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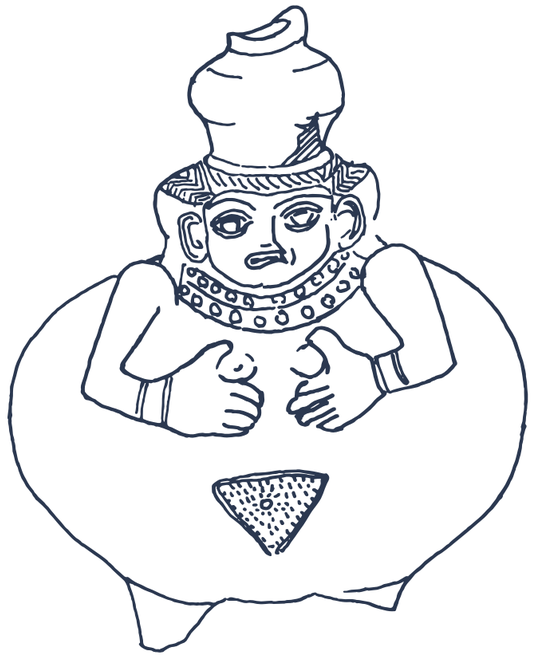

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Thematic issue: Consumption of perfumed oil in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East: funerary rituals and other case studies

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Cover illustration: The lady of the Urkesh ābi. Drawing of anthropomorphic vessel from the ābi (A12.108) of Claudia Wettstein (IIMAS).
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Remarks on the Possible Uses of the Perfumed Oils, Ointments, and its Containers in the Cult of Dead from the fourth century BC to the second century AD: In the Light of the Necropoleis of Kyme, Colophon, and Patara

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Introduction

Death is perhaps the most true, sad, and inexorable phenomenon of the nature and human life. Humans, as psychological beings, have not changed their opinion regarding the notion of death, no matter the degree of their evolution. This is because of the fact that death cannot be resolved. Seeking cure for death, as with the ancient humans, still survives in today's beliefs through the introduction of an imaginary spiritual form of the same essence in substitution of the body, vital functions of which ceased to exist.

Let alone the societies of the ancient period, even in today's primitive societies, dead people are believed to live a similar life in another place. For the primitive humans, who believe in life after death, the physical existence of men may end in the world of living creatures, yet it does not fade away. The deceased only tries to adapt to the new conditions, while passing to another world from the existing one. Very well aware of the difference between a living person and a corpse, the primitive people attributed the end of vital functions to the abandonment of the body by an entity or a principle, which enabled life. This principle is neither entirely material, nor incorporeal. It is both of them at the same time.[1]

In the ancient period, *prothesis* or preparing the corpse of the individual after death, before burial with various rites, constituted the first phase. In the second phase, namely *ekphora*, the deceased was carried to necropolis, where s/he would be buried again with various funerary rites. In the last phase the deceased would be laid away to her or his new life in the other world, with gifts placed in the grave. Among the traditions pertaining to funeral ceremony, *scent* appears to be one of the most important elements, especially during *prothesis* and burial. Prior to a review of the significance of scent in the cults of death and how the same was reflected in the necropolis contexts of three major cities, i.e., Kyme, Colophon and Patara as located in the different places of Anatolia, it is necessary to briefly address the concepts of death, corpse, spirit, journey to afterlife, and promised heaven.

