

MANJŠA RIMSKA NASELJA NA SLOVENSKEM PROSTORU

MINOR ROMAN SETTLEMENTS IN SLOVENIA

Uredniki / Edited by:
Jana Horvat
Irena Lazar
Andrej Gaspari



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PREDGOVOR / PREFACE

Monografija je posvečena manjšim rimskim naseljem, ki ležijo na območju današnje Slovenije. Gre za prehodni in geografsko raznolik prostor, na katerega so segale tri velike upravne enote rimske države: Italija ter provinci Norik in Zgornja Panonija.

Strnjena naselja, ki jih predstavljamo, so po velikosti in pomenu vmesni člen med avtonomnimi mesti in razpršeno poselitvijo podeželja, katere osnova so bile vile rustike. V zadnjih desetletjih je arheologija z velikimi zaščitnimi izkopavanji pridobila obsežne in pomembne nove podatke o tovrstnih naseljih, ki pa do zdaj večinoma še niso bili poglobljeno analizirani in objavljeni. Potreba po zbranem vedenju se je npr. izrazito pokazala v sodelovanju z mednarodno skupino *Adriaticum mare* pri projektu Informatiziranega atlasa antičnega Jadrana (*AdriAtlas*). Tri ustanove, Inštitut za arheologijo Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Inštitut za arheologijo in dediščino Fakultete za humanistične študije Univerze na Primorskem ter Oddelek za arheologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, so leta 2015 dale pobudo, da bi vedenje o manjših naseljih zbrali, ustrezno ovrednotili in dvignili na višjo raven.

Delo je dozorelo v štirih letih. Šestindvajset avtorjev prihaja iz različnih ustanov, od univerz, raziskovalnih inštitutov in muzejev do Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, ali pa gre za posameznike, ki delujejo kot samostojni raziskovalci. V samostojnih poglavjih predstavljajo dvajset naselij različnega tipa in stopnje raziskanosti. Avtorji so najboljši poznavalci oziroma aktivni raziskovalci najdišč, ki jih obravnavajo. Prav za potrebe monografije so se poglobili v primarno dokumentacijo novejših raziskav in poročila, v drobno gradivo in razpršene starejše objave. Zgoščene predstavitve naselij bolj ali manj sledijo skupnemu konceptu. Podatki so umeščeni v prostor, podprti s kartami in načrti, vsebinsko primerljivi in jasno ovrednoteni. Vsako poglavje vsebuje podatke o legi naselja in njegovem antičnem imenu, kratko zgodovino raziskav, morebitno obljudenost lokacije v prazgodovini, predstavitev antičnih literarnih virov in epigrafskih spomenikov. Osrednji del je usmerjen v pregled arheoloških ostankov rimske

The book discusses the minor settlements that dotted the territory of present-day Slovenia in the Roman period. This geographically diverse territory was crossed by important lines of communication and divided between three large administrative units of the Roman state: Italy and the provinces of Noricum and Upper Pannonia.

The compact minor settlements represent a link, in both size and significance, between the autonomous towns and the dispersed settlement of the countryside with countryside villas as its backbone. In recent decades, the large-scale rescue excavations across Slovenia have yielded vast and important data on these minor settlements, though they have for the most part not yet been analysed in detail and published. Clearly, there is a great desire for the information these excavations brought to light, but the consequent knowledge became even more desirable during the collaboration with the international *Adriaticum Mare* group on the *AdriAtlas* or *Computerised Atlas of the Antique Adriatic* project. In 2015, three institutions in Slovenia (Institute of Archaeology ZRC SAZU; Institute for Archaeology and Heritage, Faculty of Humanities, University of Primorska; Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana) came together with the shared goal of advancing our knowledge on the minor Roman settlements in Slovenia by appropriately analysing and evaluating the data, new and old.

The book is the result of four years of work and research. Twenty-six authors wrote contributions on individual settlements. They come from different institutions – both universities, research institutes, museums, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia – and from the ranks of independent researchers, and present twenty settlements of different types and degrees of investigation in separate chapters. The authors are either those with the most in-depth knowledge on a specific site or those who actively investigated it. For the purposes of this book, they examined the excavation records and reports, the recovered small finds and different earlier publications, and presented their results in a comprehensive and clear manner roughly following

dobe: v topografijo, infrastrukturo, stavbe, grobišča in premične ostanke posebnega pomena. Sledijo podatki o statusu naselja, o družbenem položaju posameznih prebivalcev, njihovih administrativnih ali vojaških funkcijah, poklicih in etnični pripadnosti. Poglavje zaokroža oris zgodovinskega razvoja naselja.

Želimo si, da bi delo omogočilo primerjave med posameznimi naselji, da se bodo razjasnila nekatera vprašanja o njihovem gospodarskem in družbenem pomenu ter o njihovi vlogi v poselitveni sliki širšega prostora med Jadranom in Donavo. Predvsem pa si želimo, da bi spodbudilo nove analize in objave gradiva ter bilo z njimi kmalu preseženo.

Radi bi se zahvalili mnogim. Najprej Francisu Tassauxu iz Bordeauxa, duši združenja Adriaticum mare, za prijazno spodbudo. Poleg obeh glavnih recenzentov, Janeza Dularja in Ivana Šprajca, so h kakovosti posameznih besedil mnogo pripomogli številni kolegi, s katerimi so se posvetovali avtorji ali uredniki. Mateja Belak, Andreja Dolenc Vičič, Dragotin Valoh in Tamara Korošec (vsi ZRC SAZU – Inštitut za arheologijo) so poskrbeli za enotno podobo knjige. Prevodi v angleščino so delo Mete Osredkar, Andreje Maver, Gregorja Pobežina in Lucije Jelenko.

Jana Horvat, Irena Lazar, Andrej Gaspari

a common concept. The information they obtained is located in space, illustrated with maps and plans, clearly conveyed and properly evaluated. The presentation of each settlement opens with its location and name in Antiquity, possible habitation traces from prehistory, mentions in ancient literary texts and documents, and recovered epigraphic evidence. The next, main part offers an overview of the archaeological remains from the Roman period: topography, infrastructure, buildings, cemeteries and portable remains of particular significance. This is followed by the information on the status of a settlement, social standing of its inhabitants, their administrative or military functions, as well as professional or ethnical background. All is brought together in an outline of the historical development of each settlement.

It is our wish and aim that the information in this book enables and incites comparisons between individual sites in order to shed light on certain issues pertaining to their economic and social role in the settlement of the wider area between the Adriatic and the Danube. Even more importantly, it is our wish that the book would serve as a stepping stone for further research and better knowledge on the subject.

The book is a result of a concerted effort of authors and numerous other individuals. First of all, our thanks go to Francis Tassaux from Bordeaux, the soul of the Adriaticum Mare Association, for his kind incentive. In addition to the two main peer reviewers, Janez Dular and Ivan Šprajc, numerous colleagues shared their knowledge and offered professional advice to both the authors and the editors. Mateja Belak, Andreja Dolenc Vičič, Dragotin Valoh and Tamara Korošec (all ZRC SAZU – Institute of Archaeology) made sure that the book of numerous contributions functions as a whole. Meta Osredkar, Andreja Maver, Gregor Pobežin and Lucija Jelenko translated the contributions into English.

Jana Horvat, Irena Lazar, Andrej Gaspari

ULAKA

Andrej GASPARI



Izvleček

Bistvene podatke o naselbini na Ulaki so dala izkopavanja W. Schmida med letoma 1936 in 1940 ter zračno lasersko skeniranje površja po letu 2010. Naselbina je bila bolj ali manj kontinuirano poseljena od začetka starejše železne dobe do 5. st. n. št.

Gradišču s slabo ohranjenim obzidjem in s tremi prepoznavnimi vhodi pripadata plano grobišče severno od vršnega platoja in gomilna nekropola na južnih pobočjih. Pridatki iz grobov kažejo na razcvet v razvitem in mlajšem halštatu (od 7. do 5./4. st. pr. n. št.). Predmeti iz 2./1. st. pr. n. št. z območja gradišča so značilni za mlajšeželeznodobno notranjsko-kraško skupino, odražajo pa tudi stike s Tavriski, Japodi in z italjskim prostorom.

Rimski vojaški tabor na sosednjem Nadleškem hribu ter okop severozahodno od gradišča na Ulaki s sledovi spopada pričajo o rimskem obleganju v Cezarjevem ali Oktavijanovem času. Druga faza tabora na Nadleškem hribu sodi v avgustejsko obdobje in je verjetno povezana z nadzorom naselbine na Ulaki. Najpozneje v sredini 1. st. n. št. se Ulaka razvije v urejeno naselje z nizi stavb, ki se koncentrično širijo okoli osrednjega nepozidanega prostora. Prevladujejo (pol)vkopane stavbe s kamnitimi temelji in leseno nadgradnjo. Gospodarsko osnovo predstavljajo kovaške in lončarske delavnice. Izrazit višek doživi naselbina med drugo tretjino in koncem 2. oz. začetkom 3. st. Ponoven vzpon v sredini in drugi polovici 4. st. nakazuje sodelovanje prebivalcev oziroma posadke v logistični podpori delovanja obrambnega sistema *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*.

Ključne besede: Italija (10. regija), Ulaka, Nadleški hrib, mlajša železna doba, rimsko obdobje, naselbina, gradišče, vojaški tabor, obleganje, železarstvo, kovačnice, predelava bron, lončarstvo, orodje

Abstract

The essential data about the settlement on Ulaka comes from the excavation conducted by Schmid in 1936–1940, and from airborne laser scanning performed after the year 2010. The settlement was more or less continuously occupied from the beginning of the Early Iron Age to the 5th century AD.

The hillfort with a poorly preserved rampart and three identifiable entrances also had a flat cemetery north of the top plateau and a barrow necropolis on the southern slopes. Grave goods indicate a period of flourishing in the developed and late Hallstatt periods (from the 7th to the 5th/4th centuries BC). Second- and first-century artefacts from the area of the hillfort are typical of the Late Iron Age Notranjska-Kras Group, suggesting contacts with the tribes of Taurisci and Iapodes, as well as with the Italic area.

A Roman military camp on the neighbouring hill of Nadleški hrib and a rampart northwest of the hillfort Ulaka with traces of armed conflict attest to a Roman siege in the time of Caesar or Octavianus. The second phase of the fort on Nadleški hrib belongs to the Augustan period and is probably related to the control of the settlement on Ulaka. No later than in the middle of the 1st century, Ulaka became an orderly settlement with concentric rows of buildings around the central unbuild area. The prevailing type of buildings are (semi-) sunken houses with stone foundations and wooden superstructures. The economy was based on smithies and pottery workshops. The settlement reached a substantial peak between the second third of the 2nd century and the end of the 2nd / beginning of the 3rd century. A resurgence in the middle and second half of the 4th century suggests that the inhabitants or the garrison participated in the logistic support of the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* defence system.

Keywords: Italy (Regio X), Ulaka, Nadleški hrib, Late Iron Age, Roman period, settlement, hillfort, military camp, siege, iron working, smithy, bronze working, pottery, tools



Sl. 1: Geografsko-prometna lega Ulake v rimskem obdobju (podlaga: ©ARSO, 2018).

Fig. 1: Geographic-traffic position of Ulaka in the Roman period (base layer: © Slovenian Environment Agency, 2018).

GEOGRAFSKO-PROMETNA LEGA

Kopasta vzpetina z zanimivim imenom Ulaka, na kateri ležijo ostanki prazgodovinske in rimske naselbine, se dviga nad naseljem Stari trg pri Ložu na severozahodnem robu Loške doline, z vseh strani zaprtega kraškega polja s precej ravnim, deloma poplavnim dnom, ki ga obdajajo visoke planote od Blok in Racne gore na severu in vzhodu do masiva Snežnika in Javornikov na jugu in zahodu.¹

Loška dolina je nekoliko odmaknjena od glavnih poznoprazgodovinskih in antičnih prometnih koridorjev v zaledju severnega Jadrana, zato sta kontinuirana poselitev in vitalnost naselbine na Ulaki, ki kažeta na njen središčni značaj, verjetno povezana z lego na stičišču večih poti. Med njimi sta pomembnejši t. i. Japodska cesta, ki je iz smeri Tergesta prek Divače, doline Pivke in Javornikov čez Loško dolino, Babno polje in Prezid vodila proti povirju Kolpe, Gorskemu kotarju in Liki, ter pravokotno nanjo potekajoča pot iz smeri Ljubljane

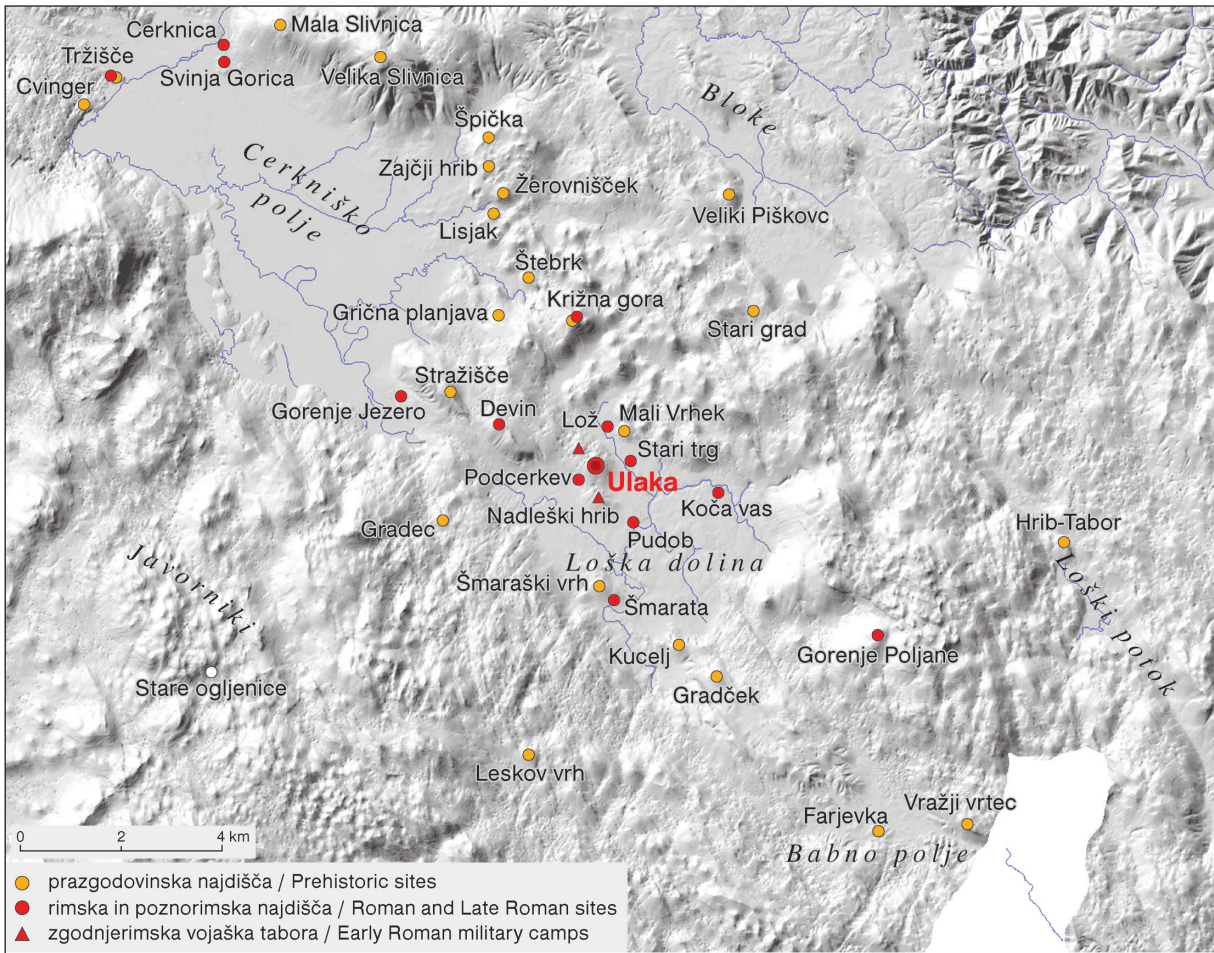
GEOGRAPHIC AND TRAFFIC POSITION

The domed elevation of Ulaka, with the remains of a prehistoric and Roman settlement rises above the present-day settlement of Stari trg pri Ložu at the northwestern edge of the valley of Loška dolina, a karst polje with a relatively flat, partially flooded bottom, surrounded on all sides by high plateaus: from the Bloke plateau and Racna gora on the north and east, to the Snežnik massive and the Javorniki on the south and west.¹

Loška dolina is slightly remote from the main late Prehistoric and Roman transport corridors in the hinterland of the northern Adriatic, and the continuous occupation and vitality of the settlement on Ulaka, which suggest its central character, are probably related to its position at the crossroads of several routes. The two major ones are the so-called Iapodic Route, which led from the direction of Tergeste across Divača, the valley of Pivka, and the mountain range of Javorniki to Loška dolina, and then across Babno polje and Prezid towards the upper stream of the

¹ Habič 1977.

¹ Habič 1977.



Sl. 2: Jugovzhodni del Notranjskega podolja s Cerkniskim poljem in Loško dolino ter označenimi najdišči, omenjenimi v besedilu (podlaga: ©ARSO, 2018).

Fig. 2: Southeastern part of Notranjsko podolje with Cerknisko polje and Loška dolina, with marked sites, mentioned in the text (base layer: © Slovenian Environment Agency, 2018).

čez Golo, Rob, Lužarje, Metulje, Stari trg, Dane in preval Stare ogljenice (997 m) na Javornikih proti Kvarnerskemu zalivu (sl. 1; 2). Ta trasa je le nekaj kilometrov severno od Loške doline prečkala povezavo, ki se je od transkontinentalne komunikacije med Apeninskim polotokom in Podonavjem čez t. i. Iliro-italska vrata odcepila v osrednjem delu Notranjskega podolja pri Uncu in nato ob severnem robu Cerkniskega polja in čez Bloke vodila v dolino Krke ter naprej proti južno-panonskemu prostoru.²

TOPOGRAFSKI ORIS

Središčno vlogo je naselbini zagotavljala lega na grebenu, ki se od Devina (792 m) oziroma Velikega (785 m) in Malega grebena (762 m) prek položnejšega hrpta Ulake (675 m) in nadaljevanja v nekoliko nižjem

² Premerstein, Rutar 1899; Šašel 1975a, 75, 96; Ciglenečki 1985; Laharnar 2013, sl. 12.

