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**Violence in Prehistory and  
Antiquity**

**Die Gewalt in der  
Vorgeschichte und  
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# Interpreting Iron Age violence or violent nature of archaeological narratives? The case of Kale-Krševica (south-eastern Serbia)\*

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**Abstract:** This paper aims to show how the ‘violent nature’ of ‘paleo-Balkan tribes’ as indicated in some Greek and Roman texts is perceived, interpreted, and consequently constructed as supposedly independent historical evidence in different archaeological narratives on a case study of Kale-Krševica – a specific late Iron Age ‘Hellenised’ settlement in south-eastern Serbia. Hypotheses about this site’s ethnic identity, which range from local Paeonians, Thracians, Dardanians, or possibly even Greeks, are fit into the historical framework of violent Iron Age period encounters, which have some very prominent ramification on further archaeological interpretations. I will argue that theoretical aspects which are implemented favour violent scenarios in order to present an expected and supposedly coherent image of distinctive Iron Age ethnicities in a constant struggle even though it may not be the only nor the most likely context. At the same time, the implementation of the concept of ‘Hellenisation’ as a colonial perspective about local groups who quite ‘naturally’ become ‘Greek’ or ‘Greek-like’ and therefore more ‘civilised’, makes this site’s social life a good arena for pointing out the direct or implicit use of various narratives about past/present violence.

**Key words:** Kale-Krševica, the Iron Age, culture-historical archaeology, centre and periphery model, colonialism, ‘Hellenisation’, the Balkans.

## **Introduction: theoretical aspects of violence in south-eastern European Iron Age archaeologies**

Searching for warfare, specific violent acts, or trying to understand how past cultures used and dealt with violence have always been an important segment of archaeological interpretations no matter what theoretical standpoint researchers are inclined to<sup>1</sup>. The European Iron Age, with its reach metal finds, weapons, some bioarchaeological data on skeletal injuries, and Greek and Roman colonialism and subsequent literary sources about ‘wild’, ‘ferocious’, ‘blood-thirsty’, and supposedly intrinsically feisty ‘barbarian tribes’ and

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. Ralph 2012; Garci-Piquer, Vila-Mitia 2016.

‘peoples’, appears to be an unavoidable stepping stone in this quest<sup>2</sup>. Reasons, why this is the case, are complex and baffling. One should always keep in mind reflexivity in archaeology – a mutually constitutive relationship between materiality from the past and modern contexts of research – resulting with researchers’ conscious or unconscious inclination to search for phenomena which are already recognised as important for modern stakeholders<sup>3</sup>. Following this line of thought, history of Iron Age archaeology becomes heavily burdened by the two modern narratives which are both violent socio-political endeavours in constitutive connections with heritage, mythic ancestors, and Greco-Roman civilisation and imperialism – colonialism<sup>4</sup> and nationalism<sup>5</sup>.

South-eastern European archaeologies, with their disciplinary roots in modern nationalisms and a fact that they appear in the region rich with Greek and Roman material culture, are not too different from any other European archaeology, and numerous fresh attempts to deconstruct various local culture-historical narratives have recently been published<sup>6</sup>. Yet, even today, the vast majority of all endeavours remain focus solely on reconstructing supposedly recognisable territorial and chronological framework of archaeological cultures, i.e. characteristic sets of stylistically similar artefacts, which supposedly represent different ‘ethno-cultural’ entities, their emergence, migrations and various influences<sup>7</sup>. Traditionally, local culture-historical archaeologist tend to construct narratives about distinct cultures that appear on socio-political stage usually through migration, which is often perceived as a violent endeavour, leading into an expected formative period; when combined with previous groups living in the same era they eventually evolve into an Iron Age ‘tribe’ or ‘people’ recognised by Greek and Roman written sources as a collective identity<sup>8</sup>. As a result, some vague information from the written sources about Iron Age grope identities, which one should always keep in mind are one-sided ancient narratives about the Other specifically constructed for ancient audiences or Macedonian and Roman imperial administrative classification, becomes an important aspect of archaeological interpretation<sup>9</sup>. Further on, ancient authors’ perception about ‘primitive’, ‘rude’ or ‘infamous’ Others who are often terrorising the northern border of the Greek world often become the most distinctive cultural characteristic of supposedly recognisable ‘Illyrians’, ‘Thracians’, ‘Scordisci’, ‘Triballi’, etc.

