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## CULTURAL BIOGRAPHIES OF GREEK POTS: ATTIC RED-FIGURE AND OTHER GLAZED POTTERY CONSUMPTION AT KALE-KRŠEVICA

**Abstract:** Archaeological excavations at the site Kale-Krševica (south-eastern Serbia) have, so far, revealed between 1,500 and 2,000 red-figure, black glazed and Early Hellenistic period sherds, originating mostly from the Athenian potters' quarter of *Kerameikos*. These fragments, even though they represent a minority of the overall ceramic finds, have been discovered in almost all household and public contexts. Therefore, it seems that they played an important role in the everyday lives of the local population inhabiting this fortified Iron Age settlement, active from the late 5th until the early 3rd century BC. Their consistent distribution within the site is also a strong indication that the vessels were not elite or 'prestige goods', as in the case of earlier Iron Age settings in the Balkans, and that they were accessible to wider echelons of society. Consequently, we believe that it is possible to better understand the social changes behind the so-called process of Hellenisation by following subtle variations in archaeological contexts showing how these imports were treated by the community at Kale-Krševica. As a theoretical base, we will use the so-called biographical approach, together with material culture studies.

**Keywords:** Kale-Krševica, Greek pottery, consumption studies, 'Hellenisation', the Iron Age, the Balkans

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### **Kale-Krševica site: an introduction**

Kale-Krševica is an archaeological site located near the town of Vranje in south-eastern Serbia where, in 2001, Petar Popović initiated and directed the first systematic excavations (*e.g.*, Popović 2006; 2012). Subsequently, during numerous field sessions, this fortified Iron Age settlement slowly emerged. It consists of three spatial sectors appearing in different moments of the site's history. Located on the hilltop (*i.e.*, *Kale* = fortification), the 'acropolis' is the central part, where domestic structures and a rampart appeared as early as the late 5th century BC. From here, it seems, the settlement slowly grew<sup>1</sup> toward the 'slopes' and the 'suburbium'. The 'slopes' are the least excavated sector, and which have suffered from erosion in the past. Some information only exists about the eastern slope with man-made terraces designed for houses and other structures. The 'suburbium' is lo-

cated below this slope at the foot of the hill, in the modern-day village of Krševica. Discovered here are mostly public buildings, including ashlar masonry and mud-brick ramparts, various other defensive structures, and a massive water reservoir. They formed the so-called hydro-technical complex that dates into the second half of the 4th century BC (Popović 2008; Popović, Vukadinović 2011). Recent studies of the most intriguing structure of the complex – the subterranean barrel-vaulted reservoir in ashlar masonry – indicate that the architects had a thorough knowledge of the Macedonian military building practices. Additionally, the reservoir seems to originate from the final years of the 4th or the very beginning of the 3rd century BC, when the entire 'suburbium' was added to the already thriving settlement on the hilltop (Vranić 2019a). It is possible, however, that some earlier buildings had existed here, which were demolished to construct the 'hydro-technical complex' as we know it today.

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<sup>1</sup> It is estimated that in the 3rd century BC the site occupied an area of 5ha (Popović 2012: 13).

Kale-Krševica belongs to a group of dozens or possibly even hundreds of similar fortified Iron Age settlements featuring various Greek objects including pottery, technological know-how, and also architecture that are located in the Balkan hinterland to the north of the Aegean shores (*see* Archibald 2013; Vranić 2022: 37-60). The ‘Greek’ structures at these sites are in ashlar masonry and mudbrick, i.e., massive ramparts (Nankov 2008), various public buildings and rich funerary chambers similar to the so-called Macedonian and other Hellenistic-period burial chambers from the Mediterranean (Stoyanova 2015). According to Bulgarian archaeology, the sites belong to the Late Iron Age – an era beginning in the 5<sup>th</sup> or maybe even the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, which is further divided into the ‘Classical’ and the ‘Hellenistic’ periods, following the chronology in Greece (Theodossiev 2011: 4). Furthermore, they are considered to be ‘Thracian’ fortified settlements or towns (*e.g.*, Nankov 2015a). Colleagues from the Republic of North Macedonia perceive the same era as the ‘early antique’ period (*sensu* the earliest historic period). They usually argue that the settlements from their territory were built by the ‘Paeonians’, who are considered to be a separate cultural and ethnic identity (*e.g.*, Mitrevski 2016). It seems that most of the settlements and their material culture did indeed grow more Greek-like in appearance during their existence. At some of the sites, these material and social changes are visible after the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Yet, they are especially prominent and far-reaching during the Early Hellenistic period, with an increase in the number of ashlar masonry structures (Nankov 2008).

