

# Minijaturne željeznodobne posude iz svetišta u Vilinoj špilji

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# MINIJATURNE ŽELJEZNO DOBNE POSUDE IZ SVETIŠTA U VILINOJ ŠPILJI

## MINIATURE IRON AGE VESSELS FROM THE SHRINE IN VILINA CAVE

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### **DOMAGOJ PERKIĆ**

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Rad obrađuje minijaturne votivne posude iz ilirskoga svetišta u Vilinoj špilji iznad izvora Omble kod Dubrovnika. Istraživanjima Dubrovačkih muzeja iz 2014. i 2015. godine sveukupno je pronađeno najmanje 45 minijaturnih posuda u barem 6 različitih oblika. Svima je zajedničko da pripadaju lokalnoj, rukom rađenoj prapovijesnoj keramici. Uglavnom je riječ o keramici lošije kvalitete, grublje fature, s dosta primjesa kalcita i vapnenca. Pojedine od minijaturnih posuda oblikom i ukrasom oponašaju izvorne posude, normalne veličine, što nam u tim slučajevima omogućuje datiranje na osnovi njihovih tipološko-oblikovnih karakteristika. No, u većini slučajeva minijaturne posude su krajnje jednostavnoga oblika, neukrašene i tada je datiranje moguće samo indirektno, promatrajući ih u kontekstu svetišta, gdje se i svi ostali nalazi datiraju u kraj 5. i kroz cijelo 4. st. pr. Kr. Usporedba ovdje obrađenih minijaturnih posuda moguća je s ostalim lokalitetima sličnoga konteksta i funkcije, prije svega svetištima željeznoga doba u široj okolici te Grčkoj i na italskome poluotoku.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** ilirsko svetište, špilja, minijaturne posude, lokalna keramika, željezno doba

The paper examines the miniature votive vessels from the Illyrian shrine in Vilina Cave above the source of the Ombla near Dubrovnik. The excavations done by Dubrovnik Museums in 2014 and 2015 found a total of at least 45 miniature vessels of at least six different shapes. They all belong to local, hand-made prehistoric pottery. They are mostly low quality pottery, with coarse fabric and abundant inclusions of calcite and limestone. The shapes and decorations of some miniature vessels imitate the original normal-sized vessels, making it possible to date them on the basis of their typological and formal characteristics. However, most miniature vessels have very simple shapes and no decorations, so they can be dated only indirectly, by considering them in the context of the shrine, where all the other finds have been dated to the end of the 5th and the entire 4th century BC. The miniature vessels examined in this paper can be compared to other sites with a similar context and function, primarily the Iron Age shrines in the wider area, Greece, and the Italian peninsula.

**KEY WORDS:** Illyrian shrine, cave, miniature vessels, local pottery, Iron Age

## VILINA ŠPILJA KAO ARHEOLOŠKO NALAZIŠTE

Vilina špilja nalazi se u strmim stijenama brda Bjelotina, iznad izvora rijeke Ombla, u Rijeci dubrovačkoj (sl 1). Prostor koji obuhvaća arheološko nalazište predstavlja samo manji dio špiljskoga sustava Vilina špilja – Kaverna iza izvora Omble – Ombla izvor, sustava koji je do sada istražen u duljini od 3063 m i dubini od 192 m te je, prema svojim dimenzijama, potencijalno najduža špilja na području Dalmacije te dvanaesta špilja po dužini u Hrvatskoj (Ozimec et al. 2009: 85; Ozimec, Cukrov 2014: 49). U literaturi i među stanovništvom špilja se još naziva Vilin stan, Vilina kuća i Vilina pećina iznad izvora Omble (Kusijanović 1938: 85–88; Bedek et al. 2006: 79).<sup>1</sup> Prvi o špilji piše Miho Kusijanović (1938: 85–88), a nakon njega detaljno je opisuje i donosi njezin tlocrt Mirko Malez (1970: 56–58). Noviji tlocrt cijeloga špiljskog sustava poznat nam je iz konteksta speleoloških i bispeleoloških istraživanja (Ozimec et al. 2015: 47–48, 137).

## VILINA CAVE AS AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE

Vilina Cave (Vilina špilja) is located among the steep rocks of Bjelotina hill, above the source of the River Ombla, in Rijeka Dubrovačka (Fig. 1). The area of the archaeological site is only a small part of the cave system of Vilina Cave – the Kavern behind the source of the Ombla – the source of the Ombla. This system has been explored to the length of 3063 m and depth of 192 m, making it the longest cave in Dalmatia and the twelfth longest cave in Croatia (Ozimec et al. 2009: 85; Ozimec, Cukrov 2014: 49). In literature and among the locals, the cave has other names too: Vilin stan (Fairy's Abode), Vilina kuća (Fairy's House), Vilina pećina iznad izvora Omble (Fairy's Cave above the Source of the Ombla) (Kusijanović 1938: 85–88; Bedek et al. 2006: 79).<sup>1</sup> The cave was first described by Miho Kusijanović (1938: 85–88); a detailed description and ground plan was provided by Mirko Malez (1970: 56–58). A more recent ground plan of the entire cave system is known to us from the context of speleo-



Karta 1 — Položaj Viline špilje na kartografskim prikazima (izvor: Geoportal DGU; računalna obrada: D. Perkić)  
Map 1 — Cartographic location of Vilina Cave (source: Geoportal DGU; computer processing by: D. Perkić)

1 Sam toponim Vilina špilja upućuje na relativni kontinuitet vjerovanja o svetome mjestu od prapovijesnih vremena do današnjih dana. Vjerovanja o vilama su prisutna u germanskim, keltskim, nordijskim i mnogim drugim vjerovanjima, no posebnu ulogu imaju u slavenskim vjerovanjima. Tako već u 6. st. bizantski pisac Prokopije u svom djelu *De bellis* piše kako su tadašnji Slaveni posebno slavili vile i rijeke (*BG VII.xiv.24*). Vile su u uporabi kao najčešće slavensko mitsko biće (opširnije vidjeti u Dragić 2017: 220–221; Botica 1990: 30).

1 As a toponym, Vilina (Fairy's) Cave indicates a relatively continuous belief in a holy site from prehistory to our time. There are fairies in Germanic, Celtic, Nordic, and many other traditions, but they are particularly prominent in Slavic traditions. Already in the 6th century, the Byzantine author Procopius says in his work *De bellis* that the Slavs of his time were particularly devoted to fairies and rivers (*BG VII.xiv.24*). The fairy is the most frequent Slavic mythological creature (for more details, see Dragić 2017: 220–221; Botica 1990: 30).



Sl. 1 — Položaj ulaza u Vilinu špilju iznad izvora Ombla (snimio: D. Perkić)

Fig. 1 — Location of the entrance to Vilina Cave above the source of the Ombla (photo by: D. Perkić)

Kao prapovijesno nalazište s kraja neolitika, eneolitika i brončanoga doba postaje nam poznata iz radova Nikše Petrića koji opisuje nalaze keramike iz Viline špilje dospjele u Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu (Petrić 1981: 1–9; 1984: 56–59). Na njih se osvrće i Zorko Marković u svome radu o eneolitiku i brončanome dobu južne Dalmacije (Marković 1988: 79–80, 82). Navedeni podaci zasnivaju se na neolitičkim, eneolitičkim i brončanodobnim površinskim nalazima koje su prikupili francuski inženjeri radeći na dubrovačkome vodovodu dvadesetih godina prošloga stoljeća. Prvi arheološki radovi u smislu rekonosciranja, prikupljanja površinskih nalaza te izrade foto i nacrtne dokumentacije obavljani su u razdoblju od 2008. do 2010. (Perkić 2010a: 33–38; 2010b: 159–161) i 2012. godine (Perkić 2013: 872–875), a arheološka istraživanja 2014. i 2015. godine (Perkić 2015: 722–725; 2016: 857–860; 2021: 75–85; Perkić, Novak 2020: 22–28).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Voditelj arheoloških istraživanja bio je dr. sc. Domagoj Perkić, zamjenik voditelja Darko Milošević, dipl. arheol., oba iz Arheološkoga muzeja Dubrovačkih muzeja. Stručnu i tehničku ekipu predstavljali su speleolozi iz speleološkoga društva „Ursus spelaeus“ iz Karlovca: Hrvoje

logical and biospeleological exploration (Ozimec et al. 2015: 47–48, 137).

It was first presented as a prehistoric site from the end of the Neolithic, the Eneolithic and the Bronze Age in the works of Nikša Petrić, who described the pottery finds from Vilina Cave kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Petrić 1981: 1–9; 1984: 56–59). The same finds were mentioned by Zorko Marković in his paper on the Eneolithic and the Bronze Age in south Dalmatia (Marković 1988: 79–80, 82). These data are based on Neolithic, Eneolithic and Bronze Age surface finds collected by French engineers working on the Dubrovnik water supply system in the 1920s. The first archaeological works in terms of reconnaissance, collection of surface finds, and preparation of photographs and plans, were done from 2008 to 2010 (Perkić 2010a: 33–38; 2010b: 159–161) and in 2012 (Perkić 2013: 872–875), while archaeological excavations were done in 2014 and 2015 (Perkić 2015: 722–725; 2016: 857–860; 2021: 75–85; Perkić, Novak 2020: 22–28).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The leader of the archaeological excavations was dr. sc. Domagoj Perkić, his deputy was Darko Milošević, dipl. arheol., both from the Archaeological Museum of Dubrovnik Museums. The expert and technical team consisted



Sl. 2 — Penjanje uz strme stijene Bjelotine (snimio: D. Perkić)  
Fig. 2 — Climbing the steep rocks of Bjelotina (photo by: D. Perkić)

Zadnja istraživanja obavljena su u okviru programske djelatnosti Arheološkoga muzeja Dubrovačkih muzeja 2014. i 2015. godine, kada je istražen veći dio Ulazne dvorane i početni dijelovi Dvorane 2.<sup>3</sup> Arheološki lokalitet (kroz sva utvrđena razdoblja) predstavlja samo dio koji se odnosi na Vilinu špilju, a preostali dio špiljskoga sustava nije korišten u ranijim razdobljima. Ukupna dužina špilje kao arheološko-

The latest excavations were carried out within the program activities of the Archaeological Museum of Dubrovnik Museums in 2014 and 2015, exploring most of the Entrance Hall and the initial parts of Hall 2.<sup>3</sup> The archaeological site (across all the identified periods) is entirely inside Vilina Cave, as the rest of the cave system was not

Cvitanović, Nataša Cvitanović i Neven Šuica, dipl. geol., Speleološkoga društva Karlovac: Predrag Rade, te arheolog Nikša Grbić.

3 Cijeli prostor špilje podijeljen je na kvadrante A-Z / 1-47, a sveukupno su istražena 94 kvadranta, s površinom od oko 70 m<sup>2</sup> istraženoga prostora (zbog konfiguracije terena i stijena nisu svi kvadranti u cijelosti istraženi).

of speleologists from the speleological association "Ursus spelaeus" from Karlovac: Hrvoje Cvitanović, Nataša Cvitanović and Neven Šuica, dipl. geol., from the Speleological Society of Karlovac: Predrag Rade, and archaeologist Nikša Grbić.

3 The entire area of the cave was divided into quadrants A-Z / 1-47; a total of 94 quadrants was explored, covering around 70 m<sup>2</sup> of explored space (because of the configuration of terrain and rocks, not all quadrants were fully explored).





Sl. 3 — Prosječna debljina kulturnoga sloja u Ulaznoj dvorani (snimio: D. Perkić)

Fig. 3 — Average thickness of the cultural layer in the Entrance Cave (photo by: D. Perkić)

ga lokaliteta je 47 m, širine u rasponu od 7 m na ulazu do 14 m u svojim najširim dijelovima. Najintenzivnije korištenje špilje bilo je u prvih petnaestak metara od ulaza (sl. 4). Sam ulaz u špilju leži na 137,66 m nadmorske visine, orijentiran je prema jugu i djelomično zatvoren kamenim blokovima koji su u prošlosti otpali sa svoda nekadašnjega ulaza. Primjetno je kako je cijeli prostor špilje znatno poremećen tektonskim i geološkim djelovanjima, stvaranjima „kanala“ nastalim otpadanjem kamenih blokova i gromada sa svoda, koji su tijekom vremena zbog erozije zapunjeni kulturnim slojevima i nalazima iz raznih razdoblja. To je i dovelo do odsustva vertikalne kulturne stratigrafije, odnosno svi su nalazi i slojevi ispremišani, pa je kulturno-kronološko određenje nalaza moguće samo na osnovi njihovih tipološko-oblikovnih i drugih karakteristika, a nikako položajem u kulturnome sloju. Ukupna prosječna debljina kulturnoga sloja je oko 50 cm (sl. 3).

Pristup, od podnožja i izvora Omble, do ulaza u špilju je vrlo fizički i tehnički zahtjevan. Prve dvije trećine puta predstavljaju penjanje uz

used in earlier periods. The cave as archaeological site has a total length of 47 m, and a width ranging from 7 m at the entrance to 14 m in the widest parts. The most intensive use of the cave was identified in the first fifteen metres from the entrance (Fig. 4). The cave entrance looks to the east, at 137.66 m above sea level, and is partially closed by stone blocks that fell off the entrance ceiling in the past. It is clear that the entire space of the cave has been significantly changed by tectonic and geological activity, by “channels” caused by stone blocks and boulders falling from the ceiling; over time, erosion filled these channels with cultural layers and finds from earlier periods. For the same reason, there is no vertical cultural stratigraphy: all the finds and layers are mixed, meaning that the cultural and chronological identification of finds is possible only on the basis of their typological, formal, and other characteristics, instead of their position in the cultural layer. The total average thickness of the cultural layer is around 50 cm (Fig. 3).

It is very hard, both physically and technically, to approach the cave entrance from the base and

strme padine brda, dok zadnja trećina, neposredno ispod ulaza u špilju, zahtijeva korištenje i poznavanje speleološke opreme i tehnika penjanja. Naime, veći dio zadnje trećine prilaza sastoji se od gotovo vertikalnih stijena uz koje se penje. Stoga je, zbog sigurnosti, uspon u tom dijelu bio isključivo uz pomoć speleološke opreme i konopa (sl. 3).<sup>4</sup> Ne možemo znati kojim putem i kako su ljudi u prapovijesnim razdobljima dolazili do špilje, no imajući u vidu okolnu konfiguraciju terena, može se pretpostaviti kako se ona nije bitno mijenjala u smislu arheoloških razdoblja, bez obzira na česte tektonske poremećaje (potrese).

Na osnovi provedenih istraživanja zaključujemo kako Vilinu špilju možemo promatrati u dva različita konteksta: profanome i svetome. Naime, u ranim prapovijesnim razdobljima, od rana neolitika (nalazi *impresso* kulture) do srednjega brončanog doba, dakle u razdoblju od oko 6200 do 1500 g. pr. Kr., špilja je korištena kao izvjesni oblik povremenoga staništa: zbjeg uslijed konfliktnih razdoblja, vremenskih (ne)prilika ili kao sezonsko stanište. Potrebno je naglasiti kako je riječ o povremenim i kratkotrajnim boravcima u špilji koji su ostavili materijalne tragove, ali ne i kompleksniju arheološku stratigrafiju u smislu višeslojnih kulturnih slojeva.<sup>5</sup>

Slijedeći arheološki kontekst odnosi se na razdoblje samoga kraja starijega i početaka mlađega željeznog doba, odnosno zadnje četvrtine 5. pa sve do početaka 3. st. pr. Kr. Na osnovi brojnih nalaza, među ostalim i ovdje obrađenim minijaturnim posudama, pretpostavlja se kako su u tom razdoblju ulazni dijelovi Viline špilje korišteni kao sveto mjesto, kao izvjestan oblik svetišta željeznodobnoga domicilnog stanovništva.<sup>6</sup> To je vrijeme susreta autohtonih zajednica s naprednijom grčkom civilizacijom i kolonizacijom istočnojadranske obale. Ujedno, to je i vrijeme najintenzivnijega korištenja špilje, s najviše nalaza, uglavnom fine grčke i heleničke keramike i drugih artefakata.

the source of the Ombla. Two-thirds of the way is climbing the steep slopes, while the last third, before the cave entrance, requires the use of and familiarity with speleological equipment and climbing techniques. In fact, most of the last third consists of almost vertical rocks. For reasons of safety, that part was climbed only with speleological equipment and ropes (Fig. 3).<sup>4</sup> We cannot know which way or method was used by prehistoric people to reach the cave, but considering the surrounding terrain configuration, we can assume that it has not changed significantly in terms of archaeological periods, despite frequent tectonic disturbances (earthquakes).

On the basis of the excavations, we can conclude that Vilina Cave can be considered in two different contexts: profane and sacred. In earlier prehistoric periods, from the early Neolithic (*impresso* culture finds) to the Middle Bronze Age, i.e. from around 6200 BC to 1500 BC, the cave was used as some kind of occasional living quarters: a refuge in periods of conflict or inclement weather, or as a seasonal dwelling place. It should be emphasized that these occasional and short-term habitations in the cave have left material traces, but not a complex archaeological stratigraphy in terms of multiple cultural layers.<sup>5</sup>

The next archaeological context comprises the period of the very end of the Early Iron Age and the beginning of the Late Iron Age, i.e. from the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. On the basis of numerous finds, including the miniature vessels analysed here, it is assumed that the entrance parts of Vilina Cave were used in this period as a holy site, a kind of a shrine of the local Iron Age population.<sup>6</sup> It was the time when the local communities encountered the more advanced Greek civilization and when the eastern Adriatic coast was colonized. It was also the time of the most intensive use of the cave, with the greatest number of finds, mostly fine Greek and Hellenistic pottery and other artefacts.

4 Zbog velike količine arheoloških nalaza, kao i zbog arheološke opreme, alata, dokumentacije i sl., koje je svakodnevno bilo potrebno podizati i spuštati od podnožja do ulaza, postavljena je tzv. „tirolka“, odnosno žičara sa sistemom kolotura pomoću koje je podizan i spuštavan teret. Ona se nalazila od ulaza u špilju do oko polovice puta prema podnožju.