1 Otten 1958: 238–240.

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Dead, Spirit, Afterlife, and the Perfume in Ancient Period

Mesopotamian and Egyptian Culture

It is known that the origins of what remains spiritually from the deceased people, the entity we would call as the "soul" here, and the journey thereof trace back to the Near Eastern cultures. In Mesopotamian beliefs, human beings come under domination of underworld gods, leaving that of the celestial gods after death. The physical body, i.e. "*awelu*," would transform into the spiritual body, i.e. "*etummu*," and the new life after death would begin upon death. In order the deceased can experience this transformation and freely enter to the world of the dead, the deceased must have buried with appropriate rites. It was believed the great gate of the world of dead was at the farthermost point towards the West. It required a long and demanding journey to reach the gate. Food, water, and clothes etc. would also be needed for the journey. Following the journey full of daemons and troubles, the deceased would arrive to the coast of *Khubur*, where s/he would get on the boat of "*Humut-Tabal,*" and enter to the territories of the lands of no return.[2] However, the life after death was a dull and still existence. The deceased would eat mud and drink muddy water. Nevertheless, the aristocratic people expected a richer and vivid life. This expectation was based on lavish gifts presented to the gods of the underworld.[3] Pursuant to the written sources, Mesopotamians would spend their last hours in a special funerary bed. The relatives of the dying individual would present around the bed. A ritual would take place, in which prayers said around the deathbed, in order for the soul could easily leave the body. Immediately after the death, the deceased would be placed in a chair/throne. Then the body would be prepared for burial. The bathed body would be put into a red gown after applying oil and scent. Food, clothes, sandals were left in the grave to be used by the deceased in her or his journey to afterlife together with various gifts to be presented to gods.[4] In order to protect themselves from the evil of the deceased, the family must have made offering for her or his soul. It was believed that failing to bury the dead appropriately and to conduct necessary funerary rites, would make the soul wander around in the world, and agonize people.[5]

According to Budge, the argument that Egyptians were in anticipation of resurrection of the physical body is misleading. The body, the inviolability and immortality of which, is emphasized, is "*sahu,*" or the spiritual body that transforms into an existence other than the physical body. The physical body may transform into that spiritual body by the funeral prayers, rites, and appropriate burial. For five thousand years, the Egyptians were embalmed by imitating the mummified form of Osiris, and were put in the graves with the belief that the body will survive rotting in the ground, because of the fact that Osiris also survived the same. Egyptians believed that they would resurrect in an immortal and spiritual body like Osiris, because Osiris reappeared in a transformed spiritual body, rose to the sky to be the king of the dead, and acquired eternal life.[6] Therefore, the more the physical body is preserved, the more it is possible that the spiritual body takes the form thereof.[7] In the embalming process the first step was the bathing of the deceased, followed by removal of brain tissue by insertion of tools via nasal passages. After that the left flank of the body was incised with the help of a sharp obsidian tool and all the viscera were removed. Resin, cinnamon, onions, and scented myrrh as mixed with wood shavings were inserted in especially the abdomen

2 Bottero 1992: 304 f.
3 Bottero 1992: 305 f.
4 Mcintosh 2005: 224–226.
5 Mcintosh 2005: 224–226.
6 Budge 2001: 71 f.
7 Budge 2001: 140 f.

and the mammal tissues of women, after the latter were cleaned by date wine and scented plants.[8] The spirit, the ephemeral dead body of which is protected by fragrance, must go beyond a series of regions in the underworld, and pass through several halls. Following a challenging voyage the deceased would appear in the court established by the Gods for her or him. After completion of the trial, Horus would take the deceased (the spirit) by hand before Osiris.[9] Those, who could pass the court of Gods, would join the *Hatep* city, in other words the Heaven. It is possible to find a range of similar rites in many Near Eastern civilizations such as the Hittite.[10] Nevertheless, the scent among these rituals was not as significant as it was in the Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and then in the Hellenistic culture. This suggests at the same time that the use of scent for the cult of death by Ancient Greeks could have been learned from the Mesopotamian and Egyptian cultures.