Recent archaeological and anthropological literature has usually approached similar examples of translating Greek material culture and technological knowledge into different cultural settings from the post-colonial perspective. According to post-colonial authors, the imports and foreign technology acquired fresh local meanings, leading to the construction of culture-specific ‘Hellenised’ identities that could be different from the supposed Greek ‘originals’ – the process that we often confuse for the ‘spread of Greek culture’, due to our European fascination with Classical heritage (*e.g.*, Dietler 2010a). However, in the Balkan Iron Age archaeologies, the social changes behind

the appearance of these sites and their Greek-like material culture are not thoroughly explained beyond culture-historical concepts that perceive ‘Hellenisation’ as a straightforward and almost natural process of ‘spreading’ and ‘accepting’ Greek culture (Vranić 2014a; 2014b; Vranić 2022: 157-180). Recent studies, however, have shown that the situation is indeed more complex than this, with various agents of change and different local meanings ascribed to the Greek material culture and technology (Nankov 2011; 2015b; Vranić 2018a; 2019a; Vranić 2022).

Following this concept, we have decided to use the term Late Iron Age ‘Hellenised settlements’ for the entire group of sites in the Balkan hinterland; this also helps in avoiding ethnic labels that can hide the overall similarity of their material culture. Considering the sheer number of imported pottery finds, this approach in the case of Kale-Krševica also raises several other important questions. For instance, does the presence of glazed Attic pottery indicate the acquisition of some Greek practices and habits related to the same shapes and iconography, or have we – the archaeologists – relied too much on imports as a false indication of the ‘spread of Greek civilisation’? How did the local culture change during almost 150 years of contact with the Greek world and consumption of their materiality and technology? What were the active roles of the pottery in the contact and inevitable social changes? In other words, to better understand ‘Hellenisation’ we have to comprehend the place of Greek pottery within the local habitus at Kale-Krševica. As a theoretical base, we think, the most fruitful are the so-called biographical approaches (*e.g.*, Kopytoff 1986; Gosden, Marshall 1999; Gosden 2005), material culture studies (*e.g.*, Clarke 2003; Hicks, Beaudry 2010), and, maybe, Ian Hodder’s concept of entanglement (*e.g.*, 2016; *cf.* Latour 2005; Vranić 2023).

### **Greek pottery at Kale-Krševica: a temporal perspective to contacts and consumption practices**

Until 2012, when Petar Popović retired, the excavations at Kale-Krševica provided *c.* 1,000 red-figure, black glazed and Early Hellenistic period sherds originating mostly from the Athenian pot-

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ters' quarter of *Kerameikos* (e.g., Крстић 2005; Поповић 2006; 2007; Вранић 2022: 113-156, 221-368). These sherds were found at all three sectors of the site. Additionally, long-distance contacts and cross-cultural consumption practices have been represented with finds of Thasian, Mendeian, Samian, Chian, Peparetosian and "Macedonian" transport amphorae (Поповић 2012: 33; Поповић, Ђорђевић 2019), Macedonian and other coins, and possibly some north Aegean Early Hellenistic period glazed and, seemingly more numerous, painted vessels (Поповић 2012).

