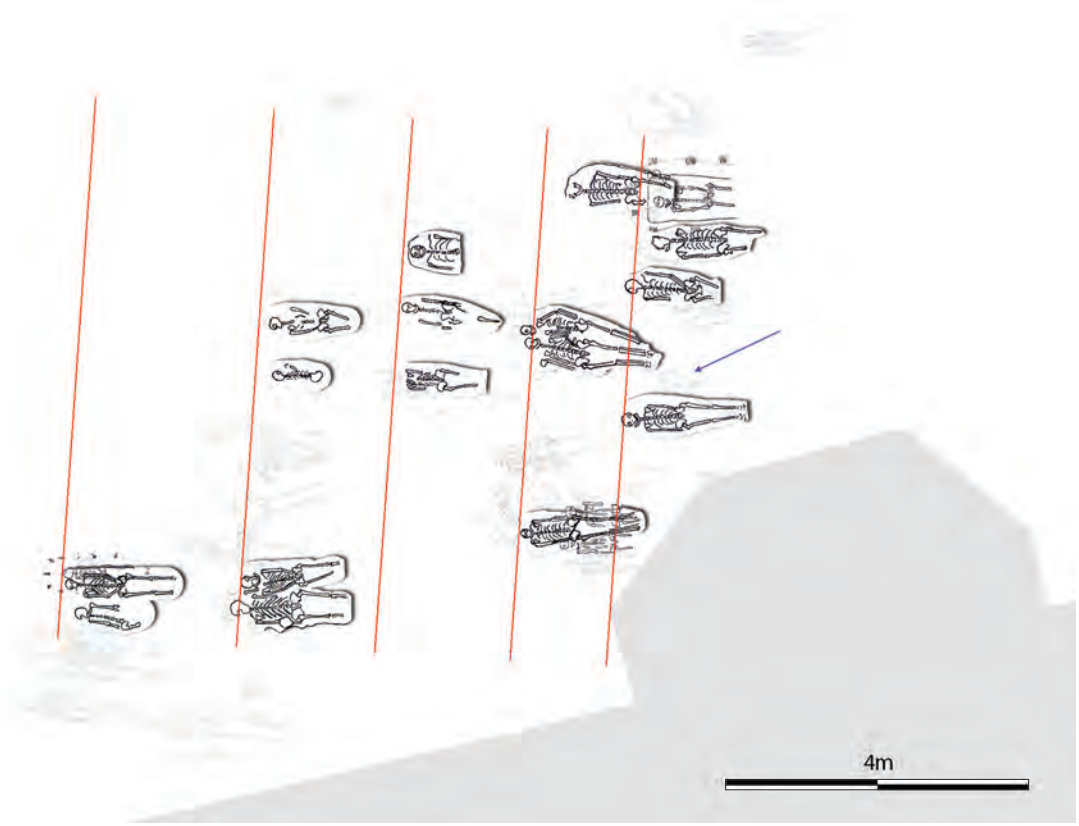
The graves on Bled Island demonstrate three spikes in orientation (*Fig. 6.10*):

– true east (89° ± 1°);
– the direction of the rows of graves (94° ± 1°); and
– the orientation of the church (76° ± 1°).

The orientation of ten graves is **89° ± 1°.** These graves are oriented astronomically towards true east within the measurement error of 1°. With one exception (G3: 65a), all graves belong to the Early Medieval stratigraphic Phase 1 (G1: 10a, 29, 30, 32a, 40, 42, 49, 51, 60) and are hence earlier than the earliest church building. More specifically, all of these graves belong to the later sub-phases of the early medieval G1 cemetery.

At the same time, these graves have a geographical orientation: 5.4 km from the Church of the Assumption on Bled Island in the direction of true east, there is the Church of the Assumption in the town of Lesce. The ridges of the present-day churches have the same orientation, both churches are dedicated to the same patron saint and both were pilgrimage churches in the High Middle Ages. According to sources from the beginning of the 12th century, the church in Lesce was built as a proprietary church long ago in honour of St Mary, it attracted pilgrims from near and far and their donations were kept by the feudal lord (Bizjak 2012, 38 with sources; *cf.* Höfler 2016a, 216). In Lesce, adjacent to the medieval church, the existence of a Late Roman Early Christian church is evidenced by a poorly preserved mosaic (Božič 1995). Nevertheless, no archaeological remains of an Early Medieval church in Lesce have been found so far and a direct connection to the graves on Bled Island cannot be proven. It is, however, very likely that there was a place of special meaning in Lesce in Early Medieval period; it is hard to imagine an established pilgrimage centre in the mid-11th century (see Chapter 8.1) with no tradition from the second half of the 10th century in the same location.

The graves on Bled Island with the azimuth of 89° ± 1° can therefore be interpreted as astronomically oriented towards true east and, likely, geographically towards Lesce. While the precise cultural interpretation of this orientation remains unknown, this piece of information



Sl. 6.11: Blejski otok, načrt grobov v vrstah na prostoru severno od sedanje cerkve: sivo – cerkvena stavba; rdeče – idealiziran potek grobnih vrst s kartografskim azimutom 4°; modra puščica – grob 38 (avtor B. Štular; vir: arhiv NMS AO Rn 222/4–5).
Fig. 6.11: Bled Island, map of graves in lines north of the present-day church: grey – present-day church building; red – idealized lines of graves with cartographic azimuth 4°; blue arrow – Grave 38 (by B. Štular; source: NMS archive AO Rn 222/4–5).

Grobove na Blejskem otoku z azimutom 89° ± 1° torej interpretiramo kot astronomsko orientirane glede na kardinalni vzhod. Natančne kulturne interpretacije te usmeritve za zdaj ne poznamo, ima pa ta podatek izjemno metodološko vrednost. Dokazuje namreč obstoj astronomskega znanja, primerljivega znanju, ki ga izkazuje Beda Venerabilis (glej pogl. 6.2.2).

Druga skupina grobov ima orientacijo **94° ± 1°**. Vsi grobovi so iz zgodnjesrednjeveške stratigrafske faze 1 (G1: 6, 12, 20a, 22, 35, 54). V tem primeru gre za smer grobnih vrst. Na grobišču je namreč v severnem delu že Šribar prepoznal grobne vrste (1966, 222; glej pogl. 8.2.1). Te vrste so od smeri sever–jug odklonjene približno za 4° proti vzhodu. Grobovi z orientacijo 94° ± 1° so orientirani pravokotno na vrste in s tem najbolj natančno sledijo sistemu vrst. Vendar kar dve tretjini grobov v vrstah od orientacije 94° odstopata za več kot ± 3° (*sl. 6.11*). To kaže, da v pogrebnem ritualu teh grobov orientacija ni bila pomembna, temveč je le stranska posledica vrstnega reda oziroma gre za tako imenovano ekvifinalnost (za izraz prim. Dincauze 2000, 31). Kako so bile orientirane vrste, ne vemo, vendar to has significant methodological value. Indeed, it proves the existence of astronomical knowledge, comparable to the knowledge evidenced by Bede the Venerable (see Chapter 6.2.2).

The orientation of the second group of graves is **94° ± 1°.** All the graves are from the Early Medieval stratigraphic Phase 1 (G1: 6, 12, 20a, 22, 35, 54). In this case, the orientation follows the direction of the rows of graves. Šribar was the first to identify rows of graves in the northern part of the cemetery (1966, 222; see Chapter 8.2.1). These rows deviate for about 4° to the east from the north-south direction. Graves with the orientation of 94° ± 1° are oriented perpendicularly to these rows, which means that they follow the system of rows the most closely. Nevertheless, no less than two thirds of the graves in the rows deviate from the orientation of 94° for more than ± 3° (*Fig. 6.11*). This indicates that orientation was not a significant factor in the burial ritual of these graves, but rather a side effect of the rows, as a case of so-called equifinality (for the expression, *cf.* Dincauze 2000, 31). We do not know towards which point the rows were oriented, but it was not the Gradiška hilltop as previously infered by Pleterski (1996, 173–174).

ni orientacija na vrh Gradiška kot je domneval Pleterski (1996, 173–174).

Največ grobov (14) je orientiranih vzporedno s cerkveno stavbo. Imajo azimut **76° ± 1°** oziroma deklinacijo vzhajališča Sonca 11° ± 1°. 1 grob je iz stratigrafske faze 1 (G1), 2 sta iz faze 2 (skupina G3), 9 jih sodi v fazo 3 (6 iz skupine G4 in 3 iz skupine G5), preostala grobova sodita v posrednjeveški fazi 4 in 5 (G6 in G7).

Usmeritev edinega zgodnjesrednjeveškega groba je izjemno pomenljiva in jo obširneje obravnavamo na drugem mestu (glej pogl. 7.2.1). Posrednjeveška grobova ležita tik ob steni cerkve in tako drugačna usmeritev niti ni bila mogoča. Grobovi (67, 71 in 118) ležijo ob vsakokratnem vhodu v najstarejše tri cerkvene stavbe in že z umestitvijo v prostor jasno kažejo tesno povezavo s cerkveno stavbo; rigorozno upoštevanje orientacije je posledica tega.

Najštevilčnejši in hkrati tudi najpomembnejši grobovi te usmeritve sodijo v skupino G2, ki je stratigrafsko umeščena v stratigrafski fazi 2 in 3. Grobne jame te skupine so bile vsekane v živo skalo in uporabljene za več zaporednih pokopov. Gre torej za grobnice, v izdelavo katerih je bilo vloženo razmeroma veliko dela. Natančna orientacija glede na cerkveno stavbo dokazuje, da je bila primerljiva tudi skrb pri polaganju pokojnikov v grobnico. Gre torej za natančno načrtovan in skrbno izveden pogreb z jasnimi navezavami na cerkveno stavbo. Te so jasen in neposreden arheološki dokaz, da gre za krščanske pokope.

Kot zapisano, je bila cerkvena stavba orientirana astronomsko proti sončnemu vzhodu na velik šmaren po julijanskem koledarju, zato imajo seveda tudi ti grobovi astronomsko orientacijo. Je torej mogoče, da gre za grobove, orientirane astronomsko (ali vsaj tudi astronomsko)? Ne, na ravni interpretacije pogreba je astronomska orientacija naključna. Zagotovo to velja za posrednjeveške grobove, saj Sonce na veliki šmaren po gregorijanskem koledarju ni več vzhajalo v osi cerkve. Drugače velja za grobove (G2, G3), ki sodijo v romansko oziroma visokosrednjeveško stratigrafsko fazo. Takratni pogrebci so cerkev obiskovali tudi na veliki šmaren, praznik cerkvene zavetnice, in so astronomsko orientacijo cerkve zagotovo poznali izkustveno. Liturgični pomen te orientacije, kot se zdi glede na izjemno majhen delež romanskih cerkva, orientiranih na veliki šmaren (glej pogl. 6.2.1), tedaj ni bil več v ospredju. Ravno zaradi izkustvenega poznavanja astronomske usmeritve cerkve se zdi mnogo prepričljivejša razlaga, da so v praksi vsakokraten pokop orientirali vzporedno z obstoječo cerkveno stavbo in ne z vsakokratno izmero astronomske smeri. Tudi če bi bil namen pogrebnega obreda astronomska orientacija, je to v praksi mnogo enostavneje izvedljivo s posnemanjem usmeritve cerkve.

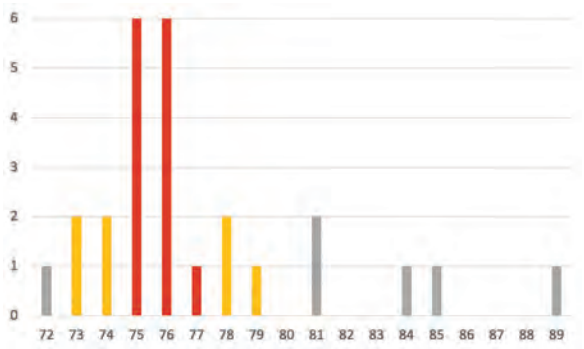
Pomembna je tudi ugotovitev, da nobena skupina grobov, ki je stratigrafsko sočasna cerkvi, ne izkazuje

The largest number of graves (14) is oriented parallel to the church building. Their azimuth is **76° ± 1°** and the declination of the sun is 11° ± 1°. One grave is from stratigraphic Phase 1 (G1), two are from Phase 2 (group G3), nine are from Phase 3 (six from the G4 group and three from the G5 group) and the remaining two graves are dated to the Late Medieval Phases 4 and 5 (G6 and G7).

The orientation of the only Early Medieval grave is extremely significant and will be discussed further (see Chapter 7.2.1). The two Late Medieval graves are positioned immediately next to the church wall and could not have had a different orientation. Graves 67, 71 and 118 are positioned next to the entrances to the earliest three churches and their locations clearly indicate a close connection with the church buildings; indeed, their rigorous compliance with the orientation is a consequence of it.

The most numerous and at the same time the most important graves with this orientation belong to the G2 group, dated to the stratigraphic Phases 2 in 3. Grave pits of G2 graves were carved into the bedrock and used for several consecutive burials. Consequently, these graves are reminiscent of tombs, the making of which required considerable work. The precise alignment of their orientation with the church building demonstrates that the deceased were placed in the tomb with similar attentiveness. G2 therefore consists of a meticulously planned and carefully conducted burial with clear connection to the church building. The latter represents direct archaeological evidence that these are Christian burials.

As mentioned above, the church building was oriented astronomically towards the sunrise on the day of the Assumption according to the Julian calendar, which means that all of these graves also have an astronomical orientation. Is it therefore possible that these graves are astronomically oriented (or at least astronomically to a degree)? No. On the level of the interpretation of the burial, the astronomical orientation is coincidental. This is certainly true of the post-Medieval graves, because the sun no longer set in the axis of the church on the day of the Assumption according to the Gregorian calendar. The situation differs with the graves (G2, G3) belonging to the Romanesque or High Medieval stratigraphic phase. The mourners of the time would visit the church on the day of the Assumption, the feast day of the patron saint of the church. Therefore, they possessed empirical knowledge of the astronomical orientation of the church, that is, they were able to observe the sunrise first-hand. The liturgical significance of this orientation seems to have no longer represented a major issue at the time of the G2 burials, judging by the small percentage of contemporary Romanesque churches oriented with respect to the day of the Assumption (see Chapter 6.2.1). Given this empirical knowledge about the astronomical orientation of the church, a much more likely explanation is that in practice each burial was oriented parallel to the existing church building and that the astronomical direction was not measured each time. Even



Sl. 6.12: Blejski otok, stolpčni grafikon kartografskih azimutov grobov, ki so stratigrafsko sočasni cerkveni stavbi: rdeče – zelo natančno usmerjeni grobovi (76° ± 1°), rumeno – natančno usmerjeni grobovi (76° ± 3°), sivo – ostali (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.12: Bled Island, graph of cartographic azimuths of graves that are contemporary to church buildings: red – very precise orientation (76° ± 1°), yellow – precise orientation (76° ± 3°), grey – others (by B. Štular).

sistematičnega trenda orientacije, ki bi bila drugačna od cerkvene. Povedano drugače, vsi grobovi ob cerkvi ali v njej bolj ali manj natančno sledijo orientaciji cerkve. S tem podatkom lahko preverimo tudi natančnost: polovica vseh grobov (brez skrajnih vrednosti) je usmerjenih zelo natančno (± 1°), tri četrtine odstopa minimalno (± 3°). Izmed preostalih ima večina južni odklon, a je število grobov premajhno za morebitne nadaljnje raziskave tega pojava (*sl. 6.12*). S tem smo dobili metodološko pomemben podatek o natančnosti orientacije pokopov v primeru, ko vemo, da so pogrebci pokope zavestno usmerjali glede na jasno oznako v prostoru. Vse interpretacije, ki razpon orientacij za več kot ± 3° razlagajo z napako oziroma nenatančnostjo pogrebcev, so torej vsaj vprašljive, če že ne ovržene.

Omenili smo že grobove s skrajnimi orientacijami. Gre za 4 grobove (št. 38, 72, 113, 119), ki statistično značilno odstopajo od glavnine.

Grob 38 ima kartografski azimut 111° ± 1°. Gre za enega izmed grobov v vrstah in njegova orientacija že na prvi pogled močno odstopa od sosednjih grobov (*sl. 6.11*). Usmeritev groba se ujema z interpretacijo o urejanju grobiščnega prostora z orientacijskimi osmi (glej pogl. 6.2.3). Vendar ker gre za osamljen primer in ker natančne povezave med konkretnimi pokopi in omenjeno ureditvijo še ne poznamo, ne moremo izključiti naključja.

Grob št. 72 ima kartografski azimut 57° ± 1° in je v vseh pogledih edinstven. Leži izolirano od ostalih sočasnih grobov, tik ob klesanem zelenem kamnu, ki je v času pokopa označeval lokacijo starejše jame. Stratigrafsko je starejši od najstarejše cerkvene stavbe, saj leži pod najstarejšo apsido (glej pogl. 4.2). Orientacija ni

if astronomical orientation was the intention of the burial ritual, in practice this was much more easily achievable by following the orientation of the church.

Importantly, the findings also show that the graves that are stratigraphically contemporary to the church demonstrate a systematic trend of orientation parallel to the church. This can be used as a test of accuracy: half of the graves contemporary to the church (outliers excluded) are oriented very precisely parallel to the church building (± 1°) and three quarters exhibit small deviation (± 3°). The rest of the graves mostly have a southern declination, but their number is too low for any further analysis of the phenomenon of southern versus northern declination (*Fig. 6.12*). This gives us a methodologically significant indication of the accuracy of the orientation of burials in cases where it is known that the mourners consciously oriented burials in accordance with a clear landmark (in this case, a church building). All interpretations according to which a greater than ± 3° range of orientations is explained as an error or inaccuracy of the mourners are therefore questionable, if not downright refuted.

Graves with outlying orientations have already been mentioned above. Four graves (38, 72, 113, 119) demonstrate a statistically significant deviation from the majority.

Grave 38 has a cartographic azimuth of 111° ± 1°. It is one of the graves in rows and it is apparent that its orientation deviates strongly from the rest of the contemporary and adjacent graves (*Fig. 6.11*). The orientation of the grave corresponds to the interpretation that the area of the cemetery was planned in accordance with orientation axes (see Chapter 6.2.3). However, given that this is an isolated case and a clear connection between actual burials and the above-mentioned cemetery planning is not yet known, coincidence cannot be ruled out.

Grave 72 has a cartographic azimuth of 57° ± 1° and is unique in every respect. Isolated from contemporary graves, it is positioned immediately next to the green stone marking the location of an earlier pit that was ancient at the time of burial. Lying under the earliest church apse, it is stratigraphically earlier than the earliest church building (see Chapter 4.2). Its orientation is not contingent on the terrain, it is not astronomical and it is not in accordance with other features in the Bled Island cemetery. Rather, it is related to the mortuary landscape.

The mortuary landscape (*cf.* William 2006, 179–214) of the Bled area is composed of five contemporary Early Medieval cemeteries: Spodnje Gorje, Rečica, Pristava, Želeče and Bodešče. All of these cemeteries are positioned on the line of vision connecting the Višelnica midsummer bonfire site and the Šmarjetna gora hill above the town of Kranj (Pleterski 2014, 274–276). Out of the listed cemeteries, the cemetery in Bodešče deviates the most from the above-mentioned line of vision: 25 m. This is just ⅓° observed from Višelnica. Furthermore, the western edge of the sixth cemetery, Na Sedlu under Bled Castle, is less than 40 m from this line of vision.

pogojena s terenom, ni astronomska in se ne navezuje na objekte na otoškem grobišču, temveč je navezana na grobiščno pokrajino.

Grobiščno pokrajino (prim. William 2006, 179–214) v Blejskem kotu sestavlja pet sočasnih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč: Spodnje Gorje, Rečica, Pristava, Želeče in Bodešče. Vsa našteta grobišča ležijo na vizuri kresišče Višelnica–Šmarjetna gora nad Kranjem (Pleterski 2014, 274–276). Izmed naštetih od vizure najbolj odstopa grobišče v Bodeščah, in sicer za 25 m, kar ob opazovanju z Višelnice pomeni približno ⅓°. Ob tem je zahodni rob še šestega grobišča, Na Sedlu pod Blejskim gradom, od omenjene vizure oddaljen manj kot 40 m.

Dodaten element, ki nas utrjuje v interpretaciji nenaključnosti, je podatek, da 4 izmed naštetih grobišč ležijo na razmeroma ravnem polju, ki je ponujal širok izbor enakovrednih lokacij. Ob upoštevanju merske natančnosti 1° je statistična verjetnost, da 4 kulturno izbrane točke v ravnini ležijo na isti liniji po naključju, zgolj 0,003 % (prim. Pleterski 2014, 115–116). Hkrati analiza vidnosti potrjuje, da so iz opazovališča na kresišču Višelnica vidna vsa grobišča razen Rečice ter seveda Šmarjetna gora (*sl. 6.13*).

Navedeno dokazuje, (i) da lokacije zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč v Blejskem kotu niso bile izbrane naključno temveč načrtno in sicer (ii) z viziranjem iz lokacije kresišče Višelnica. Rezultat je bil zavestno urejena grobiščna pokrajina, del celostne prostorske ureditve Blejskega kota (prim. Pleterski 2014, 236–285).

Za analizo grobišča na Blejskem otoku je najpomembnejši podatek, da je kresišče Višelnica predstavljalo eno izmed ključnih mest grobiščne pokrajine v Blejskem kotu. Grob 72 na Blejskem otoku je namreč orientiran pravokotno na to mesto, ki je z otoka tudi neposredno vidno. S tem je grob – in simbolno celotno grobišče – navezan na opisano sočasno grobiščno pokrajino (*sl. 6.14*).

Grob št. 113 ima kartografski azimut 132° ± 1°. Gre za enega v skupini grobov (št. 111, 112, 114 in 117), vkopanih v skalni kotanji. Orientacija je torej posledica geomorfoloških danosti in ne kulturne izbire. Ta skupina grobov je stratigrafsko sočasna tistim grobovom v vrstah, pri katerih orientacija prav tako ni imela posebne vloge.

Grob 119 ima kartografski azimut 173° ± 1°. Gre za novoveški grob, ki je mlajši od zahodnega prizidka cerkve, tako imenovane vhodne lope. Orientiran je pravokotno na cerkveni zid, kar najverjetneje kaže na to, da je imel prvotno v cerkveno steno vzidan nagrobnik, kakršni so značilni za čas od 16. stoletja (Rodwell 1989, 177; Mytum 2006, 97).

An additional element confirming the interpretation that the locations of the cemeteries are not random is the fact that four of the listed cemeteries are positioned on a relatively flat plain offering a wide selection of equivalent locations. If the accuracy of the measurements is 1°, the statistical probability that four culturally selected places on a flat terrain are positioned in line by coincidence is only 0.003% (*cf.* Pleterski 2014, 115–116). At the same time, visibility analysis confirms that all of the cemeteries except Rečica are visible from the viewpoint at the Višelnica bonfire site and on a clear day so is Šmarjetna gora (*Fig. 6.13*).

This proves conclusively that (i) the locations of Early Medieval cemeteries in the Bled area are meaningful and were not chosen randomly and (ii) that these locations could be identified by simple sighting from the Višelnica bonfire site. This was a conscious organization of the mortuary landscape and part of the more complex organization of the Bled area's archaeological landscape (see Part 3).

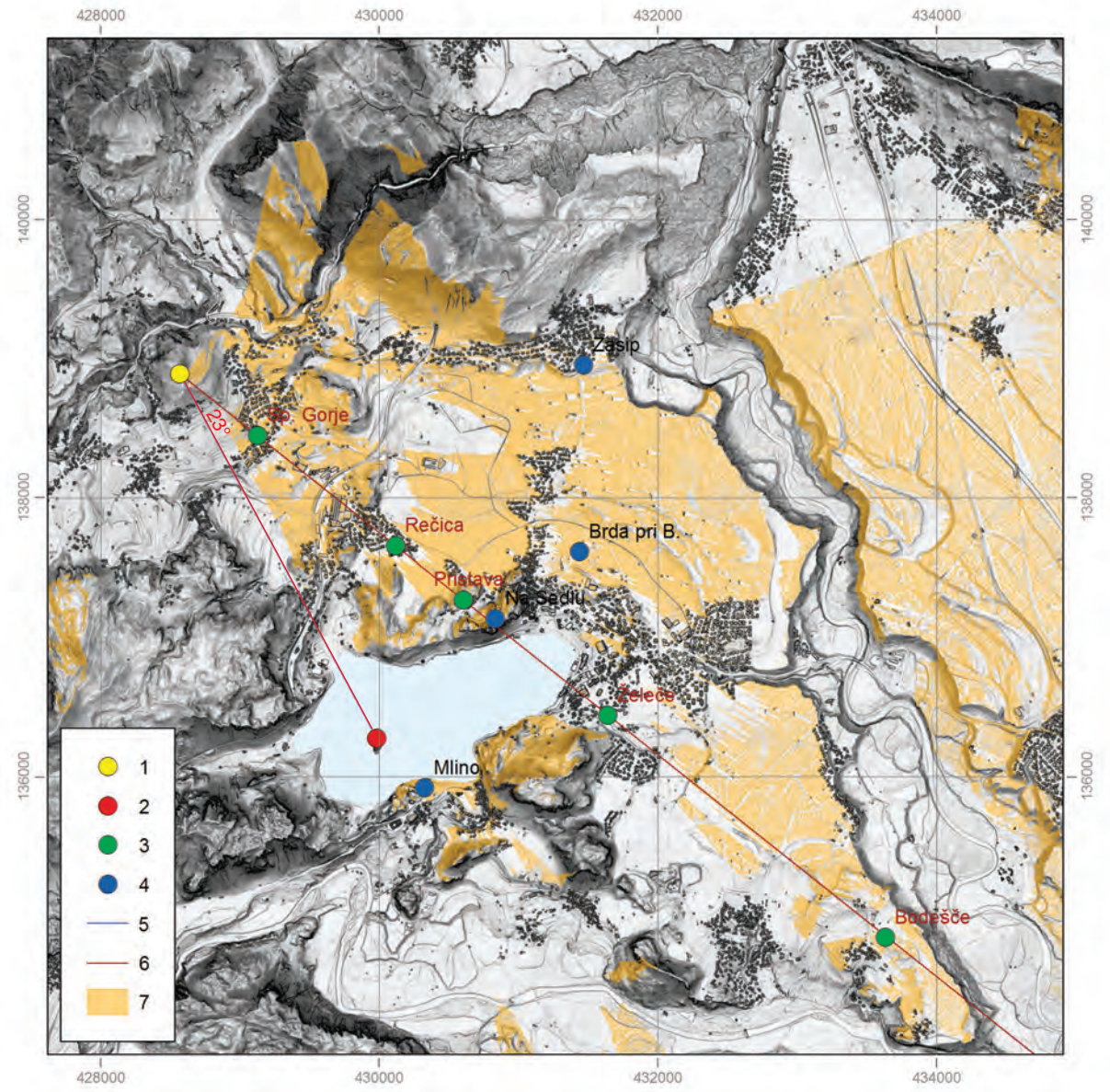
For the Bled Island cemetery, it is important to know that the Višelnica bonfire site was one of the key places of the mortuary landscape in the Bled area. Grave 72 on Bled Island is oriented perpendicularly to the Višelnica bonfire site, which is visible from its location. Thus, the grave – and symbolically the entire cemetery – are linked to the above-described contemporary mortuary landscape (*Fig. 6.14*).

Grave 113 has a cartographic azimuth of 132° ± 1°. It belongs to the group of graves (111, 112, 114, 117) dug into a rocky hollow. Their orientation is therefore the consequence of geomorphological factors, not cultural selection. This group of graves is stratigraphically contemporary to the graves in rows, for which orientation played no particular role.

Grave 119 has a cartographic azimuth of 173° ± 1°. It is a post-Medieval grave later than the westernmost extension of the church. It is oriented perpendicularly to the church wall, which likely indicates that it was marked by a tombstone built into the church wall, as was typical from the 16th century on (Rodwell 1989, 177; Mytum 2006, 97).

INTERPRETATION

The analysis of the metric data has thus confirmed the hypothesis that in the Bled Island cemetery, the orientation of the burials was a conscious choice. This means that the orientation of the graves mirrors (for the expression, see Klejn 1987, 41) cultural information. Three remaining hypotheses for the orientation of medieval burials must be explored: parallel to the church building; astronomical orientation; and geographical orientation in accordance with a place in the landscape. All three are represented in the Bled Island cemetery.



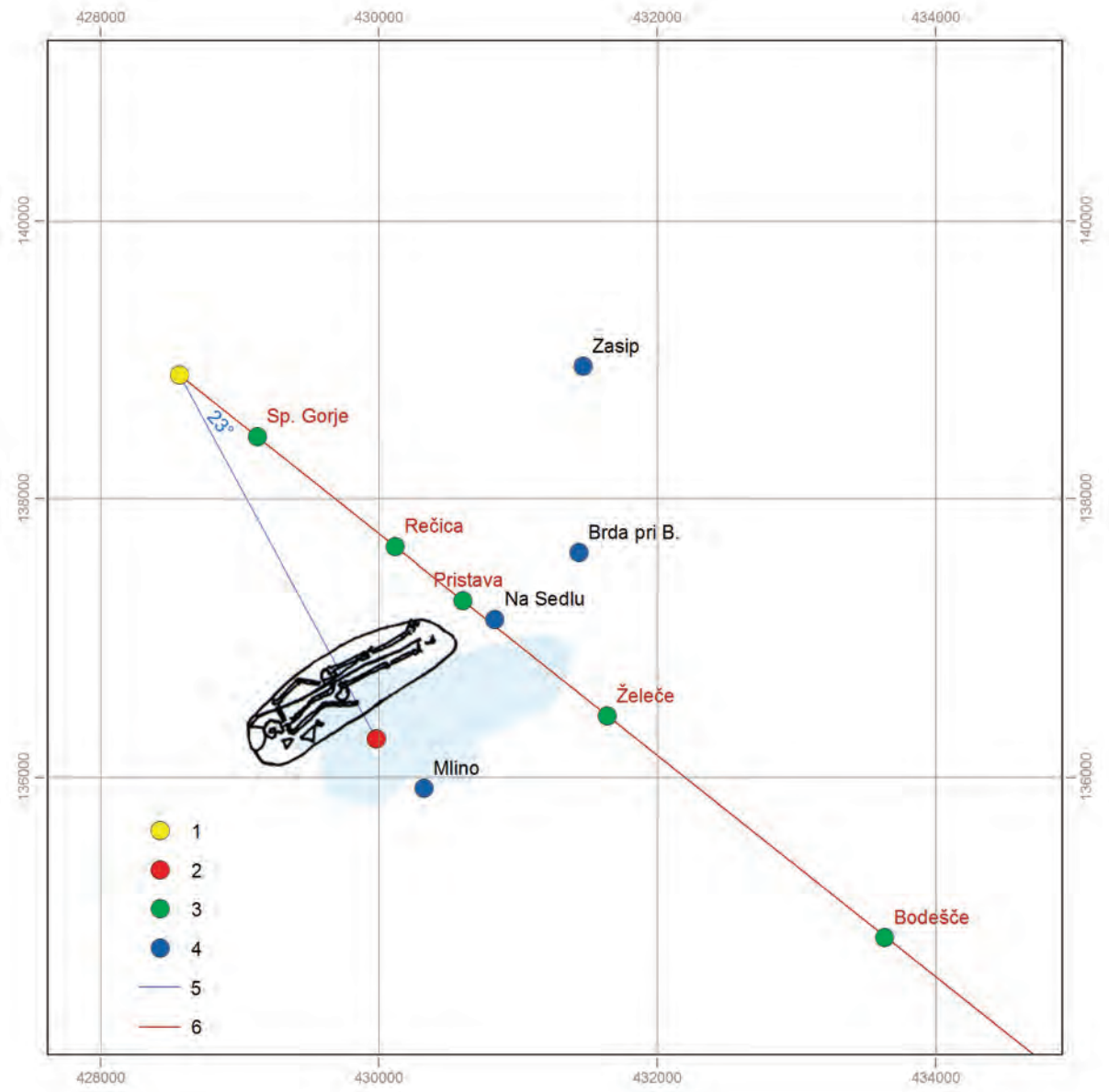
Sl. 6.13: Blejski kot, lokacija arheološko dokumentiranih grobišč in analiza vidnosti iz lokacije kresišče Višelnica: 1 – kresišče Višelnica; 2 – Blejski otok; 3 – grobišča na vizuri; 4 – ostala grobišča; 5 – vizura kresišče Višelnica–Blejski otok (grob št. 72); 6 – vizura kresišče Višelnica–Šmarjetna gora nad Kranjem; 7 – območje vidno iz kresišča Višelnica (avtorja: E. Lozić, B. Štular).
Fig. 6.13: Bled area, early medieval archaeological sites and viewshed from Višelnica bonfire: 1 – Višelnica bonfire; 2 – Bled Island; 3 – cemeteries on line; 4 – other cemeteries ; 5 – Višelnica bonfire–Bled Island (grave No. 72) line; 6 – Višelnica bonfire–Šmarjetna gora above Kranj line; 7 – Višelnica bonfire viewshed (authors: E. Lozić, B. Štular).

INTERPRETACIJA

Z analizo merskih podatkov smo torej potrdili hipotezo, da so na grobišču Blejski otok pogrebci pokope orientirali zavestno. To pomeni, da orientacija grobov odseva (za izraz glej Klejn 1987, 41) kulturno informacijo. Najpogostejše interpretacije srednjeveških pokopov so astronomska orientacija, orientacija glede na točko v pokrajini ali orientacija vzporedno s cerkveno stavbo. Na grobišču na Blejskem otoku so prisotne vse 3.

(i) The church on Bled Island is oriented astronomically in accordance with the sunrise on the day of the patron saint of the church, St Mary of Assumption. This is the orientation of the majority of the graves that are contemporary to the church. In our case, the orientation of these graves is therefore a chronological indicator.

(ii) Some of the graves that are earlier than the church are oriented towards true east. This provides evidence of a high level of astronomical knowledge of the Bled mourners, comparable to the knowledge of the



Sl. 6.14: Blejski kot, lokacija arheološko dokumentiranih grobišč (legenda kot *sl. 6.13*) in grob 72; grob ni v merilu, orientacija je kartografska (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.14: Bled area, map of Early Medieval cemeteries (as *Fig. 6.13*) and Grave 72; grave not at scale but in correct cartographic orientation (by B. Štular).

(i) Cerkev na Blejskem otoku je orientirana astronomsko glede na sončni vzhod na dan cerkvene zavetnice, Marije Vnebovzete. Tej orientaciji sledi večina grobov, sočasnih cerkvi. Orientacija teh grobov je v našem primeru torej kronološki pokazatelj.

(ii) Del grobov, starejših od cerkve, je orientiran glede na kardinalni vzhod; to za blejske pogrebce dokazuje stopnjo astronomskega znanja, primerljivo tistemu, ki ga približno 2 stoletji prej popisuje Beda Venerabilis pri Anglih.

Angles described about two centuries earlier by Bede the Venerable.

(iii) Orientation was not an important factor in the rites of the remaining burials, but their orientation still reflected a tendency inter in rows.

(iv) Extremely important for the interpretation of the Early Medieval part of the cemetery is the orientation of Grave 72. Indeed, it clearly expresses the intention of the mourners to include this grave – and with it probably

(iii) V pogrebnem ritusu preostalih grobov orientacija ni bila pomembna; kljub temu orientacija odseva težnjo k pokopavanju v vrstah.

(iv) Izjemnega pomena za interpretacijo zgodnjesrednjeveškega dela grobišča je orientacija groba 72: ta jasno izraža namen pogrebcev vtkati grob – in s tem verjetno celotno grobišče – v sočasno grobiščno pokrajino z navezavo na točko v prostoru.

Širši metodološki pomen analize orientacij grobov na Blejskem otoku je dvojen. Najpomembnejši je dokaz, da z metodološko rigorozno analizo zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč lahko pridobimo kulturne informacije, predvsem o grobnem ritusu. Drugi pomemben zaključek je, da ne gre iskati enotne razlage za orientacijo pokopov, saj je bilo že na enem grobišču lahko hkrati uporabljenih več različnih sistemov orientacij.

6.2.3 ORIENTACIJSKE OSI GROBIŠČA G1

V grobiščni skupini G1 je na podlagi materialnih arheoloških sledov mogoče prepoznati orientacijski osi, namenjeni urejanju prostora grobišča. Osi določajo lokacije studenca, ognjišča in označevalca prostora ob vznožju groba (št. 72) v obliki zelenega kamna. Slednji točki sta dokazani z materialnimi arheološkimi sledmi, ki so stratigrafsko nedvoumno sočasne uporabi grobišča G1 (glej pogl. 4.2 in 4.7).

Vlogo manjšega izvira arteške vode oziroma studenca[9] na Blejskem otoku utemeljujemo z erudicijo srednjeveških virov. Ti razmeroma pogosto pričajo o poganskem oziroma nekrščanskem češčenju studencev (Dowden 2000, 39-45; Kajkowski, Kuczkowski 2017, 22), na primer:

– Sv. Martin iz Brage (+ 580), na današnjem Madžarskem rojeni škof iz Galicije, je v svoji pridigi predkrščanske bogove videl kot demone in v njih opisu med drugim navaja, da bivajo v morju, rekah, studencih ali gozdovih in ljudje, ki ne poznajo Boga, jim žrtvujejo in jih častijo kot bogove.[10]
– Izidor Sevilski (+ 636) v poglavju o svetih stavbah pravi: stari so pripovedovali, da so imela svetišča očiščevalne studence pred vhodom; da so v nje-

[9] Pojem studenec uporabljamo v pomenu manjši izvir vode. Ta pojem izvira iz indoevropske baze **steud* v pomenu postati mrzel. Vsi uporabljeni latinski viri navajajo izraz *fons, fontis*, ki ima več pomenov: studenec, izvir ali vodnjak.

[10] Praeter haec autem multi daemones ex illis qui de caelo expulsi sunt aut in mare aut in fluminibus aut in fontibus aut in silvis praesident, quos similiter homines ignorantes deum quasi deos colunt et sacrificant illis (Correctione 8). Podobno tudi na drugem mestu: Post diluvium ... (a)lii adorabant solem, alii lunam vel stellas, alii ignem, alii aquam profundam vel fontes aquarum, credentes haec omnia non a deo esse facta ad usum hominum, sed ipsa ex se orta deos esse (Correctione 6).

the entire cemetery – into the contemporary mortuary landscape by orienting it geographically.

The wider methodological significance of the analysis of grave orientations on Bled Island is twofold. The most important finding is the evidence that a methodologically rigorous analysis of Early Medieval cemeteries can result in cultural information, especially about burial rites. The second important conclusion is that we should not seek a uniform explanation for the orientation of burials, for several different orientation systems might be used in a single cemetery at the same time.

6.2.3 ORIENTATION AXES OF THE G1 CEMETERY

In the G1 cemetery group, two orientation axes used in the organization of the cemetery area can be identified based on material archaeological evidence. The axes are defined by the locations of the spring, the fireplace and the green stone marking the foot of Grave 72. The latter two locations are evidenced by archaeological material evidence and are undoubtedly stratigraphically contemporary to the use of the G1 cemetery (see Chapters 4.2 and 4.7).

The role of a small spring of artesian water[9] on Bled Island can be interpreted based on medieval written sources in which the pagan or non-Christian worship of springs is mentioned relatively often (Dowden 2000, 39-45; Kajkowski, Kuczkowski 2017, 22), for example:

– St Martin of Braga (+ 580), a bishop in Gallaecia, born in present-day Hungary, would view pre-Christian gods as demons; he stated (among other things) that those demons live in the sea, in springs or in forests and that people who do not know God sacrifice to them or worship them as gods.[10]
– Isidore of Seville (+ 636) says in the chapter on sacred buildings that old people claimed that sanctuaries had cleansing springs in front of the entrances and that in his time, there were buildings with sacred springs where believers were cleansed.[11]

[9] In Latin sources, the word *fons, fontis* is used.

[10] *Praeter haec autem multi daemones ex illis qui de caelo expulsi sunt aut in mare aut in fluminibus aut in fontibus aut in silvis praesident, quos similiter homines ignorantes deum quasi deos colunt et sacrificant illis (Correctione 8). Podobno tudi na drugem mestu: Post diluvium ... (a)lii adorabant solem, alii lunam vel stellas, alii ignem, alii aquam profundam vel fontes aquarum, credentes haec omnia non a deo esse facta ad usum hominum, sed ipsa ex se orta deos esse* (Correctione 6).

[11] *Delubra veteres dicebant templa fontes habentia, quibus ante ingressum diluebantur; ... Ipsa sunt nunc aedes cum sacris fontibus, in quibus fideles regenerati purificantur:* ... (*Orig.* XV.4).

govem času stavbe s svetimi studenci, v katerih se verniki čistijo.[11]

– Karel Veliki (+ 814) ukazuje vsem, naj uničijo svete gaje, kamne in studence, pri katerih se izvajajo rituali.[12]
– V seznamu grehov (*penitentiae*), zbranih okoli leta 1000, katerih domnevni prvotni avtor je canterburyjski nadškof Teodor (+ 669), je navedeno, naj se kaznujejo vsi, ki darujejo drevesom, studencem, kamnom ali ogradam.[13]
– Škof *Thietmar* iz Merseburga (+ 1018) povzema starejše vire o Slovanih, ki častijo studenec ob Labi (Nemčija).[14]
– Leta 1037 poreški škof Engilmar v komentarju spisov Arnolda o čudežu sv. Emerama Regensburškega omenja zdravilni studenec.[15]
– Benediktinec *Herbord* (+ 1168) v biografiji škofa Ota Bamberškega poroča o češčenju studenca v senci hrasta v Szczecinu (Poljska).[16]
– *Helmold* (+ po 1177) v Slovanski kroniki poroča, da Slovani kristjanom prepovedujejo dostop do njihovih svetih studencev in jezer, ker verujejo, da slednji postanejo nečisti, ko se jim približa kristjan.[17]

[11] Delubra veteres dicebant templa fontes habentia, quibus ante ingressum diluebantur; ... Ipsa sunt nunc aedes cum sacris fontibus, in quibus fideles regenerati purificantur: ... (Orig. XV.4).

[12] Item de arboribus vel petris vel fontibus, ubi aliqui stulti luminaria vel alias observationes faciunt, omnino mandamus, ut iste pessimus usus et Deo execrabilis, ubicumque inveniatur, tollatur et distruatur (Capit. I., p. 59 c. 65)

[13] Siquis ad arbores, vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides sive ad cancellos, vel ubicunque excepto in ecclesia Dei, votum voverit aut exsolverit, iii. annos poeniteat (*Paen. Theo.* XXVII, 18).

[14] Glomuzi est fons, non plus ab Albi quam duo miliaria positus, qui unam de se paludem generans, mira, ut incolae pro vero asserunt oculisque approbatum est a multis, sepe operatur. Cum bona pax est indigenis profutura, suumque [haec] terra non mentitur fructum, idem tritico et avena ac glandine refertus, laetos vicinorum ad se crebro confluentium efficit animos. Quando autem seva belli tempestas ingruerit, sanguine et cinere certum futuri exitus indicium premonstrat (Thietmar I.3).

[15] Hic quoque dum Ratisbonne constitutus apud Sanctum Emmerammum scripta meae parvitatis videret et legeret atque probaret, die quadam stans iuxta puteum seu fontem, per quem recordabatur ibi sanam olim redditam fuisse fontem, vocavit me, et occasionem sumens ex eodem fonte, dixit quod scripsi; … (Ann. Car. Sax. II.54; Kos 1911, št. 100).

[16] Erat praeterea ibi quercus ingens et frondosa, et fons subter eam amoenissimus, quam plebs simplex numinis alicuius inhabitatione sacram aestimans, magna veneratione colebat (Herbord II.32).

[17] Usque hodie profecto inter illos, cum cetera omnia communia sint cum nostris, solus prohibetur accessus lucorum et fontium, quos autumant pollui Christianorum accessu (Helmoldi I.1).

– Charlemagne (+ 814) orders everybody to destroy the sacred groves, stones and springs where rituals were held.[12]
– The list of sins (*penitentiae*), collected around the year 1000, whose alleged original author was Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (+ 669), states that all who offer sacrifices to trees, springs, stones or enclosures should be punished.[13]
– Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg (+ 1018) summarizes earlier sources on the Slavs, who worshipped a spring near the River Elbe (Germany).[14]
– Bishop Engilmar of Poreč mentions a healing spring in 1037 in his commentary on the writings of Arnold about the miracle of St Emmeram of Regensburg.[15]
– In his biography of Bishop Otto of Bamberg, Bendictine monk Herbord (+ 1168) mentions the worship of a spring in the shadow of an oak in Szczecin (Poland).[16]
– Helmold (+ after 1177) writes in his *Chronicle of the Slavs* that Slavs do not allow Christians to come to their sacred springs and lakes because they believe that the waters would become unclean if a Christian approached them.[17]
– The same author writes about Bishop Vicelinus, who allegedly observed the worship of forests, springs and other superstitions among the Slavs along the Elbe.[18]
– This author also writes in a chapter on the conversion of Pribislav that after the consecration of the church,

[12] *Item de arboribus vel petris vel fontibus, ubi aliqui stulti luminaria vel alias observationes faciunt, omnino mandamus, ut iste pessimus usus et Deo execrabilis, ubicumque inveniatur, tollatur et distruatur* (Capit. I., p. 59 c. 65)

[13] *Siquis ad arbores, vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides sive ad cancellos, vel ubicunque excepto in ecclesia Dei, votum voverit aut exsolverit, iii. annos poeniteat* (*Paen. Theo.* XXVII, 18).

[14] *Glomuzi est fons, non plus ab Albi quam duo miliaria positus, qui unam de se paludem generans, mira, ut incolae pro vero asserunt oculisque approbatum est a multis, sepe operatur. Cum bona pax est indigenis profutura, suumque [haec] terra non mentitur fructum, idem tritico et avena ac glandine refertus, laetos vicinorum ad se crebro confluentium efficit animos. Quando autem seva belli tempestas ingruerit, sanguine et cinere certum futuri exitus indicium premonstrat* (Thietmar I.3).

[15] *Hic quoque dum Ratisbonne constitutus apud Sanctum Emmerammum scripta meae parvitatis videret et legeret atque probaret, die quadam stans iuxta puteum seu fontem, per quem recordabatur ibi sanam olim redditam fuisse fontem, vocavit me, et occasionem sumens ex eodem fonte, dixit quod scripsi; …* (Ann. Car. Sax. II.54; Kos 1911, št. 100).

[16] *Erat praeterea ibi quercus ingens et frondosa, et fons subter eam amoenissimus, quam plebs simplex numinis alicuius inhabitatione sacram aestimans, magna veneratione colebat* (Herbord II.32).

[17] *Usque hodie profecto inter illos, cum cetera omnia communia sint cum nostris, solus prohibetur accessus lucorum et fontium, quos autumant pollui Christianorum accessu* (Helmoldi I.1).

[18] *Nam lucorum et fontium ceterarumque supersticionum multiplex error apud eos habetur* (Helmoldi I.47).

– Isti poroča o škofu Vincelinu, ki da je pri Slovanih ob Labi med drugim opazil, da so med njimi razširjena češčenje gozdov in studencev ter druga vraževerja.[18]
– Isti v poglavju o Pribislavovi spreobrnitvi poroča, da so se Slovani v Oldenburgu po posvetitvi cerkve vzdržali priseg v gozdovih ob studencih in skalah.[19]
– Frančiškan Franciscus de Clugia v listini, izdani leta 1331, v pohvalo in priznanje udeležencu pohoda proti Kobaridu navaja, da so tam med gorami nešteti Slovani častili neko drevo in studenec, ki je bil pri koreninah drevesa, kot Boga.[20]

Našteti so izbrani srednjeveški primeri, a češčenje studencev in izvirov je širši fenomen. Najstarejši pisni vir v regiji je Strabonov (+ ok. 24 pr. n. št.) opis Diomedovega svetišča na območju izvirov Timave (*Lacus Timavi*):

> Na skrajnem koncu Jadranskega zaliva je Diomedovo svetišče, ki se imenuje Timavon *(Timauon)* in je vredno omembe. Svetišče ima pristanišče, čudovit sveti gaj in pet izvirov rečne vode, ki se v široki in globoki reki takoj izlivajo v morje (Šašel Kos 1999, 255).

Med mlajšimi manifestacijami tega fenomena je zagotovo najznamenitejši studenec v Lurdu, ki je bil razglašen za čudežnega 18. januarja 1862 in je takoj postal eno najpriljubljenejših romarskih središč Slovencev.

Srednjeveški viri zrcalijo tudi težave, ki jih je imela Cerkev z izkoreninjenjem tega češčenja. Tovrstni in podobni *poganski* običaji, ki jih je pravilneje razumeti kot odsev multipolarnosti srednjeveške kulture, so se obdržali vsaj do konca srednjega veka (Geary 2001). Kot nakaže že Izidor Sevilski, je bil eden izmed načinov spopadanja s tem problemom – tisti, ki je sledil napotkom o pokristjanjevanju papeža Gregorija I (+ 604) (npr. Demacopoulos 2008) in bil v uporabi do vključno 10. stoletja (Geary 2001, 190) – postavljanje cerkva ob češčenih studencih (Kajkowski, Kuczkowski 2017, 23; prim. Vlasto 1970, Geary 2001, 192; Štular, Hrovatin 2002, 45–46;). V širši regiji poznamo več tako zgrajenih srednjeveških cerkva, na primer bamberško katedralo (Nemčija, Bavarska), cerkev sv. Mihaela v Olomoucu (Češka Republika, Moravska) in cerkev sv. Jana pod skalo (Češka Republika, Češka) (Pleterski 2017, 38). Cerkev je te gradnje pogosto razlagala kot mesta pri-

[18] Nam lucorum et fontium ceterarumque superstitionum multiplex error apud eos habetur (Helmoldi I.47).

[19] Et inhibiti sunt Slavi de cetero iurare in arboribus, fontibus et lapidibus, sed offerebant criminibus pulsatos sacerdoti ferro vel vomeribus examinandos (Helmoldi I.83).

[20] ... usque ad locum de Cavoreto, ejusdem Dyocesis, ubi inter montes Sciavi innumerabiles arborem quandam et fontem, qui erat ad radices arboris, venerabant pro Deo; ... (Bianchi 1845, št. 699).

the Slavs in Oldenburg abstained from swearing oaths in forests and near springs and rocks.[19]
– A document from 1331 issued by Franciscan monk Franciscus de Clugia as a commendation of a participant of a campaign to Kobarid states that in the mountains, countless Slavs worshipped a tree and a spring there as God.[20]

The list above includes selected examples from the Middle Ages, but the worship of springs is a wider phenomenon. The earliest written source in the region is Strabo's (+ ca. 24 BCE) description of the sanctuary of Diomedes in the area of the sources of the Timavo (*Lacus Timavi*):

> At the very end of the Adriatic Gulf, there is a sanctuary of Diomedes called Timavon *(Timauon)*, which is worth mentioning. The sanctuary has a port, a wonderful sacred grove and five springs of river water, which immediately flows to the sea as a wide and deep river (after Šašel Kos 1999, 255).

The most famous among the later manifestations of this phenomenon is the spring of Lourdes, which was declared miraculous on 18 January 1862 and immediately became one of the most popular pilgrimage destinations in Europe.

Medieval sources reflect the problems the Church encountered in eradicating such worship. These and similar pagan traditions – which are more correctly understood as a reflection of the multipolarity of medieval culture – survived at least until the end of the Middle Ages (Geary 2001). As implied by Isidore of Seville, one way of addressing this problem – the one that followed Pope Gregory I's (+ 604) guidance on Christianization (e.g. Demacopoulos 2008) and was followed up to and including the 10th century (Geary 2001, 190) – was building churches near the springs that were worshipped (Kajkowski, Kuczkowski 2017, 23; *cf.* Vlasto 1970, Geary 2001, 192; Štular, Hrovatin 2002, 45–46). In the wider region, there are several medieval churches that are known to have been built in this way, for instance the Cathedral of Bamberg (Bavaria, Germany), the Church of St Michael in Olomouc (Moravia, the Czech Republic) and the Church of St John under the Cliff (Bohemia, the Czech Republic) (Pleterski 2017, 38). The Church often explained such constructions as the sites of apparitions of Mary and these churches regularly became pilgrimage churches (Kajkowski, Kuczkowski 2017, 22–23). Two such exam-

[19] *Et inhibiti sunt Slavi de cetero iurare in arboribus, fontibus et lapidibus, sed offerebant criminibus pulsatos sacerdoti ferro vel vomeribus examinandos* (Helmoldi I.83).

[20] *... usque ad locum de Cavoreto, ejusdem Dyocesis, ubi inter montes Sciavi innumerabiles arborem quandam et fontem, qui erat ad radices arboris, venerabant pro Deo; ...* (Bianchi 1845, no. 699).

kazovanj Device Marije in neredko so te cerkve postale romarske (Kajkowski, Kuczkowski 2017, 22–23). Takšni sta na primer cerkev Marijinega rojstva na Homškem hribu (Štular, Hrovatin 2002, 54) in cerkev sv. Žalostne Matere Božje, prvotno Marije Vnebovzete, v Leskovcu pri Krškem (Rihter 2018, 7).

Pisni viri torej jasno dokazujejo češčenje studencev skozi ves srednji vek, od *poganskega* zgodnjega do *s krščansko mistiko prežetega* visokega in poznega srednjega veka. Manifestacije tega češčenja se v naštetih virih izrisujejo v obliki bežnih namigov: obredno umivanje (*regenerati purificantur*), zdravilna moč (*sanam … fuisse fontem*), mesto priseg (*iurare*), tabuizacija za neverujoče (*pollui Christianorum accessu*), izolirana lega zunaj naselbin (*in arboribus*), nadlokalen pomen (*innumerabiles … venerabant*). Vendar moramo upoštevati, da so navedeni viri nastajali skoraj tisočletje vsak sebi, in to izključno s sovražnega stališča, pri čemer so jih pisci razumeli v kontekstu Stare zaveze (Vlasto 1970, 145–146), izrazito zgodnejša avtorja sta sv. Martin iz Brage (*deos colunt et sacrificant*) in Teodor iz Yorka (*votum voverit*). Poleg tega vemo, da aktivnosti ob češčenju v studencih ali tik ob njih niso puščale neposrednih arheoloških sledov, na primer v obliki odloženih predmetov ali gradnje objektov (Kajkowski, Kuczkowski 2017, 22). Posreden materialen odsev češčenih studencev pa so cerkve, zgrajene ob teh studencih. Na podlagi teh lahko s tako imenovano metodo proxi (*angl.* proxy method; prim. Dincauze 2000, 30) prepoznamo konkretne studence, ki so jih častili v predkrščanskem zgodnjem srednjem veku.

In zdi se, da imamo dovolj podatkov, da v studencu na Blejskem otoku prepoznamo enega izmed njih. Bližnja cerkev namreč obsega 3 naštete elemente oziroma proxy podatke:

– stoji v neposredni bližini studenca (studenec je oddaljen 33,3 m od oltarja najstarejše cerkve),
– posvečena je Mariji (Vnebovzeti) in
– bila je romarska (glej pogl. 8.1).

Trije izmed zgornjih virov (Karel Veliki, canterburyjski nadškof Teodor in Helmold o Pribislavu) med objekti češčenja hkrati s studencem navajajo kamne oziroma skale (*petris*, *lapidibus*). To dokazuje, da sta studenec in kamen objekta istega sistema češčenja, kar potrjujejo nekatere novejše raziskave predkrščanskih zgodnjesrednjeveških religij (npr. Hook 2010, 31–46 z navedbo virov; Szczepanski 2015, *passim*). Klesanec iz zelenega groha na Blejskem otoku je torej zagotovo imel ne le funkcijo označevalca, temveč je bil tudi objekt češčenja.

Na grobišču G1 na Blejskem otoku so torej obstajala 3 mesta, ki so jih pogrebci in drugi obiskovalci jasno prepoznavali: studenec, kamen in ognjišče. Prva os je povezovala studenec in ognjišče ter je služila kot orientacija za določanje lege in orientacije treh grobov

ples in Slovenia are the Church of the Nativity of Mary on the hill of Homec (Štular, Hrovatin 2002, 54) and the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows, originally St Mary of the Assumption, in Leskovec near Krško (Rihter 2018, 7).

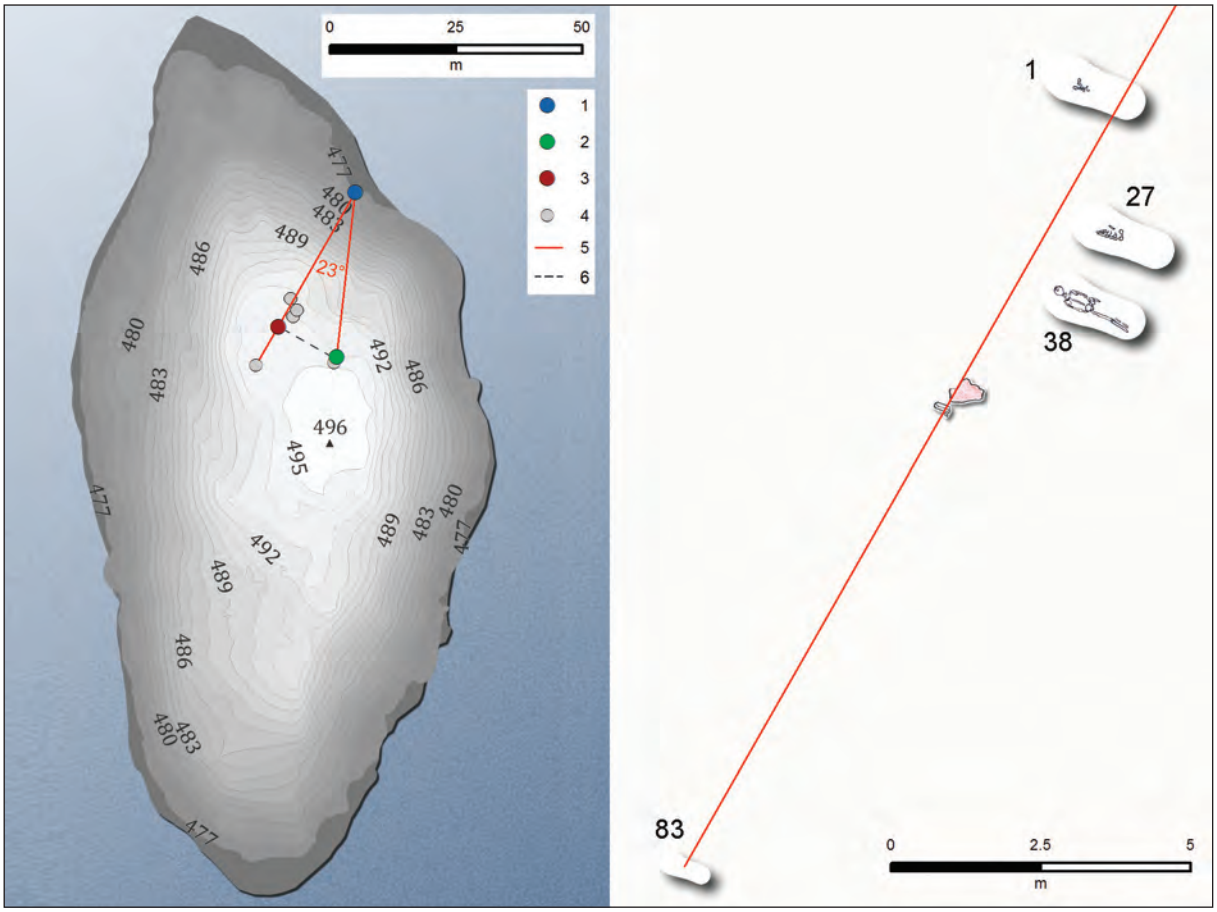
Written sources clearly contain evidence of the worship of springs throughout the Middle Ages, from the pagan Early Middle Ages to the Christian mysticism-charged High and Late Middle Ages. In the listed sources, the manifestations of this worship appear as slight hints: as ritual ablutions (*regenerati purificantur*), healing power (*sanam … fuisse fontem*), sites of oaths (*iurare*), taboo for unbelievers (*pollui Christianorum accessu*), isolated locations outside of the settlements (*in arboribus*) and with supra-local significance (*innumerabiles … venerabant*). We must not forget, however, that the origins of these sources span over nearly a millennium, that they were written solely from an antagonist viewpoint and that they were understood by their authors in the context of the Old Testament (Vlasto 1970, 145–146). Among the sources cited, St Martin of Braga (*deos colunt et sacrificant*) and Theodore of Canterbury (*votum voverit*) are the earliest. Furthermore, we know that worship activities in or near springs left no direct archaeological traces such as deposited objects or constructions (Kajkowski, Kuczkowski 2017, 22). Indirect material reflections of the springs that were worshipped are churches that were built near these springs. These churches can therefore be used as proxy data (*cf.* Dincauze 2000, 30) to identify the specific springs that were worshipped in the pre-Christian Early Middle Ages.

There seem to be enough data to identify the spring on Bled Island as one of them, as the nearby church includes three of the listed elements:

– it is located in the immediate vicinity of the spring (the distance between the spring and the altar of the earliest church is 33.3 m);
– it is dedicated to Mary (of the Assumption); and
– it used to be a pilgrimage church (see Chapter 8.1).

In addition to springs, stones or rocks (*petris*, *lapidibus*) are mentioned as objects of worship by three of the above-listed sources (Charlemagne, Bishop Theodore of Canterbury, Helmold's writing on Pribislav). This is evidence that the spring and the green stone on Bled Island were objects of the same worship system. This is further confirmed by the more recent research of Early Medieval pre-Christian religions (e.g. Hook 2010, 31–46 citing the sources; Szczepanski 2015, *passim*). Therefore, the cut piece of green tuff on Bled Island must have not only had the function of a marker, but was also the object of worship.

The G1 cemetery on Bled Island therefore had three locations that were clearly recognized by the mourners and other visitors: the spring, the stone and the fireplace. The first axis connects the spring and the fireplace and



Sl. 6.15: Blejski otok, levo mesta s posebnim pomenom (1 – vodni izvir; 2 – zeleni kamen; 3 – ognjišče; 4 – grob umeščen v prostor glede na os; 5 – os; 6 – pravokotnica), desno grobovi orientirani glede na os studenec – ognjišče (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 6.15: Bled Island. Left: meaningful places (1 – water spring; 2 – green stone; 3 – fireplace; 4 – grave oriented with regard to the line; 5 – line; 6 – normal). Right: graves oriented in regards of the line spring – fireplace (by B. Štular).

(št. 1, 27, 38). V podaljšku te osi leži edini otroški grob z ženskimi zgodnjesrednjeveškimi pridatki (št. 83). Druga os povezuje studenec s kamnom. Kot med opisanima osema je 23° (*sl. 6.15*; prim. pogl. 10.3).

Podoben sistem je urejal prostor ostalih grobišč Blejskega kota v 9. in 10. stoletju (Žale pri Zasipu: Pleterski 2014, 250–255; Dlesc pri Bodeščah: Pleterski 2014, 259–261; Pristava: Pleterski 2014, 264–274) in še na dveh primerljivih grobiščih (Mali grad v Kamniku: Sagadin 2001, Štular 2007, Pleterski 2014, 290–293 in Puščava pri Starem trgu: Pleterski 2014, 354–356).

would have served as guidance for determining the positions and orientations of three graves (1, 27, 38). On the extension of this axis lies another grave with female Early Medieval grave goods (83). The second axis connects the spring and the stone. The angle between these two axes is 23° (*Fig. 6.15*; *cf.* Chapter 10.3).

Other 9th/10th century cemeteries in the Bled area were organized under a similar system (Žale near Zasip: Pleterski 2014, 250–255; Dlesc near Bodešče: Pleterski 2014, 259–261; Pristava: Pleterski 2014, 264–274), and the same is true of two other comparable cemeteries (Mali Grad in Kamnik: Sagadin 2001, Štular 2007, Pleterski 2014, 290–293 and Puščava near Stari Trg: Pleterski 2014, 354–356).

7. KRONOLOGIJA

7. CHRONOLOGY

Benjamin ŠTULAR

7.1 UVOD

Na obravnavanem najdišču je razmeroma malo artefaktov ali arhitekturnih elementov, ki bi jih bilo mogoče natančno kronološko opredeliti. Zaradi arhivske narave izkopavanj so tudi možnosti za uporabo metod radiometričnega datiranja – na primer analize radioaktivnega ogljika (v nadaljevanju C14) – omejene. Na celotnem najdišču je v zgodnji srednji vek možno tipokronološko opredeliti 30 artefaktov iz grobov in pogojno 3 arhitekturne elemente. Pridobili smo tudi dve dataciji C14, od katerih je ena zgodnjesrednjeveška.

S stališča arheološke metodologije je najmanj zanesljivo datiranje arhitekturnih elementov v smislu razmejevanja ostankov cerkvene arhitekture na predromanski in romanski slog. Sploh pri našem najdišču, kjer je eno temeljnih znanstvenih vprašanj prav datiranje posameznih cerkvenih faz. Zato slogovne opredelitve arhitekture v nadaljevanju ne uporabljamo kot podatek za datiranje.

Orodja za datiranje so torej stratigrafija, dataciji C14 in tipokronološka opredelitev nakitnih predmetov iz grobov. Glede na stanje raziskav sta po natančnosti slednji metodi primerljivo šibki in omogočata datiranje približno na stoletje natančno. Glede C14 (in ostalih radiometričnih datacij) je namreč treba upoštevati natančnost meritev (npr. Scott, Cook, Naysmith 2007) in predvsem matematično dejstvo, da je možnost dejanske datacije povsem enaka znotraj celotnega razpona (npr. Michczyński 2007; prim. Pleterski 2010a, 86). Tudi sicer je glede datiranja posameznih grobov treba upoštevati metodološke omejitve (splošen pregled z navedeno literaturo Lozić, Štular 2007; Fahlander, Oestigaard 2008; o datiranju Pleterski 2013aa, 300–312 in tam navedena literatura). Z besedami Parkerja Pearsona (1999, 29):

Morda se zdi, da je arheologija enoznačen postopek od odkritja do opisa, vendar je na vsakem koraku pospremljena z interpretacijo. Interpretacija temelji na teoriji – racionalizaciji lastnih izkušenj sveta – da bi osmislila, kako in zakaj so ljudje v preteklosti ravnali s svojimi pokojnimi, kako so ravnali z njihovimi posmr-

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Relatively few artefacts or architectural elements in the studied site can be precisely dated. Due to the archival nature of the excavations, the use of radiometric dating methods – for example radiocarbon analysis (henceforward C14) – is of limited potential. Two C14 dates were acquired, one of which is dated to the Early Middle Ages. In the entire site, there are only 30 artefacts from graves and three architectural elements that can be typo-chronologically attributed to the Early Middle Ages.

From a methodological perspective, the least reliable method is dating architectural elements in the sense of dating the remains of church architecture as either pre-Romanesque or Romanesque. This is especially pertinent in this case, as one of the fundamental questions is to date different phases of the church. Therefore, the dating of architectural elements was not used.

The dating tools used were thus stratigraphy, the two C14 dates and typo-chronological analysis of the artefacts from the graves. Based on the state of research, the latter two methods are similarly weak in accuracy and enable dating with the precision of one century. With C14 (and other radiometric dating methods), the following should be taken into account: the accuracy of measurements (e.g. Scott, Cook, Naysmith 2007) and above all the mathematical fact that the possibility of the actual date is exactly the same over the entire time span (e.g. Michczyński 2007; *cf.* Pleterski 2010a, 86). In general, when dating individual graves, methodological limitations should be considered (for a general overview with cited literature, see Lozić, Štular 2007; Fahlander, Oestigaard 2008; on dating, see Pleterski 2013a, 300–312 and the literature cited therein). In the words of Parker Pearson (1999, 29):

It might seem that archaeology is a straightforward process of discovery followed by description, yet it is accompanied by interpretation at every step. Interpretation draws on theory - our rationalizations of our experiences in the world - in order to make sense of how and why people

* Translation Meta Osredkar.

tnimi ostanki in na kakšen način so omogočali sobivanje mrtvih in živih.[1]

Na podlagi opisanih podatkov in ob upoštevanju navedenih omejitev smo lahko kronološko natančneje opredelili 3 grobiščne skupine (G1, G2, G4) in prve 3 cerkvene stavbe. O ostalih grobiščnih skupinah (G3, G5, G6 in G7) podatkov za kronološko opredelitev ni in jih zato na tem mestu ne obravnavamo.

7.2 TIPOKRONOLOGIJA NAKITNIH PREDMETOV

Izjemno natančna arheološka analiza artefaktov je predstavljena v prvem delu knjige, na tem mestu nas zanima zgolj kar se da natančna tipokronološka opredelitev grobnih celot z namenom osmisliti in razložiti kronološki razvoj najdišča kot celote. Zato se opiramo zgolj na nakitne predmete, ki edini omogočajo opredelitev na vsaj stoletje natančno. Za to smo uporabili tipokronološko shemo, ki jo je na podlagi grobnih celot, datiranih z metodo C14, razvil Pleterski (2013) in na podlagi stratigrafske analize grobišča Župna cerkev v Kranju dogradil Rihter (2020).[2]

Na grobišču Blejski otok je bilo tako mogoče datirati 27 naglavnih obročkov in 3 prstane. Šestindvajset kronološko opredeljivih predmetov je iz grobiščne skupine G1, po 1 iz grobiščne skupine G2 in G4, 3 predmeti pa so bili dokumentirani izven grobov (*sl. 7.1*).

Razpon vseh datacij, vključno s C14-datacijo (σ1 934 ± 38 n. št.) kosti skeleta (št. 72), je med letoma 800 in 1030. Srednja vrednost σ1 datacije C14 je leto 934, srednja vrednost vseh tipokronoloških datacij je leto 935.

7.2.1 SKUPINA G1

Tipokronološko najbolj izpovedna je skupina G1. V zgodnjesrednjeveški arheologiji najpogosteje uporabljamo presečno datacijo predmetov v grobu (*sl. 7.2*). Grob 4 nima presečne datacije; očitno je prstan v grobu tako imenovani *stari predmet*, torej predmet, pri katerem je od izdelave do odložitve v grob preteklo veliko časa. Ta grob torej datira najmlajši predmet.

Zgolj 14 grobov, datiranih s širokim razponom datacij, ne omogoča podrobne kronološke členitve.

[1] It might seem that archaeology is a straightforward process of discovery followed by description, yet it is accompanied by interpretation at every step. Interpretation draws on theory - our rationalizations of our experiences in the world - in order to make sense of how and why people of the past treated their dead, disposed of their remains, and provided ways for the dead to co-exist with the living (prevod avtor).

[2] Na tem mestu se zahvaljujem J. Rihterju, da mi je dovolil uporabiti izsledke svoje raziskave pred objavo.

of the past treated their dead, disposed of their remains, and provided ways for the dead to co-exist with the living.

Based on the above, we were able to date three cemetery groups (G1, G2, G4) and the first three church buildings. There were no available data for the dating of the remaining cemetery groups (G3, G5, G6, G7) and therefore these are not discussed here.

7.2 TYPO-CHRONOLOGY OF JEWELLERY

An extremely precise archaeological analysis of artefacts is presented in Part 1 of this book. Here, the main point of interest is a typo-chronological analysis of the grave inventories with as much accuracy as possible in order to explain the chronological development of the site as a whole. Its meaning and jewellery items were the only aspects that enabled dating with the precision of at least one century. Dating was based on the typo-chronological scheme developed by Pleterski (2013) for grave inventories dated with the C14 method and updated by Rihter (2020) on the basis of a stratigraphic analysis of the Župna cerkev cemetery in Kranj.[1]

In the Bled Island cemetery, 27 temple rings and three finger rings could be dated in this way. Twenty-six datable artefacts came from the G1 cemetery group, one artefact was from the G2 group, one was from the G4 group and three were recorded outside the graves (*Fig. 7.1*). All of the dates, including the C14 date (σ1 934 ± 38 CE) of the skeleton from Grave 72, spanned between the years 800 and 1030. The σ1 mean value of the C14 date was the year 934, while the mean value of all typo-chronological dates was the year 935.

7.2.1 THE G1 CEMETERY GROUP

Typo-chronologically, the most informative group is the G1 group. In Early Medieval archaeology, the most commonly used date is the intersection of the dates of the objects in the grave (*Fig. 7.2*). Grave 4 has no intersection date; the finger ring in it seems to be a so-called *old object*, i.e. an artefact that was made a long time before it was deposited in a grave. This grave was therefore dated by the latest artefact.

Only 14 graves, dated to a wide time span, did not allow for a more precise chronological division. Another aggravating factor was that six out of 14 graves were dated on the basis of the temple rings with a single bulge (Type NO0100_0808), dated to a particularly wide time span. Nevertheless, some conclusions can be drawn about the G1 cemetery group on the basis of the above results.

[1] The author would like to thank J. Rihter, who gave permission to use the findings of his research before the publication.

Tip / Type	Datacija / Date		Grob št. / Grave no.	Predmet št. / Artefact no.	Tabla / Plate	vir datacije / date source
	od / from	do / to				
NO0500_0610	840	960	1a	1	1	Rihter 2020
NO0504_0610	840	960	1a	2	1	avtor / author
NO0100_0808	870	1000	3a	3	1	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0808	870	1000	3a	4	1	Rihter 2020
NO0700_0810	990	1030	4a	6	1	Pleterski 2013a
PR0501_0000	x	x	4a	7	1	
PR0201_0000	800	950	4a	8	1	Rihter 2020
PR0501_0000	x	x	4a	10	1	
NO0100_0808	870	1000	12	14	1	Rihter 2020
NO01mm_0808	870	1000	12	15	1	Rihter 2020
NO0100_08mm	870	1000	24	17	1	Rihter 2020
NO01mm_08mm	870	1000	24	18	1	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0608	830	1000	27	19	1	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0608	830	1000	27	20	1	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0808	870	1000	34a	22	1	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0808	870	1000	36a	1	2	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0909	920	1000	36a	2	2	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0808	870	1000	37	3	2	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0808	870	1000	37	4	2	Rihter 2020
PR0105_0000	840	1010	37	5	2	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0808	870	1000	38	6	2	Rihter 2020
PR0103_0000	870	1010	41	8	2	Rihter 2020
PR0103_0200	x	x	45	10	2	
NO1700_0610	870	970	45	11	2	Rihter 2020
NO1700_0610	870	970	45	12	2	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0506	830	1000	49	13	2	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0808	870	1000	49	14	2	Rihter 2020
PR0103_0200	x	x	58	20	2	
NO0100_mmmm	x	x	59	21	2	
NO0100_0607	830	950	83	9	3	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0708	900	1010	83	10	3	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0808	870	1000	96	11	3	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0909	920	1000		15	3	Rihter 2020
NO0100_0808	870	1000		16	3	Rihter 2020
PR0201_0000	800	950		17	3	Rihter 2020
poseben / special				18	3	

Sl. 7.1: Blejski otok, tipokronološka preglednica nakitnih predmetov iz grobov (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 7.1: Bled Island, typo-chronological spreadsheet of grave jewellery (by B. Štular).

Grob št. / Grave no.	Presečna datacija / Intersection date			Stratigrafija / Stratigraphy
	od / from	do / to	srednja / mean	
1a	840	960	900	x
27	830	1000	915	1/2
45	870	970	920	1/2
83	900	950	925	x
72	895	972	934	x
38	870	1000	935	1/2
37	870	1000	935	3
41	870	1000	935	3
49	870	1000	935	3
3a	870	1000	935	4
12	870	1000	935	4
34a	870	1000	935	4
36a	920	1000	960	4
4a	990	1030	1010	4

Sl. 7.2: Blejski otok, preglednica datacij najmlajših predmetov iz posameznega groba od najstarejše srednje vrednosti zgoraj do najmlajše spodaj; stratigrafiska lega je navedena shematično v obliki pokolenja , za dejanska stratigrafska razmerja glej *sl. 7.3* (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 7.2: Bled Island, chronological spreadsheet of graves based on the youngest artefact in the grave in chronological order (according to the median date); stratigraphic position is simplified (for actual stratigraphic position see *Fig. 7.3*; by B. Štular).

Dodatna oteževalna okoliščina je, da je kar 6 grobov datiranih z naglavnimi obročki z enojno odebelitvijo (tip NO0100_0808), ki imajo posebno širok razpon datacij. Kljub temu na podlagi zgornjih rezultatov lahko izvedemo nekaj sklepov o grobiščni skupini G1.

Prvič, tipokronološko datiranje se ujema z relativnim stratigrafskim datiranjem, kar potrjuje pravilnost rezultatov.

Drugič, največ najdb izvira iz najmlajših grobov zato, ker so starejši grobovi prekopani, in ne zato, ker bi bilo v tem obdobju največ pokopov.

Tretjič, opredelimo lahko trajanje pokopavanja. (i) Največji možni časovni razpon je med letoma 830 in 1030, najmanjši med letoma 960 in 990. Razpon srednjih datacij med letoma 900 in 1010 se ujema z intuitivno opredelitvijo. (ii) Prevladujoč nakit so naglavni obročki z enojno odebelitvijo (tip NO0100_0808), ki se pojavljajo tako v stratigrafsko najstarejših kot najmlajših grobovih. Trajanje uporabe teh obročkov med letoma 870 in 1000 je zato indikator trajanja grobišča. (iii) Na grobišču ni naglavnih obročkov s kaveljčkom, ki so značilni predmet 9. stoletja, po prvem desetletju 10. stoletja pa

First, the typo-chronological dates match stratigraphic superposition, confirming that the results are correct.

Second, the reason why the majority of the finds are derived from the latest graves owes to the fact that the earlier graves were re-excavated and not because more graves belonged to the later period.

Third, it is possible to define the time span of the G1 cemetery: (i) The largest possible time span (range of dates) is between 830 and 1030 CE and the smallest (intersection of dates) is between 960 and 990 CE. The span of mean dates was between 900 and 1010 CE; the latter matches the intuitive dating. (ii) The prevailing type of jewellery comprises temple rings with a single bulge (Type NO0100_0808), occurring both in the stratigraphically earliest as well as the latest graves. The time of the use of these rings, between the years 870 and 1000, is therefore another indication for the duration of the cemetery. (iii) Also notable is the absence of temple rings with a hook, which were ubiquitous in the 9th century and occurred only exceptionally after the first decade of the 10th century (Rihter 2020; *cf.* Pleterski 2013a), hence their absence indicates that this cemetery was not used in the 9th century.[2] On the basis of these three indications, it can be estimated that interring took place during the entire 10th century and in the first decade of the 11th century. Altogether, this is 11 decades. This chronology corresponds well to the results of the archaeological analysis of the artefacts in Part 1 of this book.

Fourth, the hypothesis that four generations were buried in the G1 cemetery group can be put forward. The stratigraphic analysis recorded three instances of triple reburials, indicating that four deceased (original burial plus three reburials) were buried successively in the same location. In cemeteries with marked graves, with an abundance of space and with clear rules when selecting burial locations, centuries could pass without a single reburial. In the Bled Island cemetery, however, none of these conditions were met and reburials were common, even a rule in the central part of the cemetery.

What remains is to answer the question of whether in the above-mentioned triple reburial a reburial took place in every single generation. If the answer is "yes", the cemetery was in use only long enough to bury four generations. As determined above, the use of this cemetery spanned over 11 decades. How much time is therefore needed to bury four generations?

(i) The first clue can be derived from grave taphonomy, or more exactly, the observation of the disarticulation of the corpse (*cf.* Knüsel, Robb 2016, 667–668). Drawings of individual graves provide evidence that at every single reburial, the mourners moved individual bones – such bones lie each separately, for example the skull separately from the other bones – and not limbs

[2] The author would like to thank A. Pleterski for this information.

se pojavljajo le izjemoma (Rihter 2020; prim. Pleterski 2013aa). Odsotnost teh predmetov je torej indic, da na tem grobišču v 9. stoletju niso pokopavali.[3] Na podlagi teh 3 podatkov ocenjujemo, da so tu pokopavali skozi celo 10. stoletje in v prvem desetletju 11. stoletja, skupaj 11 desetletij, kar se ujema z rezultati celostne arheološke analize predmetov v 1. delu knjige.

Četrtič, postavimo lahko hipotezo, da so v grobiščni skupini G1pokopane 4 generacije pokojnikov. S stratigrafsko analizo smo 3-krat dokumentirali 3-kratni prekop groba, ko so na istem mestu pokopani 4 pokojniki drug za drugim. Na grobiščih z označenimi grobovi, brez prostorske stiske in z jasnimi pravili določanja prostora pokopa lahko minejo stoletja brez enega samega prekopa. Vendar na obravnavanem grobišču noben izmed zgornjih pogojev ni bil izpolnjen, zato so bili prekopi pogosti, v osrednjem delu grobišča celo pravilo.

Odgovoriti pa moramo na vprašanje, ali so v omenjenih 3 primerih prav v vsaki generaciji izvedli prekop. Če to drži, je pokopavanje na obravnavanem grobišču trajalo le toliko časa, kolikor je potrebno za pokop 4 generacij. Kot smo pokazali, je pokopavanje na obravnavanem grobišču trajalo 11 desetletij. Koliko časa pa je potrebno za pokop 4 generacij pokojnikov?

(i) Prvi podatek je tafonomija grobov, natančneje opazovanje disartikulacije skeletov (prim. Knüsel, Robb 2016, 667–668). Arheološke risbe obravnavanih grobov dokazujejo, da so ob prav vsakem prekopu starejšega groba pogrebci premikali posamezne kosti – te ležijo vsaka zase, na primer lobanja ločeno od dolgih kosti – in ne udov ali delov trupla. To dokazuje, da je bila dekompozicija trupla že na stopnji dokončne skeletoizacije, saj izmed mehkih tkiv prav ligamenti nog razpadejo zadnji (Pinheiro 2006, 110–112). Trajanje tega procesa je odvisno od številnih dejavnikov in zgolj kot orientacijsko vrednost lahko navedemo, da skeletoizacija izpostavljenih trupel velikih sesalcev traja do 5 let (Hill, Behrensmeyer 1984; Rebmann, David, Sorg 2000, 126; prim. Clark, Worell, Pless 1997, 159–160). Vendar je ta proces pri pokopanih človeških truplih daljši in je odvisen od številnih dejavnikov (Daniell 1997, 109–121; Pinheiro 2006). Edini dejavnik, ki ga v našem primeru poznamo, so razmere po pokopu, ki jih določa prst v grobu. Ta je na Blejskem otoku ilovnata, kar proces skeletoizacije upočasnjuje (prim. Esteves da Silva et al. 2009). Na podlagi povedanega je naša groba ocena, da je na Blejskem otoku pri obravnavanih skeletih proces skeletoizacije trajal približno desetletje.

(ii) Vendar so po zgolj desetletju še ohranjeni na primer lasje in nohti, zaradi adipocere (glej pogl. 3.3.3) pa je še zaznati neprijeten vonj (prim. Parker Pearson 1999, 14). Ker je v srednjem veku veljalo, da duša zapusti telo šele, ko to popolnoma razpade (Daniel 1997, 62–64; prim. Williams 2006, 83–84), je tabu prekopavanja trajal nekoliko dlje. Posredno je takšna prepoved izpričana v

[3] Za informacijo se zahvaljujem A. Pleterskemu.

or body parts. This indicates that the decomposition of the body was already at the final skeletonization stage, as the leg ligaments are the last soft tissue to decompose (Pinheiro 2006, 110–112). The duration of this process depends on multiple factors, but to give an approximate example, the skeletonization of exposed bodies of large mammals takes up to five years (Hill, Behrensmeyer 1984; Rebmann, David, Sorg 2000, 126; *cf.* Clark, Worell, Pless 1997, 159–160). Nevertheless, with buried human bodies this process is longer and relies on multiple factors (Daniell 1997, 109–121; Pinheiro 2006). The only known factor in this case are soil conditions after burial. Clayey soils at Bled Island slow down the skeletonization process (*cf.* Esteves da Silva et al. 2009). Given the above, a rough estimate is that on Bled Island, the skeletonization process lasted up to a decade.

(ii) However, after only a decade, hair and nails remain preserved and adipocere (see Chapter 3.3.3) exudes an unpleasant smell (*cf.* Parker Pearson 1999, 14). Given that people in the Middle Ages believed that the soul leaves the body only when it is completely disintegrated (Daniel 1997, 62–64; *cf.* Williams 2006, 83–84), the reburial taboo must have lasted longer. Indirectly, such prohibition is evidenced in a spell from the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century: *Die chunnen mir hewt als wenig geschaden als der man, der vor xxx Jaren ist pegrabenn*[3] (Javor-Briški 1998, 9). This spell should be understood in the sense that after three decades, the remains in a grave lose the social status of the deceased person, while the remaining bones acquire a social status of things. Thus, the body of the deceased, which requires respectful treatment, becomes a mere object. In the Bled Island cemetery, the attitude of mourners towards the exhumed bones was, looking through the eyes of a modern observer, disrespectful. This indicates that the period of respectful taboo – 30 years in the above example – already passed at the time of the reburial.

(iii) The last element is the biological duration of a generation in a certain community, which can be calculated using various formulas (e.g. Bienvenu, Legender 2015). There are no precise data for the Early Medieval population of the Bled area, but in archaeological populations, the duration of a generation is usually given only as a rough estimate between 25 (e.g. Hazelwood, Steele 2004, 677) and 35 (e.g. Arnold 2002, 136) or 40 years (Pleterski 2013a).

It can therefore be concluded that there is direct evidence that the graves in the Bled Island cemetery were not exhumed for about a decade. Nevertheless, based on the duration of a generation and medieval taboos, we estimate that this period lasted approximately three decades. This means that the burial of four graves in direct stratigraphic superposition of generations required at least nine decades. However, all the members of the

[3] Today, they can hurt me as little as a man buried 30 years ago.

zagovoru s konca 15. ali začetka 16. stoletja: *Die chunnen mir hewt als wenig geschaden als der man, der vor xxx Jaren ist pegrabenn*[4] (Javor-Briški 1998, 9). Ta zagovor razumemo tako, da po 3 desetletjih ostanki v grobu izgubijo poseben družbeni status. Po tem času truplo pokojnika, s katerim je treba ravnati spoštljivo, postane samo predmet. Na obravnavanem grobišču je bil odnos pogrebcev do kosti v prekopih, kot ga dojemamo skozi oči današnjega opazovalca, nespoštljiv. Doba tabuja in s tem spoštljivega odnosa do posmrtnih ostankov – ob koncu srednjega veka 30 let – je ob prekopavanju obravnavanih grobov torej že minila.

(iii) Zadnji element je biološko trajanje generacije v določeni skupnosti, za izračunavanje katere veljajo različne formule (npr. Bienvenu, Legender 2015). Natančnega podatka za zgodnjesrednjeveško populacijo v Blejskem kotu nimamo, a v arheoloških populacijah je trajanje generacije običajno podano zgolj kot groba ocena med 25 (npr. Hazelwood, Steele 2004, 677) in 35 let (npr. Arnold 2002, 136) ali 40 let (Pleterski 2013aa).

Zaključimo torej lahko, da za grobišče na Blejskem otoku neposredno lahko dokažemo neprekopavanje grobov za približno desetletje, a na podlagi trajanja generacije in srednjeveških tabujev ocenjujemo, da je to obdobje trajalo približno tri desetletja. To pomeni, da je za pokop 4 grobov v neposredni stratigrafski superpoziciji generacij potrebnih najmanj 9 desetletij. A vsi predstavniki 1. generacije na obravnavanem grobišču niso bili pokopani v istem letu, temveč – kolikor je soditi po razponu srednjih datacij s predmeti datiranih grobov 1. generacije (št. 1, 27, 45) – v razmiku 2 desetletij. Pričakovani dejanski čas pokopavanja 4 generacij na Blejskem otoku je 11 desetletij, kar je enako trajanju grobišča.

V grobiščni skupini G1 so bile torej v 10. stoletju in v 1. desetletju 11. stoletja pokopane 4 generacije pokojnikov.

V 1. pokolenju je bilo pokopanih vsaj 7 pokojnikov (št. 1b, 7b, 27, 38, 45, 61, 72). V 2. pokolenju je bilo verjetno pokopanih 14 pokojnikov (št. 1a, 7a, 13, 14, 15, 28, 31, 35, 37, 42, 46, 54, 57, 64b), vendar ločevanje med prvima generacijama zaradi premajhnega števila stratigrafskih odnosov ni natančno. Glede na ugotovljeno so ti grobovi nastali v 1. polovici 10. stoletja. Najstarejša izmed datiranih sta grobova (št. 1, 27), ki skupaj z večino grobov 1. pokolenja (št. 38, 45, 72) sestavljata homogeno skupino tako glede na lego v prostoru kot tudi glede na orientacijo. Že v času 2. pokolenja se uveljavi sistem pokopavanja v vrstah po celotnem grobišču (*sl. 7.3*).

V 3. pokolenju je bilo med 6. in 8. desetletjem 10. stoletja pokopanih najmanj 18 pokojnikov (št. 4b, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16, 21, 23, 34b, 36b, 40, 41, 43, 56, 59, 62, 63).

V 4. pokolenje sodi najmanj 14 grobov (št. 3, 4, 18, 19, 22, 25, 30, 34a, 36a, 39a, 39b, 39c, 49, 60), ki so nastali v zadnjih 2 desetletjih 10. in v 1. desetletju 11. stoletja.

[4] Te mi danes lahko tako malo škodijo, kot človek, ki je bil pokopan pred 30 leti.

first generation are never buried in the same year. Judging by the span of the mean dates of the first-generation graves dated with artefacts (1, 27, 45) in Bled Island's G1 cemetery, the burial of the first generation took place over two decades. The expected time span of burials for four generations on Bled Island is therefore 11 decades, which matches the above chronology exactly.

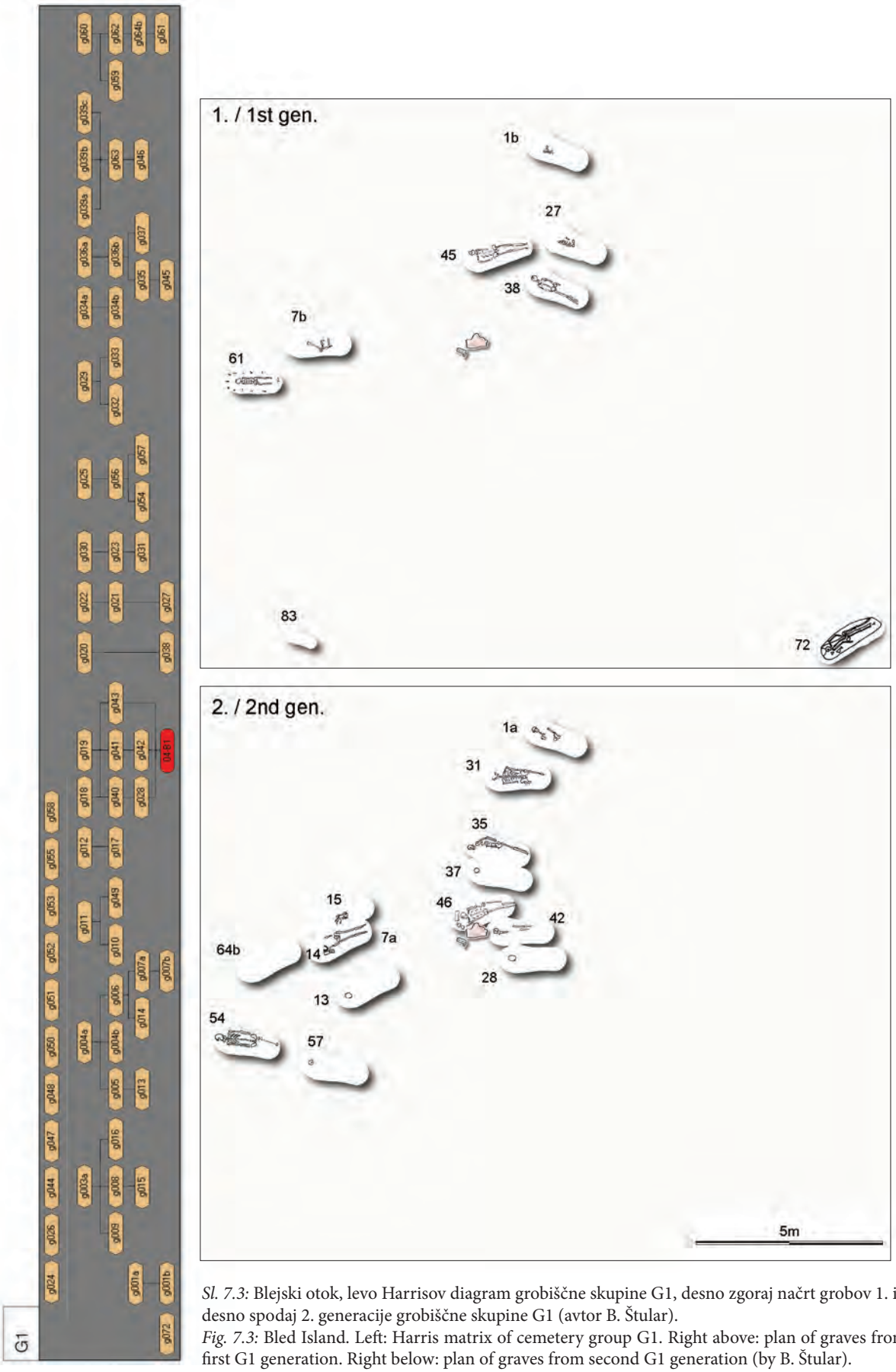
It can consequently be said with some conviction that in the G1 cemetery group, four generations were buried in the 10th and in the first decade of the 11th centuries. At least seven deceased were buried in the first generation (1b, 7b, 27, 38, 45, 61, 72). The second generation probably included 14 deceased (1a, 7a, 13, 14, 15, 28, 31, 35, 37, 42, 46, 54, 57, 64b), but due to the insufficient number of stratigraphic relationships, distinguishing between the first two generations is not precise. Considering the artefact chronology and the duration of individual generations, these graves were dug in the first half of the 10th century. The earliest of the dated graves are 1 and 27, which together with the majority of the first-generation graves (38, 45, 72), belong to a homogeneous group both in terms of their location in the cemetery and their orientation. During the second generation, the system of interring in rows was established and the entire G1 cemetery area was utilized (*Fig. 7.3*).

In the third generation, at least 18 deceased were buried between the sixth and eighth decades of the 10th century (4b, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16, 21, 23, 34b, 36b, 40, 41, 43, 56, 59, 62, 63).

The fourth generation includes at least 14 graves (3, 4, 18, 19, 22, 25, 30, 34a, 36a, 39a, 39b, 39c, 49, 60), which date to the last two decades of the 10th century and the first decade of the 11th century.

By far the latest artefact in this cemetery group is a temple ring (Type NO0700_0810) in Grave 4 (*Pl. 1:* 6) dated between 990 and 1030 CE. The mean date is the year 1010. This grave also differs from all other graves in the G1 group by being the only grave oriented parallel to the church building. This is a reliable indicator[4] that at the time of this burial, the church had already been erected or at least its foundations had already been marked in the ground so that the grave in question could be oriented accordingly. If there were any graves in this group later than Grave 4, their orientation would be the same. Grave 4 is therefore the latest grave in the G1 group. It is a mixed-rite burial of a woman: the grave pit was dug parallel to the church building, but the body was put into the grave together with some head jewellery. This being the only

[4] Three quarters of the graves contemporary to the church building deviate from this orientation for less than three degrees. At the same time, none of the graves that are certainly earlier than the first church are oriented like this. In other words, apart from Grave 4, none of the other 65 graves with measured orientation are at the same time earlier than the church and oriented the same as church. The likelihood of this being an accidental occurrence is 1 : 65, or 1.5%.



Sl. 7.3: Blejski otok, levo Harrisov diagram grobiščne skupine G1, desno zgoraj načrt grobov 1. in desno spodaj 2. generacije grobiščne skupine G1 (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 7.3: Bled Island. Left: Harris matrix of cemetery group G1. Right above: plan of graves from first G1 generation. Right below: plan of graves from second G1 generation (by B. Štular).

Občutno najmlajši predmet v tej grobiščni skupini je naglavni obroček (tip NO0700_0810) v grobu 4 (*t. 1:* 6). Razpon datacij je med letoma 990 in 1030, srednja datacija je leto 1010. Ta grob se razlikuje od vseh ostalih v skupini G1 še po tem, da ima edini isto orientacijo kot cerkvena stavba. To je zanesljiv pokazatelj,[5] da je v času tega pokopa cerkev že stala oziroma je bila vsaj njena lega že označena. Če bi v tej skupini obstajali še mlajši grobovi, bi bili orientirani enako. Grob 4 je torej najmlajši v skupini G1. Gre za biritualni pokop pokojnice: grobno jamo so pogrebci izkopali vzporedno s cerkveno stavbo, a truplo so v grob položili še z naglavnim nakitom. To je edini tovrstni grob na grobišču, kar dokazuje, da je biritualnost takoj zatem nadomestil pokop v skladu s takrat veljavnim krščanskim kanonom (ne nujno na Blejskem otoku). Dovolimo si celo domnevo, da so pokojnico pokopali po začetku gradnje, a pred posvetitvijo cerkve, ko so dovoljeni samo še pokopi brez pridatkov. Kot smo pokazali, se je to najverjetneje zgodilo v prvem desetletju 11. stoletja.

Za 18 grobov (št. 10, 11, 17, 20, 24, 26, 29, 32, 33, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58) ni kronoloških podatkov.

Sočasen grobiščni skupini G1 je otroški grob (št. 83) z naglavnima obročkoma. Prvi obroček (tip NO0100_0607; *t. 3:* 9) je datiran v čas med letoma 830 in 950 in drugi (tip NO0100_0708; *t. 3:* 10) med letoma 900 in 1010, presečna datacija groba je med letoma 900 in 950. Grob je torej sočasen prvima generacijama v skupini G1. Zato se zdi najverjetneje, da je grob sicer prostorsko ločen od skupine G1, a njej sočasen. Grob se namreč močno razlikuje od ostalih grobov sicer zelo homogene skupine G4, kjer med preostalimi 42 grobovi niti eden nima *in situ* pridatkov ali delov noše (glej pogl 7.2.3).

7.2.2 GROBIŠČNA SKUPINA G2

Iz te skupine imamo za datiranje na voljo le eno najdbo, prstan iz groba 111 (*t. 3:* 13), ki je datiran v čas med letoma 840 in 1010. Najdba izvira iz zasutja in tudi provenienca groba ni zanesljiva. Kljub temu ta najdba potrjuje stratigrafsko opredelitev grobiščne skupine G2 kot sočasno skupini G1. Zaradi slabe ohranjenosti grobov in le 1 tipokronološko opredeljive najdbe kakršnakoli dodatna interpretacija ni mogoča.

[5] Tri četrtine grobov, ki so sočasni cerkveni stavbi, odstopa od orientacije te za manj kot 3 stopinje. Hkrati noben grob, ki je zanesljivo starejši od prve cerkve, nima takšne orientacije. Povedano drugače, poleg omenjenega noben drug izmed 65 grobov z izmerjeno orientacijo ni hkrati starejši od cerkve in orientiran enako kot cerkev. Možnost naključja je torej 1 : 65 oziroma 1,5 %.

such grave in the cemetery is evidence that mixed-rite burials were soon replaced by burials in accordance with the Christian canon of the time (albeit not necessarily on Bled Island). It might even be presumed that this woman was buried after the beginning of the construction, but before the consecration of the church. After the consecration of the church, only burials without grave goods would have been allowed. As demonstrated by the dating of the particular temple ring and of the G1 cemetery as a whole, this burial took place in the first decade of the 11th century. Eighteen G1 graves (10, 11, 17, 20, 24, 26, 29, 32, 33, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58) do not have any chronological data.

A child grave (83) with two temple rings is located in the G4 cemetery group area, but is contemporary to the G1 cemetery group. The first ring (Type NO0100_0607; *Pl. 3:* 9) is dated 830 to 950 CE and the second (Type NO0100_0708; *Pl. 3:* 10) 900 to 1010 CE, while the intersection date of the grave is 900 to 950 CE. The grave is therefore contemporary to the first two generations of the G1 group. It seems most likely that while the grave is spatially separated from the G1 group, it still belongs to the G1 cemetery. The grave largely differs from the rest of the graves in the otherwise very homogeneous G4 group, where none of the 42 graves contained grave goods or parts of attire documented *in situ* (see Chapter 7.2.3).

7.2.2 THE G2 CEMETERY GROUP

The only datable find from the G2 cemetery group is the ring from Grave 111 (*Pl. 3:* 13), which is dated 840 to 1010 CE. The find comes from the grave fill and it is not certain that it belongs to Grave 111 at all. Nevertheless, this find confirms that the G2 and stratigraphically contemporary G1 groups are indeed contemporary. Due to the poor preservation state of the G2 graves and the presence of only one typologically identifiable find, no further interpretation is possible.

7.2.3 THE G4 CEMETERY GROUP

Two graves, which together contain three temple rings, were recorded in the area of the G4 cemetery group. Grave 83 belongs to the G1 group (see Chapter 7.2.1). The fill of Grave 96 contains a temple ring with a double bulge (Type NO0100_0808; *Pl. 3*: 11). Such temple rings are the most common type of grave goods in the G1 group. The artefact can be interpreted as a residual find. The same goes for a small fragment – probably a fragment of the loop of a temple ring with a forged loop – from the fill of Grave 100.

In Grave 77a, also in a secondary position, a bronze ring was found. The ring has a rectangular cross-section and is decorated with a row of small dimples on the

7.2.3 GROBIŠČNA SKUPINA G4

Dva grobova s skupno tremi naglavnimi obročki sta bila dokumentirana na prostoru grobiščne skupine G4. Grob 83 sodi v skupino G1 (glej pogl. 7.2.1). V zasutju groba 96 je bil naglavni obroček z enojnima odebelitvama (tip NO0100_0808; *t. 3*: 11), kakršni so tudi sicer najpogostejši pridatek v skupini G1. Ta predmet interpretiramo kot rezidualno najdbo. Isto velja za droben odlomek iz zasutja groba 100, verjetno del zanke naglavnega obročka s kovano zanko.

V grobu 77a, prav tako v drugotni legi, je bil dokumentiran bronast sklenjen prstan pravokotnega preseka, na zunanji strani okrašen z nizom drobnih jamic (*t. 3:* 7). Prstani z masivnim pravokotnim presekom se na primer na grobišču Župna cerkev v Kranju – kjer predmetov v grobovih od prvih desetletij 11. stoletja ni – ne pojavljajo. Takšnih prstanov tudi ni na primer na poznosrednjeveškem grobišču ob eponimni cerkvi v Šentjerneju (Predovnik, Dacar, Lavrinc 2008). Stanje raziskav za ta tip prstanov torej trenutno omogoča zgolj ohlapno datiranje v visoki srednji vek in *terminus post quem*, prva desetletja 11. stoletja.

Za datiranje skupine G4 preostane le nehvaležno posredno datiranje s širšim kontekstom. Na podlagi analize pisnih virov je Höffler (2016a, 64) prepričljivo pokazal, da cerkev na Blejskem otoku v procesu statusnega urejanja lastniških cerkva, ki je potekal v času med koncem 10. in koncem 12. stoletja, sodi v skupino tistih lastniških cerkva, ki jih lastnik ni mogel preoblikovati v patronatno župnijo in je zdrsnila na raven podružnice ter s tem izgubila pravico pokopavanja. Najkasneje po koncu 12. stoletja torej obstoj grobišča na Blejskem otoku pravno ni bil več mogoč in vsi kasnejši pokopi so le posamezni pokopi v cerkvi ali tik ob njej (slednje so očitno pravno enačili s prvimi). Začetek 13. stoletja je torej *terminus ante quem* grobiščne skupine G4.

Na podlagi stratigrafske analize lahko določimo najkrajši možni čas pokopavanja z isto metodo kot pri skupini G1. V grobiščni skupini G4 je pokopano najmanj 6 generacij, saj je v eni od osrednjih grobnic nedvoumno dokazljivih 6 zaporednih pokopov (grobovi 81a, 82a, 82b, 102, 103, 104; *sl. 6.2*). Če privzamemo trajanje generacije 30 let in čas pokopavanja 20 let, kot v skupini G1 (glej pogl. 7.2.1), so torej tu pokopavali najmanj 170 let. Sto sedemdeset let oziroma slabi 2 stoletji pa je tudi čas med navedenima *post* in *ante* datumoma. Pokopavanje v grobiščni skupini G4 se je torej začelo nekako v drugi tretjini 11. stoletja in je trajalo do konca 12. stoletja:

– 1. pokolenje: 1030–1050,
– 2. pokolenje: 1050–1080,
– 3. pokolenje: 1080–1110,
– 4. pokolenje: 1110–1140,
– 5. pokolenje: 1140–1170 in
– 6. pokolenje: 1170–1200.

outside (*Pl. 3:* 7). Rings with a solid rectangular cross-section do not occur, for instance, in the Župna cerkev cemetery in Kranj, where there are no artefacts in graves after the first decades of the 11th century. Similarly, the Late Medieval cemetery near the church of St. Bartholomew in Šentjernej, for instance, contains no such rings (Predovnik, Dacar, Lavrinc 2008). At the current state of research (i.e. based on the absence of evidence), such finger rings can therefore only be loosely dated to the High Middle Ages, with the first decades of the 11th century as the *terminus post quem*.

In the absence of any *in situ* datable artefacts, there only remains the undesirable task of dating the G4 group on the basis of the wider context. Through the analysis of written sources, Höffler (2016a, 64) has convincingly demonstrated that in the process of the regulation of proprietary churches, which took place between the end of the 10th and the end of the 12th centuries, the church on Bled Island was among those proprietary churches whose owners could not transform them into benefices and it fell to the level of a filial church, losing the right of interring. After the end of the 12th century at the latest, the cemetery on Bled Island could no longer legally exist and all subsequent burials were only individual burials either in the church or immediately adjacent to it (the latter seems to have been legally equal to the former). The beginning of the 13th century is therefore the *terminus ante quem* for the G4 cemetery group.

Based on the stratigraphic analysis, the shortest possible duration of usage can be determined using the same method as with the G1 group. There is reliable evidence for six subsequent burials in one of the central tombs (Graves 81a, 82a, 82b, 102, 103, 104; *Fig. 6.2*), which means that at least six generations were buried in the G4 cemetery group. If the assumed duration of one generation was 30 years and the time of burying the first generation was 20 years like in the G1 group (see Chapter 7.2.1), the G4 cemetery was in use for at least 170 years. This period of slightly less than two centuries is also the time between the above-stated *post* and *ante* dates. In the G4 cemetery group, interment therefore started approximately in the second third of the 11th century and lasted until the end of the 12th century:

– First generation: 1030–1050,
– Second generation: 1050–1080,
– Third generation: 1080–1110,
– Fourth generation: 1110–1140,
– Fifth generation: 1140–1170, and
– Sixth generation: 1170–1200.

It needs to be emphasized, however, that the accuracy of these dates is much lower than for the G1 cemetery group and hence should be understood merely as a chronological framework.

Vendar je treba poudariti, da je natančnost tega datiranja mnogo manjša kot za grobiščno skupino G1 in jo je treba razumeti zgolj kot kronološki okvir.

7.3 CERKVENE STAVBE

Datiranje cerkvenih stavb je bil eden osnovnih ciljev Šribarjevih izkopavanj in tudi pričujoče analize. Žal lahko ponudimo le delne odgovore v obliki posrednega datiranja na podlagi neposrednih in posrednih povezav med cerkvenimi stavbami in grobišči. Možnosti za občutno izboljšanje kronologije brez novih podatkov, na primer v obliki neposrednega datiranja malte, ni.

Neposreden *terminus post quem* za čas nastanka **1. predromanske cerkvene stavbe** v fazi 2a ponuja grob 72, ki je po metodi C14 datiran v čas zanesljivo po letu 779 n. št. oziroma s 94,2-odstotno verjetnostjo v čas med letoma 869 in 1013 (glej pogl. 4.2). Kronološko oprijemljivejši podatek ponuja grob 4 s tako imenovanim astragalnim naglavnim obročkom tipa (NO0700_0810; *t. 1:* 6), ki so jih po dosedanjih dognanjih v grobove pridajali med letoma 990 in 1030. Če drži navedena interpretacija, da gre za zadnji pokop na grobišču G1 in da je ta pokop sočasen z graditvijo cerkve (glej pogl. 7.2.1), so 1. predromansko cerkev zgradili v **1. desetletju 11. stoletja**.

Okvirno kronološko umestitev ***2. predromanske cerkvene stavbe*** v fazi 2b v zaključek zgodnjega srednjega veka poleg arhitekture narekujeta 2 odlomka zgodnjesrednjeveške lončenine, najdena na sloju, ki je ločil obe najstarejši apsidi (glej pogl. 4.3). Dodatni kronološki indici temeljijo na interpretaciji stratigrafije in datiranju grobiščne skupine G4. Najjužnejši grob skupine G4 namreč ne presega južne stene 2. predromanske cerkve (*sl. 6.2*). Natančnost ujemanja komajda dopušča možnost naključja, navaja pa na misel, da je bil prostor grobišča G4 določen še v času te cerkve in so torej starejši grobovi sočasni cerkvi 2b. *Terminus post quem* je torej začetek pokopavanja na grobišču G4, okvirno po letu **1030**.

Na drugi strani lega grobov skupine G4, ki se z nogami skorajda dotikajo zahodne stene **romanske cerkve** faze 3, dokazuje najmanj to, da so ob gradnji romanske cerkve faze 3 grobove še spoštovali. To interpretacijo potrjujejo in natančneje opredeljujejo drobci ometa in malte v zasutju mlajših grobov skupine G4 (št. 77a, 82a, 84, 87, 88, 93a, 101). Stratigrafsko najstarejši grob z drobci te malte, ki lahko izvira le iz zahodne stene romanske cerkve faze 3 (glej pogl. 6.1.2), je grob 93a. Umeščen je na sredino stratigrafske verige petih grobov in torej sodi bodisi v 3. bodisi v 4. pokolenje grobišča G4 (*sl. 7.4*). Okvirni *terminus ante quem* te cerkve je torej **1140** oziroma širše med letoma 1080 in 1140.

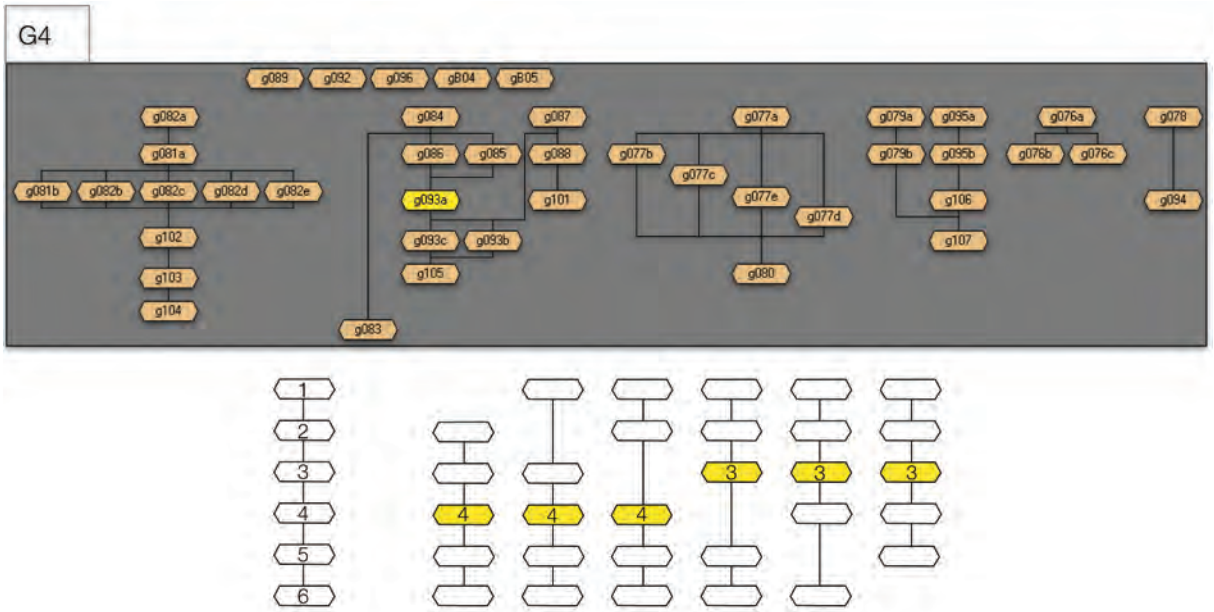
7.3 CHURCH BUILDINGS

Dating the church buildings was one of the main goals of both Šribar's excavations and this analysis. Unfortunately, we can offer only partial answers in the form of indirect dating, based on direct and indirect stratigraphic relations between the church buildings and the cemeteries. Without new data – for example dating of the mortar in existing church walls – there are no possibilities for a substantial improvement of the chronology.

A direct *terminus post quem* for the construction of the **first pre-Romanesque church building** in Phase 2a is provided by Grave 72, dated by the C14 method to after 779 CE, or with 94.2% probability between 869 and 1013 CE (see Chapter 4.2). More substantial chronological information is provided by Grave 4, which contained the so-called astragal temple ring of Type NO0700_0810 (*Pl. 1:* 6). According to the findings so far, such temple rings were used between 990 and 1030 CE. If the above interpretations that this was the last burial in the G1 cemetery and that it was contemporary to the construction of the church (see Chapter 7.2.1) are correct, then the first pre-Romanesque church was built in **the first decade of the 11th century**.

The dating of the **second Pre-Romanesque church building** of Phase 2b roughly to the end of the Early Middle Ages is supported not only by the architecture but also by two fragments of Early Medieval pottery, discovered on the layer separating the earliest two apses (see Chapter 4.3). Additional chronological indications are based on the interpretation of the stratigraphy and the dating of the G4 cemetery group: the southernmost grave of the G4 group is not positioned beyond the southern wall of the second pre-Romanesque church (*Fig. 6.2*). The accuracy of alignment leaves little possibility for coincidence and leads to the consideration that the area of the G4 cemetery had already been selected in the time of this church and that the earlier graves were contemporary to the 2b church. The *terminus post quem* is therefore the beginning of burying in the G4 cemetery after approximately the year **1030**.

On the other hand, the positions of the graves of the G4 group, whose legs almost touch the western wall of the **Romanesque church** of Phase 3, prove at least that these graves were still respected during the construction of the Romanesque church. This interpretation is further confirmed and clarified by mortar fragments in the fill of the later graves of the G4 group (77a, 82a, 84, 87, 88, 93a, 101). Stratigraphically, the earliest grave with these mortar fragments – which could only have originated in the western wall of the Romanesque church of Phase 3 (see Chapter 6.1.2) – is Grave 93a. Being in the middle of a stratigraphic chain of five graves, it belongs either to the third or fourth generation of the G4 cemetery (*Fig. 7.4*). The *terminus ante quem* for this church is roughly the year 1140, or more widely, between 1080 and **1140** CE.



Sl. 7.4: Blejski otok, zgoraj Harrisov diagram grobiščne skupine G4, spodaj vse hipotetične možnosti umestitve groba 93a z malto (rumeno) v pokolenja grobiščne skupine G4 (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 7.4: Bled Island. Above: Harris matrix of cemetery group G4; below all possible stratigraphic positions within G4 of the grave with mortar No. 93a (yellow) (by B. Štular).

7.4 OSTALO

Kot smo že zapisali, najdbe izven grobov med izkopavanji na najdišču Blejski otok niso bile dokumentirane sistematično (glej pogl. 3.2). Hkrati glede na izjemno skromno količino inventariziranih najdb na primer iz plasti novoveških izravnalnih nasutij sklepamo, da so med izkopavanji izvajali selekcijo najdb. V luči teh dejstev podrobnejša tipološka analiza lončenine iz obdobij po zgodnjem srednjem veku (*t. 8; 9*) ni smiselna. Ta lončenina je izpovedna le toliko, da potrdi neopredeljive aktivnosti na prostoru najdišča v celotnem visokem (npr. t. *6; 7*: 2–6; *10*: 1–5) in poznem srednjem veku (npr. *t. 8*). Ugotovitev, ki je ob še danes stoječi cerkveni stavbi z jasno izraženimi romanskimi temelji larpurlartistična.

Podobno velja za zoglenela žitna zrna (inv. št. S 1963) ječmena *(Hordeum vulgare)* in prosa *(Panicum miliaceum*; *sl. 2.19*), dokumentirana v profilu pod zidom. Eno zrno je bilo datirano z metodo C14 v laboratoriju *Póznanjski radiokarbonski laboratorij*[6] v čas 775 ± 30 BP. Datuma, kalibrirana s programom OxCal v4.2.3 (Bronk Ramsey, Lee 2013) po kalibracijski krivulji IntCal13 (Reimer idr. 2013) znotraj enega standardnega odklona od srednje vrednosti (**σ**1), sta med letoma 1225 in 1233 (13,4-odstotna verjetnost) in med letoma 1243 in 1272 n. št. (54,8-odstotna verjetnost). Kalibrirani datum znotraj

[6] Laboratorijska številka Poz-107997.

7.4 OTHER

As claimed before, finds from outside the graves were not systematically recorded during the excavations on Bled Island (see Chapter 3.2). At the same time, the very small quantity of inventoried finds, stemming for example from the post-Medieval ground levelling accumulations, leads to the assumption that the finds underwent a rigorous selection process during or after the excavation. In the light of these facts, a more detailed typological analysis of pottery from the periods after the Early Middle Ages is not useful (*Pls. 8; 9*). The existence of this pottery only confirms unidentifiable activities in the area of the site during the entire High (e.g. *Pls. 6; 7*: 2–6; *10*: 1–5) and Late Middle Ages (e.g. *Pl. 8*). Such a finding is meaningless considering the still-standing church building with clear Romanesque foundations.

Something similar might be said regarding the charred grains (inv. no. S 1963) of barley *(Hordeum vulgare)* and millet *(Panicum miliaceum*), recorded in the section under the wall (*Fig. 2.19*). One grain was dated by the C14 method in the Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory[5] to 775 ± 30 BP. The dates, calibrated with OxCal v4.2.3 software (Bronk Ramsey, Lee 2013) using the IntCal13 calibration curve (Reimer et al. 2013) within one standard deviation (**σ**1) from the mean value, are 1225 to 1233 CE

[5] Lab. no. Poz-107997.

dveh standardnih odklonov od srednje vrednosti ($\sigma 2$) je med letoma 1215 in 1282 (95,4-odstotna verjetnost) oziroma 1249 ± 33 n. št. Slednji datum je torej *terminus post quem* za steno prizidka, ki se je prislanjal na severno pročelje cerkvene stavbe, zgrajene v gotskem slogu. Glede na dvojno prekinitev med datiranim zrnom in cerkveno stavbo – (i) čas, po katerem je bil postavljen prizidek, zgrajen (ii) pozneje kot cerkev – je interpretacijska vrednost te absolutne datacije zelo omejena: cerkev je bila zgrajena prej kot prizidek, ki je bil zgrajen kadarkoli po letu 1249 ± 33 n. št..

Zaradi metode izkopavanja o kronologiji obdobij po zgodnjem srednjem veku zatorej ostajamo pri ugotovitvah stratigrafske analize (glej pogl. 4.5 in 4.6).

(13.4% probability) and 1243 to 1272 CE (54.8% probability). The calibrated date within two standard deviations from the mean value ($\sigma 2$) is 1215 to 1282 CE (95.4% probability), i.e. 1249 ± 33 CE. The last date is therefore the *terminus post quem* for the extension wall, which leaned against the northern façade of the Gothic-style church building. When the double hiatus between the dated grain and the church building is considered – the C14 date offers the time (i) after which the extension was built, which was (ii) later than the church – the interpretation value of this absolute date appears to be very limited: the church was built prior to the extension that was built any time after 1249 ± 33 CE. Therefore, the chronology of the periods after the Early Middle Ages revealed by stratigraphic analysis cannot be further elaborated (see Chapters 4.5 and 4.6).

8. BLEJSKI OTOK V SREDNJEM VEKU

8. BLED ISLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Benjamin ŠTULAR

8.1 INTERPRETACIJA NAJDIŠČA

8.1.1 PISNI VIRI

Za cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja na Blejskem otoku smo doslej domnevali, da je nastala med 2. polovico 9. stoletja in 3. četrtino 10. stoletja. Nastala naj bi kot lastniška cerkev blejskega župana, a naj bi se je že pred letom 1004 polastil vzhodnofrankovski vladar (Pleterski 2011, 152; prim. Höfler 2016b, 212). Po mnenju Höflerja (2015, 50; 2016b, 212) je cerkev skupaj s posestvom po letu 1004 pripadla briksenskim škofom, ki naj bi jo takrat tudi obnovili in pri njej ustanovili duhovniško službo, sicer naj bi si kasneje ne mogli lastiti njenih patronatskih in drugih pravic. Kraljeva darovnica iz leta 1004 cerkve na otoku ne omenja, temveč zgolj sumarno našteje elemente infrastrukturno urejene posesti: cerkve (*aecclesiis*), kastele, poslopja, mline, nesvobodnjake, različna obdelana in neobdelana zemljišča, pravice in dohodke. Formula se ponovi tudi v diplomatično zelo podobni listini iz leta 1011. Takšne pertinenčne formule so v podarilnih listinah bolj ali manj formalizirane (Štih 2004, 22–23; Štih 2011, 14–19 z viri). Zanimivo, Štih v analizi listine iz leta 1004 meni, da takšne formule *vsaj nekoliko upoštevajo naravne, gospodarske in tudi družbene danosti podarjene posesti* (Štih 2004, 22), za listino iz leta 1011 pa, da je formulo *smatrati za povsem in samo formalni element* (Štih 2011, 23).

Cerkev na Blejskem otoku je v pisnih virih prvič omenjena kot Marijina kapela s proštom (*prepositi sanctę Marię in lacu Veldes*) leta 1185 (Bizjak 2006, 59–60; Höfler 2015, 49–50; prevod: Gornik 1990, 150–152; vsi z viri). S to listino je briksenski škof Henrik II. (škof 1178–1196) proštiji potrdil njena posestva, skupaj 18 kmetij, fevd, mlin v Mlinem in 4 njive v Zaki. Posestva so izvirala od briksenskih in različnih zasebnih darovalcev ter so ležala raztresena v Mlinem, Koritnem, Bodeščah, Bitnjah, Zaki in Mostah pri Žirovnici. Vse daritve so se zgodile po letu 1140, začenši z briksenskim škofom Hartmannom (Štih 2004, 22; Bizjak 2006, 59–60; Pleterski 2011, 158 in *passim*). Pred tem je proštija – pravno telo, ki obsega cerkev in posest – verjetno

8.1 SITE INTERPRETATION

8.1.1 WRITTEN SOURCES

Until now it has been assumed that the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Bled Island was first constructed between the second half of the 9th century and the third quarter of the 10th century. It was supposedly founded as a proprietary church of the local landlord, župan, but came into the hands of the East Frankish lords before 1004 (Pleterski 2011, 152; *cf.* Höfler 2016b, 212). According to Höfler, the church and the estate became the property of the bishops of Brixen soon after 1004; they allegedly rebuilt the building and stationed a provost. This retrograde interpretation is based on the fact that in 1185 the bishops of Brixen owned the right of patronage and other rights to the island church (Höfler 2015, 50; 2016b, 212). The king's charter bestowing the Bled estate to the Brixens in 1004 – the earliest written document mentioning Bled – does not list the church on the island. The charter does however list a summary of the infrastructural elements of the estate: churches (*aecclesiis*), buildings, mills, non-free inhabitants, various arable and non-arable plots of land, rights and sources of income. The same formula appears on a very similar document from 1011. Such formulae (*pertinentio*) were more or less formalized in similar charters of the time (Štih 2004, 22–23; Štih 2011, 14–19 with sources). Interestingly, according to Štih's analysis of the document from 1004, such formulae at least somewhat observe the natural, economic and social realities of the estate that was given (Štih 2004, 22), while when he writes about the document from 1011, produced in accordance with the same *pertinentio*, the formula should be understood as an entirely formal element (Štih 2011, 23).

The church on Bled Island was first mentioned in written sources in 1185 as the Chapel of St Mary with a provost (*prepositi sanctę Marię in lacu Veldes*) (Bizjak 2006, 59–60; Höfler 2015, 49–50; translation from Latin to Slovenian: Gornik 1990, 150–152; all with sources). With this document, Brixen Bishop Henry II (bishop

* Translation Meta Osredkar.

obsegala le Blejski otok s cerkvijo in manjšo ledino, imenovano Vadiše, vendar je med njene dohodke treba prištevati tudi darove božjepotnikov. Analiza v virih izpričanih lastniških razmerij kaže, da je bila cerkev na Blejskem otoku romarska verjetno že leta 1004 (Gornik 1967, 146; Gornik 1990, 173–176; Pleterski 2011, 87–88; prim. Štih 2004, 21–22). Romarji so, kolikor lahko sodimo po zgledu bližnje leške kapele Marijinega vnebovzetja (Bizjak 2012 z viri), ob Marijinih praznikih z veliko gorečnostjo in darovi prihajali *od blizu in od daleč*.

Nenadno priljubljenost darovanja proštiji in s tem posredno briksenskim škofom po letu 1140 lahko razumemo kot posledico aktivne politike slednjih, da bi *dušebrižništvo posameznikov* (Pleterski 2011, 158) izkoristili za vzpostavitev proštijske posesti in širše za nadaljnjo ozemeljsko konsolidacijo svojega blejskega zemljiškega gospostva. Ena od poti za dosego tega cilja bi bil lahko cerkveni gradbeni program, kakršnega prepoznamo na primeru že omenjene kapele Marijinega vnebovzetja v le nekaj km oddaljenih Lescah. Tam je bila lesena kapela zgrajena že vsaj sredi 11. stoletja. Potem ko je preteklo veliko časa (*post multorum vero cursum temporum*), sta oglejski arhidiakon Dietmar (tržaški škof 1121–1145) in rodinski župnik Herwig lastnika opomnila, naj podre leseno cerkev in namesto nje zgradi kamnito, ki jo bo mogoče posvetiti. Lastnik, briksenski ministerial Nantwin, je to storil. Cerkev je bila posvečena ob pomoči obeh prej omenjenih oseb (*presidio eorum*), torej zelo verjetno z uradno intervencijo pri patriarhu, in z dovoljenjem oglejskega patriarha Ulrika I. (patriarh 1085–1121). Posvetil jo je patriarhov vikar, škof Eberhard, kar je izpričano v listini, izdani med letoma 1115 in 1121 (Bizjak 2012). V tem primeru prepoznamo kar nekaj elementov, ki jih lahko označimo za gradbeni program nadomeščanja starih lesenih cerkva s kamnitimi: začetni impulz prihaja od regionalne (cerkvene) uprave, gradnjo izvede lastnik, ki hkrati predstavlja "lokalno upravo", izvedbo nadzoruje in z aktom posvetitve potrdi regionalna (cerkvena) uprava.

Naslednji pomemben vir govori o posvetitvi *neke* cerkve na blejskem ozemlju s strani oglejskega patriarha Pelegrina I. (1131–1161) leta 1142 (Gornik 1990, 153; Štih 2004, 22 z viri). Ker je cerkev posvetil patriarh sam – običajno leško cerkev je posvetil patriarhov vikar, škof – se kot možni ponujata le župna cerkev sv. Martina in cerkev na Blejskem otoku. Patriarhov gradbeni program in sočasna prizadevanja za rast proštijske posesti seveda ne izključujejo župne cerkve, precej prostora pa dajejo domnevi, da je bila 11. decembra 1142 posvečena cerkev na Blejskem otoku, in sicer ob odprtju iz kamna zidane cerkve, zgrajene na mestu lesene predhodnice. Pri tem je treba opozoriti, da je gradnja takšne cerkve lahko trajala od nekaj let do več desetletij (prim. Štular 2013, 138; Trueman 2019). Morda se je zidava otoške in leške cerkve začela sočasno v 2. desetletju 12. stoletja, a dokončanje prve – morda zaradi mnogo ambicioz-

1178–1196) confirmed the estates of the provostry, comprising 18 farms, a fee, a mill in Mlino[1] and four fields in Zaka. These estates originated from the Brixen bishops and from various private donors from the nearby villages of Mlino, Koritno, Bodešče, Bitnje, Zaka and Moste near Žirovnica. All of the listed donations took place after 1140, starting with the Brixen Bishop Hartmann (Štih 2004, 22; Bizjak 2006, 59–60; Pleterski 2011, 158, *passim*). Before the 1140s, the provostry – a legal body encompassing the church and the estate – probably only included Bled Island with the church and a small non-arable plot of land called Vadiše, but its income likely also included donations from pilgrims. Namely, the analysis of property ownership as described in the sources indicates that in 1004, the church on Bled Island was probably already a pilgrimage site (Gornik 1967, 146; Gornik 1990, 173–176; Pleterski 2011, 87–88; *cf.* Štih 2004, 21–22). Judging by the example of the nearby Lesce Chapel of the Assumption of Mary (Bizjak 2012 with sources), the pilgrims eagerly flocked with gifts to the church on Marian feast days from near and far.

The sudden popularity of donations to the provostry – and indirectly to the bishops of Brixen – after 1140 can be understood as a consequence of the active policy of the diocese, who sought to exploit individuals' concerns for souls (Pleterski 2011, 158) in order to establish the estate of the provostry as well as in a wider context for further land consolidation in their Bled domain. One way to reach that goal might have been a church construction programme, such as can be identified in the case of the above-mentioned Chapel of the Assumption of Mary in Lesce, just a few kilometres away. There, a wooden chapel was built in the middle of the 11th century at the latest. After a long time had passed (*post multorum vero cursum temporum*), Dietmar, Archdeacon of Aquileia (bishop of Trieste 1121–1145), and Herwig, parish priest of Rodine, prompted the owner to tear down the wooden church and instead build a stone building that could be consecrated. The owner, Brixen's ministerialis (local lord) Nantwin, did so. The church was consecrated with the assistance of the aforementioned persons (*presidio eorum*), which very likely meant a formal appeal to the patriarch as well as the permission of the patriarch Ulrich I of Aquileia (patriarch 1085–1121). The church rebuilt in stone was consecrated by Bishop Eberhard, the patriarch's vicar, as evidenced in a document issued between 1115 and 1121 (Bizjak 2012). In this case, several elements can be understood as this action constituting part of a wider scheme of replacing early wooden churches with stone ones: the appeal was initiated by the regional (ecclesiastical) administration, the construction was conducted by the proprietor (who at the same time represented the local administration) and the execution was overseen and confirmed by the act of consecration by the regional (ecclesiastical) administration.

[1] *Mlino* is a derivative of a Slovenian word for *mill*.

nejše arhitekture – se je zavleklo za več kot 2 desetletji. Trenutek posvetitve s strani patriarha pa moremo obravnavati predvsem kot političen dogodek, ki ima morda vsaj toliko kot z dokončanostjo cerkvene stavbe opraviti z začetkom ambiciozne kariere briksenskega škofa Hartmanna (škof 1141–1163).

Iz zgodovine cerkve na Blejskem otoku sledi omemba v popisu dajatev za oglejski patriarhat iz leta 1247, kjer je cerkev navedena v skupini samostanov in proštij (*ecclesia Valdensis*). Podobno je v desetinskem seznamu iz leta 1296 navedena kot proštija (*prepositura Insule, prepositura de Veldis*). Ti navedbi laže razumemo v kontekstu instalacijske listine iz leta 1309, s katero oglejski patriarh potrdi imenovanje rektorja kapele, ki so ga nastavili briksenski škofje. Iz listine je jasno razvidno, da so že prej bili spori med Oglejem in Briksnom glede jurisdikcije pri cerkvi. Höfler položaj v 13. stoletju interpretira tako, da so si enkrat med letoma 1185 in 1247 oglejski patriarhi pridobili cerkev na otoku z vsemi pravicami. Vendar je 2 stoletji kasneje, leta 1459, papeško sodišče v Rimu znova potrdilo vse pravice pri otoški cerkvi briksenskim škofom. Ob koncu srednjega veka so torej briksenski upravljali svetišče kot svojo lastniško cerkev s polno jurisdikcijo, a spor se je končal šele s sporazumom med briksensko in ljubljansko škofijo (slednja je nastopala kot naslednica oglejskih patriarhov) leta 1688 (Gornik 1990, 195–204; Höfler 2015, 50 z viri).

Na kratko se kaže pomuditi še pri zavetnici otoške cerkve. Danes je cerkev posvečena Marijinemu vnebovzetju, srednjeveško gradivo pa navaja le, da gre za cerkev sv. Marije (*sancte Marie in lacu Veldes*). Höfler (1988, 224–225) na podlagi zabeležke iz 16. ali 17. stoletja (tri četrt **tisočletja** po nastanku cerkve) v radovljiški matrikuli meni, da je bil prvotni patrocinij Marijino rojstvo, ki je značilen za čas okoli leta 1004 (Höfler 2016b, 212), najstarejše Marijine cerkve pa so bile posvečene Marijinemu vnebovzetju. Vendar orientacija cerkve prepričljivo priča, da je Marijino vnebovzetje prvotni patrocinij, marginalija iz časa tri četrt tisočletja po nastanku cerkve in stoletje pred rojstvom modernega zgodovinopisja pa ostaja zanimiva kurioziteta.

A zgornjo interpretacijo pisnih virov moramo razumeti v luči dejstva, da sta prošt in s tem posredno cerkev na Blejskem otoku prvič omenjena šele leta 1185, sledita pa dve skromni omembi v 13. stoletju. Zavedati se moramo, da so vse interpretacije na podlagi pisnih virov za čas pred letom 1185 zgolj to – interpretacije. Dodatno so vse navedene interpretacije pisnih virov razen Gornikovih nastale pod vplivom Šribarjevih interpretacij arheološkega gradiva, ki je predmet te analize. Povedano drugače: obstoja cerkve na otoku pred letom 1185 ne moremo dokazovati s pisnimi viri, temveč zgolj z arheološko analizo, sicer zapademo v krožno dokazovanje: sledimo interpretacijam pisnih virov, ki

The next document pertinent to Bled Island mentions the consecration of a church in the Bled area by the patriarch Pellegrinus I of Aquileia (1131–1161) in 1142 (Gornik 1990, 153; Štih 2004, 22 with the sources). Given that the church was consecrated by the patriarch himself – in contrast to the ordinary church of Lesce, which was consecrated by a bishop, the patriarch's vicar – this must have been either the parish church of St Martin in Bled or the church on Bled Island. The above conjectured patriarch's construction programme and the simultaneous efforts of the bishops of Brixen to expand the property of the Bled Island provostry do not fully rule out the parish church. However, these two arguments speak strongly for the inference that the stone church in the place of a wooden predecessor, consecrated on 11 December 1142, was the Bled Island church. In this respect it should be noted that the construction of such a church may have lasted between a few years and a few decades (*cf.* Štular 2013, 138; Trueman 2019). Perhaps the constructions of the church on the island and the church in Lesce began at the same time, in the second decade of the 12th century, but the completion of the former – perhaps due to having much more ambitious architecture – took place over two decades. The consecration by the patriarch could be seen primarily as a political event, related as much to the start of the ambitious career of Bishop Hartmann of Brixen (bishop 1141–1163) as to the completion of the church building.

The next mention of the church on Bled Island is in a tithe list of the Patriarchate of Aquileia from the year 1247, where the church is listed together with monasteries and other provostries (*ecclesia Valdensis*). Similarly, it is mentioned as a provostry in a tithe list from 1296 (*prepositura Insule, prepositura de Veldis*). These two references can be better understood in the context of an installation document from 1309, by which the patriarch of Aquileia confirmed the nomination of a chapel rector, installed by the bishops of Brixen. The document clearly shows that there had been earlier disputes between Aquileia and Brixen about jurisdiction over the church. Höfler's interpretation of the situation in the 13th century is that between 1185 and 1247, the Aquileian patriarchs acquired the church on the island with full rights. Nevertheless, two centuries later in 1459, the papal court in Rome reaffirmed all the rights concerning the island church for the bishops of Brixen. This means that at the end of the Middle Ages, the Brixen bishops administered the church as their proprietary church with full jurisdiction, but the dispute only ended with an agreement between the dioceses of Brixen and Ljubljana (the latter as the successor of the Aquileian patriarchs) in 1688 (Gornik 1990, 195–204; Höfler 2015, 50 with sources).

A short commentary should be made regarding the patron saint of the church. While the present-day church is dedicated to the Assumption of Mary, the medieval sources only mention it as a church of St Mary (*sancte*

vključujejo predhodne interpretacije arheoloških virov, ki jih na tem mestu ponovno interpretiramo.

Na drugi strani pa pisni viri dobro osvetljujejo pravni status cerkve Marijinega vnebovzetja na Blejskem otoku od konca 12. stoletja. Cerkev je ostala na ravni proštijske kapele. V procesu statusnega urejanja lastniških cerkva, ki je potekal med koncem 10. stoletja in 12. stoletjem, sodi v skupino tistih lastniških cerkva, ki jih lastnik ni mogel preoblikovati v patronatno župnijo in so zdrsnile na raven podružnice ter s tem izgubile pravico pokopavanja (Höffler 2016a, 64).

8.1.2 ARHEOLOŠKA INTERPRETACIJA NAJDIŠČA BLEJSKI OTOK V SREDNJEM VEKU

ZGODNJESREDNJEVEŠKO GROBIŠČE BREZ CERKVE (glej načrt na str. 392)

Stratigrafsko grobiščno skupino G1 predstavljajo grobovi v vrstah in gručah, ki večidel ležijo severno od današnje cerkvene stavbe.

Začenši od zahoda prvo vrsto predstavlja 6 grobov (št. 54, 55, 59–62). Iz urejene vrste deloma izstopata stratigrafsko mlajša grobova neodraslih oseb. Na severnem delu te vrste ostaja neizkoriščen prostor za 2 do 3 grobove. Ta prostor je bil, kolikor je mogoče presoditi na podlagi dokumentacije (*sl. 8.1*), sicer primeren za pokopavanje.

Druga vrsta je najštevilčnejša. Ostanki 19 grobov (št. 3–17, 25, 34, 56, 57) z najmanj 24 pokojniki so razporejeni v nepravilni vrsti. Ta se na sredini zalomi, vendar je tendenca ustvarjanje vrste ob prilagajanju terenu jasna. Značilni za to vrsto so prekopi, ki so številčnejši kot v sosednjih vrstah. Medsebojna lega jasno kaže, da ob kasnejših pokopih pogrebci niso poznali natančne lega predhodnih grobov. To je neposredni arheološki dokaz, da grobovi niso bili trajno označeni.

V 3. vrsto lahko zanesljivo umestimo le 3 grobove (št. 49–51), verjetno pa sem sodita še ostanka 2 grobov (št. 44, 53). Na severni strani je vrsta, kot ostale, omejena s skalnim hrbtom, na južni pa ni bila v celoti izkopana. Ob upoštevanju lokacije groba 44, ki dokazuje, do kod grobovi te vrste zanesljivo še segajo, in gostote pokopavanja v tej vrsti lahko na neraziskani površini domnevamo še najmanj 1 grob (morda grob št. 48, ki risarsko ni bil dokumentiran).

Obstoj 4. in 5. vrste, kot ju je določil Šribar (1972, 390–391), je vprašljiv. Pokopavanju v vrstah zanesljivo niso sledili grobovi okoli ognjišča. Tako bi v morebitno 4. vrsto sodili 4 grobovi (št. 35–37, 45) z neizkoriščenim prostorom v osrednjem delu. V morebitno 5. vrsto bi lahko razvrstili 6 grobov (št. 1, 20, 22, 29, 30, 38). Tudi tu se praznine izmenjujejo z območji velike gostote pokopavanja v nekakšnem vzorcu šahovnice, česar v prvih

Marie in lacu Veldes). Based on a note in the margins written in the 16th or 17th century in the *Matricula of Radovljica*, Höfler (1988, 224–225) suggests that the church was originally dedicated to the Nativity of Mary, as was typical of the time around 1004 (Höfler 2016b, 212), while the earliest churches of St Mary were dedicated to the Assumption. However, the orientation of the church convincingly shows that its original dedication was to the Assumption of Mary, while the note in the margins, dated three quarters of a millennium after the construction of the church and a century before the birth of modern historiography, should remain an interesting curiosity.

The above interpretation of written sources must be understood in the light of the fact that the provost and with him indirectly the church on Bled Island were first mentioned only in 1185, which was followed by two modest notes in the 13th century. It is important to acknowledge that before 1185, all inferences based on written sources are no more than that: inferences. Furthermore, all the above-mentioned interpretations of written sources, except those by Gornik, were influenced by Šribar's interpretations of the same archaeological data that form the subject of this analysis. In other words, before 1185, the existence of the church on the island cannot be proven by written sources; only by archaeological analysis. Otherwise, circular reasoning ensues: interpretations of written sources incorporating earlier interpretations of archaeological data influence the archaeological interpretation of the same archaeological data.

In contrast, written sources provide a good illustration of the legal status of the Church of the Assumption on Bled Island since the late 12th century. The church never rose above the level of a provostry chapel. In the process of the regulation of proprietary churches, which took place between the end of the 10th century and the 12th century, it was among those proprietary churches whose owners were unable to transform them into benefices and it fell to the level of a filial church, hence losing the right of interment (Höffler 2016a, 64).

8.1.2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE BLED ISLAND SITE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

EARLY MEDIEVAL CEMETERY WITHOUT A CHURCH (see Cemetery plan on p. 392)

The Early Medieval cemetery without a church is represented by the stratigraphic cemetery group G1. This group is formed by graves in rows and clusters, mostly lying north of the present-day church building. Starting from the west, the first row contains six graves (54, 55, 59–62). Two stratigraphically later graves of non-adult persons partly stand out from the orderly row. To the

Sl. 8.1: Blejski otok, dokumentarna fotografija izkopavanja severno od sedanje cerkvene stavbe (severozahodni vogal je na fotografiji zgoraj levo); omenjeni neizkoriščen prostor za pokopavanje je na fotografiji zgoraj desno (vir: arhiv NMS OA negativ št. 8541).
Fig. 8.1: Bled Island, view of the excavation in progress north of the present-day church building (north-western corner is top left); the unused potential cemetery area mentioned in text is top right (source: NMS archive OA film No. 8541).

