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UČENJE KROZ IGRU - LONČARSTVO I IZRADA IGRAČAKA U PRAPOVIJESNOJ PULI

LEARNING THROUGH PLAY - POTTERY AND THE MAKING OF TOYS IN PREHISTORIC PULA

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U radu su analizirane minijaturne posude iz vremena željeznog doba koje su pronađene tijekom 2007. godine u sklopu istraživanja statike zgrade Arheološkog muzeja Istre. Naglasak je stavljen na značaj konteksta nalaza ovih posudica, s obzirom da minijaturne posude predstavljaju vrlo česte nalaze na prapovijesnim nalazištima u jugoistočnoj Europi, ali najčešće nedostaje precizan kontekst nalaza, nužan za njihovu pravilnu interpretaciju. U ovom slučaju, grupa od 21 minijaturne posude pronađena je u kući, u pepelištu peći u kojoj je pripremana hrana. Detaljna analiza načina na koji su napravljene pokazala je da nije sve posudice napravila ista osoba. Sve su podjednake veličine i vrlo jednostavnog oblika, ali uočene razlike u kvaliteti njihove izrade ukazuju da je dio njih izradila iskusnija osoba, dok je druge napravio netko manje vješt, tko se trudio oponašati prvog izrađivača i postići sličnu kvalitetu. Stoga se čini da su u pitanju dječje igračke izrađene u domaćinstvu, od kojih je one nevjeste izrade napravilo dijete, igre radi, ali važan je segment tog procesa svakako bilo i učenje o svojstvima gline i izradi lončarije.

The paper analyzes the small vessels from the Iron Age period, which were discovered in the course of 2007, as part of an investigation of statics in the building housing the Archaeological Museum of Istria. An emphasis was placed on the importance of the context of the discovery of these small vessels, given that miniature vessels are often found at prehistoric sites in southeastern Europe, but usually a precise context of the finds is missing, which is necessary for their proper interpretation. In this case, a group of 21 miniature vessels were found in a house, among ash in a stove that served for the preparation of food. A detailed analysis of the ways in which they were made revealed that not all of these vessels were made by one and the same person. All are of approximately equal size, featuring simple forms, but the observed differences in the quality of their manufacture indicate that some of them were produced by a more experienced person, while the others were made by someone less skilled, who was trying to imitate the experienced individual and thus achieve a similar quality. It therefore appears that they were toys made at home, those of inferior manufacture being the work of a child at play, but we should not forget that an important part of this process was certainly getting acquainted with the properties of clay and pottery making in general.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: minijaturne posude, arheologija djetinjstva, kontekst nalaza, učenje zanata, prapovijesne igračke

KEY WORDS: miniature vessels, archaeology of childhood, the context of a find, learning crafts, prehistoric toys

Minijaturne posude čine posebnu grupu nalaza na velikom broju prapovijesnih nalazišta jugoistočne Europe. Različitih su oblika i uglavnom oponašaju posude za svakodnevnu upotrebu, iako među njima ima i onih jedinstvenih oblika. U stručnoj literaturi nije im poklanjana velika pažnja pa ozbiljnijih pokušaja njihove interpretacije vrlo dugo nije bilo. Razloge za ovo treba tražiti kako u potrebi za razrješavanjem naizgled ozbiljnih problema u prapovijesnoj arheologiji, tako i u uglavnom neprivlačnom izgledu minijturnih posuda. One su najčešće nevješto ili nemarno modelirane pa svojim izgledom nisu pobuđivale veću pažnju istraživača.

S druge strane, u radovima posvećenim minijturnim posudama s pojedinih prapovijesnih nalazišta one su najčešće detaljno tipološki i kronološki sistematizirane, dok je njihova funkcija zanemarivana ili tek uopćeno razmatrana. Zbog toga su još uvijek malobrojni oni u kojima se konkretnije analizira neka od pretpostavljenih funkcija minijturnih posuda.

Autori koji su publicirali radove o minijturnim posudama uglavnom su se opredjeljivali za njihovu kultnu funkciju, napominjući da su neke od njih mogle biti dječje igračke. Međutim, pretpostavka o minijturnim posudama kao dječjim igračkama je, gotovo po pravilu, dobivala drugorazredni značaj jer su igračke shvaćane samo kao predmeti za dječju razonodu. Osim toga, smatralo se da nije moguće razlikovati minijturne posude koje su bile dječje igračke od onih koje su mogle imati drugačiju namjenu. Nedavnim istraživanjima učinjen je značajan korak u tom pravcu (Balj 2010, Baxter 2005, Derevenski 2000, Kamp 2001, Lillehammer 2000 i drugi), ali je često nedostajao precizno utvrđeni arheološki kontekst koji u velikoj mjeri utječe na mogućnosti interpretacije nalaza.

Upravo zbog toga, grupa od 21 minijturne posude koje su pronađene tijekom 2007. godine u sklopu istraživanja statike zgrade Arheološkog muzeja Istre predstavlja vrlo dragocjen nalaz. Ove posudice potječu iz željeznog doba i pripadale su Histrima, drevnim stanovnicima Istre; na osnovu ostalog pronađenog materijala datiraju se u IX. - VIII. stoljeće pr. Kr. (Mihovilić 2011, 25). Za interpretaciju ovog nalaza najbitniji je podatak da su sve posudice pronađene u kući, koja je stradala u požaru – nađene su u pepelištu peći u kojoj je pripremana hrana. Nakon požara, temelji kuće su zaravnjeni i na mjestu prethodne podignuta je nova. Ovakav kontekst nalaza u velikoj mjeri omogućava rekonstrukciju događaja koji su prethodili izbijanju požara. To se prije svega odnosi na zaključak da su posudice stavljene u žar peći da se ispeku, kao i da su ih najvjerojatnije napravili sami ukućani. Osim toga, broj od čak 21 posudice omogućava

Miniature vessels constitute a special group of finds on a large number of prehistoric sites across southeastern Europe. They are of different forms and for the most part they imitate vessels that were actually used in everyday life, although they also include those that have unique shapes. They were neglected in professional literature, the consequence being that there were no serious attempts to interpret them for a long period of time. The reasons for this can be sought primarily in the need to solve, what are on first sight, the more serious problems associated with prehistoric archaeology, and in the mostly unattractive appearance of these miniature vessels. Most often they were unskillfully modeled, not arousing any attention with their appearance among archaeologists.

On the other hand, in papers that were dedicated to miniature vessels from individual prehistoric sites, they were most often the subject of a detailed typological and chronological systematization, whereas their function was either ignored or treated superficially. The result of this approach is the still relatively small number of papers dedicated to a more concrete analysis of some of the presumed functions of miniature vessels.

The authors that have published papers on miniature vessels focused mostly on their cult function, only mentioning that some of them could have been used as children's toys. On the other hand, a presumption that miniature vessels could have been used as toys meant, as a rule, that they were treated as second-class in importance, because toys were perceived only as objects intended for child play. Besides, it was believed that it was impossible to differentiate among those miniature vessels that were actually used as children's toys, from those that could have had some other usage. A significant step in this direction was achieved with the recent studies (Balj 2010, Baxter 2005, Derevenski 2000, Kamp 2001, Lillehammer 2000, and others), but a precisely defined archaeological context was frequently missing, which greatly influenced the possibilities to interpret a particular find.

And it is precisely on this account that the 21 miniature vessels represent a very valuable discovery. They were unearthed in 2007, during the works associated with the study of statics in the building housing the Archaeological Museum of Istria. These vessels stem from the Iron Age and they belonged to the Histri, the ancient inhabitants of Istria; based on other discovered materials they were dated into the 9th - 8th century BCE (Mihovilić 2011, 25). The most important piece of information for the interpretation of this find is that all the vessels were discovered in a house that burned down in a fire – they were found among ash in a stove used for the preparation

finiju interpretaciju ovog nalaza, jer se one, bez obzira na jednak oblik, međusobno razlikuju.

Cilj ovog rada jest pridonijeti interpretaciji minijturnih posuda i pokazati koliko se dragocjenih informacija može dobiti ako se one istraže s više različitih aspekata. Naglasak je stavljen na značaj konteksta nalaza, jer to pruža mogućnost za njihovu precizniju interpretaciju. Posebna pažnja posvećena je različitim analizama, koje omogućavaju dobivanje čitavog niza podataka – od toga koja je tehnika korištena u njihovom modeliranju, preko kvalitete izrade koja ukazuje na to koje su minijturne posude mogle biti dječje igračke, a koje su mogle imati neku drugu namjenu, do toga je li neki predmet izradila vješta, odnosno odrasla osoba ili netko tko nema dovoljno iskustva.

METODOLOGIJA

Metodologija istraživanja je, prije svega, zasnovana na svojstvima materijala od kojeg su minijturne posude napravljene. Opće su poznate osobitosti gline koje je čine materijalom vrlo pogodnim za izradu različitih predmeta. Dodavanjem vode dobiva na plastičnosti i lako se oblikuje, a nakon sušenja i pečenja očvrstne i trajno zadržava svoj oblik. Predmeti izrađeni ručno, dakle bez upotrebe lončarskog kola, zadržavaju brojne tragove na temelju kojih se može rekonstruirati postupak korišten prilikom njihove izrade. U slučajevima kad površina nije naknadno obrađivana, na keramici mogu biti sačuvani otisci prstiju nastali prilikom njenog modeliranja. U nekim su slučajevima očuvani i tragovi papilarnih linija, a njihova analiza može pružiti najpreciznije podatke o uzrastu osobe koja je taj predmet napravila. Međutim, za ovakvu analizu nužna je suradnja forenzičara (za više informacija o ovoj temi vidjeti rad: Balj 2009).

Metodološki pristup koji omogućava prepoznavanje dječjih igračaka među arheološkim nalazima temelji se prvenstveno na sveobuhvatnoj analizi minijturnih predmeta. Dobiven je kombinacijom različitih standardnih pristupa i obuhvaća nekoliko različitih faza, koje su detaljnije objašnjene u ranijem radu (Balj 2009, 24), dok će ovdje biti prezentiran nešto kraći opis.

Osnovnu fazu obrade čine opis i analiza minijturnih predmeta, koji podrazumijevaju utvrđivanje njihovih osnovnih karakteristika. Tu spadaju standardni podaci poput oblika, dimenzija, boje pečenja i fature.

Potom se pažljivim promatranjem utvrđuje tehnika koja je korištena prilikom njihove izrade. Kada su u pitanju minijturne posude, najčešće se koristila najjednostavnija metoda, koja je podrazumijevala izradu posude od kuglice gline u kojoj je utiskivanjem prstom

of food. After the fire the foundations of the house were flattened and a new house was erected on the spot of the former. Such a context of the finds facilitates the reconstruction of events that preceded the outbreak of the fire. This is first and foremost related to the conclusion that the vessels were put in the ash of the stove in order to fire them, and that they were made by people living in the house. In addition, the number of as much as 21 small vessels allows us to present a finer interpretation of this discovery, because they differ among each other although all of them feature the same form.

The objective of this paper is to make a contribution to the interpretation of miniature vessels, and to demonstrate that many precious data can be obtained by exploring them from several different aspects. The emphasis was placed on the importance of the context of the finds, because this facilitates a more precise interpretation. Special attention was paid to different analyses that allowed us to obtain a whole series of facts – from the technique employed for their modeling, the quality of production, indicating which of these miniature vessels were actually children's toys and which might have had some other usage, to the evaluation whether an object was manufactured by a skilled, adult individual, or someone lacking the necessary skills.

THE METHODOLOGY

The methodology used for this study is primarily based on the characteristics of the material used for the manufacture of these miniature vessels. The peculiarities associated with clay are commonly known, which make it a material that is very suitable for the production of different objects. By adding water its plasticity increases and facilitates forming, and after drying and firing, it hardens and keeps its form permanently. Freely formed objects, i.e., those that were made without a potter's wheel, preserve many features on the basis of which it is possible to reconstruct the procedure that was used for their manufacture. Finger impressions created during the modeling phase may be preserved on ceramics in cases when the surface was not subsequently treated. Sometimes we find the preserved traces of papillary lines and their analysis can result in the most precise data regarding the person that manufactured the object in question. However, for such an analysis the cooperation of a forensic expert is necessary (for more information about this theme, see paper: Balj 2009).