Processual perspectives, on the other hand, which began to appear in Yugoslavian/Serbian Iron Age archaeology during the 1980s and 1990s, attempt to present a fresh

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Powel 1958; Wells 1980; Collis 1984; Dietler 2010, 157-182.

<sup>3</sup> Hodder 2003

<sup>4</sup> Gosden 2004; Dietler 2010

<sup>5</sup> Jones 1997

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Aghelinu 2007; Kuzmanović/Vranić 2013; Mihajlović 2014; Dzino 2014; Vranic 2014a; 2014b; Kuzmanovic/Mihajlovic 2015; Palavestra/Babić 2016; Milosavljević 2016

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Stojić 2011

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Čović 1986; Garašanin 1988; Vasić 1991

<sup>9</sup> Mihajlović 2014

approach beyond the ethnic determinism<sup>10</sup>. Following the similar path to colleagues from Western Europe<sup>11</sup>, the most visible outcome is the focus on 'culture change' taking place within local communities due to intensified economic contacts and emerging mutual dependencies with the Greek world. This quest for social structures and models, stratifications, chiefs and chiefdoms, and warrior elites as the most decisive outcome of the long-distance trade and exchange networks with Mediterranean civilisations introduces further violent aspects into the Iron Age. The first is an obvious one – the focus on the warrior elites and their rich burials often producing metal weapons and various other status-showing insignia. However, the concept of a 'centre' that culturally dominates over 'peripheries'<sup>12</sup> while being supplied with raw materials implicitly shows some other more troublesome interpretative violence – a constitutive interrelation of this archaeological narrative with modern European imperialism and colonialism<sup>13</sup>. Even though the world system approach, in general, do not appear directly focused on violent acts but rather on cultural domination and mutual dependencies, and it is originally introduced for interpreting the development of capitalism in modern Europe, its colonial roots and the implicit narrative about 'civilising' Others make it a violent perspective on Iron Age archaeology that boosts ideas about domination<sup>14</sup>. This means that violence has indeed remained a very prominent interpretative segment of almost all narratives about the Iron Age even if it doesn't appear so at a first glance.

This paper aims to show how possible 'violent nature' of 'paleo-Balkan tribes' that is indicated in some ancient texts is perceived, interpreted, and consequently constructed as supposedly independent historical evidence in different archaeological narratives on a case study of Kale-Krševica – a specific late Iron Age 'Hellenised' settlement in south-eastern Serbia<sup>15</sup>. Hypotheses about this site's ethnic identity, which range from local Paeonians (sometimes Agrianes perceived as 'northern Paeonians')<sup>16</sup>, Thracians<sup>17</sup>, Dardanians<sup>18</sup>, or possibly even Greeks<sup>19</sup>, and the implementation of the concept of 'Hellenisation' as a colonial perspective about local groups who, quite 'naturally', become 'Greek' or 'Greek-like' and therefore more 'civilised'<sup>20</sup>, makes this site's social life an appropriate arena for pointing out the direct or implicit use of various narratives about past/present violence.