3 vrstah ni. Ključni element, ki govori proti obstoju 4. in 5. vrste, pa je medsebojno prekrivanje: grobovi 4. vrste z nogami sekajo grobove 5. vrste. Če bi šlo za dve vrsti, bi bila 4. vrsta v celoti mlajša od 5.

Zato pa so opazne gruče, morda grobiščne parcele (*sl. 7.3*). Najmanj 13 pokojnikov je nagnetenih ob sočasnem ognjišču v južni gruči (grobovi št. 18, 19, 28, 39, 40–43, 46, 63). Druga gruča, šteto od juga proti severu, je sestavljena iz dveh dokumentiranih grobov (št. 20, 38) in skromnega ostanka **še** 1 predhodnega pokopa (št. 20). Opazna je velika razlika (17°) v orientaciji med starejšim in mlajšim grobom. V 3. gruči je bilo pokopanih najmanj 5 pokojnikov (grobovi št. 35–37, 45). Tudi v tem primeru je v enem primeru razlika v orientaciji med starejšim in mlajšim pokopom velika (19°). V najsevernejši gruči je 8 grobov (št. 21–23, 27, 29–31, 33), ki izkazujejo vsaj 4-kratno pokopavanje na istem mestu.

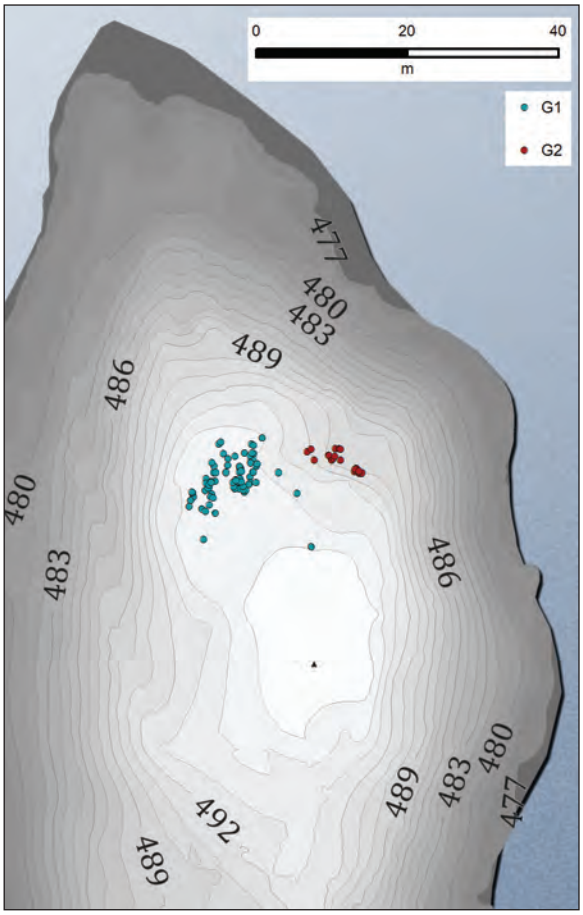
Severno od naštetih gruč ležita še 2 posamezna grobova (št. 1, 24), vsak z najmanj 2 zaporednima pokopoma.

V ta sklop sodi tudi stratigrafska grobiščna skupina G2, gruča 11 grobov (št. 111–117, 121–124) 8,1 m vzhodno od G1. V zgodnjem srednjem veku je ta gruča ležala na majhni terasi na vzhodnem pobočju približno 3 višinske metre nižje od ravninice z grobovi skupine

north of this row is some unused space, large enough for two or three graves. As far as it can be said on the basis of the documentation (*Fig. 8.1*), the unused space was suitable for interment.

The second row contains the largest number of graves. The remains of 19 graves (3–17, 25, 34, 56, 57) with at least 24 deceased are arranged in an irregular row. Whereas the row is broken in the middle, the tendency to form a row while adjusting to the configuration of the terrain is clear. Typical for this row are reburials, which are more numerous than in the neighbouring rows. The positions of the graves with respect to each other clearly show that the diggers of the later graves did not know the exact locations of the earlier graves. This is direct archaeological proof that the graves were not permanently marked.

Although only three graves (49–51) can be attributed to the third row with certainty, it probably contained the remains of two more graves (44, 53). To the north, this row is, like the other rows, limited by a rock ridge, while to the south it was not fully excavated due to the later pavement. Taking into account the density of burials in the row and the location of Grave 44, which provides evidence of how far the graves of this row reach, at least one more grave may be presumed in the unexplored area (perhaps the undrawn Grave 48).



Sl. 8.2: Blejski otok, lega grobiščnih skupin G1 (modro) in G2 (rdeče) prikazana na rekonstruirani geomorfologiji otoka pred srednjeveškimi posegi (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 8.2: Bled Island, location of cemetery groups G1 (blue) and G2 (red) and reconstructed geomorphology of the island before medieval building processes (by B. Štular).

G1 (*sl. 8.2*). Grobovi skupine G2 so bili vkopani v ozko kotanjo (prim. Šribar 1972, 390), ki je pogojevala tudi smer pokopa (prim. pogl. 6.2.2.4). Ti grobovi so stratigrafsko starejši od cerkvenih stavb in torej, vsaj okvirno, sočasni zgoraj opisanim. Sočasnost potrjuje tudi prstan iz zasutja groba (št. 111; *t. 3:* 13). Zdi se, da gre za gručo, podobno zgornjim, ki pa je bila zaradi geomorfologije nekoliko odmaknjena.

Nekoliko vstran južno od omenjene terase je ležal osamljen verjetno najpomembnejši grob na tem grobišču (št. 72). Postavljen je bil na prostor, ki je imel za pogrebce poseben pomen, tik ob zelenem klesanem kamnu (glej pogl. 4.7).

Podobno lego izoliranega groba na robu sočasnega grobišča poznamo na dveh bližnjih grobiščih iz 9. in 10. stoletja (Žale pri Zasipu – moški grob 55; Pleterski 2013a, 39, Fig. 2.3.4 – in Dlesc pri Bodeščah – kenotaf grob 14; Pleterski 2013a, 51, Fig. 2.3.16) ter bolj izrazito

The existence of the fourth and fifth rows identified by Šribar (1972, 390–391) is questionable. The graves around the fireplace were certainly not arranged in rows. The potential fourth row may have contained four graves (35–37, 45) with some unused space in the centre. Six graves (1, 20, 22, 29, 30, 38) could have been placed in the potential fifth row. Here, gaps also alternate with areas of high burial density in a sort of a chessboard pattern, which does not occur in the first three rows. The key argument against the existence of the fourth and fifth rows is overlapping: the legs of the graves of the fourth row intersect the graves of the fifth row. If there were indeed two rows, the entire fourth row would be later than the fifth.

Instead, clusters of graves, perhaps cemetery plots, can be identified (*Fig. 7.3*). At least 13 deceased were packed near the contemporary fireplace in the southern cluster (Graves 18, 19, 28, 39, 40–43, 46, 63). The second cluster from the south is comprised of two recorded graves (20, 38) and a meagre remainder of another earlier burial (20). There is a big difference (17°) in the orientations of the earlier and the later graves. The third cluster contained at least five deceased (35–37, 45). In one case, the difference in orientation between an earlier and a later grave is again very prominent (19°). There are eight graves (21–23, 27, 29–31, 33) in the northernmost cluster and they contain a case of at least four subsequent burials in the same spot.

To the north of the above-listed clusters are two individual graves (1, 24), each with at least two subsequent burials. The stratigraphic cemetery group G2 belongs here as well: a cluster of 11 graves (111–117, 121–124) 8.1 m east of G1. In the Early Middle Ages, this cluster lay on a small terrace on the eastern slope, about 3 m below the small flat area with the graves of the G1 group (*Fig. 8.2*). The graves of the G2 group were dug into a narrow hollow (*cf.* Šribar 1972, 390), which conditioned the orientation of the burial (*cf.* Chapter. 6.2.2.4). These graves are stratigraphically earlier than the church buildings and therefore at least roughly contemporary to the above-described burials. This is further evidenced by a finger ring from the fill of Grave 111 (*Pl. 3:* 13). This seems to have been be a cluster similar to the above-described clusters and isolated only due to the geomorphological situation.

Slightly further south from the terrace lay an isolated grave, probably the most important grave of the site (72). It was located in the spot that had special significance for the mourners, immediately next to the large green stone (see Chapter 4.7).

Similar isolated graves at the edge of contemporary cemeteries are known in two nearby cemeteries from the 9th and 10th centuries (Žale near Zasip – male Grave 55; Pleterski 2013a, 39, Fig. 2.3.4 – and Dlesc near Bodešče – Grave 14 (cenotaph); Pleterski 2013a, 51, Fig. 2.3.16) and more prominently in the cemetery of Mali Grad in Kamnik from the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century (Grave 23; Štular 2007, 28, Fig. 4).

na grobišču iz konca 10. in začetka 11. stoletja Mali grad v Kamniku (grob 23; Štular 2007, 28, sl. 4).

Podobno velja za otroški grob z ženskim nakitom (št. 83). Grob leži na eni izmed orientacijskih osi grobišča G1 (glej pogl. 6.2.3) in je stratigrafsko pod grobovi skupine G4. Od groba je bilo ohranjeno zgolj lobanjsko dno, obročka sta – domnevno *in situ* – ležala levo in desno ob ostanku lobanje. Primerljiva grobišča imajo pogosto ločen otroški del, na primer na Malem gradu (Sagadin 2001; Štular 2007) ter na grobiščih Žale pri Zasipu (Pleterski 2014, 250–256 in slika 3.3.6.17 ter tam navedena literatura) in Dlesc pri Bodeščah (Pleterski 2014, 259–261 in slika 3.3.6.31 ter tam navedena literatura).

Vendar je obravnavani grob (št. 83) osamljen in se zato ne zdi edini ostanek otroškega dela pokopališča. Je pa zelo podoben otroškemu grobu z ženskim nakitom (št. 41) z grobišča Dlesc pri Bodeščah, ki je bil pokopan v 1. pokolenju, kasnejši grobovi pa se mu izogibajo (Pleterski 2014, 259). Tudi grob 83 z Blejskega otoka je 3,7 m oddaljen od najbližjega groba grobiščne skupine G1 in bi bil glede na pridatke lahko sočasen 1. pokolenju. Najprepričljivejša se torej zdi razlaga, da je grob 83 izoliran grob skupine G1, morda enega izmed grobov 1. pokolenja. V tem primeru bi ležal na podaljšku osi med vodnim izvirom in ognjiščem, ki je narekovala smer in lego večine grobov 1. in 2. pokolenja (*sl. 7.3*).

Zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče torej predstavljajo grobovi v vrstah in gručah na največjem razmeroma ravnem arealu na Blejskem otoku ter na nekoliko nižji terasi. Dva grobova sta ležala ločeno od osrednjega prostora grobišča.

Na tem grobišču so bile v neoznačenih grobovih pokopane 4 generacije (glej pogl. 7.2.1), skupaj najmanj 71 pokojnikov. Homogena spolna in starostna struktura pokojnikov dokazuje, da je na tem grobišču ena skupnost pokopavala vse ali vsaj večino svojih pokojnih. Ta skupnost torej poleg nedoraslih otrok ni nikoli štela več kot približno 20 ljudi.

Že v času 2. pokolenja se vzpostavi sistem pokopavanja v vrstah po celotnem grobišču, ki je obveljal skoraj do konca. Dodatno so nekatere grobove pogrebci skrbno orientirali v smeri kardinalnega vzhoda, s čimer so posredno izkazali razmeroma dobro astronomsko znanje (glej pogl. 6.2.2.1). Pomena natančnega orientiranja grobov ne poznamo, a zavestno orientiranje grobov je na tem grobišču nedvoumno dokazano.

Sočasno, torej v času pokopavanja 2., 3. in 4. pokolenja, je eno izmed torišč pogrebnih običajev postalo ognjišče v osrednjem delu grobišča, ki je bilo kurjeno vsaj 4-krat v času pogreba. To dokazujejo drobci oglja, ki se na celotnem grobišču pojavijo le v 4 grobovih (št. 18, 22, 46, 63), najdlje 2,95 m od omenjenega ognjišča. Medsebojna bližina ognjišča in grobov z drobci oglja v zasutju na eni strani ter na drugi strani osrednja lega ognjišča, ki se mu grobovi izogibajo, ne puščajo mnogo možnosti za

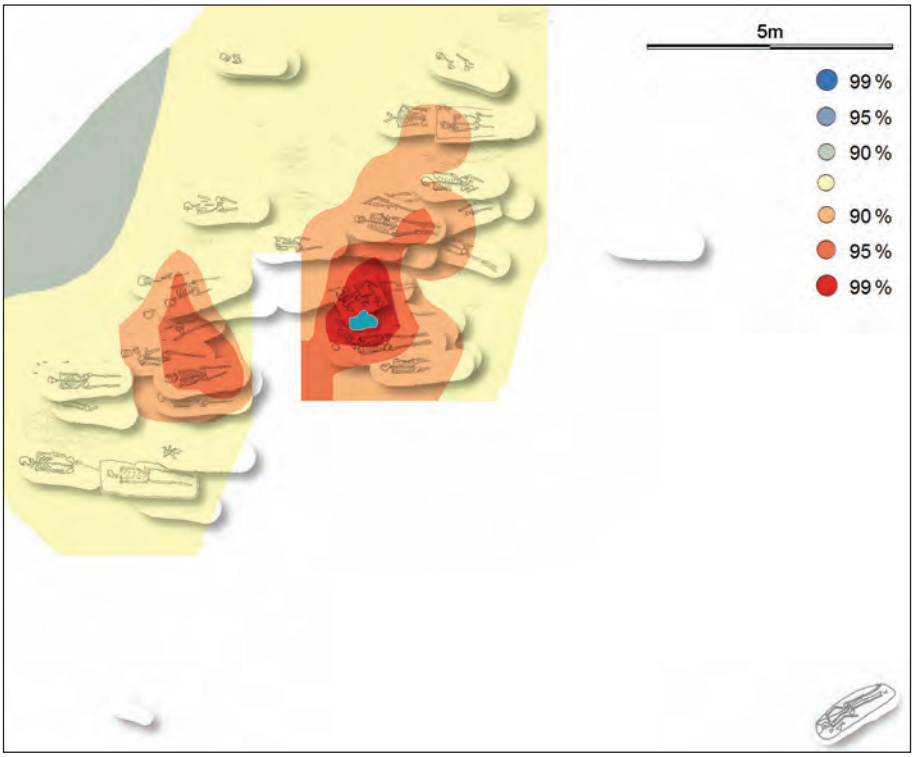
An analogous situation applies to Grave 83, a child's grave containing female jewellery. This grave is positioned on one of the orientation axes of the G1 cemetery (see Chapter 6.2.3) and is stratigraphically below the graves of the G4 group. Only the cranial base survived and the rings lay (presumably *in situ*) left and right of the remains of the skull. Comparable cemeteries often included a separate area for children, for example Mali Grad (Sagadin 2001; Štular 2007), Žale near Zasip (Pleterski 2014, 250–256 and Figure 3.3.6.17, and the literature cited therein) and Dlesc near Bodešče (Pleterski 2014, 259–261 and Figure 3.3.6.31, and the literature cited therein).

However, Grave 83 is isolated and does not seem to be the sole remainder of the children's part of the cemetery. Nevertheless, it is very similar to the grave of a child with female jewellery (Grave 41) from the Dlesc cemetery near Bodešče, who was buried in the first generation and was avoided by later graves (Pleterski 2014, 259). Grave 83 from Bled Island, too, is 3.7 m from the closest grave of the G1 cemetery group and, judging by its grave goods, it could be contemporary to the first generation. The most convincing explanation is therefore that Grave 83 is an isolated grave of the G1 group, perhaps being one of the first generation graves. In this case, it was positioned on the extension of the axis between the spring and the fireplace, which dictated the directions and positions of most of the graves of the first and second generations (*Fig. 7.3*).

The Early Medieval cemetery therefore contains graves in rows and clusters in the largest relatively flat area on Bled Island and on a slightly lower terrace. Two graves are separated from the central area of the cemetery. Four generations (see Chapter 7.2.1) were buried in unmarked graves in this cemetery, altogether at least 71 deceased. The homogeneous gender and age structure of the deceased offers evidence that in this cemetery, a single community buried all (or most) of their deceased. Children excluded, this community never amounted to more than approximately 20 people.

Already in the second generation, a system of interring in rows had been established across the entire cemetery and survived almost until the end. In addition, some graves were carefully oriented towards true east, which indirectly demonstrates a certain level of astronomical knowledge (see Chapter 6.2.2.1). While the significance of the precise orientation is not known, the fact that in this cemetery it was performed consciously is proven beyond doubt.

Contemporarily (i.e. in the time of the burials of the second, third and fourth generations), the fireplace in the central part of the cemetery became one of the focal points of funerary rites and it was lit at least four times during funerals. This is evidenced by charcoal fragments that appear in only four graves (18, 22, 46, 63) of the entire cemetery, no further than 2.95 m from the fireplace. The vicinity between the fireplace and the graves with charcoal fragments in their fills on the one hand and the position



Sl. 8.3: Blejski otok, rezultat statistične analize hladnih (modro), nevtralnih (rumeno) in vročih (rdeče) mest grobiščne skupine G1 (v odstotkih je izražen interval zaupanja; metoda v Achino idr. 2019) dokazuje, da je bila največja gostota pokopavanja tik ob ognjišču (zeleno) (avtor B. Štular).
Fig. 8.3: Bled Island, hotspot analysis (red – hot, yellow – neutral, blue – cold) of cemetery group G1 burial density (percentage referes to the confidence level; method after Achino et al. 2019) confirms that interment was most intensive around the fireplace (green) (by B. Štular).

drugačno interpretacijo. Debelina prežgane zemlje od 6 do 15 cm (glej pogl. 1.4) priča o visokih temperaturah in posledično o veliki grmadi. Zaradi majhnosti grobišča in metode izkopavanj žal nimamo podatkov o tem, ali je bilo ognjišče kurjeno ob vsakem pogrebu ali zgolj ob pokopih v neposredni bližini ognjišča. Da je bila lokacija v bližini ognjišča prestižna dokazuje prostorska analiza vročih in hladnih mest (za metodo glej Achino idr. 2019), ki na tem mestu kaže največjo gostoto pokopov (*sl. 8.3*). Dodaten argument je sekundarni pokop lobanjskih in dolgih kosti v neposredni bližini (grob 39). Lega teh kosti dokazuje, da so bile disartikulirane kosti zložene v pravokotni recipient iz organske snovi, najverjetneje zaboj. Ponovni pokop zloženih dolgih in lobanjskih kosti spominja na visokosrednjeveške kostnice in na zgodnjesrednjeveških grobiščih ni običajen.

Zadnji pokop na tem grobišču je bil pokop ženske v 1. desetletju 11. stoletja (št. 4). Grob ima isto orientacijo kot cerkvena stavba, ki je v času tega pokopa že stala oziroma je bila vsaj njena lega že označena. Pokop je biritualen in združuje predkrščanski (pridatek) in krščanski (usmeritev glede na cerkveno stavbo) element.

of the fireplace avoided by the graves on the other does not leave many options available for an alternative interpretation. The thickness of the burnt soil, being between 6 and 15 cm (see Chapter 1.4), testifies to high temperatures and a large fire. Due to the small size of the cemetery and the excavation method, there are unfortunately no data on whether a fire was lit during every funeral or only during funerals in the immediate vicinity of the fireplace. Locations in the vicinity of the fireplace were considered prestigious, as proven by a spatial analysis of hot and cold spots (for the method, see Achino et al. 2019), indicating the highest density of burials in this spot (*Fig. 8.3*). An additional argument is a secondary burial of cranial and long bones in the immediate vicinity (Grave 39). The position of the bones proves that disarticulated bones were placed in a rectangular recipient of organic matter, probably a box. The secondary burial of long and cranial bones is reminiscent of High Medieval ossuaries and was uncommon in Early Medieval cemeteries.

The last burial in this cemetery was the burial of a woman in the first decade of the 11th century (Grave 4). The orientation of the grave matches the orientation of the church building, which was already present at the time of this burial, or at least its position was already marked.

Zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče na Blejskem otoku je bilo torej v uporabi v 10. stoletju in v 1. desetletju 11. stoletja. V tem času se je pogrebni običaj spremenil trikrat:

1. Prvo pokolenje pokojnikov so pokopali v prvih treh desetletjih 10. stoletja v skladu z orientacijsko osjo, torej po ritualu, ki ga poznamo na primerljivih grobiščih od 8. do konca 10. stoletja.

2. Pri večini ostalih grobov starih pravil umeščanja v prostor niso več upoštevali, temveč so izkoristili ves razpoložljivi prostor. Pri tem so skušali slediti urejanju grobnih vrst ali gruč, nekatere izmed grobov so skrbno orientirali proti kardinalnemu vzhodu.

3. Zadnji grob na tem grobišču je bil izkopan v 1. desetletju 11. stoletja in že kaže elemente krščanskega kanona s tem, da je usmerjen glede na cerkveno stavbo.

Celotno grobišče je torej triritualno, pri čemer si spremembe v pogrebnem obredu sledijo kronološko in, kot kaže, niso sočasne.

PREDROMANSKI CERKVI IN ČUVARJI VHODA

Novo stratigrafsko fazo označuje gradnja prve lesene cerkve v predromanskem slogu, ki so jo posvetili Mariji Vnebovzeti. Notranjost s površino ladje 35,9 m^2 je bila ravno dovolj velika, da bi lahko sprejela člane majhne skupnosti, kakršna je pokopavala na starejšem grobišču. A to je lahko zgolj naključje, saj ne vemo, katera skupnost je uporabljala grobišče ter kdo in za koga je zgradil cerkvico. Vemo pa, da so bili pri postavljanju te cerkve pozorni na številne podrobnosti. Cerkev so usmerili natančno v smeri, v kateri je takrat vzhajalo sonce na koledarski praznik zavetnice cerkve. Usmeritev je morda služila učinku, da med bogoslužjem na praznik cerkvene zavetnice sonce posveti na oltar, kar bi v obdobju skromne umetne razsvetljave naredilo močan vtis na udeležence bogoslužja. Stavbo so načrtovali v skladu s tedanjimi arhitekturnimi pravili tako, da naj bi notranjost izražala razmerje 1 : √2. To namero so zaradi težavnega terena opustili, saj so natančen prostor cerkve izbrali tako, da se je najsvetejši del cerkve – apsidalni prostor z oltarjem – naslanjal na najpomembnejši grob starejšega grobišča. To se nam morda dandanes zdi nenavadno ali celo uničevalno, a v zavesti srednjeveških ljudi je šlo za nekaj običajnega. V pisnih virih je izpričano prepričanje, da kosti pomembnega človeka prinašajo dodatno zaščito. Na Irskem, denimo, poznamo več primerov, ko je bila srednjeveška cerkev zgrajena čez osrednji grob starejšega grobišča (Fry 1999, 67–68). Na prvi pogled skromna cerkev je imela močno simbolno vlogo. Združila je aspekt demonstracije moči nove vere – navidezna sposobnost nadzorovanja sončne svetlobe – ter tudi opiranja na predkrščansko moč – črpanje zaščite kosti pomembnega človeka. Dodaten element kontinuitete ob postavitvi 1. cerkve je omenjeni grob 4.

This was a mixed-rite burial, combining a pre-Christian (a grave goods item) and a Christian (orientation in accordance with the church building) element.

The Early Medieval cemetery on Bled Island was therefore used in the 10th century and in the first decade of the 11th century. During this time, the funerary ritual changed three times:

1. The first generation of the deceased were buried in the first two decades of the 10th century in accordance with the orientation axis, i.e. following the rite known from comparable cemeteries from between the 8th and the end of the 10th centuries.

2. The graves of the second through the fourth generations no longer observed that order of placement and all available space was used. Some effort was spent to arrange the graves in rows or clusters and some of the graves were carefully oriented towards true east.

3. The last grave in this cemetery was dug in the first decade of the 11th century and already manifested elements of the Christian canon by being aligned with the church building.

The entire cemetery is therefore a mixed-rite cemetery with three different rites. Changes in burial rituals follow each other chronologically and do not seem to overlap in time.

THE PRE-ROMANESQUE CHURCHES AND THE GUARDIANS OF THE ENTRANCE

A new stratigraphic phase was marked by the construction of the first wooden church in the pre-Romanesque style, dedicated to St Mary of the Assumption. The interior with a nave area of 35.9 m^2 was just large enough to accommodate the members of a small community, such as the one that used the earlier cemetery. Nevertheless, this might be a coincidence, for it is not known which community used the cemetery and who built the church and for whom. We do know, however, that many details were considered in the construction of this church. The church was oriented precisely in the direction of the sunrise on the calendar day of the patron saint of the church. The orientation possibly served a purpose: during the service on the day of the patron saint, the sun lit the altar, which in an era of modest artificial lighting made a strong impression on the participants. The building was planned in accordance with contemporary architectural guidelines, so that the interior reflected the 1 : √2 ratio. This intent was abandoned due to the difficult terrain and the precise position of the church was selected so that the most sacred part of the church – the apsidal area with the altar – leaned on the most important grave of the earlier cemetery. What might seem unusual or even destructive through today's eyes, was normal to medieval people. In written sources, there is evidence for the belief

Cerkvico je bilo kmalu, morda po nekaj desetletjih, treba nadomestiti. Zgradili so le malo večjo stavbo s skupno površino 52,3 m^2. Notranjost je bila poslikana s freskami. Stavba je bila simetrična in razmerje stranic ladje se približuje za predromanski slog značilnemu razmerju $\sqrt{3} : 2$. Na zahodni strani je bila ladja naknadno podaljšana z ožjim prostorom s tlorisom v obliki nepravilnega trapeza.

V ta čas sodita grobova, vkopana tik ob vsakokratni predromanski cerkvi, grob 71 ob prvi in grob 67 ob drugi. Analiza tlorisa in pisne dokumentacije je pokazala, da je bil najprej izkopan in uporabljen grob 71; grob je bil naknadno izpraznjen in zasut, o pokopu pričajo le *izredno majhni fragmenti človeških kosti*. Sledil je izkop grobne jame (št. 67) približno pol m južneje, pri čemer je bil s tem izkopom v severnem delu presekan tedaj že izpraznjen in zasut grob 71. To sta edina grobova, v zasutju katerih je bil dokumentiran pesek. Pokojnik v grobu 67 je edini na celotnem grobišču pokopan z rokama na prsih, torej sklenjenima v molitvi. Pomenljiva je predvsem lega obeh grobov: starejši (71) je ležal tik zunaj starejše in mlajši tik zunaj mlajše predromanske cerkve, oba na najverjetnejšem mestu vsakokratnega vhoda (*sl. 4.6*; drugače Šribar 1972, 391).

Čez oba je bil položen estrih, ki je v spodnjem delu vseboval *veliko* odlomkov lončenine in drobcev živalskih kosti (glej pogl. 4.3). To pomeni, da je estrih neposredno prekril ostanke dejavnosti, ki je potekala tik po zasutju groba 67 ali kmalu po njem in je vključevala manipuliranje s hrano. Takšne dejavnosti so izpričane v srednjeveških pisnih virih (Fry 1999, 93–94) in jih opisujemo s pojmom *pogrebna pojedina* (za izraz glej Makarovič 1995, 152).

Grobova se torej od vseh ostalih na Blejskem otoku ločujeta po zasutju (pesek), drži rok, ostankih pogrebne pojedine in legi pod pragom.

Vzorec ponavlja še grob 118 iz 3. stratigrafske faze: vklesan v živo skalo leži tik pred vhodnim pragom v romansko cerkev, izkazuje sledove večkratnega pokopavanja in je prekrit s tlakom, vezanim z malto (prim. Šribar 1966a, 173–174, 228). Že Šribar (1966, 231) ugotavlja, da je ta grob *nujno povezan s funkcionalnostjo jugozahodnega vhoda v cerkev*.

Našteti grobovi (št. 67, 71 in 118) imajo tako naslednje značilne elemente:

– grob ni del sočasnega grobišča (vezan je izključno in neposredno na sočasno cerkveno stavbo),
– lega tik pred vhodom,
– elementi obrednih dejanj v procesu prekrivanja groba (lončenina in živalske kosti),
– lega groba je označena (z edino zaplato estriha zunaj cerkvene stavbe) in
– večkratna manipulacija z ostanki trupla (izkop trupla).

that the bones of an important person provided protection. In Ireland, for instance, there are several examples of medieval churches built above the central graves of earlier cemeteries (Fry 1999, 67–68). The seemingly modest church had a powerful symbolic role. It combined a demonstration of the power of the new religion (the apparent ability to control the sunlight) with a reliance on the pre-Christian power (drawing protection from the bones of an important person). An additional element of continuity in the construction of the first church is the above-mentioned Grave 4.

Soon, perhaps after only a few decades, the little church had to be replaced. A slightly larger building with an area of 52.3 m^2 was constructed. The interior was painted with frescoes. The building was symmetrical and the ratio of the sides of the nave comes close to a ratio of $\sqrt{3} : 2$, typical of the pre-Romanesque style. On the western side, the nave was subsequently prolonged by adding a narrow room in the shape of an irregular trapezium.

Dated to the same time are two graves dug just next to the two pre-Romanesque churches: Grave 71 next to the first church and Grave 67 next to the second. Analysis of floor plans and written sources demonstrates that Grave 71 was dug and used first; it was later exhumed and filled, the only evidence of burial being extremely tiny fragments of human bones. There followed the digging of the pit for Grave 67 about half a metre to the south, which caused a cut into the northern part of the then already emptied and filled Grave 71. These two graves are the only ones with sand recorded in their fills. The deceased in Grave 67 was the only one in the entire cemetery buried with hands on chest, i.e. clasped in prayer. The position of the two graves is particularly telling: the earlier (71) lay immediately outside the earlier church, the latter immediately outside the later pre-Romanesque church, while both were in the most likely position for their respective entrances (*Fig. 4.6*; also Šribar 1972, 391). Both were covered by mortar pavement, which contained in its lower part many fragments of pottery and animal bones (see Chapter 4.3). This means that the pavement directly covered the remains of an activity that happened just after the filling of Grave 67 or soon after and included food manipulation. There is evidence for such activities in medieval written sources (Fry 1999, 93–94), the term used being *funerary feast* (for the expression, see Makarovič 1995, 152).

These two graves differ from all others on Bled Island by the sand in the grave fill, the position of the hands, the remains of a funerary feast and the position under the threshold.

The same pattern is repeated by Grave 118 from stratigraphic Phase 3: it is carved into the bedrock under the threshold of the Romanesque church, it exhibits the traces of several subsequent burials and it is covered by mortar pavement (*cf.* Šribar 1966a, 173–174, 228). Šribar (1966, 231) concluded that this grave had to be related

Pokope odraslih oseb na vidnem mestu tik pred cerkvenim vhodom omenjata irska srednjeveška pisna vira, prvi o življenju sv. Senána iz Scatteryja in drugi o pokopu kraljevega sina Magnusa leta 1244.[1] Slednji ima več za nas zanimivih elementov:
– dejstvo, da so kroniki posebej omenili lego *zunaj cerkvenega praga*, je dokaz, da je imela ta lega poseben pomen;
– v času pokopa je bila cerkev oskrunjena, kar je bil morda vzrok, da grob ni bil postavljen v cerkev;
– pokojni je umrl v napadu na dotično cerkev, s katero je bil torej neposredno povezan.

Podobne primere poznamo tudi iz merovinške Evrope (Effros 2003, 212) in zgodnjesrednjeveške Anglije (Kjølbye-Biddle 1975, 101).[2] Na podlagi analize virov je opisane pokope mogoče razumeti kot pokope posebnega pomena, ki imajo tudi *obrambno* vlogo: pogrebci so morda verjeli, da bo tak grob odganjal nasprotnike ali cerkvi zagotovil določeno zaščito (Fry 1999, 170–171).

Na podlagi te primerjave pokope tik pred vsakokratnim vhodom v cerkev na Blejskem otoku razumemo kot pokope posebnega pomena. Starejša sta po prestižu enakovredna pokopom znotraj cerkve oziroma nadomeščata za ta čas običajnejše pokope v cerkvi (glej zgoraj). Sodeč po irski analogiji, bi lahko sklepali, da cerkev na Blejskem otoku ni bila (pravilno?) posvečena, kot ni bila posvečena leška lesena cerkev sv. Marije Vnebovzete še sredi 12. stoletja (glej pogl. 8.1).

V vsakem primeru se zdi zelo verjetno, da so pogrebci verjeli, da bodo ti pokopi vsakokratni cerkvi zagotovili določeno zaščito. Grobovi so bili jasno označeni in tudi večkrat odprti, kar dokazuje dolgotrajno zavedanje o pomenu teh grobov. Vendar je bila, drugače kot v irskih primerih, lega pomembnejša od pokojnika. Ob vsakem premiku cerkvenega vhoda je nastal nov grob z istimi lastnostmi, tretji vsaj stoletje za prvim. Šlo je torej za dolgotrajno tradicijo in ne za enkratno dejanje ob izjemnem dogodku.

Interpretacijo grobov tik pred vhodom v cerkev, kot je podana zgoraj, označujemo z izrazom čuvar vhoda.

CERKVENI GROBOVI V ROMANSKI CERKVI

Okvirno med letoma 1080 in 1140, morda zidana v 3. in 4. desetletju 12. stoletja, je bila namesto lesene postavljena kamnita cerkev v romanskem arhitekturnem slogu, ki jo tu imenujemo *romanska* cerkev faze 3. Najbolj neposredno povezan z njo je grob 120 v sredinski osi apside tik vzhodno od oltarja. V zgodnjem in visokem srednjem veku je bilo pokopavanje v cerkvi dovoljeno le za škofe, menihe, izjemne župnike ter izjemno pobožne laike. V praksi so med slednje sodili predvsem

[1] Vire navaja Fry 1999, 170–171.

[2] Za podatek se zahvaljujem J. Rihterju.

to the functionality of the south-western entrance to the church.

The listed graves (67, 71, 118) thus share the following specific elements:
– the grave is not part of the contemporary cemetery, instead being directly related only to the contemporary church building;
– position just in front of the entrance;
– elements of ritual actions in the process of filling the grave (pottery and animal bones);
– the position of the grave is marked, the only patch of mortar pavement being outside the church building; and
– multiple manipulations with the remains of the body (exhumation of the body).

Burials of adults in prominent places in front of church entrances are mentioned by two Irish medieval written sources, the first on the life of St Senán of Scattery and the second on the burial of the king's son Magnus in 1244.[2] The latter contains several elements that are interesting in our case:
– the fact that the chronicles especially mentioned the position outside the church threshold proves that this position held special significance;
– at the time of the burial the church had been desecrated, which might be the reason for why the grave was not placed inside the church;
– the deceased died during an attack on the church and therefore had a direct connection with it.

Similar burials are known from Merovingian Europe (Effros 2003, 212) and Early Medieval England (Kjølbye-Biddle 1975, 101).[3] Based on the analysis of sources, the above-described burials can be understood as burials of special significance, which also had a *defensive* role: the mourners might have believed that such a grave would repel enemies or provide some protection to the church (Fry 1999, 170–171).

On the basis of these analogies, the burials near the entrances to the church on Bled Island can be understood as burials with special meaning. The earlier two graves had no less prestigious positions as the burials inside the church and they might have been replacements for what at the time would have been more common burials inside the church (see above). Judging by the Irish analogy, it could be assumed that the church on Bled Island was not (correctly?) consecrated, just like the wooden church of St Mary of the Assumption in Lesce was not (correctly?) consecrated as late as the middle of the 12th century (see Chapter 8.1).

In any case, it seems very likely that the church-goers believed that these burials would provide additional protection to the church. The graves were clearly marked

[2] Sources listed by Fry 1999, 170–171

[3] The author would like to thank J. Rihter for the information

ustanovitelji cerkve. Pokopi v cerkvi so bili omejeni na prostor pred korom, portikus in okoli oltarja (Fry 1999, 169–170; Hartmann 2003, 137–138; Schlokmann 2003, 204; Krznar 2012, 26), kot naroča Theodolfus iz Orleansa (+ 818) v 9. stoletju:

> *Prohibendum etiam secundum maiorum instituta, ut in ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio aut in porticu aut exedra ecclesiae. Infra ecclesiam vero autprope altare, ubi corpus domini et sanguis conficitur, nullatenus habeat licentiam sepeliendi.*[3]

Theodolfusovo besedilo je v praksi veljalo še vsaj v začetku 11. stoletja, ko ga je v svoje delo vključil Burchard iz Wormsa (Hartmann 2002, 134). Lega vzhodno od oltarja je najprestižnejša lega pokopa v srednjem veku nasploh (Hartmann 2003, 134; Pedersen 2003, 172; Scholkmann 2003, 206–210; Wemhoff 2003, 102–103; Kenzler 2015, 150). Pravila pokopavanja v cerkvi so se v poznem srednjem in predvsem v novem veku zrahljala, vendar je neposredna bližina oltarja obveljala za najprestižnejše mesto (Rodwell 1989, 153–160; Scholkmann 2002, 212–217).

O izjemnosti lege tik ob oltarju priča Beda Venerabilis v zgodbi o pokopu irskega svetnika po imenu Furseus. Njegovo truplo je prvih 27 dni ležalo v cerkvenem portiku; ko so ga hoteli pokopati blizu oltarja, so odkrili, da se telo ni začelo razkrajati; po 4 letih so še vedno brezmadežno truplo prenesli v novozgrajeno cerkev, da ga pokopljejo vzhodno od oltarja (Miller 1999, 99). Zgodba priča, da je bila Sv. Furseusu lega blizu oltarju namenjena kot častitljivemu misijonarju; ko je nerazkrajanje telesa pokazalo, da gre za svetnika, so zgradili novo cerkev, da bi ga lahko pokopali tik vzhodno od oltarja. Za interpretacijo groba 120 je torej pomembno dejstvo, da je vsak pokop v bližini oltarja izjemen, pokop vzhodno od oltarja pa je edinstven, saj je v vsaki cerkvi prostora le za en tak grob.

Glede na zgornji opis bi torej v grobu 120 pričakovali klerika izjemnega statusa. Vendar je bil v ta grob položen otrok. Grob je torej izjemen ne le za Blejski otok, temveč širše, izjemen za evropski srednji vek.

Podobno neposredno povezan s cerkveno stavbo je grob 118, ki smo ga interpretirali kot čuvar vhoda (glej zgoraj). Kakšen je bil kronološki odnos tega groba 118 do groba 120, ne vemo, niti z uporabo trenutno znanih metod ne bomo nikoli izvedeli. Morda gre za element kontinuitete med *predromansko* fazo 2 in *romansko* fazo 3, pri čemer grob čuvarja vhoda (št. 118) pomeni odmev stare tradicije, grob 120 pa začetek nove tradicije.

Stratigrafsko sočasni in prostorsko protistavni grobu 120 so grobovi, ki so ležali z nogami tik ob zahodni steni *romanske* cerkve (faza 3). Gre za skupino (*sl. 4.2:* G4) 24 grobov z vsaj 42 pokojniki. Lega grobišča v strnjeni skupini zahodno od sočasne cerkvene stavbe ni običajna. Srednjeveška grobišča ob cerkvah so namreč

[3] Capit. I.11.

and several times opened, offering evidence of prolonged awareness of the significance of these graves. However, unlike the Irish examples, the positions were more important than the deceased. Every time the church entrance was moved, a new grave with the same characteristics was created, the third more than a century after the first. This was therefore a long-lasting tradition, not a one-time action after an exceptional event. The above interpretation of the graves in front of church entrances can be referred to as *the guardians of the entrance.*

CHURCH GRAVES IN THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH

Roughly between 1080 and 1140 and perhaps constructed in the third and fourth decades of the 12th century, the stone church in the Romanesque architectural style, here referred to as the *Romanesque* church of Phase 3, replaced the wooden church. The grave with the most direct connection to this church is Grave 120 in the central axis of the apse, east of the altar. In the Early and High Middle Ages, burials inside the church were only permitted for bishops, monks, exceptional parish priests and very pious laymen. In practice, the latter mostly included the founders of churches. Burials in churches were limited to the area in front of the portico and around the altar (Fry 1999, 169–170; Hartmann 2003, 137–138; Schlokmann 2003, 204; Krznar 2012, 26), as ordered by Theodulf of Orleans (+ 818) in the 9th century:

> *Prohibendum etiam secundum maiorum instituta, ut in ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio aut in porticu aut exedra ecclesiae. Infra ecclesiam vero autprope altare, ubi corpus domini et sanguis conficitur, nullatenus habeat licentiam sepeliendi.*[4]

In practice, Theoduf's text was observed at least as late as the beginning of the 11th century, when it was incorporated in the work of Burchard of Worms (Hartmann 2002, 134). The position east of the altar was the most prestigious burial position in the Middle Ages in general (Hartmann 2003, 134; Pedersen 2003, 172; Scholkmann 2003, 206–210; Wemhoff 2003, 102–103; Kenzler 2015, 150). In the Late Middle Ages and even more so in the post-Medieval period, the rules for church burials became loose, but the immediate proximity of the altar was still the most esteemed position (Rodwell 1989, 153–160; Scholkmann 2002, 212–217).

The exceptional character of the position next to the altar is reported by Bede the Venerable in the story of Fursey, an Irish saint. For the first 27 days, his body lay in the church portico; when people wanted to bury him close to the altar, they discovered that the body had not started to decompose and after four years, still spotless, they brought

[4] Capit. I.11.

najpogosteje razprostranjena okoli cerkve (npr. Predovnik, Dacar, Lavrinc 2008), najprestižnejše lokacije pa so v bližini oltarja, torej vzhodno od cerkve, in ob cerkvenem vhodu, v tem primeru južno. Lege ni mogoče pojasniti z razgibano geomorfologijo, saj so grobovi vklesani v skalno osnovo, kar bi bilo mogoče narediti kjerkoli. Lokacija grobišča je bila tako najverjetneje omejena na majhen prostor zaradi drugih dejavnikov. Ena možnost je, da so grobovi že v fazi 2b ležali v predprostoru, t. i. portiku (*porticus*; prim. Sorries 2003, 35).

Je pa zato bolj izpovedna struktura grobišča. Za grobove (št. 79–89, 92–96, 101–107, B04, B05) skupine G4 so značilne globoke, deloma v živo skalo vklesane grobne jame s številnimi ponovnimi pokopi. Gre za 6 sočasnih grobnih parcel, od katerih sta bili dve namenjeni dvojnim grobovom. Poleg teh je na severnem robu še starejši grob, ki ga prekrivata najsevernejši grobni parceli, na južnem robu pa je bilo ob koncu grobišče razširjeno z dodatnim grobom (*sl. 6.2*). Ob ponovnem pokopavanju so večino kosti predhodnih trupel uničili, le lobanje v dveh grobovih (št. 82, 93) se zdijo skrbno zložene ob rob. Ob pokopavanju so večkrat posegali tudi v sosednje grobove (npr. št. 102 in 103 ali št. 90, 107, 94).

Z izjemo prstana popolna odsotnost najdb v grobovih na eni strani in uniformna lega rok v naročju na drugi strani pričata, da so bila trupla najverjetneje zavita v mrtvaški prt. Med najdbami tudi ni igel, kar pomeni, da so bili prti bodisi zašiti bodisi zvezani (prim. Daniell 1997, 38–39, 45, 109 in 155).

Obstaja še druga možnost priprave trupla pokojnika za pokop, ki bi zapustila enake arheološke sledi, namreč oblačenje trupla meniha, kot ga opisuje Lanfranc (+ 1089) v svojih monastičnih navodilih:

> ... komornik naj bo prisoten s pogrebnimi oblačili prave vrste in z iglo za šivanje ... Ko je (truplo) oprano, naj bo zavito v novo ali sveže oprano srajco in kuto; kapuca iz lana in volne, ki sodi h kuti, naj bo poveznjena prek tega in prišita z nitjo na treh mestih. Golenice iz istega materiala, segajoč do kolen, naj bodo nadete in nočni čevlji obuti. **Roke naj bodo zašite skupaj od nadlakti do nadlakti** in okrog nog takisto. Nočni čevlji naj bodo tudi zašiti skupaj. Tako opravljeno naj bo truplo položeno na voz in pokrito z mrtvaškim prtom.[4]

Vendar ni verjetno, da bi bili laiki pripravljeni za pogreb enako kot menihi (Fry 1999, 126). Pokojniki z Blejskega otoka so bili torej verjetneje zaviti v mrtvaški prt, vendar po strogo določenem pravilu, ki je predvideval tudi manipulacijo drže rok.

Našteto priča, da gre za grobnice zelo majhne, a ortodoksne in konservativne populacije. Pogreb na tem delu grobišča si lahko predstavljamo zelo podobno

[4] Prevod iz angleščine po Fry 1999, 125; poudaril B. Š.

it to a newly built church to be buried east of the altar (Miller 1999, 99). The story shows that St Fursey, a venerable missionary, was going to be buried in the proximity of the altar, but when his body would not decompose – indicating a saint – a new church was built so that he could be buried immediately east of the altar. It is therefore an important fact for the interpretation of Grave 120 that each burial in the proximity of the altar is exceptional, while a burial east of the altar is unique, as there is space for only one such grave in each church. Consequently, a cleric of exceptionally high status should be expected in Grave 120. However, it was a child who was put in this grave. This renders the grave unique, not only on Bled Island, but in the wider context of the European Middle Ages.

Grave 118, interpreted as the guardian of the entrance (see above), has a similar direct connection to the church building. The chronological relationship of this grave (118) and Grave 120 is unknown and may remain unknown unless some new, currently unknown methods are used. Perhaps this is an element of continuity between the pre-Romanesque Phase 2 and the Romanesque Phase 3, with the grave of the guardian of the entrance (118) being a reflection of the old tradition and Grave 120 the beginning of a new tradition.

Stratigraphically contemporary and in antithetical position to Grave 120 are the graves with legs immediately next to the western wall of the Romanesque church (Phase 3). This is a group of 24 graves (*Fig. 4.2:* G4) with at least 42 deceased. A cemetery with graves in a compact group west of the contemporary church building is uncommon. Most often, Medieval cemeteries near churches extend around the church (e.g. Predovnik, Dacar, Lavrinc 2008), with the most prestigious locations being found in the proximity of the altar, i.e. east of the church or near the entrance, to the south in this case. This position cannot be explained by difficult geomorphology, for the graves are carved into the bedrock, possible anywhere. The location of the cemetery was most likely limited to a small space due to other factors. One possibility is that as early as in Phase 2b, graves lay in the anteroom in the so-called portico (*porticus*; *cf.* Sorries 2003, 35).

The structure of the cemetery offers us more information. The graves of the G4 group (79–89, 92–96, 101–107, B04, B05) are characterized by deep pits, partly carved into the bedrock, with numerous subsequent burials: a total of six contemporary grave plots, two of which were intended for double graves. In addition is one earlier grave at the northern edge and covered by the two northernmost grave plots and an additional grave added to the cemetery at the southern edge (*Fig. 6.2*). During the subsequent burials, most of the bones of the earlier skeletons were destroyed; only the skulls of two graves (82, 93) seem to have been carefully placed at the edge. Burials often interfered with the neighbouring graves (e.g. 102 and 103 or 90, 107 and 94).

The complete lack of finds in the graves (with the exception of one ring) on the one hand and the uniform

Sl. 8.4: Leicester (Velika Britanija), Wygstonova hiša, 18 Highcross Street: detajl panela slikanega okenskega stekla, 1490–1500: Prizor pokopa v mrliški prt zavitega pokojnika; v spodnjem delu so poleg značilne srednjeveške okovane lesene lopate dolge kosti, verjetno človeške. Upodobitev le-teh jasno izraža ravnodušnost do kosti, in s tem do popolnoma razkrojenih trupel, na srednjeveških grobiščih.
Fig. 8.4: Leicester (UK), Wygston house, 18 Highcross Street: detail of the painted window panel glass, 1490–1500: Burial scene, at the bottom scattered beside a typical medieval wooden spade are long bones, most likely human. Inclusion of the latter in the depiction is a clear indication of indifference towards human bones in a medieval cemetery
(vir / source: https://www.storyofleicester.info/a-place-to-live/wygston-s-house/; window panel is housed in the Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester).

angleški upodobitvi iz konca 15. stoletja (*sl. 8.4*; prim. Hamilton 1980).

Oseminštiridest posameznikov v vsaj 6 generacijah pomeni, da je bilo v povprečju pokopanih 8 pokojnikov na generacijo. Toliko je tudi prostora v 4 enojnih in 2 dvojnih grobnicah. To je vsaj pol manj ljudi na generacijo kot na zgodnjesrednjeveškem grobišču (glej zgoraj), kar je jasen dokaz, da ne gre za isto populacijo. Je pa to število skladno s številom članov razširjene družine ali druge manjše družbene celice, v kateri so enakovredno zastopani moški, ženske in otroci.

Celotno grobišče torej glede na kontinuirano uporabo skoraj 2 stoletji, enakomerno število pokojnikov v vsaki generaciji, uravnoteženo spolno in starostno strukturo ter izjemno lokacijo pri otoški cerkvi lahko razumemo kot grobnico družbene celice, ki je bila v najtesnejši povezavi z briksenskimi škofi.

V isto stratigrafsko fazo sodi še nehomogena skupina 6 grobov, katerih lega je tako ali drugače vezana na

position of hands in the lap on the other provide evidence that the bodies were probably wrapped in a burial shroud. There are no pins, which means the shrouds were either sewn or tied together (*cf.* Daniell 1997, 38–39, 45, 109 and 155).

There is another possibility for the preparation of the body of the deceased for the funeral that would leave the same archaeological traces: the dressing the body of a monk, as described by Lanfranc (+ 1089) in his monastic guidelines:

> The chamberlain should be present with grave-clothes of the right kind and thread and a needle for sewing… When it is (the corpse) washed, shall be clad in a new shirt, or one newly washed, and a cowl; a head-cloth of linsey-wolsey belonging to the cowl shall be brought over this and attached in three places with thread. Gaiters of the same material reaching to the knees shall be put on the legs and night shoes on feet. **The hands shall be sewn together from arm to arm**, and round the legs likewise. So dressed, the corpse shall be set in the hearse and covered with a pall.[5]

It is not likely, however, that laymen were prepared for funeral in the same way as monks (Fry 1999, 126). The deceased from Bled Island were most likely wrapped in a funerary shroud, respecting the strict rule that included the manipulation of the arms position.

All this testifies to the fact that these were the tombs of a very small yet orthodox and conservative population. A funeral in this part of the cemetery may be imagined as very similar to an English depiction from late 1400s (*Fig. 8.4*; *cf.* Hamilton 1980).

Forty-eight individuals in at least six generations means that on average, eight deceased per generation were buried. This corresponds to the available space in four single and two double tombs. Compared to the Early Medieval cemetery (see above), this is half the number of people per generation, a clear indication that the population was not the same. Nevertheless, the number corresponds to the number of members of one extended family or a similar small social group, in which men, women and children were equally represented.

Based on the continuous use over almost two centuries, the even number of the deceased in every generation, the balanced gender and age structure and the exceptional location near the island church, the entire cemetery can be understood as the tomb of a social group with a very close connection to the bishops of Brixen.

The same stratigraphic phase includes a non-homogeneous group of six graves, whose positions are in one way or another related to the Romanesque church of Phase 3. Some of the graves are located in the south-

[5] Translation after Fry 1999, 125; emphasis by author.

romansko cerkev faze 3. Del grobov leži v jugovzhodnem delu sočasne stavbe, drugi del zunaj tik južno od apside.

Grobovi (št. 65, 66, 68, B05, B04) v romanski cerkveni ladji so bili večinoma močno poškodovani z gradbenimi posegi v *gotski* fazi 4. Izjema je grob 65, katerega jama je bila umetelno vklesana v živo skalo. Podoben je bil sosednji grob (št. 66) in oba skupaj lahko opišemo kot grobnici v bližini oltarja. Drugačen je kontekst, označen kot grob 109, zunaj romanske cerkve, tik južno ob apsidi. Jama je bila vkopana v dolomitno osnovo, na severu omejena z živo skalo. V zasutju so bile številne kosti iz prekopanih grobov, pod njimi je na dnu jame ležalo okostje v prvotni legi. Južno je bil še vsaj en grob, ki pa ni bil izkopan. Grobovi so bili močno poškodovani ob gradnji tako imenovane male zakristije in že prej ob gradnji *gotske* cerkve v fazi 4.

Arheoloških podatkov, ki bi omogočali neposredno kronološko opredelitev teh grobov, ni. Edini element za časovno umestitev je stratigrafska povezava z romansko cerkvijo. O teh grobovih lahko torej zapišemo le, da gre za visokosrednjeveške pokope na prestižnih mestih v cerkvi ali zunaj tik ob njej. Glede na majhno število grobov in glede na lego ne moremo govoriti o ločenem grobišču ali delu grobišča, temveč o posameznih grobovih. Sodeč po analogijah iz srednjeveških virov, bi grobovi v cerkvi lahko pripadali pomembnim cerkvenim veljakom, grobovi tik izven cerkve pa zaslužnim laikov, ki so si častno mesto pridobili kot izjemni donatorji (prim. Fry 1999, 170). Donatorji proštiji na Blejskem otoku so postali številčni v 2. polovici 12. stoletja (glej pogl. 8.1).

Vsi grobovi te faze so torej neposredno povezani s cerkveno stavbo in Cerkvijo ter jih za potrebe pričujočega besedila imenujemo *cerkveni grobovi*.

POZNOSREDNJEVEŠKI IN NOVOVEŠKI CERKVENI GROBOVI

Večino ostalih srednjeveških grobov sestavlja nekoliko manj homogena skupina 6 grobov, katerih lega je tako ali drugače vezana na romansko cerkev 3. faze. Del grobov leži v jugovzhodnem delu sočasne stavbe, drugi del zunaj tik južno od apside.

Pet grobov (št. 90, 91, 98–100) je bilo vkopanih ob južni steni gotske cerkve faze 4. Gre za grobni jami, v katerih je bilo zaporedno pokopanih najmanj 11 pokojnikov. Stratigrafsko ti grobovi jasno sodijo v fazo 4 in so sočasni cerkveni stavbi, grajeni v gotskem slogu. Stratigrafsko sočasen je še grob 119, ki leži osamljen ob zunanji južni steni portika. Glede na usmeritev sklepamo, da je bil obeležen z nagrobnikom, vgrajenim v cerkveni zid. Tudi v tem primeru gre za *cerkvene grobove*, morda zaslužnih laikov.

Grobova 69 in 70 ležita pod korom v severozahodnem delu cerkvene ladje. Gre za novoveška grobova, ki sta mlajša od zadnje obnovitve kamnitih tal v cerkveni

eastern part of the contemporary building, while others are outside, just south of the apse.

The graves (65, 66, 68, B05, B04) in the Romanesque church nave were generally badly damaged by the constructions in the Gothic Phase 4. An exception is Grave 65, whose pit was carved into the bedrock. Similar is true of the neighbouring Grave 66 and both can be described as tombs in the proximity of the altar. Grave 109 is located outside the Romanesque church, immediately south of the apse. The pit was dug into the dolomite base, to the north limited by the bedrock. The fill contained numerous bones from exhumed graves and, underneath at the bottom of the pit, a skeleton in the original position. At least one further unexcavated grave lay to the south of it and was badly damaged during the construction of the so-called small vestry.

There are no archaeological data available to enable the direct dating of these graves. The only element that can help with the dating is the stratigraphic connection with the Romanesque church. The sole thing that can be said about these graves is that they are High Medieval burials in prestigious locations within, outside or immediately next to the church. Judging by the small number of graves and by their positions, this is not a separate cemetery or a separate part of a cemetery, but individual graves. Judging by analogies from medieval sources, the graves inside the church may belong to important ecclesiastical personages, while the graves outside (just next to the church) belong to worthy laymen who earned honorary positions as exceptional donors (*cf.* Fry 1999, 170). Donors to the Bled Island provostry became numerous in the second half of the 12th century (see Chapter 8.1).

All the graves of this phase are directly related to the church building and the Church and for the purposes of this text shall be labelled as *church graves*.

LATE MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL CHURCH GRAVES

The majority of the remaining medieval graves are represented by a slightly less homogeneous group of six graves, whose positions are in one way or another connected to the Romanesque church of Phase 3. Some of the graves lie in the south-eastern part of the contemporary building, while others are outside, just south of the apse.

Five graves (90, 91, 98–100) containing remains of at least 11 individuals were dug next to the southern wall of the Gothic church of Phase 4. Stratigraphically, these graves clearly belong to Phase 4 and are contemporary to the church building constructed in the Gothic style. Stratigraphically contemporary is the solitary Grave 119 located alone near the exterior side of the southern wall of the portico. Its orientation leads to the assumption that it was marked with a tombstone built into the church wall. These graves are also *church graves*, perhaps belonging to worthy laymen.

ladji (pred arheološkimi izkopavanji leta 1972). Tudi v tem primeru gre za *cerkvena grobova*.

8.2. SKLEP

Znanstveni vprašanji, na kateri odgovarjamo v tem delu knjige, sta morebiten obstoj predkrščanskega templja na Blejskem otoku in – v neposredni povezavi s tem – kronologija cerkva.

Sklenemo lahko, da je bil na Blejskem otoku nadlokalen predkrščanski objekt češčenja studenec. Sodeč po primerjavah v pisnih virih, je bil studenec obkrožen z gajem ali vsaj v senci drevesa. Vegetacija na otoku in s tem podoba otoka s kopnega je bila verjetno podobna današnji, če odmislimo dominantno cerkev in stopnišče (*sl. 3.10*). S studencem je bilo obredno povezano bližnje mesto, ki je bilo v 10. st. označeno s kamnom. Neposrednih arheoloških podatkov o tem, kdaj je bilo takšno stanje vzpostavljeno, nimamo. Edini indic o starosti je jama pod omenjenim kamnom, vklesana v živo skalo in obkrožena s prazgodovinsko lončenino ter sekiro iz glajenega kamna. S precejšnjo verjetnostjo torej lahko domnevamo, da je bil ta del Blejskega otoka kraj posebnega pomena že pred 10. st., morda že v prazgodovini.

V začetku 10. st. je nekako na sredini med opisanima mestoma majhna skupnost začela pokopavati svoje mrtve. Grobišče so sprva uredili tako, da so ga simbolno povezali s češčenim studencem na otoku ter tudi z osrednjim mestom sveta mrtvih v zgodnjesrednjeveški pokrajini Blejskega kota, s kresiščem na Višelnici. Arheološka sled obeh povezav je osrediščena v verjetno najpomembnejšem zgodnjesrednjeveškem grobu (št. 72) na Blejskem otoku. Pokojnik v njem je pokopan z nogami tik ob omenjeni kamen, grob pa je usmerjen bočno na kresišče Višelnica. Druge arheološke sledi te povezave so skrbno določena mesta 3 pokopov 1. pokolenja in ognjišče, kjer je ogenj gorel med vsaj nekaterimi pogrebi. Že naslednja generacija, in vse naslednje, je pokopavala po drugačnih pravilih: grobove so postavljali v vrste in pri nekaterih so izkazali precejšnje astronomsko znanje, saj so jih usmerili proti kardinalnemu vzhodu. Zadnji grob na tem grobišču je bil skopan v 1. desetletju 11. stoletja. Pokojnica je bila v grob položena z značilnim nakitom, a grob je bil že usmerjen enako kot prva cerkev. Gre torej za biritualen pokop, ki hkrati upošteva dve tradiciji.

V prvem desetletju 11. stoletja, verjetno po formalnem prevzemu posesti s strani briksenskih škofov leta 1004, je bila na otoku zgrajena lesena cerkvica, posvečena Mariji Vnebovzeti. Lokacija je bila skrbno izbrana tako, da je kar najbolje prevzela funkcijo predhodnega mesta češčenja s kamnom. Takšna izbira lokacije v ničemer ni naključna in se popolnoma ujema s tedanjim pristopom k pokristjanjevanju predkrščanskih svetih mest s studenci. Cerkvici je dodatno simbolno zaščito zagotavljal pokop pod vhodnim pragom, čuvar vhoda.

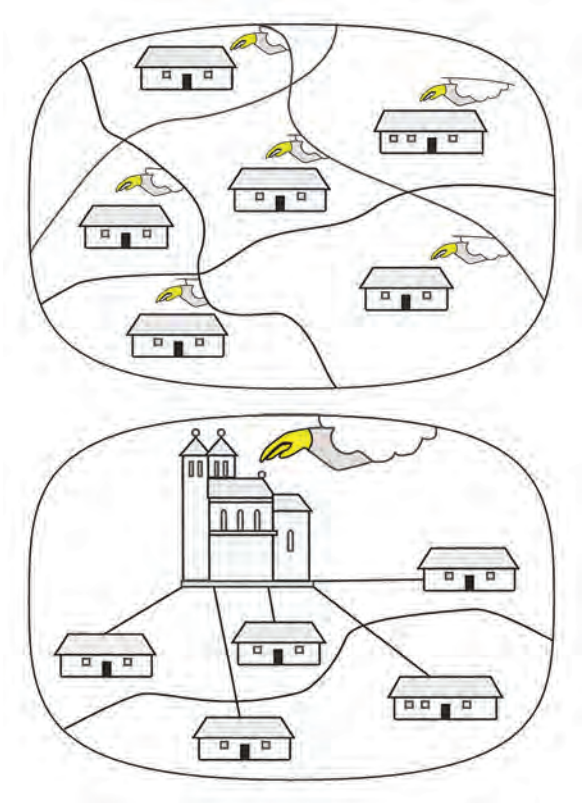
Two graves (69 and 70) lie under the western gallery in the north-western part of the nave. They are post-Medieval graves, later than the last reconstruction of the stone floor in the nave (before the archaeological excavations in 1972). These, too, are *church graves*.

8.2 CONCLUSION

Two key scientific questions have been asked in this part of the book: Did a pre-Christian sanctuary exist on Bled Island? What was the chronology of the churches?

It can be concluded that the supra-local object of a pre-Christian worship on Bled Island was a spring. Judging by the analogies from written sources, the spring was surrounded by a grove or was at least situated in the shadow of a tree. The vegetation on the island and the appearance of the island as viewed from the land was probably similar to what it is today, but without the dominant church and staircase (*Fig. 3.10*). Ritually connected to the spring was a nearby location, in the 10th century marked with a rock. There are no direct archaeological data available on when this situation was established. The sole chronological indication is a pit under the stone, carved into the bedrock and surrounded by prehistoric pottery and an axe with a polished surface. Therefore, it may be quite safely assumed that this part of Bled Island held special significance even before the 10th century and perhaps already in the prehistoric period.

At the beginning of the 10th century, a small community started to bury their dead approximately in between these two locations. The original organization of the cemetery connected it symbolically to the spring that was worshipped on the island as well as with the central location of the world of the dead in the Early Medieval landscape of the Bled area, the Višelnica bonfire site. The archaeological traces of the two connections are concentrated in what is probably the most important Early Medieval grave (72) on Bled Island. The deceased here is buried with legs immediately next to the above-mentioned stone and the grave is oriented with its side to the Višelnica bonfire site. Other archaeological traces of this connection are the carefully chosen locations of three burials of the first generation and the fireplace, where the fire burned during at least some of the funerals. Already the next generation – as well as all the following generations – buried their dead in accordance with different rules: the graves were arranged in rows, some indicating considerable astronomical knowledge, being oriented towards true east. The last grave in this cemetery was dug in the first decade of the 11th century. The deceased woman was put in the grave with typical jewellery, but the orientation of the grave already corresponded to the orientation of the first church. The grave is therefore a mixed-rite burial, adhering to two different traditions simultaneously.



Sl. 8.5: Shematski prikaz razlike med centralnostjo v predkrščanskem (zgoraj) in krščanskem (spodaj) obdobju. V predkrščanskem kozmosu je središče sveta kmetija oziroma prosto dostopno mesto posebnega pomena in noben kraj ne more postati pomebnejši od ostalih. V krščanskem kozmosu je bog pomembnejši od vsakogar in vsega in zato cerkev postane najpomembnejše mesto v pokrajini, dostop pa nadzorujejo lokalni predstavniki Cerkve (avtor B. Štular; vir: Fabech 1999, fig. 12).
Fig. 8.5: Illustration of differences in centrality between the pre-Christian (above) and the Christian (below) landscape. In the pre-Christian cosmos, the farm was a nodal point that included direct access to the gods and no site ranged in principle above the others. In the Christian cosmos, God is placed above everyone and everything. Christianity thus legitimized the concentration of power in fewer sites and churches. Church representatives controlled the access to these sites and by extension to God (by B. Štular; source: Fabech 1999, Fig. 12).

Kljub navidezni skromnosti je bilo v gradnjo stavbe vloženo tedaj vrhunsko arhitekturno in astronomsko znanje. Usmeritev cerkve proti sončnemu vzhodu na dan Marijinega vnebovzetja je materialna sled izrazite razlike med predkrščanskim in krščanskim modelom umeščanja religioznih objektov v prostor. Predkrščanski model je mnogocentričen in temelji na čim številčnejših neposrednih povezavah z božjim; to je bilo v primeru Blejskega otoka v zgodnjem srednjem veku konkretizirano s simbolno navezavo grobišča na češčen studenec na širšo grobiščno pokrajino. Krščanski model povezavo z Bogom monopolizira in osredišči v cerkvi; cerkev ni navezana na nobeno drugo mesto v pokrajini, le simbolno neposredno z Božjim. A te neposredne povezave so deležni le udeleženci bogoslužja v cerkveni stavbi, dostop h kateremu pa neposredno nadzoruje Cerkev. S tem je krščanstvo legitimiziralo koncentracijo moči (*sl. 8.5*; prim. Fabech 1999, 469–470). Udejanjenje tega na Blejskem otoku je astronomska orientacija cerkve glede na sončni vzhod na praznik Marijinega vnebovzetja.

Že po nekaj desetletjih so prvotno cerkvico podrli in jo nadomestili z nekoliko večjo in nekoliko imenitneje zgrajeno stavbo, ki je bila še vedno vsaj deloma lesena. Tudi to je ščitil nov čuvar vhoda. Zahodno od cerkve, v senci sončnega vzhoda na dan Marijinega vnebovzetja, je svoje mrtve začela pokopavati zelo majhna, spolno in starostno mešana skupnost. Skupnost je bila ortodoksna in konservativna, kar se izraža v doslednem upoštevanju

In the first decade of the 11th century, probably after the formal adoption of the property from the bishops of Brixen in 1004, a small wooden church dedicated to St Mary of the Assumption was built on the island. The location was carefully chosen so that it would assume the function of the previous site of worship with the rock. The selection of the location was by no means coincidental and was perfectly in accordance with the common approach of the time to the Christianization of pre-Christian sacred sites with springs. A burial under the threshold, the guardian of the entrance, provided symbolic protection to the church.

Despite its apparent modesty, some state-of-the-art architectural and astronomical knowledge for the time was involved in the construction of the church. Orientation towards the sunrise on the day of the Assumption is a material trace of the marked difference between the pre-Christian and the Christian models of placing religious objects in space. The pre-Christian model is multi-centric and is based on as many direct links to the Divine as possible. In the case of Bled Island in the Early Middle Ages, this was expressed by connecting the cemetery to the worshipped spring and the wider mortuary landscape. In the Christian model, the connection to God is monopolized and centralized in a church; the church is not connected to any location in the landscape but symbolically directly to the Divine. However, this direct connection only pertained to participants of worship in the church building, access to which was directly controlled by the Church. In this way, Christianity legitimized the concentration of power (*Fig. 8.5*; *cf.* Fabech 1999, 469–470). The realization of this on Bled Island was the astronomical orientation of the church in accordance with the sunrise on the day of the Assumption.

istih navodil za krščanski pogreb skozi skoraj dve stoletji. Naštete lastnosti in izjemnost lokacije grobišča na otoku to skupnost uvrščajo v krog ljudi, ki so bili vključeni v upravno-obrambni aparat gospoščine škofov iz Briksna.

Po skoraj stoletju, morda v 2. desetletju 12. stoletja, so leseno cerkev podrli in začeli zidati novo iz kamna. Šlo je za razmeroma ambiciozno romansko arhitekturo z več kot trikrat večjo površino od predhodnice, ki je popolnoma spremenila gabarit Blejskega otoka: prej otok s cerkvico ob studencu v gaju, sedaj cerkev na otoku. Tik vzhodno od oltarja, najsvetejšega mesta v krščanskem svetu, običajno rezerviranega za svetnike ali vsaj škofe, so v novi cerkvi pokopali neodraslo osebo. Kontinuiteto s starim vendarle kažeta pokop še tretjega čuvarja vhoda in nadaljevanje pokopavanja zahodno od cerkve.

Arheološke datacije se dobro ujemajo z interpretacijami zgodovinarjev, ki izpostavljajo darovnico iz leta 1004 in posvetitev *neke* cerkve leta 1142. Vendar je treba opozoriti, da zaradi odličnega kronološkega ujemanja arheoloških in zgodovinopisnih interpretacij nobena ne postane trdnejša. Ker interpretacije temeljijo na popolnoma različnih virih, ostajajo ločene, vsaka trdna toliko kot argumenti, na katerih je bila zgrajena.

After only a few decades, the original wooden church was demolished and replaced by a slightly larger and finer building, which was nevertheless at least partly made of wood. This church was also protected by the guardian of the entrance. To the west of the church, in the shadow of the sunrise on the day of the Assumption, a very small community of mixed gender and age began to bury their dead. The community was orthodox and conservative, reflected in their strict adherence to the same rules for Christian burial over almost two centuries. These qualities and the exceptional location of the island cemetery placed the community within the circle of people included in the administrative and defensive apparatus of the bishops of Brixen.

After almost a hundred years, perhaps in the second decade of the 12th century, the wooden church was demolished and the construction of a new stone church began. This was relatively ambitious Romanesque architecture with a surface area more than three times greater than its predecessor, completely altering the image of Bled Island: what was before an island with a little church near a spring in a grove, became a church on an island. Immediately east of the altar, the most sacred place in the Christian world (which is usually reserved for saints or at least bishops), a non-adult person was buried in the new church. Continuity with the old was reflected in the burial of the third guardian of the entrance and the continued burials west of the church.

The archaeological dates correspond well with the interpretations of historians, who point to the deed of gift from 1004 and the consecration of a church in 1142. However, it is worth noting that an excellent degree of congruity between archaeological and historical interpretations does not render any of them more solid. Given that these interpretations are based on completely different sources, they remain separate, each only as solid as the arguments that support it.

9. BLEJSKI OTOK: ANTROPOLOŠKA ANALIZA

9. BLED ISLAND: ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXAMINATION

Petra LEBEN-SELJAK

Antropološka analiza okostij, izkopanih na Blejskem otoku v letih 1962–1965, je bila izdelana pred 25 leti po standardnih antroposkopskih in antropometričnih metodah (Martin, Saller 1957; Acsádi, Nemeskéri 1970; Chiarelli 1980; Krogman, İşcan 1986; İşcan, Kennedy 1989; Hauser, De Stefano 1989; Rogers, Waldron 1994; Hillson 1996). V okviru doktorske disertacije je bilo obdelanih 11 grobišč z Bleda in okolice (Leben-Seljak 1996): poleg Blejskega otoka še dve poznoantični nekropoli (Bled – Pristava I, Ajdna nad Potoki) in osem zgodnjesrednjeveških (Bled – Pristava II, Bled – Brdo, Bled – Grad, Žale pri Zasipu, Dlesc pri Bodeščah, Spodnje Gorje, Moste pri Žirovnici ter Smokuč).

Popis obdelanega skeletnega gradiva z Blejskega otoka je predstavljen v katalogu grobov (glej pogl. 9.7). Tu pa so povzeti glavni izsledki antropološke analize okostij iz tistih grobov, ki so bili po mnenju Vinka Šribarja zgodnjesrednjeveški: prva grobiščna skupina severno od cerkve (grobovi št. 1–64, po pomoti smo vključili tudi grob 65) ter druga grobiščna skupina na mestu današnje lope (grobovi št. 76–89, 92–96, 101–107). Prva ima v tej knjigi oznako grobiščna skupina G1 in je datirana med letoma 900 in 1010, druga skupina G4 je datirana okvirno med letoma 1030 in 1200.

9.1 ŠTEVILO SKELETOV

Za grobišče na Blejskem otoku so značilni razmeroma številni prekopi oziroma večkratna uporaba grobnih jam. Zaradi tega je bilo okostij nedvomno več, kot je bilo evidentiranih grobov. Kolikor toliko točno število okostij bi bilo mogoče določiti le, če bi bil že pri izkopavanjih na terenu navzoč antropolog. Ob poizkopavalni antropološki analizi pa le, če bi bilo gradivo intaktno, analiza pa zastavljena s ciljem ugotavljanja števila okostij ob upoštevanju odnosov med posameznimi grobovi.

Prvi pogoj (intaktno gradivo) je bil verjetno izpolnjen ob prvi antropološki analizi, po kateri naj bi bilo okostij kar 219 (Filipič et al. 1971, Tomazo et al. 1971–1972). Ta številka je previsoka, ker ni bil izpolnjen drugi pogoj (upoštevanje odnosov med grobovi). Zaradi

The anthropological examination of the skeletons excavated on Bled Island* during the 1962–1965 excavations was performed 25 years ago in line with anthroposophical and anthropometric standards and methods (Martin, Saller 1957; Acsádi, Nemeskéri 1970; Chiarelli 1980; Krogman, İşcan 1986; İşcan, Kennedy 1989; Hauser, De Stefano 1989; Rogers, Waldron 1994; Hillson 1996). Eleven burial grounds from Bled and its surroundings were treated within the frame of the doctoral dissertation (Leben-Seljak 1996): alongside Bled Island this included two Late Antiquity necropolises (Bled – Pristava I, Ajdna nad Potoki) and eight Early Medieval sites (Bled – Pristava II, Bled – Brdo, Bled – Grad, Žale pri Zasipu, Dlesc pri Bodeščah, Spodnje Gorje, Moste pri Žirovnici and Smokuč).

The analysis of the treated skeletal remains from Bled Island is presented in the catalogue of graves (see Chapter 9.7). At this stage we will present the main findings of the anthropological examination of the skeletons from those graves which Vinko Šribar believed to be Early Medieval: one burial group north of the church (graves Nos. 1–64, we wrongfully also included Grave 65) and a second burial group in the location of today's shed (graves Nos. 76–89, 92–96, 101–107). We have marked the first burial group, dated between 900 and 1010 AD, as G1 and the second group, dated approximately between 1030 and 1200 AD, as G4.

9.1 NUMBER OF SKELETONS

Characteristic of the burial site on Bled Island are relatively numerus reburials or reuses of grave pits, which led to a higher number of skeletons than there were recorded graves. As no anthropologist was present during the excavations, it was impossible to establish a precise number of skeletons. It would also be possible to determine a more precise number of skeletons during the post-excavation anthropological examination if the remains remained intact, and the analysis was set with the

* Translation: Sunčan Patric Stone

prekopov in verjetno tudi površnega izkopa okostij je namreč večina grobov vsebovala ostanke več skeletov. Nadštevilne kosti, ki izvirajo iz sosednjih grobov in poškodovanih grobov, so bile štete kot samostojni skeleti, čeprav v resnici niso bili. Za primer vzemimo grob 25, ki ga je Šribar opisal kot otroško lobanjo v grobni jami št. 57. Deponirano gradivo iz groba 25 obsega ostanke šestih okostij: v nobenem primeru ne gre za kompleten skelet, od "skeleta" 25d je ohranjena samo stegnenica, od "skeleta" 25e samo ključnica in podlahtnica itn. Grob 57, v katerem je ležala otroška lobanja št. 25, je Šribar opisal kot uničen grob, v deponiranem gradivu so bili fragmentirani ostanki najmanj štirih oseb, verjetneje pa šestih. Po metodologiji štetja "skeletov" po grobnih enotah bi bilo torej v teh dveh grobovih skupaj kar 10–12 skeletov. Z antropološkega stališča pa bi morali ta dva groba obravnavati kot en sam grob. Skeletov je bilo torej pol manj: največ 6, verjetneje pa le 2 ali 3, ker bi nekatere kosti oziroma "skeleti" lahko izvirali iz sosednjih grobov. Kar dokazuje naslednji primer okostja dojenčka. Kosti dojenčkov oziroma otrok, mlajših od 1 leta, smo našli v 6 grobovih (grob št. 2, 23, 24, 25, 26 in 62), v 4 primerih smo jih označili kot "skelete". Vendar pa kosti najbrž pripadajo le 1 skeletu, ker se nobena kost ne podvaja, grobovi pa ležijo blizu skupaj.

Pristop štetja okostij po grobovih bi bilo mogoče uporabiti pri prvi antropološki analizi, ko je bilo gradivo še v prvotnem stanju. Med drugo antropološko analizo pa ne več, ker se je izkazalo, da shranjeno gradivo ni bilo več intaktno, okostja so bila premešana, povezava skelet-

Sl. 9.1: Grob 2. Po Šribarjevem opisu gre za skupek fragmentiranih kosti odrasle osebe, v škatli so bile fragmentirane kosti najmanj 4 oseb, dveh odraslih in dveh otrok.
Fig. 9.1: Grave 2. According to Šribar grave contained a pile of fragmented adult bones, but the box included fragmented bones of at least 4 individuals, two adults and two children. (Arhiv / Archive NMS, neg. 4593)

goal of ascertaining the number of skeletons while taking into account the relations between individual graves.

The first condition (intact remains) was most likely fulfilled during the first anthropological examination, according to which there were as many as 219 skeletons (Filipič et al. 1971, Tomazo et al. 1971–1972). This number was set too high, as the second condition was not fulfilled (the relations between the graves were not taken into account). Most grave pits included the remains of numerous skeletons, which is most likely the result of the numerous reburials and the careless excavation process. Numerous bones that originated from neighbouring and damaged graves were considered to be individual skeletons, even though this was not the case. Let's take a look at Grave 25 for example: Šribar described this grave as a child's skull in grave pit No. 57. The deposited material from Grave 25 includes the remains of six skeletons, however none of them are complete: 'skeleton' 25d consists of a femur, 'skeleton' 25e consists of a clavicle and an ulna, etc. Šribar described Grave 57, which revealed child skull No. 25, as a destroyed grave, and the deposited material included fragmented remains of at least four individuals, but more likely six. According to the methodology of counting 'skeletons' in grave units these two graves alone housed 10 to 12 skeletons between them. From the anthropological viewpoint these two graves should be treated as a single grave. The total number of skeletons should be halved: there should be a maximum of 6, but more likely only 2 or 3 skeletons, as some of the bones or ‹skeletons' could have originated from neighbouring graves. This is verified by the following example of an infant skeleton. The bones of children under the age of 1 were discovered in 6 graves (Nos. 2, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 62), out of which 4 were marked as ‹skeletons'. However, there is a high chance that the bones belong to a single skeleton, as none of the bones were duplicated, and the graves were located close together.

The approach of counting skeletons in graves could be used during the first anthropological examination, when the remains were still in their original state. This was no longer possible when performing the second anthropological examination, as the preserved material was no longer intact, the skeletons have been mixed up, which means that the connections between the skeleton remains and the original graves was no longer reliable (see Chapter 9.7). All we can say for sure is that there are definitely more skeletons than 124 (the number of recorded graves) and undoubtedly less than 219 (the number of ‹skeletons' according to the first anthropological examination), but most likely somewhere between 150 and 170. We could re-examine the remains and establish the minimum number of skeletons, at which we would view the entire burial site as a single grave, a mass tomb. However, if we were to do this, the number of skeletons would most likely be underestimated due to the fragmented remains, and the expected results would not justify the invested time and work.

nega gradiva s prvotnimi grobovi je zato nezanesljiva (glej popis gradiva). Rečemo lahko le to, da je okostij zagotovo več kot 124 (število evidentiranih grobov) in nedvomno manj kot 219 (število "skeletov" po prvi antropološki analizi), verjetno med 150 in 170. Lahko bi naredili revizijo gradiva in določili minimalno število okostij, pri čemer bi celotno grobišče jemali kot 1 grob, grobnico. Vendar bi v tem primeru zaradi fragmentarno ohranjenega gradiva število okostij najbrž podcenili, pričakovani rezultati pa ne bi upravičili vloženega časa in dela.

9.2 SPOLNA IN STAROSTNA STRUKTURA OKOSTIJ

Paleodemografska analiza temelji na tistih okostjih iz prve in druge grobiščne skupine, ki so bila kolikor toliko kompletna ter določljiva po spolu in starosti. Takih okostij je bilo 65, od tega 15 otroških (23,1 odstotka). Večina otrok je umrla pred dopolnjenim 7. letom starosti (infans I, 10 skeletov).

Med preostalimi 50 okostji je 27 moških in 23 žensk. Razmerje med spoloma je razmeroma uravnoteženo, opazna pa je spolna razlika v mortaliteti, ženske so umirale prej kot moški: v obdobju juvenis (15–20 let) so umrli 3 ženske in 1 moški, v obdobju adultus (21–40 let) 10 žensk in le 4 moški, v obdobju maturus (41–60 let) 9 žensk in 18 moških, v obdobju senilis (nad 61 let) pa 1 ženska in 4 moški.

Skeletna serija z Blejskega otoka izkazuje karakteristike, tipične za srednjeveške in druge zgodovinske populacije. Prva je visoka umrljivost v otroštvu, ki je glede na število odkritih otroških okostij podcenjena, saj manjkajo okostja otrok, mlajših od enega leta. Druga pa je spolna razlika v mortaliteti odraslih, moški so umirali kasneje kot ženske: sicer so tako eni kot drugi lahko dočakali visoko starost, vendar pa je bila v rodni dobi smrtnost pri ženskah precej višja kot pri moških, zlasti v starostnih obdobjih juvenis (15–20 let) in adultus I (21–30 let).

9.3 MORFOLOŠKE KARAKTERISTIKE

Merili smo 14 parametrov lobanje in 27 parametrov dolgih postkranialnih kosti. Zaradi slabe ohranjenosti gradiva se bomo tu omejili le na dve značilnosti, kranialni indeks (razmerje med največjo širino in največjo dolžino lobanje) ter telesno višino okostij iz prve in druge grobiščne skupine po Šribarju.

Kranialni indeks

Dolžina je bila merljiva pri 16 lobanjah (10 moških, 6 ženskih), širina pri 21 lobanjah (13 moških, 8 ženskih), oba parametra, na podlagi katerih smo lahko izraču-

9.2 SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE SKELETONS

The paleodemographic analysis was based on those skeletons from the first and second grave group that were more or less complete and could be defined as regards their sex and age. There were 65 such skeletons in total, out of which 15 belonged to children (23.1 percent). Most children died before the age of 7 (*infans* I, 10 skeletons).

Amongst the remaining 50 skeletons, 27 are male and 23 female. The sex ratio is relatively balanced, however there was a noticeable sex difference in mortality, as women died younger (on average): 3 females and 1 male died in the *juvenis* period (15–20 years of age), 10 females and only 4 males in the *adultus* period (21–40 years of age), 9 females and 18 males in the *maturus* period (41–60 years of age), and 1 female and 4 males in the *senilis* period (61+ years).

The skeletal series from Bled Island shows demographic characteristics typical for medieval and other historic populations. One of these characteristics is certainly the high death rates of children, however, taking into account the number of discovered children skeletons this was underestimated, as there were no skeletons of children under the age of one. The second characteristic is the sex difference in the adult mortality, as men died at an older average age than women: even though both could achieve a respectful age, the mortality during the child baring age was much higher for women than men, especially in the age periods of *juvenis* (15–20 years) and *adultus* I (21–30 years).

9.3 MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

We have measured 14 skull parameters and 27 parameters of the long postcranial bones. Due to the poor condition of the remains we will limit ourselves to two characteristics only, the cranial index (the ratio between the greatest width and the greatest length of the skull) and the stature of the skeletons from the first and second grave groups (according to Šribar).

Cranial index

Length could be measured in 16 skulls (10 male, 6 female), and width in 21 skulls (13 male, 8 female), while both parameters, which enables us to calculate the cranial index, could be measured in 15 skulls (10 male, 5 female). Taking into account their average values, the skulls of both sexes can be categorised as medium length and medium width skulls. The male skulls measured between 171 and 200 mm in length (average value of 182.6 mm) and between 135 and 163 mm in width (average value of 146.7 mm), while the female skulls measured between 157 and 184 mm in length (average value of 172.0 mm) and between 136 and

nali kranialni indeks, pa pri 15 lobanjah (10 moških, 5 ženskih). Glede na povprečno vrednost sodijo lobanje obeh spolov v kategoriji srednje dolgih in srednje širokih lobanj. Moške lobanje so dolge od 171 do 200 mm (povprečna vrednost 182,6 mm) in široke od 135 do 163 mm (povprečna vrednost 146,7 mm), ženske lobanje pa so dolge od 157 do 184 mm (povprečna vrednost 172,0 mm) in široke od 136 do 156 mm (povprečna vrednost 142,1 mm). Največ lobanj sodi v kategoriji dolgih (7) in srednje dolgih lobanj (6), kratki sta le 2, zelo dolga pa 1. Glede na širino prevladujejo srednje široke lobanje (9), sledijo ozke (7) in široke (5). Povprečna vrednost kranialnega indeksa (moški 80,05, ženske 80,12) je na meji med mezokranijo in brahikranijo, razpon pa sega od dolihokranije do hiperbrahikranije (moški 75,8–85,5, ženske 73,9–89,3). Prevladujejo mezokrane lobanje (8) nad brahikranimi (4), hiperbrahikrani sta 2, dolihokrana pa samo 1.

Telesna višina

Izračunali smo jo po Manouvrierjevi metodi pri 23 moških in 11 ženskah. Glede na povprečno vrednost (moški 170,0 cm, ženske 159,7 cm) se oba spola uvrščata na spodnjo mejo kategorije visoke telesne višine. Moški so bili visoki od 160 do 191 cm, ženske od 149 do 167 cm. Zastopani sta kategoriji srednje telesne višine (13 moških, 5 žensk) in visoke telesne višine (9 moških, 6 žensk), zelo visok (moški nad 180 cm, ženske nad 168 cm) je bil le 1 moški.

9.4 OSTALE KARAKTERISTIKE

V okviru antropološke analize so bili pregledani tudi zobje, epigenetski znaki in patološke spremembe.

Zobje so bili ohranjeni pri 26 odraslih, od 307 ohranjenih zob je bilo karioznih 19 zob ali 6,2 %. Kariozne zobe je imelo 30 % oseb, praviloma od 1 do 3 zoba, masovni karies je bil ugotovljen le v enem primeru (ženski skelet št. 86, 7 karioznih zob od 30). Pri obeh spolih je bil karies omejen na kočnike in ličnike.

Patoloških sprememb je bilo malo: *cribra orbitalia* (skelet št. 4a in 45), degenerativne spremembe na vretencih (skeleti št. 5, 26, 29), eksostozi na nadlahtnici (skelet 54) in koželjnici (skelet 4b) ter zaceljena sled udarca nad desnim očesnim obokom (skelet 102).

9.5 PRIMERJALNE ANALIZE IN RAZPRAVA

V paleodemografskih karakteristikah so si vse zgodnjesrednjeveške blejske serije podobne. Pri dopolnjenem 20. letu so imeli ljudje, pokopani na Blejskem otoku, pred seboj v povprečju še 25,4 leta življenja: moški 30,6 leta, ženske 19 let. Kar je približno enako kot na obeh

156 mm in width (average value of 142.1 mm). Most skulls could be categorised as long (7) or medium long skulls (6), with 2 short, and 1 very long. According to their width most skulls were of medium width (9), followed by narrow (7) and wide (5). The average value of the cranial index (male 80.05, female 80.12) is on the border between mesocrania and brachycrania, and the span ranges from dolichocrania to hyperbrachycrania (male 75.8–85.5, female 73.9–89.3). Mesocranic skulls prevail (8) over brachycranic (4), hyperbrachycranic (2), and a lonesome dolichocranial one.

Stature

We used Manouvrier's method to calculate the stature of 23 males and 11 females. Taking into account the average height (male 170.0 cm, female 159.7 cm) both sexes could be said to be at the lower edge of the category high stature. Men measured between 160 and 191 cm, while women measured between 149 and 167 cm in height. The following categories were represented: medium height (13 men, 5 women) and tall (9 men, 6 women), with a single man in the extremely tall category (men over 180 cm, women over 168 cm).

9.4 OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

Teeth, epigenetic traits and pathological changes were also analysed within the frame of the anthropological examination.

Teeth were preserved in 26 adults; from the 307 preserved teeth 19 or 6.2% had dental caries. 30% of the people had teeth with dental caries, most commonly one to three teeth were affected, while wide spread caries was ascertained in a single example (female skeleton No. 86, 7 teeth with caries from a total of 30 teeth). Dental caries was limited to molars and premolars, which was the case in both sexes.

We have found only a few pathological changes: *cribra orbitalia* (skeletons Nos. 4a and 45), degenerative changes of the vertebra (skeletons Nos. 5, 26, 29), exostosis on the humerus (skeleton 54) and radius (skeleton 4b) and a healed mark of a wound above the right brow ridge (skeleton 102).

9.5 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

All Early Medieval series in Bled reveal similar adult mortality. At the age of 20 the people buried on Bled Island had 25.4 years of life to look forward to: men 30.6 years, women 19 years. This was roughly the same in both neighbouring Early Medieval locations, Bled – Grad (25.8 years: men 28.2 years, women 23.3 years) and Bled – Pristava II (27 years: men 31.5 years, women 21.8 years).

sosednjih zgodnjesrednjeveških lokacijah, Bled – Grad (25,8 leta: moški 28,2 leta, ženske 23,3 leta) in Bled – Pristava II (27 let: moški 31,5 leta, ženske 21,8 leta). V primerjavi s prebivalci sosednjih dežel se zgodnjesrednjeveški Blejci uvrščajo med tiste z daljšo pričakovano življenjsko dobo (Leben-Seljak, Štefančič 1999).

Opazen je rahel kronološki trend naraščanja kariesa (število karioznih zob glede na število ohranjenih zob): Pristava II 1,9 %, Grad 4,5 %, Otok 6,2 %. V okvir zgoraj omenjenih serij se uvrščata tudi zgodnjesrednjeveški seriji Žale pri Zasipu (3,6 % karioznih zob) in Bodešče (5,1 %). Kariozne zobe je imela na Pristavi II četrtina posameznikov (22 %), v preostalih serijah pa tretjina (Grad 27 %, Otok 31 %, Bodešče 33 %, Žale pri Zasipu 35 %). Tudi v frekvenci pred smrtjo izpadlih zob so razlike med serijami majhne: Pristava II 14,1 %, Grad 13,0 %, Bodešče 13,4 %, Otok 15,8 %; izstopa serija Žale pri Zasipu s 4,9 %.

Primerjalna analiza morfoloških karakteristik vključuje le tiste 4 serije, ki izpolnjujejo pogoj, da je vsak primerjani parameter izmerjen pri najmanj 10 posameznikih. To so poznoantična Pristava I, zgodnjesrednjeveški Pristava II in Bled – Grad ter Bled – Otok, kjer pa pogoj minimalnega števila pri ženskah ni izpolnjen. Za primerjavo smo uporabili analizo biološke distance po Penrosu, ki primerja po 2 seriji (statistično značilni so koeficienti distance, večji od 0,30, pri 5-odstotni napaki), sorodne serije pa združuje v bloke (klastre).

V telesni višini so si vse 3 zgodnjesrednjeveške serije podobne, tako v frekvenčnih distribucijah kot v povprečni telesni višini. Moški, pokopani na Blejskem otoku, so bili v povprečju visoki 170,0 cm (Pristava II 169,7 cm, Grad 171,0 cm), ženske pa 159,7 cm (Pristava II 159,7 cm, Grad 158,5 cm). Distančna analiza, ki je poleg telesne višine vključevala še 9 parametrov (dolžino stegnenice ter 8 premerov in obodov dolgih kosti), je pokazala na veliko podobnost moških skeletov s Pristave II, Gradu in Otoka, ki jih povezujejo nizki koeficienti distance (0,03–0,10; ženske 0,23–0,30). Pri obeh spolih izkazuje Otok malenkost večjo podobnost z Gradom kot pa s Pristavo II, medtem ko poznoantična Pristava I zavzema distanciran položaj zaradi manjše telesne višine in gracilnejših okostij.

Edina karakteristika, ki okostja z Blejskega otoka loči od drugih, je oblika lobanj. Lobanje so namreč v povprečju mezo-brahikrane, medtem ko so lobanje s Pristave II in Gradu mezokrane, lobanje iz Bodešč in Žal pri Zasipu pa doliho-mezokrane. Distančna analiza, izdelana na povprečnih vrednostih 9 parametrov (največja in celotna dolžina lobanje, ušesna višina, 5 širinskih parametrov možganskega dela lobanje in širina mandibule), je pokazala na distanciran položaj Otoka. Najnižji koeficient distance 0,09 povezuje moške lobanje s Pristave II in Gradu. Ti dve zgodnjesrednjeveški seriji

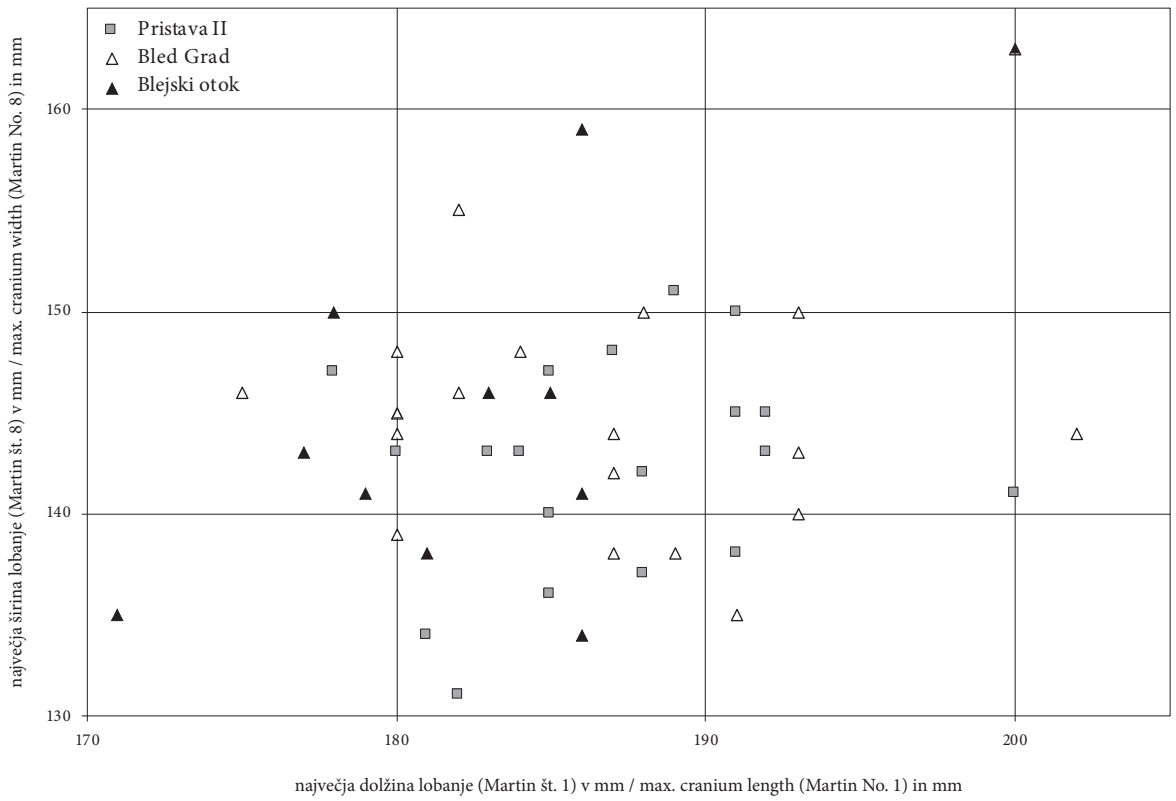
The Early Medieval inhabitants of Bled had a longer life expectancy at the age of 20 than other Middle European populations (Leben-Seljak, Štefančič 1999).

A slight increasing chronological trend of dental caries (toth count: number of teeth with dental caries in relation to the total preserved teeth) has been ascertained: Pristava II 1.9%, Grad 4.5%, Otok 6.2%. Within the frame of the above-mentioned series belong also the Early Medieval series Žale pri Zasipu (3.6% teeth with dental caries) and Bodešče (5.1%). In Pristava II one quarter of all individuals (22%) had teeth with dental caries, while in the remaining series one third of the population had dental caries (Grad 27%, Otok 31%, Bodešče 33%, Žale pri Zasipu 35%). The differences in ante mortem tooth loss count are also small: Pristava II 14.1%, Grad 13.0%, Bodešče 13.4%, Otok 15.8%; the series Žale pri Zasipu stands out with 4.9%.

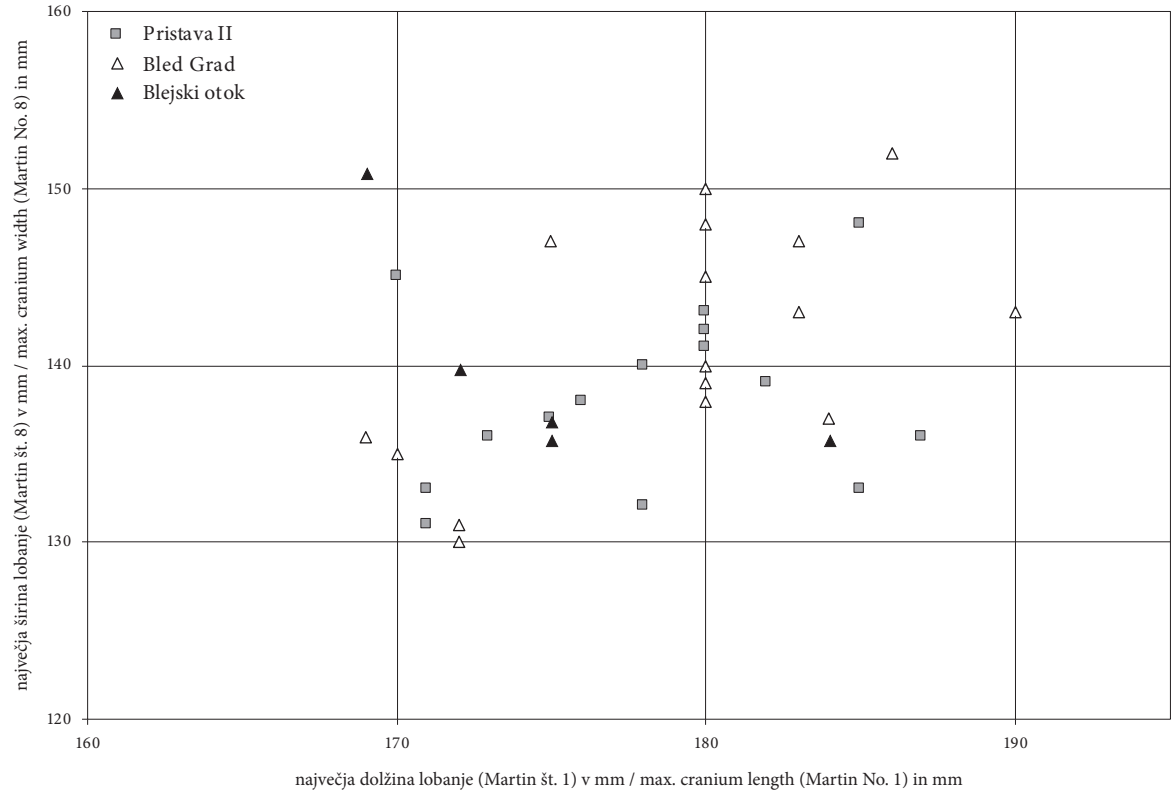
The comparative analysis of the morphological characteristics included only those four series that fulfilled the condition that each of the comparative parameters was measured on at least 10 individuals. These are: Late Antiquity Pristava I, Early Mediaeval Pristava II, Bled – Grad and Bled – Otok, where the precondition for the minimal number was not fulfilled in the category of females. For comparison purposes we used the analysis of biological distance according to Penrose, who compares 2 series (statistically important are the coefficients of biological distance larger than 0.30, with a 5% error), and merges similar series into clusters.

All three Early Mediaeval series are similar as regards postcranial characteristics, in the frequency distribution as well as in the average. Men buried on Bled Island were on average 170.0 cm tall (Pristava II 169.7 cm, Grad 171.0 cm), while women measured 159.7 cm (Pristava II 159.7 cm, Grad 158.5 cm). The analysis of biological distance, which together with stature, included an additional 9 postcranial parameters (the length of the femur and 8 diameters and circumferences of the long bones; Martin No. H 7, F 2, F 8, F 9, F 10, F 18, T 8a, T 9a, T 10b), revealed great similarity between the male skeletons from Pristava II, Grad and Bled Island, which were connected by the low coefficients of biological distance (0.03–0.10; women 0.23–0.30). The characteristics determined at Bled Island are slightly closer to Grad than Pristava II for both sexes, while the Late Antiquity site of Pristava I occupies a more biologically distant position due to the shorter individuals and more gracile skeletons.

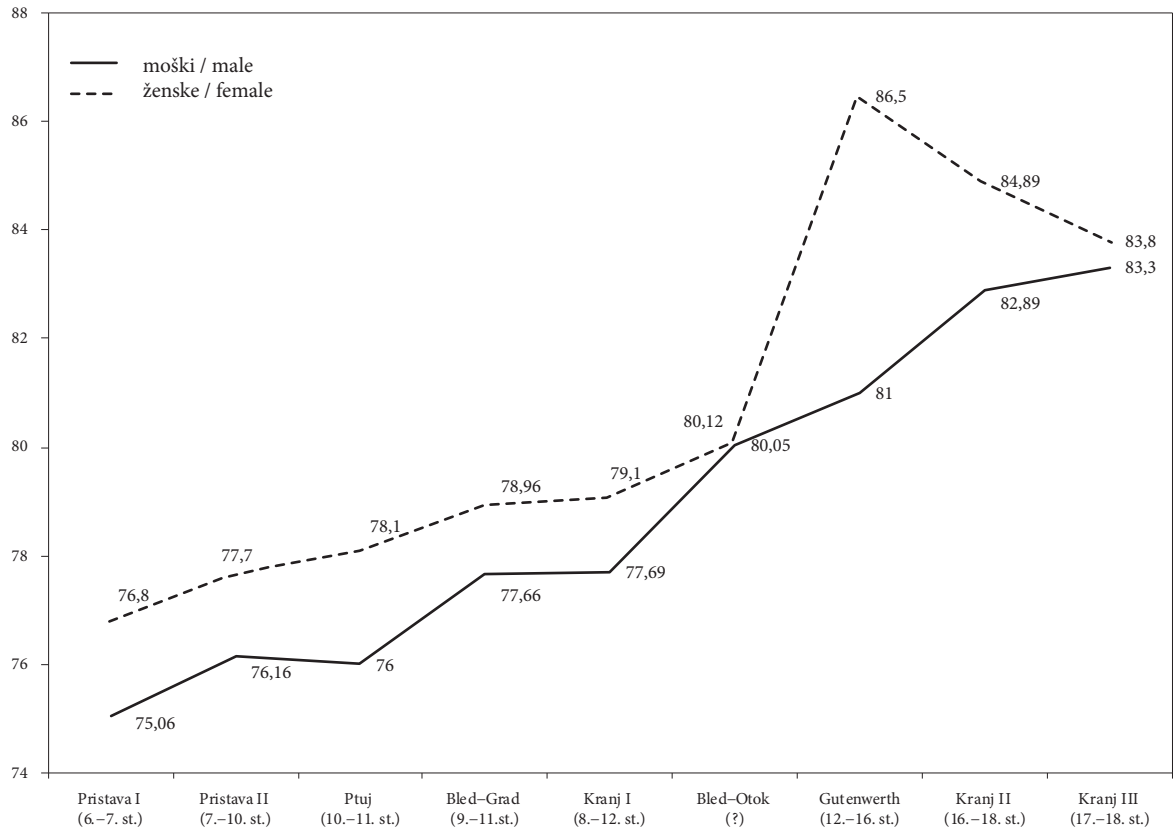
The only characteristic that truly differentiates the skeletons from Bled Island from the rest is the skull shape. On average the skulls are meso-brachycranic, while the skulls from Pristava II and Grad are mesocranic, and the skulls from Bodešče and Žale pri Zasipu dolicho-mesocranic. The biological distance analysis, performed on the average values of 9 parameters (2 length parameters, 5 width parameters, the ear-height, and the width of the mandible; Martin No. 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13,



Graf 9.1.: Širina in dolžina lobanj v treh blejskih serijah – moški.
Graph 9.1: Width and length of the crania in three Bled seires – male.



Graf 9.2: Širina in dolžina lobanj v treh blejskih serijah – ženske.
Graph 9.2: Width and length of the crania in three Bled seires – female.



Graf 9.3: Trend brahikefalizacije – povprečne vrednosti kranialnega indeksa v nekaterih slovenskih serijah.
Graph 9.3: Brachycephalisation trend – average values of cranial index in some Slovenian series.

se navezujeta na poznoantično Pristavo I s koeficientoma distance 0,24. Blejski otok, ki zavzema distanciran položaj, je še najbolj podoben Gradu (koeficient distance 0,29), manj Pristavi II (koeficient distance 0,33, statistično značilna razlika pri 5-odstotni napaki), najbolj pa se razlikuje od Pristave I (koeficient distance 0,73). Opazen je kronološki trend (Pristava II–Grad–Otok): absolutno gledano so moške lobanje v nekaj stoletjih postale v povprečju krajše (186,95–186,10–182,60 mm) in širše (največja širina: 142,45–144,50–146,69 mm), medtem ko je ušesna višina ostala skorajda nespremenjena (116,50–115,67–115,58 mm). Lobanje so postale širše tudi v predelu zatilja (širina zatilnice, mastoidna širina), povečala se je tudi največja širina čela, ne pa tudi najmanjša širina čela. Zato so se spremenili indeksi, lobanje so postale bolj brahikrane (76,2–77,7–80,1) in stenometopične (67,9–68,4–66,1). Podobno zasledimo pri ženskih lobanjah.

Razlike so manj opazne, če pogledamo kranialni indeks posameznih lobanj. Večina lobanj z Otoka se namreč lepo vključuje med lobanje s Pristave II in Gradu (*graf 9.1* in *9.2*), čeprav se tudi tu vidi, da so med krajšimi. Od 3 tipično brahikranih lobanj (vrednost indeksa nad 83,0) je 1 iz prve grobiščne skupine (moški

20, 66), showed that Bled Island was biologically distant from the rest. The lowest biological distance coefficient of 0.09 connected the male skulls from Pristava II and Grad. These two Early Mediaeval series are linked to the Late Antiquity Pristava I with the biological distance coefficient of 0.24. The Bled Island, which occupies a biologically distant position is the closest to Grad (biological distance coefficient of 0.29), not as close to Pristava II (biological distance coefficient of 0.33, a statistically characteristic difference with a 5% error), and the furthest away from Pristava I (biological distance coefficient of 0.73). The chronological trend is noticeable (Pristava II–Grad–Bled Island): absolutely viewed male skulls have become shorter (186.95–186.10–182.60 mm) and wider (greatest width: 142.45–144.50–146.69 mm) on average over the centuries, while the ear-height remained almost unchanged (116.50–115.67–115.58 mm). Skulls became wider also in the part of the occiput (width of the occipital bone, mastoid width), the greatest width of the forehead also increased, while the smallest width of the forehead did not. This is why the indexes changed, the skulls of males became more brachycranic (76.2–77.7–80.1) and stenometopic (67,9–68,4–66,1). Similar was established for female skulls.

skelet 20), 2 pa sta iz druge grobiščne skupine (ženski skelet 84a, moški skelet 102). Tipično brahikrani sta še 2 ženski lobanji (skeleta 90k, 111b), ki pa nista bili vključeni v primerjalno analizo, ker izvirata iz grobov četrte grobiščne skupine.

Na podlagi podobnosti postkranialnih karakteristik menimo, da so na Otoku verjetno pokopani Blejci. Razlika v kranialnem indeksu pa kaže na to, da je grobišče na Blejskem otoku kronološko mlajše od grobišč na Pristavi in na Gradu (Leben-Seljak 2000). Antropološko dokazano dejstvo je, da se je v srednjem veku v Evropi zgodila brahikefalizacija. Trend je zaznati tudi v Sloveniji (*graf 9.3*). Da gre za kronološki trend, ki ni posledica različne etnične pripadnosti, dokazuje nekropola pri farni cerkvi v Kranju (Leben-Seljak 1991), kjer je povprečna vrednost kranialnega indeksa pri moških zrasla s 77,7 (zgodnjesrednjeveška serija Kranj I, 8.–12. st.) na 82,9 (baročna serija Kranj II, 16.–18. st.) in 83,3 (serija Kranj III – karner, 17.–18. st.).

Razširjena distančna analiza, ki primerja karakteristike lobanj iz 7 slovenskih skeletnih serij (Leben-Seljak 1996, 244–245, 347–348), oblikuje tako pri moških kot pri ženskah 2 bloka (klastra): v prvem so poleg poznoantične Pristave I še zgodnjesrednjeveške serije Pristava II, Bled – Grad, Ptuj in Kranj I, v drugem bloku pa Bled – Otok in baročna serija Kranj II. Baročna serija Kranj II se pri moških sicer statistično značilno razlikuje od vseh primerjalnih serij, vendar izkazuje največjo sorodnost ravno s serijo Bled – Otok in zgodnjesrednjeveško serijo Kranj I (koeficienta distance 0,55), pri ženskah pa je pod mejo signifikantne razlike (koeficienta distance 0,24 in 0,28).

Trend brahikefalizacije torej kaže, da je domnevno zgodnjesrednjeveška serija Bled – Otok kronološko mlajša od serij Pristava II in Bled – Grad, časovno pa je bližja Gradu. To potrjuje tudi primerjava postkranialnih karakteristik.

Sl. 9.2: Grob 120. Škatle grob 120 ali oznake 120 v gradivu ni bilo, v fototeki pa obstaja fotografija groba.
Fig. 9.2: Grave 120. There was no box marked Grave 120 or tag 120 amongst the material, but there is a photo of the grave. (Arhiv / Archive NMS, neg. 5943)

The differences are less noticeable if we look at the cranial index of individuals. Most skulls from Bled Island fit in with the skulls from Pristava II and Grad (*Graph 9.1* and *Graph 9.2)*, even though they are amongst the shorter ones. From the 3 typically brachycranic skulls (index value above 83.0) 1 was found amongst the remains belonging to the first grave group (male skeleton 20), while 2 were found amongst the remains belonging to the second grave group (female skeleton 84a, male skeleton 102). An additional 2 female skulls (skeletons 90k, 111b) are also typically brachycranic, however, they were not included in the comparative analysis as they originated from the graves of the fourth grave group.

Based on the post-cranial similarities of all 3 Early Meieval skeletal series we have concluded that people from Bled were buried on Bled Island. The differences in the cranial index indicates that the burial site on Bled Island belongs to a chronologically later period than the burial sites in Pristava and Grad (Leben-Seljak 2000). It is an anthropologically proven fact that brachycephalization took place in Europe during the Middle Ages. This trend was also noticeable in Slovenia (*Graph 9.3*). That this is a chronological trend that is not a consequence of belonging to different ethical groups is proven by the necropolis at the parish church in Kranj (Leben-Seljak 1991), where the average value of the cranial index for males increased from 77.7 (Early Mediaeval series Kranj I, 8^{th} - 12^{th} centuries) to 82.9 (Baroque series Kranj II, 16^{th} - 18^{th} centuries) and 83.3 (series Kranj III – ossuary, 17^{th} - 18^{th} centuries).

The broader biological distance analysis, which compares the cranium characteristics from 7 Slovenian series of skeletons (Leben-Seljak 1996, 244–245, 347–348), divides men as well as women into 2 clusters: the first incudes the Late Antiquity Pristava I as well as the Early Mediaeval series Pristava II, Bled – Grad, Ptuj and Kranj I, while the second consists of Bled Island and the Baroque series Kranj II. The Baroque male series Kranj II statistically differs from all other compared series, however it shows the greatest similarities with Bled Island series and the Early Mediaeval series Kranj I (biological distance coefficient 0.55), while for females this remained below the border of statistically significant differences (distance coefficients of 0.24 and 0.28).

The trend of brachycephalization thus indicates that the supposedly Early Mediaeval Bled Island series is chronologically later than series Pristava II and Bled – Grad, bur closer to Grad. This is also confirmed by the comparison of the post-cranial characteristics.

9.6 ZAKLJUČKI

Na Blejskem otoku je bilo v letih 1962–1965 odkritih 124 grobov. Gradivo, deponirano v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani, je bilo antropološko pregledano dvakrat, prvič v diplomski nalogi kmalu po zaključku arheoloških raziskav (Filipič et al. 1971), drugič pa v okviru primerjalne analize blejskih grobišč (Leben-Seljak 1996). V času med obema antropološkima analizama se je gradivo premešalo, zaradi česar povezava okostij s prvotnimi grobovi ni več mogoča. Iz tega razloga tudi ni več mogoče določiti števila skeletov, sklepamo pa, da jih je bilo od 150 do 170.

Antropološka analiza temelji na selekcionirani skeletni seriji grobiščnih skupin G1 in G4. Med 65 okostji je 15 otrok, 27 moških in 23 žensk. Značilna je pričakovana spolna razlika v mortaliteti, ki je posledica večje umrljivosti žensk v rodni dobi, zlasti med 20. in 30. letom starosti. Pri dopolnjenem 20. letu so imeli moški pred seboj v povprečju še 30,6 leta življenja, ženske pa le 19 let. V paleodemografskih karakteristikah serija ne izstopa iz okvira preostalih blejskih grobišč, v okviru srednjeevropskih populacij pa so srednjeveški Blejci med tistimi z daljšo pričakovano življenjsko dobo. Na razmeroma ugodne življenjske razmere v tistem času kažejo tudi maloštevilne patološke spremembe. Tudi stopnja kariesa (6,2 % karioznih zob, karies je bil ugotovljen pri tretjini posameznikov) ni bistveno višja kot v preostalih blejskih zgodnjesrednjeveških serijah (1,9–5,1 %), je pa nakazan rahel kronološki trend porasta kariesa.

Moški so bili v povprečju visoki 170 centimetrov, ženske 159,7 centimetra. V telesni višini med blejskimi zgodnjesrednjeveškimi serijami ni razlik, ravno tako ne v robustnosti okostja. Je pa zaznati razliko v kranialnem indeksu, saj so lobanje z Blejskega otoka mezo-brahikrane (povprečna vrednost kranialnega indeksa je pri obeh spolih 80,1), lobanje preostalih serij pa mezokrane ali doliho-mezokrane. Na Blejskem otoku je več brahikranih in manj dolihokranih lobanj kot v drugih serijah, lobanje so krajše in širše. V morfoloških karakteristikah je serija z Blejskega otoka najbolj podobna seriji Bled – Grad, trend brahikefalizacije pa dokazuje, da je kronološko mlajša.

9.6 CONCLUSIONS

124 graves were excavated on Bled Island between 1962 and 1965. The remains stored in the National Museum in Ljubljana were anthropologically examined twice; the first time for the graduation thesis which was written soon after the archaeological excavation had been completed (Filipič et al. 1971), and the second time within the frame of the comparative study of the Bled burial sites (Leben-Seljak 1996). In the period between the two anthropological examinations the remains have been disrupted, due to which the connections between the skeletons and the original graves have been lost. Due to this it was also impossible to establish the total number of skeletons, however, our estimate ranges between 150 and 170.

The anthropological examination was based on selected skeletal series belonging to grave groups G1 and G4. Amongst the 65 skeletons, 15 belonged to children, 27 to men and 23 to women. The sex difference in mortality is characteristic, for it is a consequence of the higher female mortality rates during childbearing age, especially in women between 20 and 30 years of age. The life expectancy at the age of 20 was 30.6 years for men and only 19 years for women. The studied series does not stand out from the rest of the burial sites in the Bled area as regards the paleodemographic characteristics, however, when compared to the general Central European population the inhabitants from Bled have a higher than average life expectancy. The relatively favourable living conditions at the time are also indicated by the low numbers of pathological changes. The level of dental caries (6.2% of teeth with dental caries, dental caries was established in one third of all individuals) is not significantly higher than in the other Early Mediaeval series from Bled (1.9 – 5.1%), however, it does indicate the slight chronological trend in the increase of caries.

On average men were 170 cm tall, while women measured 159.7 centimetres. There are no significant differences in the stature in the Early Mediaeval series in Bled, nor do the skeletons differ in their robustness. However, there is a noticeable difference in the cranial index, as the skulls from Bled Island are meso-brachycranic (the average value of the cranial index for both sexes is 80.1), while the skulls of the remaining series are mesocranic or dolicho-mesocranic. The Bled Island skeletal remains included more brachycranic and less dolichocranicskulls than other series, i.e. the skulls are shorter and wider. As regards the morphological characteristics the series from Bled Island is the closest to the series Bled – Grad, while the brachycephalization trend proves that it is chronologically latter.

9.7 POPIS SKELETNEGA GRADIVA

Popis je nastal na osnovi zabeležk ob obdelavi gradiva v letih 1992 in 1995, ko so bila antropološko pregledana okostja, odkrita med arheološkimi izkopavanji v letih od 1962 do 1965 (grobovi 1–124). Prvi antropološki pregled tega gradiva je bil narejen kmalu po zaključku izkopavanj v okviru diplomske naloge pod mentorstvom Zlate Dolinar Osole (Filipič et al. 1971, Tomazo et al. 1971–1972). Ker so bili izsledki te antropološke analize pomanjkljivi in za primerjalno analizo z ostalimi blejskimi grobišči neuporabni, smo gradivo v letih 1992–1995 še enkrat pregledali (Leben-Seljak 1996). Kosti so bile shranjene v depoju Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani v kartonastih škatlah z napisom Bled ter številko groba. Na lobanjah in nekaterih dolgih kosteh so bile s črnim tušem napisane številke skeleta, dodeljene ob prvi antropološki analizi.

Iz popisa je razvidno, da gradivo leta 1992 ni bilo več v takem stanju kot pri izkopu. Večina grobov je vsebovala ostanke več skeletov in ne le enega. Deloma bi bilo to lahko posledica površnega izkopa skeletov (manjkajoče kosti nekaterih skeletov smo namreč našli v drugih grobovih) in razmeroma številnih prekopov, saj so nekatere pokojnike pokopali v že obstoječe grobove. Vendar pa to ni edini vzrok, saj se je pokazalo, da se v precej primerih gradivo ne ujema s Šribarjevim opisom groba (neobjavljen tipkopisni članek). V grobu 63 naj bi bili po Šribarju le dve kosti (stegnenica in golenica), v škatli z napisom grob 63 pa so bile lobanja ter postkranialne kosti dveh odraslih. Poleg tega so nekateri grobovi manjkali: nekaterih številk v gradivu sploh nismo našli (11grobov: št. 18, 30, 40, 42, 44, 48, 66, 70, 88, 96, 120), druge smo našli v škatlah z drugačno številko groba (grobovi št. 103–108 in 118 v škatlah grob 78, 79, 80, 83), nekatere številke grobov so se podvajale (grob št. 80, 81, 102, 109–117). Vse našteto kaže, da se je gradivo premešalo, verjetno po prvi antropološki analizi pri prelaganju okostij v nove škatle. Kje je npr. dobro ohranjeni skelet iz groba 41, ne vemo, ker je bila v škatli samo maksila.

Po letu 1995 smo pregledali še skelet, prezentiran v cerkvi Marijinega vnebovzetja na Blejskem otoku (Leben-Seljak 1999, glej grob xx), ter ostanke okostij iz dveh grobov, odkritih leta 2016 ob zaščitnih arheoloških izkopavanjih v mali zakristiji cerkve (Leben-Seljak 2016).

V nadaljevanju pri opisu grobov za ohranjene kosti uporabljamo slovenska imena (glej slovensko-latinski slovarček), le pri obeh čeljustnicah smo se odločili za poslovenjena izraza mandibula in maksila. Seznam okostij z določenim spolom in starostjo je predstavljen v *tabeli 9.1*.

9.7 INVENTORY OF THE SKELETAL REMAINS

This inventory was compiled from the records that were created when the remains discovered during the 1962 - 1965 archaeological excavations (Graves 1 – 124) were anthropologically examined between 1992 and 1995. The first anthropological examination of the remains was conducted within the frame of the graduation thesis under the mentorship of Zlata Dolinar Osole (Filipič et al. 1971, Tomazo et al. 1971–1972), which took place almost immediately after the excavations were concluded. Because the findings from the first anthropological examination were insufficient and could not be used in an analysis with other grave-sites in the Bled area, the remains were re-examined between 1992–1995 (Leben-Seljak 1996). The bones were kept in cardboard boxes marked Bled and the number of the grave in the depot of the National Museum in Ljubljana. The skulls and some of the long bones were marked with the number of the skeleton that was assigned to them during the first anthropological analysis in black ink.

The inventory shows that by 1992 the remains were no longer in the same condition as they were when excavated. Most graves contained remains of numerous skeletons and not merely a single one. To a certain degree this could have been a consequence of the careless excavation (we have found some missing bones of certain skeletons in other graves) and the relatively numerous reburials, as some of the deceased were buried in already existing graves. However, this was not the sole reason, for it has been established that the remains did often not correspond to Šribar's description of the grave (as described in his unpublished typed article). According to Šribar Grave 63 consisted of two bones (femur and tibia), however, the box supposedly containing the remains from Grave 63 included a skull and the postcranial bones belonging to two adults. Boxes linked to certain graves were missing, thus we failed to find some of the numbers that should have been amongst the remains (11 graves: Nos. 18, 30, 40, 42, 44, 48, 66, 70, 88, 96, 120), others were found in boxes with a different grave number (bones from graves Nos. 103–108 and 118 were found in boxes marked Grave 78, 79, 80, 83), while some grave numbers were duplicated (Graves 80, 81, 102, 109–117). It is clear that the remains had been disrupted, most likely following the first anthropological examination when the bones were moved to new boxes. We have no idea where the well-preserved skeleton from Grave 41 is located, as the box marked Grave 41 contained merely a maxilla.

Post 1995 we also examined the skeleton in the church of the Assumption of Mary on Bled Island (Leben-Seljak 1999, see Grave xx), as well as the remains of the skeletons from the two graves discovered in 2016 during the preventive archaeological excavations in the small sacristy in the church (Leben-Seljak 2016).

The list of skeletons with their sex and age is presented in *Table 9.1*.

Številka skeleta / Skeleton no.	Spol / Sex	Starostna kategorija / Age category	Okvirna starost (leta) / Tenative age (years)
1a	moški / male	maturus	46–58
1b	ženski / female	adultus I	21–24
2a	moški / male	odrasel / adult	<21
2b	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	<24
2c	otrok / child	infans II	
2d	otrok / child	infans I	0–1
3a	moški / male	adultus	23–43
3b	ženski / female	maturus I	40–49
3c	otrok / child	infans II	
4a	ženski / female	juvenis	16
4b	moški / male	adultus II	34–43
5a	moški / male	maturus II	48–65
5b	?	odrasel / adult	
6	moški / male	senilis	58–72
7	moški / male	maturus II	50–66
8	moški / male	maturus I	41–50
9	ženski / female	adultus I	19–28
10a	ženski / female	juvenis	20
10b	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
11a	moški / male	adultus II	31–40
11b	? ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
11c	otrok / child	infans I	4 ± 1
12	ženski / female	maturus II	52–58
13	moški / male	maturus II	53–66
14	moški / male	maturus	46–58
15a	moški / male	adultus	23–40
15b	moški / male	maturus	46–58
15c	ženski / female	adultus I	20–24
16	moški / male	senilis	58–72
17	otrok / child	infans I	4 ± 1
19a	ženski / female	adultus I	21–24
19b	otrok / child	infans	
20	moški / male	maturus	44–59
21a	moški / male	senilis	63–72
21b	?	odrasel / adult	
22	moški / male	maturus	41–60
23a	otrok / child	infans I	2–4
23b	otrok / child	infans I	6 mes. / months
23c	?	juvenis	15–18
24a	otrok / child	infans II	8 ± 2
24b	?	adultus	21–40
25a	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
25b	ženski / female	maturus	46–58
25c	otrok / child	infans I	6–7
25d	otrok / child	infans I	3–5
25e	otrok / child	infans I	0–1
25f	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
26	ženski / female	maturus	46–62
27	otrok / child	infans I	4 ± 1
28	moški / male	maturus I	41–50
29	moški / male	maturus II	54–60
31	ženski / female	juvenis	18
32a	moški / male	maturus I	44–50
32b	moški / male	adultus	21–40
32c	otrok / child	infans I	4 ± 1
33a	moški / male	senilis	58–72
33b	otrok / child	infans I	3 ± 1
34a	moški / male	maturus	41–60
34b	otrok / child	infans I	1 ± 4 mes. / months
35	ženski / female	adultus	21–40
36	ženski / female	maturus II	55–61
37a	otrok / child	infans I	4 ± 1
37b	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
38	ženski / female	senilis	58–72
39a	moški / male	maturus I	35–53
39b	ženski / female	maturus II	48–56
39c	otrok / child	infans I	
41	? moški / male	odrasel / adult	
43	otrok / child	infans I	
45	ženski / female	maturus I	44–50
46	moški / male	maturus II	51–60
47	otrok / child	infans I	2,5–3
49	ženski / female	maturus I	37–46
50	otrok / child	infans II	9 ± 2
51	ženski / female	adultus I	23–30
52a	otrok / child	infans I	6–7
52b	otrok / child	infans I	4 ± 1
53	otrok / child	infans II	8 ± 2
54	moški / male	adultus I	25–31
55a	moški / male	senilis	63–69
55b	otrok / child	infans I	3–4
55c	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
56	moški / male	maturus I	42–48
57a	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
57b	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
57c	otrok / child	infans II	
57d	otrok / child	infans I	5
58	ženski / female	maturus	41–60
59a	ženski / female	adultus II	31–40
59b	otrok / child	infans II	
59c	otrok / child	infans I	
60a	ženski / female	maturus	47–56
60b	otrok / child	infans II	
61	moški / male	maturus II	52–67
62a	otrok / child	infans II	11 ± 2,5
62b	otrok / child	infans I	0–1
63	ženski / female	adultus	21–40

Številka skeleta / Skeleton no.	Spol / Sex	Starostna kategorija / Age category	Okvirna starost (leta) / Tenative age (years)
64a	ženski / female	adultus	23–39
64b	otrok / child	infans I	3–4
64c	otrok / child	infans II	
65	moški / male	senilis	58–72
67a	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
67b	ženski / female	adultus	21–40
68a	otrok / child	infans II	8 ± 2
68b	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
68c	moški / male	maturus/senilis	54–68
68d	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
68e	?	adultus I	21–24
69	? moški / male	odrasel / adult	
71	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
73	moški / male	maturus	41–60
74	ženski / female	maturus	41- 60
75	ženski / female	maturus/senilis	< 41
76a	otrok / child	infans II	9 ± 2
76b	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
76c	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
77a	moški / male	maturus	45–60
77b	otrok / child	infans II	12 ± 2
77c	otrok / child	infans I	2–3
78a	moški / male	maturus	45–60
78b	?	odrasel / adult	
78c	?	odrasel / adult	
78d	?	odrasel / adult	
79a	ženski / female	maturus	48–65
79b	?	odrasel / adult	
80a	otrok / child	infans I	1 ± 4 mes. / months
80b	moški / male	adultus/ maturus	31–50
80c	?	odrasel / adult	
81a	otrok / child	infans I	
81b	ženski / female	maturus II	53–66
81c	moški / male	juvenis	18
81d	moški / male	senilis	58–72
81e	moški / male	adultus	23–39
81f	moški / male	adultus	21–40
82a	moški / male	maturus II	50–59
82b	otrok / child	infans I	
83a	ženski / female	maturus	
83b	otrok / child	infans I	5 ± 16 mes. / months
84a	ženski / female	adultus I	22–30
84b	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
84c	otrok / child	infans I	30 m.
85	moški / male	maturus II	53–66
86	ženski / female	adultus	23–39
87a	moški / male	adultus	23–39

Številka skeleta / Skeleton no.	Spol / Sex	Starostna kategorija / Age category	Okvirna starost (leta) / Tenative age (years)
87b	ženski / female	adultus	23–39
89	otrok / child	infans I	2–3
90a	otrok / child	infans I	0–6 mes. / months
90b	otrok / child	infans I	2
90c	otrok / child	infans I	5–6
90d	otrok / child	infans II	13
90e	otrok / child	infans II	14
90f	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
90g	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
90h	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
90i	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
90j	?	odrasel / adult	
90k	ženski / female	maturus/senilis	< 51
91	moški / male	adultus	25–39
92a	otrok / child	infans I	
92b	otrok / child	infans II	
92c	otrok / child	infans II	
92d	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
92e	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
92f	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
92g	?	odrasel / adult	
92h	?	odrasel / adult	
93a	moški / male	maturus	41–65
93b	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
93c	?	odrasel / adult	
94	?	juvenis	
98	ženski / female	juvenis	15–18
100	? moški / male	maturus/senilis	< 51
102	moški / male	maturus/senilis	< 51
109a	ženski / female	maturus II	
109b	ženski / female	juvenis	19
109c	ženski / female	adultus I	
109d	ženski / female	maturus II	
109e	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
109f	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
109g	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
109h	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
109i	otrok / child	infans I	
109j	otrok / child	infans II	
110	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
111a	moški / male	adultus II	35–40
111b	ženski / female	senilis	58–72
112a	otrok / child	infans II	8 ± 2
112b	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
113	moški / male	maturus/senilis	
114	ženski / female	maturus	
115a	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
115b	otrok / child	infans II	7

Številka skeleta / Skeleton no.	Spol / Sex	Starostna kategorija / Age category	Okvirna starost (leta) / Tenative age (years)
116a	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
116b	? moški / male	odrasel / adult	
117a	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
117b	?	odrasel / adult	
119	?	juvenis	15
121a	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
121b	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
121c	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
121d	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
121e	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
121f	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
121g	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
122a	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
122b	?	juvenis	
123a	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
123b	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
123c	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
123d	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	
123e	otrok / child	infans II	
124a	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
124b	?	odrasel / adult	
XX	moški / male	senilis	66–75
1a/2016	ženska	juveis-adultus	18–20
1b/2016	ženska	odrasel / adult	
1c/2016	moški / male	odrasel / adult	
2/2016	ženski / female	odrasel / adult	

Tab. 9.1: Seznam okostij
Tab. 9.1: List of skeletons

Grob 1
Šribar: slabo ohranjen skelet odrasle osebe (luničasti uhan).
V škatli so bile fragmentirane kosti dveh odraslih oseb in dva otroška zoba (mlečna kočnika), ki ju nismo označili kot skelet.
Skelet 1a, robustne kosti: lobanja z mandibulo, korpusi obeh stegnenic in leve golenice.
Skelet 1b, gracilne kosti: mandibula, korpusa obeh nadlahtnic, kolčnica in kaput stegnenice.
Nerazporejeno: proksimalni deli treh podlahtnic in ene koželjnice.

Grob 2
Šribar: skupek fragmentiranih kosti odrasle osebe (ob severni steni cerkve, skelet uničen ob izkopu temeljev cerkve).
V škatli so bile fragmentirane kosti najmanj 4 oseb, dveh odraslih in dveh otrok.
Skelet 2a, robustne kosti: zatilnica, desna nadlahtnica, križnica, leva kolčnica, obe stegnenici, golenica.
Skelet 2b, gracilne kosti: obe kolčnici, stegnenici in golenica.
Skelet 2c: fragmenti lobanje, glede na debelino starejši otrok.
Skelet 2d: leva polovica čelnice, mlajši otrok.

Grob 3
Šribar: skelet (dolžina skeleta 124 cm) vzporeden z ostanki skeleta 7 in dve stegnenici.
V škatli so bile kosti treh oseb.
Skelet 3a, robustne kosti: obe stegnenici, distalni del desne koželjnice, korpus podlahtnice.
Skelet 3b, gracilne kosti: slabo ohranjen skelet, poleg lobanje tudi večina postkraniuma (manjkajo: obe ključnici, leva nadlahtnica, desna podlahtnica, mečnici).
Skelet 3c, kosti otroka: fragment mandibule ter dve epifizi (kaput nadlahtnice in kondilus stegnenice).

Grave 1
Šribar: poorly preserved adult skeleton (crescent-shaped earring).
The box contained fragmented bones belonging to two adults as well as two children›s teeth (deciduous molars), which were not categorised as a skeleton.
Skeleton 1a, robust bones: skull with mandible, the shafts of both femurs and the left tibia.
Skeleton 1b, gracile bones: mandible, shafts of both humeri, innominate and caput femuris.
Unsorted: the proximal parts of three ulnas and one radius.

Grave 2
Šribar: a pile of fragmented adult bones (alongside the north side of the church, the skeleton was destroyed when the foundations for the church were built).
The box included fragmented bones of at least 4 individuals, two adults and two children.
Skeleton 2a, robust bones: occipital, right humerus, sacrum, left innominate, both femurs, tibia.
Skeleton 2b, gracile bones: both innominates, femurs and tibia.
Skeleton 2c: skull fragments, most likely an older child (taking into account the thickness).
Skeleton 2d: left side of the frontal bone, younger child.

Grave 3
Šribar: skeleton (length 124 cm) parallel to the remains of skeleton 7 and two femurs.
The box included the bones of three skeletons.
Skeleton 3a, robust bones: both femurs, distal end of the right radius, the shaft of the ulna.
Skeleton 3b, gracile bones: a poorly preserved skeleton, skull as well as most postcranial bones (missing: both clavicles, left humerus, right ulna, fibulas).
Skeleton 3c, bones belonging to a child: mandible fragment and two epiphyses (humeral head and femoral condyle).

Grob 4
Šribar: odrasel skelet (vzporedno z grobom 5), pod njim stegnenica močnejše osebe. Vrstni red pokopa: najprej 13, nato 4, nato 5.
V škatli so bile kosti dveh oseb.
Skelet 4a, gracilne kosti: lobanja in postkranialni skelet, ki mu manjkajo kosti goleni (golenici, mečnici) ter kosti stopal.
Skelet 4b, robustne kosti: kosti leve roke (lopatica, nadlahtnica, proksimalna dela koželjnice in podlahtnice) in desne noge (fragment kolčnice, stegnenica, golenica); lahko del skeleta iz groba 6.

Grob 5
Šribar: cel skelet, zraven lobanja, mandibula in femur označeni kot grob 13.
V škatli je bilo eno okostje, poleg tega pa še nekaj fragmentov od drugega skeleta.
Skelet 5a, robustne kosti: skoraj popoln postkranialni skelet; poleg lobanje mnjkajo le mečnici in kosti stopal.
Skelet 5b: fragment kolčnice in fragmenti kosti rok (kapitulum nadlahtnice, leva koželjnica, podlahtnica); najverjetneje iz groba 13.

Grob 6
Šribar: odrasel skelet (vzporedno z grobom 4) in ostanki prekopa (grob 14).
V škatli je bilo okostje odrasle osebe, ki mu je manjkalo nekaj kosti, odveč pa je bila križnica (morda iz groba 7 ali 14).
Skelet 6: lobanja brez mandibule (ta bi se lahko nahajala v škatli grob 14) ter postkranialni skelet, ki mu manjkajo leva nadlahtnica, leva koželjnica in leva golenica.

Grob 7
Šribar: spodnji del skeleta odrasle osebe.
Skelet 7: nekompleten postkranialni skelet, poleg lobanje manjkajo kosti ramenskega obroča (lopatici in ključnici), nadlahtnici ter križnica.

Grob 8
Šribar: med skeletoma 3 in 7 so bili fragmenti kosti (verjetno pokopi uničeni ob vkopu grobov 3 in 7), ob grobu 7 je grob 15, med stegnenicama skeletov 3 in 7 pa lobanja (skelet 8).
V škatli je bila fragmentarno ohranjena lobanja (skelet 8) ter nekaj fragmentov postkranialnih kosti od dveh odraslih skeletov, robustnega (korpusa desne podlahtnice in leve golenice) in gracilnega (distalna dela nadlahtnice in stegnenice, fragment mečnice).

Grob 9
Šribar: odrasel skelet, delno uničen.
Skelet 9: fragmentarno ohranjen skelet, nekaj kosti lobanje (zatilnica, desna ličnica, maksila, mandibula), rebra in vretenca, kosti rok (manjka samo desna podlahtnica) ter leva stegnenica.

Grob 10
Šribar: gracilne kosti in fragmenti lobanje. Na kolčnici je ležala lobanja označena kot skelet 11, postkranium je verjetno pod zidom.
V škatli so bili ostanki dveh okostij.

Grave 4
Šribar: adult skeleton (parallel to Grave 5), underneath lay a femur belonging to a stronger individual. The order of burials: first 13, then 4, and then 5.
The box contained the bones belonging to two humans.
Skeleton 4a, gracile bones: skull and postcranial bones, without the shin bones (tibias, fibulas) and feet bones.
Skeleton 4b, robust bones: bones of the left arm (scapula, humerus, proximal parts of the radius and ulna) and the right leg (innominate fragment, femur, tibia); could be a part of the skeleton from Grave 6.

Grave 5
Šribar: complete skeleton, with the addition of a skull, mandible and femur categorised as Grave 13.
The box contained one skeleton, as well as several fragments belonging to another skeleton.
Skeleton 5a, robust bones: almost all postcranial bones, apart from the skull only the fibulas and feet bones are missing.
Skeleton 5b: fragment of the innominate and fragments of arm bones (capitulum of the humerus, left radius, ulna); most likely belonged to Grave 13.

Grave 6
Šribar: adult skeleton (parallel to Grave 4) and the remains from a reburial (Grave 14).
The box contained an adult skeleton, which was missing a few bones, and had an additional sacrum (possibly from Grave 7 or 14).
Skeleton 6: skull without mandible (this could be located in the box marked Grave 14) and postcranial bones, without the left humerus, left radius and left tibia.

Grave 7
Šribar: lower part of an adult skeleton.
Skeleton 7: incomplete postcranial bones, apart from the skull the shoulder girdle (scapulas and clavicles), both humeri and sacrum are also missing.

Grave 8
Šribar: fragmented bones were found between skeletons 3 and 7 (most likely from a grave that was destroyed when Graves 3 and 7 were created); Grave 15 was located alongside Grave 7; a skull (skeleton 8) lay between the femurs belonging to skeletons 3 and 7.
The box contained a fragmentally preserved skull (skeleton 8) and a few fragments of postcranial bones belonging to two adult skeletons, robust one (shaft of the right ulna and the left tibia) and gracile one (distal parts of the humerus and femur, a fibula fragment).

Grave 9
Šribar: adult skeleton, partially destroyed.
Skeleton 9: a fragmentally preserved skeleton, a few skull bones (occipital, right zygomatic, maxilla, mandible), ribs and vertebra, arm bones (only the right ulna is missing) and the left femur.

Grave 10
Šribar: gracile bones and skull fragments. On the hipbone lay a skull categorised as skeleton 11, the postcranial bones are most likely located underneath the wall.

Skelet 10a, gracilne kosti: fragmentarno ohranjena lobanja, vretenca, obe ključnici, nadlahtnica, del kolčnice (sramnica).
Skelet 10b, zelo robustne kosti: fragment lobanjskega krova, desna ličnica in korpus desne stegnenice.

Grob 11
Šribar: lobanja na kolčnici skeleta 10.
V škatli so bili ostanki več okostij (med drugim npr. desne ličnice treh odraslih oseb), Šribarjevemu opisu odgovarja lobanja (skelet 11a), ostale kosti pa so najbrž iz sosednjih grobov.
Skelet 11a, robustne kosti: vse kosti lobanjskega krova, leva maksila in leva stran mandibule, korpusi obeh stegnenic, desne golenice in mečnice ter petnica. Del kosti tega skeleta je verjetno tudi v škatli grob 49.
Skelet 11b, gracilne kosti (skoraj zagotovo iz groba 12): desna maksila, rebra, del koželjnice, kosti dlani.
Skelet 11c, kosti otroka (verjetno iz groba 17): maksila, ključnica, proksimalni del nadlahtnice.

Grob 12
Šribar: odrasel skelet, vzporedno z grobom 11.
Skelet 12: lobanja brez desne maksile (najdena v škatli grob 11) in postkranialni skelet, ki mu manjkajo kosti goleni in stopal.
Odvečne kosti: leva polovica otroške mandibule (verjetno iz groba 17).

Grob 13
Šribar: glej grob 5.
Skelet 13: fragmentarno ohranjen lobanjski krov, mandibula, ledveno vretence, desna lopatica, desna stegnenica, obe golenici in obe mečnici.

Grob 14
Šribar: glej grob 6.
V škatli so bili ostanki najmanj treh odraslih skeletov in enega otroškega.
Skelet 14: kot skelet 14 smo smatrali celo mandibulo, desno nadlahtnico, desno kolčnico ter par golenic.
Preostale kosti: levi polovici dveh mandibul, rebra, 6 vretenc, 2 levi lopatici, kosti stopal ter desna polovica otroške mandibule.

Grob 15
Šribar: glej grob 8.
V škatli so bili ostanki najmanj štirih odraslih okostij, kot skelete smo označili tri, ločili smo jih po spolnih in starostnih kazalcih.
Skelet 15a, mlajši moški: mandibula, kosti leve podlahti (koželjnica in podlahtnica), obe kolčnici, kosti leve noge (stegnenica, golenica).
Skelet 15b, starejši moški: desna nadlahtnica, leva podlahtnica, leva kolčnica.
Skelet 15c, mlajša ženska: mandibula, kosti desne podlahti (koželjnica in podlahtnica), desna kolčnica, desna stegnenica in desna golenica.
Nerazporejeno: še ena desna ženska stegnenica, rebra, vretenca, dve lopatici, kosti dlani in stopal.