Ancient Greek and Aegean Culture

Ancient Greeks believed that human beings were composed of "*soma*" and "*psyche*."[11] "Psyche" means blowing.[12] Weicker asserts that this belief is inherited from the Near Eastern belief of three thousand years before.[13]. Ancient Greeks believed that spirits were winged and flying beings. For Plato, each spirit is perfect and winged.[14] After liberated from the body or the world of the living beings, the spirit enters to the world of the invisible and comes together with the souls of its ancestors and relatives.[15] Ancient Greeks believed that the spirit would fly off the mouth during death, and "*eidolon*" would remain behind.[16]. Eidolon, pursuant to another approach, could have normal appearance or look smaller and winged.[17] For Siebert, eidolon was an ideogram of the deceased and a symbol of the belief that the bodies became smaller in size in the afterlife. Eidolon would fly over until the corpse of the deceased was set on fire or organs got rotten after burial.[18] The "spirit" conception is evident in Ancient Greek literature, notably in the works of Homer. In fact it is more accurate to say that the "spirit" and "shadow" words denote the same thing. The best example, perhaps, about these concepts is the words of lamentation by Achilles upon death of Patroclus, in Iliad:

> *"Look you now, even in the house of Hades is the spirit and phantom somewhat, albeit the mind be not anywise therein; for the whole night long hath the spirit of hapless Patroclus stood over me, weeping and wailing, and gave me charge concerning each thing, and was wondrously like his very self."*[19]

The land of the deceased, once a world of shadows in which the faded ghosts of the deceased wander around in a still half-life, in the beginning of the Ancient Greek belief, then, transformed into a deep underworld cave scorched in flames, where the wicked were punished upon the merger of Hades and Tartarus. Once defined as a faded away soul, Hades becomes the judge of the deceased and the leader of an army of souls/daemons, principal task of which is to torture the

8 Ikram 2003: 275–282.
9 Budge 2001: 125.
10 Otten 1958: 136.
11 Şahin 1993: 144.
12 Cumont 1942: 110.
13 Weicker 1902: 85 f.
14 Plat. Phaidros 246 b-c.
15 Şahin 1993: 163.
16 Vermule 1979: 18.
17 Şahin 1993: 161.
18 Siebert 1981: 63 f.
19 Hom. Il. 23.103–108.

cursed.[20] However, it will be misleading to label the afterlife merely as hell for Ancient Greeks based on the tragic stories of Homer. At least, the fact there was a group of judges in the afterlife, indicated the contrary. Ancient Greeks hoped that if they observe the rules of the gods in their lives, they would have a similar or better afterlife with their beloved ones. The decision on which was left to three judges by Zeus. In the Ancient Greek version of the courts in Mesopotamia and Egypt, the court jury was composed of three judges, namely Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Aeacus.[21] Upon trial, the wicked were thrown down to the depths of Tartarus (the hell) for eternal suffering. The good, on the other hand, were sent to the coast of "*Elysium*" for an eternal happy life.

> *"But for thyself, Menelaus, fostered of Zeus, it is not ordained that thou shouldst die and meet thy fate in horse-pasturing Argos, but to the Elysian plain and the bounds of the earth will the immortals convey thee, where dwells fair-haired Rhadamanthus, [565] and where life is easiest for men. No snow is there, nor heavy storm, nor ever rain, but ever does Ocean send up blasts of the shrill-blowing West Wind that they may give cooling to men…"*[22]

In Athens, it was the task of the deceased's next of kin to dig a grave and conduct funeral procedures by law. The male children, who fail to dig graves for their parents were either expelled from demos, or humiliated.[23] This last duty was so important that graves should be dig for the parents even if they were immoral. Symbolic graves were dig for the deceased without a corpse.[24]



Figure 1. A scene from Polyxena Sarcophagus: Perfume Containers Aryballoi (after Işık 2012, fig. 509)

The care taken for the grave of the deceased was also shown for the body thereof, as stated above. Scent is perhaps the most significant element especially during the *prothesis* phase. This funeral rite is primarily related to the respect shown for the body of the deceased. In the above rite, with the participation of the relatives of the deceased, the first procedure was to close they eyes and the mouth of the deceased. This task was assumed by the spouse, if married, or by the deceased's next of kin such as parents and children. This step was followed by the bath and anointment with fragrant oils of the deceased body. The deceased was dressed thereafter, laid on a kline in supine position, and draped.[25] The scenes from *prothesis* were first described on Attic Vases in the Geometric Period (the second half of the eight century BC).[26] The first descriptions of *prothesis* scenes in Western Anatolia (Ionia) are found in the Samos vases dated to late Geometric Period.[27] The *prothesis* scenes appeared in the Anatolian grave steles beginning from Archaic Period.

