

# Tragovi igre djece tijekom kasnoga brončanog doba na jugu Karpatske kotline

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**Ložnjak Dizdar, Daria; Vrdoljak, Snježana; Drnić, Ivan**

*Source / Izvornik:* **Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, 2024, 41, 27 - 58**

**Journal article, Published version**

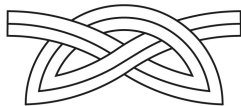
**Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)**

<https://doi.org/10.33254/piaz.41.2.2>

*Permanent link / Trajna poveznica:* <https://um.nsk.hr/um:nbn:hr:291:704316>

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*Download date / Datum preuzimanja:* **2025-03-14**



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UDK 902  
ISSN 1330-0644  
Vol. 41/2  
ZAGREB, 2024.

# PRILOZI

Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu

Pril. Inst. arheol. Zagrebu  
Str./Pages 1–204, Zagreb, 2024.

**PRILOZI INSTITUTA ZA ARHEOLOGIJU  
U ZAGREBU, 41/2/2024  
STR./PAGES 1–204, ZAGREB, 2024.**

Izdavač / Publisher  
INSTITUT ZA ARHEOLOGIJU  
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Adresa uredništva /  
Address of the editor's office  
Institut za arheologiju / Institute of archaeology  
HR-10000 Zagreb, Jurjevska ulica 15  
Hrvatska / Croatia  
Telefon / Phone ++385 / (0)1 61 50 250  
Fax ++385(0)1 60 55 806  
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Umjetnička organizacija OAZA

Računalni slog / Layout  
Hrvoje JAMBREK

Tisak / Printed by  
Tiskara Zelina d.d., Sv. I. Zelina

Naklada / Issued  
400 primjeraka / 400 copies

Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu indeksirani su u /  
Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu are indexed by:  
DYABOLA – Sachkatalog der Bibliothek – Römisch-  
Germanische Kommission des Deutschen  
Archaeologischen Instituts, Frankfurt a. Main  
Clarivate Analytics services – Web of Science Core  
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Scientifique que / L'Institut de l'Information Scientifique et  
Technique, Vandoeuvre-lès-Nancy  
EBSCO – Information services, Ipswich  
ERIH PLUS – European Reference Index for the  
Humanities and Social Sciences, Norwegian  
Directorate for Higher Education and Skills, Bergen  
SciVerse Scopus – Elsevier, Amsterdam

E-izdanja. Publikacija je dostupna u digitalnom obliku i  
otvorenom pristupu na  
<https://hrcak.srce.hr/prilozi-iaz>  
E-edition. The publication is available in digital and  
open access form at  
<https://hrcak.srce.hr/prilozi-iaz?lang=en>

DOI 10.33254

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# TRAGOVI IGRE DJECE TIJEKOM KASNOGA BRONČANOG DOBA NA JUGU KARPATSKE KOTLINE

## TRACES OF CHILDREN'S PLAY DURING THE LATE BRONZE AGE IN THE SOUTHERN CARPATHIAN BASIN

Izvorni znanstveni rad / prapovijesna arheologija  
Original scientific paper / Prehistoric archaeology  
UDK UDC 688.72(4-191.2)''637.7''

Primljeno / Received: 20. 06. 2024. Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 14. 10. 2024.

[doi.org/10.33254/piaz.41.2.2](https://doi.org/10.33254/piaz.41.2.2)

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Igra je svezremenska aktivnost. U proučavanju djetinjstva u prošlosti nezaobilazan izvor predstavljaju igračke, od kojih su se sačuvale samo one izrađene od trajnijih materijala. Rekonstrukcija igre u kasno brončano doba predstavlja složen proces – od proučavanja predmeta u dječjim grobovima, do dokumentiranja tragova igre u brojnim istraživanim naseljima. U radu se pokušavaju prikazati tragovi igre djece tijekom kasnoga brončanog doba na jugu Karpatske kotline prema prikupljenim materijalnim dokazima te interpretacijama zatvorenih konteksta i slučajnih nalaza. Proučavani konteksti i nalazi datiraju se od 14. do kraja 9. st. pr. Kr., a potječu iz istraživanih groblja i naselja na području kontinentalne Hrvatske, istočne Slovenije te sjeverozapadne Srbije. Zadatak se činio lagan prema količini istražene i prikupljene građe, no bio je prilično izazovan s obzirom na višeznačne interpretacije predmeta koji su služili kao igračke predstavljene do sada u literaturi. Materijalni tragovi interpretirani su kroz kaleidoskop djetinjstva i djeteta u igri tijekom kasnoga brončanog doba na jugu Karpatske kotline.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** kasno brončano doba, grobovi, naselja, djetinjstvo, igra, materijalni tragovi



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Play is a timeless activity. Toys are an indispensable source for the study of childhood in the past, but only those made of more durable materials have survived. Reconstructing play in the Late Bronze Age is a complex process – from studying objects in child graves to documenting traces of play in numerous excavated settlements. The paper tries to present traces of children's play during the Late Bronze Age in the southern Carpathian Basin on the basis of collected material evidence and interpretations of closed contexts and chance finds. The studied contexts and finds date from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC and come from excavated cemeteries and settlements in continental Croatia, eastern Slovenia, and northwestern Serbia. The task seemed easy, given the amount of excavated and collected material, but it was quite challenging due to the ambiguous interpretations of objects that have been presented as toys in the literature. Material traces have been interpreted through the prism of childhood and child's play during the Late Bronze Age in the southern Carpathian Basin.

KEY WORDS: Late Bronze Age, graves, settlements, childhood, play, material traces

## UVOD

Igra je svezremenska aktivnost, no arheološki tragovi igre koji su se sačuvali do naših dana vrlo su skromni. Većina igrački vjerojatno je bila od propadljivih organskih materijala – drva, šiblja, trave, blata, tekstila i kože (Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 13–14). Do danas su se najčešće sačuvali keramički predmeti za koje se pretpostavlja, prema njihovome obliku i dimenzijama te mjestu pronalaska u naseljima i grobovima, kako se radilo o igračkama – setovima za igru, zvrkovima, pikulama ili projektilima za pračke te kolačima od blata koje je najvjerojatnije netko od odraslih ispekao u keramičarskoj peći.

Djeca su odrastala kroz igru i učenje vještina kao i društvenih uloga kojima su poslije doprinosila svojoj zajednici. O tome svjedoče predmeti malih dimenzija povezani s lončarstvom, metalurgijom, svakodnevnim aktivnostima. Djeca su u prošlim društvima bila u interakciji s prirodom u kojoj su živjela. Tragovi povezanosti djece i životinja zabilježeni su u grobovima, dok se figurice životinja pronađene u naseljima možda mogu tumačiti i kao dječje igračke. Mnogi organski tragovi – predmeti od drva, trave, šiblja, tekstila i podatnih materijala koje su dječje ručice najlakše oblikovale – nisu se sačuvali do naših dana te rekonstrukcija djetinjstva u prošlosti počiva na nepotpunim slagalicama postojećih arheoloških dokaza. U radu su predstavljeni arheološki tragovi igre iz razdoblja kasnoga brončanog doba, odnosno od 14. do kraja 9. st. pr. Kr. na jugu Karpatske kotline koji potječu iz istraživanih i objavljenih groblja i naselja na području kontinentalne Hr-

## INTRODUCTION

Play is a timeless activity, but the archaeological traces of play that have survived to our time are very modest. Most toys were probably made of perishable organic materials – wood, twigs, grass, mud, textiles, and leather (Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 13–14). The most frequently preserved objects are made of ceramics; based on their shape, size, and findspot in settlements and graves, it is assumed that they were toys – play sets, spinning tops, marbles, or projectiles for slingshots, as well as mud cakes that were probably baked in a ceramic kiln by an adult.

As they grew up, children played and learned skills and social roles to eventually contribute to their community. This is evidenced by small objects related to pottery, metallurgy, and everyday activities. In past societies, children interacted with the natural environment in which they lived. Traces of the connection between children and animals have been recorded in graves, while animal figurines found in settlements may also be interpreted as children's toys. Many organic traces – objects made of wood, grass, twigs, textiles, and malleable materials that were easiest for children's hands to shape – have not survived to our time; therefore, the reconstruction of childhood in the past relies on incomplete puzzles made of existing archaeological evidence. The paper presents archaeological traces of play from the Late Bronze Age, from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, in the southern Carpathian Basin, which come from excavated and published cemeteries and settlements in continental Croatia, eastern Slovenia, and northwestern Serbia. The presented finds are associated with children from



vatske, istočne Slovenije i sjeverozapadne Srbije. Predstavljani su nalazi povezani s djecom iz naselja Dolina, Ilok, kao i slučajni nalazi iz Sotina koji su obrađeni u okviru projekta ARHKIDS te se ovom prilikom objavljuju po prvi put.

## TEORIJSKI OKVIR

Djetinjstvo je društvena, dobna te kulturološki konstruirana kategorija (Halcrow, Tayles 2011: 336). Svaka zajednica imala je svoje vlastite dobne kategorije i definiciju djetinjstva (Kamp 2001: 4), pri čemu je lokalna definicija djetinjstva temeljena na empiričkim arheološkim dokazima (Kamp 2001: 25).

Igra ima društvenu funkciju u ritualu i u svijetu odraslih. Ona se kreira i razvija na kulturološkoj bazi. Dječja igra razlikuje se od igre odraslih jer izravnije izražava svakodnevni život djece, reflektira njihove izazove, korekcije i prilagodbe odrastanju. Dječja igra funkcionira kao medijator između svijeta djece i svijeta odraslih (Lillehammer 1989: 94). Igra je središnja aktivnost u životu djece: pruža im zadovoljstvo, pomaže u socijalizaciji i predstavlja osnovu za usvajanje različitih vještina. Igra ima jedno od najvažnijih značenja u kulturalnoj transmisiji u ljudskim društvima (Derricourt 2018: 156). Igre i igračke uobičajen su način na koji se djeca pripremaju za integraciju u društvo (Sánchez Romero 2017: 23), a igranje je važan proces za evoluciju i inovacije (Riede et al. 2018).

Igračke su mogle biti muzički instrumenti, alati i rekviziti za fizičke aktivnosti te sportove. Važni su veličina, tip i oblik (Lillehammer 1989: 98–99). Aspekti učenja i zabave reflektiraju se u igračkama, što jasno ilustrira mogućnosti pronalaska dječjega svijeta u arheološkome materijalu i zapisu (Lillehammer 1989: 100). Prijenos znanja s odraslih na djecu esencijalan je za odrastanje i učenje, odnosno za suočavanje sa svijetom oko sebe. Pritom je važno shvatiti kako se učenje prenosi s jedne generacije na drugu (Lillehammer 1989: 102). Također, potrebno je prepoznati mjesta za rad i igru u naseljima (Lillehammer 1989: 102) koja su često bila isprepletana. J. Sofaer-Dervenski naglašava da ljudi uče kroz igru, pokušaje i pogreške, a da je tragove dječje igre teško uočiti i tumačiti (Sofaer-Dervenski 1994: 9). Vidljivost djece u naseljima i drugim kontekstima kroz materijalne dokaze igrački kao i definiciju igrački predstavljena je u literaturi i kroz tzv. paradoks igrački koje nisu dalje relevantne u arheološkim studijama

the settlements of Dolina and Ilok, but there are also chance finds from Sotin, which were processed within the ARHKIDS project and are being published here for the first time.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Childhood is a social, age-related, and culturally constructed category (Halcrow, Tayles 2011: 336). Every community had its own age categories and definition of childhood (Kamp 2001: 4); the local definition of childhood is based on empirical archaeological evidence (Kamp 2001: 25).

Play has a social function in rituals and in the adult world. It is created and developed on a cultural basis. Children's play differs from adult play in that it more directly expresses the daily lives of children, reflecting their challenges, corrections, and adaptations to growing up. Children's play serves as a mediator between the world of children and the world of adults (Lillehammer 1989: 94). Play is a central activity in children's lives: it provides them with pleasure, helps them socialize, and represents a foundation for acquiring various skills. Play has one of the most important meanings in cultural transmission in human societies (Derricourt 2018: 156). Games and toys are a common way for children to prepare for integration into society (Sánchez Romero 2017: 23), and playing is an important process for evolution and innovation (Riede et al. 2018).

Toys could be musical instruments, tools, or props for physical activities and sports. Size, type, and shape are important (Lillehammer 1989: 98–99). Toys reflect aspects of learning and fun, clearly illustrating the potential for discovering the world of children in archaeological materials and records (Lillehammer 1989: 100). The transmission of knowledge from adults to children is essential for growing up and learning, for coping with the surrounding world. Here it is important to understand how learning is transmitted from one generation to the next (Lillehammer 1989: 102). Also, it is necessary to identify the places for work and play in settlements (Lillehammer 1989: 102), which were often intertwined. J. Sofaer-Dervenski emphasizes that people learn through play, trial and error, and that traces of children's play are difficult to identify and interpret (Sofaer-Dervenski 1994: 9). In the literature, the visibility of children in settlements and other contexts through material evidence of toys, as well as the definition of toys, is marked by the 'toy paradox', a loss of relevance in archaeological studies (Crawford et



jama (Crawford et al. 2018: 17). Naime, nakon definiranja predmeta igračkom rijetko se događa da su takvi predmeti dalje tema proučavanja u istraživanju zajednica u prošlosti.

Ako je djetinjstvo period učenja, materijalni ostaci zasebnih obrta i vještina mogu biti proučavani kao tragovi pokušaja i naukovanja te dječjega rada (Derricourt 2018: 263–264). Otisci malih prstiju i slabo pečeni uradak možda ukazuju na aktivnosti djece. Ponovno proučavanje predmeta može identificirati igračke, lutke ili dijelove dječjih igara koji su prije bili zanemareni ili definirani potpuno drugačije. Nije svaki neobičan predmet ritualni predmet, kao što niti svaka minijatura nije dječja igračka (Langley, Litster 2018: Tab. 1; Derricourt 2018: 264).

Igračke imaju kompleksna i kontradiktorna značenja u odnosima između odraslih i djece. Odrasli ih vide na jedan način – više kao formalnu kategoriju, a djeca na drugi način – široki spektar predmeta može biti iskorišten kao igračka (Baxter 2005: 41–46). Mogućnost transformacije igrački u različite predmete, ali i transformacija različitih predmeta u igračke, daje tim predmetima različit repertoar značenja kada ih koriste djeca (Baxter 2005: 43). Biti igračka je potencijalna karakteristika svih predmeta u dječjem okruženju i te igračke nisu nevidljive u arheološkim terminima ako je uloga djece u depoziciji objekta u arheološkome zapisu promatrana s djecocentričnim teorijskim okvirom (Crawford 2009: 55).

## Istraživanje u sklopu projekta ARHKIDS – materijalni dokazi i metodologija

Dječju perspektivu iz razdoblja prapovijesti na prostoru juga Karpatske kotline u svojim su radovima predstavili D. Balen-Letunić i A. Rendić-Miočević (1982; 2012) objavljujući predmete iz zbirke Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu, zatim L. Balj (2010; 2014; 2021) i P. Medović (1988) iz Muzeja Vojvodine u Novom Sadu te A. Pravidur (2014) iz Zemaljskoga muzeja u Sarajevu. Dječje tragove u arheološkome kontekstu u kući iz starijega željeznog doba u Puli pronašla je i objavila K. Mihovilić (2011).

U istraživanjima prapovijesnih naselja često se pronalaze predmeti čija namjena je zagonetna – npr. keramičke kuglice ili žetoni od ulomaka keramičkih posuda, zatim posude vrlo malih dimenzija, keramičke figurice životinja i sl. Mnogi od tih predmeta pronađenih u kontekstu

al. 2018: 17). In other words, after an object is defined as a toy, it is rarely studied any further within research into past communities.

If childhood is a period of learning, the material remains of specific crafts and skills can be studied as traces of attempts, learning, and children's work (Derricourt 2018: 263–264). Small fingerprints and poorly baked products may indicate children's activities. Re-examining objects can identify toys, dolls, or parts of children's games that were previously overlooked or defined as something completely different. Not every unusual object is a ritual object, just as not every miniature is a child's toy (Langley, Litster 2018: Tab. 1; Derricourt 2018: 264).