The box contained the remains of two skeletons.
Skeleton 10a, gracile bones: fragmentarily preserved skull, vertebrae, both clavicles, humerus, a part of the innominate (the pubis).
Skeleton 10b, very robust bones: fragment of the calotte, right zygomatic and the shaft of the right femur.

Grave 11
Šribar: skull found on the hipbone belonging to skeleton 10.
The box contains the remains of a number of skeletons (including right zygomatic bones belonging to three different adults), the skull corresponds to Šribar›s description (skeleton 11a), while the other bones most likely originated from the neighbouring graves.
Skeleton 11a, robust bones: all bones of the neurocranium, left maxilla and the left side of the mandible, shafts of both femurs, the right tibia and the fibula as well as the calcaneus. Some of the bones belonging to this skeleton were most likely placed in the box marked Grave 49.
Skeleton 11b, gracile bones (almost certainly from Grave 12): right maxilla, ribs, a part of the radius, metacarpal bones.
Skeleton 11c, child›s bones (most likely from Grave 17): maxilla, clavicle, proximal part of the humerus.

Grave 12
Šribar: adult skeleton, parallel to Grave11.
Skeleton 12: the skull without the right maxilla (found in the box marked Grave 11) and the postcranial bones without the bones of the shin and foot.
Superfluous bones: left side of a child›s mandible (most likely from Grave 17).

Grave 13
Šribar: see Grave 5.
Skeleton 13: fragmentally preserved neurocranium, mandible, lumbar vertebrae, right scapula, right femur, both tibias and both fibulas.

Grave 14
Šribar: see Grave 6.
The box contained the remains belonging to at least three adults and one child.
Skeleton 14: we categorised the entire mandible, the right humerus, right innominate and a pair of tibias as skeleton 14.
Remaining bones: the left sides of two mandibles, ribs, 6 vertebrae, 2 left scapulas, bones of the feet and the right side of a child's mandible.

Grave 15
Šribar: see Grave 8.
The box contained the remains belonging to at least four adult skeletons, and we categorised three as skeletons, as we could differentiate them by gender and age.
Skeleton 15a, young male: mandible, bones of the left forearm (radius and ulna), both innominates, bones of the left leg (femur, tibia).
Skeleton 15b, older male: right humerus, left ulna, left innominate.
Skeleton 15c, younger female: mandible, bones of the right forearm (radius and ulna) and right leg (innominate, femur, tibia).
Unsorted: another right female femur, ribs, vertebrae, two scapulas, bones of the hand and feet.

Grob 16
Šribar: glej grob 8.
V škatli je bila fragmentarno ohranjena lobanja z maksilo in mandibulo (skelet 16, moški) ter fragmenti postkranialnih kosti od najmanj 4 odraslih okostij (domnevno treh moških in ene ženske), ki jih nismo označili kot skelete.
Robustne kosti (moške): 3 nadlahtnice, 3 leve koželjnice.
Gracilne kosti (ženske?): desna podlahtnica, desna stegnenica.
Ostalo: rebra, prsno vretence, križnica, leva ključnica, desna lopatica, še ena desna stegnenica.

Grob 17
Šribar: uničen grob, ohranjen je samo del otroške lobanje.
Skelet 17, otrok: vse kosti možganskega dela lobanje, desna polovica mandibule, rebra, vretenca, obe lopatici, nadlahtnica, koželjnica, obe podlahtnici, črevnica in stegnenica. Manjkajoče kosti se verjetno nahajajo v drugih škatlah (glej skelet 11 c in grob 12).

Grob 18
Šribar: odrasel skelet, robusten.
Škatle oziroma skeleta z oznako grob 18 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 19
Šribar: odrasel skelet (poleg grobov 40, 41 in 43).
V škatli so bili ostanki večih okostij.
Skelet 19a: kompleten slabo ohranjen skelet, manjka samo desna maksila (leva senčnica je bila najdena v škatli grob 20).
Skelet 19b, kosti otroka (lahko iz groba 43): korpusa koželjnice in nadlahtnice, 2 črevnici.
Odvečne kosti odraslih oseb: prvi dve vratni vretenci (sodita v grob št. 20), proksimalna dela dveh humerusov, distalni del podlahtnice, skočnica.

Grob 20
Šribar: odrasel, slabo ohranjen skelet.
Skelet 20: skoraj kompleten skelet, pri lobanji manjkata mandibula in desna maksila, pri postkranialnem okostju pa prvi dve vratni vretenci (najdeni v škatli grob 19).

Grob 21
Šribar: glej grob 22.
Skelet 21a: lobanja manjka, ohranjen pa je skoraj popoln postkranialni skelet (manjkajo ena ključnica, ledvena vretenca in križnica).
Skelet 21b: nemerljivi fragmenti stegnenic in golenic ter kosti stopal; verjetno iz groba 22.

Grob 22
Šribar: kasnejši pokop v jamo 21, odrasel skelet.
Skelet 22: fragmentarno ohranjen možganski del lobanje, desna maksila in večina postkranialnih kosti; manjkajo kosti desne podlahti (koželjnica in podlahtnica) ter kosti goleni (ohranjen je samo delček golenice) in stopal.
Višek kosti: desna maksila odrasle osebe in nekaj otroških kosti (3 rebra, ključnica, distalni del nadlahtnice; morda od skeletov 23a, 27, 33b).

Grave 16
Šribar: see Grave 8.
The box contained a fragmentally preserved skull with maxilla and mandible (skeleton 16, male) and fragments of postcranial bones belonging to at least four adults (most likely three male and one female), which we have not categorised as skeletons.
Robust bones (male): 3 humeri, 3 left radii.
Gracile bones (female?): right ulna, right femur.
Other: ribs, thoracic vertebrae, sacrum, left clavicle, right scapula, another right femur.

Grave 17
Šribar: destroyed grave, only a fragment of a child›s skull was preserved.
Skeleton 17, child: all bones of the cranium, right side of the mandible, ribs, vertebrae, both scapulas, humerus, radius, both ulnas, ilium and femur. The missing bones are most likely stored in other boxes (see skeleton 11 c and Grave 12).

Grave 18
Šribar: adult skeleton, robust.
There was no box or skeleton marked Grave 18 amongst the material.

Grave 19
Šribar: adult skeleton (alongside Graves 40, 41 and 43).
The box contained the remains of a number of skeletons.
Skeleton 19a: a complete, but poorly preserved skeleton, only the right maxilla is missing (the left temporal bone was found in the box marked Grave 20).
Skeleton 19b, bones belonging to a child (possibly from Grave 43): shafts of the radius and humerus, 2 ilia.
The superfluous adult bones: first two cervical vertebrae (they belong to Grave 20), the proximal parts of two humeri, the distal part of an ulna, talus.

Grave 20
Šribar: poorly preserved adult skeleton.
Skeleton 20: almost complete skeleton, the mandible and right maxilla are missing from the skull, two cervical vertebrae are missing from the postcranial bones (found in box marked Grave 19).

Grave 21
Šribar: see Grave 22.
Skeleton 21a: missing skull, however, almost all of the postcranial bones are preserved (missing: one clavicle, the lumbar vertebrae and the sacrum).
Skeleton 21b: immeasurable fragments of femurs, tibias and foot bones; most likely belonging to Grave 22.

Grave 22
Šribar: later burial into pit 21, adult skeleton.
Skeleton 22: fragmentally preserved cranium, right maxilla and most postcranial bones; bones of the right forearm (radius and ulna), shin (only a small fragment of the tibia has been preserved) and feet are missing.
Superfluous bones: right adult maxilla and a few children›s bones (3 ribs, clavicle, distal part of the humerus; possibly belonging to skeletons 23a, 27, 33b).

Grob 23

Šribar: skoraj uničen skelet s pokopom št. 30 in izkopom temeljev (vrstni red pokopov: 31, 23, 30).

V škatli so bili ostanki 3 okostij, 2 otrok in mlade ženske.

Skelet 23a, mlajši otrok: fragmenti lobanjskega krova, nadlahtnice, koželjnice, stegnenice in golenice.

Skelet 23b, dojenček: fragmenti mandibule, nadlahtnice, podlahtnice, koželjnice in golenice.

Skelet 23c, mladostnik: desna stegnenica, obe golenici, del mečnice, petnica in stopalnica; sodijo k skeletu 31.

Grob 24

Šribar: odrasel gracilen skelet, otrok?

V škatli so bile kosti otroka in odrasle osebe, poleg tega pa še nekaj zelo tankih kosti lobanjskega krova (dojenček, verjetno od skeleta 23b).

Skelet 24a, otrok: kompleten skelet.

Skelet 24 b, odrasla oseba: fragmenti lobanje (čelnica, temenica, desna maksila, leva stran mandibule) in nekaj kosti roke (ključnica, leva podlahtnica, zapestna kost in prstni členek).

Grob 25

Šribar: otroška lobanja v grobni jami 57.

V škatli so bili fragmentarno ohranjene in nemerljive kosti najmanj 6 okostij, 3 otroških in 3 odraslih (leva moška kolčnica in 2 desni ženski kolčnici). Šribarjevemu opisu morda ustreza skelet 25c, kosti preostalih okostij pa so verjetno tudi v grobu 57.

Skelet 25a, robustne kosti, moške: kosti leve roke (nadlahtnica, koželjnica, podlahtnica), leva kolčnica, desna stegnenica, leva golenica, 2 pogačici.

Skelet 25 b, gracilne kosti, ženske: mandibula, kosti leve roke (nadlahtnica, koželjnica, podlahtnica), desna kolčnica.

Skelet 25c, starejši otrok: fragmenti lobanjskega krova, desni vogal mandibule, nadlahtnica, proksimalni del podlahtnice, desna stegnenica, leva golenica.

Skelet 25d, mlajši otrok: stegnenica.

Skelet 25e, dojenček: ključnica in podlahtnica (lahko del skeleta 23b).

Skelet 25f, ženska: druga desna ženska kolčnica.

Grob 26

Šribar: ostanki odrasle osebe v nasutju.

V škatli so bili ostanki 3 oseb, odrasle ženske in dveh otrok.

Skelet 26, ženska: fragmenti lobanje z maksilo (mandibula manjka) in nekaterih postkranialnih kosti (5 vretenc, proksimalna dela podlahnice in koželjnice, obe stegnenici).

Treh otroških kosti nismo označili, fragment stegnenice pripada mlajšemu otroku, leva polovica čelnice in fragment nedoločljive dolge kosti pa dojenčku.

Grob 27

Šribar: poškodovan otroški skelet, pod 21 in 22.

Skelet 27, otrok: framenti lobanjskega krova, leva maksila, desna stran mandibule, rebra, vretenca, obe lopatici, ključnica, obe nadlahtnici in podlahtnici, koželjnica, obe črevnici (ostale kosti nog manjkajo).

Grave 23

Šribar: skeleton almost destroyed by burial No. 30 and the digging of the foundations (order of burials: 31, 23, 30).

The box contained the remains of three skeletons, 2 children and a young woman.

Skeleton 23a, young child: fragments of the cranium, humerus, radius, femur and tibia.

Skeleton 23b, infant: fragments of the mandible, humerus, ulna, radius and tibia.

Skeleton 23c, juvenile: right femur, both tibias, a part of the fibula, calcaneus and metatarsals; they belong to skeleton 31.

Grave 24

Šribar: gracile adult skeleton, child?

The box contained the bones of a child and an adult, as well as a few very thin bones of the neuurocranium (infant, most likely skeleton 23b).

Skeleton 24a, child: complete skeleton.

Skeleton 24 b, adult: skull fragments (frontal, parietal, right maxilla, left side of the mandible) and a few bones of the arm (clavicle, left ulna, one carpal bone and a phalanx).

Grave 25

Šribar: child's skull in grave pit 57.

The box contained fragmentally preserved and immeasurable bones belonging to at least 6 skeletons, 3 children and 3 adult (left male innominate and 2 right female innomonates). Skeleton 25c might fit Šribar›s description, while the missing bones of the remaining skeletons might be located in Grave 57.

Skeleton 25a, robust bones, male: bones of the left arm (humerus, radius, ulna), left innominate, right femur, left tibia, 2 patellas.

Skeleton 25 b, gracile bones, female: mandible, bones of the left arm (humerus, radius, ulna), right innominate.

Skeleton 25c, older child: fragments of the calotte, right corner of the mandible, humerus, proximal part of the ulna, right femur, left tibia.

Skeleton 25d, young child: femur.

Skeleton 25e, infant: clavicle and ulna (could be a part of skeleton 23b).

Skeleton 25f, female: second right female innominate.

Grave 26

Šribar: remains of an adult in the rubble.

The box contained the remains of 3 individuals, an adult woman and two children.

Skeleton 26, female: fragments of cranium and maxilla (mandible is missing) and a few postcranial bones (5 vertebrae, the proximal parts of the ulna and radius, both femurs).

We have not categorised three child bones; a femur fragment belongs to a young child, while the left half of the frontal bone and the fragment of an undefinable long bone belong to an infant.

Grave 27

Šribar: a damaged child skeleton, under 21 and 22.

Skeleton 27, child: fragments of the neurocranium, left maxilla, the right side of the mandible, ribs, vertebra, both scapulas, clavicle, both humeri and ulnas, radius, both ilia (the remaining leg bones are missing).

Grob 28
Šribar: lobanja, nad levo stranjo skeleta 18.
Skelet 28: fragmentarno ohranjena lobanja brez mandibule.

Grob 29
Šribar: odrasel skelet, uničen skelet 33.
Skelet 29: fragmentarno ohranjene kosti lobanje in zgornji del postkranialnega skeleta (rebra, vretenca, kosti obeh rok, kolčnici, stegnenici), manjkajo kosti goleni in stopal). Poleg tega sta bili v škatli še 2 kosti otroka (desna črevnica in proksimalni del leve stegnenice), ki ju nismo označili kot skelet, verjetno sodita k skeletu 33b.

Grob 30
Šribar: odrasel robusten skelet.
Skeleta ali škatle z oznako grob 30 v gradivu ni bilo. Šribarjevemu opisu npr, odgovarjata skeleta 32a in xx.

Grob 31
Šribar: slabo ohranjen odrasel skelet.
Skelet 31: od lobanje sta ohranjeni le maksili in mandibula, od postkraniuma pa rebra, vretenca, prsnica, ena nadlahtnica, obe lopatici, ključnici, koželjnici in podlahtnici, obe kolčnici in leva stegnenica. Manjkajoče postkranialne kosti smo našli v škatli grob 23 (glej skelet 23c).

Grob 32
Šribar: ostanki zgornjega dela otroškega skeleta med lobanjama 23 in 33.
V škatli so bile kosti štirih oseb, s Šribarjevim opisom se ujema skelet, ki smo mu dodelili oznako 32c.
Skelet 32a, moški: skoraj kompleten odrasel skelet, zelo robusten; pri lobanji manjkata čeljustnici (ohranjen je samo fragment mandibule in nekaj izoliranih zob), pri postkranialnem skeletu pa mečnici in kosti stopal. Morda gre za skelet iz manjkajočega groba 30.
Skelet 32b, moški: nekaj kosti lobanje (fragment čelnice, desna temenica, desna senčnica, obe ličnici) ter fragmenti postkraniuma (2 vretenci, kolčnica, križnica, ključnica, lopatica), ki bi lahko sodili k skeletu 33a.
Skelet 32c, mlajši otrok: lobanja z maksilama in mandibulo, rebra, vretenca, obe lopatici in ključnici, leva nadlahtnica in proksimalni del desne, sramnica.
Poleg tega je bilo v škatli še nekaj kosti od starejšega otroka (distalna epifiza koželjnice, del črevnice), ki ga nismo označili kot skelet.

Grob 33
Šribar: ostanki odraslega skeleta, fragmentirane dolge kosti na kupu, desna stegnenica je ležala desno ob 22 in 29.
V škatli so bile kosti dveh oseb, odraslega in otroka.
Skelet 33a, moški: fragmenti lobanjskega krova, mandibula in nekaj fragmentov postkranialnih kosti (obe lopatici, desna nadlahtnica, leva podlahtnica, obe kolčnici, stegnenici in golenici, leva mečnica). K temu skeletu bi lahko sodile tudi kosti najdene v škatli grob 32 (glej skelet 32b).
Skelet 33b, mlajši otrok: mandibula, rebra, ključnica, koželjnica, desna črevnica in nedoločljivi fragmenti dolgih kosti.

Grave 28
Šribar: skull, above the left side of skeleton 18.
Skeleton 28: fragmentally preserved skull without mandible.

Grave 29
Šribar: adult skeleton, destroyed skeleton 33.
Skeleton 29: the fragmentally preserved skull bones and the upper postcranial bones (ribs, vertebrae, bones of both arms, innoinates, femurs), missing are the shin and feet bones. The box also contained 2 child bones (right ilium and the proximal part of the left femur), which we did not categorise as a skeleton; they most likely belong to skeleton 33b.

Grave 30
Šribar: adult robust skeleton.
There was no skeleton or box marked Grave 30 amongst the material. Skeletons 32a and xx could fit Šribar›s description.

Grave 31
Šribar: poorly preserved adult skeleton.
Skeleton 3: only the maxillae and mandible are preserved from the skull; from the postcranial bones the following have been preserved: the ribs, vertebrae, sternum, one humerus, both scapulas, clavicles, both radiuses and ulnas, both innominates and the left femur. The missing postcranial bones have been found in the box marked Grave 23 (see skeleton 23c).

Grave 32
Šribar: the remains of the upper part of a child›s skeleton were located between skulls 23 and 33.
The box contained the bones of four individuals, the skeleton that we have categorised as skeleton 32c matched Šribar›s description.
Skeleton 32a, male: almost entire adult skeleton, very robust; the skull is missing both jawbones (only a fragment of a mandible and a few isolated teeth have been preserved), while the postcranial bones are missing the fibulas and the foot bones. This could be the skeleton from the missing Grave 30.
Skeleton 32b, male: a few cranial bones (a fragment of the fronta, the right parietal, the right temporal, both zygomatic bones) and fragments of the postcranial bones (2 vertebrae, an innominate, sacrum, clavicle, scapula), which could belong to skeleton 33a.
Skeleton 32c, young child: skull with mandible and maxillae, ribs, vertebrae, both scapulas and clavicles, left humerus and the proximal part of the right pubis bone.
The box included a few additional bones belonging to a slightly older child (distal radial epiphysis, part of the ilium), which we did not categorise as a skeleton.

Grave 33
Šribar: remains of an adult skeleton, fragmented long bones piled up, the right femur lay to the left, alongside 22 and 29.
The box included the bones belonging to two individuals, an adult and a child.
Skeleton 33a, male: fragments of the neurocranium, mandible and a few fragments of post-cranial bones (both scapulas, right humerus, left ulna, both innominates, femurs and tibias, left fibula). The bones found in box marked Grave 32 (see skeleton 32b) could belong to this skeleton.

Grob 34
Šribar: fragmentiran odrasel skelet ter nadlahtnica in podlahtnica od druge osebe.
V škatli so bili ostanki 3 okostij, največ jih pripada skeletu 34a, ostale kosti verjetno izvirajo iz sosednjih grobov.
Skelet 34a, moški: fragmenti lobanjskega krova, leva polovica mandibule ter zgornji del postkraniuma (rebra, vratna in prsna vretenca, prsnica, obe ključnici, lopatici in nadlahtnici, delčki koželjnice in podlahtnice).
Skelet 34b, otrok: leva stran mandibule, leva ličnica in fragment dolge kosti.
Od tretje osebe, ki je nismo označili kot skelet, je bila ohranjena samo desna polovica mandibule, ženska.

Grob 35
Šribar: odrasel skelet, poškodovan pri pokopu skeleta 36.
Skelet 35: ohranjena je samo lobanja, brez maksile in mandibule.

Grob 36
Šribar: odrasel skelet.
Skelet 36: lobanja (manjkata leva maksila in mandibula, razen levega ramusa) in kompleten postkranialni skelet.
Višek kosti: desna maksila, leva ličnica, baza križnice in del mečnice; morda od skeleta 35.

Grob 37
Šribar: uničen odrasel skelet.
V škatli so bile kosti moškega in otroka.
Skelet 37a, mlajši otrok: fragmenti kosti lobanjskega krova, desna polovica mandibule, vretenca, fragment stegnenice in delci neprepoznavnih dolgih kosti.
Skelet 37b, moški: fragmenti reber, prsnice, 2 vretenci, del kolčnice, distalni epifizi obeh stegnenic, petnica in skočnica.

Grob 38
Šribar: odrasel gracilen skelet, fragmentiran.
Skelet 38: lobanja v fragmentih, leva stran mandibule in izolirani zobje, fragmenti skoraj vseh postkranialnih kosti (manjka desna ključnica).

Grob 39
V škatli so bili ostanki najmanj 3 okostij, moškega, ženske in otroka.
Skelet 39a, moški: lobanja v fragmentih (ohranjeni sta obe maksili, od mandibule samo levi vogal) in fragmenti večine postkranialnih kosti (manjkjo leva golenica in obe mečnici).
Skelet 39b, ženska: lobanja v fragmentih (manjkata leva maksila in mandibula) in fragmenti večine postkranialnih kosti (manjkajo kosti leve roke: levi humerus, ulna in radius).
Skelet 39c, otrok: fragmenti lobanjskega krova in postkraniuma (dolge kosti, črevnica in sednica).

Skeleton 33b, young child: mandible, ribs, clavicle, radius, right ilium and undefinable long bone fragments.

Grave 34
Šribar: fragmented adult skeleton alongside a humerus and ulna belonging to a different individual.
The box contained the remains of 3 skeletons; most bones belong to skeleton 34a, while the remaining bones most likely originate from neighbouring graves.
Skeleton 34a, male: fragments of the neurocranium, left side of the mandible and the upper postcranial bones (ribs, cervical and thoracic vertebrae, sternum, both clavicles, scapulas and humeri, fragments of the radius and ulna).
Skeleton 34b, child: left side of the mandible, left zygomatic bone and fragment of a long bone.
The box contained also a bone belonging to a third individual, a female, however, we did not categorise it as a skeleton, as only the right side of a mandible was preserved.

Grave 35
Šribar: adult skeleton, damaged during the burial of skeleton 36.
Skeleton 35: only part of the skull is preserved, without the mandible and maxilla.

Grave 36
Šribar: adult skeleton.
Skeleton 36: skull (the left maxilla and mandible are missing, except for the left ramus) and all postcranial bones.
Surplus bones: right maxilla, left zygomatic bone, base of the sacrum and a part of the fibula; possibly belonging to skeleton 35.

Grave 37
Šribar: a destroyed adult skeleton.
The box contained the bones of a male and a child.
Skeleton 37a, young child: fragments of neurocranium, right side of the mandible, vertebrae, a femur fragment and parts of unrecognisable long bones.
Skeleton 37b, male: rib fragments, sternum, 2 vertebrae, a part of the innominate, distal epiphyses of both femurs, calcaneus and talus.

Grave 38
Šribar: gracile adult skeleton, fragmented.
Skeleton 38: fragmented craniuml, left side of the mandible and isolated teeth, fragments of almost all postcranial bones (right clavicle is missing).

Grave 39
The box contained the remains of at least 3 skeletons, male, female and a child.
Skeleton 39a, male: fragmented skull (both maxillae are preserved, as is the left corner of the mandible) and fragments of most postcranial bones (left tibia and both fibulas are missing).
Skeleton 39b, female: fragmented skull (left maxilla and mandible are missing), most postcranial bones are fragmented (the bones of the left arm are missing: left humerus, ulna and radius).
Skeleton 39c, child: fragments of neurocranium and some postcranial bones (long bones, ilium and ischium).

Grob 40
Šribar: odlično ohranjen odrasel skelet, čelni del poškodovan ob vkopu 19.
Skeleta ali škatle z oznako grob 40 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 41
Šribar: dobro ohranjen skelet, istočasen pokop s 40.
V škatli je bila samo maksila z oznako 41.

Grob 42
Šribar: uničen odrasel skelet.
Skeleta ali škatle z oznako grob 42 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 43
Šribar: fragmenti lobanje in rebra otroka.
Skelet 43, otrok: fragmenti lobanje (brez maksile in mandibule) in reber.
Poleg tega je bilo v škatli še nekaj kosti stopal (2 skočnici, stopalnica) odrasle osebe.

Grob 44
Šribar: prsti in golenici odrasle osebe.
Skeleta ali škatle z oznako grob 44 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 45
Šribar: odrasel skelet.
Skelet 45: srednje dobro ohranjen kompleten skelet, vse kosti lobanje in postkraniuma.

Grob 46
Šribar: odrasel skelet.
Skelet 46: v škatli je bil samo možganski del lobanje. Poleg tega pa še fragmenta temenice od druge lobanje.

Grob 47
Šribar: fragmenti otroškega skeleta.
Skelet 47, otrok: fragmenti postkranialnega skeleta (rebra, 2 vretenci, koželjnica, desna podlahtnica, črevnica in sramnica, desna stegnenica.
Poleg tega je bilo v škatli še nekaj kosti stopal (kocka, 2 prstna členka) odraslega skeleta.

Grob 48
Šribar: golenici odrasle osebe.
Skeleta ali škatle z oznako grob 48 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 49
Šribar: poškodovan odrasel skelet brez lobanje, ki je bila uničena ob pokopu 11.
Skelet 49, ženska: del čelnice in fragmentarno ohranjen postkranialni skelet, skoraj kompleten (manjkajo ključnici in golenici).
Poleg tega je bilo v škatli še nekaj kosti od treh drugih oseb, ki jih nismo šteli kot skelete:
Odrasel moški: zelo robustne in velike kosti (kaput nadlahtnice, kosti stopal), ki najbrž sodijo v grob 11.
Mladostnik: neprirasel kaput nadlahtnice in križnica, morda od skeleta 10a.
Otrok: fragmenti lobanjskega krova.

Grave 40
Šribar: excellently preserved adult skeleton, the forehead was damaged at burial 19.
There was no skeleton or box marked Grave 40 amongst the material.

Grave 41
Šribar: a well-preserved skeleton, simultaneous burial with 40.
The box included merely a maxilla marked 41.

Grave 42
Šribar: destroyed adult skeleton.
There was no skeleton or box marked Grave 42 amongst the material.

Grave43
Šribar: skull fragments and child ribs.
Skeleton 43, child: skull fragments (without mandible and maxilla) and rib fragments.
The box also included a few foot bones (2 taluses, metatarsals) belonging to an adult.

Grave 44
Šribar: fingers and tibias belonging to an adult.
There was no skeleton or box marked Grave 44 amongst the material.

Grave 45
Šribar: adult skeleton.
Skeleton 45: a complete, medium preserved skeleton, all skull and postcranial bones were present.

Grave 46
Šribar: adult skeleton.
Skeleton 46: the box contained a cranium and two parietal bone fragments belonging to a different skull.

Grave 47
Šribar: fragments of a child skeleton.
Skeleton 47, child: partial postcranial bones (ribs, 2 vertebrae, radius, right ulna, ilium and pubis bone, right femur).
The box also included a few bones of the feet (cuboid bone, 2 phalanges) belonging to an adult.

Grave 48
Šribar: tibias belonging to an adult.
There was no skeleton or box marked Grave 48 amongst the material.

Grave 49
Šribar: a damaged adult skeleton without a skull, which was destroyed during burial 11.
Skeleton 49, female: a part of the frontal bone and fragmentarily preserved postcranial bones, almost complete skeleton (the clavicles and tibias are missing).
The box also contained a few bones belonging to three individuals which we did not categorise as skeletons:
Adult male: very robust and large bones (head of humerus, bones of the feet), which most likely belong to Grave 11.
Juvenile: head of humerus and sacrum have not ossified yet, they possibly belong to skeleton 10a.
Child: fragments of the neurocranium.

Grob 50
Šribar: poškodovan otroški skelet.
Skelet 50, starejši otrok: fragmenti lobanje in večine kosti postkranialnega skeleta.

Grob 51
Š: odrasel skelet, zgornji del.
Skelet 51, ženska: lobanja z maksilama in mandibulo ter nekaj fragmentov postkranialnega skeleta (rebra, vretenca, obe lopatici, ključnici in nadlahtnici, distalni del leve stegnenice). Poleg tega je bilo v škatli še nekaj kosti otroka starega okoli 4 leta (vretence, desna lopatica, del ključnice, distalni del nadlahtnice, proksimalni del stegnenice), ki bi lahko spadale k skeletu 52b.

Grob 52
Šribar: uničen otroški skelet, nekaj vretenc in reber.
V škatli so bili ostanki dveh otroških skeletov (samo postkranialne kosti), večina pripada skeletu 52a, medtem ko se s Šribarjevim opisom ohranjenosti bolj ujema skelet 52b.
Skelet 52a, starejši otrok: vretenca, križnica, obe črevnici, leva nadlahtnica, koželjnica, proksimalna dela obeh podlahtnic, obe stegnenici.
Skelet 52b, mlajši otrok: vretenca, proksimalni del nadlahtnice, distalni del koželjnice. Nekaj kosti od tega otroka je verjetno tudi v škatli grob 51.

Grob 53
Šribar: fragmenti lobanje otroka, ostali deli uničeni.
Skelet 53, starejši otrok: fragmenti lobanjskega krova in leva polovica mandibule. Glede na starost bi k tej lobanji lahko sodil postkranialni skelet 52a.

Grob 54
Šribar: fragmenti odraslega skeleta.
Skelet 54, moški: lobanja (brez maksil in mandibule) ter skoraj kompleten in relativno dobro ohranjen postkranialni skelet (manjka desna koželjnica). Poleg tega je bil v škatli tudi del otroške stegnenice.

Grob 55
Šribar: odrasel skelet v fragmentih.
V škatli so bili ostanki 3 okostij, večina kosti pripada skeletu 55a.
Skelet 55a, moški: lobanja z maksilama in mandibulo ter skoraj kompleten postkranialni skelet (manjka samo leva kolčnica).
Skelet 55b, otrok: desna črevnica, proksimalni del leve stegnenice, 2 rebri in še nekaj fragmentov dolgih kosti.
Skelet 55c, domnevno ženska: čelnica, leva in desna kolčnica, deli nadlahtnice, stegnenice in golenice.

Grob 56
Šribar: odrasla oseba, nad grobom 57.
Skelet 56, moški: lobanja z maksilama in mandibulo ter skoraj kompleten postkranialni skelet (manjkajo desna ključnica, križnica, obe kolčnici).

Grave 50
Šribar: a damaged child skeleton.
Skeleton 50, older child: fragments of the skull and most postcranial bones.

Grave 51
Šribar: adult skeleton, upper part.
Skeleton 51, female: skull with mandible and both maxillae as well as a few postcranial bones (ribs, vertebrae, both scapulas, clavicles and humeri, the distal part of the left femur).The box also included a few bones belonging to a child who was approximately 4 years old (vertebrae, right scapula, a part of the clavicle, the distal part of the humerus, proximal part of the femur), which could belong to skeleton 52b.

Grave 52
Šribar: a destroyed child skeleton, a few vertebrae and ribs.
The box contained the remains of two child skeletons (only postcranial bones), most belong to skeleton 52a, however skeleton 52b is closer to the description (as regards its preservation) provided by Šribar.
Skeleton 52a, older child: vertebrae, sacrum, both ilia, left humerus, radius, proximal parts of both ulnas, both femurs.
Skeleton 52b, young child: vertebrae, proximal part of the humerus, distal part of the radius. Some of the bones belonging to this child were most likely located in the box marked Grave 51.

Grave 53
Šribar: child, fragments of a skull, the other bones have been destroyed.
Skeleton 53, younger child: fragments of the neurocranium and the left side of the mandible. Taking age into account the postcranial bones 52a could belong to this skull.

Grave 54
Šribar: fragments of an adult skeleton.
Skeleton 54, male: skull (without the mandible and maxillae) and almost all and relatively well-preserved postcranial bones (the right radius is missing). A part of a femur belonging to a child was also found in the box.

Grave 55
Šribar: fragmented adult skeleton.
The box contained the remains of 3 skeletons; most bones belong to skeleton 55a.
Skeleton 55a, male: skull with mandible and both maxillae and almost all postcranial bones (with the exception of the left innominate which is missing).
Skeleton 55b, child: right ilium, proximal part of the left femur, 2 ribs and a few long bone fragments.
Skeleton 55c, assumed to be female: frontal bone, left and right innominate, parts of the humerus, femur and tibia.

Grave 56
Šribar: adult, above Grave 57.
Skeleton 56, male: skull with mandible and both maxillae and almost all postcranial bones (right clavicle, sacrum, both innominates are missing).

Grob 57

Šribar: uničen skelet – otrok, ohranjena je lobanja.

V štatli so bile premešane človeške in živalske kosti, človeške pripadajo najmanj 4 osebam (moški, ženska, 2 otroka), verjetneje pa 6 (ostanki lobanj so verjetneje od 3 odraslih, lok vretenca pa je od dojenčka). Šribarjevemu opisu ustreza skelet 57d, ostala okostja so verjetno ista kot v škatli grob 25.

Skelet 57a, moški: fragmenti nadlahtnice, kolčnice in mečnice.

Skelet 57b, ženska: podlahtnica.

Skelet 57c, starejši otrok: fragmenti nadlahtnice, korpusa obeh stegnenic, proksimalni del golenice.

Skelet 57d, mlajši otrok: fragmenti lobanje z mandibulo, fragmenti vretenc, ključnice, nadlahtnice, koželjnice in stegnenice.

K obema odraslima okostjema (57 a in b) verjetno spadajo tudi ostanki 2 ali 3 lobanj (kalota, 2 zatilnici, senčnica, leva maksila), rebra in kosti stopal. Med otroškimi kostmi pa je bil tudi lok vretenca (dojenček), ki po starosti ne spada k otrokoma 57 c in d.

Grob 58

Šribar: odrasel skelet.

Skelet 58, ženska: zelo slabo ohranjen skelet, fragmenti lobanjskega krova ter nemerljivi fragmenti postkranialnih kosti (koželjnica, leva podlahtnica, kolčnica, obe stegnenici, ibiji in mečnici, kosti dlani in stopal).

Grob 59

Šribar: odrasel skelet, uničen ob izkopu 60.

V škatli so bile kosti najmanj 4 skeletov, vendar pa moške nadlahtnice (leva, distalni del) nismo označili kot skelet.

Skelet 59a, ženska: nemerljivi fragmenti lobanje, reber, vretenc, lopatice, ključnice, desne podlahtnice, desne kolčnice in obeh stegnenic.

Skelet 59b, starejši otrok: desna podlahtnica, korpus koželjnice, del križnice, desna črevnica. Temu skeletu po velikosti ustrezajo tudi kosti, ki smo jih našli v škatli grob 60 (glej skelet 60b).

Skelet 59c, mlajši otrok: 2 fragmenta lobanjskega krova, 4 rebra, lok vretenca in desna lopatica.

Grob 60

Šribar: odrasel skelet, gracilen.

V škatli so bile kosti dveh okostij, Šribarjevemu opisu ustraza skelet 60a.

Skelet 60a, ženska: nekaj kosti lobanje (baza zatilnice, desna ličnica in 2 zoba) ter skoraj kompleten postkranium (manjka desna podlahtnica).

Skelet 60b: lobanja, vretenca, distalni del nadlahtnice, leva kolčnica in desna stegnenica. K temu skeletu verjetno sodijo tudi kosti označene kot skelet 59b.

Grob 61

Šribar: odrasel skelet, uničen, poškodovan ob pokopu 55.

Skelet 61, moški: kompleten skelet, lobanja v fragmentih.

V škatli je bilo še nekaj kosti otroške lobanje (temenica, leva senčnica), ki morda sodijo k skeletu 55b.

Grave 57

Šribar: child, the skeleton has been destroyed, the skull is preserved.

The box included a mixture of human and animal bones, human bones belonged to at least 4 individuals (male, female, 2 children), but more likely 6 (the skull remains most likely belonged to 3 adults, while the vertebral arch belonged to an infant). Skeleton 57d fits Šribar›s description, while the remaining bones are most likely parts of skeletons found in the box marked Grave 25.

Skeleton 57a, male: fragments of the humerus, innominate and fibula.

Skeleton 57b, female: ulna.

Skeleton 57c, older child: fragments of the humerus, the shafts of both femurs, proximal part of the tibia.

Skeleton 57d, younger child: fragments of a skull with mandible, fragments of vertebrae, clavicle, humerus, radius and femur.

The two adult skeletons (57 a and b) most likely include the remains of 2 or 3 skulls (callote, 2 occipitals, temporal bone, left maxilla), ribs and bones of the feet. The child bones included a vertebral arch (infant), which does not belong to children 57 c or d (due to its age).

Grave 58

Šribar: adult skeleton.

Skeleton 58, female: very poorly preserved skeleton, fragments of the neurocranium and fragments of postcranial bones that are too small to measure (radius, left ulna, innominate, both femurs, tibias and fibulas, bones of the hand and feet).

Grave 59

Šribar: adult skeleton, destroyed during the excavation of Grave 60.

The box contained the bones of at least 4 skeletons, however, the humerus belonging to a male (left, distal part) was not classified as a skeleton.

Skeleton 59a, female: immeasurable fragments of the skull, ribs, vertebrae, scapula, clavicle, right ulna, right innominate and both femurs.

Skeleton 59b, older child: right ulna, the shaft of the radius, a part of the sacrum, right ilium. The size of the bones indicate that these bones could form a skeleton together with the bones found in the box marked Grave 60 (see skeleton 60b).

Skeleton 59c, young child: 2 fragments of the neurocranium, 4 ribs, vertebral arch and the right scapula.

Grave 60

Šribar: adult skeleton, gracile.

The box contained the bones of two skeletons, skeleton 60a fits Šribar's description.

Skeleton 60a, female: a few skull bones (the t base of occipital, right zygomatic and 2 teeth) and almost all postcranial bones (the right ulna is missing).

Skeleton 60b: skull, vertebrae, distal part of the humerus, left innominate and right femur. Bones categorised as skeleton 59b most likely belong to this skeleton.

Grave 61

Šribar: adult skeleton, destroyed, damaged during the burial of skeleton 55.

Grob 62
Šribar: lobanja na ostankih skeleta 64.
V škatli so bile kosti 2 otrok.
Skelet 62a, starejši otrok: lobanja, vretenca, rebra, obe lopatici, obe nadlahtnici, del koželjnice, križnica, desna črevnica in leva stegnenica.
Skelet 62b, dojenček: kosti medenice (2 črevnici in sednica).

Grob 63
Šribar: desna stegnenica in golenica in situ.
V škatli so bili fragmenti lobanje z mandibulo, ki smo jo označili kot skelet 63. Poleg tega pa še fragmenti postkranialnih kosti dveh odraslih skeletov: nadlahtnica, koželjnica, podlahtnica, korpusi 3 stegnenic, 2 golenici, mečnica.

Grob 64
Šribar: ob levem ramenu skeleta 60 je ležal fragment otroške lobanje, nekaj fragmentov kosti pod lobanjo 12.
V škatli so bili ostanki 4 skeletov.
Skelet 64a, ženska: fragmenti lobanje z maksilo in mandibulo ter fragmenti nadlahtnice, podlahtnice, obeh koželjnic, obeh stegnenic, golenic in mečnic.
Skelet 64b, mlajši otrok: fragmenti lobanje z mandibulo.
Skelet 64c, starejši otrok: desna senčnica, vratno vretence, rebra, leva lopatica in leva podlahtnica.
Poleg tega je bila v škatli še cela mandibula odrasle osebe, ki je nismo označili kot skelet.

Grob 65
Šribar: odrasel skelet in ostanki.
Skelet 65, moški: lobanja in nemerljive kosti zgornjega dela postkranialnega skeleta (obe lopatici, nadlahtnici in podlahtnici, križnica in obe kolčnici).
Poleg tega je bila v škatli še odvečna leva senčnica.

Grob 66
Škatle ali skeleta z oznako grob 66 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 67
Šribar: odrasel skelet.
V škatli so bili ostanki dveh slabo ohranjenih okostij.
Skelet 67a, starejša oseba, domnevno ženska: leva stran čelnice, leva polovica mandibule, fragmenti vseh dolgih postkranialnih kosti.
Skelet 67b, mlajša ženska: lobanja v fragmentih, 3 vratna vretenca, desna kolčnica in fragmenti vseh dolgih postkranialnih kosti.

Grob 68
Šribar: razmetane kosti.
V škatli so bili premešani fragmenti najmanj 7 skeletov, otroškega in 6 odraslih. Kot skelete smo označili tiste kosti, ki smo jim lahko določili spol in starost, poleg otroka še 4 odrasle.
Skelet 68a, otrok: nadlahtnica, leva stegnenica, nekaj izoliranih zob.
Skelet 68b, ženska: desna kolčnica.
Skelet 68c, starejši moški: druga desna kolčnica.
Skelet 68d, moški: tretja desna kolčnica.
Skelet 68e, mlajša oseba: leva kolčnica z nedokončano osifikacijo.

Skeleton 61, male: complete skeleton, fragmented skull.
The box contained also a few bones belonging to a child's skull (parietal bones, left temporal), which might belong to skeleton 55b.

Grave 62
Šribar: skull found on top of the remains of skeleton 64.
The box contained the bones of 2 children.
Skeleton 62a, older child: skull, vertebrae, ribs, both scapulas, both humeri, a part of the radius, sacrum, right ilium and left femur.
Skeleton 62b, infant: pelvis bones (2 ilia and ischium).

Grave 63
Šribar: right femur and tibia in situ.
The box contained fragments of a skull with mandible, which we have categorised as skeleton 63. The box also contained fragments of postcranial bones belonging to two adult skeletons: humerus, radius, ulna, shafts of 3 femurs, 2 tibias, fibula.

Grave 64
Šribar: a fragment of a child's skull lay alongside the left shoulder belonging to skeleton 60; a few bone fragments were located under skull 12.
The box contained the remains of 4 individuals.
Skeleton 64a, female: skull fragments with mandible and maxilla and fragments of the humerus, ulna, both radii, femurs, tibias and fibulas.
Skeleton 64b, young child: fragments of a skull with mandible.
Skeleton 64c, older child: right temporal bone, cervical vertebrae, ribs, left scapula and left ulna.
The box also contained an adult mandible, which was not categorised as a skeleton.

Grave 65
Šribar: adult skeleton and remains.
Skeleton 65, male: skull and immeasurable upper postcranial bones (both scapulas, humeri and ulnas, sacrum and both innominates).
The box also contained an additional left temporal bone.

Grave 66
There was no box or skeleton marked Grave 66 amongst the material.

Grave 67
Šribar: adult skeleton.
The box contained the remains of two poorly preserved skeletons.
Skeleton 67a, older individual, most likely female: left side of the frontal bone, left side of the mandible, fragments of all long postcranial bones.
Skeleton 67b, younger female: fragmented skull, 3 cervical vertebrae, right innominate and fragments of all postcranial bones.

Grave 68
Šribar: disorganised bones.
The box contained fragments belonging to a minimum of 7 individuals, one child and 6 adults. Those bones that could be defined as regards sex and age were categorised as skeletons, i.e. a child and 4 adults.

Poleg kolčnic (3 leve, 3 desne) so bile fragmentarno ohranjene še naslednje kosti odraslih oseb: 6 čelnic, 3 senčnice (2 levi, 1 desna), 4 maksile (1 leva, 3 desne), 2 mandibuli (1 cela, 1 desni vogal), 1 leva ključnica, 3 lopatice (2 levi, 1 desna), 5 nadlahtnic (1 leva, 4 desne), 4 koželjnice (2 levi, 2 desni), 2 podlahtnici (1 leva, 1 desna), 2 križnici, najmanj 7 stegnenic, 5 golenic (4 leve, 1 desna), 6 mečnic.

Grob 69

Šribar: zidana baročna grobna jama.

Skelet 69, domnevno moški: nekaj fragmentov lobanjskega krova in dolgih kosti (2 nadlahtnici, koželjnica, 2 stegnenici, golenica).

Grob 70

Šribar: prezidana grobna jama.

Škatle ali skeleta z oznako grob 70 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 71

Šribar: fragmenti.

Skelet 71: lobanja brez mandibule (ta se je nahajala v škatli grob 39) ter fragmentarno ohranjene postkranialne kosti (ključnici, nadlahtnici, podlahtnici, koželjnici, kolčnici, stegnenici). Lahko bi šlo za 2 skeleta, ker so na lobanji izraženi ženski spolni znaki, na medenici pa moški.

Grob 72

Šribar: grob v cerkveni ladji v drugi grobni jami, odrasel skelet, posebnost (rimska?).

V škatli je bilo samo nekaj fragmentov od dveh okostij, odrasle osebe (lobanjski krov, moški?) in otroka (sramnica). Nobenega nismo šteli kot samostojen skelet.

Grob 73

Skelet 73, moški: fragmentarno ohranjen skelet, lobanja in nemerljive dolge kosti (leva nadlahtnica, leva podlahtnica, desna koželjnica, stegnenica, 2 golenici, 2 petnici).

Grob 74

Skelet 74, ženska: slabo ohranjen skelet, lobanja z mandibulo in levo maksilo, fragmenti dolgih kosti (desna lopatica, obe nadlahtnici, leva podlahtnica, leva koželjnica, obe stegnenici in golenici).

Grob 75

Skelet 75, ženska: slabo ohranjen skelet, fragmenti lobanjskega krova in maksile ter večine dolgih kosti.

Grob 76

Šribar: juvenis.

V škatli so bile kosti 3 oseb, Šribarjevemu opisu ustreza skelet 76a.

Skelet 76a, starejši otrok: komplten slabo ohranjen skelet.

Skelet 76b, moški: korpus nadlahtnice, ledvena vretenca, obe stegnenici.

Skelet 76c, ženska: koželjnica in še nekaj fragmentov drugih kosti.

Skeleton 68a, child: humerus, left femur, a few isolated teeth.

Skeleton 68b, female: right innominate.

Skeleton 68c, older male: the second right innominate.

Skeleton 68d, male: the third right innominate.

Skeleton 68e, young individual: left innominate, unossified.

Alongside the innominates (3 left, 3 right) the following adult bones were preserved in fragments: 6 frontal bones, 3 temporal bones (2 left, 1 right), 4 maxillae (1 left, 3 right), 2 mandibles (1 whole, 1 right corner), 1 left clavicle, 3 scapulas (2 left, 1 right), 5 humeri (1 left, 4 right), 4 radiuses (2 left, 2 right), 2 ulnas (1 left, 1 right), 2 sacrums, at least 7 femurs, 5 tibias (4 left, 1 right), 6 fibulas.

Grave 69

Šribar: Baroque style grave pit, bricked.

Skeleton 69, assumed to be male: a few fragments of the neurocranium and long bones (2 humeri, radius, 2 femurs, tibia).

Grave 70

Šribar: a grave pit that has been built over.

There was no skeleton or box marked Grave 70 amongst the material.

Grave 71

Šribar: fragments.

Skeleton 71: skull without mandible (this was located in the box marked Grave 39) and fragmented postcranial bones (clavicles, humeri, ulnas, 2 radiuses, innominate, femurs). We could be dealing with 2 skeletons, as it seems that the skull could have belonged to a female while the pelvis could have belonged to a male.

Grave 72

Šribar: Grave in the second grave pit in the church nave, adult skeleton, stands out (Roman?).

The box contained merely a few fragments belonging to two different skeletons, an adult (neurocranium, male?) and a child (pubis bone). We did not categorise either as an individual skeleton.

Grave 73

Skeleton 73, male: fragmentally preserved skeleton, skull and immeasurable long bones (left humerus, left ulna, right radius, femur, 2 tibias, 2 calcanei).

Grave 74

Skeleton 74, female: poorly preserved skeleton, skull with mandible and left maxilla, long bone fragments (right scapula, both humeri, left ulna, left radius, both femurs and tibias).

Grave 75

Skeleton 75, female: poorly preserved skeleton, fragments of the cranium and most long bones.

Grave 76

Šribar: *juvenis*.

The box contained the bones of 3 individuals, skeleton 76a fits Šribar's description.

Skeleton 76a, older child: a complete, but poorly preserved skeleton.

Skeleton 76b, male: shaft of the humerus, lumbar vertebrae, both femurs.

Skeleton 76c, female: radius and a few fragments of other bones.

Grob 77
Šribar: odrasel skelet.
V škatli so bile kosti 3 oseb, Šribarjevemu opisu ustreza skelet 77a.
Skelet 77a: lobanja z mandibulo (maksili manjkata)in zgornji del postkraniuma (kosti obeh rok, kolčnici in proksimalna dela obeh stegnenic).
Skelet 77b, starejši otrok: samo mandibula.
Skelet 77c, mlajši otrok: postkranialne kosti (vretenca, podlahtnica, črevnica, golenica in nedoločljivi delci dolgih kosti).

Grob 78
Šribar: odrasel skelet.
V škatli z oznako grob 78 so bili ostanki večih skeletov ter oznake 102, 103, 104 in 105.
Skelet 78a (102), moški: lobanja z mandibulo, maksili manjkata.
Skelet 78b (105): lobanja, ohranjena fragmentarno.
Skelet 78c (103): del lobanje (temenici in ličnici) ter fragmenti postkranialnih kosti.
Skelet 78d (78, 104): postkranialne kosti v fragmentih (rebra, vretenca, prsnica, obe ključnici, obe nadlahtnici).

Grob 79
Šribar: odrasel skelet.
V škatli grob 79 so bili ostanki najmanj 2 skeletov ter oznaki 106 in 107.
Skelet 79a (107): mandibula, kosti trupa in obeh rok, kosti so večinoma cele (rebra, vretenca, lopatici, ključnici, nadlahtnici, koželjnici, podlahtnici).
Skelet 79b (106): fragmentarno ohranjena lobanja z mandibulo in fragmentarno ohranjen postkranium (vse dolge kosti rok in nog, nemerljive).

Grob 80
Šribar: pod 77.
Oznako grob 80 so imele 3 škatle (morda tudi 4, glej grob 117), vsaka od njih pa poleg tega še drugo oznako 108, 109 in 110. Ostanke najmanj 3 skeletov smo obravnavali kot skupen grob 80.
Škatla grob 80 (109) = skelet 80a, mlajši otrok: fragmenti otroške lobanje.
Škatla grob 80 (108) = skelet 80b, mlajši moški: fragmenti lobanje z maksilo.
Škatla grob 80 (110): nekaj otroških kosti (fragmenta 2 mandibul, korpus dolge kosti; verjetno od skeleta 80a) in kosti najmanj 2 odraslih oseb: fragmenti lobanjskega krova, 3 senčnice, fragmenti 2 maksil in 2 mandibul, rebra, prsnica, vretenca (med njimi 2 atlasa), 3 lopatice, 3 ključnice, 3 nadlahtnice, 2 podlahtnici. 2 desni koželjnici, kosti dlani, leva kolčnica, par stegnenic, golenica. Nekatere kosti verjetno spadajo k lobanji 80b, druge pa smo označili kot skelet 80c.

Grob 81
Šribar: skeleta 81 (juvenis) in 82, pod njima št. 102 in 104.
Oznako grob 81 je imelo 5 škatel, vsaka pa poleg te še drugo oznako 111, 112, 113, 114 in 115. Vseh 5 škatel smo obravnavali kot grob 81, kosti pa pripadajo najmanj 6 skeletom: otroku (skelet 81a), mladostniku (skelet 81c) in 4 odraslim (skeleti 81 b, d, e, f). Šribarjevemu opisu

Grave 77
Šribar: adult skeleton.
The box included the bones of 3 individuals, skeleton 77a fits Šribar's description.
Skeleton 77a: skull with mandible (both maxillae are missing) and upper postcranial bones (the bones of both arms, both innominates and proximal parts of both femurs).
Skeleton 77b, older child: only mandible.
Skeleton 77c, young child: postcranial bones (vertebrae, ulna, ilium, tibia and undefinable parts of long bones).

Grave 78
Šribar: adult skeleton.
The box marked Grave 78 included bones belonging to numerous individuals which carried tags 102, 103, 104 and 105.
Skeleton 78a (102), male: skull with mandible, both maxillae are missing.
Skeleton 78b (105): skull, fragmentarily preserved.
Skeleton 78c (103): a part of the cranium (parietal bones and zygomatic bones) and fragments of postcranial bones.
Skeleton 78d (78, 104): fragmented postcranial bones (ribs, vertebrae, sternum, both clavicles, both humeri).

Grave 79
Šribar: adult skeleton.
Box marked Grave 79 contained the remains of at least 2 skeletons carrying tags 106 and 107.
Skeleton 79a (107): mandible, bones of the thorax and both arms, most of the bones are whole (ribs, vertebraescapulas, clavicles, humeri, both radiuses, ulnas).
Skeleton 79b (106): fragmentally preserved skull with mandible and fragmentally preserved postcranial bones (all long bones from the arms and legs are immeasurable).

Grave 80
Šribar: under 77.
3 boxes were marked Grave 80 (possibly 4, see Grave 117), and each one of them was additionally marked with a tag 108, 109 and 110 respectively. The remains of at least 3 skeletons were treated as shared Grave 80.
Box marked Grave 80 (109) = skeleton 80a, young child: fragments of a child's skull.
Box marked Grave 80 (108) = skeleton 80b, young male: fragments of a skull with maxilla.
Box marked Grave 80 (110): a few child bones (fragments of 2 mandibles, shaft of a long bone; most likely belonging to skeleton 80a) and bones of at least 2 adults: fragments of the calotte, 3 temporal bones, fragments of 2 maxillae and 2 mandibles, ribs, sternum, vertebrae (including 2 atlases), 3 scapulas, 3 clavicles, 3 humeri, 2 ulnas. 2 right radiuses, bones of the hand, left innominate, a pair of femurs, tibia. It is highly likely that some bones belong to skull 80b, while we categorised the others as skeleton 80c.

Grave 81
Šribar: skeleton 81 (*juvenis*) and 82, beneath them Nos. 102 and 104.
5 boxes were marked Grave 81, and every box was additionally marked with the tag 111, 112, 113, 114 and 115 respectively. We treated all 5 boxes as Grave 81, however, the bones belong to at least 6 skeletons: a child (skeleton 81a), a juvenile (skeleton 81c) and 4 adults (skeletons 81 b, d,

ustreza okostje mladostnika (skelet 81c) najdeno v škatli grob 81 (111).

Škatla grob 81 (111): premešane kosti najmanj 6 okostij, otroka, mladostnika in 4 odraslih. Kot skeleta smo označili kosti otroka (skelet 81a: desna črevnica, fragmenti nadlahtnice, stegnenice in golenice) in kosti mladostnika (skelet 81c: fragmenti lobanje, lopatica, leva nadlahtnica, leva podlahtnica, kolčnica, leva stegnenica). Drugih kosti, ki pripadajo najmanj 4 odraslim, nismo označevali: fragmenti lobanje starejše osebe, prsnica, 2 lopatici, 4 ključnice, najmanj 8 nadlahtnic, 4 podlahtnice, 4 koželjnice, 8 stegnenic, 3 pogačice, 5 golenic, 3 mečnice, 3 skočnice, 1 petnica, palčeva stopalnica.

Škatla grob 80 (112): lobanja z maksilo in mandibulo ter kosti rok (desna ključnica, obe nadlahtnici, obe koželjnici, desna podlahtnica). Neočiščene kosti pripadajo mlajšemiu moškemu, ki smo ga označili kot skelet 81f.

Škatla grob 81 (114): neočiščene kosti nog (fragmenti kolčnic, obeh stegnenic in golenic, mečnice) skoraj zagotovo pripadajo istemu skeletu kot kosti iz škatle grob 80 (112), torej skeletu 81f.

Škatla grob 81 (115): polna škatla manjših fragmentov, ki verjetno sodijo k skeletom iz škatle grob 81 (111).

Škatla grob 81 (113): 3 lobanje označene kot skelet 81b (starejša ženska; rekonstruiran možganski del in korpus mandibule), 81d (starejši moški; možganski del lobanje) in 81e (mlada oseba, rekonstruiran možganski del, manjka zatilnica). Poleg tega pa še 2 mandibuli in maksili, morda od lobanj 81 d in 81e.

Grob 82

Šribar: glej 81.

V škatli grob 82 (116) so bile kosti dveh oseb, moškega in otroka, poleg tega pa še korpus nadlahtnice od tretje osebe, ki je nismo označili kot skelet.

Skelet 82a, moški: skoraj kompleten postkranialni skelet (manjkajo ena lopatica, desna ključnica in leva golenica).

Skelet 82b, otrok: fragmenti postkranialnih kosti (koželjnica, stegnenica, golenica).

Grob 83

V škatli grob 83 (116) so bile kosti dveh oseb, ženske in otroka.

Skelet 83a, ženska: fragmenti lobanje, 3 vretenca, 2 ključnici, desna nadlahtnica, kosti dlani.

Skelet 83b, otrok: mandibula, rebra, lopatica, nadlahtnici, črevnici, golenici.

Grob 84

Šribar: juvenis.

V škatli grob 84 so bile kosti 3 oseb, večina kosti pripada skeletu 84a.

Skelet 84a, mlada ženska: lobanja z maksilo (mandibula manjka) in večji del postkranialnega skeleta (manjkajo golenici, mečnici, kosti stopal).

Skelet 84b, starejši moški: mandibula ter fragmenti nekaterih postkranialnih kosti (vretenca, ključnica, koželjnica, stegnenica), verjetno iz groba 85.

Skeleta 84c, otrok: desna senčnica, stegnenica in nekaj fragmentov dolgih kosti.

e, f). Skeleton 81c (the skeleton of the juvenile) found in the box marked Grave 81 (111) fits Šribar's description.

Box marked Grave 81 (111): mixed bones belonging to at least 6 skeletons, a child, a juvenile and 4 adults. We have catergorised the bones of the child (skeleton 81a: right ilium, fragments of the humerus, femur and tibia) and the bones belonging to the juvenile (skeleton 81c: fragments of the skull, scapula, left humerus, left ulna, innominate, left femur) as two individual skeletons. However, the remaining bones, which belong to at least 4 adults, were not categorised as individual skeletons: skull fragments belonging to an older individual, a sternum, 2 scapulas, 4 clavicles, at least 8 humeri, 4 ulnas, 4 radiuses, 8 femurs, 3 patellas, 5 tibias, 3 fibulas, 3 taluses, 1 calcaneus, first metatarsal.

Box marked Grave 80 (112): skull with mandible and maxilla and the bones of the arms (right clavicle, both humeri, both radiuses, right ulna). The uncleaned bones belong to a young male, which we have categorised as skeleton 81f.

Box marked Grave 81 (114): The uncleaned bones of the legs (innominate fragments, both femurs and tibias, fibula) almost certainly belong to the same skeleton as the bones found in box 80 (112), i.e. skeleton 81f.

Box marked Grave 81 (115): a box full of small fragments, which most likely belong to the skeleton found in the box marked Grave 81 (111).

Box marked Grave 81 (113): 3 skulls tagged as skeleton 81b (older female; reconstructed cranial part and the body of mandible), 81d (older male; cranial part of the skull) and 81e (young individual, reconstructed cranial part, the occipital is missing). Additionally there were also 2 mandibles and maxillae, possibly belonging to skulls 81 d and 81e.

Grave 82

Šribar: see 81.

Box marked Grave 82 (116) included the bones of two individuals, a male and a child, as well as a shaft of the humerus belonging to a third person, which has not been categorised as a skeleton.

Skeleton 82a, male: almost all postcranial bones (one scapula, the right clavicle and the left tibia are missing).

Skeleton 82b, child: fragments of postcranial bones (radius, femur, tibia).

Grave 83

Box marked Grave 83 (116) included the bones of two individuals, a female and a child.

Skeleton 83a, female: skull fragments, 3 vertebrae, 2 clavicles, right humerus, bones of the hand.

Skeleton 83b, child: mandible, ribs, scapula, humeri, ilia, tibias.

Grave 84

Šribar: *juvenis*.

Box marked Grave 84 included the bones of 3 individuals, most of the bones belong to skeleton 84a.

Skeleton 84a, young female: neurocranium with maxilla (the mandible is missing) and most postcranial bones (tibias, fibulas and the bones of the feet are missing).

Skeleton 84b, older male: mandible and fragments of some postcranial bones (vertebrae, clavicle, radius, femur), most likely from Grave 85.

Skeleton 84c, child: right temporal bone, femur and a few fragments of the long bones.

Grob 85
Šribar: uničen skelet ob pokopu 84.
V škatli je bila samo lobanja (skelet 85) brez maksil in mandibule (ta bi bila lahko označena kot skelet 84b).

Grob 86
Šribar: lobanja in vretenca, ostalo uničeno ob pokopih 84 in 85.
Skelet 86: lobanja z maksilama in mandibulo.

Grob 87
Šribar: juvenis, ostanki št. 88, spodaj še št. 101.
V škatli grob 87 so bile premešane kosti več okostij, 4 ali 5 lobanj, med postkranialnimi kostmi pa je bilo največ podlahtnic, 7.
Skelet 87a, moški: lobanja (brez zatilnice, maksil in mandibule), robustna desna nadlahtnica, korpus koželjnice)
Skelet 87b, ženska: del lobanje (senčnici in zatilnica), gracilne kosti rok (nadlahtnici in koželjnici), desna kolčnica.
Neoznačeno: moška čelnica (ni od lobanje 87a), lobanjski krov, 3 gracilne ključnice, 7 podlahtnic, desna kolčnica, stegnenice, golenice.

Grob 88
Škatle ali skeleta z oznako grob 88 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 89
Šribar: uničen otroški skelet.
Skelet 89, otrok: fragmenti kosti rok (nadlahtnici, kožljnica, podlahtnica) in nog (desna črevnica, leva stegnenica).

Grob 90
Šribar: grobna jama s skeletoma 90 (odrasel robusten skelet) in 91, od prej ostanki najmanj treh prekopov.
Oznako grob 90 so imele 3 škatle, v katerih so bile premešene kosti najmanj 11 okostij, 5 otrok različne starosti (skeleti 90 a, b, c, d, e) in najmanj 6 odraslih oseb (skeleti 90 f, g, h, i, j, k: 4 moški, 1 ženska, 1 nedoločljivega spola).
Skelet 90a, novorojenček: humerus, distalni del stegnenice, korpus tibije.
Skelet 90b, 2-letni otrok: leva polovica mandibule, par nadlahtnic, stegnenica in par golenic.
Skelet 90c, 5-6 letni otrok: leva polovica mandibule, par stegnenic in par golenic.
Skelet 90d, 13-letni otrok: leva nadlahtnica, par stegnenic, desna golenica, petnica.
Skelet 90e, 14-letni otrok: par senčnic in cela mandibula (lahko tudi od skeleta 90d), desna nadlahtnica, distalni del stegnenice, petnica.
Skeleti 90 f–k: postkranialne kosti odraslih pripadajo glede na število ohranjenih delov najmanj 6 osebam (3 oški, 3 ženske), toliko je namreč nadlahtnic (12: 6 desnih, 6 levih) in golenic (11: 6 levih, 5 desnih), drugih kosti je nekaj manj: 9 podlahtnic, 7 koželjnic, 7 kolčnic, 8 stegnenic, 6 skočnic, 5 petnic. Lobanj je morda nekaj manj, zaradi slabe ohranjenosti število ni določljivo: cela ženska lobanja (skelet 91k, manjka obrazni del) ter fragmenti najmanj 1 ženske in 2 moških lobanj.

Grave 85
Šribar: skeleton destroyed during burial 84.
The box contained merely a cranium (skeleton 85), without the maxillae and mandible (which could have been categorised as skeleton 84b).

Grave 86
Šribar: skull and vertebrae, the rest destroyed during burials 84 and 85.
Skeleton 86: skull with mandible and both maxillae.

Grave 87
Šribar: *juvenis*, remains No. 88, underneath also No. 101.
Box marked Grave 87 included mixed bones from a number of skeletons, 4 or 5 skulls, while the most common bones amongst the postcranial bones were ulnas, as there were 7 of them.
Skeleton 87a, male: cranium (missing occipital, mandible and maxillae), robust right humerus, shaft of the radius.
Skeleton 87b, female: a part of the cranium (two temporal bones and the occipital), gracile bones of the arms (humeri and both radiuses), right innominate.
Unmarked: male frontal bone (does not belong to skull 87a), calotte, 3 gracile clavicles, 7 ulnas, right innominate, femur, tibia.

Grave 88
There was no box or skeleton marked Grave 88 amongst the material.

Grave 89
Šribar: a destroyed child skeleton.
Skeleton 89, child: fragments of bones of the arms (humeri, radius, ulna) and legs (right ilium, left femur).

Grave 90
Šribar: the grave pit included skeletons 90 (adult robust skeleton) and 91 as well as the remains of at least 3 previous burials.
3 boxes were marked Grave 90, and these boxes contained bones belonging to at least 11 skeletons, 5 children of various ages (skeletons 90a, b, c, d, e) and at least 6 adults (skeletons 90 f, g, h, i, j, k: 4 male, 1 female, 1 undefinable sex).
Skeleton 90a, newly born: humerus, distal part of the femur, shaft of the tibia.
Skeleton 90b, 2-year old child: left side of the mandible, pair of humeri, femur and a pair of tibias.
Skeleton 90c, 5 or 6-year-old child: left side of the mandible, pair of femurs and a pair of tibias.
Skeleton 90d, 13-year-old child: left humerus, a pair of femurs, right tibia, calcaneus.
Skeleton 90e, 14-year-old child: a pair of temporal bones and an entire mandible (possibly belonging to skeleton 90d), right humerus, distal part of the femur, calcaneus.
Skeletons 90 f–k: the number of adult humeri (12: 6 right, 6 left) and tibias (11: 6 left, 5 right) clearly indicate that the bones belonged to at least 6 individuals (3 male, 3 female); other postcranial bones came in lower numbers: 9 ulnas, 7 radiuses, 7 innominates, 8 femurs, 6 taluses, 5 calcanei. There were not as many skulls, however it was impossible to establish the exact number due to their poor state: there was an entire female skull (skeleton 91k, the facial part is missing) and fragments of at least 1 female and 2 male skulls.

Grob 91
Šribar: odrasel skelet (glej grob 90).
V škatli grob 91 je bilo poleg enega skeleta (skelet 91) še nekaj kosti, ki jih nismo označili (korpus stegnenice, ženska podlahtnica).
Skelet 91, moški: lobanja z maksilama in mandibulo ter skoraj kompleten postkranialni skelet, ki mu manjkajo samo kosti desne roke (ključnica, nadlahtnica, koželjnica, podlahtnica).

Grob 92
V škatli grob 92 so bili premešani ostanki najmanj 3 otrok različne starosti (skeleti 92 a, b in c: lobanjski krov, 2 črevnici, 4 stegnenice, golenica) in najmanj 8 odraslih oseb (kot skelete smo jih označili 5: 92 d, e, f, g, h),od katerih so se ohranili fragmenti vsaj 6 lobanj, med postkranialnimi kostmi pa je bilo največ stegnenic (16) in golenic (14).

Grob 93
Šribar: manjša grobna jama s skeletom 93 (juvenis) pod skeleti 84, 85 in 86. Dve fragmentirani lobanji 93/1 in 93/2, uničeni ob pokopu 93.
V škatli grob 93 je bil poleg delno ohranjenega odraslega okostja le še ena otroška črevnica. Lobanji z oznako 93 sta bili v drugi škatli (glej grob 94).
Skelet 93a, moški: del lobanje (samo leva ličnica in mandibula), kosti trupa (rebra, vretenca in križnica) ter obeh rok (lopatici, ključnici, nadlahtnici, podlahtnici, koželjnici). Skelet se ne ujema s Šribarjevim opisom, saj ne gre za mladostnika.

Grob 94
Šribar: v isti jami kot 78, pod njim lobanja 94.
V škatli z oznako grob 94 je bila oznaka grob 93 in fragmenti večih lobanj, od katerih je bila ena brez oznake (skelet 94: temenici in čelnica z odprtimi šivi, juvenis–adultus I; morda Šribarjev grob 93), na preostalih dveh pa sta bili zapisani številki 93b (lobanjski krov, starejši moški) in 93c (del lobanjskega krova, starejša oseba).

Grob 95
Šribar: odrasel skelet vzporeden s 76, pod njim ostanki pokopa.
V škatli grob 95 je bilo samo nekaj fragmentov, nobenega nismo šteli kot samostojen skelet: leva in desna maksila (različne barve, 2 osebi), 2 fragmenta lobanjskega krova, distalna dela dveh nadlahtnic (moški), proksimalni del stegnenice (moški) in 3 fragmenti korpusov golenic.

Grob 96
Šribar: uničen skelet
Škatle ali skeleta z oznako grob 96 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 97
Šribar: grobna jama s skeleti 97–100; odrasel skelet, uničen ob pokopu 98.
V škatli sta bila samo samo 2 fragmenta stegnenice.

Grave 91
Šribar: adult skeleton (see Grave 90).
Alongside skeleton 91, the box marked Grave 91 included a few additional bones, which we have not categorised as a separate skeleton (shaft of a femur, female ulna).
Skeleton 91, male: skull with mandible and both maxillae and almost all postcranial bones, with the exception of the bones of the right arm which are missing (clavicle, humerus, radius, ulna).

Grave 92
Box marked Grave 92 included the remains of at least 3 children of various ages (skeletons 92 a, b and c: neurocranium, 2 ilia, 4 femurs, tibia) and at least 8 adults (5 of which we categorised as skeletons: 92 d, e, f, g, h), with preserved fragments of at least 6 skulls, while the postcranial bones included the most femurs (16) and tibias (14).

Grave 93
Šribar: a small grave pit with skeleton 93 (*juvenis*) underneath skeletons 84, 85 and 86. Two fragmented skulls 93/1 and 93/2 were destroyed during burial 93.
Box marked Grave 93 included a partially preserved adult skeleton and a child ilium. The two skulls marked 93 were found in a different box (see Grave 94).
Skeleton 93a, male: a part of the skull (only the left zygomatic bone and mandible), bones pertaining to the torso (ribs, vertebrae and sacrum) and both arms (scapulas, clavicles, humeri, ulnas, both radiuses). The skeleton does not match Šribar's description, as it does not belong to a juvenile.

Grave 94
Šribar: in the same pit as 78, skull 94 was located underneath it.
Box marked Grave 94 included the tag Grave 93 and fragments of numerous skulls, one of which was not marked at all (skeleton 94: parietal bones and frontal bone with open sutures, *juvenis–adultus* I; possibly Šribar's Grave 93), while the remaining two had numbers 93b (neurocranium, older male) and 93c (a part of the neurocranium, older individual) inscribed on them.

Grave 95
Šribar: adult skeleton parallel to 76, underneath it were the remains of a burial.
Box marked Grave 95 contained merely a few fragments, none of which were categorised as an independent skeleton: left and right maxilla (various colours, 2 individuals), 2 fragments of the calotte, distal parts of two humeri (male), the proximal part of the femur (male) and 3 fragments of shafts of tibias.

Grave 96
Šribar: a destroyed skeleton
There was no box or skeleton marked Grave 96 amongst the material.

Grave 97
Šribar: grave pit with skeletons 97–100; adult skeleton, destroyed during burial 98.
The box contained merely two femur fragments.

Grob 98
Šribar: glej grob 97.
V škatli je bilo okostje mladostnika ter nekaj fragmentov kosti od odrasle osebe (leva senčnica, baza zatilnice, proksimalni del leve podlahtnice), ki je nismo označili kot skelet.
Skelet 98, mlada ženska: lobanja z mandibulo, kosti obeh rok (manjkajo lopatici in leva ključnica) in leva črevnica.

Grob 99
Šribar: obe nadlahtnici in lopatici, starejši od 98, uničen ob pokopu 97.
V škatli je bilo nekaj vretenc, leva in desna lopatica, 3 nadlahtnice (2 desni, 1 leva: različni, eden od mladostnika ali starejšega otroka), proksimalni del desne podlahtnice.

Grob 100
Šribar: lobanja in druge kosti (glej grob 97)
Skelet 100: samo lobanja z mandibulo, maksili manjkata.

Grob 101
Skelet 101: samo desna kolčnica in kaput desne stegnenice.

Grob 102
Šribar: pod skeletoma 81 in 82, v isti grobni jami skeleti 102, 103 in 104.
Skelet 102, moški: v škatli z oznako grob 102 je bila lobanja brez mandibule ter slabo ohranjene postkranialne kosti (manjkata samo leva koželjnica in križnica). Oznaka grob 102 je bila najdena tudi v škatli grob 78.

Grob 103
Štibar: glej 102.
Škatle grob 103 v gradivu ni bilo, je pa bila oznaka najdena v škatli grob 78.

Grob 104
Šribar: glej 102.
Škatle grob 104 v gradivu ni bilo, je pa bila oznaka najdena v škatli grob 78.

Grob 105
Šribar: fragmenti kosti.
Škatle grob 105 v gradivu ni bilo, je pa bila oznaka najdena v škatli grob 78.

Grob 106
Škatle grob 106 v gradivu ni bilo, je pa bila oznaka najdena v škatli grob 79.

Grob 107
Škatle grob 106 v gradivu ni bilo, je pa bila oznaka najdena v škatli grob 79.

Grob 108
Škatle grob 108 v gradivu ni bilo, je pa bila oznaka najdena v eni od treh škatel z oznako grob 80.

Grave 98
Šribar: see Grave 97.
The box contained a skeleton belonging to a juvenile and a few bone fragments belonging to an adult (left temporal bone, base of occipital, proximal part of the left ulna), which we have not categorised as a skeleton.
Skeleton 98, young female: skull with mandible, bones of both arms (scapulas and the left clavicle are missing) and the left ilium.

Grave 99
Šribar: both humeri and scapulas, older than 98, destroyed during burial 97.
The box included a few vertebrae, left and right scapula, 3 humeri (2 right, 1 left: various, one belonging to a juvenile or an older child), proximal part of the right ulna.

Grave 100
Šribar: skull and other bones (see Grave 97)
Skeleton 100: only skull with mandible, both maxillae are missing.

Grave 101
Skeleton 101: only right innominate and right femoral head.

Grave 102
Šribar: skeletons 102, 103 and 104 were located underneath skeletons 81 and 82, but in the same grave pit.
Skeleton 102, male: box marked Grave 102 included a skull without a mandible together with poorly preserved postcranial bones (only the left radius and sacrum were missing). The tag Grave 102 was also found in the box marked Grave 78.

Grave 103
Štibar: see 102.
There was no box marked Grave 103 amongst the material, however the tag was found in the box marked Grave 78.

Grave 104
Šribar: see 102.
There was no box marked Grave 104 amongst the material, however the tag was found in the box marked Grave 78.

Grave105
Šribar: fragmented bones.
There was no box marked Grave 105 amongst the material, however the tag was found in the box marked Grave 78.

Grave 106
There was no box marked Grave 106 amongst the material, however the tag was found in the box marked Grave 79.

Grave 107
There was no box marked Grave 107 amongst the material, however the tag was found in the box marked Grave 79.

Grave 108
There was no box marked Grave 108 amongst the material, however the tag was found in the box marked Grave 80.

Grob 109

V škatli z oznako grobna jama 109 pa so bili premešani ostanki najmanj 10 okostij, 2 otrok (lok vratnega vretenca, del črevnice in fragmenta dveh različno velikih stegnenic) in 8 odraslih oseb (5 lobanj, 12 nadlahtnic, 7 podlahtnic, 5 koželjnic, 4 kolčnice, 15 stegnenic, 7 golenic).

Oznaka grob 109 je bila najdena tudi v eni od treh škatel z oznako grob 80.

Grob 110

Skelet 110: fragmenti lobanjskega krova ter kosti desne roke (nadlahtnica, koželjnica, podlahtnica.

Poleg tega so bili v škatli še fragmenti 3 golenic, oznaka 110 pa je bila najdena tudi v eni od treh škatel z oznako grob 80.

Grob 111

Šribar: odrasel robusten skelet (skupina skeletov 111–114, niso istočasni; po odstranitvi skeletov pod njimi skelet 117 in obe golenici skeleta 111.

V škatli grob 111 so bili ostanki vsaj 2 skeletov, oznaka 111 pa je bila najdena tudi v škatli grob 81.

Skelet 111a, moški: očiščen postkranialni skelet, skoraj kompleten (manjkajo mečnici ter kosti stopal), brez lobanje. Ustreza Šribarjevemu opisu.

Skelet 111b, ženska: neočiščena lobanja, leva kolčnica (ženska) in 2 golenici.

Grob 112

Šribar: gracilen skelet (glej tudi grob 111).

V škatli grob 112 sta bila delno ohranjena skeleta ženske in otroka, oznaka 112 pa je bila najdena tudi v škatli z oznako grob 81.

Skelet 112a, otrok: fragmenti lobanje, vratna vretenca in lopatici.

Skelet 112b, ženska: : fragmenti lobanje, vratna vretenca, lopatica, desna nadlahtnica.

Grob 113

Šribar: odrasel, gracilen skelet (glej tudi grob 111).

V škatli grob 113 je bila fragmentarno ohranjena moška lobanja, oznaka 113 pa je bila najdena tudi v škatli z oznako grob 81.

Grob 114

Šribar: samo fragmenti lobanje in nekaj kosti prsnega koša (glej tudi grob 111).

Lobanja z oznako 114 (ženska) je bila najdena v škatli grob 115, poleg nje je bilo v škatli še nekaj fragmentov postkranialnih kosti. Oznaka 114 pa je bila najdena tudi v škatli grob 81.

Grob 115

Šribar: raztresene kosti ob zakristiji, skeleta 115 (lobanja, stegnenica, golenica) in 116 (otrok).

Kosti, na katerih je bila napisana št. 115, so bile najdene v škatli grob 114. Oznaka 115 pa je bila najdena tudi v škatli grob 81.

Skelet 115a, moški: desna nadlahtnica, del stegnenice s kaputom, fragmenti obeh golenic.

Skelet 115b, otrok: lobanja (brez maksil in mandibule), kosti ene roke (ključnica, nadlahtnica, koželjnica, podlahtnica) in obeh nog (črevnici, stegnenici, golenici).

Grave 109

Box marked grave pit 109 included mixed remains belonging to at least 10 skeletons, 2 children (arch of a cervical vertebra, a part of the ilium and fragments of two different sized femurs) and 8 adults (5 skulls, 12 humeri, 7 ulnas, 5 radiuses, 4 innominates, 15 femurs, 7 tibias).

The tag Grave 109 was also found in one of the three boxes marked Grave 80.

Grave 110

Skeleton 110: fragments of the skull roof and bones belonging to the right arm (humerus, radius, ulna).

The box also included fragments of 3 tibias, while the tag 110 was also found in one of the three boxes marked Grave 80.

Grave 111

Šribar: adult robust skeleton (the skeleton group 111–114 does not originate from the same period; once the skeletons were removed they revealed skeleton 117 and both tibias belonging to skeleton 111.

Box marked Grave 111 included the remains of at least 2 skeletons, while tag 111 was also found in the box marked Grave 81.

Skeleton 111a, male: almost all cleaned postcranial bones (fibulas and the bones of the feet are missing), no skull. Fits Šribar's description.

Skeleton 111b, female: uncleaned skull, left innominate (female) and 2 tibias.

Grave 112

Šribar: gracile skeleton (see also Grave 111).

Box marked Grave 112 included two partially preserved skeletons, one belonging to a female and the other to a child, tag 112 was also found in the box marked Grave 81.

Skeleton 112a, child: fragments of the skull, cervical vertebrae and scapulas.

Skeleton 112b, female: fragments of the skull, cervical vertebrae, scapula, right humerus.

Grave 113

Šribar: adult, gracile skeleton (see also Grave 111).

Box marked Grave 113 included a fragmentarily preserved male skull, and the tag 113 was also found in the box marked Grave 81.

Grave 114

Šribar: only fragments of a skull and a few bones belonging to the thorax (see also Grave 111).

Skull marked 114 (female) was found in the box marked Grave 115; the box also included a few fragments of postcranial bones. Tag 114 was also found in the box marked Grave 81.

Grave 115

Šribar: scattered bones, next to the sacristy, skeletons 115 (skull, femur, tibia) and 116 (child).

Bones carrying the tag 115 were found in the box marked Grave 114. Tag 115 was also found in the box marked Grave 81.

Skeleton 115a, male: right humerus, a part of the femur with the head, fragments of both tibias.

Skeleton 115b, child: skull (without the mandible and maxillae), bones of one arm (clavicle, humerus, radius, ulna) and both legs (ilia, femurs, tibias).

Grob 116
Šribar: glej grob 115.
Oznaka 116 je bila najdena tudi v škatli grob 82, medtem ko so bile v škatli grob 116 močno fragmentirane kosti najmanj 2 okostij, ki smo jih označili kot skeleta 116a (ženska; senčnica in del kolčnice) in 116b (moški, senčnica).

Grob 117
Šribar: glej grob 111.
V škatli grob 117 so bili ostanki dveh okostij.
Skelet 117a, moški, svetlejše kosti: korpusi nadlahtnice, podlahtnice in koželjnice, del kolčnice, korpusa stegnenice in golenice. Oznaka 117a je bila tudi na mandibuli, ki pa verjetno ne pripada temu okostju, ker ima izražene ženske spolne znake.
Skelet 117b, ženski, temnejše kosti: desna nadlahtnica, proksimalni del podlahtnice, desna stegnenica (moška).
Skelet 117c: oznaka 117, grob 80, je bila zapisana tudi na škatli, ki je bila v depoju shranjena na polici med škatlama grob 82 in grob 83. V njej je bila lobanja z mandibulo (ženska) ter fragmentarno ohranjene kosti nog (2 stegnenici, 2 golenici, pogačica, mečnica, 2 petnici, 2 skočnici).

Grob 118
Škatle grob 118 v gradivu ni bilo, je pa bila oznaka najdena v škatli grob 83.

Grob 119
Skelet 119, mladostnik: v škatli je bila lobanja z maksilama in mandibulo ter nadlahtnica.

Grob 120
Škatle grob 120 ali oznake 120 v gradivu ni bilo.

Grob 121
V škatli so bili fragmentirani ostanki najmanj 7 odraslih okostij (skeleti 121 a–g): najmanj 4 lobanje, 11 nadlahtnic, 2 koželjnici, 2 podlahtnici, 10 stegnenic, 7 golenic.

Grob 122
V škatli je bilo poleg živalskih kosti še nekaj človeških, ki pripadajo najmanj 2 osebama: korpus stegnenice (robusten, moški, skelet 122a), korpus druge stegnenice (skelet 122b, mladostnik), korpus golenice ter nekaj fragmentov lobanjskega krova.

Grob 123
V škatli so bile kosti najmanj 5 okostij, starejšega otroka (skelet 123 e: 1 zob, desna črevnica, distalni del stegnenice) in 4 odraslih (2 moška, 2 ženski), od katerih so se ohranili fragmenti naslednjih kosti: najmanj 3 lobanj, 4 lopatic, 3 ključnic, 6 nadlahtnic, 6 podlahtnic, 3–6 koželjnic, 4 kolčnic, 7 stegnenic, 3 golenic.

Grob 124
V škatli so bili ostanki dveh različno robustnih postkranialnih okostij, moškega (skelet 142a: distalni del nadlahtnice, proksimalni del koželjnice, desna stegnenica) in domnevne ženske (skelet 124b: desna kolčnica, desna stegnenica). Nerazporejeno: korpusi 2 stegnenic in 3 golenic.

Grave 116
Šribar: see Grave 115.
Tag 116 was also found in the box marked Grave 82, while the box marked Grave 116 included strongly fragmented bones belonging to at least 2 skeletons, which we have categorised as skeleton 116a (female; temporal bone and a part of the innominate) and 116b (male, temporal bone).

Grave 117
Šribar: see Grave 111.
Box marked Grave 117 included the remains of two skeletons.
Skeleton 117a, male, lighter coloured bones: shafts of a humerus, ulna and radius, a part of the innominate, femur and tibia shafts. Tag 117a was also found on a mandible, which does most likely not belong to this skeleton, as it shows female sexual traits.
Skeleton 117b, female, darker coloured bones: right humerus, proximal part of the ulna, right femur (male).
Skeleton 117c: a box carrying the tag 117, Grave 80, was also found in the depot between the boxes marked Grave 82 and Grave 83. The box included a skull with mandible (female) and fragmentarily preserved bones of the legs (2 femurs, 2 tibias, patella, fibula, 2 calcanei, 2 taluses).

Grave 118
There was no box marked Grave 118 amongst the material, however the tag was found in the box marked Grave 83.

Grave 119
Skeleton 119, juvenile: the box contained a skull with mandible and both maxillae as well as a humerus.

Grave 120
There was no box marked Grave 120 or tag 120 amongst the material.

Grave 121
The box contained fragmented remains of at least 7 adults (skeletons 121 a–g): at least 4 skulls, 11 humeri, 2 radiuses, 2 ulnas, 10 femurs, 7 tibias.

Grave 122
Alongside animal bones the box also contained some human bones, which belonged to at least 2 individuals: shaft of the femur (robust, male, skeleton 122a), another shaft of the femur (skeleton 122b, juvenile), shaft of the tibia and a few fragments of the neurocranium.

Grave 123
The box contained the bones belonging to at least 5 skeletons, an older child (skeleton 123 e: 1 tooth, right ilium, distal part of the femur) and 4 adults (2 male, 2 female), from which the fragments of the following bones have been preserved: at least 3 skulls, 4 scapulas, 3 clavicles, 6 humeri, 6 ulnas, 3 – 6 radiuses, 4 innominates, 7 femurs, 3 tibias.

Grave 124
The box contained the remains of two postcranial skeletons which differs in robusticity, male (skeleton 142a: distal part of the humerus, proximal part of the radius, right femur) and assumed female (skeleton 124b: right innominate, right femur). Unallocated: shafts of 2 femurs and 3 tibias.

Skelet XX

Dobro ohranjeno in skoraj kompletno okostje, prezentirano v cerkvi na blejskem otoku, je bilo antropološko pregledano leta 1999. Manjkajo: večji del reber in vretenc, večina kosti dlani, leva pogačica, leva mečnica in večina kosti obeh stopal (ohranjenih je le 6 nartnih kosti, med drugim obe petnici in skočnici). Verjetno gre za enega od skeletov, ki jih je Šribar opisal kot dobro ohranjen skelet (glej npr. grob 18, 30, 40, 41).

Grob 1/2016

Fragmentarno ohranjene kosti najmanj treh odraslih oseb, verjetneje pa štirih. Večina postkranialnih kosti je gracilnih (2 ženski, skeleta 1a in b), nekaj pa robustnih (eden ali dva moška, skelet 1c). Od lobanje so se ohranili 4 fragmenti lobanjskega krova ter 4 fragmenti od dveh mandibul.

Skeleta 1a in 1 b, gracilne kosti: mandibula, rebra, prsna vretenca, leva in desna ključnica, 2 lopatici, 3 nadlahtnice, 3 podlahtnice, 3 koželjnice, križnica, 2 kolčnici, 2 desni stegnenici, 4 fragmenti korpusov mečnice. Večina kosti pripada ženski mlajši od 20 let, druga je bila starejše od 20 let.

Skelet 1c, robustne kosti: 2 fragmenta mandibule, ledvena vretenca, leva kolčnica, korpusa dveh stegnenic, desna golenica, leva petnica.

Grob 2/2016

Ohranjene kosti pripadajo odrasli ženski: fragmenti reber in vretenc, del prsnice, del desne lopatice, obe ključnici, desna nadlahtnica, proksimalni del desne podlahtnice, leva koželjnica, obe kolčnici, pogačica.

Antropološki latinsko-slovenski slovarček

cranium – lobanja, kranium

neurocranium – možganski del lobanje, nevrokranium (kalota – temenski del lobanje brez baze)

postcranium – postkranium; vse kosti telesa razen lobanje

Glavne kosti lobanje so: *os frontale* – čelnica, *os parietale* – temenica, *os occipitale* – zatilnica, *os temporale* – senčnica, *os sphaenoidale* – zagozdnica, *os zygomaticum* – ličnica, *mandibula* – spodnja čeljustnica, mandibula, *maxilla* – zgornja čeljustnica, maksila.

Glavne kosti postkraniuma so: *costae* – rebra, *sternum* – prsnica, *vetebrae* – vretenca (7 vratnih, 12 prsnih, 5 ledvenih), *sacrum* – križnica, *clavicula* – ključnica, *scapula* – lopatica, *humerus* – nadlahtnica, *radius* – koželjnica, *ulna* – podlahtnica, *manus* – kosti dlani (*ossa carpi* – zapestnice, *ossa metacarpi* – dlančnice, *phalanges* – prstni členki), *os coxae* (*os ilium, os pubis, os ischii*) – kolčnica, sestavljena iz treh kosti, ki se zrastejo okoli 14. leta (črevnica, sramnica, sednica), *femur* – stegnenica, *patella* – pogačica, *tibia* – golenica, *fibula* – mečnica

pes – kosti stopala (*ossa tarsi* – nartnice; največji dve sta *calcaneus* – petnica in *talus* – skočnica, *ossa metatarsi* – stopalnice, *phalanges* –prstni členki).

Skeleton XX

A well preserved and almost complete skeleton, presented in the church on Bled Island, was anthropologically examined in 1999. Missing bones: a large share of the ribs and vertebrae, most bones of the hand, left patella, left fibula and most bones of feet (only 6 tarsal bones are preserved, including both calcanei and taluses). This skeleton is most likely one of the skeletons that Šribar described as well preserved (see for instance Graves 18, 30, 40, 41).

Grave 1/2016

Fragmentarily preserved bones belonging to at least three adults, but more likely four. Most postcranial bones are gracile (2 female, skeletons 1a and b), a few are robust (one or two males, skeleton 1c). Of the skull only 4 fragments of the neurocranium and 4 fragments belonging to two mandibles have been preserved.

Skeletons 1a and 1 b, gracile bones: mandible, ribs, thoracic vertebrae, left and right clavicle, 2 scapulas, 3 humeri, 3 ulnas, 3 radiuses, sacrum, 2 innominates, 2 right femurs, 4 fragments of fibula shafts. Most bones belonged to a female under the age of 20, while the rest belonged to a female over 20.

Skeleton 1c, robust bones: 2 mandible fragments, lumbar vertebrae, left innominate, femur shafts, right tibia, left calcaneus.

Grave 2/2016

The preserved bones belong to an adult female: fragments of ribs and vertebrae, a part of the sternum, a part of the right scapula, both clavicles, right humerus, proximal part of the right ulna, left radius, both innominates, patella.

Anthropological Latin-English dictionary

cranium – the skull without themandible

neurocranium – the braincase (calvaria – the cranium without the face; calotte – calvaria without the base)

postcranial bones – all of the bones within the body with the exception of the skull

The main bones of the skull are: *os frontale* – frontal bone, *os parietale* – parietal bones, *os occipitale* – occipital, *os temporale* – temporal bones, *os sphaenoidale* – sphenoid bone, *os zygomaticum* – zygomatic bone, *mandible* – mandible, *maxilla* – maxilla.

The main postcranial bones are: *costae* – ribs, *sternum* – sternum, breastbone, *vertebrae* – vertebrae (7 cervical, 12 thoracic, 5 lumbar), *sacrum* – sacrum, *clavicula* – clavicle, *scapula* – scapula, shoulder blade, *humerus* – humerus, *radius* – radius, *ulna* – ulna, *manus* – hand bones (*ossa carpi* – carpal bones, *ossa metacarpi* – metacarpal bones, *phalanges* – phalanges), *os coxae* (*os ilium, os pubis, os ischii*) – innominate, consisting of three bones, which ossify approximately at the age of 14 (ilium, pubis bone, ischium), *femur* – thigh bone, *patella* – kneecap, *tibia* – shin bone, *fibula* – calf bone

pes – bones of the foot (*ossa tarsi* – tarsal bones; the largest of which are *calcaneus* – heel bone and *talus* – ankle bone, *ossa metatarsi* – metatarsal bones, *phalanges* – *phalanges*).

epifiza / diafiza: dolga kost je sestavljena iz osrednjega dela, diafize (korpusa) in dveh epifiz (okrajkov)

proksimalno / distalno: proksimalna epifiza je tisti del dolge kosti, ki leži bližje trupu oziroma lobanji, nasprotni del je distalna epifiza. Npr: proksimalna epifiza oz. kaput stegnenice leži v kolčnem sklepu, distalna epifiza pa v kolenskem.

Starostne kategorije: infans I (0-6 let), infans II (7-15 let), juvenis (15-19 let), adultus I (21-30 let), adultus II (31-40 let), maturus I (41-50 let), maturus II (51-60 let), senilis (nad 61 let).

epiphysis / diaphysis: the long bone consists of the central part, i.e. diaphysis (shaft) and two epiphyses (rounded ends)

proximal / distal: proximal epiphysis is the part of the long bone that is located closer to the torso or skull, while the opposite side is the distal epiphysis, e.g.: the proximal epiphysis or caput is located in the hip joint, while the distal epiphysis is located in the knee joint.

Age categories: *infans* I (0–6 years), *infans* II (7–15 years), *juvenis* (15–19 years), *adultus* I (21–30 years), *adultus* II (31–40 years), *maturus* I (41–50 years), *maturus* II (51–60 years), *senilis* (61+ years).

10. MITIČNA POKRAJINA. PREIZKUSI NJENEGA OBSTOJA Z NAPOVEDNIMA MODELOMA NA PRIMERU BLEDA

10. A MYTHICAL LANDSCAPE. TESTS OF ITS EXISTENCE WITH PREDICTIVE MODELS FOR THE BLED CASE

Andrej PLETERSKI

10.1 UVOD IN POJMI

Pokrajina ni samodejen proizvod narave, ampak jo sooblikuje tudi človek. V tem pogledu jo nedvomno lahko razumemo tudi kot zapleteno presečišče različnih družbenih interesov in dejavnosti, ki se spreminjajo skozi čas (prim. Bender 1995[2]). Tu bomo obravnavali posebno obliko instrumentalizacije pokrajine, ki se je zgodila, ko so jo ljudje spremenili v orodje (Pleterski 2014). Verjeli so, da z njim lahko vplivajo na delovanje sil narave: na vreme, na gibanje nebesnih teles, na plodnost zemlje, na rodovitnost rastlin, živali, ljudi, na zdravje. Tako pokrajino imenujem *mitična pokrajina*. Mitična je zato, ker je njeno programsko izhodišče *mitična zgodba*. To so v zgodbo povezana spoznanja ljudi o delovanju sveta. Ko mitična zgodba dobi obredno funkcijo, postane *mit*. Ta z obrednim dejanjem sestavlja obred (ritual). Mitična pokrajina je tako lahko tudi oder obredu. Moč obreda, da vpliva na razmere in dogajanje, je *obredna moč* (magija). Izgovorjeno besedilo, ki v obredu dobi obredno moč, je *urok*. Praslovanska beseda **urokъ* namreč pomeni "kar je izrečeno" (Snoj 1997, 700). Znak, ki v obredu dobi obredno moč, je čar. Praslovanska beseda **čarъ* namreč pomeni "sredstvo, pripomoček, čarovniško znamenje, narejeno, vrezano" (Snoj 1997, 66). Čari so tudi *prostorski ideogrami*. To so tiste medsebojno povezane sestavine mitične pokrajine, ki so jih ljudje določili in pogosto tudi dodatno oblikovali v skladu z mitičnimi predstavami v obliki miselnih slik (o mitičnih slikah: Čausidis 1994, 51–67), katere je ubesedila vsakokratna oblika mitične zgodbe. Prostorski ideogram je tako zapis mitične zgodbe, natančneje: njene strukture ali strukture njenega dela. Ker se zdi, da je pomembna funkcija prostorskih ideogramov tudi vzpostavljanje reda v kozmičnem neredu, morajo biti ideogrami v svoji izvedbi urejeni. Tej zahtevi odlično ustrezajo različne

10.1 INTRODUCTION AND TERMS

Landscape is not an automatic product of nature, but is co-shaped by humans In this respect it can undoubtedly be understood as a complex intersection of different social interests and activities that change over time (*cf.* Bender 1995[2]). Here, we will address the specific form taken by the instrumentalisation of a landscape when people turned it into a tool (Pleterski 2014). They believed that it could affect the functioning of the forces of nature: the weather, the movement of celestial bodies, the fertility of the earth, the fertility of plants, animals, humans, and health. I call that landscape a *mythical landscape*. It is mythical because its starting point is a *mythical story*. These are people's insights into how the world works. When the mythical story has a ritual function, it becomes a *myth*. This, alongside a ritual act, constitutes a ritual. In this way the mythical landscape can also be a stage for ritual. The power of ritual to affect conditions and events is *ritual power* (magic). The spoken text that receives ritual power in a ritual is a *spell*. The shapes that receive ritual power in a ritual are *spatial ideograms*. These are those interconnected components of the mythical landscape that people have defined and often additionally shaped in accordance with mythical notions in the form of mental images (about mythical pictures: Čausidis 1994, 51–67), which are articulated through the particular form of the mythical story. The spatial ideogram is thus a record of the mythical story, and more precisely of either its whole structure or its individual parts. Since the establishment of order in cosmic chaos also seems to be an important function of spatial ideograms, ideograms must be orderly in their execution. Various mathematical components such as numbers, numerical relations, and geometric

* Translation Andrej Pleterski.

matematične sestavine, kot so števila, številčna razmerja, geometrijski liki. Pri tem gre za oblike teh likov, njihove notranje kote, dolžine in razmerja stranic ter njihove astronomske usmeritve (podrobneje o posameznih pojmih: Pleterski 2014, 20–23; 2018).

O mitični pokrajini vemo še zelo malo. Nedvomno je udejanjena povsod, kjer je prebival in prebiva človek, ter se kaže kot zapleten, krajevno in časovno spremenljiv sistem prostorskih sestavin. V nadaljevanju bom podal njihov okvirni, a še vedno začetni obris ter prikazal njegovo izvedbo v širšem prostoru Bleda. Pri tem se v veliki meri opiram na svojo obširno analizo mitične pokrajine kot izdelka človekovega razumevanja sveta (Pleterski 2014), na zgoščen opis sestavin mitične pokrajine (Pleterski 2018) in na izročilo posoških starovercev (Medvešček 2015). Slednji so svoje naravoverstvo ohranili v organizirani obliki do sredine 20. stoletja. Kot taki so zakladnica delujočih razlag. Te dajejo vpogled v razumevanje sveta in način življenja, za katerega smo mislili, da je izumrl že pred tisočletjem. Seveda je treba upoštevati, da njihovo verovanje ni bilo vedno v vsem povsem nespremenljivo, vendar sem mnenja, da osupljiva strukturna ujemanja med arheološkimi podatki in njihovimi pripovedmi vsekakor niso naključna. Zato si drznem na njih graditi svoje izpeljave.

V nadaljevanju uvodoma navajam vrsto pravil, ki so jih uporabljali ljudje v preteklosti pri simbolnem urejanju svojega prostora. Ne poznam historičnega zapisa, ki bi jih kot take v celoti opisal. A tudi v srednjem veku je ideja simbolnega urejanja prostora nedvomno obstajala. To dokazujejo opisi programa razmestitve cerkvenih zgradb v obliki Kristusovega križa, ki naj bi priklicali njegovo zaščitno moč (npr. za Paderborn Vita Meinwerci, c. 218, objava: Tenckhoff 1921, 131; za Bamberg Frutolfi Cronica, objava Schmale, Schmale-Ott 1972, 47–50; Ex Heimonis De decursu temporum libro, objava Jaffé 1869, 545–546; obširno Pleterski 2014, 130–175).

Po pregledu pravil razvijem **napovedni model**. Ta pojem ima lahko zelo različne pomene, odvisno od tega, v kateri dejavnosti ga uporabimo. V arheologiji je običajno povezan z geografskimi informacijskimi sistemi, ko iščemo, določamo in raziskujemo arheološki potencial nekega območja, in temelji na raziskovanju velikih količin podatkov in njihovih relacij (uvodno: Gaffney, Stančič 1991). V mojem primeru bom ta pojem uporabil precej drugače.

Prostorska pravila opisujem tako, kot sem jih prepoznal v njihovih ponovitvah v različnih prostorih (Pleterski 2014). Veljavnost te prepoznave je mogoče oceniti s praktičnim preizkusom pravil v izbranem prostoru. Gre za to, da se postavimo v vlogo tedanjih ljudi in na njihov način rešimo njihov problem, ki je zapustil arheološko sled in jo potem lahko odkrijemo. Ker gre za prostorska pravila, napovemo lokacijo in okvirno vrsto najdbe. Če izkopavanje na napovedanem mestu potrdi napovedano najdbo, to pomeni potrditev obstoja pravil,

figures are perfectly suited for this: the shapes of these figures, their internal angles, the lengths and proportions of their sides, and their astronomical orientations (more on specific terms: Pleterski 2014, 20–23; 2018).

We know very little about the mythical landscape. It is undoubtedly realised everywhere that a human being resides and has resided, and manifests itself as a complex, locally and temporally changing, system of spatial components. In the following, I will give initial outline of the mythical landscape and show its implementation in the wider Bled area. In doing so, I rely heavily on my extensive analysis of the mythical landscape as a product of human understanding of the world (Pleterski 2014), on a concise description of the components of the mythical landscape (Pleterski 2018) and on the folk tradition of the Old Faith believers (members of a pre-Christian form of nature religion) in the Soča region (Medvešček 2015). These people retained their nature-based faith in an organised form until the mid-20th century. As such, they are a treasury of explanations. These give an insight into understandings about the world and a way of life that we thought was extinct a millennium ago. Of course, it should be borne in mind that their beliefs have not always been completely unchanging, but I think that the striking structural correspondences between their narratives and archaeological data are by no means accidental, and so I dare to base my derivations on them.

First I state the rules that people have used in the past to symbolically arrange their space. Even in the Middle Ages, the idea of symbolically arranging the components of a landscape clearly existed. This is evidenced by the descriptions of the program of the disposition of church buildings in the form of the cross of Christ, which was intended to invoke his protective power (e.g. for Paderborn Vita Meinwerci, c. 218, edition: Tenckhoff 1921, 131; for Bamberg Frutolfi Cronica, edition: Schmale, Schmale-Ott 1972, 47–50; Ex Heimonis De decursu temporum libro, edition: Jaffé 1869, 545–546; extensively Pleterski 2014, 130–175).

After reviewing the rules, I develop a **predictive model**. Predictive models can have very different meanings depending on the activity for which it is used. In archaeology, it is usually associated with geographic information systems when we search for, determine, and explore the archaeological potential of an area, and is based on the exploration of large amounts of data and its relationships (introduction: Gaffney, Stančič 1991). I will use this term quite differently here.

I describe spatial rules as I have recognised them in their repetitions in different spaces (Pleterski 2014). The validity of this recognition can be assessed by a practical test of the rules in the space selected. It is about putting ourselves in the role of the people of the past and solving their problem in that way, which left an archaeological trace and can then be discovered. Because these are spatial rules, we can predict the location and the approximate

potrditev njihove vsebine in potrditev njihove pravilne uporabe v napovednem modelu.

Pravila simbolne ureditve prostora nikoli niso bila kodificirana in so zato prilagojena vsakokratnemu prostoru. To pomeni, da moramo pri postavitvi modela izhajati iz dobro znanega prostora in ga preizkusiti v tem istem prostoru. Izdelava modela na podlagi poznavanja enega prostora in njegov preizkus v nekem drugem prostoru bi se precej verjetno izkazala kot neuspešna. Mitična pokrajina Bleda je dovolj dobro raziskana (podrobno: Pleterski 2014, 236–286), da ponuja potrebna izhodišča.

Izbira cilja. V Blejskem kotu so arheološko najbolje raziskana zgodnjesrednjeveška grobišča in njihova umeščenost v mitično pokrajino. Podrobna analiza blejskih vasi je pokazala, da večina vasi, nastalih v zgodnjem srednjem veku, stoji še danes in vsaka zgodnjesrednjeveška vas je imela svoje grobišče (Pleterski 2013a). Izziv, da najdemo eno od manjkajočih grobišč, se je ponujal sam. Izstopajoče je bilo vprašanje grobišča vasi Spodnje Bodešče, ker je obetalo odgovor na več dodatnih vprašanj.

Podrobna, multidisciplinarna poselitvena analiza je pokazala, da je vas Spodnje Bodešče nastala v 10. st. na mestu starejše vasi, ki je propadla predtem. Ta starejša vas naj bi bila tudi starejša od sosednjih Zgornjih Bodešč. Iz nje naj bi prišli ustanovitelji Zgornjih Bodešč (Pleterski 2013a, 45–55, 158–168). Želja je bila najti grobišče te starejše vasi, ki bi dalo vpogled v najstarejše slovanske grobove Bleda in potrdilo prikaz poselitvenega dogajanja. Vse to ob osnovnem cilju potrditi obstoj mitične pokrajine, njenih pravil in ustreznost našega razumevanja.

10.2. MITIČNA POKRAJINA

10.2.1 SESTAVNI DELI MITIČNE POKRAJINE

Čeprav se zdi samoumevno, je treba poudariti, da so temeljna skupina sestavnih delov mitične pokrajine njene **naravne sestavine**, **zemeljske** – gore, otoki, kamni, izviri, reke, jezera, drevesa, jame. Potem so tu še deli **nebesne** pokrajine – sonce, mesec, zvezde. So sestavni del pradavne astronomije in koledarja. Kakšen je bil namen koledarja? Pomembno je, da je bilo treba opraviti obredna dejanja v pokrajini v natančno pravem trenutku, da bi imela učinek. Ta vidik mitične pokrajine raziskuje arheoastronomija (za nadaljnje podrobnosti o njej in raziskovalnih metodah glej: Šprajc 1991; Ruggles 2005; Ministr 2007; A. Polcaro, V. F. Polcaro 2009; Rappenglück 2014).

Seveda imamo tudi **zgrajene sestavine** zemeljske pokrajine, ki jih je ustvaril človek: ceste, kanale, polja, naselja, pokopališča, svetišča. Te artefakte lahko arheološko raziskujemo, kar daje možnost, da določimo njihovo kronologijo.

types of finds. If excavation at the predicted site confirms the predicted find, then this confirms the existence of the rules, their contents and their correct use in the predictive model.

The rules of symbolically arranging the landscape have never been codified and are therefore adapted to each space individually. This means that when setting up a model, we have to start from a well-known space and test the model in that same space. Building the model based on knowledge of one space and testing it in another space would very probably prove unsuccessful. The mythical landscape of Bled is well-researched enough (detail: Pleterski 2014, 236–286) to provide the necessary starting points.

Goal selection. The Early Medieval burial grounds of the Bled region, and their location in the mythical landscape, are the archaeologically best explored. A detailed analysis of the Bled villages showed that most were formed in the Early Middle Ages and still stand today, and that each Early Medieval village had its own burial ground (Pleterski 2013a). The challenge, to *find one of the missing burial grounds* offered itself. The burial ground for the village of Spodnje Bodešče stood out for its importance because it promised to answer several questions about settlement and the mythical landscape.

A detailed, multidisciplinary settlement analysis showed that Spodnje Bodešče was established in the 10th century in the location of an earlier village that was destroyed before. The earlier village is also supposed to be earlier than the neighbouring village of Zgornje Bodešče. The founders of Zgornje Bodešče are supposed to come from the predecessor village of Spodnje Bodešče (Pleterski 2013a, 45–55, 158–168). It was hoped that a burial ground could be found for this earlier village that would give an insight into the earliest Slavic graves in Bled and confirm the process of settlement developments. The basic aim of all this is to confirm the existence of the mythical landscape, its rules and the level of our understanding.

10.2 THE MYTHICAL LANDSCAPE

10.2.1 THE CONSTITUENT COMPONENTS OF THE MYTHICAL LANDSCAPE

Although it should go without saying, it must be stressed that the fundamental group of components of the mythical landscape are the **natural parts** of the **Earth's landscape** – mountains, islands, stones, springs, rivers, lakes, trees, and caves, and then, further away, parts of the **celestial landscape** – the sun, the moon, the stars. They are incorporated in the emergence of a primeval astronomy and calendar. What was the calendar needed for? It must not be forgotten that the ritual deeds involving the landscape had to be done at the exactly right moment to have an effect. This part of the mythical landscape is

Poleg naštetih snovnih so še **nesnovne sestavine** mitične pokrajine. To je mitična zgodba, ki je ponavadi razdrobljena, ohranjena v ljudskih pripovedih in drugih oblikah ljudskega izročila, v krajevnih imenih in včasih celo v imenih svetnikov, zavetnikov cerkva, ki so kot mlajša cerkvena pokrajina prekrile starejšo mitično pokrajino. Ti odlomki mitične zgodbe so prostorsko povezani s posameznimi snovnimi deli pokrajine. Zato lahko raziščemo povezavo med tem izročilom in arheološkimi ostanki (prim. Lane 2008). Kronologija slednjih datira uporabo sestavin mitične zgodbe.

Ker poznamo večno željo krščanske cerkve kot institucije, da bi bila vseobsegajoča, je dobro znana njena metoda nadomeščanja starejših svetih mest s cerkvami (Jerris 2002). To potrjuje znamenito pismo papeža Gregorja Velikega, ki ga je leta 601 poslal v Britanijo (Hartmann, Ewald 1899, 56). Zato sta lega in usmeritev cerkva lahko del zgodovine učinkov (nemško Wirkungsgeschichte) starejše mitične pokrajine. Raziskane usmeritve cerkva se osredotočajo na vzdolžno os cerkvene zgradbe. Raziskav usmeritve prečne osi ali celo diagonale cerkvene ladje še ni (Pleterski 2015a, 26–29).

Tradicionalna razlaga, da je cerkveno usmeritev določal sončni vzhod ali zahod na praznik svetnika, ki mu je bila cerkev posvečena, drži samo v zelo redkih primerih (Čaval 2010, 162; Sassin Allen 2016, 160). Nekaterih drugih teorij, kot so kronološki in institucionalni vplivi na orientacijo, smer sončnega vzhoda na dan posvetitve ali sončni vzhod okoli velike noči, preprosto ni mogoče preveriti, saj temeljijo na neizmerljivih spremenljivkah (Čaval 2010, 163–165; Sassin Allen 2016, 161–163). Za raziskave mitične pokrajine je pomembno, da je veliko cerkva usmerjenih proti pokrajinskim značilnostim, vključno s starimi svetimi kraji (Sassin Allen 2016, 169–184). Kaže pa omeniti, da so lahko cerkev kot sakralno stavbo zgradili kot zapleteno strukturo, kjer so razmerja, smeri, svetlobe in sence napolnjeni s simboličnimi pomeni (na primer: Pejaković 1978; 1997).

Da bi razumeli mitično pokrajino, moramo poznati čim več njenih sestavnih delov in njihovih leg. Čeprav ni treba poznati vseh, bi moralo biti njihovo število takšno, da je mogoče prepoznati strukturni okvir. Sestavni deli morajo biti urejeni pravilno. Le tako spodbudijo red, ki omogoča ravnovesje naravnih sil in s tem preživetje ljudi. Če ne bi vzpostavili reda, bi povzročili kaos, kar prinaša kataklizme in smrt. Na drugi strani obstoj reda olajšuje naše preučevanje mitične pokrajine. Kot raziskovalci iščemo red.

10.2.2 MITIČNA ZGODBA, ŠTEVILA IN SPREMEMBE V NARAVI

Mitična zgodba razlaga spremembe v naravi pri vsakoletnem ponavljanju letnih časov *(sl. 10.1)*. Dogodki potekajo v krogu in nimajo ne začetka ne konca. Pona-

researched through archaeoastronomy (for further details about the subject and research methods, see: Šprajc 1991; Ruggles 2005; Ministr 2007; A. Polcaro, V. F. Polcaro 2009, Rappenglück 2014).

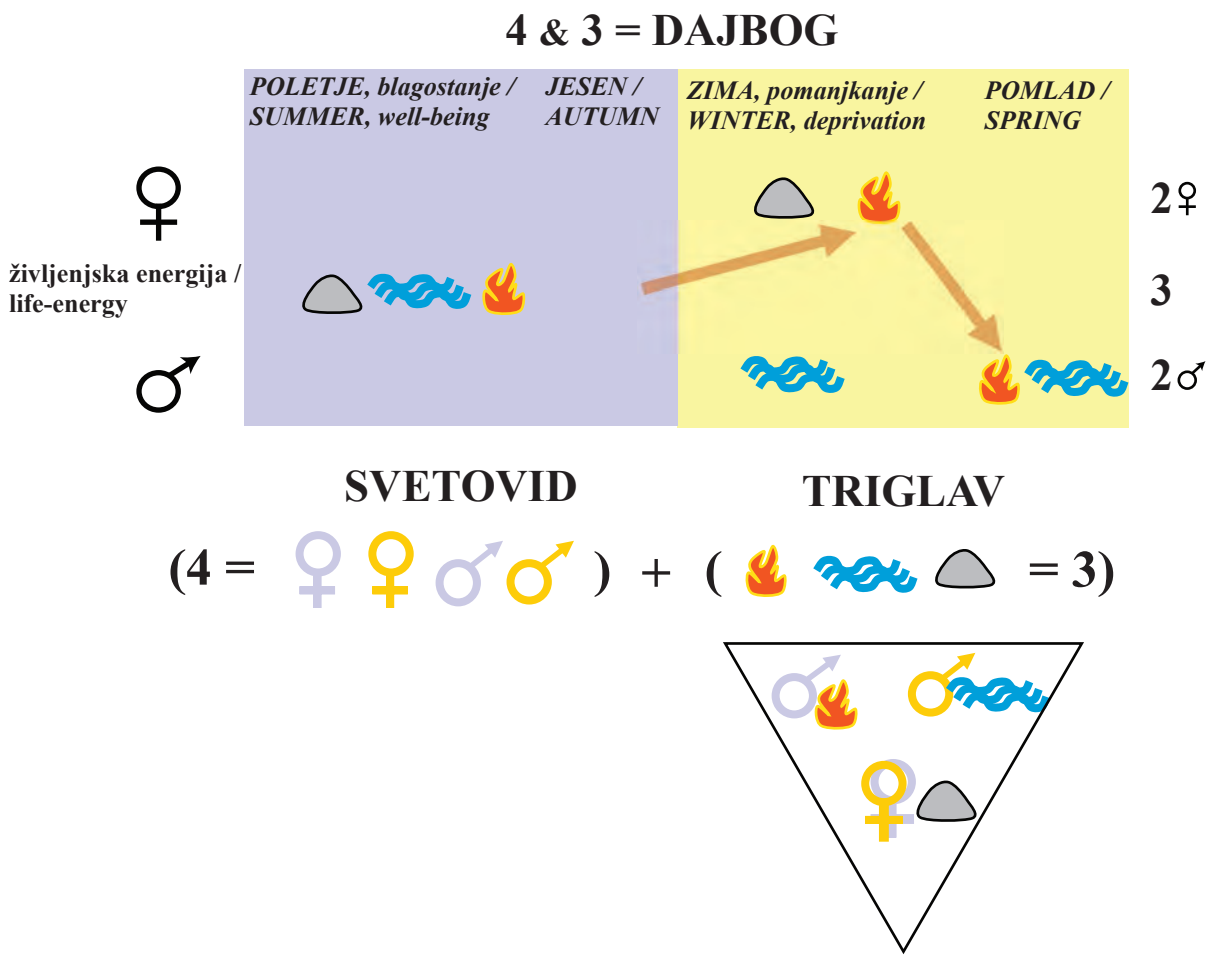
There are also **artificial parts** of the Earth's landscape – such as roads, channels, fields, settlements, cemeteries, and shrines. These **material artefacts** may be the subject of archaeological research, allowing the opportunity to determine their chronology.

There are also **intangible components** of a mythical landscape. This is the mythical story, which is usually fragmented because it is preserved in folk narratives and performances, in place-names and sometimes even in the names of saints as patrons of churches, which is a younger ecclesiastical structure overlaying the earlier mythical landscape. These fragments are spatially associated with the individual material parts of a landscape, and therefore, we can investigate the link between this tradition and the archaeological remains (*cf.* Lane 2008). The chronology of the archaeological remains dates the use of the elements of the mythical story.

The eternal quest of the Christian Church as an institution was all-embracing, and its method of substituting the earlier sacral places with churches (Jerris 2002), is well known, corroborated in the year 601 CE, with the famous letter from Pope Gregory the Great, sent to the Brittany (Hartmann, Ewald 1899, 56). The position and orientation of churches could therefore be a part of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* (history of the effects) of the earlier mythical landscape. The church orientations that have been researched involve the longitudinal axis of the church building. There are as yet no studies of the orientations of the lateral axis or even diagonal of the church nave (Pleterski 2015a, 26–29).

The most traditional explanation, that church orientation is determined by the sunrise (or sunset) on the feast day of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, holds true only in very rare cases (Čaval 2010, 162; Sassin Allen 2016, 160). Some other theories (chronological and institutional effects on orientation, or the direction of sunrise when a church was first laid out, or sunrise around Easter), simply cannot be verified, since they are based on unquantifiable variables (Čaval 2010, 163–165; Sassin Allen 2016, 161–163). It is important for mythical landscape studies that many churches are orientated around features in the landscape, including old sacred places (Sassin Allen 2016, 169–184), however, it is worth mentioning that a church as a sacral building could be constructed as a complex structure, where relationships, directions, lights and shadows are filled with symbolic meaning (for example: Pejaković 1978; 1997).

To understand the mythical landscape it is necessary to identify its components and their positions. It is not needed to know them all, but at least enough that the main structure can be recognised. The components must be arranged in an orderly way. It is only in this way that



Sl. 10.1: Razmerje med plodnim in neplodnim mitičnim parom, ki ga je mogoče razumeti bodisi kot dvojico, bodisi kot četverico, ter trojstvom bodisi treh sil narave, bodisi treh oseb.
Fig. 10.1: Relationship between a fertile and infertile mythical couple, which can be understood as either a pair or a quadruple, and a trinity of either three forces of nature or three persons.

zarja jih zgodba o mitičnem paru, ženski in moškem, ki poletni del leta preživita kot zakonca v nenehnem harmoničnem spolnem odnosu. Njuna koitalna energija proizvaja plodnost, kar ustvarja blaginjo. Čas, ko sta združena, je v krogu leta obdobje obilja. Jeseni se njuna zveza prekine. Moški se postara in izgubi svojo spolno moč, ženski lik ga posledično pohabi (ga kastrira, mu vzame orožje), pogoltne, zapre v svojo votlino. S pridobljenim orožjem (ogenj, strela, sekira ...) neplodna ženska vlada pozimi. Moški je dozdevno mrtev (spi), vendar spomladi pomlajen lahko zapusti žensko votlino, vzame orožje nazaj, premaga starko, jo prisili v spolni odnos in ji s tem povrne mladost in plodnost (Pleterski 2014, 7; 37–99). Poleg te zgodbe o plodnem in neplodnem paru, ki jo simbolizira število štiri, obstaja še ena različica s tremi liki, ki živijo v ljubezenskem trikotniku. Tam sta ena ženska in dva moška. Ženska ima spolni odnos z enim od moških pozimi, z drugim pa poleti. Simbolizira jih število tri.

they encourage order, which allows a balance between natural forces and people's livelihoods. Failure to comply with the order causes chaos, which brings cataclysms and death. On the other side, the existence of order facilitates our study: as researchers we are looking for order.

10.2.2 A MYTHICAL STORY, NUMBERS AND CHANGES IN NATURE

Mythical stories explain the changes in nature during the annual repetition of the seasons (*Fig. 10.1*). The events run in a circle and have neither beginning nor end. They are illustrated by the story of a mythical couple, a woman and a man, who spend the summer period of the year as spouses in continuous harmonious intercourse. With their coital energy, they produce fertility that creates prosperity. The period for which they are united is a period of abundance in the cycle of the year. In autumn

V izročilu vasi Prelože in Lokev (jugozahodna Slovenija) je število štiri povezano z likom Svetovidovega križa. To je krog, razdeljen na četrtine, vsaka ima piko. Štiri četrtine predstavljajo štiri strani neba, štiri življenjska obdobja, štiri letne čase, štiri pike pa so sestavine sveta: zemlja, ogenj, voda in zrak. Ker v njegovem središču spomladi zraste novo zeleno drevo, je to središče peta sestavina in tako vsebuje Svetovidov križ tudi število pet. Tamkajšnji kamnoseki so ga včasih upodobili s štirimi dodatnimi črtami, namesto štirih pik, in tako sestavili število osem. Osnovne štiri črte križa so bile bolj poudarjene (Čok 2012, 34; 2015, 112). Po istem izročilu je s številom tri povezan bog Triglav, s številom štiri pa bog Svetovid. Ta dva ustvarjata število ***sedem***, ker sestavljata boga s sedmimi glavami (Čok 2015, 125), ki so ga domačini klicali Dajbog.

Ubeseditev števila pet Svetovidovega križa najdemo tudi v slovenski pravljici Pet bratov, ki jo je pred drugo svetovno vojno na Tolminskem zapisal Ciril Drekonja. "Prvi je bil sledec, da je sledil žival ali človeka še po petih letih. Drugi je lahko v hipu razrušil grad. Tretji je bil strelec, da je zadel zvezdo na nebu. Četrti je bil hiter, da je ujel strelo iz oblakov. Peti je lahko v trenutku postavil grad" (Kenda, Drekonja, Šavli 2012, 28). Tisti, ki gradi, je vzhod, tisti, ki podira, je zahod, zvezda je na nočnem severu, ognjena strela na jugu, stezosledec pozna pravo pot, to je pravo v središču (prim. Banaszkiewicz 1991).

10.2.3 ČASOVNA RAZSEŽNOST MITIČNE ZGODBE

Mitične strukture imajo tudi časovno razsežnost, saj so povezane s spremembami v naravi v teku leta. Prihod mladega boga, ki pomaga ustvariti plodnost spomladi, je nedvomno povezan s 23. aprilom. V krščanskem koledarju je to dan svetega Jurija in zelo verjetno je staro slovansko ime potentnega ženina Jarilo (prim. Katičić 2010a, 19; 2010b, 89–104).

Rad bi opozoril na opis koledarja, ki ni širše znan, vendar je pomemben za razumevanje tudi starega slovanskega koledarja (najnovejši poskus njegove rekonstrukcije, ki pa ne upošteva podatkov, shranjenih v mitični pokrajini: Zaroff 2016). Njegov obstoj je odkril Branimir Gušić (1962) v Malesiji na meji med Črno goro in Albanijo. To je stari koledar albanskih pastirjev, ki začnejo leto na dan svetega Jurija (praznovanje se začne 24. aprila). Dan svetega Dimitrija (26. oktober) zaznamuje sredino leta, obe polovici pa trajata po 180 dni. Dan sv. Jurija so praznovali tri dni, dan svetega Dimitrija pa dva dni. Teh pet dni niso šteli med ostale in so tako dobili leto 365 dni. To je nedvomno sončni koledar, ki se je ravnal po položaju Sonca na obzorju in zato ni poznal problema prestopnih let.

Z njegovo pomočjo lahko ugotovimo, kako pomembna sta dneva sv. Jurija in sv. Dimitrija v koledarju.

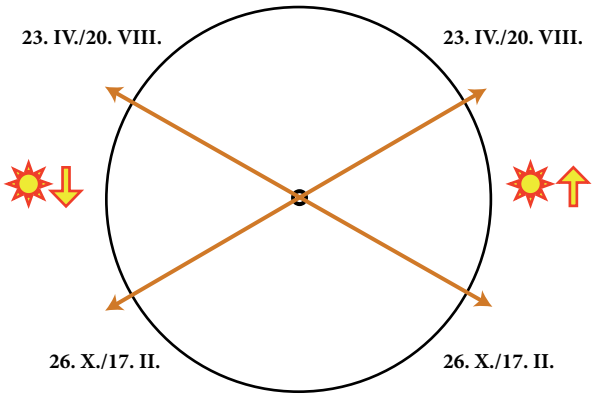
their union collapses, the man grows old and loses his sexual power, and the female consequently cripples him (castrates him, takes his weapon), swallows him, or encloses him in a cavity. Using the acquired weapon (fire, lightning, axe etc.), the infertile woman rules during winter. The man is apparently dead (he is sleeping), but in spring, rejuvenated, he can leave the woman's cavity and take the weapon back. He beats the elderly woman, forces her into sex and consequently restores her youth and fertility (Pleterski 2014, 7). In addition to this story about a fertile and an infertile pair, which is symbolised by the *number four*, there is another version with three characters who live in a love triangle. There is one woman and two men; the woman has intercourse with one of the men in winter and with the other one in summer (see below). They are symbolised by *the number three*.

In traditions from the villages of Prelože and Lokev (southwestern Slovenia), the number four is related to the figure of the Cross of Svetovid (the ancient Slavic god). This is a circle that is divided into quarters, each with a dot. The four quarters represent the four sides of the sky, four lifetimes, and the four seasons, and the four dots represent the components of the world: earth, fire, water and air. A new green tree grows in the centre in the spring, however, and this centre is the fifth element: thus the Cross of Svetovid also contains the number *five*. Stonecutters sometimes depicted it with four extra lines instead of four dots, thus making the number *eight*. The basic four lines of the cross were more emphasised (Čok 2012, 34; 2015, 112). In the same tradition, the number three is associated with the ancient god Triglav and the god Svetovid is associated with the number four. These two gods are joined by the number *seven* because they compound a seven-headed god (Čok 2015, 125), called Dajbog (= the giving god).

Textualising the Cross of Svetovid as the number five is also found in the Slovenian fairy tale Five Brothers, written by Ciril Drekonja before the Second World War in the Tolmin region. "*The first brother was able to track an animal or human after five years. The second had the ability to destroy a castle in an instant. The third brother was able to shoot and hit a star in the sky. The fourth was fast enough to catch lightning from the clouds. The fifth brother was able to build a castle in an instant*" (Kenda, Drekonja, Šavli 2012, 28). The brother who builds is the east, the brother who destroys is the west, the star is the night sky in the north, the lightning is in the south, the tracker knows the right path, which is the law in the centre (*cf.* Banaszkiewicz 1991).

10.2.3 THE TIME DIMENSION OF MYTHICAL STORY

Mythical structures also have a time dimension, because they are associated with the changes in nature throughout the year. The arrival of a young god who



Sl. 10.2: Protistoječi vzhodi in zahodi sonca v idealni ravnini.
Fig. 10.2: The opposing sunrises and sunsets in the ideal plane.

Od 26. oktobra do vključno 23. aprila traja 180 dni, zaokroženo je to polovica leta. Če opazujemo sončne vzhode in zahode na obzorju z iste točke v ravnini, se lahko narišejo navidezne črte, ki združijo sončni vzhod 23. aprila in sončni zahod 26. oktobra, pa tudi obratno, sončni zahod 23. aprila in sončni vzhod 26. oktobra *(sl. 10.2*). Seveda bi lahko izbrali kateri koli drug nasprotni par datumov, vendar ima 23. april še eno pomembno lastnost, ki je nima noben drug datum. Triindvajsetega aprila sonce vzhaja in zahaja na isti točki na obzorju kot 20. avgusta. Od vključno 23. aprila do vključno 20. avgusta mine 120 dni, kar je zaokroženo tretjina leta. Začne se spomladi s prihodom potentnega mitičnega moškega, ki pomladi mitični ženski lik, naslednje štiri mesece pa preživita v nenehnem spolnem odnosu. Tretjina se konča z ločitvijo, ko se mitični ženski lik povzpne na oblast (prim. Pleterski 2015b).

Mitična ločitev je konfliktna situacija in tradicionalno pripovedništvo jo opisuje na različne načine, vendar brez določenega datuma. Ena redkih slovanskih različic mitične zgodbe, ki opisuje jesenski mitični spopad v povezavi z dejanskim koledarskim datumom, je zgodba o nastanku ruskega mesta Jaroslavelj Сказание о построении града Ярославля (Pripoved o ustanovitvi mesta Jaroslavelj). Ohranjena je v zapisu iz leta 1781, ki naj bi bil kopija neznanega starejšega rokopisa, najverjetneje iz 17. stoletja. Slednji je bil napisan s pomočjo starejših virov, morda ustnega izročila Jaroslavlja (Katičić 2008, 123–124, 132). Med drugim zapis opisuje češčenje Volosa, vendar nas zanima, kaj je med svojim obiskom doživel kijevski knez Jaroslav Modri (978–1054). Po pripovedi je zgradil cerkev svetega Ilije, ker je na dan svetega Ilije s sekiro ubil divjo zver (люта звер). Kljub temu, da je ta datum seveda že krščanski, je še vedno zelo pomemben dogodek v poznem poletju.

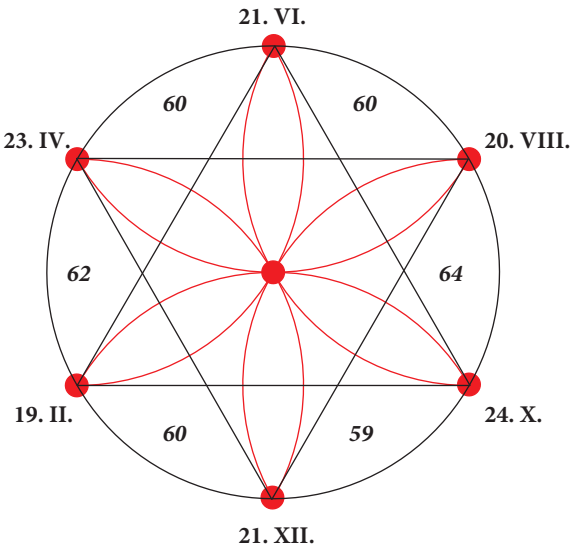
Jesenska žrtev je bila prvotno verjetno 20. avgusta, konec poletne tretjine leta. V katoliškem krščanstvu se izjemen pomen sredine avgusta ohranja s praznovanjem

helps to create fertility in spring is undoubtedly connected with the 23rd April. In the Christian calendar, this is the day of St George and it is very likely that the old Slavic name of the potent groom is Jarilo (*cf.* Katičić 2010a, 19; 2010b, 89–104).

I would like to draw attention to a calendar that is generally not well-known, but is important for the understanding of the ancient Slavic calendar (for the latest attempt to reconstruct it, although excluding data from mythical landscapes: Zaroff 2016). Discovered and described by Branimir Gušić (1962) in Malesija on the border between Montenegro and Albania, it is an old calendar of Albanian shepherds, who begin the year on the day of St George (the celebration begins on the 24th of April). The day of St Demetrius (October 26th) marks the middle of the year, and the two halves of the year lasted 180 days each. The day of St George was celebrated for three days and the day of St Demetrius for two days. These five days were not counted and so the year lasted for 365 days. This is undoubtedly a solar calendar, which followed the position of the sun on the horizon and therefore did not recognise leap years.

With the help of this old calendar, we can determine the importance of the days of St George or St Demetrius in calendars. From the 26th October up to and including the 23th April, there are 180 days: a rounded half year. If we observe the sunrises and sunsets on the horizon from the same point in the plane, virtual lines can be drawn, joining the sunrise on the 23rd April and the sunset on the 26th October – as well as vice versa, the sunset on the 23rd April and the sunrise on the 26th October (*Fig. 10.2*). Of course, any other opposite pair of dates could be chosen, but the 23rd April has another important feature that no other dates have. On the 23rd April the sun rises and sets at the same place on the horizon as on the 20th August. From and including the 23rd April up to and including the 20th August, there are 120 days, which is rounded up to be one third of the year. This third begins with the arrival of the potent mythical male character in spring, who rejuvenates the mythical female character, and they spend the next four months in constant intercourse. The third ends with their separation, when the mythical female character ascends to power (*cf.* Pleterski 2015b).

The separation is a conflict situation and traditional storytelling describes it in a number of ways, but without ascribing it an actual date. One of the few Slavic versions of the mythical story that describe the mythical autumn confrontation in conjunction with an actual calendar date is the story about the origin of the Russian town Yaroslavl: *Сказание о построении града Ярославля* (A story of the foundation of the town Yaroslavl). It is preserved in a record from 1781, which is supposed to be a copy of an unknown earlier manuscript, most likely from the 17th century. The latter was written with the help of earlier sources, perhaps the oral tradition of Yaroslavl (Katičić, 2008, 123–124, 132). Among other things, the record describes the worship of



Sl. 10.3: Delitev sončnega leta na šest delov.
Fig. 10.3: The division of the solar year into six parts.

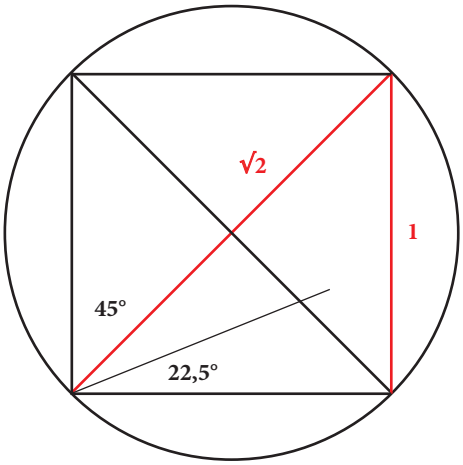
Marijinega vnebovzetja 15. avgusta. V pravoslavni Makedoniji je v avgustu posebno dvanajstdnevno obdobje, Makaevi, ki napoveduje usodo naslednjih 12 mesecev (Risteski 2005, 398). Datum so prenesli in spremenili v Ilindenske klavne žrtve (2. avgust).

Sredina poletne trejine leta je 21. junij, poletni sončni obrat (*sl. 10.3*). Od vključno 23. aprila do vključno 21. junija je 60 dni, od vključno 22. junija do vključno 20. avgusta pa prav tako 60 dni. Preostali dve tretjini leta razpolavlja 21. december, zimski sončni obrat. Od vključno 21. avgusta do vključno 21. decembra je 123 dni, od vključno 22. decembra do vključno 22. aprila pa 122 dni. Podobno lahko razdelimo leto, če se opremo na zimsko trejino leta, ki se začne 24. oktobra (po malesijskem koledarju niso šteli dveh dni in so začeli šteti 26. oktobra). Mesto sončnega vzhoda se ponovi 19. februarja. Od vključno 24. oktobra do vključno 19. februarja je 119 dni, ki jih razpolavlja 21. december. Od vključno 24. oktobra do vključno 21. decembra je 59 dni in od vključno 22. decembra do vključno 19. februarja je 60 dni. Preostali dve tretjini razpolavlja 21. junij. Od vključno 22. junija do vključno 23. oktobra je 124 dni in od vključno 20. februarja do vključno 21. junija je 122 dni. Razdelitev leta na tretjine s pomočjo določitve poletne tretjine leta da tako nekoliko bolj skladne tretjine. Kako so ljudje uporabljali tretjine, pa bo lahko pokazala šele statistična analiza velikega števila mitičnih pokrajin. Od vključno 20. februarja do vključno 22. aprila je 62 dni in od vključno 21. avgusta do vključno 23. oktobra je 64 dni. Če ne potrebujemo prestopnega leta in če ne štejemo petih dni, lahko leto poenostavljeno razdelimo na šest delov po šestdeset dni. To je precej verjeten začetek šestdesetiškega sistema in vzrok, da še danes krog

Volos, but at this point, we are interested in what the Kiev Prince Yaroslav the Wise (978–1054) experienced during his visit. According to the narrative, he built the church of St Elijah because he had beaten a wild beast (*люта звер*) with an axe on the day of St Elijah. Despite the fact that this date was, of course, already Christian, it is still a very important event in late summer.

The primary autumn sacrifice was probably the 20th August, the end of the summer-third of the year. The exceptional importance of mid-August is preserved in Catholic Christianity with the celebration of the Assumption on the 15th August. In orthodox Macedonia, the importance of this time in August is marked by a special period of twelve days, *Makaevi*, that predicts the fate of the next 12 months (Risteski 2005, 398) and the date was also moved and transformed into the *Ilinden* (the 2nd August) sacrifices.

The middle of the summer third of the year is the 21st June, the summer solar solstice (*Fig. 10.3*). There are 60 days between the 23rd April and the 21st June inclusive, and 60 days between the 22nd June and the 20th August inclusive. The remaining two-thirds of the year is halved by the 21st December, the winter solar solstice. There are 123 days from the 21st August to the 21st December inclusive and 122 days from the 22nd December to the 22nd April inclusive. We can similarly divide the year, if we rely on the winter third of the year, beginning on the 24th October (according to the Malesian shepherd calendar they did not count for two days and started counting on the 26th October). The same sunrise point on the horizon recurs on the 19th February. From the 24th October inclusive to the 19th February inclusive there are 119 days, halved by the 21st December. There are 59 days from the 24th October to the 21st December inclusive and 60 days from the 22nd December to the 19th February inclusive. The remaining two-thirds of the year are then halved by the 21st June. From the 22nd June inclusive to the 23rd October inclusive there are 124 days, and from the 20th February inclusive to the 21st June inclusive there are 122 days. The division of the year into thirds, by determining the summer third of the year, thus gives slightly more consistent thirds. Only a statistical analysis of a large number of mythical landscapes can show how people used thirds, however. There are 62 days from the 20th February to the 22nd April inclusive and 64 days from the 21st August to the 23rd October inclusive. If we do not include a leap year and do not count five "holiday" days, then the year can be simply divided into six parts of sixty days. This is the probable origin of the sixties system, and the reason why we still divide the circle into 360 degrees today, an hour at 60 minutes and a minute at 60 seconds. In any case, the sixties system was used in ancient Mesopotamia (*cf.* Berlinghoff, Gouvêa 2008, 15–17). Its age can be determined through its use in mythical landscapes. The measurement of time with the moon and stars will need to be examined separately.



Sl. 10.4: Krog, kvadrat, pravi kot in njegovo razpolavljanje, razmerje 1 : √2.
Fig. 10.4: Circle, square, right angle and its halving, ratio 1:√2.

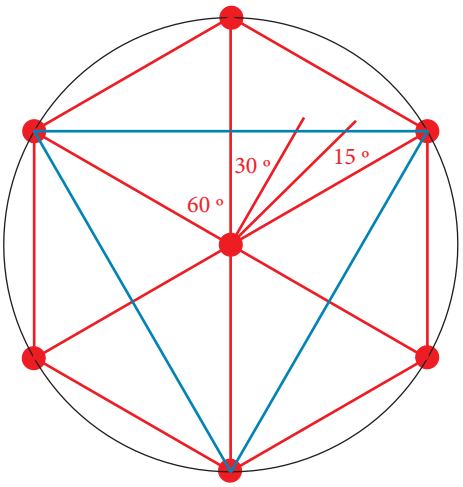
delimo na 360 stopinj, uro na 60 minut in minuto na 60 sekund. Vsekakor so šestdesetiški sistem uporabljali že v stari Mezopotamiji (prim. Berlinghoff, Gouvêa 2008, 15–17). Njegovo starost bo mogoče ugotoviti s pomočjo njegovih postavitev v mitičnih pokrajinah. Merjenje časa z Mesecem in zvezdami bo treba obravnavati posebej.

10.2.4 MATEMATIKA

Začetki matematike segajo v čas pred nastankom prvih pisav (v modernem smislu). Predmeti, ki kažejo na določeno matematično znanje, so stari vsaj 37.000 let (Berlinghoff, Gouvêa 2008, 12; za še zgodnejše začetke glej Rappenglück 2014).

S preprostimi orodji, kot sta vrv in palica, lahko na tleh narišemo krog. Podana sta njegov obod in središče. Z istim orodjem potem krog razdelimo na štiri dele, ki jih določata pravokotni črti (*sl. 10.4*). Ko povežemo njuna stičišča z obodom kroga, dobimo kvadrat. Razmerje stranice kvadrata in njegove diagonale je 1 : √2. Premer kroga je diagonala kvadrata, ki ga deli na dva enakokraka pravokotna trikotnika. Določen imamo kot 90°, z njegovim razpolavljanjem pa tudi kota 45° in 22,5°.

Če polmer kroga uporabimo za risanje nadaljnjih krožnic, ki gredo skozi središče prvega kroga in sekajo njegov obod, dobimo pravilen šesterolist (*sl. 10.3*) in šest točk na obodu. Skupaj s središčem kroga (sedma točka!) določajo šest enakostraničnih trikotnikov, medtem ko vsaka druga od šestih točk na obodu določa večji enakostranični trikotnik (*sl. 10.5*). S preprosto triangulacijo lahko nato iz osnovnih trikotnikov razvijamo želena prostorska razmerja in razdalje. Ko so znani dolžina ene stranice trikotnika in njena priležna kota, lahko določimo cel trikotnik. Enakostranične trikotnike



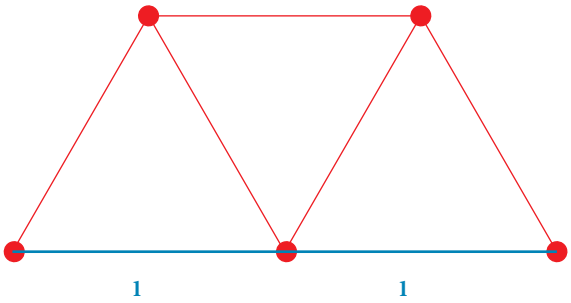
Sl. 10.5: Krog, enakostranični trikotniki, kot 60° in njegovo razpolavljanje.
Fig. 10.5: Circle, equilateral triangles, angle 60° and its halving.

10.2.4 MATHEMATICS

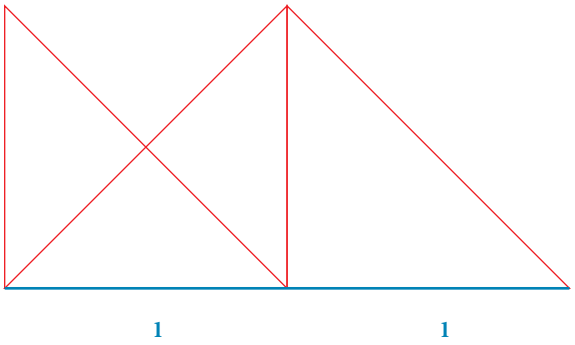
The beginnings of mathematics date back to the time before the emergence of the first alphabets (in the modern sense). Objects that indicate a specific mathematical knowledge, are at least 37,000 years old (Berlinghoff, Gouvêa, 2008, 12; about even earlier beginnings Rappenglück 2014).