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<sup>10</sup> Palavestra 1994; 1995; Babić 2004

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Frankenstein/Rowalds 1978; Wells 1980; 1984; Collis 1984

<sup>12</sup> Champion 1989

<sup>13</sup> Gosden 2004; Dietler 2010

<sup>14</sup> Dietler 2010, 48-50

<sup>15</sup> E.g. Popović 2006; Popović 2012

<sup>16</sup> Соколовска 1986; 1990; 2003

<sup>17</sup> Микулчић/Јовановић 1968; Попов 2002

<sup>18</sup> Тазић 1998; Тазић 2003

<sup>19</sup> Popović 2006; Popović 2012; Popović, Vranić 2013

<sup>20</sup> Vranić 2014a; Vranić 2014b

### **Kale-Krševica: a ‘Hellenised’ Iron Age site in south-eastern Serbia**

The ‘Hellenised settlements’, which are positioned throughout the Balkan hinterland, to the north from the Aegean Sea, are a very peculiar group of fortified late Iron Age sites distinctive for their overall similarity of material culture to the one discovered in northern Greek seaside colonies<sup>21</sup>. Usually dated between the V-III centuries BC, these sites show many common characteristics and formal analogies with the Mediterranean world that are particularly visible within local architecture and pottery assemblages<sup>22</sup>. The most prominent are defensive walls – the massive stone ramparts which are usually interpreted as being built by Greek masons. This architectural technology consists of lower sections in precisely cut ashlar and the upper parts made of mud bricks, while the entire circuits are covered with roof tiles<sup>23</sup>. Besides the walls, some other structures are also built in accordance with the supposed Greek architectural principles, e.g. very prominent funerary architecture of elaborate and richly furnished chambers often resembling the so-called ‘Macedonian tombs’<sup>24</sup>. Additionally, grey wheel-made ‘Hellenised’ ware with their ‘Greek’ shapes and frequent imports (transport amphorae, red-figure, black- and red-glazed pottery, west slope ware, etc.) open some very interesting questions about contacts between the Mediterranean centers and this vast continental hinterland, revealing various opportunities for interpreting the local Iron Age identity constructions, possible colonial encounters with ancient Greece and Macedonia, and the active role of Mediterranean material culture in the Continental Iron Age communities<sup>25</sup>.

While the most numerous sites of the group appear in modern-day Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia, the site ‘Kale’ in the village of Krševica is a rare example located in the territory of Serbia. Situated near the town of Vranje, in the south-eastern part of the country, it is located on and around a small hill (‘Kale’) in outskirts of the Bujanovac-Vranje valley. The hilltop fortification is naturally protected from attacks and flooding, but at the same time, the relatively small elevation gives its residences an easy access to the surrounding area. Consequently, the local landscape is manipulated in a way that benefits the population with a possibility of utilising the water-rich and fertile flat land in the valley and the high ground pastures in near vicinity. The position in the South Morava valley, which is traditionally interpreted as an ‘avenue’ connecting ancient Greece with central Europe, also gives Krševica’s inhabitants an excellent location within all trade and exchange networks. At the same time, this prominent location puts it in a possibly very dangerous position during warfare or any sort of raids.

After small-scale initial excavations in 1966, the *Archaeological Project Kale-Krševica* in its current form began in 2001; the project has been developed by the Institute of

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<sup>21</sup> About these sites sometimes referred to as ‘Hellenised settlements’ but also bearing different names see Archibald 2013; Theodosiev 2011

<sup>22</sup> Archibald 1998: 135-150, 235-236; 2004; 2013; Teodosiev 2011, Vranic 2014b

<sup>23</sup> Nankov 2008

<sup>24</sup> E.g. Stoyanova 2015

<sup>25</sup> Vranic 2012; 2014b

Archaeology in cooperation with the National Museum from Belgrade, in accordance with several other prominent institutions from the country. The aims are to investigate and interpret the social processes behind the appearance of the 'Greek' material culture. Namely, this Greek-like materiality however typical for southern regions of the Balkan Peninsula is unexpected and unique in the Iron Age landscape of modern-day Serbia, providing the archaeological community with a possibility to explore social aspects of the new settlement patterns emerging in the late fifth and early fourth century BC in the southeastern corner of the country. The on-going investigation, which has lasted for more than fifteen years, provides some very important information about lifestyle practices. The systematic excavations reveal structures like ashlar and mud brick walls, a barrel-vaulted water reservoir<sup>26</sup>, north-Aegean transport amphorae, Attic red-figure, saint valentin and black-glazed vases<sup>27</sup>, or locally produced 'Hellenised grey ware'<sup>28</sup>. Amongst copious amounts of ceramic material discovered in Krševica, the North Aegean and Attic fine pottery represent imported wares in the most instances. This entire collection numbers to c. 1000 sherds. Transport amphorae are the second largest corpus of imported ceramics. There are 340 fragments of rims, necks or handles and 70 toes, while simultaneously more than a thousand sherds of shoulders and bellies belong to the same shape. Most typologically distinctive pieces belong to Thasos or Thasos circle, Mende and Chios workshops.