The methodological approach that allows us to recognize children's toys among archaeological finds is primarily based on an all-encompassing analysis of the

modeliran recipijent. Posude nešto zahtjevnijeg oblika izrađivane su tehnikom navoja – izrađene su okrugle glinene trake, od kojih su potom navijanjem u željenom obliku modelirani zidovi posude. S obzirom da je za ovu tehniku bila potrebna izvjesna vještina, njena upotreba može ukazivati i na početne korake u učenju zanata. Dakle, tehnika izrade ukazuje i na sposobnosti osobe koja je predmet izradila, odnosno može svjedočiti o stupnju njene profesionalnosti.

Nakon toga utvrđuje se stupanj umijeća kojim su predmeti modelirani. O kvaliteti izrade svjedoče parametri poput simetričnosti oblika posude, ujednačenosti debljine zidova, oblika dna odnosno stabilnosti posude, zatim načina ukrašavanja i stupnja uspješnosti u izvođenju ukrasa, kao i ostale karakteristike, odnosno eventualne nepravilnosti na temelju kojih se može zaključiti je li neki predmet izradio početnik ili osoba koja ima iskustva¹. Ako je analizirana posuda asimetrična, ima neujednačenu debljinu zidova, neravno i nestabilno dno, veća je vjerojatnost da ju je izradila osoba s nedovoljno iskustva. Iako je i odrasla osoba mogla biti početnik, vjerojatnije je ipak da je u pitanju mlađa osoba, odnosno dijete. Dodatnu potvrdu pružaju očuvani otisci prstiju, odnosno udubljenja nastala pritiskom na glinu, jer i njihova veličina može ukazivati na to je li neki predmet napravilo dijete ili odrasla osoba. Međutim, ovdje treba uzeti u obzir da veličina otisaka u velikoj mjeri ovisi i o jačini pritiska na glinenu masu, a ne samo o uzrastu osobe.

Za daljnju analizu važno je utvrditi do kojeg stupnja minijturni predmeti imitiraju predmete za svakodnevnu upotrebu, jer jedna je od osnovnih karakteristika dječjih igračaka da oponašaju predmete iz svijeta odraslih. Iako su među igračkama zastupljeni i drugačiji predmeti, nastali kao proizvod mašte ili inspirirani prirodom, ipak su daleko najbrojnije igračke koje imitiraju predmete i pojave iz svog neposrednog okruženja, samo u manjim dimenzijama.

U ključnu fazu za interpretaciju svih arheoloških nalaza, pa tako i minijturnih predmeta, spada utvrđivanje konteksta nalaza. Slijedom lokaliteta i istražene površine utvrđuju se relevantni podaci koji ukazuju na potencijalnu funkciju pronađenih nalaza. Budući da se minijturnim predmetima često pripisuje kulturna funkcija, važno je ustanoviti jesu li pronađeni u nekom specifičnom, odnosno kulturnom kontekstu ili u svakodnevnom, svjetovnom. Također, treba imati na umu da je njihovu namjenu mogla određivati i neka

miniature objects. It includes a combination of different standard procedures and encompasses different phases that were explained in more detail in the previous paper (Balj 2009, 24) – while here a somewhat shorter description will be presented.

The elementary treatment phase includes a description and analysis of the miniature objects, which means that their basic characteristics must be ascertained. Included amongst these are data such as form, dimensions, firing and fabric color.

The technique employed for their manufacture is then established based on careful observation. The simplest method was most often employed for the manufacture of miniature vessels, which consisted of forming a dish out of a small lump of clay into which a recipient was then modeled by finger impression. Vessels having a somewhat more complicated form were made using the coil technique – circular clay bands were made, out of which the walls of the vessel were subsequently modeled by winding them in the form desired. Because this technique required a certain amount of skill, its use can indicate the first steps in the learning of a craft. The production technique thus indicates the skills of the person who manufactured the object and can reflect his or her degree of professionalism.

The degree of skill shown in modeling an object is then assessed. The quality of manufacture is judged by parameters such as the symmetry of the vessel form, the uniformity of the vessel wall thickness, the shape of the base and the thus-resulting stability of the vessel, the mode of decoration and the degree of success in the execution of the ornamentation, as well as other characteristics and eventual irregularities based on which it is possible to judge whether some object was made by a beginner or an experienced person¹. The chances that a certain vessel was produced by a person with an insufficient amount of skill are greater if the analyzed vessel is asymmetric, with a differing wall thickness and an uneven and unstable base. Although an adult person could likewise be a beginner, it is nevertheless more probable that we are dealing with a younger person or child. An additional proof for this are the preserved finger impressions, and impressions made by pressing the clay, as their size can indicate whether an object was made by an adult or a child. On the other hand we should keep in mind that the size of the impressions is largely dependent on the force applied to the clay mass, and not only on the person's age.

¹ Treba imati u vidu da je i odrasla osoba mogla nemarno izraditi neku posudu, što je u najvećoj mjeri ovisilo kako o predviđenoj funkciji posude, tako i o vještini osobe koja ju je izradila.

¹ We should keep in mind that an adult could have likewise produced a carelessly made vessel, which mostly depended on the intended function of the vessel as well as on the skill of the person who produced it.

trenutna potreba, kao i da su iste posude mogle imati različitu svrhu. Stoga je utvrđivanje konteksta nalaza presudno za njihovu precizniju interpretaciju.

Za daljnje razumijevanje uloge koju su minijaturne posude imale, važno je dobivene rezultate usporediti s podacima dobivenih s ostalih lokaliteta iste kulturne pripadnosti, kao i s rezultatima istraživanja istovremenih kultura u bližem i daljem okruženju. Na taj se način dobiva šira slika o različitim mogućnostima upotrebe predmeta.

Posljednju fazu istraživanja čini analiza sociokulturnih uvjeta koji su vladali u određenim zajednicama, jer oni neposredno utječu na izbor i broj dječjih igračaka. Na temelju dosadašnjih saznanja o zastupljenosti igračaka u različitim kulturnim zajednicama tijekom prapovijesti, može se zaključiti da su one najbrojnije i najraznovrsnije u društvima koja su živjela sjedilačkim načinom života i koja su imala bogatu keramičku produkciju. U nešto manjem su opsegu zastupljene i u većini kultura koje su proizvodile predmete od keramike².

Na kraju se, s većom ili manjom vjerojatnosti, a na temelju svih raspoloživih podataka, utvrđuje je li neka posudica mogla biti igračka ili je mogla imati neku drugu namjenu. Kriteriji za prepoznavanje dječjih igračaka se, prije svega, odnose na procjenu je li određena posuda mogla imati neku praktičnu namjenu. Ako se, prvenstveno na temelju dimenzija, zaključi da one nisu mogle biti praktično upotrebljavane i ako se, temeljem njihovog oblika, utvrdi da oponašaju neke od posuda za svakodnevnu upotrebu, poput zdjele, lonca ili pithosa, može se pretpostaviti da su u pitanju dječje igračke. Vjerojatnost je veća ako način izrade odstupa od uobičajene kvalitete u odnosu na ostale posude. Kontekst nalaza koji ukazuje na svakodnevni život – poput posudica pronađenih u kući, pored peći, u otpadnoj jami ili kulturnom sloju – dodatno potvrđuje zaključak da se radi o dječjim igračkama. Potom slijedi utvrđivanje je li igračku napravila odrasla osoba ili dijete, kao i daljnja sociokulturna analiza značaja koji su ovi nalazi imali.

Primjenjujući ovaj istraživački postupak, namjera mi je analizirati grupu minijaturnih posuda iz Pule te pokušati dobiti podatke koji će mi omogućiti njihovu precizniju interpretaciju, s obzirom da su one već interpretirane kao dječje igračke. Naime, kolegica Kristina Mihovilić (2011, 23), koja je otkrila i publicirala ovaj nalaz, tumači

For a further analysis it is important to establish to what extent miniature objects imitate the objects that were conceived for daily use, because one of the main characteristics of children's toys is that they imitate objects from the adult world. Although there are also other objects among toys, which were created as a result of imagination or else they were inspired by nature, but the toys that imitate objects or appearances from their immediate surroundings, only on a lesser scale, are nevertheless by far the most numerous.

The determination of the context of a find is of crucial importance for the interpretation of all archaeological finds, miniature objects included. The relevant data that point to the potential function of the discovered finds are determined by the sequence of the site and the explored surface. Because a cult function is often ascribed to miniature objects it is important to establish whether they were unearthed in a specific, cult-related context, or in an everyday, secular one. We should likewise take into consideration that their purpose could have been influenced by some immediate need, and that the same vessels could have been used for different purposes. The determination of their context is therefore of paramount importance for their precise interpretation.

To further understand the role that these miniature vessels had it is important to compare the obtained results with data gathered on other sites featuring the same cultural affiliation, and with the results of exploration of simultaneous cultures in the immediate and broader surroundings. Thus we can acquire a broad picture about the different possibilities of usage presented by the object in question.

The last phase of research includes an analysis of the socio-cultural conditions that reigned in certain communities, because they directly influenced the selection and number of children's toys. Based on facts gathered to date, regarding the representation of toys in various cultural communities during the period of prehistory, we can conclude that societies that led a settled life and had a rich pottery production could also boast the greatest number of most diverse toys. On a somewhat lesser scale, toys were also represented in most cultures that manufactured objects made of ceramics².

The last step serves to determine, based on all data, with smaller or greater probability, whether some small vessel could have been a toy or else it was destined for some

² Treba napomenuti da su igračke mogle biti izrađene i od različitim materijala koji nisu očuvani do današnjeg dana, poput drveta, nepečene gline, različitih tkanina i vrpce, biljnih plodova, koštica itd. Kad govorimo o prapovijesti, najviše je očuvanih dječjih igračaka napravljeno od keramike.

² It should also be mentioned that toys could have been manufactured of different materials that were not preserved to the present, as is the case with wood, unfired clay, various fabrics and bands, plant fruits, kernels, etc. The vast majority of preserved toys from the prehistoric period were made of ceramics.

ih kao dječje igračke, s čime se kasnije složila i Dubravka Balen-Letunić (2012, 21). Stoga je u daljnjem tekstu posebna pažnja posvećena analizi konteksta nalaza u kojem su posudice pronađene, kao i analizi koja ukazuje na razlike u njihovom oblikovanju.

KONTEKST NALAZA

Kao što je prethodno napomenuto, predmet ovog rada je grupa minijaturnih posuda koje su pronađene prilikom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja, provedenih radi ispitivanja statike zgrade Arheološkog muzeja Istre (sl. 1). Svi podaci koji će ovdje biti navedeni preuzeti su iz publikacije pod nazivom *“Na početku je bila peć - željeznodobno naselje i nekropola uz temelje Arheološkog muzeja Istre u Puli”*, autorice Kristine Mihovilić, objavljene 2011. godine.

Nalazi o kojima je ovdje riječ pronađeni su u sondi 1, koja je postavljena neposredno uz južni zid zgrade muzeja. Dimenzije sonde iznosile su 3 x 5 metara i u njoj je dokumentirano pet kulturnih slojeva. Prva četiri kulturna sloja pripadaju prapovijesnom razdoblju, dok je gornji sloj rimski. Za ovaj rad ključan je najstariji, peti kulturni sloj, koji pripada Histrima i datiran je u IX. - VIII. stoljeće pr. Kr. (Mihovilić 2011, 25).