20 Russell 1999: 196.
21 Morford and Lenardon 2007: 355 f.
22 Hom. Od. 4.561–567.
23 Plut. Sol. 22.1–4.
24 Hom. Od. 4.554; Xen. Anab. 6.4.9.
25 Kurtz-Boardman 1971: 71.
26 Boardman 1955: 51–66 pls. 1–8
27 Ahlberg 1971: fig.51.

In the scene as depicted in the Chalcedon Stele,[28] Ikos (the woman) sitting on a throne was prepared and adorned by other women. It is not clear though whether the women conducting the preparations hold cosmetic products in hand. However, in a scene as depicted on the Polyxena Sarcophagus,[29] one of the female figures preparing Polyxena sitting on a throne for her wedding (death) carries aryballos in both hands (fig. 1). A very similar scene is also seen on the Harpy Grave Monument in Lycia, although the perfume containers are not clear.[30] The perfume container element in the Ancient Greek or Anatolian cult of death is not only related with *prothesis* scenes and women. The male figure depicted on the grave stele with Anthemion, found in Sardeis,[31] probably carries an aryballos in his left hand. The cosmetic containers appear in the Archaic and Classical Period graves in general in the form of askoi, and in Hellenistic Period especially in the form of pyxides and *unguentaria*.[32] It is understood that *prothesis* step, which includes the preparation of the deceased with fragrance after death was very important. However, the cosmetic containers left as funeral gifts, again in relation to the same belief, must be one of the most evident indicators of the nobility of the deceased before the judges in afterlife. It will be appropriate now to briefly address the perfumes and perfume containers before evaluating the Patara, Colophon, and Kyme contexts in terms of the cult of dead in relation to perfume.

Containers of Perfumed Oils and Ointments

Upon review of the grave contexts pertaining to the Patara, Colophon, and Kyme necropoleis, *unguentaria*, lekythoi, alabastrons, aryballoi, and pyxides appear as cosmetic containers. Among them, the lekythoi, aryballoi, and pyxides were only in few numbers, whereas there are hundreds of *unguentaria*. As seen in many other necropoleis, *unguentaria* were among the perfume containers, most frequently left in the graves during the Hellenistic and Roman Period. This form of ceramics, which was found especially in the necropolis areas beginning from the early Hellenistic Period, was widely used until the Early Eastern Roman Period (approximately seventh century AD).[33] Appeared in a wide geography during the ancient period, the form became diversified in time. The "*fusiform*," which was frequently used from mid-fourth century BC, the first time it was seen in the Eastern Mediterranean Region, to the end of the first century BC, had been the determinant form of *unguentaria*. This form, especially in the early stages, had similar formal attributes to that of squat lekythoi and amphoriskoi that could lead to see it as a successor thereof. With a wide and low base, *unguentaria* has a bulged belly, emphasized shoulders, and a short and thin neck, with rim edge with an outward slant. In time, the foot and neck sections were elongated and that the bulginess in the middle of the belly was decreased rendering a "spindle" form approximately towards the end of the third century BC. The foot section absent in the early examples was formed in time by elongation of the form, and that the neck and foot heights became equal approximately in the second century BC. The fusiform, which was used for much longer times compared to the other forms of *unguentaria*, had many variations in body profile compared to others. Averaging between eight and 0.20m. the sizes of these vials varied from miniature 0.04 – 0.05m. to giant 0.42m. samples.[34] *Unguentaria* were generally without handles except for rare occurrences.[35] The