Toys have complex and contradictory meanings in adult-child relationships. Adults view them in one way, more as a formal category, while children see them in another way, as a wide range of objects that can be used as toys (Baxter 2005: 41–46). The ability of toys to be transformed into different objects, as well as the ability of different objects to be transformed into toys, gives these objects a diverse repertoire of meanings when used by children (Baxter 2005: 43). Being a toy is a potential characteristic of all objects in a child's environment; these toys are not invisible in archaeological terms if the role of children in the deposition of objects in the archaeological record is viewed in a child-centered theoretical framework (Crawford 2009: 55).

## Research within the ARHKIDS project: material evidence and methodology

The child's perspective from the prehistoric period in the southern Carpathian Basin was presented by D. Balen-Letunić and A. Rendić-Miočević (1982; 2012), who published objects from the collections of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb; by L. Balj (2010; 2014; 2021) and P. Medović (1988) from the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad; and by A. Pravidur (2014) from the National Museum in Sarajevo. K. Mihovilić (2011) found and published traces of children in the archaeological context of an Early Iron Age house in Pula.

When prehistoric settlements are excavated, objects are often found whose purpose is enigmatic – for example, ceramic spheres, or tokens made from fragments of ceramic vessels, as well as very small vessels, ceramic animal figurines, and so on. Many of these objects, found in settlement contexts and not immediately recognizable

naselja, čija namjena na prvi dojam nije bila utilitarna, pripisivani su kultu i vjerovanjima davnih ljudi koji su tu živjeli.

Mnogi istraživači dovode u vezu veličinu predmeta i dob pojedinaca koji su ih koristili na primjeru grobova u južnoj Etruriji (Hladikova 2011: 294), Laciju (Nijboer 2022), lužičkoj kulturi (Rücker 2007: 31). S veličinom predmeta povezana je i funkcija predmeta, što je također često razmatrano u literaturi (Sofaer-Dervenski 1994; Baxter 2005; Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: kat. br. 36–47; Balen-Letunić 2014: 12).

U prvome koraku projektno istraživanje bavi se direktnim dokazima gdje su predmeti povezani s ljudskim ostacima – grobovima (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2024), dok su mnogi indirektni dokazi vidljivi kroz arheološke podatke u vremenu i prostoru dnevnoga života – djeca mogu biti pronađena na svakoj lokaciji u okolišu gdje su živjela i umirala (Lillehammer 2000: 21). Smatra se kako su djeca utjecala (određivala) većinu obiteljskih aktivnosti iz dana u dan u smislu njege i brige koju zahtijevaju, ali i doprinosa koji imaju za domaćinstvo i društvo, pri čemu se uspostavljaju i njihovi društveni odnosi s roditeljima, rođacima i širom obitelji (Halcrow, Tayles 2008: 200). Domaćinstva su prostori u kojima su sigurno bila prisutna i djeca (Klear 2013: 4; Röder 2018: 130–137).

Djeca su doprinosila arheološkome zapisu bez obzira da li mi kao arheolozi to možemo prepoznati (Klear 2013: 6). Potencijal arheologije leži u prepoznavanju materijalnih dokaza o djeci, što zahtijeva i znanje o svijetu odraslih i razdoblju koje se proučava (Lillehammer 1989: 90–91). Zbog toga se istražuje svijet djece između sačuvanih fragmenata nalaza iz naselja i grobova kasnoga brončanog doba.

Sakupljajući podatke o djeci i predmetima povezanim s djecom u okviru projekta ARHKIDS, neki od takvih predmeta zabilježeni su u sigurnim kontekstima grobova za koje je antropološkom analizom utvrđeno da pripadaju djeci. Znatno su brojniji nalazi zabilježeni u istraživanjima naselja ili se radi o slučajnim nalazima. U analizu su uključeni dječji grobovi iz kasnobrončanodobnih groblja Poljana Križevačka 2 (14. – 12. st. pr. Kr.), Slatina (prva polovica 11. st. pr. Kr.), Batina (11. – 7. st. pr. Kr.), Dolina (10. – 8. st. pr. Kr.) i Belišće (9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.). Isto tako, u analizu su uključena i druga istovremena groblja s juga Karpatske kotline na kojima su provedene i objavljene antropološ-

as having a utilitarian purpose, have been attributed to cults and beliefs of the people who lived there long ago.

Many researchers have linked the size of objects to the age of the individuals who used them, using examples from graves in southern Etruria (Hladikova 2011: 294), Latium (Nijboer 2022), and the Lusatian culture (Rücker 2007: 31). The size of objects is also connected to their function, a topic frequently discussed in the literature (Sofaer-Dervenski 1994; Baxter 2005; Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: cat. nos. 36–47; Balen-Letunić 2014: 12).

In the first step, project research focuses on direct evidence, where objects are associated with human remains – graves (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2024); much indirect evidence can be obtained from archaeological data on the time and space of daily life – children can be found at every location in the environment where they lived and died (Lillehammer 2000: 21). It is believed that children influenced (determined) most of the daily family activities in terms of the care and attention they required, but also the contribution they made to the household and society, establishing their social relationships with parents, relatives, and the wider family (Halcrow, Tayles 2008: 200). Households were spaces where children were certainly present (Klear 2013: 4; Röder 2018: 130–137).

Children have contributed to the archaeological record, regardless of whether we as archaeologists can recognize it (Klear 2013: 6). The potential of archaeology lies in recognizing the material evidence of children, which also requires knowledge of the adult world and the studied period (Lillehammer 1989: 90–91). Therefore, we explore the world of children among the preserved fragments of finds from settlements and graves of the Late Bronze Age.

While collecting data on children and child-related objects within the ARHKIDS project, some of these objects were recorded in the secure contexts of graves that were determined by anthropologic analysis to belong to children. Significantly more numerous finds were recorded in settlement excavations or as chance finds. The analysis included children's graves from the Late Bronze Age cemeteries of Poljana Križevačka 2 (14<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC), Slatina (first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC), Batina (11<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC), Dolina (10<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC), and Belišće (9<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC). Also, the analysis included other contemporaneous cemeteries from the southern Carpathian Basin where anthropological analyses and archaeological materials have been conducted and published, such as the

ke analize i arheološka građa, npr. starija faza groblja u Doroslovu (Trajković 2008), Dobovi (Starè 1975), Obrežju (Mason, Kramberger 2022) na kojima su zabilježeni dječji grobovi. U analizu naselja uključena su istraživana naselja na kojima su zabilježeni nalazi povezani s djecom, npr. Dolina (12. – 10. st. pr. Kr.) (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2020), Ilok (11. – 4. st. pr. Kr.) (Ložnjak Dizdar, Dizdar 2020), Završje (11. – 8. st. pr. Kr.) (Miklik-Lozuc et al., in print) te naselja poznata iz literature na kojima su uočeni nalazi predmeta povezani s djecom kao npr. Mačkovac – Crišnjevi (13. – 12. st. pr. Kr.) (Karavanić et al. 2002); Rakitovica – Karaka (14. – 13. st. pr. Kr.) (Pleština 2013), Ivanovci Gorjanski (14. – 12. st. pr. Kr.) (Kudelić 2011), Nova Bukovica (11. – 9. st. pr. Kr.) (Kovačević 2001), Slavonski Brod (12. – 10. st. pr. Kr.), kao i istovremena naselja s objavljenom obimnijom građom s juga Karpatske kotline, npr. Oloris (14. – 12. st. pr. Kr.) (Dular et al. 2002), Ormož (11. – 6. st. pr. Kr.) (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010), Grajski grič na Ptuju (11. – 7. st. pr. Kr.), Gornja Radgona (11. – 6. st. pr. Kr.) (Dular 2013), Rogoza (12. – 10. st. pr. Kr.) (Črešnar 2010; 2022), Orehova vas (12. – 10. st. pr. Kr.) (Grahek 2015), Kalakača (10. – 8. st. pr. Kr.) (Medović 1988) i Zemun – Asfaltna baza (10. – 9. st. pr. Kr.) (Петровић 2010).

## IGRAČKE

Usporednom analizom predmeta iz grobova i naselja zabilježeni su predmeti keramičkih kuglica – pikula, zvečke, zvrkovi (?), keramičke pločice, figurice životinja ili ljudi, zatim neobični predmeti od kamena i kostiju te minijature posude koje su najčešće umanjene tipova posuda korištenih u svakodnevicu za pripremu i konzumaciju hrane. Otkiveni su i drugi keramički predmeti te predmeti od metala. Predmeti iz kasnoga brončanog doba interpretirani su kao igračke bez obzira jesu li im to značenje dali odrasli ili djeca u prošlosti ili mi, današnji istraživači (Baxter 2005: 63; Crawford 2009; Hirsch 2019; Riede et al. 2021: 13), te su interpretirani u širem kontekstu mjesta gdje su pronađeni.

### Keramičke kuglice – pikule

U grobu 20 iz Batine, datiranome u 9. st. pr. Kr. (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2019: 95, Fig. 3; Ložnjak Dizdar, Rajić Šikanjić 2020: 115; Dizdar et al. 2021: 130–134) bilo je pokopano dijete pre-

older phase of the cemetery in Doroslovo (Trajković 2008), Dobova (Starè 1975), and Obrežje (Mason, Kramberger 2022), where children's graves have been recorded. The analysis of settlements included excavated settlements where finds associated with children have been recorded, such as Dolina (12<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2020), Ilok (11<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Ložnjak Dizdar, Dizdar 2020), Završje (11<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Miklik-Lozuc et al., in print), and settlements known from the literature to have finds of objects associated with children, such as Mačkovac – Crišnjevi (13<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Karavanić et al. 2002); Rakitovica – Karaka (14<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Pleština 2013), Ivanovci Gorjanski (14<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Kudelić 2011), Nova Bukovica (11<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Kovačević 2001), Slavonski Brod (12<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC), as well as contemporaneous settlements with more extensive published materials from the southern Carpathian Basin, such as Oloris (14<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Dular et al. 2002), Ormož (11<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010), Grajski Grič Na Ptuju (11<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC), Gornja Radgona (11<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Dular 2013), Rogoza (12<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Črešnar 2010; 2022), Orehova Vas (12<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Grahek 2015), Kalakača (10<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Medović 1988), and Zemun – Asfaltna Baza (10<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Петровић 2010).

## TOYS

The comparative analysis of objects from graves and settlements recorded objects such as ceramic spheres (marbles), rattles, spinning tops (?), ceramic tiles, figurines of animals or people, as well as unusual items made of stone and bone, and miniature vessels that are often scaled-down versions of vessels used in daily life for food preparation and consumption. Other ceramic and metal objects have also been discovered. Late Bronze Age objects have been interpreted as toys, regardless of whether this meaning was given to them by adults or children in the past or by us, modern researchers (Baxter 2005: 63; Crawford 2009; Hirsch 2019; Riede et al. 2021: 13), and have been interpreted within the broader context of where they were found.

### Ceramic spheres (marbles)

Grave 20 from Batina, dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2019: 95, Fig. 3; Ložnjak Dizdar, Rajić Šikanjić 2020: 115; Dizdar et al. 2021: 130–134), contained a child, according to the re-

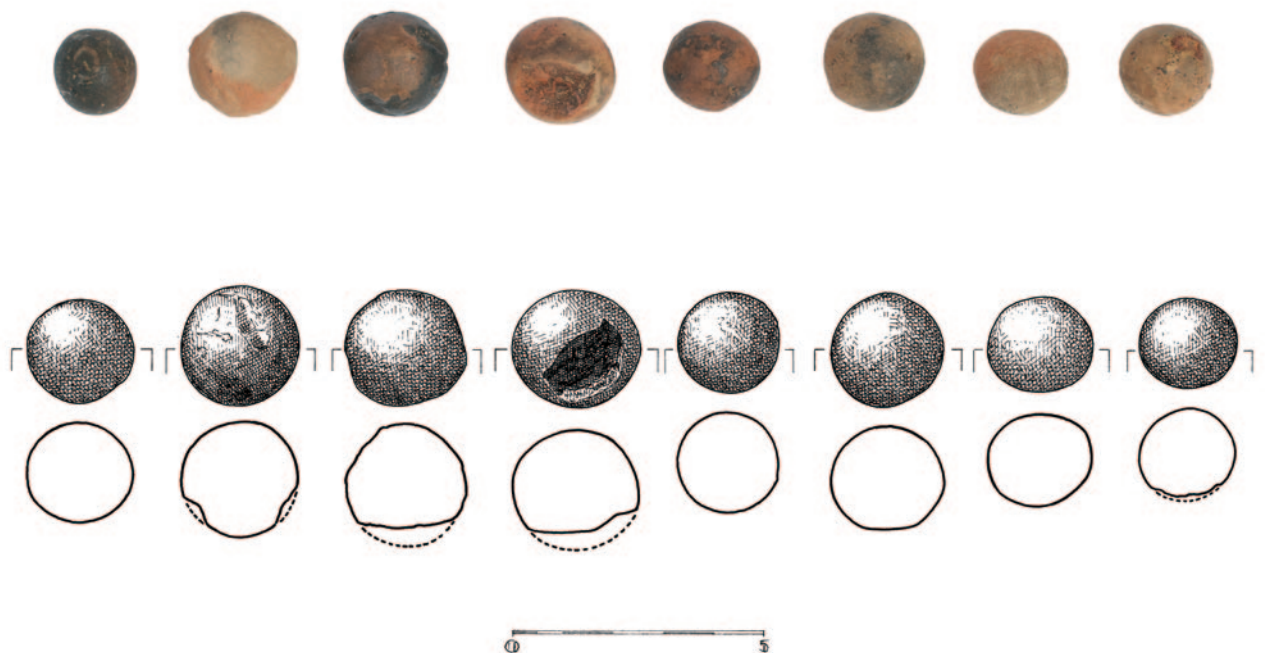


ma rezultatima antropološke analize, čiju užu dob nije moguće odrediti prema vrlo maloj količini sačuvanih spaljenih ostataka. Uz spaljene ostatke, u grobu su bile priložene brojne posude koje su vjerojatno sadržavale hranu i piće. Poseban prilog bile su dvije keramičke kuglice položene u grobnu raku pored keramičkih posuda. Vjerojatno ih je ostavio netko od članova zajednice koja je ispraćala dijete kao oproštajni dar. Kuglice su mogle imati dvojaku funkciju: biti pikule i/ili projektili za praćku, pri čemu su mogle biti vrlo opasne ako su korištene u dječjoj igri na ovaj način.

Keramičke kuglice – pikule pronađene su u brojnim naseljima kasnoga brončanog doba, npr. u Završju i Dolini u Posavini (sl. 1), koja se datiraju u mlađu fazu kasnoga brončanog doba te u kasnobrončanodobnome sloju u naselju u Iloku (sl. 2). Bliži kontekst nalaza keramičke pikule u naselju u Završju u Posavini nije poznat, dok je u Dolini veći broj kuglica pronađen u slojevima izvan dokumentiranih osnova kuća. Kuglice su oblikovane rukom, često s malim nepravilnostima, i pečene su u različitim bojama, pa se može pretpostaviti kako se radilo o kuglicama koje su djeca ili odrasli oblikovali od gline te ispekli prilikom pečenja ostaloga keramičkog inventara potrebnoga u naselju.