With simple tools, such as rope and sticks, we can draw a circle on the ground. Its periphery and the centre are given. With the same tool the circle may then be divided into four parts, which are determined by the perpendicularly standing diameter lines (*Fig. 10.4*). When we connect their conjunctions with the circumference of the circle, we get a square. The diameter of the circle is the diagonal of the square, which is divided into two isosceles right angle triangles. The ratio of the sides of a square and its diagonal is 1:√2. So the 90° angle is given, with its halved angles of 45° and 22.5°.

If the radius of the circle is used to draw further circles, passing through the centre of the first circle, and intersecting the circumference of a circle, we get six-leaved form (*Fig. 10.3*) and at the circumference, we get six points. Together with the centre of the circle (the seventh point!) they determine six equilateral triangles, and every second of these six points on the circumference provides greater equilateral triangles (*Fig. 10.5*). Simple triangulation can thus be used to develop spatial relationships and distances from basic triangles. It is useful that we know the length of one side of the triangle and its adjacent angle, because in this way the whole triangle may be determined. Equilateral triangles can be used for measuring distances that are multiples of an arbitrary



Sl. 10.6: Mnogokratniki merske enote na isti črti s pomočjo enakostraničnih trikotnikov.
Fig. 10.6: Multiples of the measurement unit along the same line using equilateral triangles.

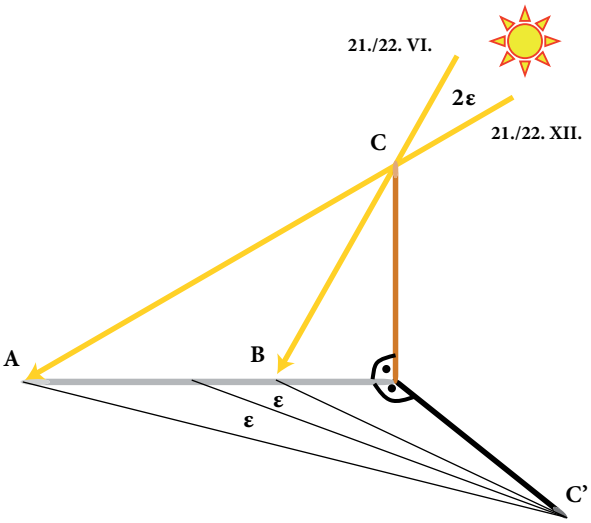


Sl. 10.7: Mnogokratniki merske enote na isti črti s pomočjo enakokrakih, pravokotnih trikotnikov.
Fig. 10.7: Multiples of the measurement unit along the same line by means of isosceles, and right-angle triangles.

lahko uporabljamo za merjenje razdalj, ki so poljuben mnogokratnik izhodiščne razdalje (*sl. 10.6*). Enako lahko uporabimo enakokrake pravokotne trikotnike (*sl. 10.7*). S pomočjo treh palic lahko čez gore, reke in doline potegnemo ravno smer.

S pomočjo navpične palice – gnomona so ljudje lahko določili (*sl. 10.8*) naklon Zemljine osi – ekliptiko (ε). Čeprav niso vedeli, kaj je ekliptika, so se zelo zavedali njenih posledic: spreminjajoče se moči sonca, ki je lahko tako šibko, da je vse ujeto v mraz in led, ali pa tako močno, da vse posuši in sežge. Z določitvijo kota ε (približno 23,5°) so ljudje določili *zlato sredino* med obema smrtonosnima skrajnostma. Lahko si predstavljamo, da so s ponazoritvijo te sredine, ki jo delovno imenujem *obredni kot*, naredili čar, ki je pomagal vzdrževati naravno ravnovesje in blaginjo. Isto funkcijo ima razmerje $1 : \sqrt{2}$, hipotenuza kot sredina med nasprotnima katetama (podrobneje Pleterski 2014, 122–127).

Daljinske mere. Nemški meroslovec Rolf Rottländer je dokazal, da je razvoj standardiziranih daljinskih mer star vsaj 8000 let. Zelo pomembno je dejstvo, da



Sl. 10.8: Določanje naklona Zemljine osi s pomočjo gnomona in prenos kota v ravnino.
Fig. 10.8: Determining the inclination of the Earth's axis using a gnomon and transferring the angle to the plane.

baseline distance (*Fig. 10.6*). An isosceles right angle triangle may be used in the same way (*Fig. 10.7*). With the help of three sticks the straight line can be juxtaposed over the mountains, rivers and valleys.

With the help of a vertical stick (gnomon) were people able to determine (*Fig. 10.8*) the inclination of the earth's axis (ecliptic – ε). They did not knew what the ecliptic was, but they were very aware of its consequences: the changing power of the sun, which can be so weak that it is all trapped in cold and ice, and so strong that it dries and burns everything. By setting the angle ε (about 23.5°), the golden mean between the two deadly extremes was set. I call this the "*ritual angle*". One can imagine that the visualisation of the middle, seen as magic, helped to maintain natural balance and well-being. The same function has the ratio $1:\sqrt{2}$, with the hypotenuse as the middle link between the catheti (more details Pleterski 2014, 122–127).

Distance units. German metrologist Rolf Rottländer proved that the development of standardised distance units is at least 8,000 years old. It is very important that they are all "genetically" connected (Rottländer 2006). Numerous distances are divisible with the so-called Charlemagne's foot (333.22 mm). The multiples of the Charlemagne's foot in a measurement module and the multiples of the module repeat in extremely strong symbolic numbers, often associated with the calendar and the moon's numbers, and especially 3 x 9. The time that passes as the Moon returns to the same place on the horizon, is the sidereal month period of 27.32166 days. This is a month with three weeks, each week with nine days. The

so vse "genetsko" povezane (Rottländer 2006). Številne razdalje so deljive s tako imenovanim karlovim čevljem (333,22 mm). Mnogokratniki karlovega čevlja v merskem modulu in mnogokratniki modula se ponavljajo in so hkrati simbolno izjemno močna števila, pogosto povezana s koledarskimi in mesečevimi števili, zlasti s formulo 3 x 9. Čas, ki mine, da se Mesec vrne na isto mesto na obzorju, je siderski mesec, ki traja 27,32166 dneva. To je mesec s 3 tedni, vsak teden z 9 dnevi. Formula 3 x 9 ali 27 (sem spadata tudi števili 999 in 39, pa tudi 93) je simbolično izjemno močna. Klicanje 27 dni sideričnega meseca, ko Mesec "odide in se vrne", je urok, ki so ga uporabljali za tiste, ki so odšli, da bi se vrnili (prim. Žolobov 2004). In tako kot Mesec stalno umira in oživlja, predstavlja idealno upanje za smrtnike, da se bodo vrnili.

10.2.5 KAKO NASTANE MITIČNA POKRAJINA

Predstavljam idealiziran model oblikovanja mitične pokrajine, kot ga lahko povzamemo na podlagi preučevanja slovanskega gradiva. To pa ne pomeni, da je model edinstven za Slovane. Njihovo izročilo je tako arhaično, da zanesljivo sega v predslovanski čas, s tem mislim na čas pred pojavom slovanskega jezika. Morda sega še dlje nazaj, v čas Predindoevropejcev (Pleterski 2014, 382). Zato je zelo verjetno, da bo predstavljeni model široko veljaven. Kako široko, bodo pokazali praktični preizkusi.

Struktura mitične pokrajine je bila realizirana vsakokrat ločeno v različnih teritorialnih enotah. Takšna enota je bila povezana geografsko, politično, gospodarsko, pravno, ritualno in identitetno. Slovani so jo poimenovali župa, tudi *dežela* (prim. Škrubej 2002, 96, 176–182, 205). Njen zunanji rob so določale štiri mitične točke (*sl. 10.9*), ki so bile povezane z mitičnimi dogodki v štirih letnih časih. Dve označujeta poletno in zimsko stanje, drugi dve pa pomladansko in jesensko spremembo. Hkrati označujejo štiri osebe mitičnih dvojic, rodovitne in neplodne. Ljudje so obiskovali te točke v določenih koledarskih dneh in izvajali obrede, ki so zagotavljali pravilno dogajanje mitične zgodbe in s tem ustrezen razvoj v naravi. V osrednjem delu župe so bile tri točke, povezane s tremi osebami Triglava ali z njegovimi tremi silami ognja, vode in zemlje. Ta trojica je bila lahko predstavljena tudi samo na enem mestu (Pleterski 2014, 377–382).

V ta prostorski okvir so ljudje postavili svoja naselja, grobišča in polja. Pri tem so poskušali kar najbolj spoštovati simbolične smeri, razdalje, oblike, kar vse je določalo tudi lego naselij in grobišč. Rešitve so bile prilagojene posameznim območjem, kanoniziranih pravil ni bilo. Zato si niti dve situaciji nista enaki do zadnje podrobnosti, vedno pa se ponavlja isti vzorec.

Pomembna lastnost mitične pokrajine je, da ne razlikuje med svetim in profanim. Sestavni deli mitične

formula 3 x 9 or 27 (the numbers 999 and 39 as well as 93 could be added) is symbolically very strong. One spell involved calling on the 27 days of the sidereal month, when the moon "goes and returns", and was also used for those who have gone and should return (*cf.* Žolobov 2004). The Moon's death and gradual revival reflects the ideal hope for mortal people to be resurrected.

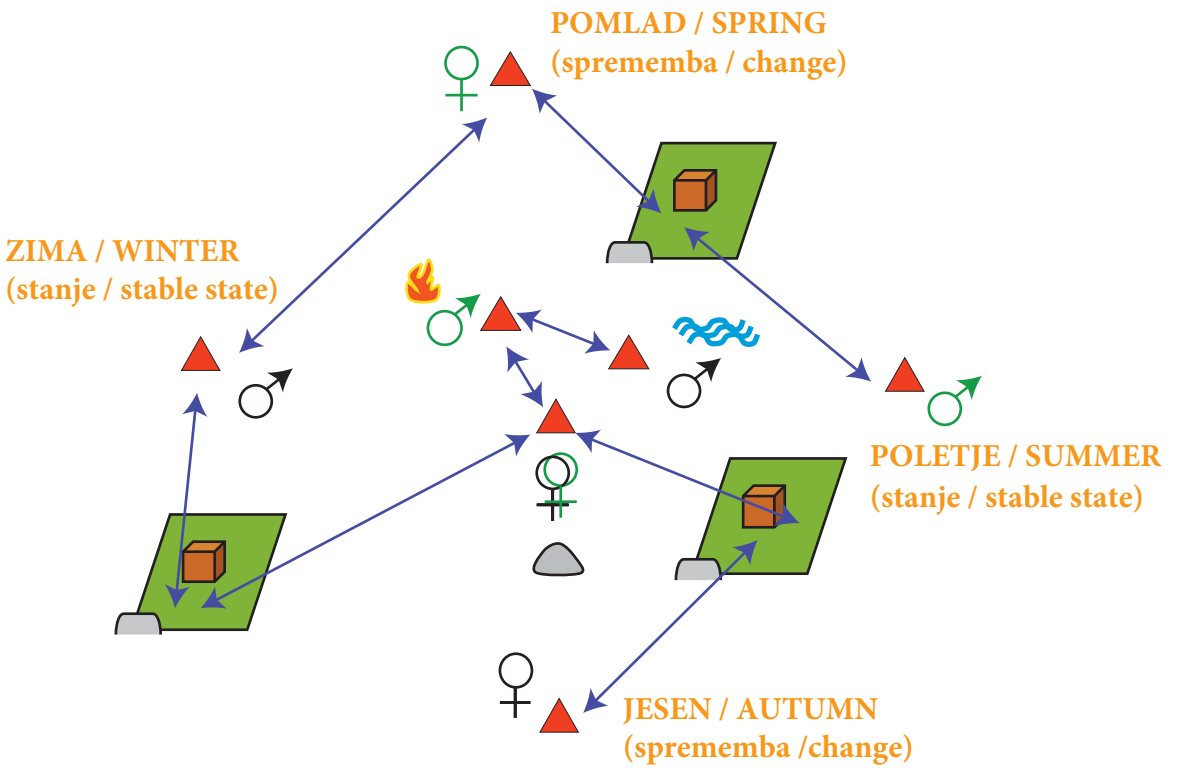
10.2.5 HOW DID THE MYTHICAL LANDSCAPE EMERGE?

I present an idealised model of the formation of the mythical landscape, which can be summarised according to Slavic material, but this does not mean that it is unique to the Slavs. Their tradition is so archaic, however, that it can be reliably traced back to pre-Slavic times, by which I mean the time before a Slavic language. It may even go back to the time of the Pre-Indo-Europeans (Pleterski 2014, 382).There is thus a substantial likelihood that the model presented is very widely valid: how wide will be demonstrated through its practical tests.

A mythical landscape structure was separately realised in each territorial unit (see below), which has been connected in a geographic, political, economic, juridic, identity, ritual manner. The Slavs called it *župa,* also *dežela* (*cf.* Škrubej 2002, 96, 176–182, 205). Its outer frame is defined by four mythical points (*Fig. 10.9*), associated with the mythical events of four periods of the year. Two of these events denote the summer and winter state, and two the spring and autumn change. At the same time they designate four persons as fertile and unfertile mythical couples. People went to these mythical points on specific calendar days and performed rituals to ensure the proper conduct of the mythical story and thereby the development of nature. In the central part of *župa* were three points that have been associated with persons of Triglav, or with his three forces, fire, water and earth. This trinity could also be presented together in one place (Pleterski 2014, 377–382).

People placed their settlements, burial grounds and fields in this spatial framework. In doing so, they tried their utmost to respect symbolic directions, distances, and shapes, which also denoted the positions of settlements and cemeteries. The respective solutions were adapted to the respective area; canonised rules did not exist. Although no two situations are similar in every last detail, the same concept is always repeated.

An important property of the mythical landscape is that the sacred and the profane are not distinguished; these components are everywhere, because it was the desire of the people to be protected in their entire living space. There is thus a mythical landscape wherever people lived.



Sl. 10.9: Idealiziran model mitične pokrajine teritorialne enote. Trikotniki označujejo točke, ki so prizorišča mitičnega dogajanja. Smeri povezav in njihovo število niso predpisane, vendar velja načelo, čim več tem bolje.
Fig. 10.9: Idealised model of the mythical landscape of a territorial unit. Triangles mark points that are the scene of mythical happenings. The directions of the connections and their number are not prescribed, but the principle is that more is better.

pokrajine so povsod, saj je šlo za željo ljudi, da bi bili zaščiteni v celotnem življenjskem prostoru. Zato obstaja mitična pokrajina povsod, kjer koli so ljudje živeli.

10.2.6 RADIESTEZIJSKI VIDIK

Doslej opisano ostaja na ravni zbiranja informacij različnih historičnih ved in preprostega opazovanja prostora. Vendar se sčasoma oblikuje občutek, da opazujemo samo lupino, porisano s formalističnimi čari. Vsebino ji daje tista lastnost prostora, s katero se ukvarja radiestezija, kar je moderno poimenovanje starodavne veščine občutenja prostora. Tu se ne bom spuščal v razpravo sedanjosti, ali gre pri radiesteziji samo za namišljena doživetja in paraznanost ali pa gre vendarle za objektivno obstoječe, čeprav fizikalno še nedoločene sile. Za mojo obravnavo je ta razprava nepomembna. Zanjo je pomembno preprosto dejstvo, da so ljudje verjeli v obstoj sil, ki izhajajo iz prostora, skušali z njimi živeti skladno in so zato v skladu s takšnim razumevanjem urejali prostor. Moje zanimanje je namenjeno pogledu nekdanjih ljudi na te sile, kako so jih zaznavali in razumeli ter kako so zaradi njih

10.2.6 RADIESTHESIA

What has been described so far remains at the level of gathering information from various historical sciences and simple observations of space, however, a feeling arises over time that we are observing only a shell, painted with formalistic ideograms. The contents of this shell are given by those properties of the space that radiesthesia deals with, which is a modern term for the ancient skill of feeling space. I will not go into the current debate about whether radiesthesia is merely an imaginary experience and parascience, or whether it is an objectively existing, albeit still physically undefined force, as this debate is irrelevant for my purposes. What matters is the simple fact that people believed in the existence of forces arising from space, tried to live with them in harmony, and therefore regulated space according to such an understanding. My interest is in looking at the historical view of these forces, how they were perceived and understood, and how the people therefore came to particular spatial solutions. The following are some fragments of statements recorded half a century ago by Pavel Medvešček and now published in collections of narratives describing the thoughts and actions of people in western Slovenia who still knew how

prišli do določenih prostorskih rešitev. V nadaljevanju navajam nekaj drobcev izjav, ki jih je pred pol stoletja zapisal Pavel Medveščck in jih sedaj objavlja v zbirkah pripovedi, ki opisujejo razmišljanja in ravnanja ljudi v zahodni Sloveniji, ki so še znali živeti tesno povezano z naravo. V taki povezanosti niti pogovor z drevesi ni bil čudež. Ali kot pravi rezijanska pripoved: "*Nekoč so rekli, da je gozd govoril. Ko so ljudje šli drevo sekat, je reklo: 'Ne mene, usekaj drugo!' Nekoč je govorilo vse, vse je govorilo*" (posnel Milko Matičetov 1964 v Lipovcu/ Lipovaz, Italija: Dapit, Kropej 1999, 9). In še bolj stvarno v pripovedi o domačinu Javorju: "*Odkar hodi tja, rase ob njegovi stezi bukev, za katero je vedel, da čuti njegovo prisotnost. Pozornost ji je izkazoval tako, da jo je vedno pogladil in ji tudi kaj lepega rekel. Ko je bil vesel, jo je tudi objel in prav kmalu v svojih dlaneh začutil njen odgovor* (Medveščck 2015, 56).

Tročan. Beseda je doma samo v delu Posočja, tam ima še različico *trigl* (Medveščck 2015, 365), verjetno tudi *truj* (Medveščck 2015, 106), na Krasu pa *trojnik* (Čok 2015). V sedanjo, tudi raziskovalno rabo se je najbolje umestila beseda tročan in jo zato uporabljam v nadaljevanju. Tročani imajo nekaj zgovornih opisov. "*Moj oče, ded in praded so od časov, ko so tu še tlačanili, prenašali izročilo o tročanu, ki je takrat pomenil tudi način življenja. Ko so se odločili, da bodo postavili hišo, kaščo in hlev, so najprej poiskali tri kamne. Dva so uporabili za temelj, tretjega pa so imeli za binkl* [< nemško "Winkel" = kot – torej kamen, ki je označeval kot] – *varuha, ki so ga varovali kot skrivnost, saj je zanj vedel le gospodar – graditelj, ki je na smrtni postelji povedal bodočemu gospodarju, kje je. Tročan je bil vedno v znamenju ognja (sonca), vode in zemlje. Prenekatero kmetijo je pobralo, ker se je vedenje o hišnem tročanu izgubilo ali pa so ga celo iz nevednosti uničili. Kmetije, hiša, kašča, hlev, kozolec ali čebelnjak so bili vedno grajeni v tročanu. Tudi v sadovnjaku so sadili po tem pravilu. Če to ni bilo mogoče, so to storili s posevki. Baje je imela vsaka kmetija takrat svoj binkel, vendar le ognjenega, vodenega ali zemljenega ... Porezen je skupaj z Otavnikom in Robijo tvoril veliki tročan ... tudi drevesa in poljščine* [so] *razvrščali po sončnem, vodenem in zemljenem znamenju ... spadajo v sončnega ajda, jablana in vino, v zemljenega bob, češplja in mleko, v vodenega pa repa, tepka* [stara vrsta hruške] *in studenčnica.*" (izročilo iz Zakojce in Bukovega na Cerkljanskem, Medveščck 2006, 55–58). *Rad bi povedal kaj o tročanu, ampak tako kot me je naučil dehnar* [= vodja skupine starovercev v Posočju]. *Vedno je začel s hišnim tročanom, s katerim je bil povezan rod, od kdo ve kdaj. Kot vemo, so hišni tročan povezovali trije kamni. Prvi je bil v hiši, drugi v hlevu, kleti ali pajštvu* [= sušilnica za sadje], *tretji pa v bližini hiše. V hiši je bil vedno tudi premikajoči tročan, to je najstarejši trinožnik. Trinožniki, ki jih potrebujemo v hlevu, kleti ali na dvorišču, pa so podrejeni najstarejšemu. Med njimi mora potekati nemotena tretja moč, zato morata*

to live closely connected with nature. Even talking to the trees was not unusual as part of this connection, or as the Resia (the mountain region western to Soča valley, now in Italy) narrative says: "*They once said that the forest spoke. When people went to cut down a tree, it said, 'Not me, cut down another!' Everything it used to speak, everything spoke* "(recorded by Milko Matičetov 1964 in Lipovec/ Lipovaz, Italy: Dapit, Kropej 1999, 9). More realistically, in the story about a native Javor: "*Whenever he walked there, a beech* [she] *grows along his path, which he knew could feel his presence. He showed her his attention by always smoothing her and telling her something nice. When he was happy, he also embraced her and soon felt her answer in his hands*" (Medveščck 2015, 56).

Tročan (= from trinity). The word is only used in a part of the Soča Valley, where it takes the form *trigl* (Medveščck 2015, 365), probably also *truj* (Medveščck 2015, 106), and in the Karst *trojnik* (Čok 2015). The word "*tročan*" (plural *tročans*) is best placed in the present and research use, which is why I use it below. The *tročans* have some eloquent descriptions. "*My father, grandfather and great-grandfather have carried the tradition of tročan, from the time of threlldom when it was also a way of life. When they decided to erect a house, a granary and a stable, they first looked for three stones. Two of them were used as the foundation, and the third was called* binkl [<German "Winkel" = a corner – hence the stone that marked the corner] – *a guardian who was kept secret, since only the master – the builder who knew about it, and on his death-bed told the future house master, where it is. Tročan was always in the sign of fire (sun), water and earth. Many farms collapsed because the knowledge of the house točan was lost or was destroyed through ignorance. Farms, a house, a granary, a stable, a hayrack or apiary were always built in tročan. They also planted the orchard under this rule. If that was not possible, they did it with crops. It seems that every farm had its own binkl at the time, but only fiery, watery or earthy ... Porezen, together with Otavnik and Robija* [three mountains]*, formed a large tročan ... also trees and crops* [were] *posed by sun, water and earth sign ... they belong: to sun – buckwheat, apple-tree and wine, to earth – beans, plums and milk, and to water – turnip, European pear* [Pyrus communis] *and springwater*" (narratives from Zakojca and Bukovo in Cerkno region, Medveščck 2006, 55–58). ... "*I would like to say something about the tročan, but just as the* dehnar [= leader of the group of Old Faith believers in the Soča Valley] *taught me. He always started with a house tročan to whom the lineage was related, who knows when. As we know, the house tročan was connected by three stones. The first was in the house, the second in a barn, basement or* pajštba [= fruit dryer] *and the third near the house. There was always a movable tročan in the house, this is the oldest tripod chair. The tripod chairs we need in the barn, basement or yard are subordinated to the oldest tripod. There must be a smooth third power between them,*

biti pri hiši ob najstarejšem le še dva druga. Tretji bi bil zanesljivo moteč in bi lahko povzročil nesrečo. Z njega bi denimo lahko nesrečno padel in se poškodoval. Po dehnarjevem mnenju tvorijo ***zemeljski tročan*** *voda, ogenj in zemlja.* ***Nebeškega*** *pa sonce, luna in zvezda nimra* [= najverjetneje Severnica] (Medveščeк 2015, 114). ***Vodni tročan*** *je med dvema izviroma potoka Vogrinke, in sicer severni ali lunin izvir ter južni ali sončni izvir. Povezuje pa ju nevidna črta, ki je dolga nekaj sto korakov. Od obeh izvirov pa teče voda proti zahodu po obeh krakih potoka. Kjer se združita v enega, je tretja ali zvezdnata točka tročana. Od te točke pa do lunine ali sončne je prav tako nekaj sto korakov razdalje*" (Medveščeк 2015, 231).

K temu moramo dodati še zapis iz bohinjskega izročila. V Bohinju so imeli erotično silo za najobčutnejšo obliko življenjske sile. Nekdanji vodja fantovske druščine v Bohinju je o njej pripovedoval, "*da je ta življenjska sila ustvarjanja, ki je združena tudi z vsem pomnjenjem rajnih, prav tako trodelna, kakor je Kašar ob velikonočnem spraševanju pravil za vile* [šlo je za trizobe vile, kjer iz enega nastavka izhajajo trije roglji]*, kakor je tudi Triglav* [ena gora s tremi vrhovi] *in domača zastava* [zastava s tremi barvami]. *Je v tleh pri Matješi* [to naj bi bil zemeljski ogenj]*, je v sapi ali vetru in mokroti in je v oblakih neba, ki jih robi in farba Sonce. V tem, da je vsa ta sila, od katere dobivajo odgovorjajoči del rastline, živali in človek za časa življenja. Od tam, da prihaja vse, tudi prava pamet, in tja se vse povrne – tudi pomnjenje*" (v Bohinju zapisal zdaj pokojni Joža Čop z Broda). Tako dobimo pomen strukture tročana. Tročan je troje v enem. Kot celota je življenjska sila, ki prežema vse. Sestavljajo jo ogenj, voda in zemlja. To so tudi tri točke v prostoru. Če so **v ravni črti**, so jih v Čepovanu imenovali *triber* (Medveščeк 2015, 365). Tročanova upodobitev je trikotnik. Obstaja veliko tročanov različnih velikosti, od mikro obsega na enem predmetu do makro velikosti, kjer gre za večdesetkilometrske razdalje.

Z zgornjim se ujemata opisa Bucinovega Štefana in Janeza Strgarja z desnega brega Soče. Po pripovedi prvega je bil tročan "*verovanje v trojnost, ki povezuje tri vrhove, tri drevesa ali tri različne stvari, kot na primer jamo, drevo in goro. Zdi se mi, da je bilo tročanstvo tudi način življenja, ki si ga je posameznik izbral. Ker so v tročanu delovale sile, ki so blagodejno vplivale na ljudi in naravo samo, bi mu namreč takšen način življenja pomagal, da bi v tem nerodovitnem svetu preživel.*" (Medveščeк 2015, 37). Drugi ga je previdno opisal zelo na kratko: "*Tročan je navidezna povezava treh točk v trikotniku. Povedano po domače je to verovanje v trojnost. Vse nevidne sile, ki so v tročanu potekale od ene do druge točke, pa so blagodejno vplivale na človeka, živali in rastline. Točka, ki povezuje dva ali več tročanov, pa je imela tudi čarno moč.* (Medveščeк 2015, 41).

Tretja in peta moč. Medveščkovi sogovorniki so včasih omenili tretjo moč in nekajkrat tudi peto, nikoli

so there should be only two others near the oldest one. An additional tripod would be reliably distracting and could cause an accident. For example, you could accidentally fall and be injured. In the dehnar's view, ***earth's tročan*** *consists of water, fire, and earth. The* ***heavenly tročan****, of the sun, the moon and the star* nimra [= most likely the North Star] (Medveščak 2015, 114). ... "*The water tročan is between two springs of the Vogrinka stream, namely the northern or the moon spring and the southern or solar spring. However, they are connected by an invisible line that is several hundred steps long. From both springs, however, water flows westward along both branches of the stream. Where they merge into one, is the third or star point of the tročan. From this point to the moon point or the sun point there are also several hundred steps of distance*" (Medveščeк 2015, 231).

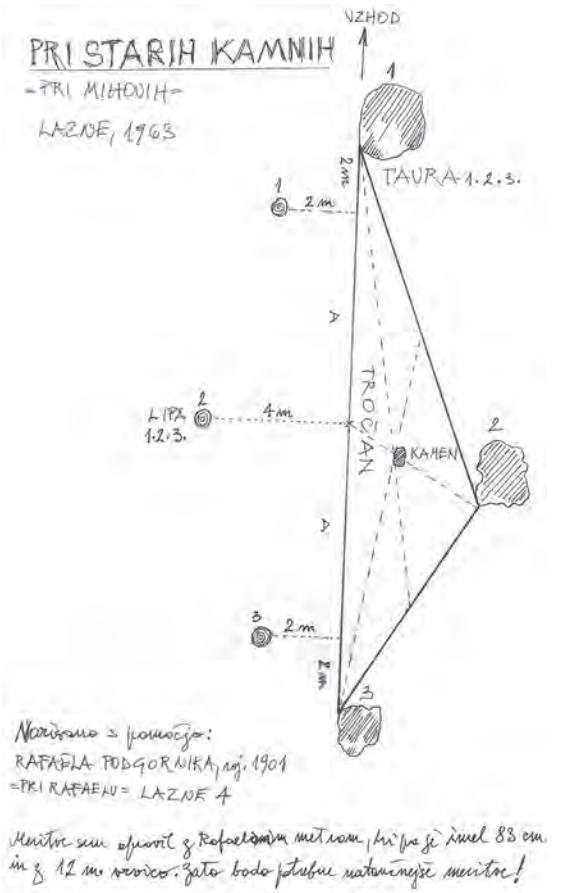
To this must be added the record from the Bohinj tradition. In Bohinj (a region in northwestern Slovenia) erotic power was regarded as the most strongly felt form of vitality. The former head of the young man comradeship in Bohinj said that "*this life-force of creation, which is united with all the memory of died people, is just as triplex as fork* [with three prongs], *as is Triglav* [one mountain with three peaks] *and a national flag. It is in the soil at Matješa* [this is supposed to be an earthly fire], *it is in breath or wind and wetness, and it is in the clouds of the sky, which the sun borders and paints. In that all is this force, from which they receive the responsible part the plants, animals and humans for the life time. From there everything comes, even the right mind, and there everything comes back – even the memory*" (written in Bohinj by the late Joža Čop from Brod). This is how the meaning of the tročan structure is obtained. It is three in one. As a whole, it is the life force that permeates everything. It consists of fire, water and earth. These are also three points in space. If they are in a *straight line*, they were called *triber* in Čepovan (Medveščeк 2015, 365). Tročan's illustration is a triangle. There are many tročans of different sizes, from the micro-scale on one object, to the macro-scale, where there are distaces of several dozens kilometres.

The above corresponds with the descriptions of Štefan Bucin and Janez Strgar on the right bank of the Soča River. According to the narrative of the former, tročan was "*a belief in the trinity that connects three peaks, three trees, or three different things, such as a cave, a tree, and a mountain. It seems to me that the tročan-principle was also a lifestyle chosen by the individual. Because forces that had a beneficial effect on humans and nature were operating in the tročan, that kind of lifestyle would help them survive in this haunted world.*" (Medveščak 2015, 37). The second one carefully described it very briefly: "*The apparent connection of three points in a triangle is tročan. To put it simply, it is the belief in triplicity. All the invisible forces in tročan that flowed from one point to another had a beneficial effect on humans, animals and plants. The point that connects two or more tročans also had a magical power*" (Medveščeк 2015, 41).

pa ju ni nihče opisal. Kaj sta, lahko sklepamo samo posredno po povezavah, v katerih nastopata. Tretjo moč imajo nekatere vode, jame, drevesa, kamni in potem predmeti, ki od tam prihajajo. Ta moč seva in se prenaša. Tako sadilni klin iz lesa s tretjo močjo to moč prenaša na rastline, od teh pa preide na človeka. Tretja moč deluje zdravilno, pomaga pri rasti in deluje proti propadanju, varuje pred zlimi duhovi (Medveščk 1992, 110; 2006, 5, 24, 46, 65, 168; 2015, 48, 103, 301, 330, 355, 428, 471, 522). Nastane tudi pri spolni dejavnosti, kuščarji in kače jo po parjenju puščajo za seboj (Medveščk 1998, 31). To se ujema z bohinjsko pripovedjo, da je erotična sila najobčutnejša oblika življenjske sile. Bohinjska pripoved tudi pojasnjuje, da ime tretja moč izvira iz trojnosti te moči. Marsikdo se je dandanašnji namreč že vprašal, kje in kaj so potem prva, druga in četrta moč, če obstajata tretja in peta. Očitno pa ne gre za vrstni red, ampak za število sestavin. S tem dobimo tudi namig za razumevanje pete moči, ki je opisana najbolj skopo. Tako kot tretja moč se tudi peta pretaka v tročanu. Nekateri ljudje imajo lahko tretjo in peto moč. Tudi peta moč ima zdravilni učinek (Medveščk 2006, 185; 2015, 48, 106, 172, 483). Če tretjo moč lahko povežemo s številom tri in Triglavom, potem je peta moč povezana s številom pet Svetovidovega križa. In ker je opazno, da so Medveščkovi sogovorniki večkrat iste stvari imenovali z različnimi imeni, postanemo pozorni na naslednji opis: "*Ob taurah* [= v skalo okameneli bik] *pred hišo pa so pred prvo svetovno vojno rasle tri stoletne lipe, njihove korenine pa so bile povezane s taurami. Prav zaradi tega so bile v stiku s podzemljem ... Rekli so, da taure delujejo od spodaj navzgor, z zemeljsko močjo, lipe pa od zgoraj navzdol, z nebesno močjo* (Medveščk 2015, 361). Sklep, da je tretja moč zemeljska moč, ki prihaja od spodaj, in da je peta moč nebesna moč, ki prihaja od zgoraj, je logičen. Ne nazadnje ga potrjuje tudi Zbruški idol, kjer je Triglav spodaj, Svetovid pa zgoraj (Pleterski 2015a, 18–21).

Je pa o zgornjih *taurah* Medveščk izvedel še več (*sl. 10.10*). "*Kot vidiš, je Pri starih kamnih prva in zadnja* taura*, če gledaš v ravni črti proti zahodu. Ker je srednja taura pomaknjena nekoliko proti jugu, vse tri skupaj tvorijo tročan. Sredino tročana pa je označeval ploščat kamen, ki so ga vkopali v zemljo, da je bil poravnan s površjem ... Ker je bila moč tročana in vseh treh* tauer *zdravilna, so se na sredinski kamen ulegli, usedli ali stali bolni ljudje, tja pa so pripeljali in privezali tudi bolno žival ... Vendar so* taure *služile predvsem kot neke vrste preprost koledar, da so lahko domačini s pomočjo senc s posamezne* taure *vedeli, ker je bil kraj pod tauro označen, kdaj se začne pomlad, poletje, jesen in zima. Okrogli kamni, ki so bili položeni na vrhu vsake taure in prineseni sem od drugod, pa so imeli na vrhu vklesano luknjico, v katero so zagozdili drenovo palico, da je njena senca padla na vrh* taure. *Te pa so označevale še druge pomembne dneve v letu, kot so poletni (23. junija) in zimski (23. decembra) kres ipd*. (Medveščk 2015, 360).

The third and the fifth power. Medveščk's dialogists sometimes referred to the third power and several times to the fifth power, but no one ever described them. What they are can only be inferred indirectly through the relationships in which they occur. Some waters, caves, trees, stones include the third power and then objects that come from those places. This power radiates and is transmitted. Thus, planting a wedge of wood with the third-power transfers this power to plants, and from these to humans. The third power is healing, which helps things to grow, acts against decay, and protects against evil spirits (Medveščk 1992, 110; 2006, 5, 24, 46, 65, 168; 2015, 48, 103, 301, 330, 355, 428, 471 , 522). It also occurs in sexual activity, and lizards and snakes leave it behind after mating (Medveščk 1998, 31). This fits with the Bohinj narrative that erotic force is the most sensitive form of life force. The Bohinj narrative also explains that the name third power derives from the trinity of that power. Many people today wondered where and what the first, the second and the fourth powers are, if there are third and fifth powers. Obviously, this is not about the order, but about the number of ingredients. This also



Sl. 10.10: Lazne, Slovenija. Tročan Pri starih kamnih: taure, lipe in zdravilni kamen (po: Medveščk 2015, sl. 101).
Fig. 10.10: Lazne, Slovenia. Tročan Pri starih kamnih: tauras, linden trees and healing stone (after: Medveščk 2015, Fig. 101).

10.2.7 IZVEDBA PROSTORSKE UMESTITVE

Razporeditev stavb. Da so "velike" stare civilizacije imele svoje arhitekte, poznale urbanistično urejanje prostora, skratka gradile po nekih pravilih, ni skrivnost, saj jo dobro dokumentirajo tako terenski sledovi, kot je rimska centuriacija, in pisni viri (celo priročniki, kot je npr. Frontin 1998). Vendar, ali to pomeni, da so drugi gradili kaotično, brez razmisleka, če njihovih gradenj ne opisujejo pisni viri ali niso zapustili veličastnih stavb?

Da so tudi stari Slovani poznali določen prostorski red in pravila pri postavljanju svojih domovanj, je prvi opazil Jaroslav V. Baran. Pri ukrajinskem naselju Raškiv I iz obdobja od druge polovice 7. do začetka 9. st. je opazil pravilno razporejanje bivališč, ki jim mesto postavitve določajo ravne črte. K temu opažanju mu je pomagalo srečno naključje. Na načrtu najdišča je pozabil ravnilo in ko se je vrnil, je zagledal vrsto hiš, ki so se z vogalom dotikale ravnega roba ravnila (ustna informacija J. V. Barana v pogovoru leta 2002). Potem je hitro ugotovil, da je mogoče hiše celotne naselbine povezati s črtami. Odkritje je bilo tako osupljivo, da je grozilo, da ne bo mogel obraniti doktorske disertacije s tako vsebino raziskave. Prepričljivost je pridobil, ko se je oprl na etnološke raziskave Alberta K. Bajburina o bivališču v obredih in predstavah vzhodnih Slovanov, kjer je bila še posebej važna ugotovitev o načrtovanju hišnega tlorisa s pomočjo hišnih vogalov, še zlasti z diagonalo med svetim kotom in protileže̊im kotom s pečjo (Bajburin 1983, 128, 184). Še pomembneje pa je bilo, da je v slovanskih pravnih spomenikih našel zapise o **vrvi** kot predmetu in hkrati kot poimenovanju določene vrste sorodstvenih odnosov (Baran 1992, 130–140). Pozneje je sistem povezav hišnih diagonal in vogalov potrdil Peter Šalkovský na slovaški zgodnjesrednjeveški naselbini Mužla-Čenkov I (Šalkovský 1993).

Najboljši opis uporabe vrvi najdemo v pravu *župe Poljica* v okolici Splita (Hrvaška). To pravo je bilo zapisano kot *Statut poljički* že ob koncu srednjega veka in vsebuje številne prežitke iz mnogo starejših časov (Pera 1988, 403–410). Gre za enega najpomembnejših slovanskih pravnih spomenikov.

Tu bomo kratko obravnavali termin *vrv*, ki nastopa v *Statutu*. Najdemo ga tudi v staroruskem zakoniku *Pravda rus'skaja* iz 11. stoletja. Tam pomeni enoto družbeno-teritorialne organizacije, medtem ko Pera za poljiško *vrv* meni, da pomeni vrsto sorodstvene povezanosti, ki naj bi bila starejša od teritorialnega pomena *vrvi* v *Pravdi rus'skaji* (Pera 1988, 544). Izraz *vrv* v *Statutu poljičkem* je analiziral tudi Miho Barada in ugotovil, da *vrv* nikakor ni krvna zveza, ampak je prežitek iz časa priselitve Slovanov. Beseda *vrv* je naredila pomenski razvoj od predmeta, s katerim so merili skupno zemljišče, pozneje so z njo poimenovali tako izmerjeno zemljišče, na koncu je postala abstrakten pojem za idealno pravico do takega zemljišča (Barada 1957, 23–33).

gives a hint with which to understand the fifth power, which is described very sparsely. Like the third power, the fifth power also flows in tročan. Some people may have the third and the fifth power. The fifth power also has a healing effect (Medveščék 2006, 185; 2015, 48, 106, 172, 483). If the third power can be related to the number three and Triglav, then the fifth power is connected to the number five of the Cross of Svetovid. Since it is notable that Medveščék's informers have repeatedly called the same thing by different names, we turn our attention to the following description: "*At the* tauras [taura = a bull turned to a rock] *in front of the house three hundred years old linden trees grew before the First World War and their roots were connected to the* tauras*. That is why they were in contact with the underworld ... They said that the* tauras *act from the bottom up, with earthly power, and the linden trees from the top down, with celestial power* (Medveščék 2015, 361). The conclusion that the third power is the earthly power coming from below, and that the fifth power is the celestial power coming from above, is logical, confirmed by the Zbruč idol, where Triglav is below and Svetovid is above (Pleterski 2015a, 18–21).

However, Medveščék learned more about these tauras (*Fig. 10.10*). "*As you can see, at Pri starih kamnih* (= At the old stones; a place name), *the first and the last taura, if you look in a straight line, are to the west. Because the middle taura is slightly southward, all three form a tročan. The middle of the tročan was indicated by a flat stone that was dug into the ground and aligned with the surface ... Because the power of the tročan and of all three tauras were healing, sick people lay down, sat or stood on the centre stone, and they also brought and tethered sick animals ... But the tauras served especially as a kind of simple calendar, that the locals could know through the shadows of each taura, because the place under the taura was marked, when spring, summer, autumn and winter begin. The round stones that were laid on top of each taura, and brought in from elsewhere, they had a hole carved into the top. They put a dogwood stick in it, so that its shadow dropped to the top of the taura, which marked other important days of the year, such as summer* (23rd June) *and winter* (24th December) *bonfire, etc.*" (Medveščék 2015, 360).

10.2.7 PLACEMENTS

Arrangement of buildings. That the "great" old civilisations had their own architects, knew urban planning, and in short, built according to some rules, is no secret, since it is well documented by field traces such as for Roman centuriation and written sources (including manuals such as Frontin 1998). Does this mean that others were building chaotically, without consideration, however, if their constructions were not described by written sources or did not leave magnificent buildings?

Uporaba termina *vrv* v *Statutu* pa pove še več. Besedna zveza *vrv pojati* v 62. členu (Pera 1988, 462) kaže, da gre za materialno uporabo vrvi, čeprav v simbolnem pomenu. *Pojati* namreč izvira od praslovanskega **pǫd'ati*, kar je ponavljalni glagol od praslovanskega **pǫditi*, to pa je prvotno pomenilo "napenjati, raztegovati" (Snoj 1997, 459 in 463). *Vrv pojati* ima zato v *Statutu* najverjetneje stari pomen "raztegovati vrv", torej z vrvjo meriti prostor. To seveda ne zanika namena, da je pri tem šlo za preverjanje sorodstva (Junković 1968, 113; Baran 1992, 137). V členu 80a je omenjena *družina vrvitja* (vrvna družina, družina od vrvi), 36. člen pa povsem nedvoumno pove, da obstajata *brat prisni* (pristni brat) in *brat ne prem prisni* (ne povsem pristni brat), da je prvi *brat bližnji* in da je drugi *brat vrvni* (Pera 1988, 434, 436, 484). Obe vrsti bratov sta večinoma pravno izenačeni, vrvni so malenkostno manj zaščiteni. Seveda lahko razliko med obema vrstama bratov pojasnimo z razliko med bližnjim (*brat bližnji*) in daljnim sorodstvom. Vendar protistava *prisni* <> *vrvni* kaže na starejše stanje, pri katerem je bil *prisni brat* po krvi, *vrvni brat* pa brat po vrvi (podobno: Barada 1957, 29; Mladen Ančić opozarja na zanimiva primera, ko sta bili dve osebi hkrati "krvna" in "vrvna brata" oziroma *fratres consanguinales et funales*; Ančić 1994, 320).

Če temu dodamo Perovo ugotovitev, da je bil odnos prebivalcev Poljice do njihove zemljiške posesti prvenstveno emocionalen, da so imeli do nje skoraj mističen odnos kot do svoje hraniteljice in osnove svojega obstanka (*terra mater*) (Pera 1988, 290) in da so bili rodni bratje po svoji materi povezani s popkovino – rodno vrvjo (Pera 1988, 150), potem je simbolika vrvi, ki vse to povezuje, nedvoumna. Tako kot druži krvne brate popkovina z materjo, ki jim je dala življenje, tako druži vrvne brate vrv z materjo zemljo, ki jim daje življenje. Vsi, ki so svoj prostor urejali s pomočjo vrvi in pri tem skupaj držali to vrv, so postali vrvni bratje. To je bilo pravno dejanje, ki je najprej povezalo naseljenca z novopridobljeno zemljo, lahko pa je tudi vključilo tujca v skupnost kot enakopravnega člana, neodvisno od njegovega krvnega izvora. To je bilo eno temeljnih dejanj pri osvojitvi prostora in zdi se, da je prav pravni institut vrvi nekoč dajal Slovanom izjemno asimilacijsko moč.

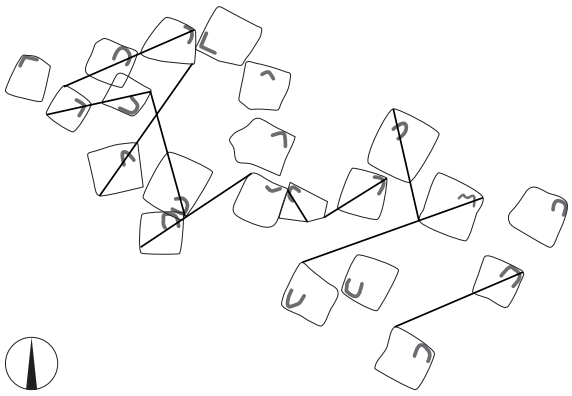
Svoja opažanja je Baran povzel v nekaj pravil. Eno imenuje *sistem diagonalnih povezav*. Od enega od vogalov starejše hiše gre črta, ki določa diagonalo mlajše hiše, kjer sta na njej peč in protilegli kot (*sl. 10.11*). Ta odnos je potrjen stratigrafsko. Drugo pravilo je, da so sočasna bivališča razporejena tako, da si ne zakrivajo tisti del stene, na katero se naslanja zadnja stena peči in v kateri je bila verjetno odprtina. Tretje pravilo je, da je gradnja večinoma potekala po skupinskem načelu. Diagonalne povezave so po Baranu simbolizirale vez med starši in otroki, torej ravno linijo sorodstva. Na eni črti se pojavljajo vogali ali stene več sočasnih ali različno starih hiš (*sl. 10.12*). Iz tega sledi četrto pravilo.

Jaroslav V. Baran was the first to notice that even the ancient Slavs followed a certain spatial order and rules when setting up their homes. He observed that at the Ukrainian settlement of Rashkiv I, from the second half of the seventh to the beginning of the ninth century, the correct arrangement of the dwellings, and their place of erection was determined by straight lines. This observation was aided by a happy coincidence. He left the ruler to lay on the site plan, and when he returned to it, he saw a series of houses touching the ruler with a corner (oral information by J. V. Baran in a 2002 interview). He quickly realised that the houses of the whole settlement could be connected by lines. The discovery was so stunning that it threatened his ability to defend his doctoral dissertation. He gained credibility by relying on Albert K. Bajburin's ethnological research on dwelling in the rites and notions of the Eastern Slavs, where it was particularly important to conclude the design of a house floor plan using house corners, especially the diagonal between the sacred angle and the counter-angle with a furnace (Bajburin 1983, 128, 184). More importantly, in Slavic legal texts, he found records of the **rope** as an object of measurement and at the same time as naming a certain kind of kinship (Baran 1992, 130–140). The system of house diagonals and corner connections was later confirmed by Peter Šalkovský at the Slovak Early Medieval settlement Mužla-Čenkov I (Šalkovský 1993).

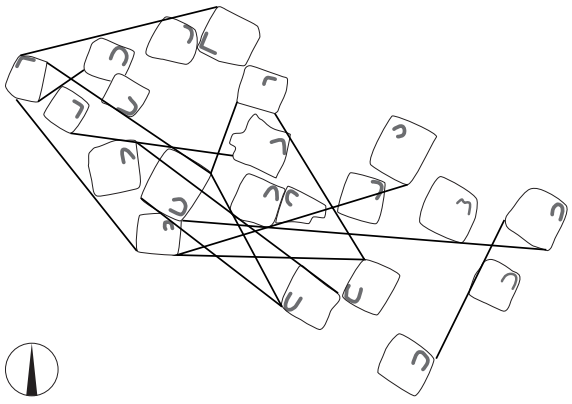
The best description of rope usage is found in *župa Poljica* law (= Slavic territorial and administrative unit) in the vicinity of Split (Croatia). This law was signed as the Statute of Poljica at the end of the Middle Ages and contains many relics from many earlier times (Pera 1988, 403–410). It is one of the most important Slavic legal monuments.

Here, we will briefly discuss the term *vrv* (= a rope) as it appears in the statute. It is also found in the Old Russian Code *Pravda rus'skaja* from the eleventh century, where it means a unit of socio-territorial organisation, and Pera considers the Poljica rope to be a type of kinship that is earlier than the territorial significance of the rope in Pravda rus'skaja (Pera 1988, 544). The term *vrv* in the Statute of Poljica was also analysed by Miho Barada. He found that the rope does not imply a blood connection, but is a survivor from the time of Slavic immigration. The word *vrv* (rope) developed semantically from meaning the object used to measure common land, to the land that was measured in this way, eventually becoming an abstract term for the ideal right to such land (Barada 1957, 23–33).

The use of the term 'rope' in the statute, however, gives more information. The phrase "*vrv pojati*" in Article 62 (Pera 1988, 462) indicates that it is a practical use of the rope, albeit in a symbolic sense. Namely, *pojati* comes from the Proto-Slavic **pǫd'ati*, which is a repetitive verb from the Proto-Slavic **pǫditi*, which originally meant "to strain, to stretch" (Snoj 1997, 459 and 463). Therefore, *vrv pojati* in the statute, most probably has the old meaning



Sl. 10.11: Raškiv, Ukrajina. Skupina hiš v zgodnjesrednjeveškem naselju Raškiv I, ki jih povezujejo hišne dijagonale (podlaga: Baran 1992, Ris. 2).
Fig. 10.11: Rashkiv, Ukraine. A group of houses in the Early Medieval Rashkiv I settlement, connected by house diagonals (basis: Baran 1992, Fig. 2).



Sl. 10.12: Raškiv, Ukrajina. Skupina hiš v naselju Raškiv I, ki jih povezujejo črte vzdolž stranic in vogalov (podlaga: Baran 1992, Ris. 7).
Fig. 10.12: Rashkiv, Ukraine. A group of houses in the Rashkiv I settlement, connected by lines along the sides and corners (base: Baran 1992, Fig. 7).

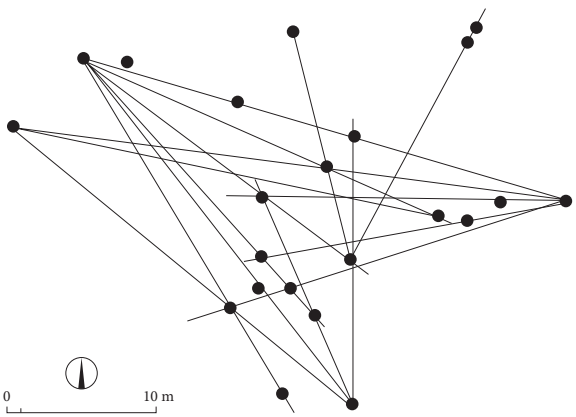
Sistem linijsko povezanih lokastih struktur oz. *linijsko-radialni*. Ta bi lahko simbolizirala bočno, horizontalno linijo sorodstva (bratje, strici, sorodniki) (Baran 1997, 177–179). Svojo raziskavo je Baran povzel v trditvi, da je prostorska ureditev s pomočjo vrvi upodobitev sorodstvenih odnosov (prim. Baran 1992, 132). Zanjo ima, kot smo videli zgoraj, vrsto dobrih argumentov. Kot bomo videli v nadaljevanju, pa to ni edina motivacija za take prostorske povezave. Poleg tega se Baran ni ukvarjal z vprašanjem, ali obstaja izmerljiva povezava naselbine z okolico.

Pozneje je Bogdan Tomenčuk logično predpostavil, da bi sistem socialno-prostorskih odnosov moral obstajati tudi na grobiščih, in je hitro našel

of "stretching the rope"; measuring the space with a rope. This, of course, does not negate the intention that this was a kinship check (Junković 1968, 113; Baran 1992, 137). Article 80a mentions *družina vrvitja* (rope family, family by rope), and Article 36 states unambiguously that there is *brat prisni* (a genuine brother) and *brat ne prem prisni* (a not fully authentic brother), that the first brother is *brat bližnji* (close) and that the other is *brat vrvni* (by rope) (Pera 1988, 434, 436, 484). For the most part, both types of brothers are legally equal, although those of the rope are slightly less protected. Of course, the difference between the two types of brothers can be explained by the difference between one's close brother (*brat bližnji*) and one's distant kinship, however, the opposition *prisni* <> *vrvni* indicates an earlier condition in which *prisni brat* was brother by blood and *vrvni brat* was brother by rope (similar: Barada 1957, 29; Mladen Ančić points to interesting cases where two people were "blood brothers" and "rope brothers" at the same time or *fratres consanguinales et funales*; Ančić 1994, 320).

Pera also observed that the attitude of the inhabitants of Poljica to their land tenure was primarily emotional, that they had an almost mystical attitude to it as their breadwinner and the basis of their existence (*terra mater*) (Pera 1988, 290) and that the native brothers were related by their mother to the umbilical cord – the rope of birth (Pera 1988, 150), and here the symbolism of the rope connecting it all is unambiguous. Just as the umbilical cord connects the blood brothers with the mother who gave them life, so the rope connects the rope brothers with the mother earth that gives them life. Everyone who arranged their space with the help of a rope while holding that rope together became rope brothers. It was a legal act that first linked the settler to the newly acquired land, but could also include the alien in the community as an equal member, regardless of their blood origin. This was one of the fundamental actions in the conquest of space, and it seems that the legal institute of rope once gave the Slavs tremendous assimilation power.

Baran summed up his observations in a few rules. One he calls *the diagonal connection system*. From one of the corners of an earlier house there is a line defining the diagonal of the younger house, which includes the furnace and the opposite angle (*Fig. 10.11*). This relationship is confirmed stratigraphically. The second rule is that contemporary dwellings are arranged in such a way that they do not block each other at the part of the back wall with the furnace, and where the opening was likely. The third rule is that construction was mostly done on a group basis. The diagonal connections, according to Baran, symbolised the bond between parents and children, that is, a straight line of kinship. On the same line there are corners or walls of several simultaneously or differently old houses (*Fig. 10.12*). This follows rule four. The system of linearly connected arcuated structures is called *line-radial*. This could symbolise a lateral, horizontal



Sl. 10.13: Knjažin, Ukrajina. Knjažinsko grobišče, plani, žgani grobovi. Ukrajina (po: Tomenčuk 2002, Ris. 1).
Fig. 10.13: Knyazhin, Ukraine. Knyazhin burial ground, flat, burnt burials. Ukraine (after: Tomenčuk 2002, Fig. 1).

več primerov, kjer je mogoče najti linijske povezave med grobovi na planih in tudi gomilnih grobiščih, na staroslovanskih (*sl. 10.13*) in celo skitskih (Tomenčuk 2002). Tudi Tomenčuk se ni ukvarjal z vprašanjem, ali obstaja izmerljiva povezava grobišča z okolico.

Baranovo rekonstrukcijo stavbne zasnove naselbin v marsičem potrjuje posoško izročilo, kot ga je zapisal Pavel Medvešček. Le da tam ni omembe sorodstvenih povezav, izražena pa je želja navezati se na sosednje tročanske točke. Motivacija je bila nedvomno želja, da bi na svoja bivališča ter vse, kar je v njih, vzpostavili pretok tretje in pete moči, ki sevata v tročanih, kot so verjeli ljudje.

Staro znanje postavljanja vasi in hiš je v 20. st. v Posočju živelo samo še v spominu na pripovedi starih, saj se je ohranjalo le še na območjih, kjer je življenje zamiralo in ni bilo novogradenj, ki bi tako znanje potrebovale. Povezava prostora in rodu, ki jo je tako živo videl Baran, je v pripovedih ostala skoraj povsem zabrisana. Samo mimogrede naletimo na omembo, da je obstajal hišni tročan, s katerim je bil povezan rod (Medvešček 2015, 114). Morda so staroverci o tem vendarle vedeli več, a preprosto niso dobili pravega vprašanja.

Če združimo podatke različnih pripovedi, se oblikujeta hierarhija tročanskih točk in njihovo zaporedje. Vse se je začelo z določitvijo glavne točke, na katero so nato naslonili posamične vaške tročane. V enem znanem primeru je bila naravna točka hrib Žarnik (Artovlja), ki mu je pomen določil žarni kamen, ki je nanj padel, pozneje pa je tam stal poseben kamen (Medvešček 2015, 130). Zanimivo bi bilo raziskati, ali bi na tistem prostoru zaznali kakršne koli sledi padca meteorita.

V drugem primeru so izhodiščno točko postavili umetno, po izbiri krajevnega dehnarja. To se je zgodilo na kresni dan, dehnar pa si je pomagal z brezovima balline of kinship (brothers, uncles, relatives) (Baran 1997, 177–179). Baran summarised his research by arguing that spatial arrangement, using a rope, is a representation of kinship relations (*cf.* Baran 1992, 132). He has a number of good arguments for this, as we saw above, however, as we will see below, this is not the only motivation for such spatial connections. Baran did not address the question of whether there was a measurable connection between the settlement and the surrounding area.

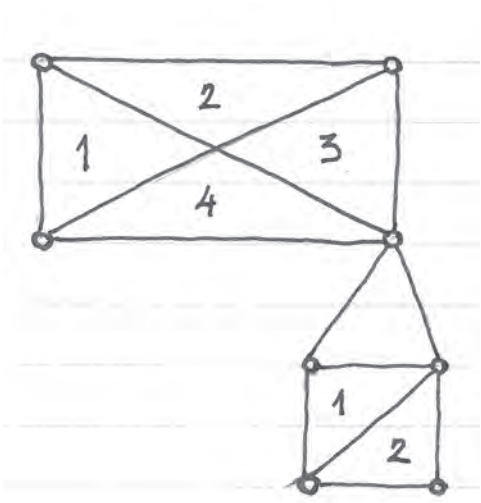
Later, Bogdan Tomenčuk logically assumed that a system of socio-spatial relationships should exist in cemeteries as well, and he quickly found several examples where line connections between graves could be found on plane cemeteries as well as on burial mounds, in the Old Slavic period (*Fig. 10.13*) and even Scythian (Tomenčuk 2002). Even Tomenčuk did not address the question of whether there was a measurable connection between the burial ground and the surrounding area.

Baran's reconstruction of the settlement design is in many respects confirmed by tradition in the Soča region, as written down by Pavel Medvešček. There is no mention of kinship ties, however, but a desire to relate to neighbouring tročan points is expressed. The motivation was, undoubtedly, the desire to establish a flow of the third and the fifth powers that radiate in tročans, in their dwellings, and in everything within them, as people believed.

The old knowledge of setting up villages and houses was only remembered in the Posočje region in the 20th century by the oldest residents, since it was preserved only in areas where life was dying and there were no new buildings that would need such knowledge. The connection between space and lineage, so vividly seen by Baran, remained almost completely blurred in the narratives. We only come across a mention that there was a house tročan with which the lineage was related (Medvešček 2015, 114). The Old Faith Believers may have known more about it, but they simply were not asked the right questions.

If we combine the data of different narratives, then a hierarchy of tročan points and their sequence are formed. It all began with the identification of the main point on which the individual village tročans were based. In one known case, the natural point was the Žarnik hill (Artovlja), whose significance was determined by a glowing stone that fell on it, and later a special stone that there would be any traces of a meteorite fall in that area.

In the second case, the starting point was set up artificially, at the choice of the local *dehnar*. This happened on a midsummer day, and the *dehnar* used his birch divining rods. When he *felt a "crackle" in his hands, he stood and thrust the laburnum post into the earth*. The next day, he determined three points with the help of its shadow, which he marked with birch stakes. He chose one of them as the main village *temenik* (= a kind of foundation stone), and there they dug an elongated stone that had a small triangle carved on it – tročan (Medvešček



Sl. 10.14: Tročani v stavbah (po: Medvešček 2015, sl. 17).
Fig. 10.14: Tročans in buildings (after: Medvešček 2015, Fig. 17).

jalicama. Ko je *začutil v rokah "prasketanje", je obstal in v zemljo zabil nagnojev kol*. S pomočjo njegove sence je naslednji dan določil tri točke, ki jih je označil z brezovimi količki. Z žrebom je enega izbral za glavni vaški *temenik* in tam so vkopali podolgovat kamen, ki je imel na vrhu vklesan manjši trikotnik – tročan (Medvešček 2015, 467). Temenik je bil pomemben za vse, kar se je zgodilo v vasi, ker je bilo nanj navezano zaporedje tročanov, ki so vodili do posameznih *hišnih tročanov* (Medvešček 2015, 466). Ti so bili zunanji in notranji. Zunanji je bil gotovo tisti, ki je hišo povezoval s temenikom oziroma Žarnikom. Do tja je segal z najdaljšim krakom. Ker sta druga dva vogala ležala znotraj domačije (ne nujno v isti stavbi), si to lahko predstavljamo samo tako, da so bile stavbe usmerjene z eno stranico proti temeniku oz. Žarniku. V tem primeru nastane pravi kot in njegova hipotenuza kot najdaljša stranica je zagotovo tista, ki gre do izhodiščne točke. To potrjuje čepovansko izročilo, ki ne govori o tročanih, ampak *triglih*, trikotnikih s *trdim* oziroma pravim kotom (Medvešček 2015, 365).

K zunanjim hišnim tročanom je najverjetneje spadal tudi tročan, ki so ga povezovali trije kamni. Prvi je bil v hiši, drugi v hlevu ali v enem od drugih gospodarskih poslopij (klet, sušilnica), tretji je bil skrit v bližini hiše in je zanj vedel le hišni gopodar (Medvešček 2015, 114, 466). K notranjim tročanom bi po logiki spadali tisti, ki niso segali izven hiše. To so bili tročani, ki so določali tloris hiše. Pri manjših stavbah so tročan vedno izpeljali iz enega vogala hiše (*sl. 10.14*). Večje stavbe so imele v tlorisu štiri tročane, manjše pa samo dva (Medvešček 2015, 130). Ta dva sta sestavljala kvadrat ali pravokotnik (Medvešček 2015, 365). To pomeni, da sta se stikala v stranici, ki je bila diagonala stavbe, kar se v celoti ujema s podatki Bajburina in Barana.

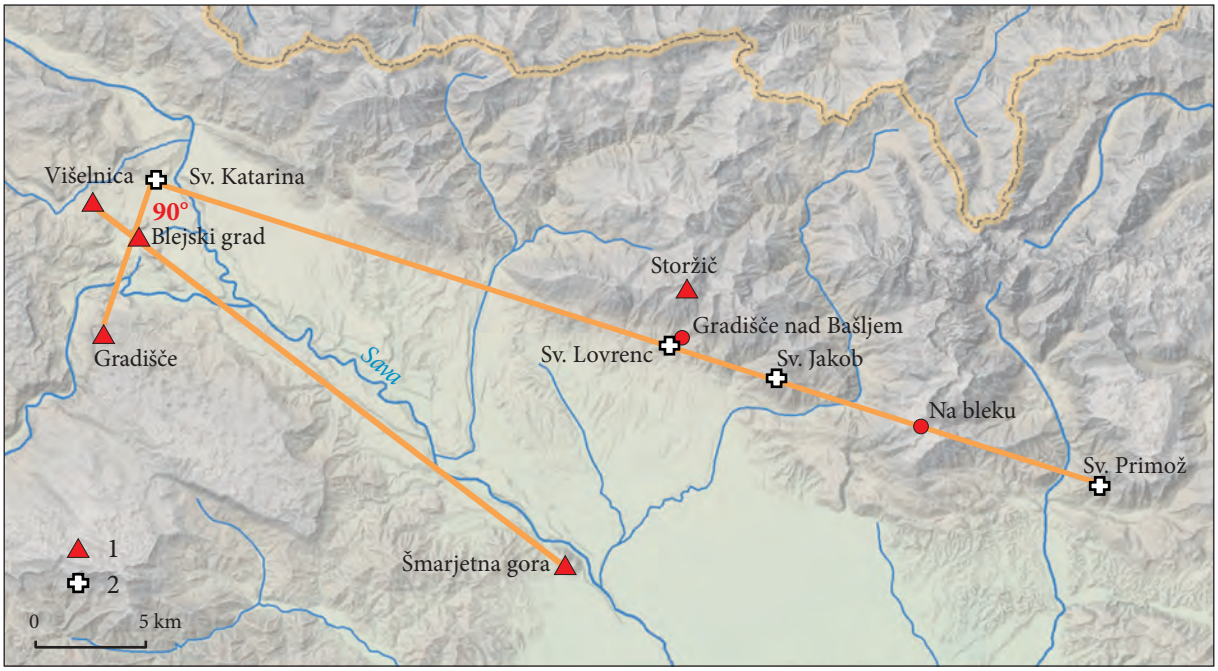
2015, 467). *Temenik* was important for everything that happened in the village because it was linked to a succession of tročans leading to individual house tročans (Medvešček 2015, 466). These were external and internal. The exterior was certainly the one that linked the house to the *temenik* or Žarnik. It reached it with the longest side. Since the other two corners were located inside the homestead (not necessarily in the same building), we can only imagine that the buildings were oriented with one side towards *temenik*, respectively Žarnik. In this case, a right angle is created and its hypotenuse, as the longest side, is definitely the one that goes to the starting point. This is confirmed by the tradition in Čepovan, which does not speak of tročans, but *trigls*, triangles with *trd* (= solid) or right angles (Medvešček 2015, 365).

The exterior house tročans probably also included tročan, which was connected by three stones. The first one was in a house, the second in a stable or in one of the other outbuildings (cellar, oast), the third was hidden near the house and was only known to the house owner (Medvešček 2015, 114, 466). Interior tročans would logically include those that did not reach outside the house. These were the tročans which determined the floor plan of the house. In smaller buildings, the tročan was always taken from one corner of the house (*Fig. 10.14*). Larger buildings had four tročans in the floor plan, and smaller houses only had two (Medvešček 2015, 130). These two made up a square or rectangle (Medvešček 2015, 365). This means that they were connected in diagonal of the building, which is completely in line with the data of Bajburin and Baran.

There was also a *moving tročan* inside tročans, which was the oldest tripod chair. There could only be two more tripods in the homestead, which were needed in the barn, basement or yard and which were subordinated to the oldest tripod chair. An additional tripod would prevent the third force from flowing and could cause an accident (Medvešček 2015, 114). The tročan, constructed in the basement from two adjacent corners to the front door opposite, prevented must, and stopped meat from spoiling, and the remaining corners were therefore good for vinegar, turnips and cabbage (Medvešček 2015, 365).

10.3 THE PREDICTIVE MODEL IN THE MYTHICAL LANDSCAPE OF BLED

Constructing of the model. The **church of St Katarina** on Hom above Zasip, is the starting point of the Bled mythical spatial system, but also of a system that connects a large part of the Gorenjska region (*Fig. 10.15*; more detailed description: Pleterski 2014, 286–288). From St Katarina is a line that ends at St Primož above Kamnik. Its azimuth can be measured (all measurements were made using the GoogleEarth web service) a little



Sl. 10.15: Severozahodna Slovenija. Prostorske povezave Bleda proti jugovzhodu. 1 – gora, 2 – cerkev.
Fig. 10.15: Northwestern Slovenia. Spatial connections of Bled to the southeast. 1 – mountain, 2 – church.

Prav tako bi k notranjim tročanom spadal *premikajoči tročan*, kar je bil najstarejši trinožnik. Ob tem sta bila lahko v domačiji samo še dva, ki so ju potrebovali v hlevu, kleti ali na dvorišču in sta bila najstarejšemu podrejena. Dodatni trinožnik bi preprečil potekanje *tretje moči* in bi lahko povzročil nesrečo (Medveščk 2015, 114). Tročan, ki je šel v kleti iz dveh sosednjih vogalov k vhodnim vratom nasproti, je preprečeval, da bi se pokvarili mošt in mesnine, preostala vogala pa sta bila zato dobra za kis, repo in zelje (Medveščk 2015, 365).

10.3. NAPOVEDNI MODEL V MITIČNI POKRAJINI BLEDA

Izpeljava modela. Začeti ga moramo pri **cerkvi sv. Katarine** na Homu nad Zasipom, ki je izhodišče blejskega mitičnega prostorskega sistema, hkrati pa tudi sistema, ki povezuje velik del Gorenjske (*sl. 10.15*; podrobnejši opis Pleterski 2014, 286–288). Od Sv. Katarine gre namreč smer, ki se konča pri Sv. Primožu nad Kamnikom. Njen azimut lahko izmerimo (vse meritve so narejene s spletno storitvijo GoogleEarth) malenkostno različno (prim. pogl. 3.3.1), ker je pri Sv. Primožu tudi cerkev Sv. Petra in ni zanesljivo, katera je bližje prvotnemu orientirju. Izmerjeni azimut niha med 108,77° in 108,94°. V obsegu tega pasu najdemo cerkvi sv. Lovrenca nad Bašljem in sv. Jakoba nad Potočami, pa tudi zgodnjesrednjeveško kultno jamo Na bleku na Krvavcu (o slednji Pleterski 2010b, 215–216). Vsekakor differently (*cf.* Chapter 3.3.1), because at St Primož there is also the church of St Peter and it is not certain which is closer to the original landmark. The measured azimuth fluctuates between 108.77° and 108.94°. At the extremes of this range, we find the churches of St Lovrenc above Bašelj and St Jakob above Potoče, as well as the Early Medieval cult pit Na bleku on Krvavec (about the latter: Pleterski 2010b, 215–216). The range from St Katarina to St Primož is certainly centred on mount Storžič, and its slope Gradišče above Bašelj as a cult place par excellence. This is due to the exceptional density of Early Medieval shrine gifts (*cf.* Štular 2020). Viewed from St Katarina, the described direction is oriented towards sunrise over the Na bleku site on 23/24 October and 18/19 February, which corresponds to the presented winter period according to the old calendar. The azimuth of the well-preserved southern wall of Roman Emona, 108.89°, at the southern extreme of the Gorenjska region, which is reliable, proves that this direction is earlier than the Early Middle Ages.

We mentioned the right angle as an important ingredient in a tročan. In Bled, a perpendicular line runs in the described direction from St Katarina to Kupljenik. It misses the church of St Štefan by some metres and ends above it on the **Gradišče** hill, where, according to tradition, there once stood a castle of thieving knights who robbed travellers and gave to the poor (more Zupan 1998, 3; I am correcting my earlier understanding of Gradišče: Pleterski 2014, 279). The narrative may have an archaeological basis if there are any remains on Gradišče. At the same time, it can also be understood as a distant echo of

ima v razponu od Sv. Katarine do Sv. Primoža osrednje mesto gora Storžič, na njegovem pobočju pa Gradišče nad Bašljem kot kultno mesto par excellence. Tako je zaradi izjemne gostote zgodnjesrednjeveških svetiščnih darov (prim. Štular 2020). Gledano od Sv. Katarine, gre smer na točko sončnega vzhoda nad najdiščem Na bleku v dneh 23./24. X. in 18./19. II., kar se ujema s predstavljenim obdobjem zime po starem koledarju. Da je ta smer starejša od zgodnjega srednjega veka, dokazuje tudi azimut dobro ohranjenega južnega obzidja rimske Emone 108,89°, na južnem začetku Gorenjske, ki se zanesljivo ne ujema samo naključno.

Omenili smo pravi kot kot pomembno sestavino tročana. Na Bledu poteka pravokotnica na opisano smer od Sv. Katarine proti Kupljenku. Tam za nekaj deset metrov zgreši cerkev sv. Štefana in se konča nad njo na vzpetini **Gradišče**, kjer je po izročilu nekoč stal grad roparskih vitezov, ki so ropali popotnike in dajali revežem (podrobneje Zupan 1998, 3; popravljam svoje prejšnje razumevanje Gradišča: Pleterski 2014, 279). Pripoved ima morda svojo arheološko osnovo, če obstajajo na Gradišču neki stavbni ostanki. Hkrati jo lahko razumemo tudi kot oddaljen odmev vere v mesto mitičnega lika, ki je skrbel za poletno blagostanje ter je hkrati protistava ženske gospodarice zime na Homu (prim. Pleterski 2014, 242, 243, 279). Njeno mesto so tam pozneje pozidali s cerkvijo sv. Katarine.

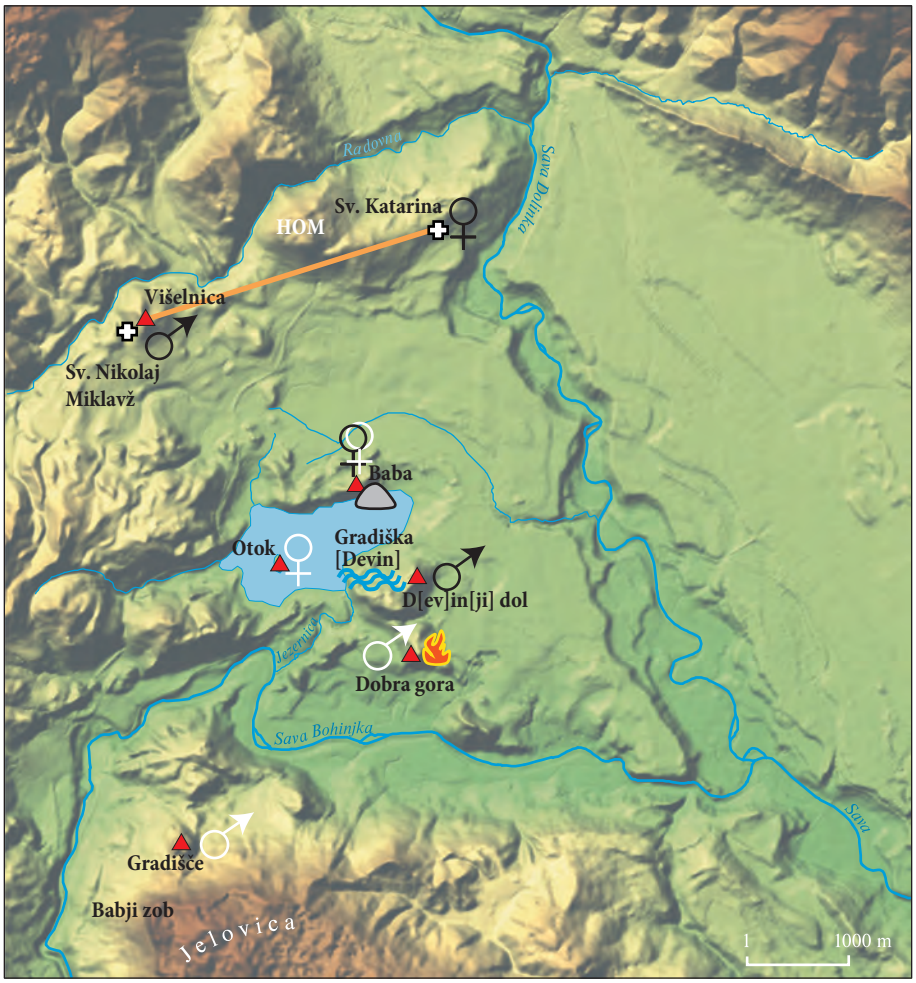
Naslednja pomembna točka je **kresišče na Višelnici**, ki je na grebenu jugovzhodno od glavnega vrha. Tam je *radolški* (radovljiški) grof, ki se je izgubil na lovu, zagledal blejski grad in se rešil. Gre za spomin na moški mitični lik v zimskem delu leta, ko je navidezno mrtev, dokler se spomladi prenovljen ne vrne (prim. Pleterski 2014, 240–242). V pripovedi je navidezno neskladje, da se *radolški* grof reši s pogledom na blejski grad in ne na radovljiško graščino, ki se z Višelnice prav tako vidi. Mogoče ga je pojasniti z asinhronimi sestavinami pripovedi. Od konca srednjega veka je pomemben del gorjanskega kota, ki mu pripada tudi Višelnica, pripadal radovljiškemu gospostvu. Zato je pripovedna prispodoba odličnika tam sčasoma postal namišljeni *radolški* grof. Pogled na blejski grad je torej starejša sestavina pripovedi. In starejša sestavina ima svojo arheološko potrditev. Če od kresišča potegnemo smer prek blejskega gradu, jo na obzorju lahko zaključimo z vrhom Šmarjetne gore nad Kranjem (kjer sedaj stoji hotel, ki je odbil vrh). Na tej smeri leži pet znanih blejskih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč (*sl. 6.13*). Ta potrjujejo rekonstruirano staroslovansko predstavo o onostranstvu kot pašniku, kjer se pasejo duše umrlih, tam se smrt preobraža v življenjsko moč. Njihov pastir je moški mitični lik (prim. Ivanov, Toporov 1974, 34–75; Mencej 2001, 168–172; Toporov 2002, 46). Na Bledu ima ime Višel. Vrsta grobišč nakazuje motivacijo: tako kot je Višel premagal smrt, jo bodo tudi tisti, ki mu sledijo.

belief in the place of the mythical figure who cared for summer well-being while at the same time opposing the female mistress of winter at Hom (*cf.* Pleterski 2014, 242, 243, 279). Her place there was later built on by the church of St Katarina.

Another important point is the **bonfire site on Višelnica**, which is on the ridge southeast of the main peak. There, the Count of Radovljica, who lost himself on the hunt, saw the castle in Bled and saved himself. It is a memory of a male mythical character in the winter part of the year, when he is apparently dead until he returns in the spring (*cf.* Pleterski 2014, 240–242). There is a seeming inconsistency in the narrative, where the Count of Radovljica is saved by looking at the Castle of Bled rather than the Radovljica Castle, which is also visible from Višelnica. It can be explained by the asynchronous components of the narrative. From the end of the Middle Ages, an important part of the Bled region, the area from Gorje to which Višelnica also belongs, belonged to the Radovljica manor. That is why the narrative character of the nobleman eventually became an imaginary count of Radovljica. The view towards the Bled Castle is therefore an earlier component of the narrative, and this earlier ingredient has archaeological proof. If we take the direction from the bonfire site over the Bled castle hill, we can define its end on the horizon with the summit of Šmarjetna gora above Kranj (where there is now the hotel that demolished the peak). There are five well-known Early Medieval burial sites in this direction (*Fig. 6.13*). This confirms the reconstructed ancient Slavic notion of the Otherworld as a pasture where the souls of the dead graze, where death is transformed into a life-giving power. Their shepherd is a male mythical character (*cf.* Ivanov, Toporov 1974, 34–75; Mencej 2001, 168–172; Toporov 2002, 46). In Bled he is called Višel. The line of burial grounds indicates motivation: just as Višel overcame death, so will those who follow him.

It is quite obvious that St Katarina and Višelnica are the points of the winter mythical couple that limit the northern part of the Bled area (*Fig. 10.16*). In the Christian guise there, they appear as St Katarina and Saint Nicholas. They are depicted in the St Katarina on Hom and St Nikolaj churches under the Višelnica in Mevkuš. The latter church should have stood at the bonfire site, but the locals were fortunate enough to experience a miracle, moving their tools to the valley, where they then erected a church. Still, it stands in the line that goes from St Katarina through the bonfire site to the church. At the south of the Bled region, we also logically expect the points of the summer mythical couple, and if Gradišče really belongs to the male summer character, then **Bled Island** is offered as his female counterpart (*cf.* Pleterski 2014, 243–244; see Chapter 6.2.3, 10.4).

The Višelnica – Bled Castle – Šmarjetna gora line crosses the most fertile soil of Bled and therefore offers

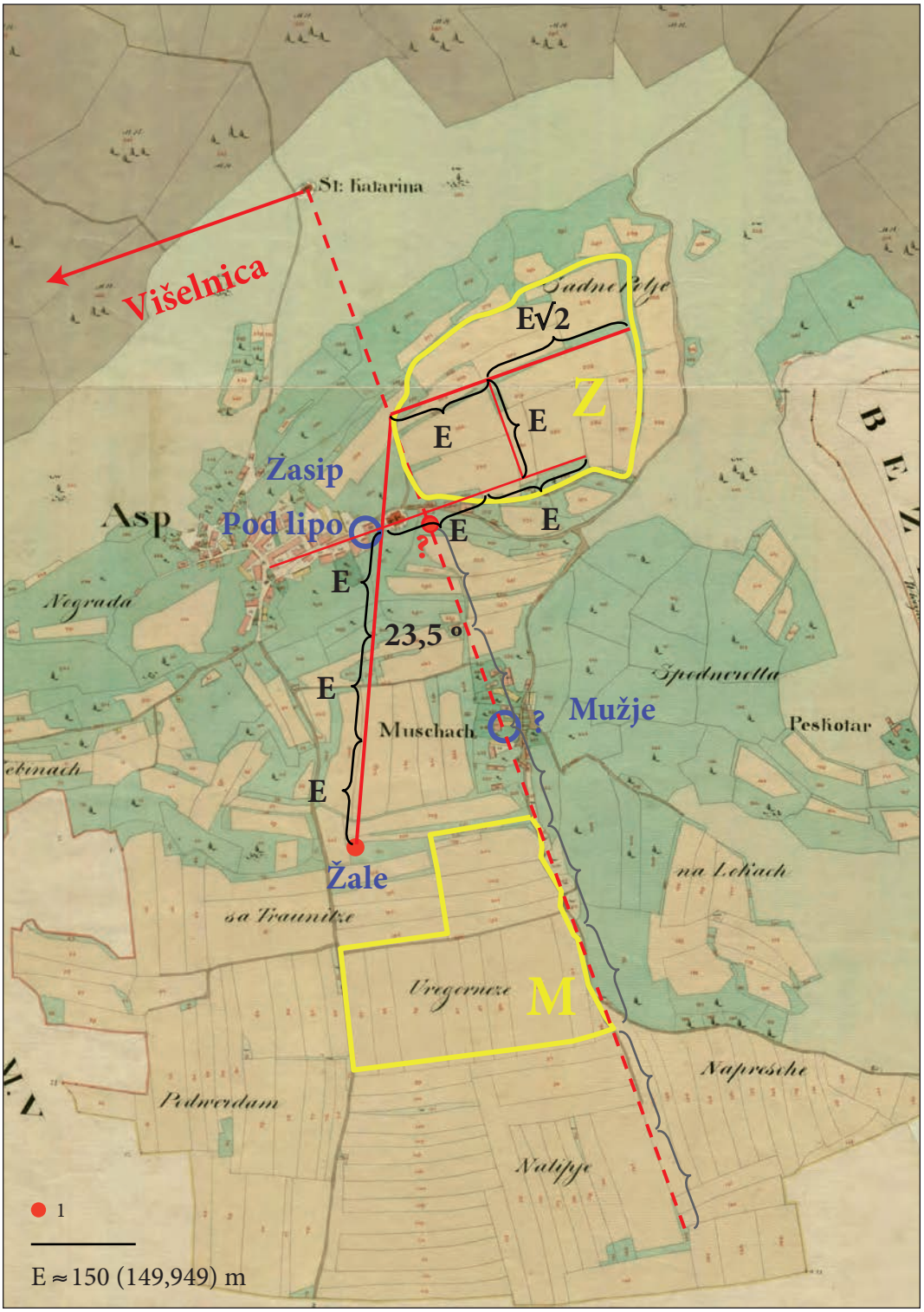


Sl. 10.16: Bled, Slovenija. Osnovne točke mitične pokrajine (podrobneje Pleterski 2014, 238–245, 276–286).
Fig. 10.16: Bled, Slovenia. The main points of the mythical landscape (in detail: Pleterski 2014, 238–245, 276–286).

Povsem očitno je, da sta Sv. Katarina in Višelnica točki zimskega mitičnega para, ki omejujeta severni del blejskega prostora (*sl. 10.16*). V tamkajšnji krščanski preobleki nastopata kot Katarina in Miklavž. Upodobljena sta na Sv. Katarini in v Sv. Nikolaju pod Višelnico v Mevkšu. Slednja cerkev bi morala stati na kresišču, a se je domačinom posrečil čudež s prestavljanjem orodja v dolino, kjer so potem ob studencu postavili cerkev. Še vedno pa stoji na smeri, ki gre s Sv. Katarine prek kresišča do cerkve. Logično pričakujemo tudi točki poletnega mitičnega para južneje. In če Gradišče res pripada moškemu poletnemu liku, se kot njegov ženski par ponuja **Otok na Blejskem jezeru** (prim. Pleterski 2014, 243–244; glej pogl. 6.2.3, 10.4).

Smer Višelnica–blejski grad–Šmarjetna gora prečka najplodnejši del Bleda in zato ponuja dobro umestitev grobišč nemajhnemu številu vasi. Vendar se ob tem postavljata dve nadaljnji vprašanji. Prvo je, kako so problem rešili v vaseh, ki so oddaljene od smeri? Drugo

a good location for burial grounds for a number of villages, however, two further questions arise. The first is how did they solve the problem of location in villages away from the line? Also, even if the burial ground is on the direction-line, why is it exactly there and no closer or farther from Višelnica? The answer to both questions can be found in the example of the villages of Mužje and Zasip (in detail: Pleterski 2013a, 31–40; 2014, 246–257). The villages and their fields are so far from the described line that they do not even touch it. The solution was simple for the earliest village Mužje. They draw a perpendicular line to the direction Višelnica – St Katarina with a right angle at St Katarina (*Fig. 10.17*). Each point on this perpendicular line creates the tročan with the points of the mythical winter pair (Višelnica, St Katarina). The cemetery, the village and the eastern edge of the best village field are on the perpendicular line. The placement used a distance of 150 meters or – expressed in the then-Charlemagne (Benedictine, Drusus) foot – 450 feet (= 149.949 m). For our present understanding I will use meters. For the number



Sl. 10.17: Mužje in Zasip, Slovenija. Merska ureditev vaškega prostora, vrisana v franciscejski kataster iz leta 1826. 1 – zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče, M – najstarejše vaške njive Mužij, Z – najstarejše vaške njive Zasipa.
Fig. 10.17: Mužje and Zasip, Slovenia. Metric arrangement of the village area, inscribed in the Franciscan cadastre of 1826. 1 – Early Medieval cemetery, M – the earliest village fields of Mužje, Z – the earliest village fields of Zasip.

vprašanje, tudi če je grobišče na smeri, zakaj je ravno tam in ne bližje ali dlje od Višelnice? Odgovor na obe vprašanji nam da primer vasi Mužje in Zasip (podrobno: Pleterski 2013a, 31–40; 2014, 246–257). Vasi in njuno polje so tako daleč stran od opisane smeri, da se je nikjer niti ne dotikajo. V dvojici vasi so starejše Mužje in za to vas je bila rešitev preprosta. Potegnili so pravokotnico na smer Višelnica–Sv. Katarina s pravim kotom pri Sv. Katarini (*sl. 10.17*). Vsaka točka na tej smeri sestavlja tročan s točkama zimskega mitičnega para. Na smeri se zvrstijo grobišče, vas in vzhodni rob najboljšega vaškega polja. Pri razvrščanju so uporabili daljinsko mero 150 m ali – izraženo v tedanjih karlovih (benediktinskih, druzovih) čevljih – 149,949 m. V teh čevljih ta mera znese 450 čevljev. Za našo predstavnost v sedanjosti bom uporabljal metre, za število čevljev je metre treba pomnožiti s tri. Daljinska razlika med metrom in tremi karlovimi čevlji je za našo uporabo zanemarljiva. Grobišče je od vasi oddaljeno 2 x 150 m, vas pa do konca najboljših njiv 3 x 150 m, do konca glavnega dela polja pa 5 x 150 m. Razdaljo od Sv. Katarine je pogojila geomorfologija. Grobišče so postavili na južni breg ledeniške morene. Opisana daljinska mera je praktična, ker gre za 100 dvojnih korakov (dokazuje jo tudi izročilo v Bodeščah: Pleterski 2014, 257–258). Če pa število 150 razstavimo na 10 x 3 x 5, opazimo ponavljanje ritma 3 in 5, ki zelo verjetno simbolizirata tretjo in peto moč (glej zgoraj). Ta ritem bi moral zagotoviti blagodejno delovanje obeh moči na celoten vaški prostor.

Ker je bila možnost pravokotnice pri Sv. Katarini na smer proti kresišču na Višelnici že izrabljena, so za vas Zasip, ki je nastala pozneje od Mužij, proti koncu 8. st., našli drugačno rešitev. Na opisani pravokotnici so označili točko, ki je postala izhodišče ureditve vaškega prostora. Sestavlja tročan s Sv. Katarino in Višelnico. Od točke so proti vzhodu potegnili pravokotnico, ki je hkrati vzporednica smeri Katarina–Višelnica in je osnovna os zasipškega Zadnjega polja, najstarejšega polja vasi Zasip. Do danes je ta smer vidna kot omejek, ki prečka polje. Proti sredini polja nanjo pravokotno poteka proti jugu naslednji omejek in jo deli na dva dela. Zahodni je dolg približno 150 m, vzhodni približno 212 m, kar pomeni razmerje ravnovesja **1 : √2**. Južni rob polja je 150 m oddaljen od zgornje glavne osi polja in je na smeri, ki je pravokotna na smer s Katarine proti Mužjam in vzporedna smeri Katarina–Višelnica. Na dolžini 2 x 150 m se smer dotakne vzhodnega roba vasi Zasip. Tam so postavili prvo hišo (prim. Pleterski 2013a, 32–33) in od tam se je vas pozneje širila proti zahodu vzdolž opisane smeri. Današnje stavbe imajo tam enako smer kot pred dvema stoletjema. Tedanje hiše v najstarejšem delu vasi z imenom Pod lipo očitno ohranjajo prvotno ureditveno smer. Tako so določili ureditev polja in lego vasi.

Za določitev lege grobišča so od točke, ki je urejala polje in vas, potegnili smer proti jugu, ki s staro smerjo Katarina–Mužje sestavlja kot **23,5°**, kar je obredni kot

of feet, meters must be multiplied by three. The difference in distance between three feet and a meter is negligible for our use. The cemetery of Mužje is 2 x 150 m away from the village, 3 x 150 m far from the best fields and 5 x 150 m by the end of the main field. The distance from St Katarina was conditioned by geomorphology. The cemetery was erected on the south slope of the glacial moraine. The distance measure of 150 m is practical because it is 100 double steps (also evidenced by the tradition in Bodešče: Pleterski 2014, 257–258). However, if we decompose the number 150 into 10 x 3 x 5, we see the rhythmic repetition of 3 and 5, which probably symbolises the third and fifth power (see above). This rhythm should ensure the beneficial effect of both powers on the whole village space.

Because the possibility of the perpendicular at St Katarina, in the direction to the bonfire-site on Višelnica, has already been used, a different solution has been found for the village Zasip, which originated later than Mužje, towards the end of the 8th century. On the perpendicular line described, they marked a point that became the starting point for the arrangement of the new village area. It connects tročan with St Katarina and Višelnica. From the point, a perpendicular line was drawn to the east, parallel to the Katarina – Višelnica line and on the basic axis of Zadnje polje, the earliest field in Zasip. To this day, this line is seen as a narrow belt of lawn crossing the field. Towards the middle of the field, the next lawn belt runs perpendicular to the south, and then divides the direction-line into two parts. The western one is about 150 m long, and the eastern one is about 212 m long, which means an equilibrium ratio of **1:√2**. The southern edge of the field is 150 m away from the upper main axis of the field and is in a direction perpendicular to the direction from Katarina to Mužje and parallel to the Katarina – Višelnica line. With a length of 2 x 150 m, the direction touches the eastern edge of the village Zasip. The first house was erected there (*cf.* Pleterski 2013a, 32–33), and from there the village expanded westwards along the direction described. Today's buildings have the same direction there as they did two centuries ago. At that time, houses in the earliest part of the village, called Pod lipo (= under the linden), apparently retained the old direction. Thus the arrangement of the field and the location of the village was determined.

To determine the location of the burial ground, a southward direction was drawn from the point that governed the field and the village, which, with the old Katarina –Mužje line, creates an angle of **23.5°**, which is the ritual angle of equilibrium. This new direction intersects at the eastern edge of Pod lipo village, the Zasip village line – the southern edge of the Zasip field. It is probable that at that time a tročan linden was planted, at the described eastern point of the village, which gave its name to the eastern, earliest part of the village. The importance of this place is underlined by the fact that, a few meters to the east, the church of St Janez Krstnik

ravnovesja. Ta nova smer seka smer vas Zasip–južni rob zasipškega polja na vzhodnem robu vasi Pod lipo. Verjetna je misel, da so tedaj na opisani vzhodni točki vasi posadili tročansko lipo, ki je dala ime vzhodnemu, najstarejšemu delu vasi. Pomen tega mesta poudarja okolnost, da so pozneje nekaj metrov vzhodneje postavili cerkev sv. Janeza Krstnika. To se je zgodilo v 12. ali 13. st., vsekakor je že leta 1296 omenjena kot župnijska cerkev (Pleterski 2013a, 36). Tedaj je bil pomen smeri Katarina–Višelnica morda še dobro znan. Sv. Janez Krstnik namreč sestavlja par s cerkvijo sv. Jurija v Zgornjih Gorjah, ki je prvič omenjena kot že obstoječa cerkev med letoma 1115 in 1121 (Bizjak 2012). Obe cerkvi določata smer, ki je vzporedna s smerjo Katarina–Višelnica (*sl. 10.30*), nanjo so pozneje vmes postavili še cerkev sv. Osvalda v Spodnjih Gorjah (Pleterski 2014, sl. 10.3.6.53). Razdalja med Sv. Janezom Krstnikom in Sv. Jurijem, ki se izide znotraj obeh cerkva, je 3400 m (o simboliki števila 34: Pleterski 2015c, 23). Pozoren bralec je medtem pravilno ugotovil, da gre za isto smer, ki spaja vas Zasip in južni rob zasipškega polja. Hkrati je zelo verjetno, da tudi Sv. Jurij stoji ob gorjanski tročanski točki, ki bi lahko bila nekaj metrov vzhodno od cerkve. Od tam namreč poteka pravokotnica južno na markantno jamo Poglejsko cerkev.

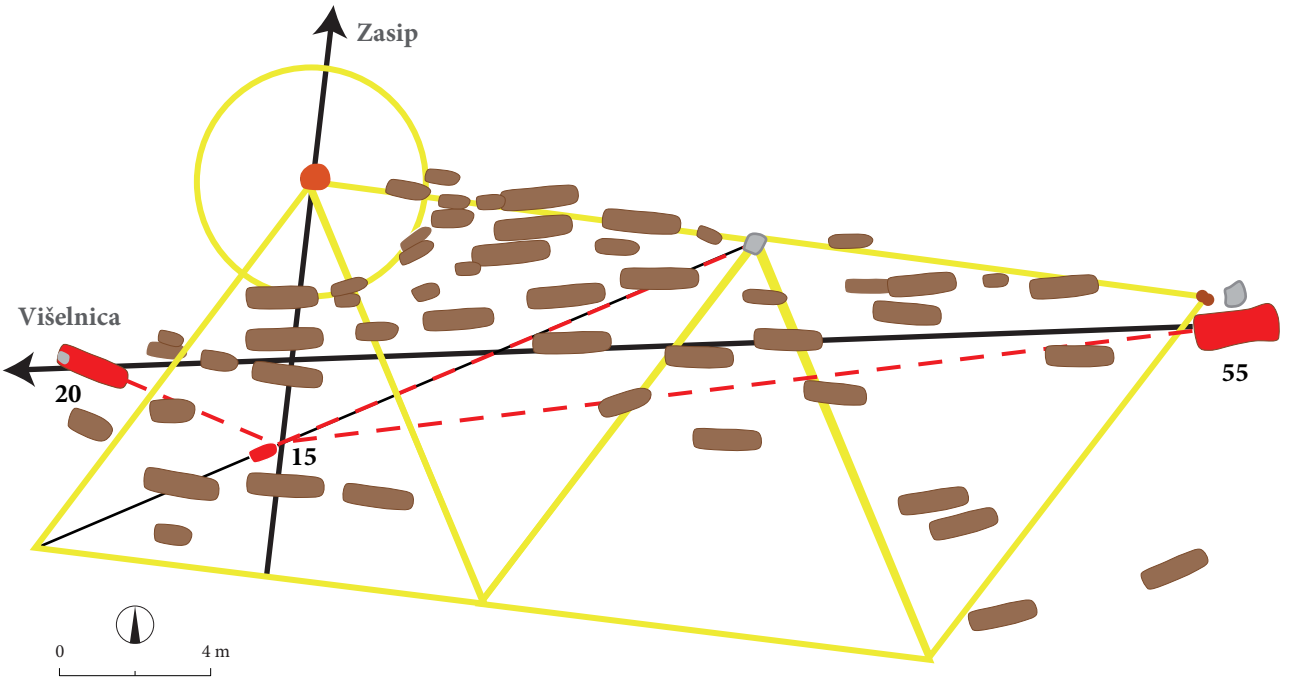
Zasipško grobišče leži na ledini Žale. Njegov obstoj je nakazovalo že ledinsko ime; starocerkvenoslovansko žalь = nagrobnik, praslovansko *žalь = bolečina, obžalovanje (Snoj 1997, 756). Ker je grobišče dolgo samo 32 m, ime Žale pa se po jožefinskem katastru nanaša na skoraj 300 m dolgo zemljišče, smo leta 1985, ko obstoj mitične pokrajine še ni bil znan, za točno določitev mesta grobišča uporabili preprost napovedni model. Sestavili smo ga z opazovanjem lege tedaj znanih blejskih zgodnjesrednjeveških grobišč. Prepostavljal je bližino vasi, poti, južno do vzhodno pobočje, po možnosti z vsaj majhno gomilo na vrhu. Na mestu, ki je ustrezalo tem pogojem, smo po nekaj urah kopanja naleteli na prvi grob. V naslednjih dveh letih smo raziskali celotno grobišče (Knific, Pleterski 1993).

Smer zasipško polje–Zasip Pod lipo–grobišče Na Žalah sega do jame, ki je bila zapolnjena z rdečo ilovico in jo je pokrivala mlajša kamnita groblja. Ta jama je severozahodni vogal grobišča in je od točke Pod lipo oddaljena 3 x 150 m. Sam prostor grobišča (*sl. 10.18*) je bil urejen s pomočjo štirih enakostraničnih trikotnikov. Stranice vsakega trikotnika merijo 4 x 3 x 9 karlovih čevljev, kar je prepletanje števil 4 in 3 ter hkrati magična formula 3 x 9. Opisana smer proti Zasipu in polju je hkrati višina najzahodnejšega trikotnika z najstarejšimi grobovi. Ob njej je poseben otroški grob 15, ki je usmerjen proti kamnu sredi severnega roba grobišča. Kot začetnika vasi lahko razumemo moškega (grob 55), ki ga je označeval kamen in lesen kol, ter žensko (grob 20), ki jo je označeval kamen. Ta dva predstavljata zahodni in vzhodni rob grobišča. Določata smer, ki sega do kresišča

(John the Baptist) was built in the 12th or 13th centuries, and it was certainly mentioned in 1296 as a parish church (Pleterski 2013a, 36). At that time, the significance of the Katarina – Višelnica direction might have been still well known. St Janez Krstnik is paired with the church of St Jurij in Zgornje Gorje, first mentioned as a church between 1115 and 1121 (Bizjak 2012). Both churches determine the line parallel to the Katarina – Višelnica line (*Fig. 10.30*). Later the church of St Oswald in Spodnje Gorje was erected in between (Pleterski 2014, Fig. 10.3.6.53). The distance between St Janez Krstnik and St Jurij, which comes out including parts of both churches, is 3400 m (on the symbolism of the number 34: Pleterski 2015c, 23). The careful reader, meanwhile, has correctly concluded that this is the same line that connects the Zasip village and the southern edge of the Zasip field. At the same time, it is very likely that St Jurij stands at the tročan point of Zgornje Gorje, which may be a few meters east of the church. From there, a perpendicular line runs south to a striking cave, Poglejska cerkev.

The Zasip cemetery lies on the Žale meadow. Its existence was suggested by the place name (Žale); Old Church Slavic *žalь* = tombstone, Proto-Slavic **žalь* = pain, regret (Snoj 1997, 756). Since the cemetery is only 32 m long and the name Žale refers to land almost 300 m long according to the Josephine cadastre (named after Emperor Joseph II 1741–1790), in 1985, when the existence of the mythical landscape was not yet known, we used a simple predictive model to determine the burial site. The model was composed by observing the location of the then-known Bled Early Medieval cemeteries. It assumed the vicinity of the village, the path, south or east slope, possibly with at least a small mound at the top. At a place that met these conditions, we came across the first grave after a few hours of digging. Over the next two years, the entire burial ground was explored (Knific, Pleterski 1993).

The Zasip field – Pod lipo – the Žale cemetery line extends to a cave filled with red loam and covered by a younger stone heap. This cave is the northwest corner of the burial ground. It's distance from the point Pod lipo is 3 x 150 m. The area of the cemetery (*Fig. 10.18*) was arranged using four equilateral triangles. The sides of each triangle measure 4 x 3 x 9 Charlemagne's feet, which is an interweaving of the numbers 4 and 3, and at the same time the magic formula 3 x 9. The direction described towards the Zasip village, is at the same time the peak of the westernmost triangle with the earliest graves. Next to it is a special child grave (15), oriented towards a stone in the middle of the northern edge of the cemetery. A man (Grave 55), marked by a stone and a wooden pillar, as well as a woman (Grave 20), marked by a stone, can be identified as the original burials of the village. These two represent the western and eastern edges of the burial ground. They determine the line that reaches the bonfire-place on Višelnica, and the graves mostly follow this direction. The mathematical symbolism clearly calls



Sl. 10.18: Žale pri Zasipu, Slovenija. Ureditvene točke in geometrija grobišča.
Fig. 10.18: Žale at Zasip, Slovenia. Arrangement points and cemetery geometry.

na Višelnici, grobovi njeno smer večinoma upoštevajo. Matematična simbolika jasno kliče tretjo in peto moč ter kliče ponovno vrnitev s številom 27 (= 3 x 9) in s povezavo s kresiščem na Višelnici (podrobneje Pleterski 2014, 250–257).

Opažanja, pomembna za model. Odkritje grobišča Na Žalah je potrdilo prometno-geomorfološka izhodišča. To pomeni bližino vasi, poti ter južno do vzhodno pobočje z gomilo. Grobišče ima svoje mersko-simbolne točke. Te so na Bledu neposredno povezane s smerjo Višelnica (kresišče)–Šmarjetna gora, če to ni mogoče, pa z eno ali več točk, ki omogočajo povezavo s kresiščem na Višelnici. Pomembna je povezava prostora polja, vasi in grobišča, še posebej je pomembna razdalja med vasjo in grobiščem, ki je mnogokratnik simbolno pomembnega števila. V igri so 3 x 4, 3 x 5, 3 x 9.

Kje torej iskati grobišče prvotnih Spodnjih Bodešč. Izhodišče razmisleka je bilo, da so poznejše Spodnje Bodešče zasedle prostor prvotne vasi in njenega polja. Predpostavka je, da stavbe sedanje vasi stojijo nekako na mestu, kjer je stala prva vas, in da je sklenjena površina najboljše njivske zemlje predstavljala osrednje polje prvi vasi (*sl. 10.19*). Severozahodni vogal tega polja prečka smer Višelnica (kresišče)–Šmarjetna gora. Ta vogal stoji severno od vasi, na njem pa se izide razdalja 540 m od vasi, kar je 2 x 270 m; 270 m pa je 3 x 9 x 10 m, torej število, ki simbolno kliče k vrnitvi tiste, ki so odšli. Tu je tudi nizka ledeniška gomila Pod prežo z južnim

for the third and fifth power, and calls for the return of the soul by the number 27 (= 3 x 9) as well as by the connection with the bonfire-place on Višelnica (detailed: Pleterski 2014, 250–257).

Observations relevant to the model. The discovery of the Žale cemetery confirmed the traffic-geomorphological starting points; this means the vicinity of the village, the path and the south or east slope with the mound. The cemetery has its symbolic points. These in Bled are directly connected with the Višelnica (bonfire-site) – Šmarjetna gora line. Where this is not possible, they are connected with one or more points that allow a connection with the bonfire-site on Višelnica. The connection between the space of the field, the village and the cemetery is important, especially the distance between the village and the cemetery, which is a multiple of a symbolically significant number. There are 3 x 4, 3 x 5, and 3 x 9 in the game.

So, where should we look for the burial ground of the primeval Spodnje Bodešče? The starting point of the enquiry was that the later Spodnje Bodešče occupies the area of the primeval village and its field. The assumption is that the buildings of the present village stand somehow at the place where the ancient village stood, and that the enclosed area of the best arable land represents the central field of the first village (*Fig. 10.19*). The northwest corner of this field is crossed by the Višelnica (bonfire-place) – Šmarjetna gora line. This corner stands north of

Sl. 10.19: Zgornje in Spodnje Bodešče, Slovenija. Vaški prostor, predvidene ureditvene črte in točke izkopavanj, vrisano v franciscejski kataster.
Fig. 10.19: Zgornje and Spodnje Bodešče, Slovenia. The village area, the envisaged arrangement lines and excavation points, inscribed in the Franciscan cadastre.

do vzhodnim pobočjem in mimo teče stara pot. Mesto torej ustreza kriterijem zgornjega modela.

Še bolj je vpadljiva velika gomila Došca, del ledeniške morene, ki predstavlja najvišjo točko ob robu polja. Poleg tega je prav tako severno od vasi na sredini smeri med severozahodnim vogalom polja in vasjo, kar pomeni, da je od osrednjega dela vasi oddaljena 270 m. Mimo nje vodi ista stara pot. Tudi ta točka ustreza kriterijem zgornjega modela.

Izkopavanja smo usmerili na vse tri opisane točke:
– na jedro vasi, da bi našli morebitne sledove vaške točke, ki je povezovala vas, grobišče in smer Višelnica (kresišče)–Šmarjetna gora,
– na prostor Pod prežo ob severozahodnem vogalu vaškega polja,
– na vmesno gomilo Došca.

Rezultat in razprava. Izkopavanja je izvedla Zvezdana Modrijan (glej pogl. 11). Na mestu Pod prežo ni bilo sledov grobišča. V vasi so novodobni vkopi uničili

the village, at a distance of 540 m from the village, and is 2 x 270 m; 270 m is 3 x 9 x 10 m, which is a symbol that calls for the return of those who left. There is also a low glacial mound, Pod prežo (= below a hunting tower), with a south to east slope that runs past an old path. The site therefore meets the criteria of the above model.

Even more striking is the large mound, Došca, the part of the glacial moraine that represents the highest point along the edge of the field. It is also north of the village in the middle of the direction between the northwest corner of the field and the village, which means that it is 270 m away from the central part of the village. The same old path leads past it. This point also meets the criteria of the above model.

Excavations were made at all three points described:
– the core of the village, to find possible traces of the village point connecting the village, the cemetery and the Višelnica (bonfire-place) – Šmarjetna gora line,
– to Pod prežo at the northwest corner of the village field,
– to the Došca mound between.

morebitne starejše plasti. Na temenu gomile Došca je bil odkrit zgodnjesrednjeveški žgan grob, drobci oglja v okolici nakazujejo prostor, kjer so odlagali pepel pokojnih (prim. Zoll-Adamikowa 1979, 126–131, 252–253). Odkritje potrjuje obstoj mitične pokrajine s pravili urejanja prostora, ki smo jih v blejskem primeru dovolj dobro razumeli. To nikakor ne pomeni, da bo mogoče kjer koli na soroden način odkriti nova arheološka najdišča in povezave v mitični pokrajini. Vsak prostor ima svoje rešitve in zahteva podrobno poznavanje. Bližnjic ni. Dokazali pa smo, da pot obstaja.

Odkritje žganega grobišča dokazuje tudi domnevo o starejši vasi na prostoru Spodnjih Bodešč in potrjuje ustreznost metode retrogradne analize zemljiškega katastra (Pleterski 2013a, 17–30), ki jo je nakazala. Morda je nekoliko nepričakovano, da so ob koncu 8. st. ali morda še pozneje na Bledu še vedno sežigali pokojne, ker so v tem času v sosednjih vaseh že pokopavali nesežgana trupla. Če je to opažanje pravilno, pomeni, da je tedaj vsaka vaška srenja še imela možnost, da se glede tega odloča po svoje.

Dejstvo, da smo našli eno samo grobno jamico, ki pa je bila prekrita z večjim kamnom, ki jo je bolj označeval, kot ščitil, kaže na namerno ustvarjanje simbolne in prostorske točke. Motivacija zanjo bi lahko bila želja zabeležiti grobišče prednikov v trenutku opuščanja starega načina pokopavanja. Vprašanje, ali je vas nato imela še grobišče z okostnimi grobovi ali pa je že pred tem propadla, ostaja odprto.

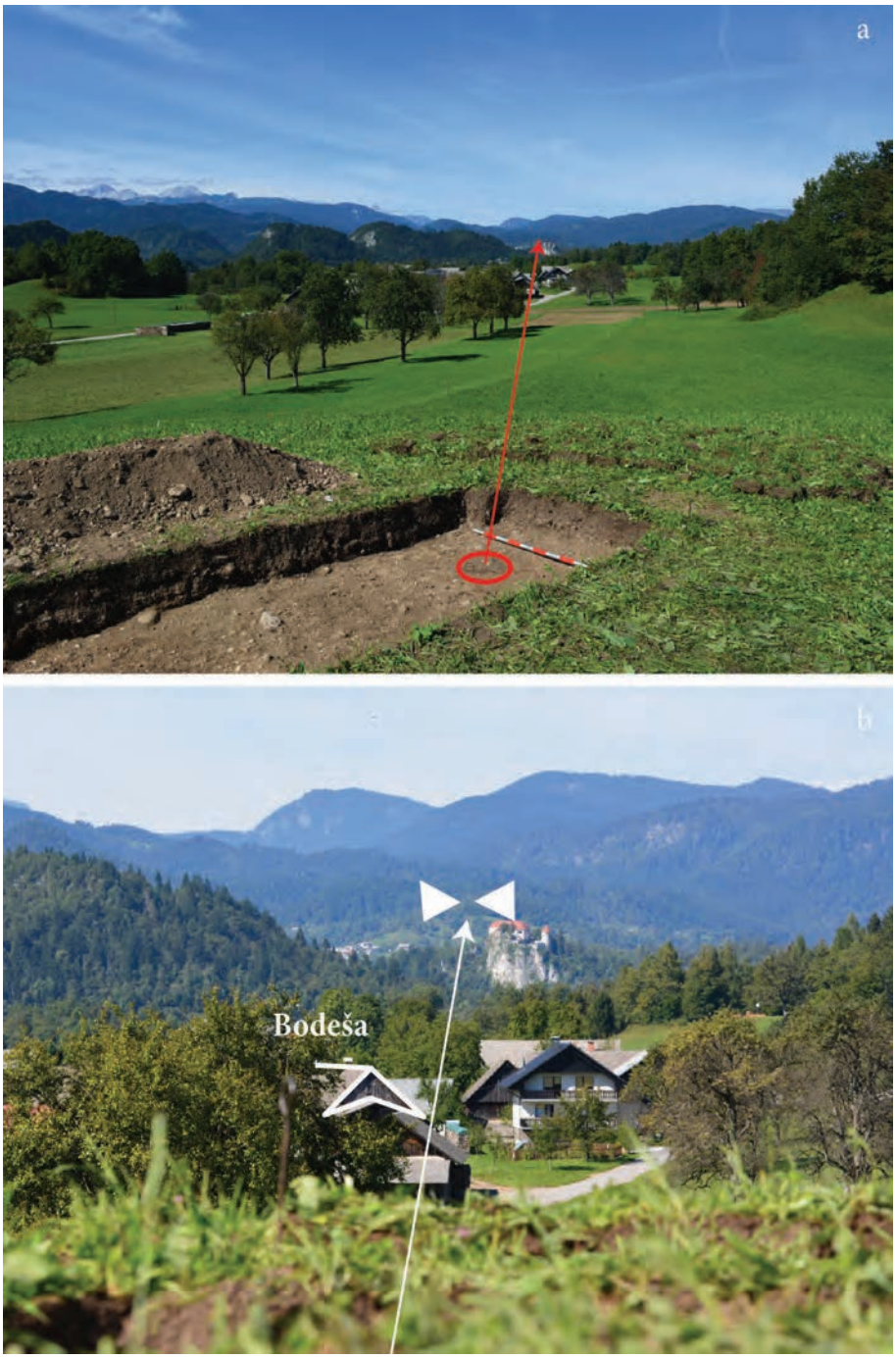
A zdi se, da je označeni grob imel neki drug namen. Ko smo stali pred odprtim grobom, se je pokazalo še nekaj, kar je mogoče doživeti samo v pravem trenutku in na pravem mestu. Grob, vogal Marofarjeve hiše v Zgornjih Bodeščah in kresišče na Višelnici so se poravnali na isti smeri (*sl. 10.20*). Marofarjeva hiša stoji na mestu prve domačije, s katero se je začela nova vas Bodešče (sedanje Zgornje Bodešče). Ime ima po ustanovitelju Bodeši, ki ga lahko enačimo s pokojnikom v grobu 43 na sosednjem grobišču Dlesc (Pleterski 2014, 257–263). Opisana smer potrjuje, da je Bodeša prišel iz vasi, kjer so danes Spodnje Bodešče. Novi dom je navezal na grob prednika v rodni vasi in na točko vrnitve na kresišču na Višelnici. Hkrati se mu je posrečilo še več odličnih prostorskih povezav. Razdalja od Došce do Bodeševe (sedaj Marofarjeve hiše) se izide pri 450 m, kar je 3 x 150 m, kar pomeni tudi ritem tretje in pete moči. Pravokotnica na to točko pa po 100 korakih ali 150 m seže do nekdanje (novi lastnik jo je brezobzirno zravnal z bagrom) ledeniške gomile na Dlescu. Tam je Bodeša zastavil novo grobišče in tam so ga pokopali. Vse omenjene črte so bile tudi opora za ureditev polja nove vasi (Pleterski 2014, 257–258).

Outcome and discussion. Excavations were performed by Zvezdana Modrijan (detailed report in Chapter 11). There were no traces of a burial ground at Pod prežo. In the village, modern age activities had destroyed any earlier layers. An Early Medieval cremation grave was discovered on top of the Došca mound, and fragments of charcoal in the surrounding area indicate the place where the ashes of the deceased were deposited (*cf.* Zoll-Adamikowa 1979, 126–131, 252–253). The discovery confirms the existence of a mythical landscape following the rules about how to arrange space, which we understood well enough in the Bled case. This does not in any way mean that new archaeological sites and connections in the mythical landscape can be found in any similar way. Each space has its own solutions and requires detailed knowledge. There are no shortcuts. But we have proven that the path exists.

The discovery of the cremation burial ground also proves the presumption of an earlier village in the area of Spodnje Bodešč and confirms the appropriateness of the retrograde analysis of the land cadastre method (Pleterski 2013a, 17–30), which indicated the earlier village. It may be somewhat unexpected that at the end of the eighth century, or perhaps even later in Bled, the dead were still incinerated, because at that time unburnt corpses were already buried in the neighbouring villages. If this observation is correct, it means that every village community still had a chance to make its own decision then.

The fact that we found only a single grave pit, albeit covered with a larger stone, which it marked more than protected, indicates the deliberate creation of a symbolic and spatial point. The motivation for such an act might be the desire to record the ancestral burial ground at the moment of abandoning the old ways of burial. The question of whether the village then had a burial ground with skeletal graves or whether it had previously collapsed remains open.

The marked grave also seems to have another purpose. As we stood in front of the open grave, there was something else that could only be experienced at the right moment and in the right place. The grave, the corner of the Marofar house in Zgornje Bodešče and the bonfire-place on Višelnica were aligned in the same direction (*Fig. 10.20*). The Marofar House stands on the site of the first homestead that started the new village of Bodešče (the present Zgornje Bodešče). It is named after the founder, Bodeša, who can be equated with the deceased in Grave 43 at the adjacent Dlesc cemetery (Pleterski 2014, 257–263). The described direction confirms that Bodeša came from the village where Spodnje Bodešče village is today. He connected the new home to the ancestral grave in his native village and to the point of return at the bonfire-place at Višelnica. At the same time, he managed to establish more great spatial connections. The distance from Došca to Bodeša's (now Marofar) house is 450 m, which is 3 x 150 m, which is also the rhythm of



Sl. 10.20: Došca, Bodešče, Slovenija. a – lisa groba in črta proti Višelnici, b – črta proti Višelnici in vogal Marofarjeve (Bodeševe) hiše v Zgornjih Bodeščah.
Fig. 10.20: Došca, Bodešče, Slovenia. a – the grave spot and the line towards Višelnica, b – the line towards Višelnica and the corner of Marofar's (Bodeša) house in Zgornje Bodešče.

the third and fifth power. The perpendicular line to this point, after 100 steps or 150 m, reaches the former (the new owner ruthlessly flattened it with bulldozer) glacial mound Dlesc. There, Bodeša established a new cemetery and was buried there. All these lines also served as support for the arrangement of the field of the new village (Pleterski 2014, 257–258).

10.4. BLEJSKI OTOK KOT NAPOVEDNI MODEL SAM PO SEBI

Blejski otok je prostor, kjer se že stoletja prepletajo različne razlage njegovega prestižnega pomena. Da bi bila zadeva še bolj zapletena, ni nič več mogoče razločiti izvirnega ljudskega izročila od učenih pojasnil (prim. Pleterski 2014, 243–244). V zraku že vsaj od 18. st. visi ugibanje o predkrščanskem svetišču (prim. Linhart 1981, 260; prva izdaja 1788) kakršnega koli videza. In to je napovedni model sam po sebi. V takih razmerah lahko da stvarno osnovo samo arheološka raziskava. Časovna razdalja med arheološko raziskavo pred več kot pol stoletja in objavo njenih izsledkov v tej knjigi ter tedanje možnosti arheološkega dokumentiranja so privedle do tega, kar Benjamin Štular poimenuje arhivsko izkopavanje (pogl. 3.3). V nadaljevanju bom poskušal prikazati, kaj je vse to prineslo za preverjanje stoletnega napovednega modela, seveda pa bom podal tudi prvo soočenje izsledkov tega izkopavanja z našim modelom mitične pokrajine.

Uvodoma lahko poudarim, da v arheloški dokumentaciji ni opisov sestavin, ki bi jih bilo mogoče prepričljivo razložiti kot ostanke stavbe, ki bi bila starejša od prve cerkvene zgradbe (pogl. 4). Na Blejskem otoku ni bilo *veže* (v arhaičnem pomenu: svetiščna stavba) božanstva stare vere. Na vse romantične predstave v zvezi s tem bo treba pozabiti. Vendar razloga za razočaranje ni. Obstajajo številne prvine mitične pokrajine.

Skalnat otok s **studencem** sredi jezera je naravna danost, ki kar kliče, da bi jo vključili v sestav mitične pokrajine (podrobneje pogl. 6.2.3). Pred gradnjo prve cerkve je bilo na otoku že zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče (glej pogl. 2.1 in 4). Na tem mestu ni bilo zato, ker bi bilo poleg neke vasi, ampak zaradi posebnega pomena otoškega prostora. Grobovi se stiskajo okoli **ognjiščne površine**, ki je bila omejena in označena s kamni (pogl. 1.4. in 4.2). Ohranila se je kot ostanki žganine in kot plast debelo prežgane zemlje. Kot kaže prerez (*sl. 1.13*), je na razmeroma majhni površini (približno 1 m v premeru) gorel ogenj, zaradi katerega je bila zemlja tam prepečena do 15 cm debelo. V to plast je vkopanih nekaj grobov, izjemna gostota grobov na tem mestu pa kaže njegovo prestižnost (pogl. 8.1.2 in 8.3).

Taka prežgana plast ne nastane zlahka, ker ni odvisna od velikosti kupa drv, ki jih kurimo. Pri gorenju lesa namreč takoj začne nastajati plast pepela, ki se useda na tla in deluje kot odlična izolacija, ki preprečuje segrevanje tal. Če namensko želimo segreta in posledično tudi prežgana tla, moramo najmanj vsake pol ure obrniti žerjavico, da pride žareče oglje povsem spodaj. To je tehnika kurjenja kmečke peči za peko kruha. Če žerjavice ne razkopavamo in ne obračamo, hlebci od spodaj niso zapečeni, ker se tla niso dovolj segrela. Pri tem seveda ne trdim, da so se nekoč vozili na Blejski

10.4 BLED ISLAND AS A PREDICTIVE MODEL IN ITSELF

Bled Island is a place where different interpretations of its prestigious importance have been interwoven for centuries. To make the matter even more complicated, it is no longer possible to distinguish the original folk tradition from the learned interpretations (*cf.* Pleterski 2014, 243–244). Since at least the 18th century there has been speculation about the exiatence of a pre-Christian shrine (*cf.* Linhart 1981, 260; first edition 1788) of any appearance. Such guesswork is a form of predictive model itself. In such circumstances, only archaeological research can give a real basis for knowledge. The temporal distance between the archaeological survey more than half a century ago and the publication of its findings in this book, and the potential of archaeological documentation at the time, led to what Benjamin Štular calls an archival excavation (Chapter 3.3). In what follows, I will attempt to show how all this can be cross-checked against the centennial predictive model, but of course I will also offer the first comparison of the results of this excavation with our model of the mythical landscape.

First, I can point out that there are no descriptions, in the archaeological documentation, of the elements that could be convincingly interpreted as the remains of a building earlier than the first church building (Chapter 4). There was no shrine building for the deity of the Old Faith on Bled Island. All romantic imaginings in this regard will have to be forgotten. However, there is no reason for disappointment. There are many elements of the mythical landscape.

The rocky island with a **spring** in the middle of the lake is a natural feature that calls for inclusion in the mythical landscape (for details, Chapter 6.2.3). Before the first church was built, there was an Early Medieval cemetery on the island (Chapters. 2.1 and 4). It was there not because it was next to a village, but because of the special importance of the island area. The graves crowd around the **hearth**, which was bordered and marked by stones (Chapters 1.4., 4.2). It was preserved as the burnt remains as well as a layer of thickly burned earth. According to the cross section (*Fig. 1.13*), fire burned on a relatively small surface (about 1 m in diameter), causing up to 15 cm thick of the earth to burnt. Several graves have been dug into this layer, and the exceptional crowding of the graves here shows its prestige (Chapters 8.1.2 and 8.3).

Such a burnt layer is not easily formed, and it does not depend on the size of the pile of wood that is burned. The burning of wood immediately creates a layer of ash that settles on the ground and acts as an excellent insulation that prevents the floor from heating. If we want to deliberately create a heated and consequently burnt floor, we must turn around the embers at least every half an hour so that the glowing charcoal comes completely

otok peč kruh. Nikakor ne. Enak učinek na podlago bi namreč lahko dosegli, če bi žerjavico s pepelom vsakič odstranili in nov ogenj zakurili na goli zemlji ter tak postopek mnogokrat ponovili. Zelo verjetno je, da se je na Blejskem otoku dogajalo prav to. Ob določenih svečanih trenutkih so kurili ogenj in njegove ostanke vsakič odstranili. Smiselno bi bilo, da so jih nosili domov. Kot kaže stratigrafsko sosledje (*sl. 3.16)*, je ta obred na otoku potekal, še preden so tam izkopali prve zgodnjesrednjeveške grobove. Žganina na vrhu prepečene zemlje (pogl. 1.4) je potem bodisi ostanek zadnjega ognja, ki ga niso odstranili, ali pa so spremenili namen kurjenja ognja.

Zgornja tafonomska opažanja se ujemajo z izročilom posoških starovercev. "*... v bližini kurišča nad Kopoviščem. Tam so vedno kurili poletni, zimski in še druge kresove. Takih posvečenih kurišč je bilo na desnem bregu Soče kar nekaj*" (Medvešček 2015, 99). "*... dokler ni kres ugasnil. Takrat so tudi fantki prižgali drevesne gobe in jih na palici odnesli tistim, ki so ostali brez kresnega ognja. Vsaka hiša je v ogenj na ognjišču vrgla nekaj kresnega oglja ali gobe. Nekoč pa je bilo treba stari ogenj pogasiti, odstraniti pepel in s kresnim ognjem zakuriti nov ogenj v hiši*" (Medvešček 2015, 337). "*Ta kovinska lopatka pa je bila položena poleg in so jo potrebovali ob kresovanju za pobiranje žerjavice, ki so jo potem nesli domov*" (Medvešček 2015, 252). Samoumevno je, če je na Blejskem otoku res šlo tudi za kurjenje novega ognja, da so prav tako tamkajšnje kurišče vsakokrat predhodno dobro očistili starih ostankov, če jih je še kaj bilo od prejšnjega kurjenja.

Usmerjenost in razporejenost zgodnjesrednjeveških otoških grobov kaže, da so se zavedali sosednjih pomembnih točk mitične pokrajine in nanje navezovali otoški prostor (podrobno pogl. 6.2.2 in 6.2.3). Kljub temu, da so ob različnih zidavah ponekod uničili starejše kulturne plasti in da zaradi cerkvenih zidov nekaterih površin niso mogli arheološko raziskati, je ostalo dovolj ohranjene in arheološko raziskane površine (*sl. 4.3*), da je zanesljivo, da se zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče razprostira samo na severnem delu ravnice vrh otoka in v prostor, ki ga danes zaseda cerkev, posega samo obrobno. To kaže, da so cerkev postavili na mesto, ki je bilo pomembno že v predhodnem obdobju.

Na tem mestu je nekaj kamnov in vkopov v skalno osnovo (*sl. 10.21*), ki so starejši od druge cerkve in razen pri pravokotni jami v velikosti groba (*sl. 3.16*) stratigrafski odnos s prvo cerkvijo ni bil dokumentiran. To pomeni, da so bodisi sočasni bodisi so od nje starejši. V tloris prve cerkve se slabo vklapljajo in je za večino večja verjetnost, da so od prve cerkve starejši. Prav tako niso bili dokumentirani neposredni ali posredni stratigrafskih odnosov med njimi, kar pomeni, da ne poznamo podatkov o sočasnosti ali zaporednosti.

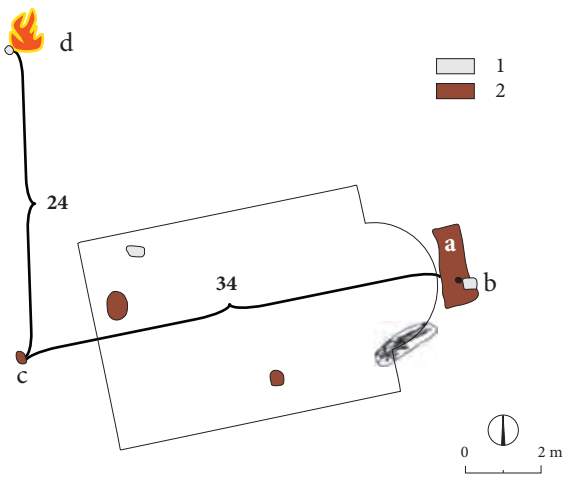
Nedvomno je od prve cerkve starejša **pravokotna jama v velikosti groba** (*sl. 10.21:* a), ki je bila v nekem trenutku zasuta, v polnilo je bil posajen steber, ki je bil

down. This is the technique used in a rustic bread baking furnace. If the embers are not turned, the loaves of bread are not baked from below, because the floor is not warm enough. Of course, this is not to say that people once used to paddle to Bled Island to bake bread. Not at all. The same effect on the substrate could be achieved by removing the ash embers every time,when they were there, after burning a new fire on bare earth, and repeating this process many times. It is very likely that this is exactly what was happening on Bled Island. At certain solemn moments, the fire was lit and its remains were removed every time. It would make sense that they were carried home. As the stratigraphic sequence shows (*Fig. 3.16*), this rite took place on the island before the first Early Medieval graves were excavated there. The burnt remains on top of the burnt earth (Chapter 1.4) is then either a remnant of the last fire which was not removed, or due to a change in the purpose of the fire.

The above taphonomic observations are in line with the tradition of the Old Faith Believers in the Soča region. "*... near the fireplace above Kopovišče. Midsummer, midwinter and other bonfires were always lit there. There were some such consecrated fireplaces on the right bank of the Soča River*" (Medvešček 2015, 99). "*... until the bonfire was extinguished. At that time, the little boys also lit the tree mushrooms and took them on sticks to those who remained without a bonfire. Every house threw some bonfire charcoal or mushroom into the fire at the fireplace. Once, the old fire had to be extinguished, the ashes had to be removed and a new fire had to be lit from the bonfire in the house*" (Medvešček 2015, 337). "*This metal shovel was laid next to it and was needed at the bonfire to collect the embers, which they then brought home*" (Medvešček 2015, 252). It is self-evident, if Bled Island was indeed involved in the burning of new fire, that the fireplace was also cleaned every time, before making a new fire, if there was anything from the previous burning.

The orientation and arrangement of the Early Medieval island graves shows that people were aware of the adjacent important points of the mythical landscape and related the island space to them (in detail, Chapters. 6.2.2, 6.2.3). Although the early cultural layers were destroyed in different building events and, some of the surfaces could not be archaeologically explored due to the presence of the church walls, there were enough preserved and archaeologically researched areas (*Fig. 4.3*) to reliably suggest that the Early Medieval cemetery extends only over the northern part of the plain at the top of the island and the space, now occupied by the church, affects it only marginally. This suggests that the church was built in a place that was important in the previous period.

There are some stones and pits in the rock base (*Fig. 10.21*) that are earlier than the second church, and, except for a rectangular hole in the size of a grave (*Fig. 3.16*), the stratigraphic relationship with the first church has not been documented. This means that they are



Sl. 10.21: Blejski otok, Slovenija. Jame in kamni, ki bi lahko bili starejši od prve cerkve. Dodani so kurišče s kamnom, grob 72 in idealiziran obris prve cerkve. Številki 24 in 34 kažeta razdaljo v karlovih čevljih. 1 – obdelan kamen, 2 – jama.
Fig. 10.21: Bled Island, Slovenia. Holes and stones that could be older than the first church. The hearth with the stone, Grave 72 and an idealised outline of the first church were added. Numbers 24 and 34 show the distance in Charlemagne's feet. 1 – carved stone, 2 – hole.

pozneje odstranjen. Jamo s polnilom je prekrila plast, v kateri je bil nad jamo klesan kamen (*sl. 10.21:* b), v to plast pa je bil vkopan zgodnjesrednjeveški grob 72, ki so ga našli pod temeljem najstarejše cerkve (glej pogl. 4.2). Osamljeno lego groba 72 lahko pojasnimo s soseščino klesanega kamna. Točka je bila tako pomembna, da je pritegnila grob 72. In magnet ni bil toliko sam kamen, kot je bila jama, ki se je skrivala pod njim (pogl. 4.7). Tako zaporedje dogodkov nakazuje, da je jama starejša tudi od zgodnjesrednjeveškega grobišča.

Tako lahko sestavimo trojico: studenec, ognjišče in pravokotna jama sestavljajo pravokotni trikotnik (*sl. 6.15*), katerega vrh pri studencu meri obredni kot (prim. pogl 6.2.3). Na simbolni ravni tročanov je severni vogal voda, zahodni vogal je ogenj, južni vogal je zemlja. Vsebinsko sorodne tročane trenutno poznamo s treh blejskih grobišč: Žale pri Zasipu (Pleterski 2014, 256), Dlesc pri Bodeščah (Pleterski 2014, 261), Pristava na Bledu (Pleterski 2014, 264–274). Ta tročan je bil na otoku, še preden so začeli s pokopavanjem v zgodnjem srednjem veku. Prerivanje grobov ob ognjišču (*sl. 8.3*; pogl. 8.1.2, str. 190) kaže, kaj je bila motivacija. Na krščanskem pokopališču je primerljiva z željo biti pokopan blizu oltarja in tamkajšnjih svetinj.

Pravokotna jama v velikosti groba ima usmeritev, ki je drugačna od smeri otoških grobov in ni usmerjena na enega od drugih dveh vogalov tročanskega trikotnika. S svojo prečno osjo je usmerjena proti prostoru južno

either contemporaneous or earlier. They do not fit well into the floor plan of the first church and are more likely to be earlier than the first church. Neither direct nor indirect stratigraphic relationships between them have been documented, which means that we cannot identify the sequence.

Undoubtedly **the rectangular grave-sized hole** is earlier than the first church (*Fig. 10.21:* a), which at some point was filled in, then a pillar was put in the filling and was later removed. The hole with the filing was covered with a layer including a carved stone (*Fig. 10.21:* b), and into this layer was dug an Early Medieval grave (72) which was found under the foundation of the earliest church (Chapter 4.2). The secluded position of Grave 72 can be explained by the area of carved stone. The place was so important that it attracted Grave 72, and the draw was not so much the carved stone itself as it was the hole hiding beneath (Chapter 4.7). Such a sequence of events indicates that the hole is earlier than the Early Medieval cemetery.

In this way, we can assemble a trinity: the water spring, the hearth and the rectangular hole make up a right triangle (*Fig. 6.15*) whose top at the spring measures the ritual angle (*cf.* Chapter 6.2.3). At the symbolic level of tročans, the northern corner is water, the western corner is fire, and the southern corner is earth. At present, the substantively related tročans are known from three Bled cemeteries: Žale at Zasip (Pleterski 2014, 256), Dlesc at Bodešče (Pleterski 2014, 261), and Pristava at Bled (Pleterski 2014, 264–274). This tročan was on the island even before burials began in the Early Middle Ages. Burying the graves near the hearth (*Fig. 8.3*; Chapter 8.1.2, p. 190) is comparable, in a Christian graveyard, to a desire to be buried near the altar and the relics.

The grave-seized rectangular hole is oriented differently from the island's graves and does not point to one of the other two corners of the tročan triangle. With its transverse axis, it faces the area south of the tročan hearth (*Fig. 10.21:* d), the space that was also respected by the Early Medieval cemetery and, it appears, the described tročan itself. There is a **posthole for pillar** to the south of the hearth and the largest stone is next to it (*Fig. 10.21:* c). The arrangement of this pit, hearth and rectangular grave-sized hole does not seem random, but driven by the distance between the pit and the other two spatial elements. The distance between the pit and the stone at the hearth is 8 m or 24 Charlemagne's feet, and the distance between the pit and the rectangular grave-seized hole is 13.3 m or 34 Charlemagne's feet, respectively. What matters is the ratio they have illustrated: 24:34 = 12:17 = 1:$\sqrt{2}$. It is the tročan balance of the three forces of nature. The ratio of 12:7 was also well known to medieval builders (*cf.* Milošević, Peković 2009, 248–255 and Chapter 5.1, p. 131). If the described arrangement is not accidental, it means that its constituent parts existed simultaneously for at least some period, and that is why it is also the posthole

od tročanskega ognjišča (*sl. 10.21*: d), prostoru, ki ga je spoštovalo tudi zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče in – kot je videti – tudi opisani tročan. Tam je južno od ognjišča in največjega kamna ob njem **jama za steber** (*sl. 10.21:* c). Razporeditev te jame, ognjišča in pravokotne jame v velikosti groba ni videti naključna. Na to napeljujeta razdalji med jamo in drugima dvema členoma prostora. Razdalja med jamo in kamnom ob ognjišču se izide pri 8 m oziroma 24 karlovih čevljih, razdalja med jamo za steber in pravokotno jamo v velikosti groba pa pri 13,3 m oziroma 34 karlovih čevljih. Pomembno je razmerje, ki so ga s tem ponazorili: 24 : 34 = 12 : 17 = 1 : √2. Gre za tročansko ravnovesje treh sil narave. Razmerje 12 : 17 je bilo dobro znano tudi srednjeveškim gradbenikom (prim. Milošević, Peković 2009, 248–255 in pogl. 5.1, str. 131). In če opisana razporeditev ni naključna, pomeni, da so njeni sestavni deli vsaj v nekem obdobju obstajali sočasno in da je torej tudi jama za steber še iz časa pred nastankom zgodnjesrednjeveškega grobišča. Tudi ta jama je del sestava, ki je dajal otoku poseben pomen. Njegov namen lahko trenutno poskušamo poiskati s hipotezo, da gre za del mitične pokrajine, ki ima v poteku leta posebno vlogo. Uporabnost hipoteze preverjamo in hkrati ocenjujemo s tem, v kolikšni meri je sposobna vključiti znane sestavine in njihove okolnosti. Kljub temu pa vedno ostaja samo eden od možnih pogledov v preteklost.

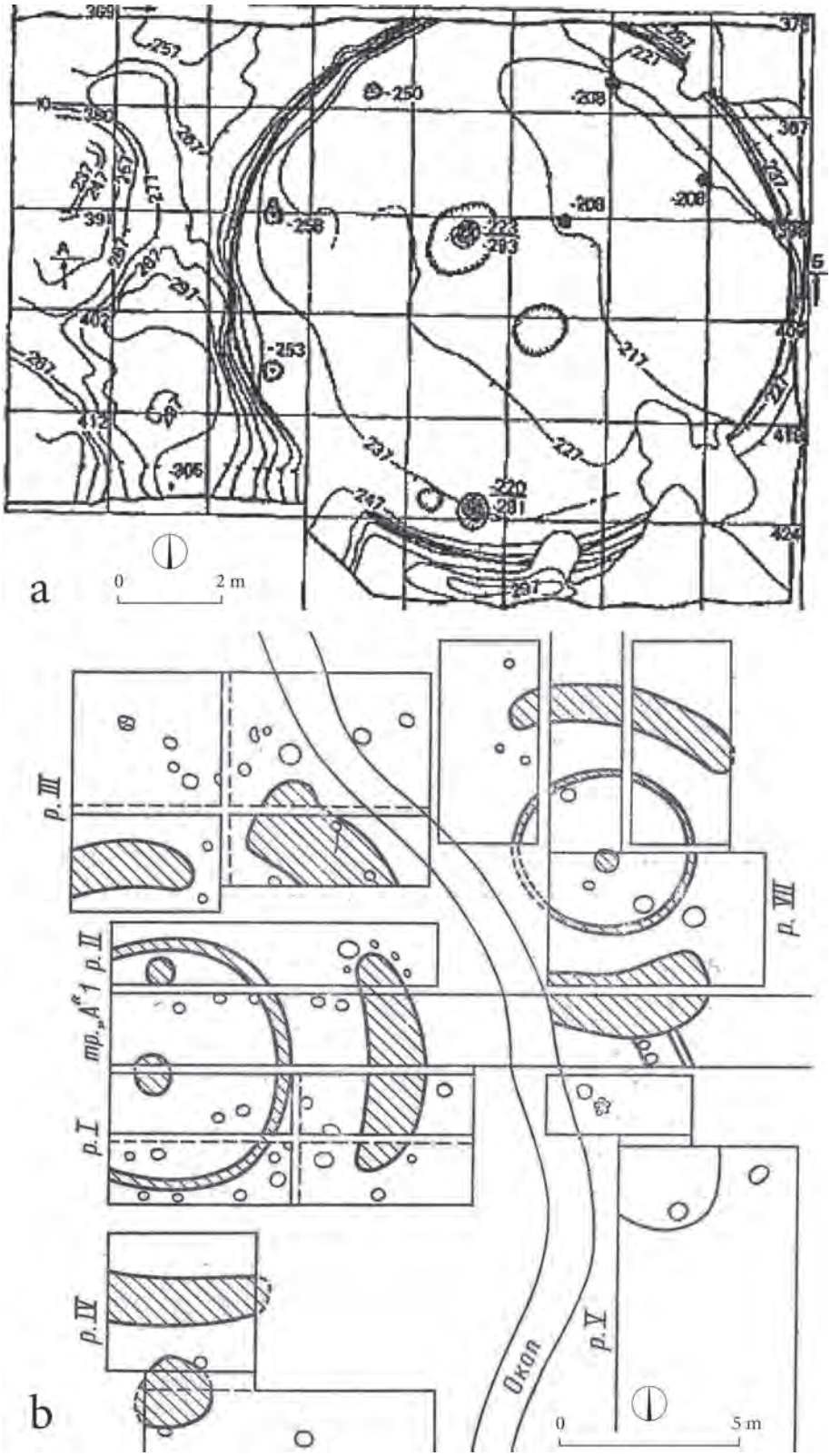
Razprava o okolnostih jame za steber. Ena jama za steber je seveda premalo za opaznejšo stavbo. Lahko je točka, ki je vplivala na ureditev prostora grobišča, a to še ne pojasni, kaj je predstavljala v času pred nastankom grobišča. Namig lahko najdemo v postavitvi prvih dveh cerkva na otoku. Obe sta stali na prostoru med jamo za steber in pravokotno jamo, na osi med njima in ta os je pravokotna na približno vzdolžno os pravokotne jame. In če je usmeritev obeh cerkva astronomska, proti sončnemu vzhodu na dan Marijinega vnebovzetja (Čaval 2010, 167–178), je več kot samo verjetno, da je tudi os jama za steber–pravokotna jama astronomska. V 11. st., ko so postavili prvo cerkev (glej pogl. 7.3), je bil 15. avgust po tedanjem kabinetnem julijanskem koledarju po sončnem koledarju že 6 dni pozneje, torej 21. avgusta. Ta dan meji z 20. avgustom, koncem poletne tretjine leta po starem sončnem koledarju (glej zgoraj). Ne bi moglo biti bolj očitno, da so s postavitvijo cerkve želeli nadomestiti starodavno češčenje ženskega mitičnega lika ob koncu poletja. Ta datum pa je bilo treba določiti in pokončen steber v funkciji gnomona je takemu namenu lahko dobro služil. Morda so ga uporabili celo za določitev smeri prve cerkve, na kar namiguje jama v cerkveni osi. Dokumentacija arheoloških izkopavanj nam ne da neposrednega odgovora na vprašanje, ali je bila površina okrog gnomona umetno izravnana. Ta možnost obstaja, nakazuje jo rdečerjavo ilovnato izravnalno nasutje, ki je prekrivalo pravokotno jamo v velikosti groba in bilo starejše od groba 72 (pogl. 4.7).

for pillar from the time before the Early Medieval cemetery. This pit is also part of the composition that gave the island special significance. At present we can try to find its purpose by hypothesising that it is part of the mythical landscape that plays a special role during the course of the year. The usefulness of a hypothesis is tested and at the same time evaluated by its ability to incorporate all known constituents and their findings. Nevertheless, it always remains only one of all possible views of the past.