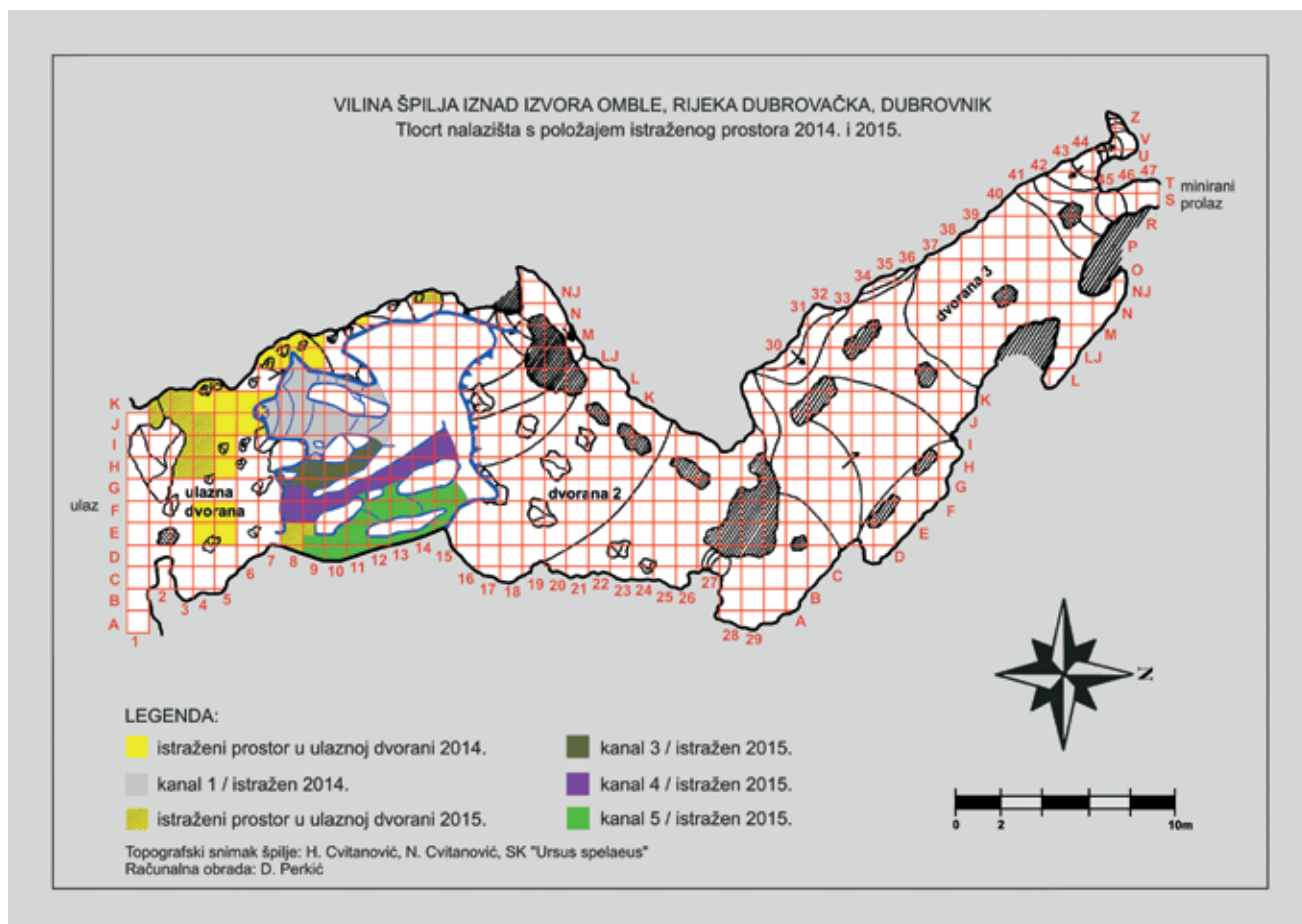
5 Opširnije o ranijim prapovijesnim nalazima kao što su ulomci keramičkih posuda, litike (alatke i ostaci od njihove izrade), hrane (kosti, školjke) vidjeti u Perkić 2015: 722–725; 2016: 857–860.

6 Iako se s obzirom na razdoblje o kojemu govorimo, kraj 5. – početak 3. st. pr. Kr. ne može kategorički govoriti o Ilirima kao monolitnoj etničkoj zajednici, kroz tekst se na više mjesta koristi termin Iliri više u kolokvijalnome smislu. Također, razlozi i argumenti zašto se lokalitet smatra svetištem višekratno su obrazlagani u ranijim radovima (sažeto vidjeti u Perkić 2021: 82–83).

4 Because of the large quantity of archaeological finds, but also because of archaeological equipment, tools, documentation etc. which had to be raised and lowered daily between the base and the entrance, a “Tyrol” cableway was set up, with a system of pulleys for raising and lowering loads. It extended from the cave entrance to about half the way down to the base.

5 For more details on the earlier prehistoric finds such as potsherds, lithics (tools and the remains of their production), food (bones, seashells), see Perkić 2015: 722–725; 2016: 857–860.

6 Illyrians cannot be conclusively described as a monolithic ethnic community in the relevant period (from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), so when the term Illyrians appears in the text, it is used rather colloquially. The reasons and arguments for considering this site a shrine were explained several times in earlier papers (for a summary, see Perkić 2021: 82–83).



Sl. 4 — Tlocrt nalazišta s položajem istraženoga prostora 2014. i 2015. godine (topografski snimak špilje: H. Cvitanović, N. Cvitanović; računalna obrada: D. Perkić)

Fig. 4 — Ground plan of the site with the location of the space explored in 2014 and 2015 (topographic snapshot of the cave: H. Cvitanović, N. Cvitanović; computer processing: D. Perkić)

Riječ je o najfinijim i najskupocjenijim posudama toga vremena. Utvrđeno je postojanje najmanje 223 posude grčke provenijencije (uglavnom je riječ o znatno fragmentiranim posudama, od kojih je pedesetak rekonstruirano), iz vjerojatno matičnih atičkih, ali i italskih (južnoitalske i gornjojadranske – Alto Adriatico) radionica. Većina ih pripada raznim oblicima crnoglazirane keramike (skifosi, narebrene šalice, kupe na nozi, tanjuri, uljanice), crvenofiguralne keramike (*glaukes*, odnosno sovini skifosi i šalice s jednom ručkom s prikazom sova između maslinovih grančica, zatim veliki skifosi s prikazom sirene između palmeta i sl.). Tu su i brojni nalazi velikih skifosa koji pripadaju gornjojadranskim radionicama Alto Adriatico keramike na području Picenuma, Spine i Adrije,<sup>7</sup> kantarosi tzv. grupe St. Valentin keramike atenskih radio-

These were the finest and most expensive vessels of the period. Researchers identified at least 223 vessels of Greek origin (most of them greatly fragmented; around 50 have been reconstructed), probably from original Attic, but also Italian (south Italian and upper Adriatic – Alto Adriatico) workshops. Most of them belong to various forms of black-glazed pottery (skyphoi, ribbed cups, chalices on a pedestal, plates, oil lamps), red-figured pottery (*glaukes* or owl skyphoi and cups with a single handle depicting owls between olive branches, large skyphoi depicting sirens between palmettes etc.). There are also numerous finds of large skyphoi belonging to upper Adriatic workshops of Alto Adriatico pottery in the area of Picenum, Spina, and Adria,<sup>7</sup> kantharoi of the "St. Valentine pottery group" from Athenian workshops, a plate and crater of Gnathia pottery,

<sup>7</sup> Opširnije o Alto Adriatico keramici u nas vidjeti u Kirigin 1992: 79–98; 2000: 131–137; 2010: 23–55.

<sup>7</sup> For more details on Alto Adriatico pottery in Croatia, see Kirigin 1992: 79–98; 2000: 131–137; 2010: 23–55.

nica, tanjur i krater Gnathia keramike, oinochoe od obične fine keramike te veći ulomak *busta*, odnosno *bothrosa* – terakotne plastike u obliku ženske glave s vjernim prikazom lica i valovitom plavom (žuto obojanom) kosom, kao tipičnom predstavom izvjesnoga ženskog božanstva u klasičnoj grčkoj umjetnosti. Od amfora, prema broju njihovih dna, utvrđeno je postojanje najmanje 63 amfore, od čega 53 amfore ranih i klasičnih Korint B amfora, čime Vilina špilja predstavlja najbrojnije nalazište takvih amfora na kopnu cijele istočnojadranske obale (Perkić 2021: 75–85).

Međutim, pored keramičkih nalaza grčke provenijencije pronađeni su brojni ulomci minijaturnih posuda koji pripadaju lokalnoj, ilirskoj keramici, rađenoj rukom, loše pečenoj, vrlo grube fature, s dosta primjesa vapnenca i kal-cita.<sup>8</sup> Pretpostavlja se kako je riječ o posudama votivnoga karaktera kakve inače nalazimo u svetištima i grobovima u raznim prapovijesnim razdobljima. Među ostalim razlozima, upravo takvi nalazi idu u prilog pretpostavci kako je riječ o ilirskome, a ne grčkome svetištu. U jednome grčkom svetištu zasigurno ne bi imali, za Grke bezvrijedne, jednostavne, ilirske votivne posude. Nasuprot tome, Iliri će u svoje svetište staviti najskupocjenije i najkvalitetnije posude toga vremena. U svetišta su se uvijek ostavljali najdragocjeniji predmeti kao zavjeti, darovi ili zbog traženja mira ili milosti od bogova. Stoga smo odlučili ovim radom obraditi upravo takve, lokalne, minijaturne posude.

## MINIJATURNE POSUDE

### Definicija

Minijatura, minijaturan u hrvatskome jeziku označava ono što je u kategoriji maloga u svojoj vrsti (u minijaturi – umanjeno, smanjeno u velikoj mjeri) (Anić et al. 2002: 896). Slično je i u engleskom jeziku, *miniature*, što dolazi od srednjovjekovnoga latinskog termina *minium* u značenju pigment svijetlocrvene ili narančaste boje koji se koristio kod oslikanih rukopisa. Riječ *miniature* vjerojatno je prenesena na male ilustracije zahvaljujući sličnosti s latinskim komparativom *minor* (manji).<sup>9</sup> Fenomen minijaturi-

oinochoe of plain fine pottery, and a large fragment of a bust or bothros – terracotta sculpted in the form of a woman's head with a realistic face and wavy blonde hair (painted yellow) as a typical representation of a particular female deity in classical Greek art. At least 63 amphorae have been counted on the basis of their bottoms; 53 of them are early and classical Corinth B amphorae, which means that Vilina Cave has the greatest number of these amphorae on the entire eastern Adriatic mainland (Perkić 2021: 75–85).

However, aside from the pottery of Greek origin, the finds included numerous fragments of miniature vessels belonging to local, Illyrian pottery, made by hand, poorly baked, shaped very coarsely, with abundant inclusions of limestone and calcite.<sup>8</sup> These are assumed to be vessels of a votive character, which are usually found in shrines and graves from various prehistoric periods. These finds are one more reason to assume that the shrine was not Greek, but Illyrian. A Greek shrine would certainly not include simple Illyrian votive vessels, which the Greeks would consider worthless. Conversely, the Illyrians would bring to their shrine the most valuable and high-quality vessels of their own. The most precious objects were always left in the sanctuaries as vows, gifts, or seeking peace or mercy from the gods. Therefore, we decided to analyse these local, miniature vessels in this paper.

## MINIATURE VESSELS

### Definition

In Croatian, the words *minijatura* (noun) or *minijaturan* (adjective) are used for something that is small for its kind (u minijaturi – scaled down, greatly reduced) (Anić et al. 2002: 896). Similarly, the English word *miniature* comes from the medieval Latin term *minium*, which denoted a light red or orange pigment used for illuminated manuscripts. The word *miniature* was probably applied to small illustrations because of its similarity with the Latin comparative *minor* (smaller).<sup>9</sup> The phenomenon of miniaturization appears through the ages in many cultures across the world, becoming a kind of a pattern of human behaviour (Pilz 2011: 16).

One of the first definitions of miniature ves-

8 Bitno je za naglasiti kako su u istome prostornom i arheološkom kontekstu pronađeni ulomci keramike grčke i lokalne provenijencije. O tome opširnije vidjeti u ranijim objavama o istraživanjima Viline špilje 2012, 2014. i 2015. godine.

9 *Miniature*, The Oxford English Dictionary (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Oxford University Press, 1989.

8 It should be emphasized that the same spatial and archaeological context included potsherds of Greek and local origin. For more details, see earlier publications on the excavations in Vilina Cave in 2012, 2014, and 2015.

9 *Miniature*, The Oxford English Dictionary (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Oxford University Press, 1989.

zacije javlja se kroz vrijeme u mnogim kulturama širom svijeta i na neki način postaje obrazac ljudskoga ponašanja (Pilz 2011: 16).

Jedna od prvih definicija minijaturnih posuda bila je da su to umanjene posude istih ili sličnih izvornih posuda, bez izvorne funkcije, a obično služe kao zavjetni ili pogrebni darovi (Pemberton 1970: 293, n. 49). No, takva se definicija morala proširiti i na one umanjene posude koje nemaju ekvivalent u većim posudama (Hammond 1998: 14–16; 2014: 401; Barfoed 2015a: 10; 2018: 112). Minijaturnim posudama obično se smatraju one do 6 – 7 cm visine ili širine (Tomaž 2005: 263; Balj 2009: 25), ili do maksimalno 10 cm visine (Barfoed 2015a: 45; 2018: 112). Dakako, manja odstupanja su uvijek moguća i ne treba se strogo držati navedenih mjera.

## Gdje ih sve nalazimo

Minijaturne keramičke posude nalazimo u različitim arheološkim kontekstima na velikome broju prapovijesnih nalazišta mediteranskoga svijeta i šire, od prvih početaka proizvodnje keramičkih predmeta u ranome neolitiku pa sve do suvremenih razdoblja. Ukoliko je riječ o pojedinačnome nalazu, bez poznatoga arheološkog konteksta, gotovo da nije moguće definirati njihovu namjenu. Naime, pojavljuju se u pogrebnome, svakodnevnom i religioznom kontekstu, iako su ipak najčešće indikator izvjesnih kulturnih aktivnosti (Hammond 2014: 401). U pravilu, ovisno o mikroarheološkome kontekstu, ako su nađene u okviru naselja definiraju se kao igračke,<sup>10</sup> ako su nađene u okviru svetišta ili grobova onda su to predmeti korišteni u kultu i ritualnim radnjama, najčešće kao votivni darovi. Pri tome je potrebno imati na umu mogućnost postojanja manjih svetišta u sklopu nastambi, što znači da kada pronađemo minijaturnu posudu u kući, ona može biti igračka, ali i votivni dar.<sup>11</sup> U dječjim grobovima one mogu biti igračka u funkciji grobnoga priloga ili

sels described them as scaled-down copies of the same or similar original vessels, with no original function, usually serving as votive or funeral offerings (Pemberton 1970: 293, n. 49). But the definition would have to be extended to scaled-down vessels with no equivalent among larger vessels (Hammond 1998: 14–16; 2014: 401; Barfoed 2015a: 10; 2018: 112). Miniature vessels are usually considered to be those measuring up to 6 – 7 cm in height or width (Tomaž 2005: 263; Balj 2009: 25) or up to 10 cm in height (Barfoed 2015a: 45; 2018: 112). Of course, minor deviations are always possible, so there is no need for strict observance of these limits.

## Where they are found

Miniature ceramic vessels are found in different archaeological contexts at numerous prehistoric sites of the Mediterranean world and beyond, from the first beginnings of the production of ceramic objects in the early Neolithic to modern times. In case of single finds with no archaeological context, it is almost impossible to define their purpose. In fact, they appear in funerary, everyday, and religious contexts, but they usually indicate certain cult activities (Hammond 2014: 401). As a rule, depending on the micro archaeological context, those found within settlements are defined as toys,<sup>10</sup> while those found within shrines or graves are objects used in cult and rituals, usually as votive offerings. Here it should be remembered that there could have been minor shrines inside dwellings, which means that a miniature vessel found in a house could be a toy, but also a votive offering.<sup>11</sup> In child graves, it can be a toy serving as a grave good or votive vessel (Repka 2017: 215). It has been noticed that miniature vessels in the Carpathian Basin in the Late Iron Age were most often placed in female graves, less often in child graves, and least often in male graves. They are interpreted as drinking vessels, ladles, containers for salt, spices, herbs, cosmetics, children's ves-

10 Minijaturne posude u funkciji igrački poznate su nam iz brojnih prapovijesnih i antičkih lokaliteta, a pojedine su predstavljene kroz izložbu i popratni katalog Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu (opširnije vidjeti u Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 1982; 2012; Balen-Letunić 2014: 11–17). Dubravka Balen-Letunić, osim što je autorica spomenute izložbe, u više navrata se bavila takvim igračkama, s tim da je u njih svrstavala i one posude čiji kontekst nalaza nije poznat, pa je i funkcija upitna (vidjeti primjere u Balen-Letunić 1982: 69–87; 2014: 11–17). Minijaturne posude u funkciji igrački s područja Bosne i Hercegovine najopširnije su prikazane u radu Andrijane Pravidur (2014: 50–86).

11 O nizu parametara pri pokušaju razlučivanja igračke od votivnoga dara, odnosno definiranja minijaturne posude kao igračke, doznajemo iz radova Lidije Balj (2009: 23–34; 2010: 39–40; 2015: 73–76).

10 Miniature vessels serving as toys are known to us from numerous sites from prehistory and antiquity; some were presented in an exhibition and accompanying catalogue of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (for more details, see Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 1982; 2012; Balen-Letunić 2014: 11–17). The author of that exhibition, Dubravka Balen-Letunić, analysed these toys on several occasions, grouping them with vessels that come from unknown contexts and therefore have an unclear function (see examples in Balen-Letunić 1982: 69–87; 2014: 11–17). The miniature vessels serving as toys from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina were presented most extensively in the work of Andrijana Pravidur (2014: 50–86).

11 Several parameters useful for distinguishing a toy from a votive offering, or for defining a miniature vessel as a toy, can be learned from the works of Lidija Balj (2009: 23–34; 2010: 39–40; 2015: 73–76).

votivne posude (Repka 2017: 215). U mlađem željeznom dobu Karpatske kotline uočeno je kako su minijaturne posude najčešće prilagane u ženske grobove, nešto rjeđe u dječje, dok su najrjeđe u muškim grobovima. Tumače se kao posude za piće, kutlače, spremnici za sol, začine, začinsko bilje, kozmetičke pripravke, dječje posude za jelo i piće, dječje igračke, dječji proizvodi (Repka 2017: 218).

### Minijaturne posude na prapovijesnim lokalitetima

Spomenuli smo kako ovakve posude nalazimo u raznim kontekstima gotovo tijekom svih prapovijesnih razdoblja. Ovdje ćemo spomenuti samo neke od njih, u kronološkom slijedu, na širem području od priobalja do duboku u unutrašnjost. Iz neolitičkoga razdoblja poznat nam je njihov veći broj u slojevima Vinče u Srbiji, gdje su interpretirane, ovisno o trenutnoj potrebi, kao igračke, prilog u grobu ili dio inventara kućnoga svetišta (Letica 1967: 111). Za razliku od njih, vinčanske minijaturne posude s Gomolove uglavnom se interpretiraju kao igračke (Balj 2009: 23–34) ili recipijenti za čuvanje začina i dragocjenosti (Balj 2009: 28, kat. br. 9–11). S neolitičkoga lokaliteta Belovoda oko 90 km jugoistočno od Beograda, poznate su bogato ukrašene minijaturne posude koje se interpretiraju kao posude za čuvanje kozmetičkih sredstava ili neke vrijedne tekućine, no ponekad su prvotno u funkciji igračke ili čuvanja začina, a tek sekundarno su ritualnoga karaktera (Živković 2001: 21). Vinčanske minijaturne posude nalazimo i na lokalitetima Kormadin (Šeper 1952: 54–56, T. V: 2–4, 6, 9–10), zatim grobovima u Živanića Dolji (Marinković 2010: kat. br. 2–4, 7, 9, 11) kao i na drugim lokalitetima u Vojvodini gdje se obično interpretiraju kao kultne posude (Medović 2012: 23–49). U Sloveniji, neolitičke minijaturne posude pronađene su na lokalitetu Čatež – Sredno polje (Tomaž 2005: 261–267). U Hrvatskoj uglavnom je riječ o lokalitetima starčevačke kulture: Galovo (Minichreiter 2002: 19, T. 4: 7; 2007) i Vinkovci (Dizdar et al. 2002: 80, kat. br. 7); korenovske kulture: Kaniška Iva i Tomašica – Berek (Težak-Gregl 1993: 48, 50–51, T. 5: 3; 12: 1–3); sopotске kulture: Krčavina – Novi Perkovci (Botić 2012: 281–292) i Sopot (Dizdar et al. 2002: 85–86, kat. br. 30–33, 35, 38).

sels for food and drinks, children's toys, children's products (Repka 2017: 218).

### Miniature vessels at prehistoric sites

We mentioned that these vessels have been found in various contexts from almost all the prehistoric periods. Here we will mention only some of them, in chronological order, in the wider area from the coast to deep inland. Many of the vessels from the Neolithic are known from the layers of Vinča in Serbia, where they have been interpreted according to the needs as toys, grave goods, or part of inventory of a home shrine (Letica 1967: 111). On the other hand, the Vinča miniature vessels from Gomolova are usually interpreted as toys (Balj 2009: 23–34) or recipients for spices and valuables (Balj 2009: 28, cat. no. 9–11). The richly decorated miniature vessels from the Neolithic site of Belovode, some 90 km southeast of Belgrade, are interpreted as containers for cosmetics or some valuable liquid, but sometimes they serve primarily as toys or spice containers and only secondarily as ritual objects (Živković 2001: 21). The Vinča miniature vessels have also been found at the sites of Kormadin (Šeper 1952: 54–56, Pl. V: 2–4, 6, 9–10), in the graves in Živanića Dolja (Marinković 2010: cat. no. 2–4, 7, 9, 11) and at other sites in Vojvodina, where they are usually interpreted as cult vessels (Medović 2012: 23–49). In Slovenia, Neolithic miniature vessels have been found at the site of Čatež – Sredno polje (Tomaž 2005: 261–267). The sites in Croatia mostly belong to the Starčevo culture: Galovo (Minichreiter 2002: 19, Pl. 4: 7; 2007) and Vinkovci (Dizdar et al. 2002: 80, cat. no. 7); the Korenovo culture: Kaniška Iva and Tomašica – Berek (Težak-Gregl 1993: 48, 50–51, Pl. 5: 3; 12: 1–3); the Sopot culture: Krčavina – Novi Perkovci (Botić 2012: 281–292) and Sopot (Dizdar et al. 2002: 85–86, cat. no. 30–33, 35, 38).