Attic red-figure pottery is the most numerous imported material at the 'acropolis'. Discovered in many domestic contexts, the earliest seems to be the *Saint-Valentine* class *kantharoi* from the 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (Крстић 2005). Besides these *kantharoi* (Fig 1/1-4), more common are *skyphoi* of type A, with various figured scenes – usually athletes and draped youths (Fig 1/5-8,10); most of which, we think, belong to the F.B. ('Fat Boy') group, while some could be related to the Jena Painter and his associates. Due to extensive fragmentation, however, a more precise insight



Fig 1. Attic red-figure pottery from the Kale-Krševica 'acropolis', late 5th - first half of 4th century BC

into the selectiveness of local tastes is very difficult to determine. Numerous sherds with other figured scenes and floral decoration (laurel wreaths, palmettoes and tendrils), wave, egg, and tongue patterns, etc., indicate the extensive use of other red-figure drinking vessels and probably some



Fig 2. Late 4th and early 3rd century BC Attic glazed pottery from the Kale-Krševica 'suburbium' and the so-called central structures at the 'acropolis'



larger shapes – most likely *kraters* (some could belong to the Telos Group) and *oinochoai*. In any case, it seems that the preferred glazed pottery at the ‘acropolis’ was wine-related; or, at least, this was the case with these shapes in the Greek world. Whether they were indeed used for the same beverage at Kale-Krševica remains uncertain until some further multidisciplinary analysis is carried. Still, the presence of transport *amphorae* indicates the consumption of wine (Popović 2007). Also, there are other imports: black-glazed bowls and plates of various types, a few stemless cups and one saltcellar made using the same technique, and red-figured *squat lekythoi*, among other shapes, which are less numerable.

Later imports from the final decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC represent a different context. The biggest change is not in the possible appearance of a large number of other glazed shapes (besides probably the plates), nor the lack of *amphorae*. It is related to the public spheres dominating at the ‘suburbium’ (the ‘hydro-technical complex’) and in the so-called central structures at the ‘acropolis’, where these Attic glazed sherds were found (Popović 2008; 2012; Popović, Vukadinović 2011; Vranić 2019a; Vranić 2022: 123-131, 144-155). These imports fall into what Susan Rotroff calls a ‘controversial period of ceramic chronology’ (1983: 258, *cf.* 2005). The easiest to recognise is a small number of early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC West Slope *kantharoi* (Fig. 2). The most common motifs are olive (Fig. 2/14-15, 17) and ivy garlands in orange, and, rarely, grapevines, and a spearhead necklace. Black glazed *kantharoi* of the Classical shape with plain or moulded rims seem to belong to the same phase (Fig. 2/18), usually with spur handles, and sometimes bearing the olive and ivy branch motifs on their upper bodies. One black glazed straight-walled *kantharos* with a comic mask is distinctive (Fig. 2/16). Also, there are red-glazed bowl *kantharoi* with hemispherical recipients, fragile high-swung handles and low stems, and occasional finds of strap handles with ivy thumb rests. Additionally, at the ‘suburbium’, finds of non-Attic painted pottery seem to be very common, featuring some West Slope-like iconography including ivy garlands and grapevine in orange on coarse red-surfaced pots which could have been imported from the northern Aegean or produced locally. Consequently, this smaller number

of early Attic West Slope and the almost complete lack of the true West Slope (with white and incised lines, circa 275 BC and later, *see* Rotroff 1997: 40-43) are usually considered indicative of abandonment of the site or, maybe, a substantial change in the consumption patterns taking place during the early decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Popović 2006: 528; Vranić 2018a: 28-29).

Published by Petar Popović and his associates (*see above*), these sherds have been instrumental in providing the chronology of various phases at the site. Additionally, they are very important as concrete pieces of evidence of contacts with the Greek world, which seem to have been the decisive factor behind the appearance of the ‘Hellenised’ settlements (Popović 2007; Vranić 2012). In the next pages, we will present new finds excavated after 2012 at the north-eastern part of the ‘acropolis’. So far, besides several short field reports (*see* Vranić 2014c; 2017a; 2017b; 2018b; 2019b; 2021), they have not been accessible to the archaeological public. Besides the possibility of checking and reaffirming the information and conclusions provided by previously published Greek pottery, we shall try to comprehend the social lives of these new finds, from their production at *Kerameikos* in Athens until their discovery at this very specific part of the ‘acropolis’ at Kale-Krševica where, as it seems, the earliest domestic structures were located.