Nalaze ovog sloja čine ostaci kuće, s podom koji je bio sačinjen od debelog premaza nabijene i crveno prepečene zemlje, kojim je prekrivena ravna površina matične

other purpose. The criteria for identifying children's toys refer first and foremost to the evaluation whether a certain vessel could have been used for some practical purpose. If it was determined, primarily on the basis of size, that they couldn't have been used in a practical manner, and if based on their form it is apparent that they are imitations of vessels intended for daily use, like bowls, pots or pithoi, then it can be assumed that they are toys. The probability for this increases if the mode of manufacture deviates from the standard quality associated with such vessels. A find whose context points to everyday life - like small vessels discovered in a house, next to a stove, in a refuse pit, or in a cultural layer - additionally corroborates the conclusion that we are dealing with children's toys. Subsequently we should determine whether a toy was made by an adult or a child, followed by a further socio-cultural analysis of the significance that these finds had in the past.

With the help of such a research process I intended to analyze a group of miniature vessels from Pula, trying to obtain the data necessary for a more precise interpretation, as they were already interpreted as children's toys. Namely, my colleague Kristina Mihovilić (2011, 23), who discovered and published these finds, interpreted them as children's toys, and Dubravka Balen-Letunić (2012, 21) endorsed her in this at a later date. That is why, in further text, special attention was paid to the analysis of the context in which these finds were discovered, as well as to the analysis of the differences in their modeling.



Sl. 1 Minijaturne posude pronađene u peći u sondi 1.

Fig. 1 Miniature vessels unearthed in the stove in Probe 1.

stijene. Zid je sačuvan u visini od 40 cm, a debljina mu je iznosila oko 80 cm. Uz njega je oblikovana mala kružna peć, sa zaobljenim gornjim rubom i otvorom prema istoku. Vanjski promjer peći iznosio je 60 cm, njena visina bila je 30 cm, dok je debljina kalote iznosila oko 10 cm. Peć je izrađena od zemlje s organskim primjesama – smjese koja je bila uobičajena za premazivanje zidova nastambi (Mihovilić 2011, 13).

Grupa od 21 minijaturne posude pronađena je u kući, u pepelištu peći koja je služila za pripremu hrane (sl. 2). K. Mihovilić navodi da su se u peći osim ovih posudica nalazila i dva ulomka oslonca za posude, jedan oblika cilindričnog stupića, a drugi oblika krnjeg stošca. Ovakav kontekst nalaza upućuje na zaključak da je netko od ukućana stavio ove posudice da se peku u žar peći na kojoj je istovremeno pripremana hrana. Smatra se da se peć za pečenje keramike nalazila na drugom mjestu (Mihovilić 2011, 21).

Na temelju zatečenih nalaza zaključeno je da su peć i prostor oko nje bili vrlo intenzivno korišteni. Cijeli istražen prostor bio je prekriven fragmentima keramike, dijelovima grubih posuda, lonaca, pladnjeva i slično, koji su upotrebljavani za pripremu hrane. Na mnogim ulomcima velikih posuda sačuvani su tragovi nagorjele hrane. Osim njih, bilo je moguće rekonstruirati i pithose, posude većih dimenzija koje su služile za čuvanje prehrambenih proizvoda.

K. Mihovilić smatra da je posebno značajna djelatnost, koja se morala odvijati u ovom prostoru, bila izrada kako lončarije, tako i raznih drugih keramičkih predmeta. Brojni ulomci keramičkog posuda sakupljeni na površini od oko 6 kvadrata govore u prilog tome da su neke od posuda bile oštećene već tijekom pečenja, a ne samo upotrebom u kuhinji. Osim toga, pronađeno je i nekoliko grumena čiste gline s tragovima gnječenja (Mihovilić 2011, 21).



Sl. 2 Peć i grupa minijaturnih posuda in situ.

Fig. 2 The stove and a group of miniature vessels in situ.

THE CONTEXT OF THE FINDS

As was already mentioned, the subject of this paper is a group of miniature vessels discovered in the course of rescue archaeological excavations that were carried out in conjunction with the examination of statics of the building housing the Archaeological Museum of Istria (Fig. 1). All data listed here were taken from the publication titled *“At the Beginning Was the Furnace - an Iron Age Settlement and Necropolis Alongside the Foundations of the Archaeological Museum of Istria at Pula”*, written by Kristina Mihovilić and published in 2011.

The finds discussed here were unearthed in Probe 1, which was placed immediately alongside the southern wall of the Museum building. This probe measured 3 x 5 meters and five culture layers were documented in it. The first four layers belong to the prehistoric period, while the uppermost layer is Roman. Of key importance for this paper is the oldest, fifth culture layer that belongs to the Histri, which was dated to the 9th - 8th century BCE (Mihovilić 2011, 25).

The finds from this layer are made up of the remains of a house featuring a floor that was made of a thick coat of compressed, reddish, burned earth, which was used to cover the flat surface of live rock. The wall was preserved in a height of 40 cm, while its thickness measured approximately 80 cm. Next to it was a small circular stove with a rounded upper edge, and an opening towards the east. The outer diameter of the stove was 60 cm, its height 30 cm, the thickness of its dome was approximately 10 cm. The stove was made of earth with organic temper - a mixture that was customary for coating the walls of dwellings (Mihovilić 2011, 13).

A group of 21 miniature vessels were discovered in a house, in the ash of a stove used for the preparation of food (Fig. 2). K. Mihovilić states that apart from these vessels, the stove also contained two fragments of vessel supports, one in the form of a cylindrical column, the other in the shape of a truncated cone. Such a context of finds leads us to the conclusion that one of the inhabitants of the house was in the process of firing these vessels in the ash in the stove that was simultaneously used for the preparation of food. It is believed that the pottery kiln was in actual fact located somewhere else (Mihovilić 2011, 21).

Based on the thus discovered finds it is possible to conclude that the stove and the area around it were very intensively used. The entire explored area was covered with pottery fragments, parts of coarse vessels, pots, plates, and the like, all of which were used for the preparation of food. On many large vessel fragments there were preserved traces of burned food. In addition, it was possible

Osim keramike, koja svjedoči o lončarstvu, u ovoj kući su pronađeni brojni nalazi koji govore i o drugim aktivnostima njenih stanovnika. Bavili su se zemljoradnjom, na što ukazuju motike izrađene od jelenjih rogova, dok dijelovi jednostavnih kamenih žrvnjeva i mužara svjedoče o usitnjavanju i mljevenju žitarica. U kući se prela vuna, a pripremala su se i druga vlakna od kojih su izrađivane tkanine. Pronađeno je i nekoliko pršljenaka, koji su se koristili kao utezi na preslicama i tkalačkim stanovima (Mihovilić 2011, 20).

O prehrani stanovnika ove kuće svjedoče ostaci životinjskih kostiju sisavaca, ptica, ali i riba, školjaka i puževa. Osim za jelo, školjke su korištene i za ukrašavanje – na nekima je uklonjen gornji sloj ne bi li se došlo do sedefaste površine, a neke su namjerno probušene i upotrebljavane kao privjesci. Alatke su izrađivali od kostiju i jelenjih rogova, dok su metali u to vrijeme još uvijek bili skupocjena roba, koja se dopremala iz vrlo udaljenih krajeva (Mihovilić 2012, 14).

Svi nalazi koji su činili 5. kulturni sloj bili su prekriveni debelim naslagama pepela, zbog čega je zaključeno da je kuća uništena u požaru. Ova zona je zatim nivelirana nasipanjem manjeg kamenja i zemlje te je na tome mjestu ubrzo izgrađena nova kuća, u kojoj su dokumentirane iste aktivnosti kao u prvoj. Zanimljivo je da je i u novoj kući pronađena jedna minijaturna posuda istog tipa (Mihovilić 2011, 25).

ANALIZA MINIJATURNIH POSUDA

Oblik

Sve ovdje pronađene posudice imaju jedinstvenu formu – riječ je o plitkim zdjelicama kružnog presjeka s apliciranim ukrasom u vidu triju do četiriju bradavičastih ispupčenja. Oblik ovih ukrasa se djelomično razlikuje, a i mjesto na posudi na koje su aplicirani varira – od onih postavljenih na gornjem dijelu posude, do onih koji se nalaze na polovini, dok su na nekima ukrasi aplicirani na samom obodu.

Napravljene su od gline u koju su dodane krupnije primjese – vidljivi su tragovi kalcita, školjaka i pijeska, tako da im je faktura prilično gruba. Riječ je o istoj glinenoj smjesi koja je korištena i za izradu ostale lončarije (Mihovilić 2011, 23). Boja pečenja se razlikuje i kreće se od crvenkastosmeđe do tamnosmeđe, ali treba imati na umu i da su ove posude dodatno gorjele u požaru. Na većini su vidljivi tragovi međusobnog dodirivanja nastali prilikom pečenja, jer su u peć stavljene tako da leže neposredno jedna do druge (sl. 11). Iako na prvi pogled djeluju prilično ujednačeno, njihove dimenzije se razlikuju – visina se kreće od 2,2 do 2,9 cm, promjer na

to reconstruct pithoi, the large-sized vessels used for the storage of provisions.

K. Mihovilić believes that a very important activity was carried out on the premises – the manufacture of pottery vessels and of various other ceramic objects. The large number of pottery fragments that have been collected on an area measuring approximately 6 square meters indicate that some of the vessels were damaged already during the firing process and not only as a result of kitchen use. Besides, several lumps of pure clay were likewise unearthed, which had traces of kneading (Mihovilić 2011, 21).

In addition to ceramics that corroborate pottery-related activities, numerous other finds were unearthed in this house, which indicate other activities its inhabitants were engaged in. Thus, they also engaged in tilling, as indicated by hoes made of antler, while sections of simple grindstones and mortars point to the crushing and grinding of grain. Wool was spun in the house, and other fibers were also prepared, which were used in the making of fabrics. Several whorls were also discovered, which were used as weights on distaffs and looms (Mihovilić 2011, 20).

The remnants of animal bones of mammals, birds, but also of fish, seashells and snails, also bear witness about the nutritional habits of the inhabitants of this house. Except as food, seashells were also used for decoration – on some of them the upper layer was removed so as to reach the nacreous surface, while others were intentionally perforated and used as pendants. Utensils were made of bone and antler, while metals were still considered as precious goods in those times, which were brought from faraway places (Mihovilić 2012, 14).

All the finds that were part of the 5th culture layer were covered by thick strata of ash, which brought us to the conclusion that the house must have been destroyed by fire. This zone was subsequently leveled by strewing earth and gravel, and another house was erected on the same location, in which the same activities as in the former were documented. It is interesting to note that in this new house a miniature vessel of the same type was likewise unearthed (Mihovilić 2011, 25).

AN ANALYSIS OF MINIATURE VESSELS

Form

All vessels unearthed here have a unique form – they are shallow vessels with a circular cross section, featuring an applied decoration consisting of three to four nub-shaped protuberances. The form of these decorations differs in part, and the spot where they were applied onto the vessel also varies – from those that were placed in the

obodu posude je od 3,4 do 4,9 cm, promjer dna varira od 2,5 do 3,8 cm, a debljina zida iznosi od 0,5 do 1,1 cm.

Tehnika izrade

Ove posudice izradene su ručno, bez upotrebe dodatnog alata. Napravljene su uz pomoć najjednostavnije tehnike oblikovanja – prvo je formiran grumen gline loptastog oblika pa je zatim u njemu utiskivanjem, palcem ili nekim drugim prstom, oblikovan recipijent. Zatim su prstima jedne ruke tanjeni zidovi posude, dok je u isto vrijeme dlan druge ruke bio oslonac za oblikovanje dna. Na nekima je vidljivo da je dno dodatno zaravnjeno pritiskom o čvrstu podlogu. Ukraš u vidu tri ili četiri bradavičasta ispupčenja apliciran je u zadnjoj fazi izrade. Naknadna obrada površine podrazumijevala je zaglađivanje unutrašnje ili vanjske površine vlažnom tkaninom.

Parametri poput simetričnosti posude, ujednačenosti debljine zidova i preciznosti u postavljanju ukrasa u vidu bradavičastih ispupčenja predstavljaju karakteristike koje govore o vještini i iskustvu osobe koja ih je napravila. S druge strane, na nekim posudama vidljive su odlike poput asimetričnosti, neujednačene debljine zidova, nepravilnog oblika, jače naglašenih otisaka prstiju, nestabilnog dna, kao i nepravilno postavljeni ukrasi, što svjedoči o neiskustvu osobe koja ih je izradila.