Eneolithic miniature vessels have been found in Vučedol (Schmidt 1945: 198, 201), Vinkovci (Dizdar et al. 2002: 94, cat. no. 69), Gomolava (Balj 2010: 37–48), and Grivac near Kragujevac (Gavela 1957: 259, Fig. 48). Two vessels in the shape of ordinary miniature cups or pots were found during the excavations of the Old Town at Barilović (Čataj 2014: 55–56, 137, Pl. 7: 70–71), showing similarities with the Eneolithic vessels of the Lasinja culture from Lasinja and Kiringrad (Dimitrijević 1961: 43, Pl. XIII: 90; Pl. XVII: 128).<sup>12</sup> Bronze Age speci-

12 It should be noted here that S. Dimitrijević mistakenly attributed the finds

Eneolitičke minijaturne posude pronađene su na Vučedolu (Schmidt 1945: 198, 201), u Vinkovcima (Dizdar et al. 2002: 94, kat. br. 69), Gomolavi (Balj 2010: 37–48) i Grivcu kod Kragujevca (Gavela 1957: 259, sl. 48). Dvije posude u obliku obične minijaturne čaše ili lonca nađene su u istraživanjima Staroga grada Barilović (Čataj 2014: 55–56, 137, T. 7: 70–71), a sličnost im se traži u eneolitičkim posudama lasinjske kulture iz Lasinje i Kiringrada (Dimitrijević 1961: 43, T. XIII: 90; T. XVII: 128).<sup>12</sup> Iz brončanoga doba poznate su iz Vukovara, Osijeka, Preseka, Sotina (Balen-Letunić 1982: 77, 79, 82, T. 3: 1, 3; 5: 5; 7: 1, 6–7; 8: 3, 5, 10; Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 46–47, kat. br. 35–40), Kormadina (Šeper 1952: 47, T. V: 7), gradinskih lokaliteta Debelo Brdo kod Sarajeva (Fiala 1896: 46–48, Figs. 56–58, 62, 71–72) i Velika gradina u Varvari (Čurčić 1900: 110, sl. 30, 33–34; Čović 1976: sl. 100: a–b; 1984: 31; Pravidur 2014: 74–76, T. 7: 95–110). Spominju se i na prapovijesnim naseljima Ripač kod Bihaća, Pod kod Bugojna, Korita kod Tomislavgrada, Zecovi kod Prijedora i Pivnica kod Odžaka (Pravidur 2014: 60). Na gradinskom naselju Podovača kod Malog Prologa u Pojezerju pronađeno je nekoliko manjih prapovijesnih posuda, koje bi se mogle definirati i kao minijaturne, s tim da je upitno da li su igračke ili votivni darovi. Naime, unatoč činjenici da je veći dio gradine istražen, sa sigurnošću nije moguće utvrditi da li su takve posude pronađene u kontekstu nastambe i naselja ili izvjesnoga svetišta u naselju. U rasponu od ranoga do kasnoga brončanog doba nađeni su minijaturni kantarosi – vrč s ručkom što nadvisuje obod kao i dvije zdjelice (Bukovac 2017: 23–26, kat. br. 4, 6, 9, 12).

Na željeznodobnim lokalitetima pronađene su u kontekstu gradinskih naselja: Kaštelir kod Nove Vasi u slovenskome dijelu Istre (Sakara Sučević 2004: 89–90, kat. br. 380–381), Sokolac kod Bihaća (Radimský 1895: 47, Figs. 12–13), Čungar kod Cazina (Radimský 1896: 81–82, Figs. 32–34). U kontekstu željeznodobnih naselja nalazimo ih i u Donjoj Dolini, lokalitet Sojenice (Truhelka 1901: 266, T. 18: 10; 1914: sl. 78: 11; Pravidur 2014: 60, 65–74, T. 2–7: 19–95). Primjerci iz Siska, iz rijeke Kupe (lokalitet Keltsko) i gradine Marić kod Mikleuške unatoč nepostojanju preciznijega konteksta interpreti-

mens have been found in Vukovar, Osijek, Presek, Sotin (Balen-Letunić 1982: 77, 79, 82, Pl. 3: 1, 3; 5: 5; 7: 1, 6–7; 8: 3, 5, 10; Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 46–47, cat. no. 35–40), Kormadin (Šeper 1952: 47, Pl. V: 7), and the hillfort sites of Debelo Brdo near Sarajevo (Fiala 1896: 46–48, Fig. 56–58, 62, 71–72) and Velika Gradina in Varvara (Čurčić 1900: 110, Figs. 30, 33–34; Čović 1976: Fig. 100: a–b; 1984: 31; Pravidur 2014: 74–76, Pl. 7: 95–110). They are also mentioned in the prehistoric settlements of Ripač near Bihać, Pod near Bugojno, Korito near Tomislavgrad, Zecovi near Prijedor, and Pivnica near Odžak (Pravidur 2014: 60). The hillfort settlement of Podovača near Mali Prolog in Pojezerje contained several small prehistoric vessels which could be defined as miniature; however, it is unclear whether they were toys or votive offerings. Despite the fact that most of the hillfort has been explored, it cannot be determined with certainty whether these vessels were found in the context of a house or a shrine within the settlement. The finds ranging from the Early to the Late Bronze Age include miniature kantharoi – a jug with a handle reaching above the rim and two small bowls (Bukovac 2017: 23–26, cat. no. 4, 6, 9, 12).

They have been found at Iron Age sites in the context of hillfort settlements: Kaštelir near Nova Vas in the Slovenian part of Istria (Sakara Sučević 2004: 89–90, cat. no. 380–381), Sokolac near Bihać (Radimský 1895: 47, Figs. 12–13), Čungar near Cazin (Radimský 1896: 81–82, Figs. 32–34). In the context of Iron Age settlements, they have also been found in Donja Dolina, at the site of Sojenice (Truhelka 1901: 266, Pl. 18: 10; 1914: Fig. 78: 11; Pravidur 2014: 60, 65–74, Pl. 2–7: 19–95). Specimens from Sisak, the River Kupa (the Keltsko site) and the Marić hillfort near Mikleuška lack a precise context, but are interpreted as toys (Burkowsky 2004: 46–48, cat. no. 23–31). A particularly interesting find is the large number of miniature vessels found in a kiln for food preparation in a house in prehistoric Pula and dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century BC, which are interpreted as toys (Mihovilić 2011: 21–24; 2013: 304, 308, Fig. 243; Balj 2015: 71–94). They have been found in Late Iron Age cremation graves, from the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BC, in Jezerine near Bihać (Radimský 1895: 63, Fig. 49). The only Early Iron Age shrines that contained them are those at Turska Kosa near To-

12 Ovdje je potrebno naglasiti kako je S. Dimitrijević greškom nalaze s Kiringrada pripisao lasinjskoj kulturi, a u biti je riječ o halštatskim, starije željeznodobnim nalazima, što se onda vjerojatno odnosi i na spomenutu minijaturnu posudu.

from Kiringrad to the Lasinja culture, but they are actually Hallstatt, Early Iron Age finds, which probably also applies to the mentioned miniature vessel.

raju se kao igračke (Burkowsky 2004: 46–48, kat. br. 23–31). Posebno zanimljiv je nalaz većega broja minijaturnih posudica u peći za pripremanje hrane, u kući prapovijesne Pule, datirane u 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr., a koje su pripisane igračkama (Mihovilić 2011: 21–24; 2013: 304, 308, sl. 243; Balj 2015: 71–94). U paljevinskim grobovima mlađega željeznog doba, 2./1. st. pr. Kr., pronađene su u Jezerinama kod Bihaća (Radimský 1895: 63, Fig. 49). U svetištima starijega željeznog doba poznate su samo s Turske kose kod Topuskog, gdje uz minijaturne posude nalazimo i minijaturne figure ljudi i životinja, male utege, kalemove, pršljenke, minijaturne pogačice i plovila (Čučković 2007: 30, T. 69: 1–9). Iz sličnoga konteksta kao u Vilinoj špilji, dakle ilirskoga svetišta u špilji, nalazimo ih u Spili u Nakovani na Pelješcu (Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003: 78; 2012: 267–268).

### Minijaturne posude u grčkim svetištima

Nakon kratkoga pregleda pojava minijaturnih posuda u širem prapovijesnome kontekstu, potrebno je prikazati pojedine primjere u grčkim i italskim svetištima koji su vremenski, kulturološki i obredno-religijski znatno bliži primjercima iz Viline špilje.

U kontekstu grčke religije bio je općeprihvaćen stav da su bogovima potrebni darovi i žrtve. Već iz povijesnih izvora, a o tome svjedoče i nalazi u svetištima, znamo kako nije nužno da takvi darovi i žrtve budu obilni i bogati (Pemberton 2020: 329–331). Platon u svome djelu *Zakoni* (rano 4. st. pr. Kr.), opisujući svetišta i oltare, spominje i brojne votive (zavjetne darove). Slično ponavlja i Pausanija (2. st. po Kr.) kod opisa svetišta u ruralnim područjima antičke Grčke (Barfoed 2015a: 20).

Što se tiče samih nalaza, minijaturne posude prisutne su u egejskim svetištima još od srednje minojskoga razdoblja (2100. – 1600. g. pr. Kr.), a od starijega željeznog doba nalazimo ih kao priloge i u dječjim grobovima (Gimatidis 2011: 82). Početkom arhajskog razdoblja (oko 800. g. pr. Kr.) izgleda da je postojao proces minijaturizacije i defunkcionalizacije zavjetnih posuda u grčkim svetištima, što je praćeno ogromnim porastom minijaturnih posuda u svetištima (Gimatidis 2011: 84; Luce 2011: 59). To se posebice odnosi na 6. st. pr. Kr., kada se korinške minijaturne posude počinju izvoziti u ostatak grčkoga svijeta (Barfoed 2018: 111, 114).

pusko, which included not only miniature vessels, but also miniature figures of people and animals, small weights, spools, loom weights, miniature cakes and boats (Čučković 2007: 30, Pl. 69: 1–9). Finally, they were found in a context similar to Vilina Cave – an Illyrian shrine in a cave – in Spila in Nakovana on Pelješac (Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003: 78; 2012: 267–268).

### Miniature vessels in Greek shrines

After this brief overview of the finds of miniature vessels in a broader prehistoric context, we will present some examples from Greek and Italian shrines that are much closer to the specimens of Vilina Cave from chronological, cultural and ritual/religious aspects.

In the context of Greek religion, it was generally believed that the gods needed offerings and sacrifices. We know from historical sources, and find confirmation in shrine finds, that such offerings and sacrifices were not necessarily abundant or rich (Pemberton 2020: 329–331). When Plato describes shrines and altars in his *Laws* (early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC), he mentions numerous votive offerings. We find something similar in Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) when he describes the shrines in the rural areas of ancient Greece (Barfoed 2015a: 20).

As for the finds themselves, there were miniature vessels in Aegean shrines ever since the Middle Minoan period (2100–1600 BC), and they first appeared as grave goods in children's graves in the Early Iron Age (Gimatidis 2011: 82). At the beginning of the archaic period (around 800 BC) there seems to have been a process of miniaturization and defunctionalization of votive vessels in Greek shrines, followed by a huge increase in the number of miniature vessels in shrines (Gimatidis 2011: 84; Luce 2011: 59), particularly in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, when Corinthian miniature vessels began to be exported to the rest of the Greek world (Barfoed 2018: 111, 114).

One of the better-researched shrines, which seems to have included ritual meals, is the shrine of Demeter and Kora in Corinth (Bookidis 1987: 480–481; 1993: 45–61; Bookidis et al. 1999: 1–54; Barfoed 2015a: 90–91). It was active from the 7<sup>th</sup> century to 146 BC; it was renewed later, after 44 BC (Pemberton 1989: 1–2). In general, shrines dedicated to Demeter (and Kora) were erected very often near streams or springs, considering their association with water and the importance of water for agriculture (Barfoed 2017: 663). Ritual



Jedno od bolje istraženih svetišta, gdje se može govoriti o ritualnome blagovanju, je svetište Demetre i Kore u Korintu (Bookidis 1987: 480–481; 1993: 45–61; Bookidis et al. 1999: 1–54; Barfoed 2015a: 90–91). Bilo je u funkciji od 7. st. do 146. g. pr. Kr., a nakon toga se obnavlja nakon 44. g. pr. Kr. (Pemberton 1989: 1–2). Inače su svetišta posvećena Demetri (i Koru) vrlo često podignuta u blizini potoka ili izvora, što je i logično s obzirom na njihovu povezanost s vodom i važnost vode za poljoprivredu (Barfoed 2017: 663). Ritualno blagovanje u tom svetištu obuhvaćalo je konzumiranje mesne (domaće i divlje životinje, ribe, školjke) i bezmesne (žitarice, mahunarke, voće) hrane, ali i pića o čemu najbolje svjedoče posude namijenjene gotovo isključivo ispijanju vina kao i amfore za vino.<sup>13</sup> Bitan dio ritualnoga blagovanja je i libacija (Ekroth 2012; Burkert 1985: 70, 107).<sup>14</sup> U svetištu je, pored ostalih posuda „normalne“ veličine, pronađen i velik broj minijturnih posuda, uglavnom iz arhajskoga i klasičnoga perioda jer iz helenizma inače ima znatno manje nalaza (Pemberton 1989: 1–2, 64, 168–177, kat. br. 500–594). Stoga ovdje, ali i općenito u grčkim svetištima, teško da možemo govoriti o tek pukim votivnim darovima. Prije su to posude korištene kod konzumacije hrane i pića te libacije u ritualnim obredima (Barfoed 2015a: 118).

Pored Demetrinog i Korinog svetišta, u Korintu je poznato još nekoliko svetišta od 7. st. pr. Kr. i nadalje, gdje su pronađene minijturne posude, a koje se gotovo isključivo interpretiraju kao votivne (Pemberton 2020: 281–338). U samome Korintu minijturne posude pronađene su i na drugim istraživanim prostorima, na primjer u tzv. kanalu (Drain) 1971-1. Tu su nalazi, među ostalim i brojne minijturne posude, datirani u drugu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr. Dio ih je moguće povezati sa svetištem Demetre i Kore, no dio ih je zasigurno korišten u privatnim gozbama i ritualima (McPhee, Pemberton 2012: 13, 211–216, Figs. 43–44, T. 35–36). Minijturne posude nalazimo i u korintskim grobovima, u funkciji grobnih priloga, od 7. st., a posebice od 6. st. pr. Kr. i nadalje (Pemberton 2020: 310) ili u votivnim ostavama kakva je ona u blizini svetišta Zeusa u naselju Archaia Nemea blizu Korin-

meals in this shrine included the consumption of meat (domesticated and wild animals, fish, shellfish) and meatless food (cereals, legumes, fruits), but also drinks, which is best evidenced by vessels used almost exclusively for drinking wine and by wine amphorae.<sup>13</sup> Libation was an important part of ritual meals (Ekroth 2012; Burkert 1985: 70, 107).<sup>14</sup> Alongside “normal”-sized vessels, the shrine included a large number of miniature vessels, mostly from the archaic and classical periods, as the finds from Hellenism are much rarer in general (Pemberton 1989: 1–2, 64, 168–177, cat. no. 500–594). Therefore, we cannot really describe them as mere votive offerings, either here or in Greek shrines in general. Rather, these vessels served for eating, drinking, and libations in rituals (Barfoed 2015a: 118).

Aside from the shrines of Demeter and Kora, there were several other shrines in Corinth from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, containing miniature vessels which are almost exclusively interpreted as votive (Pemberton 2020: 281–338). In Corinth itself, miniature vessels were also found in other excavated areas, such as the Drain (1971-1). The finds there, including numerous miniature vessels, have been dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Some of them can be associated with a shrine of Demeter and Kora, but some were certainly used in private feasts and rituals (McPhee, Pemberton 2012: 13, 211–216, Figs. 43–44, Pl. 35–36). Miniature vessels appear in Corinthian graves, where they served as grave goods, from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and especially from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards (Pemberton 2020: 310), and in votive hoards such as the one near the shrine of Zeus in the settlement of Archaia Nemea near Corinth, a probable worship site of Demeter’s cult from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Barfoed 2017: 645, 660, 666). In other Peloponnesian shrines, miniature vessels appear as early as the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC (the shrine of Athena Alea in Tegea), the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (the shrine of Demeter and Kora in Isthmia or Artemis in Orthia), and the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (Zeus in Olympia) (Pemberton 2020: 309–311).<sup>15</sup> In Laconian shrines, they are characteristic of the period from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (Muskett 2014: 166).

13 Iako je poznata i zabrana konzumacije vina u pojedinim svetištima Demetre i Kore (vidjeti u Barfoed 2015a: 91).

14 Libacija je inače ritualni čin izlivanja tekućina ili prskanjem nekoliko kapi na oltar ili zemlju te ispijanje ostataka, sve popraćeno molitvama i određenim zahtjevima upućenima bogovima. Libacija može biti samostalni ritualni čin ili može biti povezana sa složenim ritualnim radnjama (opširnije vidjeti u Battiloro 2010: 122–123).

13 Although wine consumption was prohibited in certain shrines of Demeter and Kora (see Barfoed 2015a: 91).

14 Libation is a ritual act of pouring or sprinkling liquids on the altar or the ground and drinking the rest, all accompanied by prayers and particular requests addressed to the gods. Libation can be an independent ritual act or it can be associated with complex ritual acts (for more details, see Battiloro 2010: 122–123).

15 For Athena Alea, see Hammond 2014: 401–457.

ta, gdje se pretpostavlja štovanje Demetrinoga kulta od 6. do kraja 5. st. pr. Kr. (Barfoed 2017: 645, 660, 666). U drugim peloponeskim svetištima minijaturne posude se javljaju već od prve polovice 9. st. pr. Kr. (svetište Atene Aleje u Tegeji), zatim u 7. st. pr. Kr. (svetište Demetre i Kore u Isthmiji ili Artemide u Orthiji) ili 6. st. pr. Kr. (Zeus u Olympiji) (Pemberton 2020: 309–311).<sup>15</sup> U lakonskim svetištima karakteristične su za razdoblje od 7. do 3. st. pr. Kr. (Muskett 2014: 166).

Na Atenskoj Agori minijaturne votivne posude pronađene su na više mjesta. U jednoj cisterni, kao sekundarnome mjestu nalaza, bilo ih je više od 7000 komada. Primjetno je da u različitim svetištima prevladavaju pojedini oblici posuda, npr. u jednim su to skifosi, a u drugima kupe s dvije ručke, razlog čemu nije u potpunosti razjašnjen (Rotroff 1997: 207). Pojedine minijaturne posude s Atenske Agore, s kraja 4. i kroz 3. st. pr. Kr., uglavnom oponašaju oblike postojećih posuda i ne smatraju se votivnim, kulturnim posudama (Rotroff 1997: 203, 375–377, kat. br. 1362–1378). Za neke se pretpostavlja kako su sadržavale razne lijekove, kreme i otrove, odnosno da su medicinske boce (Rotroff 1997: 198, kat. br. 1309–1313). Velik broj raznih oblika takvih posuda u helenističkome razdoblju posljedica je popularnosti i trgovine eteričnim uljima i parfemima (Akil 2017: 668–669).