28 Pfuhl-Möbius 1977: no.1; Boardman 2001: fig. 248; Istanbul Museum Inv. No. 524.
29 Sevinç 1996: 251f.; Gilotta 1998: 11f.; Steuernagel 1998: 165f; Reinsberg 2001: 71 f; Bakır 2004: 2 f.
30 Smith 1900: 56 f; Pryce 1928: 88; Akurgal 1941: 30 f; Akurgal 1961: 134 f; Özgan 1978: 87; Childs 1978: 8 f; Polat 1998: 98 f.
31 Pfuhl-Möbius 1977: no.12.
32 Phulf-Möbius 1979: no. 2037.
33 On the matter see Thompson 1934: 472–474; Hellström 1965: 23f; Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 105–122; Dotterweich 1999; Dündar 2008.
34 Wiseman and Mano-Zissi 1976: 280, fig. 11; Dotterweich 1999: 6; Dündar 2008: 112 pl. 9 no. U83 Type 2K.
35 Generally, these handles is made functionless or free applique. For handle examples Drougou 1991: 103, 116; Dündar 2008: 95 pl. 1 nos. U1–4.

other form of *unguentaria* called "*piriform*" was footless with flat base. In fact this form can be seen as a variation of the fusiform with the removal of the foot, which lost its standing function due to excessive elongation. Widely occurred during the Late Hellenistic – Early Roman Periods, the *piriform unguentaria* were not used for longer periods of time compared to the fusiform. Actually, the *unguentaria* that were used for centuries were produced as the variations of two basic forms mentioned above. As with the fusiform of the Hellenistic Period, the pirifom of Early Roman Period was also found in the form of diversified local productions along with the widely used forms in the entire Mediterranean basin.

Perfumed Oils, Ointments, and the Terminology of Unguentaria

Falsely identified for a long period of time as "teardrop bottles," in which the tear drops of the relatives and professional sobers were preserved and which were left among the funeral gifts, the very term "*unguentarium*" was not the ancient period nomenclature for the vials in the said form.[36] This term was first used by the French scientists conducting research in Carthage at the beginning of the twentieth century.[37] Called as "*lacrimaria*"[38] or "*balsamaria*"[39], these vials have been unearthed especially in the graves from Hellenistic and Roman Periods, throughout the Mediterranean basin from Palestine to Spain.[40] *Unguentarium* is a general term derived from the "*unguenta*" word used for ointments, oils, relaxants, and liquid aromas in the ancient period, also related to bathing and ancient period sportive activities.[41] The balms used for the purpose thereof were also called as *unguentum*, lykion, μύρον, άλειμμα, χρί(σ)μα), μύρωμα; and the liquid were called μύρα and στακτά.[42] Some of the various and expensive oils used for body and sometimes for hair included *mendesium*, *megalesium*, *metopium*, *amaracinum*, *Cyprinum*, *susinum*, *nardinum*, *spicatum*, *iasminum*, *rosaceum,* and *crocus*.[43] In addition thereto, the general name of the powders used for make-up was *diapasmata.* Despite it is known that Ancient Greeks and the Western Anatolian societies used such balms and oils from the very early periods, they were not very popular until the end of the Republican Period in Rome. Besides daily use thereof, it is know that perfume and balm were put into the containers left in the graves as funeral gifts and poured to the graves during funeral ceremony.[44] It is well-established that there was a noteworthy traffic of perfume and balm among the cities of Greece and South Italy beginning from the sixth century BC.[45] Those occupied with this profession were called *unguentarii*,[46] or *unguentariae*[47] due to the fact that most of them were women, and the profession itself was called *unguentaria*[48]. Although the ancient naming of these ceramics is to a large degree unknown, there are some opinions. Even though