Kad se gledaju zajedno, posudice u ovoj grupi izgledaju ujednačeno, no razlikuju se po načinu izrade. Pažljivom analizom ustanovljeno je da kvaliteta izrade u priličnoj mjeri varira te da upravo analiza pojedinosti u njihovoj izradi može pružiti dragocjene smjernice za njihovu precizniju interpretaciju. Umjesto opisa svake pojedinačne posude, u daljnjem tekstu bit će izdvojeni primjeri koji ilustriraju razlike u kvaliteti izrade. Tako će pažnja biti usmjerena na one posudice koje na najbolji način ukazuju na njihove međusobne razlike, i bit će ključne za dalju interpretaciju ovog nalaza.

Opis i analiza posuda

U ovom dijelu prvo će biti predstavljene najvještije izradene posudice u ovoj grupi, uslijedit će one nevješto izradene, a na kraju će biti opisane posude čije su karakteristike miješane, odnosno one za koje nije moguće jasno odrediti kojoj grupi pripadaju. Od ukupno 21 minijaturne posude, u grupu vješto izrađenih spada njih 11, četiri su nevješto modelirane, a šest ih je u grupi onih s miješanim karakteristikama. U cilju konciznosti i preglednosti rada, odlučeno je da budu detaljno analizirana po tri najkarakterističnija primjerka iz svake od ovih grupa.

upper section of a vessel, to those placed in the middle, or, as on some vessels, on the very rim.

They were made of clay with large inclusions – there are visible traces of calcite, seashells and sand, all of which resulted in a rather coarse fabric. This is the same clay mixture used in the production of other pottery vessels (Mihovilić 2011, 23). The firing color differs and is in a range from reddish-brown to dark brown, but we should also consider that these vessels were likewise additionally exposed to the fire that raged in the house. Most of them feature traces of mutual contact, which were made during the firing process, because they were placed into the firing kiln next to one another (Fig. 11). Although they look rather standardized at first glance, their dimensions nonetheless differ – the height varies from 2.2 to 2.9 cm, the diameter of the vessel rim ranges from 3.4 to 4.9 cm, the diameter of the base varies from 2.5 to 3.8 cm, and wall thickness from 0.5 to 1.1 cm.

The manufacturing technique

These vessels were made by hand, without the use of any additional utensils. They were made using the simplest design technique – at first a globular lump of clay was formed, which was later formed into a recipient by impressions made with the help of a thumb or some other finger. Afterwards, using the fingers of one hand, the walls of the vessels were made, while using the palm of the other hand as a support to form the base of the vessel. On some vessels we can see that the base was additionally flattened by pressing it against a hard level surface. The decorations in the form of three to four nub-shaped protuberances were applied in the last production phase. A further treatment of the surface included the smoothing of the interior or exterior surface using a damp cloth.

Parameters such as the symmetric quality of the vessel, the uniform thickness of its walls, and the precision used in the decoration process that included nub-shaped protuberances, represent the characteristics that reflect the skills and experience of the person who made the vessels. On the other hand, some vessels are asymmetric, with a varying wall thickness, they have an irregular shape, strongly emphasized finger impressions, an unstable base, and randomly placed decorations, all of which indicates a lack of experience of the person who manufactured them.

When observed together, the miniature vessels in this group appear standardized, yet differing on account of the technique employed for their manufacture. A careful analysis has shown that the quality of production varies quite a bit and that an analysis focused on the details of their manufacture can offer precious guidelines that can then be employed for a more precise interpretation of

Prva posudica je najvještije izrađena u ovoj grupi, a zavedena je pod inventarnim brojem **P42132** (sl. 3). Riječ je o minijaturnoj posudi s ukrasom u vidu tri bradavičasta ispupčenja, koja su aplicirana otprilike na sredini, između dna i oboda. Sva tri ispupčenja grupirana su na jednoj strani posude, dok četvrto ispupčenje, koje bi s njima činilo simetriju, nije uočeno. Posuda je simetrična, dobro modelirana, ujednačene debljine zidova i zaglađene unutrašnjosti. Vidljiv je trag dodira s drugim posudicama, nastao tijekom pečenja. Boja varira od smeđe do tamnosmeđe, a u fakturi su vidljive krupnije primjese. Dimenzije posude: visina 2,5 cm, promjer oboda 4,5 cm, promjer dna 3,3 cm, a debljina zida iznosi 0,8 cm. Na osnovu svih karakteristika čini se da je ovu posudicu napravila iskusna osoba.



Sl. 3 Minijaturna posuda P 42132.
Fig. 3 Miniature vessel P 42132.



Sl. 4 Minijaturna posuda P 42133.
Fig. 4 Miniature vessel P 42133.

Drugi primjer vješto izrađenih posudica predstavlja **P 42133** (sl. 4). To je minijaturna zdjela s dva bradavičasta ispupčenja na samom obodu posude, dok treći nedostaje. Zidovi su ujednačene debljine i dobro je oblikovana, iako je asimetrična. Dno posude je zaravnjeno. Vidljivi su tragovi prstiju u vidu udubljenja, nastali prilikom oblikovanja. Boja varira od smeđe do tamnosmeđe, a u

these vessels. Instead of a description of each particular vessel, in the continuation of this text we shall single out the specimens that illustrate the differences in the quality of production. The attention will thus be focused onto those vessels that best illustrate their mutual differences, which will consequently be of crucial importance for the further interpretation of these finds.

A description and analysis of the vessels

In this section we shall first present those vessels from this group, which were made with the greatest amount of skill, followed by those unskillfully made ones, and to conclude we shall describe the vessels with mixed characteristics, or those that cannot be clearly ascribed to any of the groups. Out of a total of 21 miniature vessels, 11 belong to the group of skillfully made ones, 4 were modeled unskillfully, while 6 are included into the group with mixed characteristics. For easy reference and conciseness of this paper, we decided to analyze in detail three of the most characteristic specimens from each of these groups.

The first miniature vessel was the one that was most skillfully made in this group, and it bears the inventory number **P 42132** (Fig. 3). This is a small vessel with a decoration in the form of three nub-shaped protuberances that were applied approximately in the middle between the base and the rim. All of these protuberances were grouped on one side of the vessel, while a fourth one which would together with the others provide symmetry, was not observed. The vessel is symmetric, well modeled, with a uniform wall thickness, and a smoothed interior. Traces of contact with other small vessels are visible, which were made during the firing process. Color varies from brown to dark brown, and large-size inclusions are visible in the fabric. The dimensions of the vessel are: height 2.5 cm, rim diameter 4.5 cm, base diameter 3.3 cm, wall thickness 0.8 cm. Based on these characteristics it seems that this vessel was made by an experienced person.

The other specimen of skillfully manufactured vessels bears the inventory number **P 42133** (Fig. 4). This is a miniature vessel with two nub-shaped protuberances on the very rim of the vessel, while the third one is missing. The walls feature a uniform thickness, and it is well modeled although it is asymmetrical. The base of the vessel was flattened. Traces of fingers can be seen in the form of impressions which were made during modeling. Color varies from brown to dark brown, and the addition of larger inclusions can be observed in the fabric. The dimensions of the vessel are: height 2.5 cm, rim diameter 4.3 cm, base diameter 3 cm, wall thickness 0.8 cm. Based on these characteristics it seems that we can include this

fakturi su vidljivi dodaci krupnijih primjesa. Dimenzije posude: visina 2,5 cm, promjer oboda 4,3 cm, promjer dna 3 cm, a debljina zida 0,8 cm. Na osnovu svih karakteristika čini se da je u pitanju rad vješte osobe.

I zadnji primjer vješto izrađenih posudica predstavlja **P 42149** (sl. 5) – minijaturna zdjela s tri bradavičasta ispupčenja pri obodu. Blago je asimetrična, s debelim zidovima na kojima su vidljivi tragovi prstiju nastali prilikom oblikovanja. Boja je crvenosmeđa, a u fakturi ima krupnijih primjesa. Na unutrašnjosti posude vidljiv je trag zaglađivanja površine vlažnom tkaninom, što svjedoči o njenoj naknadnoj obradi. Dimenzije posude: visina 2,3 cm, promjer oboda 4,4 cm, promjer dna 3,1 cm, debljina zida 1,1 cm. Na osnovu svih navedenih karakteristika čini se da je u pitanju rad vješte osobe.



Sl. 5 Minijaturna posuda P 42149.
Fig. 5 Miniature vessel P 42149.

Prvi primjer nevješto izrađenih posudica predstavlja **P 42141** (sl. 6). To je minijaturna zdjela s tri bradavičasta ispupčenja, smještena na jednoj strani posude. Asimetrična je i nevješto oblikovana. Ukrasi na posudi su grubi i neujednačeno aplicirani; dno je zaobljeno. Utiskivanjem palca dobiven je recipijent, a vidljiva su i udubljenja nastala prilikom stanjivanja zidova prstima. Boja je crvenosmeđa, a u fakturi su vidljivi tragovi primjesa. Ova je posuda nešto manjih dimenzija od ostalih: visina iznosi 2,3 cm, promjer oboda varira od 4 – 4,2 cm, promjer dna je 3,4 cm, a debljina zida također varira od 0,8 – 1 cm. Sudeći po vrlo nevještoj izradi, u pitanju je dječji rad.

Drugi primjer nevješto izrađenih posudica zaveden je pod inventarnim brojem **P 42143** (sl. 7). Riječ je o minijaturnoj posudi s tri bradavičasta ispupčenja, koja je i najmanja u ovoj grupi. Nevješto je izrađena i asimetrična, a varira i debljina zidova. Crvene je boje, a u fakturi su vidljivi tragovi primjesa. Na ovoj je posudici jasno vidljivo utisnuće palcem u masu gline da bi se napravio recipijent. Veličina udubljenja ukazuje na vrlo male,

vessel among those that were made by a skillful person.

The last specimen of skillfully made vessels is represented by inventory number **P 42149** (Fig. 5) – a miniature vessel with three nub-shaped protuberances at the rim. It is slightly asymmetric, with thick walls featuring traces of finger impressions made during modeling. It is red-brown in color, and has large inclusions in the fabric. Traces of surface smoothing with a damp cloth can be seen on the interior of the vessel, which corroborates that it was subsequently treated. The dimensions of the vessel are: height 2.3 cm, rim diameter 4.4 cm, base diameter 3.1 cm, wall thickness 1.1 cm. Based on the aforementioned characteristics it seems that this vessel was made by a skillful person.

The first specimen of a unskillfully made vessel is represented by **P 42141** (Fig. 6). This is a miniature bowl with three nub-shaped protuberances that are located on one side of the vessel. It is asymmetric and modeled in an unskilled manner. The decorations on the vessel are coarse and were not uniformly applied; the base is rounded. The recipient was obtained by impressions with the thumb, and the recesses obtained during the thinning of the walls with fingers are also visible. It has a red-brown color, and there are still traces of inclusions in the fabric. This vessel is of slightly smaller dimensions as compared with the rest: the height is 2.3 cm, the diameter of the rim varies from 4 – 4.2 cm, base diameter is 3.4 cm, while wall thickness likewise varies from 0,8 – 1 cm. Judging by the extremely unskilled manufacture, this vessel was made by a child.



Sl. 6 Minijaturna posuda P 42141.
Fig. 6 Miniature vessel P 42141.

The other specimen representing unskillfully manufactured vessels is inventory number **P 42143** (Fig. 7). This is a miniature vessel with three nub-shaped protuberances, and it is also the smallest in this group. It was clumsily made and is as such asymmetric, with walls that vary in thickness. It is red and there are visible

najvjerojatnije dječje prste. Dimenzije posude: visina 2 cm, promjer oboda 3,4 cm, promjer dna 3 cm, a debljina zida 1 cm. Sudeći po uočenim karakteristikama, ovu je posudicu najvjerojatnije izradilo dijete.



Sl. 7 Minijturna posuda P 42143.
Fig. 7 Miniature vessel P 42143.