Pored ostalih nalaza votivnoga karaktera, veći broj minijaturnih posuda pronađen je u Demetrinom svetištu na Knososu. Svetište je bilo u funkciji u razdoblju od sredine 8. do sredine 2. st. po Kr. (Coldstream, Higgins 1973: 180–187), no minijature se prilažu tek od kraja 5. st. pr. Kr. pa negdje do sredine 1. st. pr. Kr. (Coldstream, Higgins 1973: 182; Coldstream 1973: 22–45, T. 11: 12–15; 12: 19–21; 13: 19–20; 15: 27–30; 18: 36–42). U većini prethodno navedenih svetišta minijaturne posude predstavljene su finom keramikom, rađenom na kolu, oblicima i ukrasima u skladu sa svojim vremenom. Međutim, u pojedinim svetištima ponekad su prilagane i grube, rukom rađene lokalne posude u minijaturnom izdanju. Takve posude nalazimo u svetištima Atene Aleje u Tegeji (Hammond 2014: Figs. 2–4, 10, 14, 16, 18, T. 1), Demetre i Kore u Korintu (Pemberton 2020: Fig. 15), Demetre u Knososu (Coldstream 1973: T. 18: 40–42; 27: 126–140), Artemide u Orthiji (Muskett 2014: 166).

At the Athenian Agora, miniature votive vessels have been found in several places. One cistern, as a secondary site, contained more than 7,000 of them. It can be noted that particular forms of vessels dominate in particular shrines – skyphoi in some and two-handled chalices in others – but it is not completely clear why (Rotroff 1997: 207). Some miniature vessels from the Athenian Agora, from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, mostly imitate the shapes of other vessels and are not considered votive, cult vessels (Rotroff 1997: 203, 375–377, cat. no. 1362–1378). Some are assumed to have contained various medicines, balms and poisons, i.e. to have been medicinal bottles (Rotroff 1997: 198, cat. no. 1309–1313). Various forms of such vessels appear in large numbers in the Hellenistic period because of the popularity of and trade in essential oils and perfumes (Akil 2017: 668–669).

Among other finds of a votive character, a large number of miniature vessels was found in the shrine of Demeter in Knossos. The shrine was active from the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Coldstream, Higgins 1973: 180–187), but miniatures were brought there only from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC to about the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Coldstream, Higgins 1973: 182; Coldstream 1973: 22–45; Pl. 11: 12–15; 12: 19–21; 13: 19–20; 15: 27–30; 18: 36–42). In most of the mentioned shrines, miniature vessels are represented by fine wheel-thrown ceramics, with shapes and decorations reflecting their time. However, some shrines occasionally contain coarse, hand-made local vessels in a miniature version. Such vessels have been found in the shrines of Athena Alea in Tegea (Hammond 2014: Figs. 2–4, 10, 14, 16, 18, Pl. I), Demeter and Kora in Corinth (Pemberton 2020: Fig. 15), Demeter in Knossos (Coldstream 1973: Pl. 18: 40–42; 27: 126–140), and Artemis in Orthia (Muskett 2014: 166).

It is clear that most of the miniature vessels in these shrines are associated with female deities of strong chthonic character (Demeter and Kora) or female deities with some chthonic aspects (Athena and Artemis).

### Miniature vessels in Italian shrines

They can be seen in numerous, mostly southern Italian shrines of the Iron Age indigenous population, but also after the Greek colonization, when the shapes and types of pottery mostly reflect

<sup>15</sup> Za Atenu Aleju vidjeti u Hammond 2014: 401–457.

Vidimo kako se većina minijaturnih posuda u navedenim svetištima povezuje sa ženskim božanstvima snažne htonične konotacije (Demetra i Kora) ili ženskim božanstvima koje imaju i svoje htonične aspekte (Atena i Artemida).

### Minijaturne posude u italiskim svetištima

Možemo ih pratiti u brojnim, najčešće južno-italiskim svetištima željeznodobnoga autohtonog stanovništva, ali isto se nastavljaju i nakon grčke kolonizacije, kada se oblici i vrsta keramike uglavnom prilagođavaju novopridošlim utjecajima i uvoznj robi (Barfoed 2015a: 42). Tako u Ateninom svetištu u Lagariji (Timpone della Motta) u Kalabriji nalazimo minijaturne posude neupitno simboličnoga, votivnog karaktera. Od druge polovice 7. st. pr. Kr. to su grublje posude lokalne proizvodnje, a kasnije i znatno brojnije minijaturne hidrije, kantharosi i krateri nastale pod grčkim utjecajem iz 5. i 4. st. pr. Kr. (Kleibrink et al. 2004: 58, 62). Slično je i u lukanskom svetištu Torre di Satriano (od kraja 6. do 2. st. pr. Kr.) (Masseria, D'Anisi 2001: 123; Di Noia 2005: 342–347), ali i drugim lukanskim svetištima gdje su minijaturne posude njihova osnovna karakteristika u vremenu grčke kolonizacije (Battiloro 2010: 117).

Minijaturne hidrije, čaše i druge posude nalazimo i u Demetrinom svetištu u Herakleji, kod mjesta Policoro u južnoj Italiji (od 6. st. do u 2. st. pr. Kr., pa nakon kraćega prekida opet krajem 1. st. pr. Kr.) (Otto 2008: 83–87). U pojedinim minijaturnim skifosima i kraterima pronađeni su tragovi pougljenjenih zrna žitarica datiranih u 4. i 3. st. pr. Kr. (Otto 2008: 89). Navedeno nije neobično jer je prema povijesnim izvorima (Atenej, *Deipnosophistae* XI, 476 d) poznato da su u eleuzinejskom kultu Demetre i Perzefone korištene posude sa sjemenkama maka, ječma, pšenice, graška, leće, graha, zob, voća, meda, ulja, vina, mlijeka i sirovom vunom (Otto 2008: 89). Minijaturne posude pronađene su i u svetištu lokalnoga, htoničnog ženskog božanstva Oxxo (pandan grčkoj Demetri), u mjestu Vaste u južnoj Italiji (kraj 4. i početak 3. st. pr. Kr.). Dar božanstvu bio je sadržaj minijaturnih posuda i one same kao takve. Po svemu sudeći, u tri jame u svetištu obavljali su se razni rituali povezani s plodnošću kao što su libacije, ritualno pranje i blagovanje (Mastronuzzi, Ciuchini 2011: 676–701). Nalazimo ih i u Herinom svetištu kod ušća Sele u blizini Paestuma (6. do 2. st. pr. Kr., s tim da su nakon 3. st. pr. Kr. mi-

the new influences and imported goods (Barfoed 2015a: 42). Thus, in the shrine of Athena in Lagaria (Timpone della Motta) in Calabria, we find miniature vessels of unquestionably symbolic, votive character. From the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC these are coarser vessels of local production, and later there are much more numerous miniature hydria, kantharoi and craters made under the Greek influence in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (Kleibrink et al. 2004: 58, 62). Something similar can be seen in the Lucanian shrine Torre di Satriano (from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) (Masseria, D'Anisi 2001: 123; Di Noia 2005: 342–347), but also in other Lucanian shrines, where miniature vessels are the basic characteristic in the period of the Greek colonization (Battiloro 2010: 117).

Miniature hydria, cups and other vessels can also be found in the shrine of Demeter in Heraclea, near Policoro in southern Italy (from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, and after a short break again at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC) (Otto 2008: 83–87). Some miniature skyphoi and craters contained traces of charred grains of cereals dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC (Otto 2008: 89). This is not unusual; according to historical sources (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XI, 476 d), the Eleusinian cult of Demeter and Persephone used vessels with poppy seeds, barley, wheat, peas, lentils, beans, oats, fruit, honey, oil, wine, milk, and raw wool (Otto 2008: 89). Miniature vessels have also been found in the shrine of the local chthonic female deity Oxxo (a counterpart to the Greek Demeter), in Vaste in southern Italy (at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC). The offering to the deity were the miniature vessels themselves and their content. Apparently, the three pits in the shrine were used for various rituals related to fertility, such as libations, ritual washing and meals (Mastronuzzi, Ciuchini 2011: 676–701). We also find them in the shrine of Hera at the mouth of the Sela near Paestum (from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, but miniature vessels become very rare after the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) (Di Roberto 2018: 795–800; Ferrara et al. 2018: 5–6), in a shrine in the village of Timmari in southern Italy (from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC), where, among other votive offerings, there were more than 600 miniature vessels of various shapes, some of which are coarse, local, handmade pottery, mostly in the form of small bowls and cups (Mandić 2011: 103, Fig. 7c).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Similar handmade miniature vessels have been found within the prehistoric

nijaturne posude bile vrlo rijetke) (Di Roberto 2018: 795–800; Ferrara et al. 2018: 5–6), zatim u svetištu u naselju Timmari u južnoj Italiji (kraj 6. do u 4. st. pr. Kr.), gdje je među ostalim votivima nađeno preko 600 minijaturnih posuda različitih oblika, od kojih su neke od grube, lokalne, rukom rađene keramike, uglavnom u obliku zdjelica i čaša (Mandić 2011: 103, Fig. 7c).<sup>16</sup>

Minijaturne votivne posude u svetištima južne Italije obično su povezane sa ženskim božanstvima snažne htonične konotacije, a posljedično i plodnošću, odnosno zemljom i vodom, elementima ukorijenjenim u vjerskoj praksi autohtonih zajednica. Koriste se kao votivi, moguće s izvjesnim sadržajem (ulje, vino, mlijeko, voće, sjemenje žitarica, mahunarki i sl.) ili za potrebe libacije (Mandić 2011: 105). Na taj način, u ritualu povezanom s plodnošću, božanstvu se prinosi dar, a od njega se isto i očekuje, postiže se univerzalna stabilnost kroz uzajamnu razmjenu (Mandić 2011: 110). Primjere imamo u moguće Demetrinim svetištima Pila, San Chirico Nuovo (početak 4. st. pr. Kr.) (Battiloro 2010: 264–265), Colla, Rivello (sredina 7. st. do početka 2. st. pr. Kr.) (Battiloro 2010: 271–274), Caporre, Ferrandino (sredina 4. st. do sredine 3. st. pr. Kr.) (Battiloro 2010: 280–281), San Pasquale, Chiaromonte (sredina 4. st. pr. Kr.) (Battiloro 2010: 289–294). Zanimljivo je i jedanaest minijaturnih posuda nađenih u thesmophorionu iz Entele, Petraro (5. do 2. st. pr. Kr.) koji su neupitno obrednoga ili zavjetnoga karaktera, a neke od njih su i gorjele, vjerojatno kao posljedica ritualnih radnji (Di Leonardo 2016: 259–264, Fig. 7: b).

S izvorom vode kao svetim mjestom i ritualima u kontekstu prijelaza iz svijeta živih u svijet mrtvih povezuje se nalaz od nekoliko tisuća minijaturnih, rukom rađenih posuda iz lokalnih radionica pronađenih u zavjetnoj ostavi u svetištu na lokalitetu Sant'Andrea, Cupra Marittima, južno od Ankone (6. i početak 5. st. pr. Kr.) (De Marinis, Paci 2000; Morsiani 2017: 96–97, Fig. 31).

## MINIJATURNE POSUDE U VILINOJ ŠPILJI I KATALOG NALAZA

Svi arheološki nalazi, iz različitih razdoblja, u Vilinoj špilji znatno su ispremiješani. Isto vrijedi i za minijaturne posude, no ipak je primjetno da ih je većina pronađena u zapadnome dijelu

Miniature votive vessels in the shrines of southern Italy are usually associated with female deities of strong chthonic character, and consequently with fertility, meaning land and water, the elements rooted in the religious practice of indigenous communities. They are used as votive offerings, possibly with certain contents (oil, wine, milk, fruit, seeds of cereals or legumes etc.) or for libation (Mandić 2011: 105). In this way, an offering is given to the deity in a ritual associated with fertility, and the same is expected in return, in order to achieve universal stability through mutual exchange (Mandić 2011: 110). The examples are the possible shrines of Demeter in Pila, San Chirico Nuovo (the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC) (Battiloro 2010: 264–265), Colla, Rivello (from the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) (Battiloro 2010: 271–274), Caporre, Ferrandino (from the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) (Battiloro 2010: 280–281), San Pasquale, Chiaromonte (the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC) (Battiloro 2010: 289–294). Eleven interesting miniature vessels have been found in the thesmophorion of Entela, Petraro (from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC), definitely of a ritual or votive character; some of them were burned, probably as a result of ritual acts (Di Leonardo 2016: 259–264, Fig. 7: b).

A water source as a holy site, and rituals in the context of the transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead, are associated with the several thousand hand-made miniature vessels from local workshops that were found in the votive hoard of a shrine at the site of Sant'Andrea, Cupra Marittima, south of Ancona (the 6<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) (De Marinis, Paci 2000; Morsiani 2017: 96–97, Fig. 31).

## MINIATURE VESSELS IN VILINA CAVE AND THE CATALOGUE OF FINDS

All the archaeological finds in Vilina Cave, originating from different periods, are considerably mixed. The same is true for miniature vessels, but it can be observed that most of them were found in the western part of the entrance hall (quadrants I, J, K / 4–5), by the entrance itself, and a

<sup>16</sup> Slične, rukom rađene minijaturne posude nađene su u sklopu prapovijesne nekropole u mjestu Ascoli Satriano (4. st. pr. Kr.) (vidi u Mandić 2011: 105; Bertocchi 1985: 129, T. 15).

necropolis of Ascoli Satriano (4th century BC) (see Mandić 2011: 105; Bertocchi 1985: 129, Pl. 15).

ulazne dvorane (kvadranti I, J, K / 4–5), u neposrednoj blizini ulaza te nešto manje u Kanalu 1. Dakle, može se pretpostaviti izvorni položaj većine minijaturnih posuda u ulaznome dijelu, odakle je dio nalaza erozijom dospio u Kanal 1.

Definirano je najmanje 8 oblika minijaturnih posuda od najmanje 45 različitih posuda, što je vidljivo iz niže priložene tablice i kataloga nalaza.

bit fewer in Canal 1. It can be assumed that most of the miniature vessels were originally located in the entrance part and that erosion moved some of the finds to Canal 1.

At least eight forms of miniature vessels have been defined for at least 45 different vessels, as can be seen from the table and catalogue of finds below.

Oblik posude / Vessel form	DUM AM	Najmanji mogući broj posuda / The smallest possible number of vessels
Mali vrč s jednom ručkom / Small jug with single handle	7059–7061	3
Čašica S-profilacije / Small S-profiled cup	7063, 7990, 7993, 8001, 8005– 8006	6
Čašica s loptastim trbuhom i vertikalnim ili koso položenim vratom / Small cup with globular belly and vertical or tapering neck	8000, 8002–8004	4
Šalica s jednom ručkom / Cup with single handle	7066	1
Pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke / Goblet with two vertical flat handles	7064–7065, 7991–7992, 7994– 7998	9
Čašica s dvije horizontalne jezičaste drške / Small cup with two horizontal tanged handles	7062	1
Obična čašica, bez ručki / Small plain cup, no handles	7067–7072, 7999	7
Plitica, niska zdjelica / Small shallow bowl	8007–8008	2
Nedefinirani oblici / Undefined forms	8009–8020	12
<b>UKUPNO / TOTAL</b>		<b>45</b>

Tab. 1 — Brojnost prema oblicima minijaturnih posuda. DUM AM = oznaka za inventarni broj Arheološkoga muzeja Dubrovačkih muzeja (izradio: D. Perkić)

Tab. 1 — Quantity by forms of miniature vessels. DUM AM = mark of the inventory number of the Archaeological Museum of Dubrovnik Museums (made by: D. Perkić)

## KATALOG NALAZA

U katalogu nalaza prikazuju se minijaturne posude posložene po utvrđenoj vrsti, odnosno obliku. Prvo se navodi je li riječ o rekonstruiranoj posudi ili ulomku (ulomcima), zatim vrsta – oblik te inventarni broj. Slijede mjere<sup>17</sup> te opis posude. U opisu se donose osnovne oblikovne karakteristike posude, boja, primjese i kvaliteta keramike.

1. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, mali vrč s jednom ručkom; DUM AM 7059 (T. 2: 5).

Mjere: v.: 4,3; p.o.: 3,7; p.d.: 3,2; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: oblika je maloga vrča s jednom ručkom. Prijelaz tijela u dno je blago naglašen. Ručka je ovalnoga, nepravilnoga presjeka, izlazi iz oboda posude i ide do samoga dna. Smečkaste boje s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

2. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, mali vrč s jednom ručkom; DUM AM 7060 (T. 3: 1).

Mjere: v.: 4; p.o.: 4,1; p.d.: 3,3; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je maloga vrča s jednom ručkom. Prijelaz tijela u dno je blago naglašen. Ručka je ovalnoga, nepravilnoga presjeka, izlazi iz oboda posude nadvisuje ga i ide do sredine trbuha. Smečkaste do oker boje s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

3. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, mali vrč s jednom ručkom; DUM AM 7061 (T. 3: 2).

Mjere: v.: 3,8; p.o.: 3,1; p.d.: 2,3; d.s.: 0,2 cm.

Opis: oblika je maloga vrča s jednom ručkom. Ručka je stisnuta u sredini s proširenjem u donjem korijenu, izlazi iz oboda i malo ga nadvisuje da bi završila neposredno iznad dna. Smečkaste do oker boje s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

4. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, čašica s dvije horizontalne jezičaste drške; DUM AM 7062 (T. 5: 1).

Mjere: v.: 5,1; p.o.: 4,9; p.d.: 4; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je čašice blago trbušastoga oblika, s dvije jezičaste ručke ispod oboda. Smečkaste do oker boje, s tamnijim mrljama, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

5. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, čašica S-profilacije; DUM AM 7063 (T. 5: 2).

Mjere: v.: 5,3; p.o.: 3,8; p.d.: 3,5; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

<sup>17</sup> Za mjere koriste se slijedeće kratice: v. = visina; p.o. = promjer otvora; p.d. = promjer dna, š. = širina, d.s. = debljina stijenke, sve izraženo u cm.

## CATALOGUE OF FINDS

The catalogue of finds shows miniature vessels sorted by type or form. First it states whether it is a reconstructed vessel or a fragment (fragments), followed by the type/form and inventory number. Then there are the dimensions<sup>17</sup> and the description of the vessel. The description provides the vessel's basic formal characteristics, colour, inclusions, and quality of pottery.

1. Reconstructed miniature vessel, small jug with a single handle; DUM AM 7059 (Pl. 2: 5).

Dimensions (cm): H: 4.3; OD: 3.7; BD: 3.2; WT: 0.4.

Description: Shape of a small jug with a single handle. The junction of body and base is slightly pronounced. The handle is oval, irregular in cross-section, applied from the vessel rim to the base. A brownish colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

2. Reconstructed miniature vessel, small jug with a single handle; DUM AM 7060 (Pl. 3: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 4; OD: 4.1; BD: 3.3; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a small jug with a single handle. The junction of body and base is slightly pronounced. The handle is oval, irregular in cross-section, projecting from the vessel rim, reaching above it, and ending at the mid-point on the belly. A brown to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

3. Reconstructed miniature vessel, small jug with a single handle; DUM AM 7061 (Pl. 3: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3.8; OD: 3.1; BD: 2.3; WT: 0.2.

Description: Shape of a small jug with a single handle. The handle is constricted in the middle, widening at the base, projecting from the rim, reaching a little above it, and ending just above the base. A brownish to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

4. Reconstructed miniature vessel, small cup with two horizontal tanged lugs; DUM AM 7062 (Pl. 5: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 5.1; OD: 4.9; BD: 4; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a small cup, slightly belly-shaped, with two tanged lugs below the rim. A brownish to ochre colour, with darker spots, calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

<sup>17</sup> Abbreviations for the dimensions: H = height; OD = opening diameter; BD = base diameter; W = width; WT = wall thickness; all in centimetres.

**Opis:** oblika je čašice sa S-profilacijom, s obodom blago izvučenim prema van. Smečkaste boje, s manjim primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

**6. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, čašica S-profilacije; DUM AM 7990 (T. 6: 1).**

**Mjere:** v.: 5,5; p.o.: 4,3; p.d.: 3,5; d.s.: 0,2 cm.

**Opis:** oblika je čašice sa S-profilacijom, s obodom blago izvučenim prema van i zadebljanjem u najširem dijelu trbuha. Smečkaste do oker boje, s manjim primjesama vapnenca, grublje fakture.