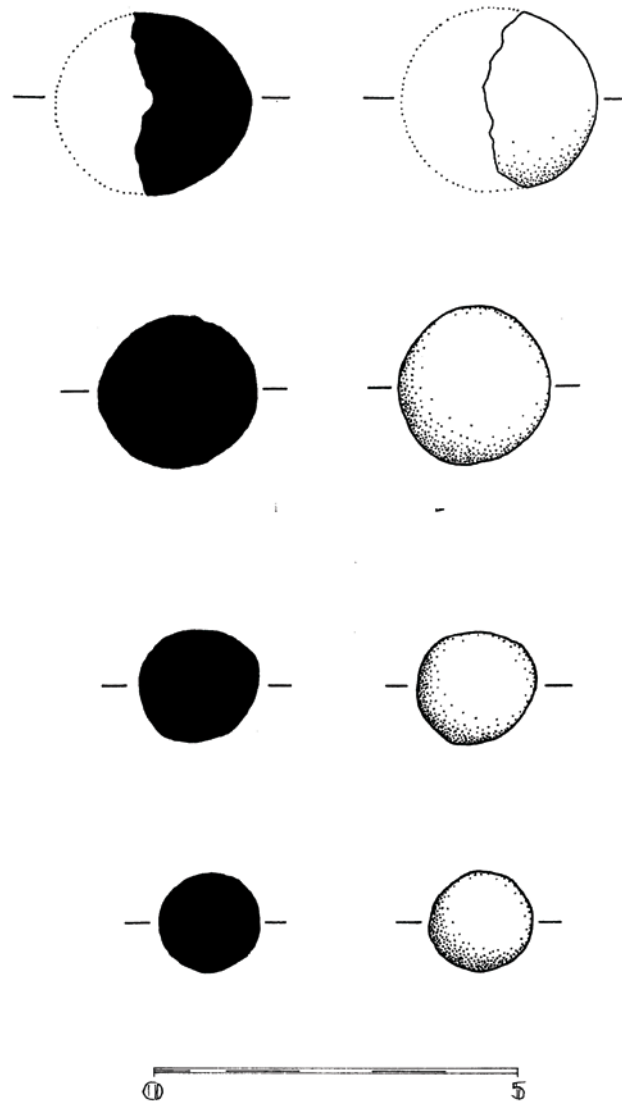
sults of the anthropological analysis, whose exact age cannot be determined from the very small amount of preserved cremated remains. Along with the cremated remains, the grave included numerous vessels, which probably contained food and drink. As separate grave goods, two ceramic spheres were placed in the grave pit next to the ceramic vessels. They were probably left as a parting gift from a member of the community bidding farewell to the child. The spheres could have served as marbles and/or projectiles for a slingshot, which could have been very dangerous if used in children's play in this way.

Ceramic spheres (marbles) have been found in numerous Late Bronze Age settlements, e.g. Završje and Dolina in Posavina (Fig. 1), which are dated to the later phase of the Late Bronze Age, and in the Late Bronze Age layer in the settlement in Ilok (Fig. 2). The exact context of the find of a ceramic marble in the settlement of Završje in Posavina is unknown; in Dolina, several spheres were found in layers outside the documented foundations of houses. The spheres were hand-shaped, often with small irregularities, and fired in various colors, so it can be assumed that children or adults shaped them from clay and baked them during the firing of other ceramic items needed in the settlement.



Sl. 1 – Keramičke kuglice – pikule iz Doline (snimio: H. Jambrek; nacrtala: M. Rončević)

Fig. 1 – Ceramic spheres/marbles from Dolina (photo by: H. Jambrek; drawing by: M. Rončević)



Sl. 2 – Keramičke kuglice – pikule iz Iloka (snimio: H. Jambrek; nacrtala: M. Marjanović Lešić)  
Fig. 2 – Ceramic spheres/marbles from Ilok (photo by: H. Jambrek; drawing by: M. Marjanović Lešić)

Keramičke kuglice pronađene su i u naselju Oloris u povezanim kvadrantima površine veće od 300 m<sup>2</sup> (kvadranti 325, 326, 327) (Dular et al. 2002: 18, T. 59: 12; 65: 6–13, 16–18) te u naselju Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: br. 1309) u sjeveroistočnoj Sloveniji. Keramička kuglica/pikula pronađena je i u objektu 12 u naselju u Zemunu na položaju Asfaltna baza (Петровић 2010: 63, T. 22: 1), dok se jedna nalazila u plitkoj okrugloj jami (objekt 61) u naselju Kalakača (Medović 1988: 165, sl. 149: 3).

### Zvečke

Igra je najprije interakcija s okolinom oko sebe, a upotreba igrački koje prave zvuk uvod je u interakciju s prirodom koja je prepuna zvukova.

Ceramic spheres have also been found in the settlement of Oloris in connected quadrants with an area of more than 300 m<sup>2</sup> (quadrants 325, 326, 327) (Dular et al. 2002: 18, Pl. 59: 12; 65: 6–13, 16–18) and in the settlement of Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: no. 1309) in northeastern Slovenia. A ceramic sphere/marble was also found in structure 12 in the settlement of Zemun at the site of Asfaltna Baza (Петровић 2010: 63, Pl. 22: 1), while one was found in a shallow round pit (structure 61) in the settlement of Kalakača (Medović 1988: 165, Fig. 149: 3).

### Rattles

Play is first and foremost an interaction with the surrounding environment, and the use of toys that make sounds is an introduction to interaction with

Jedno od prastarih vjerovanja je da zvuk tjera zle sile, smanjuje strah i sl., pa nalazi zvečki nisu rijetki, odnosno poznati su i iz kasnoga brončanog doba. Zanimljiva mala zvečka pronađena je u naselju u Iloku u jami datiranoj u 10. i 9. st. pr. Kr. Radi se o privjesku u obliku vreće unutar kojega se nalazi sjemenka ili kamenčić koji i danas pravi zvuk, dok su u gornjem dijelu dvije rupice kroz koje se zvečku moglo nositi kao privjesak (sl. 3). Najbliža i najsličnija usporedba pronađena je na naselju Gradina na Bosutu na podnici kuće 38. Osim dvije slične zvečke koje su dimenzijama bliske nalazu iz Iloka, pronađena je i bočica za dohranu. Kuća 38 datirana je u nasebinski horizont VI koji odgovara početnoj fazi kanelirane keramike, odnosno mlađoj fazi starijega željeznog doba (Medović, Medović 2011: 157, Fig. 139: 1–2, 5, Pl. XL: 1–2, 4). Ovaj kontekst možda ukazuje na to kako je u ovoj kući živjela beba. Slična zvečka pronađena je i u naselju u Donjoj Dolini (Pravidur 2014: 62, Pl. 1: 2).

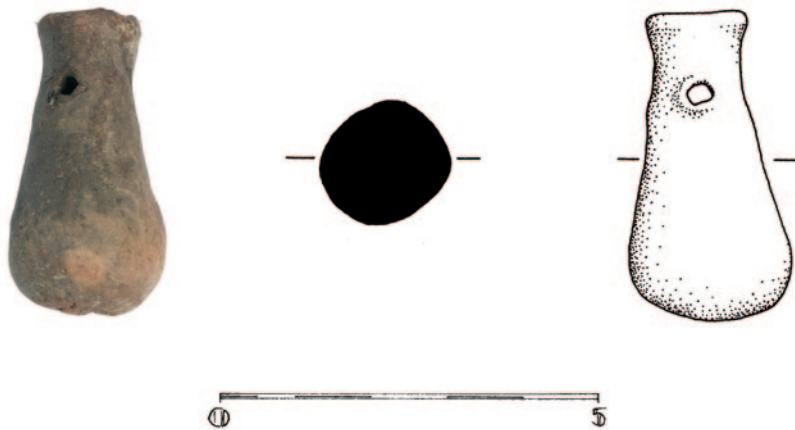
U starijim kontekstima brončanoga doba pronađene su dvije bikonične zvečke iz ranoga brončanog doba u naselju u Feudvaru (Balj 2021: 118–119, sl. 79–80). Bikonična zvečka pronađena je u kasnobrončanodobnome naselju Stillfried u jami za zalihe V510 (Griebel, Biederer 2022: T. 38: 2). Zvečka u obliku loptice, unutar koje se nalaze zrna koja trešnjom proizvode zvuk, pronađena je u naselju Ormož na položaju Havlasov vrt, kvadrant 8 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: 55, sl. 60, T. 137: B9). Keramičke zvečke često su oblika ptice ili nekoga sličnog oblika (Kovács 1972), možda i zato što su ptice svojim glasanjem isto proizvodile zvuk. Takvi nalazi zabilježeni su na području Batine (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 151, bilj. 206, T. 14: 15) i Dalja (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: T. 60: 6; Šimić 2004: 268, kat. br. 18). S obzirom na to da konteksti nisu poznati, nije posve sigurna niti njihova datacija, koja može biti od kasnoga brončanog doba do u starije željezno doba (od 11. do kraja 7. st. pr. Kr.). Za zvečku iz Dalja se pretpostavlja rekonstruiranjem grobnoga konteksta da potječe iz groba 84 na položaju vinograd Poštic 1909 (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: T. 60: 5–6). Slična zvečka pronađena je i u naselju Kalakača u objektu 66 (Medović 1988: sl. 157: 1). Zvuk je senzacija na koju djeca brzo reagiraju i ritmičan zvuk ima umirujuća svojstva. Zvečke su često interpretirane ne samo kao igračke nego i kao apotropijski predmeti u kontekstu zaštite ranjivih društvenih skupina poput žene

nature, which is full of sounds. One ancient belief is that sound drives away evil forces, reduces fear etc., so the finds of rattles are not uncommon, and some originate from the Late Bronze Age. An interesting small rattle was found in the settlement in Ilok, in a pit dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. It is a bag-shaped pendant containing a seed or pebble that still makes a sound; the upper part has two holes so that the rattle could be worn as a pendant (Fig. 3). The closest and most similar parallel was found at the settlement of Gradina na Bosutu, on the floor of house 38: two similar rattles that are about the same size as the find from Ilok, and a feeding bottle. House 38 is dated to settlement horizon VI, which corresponds to the initial phase of fluted pottery, or the younger phase of the Early Iron Age (Medović, Medović 2011: 157, Fig. 139: 1–2, 5, Pl. XL: 1–2, 4). This context may indicate that a baby lived in the house. A similar rattle was also found in the settlement of Donja Dolina (Pravidur 2014: 62, Pl. 1: 2).

Two biconical rattles from the Early Bronze Age were found in older Bronze Age contexts in the settlement at Feudvar (Balj 2021: 118–119, Fig. 79–80). A biconical rattle was found in the Late Bronze Age settlement of Stillfried, in storage pit V510 (Griebel, Biederer 2022: Pl. 38: 2). A ball-shaped rattle, containing grains that produce sound when shaken, was found in the settlement of Ormož at the site of Havlasov Vrt, quadrant 8 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: 55, Fig. 60, Pl. 137: B9). Ceramic rattles often have the shape of a bird or a similar shape (Kovács 1972), perhaps because birds produce sound too. Such finds have been recorded in the areas of Batina (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 151, note 206, Pl. 14: 15) and Dalj (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: Pl. 60: 6; Šimić 2004: 268, cat. no. 18). Given the unknown contexts, their exact dating is not entirely certain; it could range from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC). The rattle from Dalj, based on the reconstruction of the burial context, is assumed to originate from grave 84 at the Poštic 1909 vineyard site (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: Pl. 60: 5–6). A similar rattle was also found in the settlement of Kalakača, in structure 66 (Medović 1988: Fig. 157: 1). Sound is a sensation to which children react quickly, and rhythmic sound has calming properties. Rattles have often been interpreted not only as toys but also as apotropaic objects in the context of protecting vulnerable social groups such as women and children (Jiménez Pasalodos et al.

i djece (Jiménez Pasalodos et al. 2014; Rustoiu, Gál 2018: 133). Zvečke su mogle također imati i neku funkciju u ritualima zajednice u kojima su mogla sudjelovati i djeca, ali je njihova primarna funkcija vjerojatno bila povezana s umirivanjem male djece igrom. O dvojstvu u takvim interpretacijama onoga čemu su služili neki arheološki predmeti nejasne namjene i zamkama pripisivanja ritualne funkcije pisano je u literaturi (Wardle, Wardle 2007: 29; Langley, Litster 2018: 631), s porukom prepoznavanja dječje prisutnosti u arheološkim ostacima u okviru što opsežnije rekonstrukcije dinamične slike zajednica u prošlosti.

2014; Rustoiu, Gál 2018: 133). Rattles could also have had a function in community rituals in which children may have participated, but their primary function was probably related to calming young children through play. The duality of such interpretations of the function of certain archaeological artifacts of unclear purpose and the pitfalls of attributing ritual functions has been written about in the literature (Wardle, Wardle 2007: 29; Langley, Litster 2018: 631), with the message of recognizing the presence of children in archaeological remains as part of the broadest possible reconstruction of a dynamic picture of past communities.



Sl. 3 – Zvečka iz Iloka (snimio: H. Jambrek; nacrtao: M. Golubić)  
Fig. 3 – Rattle from Ilok (photo by: H. Jambrek; drawing by: M. Golubić)

### Zvrkovi (?)

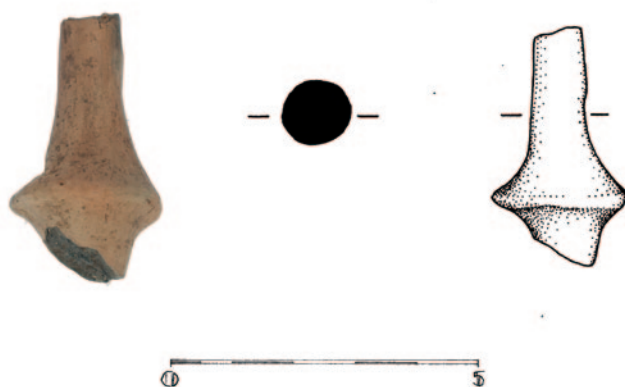
Jedna od najstarijih igrački je i zvrk, čiji je keramički model pronađen u naselju u Iloku, u kontekstu otpadne jame datirane u 12. – 11. st. pr. Kr. (sl. 4). Ovaj predmet je oštećen, no svjedoči kako su se igračke vjerojatno pokušavale načiniti od više različitih materijala, propadljivih – drva, šiblja, blata – ali i onih trajnijih – keramike. U naselju u Iloku pronađen je velik broj predmeta u obliku kotača koji mogu imati više funkcija – služiti kao utezi, pršljeni, mogli su biti pričvršćeni kao kotači na model kola ili životinju (primjer iz Podzemelja: Dular 1978: T. XXIX: 1) ili su možda također imali funkciju zvrka (sl. 5). Brojne usporedbe za isti oblik pronađene su u istovremenim naseljima Kalakača i Zemun – Asfaltna baza, gdje se radi o

### Spinning tops (?)

One of the oldest toys is the spinning top. The ceramic model of a top was found in the settlement in Ilok, in the context of a waste pit dated to the 12<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century BC (Fig. 4). The object is damaged, but it attests to the fact that there were probably attempts to make toys from a variety of different materials – perishable ones like wood, twigs, mud, but also more durable ones like ceramics. The settlement in Ilok included a large number of wheel-shaped objects which could have had several functions: they could have served as weights or whorls, they could have been attached as wheels to a model of a cart or an animal (an example from Podzemelj: Dular 1978: Pl. XXIX: 1), or they may have served as spinning tops (Fig. 5). Numerous parallels for the same form have been found in the contemporary settlements of Kalakača and Zemun



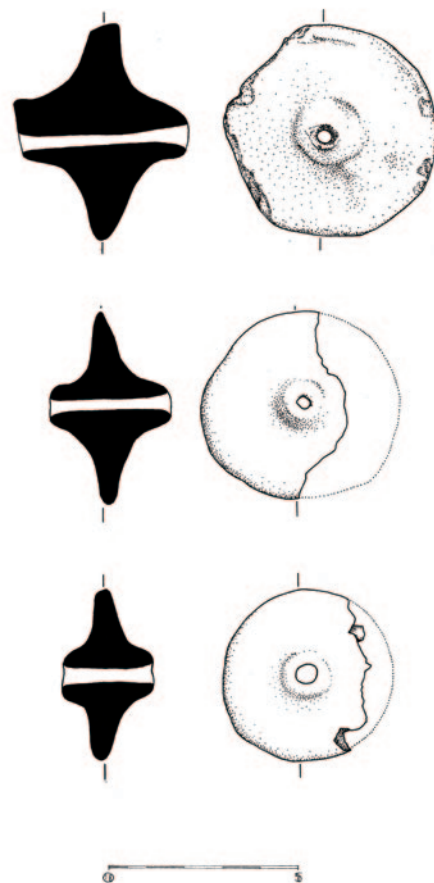
jednoslojnim naseljima iz kasnoga brončanog doba, što dodatno potvrđuje da su ti predmeti karakteristični za navedeno razdoblje. Slični predmeti pronađeni su u naseljima Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: br. 275, 1062) i Orehova Vas (Grahek 2015: br. 795), pri čemu na jednome primjerku iz Rogoze i zvrku iz Orehove Vasi rupice nisu bile probušene do kraja (Črešnar 2022: br. 275, 1062). Osobito je zanimljiva pločica s vidljivim otiscima prstiju, očito napravljena u brzini, koja je pronađena na naselju Grajski Grič na Ptuju (Dular 2013: T. 60: 26). Neobični predmeti koji isto podsjećaju na zvrku pronađeni su i u naselju Ormož (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 20: 6–8; 51: 9).