Treći primjer nevjesto izrađene posudice predstavlja **P 42147** (sl. 8) - minijturna posuda s tri bradavičasta ispupčenja grupirana na jednoj strani posude. Grube je izrade i debelih, neujednačenih zidova. Boja posude je tamnosmeđa, a u fakturi su vidljivi tragovi primjesa. Uočljiva su udubljena prstiju nastala prilikom modeliranja; unutrašnjost posude je zaglađena. Recipijent je nastao utiskivanjem palca u grumen gline. Dno je blago zaobljeno i modelirano u dlanu. Dimenzije posude: visina 2,3 cm, promjer oboda 4 cm, promjer dna 3,7 cm, debljina zida varira od 0,7 do 1,1 cm. Nevješta izrada upućuje na zaključak da je to dječji rad.

Osim njih, u ovoj se grupi mogu izdvojiti primjeri posudica koje nije moguće lako svrstati ni u jednu od prethodnih grupa.



Sl. 8 Minijturna posuda P 42147.
Fig. 8 Miniature vessel P 42147.

Prva je **P 42151** (sl. 9) - minijturna posuda s dva bradavičasta ispupčenja, dobro oblikovana. Vrlo je asimetrična, ali zidovi su joj ujednačene debljine.

traces of inclusions in the fabric. This vessel features a clear impression with the thumb into the mass of clay, which was made to form the recipient. The size of the recess indicates very small fingers that most probably belonged to a child. The dimensions of the vessel are: height 2 cm, rim diameter 3.4 cm, base diameter 3 cm, wall thickness 1 cm. Judging by the extremely unskilled manufacture, this vessel was probably made by a child.

The third specimen of a unskillfully manufactured vessel is inventory number **P 42147** (Fig. 8) - a miniature vessel with three nub-shaped protuberances that are grouped on one side of the vessel. It is of coarse manufacture, featuring walls that are thick but not uniform. The color of the vessel is dark brown, and there are visible traces of inclusions in the fabric. There are visible recesses made by fingers during modeling; the interior of the vessel was smoothed. The recipient was made by impressions of the thumb into a lump of clay. The base is slightly rounded and it was modeled on the palm. The dimensions of the vessel are: height 2.3 cm, rim diameter 4 cm, base diameter 3.7 cm, wall thickness varies from 0.7 to 1.1 cm. Its unskilled manufacture indicates that it was made by a child.

In addition to these vessels, in this group we can also single out specimens that cannot be easily included into any of the previous groups.

The first of these is **P 42151** (Fig. 9) - a miniature vessel with two horn-shaped protuberances, which were well modeled. It is very asymmetric but it has walls with a uniform thickness. Its fabric is coarse, and the firing color varies from brown to dark brown. There are visible traces of fingers, which were created during modeling. The dimensions of the vessel are: height 2.5 cm, rim diameter 4.3 cm, base diameter 2.8 cm, wall thickness 0.9 cm. Judging by its characteristics, it was probably made by a skilled individual; however, its asymmetric quality, and the emphasized traces of fingers, seem to indicate a hasty and careless manufacturing process.



Sl. 9 Minijturna posuda P 42151.
Fig. 9 Miniature vessel P 42151.

Grube je fature, a boja pečenja varira od smeđe do tamnosmeđe. Vidljivi su tragovi prstiju nastali prilikom modeliranja. Dimenzije posude: visina 2,5 cm, promjer oboda 4,3 cm, promjer dna 2,8 cm, debljina zida 0,9 cm. Sudeći po svim obilježjima vjerojatno je riječ o djelu vješte osobe, no asimetričnost i izraženi tragovi prstiju, čini se, svjedoče o brznoj i nemarnoj izradi.

Druga u ovoj grupi je posudica s inventarnim brojem **P 42152** (sl. 10). To je minijatura posuda s dva bradavičasta ispupčenja, tankih, ispucalih zidova i grube fature. Blago je asimetrična. Na vanjskoj strani vidljiva su udubljenja nastala prilikom oblikovanja prstima, dok je unutrašnjost posude zaglađena vlažnom tkaninom. Boja pečenja varira od smeđe do tamnosmeđe, koja prevladava, a vidljivi su i tragovi krupnih primjesa u fakturi. Pronađena je u fragmentima pa restaurirana. Visina joj varira od 2,1 do 2,6 cm, promjer oboda je 4,7 cm, promjer dna 2,7 cm, a debljina zida iznosi 0,5 cm. Zbog odstupanja u veličini i načinu izrade moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je u pitanju ili rad osobe bez dovoljno iskustva ili ju je izradio netko vješt, ali u ovom slučaju nemaran.



Sl. 10 Minijatura posuda P 42152.

Fig. 10 Miniature vessel P 42152.

Posebno je zanimljiva posudica s inventarnim brojem **P 42148** (sl. 11). Debelih je zidova, ali dobro oblikovana, uz vidljive tragove prstiju nastale prilikom izrade. Ima trag dodira s posudicom koja je u peći stajala do nje. Boja je crvenosmeđa, a u fakturi su vidljivi dodaci primjesa. Unutrašnjost posude je zaglađena. Dimenzije: visina 2,7 cm, promjer oboda 4,1 cm, promjer dna 3,3 cm, debljina zida 0,9 cm. Kod ove posudice je zanimljivo to da je ona sama dobro modelirana, ali je ukras u vidu tri bradavičasta ispupčenja nevjesto izrađen i apliciran ispod samog oboda. U ovom slučaju se čini mogućim da je posudu izradila vješta osoba, a da je ispupčenja naknadno dodalo dijete.

The other vessel in this group is the vessel with the inventory number **P 42152** (Fig. 10). This is a miniature vessel with two nub-shaped protuberances, with thin, cracked walls, and a coarse fabric. It is slightly asymmetric. On the exterior side are the visible recesses that were made during modeling with the fingers, the interior of the vessel was smoothed by a damp cloth. The firing color varies from brown to dark brown that prevails, and there are also visible traces of large inclusions in the fabric. It was discovered in a fragmented state and was subsequently restored. Its height varies from 2.1 to 2.6 cm, rim diameter is 4.7 cm, base diameter is 2.7 cm, wall thickness is 0.5 cm. Due to the aberrations in size and mode of manufacture it can be presumed that it was made either by an inexperienced person, or by someone experienced who was in this particular case sloppy.

The small vessel with the inventory number **P 42148** (Fig. 11) is exceptionally interesting. It has thick walls but it was well modeled and it features visible traces of fingers, which were made during the manufacturing process. There is a trace of contact with another small vessel that stood next to it in the firing kiln. It is red-brown in color, and there are visible traces of inclusions in the fabric. The interior of the vessel was smoothed. Its dimensions are: height 2.7 cm, rim diameter 4.1 cm, base diameter 3.3 cm, wall thickness 0.9 cm. This vessel is interesting because although well-modeled, it features sloppily manufactured decorations in the form of three nub-shaped protuberances that were applied immediately underneath the rim. In this case it is possible that the vessel was made by a skilled individual, and that the decorations were subsequently applied by a child.

Comparisons within a group

To what extent these small vessels differ from one another is best illustrated by the photographs, each of which features two small vessels that were placed one next to the other.

The first example represents the miniature vessels with inventory numbers **P 42141** and **P 42149** (Fig. 12). They are of approximately the same dimensions and form, but there is an apparent difference in the quality of manufacture. While the first one is of an irregular shape, the other has a regular, symmetric form and uniform-thickness walls. The first features a unskillfully executed and applied decoration in the form of nub-shaped protuberances, while on the latter these decorations were skillfully applied. On the first it is clearly visible that the recipient was made by impressions of the thumb into a mass of clay, while on the other the walls were skillfully formed and subsequently smoothed with a damp cloth.



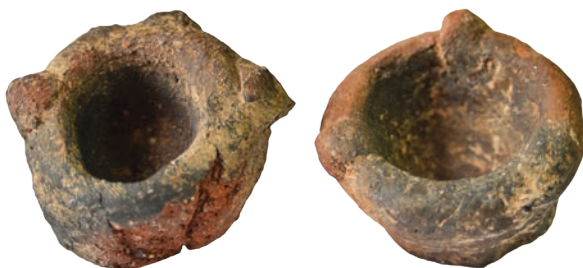
Sl. 11 Miniijaturna posuda P 42148.
Fig. 11 Miniature vessel P 42148.

Usporedbe unutar grupe

U kolikoj se mjeri ove posudice međusobno razlikuju najbolje ilustriraju fotografije, na kojima su postavljene po dvije posudice jedna do druge.

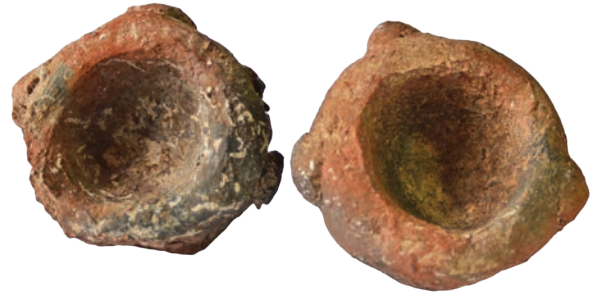
Prvi primjer predstavljaju posudice s inventarnim brojevima **P 42141** i **P 42149** (sl. 12). Približno su jednakih dimenzija i oblika, ali jasna je razlika u kvaliteti izrade. Dok je prva nepravilnog oblika i neujednačene debljine zidova, druga ima pravilan, simetričan oblik i ujednačene zidove. Ukraas u vidu bradavičastih ispupčenja je kod prve nevjesto izrađen i apliciran, dok je kod druge izveden vrlo umješno. Na prvoj je jasno vidljivo da je recipijent napravljen utiskivanjem palcem u masu gline, dok su kod druge zidovi posude vješto oblikovani i naknadno zaglađeni vlažnom tkaninom. Iako su tragovi naknadnog gorenja vidljiviji na prvoj posudici (P 42141), što dodatno pojačava dojam o nevjestoj izradi, sam je postupak izrade nedvosmisleno svrstava u posude nevjeste izrade.

Drugi primjer su posudice s inventarnim brojevima **P 42147** i **P 42133** (sl. 13). I ovdje su u pitanju nevjesto i vješto izrađena posuda. Prva je nevjesto izrađena, s debelim i neujednačenim zidovima i nevjesto izvedenim



Sl. 13 Primjer različite kvalitete izrade, minijaturne posude P 42147 i P 42133.
Fig. 13 An example of varied production quality, miniature vessels P 42147 and P 42133.

Although there are visible traces of subsequent burning on the first vessel (P 42141), which enhances the belief that it was made by an inexperienced person, the production process itself classifies it unequivocally into the category of unskillfully made vessels.



Sl. 12 Primjer različite kvalitete izrade, minijaturne posude P 42141 i P 42149.
Fig. 12 An example of varied production quality, miniature vessels P 42141 and P 42149.

The other examples are the miniature vessels with the inventory numbers **P 42147** and **P 42133** (Fig. 13). Here too we are dealing with both unskillfully and skillfully executed vessels. The first was unskillfully made, featuring thick, not uniform walls, and clumsily executed decorations, while the other represents a very skillfully executed miniature vessel with all needed characteristics³.

The third example is made up of vessels with the inventory numbers **P 42143** and **P 42151** (Fig. 14). The first was unskillfully formed and is of lesser dimensions as compared with the rest, while the other features characteristics based on which we can include it among products made by a skillful individual, although its asymmetric quality and somewhat bigger dimensions indicate that it was sloppily made⁴.

The last parallel example within this group is represented by miniature vessels with the inventory numbers **P 42132** and **P 42152** (Fig. 15). The first has all the features of skillfully made vessels – a regular, symmetric form, uniform wall thickness, a smoothed interior surface, and a symmetrically executed decoration, while the other is of somewhat bigger dimensions, with thin, cracked

³ Although there are visible traces of subsequent burning on some of the miniature vessels, which can further enhance the appearance that they were not adequately produced, we should nevertheless keep in mind that they were all discovered in the ash of a stove located in a house that burned down, and that the comments regarding the production process for these vessels apply primarily to the characteristics that point to the quality and skill needed for their production, in accordance with the already explained methodological approach.