**7. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, čašica S-profilacije; DUM AM 7993 (T. 5: 3).**

**Mjere:** v.: 7; p.o.: 5,7; p.d.: 4,2; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

**Opis:** oblika je čašice sa S-profilacijom, s obodom blago izvučenim prema van. Smečkaste do oker boje, s manjim primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

**8. Ulomak minijaturne posude, čašica s loptastim trbuhom; DUM AM 8000 (T. 7: 1).**

**Mjere:** v.: 6,2; š.: 5,5; p.d.: 3,8; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

**Opis:** oblika je čašice s loptastim trbuhom, s tim da su sačuvani dio vrata, trbuha i dna posude. Na trbuh se nastavlja prema unutra koso položeni vrat. Smečkaste do oker boje, s malo primjesa vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

**9. Ulomak minijaturne posude, čašica S-profilacije; DUM AM 8001 (T. 6: 2).**

**Mjere:** v.: 4,1; š.: 3,4; d.s.: 0,2 cm.

**Opis:** oblika je čašice sa S-profilacijom, s tim da su sačuvani samo dio oboda i trbuha. Obod je naglašeno izvučen prema van. Smeđe do tamnosmeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

**10. Ulomak minijaturne posude, čašica s loptastim trbuhom; DUM AM 8002 (T. 7: 2).**

**Mjere:** v.: 6,2; š.: 5,5; p.d.: 3,8; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

**Opis:** oblika je čašice s loptastim trbuhom, s tim da su sačuvani samo dio oboda i trbuha. Na trbuh se nastavlja vertikalno položeni vrat i obod. Smeđe do oker boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

**11. Ulomak minijaturne posude, čašica s loptastim trbuhom; DUM AM 8003 (T. 7: 3).**

**Mjere:** v.: 3,6; š.: 3; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

**Opis:** oblika je čašice s loptastim trbuhom, s

5. Reconstructed miniature vessel, small S-profiled cup; DUM AM 7063 (Pl. 5: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 5.3; OD: 3.8; BD: 3.5; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a small cup with an S-profile and a slightly everted rim. A brownish colour, with minor calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

6. Reconstructed miniature vessel, small S-profiled cup; DUM AM 7990 (Pl. 6: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 5.5; OD: 4.3; BD: 3.5; WT: 0.2.

Description: Shape of a small cup with an S-profile, slightly everted rim, and thickened girth of the belly. A brownish to ochre colour, with minor limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

7. Reconstructed miniature vessel, small S-profiled cup; DUM AM 7993 (Pl. 5: 3).

Dimensions (cm): H: 7; OD: 5.7; BD: 4.2; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a small cup with an S-profile and slightly everted rim. A brownish to ochre colour, with minor calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

8. Fragment of a miniature vessel, small cup with a globular belly; DUM AM 8000 (Pl. 7: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 6.2; W: 5.5; BD: 3.8; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a small cup with a globular belly. The fragment comprises a part of the neck, belly, and base of the vessel. The belly has a tapering neck. A brownish to ochre colour, with minor limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

9. Fragment of a miniature vessel, small S-profiled cup; DUM AM 8001 (Pl. 6: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 4.1; OD: 3.4; WT: 0.2.

Description: Shape of a small cup with an S-profile. The fragment comprises only a part of the rim and belly. The rim is pronouncedly everted. A brown to dark brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

10. Fragment of a miniature vessel, small cup with globular belly; DUM AM 8002 (Pl. 7: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 6.2; OD: 5.5; BD: 3.8; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a small cup with a globular belly. The fragment comprises only a part of the rim and belly. The belly has a vertical neck and rim. A brown to ochre colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

11. Fragment of a miniature vessel, small cup with globular belly; DUM AM 8003 (Pl. 7: 3).

tim da je sačuvan samo dio oboda i trbuha. Na trbuh se nastavlja prema unutra koso položeni vrat. Smeđe do tamnosmeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

12. Ulomak minijaturne posude, čašica s lop-tastim trbuhom; DUM AM 8004 (T. 7: 4).

Mjere: v.: 5,2; š.: 5,2; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je čašice s loptastim trbuhom, s tim da je sačuvan samo dio oboda i trbuha. Na trbuh se nastavlja prema unutra koso položeni vrat i obod. Dio vrha oboda je lagano izdignut u jednome dijelu. Smeđe do oker boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

13. Ulomak minijaturne posude, čašica S-profilacije; DUM AM 8005 (T. 6: 3).

Mjere: v.: 3,9; š.: 3,1; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je čašice s blagom S-profilacijom, s tim da je sačuvan samo dio oboda i trbuha. Tamnosmeđe do crne boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

14. Ulomak minijaturne posude, čašica S-profilacije; DUM AM 8006 (T. 6: 4).

Mjere: v.: 5,2; š.: 3; d.s.: 0,5 cm.

Opis: oblika je čašice s blagom S-profilacijom, s tim da je sačuvan samo dio oboda i trbuha. Tamnosmeđe do tamnosive boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

15. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, šalica s jednom ručkom; DUM AM 7066 (T. 8: 3).

Mjere: v.: 3,6; p.o.: 6,4; p.d.: 3,8; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je šalice s jednom trakastom ručkom što izlazi iz oboda, nadvisuje ga i vraća se u središnji dio posude. Smečkaste do narančaste boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

16. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke; DUM AM 7064 (T. 1: 1).

Mjere: v.: 4,4; p.o.: 3,8; p.d.: 3,2; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: oblika je pehara s dvije spljoštene, nasuprotne ručke, što izlaze ispod oboda i završavaju u donjem dijelu posude. Smečkaste do oker boje, s manjim tamnim mrljama, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

17. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke; DUM AM 7065 (T. 1: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3.6; W: 3; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a small cup with a globular belly. The fragment comprises only a part of the rim and belly. The belly has a tapering neck. A brown to dark brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

12. Fragment of a miniature vessel, small cup with globular belly; DUM AM 8004 (Pl. 7: 4).

Dimensions (cm): H: 5.2; W: 5.2; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a small cup with a globular belly. The fragment comprises only a part of the rim and belly. The belly has a tapering neck and rim. A part of the top of the rim is slightly elevated. A brown to ochre colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

13. Fragment of a miniature vessel, small S-profiled cup; DUM AM 8005 (Pl. 6: 3).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3.9; W: 3.1; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a small cup with a slight S-profile, the fragment comprises only a part of the rim and belly. A dark brown to black colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

14. Fragment of a miniature vessel, small S-profiled cup; DUM AM 8006 (Pl. 6: 4).

Dimensions (cm): H: 5.2; W: 3; WT: 0.5.

Description: Shape of a small cup with a slight S-profile, the fragment comprises only a part of the rim and belly. A dark brown to dark grey colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

15. Reconstructed miniature vessel, cup with single handle; DUM AM 7066 (Pl. 8: 3).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3.6; OD: 6.4; BD: 3.8; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a cup with a single strap handle projecting from the rim, reaching above it, and running to the middle of the vessel. A brownish to orange colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

16. Reconstructed miniature vessel, chalice with two vertical flat handles; DUM AM 7064 (Pl. 1: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 4.4; OD: 3.8; BD: 3.2; WT: 0.4.

Description: Shape of a chalice with two opposite flat handles running from under the rim to the lower part of the vessel. A brownish to ochre colour, with small dark spots, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

17. Reconstructed miniature vessel, chalice with two vertical flat handles; DUM AM 7065 (Pl. 1: 2).



Mjere: v.: 2,8; p.o.: 4,2; p.d.: 3,2; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je pehara s dvije spljoštene, nasuprotne ručke, što izlaze iz oboda, nadvisuju ga i završavaju u donjem dijelu posude. Prijelaz u dno je blago naglašen. Smečkaste do oker boje, s manjim tamnim mrljama, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

18. Rekonstruirana minijturna posuda, pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke; DUM AM 7991 (T. 1: 3).

Mjere: v.: 3; p.o.: 3,8; p.d.: 3,5; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je pehara s dvije spljoštene, nasuprotne ručke, što izlaze iz oboda i završavaju u središnjem dijelu posude. Tamno smečkaste do oker boje, s manjim tamnim mrljama, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

19. Rekonstruirana minijturna posuda, pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke; DUM AM 7992 (T. 1: 4).

Mjere: v.: 2,5; p.o.: 2,4; p.d.: 2; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je pehara s dvije spljoštene, nasuprotne ručke, što izlaze iz oboda i završavaju u donjem dijelu posude. Smečkaste do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

20. Ulomak minijturne posude, pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke; DUM AM 7994 (T. 1: 5).

Mjere: v.: 2,3; š.: 4; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je pehara s dvije spljoštene, nasuprotne ručke, što izlaze iz oboda i završavaju u donjem dijelu posude, s tim da je sačuvana samo jedna ručka, obod i dio trbuha. Smečkaste do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

21. Ulomak minijturne posude, pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke; DUM AM 7995 (T. 2: 1).

Mjere: v.: 2,5; š.: 6,1; p.d.: 3,5; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je pehara s dvije spljoštene, nasuprotne ručke, što izlaze iz oboda i završavaju u donjem dijelu posude, s tim da su sačuvani samo korijen jedne ručke, dno i dio trbuha. Smečkaste do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

22. Ulomak minijturne posude, pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke; DUM AM 7996 (T. 2: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2.8; OD: 4.2; BD: 3.2; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a chalice with two opposite flat handleless projecting from the rim, reaching above it, and running to the lower part of the vessel. The juncture with the base is slightly pronounced. A brownish to ochre colour, with small dark spots, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

18. Reconstructed miniature vessel, chalice with two vertical flat handles; DUM AM 7991 (Pl. 1: 3).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3; OD: 3.8; BD: 3.5; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a chalice with two opposite flat handles running from the rim to the middle of the vessel. Dark brownish to ochre colour, with small dark spots, calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

19. Reconstructed miniature vessel, chalice with two vertical flat handleless; DUM AM 7992 (Pl. 1: 4).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2.5; OD: 2.4; BD: 2; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a chalice with two opposite flat handles running from the rim to the lower part of the vessel. A brownish to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

20. Fragment of a miniature vessel, chalice with two vertical flat handles; DUM AM 7994 (Pl. 1: 5).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2.3; W: 4; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a chalice with two vertical flat handles running from the rim to the lower part of the vessel. The fragment comprises only one handle, the rim, and a part of the belly. A brownish to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

21. Fragment of a miniature vessel, chalice with two vertical flat handles; DUM AM 7995 (Pl. 2: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2.5; W: 6.1; BD: 3.5; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a chalice with two opposite flat handles running from the rim to the lower part of the vessel. The fragment comprises only the bottom end of one handle, the base, and a part of the belly. A brownish to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

22. Fragment of a miniature vessel, chalice with two vertical flat handles; DUM AM 7996 (Pl. 2: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2; W: 1.8; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a chalice with two opposite flat handles running from the rim to the lower part of the vessel. The fragment comprises only one handle and a part of the rim and belly. A brownish to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

Mjere: v.: 2; š.: 1,8; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je pehara s dvije spljoštene, nasuprotne ručke, što izlaze iz oboda i završavaju u donjem dijelu posude, s tim da su sačuvani samo jedna ručka, dio oboda i trbuha. Smečkaste do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

23. Ulomak minijaturne posude, pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke; DUM AM 7997 (T. 2: 3).

Mjere: v.: 2,5; š.: 3,7; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je pehara s dvije spljoštene, nasuprotne ručke, što izlaze iz oboda i završavaju u donjem dijelu posude, s tim da su sačuvani samo korijen jedne ručke, dio trbuha i dna. Smečkaste do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

24. Ulomak minijaturne posude, pehar s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke; DUM AM 7998 (T. 2: 4).

Mjere: v.: 1,3; š.: 3,5; p.d.: 2,9; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je pehara s dvije spljoštene, nasuprotne ručke, što izlaze iz oboda i završavaju u donjem dijelu posude, s tim da su sačuvani samo dno i naznaka korijena jedne ručke. Smečkaste do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

25. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, obična čašica bez ručki; DUM AM 7067 (T. 3: 4).

Mjere: v.: 5,6; p.o.: 7; p.d.: 2,6; d.s.: 0,2 cm.

Opis: oblika je obične čašice, bez ručki. Cilindrični gornji dio posude koso se sužava prema dnu. Smečkaste do oker boje, s manjim tamnim mrljama, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

26. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, obična čašica bez ručki; DUM AM 7068 (T. 4: 1).

Mjere: v.: 6; p.o.: 5,7; p.d.: 4,2; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je obične čašice, bez ručki. Tijelo posude je blago zaobljeno, zadebljano prema dnu. Smečkaste boje, s manjim tamnim mrljama, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

27. Rekonstruirana minijaturna posuda, obična čašica bez ručki; DUM AM 7069 (T. 3: 3).

Mjere: v.: 3,5; p.o.: 3,8; p.d.: 3,2; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je obične čašice, bez ručki. Prijelaz u dno je blago naglašen. Svijetlosmeđe do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

23. Fragment of a miniature vessel, chalice with two vertical flat handles; DUM AM 7997 (Pl. 2: 3).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2.5; W: 3.7; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a chalice with two opposite flat handles running from the rim to the lower part of the vessel. The fragment comprises only the bottom end of one handle and a part of the belly and base. A brownish to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

24. Fragment of a miniature vessel, chalice with two vertical flat handles; DUM AM 7998 (Pl. 2: 4).

Dimensions (cm): H: 1.3; W: 3.5; BD: 2.9; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a chalice with two opposite flat handles running from the rim to the lower part of the vessel. The fragment comprises only the base and the hint of the bottom end of one handle. A brownish to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

25. Reconstructed miniature vessel, plain small cup with no handles; DUM AM 7067 (Pl. 3: 4).

Dimensions (cm): H: 5.6; OD: 7; BD: 2.6; WT: 0.2.

Description: Shape of a plain small cup with no handles. The cylindrical upper part of the vessel tapers towards the base. A brownish to ochre colour, with small dark spots, calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

26. Reconstructed miniature vessel, plain small cup with no handles; DUM AM 7068 (Pl. 4: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 6; OD: 5.7; BD: 4.2; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a plain small cup with no handles. The body of the vessel is slightly rounded, thickening towards the base. A brownish colour, with small dark spots, calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

27. Reconstructed miniature vessel, plain small cup with no handles; DUM AM 7069 (Pl. 3: 3).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3.5; OD: 3.8; BD: 3.2; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a plain small cup with no handles. The juncture with the base is slightly pronounced. A light brown to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

28. Reconstructed miniature vessel, plain small cup with no handles; DUM AM 7070 (Pl. 4: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3; OD: 4.9; BD: 3.2; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a plain small cup with no handles. The juncture with the base is slightly pronounced. The body of the vessel is funnel-shaped. A light brown, ochre to orange colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

28. Rekonstruirana minijturna posuda, obična čašica bez ručki; DUM AM 7070 (T. 4: 2).

Mjere: v.: 3; p.o.: 4,9; p.d.: 3,2; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je obične čašice, bez ručki. Prijelaz u dno je blago naglašen. Tijelo posude je ljevkastoga oblika. Svijetlosmeđe, oker do narančaste boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

29. Rekonstruirana minijturna posuda, obična čašica bez ručki; DUM AM 7071 (T. 4: 3).

Mjere: v.: 3,3; p.o.: 4; p.d.: 2,4; d.s.: 0,2 cm.

Opis: oblika je obične čašice, bez ručki. Tijelo posude je blago ljevkastoga oblika, sa zadebljanjem prema dnu. Svijetlosmeđe do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

30. Rekonstruirana minijturna posuda, obična čašica bez ručki; DUM AM 7072 (T. 4: 4).

Mjere: v.: 3,8; p.o.: 5,5; p.d.: 3,6; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: oblika je obične čašice, bez ručki. Tijelo posude je blago ljevkastoga oblika, sa zadebljanjem prema dnu. Smečkaste do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

31. Ulomak minijturne posude, obična čašica bez ručki; DUM AM 7999 (T. 4: 5).

Mjere: v.: 4,5; š.: 3,9; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: oblika je obične čašice, bez ručki, s tim da su sačuvani samo obod i dio trbuha. Blago trbušastoga oblika s uvučenim obodom. Smečkaste do oker boje, s primjesama kalcita i vapnenca, grublje fakture.

32. Ulomak minijturne posude, niska zdjelica ili plitica; DUM AM 8007 (T. 8: 1).

Mjere: v.: 3; š.: 4,6; d.s.: 0,5 cm.

Opis: oblika je niske zdjelice ili plitice, s tim da su sačuvani samo dio oboda i trbuha do pred dno. Tamnosmeđe do smeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

33. Ulomak minijturne posude, niska zdjelica ili plitica; DUM AM 8008 (T. 8: 2).

Mjere: v.: 3,6; š.: 4; d.s.: 1 cm.

Opis: oblika je niske zdjelice ili plitice, s tim da su sačuvani samo dio oboda i trbuha do pred dno. Crvenkaste do smeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

34. Ulomak minijturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8009 (T. 8: 4).

29. Reconstructed miniature vessel, plain small cup with no handles; DUM AM 7071 (Pl. 4: 3).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3.3; OD: 4; BD: 2.4; WT: 0.2.

Description: Shape of a plain small cup with no handles. The body of the vessel is slightly funnel-shaped, thickening towards the base. A light brown to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

30. Reconstructed miniature vessel, plain small cup with no handles; DUM AM 7072 (Pl. 4: 4).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3.8; OD: 5.5; BD: 3.6; WT: 0.3.

Description: Shape of a plain small cup with no handles. The body of the vessel is slightly funnel-shaped, thickening towards the base. A brownish to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

31. Fragment of a miniature vessel, plain small cup with no handles; DUM AM 7999 (Pl. 4: 5).

Dimensions (cm): H: 4.5; W: 3.9; WT: 0.4.

Description: Shape of a plain small cup with no handles. The fragment comprises the rim and a part of the belly. It is slightly globular with an inverted rim. A brownish to ochre colour, with calcite and limestone inclusions, and coarse fabric.

32. Fragment of a miniature vessel, shallow bowl or tray; DUM AM 8007 (Pl. 8: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3; W: 4.6; WT: 0.5.

Description: Shape of a shallow bowl or tray. The fragment comprises a part of the rim and belly to just above the base. A dark brown to brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

33. Fragment of a miniature vessel, shallow bowl or tray; DUM AM 8008 (Pl. 8: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3.6; W: 4; WT: 1.

Description: Shape of a shallow bowl or tray. The fragment comprises a part of the rim and belly to just above the base. A reddish to brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

34. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8009 (Pl. 8: 4).

Dimensions (cm): H: 4.4; W: 4.7; WT: 0.3.

Description: Undefined shape, possibly a small S-profiled cup. The fragment comprises a part of the belly and base. A reddish to brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

35. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8010 (Pl. 9: 1).

Mjere: v.: 4,4; š.: 4,7; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik, moguće manja čaša S-profilacije. Sačuvani dio trbuha i dna. Crvenkaste do smeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fature.

35. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8010 (T. 9: 1).

Mjere: v.: 4,5; š.: 5,6; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik, moguće manja čaša S-profilacije. Sačuvani dio trbuha i dna. Svijetlosmeđe do oker boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fature.

36. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8011 (T. 9: 2).

Mjere: v.: 2,1; š.: 4,1; d.s.: 0,6 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Sačuvani dio trbuha i dna. Tamnosmeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fature.

37. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8012 (T. 9: 3).

Mjere: v.: 1; š.: 3,5; p.d.: 2,9; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Sačuvano samo dno i početak donjeg dijela trbuha. Svijetlo do tamnosmeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fature.

38. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8013 (T. 9: 4).

Mjere: v.: 3; š.: 2,6; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Sačuvano samo dno i dio trbuha. Svijetlo do tamnosmeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fature.

39. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8014 (T. 9: 5).