Possible violent acts in Kale's social life are numerous but no directly recorded in archaeological records except for a few finds of iron spearheads, stone artillery balls (Fig 1) and lead sling bullets (Fig 2). Yet, archaeological interpretations focused on its emergence and most general reasons of existence, numerous aspects of everyday practices, and eventual "death" very often incorporate violent scenarios. I will argue in this paper that theoretical aspects which are implemented favour violent scenarios in order to construct an expected and supposedly coherent image of distinctive Iron Age ethnicities in the constant struggle even though it may not be the only nor the most likely context.

### **Violent nature of ethnic labels in culture-historical archaeology of 'Hellenised' settlements**

In the Balkans, the local culture-historical national schools of archaeology dealing with the 'Hellenised settlements' traditionally favour distinct and supposedly stable ethnicities (i.e. Thracian in modern-day Bulgaria, Paeonian in The Republic of Macedonia, Illyrian in Albania, Dardanian in Kosovo and Metohija, Greek in modern-day Greece). Yet, the overall similarities of the 'Hellenised' material culture appearing in such a vast territory from the Albanian seaside all the way to the Black and the Aegean Sea show various problems in this approach<sup>29</sup>. The case of Kale-Krševica, probably because of this difference in national

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<sup>26</sup> Поповић/Vukadinović 2011

<sup>27</sup> Крстић 2005; Поповић 2006, 527-528.

<sup>28</sup> Антић/Бабић 2005; Вранић 2009

<sup>29</sup> Vranic 2014a



archaeological schools and a joint disciplinary history during the existence of Yugoslavia, is closely related to the research practices in the Republic of Macedonia. As a result, this site is usually interpreted as the most northern “Paeonian town” and perceived as a stronghold defending the northern border against Dardanians, Triballi, or some other ‘paleo-Balkan tribes’. Following this line of thought, Kale is sometimes presented as a fortified settlement belonging to the Agrianes which, according to the same culture-historical school, are the northern-most Paeonian tribe<sup>30</sup>. Yet, this argumentation is not the only interpretation of its supposed ethno-cultural background relying on warfare, defending the ‘borders’, and possible aggression. Interestingly, the first researchers excavating in the village of Krševica proposed a quite interesting idea about a border between ancient Thrace and Dardania extending through the middle of the Bujanovac-Vranje valley with the site in Krševica representing the western-most Thracian settlement against the Dardanians inhabiting the mountainous ranges to the west of the upper course of the Juzna Morava<sup>31</sup>. Next ethnic label, according to archaeologists in Serbia, is a proposition presented by late Nikola Tasic, one of the most prominent Serbian/Yugoslavian archaeologists, arguing that Krševica along with the region of Skoplje is a territory belonging to the Dardanians from where this tribe organises raids into Macedonia<sup>32</sup>. Similar perspective is argued by Albanian archaeologist from Kosovo and Metohija who believe in this Dardanian/Illyrian origins of the ‘Hellenised’ material culture at Kale along with several other sites in Kosovo<sup>33</sup>.