⁴ See the annotation in footnote 4.

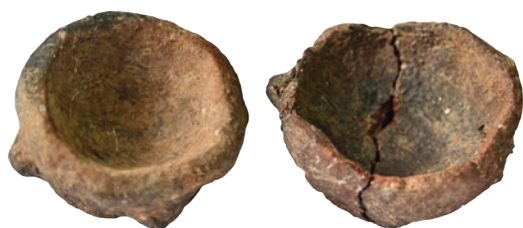
ukrasom, dok druga predstavlja vrlo umješno napravljenu posudicu sa svim potrebnim karakteristikama³.

Treći primjer su posudice s inventarnim brojevima **P 42143 i P 42151** (sl. 14). Prva je vrlo nevjesto oblikovana i manjih je dimenzija od ostalih, dok druga ima karakteristike na osnovu kojih se može svrstati u rad vješte osobe, ali njena asimetričnost i nešto veće dimenzije ukazuju da je riječ o nemarno izrađenoj posudi⁴.



Sl. 14 Primjer različite kvalitete izrade, minijaturne posude P 42143 i P 42151.
Fig. 14 An example of varied production quality, miniature vessels P 42143 and P 42151.

Zadnji usporedni primjer unutar ove grupe su posudice s inventarnim brojevima **P 42132 i P 42152** (sl. 15). Prva ima sve karakteristike vješto izrađenih posuda – pravilan, simetrični oblik, ujednačenu debljinu zidova, zaglađenu unutrašnju površinu i pravilno izveden ukras, dok je druga nešto većih dimenzija, tankih i ispucanih zidova te grube fakture. Zbog odstupanja u veličini i načinu izrade može se pretpostaviti da je u pitanju ili rad početnika ili rad osobe koja je vješta, ali je u ovom slučaju posudu izradila nemarno. Kod ove posudice nije lako ustanoviti koja je od ovih mogućnosti vjerojatnija.



Sl. 15 Primjer različite kvalitete izrade, minijaturne posude P 42132 i P 42152.
Fig. 15 An example of varied production quality, miniature vessels P 42132 and P 42152.

³ Iako su tragovi naknadnoga gorenja na nekim posudicama vidljiviji, što dodatno može stvoriti dojam o lošijoj izradi, treba imati na umu da su sve one pronađene zajedno u pepelištu peći, u kući koja je stradala u požaru, a da se komentari o samom postupku izrade posuda prvenstveno odnose na karakteristike koje ukazuju na kvalitetu i vještinu njihove izrade, u skladu s prethodno objašnjenim metodološkim pristupom.

⁴ Vidi napomenu u fusnoti 4.

walls, and a coarse fabric. Due to the aberrations in size and mode of manufacture, it can be assumed that it was made by either a beginner, or an experienced person that made this particular vessel sloppily. In the case of this miniature vessel it is hard to say which of these two possibilities is more probable.

DISCUSSION

Although miniature vessels are common finds on prehistoric sites in southeastern Europe, they are very rarely discovered on a single site in such large numbers, and having such a clearly defined archaeological context, as was the case here. After the fire broke out in the house, a group of 21 miniature vessels were left in the ash of the stove used for the preparation of food. For the interpretation of the miniature vessels, such an archaeological context represents a true rarity and it facilitates a whole series of further analyses and interpretations.

First of all, these vessels are valuable because according to their characteristics they belong among children's toys (Mihovilić 2011, 23; Balen-Letunić 2012, 20), and as such they have the potential to shed some light to the growing up of children in the period of prehistory. It is likewise important that they were discovered in the course of a production process, i.e., in its last phase – during firing – thus we know that they were produced within the framework of the household. Another advantage presented by this discovery is that such a large number of vessels were discovered, which enables us to obtain additional information that is important for their interpretation, by comparing them between one another. This comparison has been additionally facilitated due to their simple form and typological similarity. The perceived differences in treatment bear witness to the fact that they were not all made by one and the same person, and because not a great deal of skill was needed for their production they represented a good starting point in the training of beginners. Differences in the quality of production can be attributed to skill, or the age of the person who made them. Some of them were skillfully formed, which testifies to the experience and skill of the manufacturer, while others bear traces that point to inexperience coupled with a desire to imitate the same process and obtain a similar quality. In addition, amongst them are specimens that could be considered to be both, the successful works of beginners, or the sloppy products of experienced individuals, which makes it impossible to determine who they were made by.

The reconstruction of the sequence of events that preceded the outbreak of the fire could appear as follows – the miniature vessels were produced in a short period

RASPRAVA

Iako su minijaturne posude među čestim nalazima na prapovijesnim nalazištima jugoistočne Europe, vrlo se rijetko pronalaze na jednome mjestu u tako velikom broju, s tako jasno određenim arheološkim kontekstom kao što je ovdje slučaj. Nakon izbijanja požara u kući, grupa koju čini 21 minijatura zdjela ostala je u pepelištu peći u kojoj je pripravljena hrana. Za interpretaciju minijaturnih posuda ovakav arheološki kontekst predstavlja pravu rijetkost te omogućava čitav niz daljih analiza i tumačenja.

Prije svega, ove su posude dragocjene jer po svim svojim karakteristikama pripadaju dječjim igračkama (Mihovilić 2011, 23; Balen-Letunić 2012, 20) pa stoga imaju potencijal rasvijetliti period odrastanja djece u prapovijesti. Važno je i to što su pronađene u tijeku procesa proizvodnje, odnosno u njegovoj posljednjoj fazi – pečenju, pa zahvaljujući tome znamo da su izrađivane u sklopu domaćinstva. Još jedna od prednosti ovog nalaza jest što su posudice pronađene u tako velikom broju pa se njihovom međusobnom usporedbom mogu dobiti dodatni podaci važni za njihovu interpretaciju. Zbog jednostavnog oblika i tipološke jednoobraznosti ova usporedba dodatno je olakšana. Uočene razlike u načinu obrade svjedoče o tome da ih nije sve napravila ista osoba, a budući da za njihovu izradu nije bila potrebna velika vještina, predstavljale su dobru polaznu osnovu za vježbu početnika. Razlike u kvaliteti izrade pripisuju se vještini, odnosno uzrastu osobe koja ih je napravila. Neke su oblikovane vješto, što svjedoči o iskustvu i vještini izrađivača, dok su na drugima vidljivi tragovi neiskustva, uz nastojanje da se oponaša isti postupak i postigne slična kvaliteta. Uz to, među njima se nalaze i primjerci koji bi podjednako mogli biti uspješni radovi početnika kao i nemarni radovi iskusne osobe pa stoga za njih nije moguće tvrditi tko ih je izradio.

Rekonstrukcija slijeda događaja koji su prethodili izbijanju požara mogla bi izgledati ovako – posudice su izrađivane u kratkom vremenskom periodu, tijekom nekoliko dana, i modelirane su od iste glinene smjese koja je bila pripremljena za izradu ostale lončarije; odrasla, iskusna osoba koja je izrađivala posude napravila je nekoliko vješto oblikovanih posudica pokazujući postupak djeci, a oni su ga, s više ili manje uspjeha, oponašali. Posudice su potom neko vrijeme ostavljene da se suše, a zatim su stavljene u žar peći da se ispeku. Zahvaljujući požaru koji je nakon toga izbio, ostale su sačuvane *in situ* sve do arheoloških iskopavanja 2007. godine. Nekoliko ih je pronađeno i u prostoru i u pepelu ispred peći.

of time, in the course of a few days, and they were modeled from the same clay mass that was prepared for the production of the rest of the pottery; an adult, experienced individual who was engaged in the production of pottery also made a few skillfully modeled miniature vessels, showing the procedure to the children, who, with more or less success, tried to imitate him. The vessels were subsequently left to dry for some time, and afterwards they were placed among the ash in the stove in order to be fired. Thanks to the fire that broke out shortly after, they were preserved *in situ* until the archaeological excavations carried out in 2007. Some of them were also discovered in the area and in the ash in front of the stove.

Examining the possible interpretations of the miniature vessels, K. Mihovilić states that those that imitate the forms of real types of pots, cups, and other forms used in everyday life, often represent cult-related objects. They were offered as gifts to various sanctuaries, especially in the region of Veneto, for example in the sanctuary of S. Pietro Montagnon, which was visited from the 8th to the 4th/3rd century BCE (De Min 1976, T. 40). As miniature sets they were also laid into graves as offerings, for example in the region of Lazio during the 10th century BCE. In a woman's grave from S. Lorenzo Vecchio (Rocca di Papa, Roma), in addition to miniature vessels, a statuette with a vessel in its hands was discovered in an urn, for which it is believed that it represents the deceased herself (Bietti Sestieri 2008, Fig. 9a). In the burned grave of a man on Foro di Cesare at Rome, a dagger was discovered in addition to a set of well-made miniature vessels, which resulted in a presumption that the two deceased individuals were priests (Bietti Sestieri 2008, Fig. 9b).

On the other hand, listing the analogies for this find, K. Mihovilić also mentions that the miniature vessels from the stove in Probe 1 were not the first finds representing miniature vessels discovered in Pula. Gnirs unearthed a few of them in the course of his excavations on a section of the necropolis in the area of Fondo Perini in 1901 – 1902, stating that Hoernes believed that such vessels were toys, but that in one of them he found traces of molten metal which made him conclude that they might have had this function as well (Gnirs 1903, 71 – 72, Fig. 59). A few specimens of miniature vessels were also discovered on other Istrian sites from the Iron Age. They are included amongst frequent finds in settlements, and vessels that were typologically identical to the ones discussed here were unearthed within the complex of the settlement at Kaštelir, in the vicinity of Nova Vas (Sakara Sučević 2004, Fig. 380).

Commenting the assumptions regarding the function of miniature vessels discovered in Neolithic strata on the site of Vinča, Z. Letica states that they were not made

Razmatrajući moguća tumačenja minijaturnih posuda, K. Mihovilić navodi da one koje oponašaju oblike pravih upotrebnih tipova lonaca, šalica i drugih oblika, često predstavljaju kulturne predmete. Prinosile su se kao pokloni raznim svetištima, posebno na području Veneta, primjerice u svetištu S. Pietro Montagnon, koje se pohodilo od 8. do 4./3. st. pr. Kr. (De Min 1976, T. 40). Kao minijaturne garniture prilagale su se u grobove, primjerice na području Lazija tijekom 10. vijeka pr. Kr. U ženskom je grobu iz S. Lorenza Vecchija (Rocca di Papa, Roma) osim minijaturnog posuda u urni pronađen i kipić s posudom u ruci, za koji se smatra da je predstavljao samu pokojnicu (Bietti Sestieri 2008, Fig 9a). U spaljenom grobu muškarca na Foro di Cesareu u Rimu osim garniture dobro izrađenih minijaturnih posuda pronađen je i bodež pa je iznijeta pretpostavka da su ovo dvoje pokojnika bili svećenici (Bietti Sestieri 2008, Fig. 9b).

S druge strane, navodeći analogije za ovaj nalaz K. Mihovilić napominje da posudice iz peći u sondi 1 nisu prvi nalazi minijaturnih posuda u Puli. Nekoliko ih je pronašao Gnirs prilikom iskopavanja dijela nekropole na području Fondo Perini 1901. – 1902., navodeći da je Hoernes ovakve posude smatrao igračkama, ali da je u jednoj pronašao tragove topljenja metala pa zaključuje da su neke mogle imati i tu funkciju (Gnirs 1903, 71 – 72, Fig. 59). Nekoliko primjeraka minijaturnih posudica pronađeno je na drugim istarskim lokalitetima iz željeznog doba. One spadaju u česte nalaze u naseljima, a tipološki istovjetne onima ovdje obrađenima otkrivene su u sklopu naselja na nalazištu Kaštelir, u blizini mjesta Nova Vas (Sakara Sučević 2004, Fig 380).