Mjere: v.: 2,7; š.: 3,2; p.d.: 2; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Nazire se blagi bikonitet. Sačuvano dno i dio trbuha. Tamnosmeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fature.

40. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8015 (T. 9: 6).

Mjere: v.: 2,1; š.: 3,5; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Sačuvano dno i dio trbuha. Smeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fature.

41. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8016 (T. 10: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 4.5; W: 5.6; WT: 0.4.

Description: Undefined shape, possibly a small S-profiled cup. The fragment comprises a part of the belly and base. A light brown to ochre colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

36. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8011 (Pl. 9: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2.1; W: 4.1; WT: 0.6.

Description: Undefined shape. The fragment comprises a part of the belly and base. A dark brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

37. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8012 (Pl. 9: 3).

Dimensions (cm): H: 1; W: 3.5; BD: 2.9; WT: 0.4.

Description: Undefined shape. The fragment comprises the base and the beginning of the lower part of the belly. A light brown to dark brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

38. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8013 (Pl. 9: 4).

Dimensions (cm): H: 3; W: 2.6; WT: 0.4.

Description: Undefined shape. The fragment comprises the base and a part of the belly. A light brown to dark brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

39. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8014 (Pl. 9: 5).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2.7; W: 3.2; BD: 2; WT: 0.4.

Description: Undefined shape. A hint of a slightly biconical shape. The fragment comprises the base and a part of the belly. A dark brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

40. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8015 (Pl. 9: 6).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2.1; W: 3.5; WT: 0.4.

Description: Undefined shape. The fragment comprises the base and a part of the belly. A brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

41. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8016 (Pl. 10: 1).

Dimensions (cm): H: 4.3; W: 4.5; WT: 0.3.

Description: Undefined shape. The fragment comprises the base and a part of the belly. A brown to dark brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

Mjere: v.: 4,3; š.: 4,5; d.s.: 0,3 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Sačuvano dno i dio trbuha. Smeđe do tamnosmeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

42. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8017 (T. 10: 2).

Mjere: v.: 2; š.: 4,1; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Sačuvano dno i dio trbuha. Smeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

43. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8018 (T. 10: 3).

Mjere: v.: 1,5; š.: 4; p.d.: 2,6; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Sačuvano dno i dio trbuha. Smeđe do tamnosmeđe boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

44. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8019 (T. 10: 4).

Mjere: v.: 4,1; š.: 2,7; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Moguće obična čaša sa ili bez ručki. Sačuvan obod i dio trbuha. Smeđe do narančaste boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

45. Ulomak minijaturne posude, nedefiniran oblik; DUM AM 8020 (T. 10: 5).

Mjere: v.: 2,6; š.: 4,8; p.d.: 2,5; d.s.: 0,4 cm.

Opis: nedefiniran oblik. Moguće obična čaša sa ili bez ručki. Sačuvano prstenasto dno i dio trbuha. Smečkaste boje, s primjesama vapnenca i kalcita, grublje fakture.

Iz prethodnoga kataloga nalaza može se vidjeti kako u Vilinoj špilji prevladavaju pehari s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke (9 kom.) ili mali vrčevi s jednom ručkom (3 kom.). Upravo takve posude s jednom ili dvije ručke su vrlo česti oblici općenito minijaturnih posuda, a pretpostavlja se kako su korištene kod ispijanja izvjesnih tekućina, ali i kod libacija u ritualnim obredima (Barfoed 2015a: 51). Po brojnosti slijede obične čašice bez ručki (7 kom.) i čašice S-profilacije (6 kom.), s tim da i dio nedefiniranih oblika vjerojatno pripada tim skupinama. Gotovo identične primjerke pehara s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke i čašica S-profilacije nalazimo u prapovijesnim nekropolama Spine, gdje su također definirane kao votivni darovi, a datiraju se u drugu polovicu 5. i 4. st. pr. Kr. (Buoi-te, Zamboni 2013: 122–123, Fig. 7, T. IX: 67–70).

42. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8017 (Pl. 10: 2).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2; W: 4.1; WT: 0.4.

Description: Undefined shape. The fragment comprises the base and a part of the belly. A brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

43. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8018 (Pl. 10: 3).

Dimensions (cm): H: 1.5; W: 4; BD: 2.6; WT: 0.4.

Description: Undefined shape. The fragment comprises the base and a part of the belly. A brown to dark brown colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

44. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8019 (Pl. 10: 4).

Dimensions (cm): H: 4.1; W: 2.7; WT: 0.4.

Description: Undefined shape. Possibly a plain cup with or without handles. The fragment comprises the rim and a part of the belly. A brown to orange colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

45. Fragment of a miniature vessel, undefined shape; DUM AM 8020 (Pl. 10: 5).

Dimensions (cm): H: 2.6; W: 4.8; BD: 2.5; WT: 0.4.

Description: Undefined shape. Possibly a plain cup with or without handles. The fragment comprises the ring-shaped base and a part of the belly. A brownish colour, with limestone and calcite inclusions, and coarse fabric.

It can be seen from the catalogue of finds that Vilina Cave mostly contained chalices with two vertical flat handles (9 pcs.) or small jugs with a single handle (3 pcs.). In fact, such vessels with one or two handles are very common forms of miniature vessels in general; it is assumed that they were used for drinking certain liquids, but also for libations in rituals (Barfoed 2015a: 51). The next most numerous groups are plain cups without handles (7 pcs.) and S-profiled cups (6 pcs.); some of the undefined forms probably belong to these groups. Almost identical chalices with two vertical flat handles and S-profiled cups have been found in the prehistoric necropolises of Spina, where they have also been defined as votive offerings, dating to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Buoi-te, Zamboni 2013: 122–123, Fig. 7, Pl. IX: 67–70). Chalices with two vertical flat handles have also been found at Velika Gradina in Varvara, where they have been

Pehare s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke nalazimo i na Velikoj gradini u Varvari gdje su datirane u kasno brončano doba (Pravidur 2014: 76, T. 7: 111–112). Vrlo slične male vrčeve s jednom ručkom nalazimo u Sisku gdje su nađeni prilikom jaružanja rijeke Kupe, nisu datirani, a unatoč nepoznatome kontekstu nalaza definirani su kao igračke (Balen-Letunić 1982: 79, T. 4: 9–10; Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 50, kat. br. 63–64). Slični su nađeni i na gradini Sokolac kod Bihaća (Radimský 1895: 47, Fig. 12) i Debelom Brdu kod Sarajeva (Fiala 1896: 46, Fig. 71) te Donjoj Dolini, lokalitet Sojenice iz željeznoga doba (Pravidur 2014: 66–67, T. 3: 30; 4: 41) te Velikoj gradini u Varvari datirani u kasno brončano doba (Pravidur 2014: 74, T. 7: 98).

Posude S-profilacije, slične onim iz Viline špilje, pronađene su na helenističkome lokalitetu Tatarli Höyük u Turskoj, u sloju 3.–2. st. pr. Kr., gdje se interpretiraju kao posude za držanje balzama i medicinskih pripravaka (Akil 2017: 679, Fig. 9, kat. br. 1, 3).

Obične čašice, jednostavne profilacije, bez ručki, moguće predstavljaju umanjene lonce kakvi su česti kroz gotovo sva prapovijesna razdoblja. Takve minijaturne posude nađene su u nepoznatome kontekstu prilikom jaružanja Kupe u Sisku gdje nisu datirane (Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 57–58, kat. br. 113/1–2, 120) ili na gradinskome naselju Podovača kod Malog Prologa, gdje je datirana u kasno brončano doba (Bukovac 2017: 26, kat. br. 12). Obične čašice bez ručki s ljevkastim oblikom tijela nađene su u kontekstu kasnoga brončanog doba na Velikoj gradini u Varvari (Čović 1976: sl. 100a; 1984: 31; Pravidur 2014: 75, T. 7: 101–102) i starijega željeznog doba u Donjoj Dolini, lokalitet Sojenice (Pravidur 2014: 67–68, T. 3: 40; 4: 49).

Od ostalih oblika imamo još čašice s loptastim trbuhom i vertikalnim ili koso prema unutra položenim vratom s obodom (4 kom.), gdje je ponekad prijelaz vrata u trbuh izrazitije naglašen. Tu su i minijaturne, niske zdjelice ili plitice (2 kom.) te po jedna gotovo u cijelosti sačuvana šalica s jednom ručkom što nadvisuje obod te čašica s dvije horizontalne, jezičaste drške. Slične varijacije minijturnih plitica ili niskih zdjelica nalazimo u Donjoj Dolini i Velikoj gradini u Varvari (Pravidur 2014: 66–67, 69, 75, T. 3: 28, 38–39; 4: 51; 7: 105) kao i posuda s jezičastim drškama, ali nešto drugačijega oblika

dated to the Late Bronze Age (Pravidur 2014: 76, Pl. 7: 111–112). Very similar small jugs with a single handle were found in Sisak during the dredging of the River Kupa; they have not been dated, and despite their unknown context, they have been defined as toys (Balen-Letunić 1982: 79, Pl. 4: 9–10; Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 50, cat. no. 63–64). Similar objects have been found at the hillfort of Sokolac near Bihać (Radimský 1895: 47, Fig. 12), Debelo Brdo near Sarajevo (Fiala 1896: 46, Fig. 71), the Iron Age site of Sojenica at Donja Dolina (Pravidur 2014: 66–67, Pl. 3: 30; 4: 41), and Velika Gradina in Varvara, dated to the Late Bronze Age (Pravidur 2014: 74, Pl. 7: 98).

S-profiled vessels similar to those from Vilina Cave have been found at the Hellenistic site of Tatarli Höyük in Turkey, in a layer from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, where they are interpreted as vessels for holding balms and medicinal preparations (Akil 2017: 679, Fig. 9, cat. no. 1, 3).

Plain small cups with simple profiles and without handles might represent scaled-down pots that are common throughout almost all prehistoric periods. Such miniature vessels were found in an unknown context during the dredging of the Kupa at Sisak, where they have not been dated (Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 57–58, cat. no. 113/1–2, 120) or in the hillfort settlement of Podovača near Mali Prolog, where it has been dated to the Late Bronze Age (Bukovac 2017: 26, cat. no. 12). Plain small cups without handles and with a funnel-shaped body have been found in a Late Bronze Age context at Velika Gradina in Varvara (Čović 1976: Fig. 100a; 1984: 31; Pravidur 2014: 75, Pl. 7: 101–102) and in an Early Iron Age context at the site of Sojenica in Donja Dolina (Pravidur 2014: 67–68, Pl. 3: 40; 4: 49).

As for the other forms, there are small cups with a globular belly and vertical or tapering neck with rim (4 pcs.), where the transition from the neck to the belly can be pronounced. There are also miniature shallow bowls or trays (2 pcs.), one almost completely preserved cup with a single handle rising above the rim, and one small cup with two horizontal tanged handles. Similar variations of miniature trays or shallow bowls have been found in Donja Dolina and Velika Gradina at Varvara (Pravidur 2014: 66–67, 69, 75, Pl. 3: 28, 38–39; 4: 51; 7: 105), as well as vessels with tanged handles, but of a somewhat different shape (Čović 1976: Fig. 100b; 1984: 31; Pravidur 2014: 68, 75, Pl. 4: 45; 7: 100, 103).

In spite of these comparisons of particular forms with miniature vessels from other sites, we should emphasize that the frequent and pronounced styli-

(Čović 1976: sl. 100b; 1984: 31; Pravidur 2014: 68, 75, T. 4: 45; 7: 100, 103).

Bez obzira na navedene usporedbe pojedinih oblika s minijaturnim posudama s drugih lokaliteta, nužno je naglasiti kako je zbog česte i naglašene stilizacije oblika vrlo upitno ozbiljnije tipološko ili komparativno kronološko razmatranje.

Bez obzira na oblik, svim minijaturnim posudama iz Viline špilje zajedničko je što im visina varira u rasponu od 2,5 do 7 cm, s tim da su najčešće one visine 3 do 4 cm. Debljina stijenki je vrlo ujednačena 0,2 – 0,5 cm, ali uglavnom oko 0,3 cm. Sve imaju i zajedničke karakteristike što su rađene u relativno lošijoj izvedbi, grublje fature, s dosta primjesa vapnenca ili kalcita. Stoga su i prilično krhke, stoga ne čudi da ih se svega 18 komada moglo rekonstruirati unatoč činjenici da je ipak riječ o manjim posudama koje bi trebale biti kompaktnije. S druge strane, tako lošija kvaliteta nije začuđujuća jer je njihova namjena gotovo isključivo kulturna, votivna. Dakle, u svetištu se kao votivi ostavljaju najskupocjenije (uvozne) posude, kao i one minijature, lošije kvalitete (lokalne). Svima im je zajedničko što takve posude nemaju utilitarnu, svakodnevnu funkciju ili upotrebu.

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Minijature posude u kontekstu „svetoga“ u pravilu se proizvode za religioznu, ritualnu namjenu i njihova vrijednost je krajnje simbolična (Battiloro 2010: 117), dok u kontekstu profanoga najčešće predstavljaju igračke. U kontekstu „svetoga“ pomno su izabrane da stvore izvjestan oblik posebne veze između darovatelja i primaoca (Shanks 1999: 189; Ekroth 2003: 36). One nisu samo običan dar, nego i dio osobe, suština onoga koji daruje božanstvo, a nakon polaganja u svetištu one postaju vlasništvo tog istog božanstva (Luce 2011: 65). Osoba koja daruje očekuje odgovor na molitvu ili molbu ili je samo dar u općenitome kontekstu štovanja i ceremonijalnoga slavlja (Ekroth 2003: 36; Osborne 2004: 1; Barfoed 2015b: 170). Razlog umanjanja moguće je shvatiti kao pokušaj razlikovanja darova bogovima od predmeta svakodnevne upotrebe (Battiloro 2010: 118).

Za votivne darove, pa tako i minijature posude, može se pretpostaviti značajna uloga u izvjesnim ritualnim obredima: libacija, purifikacija i sl. (Barfoed 2015b: 170–188). Poznato je

zation of forms puts in doubt any serious typological or comparative chronological analysis.

Regardless of their form, all the miniature vessels from Vilina Cave have a height ranging from 2.5 to 7 cm, with the height of 3 to 4 cm being the most common. Their wall thickness is very uniform at 0.2–0.5 cm and mostly around 0.3 cm. They all share a relatively poor quality of production and coarse fabric with abundant inclusions of limestone or calcite. This makes them quite fragile, so it is no surprise that only 18 pieces could be reconstructed despite the fact that such small containers should be compact. On the other hand, such poor quality is not surprising since they had an almost exclusively votive purpose within a cult. It can be concluded that the votive offerings in the shrine were the most expensive (imported) vessels and the miniature (local) vessels of poorer quality. What they all have in common is that such vessels do not have a utilitarian, everyday function or use.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

As a rule, miniature vessels in a “sacred” context are produced for religious, ritual purposes, so their value is extremely symbolic (Battiloro 2010: 117), while miniature vessels in a profane context are usually toys. In a “sacred” context, they are carefully chosen to create some sort of a special bond between the giver and the recipient (Shanks 1999: 189; Ekroth 2003: 36). They are not just an ordinary offering, but also a part of the person, an essence of the one who offers them to the deity; once they are put in the shrine, they become the property of that deity (Luce 2011: 65). The giver expects an answer to a prayer or request, or merely gives an offering in the general context of worship and ceremonial celebration (Ekroth 2003: 36; Osborne 2004: 1; Barfoed 2015b: 170). The scaling down can be understood as an attempt to distinguish the offerings to the gods from everyday objects (Battiloro 2010: 118).

We can assume that votive offerings, including miniature vessels, had a significant role in certain rituals: libation, purification etc. (Barfoed 2015b: 170–188). Libation is known to have been an essential part of ritual meals (Ekroth 2012; Burkert 1985: 70, 107). In this sense, miniature vessels can have a passive (votive) or active function (for libation or as a recipient for various contents used in a ritual, such as water, cereals, wool etc.).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> There is an example from the shrine of San Nicola di Albanella near Paestum, where a miniature vessel contained traces of carbonised seeds (see Barfoed 2018: 117).

da je libacija bila bitan dio ritualnoga blagovanja (Ekroth 2012; Burkert 1985: 70, 107). U tom smislu minijaturne posude mogu imati pasivnu (votivi) ili aktivnu funkciju (libacija ili kao recipijent za razne sadržaje koji se koriste u ritualnome obredu, npr. voda, žitarice, vuna i sl.).<sup>18</sup>

Vjerojatno i minijaturne posude iz Viline špilje možemo promatrati u sličnome kontekstu. Sveukupno je u Vilinoj špilji pronađeno najmanje 45 minijaturnih posuda, u barem šest različitih oblika. Većina ih je pronađena u ulaznome dijelu špilje. Svima je zajedničko da pripadaju lokalnoj, rukom rađenoj prapovijesnoj keramici (kraj starijega i počeci mlađega željeznog doba). Uglavnom je riječ o keramici lošije kvalitete, grublje fature, s dosta primjesa kalcita i vapnenca.<sup>19</sup> Takve posude su zasigurno bile jeftinije od izvornih, punih dimenzija i bolje kvalitete. No, vjerojatno nisu imale ništa manju posvetnu vrijednost (Foxhall 2015: 1). Ta je vrijednost bila simbolična, a ne materijalna. Darivanje postaje investicija, nakupljanje simboličkoga kapitala koji će se kasnije koristiti (Burkert 1996: 132–145). Minijaturne posude su u tom smislu jednako vrijedne posvete kao i objekti uobičajene veličine jer je važnost imala sama izrada posvete, a time i povezanost s bogom (Barfoed 2015a: 165). Ne treba čuditi istovremeno prilaganje ili upotreba u izvjesnim ritualnim radnjama grčkih najskupocjenijih posuda i ovih lokalnih, minijaturnih, izuzetno loše kvalitete. Svima im je zajedničko da ulaze u kontekst svetoga, a ne svakodnevnoga, profanoga. Jedne zbog svoje materijalne, a druge zbog svoje simbolične vrijednosti. Osim toga, takvi primjeri poznati su i kod drugih istovremenih svetišta na području Grčke i Italije, što je obrađeno u prethodnim dijelovima rada. No, nalazimo ih i kod suvremenih religioznih razmišljanja, gdje se na primjer u crkvama ili samostanima kao zavjetni darovi ostavljaju skupocjeni predmeti (slike, zlatni ili srebrni nakit, relikvijari, liturgijski predmeti, votivne pločice s natpisima), ali i oni jednostavni, simboličkoga karaktera (drvena štaka, zapisi ili crteži na papiru ili željeznom limu, dijelovi odjeće, oruđe, svijeće).<sup>20</sup>

Sličan princip ponašanja, odnosno naglašenju simboličnu vrijednost posuda imamo kod

The miniature vessels from Vilina Cave can probably be considered in a similar context. In total, at least 45 miniature vessels of at least six different shapes have been found in Vilina Cave. Most of them were found in the entrance part of the cave. What they all have in common is that they belong to local, hand-made prehistoric pottery (the end of the Early and the beginnings of the Late Iron Age). Most of them are pottery of poor quality and coarse fabric, with abundant inclusions of calcite and limestone.<sup>19</sup> Such vessels were certainly cheaper than the originals, which had a normal size and better quality. But they probably had equal votive value (Foxhall 2015: 1). That value was not material but symbolic. The offering becomes an investment, an accumulation of symbolic capital to be used later (Burkert 1996: 132–145). In this sense, miniature vessels had the same votive value as objects of normal size, because importance was given to the votive act itself, which meant connection with a god (Barfoed 2015a: 165). It should come as no surprise that the most expensive Greek vessels were offered or used in particular rituals together with these local, miniature vessels of extremely poor quality. What they all have in common is that they belong to the context of the sacred and not the everyday, the profane; the former because of their material and the latter because of their symbolic value. Moreover, such examples are known from other contemporary shrines in Greece and Italy, as previously shown in this paper. However, they are also associated with the religious thinking of our time: for example, votive gifts in churches or monasteries can be precious objects (paintings, gold or silver jewellery, reliquaries, liturgical objects, votive tablets with inscriptions), but also simple objects of a symbolic character (a wooden crutch, words or drawings on paper or iron sheets, clothing items, tools, candles).<sup>20</sup>

A similar principle of behavior, i.e. an emphasized symbolic value of vessels, can be seen when miniature or normal-sized vessels are found in prehistoric graves. Grave urns, as recipients for the ashes of the dead, or other vessels as grave goods, are sometimes of very poor quality and badly baked even though they are similar in appearance to "normal" vessels. This can have a very simple reason – there was no need for better

18 Poznat je primjer iz svetišta San Nicola di Albanella u blizini Paestuma gdje su u minijaturnoj posudi nađeni tragovi karboniziranoga sjemenja (vidjeti u Barfoed 2018: 117).