Kolpa river, Gorski kotar, and Lika; and the perpendicular route from the direction of Ljubljana across Golo, Rob, Lužarji, Metulje, Stari trg, Dane, and the Stare ogljenice pass (997 m) in the Javorniki towards the Kvarner Gulf (Figs. 1; 2). Just a few kilometres north of Loška dolina, the latter route crossed the route that branched off from the transcontinental artery between the Appeninne Peninsula and the Danube region across the so-called Illyrian-Italic Gate and turned near Unec in the central part of the Notranjsko podolje plain, then led along the northern edge of Cerknisko polje and across the Bloke plateau to the valley of the Krka and towards the southern Pannonian territory.²

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

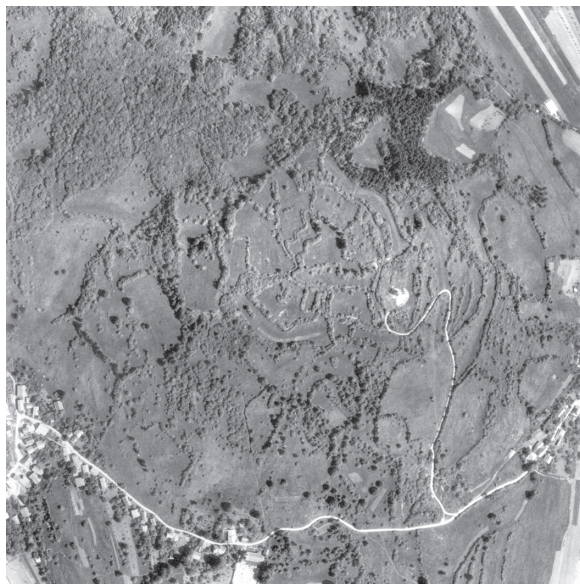
The central role of the settlement was due to its position on the ridge that runs from Devin (792 m),

² Premerstein, Rutar 1899; Šašel 1975a, 75, 96; Ciglenečki 1985; Laharnar 2013, Fig. 12.



Sl. 3: Ulaka, leto 1998. Pogled proti severu. V ospredju Podcerkev s sv. Martinom, v ozadju severni del Loškega polja in naselji Stari trg in Lož.

Fig. 3: Ulaka, in 1998. View towards the north. In the foreground the village of Podcerkev with the church of St Martin; in the background the northern part of the Loško polje and the settlements of Stari trg and Lož.



Sl. 4: Ulaka, leto 1966 (© Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

Fig. 4: Ulaka, in 1966 (© Surveying and Mapping Authority of Republic of Slovenia).

Nadleškem hribu (642 m) zajeda v ravnino Loškega polja (okoli 570 m) ter ga z nasproti ležečim Šmaraškim vrhom (646 m) deli na dva dela (sl. 2).

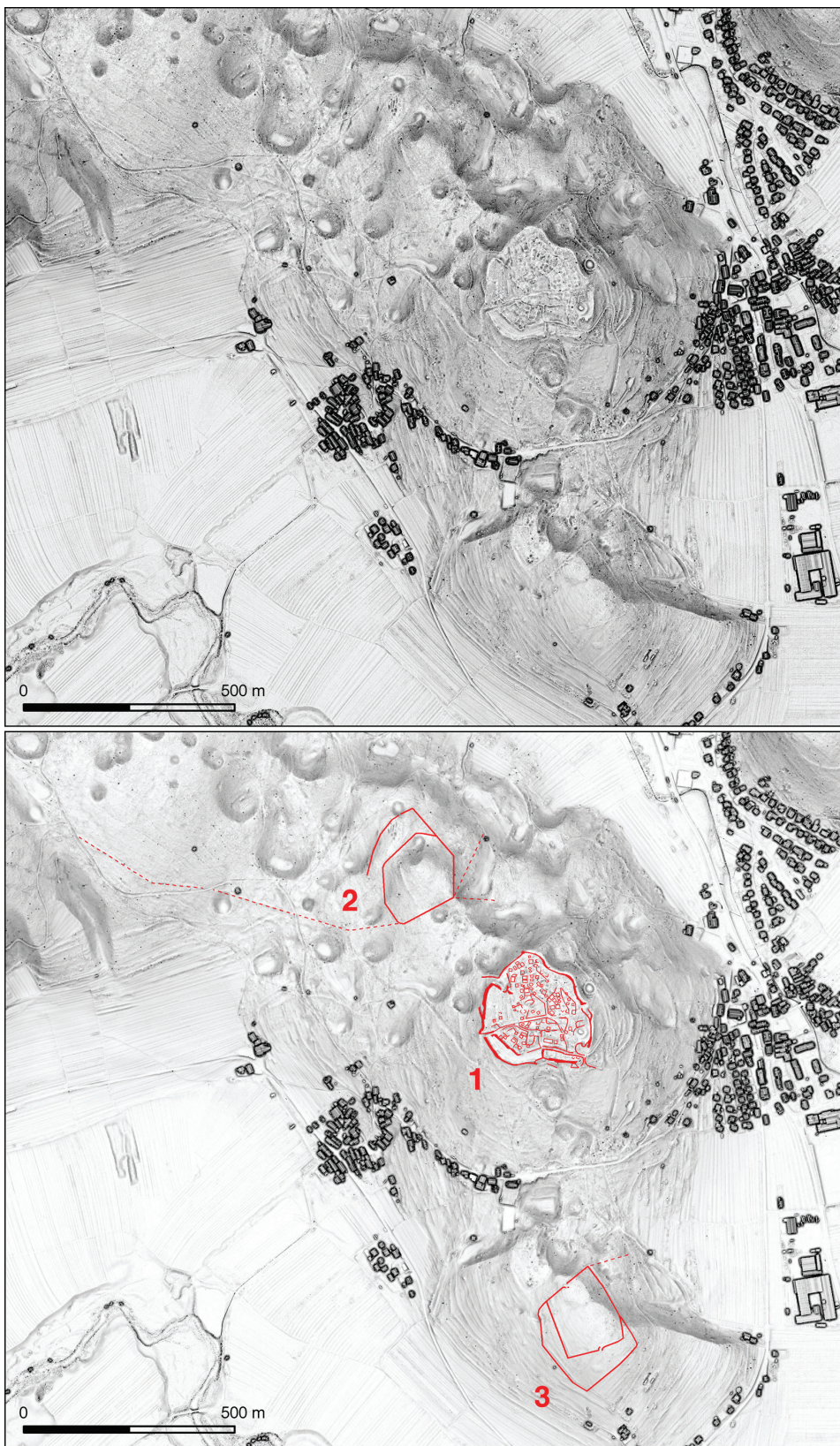
Položen in raven vrh Ulake je približno 100 m višji kot okoliška ravnina pri Starem trgu (sl. 3). Površina vrhnjega dela okroglo-ovalne oblike po najdaljši osi

Veliki greben (785 m), Mali greben (762 m), across the gentler part of the ridge with Ulaka (675 m), and towards the lower Nadleški hrib (642 m), encroaching into the plain of Loško polje (about 570 m) and, together with Šmaraški vrh (646 m) on the opposite side, dividing it in two parts (Fig. 2).

The less steep and flat top of Ulaka is about 100 m higher than the surrounding plain at Stari trg (Fig. 3). The circular/oval upper part measures 260 m along the longest axis and up to 250 m in width. The circumference of the plateau that was suitable for habitation is about 980 m, and its surface area about 5 ha. To the north of the top plateau, there is typical karst terrain with exposed rock ridges and dolinas, while other slopes of Ulaka are less steep. The bedrock in the area of the settlement is composed of horizontal layers of dolomite and Jurassic limestone, which rarely reach the surface.³

A vertical aerial photograph of Ulaka from 1966 (Fig. 4) and a lidar image (Fig. 5) reveal a concentric grid of more or less rectangular anomalies, which can without doubt be associated with the layout of the Roman settlement. The heaps of debris and hollows, both natural and man-made, create a raster, which appears to be relatively equitably distributed over the top plateau and survives well, except in the western and partly southern parts of the settlement, which have been largely terraced and transformed by later (agrarian) land use. In the northern and eastern parts of the area, there are several prominent depressions with steep walls and regular outlines.

³ Gaspari 2000.



Sl. 5: Ulaka in Nadleški hrib na podatkih lidarskega (ALS) snemanja (po Laharnar, Lozić 2017, sl. 13; obdelava: E. Lozić).
 Fig. 5: Ulaka and Nadleški hrib on the airborne laser scanning image (after Laharnar, Lozić 2017, fig. 13; processing: E. Lozić).
 1 – Ulaka (prazgodovinska in rimska naselbina / Prehistoric and Roman settlement); 2 – Ulaka (zgodnjorimski tabor/okop / early Roman military camp/rampart); 3 – Nadleški hrib (zgodnjorimska tabora / early Roman military camps).

meri 260 m, v širino pa do 250 m. Obseg za poselitev primerne platoja znaša okoli 980 m, njegova površina pa približno 5 hektarjev. Severno od vršnega platoja se širi izrazit kraški teren z razkritimi skalnimi grebeni in vrtačami, ostala pobočja Ulake pa so položnejša. Talno osnovo na območju naselbine sestavljajo vodoravni skladi dolomita in jurskega apnenca, vendar le malo kje segajo na površje.³

Navpična aerofotografija Ulake iz leta 1966 (sl. 4) in lidarski posnetek (sl. 5) razkrivata koncentrično mrežo bolj ali manj pravokotnih anomalij, ki jo lahko brez dvoma povežemo z zasnovo antične naselbine. Raster, ki preseva iz ruševinskih grobelj, naravnih in umetnih poglobitev, daje relativno enovit videz razporeditve okrog vršnega platoja in je nekoliko slabše ohranjen le na zahodnem in deloma južnem delu naselbine, kjer je v veliki meri terasiran in preoblikovan z mlajšo (agrarno) rabo zemljišč. V severnem in vzhodnem delu območja izstopa več izrazitih poglobitev s strmimi stenami in pravilnimi obrisi, ki so glede na topografsko ujemanje z načrti Walterja Schmida, verjetno ostanek izkopavanj v tridesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja (sl. 6).⁴

ZGODOVINA RAZISKAV

Zgodovinska poročila o Ulaki sodijo na sam začetek zanimanja za arheološke spomenike na Slovenskem. Ostanke naselbine so pritegnili že pozornost polihistorjev Janeza Ludvika Schönlebna (1681) in njegovega sodobnika Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja (1689), ki sta v njej prepoznala oppidum Terponus (Τέρπωνος), mesto Transalpskih Japodov na poti pred znamenitim Metulumom iz Apijanove pripovedi o Oktavijanovih vojnah v Iiriku.⁵ Tezo o umestitvi Metuluma na bloške Metulje in Terpona na Ulako je oživil zgodovinar Anton Tomaž Linhart (1788), o tem pa so pisali tudi profesor Ivan Anton Župančič (1801), postojnski župnik Peter Hicinger (1854, 1855), zgodovinar in časnikar Peter Radics (1864), jezikoslovec Davorin Trstenjak (1858), zgodovinar Avgust Dimitz (1874) in drugi.⁶

Starejša odkritja predmetov z Ulake so zabeležene v seznamih pridobitev Deželnega muzeja v Ljubljani, ki jih je objavljala *Illyrisches Blatt* (1819–1849), medtem ko so poročila o najdbah, ki jih je zbiralo Historično društvo za Kranjsko, izhajala v *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain* (1846–1868). Predmete, med katerimi po številčnosti izstopajo rimski novci, so prinašali predvsem duhovniki iz župnije Stari trg.⁷

³ Gaspari 2000.

⁴ Schmid 1937; 1944.

⁵ Ill., 18–19.

⁶ Kritično k t. i. kranjskim hipotezam (nem. "Krainer hypothesen") Veith 1914, 28, 38–50, sl. 4.

⁷ O zgodovini raziskav glej Šašel 1975b; Gaspari 2000; Laharnar 2012, 122–129.

Topographically matching Walter Schmid's plans, they are probably the remains of the 1930s excavations (Fig. 6).⁴

RESEARCH HISTORY

Historical reports on Ulaka date to the very beginning of the interest for archaeological monuments in Slovenia. The remains of the settlement attracted the curiosity of polyhistorians Janez Ludvik Schönleben (1681) and his contemporary Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1689), who identified it as the oppidum of Terponus (Τέρπωνος), a town of Transalpine Iapodes, situated on the route towards the famous Metulum from Appian's report of the wars of Augustus in Illyricum.⁵ The hypothesis that Metulum should be identified with the village of Metulje on the Bloke plateau, and Terponus with Ulaka, was revived by historian Anton Tomaž Linhart (1788) and discussed by Professor Ivan Anton Župančič (1801), parish priest in Postojna Peter Hicinger (1854, 1855), historian and journalist Peter Radics (1864), linguist Davorin Trstenjak (1858), historian Avgust Dimitz (1874), and others.⁶

Early discoveries of artefacts from Ulaka are recorded in the acquisition lists of the Provincial Museum of Carniola, which were published in the *Illyrisches Blatt* newspaper (1819–1849). Reports on the finds collected by the Historical Society for Carniola were published in *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain* (1846–1868). The artefacts, among which Roman coins are the most numerous, were largely contributed by priests from the Stari trg parish.⁷

The first to attempt more serious research on Ulaka was digger of antiquities Jernej Pečnik. He described Ulaka as one of the largest prehistoric settlements of Carniola (1890, 1894, 1904), with a massive stone rampart of more than 3000 m in length. He mentioned a distinctly high – compared to other hillforts – number and richness of the finds discovered by farmers ploughing their fields. He distinguished between prehistoric buildings – pits dug in the ground and lined with stones, and Roman-period walls with mortar.⁸

Alfons Müllner, curator of the Provincial Museum of Carniola, conducted a thorough inspection and measuring of the settlement. In his report he mentioned many clusters of stones from former buildings, different types of stones – even from far away; brick and mortar fragments, quernstones, pieces of slag and slag-coated stones, and coins.⁹ His study *Emona* included the text of two Roman

⁴ Schmid 1937; 1944.

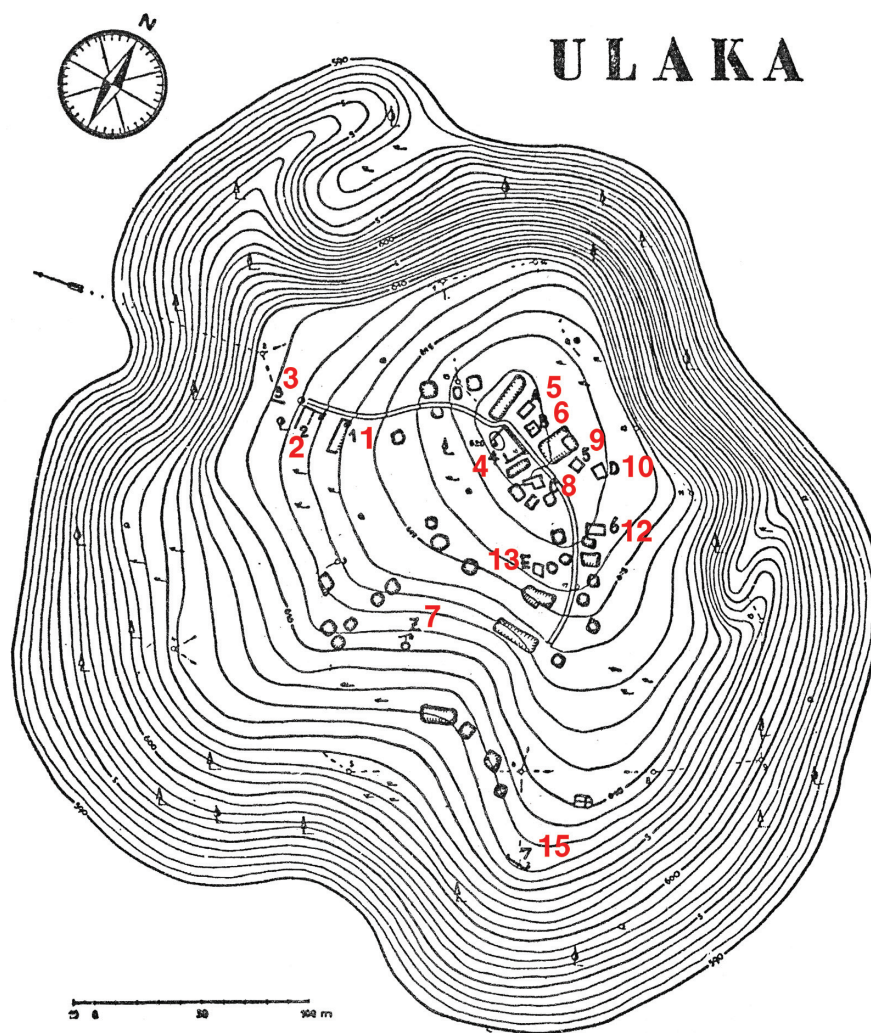
⁵ Ill., 18–19.

⁶ A critical look on the so-called Carniolan hypotheses (German: "Krainer hypothesen"): Veith 1914, 28, 38–50, Fig. 4.

⁷ For research history, see: Šašel 1975b; Gaspari 2000; Laharnar 2012, 122–129.

⁸ Pečnik 1890, 382; 1894, 10; 1904, 187.

⁹ Müllner 1878, 88–89.



Tloris japonske Ulake. — Risba inž. J. Č.
 št. 1—4 in 6, 7: hiše; št. 5 prodajalna; A, B itd: kovačnice; izvlečena prog: cesta

Sl. 6: Schmidov “Tloris japonske Ulake” (po Schmid 1939 [geodetski posnetek: inž. Janez Černjač] in dopolnjeno po Schmid 1944). Ob originalnih oznakah objektov so dodane rdeče izpisane konkordančne številke objektov iz Schmidovega poročila leta 1944 (glej op. 40 in tab. 1).

Fig. 6: Schmid’s “Groundplan of Japodic Ulaka” (after Schmid 1939 [land survey: engineer Janez Černjač] and supplemented after Schmid 1944). Red concordance numbering of buildings from the Schmid’s report (1944) are added to the original markings of the objects (see note 40 and tab. 1).

Leto objave/poročila Year of publication/ report	Oznaka objekta / Numbering of the buildings														
1944	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1937, 1939	1	2	3	4	A	B	F	C	5	D	H	6	E	-	-

Tab. 1: Ulaka. Konkordančni prikaz številčenja objektov v poročilu (Schmid 1944) ter oznakami v objavi (Schmid 1937) in na geodetskem načrtu (Schmid 1939). Prim. sl. 6.

Tab. 1: Ulaka. Concordance table of the numbering of the buildings in the report (Schmid 1944), markings in the publication (Schmid 1937) and on the survey map (Schmid 1939). See Fig. 6.

Prvi, ki se je resneje lotil raziskovanja Ulake, je bil starinokop Jernej Pečnik. Ulako opisuje kot eno največjih prazgodovinskih naselbin Kranjske (1890, 1894, 1904), z več kot 3000 m dolgim, velikim kamnitem nasipom. V primerjavi z drugimi gradišči omenja izjemno visoko število in bogastvo najdb, na katere so pri oranju naleteli kmetje. Loči med prazgodovinskimi objekti-jamami, vkopanimi v zemljo in obloženimi s kamni, in rimskodobnimi, z malto zidanimi zidovi.⁸

Kustos deželnega muzeja Alfons Müllner v poročilu, ki ga je napisal po natančnem ogledu in merjenju naselbine, omenja številne skupine kamenja iz nekdanjih zgradb, različne, tudi od daleč stran izvirajoče vrste kamnin, kose opeke in malte, kamne ročnih mlinov, kose žindre in z žindro oblite kamne ter novčne najdbe.⁹ Njegova študija *Emona* prinaša tudi vsebino dveh rimskih napisnih kamnov, vzidanih v oltar cerkve Sv. Martina v Podcerkvi, ki jih je zabeležil že Schönleben.¹⁰

Leta 1906 je Ulako obiskal konservator dunajske Centralne komisije Jakob Žmavc, ki v dnevniku opisuje, da je mestoma zasledil nasip, ki pa po njegovem mnenju ni tako velik, kot navaja Pečnik. Med drugim navaja osebe, ki naj bi hranile gradivo z naselbine, in omenja, da je knez Herman Schönburg-Waldenburg, lastnik gradu Snežnik, nameraval vso planoto Ulake sistematično preiskati.¹¹

Osrednjo točko arheoloških raziskav Ulake pomenijo sistematična izkopavanja Walterja Schmida v letih pred drugo svetovno vojno.¹² Schmid, ki je na območju naselbine sondiral že avgusta 1916 v okviru raziskav poznorimskih zapor pri Prezidu,¹³ je velikopotezne raziskave, ki so potekale v jesenskih mesecih let 1936, 1937, 1939 in 1940, izpeljal kot predstojnik prazgodovinskega in zgodnjezgodovinskega oddelka ter numizmatičnega kabineta v graškem muzeju Joanneum v času svojega dopusta. Pri izvedbi terenskih del, ki sta jih omogočila

⁸ Pečnik 1890, 382; 1894, 10; 1904, 187.