### **Early consumption practices of Greek pottery at the north-eastern part of the ‘acropolis’**

The north-eastern part of the ‘acropolis’ has shed some light onto the very complex stratigraphical sequences related to the earliest inhabitants. Conducted from 2012 until 2018, the excavations at this place, besides c. 500 glazed Attic pieces, have revealed some information about the domestic life practices from the late 5<sup>th</sup> until the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The most intriguing spatial aspect appears to be two communications merging at right angles, with several multi-roomed structures following these two ‘streets’. In the southern trenches, there is a three-roomed structure with a walled ‘yard’. The structure is represented with drystone walls, which are perfectly preserved. The now lost upper wall segments consisted of wattle

and daub and maybe some adobe; while the roofs appear to have been covered with tiles. As an illustration of the rebuilding processes, there are numerous surfaces and earthen floors in the rooms and the yard, with a large number of potsherds, animal bones, and other small finds. These surfaces were superimposed onto the earlier ones, trapping some of the finds in between. Potsherds, including the red-figure ones, were also used as an inclusion

This bird is a very common image in Athens, not only on pottery, where it symbolises the goddess Athena but also the city itself. The *owl-skyphoi* were numerous during the second and third quarters of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and their production was in some way related to the *Saint-Valentin* class (Beazley 1963: 982-984; 1971: 437; cf. Johnson 1955). Further studies have shown that the owls were produced during the entire 5<sup>th</sup> century BC,