19 Razlika u kvaliteti „normalnih“ i minijaturnih posuda inače je vrlo česta (vidjeti u Rotroff 1997: 204).

20 O recentnim zavjetnim darovima u sakralnim objektima vidjeti u: Dugac 1999: 63–74; 2004: 131–135; Brguljan 2014: 13–39; Lupis 2014: 225–243.

19 In general, differences in quality between "normal" and miniature vessels are very frequent (see Rotroff 1997: 204).

20 On recent votive offerings in sacral buildings, see: Dugac 1999: 63–74; 2004: 131–135; Brguljan 2014: 13–39; Lupis 2014: 225–243.



pojavljivanja minijaturnih posuda ili posuda normalnih veličina u prapovijesnim grobovima. Ponekad su u grobovima žare kao recipijent za pepeo pokojnika ili druge posude kao grobni prilog znatno lošije kvalitete, lošije pečene, iako su vanjskim izgledom slične „normalnim“ posudama. Razlog tome može biti sasvim jednostavan – nije bilo potrebe za kvalitetnijim proizvodima u jednokratnoj, pogrebnoj namjeni. Pojedini autori mogući razlog čak vide u štednji kod imitacija posuda koje zamjenjuju prave posude u grobovima (Васић 1932).

Što se tiče datiranja minijaturnih posuda iz Viline špilje, ono je moguće samo indirektno, odnosno promatrajući ih u kontekstu ilirskog svetišta s kraja 5. i kroz cijelo 4. st. pr. Kr. (Perkić 2010a; 2010b; 2021: 75–85). Naime, neke od minijaturnih posuda oblikom i ukrašom oponašaju izvorne posude, što nam u tim slučajevima omogućuje datiranje na osnovi njihovih tipološko oblikovnih karakteristika. No, u većini slučajeva minijaturne posude su krajnje jednostavnoga oblika, neukrašene i tada je datiranje otežano. Ako se nalaze izvan zatvorene arheološke cjeline ili konteksta, tada je to često i nemoguće. Kod takvih jednostavnih oblika usporedbe i traženje sličnih posuda na drugim lokalitetima može nas dovesti u zabludu, jer na nekome drugom lokalitetu slična posuda može biti datirana, a međusobno nemaju nikakve kronološke poveznice. Stoga nema razloga da i ovdje obrađene minijature ne datiramo u relativno usko vrijeme egzistiranja svetišta.

Ono što ne možemo znati da li su i u kakvom su ritualu korištene, da li se iz njih ispijalo vino ili druge tekućine, ili je riječ tek o votivnim darovima koji su ostavljani u svetištu.<sup>21</sup>

Iako ne možemo znati više o ritualnim obredima i božanstvima koja su štovana u svetištu, na osnovi nalaza minijaturnih i drugih posuda vidimo kako se Vilina špilja uklapa u širi religiozni kontekst Jadrana<sup>22</sup> i Mediterana (Grčka, Italija),<sup>23</sup> gdje bez obzira na međusobnu fizič-

quality products to be used for one-time funerary purposes. Some authors even believe that a possible reason was parsimony: imitations of vessels were made in order to stand for real vessels in graves (Васић 1932).

As for the dating of the miniature vessels from Vilina Cave, it is possible only indirectly, i.e. by considering them in the context of an Illyrian shrine from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Perkić 2010a; 2010b; 2021: 75–85). In fact, some of the miniature vessels have forms and decorations imitating the original vessels; these cases allow us to date them on the basis of their typological and formal characteristics. In most cases, however, miniature vessels have extremely simple shapes and no decorations, making the dating difficult. If they are outside of a closed archaeological ensemble or context, it is often impossible to date them. In case of such simple forms, a comparison with or search for similar vessels from other sites can be misleading, because there could be no chronological link with a dated similar vessel from another site. Therefore, there is no reason not to date the analysed miniatures to the relatively narrow period of the shrine's existence.

What we cannot know is whether they were used for a ritual and what kind of ritual it was, whether they were used for drinking wine or other liquids, or whether they were merely votive offerings left in the shrine.<sup>21</sup>

Even though we cannot know more about the rituals and deities worshipped in this shrine, the finds of miniature and other vessels show us how Vilina Cave fits into the wider religious context of the Adriatic<sup>22</sup> and the Mediterranean (Greece, Italy),<sup>23</sup> in spite of physical distances, different cultural substrates and genesies of earlier beliefs, we can see a very similar ritual image as the ideal basis for the emergence of religious syncretism. We are of the opinion that syncretism is the right direction of thought when trying to answer the fundamental question: which deity was worshipped in Vilina Cave? For now, it seems that it

21 Na rijetkim primjerima iz grčkih svetišta, gdje su minijaturne votivne posude nađene in situ, poznato je kako su najčešće korištene u izvjesnim ritualima na samome oltaru ili u njegovoj neposrednoj blizini (vidjeti u Barfoed 2015a: 19; 2018: 118).

22 Tu se prije svega misli na svetišta željeznodobnoga domicilnog stanovništva u špilji Spila u Nakovani (Forenbaher, Kaiser 2001: 677–678; 2003; 2006: 571–582; 2011: 185–193; 2012: 263–274; Forenbaher et al. 2000: 93–99; 2001: 83–86; 2003: 323–331; Forenbaher, Jones 2011: 425–438; 2014: 7–28; Menalo: 2005), no slično se može pretpostaviti i za špilju Raču na Lastovu (Gjivoje 1951: 154–159; Novak 1956: 227–230; Čečuk, Drechsler Bižić 1984: 187) i špilju sv. Filipa i Jakova kod Marine (Piteša 2005: 244–246).

23 Vidjeti prethodna poglavlja: Minijaturne posude u grčkim i italjskim svetištima.

21 The rare examples of miniature votive vessels found in situ at Greek shrines show us that they were mostly used for particular rituals at the altar or in its immediate vicinity (see Barfoed 2015a: 19; 2018: 118).

22 This refers primarily to the shrines of the local Iron Age population in Spila Cave near Nakovana (Forenbaher, Kaiser 2001: 677–678; 2003; 2006: 571–582; 2011: 185–193; 2012: 263–274; Forenbaher et al. 2000: 93–99; 2001: 83–86; 2003: 323–331; Forenbaher, Jones 2011: 425–438; 2014: 7–28; Menalo: 2005), but a similar assumption can be made for Rača Cave on Lastovo (Gjivoje 1951: 154–159; Novak 1956: 227–230; Čečuk, Drechsler Bižić 1984: 187) and Cave of St. Filip and Jakov near Marina (Piteša 2005: 244–246).

23 See previous chapters: Miniature vessels in Greek and Italian shrines.

ku udaljenost, različite kulturološke supstrate i geneze ranijih vjerovanja, imamo vrlo sličnu obrednu sliku kao idealnu podlogu za pojavu religijskoga sinkretizma. Mišljenja smo kako upravo sinkretizam predstavlja pravac u kojemu treba promišljati kod pokušaja odgonetavanja temeljnoga pitanja: koje božanstvo se štovalo u Vilinoj špilji. Za sada, izgleda da bi to mogao biti spoj kulta ratnika s ilirske strane i kulta heroja iz grčke perspektive. No, o tome više kod nekih od budućih sustavnih obrada i interpretacija nalaza i samoga nalazišta.

could have been a combination of a warrior cult from the Illyrian side and a hero cult from the Greek perspective. We might be able to say more in a future systematic analysis and interpretation of the finds and the site itself.

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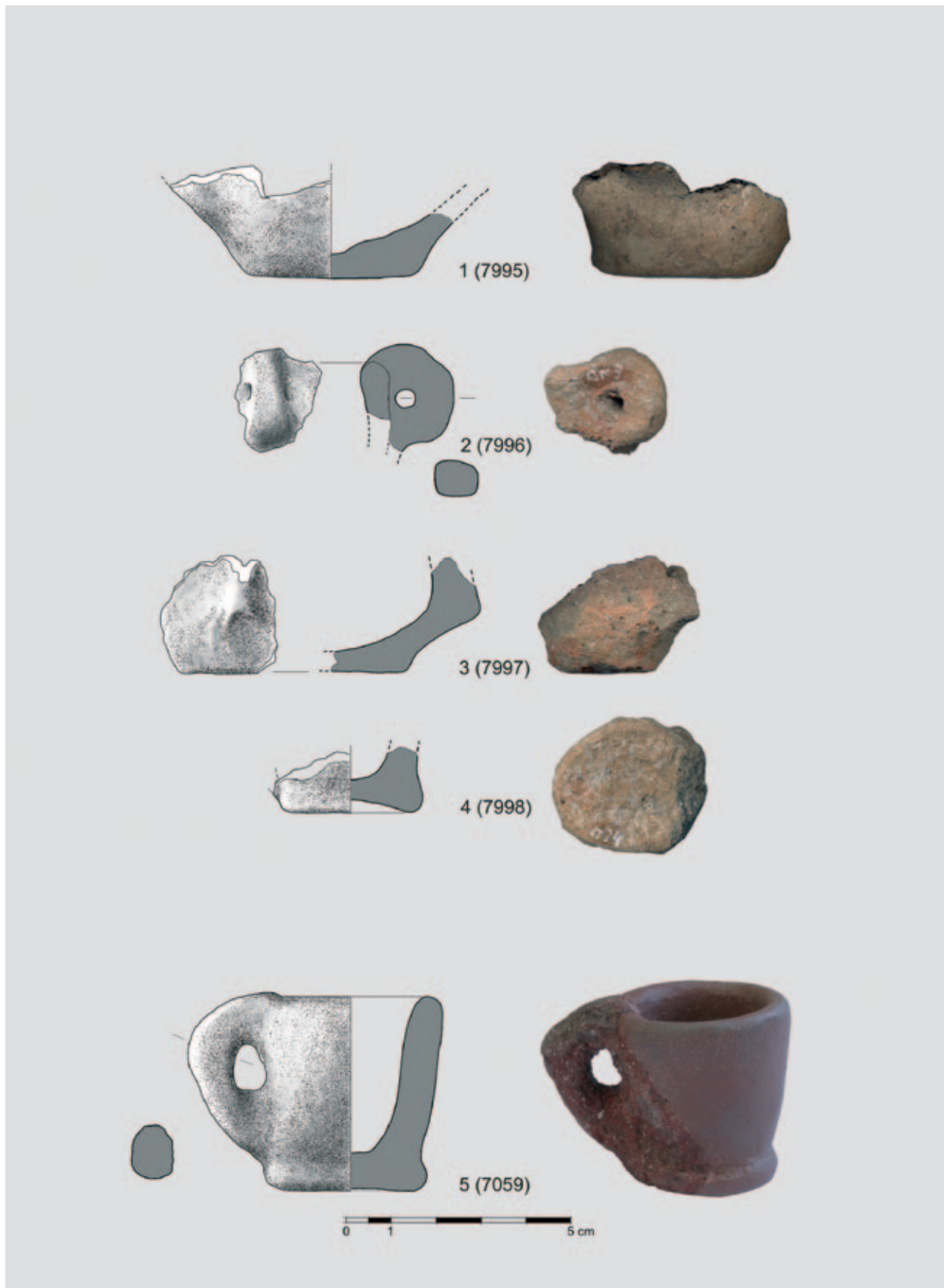
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T. 1 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, pehari s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)  
Pl. 1 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, chalices with two vertical flat handles (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)



T. 2 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, pehari s dvije vertikalne, spljoštene ručke i mali vrčevi s jednom ručkom (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)

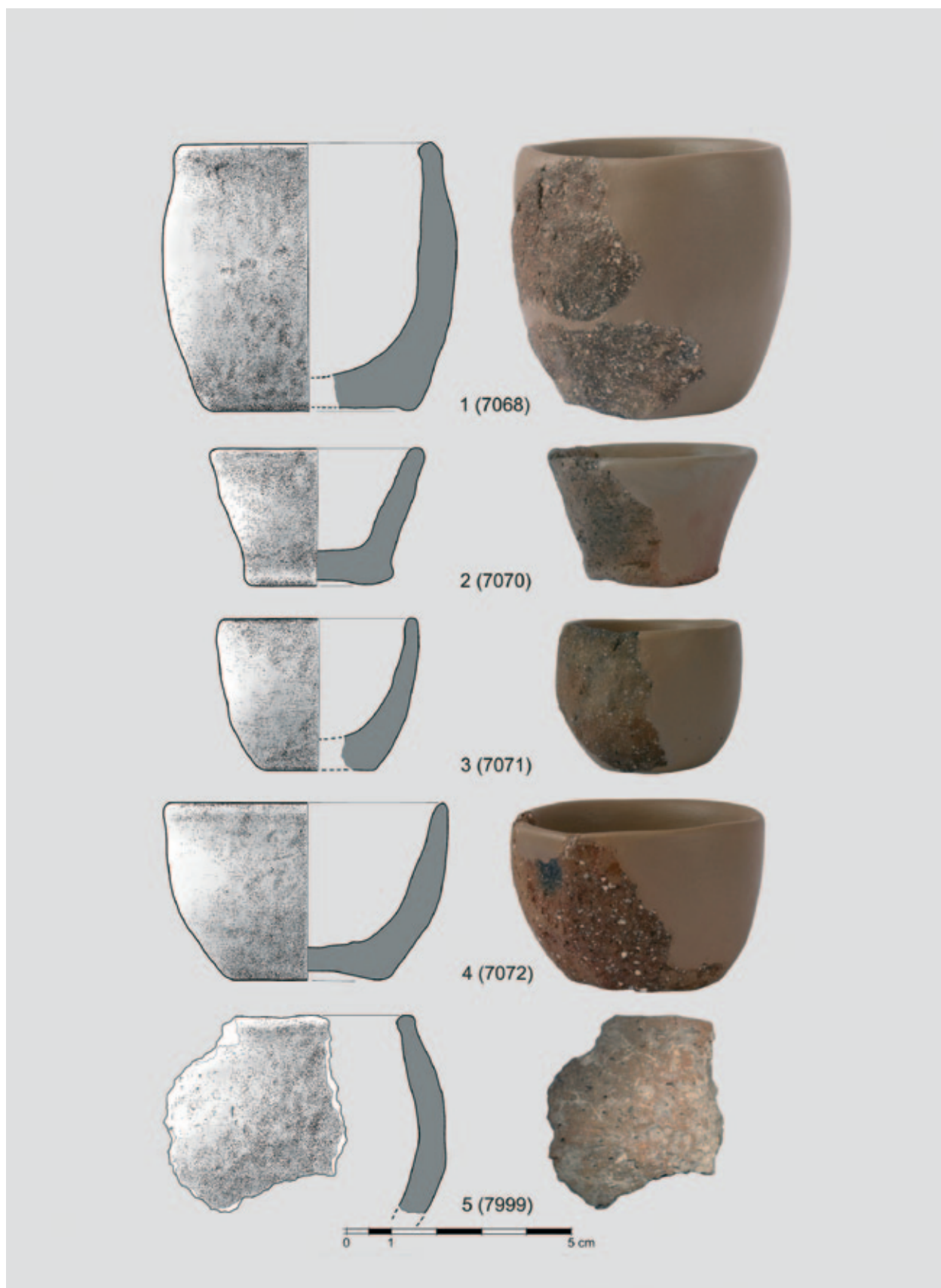
Pl. 2 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, chalices with two vertical flat handles and small jugs with a single handle (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)





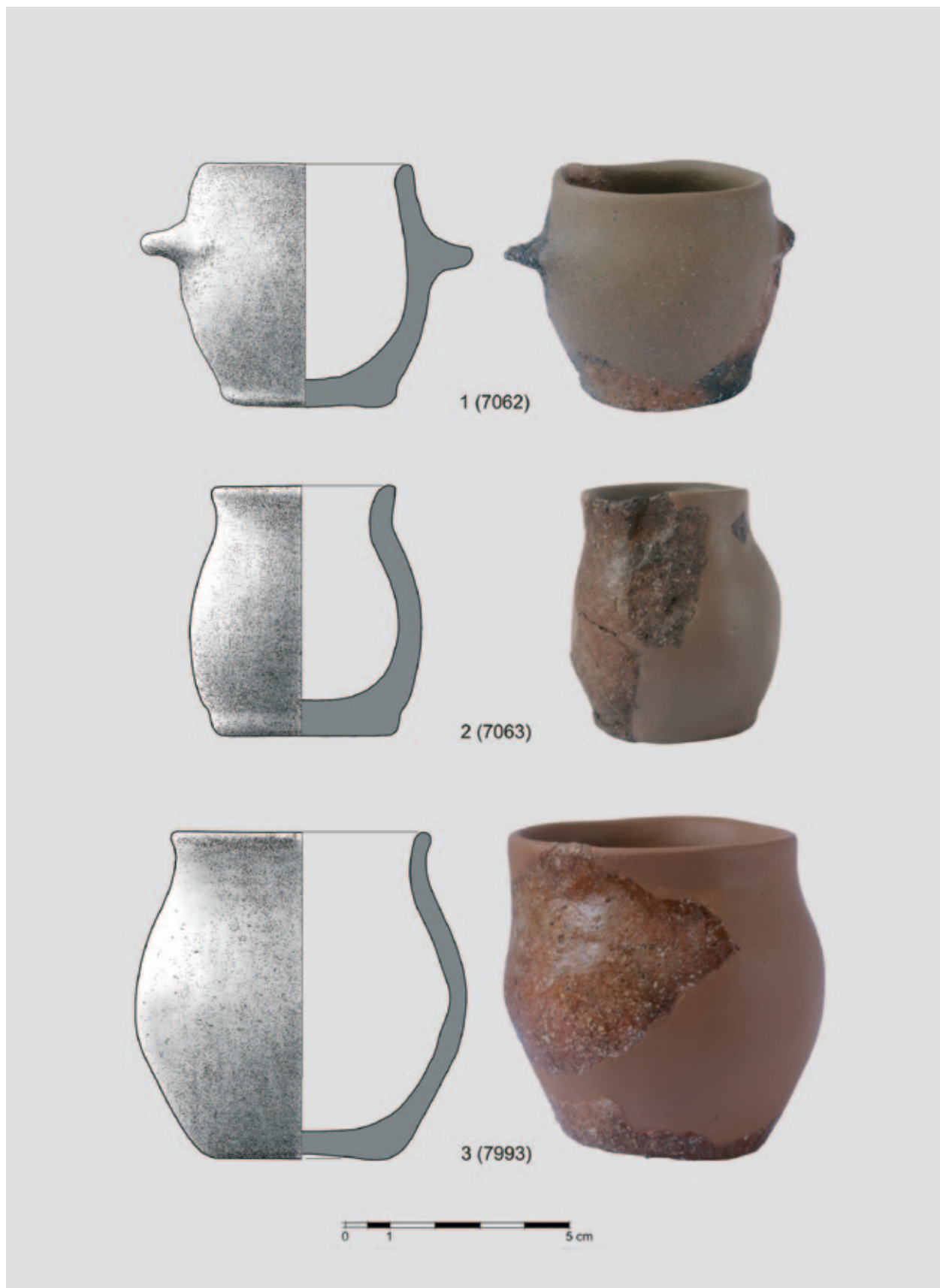
T. 3 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, mali vrčevi s jednom ručkom i čašice bez ručki (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)

Pl. 3 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, small jugs with a single handle and small cups with no handles (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)