⁹ Müllner 1878, 88–89.

¹⁰ Müllner 1879, Nr. 167 in 168.

¹¹ J. Žmavc, *Potni zapiski*, zvezek 4, 16, 24–26; Arhiv Arheološkega oddelka Narodnega muzeja Slovenije (Az 86 - 22: št. 95).

¹² Markantna osebnost vsestransko izobraženega znanstvenika, sistematičnega in temeljitega muzejskega delavca, etnografa, požrtvovalnega terenskega arheologa in topografa (r. kot Franc Šmid 1875 na Gaštej pri Kranju, u. 1951 v Gradcu) ter po pričevanjih sodobnikov poštenega in priljubljenega človeka vedrega in pokončnega značaja, ki ni bil brez vpliva na njegovo znanstveno presojo, morda najbolj preseva skozi izrek *Vir sapiens dominabitur astris*, s katerim je Franjo Baš pospremil nekrolog uglednemu znanstveniku. O življenju in delu W. Schmida glej Klemenc 1950; Kastelic 1951; Baš 1951; Modrijan 1953; bibliografija pri Sutter 1953. Schmid je bil povabljen k vključitvi v krog znanstvenih sodelavcev novoustanovljene Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, vendar se vabilu ni več uspel odzvati.

¹³ Pick, Schmid 1922–1924, 303–306; Schmid 1944, op. 1; Šašel, Petru 1971, 51, 64.

inscription stones, built into the altar of the church of St Martin in Podcerkev, which had been recorded already by Schönleben.¹⁰

In 1906, Ulaka was visited by Jakob Žmavc, conservator of the Viennese Royal and Imperial Central Commission for the Research and Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments. He wrote in his journal that he had identified the rampart in some locations, but he did not consider it as large as Pečnik had claimed. He listed the people who kept some of the material from the settlement and mentioned that Prince Herman Schönburg-Waldenburg, the owner of Castle Snežnik, was planning a systematic investigation of the entire Ulaka plateau.¹¹

The central point of the archaeological research of Ulaka were the systematic excavations conducted by Walter Schmid in the years before World War II.¹² As early as August 1916, Schmid excavated some test trenches in the area of the settlement within the framework of the research of Late Roman fortifications near Prezid.¹³ This was followed by large-scale investigations in the autumns of 1936, 1937, 1939, and 1940, which he conducted as the head of the Department of Prehistory and Early History and the Numismatic Cabinet in the Joanneum Museum in Graz during his holidays. Schmid's fieldwork was made possible by the support of the administration of the Drava banate and the Chamber of Commerce, Craft, and Industry in Ljubljana. In addition, he had the help of Jernej Hafner, parish priest in Stari trg and amateur historian; and engineer Janez Černjač, lecturer at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana. The latter created a land survey plan for Ulaka, which included the buildings that had been identified by then (a reduced version was published in Schmid 1939; see Fig. 6). Schmid continued his research on Ulaka, encouraged by the promising discoveries by Hafner and perhaps also by the test trenching conducted in 1935 by the Archaeological Seminar of the University of Ljubljana on the hill of Nadleški hrib

¹⁰ Müllner 1879, Nr. 167 and 168.

¹¹ J. Žmavc, *Potni zapiski*, Volume 4, 16, 24–26; Archives of the Archaeological Department of the National Museum of Slovenia (Az 86 - 22: no. 95).

¹² Born as Franc Šmid in 1875 in Gaštej near Kranj, died 1951 in Graz. The striking personality of this universally educated scientist, systematic and thorough museum curator, ethnographer, selfless field archaeologist and topographer, and – according to his contemporaries – honest and likeable man of a cheerful and upright character, which was not without some influence over his scientific judgement, is perhaps best described by the words *Vir sapiens dominabitur astris*, used by Franjo Baš in the obituary for this respected scientist. For the life and work of W. Schmid, see: Klemenc 1950; Kastelic 1951; Baš 1951; Modrijan 1953; bibliography in Sutter 1953. Schmid was invited to join the circle of scientists of the newly founded Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, but could no longer answer the call.

¹³ Pick, Schmid 1922–1924, 303–306; Schmid 1944, note 1; Šašel, Petru 1971, 51, 64.

podpora kr. banske uprave Dravske banovine ter Zbornice za trgovino, obrt in industrijo v Ljubljani, se je Schmid oprl na pomoč starotrškega župnika in ljubiteljskega raziskovalca lokalne zgodovine Jerneja Hafnerja ter inženirja Janeza Černjača, docenta Tehnične fakultete ljubljanske univerze, ki je izdelal geodetski načrt Ulake z vrisanimi ugotovljenimi objekti (pomanjšan je objavljen v Schmid 1939; glej *sl.* 6). Schmid je k nadaljevanju raziskav na Ulaki poleg obetavnih odkritij župnika Hafnerja morda dodatno vzpodbudilo sondiranje Arheološkega seminarja ljubljanske univerze na Nadleškem hribu leta 1935, ki ga je vodil Balduin Saria in s katerim sta se zapletla v nesporazum o ubikaciji Metuluma.¹⁴ Bistveno ostrejšo polemiko, v kateri je sledil tradiciji t. i. kranjskih hipotez in s precej rahlimi argumenti v Gradu pri Šmihelu prepoznava Metulum, v gradišču Javor pri Dolnjem Zemonu pa Terponus, je Schmid že desetletje prej vodil s c.-k. artilerijskim častnikom in strokovnjakom za antično vojaško zgodovino Georgom Veithom.¹⁵

Schmid razen prvega poročila o raziskovanjih v letu 1936 izsledkov izkopavanj na Ulaki ni uspel publicirati, saj so načrtovano objavo pripravljene besedila s slikovnimi prilogami v *Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission* preprečili vojni dogodki. Schmidov terenski dnevnik, fotografije in skice ter tipkan rokopis s posameznimi načrti, ki jih hrani Universalmuseum Joanneum v Gradcu, časopisna poročila in geodetski posnetek izkopavanj iz leta 1939, objavljen v časopisu *Slovenec*,¹⁶ ter drobne najdbe iz izkopavanj v hrabi Narodnega muzeja Slovenije (NMS), so predstavljale osnovo revizijske študije rezultatov Schmidovih raziskav.¹⁷ Slednja prinaša tudi pregled podatkov o drobnih najdbah z območja naselbine iz starejše literature, ki jih med gradivom iz depoja NMS razen redkih izjem ni mogoče prepoznati oziroma so izgubljene.

Med izkopavanji Ulake leta 1939 je Schmid izvedel tudi sondiranje¹⁸ ob koncu 18. stoletja opuščene cerkve Sv. Petra, ki je stala v jugovzhodnem delu naselbine v bližini današnjega spomenika NOB.¹⁹ Septembra istega leta je raziskoval še na območju ledine Gradišče v severovzhodnem delu Starega trga, ki v franciscejskem katastru nosi ime *Naglis Thurn*. V treh dneh je izkopal ostanke z jarkom obdanega pravokotnega objekta z dimenzijami 27,40 × 15,80 m, ki ga sestavljata obzidje s tremi stolpi in samostojna, večprostorska stavba velikosti 13,10 × 9,20 m v njegovi notranjosti. Na podlagi spremljajočih keramičnih in kovinskih drobnih najdb

under the direction of Balduin Saria, with whom he had a disagreement about the localization of Metulum.¹⁴ A decade earlier, Schmid had a much sharper debate with Georg Veith, artillery officer and expert on the military history of classical antiquity, in which Schmid followed the tradition of the so-called Carniolan hypotheses, and, with fragile arguments, identified Metulum with the hillfort Grad near Šmihel, and Terponus with the hillfort Javor near Dolnji Zemon.¹⁵

With the exception of his first research report in 1936, Schmid never managed to publish his results of the excavations on Ulaka: his intended publication of the text with pictures in the appendices in *Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission* was prevented by the war. The basis for the review study of the results of Schmid's research were Schmid's field journal, photographs, sketches, and typewritten manuscript with individual plans, which are all stored in the Universalmuseum Joanneum in Graz; newspaper reports and the land survey plan from the 1939 excavations, which were published in the *Slovenec*¹⁶ newspaper; and small finds from the excavations, which are stored in the National Museum of Slovenia (henceforward: NMS).¹⁷ The study (2000) furthermore presents an overview of the data from earlier publications on the small finds from the area of the settlement, which can, with rare exceptions, no longer be identified among the material in the storage of the NMS, or are lost.

During his 1939 excavations of Ulaka, Schmid also conducted test trenching¹⁸ in the church of St Peter, which had been abandoned at the end of the 18th century and stood in the southeastern part of the settlement, in the vicinity of the present-day World War II monument.¹⁹ In September of the same year, he investigated in the northeastern part of Stari trg, in an area called Gradišče, or *Naglis Thurn* in the Franciscan Cadastre. Within the course of three days, he excavated the remains of a rectangular complex, surrounded by a moat. The complex with the dimensions of 27.40 × 15.80 m included defensive walls with three towers, and within the walls an independent multi-roomed building measuring 13.10 × 9.20 m. Based on the accompanying ceramic and metal small finds, Schmid identified the site as an early medieval fortified manor (so-called Hausberg).²⁰ Peter Petru's opinion that the complex was a Late Antique fortified villa was not supported by convincing arguments and did not prevail.²¹

¹⁴ See: Schmid 1937, 29–30; Saria 1937, 59.

¹⁵ See the discussion in *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 21–22, 1922–1924, Beiblatt, pp. 277–308, 479–494, 495–508, 507–510; Schmid 1923–1924, 178–182.

¹⁶ Schmid 1939.

¹⁷ Gaspari 2000.

¹⁸ See: Petru 1969, 116, note 4.

¹⁹ Kebe 1996, 184–187, 208–209, 310.

²⁰ Schmid 1922, 39.

²¹ Petru 1969; on the so-called mottes and similar medieval fortified structures in Slovenia, see: Predovnik 2008,

¹⁴ Glej Schmid 1937, 29–30; Saria 1937, 59.

¹⁵ Glej diskusijo v *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 21–22, 1922–1924, Beiblatt, str. 277–308, 479–494, 495–508, 507–510; Schmid 1923–1924, 178–182.

¹⁶ Schmid 1939.

¹⁷ Gaspari 2000.

¹⁸ Glej Petru 1969, 116, op. 4.

¹⁹ Kebe 1996, 184–187, 208–209, 310.

je Schmid najdišče opredelil kot srednjeveški utrjen dvorec (t. i. Hausberg).²⁰ Mnenje Petra Petruja, da gre za poznoantično utrjeno vilo, ni podprto s prepričljivimi argumenti in se ni uveljavilo.²¹

Razen manjših sondiranj ter dokumentiranja posegov v letih 1959, 1983 in 2003, ki so bili omejeni na jugovzhodni del naselbine in niso prinesli pomembnejših rezultatov, na Ulaki po Schmidovih izkopavanjih ni bilo večjih terenskih raziskav. V 1990-ih je Ulaka postala pogost cilj nepooblaščenih iskalcev z detektorji kovin. Znaten del zelo številnih najdb, ki so bile izkopane na tak način, je za svoje zbirke pridobil NMS. Integralno objavo pomembnejših mlajšeželeznodobnih in antičnih predmetov z Ulake in bližnjih najdišč, ki so bili že deloma zajeti v novejših specialističnih študijah in objavah, pripravlja B. Laharnar.²² Isti je tudi prvopodpisani avtor prostorsko-prometne analize vloge Ulake in Nadleškega hriba ter študije podatkov lidarskega snemanja, ki je prinesla povsem nov uvid v prostorsko organiziranost obeh najdišč. Slednja je nakazala obstoj doslej nepoznanih arheoloških struktur, potrjenih s testnimi sondiranjmi in terenskim pregledom leta 2017.²³

POZNOPRAZGODOVINSKA POSELITEV IN SLEDOVI ZGODNJIH STIKOV Z ITALSKIM SVETOM DO RIMSKE OSVOJITVE

Vedenje o naselbinskih in obrambnih strukturah, povezanih s poznoprazgodovinsko poselitvijo Ulake, je ob izostanku modernih invazivnih raziskav omejeno na domnevan potek nasipa oziroma obzidja, ki je prepoznaven v ostrem prehodu med ravno teraso v notranjosti in pobočjem, ter lego in obliko vhodov. Argumentacija izza Schmidove domneve, da na vrhu Ulake ni bilo starejše železnodobne naselbine – predvideval jo je na jugozahodnih in zahodnih pobočjih,²⁴ ni prepričljiva, pri čemer navidezno odsotnost zaključenih naselbinskih plasti in obrambnih naprav, povsem neprimerljivo z okoliškimi gradišči z dobro prepoznavnimi kamnitimi obzidji,²⁵ poveujemo s plitvo ležečo, pretežno dolomitno podlago in posledično skromno stratifikacijo, zlasti pa s posegi in uničenji v rimskem obdobju ter rabo prostora po koncu poselitve.

V začetku 1930-ih odkrita grobna celota izvira iz "ene od gomil na zahodnem pobočju" Ulake, nepreverjena pa ostajajo starejša poročila o pripadajočih gomilah

²⁰ Schmid 1922, 39.

²¹ Petru 1969; k t. i. motam in sorodnim srednjeveškim utrjenim objektom v Sloveniji glej Predovnik 2008, 377–379, sl. 5.

²² Laharnar 2012; 2015.

²³ Laharnar, Ložič 2015–2016; B. Laharnar, osebna informacija, 2017.

²⁴ Schmid 1937, 17; 1944, 2.

²⁵ Urleb 1977; Schein 1987.

After Schmid's excavations, there have been no major investigations on Ulaka, except for small test excavations and documentation of building interventions in the years 1959, 1983, and 2003, which were limited to the southwestern part of the settlement and did not give more significant results. In the 1990s, Ulaka became a popular destination for unauthorised metal detectorists. A considerable part of the many finds excavated in such a way has been acquired by the NMS for its collections. An integral publication of some of the more important Late Iron Age and Roman artefacts from Ulaka and other sites in the vicinity is being prepared by Boštjan Laharnar, and some of these artefacts have been featured in recent specialised studies.²² Laharnar is also the first author of a spatial, movement and transport analysis of the roles of Ulaka and Nadleški hrib, and a study of the data from lidar scanning, which provided a brand new insight into the spatial organization of the two sites. It implied the existence of previously unknown archaeological structures, which were confirmed by archaeological test excavations and field survey in 2017.²³

LATE PREHISTORIC OCCUPATION AND TRACES OF EARLY CONTACTS WITH THE ITALIC WORLD BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Due to the absence of modern invasive investigations, our knowledge of the settlement and the defence structures associated with the late prehistoric occupation of Ulaka is limited to the assumed course of the rampart, recognisable by the sharp transition between the flat terrace in the interior and the slopes, and by the position and shape of entrances. The argumentation behind Schmid's assumption that there was no earlier Iron Age settlement on the top of Ulaka – he expected it on the southwestern and western slopes²⁴ – is unconvincing; the apparent absence of defensive structures and settlement layers as whole, unprecedented in the surrounding hillforts with easily-recognizable stone ramparts,²⁵ is now seen mostly as a consequence of spatial interventions in the Roman period, the use of space after the end of human habitation, and also the fact that the predominantly dolomite bedrock lies at relatively shallow depths beneath the surface, which results in poor stratification.

A burial was discovered at the beginning of the 1930s in "one of the barrows on the western slope" of Ulaka. Earlier reports on the barrows and flat cremation graves

377–379, Fig. 5.

²² Laharnar 2012; 2015.

²³ Laharnar, Ložič 2015–2016; Boštjan Laharnar, personal information, 2017.

²⁴ Schmid 1937, 17; 1944, 2.

²⁵ Urleb 1977; Schein 1987.

in planih žganih grobovih v okolici cerkve Sv. Martina v Podcerkvi, ter najdbah iz Tekavče jame na vzhodnem pobočju nad Starim trgom.

O dinamiki predrimске poselitve Ulake tako za zdaj pričajo zlasti posamične in skupne najdbe, odkrite z detektorji kovin. Eno pomembnejših skupin najdb v hrambi NMS sestavlja večja količina halštatskega gradiva (čolničaste, kačaste in certoške fibule, gumbi, večji faleri, obesek, zapestnice ter stekleni jagodi) z območja prevala severno od Ulake, ki verjetno izvira iz več grobov.²⁶ Najdbe s širšega območja naselbine sicer kažejo dinamično sliko, saj izpričujejo vsaj občasno prisotnost človeka že v bakreni dobi (kamnita puščična ost s trnom) in morda bronasti dobi (kosi kovine in del uhate sekire), gradivo iz sporočenih in domnevnih grobnih celot ter skromne keramične in kovinske najdbe z naselbine (npr. kačasta fibula) pa nakazujejo intenzivnejšo poselitev skozi celotno starejšo železno dobo.

Pomemben del prazgodovinskega gradiva sodi v (srednji in) pozni laten ter kaže za notranjska gradišča običajno podobo. V to obdobje lahko uvrstimo dele notranjsko-kraške in severnojadranske noše (npr. obeski sklepancevi s človeško glavo, kakršne so v izteku mlajše železne dobe nosili izključno na Notranjskem,²⁷ primerek notranjske različice certoških fibul vrste VIII^f, fibula vrste Kastav različice Ulaka, fibule z rombasto razširjenim lokom in okrog loka ovito tetivo, bronaste pletene ovratnice s tremi vozli, polkrožni rešetkasti okovi vrste Kastav) ter keltski denar (velika srebrnika noriške in tavrške skupine ter zahodnokeltski potin-kov iz zlitine bakra, kositra in svinca).²⁸ Latensko gradivo odraža tako stike s keltskim Tavriskom pripisanim prostorom mokronoške skupine, na katero je notranjsko-kraška skupina mejila nekje zahodno od Navporta in doline zgornje Krke, kot vplivi viniške (kolapijanske) in japodske skupine iz Pokolpja oziroma Like in sosednjih območij.²⁹ Zgodnjo vpetost v sredozemsko trgovino in monetarno gospodarstvo dokazujejo redka najdba grškega novca iz 3. st. pr. n. št.,³⁰ viktoriati in drug rimski republikanski denar iz 2. st. pr. n. št.,³¹ splošne stike s severnoitalsko-rimskim svetom pa odlomka fibule z okvirjasto nogo in čaše vrste Idrija.