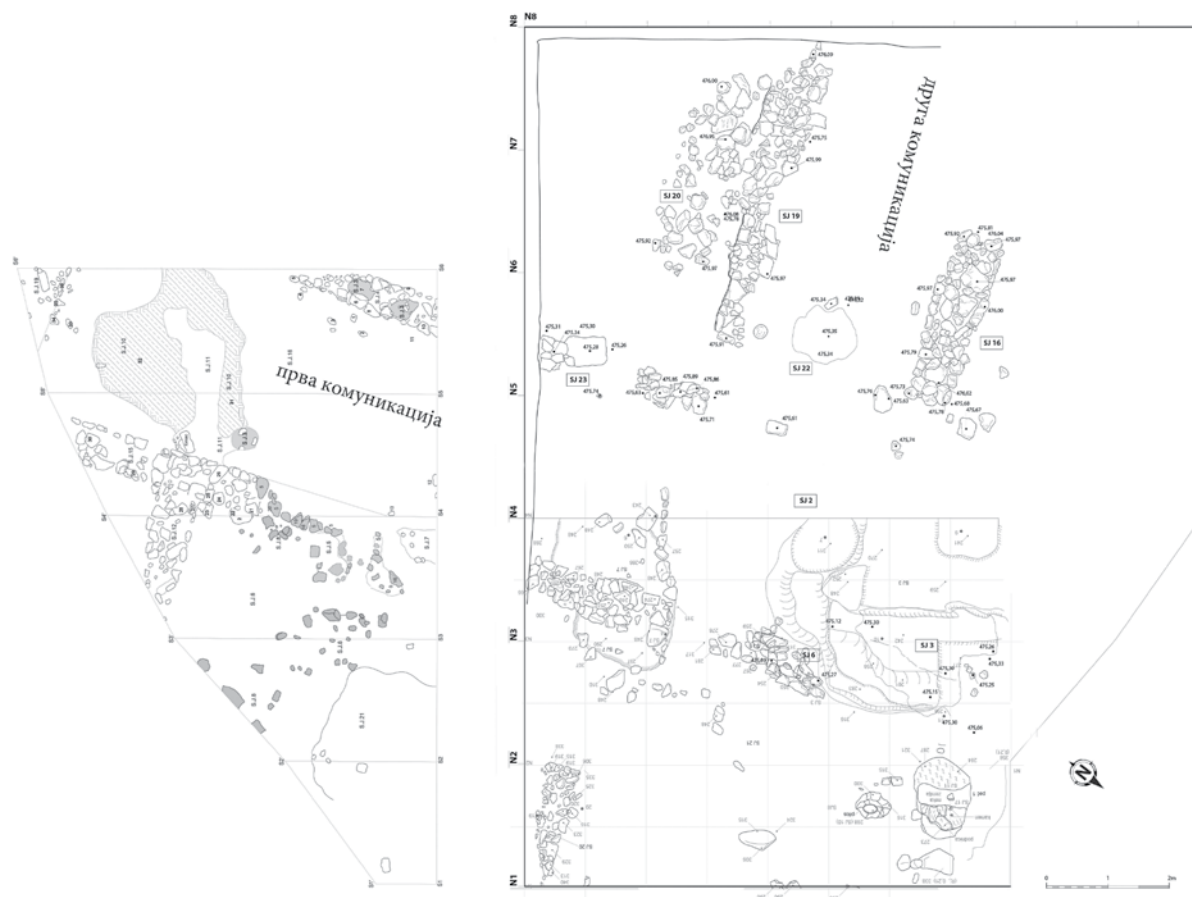


Fig. 3. Plan of the north-eastern part of the Kale-Krševica 'acropolis', late 5th to first half of the 4th century BC

to the sandy layers utilised to level the ground before the building of the new earthen floors.

Similarly to previous campaigns (*see above*), the most indicative are numerous *Saint-Valentin* class *kantharoi* fragments (Fig. 4/22). Yet, there are some other recognisable contemporary Attic red-figure vessels, including one *owl-skyphos* piece (Fig. 4/24). The owl was found on top of seemingly the earliest surface within one of the rooms in the southern trench. According to Beazley, *owl-skyphoi* were made by a group of numerous painters at *Kerameikos* and they were widely distributed around the Mediterranean.

although more often in the second and third quarters (Moor 1997: 63-64). Imitations of the Athenian owls were produced during the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century in Italy (Kirigin 2020). Nevertheless, the piece discovered at Kale-Krševica appears to be Attic and it is the only example of this group discovered in Serbia (Vranić 2021). A handful of the owls have been discovered at sites in North Macedonia and Bulgaria (*see* Sanev 2013; Микулчиќ 2005; Archibald 1996). A few have also been found on the eastern shore of the Adriatic and there is one Attic piece that was discovered at the Glasinac site in

Bosnia and Hercegovina, although some of these are Italic in origin (Kirigin 2020: 60-63).

The *Saint-Valentin* vases represent a class – one or more shapes decorated in the same way – with nine known groups of painters active from the late second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> until the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Howard, Johnson 1954; Moor 1997: 61-62). According to Beazley, the class was invented by some of the last painters of the Early Classical period related to the Lewis

Painter. The class is contemporary and close to the group of *owl-skyphoi* from the third and second quarters of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. (Beazley 1963: 972-985). These *kantharoi* are common finds in North Macedonia and at some sites in Serbia (*i.e.*, Касируп near Preševo, Postenje near Novi Pazar) (Паровић-Пешикан 1992: 343-344). Besides other red-figure fragments, they have been numerous finds at Krševica; most belong to groups six and seven (Крстић 2005: 191). It is interesting to



Fig. 4. Attic red-figure pottery from the north-eastern part of the Kale-Krševica 'acropolis', late 5th to first half of the 4th century BC

note that one of the *Saint-Valentin* fragments from the structure in the southern trenches, where the owl was found, belongs to none of the nine known groups (Fig. 4/22). It is similar to group six from the final quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (*cf.* Howard, Johnson 1954: 194, 206) and yet it does not feature the two horizontal laurel branches in white, but only one. The lower field where the second laurel is expected shows a narrow ivy branch also in white. Therefore, it seems that this piece represents an innovation created by one of the painters from *Kerameikos*, belonging to group six of the *Saint-Valentin* class. This means that the Balkan hinterland is an important source of information, not only about the local consumption practices and the cultural and economic interrelations with the Greek world but also about the changes in production and innovations that took place at *Kerameikos* in Athens (Vranić 2019b: 92).