Sl. 4 – Model keramičkoga zvrka iz Iloka (snimio: H. Jambreč; nacrtao: M. Golubić)  
Fig. 4 – Model of a ceramic spinning top from Ilok (photo by: H. Jambreč; drawing by: M. Golubić)

Pršljeni u obliku kotača i/ili zvrkovi pronađeni su u nekoliko objekata u naselju Kalakača (Medović 1988: 165, sl. 29: 5; 45: 1, 5, 9, 16; 149: 2; 303: 2; T. XVII: 2–4, 7, 10, 12) kao i u naselju Zemun – Asfaltna baza (u objektima 11 i 53) u Srijemu (Петровић 2010: 60, T. 21: 20). P. Medović i B. Petrović slažu se da se pršljeni u obliku kotača mogu tumačiti kao zvrkovi/čigre te pripisati dječjim igračkama (Medović 1988: 418–419, T. XVII: 2–4, 7, 10, 12; Петровић 2010: 205, sl. 135: 3). Ovi predmeti mogli su, prema V. Dasen, služiti i u igrama vrtnje, fizičkih vještina pri hrvanju i sl. (Dasen 2023: 388–390, Fig. 3).

– Asfaltna Baza, which are single-layer settlements from the Late Bronze Age, further confirming that these objects are characteristic of the said period. Similar objects were found in the settlements of Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: nos. 275, 1062) and Orehova Vas (Grahek 2015: no. 795), but one object from Rogoza and a spinning top from Orehova Vas did not have its holes drilled all the way through (Črešnar 2022: nos. 275, 1062). A particularly interesting tablet with visible fingerprints, obviously made in haste, was found at the Grajski Grič settlement in Ptuj (Dular 2013: Pl. 60: 26). Unusual objects that also resemble a spinning top were found in the settlement of Ormož (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 20: 6–8; 51: 9).



Sl. 5 – Keramički zvrkovi (?) iz Iloka (snimio: H. Jambreč; nacrtao: M. Golubić)  
Fig. 5 – Ceramic spinning tops (?) from Ilok (photo by: H. Jambreč; drawing by: M. Golubić)

Wheel-shaped whorls and/or tops were found in several structures in the settlement of Kalakača (Medović 1988: 165, Fig. 29: 5; 45: 1, 5, 9, 16; 149: 2; 303: 2; Pl. XVII: 2–4, 7, 10, 12) and in the set-

## Keramičke pločice – žetoni

### *Pločice bez rupice*

Jedan od enigmatičnih nalaza iz naselja jesu keramičke pločice, najčešće okrugloga oblika i zaglađenih rubova, često nastale iz ulomaka keramičkih posuda. Takve pločice pronađene su u naselju u Iloku. U naselju Rogoza također su pronađene keramičke pločice/žetoni (Črešnar 2022: br. 620–621), zatim na naselju Brinjeva gora (Oman 1981: T. 4: 9; 9: 18–20; 29: 11; 45: 8). Na više istraženih položaja u naselju u Ormožu otkrivene su keramičke okrugle pločice (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 13: 15; 20: 6–8; 67B: 5–6; 87: A2; 110A: 9; 169: 6–7). Okrugla keramička pločica – žeton pronađena je u sondi 1 na Grajskom hribu u Gornjoj Radgoni (Dular 2013: T. 76: 13). Okrugle pločice bez rupice, često oblikovane od dna posude, u velikom broju pronađene su u jamama za zalihe u kasnobrončanodobnom naselju Stillfried an der March. Radi se o keramičkim pločicama okrugloga oblika čiji su rubovi u nekim primjercima precizno ispolirani (Griebel, Biederer 2022: 107–109, Abb. 83–86).

U naselju na Kalakači otkrivena je i pravokutna kamena pločica (Medović 1988: sl. 29: 6). U naselju u Ormožu pronađene su pločice zvjezdolikoga oblika (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 40: 9; 142: B8). Inače, primjerci pločica bez rupice tumače se kao žetoni za nama nepoznate igre (Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 25, sl. 11). Spominje se također veći broj takvih predmeta u starijem naselju na Kalnik – Igrišću I (Majnarić-Pandžić et al. 1993: 4), gdje se također interpretiraju kao „žetoni“ za igru ili za pomaganje pri računanju.

### *Pločice s rupicom*

Neke od pločica imaju rupicu ili više njih na sredini. U naselju Oloris u sloju 4 u sondi 5 pronađeni su keramička pločica s rupicom (Dular et al. 2002: T. 10: 15) te mali pršljeni koji su mogli imati sličnu namjenu (Dular et al. 2002: T. 59: 8–12). Keramičke pločice s rupicom pronađene su i u naseljima Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: br. 874; br. 905; br. 1210) i Orehova Vas (Grahek 2015: br. 981). Okrugle pločice s rupicom, koje su mogle služiti kao pršljeni ili zujalice, pronađene su u istočnome dijelu iskopa na naselju Grajski grič na Ptuj (Dular 2013: T. 60: 24–27). Okrugla pločica s

tlement of Zemun – Asfaltna Baza (in structures 11 and 53) in Sylvania (Петровић 2010: 60, Pl. 21: 20). P. Medović and B. Petrović agree that wheel-shaped whorls can be interpreted as spinning tops and attributed to children's toys (Medović 1988: 418–419, Pl. XVII: 2–4, 7, 10, 12; Петровић 2010: 205, Fig. 135: 3). According to V. Dasen, these objects could also have been used in spinning games, for physical skills in wrestling etc. (Dasen 2023: 388–390, Fig. 3).

## Ceramic chips/tokens

### *Chips without a hole*

Enigmatic finds from the settlement include ceramic chips, usually round with smoothed edges, and often created from fragments of ceramic vessels. Such chips were found in the settlement in Ilok. Ceramic chips/tokens were also found in the settlements of Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: nos. 620–621) and Brinjeva Gora (Oman 1981: Pl. 4: 9; 9: 18–20; 29: 11; 45: 8). In several explored locations in the settlement in Ormož, round ceramic chips were discovered (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 13: 15; 20: 6–8; 67B: 5–6; 87: A2; 110A: 9; 169: 6–7). A round ceramic chip/token was found in trench 1 on Grajski Hrib in Gornja Radgona (Dular 2013: Pl. 76: 13). Round chips without holes, often created from the bottom of a vessel, were found in large numbers in storage pits in the Late Bronze Age settlement of Stillfried an der March. Some of these round ceramic chips have precisely polished edges (Griebel, Biederer 2022: 107–109, Fig. 83–86).

Also, a rectangular stone chip was discovered in the settlement of Kalakača (Medović 1988: Fig. 29: 6). The settlement in Ormož included star-shaped chips (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 40: 9; 142: B8). In general, chips without holes are interpreted as tokens for games unknown to us (Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 25, Fig. 11). There is also a mention of several such objects in the older settlement of Kalnik – Igrišće I (Majnarić-Pandžić et al. 1993: 4), where they are also interpreted as “tokens” for games or calculations.

### *Chips with a hole*

Some of the chips have one or more holes in the middle. In the settlement of Oloris, layer 4 of trench 5 contained a ceramic chip with a hole (Dular et al. 2002\_ Pl. 10: 15), as well as small whorls that could have had a similar purpose (Dular et al. 2002: Pl. 59: 8–12). Ceramic chips with

rupicom pronađena je u sondi 2, segment 11, na Grajskom hridu u Gornjoj Radgoni (Dular 2013: T. 85: 6). U naselju Ormož pronađene su pločice s rupicom u jami 117 na položaju Skolibrova ulica, sektor 4 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 61: E7); keramička pločica s rupicom i otiscima na gornjoj strani pronađena je na istome položaju (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 74: A5) kao i još nekoliko pločica na različitim položajima u naselju u Ormožu (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 147: A8, B11; 157: B6). Kvadratna pločica s četiri rupice pronađena je blizu ognjišta 20 u naselju Grajski grič na Ptuju (Dular 2013: T. 38: 5). Ovakve pločice kvadratnog oblika mogle su se koristiti i u proizvodnji tekstila (Grömer 2016: 101–107, Fig. 52; Ninčić 2016: 39–40, T. 10). Keramički razvodnik s četiri postranične rupice i jednom okomitom potječe iz jame 460 u Skolibrovoj ulici, sektor 5 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 86: C3). U naselju Ormož pronađene su i zvjezdolike pločice: s tri rupice u jami 61a (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 2: D17) i s dvije rupice u Vrazovoj ulici, kvadranti 5 i 7 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 125: C5, D19).

Pločice s rupicama, bez obzira na oblik, mogle su služiti kao zujalice. Rekonstrukcijom uporabe takve igračke, pri čemu se kroz pločicu s jednom ili dvije rupice provuče uzica od organskoga materijala, odnosno njezinom vrtnjom dobiva se zvuk. Uz različite namjene koje se pripisuju ovakvim predmetima – od ukrasnih poput privjesaka, do utilitarnih, odnosno kako su mogli poslužiti kao pršljeni – zanimljivo je tumačenje muzikologa kako su takvi predmeti bili neka od prvih glazbala (Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 26, sl. 12).

### Figurice ljudi

Ulomci dvije antropomorfne figurice pronađeni su u naselju u Ormožu (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: 76–77, sl. 91: 1–2, T. 92: D13). U izvještajima sa starijih iskopavanja spominje se još deset antropomorfnih figurica otkrivenih na području ovoga naselja (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: 76, bilj. 42). Četiri antropomorfne figurice pronađene su na naselju Brinjeva Gora (Pahič 1981: sl. 26). Antropomorfna figurica otkrivena je na groblju kulture polja sa žarama u Mariboru bez bližih podataka o kontekstu nalaza (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 120: 45; Teržan, Črešnar 2021:

holes were also found in the settlements of Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: no. 874; no. 905; no. 1210) and Orehova Vas (Grahek 2015: no. 981). Round chips with holes, which could have served as whorls or whistles, were found in the eastern part of the excavation at the Grajski Grič settlement in Ptuj (Dular 2013: Pl. 60: 24–27). A round chip with a hole was found in trench 2, segment 11, at Grajski Hrid in Gornja Radgona (Dular 2013: Pl. 85: 6). In the settlement of Ormož, chips with holes were found in pit 117 at the location of Skolibrova Ulica, sector 4 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 61: E7); a small ceramic chip with a hole and impressions on the upper side was found at the same location (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 74: A5), and several more chips were found in different locations in the settlement of Ormož (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 147: A8, B11; 157: B6). A square chip with four holes was found near hearth 20 in the Grajski Grič settlement in Ptuj (Dular 2013: Pl. 38: 5). Such square chips could also have been used in textile production (Grömer 2016: 101–107, Fig. 52; Ninčić 2016, 39–40, Pl. 10). A ceramic strap separator with four side holes and one vertical hole comes from pit 460 in Skolibrova Ulica, sector 5 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 86: C3). The settlement of Ormož included star-shaped chips: with three holes in pit 61a (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 2: D17) and with two holes in Vrazova Ulica, quadrants 5 and 7 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 125: C5, D19).

Chips with holes, regardless of their shape, could have served as whistles. The reconstruction of such a toy shows that the chip with one or two holes had an organic cord going through it, and sound was produced by spinning it. Various uses are attributed to such objects – from decorative ones, such as pendants, to utilitarian ones, such as whorls – but there is also an interesting musicological interpretation: such objects could have been among the first musical instruments (Balen-Letunić, Rendić-Miočević 2012: 26, Fig. 12).

### Figurines of people

Fragments of two anthropomorphic figurines were found in the settlement of Ormož (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: 76–77, Fig. 91: 1–2, Pl. 92: D13). Reports from older excavations mention the discovery of ten more anthropomorphic figurines in the area of this settlement (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: 76, note 42). Four anthropomorphic figurines were found at the settlement of Brinjeva Gora (Pahič 1981: Fig. 26).



289–290, sl. 5). Antropomorfna figurica pronađena je na naselju Mikleuška na položaju gradina Marić (Rakvin 2015: 91, sl. 3). Jedna glinena figurica noge/čizme pronađena je u objektu 44 na Kalakači, a drugi model noge u objektu 124 (Medović 1988: sl. 112: 1–3; 249: 1–3).

U naselju Kalnik – Igrišče II pronađena je antropomorfna figura sa simbolima žene, ali bez glave. Figurica je pronađena u blizini peći i ognjišta koji su vjerojatno služili u procesu lijevanja metala, na što ukazuju nalazi šljake i ulomaka kalupa za lijevanje metala te ingot (Karavanić, Kudelić 2019: sl. 7.4). Figurica je pronađena zajedno s keramičkim posudama i vjerojatno su zajedno služili u nekoj vrsti ritualne prakse, no ne isključuje se niti njena funkcija u dječjim igrama, što je na osnovi ovoga konteksta teško dokazati.

Prikazi ljudskoga tijela pojavljuju se od paleolitika, no keramičke figure ljudskoga tijela rijetke su tijekom brončanoga doba osim nekih iznimnih primjera u istočnome dijelu Karpatske kotline s dvojnim tumačenjem njihove namjene (Dietrich 2011: 87, Fig. 7; Balj 2021: 114–115, sl. 53). Tijekom kasnoga brončanog doba rijetki su prikazi ljudskoga tijela. K. Rebay-Salisbury zaključila je u proučavanju prikaza ljudskoga tijela kako su oni puno učestaliji od željeznoga doba, što je vidljivo u materijalnoj kulturi (Rebay-Salisbury 2016: 67). Početak prikaza ljudskoga tijela u figuricama na jugu Karpatske kotline može se pratiti u kontinuitetu od mlađe faze kasnoga brončanog doba, gdje su one pronađene u naseljima kao npr. Ormož (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: sl. 91: 1–2). Mnoge su dvojbe oko interpretacija takvih figurica i njihove izrade (Rebay-Salisbury 2016; Drnić, Rebay-Salisbury 2020: 163, sl. 104). Kontekst nalaza u željeznodobnome naselju Sisak – Pogorelec unutar urušene kuće ukazuje na to da je figurica možda bila i dječja igračka ostavljena u kućanstvu (Drnić, Rebay-Salisbury 2020: 167, sl. 105: 5). Kontekst nalaza brojnih figurica iz naselja u Turskoj kosi (9. – 4. st. pr. Kr.), gdje su pronađene na kulturnome mjestu, ukazuje na njihovu votivnu namjenu kao npr. prikaz trudnice (Čučković 2009: 26–34), dok su figurice pronađene u naselju mogle imati višestruku funkciju – igračke, votivnu namjenu i dr.

An anthropomorphic figurine was discovered in an Urnfield culture cemetery in Maribor, without more detailed information about the context of the find (Müller-Karpe 1959: Pl. 120: 45; Teržan, Črešnar 2021: 289–290, Fig. 5). An anthropomorphic figurine was found in the settlement of Mikleuška at the site of the Marić hillfort (Rakvin 2015: 91, Fig. 3). A clay figurine of a leg/boot was found in structure 44 at Kalakača, and another model of a leg in structure 124 (Medović 1988: Fig. 112: 1–3; 249: 1–3).

The settlement of Kalnik – Igrišče II included an anthropomorphic figurine with female symbols, but without the head. The figurine was discovered near a furnace and hearth that were likely used for metal casting, as indicated by the presence of slag and fragments of metal moulds, as well as an ingot (Karavanić, Kudelić 2019: Fig. 7.4). The figurine was found together with ceramic vessels, and they probably served together in some kind of ritual practice; its function in children's games cannot be ruled out, but is difficult to prove based on this context.