Fibuli vrste Alezija in Gorica ter pomemben del od več kot 22 svinčenih izstrelkov za pračo gre verjetno povezati z aktivnostmi rimske vojske v predavgustejškem času, prisotnost rimskih vojakov v avgustejsko-tiberijskem obdobju pa poleg dela omenjenih želodov

in the vicinity of the church of St Martin in Podcerkev remain unverified and the same goes for the finds from the Tekavča jama cave on the eastern slope above Stari trg.

The dynamics of the pre-Roman occupation of Ulaka is thus attested mostly by the finds – both individual and assemblages of artefacts – discovered with metal detectors. One of the more significant assemblages in the storage of the NMS included a considerable amount of Hallstatt material (boat, serpentine, and Certosa fibulae, knobs, larger phalerae, a pendant, bracelets, two glass beads) from the area of the pass north of Ulaka, which probably came from several graves.²⁶ Finds from the wider area of the settlement show a dynamic image and attest to at least occasional presence of humans as early as the Eneolithic (stone arrowhead with a tang) and perhaps the Bronze Age (metal fragments and a piece of a shaft-hole axe), while the material from the reported and assumed burials and the scarce ceramic and metal finds from the settlement (e.g. a serpentine fibula) indicate more intense occupation during the entire Early Iron Age.

An important segment of the prehistoric material belongs to the (Middle and) Late La Tène period and does not deviate from what is common in the hillforts of Notranjska. To this period we can date parts of the Notranjska-Kras and North Adriatic dress (e.g. pendants with a human head on metal belts, worn exclusively in the Notranjska region at the end of the Late Iron Age²⁷, a specimen of the Notranjska variant of the Certosa VIII^f type fibula, a Kastav type fibula of the Ulaka variant, fibulae with a wire spun around a rhombically tapering bow, bronze twisted wire torques with three knots, semi-circular lattice fittings of the Kastav type) and Celtic money (two large silver coins of the Norican and Tauriscan groups and a west Celtic potin coin – minted of copper, tin, and lead alloy).²⁸ The La Tène material reflects contact with the territory of the Mokronog Group, which is attributed to the Celtic tribe of Taurisci. The border between the Mokronog and the Notranjska-Kras Groups was somewhere west of Nauportus and the upper Krka valley. Noticeable is also the influence of the Vinica (Colapian) and Iapodic Groups from the Kolpa region, Lika, and the neighbouring areas.²⁹ An early inclusion in the Mediterranean trade and monetary economy is attested by the rare find of a Greek coin from the 3rd century BC,³⁰ and by viktoriati and other republican Roman coins from the 2nd century BC.³¹ General contacts with the north Italian and Roman world are attested by a fragment of

²⁶ Gaspari 2000.

²⁷ Božič 1999, 202–203; Laharnar 2012, 180, 217, pril. 1: 8–10.

²⁸ Horvat 1995, 191; Laharnar 2012, 122–129, 217–225, 240.

²⁹ Božič 1999, 202–203; Horvat, Bavdek 2009, 19–20, 131–132; Laharnar 2012, 239.

³⁰ *FMRSI* V 39-1; Miškec 2008, 290.

³¹ Miškec 2003, 373.

²⁶ Gaspari 2000.

²⁷ Božič 1999, 202–203; Laharnar 2012, 180, 217, App. 1: 8–10.

²⁸ Horvat 1995, 191; Laharnar 2012, 122–129, 217–225, 240.

²⁹ Božič 1999, 202–203; Horvat, Bavdek 2009, 19–20, 131–132; Laharnar 2012, 239.

³⁰ *FMRSI* V 39-1; Miškec 2008, 290.

³¹ Miškec 2003, 373.

nakazujejo obeski konjske opreme in morda tudi šotor-ski klin.³² Zgodnejša skupina rimskih vojaških najdb je verjetno povezana z obleganjem, ki se je očitno končalo s porazom domorodne skupnosti in morda prekinitvijo življenja v naselbini, morda v povezavi z utrjevanjem vzhodne meje Galije Cisalpine v Cezarjevem času ali – najpozneje – v času Oktavijanovih vojn v Iliriku. Logistiko in taktiko napada dokazujejo – poleg lokacij najdb izstrelkov, ki se poleg notranjosti pojavljajo na pobočjih pod severnim delom naselbine³³ – zlasti zgodnja faza utrdbe na Nadleškem hribu (*sl. 5: 3*) in ostanki nekoliko manjšega tabora ali oblegovalnega nasipa dobrih 200 m severozahodno od Ulake (*sl. 5: 2*). Ob sondiranju in terenskem pregledu jeseni 2017 je bila na delu nasipa, obrnjenem proti gradišču, odkrita precejšnja količina uporabljenih izstrelkov in rimske vojaške opreme, ki brez dvoma pričajo o srditem spopadu med domačini in rimsko vojsko v predavgustejskem obdobju.³⁴

Mlajša skupina najdb morda pomeni sledove zadrževanja rimskih vojakov ali celo manjše posadke v drugi fazi oporišča na Nadleškem hribu v avgustejskem obdobju, ki ga Laharnar povezuje z nadzorom poti do vojnih žarišč v zaledju Kvarnerja in preprečevanjem uporov že pokorjenih skupnosti.³⁵ Še ne dovolj razumljeni najdišči z zgodnjerskim gradivom sta razgledni vrh Križne gore (857 m), od koder izvirajo narebrena skodelica iz stekla jantarne barve z belimi lisami in posamezne novčne najdbe,³⁶ ter greben Devina z manjšo skupino republikanskih asov in mlajših novcev (*sl. 2*).³⁷

Prebivalce območja notranjsko-kraške skupine se po uveljavljenem mnenju v najširšem smislu prišteva med Karne, ki so po antičnih literarnih in epigrafskih virih v 2./1. st. pr. n. št. poseljevali hribovito zaledje Akvileje in Tergesta, vključno z območjem prelaza Razdrto (antične Okre). Pri poskusu etnične opredelitve staroselskih skupnosti v južnem delu Notranjskega podolja kljub temu ni mogoče mimo Strabonovega podatka, da Karni pri Okri mejijo na Japode, in drugo literarno evidenco, ki širše območje naravnih prehodov iz Gorskega kotarja in zaledja Kvarnerja proti Krasu in Tržaškemu zalivu umešča v gospodarsko in vojno-strateško interesno sfero Japodov.³⁸

Loška dolina z Ulako in bližnjo naselbino v Šmarati (*sl. 2*) je po ustalitvi vzhodne meje 10. regije rimske Italije administrativno najverjetneje pripadla agru Emone, ki ga je masiv Snežnika in Javornikov ločil od ozemlja pod jurisdikcijo Tergesta.³⁹ Nedaleč na jugu je potekala meja

a fibula with a frame-shaped foot and a fragment of an Idrija type beaker.

Two fibulae of the Alesia and Gorica types and a significant percentage of more than 22 lead slingshots can probably be associated with the activities of the Roman army in the pre-Augustan period. The presence of Roman soldiers in the Augustan-Tiberian period is indicated by some of the above-mentioned slingshots, by pendants that belong to horse tack, and perhaps by a tent peg.³² An earlier group of Roman military finds is probably related to a siege, which apparently ended with the defeat of the native community and perhaps also with a suspension of life in the settlement, possibly in connection with the fortification of the eastern border of Gallia Cisalpina in the time of Caesar or – at the latest – in the time of the wars of Octavianus in Illyricum. The logistical and tactical aspects of the attack are attested – in addition to the locations of the discovered slingshots, which occur not only in the interior but also on the slopes below the northern part of the settlement³³ – by the early phase of the stronghold on Nadleški hrib (*Fig. 5: 3*) and by the remains of a somehow smaller camp or siege rampart a little more than 200 m northwest of Ulaka (*Fig. 5: 2*). Test trenching and field survey in autumn 2017 revealed a considerable number of used projectiles and items of Roman military gear on the part of the rampart that faces the hillfort – a doubtless indication of a skirmish between the natives and the Roman army in the pre-Augustan period.³⁴

A group of later finds might indicate the presence of Roman soldiers or even a small garrison in the second phase of the Nadleški hrib stronghold in the Augustan period. Laharnar associates the stronghold with the control of the routes to war zones in the hinterland of the Kvarner Gulf and the prevention of revolts in the already subdued communities.³⁵ Two sites with early Roman material that are not yet well enough understood are the top of Križna gora (857 m), which offers a good view of the surroundings, and the ridge of Devin. A ribbed cup made of amber glass with white spots and some isolated finds of coins originate from the former,³⁶ and a smaller assemblage of republican asses and later coins from the latter (*Fig. 2*).³⁷

The prevailing opinion is that the inhabitants of the territory of the Notranjska-Kras Group can be in the broadest possible sense identified as the Carni, who, according to Roman literary and epigraphic sources, inhabited the hilly hinterlands of Aquileia and Tergeste, including the area of Razdrto (Roman Ocra), in the 2nd-1st centuries BC. An attempt at an ethnic identification of the

³² Laharnar 2012, 240–241; 2015, 24–25, 29–30, t. 3: 1–14.

³³ Laharnar 2011, 348–349, t. 2: 14–20.

³⁴ B. Laharnar, osebna informacija, 17. 11. 2017.

³⁵ Laharnar 2015, 94; Laharnar, Lozić 2015–2016, 65–68.

³⁶ Urleb 1968, t. 1: 3; *FMRSI* I 80.

³⁷ *FMRSI* V 38, 1–5.

³⁸ Slapšak 2003, 246.

³⁹ Zaccaria 2007, sl. 7.

³² Laharnar 2012, 240–241; 2015, 24–25, 29–30, Pl. 3: 1–14.

³³ Laharnar 2011, 348–349, Pl. 2: 14–20.

³⁴ Laharnar, personal information, 17th November 2017.

³⁵ Laharnar 2015, 94; Laharnar, Lozić 2015–2016, 65–68.

³⁶ Urleb 1968, Pl. 1: 3; *FMRSI* I 80.

³⁷ *FMRSI* V 38, 1–5.

med Italijo ter provincialnima ozemljema Dalmacije (Liburnije) in Panonije (*sl. 1*); tri glavne administrativne enote so se stikale v globokem zaledju Tarsatike – morda nekje na širšem prostoru Prezida oziroma Gorskega kotarja proti dolini Kolpe.

ARHEOLOGIJA ANTIČNE NASELBINE

ZASNOVA NASELBINE IN GRADBENE ZNAČILNOSTI STAVB, ODKRITIH V OKVIRU SCHMIDOVIH RAZISKAV

Med Schmidovimi izkopavanji na Ulaki, ki so verjetno potekala tudi v njegovi odsotnosti in v slabem vremenu, je bilo delno ali v celoti raziskanih 15 objektov (*sl. 6; tab. 1*), ki so v poročilu opredeljeni kot hiše (1, 2, 3, 4, 9 [prodajalna], 12, 15) in kovačnice (5 - A, 6 - B, 7 - F, 8 - C, 10 - D, 11 - H, 13 - E, 14),⁴⁰ pri čemer izrecno navaja, da večjih stanovanjskih objektov ni raziskoval zaradi zaraščenosti terena in omejenosti finančnih sredstev.

Schmidova funkcionalna delitev posameznih objektov je v podrobnostih nejasna, problematična pa je tudi njihova kronološka umestitev, saj je bila pozornost izkopavalcev usmerjena predvsem ali izključno v odkrivanje struktur in drobnega gradiva, medtem ko je dokumentiranje višin in stratigrafske provenience najdb očitno v celoti izostalo. Schmidova kronološka opredelitev posameznih objektov se tako domnevno opira na časovno homogene skupke najdb iz spodnjih delov izkopanih depozitov v bližini prepoznanih struktur, čeprav je razpon predmetov iz posameznim "objektom" pripisanih plasti pogosto bistveno širši.

Iz sicer skromne in pomanjkljive dokumentacije Schmidovih izkopavanj izhaja, da so imeli objekti na Ulaki pretežno pravokoten ali kvadraten tloris z zunanjimi dimenzijami od 4,5 × 4,3 do 16,3 × 5 m. Zasnova stavb se je prilagajala oblikovanosti podlage, pri čemer je bil del objektov postavljen v naravne poglobitve, ostali pa so bili delno ali v celoti vkopani oziroma vsekani v skalno osnovo med 1,2 in 1,66 m globoko (*sl. 7; 8*). Temelji so bili zgrajeni iz lomljenec, vezanih z malto, nekatere stene pa je tvorila prirejena skalna osnova. Tla v objektih naj bi bila večinoma pokresana in izravnana z glino, v enem primeru pa prekrita z maltnim tlakom. Objekti so imeli en ali dva prostora. V poglobljene dele

native communities in the southern part of the Notranjsko podolje plain, nevertheless cannot disregard neither Strabo's information that near Ocra, the Carni bordered on the Iapodes, nor another literary evidence, according to which the wider area of natural passages from Gorski kotar and the hinterland of the Kvarner Gulf towards Kras and the Gulf of Trieste was within the economic and military-strategic interest sphere of the Iapodes.³⁸

After the stabilization of the eastern border of Regio X of Italy, it is most likely that Loška dolina with Ulaka and the nearby settlement in Šmarata (*Fig. 2*) administratively belonged to the territory of Emona, which was separated from the area under the jurisdiction of Tergeste by the massifs of Snežnik and Javorniki.³⁹ Not much further to the south ran the border between Italy and the provincial territories of Dalmatia (Liburnia) and Pannonia (*Fig. 1*); the three major administrative units converging in the deep hinterland of Tarsatica – possibly somewhere in the wider area of Prezid or Gorski kotar, towards the Kolpa valley.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT

LAYOUT OF THE SETTLEMENT AND CONSTRUCTIONAL PROPERTIES OF THE BUILDINGS DISCOVERED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SCHMID'S INVESTIGATIONS

During Schmid's excavations on Ulaka, which probably continued uninterrupted even in his absences or in bad weather, 15 buildings were partly or entirely investigated (*Fig. 6; Tab. 1*). In the report, these buildings are identified as houses (1, 2, 3, 4, 9 [shop], 12, 15) and smithies (5 - A, 6 - B, 7 - F, 8 - C, 10 - D, 11 - H, 13 - E, 14).⁴⁰ It is explicitly stated that larger residential buildings were not investigated due to overgrown terrain and limited funds.

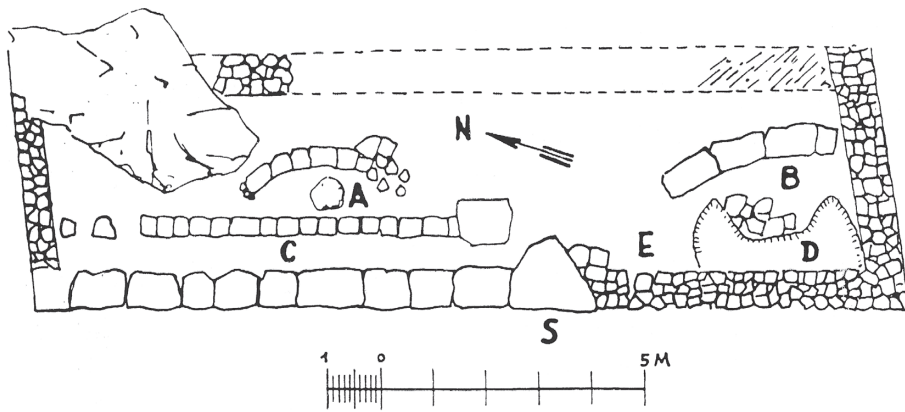
Schmid's functional classification of buildings is unclear in details; similarly problematic is their dating, since the attention of the excavators was focused predominantly or exclusively on discovering structures and small finds, while there seems to have been no documentation

³⁸ Slapšak 2003, 246.

³⁹ Zaccaria 2007, Fig. 7.

⁴⁰ Številke se nanašajo na Schmidovo številčenje objektov v neobjavljenem poročilu (Schmid 1944), ki se do vključno številke 4 ujema s številčenjem v objavi (Schmid 1937) in na geodetskem načrtu (id. 1939), velike črke pa na oznake kovačnic iz objave in geodetskega načrta, ki jih v poročilu l. 1944 Schmid opusti. Izkopavanja so potekala v naslednjem zaporedju: leto 1936: objekti 1–5; leto 1937: 6, 12 (?), 13; leto 1939: 8–10; leto 1940: 7, 11, 14 (?), 15 (?). Objektov 11 in 14 ni bilo mogoče locirati, identifikacija objekta 7 (kovačnica F) pa je nezanesljiva.

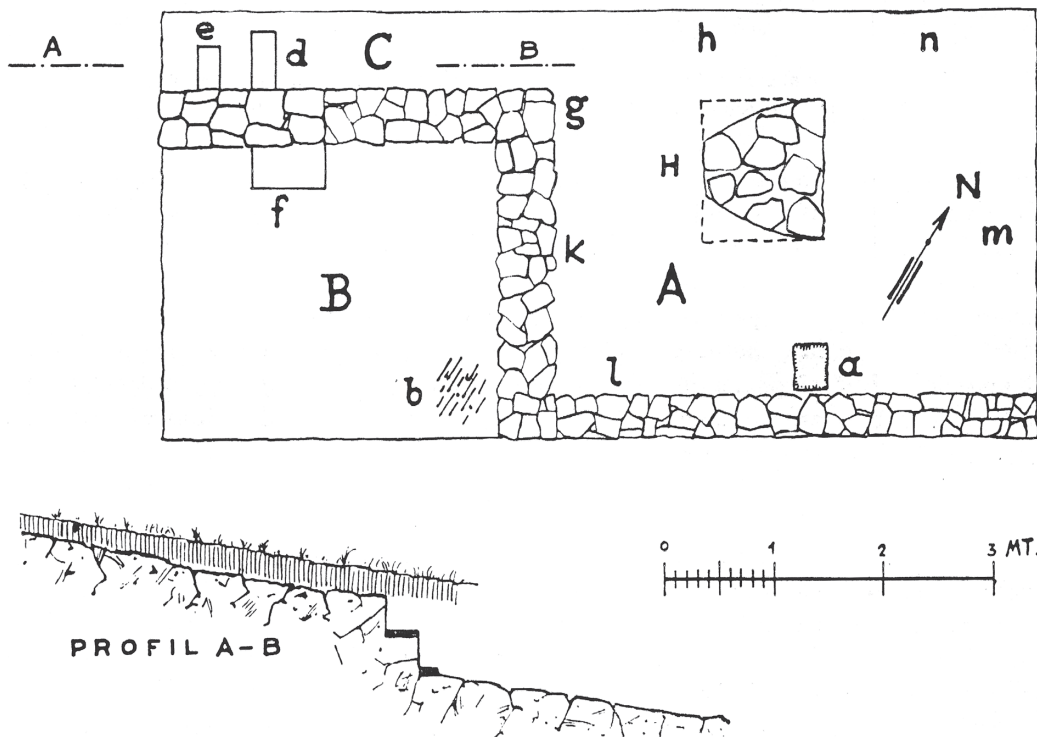
⁴⁰ The numbers refer to Schmid's numbering of buildings in his unpublished report (Schmid 1944). Up to and including the number 4, they match the numbers in the publication (Schmid 1937) and in the survey map (id. 1939). Capital letters refer to the smithies in the publication and in the map, but Schmid no longer used them in his 1944 report. The buildings were excavated in the following order: Buildings 1–5 in 1936; Buildings 6, 12 (?), 13 in 1937; Buildings 8–10 in 1939; Buildings 7, 11, 14 (?), 15 (?) in 1940. Buildings 11 and 14 could not be located, and the identification of Building 7 (Smithy F) is unreliable.