Komentirajući pretpostavke o funkciji minijaturnih posuda pronađenih u neolitskim slojevima na nalazištu Vinča, Z. Letica navodi da one nisu izrađivane radi zabave. S obzirom na to da njihovi oblici često predstavljaju umanjenju kopiju predmeta složenih formi, odbacuje pretpostavku da su u pitanju dječje igračke (Letica 1967, 110). Iako ne isključuje mogućnost da su neke minijaturne posude korištene kao igračke, ona zaključuje da je funkciju minijaturnih posuda određivala trenutna potreba. To znači da su one, neovisno o obliku i kvaliteti izrade, korištene u različitim situacijama pa se pretpostavlja da su posude istih karakteristika mogle biti dječje igračke, prilog u grobu ili dio inventara kućnog svetišta (Letica 1967, 111).

Sasvim suprotnog je mišljenja D. Balen-Letunić. Ona smatra da se posude koje nisu uobičajene veličine i koje po dimenzijama nisu pogodne za svakodnevnu upotrebu vrlo često neopravdano nazivaju kulturnim (Balen-Letunić 1982, 69). Mišljenja je da su minijaturne

for fun. In consideration of the fact that their forms often represent small-scale models of objects featuring complex forms, she dismisses the assumption that they were children's toys (Letica 1967, 110). Although she doesn't exclude the possibility that some of the miniature vessels were used as toys, she concludes by saying that the function of the miniature vessels was determined on the basis of the needs of the moment. This means that they were used in a variety of situations, irrespective of form and quality of manufacture, which in turn leads to the presumption that same-characteristic vessels could have been used as children's toys, grave offerings, or as part of the inventory of a household shrine (Letica 1967, 111).

D. Balen-Letunić holds a totally opposing opinion. She believes that vessels that are not of the customary size, and whose dimensions make them unfit for daily use, are often unjustly regarded as being cult-related (Balen-Letunić 1982, 69). She thinks that miniature vessels/toys are important indicators of the way of life of people in different periods of time, and that playing with clay and imitating the work of older members of the community was in fact a learning process and a preparation for life. She believes that it is possible to follow the learning period on these miniature vessels, because time and experience are needed for the production of high quality pottery (Balen-Letunić 1982, 69).

Miniature vessels/toys from the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb are divided into two groups: those that were made by the experienced hand of a potter, and those made by children (Balen-Letunić 1982, 70). The first group includes quality-made miniature vessels that were made by potters on the model of vessels that were in daily use. They were made to be used as toys by children, and most often they have all the characteristics of the pottery of the culture to which they belonged (Balen-Letunić 1982, 70). The other group includes the vessels that were made by children. Here too, most of the vessels were made on the model of those intended for daily use. However, some forms were created as a combination of several types of vessels, which resulted in entirely new forms (Balen-Letunić 1982, 70). The simplest forms of bowls are at the same time most represented among children's toys (Balen-Letunić 1982, 71).

Most of the authors agree that form, dimensions, quality of manufacture, and the context of the find determine the function of the miniature vessels. Because they were extravagantly made, two vessels from Belovode were thus interpreted as vessels for the keeping of cosmetics or some valuable liquid (Živković 2001, 21). Judging by the small number of discoveries of miniature vessels in closed ensembles, it is quite possible that many of them

posude/igračke važni pokazatelji načina života ljudi u pojedinim razdobljima te da igra s glinom i oponašanje rada starijih članova zajednice ima funkciju učenja i pripreme za život. Budući da je za izradu kvalitetnih posuda potrebno vrijeme i iskustvo, smatra da je period učenja moguće pratiti upravo na minijaturnim posudama (Balen-Letunić 1982, 69).

Minijaturne posude-igračke iz zbirke Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu podijeljene su u dvije grupe: one koje su napravljene vještom rukom keramičara i one koje su napravila djeca (Balen-Letunić 1982, 70). U prvu grupu svrstane su minijaturne posude kvalitetne izrade, koje su lončari napravili po uzoru na posude za svakodnevnu upotrebu. Bile su namijenjene dječjoj igri i najčešće imaju sve karakteristike keramike kulture kojoj su pripadale (Balen-Letunić 1982, 70). Drugu grupu predstavljaju posude koje su napravila djeca. Ovdje su, također, najčešće zastupljene posude napravljene po uzoru na one za svakodnevnu upotrebu. Međutim, neki oblici nastali su kao kombinacija nekoliko tipova posuda, čime su dobivene nove forme (Balen-Letunić 1982, 70). Najjednostavniji oblici zdjela ujedno su i najzastupljeniji među dječjim igračkama (Balen-Letunić 1982, 71).

Većina autora slaže se da oblik, dimenzije, kvaliteta izrade i kontekst nalaza određuju funkciju minijaturnih posuda. Tako su, zbog bogate izrade, dvije posude s Belovoda interpretirane kao posude za čuvanje kozmetičkih sredstava ili neke vrijedne tekućine (Živković 2001, 21). Sudeći po malobrojnim nalazima minijaturnih posuda u zatvorenim cjelinama, sasvim je moguće da su mnoge od njih imale višestruku funkciju, koja se mijenjala u skladu s trenutnim potrebama. Međutim, kontekst nalaza ukazuje samo na njihovu posljednju, arheološki vidljivu funkciju, dok sve prethodne ostaju nepoznate.

Kad je u pitanju tumačenje minijaturnih posuda, važno je naglasiti da se one ne mogu promatrati jednostrano, već se svaki pojedini nalaz treba interpretirati u skladu sa specifičnim osobitostima koje ga određuju. S obzirom da su minijaturne posude pronađene na većini prapovijesnih nalazišta, dakle u različitim epohama i kulturnim zajednicama, ne može postojati jednoobrazna interpretacija odnosno jednaka namjena koja bi se odnosila na sve njih. Također, ista se interpretacija ne može primjenjivati ni u okviru iste kulture ili nalazišta. U jednom od prethodnih istraživanja ukazano je na to da se i nalazi minijaturnih posuda s istog lokaliteta i iste kulturne pripadnosti mogu uspješno različito interpretirati, kao i da je moguće razlikovati dječje igračke od ostalog arheološkog materijala (Balj 2009).

had several functions that changed in accordance with the needs of the moment. However, the context of the finds points solely to their last, archaeologically visible function, whereas all the previous ones remain unknown.

When it comes to the interpretation of miniature vessels it is important to emphasize that they cannot be viewed one-sidedly, as every individual find must be interpreted in accordance with the specific features that define it. There cannot be a standard interpretation for all miniature vessels, nor can they be associated with the same purpose, because such vessels were discovered on most prehistoric sites which belonged to various epochs and different cultural communities. Moreover, the same interpretation cannot even be applied within the framework of the same culture or site. In one of the preceding studies it was pointed out that it is possible to successfully interpret in different ways the discovered miniature vessels that stem from the same locality and the same cultural affiliation, and that it is likewise possible to differentiate children's toys from other archaeological materials (Balj 2009).

When speaking about children's toys from the Iron Age, we must single out, as extremely interesting, the appearance of ceramic figurines in the form of a horse on wheels (Sakara Sučević 2007). They stem from the region of Dolenjska in Slovenia, and from other places on the Mediterranean, and are most often found as grave offerings in graves of children and adolescents. On a subterranean necropolis in Bela Krajina, a rather large figure of a horse was discovered – 17.5 cm long, and 18.5 cm wide – as a grave offering in a grave of a woman who was interred in the period from the 8th to the 7th century BCE (Sakara Sučević 2007, Fig. 1). Although the figurine was formed to a certain extent, all anatomical features of the horse were clearly visible. On its head was a marked mane that was equipped with small perforations through which it was possible to pull real horse hair. The legs are not equal and they come with openings for the axles that are equipped with four wheels, while on the neck is an opening for the cord used to pull the figure. It is interesting to note that the figurine was repaired and restored on several occasions, which bears witness to its long use and great sentimental value. Because these toys were located in women's graves it is believed that there is a hidden symbolism in them, which connects them with the female principle (Sakara Sučević 2007, 757). The appearance of figures of a horse on wheels is explained with the great changes that were created in the Mediterranean world, which reflected themselves in the ever greater importance of horses for the economy, the organization of the military, and

Kada je riječ o dječjim igračkama iz željeznog doba, kao posebno zanimljiva izdvaja se pojava keramičkih figurica konja na kotačima (Sakara Sučević 2007). Potječu iz regije Dolenjska u Sloveniji i drugih mjesta na Mediteranu, a najčešće se nalaze kao grobni prilozi u grobovima djece i adolescenata. Na podzemnoj nekropoli u Beloj krajini pronađena je figura konja prilično velikih dimenzija – dužine 17,5 cm i širine 18,5 cm – kao grobni prilog ženske osobe sahranjene u vrijeme 8. – 7. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Sakara Sučević 2007, sl. 1). Iako je figura donekle sumarno oblikovana, sve anatomske karakteristike konja jasno su vidljive. Na glavi je naznačena griva, a na njoj su mali otvori kroz koje je mogla biti provučena prava konjska dlaka. Noge su nejednake, s otvorima za osovine na kojima se nalaze četiri kotača, dok je na vratu otvor za uzicu uz pomoć koje je figura pokretana. Zanimljivo je da je figurica više puta popravljena i obnavljana, što svjedoči o njenoj dugoj upotrebi i velikoj sentimentalnoj vrijednosti. Budući da se ove igračke nalaze u ženskim grobovima, smatra se da se u njima krije simbolika koja ih povezuje sa ženskim principom (Sakara Sučević 2007, 757). Pojava figura konja na kotačima objašnjava se velikim promjenama nastalim u sredozemnom svijetu, koje su se ogledale u sve većem značaju koji su konji imali u ekonomiji, ustrojstvu vojske i religiji u Grčkoj, u periodu od 11. do 8. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Sakara Sučević 2007, 755).

Osim ovih, na nekropolama iz kasnog brončanog doba mogu se naći i drugačiji vidovi igračaka. Jednu grupu nalaza čija je namjena još uvijek nejasna čine male keramičke kugle, za koje se pretpostavlja da su mogle služiti za vježbanje računanja ili za igru (Bianchin Citton 1998, 332, Fig. 194–195). Uglavnom su bez ukrasa, ali ima i onih zanimljivo ukrašenih tehnikom *impresso* i urezivanjem. Osim njih mogu se naći i glineni modeli kotača, koji bi mogli biti povezani s različitim predmetima – igračkama, zoomorfnim predstavama ili posudama u obliku vagona, ali u ovom se slučaju ne može isključiti da su služili kao pršljenci za pređenje ili mali utezi za tkanje (Bianchin Citton 1998, 334, Fig. 197–198).

Dječje igračke su definirane kao predmeti namijenjeni dječjoj igri, a ovisno o karakteru igre i njenom krajnjem cilju, one se mogu promatrati kao predmeti za zabavu i podučavanje, kao i za poticanje mentalnog i fizičkog razvoja. Igračke su mogle imati i simboličnu ulogu, bilo da je u pitanju njihova zaštitna ili kulturna funkcija (Marjanović 1993, 3). Uvriježeno je mišljenje da je dječja igra po svom sadržaju usko povezana sa životom, radom i djelatnošću odraslih članova društva pa je izbor igračaka ovisio o postojećim sociokulturnim uvjetima,

religion in Greece during the period from the 11th to the 8th century BCE (Sakara Sučević 2007, 755).

Except for these, other toys can be likewise encountered on necropolises from the Late Bronze Age. Another group of finds whose purpose is still a mystery are small ceramic spheres for which it is presumed that they served either for practicing reckoning, or for play (Bianchin Citton 1998, 332, Fig. 194–195). They are mostly devoid of decoration, but there are also those that are interestingly decorated using the *impresso* technique and incision. In addition to them, clay wheel models can likewise be found, which could be connected to different objects – toys, zoomorphic representations, or wagon-shaped vessels, but in this case it cannot be excluded that they served as whorls for spinning, or as small weights used for weaving (Bianchin Citton 1998, 334, Fig. 197–198).