Besides the issue of territories, borders, and local confrontations which are all very difficult to pinpoint, there is one particular information from Greek and Roman texts about an act of violence which deserves further attention – the ‘Celtic raid’<sup>34</sup>. This traditional perspective of supposedly distinctive ‘Celtic groups’ and ‘tribes’ descending from central Europe onto the early Hellenistic period Greece is often seen as a specific violent act, possibly recognisable in archaeological records, which is responsible for the end or severe decline of the ‘Hellenised settlements’ from the Balkan hinterland. In the case of Kale, this recently problematicised narrative<sup>35</sup> is instrumental for the understanding of the decline but not necessarily the end of the site since some finds can be dated into a short time span after the 279 BC<sup>36</sup>. The same approach is visible in cases of the other prominent representatives of the group of ‘Hellenised settlements’. In the Republic of Macedonia, the most prominent ‘Paeonian’ ‘Hellenised settlement’ – *Bylazora* – along with numerous others sites from the regions of Skopje or Vardar valley are also believed to be destroyed by the Celts<sup>37</sup>. In the case of Bulgaria, a supposedly violent ‘wave of Celtic settlers’ and

<sup>30</sup> Соколовска 1990; 2003

<sup>31</sup> Микулчић/Јовановић 1968: 370-371.

<sup>32</sup> Тасић 1998; Тасић 2003; cf. Papzoglu 1978, Šašel Kos 2005, 149-154

<sup>33</sup> Shukriu 1996; Mirdita 2009

<sup>34</sup> Papazoglu 1978: 271-345; Šašel Kos 2005: 133-152

<sup>35</sup> See Dzino 2007; Mihajlovic 2014, 104-106

<sup>36</sup> Popović 2006

<sup>37</sup> Mitrevski 2016: 14-15

‘raiders’ are expected to be responsible for further destruction; the most prominent is the case of *Pistiros* which is considered to be ransacked by the Celts twice (around 300 BC and in 279/78 BC)<sup>38</sup>.

Directly emerging from the ‘Celtic raids’ hypothesis, there is the issue of the Dardanians and their elusive material culture that is equally fitted into this historical framework. Namely, it is often believed that after the Celts were defeated at Delphi this presented the Dardanians with an opportunity to establish themselves as the most dominant barbarian group, opening the way to some serious threat against ancient Macedonia. The most prominent archaeological indication which can be perceived as supporting this argument is the lack of Attic west slope pottery on the Hellenised settlements in these northern regions of modern-day towns of Skopje and Vranje<sup>39</sup>.

Even though some Greek or Roman texts mention violent behavior by respected paleo-Balkan groups, and the authors inclined toward a possible recognition of their supposed ‘ethno-cultural’ origins use these sources as a powerful illustration of their own work, the culture-historical constructions about the ‘violent nature’ of Paenonian, Thracian or Dardanian ethnicity *per se* are not the biggest issue in this case. Much bigger problems appear when these ethnic stereotypes become ‘evidence’ in further conclusions considering this site’s social life, the most important *raison d’être*, or decisive factors in chronology. It seems that the ‘violent nature’ has become an example of circular argumentation implemented in order to provide proof for the ethnic labels in the first place, and often a naïve attempt of fitting the archaeological date into a historical framework<sup>40</sup>.

### **‘Violent nature’ of Greek inland migrations (?), Macedonian imperialism, and the concept of ‘Hellenisation’**

“Violence is a crucial subject of analysis in any colonial encounter. That is not to say that it is an inevitable feature of colonialism or even necessarily the most important. But colonial situations do frequently involve aggressive action (or at least the threat of such action), and they often provoke or alter various forms of collective homicidal conflict. Transformations in the extent and nature of collective violence among societies in the area radiating out from the boundaries of an intrusive state are a common feature of many colonial situations, both ancient and modern (...) Such violence can be a direct