Sl. 3. Ulaka; hiša 1 (tloris)

Sl. 7: Ulaka. Schmidova izkopavanja. Hiša 1: A – nakovalo in ješa; B – ješa; D – ognjišče; C – hodnik; E – tlak; S – prag (po Schmid 1937, 18–19, sl. 3).

Fig. 7: Ulaka. Schmid's excavations. House 1: A – anvil and forge; B – forge; D – fireplace; C – hallway; E – pavement; S – doorstep (after Schmid 1937, 18–19, Fig. 3).



Sl. 7. Ulaka, kovačnica A (tloris): A kovačnica, B predverje, C hodnik s stopnicami, H ognjišče

Sl. 8: Ulaka. Schmidova izkopavanja. Hiša 5/Kovačnica A: A – kovačnica; B – predverje; C – hodnik s stopnicami; H – ognjišče; a – kotlina z varom; b – odpadki ognjišča in var; d, e – stopnica; f – prizidek; h – mala amfora; i, k, n – var (po Schmid 1937, 20–22, sl. 7).

Fig. 8: Ulaka. Schmid's excavations. House 5/Smithy A: A – smithy; B – foyer; C – hallway with stairs; H – fireplace; a – hollow with forge sand; b – fireplace waste and forge sand; d, e – stair; f – annex; h – small amphora; i, k, n – forge sand (after Schmid 1937, 20–22, Fig. 7).

objektov so vodile kamnite ali lesene stopnice. Nadgradnja stavb, ki jih je Schmid interpretiral kot delavnice, naj bi bila izdelana v kladni tehniki, o čemer je sklepal na podlagi kosov glinastega premaza z odtisi lesenih leg in palic. Ohranjeni kosi maltnega ometa z odtisi trsja, šibja in desk bi lahko podpirali izkopavalčeve navedbe o poslikanih stenah "prodajaln" in "manjših stanovanjskih hiš" (2, 3, 4, 9, in 15). Tegule naj bi prekrivale samo vodni zbiralnik na jugovzhodnem delu naselbine, glavna stavb pa je bila domnevno krita s skodlami ali s slamo.

Tloris in način gradnje objektov na Ulaki ne odstopata od značilnosti železnodobnega stavbarstva na Notranjskem⁴¹ in v Posočju, ki se ohranijo še v pozno-rimski čas in mlajša obdobja. Natančnejša podoba (pol) vkopanih, eno- ali dvonadstropnih stavb s suhozidno drenažo oz. temelji iz lomljencev, glinenimi, kamniti ali lesenimi tlemi ter v kombinaciji vodoravnega temeljnega bruna, pokončnih lesenih stebrov in dvojnega opaža grajenimi stenami, ki kažejo sorodnosti s t. i. retijskim tipom hiše iz vzhodnega dela Centralnih Alp in južnoalpskih dolin, je v širšem prostoru znana npr. z višinske naselbine Castelraimondo v Furlaniji.⁴² V skalna tla vklesani objekti z Ulake imajo na Notranjskem primerjavo na železnodobni naselbini in zgodnjerimski postojanki na vzpetini Sovič nad Postojno, kjer je bil oktobra 2017 odkrit podoben, v karbonatno podlago poglobljen objekt v izmeri približno 3 × 2 m, preliminarno datiran v 2./1. st. pr. n. št.⁴³ Apneno maltno vezivo za zidove in stenski omet ter opečna strešna kritina se na nekaterih naselbinah s kontinuiteto poselitve iz prazgodovine kot novost rimskega obdobja pojavita že na začetku principata, na drugih pa šele v srednjecesarskem obdobju ali pozneje.

Tlorisna zasnova rimske naselbine, ki jo je mogoče razbrati na lidarskem posnetku (sl. 5), prikazuje bolj kompleksno situacijo od poenostavljenega Schmidovega načrta z objekti, ki se vrstijo ob osrednji osi oz. ulici (sl. 6). Razvidni so tako samostojni objekti kot gruče in vrste stavb, ki mestoma ustvarjajo videz rastra tesno skupaj postavljenih prostorov v radialnih nizih oziroma blokih z opazno tendenco koncentričnega širjenja od osrednjega, očitno nepozidanega (trškega) dela naselbine, proti zunanemu obodu. Bloke in gruče stavb ločujejo bolj ali manj široki presledki (morda v funkciji prehodov in protipožarnih razmikov) in nepozidana območja. Po analogiji z naselbino na Mostu na Soči bi lahko nize stavb opredelili kot obrtne delavnice, samostojno stoječi objekti pa bi lahko imeli stanovanjski značaj. Mreža ulic oziroma komunikacij v smeri vhodov, od katerih se dva zarisujeta na zahodnem delu, eden pa na jugovzhodnem delu naselbine, je slabo čitljiva. Najbližji znani regionalni primerjavi za višinski tip antične naselbine s podobno

of elevations or the stratigraphic origin of the finds. Schmid's dating of individual buildings is thus supported by chronologically homogeneous assemblages of finds from the lower parts of the deposits excavated in the vicinity of the identified structures, although the time span of artefacts from layers attributed to individual "buildings" is often much greater.

The scarce and insufficient documentation of Schmid's excavations reveals that most of the buildings on Ulaka had a rectangular or square floor plan with outside dimensions from 4.5 m × 4.3 m to 16.3 m × 5 m. The layout of the buildings was adapted to the configuration of the ground with some of the buildings placed in natural hollows and others either partially or fully dug into the bedrock between 1.2 and 1.66 m deep (Fig. 7; 8). The foundations were made of roughly cut stones bound with mortar; some of the walls were formed out of modified bedrock. The floors of the buildings were mostly chiselled and levelled with clay; in one case it was furnished with a mortar pavement. The buildings had one or two rooms. Stone or wooden stairs led to the underground parts of buildings. The superstructures of the buildings interpreted as workshops were supposedly baulk wall constructions; Schmid concluded this on the basis of fragments of clay coating with impressions of wooden posts and sticks. Preserved fragments of mortar coating with impressions of reeds, wicker, and planks could support the excavator's claims that "shops" and "small residential houses" (2, 3, 4, 9, 15) had painted walls. Only the cistern in the south-eastern part of the settlement was covered by tegulae, and most of the buildings are assumed to have been covered with wooden shingles or thatch.

Floor plans and mode of construction do not deviate from the characteristic features of Iron Age construction in the Notranjska⁴¹ and Soča regions, which survived even to the Late Roman period and beyond. These (half) dug one- or two storey buildings with dry stone drainage and foundations made of roughly cut stones; with clay, stone, or wooden floor; and with walls constructed with the combination of a horizontal foundation beam, vertical wooden posts, and double panelling, show similarities to the so-called Raetian-type houses from the eastern part of the Central Alps and from Southern Alpine valleys. In the wider area, a clearer image of them is known e.g. from the hilltop settlement of Castelraimondo in Friuli.⁴² In Notranjska, the buildings on Ulaka, carved into the rocky ground, can be compared to the Iron Age settlement and Early Roman outpost on the hill of Sovič above Postojna, where a similar building, dug into the carbonate bedrock, measuring approximately 3 × 2 m and preliminarily dated to the 2nd-1st century BC, was discovered in October 2017.⁴³ In some of the settlements

⁴¹ Horvat 1995, 185–186.

⁴² Santoro Bianchi 1992.

⁴³ Za posredovane podatke se zahvaljujem Manca Omahen, vodji izkopavanj (Avgusta d. o. o.).

⁴¹ Horvat 1995, 185–186.

⁴² Santoro Bianchi 1992.

⁴³ Information courtesy of Manca Omahen, who directed the excavation (Avgusta d. o. o.).

strukturirano zazidavo območja nekdanjega prazgodovinskega gradišča so Ajdovščina nad Rodikom,⁴⁴ Gradišče pri Knežaku,⁴⁵ Kerin nad Pivko, Gradišče nad Trnovim v Ilirski Bistrici⁴⁶ in Sv. Pavel nad Vrtovinom.⁴⁷

Lokacija grobišča prebivalcev naselbine ni zanesljivo ugotovljena. Nagrobnika, vzdana v cerkvi sv. Martina v Podcerkvi, naj bi bila po Danskem (1857) odkrita na območju nekropole na Ulaki. Plane žgane grobove severno in južno od Podcerkve sicer omenja Žmavc, vendar ne poda njihove časovne opredelitve.⁴⁸

KRONOLOGIJA

V okviru celotnega korpusa najdb dinamiko rimskodobne poselitve Ulake najbolje odraža več kot 500 evidentiranih rimskih novcev, ki naselbino uvrščajo med podeželska središča z izdatneje dokumentiranim denarnim obtokom. V skupini zgodnejših določljivih numizmatičnih najdb (*sl.* 9)⁴⁹ izstopata precejšnje število rimskega republikanskega denarja iz 2. st. pr. n. št. (skupno 10 novcev, med njimi denarij, kvinarij, trije viktoriat in pet asov) in skromnejša prisotnost srebrnih novcev iz 1. st. pr. n. št., zastopanih s kovom iz leta 68 pr. n. št. in morda še s štirimi denarji, kovanimi v letih 49/48, 48 in 32/31 pr. n. št.⁵⁰ Sledita zmeren dotok denarja v 1. st. n. št. in močan porast v drugi tretjini 2. st., ki ustreza glavni kronološko oprijemljivega gradiva iz Schmidovih izkopavanj. Med objekti s prepričljivejšimi sklopi kronološko homogenih najdb izstopajo hiša 5 (kovačnica A) (*sl.* 8) s kompletom kovaškega orodja (*sl.* 13: 2–4), ki bi jo bilo mogoče na podlagi Klavdijevega novca, amfor in dvoročajnih skodel s precej pridržka umestiti v sredino ali drugo polovico 1. st., ter hiša 13 (kovačnica E), ki jo rozetna fibula ter zakladna najdba novcev, deponirana po 173/174,⁵¹ postavljajo v zadnjo tretjino 2. stoletja. Sočasni ali morda nekoliko mlajši predmeti iz istega objekta vključujejo ožgano dvokrilno pasno spono, gumb in peltast okov (*sl.* 10: 1,2,4), ki imajo dobre analogije v sklopih iz druge polovice 2. in prve polovice 3. st.⁵²

Ponoven in izrazit višek je v novčnem obtoku dokumentiran šele po sredini 3. st., ki mu sledita stabilen

⁴⁴ Slapšak 1997; Kokalj, Hesse 2017, 14.

⁴⁵ Laharnar 2012, 66–67; Laharnar, Lozić, Miškec 2020, v tej knjigi; Kokalj, Hesse 2017, 56–57.

⁴⁶ Laharnar, Lozić, Miškec 2020.

⁴⁷ Ciglencečki 2016, 420–421, sl. 2.

⁴⁸ Urleb 1968, 479.

⁴⁹ *FMRSI* I 84/1; *FMRSI* III 56; *FMRSI* IV 42; *FMRSI* V 39; *FMRSI* VI 57. Za posredovane podatke se zahvaljujem Alenki Miškec iz Numizmatičnega kabineta Narodnega muzeja Slovenije.

⁵⁰ Kos 1986, 29 (evidentirani pod najdiščem Stari trg pri Ložu (*FMRSI* I 83/1, 1–4).

⁵¹ *FMRSI* I 84/2; Kos 1986, 85.

⁵² Gaspari 2000, 52; Laharnar 2015, 22–23, t. 3: 7–10.

with continuous occupation from prehistory, lime mortar binder for walls, wall plaster, and brick roof tiling appear as a novelty of the Roman period as early as the beginning of the principate, and in others only in the Middle Imperial period or later.

The layout of the Roman settlement, as it can be detected from the lidar image (*Fig.* 5), shows a more complex situation than Schmid's simplified plan with buildings lined along the central axis/street (*Fig.* 6). Independent buildings and clusters of them can be identified, sometimes creating the impression of a raster of rooms closely against each other in radial rows or blocks and with a noticeable tendency to spread concentrically from the unbuilt central (commercial) part of the settlement towards the outer edge. Blocks and clusters of buildings are separated by more or less wide gaps (perhaps functioning as passageways or fire safety gaps) and unbuilt areas. Judging by the analogy with the settlement in Most na Soči, the rows of buildings could be identified as craft workshops, while the independently standing buildings could have been of residential character. The poorly visible grid of streets/passages is oriented towards the entrances, two of which can be seen in the western part, and one in the southeastern part of the settlement. The nearest known regional comparisons for a Roman hilltop settlement with a similarly structured built-up area that used to be a prehistoric hillfort are Ajdovščina above Rodik,⁴⁴ Gradišče near Knežak,⁴⁵ Kerin above Pivka, Gradišče above Trnovo in Ilirska Bistrica,⁴⁶ and Sv. Pavel above Vrtovin.⁴⁷

The location of the cemetery that belonged to the settlement has not been identified with certainty. According to Dansk (1857), the two tombstones built into the church of St Martin in Podcerkev were discovered in the area of the necropolis on Ulaka. Žmavc mentions flat cremation graves north and south of Podcerkev, but gives no dating for them.⁴⁸

CHRONOLOGY

Within the framework of the entire corpus of finds, the dynamics of the Roman settlement on Ulaka is best reflected by more than 500 documented Roman coins. This means the settlement on Ulaka is among the countryside centres with better-documented monetary circulation. The most prominent among the identifiable early numismatic finds (*Fig.* 9)⁴⁹ are a considerable num-

⁴⁴ Slapšak 1997; Kokalj, Hesse 2017, 14.

⁴⁵ Laharnar 2012, 66–67; Laharnar, Lozić, Miškec 2020, in this book; Kokalj, Hesse 2017, 56–57.

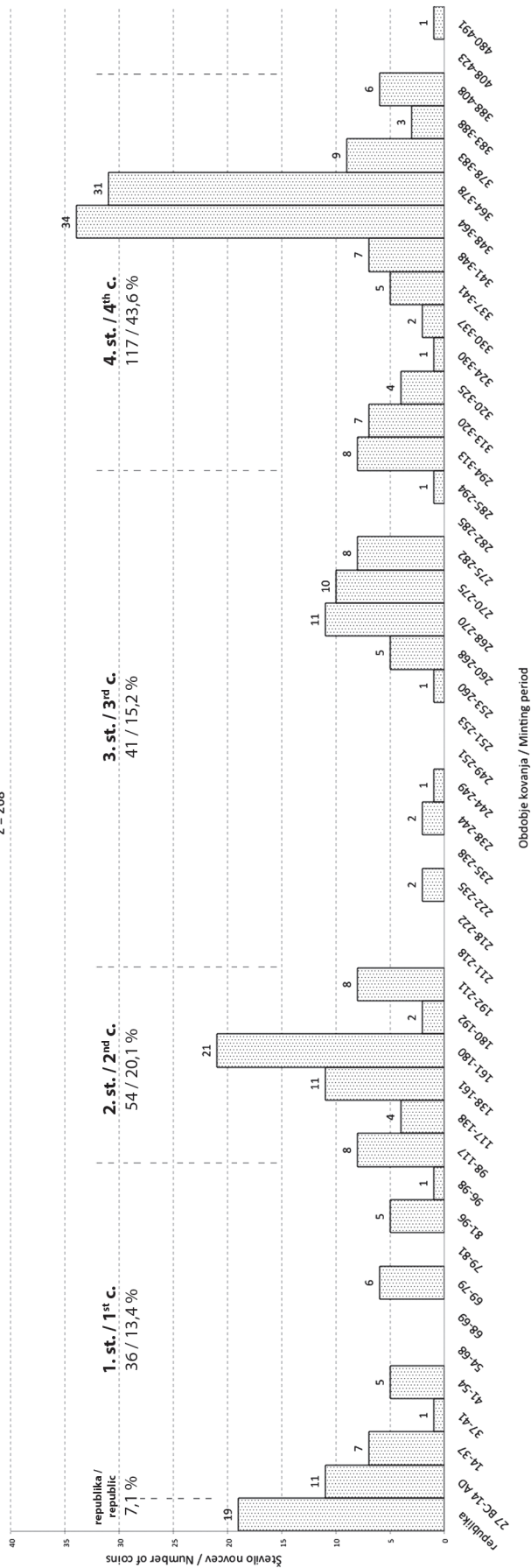
⁴⁶ Laharnar, Lozić, Miškec 2020.

⁴⁷ Ciglencečki 2016, 420–421, *Fig.* 2.

⁴⁸ Urleb 1968, 479.

⁴⁹ *FMRSI* I 84/1; *FMRSI* III 56; *FMRSI* IV 42; *FMRSI* V 39; *FMRSI* VI 57. The author would like to thank Alenka Miškec

Loška dolina
 Stari trg pri Ložu - Ulaka
 POSAMIČNE NAJDBE NOVCEV / INDIVIDUAL COIN FINDS
 Σ = 268



Sl. 9: Ulaka. Strukturiranost posamičnih najdb (določljivih) novcev (podatki: Numizmatični kabinet Narodnega muzeja Slovenije).

Fig. 9: Ulaka. Composition of the attributable single coin finds (data: the Numismatic Cabinet of the National museum of Slovenia).



Sl. 10: Ulaka. Schmidova izkopavanja. Bronasti deli vojaške opreme. Hiša 8 / Kovačnica C: 1 – gumb (pr. 3,6 cm). – Hiša 13 / Kovačnica E: 2 – okov v obliki pelte (d. 3,4 cm); 3 – gumb; 4 – spona (d. 3,5 cm). Vse predmete hrani NMS.

Fig. 10: Ulaka. Schmid's excavations. Bronze elements of military attire. House 8 / Smithy C: 1 – knob (diameter 3.6 cm). – House 13 / Smithy E: 2 – peltate fitting (length 3.4 cm); 3 – knob; 4 – buckle (length 3.5 cm). All artefacts are kept by the NMS.

dotok v prvi polovici 4. st. ter povečano število denarja iz sredine in druge polovice 4. st. Otok poznorimskega obdobja, ki se zaključuje z dvema Teodozijevima novcema in dvema kovoma iz let 388–403 in ki kaže podobnost z dinamiko najdišč iz okvira obrambnega sistema *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*,⁵³ dopolnjujejo posamično odkrita jermenski zaključek amforičaste oblike in okov v obliki propelerja iz okvira vojaške opreme⁵⁴ ter 22,3 cm visok bronast zvonec z ovalnim ušesom iz hiše 5 (kovačnica A) (sl. 11). Slednjega lahko glede na najdbe podobnih večjih zvoncev z višinskih naselbin (Unec, Polhograjska Gora)⁵⁵ in drugih najdišč (npr. založna najdba 6 zvoncev iz bližnjega Gorenjega Jezera; sl. 2)⁵⁶ previdno povežemo z obstojem sistema signalnega obveščanja. Najdiščne okoliščine tremisa iz obdobja druge vlade Zenona (480–491), o kateri prvi poroča P. Hitzinger, niso sporočene,⁵⁷ morebitne druge najdbe, ki

⁵³ Glej Kos 2012.

⁵⁴ Laharnar 2015, 24, t. 3: 13–14.

⁵⁵ Božič 2005, 317–318.

⁵⁶ Podatek Mija Topličanec, Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, Območna enota Ljubljana; hrani Notranjski muzej Postojna.