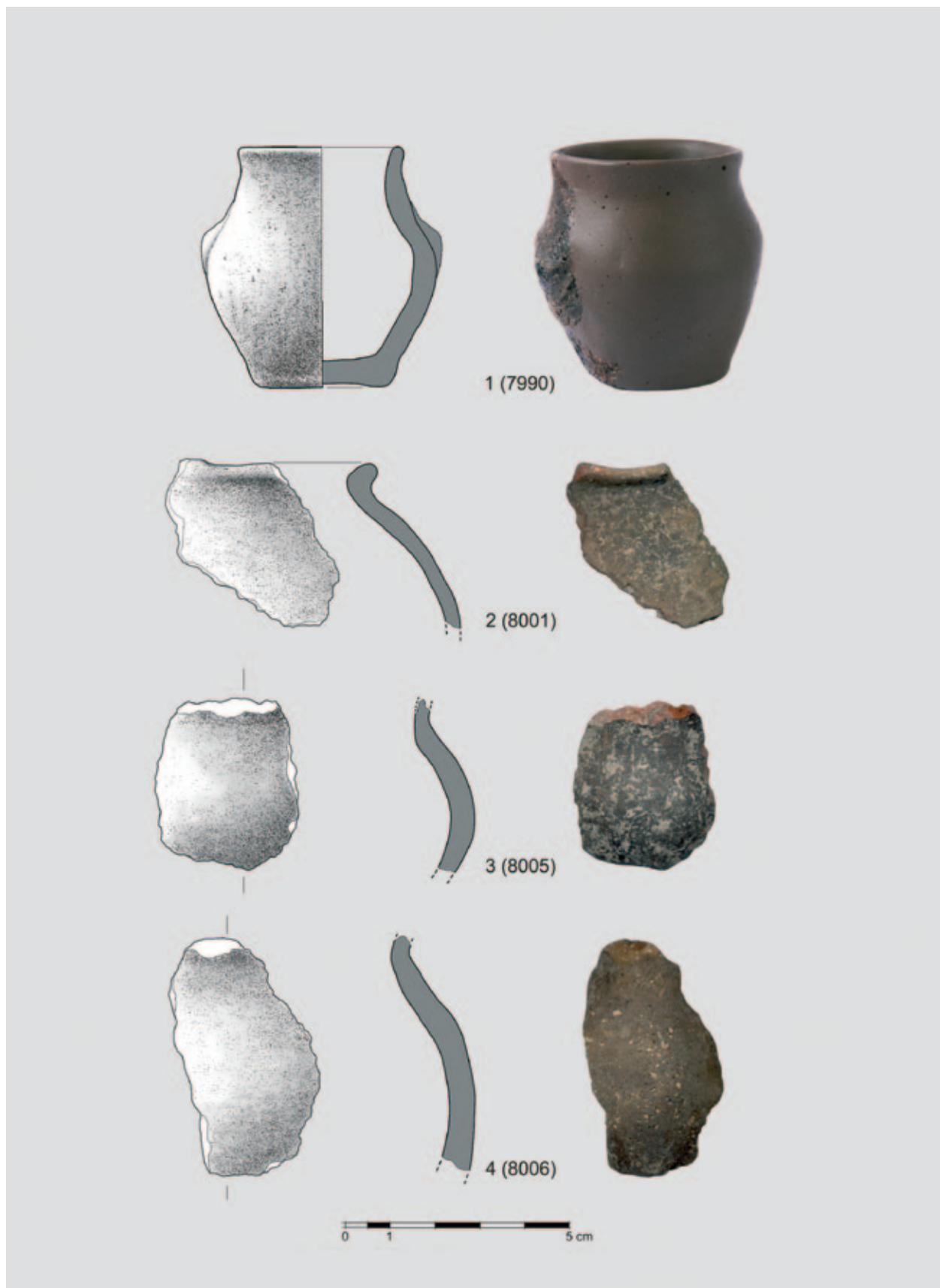
T. 4 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, čašice bez ručki (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)

Pl. 4 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, small cups with no handles (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)

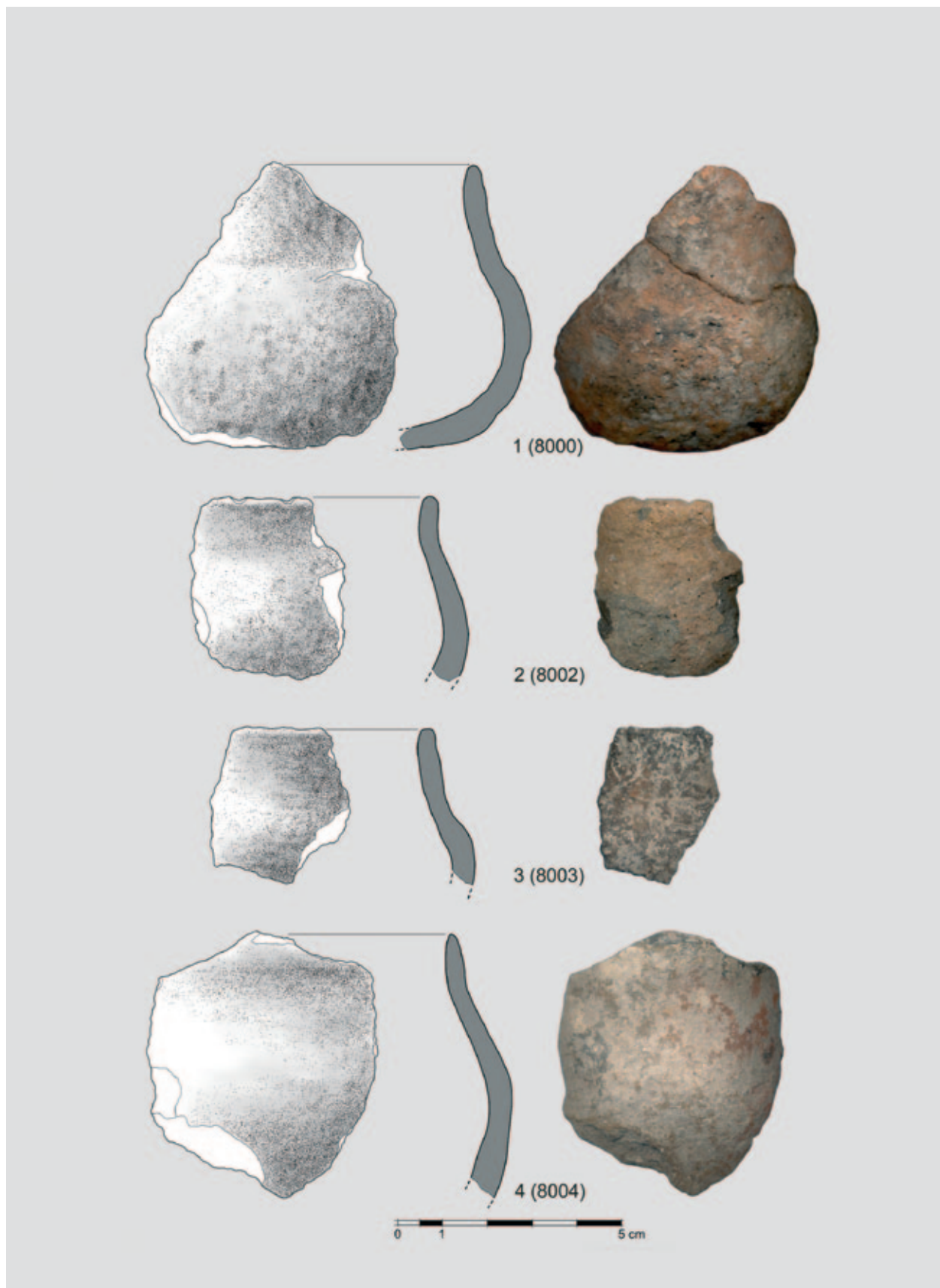


T. 5 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, čašice s dvije horizontalne, jezičaste drške i čašice S-profilacije (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)

Pl. 5 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, small cups with two horizontal tanged handles and small S-profiled cups (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)

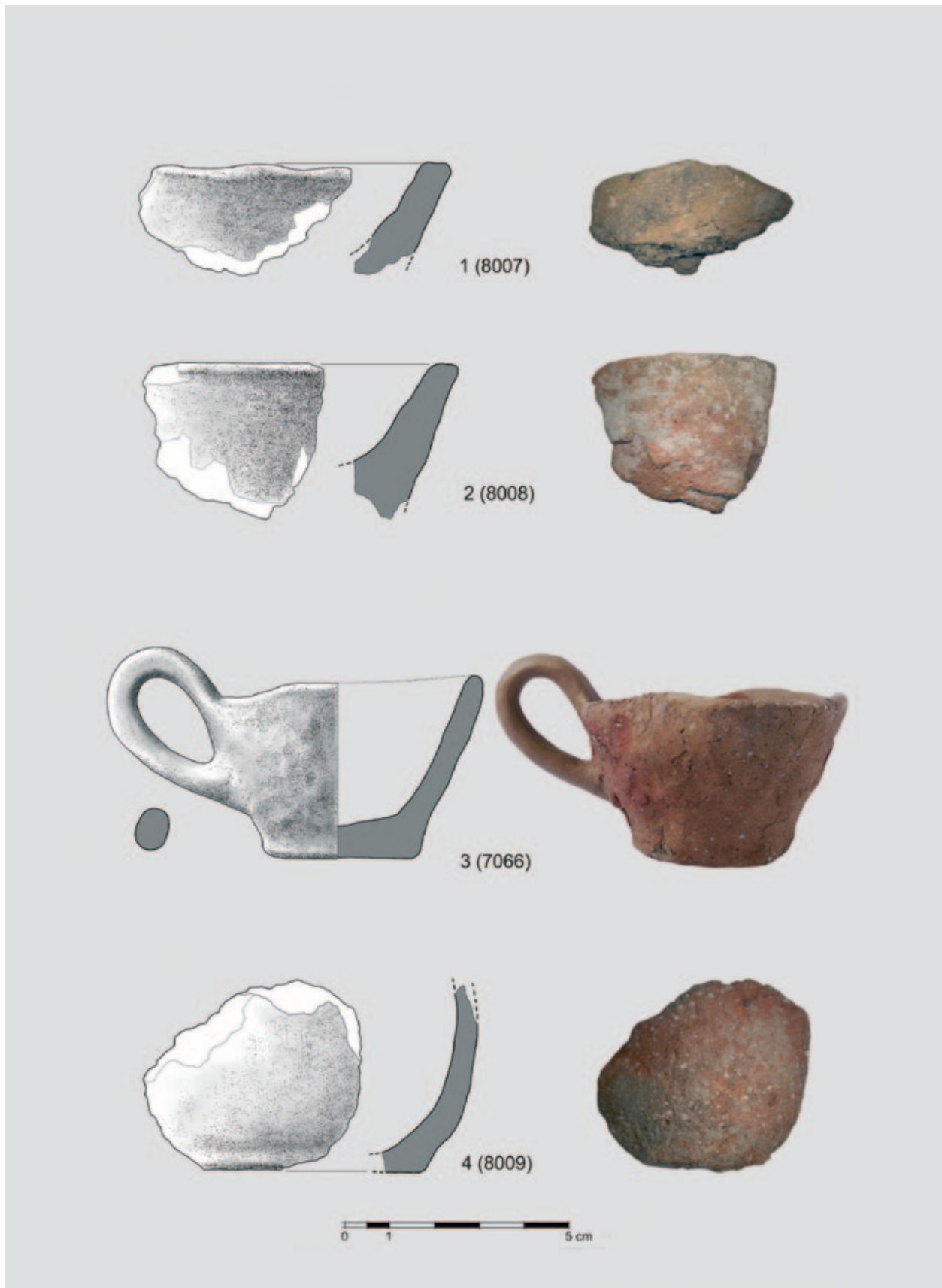


T. 6 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, čašice S-profilacije (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)  
Pl. 6 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, small S-profiled cups (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)



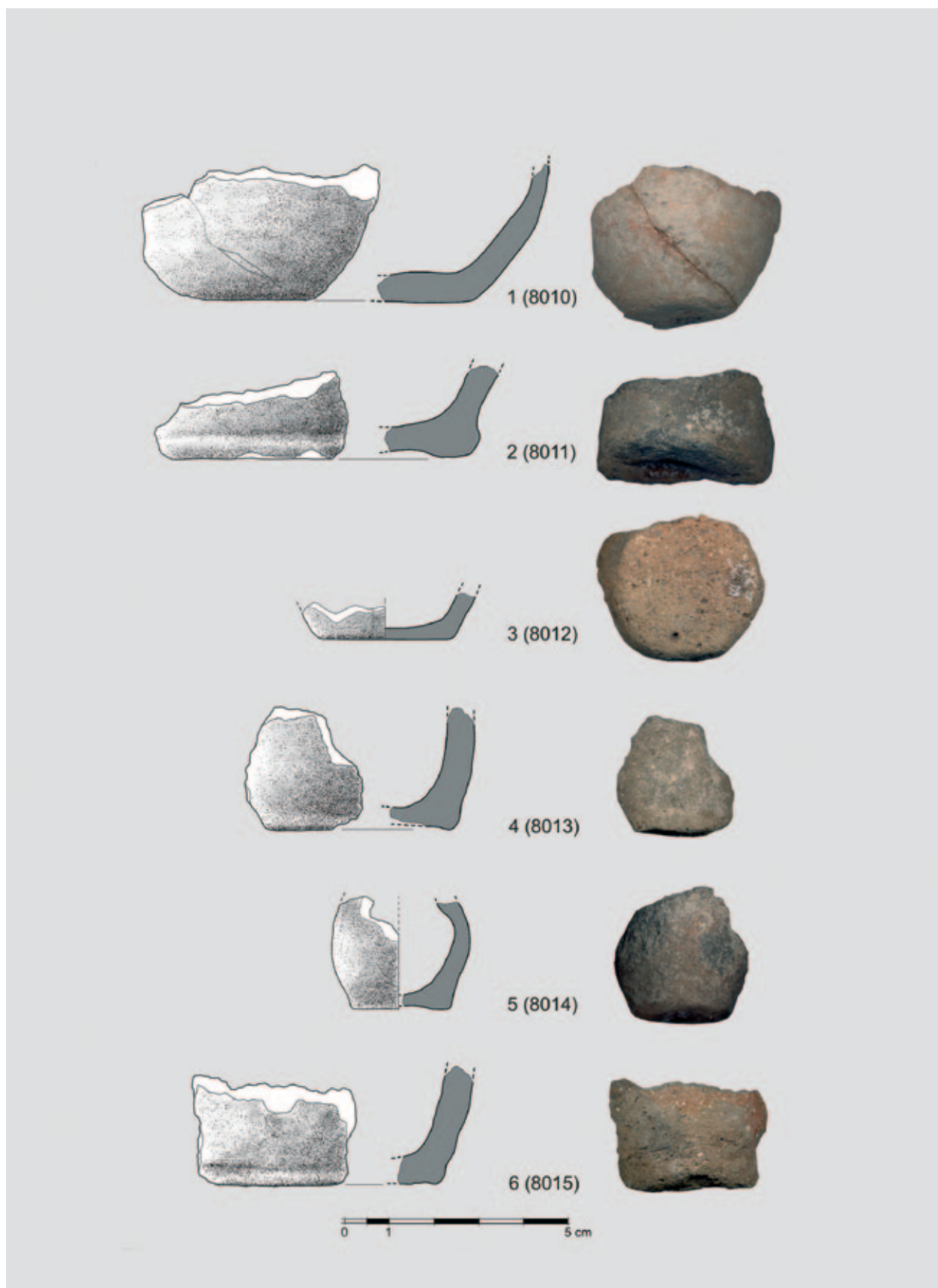
T. 7 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, čašice s loptastim trbuhom i vertikalnim ili koso položenim vratom (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)

Pl. 7 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, cups with a globular belly and vertical or tapering neck (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)

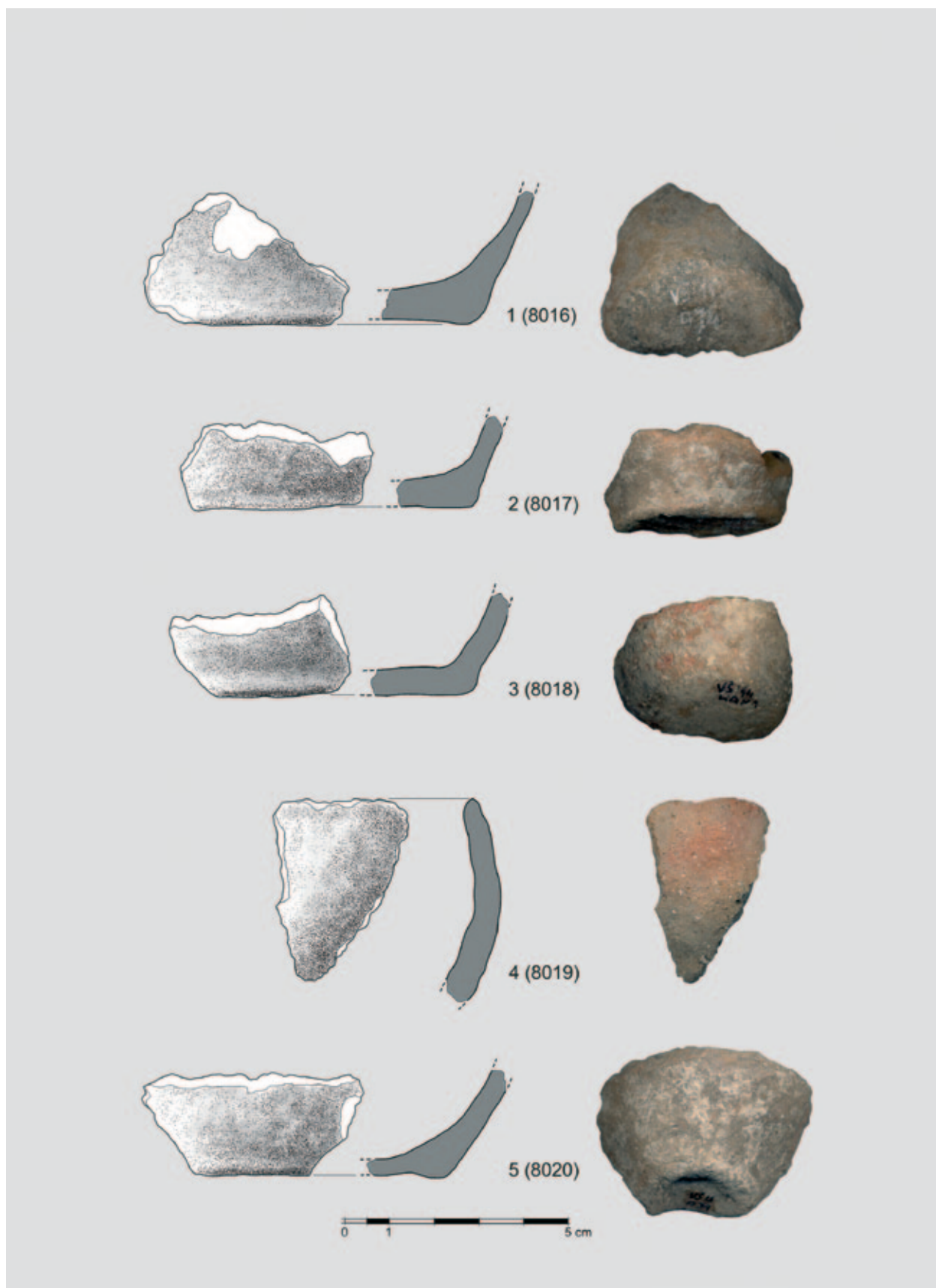


T. 8 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, plitice – niske zdjelice, šalica s jednom ručkom, nedefinirani oblici (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)

Pl. 8 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, trays – shallow bowls, a cup with a single handle, undefined forms (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)



T. 9 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, nedefinirani oblici (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)  
Pl. 9 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, undefined forms (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)



T. 10 — Vilina špilja, minijaturne posude, nedefinirani oblici (crtež: M. Perkić; snimio: D. Perkić)  
Pl. 10 — Vilina Cave, miniature vessels, undefined forms (drawing by: M. Perkić; photo by: D. Perkić)