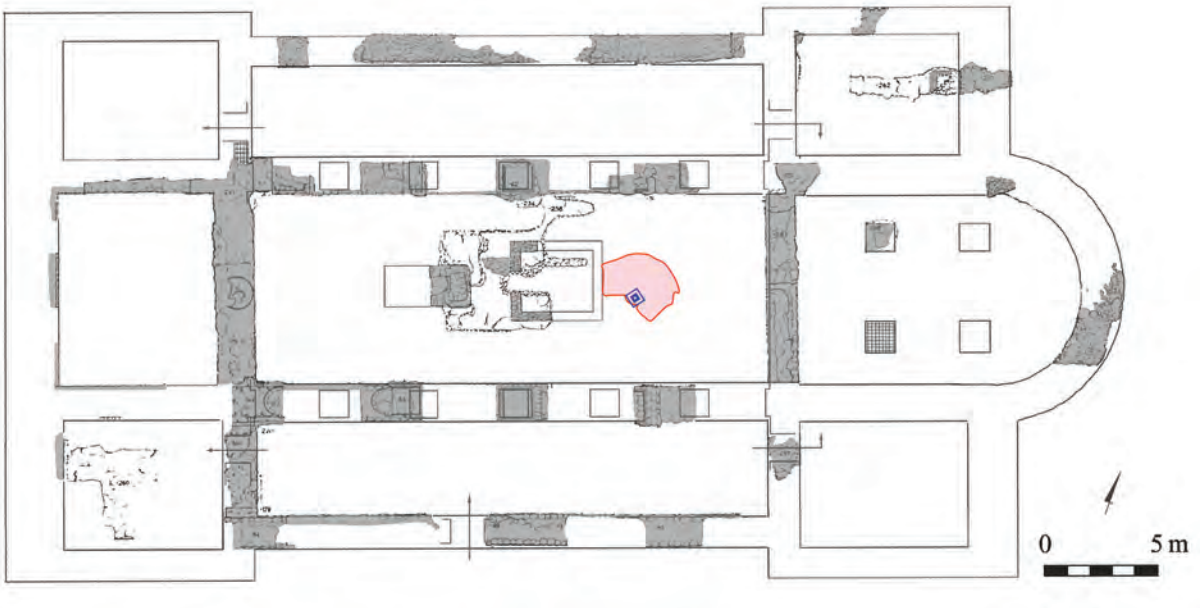
Discussion of the findings of the posthole for pillar. One posthole is, of course, not enough for a more prominent building. It may be a point that influenced the arrangement of the cemetery, but that does not yet explain what it represented at the time before the burial site was created. A clue can be found in the placement of the first two churches on the island. Both stood in the space between the posthole for pillar and the rectangular hole, on an axis between them, and this axis is perpendicular to the approximately longitudinal axis of the rectangular hole. If the orientation of the two churches is astronomical, towards sunrise on the day of the Assumption (Čaval 2010, 167–178), it is more than probable that the axis, the posthole for pillar – rectangular hole, is also astronomical. In the 11th century the first church was erected (Chapter 7.3) on 15th August, according to the then-Julian "cabinet" calendar, but according to the solar calendar, it was six days later, or 21st August. This day follows the 20th August, the end of the summer third of the year according to the old solar calendar (see above). It couldn't be more obvious that by erecting the church, the authorities wanted to replace the ancient worship of a female mythical figure at the end of summer. This date, however, had to be fixed, and the upright pillar in the gnomon's function could well have served that purpose. It may even have been used to determine the direction of the first church, as indicated by the posthole in the church axis. The documentation of archaeological excavations does not give us a direct answer to the question of whether the surface around the gnomon was artificially levelled. This possibility exists, as indicated by the red-brown loamy levelling deposit that covered the rectangular grave-seized hole, and was earlier than Grave 72 (Chapter 4.7).

It is attested that the Slavs had gnomons in the sanctuary places (Pleterski, Mareš 2003, 21–24). Even gnomons in burial grounds are not unusual. In the 10th and 11th centuries appear, for example, round platforms with a central wooden pillar and several surrounding pillars in the mound burial grounds of northwestern Kiev Russia (*Fig. 10.22*). The cult character of the complex does not seem to be controversial (*cf.* Svirin 2006). Not only the astronomical, but also the cult significance of the gnomon spaces is confirmed by the younger churches which were erected on them (*Figs. 10.23–10.26*).

The use of gnomons was widespread among the folk until the 20th century. According to a narrative from



Sl. 10.22: a – Pskov, Rusija. Kultni prostor na ravni geološke podlage (po: Labutina 1989, 102, ris. 1). b – Hodosoviči, Belorusija. Kultni prostor 50 m severno od gomilnega grobišča. Številne jame za kole zanesljivo niso istočasne, stratigrafija je ostala nepojasnjena (po: Kuza, Solov'eva 1972, Ris. 1).
Fig. 10.22: a – Pskov, Russia. Cult place at the level of geological basis (after: Labutina 1989, 102, Fig. 1). b – Hodosovichi, Belarus. A cult place 50 m north of the burial mounds. Many postholes are reliably not contemporaneous, stratigraphy has remained unexplained (after: Kuza, Solov'eva 1972, Fig. 10.1).



Sl. 10.23: Ostrów Tumski, Poznań, Poljska. Okrogla apnena površina z jamo za steber v plasti pod prvo cerkvijo s konca 10. st. (prirejeno po Bukowska 2016, 59–60, Rys. 10–11).
Fig. 10.23: Ostrów Tumski, Poznań, Poland. Round lime surface with pillar pit in layers below the first church from the end of the tenth century (adapted after Bukowska 2016, 59–60, Figs. 10–11).

Izpričano je, da so Slovani imeli gnomone na svetiščnih prostorih (Pleterski, Mareš 2003, 21–24). Tudi gnomoni na grobiščih niso nobena posebnost. V 10. in 11. st. se npr. na gomilnih grobiščih severozahodne kijevske Rusije pojavljajo okrogle ploščadi z osrednjim lesenim stebrom in več okolnimi stebri (*sl. 10.22*). Kultni značaj sestavov se ne zdi sporen (prim. Svirin 2006). Ne samo astronomski, ampak tudi kultni pomen prostorov z gnomoni potrjujejo mlajše cerkve, ki so jih postavili na njihova mesta (*sl. 10.23–10.26*).

Uporaba gnomonov je bila ponekod med ljudstvom splošno razširjena vse do 20. stoletja. Po pripovedi iz Čepovana (zahodna Slovenija) so nekoč "*imeli gospodarji zunaj južno od kleti poseben prostor, kjer ni rasla trava, saj je bil tlak zbit z ilovico. Na sredi pa je bila zapičena drenova palica, s katero so ugotavljali osončenost prostora, predvsem pa čas, ko sonce zaide. Ta pa je bil v različnih letnih časih različen, kot tudi smer sence, ki pa je bila v glini označena s črtami in kamenčki*" (Medvešček 2015, 365). Kompleksen primer energetskega tročana, zdravilnega mesta, astronomskega opazovališča pa je bil že predstavljen (glej zgoraj). Tovrstno mesto je bil tudi Blejski otok.

Seveda se vprašamo, zakaj je bilo treba vedeti, kdaj se začne in konča poletna tretjina leta. Zanesljivo je šlo za več kot preprosto osebno zavedanje, kateri dan je danes. Trdim, da imamo ogromno informacij ves čas pred seboj, samo vidimo in razumemo jih ne, dokler nimamo pravega vprašanja. Kajti ko si postavi-

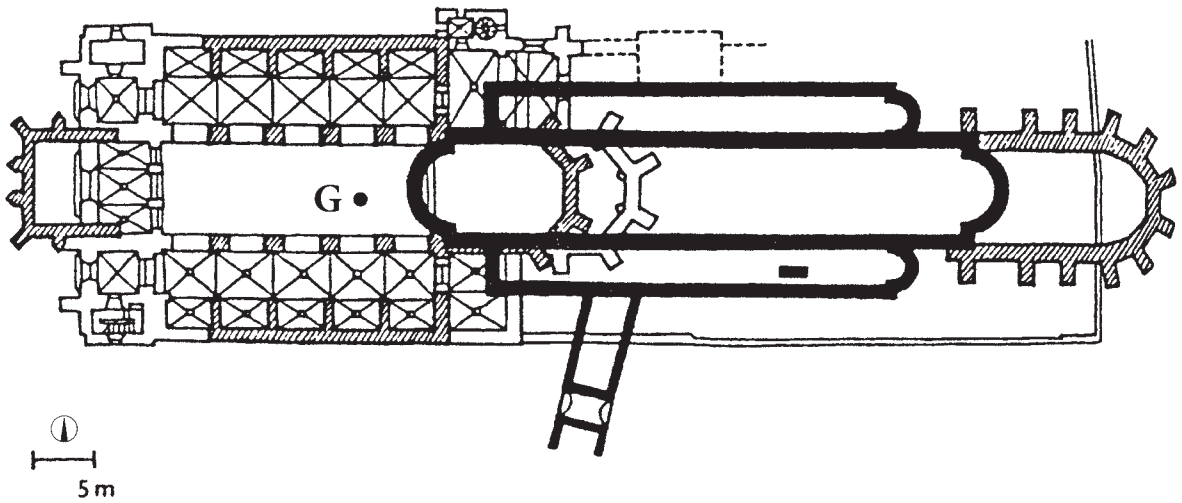
Čepovan (western Slovenia), "*The masters once had, outside, south of the cellar, a special place where grass did not grow, because the soil was paved with loam. In the middle, there was inserted a dogwood stick, which used to determine the insolation of the place, and especially the time when the sun goes down. This one was different in different seasons, as was the direction of the shadows, which in turn were marked with lines and pebbles in the clay*" (Medvešček 2015, 365). A complex example of an energy tročan, a healing site, and an astronomical observatory has already been presented (see above). Bled Island was also a place of this kind.

Of course, we ask ourselves why it was necessary to know when the summer third of the year begins and ends. It was certainly more than just a personal awareness of what day it is. I suggest that we have a great deal of information in front of us all the time, we just don't see and understand it until we ask the right question. Asking the above question leads us to another context of the island. An underwater survey of the lake floor before the lake's Jezernica outlet has revealed an area that is throw from the shore and where weapons were scattered. This covers a time span from the beginning of the Urnfield culture (two bronze swords), that is from the 13th century BCE, through the Hallstatt period (two iron spears) to late medieval and modern times (axes). Andrej Gaspari sees in this an archaeological trace of the cult of throwing weapons into the water, perhaps in some connection with Bled Island (Gaspari 2012). I confirm this assumption and substantiate it further.

Sl. 10.24: Ostrów Tumski, Poznań, Poljska. Okrogla apnena površina z jamo za steber (po: Bukowska 2016, 60, Rys. 12. Avtorica odločno zavrača staro domnevo, da bi šlo za krstilnico).
Fig. 10.24: Ostrów Tumski, Poznań, Poland. Round lime surface with pillar pit (after: Bukowska 2016, 60, Fig. 12. The author strongly rejects the old assumption that it was a baptistery).

Grave 38 on Bled Island is oriented perpendicular to the direction of the island spring (Chapter 6.2.3) and corresponds to the direction determined by the hearth and the rectangular grave-seized hole. If we extend the line across the spring, we reach St Katarina on Hom (azimuth 20.98° – 21.24°, west and east edges of the church), and therefore, towards the site of the antithetical mythical female character, mistress of the winter third of the year. This is the direction of the west side of the island tročan triangle as presented above. The south side of the triangle, which is perpendicular to the direction to St Katarina (*Fig. 10.29*), however, lies in a direction that goes east through the weapons depository off the lake shore, and further crosses the Early Medieval Dlesc cemetery near Bodešče (azimuth 111 °). This shows that the weapons were thrown at a carefully selected point, but it also confirms how very thoughtfully Bodeša chose the place where he and his relatives will be buried (see above).

This observation also suggested a space-time connection between the beginning and end of the summer third of the year and the throwing of weapons into the water towards the island. This is a good starting point to look at a mythical story. The key events in the mythical story of the year are the takeover of weapons (*Fig. 10.1*). In the spring from the male character takes over from the female character, and in the autumn it is the other way around. It is therefore crucial for the proper course of events in nature that the weapons are with the right owner at the right time. In this light, the island's rectangular grave-shaped hole proves to be a stage component of a mythical drama, as the grave of the male mythical



Sl. 10.25: Vyšehrad, Praga, Češka. Črka G označuje stojišče gnomona v sedanji cerkvi Sv. Petra in Pavla (po: Nechvátal 2004, Obr. 83).
Fig. 10.25: Vyšehrad, Prague, Czech Republic. The letter G indicates the location of the gnomon in the present church of St Peter and Paul (after: Nechvátal 2004, Fig. 83).

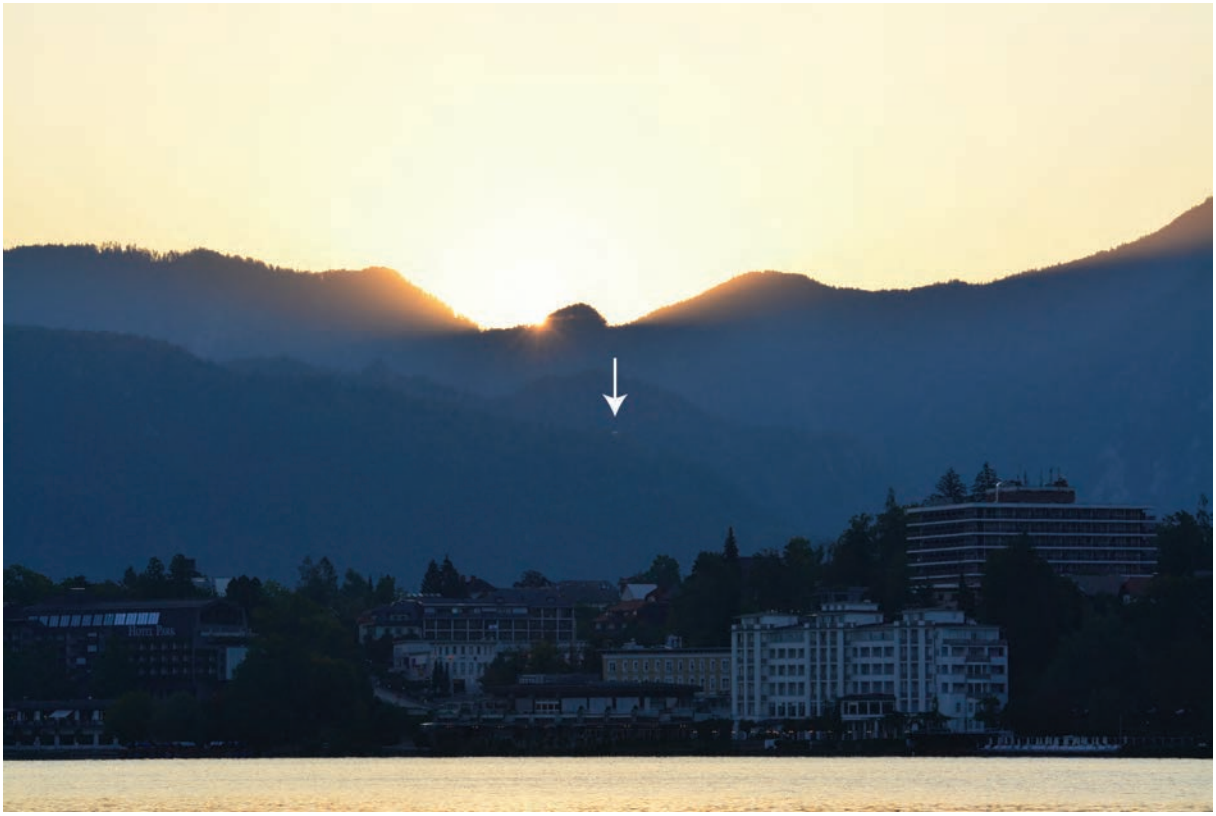
Sl. 10.26: Vyšehrad, Praga, Češka. a – jama za gnomon, iz statičnih razlogov tlakovana in obzidana s kamni (po: Nechvátal 2000, Obr. 4), b – gnomon danes, ohranjen kot Čertův sloup v parku vzhodno od cerkve Sv. Petra in Pavla.
Fig. 10.26: Vyšehrad, Prague, Czech Republic. a – gnomon pit, for static reasons paved and walled with stones (after: Nechvátal 2000, Fig. 4), b – gnomon today, preserved as Čertův sloup (= The Devil's pillar) in the park east of the Church St Peter and Paul.

mo zgornje vprašanje, postanemo pozorni še na eno okolnost otoka. Podvodne raziskave jezerskega dna pred jezerskim iztokom Jezernico so odkrile površino, ki je lučaj od obale in na kateri so bili razstreseni kosi orožja. To časovno prekriva razpon od začetka kulture žarnih grobišč (dva bronasta meča), torej nekako od 13. st. pred n. št. prek starejše železne dobe (železni sulični osti) do poznosrednjeveških in novoveških sekir. Andrej Gaspari v tem vidi arheološko sled kultnega metanja orožja v vodo, morda v neki povezavi z Blejskim otokom (Gaspari 2012). Tej domnevi se pridružujem in jo dodatno utemeljujem.

Grob 38 na Blejskem otoku ima smer, ki je pravokotna na smer proti otoškemu studencu (pogl. 6.2.3) in se ujema s smerjo, ki jo določata kurišče in pravokotna jama v velikosti groba. Če črto proti studencu podaljšamo, pridemo do Sv. Katarine na Homu (azimut 20,98°–21,24°, zahodni in vzhodni rob cerkve), torej proti mestu protistavnega mitičnega ženskega lika, gospodarici zimske tretjine leta. To je smer zahodne stranice otoškega tročanskega trikotnika, kot je predstavljen zgoraj. Južna stranica, ki je pravokotnica na smer proti Sv. Katarini (*sl. 10.30*), pa leži na smeri, ki gre proti vzhodu prek odlagališča orožja pred jezersko obalo ter v nadaljevanju prečka tudi zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče Dlesc pri Bodeščah (azimut 111°). To kaže, da so orožje odmetavali na skrbno izbrani točki, potrjuje pa tudi, kako zelo domišljeno je Bodeša izbral prostor, kamor bodo pokopali njega in njegove (glej zgoraj).

figure, seemingly dead in the winter and renewing, to rise from the grave cavity in the spring. He acquires a weapon, defeats the old and barren mistress of winter, and thus rejuvenates her so that they can begin a new period of fertility together (see above). A rectangular hollow at the top of the grave thus also makes sense. It contained a green stone, which was later violently torn down and found by archaeologists (*Fig. 4.12*). The green colour of the stone is purposeful, that is, it is the colour of the underground master of souls, who has been preserved as a Water Sprite in folk mythology (Kropej 2008, 248–257), and it is the colour of his transformation into a potent young spring man, still known by people as *Zeleni Jurij* (= Green George) (Kropej 2008, 79–85). It depends on the image in which he appears, whether he is armed or not. In terms of the stage accessory, it would be a question of whether or not the weapon was lying on the green stone. Those who remember now that the future King Arthur was trying to draw a sword out of stone to end the period of chaos and to start the new era of order, have opened their mind enough that a continuation will make sense to them.

On Bled Island, a ceremonial piece of weaponry was laid on the green stone and taken from it. This happened in the days marked by the sunrise at the same point on the horizon as the beginning and end of the summer third of the year (*Fig. 10.27*). We can play with the thought that at one time this weapon was a stone axe found next to a green stone (cat. No. 131, *Fig. 1.15:* 12, *Pl. 13:* 11; Chapters. 1.4, 4.7).



Sl. 10.27: Blejski otok, Slovenija. Pogled na sončni vzhod z Blejskega otoka 17. avgusta 2018. Naslednji dan sonce vzhaja nad cerkvijo Sv. Petra in sosednjo Marijino kapelico nad čudodelno podzemno jamo (bela puščica). Naravna razporeditev svetih mest je zelo blizu koledarsko pomembnim datumom.
Fig. 10.27: Bled Island, Slovenia. A view of the sunrise from Bled Island on the 17th August 2018. The next day, the sun rises above the church of St Peter and above the adjoining Chapel of Mary above the marvellous underground cave (white arrow). The natural arrangement of the holy places is very close to important calendar dates.

S tem opažanjem pa smo pridobili tudi prostor-časovno povezavo med začetkom in koncem poletne tretjine leta ter metanjem orožja v vodo proti otoku. Imamo dobro izhodišče, da pogledamo mitično zgodbo. Ključna dogodka v mitični zgodbi leta sta prevzema oblasti nad orožjem (*sl. 10.1*). Spomladi ga od ženskega lika prevzame moški lik, jeseni je obratno. Za pravilen potek dogajanja v naravi je torej ključno, da je orožje ob pravem času pri pravem upravitelju. V tej luči se otoška pravokotna jama v obliki groba pokaže kot scenska sestavina mitične drame. Kot grob moškega mitičnega lika, ki je pozimi navidezno mrtev in se prenavlja, da spomladi vstane iz grobne votline, pridobi orožje, z njim premaga ostarelo in neplodno gospodarico zime ter jo s tem pomladi, da lahko skupaj začneta novo obdobje plodnosti (glej zgoraj). Tako dobi tudi pravokotna vdolbina na vrhu groba svoj smisel. V njej je tičal zeleni kamen, ki so ga pozneje nasilno zrušili in so takega našli arheologi (*sl. 4.12*). Zelena barva kamna je namenska, to je barva podzemnega gospodarja duš, ki se je v ljudskem bajeslovju ohranil kot povodni mož (Kropej 2008, 248–257), in je barva njegove preobrazbe v pomladnega

In Slovenian mythology, the male mythical character who lives as a sleeping man in the cave is *Kralj Matjaž* (= King Matthias). A narrative from the vicinity of Ormož also describes the place where the conflict took place. It is *Sveta gora* (= Holy Mountain), and beneath it is a spring, and next to the spring a tree. When Kralj Matjaž cuts a tree, the axe remains stuck, and Kralj Matjaž is covered by the Holy Mountain (Grafenauer 1951, 188). The resemblance to Bled Island and the cult complex on it is astonishing, and is not random. The axe in the tree, or in the stone indicates a time of chaos.

Additional clarification is needed here. There is an important difference between the green stone of Bled Island and the stone with the sword. The stone of Arthur, the mountain, and the tree of Matjaž's story are forms of the tročan force of the earth (*cf.* Pleterski 2014, 76–82). On Bled Island, the tročan was composed and decomposed in the ritual ceremony, consisting of: the rectangular hole = earth, green stone = water, the axe = fire. In the summer, the fire/axe was united with water/green stone in the earth/rectangular hole. In the winter, the axe lay alone in the rectangular hole. This is

potentnega mladeniča, ki ga ljudje še vedno poznajo kot zelenega Jurija (Kropej 2008, 79–85). A v kateri podobi nastopa, je odvisno od tega, ali je oborožen ali ni. Na ravni scenskih rekvizitov bi šlo za to, ali je na zelenem kamnu ležalo orožje ali ne. Kdor se je sedaj spomnil, kako bodoči kralj Artur skuša izvleči meč iz kamna, da bi končal obdobje kaosa in začel novo dobo reda, je razprl svoje razumevanje dovolj, da mu bo smiselno tudi nadaljevanje.

Na Blejskem otoku so na zeleni kamen obredno polagali in z njega jemali obredni kos orožja. To se je zgodilo v dneh, ki ju je na isti točki obzorja s svojim vzhodom označilo sonce kot začetek in konec poletne tretjine leta (*sl. 10.27*). Lahko se poigramo z mislijo, da je bila v nekem času to prav kamnita sekirica, ki so jo našli ob zelenem kamnu (kat. št. 131, *sl. 1.15:* 12, *t. 13:* 11; pogl. 1.4 in 4.7).

V slovenskem bajeslovju je moški mitični lik, ki biva kot mrtev v jami, kralj Matjaž. Pripovedka iz okolice Ormoža tudi opiše prostor, v katerem se je ubitost zgodila. To je Sveta gora, pod njo studenec, ob studencu drevo. Ko kralj Matjaž zaseka drevo, ostane sekira zapičena, kralja Matjaža pa Sveta gora zagrne (Grafenauer 1951, 188). Podobnost z Blejskim otokom in kultnim sestavom na njem je osupljiva. In ni naključna. Sekira v drevesu, v kamnu je čas kaosa.

Tu je potrebno dodatno pojasnilo. Med zelenim kamnom Blejskega otoka in kamnom z mečem je pomembna razlika. Arturjev kamen, gora, drevo Matjaževe zgodbe so oblike tročanske sile zemlje (prim. Pleterski 2014, 76–82). Na Blejskem otoku so pri obredu sestavljali in razstavljali tročan, ki so ga sestavljali: pravokotna jama = zemlja, zeleni kamen = voda, sekira = ogenj. Ogenj/sekira je bil poleti združen z vodo/zelenim kamnom na zemlji/jami. Pozimi je ležala sekira samostojno na jami. To je čas, ko je ogenj pri ženski gospodarici zime (*sl. 10.1*).

Zakaj je bilo potem potrebno še metanje orožja v vodo? Orožje iz različnih obdobij dokazuje, da gre za ponavljajoč se obred. Ki pa ni mogel biti vsakoleten, ker bi sicer moralo biti v vodi stokrat več kosov orožja. Šlo je torej vendarle za izjemno dejanje, kakršnega pogojujejo izjemne razmere: naravne katastrofe, sončni, morda tudi mesečevi mrki. Vsak tak dogodek so ljudje lahko razumeli kot zdrs v kaotično obdobje pomanjkanja in možnosti smrti. Voda je ločnica med tostranstvom in onostranstvom (Mencej 1997). In če želimo, da mitični lik, ki pride iz onostranstva ter z orožjem vzpostavlja naravni red, svoje delo opravi, kot je treba, mu moramo pomagati z orožjem, kajti njegovo običajno se je nekje izgubilo. Rešilno dejanje je torej met orožja v vodo, v onostranstvo. Kjer vode ni, ga lahko vržemo v jamo, ki vodi v oni svet, ali pa tako jamo celo sami izkopljemo in vanjo položimo orožje (prim. razprava o povezanosti zakopa bronastodobnih predmetov na Kanalskem vrhu s sončnim mrkom, tamkajšnji prostor je prav

when fire is in the posession of the female mistress of winter (*Fig. 10.1*).

Then why was it necessary to throw weapons in the water? Weapons from different periods prove this to be a recurring rite, which could not be done every year because otherwise there would have to be a hundred times more weapons in the water. It was, however, an extraordinary act conditioned by exceptional circumstances: natural disasters, solar, and perhaps even lunar eclipses. Any such event could be seen by people as slipping into a chaotic period of deprivation and the possibility of death. Water is the dividing line between the world of the living and the world of death (Mencej 1997), and if we want the mythical character, who comes from abroad to establish a natural order with his weapon, to do his job properly, we have to help him with the weapon, because he has lost his usual weapon somewhere. The rescue act therefore involves throwing weapons into the water, beyond. Where there is no water, they can be thrown into a cave that leads to the underworld, or we may even dig a cave ourselves and put a weapon in it (*cf.* discussion on the connection of deposition of Bronze Age objects in Kanalski vrh with a solar eclipse, as well as the way that the space there is also connected to stories about Kralj Matjaž: Mihelič 2012, 21–34). The fact that weapons were thrown into Lake Bled from at least the Late Bronze Age onwards, from the same place, means that the cult role of Bled Island did not change significantly over that long period. This means that pits for pillars and stones under church buildings may belong to various renovations of the cult site, but we cannot date them in detail.

10.5. INSTEAD OF AN EPILOGUE, WHAT WAS IT THEN?

In trying to cover over the Old Faith, Christianity unintentionally preserved much of it. The old mythical points and the system of two calendar triangles, which divide the year into six parts (*Fig. 10.3*), have also been preserved in the group of the earliest Bled churches (*Fig. 10.28*). Several centuries have certainly passed since all the churches of this network were built, and it is unlikely that there has been a uniform designed building program for so long, that has been carefully followed by various constructors over such a long period. It is more likely that the sense of the mythical landscape and the awareness of it among the people perpetuated in a persistent and firm manner, despite formal baptism. This is therefore about how the church building can be accepted as a house of God by someone who does not use the church and does not believe in Christian doctrine, but who knows and uses the old mythical landscape.

It is striking how well the selection of saints, to which the Bled churches are dedicated, is matched by six time points in the circle of the old solar calendar (*Fig. 10.29*).

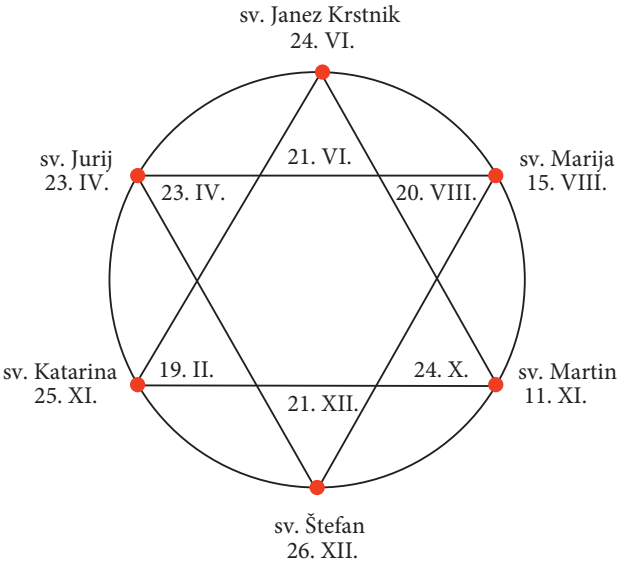
tako povezan z zgodbami o kralju Matjažu: Mihelič 2012, 21–34). Da so orožje metali v Blejsko jezero vsaj od pozne bronaste dobe z istega mesta, pomeni, da se kultna vloga Blejskega otoka v tem dolgem obdobju ni bistveno spremenila. To pomeni, da jame za stebre in kamni pod cerkvenimi stavbami lahko pripadajo različnim prenovam kultnega sestoja, podrobneje pa jih ne moremo datirati.

10.5. NAMESTO EPILOGA, KAJ JE BILO POTEM

Krščanstvo je, v želji prekriti staro, nehote mnogo starega ohranilo. Stare mitične točke in sistem dveh koledarskih trikotnikov, ki delita leto na šest delov (*sl. 10.3*), so se svojevrstno ohranili tudi v skupini najstarejših blejskih cerkva (*sl. 10.28*). Gotovo je minilo vsaj nekaj stoletij, da so zgradili vse cerkve te mreže, in zato ne gre verjeti, da je tako dolgo obstajal enotno zasnovan gradbeni program, ki so se ga sicer različni izvajalci skrbno držali skozi tako dolgo obdobje. Bolj verjetno je, da sta se občutenje mitične pokrajine in zavest o njej med ljudmi vztrajno in trdno ohranjala kljub formalnemu pokristjanjenju. Gre torej za to, kako cerkev lahko sprejme kot božjo hišo tudi nekdo, ki cerkve ne rabi in ne verjame v krščanski nauk, pozna in uporablja pa staro mitično pokrajino.

Vpadljivo je, kako zelo se izbor godovnih zavetnikov, ki so jim posvečene posamezne blejske cerkve, ujema s šestimi časovnimi točkami v krogu starega sončnega koledarja (*sl. 10.29*). Nadalje je nedvomno, da je po blejskem in bohinjskem izročilu par sv. Juriju prav sv. Martin kot svetnik, ki ima opravka z zmajem. Na Bledu ima cerkev tam, kjer je imel svoja jajca *lintvrn* (Pleterski 2014, 238), v Bohinju je dal nasvet, kako ukaniti tamkajšnjega zmaja. In najmočnejši dokaz: blejski Sv. Martin je v grobem usmerjen proti sončnemu vzhodu na jurjevo 23. IV. (Pleterski 2014, 286). Martinovo je 270 dni od valentinovega (14. II.), kar pomeni, da sta to dneva, ki prav tako začenjata in končujeta smrtno zimsko četrtino leta po krščanskem

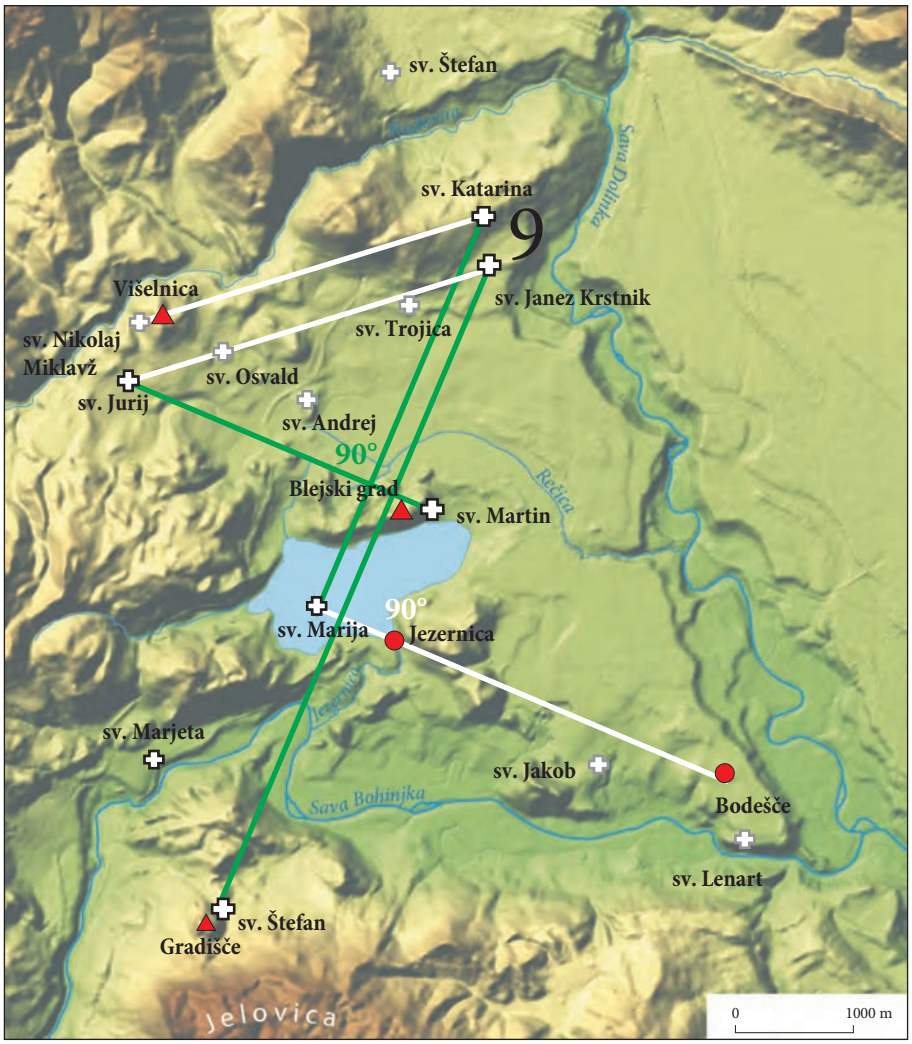
Furthermore, it is beyond doubt that, according to the Bled and Bohinj tradition, the pair of St George is just St Martin as a saint dealing with a dragon. In Bled, he had a church where a dragon had his eggs (Pleterski 2014, 238). In Bohinj, he gave advice about how to kill a dragon there, and the strongest evidence: St Martin's church in Bled is roughly oriented towards sunrise on the 23rd of April (Pleterski 2014, 286). St Martin's Day is 270 days from St Valentine's Day (14th February). This means that these two days are the days that also begin and end the deadly winter quarter of the year according to the Christian calendar, which fits in with the Croatian spell, the St Martin's Prayer, which was used to eliminate torments before death (Rudan, Tomašić 2019.) In his analysis of folk holidays, Niko Kuret also came to the conclusion that the pagan holiday had been transferred to St Martin's Day (Kuret 1989, 110), so only St Catherine seems inconsistent, but we must remember that there were people going to her church during two feasts: a slaughter of an old black cow



Sl. 10.28: Šest delov leta in blejske cerkve.
Fig. 10.28: Six parts of the year and the churches of Bled.

datum starega sončnega koledarja / date of the old solar calendar	**datum proščenja / feast day of the saint**	**cerkev / church**
20.8.	15.8.	Marijino vnebovzetje / The Assumption of Mary
24.10.	11.11.	Sv. / St Martin
21.12.	26.12.	Sv. / St Štefan
19.2.	25.11.	Sv. / St Katarina
23.4.	23.4.	Sv. / St Jurij
21.6.	4.6.	Sv. / St Janez Krstnik / St John the Baptist

Sl. 10.29: Godovni zavetniki, ki so jim posvečene posamezne blejske cerkve in šest časovnih točk v krogu starega sončnega koledarja. (Manjše odstopanje je pri Sv. Martinu, vendar sta v pastirskem koledarju sv. Demetrij in sv. Martin povezljiva (prim. Mencej 2001, 188–191).)
Fig 10.29: Selection of saints, to which the Bled churches are dedicated and six time points in the circle of the old solar calendar. (There is a slight divergence at St Martin, but in the pastoral calendar St Demetrius and St Martin are connected (*cf.* Mencej 2001, 188–191).)



Sl. 10.30: Datumska geometrija blejskih cerkva (zeleno) in nekatere druge mitične črte (belo).
Fig. 10.30: Date geometry of Bled churches (green) and some other mythical lines (white).

koledarju. S tem se ujema hrvaški zagovor Molitva svetega Martina, ki so ga uporabljali za odpravljanje predsmrtnih muk (Rudan, Tomašić 2019). Tudi Niko Kuret je v svoji analizi ljudskih praznikov prišel do sklepa, da so na martinovo prenesli poganski praznik (Kuret 1989, 110). Tako se zdi neskladna samo Sv. Katarina. Vendar se moramo spomniti, da sta se pri cerkvi dogajala ljudska praznika: klanje stare črne krave *bavhe* in žaganje pustne *babe* (Pleterski 2014, 243). Na mitični ravni lahko staro črno kravo in babo izenačimo in ker pooseblja zimski čas, se je ta z njunim pokončanjem končal. Da so *bavho* v novem veku klali na katarinino, lahko razumemo kot pokristjanjenje običaja in njegovo vključitev v krščanski koledar.

In ker je treba po načinu prednikov razmišljati na način prostorčasa, kjer sta prostor in čas združeni kategoriji, si poglejmo, kako so naštete cerkve prostorsko razporejene (*sl. 10.30*). Šest cerkva sestavlja tri koledarsko protistavne dvojice. Sv. Marija (konec *bavha* and sawing a carnival grandmother *baba* (Pleterski 2014, 243). On a mythical level, the old black cow and the grandmother can be equated, and because they embody winter, the latter ended with their slaughter. That *bavha* was slaughtered on St Catharine's Day in the modern period can be understood as a baptism of custom and its incorporation into the Christian calendar.

Since it is necessary to think in the way of our ancestors regarding space-time, where space and time are united categories, let us look at how the listed churches are spatially distributed (*Fig. 10.30*). The six churches are made up of three calendar-counterparts. St Marija (end of summer) and St Katarina (end of winter) is the first couple to set a line, with an azimuth of 20.97°. The second couple are St Janez Krstnik (summer solar solstice) and St Štefan (winter solar solstice), who define a line with an azimuth of 20.97°, which is of course parallel to the first. The third couple are St Jurij (beginning of summer) and St Martin

poletja) in Sv. Katarina (konec zime) je prvi par, ki določa črto z azimutom 20,97°. Drugi par sta Sv. Janez Krstnik (poletni sončni obrat) in Sv. Štefan (zimski sončni obrat), določata črto z azimutom 20,97°, ki je prvi seveda vzporedna. Tretji par sta Sv. Jurij (začetek poletja) in Sv. Martin (začetek zime), ki določata črto z azimutom 110,97°. Ta črta je pravokotna na prvi dve črti. Taka geometrija seveda ni naključna. Kako zelo so se domačini zanjo trudili, dokazuje izročilo, da so končno stavbišče Sv. Štefana izbrali šele po tem, ko so pastirji tam našli podobo sv. Štefana (Zupan 1998, 3).

In če nas zanima, kaj pomeni ideogram, ki ga je sčasoma sestavilo naštetih šest cerkva, ga najdemo v odgovoru, ki ga je na vprašanje *Kako ste gledali na to, ko so vaše otroke v šoli učili verouk* od staroverca dobil Pavel Medvešček.

Kot na vse tisto, kar smo zaradi večinske vere morali delati in poslušati. Toda večina naših otrok je bila na te razmere predčasno poučena in zato pripravljena. Dehnar [= svečenik in vodja staroverske skupnosti] *nas je pogosto opozarjal z besedami: '*Misli tako, kot čutiš in verjameš, ne pa, kar ti ne naši pridigajo*'. Seveda pa je vsak staroverski otrok pri sebi imel vedno ploščati prodnik* krint (*sl. 10.30*)*, ki je ploskev kamenčka vsaj na eni strani razdelil na štiri dele, oziroma na štiri* tročane*, ki so imeli sredinsko točko skupno.* Krint *je seval veliko moč in tako odbijal, kar so ti vsiljevali* (Medvešček 2015, 93).

Ker sta na Bledu dve črti vzporedni, so vzpostavili kar dvojen *krint* (*sl. 10.31*). Celoten podvig je bil toliko pretkan, da so bili tisti nepoučeni, ki so morda opazili, da nastaja prostorski križ, lahko prepričani, da v prostor vpisujejo krščanski križ.

(beginning of winter) defining a line with an azimuth of 110.97°. This line is perpendicular to the first two lines. Such geometry is, of course, not accidental. How much the locals strove for this geometry is demonstrated by the tradition wherein the final building-place of St Štefan was chosen only after the shepherds had found the image of St Stefan there (Zupan 1998, 3).

If we are interested in the meaning of the ideogram, which was eventually compiled by the six churches, we find it in the answer to the question asking *how did you view it when your children were taught Christian religion at the school*, given by Pavel Medvešček from an Old Faith Believer.

As with all that we have to do and listen to because of the majority faith. But most of our children have been taught this situation prematurely and are therefore prepared. Dehnar [= priest and leader of the Old Faith Believer community] *often warned us with the words:* 'Think the way you feel and believe, not what you are preached by not-ours'. *Of course, every Old Faith Believer child always had a flat pebble* krint (*Fig. 10.30*), *which divided the surface of the pebble into at least one part into four parts, or four tročans, which had a middle point in common. The* krint *radiated great power and thus repelled what they were forced* (Medvešček 2015, 93).

Since the two lines are parallel in Bled, they have established a double *krint* (*Fig. 10.31*). The whole venture was so cunning that those ignorant people, who may have noticed that a spatial cross was forming, could be convinced that they were inscribing a Christian cross in the space.

Sl. 10.31: Krint kot ploščat prodnik (po: Medvešček 2015, sl. 6).
Fig. 10.31: Krint as a flat pebble (after: Medvešček 2015, Fig. 6).

11. BODEŠČE

Zvezdana MODRIJAN

V septembru leta 2015 in 2016 smo sondirali dve lokaciji na polju pri Bodeščah in eno na vrtu kmetije v vasi (*sl. 11.1)*. Namen raziskav na prvih dveh lokacijah

In September of 2015 and 2016, we trial trenched two locations in a field near the village of Bodešče and one in the garden of a farm in the village itself (*Fig. 11.1*). The purpose of the research at the first two locations was to confirm or dismiss the existence of another Slavic cemetery near Bodešče which supposed to be earlier as the already researched cemetery at Dlesc (Knific, Pleterski 1981a; see also Chapter 10.3), while the research in the village tried to discover potential traces of Early Medieval settlement.

POD PREŽO

The first two trial trenches were situated on a glacial mound, which lies approx. 250m to the south-southeast from the already researched Early Medieval cemetery Dlesc (Knific, Pleterski 1981a) (longitude and latitude: 14,1407 / 46,3485). We were not able to find out the microtoponym for this location and thus named it "Pod prežo". Prior to the beginning of the excavation, the slope of the mound was overgrown by grass with a field on the top. Two trial trenches were dug out on the south-eastern grassy slope.

TRIAL TRENCH 1 (*Fig. 11.2*)

It was oriented approximately in the direction of east-west, with a slight shift towards the south, and in a size of 6 x 1.5m. The geological base within it was a brownish loam-sandy layer (layer 5), which we stumbled upon at approx. 0.5m beneath the turf. A layer of smaller and bigger (up to 20cm) irregularly scattered stones and sand (layer 3) was found above layer 5 in the eastern part of the trial trench. We followed the layer only in a length of approx. 1.2m from the eastern edge of the trial trench;

Sl. 11.1: Lokacije Pod prežo (1), Došca (2) in Bodešče 28 (3).
Fig. 11.1: Locations Pod prežo (1), Došca (2) and Bodešče 28 (3).
(Vir / source: https://gisportal.gov.si/portal/home/webmap/viewer.html)

je bil potrditi ali zavreči obstoj še enega slovanskega grobišča pri Bodeščah, ki bi naj bilo po predvidevanjih starejše od že raziskanega zgodnjesrednjeveškega grobišča Dlesc (Knific, Pleterski 1981a; glej tudi pogl. 10.3), s sondiranji v vasi pa smo poskušali odkriti morebitne sledove zgodnjesrednjeveške poselitve.

POD PREŽO

Prvi dve sondi smo izkopali na ledeniški gomili, ki leži približno 250 metrov v smeri jug-jugovzhod od že raziskanega zgodnjesrednjeveškega grobišča Dlesc (Knific, Pleterski 1981a) (geografska dolžina in širna 14,1407 / 46,3485).

Za lokacijo nam ni uspelo izvedeti ledinskega imena in smo jo delovno imenovali "Pod prežo". Pobočje gomile je bilo pred raziskavo poraščeno s travo, na vrhu je bila njiva. Sondi smo locirali na jugovzhodnem, travnatem pobočju.

SONDA 1 (*sl. 11.2*)

Usmerjena je bila približno v smeri vzhod–zahod, z rahlim zamikom proti jugu, velika je bila 6 x 1,5 m. Geološko osnovo v njej je predstavljala rjavkasta ilovnato-peščena plast (plast 5), na katero smo naleteli približno 0,5 m pod rušo. V vzhodnem delu sonde je nad njo ležala plast manjših in večjih (do 20 cm) nepravilno nametanih kamnov in peska (plast 3). Plast smo sledili le v dolžini 1,2 m od vzhodnega roba sonde, proti zahodu je prehajala v peščeno plast (plast 0). Plast 3 je bila popolnoma brez najdb in je verjetno nastala ob čiščenju polja. Nad plastema 3 in 4 je po celotni dolžini sonde ležala 20–30 cm debela plast ornice (plast 2), v kateri je bilo najdenih nekaj odlomkov novoveške keramike. Nad plastjo 2 je ležala še ruša (plast 1). Na njenem vrhu je bil najden košček bronaste pločevine, ki je premajhen za natančnejšo časovno opredelitev.

it traversed into a sandy layer (layer 4) towards the west. Layer 3 was completely void of finds and was probably created during the clearing of the field. Above layers 3 and 4, along the entire length of the trial trench, there was a 20–30cm thick plough layer (layer 2), in which a few fragments of Post-Medieval pottery were found. A layer of turf (layer 1) lay above layer 2. On top of the turf, a piece of bronze sheet was found which is too small for a precise chronological definition.

TRIAL TRENCH 2

It was set slightly more to the west from trial trench 1, diagonally across the slope of the glacial mound, oriented approximately north-west–south-east. It measured 6 x 1.5m.

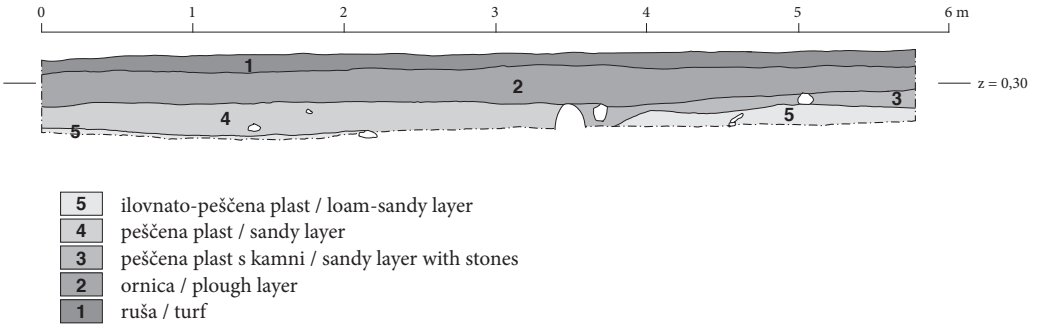
Here, also, the geological base was represented by a loam-sandy layer (layer 5). Above it was an approx. 30cm thick plough layer (layer 2), which was covered by grassy turf (layer 1). The trial trench contained no finds.

DOŠCA

The second location is on a glacial mound in the central part of Bodeško polje (longitude and latitude: 14,1412 / 46,3463). The top of the mound is the field's highest point (490.2m). It is situated approx. 550m in a southeastern direction from Early Medieval cemetery of Dlesc (Knific, Pleterski 1981a) and approx. 225m in a northern direction from the village of Bodešče, where an Early Medieval settlement is supposed (Pleterski 2013a, 45-54). The plot's microtoponym is Došca.[1]

The top of the mound is flat. Its eastern slope is fairly steep, while the slopes in the north, south, and west descend more gently towards the bottom. The

[1] The informant: A. V, Lesce. Data on the informant are kept in the Archive of ZRC SAZU.



Sl. 11.2: Sonda 1, severni profil.
Fig. 11.2: Trial trench 1, the northern cross-section.

11. BODEŠČE

Sl. 11.3: Ledeniška gomila Došca. Pogled z zahoda.
Fig. 11.3: Glacial mound Došca. A view from the west.

SONDA 2

Postavili smo jo nekoliko zahodneje od sonde 1, prečno čez pobočje ledeniške gomile, tako da je bila usmerjena približno severozahod–jugovzhod. Velika je bila 6 x 1,5 m.

Tudi tu je geološko osnovo predstavljala peščeno-ilovnata plast (plast 5). Nad njo je ležala približno 30 cm debela plast ornice (plast 2), ki jo je prekrivala travna ruša (plast 1). Sonda je bila popolnoma brez najdb.

DOŠCA

Druga lokacija leži na ledeniški gomili v osrednjem delu bodeškega polja (geografska dolžina in širina 14,1412 / 46,3463). Vrh gomile je njegova najvišja točka (490,2 m). Od že raziskanega zgodnjesrednjeveškega grobišča Dlesc (Knific, Pleterski 1981a) je oddaljena pribl. 550 metrov v smeri jug- jugovzhod, od domnevne zgodnjesrednjeveške naselbine na mestu današnje vasi Bodešče (Pleterski 2013a, 45–54) pa pribl. 225 m proti severu.

Po podatku informatorja ima parcela ledinsko ime Došca[1].

[1] A. V, Lesce. Podatke o informatorju hrani Arhiv ZRC SAZU.

mound is almost completely overgrown with grass, only its south-western slope is thickly overgrown with trees and bushes in the lower part. A few fruit trees grow in the western part (*Fig. 11.3*).

The steep eastern slope appears slightly artificially transformed; a few terraces can also be seen on the western slope. Parts of the mound could have been removed in these parts in the past. Namely, people report that sand used to be dug in this area; a few pits, which probably also originate from this digging, can be seen on the overgrown southern part of the mound.

On the fallow of Došca three trial trenches were dug (trial trenches 3, 4, and 5). Trial trenches 3 and 4 were situated on the eastern slope, while trial trench 5 was set at the top of the mound, so that it included its highest point.

TRIAL TRENCH 3

It was located slightly diagonally across the eastern slope, directed approximately north-west–south-east, and measured 6 x 1.5m (*Fig. 11.4*).

The geological base here was represented by a layer of yellowish sand (layer 12), which was found immediately under the turf (layer 10). In the upper part, the sand was slightly mixed with soil, but at the depth

Vrh gomile je raven. Vzhodno pobočje je precej strmo, pobočja na severu, jugu in zahodu pa so nekoliko bolj položna. Gomila je bila pred posegom skoraj v celoti porasla s travo, le jugozahodno pobočje je v spodnjem delu poraščeno z gostim drevjem in grmovjem. Na zahodnem delu je tudi nekaj sadnih dreves (*sl. 11.3*).

Strmo vzhodno pobočje deluje nekoliko umetno preoblikovano, prav tako je nekaj teras vidnih na zahodnem pobočju. Morda je bil del gomile na teh mestih v preteklosti odstranjen. Prebivalci namreč poročajo o kopanju peska na tem območju – nekaj jam, ki so verjetno posledica tega kopanja, je vidno na zaraščenem južnem delu gomile.

Na ledini Došca smo izkopali tri sonde (sonde 3, 4 in 5). Sondi 3 in 4 sta ležali na vzhodnem pobočju, medtem ko smo sondo 5 postavili na vrhu gomile, tako da smo zajeli njeno najvišjo točko.

SONDA 3

Ležala je nekoliko prečno na vzhodno pobočje, usmerjena je bila približno v smeri severozahod–jugovzhod, velika 6 x 1,5 m (*sl. 11.4*).

Tu je geološko osnovo predstavljala plast rumenkastega peska (plast 12), ki je ležal takoj pod rušo (plast 10). V zgornjem delu je bil pesek še nekoliko mešan z zemljo, na globini približno 20 cm pa že popolnoma čist. Plasti ornice na tem mestu nismo zasledili, samo v severnem delu sonde je nad plastjo 12 ležala nekaj cm debela zaplata drobnega peska oziroma mivke (plast 11) – verjetno posledica delovanja vode. Vse plasti so bile popolnoma brez najdb.

SONDA 4

Ležala je vzporedno s precej strmim vzhodnim pobočjem, usmerjena je bila sever–jug, velika 6 x 1,5 m. V zahodnem delu sonde je bila nad sterilno osnovo (plast 12) takoj ruša (plast 10). V vzhodnem delu je nad plastjo 12 ležala še nekoliko bolj zemljena plast, v kateri je bilo nekaj večjih, brez reda ležečih kamnov (plast 13). Tudi ta plast je bila popolnoma brez najdb.

SONDA 5

Postavili smo jo na zravnanem vrhu gomile, usmerjena je bila sever–jug. Sprva (izkopavanja leta 2015) je bila velika 6 x 1,5 m (*sl. 11.5*), leta 2016 pa smo jo podaljšali in razširili, tako da je skupna raziskana površina merila 50 m^2. Sonda je tako poleg vrha gomile obsegala tudi del njenih položnih pobočij na severu in jugu.

V sondi 5 je geološko osnovo predstavljala rumeno-rjava ilovnata plast, mešana z drobnim do srednje

11. BODEŠČE

Sl. 11.4: Sonda 3 po odstranitvi ruše. Pogled z vzhoda.
Fig. 11.4: Trial trench 3 after the turf was removed. A view from the east.

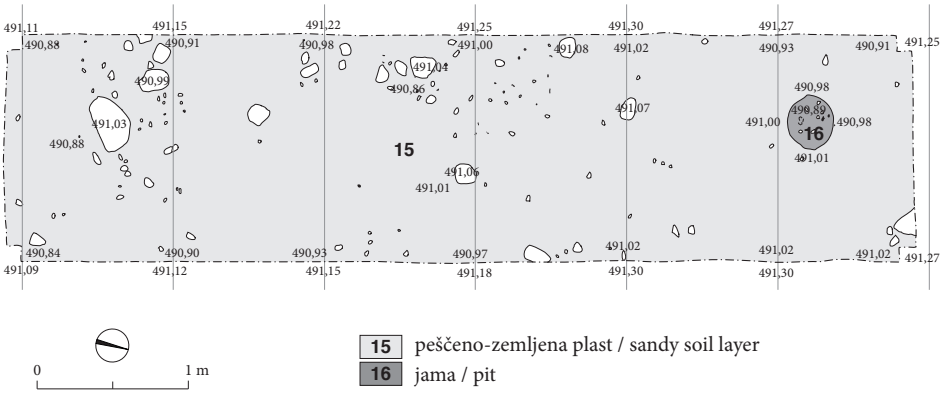
Sl. 11.5: Sonda 5 z razširitvami.
Fig. 11.5: Trial trench 5 with widenings.

of approx. 20cm it was completely clean. The plough layer was not noticed here; only in the northern part of the trial trench was a few centimetres thick patch of fine sand (layer 11) discovered above layer 12 – this is probably the consequence of water activity. All layers were completely void of finds.

TRIAL TRENCH 4

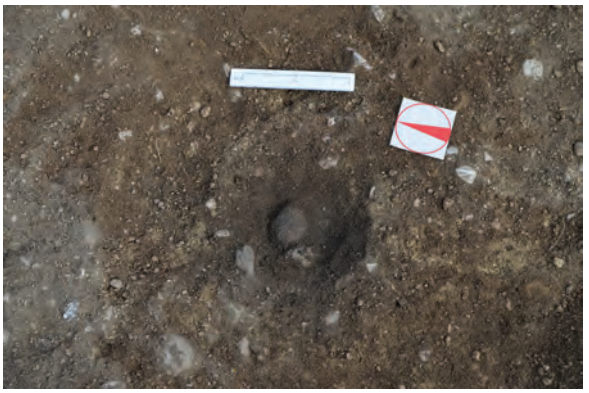
It was situated parallel to the fairly steep eastern slope, directed north–south, and measuring 6 x 1.5m. In the western part of the trial trench, turf (layer 10) lay immediately above the sterile base (layer 12). In the eastern part, a somewhat more earthy layer was located above layer 12, which contained a few bigger, irregularly scattered stones (layer 13). This layer was also without finds.

11. BODEŠČE



Sl. 11.6: Sonda 5, planum 2.
Fig. 11.6: Trial trench 5, planum 2.

Sl. 11.7: Sonda 5, planum 2 (SE 15 in vanj vkopana jama SE 16/17).
Fig. 11.7: Trial trench 5, planum 2 (SU 15 and pit SU 16/17 dug into it).



Sl. 11.8: Delno izpraznjena jama SE 16/17.
Fig. 11.8: Partly emptied pit SU 16/17.

drobnim peskom, v njej so bili tudi posamični večji (do 15 cm) kamni. Nad njo je ležala peščeno-zemljena plast (15), v kateri so bili nepravilno razporejeni posamezni večji (do 30 cm) kamni. Na njeni površini je bilo tudi nekaj koščkov oglja (*sl. 11.6*).

Pod enim od večjih kamnov je bila odkrita jama (plast 16), velika približno 30 x 35 cm (*sl. 11.6; 11.7*), ki je bila vkopana v peščeno plast 15. Že na njeni zgornji površini je bilo vidnih nekaj koščkov žganine. Pri odstranjevanju polnila smo v jami poleg koščkov žganine našli še nekaj okroglih prodnikov, od katerih so bili nekateri ožgani *(sl. 11.8*). Jama je bila globoka približno 15 cm.

Plast 15 je prekrivala tanka (10–20 cm debela) plast ruše (*sl. 11.6*), v vzhodni razširitvi pa je nad plastjo 15 in pod rušo ležala še plast dokaj velikih prodnikov. Plast je ležala na pobočju, na vrhu gomile je nismo zasledili.

Razen jame 16 v sondi 5 in njenih razširitvah nismo odkrili drugih vkopov.

TRIAL TRENCH 5

It was set on the levelled top of the mound and was directed north–south. At first (excavations in 2015) it was 6 x 1.5m large, but in 2016 it was extended and expanded so that the total area surveyed was 50 m^2. (*Fig. 11.5*). Thus, in addition to the top of the mound, the trial trench also included a part of its gentle slopes at the north and south.

In trial trench 5 the geological base was represented by a yellow-brown loam, mixed with fine to medium-fine sand and including individual bigger (up to 15cm) stones. Above it was a sandy-earthy layer (layer 15), in which individual larger (up to 30cm) stones were scattered irregularly. On its surface, a few pieces of charcoal were found (*Fig. 11.6*).

Under one of the bigger stones a pit (layer 16) was discovered which measured approx. 30 x 35cm (*Fig. 11.7*) and was dug into sandy layer 15. Even on its

Sl. 11.9: Sonda Bodešče 28 po odstranitvi SE 203. Pogled z jugozahoda.
Fig. 11.9: Trial trench Bodešče 28 after the removal of SU 203. A view from the south-west.

Polnilo jame (100 % vzorec polnila) je bilo flotirano in pregledano v laboratoriju Inštituta za arheologijo ZRC SAZU. Določeni so bili gaber (*Carpinus betulus*), lipa (*Tilia* sp.), hrast (*Quercus* sp.), hrast/jesen (*Quercus/Fraxinus* sp.), hrast (*Quercus* sp.) in ena malina (*Rubus idaeus*) (nezoglenelo). Poleg tega je bil odkrit še ožgan kostni fragment (vretence malega sesalca?) in dve zogleneli spori gliv. Raznolik les kaže, da gre pri vsebini jame za ostanek s kurišča.

Analizirani so bili tudi kosi ožganega lesa iz plasti 15, za katere je bilo ugotovljeno, da pripadajo hrastu (*Quercus* sp.), ki se je v glavnem uporabljal v konstrukcijske namene.[2]

Od dveh vzorcev oglja (iz plasti 15 in iz jame 16), ki sta bila poslana na datacijo C14,[3] je bilo mogoče datirati le tistega iz jame. Analiza je dala datum 1180 ± 30 BP (kalibrirano, 2 Σ 777-887 [68,2 % verjetnost) in 730-951 [95,4 % verjetnost]) in s tem potrdila, da gre pri jami 16 za jamo iz zgodnjesrednjeveškega obdobja.

BODEŠČE 28

Zadnja sondirana lokacija je bila v vasi Bodešče, za katero Pleterski (2013a, 45–54) domneva zgodnjesrednjeveško starost. Na vrtu kmetije Bodešče 28 (geografska dožina in širna: 14.1412 / 46,3436) smo izkopali sondo velikosti 6 x 1,5 m (*sl. 11.9)*.

Geološko osnovo je tukaj predstavljala rumenkasta peščena plast (plast 205), nad katero sta ležali plasti (202 in 204) novoveških nasutij, ob vzhodnem robu pa je ta nasutja prebil vkop (plast 203), ki je segal skoraj

[2] T. Tolar, Bodešče 2015. Neobjavljeno poročilo. Hrani Arhiv ZRC SAZU.

[3] Poznanjski radiokarbonski laboratorij. Neobjavljeno poročilo. Hrani Arhiv ZRC SAZU.

upper surface a few pieces of the charcoal layer were seen. While removing the filling, in addition to pieces of charcoal a few round pebbles were found in the pit, some of which were charred *(Fig. 11.8*). The pit was about 15cm deep.

Layer 15 was covered by a thin (approx. 10–20cm thick) layer of turf (*Fig. 11.6*), while in the eastern widening a layer of fairly big pebbles was found above layer 15 and under the turf. The layer was located on the slope and was not noticed on the top of the mound.

With the exception of pit 16, trial trench 5 and its widenings did not reveal any other dug-ins.

The flotation of the entire sample of the pit 16 (100% sample of the filling) and the paleobotanical analyses were done in the laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology of ZRC SAZU.[2] Determinate were hornbeam (*Carpinus betulus*), lime (*Tilia* sp.), oak (*Quercus* sp.), oak/ash (*Quercus/Fraxinus* sp.), and one raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*) (uncharred). In addition, one charred osseous fragment (a vertebra of a small mammal?) was discovered as well as two charred fungus spores. The diverse wood indicates that the content of the pit is the remains from a fireplace.

Pieces of the charred wood from layer 15 were determined as oak (*Quercus* sp.), which was mainly used for construction.

From two samples of charcoal (from layers 15 and 16), which were sent for C14 dating, only the one from the pit 16 was possible to date. The analysis yielded date 1180 ± 30 BP (calibrated, 2 Σ 777-887 [68,2% possibility) and 730-951 [95,4% possibility])[3] and thus confirmed that layer 16 is a pit from the Early Medieval period.

BODEŠČE 28

The last location was in the village of Bodešče, for which an Early Medieval dating is supposed (Pleterski 2013a, 45–54). In the garden of the farm Bodešče 28 (longitude and latitude: 14.1412 / 46,3436) a trial trench measuring 6 x 1.5m was dug (*Fig. 11.9*).

The geological base was here represented by a yellowish sandy layer (layer 205), above which two layers of modern levellings were found (layers 202 and 204), while at the eastern edge these levellings were pierced by a dug-in (layer 203) that reached almost 0.5m under the level of the turf (layer 201), through layers 202 and 204 into the geological base (layer 205). In it a lot of Post-Medieval pottery was found.

Therefore, no traces of Early Medieval settlement were discovered at this location.

[2] Tjaša Tolar, Bodešče 2015. Unpublished report. Kept in Archive of ZRC SAZU.

[3] Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory. Kept in Archive of ZRC SAZU.

0,5 m pod nivo ruše (plast 201), skozi plasti 202 in 204 v geološko osnovo (plast 205). V vkopu je bilo najdene precej novoveške keramike.

Sledov zgodnjesrednjeveške poselitve na tej lokaciji torej nismo odkrili.

ZAKLJUČEK

Sondi na ledini "Pod prežo" nista potrdili zgodnjesrednjeveškega grobišča na tem mestu, niti nista dali najdb, ki bi jih lahko povezali z zgodnjesrednjeveškim obdobjem. Tudi v sami vasi, na lokaciji Bodešče 28, so bili odkriti samo novoveški ostanki.

Na ledini Došca je bila arheološko pozitivna sonda 5 na vrhu ledeniške gomile. Za jamo 16 je bilo zaradi njene pravilne oblike in ostankov žganine na njenem vrhu že na terenu jasno, da je antropogena.

Žganina, ostanek ožgane kosti in ožgani prodniki dovoljujejo domnevo, da predstavlja jama grob, ki je na podlagi C 14 analize datiran v zgodnjesrednjeveško obdobje. Dodatno to hipotezo podpira lokacija jame. Ta je ležala na samem vrhu gomile, ki predstavlja osrednjo točko bodeškega polja (glej pogl. 10.3). Zakaj je grob edini na dokaj veliki raziskani površini, ni jasno. Morda jih je bilo prvotno tudi več, pa so bili v preteklosti uničeni. Ruša, ki prekriva plast, v katero je bil vkopan domnevni grob, je namreč zelo tanka, opaziti je tudi preoblikovanost vzhodnega pobočja, kjer smo izkopali negativni sondi 3 in 4. Če so bili grobovi vkopani plitveje kot jama 16, so bili verjetno uničeni.

Žgani zgodnjesrednjeveški grobovi so z območja Blejskega kota doslej znani z dveh lokacij. Bodeški dokaj sorodna je situacija na Žalah: zgodnjesrednjeveški žgan grob (grob 2) je bil vkopan na vrh ledeniške gomile, kjer je verjetno uničil enega od dveh prazgodovinskih grobov, ki sta bila prav tako vkopana v gomilo (Pleterski 2008, 35). Na podlagi tipoloških značilnosti žare je grob datiran v 7. st. (Pleterski 2008b, 36). Žgani grobovi so bili odkriti tudi na grobišču Pristava, kjer so bili vkopani med okostne. Jame so vsebovale žganino in dele posod, v enem primeru morda tudi ožgano kost. Datirani so v prvo polovico 7. st. (Pleterski 2008b, 36).

Vkopi zgodnjesrednjeveških grobov v gomile (večinoma prazgodovinske) so znani tudi drugje v Sloveniji. Lonec, ki kaže značilnosti slovanske lončenine 7. st., je bil vkopan v prazgodovinsko gomilo v Branževcu nad Seli pri Dolenjskih Toplicah. Čeprav gre za staro najdbo s pomanjkljivo dokumentacijo, je zelo verjetno, da gre v tem primeru za slovanski grob (Pleterski 2008b, 34–35, sl. 2.2).

Kot zgodnjesrednjeveški je bil prepoznan tudi pokop v prazgodovinski gomili na Kapiteljski njivi v Novem mestu. Tam je posoda vsebovala tudi ožgane kosti. Ddatacija C14 je pokazala datum 1270 ± 90 BP

11. BODEŠČE

CONCLUSION

The two trial trenches at the fallow of "Pod prežo" did not confirm the existence of an Early Medieval cemetery in this spot, neither did they yield any finds which could be connected to the Early Medieval period. Solely modern remains were also discovered at the location Bodešče 28.

At the fallow of Došca, trial trench 5 at the top of the glacial mound was archaeologically positive. Due to its regular form and remains of the charcoal layer at its top, it was clear even in the field for pit 16 that it is of anthropogenic origin.

The charcoal layer, charred bones, and charred pebbles allow for the assumption that this pit was a grave, which is – based on C14 dating – of Early Medieval age. This hypothesis is additionally supported by the pit's location at the very top of the mound, representing the central point of Bodeško polje (see Chapter 10.3). Why this grave is the only one in a fairly big researched area is not clear. Originally there could have been more but were destroyed in the past. The turf which covers the layer in which a presumed grave was dug is very thin, while the transformation of the eastern slope can also be noticed, where negative trial trenches 3 and 4 were excavated. If the graves were dug shallower than pit 16, they were probably destroyed.

So far, Early Medieval cremation graves are known from two locations from the area of Blejski kot. Fairly similar to the one in Bodešče is the situation at Žale, where an Early Medieval cremation grave (Grave 2) was dug into the top of a glacial mound, where it probably destroyed one of the two prehistoric graves that were also dug into the mound (Pleterski 2008b, 35). Based on the typological characteristics of the urn, the grave is dated to the 7th century (Pleterski 2008b, 36). Cremation graves were also discovered at the cemetery of Pristava, where they were dug amidst the skeletal graves. Pits contained charcoal and parts of vessels, in one example possibly also a charred bone. They are dated to the first half of the 7th century (Pleterski 2008b, 36).

Digs of Early Medieval graves into mounds (mostly prehistoric) are known elsewhere in Slovenia, too. The pot which reveals characteristics of Slavic pottery of the 7th century was dug into the prehistoric mound in Branževec above Sela near Dolenjske Toplice. Even though this is an old find with imperfect documentation, it is very probable that this is a Slavic grave (Pleterski 2008b, 34–35, Fig. 2.2).

A burial in the mound at Kapiteljska njiva in Novo mesto was also recognised as Early Medieval. There the vessel contained charred bones and C14 dating revealed a date of 1270 ± 90 BP (calibrated, 2 Σ range 663–826 [68% probability] or 615–905 [95% probability]). Based on typological characteristics of the vessel, the grave is

(kalibrirano, 2 Σ razpon 663–826 [68-odstotna verjetnost] oziroma 615–905 [95-odstotna verjetnost]. Na podlagi tipoloških značilnosti posode je grob ožje datiran v drugo tretjino 7. st. (Belak 2014, 399–400).

V gomilo 13 prazgodovinskega grobišča pri Molniku pri Ljubljani sta bila vkopana žgana grobova, ki sta na podlagi tipoloških značilnosti lončenine pripisana zgodnjesrednjeveškemu obdobju (Tecco Hvala 2017, sl. 32, 33; t. 10 B,C).

Pokopavanje v gomilah je znano na območju zahodnih Slovanov od začetka 2. stopnje, od sredine 7. st. (Zoll Adamikowa 1979, 280). Pokopi so bili najprej žgani, nato pa tudi okostni in ti so prevladali v 4. stopnji (Zoll Adamikowa 1979, 205–218). V jugovzhodnih Alpah so pokopi v gomilah redki, kaže pa, da so večinoma uporabljali gomile, na katere so naleteli ob prihodu – bodisi umetno nasute prazgodovinske bodisi naravne gomile. Vanje so pokopavali tudi cela trupla, saj so na primer Došci najbližji slovanski okostni grobovi vkopani v ledeniško gomilo na Dlescu le približno 500 m stran (glej pogl. 10.3).

Grob z Došce z ostalimi žganimi zgodnjesrednjeveškimi grobovi z območja Slovenije povezuje njegova lega v gomili, se pa od njih razlikuje po dataciji. Večina ostalih žganih grobov je (predvsem na podlagi tipoloških značilnosti lončenine) datirana v 7. st., medtem ko je C14-datacija oglja z Došce dala čas od sredine 8. do sredine 10. st. Konec 8. st. je že čas, ko začne tudi pokopavanje celih trupel na bližnjem grobišču Dlesc (Knific, Pleterski 1981a, 504). Ali sodi vkop z Došce kronološko pred začetek pokopavanja na Dlescu ali pa se je žgani pokop ohranil še v 9. st. in bil (vsaj nekaj časa) v uporabi sočasno s skeletnim, za zdaj ni jasno. Več odgovorov bodo lahko dala samo nova odkritja in analize morebitnih žganih grobov iz zgodnjesrednjeveškega obdobja.

11. BODEŠČE

narrowly dated to the second third of the 7th century (Belak 2014, 399–400).

Two cremation graves were dug into prehistoric mound 13 of the cemetery at Molnik near Ljubljana, which are based on typological characteristics of pottery ascribed to the Early Medieval period (Tecco Hvala 2017, Figs. 32, 33; Pl. 10 B,C).

Burials in mounds are known in the territory of the Western Slavs from the beginning of the Phase 2 (from the mid-7th century) onwards (Zoll Adamikowa 1979, 280). At first, burials were incremation burials, while later they were also skeletal, which prevailed in the Phase 4 (Zoll Adamikowa 1979, 205–218). In the South-Eastern Alps, burials in mounds are rare; however, it seems that they mostly used mounds which they stumbled across upon their arrival – either artificially made prehistoric ones or natural mounds. They also dug skeletal graves in them, since e.g. the nearest Slavic skeletal graves to Došca are dug into the glacial mound at Dlesc, only about 300m away (see Chapter 10.3).

The grave from Došca is linked to other Early Medieval cremation graves from Slovenia by its position in the mound, while it differs from them in its date. The majority of other cremation graves are (primarily based on typological characteristics of pottery) dated to the 7th century, while the C14 dating of charcoal from Došca showed the time from the mid-8th to the beginning of the 10th century. The end of the 8th century is already the time when skeletal burial begins at nearby Dlesc (Knific, Pleterski 1981a, 504). Whether the dug-in from Došca chronologically belongs before the beginning of burials at Dlesc or cremation burial was preserved all the way to the 9th century and was used simultaneously with skeletal burial is yet not clear. More answers will only be given by new discoveries and analyses of potential cremation graves from the Early Medieval period.

12. KATALOG GROBOV IN NAJDB

12. CATALOGUE OF GRAVES AND FINDS

Polona BITENC, Timotej KNIFIC

12.1 GROBOVI IN GROBNE NAJDBE / 12.1 GRAVES AND GRAVE GOODS

V katalogu je 124 enot, vanj so uvrščeni tudi skupki kosti, ki so bili med izkopavanji označeni in oštevilčeni kot grobovi, pozneje pa se je izkazalo, da to niso. Opisi grobov vsebinsko sledijo Šribarjevemu osnutku besedila za objavo (*arhiv* 489), vendar so drugače urejeni, prečiščeni in dopolnjeni. Podatke smo primerjali z navedbami v drugih dokumentacijskih virih, kadar se podatki med seboj razlikujejo, smo na neskladje opozorili v posebni rubriki (*komentar).* Risarsko in fotografsko dokumentiranje grobov je bilo večinoma omejeno na stanje izkopanih okostij zgolj v eni fazi raziskovanja. Na območjih s številnejšimi pokopi dokumentacija ni bila dopolnjena s podatki, pridobljenimi pri nadaljnjem delu, npr. po odstranitvi kosti iz prekopanih grobov in dodatnem čiščenju okostij. V rubriko s komentarji smo zapisali vse terenske ugotovitve o zaporedju pokopov, vendar v mnogih primerih ostajajo odnosi med grobovi nejasni zaradi pomanjkanja podatkov.

Usmeritev grobov je določena glede na stopnjo odstopanja od smeri S–J. Azimut 90° pomeni, da je okostje ležalo tako, da je bila glava na zahodu in noge na vzhodu. Smer je izmeril B. Štular po terenskih risbah (razen pri grobovih, pri katerih je izmera posebej pojasnjena).[1] Izhodiščna točka za merjenje globin je bila leta 1962 točka 0 koordinatne mreže, odmerjena na nadmorski višini 493,70 m, od leta 1963 pa so meritve navezovali na absolutni višini 494,07 m in 493,87 m, odmerjeni na pragu preddverja cerkve oziroma na pragu proštije (*sl. 1.6*). Absolutna višina groba je bila praviloma izmerjena pri glavi, če je bila izmerjena drugje, je navedeno v opisu groba. Prevladujoča smer grobov je Z (glava) – V (noge), z odmerjenim odklonom od S (azimut).

Nekateri grobovi so bili antropološko obdelani, rezultati analiz so navedeni.[2]

The catalogue describes 124 units, and includes groups of bones that were marked and numbered as graves during the excavations, even though it was later established that they did not form individual graves. As regards contents, the grave descriptions follow Šribar›s draft text for publication (*archive* 489), however, they have been revised and reorganised. We compared the data with mentions in other sources, and if the data did not match, we drew attention to this discordance in a separate rubric (*commentary).* Photographic and sketch documentation of the graves focused predominantly on the state of the excavated skeletons within a single research phase. The documentation of the areas with a greater density of burials was not updated with data obtained later on, e.g. after the bones were removed from their graves and the skeletons were additionally cleaned. The commentaries include all fieldwork findings linked to the sequence of burials, however the relations between individual graves often remain uncertain due to insufficient data.

Grave orientation is defined as a declination from the N-S direction. Azimuth 90° means that the skeleton was positioned with the head to the west and the feet to the east. The orientation was determined by B. Štular from the fieldwork sketches (except for the graves where the measurements were especially explained).[1] In the 1962 coordinate system the starting point (point 0) for measuring depths was defined at the height of 493.70 m above sea level, while from 1963 onwards the measurements were linked to the absolute height of 494.07 m (measured at the entrance to the church's lobby) or 493.87 m (measured at the entrance to the provost's house) (*Fig. 1.6*). As a rule, the absolute height of the grave was measured at the head, however, if it was measured at some other point this is stated in the grave description. The prevailing orientation of the graves was west (head) – east (feet), with a measured deviation from the north (azimuth).

[1] Smeri, ki so bile zapisane pri opisih grobov od 1 do 64 (*arhiv* 489), zaradi večjih neskladnosti z načrti grobišča v katalogu ne upoštevamo.

[2] Leben-Seljak 1996, *passim*. Seznam okostij z določenim spolom in starostjo je naveden na straneh 301 in 302, v prilogi 4.1.4.1. Ti podatki so povzeti pri opisih grobov.

* Translation Sunčan Patrick Stone.

[1] Due to the large discrepancies from the original plan of the graveyard, the catalogue does not include the orientations that were included in the descriptions of Graves 1 to 64 (*archive* 489).

Krajšave
deb. = debelina
dol. = dolžina
glob. = globina
odl. = odlomek
pr. = premer
šir. = širina
vel. = velikost
viš. = višina

Grob 1 (*t. 22:* 1; *N 1,2* [seznam terenskih risb, pogl. 12.5])

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, severni in zahodni rob sta bila vklesana v dolomitno skalo. Vzhodni del jame je pokrival zid št. 2, kamen tega zidu je pokrival desno kolčnico. V jami so našli odlomek srednjeveške lončene posode (kat. št. 1; *t. 6:* 1; *18:* 1).

Komentar. Zvezek akcesije (*arhiv* 494) pripisuje odlomek lončenine, ki je bil ob najdbi razlomljen na tri koščke, grobu 2. To je povzela tudi objava enega od teh koščkov, s plastičnim rebrom (Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 21, št. 3). Vendar osnutek besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 27, 28) postavlja odlomek ("3 fragmenti prahistorične keramike") v grob 1 in za grob 2 navaja, da "ob kosteh ni bilo najdb".

Okostje. Maturus (46 do 58 let), moški. Viš. 483,21 m; azimut 112°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo delno ohranjeno, v predelu nog prekopano. Manjkale so kosti obeh podlahti, stegnenici sta ležali na desni nadlahtnici. Kosti so bile slabo ohranjene, dolge kosti razlomljene, lobanja delno poškodovana. Od vrha lobanje do križnice je skelet meril 0,75 m.

Komentar. Azimut smo izmerili po terenskih risbah okostja (*Rn* 221/6 in 221/9), na črti med sredino lobanje in sredino križnice. Grob so poškodovali pri postavljanju zidu 2. Po osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 28) "so pri izkopu jame za temelje zidu št. 2 zadeli na dolge kosti nog in jih po izkopu cele grobne jame položili na desni humerus".

Pridatki. Ob glavi sta ležala poškodovana uhana (1, 2).

(1) Del bronastega kovanega polmesečastega uhana (levi) z locnom zaobljeno pravokotnega preseka. Na polmesecu je vrezan črtni okras. Viš. 4,95 cm, šir. 3,45 cm. Inv. št. S 1796 (*t. 1:* 1; *15:* 1). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 21, št. 1; Korošec 1979, 100/I, sl. 10: 1 (levi).

(2) Del bronastega kovanega polmesečastega uhana (desni) z locnom okroglega preseka. Na polmesecu je vrezan črtni okras. Na locnu je bil nataknjen bronast obroček, zdaj pogrešan. Viš. 4,7 cm, šir. 3,4 cm. Inv. št. S 1797 (*t. 1:* 2; *15:* 2). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 21, št. 2; Korošec 1979, 100/I, sl. 10: 1 (desni).

Some graves were treated anthropologically and the results of the analysis are included.[2]

Abbreviations
th. = thickness
l. = length
d. = depth
fr. = fragment
dia. = diameter
w. = width
s. = size
h. = height

Grave 1 (*Pl. 22:* 1; *N 1,2* [list of field drawings, Chapter 12.5])

Grave pit. Dug into humus, the north and west edges were carved into dolomite rock. The eastern part of the pit was covered by wall No. 2, and a stone from this wall covered the right innominate bones. A fragment of mediaeval pottery (Cat. No. 1; *Pls. 6:* 1; *18:* 1) was also found in the pit.

Commentary. The field diary (*archive* 494) states that the pottery fragment, which was broken into three parts when found, belonged to Grave 2. This was also assumed in the publication of one of these fragments, with the rib (Šribar 1972a, pg. 21, Fig. 3). However, the draft of the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pp. 27, 28) placed the fragment ('3 fragments of prehistoric pottery') into Grave 1 and stated that Grave 2 'did not include any grave goods'.

Skeleton. Maturus (46 to 58 years), male. H. 483.21 m; azimuth 112°. The skeleton was positioned on its back and was only partially preserved for the leg bones have been moved. The bones of both ulnas were missing, the femurs were placed across the right humerus. The bones were poorly preserved, the long bones were broken and the skull partially damaged. The skeleton measured 0.75 m from the top of the skull to the sacrum.

Commentary. The azimuth was measured from the field sketches of the skeleton (*Rn* 221/6 and 221/9), along the line running from the centre of the skull to the centre of the sacrum. The grave was damaged during the construction of wall No. 2. According to the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 28) 'the builders hit on the long bones of the legs while building the foundations for wall No. 2, and after they dug out the entire grave pit they placed these bones on top of the right humerus'.

Grave goods. Two damaged earrings were found (1, 2) next to the head.

(1) A part of a forged bronze crescent shaped earing (left), the loop has a rounded rectangular cross-section. The crescent is decorated with engraved lines. H. 4.95 cm, w. 3.45 cm. Inv. No. S 1796 (*Pl. 1:* 1; *15:* 1). Publication: Šribar 1972a, pg. 21, Fig. 1; Korošec 1979, 100/I, fig. 10: 1 (left).

(2) A part of a forged bronze crescent shaped earring (right), the loop has a rounded cross-section. The crescent is decorated with engraved lines. The ring attached to the loop is now missing. H. 4.7 cm, w. 3.4 cm. Inv. No. S 1797 (*Pls. 1:* 2; *15:* 2). Publication: Šribar 1972a, pg. 21, Fig. 2; Korošec 1979, 100/I, fig. 10: 1 (right).

[2] Leben-Seljak 1996, *passim*. The list of skeletons with specified sex and age can be found on pages 301 and 302, in appendix 4.1.4.1. This data is summarised in the grave descriptions.

Grob 2 (*t. 22:* 2,3; *N 3*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila ohranjena.
Okostje. Adultus I (21 do 24 let), ženska. Deli kosti odrasle osebe so ležali na površini 0,6 x 0,4 m ob severni steni sedanje cerkve. Zbrane kosti, zložene ob vrsti treh velikih kamnov, verjetno izvirajo iz prekopanega groba.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 3 (*t. 22:* 4; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Ni podatkov.
Okostje. Maturus I (40 do 49 let), ženska. Viš. 493,23 m; azimut 67°. Kosti delno ohranjenega okostja v hrbtni legi so bile v dobrem stanju. Na levi strani je manjkala nadlahtnica, kolčnica je bila poškodovana. Desna roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, leva upognjena, zapestje je ležalo na medenici. Okostje je merilo 1,24 m. Ležalo je vzporedno z okostjem št. 7. Pri izkopu grobne jame so zadeli na več starejših grobov. Prekopane kosti, označene kot grobovi 8 in 15, so bile zložene med okostjema v grobovih 3 in 7. Ležale so tesno ob okostju v grobu 3, približno 10 cm više od okostja, niže je ležala le stegnenica, ki so jo našli pod desno stegnenico okostja v grobu 3. Prekopane kosti za lobanjo v grobu 3 so označili kot grob16.
Komentar. Grob 3 je s spodnjim delom nog segal na prostor, kjer je pozneje potekal zid 5. Iz dokumentacije ni razvidno, ali je bil ta del groba pri postavljanju zidu prekopan ali ga je zid le pokril.
Predmeti v grobu. Na levi strani lobanje so ležali naglavna obročka (1, 2) in nož (3).
Komentar. V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 28) je zapisana domneva, da predmeti niso spadali k temu grobu. Po terenskem dnevniku (*arhiv* 476, 6. julij 1962) so nož (3) našli v zasutju "3–4 cm zahodno od lobanje", torej za lobanjo, v neobičajni legi za nož. Pogosteje so noži v višini pasu umrlega, kar bi ustrezalo mestu noža v grobu 16, vendar ta odnos ni jasen, ker so okostje v grobu 16 večidel prekopali pri izkopu jame za grob 3. Naglavna obročka sta si podobna in v zvezku akcesije (*arhiv* 494) označena kot levi (1) in desni obroček (2). Za enega zvezo z grobom 3 potrjuje tudi terenski dnevnik (*arhiv* 476, 6. julij 1962): "ob levi strani njegove glave je bil naglavni obesek (z eno odebelitvijo na konceh)".
(1) Bronast nesklenjen naglavni obroček, desnosučen, ovalnega preseka s stanjšanima profiliranima zaključkoma. Vel. 4 x 3,7 cm, deb. 0,3 cm. Inv. št. S 1800 (*t. 1:* 3; *15:* 6). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 21, št. 5: Korošec 1979, 100/I, sl. 10: 2 (desni); Knific 2004, 108, sl. 20: 1.
(2) Bronast nesklenjen naglavni obroček, desnosučen, ovalnega preseka s stanjšanima profiliranima zaključkoma. Vel. 3,96 x 3,54 cm, deb. 0,3 cm. Inv. št. S 1801 *(t. 1:* 4; *15:* 7). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 21, št. 4; Korošec 1979, 100/I, sl. 10: 2 (levi); Knific 2004, 108, sl. 20: 2.
(3) Nekoliko poškodovan železen nož s trnastim nastavkom za držaj. Hrbet rezila se pri konici poševno zalomi. Dol. 8,8 cm, šir. rezila do 1,8 cm. Inv. št. S 1799 (*t. 1:* 5; *17:* 1; predmet je pogrešan). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 21, št. 6; Korošec 1979, 100/I, sl. 10: 2.

Grave 2 (*Pl. 22:* 2,3; *N 3*)

Grave pit. Was not preserved.
Skeleton. *Adultus I* (21 to 24 years), female. Parts of adult bones lay in an area covering 0.6 x 0.4 m, alongside the northern wall of the present-day church. The bones piled up alongside three large stones were most likely part of a reburial.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 3 (*Pl. 22:* 4; *N 1*)

Grave pit. No data.
Skeleton. *Maturus I* (40 to 49 years), female. H. 493,23 m; azimuth 67°. The partially preserved skeleton was placed on its back, bones were in a good condition. The left humerus was missing and the left side of the innominate bones were damaged. The right arm was stretched alongside the body, the left was flexed, and the hand positioned on the pelvis. The skeleton measured 1.24 m. It lay parallel to skeleton No. 7. A number of previous graves were disturbed during the creation of this grave pit. The reburied bones, marked as Graves 8 and 15, were placed between the skeletons in Graves 3 and 7. Most bones lay approximately 10 cm above the skeleton in Grave 3, with the exception of the femur, which was found underneath the right femur of the skeleton in Grave 3. The reburied bones found behind the skull in Grave 3 were marked as Grave 16.
Commentary. The lower parts of the legs of the skeleton in Grave 3 reached into the area where wall No. 5 was erected at a later stage. The documentation does not reveal whether this part of the grave was dug up when the wall was erected or whether the wall merely covered it up.
Artefacts. Two temple rings (1, 2) and a knife (3) were found to the left of the skull.
Commentary. In the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 28) it was assumed that these objects did not belong to this grave. According to the excavation diary (*archive* 476, 6th July 1962) the knife (3) was found in the fill-in material '3–4 cm west of the skull', i.e. behind the skull, in an unusual position for a knife. Knifes are usually placed alongside the waist of the deceased, which would mean that this knife was more likely to belong to Grave 16; however this relationship is unclear as the skeleton in Grave 16 was reburied when the pit for Grave 3 was created. The temple rings are similar and marked as left (1) and right ring (2) in the field file list (*archive* 494). The connection to Grave 3 is confirmed for one of the rings by an entry in the excavation diary (*archive* 476, 6th July 1962) which reads: 'a temple pendulum (with one end thickened) was found alongside the left side of the head'.
(1) Bronze open temple ring, right handed, with an oval cross-section and moulded ends. S. 4 x 3.7 cm, th. 0.3 cm. Inv. No. S 1800 (*Pls. 1:* 3; *15:* 6). Publication: Šribar 1972a, pg. 21, Fig. 5: Korošec 1979, 100/I, Fig. 10: 2 (right); Knific 2004, 108, Fig. 20: 1.
(2) Bronze open temple ring, right handed, with an oval cross-section and moulded ends. S. 3.96 x 3.54 cm, th. 0.3 cm. Inv. No. S 1801 *(Pls. 1:* 4; *15:* 7). Publication: Šribar 1972a, pg. 21, Fig. 4; Korošec 1979, 100/I, Fig. 10: 2 (left); Knific 2004, 108, Fig. 20: 2.

Grob 4 (*t. 22:* 5; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Severni rob grobne jame je bil vsekan v živo skalo.

Okostje. Juvenis (16 let), ženska. Viš. 493,14 m; azimut 77°. Dobro ohranjeno okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Leva roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, zapestje je bilo na levi stegnenici. Desna roka je bila upognjena, dlan je ležala na medenici. Kosti leve rame so bile skoraj v celoti uničene. Nad stegnenicama je ležala nekoliko poškodovana močnejša stegnenica nekega drugega okostja. Od vrha glave do kolen je okostje merilo 1,26 m. Ležalo je vzporedno z grobom 5 (*t. 22:* 5), in sicer tako, da je ležala desna nadlahtnica okostja v grobu 4 tik nad levo nadlahtnico okostja v grobu 5. Med njima je bil 5 do 7 cm debel sloj humusa, pomešan z zelo drobnim lomljencem. Spodnji del groba 4 je segal na prostor, kjer so pozneje postavili zid 5.

Komentar. Zaporedje pokopov: najprej grob 5, za njim grob 4.

Pridatki. Ob levi strani glave je bil bronast uhan (1), najden pri čiščenju lobanje. Ob desni roki sta ležala prstana (2, 3), en prstan je bil na levi roki (4). Legi odlomka steklene jagode (5) in železnega noža (6; najden pri ponovnem prekopu grobne jame, *arhiv* 494, št. 49) v dokumentaciji nista natančneje opisani.

Komentar. V zvezku akcesije sta prstana (3, 4) vpisana kot najdbi na levi roki (*arhiv* 494, št. 9 in 10).

(1) Bronast uhan s svitkastimi in valjastimi odebelitvami na spodnjem delu loka. Zgornji del loka je okroglega preseka, zaključek je profiliran. Viš. 3,45 cm, šir. 3,15 cm, deb. loka spodaj 0,38 cm, deb. loka zgoraj 0,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1807 (*t. 1:* 6; *15:* 5). Objava: Bitenc, Knific 2001, 108, kat. št. 263; Knific 2004, 108, sl. 20: 3; Knific, Nabergoj 2016, 99, 226, sl. 120.

(2) Bronast sklenjen prstan polkrožnega preseka, zunanja stran traku je okrašena s poševnimi vrezi, pri okrasnem kamnu s po dvema polkrožnima vrezoma. Na zgornji razširjeni strani je kroglasto ovalen okrasni kamen iz temnomodrega natronskega stekla.[3] Pr. 2,27 cm, viš. 2,4 cm, vel. okrasnega kamna 1,18 x 0,9 cm. Inv. št. S 1802 (*t. 1:* 7; *15:* 16).

(3) Bronast nesklenjen prstan polkrožnega preseka. Ploščica razširjenega dela je poškodovana. Pr. 2 cm. Inv. št. S 1805 (*t. 1:* 8; predmet je pogrešan).

(4) Bronast prstan polkrožnega preseka z okroglo razširitvijo za okrasni kamen (verjetno polkroglast predmet št. 5). Zunanja stran obročka je okrašena z globokimi poševnimi vrezi. Pr. 2,2 cm . Inv. št. S 1804 (*t. 1:* 10; predmet je pogrešan).

(5) Polkroglast predmet iz svetlomodrega stekla s tremi belimi očesci, verjetno okrasni vložek (morda del prstana št. 4). Vel. 1 x 0,8 cm. Inv. št. S 1803 *(t. 1:* 9; predmet je pogrešan).

(6) Železen nož, del trna in konica rezila manjkata. Prehod iz rezila v trn je poševen, hrbet rezila je raven. Dol. noža ob najdbi 11,2 cm, zdaj 8,9 cm (del rezila pri konici ni več ohranjen), šir. rezila do 1,6 cm; dol. trna 2,5 cm. Inv. št. S 1806 (*t. 1:* 11; *17:* 2).

[3] Meritev stekla po kombinirani metodi PIXE-PIGE: Knific, Šmit 2018, 402, 403, priloga A, št. 88.

(3) A slightly damaged iron knife with a tang. The back of the blade is obliquely angled at the tip. L. 8.8 cm, blade width up to 1.8 cm. Inv. No. S 1799 (*Pls. 1:* 5; *17:* 1; the object is missing). Publication: Šribar 1972a, pg. 21, Fig. 6; Korošec 1979, 100/I, Fig. 10: 2.

Grave 4 (*Pl. 22:* 5; *N 1*)

Grave pit. The northern edge of the pit was carved into live rock.

Skeleton. Juvenis (16 years), female. H. 493.14 m; azimuth 77°. The well-preserved skeleton was positioned on its back. The left arm was stretched alongside the body, the wrist was placed on the left thigh bone. The right arm was flexed, the hand was placed on the pelvis. The bones belonging to the left shoulder were almost completely destroyed. A slightly damaged strong thigh bone from another skeleton lay on top of the thigh bones. From the top of the head to the knees the skeleton measured 1.26 m. The skeleton lay parallel to Grave 5 (*Pl. 22:* 5), at which the right humerus of the skeleton in Grave 4 lay just above the left humerus of the skeleton in Grave 5. There was a 5 to 7 cm thick layer of humus mixed with fine quarry stone between them. The lower part of the Grave 4 reached the area, where later the wall No. 5 was built.

Commentary. The timeline of graves: first Grave 5, followed by Grave 4.

Grave goods. A bronze earring (1) lay alongside the left side of the head; it was found when the skull was cleaned. Two rings (2, 3) lay alongside the right hand; one ring was on the left hand (4). The documentation does not provide the precise locations of the fragmented glass bead (5) and iron knife (6; found when the grave pit was re-examined, *archive* 494, No. 49).

Commentary. The field file list recorded the rings (3, 4) as finds on the left hand (*archive* 494, Nos. 9 and 10).

(1) Bronze earring with astragal-shaped thickenings on the lower part of the arch. The upper part has a circular cross-section, with moulded end. H. 3.45 cm, w. 3.15 cm, thickness of the arch below 0.38 cm, thickness of the arch top 0.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1807 (*Pls. 1:* 6; *15:* 5). Publication: Bitenc, Knific 2001, 108, Cat. No. 263; Knific 2004, 108, Fig. 20: 3; Knific, Nabergoj 2017, 99, 226, Fig. 120.

(2) Bronze closed ring with a semi-circular cross-section, the outer side of the band is decorated with slanting engravings, while the decorative stone has two semi-circular engravings. On the upper, wider, side lies a globular oval decorative stone from dark blue natron glass.[3] Dia. 2,27 cm, h. 2,4 cm, size of the decorative stone 1.18 x 0.9 cm. Inv. No. S 1802 (*t. Pls:* 7; *15:* 16).

(3) Bronze open ring with a semi-circular cross-section. The wider part is damaged. Dia. 2 cm. Inv. No. S 1805 (*Pl. 1:* 8; the object is missing).

(4) Bronze ring with a semi-circular cross-section and a rounded bezel for a decorative stone (most likely the semi-circular object No. 5). The outer side of the ring is decorated with deep slanting engravigs. Dia. 2.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1804 (*Pl. 1:* 10; the object is missing).

(5) Semi-circular object made from bright blue glass with three white eyes, most likely a decorative insert (possibly a part

[3] The stone was measured with the combined method PIXE-PIGE: Knific, Šmit 2018, 402, 403, appendix A, No. 88.

Komentar. Verjetna zveza prstana (4) in ovalne ploščice (5) je nakazana v muzejski dokumentaciji (predmetna kartoteka, fototeka, inventarna knjiga).

Grob 5 (*t. 22:* 5,6; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, dno je bilo na skali. Severna in zahodna stran sta mejili na živo skalo. Na severni strani jame je bila prst pomešana z drobnim kamenjem. Jama je bila verjetno izkopana na mestu groba 13.

Okostje. Maturus II (48 do 65 let), moški. Viš. 493,11 m; azimut 88°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, zapestji sta ležali na stegnenicah in delno na medenici. Merilo je 1,5 m. Kosti nog so bile pri stopalih prekrite z zidom št. 5. Okostje je ležalo vzporedno z grobom 4 (*t. 22:* 5). Leva nadlahtnica je ležala tik pod desno nadlahtnico okostja v grobu 4. Med njima je bil 5 do 7 cm debel sloj humusa, mešan z zelo drobnim lomljencem. Ob desni kolčnici je ležala lobanja, ob desni nadlahtnici spodnja čeljustnica, ob levi nadlahtnici stegnenica, ena od dolgih kosti je bila tudi za lobanjo; verjetno so bili to deli enega okostja odraslega človeka (označeno kot okostje 13).

Komentar. Osnutek besedila za objavo (*arhiv* 489, str. 29): "Vrstni red pokopavanja je bil torej naslednji: pokop št. 13, nato št. 5 in končno št. 4."

Pridatki. Na levi stegnenici, ob kosteh zapestja in dlani leve roke, je ležal železen nož (1; *t. 22:* 6).

(1) Železen nož s poševno zalomljenim hrbtom rezila in trnom. Dol. 13,4 cm, šir. rezila do 2,2 cm, dol. trna 2,6 cm. Inv. št. S 1808 (*t. 1:* 12; *17:* 3).

Grob 6 (*t. 23:* 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Obrisi jame niso bili vidni. Ob desnem ramenu je bil greben iz dolomitne skale, ki je ustvarjal mejo proti pokopom 4, 5 in 13. Okostje je ležalo na tenki plasti prsti.

Okostje. Senilis (58 do 72 let), moški. Viš. 493,22 m; azimut 96°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo dobro ohranjeno. Od lobanje do kolen je merilo 1,26 m. Ob levi strani okostja so ležale razmetane kosti iz starejšega groba; nad levim kolkom je bila spodnja čeljustnica, pod njo pa stegnenica in del desne kolčnice. Ostanki starejšega groba so označeni s številko 14.

Pridatki. Ob levi stegnenici pri kolčnici je ležal železen nož (1).

(1) Del železnega noža z ravnim hrbtom in širokim ploščatim trnom, na katerem je ostanek lesa. Dol. 9,6 cm, šir. do 1,4 cm. Inv. št. S 1809 (*t. 1:* 13).

of ring No. 4). S. 1 x 0.8 cm. Inv. No. S 1803 *(Pl. 1:* 9; the object is missing).

(6) Iron knife, part of the tang and the tip of the blade are missing. The transition from the blade to the tang is slanted, while the spine is straight. The length of the knife when found 11.2 cm, now 8.9 cm (the blade is no longer preserved at its tip); blade width up to 1.6 cm; tang length 2.5 cm. Inv. No. S 1806 (*Pls. 1:* 11; *17:* 2).

Commentary. The most likely connection between the ring (4) and the oval disc (5) is indicated in the museum documentation (catalogue of objects, photographic documentation, inventory book).

Grave 5 (*Pl. 22:* 5,6; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus, the bottom part of the pit was on the rock. The northern and western sides bordered on bedrock. On the northern side of the pit the soil was mixed with small stones. The pit was most likely dug into Grave 13.

Skeleton. *Maturus II* (48 to 65 years), male. H. 493,11 m; azimuth 88°. The skeleton was positioned on its back, the wrists were placed on the femurs and partially on the pelvis. The skeleton measured 1.5 m in length. The bones pertaining to the feet were covered with wall No. 5. The skeleton lay parallel to Grave 4 (*Pl. 22:* 5). The left humerus lay just below the right humerus of the skeleton in Grave 4. Between them was a 5 to 7 cm thick layer of humus mixed with fine quarry stone. The skull lay next to the right innominate bones, the mandible alongside the right humerus, the femur alongside the left humerus, and one of the long bones was found behind the skull; it is likely that all of these belonged to the same adult skeleton (categorised as skeleton 13).

Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 29) states: 'The order of burials was thus as follows: first was burial No. 13, followed by No. 5 and No. 4 was the last.'

Grave goods. An iron knife lay on the left femur, next to the bones of the wrist and the palm of the left hand (1; *Pl. 22:* 6).

(1) An iron knife with a tang and an obliquely angled spine. L. 13.4 cm, blade width up to 2.2 cm, tang length 2.6 cm. Inv. No. S 1808 (*Pls. 1:* 12; *17:* 3).

Grave 6 (*Pl. 23:* 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit. The borders of the pit were not visible. Next to the right shoulder was a dolomite rock ridge, which created a border towards Graves 4, 5 and 13. The skeleton lay on a thin layer of soil.

Skeleton. *Senilis* (58 to 72 years), male. H. 493.22 m; azimuth 96°. The skeleton positioned on its back is well preserved. The skeleton measured 1.26 m from the head to the knees. Scattered bones from an earlier grave lay to the left of the skeleton; the mandible lay above the left hip; a femur and a part of the right innominate bones lay underneath the left hip. The remains of the earlier grave were marked as Grave 14.

Grave goods. An iron knife (1) lay alongside the left femur, next to the innominate bones.

Grob 7 (*t. 23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Obris ni bil viden, dno je bilo na skali.
Okostje. Viš. 493,25 m (merjeno pri kolčnicah); azimut 71°. Okostje odraslega, ohranjene so bile kosti spodnjega dela v hrbtni legi. Od prsnega koša do konca prstov na nogah je okostje merilo 0,84 m. Med ostanki kolčnic so bili deli leve in desne podlahtnice. Kosti desnice so segale do prekopanih kosti, označenih kot grob 14.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 8 (*t. 22:* 4; *23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna.
Okostje. Viš. 493,29 m. Ohranjena je bila poškodovana lobanja.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 9 (*t. 22:* 4; *23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Severni in zahodni rob grobne jame sta bila vkopana v živo skalo. Vzdolž nožnih kosti okostja je severni rob prešel v kamnit greben, ki je ločevali grobni jami 9 in 10.
Jama je bila zasuta s prstjo, pomešano z lomljenci, velikimi do 10 x 10 cm.
Okostje. Adultus I (19 do 28 let), ženska. Viš. 493,18 m; azimut 90°. Okostje je bilo slabo ohranjeno, v prvotni legi so bili lobanja, nekaj vretenc, križnica in desna stegnenica. Od vrha lobanje do križnice je merilo 0,78 m. Na desni strani je bilo okostje razdrto pri izkopu jame za grob 3.
Komentar. Okostju iz groba 9 morda pripadajo nekatere prekopane kosti, ki so ležale ob desni strani okostja v grobu 3.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 10 (*t. 23:* 3; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Grobna jama je bila v kamniti kotanji, severno do groba 9. Grobova sta bila ločena z grebenom žive skale.
Okostje. Juvenilis (20 let), ženska. Viš. 493,25 m; azimut 90°. Ohranjeni so bili deli lobanje, nekaj vretenc in reber ter kolčnica. Od vrha lobanje do trtične kosti je okostje merilo 0,58 m. Kosti nog je pokrival zid št. 5. Na kolčnici je ležala lobanja, označena je bila kot grob 11.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

(1) Part of an iron knife with a straight spine and a broad flat tang, together with the remains of a wooden handle. L. 9.6 cm, max w. 1.4 cm. Inv. No. S 1809 (*t. Pl:* 13).

Grave 7 (*Pl. 23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. The borders of the pit were not visible, the bottom was on a rock.
Skeleton. H. 493.25 m (measured at the innominate bones); azimuth 71°. The adult skeleton was positioned on its back, the bones of the lower part were preserved. The skeleton measured 0.84 m from the thorax to the end of the toes. Parts of both ulnas lay amongst the innominate bone remains. The bones on the right reached to the reburied bones marked as Grave 14.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 8 (*Pls. 22:* 4; *23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Was not visible.
Skeleton. H. 493.29 m. A damaged skull was preserved.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 9 (*Pls. 22:* 4; *23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. The northern and western edge of the grave pit were dug into the bedrock. Next to the leg bones the northern edge reached into a stone ridge that divided grave pits 9 and 10.
The pit was filled in with soil mixed with quarry stones measuring up to 10 x 10 cm.
Skeleton. *Adultus* I (19 to 28 years), female. H. 493.18 m; azimuth 90°. The skeleton was poorly preserved. The skull, a few vertebrae, the sacrum and the right femur were in their original position. The skeleton measured 0.78 m from the top of the skull to the sacrum. The skeleton was disturbed on its right side during the burial in Grave 3.
Commentary. Some of the reburied bones which lay on the right side of the skeleton in Grave 3 might belong to the skeleton from Grave 9.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 10 (*Pl. 23:* 3; *N 1*)

Grave pit. The pit was located in a stone hollow, north of Grave 9. The graves were separated by a bedrock ridge.
Skeleton. *Juvenilis* (20 years), female. H. 493.25 m; azimuth 90°. Parts of the skull, a few vertebrae, a few ribs and the innominate bones were preserved. The skeleton measured 0.58 m from the top of the skull to the coccyx. The bones of the legs were covered by wall No. 5. A skull categorised as belonging to Grave 11 lay on the innominate bones.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grob 11 (*t. 23:* 3,4; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna. Deloma so jo vkopali v starejša grobova 10 in 49.

Okostje. Adultus II (31 do 40 let), moški. Viš. 493,25 m; azimut 90° (odmerjeno po legi kosti nog). Ohranjena je bila lobanja, ki je ležala je na kolčnici v grobu 10, in dolge kosti nog (kosti leve goleni ni bilo), ki so ležale nad okostjem v grobu 49. Kosti trupa in rok niso bile odkrite, ker so bili nad njim ostanki zidu št. 5, ki niso bili odstranjeni.

Komentar. V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 33, pri opisu groba št. 10) se v grobu 11 omenjena le lobanja, za "manjkajoče dele skeleta 11" pa je zapisano, "da so najbrž pod zidom št. 5". Po terenskih fotografijah in risbi to drži za kosti trupa in rok, ne pa za kosti nog, ki so bile odkrite vzhodno od zidu št. 5 in so skupaj z lobanjo na zahodni strani zidu označene kot okostje v grobu 11. V osteološkem depoju NMS so iz groba 11 shranjene poleg lobanje še druge kosti odrase osebe.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 12 (*t. 23:* 5,6; *24:* 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, pomešan z lomljenci, velikimi do 10 x 10 cm. Zahodni rob jame je segal do skale.

Okostje. Maturus II (52 do 58 let), ženska. Viš. 493, 21 m; azimut 95°. Kosti so bile slabo ohranjene. Desna roka je ležala na medenici, leva je bila iztegnjena ob trupu. Kosti goleni so manjkale, od desne stegnenice je bila ohranjena le zgornja polovica. Manjkajoče kosti nog so bile verjetno odstranjene pri gradnji zidu št. 5 ali kamnitega tlaka ob njem. Od vrha lobanje do kolen je okostje merilo 1,37 m.

Komentar. Zid št. 5 je potekal od cerkve proti severu v dolžini 3,7 m, nanj se je na vzhodni strani navezoval tlak iz oblic in lomljencev. Grob 12 je bil na severnem robu tega prostora. Konec strnjenega zidu je bil oddaljen od ohranjenih medeničnih in nožnih kosti približno 0,35 m, večji del groba, kjer manjkajo kosti goleni in stopal, pa je bil verjetno prekrit s tlakom, ki je bil proti severu ugotovljen še nekoliko dlje kot zid (približno v dolžini 4 m).[4] Tako je mogoče razumeti navedbo v osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 33), da "del groba reže zid št. 5, severovzhodno stran pa tlak iz lomljenca".

Pridatki. Na levi (1) in desni (2) strani glave sta ležala naglavna obročka.

(1) Bronast naglavni obroček ovalnega preseka. Presegajoča konca sta profilirana. Vel. 4 x 3,6 cm, deb. 0,19 cm. Inv. št. S 1810 (*t. 1:* 14).

(2) Odlomka bronastega naglavnega obročka ovalnega preseka. Ohranjen je en profiliran zaključek. Dol. odlomkov 4,6 cm in 2,62 cm, deb. 0,17 cm. Inv. št. S 1811 (*t. 1:* 15).

[4] Za podatke o zidu št. 5 in kamnitem tlaku prim. Šribar 1962 (str. 242) in 1962–1964.

Grave 11 (*Pl. 23:* 3,4; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Was not visible. It was partially dug into the earlier Graves 10 and 49.

Skeleton. *Adultus* II (31 to 40 years), male. H. 493.25 m; azimuth 90° (measured from the position of the leg bones). The skull, which lay on the innominate bones in Grave 10 was preserved, as were the long bones of the legs (the left tibia was missing) which lay above the skeleton in Grave 49. The bones of the torso and the arms were not unveiled, as they were covered by the remains of wall No. 5, which have not been removed.

Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 33, description of Grave 10) mentions a skull in Grave 11, and states that 'the missing parts of skeleton 11' are 'most likely underneath wall No. 5'. Looking at the photographs and drawings taken and made at the site we can conclude that this holds true for the bones of the torso and the arms, but not for the bones of the legs, which were discovered east of wall No. 5 and were together with the skull on the western side of the wall marked as skeleton 11. The skull and other bones belonging to an adult from Grave 11 are kept at the osteological depot at the National Museum of Slovenia.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 12 (*Pls. 23:* 5,6; *24:* 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus mixed with quarry stones measuring up to 10 x 10 cm. The western edge of the pit reached to the rock.

Skeleton. *Maturus* II (52 to 58 years), female. H. 493.21 m; azimuth 95°. The bones were poorly preserved. The right hand lay on the pelvis, while the left arm was stretched alongside the torso. The tibias were missing, and only the upper half of the right femur was preserved. The missing leg bones were most likely removed when wall No. 5 was built or the paving stones alongside it were laid. The skeleton measured 1.37 m from the top of the head to the knees.

Commentary. Wall No. 5 ran from the church towards the north and measured a total of 3.7 m in length; a paved area from pebbles and quarry stones was created on the east side. Grave 12 was on the northern edge of this area. The compact wall ended approximately 0.35 m from the preserved pelvis and leg bones, while the larger part of the grave, where the tibias and feet bones were missing, was most likely covered by the paving stones, which extended a bit further than the wall to the north (in a total length of approximately 4 m).[4] This is how the statement 'a part of the grave was cut off by wall No. 5, while the north-eastern side was cut off by paving stones created from quarry stones' found in the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 33) can be understood.

Grave goods. Two temple rings lay on the left (1) and right (2) side of the head.

(1) A bronze temple ring with an oval cross-section and exceeding moulded ends. The exceeding ends are bulging. S. 4 x 3.6 cm, th. 0.19 cm. Inv. No. S 1810 (*Pl. 1:* 14).

[4] For data on wall No. 5 and the paving stones compare Šribar 1962 (pg. 242) and 1962–1964.

Grob 13 (*t. 22:* 5; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Prekopana, verjetno je bila na mestu groba 5.
Okostje. Maturus II (53 do 66 let), moški. Viš. 493,11 m. Iz razdrtega groba so se ohranile lobanja, spodnja čeljustnica in dolgi kosti. Ležale so ob zgornjem delu okostja v grobu 5: kosti glave na desni strani, stegnenica na levi, ena od dolgih kosti za lobanjo.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 14 (*t. 23*: 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Ni bilo sledov.
Okostje. Maturus (46 do 58 let), moški. Viš. 493,21 m (prekopane kosti). Iz razdrtega groba so se ohranili spodnja čeljustnica, stegnenica in del desne kolčnice. Ležale so ob kolčnih kosteh okostja v grobu 6.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 15 (*t. 22:* 4; *23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Ni bilo sledov.
Okostje. Ohranile so se poškodovane dolge kosti rok in nog ter kolčnici. Prekopane kosti so ležale ob desni strani zgornjega dela okostja v grobu 3, približno 10 cm nad okostjem.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 16 (*t. 22:* 4; *23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna.
Okostje. Viš. 495,21 m. Ohranjeni so bili lobanja, severno od nje del nadlahtnice, jugozahodno pa del stegnenice. Lobanja je ležala 40 cm zahodno od lobanje v grobu 3.
Predmet v grobu. V bližini kosti, približno 20 cm zahodno od lobanje, so našli okroglo okrasno zaponko (1).
Komentar. Kosti so bile premaknjene, enako lahko domnevamo tudi za okrasno zaponko, ki je bila najdena zraven njih. Ni zanesljivo, da gre za pridatek.
(1) Okrogla bronasta okrasna zaponka. Na eni strani je okrašena s tremi radialnimi vrezi ter na gosto s cikcakastimi in polkrožnimi črtami. Na drugi strani je ostanek pritrdišča za iglo. Pr. 2,27 cm, deb. 0,1 cm. Inv. št. S 1812 (*t. 1:* 16; *16:* 1).

(2) Fragments of a bronze temple ring with an oval cross-section. One moulded end is preserved. L. of the fragments 4.6 cm and 2.62 cm, th. 0.17 cm. Inv. No. S 1811 (*Pl. 1:* 15).

Grave 13 (*Pl. 22:* 5; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug up, most likely located in the position of Grave 5.
Skeleton. *Maturus* II (53 to 66 years), male. H. 493.11 m. A skull, mandible and long bones have been preserved from the reburied grave. They have been moved and positioned alongside the upper part of the skeleton in Grave 5: the bones of the skull were positioned on the right side, the femur on the left, and one of the long bones was positioned behind the skull.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 14 (*Pl. 23*: 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit. No traces.
Skeleton. *Maturus* (46 to 58 years), male. H. 493.21 m (reburied bones). The mandible, femur and part of the right innominate bones have been preserved from the destroyed grave. They lay alongside the innominate bones of the skeleton in Grave 6.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 15 (*Pls. 22:* 4; *23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. No traces.
Skeleton. Damaged long bones belonging to the arms and legs as well as the innominate bones were preserved. The reburied bones lay on the right side of the upper part of the skeleton in Grave 3, approximately 10 cm above the skeleton.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 16 (*Pls. 22:* 4; *23:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Was not visible.
Skeleton. H. 495.21 m. The skull was preserved, north of it lay a part of the humerus, while a part of the femur lay to the southwest. The skull lay 40 cm west of the skull in Grave 3.
Artefacts. A circular brooch (1) was found in the vicinity of the bones, approximately 20 cm west of the skull.
Commentary. The bones have been moved, and we can assume that the same happened with the brooch that was found alongside them. It is not certain to categorize the brooch as grave good.
(1) Circular bronze brooch. On one side it is decorated with three radial incisions and dense zig-zag and semi-circular lines. On the other side is the remnant of the soldering used to attach the pin. Dia. 2.27 cm, th. 0.1 cm. Inv. No. S 1812 (*t. 1:* 16; *16:* 1).

Grob 17 (*t. 23:* 5; *24: 1*; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Severni, vzhodni in zahodni rob grobne jame so bili vkopani v živo skalo.
Zasuta je bila s humusom, mešanim z drobnejšim dolomitnim lomljencem.
Okostje. Infans I (4 ± 12 mesecev). Viš. 493,21 m. Ohranjen je bil del lobanje.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 18 (*t. 24:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v prst, pomešano s koščki dolomitnega lomljenca in oglja. Na dnu je bila prepečena ilovica.
Okostje. Azimut 88°. Kosti odrasle osebe so bile dobro ohranjene. Desna roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, leva je bila upognjena in položena na medenico. Kosti nog od spodnjega dela stegnenic navzdol so bile prekopane pri gradnji stranske kapele. Ohranjeni del okostja je meril približno 1 m. Na levi strani okostja je ležala lobanja, označena kot grob 28.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 19 (*t. 24:* 3; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, nad grobovoma 40 in 41. Vkop je poškodoval lobanjo v grobu 40.
Okostje. Adultus I (21 do 24 let), ženska (?). Viš. 495,12 m; azimut 83°. Dobro ohranjeno okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu. Okostje je merilo 1,55 m.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 20 (*t. 24:* 4; *N 1; 4; 5*)

Grobna jama. Obris grobne jame ni bil viden. Vkopana je bila v humus, na dnu je bilo veliko kosov lomljenca v velikosti do 10 x 10 cm.
Okostje. Maturus (44 do 59 let), moški. Viš. 493,05 m; azimut 96°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, kosti so bile slabo ohranjene. Roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu. Okostje je merilo 1,7 m. *Komentar.* Na okostje so verjetno zadeli pri izkopu sonde 3; na to kaže približno ujemanje lege stegnenice in kolčnice ter enaka globina kosti (*N 4:* v sredini). Kosti spodnjega dela nog so ležale nad kostmi spodnjega dela nog okostja v grobu 38.
Predmet v grobu. Ob desni stegnenici, na južni strani približno 10 cm nad kolenom, so našli odlomek bronaste pločevine (kat. št. 2; *sl. 1.25:* 1; *t. 16:* 2).

Grob 21 (*t. 24:* 5; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Grobna jama ni bila vidna. Večji del je bil prekopan, razen predela ob kosteh nog.
Okostje. Senilis (63 do 72 let), moški. Viš. 493,08 m (pri nogah). Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, ohranjene so bile kosti goleni in stopal, deloma tudi premaknjeni stegnenici. Golenici sta bili dolgi 35 cm.

Grave 17 (*Pls. 23:* 5; *24: 1*; *N 1*)

Grave pit. The north, east and west edge of the pit were dug into bedrock. It was filled in with humus, mixed with fine dolomite quarry stone.
Skeleton. *Infans* I (4 ± 12 months). H. 493.21 m. A part of the skull was preserved.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 18 (*Pl. 24:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. It was dug into soil, mixed with parts of dolomite quarry stone and charcoal. At the bottom of the pit lay burnt clay.
Skeleton. Azimuth 88°. The bones belonging to an adult were well preserved. The right arm lay stretched alongside the torso, while the left hand lay on the pelvis. The bones of the legs from the lower part of the femur and below were dug up when the side chapel was under construction. The preserved part of the skeleton measured approximately 1 m. On the left side of the skeleton lay the skull markedas Grave 28.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 19 (*Pl. 24:* 3; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus, between Graves 40 and 41. The burial damaged the skull in Grave 40.
Skeleton. *Adultus I* (21 to 24 years), female (?). H. 495.12 m; azimuth 83°. The well-preserved skeleton was positioned on its back, the arms were stretched alongside the torso. The skeleton measured 1.55 m in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 20 (*Pl. 24:* 4; *N 1; 4; 5*)

Grave pit. The borders of the pit were not visible. Dug into humus, at the bottom lay quarry stones measuring up to 10 x 10 cm.
Skeleton. *Maturus* (44 to 59 years), male. H. 493.05 m; azimuth 96°. The skeleton was positioned on its back, the bones were poorly preserved. The arms were stretched alongside the torso. The skeleton measured 1.7 m in length.
Commentary. It is likely that the skeleton was disturbed when trench 3 was being dug; this is indicated by the approximate match of the position of the femur and the innominate bones and the same depth of the bones (*N 4:* in the centre). The bones of the lower part of the legs lay above the bones of the lower part of the legs of the skeleton in Grave 38.
Artefacts. A bronze plate fragment (Cat. No. 2; *Fig. 1.25:* 1; *Pl. 16:* 2) was found alongside the right femur, to the south, approximately 10 cm above the knee.

Grave 21 (*Pl. 24:* 5; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Was not visible. A large part of it was destroyed, except for the part surrounding the bones of the legs.

Komentar. Glede na lego kosti nog in ocenjeno velikost okostja je to segalo pri lobanji do prostora, na katerem so pozneje izkopali jamo za grob 35. Verjetno so pri tem prekopali zgornji del okostja v grobu 21.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 22 (*t. 24:* 5,6; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v prst, pomešano z drobnimi koščki oglja. Vzhodni del jame so izkopali nad grobom 27.
Komentar. Trditev v osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 35), da "gre za kasnejši pokop v jamo, v kateri je ležal skelet (št. 21)", se ne ujema s terenskimi podatki, verjeten je le stik med grobnima jamama 21 in 22 pri nožnih kosteh obeh okostij.
Okostje. Maturus (41 do 60 let), moški. Viš. 493,13 m; azimut 96°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Lobanja je bila močno poškodovana. Desna roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, levica je ležala na medenici. Ohranile so se kosti leve noge, od desne le stegnenica. Na okostje so zadeli pri izkopu sonde 3 (*N 4*), na kar kaže lega in globina kosti nog, odkritih v sondi (*N 4:* v sredini). Pri lobanji je do groba 22 segal grob 45 (pri nogah).
Predmet v grobu. V grobu so našli kamnito puščično ost (kat. št. 3; *sl. 15:* 1; *t. 13:* 1).
Komentar. Puščična ost je v dokumentaciji vpisana kot inventar groba 22, vendar je v osnutku besedila za objavo (*arhiv* 489, str. 252) izrecno opredeljena – skupaj s podobni kamniti izdelki – kot raztresena prazgodovinska najdba (zapis je naveden v op. 37).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 23 (*t. 26:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, pri lobanji v starejši grob 31 (v predelu nog). Od lobanje proti nogam okostja je bila jama uničena pri izkopu poznejšega groba 30.
Okostje. Viš. 493,11 m. Na prvotnem mestu je ostala le lobanja, prekopane kosti nog so ležale v zasutju nad okostjem v grobu 30.
Predmet v grobu. Pod lobanjo so našli odlomek rimskodobne lončene posode (kat. št. 4; *sl. 1.25:* 2; *t. 14:* 16).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 24 (*t. 25:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vzhodna stran je bila vkopana v humus, zahodna vsekana v živo skalo.
Okostje. Infans II (8 ± 24 mesecev). Viš. 493,02 m; azimut 86°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, kosti so bile slabo ohranjene in deloma premaknjene. Leva roka je bila verjetno iztegnjena ob telesu, desnica pa položena na medenico, kjer je ležalo nekaj kosti zapestja. Od vrha lobanje do konca golenice je okostje merilo 1,1 m.
Predmeti v grobu. V grobni jami so bili štirje neznačilni odlomki prazgodovinskih posod (S 1818), neobdelana kamnita odbitka iz tufa (S 2819, S 1820) in ptičja (?) koščica (S 1821).

Skeleton. *Senilis* (63 to 72 years), male. H. 493.08 m (at the legs). The skeleton was positioned on its back, the tibia and the bones of the feet were preserved, as was - to a certain extent - also the moved femurs. The tibias measured 35 cm in length.
Commentary. Taking onto account the position of the bones of the feet and the estimated size of the skeleton, the skull must have reached into the area where the pit for Grave 35 was created at a later stage. It is likely that this was when the upper part of the skeleton in Grave 21 was reburied.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 22 (*Pl. 24:* 5,6; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into soil mixed with small fragments of charcoal. The eastern part of the pit was located above Grave 27.
Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 35) states that this is 'a later burial into the pit with skeleton No. 21' which is not in accordance to the data from the site, thus it is more likely that Graves 21 and 22 touched together with the feet bones of the two skeletons.
Skeleton. *Maturus* (41 to 60 years), male. H. 493.13 m; azimuth 96°. The skeleton was positioned on its back. The skull was severely damaged. The right arm was stretched alongside the torso, while the left hand lay on the pelvis. The bones belonging to the left leg were preserved, but from the right leg only the femur was preserved. The skeleton was disturbed when archaeological trench 3 was being dug (*N 4*), which is indicated by the position and depth of the bones of the legs found in the trench (*N 4:* in the centre). Grave 45 (at the feet) reached to the skull in Grave 22.
Artefacts. A stone arrowhead (Cat. No. 3; *Fig. 15:* 1; *Pl. 13:* 1) was found in the grave.
Commentary. The documentation categorised the arrowhead as an artefact belonging to Grave 22, however the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 252) explicitly states that this was – together with similar stone products – a scattered prehistoric artefact (the record is mentioned in footnote 37).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 23 (*Pl. 25:* 1; *26:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus, the skull was dug into the earlier Grave 31 (in the area of the legs). The pit was destroyed from the skull to the legs of the skeleton during the later burial in Grave 30.
Skeleton. H. 493.11 m. Only the skull remained in its original position, the moved bones of the legs were found in the fill-in material above the skeleton in Grave 30.
Artefact. A Roman pottery fragment (Cat. No. 4; *Fig. 1.25:* 2; *Pl. 14:* 16) was found underneath the skull.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 24 (*Pl. 25:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. The eastern side was dug into humus, while the western side was hewed into the bedrock.

Pridatki. Ob lobanji sta bila naglavna obročka (1, 2), levi je bil premaknjen.
(1) Bronast naglavni obroček (desni) okroglega preseka. Ohranjeni zaključek je profiliran, drugi je poškodovan. Vel. 3,05 x 2,8 cm, deb. 0,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1816 (*t. 1:* 17).
(2) Bronast naglavni obroček (levi) ovalnega preseka, desnosučen, s profiliranima zaključkoma. Vel. 3,4 x 2,5 cm, deb. 0,23 cm. Inv. št. S 1817 (*t. 1:* 18).

Grob 25 (*t. 25:* 3; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna, grob so verjetno prekopali pri izkopu jame za grob 56. Premaknjene kosti so bile zložene ob skalnem robu, morda ob severni steni grobne jame.
Okostje. Infans I (6 do 7 let). Viš. 493,26 m. Ohranjene so razlomljene dolge kosti ter deli medeničnih kosti.
Komentar. V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 38) so podatki o grobu 25 napačni, kar je razvidno iz fotografije, terenske risbe in ohranjenih kostnih ostankov.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 26 (*t. 25:* 4; *N 1; 16*)

Grobna jama: Ni bila vidna. Grob so verjetno prekopali pri gradnji severne stranske kapele.
Okostje. Maturus (46 do 62 let), ženska. Viš. 493,29 m (med kostmi). Deli lobanje in dolgih kosti so bili zbrani in odloženi v plast nasutja pri severovzhodnem vogalu stranske kapele.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 27 (*t. 25:* 5; *N 1*)

Grobna jama: Vkopana je bila v prst, dno je bilo na plasti lomljencev.
Okostje. Infans I (4 ± 12 mesecev). Viš. 493,02 m; azimut 100° (izmerjeno po risbi). Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo močno poškodovano, ležalo je pod skeletoma 21 in 22. Vidno je bilo do kolčnic, kosti nog so bile pod zidom 1. Od vrha lobanje do kolčnic je merilo 0,51 m.
Pridatki. Ob desni (1) in levi (2) strani glave je ležal naglavni obroček.
(1) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka, desnosučen. En zaključek je profiliran, drugi ravno odrezan. Pr. 3,0 cm, deb. 0,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1822 (*t. 1:* 19).
(2) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka. En zaključek je profiliran, drugi ravno odrezan. Pr. 3,1 cm, deb. 0,22 cm. Inv. št. S 1823 (*t. 1:* 20; *15:* 10).

Skeleton. Infans II (8 ± 24 months). H. 493.02 m; azimuth 86°. The skeleton was positioned on its back, the bones were poorly preserved and partially moved. The left arm was most likely stretched alongside the body, while the right hand was placed on the pelvis, where a few wrist bones were found. The skeleton measured 1.1 m from the top of the skull to the end of the tibia.
Artefacts. The grave pit contained four non-typical prehistoric pottery fragments (S 1818), some unretouched tuff flakes (S 2819, S 1820) and a bird (?) bone (S 1821).
Grave goods. Two temple rings (1, 2) lay alongside the skull, the left one had been moved.
(1) Bronze temple ring (right) with a circular cross-section and moulded end, while the other end has been damaged. S. 3.05 x 2.8 cm, th. 0.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1816 (*Pl. 1:* 17).
(2) Bronze temple ring (left) with an oval cross-section, right handed, with molded ends. S. 3.4 x 2.5 cm, th. 0.23 cm. Inv. No. S 1817 (*Pl. 1:* 18).

Grave 25 (*Pl. 25:* 3; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Was not visible, the grave was most likely destroyed when the pit for Grave 56 was being dug. The moved bones were stacked alongside the rock edge, possibly along the northern edge of the pit.
Skeleton. Infans I (6 to 7 years). H. 493.26 m. Broken long bones and parts of the pelvis were preserved.
Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 38) shows incorrect data for Grave 25; this is clearly evident from the photograph, the drawing from the site and the preserved bone remains.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 26 (*Pl. 25:* 4; *N 1; 16*)

Grave pit. Was not visible. The grave was most likely destroyed during the building works on the northern side chapel.
Skeleton. Maturus (46 to 62 years), female. H. 493.29 m (amongst the bones). Parts of the skull and long bones were gathered and placed in the fill in layer in the north-eastern corner of the side chapel.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 27 (*Pl. 25:* 5; *N 1*)

Grave pit: Dug into soil, the bottom was on a layer of quarry stones.
Skeleton. Infans I (4 ± 12 months). H. 493.02 m; azimuth 100° (measured from the drawing). The severely damaged skeleton was positioned on its back. It lay underneath skeletons 21 and 22. The skeleton was uncovered up to the innominate bones, while the leg bones are located underneath wall No. 1. The skeleton measured 0.51 m from the top of the skull to the innominate bones.
Grave goods. A right (1) and a left (2) bronze temple ring lay alongside the head.
(1) Bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section, right handed. One ending is moulded, the other straight. Dia. 3.0 cm, th. 0.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1822 (*Pl. 1:* 19).

Grob 28 (*t. 24:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna, v grob so vkopali jamo za grob 40.
Okostje. Maturus I (41 do 51 let), moški. Od prekopanega okostja se je ohranila le lobanja. Ležala je ob okostju v grobu 18 (pri kosteh levice) in nad okostjem v grobu 40 (na kosteh desnice).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 29 (*t. 25:* 6; *26:* 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v prst, pomešano z dolomitnim lomljencem. Pri izkopu jame so prekopali grob 33, izkop je verjetno segal tudi na prostor groba 32.
Okostje. Maturus II (54 do 60 let), moški. Viš. 493,40 m; azimut 90°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo delno ohranjeno, pri kosteh goleni in stopal je segalo na območje, kjer je bil pozneje zgrajen zid 1. Ohranjeni del okostja je meril 1,25 m. Roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu.
Predmet v grobu. V grobni jami je bil košček rude (kat. št. 5; s*l. 1.16: 1*).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.
Komentar. V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 39) je bila omemba "ob glavi sta bila 2 obsenčna obročka" zapisana pomotoma. V "pregledu najdb", ki v osnutku besedila sledi omembi, ni opisa "obsenčnih obročkov", kot je praviloma pri drugih naštetih najdbah. Tudi v terenski dokumentaciji in v inventarni knjigi ni nobenega podatka o "obsenčenih obročkih", ki naj bi jih našli v grobu 29.

Grob 30 (*t. 26:* 1, 2; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo. Pri izkopu jame so v večjem delu prekopali grob 23, verjetno pa tudi grob 32.
Okostje. Okostje odrasle osebe. Viš. 492,95 m; azimut 92°. Dobro ohranjeno okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, kosti so bile robustne. Desna roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, leva nekoliko upognjena z dlanmi na medenici. Spodnji del nog je pokrival zid 1. Od vrha lobanje do kolen je okostje merilo 1,1 m.
Predmeti v grobu. V grobu so našli svinčeno ploščico (1) in odlomek keramike.
Komentar. Odlomek keramike je omenjen le v osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 39), brez opisa v "pregledu najdb", niti ni bil vključen v terensko "Akcesijsko knjigo" (*arhiv* 494).
(1) Kvadratna svinčena ploščica. Vel. 3,2 x 3,18 cm, deb. 0,18 cm; teža 13,14 g. Inv. št. S 1825 (*t. 1*: 21; *t. 16:* 3).

(2) Bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section. One ending is moulded, the straight. Dia. 3.1 cm, th. 0.22 cm. Inv. No. S 1823 (*Pls. 1:* 20; *15:* 10).

Grave 28 (*Pl. 24:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Was not visible, Grave 40 was dug into this pit.
Skeleton. Maturus I (41 to 51 years), male. Only the skull has been preserved from the reburied skeleton. It lay alongside the skeleton in Grave 18 (next to the bones on the left side) and above the skeleton in Grave 40 (on top the bones on the right side).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 29 (*Pls. 25:* 6; *26:* 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into soil mixed with dolomite quarry stone. The pit destroyed Grave 33, and most likely reached into Grave 32.
Skeleton. Maturus II (54 to 60 years), male. H. 493.40 m; azimuth 90°. The partially preserved skeleton was positioned on its back; the tibia and the bones of the feet reached into the area of the later wall No. 1. The preserved part of the skeleton measured 1.25 m. The arms were stretched alongside the torso.
Artefacts. The grave pit included a piece of ore (Cat. No. 5; *Fig. 1.16: 1*).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.
Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 39) mentions '2 temple rings that were found next to the head', however, this was added as a mistake. The description of artefacts' which follows this mention in the draft of the text for publication does not include a description of the 'temple rings', even though this format was usually implemented. Nor the fieldwork documentation nor the inventory book mention any data connected to 'temple rings' that were supposedly found in Grave 29.

Grave 30 (*Pl. 26:* 1, 2; *N 5*)

Grave pit. Dug into bedrock. A large part of Grave 23 was disturbed when the pit was created and it is very likely that the pit also extended into Grave 32.
Skeleton. Adult skeleton. H. 492.95 m; azimuth 92°. The well-preserved skeleton was positioned on its back, the bones were robust. The right arm was extended alongside the torso, the left was slightly flexed, and the left hand was positioned on the pelvis. The lower part of the legs was covered by wall No. 1. The skeleton measured 1.1m from the top of the head to the knees.
Artefacts. The grave contained a lead tablet (1) and a pottery fragment.
Commentary. The pottery fragment is mentioned in the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 39), but is not described in the 'description of the artefacts', nor was it included in the field find list (*archive* 494).
(1) Square lead tablet. S. 3.2 x 3.18 cm, th. 0.18 cm; weight 13.14 g. Inv. No. S 1825 (*Pls. 1*: 21; *16:* 3).

Grob 31 (*t. 26:* 3; *N 1*)

Grobna jama: Vkopana je bila v prst, pomešano z dolomitnim peskom. V predelu nog je bil v jamo vkopan grob 23.
Okostje. Juvenilis (18 let), ženska. Viš. 493,27 m; azimut 90° (odmerjeno po risbi). Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, od glave so bili ohranjeni le odlomki lobanje in spodnja čeljustnica, od kosti nog pa leva stegnenica in del golenice. Kosti nog so bile prekopane pri izkopu jame za grob 23. Od prvega vratnega vretenca do konca stegnenice je okostje merilo 1,1 m.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 32 (*t. 26:* 4, 5; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Ob zgornjem delu okostja je bila jama vkopana v prst, pri kosteh nog pa je bila uničena. Grob so verjetno prekopali pri izkopu jam za grobova 29 in 30.
Okostje. Infans I (4 ± 12 mesecev). Viš. 493,12 m; azimut 91°. Ohranjene so bile kosti zgornjega dela okostja.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 33 (*t. 26:* 5; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Uničena. Grob so razdrli pri izkopu jame za grob 29.
Okostje. Senilis (59 do 72 let), moški. Viš. 493,20 m (med kostmi). Prekopane dolge kosti so bile zložene na kup, ob njih deli lobanje.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 34 (*t. 26:* 6; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v dolomitno osnovo.
Okostje. Okostje odrasle osebe je bilo slabo in le delno ohranjeno. Viš. 493,27 m; azimut 100° (približno, izmerjeno po risbi). Lobanja je bila poškodovana, v prvotnem položaju so bile deloma še kosti leve rame. Sodeč po legi členkov prstov na nogi je bil skelet dolg 1,8 m. Levo od lobanje sta bila v prvotni legi še nadlahtnica in podlahtnica nekega drugega okostja.
Pridatki. Ob kosteh leve rame je ležal naglavni obroček (1).
(1) Deformiran bronast naglavni obroček iz žice okroglega preseka, s profiliranima zaključkoma. Vel. 5,1 x 4,4 cm, deb. 0,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1826 (*t. 1*: 22; *15:* 9).

Grob 35 (*t. 27:* 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus. Na desni strani okostja so v grob vkopali severni del jame za vzporedno ležeči grob 36.
Okostje. Adultus (21 do 40 let), ženska. Viš. 493,09 m; azimut 95°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Leva roka je bila nekoliko upognjena, dlan je ležala na medenici. Desno stran okostja so poškodovali pri poznejšem pokopu (grob 36), kosti desne roke in desno kolčnico so nekoliko premaknili, kosti desne noge pa prekopali. Okostje je merilo 1,7 m. Ležalo je nad zgornjim delom okostja v grobu 45.

Grave 31 (*Pl. 26:* 3; *N 1*)

Grave pit: Dug into soil mixed with dolomite sand. Grave 23 disturbed the pit at the location of the legs.
Skeleton. Juvenilis (18 years), female. H. 493.27 m; azimuth 90° (measured from the drawing). The skeleton was positioned on its back, from the head only fragments of the skull and the mandible were preserved, while from the bones of the legs the left femur and a part of the tibia were preserved. The bones of the legs were reburied when Grave 23 was created. The skeleton measured 1.1 m from the first cervical vertebra to the end of the femur.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 32 (*Pl. 26:* 4, 5; *N 1*)

Grave pit. At the upper part of the skeleton the pit was dug into soil, at the bones of the legs it had been destroyed. The pit was most likely disturbed when the pits for Graves 29 and 30 were created.
Skeleton. *Infans I* (4 ± 12 months). H. 493.12 m; azimuth 91°. The bones belonging to the upper part of the skeleton were preserved.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 33 (*Pl. 26:* 5; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Destroyed. The grave was destroyed when the pit for Grave 29 was created.
Skeleton. *Senilis* (59 to 72 years), male. H. 493.20 m (between the bones). The reburied long bones were stacked on a pile, skull fragments were found next to it.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 34 (*Pl. 26:* 6; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into the dolomite base.
Skeleton. The poorly and only partially preserved skeleton belonged to an adult. H. 493.27 m; azimuth 100° (approximately, measured from the drawing). The skull was damaged, and a part of the bones belonging to the left shoulder were in their original position. Taking into account the position of the toe joints, the skeleton must have been 1.8 m long. A humerus and an ulna belonging to a different skeleton were in their original position, left of the skull.
Grave goods. A temple ring (1) lay alongside the bones of the left shoulder.
(1) A deformed bronze temple ring made from wire with a circular cross-section and moulded ends. S. 5.1 x 4.4 cm, th. 0.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1826 (*Pls. 1*: 22; *15:* 9).

Grave 35 (*Pl. 27:* 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus. The north part of the parallel Grave 36 was dug into the pit to the right of the skeleton.
Skeleton. *Adultus* (21 to 40 years), female. H. 493.09 m; azimuth 95°. The skeleton was positioned on its back. The left arm

Pridatki. "Ob levem boku" je ležal železen nož (1).
Komentar. Po osnutku besedila naj bi nož ležal ob desni stegnenici (*arhiv* 489, str. 40), vendar je bila ob odkritju groba na prvotnem mestu le leva stegnenica, pa tudi na terenski listek so zapisali, da je mesto najdbe noža "ob levem boku".
(1) Železen nož s ploščatim trnom in poševno zalomljenim hrbtom rezila. Prehod iz rezila v trn je stopničast. Dol. 13,25 cm, dol. trna 3,8 cm, šir. rezila do 2,08 cm. Inv. št. S 1827 (*t. 1*: 23; *17:* 4).

Grob 36 (*t. 27:* 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, na severi strani deloma v vzporedno ležeči grob 35.
Okostje. Maturus II (55 do 61 let), ženska. Viš. 493,30 m; azimut 101°. Dobro ohranjeno okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Roki sta bili pokrčeni, z dlanmi na medenici. Okostje je merilo 1,64 m. Na desni strani ob zgornjem delu okostja, med groboma 36 in 37, je ležala dolga kost nekega drugega prekopanega okostja odrasle osebe.
Pridatki. Ob desni strani lobanje sta ležala naglavna obročka (1, 2).
(1) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka, desnosučen, s profiliranima zaključkoma. Vel. 4,20 x 3,6 cm, deb. 0,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1829 (*t. 2:* 1).
(2) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka, levosučen, s profiliranima zaključkoma. Vel. 4,16 x 3,86 cm, deb. 0,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1828 (*t. 2:* 2).