⁵⁷ Božič, Ciglenečki 1995, 262; *FMRSI* IV 42, 132.



Sl. 11: Ulaka. Schmidova izkopavanja. Bronast zvonec iz Hiše 5 / Kovačnice A (v. 22,8 cm). Predmet hrani NMS.

Fig. 11: Ulaka. Schmid's excavations. Bronze bell from the House 5 / Smithy A (height 22.8 cm). Artefact is kept by the NMS. (Foto / Photo: Tomaž Lauko, NMS)

ber of Roman republican coins from the 2nd century BC (10 coins altogether, among them a denarius, a quinarius, three victoriati, and five asses) and a smaller number of silver coins from the 1st century BC, represented by a coin minted in 68 BC, and perhaps also by four denarii, minted in the years 49/48, 48, and 32/31 BC.⁵⁰ There followed a moderate monetary influx in the 1st century AD, and a strong increase in the second third of the 2nd century, which includes the majority of the chronologically attributable material from Schmid's excavations. Among the buildings with more convincing assemblages of chronologically homogeneous finds are House 5 (Smithy A) (Fig. 8), which contained a set of blacksmith's tools (Fig. 13: 2–4), and can be, with much reserve, dated to the middle or second half of the 1st century, based on a Claudius' coin, amphorae, and two-handled bowls; and House 13 (Smithy E), which is dated to the last third of the 2nd century, based on a rosette fibula and a coin hoard, deposited after 173/174.⁵¹ Contemporary or possibly slightly later objects from the same building include a burned bilobate belt buckle, a knob, and a peltate fitting (Fig. 10: 1,2,4), which have good analogies in the assemblages from the second half of the 2nd and first half of the 3rd century.⁵²

The next prominent peak in coin circulation is documented only after the middle of the 3rd century, followed by a stable influx in the first half of the 4th century

from the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia for this information.

⁵⁰ Kos 1986, 29. Documented below the site of Stari trg pri Ložu (*FMRSI* I 83/1, 1–4).

⁵¹ *FMRSI* I 84/2; Kos 1986, 85.

⁵² Gaspari 2000, 52; Laharnar 2015, 22–23, Pl. 3: 7–10.

bi nakazovale rabo območja naselbine ob koncu 5. ali v začetku 6. stoletja, pa niso znane.

PREDELAVA KOVIN IN DRUGE GOSPODARSKE DEJAVNOSTI

Schmid, zanesljivo eden največjih poznavalcev prazgodovinskega in antičnega železarstva svojega časa, je sledove predelave kovin prepoznal skoraj v vseh izkopanih objektih na Ulaki, naselbina pa naj bi izstopala ravno po velikem številu kovačnic. Odkrito kovaško orodje, ognjišča, talilniki, strjevalne posode, bronasta in železna žindra ter najdbe več istovrstnih železnih orodij v resnici govorijo za razvito predelavo kovin in podpirajo tezo o Ulaki kot trškem središču lokalne skupnosti.

Železova žindra, ki jo je na območju naselbine že pred Schmidom dokumentiral A. Müllner, in omembe na površini ležeče železove rude v ravnini pod hribom, ki jo je bilo po imenovanem raziskovalcu v sredini 18. stoletja dovolj za predelavo v cesarski železarni v Čabru,⁵⁸ ne dopuščajo dokončne presoje, ali so se na Ulaki oziroma v njeni neposredni okolici odvijale vse faze predelave železa, ali pa samo izdelovanje predmetov iz drugod pripravljene surovine in občasno taljenje rude. Arheološki sledovi železopredelovalne dejavnosti v agru Emone⁵⁹ in v zaledju Tergesta v splošnem ne odstopajo od širše dokumentiranega vzorca iz severnih delov imperija, v okviru katerega so sledovi železarstva v sekundarnih aglomeracijah in mestnih naselbinah pretežno omejeni na ostanke predelave surovega (kovnega) železa v končne izdelke, intenzivno primarno pridobivanje železa oziroma taljenje železove rude z večjimi količinami žindre in talilnimi pečmi pa je potekalo predvsem v podeželskih obratih.⁶⁰ Obe glavni fazi predelave ali samo kovaške delavnice, praviloma namenjene popravilom, so dokumentirane zlasti v rudarskih vikusih,⁶¹ naselbinah ob glavnih komunikacijah⁶² in vilah rustikah. Taljenje rude je zaradi lažje logistike (dostava rude in kuriva), protipožarne varnosti in sanitarnih razlogov potekalo na robu ali izven strnjenih naselbin.⁶³

⁵⁸ Müllner 1909, 54.

⁵⁹ Glej Inkret 2013, 61–69.

⁶⁰ Polfer 2000, 74–77.

⁶¹ Rothenhöfer 2005, 65–68; Burnham, Wacher 1990, 41.

⁶² Na območju Notranjske je v tem oziru zanimiva večja količina železnega orodja, vključno z nakovalom, delov vozov in konjske opreme ter drugih predmetov, datiranih v čas od 1. do 4. st., s širšega območja najdišča Vodice pri Kalcah (Pflaum 2007), kjer bi smeli domnevati vsaj postajo in preregališče (*mutatio*) v okviru poštnega sistema (*cursus publicus*) na glavni cesti Emona–Aquileia.

⁶³ Npr. večje količine železove žindre v kulturni plasti s tremi novci iz 4. st. na Cesti 5. maja v Ajdovščini, pripisane obrtniškim delavnicam jugozahodno od trdnjave *Castra* (Osmuk 1977, 198, sl. 50); mineraloška analiza vzorcev 25 kg

and an increased amount of money in the middle and second half of the 4th century. The circulation of the Late Roman period, which ends with two Theodosius' coins and two coins from the years 388–403, and which shows similarity to the dynamics of the sites of the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* defence system,⁵³ is complemented by a separately discovered amphora-shaped strap end and a propeller-shaped fitting that belong to military gear,⁵⁴ as well as a 22.3 cm high bronze bell with an oval ear from House 5 (Smithy A) (*Fig. 11*). The latter could, judging by similar finds of larger bells from hilltop settlements (Unec, Polhograjska Gora)⁵⁵ and other sites (e.g. a hoard of 6 bells from the nearby Gorenje Jezero; *Fig. 2*),⁵⁶ with some reservation relate to the existence of a signalling system. The discovery circumstances of a tremissis from the second reign of Zeno (480–491), first reported by Hitzinger, were not documented.⁵⁷ Other hypothetical finds that could indicate that the area of the settlement was in use at the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century, are not known.

METALWORKING AND OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Schmid, certainly one of the greatest connoisseurs of prehistoric and Roman iron working of his time, identified traces of metal working in almost all the excavated buildings in Ulaka and the settlement supposedly had a particularly high number of smithies. Blacksmithing tools, fireplaces, melting and consolidation vessels, bronze and iron slag, and also several iron tools of the same type, indeed indicate developed metal working and support the thesis that Ulaka was a trade centre of the local community.

Even before Schmid, iron slag was documented in the area of the settlement by Müllner. According to him, there was enough surface iron ore in the plain below the hill to be processed in the imperial iron works in Čabar in the middle of the 18th century.⁵⁸ This, however, still provides no definite answer of whether all stages of iron working were present on Ulaka (or in its immediate surroundings), or was Ulaka just the place where objects were manufactured from the materials brought from elsewhere, and a location of occasional ore smelting. Archaeological traces of iron working in the territory of Emona⁵⁹ and in the hinterland of Tergeste generally do not deviate from

⁵³ See: Kos 2012.

⁵⁴ Laharnar 2015, 24, Pl. 3: 13–14.

⁵⁵ Božič 2005, 317–318.

⁵⁶ Information by Mija Topličanec, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Ljubljana Regional Office; kept by Notranjski muzej Postojna.

⁵⁷ Božič, Ciglencečki 1995, 262; *FMRSI* IV 42, 132.

⁵⁸ Müllner 1909, 54.

⁵⁹ See: Inkret 2013, 61–69.

Količina in raznovrstnost sledov predelave in obdelave kovin Ulako odmikata od manjših obratov v okviru hišnih gospodarstev vil⁶⁴ in manjših naselbin, v katerih so kovaško dejavnost opravljali njihovi prebivalci ali potujoči rokodelci, in podpirata domnevo o obstoju specializiranega metalurškega centra s profesionalnimi kovači (*ferrarii* oz. *fabri*).⁶⁵ Podobno intenzivna kovaška in metalurška dejavnost na rodiški Ajdovščini, izpričana z razmeroma pogostimi najdbami orodja in železove žindre ter podprta z rezultati geofizikalnih raziskav,⁶⁶ je domnevno v veliki meri povezana s ponovnim razcvetom naselbine v poznorimskem obdobju.

Kovaška ognjišča na Ulaki si lahko na podlagi izkopavalčevih podatkov predstavljamo večinoma kot odprta ognjišča na do 0,75 m visokih in 0,42 × 0,56 m do 1,85 × 1,2 m velikih kamnitih podstavkih pravokotne (stavbe 5, 7, 8, 12) ali okrogle (stavbi 6, 10) oblike, ki so bila opremljena s šobami za dovod zraka z mehovi (citati na sl. 7; 8). Posamezna ognjišča naj bi bila obokana, z zaokroženo zadnjo steno iz kamnja in žgane gline ter oblogo iz kapnikov oziroma sige, odporne proti visokim temperaturam. Pri rekonstrukciji oblike in delovanja opisanih ognjišč se je Schmid opiral na ikonografske vire o antičnih kovačnicah.⁶⁷

Okoli ognjišč, ki so bila opremljena s kamnitimi podstavki in kladami z zglajeno zgornjo površino, interpretiranimi kot podstavki za nakovala ali delovna mesta, naj bi navadno ležale saje, var, prežgana ilovica in železna žindra. Podobo značilnega železopredelovalnega obrata v hiši 5 zaključujeta komplet tipično kovaškega orodja (kladivo,⁶⁸ klešče⁶⁹ in pila⁷⁰; sl. 13: 2–4) ter vdolbina (sl. 8: a), ki jo morda lahko glede na ureditev iz zgodnjecesarških delavnic na Štalenski gori (Magdalensberg)⁷¹ interpretiramo kot vkopano kovaško ognjišče oz. talilno peč. Bronasta žindra in drugi ostanki predelave brona dopuščajo domnevo, da imamo na Ulaki opravka z de-

žindre, odkrite med novejšimi izkopavanji bližnje lokacije na Cesti 5. maja, je pokazala, da gre za sekundarno, kovaško žindro in pri enem vzorcu za prečiščen surovec (Kramar et al. 2015); plast s kovaškim odpadom je starejša od zidanih ostankov arhitekture, datirane v srednje- in poznocesarsko obdobje (Tratnik, Žerjal 2017, 252, 263, sl. 6 in 7).

⁶⁴ Npr. sklop železnega orodja in kovinskega odpada, morda namenjenega reciklaži, iz vile Školarice pri Dekanih; podatek Tina Žerjal, avgust 2017.

⁶⁵ V Porenju so podobni obrati za intenzivno pridobivanje surovega železa in njegovo nadaljnjo predelavo značilni za 4. st. (Polfer 2000, 76–77; Rothenhöfer 2005, 68).

⁶⁶ Glej Murgelj 2000.

⁶⁷ Gaspari 1998–1999; k antičnim kovačnicam in njihovim ostankom v jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru Dolenz 1997, 37–48.

⁶⁸ Pietsch 1983, 23–25, sl. 26, t. 6: 93; Gaitzsch 1980, 87–89; Dolenz 1997, 159–160, t. 49: W1.

⁶⁹ Gaitzsch 1980, 230–231.

⁷⁰ Gaitzsch 1980, 49–50; Pietsch 1983, 49–50; Dolenz 1997, 172–173.

⁷¹ Dolenz 1997, 47.

a more widely documented pattern known from the northern parts of the empire, where traces of iron working in secondary agglomerations and urban settlements are mostly limited to the traces of processing pig iron into final products, while intensive primary processing of iron or smelting of iron ore with larger amounts of slag and in smelting furnaces took place predominantly in countryside establishments.⁶⁰ Either both main phases of iron processing or just blacksmithing workshops, usually intended for repairs, are most often documented in mining vici,⁶¹ in settlements on the main routes,⁶² and in villae rusticae. For easier logistics (ore and fuel delivery), fire safety, and for sanitary reasons, ore smelting took place at the edges of agglomerations or outside them.⁶³

The number and variety of traces of metal working and processing set Ulaka apart from smaller establishments functioning within the framework of domestic economy of villae,⁶⁴ and from smaller settlements, where blacksmithing was performed by the inhabitants or by travelling craftsmen; and support the hypothesis of the existence of a specialised metallurgical centre with professional blacksmiths (*ferrarii* or *fabri*).⁶⁵ On Ajdovščina above Rodik, similarly intense blacksmithing and metallurgical activities, attested by relatively numerous tools and iron slag and further supported by the results of geophysical surveys,⁶⁶ are supposedly closely related to the second period of flourishing of the settlement in the Late Roman period.

Based on the excavator's information, blacksmiths' forges on Ulaka can be envisioned as mostly open forges,

⁶⁰ Polfer 2000, 74–77.

⁶¹ Rothenhöfer 2005, 65–68; Burnham, Wachter 1990, 41.

⁶² In the territory of Notranjska, a larger amount of iron tools, including an anvil, parts of wagons and horse tack, and other objects, dated to the time between the 1st and the 4th centuries, was discovered in the wider area of the site Vodice near Kalce (Pflaum 2007), where at least a changing station (*mutatio*) within the postal service system (*cursus publicus*) on the main road from Emona to Aquileia could be assumed.

⁶³ E.g. larger amounts of iron slag in a cultural layer with three coins from the 4th century in Ajdovščina (Cesta 5. maja), attributed to craft workshops southwest of the *Castra* fort (Osmuk 1977, 198, Fig. 50); a mineralogical analysis of the samples of 25 kg of slag discovered during the recent excavations in the nearby site of Cesta 5. maja has proved that this is secondary slag and in one sample a purified ingot (Kramar et al. 2015); the layer with blacksmithing waste is earlier than the remains of masonry structures dated to the Middle and Late Imperial periods (Tratnik, Žerjal 2017, 252, 263, Figs. 6 and 7).

⁶⁴ E.g. the assemblage of iron tools and metal waste, perhaps intended to be recycled, from villa Školarice near Dekani; information by Tina Žerjal, August 2017.

⁶⁵ In the Rhine region, similar establishments for intensive production of pig iron and its further processing are typical of the 4th century (Polfer 2000, 76–77; Rothenhöfer 2005, 68).

⁶⁶ See: Murgelj 2000.



Sl. 12: Ulaka. Schmidova izkopavanja. Odlomki preluknjane stene ognjišča iz Hiše 5 / Kovačnice A in Kovačnice 9. Vse predmete hrani NMS.

Fig. 12: Ulaka. Schmid's excavations. Fragments of the perforated clay plates of the fireplace from the House 5 / Smithy A and Smithy 9. All artefacts are kept by the NMS.

(Foto / Photo: Tomaž Lauko, NMS).

lavnicami, v katerih so predelovali tako železo kot bron.⁷² Predelava različnih kovin se je lahko odvijala na istem ali pa na ločenih ognjiščih.

Nepojasnjena ostaja funkcija številnih fragmentov preluknjanih glinenih plošč z 1,5 do 4,5 cm debelimi ostenjem in gosto razmeščenimi okroglimi odprtiniami premera 2,5 do 4,5 cm ter odtisi lesenih letev notranjega ogrodja (sl. 12). Te naj bi po Schmidu sestavljale predvsem ostenja manjših ognjišč na nizkem podstavku, ki so bila odprta le z ene strani, kar pa je vprašljivo, saj tolikšno število zagotovo ni bilo potrebno za napeljavo cevi iz meha, nasprotno, v tem primeru bi onemogočalo doseganje potrebnih temperatur v ješi. Edine konkretne primerjave ponujajo bronastodobne in železnodobne ognjiščne rešetke,⁷³ zato velja v pričakovanju oprijemljivejših najdb v kontekstu tudi ostanke plošč s predrtinami

⁷² Polfer 2000, 76; Rothenhöfer 2005, tab. 1.

⁷³ Za analogije iz severnojadranskega in jugovzhodno-predalpskega prostora glej npr. Lonza 1981, 74–80, t. 44–48; Bolta 1960, 282, t. I: 6; Dular, Križ 2004, t. 11: 16; Vinazza 2016, 14–15. K okroglim dvodelnim prenosnim pečem, namenjenih predvsem pripravi hrane, in njihovim funkcionalnim značilnostim glej Coulon 2015.

up to 0.75 m high, and placed on either rectangular (Buildings 5, 7, 8, 12) or round (Buildings 6, 10) stone bases with the dimensions between 0.42 × 0.56 m and 1.85 × 1.2 m. They were equipped with nozzles for the supply of air from the bellows (citations in Fig. 7; 8). The fireplaces were supposedly vaulted, with a rounded back wall made of stones and baked clay, and a lining made of dripstone or flowstone, resistant to high temperatures. Schmid based his reconstruction of the form and function of the described forges on the iconographic sources on Roman smithies.⁶⁷

Soot, welded metal, fired clay, and iron slag were usually found around the fireplaces, which were equipped with stone bases and blocks with a smoothed upper surface, interpreted as the bases for anvils or for working places. The image of a typical iron working establishment in House 5 is completed by a set of typical blacksmith's tools (a hammer,⁶⁸ pincers,⁶⁹ a file;⁷⁰ Fig. 13: 2–4) and a hollow in the ground (Fig. 8: a), which might be – by analogy with the Early Imperial workshops at Magdalensberg⁷¹ – interpreted as a blacksmith's forge of a smelting furnace, dug into the ground. Bronze slag and other remains of bronze working allow for the hypothesis that both iron and bronze were worked in the workshops of Ulaka.⁷² Different metals could be worked either in the same forge or in separate forges.

The function of numerous fragments of 1.5 to 4.5 cm thick perforated clay plates with densely arranged circular openings with diameter between 2.5 and 4.5 cm and imprints of wooden battens of the interior framework (Fig. 12) remains unexplained. According to Schmid, most of these plates were the walls of smaller fireplaces on low bases and open only from one side. This interpretation, however, is questionable, for the number of openings was certainly too high if they were meant for the hoses from the bellow – they would actually prevent reaching the necessary temperatures in the forge. Since the only relevant comparisons are fireplace grates from the Bronze and Iron Ages,⁷³ the remains of perforated plates from Ulaka, which bear absolutely no traces of molten metal or slag, can be – in absence of better identifiable finds in con-

⁶⁷ Gaspari 1998–1999; for Roman smithies and their remains in the Southeastern Alpine area, see: Dolenz 1997, 37–48.

⁶⁸ Pietsch 1983, 23–25, Fig. 26, Pl. 6: 93; Gaitzsch 1980, 87–89; Dolenz 1997, 159–160, Pl. 49: W1.

⁶⁹ Gaitzsch 1980, 230–231.

⁷⁰ Gaitzsch 1980, 49–50; Pietsch 1983, 49–50; Dolenz 1997, 172–173.

⁷¹ Dolenz 1997, 47.

⁷² Polfer 2000, 76; Rothenhöfer 2005, Tab. 1.