36 Thompson 1934: 473; Hellström 1965: 23.
37 Gauckler 1915: 545; Berlin 1997: 58.
38 The *Lacrimarium* (or *lacrimatorium*) term was believed to have been used for these vials, in which the tears of those attended to the funeral ceremony were collected; certain scientists also suggest that the function of these vials were as such; Thompson 1934: 473 n. 3; Hellström 1965: 23.
39 The *Balsamarium* term, similar to *Unguentarium*, is used as a descriptive term and indicates the probable substances inside these small ceramics.
40 Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 105 n. 1.
41 Smith 1870, 1214; Culmann 1920, 1851 ff; Brun 2000, 277–278.
42 Culmann 1920, 1851 ff.
43 The definitions and therapeutic features of all these oils were provided in detail by Dioscorides. Mendesium (Dioscorides I-72), Metopium (I-39, 71), Amaracinum (I-68), Cyprinum (I-65), Susinum; other names are known as "lilinum" and "liliaceum" (I-62), Nardinum (I-75), Rosaceum (I-53), Crocus (I-25).
44 Culmann 1920, 1851 ff.
45 Brun 2000, 277 ff.
46 Cic. Off. 1.4; Hor. Sat. II.3.228.
47 Plin. Nat. 8.14.
48 The independent perfume producers in Rome first gathered under the roof of *collegium aromatariorum,* and then during the Augustus Period, *collegium thurariorium et unguentariorum,* under auspices of the Empire; Brun 2000, 302.

Plinius certainly spoke of *vasa unguentaria*,[49] P. Hellström asserts that Plinius must most probably have meant alabaster containers of his age. *Ampulla*, on the other hand, generally mentioned together with strigilis in the ancient sources, must be a term that was frequently referred by both *Plautus* and *Cicero*, and used to define two important elements in *palaestra*.[50] Furthermore, taking into consideration the fact that oil carriage function of *unguentaria* continued in the Roman Period, it could have been named as *ampulla*. On the other hand, P. Hellström argues that these nomenclatures in the ancient periods were for defining not only the material, but also the form as well.[51] V. R. Anderson-Stojanović, on the other hand, suggests that both the alabastrons, and the lekythoi terms might have been used for these small vials. However, there is no resource in literature, which would serve as a clear reference for *unguentarium*. Another Latin nomenclature for these containers was *olfactariolum*.[52] The contemporary use of the *unguentarium* term for said vials is attributed more to the cosmetic liquids or balmy materials carried inside, rather than form or the production material. Another term, i.e. *balsamarium*, as with the *unguentarium*, also defines the material carried inside. However, it is well established that these ceramics called as *unguentaria* were not only used for cosmetic purposes, but also occurred frequently in graves and sacred places.[53] Therefore, the ceramics are named on the basis of contents or intended purpose the result will be incoherent. It is also difficult to name these ceramics based on the forms thereof. This is because of the fact that having been used from the beginning of the Hellenistic Period, to the end of the Roman Period, these ceramics were subject to change and that as a matter of fact, there were samples of the same period in different forms, yet sharing the same functional use.[54]

There are many possibilities with regard to what might have been carried inside the *unguentaria*. Residue of a pinkish powder was found in a glass *unguentarium* unearthed in Knossos, and the examination thereupon suggested that it might be the red ochre used as perfume.[55] As a result thereof, it can be said that the materials carried in ceramic *unguentaria* varied from liquid to solid materials, or particulate matters like incense.[56] However, two samples from Pandrossou Street in Athens are noteworthy for the enclosures. The fact that an obol was found in one of these samples from grave provides interesting data with regard to the use of these ceramics. It was interpreted that the obol inside the *unguentarium* was placed in the grave so as to be given by the deceased to Charon in order to pass the Styx River.[57] The use of said ceramics was not only for mere cosmetic purposes, or not limited to burial traditions and ceremonies. It is known that they were also left to sacred places as votive offerings. For instance, the votive offerings used in the Cybele cult in Kapıkaya, Pergamon, also included *unguentaria*. It was suggested that the *unguentaria* were placed as funeral gifts for Attis during the spring festivals organized for the goddess.[58] It is known that *unguentaria* were placed in the Apollo's sacred place in Aegina.[59] *Unguentaria* were unearthed at the temenos and naos sections of the Lagina Hekate temple.[60] The *unguentaria* descriptions at grave steles also provide information with regard to the use of said materials. These vials generally described in grave steles on the shelves behind the deceased, and rarely as being carried by a child/