The northern trenches have not been completely excavated. Thus far, the discovered material mostly belongs to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Here, the red-figure fragments indicate *kraters*, *skyphoi*, and shapes with added white – probably of the ‘Kerch style’. Again, most of the *skyphoi* seem to belong to the F.B Group (e.g., Fig. 4/28). Quite interesting is a fragment of a bowl-like vessel with a winged Eros flying to the right in a scene including another partially preserved female figure (Fig. 4/25), and a piece featuring a nude reclining man (Fig. 4/30). Since the structures in these trenches have not been excavated completely, we still do not know the earliest imports. Furthermore, it remains a mystery as to when the two communications merging at right angles were created. According to the Attic pottery, the structure from the southern trenches seems to originate from the final decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and it remained in use for a long time. The northern structures, across the ‘street’, seem to originate sometime in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. It is possible that this was the moment when the southern structure was incorporated into the street layout. However, further excavations are needed to better understand these contexts.

The *Saint-Valentin* class fragments discovered in the north-eastern sector of the ‘acropolis’ (i.e., both the northern and southern trenches) often appear within the same structures and sometimes even within the same archaeological context with the *skyphoi* of the ‘Fat Boy’ group. At *Kerameikos*,

it is supposed that the production of the two did not take place simultaneously. Namely, Beazley considers the ‘F.B.’ group to be one of the latest representatives of the red-figure technique ‘corresponding to the cups of the YZ Group’ while the *Saint-Valentin* class was earlier (*cf.* Beazley 1963: 984, 1484-1494; *see above*). Does this indicate longer and more complex biographies of the *Saint-Valentin kantharoi* at Kale-Krševica compared to the other imports, possible issues with our stratigraphy, or is there a problem with Beazley’s chronology? Today, most authors date the ‘F.B.’ Group into the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, relying on the information provided by the D 19:1 cistern located to the southwest of the Agora proper in Athens (Lawall 2005: 40-42) – a hypothesis that the finds at Kale-Krševica seem to corroborate

### Production and distribution of Greek glazed pottery

Production is an initial step in any glazed pot’s biography and can shed light on subsequent interrelations, networks, and potential differences between Greek and non-Greek consumption practices. Pioneers of Greek pottery studies like Beazley have determined that it is possible to distinguish various ‘hands’ of actual painters or groups of these artisans active in black- and red-figure techniques (1963; 1971; 1986). Contrary to post-processual criticism and the consequent neglect of this traditional methodology (e.g., Whitley 1997), recent scholarly endeavours have shown that starting from Beazley’s information we can calculate the number of contemporary workshops, which seem more significant than painters. Relying on statistics, this knowledge is further used for reconstructing the number of vases produced in one year, the general productivity of a workshop, and a more precise understanding of the roles of potters (usually workshop owners) and painters, etc. (*see* Sapirstein 2013; 2014). Since Greek glazed pottery has been found all around the Mediterranean, this plethora of information becomes particularly useful in studying interrelations, trade and exchange, and various other networks created around a pot sometimes travelling very long distances to its final users. Additionally, some authors believe that at *Kerameikos* in Athens, it is possible to follow



the development of the production for non-Greeks (*see* below). Therefore, a better understanding of the initial steps in a pot's biography is fruitful for subsequent reconstructions of its eventual changing meanings and active roles during its distribution and final consumption.