Children's toys are defined as objects intended for child play, and depending on the character of the play and its goals, they can likewise be regarded as objects serving for fun and teaching, and for the stimulation of mental and physical development. Toys could have played a symbolic role as well, either with a protective or cult-related function (Marjanović 1993, 3). There is a deep-rooted opinion that child play was narrowly connected with the life, work and activities of the adult members of the community, which made the choice of toys dependent on the existing social and cultural conditions and the materials available. The discovery of ceramics brought about a flourishing of material culture and toys became diversiform and their number increased, and as we can see, they were also more durable. Thanks to their small dimensions and, frequently, their thick walls and simple forms, miniature vessels were less fragile and thus more durable in comparison with vessels used in everyday life. They were consequently often discovered intact or only slightly damaged, and were as such an important and unjustifiably neglected source of data and interpretations.

Toys made by children themselves represent a particularly important source of data. Following the sequence of their forms and production techniques it is possible to assume whether they were created for play, or else they represent the initial steps in the learning of a trade. The learning process could have developed in a variety of ways. Specific knowledge was passed onto future generations either by learning through observation, or by giving instructions. As regards the production of pottery, it is feasible that part of the learning process included the mistakes made, or else it involved repeated modeling. Clay was cheap and readily

kao i raspoloživim materijalima. Otkrićem keramike došlo je do procvata materijalne kulture i igračke su postale brojnije i raznovrsnije te, kako se pokazalo, i trajnije. Zahvaljujući malim dimenzijama, često debelim zidovima i jednostavnim oblicima, minijature posude manje su lomljive i dugotrajnije su od posuda korištenih u svakodnevnom životu. Stoga se često pronalaze cijele ili neznatno oštećene pa predstavljaju važan, neopravdano zanemaren izvor informacija i interpretacija.

Igračke koje su izradila sama djeca posebno su važan izvor informacija. Slijedom njihova oblika i tehnika izrade može se pretpostaviti jesu li izrađene igre radi ili su predstavljale početničke korake u izučavanju zanata. Proces učenja mogao se odvijati na različite načine. Bilo da je u pitanju učenje putem promatranja ili putem davanja instrukcija, specifična znanja prenošena su na mlađe generacije. Kad govorimo o izradi lončarije, učenje putem grešaka i ponovnog oblikovanja bilo je lako izvedivo. Glina je bila jeftina i lako dostupna, a njeno modeliranje predstavljalo je sigurnu i zanimljivu razonodu za djecu. Oblikovanje svježe gline djeci pruža zadovoljstvo, ali se u isto vrijeme razvijaju i njihove psihomotorne te manualne vještine. Tijekom procesa izrade, djeca se upoznaju i sa svojstvima ovog materijala. Učenje je vjerojatno počinjalo s malim i jednostavnim oblicima, poput ovdje opisanih zdjelica, a potom se prelazilo na nešto veće i kompleksnije predmete. Svakako je vrlo važno bilo upoznavanje djece s cijelim procesom proizvodnje – od pripreme glinene mase, preko njenog oblikovanja, sušenja i naknadne obrade površine, pa sve do pečenja. Ona su mogla sudjelovati i pomagati ili tijekom čitavog ovog procesa ili u pojedinim fazama. Djeci je zasigurno predstavljalo neizmjereno zadovoljstvo igrati se svojim uspješno izvedenim radovima. O tome koliko su ih odrasli podržavali u nastojanju da sami naprave svoje igračke svjedoče i vrlo nevješti radovi koji su ipak ispečeni i sačuvani do današnjih dana (Balj 2009, 25).

Među dječjim igračkama najzastupljenije su zdjelice, koje su ujedno i najjednostavnije za oblikovanje. Kao i one ovdje opisane, nastale su od grumena gline u koju je utiskivanjem prstom dobiven recipijent. Iako nije moguće sa sigurnošću za svaku od njih utvrditi je li ih izradila vješta osoba koja nije pridavala pažnju detaljiziranju ili je u pitanju rad nevješte osobe koja ne zna napraviti bolje, za neke primjere ipak ima sasvim dovoljno indicija na osnovu kojih se s velikom sigurnošću može pretpostaviti jesu li proizvod početnika ili ne. Analizom predmeta koje su napravila djeca mogu se dobiti informacije o stupnju njihove umješnosti u obradi gline i oblikovanju. Ti predmeti ne moraju isključivo

available, and modeling clay was on top of that surely an interesting diversion for children. Children regarded the modeling of fresh clay as fun, but at the same time they were developing their psychomotor and manual abilities. The children were acquainted with the properties of this material during the production process. The learning experience probably started with small, simple forms as are the vessels described here; bigger and more complex objects were tackled subsequently. For the children it was surely very important to familiarize themselves with the entire production process – from the preparation of the clay mass, to its modeling, drying, surface treating and eventual firing. They could have participated and helped either during this entire process or only in certain phases. The children were surely exceedingly happy to play with their successfully completed works. The very clumsily made objects that were nonetheless fired and preserved to the present day, bear witness to what degree the adults encouraged children to make their own toys (Balj 2009, 25).

Bowls appear most frequently among children's toys because they were also easiest to form. As in the case of the ones described here, they were made out of a lump of clay, out of which a recipient was formed by finger impression. Although there is no way to determine with certainty, for each of them, whether they were made by a skilled person who did not pay much attention to detail, or, by an inexperienced individual who couldn't have created anything better, for some of the specimens there are enough indications on the basis of which it is possible to assume, with a great degree of certainty, whether they are the work of a beginner or not. By analyzing the works made by children it is possible to obtain data about the degree of skill employed when working and modeling clay. These objects don't necessarily have to be dedicated exclusively for child play. Children are known to have produced objects of incredible complexity, whose execution demanded a great deal of time and effort, and it is assumed that the goal of all this was the learning of the potter's trade, i.e., the production of pottery. Likewise, some of the works created by children, except for play, could also have been used for other purposes – as measuring units, or as vessels for some special use.

On the other hand we should not neglect children as a possible source of manpower. In historical and ethnographic sources there are many examples that speak of children as an important source of manpower in certain cultures, which also influenced the distribution of work. They can therefore be regarded as both the producers and users of material culture.

biti namijenjeni dječjoj igri. Djeca su ponekad izrađivala predmete vrlo kompleksnih oblika, čija je izrada zahtijevala dosta vremena i truda, pa se pretpostavlja da je to imalo za cilj ovladavanje vještinom proizvodnje keramičkih predmeta. Isto tako, neki od dječjih radova su, osim za igru, mogli biti korišteni i u druge svrhe – kao mjerice ili posudice za neku posebnu namjenu.

S druge strane, ne treba zanemariti djecu kao moguću radnu snagu. U povijesnim i etnografskim zapisima ima mnogo primjera koji ukazuju na to da su djeca u određenim kulturama predstavljala značajnu radnu snagu, što utječe i na samu raspodjelu posla. Stoga se ona mogu smatrati i proizvođačima i korisnicima materijalne kulture.

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Obilje arheološkog materijala pronađenog u sondi 1 uz zgradu Arheološkog muzeja Istre pruža dragocjen uvid u svakodnevni život Histra u željezno doba. Ovi nalazi svjedoče o svim važnim zanimanjima kojima su se bavili stanovnici otkrivene kuće – od ribolova i sakupljanja morskih plodova preko zemljoradnje i izrade alatki pa do šivanja i tkanja. Za ovaj je članak najvažnija aktivnost koja se ovdje odvijala bila lončarstvo, o čemu svjedoče nalazi neuspjelih posuda, kao i nekoliko grumenata čiste gline s tragovima gnječnja.

Osim predmeta za svakodnevnu upotrebu, u ovoj su se kući izrađivale i dječje igračke. One se javljaju u vidu minijturnih zdjelica koje svojim oblikom oponašaju posude za svakodnevnu upotrebu. Detaljna analiza predmeta, kao i konteksta nalaza, pokazala je da se među njima nalaze one koje su napravili odrasli, ali i one koje su izradila djeca. Prepoznamo ih po nevještoj izradi i pokušajima da se oponaša postupak te postigne slična kvaliteta. U ovom se slučaju opravdano može govoriti o nastojanju da se djeca nauče izradi posudica namijenjenih igri, pri čemu je važan segment tog procesa bilo i učenje o svojstvima gline i izradi lončarije.

S obzirom da je, po svom sadržaju, dječja igra potpuno povezana sa životom, radom i djelatnošću odraslih članova društva, izbor igračaka ovisio je o postojećim sociokulturnim uvjetima, kao i o raspoloživim materijalima. Pojavom keramike stvoreni su uvjeti za njihovo trajno očuvanje. Osnovna karakteristika dječjih igračaka je oponašanje predmeta iz svijeta odraslih, što je potvrđeno i u ovom slučaju. Inicijativa za izradu keramičkih predmeta potjecala je od odraslih članova društva i imala je istovremeno praktičnu i odgojnu funkciju. Osim igre i razvoja vještine, značajno je bilo i pripremanje djece za buduća zaduženja. Stoga ne iznenađuje da ove igračke potječu iz kuće u kojoj se dokazano izrađivala lončarija.

CONCLUDING DELIBERATIONS

The large amount of archaeological material discovered in Probe 1 along the building housing the Archaeological Museum of Istria gives us a valuable insight into everyday life of the Histri in the Iron Age period. These finds corroborate all the important crafts practiced by the inhabitants of the discovered house – from fishing and gathering of seafood, to tilling, tool-producing, sewing and weaving. As far as this paper is concerned, the most important activity that went on here was the production of pottery, which is corroborated by the discovery of incomplete vessels and a few lumps of pure clay with traces of kneading.

Except for objects intended for daily use, children's toys were likewise produced in this house. They appear in the shape of miniature vessels that with their form imitate those made for everyday use. A detailed analysis of the objects and the context of the finds showed that amongst them there are those that were produced by adults, and also those that were made by children. We recognize them on account of their unskilled workmanship, and attempts to imitate the procedure and achieve a similar quality. In this case we can rightfully talk about an endeavor to teach children to produce miniature vessels intended for play, an important segment of this process being the learning of the properties of clay, and pottery making.

With regard to the fact that child play, as far as its contents were concerned, was thoroughly connected with the life, work and activities of the adult members of the community, the choice of toys depended on existing social/cultural conditions and the materials available. The advent of ceramics created the conditions for their preservation in time. The main characteristic of children's toys is their imitation of objects from the adult world, a fact that was confirmed in this case as well. The initiative that sparked the production of ceramic objects originated from the adult members of the community, and it had both a practical and an educational function at the same time. In addition to play and the development of the needed skills, it was also essential to prepare the children for future responsibilities. It is therefore not surprising that these toys stem from a house in which the production of pottery was proven.

Children-made toys are an important source of data because they testify about their childhood and the process of socialization used to transmit culture-related information from generation to generation, a process of growing up during which a child becomes an accepted member of society. It is therefore imperative to recognize children's toys amongst the archaeological finds, as well

Igračke koje su izradila sama djeca važan su izvor informacija, jer svjedoče o djetinjstvu i procesu socijalizacije kojim se kulturne informacije prenose kroz generacije, o procesu odrastanja tijekom kojeg dijete postaje prihvaćeni član društva. Stoga je vrlo važno prepoznati dječje igračke među arheološkim nalazima, kao i pravilno ih razumjeti u kontekstu raspoloživih podataka. One pružaju dragocjene podatke o uključenosti djece u život zajednice pa njihovo istraživanje omogućava bolje razumijevanje odnosa između odraslih članova društva i djece. Osim toga, ova saznanja omogućavaju potpuno novi uvid o tome u kojoj su mjeri djeca, uz odrasle članove društva, utjecala na dinamiku svakodnevnog života zajednice i samim time sudjelovala u kreiranju arheoloških nalaza.

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as to understand them correctly in the context of the information available. They provide valuable information regarding the extent to which the children were included in the life of a community; by studying them we get a better understanding of the relations that existed between the adult members of the community and children. In addition, these perceptions allow us to gain a new insight regarding the extent to which children, along with the adult members of the community, influenced the dynamics of everyday life of a community, and participated in the creation of archaeological finds.

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