Grob 37 (*t. 27:* 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus.
Okostje. Infans I (4 ± 12 mesecev). Viš. 492,99 m. Slabo ohranjeno okostje, v prvotnem položaju je bila delno ohranjena lobanja. Na levi strani lobanje, med groboma 36 in 37, je ležala dolga kost nekega drugega prekopanega okostja odrasle osebe.
Komentar. Po osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 41) je bil v grobu "uničen skelet odrasle osebe". Vendar je bolj verjetno, da je bil v njem pokopan otrok, na kar kažeta analiza kosti in velikost najdenega prstana (3).
Pridatki. Ob okostju so bili naglavna obročka (1, 2) in prstan (3).
(1) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka, desnosučen, s profiliranima zaključkoma. Vel. 2,8 x 2,74 cm, deb. 0,23 cm. Inv. št. S 1830 (*t. 2:* 3; *15:* 11).
(2) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka, desnosučen, s profiliranima zaključkoma. Vel. 2,8 x 2,78 cm deb. 0,25 cm. Inv. št. S 1831 (*t. 2:* 4).
(3) Bronast prstan trikotnega preseka, preoblikovan, z zmanjšanim premerom in močno presegajočima koncema. En konec je ravno zaključen, drugi je razcepljen. Vel. 2,06 x 1,81 cm, šir. traku 0,36 cm, notranji pr. prstana 1,4 cm. Inv. št. S 1832 (*t. 2:* 5; *15:* 13).

was slightly flexed, the left hand lay on the pelvis. The right side of the skeleton was damaged during a later burial (Grave 36), the bones of the right arm and the right innominate bones were slightly moved, and the bones of the right leg were reburied. The skeleton measured 1.7 m in length. It was positioned above the upper part of the skeleton in Grave 45.
Grave goods. An iron knife lay 'alongside the left hip' (1).
Commentary. According to the draft of the text for publication the knife lay alongside the right femur (*archive* 489, pg. 40), however when the grave was uncovered only the left femur was in its original position, and the field index paper also stated that the knife was found alongside 'the left hip'.
(1) Iron knife with a flat tang and an obliquely angled spine. The transition from the blade to the tang is gradual. L. 13.25 cm, tang l. 3.8 cm, blade w. up to 2.08 cm. Inv. No. S 1827 (*Pls. 1*: 23; *17:* 4).

Grave 36 (*Pl. 27:* 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus, on the northern side partially into the parallel Grave 35.
Skeleton. *Maturus II* (55 to 61 years), female. H. 493.30 m; azimuth 101°. The well-preserved skeleton was positioned on its back. The arms were flexed, the hands positioned on the pelvis. The skeleton measured 1.64 m in length. On the right side of the upper part of the skeleton, between Graves 36 and 37, lay a reburied long bone of an adult from another skeleton.
Grave goods. Two temple rings (1, 2) lay to the right of the skull.
(1) Bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section, right handed, with moulded ends. S. 4.20 x 3.6 cm, th. 0.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1829 (*Pl. 2:* 1).
(2) Bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section, left handed, with bulge. S. 4.16 x 3.86 cm, th. 0.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1828 (*Pl. 2:* 2).

Grave 37 (*Pl. 27:* 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus.
Skeleton. *Infans I* (4 ± 12 months). H. 492.99 m. A poorly preserved skeleton, the partially preserved skull was found in its original position. An adult long bone, belonging to a reburied skeleton, was found to the left of the skull, between Graves 36 and 37.
Commentary. According to the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 41) the grave contained 'a destroyed adult skeleton'. However, it is more likely that the grave was created for an infant, which is supported by the bone analysis and the size of the discovered ring (3).
Grave goods. Two temple rings (1, 2) and a ring (3) were found alongside the skeleton.
(1) Bronze temple ring with a triangular cross-section, right handed, with moulded ends. S. 2.8 x 2.74 cm, th. 0.23 cm. Inv. No. S 1830 (*Pls. 2:* 3; *15:* 11).
(2) Bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section, right handed, with moulded ends. S. 2.8 x 2.78 cm th. 0.25 cm. Inv. No. S 1831 (*Pl. 2:* 4).
(3) Bronze finger ring with a semi-circular cross-section, redesigned, with a reduced diameter and strongly exceeding

Grob 38 (*t. 27*: 2,3; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, na dnu je bilo veliko dolomitnega peska in koščkov oglja. Nad kostmi spodnjega dela nog je bila vkopana jama za grob 20.

Okostje. Senilis (58 do 72 let), ženska. Viš. 492,90 m; azimut 113°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, kosti so bile slabo ohranjene. Roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Okostje je bilo dolgo 1,7 m. Kosti spodnjega dela nog so ležale pod kostmi spodnjega dela nog okostja v grobu 20.

Opomba. Nad okostjem v grobu 38 so izkopali sondo 3.

Predmeti v grobu. V jami so našli šest neobdelanih kremenovih odbitkov (največji je shranjen, inv. št. S 1836a; objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 22, zgornji) in praskalo (kat. št. 6; *sl. 1.9:* 2; *t. 13:* 2; objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 22, drugi od zgoraj).

Pridatki. Ob levi ključnici je ležal naglavni obroček (1), ob levi stegnenici pri kolčnici nož (2).

(1) Nesklenjen bronast naglavni obroček s profiliranima zaključkoma. Vel. 2,5 x 2,4 cm, deb. 0,2 cm. Ohranjen je večji del ob najdbi razlomljenega, a v celoti ohranjenega obročka (risarska rekonstrukcija po risbi v stari kartoteki). Inv. št. S 1834 (*t. 2:* 6; *t. 27:* 2). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 22.

(2) Železen nož. Hrbet rezila je pri konici poševno zalomljen, konica manjka. Na ploščatem nasadišču za ročaj sta bili ohranjeni platnici iz kosti ali rogovine, pritrjeni z železnima kovicama in okrašeni s prečnimi in križajočimi se vrezi. Zdaj sta platnici ohranjeni fragmentarno. Dol. 11,25 cm, šir. rezila do 1,25 cm, šir. ročaja 1,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1833 (*t. 2:* 7; *17:* 5; *t. 27:* 3). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 22.

Grob 39 (*t. 29:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, na južnem robu v plast prepečene ilovice. Poškodovana je bila ob vkopu jame za grob 46.

Okostje. Viš. 493,50 m (med kostmi). Prekopano okostje odrasle osebe, premaknjene kosti (lobanja, stegnenici, kolčnici in druge) so zbrali in zložili na sloj prsti nad glavo in trupom umrlega v grobu 46.

Komentar. Po osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 43) so v grobu "ležali v neredu ostanki najmanj treh pokopov". Poleg prekopanih kosti so omenjene tudi kosti rok in nog, ki so ostale na prvotnem mestu. Te so spadale, kot se vidi iz terenske dokumentacije, k okostju v grobu 46. Okostju št. 39 je pripisana tudi dolga kost (*N 1*), ki je ležala med grobovi 42, 47 in 20, vendar je od zbranih kosti okostja 39 (nad grobom 46) preveč oddaljena za takšno sklepanje.

Predmeti v grobu. Ob kosteh so bili del žrmelj (kat. št. 7; *sl. 1.16:* 2; *1.18:* 1), odlomek dleta ali sekirice (kat. št. 8; *sl. 1.15:* 11; *t. 13:* 10) in odlomki prazgodovinske keramike.

Komentar. Odlomkov keramike, ki se omenjajo v osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 43), med najdbami ni mogoče identificirati. Odlomki niso bili vpisani v terenski zvezek akcesije (*arhiv* 494).

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

ends. On one side it is straight ended, on the other it is forked. S. 2.06 x 1.81 cm, w. of the band 0.36 cm, inner dia. of the ring 1.4 cm. Inv. No. S 1832 (*Pls. 2:* 5; *15:* 13).

Grave 38 (*Pl. 27:* 2,3; *N 5*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus, the bottom of the pit was covered in dolomite sand and pieces of charcoal. Grave 20 was created above the bones of the upper part of the legs.

Skeleton. *Senilis* (58 to 72 years), female. H. 492.90 m; azimuth 113°. The skeleton was positioned on its back, the bones were poorly preserved. The hands were placed on the pelvis. The skeleton measured 1.7 m in length. The bones of the lower part of the legs lay under the bones of the lower part of the legs belonging to the skeleton in Grave 20.

Note. Trench 3 was dug above the skeleton in Grave 38.

Artefacts. Six unretouched flint flakes (the largest was stored, Inv. No. S 1836a; published: Šribar 1972a, pg. 22, top image) and a scraper (Cat. No. 6; *Fig. 1.9:* 2; *Pl. 13:* 2; published: Šribar 1972a, pg. 22, second image from top) were found in the pit.

Grave goods. A temple ring (1) lay alongside the left clavicle and a knife (2) lay next to the left femur, at the height of the innominate bones.

(1) An open bronze temple ring with moulded ends. S. 2.5 x 2.4 cm, th. 0.2 cm. A large part of the ring is preserved. It was broken, but complete when found (the sketch reconstruction created from the drawing in the old file). Inv. No. S 1834 (*Pls. 2:* 6; *27:* 2). Published: Šribar 1972a, Figure on pg. 22.

(2) Iron knife. The spine of the blade is obliquely angled at the tip, the tip itself is missing. The flat tang had two halves of a bone or antler handle attached to it with iron rivets; the bone handle was decorated with transversal and crossing incisions. The two halves of the handle are now fragmentarily preserved. L. 11.25 cm, blade w. up to 1.25 cm, handle w. 1.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1833 (*Pls. 2:* 7; *17:* 5; *27:* 3). Publication: Šribar 1972a, Figure on pg. 22.

Grave 39 (*Pls. 27:* 4; *29:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus, on the south edge into a layer of burnt clay. It was damaged during the burial in Grave 46.

Skeleton. H. 493.50 m (amongst the bones). The moved bones (skull, femur, innominate bones and others) of the reburied adult skeleton were gathered and stacked on a layer of soil above the head and torso of the skeleton in Grave 46.

Commentary. According to the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 43) the grave included 'scattered remains of at least three burials'. Alongside the reburied bones the bones of arms and legs that have remained in their original position are also mentioned. Fieldwork documentation indicates that these belonged to the skeleton in Grave 46. It was also recorded that the long bone (*N 1*), which lay between Graves 42, 47 and 20, belonged to skeleton 39, however the remaining bones of skeleton 39 (above Grave 46) are too far away to justify this conclusion.

Artefacts. A part of a quern (Cat. No. 7; *Figs. 1.16:* 2; *18:* 1), a fragment of a small axe or chisel (Cat. No. 8; *Fig. 1.15:* 11; *Pl. 13:* 10) and fragments of prehistoric pottery were found next to the bones.

Grob 40 (*t. 24:* 3; *27*: 6; *28:* 1; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v prst, pomešano z drobnimi koščki dolomitnega lomljenca in ogljem. Dno jame je bilo na plasti prepečene ilovice. V zasutju ob okostju so bili večji kosi prepečene ilovice. Jama je bila vkopana v grob št. 28.

Okostje. Azimut 90°. Dobro ohranjeno okostje odrasle osebe je bilo v hrbtni legi. Roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu. Čelni del lobanje je bil poškodovan pri vkopu groba 19. Kosti nog so bile pod temelji stranske kapele. Odkopani del okostja je meril 1,0 m. Ležalo je vzporedno z okostjem 41 in tik ob njem (15 cm razmika).

Predmet v grobu. V zasipu nad levo stegnenico je bil kamnit jedrni odbitek (kat. št. 9; *sl. 1.15:* 3; *t. 13:* 3; *t. 27:* 6).

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 41 (*t. 24*: 3; *27*: 5; *28:* 1; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. Jama je bila vkopana v prst, ki je bila v nižjih plasteh pomešana z ilovico in drobnim dolomitnim lomljencem. Dno jame je bilo na plasti prepečene ilovice. V zasutju ob okostju so bili večji kosi prepečene ilovice in oglja.

Okostje. Viš. 493,20 m; azimut 93° (odmerjeno po risbi). Dobro ohranjeno okostje odrasle osebe je bilo v hrbtni legi. Roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu. Spodnje kosti nog so bile pod temelji stranske kapele. Vidni del okostja je meril 1,0 m. Ležalo je vzporedno z okostjem 40 in tik ob njem (15 cm razmika). Ob levi stegnenici so bili deli lobanje drugega okostja, verjetno iz groba 42.

Komentar. V osnutku besedila je zapisano mnenje (*arhiv* 489, str. 44), da sta bila pokojnika v grobovih 40 in 41 pokopana istočasno, verjetno v skupno grobno jamo.

Predmeti v grobu. V jami sta bila kamnit odbitek (inv. št. S 1840; objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 31, št. 5) in odlomek lončene posode (kat. št. 10; *t. 6:* 2; *18:* 2; *t. 27:* 5).

Pridatki. Na prstnici desne roke je bil nataknjen prstan (1), med levo stegnenico ter dlanskimi kostmi in prstnicami leve roke je ležal železen nož (2).

(1) Ulit bronast prstan okroglega preseka, z nesklenjenima ravno odrezanima koncema. Pr. 2,45 cm, deb. 0,4 cm. Inv. št. S 1841 (*t. 2:* 8; *27:* 5). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 31, št. 4.

(2) Železen nož z ravnim hrbtom rezila in trnastim nastavkom za ročaj. Ob najdbi je bil nož v celoti ohranjen, pozneje pa sta konica rezila in del trna propadla. Dol. 11,72 cm (prvotna dol. 13,6 cm), šir. rezila do 1,5 cm. Inv. št. S 1842 (*t. 2:* 9; *17:* 6; *t. 27:* 5). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 31, št. 3.

Commentary. It was impossible to identify the pottery fragments mentioned in the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 43) amongst the finds. Fragments were not included in the field find list (*archive* 494).

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 40 (*Pls. 24:* 3; *27:* 5; *28:* 1; *N 5*)

Grave pit. Dug into soil mixed with small fragments of dolomite quarry stone and charcoal. The bottom of the pit lay on a layer of burnt clay. Along the skeleton, the pit was filled-in with soil mixed with large chunks of burnt clay. The pit was dug into Grave 28.

Skeleton. Azimuth 90°. The well-preserved adult skeleton was positioned on its back. The arms were stretched alongside the torso. The frontal lobe was damaged during the burial in Grave 19. The bones of the legs were located underneath the foundations of the side chapel. The uncovered part of the skeleton measured 1.0 m in length. It lay parallel to skeleton 41, only 15 cm away.

Artefacts. A stone core tablet (Cat. No. 9; *Fig. 1.15:* 3; *Pls. 13:* 3; *27:* 6) was found in the fill-in material above the left femur.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 41 (*Pls. 24:* 3; *27:* 5; *28:* 1; *N 5*)

Grave pit. Dug into soil, which was in the lower layers mixed with clay and fine dolomite quarry stone. The bottom of the pit reached the layer of burnt clay. The fill-in material alongside the skeleton contained larg chunks of burnt clay and charcoal.

Skeleton. H. 493.20 m; azimuth 93° (measured from the drawing). The well-preserved adult skeleton was positioned on its back. The arms were stretched alongside the torso. The lower bones of the legs were underneath the foundations of the side chapel. The visible part of the skeleton measured 1.0 m in length. It lay parallel to skeleton 40, only 15 cm away. Alongside the left femur were parts of a skull belonging to a different skeleton, most likely from Grave 42.

Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 44) states that the deceased in Graves 40 and 41 were buried at the same time, most likely in a shared grave pit.

Artefacts. The pit contained a stone flake (Inv. No. S 1840; publication: Šribar 1972a, pg. 31, Fig. 5) and a pottery fragment (Cat. No. 10; *Pls. 6:* 2; *18:* 2; *27:* 5).

Grave goods. A finger ring (1) was found on the phalanges of the right hand, an iron knife (2) lay between the left femur and the palm bones and phalanges of the left hand.

(1) A cast bronze finger ring with a rounded cross-section, with straight cut off endings. Dia. 2.45 cm, th. 0.4 cm. Inv. No. S 1841 (*Pls. 2:* 8; *27:* 5). Publication: Šribar 1972a, pg. 31, Fig. 4.

(2) Iron knife with a straight spine and a tang. When discovered the knife was fully preserved, however the tip of the blade and a part of the tang decayed over time. L. 11.72 cm (original l. 13.6 cm), blade w. up to 1.5 cm. Inv. No. S 1842 (*Pls. 2:* 9; *17:* 6; *27:* 5). Publication: Šribar 1972a, pg. 31, Fig. 3.

Grob 42 (*t. 28:* 2; *28:* 2; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, pomešan z dolomitnim lomljencem. Dno jame je bilo iz prsti, pomešane z dolomitnim lomljencem v velikosti do 10 x 10 cm. Grob so v večjem delu razdrli, verjetno pri izkopu jame za grob 41.
Okostje. Viš. 493,08 m; azimut 91°. Slabo ohranjeno okostje odrasle osebe, v prvotnem položaju so bile le poškodovane leva stegnenica in obe golenici. Okostju so verjetno pripadali deli lobanje, ki so ležali pri lobanji okostja v grobu 41.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 43 (*t. 24:* 3; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v plast humusa, pomešanega z dolomitnim lomljencem.
Okostje. Infans I. Viš. 493,17 m. Ohranjeni so bili le del lobanje in nekaj reber. Grob so verjetno zadeli pri vkopu jame za grob 19. Okostje je ležalo ob zahodnem robu prepečene ilovice.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 44 (*t. 28:* 3; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. V raziskanem delu groba je bila jama vkopana v humus, pomešan z dolomitnim lomljencem.
Okostje. Viš. 493,19 m. Odkriti so bili le spodnja dela golenic in prstne kosti noge. Drugi deli okostja so ostali neraziskani pod tlakom.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 45 (*t. 28:* 4,5; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. Severovzhodni rob grobne jame, vsekan v živo skalo, je bil dobro viden. Dno jame je bilo deloma vkopano v dolomitno osnovo. Nagnjeno je bilo od vzhoda proti zahodu, tako da je zgornji del okostja ležal nižje kot spodnji. Zahodna polovica grobne jame je bila pod okostjem v grobu 35.
Okostje. Maturus I (44 do 50 let), ženska. Azimut 82°. Dobro ohranjeno okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu. Okostje je merilo 1,6 m. Pri nogah je segalo do groba 22 (pri lobanji). Del okostja od lobanje do medenice je ležal pod zgornjim delom okostja v grobu 35.
Predmeti v grobu. V zasutju groba so bili odlomki prazgodovinskih (inv. št. S 1847c) in zgodnjesrednjeveških lončenih posod (kat. št. 11 in 12; *t. 6:* 3; *18:* 4 in *t. 6:* 4; *18:* 3).
Pridatki. Ob levi (1) in desni (2) strani lobanje sta ležala uhana, ob desni roki je bil bronast prstan (3).
(1) Bronast ulit polmesečast uhan z lokom okroglega preseka. Spodnji del polmeseca s tremi roglji je stanjšan in okrašen z drobnim zrnatim nizom. V jamicah, ki obdajajo bronasto površino v podobi živali z nazaj obrnjeno glavo, je ohranjen temnomoder, turkizen in brezbarven emajl. Jamice obdajajo bronasto površino v podobi živali z nazaj

Grave 42 (*Pl. 28:* 2; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus mixed with dolomite quarry stone. The bottom of the pit was covered in soil mixed with dolomite quarry stone measuring up to 10 x 10 cm. Most of the grave was destroyed, most probably when the pit for Grave 41 was created.
Skeleton. H. 493.08 m; azimuyh 91°. Poorly preserved adult skeleton, only the damaged left femur and both tibias were found in their original position. The parts of the skull that lay alongside the skull in Grave 41 most likely belonged to this skeleton.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 43 (*Pl. 24:* 3; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into a layer of humus mixed with dolomite quarry stone.
Skeleton. Infans I. H. 493.17 m. Only a part of the skull and a few ribs were preserved. The grave was most likely disturbed when the pit for Grave 19 was created. The skeleton lay on the western part of the layer of burnt clay.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 44 (*Pl. 28:* 3; *N 1*)

Grave pit. In the researched part of the grave the pit was dug into humus mixed with dolomite quarry stone.
Skeleton. H. 493.19 m. Only the lower part of the tibia and the phalanges of the toes were found. The remaining parts of the skeleton remained under the paving stones.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 45 (*Pl. 28:* 4,5; *N 5*)

Grave pit. The northeast edge of the pit, cut into the bedrock, was clearly visible. The bottom of the pit was partially dug into the dolomite base. The pit tilts from the east to the west, thus the upper part of the skeleton lay lower than the lower part of the skeleton. The western side of the pit was underneath the skeleton in Grave 35.
Skeleton. Maturus I (44 to 50 years), female. Azimuth 82°. The well-preserved skeleton was positioned on its back. The arms were stretched alongside the torso. The skeleton measured 1.6 m in length. At the feet it reached into Grave 22 (at the skull). Between the skull and the pelvis the skeleton lay underneath the upper part of the skeleton in Grave 35.
Artefacts. The fill-in material contained fragments of prehistoric (Inv. No. S 1847c) and Early-Medieval pottery (Cat. No. 11 and 12; *Pls. 6:* 3; *18:* 4 and *Pls. 6:* 4; *18:* 3).
Grave goods. Two earrings lay on the left (1) and right (2) side of the skull, a bronze finger ring lay alongside the right arm (3).
(1) A cast bronze crescent earring with an arc with a circular cross-section. The lower part of the crescent with three prongs is thinner and decorated with a fine grain sequence. The small holes surrounding the bronze surface outline an animal with a head turned back contain dark blue, turquoise and colourless enamel. . H. 4.27 cm, w. 3.23 cm.

obrnjeno glavo. Viš. 4,27 cm, šir. 3,23 cm. Inv. št. S 1845 (*t. 2:* 11; *15:* 3). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 31, št. 8.

(2) Bronast ulit polmesečast uhan z lokom okroglega preseka. Spodnji rob polmeseca s tremi roglji je stanjšan in okrašen z nizom vtisnjenih okroglih jamic. Na polmesečastem delu je reliefno upodobljen rastlinski motiv, ohranjeni so ostanki belega in rumenega emajla. Viš. 4,8 cm, šir. 2,9 cm. Inv. št. S 1846 (*t. 2:* 12; *15:* 4). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 31, št. 7.

(3) Ulit bronast prstan okroglega preseka, z ravno odrezanima nesklenjenima koncema. Na enem koncu je obroček nekoliko stanjšan. Pr. 2,4 cm, deb. 0,3 cm. Inv. št. S 1844 (*t. 2:* 10; *15:* 14). Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 31, št. 6.

Grob 46 (*t. 28:* 1,3,6; *29:* 1; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. Zahodni del jame so vkopali v plast prepečene ilovice, vzhodni del v prst, pomešano z dolomitnimi lomljenci in koščki oglja. Za lobanjo je stal kvadrast dolomitni lomljenec v velikosti 24 x 10 x 10 cm, položen na daljšo ozko ploskev. Pri izkopu jame so razdrli grob 39 in zadeli grob 63.

Okostje. Maturus II (51 do 60 let), moški. Azimut 72°. Dobro ohranjeno okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Obe roki sta ležali na medenici. Okostje je bilo dolgo 1,6 m. Nad zgornjim delom okostja so bile naložene kosti prekopanega okostja iz groba 39.

Premeti v grobu. V zasipu so bili kos pečene ilovice in odlomki prazgodovinskih lončenih posod (inv. št. S 1848).

Komentar. V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 47) je zapisano, da je bilo v jami in bližnji okolici poleg odlomkov lončenine tudi več kremenčevih odbitkov.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 47 (*t. 29:* 2, *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Jama je bila uničena, ostanki okostja so ležali na plasti lomljenca ob severozahodnem vogalu severne stranske kapele.

Okostje. Infans I (2,5 do 3 let). Ohranjeni so bili desna kolčnica, del desne stegnenice in nekaj reber.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 48 (*t. 28:* 3)

Grobna jama. V raziskanem delu groba je bila jama vkopana v humus, pomešan z dolomitnim lomljencem. Grob je na vzhodnem koncu (pri nogah) ležal zahodno od groba 46 (tik za lobanjo).

Okostje. Ostanki okostja odrasle osebe. Odkrite so bile kosti nog, drugi deli okostja so ostali neraziskani pod tlakom.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 49 (*t. 29:* 3,4; *N 1*)

Grobna jama: Vkopana je bila deloma v živo skalo, deloma pa v prst, pomešano z drobnim dolomitnim lomljencem. Na dnu je bil humus pomešan z ilovico. Na mestu, kjer

Inv. No. S 1845 (*Pls. 2:* 11; *15:* 3). Publication: Šribar 1972a, Fig. on pg. 31, No. 8.

(2) A cast bronze crescent earring with an arc with a circular cross-section. The lower edge of the crescent with three prongs is thinner and decorated with a series of imprinted round holes. The small holes surround the vegetative decorative relief. White and yellow enamel are preserved on the crescent. H. 4.8 cm, w. 2.9 cm. Inv. No. S 1846 (*Pls. 2:* 12; *15:* 4). Publication: Šribar 1972a, Fig. on pg. 31, No. 7.

(3) An open cast bronze finger ring with a circular cross-section, with straight cut off ends. The ring is slightly thinner on one side. Dia. 2.4 cm, th. 0.3 cm. Inv. No. S 1844 (*Pls. 2:* 10; *15:* 14). Publication: Šribar 1972a, Fig. on pg. 31, No. 6.

Grave 46 (*Pls. 28:* 1,3,6; *29:* 1; *N 5*)

Grave pit. The western part of the pit was dug into a layer of burnt clay, the eastern part into soil mixed with dolomite quarry stones and pieces of charcoal. Behind the skull lay a square dolomite quarry stone measuring 24 x 10 x 10 cm, positioned on a long and narrow plane. While digging the pit Grave 39 was destroyed and Grave 63 disturbed.

Skeleton. *Maturus II* (51 to 60 years), male. Azimuth 72°. A well-preserved skeleton was positioned on its back. Both hands lay on the pelvis. The skeleton measured 1.6 m in length. Above the upper part of the skeleton lay the stacked bones belonging to the reburied skeleton from Grave 39.

Artefacts. The fill-in material contained a piece of burnt clay and prehistoric pottery fragments (Inv. No. S 1848).

Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 47) states that the pit and the surroundings included not only pottery fragments but also flint flakes.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 47 (*Pl. 29:* 2, *N 1*)

Grave pit. The pit was destroyed, the skeleton remains lay on a layer of quarry stones near the northwest corner of the north chapel.

Skeleton. *Infans I* (2,5 to 3 years). The right innominate bones, a part of the right femur and a few ribs were preserved.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 48 (*Pl. 28:* 3)

Grave pit. In the explored part of the grave the pit was dug into humus mixed with dolomite quarry stone. On the eastern side (at the feet) the grave lay west of Grave 46 (right behind the skull).

Skeleton. Adult skeleton remains. The bones of the legs were uncovered while the remaining parts of the skeleton lay unresearched under the paving stones.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 49 (*Pl. 29:* 3,4; *N 1*)

Grave pit: Partially dug into the bedrock, partially into soil mixed with fine dolomite quarry stone. At the bottom the

bi morala biti lobanja, je bil droben rečni pesek. Nad okostjem, približno od lobanje do medenice, so pozneje vkopali grob 11 (vzhodni del groba pri nogah umrlega).

Okostje. Maturus I (37 do 46 let), ženska. Viš. 493,18 m (na mestu glave); azimut 91°. Okostje je bilo poškodovano, v hrbtni legi, manjkale so lobanja in kosti spodnjega dela nog (od kolen). Lobanjo so razbili pri vkopu jame za grob 11. Roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Od vratnega vretenca (atlasa) do konca desne stegnenice je skelet meril 1,0 m.

Predmeti v grobu. V jami so bili kamnita klinica (kat. št. 13; *sl. 1.15:* 4; *1.16:* 3), kremenov odbitek (inv. št. S 1853a), trije odlomki prazgodovinske lončene posode (inv. št. S 1852) in odlomek okenskega stekla (inv. št. S 1853b).

Pridatki. V grobu sta bila naglavna obročka (1, 2), eden pri kosteh levega komolca (1).

(1) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka, s sploščeno S-zanko. Vel. 3,32 x 2,55 cm, deb. 0,18 cm, šir. zanke 0,33 cm. Inv. št. S 1849 (*t. 2:* 13; *15:* 12; *t. 29:* 4).

(2) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka, levosučen. Konca obročka sta profilirana, eden je stanjšan. Pr. 2,96 cm, deb. 0,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1850 (*t. 2:* 14).

Grob 50 (*t. 29:* 5; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, pomešan z zelo drobnim dolomitnim lomljencem. Dno je bilo na dolomitni osnovi.

Okostje. Infans II (8 ± 24 mesecev). Viš. 493,19 m; azimut 98°. Poškodovano okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu. Okostje je od vrha lobanje do sredine golenic merilo 1,3 m.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 51 (*t. 29:* 6; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, pri dnu v dolomitno osnovo.

Okostje. Adultus I (23 do 30 let), ženska. Viš. 493,03 m; azimut 92°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Ohranjeni zgornji del okostja je meril 0,45 m.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 52 (*t. 29:* 6; *30:* 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama: Vkopana je bila v humus, dno je segalo do žive skale.

Okostje. Viš. 493,09 m (pri vretencih). Okostje nedorasle osebe je bilo zelo poškodovano, v prvotni legi je bilo le še nekaj vretenc in reber.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 53 (*N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, pomešan z dolomitnim peskom. Dno je bilo na dolomitni osnovi.

Okostje. Infans II (8 ± 24 mesecev). Ohranjen je bil le del lobanje, drugi deli okostja so bili uničeni.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

humus was mixed with clay. Fine river sand was found where the skull should have been. Above the skeleton, approximately between the skull and the pelvis, the later Grave 11 was created (the eastern part of the grave lays at the feet of the deceased).

Skeleton. *Maturus I* (37 to 46 years), female. H. 493.18 m (at the position of the missing skull); azimuth 91°. The damaged skeleton was positioned on its back, the skull and the bones of the lower legs (from the knees downwards) were missing. The skull was destroyed when the pit for Grave 11 was created. The hands were positioned on the pelvis. The skeleton measured 1.0 m from the cervical vertebrae (the atlas) to the end of the right femur.

Artefacts. The pit contained a stone bladelet (Cat. No. 13; *Figs. 1.15:* 4; *1.16:* 3), a flint flake (Inv. No. S 1853a), three fragments of prehistoric pottery (Inv. No. S 1852) and a fragment of window glass (Inv. No. S 1853b).

Grave goods. The grave contained two temple rings (1, 2), one was found next to the bones belonging to the left elbow (1).

(1) A bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section and a flattened S-hook. S. 3.32 x 2.55 cm, th. 0.18 cm, hook w. 0.33 cm. Inv. No. S 1849 (*Pls. 2:* 13; *15:* 12; *29:* 4).

(2) Bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section, left handed, with moulded ends. The ring ends in bulges, one is thinner. Dia. 2.96 cm, th. 0.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1850 (*Pl. 2:* 14).

Grave 50 (*Pl. 29:* 5; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus mixed with fine dolomite quarry stone. The bottom of the pit was located on a dolomite base.

Skeleton. *Infans II* (8 ± 24 months). H. 493.19 m; azimuth 98°. The damaged skeleton was positioned on its back. The arms were stretched alongside the torso. From the top of the skull to the middle of the tibia the skeleton measured 1.3 m in length.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 51 (*Pl. 29:* 6; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus, at the bottom into a dolomite base.

Skeleton. *Adultus I* (23 to 30 years), female. H. 493.03 m; azimuth 92°. The skeleton was positioned on its back. The preserved upper part of the skeleton measured 0.45 m in length.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 52 (*Pls. 29:* 6; *30:* 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit: Dug into humus, the bottom reached to the bedrock.

Skeleton. H. 493.09 m (at the vertebrae). The juvenile skeleton was severely damaged, only a few vertebrae and ribs remained in their original position.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 53 (*N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus mixed with dolomite sand. The bottom was on a dolomite base.

Grob 54 (*t. 30:* 2,4,5; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v dolomitno osnovo. Prsteno zasutje je bilo pomešano z drobnim dolomitnim lomljencem.

Okostje. Adultus I (25 do 31 let), moški. Viš. 493,33 m (na vretencih); azimut 96°. Delno ohranjeno okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Desna roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, leva upognjena na medenico.

Predmeti v grobu. Ob okostju so našli svinčeno ploščico (1) in železen žebelj.

Komentar. Nikjer ni navedeno, kje natanko so ploščico našli. Morda je vseeno pridatek? Žebelj je (brez opisa) omenjen v le osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 51) in ga ni mogoče prepoznati med najdbami.

(1) Svinčena pravokotna ploščica z valovito površino, na enem koncu je zapognjena. Na eni strani so na površini kratki vrezi. Dol. 4,0 cm, šir. 2,5 cm, deb. 0,15 cm. Inv. št. S 1854 (*t. 2:* 15; *16:* 4).

Grob 55 (*t. 30:* 3; *N 1*)

Grobna jama: Vkopana je bila v humus, pomešan z dolomitnim lomljencem. Pri dnu je segala do 0,5 m globoko v dolomitno osnovo. Severna polovica grobne jame je bila vkopana v grob 61. Ob steni v zahodnem delu jame so okostje obdajali večji kamni.

Okostje. Senilis (63 do 69 let), moški: Viš. 493,20 m; azimut 99°. Slabo ohranjeno okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, od vrha lobanje do konca golenic je merilo 1,6 m. Roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Leva stran okostja je ležala nad desnim delom okostja v grobu 61.

Predmeti v grobu. V grobni jami so našli železno pisalo (1), železen žebelj (2) in odlomek prazgodovinske lončene posode (inv. št. S 1856).

Komentar. Položaj pisala v grobu v terenski dokumentaciji ni natančneje naveden.

(1) Železno pisalo – *stilus* – okroglega preseka. Sploščeni zaključek je nekoliko poškodovan, konica je odlomljena. Dol. 9,27 cm, deb. 0,53 cm. Inv. št. S 1855a (*t. 2:* 16; *17:* 7).

(2) Železen žebelj, skovan, s podolgovato glavico in pravokotnim presekom. Dol. 6,67 cm, deb. do 0,58 cm. Inv. št. S 1855b (*t. 2:* 17).

Grob 56 (*t. 30:* 4,5; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v dolomitno osnovo, dno je bilo nagnjeno, tako da je glava ležala više od nog. Jama je bila zasuta z drobnim dolomitnim peskom, v prsti nad njim je bilo več kosov večjega dolomitnega lomljenca. Pri izkopu jame so prekopali grob 57.

Okostje. Maturus I (42 do 48 let), moški. Viš. 493,07 m; azimut 95°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Desna roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, leva je ležala na medenici. Okostje je od vrha glave do konca prstov na nogah merilo 1,6 m. Nad kostmi desne podlakti se je ohranila lobanja iz groba 57.

Predmeti v grobu. V grobu so našli železno pisalo (1), železen žebelj (2), odlomek prazgodovinske lončene posode (inv. št. S 1857) in ptičji kosti (inv. št. S 1860).

Skeleton. *Infans II* (8 ± 24 months). Merely a part of the skull was preserved, the rest of the skeleton was destroyed.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 54 (*Pl. 30:* 2,4,5; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into the dolomite base. The fill-in soil was mixed with fine dolomite quarry stone.

Skeleton. *Adultus I* (25 to 31 years), male. H. 493.33 m (at the vertebrae); azimuth 96°. The partially preserved skeleton was positioned on its back. The right arm was stretched alongside the torso, the left was flexed with the hand on the pelvis.

Artefacts. A lead tablet (1) and an iron nail were found next to the skeleton.

Commentary. The precise location of the found tablet is not mentioned anywhere. Maybe it was a grave good? The iron nail (with no description) is mentioned only in the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 51) and cannot be recognised amongst the finds.

(1) Lead rectangular tablet with an undulating surface, folded on one end. On one side there are short incisions on the surface. L. 4.0 cm, w. 2.5 cm, th. 0.15 cm. Inv. No. S 1854 (*Pls. 2:* 15; *16:* 4).

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 55 (*Pl. 30:* 3; *N 1*)

Grave pit: Dug into humus mixed with dolomite quarry stone. At the bottom it reached up to 0.5 deep into the dolomite base. The northern side of the pit was dug into Grave 61. On the western sideof the pit, the skeleton was surrounded by large stones.

Skeleton. *Senilis* (63 to 69 years), male. H. 493.20 m; azimuth 99°. The poorly preserved skeleton was positioned on its back. From the top of the skull to the end of the tibia the skeleton measured 1.6 m in length. The hands were placed on the pelvis. The left side of the skeleton lay on top of the right side of the skeleton in Grave 61.

Artefacts. An iron stylus (1), an iron nail (2) and a fragment of prehistoric pottery (Inv. No. S 1856) were found in the grave pit.

Commentary. The precise location of the stylus was not defined in the field documentation.

(1) Iron stylus with a circular cross-section. The flattened ending is slightly damaged, the tip is broken off. L. 9.27 cm, th. 0.53 cm. Inv. No. S 1855a (*Pls. 2:* 16; *17:* 7).

(2) Iron nail, forged, with an elongated head and a rectangular cross-section. L. 6.67 cm, th. up to 0.58 cm. Inv. No. S 1855b (*Pl. 2:* 17).

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 56 (*Pl. 30:* 4,5; *N 5*)

Grave pit. Dug into the dolomite base, the bottom was tilted, so that the head lay higher than the legs. The pit was filled-in with fine dolomite sand, the soil above it contained pieces of large dolomite quarry stone. When the pit was created Grave 57 was disturbed.

Komentar. Položaj pisala in žeblja v grobu je opisan v terenskem dnevniku (*arhiv* 537, str. 31): "Nad glavo je humus močno pomešan s srednje debelim lomljencem. Tu je bil 1 železen stilus in 1 železen žebelj s štirikotnim prerezom."

(1) Železno pisalo – *stilus* – okroglega preseka. Zgornji del je trikotno razširjen in sploščen, konica je odlomljena. Dol. 10,77 cm, šir. sploščenega dela 1,33 cm, deb. na sredini 0,62 cm. Inv. št. S 1858 (*t. 2:* 18; *17:* 8).

(2) Železen žebelj, skovan, s široko glavico in kvadratnim presekom. Dol. 6,22 cm, deb. 0,6 cm. Inv. št. S 1859 (*t. 2:* 19).

Grob 57 (*t. 30:* 4,5; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. Uničena. Grob so razdrli pri izkopu jame za grob 56.

Okostje. Viš. 493,08 m. Ohranjena je bila lobanja nedorasle osebe. Ležala je približno 10 cm nad kostmi desne podlahti v grobu 56.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 58 (*t. 30:* 6; *N 6*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, ki je bil na dnu pomešan z ilovico, više pa z dolomitnim peskom. Zahodni del groba (pri glavi) so razdrli pri gradnji zidu št. 3, na vzhodni konec (pri nogah) so zadeli ob gradnji severne stene cerkve.

Okostje. Maturus (41 do 60 let), ženska. Viš. 493,02 m (pri kolenih). Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Leva roka je bila položena na medenico. Kosti glave in trupa so bile prekopane pri gradnji zidu št. 3, na prvotnem mestu so ležali deli medenice in kosti nog, kosti goleni je v spodnjem delu pokrival severni zid cerkve.

Pridatki. Ob levi roki je bil prstan (1).

(1) Ulit bronast prstan okroglega preseka, s stikajočima se stanjšanima koncema. Pr. 2,6 cm, deb. 0,32 cm. Inv. št. S 1861 (*t. 2:* 20; *15:* 17).

Grob 59 (*t. 31:* 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, dno je bilo na skalnatem grebenu med nižje ležečima groboma 60 in 61. Na severni strani je bil v grob 59 vkopan grob 60.

Okostje. Adultus II (31 do 40), ženska. Azimut 100°. Okostje je bilo delno ohranjeno, na prvotnem mestu so bili še lobanja ter desna kolčnica in del desne stegnenice. Leva stran okostja je bila odstranjena pri izkopu jame za grob 60.

Pridatki. Pri lobanji je bil del naglavnega obročka (1).

(1) Del bronastega naglavnega obročka okroglega preseka. Dol. 2,48 cm, deb. 0,15 cm. Inv. št. S 1862 (*t. 2:* 21).

Skeleton. *Maturus I* (42 to 48 years), male. H. 493.07 m; azimuth 95°. The skeleton was positioned on its back. The right arm was stretched alongside the torso, the left hand was positioned onto the pelvis. From the top of the head to the end of the toes the skeleton measured 1.6 m in length. The skull from Grave 57 lay on top of the bones of the right forearm.

Artefacts. The grave contained an iron stylus (1), an iron nail (2), a fragment of prehistoric pottery (Inv. No. S 1857) and bird bones (Inv. No. S 1860).

Commentary. The locations of the stylus and the nail were described in the field diary (*archive* 537, pg. 31): 'Above the head the humus is mixed with medium thick quarry stone. This is where the iron stylus and iron nail with a rectangular cross-section were found.'

(1) Iron stylus with a circular cross-section. The upper part is triangular and flattened, the tip is broken off. L. 10.77 cm, w. of the flattened part 1.33 cm, th. in the centre 0.62 cm. Inv. No. S 1858 (*Pls. 2:* 18; *17:* 8).

(2) Iron nail, forged, with a wide head and a rectangular cross-section. L. 6.22 cm, th. 0.6 cm. Inv. No. S 1859 (*Pls. 2:* 19).

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 57 (*Pl. 30:* 4,5; *N 5*)

Grave pit. Destroyed. The grave was destroyed when the pit for Grave 56 was created.

Skeleton. H. 493.08 m. A juvenile skull is preserved. It lay approximately 10 cm above the bones of the right forearm in Grave 56.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 58 (*Pl. 30:* 6; *N 6*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus, which was at the bottom mixed with clay, and higher up with dolomite sand. The western part of the grave (at the head) was destroyed when wall No. 3 was built, while the eastern part of the grave (at the feet) was disturbed when the north chapel was built.

Skeleton. *Maturus* (41 to 60 years), female. H. 493.02 m (at the knees). The skeleton was positioned on its back. The left hand was positioned on the pelvis.The bones of the head and torso were reburied when wall No. 3 was being built, parts of the pelvis and the bones of the legs were in their original position, the tibias were covered by the northern wall of the church.

Grave goods. There was a finger ring (1) next to the left hand.

(1) Cast bronze finger ring with a circular cross-section, the thinner ends meet. Dia. 2.6 cm, th. 0.32 cm. Inv. No. S 1861 (*Pls. 2:* 20; *15:* 17).

Grave 59 (*Pl. 31:* 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus, the bottom lay on the rock ridge amongst the lower laying Graves 60 and 61. On the north side Grave 50 was dug into Grave 59.

Skeleton. *Adultus II* (31 to 40), female. Azimuth 100°. The skeleton was partially preserved, with the skull, the right hipbone and a part of the right femur preserved in their

Grob 60 (*t. 31:* 1; *N 1*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v humus, pomešan z dolomitnim peskom. Zahodni in severni rob sta bila vsekana v skalo. Na južni strani je bila jama vkopana v grob 59.

Okostje. Maturus (47 do 56 let), ženska. Azimut 91°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Leva roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, desna je ležala na medenici. Okostje je merilo 1,5 m.

Predmeta v grobu. Shranjena sta neobdelan kremenov prodnik (inv. št. S 1863a) in obrušen kos peščenjaka (kat. št. 14; *sl. 1.16:* 4; *1.18:* 2), odkrita v zasipu jame.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 61 (*t. 31:* 1; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. Severni, zahodni in vzhodni rob jame so bili vkopani v živo skalo. Dno jame je bilo pokrito s humusom, pomešanim z dolomitnim lomljencem. Južno polovico groba 61 je poškodoval vkop za grob 55.

Okostje. Maturus II (52 do 67 let), moški. Azimut 88°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu. Kosti so bile večinoma premaknjene, domnevno je bila na mestu še lobanja. Okostje je bilo poškodovano ob vkopu groba 55. Merilo je 1,7 m.

Predmeti v grobu. Na dnu jame je bilo več odlomkov lončenih posod (shranjena sta bila dva: kat. št. 15 in 16; *t. 6:* 5; *18:* 5 in *t. 6:* 6; *18:* 6) in kremenov odbitek.

Pridatki. Ob levem boku je ležal nož, s konico proti nogam (1).

(1) Železen nož s ploščatim trnastim nastavkom za ročaj in položno zalomljenim hrbtom rezila. Ob najdbi je bil nož skoraj v celoti ohranjen, pozneje sta del rezila pri konici in del trna propadla. Prehod iz rezila v trn je stopničast. Dol. 14,0 cm, šir. rezila do 1,68 cm. Inv. št. S 1865 (*t. 2:* 22; *17:* 9).

Grob 62 (*N 1*)

Grobna jama: Jama je bila prekopana.

Okostje. Ohranjena je bila lobanja odrasle osebe. Ležala je na ostankih okostja iz groba 64.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 63 (*t. 31:* 2; *N 5*)

Grobna jama. V raziskanem vzhodnem delu groba so bili na dnu jame drobci oglja in prepečene ilovice. Zahodni del groba, ki je ležal pod tlakom, je ostal neraziskan. V vzhodni del groba 63, na desni strani pri nogah, so vkopali del groba 46 (pri glavi).

Okostje. Adultus (21 do 40 let), ženska. Ohranjene so bile kosti leve noge, kosti desne noge so odstranili ob vkopu groba 46. Večji del okostja je ostal neraziskan pod tlakom.

Komentar. V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 55) je zapisano, da so se ohranile kosti "desnega femurja in tibije", vendar je v terenskem dnevniku (*arhiv* 537, str. 16) zapisano, da gre za kosti leve noge. Dodano je še pojasnilo: "Desna noga individuuma št. 63 je bila verjetno uničena s pokopom št. 48 in 46."

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

original location. The left side of the skeleton was removed when the pit for Grave 60 was created.

Grave goods. A part of a temple ring (1) lay next to the head.

(1) A part of a bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section. L. 2.48 cm, th. 0.15 cm. Inv. No. S 1862 (Pl. *2:* 21).

Grave 60 (*Pl. 31:* 1; *N 1*)

Grave pit. Dug into humus mixed with dolomite sand. The western and northern edge were cut into rock. On the south side the pit was dug into Grave 59.

Skeleton. Maturus (47 to 56 years), female. Azimuth 91°. The skeleton was positioned on its back. The left arm was stretched alongside the torso, the right hand was positioned on the pelvis. The skeleton measured 1.5 m in length.

Artefacts. An unretouched flint stone (Inv. No. S 1863a) and a polished piece of sandstone (Cat. No. 14; *Figs. 1.16:* 4; *11.8:* 2) were discovered in the fil-in material.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 61 (*Fig. 31:* 1; *N 5*)

Grave pit. The northern, western and eastern edges of the pit were dug into the bedrock. The bottom of the pit was covered in humus mixed with dolomite quarry stone. The south end of Grave 61 was damaged by the burial in Grave 55.

Skeleton. Maturus II (52 to 67 years), male. Azimuth 88°. The skeleton was positioned on its back. The arms were stretched alongside the torso. Most of the bones have been moved, however, it was assumed that the skull was found in its original position. The skeleton was damaged when the pit for Grave 55 was created. The skeleton measured 1.7 m in length.

Artefacts. Numerous pottery fragments (two of which were kept: Cat. Nos. 15 and 16; *Pls. 6:* 5; *18:* 5 and *Pls. 6:* 6; *18:* 6) and a flint chipping were found at the bottom of the pit.

Grave goods. A knife lay alongside the left hip, the tip was turned towards the feet (1).

(1) An iron knife with a flat tang and a gradually angled spine. At discovery the knife was preserved almost in its entirety, later a part of the blade (at the tip) and a part of the tang disintegrated. The transition from the blade into the tang is gradual. L. 14.0 cm, blade w. up to 1.68 cm. Inv. No. S 1865 (*Pls. 2:* 22; *17:* 9).

Grave 62 (*N 1*)

Grave pit: The bit was destroyed.

Skeleton. An adult skull was preserved. The skull lay on the remains of the skeleton in Grave 64.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 63 (*Pl. 31:* 2; *N 5*)

Grave pit. Parts of charcoal and burnt clay were found at the bottom of the pit (in the researched eastern part of the grave). The western part of the grave, which lay under the

Grob 64

Grobna jama. Jama je bila uničena
Okostje. Ohranjen je bil del lobanje in nekaj kosti nedorasle osebe. Ostanek lobanje so našli ob ramenskih kosteh na levi strani okostja v grobu 60, druge kosti pod lobanjo v grobu 62.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 65 (*t. 31:* 3; *N 7*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila do 0,6 m globoko v živo skalo, vidni del je bil dolg 1,5 m in širok 0,8 m. Ob severni in južni strani je bila obloga iz lomljenca v velikosti 20 x 25 cm – ob južni strani v eni vrsti, ob severni v dveh. Stene jame so bile skoraj navpične. Najvišja plast zasutja je bila iz drobnega dolomitnega lomljenca, pomešanega z dolomitnim peskom. Nad tem slojem je bilo 10 cm temne prsti. Vzhodni del jame je pokrival podstavek za južni oltar. Vzporedno s to jamo sta bili na južni in severni strani vidni dve jami, označeni kot grobova 65a in 66 (grobov ni bilo mogoče raziskati zaradi obstoječe arhitekture).
Okostje. Okostje odrasle osebe. Azimut 91°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi. Bilo je poškodovano, nekaj reber je ležalo pri lobanji in medenici. Leva roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, desna je bila položena na medenico. Vidni del okostja (od glave do kolen) je meril 1,1 m.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 65a (*N 8*)

Grobna jama. Vidna je bila v dolžini 1 m in širini 0,5 m, v smeri V–Z. Del, ki ga prekriva južna stena cerkvene ladje, je ostal neraziskan. Jama je bila vkopana v živo skalo in zasuta s prstjo. Oddaljena je bila 0,45 m od groba 65.
Okostje. Odkritih je bilo le nekaj kosti, ki so bile premaknjene.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 66 (*N 7*)

Grobna jama. Vidni del jame je bil vkopan v živo skalo, del pod podstavkom za južni oltar je ostal neraziskan. Oddaljena je bila 0,60 m od groba 65.
Okostje. Skupek fragmentiranih otroških kosti. Našli so jih ob severozahodnem robu podstavka za južni oltar.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

paving stones, remained unresearched. In the eastern part of Grave 63, to the right of the legs, the pit was disturbed by Grave 46 (the head).
Skeleton. *Adultus* (21 to 40 years), female. The bones of the left leg were preserved, while the bones of the right leg were removed during the burial in Grave 46. A large part of the skeleton remained unresearched under the paving stones.
Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 55) states that the preserved bones were the 'right femur and tibia', however the field diary (*archive* 537, pg. 16) states that these were the bones belonging to the left leg. The following explanation was added: 'The right leg of the individual No. 63 was most likely destroyed with burials Nos. 48 and 46.«
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 64

Grave pit. The pit was destroyed.
Skeleton. A part of the skull and a few juvenile bones have been preserved. The remaining part of the skull was found next to the scapula to the left of the skeleton in Grave 60, while the other bones were found underneath the skull in Grave 62.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 65 (*Pl. 31:* 3; *N 7*)

Grave pit. Dug up to 0.6 m deep into the bedrock, the visible part was 1.5 m long and 0.8 m wide. The north and south sides were coated with a layer of quarry stones measuring 20 x 25 cm; on the south side this coat was applied in a single line, on the north side in two. The walls of the pit are almost vertical. The top layer of the fill-in material was created from fine dolomite quarry stone mixed with dolomite sand. This layer was covered by a 10 cm thick dark layer of soil. The eastern part of the pit was covered by the pedestal of the south altar. Two pits lay parallel to this pit, one to the south and the other to the north, marked as Graves 65a and 66 respectively (the graves could not be researched due to the existing architecture).
Skeleton. Adult skeleton. Azimuth 91°. The skeleton was positioned on its back. The skeleton was damaged, a few ribs lay next to the skull and pelvis. The left arm was stretched alongside the torso, while the right hand was placed on the pelvis. The visible part of the skeleton (from the head to the knees) measured 1.1 m in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 65a (*N 8*)

Grave pit. It was visible in the length of 1 m and width of 0.5 m, running in the E-W direction. The part covered by the south wall of the church nave has remained unresearched. The pit was dug into the bedrock and filled-in with soil. It was 0.45 m away from Grave 65.
Skeleton. A few bones were discovered, but they were moved from their original position.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grob 67 (*t. 31:* 4; *N 8*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo, do 0,7 m pod zgornjim robom skale, stene so bile skoraj navpične. Dolga je bila 2,2 m in široka do 1,2 m. Zasuta je bila z dolomitnim peskom in lomljenci v velikosti do 5 x 5 cm. Bila je tik ob grobni jami 71, pri dnu je bila med njima ozka pregrada iz žive skale.

Okostje. Viš. 493,39 m (pri nogah); azimut 78°. Dobro ohranjeno okostje odrasle osebe je bilo v hrbtni legi. Roki sta bili prekrižani na prsih pri vratu. Okostje je merilo 1,65 m.

Predmeti v grobu. V vrhnjem delu zasutja so na severni strani jame našli koščke živalskih kosti, veliko koščkov oglja in drobcev lončenine (inv. št. S 1886).

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 68 (*N 8*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v dolomitno osnovo, do 0,7 m pod današnjim zgornjim robom. Stene vkopa so bile poševne. Široka je bila od 1,3 m do 1,7 m. Na dnu je v severozahodnem delu ležal lomljenec, velik 0,2 x 0,25 m. Zahodni del jame je mejil na zidan temelj.

Okostje: Viš. 493,37 m (med kostmi). V jami so bile številne dolge kosti, deli več okostij, nobena ni bila v prvotni legi. Števila okostij niti pri poznejši antropološki analizi ni bilo mogoče določiti.

Predmeti v grobu. V jami so našli tri železne žeblje (1–3), koščke lesa (4) in ostanke tkanine (5). Tkanina se je ohranila med prekopanimi kostmi v jugovzhodnem vogalu jame.

(1) Železen skovan žebelj z ovalno glavico in steblom kvadratnega preseka. Dol. 7,1 cm, deb. do 0,4 cm. Inv. št. S 1887a (*t. 3:* 2).

(2) Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 6,3 cm, deb. do 0,6 cm. Inv. št. S 1887b (*t. 3:* 1).

(3) Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 7,15 cm, deb. do 0,6 cm. Inv. št. S 1890 (*t. 3:* 3; *17:* 10).

(4) Koščki lesa. Vel. največjega 9,15 x 1,0 x 0,45 cm. Inv. št. S 1888.

(5) Ostanki tkanine z zlatimi ali pozlačenimi nitmi.[5] Inv. št. S 1889 (*sl. 2.31; t: 20*).

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

[5] Pregled tkanine: Ana Motnikar, Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana.

Grave 66 (*N 7*)

Grave pit. The visible part of the pit was dug into the bedrock, the part under the pedestal of the south altar remained unresearched. It was 0.60 m away from Grave 65.

Skeleton. A cluster of fragmented infant bones. They were fund alongside the north-western edge of the pedestal of the south altar.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 67 (*Pl. 31:* 4; *N 8*)

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock, up to 0.7 m underneath the upper edge of the rock, the walls were almost vertical. The pit was 2.2 m long and up to 1.2 m wide. It was filled in with dolomite sand and quarry stones measuring up to 5 x 5 cm. It was right next to grave pit 71; at the bottom they were separated by a narrow bedrock ridge.

Skeleton. H. 493.39 m (at the legs); azimuth 78°. A well-preserved adult skeleton was positioned on its back. The arms were crossed on the chest, close to the neck. The skeleton measured 1.65 m in length.

Artefacts. Fragments of animal bones, numerous charcoal pieces and pottery fragments (Inv. No. S 1886) were found in the upper part of the fill-in material, on the north side of the pit.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 68 (*N 8*)

Grave pit. Dug into the dolomite base, up to 0.7 m below today's upper edge. The pit walls were created at an angle. It was between 1.3 m and 1.7 m wide. A piece of quarry stone, measuring 0.2 x 0.25 m, lay at the bottom, on the north-western side. The west side of the pit bordered on a stone foundation.

Skeleton: H. 493.37 m (amongst the bones). The pit contained numerous long bones, parts of various skeletons, none of which were in their original position. It was impossible to define the number of skeletons even during the later anthropological examination.

Artefacts. Three iron nails (1–3), wood fragments (4) and remains of fabric (5) were found in the pit. The fabric was preserved amongst the reburied bones in the southeast corner of the pit.

(1) Forged iron nail with an oval head and a shank with a square cross-section. L. 7.1 cm, th. up to 0.4 cm. Inv. No. S 1887a (*Pl. 3:* 2).

(2) Forged iron nail with an elongated head and a shank with a rectangular cross-section. L. 6.3 cm, th. up to 0.6 cm. Inv. No. S 1887b (*Pl. 3:* 1).

(3) Forged iron nail with an elongated head and a shank with a rectangular cross-section. L. 7.15 cm, th. up to 0.6 cm. Inv. No. S 1890 (*Pls. 3:* 3; *17:* 10).

(4) Wood pieces. The largest measured 9.15 x 1.0 x 0.45 cm. Inv. No. S 1888.

(5) Remains of fabric with gold or gilded threads.[5] Inv. No. S 1889 (*Fig. 2.31; Pl. 20*).

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

[5] Fabric analysis: Ana Motnikar, Slovenian Ethnographic Museum, Ljubljana.

Grob 69 (*t. 31:* 5; *N 8*)

Grobna jama. Sezidana je bila iz lomljencev v velikosti 20 x 30 cm, vezanih in večinoma premazanih s temno sivo malto. Globoka je bila 1 m, zgoraj velika 1,7 x 0,45 m, pri dnu 1,50 x 0,30 do 0,40 m. Viš. dna 493,05 m; azimut 78°.
Okostje. V jami ni bilo kostnih ostankov.
Predmeti v grobu. V jami so našli železna žeblja (1, 2) in nekaj koščkov lesa (inv. št. S 1892).
(1) Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 7,54 cm, deb. do 0,62 cm. Inv. št. S 1891a (*t. 3:* 5).
(2) Železen skovan žebelj s koničasto glavico in steblom kvadratnega preseka. Dol. 6,13 cm, deb. do 0,45 cm. Inv. št. S 1891b (*t. 3:* 4; *17:* 11).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 70 (*N 9*)

Grobna jama. Ni podatkov, jamo delno prekriva temelj severnega zidu današnje cerkve.
Okostje. Viš. 493,39 (pri nogah). Vidni so bili spodnji deli stegnenic in obe golenici, dolgi 42 cm.
Predmeti v grobu. V jami so bili drobni ostanki lesa (S 1893).
Pridatki. V raziskanem delu groba ni bilo pridatkov.

Grob 71 (*t. 31:* 4; *N 8*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo, do 0,8 m globoko, stene so bile skoraj navpične. Dolga je bila 1,8 m in široka 1,2 m. Zahodna stran je bila zaobljena. Jama je bila zasuta z dolomitnim peskom in lomljenci v velikosti do 5 x 5 cm. Mejila je na jamo groba 67, pri dnu je bila med njima ozka pregrada iz žive skale. Viš. 493,14 m (na dnu).
Okostje. Azimut 78°. Na dnu grobne jame so bili le zelo majhni drobci človeških kosti.
Komentar. Po osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 116, 117) bi bili drobci kosti lahko ostanek okostja, ki so ga odstranili pri izkopu jame za grob 67, ali pa "je bila grobna jama le pripravljena za pokop, ne pa tudi uporabljena."
Predmeti v grobu. V jami so našli odlomke lončenih posod (kat. št. 17–20; *t. 6:* 7–10) in koščke oglja (inv. št. S 1895).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 72 (*t. 31:* 6; *N 8*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo, do globine 0,8 m pod zgornjim robom. Južna stran je bila navpična, zahodna in vzhodna stran sta bili zaobljeni. Jama je bila vkopana ob apsidi najstarejše cerkve, severno polovico jame je prekrival zid mlajše polkrožne apside. Severni rob jame je bil obložen z lomljenci. Jama je bila zasuta z gradbenim materialom, pomešanim s prstjo, rečnimi oblicami in večjimi kosi lomljencev.
Okostje. Azimut 59°. Okostje odraslega v hrbtni legi. Desna roka je ležala tesno ob trupu. Okostje je merilo 1,55 m.
Predmeti v grobu. V zasutju so bili koščki stekla, odlomek profilirane plošče (kat. št. 135a), drobci oglja in živalske koščice (S 1896).

Grave 69 (*Pl. 31:* 5; *N 8*)

Grave pit. Built from quarry stones measuring 20 x 30 cm, bound and predominantly covered in dark grey mortar. It was 1 m deep, measuring 1.7 x 0.45 m at the top, and 1.50 x 0.30 m (up to 0.40 m) at the bottom. H. at the bottom 493.05 m; azimuth 78°.
Skeleton. The pit contained no bone remains.
Artefacts. Two iron nails (1, 2) and a few wood fragments (Inv. No. S 1892) were found in the pit.
(1) Forged iron nail with a single-sided elongated head and a shaft with a rectangular cross-section. L. 7.54 cm, th. up to 0.62 cm. Inv. No. S 1891a (*Pl. 3:* 5).
(2) Forged iron nail with a pointed head and a shaft with a rectangular cross-section. L. 6.13 cm, th. up to 0.45 cm. Inv. No. S 1891b (*Pls. 3:* 4; *17:* 11).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 70 (*N 9*)

Grave pit. No data, the pit was partially covered by the foundation for the north wall of the church standing there today.
Skeleton. H. 493.39 (at the legs). Visible were the lower parts of the femur and both tibias, measuring 42 cm in length.
Artefacts. The pit contained small wood fragments (S 1893).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods in the researched part of the grave.

Grave 71 (*Pl. 31:* 4; *N 8*)

Grave pit. Dug into bedrock, up to 0.8 m deep, the walls were almost vertical. The pit was 1.8 m long and 1.2 m wide. The west side was rounded. The pit was filled in with dolomite sand and quarry stones measuring up to 5 x 5 cm. It bordered on the pit of Grave 67, at the bottom they were divided by a narrow bedrock ridge. H. 493.14 m (at the bottom).
Skeleton. Azimuth 78°. Only small human bone fragments were found in the bottom of the pit.
Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pp. 116, 117) states that the bone fragments could be the remnants of the skeleton that was removed when the pit for Grave 67 was created, or that 'the grave pit was prepared for a burial, but not used.'
Artefacts. Pottery fragments (Cat. No. 17–20; *Pl. 6:* 7–10) and pieces of charcoal (Inv. No. S 1895) were found in the pit.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 72 (*Pl. 31:* 6; *N 8*)

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock, up to a depth of 0.8 m under the upper edge. The south side was vertical, while the west and east sides were rounded. The pit was dug alongside the apse of the earliest church, the north side was covered by the wall of the later semi-circular apse. The north of the pit was tiled with quarry stones. The pit was filled-in with building material mixed with soil, rounded pebbles and large quarry stones.

Komentar. V terenski zvezek akcesije so iz tega groba vpisane živalske kosti ter drobci stekla in oglja (*arhiv* 494, 1963, št. 25), v inventarno knjigo pa živalske koščice (S 1896) in del kamnite plošče (kat. št. 135a; S 1934). Del kamnite plošče omenja tudi osnutek besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 119, 120 [št. 14], 254). Predmet je zdaj pogrešan.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 73

Grobna jama. Ni podatkov.
Okostje. Narodni muzej Slovenije hrani iz groba 73 dele lobanje in kosti odrasle osebe (inventarna knjiga osteološkega gradiva, št. 95).
Predmeti v grobu. V grobu so našli odlomka srednjeveških lončenih posod (S 1897).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 74

Grobna jama. Ni podatkov.
Okostje. Narodni muzej Slovenije hrani iz groba 74 dele okostja odrasle osebe (inventarna knjiga osteološkega gradiva, št. 96).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 75

Grobna jama. Ni podatkov.
Okostje. Narodni muzej Slovenije hrani iz groba 75 lobanjo in dele okostja odrasle osebe (inventarna knjiga osteološkega gradiva, št. 97).
Predmet v grobu. Ob glavi so našli obroček (1).
1. Bronast ulit obroček ovalnega preseka. Pr. 3,2 cm, deb. 0,45 cm. Inv. št. S 1898 (*t. 3:* 6; *15:* 18).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 76 (*N 11*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v dolomitno osnovo, srednji del je bil močno poglobljen. Zasuta je bila s temno rjavim humusom, pomešanim z malto in drobnim dolomitnim lomljencem.
Okostje. Infans II (9 ± 24 mesecev). Viš. 492,84 m; azimut 80°. Dobro ohranjeno gracilno okostje v hrbtni legi, le lobanja je bila poškodovana. Roki sta bili pokrčeni ob trupu. Okostje je merilo 1,22 m.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Skeleton. Azimuth 59°. The adult skeleton was positioned on its back. The right arm lay close to the torso. The skeleton measured 1.55 m in length.
Artefacts. The fill-in material contained glass fragments, a fragment of profiled tablet (Cat. No. 135a), pieces of charcoal and animal bones (S 1896).
Commentary. The field file list states that this grave included animal bones, glass fragments and pieces of charcoal (*archive* 494, 1963, No. 25), while the inventory book mentions animal bones (S 1896) and a part of a stone tablet (Cat. No. 135a; S 1934). A part of the stone tablet is also mentioned in the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 119, 120 [No. 14], 254). The object is now missing.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 73

Grave pit. No data.
Skeleton. The parts of the skull and various bones pertaining to an adult from Grave 73 are kept in National Museum of Slovenia (inventory book of osteological material, No. 95).
Artefacts. Two fragments of mediaeval pottery were found in the grave (S 1897).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 74

Grave pit. No data.
Skeleton. The parts of the skeleton pertaining to an adult from Grave 74 are kept in National Museum of Slovenia (inventory book of osteological material, No. 96).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 75

Grave pit. No data.
Skeleton. The parts of the skull and various bones pertaining to an adult from Grave 75 are kept in National Museum of Slovenia (inventory book of osteological material, No. 97).
Artefacts. A ring was found next to the head (1).
1. Cast bronze ring with an oval cross-section. Dia. 3.2 cm, th. 0.45 cm. Inv. No. S 1898 (*Pls. 3:* 6; *15:* 18).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 76 (*N 11*)

Grave pit. Dug into the dolomite base, the central part was much deeper. It was filled-in with dark brown humus mixed with mortar and fine dolomite quarry stone.
Skeleton. Infans II (9 ± 24 months). H. 492.84 m; azimuth 80°. The well-preserved gracile skeleton was positioned on its back, only the skull had been damaged. The arms were flexed alongside the torso. The skeleton measured 1.22 m in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grob 77 (*t. 32:* 1,2,4; *N 11*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v temno rjav humus, pomešan s koščki malte in manjšimi dolomitnimi lomljenci. Dno jame je bilo na zahodni strani nekoliko nižje kot na vzhodni. Vzhodni del jame je prekrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Južno polovico jame so vkopali v grob 80.

Okostje. Maturus (45 do 60 let), moški. Viš. 492,93 m; azimut 83°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo slabo ohranjeno. Roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Kosti nog je od sredine stegnenic navzdol pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Vidni del okostja je meril 0,9 m. Ob njem so bili ostanki prekopanih okostij. Desna polovica okostja je ležala nad okostjem v grobu 80.

Komentar. Po osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 82) je bil grob 77 "zadnji od petih pokopov v isti ali nekoliko spremenjeni oziroma predelani jami". Kostni ostanki iz starejših grobov so bili slabo ohranjeni in prekopani, zato ob odkritju niso bili posebej oštevilčeni.

Pridatki. Ob desni strani lobanje je ležal prstan (1).

Komentar. V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 82) je zapisano natančnejše mesto najdbe, "pod ušesno odprtino" in predmet opredeljen kot "obsenčni obroček iz zelo tenke bronaste žice". V nadaljevanju besedila (str. 85) je opredelitev dopolnjena, in sicer da obroček, čeprav je bil ob glavi, "daje prej videz prstana in ne obsenčnega obročka". V terenskem zvezku akcesije za leto 1963 (*arhiv* 494) je predmet vpisan pod št. 41 kot „obsenčni obroček", na starem kartotečnem listu pa kot „bronast prstan s pravokotnim presekom". V osnovni obliki je to prstan, njegova lega ob lobanji je bila lahko tudi naključna, ker je bil grob 77 vkopan na območju starejših pokopov.

1. Bronast sklenjen prstan pravokotnega preseka, na zunanji strani okrašen z nizom drobnih jamic. Pr. 1,9 cm, šir. žice 0,19 cm. Inv. št. S 1899 (*t. 3:* 7).

Grob 78 (*t. 32:* 3; *N 11*)

Grobna jama. Dno je bilo vkopano v živo skalo, dobro je bil viden severni rob grobne jame. Večino groba je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Grobno jamo 78 so vkopali v grob 94. Skupna jama grobov 78 in 94 je na južni strani mejila na jamo grobov 79 in 107.

Okostje. Maturus (45 do 60 let), moški. Viš. 492,85 m; azimut 87°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo slabo ohranjeno. Roki sta bili verjetno iztegnjeni ob trupu. Nadlahtnica je bila dolga 38 cm. Okostje, ki je ležalo nad ostanki prekopanega okostja v grobu 94, je od pasu navzdol pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje.

Predmet v grobu. V grobni jami so našli del škarij (1).

Komentar. V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 85) je predmet opredeljen kot "fragment železnega noža, ki daje videz britve".

(1) Zvita polovica železnih škarij. Dol. 6,6 cm, šir. rezila do 1,4 cm. Inv. št. S 1900 (*t. 3:* 8; *17:* 12).

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grave 77 (*Pl. 32:* 1,2,4; *N 11*)

Grave pit. Dug into dark brown humus mixed with fragments of mortar and small dolomite quarry stones. The bottom of the pit was slightly lower on the west side (compared to the east). The east side of the pit was covered by the west wall of the church nave. The south side of the pit was dug into Grave 80.

Skeleton. Maturus (45 to 60 years), male. H. 492.93 m; azimuth 83°. The skeleton positioned on its back was poorly preserved. The hands were placed on the pelvis. The bones of the legs from the middle of the femurs downwards were covered by the west wall of the church nave. The visible part of the skeleton measured 0.9 m in length. Alongside it were the remains of reburied skeletons. The right side of the skeleton lay above the skeleton in Grave 80.

Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 82) states that Grave 77 was 'the last of five burials in the same or a slightly changed or reworked pit'. The skeleton remains from the earlier graves are poorly preserved and reburied, thus they were not categorised as individual skeletons when discovered.

Grave goods. A finger ring (1) lay to the right of the skull.

Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 82) describes the location of the find in greater detail, for it describes it as 'under the ear cavity' and defines the object as 'a temple ring made from a very thin copper wire'. The text (pg. 85) expands upon this definition, for it states that the ring, even though it was found next to the head, 'gives the impression of a ring rather than a temple ring'. The field find list for the year 1963 (*archive* 494) describes the object marked No. 41 as a 'temple ring', while the old index card lists it as a 'bronze ring with a rectangular cross-section'. In its basic shape this is a ring and its position alongside the skull could be coincidental, as Grave 77 was dug into an area in which previous burials took place.

1. Bronze finger ring with a rectangular cross-section, on the outer side decorated with a series of small holes. Dia. 1,9 cm, wire w. 0.19 cm. Inv. No. S 1899 (*Pl. 3:* 7).

Grave 78 (*Pl. 32:* 3; *N 11*)

Grave pit. The bottom was dug into the bedrock, the northern edge of the grave was clearly visible. Most of the grave was covered by the west wall of the church nave. The pit was dug into Grave 94. To the south the shared pit of Graves 78 and 94 bordered on the pit belonging to Graves 79 and 107.

Skeleton. Maturus (45 to 60 years), male. H. 492.85 m; azimuth 87°. The poorly preserved skeleton was positioned on its back. The arms were most likely stretched alongside the torso. The humerus was 38 cm long. From the waist downwards, the skeleton, which lay amongst the remains of the reburied skeleton in Grave 94, was covered by the west wall of the church nave.

Artefacts. A part of scissors (1) was found in the grave pit.

Commentary. The draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 85) describes the object as a 'fragment of an iron knife, which looks like a razor'.

(1) A bent half of iron scissors. L. 6.6 cm, blade w. up to 1.4 cm. Inv. No. S 1900 (*Pls. 3:* 8; *17:* 12).

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grob 79 (*t. 32:* 3; *N 11*)

Grobna jama. Deloma je bila vkopana v živo skalo, robovi jame niso bili povsod izraziti. Vzhodna polovica grobne jame je bila pod zahodnim zidom cerkvene ladje. Grob je ležal med grobovom 78 in 94 (na severni strani) in grobom 95 (na južni strani). Med grobnima jamama 79 in 95 je bila vzdolžna pregrada iz žive skale.

Okostje. Maturus (48 do 65 let), ženska. Viš. 492,96 m; azimut 77°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo slabo ohranjeno. Kosti podlahti so bile prekrižane na medenici, zgornji deli rok so bili vzporedni s trupom. Nadlahtnica je bila dolga 31 cm. Kosti nog je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 80 (*t. 32:* 2,4; *N 11; 12*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo, robovi so bili jasno vidni. Jama je bila 0,2 m pod dnom grobne jame 77, vzhodni del je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje.

Okostje. Juvenis. Viš. 492,73 m; azimut 74°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Od vrha lobanje do konca stegnenic je okostje merilo 1,15 m. Kosti goleni in stopal je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje.

Komentar. Po osnutku besedila so bili v isti, ob naknadnih pokopih nekoliko prilagojeni jami, kostni ostanki petih pokopov, zadnjemu je pripadalo okostje v grobu 77 (*arhiv* 489, str. 82). S št. 80 so v risarski dokumentaciji označeni ostanki dveh okostij. Poleg omenjenega okostja mladostnika, ki je ležalo na dnu grobne jame (*N 12*), so bili tako označeni tudi kostni ostanki odrasle osebe vzhodno od lobanje v grobu 77 (*N 11*). Pri osteološki analizi so bili pri št. 80 ugotovljeni tudi kostni ostanki otroka: infans I (1 ± 4 mesece).

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 81 (*t. 32:* 5; *N 12*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo in zasuta s temno rjavim humusom, pomešanim s koščki malte in drobnimi dolomitnimi lomljenci. Vzhodni del je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Jama je bila zelo široka, odkrita je bila v velikosti 1,6 x 1,5 m. Povečevala se je postopno, ob več pokopih, ki jih dokazujejo prekopani kostni ostanki. V grob 81 so na južni strani izkopali jamo za grob 82. V jugovzhodnem delu skupne jame so našli dolge kosti in tri lobanje, ostanke starejših grobov. Pod groboma 81 in 82 so bili kostni ostanki še treh pokojnikov, ki so jih ob odkritju označili kot grobove 102, 103 in 104.

Okostje. Juvenilis (18 let), moški. Viš. 492,89 m; azimut 86°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo slabo ohranjeno, desna stran je bila uničena ob vkopu groba 82. Leva roka je bila položena na medenico, kosti leve goleni in noge je prekrival zid cerkvene ladje. Od temena lobanje do kolenskega sklepa je okostje merilo 1,23 m.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grave 79 (*Pl. 32:* 3; *N 11*)

Grave pit. Partially dug into the bedrock, the edges of the pit were not visible throughout. The east side of the grave pit lay below the west wall of the church nave. The grave lay between Graves 78 and 94 (to the north) and Grave 95 (to the south). There was a longitudinal bedrock ridge between grave pits 79 and 95.

Skeleton. *Maturus* (48 to 65 years), female. H. 492.96 m; azimuth 77°. The poorly preserved skeleton was positioned on its back. The bones of the ulna were crossed on the pelvis, while the upper part of the arms lay parallel to the torso. The humerus measured 31 cm in length. The bones of the legs were covered by the west wall of the church nave.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 80 (*Pl. 32:* 2,4; *N 11; 12*)

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock, the edges were clearly distinguishable. The pit was 0.2 m below the lowest point of grave pit 77, while the east part was covered by the west wall of the church nave.

Skeleton. *Juvenis*. H. 492.73 m; azimuth 74°. The skeleton was positioned on its back, the hands were positioned on the pelvis. From the top of the skull to the end of the femurs the skeleton measured 1.15 m in length. The tibia and the bones of the feet were covered by the west wall of the church nave.

Commentary. According to the draft of the text for publication the same, but slightly adjusted pit, was used for at least five later burials of , the last of which was the skeleton in Grave 77 (*archive* 489, pg. 82). The remains of the two skeletons were marked as No. 80 in the field drawings. Apart from the previously mentioned juvenile skeleton, which lay at the bottom of the grave pit (*N 12*), adult bone remains that lay east of the skull in Grave 77 (*N 11*) were also marked with the same number. During the osteological analysis the bone remains of an infant: *Infans I* (1 ± 4 months) were ascertained at No. 80.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 81 (*Pl. 32:* 5; *N 11*)

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock and filled in with dark brown humus, mixed with fragments of mortar and small dolomite quarry stones. The east side was covered by the west wall of the church nave. The pit was very wide, as it measured 1.6 x 1.5 m. It was gradually enlarged, with additional burials, which are indicated by the reburied bones remains. The pit for Grave 82 was dug into the south side of Grave 81. Long bones and three skulls, the remains of previous graves were found in the south-east of the shared pit. Underneath Graves 81 and 82 lay the bone remains of another three deceased, which were marked as Graves 102, 103 and 104 when discovered.

Skeleton. *Juvenilis* (18 years), male. H. 492.89 m; azimuth 86°. The poorly preserved skeleton was positioned on its back, the right side was destroyed when Grave 82 was created. The left hand was placed on the pelvis, the left tibia and the bones of the legs were covered by the wall of the church

Grob 82 (*t. 32:* 5; *N 11; 12*)

Grobna jama. Opis pri grobu 81.
Okostje. Maturus II (50 do 59 let), moški. Viš. 492,83 m; azimut 77°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo slabo ohranjeno, roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Kosti spodnjega dela nog so bile od sredine goleni pod zahodnim zidom cerkvene ladje. Vidni del skeleta je meril 1,6 m. Pri nožnih kosteh okostja so ležale prekopane dolge kosti in tri lobanje.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 83

Grobna jama. Ni bila ohranjena, ostanki okostja so bili v jami z grobovi 84–86.
Okostje. Infans I (5 ± 16 mesecev). V prvotnem položaju je bilo lobanjsko dno, odkrito pri kosteh roke na desni strani okostja v grobu 84.
Pridatki. Ob levi (1) in desni (2) strani lobanje so našli naglavni obroček.
(1) Bronast o naglavni obroček okroglega preseka. En konec je stanjšan, drugi ravno odrezan. Pr. 2,36 cm, deb. 0,16 cm. Inv. št. S 1901 (*t. 3:* 9).
(2) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka. Ohranjeni zaključek je profiliran. Pr. 2,4 cm, deb. 0,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1902 (*t. 3:* 10).

Grob 84 (*N 11*)

Grobna jama. Ozka grobna jama je bila vkopana v temno rjav humus, pomešan s koščki ometa in manjšimi dolomitnimi lomljenci. V jami so bili ostanki več zaporednih pokopov, zadnjemu pripada okostje v grobu 84. Ostanki delno prekopanih okostij so bili označeni kot grobovi 83, 85 in 86. Pod grobom 84 sta bila grob 93 in deloma tudi grob 105. Vzhodni del jame je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje.
Okostje. Adultus I (22 do 30 let), ženska. Viš. 493,10 m; azimut 80°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo dobro ohranjeno. Desna roka je bila položena na medenico, leva pa pokrčena pod pravim kotom. Spodnje dolge kosti nog pokriva zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Odkriti del skeleta je meril 1,1 m.
Predmet v grobu. V grobni jami so našli odlomek lončene posode (kat. št. 21; *t. 6:* 11; *18:* 7).
Pridatki: Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 85 (*N 11*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila ohranjena, ostanki okostja so bili odkriti v severnem delu jame, v kateri so bili grob 84 in ostanki razdrtih grobov 83 in 86.
Okostje. Maturus II (53 do 66 let). Viš. 493,11 m. Ohranjeni sta bili le poškodovana lobanja in desna nadlahtnica, verjetno premaknjeni. Od lobanje do konca nadlahtnice je okostje merilo 0,55 m.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

nave. From the cranial vertex to the knees the skeleton measured 1.23m in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 82 (*Pl. 32:* 5; *N 11*)

Grave pit. See description for Grave 81.
Skeleton. Maturus II (50 to 59 years), male. H. 492.83 m; azimuth 77°. The poorly preserved skeleton was positioned on its back, the hands were placed on the pelvis. From the middle of the tibia downwards the bones of the lower part of the legs lay below the west wall of the church nave. The visible part of the skeleton measured 1.6 m in length. Next to the bones of the legs lay the reburied long bones and three skulls.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 83

Grave pit. Was not preserved, the remains of the skeleton were in the pit with Graves 84–86.
Skeleton. Infans I (5 ± 16 months). The base of the skull discovered next to the bones of the arm on the right side of the skeleton in Grave 84 was found in its original position.
Grave goods. Two temple rings were unearthed alongside the left (1) and right (2) side of the skull.
(1) Bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section. One end is thinner, the other straight. Dia. 2.36 cm, th. 0.16 cm. Inv. No. S 1901 (*Pl. 3:* 9).
(2) Bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section. The preserved end is moulded. Dia. 2.4 cm, th. 0.2 cm. Inv. No. S 1902 (*Pl. 3:* 10).

Grave 84 (*N 11*)

Grave pit. The narrow grave pit was dug into dark brown humus mixed with pieces of plaster and small dolomite quarry stones. The pit contained the remains of numerous burials belonging to different periods, the last of which was the skeleton in Grave 84. The remains of the partially reburied skeletons are marked as Graves 83, 85 and 86. Grave 93 and partially Grave 105 lay underneath Grave 84. The east side of the pit was covered by the west wall of the church nave.
Skeleton. Adultus I (22 to 30 years), female. H. 493.10 m; azimuth 80°. The well-preserved skeleton was positioned on its back. The right hand was positioned on the pelvis, while the left arm was flexed at a right angle. The lower long bones of the legs were covered by the west wall of the church nave. The uncovered part of the skeleton measured 1.1 m in length.
Artefacts. A pottery fragment (Cat. No. 21; *Pls. 6:* 11; *18:* 7) was found in the grave pit.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 85 (*N 11*)

Grave pit. Was not preserved; the remains of the skeleton were discovered in the north of the pit, which contained Grave 84 and the remains of the destroyed Graves 83 and 86.

Grob 86 (*N 11*)

Grobna jama. Delno je bila ohranjena v zahodnem delu jame, v kateri so bili grob 84 in ostanki razdrtih grobov 83 in 85. V ohranjenem delu pri lobanji je bila jama ozka in vkopana v živo skalo. Na večjem delu prostora za grob 86 so vkopali grob 84.
Okostje. Adultus (23 do 39 let), ženska. Viš. 493,12 m. V prvotnem položaju so bili lobanja in vratna vretenca.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 87 (*t. 32:* 6; *N 11*)

Grobna jama: Vkopana je bila v živo skalo in zasuta s humusom, pomešanim s koščki malte in drobnimi lomljenci. V isti jami so bili tudi kostni ostanki iz starejših grobov 88 in 101. Jama je na južni strani mejila na jamo z groboma 81 in 82, na severni pa na jamo z grobovi 83–86. Vzhodno polovico jame je prekrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje.
Okostje. Adultus (23 do 39 let), moški. Viš. 492,95 m; azimut 78º. Slabo ohranjeno okostje osebe z gracilnimi kostmi, v hrbtni legi. Roki sta bili verjetno položeni na medenico. Spodnji del okostja je pod zahodnim zidom cerkvene ladje. Odkriti del okostja je meril 0,62 m.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 88

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo in zasuta s humusom, pomešanim s koščki malte in drobnimi lomljenci. V jamo z groboma 88 in 101 so vkopali grob 87.
Okostje. Adultus (23 do 39 let), moški. Ohranjene so bile lobanja in dolge kosti, ki so še bile v prvotnem položaju. Nadlahtnica je bila dolga 32 cm.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 89 (*N 11*)

Grobna jama. Deloma je bila vkopana v živo skalo, robovi so bili slabo vidni. Jama je bila zasuta z rjavo rdečim subhumusom.
Okostje. Infans I (2 do 3 leta). Viš. 493,83 m (med kostmi). Okostje je bilo slabo ohranjeno. V prvotnem položaju sta bila le spodnji del desne stegnenice in del medenice.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Skeleton. *Maturus II* (53 to 66 years). H. 493.11 m. Only the damaged skull and the right humerus were preserved, most likely not in their original position. From the skull to the end of the humerus the skeleton measured 0.55 m in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 86 (*N 11*)

Grave pit. It was partially preserved in the west side of the pit, which contained Grave 84 and the remains of destroyed Graves 83 and 85. In the preserved part, next to the skull, the pit was narrow and dug into the bedrock. Grave 84 was dug into a large part of the area created for Grave 86.
Skeleton. *Adultus* (23 to 39 years), female. H. 493.12 m. The skull and the cervical vertebrae were in their original position.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 87 (*Pl. 32:* 6; *N 11*)

Grave pit: Dug into the bedrock and filled-in with humus mixed with pieces of mortar and small quarry stones. The same pit also contained the bone remains belonging to the earlier Graves 88 and 101. To the south, the pit bordered on the pit with Graves 81 and 82, while to the north it bordered on the pit with Graves 83–86. The east side of the pit was covered by the west wall of the church nave.
Skeleton. *Adultus* (23 to 39 years), male. H. 492.95 m; azimuth 78º. The poorly preserved skeleton belonging to an individual with gracile bones was positioned on its back. The hands were most likely placed onto the pelvis. The lower part of the skeleton lay below the west wall of the church nave. The discovered part of the skeleton measured 0.62 m in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 88

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock and filled-in with humus mixed with parts of mortar and small quarry stones. Grave 87 was dug into the pit with Graves 88 and 101.
Skeleton. *Adultus* (23 to 39 years), male. The skull and the long bones were preserved in their original position. The humerus measured 32 cm in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 89 (*N 11*)

Grave pit. Partially dug into the bedrock, the edges were poorly visible. The pit was filled-in with a brown red subhumus.
Skeleton. *Infans I* (2 to 3 years). H. 493.83 m (amongst the bones). The skeleton was poorly preserved. Merely the lower part of the right femur and a part of the pelvis were found in their original position.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grob 90 (*t. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grobna jama: Vkopana je bila globoko v živo skalo. Viš. 43,86 m (dno jame). Zahodna stran je bila oblikovana polkrožno, južna stena je bila skoraj navpična. Jama je bila pri vrhu široka 1,0 m, pri dnu 0,8 m. Zasuta je bila s prstjo, pomešano z lomljenci. V jami sta ležali vzporedno drugo ob drugem dve okostji (označeni kot dvojni grob 90 in 91), ob njima pa veliko prekopanih kosti (tudi dve lobanji).

Okostje. Ob južni steni grobne jame je ležalo slabo ohranjeno okostje odrasle osebe z močnimi kostmi. Roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu. Okostje je merilo 1,84 m; azimut 75°. Pri kosteh nog je v severovzhodnem delu jame ležala lobanja prekopanega okostja.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 91 (*t. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grobna jama. Opis pri grobu 90.

Okostje. Azimut 77°. Ob severni steni grobne jame je ležalo nekoliko poškodovano okostje odrasle osebe z močnimi kostmi. Leva roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, desna je bila položena na medenico. Kosti spodnjega dela nog so manjkale. Ohranjeni del okostja je meril 1,6 m. Nad levo stegnenico je ob severni steni jame ležala lobanja prekopanega okostja.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 92

Grobna jama. Ni podatkov.

Okostje. Ni podatkov.

Pridatki. Ni podatkov.

Grob 93 (*t. 32:* 6; *N 12*)

Grobna jama. Pod jamo z grobovi 83–86 so odkrili v živo skalo vkopano jamo groba 93. Bila je manjša od zgornje jame, zasuta s temno rjavim humusom, mešanim s koščki malte in drobnimi dolomitnimi lomljenci. Vzhodni del jame je prekril zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Grob 93 so vkopali v jamo z ostanki starejših grobov (lobanji prekopanih okostij sta označeni kot grob 93/1 in grob 93/2). Okostje v grobu 93 je ležalo nad okostjem v grobu 105.

Okostje. Viš. 493,86 m; azimut 81°. Okostje mladostnika je bilo poškodovano, spodnji del pokriva zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Vidni del okostja je meril 0,72 m. V jugovzhodnem delu grobne jame sta bili poškodovani lobanji odraslih oseb, označeni kot grob 93/1 in grob 93/2. Okostji so verjetno razdrli pri vkopu groba 93.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grave 90 (*Pl. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grave pit: Dug deep into the bedrock. H. 493.86 m (bottom of the pit). The west side had a semi-circular shape, the south wall was almost vertical. The pit was 1.0 m wide at the top, and 0.8 m at the bottom. It was filled-in with soil mixed with quarry stones. Two skeletons (marked as a double Grave 90 and 91) lay in the pit parallel to each other, numerous reburied bones (including two skulls) lay alongside them.

Skeleton. Next to the south wall of the grave pit lay a poorly preserved skeleton of an adult with strong bones. The arms were stretched out alongside the torso. The skeleton measured 1.84 m in length; azimuth 75°. A skull from a reburied skeleton lay next to the bones of the feet in the north-east of the pit.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 91 (*Pl. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grave pit. See description of Grave 90.

Skeleton. Azimuth 77°. Alongside the north wall of the grave pit lay a slightly damaged skeleton of an adult with strong bones. The left arm was stretched alongside the torso, the right hand was placed on the pelvis. The bones pertaining to the lower part of the legs were missing. The preserved part of the skeleton measured 1.6 m in length. A skull belonging to a reburied skeleton lay above the left femur alongside the north wall of the pit.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 92

Grave pit. No data.

Skeleton. No data.

Grave goods. No data.

Grave 93 (*Pl. 32:* 6; *N 12*)

Grave pit. Underneath the pit containing Graves 83–86 a pit with grave 93 was dug into the bedrock. It was smaller than the upper pit, filled-in with dark brown humus mixed with pieces of mortar and small dolomite quarry stones. The east side of the pit was covered by the west wall of the church nave. Grave 93 was dug into a pit containing remains of previous burials (the skulls of the reburied skeletons are marked as Grave 93/1 and Grave 93/2). The skeleton in Grave 93 lay on top of the skeleton in Grave 105.

Skeleton. H. 493.86 m; azimuth 81°. The juvenile skeleton was damaged, the lower part was covered by the west wall of the church nave. The hands were placed on the pelvis. The visible part of the skeleton measured 0.72 m in length. Two damaged adult skulls were discovered in the southeast part of the grave pit, and they were marked as Grave 93/1 and Grave 93/2. The skeletons were most likely torn apart when Grave 93 was created.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grob 94 (*t. 32:* 3; *N 11; 12*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo. Odkrit je bil zahodni del groba, vidna sta bila zahodni in severni rob grobne jame, vzhodni del groba 94 je prekrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Na južni strani je mejil na grob 107. V jamo groba 94 so vkopali grob 78.

Okostje. Viš. 492,76 m; azimut 83°. Precej poškodovano okostje odrasle osebe je bilo v hrbtni legi. Roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Kosti medenice in nog pokriva zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Vidni del okostja je meril 0,95 m.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 95 (*t. 33:* 2; *N 11*)

Grobna jama. Vkopali so jo v jamo groba 106, izkopano v živo skalo. Na severni strani je bila med grobnima jamama 95 in 79 pregrada iz žive skale. Vzhodni del jame je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje.

Okostje. Viš. 492,67 m; azimut 78°. Okostje odrasle osebe je bilo slabo ohranjeno. Roki sta bili položeni na medenico, spodnje kosti nog pokriva zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Pod desno golenico so bili del lobanje in odlomki dolgih kosti nekega starejšega okostja. Vidni del okostja je meril 1,0 m.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 96 (*N 11*)

Grobna jama. Skoraj v celoti je bila pod temelji severnega polžastega stopnišča, ki vodi na kor cerkve.

Okostje. Viš. 493,0 m. Odkritih je bilo nekaj dolgih kosti in lobanja.

Pridatki. Ob kosteh so v profilu pod severnim stopniščem našli naglavni obroček (1).

(1) Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka, desnosučen, zaključka sta profilirana. Vel. 4,7 x 4,0 cm, deb. 0,22 cm. Inv. št. S 1904 (*t. 3:* 11).

Grob 97 (*t. 33:* 3; *N 13*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo do globine 0,7 m pod zgornjim robom. Vidna je bila v dolžini 2,5 m, pri vrhu široka 1,0 m, pri dnu pa 0,8 m. Na južni strani je z vmesnim grebenom žive skale deloma mejila na jamo grobov 90 in 91, na severni strani na južno steno cerkvene ladje. Vzhodni del jame ni bil raziskan. V jami so odkrili okostje (št. 98) in ostanke treh prekopanih okostij, ki so bili vsaj delno v prvotnem položaju (št. 97, 99, 100). Okostja so bila zasuta s humusom. Tudi v zasipu so bili številni kostni ostanki (deli lobanj in medenic ter dolge kosti). Viš. 494,0 m (na dnu jame pri lobanji groba 100).

Okostje. Ohranjene so bile le kosti nog. Stegnenica je bila nekoliko poškodovana, od golenice je bil ohranjen le zgornji del. Stegnenica je bila dolga 41 cm.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grave 94 (*Pl. 32:* 3; *N 11; 12*)

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock. The west part of the grave was unearthed, the west and north edge of the grave were visible. The east part of Grave 94 was covered by the west wall of the church nave. To the south it bordered on Grave 107. Grave 78 was dug into the pit pertaining to Grave 94.

Skeleton. H. 492.76 m; azimuth 83°. The damaged skeleton belonging to an adult was positioned on its back. The hands were placed on the pelvis. The bones of the pelvis and legs are covered by the west wall of the church nave. The visible part of the skeleton measured 0.95 m in length.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 95 (*Pl. 33:* 2; *N 11*)

Grave pit. It was dug into the pit of Grave 106, into the bedrock. A bedrock ridge divided Grave pits 95 and 79 on the north. The east part of the pit was covered by the west wall of the church nave.

Skeleton. H. 492,67 m; azimuth 78°. The adult skeleton was poorly preserved. The hands were placed on the pelvis, the lower bones of the legs are covered by the west wall of the church nave. A part of the skull and fragments of the long bones belonging to a previous burial were found under the tibia. The visible part of the skeleton measured 1.0 m in length.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 96 (*N 11*)

Grave pit. Almost the entire pit was under the foundations of the northern spiral staircase that leads to the church choir.

Skeleton. H. 493.0 m. A few long bones and the skull were discovered.

Grave goods. A temple ring (1) was found alongside the bones in the pit underneath the northern staircase.

(1) Bronze temple ring with a circular cross-section, right handed, with moulded ends. S. 4.7 x 4.0 cm, th. 0.22 cm. Inv. No. S 1904 (*t. 3:* 11).

Grave 97 (*Pl. 33:* 3; *N 13*)

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock up to a depth of 0.7 m under the upper edge. The pit is visible in the length of 2.5 m; at the top it was 1.0 m wide, 0.8 m at the bottom. To the south it partially bordered on the pit of Graves 90 and 91 with a bedrock ridge separating them, while to the north it bordered on the south side of the church nave. The east side of the pit was not researched. The pit contained skeleton No. 98 and the remains of three reburied skeletons, which lay at least partially in their original position (Nos. 97, 99, 100). The skeletons were covered with humus. The fill-in material also contained numerous bone remains (parts of skulls, pelvises and long bones). H. 494.0 m (at the bottom of the pit, at the skull belonging to Grave 100).

Skeleton. Only the bones of the legs were preserved. The femur was slightly damaged, and only the upper part of the tibia was preserved. The femur was 41 cm long.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grob 98 (*t. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grobna jama. Opis pri grobu 97. Grob 98 so vkopali v jamo s starejšimi pokopi (grobovi 97, 99 in 100).
Okostje. Odkrito je bilo v dolžini 0,76 m, od lobanje do zgornjega dela stegnenic; azimut 75°. Roki sta bili položeni na medenico.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 99 (*t. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grobna jama. Opis pri grobu 97.
Okostje. V prvotnem položaju so bile le obe lopatici in nadlahtnici, dolgi 32 cm.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 100 (*t. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grobna jama. Opis pri grobu 97.
Okostje. Na prvotnem mestu so bili ohranjeni le lobanja in dve vratni vretenci.
Predmet v grobu. V zasutju groba so našli odlomek bronastega predmeta (1).
(1) Odlomek bronastega predmeta, na enem koncu je koničast, na drugem ploščat. Dol. 0,82 cm. Inv. št. S 1905 (*t. 3:* 12).
Komentar. V terenskem zvezku akcesije (*arhiv* 494, št. 45) je predmet opredeljen kot "fragment obsenčnika", v osnutku besedila pa kot "obsenčni obroček z S-zanko" (*arhiv* 489, str. 168).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 101 (*t. 32:* 6; *N 11*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo in zasuta s humusom, pomešanim s koščki malte in drobnimi lomljenci. V jamo z groboma 88 in 101 so vkopali grob 87. Jama je na južni strani mejila na jamo z groboma 81 in 82, na severni pa na jamo z grobovi 83–86. Vzhodno polovico jame je prekrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje.
Okostje. Ostanki okostja odrasle osebe. Kosti so bile premaknjene in skoraj popolnoma uničene. Pod zahodnim zidom cerkve sta bili v prvotne položaju vidni desna stran medenice in zgornji del stegnenice.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 102 (*t. 32:* 5; *N 12*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo, do 0,4 m globoko, in zasuta s temno rjavim humusom, pomešanim s koščki malte in drobnimi dolomitnimi lomljenci. Vzhodni del jame je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. V spodnjem delu, kjer so bili grobovi 102, 103 in 104, je bila jama velika 1,0 x 1,5 m. Povečevala se je postopno, ob več pokopih. Nad grobove 102–104 so vkopali grobova 81 in 82. Pri vkopu groba 102 so prekopali grob 103.
Okostje. Maturus / senilis (nad 51 let), moški. Viš. 492,61 m; azimut 77°. Okostje je bilo v hrbtni legi, roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Spodnji del nog je pod zahodnim

Grave 98 (*Pl. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grave pit. See description for Grave 97. Grave 98 was dug into a pit with previous burials (Graves 97, 99 and 100).
Skeleton. The unearthed part of the skeleton, from the skull to the upper part of the femurs, measured 0.76 m in length; azimuth 75°. The hands were placed onto the pelvis.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 99 (*Pl. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grave pit. See description for Grave 97.
Skeleton. Only two scapulae and humeri, 32 cm long, were found in their original position.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 100 (*Pl. 33:* 1,3; *N 13*)

Grave pit. See description for Grave 97.
Skeleton. Only the skull and two cervical vertebrae were in their original position.
Artefacts. A fragment of a bronze object (1) was found in the pit fill-in material.
(1) Fragment of a bronze object, pointed at one end, flat on the other. L. 0.82 cm. Inv. No. S 1905 (*Pl. 3:* 12).
Commentary. In the field find list (*archive* 494, No. 45) the object is defined as a 'fragment of a temple ring', while the draft of the text for publication describes it as a 'temple ring with an S – clasp' (*archive* 489, pg. 168).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 101 (*Pl. 32:* 6; *N 11*)

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock and filled in with humus mixed with pieces of mortar and small quarry stones. Grave 87 was dug into the pit with Graves 88 and 101. To the south the pit bordered on the pit with Graves 81 and 82, while to the north it bordered on the pit with Graves 83–86. The east side of the pit was covered by the west wall of the church nave.
Skeleton. Adult skeleton remains. The bones were moved and almost completely destroyed. The right side of the pelvis and the upper part of the femur were visible in their original position under the west wall of the church.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 102 (*Pl. 32:* 5; *N 12*)

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock, up to 0.4 m deep; filled-in with dark brown humus mixed with pieces of mortar and small dolomite quarry stones. The east side of the pit was covered by the west wall of the church nave. In the lower part, which contained Graves 102, 103 and 104, the pit measured 1.0 x 1.5 m. The pit was gradually expanded, through the various burials. Graves 81 and 82 were dug above Graves 102–104. While digging Grave 102 Grave 103 was disturbed.

zidom cerkvene ladje. Vidni del okostja je meril 1,5 m. Okostje je ležalo pod okostjem št. 82. Pri kosteh leve noge so bili ostanki okostja v grobu 103.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 103 (*N 12*)

Grobna jama. Opis pri grobu 102. V grob 103 so vkopali grob 102.
Okostje. Azimut 76°. Na prvotnem mestu so ostale kosti noge, ki so ležale vzporedno z levo nogo okostja v grobu 103. Spodnji del golenice je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Večji del okostja so razdrli pri vkopu groba 102.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 104 (*N 12*)

Grobna jama. Opis pri grobu 102.
Okostje. Viš. 492,78 m. V prvotnem položaju so bili lobanja, spodnji del hrbtenice, kosti medenice in del leve stegnenice. Spodnji del nog je pod zahodno steno cerkvene ladje. Vidni del okostja je meril 1,35 cm.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 105 (*N 14*)

Grobna jama. Vkopana je bila v živo skalo, vzhodni del je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje. Nad grobom so bili vkopani mlajši grobovi 84, 93 in 87.
Okostje. Viš. 492,80 m; azimut 76°. Vidne so bile kosti zgornjega dela okostja (do medenice), kosti nog je pokrivala zahodna stena cerkvene ladje. Leva roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, desna položena na medenico. Nad okostjem sta ležali okostji v grobovih 84 in 93, deloma pa tudi okostje v grobu 87.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 106 (*N 12*)

Grobna jama. Dno je bilo vkopano v živo skalo. Jama je bila le delno ohranjena zaradi vkopa groba 95. Vzhodni del jame je pokrival zahodni zid cerkvene ladje.
Okostje. Viš. 492,52 m; azimut 77°. Juvenilno okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo poškodovano. Delno je bila ohranjena desna polovica zgornjega dela okostja, spodnji del je pokrival cerkveni zid. Okostje je ležalo pod okostjem v grobu 95. Odkriti del okostja je meril 0,90 m.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Skeleton. *Maturus* / *Senilis* (51+ years), male. H. 492.61 m; azimuth 77°. The skeleton was positioned on its back, the hands were positioned on the pelvis. The lower parts of the legs are under the west wall of the church nave. The visible part of the skeleton measured 1.5 m in length. The skeleton lay underneath skeleton No. 82. The remains of the skeleton in Grave 103 lay next to the bones of the left leg.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 103 (*N 12*)

Grave pit. See description for Grave 102. Grave 102 was dug into Grave 103.
Skeleton. Azimuth 76°. The leg bones, which lay parallel to the bones of the left leg of the skeleton in Grave 103, were found in their original position. The lower part of the tibia was covered by the west wall of the church nave. A large part of the skeleton was disturbed during the burial in Grave 102.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 104 (*N 12*)

Grave pit. See description for Grave 102.
Skeleton. H. 492.78 m. The skull, the lower part of the spine, the pelvis and a part of the left femur were found in their original position. The lower part of the legs are under the west wall of the church nave. The visible part of the skeleton measured 1.35 cm in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 105 (*N 14*)

Grave pit. Dug into the bedrock, the east side was covered with the west wall of the church nave. Later Graves 84, 93 and 97 were dug above the grave.
Skeleton. H. 492.80 m; azimuth 76°. The bones of the upper part of the skeleton (to the pelvis) were visible, while the bones of the legs were covered by the west wall of the church nave. The left arm lay stretched alongside the torso, the right hand was placed on the pelvis. Above the skeleton lay the skeletons in Graves 84 and 93, partially also the skeleton in Grave 87.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 106 (*N 12*)

Grave pit. The bottom was dug into the bedrock. The pit was only partially preserved as a result of the burial in Grave 95. The east side of the pit was covered by the west wall of the church nave.
Skeleton. H. 492.52 m; azimuth 77°. The damaged juvenile skeleton was positioned on its back. The right side of the upper part of the skeleton was partially preserved, the lower part was covered by the church wall. The skeleton lay underneath the skeleton in Grave 95. The unearthed part of the skeleton measured 0.90 m in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grob 107 (*N 12*)

Grobna jama. V isti jami so bili vkopani grobovi 78, 79, 94 in 107. Robovi jame so bili izraziti, jama je bila delno poglobljena v živo skalo, s še vidnimi sledovi kopanja. Nad grobom 107 je bil vkopan grob 79.
Okostje. Viš. 492,70 m. Delno ohranjeno okostje odrasle osebe, v prvotnem položaju so bili odkriti lobanja in nekaj vretenc.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 108

Grobna jama. Ni podatkov.
Okostje. Ni podatkov.
Pridatki. Ni podatkov.

Grob 109 (*sl. 1.23:* b; *t. 33:* 4; *N 15*)

Grobna jama. Jama ob južnem zidu v mali zakristiji je bila ohranjena v dolžini 1,4 m. Široka je bila do 0,9 m in vkopana v dolomitno osnovo do 0,5 m globoko. Na severu je bila omejena z živo skalo, na jugu in vzhodu pa presekana s cerkvenima zidovoma. Dno se je spuščalo proti vzhodnemu koncu. Jama je bila zasuta s temno rjavim humusom. V zasutju so bile številne kosti iz prekopanih grobov. Pod njimi je na dnu jame ležalo okostje v prvotnem položaju, označeno kot grob 109. Južno od tega okostja so zadeli na nek drug grob, ki pa ga niso raziskali, ker nad njim stoji zid zakristije.
Okostje. Viš. 493,56 m (v srednjem delu jame); azimut 79°. Okostje je bilo poškodovano. Desna roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, leva je bila položena prek trebuha. Od lobanje je bila ohranjena le spodnja čeljustnica. Kosti nog je poškodoval mlajši zid. Od spodnje čeljustnice do kolen je okostje merilo 0,86 m. Nad okostjem so ležale številne kosti razdrtih okostij, južno od okostja pa kosti roke v prvotni legi; in sicer na robu groba, ki je ostal neraziskan pod južnim zidom zakristije.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 110 (*t. 33:* 5; *N 16*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna.
Okostje. Odkriti so bili na kup zloženi deli lobanje in dolgih kosti. Ležale so pri severni stranski kapeli.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 111 (*t. 33:* 6; *N 17*)

Grobna jama. Severno od velike zakristije je bilo v naravni kotanji vkopanih več grobov (št. 111–117). Nad grobovi so pozneje zgradili zid (št. 6), ki je potekal ob robu otoškega vrha. Med arheološkimi raziskavami so južno od zidu odkrili grobove 111–114 in 117, severno od njega pa grobova 115 in 116. Zid je deloma prekrival grobove 113, 114 in 117. Pri zidavi velike zakristije so v južnem delu kotanje zadeli na grobove (št. 112, 117). Na južni

Grave 107 (*N 12*)

Grave pit. The same pit contained Graves 78, 79, 94 and 107. The edges of the pit were clear, the pit was partially dug into the bedrock, and traces of the digging are still visible today. Grave 79 was dug above Grave 107.
Skeleton. H. 492.70 m. Partially preserved adult skeleton, the skull and a few vertebrae were discovered in their original position.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 108

Grave pit. No data.
Skeleton. No data.
Grave goods. No data.

Grave 109 (*Fig. 1.23*: b; *Pl. 33:* 4; *N 15*)

Grave pit. The pit alongside the south wall in the small sacristy was preserved in the length of 1.4 m. It was up to 0.9 m wide and dug into the dolomite base up to 0.5 m deep. To the north it bordered on the bedrock, while to the south and east it was cut off by the church walls. The bottom descended towards the east. The pit was filled in with dark brown humus. The fill-in material included an array of bones from the reburied graves. Underneath them, on the bottom of the pit, lay skeleton 109, in its original position. Another grave was found to the south of this grave, however, it was not researched, as it is located underneath the wall of the sacristy.
Skeleton. H. 493.56 m (in the middle part of the pit); azimuth 79°. The skeleton was damaged. The right arm lay stretched alongside the torso, while the left one lay across the abdomen. Only the mandible was preserved from the skull bones. The bones of the legs were damaged by the later wall. From the mandible to the knees the skeleton measured 0.86 m. Numerous bones belonging to various disassembled skeletons lay above this skeleton; south of the skeleton lay the bones pertaining to an arm in their original position - at the edge of the grave that remained unearthed under the south wall of the sacristy.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 110 (*Pl. 33:* 5; *N 16*)

Grave pit. Was not visible.
Skeleton. Parts of the skull and long bones were found stacked together when the pit was unearthed. They lay next to the north chapel.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 111 (*Pl. 33:* 6; *N 17*)

Grave pit. A number of graves (Nos. 111–117) were dug into a natural depression north of the large sacristy. At a later point in time wall No. 6, that ran along the edge of the island peak, was built on top of the graves. During the

strani zidu 6 je bil najmlajši grob 111. Vkopali so ga na prostoru z več zaporednimi pokopi, večji del nad grobom 117, na straneh pa tudi v grobove 112–114. Meje groba 111 niso bile vidne. Zasutje je bilo iz rjavega humusa, pomešanega z lomljencem v velikosti do 10 x 10 cm. Okostje je ležalo na ilovici, ki je pokrivala živo skalo.

Okostje. Azimut 106°. Robustno okostje v hrbtni legi, podkolenske kosti so manjkale. Roke so bile iztegnjene ob trupu. Od lobanje do konca stegnenic je merilo 1,13 m. Na kosteh prsnega koša sta ležala nadlahtnica in del okolčja iz prekopanega groba.

Predmet v grobu. Ob levi nadlahtnici so našli prstan (1).

Komentar. Pripadnost prstana grobu 111 ni zanesljiva, saj ga niso našli pri kosteh dlani in prstov, ampak odmaknjeno ob nadlahtnici. Na to mesto bi prstan lahko prišel iz groba 112 ali 113, kjer sta bili obe okostji prekopani v predelu rok. Najbližja prstanu je sicer bila čeljustnica, del skeleta v grobu 114, vendar ne vemo, v kakšnem stanju so bile kosti rok pri tem okostju, ker je skoraj v celoti ležalo pod zidom št. 6.

(1) Trakast prstan iz bronaste pločevine. Ob robovih je okrašen z nizoma kratkih vrezanih črtic, ki ju na treh mestih prekinjajo pari prečno postavljenih nizov na enak način vrezanih črtic; prečni niz črtic je tudi na enem od presegajočih koncev obročka. Pr. 2,2 cm, šir. traku 0,66 cm. Inv. št. S 1985 (*t. 3:* 13*; 15:* 15).

Grob 112 (*t. 33:* 6; *N 17*)

Grobna jama. Opis lege pri grobu 111. Meje groba 112 niso bile vidne. Zasutje je bilo iz rjavega humusa, pomešanega z lomljencem velikosti do 10 x 10 cm. V grob 112 so na severni strani vzdolžno vkopali grob 111. Ostanke groba na vzhodnem koncu so verjetno prekopali ob gradnji velike zakristije. Okostje je ležalo na ilovici, ki je pokrivala živo skalo.

Okostje. Azimut 104°. Okostje odrasle osebe z gracilnimi kostmi je bilo slabo ohranjeno. V prvotnem položaju so ostale le delno ohranjena lobanja in kosti desne strani prsnega koša. Desna stegnenica je bila premaknjena, a ne poškodovana. Večji del okostja so razdrli pri vkopu groba 111. Ohranjeni del okostja je meril 0,5 m.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 113 (*t. 33:* 6; *N 17*)

Grobna jama. Opis lege pri grobu 111. Meje groba 113 niso bile vidne. Zasutje je bilo iz rjavega humusa, pomešanega z lomljencem velikosti do 10 x 10 cm. V vzhodni del groba 113 so vkopali grob 111. Severna stran groba ob lobanji in trupu je bila pod zidom št. 6. Okostje je ležalo na ilovici, ki je pokrivala živo skalo.

Okostje. Azimut 134°. Okostje odrasle osebe z gracilnimi kostmi je bilo slabo ohranjeno. V prvotnem položaju so bile lobanja, kosti prsnega koša in obe nadlahtnici. Leva roka je bila verjetno položena na medenico. Spodnji del okostja so razdrli pri vkopu groba 111. Ohranjeni del okostja je meril 0,65 m.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

archaeological examination Graves 111-114 and 117 were discovered south of the wall, and Graves 115 and 116 to the north of it. The wall partially covered Graves 113, 114 and 117. When the large sacristy was built, Graves 112 and 117 were disturbed in the south side of the depression. The latest Grave (111) was located to the south of wall No. 6. It was dug into an area with several successive burials, predominantly above Grave 117, but at its side also into Graves 112–114. The borders of Grave 111 were not visible. The grave pit was filled-in with brown humus mixed with quarry stone measuring up to 10 x 10 cm. The skeleton lay on clay that covered the bedrock.

Skeleton. Azimuth 106°. The robust skeleton was positioned on its back, the bones below the knees were missing. The arms were stretched alongside the torso. From the skull to the end of the femurs the skeleton measured 1.13 m in length. The reburied humerus and a part of the bones from the pelvic area lay on top of the bones pertaining to the thorax.

Artefacts. A finger ring (1) was found alongside the left humerus.

Commentary. It is uncertain whether the ring belonged to Grave 111, for it was not found next to the bones of the hands or fingers, but alongside the humerus. The ring could have come to this position from Grave 112 or 113, as the bones of the arms were reburied in both graves. The closest to the ring was the jawbone, a part of the skeleton from Grave 114, however we do not know in what state the bones of the hands were, as this skeleton lay almost entirely under wall No. 6.

(1) A finger ring made from bronze sheet metal ribbon. Alongside the each edge it is decorated by a serie of short engraved lines, which are in three places traversed by pairs of diagonally placed series of lines created in the same way; a diagonal series of lines can also be found on one of the overreaching parts of the ring. Dia. 2.2 cm, ribbon w. 0.66 cm. Inv. No. S 1985 (*Pls. 3:* 13*; 15:* 15).

Grave 112 (*Pl. 33:* 6; *N 17*)

Grave pit. See the description of the position for Grave 111. The borders of Grave 112 are not clearly visible. The pit was filled-in with brown humus mixed with quarry stone measuring up to 10 x 10 cm. Grave 111 was dug parallel into the northern side of Grave 112. The remains of the grave on the east side were most likely reburied when the large sacristy was being built. The skeleton lay on clay that covered the bedrock.

Skeleton. Azimuth 104°. The adult skeleton with gracile bones was poorly preserved. Only a partially preserved skull and the bones pertaining to the right side of the thorax were preserved in their original position. The right femur was moved, but not damaged. A large part of the skeleton was disturbed when Grave 111 was created. The preserved part of the skeleton measured 0.5 m in length.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 113 (*Pl. 33:* 6; *N 17*)

Grave pit. See the description of the position for Grave 111. The borders of Grave 113 were not visible. The pit was filled-in with brown humus mixed with quarry stones measuring

Grob 114 (*N 17*)

Grobna jama. Opis lege pri grobu 111. Meje groba 114 niso bile vidne. Večji del jame je pod temelji zidu št. 6.
Okostje. Odkriti so bili le deli lobanje in čeljustnice ter nekaj kosti z desne strani prsnega koša.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 115 (*t. 34:* 1; *N 18*)

Grobna jama. Opis lege pri grobu 111. Grob 115 so v celoti vkopali v grob 116. Na zahodnem robu je jama segala do žive skale, drugod do plasti temno rjavega humusa, pomešanega z ilovico. Okostje je ležalo v svetlo rjavem humusu, pomešanem z drobnim lomljencem.
Okostje. Viš. 489,29 m; azimut 87°. Gracilno okostje nedorasle osebe je bilo slabo ohranjeno. Leva roka je bila iztegnjena ob trupu, desna položena prek trebušnega dela. Okostje je do konca golenic merilo 1,1 m. Ob okostju so ležale dolge kosti prekopanega okostja iz groba 116. Tudi v plasti nad jamama grobov 115 in 116 so bili raztreseni odlomki človeških kosti.
Predmeti v grobu. V "zasipnem gradivu" nad okostjem so našli odlomke lončenih posod (kat. št. 22 in 23; *t. 6:* 12, 13; 18*:* 8), odlomek steklene posode (kat. št. 24; *sl. 1.25:* 3; *t. 16:* 5) in železno skobo (kat. št. 25; *t. 3:* 19).
Komentar. Po osnutku besedila omenjene najdbe spadajo "h grobni jami s skeletoma 115 in 116" (*arhiv* 489, str. 66).
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 116 (*t. 34:* 1; *N 18*)

Grobna jama: Opis lege pri grobu 111. V grob 116 so vkopali grob 115. Na zahodnem robu, kjer jama ni bila poškodovana, je segala do žive skale oziroma do plasti temno rjavega humusa.
Okostje. Viš. 489,29 m. Od okostja so bili ohranjeni lobanja in vratni vretenci. Okostju so pripadale tudi dolge kosti, ki so ležale ob okostju v grobu 115.
Predmeti v grobu. Opis pri grobu 115.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 117 (*t. 34:* 2; *N 18*)

Grobna jama: Opis lege pri grobu 111. Nad grobom 117 so vkopali grob 111. Na levi strani je del okostja prekrival zid št. 6. Meje groba 117 niso bile vidne. Okostje je ležalo na plasti humusa, pomešanega z ilovico in drobnim lomljencem.
Okostje. Viš. 489,69 m (ob desni podlahtnici). Okostje odrasle osebe v hrbtni legi je bilo slabo ohranjeno. Desna roka je bila položena na medenico. Lobanje niso našli, podkolenske kosti in del okostja na levi strani pokrivajo temelji zidu št. 6. Čez spodnji del desne stegnenice je ležala dobro ohranjena spodnja čeljustnica. Stegnenica je bila dolga 39 cm.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

up to 10 x 10 cm. Grave 111 was dug into the east side of Grave 113. The north of the grave, alongside the skull and torso, lay underneath wall No. 6. The skeleton lay on clay that covered the bedrock.
Skeleton. Azimuth 134°. A poorly preserved adult skeleton with gracile bones. The skull, bones of the thorax and both humeri were found in their original positions. The left hand was most likely positioned onto the pelvis. The lower part of the skeleton was disturbed when Grave 111 was created. The preserved part of the skeleton measured 0.65 m in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 114 (*N 17*)

Grave pit. See the description of the position for Grave 111. The borders of Grave 114 were not visible. The main part of the pit lays below the foundations of wall No. 6.
Skeleton. Parts of the skull and mandible and a few bones belonging to the right side of the thorax were discovered.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 115 (*Pl. 34:* 1; *N 18*)

Grave pit. See the description of the position for Grave 111. Grave 115 was dug into Grave 116 in its entirety. On the western edge the pit reached to the bedrock, elsewhere it reached to the layer of dark brown humus mixed with clay. The skeleton lay in light brown humus mixed with fine quarry stone.
Skeleton. H. 489.29 m; azimuth 87°. The gracile juvenile skeleton was poorly preserved. The left arm was stretched alongside the torso, the right hand placed across the abdomen. To the end of the tibia the skeleton measured 1.1 m in length. Alongside the skeleton lay the long bones of the reburied skeleton from Grave 116. Fragments of human bones were also scattered into the layers between the pits for Graves 115 and 116.
Artefacts. The fill-in material contained pottery fragments (Cat. Nos. 22 and 23; *Pls. 6:* 12, 13; *18:* 8), a fragment of a glass vessel (Cat. No. 24; *Fig. 1.25:* 3; *Pl. 16:* 5) and an iron staple (Cat. No. 25; *Pl. 3:* 19).
Commentary. According to the draft of the text for publication the aforementioned finds belong to the 'grave pit with skeletons 115 and 116' (*archive* 489, pg. 66).
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 116 (*Pl. 34:* 1; *N 18*)
Grave pit: See the description of the position for Grave 111. Grave 115 was dug into Grave 116. On the west edge, where the pit was not damaged, it reached to the bedrock or to the layer of dark brown humus.
Skeleton. H. 489.29 m. The skull and the cervical vertebrae were preserved. The long bones that lay alongside the skeleton in Grave 115 also belonged to this skeleton.
Artefacts. See description for Grave 115.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grob 118 (*t. 34:* 3; *N 19*)

Grobna jama. Zgornji del je bil viden kot površina rjave prsti, obrobljena s skalo. Jama je bila vkopana 0,15–0,22 m v živo skalo, pri vrhu dolga 2,0 m in široka 0,65 m, stene so bile skoraj navpične. Zasuta je bila s humusom, pomešanim z lomljenci v velikosti do 10 x 15 cm. V vzhodni del groba so pozneje vkopali jamo, v katero so položili tlak iz lomljencev (vel. 10 x 15 cm), vezanih s čvrsto malto; na robu tlaka (pr. 0,50 m) so bili kamni postavljeni krožno. Ob zidavi so prekopali podkolenski del okostja.

Okostje. Viš. 493,78 m; azimut 78°. Okostje v hrbtni legi je bilo deloma ohranjeno. Lobanja in leva stran okostja sta bili poškodovani, spodnji deli nog pa uničeni. Roki sta bili položeni na medenico. Okostje je od vrha lobanje do kolen merilo 1,25 m.

Predmet v grobu. Ob levi stegnenici je ležal železen žebelj (kat. št. 26; *t. 3:* 20).

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 119 (*t. 34:* 4,5; *N 20*)

Grobna jama. Jama ni bila vidna, okostje je ležalo na naravni polici tesno ob južni steni preddverja, na 0,2 m debeli plasti subhumusa, pomešanega z lomljenci. Zahodno od lobanje v višini lopatice je bilo več koščkov oglja.

Okostje. Viš. 492,88 m; azimut 175°. Okostje odrasle osebe je bilo slabo ohranjeno. Najdeni so bili le poškodovane lobanja in nadlahtnici, nekaj reber ter desna golenica. Vidni del okostja je meril 1,32 m.

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 120 (*t. 34:* 6; *N 21*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna, izkopana je bila v plast temno rjave ilovice.

Opomba. Na načrtu grobišča (*N 21*) in v osnutku besedila je grob večkrat pomotoma označen s številko 124 (*arhiv 489*, str. 126, 226, 231).

Okostje. Viš. 493,36 m (pri kolenih); azimut 76°. Okostje otroka je ležalo v hrbtni legi, dolgo je bilo 1 m. Roki sta bili iztegnjeni ob trupu.

Predmeti v grobu. Ob stopalih je bilo več odlomkov prazgodovinske keramike, v plasti pod kostmi nog pa pozlačen bronast novec, zdaj pogrešan (kat. št. 140).

Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grave 117 (*Pl. 34:* 2; *N 18*)

Grave pit: See the description of the position for Grave 111. Grave 111 was dug above Grave 117. The left side of the skeleton was covered by wall No.6. The borders of Grave 117 were not visible. The skeleton lay on a layer of humus mixed with clay and fine quarry stone.

Skeleton. H. 489.69 m (alongside the right ulna). The poorly preserved adult skeleton was placed on its back. The right hand was placed on the pelvis. The skull was not found, the bones underneath the knees and a part of the skeleton on the left side are covered by the foundations of wall No. 6. A well-preserved mandible lay across the lower part of the right femur. The femur measured 39 cm in length.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 118 (*Pl. 34:* 3; *N 19*)

Grave pit. The upper part appeared as a layer of brown soil, surrounded by rock. The pit with almost vertical walls was dug 0.15–0.22 m into the bedrock, measuring 2.0 m in length and 0.65 m in width at the top. The pit was filled-in with humus mixed with quarry stones measuring up to 10 x 15 cm. A pit into which they placed paving stones (made from quarry stones measuring 10 x 15 cm) stuck together with firm mortar was dug into the east side of the grave; at the edge, the paving stones were placed in a circle (diameter 0.50 m). While creating the paved area they reburied the part of the skeleton below the knees.

Skeleton. H. 493.78 m; azimuth 78°. The partially preserved skeleton was placed on its back. The skull and the left side of the skeleton were damaged, the lower parts of the legs destroyed. The hands were placed on the pelvis. From the top of the skull to the knees the skeleton measured 1.25 m in length.

Artefacts. An iron nail (Cat. No. 26; *Pl. 3:* 20) lay next to the left femur.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 119 (*Pl. 34:* 4,5; *N 20*)

Grave pit. The pit was not visible. The skeleton lay on a natural shelf close to the south wall of the lobby, on a 0.2 m thick layer of subhumus mixed with quarry stones. Several charcoal fragments were found to the west of the skull, at the height of the scapula.

Skeleton. H. 492.88 m; azimuth 175°. The adult skeleton was poorly preserved. Only a damaged skull, humeri, a few ribs and the right tibia were discovered. The visible part of the skeleton measured 1.32 m in length.

Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 120 (*Pl. 34:* 6; *N 21*)

Grave pit. Was not visible. The pit was dug into a layer of dark brown clay.

Skeleton. H. 493.36 m (at the knees); azimuth 76°. The infant skeleton was positioned on its back and measured 1 m in length. The arms were stretched alongside the torso.

Grob 121 (*N 22*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna. Kosti so ležale v severovzhodnem vogalu velike zakristije v plasti temno rjavega humusa.
Okostje. Neopredeljeno; ohranjeni so bili le deli golenic in piščali; azimut 84°.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 122 (*N 22*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna. Kosti so ležale v severovzhodnem vogalu velike zakristije v plasti temno rjavega humusa.
Okostje. Azimut 84°. Ostanki okostja so ležali na globini 4,5 m. V prvotni legi so bile ohranjene kosti nog, zgornji del okostja so prekrivali ostanki apsidalnega zidu in plast ruševin. Stegnenica je bila dolga 43 cm.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 123 (*N 22*)

Grobna jama. Ni bila vidna. Kosti so ležale v severovzhodnem vogalu velike zakristije v plasti temno rjavega humusa.
Okostje. Ohranjeni so bili poškodovana lobanja in nekaj odlomkov dolgih kosti.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Grob 124 (*N 23*)

Grobna jama. Obris jame ni bil viden.
Okostje. Azimut 77°. Viš. 492,63 m (ob kosteh). V severovzhodnem delu prezbiterija so ležale razlomljene in razmetana kosti nedorasle osebe.
Komentar. V osnutku besedila (*arhiv* 489, str. 130, 132) in na terenski risbi prezbiterija (*Rn* 211/94) je skelet pomotoma oštevilčen s (podvojeno) številko 123. Na načrtu grobišča (*N 21*) in v osnutku besedila (*arhiv 489*, str. 126, 226, 231) je s številko 124 večkrat napačno označen grob 120.
Pridatki. Pridatkov ni bilo.

Note. In some cases, the grave is by mistake marked as Grave 124 on the planum of the graveyard (*N 21*) and in the draft of the text for the publication (*archive* 489, pp. 126, 226, 231.
Artefacts. Multiple prehistoric pottery fragments lay alongside the feet, a gilded bronze coin (Cat. No. 140, now missing) was found in the layer underneath the bones belonging to the legs.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 121 (*N 22*)

Grave pit. Was not visible. The bones lay in a layer of dark brown humus in the north-eastern corner of the large sacristy.
Skeleton. Undefined; only parts of the tibias and shinbones were preserved; azimuth 84°.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 122 (*N 22*)

Grave pit. Was not visible. The bones lay in a layer of dark brown humus in the north-eastern corner of the large sacristy.
Skeleton. Azimuth 84°. The remains of skeleton lay at the depth of 4.5 m. The bones of the legs were preserved in their original position, the upper part of the skeleton was covered by the remains of the apsidal wall and a layer of ruins. The femur measured 43 cm in length.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 123 (*N 22*)

Grave pit. Was not visible. The bones lay in a layer of dark brown humus in the south-eastern corner of the large sacristy.
Skeleton. A damaged skull and a few long bone fragments were preserved.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

Grave 124 (*N 23*)

Grave pit. The outline of the pit was not visible.
Skeleton. Azimut 77°. H. 492.63 m (at the bones). Broken and scattered bones belonging to a juvenile lay in the north-eastern part of the presbytery.
Commentary. In the draft of the text for publication (*archive* 489, pg. 130, 132) and in the field sketch of the presbytery (*Rn* 211/94; *N 23*) the skeleton was accidentally marked with the (duplicated) number 123.
Note. In some cases, the Grave 120 is by mistake marked as Grave 124 on the planum of the graveyard (*N 21*) and in the draft of the text for the publication (*archive* 489, pp. 126, 226, 231.
Grave goods. There were no grave goods.

12.2 KATALOG RAZTRESENIH NAJDB / CATALOGUE OF SCATTERED FINDS

NAJDBE IZ GROBOV

1. Odlomek zgornjega dela ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Tik pod (neohranjenim) ustjem je nalepljeno plastično razčlenjeno rebro. Črna keramika je mešana s srednje zrnatim kremenčevim peskom. Viš. 4,7 cm, šir. 5,2 cm, deb. ostenja 0,8 cm. V jami groba 1. Inv. št. S 1798. *T. 6:* 1; *18:* 1. Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 21, št. 3 (košček odlomka s plastičnim rebrom, pomotoma pripisan grobu 2).
2. Odlomek bronaste pločevine, ohranjeni rob je zavihan. Vel. 4,7 x 1,8 cm, deb. 0,06 cm. V jami groba 20. Inv. št. S 1813. *Sl. 1.25:* 1; *t. 16:* 2.
3. Pecljata puščična ost rombaste oblike iz rožnatega kremena.[6] Obdelana je s ploskovno retušo, lateralna robova sta oblikovana s polstrmo retušo. Dol. 3,67 cm, šir. 1,46 cm, deb. 0,41 cm. V grobu 22. Inv. št. S 1814. *Sl. 1.15:* 1; *t. 13:* 1.
4. Odlomek zgornjega dela polkroglaste lončene sklede z vodoravno izvlečenim ustjem, notranji rob ustja je poudarjen. Dobro prečiščena sivorjava keramika je mešana s finim peskom, notranja površina posode je prevlečena s hrapavim rjavim loščem. Viš. 3,2 cm, šir. 5,05 cm, deb. ostenja 0,7 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 15,0 cm. V zasipu groba 23. Inv. št. S 1815. *Sl. 1.25:* 2; *t. 14:* 16.
5. Košček rude, sivo črn hematit, skorja temno rdeče rjava. Na ploskvah so drobne raze. Vel. 2,6 x 1,5 x 0,65 cm. V grobu 29. Inv. št. S 1824. *Sl. 1.16: 1*.
6. Praskalo iz svetlo sivega kremena, z obojestransko retuširano izjedo. Obdelava na odbitku, retuširani so tudi drugi robovi, zgornji rob strmo, stranski in spodnji rob na hrbtni strani. Vel. 1,7 x 1,4 cm, deb. 0,28 cm. V zasipu groba 38. Inv. št. S 1835. *Sl. 1.15:* 2; *t. 13:* 2.
7. Del žrmelj iz rožnato sivega peščenjaka. Ploskve so zglajene. Vel. 8,8 x 7,1 x 5,2 cm. V grobu 39. Inv. št. S 1837. *Sl. 1.16:* 2; *1.18:* 1.
8. Odlomek sekirice ali dleta iz svetlo sivo zelenega serpentita. Površina je obdelana z brušenjem in poliranjem. Dol. 4,4 cm, šir. 3 cm, deb. 0,9 cm. V grobu 39. Inv. št. S 1838. *Sl. 1.15:* 11*; t. 13:* 10.
9. Jedrni odbitek iz rožnato rjavega kremena. Desni rob je retuširan, na levem so uporabne retuše. Vel. 3,08 x 1,8 cm, deb. 0,61 cm. V grobu 40. Inv. št. S 1839. *Sl. 1.15:* 3; *t. 13:* 3. Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 31, št. 1.
10. Odlomek zgornjega dela zavrtene lončene posode z izvihanim ustjem. Rob ustja je ravno odrezan. Rame je okrašeno z vrezanima raztegnjenima enojnima valovnicama. Trda črna keramika je luknjičasta in zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Površina je zglajena, na notranji strani so sledovi navpičnih potegov s prsti. Viš. 3,5 cm, šir. 8,7 cm, deb. ustja 0,6 cm, deb. ostenja na ramenu 0,5 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 16,0 cm. V grobu 41, ob desni nadlahtnici. Inv. št. S 1843. *T. 6:* 2; *18:* 2; *27:* 5. Objava: Šribar 1972a, slika na str. 31, št. 2.
11. Odlomek zgornjega dela lončene posode prostoročne izdelave. Rob izvihanega ustja ni ohranjen. Na ostenju je pas plitvih vodoravnih žlebičev, omejen z globlje vrezano črto pod vratom in na rami. Na notranji strani ostenja so sledovi gnetenja. Keramika je trda, zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, površina je svetlo rjava, sredica črna. Viš. 3,3 cm, šir. 5,0 cm, deb. 0.5 cm. V zasipu groba 45, pri desni roki. Inv. št. S 1847a. *T. 6:* 3; *18:* 4.
12. Odlomek ostenja lončene posode prostoročne izdelave. Okrašen je z vodoravnimi plitvimi žlebiči. Na notranji strani ostenja so sledovi gnetenja. Keramika je trda, redko mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, površina je svetlo rjava, sredica črna. Vel. 4,2 x 2,5 cm, deb. 0,55 cm. V zasipu groba 45, pri desni roki. Inv. št. S 1847b. *T. 6:* 4; *18:* 3.
13. Klinica iz kremena, trikotnega preseka, z drobnimi retušami na robovih. Dol. 2,8 cm. V grobu 49. Inv. št. S 1851. Predmet je pogrešan. *Sl. 1.15:* 4; *1.16:* 3.
14. Koničasto obrušen kos peščenjaka. Površina je vzdolžno obrušena s petimi ozkimi fasetami in dvema širšima ploskvama. Na prečni strani je sled preloma. Dol. 2,62, šir. 1,55 cm, deb. 1,15 cm. Ob zakladni najdbi srebrnikov. Inv. št. S 1866. *Sl. 1.16:* 4; *1.18*: 2.
15. Odlomek zgornjega dela ostenja zavrtene lončene posode, okrašene s plitvo vrezanimi vodoravnimi črtami. Keramika je trda, obilno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od rjave k sivi. Na notranji strani ostenja so sledi gnetenja. Viš. 5,1 cm, šir. 7,6 cm, deb. 0,6 cm. V zasipu na dnu groba 61. Inv. št. S 1864a. *T. 6:* 5; *18:* 5.
16. Odlomek ravnega dna lončene posode. Na notranji strani so sledi gnetenja, na zunanji površini je na robu dna rahel odtis oboda vretena. Mehka in krhka keramika je zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, na zunanji površini je svetlo rjava, v prelomu in na notranji površini črna. Viš. 1,5 cm, šir. 3,4 cm, deb. dna 0,9 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 9,8 cm. V zasipu na dnu groba 61. Inv. št. S 1864b. *T. 6:* 6; *18:* 6.
17. Odlomek zgornjega dela vrtene lončene posode z izvihanim ustjem. Rob ustja je ravno odrezan. Keramika je trda, mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, sredica je siva, zglajena površina temno siva. Viš. 2,8 cm, šir. 5,8 cm, deb. ostenja 0,62 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 16,0 cm. V grobni jami 71. Inv. št. S 1894a. *T. 6:* 7.
18. Odlomek dna in ostenja lončene posode prostoročne izdelave. Črno rjava keramika je trda, zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, površina je zelo gubasta, zunanja nekoliko zglajena. Viš. 4,0 cm, šir. 4,2 cm, deb. ostenja 0,7 cm. V grobni jami 71. Inv. št. S 1894b. *T. 6:* 8.
19. Odlomek ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Okrašen je z vrezanimi razvlečeno valovnico in razmaknjenima vodoravnima črtama. Keramika je trda, obilno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, notranja površina in sredica sta črni, na zunanji površini, ki je bolj gladka, pa barva prehaja od svetlo rjave k sivi. Viš. 5,1 cm, šir. 3,3 cm, deb. 0,53 cm. V grobni jami 71. Inv. št. S 1894c. *T. 6:* 9.
20. Odlomek ostenja zavrtene lončene posode z nalepljenim razčlenjenim vodoravnim rebrom. Trda temno siva keramika je obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Notranja površina je gubasta.Viš. 5,1 cm, šir. 5,8 cm, deb. 0,58 cm. V grobni jami 71. Inv. št. S 1894č. *T. 6:* 10.
21. Odlomek ostenja zavrtene lončene posode z nalepljenim razčlenjenim vodoravnim rebrom. Keramika je trda, zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, notranja po-

[6] Za pomoč pri opisih kamnitih najdb v katalogu se zahvaljujeva Boštjanu Odarju.

vršina in sredica sta črni, zunanja površina svetlo rjava. Viš. 4,9 cm, šir. 4,85 cm, deb. 0,5 cm. V zasipu groba 84. Inv. št. S 1903. *T. 6:* 11; *18:* 7.

22. Odlomek dna in ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Keramika je mehka, luknjičava, obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, na površini črna, sredica je svetlo rjava. Viš. 1,8 cm, šir. 3,65 cm, deb. dna 0,9 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 12,0 cm. V zasipu groba 115. Inv. št. S 1986a. *T. 6:* 12.
23. Del ostenja zavrtene lončene posode s tremi vrezanimi valovnicami. Zunanja površina je plitvo poševno nažlebljena, na njej so prismojeni ostanki hrane. Oster prehod iz zgornjega v spodnji del posode je okrašen s kratkimi poševnimi zarezami. Na notranji površini so vidni sledovi gnetenja. Keramika je trda, zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, površina je rumenkasto rjava, sredica sivo rjava. Viš. 6,5 cm, šir. 9,33 cm, deb. ostenja 0,68–1,03 cm, rekonstr. pr. oboda 23,8 cm. V zasipu groba 115. Inv. št. S 1986. *T. 6:* 13; *18:* 8.
24. Odlomek posode iz prozornega brezbarvnega natronskega stekla.[7] Rob ustja je zataljen. Okrašen je z vodoravnimi steklenimi nitmi, nataljenimi na zunanjo stran ostenja. Viš. 2,05 cm, šir. 4,87 cm, deb. ustja 0,3 cm, rekonstr. pr. 8,4 cm. V zasipu groba 115. Inv. št. S 1988. *Sl. 1.25:* 3; *t. 16:* 5.
25. Železna trakasta skoba. Dol. 8,9 cm, viš. 3,7 cm, šir. do 0,85 cm. V zasipu groba 115. Inv. št. S 1990b. *T. 3:* 19.
26. Železen skovan žebelj s koničasto glavico, steblo je oglatega preseka. Konica je odlomljena. Dol. 5,36 cm, deb. do 0,62 cm. V grobu 118. Inv. št. S 1999. *T. 3:* 20.

RAZTRESENE NAJDBE SEVERNO OD CERKVE

Sonda 3

27. Odlomek zgornjega dela vrtene lončene posode z izvihanim ustjem. Rob ustja je profiliran in ravno odrezan. Keramika je trda, prečiščena glina je obilno mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Zglajena površina je rjavkasto siva, sredica črna,. Viš. 3,0 cm, šir. 5,1 cm, deb. roba ustja 0,9 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 20,0 cm. Planum 4. Inv. št. S 1876. *T. 7:* 1.
28. Sold, Marija Terezija (1740–1780).[8] Planum 2 (mesto v sondi: 4,1 m od južnega in 0,25 m od vzhodnega profila; *Rn* 221/17). Inv. št. LJ 0022177 (*sl. 12.1:* 28).
29. Sold, Francesco Erizzo, Doge XCVIII (1631–1646). Inv. št. LJ 0022172 (*sl. 12.1:* 29).

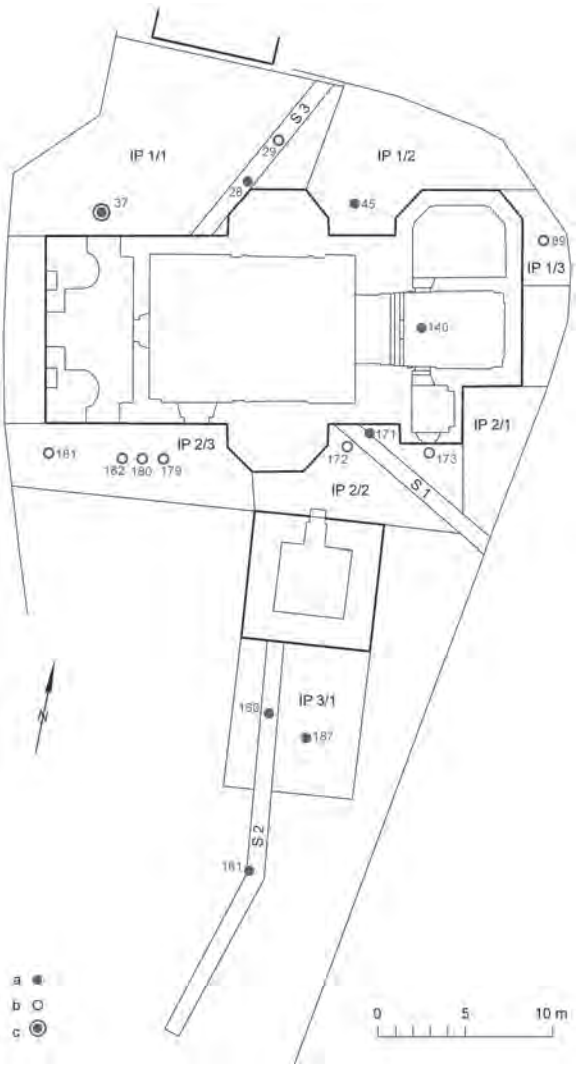
Izkopno polje 1/1 (IP 1/1)

Kvadrant 2

30. Odlomek ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode s polkroglastim ročajčkom. Glina je bila prečiščena, zunanja površina mehke keramike je rumenkasto rjava, notranja temno siva, sredica je črna. Viš. 2,07 cm, šir. 1,9 cm, šir. ročaja 1,1 cm, deb. ostenja 0,25 cm. V prerezu skozi *ognjišče*. Inv. št. S 1966a. *Sl. 1.18:* 3; *t. 14:* 1.
31. Odlomek ravnega dna in ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Mehka keramika je zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, slabo zglajena površina je na zunanji strani rdečkastorjava, na notranji črna. Viš. 1,8 cm, šir. 2,02 cm, deb. dna 0,8 cm. IP 1/1, kv. 11–12. V prerezu skozi *ognjišče*. Inv. št. S 1966b. *Sl. 1.18:* 4; *t. 14:* 2.
32. Kosi prežganega ilovnatega premaza. Na dveh koščkih je površina zglajena (spodnja kosa na sliki). Vel. največjega odlomka 6,2 x 5,7 x 2,2 cm. V prerezu skozi *ognjišče*. Inv. št. S 1966. *Sl. 1.14.*

Kvadrant 4

33. Odlomek zgornjega dela vrtene lončene posode z izvihanim in nekoliko odebeljenim ustjem. Rob ustja je ravno odrezan. Keramika je trda, obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od sive k rumeno rjavi. Viš. 3,3 cm,



Sl. 12.1: Novci z Blejskega otoka (številke ob znakih ustrezajo številkam v katalogu): a – mesto najdbe, b – približno mesto najdbe, znani so podatki o izkopnem polju (IP) ali sondi (S); c – skupna najdba srebrnikov.
Fig. 12.1: Coins from Bled Island (numbers correspond to the catalogue numbers): a – the location of the find, b – the approximate location of the find, the information on the excavation field (IP) or trench (S) is known; c – silver coin hoard. (Izdelava / Elaborated by: I. Murgelj)

[7] Glej pogl. 1, *razpredelnica 1*, str. 43.