The distribution of Greek pottery represents a different cultural setting (*e.g.*, Boardman 1979). Recent studies have focused on possible cooperation between the owners of workshops and traders who were responsible for the distribution of selected material in other Mediterranean regions. Besides cooperation, an important issue becomes a probable awareness of the Athenian artisans that some of their products were for non-Greek (*i.e.*, the Others *sensu* the post-colonial studies) consumers (Osborn 2007a; *cf.* Paleothodoros 2007). The iconography of Attic vases found in other regions, especially in the early years of the red-figure technique (that is before the foundation of the settlement at Krševica), seems to show that the painters created images of the Others or scenes that they believed would appeal to that specific Other. Some of these theses about the cooperation and complex social networks between the producers and the traders have been recently confirmed in the case of Etruria (Bundrick 2019). The same study shows that the knowledge about the pot's final destination and the local tastes gradually changed the iconography of the vases designed for that specific market, sometimes resulting in images that were completely unacceptable for Greek consumers. On the other hand, the iconography of the red-figure shapes discovered in Greece appears to have been designed for specific occasions and culture-specific consumption practices where it seems to have actively projected different Greek identities (Osborn 2007b). Consequently, Greek glazed pottery was a very versatile materiality with multiple meanings and entanglements, and the aspects of production and distribution seem significant for the understanding of why specific classes or groups ended in some regions. A better understanding of these two steps in a pot's biography can shed light on the interrelations of various agents responsible for contacts and communication between Greece and other regions, changes taking place at *Kerameikos* in Athens, as well as various meanings ascribed to that pot in the culture of its final destination (Vranić 2023).

The fragments discovered at Kale-Krševica do not represent the so-called masterpieces of Greek pottery production, most likely because the site originated in the last decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when a steady decline in the quality of the figured scenes had already started. Besides a relatively small number of the very specific pieces dating to the final decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (*i.e.*, the *Saint-Valentin* class and the group of *owl-skyphoi*), they rather appear to have been mass-produced by mediocre artisans dominating the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC red-figure technique. Yet, they are discovered in precisely excavated contexts that are of great importance for the study of the distribution of Attic pottery deep into the Balkan hinterland. Their heterogeneous character considering the recognisable groups, classes, and possible painters seems to follow dichromic changes in 'styles' among the artisans at *Kerameikos*. Combined with finds from other centres like *Pistiros* (*e.g.*, Archibald 1996) or *Demir Kapija* (*e.g.*, Микулчиќ 2005; Sanev 2013), the pieces from Kale-Krševica contribute to a slowly emerging picture of the distribution of red-figure and other Attic pots in the Iron Age Balkan hinterland. It seems that besides some other better-supplied Mediterranean regions, the continental area of this peninsula was a prominent market for Greek vases – especially those of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Therefore, more research is needed to comprehend the agents responsible for transporting this pottery from the Aegean and the Black Sea shores further inland. This is also the case with the *Kerameikos* artisan's hypothetical knowledge of inland Balkan tastes; yet, maybe there is something significant to this issue with the *Saint-Valentin* class, which seems to be represented in greater numbers than expected. Whatever future studies reveal, it seems beyond doubt that distribution was more systematically organised than previously believed. The number of pieces and the variety of possible producers also indicate long-lasting distribution, which was not an exception but rather a usual occurrence.

### **Conclusion: consumption practices behind Attic glazed pottery at Kale-Krševica**

The information about the producers and distributors and their agencies is important (*see* above);

yet, as in any case of cross-cultural consumption, the end-users and their desire to own foreign objects are a *conditio sine qua non* (e.g., Appadurai 1986). At Kale-Krševica, the aspirations of the local population to consume Greek pottery appeared in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. We believe it is possible to comprehend the development of these local tastes by following how the imports were treated within the different spatial and temporal contexts. A better understanding of this phenomenon may be a crucial aspect behind the local social change labelled under the ‘Hellenisation’ process.

All the glazed fragments discovered in the north-eastern part of the ‘acropolis’ originate from domestic contexts. Petar Popović believes that the contemporary late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC red-figure pieces revealed previously in the same sector were used for “special occasions and for distinguished guests” (2012: 31). This argument follows a general archaeological understanding of Iron Age cross-cultural consumption of Greek imports, and the status and role of wine (e.g., Dietler 1990). However, compared with other archaeological material, the ways in which the imported sherds were discarded do not indicate any specific treatment. After fragmentation, they were either left on the surface and subsequently covered with debris originating from collapsing walls or, more often, they appeared incorporated in the sandy layers used for levelling the ground for the upcoming building of new floors within the same structures (Вранић 2022: 113-156). In general, the domain of pottery consumption was predominantly represented by the locally produced wheel-thrown ‘Hellenised grey ware,’ which is, by far, the most numerous corpus of archaeological material at the site, totally a number of c. 200,000 sherds (Антић, Бабић 2005; Вранић 2009; 2022: 45-46, 66). These local vessels are also a distinctive characteristic of all ‘Hellenised settlements’ in the Balkans, including the Black Sea regions and, as expected, their shapes are also ‘Greek’ in appearance (e.g., Avram *et al.* 2009; cf. Rotroff 2006). The fact that the utility ware (e.g., *skyphoi*, *kantharoi*, *hydriai*, *oinochoai* but also *chytrai*, *lekanides* and *pithoi*) was made following Greek household shape production practices, even though some of the ‘originals’ had never been imported, is an intriguing question. Whatever lies behind this phenomenon, the end of the social lives of the imported shapes