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<sup>38</sup> Bouzek 2007

<sup>39</sup> Битракова-Грозданова 1987

<sup>40</sup> An interesting example of an interpretation relying on an ethnic stereotype considering Triballi and their supposed ‘isolation’ and ‘alienation from the Greek world’ is a recently published paper by V. Filipović (2014). Unsure whether the Greek image of Triballi as the ‘most barbarous’, the ‘rudest’, and the most ‘primitive’ was instrumental for the lack of Greek imports in the territory ascribed to the Triballi, he argues that there may be some truth in F. Papazoglu’s hypothesis about this tribe’s conservatism and ‘keeping the old paleo-Balkan traditions’, and that this information from written sources fit very well with the archaeological data about the Iron Age period between the Morava and Isker rivers. A question will remain, however, do the archaeological data indeed fit the sources or is it the other way around.

implement of colonialism, or a form of resistance to colonialism. But it can also be an indirect, often unintended, consequence of other colonial processes and relationships that develop.”<sup>41</sup>

Besides the hypotheses about ‘barbarian’ ethnicities, there are some interpretations that argue a possibility of Greek inland migrations which may take place as early as the V century BC. In Bulgarian archaeology, there is the case of *Pistiros* and some authors’ belief that this quite unusual and even controversial form of Greek colonisation is instrumental for the emergence of the site itself<sup>42</sup>. Another step into the similar interpretative direction is ideas about Macedonian garrison towns appearing in continental Thrace as early as the reign of Philip II and continuing with Lysimachus and Cassander imperial policies<sup>43</sup>.

Following a similar interpretative path, Petar Popovic, the first researcher who tackled the issue of the site at Kale through the systematic excavations, argues that there is a possibility that this fortified settlement is or stands in some yet unknown but very strong connection with ancient *Damastion*<sup>44</sup> – an ‘enigmatic’ Greek mining town located somewhere in the Balkan hinterland, only mentioned by Strabo in his *Geography* (VII, 7, 8 and VIII, 6, 16). This hypothesis follows the work of D. Ujes who is the first researcher to demonstrate that the coins of *Damastion* (minted *circa* from 420 to 320 BC, which coexists only in part with earlier phases at Krševica), are most frequent in the silver ore-rich region of Kosovo and Metohia<sup>45</sup>, which is very close to the town of Vranje where the site of Krševica is located.

Similarly to the cases from Bulgaria, this proposition directly relies on modern European Hellenocentric and colonial perspectives about the importance of Greek/Macedonian civilisation and heritage. At the same time, this approach heavily depends on the concept of Hellenisation<sup>46</sup> as an evolutionistic and colonial account that supposes one-way diffusion and ‘spreading of Greek influences’, knowledge, practices, and ‘superior’ culture amongst local Iron Age communities<sup>47</sup>. When combined with the possibility of the presence of Greek or Macedonian populations in the Balkan hinterlands, it results with the Greek cultural domination and Macedonian imperialism as key segments in cultural change which is expected to produce ‘more valuable’ and ‘European’ material culture and heritage<sup>48</sup>.

The overall similarities of the ‘Hellenised’ settlements in the Balkans with the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic sites from the northern Aegean do not allow for these hypotheses, however controversial, to be overlooked. Bearing in mind excavated material culture, these sites, indeed, show some strong economic, social and cultural interrelations

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<sup>41</sup> Dietler 2010, 157

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Archibald 2004

<sup>43</sup> Archibald 1998: 305; Loukopoulou 2011: 468

<sup>44</sup> Popović 2006; 2012; Popović/Vranić 2013

<sup>45</sup> Ujes 2002

<sup>46</sup> Momigliano 1971; Rostovceff

<sup>47</sup> Dietler 2010: 45-47

<sup>48</sup> Vranić 2014b

with the late Classical and Hellenistic Greek world which can equally well fit into a narrative of Macedonian imperialism reaching the continental Balkan Iron Age societies. At the site of Krševica, a possible indication for the presence of Macedonian army or persons well acquainted with Hellenistic period military equipment is the stone artillery balls and sling bullets. Yet, the possibility of this very elusive colonial encounter resulting from Macedonian imperialism or the local acceptance of foreign military tactics shouldn't be perceived from a Hellenocentric standpoint – as a violent introduction of 'civilised life' and the beginning of the historic period. Instead, future research should focus on the local agencies since their logic of consumption may be the most prevailing factor in the social life of the settlement even if it stands for an intrusive Macedonian garrison town.