⁷³ For the analogies from the northern Adriatic and Southeastern Alpine areas, see e.g. Lonza 1981, 74–80, Pls. 44–48; Bolta 1960, 282, Pl. I: 6; Dular, Križ 2004, Pl. 11: 16; Vinazza 2016, 14–15. For round double portable kilns, intended predominantly for food preparation, and their functional properties, see: Coulon 2015.

z Ulake, na katerih ni najmanjših sledov taline ali žlindre, obravnavati kot dele prečnih pravokotnih rešetk pri odprtih kuhinjskih ognjiščih ali pečeh za pripravo hrane, izdelanih v prazgodovinski tradiciji.⁷⁴

Z rabo v kovačnicah je Schmid povezal tudi številne glinene svitke in jih interpretiral kot podstavke za talilne lončke. Na Ulaki je iz njegovih izkopavanj ohranjenih kar 53 svitkov ali njihovih delov, ki jim moramo prišteti še najdbe iz poznejših raziskav in nadzorov posegov na robnih delih naselbine (interpretiranih kot zavrženo gradivo iz starejših izkopavanj). Svitki iz objektov, ki jih je izkopal Schmid, skoraj zagotovo ne morejo biti rezidualna najdba in jih je mogoče z nekaj pridržka postaviti v rimski kontekst, sicer pa so značilen in pogost del naselbinskih inventarjev iz časa med pozno bronasto dobo in koncem latenskega obdobja.⁷⁵ V rimskem obdobju so svitki dokumentirani v zelo omejenem številu, praviloma v manjših podeželskih naselbinah (zgodnje) cesarskega časa. Prevladujoča razlaga svitke pojasnjuje kot podstavke za posode pri kuhi na ognjišču, dokumentirani konteksti iz mlajšehalštatskih faz lončarskega obrata v objektih 15A in 23 na Mostu na Soči, kjer so sestavljali mreže za ločevanje izdelkov v peči,⁷⁶ pa dokazujejo njihovo rabo tudi v obrtnem ambientu.

Zbir železnega orodja sestavljajo izključno dolgotrajne oblike, ki so bile razširjene predvsem med 1. in 3. stoletjem, nekatere pa se skoraj nespremenjene uporabljajo še v poznorimsko obdobje. V starejšo skupino bi lahko poleg omenjenega kovaškega pribora (sl. 13: 2–4) z nekaj pridržka uvrstili vsaj še masivno drvarsko sekiro z okrepljenim čelom (sl. 13: 1) in vejnik s tulastim nasadiščem (sl. 13: 5). Izstopa skupina šestih tesel zelo podobnih oblik in dimenzij, ki jih zaznamuje zaobljeno upognjen list ter uho z ovalno luknjo za pritrnitev na toporišče in polkrožno zvišanim ostenjem ter kratko kladivasto čelo (sl. 14). Podobna tesla z velikim, včasih skoraj pravim kotom med listom in toporiščem, in kladivastim čelom, ki jih ločuje od sicer zelo podobnih kopač, so običajen sestavni del depojskih najdb na Notranjskem⁷⁷ in v širši regiji. Kronološko oprijemljivejše primerjave iz taborov renškega limesa kažejo na težišče njihove uporabe v



Sl. 13: Ulaka. Schmidova izkopavanja, Hiša 5 / Kovačnica A. Železno orodje: 1 – sekira (d. 22,7 cm); 2 – klešče (d. 46,4 cm); 3 – kladivo (d. 17,2 cm); 4 – pila (d. 30,8 cm); 5 – vejnik (d. 26,4 cm). Vse predmete hrani NMS.

Fig. 13: Ulaka. Schmid's excavations. House 5 / Smithy A. Iron tools: 1 – axe (length 22.7 cm); 2 – pincers (length 46.4 cm); 3 – hammer (length 17.2 cm); 4 – file (length 30.8 cm); 5 – billhook (length 26.4 cm). All artefacts are kept by the NMS. (Foto / Photo: Tomaž Lauko, NMS).

text – understood as parts of movable rectangular grates in open kitchen fireplaces or ovens for food preparation, manufactured in the prehistoric tradition.⁷⁴

The numerous discovered clay rings were also associated with smithies and interpreted as stands for smelting pots, according to Schmid. No less than 53 surviving clay rings or their fragments were discovered on Ulaka during his excavations, not counting the finds from later investigations and archaeological monitoring in the areas along the edges of the settlement (interpreted as discarded material from earlier excavations). Clay rings from the buildings excavated by Schmid almost certainly cannot be residual finds and with some reservation they can be

⁷⁴ K podstavkom za kuhanje na ognjiščih in tipom zidanih ognjišč in pečic v Pompejih glej Foss 1994, 18, 78–64. V okviru sorodnih kuhinjskih pripomočkov iz italskega ambianta velja omeniti npr. podstavek-stojalo za kuhanje v obliki perforiranega okroglega pladnja (pr. okoli 25 cm) na treh nizkih nogah iz poznohelenistične faze (pribl. 125–80/75 pr. n. št.) naselbine Tel Anafa v dolini Hula, ki ima 18 okroglih odprtih premera 3 cm (Berlin 1993, 40–41, sl. 3, 4); splošno h kuhinjskim podstavkom glej Scheffer 1981.

⁷⁵ Npr. Horvat 1995, 188; Horvat, Bavdek 2009, 122–123.

⁷⁶ Svoljšak 2014, 293; Svoljšak, Dular 2016, 166–174.

⁷⁷ Gaspari et al. 2000, 198, sl. 10: 25,26; 11: 28,33; Pflaum 2007, 302, t. 3: 21,22. Schmid poroča o najdbi več identičnih orodij, ki jih sicer opredeli za kopače (*Hauen*), na Šilentaboru (Schmid 1944, 46).



Sl. 14: Ulaka. Schmidova izkopavanja. Železne tesle: **1** – Hiša 8 / Kovačnica C (d. 17,3 cm); **2** – Hiša 8 / Kovačnica C (d. 19,2 cm); **3** – Hiša 13 / Kovačnica E (d. 17,5 cm); **4** – Hiša 8 / Kovačnica C (d. 17,4 cm); **5** – Hiša 5 / Kovačnica A (d. 16,2 cm); **6** – Hiša 6 / Kovačnica B (d. 16,3 cm). Vse predmete hrani NMS (foto: Tomaž Lauko, NMS).

Fig. 14: Ulaka. Schmid's excavations. Iron adzes: **1** – House 8 / Smithy C (length 17.3 cm); **2** – House 8 / Smithy C (length 19.2 cm); **3** – House 13 / Smithy E (length 17.5 cm); **4** – House 8 / Smithy C (length 17.4 cm); **5** – House 5 / Smithy A (length 16.2 cm); **6** – House 6 / Smithy B (length 16.3 cm). All objects are kept by the NMS (photo: Tomaž Lauko, NMS).

srednjecesarskem in poznorimskem obdobju,⁷⁸ ob zelo verjetnem zgodnejšem izvoru te oblike tesla.⁷⁹ Verjetna serijska produkcija tesel na Ulaki govori o tem, da so bile tamkajšnje kovačnice specializirane za izdelavo orodja za potrebe naselbine in bližnja tržišča, upoštevajoč možne okoliščine dokumentiranih viškov naselbine med drugo polovico 2. in koncem 4. st. pa ni izključena niti njihova vpetost v dobavo materiala za vojsko.

Različni tipi sekir in tesel, vključno z manjkajočo, 15 cm dolgo križno sekiro z zvišanima stenama ovalnega ušesa iz hiše 8 (kovačnice C),⁸⁰ vejniki, žaga in sveder dokazujejo izkoriščanje gozdov (Schmid omenja oglje jelke in bora), o poljedelstvu pa pričajo večje količine različnih poljščin v posameznih prostorih (pšenica, žito, grah, proso, ječmen in čičerka). Živinoreja je arheološko oprijemljiva z najdbami kosti domačih živali (omenjene so kosti goveda, drobnice in svinj), manjšega (zgodnjecesarskega) bronastega zvonca s petkotnim ušesom in železnih verig. Nekatere zvrsti namiznega posodja imajo izrazit lokalni značaj, kot npr. dvoročajne skodele (sl. 15) s številnimi primerjavami

placed in the Roman context. Clay rings are generally typical common items in settlement inventories between the Late Bronze Age and the end of the La Tène period.⁷⁵ In the Roman period, clay rings are documented in a very limited number, usually in small countryside settlements from the (Early) Imperial period. According to the prevailing interpretation, clay rings were placed under pots while cooking in the fireplace. Documented contexts from the late Hallstatt phases of the pottery workshop in Buildings 15A and 23 in Most na Soči, where clay rings were used in grids for separating products in kilns,⁷⁶ are evidence for their use in craft workshops as well.

Iron tools include, without exception, long lasting forms, most common between the 1st and 3rd centuries. Some of them were still used almost unchanged in the Late Roman period. In addition to the above-mentioned blacksmithing tools (Fig. 13: 2–4), the earlier group could, with some reservations, also include a massive woodcutting axe with a reinforced butt (Fig. 13: 1) and a socketed billhook (Fig. 13: 5). Prominent among them is a group of six adzes of very similar forms and dimensions, characterized by a rounded bent head, an oval socket with raised sides for attaching a wooden haft, and a short hammer-shaped butt (Fig. 14). Similar adzes with a wide

⁷⁸ Pietsch 1983, 25–28, tip III in IV.

⁷⁹ Npr. zgodnjemirski grob 3 iz Reke pri Cerknem (glej Guštin 1991, 64, t. 31: 2).

⁸⁰ Schmid 1944, 32.

⁷⁵ E.g. Horvat 1995, 188; Horvat, Bavdek 2009, 122–123.

⁷⁶ Svoljšak 2014, 293; Svoljšak, Dular 2016, 166–174.



Sl. 15: Ulaka. Schmidova izkopavanja, Hiša 2. Odlomki dvoročajnih skodel (pr. ustij: 17–22 cm; P 12682). Predmete hrani NMS.

Fig. 15: Ulaka. Schmid's excavations, House 2. Fragments of the two handled bowls (diameter of rims: 17–22 cm; P 12682). Artefacts are kept by the NMS.
(Foto / Photo: Tomaž Lauko, NMS).

iz grobov na Svinji Gorici v Cerknici,⁸¹ naselbinskih plasti v Dolenjem Logatcu (*mansio Longatico*)⁸² in struge Ljubljani na Ljubljanskem barju.⁸³ Velika količina najdenih odlomkov nakazuje možen obstoj lončarske delavnice iz druge polovice 1. st. ali 2. st., ki je zalagala zlasti naselbine vzdolž komunikacije proti Emoni. Maloštevilnost okvirno sočasnih najdb uvožene fine namizne keramike in transportnega posodja ne dopušča celovitejše ocene o vpetosti naselbine v trgovske tokove, ohranjene oblike amfor za oljčno olje (Dressel 6B) in kosi terre sigillate (skodele tipa Sarius, krožniki oblike Consp. 20 ali 21 in skodelice oblike Consp. 27 ali 29) pa pričakovano ustrezajo širše dokumentirani navezanosti notranjsko-kraškega območja na istrsko in severnoital-sko produkcijo.

⁸¹ Urleb 1983, t. 3: 1; 13: 4; 18: 2; 21: 6; 27: 1.

⁸² Šinkovec 2020, v tej knjigi.

⁸³ Gaspari 2003, 177.

– sometimes almost right – angle between the blade and the haft, and a hammer-shaped butt, which distinguishes them from the very similar hoes, are common items in hoards in Notranjska⁷⁷ and the wider region. Better dated analogies from the camps of the Rhine limes indicate that the high point of their use were the Middle Imperial and Late Roman periods,⁷⁸ while this form of an adze is probably of earlier origin.⁷⁹ The fact that adzes were probably serially manufactured on Ulaka suggests that the smithies of Ulaka were specialized in the manufacture of tools for the needs of the settlement and the nearby markets. Taking into account the possible circumstances of the documented peaks between the second half of the 2nd century and the end of the 4th century, it is not impossible that they were included in the supply of materials for the army.

Different types of axes and adzes, including the missing 15 cm long pickaxe with an oval shafthole with raised sides from House 8 (Smithy C),⁸⁰ billhooks, a saw, and a drill are evidence for logging (Schmid mentions fir and pine charcoal). Considerable amounts of different types of crops (wheat, cereals, peas, millet, barley, chickpeas) in some of the rooms attest to agricultural activity. Livestock breeding is reflected in the archaeological record by bones of domestic animals (cattle, sheep and goats, pigs), a small (Early Imperial) bronze bell with a pentagonal ear, and iron chains. Some types of tableware are of a distinct local character, e.g. two handled bowls (Fig. 15) with numerous analogies in the graves of the Svinja Gorica cemetery in Cerknica,⁸¹ in settlement layers in Dolenji Logatec (*mansio Longatico*),⁸² and in the riverbed of the Ljubljani in the Ljubljansko barje.⁸³ A large number of discovered fragments suggests a possible existence of a pottery workshop in the second half of the 1st century or in the 2nd century, which supplied the settlements along the route towards Emona. The low number of roughly contemporary items of imported fine tableware and transport vessels does not allow for a more comprehensive estimation of the manner in which the settlement was included in trade currents. The surviving forms of amphorae for olive oil (Dressel 6B) and fragments of terra sigillata (Sarius type bowls, plates of the Consp. 20 or 21 types, the Consp. 27 or 29 types cups) correspond – as expected – to the more widely documented reliance of the Notranjska-Kras region on the Istrian and North Italian production.

⁷⁷ Gaspari et al. 2000, 198, Figs. 10: 25,26; 11: 28,33; Pflaum 2007, 302, Pl. 3: 21,22. Schmid reported the discovery of several identical tools, identified as hoes (*Hauen*), at Šilentabor (Schmid 1944, 46).

⁷⁸ Pietsch 1983, 25–28, Types III and IV.

⁷⁹ E.g. the Early Roman Grave 3 from Reka near Cerkno (see: Guštin 1991, 64, Pl. 31: 2).

⁸⁰ Schmid 1944, 32.

⁸¹ Urleb 1983, Pls. 3: 1; 13: 4; 18: 2; 21: 6; 27: 1.

⁸² Šinkovec 2020, in this book.

⁸³ Gaspari 2003, 177.

STATUS, PREBIVALCI IN RAZVOJ NASELBINE

Središčni značaj prazgodovinske naselbine, ki sta jo Ulaki zagotavljala položaj in velikost za poselitev primerne vršnega dela vzpetine ob vozlišču pokrajinskih komunikacij, poleg pomembne količine gradiva iz mlajšega in poznega halštata ter (srednjega in) poznega latena potrjujejo tudi sledovi domnevnega rimskega obleganja v sredini ali že prvi polovici 1. st. pr. n. št. Vloga osrednje naselbine v Loški dolini in tem delu Notranjske Ulaka očitno obdrži tudi v cesarskem času, morda s krajšo prekinitvijo v avgustejsko-tiberijskem obdobju, ko je bila na vršnem platoju morda prisotna rimska posadka. Najpozneje v sredini 1. st. n. št. se Ulaka razvije v prostorsko urejeno naselje "trškega, skoraj mestnega videza",⁸⁴ ki ga zaznamujejo kompleksen raster pozidave ter poudarjeno obrtni značaj z gospodarskimi objekti in posameznimi stanovanjskimi stavbami z elementi rimskega bivalnega habitusa.

Kontinuiteta in intenzivnost poselitve Ulake pričata o gospodarski moči prebivalcev, najverjetneje povezani z razvito metalurško dejavnostjo in gozdarstvom, katerih pomen je zelo verjetno presegal lokalne okvire. Gospodarsko rabo obsežnih gozdov hribovitega zaledja Tergesta, Foruma Iulii in Emone,⁸⁵ v okviru katere smemo domnevati pridobivanje lesa za gradnjo stavb in ladjedelništvo (tako za civilne kot vojaške potrebe), kurjave, oglja, smol idr., potrjuje posredna in neposredna literarna,⁸⁶ epigrafska⁸⁷ in arheološka evidenca.⁸⁸

V pravno-administrativnem smislu je položaj lokalne skupnosti prešel od statusa *civitas foederata* ali *tributaria* iz časa neposredno po osvojitvi do položaja (*gens*) *adtributa* z dodelitvijo upravnemu centru (najverjetneje Emoni; *res publica Emonensium*) po konsolidaciji rimske oblasti, pri čemer naj bi – podobno kot ostale staroselske skupnosti v robnih delih nekdanje Cisalpinske Galije – *communis opinio*,⁸⁹ verjetno za dlje časa ostala v juridičnem položaju peregrinov (*peregrini*).⁹⁰ Središčni značaj naselbine s poudarjeno obrtno (in trgovsko?) funkcijo indicira možnost, da je Ulaka uživala enega od rimskih pravno-administrativnih statusov naselbin

⁸⁴ Schmid 1944, 45.

⁸⁵ Razen območij, ki so ležala neposredno ob zasebnih posestih, in drugih izjem, so bila pašna območja in gozdovi po osvojitvi kot nerazdeljeno javno dobro (*ager scripturarius*) še v 1. in 2. st. n. št. bodisi zadržani pod neposrednim nadzorom države ali dodeljeni v upravljanje določeni mestni skupnosti (*saltus publicus*). V okviru slednjega so bili gozdovi deloma izkoriščani za javne gradbene projekte, zagotavljanje kurjave za ogrevanje term ipd., deloma pa prepuščena v rabo vsem pripadnikom skupnosti.

⁸⁶ Vitr. 2, 9, 15 in 16 (glej Šašel 1981).

⁸⁷ *Inscr. It.* X, 4, 340 (Ajždovščina).

⁸⁸ Npr. sekira s pečatnikom iz Ljublanice (Turk et al. 2009a, 258–259, kat. št. 54).

⁸⁹ Prim. Faoro 2015, 189–191.

⁹⁰ Glej Zaccaria 1992, 156; 2007, 136.

STATUS, INHABITANTS, AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT

Ulaka's character of a central prehistoric settlement, a consequence of its location and the size of the top plateau, which was suitable for habitation and lay near the junction of regional communications, is attested by a significant amount of material from the younger and late Hallstat and (middle and) late La Tene periods, and further confirmed by the traces of the supposed Roman siege in the middle of the 1st century BC or perhaps even in its first half. Even in the Imperial period, Ulaka apparently retained its role of the central settlement in Loška dolina and that part of Notranjska. There was a possible minor hiatus in the Augustan-Tiberian period, when a Roman garrison might have been present on the top plateau. No later than in the middle of the 1st century AD, Ulaka developed into a settlement with a regular plan and "the look of a market town, almost a city,"⁸⁴ characterized by a complex raster pattern of buildings and a distinct air of craft activities, with workshops and individual residential houses with elements of the Roman residential customs.

The continuity and intensity of occupation on Ulaka attest to the economic power of its inhabitants, probably related to the developed metallurgical and logging activities, the significance of which very likely exceeded the local context. The use of the vast forests in the hilly hinterland of Tergeste, Forum Iulii, and Emona,⁸⁵ within the frame of which we may expect logging of wood for the construction of buildings and shipbuilding (for both civilian and military purposes), fuel, charcoal, resins, etc., is attested directly and indirectly by literary,⁸⁶ epigraphic,⁸⁷ and archaeological evidence.⁸⁸

In a legal-administrative sense, the status of the local community transformed from *civitas foederata* or *tributaria* from directly after the conquest, to (*gens*) *adtributa*, when it was attributed to an administrative centre (most likely Emona; *res publica Emonensium*) after the consolidation of the Roman rule. Not unlike other autochthonous communities in the outer parts of the former Gallia Cisalpina, *communis opinio*,⁸⁹ the inhabitants probably kept

⁸⁴ Schmid 1944, 45.