does not seem different from their ‘grey’ counterparts.

Considering the local selectiveness of the imports, the most remarkable aspect seems to be the focus on drinking vessels that were, in the Greek world, related to wine. Beginning from the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, these vessels have been found in almost all household and public contexts at Kale-Krševica. However, there are some temporal differences visible for instance at the ‘acropolis’ compared with the contexts at the ‘suburbium’. Firstly, there is the issue of public and domestic consumption that seems to follow the overall history of the site and its spatial development. While the earlier cases featuring the red-figure *skyphoi* and *kantharoi* represent household activities, the later ones, from the Early Hellenistic period, seem to signify collective actions taking place in public. This is especially prominent concerning the barrel-vaulted reservoir at the ‘suburbium’ and its role in possible communal food preparation and consumption that favoured *kantharoi* and plates – maybe as some kind of feasts or, more likely, as meals for soldiers (Vranić 2019a: 159; Вранић 2022: 113-156). Secondly, this local favouritism toward the Greek wine-drinking vessels endured for almost 150 years at Kale-Krševica, even in times when a particular shape like the Attic *skyphos* or the entire red-figure technique lost its prominence at *Kerameikos* (cf. Moor 1997; Rotroff 1997).

Nevertheless, the Greek pottery at Kale-Krševica, which incorporated more shapes than just *skyphoi* and *kantharoi* (see above), must have been ambiguous. On the one hand, the local population undoubtedly recognised it as a collection of foreign objects. Maybe they even understood that it originated from Greece or Macedonia, obviously in the local perception of this Other that remains obscure to us (Вранић 2022: 9-12). It seems reasonable to believe that initial consumption practices would have been different than in the case of the local materiality. A necessity to create a ‘proper way’ to approach, perceive, and use the new forms of material culture in order to determine their new culture-specific significance could have stood behind the process of ‘Hellenisation’. Consequently, the results of this process are not necessarily related to the social roles of the same objects in the Greek world, which may even have been completely obscure to the local community (cf. Dietler 2010a;

2010b). As a result of the long and widely accessible consumption, on the other hand, this foreign material culture was gradually appropriated into the cultural practices determined by the local habitus, subsequently resulting in the same treatment as any other local materiality but, also, with some changes of the habitus. However, the earliest contexts in the north-eastern part of the ‘acropolis’ do not display this hypothetical process. The Greek pottery pieces discovered here already appear to have been treated equally as any other materiality; at least this was the case in the practices related to their discarding. It remains elusive whether this means that the process of appropriation within the local culture had already been finished before its members decided to settle down at the ‘acropolis’, or that we are dealing only with one segment of the local population that was acquainted with Greek pottery. The subsequent consistent and long-lasting distribution within the entire site is a strong argument that the local habitus did not set these imports as elite or ‘prestige goods’ materiality, as was the case in earlier Iron Age settings in the Balkans, and that the Greek pottery remained accessible to wider echelons of society. This is even more visible in the ‘suburbium’. Here the Early Hellenistic period Attic and other glazed fragments are found in larger numbers, possibly representing even less prestigious materiality (Вранић 2022: 113-156).

What the roles of wine and all the other Greek materiality like architecture were in these social changes remains to be studied further. As represented with the pottery, we believe that the local logic of cross-cultural consumption is paramount for any attempt to understand ‘Hellenisation’ in the Iron Age Balkans.

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