Local culture-historical archaeologies, on the other hand, continue to propose formal analogies supposing the same roles, meaning, names, and consumption practices of the 'Greek' material culture introduced into this new contexts. At the same time, this prevailing archaeological school persists in building narratives about different Iron Age ethnicities besides the presence of very similar material culture and Greek imports on the vast territory exceeding any possible Iron Age ethnicity, which consequently undermines the ethnic determinism and opens up possibilities for some other interpretations. If we focus on consumption studies and the hypothesis about the importance of the local logic of consumption in any colonial encounter<sup>49</sup>, this position does not necessarily mean that 'Greek' function of the Mediterranean material culture is unknown, nor that principle behind some new technological achievements is incomprehensible for the local communities; it means that procurement and subsequent consumption of the same material culture within different communities lead toward diverse identity construction which can equally change the colonisers and the colonised. Therefore, supposed cultural traits distinctive for the Classical world should not be uncritically projected into the archaeologists' picture of the local communities.

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This short introduction to the 'Hellenised settlements', the issue of 'Hellenisation', and the supposed 'violent nature' of 'paleo-Balkan tribes' or Greco-Macedonian imperialism and colonisation aims to point out that these past contexts are more complex than simple outcomes of aggression or domination. All things considered, there is a strong possibility that in/famous 'violent nature' of specific Iron Age cultures supposedly known from the written sources could be overly exaggerated by modern culture-historical and processual archaeologist respectively who equally tend to use analogies to the modern world and rely on their own expectations about the origins of European civilisation, mythic ancestors and 'our' heritage. If so, any reinterpretation of violence in the Iron Age cannot be separated, on the one hand, from deconstructions of ethnicity<sup>50</sup> and from scrutinising

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. Gosden 2004 ; Dietler 2010

<sup>50</sup> E.g. Jones 1997

colonial narrative about Greek and Roman origins of European civilisation<sup>51</sup>, on the other. Yet, this probable exaggeration does not mean that violent behaviour was not present and that we shouldn't attempt to interpret it. Hence, a question will always remain – whether the Iron Age societies were intrinsically violent or just the questions about violence and our modern expectations are simply transplanted into the past due to modern nationalism. A similar approach is needed with the issue of Macedonian conquest of inland Thrace and Paeonia which remains a historical context that needs further research, especially in the case of subsequent social changes.

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<sup>51</sup> E.g. Hingley 2000; Gosden 2004 ; Dietler 2010

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Figure 1

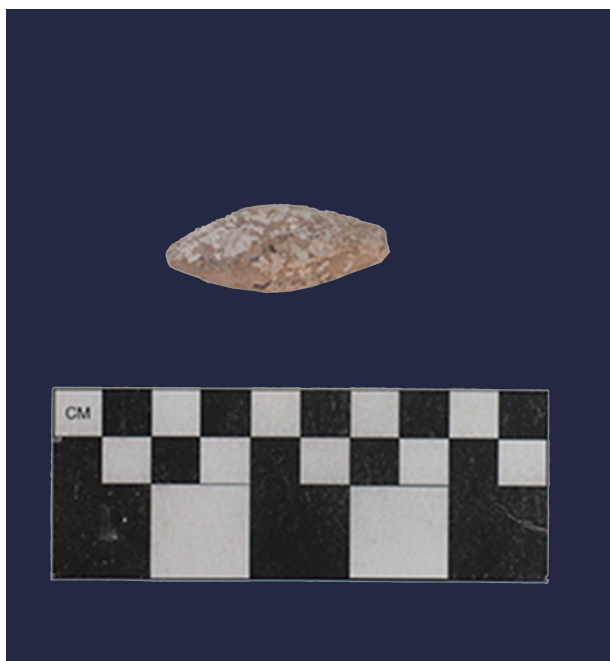


Figure 2