⁸⁵ Except for the areas directly bordering private property and some other exceptions, after the conquest, pasture areas and forests were undistributed public land (*ager scripturarius*) and as late as the 1st and 2nd centuries either kept under the direct control of the state or allocated to town communities (*saltus publicus*). Within the framework of the latter, forests were partly used for public construction projects, for fuel to heat thermae, etc., and partly given in use to all the members of a community.

⁸⁶ Vitr. 2, 9, 15 and 16 (see: Šašel 1981).

⁸⁷ *Inscr. It.* X, 4, 340 (Ajždovščina).

⁸⁸ E.g. axe with a stamp from the Ljublanica (Turk et al. 2009a, 258–259, Cat. no. 54).

⁸⁹ Cf. Faoro 2015, 189–191.

nižjega ranga,⁹¹ najverjetneje vikusa,⁹² katerega prebivalstvo (*populus*) so sestavljali zlasti (*peregrinae incolae*, t.j. člani lokalne neitalske skupnosti na ozemlju Italije,⁹³ pričakovana pa je tudi zgodnja prisotnost državljanov (*negotiatores* ali *mercatores*) italskega porekla. Ob tem velja ponoviti Schmidovo opažanje o izstopajoče skromni uporabi fibul,⁹⁴ ki jo je izkopavalec povezal z bližino Italije,⁹⁵ medtem ko kulturni pripadnosti domačinov precej jasno pričajo domača osebna imena na nagrobnikih iz okolice.

Ohranjen napis (*CIL* III 3782 = 10720) v cerkvi Sv. Martina prinaša imena dveh oseb z rimskim državljanstvom – po vsej verjetnosti pripadnikov iste družine, s psevdogentilnim imenom *Caedagonius* ([. C] *aedagonius* [A] *ttus* in *Q(uintus) Caedago/[nius ---]*),⁹⁶ ki je izpeljano iz nekega domačega, morda keltskega(?),⁹⁷ imena. Na štirih zgodnjecesarskih nagrobnikih iz Šmarate, ki je oddaljena slabe tri kilometre (*sl.* 2), nastopajo izključno svobodni domačini peregrinega statusa, pri katerih je navedeno enojno osebno ime in ime očeta. Vsa imena⁹⁸ sodijo v severnojadransko imensko skupino, kamor sodijo tudi venetska, histrijska in liburnijska osebna imena.⁹⁹ Uporaba uvoženega nabrežinskega apnenca za izdelavo nagrobnika Planija Sekstilija in razvitejša imenska struktura prebivalcev po M. Šašel Kos kažeta tako na zgodnjo akulturacijo tega prostora kot na večje premoženje in višji socialni status nekaterih tam živečih družin. Podobno kot se to domneva za ostale atribuirane staroselske skupnosti v robnih predelih nekdanje Galije Cisalpine, so imeli tudi lokalni *primores* zelo verjetno že zelo zgodaj pravno urejeno pravico prenosljive zasebne posesti (*ager privatus*) in morda tudi *ius commercii*.¹⁰⁰

Razcvet naselbine proti sredini 2. st. in z viškom v njegovi tretji četrtini, ki presevata skozi novčni obtok, bi morda smeli – tudi glede na najdbe pogojno sočasnih delov vojaške noše – previdno povezovati s prisotnostjo mobilne posadke za nadzor in varovanje prehoda v

⁹¹ K antičnim definicijam in označbam za nemestne, podeželske naselbine glej Strobel 2016, 31–35.

⁹² Schmid je v naselbini na Ulaki prepoznal središče upravnega okraja (*pagus*) in ji pripisal status opiduma ali vikusa (Schmid 1944, 46).

⁹³ Gagliardi 2006, 102–104.

⁹⁴ Dokumentirane najdbe fibul iz 1./2. st. vključujejo nekaj močno profiliranih fibul tipa Almgren 67 ali 68, izgubljen primerek mlajše (?) različice očesnih fibul, manjkajočo okroglo fibulo s predrtino in še eno okroglo emajlirano fibulo.

⁹⁵ Schmid 1944, 46.

⁹⁶ Prepis: [. C] *aedagonius* / [A] *ttus* hic iacet / [an] *nor(um) xxv men(sium) X / d(ierum) VIII Q(uintus) Caedago-/[nius ---] / -----*

⁹⁷ Dellamare 2007, 52, s.v. *Caedagonius*.

⁹⁸ *Feucon* ali *Feuconts*, *Planius Sextilius Feucontis f.*, *Sextilia Tatsoria*, *Turoius Pletor Feucontis f.*, *Pletor Poteiius Feucontis f.*, *Volta Lassonia*, *Pletor Poteiius Plani f.*, *Turoius Nepos*.

⁹⁹ Šašel Kos 2000.

¹⁰⁰ Glej Faoro 2015, 184–184.

the legal status of *peregrini* for a long time.⁹⁰ The central character of the settlement with an emphasis on its craft (and trade?) function suggests the possibility that Ulaka enjoyed one of the Roman legal-administrative statuses for lower-tier settlements,⁹¹ probably a vicus,⁹² the inhabitants (*populus*) of which were mostly (*peregrinae incolae*, i.e. members of a local non-Italic community in the area of Italy.⁹³ We can also expect an early presence of the citizens (*negotiatores* or *mercatores*) of Italic origin. Here, Schmid's observation about the very low use of fibulae⁹⁴ should be repeated – the excavator attributed it to the vicinity of Italy,⁹⁵ while the cultural affiliation of the locals is quite clearly attested by native personal names on the tombstones in the vicinity.

The inscription (*CIL* III 3782 = 10720) in the church of St Martin features the names of two people with Roman citizenship, possibly members of the same family, with the pseudogentile name of *Caedagonius* ([. C] *aedagonius* [A] *ttus* in *Q(uintus) Caedago/[nius ---]*),⁹⁶ which is derived from some native, perhaps Celtic (?),⁹⁷ name. Four Early Imperial tombstones from the less than 3 km distant village of Šmarata (*Fig. 2*) mention only free native inhabitants of peregrine status, with a single personal name and the name of their father. All the names⁹⁸ belong to the North Adriatic name group, which includes Venetic, Histrian, and Liburnian personal names.⁹⁹ According to Šašel Kos, the use of the imported Aurisina limestone for the tombstone of *Planius Sextilius* and the developed name structure of the inhabitants indicate an early acculturation of the area and large wealth and higher social status of some of the families who lived there. In a similar fashion as it is assumed for other attributed autochthonous communities in the border areas of the former Gallia Cisalpina, it is quite likely that the local *primores* had a legal right of transferable private property (*ager privatus*) and perhaps also *ius commercii* at a very early stage.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ See: Zaccaria 1992, 156; 2007, 136.

⁹¹ For Roman definitions for non-urban, rural settlements, see: Strobel 2016, 31–35.

⁹² Schmid saw the settlement on Ulaka as the centre of an administrative district (*pagus*) and assumed it had the status of an oppidum or a vicus (Schmid 1944, 46).

⁹³ Gagliardi 2006, 102–104.

⁹⁴ The documented finds of fibulae from the 1st/2nd century include some heavily profiled fibulae of the Almgren 67 or 68 type, a lost later (?) variant of eye fibulae (*Augenfibel*), a missing round fibula with a perforation, and another round enamelled fibula.

⁹⁵ Schmid 1944, 46.

⁹⁶ Transcription: [. C] *aedagonius* / [A] *ttus* hic iacet / [an] *nor(um) xxv men(sium) X / d(ierum) VIII Q(uintus) Caedago-/[nius ---] / -----*

⁹⁷ Dellamare 2007, 52, s.v. *Caedagonius*.

⁹⁸ *Feucon* or *Feuconts*, *Planius Sextilius Feucontis f.*, *Sextilia Tatsoria*, *Turoius Pletor Feucontis f.*, *Pletor Poteiius Feucontis f.*, *Volta Lassonia*, *Pletor Poteiius Plani f.*, *Turoius Nepos*.

⁹⁹ Šašel Kos 2000.

¹⁰⁰ See: Faoro 2015, 184–184.

Italijo čez podolji Prezidskega in Babnega polja.¹⁰¹ Strateški pomen širšega območja v zaledju Tarsatike je razviden tudi iz začasne vzpostavitve prokuratorske province Liburnije v izteku 2. st. (184/185), ki velja za zadnji člen v uresničevanju zasnove obrambe Italije¹⁰² v okviru kratkotrajne vojaško-administrativne cone *praententura Italiae et Alpium* iz časa vpadov Markomanov in Kvadov čez *Alpes Iuliae* v letih 168/169 in 171/172.¹⁰³ Ta sistem naj bi bil sicer razformiran že v zgodnjih 80-ih letih 2. stoletja, vendar so nekateri sestavni deli obrambe vzhodnoalpskih prehodov obstali, kar nakazujejo Herodianova poročila o dogajanjih ob pohodih vojska Septimija Severa (193) in Maksimina Tračana (238) iz Panonije proti Italiji.¹⁰⁴

Schmid je vzroke za domneven propad naselbine v 2. stoletju, ko naj bi bil del objektov uničen v ognju, pripisal Markomanskim vojnám in njihovim posledicám, pri čemer se je naslonil na skupno najdbo novcev in sledove požara v kovačnici 13 (E).¹⁰⁵ Izrazit upad v novčnem obtoku na naselbini sicer nastopi šele z obdobjem vladavine Karakale in traja vse do sredine 3. st., kar sovпада z okvirno sočasnim upadom števila novcev na nekaterih drugih rimskih višinskih naselbinah notranjsko-kraškega območja.¹⁰⁶ Upad posamičnih novčnih najdb v Emoni in celo njihovo odsotnost v severozahodnem delu mesta ter druge kazalce izrazitega zmanjšanja števila emonskega prebivalstva v prvi polovici 3. st. je Peter Kos hipotetično povezal s posledicami epidemije kuge, ki je v času vladavine Komoda prizadela zlasti Rim in Akvilejo, epigrafsko pa je dokumentirana tudi v Noriku.¹⁰⁷

Naselbina na Ulaki se po Schmidu ponovno opomore v 3. st., del izkopanih kovačnic pa naj bi obratoval v 4. stoletje. Povečan dotok novcev iz druge polovice 3. st. bi lahko pomenil določeno vlogo naselbine v novo organiziranem sistemu obrambe vzhodne meje Italije pred vpadi vedno bolj številčnih barbarskih vojska. Ta sistem so v drugi polovici 3. st. poleg utrd ob pomembnejših komunikacijah v prostoru med Vipav-

The flourishing of the settlement towards the end of the 2nd century with the peak in its third fourth, which is reflected in the coin circulation, might be – this is also supported by the possibly contemporary items of military dress – carefully associated with a mobile garrison controlling and protecting the passage to Italy across the lowlands of Prezidsko polje and Babno polje.¹⁰¹ The strategic significance of the wider area in the hinterland of Tarsatica is even more evident from the temporary establishment of a procuratorial province of Liburnia towards the end of the 2nd century (184/185), which is considered the last step in the realization of the plan for the defence of Italy¹⁰² within the framework of a short-term military-administrative zone *praententura Italiae et Alpium* in the time of the incursions of the Marcomanni and Quadi across *Alpes Iuliae* in 168/169 and in 171/172.¹⁰³ While this system was supposedly abandoned as early as the early 180s, some constituent parts of the defence of the Eastern Alpine territories remained, as indicated by Herodian's reports on the events surrounding the marches of the armies of Septimius Severus (193) and Maximinus Thrax (238) from Pannonia towards Italy.¹⁰⁴

Schmid attributed the reasons for the supposed collapse of the settlement in the 2nd century, when some of the buildings were destroyed in a fire, to the Marcomannic wars and their consequences, based on a hoard of coins and traces of fire in Smithy 13 (E).¹⁰⁵ A strong decline in coin circulation in the settlement happened only during the rule of Caracalla and lasted until the middle of the 3rd century, which coincides with the roughly contemporary decline in the number of coins in some other Roman hilltop settlements in the Notranjska-Kras region.¹⁰⁶ According to Peter Kos, the decline in individual coin finds in Emona and even their absence in the northwestern part of the town, as well as other indicators of a strong decline in the population of Emona in the first half of the 3rd century, might have been related to the aftermath of a plague epidemic in the time of Commodus, which

¹⁰¹ Glej Višnjic 2016, 22, 28, sl. 14, 23.

¹⁰² Blečić 2001, 78–79.

¹⁰³ Šašel 1974.

¹⁰⁴ Šašel, Petru 1971, 23–24.

¹⁰⁵ Schmid 1944, 45; dokumentiran novčni obtok v jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru v času med in neposredno po Markomanskih vojnah po P. Kosu ne nakazuje katastrofalnega opustošenja in trajnejše prekinitve kulturno-ekonomskega razvoja celotnega območja, temveč prej govori za uničenje in krajšo prekinitve v poselitvi (*Celeia*) ali kratkotrajne stiske (*Emona*) v življenju mest ob vpadnicah napadov (Kos 1986, 83–91, 98).

¹⁰⁶ Podobna cezura v obtoku je dokumentirana za Javor pri Dolnjem Zemonu – grobišče (*FMRSI* I 76; *FMRSI* IV 36) in Ajdovščino nad Rodikom (*FMRSI* I 42; *FMRSI* III 26; *FMRSI* IV 16), ni pa zaznavna npr. na Gradišču nad Knežakom (*FMRSI* IV 39/1).

¹⁰⁷ Kos 1986, 101–104.

¹⁰¹ See: Višnjic 2016, 22, 28, Figs. 14, 23.

¹⁰² Blečić 2001, 78–79.

¹⁰³ Šašel 1974.

¹⁰⁴ Šašel, Petru 1971, 23–24.

¹⁰⁵ Schmid 1944, 45; according to Kos, the documented coin circulation in the Southeastern Alpine area in the time during and directly after the Marcomannic wars does not suggest a catastrophic devastation with a more permanent interruption of the cultural and economic development in the entire region, but rather speaks of a destruction and a short hiatus in occupation (*Celeia*) or a short-term crisis (*Emona*) in the life of the towns along the lines of the attacks (Kos 1986, 83–91, 98).

¹⁰⁶ A similar hiatus in circulation is documented in Javor near Dolnji Zemon – cemetery (*FMRSI* I 76; *FMRSI* IV 36) and in Ajdovščina above Rodik (*FMRSI* I 42; *FMRSI* III 26; *FMRSI* IV 16), but it has not been detected e.g. in Gradišče above Knežak (*FMRSI* IV 39/1).

sko dolino, ilirskobistriškimi območjem in Notranjsko sestavljale tudi opazovalne ali signalne postojanke na višinskih lokacijah, dokumentirane z naselbinskimi in grobnimi najdbami.¹⁰⁸

Številni poznorimski novci in omenjena kosa moške noše (jermenski zaključek in pasni okov) kažejo na razcvet naselbine v času delovanja obrambnega sistema *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, ko je Loška dolina ležala v neposrednem zaledju prve obrambne črte sektorja Snežnik–Babno polje–Benete. Križišče komunikacij na severnem delu omenjenega dela zapor je domnevno obvladovala utrdba na Križni gori (*sl.* 2), morda štabna točka tega sektorja, z dvojnimi obzidjem in drobnimi najdbami iz časa med drugo polovico 4. st. in 6./7. st.¹⁰⁹ Gradivo z Ulake in naselbinske najdbe z bližnje Šmarate, med katerimi je po ugotovitvah Verene Vidrih Perko v opaznih količinah zastopano importirano, predvsem afriško transportno posodje, značilno za vojaško oskrbo med koncem 4. in sredino 5. st.,¹¹⁰ morda pričajo tako o sodelovanju tamkajšnjih prebivalcev oziroma posadk v logistični podpori delovanja zapor kot poznejši vključenosti v sistem v globino razprostrte obrambe Italije (*tractus Italiae circa Alpes*).¹¹¹

Zahvale

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hit Rome and Aquileia the hardest, and is attested by epigraphic evidence also in Noricum.¹⁰⁷

According to Schmid, the settlement on Ulaka recovered in the 3rd century, and some of the excavated smithies supposedly continued into the 4th century. An increased influx of coins from the second half of the 3rd century could indicate that the settlement had a specific role in the newly organized defence system of the eastern border of Italy against the raids of ever more numerous barbarian armies. In the second half of the 3rd century, this system included fortifications along the major communication routes in the area between the valley of Vipavska dolina, the area of Ilirska Bistrica, and Notranjska; as well as viewing or signalling stations on elevated locations, documented by finds from settlements and burials.¹⁰⁸

Numerous Late Roman coins and two pieces of male dress (a strap end and a belt fitting) indicate the flourishing of the settlement in the time of the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* defence system, when the valley of Loška dolina was in the direct hinterland of the first defence line of the Snežnik–Babno polje–Benete sector. The crossroads of the routes in the northern part of the described area of the barriers was supposedly controlled by the fort on the hill of Križna gora (*Fig.* 2). With a double defensive wall and small finds from the time between the second half of the 4th century and the 6th/7th centuries, Križna gora might have been the sector headquarters.¹⁰⁹ The material from Ulaka and the finds from the nearby settlement in Šmarata, which contain – according to the findings of Verena Vidrih Perko – considerable quantities of imported, predominantly African transport vessels, typical of military supply between the end of the 4th and the middle of the 5th century,¹¹⁰ might indicate that the local inhabitants or garrisons were involved in the logistic support of the *Claustra*, and later included in the system of the deep-reaching defence system of Italy (*tractus Italiae circa Alpes*).¹¹¹

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Translation: Meta Osredkar

¹⁰⁸ Horvat, Žbona Trkman 2016, 117.

¹⁰⁹ *FMRSI* I 80; Urleb 1968; 1974; Ciglencečki 1985, 268–269; Vidrih Perko 1994, 159–164; Modričan 2015, 25, sl. 6–7.

¹¹⁰ Perko, Bavdek, Lazar 1998, 276–279.

¹¹¹ Šašel, Petru 1971, 100; Kos 1986, 204; glej Ciglencečki 2016.

¹⁰⁷ Kos 1986, 101–104.

¹⁰⁸ Horvat, Žbona Trkman 2016, 117.

¹⁰⁹ *FMRSI* I 80; Urleb 1968; 1974; Ciglencečki 1985, 268–269; Vidrih Perko 1994, 159–164; Modričan 2015, 25, Figs. 6–7.

¹¹⁰ Perko, Bavdek, Lazar 1998, 276–279.

¹¹¹ Šašel, Petru 1971, 100; Kos 1986, 204; cf. Ciglencečki 2016.

Okrajšave / Abbreviations

- FMRSI I = P. Kos, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien I* (Berlin 1988).
- FMRSI II = P. Kos, A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien III* (Berlin 1995).
- FMRSI IV = A. Šemrov, P. Kos, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien IV* (Berlin 1998).
- FMRSI V = A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien V* (Mainz am Rhein 2004).
- FMRSI VI = A. Šemrov, P. Kos, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien VI* (Wetteren 2010).
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