[8] Novce z Blejskega otoka je opredelil Andrej Šemrov (Numizmatični kabinet, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana).

šir. 6,65 cm, deb. ostenja na ramenu 0,67 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 20,0 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1871. *T. 7:* 2.

34. Odlomek zgornjega dela zavrtene lončene posode z izvihanim in odebeljenim ustjem. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od sive k črni. Notranja površina je slabo zglajena. Viš. 3,0 cm, šir. 7,5 cm, deb. ostenja na ramenu 0,65 cm, deb. roba ustja 0,93 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 18,0 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 2005a. *T. 7:* 3.
35. Odlomek ravnega dna in ostenja lončene posode. Površina je slabo zglajena, vidni so sledovi gnetenja. Na notranji površini so ostanki prismojene hrane. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od sivorjave k temno sivi. Viš. 2,3 cm, šir. 6,4 cm, deb. dna 0,8 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 12,0 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 2005b. *T. 7:* 4.
36. Zgornji del zavrtene lončene posode z izvihanim in nekoliko odebeljenim ustjem. Zunanja površina je pod ustjem okrašena z gostimi plitvo vrezanimi vodoravnimi črtami. Na največjem obodu je okrogla luknjica, ki je bila izvrtana po žganju posode. Na notranji strani ostenja so vidni sledovi prostoročne obdelave, ohranili so se tudi ostanki prismojene hrane. Trda keramika je redko mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od svetlo rjave k sivi. Viš. 8,43 cm, šir. 12,4 cm, deb. ostenja na največjem obodu 0,55 cm, deb. roba ustja 0,8 cm, pr. luknjice 0,7 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 18,0 cm. Ostanke posode so našli ob srebrnikih iz zakladne najdbe. Planum 2 (x = -1,97 m, y = -8,32 m, z = 493,58 m). Inv. št. S 2006a. *T. 7:* 5; *t. 18:* 9. Objava: Šribar, Stare, Bregant 1972–1973, 39, 41, T. 1: 1 (na risbi je spodnji del posode dopolnjen).
37. Skupna najdba 38 srebrnikov. Planum 2. Raztreseni so bili na površini 0,75 x 0,5 m (okoli točke x = -1,97 m, y = -8,32 m, z = 493,58 m), približno 0,20 m globoko pod potjo med severnim vhodom v preddverje cerkve in stopniščem na severnem strani otoka. Inv. št. LJ 0007283–LJ 0007285, LJ 0007287–LJ 0007290, LJ 0017106–LJ 0017118 (*sl. 12.1:* 37). Objava: Pegan 1965–1967.
38. Odlomek zgornjega dela zavrtene lončene posode z izvihanim ustjem. Rob ustja je ravno odrezan. Na ramenu posode sta bili vrezani črti. Mehka luknjičasta keramika je redko mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od sive k črni. Notranja in zunanja površina sta zglajeni. Viš. 3,87 cm, šir. 7,3 cm, deb. ostenja na ramenu 0,54 cm, deb. roba ustja 0,65 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 16,0 cm. Planum 2 (x = -1,97 m, y = -8,32 m, z = 493,58 m). Inv. št. S 2006b. *T. 7:* 6; *19:* 1.
39. Koščen obesek v podobi človeške lobanje. Viš. 1,02 cm, pr. luknjice 0,2 cm. Ob stopnicah pri severnem prehodu skozi cerkev. Inv. št. S 2007. *T. 5:* 25; *16: 9.*

Kvadrant 5

40. Polovica jagode iz stekla turkizne barve. Viš. 0,57, šir. 0,67 cm. Planum 2 (x = -0,3 m, y = -6,18 m). Inv. št. S 1882. *T. 5:* 20; *16:* 8.

Kvadrant 6

41. Rezilo železnega noža s poševno zalomljenim hrbtom. Konica je odlomljena. Dol. 11,08 cm, šir. rezila do 2,15 cm. X = -2,28 m, y = -1,42 m. Inv. št. S 1867. *T. 4:* 1.

Kvadrant 15

42. Bronast sklenjen prstan pravokotnega preseka. Na zunanji strani je okrašen z nizom vtolčenih pik. Pr. 2,25 cm, deb. 0,15 cm. Planum 5. Inv. št. S 1883. *T. 3:* 18; *16:* 10.

Kvadrant 16

43. Železen skovan žebelj, s steblom pravokotnega preseka, glavica manjka. Dol. 8,65 cm, šir. do 0,5 cm, deb. 0,25 cm. Ob zidu. Inv. št. S 1873. *T. 4:* 2.
44. Odlomek ravnega kalijevega stekla.[9] Na površini je guba, ki je nastala pri glajenju še mehkega stekla. Vel. 3,38 x 2,25 cm, 0,2 cm. Ob zidu. Inv. št. S 1874. *T. 5:* 21; *16:* 11.

Izkopno polje 1/2 (IP 1/2)

Kvadrant 12

45. Novec. Planum 2. Akc. št. 19/1964 (*Rn* 211/46: točka 1, x= -5,0 m, y= 12,0 m, z = 492,57 m). Pogrešan (*sl. 12.1:* 45).

Kvadrant 13

46. Odlomek izvihanega ustja vrtene lončene posode. Obrobje ustja je profilirano, na zgornji strani z žlebom za namestitev pokrovke. Trda opečnato oranžna keramika je prečiščena, na robu in zunanji površini so ostanki zelenega, na notranji površini pa belega lošča. Viš. 2,1 cm, šir. 3,8 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 12,0 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1942a. *T. 8:* 1; *19:* 2.
47. Odlomek izvihanega ustja vrtene lončene posode. Široko obrobje ustja je profilirano. Trda rjavo siva keramika je redko mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Viš. 3,3 cm, šir. 3,0 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1942b. *T. 8:* 2.
48. Odlomek ustja vrtene lončene posode. Rob izvihanega ustja je profiliran. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Površina je črna, sredica siva. Viš. 2,03 cm, šir. 4,6 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 16,0 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1942c. *T. 8:* 3.
49. Odlomek ostenja vrtene lončene posode. Na prehodu med ustjem in ostenjem posode je vodoraven žleb. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Površina je črna, sredica siva. Viš. 4,23 cm, šir. 4,05 cm, deb. ostenja 0,4 cm, rekonstr. pr. oboda 16,5 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1942č. *T. 8:* 4.
50. Odlomek spodnjega dela lončene posode z ravnim dnom. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana s drobnozrnatim peskom. Površina je črno siva, sredica siva. Viš. 3,2 cm, šir. 3,9 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 12,0 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1942d. *T. 8:* 5.
51. Del ročaja lončene posode. Presek ročaja je okrogel. Keramika je obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od rdečkastorjave k temno sivi. Dol. 5,45 cm, pr. 1,38 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1942e. *T. 8:* 6.
52. Železen skovan žebelj z delno ohranjeno glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Konica je pravokotno zapognjena. Dol. 9,6 cm, šir. 0,58 cm. Pri grobu 110. Inv. št. S 1960. *T. 4:* 3.
53. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 8,25 cm, šir. 0,5 cm. Pri grobu 110. Inv. št. S 1960. *T. 4:* 4.
54. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Konica manjka. Dol. 6,5 cm, šir. 0,55 cm. Pri grobu 110. Inv. št. S 1960. *T. 4:* 5.

[9] Glej pogl. 1, *razpredelnica 1*, str. 43.

55. Železen skovan žebelj z zapognjeno glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 4,8 cm, šir. 0,6 cm. Pri grobu 110. Inv. št. S 1960. *T. 4:* 6.

Kvadrant 19

56. Zoglenela žitna zrna ječmena *(Hordeum vulgare)* in prosa *(Panicum miliaceum)*.[10] V profilu pod zidom št. 5. Inv. št. S 1963. *Sl. 2.19.*

Kvadrant 20

57. Železen nož z ravnim hrbtom in delno ohranjenim trakastim pritrdiščem za ročaj. Trn je odlomljen pri luknjici za kovico. Na prehodu iz rezila v ročaj sta bakreni ploščici, ena je okrašena z vrezanim krožcem s piko na sredini. Dol. 11,5 cm, šir. rezila do 1,6 cm, deb. rezila 0,3 cm. Planum 5. Inv. št. S 1943. *T. 4:* 7; *17:* 13.
58. Odlomek ostenja lončene posode. Na notranji strani so sledovi prostoročne izdelave. Zunanja površina je bila obdelana z glavičastim predmetom. Zunanja površina je lisasta. svetlo rjava in siva, notranja črna. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 3,9 cm, šir. 4,1 cm, deb. ostenja 0,5 cm. Planum 5, severozahodni vogal kvadranta. Inv. št. S 1945. *T. 8:* 7; *19:* 3.
59. Odlomek zgornjega dela lončene sklede prostoročne izdelave. Rob navpičnega ustja je zaobljen. Od ustja se ostenje ostro lomi proti dnu posode. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom in luknjičava. Barva na površini prehaja od sive k črni, v prelomu od svetlo rjave k sivi. Viš. 3,6 cm, šir. 5,3 cm, deb. ostenja 0,43 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 20,0 cm. Planum 5, severovzhodni vogal kvadranta. Inv. št. S 1946. *Sl. 1.18:* 5; *t. 14:* 3.
60. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 8,9 cm, šir. 0,55 cm. Severozahodni vogal kvadranta. Inv. št. S 1947. *T. 4:* 8.
61. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 8,2 cm, šir. 0,5 cm. Severozahodni vogal kvadranta. Inv. št. S 1948. *T. 4:* 9.
62. Odlomek dna in ostenja posode iz prečiščene gline. Mehka opečnato rumena keramika je redko mešana z grobozrnatim peskom in nekoliko porozna. Viš. 3,05 cm, šir. 2,98 cm, deb. dna 0,85 cm. Planum 5, severozahodni vogal kvadranta. Inv. št. S 1949. *Sl. 1.25:* 4; *t. 14:* 17.
63. Odlomek izvihanega ustja vrtene lončene posode. Široko obrobje ustja je profilirano. Trda svetlo do temno siva keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 3,1 cm, šir. 6,9 cm, deb. roba ustja 0,75 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 26,0 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1957b. *T. 8:* 8.
64. Odlomek bronaste pločevine, verjetno zgornji del posode. Ob ohranjenem robu sta zakovici, na notranji strani je med njima drobna aplika v obliki črke X. Viš. 8,3 cm, šir. 6,9 cm, deb. na robu do 0,22 cm, pr. zakovice 0.8 cm. Planum 3, jugozahodni vogal kvadranta. Inv. št. S 1959. *Sl. 1.25:* 7; *t. 16:* 7.
65. Železen ključ s ploščato zankasto glavo, cevastim steblom in nerazčlenjeno brado. Dol. 9,04 cm, šir. glave 2,5 cm, dol. brade 2,98 cm. Planum 7. Inv. št. S 1968. *T. 4:* 10; *17:* 14. Objava: Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 168, kat. št. 26, sl. 9: 2.
66. Odlomek izvihanega ustja vrtene lončene posode. Obrobje ustja je profilirano. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od rjavo sive k temno sivi. Na notranji površini so ostanki prismojene hrane. Viš. 2,6 cm, šir. 4,15 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 14,0 cm. Planum 8. Inv. št. S 1970a. *T. 8:* 9.
67. Puščična ost iz temno sivega kremena. Obdelana je s ploskovno retušo na hrbtni strani, retuširan je tudi izrazit bulbus. Vrh osti je izrabljen. Dol. 1,84 cm, šir. 1,33 cm, deb. 0,44 cm. Planum 8. Inv. št. S 1971. *Sl. 1.15:* 6; *t. 13:* 5.
68. Odlomek izvihanega ustja zavrtene lončene posode. Rob ustja je ravno odrezan. Na notranji površini je vrezana valovnica. Mehka črna keramika je nekoliko porozna, zmerno mešana z dobroznatim peskom, površina je zglajena. Viš. 2,2 cm, šir. 3,1 cm, deb. ustja 0,6 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 20,0 cm. Planum 8. Inv. št. S 1972. *T. 8:* 10; *19:* 4.

Ob zidu št. 6

69. Odlomka srebrnega naglavnega obročka ovalnega preseka. Ohranjeni zaključek je dvojno členjen. Dol. 4,05 in 1,5 cm, deb. 0,2 cm. Severno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1973. *T. 3:* 14.
70. Del železnega lečastega kresila. Dol. 8,3 cm, šir. 0,84 cm, deb. 0,48 cm. Severno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1980a. *T. 4:* 11; *17:* 15.
71. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 8,9 cm, šir. do 0,6 cm. Severno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1980b. *T. 4:* 12.
72. Odlomek ustja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Rob izvihanega ustja je zaobljen. Mehka keramika je redko mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Notranja površina je opečnato rdeča, zunanja temno rjava, sredica je črna. Viš. 3,6 cm, šir. 4,0 cm, deb. 0,9 cm. Severno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1981a. *Sl. 1.18:* 6; *1.21:* 1.
73. Čelno praskalo na usločeni klini iz rožnato sivega kremena. Polstrmo je retuširan vrh kline, na hrbtni stani je drobtinčasta retuša na stranskih robovih. Vidni so talon in bulbus ter sledi patine na vrhu kline. Dol. 3,39 cm, šir. 1,72 cm, deb. 0,43 cm. Severno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1982a. *Sl. 1.15:* 7; *t. 13:* 6.
74. Bronast naglavni obroček, desnosučen, zaključka sta trojno členjena. Viš. 3,6 cm, šir. 3,06 cm, deb. žice 0,15 cm. Planum 11, pri »prizidku« južno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1984. *T. 3:* 15; *15:* 8.
75. Odlomek zgornjega dela prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Na zunanji strani je nalepljena stožčasta bradavica. Mehka siva keramika iz prečiščene gline je mešana s sljudo. Viš. 3,2 cm, šir. 3,1 cm, deb. ostenja do 0,41 cm. Planum 11, severna stena IP 1/2. Inv. št. S 1987a. *Sl. 1.18:* 7; *t. 14:* 4.
76. Odlomek dna in ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Mehka keramika iz prečiščene gline je redko mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Površina je svetlo rjava, sredica črna. Viš. 1,7 cm, šir. 4,2 cm, deb. ostenja 0,4 cm. Planum 11, severna stena IP 1/2. Inv. št. S 1987b. *Sl. 1.18:* 9; *t. 14:* 6.
77. Odlomek ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Na zunanji strani je glajen žlebič, na katerega se pod kotom navezuje vrezana črta. Mehka keramika iz prečiščene gline je redko mešana z grobozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina je svetlo rjava, notranja sivo rjava, sredica je črna. Viš. 2,05 cm, šir. 2,5 cm, deb. 0,5 cm. Planum 11, severna stena IP 1/2. Inv. št. S 1987c. *Sl. 1.18:* 8; *t. 14:* 5.
78. Odlomek ustja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Rob ustja je ravno odrezan. Mehka, nekoliko porozna keramika je redko mešana z grobozrnatim peskom. Površina je opečnato rdeča, sredica temno siva. Viš. 3,65 c, šir. 3,55 cm,

[10] Vrsti žita je določila Tjaša Tolar, Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana.

deb. 0,85 cm. Planum 11, pri »prizidku« južno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1989a. *Sl. 1.18:* 10; *21:* 2.

79. Odlomek ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Okrašen je z vrezanima vodoravnima črtama in vrezano valovnico. Trda črna keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 2,9 cm, šir. 2,65 cm, deb. 0,35 cm. Planum 11, pri »prizidku« južno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1989c. *T. 8:* 11; *19:* 5.
80. Železna prijemalka. Trakasta kraka pravokotnega preseka sta na koncih poškodovana. Dol. 21,6 cm, šir. kraka 1,3 cm, deb. kraka 0,2 cm. Planum 11, severno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1990a. *T. 4:* 13; *17:* 16.
81. Odlomek dna in ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Mehka keramika iz prečiščene gline je redko mešana z finozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina je svetlo rjava, zunanja temno rjava, notranja površina in sredica sta črni. Viš. 3,2 cm, šir. 5,55 cm, deb. 0,8 cm. Planum 12, severno od zidu št. 6, na dnu izkopa. Inv. št. S 1991a. *Sl. 1.18:* 11; *21:* 3.
82. Odlomek dna in ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Mehka keramika je redko mešana z grobozrnatim peskom. Površina je opečnato rdeča, sredica je črna. Viš. 3,9 cm, šir. 4,3 cm, deb. 0,9 cm. Planum 11, pri »prizidku« južno od zidu št. 6. Inv. št. S 1992c. *Sl. 1.18:* 12; *21:* 4.
83. Kosa maltnega tlaka in kos stenskega ometa. Vel. večjega kosa 10 x 10 cm, deb. 5,4 cm. Planum 3, severna stena IP 1/2. Inv. št. S 2009. *Sl. 2.17*.

IP 1/2, neznano natančno mesto najdbe

84. Zob merjasca. Planum 6. Dol. 6,0 cm. Inv. št. S 1956. *T. 16:* 17.
85. Sveder iz temno sivega kremena s strmo retušo na levem in desnem robu ter uporabno retušo na levem robu in na grebenu svedra. Ohranjen je ostanek korteksa. Sveder je izrabljen. Dol. 2,45 cm, šir. 1,1 cm, deb. 0,82 cm. Inv. št. S 1964. *Sl. 1.15:* 5; *t. 13:* 4.
86. Železna trakasta skoba. Dol. 11,2 cm, šir. 1,1 cm, deb. traku 0,6 cm. Planum 9. Inv. št. S 1979. *T. 4:* 14.
87. Pet kosov stenskega ometa, dva sta iz vogala. Na štirih je rdeča poslikava. Vel. največjega 7,0 x 6,4 cm, deb. 2,3 cm. Inv. št. S 1941. *Sl. 2.18*.
88. Bronast naglavni obroček okroglega preseka, levosučen, s profiliranima zaključkoma. Pr. 3,2 cm, deb. 0,28 cm. Izkopavanje 1965, severno od cerkve. Inv. št. S 2003. *T. 3:* 16.

Izkopno polje 1/3 (IP 1/3)

89. Pikolo, Gregorio (1251–1269). Planum 2. Inv. št. LJ 0022170 (*sl. 12.1:* 89).

RAZTRESENE NAJDBE V CERKVI

Preddverje

90. Odlomek izvihanega ustja zavrtene lončene posode. Rob ustja je ravno odrezan. Na ramenu posode je viden delček vrezanega okrasa, verjetno valovnice. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, barva na površini prehaja od svetlo rjave k temno sivi, sredica je črna. Viš. 2,7 cm, šir. 4,9 cm, deb. ostenja 0,52 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 14,0 cm. Inv. št. S 1907a. *T. 9:* 1; *19:* 6.
91. Odlomek ustja lončene posode. Rob ustja je ravno odrezan. Na slabo zglajeni površini so sledi prostoročne izdelave. Trda črna keramika je redko mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 1,9 cm, šir. 2,2 cm, deb. ostenja 0,55 cm. Inv. št. S 1907b. *T. 9:* 2.
92. Odlomek ostenja zavrtene posode, okrašene z vrezanima valovnicama. Na slabo zglajeni površini sledi prostoročne izdelave. Trda črna keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 3,3 cm, šir. 3,0 cm, deb. 0,68 cm. Inv. št. S 1907c. *T. 9:* 3; *19:* 7.
93. Odlomek dna in ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Trda, nekoliko porozna črna keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 2,04 cm, šir. 5,4 cm, deb. dna 0,64 cm., rekonstr. pr. dna 10,9 cm. Inv. št. S 1907č. *T. 9:* 4.
94. Odlomek ustja vrtene lončene posode. Rob izvihanega ustja je nekoliko odebeljen in zaobljeno zglajen. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od svetle rjavkasto sive k sivi, sredica je temno siva. Viš. 2,65 cm, šir. 4,9 cm, deb. ostenja 0,5 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930a. *T. 9:* 5.
95. Odlomek spodnjega dela posode z ravnim dnom. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom. Površina je svetlo rjava, le dno je na zunanji strani črno, sredica je temno siva. Viš. 1,8 cm, šir. 4,2 cm, deb. dna 0,37 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 10,0 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930b. *T. 9:* 6.
96. Odlomek ostenja zavrtene lončene posode, okrašene s plitvima vodoravnima žlebičema. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Površina je lisasta, barva prehaja od svetlo rjave k temno sivi, sredica je siva. Viš. 4,7 cm, šir. 3,9 cm, deb. 0,37 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930c. *T. 9:* 7.
97. Odlomek ostenja zavrtene lončene posode, okrašene s plitvima vodoravnima žlebičema. Trda sivkasto rjava keramika je obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Površina je slabo zglajena. Viš. 3,5 cm, šir. 4,4 cm, deb. 0,5 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930č. *T. 9:* 8.
98. Odlomek ostenja zavrtene lončene posode, okrašene z vodoravnimi žlebiči. Trda črna keramika je zmerno mešana s drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 3,1 cm, šir. 2,6 cm, deb. 0,5 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930d. *T. 9:* 9.
99. Odlomek spodnjega dela lončene posode z ravnim dnom. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom. Površina je slabo zglajena, vidni so sledovi gnetenja, na dnu je odtisnjen rob lončarske plošče. Notranja površina je svetlo rjava, zunanja površina in sredica sta sivo črni. Viš. 2,95 cm, šir. 6,4 cm, deb. ostenja 0,47 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 11,0 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930e. *T. 9:* 10.
100. Odlomek ustja zavrtene lončene pode. Rob izvihanega ustja je nekoliko odebeljen in ravno odrezan. Trda sivo rjava keramika je redko mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 2,1 cm, šir. 2,05 cm, Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930f. *T. 9:* 11.
101. Odlomek dna in ostenja lončene posode. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od svetlo rjave k sivi. Viš. 1,6 cm, šir. 2,9 cm, deb. ostenja 0,7 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 11,0 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930g. *T. 9:* 12.
102. Odlomek dna in ostenja lončene posode. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, zunanja površina je svetlo rjava, notranja površina in sredica sta črno sivi. Viš. 1,4 cm, šir. 3,3 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 10,9 cm. Preddverje, planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930h. *T. 9:* 13.

103. Odlomek ustja zavrtene lončene posode. Rob izvihanega ustja je zaobljeno zglajen. Trda keramika je redko mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, površina je svetlo rjava, sredica temno siva. Viš. 2,3 cm, šir. 2,8 cm, deb. na robu 0,6 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1930i. *T. 9:* 14.
104. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 10,2 cm, vel. preseka 0,6 x 0,4 cm, dol. glavice 1,58 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1931. *Sl. 2.15*: 1; *t. 4:* 15.
105. Železen skovan žebelj, s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 8,75 cm, vel. preseka 0,65 x 0,35 cm, dol. glavice 1,7 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1931. *Sl. 2.15*: 2; *t. 4:* 16.
106. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 7,8 cm, vel. preseka 0,55 x 0,3 cm, dol. glavice 1,4 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1931. *Sl. 2.15*: 3; *t. 5:* 1.
107. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 6,5 cm, vel. preseka 0,45 x 0,24 cm, dol. glavice 1,0 cm. Planum 6. Inv. št. S 1931č. *Sl. 2.15*: 4; *t. 5:* 2.
108. Odlomek ustja zavrtene lončene posode. Rob izvihanega ustja je zaobljeno zglajen. Trda keramika je redko mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, površina je svetlo rjava, sredica temno siva. Viš. 3,0 cm, šir. 5,6 cm, deb. ostenja 0,54 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 16,0 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932a. *T. 10:* 1; *19:* 8.
109. Odlomek ustja zavrtene lončene pode. Rob izvihanega ustja je nekoliko odebeljen in ravno odrezan. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, znanja površina je svetlo siva, notranja črna, sredica je siva. Viš. 2,7 cm, šir. 4,5 cm, deb. na robu 0,9 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 15,8 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932b. *T. 10:* 2.
110. Odlomek ustja zavrtene lončene posode. Rob izvihanega ustja je zaobljeno zglajen. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od svetlo rjave k temno sivi. Viš. 2,25 cm, šir. 2,4 cm, deb. 0,46 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932c. *T. 10:* 3.
111. Odlomek ustja zavrtene lončene posode. Rob izvihanega ustja je zaobljeno zglajen. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, površina je črna, sredica siva. Viš. 1,95 cm, šir. 2,3 cm, deb. 0,56 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932č. *T. 10:* 4.
112. Odlomek ustja in ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Rob izvihanega ustja je ravno odrezan in zglajen. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, zunanja površina, notranje obrobje ustja in sredica so črni, notranja površina je svetlo rjava. Viš. 3,7 cm, šir. 7,7 cm, deb. ostenja 0,4 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 14,0 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932d. *T. 10:* 5; *19:* 9.
113. Odlomek ostenja zavrtene lončene posode, okrašene z vodoravnima žlebičema (eden je slabo viden na robu odlomka). Na notranji strani so sledovi gnetenja. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, barva prehaja od svetlo sive k temno sivi, sredica je črna. Viš. 3,3 cm, šir. 4,1 cm, deb. 0,52 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932e. *T. 10:* 6; *19:* 10.
114. Odlomek dna lončene posode. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, površina je svetlo rjava, sredica črna. Viš. 1,4 cm, šir. 6,9 cm, deb. dna 0,66 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 13,9 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932f. *T. 10:* 7.
115. Odlomek dna in ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, barva na površini prehaja od svetlo rjave k temno sivi, sredica je črna. Viš. 2,55 cm, šir. 5,0 cm, deb. dna 0,6 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 10,0 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932g. *T. 10:* 8.
116. Odlomek dna in ostenja lončene posode. Na notranji strani so sledovi gnetenja. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, barva na površini prehaja od svetlo rjave k temno sivi, sredica je črna. Viš. 2,55 cm, šir. 4,7 cm, deb. dna 0,65 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 11,9 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932h. *T. 10:* 9.
117. Odlomek dna in ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Trda črna keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Na robu dna je odtis oboda vretena. Viš. 1,6 cm, šir. 3,2 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 8,0 cm, deb. dna 0,47 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932i. *T. 10:* 10.
118. Odlomek dna in ostenja vrtene lončene posode. Izredno trda keramika iz prečiščene gline je na znanji strani prevlečena z olivno zelenim loščem. Notranja površina je temno opečnato rjava. Viš. 3,4 cm, šir. 8,25 cm, deb. ostenja 0,8 cm. Planum 6 ali 7. Inv. št. S 1932j. *T. 10:* 11; *19:* 11.
119. Odlomka prozornega brezbarvnega okenskega stekla. Vel. 5,8 x 5,0 cm, deb. 0,16 cm. Planum 7. Inv. št. S 1933a. *T. 5:* 22; *16:* 13.
120. Odlomek zataljenega ustja posode iz prozornega brezbarvnega natronskega stekla.[11] Viš. 1,3 cm, šir. 2,7 cm, deb. ustja 0,25 cm, deb. ostenja 0,07 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustji 7,0 cm. Planum 7. Inv. št. S 1933b. *Sl. 1.25:* 5; *t. 16:* 6.
121. Odlomek ostenja posode iz prozornega brezbarvnega halofitskega stekla.[12] Zunanja stran je okrašena z modro stekleno nitjo. Vel. 1,8 x 1,2 cm, deb. ostenja 0,07 cm. Planum 7. Inv. št. S 1933c. *T. 5:* 23; *16:* 12.

Ladja

122. Odlomka ostenja in dna zavrtene lončene posode. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina je črna, notranja površina in sredica sta temno sivi. Vel. odlomkov 6,4 x 3,2 cm in 6,0 x 3,2 cm, deb. ostenja 0,5 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 9,0 cm. Konec južnega zidu. Inv. št. S 1908. *T. 11:* 1.
123. Odlomki ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Na dveh odlomkih zgornjega dela ostenja je vrezana valovnica. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina je črna, notranja površina in sredica sta temno sivi. Vel. okrašenega dela 7,6 x 6,4 cm, deb. 4,3 cm. Konec južnega zidu. Inv. št. S 1908. *T. 11:* 2; *19:* 13.
124. Železen kovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Žebelj je upognjen in pri konici zvit v obliki črke S. Dol. 3,4 cm, vel. preseka 0,5 x 0,2 cm. Inv. št. S 1909. *T. 5:* 3.
125. Železna šivanka, pri ušescu je odlomljena. Dol. 6,95 cm, pr. 0,17 cm. X=4,0 m, y=1,04 m. Inv. št. S 1910a. *T. 5:* 4.
126. Železen kovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega presekom, konica je odlomljena. Dol. 3,8 cm, vel. preseka 0,6 x 0,25 cm. Inv. št. S 1910b. *T. 5:* 5.

[11] Glej pogl. 1, *razpredelnica 1*, str. 43.
[12] Glej pogl. 1, *razpredelnica 1*, str. 43.

127. Hišice polžev vrste navadni pasar (*Aegopis verticillus*).[13] Najdeno je bilo 13 hišic »ob zasipu ob zunanjem loku polkrožne apside«. Pr. do 3,0 cm. Inv. št. S 1912. *Sl. 2.20*.
128. Odlomki okenskega stekla. Prozorno brezbarvno steklo je mehurčkasto, površina je irizirana. Vel. največjega odlomka 7.3 x 5,1 cm, deb. do 0,2 cm. Vzhodno od druge apside. Inv. št. S 1913. *T. 21*.
129. Odlomek zataljenega ustja posode iz natronskega stekla.[14] Prozorno brezbarvno steklo je mehurčkasto, površina je irizirana. Viš. 1,3 cm, šir. 2,2 cm, deb. ustja 0,26 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 7,0 cm. Vzhodno od druge apside. Inv. št. S 1913. *Sl. 1.25:* 6.
130. Del svinčenega traku. Vel. 3,58 x 3,04 cm, deb. 0,1 cm. Vzhodno od druge apside. Inv. št. S 1914. *T. 5:* 6; *16:* 14.
131. Odlomek kamnite sekire iz temnega sivo zelenega serpentita, odlomljen pri luknji za toporišče, z ostanki vrtine in polirane površine. Luknja je bila narejena z vrtanjem, površina obdelana z brušenjem. Površina je deloma grobo obtolčena. Vel. 5,5 x 5,5 x 1,9 cm. Vzhodno od apside, planum 5. Inv. št. S 1916. *Sl. 1.15:* 12; *t. 13:* 11.
132. Pahljačasto praskalo na jedrnem odbitku iz rožnato sivega kremena. Čelo in desni rob praskala sta strmo retuširana. Praskalo je bilo izpostavljeno visoki temperaturi. Dol. 3,7 cm, šir. 2,53 cm, deb. 0,93 cm. Vzhodni in zahodni vogal med apsido in predromanskim zidom. Inv. št. S 1922a. *Sl. 1.15:* 8; *t. 13:* 7.
133. Železen skovan žebelj s koničasto glavico in steblom kvadratnega preseka. Dol. 8,65 cm, deb. 0,75 cm. Planum 4, območje ob južni stranski kapeli. Inv. št. S 1924a. *T. 5*: 7.
134. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Pri konici je pravokotno zapognjen. Dol. 5,85 cm, deb. 0,65 cm. Planum 4, območje ob južni stranski kapeli. Inv. št. S 1924b. *T. 5:* 8.
135. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 5,9 cm, deb. 0,6 cm. Planum 4, območje ob južni stranski kapeli. Inv. št. S 1924c. *T. 5:* 9.
135a. Del kamnite plošče. Površina »obdelane plošče iz peščenca« je stopničasto klesana, z ravnimi linijami je omejen »profiliran prehod na nižje ležečo površino«. Vel. 21 x 18 cm. V zasipu groba 72. Inv. št. S 1934. Najdba je pogrešana, opis po kartoteki.

Prezbiterij

136. Odlomek ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Na zunanji strani je nalepljena stožčasta bradavica. Mehka keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina je rjava, pri bradavici rdečkasto rjava; notranja površina je sivo rjava, sredica črna. Vel. 5,55 x 3,4 cm, deb. 0,6 cm. Znotraj velike apside (do 0,80 m pod tlakom). Inv. št. S 2000b. *Sl. 1.18:* 13; *t. 14:* 7.
137. Odlomek ustja lončene posode prostoročne izdelave. Rahlo izvihan rob ustja je zaobljen. Mehka, nekoliko porozna keramika je redko mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Površina je rdečkastorjava, sredica temno siva. Viš. 3,8 cm, šir. 4,4 cm, deb. ostenja 0,9 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 12,0 cm. Znotraj velike apside (do 0,80 m pod tlakom). Inv. št. S 2000č. *Sl. 1.18:* 14; *t. 14:* 8.
138. Odlomek spodnjega dela lončene posode prostoročne izdelave. Zunanja in notranja površina sta gosto vodoravno nažlebljeni. Mehka, nekoliko porozna keramika je redko mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina je sivorjava, notranja površina in sredica sta črni. Viš. 4,9 cm, šir. 4,4 cm, deb. ostenja 0,7 cm, rekonstr. pr. oboda 11,2 cm. Znotraj velike apside (do 0,80 m pod tlakom). Inv. št. S 2000d. *Sl. 1.24:* 1; *t. 14:* 9.
139. Odlomek ustja in ostenja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Na zunanji strani je razčlenjeno vodoravno rebro. Mehka opečnato rdeča keramika je redko mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 4,0 cm, šir. 5,1 cm, deb. ostenja 0,8 cm. Severovzhodni vogal prezbiterija (0,50 m pod tlakom). Inv. št. S 2002. *Sl. 1.24:* 2; *t. 14:* 10.
140. Novec, preluknjan in počen, vidni sledovi pozlate. Pr. 1,8 cm. V plasti pod kostmi nog v grobu 120. Inv. št. S 2001. Pogrešan, opis po kartoteki.

Mala zakristija

141. Trije odlomki zgornjega dela prostoročno izdelanega vrča s cilindričnim vratom in trakastim ročajem. Mehka keramika je prečiščena, pomešana s finimi zrnci sljude. Površina je zglajena, razpokana, barva prehaja od svetlo rjave k črni, sredica je črna. Viš. sestavljenega dela je 6,5 cm, dol. ročaja 3,7 cm, šir. ročaja 1,4 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 4,0 cm, rekonstr. pr. oboda 7,0 cm. Planum 4, severovzhodni vogal male zakristije, v zasipu jame za kol. Inv. št. S 1935. *Sl. 1.24:* 3; *t. 14:* 11.
142. Odlomek ravno odrezanega ustja prostoročno izdelane posode. Mehka keramika je porozna, redko mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Barva površine prehaja od rdečkasto rjave k črni, sredica je črna. Viš. 2,2 cm, šir. 2,6 cm, deb. roba ustja 0,74 cm. Planum 4, severovzhodni vogal male zakristije. Inv. št. S 1937a. *Sl. 1.24:* 4.
143. Trakast ročaj prostoročno izdelane posode. Mehka keramika je redko mešana z debelozrnatim peskom. Površina je svetlo rjava, sredica siva. Viš. 5,5 cm, šir. 5,15 cm, šir. ročaja na sredini 3,3 cm, deb. 1,0 cm. Planum 4, severovzhodni vogal male zakristije. Inv. št. S 1937b. *Sl. 1.24:* 5; *t. 14:* 12.
144. Odlomek trakastega ročaja posode. Mehka keramika je redko mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Na površini barva prehaja od oranžne k temno sivi, sredica je siva. Viš. 3,1 cm, šir. 3,1 cm, deb. 0,9 cm. Planum 4, severovzhodni vogal male zakristije. Inv. št. S 1937c. *Sl. 1.24:* 6.
145. Odlomek ravnega dna in ostenja prostoročno izdelane posode. Obrobje dna je poudarjeno. Mehka keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom, površina je svetlo rjava, sredica siva. Viš. 3,4 cm, šir. 6,5 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 11,0 cm. Planum 4, severovzhodni vogal male zakristije. Inv. št. S 1937č. *Sl. 1.24:* 7.
146. Trikotna puščična ost iz sivo modrega kremena z oranžnimi vključki. Baza osti je rahlo usločena, stranska robova sta zaobljena, na robovih so retuše. Dol. 1,79 cm, šir. 1,67 cm, deb. 0,39 cm. Planum 4, severovzhodni vogal male zakristije. Inv. št. S 1939. *Sl. 1.15:* 10; *t. 13:* 8.

[13] Vrsto polžev je določil Rajko Slapnik, samostojni raziskovalec (ZOSPEUM), Kamnik

[14] Glej pogl. 1, *razpredelnica 1*, str. 43.

Velika zakristija

147. Odlomek zgornjega dela zavrtene lončene posode, verjetno sklede. Ravno odrezan rob ustja je rahlo odebeljen. Odlomek je na zunanji in notranji strani okrašen z vrezano valovnico. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina je svetlo rjava, notranja površina in sredica sta temno sivi. Viš. 5,7 cm, šir. 4,7 cm, deb. 0,64 cm. Severovzhodni vogal velike zakristije, v profilu vzhodne stene cerkve. Inv. št. S 2004. *T. 11:* 3; *19:* 14.

RAZTRESENE NAJDBE JUŽNO OD CERKVE

Sonda 2

148. Odlomek ustja in ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Izvihano ustje je zglajeno in profilirano z vrezano vodoravnico. Na ramenu je vrezana enojna valovnica. Trda keramika je obilno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom. Barva na zunanji površini prehaja od sivo rjave k črni, notranja površina in sredica sta črni. Na notranji strani so ostanki prismojene hrane. Viš. 3,75 cm, šir. 5,9 cm, deb. ostenja 0,6 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 12,0 cm. Med 20 in 22 m, v nasutju. Inv. št. S 1869a. *T. 11:* 4; *19:* 15.
149. Odlomek pokončnega ustja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Rob ustja je zaobljen in zglajen. Mehka, rumenkasto siva luknjičava keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 3,2 cm, šir. 4,0 cm, deb. ostenja 0,76 cm. Med 20 in 22 m. Inv. št. S 1869b. *Sl. 1.24:* 8; *t. 14:* 13.
150. Odlomek ustja lončene posode prostoročne izdelave. Izvihano in nekoliko odebeljeno ustja je zglajeno. Mehka keramika je zmerno mešana s finim peskom, površina je razpokana. Barva na površini prehaja od rdečkasto rjave k temno rjavi, sredica je siva. Viš. 3,3 cm, šir. 7,1 cm, deb. ostenja 0,7 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 23,8 cm. Med 20 in 22 m, v nasutju. Inv. št. S 1869č. *T. 11:* 5; *t. 19:* 12.
151. Odlomek ostenja lončene posode prostoročne izdelava. Na ostenju je ovalna bradavica. Mehka luknjičava keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Barva na površini prehaja od rjavkasto svetlosive k temno sivi, sredica je siva. Viš. 3,8 cm, šir. 5,6 cm, deb. ostenja 0,7 cm. Med 20 in 22 m, v nasutju. Inv. št. S 1869d. *Sl. 1.24:* 9; *t. 14:* 14.
152. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Konica ni ohranjena. Dol. 5,45 cm, šir. do 0,6 cm. Planum 3, med 20 in 22 m. Inv. št. 1870a. *T. 5:* 10.
153. Železen skovan žebelj s steblom pravokotna preseka. Del pri glavici ni ohranjen. Dol. 6,3 cm, šir. do 0,45 cm. Sonda 2, planum 3, med 20 in 22 m. Inv. št. 1870b. *T. 5:* 11.
154. Železen skovan žebelj s strehasto glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Del pri konici ni ohranjen. Dol. 3,8 cm, šir. do 0,45 cm. Planum 3, med 20 in 22 m. Inv. št. 1870c. *T. 5:* 12.
155. Odlomek ustja zavrtene lončene posode, verjetno sklede. Ustje je izvihano, rob je zaobljen in zglajen. Mehka, porozna keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Površina je svetlo rjava, sredica črna. Viš. 4,2 cm, šir. 5,2 cm, deb. ostenja 0,7 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 18,0 cm. Planum 3/4, med 12,5 in 13,8 m. Inv. št. S 1872a. *Sl. 1.25:* 8; *t. 14:* 18.
156. Odlomek dna lončene posode. Mehka porozna keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina je svetlo rjava, notranja površina in sredica sta črni. Viš. 1,32 cm, šir. 7,8 cm, deb. dna 1,0 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 13,8 cm. Planum 3/4, med 12,5 in 13,8 m. Inv. št. S 1872b. *T. 11:* 6.
157. Gladek bronast prstan D–preseka. Pr. 2,0 cm, šir. 0,28 cm, deb. 0,1 cm. Planum 2 (0,2 m pod površino), pri 3,8 m, 0,4 m proti zahodu. Inv. št. S 1881. *T. 3:* 17.
158. Odlomek odebeljenega ustja in ostenja vrtene lončene posode. Mehka, dobro prečiščena opečnato oranžna keramika je zmerno mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Viš. 2,9 cm, šir. 5,0 cm, deb. ustja 0,9 cm, deb ostenja 0,42 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 16,0 cm. Planum 4, ob južnem temelju zvonika. Inv. št. S 1884a. *Sl. 1.25:* 9; *t. 14:* 19.
159. Odlomek ustja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Mehka keramika je redko mešana z grobozrnatim peskom, barva na površini je v glavnem opečnato rdeča, le na notranji strani je deloma siva tako kot sredica. Viš. 4,0 cm, šir. 4,9 cm, deb. 0,7 cm. Planum 4, ob južnem temelju zvonika. Inv. št. S 1884b. *Sl. 1.24:* 10; *t. 14:* 15.
160. Sold, Giovanni I Corner, Doge XCVI (1625–1629). Planum 2 (mesto v sondi: 4,0 m od severnega in 0,5 m od zahodnega profila; *Rn* 221/14). Inv. št. LJ 0022169 (*sl. 12.1:* 160).
161. Sold, Francesco Erizzo, Doge XCVIII (1631–1646). Planum 3, nasutje (mesto v sondi: ob zahodnem profilu, 13,82 m od severnega profila; *Rn* 221/14. Inv. št. LJ 0022171 (*sl. 12.1:* 161).

Izkopno polje 2/1 (IP 2/1)

162. Odlomka ustja vrtene lončene posode. Izvihano ustje je profilirano in zglajeno. Trda temno siva, skoraj črna keramika je obilno mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Viš. večjega odlomka 2,55 cm, šir. 5,25 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 17,9 cm. Planum 3. Inv. št. S 1961a. *T. 11:* 7.
163. Bronasta svetinjica z motivom Svete družine. Leg av.: +CORAZONES DE JESUS DE MARIA Y DE JOSE // •+• Srca Jezusa Marije in Jožefa; MHI (Sveta združena srca Jezusa Marije in Jožefa). Leg. Rv: SAGRADA FAMILIA RUEGA POR NOSTROS // •+• Sveta družina prosi (mili) za nas.[15] Viš. 3,3 cm, šir. 2,4 cm, teža 3,1 g. Inv. št. S 1969. *T. 16:* 15.

Izkopno polje 2/2 (IP 2/2)

164. Odlomek dna in ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Trda temno siva keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 2,15 cm, šir. 3,3 cm, deb. ostenja 0,7 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 12,0 cm. Planum 3 (izkopavanje leta 1963 južno od cerkve med malo zakristijo in stransko kapelo). Inv. št. S 1926a. *T. 11:* 8.
165. Odlomek ustja prostoročno izdelane lončene posode. Rob pokončnega ustja je ravno oblikovan. Mehka keramika iz prečiščene gline je redko mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Površina je opečnato rdeča in prašna, sredica je siva. Viš. 2,9 cm, šir. 4,9 cm, deb. 1,3 cm. Planum 3 (izkopavanje leta 1963 južno od cerkve med malo zakristijo in stransko kapelo). Inv. št. S 1926b. *Sl. 1.25:* 10; *t. 14:* 20.
166. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom kvadratnega preseka. Dol. 8,7 cm, šir. do 0,45 cm. Planum

[15] Svetinjico je opredelil Darko Knez, Narodni muzej Slovenije.

4 (izkopavanje leta 1963 južno od cerkve med malo zakristijo in stransko kapelo). Inv. št. S 1927. *T. 5:* 13.

167. Železen skovan žebelj s steblom pravokotnega preseka. Del pri glavici ni ohranjen. Dol. 7,0 cm, šir. do 0,7 cm. Planum 4 (izkopavanje leta 1963 južno od cerkve med malo zakristijo in stransko kapelo). Inv. št. S 1927. *T. 5:* 14.
168. Železen skovan žebelj s steblom pravokotnega preseka. Del pri glavici ni ohranjen. Dol. 6,85 cm, šir. do 0,6 cm. Planum 4 (izkopavanje leta 1963 južno od cerkve med malo zakristijo in stransko kapelo). Inv. št. S 1927. *T. 5:* 15.
169. Del okrogle okenske ploščice iz prozornega brezbarvnega stekla. Rob je okrepljen. Vel. 7,3 x 2,4 cm, deb. robu 0,33 cm, rekonstr. pr. 9,4 cm. Planum 2 (izkopavanje leta 1963 južno od cerkve med malo zakristijo in stransko kapelo). Inv. št. S 1928. *T. 5:* 24; *16:* 16.
170. Odbitek z izjedo, iz sivega kremena. Izjeda je dvostransko retuširana, na drugih robovih je polstrma retuša. Viš. 2,6 cm, šir. 1,6 cm, deb. 0,55 cm. Planum 3. Inv. št. S 1978. *Sl. 1.15:* 9; *t. 13:* 9.
171. Pfenig, Eberhard I. (1147–1164), morda še Konrad II. (1164–1168). V nasutju nad grobom 100. Inv. št. LJ 0022179 (stara inv. št. S 1906; *sl. 12.1:* 171).
172. Novec. Izkopavanje leta 1963, planum 2. Inv. št. S 1925. Pogrešan (*sl. 12.1:* 172).
173. Novec. Planum 2, pred malo zakristijo. Akc. št. A 30/1964. Pogrešan (*sl. 12.1:* 173).

Izkopno polje 2/3 (IP 2/3)

174. Odlomek dna in ostenja zavrtene lončene posode. Na notranji strani so sledi gnetenja. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z grobozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina je svetlo rjava, notranja površina in sredica sta črni. Viš. 3,3 cm, šir. 6,3 cm, deb. dna 0,7 cm, rekonstr. pr. dna 14,0 cm. Planum 4. Inv. št. S 1993a. *T. 12:* 1.
175. Odlomek izvihanega in profiliranega ustja vrtene lončene posode. Trda temno siva keramika je obilno mešana s finozrnatim peskom. Viš. 3,3 cm, šir. 6,9 cm, deb. roba ustja 0,64 cm, deb. ostenja 0,3 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 24,0 cm. Planum 4. Inv. št. S 1993b. *T. 12:* 2.
176. Odlomek izvihanega ustja vrtene lončene posode. Rob ustja je odebeljen. Trda siva keramika je obilno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Viš. 2,6 cm, šir. 7,0 cm, deb. ustja 0,8 cm, rekonstr. pr. ustja 25,0 cm. Planum 4. Inv. št. S 1993c. *T. 12:* 3.
177. Zgornji del zavrtene lončene posode z izvihanim ustjem. Na notranji strani so sledi gnetenja. Zunanja površina je zglajena, na prehodu v širši del ostenja je vodoravno rebro. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Svetlo rjava površina je svetlo rjava, sredica temno siva. Rekonstr. pr. ustja 20,0 cm. Planum 5. Inv. št. S 1997. *T. 12:* 4; *19:* 16.
178. Železen nož z ravnim hrbtom rezila in ploščatim trnom. Na rezilu je na eni strani vložen bakren znak – križ z razceplje-nimi kraki. Dol. 14,6 cm, šir. rezila do 1,9 cm, deb. do 0,3 cm. Planum 5, zahodni del zidu. Inv. št. S 1998. *T. 5:* 16; *17:* 17.
179. Pol solda, anonimno kovanje do konca serenisime (od leta l649). Planum 2. Inv. št. LJ 0022175 .
180. Pfenig, Wilhelm V. (1579–1598). Planum 2. Inv. št. LJ 0022176 (*sl. 12.1:* 179).
181. Pol solda, Alvise III Mocenigo, Doge CXII (1722–1732). Planum 5, ob zahodnem delu IP 2/3. Inv. št. LJ 0022174 (*sl. 12.1:* 180).
182. Krajcar, Leopold I. (1657–1705). Planum 5, nasutje. Inv. št. LJ 0022178 (*sl. 12.1:* 181).

Zvonik

183. Železen nož s kratkim rezilom. Na trakastem pritrdišču za ročaj je ohranjena zakovica iz neke druge kovine. Dol. 11,6 cm, šir. rezila do 1,6 cm, šir. nastavka za ročaj 0,84 cm, dol. zakovice 0,7 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1951. *T. 5:* 17; *17:* 18.
184. Kosi staljenega brona (1) ter odlomki bronaste (2) in železne pločevine (3). Vel. največjega bronastega sprimka (4) 5,1 x 3,9 x 2,5 cm, teža 63,38 g. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1951.
185. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 7,7cm, šir. do 0,55 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1954. *T. 5:* 18.
186. Železen skovan žebelj s podolgovato glavico in steblom pravokotnega preseka. Dol. 7,9 cm, šir. do 0,55 cm. Planum 2. Inv. št. S 1955. *T. 5:* 19.

Izkopno polje 3/1 (IP 3/1)

187. Sold, Francesco Erizzo, Doge XCVIII (1631–1646). Pod koreninami kostanja. Inv. št. LJ 0022173 (*sl. 12.1:* 187).

Neznano mesto na Otoku

188. Odlomek ostenja lončene posode z vodoravnim, poševno narezanim rebrom. Na notranji strani so sledi gnetenja. Trda keramika je zmerno mešana z drobnozrnatim peskom. Zunanja površina in sredica sta temno sivi, notranja površina je rjava. Viš. 3,1 cm, šir. 4,75 cm, deb. (pri rebru) 0,9 cm. Inv. št. S 8289. *T. 12:* 5; *19:* 17.
189. Del kamnitega stebrička. Viš. 8,2 cm, šir. 8,1 cm, deb. 3,4 cm. Inv. št. S 1860. *T. 12:* 6.

12.3 SEZNAMI / LISTS

Seznam 1 (*sl. 2.7*)
Zgodnjesrednjeveška najdišča v Blejskem kotu

a) *grobišči pri cerkvi:*
1. Blejski otok, cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja (Šribar 1965; Šribar 1967; Šribar 1972a).
2. Bled, cerkev sv. Martina (Sagadin 1986).

b) *grobišča:*
3. Žale pri Bledu (Müllner 1894, 118–119; Knific 2004, 105–106).
4. Brdo na Bledu (Müllner 1894; Knific 2008, 21–22, 236–237).
5. Pristava na Bledu (Kastelic, Škerlj 1950; Knific 2004, 94–100; Knific 2008, 24–25, 239–240).
6. Sedlo na Blejskem gradu (Valič 1964; Valič 1969b; Pleterski 1982; Pleterski 2013b, 310–311, 328).
7. Spodnje Gorje (Knific, Pleterski 1993, 235–240).
8. Žale pri Zasipu (Knific, Pleterski 1993; Pleterski 2013b, 306–308, 327).
9. Mlino (Ložar 1929; Knific 2008, 22, 236).
10. Dlesc pri Bodeščah (Knific, Pleterski 1981a; Pleterski 2013a, 308–310, 327–328).
11. Došca pri Bodeščah (Modrijan 2016).

c) *naselbina:*
12. Pristava na Bledu (Pleterski 2008a; Pleterski 2010a).

d) *zaklad:*
13. Sebenje (Pleterski 1987).

Seznam 2 (*sl. 2.9*)
Grobišča z najdbami *köttlaške skupine* **v Sloveniji**

a) *grobišča pri cerkvi:*
1. Bled, Blejski otok, cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja (Šribar 1965; Šribar 1967; Šribar 1972a).
2. Bled, cerkev sv. Martina (Sagadin 1986).
3. Breg pri Žirovnici, cerkev sv. Radegunde (Sagadin 2013b).
4. Moste pri Žirovnici, cerkev sv. Martina (Korošec 1979, 140–141, 77/II; Valič 1982; Sagadin 1983; Knific, Mlinar 2014, 429–431, sl. 5: 1a,b).
5. Rodine, cerkev sv. Klemena (Sagadin, Kovač, Lux 2007; Knific, Mlinar 2014, 429–431, sl. 5: 2a,b).
6. Mošnje, cerkev sv. Andreja (Sagadin 2000–2004).
7. Spodnje Duplje, [podrta] cerkev sv. Vida in sv. Martina (Vrhovnik 1885, 139–140; Valič 1969b; Sagadin 2013a, 267, op. 124).
8. Kranj, Župna cerkev, cerkev sv. Kancija, Kancijana, Kancijanile in Prota, (Kastelic 1960, 42–49; Valič 1967; Valič 1978; Sagadin 1991; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017).
9. Kranj, Križišče Iskra, [podrta] cerkev sv. Martina (Sagadin 1988).
10. Zgornji Brnik, cerkev sv. Janeza Krstnika (Sagadin 2013a, 266–268, 277–278, 286–287; t. 11: B–E).
11. Šmartno pri Cerkljah na Gorenjskem, cerkev sv. Martina (Valič 1970–1971).
12. Komenda, cerkev sv. Petra (Sagadin 2013a).
13. Mengeš, cerkev sv. Mihaela (Šmid 1908, 33–37; Vuga 1975).
14. Šentpavel pri Domžalah, cerkev sv. Pavla (Sagadin 1996).
15. Šempeter v Ljubljani, cerkev sv. Petra (Ložar 1937; Slabe 1980–1981).
16. Križevska vas, [podrta] cerkev sv. Križa, (Gabrovec 1954, 132–142, Slapšak 1977; Osredkar 2009, 64–70).
17. Mali grad v Kamniku, kapela (Sagadin 2001; Štular 2009, 114–115).
18. Sedlo, cerkev Sv. Križa (Knific, Mlinar 2014, 435, sl. 2: 19).
19. Tolmin, cerkev sv. Urha, nekdaj sv. Martina (Knific, Žbona Trkman 1990; Knific, Mlinar 2014);
20. Kanal, cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja (Knific 2009–2010; Knific, Mlinar 2014, 435, sl. 2: 11–17).
21. Vitovlje, cerkev sv. Petra (Svoljšak 1984).
22. Batuje, [podrta] cerkev sv. Jurija (Svoljšak, Knific 1976, 26–52, 60–77; Knific 2002, 20–23).
23. Ajdovščina, Šturje, cerkev sv. Jurija (Brezigar, Josipovič 2013–2014).
24. Predloka pri Loki, cerkev sv. Janeza Krstnika (Boltin-Tome 2005).
25. Legen pri Slovenj Gradcu, cerkev sv. Jurija (Strmčnik Gulič 1994; Pleterski 2003a, 365).
26. Velenje, cerkev sv. Martina (Stergar, Žižek 2019).
27. Muljava, cerkev Marjinega vnebovzetja (Knez 1967, 391; Stergar, Porenta, Žižek 2017).
28. Mirna Peč, cerkev sv. Kancijana (Udovč, Rozman 2017)
29. Bela Cerkev, cerkev sv. Andreja (Mason, Tiran 2009–2010).

b) *grobišča:*
30. Srednja vas v Bohinju, Žale (Šmid 1908, 21, 25; Korošec 1979, 74–77/I, 17/II)
31. Pristava na Bledu (*seznam 1b:* 5)
32. Sedlo na Blejskem gradu (*seznam 1b:* 6).
33. Dlesc pri Bodeščah (*seznam 1b:* 10).
34. Spodnje Gorje (*seznam 1b,* 7).
35. Žale pri Zasipu (*seznam 1b:* 8).
36. Doslovče (Lux 2006).
37. Smokuč (Sagadin, Svoljšak 2000–2004)
38. Spodnja Hrušica pri Ljubljani (Perko 2016).
39. Puščava pri Starem Trgu (Pleterski, Belak 2002).
40. Ptuj, Ptujski grad (Korošec 1999).

Seznam 3 (*sl. 2.10*–2.12)
Polmesečasti uhani s podobo živali

1**.** Blejski otok, grob 45 (***sl. 37:*** 1; ***t. 2:*** 11; ***15:*** 3);
2–3. Pristava na Bledu, grob 190 (***sl. 35:*** 1,2);
4–5. Kranj, Križišče Iskra, grob 102 (***sl. 35:*** 3,4; Sagadin 1988, 22, 84, t. 17: 7,8; 60: 17,16);
6. Kranj, Župna cerkev, najdba iz leta 1953 (***sl. 35:*** 5);
7. Kranj, Župna cerkev, grob 1965_z0117 (***sl. 35:*** 6; ***37***: 2; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 59, sl. 1);
8–9. Kranj, Župna cerkev, grob 1965_z0193 (***sl. 35:*** 7,8; ***37***: 3,4; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2016, 91, 92),
10. Kranj, Župna cerkev, neznana lega (***sl. 37***: 5; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 272; sl. 2);
11. Kranj, Župna cerkev, brez podatkov (***sl. 37***: 6; Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 355, sl. 9);

12–13. Mengeš (***sl. 35:*** 11,12; ***37:*** 7,8; Korošec 1979, 123/I, t. 50: 3c; 51: 1; 150: 5,7)
14–15. Ptuj, Ptujski grad, grob 183 (***sl. 35:*** 13,14; Korošec 1999, 20, t. 19: 3,7)
16. Corno di Rosazzo (***sl. 35:*** 25; Korošec 1955, 251, t. 3: 2)
17. Köttlach (***sl. 35:*** 26; Pittioni 1943, 13 (inv. št. 8269d), Abb. 2; Taf. 6: 9);
18–19. Krungl, grob 66 (***sl. 35:*** 27,28; Breibert 2015, 245, Taf. 6: 15,16).
20. Micheldorf / Kremsdorf, grob 5/1906 (***sl. 35:*** 31; Hausmair 2016, 105, Taf. 4: 5).

Seznam 4 (*sl. 2.13a*)
Najdišča naglavnih obročkovi z S-zanko in ravno odrezanim locnom v Sloveniji, Furlaniji-Julijski krajini (I) in na Koroškem (A):

1. Pordenone, Palazzo Ricchieri, grobovi 22, 31 in 36 (Mader 1993, 246, 251, 252, Gräber/Tombe 22/23: 1; Grab/Tomba 31: 2,3; Grab/Tomba 35: 1,1).
2. Puch, grob 2 (Eichert 2010a, 250, Taf. 26: 1,2).
3. Villach/Beljak, Judenbichl, grob J 99 (Dolenz 1969, 40,41, Taf. 25: 5,6; Eichert 2010a, 265, Taf. 33).
4. Längdorf/Velika vas, grob 7 (Eichert 2010a, 245, Taf. 25: 1,2).
5. Srednja vas v Bohinju, Žale, grob 3 (Korošec 1979, t. 36: 3b).
6. Kranj, Župna cerkev, grob 1972_z0092 (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 158).
7. Kranj, Križišče Iskra, grobova 159 in 193, raztreseni najdbi št. 25 in 38 (Sagadin 1988, 25, 27, 35, 87–88, 90, 99, t. 22: 4,5; 28: 1–4; 41: 25; 42: 13).
8. Legen pri Slovenj Gradcu, grob (Strmčnik Gulič 1994, sl. na str. 13 desno)
9. Radvanje pri Mariboru, grobovi 3, 12, 20 (Strmčnik Gulič 1988, 155, sl. 8; Strmčnik Gulič, Kajzer 2001, 118–119, kat. št. 389: 2,5–11,13,14).
10. Črešnjevec, pri cerkvi sv. Mihaela (Pahič 1965, 198, t. 10: 1).
11. Spodnja Hajdina pri Ptuju, grobovi 2, 5, 7 (Skrabar 1912, 337–339, Abb. 3: 4,23,24,33–43; Korošec 1947, 30–33, sl. 27,30–32).
12. Ptuj, Ptujski grad, gl. op. 20 (Korošec 1950, *passsim*; Korošec 1999, *passim*).
13. Veržej (Kerman 1997, 43, sl. na str. 43).
14. Središču ob Dravi, Cirkevca, izkopavanje 1907: obročki brez znanih grobnih celot; izkopavanje 1908: grobovi 8, 12, 13, 25, 34, 36; izkopavanje 1993/1994: grobovi 22, 29, 54, 71, raztresena najdba (Korošec 1947, 37–43, sl. 34,35,38–43; Knific, Tomanič Jevremov 2005, 166, 169, 171, sl. 5: 6–11; 6: 1–4).
15. Svete Gore nad Bistrico ob Sotli, pri kapeli sv. Boštjana in Marijini cerkvi, grobova 2 in 16 (Korošec 1969, 244, t. 1: 7–9; 4: 1–3; Korošec, Korošec 1973, 134, t. 6: 1,4; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 119, kat. št. 390: 9,10).
16. Bela Cerkev, pri cerkvi sv. Andreja, skelet št. 543, grobni kontekst št. 703 (Mason 2018, 95, Fig 11, 12).
17. Črnomelj, pri cerkvi sv. Petra, grob 5 (Šribar 1961, 84, 86, sl. 2: 7).

Seznam 5 (*sl. 2.16*)
Najdišča ključev z votlo nogo in lečastih kresil v Sloveniji

Ključi:
Bled (Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 168–169, kat. št. 27, sl. 9: 3).
Bled, Brdo (Müllner 1894, 116, Taf. 10: 17; Šmid 1908, 32, Taf. 3: 21; Bitenc, Knific 2001, 91, kat. št. 290; Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 168, kat. št. 25, sl. 9: 1).
Blejski otok (*t. 4:* 4; *bt. 17:* 14; Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 168, kat. št. 26, sl. 9: 2).
Divja Loka (*Wildenlak*) pri Škofji Loki (Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 170, kat. št. 37, sl. 10: 5).
Gradišče nad Bašljem (Bitenc, Knific 2001, 100, kat. št. 327, zgornji; Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 169, kat. št. 29–31, sl. 9: 5–7).
Gradišče pri Trebenčah (Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 169, kat. št. 32, sl. 9: 8).
Legen (Strmčnik Gulič 1994, 19, slika in risba).
Ljubljanica pri Bevkah (Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 170, kat. št. 43, sl. 10: 11).
Ljubljanica pri Ljubljani (Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 170, kat. št. 38, 42, sl. 10: 6,10).
Mali grad v Kamniku (Štular 2009, 189, t. 2: 2,3).
Na Dolinje pri Brezjah (Ogrin 2010, 42–43, kat. št. 63).
Otok pri Dobravi, *Gutenwerd* (Stare 2002, 36, t. 7: 7,912; Stare 2007, 25, t. 2: 1,3; Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 169, 170, kat. št. 33–35, sl. 10: 1–3).
Poštela (Pahič 1985, sl. 121: 3; Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 169, kat. št. 28, sl. 9: 4; Švajncer 2016, 100–101, s sliko).
Stari grad v Podbočju (Guštin, Cunja, Predovnik 1993, 90, sl. 25: 9).
Stična (Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 170, kat. št. 36, sl. 10: 4).
Sv. Pavel nad Vrtovinom (Knific 2004, 20, t. 2: 9; Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 166, kat. št. 13, 14, sl. 3: 2,3).
Tolmin (Knific, Mlinar 2014, 436, t. 2: 37).
Veliki gradec pri Drežnici (Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 170, kat. št. 39; sl. 10: 7).
Zbelovo, Zbelovski grad (Bitenc, Knific 2013–2014, 170, kat. št. 41; sl. 10: 9).
Župna cerkev v Kranju (Pleterski, Štular, Belak 2017, 35, 277, 309–310).

Kresila:
Blejski otok (*t. 4:* 11; *17:* 15).
Fijeroga pri Pomjanu (Knific 1994, 54–55, sl. 26: 6).
Gradišče nad Bašljem (neobjavljeno).
Hrušica, *Ad Pirum* (Giesler 1981, 189, t. 30: 396; Knific 1994, 62, sl. 28: 4).
Ljubljanica (Knific 1994, 60, 62, sl. 28: 2,3; Veršnik 2009).
Mali grad v Kamniku (Štular 2009, 189, t. 1: 3).
Otok pri Dobravi, *Gutenwerd* (Šribar 1979, 48, 71, t. 7: 1; Knific 1994, 62, sl. 28: 1).
Pusti grad (*Waldenberg*) nad Lipnico pri Radovljici (Knific 1994, 60, sl. 28: 5).
Ulaka nad Starim Trgom pri Ložu (Nabergoj 2013).

Seznam 6 (*sl. 2.22*)
Grobišča z najdbami *köttlaške skupine* pri cerkvah na severnojadranskem in vzhodnoalpskem ozemlju

Slovenija:
1–29 (gl. *seznam 2a:* 1–29; *sl.* 2.9).

Italija:
30. Cittadella, cerkev sv. Donata (Possenti 1995, 141–142, 150–152, fig. 4; Oven, Possenti, Župančič 1997; Ricci 2007, 47, tav. 1).
31. Castello di Godego, cerkev sv. Petra (Possenti 1995, 141–148, tav. 1: 1–3).
32. Turrida pri Sedeglianu, cerkev sv. Martina (Korošec 1955, 247–251, t. 1, 2; Brozzi 1963, 68, tav. 1, 2; Cividini 1997, 137–139, tav. 15–17).
33. Flambro, cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja (Cividini, Maggi 1999, 148–149, fig. 21).
34. S. Pietro al Natisone/Špeter Slovenov, cerkev sv. Kvirina (Brozzi 1986–1987).
35. Ovaro, cerkev sv. Martina (Cagnana, Amoretti 2005, 443, fig. 7, 13).

Avstrija:
36. Enns–Lorch, cerkev sv. Lovrenca (Tovornik 1980, 124–128, Textabb. 10, 11: 1–24; Eckhart 1981, 127–131; Giesler 1997, 508–519).
37. Enns–Lorch, cerkev »Maria am Anger« (Swoboda 1937, 303–307; Tovornik 1980, 128, Textabb. 11: 25, 26; Giesler 1997, 519–521).
38. Georgenberg pri Micheldorfu, cerkev sv. Jurija (Vetters 1976, 22–25, 29–31; Tovornik 1980, 81–124; Giesler 1997, 306–312).
39. Klosterneuburg–St. Martin, cerkev sv. Martina (Neugebauer 1979, 132, 163, 200–201, Fig. 10: 1,2; Abb. 9: 2,3);
40. Mauern pri Steinachu na Brennerju: cerkev sv. Uršule (Stadler 2003, 768–769)
41. Matrei, cerkev sv. Nikolaja (Stadler 1996; Stadler 2003, 766–768).
42. Dölsach, cerkev sv. Martina (Pöll 2003).
43. Levant, cerkev sv. Ulrika (Stadler 1996, 88, Abb. 5: 3; Tschurtschenthaler 2003).
44. St. Martin im Lungau, cerkev sv. Martina (Höglinger 2013; Hampel, Niedermayr, Tadic 2012).
45. St. Daniel v Ziljski dolini, cerkev sv. Daniela; Koroška, Avstrija (Deuer et al. 2004, 22–34; Eichert 2010a, 239, Taf. 28);
46. Hermagor / Šmohor, cerkev sv. Mohorja (Dolenz 1960, 742, Abb. 6: 2–5,11,12,16; Eichert 2010a, 215–217, Taf. 23; Eichert 2012, 25–27).
47. St. Peter in Holz / Sveti Peter v Lesu, cerkev sv. Petra (Glaser 2004; Eichert 2012, 65–68).
48. St. Peter pri Spittalu: cerkev sv. Petra (Karpf, Meyer 2010; Eichert 2010b; Pleterski 2013b, 313–315, 329–331).
49. Molzbichl, cerkev sv. Tiburcija (Eichert 2010a, 229–232, Taf. 25; Eichert 2012, 51–55).
50. Villach / Beljak, cerkev sv. Martina (Eichert 2010a, 270, Taf. 36).
51. Villach / Beljak, cerkev sv. Jakoba (Eichert 2010a, 270–271, Taf. 36).
52. Villach / Beljak – Beljak / Perava, cerkev sv. Petra [nova cerkev Sv. Križa ni več na prvotnem mestu] (Dolenz 1960,742, 746, Abb. 5: 1,2,4,6; Korošec 1979, 53/II, t. 60; Eichert 2010a, 268–269, Taf. 36).
53. St. Peter pri Moosburgu, cerkev sv. Petra [razvalina] (Fuchs 1992; Gleirscher 2000, 143–144, Abb. 166).
54. Jaunstein/Podjuna, cerkev sv. Janeza Krstnika (Glaser 2008; Eitler 2009; Eichert 2010a, 221, Taf. 38).
55. Lorenzenberg pri Micheldorfu, cerkev sv. Lovrenca (Eichert 2010a, 228, Taf. 25; Eichert 2012, 29, 108–109).
56. Adendorf, cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja (Steinegger 2016).
57. Brunn pri St. Michaelu, cerkev sv. Valburge (Modrijan 1957, 24–25, Abb. 10; Modrijan 1963, 46–47, Abb. 3).
58. Judendorf – Straßengel, cerkev »Maria Straßengel« (Modrijan 1963, 80; Korošec 1979, 132, t. 77).
59. Graz / Gradec – St. Martin, cerkev sv. Martina (Modrijan 1963, 56–58, Abb. 16).
60. Leibnitz / Lipnica – Altenmarkt, [opuščena in odstranjena] cerkev sv. Martina (Kramer 1983; Kramer 1988).

12.4 DOKUMENTACIJA / DOCUMENTATION

SEZNAM DOKUMENTACIJE V ARHIVU ARHEOLOŠKEGA ODDELKA NARODNEGA MUZEJA SLOVENIJE

Terenski zapiski

Arhiv

Št. 476. Terenski dnevnik izkopavanj na Blejskem otoku v letih 1962 (od 5. junija do 17. avgusta) in 1963 (od 5. maja do 6. avgusta). Avtor V. Šribar.

Št. 477. Meritve s skicami. Leto 1964, IP 1/2.

Št. 478. Meritve s skicami. Leto 1964, IP 2/1–3.

Št. 479. Terenski dnevnik od 12. junija do 25. julija 1964 (opis planumov, mala zakristija, IP 2/1 in IP 2/2).

Št. 480. Terenski dnevnik, opisi planumov in profilov. Leto 1964 (zvonik, IP2/2 in IP 2/3).

Št. 481. Terenski dnevnik, 2 strani fotodnevnika (17. in 18. junij 1963), po petih prazni straneh se začne terenski dnevnik (prvi vpis 2. november 1964, zadnji vpisani datum je 4. avgust 1965).

Št. 482. Terenski zapisi meritev v letih 1962 (IP 1/1) in 1963 (notranjost cerkve).

Št. 483. Terenski zvezek s skicami in meritvami objektov na Otoku in razdaljami med njimi.. Prvi vpisani datum je 25. maj 1964.

Št. 484. Terenski dnevnik, v glavnem delovodnik: evidenca ur in obračuni. Prvi vpisani datum je 4. januar, zadnji 15. marec 1965.

Št. 485. Terenski dnevnik, v glavnem delovodnik: evidenca ur in obračuni. Prvi vpisani datum je 4. maj, zadnji 2. avgust 1965.

Št. 486. Akcesijska knjiga najdb z Otoka.

Št. 490. Načrti in meritve cerkve.

Št. 493. Terenski dnevnik za leto 1964, izkopno polje severovzhodno od cerkve (IP 1/2). Opisi planumov in profilov. Prvi vpis 19. 5. 1964.

Št. 494. Akcesijska knjiga najdb z Otoka. Za leto 1962 je vpisanih 95 najdb, za leto 1963 48, za leto 1964 štiri in še tri iz leta 1962.

Zapisi po izkopavanjih

Arhiv

Št. 487. Pregled grobov, najdb, kartotek (z inventarnimi številkami). Besedilo na zadnji strani zvezka (popisanih 15 strani) je tekst (verjetno osnutek) o tehniki izkopavanj.

Št. 488.
a) Fotografija načrta cerkvenih faz; tipkopis: predgovor (slovenščina, francoščina, nemščina);
b) tipkopis: Literatura, Znane zgodovinske letnice, Uvod, Kazalo;
c) Dokumentacija o Otoku: shema besedila (seznam slik, kazalo, skica načrta izkopavanj), uvodno besedilo, besedilo.

Št. 489. Osnutek besedila o izkopavanjih na Otoku, avtor Vinko Šribar:
– fotografija načrta faz cerkve,
– tipkopis s popravki,
– povzetek v nemščini.

Št. 491.
– Elaborat o arheoloških raziskavah na Blejskem otoku v poletni sezoni 1963 (tipkopis);
– Poročilo o arheoloških raziskavah na Blejskem otoku v letu 1963 (zelo podobno kot zgoraj, a malo krajše; tipkopis);
– opis sond z opisi sond in izkopnih polj v letih 1962 (IP 1/1) in 1964 (IP 1/2). V celoti sta bili vključeni v osnutek besedila o izkopavanjih na Otoku, ***arhiv*** 489).

Št. 492. Zapisnik o izkopavanjih na Blejskem otoku leta 1962.

Št. 495. Tipkopis. Letnica nastanka 1965 je verjetna, ne zanesljiva.

Št. 496. Poročilo (elaborat) o raziskavah poleti 1964, tipkopis in fotografija notranjosti cerkve. Dokument je nastal ob koncu leta 1964 ali leta 1965, avtorja sta Vinko Šribar in Jože Kastelic.

Št. 497. Opisi planumov, profilov, grobov ... Interpretacija najdb. Rokopisni osnutek za objavo (?). Avtorja Vinko Šribar in Vida Stare, pisava Vide Stare. Zadaj še razpredelnica najdb iz grobov.

Št. 515. Zapis z magnetofonskega traku, potek izkopavanj poleti 1962 (med 11. junijem in 9. julijem). Med govorci sta navedena Jože Kastelic in Vinko Šribar. Datumi: 11. 6, 13.–16.6, 19. 6., 9. 7., 21. 6. in 29. 6. Tipkopis, 10 listov A4.
Stroški sondiranja do vključno 21. 6. 1962, tipkopis, 1 list, A5.

Št. 537. Dnevnik izkopavanj 1962, tipkopis, 32 strani;
Zapisnik o izkopavanju na Blejskem otoku l. 1962, tipkopis, 5 strani;
Pregled najdb po grobovih, tipkopis, 14 strani;
načrti, ozalidne kopije, nekateri dopolnjeni z barvicami, 9 listov, speto;
Elaborat o arheološkem raziskovanju na Blejskem otoku v poletni sezoni 1963, tipkopis, 7 listov;
fotografija tlorisa Otoka, izkop pobarvan; fotografija cerkve;
Bled–Otok, tipkopis s popravki, tipkano na različnih strojih, 52 strani;
razni opisi, rokopis in tipkopis, 42 strani;
račun za prevoz orodja, rokopis, 20. 10. 1964.

Terenske risbe

Rn 221
221/01. Blejski otok, načrt stavb na Otoku, M = 1 : 200.
221/02. Blejski otok, načrti otoka in stavb (3 listi).
221/03. IP 1, terenska risba, 1962, planum 1.
221/04. IP 1, terenska risba, 1962, planum 2.
221/05. IP 1, terenska risba, 1962, planum 3.
221/06. IP 1, terenska risba, 1962, planum 4.
221/07. IP 1, terenska risba, 1962, planum 5.
221/08. Preglednica, 1962, situacija skeletov po starosti in spolu.
221/09. Skelet 1, terenska risba, 1962, M = 1 : 5.
221/10. Tloris in profil kurišča, terenska risba, 1962.
221/11. IP 1, prereza skozi ognjišče, terenska risba, 1964.
221/12. Sonda 1, terenska risba, 1962, planumi 1–3.
221/13. Sonda 2, terenska risba, 1962, V in Z profil.
221/14. Sonda 2, terenska risba, 1962, planumi 1–6.
221/15. Sonda 2 – podaljšek, terenska risba, 1962, planumi 1–4.
221/16. Sonda 2 – podaljšek, terenska risba, 1962, JV in JZ profil.
221/17. Sonda 3, terenska risba, 1962, planumi 1–4.
221/18. Sonda 3, terenska risba, 1962, V in Z profil.
221/19. IP 1/1, terenska risba, 1962, planum in profil med veliko zakristijo in severno stransko kapelo.
221/20. Sonda med veliko zakristijo in severno stransko kapelo, terenska risba, 1962, planum 1.
221/21. Profil med x=6, y=1,03 in x=9,2, y=0,96, terenska risba.
221/22. Tloris – brez podatkov, terenska risba.
221/23. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1963, planum 1, zahodni del.
221/24. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1963, planum 1, vzhodni del.
221/25. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1963, planum 2.
221/26. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1963, planum 3.
221/27. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1963, planum 4.
221/28. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1963, planum 5.
221/29. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1963, planum 4 vključno s planumom 3.
221/31. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1963, profil pod obhajilno mizo.

221/32. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1963, prerez skozi apsido, situacija.
221/33. Terenska risba, 1963, profili: V in Z konec J stene, V in Z konec S stene.
221/34. Preddverje, terenska risba, 1963, planum 1.
221/35. Preddverje, terenska risba, 1963, planum 2.
221/36. Preddverje, terenska risba, 1963, planum 3.
221/36a. Preddverje, terenska risba, 1963, planum 4.
221/37. Preddverje, terenska risba, 1963, planum 5.
221/38. Preddverje, terenska risba, 1963, planum 6.
221/39. Preddverje, terenska risba, 1963, planum 7.
221/40. Preddverje, terenska risba, 1963, planum 8.
221/41. Preddverje, terenska risba, 1963, planum 9.
221/42. Preddverje, terenska risba, profili: S, J, V in Z stena ter profila pod S in J stopniščem na kor.
221/43. IP 1, terenska risba, 1964, planum 1.
221/44. IP 1, terenska risba, 1964, planum.
221/45. IP 1, terenska risba, 1964, planum 2+3.
221/46. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 3a.
221/47. IP 1, terenska risba, 1964, planum 3.
221/48. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 4.
221/49. IP 1, IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 5.
221/50. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 6.
221/51. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 7.
221/52. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 8.
221/53. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 9.
221/54. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 10.
221/55. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 11.
221/56. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 12.
221/57. IP 1, terenska risba, 1964, profili.
221/58. IP 1, IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, profila.
221/59. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, severni profil.
221/60. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, "suhi zid".
221/61. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, profila.
221/62. IP 1/2, terenska risba, 1964, profila.
221/63. Cerkev, terenska risba, 1964, profil ob S steni.
221/64. IP1/2–3, IP 1/3, terenska risba, 1964, profila.
221/65. IP 2/2, terenska risba, 1963, planum.
221/66. IP J od cerkve, terenska risba, 1963, planum 2.
221/67. IP J od cerkve, terenska risba, 1963, planum 3.
221/68. IP J od cerkve, terenska risba, 1963, planum 4.
221/69. IP 2/1, terenska risba, 1964, planum 1.
221/70. IP 2/1, terenska risba, 1964, planum 2.
221/71. IP 2/1, terenska risba, 1964, planum 3.
221/72. IP 2/1, terenska risba, 1964, planum 4.
221/73. IP 2/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 1.
221/74. IP 2/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 2.
221/75. IP 2/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 3.
221/76. IP 2/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 4.
221/77. IP 2/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 5.
221/78. IP 2/2, terenska risba, 1964, planum 6.
221/79. IP 2/1, terenska risba, 1964, profil V stene.
221/80. IP 2/1, terenska risba, 1964, profila: Z in V stena.
221/81. IP 2, zvonik, terenska risba, 1964, planumi 1–3
221/82. IP 2, zvonik, terenska risba, 1964, profili.
221/83. IP 2, mala zakristija, terenska risba, 1964, planumi 1–4.
221/84. IP 1/3, terenska risba, 1964, planum 1.
221/85. IP 1/3, terenska risba, 1964, planum 2.
221/86. IP 2/3, terenska risba, 1964, planum 1.
221/87. IP 2/3, terenska risba, 1964, planum 2.
221/88. IP 2/3, terenska risba, 1964, planum 3.
221/89. IP 2/3, terenska risba, 1964, planum 4.
221/90. IP 2/3, terenska risba, 1964, planum 5.
221/91. IP 1/2–3, terenska risba, 1964, profila.
221/92. IP 2/3, terenska risba, 1964, profili.
221/93. IP 2/3, terenska risba, 1964, S in J profil.
221/94. Prezbiterij, terenska risba, 1965, situacija.
221/95. Prezbiterij, terenska risba, 1964, planumi 1–7.
221/96. Prezbiterij, terenska risba, 1964, skelet 120,
221/97. Prezbiterij, terenska risba, 1964, S, J, V in Z profil.
221/98. Prezbiterij, terenska risba, 1965, profil pod obhajilno mizo.
221/99. Velika romanska apsida, terenska risba, 1965, profil V stene.
221/100. Prezbiterij, terenska risba, 1965, profil V stene pod gotsko apsido.
221/101. Prezbiterij, terenska risba, 1965, sistem utrjevanja, planum 8 (nedokončana risba).
221/102. Terenska risba, tloris, brez podatkov.
221/103. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, 1965, situacija.
221/104. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, planum 1.
221/105. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, 1965, planum 2.
221/106. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, 1965, planum 3.
221/107. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, 1965, planum 4.
221/108. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, 1965, profil 1.
221/109. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, 1965, profil 2.
221/110. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, 1965, profil 3.
221/111. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, 1965, profila 4 in 5.
221/112. Velika zakristija, terenska risba, 1965, profil 6.
221/113. IP J od zvonika, terenska risba, 1965, planum 1.
221/114. IP J od zvonika, terenska risba, 1965, planum 2.
221/115. IP J od zvonika, terenska risba, 1965, planum 3.
221/116. IP 3/1, terenska risba, 1965, profil pod kostanjem.
221/117. IP 3/1–2, terenska risba, 1965, profil četverokotnika.
221/118. IP 3/1, terenska risba, 1965, profil Z stene, profil J stene.

Risbe odlomkov fresk

Rn 224
224/1. Cerkev, risbe odlomkov fresk.
224/2. Cerkev, risbe odlomkov fresk.
224/3. Cerkev, risbe odlomkov fresk.
224/4. Cerkev, risbe odlomkov fresk.

Terenske fotografije

Negativi
1–34, 232, 245–398, 949–960, 2826–2920, 2928–2964, 4427–4903, 5753–5821, 5832–5855, 5896–6331, 6590–6656, 6698–6715, 8470–8553.

Prerisi terenskih risb

Rn 222
222/1. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/3), planum 1.
222/2. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/4), planum 2.
222/3. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/5), planum 3.
222/4. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/6), planum 4.
222/5. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/7), planum 5.
222/6. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/11), prereza skozi ognjišče.

222/7. Sonda 1, sonda 3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/12, 17, 18), planumi in profili.
222/8. Sonda 2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/ 13, 16), profili.
222/9. Sonda 2, sonda 2 – podaljšek, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/14, 15), planumi.
222/10. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/23, 24), planum 1.
222/11. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/25), planum 2.
222/12. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/26), planum 3.
222/13. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/27), planum 4.
222/14. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/28), planum 5.
222/15. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/29), planum 4 vključno s planumom 3.
222/16. Preris terenske risbe, planum 6 (izvirnik na mm papirju manjka).
222/17. Preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/31), profil pod obhajilno mizo.
222/18. Preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/32), prerez skozi apsido, situacija.
222/19. Preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/33), profili: V in Z konec J stene, V in Z konec S stene.
222/20. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/34), planum 1.
222/21. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/35), planum 2.
222/22. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/36), planum 3.
222/23. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/36a), planum 4.
222/24. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/37), planum 5.
222/25. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/38), planum 6.
222/26. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/39), planum 7.
222/27. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/40), planum 8.
222/28. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/41), planum 9.
222/29. Preddverje, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/42), profili: S, J, V in Z stena ter profila pod S in J stopniščem na kor.
222/30. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/43), planum 1.
222/31. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/44), planum 2.
222/32. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/45), planum 2+3.
222/33. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/46), planum 3a.
222/34. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/47), planum 3.
222/35. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/48), planum 4.
222/36. IP 1, IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/49), planum 5.
222/37. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/50), planum 6.
222/38. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/51), planum 7.
222/39. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/52), planum 8.
222/40. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/53), planum 9.
222/41. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/54), planum 10.
222/42. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/55), planum 11.
222/43. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/56), planum 12.
222/44. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/57), profili.
222/45. IP 1, IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/58), profila.
222/46. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/59), severni profil.
222/47. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/61), profila.
222/48. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/62), profila.
222/49. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/63), profil ob S steni.
222/50. IP 2/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/65), planum.
222/51. IP J od cerkve, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/66), planum 2.
222/52. IP J od cerkve, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/67), planum 3.
222/53. IP J od cerkve, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/68), planum 4.
222/54. IP 2/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/69), planum 1.
222/55. IP 2/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/70), planum 2.
222/56. IP 2/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/71), planum 3.
222/57. IP 2/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/72), planum 4.
222/58. IP 2/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/73), planum 1.
222/59. IP 2/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/74), planum 2.
222/60. IP 2/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/75), planum 3.
222/61. IP 2/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/76), planum 4.
222/62. IP 2/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/77), planum 5.
222/63. IP 2/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/78), planum 6.
222/64. IP 2/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/79), profil V stene, M = 1 : 20.
222/65. IP 2/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/79), profil V stene, M = 1 : 50.
222/66. IP 2/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/80), profila : Z in V stena.
222/67. IP 2, zvonik, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/81), planumi 1–3.
222/68. IP 2, zvonik, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/82), profili.
222/69 IP 2, mala zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/83), planumi 1–4.
222/70. IP 1/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/84), planum 1.
222/71. IP 1/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/85), planum 2.
222/72. IP 2/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/86), planum 1.
222/73. IP 2/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/87), planum 2.
222/74. IP 2/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/88), planum 3.
222/75. IP 2/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/89), planum 4.
222/76. IP 2/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/90), planum 5.
222/77. IP 2/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/92), profili.
222/78. IP 2/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/93), S in J profil.
222/79. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/94), situacija.
222/80. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/95), planuma 1 in 2.
222/81. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/95), planuma 3 in 4.
222/82. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/95), planumi 5–7.
222/83. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/97), S, J, V in Z profil.
222/84. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe Rn 221/98), profil pod obhajilno mizo.
222/85. Velika romanska apsida, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/99), profil V stene.
222/86. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/100), profil V stene pod gotsko apsido.
222/87. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/103), situacija.
222/88. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/104 in Rn 221/105), planuma 1 in 2.
222/89. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/106 in Rn 221/107), planuma 3 in 4.
222/90. Velika zakristija preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/108), profil 1.
222/91. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/109), profil 2.
222/92. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/110), profil 3.
222/93. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/111), profila 4 in 5.
222/94. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/112), profil 6.
222/95. IP J od zvonika, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/113), planum 1.
222/96. IP J od zvonika, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/114), planum 2.

222/97. IP J od zvonika, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/115), planum 3.
222/98. IP 3/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/116), profil pod kostanjem.
222/99. IP 3/1–2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/117), profil četverokotnika.
222/100. IP 3/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/118), profil Z stene, profil J stene.

Rn 223
223/1. IP 1/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/23), planum 1.
223/2. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/4), planum 2.
223/3. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/5), planum 3.
223/4. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/6), planum 4.
223/5. IP 1, preris terenske risbe, (Rn 221/7), planum 5.
223/6. Sonda 1; sonda 2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/13, 14), sonda 1, planumi 1–6; sonda 2, V in Z profil.
223/7. Sonda 2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/14), planumi 1–6.
223/8. Sonda 2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/17, 18), JV in JZ profil.
223/9. Sonda 2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/15), planumi 1–5.
223/10. Sonda 3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/18), V in Z profil.
223/11. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe, (Rn 221/23, 24), planum 1.
223/12. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/25), planum 2.
223/13. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/26), planum 3.
223/14. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/27), planum 4.
223/15. Cerkev, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/28), planum 5.
223/16. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/43), planum 1.
223/17. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/52), planum 8.
223/18. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/53), planum 9.
223/19. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/54), planum 10.
223/20. IP 1/2, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/55), planum 11.
223/21. IP 1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/57), profili.
223/22. IP 2/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/69), planum 1.
223/23. IP 2/1, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/72), planum 4.
223/24. IP 2 – mala zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/83), situacija in planumi 1–4.
223/25. IP 1/3, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/84), planum 1.
223/26. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/94), po izkopu.
223/27. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/95), planum 1 in 2.
223/28. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/95), planum 3 in 4.
223/29. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/95), planum 5 in 6.
223/30. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/95), planum 1.
223/31. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/97), profili.
223/32. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/98), profil pod obhajilno mizo in Z profil pod romansko apsido.
223/33. Velika romanska apsida, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/99), profil V stene romanske apside.
223/34. Prezbiterij, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/100), profil V stene.
223/35. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/104, 105), planum 1 in 2.
223/36. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/106, 107), planum 3 in 4.
223/37. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/108), profil 39.
223/38. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/109), profil 40.
223/39. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/110), profil 41.
223/40. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/111), profila 42 in 43.
223/41. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/111), profila 44 in 45.
223/42. Velika zakristija, preris terenske risbe (Rn 221/112), profil 46.

Rn 235
Arheološka izkopavanja od 1962–1965. Situacija po zaključnih arheoloških izkopavanjih.

Rn 236
Arheološka izkopavanja od 1962–1965. Situacija po zaključnih arheoloških izkopavanjih.

Rn 237
Načrt celote z vrisanimi fazam cerkve.

Rn 238
Arheološka izkopavanja od 1962–1964. Skupine grobov 1–5.

12.5 TERENSKE RISBE / FIELD DRAWINGS

Terenske risbe velikih formatov so dostopne na naslovu / Large format field drawings are available at:

http://iza.zrc-sazu.si/pdf/Opera/OIAS_42_2020_12-5.pdf

N 1: Blejski otok, terenska risba grobov v IP 1/1 (***Rn*** 221/6). M. = 1:20.
N 2: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 1 (***Rn*** 221/09). M. = 1:5.
N 3: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 2 ***(Rn*** 221/4). M. = 1:20.
N 4: Blejski otok, terenska risba sonde 3; planum 42 ***(Rn*** 221/17). M. = 1:20.
N 5: Blejski otok, terenska risba grobov v IP 1/1 (***Rn*** 221/7). M. = 1:20.
N 6: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 58 v IP 1 (***Rn*** 221/20). M. = 1:20.
N 7: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 65 v cerkveni ladji (***Rn*** 221/26a). M. = 1:20.
N 8: Blejski otok, terenska risba ostalin v cerkveni ladji (***Rn*** 221/27). M. = 1:20.
N 9: Blejski otok, terenska risba ostalin v cerkveni ladji (***Rn*** 221/28). M. = 1:20.
N 10: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 72 (***Rn*** 221/32). M. = 1:20.
N 11: Blejski otok, terenska risba ostalin v cerkvenem predd-verju (***Rn*** 221/39). M. = 1:20.
N 12: Blejski otok, terenska risba ostalin v cerkvenem predd-verju (***Rn*** 221/40). M. = 1:20.
N 13: Blejski otok, terenska risba ostalin v IP 2/2 (***Rn*** 221/68). M. = 1:20.

N 14: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 105 (***Rn*** 221/41). M. = 1:20.

N 15: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 109 (***Rn*** 221/83). M. = 1:20.

N 16: Blejski otok, terenska risba grobov 26 in 110 (***Rn*** 221/44). M. = 1:20.

N 17: Blejski otok, terenska risba grobov 111-114 (***Rn*** 221/54). M. = 1:20.

N 18: Blejski otok, terenska risba grobov 115, 114 in 117 (***Rn*** 221/55). M. = 1:20.

N 19: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 118 (***Rn*** 221/88). M. = 1:20.

N 20: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 119. (***načrt***: Bled-Otok, arheološka raziskovanja 1962–1964). M. = 1:50.

N 21: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 120 (***Rn*** 221/95d). M. = 1:20.

N 22: Blejski otok, terenska risba grobov 121-123 (***Rn*** 221/103). M. = 1:20.

N 23: Blejski otok, terenska risba groba 124 (***Rn*** 221/94). M. = 1:20.

N 24: Blejski otok, načrt *Situacija po zaključenih arheoloških izkopavanjih 1962–1965* (***Rn*** 221/235). M. = 1:50.

N 25: Blejski otok, načrt s skupinami grobov 1–5 (***Rn*** 221/238). M. = 1:50.

13. LITERATURA / BIBLIOGRAPHY

VIRI / SOURCES

Ann. Car. Sax. = *Annales aevi Caroli et Saxonici*
Pertz, G. H. (ur. / ed.) 1841, *Annales, chronica et historiae aevi Carolini et Saxonici,* Monumenta Germaniae Historica 4. – Hannover.

Bianchi, G. 1845, *Documenti per la storia del Friuli dal 1326 al 1332.* – Udine.

Capit. = *Capitula episcoporum*
Brommer, P. (ur. / ed.) 1984, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* Capitula episcoporum 1. – Hannover.

Correctione = *Martini Baracinensis De correctione rusticorum*
Barlow, C. W. (ur. / ed.) 1950, Martin of Braga. *De correctione rusticorum*. – V / In: *Martini Baracinensis opera omnia*, New Haven, 183–203.

Durand, *Rationale* = *Durando Episcopo Mimatensi, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*
Beletho, J. (ur. / ed.) 1859, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum a rev domino Gulielmo Durando Episcopo Mimatensi J. U. D. Clarissimo.* – Napoli.

Helmoldi = *Helmoldi Presbyteri Chronica Slavorum*
Stoob, H. 1963, Helmold: Chronica Slavorum. Neu übertragen und erläutert von Heinz Stoob. – V / In: *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Wiss.*, Darmstadt.

Herbord = *Herbordi Dialogus de vita Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*
Köpke, R. (ur. / ed.) 1868, *Herbordi Dialogus de vita Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis.* – MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 33, Hannover.

Paen. Theo. = *Peon. pseudo-Theodore Liber poenitentialis Theodori archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ecclesiae*
Thorpe, B. (ur. / ed.) 1840, *Ancient Laws and Institutes o f England.* – Monumenia ecclesiastica. London.

Orig. = *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi: Etymologiarum sive Originum*
Lindsay, W. M. 1911, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*. – Oxford.

Schmale, F. -J., I. Schmale-Ott 1972 (ur. / eds.), *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*. – Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 15, Darmstadt.

Thietmar = *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*
Wattenbach, W., F. Kurze (ur. / eds.) 1889, *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon.* – MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 54, Hanover.

***

ACHINO, K. F., B. ŠTULAR, Je. RIHTER, Ja. RIHTER 2019, Assessing the intentionality of spatial organization. Cemetery of Župna Cerkev (Kranj, Slovenia) case study (Preučevanje namernosti prostorske ureditve. Primer grobišča Župna cerkev v Kranju). – *Arheološki vestnik* 70, 297–313.

ACSÁDI, G., J. NEMESKÉRI 1970, *History of Human Life Span and Mortality*. – Budapest.

ANČIĆ, M. 1994, "Parba za dio nasljeđa banovca Jakova Šubića Bribirskog". – *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 36, 309–352.

ARNOLD, B. 2002, A Landscape of Ancestors: The Space and Place of Death in Iron Age West-Central Europe. – V / In: H. Silverman, D. B. Small (ur. / eds.), *The Space and Place of Death*, 130–143.

AVGUŠTIN, C. 1971, Zeleni kamen v gorenjski arhitekturi. – *Slovenski etnograf* 23/24, 39–52.

AZINOVIĆ BEBEK, A., A. JANEŠ 2016, Groblje oko crkve sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku. – V / In: Krznar et. al., 123–140.

BAJBURIN 1983 = БАЙБУРИН, Альберт Кашфуллович 1983, *Жилище в обрядах и представлениях восточных славян*. – Ленинград.

BALVANOVIĆ, R., M. MARIĆ STOJANOVIĆ, Ž. ŠMIT 2018, Exploring the unknown Balkans: Early Byzantine glass from Jelica Mt. in Serbia and its contemporary neighbours. – *Journal of Radioanalytical and Nuclear Chemistry* 317, 1175-1189.

BANASZKIEWICZ, J. 1991, Entre la description historiographique et le schéma structurel. L'image de la communauté tribale: l'exemple des Lučane dans la *Chronica Bohemorum* de Kosmas vers 1125. – V / In: Genet, Jean-Philippe (ur. / ed.), *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe*. Actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989, Paris, 165–175.

BARADA, M. 1957, *Starohrvatska seoska zajednica*. – Zagreb.

BARAN 1992 = Баран, Ярослав Володимирович 1992, *Слов'янська общчина (за матеріалами поселення Рашків I)*. – Дисертаціа на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата історичних наук, Київ.

BARAN 1997 = Баран, Ярослав Володимирович 1997, Слов'янська общчина (за матеріалами поселення Рашків

I). – V / In: В. Д. Баран (ur. / ed.), *Проблеми походження та історичного розвитку Слов'ян*, Збірник наукових статей, присвячений 100-річчю з дня народження Віктора Платоновича Петрова, Київ–Львів, 176–183.

BARKER, P. 1977, *The Techniques of Archaeological Excavation.* – London.

BARTAL, R., N. BODNER, B. KÜHNEL (ur. / eds.) 2017, *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500.*

BARTOŠKOVA, A. 1986, *Slovanské depoty železných předmětů v Československu.* – Studie Archeologického ústavu Československé akademie věd v Brně 13/2, Praha.

BAVEC, M., NOVAK, M., HERLEC, U. 2008, Geološke lastnosti Blejskega jezera in njegove okolice. – V / In: A. Gaspari (ur. / ed.) 2008, *Neznano Blejsko jezero. Podvodna kulturna dediščina in rezultati arheoloških raziskav. The unknown Lake Bled. Underwater cultural heritage and the results of archaeological research.* – Vestnik 20/2008, Ljubljana.

BELAK, M. 2014, Staroslovanski žarni grob s Kapiteljske njive v Novem mestu / Early Medieval cremation grave from Kapiteljska njiva in Novo mesto, Slovenia. – *Studia Praehistorica in Honorem Janez Dular.* Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 30, 2014, 397–40.

BENDER, B. (ur. / ed.) 1995[2], *Landscape. Politics and Perspectives*. – Explorations in anthropology, A University College London Series, Berg, Providence, Oxford. (1993 prva izdaja / first edition, 1995 druga izdaja / second edition)

BERCE, R., J. KASTELIC, V. ŠRIBAR, B. ŠTULAR 2012, Terenski dnevniki izkopavanj leta 1953. – V / In: B. Štular, M. Belak (ur. / eds.) 2012, *Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju. Dokumentacija o izkopavanjih v letu 1953.* Ljubljana, E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 1, 17–186.

BERK, S., D. BOLDIN 2017, Slovenski referenčni koordinatni Sistemi v okolju GiS. – *Geodetski vestnik* 61/1, 91–101.

BERLINGHOFF, W., F. Q. GOUVÊA 2008, *Matematika skozi stoletja*. – Ljubljana. (prva izdaja / first edition: *Math trought the Ages. A Gentle History for Teachers and Others*. 2002)

BIENVENU, F., S. LEGENDRE 2015, A New Approach to the Generation Time in Matrix Population Models. – *The American Naturalist* 185/6, 834–843.

BIERBRAUER, V. 1987, *Invillino – Ibligo in Friaul I, Die römisce Siedlung und das spätantik-frühmittelalterliche Castrum.* – Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 33.

BITENC, P., T. KNIFIC (ur. / ed.) 2001, *Od Rimljanov do Slovanov. Predmeti*. – Ljubljana.

BITENC, P., T. KNIFIC 2013–2014, Zgodnjesrednjeveški Sv. Pavel nad Vrtovinom v Vipavski dolini (Early Medieval settlement of Sv. Pavel above Vrtovin in the Vipava Vally). – *Goriški letnik* 37–38/2013–2014 (2015), 151–175.

BIZJAK, M. 2006, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo 5. Urbarji briksenske škofije (Die Urbare des Hochstifts Brixen) 1253–1464.* – Thesaurus memoriae fontes 3, Ljubljana.

BIZJAK, M. 2012, Listina o izgradnji in posvetitvi lastniške cerkve v Lescah. – V / In: R. Novak Klemenčič, S. Štefanac (ur. / eds.), *Historia artis magistra: amicorum discipulorumque munuscula Johanni Höfler septuagenario dicata*, Ljubljana, 33–42.

BOLTIN-TOME, E. 2005, Skeletno grobišče v Predloki in začetki notranje migracije v Slovenski Istri (Ancient Slavic Burial Ground in Predloka and internal Migrations in Slovene Istria). – *Acta Histriae* 13/1, 237–252.

BOŽIČ, D. 1995, O zakladu poznorimskih novcev v Slatni pod Dobrčo in o zgodnjekrščanskih mozaikih v Lescah (A Note on a Hoard Find of Late Roman Coins at Slatna under Dobrča and on Early Christian Mosaics at Lesce). – V / In: J. Sinobad et al. (ur. / eds.), *Radovljiški zbornik 1995,* Radovljica, 38–57.

BREIBERT, W. 2015, *Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Krungl, Gem. Bad Aussee, Bez. Liezen (Stmk.). Studien zum Frühmittelalter im Ostalpenraum.* – Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija / Unpublished PhD thesis, Universität Wien, Wien.

BREZIGAR, B. 2017, Bled – cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja, Bled – Blejski otok. – *Varstvo spomenikov, Poročila* 52/2011, 19–20.

BREZIGAR, B., D. JOSIPOVIČ 2013–2014, Slovansko pokopališče v Šturjah (Ajdovščina). – *Goriški letnik* 37–38/2013–2014 (2015), 127–149.

BRIESKE, V. 2017, Frühe Christen in Eastfalen? Zur Zeitstellung der Goldkreuzfibel vom Gaulskopf bei Warburg-Ossendorf, Kr. Höxter. – V / In: P. Fasold, L. Giemsch, K. Ottendorf, D. Winger (ur. / eds.), *Forschungen in Franconofurd, Festschrift für Egon Wamers zum 65. Geburtstag,* Schriften des Archäologischen Museums Frankfurt 28, 223–232.

BRONK RAMSEY, C., S. LEE 2013, Recent and Planned Developments of the Program OxCal. – *Radiocarbon* 55/2–3, 720–730.

BROZZI, M. 1963, Stanziamenti paleoslavi del IX-X secolo in Friuli. – *Ce fastu?* 39, 63–71.

BROZZI, M. 1986–1987, Tracce di un sepolcreto altomedievale a S. Pietro al Natisone. – *Forum Iulii* 10–11, 31–36.

BUKOWSKA, A. 2016, Architektura najstarszego kościoła katedralnego w Poznaniu. – V / In: Przybył, Maciej (ur. / ed.), *Archeologiczne tajemnice palatium i katedry poznańskiego Ostrowa*, Poznań, 47–83.

CAGNANA, A., V. AMORETTI 2005, Sepolture slave altomedievali a San Martino di Ovaro (Carnia – Friuli). Documenti archeologici e paleoantropologia. – *Archeologia Medievale* 32, 433–452.

CAVADA, E. 1996, Chiavi e complementi di chiusura di età romana e altomedievale: contesti di rinvenimento e cronologia di alcuni esemplari trentini. – V / In: U. Raffaelli (ur. / ed.), *Oltre la porta, Serrature, chiavi e forzieri dalla preistoria all'età moderna nelle Alpi orientali*, Trento, 94–103,.

CHAPLOT, V., F. DARBOUX, H. BOURENNANE, S. A. N. LEGUÉDOIS, K. PHACHOMPHON 2006, Accuracy of interpolation techniques for the derivation of digital elevation models in relation to landform types and data density. – *Geomorphology* 77, 126–141.

CHIARELLI, A. B. (ur. / ed.) 1980, Recommendations for Age and Sex Diagnoses of Skeletons. – *Journal of Human Evolution* 9, 517–549.

CIGLENEČKI, S. 1990, K problemu datacije nastanka rimskodobnih višinskih utrdb v jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru (Zum Datierungsproblem der Entstehung der römerzeitlichen Höhenbefestigungen im Südostalpenraum). – *Arheološki vestnik* 41, 147–176.

CIGLENEČKI, S. 1993, Arheološki sledovi zatona antične Petovione (Archaeological Traces of the Fall of Roman Poetovio). – V / In: B. Lamut (ur. / ed.), *Ptujski arheološki zbornik*, Ptuj, 505–520.

CIVIDINI, T. 1997, *Presenze Romane nel territorio del Medio Friuli. 1. Sedegliano.* – Udine.

CIVIDINI, T., P. MAGGI 1999, *Presenze Romane nel territorio del Medio Friuli. 6. Mortegliano, Talmassons.* – Tavagnacco.

CLARK, M. A., M. B. WORRELL, J. E. PLESS 1997, Postmortem Changes in Soft Tissues. – V / In: W. D. Haglund, M. H. Sorg (ur. / eds.), *Forensic taphonomy: the postmortem fate of human remains,* Boca Raton, London, New York, Washington, 151–164.

CONOLLY, J., M. LAKE 2006, *Geographical Information systems in Archaeology.* – Cambridge.

CSEH et al. 2005 = CSEH, J., M. ISTVÁNOVITS, E. LOVÁSZ, K. ESTERHÁZY, M. NAGY, I. M. NEPPER, E. SIMONYI 2005, *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet* II. – Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae, Monumenta Gepidica 2, Budapest.

CVJETIĆANIN, T. 2006, *Late Roman Glazed Pottery. Glazed Pottery from Moesia Prima, Dacia Ripensis, Dacia Mediterranea and Dardania.* – Archaeological Monogrphies 19.

ČAUSIDIS 1994 = Чаусидис, Никос 1994, *Митските слики на јужните Словени*. – Скопје.

ČAVAL, S. 2010, *Astronomska usmeritev romanskih cerkva v Sloveniji.* – Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija / Unpublished PhD thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana.

ČAVAL, S. 2014, Church Orientations in Slovenia. – *Handbook of Archaeoastronomy and Ethnoastronomy*, 1719–1726.

ČIHÁKOVÁ, J. 2018, The Lesser Town of Prague in the Tenth and Eleveth Centuries. V / In: – P. Kouřil, R. Procházka et al. (ur. / eds.), *Moravian and Silesian Strongholds of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries in the Context of Central Europé,* Brno, 283–303.

ČIMIN, R. 2016, Osobitosti kasnosrednjovjekovnoga i novovjekovnoga groblja uz župnu crkvu sv. Martina u Virju. – V / In: Krznar et al. 2016, 107–122.

ČOK, B. 2012, *V siju mesečine*. – Studia mythologica Slavica, Supplementa, Supplementum 5, Ljubljana.

ČOK, B. 2015, Kamnoseško izročilo o znamenjih na portalih in kolonah po Krasu. – V / In: K. Hrobat Virloget, P. Kavrečič (ur. / eds.), *Nesnovna krajina Krasa*, Koper, 99–134.

DANIELL, C. 1997, *Death and burial in medieval England, 1066–1550.* – London, New York.

DAPIT, R., M. KROPEJ (ur. / eds.) 1999, *Visoko v gorah, globoko v vodah. Velikani, vile in povodni možje*. – Zakladnica slovenskih pripovedi, Radovljica.

DEMACOPOULOS, G. 2008, Gregory the Great and the Pagan Shrines of Kent. – *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1/2, 353–369.

DEMO, Ž. 2009, *Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje bjelobrdske kulture: Vukovar–Lijeva Bara (X-XI. stoljeće) / An Early Medieval Cemetery of the Bijelo Brdo Culture: Vukovar–Lijeva Bara (10th-11th Centuries).* – Katalozi i monografije Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu.

DEUER et al. 2004 = DEUER, W., P. GLEIRSCHER, H. KRAHWINKLER, P. G. TROPPER, M. WASSERMANN 2004, *St. Daniel. Zur Geschichte der ältesten Pfarre im oberen Gailtal und Lesachtal.* – Dellach.

DINCAUZE, D. 2000, *Environmental Archaeology. Principles and Practice.* – Cambridge.

DINKLAGE, K. 1941a, Oberkrains Deutschtum im Spiegel der karolingischen Bodenfunde. – *Carinthia* I 131, 360–391.

DINKLAGE, K. 1941b, Die frühdeutschen Bodenfunde aus Krain und Untersteiermark. – *Germanen-Erbe* 5–6, 69–80.

DOLENZ, H. 1960, Frühmittelalterliche Bodenfunde aus Kärnten, Funde aus Kärnten aus dem 7. –11. Jahrhundert. – *Carinthia* I 150, 733–749.

DOWDEN, K. 2000, *European paganism: the realities of cult from antiquity to the middle ages.* – Oxon, New York.

DULAR, A., B. JERIN 1998, Bibliografija dr. Vinka Šribarja. – *Arheološki vestnik* 49, 387–391.

DULAR, J. 2001, Neolitska in eneolitska višinska naselja v osrednji Sloveniji (Neolithische und äneolithische Höhensiedlungen in Zentralslowenien). – *Arheološki vestnik* 52, 89–106.

ECKHART, L. 1981, *Die Stadtpfarrkirche und Friedhofskirche St. Laurentius von Enns-Lorch-Lauriacum in Oberösterreich. Die archäologischen Ausgrabungen 1960–1966. Teil 1: Dokumentation und Analyse 1–3.* – Forschungen in Lauriacum 11/1–3.

EFFROS, B. 2003, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages.* – Oakland (CA).

EICHERT, S. 2010a, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Grabfunde Kärntens. Die materielle Kultur Karantaniens anhand der Grabfunde vom Ende der Spätantike bis ins 11. Jahrhundert.* – Aus Forschung und Kunst 37.

EICHERT, S. 2010b, Die frühmittelalterlichen Funde aus dem Kirchenfriedhof von St. Peter. – V / In: K. Karpf, T. Meyer (ur. / eds.), *Sterben in St. Peter, Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von St. Peter bei Spittal/Drau in Kärnten*, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Oberkärntens 6, 148–191.

EICHERT, S. 2012, *Frühmittelalterliche Strukturen im Ostalpenraum. Studien zu Geschichte und Archäologie Karantaniens.* – Aus Forschung und Kunst 39.

EICHERT, S., C. ROGL 2010, Katalog der Gräber und Kleinfunde. – V / In: K. Karpf, T. Meyer (ur. / eds.), *Sterben in St. Peter, Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von St. Peter bei Spittal/Drau in Kärnten, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Oberkärntens* 6, 192–286.

EITLER, J. 2009 KG Jaunstein. – *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 48 (2010), 457–458, Abb. 60.

EVANS, H. M. A. 1989, *The Early Mediaeval Archaeology of Croatia A. D. 600–900*. – BAR international series 539, Oxford.

EVIS, L. H., I. HANSON, P. N. CHEETHAM 2016, An experimental study of two grave excavation methods: Arbitrary Level Excavation and Stratigraphic Excavation. – *STAR: Science & Technology of Archaeological Research* 2/2, 177–191.

FABECH, C. 1999, Centrality in sites and Landscapes. – V / In: C. Fabech, J. Ringtved (ur. / eds.), *Settlement and landscape. Proceedings of a conference in Århus, Denmark, May 4–7 1998,* Aarhus, 455–474.

FILIPEC, K. 2016, Pokopi u zgrčenom i poluzgrčenom položaju na groblju uz crkvu majke božje gorske u Loboru. – V / In: Krznar et al. 2016, 49–56.

FILIPIČ, J., B. TERAN, T. TOMAZO 1971, *Okostja z blejskega otoka, izkopana v letih 1962–1965.* – Neobjavlena diplomska naloga / Unpublished BA thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, Biotehnična fakulteta, Ljubljana.

FLETCHER, R. J. 2004, Materiality, Space, Time, and Outcome. – V / In: J. Bintliff (ur. / ed.), *A Companion to Archaeology,* Malden, Oxford, Carlton.

FRONTIN, I. F. 1998: *L'œuvre gromatique.* – Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum IV. – Luxembourg.

FRY, S. L. 1999, *Burial in Medieval Ireland, 900–1500. A Review of the Written Sources.* – Dublin.

FUCHS M. 1992, Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von St. Peter bei Moosburg in Kärnten (Österreich). – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 22/2, 279–286.

GABROVEC, S. 1954, Poročilo o slučajnih najdbah v Sloveniji. – *Arheološki vestnik* 5, 132–153.

GABROVEC, S. 1960, *Prazgodovinski Bled (The prehistory of Bled).* – Dela 1. razreda SAZU 12, Ljubljana.

GAFFNEY, V. L., Z. STANČIČ 1991, Predicting the past: GIS and archaeology. – *Geo-Informations-Systeme : GIS. Zeitschrift für raumbezogene Information und Entscheidungen = Geo-information systems* 4/4, 27–32.

GASPARI, A. 2012, Vodno kultno mesto na izlivu Blejskega jezera pri Mlinem = Water cult site at the Lake Bled outlet near Mlino. – V / In: A. Gaspari, M. Erič (ur. / eds.), *Potopljena preteklost: arheologija vodnih okolij in raziskovanje podvodne kulturne dediščine v Sloveniji.* Zbornik ob 128-letnici Dežmanovih raziskav Ljubljanice na Vrhniki (1884-2012), Radovljica, 309–314.

GEARY, P. J. 2001, Peasant Religion in Medieval Europe. – *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 12/1, 185–209.

GEISLER, M., J. KOHOUTEK 2014, *Vysoké Pole – Klášťov. Inventář hromadných nálezů železných předmětů a shrnutí terénních výzkumných sezon 2005–2007 / Vysoké Pole – Klášťov / Inventory of mass finds of metal items and summary of field surveys in 2005–2007.* – Pravěk Supplementum 28, Brno.

GIESLER, J. 1980, Zur Archäologie des Ostalpenraumes vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert. – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 10/1, 85–98.

GIESLER, J., 1981, Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Bijelo Brdo-Kultur, Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken. – *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 56, 3–167.

GIESLER, J. 1989, Ottonischer Emailschmuck. – V / In: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 7, 230–240.

GIESLER, J. 1997, *Der Ostalpenraum vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zu archäologischen und schriftlichen Zeugnissen.* Teil 2: *Historische Interpretation.* – Frühgeschichtliche und provinzialrömische Archäologie, Materialien und Forschungen 1, Rahden/Westf.

GIESLER, J. 2001, Köttlachkultur. – V / In: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 17, 155–161.

GIESLER, J. 2002, An der Südostgrenze des Reiches – der Ostalpenraum im 10. Jahrhundert. – V / In: J. Henning (ur. / ed.), *Europa im 10. Jahrhundert, Archäologie einer Aufbruchszeit,* Mainz am Rhein, 397–409.

GIESLER, U. 1981, Die Kleinfunde. – V / In: *Ad Pirum (Hrušica), Spätrömische Passbefestigung in den Julischen Alpen*, Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 31, 163–246.

GLASER, F. 2004, Rettungsgrabung in St. Peter in Holz (Gem. Lendorf). – *Rudolfinum, Jahrbuch des Landesmuseums Kärnten* 2004 (2005), 66–68.

GLASER, F. 2008, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber in Jaunstein (Gemeinde Globasnitz). – *Rudolfinum, Jahrbuch des Landesmuseums Kärnten* 2008 (2009), 66–68.

GLEIRSCHER, P. 2000, *Karantanien. Das slawische Kärnten.* – Klagenfurt.

GONZÁLEZ-GARCÍA, A. C., J. A. BELMONTE 2015, The Orientation of Pre-Romanesque Churches in the Iberian Peninsula. – *Nexus Network Journal* 17/2, 353–377.

GORNIK, F. 1967, *Bled v fevdalni dobi.* – Bled.

GORNIK, F. 1990, *Zgodovina blejske župnije.* – Celje.

GRAFENAUER, B. 1960, *Struktura in tehnika zgodovinske vede*. – Ljubljana.

GRAFENAUER, I. 1951, *Slovenske pripovedke o kralju Matjažu*. – Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Razred II, Dela 4, Ljubljana.

GUŠIĆ, B. 1962, Kalendar prokletijskih pastira. – *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* 40, 169–174.

GUŠTIN, M., R. CUNJA, K. K. PREDOVNIK 1993, *Podbočje, Stari Grad.* – Posavski muzej Brežice, knj. 9.

HAMILTON, A. 1980, Orthodoxy in late fifteenth-century glass at Leicester. – *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society* 55, 22–37.

HAMPEL, U., B. NIEDERMAYR, A. TADIC 2013, St. Martin im Lungau. – *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 51, 290–291.

HANULIAK, M. 1984, Problematik der Gräberorientierung vom Gesichtspunkt der Aussagefahigkeit. – V / In: B. Chropovský (ur. / ed.), *Interaktionen der mitteleuropäischen Slawen und anderen Ethnika im 6. –10. Jahrhundert: Symposium, Nové Vozokany 3. –7. Oktober 1983,* Nitra, 109–119.

HANULIAK, M., M. REJHOLCOVÁ 1999, *Pohrebisko v Čakajovciach (9. –12. storočie). Vyhodnotenie.* – Bratislava.

HARRIS, E. C. 1979, *Principles of archaeological stratigraphy.* – London, San Diego, New York, Boston, Sydney, Tokyo, Toronto.

HARRIS, E., P. OTTAWAY 1976. A recording experiment on a rescue site. – *Rescue News* 12, 6–7.

HARTMANN, W. 2003, Bestattungen und Bestattungsrituale nach dem kirchlichen und weltlichen Recht des frühen Mittelalters. – V / In: J. Jarnut, M. Wemhoff (ur. / eds.), *Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual,* München, 127–144.

HARTMANN, L. M., P. EWALD 1899, *Gregorii I papae registrum epistolarum.* – Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum Tomus II, Berolini, Lib. XI.

HAUSER, G., G. F. DE STEFANO 1989, *Epigenetic Variants of the Human Skull.* – Stuttgart.

HAUSMAIR, B. 2016, Micheldorf/Kremsdorf – Frühmittelalter zwischen Baiovaria und Karantanien. – V / In: J. Leskovar (ur. / ed.), *Frühmittelalter in Oberösterreich. Inventare aus den archäologischen Sammlungen des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseums*, Linz, 11–189.

HAZELWOOD, L., J. STEELE 2004, Spatial dynamics of human dispersals. – *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31/6, 669–679.

HERZOG, I. 2004, *Stratify, 1. 5.* – Bonn. (spletni vir / internet source: http://www. stratify. org/Download/Stratify_Manual. pdf; dostop / last access: 14. 12. 2019).

HILL, A., A. K. BEHRENSMEYER 1984, Disarticulation patterns of some modern East African mammals. – *Paleobiology* 10/3, 366–376.

HILLSON, S. 1996, *Dental Anthropology*. – Cambridge.

HINTON, I. 2006, Church Alignment and Patronal Saint's Days. – *The Antiquaries Journal* 86, 206–226.

HINTON, I. 2012. *The Alignment and Location of Medieval Rural Churches.* – BAR British Series 560, Oxford.

HOARE, P. G., C. S. SWEET 2000, The orientation of early medieval churches in England. – *Journal of Historical Geography* 26/2, 162–173.

HÖFLER, J. 2013, *O prvih cerkvah in župnijah na Slovenskem. K razvoju cerkvene teritorialne organizacije slovenskih dežel v srednjem veku (Von den ersten Kirchen und Pfarren in Slowenien. Zur Entwicklung der kirchlich-territorialen Einteilung slowenischer Länder im Mittelalter).* – Ljubljana.

HÖFLER, J. 2015, *Gradivo za historično topografijo predjožefinskih župnij na Slovenskem: Kranjska.* – Ljubljana.

HÖFLER, J. 2016a, Lastniške cerkve zgodnjega srednjega veka na Gorenjskem in njihovo zgodovinsko ozadje / Proprietary churches of the Early Middle Ages in upper Carniola and their historical background. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 49, 64–90.

HÖFLER, J. 2016b, *O prvih cerkvah in župnijah na Slovenskem. K razvoju cerkvene teritorialne organizacije slovenskih dežel v srednjem veku.* – Ljubljana.

HÖFLER, J. 2019, *Lastniške cerkve v Sloveniji. Raziskana, registrirana in pontencialna zgodnjesrednjeveška grobišča (Eigenkirchen in Slowenien. Registrierte, erforschte und potentielle frühmittelalterliche Gräberfelder).* – Ljubljana.

HÖGLINGER, P. 2013, Archäologische Denkmalpflege 2012. Berichte aus den Bundesländern. Salzburg. – *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 51, 21–22.

HOOKE, D. 2010, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England: Literature, Lore and Landscape.* – Woodbridge.

İŞCAN, M. Y., K. A. R. KENNEDY (ur. / eds.), 1989, *Reconstruction of life from the skeleton.* – New York.

IVANOV, TOPOROV 1974 = ИВАНОВ, В. В. – ТОПОРОВ, В. Н., *Исследования в области славянских древностей*. – Москва.

JAFFÉ, P. (ur. / ed.) 1869, *Monumenta Bambergensia*. – Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum 5, Berlin.

JAVOR-BRIŠKI, M. 1998, Geistesgeschichtliche und literarhistorische Aspekte eines spätmittelalterlichen Privatgebetbuches der National- und Universitätsbibliothek von Ljubljana. – *Acta Neophilologica* 31, 3–33.

JERRIS, R. 2002, Cult Lines and Hellish Mountains. The Development of Sacred Landscape in the Early Medieval Alps. – *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32/1, 85–108.

JOBST, W. 1975, *Die römischen Fibeln aus Lauriacum.* – Forschungen in Lauriacum 10, Linz.

JOSIPOVIĆ, D. 1984, Kamena industrija z Luž pri Šenčurju in neo-eneolitska naselbina na Štefanji gori. – *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji* 12, 73–89.

JUNKOVIĆ, Z. 1968, Bilješke uz tekst i prijevod Poljičkoga statuta. – *Poljički zbornik* 1, 105–115.

KAJKOWSKI, K., A. KUCZKOWSKI 2017, Water in pre-Christian beliefs in Pomerania (northern Poland) of the early medieval period. – *Studia mythologica Slavica* 20, 15–32.

KARPF, K., T. MEYER (ur. / eds.) 2010, *Sterben in St. Peter. Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von St. Peter bei Spittal/ Drau in Kärnten.* – Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Oberkärentens 6.

KASTELIC, J. 1960, Staroslovanski Kranj (Altslawisches Kranj). – V / In: *900 let Kranja, Spominski zbornik,* Kranj, 38–50.

KASTELIC, J. 1963, Arheološke najdbe na Blejskem otoku. – *Delo*, l. 5, št. 210 (3. avg.), 5.

KASTELIC, J. 1964–1965, Nekaj problemov zgodnjesrednjeveške arheologije v Sloveniji. – *Arheološki vestnik* 15–16, 109–124.

KASTELIC, J., B. ŠKERLJ 1950, *Slovanska nekropola na Bledu. Arheološko in antropološko poročilo za leto 1948.* – Dela 1. razreda SAZU 2, Ljubljana.

KATIČIĆ, R. 2008, *Božanski boj. Tragovima svetih pjesama naše pretkršćanske starine.* – Zagreb, Mošćenička Draga.

KATIČIĆ, R. 2010a, Vidova gora i sveti Vid. – *Studia mythologica Slavica* 13, 15–32.

KATIČIĆ, R. 2010b, *Zeleni lug. Tragovima svetih pjesama naše pretkršćanske starine.* – Zagreb, Mošćenička Draga.

KENDA, J., C. DREKONJA, A. ŠAVLI (ur. / eds.) 2012, *Tolminske narodne pravljice.* – https://www. dlib. si/stream/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-CWPNPX9M/d61857e7-8317-497d-9c29-5aea4bbe2103/PDF (zadnji dostop / laast access: 20. 1. 2020)

KENZLER, H. 2015, Religion, Status and Taboo. Changing Funeral Rites in Catholic and Protestant Germany. – V / In: S. Tarlow (ur. / ed.), *The Archaeology of Death in Post-medieval Europe*, 148–169.

KERMAN, B. 1997, Zlata doba slovanstva v Spodnji Panonij. Arheologija zgodnjega srednjega veka v Prekmurju. – V / In: Katalog stalne razstave Pokrajinskega muzeja Murska Sobota, Murska Sobota, 37–44.

KIMOVEC, F. 1908, *Bled nekdaj in sedaj.* – Ljubljana.

KJØLBYE-BIDDLE, B. 1975, A cathedral cemetery: Problems in excavation and interpretation. – *World Archaeology* 7/1, 87–108.

KLEJN, L. S. 1987, *Arheološki viri.* – Ljubljana.

KLÍMA, B. 1980, *Zámečnická práce staromoravských kovářů v Mikulčicích.* – Studie Archeologického ústavu Československé akademie věd v Brně 8/3, Praha.

KNEZ, T. 1967, Staroslovenske najdbe na Dolenjskem in v Beli krajini. – *Arheološki vestnik* 18, 389–396.

KNIFIC, T. 1974, Horizontalna stratigrafija grobišča Bled–Pristava II (Die horizontale Stratigraphie des Gräberfeldes Bled-Pristava II). – *Situla* 14–15, 315–326.

KNIFIC, T. 1994, Cerkev sv. Štefana v Fijerogi pri Pomjanu v slovenski Istri (La chiesa di Santo Stefano a Fijeroga presso Pomiano nell'Istria slovena). – *Annales* 4/5, 47–64.

KNIFIC, T. 1998, Dati materiali sul cristianesimo nel territorio della Slovenia tra l'VIII e il X secolo. – V / In: S. Piussi (ur. / ed.), *XII centenario del Concilio di Cividale (796-1996) covegno storico-teologico*, 191–202, Udine [dodatek k članku / appendix to the article R. Bratož, La cristianizzazione deli Slavi negli atti del Convegno "ad ripas Danubii" e del Concilio di Cividale, 145–190].

KNIFIC, T. 2002, Na stičišču treh svetov. Arheološki podatki o Goriški v zgodnjem srednjem veku. – *Goriški letnik* 29/2002 (2004), 5–30.

KNIFIC, T. 2004, Arheološki sledovi blejskih prebivalcev iz pozne antike in zgodnjega srednjega veka. – V / In: J. Dežman (ur. / ed.), *Bled 1000 let, Blejski zbornik 2004,* Bled, 93–117.

KNIFIC, T. 2008, Zgodovina arheoloških raziskovanj v Blejskem kotu / Forschungsgeschichte im Bleder Winkel. – V / In: Pleterski, 2008a, 13–25, 231–240.

KNIFIC, T. 2009–2010, Kanal ob Soči pred tisoč leti. – *Goriški letnik* 33–34/1 (2010), 181–193.

KNIFIC, T. 2011, Grajski hrib in blejska krajina v davnini. – V / In: M. Vidic (ur. / ed.), *Blejski grad – 1000 let prve omembe*, Bled, 77–97.

KNIFIC, T., M. MLINAR 2014, Najdbe iz 10. in 11. stoletja v Posočju – vpetost v evropski prostor. Najdišče Sv. Urh v Tolminu / The 10th and 11th century finds from the Soča Valley – integration into European territory. The site of Sv. Urh in Tolmin. – *Arheološki vestnik* 65, 423–462.

KNIFIC, T., T. NABERGOJ 2016, *Srednjeveške zgodbe s stičišča svetov.* – Ljubljana. =

KNIFIC, T., T. NABERGOJ 2017, *Medieval Stories from the Crossroads.* – Ljubljana.

KNIFIC, T., A. PLETERSKI 1981a, Staroslovansko grobišče Dlesc pri Bodeščah (Die altslawische Necropole Dlesc pri Bodeščah). – *Arheološki vestnik* 32, 482–523.

KNIFIC, T., A. PLETERSKI 1981b, Bodešče. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 18, 197–198.

KNIFIC, T., A. PLETERSKI 1993, Staroslovanski grobišči v Spodnjih Gorjah in Zasipu (Altslawische Gräberfelder in Spodnje Gorje und Zasip). – *Arheološki vestnik* 44, 235–267.

KNIFIC, T., Ž. ŠMIT 2018, Zgodnjesrednjeveško steklo na Slovenskem: študij sestave in jagode iz halofitskega stekla. / Early medieval glass in Slovenia: An analytical study and beads of plant-ash glass. – *Arheološki vestnik* 69, 369–436.

KNIFIC, T., M. TOMANIČ JEVREMOV 2005, Srednjeveško grobišče pri Središču ob Dravi (Die mittelalterliche Grabstätte bei Središče ob Dravi/Polstrau). – V / In: M. Hernja Masten (ur. / ed.), *Ormož skozi stoletja* 5, Ormož, 160–177.

KNIFIC, T., B. ŽBONA-TRKMAN 1990, Staroslovansko grobišče pri sv. Urhu v Tolminu. – *Arheološki vestnik* 41, 505–520.

KNÜSEL, C. J. 2014, Crouching in fear: Terms of engagement for funerary remains. – *Journal of Social Archaeology* 14/1, 26–58.

KNÜSEL, C. J., J. ROBB 2016, Funerary taphonomy: An overview of goals and methods. – *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 10, 655–673.

KÖHN, P. 1999, IV.84 Zwei Schlüssel. – V / In: C. Stiegemann, M. Wemhoff (ur. / eds.), *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit, Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn* 1, Mainz, 240.

KOROŠEC, J. 1947, *Staroslovenska grobišča v severni Sloveniji.* – Celje.

KOROŠEC, J. 1950, *Staroslovansko grobišče na Ptujskem gradu (The Old Slav burial place on the Castle-hill of Ptuj)*. – Dela 1. razreda SAZU 1, Ljubljana.

KOROŠEC, J. 1960, *Drulovka*. – Zbornik Filozofske fakultete 3/4, Ljubljana.

KOROŠEC, P. 1955, Slovanska najdišča v vzhodni Furlaniji. – *Arheološki vestnik* 6, 247–257.

KOROŠEC, P. 1961, Poskus delitve slovanske materialne kulture na področju Karantanije (Ein Versuch der typologischen Unterscheidung in der slawischen materiellen Kultur in Karantanien). – *Zgodovinski časopis* 15, 157–194

KOROŠEC, P. 1969, Raziskave na Svetih gorah na Bizeljskem (Recherches sur les Svete gore [Saintes montagnes] à Bizeljsko). – *Arheološki vestnik* 20, 239–256.

KOROŠEC, P. 1979, *Zgodnjesrednjeveška arheološka slika karantanskih Slovanov (Archäologisches Bild der karantanischen Slawen im frühen Mittelalter)*. – Dela 1. razreda SAZU 22/1–2, Ljubljana.

KOROŠEC, P. 1999, *Nekropola na ptujskem gradu. Turnirski prostor / Das Gräberfeld an dem Schloßberg von Ptuj. Turnierplatz.* – Ptuj

KOROŠEC, P., J. KOROŠEC 1969, *Najdbe s koliščarskih naselbin pri Igu na Ljubljanskem barju / Fundgut der Pfahlbausiedlungen bei Ig am Laibacher Moor.* – Arheološki katalogi Slovenije 3.

KOROŠEC, P., J. KOROŠEC jr. 1973, Svete Gore bei Bizeljsko in frühslawischer Zeit. – *Balcanoslavica* 2, 125–136.

KRAMER, D. 1983, Die älteste steirische Heiligendarstellung auf einer Emailscheibenfibel aus Leibnitz-Altenmarkt. – V / In: *Die Stadtpfarrkirche zum Hl. Jakobus d. Ä. in Leibnitz, Festschrift zum Abschluß der Renovierungsarbeiten 1979-1983*, Leibnitz, 69–72.

KRAMER, D. 1988, Funde aus dem karolingisch-ottonischen Gräberfeld von Leibnitz-Altenmarkt. – V / In: G. Christian (ur. / ed.), *Leibnitz 75 Jahre Stadt, Festschrift zum Jubiläum der Stadterhebung am 27. April 1913*, Leibnitz, 55–60.

KROGMAN, W. M., M. Y. İŞCAN 1986, *The human skeleton in forensic medicine*. – Springfield.

KROPEJ, M. 2008, *Od ajda do zlatoroga. Slovenska bajeslovna bitja*. – Celovec.

KRUŠIČ, V. 1970–1971, Karies pri narodih, živečih na Slovenskem, gledan skozi prizmo tisočletij (Karies bei den in Slowenien ansässigen Völkern, gesehen durch das Prisma der Jahrtausedne). – *Arheološki vestnik* 21–22, 225–236.

KRZNAR, S. 2012, *Arheološka slika kasnosrednjovjekovnih groblja na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske.* – Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija / Unbublished PhD thesis, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski fakultet, Zagreb.

KRZNAR et. al. = KRZNAR, S., T. SEKELJ IVANČAN, T. TKALČEC, J. BELAJ (ur. / eds.) 2016, *Groblja i pogrebni običaji u srednjem i ranom novom vijeku na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske.* – Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju 4.

KURET, N. 1989, *Praznično leto Slovencev. Starosvetne šege in navade od pomladi do zime*. Druga knjiga. – Ljubljana.

KUZA, SOLOV'EVA 1972 = КУЗА, Андрей Васильевич – СОЛОВЬЕВА, Г. Ф. 1972, Языческое святилище в земле радимичей. – *Советская археология* 1972/1, 146–154.

LABUTINA 1989 = ЛАБУТИИА, Инга Константиновна 1989, *Языческое святилище Пскова. История и культура древнерусского города*. – Москва.

LADSTÄTTER, S. 2000, *Die materielle Kultur der Spätantike in den Ostalpen. Eine Fallstudie am Beispiel der westlichen Doppelkirchenanlage auf dem Hemmaberg.* – Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission 35, Wien.

LANE, J. P. 2008, The Use of Ethnography in Landscape Archaeology. – V / In: Bruno David, Julian Thomas (ur. / eds.), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, The World Archaeological Congress's Research Handbooks in Archaeology 1, Walnut Creek, 237–244.

LAZAR, I. 2006, *Ilovica pri Vranskem.* – Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije 1, Ljubljana.

LEBEN-SELJAK, P., 1991, *Antropološka analiza srednjeveških skeletov iz Kranja*. – Magistrsko delo, Univerza v Ljubljani, Biotehniška fakulteta, Ljubljana.

LEBEN-SELJAK, P. 1996, *Antropološka analiza poznoantičnih in srednjeveških grobišč Bleda in okolice (Anthropological analysis of late antiquity and medieval necropolises at Bled and surroundings).* – Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija / Unpublished PhD thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, Biotehniška fakulteta, Ljubljana.

LEBEN-SELJAK, P., 1999, *Antropološka analiza skeleta iz cerkve na Blejskem otoku.* – Neobjavljeno poročilo, Narodni muzej v Ljubljani, Ljubljana.

LEBEN-SELJAK, P., 2000, Etnogeneza Slovencev: rezultati antropoloških raziskav. – V / In: R. Bratož (ur. / ed.), *Slovenija in sosednje dežele med antiko in karolinško dobo*, Situla 19, 549–558.

LEBEN-SELJAK, P., 2016, Antropološka analiza: Bled – Otok 2016, mala zakristija. – Neobjavljeno poročilo, Avgusta d. o. o., Idrija.

LEBEN-SELJAK, P., ŠTEFANČIČ, M., 1999, Adult mortality and biodynamic characteristics in the Early Middle Ages population at Bled, Slovenia. – *Variability and Evolution, 7*, 65–77.

LINHART, A. T. 1981, *Poskus zgodovine Kranjske in ostalih dežel južnih Slovanov Avstrije*. – Ljubljana (prevod originala / translation of the original: *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und den übrigen Ländern der südlichen Slaven*

Oesterreichs. – Laibach 1788, 1791. Prevedli / Translation: Marjeta Šašel-Kos, Alfonz Gspan, Nada Gspan-Prašelj).

LOZIĆ, E., B. ŠTULAR 2007, Od arheologije grobišč proti arheologiji o smrti: analiza arheoloških raziskav grobišč v Arheološkem vestniku. – *Arheo* 24, 69–79.

LOŽAR, R. 1929, Arheološke najdbe na Bledu. – *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 10, 58–60.

LOŽAR, R. 1937, Dve najdbi iz staroslovenske dobe. – *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 18, 135–137.

lupa = UBI ERAT LUPA – F. Harl, O. Harl, www. ubi-erat-lupa.org (Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern).

LUX, J. 2006, Doslovče – staroslovansko grobišče. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 43 (2007), *Poročila*, 48–49.

MADER, B. 1993, Das slawische Gräberfeld von Pordenone – Palazzo Ricchieri. – *Aquileia Nostra* 64, 241–300.

MAKAROVIČ, G. 1995, *Slovenci in čas: odnos do časa kot okvir in sestavina vsakdanjega življenja.* – Ljubljana.

MARTIN, R., K. SALLER 1957, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie I*. – Stuttgart.

MASON, P. 2018, The Empty Quarter: the Early Medieval period in south-eastern Slovenia in the light of recent research. – V / In: J. Lux, B. Štular, K. Zanier (ur. / eds.), *Slovani, naša dediščina / Our heritage: the Slavs,* Vestnik 27, Ljubljana, 91–102.

MASON, P., A. TIRAN 2009–2010, Bela Cerkev, Orešje, Vinji Vrh pri Beli Cerkvi. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 46 (2010), *Poročila*, 23.

MECKE, B., H. WESTPHAL 1999, III.14 Fünf Hohlschlüssel. – V / In: C. Stiegemann, M. Wemhoff (ur. / eds.), *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit, Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn* 1, Main, 131–132.

MEDVEŠČEK, P. 1992, *Skrivnost in svetost kamna: zgodbe o čarnih predmetih in svetih znamenjih na Primorskem,* Knjižna zbirka Kulturna dediščina. – Trst.

MEDVEŠČEK, P. 1997, *Obrusnice.* – Nova Gorica, Ljubljana.

MEDVEŠČEK, P. 2006, *Let v Lunino senco. Pripovedi o starih verovanjih*. – Nova Gorica.

MEDVEŠČEK, P. 2015, *Iz nevidne strani neba: razkrite skrivnosti staroverstva*. – Studia mythologica Slavica, Supplementa, Supplementum 12, Ljubljana.

MENCEJ, M. 1997, *Pomen vode v predstavah starih Slovanov o posmrtnem življenju in šegah ob smrti*. – Knjižnica Glasnika Slovenskega etnološkega društva 27, Ljubljana.

MENCEJ, M. 2001, *Gospodar volkov v slovanski mitologiji.* – Zbirka Županičeva knjižnica 6, Ljubljana.

MICHCZYŃSKI, A. 2007, Is it Possible to Find a Good Point Estimate of a Calibrated Radiocarbon Date? – *Radiocarbon* 49/2, 393–401.

MIHELIČ, M. 2012, Poznobronastodobni depo Kanalski Vrh 1 v kontekstu alkimije, arheoastronomije in ustnega izročila. – *Arheo* 29, 7–51.

MILAVEC, T. 2011a, Kovinske najdbe / Metal finds. – V/ In: Z. Modrijan, T. Milavec, *Poznoantična utrjena naselbina Tonovcov grad pri Kobaridu, Najdbe / Late Antique fortified settlement Tonovcov grad near Kobarid, Finds,* Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 24, 21–81.

MILAVEC, T. 2011b, Steklene najdbe / Glass finds. – V/ In: Z. Modrijan, T. Milavec, *Poznoantična utrjena naselbina Tonovcov grad pri Kobaridu. Najdbe / Late Antique fortified settlement Tonovcov grad near Kobarid. Finds,* Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 24, 83–119.

MILAVEC, T., Ž. ŠMIT 2018, Analyses of late antique glass from Tonovcov grad near Kobarid in archaeological context / Analize poznorimskega stekla s Tonovcovega gradu pri Kobaridu v arheološkem kontekstu – *Arheološki vestnik* 69, 351–368.

MILAVEC, T., Ž. ŠMIT 2020, Analyses of glass from late antique hilltop site Korinjski hrib above Veliki Korinj (Slovenia) / Analize stekla s poznoantične višinske postojanke Korinjski hrib nad Velikim Korinjem. – *Arheološki vestnik* 71 (v tisku / in print).

MILOŠEVIĆ, A., Ž. PEKOVIĆ 2009, *Predromanička crkva Svetoga Spasa u Cetini. / La chiesa preromanica di San Salvatore a Cettina*. – Studia Mediterranea archaeologica 3, Dubrovnik–Split.

MINISTR, Z. 2007, *Géniové dávnověku. 7000 let orientace ke slunci*. – Edice Kolumbus, svazek 186, Praha.

MLEKUŽ, D. 2001, Harrisovi diagrami in računalniki. – *Arheo* 21, 43–48.

MODRIJAN, W. 1957, Vor- und frühgeschichtliche Funde aus dem Bezirk Leoben. – *Schild von Steier* 7, 5–28.

MODRIJAN, W. 1963, Die Frühmittelalterfunde (8. bis 11. Jhdt.) der Steiermark. – *Schild von Steier* 11, 45–84.

MODRIJAN, Z. 2016, Arheološko sondiranje v Bodeščah pri Bledu. – V / In: *Arheologija v letu 2015, Dediščina za javnost, Zbornik povzetkov*. – Ljubljana, 39.