Depictions of the human body appear from the Paleolithic period, but ceramic figures of the human body are rare during the Bronze Age, except for some exceptional finds in the eastern Carpathian Basin with a dual interpretation of their purpose (Dietrich 2011: 87, Fig. 7; Balj 2021: 114–115, Fig. 53). During the Late Bronze Age, depictions of the human body are rare. In her study of human body depictions, K. Rebay-Salisbury concluded that they are much more common from the Iron Age onwards, as evidenced by the material culture (Rebay-Salisbury 2016: 67). The beginning of the depictions of human bodies as figurines in the southern Carpathian Basin can be traced continuously from the younger phase of the Late Bronze Age, with those found in settlements such as Ormož (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Fig. 91: 1–2). There is much debate about the interpretations of such figurines and their production (Rebay-Salisbury 2016; Drnić, Rebay-Salisbury 2020: 163, Fig. 104). The context of the find in the Iron Age settlement of Sisak – Pogorelec, within a collapsed house, suggests that the figurine may have been a child's toy left in the household (Drnić, Rebay-Salisbury 2020: 167, Fig. 105: 5). The context of the find of numerous figurines from the settlement in Turska Kosa (9<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century BC), where they were found at a cult site, indicates their votive purpose, such as the depiction of a pregnant woman (Čučković 2009: 26–34), while figurines

### Figurice životinja

Ulomci brojnih figurica životinja, osobito ptica, pronađeni su u Iloku u kasnobrončano-dobnim slojevima i jamama (sl. 6). Slučajni nalazi brojnih prikaza različitih životinja (goveda, konja, ptica) potječu iz Sotina, pri čemu ih se, bez poznatoga konteksta, može šire datirati u brončano i željezno doba (Ilkić 2006). Zanimljiv je slučaj nalaza figurice ptice iz Sotina (Ilkić 2006: 54–56, T. 4: 5; 5: 6), oblikom vrlo sličan zvečki u obliku ptice pronađenoj u naselju Kalakača (Medović 1988: sl. 157: 1). Na naselju Orehova Vas pronađeni su ulomci zoomorfne figurice koji su protumačeni kao završeci prijeklada na ognjištu (Grahek 2015: br. 93, 431–433). Zoomorfna glava pronađena je u naselju Ormož na položaju u Skolibrovoj ulici u sektoru 5, kvadrant 55 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 87: A4); ptičja glava (?) u Vrazovoj ulici, kvadranti 5 i 7 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 125: C5), kao i životinjska figurica u Havlasovom vrtu, kvadrant 34 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 151: 4). Nije jednostavno protumačiti tko je prikazan na zoomorfnim figuricama pronađenima na naselju u Ormožu, a razlikuju se pticolike figurice od četveronožnih životinja, vjerojatno sisavaca (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: 76–77, sl. 91: 3–6).

found in the settlement could have had a multiple function – toys, votive objects etc.

### Figurines of animals

Fragments of numerous figurines of animals, especially birds, were found in Ilok in Late Bronze Age layers and pits (Fig. 6). Chance finds of numerous depictions of various animals (cattle, horses, birds) come from Sotin; without a known context, they can be broadly dated to the Bronze and Iron Ages (Ilkić 2006). An interesting chance find is the figurine of a bird from Sotin (Ilkić 2006: 54–56, Pl. 4: 5; 5: 6), very similar in shape to a bird-shaped rattle found in the settlement of Kalakača (Medović 1988: Fig. 157: 1). The settlement of Orehova Vas included fragments of a zoomorphic figurine, interpreted as the ends of a hearth grate (Grahek 2015: no. 93, 431–433). A zoomorphic head was found in the settlement of Ormož at the location of Skolibrova Street, sector 5, quadrant 55 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 87: A4); a bird head (?) in Vrazova Street, quadrants 5 and 7 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 125: C5), as well as an animal figurine in Havlasov's garden, quadrant 34 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 151: 4). It is not easy to interpret what is depicted by the zoomorphic figurines found in the settlement of Ormož, but bird-like figurines can be distinguished from four-legged animals, pro-



Sl. 6 – Keramičke figure životinja iz Iloka (snimio: H. Jambrek; nacrtao: M. Golubić)  
Fig. 6 – Ceramic figurines of animals from Ilok (photo by: H. Jambrek; drawing by: M. Golubić)

Na Kalnik – Igrišču II pronađena je na kame-  
nome suhozidu zoomorfna figura. Zoomorfna  
figura, pronađena u istraživanjima 2016. godi-  
ne, imala je sljedeće dimenzije: duga je 10 cm,  
a široka 5 cm. Figura ima modelirane četiri sti-  
lizirane, ali zdepaste noge koje više podsjećaju  
na batrljke. Na prvi pogled bi se moglo reći da  
je figura modelirana od jednoga komada gline  
i da joj se nisu dodavali neki dijelovi aplicira-  
njem drugih komada glinene smjese. Glava joj  
nije sačuvana i vidljiv je stariji lom. Glava se  
vjerojatno nastavlja iz tijela, odnosno leđa, bez  
naglašavanja vrata. Leđni hrbat je naglašen, a  
iz njega se polulučno nastavlja zadebljani rep.  
Figura je svijetlosmeđe boje, izrađena je od do-  
bro pročišćene smjese gline, a površina joj je  
dobro ugračana. Ove tehnološke karakteristi-  
ke u suprotnosti su s tehnologijom izrade ve-  
ćine prehistorijskih zoomornih figura, koje su  
uglavnom grube izrade. Vrlo je teško reći koju  
životinju je predstavljala ova figura jer nije sa-  
čuvana glava, a i model životinje je vjerojatno  
dosta stiliziran. Jedna od mogućnosti je da se  
možda radi o figuri svinje, no postoje neki pri-  
jedlozi da je možda bila riječ o figuri jazavca  
(Vrdoljak 2024).

Neobični predmeti od keramike pronađeni  
su u naselju u Iloku (sl. 7: 2–3). Ovi keramički  
predmeti podsjećaju na dijelove životinjskoga  
tijela ili kakve protome. Sličan predmet prona-  
đen je i u naselju u Dolini (sl. 7: 1). Keramički  
predmet s pet izdanaka, koji može podsjećati  
na životinjsku nogu ili ljudski dlan, pronađen je  
kao slučajan nalaz u Sotinu (sl. 7: 4).

Dva neobična keramička predmeta otkrive-  
na su u jamama u naselju Kalakača. Jedan ima  
četiri rebra na jednoj strani, dok je na drugoj  
zaravnjen, a pronađen je u objektu 26 (Me-  
dović 1988: sl. 73: 2). Sličan predmet, samo s  
dva rebra, pronađen je i u objektu 53 (Medović  
1988: sl. 134: 1). Ovi predmeti mogu predstavl-  
jati kukce ili možda neke sjemenke i plodove  
koje su djeca promatrala ili se njima igrala. Dva  
predmeta s rogolikim završecima pronađena  
su u objektu 44 na Kalakači (Medović 1988: sl.  
112: 1–3), gdje je pronađena i zoomorfna gla-  
va figurice (Medović 1988: sl. 219). U objektu  
124 na Kalakači otkrivene su dvije figurice s tri  
završetka kao i model noge (Medović 1988: sl.  
249: 1–3). Zanimljivo je kako je slična kombina-  
cija po broju i modelu noge/cipele zabilježena  
u objektu 44, gdje su otkriveni u paru predmeti  
s rogolikim završecima i model noge (Medović  
1988: sl. 112: 1–3). Neobični predmeti prona-

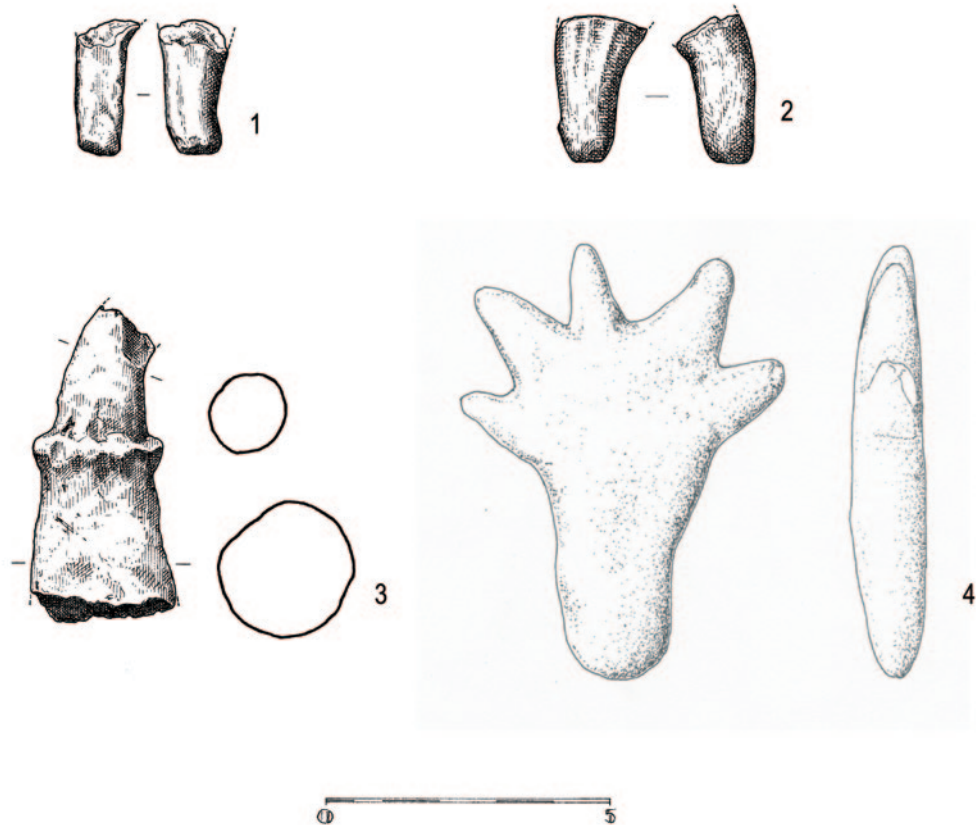
bably mammals (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010:  
76–77, Fig. 91: 3–6).

A zoomorphic figure was found on a dry stone  
wall at Kalnik – Igrišče II. The zoomorphic figu-  
re, discovered during excavations in 2016, is 10  
cm long and 5 cm wide. The figure has four styli-  
zed and squat legs that resemble stumps. At first  
glance, the figure seems to be modelled from a  
single piece of clay and that no parts were added  
by applying other pieces of clay mixture. Its head  
is not preserved; an older fracture is visible. The  
head was probably a continuation of the body, or  
the back, without a pronounced neck. The dorsal  
ridge is emphasized, with a thick tail growing from  
it in a half arc. The figure is light brown, made of a  
well-purified clay mixture, and its surface is well-  
polished. These technological characteristics  
contrast with the production technology of most  
prehistoric zoomorphic figures, which are gene-  
rally roughly made. It is very hard to say which  
animal was represented by this figure because  
the head has not been preserved, and the animal  
is probably quite stylized. One possibility is that  
it might be a figure of a pig, but there are some  
suggestions that it might have been a figure of a  
badger (Vrdoljak 2024).

Unusual ceramic objects were found in the  
settlement in Ilok (Fig. 7: 2–3). These ceramic  
objects resemble parts of an animal's body or a  
protome. A similar object was found in the settle-  
ment of Dolina (Fig. 7: 1). A ceramic object with  
five protrusions, which resembles an animal's leg  
or a human hand, was a chance find in Sotin (Fig.  
7: 4).

Two unusual ceramic objects were discovered  
in pits within the settlement of Kalakača. One has  
four ribs on one side and is flattened on the other.  
It was found in structure 26 (Medović 1988: Fig.  
73: 2). A similar object, but with only two ribs, was  
found in structure 53 (Medović 1988: Fig. 134: 1).  
These objects could represent insects or perhaps  
seeds and fruits that children observed or played  
with. Two objects with horn-like endings were fo-  
und in structure 44 at Kalakača (Medović 1988:  
Fig. 112: 1–3), where a zoomorphic head of a fi-  
gurine was also found (Medović 1988: Fig. 219).  
Structure 124 at Kalakača included two small fi-  
gurines with three endings, as well as a model of  
a leg (Medović 1988: Fig. 249: 1–3). Interestingly,  
a similar combination of the number and model  
of the leg/shoe was recorded in structure 44,  
where objects with horn-like endings and a mo-  
del of a leg were found in pairs (Medović 1988:  
Fig. 112: 1–3). According to P. Medović, the unu-





Sl. 7 – Neobični predmeti iz Iloka i Sotina (nacrtali: M. Rončević i M. Golubić)  
Fig. 7 – Unusual objects from Ilok and Sotin (drawings by: M. Rončević and M. Golubić)

đeni u naselju u Kalakači mogu se, prema mišljenju P. Medovića, pripisati dječjim igračkama (Medović 1988: 418–419, T. XVII: 2–4, 7, 10, 12). Slične kombinacije tumače se u kasnijim razdobljima željeznoga doba kao pribor vještica ili žena koje su čarale (Rustoiu 2016: 52, Fig. 10; Rustoiu, Gál 2018: 132, Fig. 5). Čarobnjaci i vještice bili su vidari te su minijaturne posude pronađene sa sličnim zoomorfnim predmetima mogle sadržavati terapijske supstance (Rustoiu 2016: 52). S druge strane, zatvoreni kontekst dječjega groba u Jobbágyi – Hosszú-dűlő u sjevernoj Mađarskoj iz vremena kulture grobnih humaka, prema priložima minijaturnih posuda i kopija keramičkih modela nogu te keramičke pločice s rupicom, pokazuje kako su ovakvi predmeti povezani s djecom, odnosno prema preciznosti izrade i tragovima prethodnoga korištenja ukazuju na to kako su ih vjerojatno izrađivala djeca u različitim dobima zrelosti prema psihofizičkome razvoju. Za većinu posuda pretpostavlja se kako su ih vjerojatno izradila starija djeca (Fülöp 2016: 131, Fig. 4–5).

sual objects found in the settlement of Kalakača can be considered children's toys (Medović 1988: 418–419, Pl. XVII: 2–4, 7, 10, 12). Similar combinations in later periods of the Iron Age are interpreted as the paraphernalia of witches or women who practiced magic (Rustoiu 2016: 52, Fig. 10; Rustoiu, Gál 2018: 132, Fig. 5). Wizards and witches were healers; miniature vessels found with similar zoomorphic objects may have contained therapeutic substances (Rustoiu 2016: 52). On the other hand, the closed context of a child's grave in Jobbágyi – Hosszú-dűlő in northern Hungary, dating from the culture of burial mounds, contained grave goods – miniature vessels, copies of ceramic models of feet, and a ceramic chip with a hole – showing that such objects are related to children, or, considering the precision of their manufacture and traces of previous use, suggesting that they were probably made by children of different ages in accordance with their psychophysical development. It is assumed that most of the vessels were probably made by older children (Fülöp 2016: 131, Fig. 4–5).

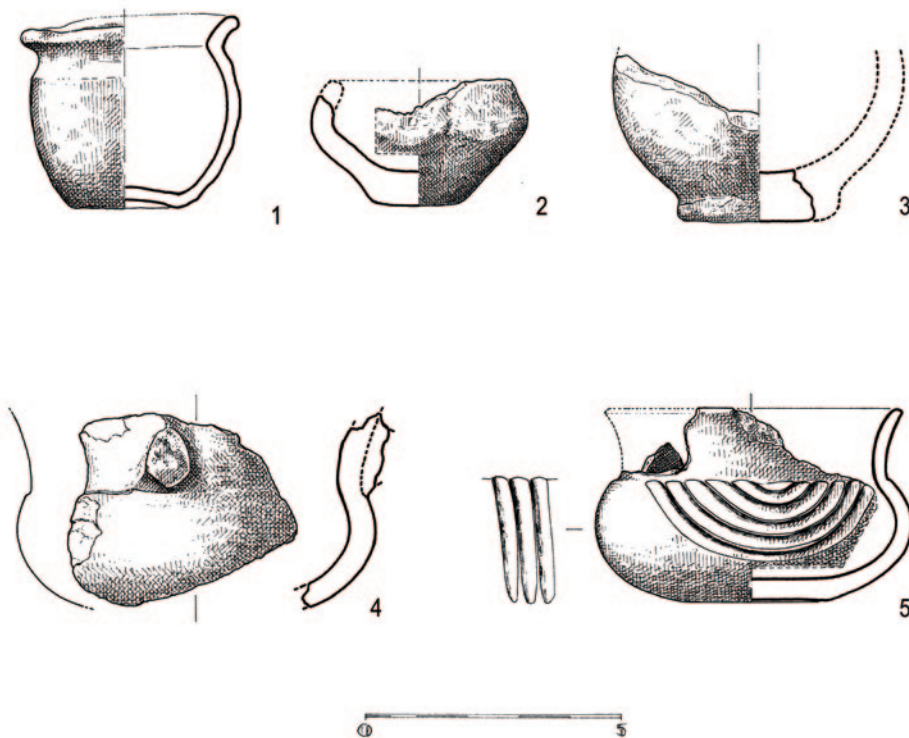


### Minijaturne posude

Predmeti koji odmah asociraju na djecu su vrlo male, gotovo minijaturne posude, često kopije velikih uporabnih posuda. Minijaturne posude često su pronađene u naseljima. Većinom u cijelosti dobro očuvane, dospijevale su u muzeje već krajem 19. st., no vrlo rijetko s poznatim kontekstom pronalaska. Takvi primjeri su slučajni površinski nalazi s položaja naselja u Sotinu. Tijekom istraživanja pronađena je jedna minijaturna čaša ili lonac u naselju u Dolini (sl. 8: 1) kao i više minijaturnih posuda u naselju u Iloku (sl. 8: 2–5).

### Miniature vessels

Objects that are immediately associated with children are very small, almost miniature vessels, often copies of larger functional vessels. Miniature vessels have often been found in settlements. Mostly well-preserved in their entirety, they ended up in museums as early as the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, but very rarely with a known context of discovery. They include chance surface finds from the site of the Sotin settlement. Excavations uncovered one miniature cup or pot in the settlement of Dolina (Fig. 8: 1) and several miniature vessels in the settlement of Ilok (Fig. 8: 2–5).



Sl. 8 – Minijaturne posude iz Doline i Iloka (nacrtala: M. Rončević)

Fig. 8 – Miniature vessels from Dolina and Ilok (drawings by: M. Rončević)

U Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu čuvaju se brojne minijaturne posude iz kasnobrončanodobnoga i željeznodobnoga naselja u Sisku (Balen-Letunić 1982: 78, T. 4: 1), zatim s istovremenih naselja u Kiringradu (Balen-Letunić 1982: 76, T. 2: 7–9, 13) i sv. Petru Ludbreškom (Balen-Letunić 1982: 80, T. 5: 9). Minijaturne posude pronađene su u naseljima datiranim u početak kasnoga brončanog doba kao što su npr. Popernjak (Marijan 2010: T. 45: 5–6),

The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb houses numerous miniature vessels from a Late Bronze Age and Iron Age settlement in Sisak (Balen-Letunić 1982: 78, Pl. 4: 1), as well as from contemporary settlements in Kiringrad (Balen-Letunić 1982: 76, Pl. 2: 7–9, 13) and Sveti Petar Ludbreški (Balen-Letunić 1982: 80, Pl. 5: 9). Miniature vessels have been found in settlements dated to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, such as Popernjak (Marijan 2010: Pl. 45: 5–6), Mačkovac (Karavanić et

Mačkovac (Karavanić et al. 2002: T. 2: 4–12), Rakitovica (Pleština 2013: T. 1: 4; 12: 3), Ivanovci Gorjanski (Kudelić 2011: 21–22, T. 1: 2), Arenda (Kulenović 2018: T. 1: 4). Prilikom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja 2021. – 2022. na trasi autoceste Zagreb – Sisak, na nalazištu Sela 1 (AN 5) pronađena je minijturna zdjela u neobičnoj strukturi, odnosno kružnome jarku koji je imao prekid koji je vodio do središnjega platoa manjih dimenzija. Na „ulazu“ se nalazilo ognjište. Struktura je bila izdvojena iz ostatka naselja i nalazila se na njegovoj jugozapadnoj periferiji. Najčešći konteksti nalaza su otpadne jame, slojevi i rijetko zemunice, npr. Rakitovica (Pleština 2013: 87, T. 12: 3). U istovremenome naselju Oloris, u sloju su pronađene mala posuda i nožica posude (Dular et al. 2002: T. 41: 14; 59: 11), a u naselju Rogoza zdjelica i minijturne posude (Črešnar 2022: br. 174; br. 212, 216). Mala posuda pronađena je na ognjištu naselja Orehova Vas, koje je datirano u vrijeme od kraja 12. do 10. st. pr. Kr. (Grahek 2015: br. 548). Zdjelica potječe s naselja Grajski hrib u Gornjoj Radgoni (Dular 2013: T. 94: 4). U naselju Ormož pronađene su male posude na više različitih položaja. Radi se o zdjelicama, posudama (?), poklopcima, koji su tipološki slični posudama koje su korištene u naselju u svakodnevnome životu (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 15: B16; 31: C5; 52: 8–9; 53: B11; 64: 9; 76: 9; 77: 2; 156: 11, 14).

U naselju Zemun – Asfaltna baza otkriveni su mali konični poklopci u objektima 10 i 32 (Петровић 2010: 54, T. 18: 1). U nekoliko objekata (objekti 4, 9, 12, 21, 37, 61, 74, 108, 136) na Kalakači pronađene su male posude, najčešće zdjelice (Medović 1988: sl. 30; 40: 5; 45: 1, 5, 9, 16; 63: 10, 12–13; 96: 1; 149; 172: 1; 219; 272: 4). Na dnu zdjele iz objekta 100 pronađen je crtež grančica, duge i spirala izveden vrlo nespretno, pa je moguće da ga je napravilo dijete (Medović 1988: sl. 205: 1). Slučajni nalazi malih posuda poznati su iz Vukovara (Balen-Letunić 1982: 82, T. 7: 1, 3, 7–8), zatim iz Sotina (Balen-Letunić 1982: 79, T. 5: 4–5) i Surčina (Balen-Letunić 1982: T. 5: 6–8). Prilikom istraživanja naselja na Feudvaru otkrivene su minijturne posude za koje nije bilo moguće do kraja utvrditi jesu li ih načinile odrasle osobe ili djeca (Balj 2021: 128–129, kat. br. 86–87). U naselju Stillfried pronađena je minijturna posuda u jami V5003 (Griebel, Biederer 2022: T. 71: 1).

Male posude mogle su služiti za hranu i piće djece, npr. šalica iz Rakitovice visine 5,5

al. 2002: Pl. 2: 4–12), Rakitovica (Pleština 2013: Pl. 1: 4; 12: 3), Ivanovci Gorjanski (Kudelić 2011: 21–22, Pl. 1: 2), and Arenda (Kulenović 2018: Pl. 1: 4). Rescue archaeological investigations in 2021–2022 on the Zagreb – Sisak highway route, at the site of Sela 1 (AN 5) uncovered a miniature bowl in an unusual structure, a circular ditch with an interruption leading to a smaller central platform. At the “entrance” was a hearth. The structure was isolated from the rest of the settlement and located on its southwestern periphery. The most common contexts of finds are waste pits, layers, and rarely pit houses, e.g. Rakitovica (Pleština 2013: 87, Pl. 12: 3). A layer of the contemporary settlement of Oloris contained a small vessel and a vessel foot (Dular et al. 2002: Pl. 41: 14; 59: 11); in the settlement of Rogoza, a small bowl and miniature vessels were found (Črešnar 2022: no. 174; no. 212, 216). A small vessel was found in a hearth in the settlement of Orehova Vas, dated to the late 12<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (Grahek 2015: no. 548). A small bowl comes from the settlement of Grajski Hrib in Gornja Radgona (Dular 2013: Pl. 94: 4). In the settlement of Ormož, small vessels were found in several different locations. These are small bowls, vessels (?), lids that are typologically similar to the vessels that were used in the settlement in everyday life (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 15: B16; 31: C5; 52: 8–9; 53: B11; 64: 9; 76: 9; 77: 2; 156: 11, 14).

The settlement of Zemun – Asfaltna Baza included small conical lids in structures 10 and 32 (Петровић 2010: 54, Pl. 18: 1). At Kalakača, several structures (structures 4, 9, 12, 21, 37, 61, 74, 108, 136) included small vessels, most often bowls (Medović 1988: Fig. 30; 40: 5; 45: 1, 5, 9, 16; 63: 10, 12–13; 96: 1; 149; 172: 1; 219; 272: 4). The bottom of the bowl from structure 100 had a drawing of twigs, a rainbow, and spirals, executed very clumsily, so it is possible that it was made by a child (Medović 1988: Fig. 205: 1). Chance finds of small vessels are known from Vukovar (Balen-Letunić 1982: 82, Pl. 7: 1, 3, 7–8), Sotin (Balen-Letunić 1982: 79, Pl. 5: 4–5), and Surčin (Balen-Letunić 1982: Pl. 5: 6–8). The excavations of the settlement at Feudvar discovered miniature vessels for which it was not possible to definitively determine whether they were made by adults or children (Balj 2021: 128–129, cat. nos. 86–87). In the settlement of Stillfried, a miniature vessel was found in pit V5003 (Griebel, Biederer 2022: Pl. 71: 1).

Small vessels could have served as food and drink containers for children, such as a cup from Rakitovica measuring 5.5 cm in height (Pleština

cm (Pleština 2013: T. 1: 4), pri čemu brojne minijaturne posude za igru zapravo svjedoče o spravljanju i serviranju jela. Neke male posude mogla su izraditi sama djeca igrajući se uz bliske članove obitelji koji su izrađivali keramičke posude ili učeći se vještini oblikovanja samih posuda (Balj 2014). Egzaktna metoda pri utvrđivanju ovakvih hipoteza je i daktiloskopija prema otiscima dječjih prstiju na keramici (Kamp 1998; Kamp et al. 1999: 14; Králík, Novotny 2003; Králík, Nejman 2007; Balj 2010; 2021), koja nije primijenjena u istraživanjima u okviru ARHKIDS projekta. Minijaturne posude koje su izrađivala djeca mogle su biti igračke, a istovremeno su se djeca učila vještini izrade keramičkih posuda (Kamp 2001; Blaževićus 2019). Neke posude su kopije većih posuda koje su se koristile u svakodnevnom životu, npr. iz Mačkovca (Karavanić et al. 2002: T. 1; 2: 1–12). Također, neki od ukrašenih primjeraka, poput lončića iz Kiringrada, mogli su biti i modeli za učenje stila ukrašavanja samih posuda ili predstavljaju trenutak usputne igre, npr. dno zdjele iz Kalakače gdje je vidljivo da ruka koja je izvodila ukras nije bila vrlo vješta u takvoj aktivnosti (Medović 1988: sl. 205: 1). Primjetno je kako veći broj tih minijaturnih posuda pripada starijoj fazi kasnoga brončanog doba u analiziranim kontekstima, dok je u mlađoj fazi izrazitija prisutnost zoomorfnih i antropomorfnih figura. Minijaturne posude pronađene su tijekom željeznog doba i u votivnim kontekstima, npr. na kultnome mjestu 1 u Turskoj kosi (Čučković 2009: 26–40, T. 69: 1–9) ili u Vili noj špilji iznad izvora Omble kod Dubrovnika (Perkić 2022).

#### Ostali predmeti od keramike

Tuljasti predmet, sličan kao u naselju u Zemunu (Петровић 2010: 54, T. 18: 1), pronađen je u objektu 65 na Kalakači (Medović 1988: sl. 155: 3). Ovaj predmet podsjeća na poklopac ili peku, a na Kalakači je označen kao uteg.

U naselju Orehova Vas pronađeni su mali valjkasti predmeti koji se tumače kao perle (Grahek 2015: br. 63, 96, 252, 633). Keramički predmet neobičnoga oblika potječe iz jame 220 u Vrazovoj ulici u naselju u Ormožu (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 120: B4). Ovaj predmet izgleda poput čepa i načinjen je prilično nehajno. Ovi različiti predmeti nepoznate namjene mogli su služiti i kao igračke.

2013: Pl. 1: 4); in fact, numerous miniature play vessels attest to the preparation and serving of food. Some small vessels may have been made by children themselves while playing alongside close family members who were making ceramic vessels or while learning the actual skill of shaping vessels (Balj 2014). An exact method for confirming such hypotheses is dactyloscopy, which would examine the fingerprints of children on ceramics (Kamp 1998; Kamp et al. 1999: 14; Králík, Novotny 2003; Králík, Nejman 2007; Balj 2010; 2021), but this method has not been applied in the research conducted within the ARHKIDS project. Miniature vessels made by children could have been toys, but at the same time, children could have been learning the skill of making ceramic vessels (Kamp 2001; Blaževićus 2019). Some vessels are copies of larger vessels that were used in everyday life, such as those from Mačkovac (Karavanić et al. 2002: Pl. 1; 2: 1–12). Moreover, some of the decorated examples, such as the pot from Kiringrad, could have also served as models for learning the style of decorating the vessels themselves. Or they could represent a moment of casual play, such as the bottom of the bowl from Kalakača, where it is evident that the decorating hand was not very skilled in such an activity (Medović 1988: Fig. 205: 1). It can be seen that a large number of these miniature vessels belong to the older phase of the Late Bronze Age in the analysed contexts, while the younger phase is marked by a more pronounced presence of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures. Miniature vessels were also found in votive contexts of the Iron Age, for example, at cult site 1 in Turska Kosa (Čučković 2009: 26–40, Pl. 69: 1–9) or in Vilina Cave above the source of Ombla near Dubrovnik (Perkić 2022).

#### Other ceramic objects

A cylindrical object, similar to the one from the settlement in Zemun (Петровић 2010: 54, Pl. 18: 1), was discovered in structure 65 at Kalakača (Medović 1988: Fig. 155: 3). This object resembles a lid or a baking dish; at Kalakača, it was labelled as a weight.

The small cylindrical objects found in the settlement of Orehova Vas have been interpreted as beads (Grahek 2015: nos. 63, 96, 252, 633). A ceramic object of unusual shape comes from pit 220 on Vrazova Street in the settlement of Ormož (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 120: B4). This object looks like a stopper and was made rather carelessly. These various objects of unknown purpose could have also served as toys.



### „Kolačići od blata“

Među istraživanim nalazima uočeni su grubo oblikovani predmeti od pečene ili samo osušene zemlje. Ovakvi nalazi asociraju na tragove dječje igre s blatom koje je bilo vrlo dostupno, podatno i lako za oblikovanje. U naselju Rogoza otkriven je keramički predmet s otiscima prstiju (Črešnar 2022: br. 1082). Neobičan komad pečene zemlje – kolačić? – pronađen je u naselju Ormož u Skolibrovoj ulici, sektor 3, kvadrant 37 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 46: 14). U poluzemunici (objekt 51) u naselju u Zemu- nu pronađen je komad pečene zemlje – „kolač“ – koji istraživačica interpretira kao podmetač (Петровић 2010: 150, T. 59: 2, sl. 134: 4). U objektu 103 (vrećasta jama za zalihe) na Kalakači pronađen je komad zemlje s otiskom šape, pri čemu je moguće da se dijete igralo i otisnulo šapu psa (?) u nepečenu zemlju koja se i sačuvala (Medović 1988: 231, sl. 19: 2).

Zemlja, kao dostupna i vrlo podatna igračka i medij, bila je element kojim su se djeca u prapovijesti često igrala. Zemlja se mogla mijesiti i od nje se oblikovati različiti predmeti, ne samo male posude, nego i kruh, kolači, figurice životinja, biljaka, sjemenki, ljudi i dijelova tijela. Rijetko su sačuvani tragovi igre, ponekad možda slučajno ili namjerno ispečeni. Djeca su, osim zemlje, sigurno oblikovala i druge materijale koje su nalazila u prirodi, poput šiblja, drva i sl. Ovih nekoliko dokaza iz naselja kasnoga brončanog doba pokazuje kako ne treba zanemariti niti najneobičnije tragove koji mogu ukazivati na dječje aktivnosti.

### Predmeti od kamena

Kameni predmeti čest su nalaz pri iskopavanjima. Ponekad se čini kako su kameni obluci slučajno zalutali u kontekst, no u analizi grobova iz starijega željeznog doba ponekad su otkriveni kameni obluci i litika u grobnome inventaru, kao npr. na groblju Doroslovo u grobu 50 s tri kamena oblutka ili grobu 122 sa životinjskim astragalima te kamenom alatkom (Trajković 2008: 72, 128–129). Ulomak litike i kamena sjekira pronađeni su u naselju u Rogozi (Črešnar 2022: br. 353, 380). Kamen kapljičastoga oblika pronađen je u sondi 1 na Grajskom hribu u Gornjoj Radgoni (Dular 2013: T. 76: 10). Kamene obluci pronađeni su i u naselju u Ormožu u Skolibrovoj ulici, sektor 2, kvadrant 65 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 14: A5; 147: A8).