MULLER, E. 2013, Slawische Bestattungssitten im Saalegebiet – die Gräberfelder von Niederutünsch und Oechlitz (Saalekreis, Sachsen- Anhalt). – V / In: F. Biermann, T. Kersting, A. Klammt (ur. / eds.), *Soziale Gruppen und Gesellschafts strukturen im westslawischen Raum. Beiträge der Sektion zur slawischen Frühgeschichte der 20. Jahrestagung des Mittel- und Ostdeutschen Verbandes für Altertumsforschung in Brandenburg (Havel), 16. bis 18. April 2012,* Langenweissbach.

MÜLLNER, A. 1894, Funde antiker Gräber in Veldes. – *Argo* 3, 80–81, 113–120.

MYTUM, H. 2006, Popular attitudes to memory, the body, and social identity: the rise of external commemoration in Britain, Ireland and New England. – *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 40/1, 96–110.

NABERGOJ, T. 2013, 184. Kresilo. – V / In: T. Lazar, T. Nabergoj, P. Bitenc (ur. / eds.), *Vitez, dama in zmaj, Dediščina srednjeveških bojevnikov na Slovenskem 2: Katalog,* Ljubljana, 156–157.

NECHVÁTAL, B. 2000, Raně středověké baptisterium na Vyšehradě. – *Archaeologia Historica* 25, 323–334.

NECHVÁTAL, B. 2004, *Kapitulní chrám Sv. Petra a Pavla a Vyšehradě. Archeologický výzkum*. – Praha.

NEUGEBAUER, J.-W. et al. 1979, Die Ergebnisse der archäologischen Untersuchungen von 1977 in Klosternuburg-St. Martin. – *Jahrbuch des Stifts Klosterneuburg* N. F. 11, 127–236.

OBENAUS, M. 2010, *Arpadenzeitliche Gräberfelder und Grabfunde des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts in Ostösterreich. Fundmaterialien des Burgenländischen und Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums.* – Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland 135, Eisenstadt.

OGRIN, M. 2010, *Na Dolinje pri Brezjah na Gorenjskem.* – Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije 14, Ljubljana.

OSREDKAR, M. 2009, O Turkih, ajdih in cerkvah, ki nočejo stati pri miru. Zgodnji srednji vek Moravške doline, kot ga kažeta arheologija in ljudsko izročilo. / The Turks, the Ajdi

and Moving Churches. Early Medieval period in Moravška dolina according to archaeology and folklore. – *Studia mythologica Slavica* 12, 63–86.

OVEN, K., E. POSSENTI, M. ŽUPANČIČ 1997, Raddrizzamento fotogrammetrico digitale di fotografie non metriche (il caso degli oggetti archeologici). – *Annales* 10/1997, *Series historia et sociologia*, 53–58.

PAHIČ, S. 1965, Črešnjevec pri Slovenski Bistrici. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 9, 198.

PAHIČ, S. 1985, Poštela. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 27, 295.

PARKER PEARSON, M. 1999, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial.* – Stroud.

PEDERSEN, A. 2003, Reiche Bestattungen einer Aufbruchszeit – Tradition und Erneuerung in den Grabsitten des 10. Jahrhunderts in Altdänemark. – V / In: J. Jarnut, M. Wemhoff (ur. / eds.), *Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual,* München, 145–174.

PEGAN, E. 1965–1967, Najdba srednjeveških novcev na Blejskem otoku (Ripostiglio di monete medioevali nell'isola di Bled [Slovenia]). – *Argo* 4–6, 65–71.

PEJAKOVIĆ, M. 1978, *Broj íz svjetlosti: starohrvatska crkvica Svetog Križa u Ninu*. – Zagreb.

PEJAKOVIĆ, M. 1997, Znakovi i značenja u hrvatskoj predromanici. – Bratulić et al. (ur. / eds.), *Hrvatska i Europa. Kultura, znanost i umjetnost*, Sv I. Srednji vijek (VII-XII. stoljeće), Rano doba hrvatske kulture, Zagreb, 513–542.

PERA, M. 1988, *Poljički statut*. – Splitski književni krug, Svjedočanstva 9, Split.

PERKO, M. 2016, *Litijska cesta: zgodnjesrednjeveško grobišče (izkopavanje leta 2015).* – Neobjavljena a diplomska naloga / Unpublished BA thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana.

PETRU, P. 1974, Blejski otok urejen (The Isle of Bled presented). – *Varstvo spomenikov* 17–19/1, 79–84.

PFLAUM, V. 2010, Rimskodobne najdbe s Pristave ter druga sočasna najdišča in posamične najdbe v Blejskem kotu (Römische Funde von Pristava und andere zeitgleiche Funde aus Blejski kot). – V / In: Pleterski 2010a, 189–212, 259–261.

PINHEIRO, J. 2006, Decay Process of a Cadaver. – V / In: A. Schmitt, E. Cunha, J. Pinheiro (ur. / eds.), *Forensic Anthropology and Medicine: Complementary Sciences from Recovery to Cause of Death,* Totowa, NJ, 85–116.

PINTAR, A., V. GLAVAŠ 2017, The archaeology dog project. – V / In: C. Schuler, P. Kaul (ur. / eds.), *Faszinosum Spiirhunde: Gefahren sichtbar machen – Gefahren abwenden Tagungsergebnisse des 3. Symposiums fur Odorologie im Diensthundewesen an der Hochschule Bonn-Rhein-Sieg,* Hamburg, 30–38.

PITTIONI, R. 1943, *Der frühmittelalterliche Gräberfund von Köttlach, Landkreis Gloggnitz, Niederdonau.* – Sonderschriften des Archäologischen Instituts des Deutschen Reiches 14.

PLETERSKI, A. 1982, Časovna izpovednost plastovitosti staroslovanskega grobišča Sedlo na Blejskem gradu (Stratigraphy of the Old-Slavic Cemetery Sedlo na Blejskem gradu as a Source dor Datation). – *Arheološki vestnik* 33, 134–150.

PLETERSKI, A. 1987, Sebenjski zaklad / Der Hortfund von Sebenje. – *Arheološki vestnik* 38, 237–330.

PLETERSKI, A. 1996, Strukture tridelne ideologije v prostoru pri Slovanih. – *Zgodovinski časopis* 50/2, 163–185.

PLETERSKI, A. 2003a, *Sclavinia* und *Germania*. – Brezelfibeln und Töpfe. – V / In: I. Ericsson, H. Losert (ur. / eds.), *Aspekte der Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Bamberger Schriften zur Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit 1, 363–372.

PLETERSKI, A. 2003b**,** Struktur des Gräberfeldes Altenerding. – V / In: H. Losert, A. Pleterski (ur. / eds.), *Altenerding in Oberbayern. Struktur des frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldes und "Ethnogenese" der Bajuwaren,* Berlin, Bamberg, Ljubljana, 505–684.

PLETERSKI, A. 2004, Idejni sistem blejske župe. – V / In: J. Dežman (ur. / ed.), *Bled 1000 let, Blejski zbornik 2004,* Bled, 119–123.

PLETERSKI, A. 2008a**,** *Zgodnjesrednjeveška naselbina na blejski Pristavi. Najdbe / Frühmittelalterliche Siedlung Pristava in Bled. Funde.* – Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 14.

PLETERSKI, A. 2008b, Zgodnjesrednjeveški žgani grobovi v vzhodnih Alpah. – V / In: U. Steinklauber (ur. / ed.), *Frühmittelalterarchäologie in der Steiermark (Beiträge eines Fachgesprächs anlässlich des 65. Geburtstags von Diether Kramer), Schild von Steier* (Beiheft, 4), 33–39.

PLETERSKI, A. 2010a, *Zgodnjesrednjeveška naselbina na blejski Pristavi. Tafonomija, predmeti in čas / Frühmittelalterliche Siedlung Pristava in Bled. Taphonomie, Fundgegenstände und zeitliche Einordnung.* – Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 19.

PLETERSKI, A. 2010b**,** Die frühmittelalterliche Besiedlung des Krvavec. Vorbericht. – V / In: Franz Mand, Harald Stadler (ur. / eds.), *Archäologie in den Alpen. Alltag und Kult*, Forschungsberichte der ANISA Band 3, Nearchos Band 19, Haus i. Ennstal, 209–218.

PLETERSKI, A. 2011, *Župa Bled. Nevidna srednjeveška Evropa.* – E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae / Dela Inštituta za arheologijo 1.

PLETERSKI, A. 2013a, *The invisible Slavs. Župa Bled in the prehistoric Early Middle Ages*. – Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 28.

PLETERSKI, A. 2013b, Korak v kronologijo zgodnjesrednjeveškega naglavnega nakita vzhodnih Alp / A step towards the chronology of early medieval head ornaments in the Eastern Alps. – *Arheološki vestnik* 64, 299–334.

PLETERSKI, A. 2014, *Kulturni genom. Prostor in njegovi ideogrami mitične zgodbe (The cultural genome. Space and its ideograms of the mythical story).* – Studia mythologica Slavica – Supplementa, Supplementum 10, Ljubljana.

PLETERSKI, A. 2015a, Staroverstvo in pričevanja starovercev. – V / In: Medveščck 2015, 15–33.

PLETERSKI, A. 2015b, Ilinden in the cycle of a mythical story. – *Balcanoslavica* 40–44, 19–26.

PLETERSKI, A. 2015c, Preplet 3 in 4, preloška Beli Križ in Triglavca ter Zbruški idol. – V / In: K. Hrobat Virloget, P. Kavrečič (ur. / eds.), *Nesnovna krajina Krasa*, Koper, 21–33.

PLETERSKI, A. 2017, Die strukturelle Verwirklichung des slawischen Altglaubens. – V / In: F. Biermann, T. Kersting, A. Klammt (ur. / eds.), *Religion und Gesellschaft im nördlichen westslawischen Raum. Beiträge der Sektion zur slawischen Frühgeschichte der 22. Jahrestagung des Mittel- und Ostdeutschen Verbandes für Altertumsforschung in Chemnitz, 29. –31. März 2016,* Langenweissbach, 31–47.

PLETERSKI, A. 2018, Mythical landscape: what is it?. – V / In: J. Belaj (ur. / ed.). *Sacralization of landscape and sacred places. Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of Mediaeval*

Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology, Zagreb, 2nd and 3rd June 2016, (Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju 10), 5–18.

PLETERSKI, A., M. BELAK 2002, Grobovi s Puščave nad Starim trgom pri Slovenj Gradcu (Die Gräber von Puščava oberhalb von Stari trg bei Slovenj Gradec). – *Arheološki vestnik* 53, 233–300.

PLETERSKI, A., J. MAREŠ, 2003, Astronomische Grundlagen einiger frühmittelalterlichen Kultstellen in Praha. – *Studia mythologica Slavica* 6, 9–35.

PLETERSKI, A., B. ŠTULAR, M. BELAK (ur. / eds.) 2016, *Izkopavanje srednjeveškega in zgodnjenovoveškega grobišča pri Župni cerkvi v Kranju v letih 1964–1970. [Excavations of Medieval and Post-Medieval Cemetery at the Župna cerkev in Kranj from 1964 to 1970.]* – Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 35, Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju 1 / Cemetery Župna cerkev in Kranj 1.

PLETERSKI, A., B. ŠTULAR, M. BELAK (ur. / eds.) 2017, *Arheološka raziskovanja grobov najdišča Župna cerkev v Kranju med letoma 1972 in 2010. [Archaeological invstigation of graves from Župna cerkev in Kranj from between 1972 and 2010.]* – Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 37, Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju 2 / Cemetery Župna cerkev in Kranj 2.

PLETERSKI, A., B. ŠTULAR, M. BELAK, H. BEŠTER (ur. / eds.) 2019, *Začetek in konec raziskovanj grobišča pri Župni cerkvi v Kranju (1953 in 2011–2013). [The beginnning and end of exploration at the Župna cerkev cemetery in Kranj (1953 and 2011–2013).]* – Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 38, Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju 3 / Cemetery Župna cerkev in Kranj 3.

POLCARO, A., V. F. POLCARO 2009, Man and sky: problems and methods of archaeoastronomy. – *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 20, 223–245.

PÖLL, J. 2003, Dölsach. – *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 41, 51–53.

POSSENTI, E. 1995, Orecchini a lunula e cerchietti temporali riferibili alla cultura di Köttlach dalle provincie di Treviso e Padova. – *Aquileia Nostra* 66, 141–168.

PREDOVNIK, K. 2003, *Trdnjava Kostanjevica na Starem gradu nad Podbočjem.* – Archaeologia historica Slovenica 4, Ljubljana.

PREDOVNIK, K., M. DACAR, M. LAVRINC 2008, *Cerkev sv. Jerneja v Šentjerneju: arheološka izkopavanja v letih 1985 in 1986. (St Bartholomew Church in Šentjernej: Archaeological Excavations in 1985 and 1986).* – Ljubljana.

PRELOŽNIK, A. 2018, Od globalnega stila do lokalne noše: emajlirane zgodnjesrednjeveške fibule z živalskimi motivi z območja Slovenije (From a global style to local fashion: Enameled early medieval fibulas with animal motifs from the territory of Slovenia). – V / In: J. Lux, B. Štular, K. Zanier (ur. / eds.), *Slovani, naša dediščina / Our heritage: the Slavs,* Vestnik 27, 160–178, Ljubljana.

RAFFAELLI, U. 1996a, Arte del ferro tra Italia ed Austria. Chiavi, serrature e forzieri dall'XI al XIX secolo. – V / In: U. Raffaelli (ur. / ed.), Oltre la porta, Serrature, chiavi e forzieri dalla preistoria all'età moderna nelle Alpi orientali, 137–159, Trento.

RAFFAELLI, U. 1996b, Romanico (X–XI secolo). Catalogo. – V / In: U. Raffaelli (ur. / ed.), Oltre la porta, Serrature, chiavi e forzieri dalla preistoria all'età moderna nelle Alpi orientali, 168–172, Trento.

RAPAN PAPEŠA, A. 2016, Prethodna razmišljanja o prilozima keramičkih lonaca i njihovom sadržaju u avarodobnim grobovima na lokalitetu Nuštar –dvorac. – V / In: Krznar et al. 2016, 37–48.

RAPPENGLÜCK, M. A. 2014, Stone Age People Controlling Time and Space: Evidences for Measuring Instruments and Methods in Earlier Prehistory and the Roots of Mathematics, Astronomy, and Metrology. – V / In: G. Katsiampoura (ur. / ed.)**,** *Scientific Cosmopolitanism And Local Cultures: Religions, Ideologies, Societies*, Proceedings**,** 5th International Conference of the European Society for the History of Science*,* Athens, 1-3 November 2012, Athens, 466–474.

REBMANN, A., E. DAVID, M. H. SORG 2000, *Cadaver dog handbook: forensic training and tactics for the recovery of human remains.* – Boca Raton, London, New York, Washington.

REIMER P. J., E. BARD, A. BAYLISS, J. W. BECK, P. G. BLACKWELL, C. BRONK RAMSEY, C. E. BUCK, H. CHENG, R. L. EDWARDS, M. FRIEDRICH, P. M. GROOTES, T. P. GUILDERSON, H. HAFLIDASON, I. HAJDAS, C. HATTÉ, T. J. HEATON, D. L. HOFFMANN, A. G. HOGG, K. A. HUGHEN, K. F. KAISER, B. KROMER, S. W. MANNING, M. NIU, R. W. REIMER, D. Al. RICHARDS, E. M. SCOTT, J. R. SOUTHON, R. A. STAFF, C. S. M. TURNEY, J. van der PLICHT 2013. IntCal13 and Marine13 radiocarbon age calibration curves 0–50,000 years cal BP. – *Radiocarbon* 55/4, 1869–1887.

REMPEL, H. 1966, *Reihengräberfriedhöfe des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts aus Sachsen –Anhalt, Sachsen und Thüringen.* – Berlin.

RIHTER, J. 2018, Staro pokopališče ob župnijski cerkvi sv. Žalostne Matere Božje v Leskovcu pri Krškem in arheološka odkritja. V / In: J. Spahalić (ur. / ed.), *Leskovec pri Krškem skozi čas,* Leskovec pri Krškem, 7–40.

RIHTER, J. 2020, *Stratigrafija in tipokronologija zgodnjesrednjeveškega nakita: Študijski primer grobišča Župna cerkev v Kranju.* – Doktorska disertacija (v pripravi) / PhD thesis (in preparation), Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana.

RISTESKI, L. 2005 – Ристески Љупчо, *Категориите простор и време во народната култура на Македонците*. – Скопје.

RODWELL, W. 1989, *The archaeology of religious places: churches and cemeteries in Britain.* – Philadelphia.

ROGERS, J., T. WALDRON 1994, *A Field Guide to Joint Disease in Archaeology*. – Chichester.

ROTTLÄNDER, R. C. A. 2006, *Vormetrische Längeneinheiten*. – http://vormetrische-laengeneinheiten. de/index. html (zadnji dostop / last access: 20. 1. 2020).

RUDAN, E., J. TOMAŠIĆ 2019, How to Die More Easily: Charms and Charm Devices on a Person's Deathbed. – V / In: É. Pócs (ur. / ed.), *Charms and Charming. Studies on Magic in Everyday Life*, Studia mythologica Slavica, Supplementa, Supplementum 15, Ljubljana, 29–44.

RUGGLES C., 2005, *Ancient Archaeoastronomy: An Encyclopedia of Cosmologies and Myth*. – Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford.

SAGADIN, M. 1983, Zaščitno izkopavanje staroslovanskih grobov v lopi cerkve sv. Martina v Mostah pri Žirovnici. – *Arheološki vestnik* 33, 124–131.

SAGADIN, M. 1986, Bled. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 28, 285–288.

SAGADIN, M. 1988, *Kranj. Križišče Iskra. Nekropola iz časa preseljevanja ljudstev in staroslovanskega obdobja (Iskra Crossroads. A Cemetery form the Migration Period and the Early Slavic Period).* – Katalogi in monografije 24.

SAGADIN, M. 1990, Novejše antične najdbe na Gorenjskem. – Arheološki vestnik 41, 375–388.

SAGADIN, M. 1991, Najstarejša cerkvena stavba v Kranju. – V / In: *Pod zvonom sv. Kancijana*, Kranj, 31–44.

SAGADIN, M. 1996, Šentpavel pri Dragomlju. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 37 (1998), *Poročila,* 119–120.

SAGADIN, M. 2000–2004, Mošnje. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 39–41 (2006), 117–118, *Poročila,* 117–118.

SAGADIN, M. 2001, Staroslovansko grobišče na Malem gradu v Kamniku (The Early Slavic cemetery at Mali grad in Kamnik). – *Arheološki vestnik* 52, 359–375.

SAGADIN, M. 2013a, Zgodnjesrednjeveški grobišči v Komendi in na Zgornjem Brniku (The early medieval cemeteries of Komenda and Zgornji Brnik in the Gorenjska region). – *Arheološki vestnik* 64, Ljubljana, 249–298.

SAGADIN, M. 2013b, Rezultati raziskav podružnične cerkve sv. Radegunde na Bregu pri Žirovnici. – *Jeseniški zbornik* 11, Jesenice, 17–31.

SAGADIN, M. 2017, Prva cerkev v luči arheoloških raziskav. – V / In: R. Peskar (ur. / ed.), *Župnijska cerkev sv Kancijana v Kranju – njeno obličje in pomen.* – Ljubljana, 35–58.

SAGADIN, M. 2018, Odmevi karolinške in otonske umetnosti v zgodnjesrednjeveškem nakitu v Sloveniji (Echoes of Carolingian and Ottonian art in early medieval jewellery in Slovenia). – V / In: J. Lux, B. Štular, K. Zanier (ur. / eds.), *Slovani, naša dediščina / Our heritage: the Slavs,* Vestnik 27, Ljubljana, 179–198.

SAGADIN, M., O. KOVAČ, J. LUX 2007, Rodine. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 44 (2008), *Poročila,* 241–242.

SAGADIN, M., D. SVOLJŠAK 2000–2004, Smokuč. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 39–41 (2006), *Poročila*, 186–188.

SASSIN ALLEN, A. 2016, Church Orientation in the Landscape: a Perspective from Medieval Wales. – *Archaeological Journal* 173/1, 154–187.

SCHALTENBRAND OBRECHT, V. 2012, *Stilus. Kulturhistorische, typologisch-chronologische und technologische Untersuchungen an römisch Schreibgriffeln von Augusta Rauica und weiteren Fundorten.* – Forschungen in Augst 45.

SCHOLKMANN, B. 1997, Kultbau und Glaube. Die frühen Kirchen. – V / In: *Die Alamannen*, Stuttgart, 455–464.

SCHOLKKMANN, B. 2003, Die Kirche als Bestattungsplatz. Zur Interpretation von Bestattungen im Kirchenraum. – V / In: J. Jarnut, M. Wemhoff (ur. / eds.), *Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual,* München, 189–218.

SCHWOERBEL, A. 1998, Die *Burgruine Wieladigen bei Rickenbach im Hotzenwald.* – Materialhefte zur Archäologie in Baden-Würtemberg 47, Stuttgart.

SCOTT, E. M., COOK, G. T., NAYSMITH, P. 2007, Error and Uncertainty in Radiocarbon Measurements. – *Radiocarbon* 49/2, 427–440.

SENNHAUSER, H. R. 1979, Kirchen und Klöster. – V / In: *Ur- und frühgeschichtliche Archäologie der Schweiz, Band VI: Das Frühmittelalter*, Basel, 133–148.

SKRABAR,V. 1912, Frühmittelalterliche Gräberfunde in Unterhaidin bei Pettau. – *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 42, 335–339.

SLABE, M. 1980–1981, Something about the Ear-rings from the Cemetery at Šempeter (Ljubljana). – *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* 20–21, 154–157.

SLAPŠAK, B. 1977, Sv. Križ nad Dolskim. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 21, 297.

SÖRRIES, R. 2003, Der mittelalterliche Friedhof, Das Monopol der Kirche im Bestattungswesen und der so genannte Kirchhof. – V / In: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedhof und Denkmal e. V. and Zentralinstitut und Museum für Sepulkralkultur (ur. / ed.), *Raum für Tote. Die Geschichte der Friedhöfe von den Gräberstraßen der Römerzeit bis zur anonymen Bestattung,* Braunschweig, 27–53.

SNOJ, M. 1997, *Slovenski etimološki slovar*. – Ljubljana.

SNOJ, M. 2015, *Slovenski etimološki slovar* (tretja izdaja / third edition). – Spletna izdaja / internet edition: http:// www. fran. si

SPINAZZÈ, E. 2014, La consuetudine medioevale nell'-orientazione degli edifici sacri secondo il trattato di Guido Bonatti. – *Atti dell' Accademia "San Marco" di Pordenone* 16, 521–570.

SPINAZZÈ, E., 2016a, The Alignment of Medieval Churches in Northern-Central Italy and in the Alps and the Path of Light Inside the Church on the Patron Saint's Day. – *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 16/4, 455–463.

SPINAZZÈ, E. 2016b, La luce nell' architettura sacra: spazio e orientazione nelle chiese del X-XII secolo tra Romandie e Toscana. – *Beihefte zur mediaevistik. Monographien, Editionen, Sammelbände* 20, Frankfurt am Main.

Spletni vir 1 / Internet source 1, *Raster pyramids.* – http:// desktop. arcgis. com/en/arcmap/10. 5/manage-data/raster-and-images/raster-pyramids. htm (dostop / last access: 17. 12. 2019).

STADLER, H. 1996, Archäologische Untersuchungen im Bereich der St. -Nikolaus-Kirche in Matrei/Osttirol. – V / In: A. Krenn-Leeb (ur. / ed.), *Österreich vor eintausend Jahren, Die Übergang vom Früh- zum Hochmittelalter,* Archäologie Österreichs 7 (Sonderausgabe), 85–90.

STADLER, H. 2003, Oberlienz/Lamprechtgarten (Osttirol), Matrei/Ganz (Osttirol B6), Mauern/Steinach a. Brenner (Nordtirol B18). Drei Kirchengrabungen des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte sowie Mittelalter- und Neuzeitarchäologie der Universität Innsbruck. – V / In: H. R. Sennhauser (ur. / ed.), *Frühe Kirchen im östlichen Alpengebiet, Von der Spätantike bis in ottonische Zeit,* Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen N. F. 123, 765–769.

STARE, V. 1993, Center za arheologijo srednjega veka Narodnega muzeja 1960–1987. – *Argo* 35, 27–33.

STARE, V. 2002, Kovinski predmeti z jugovzhodnega dela naselja na Otoku pri Dobravi (Gutenwert). – *Argo* 45/1–2, 18–43.

STARE, V. 2007: Otok pri Dobravi. Ključi in ključavnice srednjeveškega Gutenwerta. – *Argo* 50/2, 21–39.

STEINEGGER, A. 2016, KG Adendorf. – *Fundberichte aus* Österreich 55 (2018), 450–551.

STERGAR, P., R. ŽIŽEK 2019, Cerkev sv. Martina Velenje – arheološka raziskava ob širitvi cerkve. – V / In: *Arheologija v letu 2018 – dediščina za javnost*, Ljubljana, 54.

STERGAR, P., S. PORENTA, R. ŽIŽEK 2017, Muljava. – V / In: *Arheologija v letu 2016. Dediščina za javnost. Zbornik povzetkov*, Ljubljana, 48.

STOPAR, I. 1987, *Župnijska cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja v Braslovčah in problem karolinške sakralne arhitekture na Slovenskem (Die Pfarrkirche Mariä Himmelfahrt in Braslovče und das Problem der karolingischen sakralen Architektur in Slowenien).* – Ljubljana.

STRAHLER, A. 2011, *Introducing Physical Geography* (peta izdaja / fifth edition). – Hoboken.

STRMČNIK GULIČ, M. 1988, Radvanje, Villa rustica, staroslovansko grobišče / Villa rustica, Early Slavic Cemetery. – *Arheološki pregled* 29/1988 (1990), 152–156.

STRMČNIK GULIČ, M. 1994, *Legen, Sveti Jurij, zakladnica podatkov*. – Slovenj Gradec.

STRMČNIK GULIČ, M., M. KAJZER 2001, Radvanje. – V / In: P. Bitenc, T. Knific (ur. /eds.), *Od Rimljanov do Slovanov*. *Predmeti*, Ljubljana, 118–119, kat. št. 389.

SVIRIN 2006 = СВИРИН, Кирилл Михайлович 2006, Языческие святилища Северо-Запада древней Руси - в VIII начале XI вв. – *Новгород и Новгородская земля, История и археология Новгорода*, Выпуск 20/2006, http://www.bibliotekar.ru/rusNovgorod/148.htm (zadnji dostop / last access: 25. 9. 2019)

SVOLJŠAK, D. 1984, Vitovlje. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 26, 278.

SVOLJŠAK, D. 1998, Dr. Vinko Šribar (1922–1996). – *Arheološki vestnik* 49, 383–386.

SVOLJŠAK, D., T. KNIFIC 1976, *Vipavska dolina. Zgodnjesrednjeveška najdišča (Early-medieval sites in the Vipavska dolina [Vipava valley]).* – Situla 17.

SWOBODA, E. 1937, Lauriacum. Grabungen in Enns im Jahre 1936. – *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 30, Beiblatt, 251–308.

SZCZEPAŃSKI, S. 2015, Old Prussian "Baba" Stones: An Overview of the History of Research and Reception. Pomesanian-Sasinian Case / Baby pruskie – z dziejów badań i adaptacji kulturowej. Casus pomezańsko-sasiński. – *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 10, 313–364.

SZŐKE, B. M. 2014, *The Carolingian Age in the Carpathian Basin. Permanent Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum*. – Budapest.

ŠALKOVSKÝ, P. 1993, Sídliskové objekty a štruktúra vnútornej zástavby. – V / In: Alexander Ruttkay (ur. / ed.), *Mužla-Čenkov I, Osídlenie z 9–12. storočia*, Materialia Archaeologica Slovaca, Tomus X, Nitra, 41–69.

ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 1999, Promet v prazgodovini. – V / In: Božič, D. et al. (ur. / eds.), *Zakladi tisočletij. Zgodovina Slovenije od neandertalcev do Slovanov*, Ljubljana, 254–256.

ŠKRUBEJ, K. 2002, *Ritus gentis Slovanov v vzhodnih Alpah. Model rekonstrukcije pravnih razmerij na podlagi najstarejšega jezikovnega gradiva*. – Ljubljana.

ŠMID, W. 1908, Altslovenische Gräber Krains. – *Carniola* 1, 17–44.

ŠPRAJC, I. 1991, *Arheoastronomija*. – Ljubljana.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1961, Staroslovansko grobišče v Črnomlju (Altslowenische Grabstätte in Črnomelj). – V / In: *Arheološke študije*, Situla 4, 81–90.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1962, Ostrvo, Bled. Ranosrednjevekovna arhitektura, nekropola i ostava novca. – *Arheološki pregled* 4, 240–245.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1962–1964, Bled-otok. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 9 (1965), 161.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1965, Arheološka raziskovanja na blejskem otoku (Fouilles archéologiques sur l'île de Bled). – *Varstvo spomenikov* 10 (1966), 154–159.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1966a, *Poročilo izkopavanj na Blejskem otoku*. – Neobjavljeno poročilo / Unpublished report, Narodni muzej Slovenija, arhivska številka / arch. no. AO NMS 489.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1966b, Bled-Otok. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 11, 131.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1967, Tisoč let slovenske arhitekture na Blejskem otoku. – *Sinteza* 5–6, 60–64.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1969, O raziskovalnih in koservatorskih problemih pri odkrivanju Freisinškega trga Gutenwerth (Otok pri Dobravi na Dolenjskem). – *Varstvo spomenikov* 13–14, 29–38.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1972a, *Blejski otok – oris zgodovine.* – Bled. = *Die Insel im See von Bled (Historischer Abriß)*. = *The island in lake Bled (a summary of its past)*.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1972b, K dataciji zgodnjesrednjeveške cerkvene arhitekture na Slovenskem (Zur Datierung frühmittelalterlichen Kirchenarchitektur in Slowenien). – *Arheološki vestnik 23*, 384–396.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1974, Ob dokumentaciji arheološkega odkrivanja freisinškega trga Otok pri Dobravi – Gutenwerth. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 17–19/1, 7–18.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1976, K problemu arheološke dokumentacije na terenu. – *Materijali* 12, 371–376.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1977, Novi stativ za ortografsko fotografiranje. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 21, 141–143.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1979, *Otok pri Dobravi – Gutenwerth. Kovinsko gradivo iz izkopnega polja 1.* – Projekt "Mihovo" 2, Ljubljana.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1981, Izpopolnitev opreme za izkopavanje. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 23, 117–120.

ŠRIBAR, V. 1983, Der Karantanisch-Köttlacher Kulturkreis, Aquileja und Salzburg. – *Aquileia Nostra* 54, 269–320.

ŠRIBAR, V., V. STARE 1974, *Karantansko-ketlaški kulturni krog. K zametkom slovenske kulture.* – Ljubljana.

ŠRIBAR, V., V. STARE 1975, Der Karantanisch-Köttlacher Kulturkreis. – *Schild von Steier*, *Kleine Schriften* 16.

ŠRIBAR, V., V. STARE 1978–1979, Das Verhältnis der Steiermark zu den übrigen Regionen der Karantanisch-Köttlacher Kultur. – *Schild von Steier* 15–16, 209–225.

ŠRIBAR, V., V. STARE 1979, Drava – meja med oglejskim patriarhatom in salzburško nadškofijo v luči areholoških najdb. – *Slovensko morje in zaledje* 2–3, 7–39.

ŠRIBAR, V., V. STARE, T. BREGANT 1972–1973, Časovno opredeljena srednjeveška keramika (Zeitlich eingeordnete mittelalterliche Keramik). – *Slovenski etnograf* 25–26 (1973), 38–51.

ŠTIH, P. 2004, Prva omemba Bleda v pisnih virih. Listina kralja Henrika II. za briksenškega škofa Albuina z dne 10. aprila 1004 (D. H. II. 67). – V / In: J. Dežman (ur. / ed.), *Bled tisoč let, Blejski zbornik 2004*, Bled, 7–34.

ŠTIH, P. 2011, Tisoč let od prve omembe Blejskega gradu (1011–2011) in začetki blejskega gospostva škofov iz Briksna. – V / In: M. Vidic (ur. / ed.), *Blejski grad – 1000 let prve omembe*, Bled, 8–27.

ŠTULAR, B. 2007, Posamezniki, skupnost in obred v zgodnjem srednjem veku. Primer grobiščnih podatkov z Malega gradu v Sloveniji (The Individuals, the Community, and the Ritual in the Early Middle Ages. An Analysis of Cemetery Data from Mali grad, Slovenia). – *Studia mythologica Slavica* 10, 23–50.

ŠTULAR, B. 2008, Analiza dokumentacije nestratigrafskih izkopavanj. – *Arheo* 25, 45–52.

ŠTULAR, B. 2009, *Mali grad, visokosrednjeveški grad v Kamniku / Mali grad, high medieval castle in Kamnik.* – Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 15.

ŠTULAR, B. 2010, Jožefinski vojaški zemljevid kot vir za preučevanje preteklih pokrajin (Josephine military map (1763–1787) as a source for a study of past landscapes). – *Geografski vestnik/Geographical Bulletin* 82/1, 85–96.

ŠTULAR, B. 2013, Grad Smlednik. – V / In: B. Štular (ur. / ed.), *Grad Smlednik. Raziskave 2011–2012*, Ljubljana, 135–148.

ŠTULAR, B. 2020, One phenomena or many? Considerations on the role of selected sites in Slovenia: Na Bleku, Mali grad, and Gradišče above Bašelj. – V / In: M. Diesenberger, S. Eichert, K. Winckler (ur. / eds.), *Der Ostalpenraum im Frühmittelalter – Herrschaftsstrukturen, Raumorganisation und archäologisch-historischer Vergleich – Herrschaftsstrukturen, Raumorganisation und archäologisch-historischer Vergleich, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 23, 231–243.

ŠTULAR, B., BELAK, M. (ur. / eds.) 2012, *Grobišče Župna cerkev v Kranju. Dokumentacija o izkopavanjih v letu 1953. – E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae* 1.

ŠTULAR, B., HROVATIN, I. M. 2002, Slovene pagan sacred landscape. Study case: the Bistrica Plain (Slovenska poganska sveta pokrajina. Primer Bistriške ravni.). – *Studia mythologica Slavica* 5, 43–68.

ŠTULAR, B., LOZIĆ, E. 2016, Primernost podatkov projekta Lasersko skeniranje Slovenije za arheološko interpretacijo: metoda in študijski primer. – V / In: R. Ciglič, M. Geršič, D. Perko, M. Zorn (ur. / eds.), *Digitalni podatki,* Ljubljana, 157–166.

ŠVAJNCER, J. J. 2016, *Vojni muzej Logatec. Zakladi zgodovine.* – Logatec.

TECCO HVALA, S. 2017, Molnik pri Ljubljani v železni dobi. / The Iron Age site at Molnik near Ljubljana. – *Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae* 36.

TENCKHOFF, F. (izd. / issued by) 1921, *Vita Meinwerci episcopi Patherbrunnensis*. – Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi, Hannoverae.

TOMAZO, T., B. TERAN, J. FILIPIČ 1971–1972, Okostja z blejskega otoka, izkopana v letih 1962–1965. – *Glasnik Antropološkog društva Jugoslavije* 8–9, 95–99.

TOMENČUK 2002 = ТОМЕНЧУК, Богдан 2002, До питання про особливості мікропланувальної структури давніх могильників як "поселень мертвих", та макропланувальних систем розміщення церков і городищ. – *Нові технології в археології*, Збірник наукових праць, Київ–Львів, 301–317.

TOMIČIĆ, Ž. 1993, Prilog istraživanju kronologije bjelobrdskog segmenta srednjovjekovnog groblja Ptuj–Grad. – V / In: B. Lamut (ur. / ed.), *Ptujski arheološki zbornik*, Ptuj, 543–579.

TOMIČIĆ, Ž. 1994–1995, Baranya in Lichte archäologischer Zeugnisse der Bijelo Brdo-Kultur. Ein Beitrag zur Analyse des frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldes Majs-Udvar. – *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 11–12 (1997), 71–98.

TOPOROV, V. N. 2002, *Predzgodovina književnosti pri Slovanih. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Uvod v proučevanje zgodovine slovanskih književnosti)*. – Zupaničeva knjižnica 9, Ljubljana.

TOVORNIK, V. 1980, Das Gräberfeld der Karantanisch-Köttlacher Kulturgruppe auf dem Georgenberg bei Micheldorf, Pol. Bezirk Kirchdorf/Krems. – V / In: *Baiern und Slawen in Oberösterreich*, *Probleme der Landnahme und Besiedlung*, Schriftenreihe des OÖ. Muesealverains – Gesellschaft für Landeskunde 10, 81–13.

TRUEMAN, C. N. 2019, *Building a Medieval Cathedral,* (www.historylearningsite. co. uk/medieval-england/building-a--medieval-cathedral/ (dostop / last access: 15. 12. 2019).

TSCHURTSCHENTHALER, M. 2003, Lavant (Osttirol) St. Ulrich. – V / In: H. R. Sennhauser (ur. /ed.), *Frühe Kirchen im östlichen Alpengebiet, Von der Spätantike bis in ottonische Zeit,* Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen N. F. 123, 771–773.

TURK, P. 2006, Mlajša kamena in bakrena doba (6000–2300 let pr. n. št.). – V /In: T. Nabergoj (ur. /ed.), *Stopinje v preteklost, Zakladi iz arheoloških zbirk Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*, 28–29, Ljubljana. = The Late Stone and Copper Ages (6000–2300 BC*).* – V /In: T. Nabergoj (ur. /ed.), *Steps into the Past, Treasures from the archaeological collections of the National Museum of Slovenia*, Ljubljana, 28–29.

UDOVČ K., L. ROZMAN 2017, Mirna Peč – arheološko najdišče Sv. Kancijan in Mirna Peč – cerkev sv. Kancijana. – *Varstvo spomenikov, Poročila* 52/2011, 147–149.

UNGERMAN, Š. 2016, Tzv. karantánské náušnice ve středním Podunjí / Die "karantanischen" Ohrringe im mittleren Donauraum. – *Památky archeologické* 107/2016, 181–236.

VALIČ, A. 1964, *Staroslovansko grobišče na Blejskem gradu. Izkopavanje 1960 (Die Altslawische Nekropole auf dem Schlossberg von Bled. Ausgrabung 1960*). – Situla 7.

VALIČ, A. 1967, Staroslovanski Kranj. – *Arheološki vestnik* 18, 417–423.

VALIČ, A. 1969a, Staroslovansko grobišče "Na sedlu" pod Blejskim gradom. Zaščitno izkopavanje leta 1968 (Altslawisches Gräberfeld "Na sedlu" unterhalb der Burg von Bled. Schutzgrabung im Jahr 1968). – *Arheološki vestnik* 20, 218–234.

VALIČ, A. 1969b, Spodnje Duplje. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 12, 102.

VALIČ, A. 1970–1971, Šmartno pri Cerkljah na Gorenjskem. Poznoantične in zgodnjesrednjeveške najdbe. – *Arheološki vestnik* 21–22, 275–287.

VALIČ, A. 1978, *La nécropole slave a Kranj*. – Inventaria archaeologica (Jugoslavija) 21, Ljubljana, Beograd.

VALIČ, A. 1982, Moste. – *Varstvo spomenikov* 24, 185–187.

VELUŠČEK, A. 2004, *Terenske raziskave, stratigrafija in najdbe / Field research, stratigrphy and the material finds.* – V / In: A. Velušček (ur. / ed.), *Hočevarica, eneolitsko kolišče na Ljubljanskem barju / Hočevarica, an eneolithic pile dwelling in the Ljubljansko barje*, Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 8, 33–55.

VERŠNIK, N. 2009a, 118. Noži. – V / In: P. Turk et al. (ur.), Ljubljanica – kulturna dediščina reke, 338, 339, Ljubljana. = 118. Knives. – V / In: P. Turk et al. (eds.), The Ljubljanica – a River and its Past, 362, 363, Ljubljana.

VERŠNIK, N. 2009b, 124. Kresila. – V / In: P. Turk et al. (ur. / eds.), *Ljubljanica – kulturna dediščina reke*, Ljubljana, 342–343.

VETTERS, H. 1976, *Tutatio. Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Georgenberg und Micheldorf (OÖ)*. – Der römische Limes in Österreich 28.

VINSKI, Z. 1970, O postojanju radionica nakita starohrvatskog doba u Sisku (Zur Frage des Bestehens von Schmuckwerkstätten aus altkroatischer Zeit in Sisak). – *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 4, 45–92.

VLASTO, A. P. 1970, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom. An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs.* – Cambridge.

VRHOVNIK, I. 1885, Zgodovina Dupljanske fare. – V / In: A. Koblar (ur. / ed.), *Zgodovina farâ Ljubljanske škofije*, *Zgodovina Nâkelske, Dupljanske in Goriške fare*, Ljubljana, 121–190.

VUGA, D. 1975, Le scoperte del primo medioevo a Mengeš. – *Balcanoslavica* 4, 33–49.

VYROUBAL, V., T. PLEŠE, M. NOVAK 2016, Rezultati antropološke analize osteološkog materijala pronađenog u crkvi pavlinskog samostana svih svetih u strezi – prijedlog povijesno-arhivske kontekstualizacije i interpretacije. – V / In: Krznar et al. 2016, 87–106.

WEMHOFF, M. 2003, Bestattungen des Früh- und Hochmittelalters an und in westfälischen Kirchen. – V / In: J. Jarnut, M. Wemhoff (ur. / eds.), *Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual,* München, 97–106.

WILLIAMS, H. 2006, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain.* – Cambridge.

WOLF, V. 1964, Zibljiva mandibula. – *Zobozdravstveni zbornik* 19/3–4, 71–102.

ZADNIKAR, M. 1982, *Romanika v Sloveniji. Tipologija in morfologija sakralne arhitekture.* – Ljubljana.

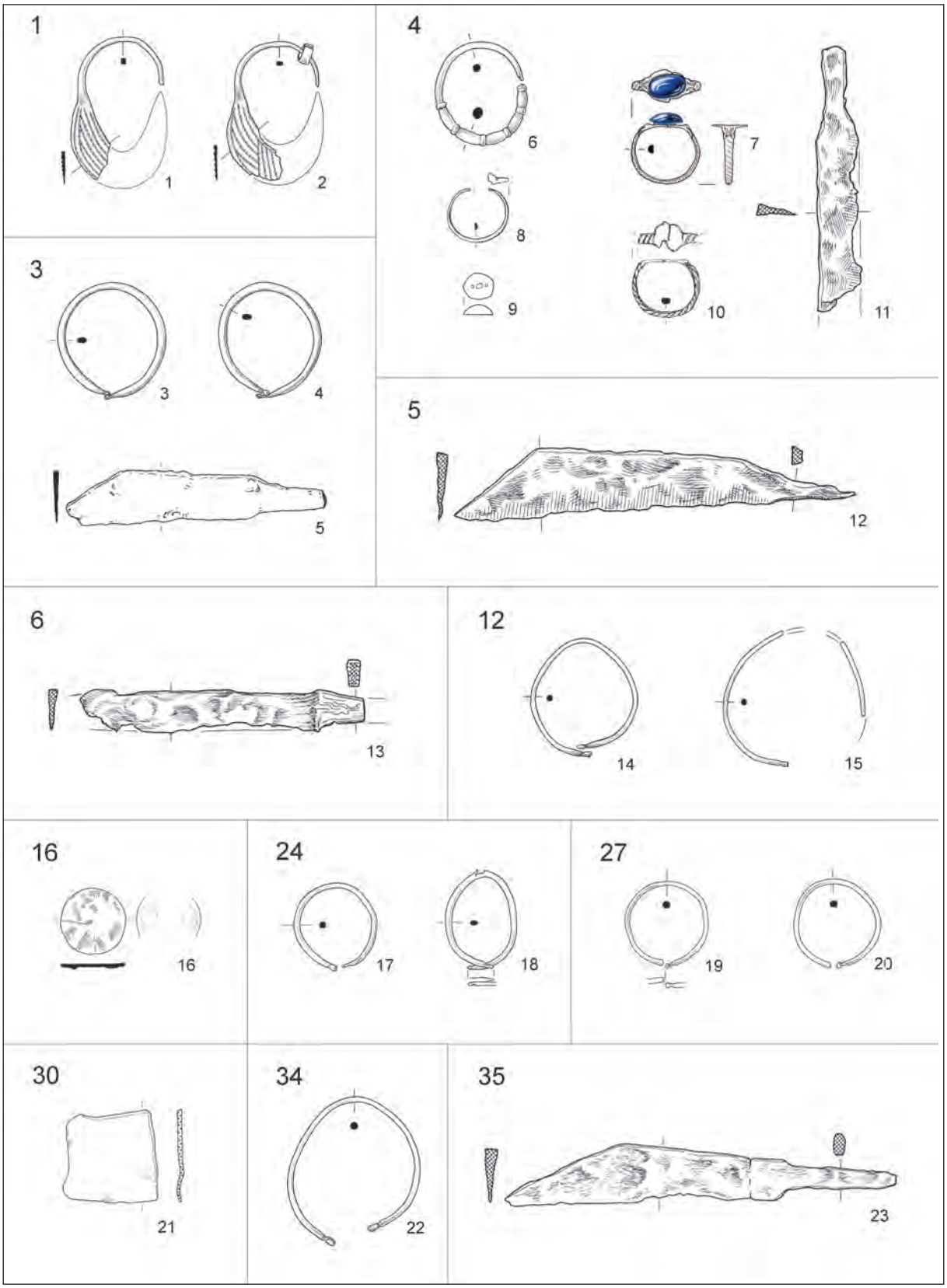
ZAROFF, R. 2016, Measurement of Time by the Ancient Slavs. – *Studia mythologica Slavica* 19, 9–39.

ZOLL-ADAMIKOWA, H. 1975, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska ciałopalne Słowian na terenie Polski. Cz. I. Zródla.* – Wroclaw, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk.

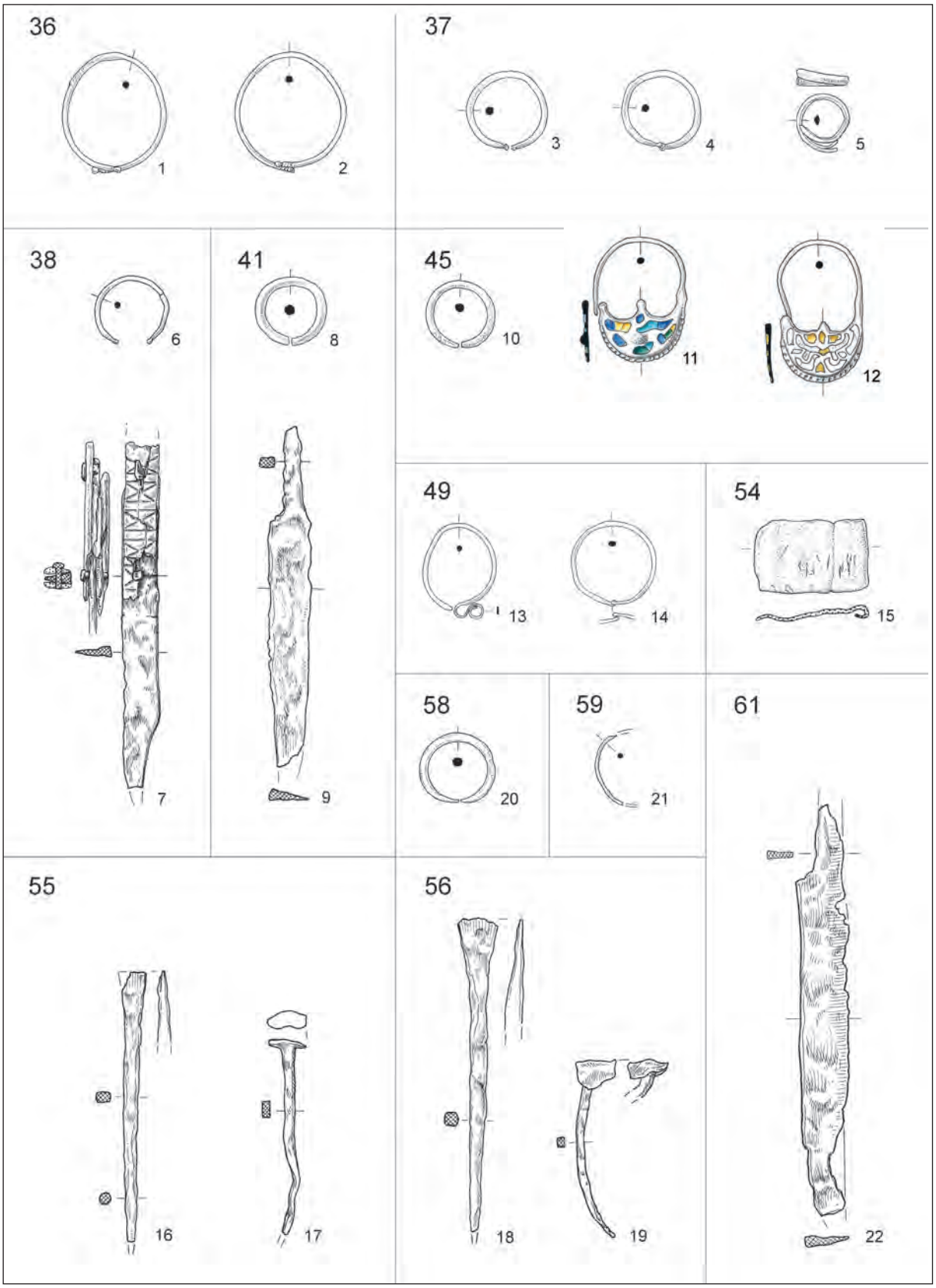
ZOLL-ADAMIKOWA, H. 1979, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska ciałopalne Słowian na terenie Polski. Cz. II. Analiza. Wnioski*. – Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdansk.

ZUPAN, J. 1998, *Vas Kupljenik do začetka 20. stoletja*. – Bled, Radovljica.

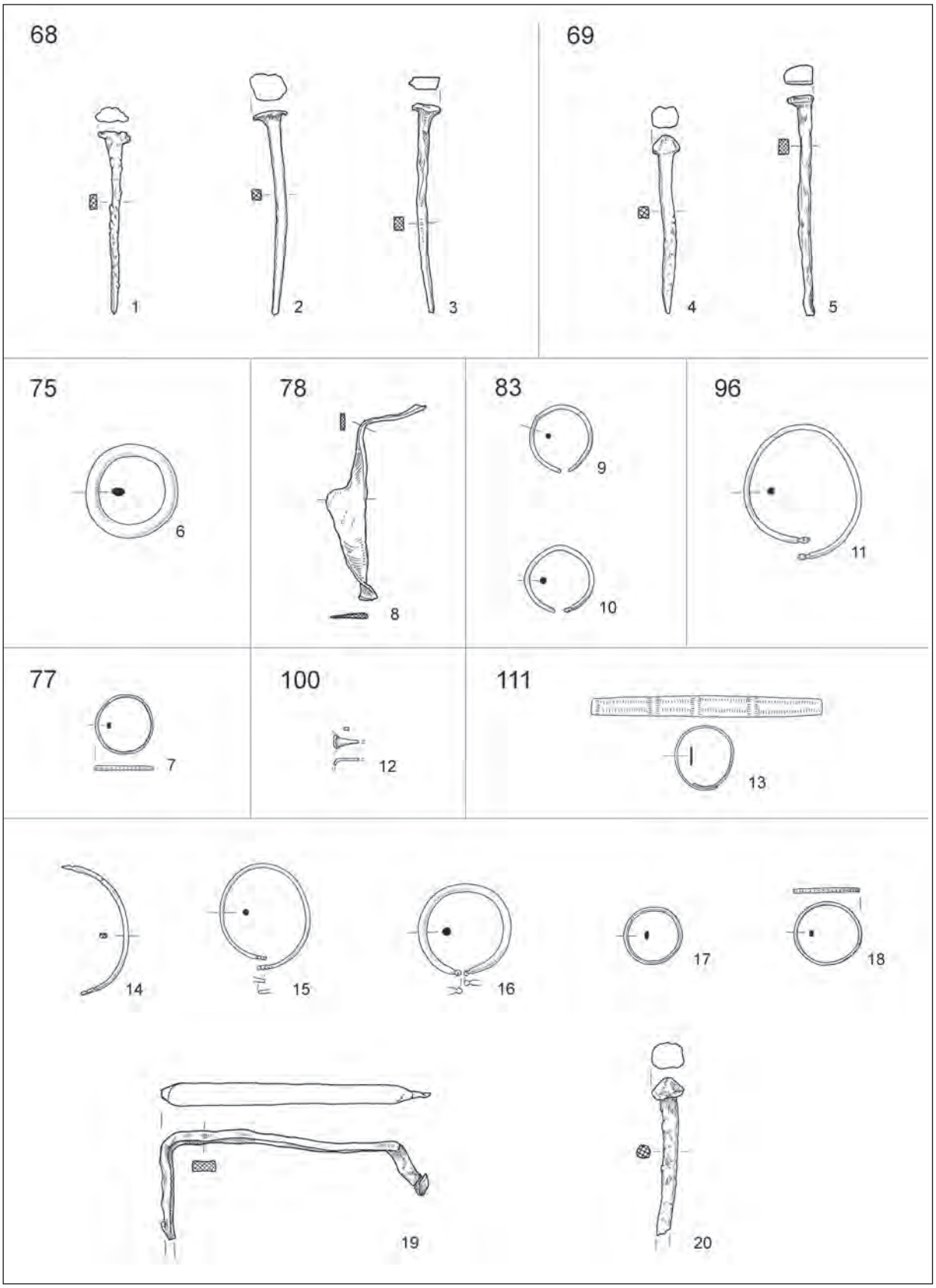
ŽOLOBOV 2004 = ЖОЛОБОВ, Олег Ф. 2004, Об одном балто-славянском архаизме: "3 x 9". – *Studia mythologica Slavica* 7, 155–171.



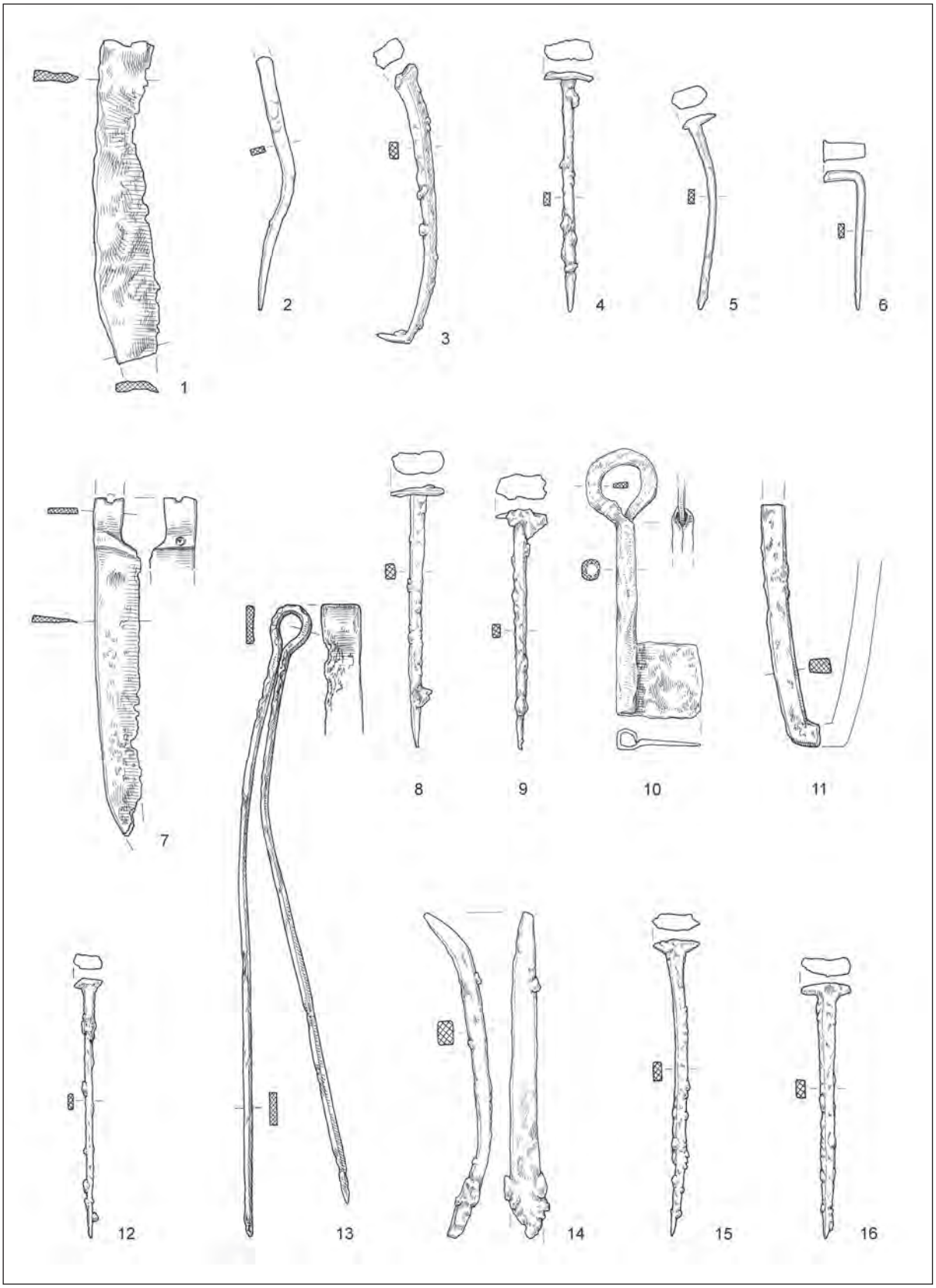
T. 1: Blejski otok, pridatki v grobovih 1, 3–6, 12, 16, 24, 27, 30, 34 in 35.
Pl. 1: Blejski Island, grave goods in Graves 1, 3–6, 12, 16, 24, 27, 30, 34 and 35.
1–4,6–10,14–20, 22 bron / bronze; 5,11–13,23 železo / iron; 7,9 steklo / glass, 21 svinec / lead.
Merilo / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: 1,2,7,16,21 Ida Murgelj, 3,4,6,7,10–15, 17–20,22,23 Dragica Knific Lunder; 5, 8 Vida Stare; 2,9,10.



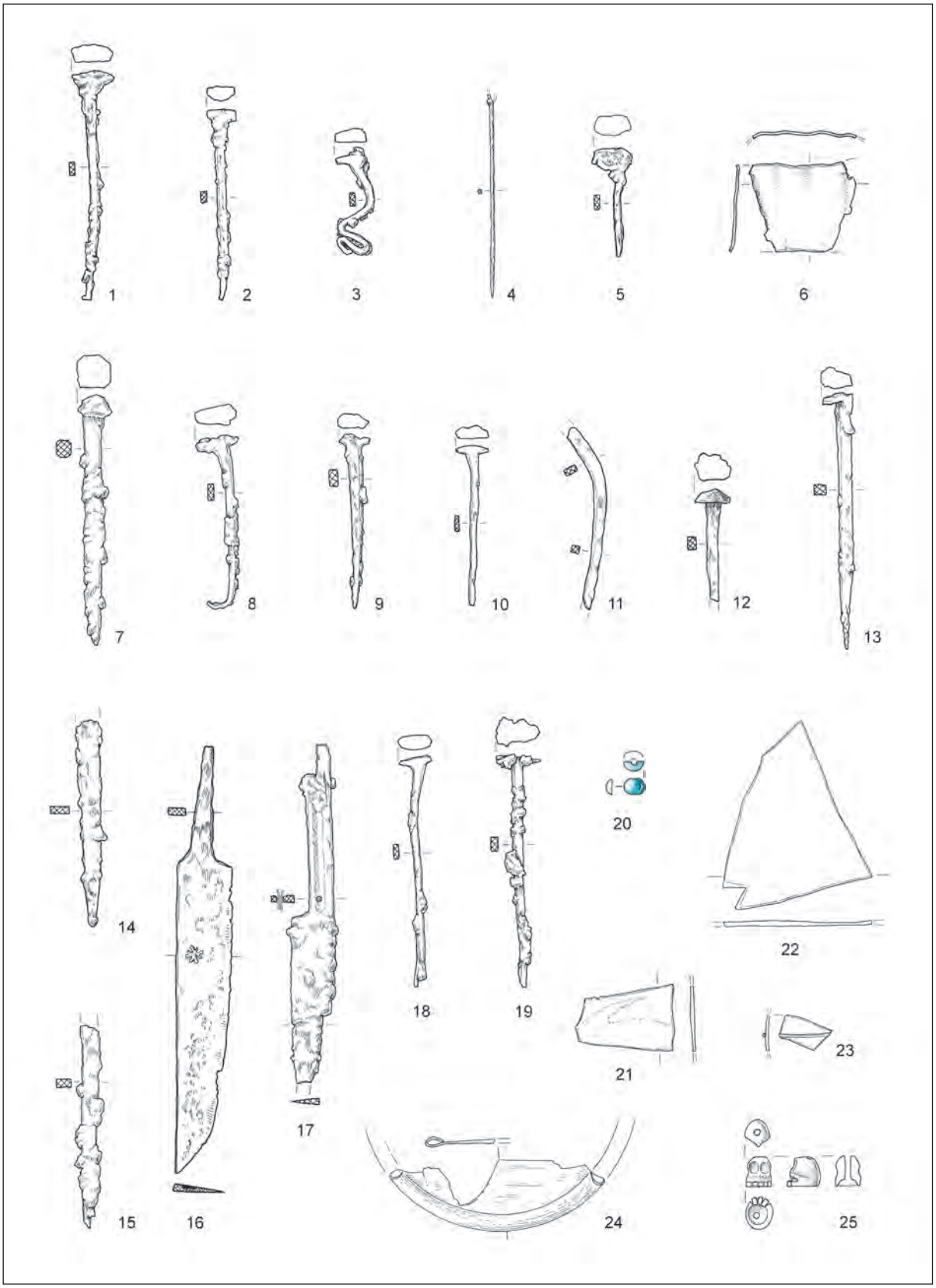
T. 2: Blejski otok, pridatki v grobovih 36–38, 41, 45, 49, 54–56, 58, 59, in 61.
Pl. 2: Bled Island, grave goods in Graves 36–38, 41, 45, 49, 54–56, 58, 59, and 61.
1–6,8,10–14, 20,21 bron / bronze; 7,9,16–19, 22 železo / iron; 7 kost ali roževina / bone or horn, 11,12 emajl / enamel; 15 svinec / lead.
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: D. Knific Lunder



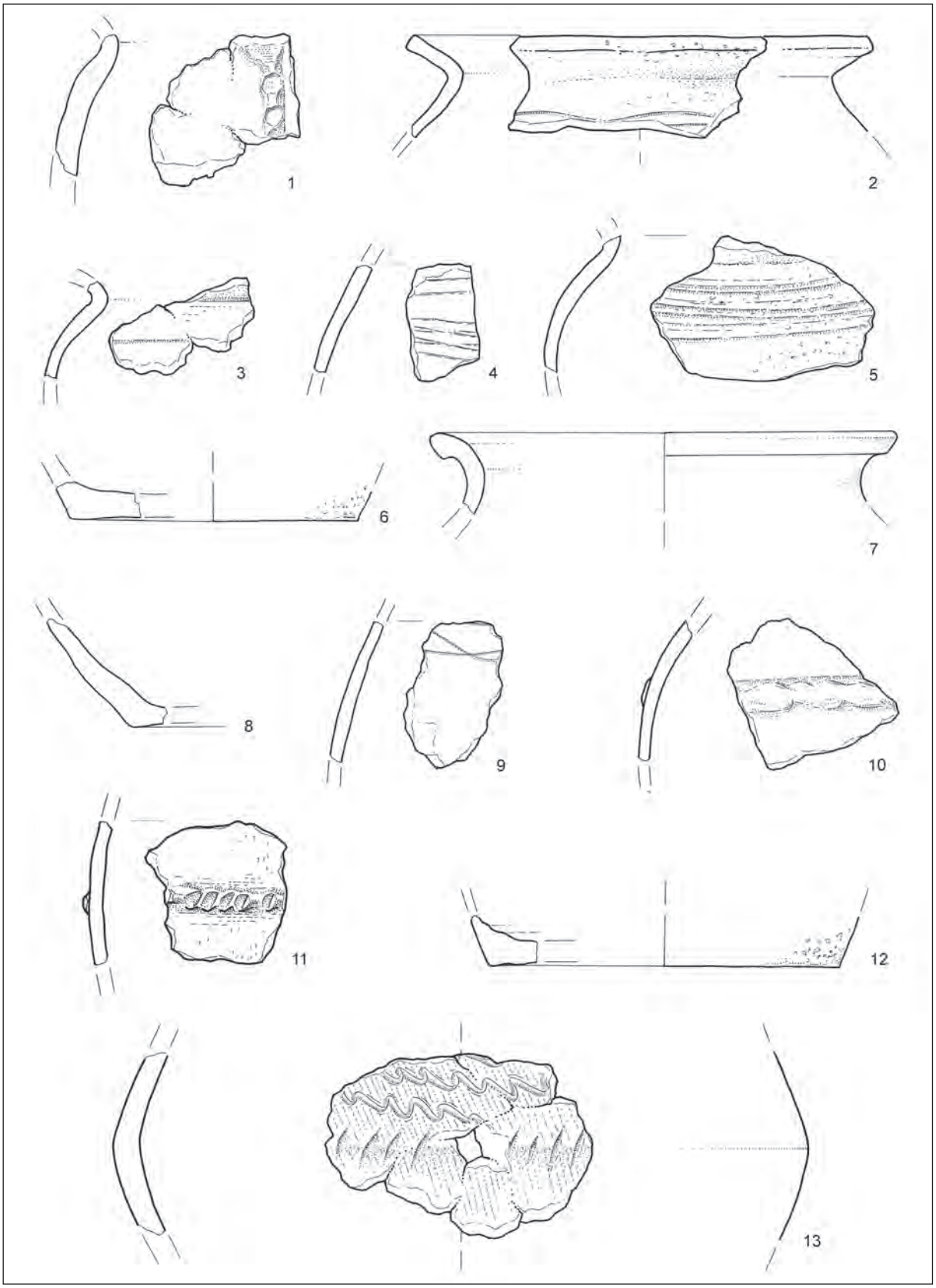
T. 3: Blejski otok, pridatki v grobovih 68, 69, 75, 77, 78, 83, 96, 100 in 111 (1–13) ter raztresene najdbe.
Pl. 3: Bled Island, grave goods in Graves 68, 69, 75, 77, 78, 83, 96, 100 and 111 (1–13) as well as scattered finds. [kat. št = cat. No.]
14 (kat. št. 69); 15 (kat. št. 74); 16 (kat. št. 88); 17 (kat. št. 157); 18 (kat. št. 42); 19 (kat. št. 25); 20 (kat. št. 26).
1–5,8,19,20 železo / iron; 6,7,9–13,15–18 bron / bronze; 14 srebro / silver.
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: 1,2,4,7,12,20 I. Murgelj; 3,5,6,8–11,13–19 D. Knific Lunder



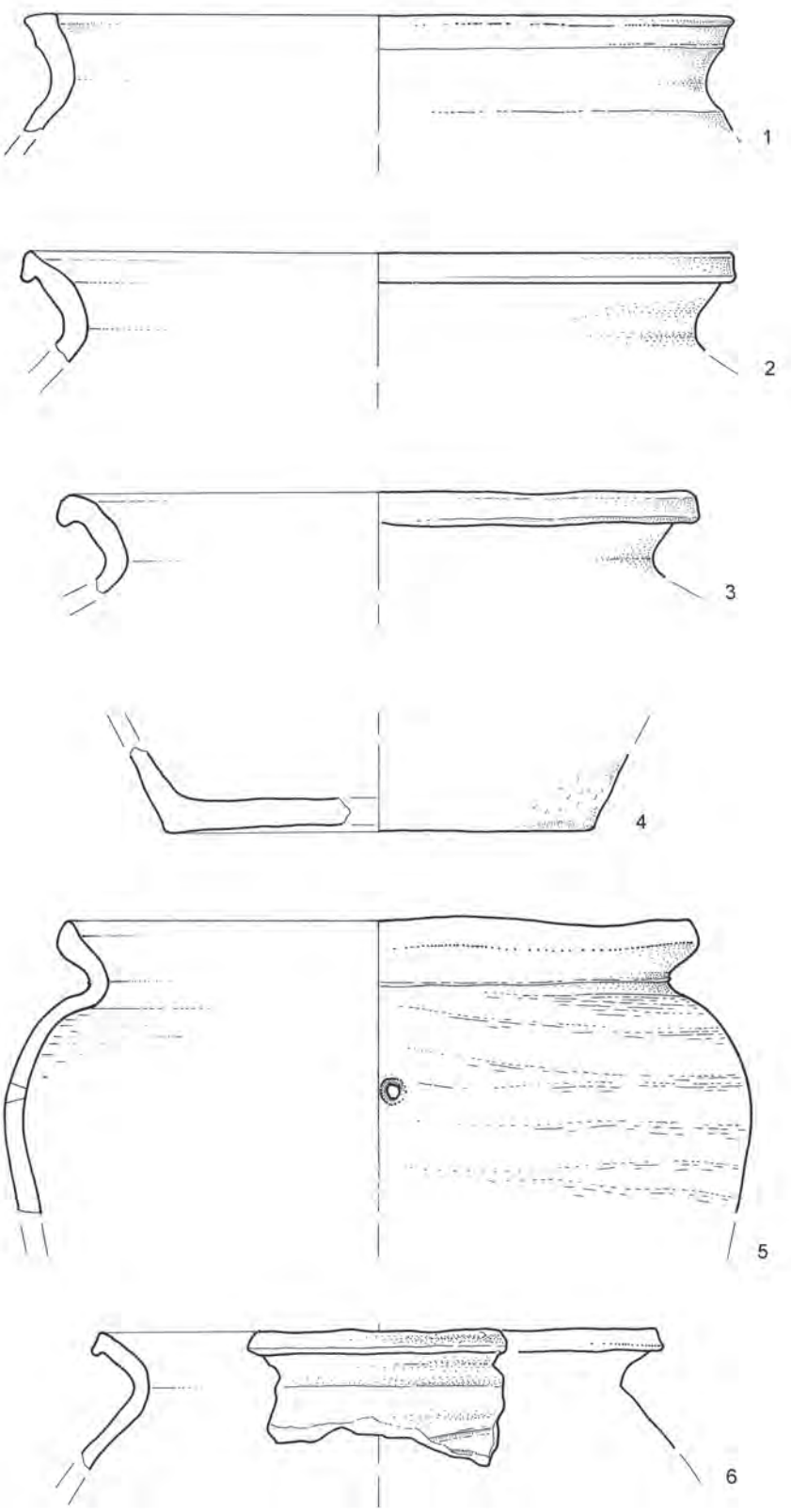
T. 4: Blejski otok, železni predmeti.
Pl. 4: Bled Island, iron artefacts. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 41); 2 (kat. št. 43); 3 (kat. št. 52); 4 (kat. št. 53); 5 (kat. št. 54); 6 (kat. št. 55); 7 (kat. št. 57); 8 (kat. št. 60); 9 (kat. št. 61); 10 (kat. št. 65); 11 (kat. št. 70); 12 (kat. št. 71); 13 (kat. št. 80); 14 (kat. št. 86); 15 (kat. št. 104); 16 (kat. št. 105).
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: 1,7,10,13 D. Knific Lunder; 2 –6,8,9,11,12,14–16 I. Murgelj



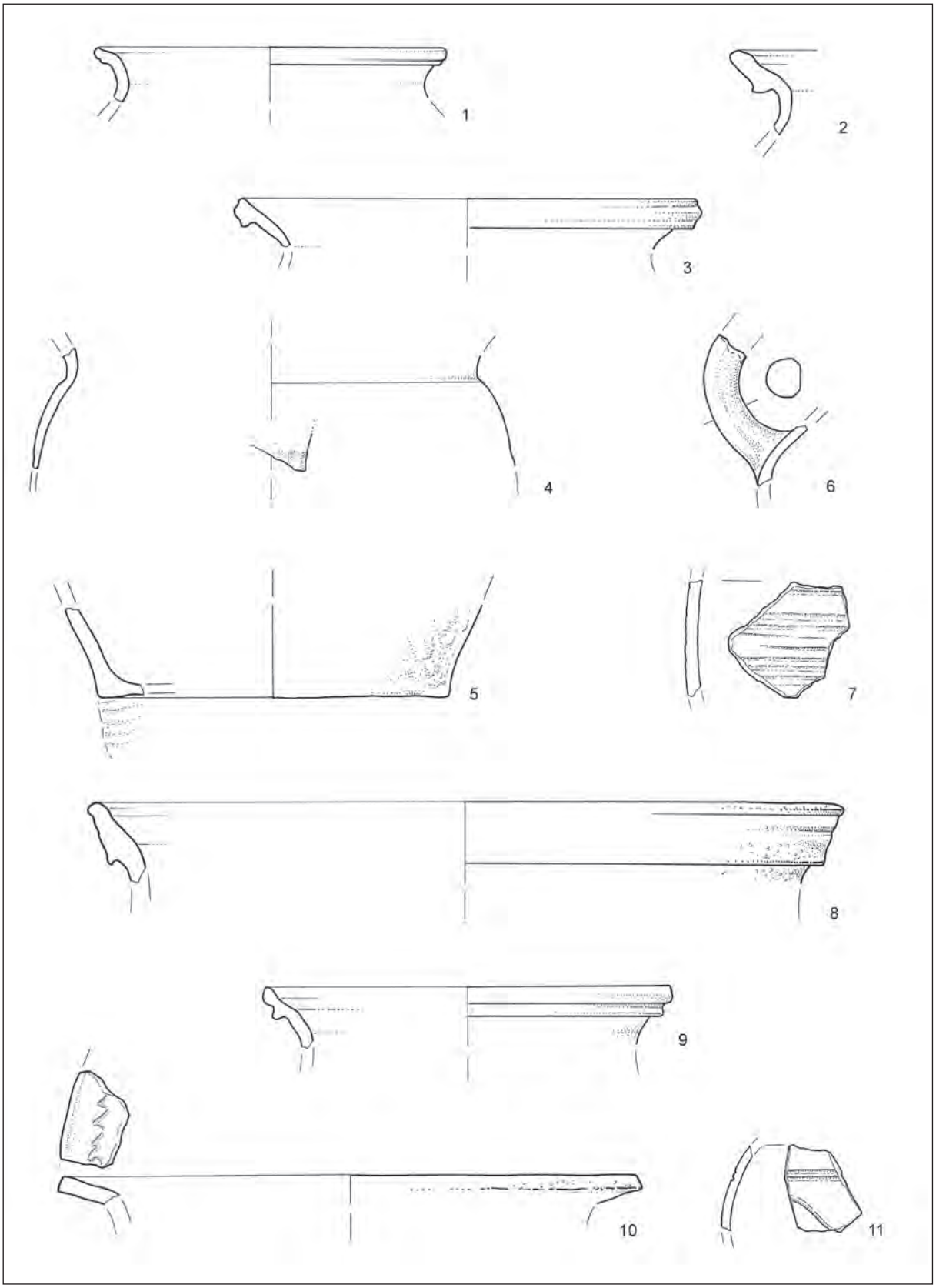
T. 5: Blejski otok, raztresene železne, steklene in koščene najdbe.
Pl. 5: Bled Island, scattered iron, glass and bone finds. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 106); 2 (kat. št. 107); 3 (kat. št. 124); 4 (kat. št. 125); 5 (kat. št. 126); 6 (kat. št. 130); 7 (kat. št. 133); 8 (kat. št. 134); 9 (kat. št. 135); 10 (kat. št. 152); 11 (kat. št. 153); 12 (kat. št. 154); 13 (kat. št. 166); 14 (kat. št. 167); 15 (kat. št. 168); 16 (kat. št. 178); 17 (kat. št. 183); 18 (kat. št. 185); 19 (kat. št. 186); 20 (kat. št. 40); 21 (kat. št. 44); 22 (kat. št. 119); 23 (kat. št. 121); 24 (kat. št. 169); 25 (kat. št. 39). M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: 1–15,17–23,25, I. Murgelj; 16,24 D. Knific Lunder



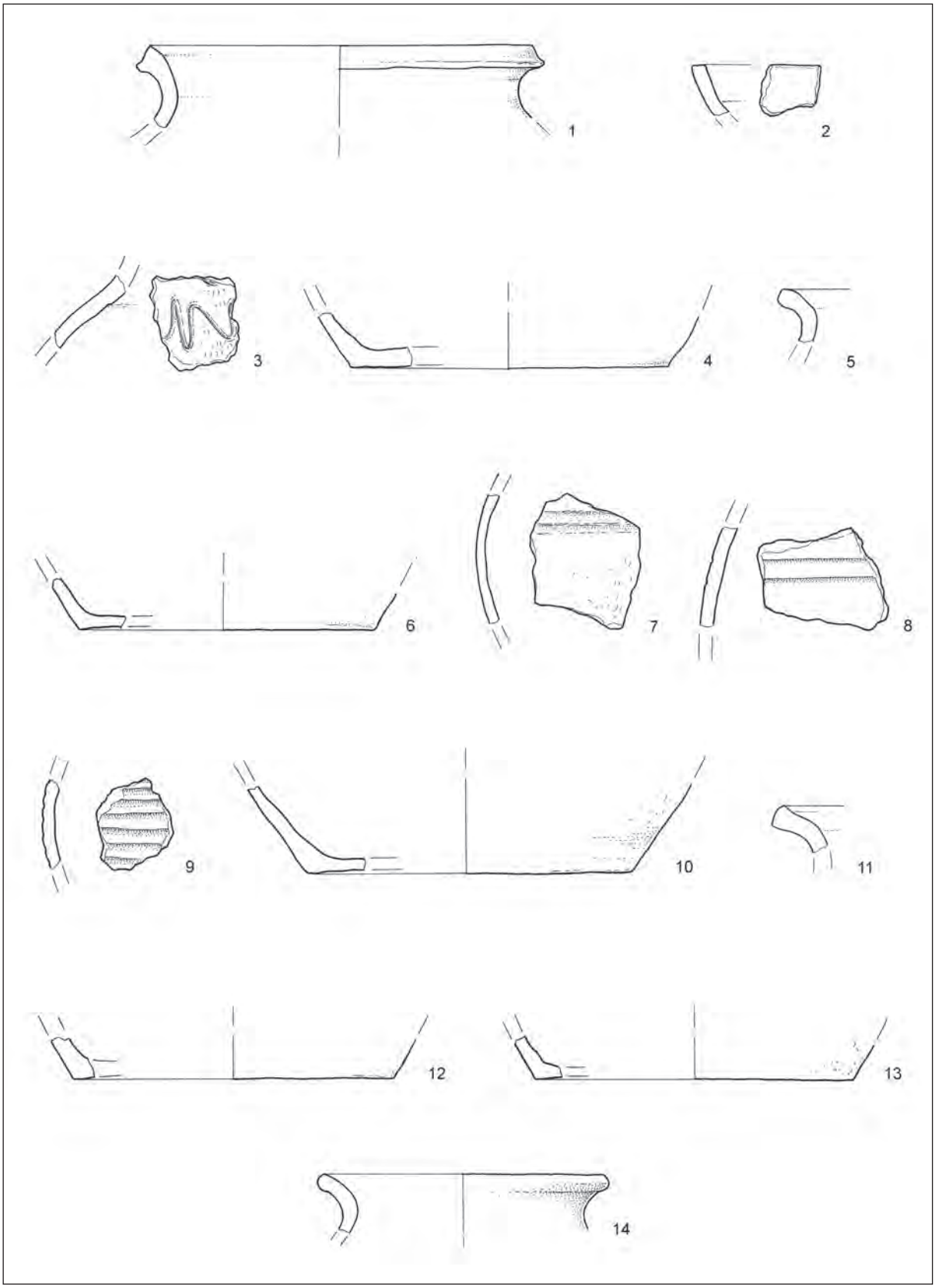
T. 6: Blejski otok, raztreseni odlomki srednjeveške lončenine.
Pl. 6: Bled Island, scattered Middle Age pottery fragments. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 1); 2 (kat. št. 10); 3 (kat. št. 11); 4 (kat. št. 12); 5 (kat. št. 15); 6 (kat. št. 16); 7 (kat. št. 17); 8 (kat. št. 18); 9 (kat. št. 19); 10 (kat. št. 20); 11 (kat. št. 21); 12 (kat. št. 22); 13 (kat. št. 23).
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: D. Knific Lunder



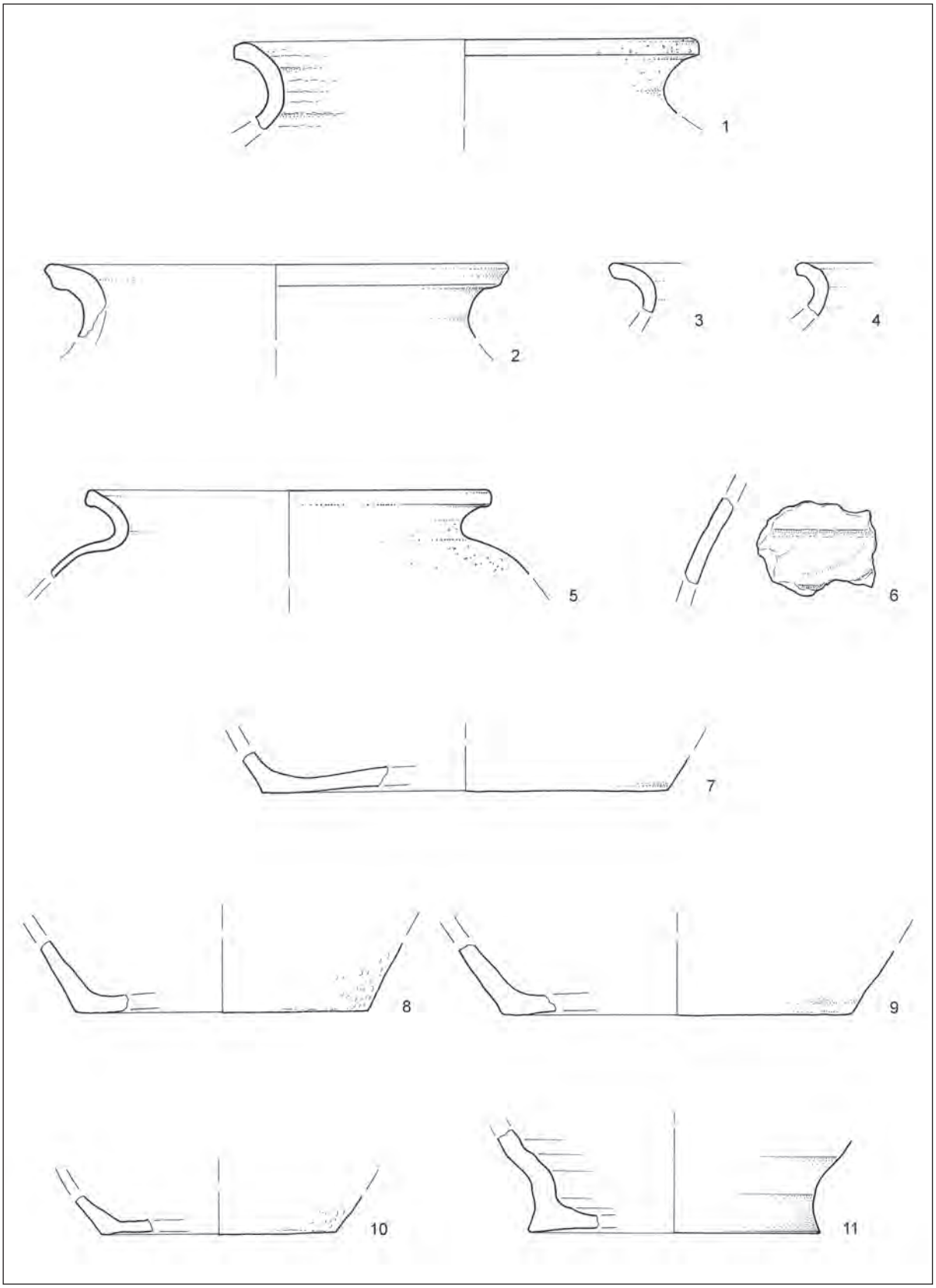
T. 7: Blejski otok, raztreseni odlomki srednjeveške lončenine.
Pl. 7: Bled Island, scattered Middle Age pottery fragments. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 27); 2 (kat. št. 33); 3 (kat. št. 34); 4 (kat. št. 35); 5 (kat. št. 36); 6 (kat. št. 38).
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: D. Knific Lunder



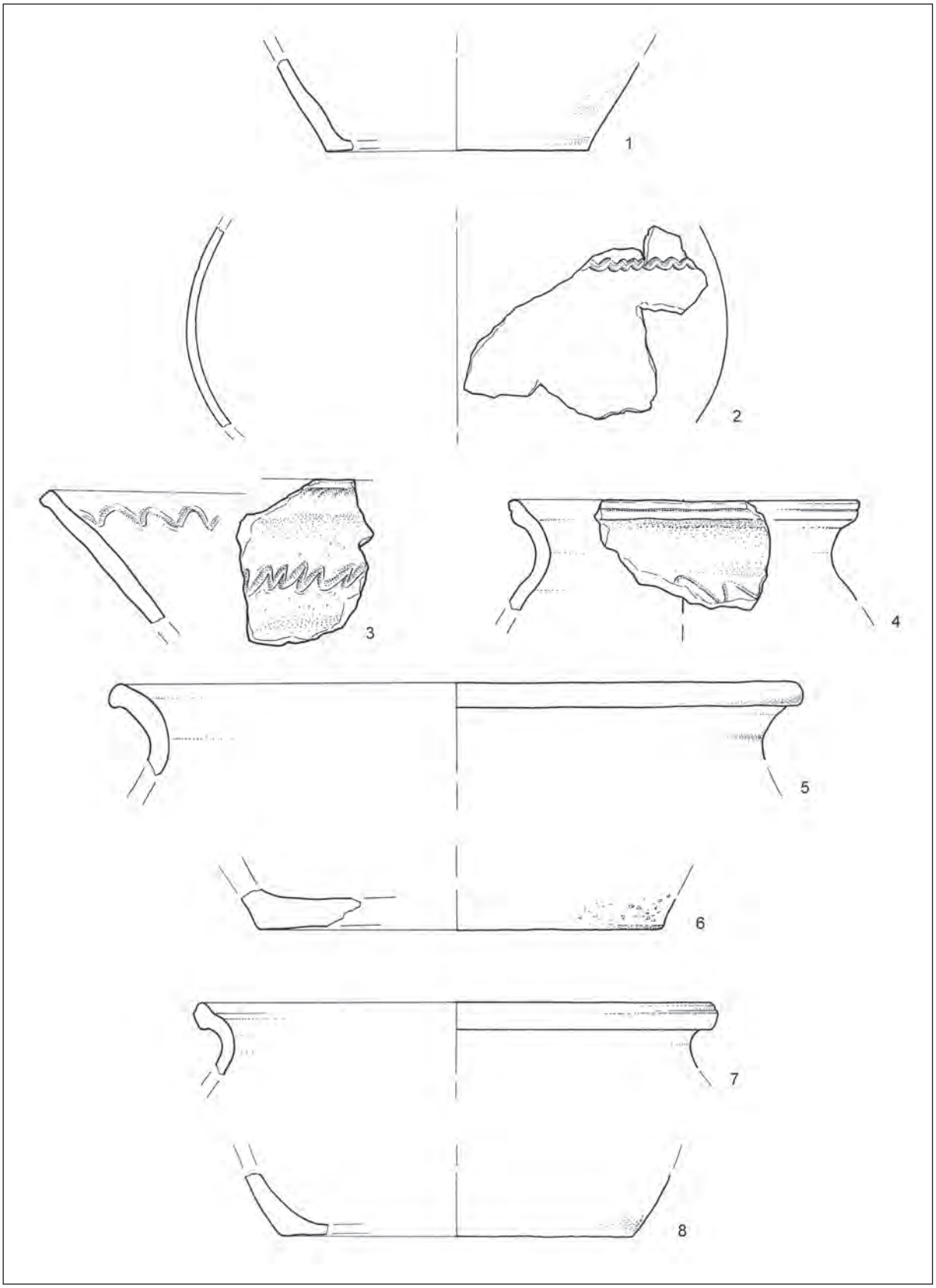
T. 8: Blejski otok, raztreseni odlomki srednjeveške lončenine.
Pl. 8: Bled Island, scattered Middle Age pottery fragments. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 46); 2 (kat. št. 47); 3 (kat. št. 48); 4 (kat. št. 49); 5 (kat. št. 50); 6 (kat. št. 51); 7 (kat. št. 58); 8 (kat. št. 63); 9 (kat. št. 66); 10 (kat. št. 68); 11 (kat. št. 79).
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: 1–6,8–10 D. Knific Lunder; 7,11 I. Murgelj



T. 9: Blejski otok, raztreseni odlomki srednjeveške lončenine.
Pl. 9: Bled Island, scattered Middle Age pottery fragments. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 90); 2 (kat. št. 91); 3 (kat. št. 92); 4 (kat. št. 93); 5 (kat. št. 94); 6 (kat. št. 95); 7 (kat. št. 96); 8 (kat. št. 97); 9 (kat. št. 98); 10 (kat. št. 99); 11 (kat. št. 100); 12 (kat. št. 101); 13 (kat. št. 102); 14 (kat. št. 103).
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: 1,3–13 D. Knific Lunder; 2,14 I. Murgelj



T. 10: Blejski otok, raztreseni odlomki srednjeveške lončenine.
Pl. 10: Bled Island, scattered Middle Age pottery fragments. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 108); 2 (kat. št. 109); 3 (kat. št. 110); 4 (kat. št. 111); 5 (kat. št. 112); 6 (kat. št. 113); 7 (kat. št. 114); 8 (kat. št. 115); 9 (kat. št. 116); 10 (kat. št. 117); 11 (kat. št. 118).
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: 1–10 D. Knific Lunder; 11 I. Murgelj



T. 11: Blejski otok, raztreseni odlomki srednjeveške lončenine.
Pl. 11: Bled Island, scattered Middle Age pottery fragments. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 122); 2 (kat. št. 123); 3 (kat. št. 147); 4 (kat. št. 148); 5 (kat. št. 150); 6 (kat. št. 156); 7 (kat. št. 162); 8 (kat. št. 164).
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: 1,3–8 D. Knific Lunder; 2 I. Murgelj

T. 12: Blejski otok, raztreseni odlomki srednjeveške lončenine (1–5) in odlomek kamnitega stebrička (6).
Pl. 12: Bled Island, scattered Middle Age pottery fragments (1–5) and fragment of stone pillar (6). [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 174); 2 (kat. št. 175); 3 (kat. št. 176); 4 (kat. št. 177); 5 (kat. št. 188); 6 (kat. št. 189).
M. / Scale = 1:2. Risba / Drawing: 1–4 D. Knific Lunder; 5,6 I. Murgelj

T. 13: Blejski otok, kamniti artefakti.
Pl. 13: Bled Island, stone artefacts. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 3); 2 (kat. št. 6); 3 (kat. št. 9); 4 (kat. št. 85); 5 (kat. št. 67); 6 (kat. št. 73); 7 (kat. št. 132); 8 (kat. št. 146); 9 (kat. št. 170); 10 (kat. št. 8); 11 (kat. št. 131).
M. / Scale = 1:1. Foto / Photo: 1–9 T. Lauko, 10,11 U. Acman

T. 14: Blejski otok, prazgodovinska (1–14) in rimskodobna keramika (15–20).
Pl. 14: Bled Island, prehistoric (1–14) and Roman period pottery (15–20). [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 30); 2 (kat. št. 31); 3 (kat. št. 59); 4 (kat. št. 75); 5 (kat. št. 77); 6 (kat. št. 76); 7 (kat. št. 136); 8 (kat. št. 137); 9 (kat. št. 138); 10 (kat. št. 139); 11 (kat. št. 141); 12 (kat. št. 143); 13 (kat. št. 149); 14 (kat. št. 151); 15 (kat. št. 159); 16 (kat. št. 4); 17 (kat. št. 62); 18 (kat. št. 155); 19 (kat. št. 158); 20 (kat. št. 165). M. / Scale = 1:2. Foto / Photo: T. Lauko

T. 15: Blejski otok, zgodnjesrednjeveški uhani, obsenčni obročki, prstani in sklenjen obroček.
Pl. 15: Bled Island, Early Middle Age earrings, temple rings, finger rings and a closed ring. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1,2 (gr. 1); 3,4 (gr. 45); 5,16 (gr. 4); 6,7 (gr. 3); 8 (kat. št. 74); 9 (gr. 34); 10 (gr. 27); 11,13 (gr. 37); 12 (gr. 49); 14 (gr. 45); 15 (gr. 111); 17 (gr. 58); 18 (gr. 75). M. / Scale = 1:1 Foto / Photo: T. Lauko

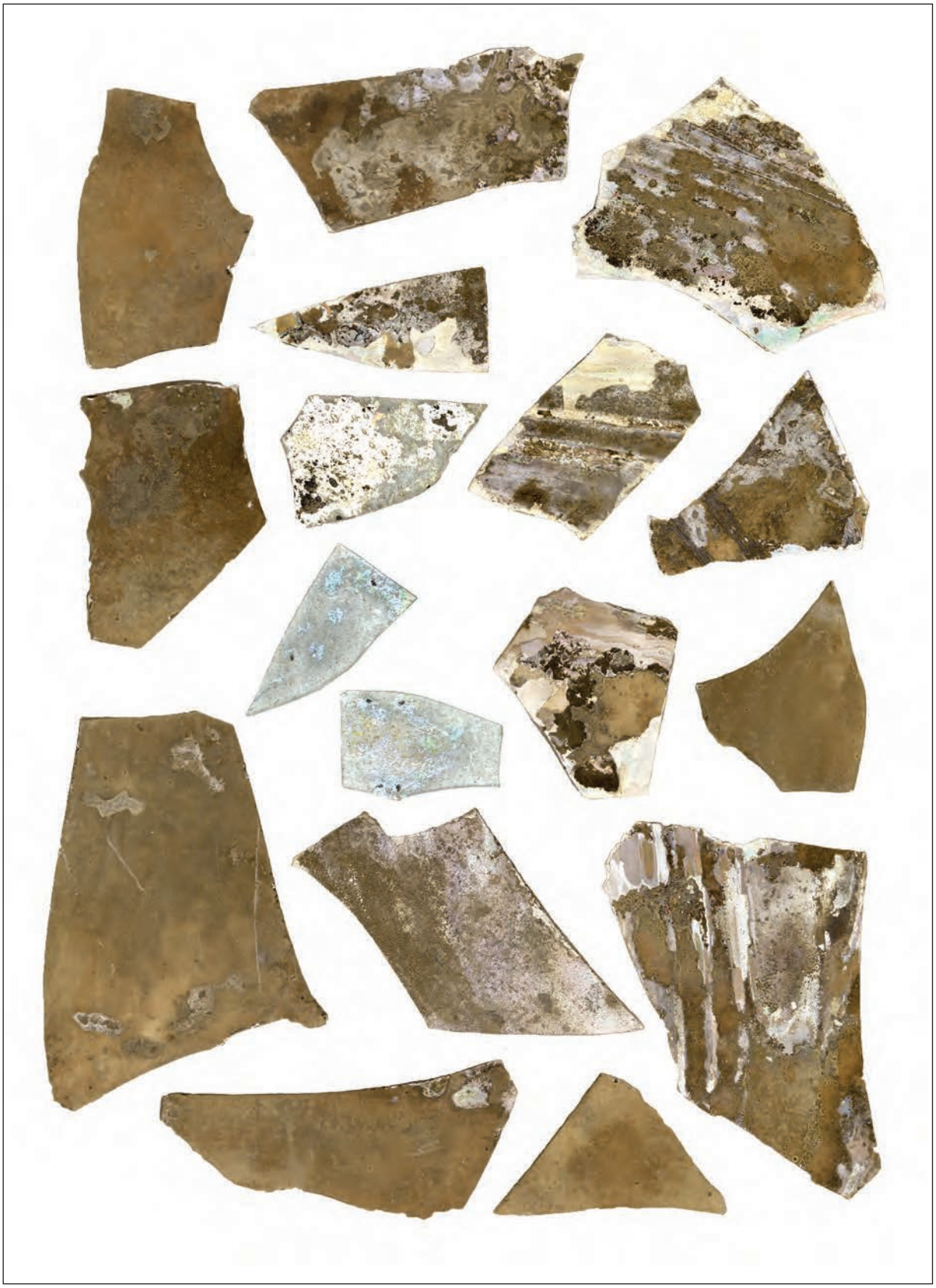
T. 16: Blejski otok, predmeti iz različnih obdobij.
Pl. 16: Bled Island, artefacts of different periods. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (gr. 16); 2 (kat. št. 2); 3 (gr. 30); 4 (gr. 54); 5 (kat. št. 24); 6 (kat. št. 120); 7 (kat. št. 64); 8 (kat. št. 40); 9 (kat. št. 39); 10 (kat. št. 42); 11 (kat. št. 44); 12 (kat. št. 121); 13 (kat. št. 119); 14 (kat. št. 130); 15 (kat. št. 163); 16 (kat. št. 169); 17 (kat. št. 84).
M. / Scale 7,17 = 1:2, drugo / other = 1:1. Foto / Photo: T. Lauko

T. 17: Blejski otok, srednjeveški železni predmeti.
Pl. 17: Bled Island, Middle Age iron artefacts. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (gr. 3*); 2 (gr. 4*); 3 (gr. 5); 4 (gr. 35); 5 (gr. 38*); 6 (gr. 41*); 7 (gr. 55); 8 (gr. 56); 9 (gr. 61*); 10 (gr. 68); 11 (gr. 69); 12 (gr. 78); 13 (kat. št. 57); 14 (kat. št. 65); 15 (kat. št. 70); 16 (kat. št. 80); 17 (kat. št. 178); 18 (kat. št. 183)
(* pred konzervacijo / before conservation. Foto / Photo: 1,2,5,6,9 S. Habič; 3,4,7,8,10–18 T. Lauko

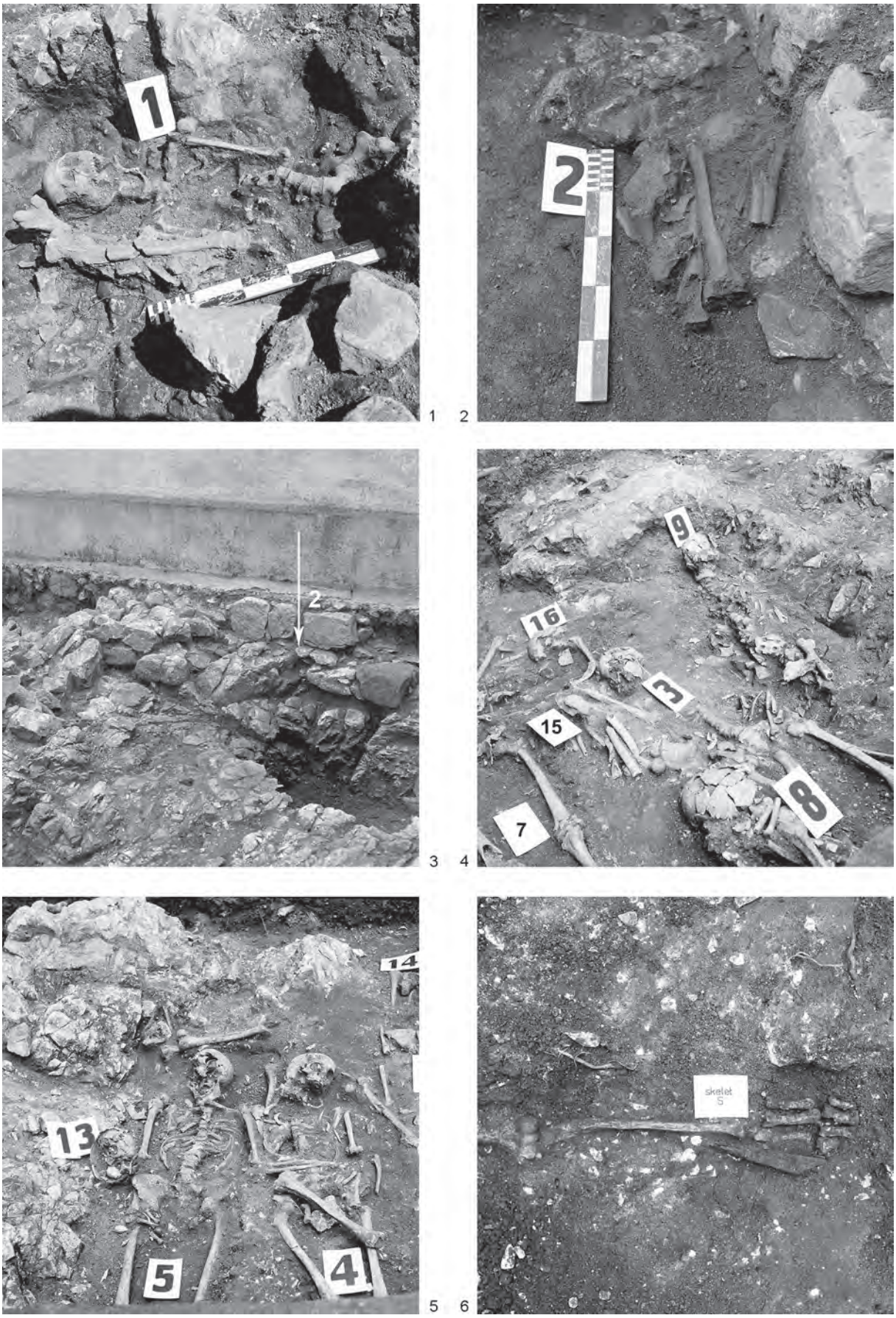
T. 18: Blejski otok, odlomki srednjeveške lončenine iz zasutja grobov (1–8) in z območja zakladne najdbe srebrnikov (9).
Pl.18: Bled Island, Middle Age pottery fragments from grave fills (1–8) and from the area of the coin hoard (9). [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 1); 2 (kat. št. 10), 3 (kat. št. 12); 4 (kat. št. 11); 5 (kat. št. 15); 6 (kat. št. 16); 7 (gr. 21); 8 (kat. št. 23); 9 (kat. št. 36).
M. / Scale = 1:2. Foto / Photo: T. Lauko

T. 19: Blejski otok, raztreseni odlomki srednjeveške lončenine.
Pl.19: Bled Island, scattered Middle Age pottery fragments. [kat. št = cat. No.]
1 (kat. št. 38); 2 (kat. št. 46), 3 (kat. št. 58); 4 (kat. št. 68); 5 (kat. št. 79); 6 (kat št. 90); 7 (kat. št. 92); 8 (kat. št. 108); 9 (kat. št. 112); 10 (kat. št. 113); 11 (kat. št. 118), 12 (kat. št. 150); 13 (kat. št. 123); 14 (kat. št. 147); 15 (kat. št. 148); 16 (kat. št. 177); 17 (kat. št. 188). M. / Scale = 1:2. Foto / Photo: T. Lauko

T. 20: Blejski otok, ostanki tkanine iz groba 68.
Pl.20: Bled Island, remains of fabric from Grave 68.
Foto / Photo: T. Lauko



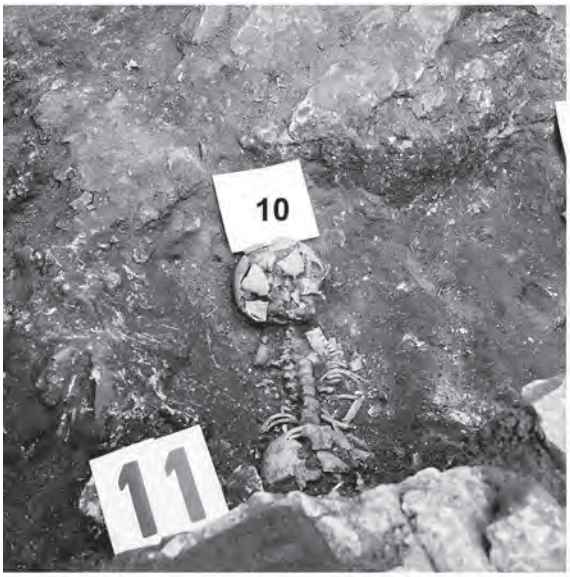
T. 21: Blejski otok, odlomki ravnega stekla (kat. št. 128).
Pl.21: Bled Island, fragments of flat glass (cat. No. 128).
Foto / Photo: T. Lauko



T. / Pl. 22: 1 (gr. 1; *neg.* 4581), 2,3 (gr. 2; *neg.* 4593, 2858), 4 (gr. 3, 7–9, 15, 16; *neg.* 4562), 5 (gr. 4, 5, 13, 14; *neg.* 4561), 6 (gr. 5; *neg.* 4777).

1

2



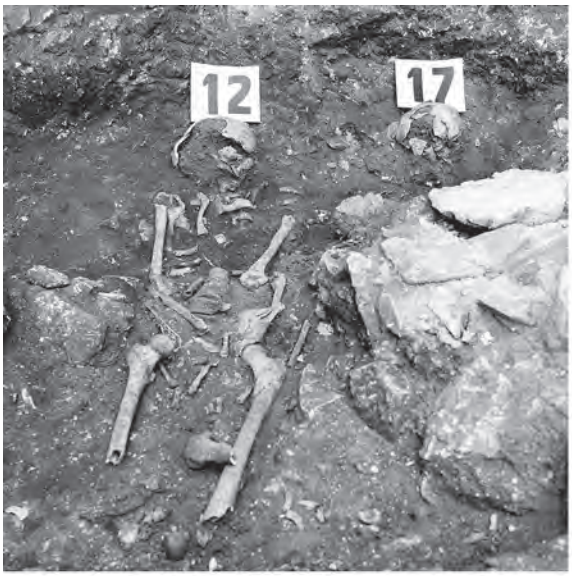
3

4

5

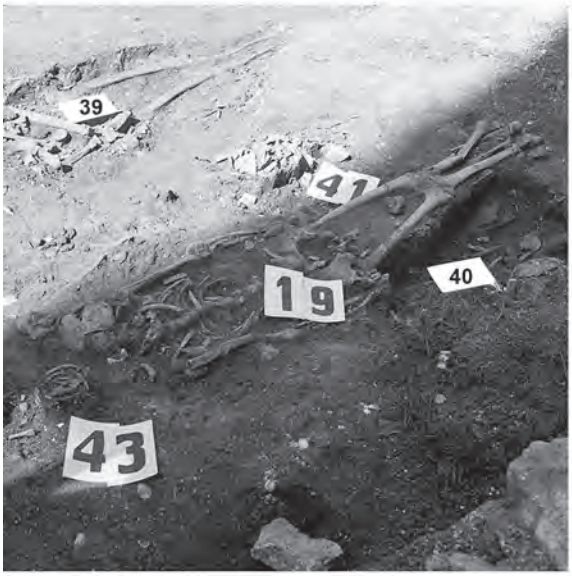
6

T. / Pl. 23: 1 (gr. 6, 7, 14; *neg.* 4560), 2 (gr. 3, 7–9, 15, 16; *neg.* 4565), 3 (gr. 10 in 11; *neg.* 4564), 4 (gr. 11 in 49; *neg.* 4502), 5,6 (gr. 12; *neg.* 4900, 4897).



1

2



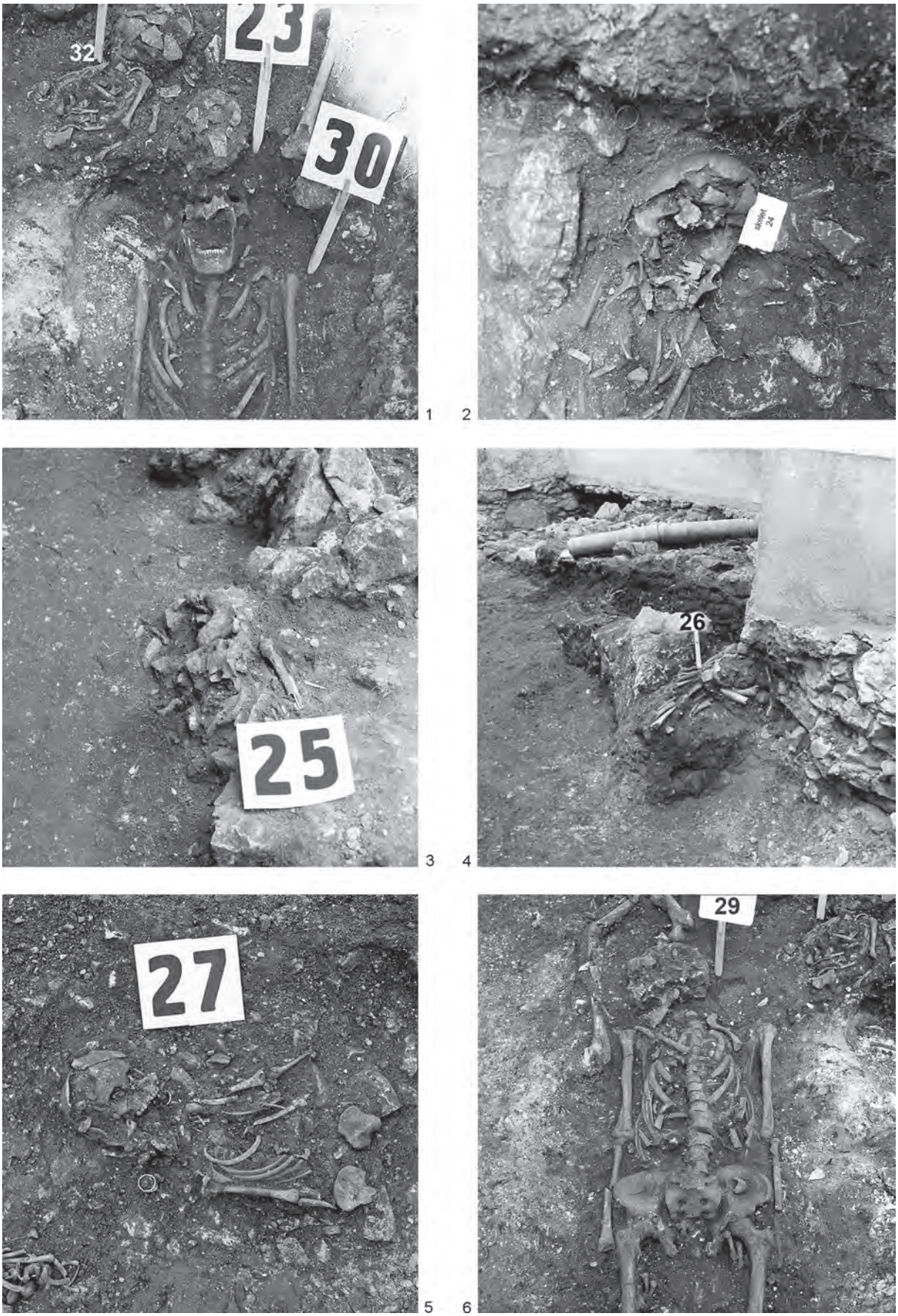
3

4

5

6

T. / Pl. 24: 1 (gr. 17; *neg.* 4563), 2 (gr. 18, 28, 40; *neg.* 4769), 3 (gr. 19; *neg.* 4556), 4 (gr. 20; *neg.* 4794), 5 (gr. 21; *neg.* 5854); 6 (gr. 22, *neg.* 5853).

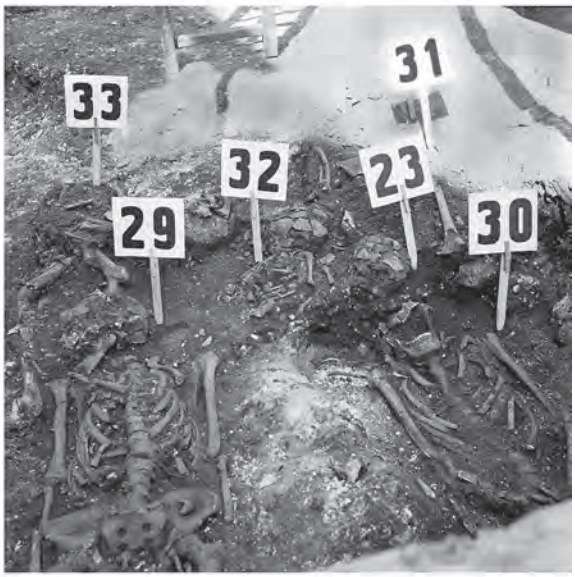


T. / Pl. 25: 1 (gr. 23, *neg.* 4613), 2 (gr. 24, *neg.* 5846), 3 (gr. 25, *neg.* 4796), 4 (gr. 26, *neg.* 8527/4), 5 (gr. 27, *neg.* 4763), 6 (gr. 29; *neg.* 4614).

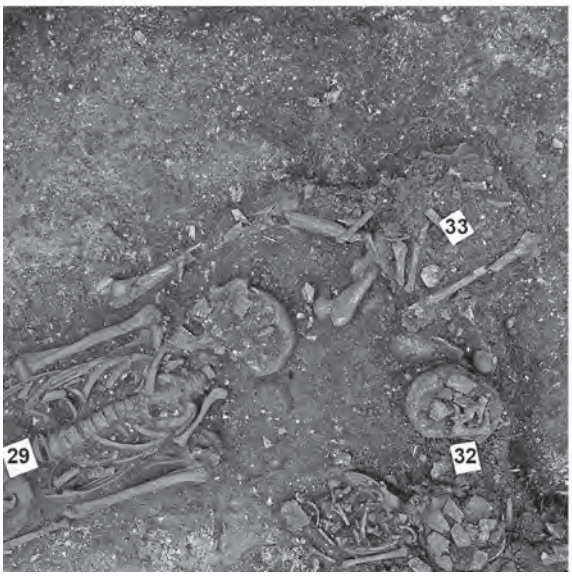
1

2

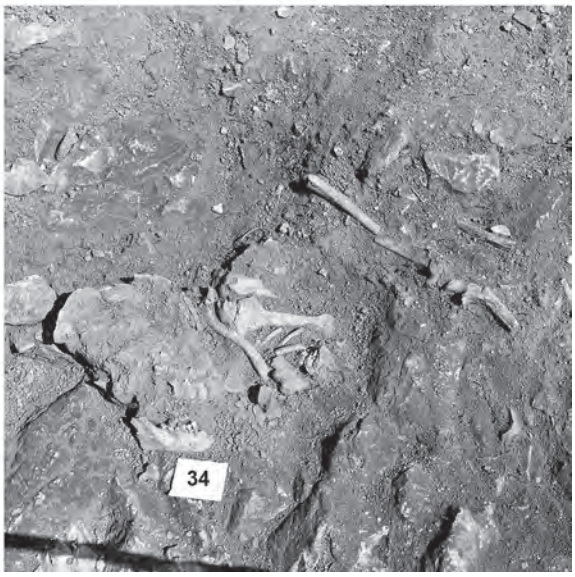
3



4



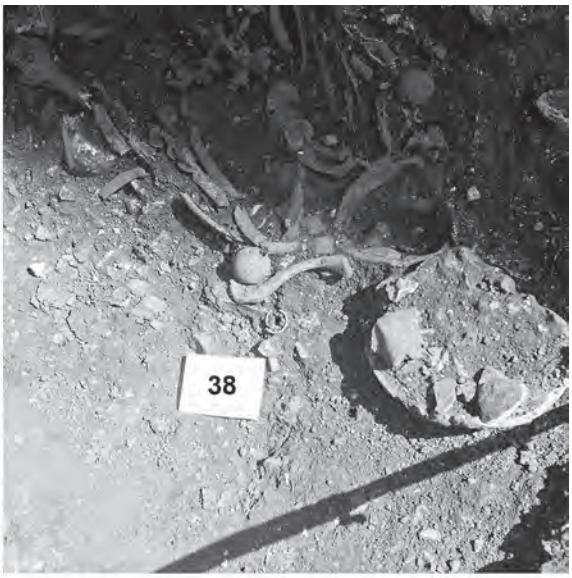
5



6

T. / Pl. 26: 1 (gr. 29, *neg.* 4616), 2 (gr. 30, *neg.* 4613), 3 (gr. 31, *neg.* 4620), 4,5 (gr. 32, *neg.* 4612, 4622), 6 (gr. 34, *neg.* 4619).

1



2

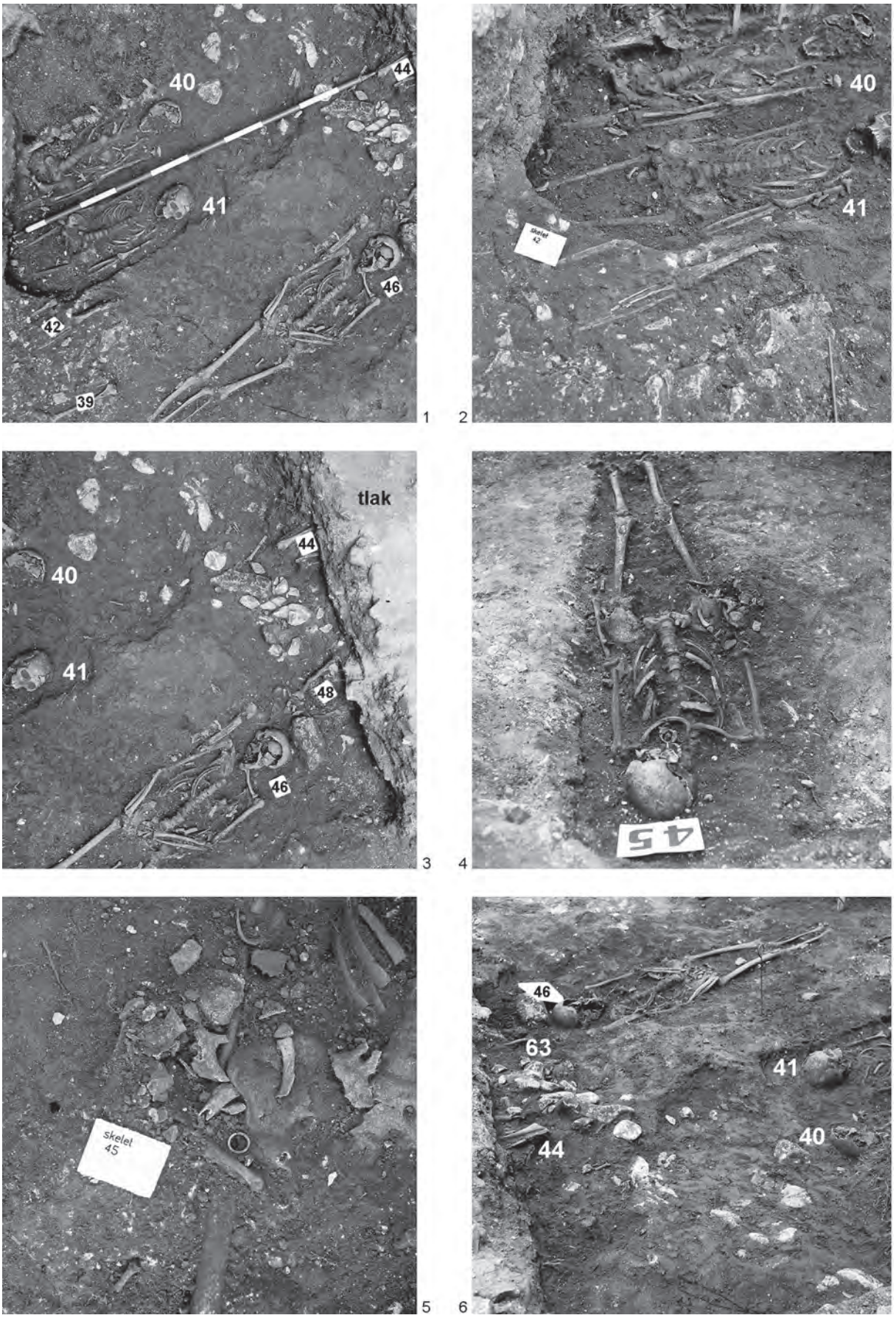
3

4

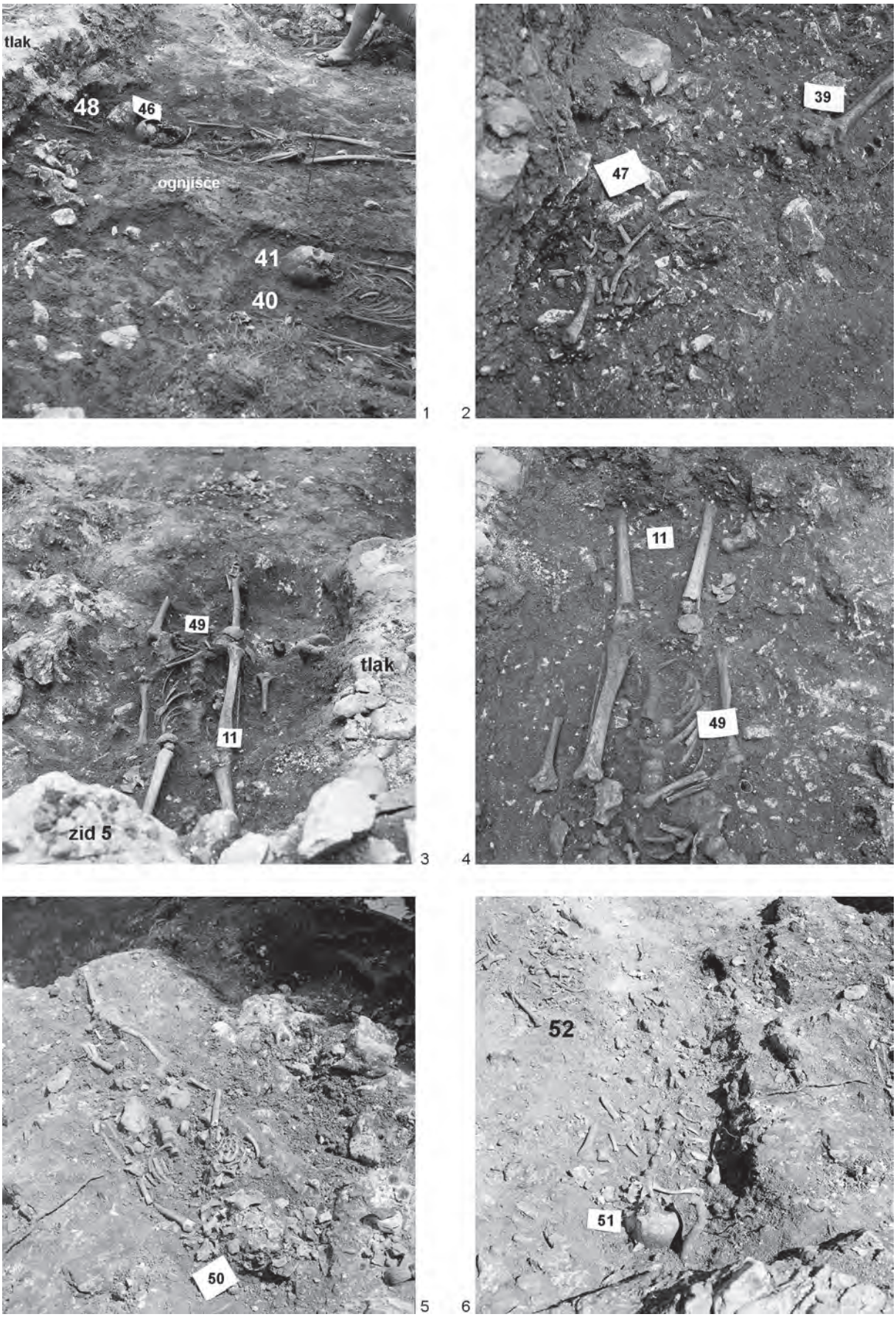
5

6

T. / Pl. 27: 1 (gr. 35, *neg.* 4553), 2,3 (gr. 38, *neg.* 4549, 4550), 4 (gr. 31, *neg.* 4552), 5,6 (gr. 40, *neg.* 4698, 4611).

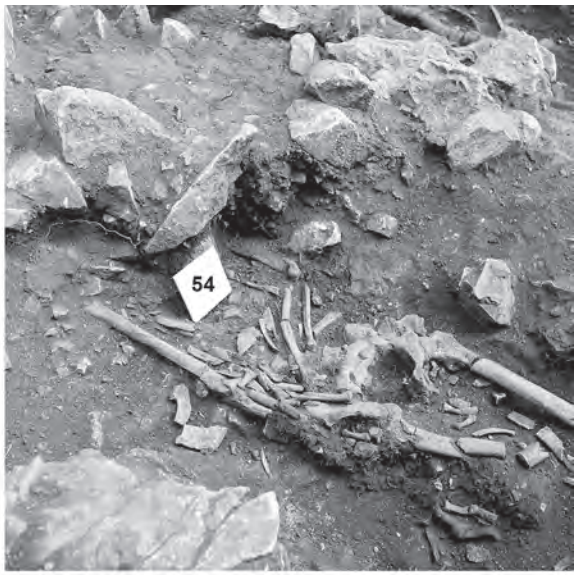


T. / Pl. 28: 1 (gr. 40, *neg.* 4506), 2 (gr. 42, *neg.* 4706), 3 (gr. 44, *neg.* 4508), 4,5 (gr. 45, *neg.* 4559, 4555), 6 (gr. 46, *neg.* 4699).



T. / Pl. 29: 1 (gr. 46, *neg.* 4700), 2 (gr. 47, *neg.* 4702), 3,4 (gr. 49, *neg.* 4500, 4510), 5 (gr. 50, *neg.* 4503), 6 (gr. 51, *neg.* 4504).

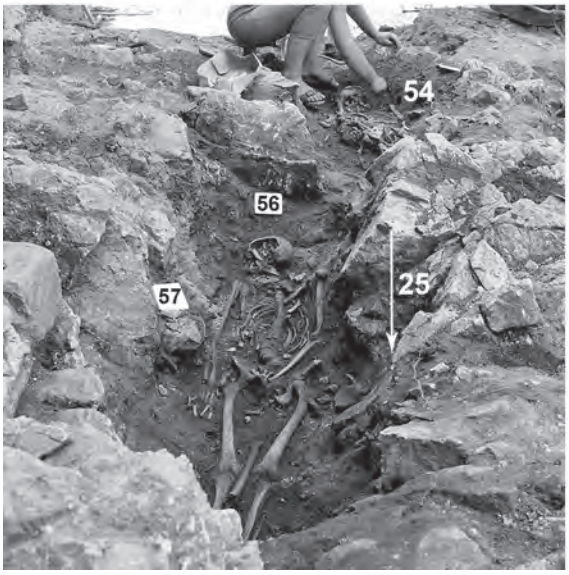
1



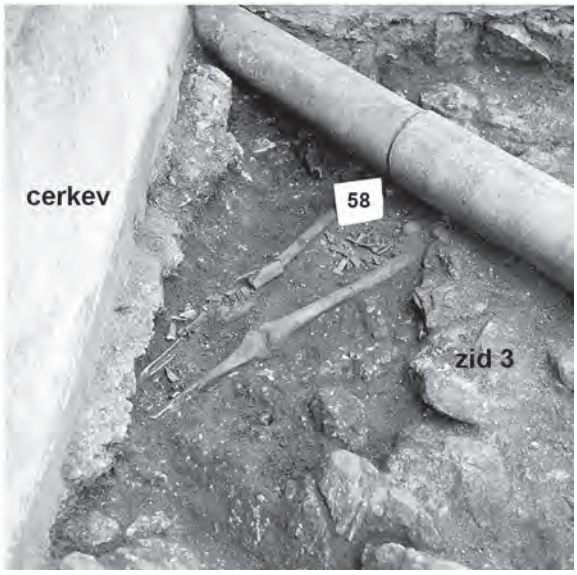
2

3

4

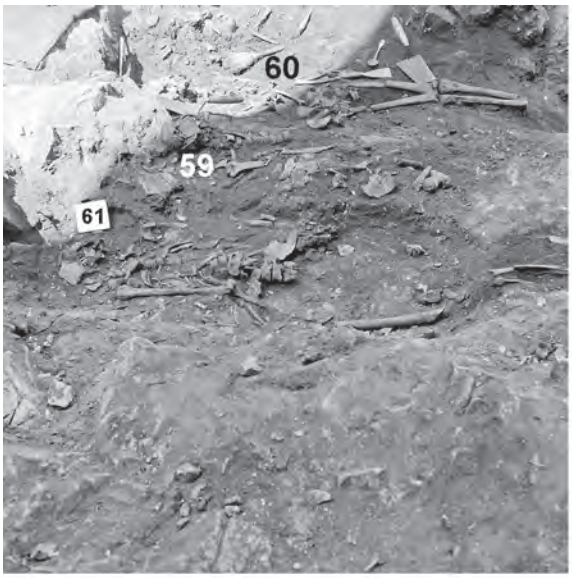


5

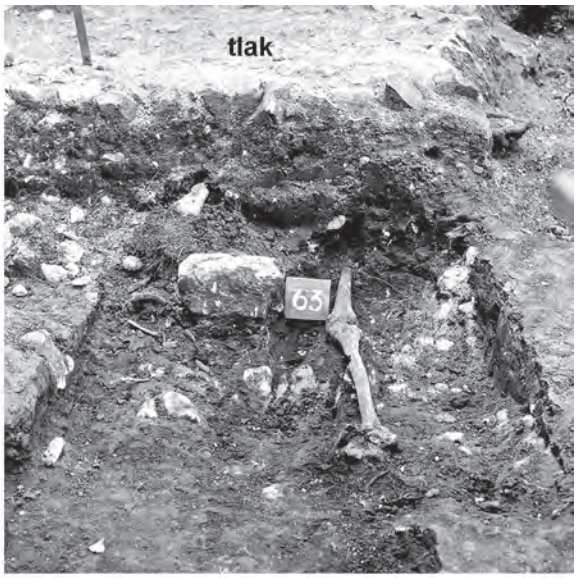


6

T. / Pl. 30: 1 (gr. 52, *neg.* 4511), 2 (gr. 54, *neg.* 4666), 3 (gr. 55, *neg.* 4668), 4 (gr. 56, *neg.* 4664b), 5 (gr. 56, *neg.* 4664a), 6 (gr. 58, *neg.* 4670).



1



2

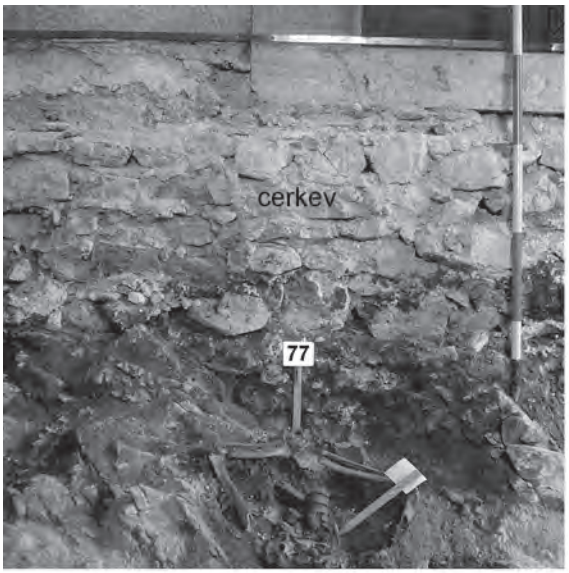
3

4

5

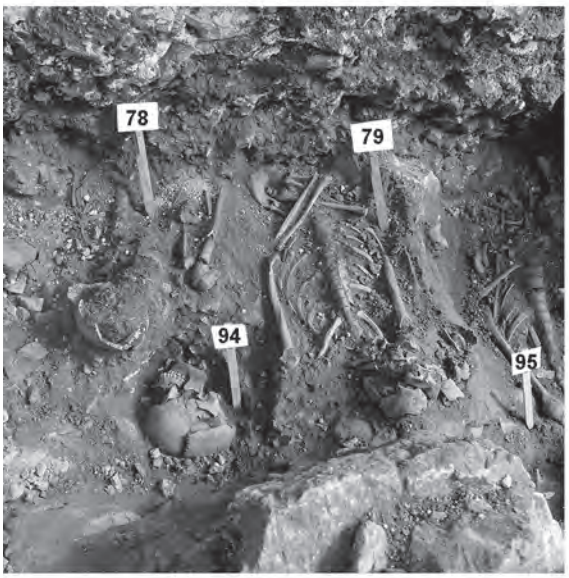
6

T. / Pl. 31: 1 (gr. 59, *neg.* 4719), 2 (gr. 63, *neg.* 4720), 3 (gr. 65, *neg.* 4854), 4 (gr. 67, *neg.* 2885), 5 (gr. 69, *neg.* 4435), 6 (gr. 72, *neg.* 4485).

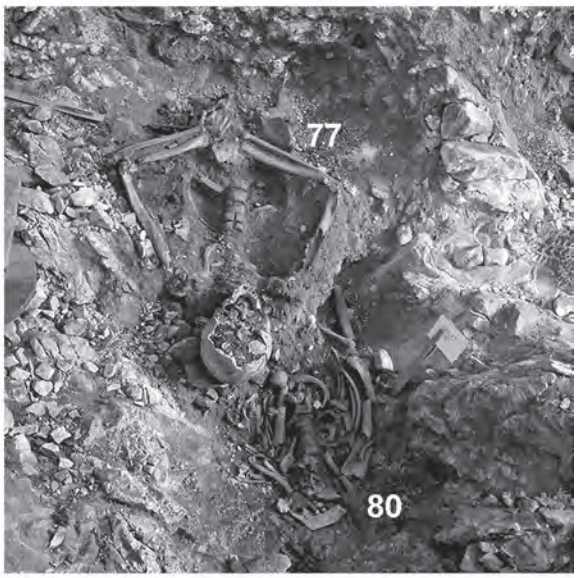


1

2



3

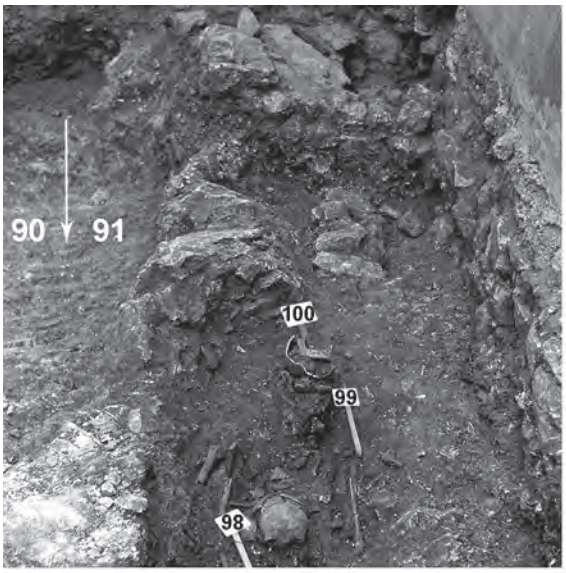


4

5

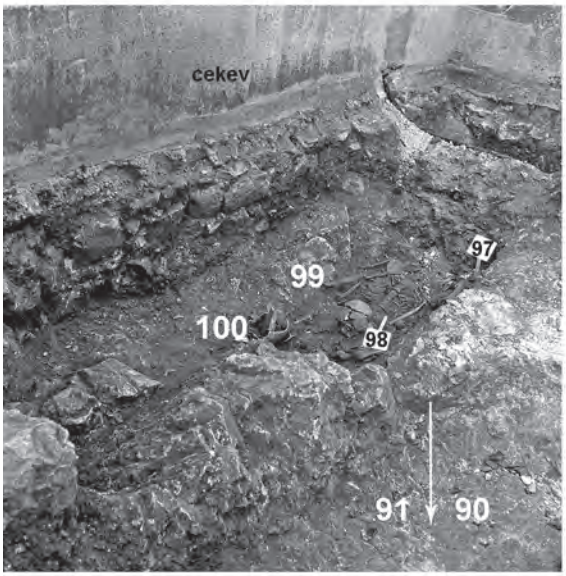
6

T. / Pl. 32: 1,2 (gr. 77, *neg.* 2826, 2851), 3 (gr. 78, *neg.* 4452), 4 (gr. 80, *neg.* 4449), 5 (gr. 81, *neg.* 4451), 6 (gr. 87, *neg.* 2849).



1

2



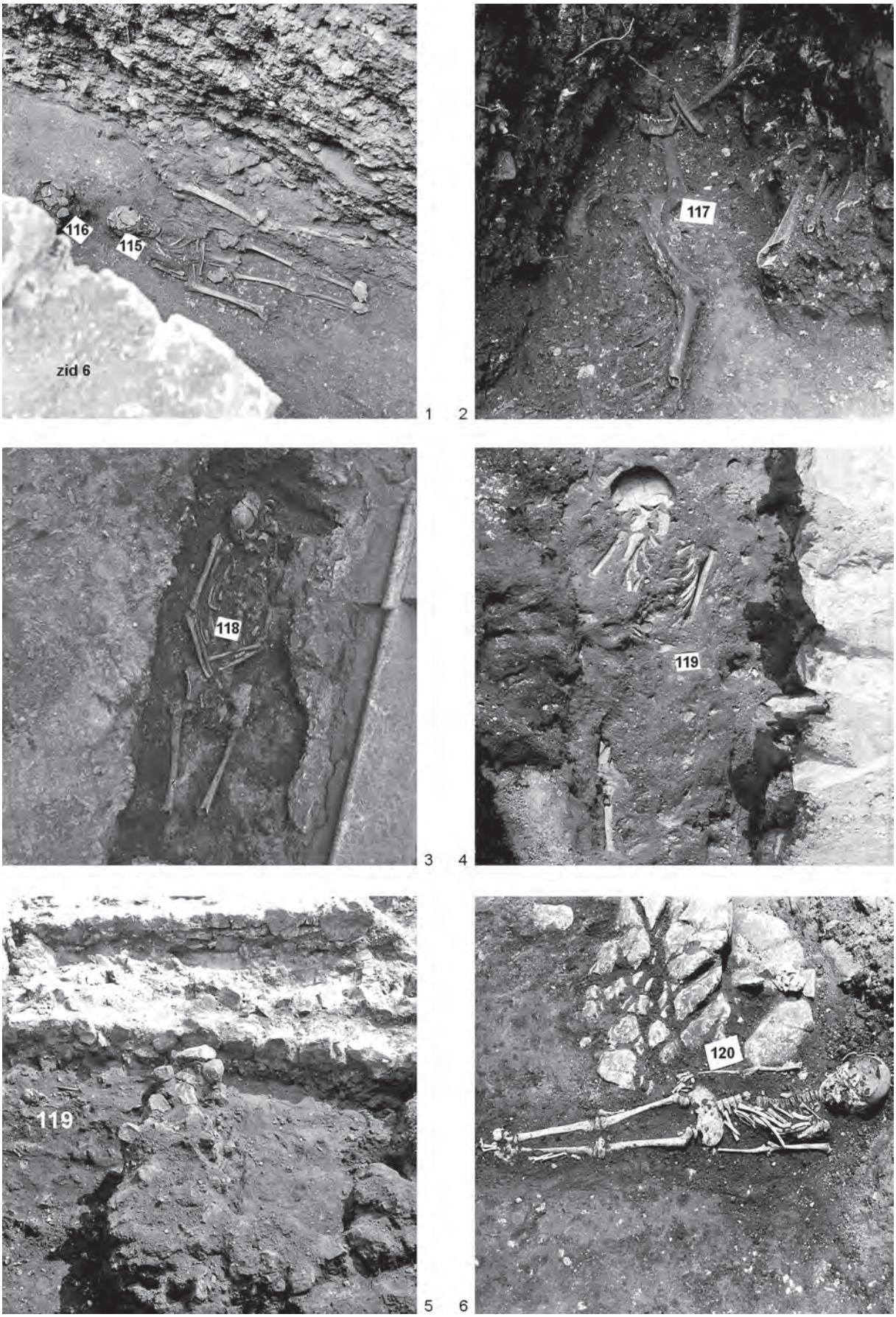
3

4

5

6

T. / Pl. 33: 1 (gr. 91, *neg.* 4731), 2 (gr. 95, *neg.* 4453), 3 (gr. 97, *neg.* 4730), 4 (gr. 109, *neg.* 8484/4), 5 (gr. 110, *neg.* 8525/4), 6 (gr. 111, *neg.* 4599).



T. / Pl. 34: 1 (gr. 115, *neg.* 4593), 2 (gr. 117, *neg.* 8492/4), 3 (gr. 118, *neg.* 5808), 4,5 (gr. 119, *neg.* 8515/2, 8515/5), 6 (gr. 120, *neg.* 5943).

SEZNAM AVTORJEV

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Polona Bitenc
Narodni muzej Slovenije
Prešernova 20
1000 Ljubljana
polona.bitenc@nms.si

Timotej Knific
Podgorska cesta 34
SI-1210 Ljubljana–Šentvid
timotej.knific@nms.si

Petra Leben-Seljak
Dobračevska ulica 44
SI-4226 Žiri
petra.leben-seljak@guest.arnes.si

Zvezdana Modrijan
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU
Inštitut za arheologijo
Novi trg 2
SI-1000 Ljubljana
zvezdana.modrijan@zrc-sazu.si

Andrej Pletrski
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU
Inštitut za arheologijo
Novi trg 2
SI-1000 Ljubljana
pleterski@zrc-sazu.si

Benjamin Štular
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU
Inštitut za arheologijo
Novi trg 2
SI-1000 Ljubljana
bstular@zrc-sazu.si

Blejski otok. Načrt grobišča. Svetlo sivo so označeni zidovi sedanje cerkve. M. = 1 : 200 (avtor B. Štular).
Bled Island. Cemetery plan. Walls of the present-day church are marked light grey. Scale 1 : 200 (by B. Štular).

Založba ZRC
http://zalozba.zrc-sazu.si
ZRC Publishing

42 €