U objektu 103 (vrećasta jama za zalihe) u naselju na Kalakači pronađena su dva nepravilna

### “Mud cakes“

Examined finds included roughly shaped objects made of baked or simply dried earth. Such finds indicate traces of children's play with mud, which was very accessible, malleable, and easy to shape. A ceramic object with fingerprints was discovered in the settlement of Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: no. 1082). An unusual piece of baked earth – a cookie? – was found in the settlement of Ormož, Skolibrova Street, sector 3, quadrant 37 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 46: 14). A semi-subterranean pit house (structure 51) in the settlement of Zemun contained a piece of baked earth – a “cake” – which the researcher interprets as a coaster (Петровић 2010: 150, Pl. 59: 2, Fig. 134: 4). Structure 103 (a bag-shaped storage pit) at Kalakača included a piece of earth with a paw print, suggesting that a child might have played and pressed a dog's (?) paw into the unbaked earth, which was then preserved (Medović 1988: 231, Fig. 19: 2).

Earth, as an accessible and highly malleable toy and medium, was an element with which children in prehistory often played. Earth could be mixed and shaped into various objects, not just small vessels but also bread, cakes, figurines of animals, plants, seeds, people, and body parts. Traces of play are rarely preserved and sometimes accidentally or intentionally baked. Aside from earth, children must have shaped other materials they found in nature, such as twigs, wood, and so on. These few pieces of evidence from Late Bronze Age settlements show that even the most unusual traces that may indicate children's activities should not be neglected.

### Objects of stone

Stone objects are a common find during excavations. Sometimes it seems that pebbles have accidentally ended up in the context, but analyses of Early Iron Age graves sometimes discover stone pebbles and lithics in grave inventories, such as the cemetery of Doroslovo, where grave 50 had three stone pebbles and grave 122 had animal astragals and a stone tool (Trajković 2008: 72, 128–129). A lithic fragment and a stone axe were found in the settlement of Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: nos. 353, 380). A teardrop-shaped stone was found in trench 1 on Grajski Hrib in Gornja Radgona (Dular 2013: Pl. 76: 10). Stone pebbles were also found in the settlement of Ormož, Skolibrova Street, sector 2, quadrant 65 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 14: A5; 147: A8).

In structure 103 (a sack-shaped pit for supplies) in the settlement at Kalakača, two irregu-

kamena (Medović 1988: 231, sl. 209: 2), dok se u objektu 12 nalazilo pola kamene kuglice (Medović 1988: sl. 45: 1, 5, 9, 16). Kameni oblutak zabilježen je i u naselju u Zemunu u objektu 13 (Петровић 2010: 70, T. 25: 1).

Ovi nalazi mogli su biti pronađeni u prirodi i potom korišteni kao igračke ili reciklirani kao nožići (npr. litika) u „zbirdi“ igrački nekoga djeteta, na što bi možda ukazivali takvi nalazi pronađeni u dječjim grobovima 50 i 122 u Doroslovu.

#### **Predmeti od kosti**

Od koštanih predmeta pronađen je probušeni astragal u Olorisu u Poštnoj ulici, kvadrant 32 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: T. 169: 6), dok je u naselju u Rogozi pronađena koštana alatka (Črešnar 2022: br. 544). U objektu 151 u naselju Kalakača pronađena je obrađena kost (Medović 1988: sl. 299: 1), a u objektu 4 nalazio se koštani cilindrični predmet – možda nasad za držak nekoga predmeta (Medović 1988: sl. 30). Ovaj predmet mogao bi se povezati s dječjim aktivnostima jer je pronađen u istome kontekstu s igračkama. Probušeni životinjski astragal pronađen je u dvojneme dječjem grobu 90 u Batini, datiranome na kraj kasnoga brončanog doba (Ložnjak Dizdar et al., in preparation) te dječjem grobu 122 u Doroslovu datiranome u starije željezno doba (Trajković 2008: 128–129, grob 122: 4–5), što ukazuje kako su isto mogli poslužiti za dječju igru. Slučajno pronađene kosti i alatke mogle su zainteresirati dječju maštu i postati dio svojine djeteta koje je takve predmete moglo koristiti za različite aktivnosti.

#### **Predmeti od metala**

Na prostoru kasnobrončanodobnoga naselja u Slavonskome Brodu (Ložuk et al. 2018: 53, kat. br. 51) pronađena je mala sjekira koja svojom veličinom može ukazivati na mlađega vlasnika. Sličnu asocijaciju moglo bi imati i malo koplje pronađeno na dnu jame SJ 318 u kasnobrončanodobnome naselju u Novoj Bukovici u Podravini (Kovačević 2001: 66, T. 3: 7). Naselje se datira od 11. do 9. st. pr. Kr., a koplje je možda slučajno ostavljeno nakon igre u samoj jami. Protuargument veličini predmeta je primjer groba 7 iz Slatine, gdje je u dječjem grobu pronađen brončani nož uobičajene veličine (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2018: 52–56). Kontekst nalaza noža u žari među spaljenim kostima ukazuje na to kako je pokojnik bio povezan s predmetom, a najlakonskije objašnjenje može

larly shaped stones were found (Medović 1988: 231, Fig. 209: 2), while structure 12 included half of a small stone sphere (Medović 1988: Fig. 45: 1, 5, 9, 16). A stone pebble was also recorded in the settlement of Zemun, in structure 13 (Петровић 2010: 70, Pl. 25: 1).

These finds could have been collected in nature and subsequently used as toys or recycled as small knives (e.g. lithic tools) in a child's "collection" of toys, as seems to be suggested by such finds discovered in child graves 50 and 122 in Doroslovo.

#### **Objects of bone**

Objects of bone include a perforated astragalus that was found in Oloris, Poštna Street, quadrant 32 (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: Pl. 169: 6), while a bone tool was found in the settlement in Rogoza (Črešnar 2022: no. 544). Structure 151 in the settlement of Kalakača included a worked bone (Medović 1988: Fig. 299: 1), and structure 4 included a shaft-like bone object, possibly a mount for the handle of an object (Medović 1988: Fig. 30). This object could be linked to children's activities as it was found in the same context as toys. A perforated animal astragalus was found in the double child grave 90 in Batina, dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age (Ložnjak Dizdar et al., in preparation) and in child grave 122 in Doroslovo, dated to the Early Iron Age (Trajković 2008: 128–129, grave 122: 4–5), suggesting that they could have also served as children's toys. Chance finds of bones and tools could have captured a child's imagination and become part of a child's possessions, which the child could use for various activities.

#### **Objects of metal**

The Late Bronze Age settlement in Slavonski Brod (Ložuk et al. 2018: 53, cat. no. 51) included a small axe, which could indicate a young owner due to its size. A similar conclusion could be reached for the small spear found at the bottom of pit SJ 318 in the Late Bronze Age settlement of Nova Bukovica in Podravina (Kovačević 2001: 66, Pl. 3: 7). The settlement is dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, and the spear may have been accidentally left behind after playing in the pit. A counterargument to the size of the object is the example of grave 7 from Slatina, where a bronze knife of a usual size was found in a child grave (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2018: 52–56). The context – finding the knife in the urn among cremated bones – indicates that the deceased was connected to the object; the simplest explanation could be that the

biti kako je nož slučajno ostavljen na lomači. Protuargument je prilično mala žara za spaljene kosti, pa nož sigurno nije slučajno sakupljen s lomače. Jedno od objašnjenja je da su članovi obitelji ili zajednice jednostavno odlučili staviti nož u grob kao votivni dar bogovima ili je imao ritualnu funkciju u pokopu (Eibner 1974: 69–70, T. 10: j; 15: f; 18: d; 25: f). Ili je možda bio oznaka propuštene društvene uloge preminuloga djeteta.

Veličina predmeta koji su prikupljeni kao potencijalne dječje igračke bila je jedan od kriterija u pronalasku tragova djece u naseljima. Usporedba s inventarom iz istovremenih grobova ponekad može olakšati potragu, ali i ukazati na to da su funkciju igračke ili alatke predmetu ponekad dala djeca, kako bi pokazivao spomenuti primjer groba 7 iz Slatine (Sofaer-Derevenski 2000: 3–4; Crawford 2009: 58–66). Istraživači pojedinih naselja, npr. P. Medović i B. Petrović, prema poznavanju inventara koji su istraživali i kontekstu u kojima su predmeti pronađeni, pojedine oblike poput minijaturnih posuda kao i druge neobične predmete poput tuljca, keramičkih kuglica, kolačića te pršljena u obliku kotača – tzv. zvrkovi/čigre – pripisivali su dječjim igračkama (Medović 1988: 418–419, T. XVII: 2–4, 7, 10, 12; Петровић 2010: 205, sl. 133; 134: 3–4; 135: 3). Razmatranje ovih nalaza u širem kontekstu pokazuje njihov potencijal da služe i kao igračke tijekom kasnoga brončanog doba.

## RASPRAVA

Djeca su svoje buduće uloge od uvijek učila promatranjem i oponašanjem kroz igru, uostalom kako to čine i danas. Djeca imitiraju svijet odraslih kroz materijalni zapis igre (Klear 2013: 10) koji oblikuju kroz svoj odnos prema okolišu i svijetu odraslih koji ih okružuju (Lillehammer 1989: 90). Kreativni proces učenja i kopiranja svijeta oko sebe povezan je s biološkim i kulturnološkim razvojem djece, s fokusom na kulturalnu transformaciju i inovaciju u proizvodnji i reprodukciji materijalne kulture (Lillehammer 2000: 20). Najdragocjenije je ono učenje koje se provodi kroz igru, gdje se djeca odvažavaju izraditi predmete i tako pokazati svoju kreativnost. Oblikovani predmeti potom utječu na to da ih djeca doživljavaju kao svojinu.

Socijalizacija djece često je istraživana u arheološkome zapisu kroz podjelu rada i igre (Lillehammer 2000: 21). Često su ta dva pro-

knife was accidentally left on the pyre. A counterargument would be that the urn for the cremated bones is quite small, meaning that the knife was certainly not accidentally collected from the pyre. One explanation is that family members or community members simply decided to put the knife in the grave as a votive offering to the gods or that it had a ritual function in the burial (Eibner 1974: 69–70, Pl. 10: j; 15: f; 18: d; 25: f). Or perhaps it marked the missed social role of the dead child.

The size of objects collected as potential children's toys was one of the criteria for finding traces of children in settlements. Comparison with the inventory from contemporary graves can sometimes facilitate the search, but also indicate that objects were sometimes given the function of a toy or tool by children, as seems to be shown by the mentioned example of grave 7 from Slatina (Sofaer-Derevenski 2000: 3–4; Crawford 2009: 58–66). Researchers of particular settlements, such as P. Medović and B. Petrović, based on their knowledge of the inventory they studied and the context in which the objects were found, attributed certain forms, such as miniature vessels and other unusual objects like shafts, ceramic spheres, cookies, and wheel-shaped whorls (spinning tops or whirligigs) to children's toys (Medović 1988: 418–419, Pl. XVII: 2–4, 7, 10, 12; Петровић 2010: 205, Fig. 133; 134: 3–4; 135: 3). Considering these finds in a broader context shows their potential to have also served as toys during the Late Bronze Age.

## DISCUSSION

Children have always learned their future roles by observing and imitating through play, just as they do today. Children imitate the adult world through the material record of play (Klear 2013: 10) which they shape through their relationship with the environment and the adult world that surrounds them (Lillehammer 1989: 90). The creative process of learning and copying the world around them is connected to the biological and cultural development of children, with a focus on cultural transformation and innovation in the production and reproduction of material culture (Lillehammer 2000: 20). The most valuable learning is that which takes place through play, where children dare to create objects and thus demonstrate their creativity. The shaped objects then influence children to perceive them as their own.

The socialization of children has often been explored in the archaeological record through the division of labor and play (Lillehammer 2000: 21). These



cesa bila isprepletana i usko povezana, uostalom kao i danas (Ember, Cunnar 2015). Djeca su prolazila kroz procese učenja, ali su pojedini konteksti bili i njihovi prostori učenja i igre (Sánchez Romero et al. 2015: 3–7), npr. kućanstvo, dvorište, neposredni okoliš naselja (potok, polje, njiva), što često nije tako promatrano u našem primarnome arheološkom fokusu. Djeca su doslovno kreatori svojih svjetova (Klear 2013: 13), odnosno dječji svijet je kultura koja potječe od same djece i njihovoga angažmana u svijetu koji ih okružuje (Lillehammer 1989: 90).

## Prostori za igru u naselju

Proučavajući tragove igre u naseljima uočeno je nekoliko mjesta koja su mogla biti prikladna za igru, o čemu svjedoče nalazi nekoliko predmeta povezanih s djecom pronađenih u istome kontekstu. Najveći dio prikupljenih nalaza pronađen je u slojevima ili su sekundarno deponirani u različitim jamama. Ističemo tek nekoliko nalaza u jamama za zalihe ili poluzemunicama koje su zbog svojih oblika bile prikladna mjesta gdje su djeca mogla boraviti, igrati se i/ili pospremiti/sakriti svoje igračke.

U naselju Orehova Vas pronađena je mala posuda na ognjištu s ulomcima keramičkih posuda i pršljenom (Grahek 2015: br. 548). Ova posuda je svojom veličinom (visina 5,8 cm) mogla poslužiti i kao posuda za konzumaciju (Grahek 2015: 220). Na naselju Kalakača otkriveno je nekoliko objekata koji su sadržavali skupove predmeta koji ukazuju na to kako su u njima boravila djeca. Vrlo zanimljiv inventar pronađen je u okrugloj plitkoj jami (objekt 61): zdjelica, pršljen/zvrk, keramička kuglica/pikula i vrh obrađenoga životinjskog roga. Ovaj inventar ukazuje na to kako je ovaj prostor možda služio nekom djetetu za igru (Medović 1988: 165, sl. 149). U objektu 4 na Kalakači, koji predstavlja dublju jamu s dvije postranične niše, pronađene su tri male posude, dva keramička utega, pršljen/zvrk u obliku kotača, pravokutna kamena pločica i koštani cilindrični predmet – možda nasad za držak (Medović 1988: sl. 29: 5–6; 30). Male posude pronađene su u dubljoj jami vrećastoga oblika (objekt 12), zajedno s pršljenom/zvrkom u obliku kotača te pola kamene kuglice (Medović 1988: sl. 45: 1, 5, 9, 16). Dva keramička predmeta s rogolikim završecima i glinena figura noge/čizme pronađeni su u sličnoj vrećastoj jami (objekt 44) (Medović 1988: sl. 112:

two processes were often intertwined and closely connected, just as they are today (Ember, Cunnar 2015). Children went through learning processes, but their particular contexts were spaces for learning and playing at the same time (Sánchez Romero et al. 2015: 3–7), such as the household, the yard, the immediate vicinity of the settlement (stream, meadow, field), which has often not been considered that way in our primary archaeological focus. Children are literally creators of their worlds (Klear 2013: 13); in other words, the child's world is a culture that originates from the children themselves and their engagement with the world around them (Lillehammer 1989: 90).

## Spaces for play in the settlement

By studying the traces of play in settlements, we identified several places that could have been suitable for play, as evidenced by the finds of several child-related objects found in the same context. Most of them were found in layers or were secondarily deposited in various pits. We will highlight only a few finds from storage pits or semi-subterranean pit houses, whose shapes were suitable for children to stay, play, and/or store/hide their toys.

In the settlement of Orehova Vas, a small vessel was found on a hearth, together with fragments of ceramic vessels and a whorl (Grahek 2015: no. 548). Given its size (height 5.8 cm), this vessel could have also served as a drinking vessel (Grahek 2015: 220). At the settlement of Kalakača, several structures were discovered containing assemblages of objects suggesting that children lived here. A particularly interesting inventory was found in a round shallow pit (structure 61): a small bowl, a whorl/top, a ceramic sphere/marble, and a worked animal horn tip. This inventory suggests that this space may have served as a play area for a child (Medović 1988: 165, Fig. 149). Structure 4 at Kalakača, a deeper pit with two side niches, contained three small vessels, two ceramic weights, a wheel-shaped whorl/top, a rectangular stone chip, and a cylindrical bone object, possibly a handle mount (Medović 1988: Fig. 29: 5–6; 30). Small vessels were found in a deeper, bag-shaped pit (structure 12), along with a wheel-shaped whorl/top and half of a small stone sphere (Medović 1988: Fig. 45: 1, 5, 9, 16). Two ceramic objects with horn-like ends and a clay figure of a leg/boot were found in a similar bag-shaped pit (structure 44) (Medović 1988: Fig. 112: 1–3). A combination with a similar num-



1–3). Slična kombinacija po broju stiliziranih zoomorfnih figurica i modelu noge pronađena je na dnu dublje vrećaste jame (objekt 124) na Kalakači. Radi se o dvije figurice s tri završetka i modelu noge (Medović 1988: sl. 249: 1–3). O značenju tih kombinacija raspravljeno je u dijelu teksta o figuricama životinja.

U vrećastoj jami za zalihe dubine 1,60 m (objekt 103) na Kalakači pronađena je kombinacija predmeta koji su mogli poslužiti kao igračke: komad zemlje s otiskom šape i dva nepravilna kamena (Medović 1988: 231, sl. 209: 2). Moguće je kako je i ova jama bila prikladno mjesto za skrivanje i igru nekome djetetu. Zoomorfna glava figurice i zdjelica pronađene su u plitkoj jami (objekt 108) na istome naselju (Medović 1988: sl. 219). Naselje na Kalakači datirano je u jedan horizont, što olakšava interpretaciju inventara istraženih ukopanih objekata, za razliku od višeslojnoga naselja u Iloku, pri čemu su često u jamskim objektima pronađeni predmeti koji su tamo dospjeli višestoljetnim depoziranjem. Tragovi boravka bebe otkriveni su na podnici kuće 38 na Gradini na Bosutu, a kako je kuća datirana u kasnije razdoblje mlađe faze starijeg željeznog doba, taj prostor je analiziran u drugome radu (Ložnjak Dizdar, Drnić, in preparation). Pronalasci keramičkih kuglica na otvorenim prostorima između kuća u naseljima Oloris i Dolina ukazuju na to kako su se takve igre mogle odvijati na otvorenim prostorima, a opet u blizini kuća, odnosno na zajedničkim prostorima djece i odraslih (Lillehammer 2015a: 16).

## Igra u prirodi

Osim u kući i dvorištu, djeca su svakodnevno boravila u neposrednome okolišu naselja, na obližnjim livadama, pašnjacima, njivama i potoku ili rijeci. Prisutnost djece u takvome okolišu vidljiva je kroz kamenčiće koje su mogla sakupiti u takvome okolišu i potom ih donijeti u naselje gdje su potom i pronađeni (npr. Rogoza, Ormož, Zemun).

Zajednice su se većinom bavile i zemljoradnjom, pa je i sama obrada zemlje utjecala na dječju maštu, jer djeca su zasigurno pratila odrasle i bila prisutna pri zemljanim radovima, a vjerojatno su i sama sudjelovala i pomagala pri jednostavnijim radnjama sadnje ili prikupljanja hrane. Vrlo je vjerojatno kako su se djeca igrala podatnom zemljom pomiješanom s malo

ber of stylized zoomorphic figurines and model of a leg was found at the bottom of a deeper bag-shaped pit (structure 124) at Kalakača. These are two small figurines with three ends and a model of a leg (Medović 1988: Fig. 249: 1–3). The significance of these combinations was discussed in the section on animal figurines.

A bag-shaped storage pit (structure 103) at Kalakača, 1.6 m deep, contained a combination of objects that could have served as toys: a piece of earth with a paw print and two irregularly shaped stones (Medović 1988: 231, Fig. 209: 2). It is possible that this pit was also a suitable place for a child to hide and play. The zoomorphic head of a figurine and a bowl were found in a shallow pit (structure 108) at the same settlement (Medović 1988: Fig. 219). The settlement at Kalakača is dated to a single horizon, which facilitates the interpretation of the inventory of the excavated subterranean structures, unlike the multi-layered settlement in Ilok, where objects found in pit structures often ended up there through centuries of deposition. Traces of an infant's presence were discovered on the floor of house 38 at Gradina na Bosutu, and since the house is dated to the later period of the younger phase of the Early Iron Age, this space is analysed in another study (Ložnjak Dizdar, Drnić, in preparation). The finds of ceramic spheres in open spaces between houses in the settlements of Oloris and Dolina indicate that such games could have taken place in open spaces near houses – that is, in spaces shared by children and adults (Lillehammer 2015a: 16).

## Playing in nature

Aside from the house and yard, children spent their days in the immediate surroundings of the settlement, on nearby meadows, pastures, fields, by a stream or river. The presence of children in such an environment is evident from the pebbles they could have collected in these areas and then brought back to the settlement where they were later found (e.g. Rogoza, Ormož, Zemun).

Communities were largely engaged in agriculture, and the cultivation of land influenced children's imagination. Children surely observed the adults and were present during agricultural work. It is likely they even participated and helped with simpler tasks during planting or harvesting. It is highly probable that children played with malleable earth mixed with a bit of water, especially since they observed adult community members

vode, tim više jer su promatrala odrasle članove zajednice koji su od slične smjese izrađivali lončariju, dijelove inventara za kuću, oblagala zidove kuća i sl.

Priroda i okoliš u kojem se nalazilo naselje bili su mjesto za igru, učenje i odrastanje djece. Promatranje prirode i njezinih živih bića – biljaka i životinja – zasigurno su obilježili te procese. Biljni ostaci su vrlo rijetko sačuvani, ali tragovi životinja povezani s dječjim kontekstima su nešto češći. Jedan od tragova koji je povezan, možda slučajno, s djetetom je grob 17 iz Slatine, gdje su u žari sa spaljenim ostacima djeteta starog do 5 godina otkriveni ostaci ježa (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2018: 240, sl. 20). Jež se mogao slučajno naći u pripremljenoj lomači ili je namjerno bio ostavljen na lomači kao životinja s kojom se dijete igralo za života. Promatranje prirode i privrženost životinjama kojima su djeca u prapovijesti bila okružena zabilježeno je u keramičkim figurama životinja (ptice, gušteri, goveda, konji), od kojih su neke možda i izrađivala djeca. Figurice životinja pronađene su u naseljima u Iloku, Ormožu, Mikleuški, Kalnik – Igrišču II, dok su mnogi slučajni nalazi poznati s područja Sotina. Životinje pronađene u Ormožu i Mikleuški povezuju se sa sisavcima, a pticolike figure pronađene u naseljima uz Dunav (Sotin, Ilok, Kalakača) ukazuju na prirodnu raznolikost različitih krajolika. Inspiracija u odabiru životinje koja će biti prikazana figurom sigurno je ovisila o okolišu u kojem je njezin tvorac živio.

Naselja su podizana u blizini vodotoka te je njihovo korištenje bilo inspiracija za modele čamaca za igru na obali manjega vodotoka ili veće rijeke. Rijetko sačuvani nalazi drvenih igrački u obliku čamca različitih dužina 12–33 cm otkriveni su u istraživanju naselja u Donjoj Dolini i u Ripču, a datirani u starije željezno doba (Pravidur 2014: 63, T. 1: 8–10). Nesumnjivo su ovakve igračke postojale i u starijim razdobljima, samo nisu sačuvane.

Prikupljeni predmeti i konteksti u kojima su pronađeni ukazuju na zanimljive odnose. U kasnome brončanom dobu predmeti koji se povezuju s igračkama pronađeni su češće u naseljima, a vrlo rijetko u grobovima. Mogući razlozi takvim odnosima ne svode se samo na stanje istraženosti, jer je slična slika zabilježena i na ostalim objavljenim grobljima na jugu Karpatske kotline. Možda je veći broj igrački bio od organskih materijala te se nisu sačuvale ili su igračke bile izostavljene iz pogrebnoga rituala.

Vrlo zanimljiv dio ovoga istraživanja bili su

use a similar mixture to create pottery, household items, house wall layers, and so on.

The natural environment surrounding the settlement provided a place for children to play, learn, and grow. Observations of nature and its living beings – plants and animals – must have marked these processes. Plant remains are preserved very rarely, but traces of animals connected to children's contexts are somewhat more common. One such trace, perhaps coincidental, is grave 17 in Slatina, where the urn with the cremated remains of a child aged up to 5 years included the remains of a hedgehog (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2018: 240, Fig. 20). The hedgehog could have accidentally ended up in the prepared pyre or was intentionally left on the pyre as the animal with which the child played during its lifetime. The observation of nature and the attachment to the animals that surrounded children in prehistory are recorded in ceramic animal figurines (birds, lizards, cattle, horses), some of which may have been made by children. Animal figurines have been found in settlements in Ilok, Ormož, Mikleuška, Kalnik – Igrišče II, while many chance finds are known from the area of Sotin. The animals from Ormož and Mikleuška are associated with mammals, while bird-like figures found in settlements along the Danube (Sotin, Ilok, Kalakača) indicate the natural diversity of different landscapes. The inspiration for choosing the animal to be depicted by the figurine certainly depended on the environment in which its creator lived.

Settlements were established near waterways, and the use of these waterways inspired the creation of toy boats for playing on the banks of smaller streams or larger rivers. Rarely preserved finds of wooden toy boats of various lengths, between 12 and 33 cm, were discovered during the excavations of settlements in Donja Dolina and Ripče, and were dated to the Early Iron Age (Pravidur 2014: 63, Pl. 1: 8–10). Such toys must have existed in earlier periods too, but they have not survived.

The collected objects and their contexts indicate interesting relationships. In the Late Bronze Age, objects associated with toys were found more frequently in settlements and very rarely in graves. Possible reasons for these relationships cannot be reduced to the state of research, as a similar picture has been recorded in other published cemeteries in the southern Carpathian Basin. Perhaps a larger number of toys were made of organic materials and therefore did not survive, or perhaps toys were omitted from burial rituals.

pokušaji prepoznavanja prostora gdje su se djeca igrala u protopovijesti. Neposredni dokazi su predmeti koji su okarakterizirani kao igračke. Najčešće su to jame, poluzemunice i ukopani objekti gdje se sačuvao dio inventara *in situ*. Prepoznavanje tih mjesta ovisi o načinu bilježenja podataka tijekom istraživanja, prostornoj analizi infrastrukture naselja te interpretaciji inventara u naseljima. Posredne dokaze dječje prisutnosti u prirodi i korištenja prirodnih resursa predstavljaju različiti kamenčići koji su se mogli koristiti u igri, zatim oblikovanje posudica i figurica od gline za koje je inspiracija pronađena u ljudima, životinjama, biljkama i predmetima koji su okruživali djecu. Pri prepoznavanju ovakvih dokaza potrebno je uključiti što više multidisciplinarnih analiza poput arheozooloških podataka o životinjskim kostima ili arheobotaničkih podataka, pri čemu se mogu povezati podaci o životinjama i biljkama koje su okruživale djecu pri odrastanju te njihovu ulogu u svakodnevnoj dječjoj igri. Ovakav tip istraživanja ovisi o detaljno prikupljenim podacima i uvidima u cjelokupne objave naselja te usporedbama istovremenih naselja i groblja. Naše istraživanje pokazalo je kako su predmeti u grobovima djece i oni koji se povezuju s djecom u naseljima u kasnome brončanom dobu vrlo različiti i mogu se povezati tek u nekoliko rijetkih slučajeva. Sagledavanje predmeta koji su definirani prije svega veličinom i oblikom kao moguće igračke u kontekstu nalaza te širem vremenskom i prostornom kontekstu ukazuje na materijalne potencijale u otkrivanju tragova dječje igre. Otkriveni tragovi, koji su za sada vrlo fragmentarni, ukazuju na to kako ih je moguće prepoznati kada se pri istraživanju upotrijebi dječja perspektiva.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Tragovi dječje igre u arheološkome zapisu iz kasnoga brončanog doba na jugu Karpatske kotline izazovni su za procese proučavanja djetinjstva. Materijalnost arheologije ističe predmete, ali i kontekste u kojima su pronađeni. Analize pojedinih konteksta i predmeta iz druge – dječje – perspektive ukazuju na beskrajne mogućnosti istraživanja, što su već istaknuli mnogi istraživači (Lillehammer 1989; 2015b; 2018; Sofaer-Dervenski 1994; 2000; Baxter 2005; Baxter et al. 2017; Crawford 2009). Dialektički procesi sagledavanja kao i suprotstavljena razmišljanja dovode do vjerodostojnijih

A very interesting part of research was the attempt to identify the spaces where children played in protohistory. Direct evidence is provided by objects that have been characterized as toys. These spaces are most often pits, semi-subterranean pit houses, and buried structures where part of the inventory has been preserved *in situ*. The identification of these places depends on the method of recording data during the excavation, spatial analysis of settlement infrastructure, and interpretation of settlement inventory. Indirect evidence of children's presence in nature and the use of natural resources is represented by various pebbles that could have been used in play, as well as the shaping of small vessels and figurines from clay, inspired by people, animals, plants, and objects that surrounded children. In order to identify such evidence, it is necessary to include as many multidisciplinary analyses as possible, such as archaeozoological data on animal bones or archaeobotanical data, which can be used to correlate data on the animals and plants that surrounded children as they grew up and their role in everyday children's play. This type of research depends on detailed data collection and insights into the complete publications on settlements, as well as comparisons of contemporaneous settlements and cemeteries. Our research has shown that the objects in child graves and those associated with children in settlements during the Late Bronze Age are very different and can only be linked in a few rare cases. By considering objects defined primarily by size and shape as possible toys in the context of the finds and the broader temporal and spatial context, it highlights the material potential for uncovering traces of children's play. The discovered traces, which are still very fragmentary, indicate that they can be recognized when a child's perspective is used in research.

## CONCLUSION

Traces of children's play in the archaeological record from the Late Bronze Age in the southern Carpathian Basin pose challenges for the study of childhood. The materiality of archaeology highlights both objects and the contexts in which they were found. Analyses of specific contexts and objects from a different – child's – perspective, reveal endless possibilities for research, as many researchers have already noted (Lillehammer 1989; 2015b; 2018; Sofaer-Dervenski 1994; 2000; Baxter 2005; Crawford 2009). Dialectical processes of consideration, as well as contrasting opinions, lead to more credible interpretations of

interpretacija funkcija predmeta čija nam se najjednostavnija i najočitija funkcija ponekad čini previše banalnom. Najbolje su očuvani keramički predmeti, a zatim oni od kamena. Mnogi zauvijek izgubljeni predmeti, konteksti i slike daju se djelomično rekonstruirati kroz detaljne analize istraženih naselja iz kasnoga brončanog doba, ali i iz starijih i mlađih razdoblja, koje pokazuju kako tragovi igre nisu rijetki. U prikazu provedenih istraživanja predstavili smo i različita tumačenja funkcije pojedinih predmeta kao i promjenjive biografije pojedinih predmeta (Crawford 2009).

Djetinjstvo u arheološkome zapisu je bitno i zbog stjecanja različitih vještina, učenja, procesa socijalizacije, prijenosa kulture i znanja, što je bilo i civilizacijski bitno (Pawleta 2009: 19; Riede et al. 2018: 55–56). A igračke su najčešće prvi predmeti kojima su se savladavala umijeća koja su bila neophodna u svakodnevici svakoga čovjeka tijekom života, kako uzgojiti i pripremiti hranu, načiniti odjeću i osigurati potrebne resurse za život.

## Napomena

Članak je financirala Hrvatska zaklada za znanost kroz projekt (IP 2019-04-2520): Djetinjstvo u protopovijesti na jugu Karpatske kotline (ARHKIDS).

the functions of objects whose simplest and most obvious function sometimes seems too trivial. Ceramic objects are the best preserved, followed by those made of stone. Many objects, contexts, and images that are lost forever can be partially reconstructed through detailed analyses of excavated settlements from the Late Bronze Age, but also from earlier and later periods, which show that traces of play are not uncommon. In the presentation of the conducted research, we have also presented different interpretations of the function of individual objects as well as the changing biographies of particular objects (Crawford 2009).

Moreover, childhood in the archaeological record is significant because of the acquisition of various skills, learning, socialization processes, and the transmission of culture and knowledge, which also has civilizational importance (Pawleta 2009: 19; Riede et al. 2018: 55–56). And toys are often the first objects used for mastering the skills necessary for everyday life, such as growing and preparing food, making clothing, and securing the necessary resources for living.

## Acknowledgement

The paper was funded by the Croatian Science Foundation within the project (IP 2019-04-2520): Childhood in Protohistory in the Southern Carpathian Basin (ARHKIDS).

**Prijevod** Translation **MARKO MARAS**  
**Lektura** Proofreading **MARKO MARAS**



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