49 Plin. Nat. 36.12.
50 Hellström 1965: 24 n. 7.
51 Hellström 1965: 24–25.
52 Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 106 n. 7.
53 Thompson 1934: 472; Nohlen and Radt 1978: 33; Robinson 1959; Rotroff 1997: 176.
54 Form differences in the same period were seen throughout the Mediterranean especially during the Roman Empire Period see Robinson 1959: pl. 2 F 48–50.
55 Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 116 n. 65. For powders made of dried perfume see Plin. Nat. 13.3.19.
56 Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 116.
57 Åström 1964: 189.
58 Nohlen and Radt 1978, 83.
59 Smetana-Scherrer 1982: 88.
60 Tırpan and Söğüt 2001: 301, 309.

servant but not the deceased.[61] Almost all the grave steles with *unguentaria* depictions belonged to women and besides thereto such women belongings as cosmetic containers like pyxides, mirrors, combs, and umbrellas also draw attention.[62]

It is suggested that *unguentaria* were the ceramic form of the lekythoi, and especially the squat lekythoi that were left in the graves during the Classical Period.[63] As it is known, the lekythoi were used as important funeral gifts until the end of the fourth century BC.[64] The fact that the lekythoi disappeared at the end of the Classical Period and the *unguentaria* of the same function appeared in the same period supports the idea that these vials were the successors of the lekythoi. Furthermore, the idea is further supported by the fact that *unguentaria* were left in the graves as funeral gifts as lekythoi and that liquid or ointments used for cosmetic and similar purposes were put therein. In addition thereto, the *unguentarium* form dated to the end of the fourth century BC, with wide base and especially the lip structure and the profiled clear cut shoulders suggest the relationship between the two container forms.[65] There also is relevant information in the ancient sources. For instance, Aristophanes mentions the tradition of leaving lekythoi in the graves as funeral gifts.[66] On the other hand, Athenaeus emphasized that there were other vials named after lekythoi following the disappearance of the classical lekythoi.[67]

Samurlu 877 and 879 Necropoleis of Kyme

Two necropoleis located approximately 1km. east of Aiolis Kyme, nearby the İzmir – Çanakkale highway, on the slope of a rocky hill, which are nearly a hundred meters away from each other were called as *Samurlu 877* and *Samurlu 879*.[68] Samurlu 877 and 879 necropoleis are among many necropoleis unearthed generally during museum salvage excavations around Aiolis Kyme. As for the locations of these necropoleis, it is seen that they spread over the entire city except for the sea and that their distance to the city is approximately the same as with Samurlu necropoleis. Taking into consideration that Kyme, as the capital city of Aiolis, was one of the biggest and the most crowded cities of the Ancient Period, the abundance of necropoleis, even including those unearthed until today, should be considered natural. Especially the Samurlu 877 and Samurlu 879 necropoleis, which were excavated in the same period, are also striking for the fact that they were used for a long time including the contemporary times. In relation thereto, drillings in between these two necropoleis indicated that these two funeral sites are independent and that there had been a land subdivision practice for the Kyme people in the ancient times. A proof of this subdivision practice is that although the Samurlu 877 necropolis was located in a rather wide area, it was limited to a parcel of only 600m^2 and that the 76 graves found in the area were overlapped in such a way to destroy each other.

Apart from proportional differences in grave types and other minor differences, a total of 164

61 Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, for the unguentaria depicted on the shelves no. 384, 507, 538, 892, 909, 924, 989, 922, for unguentaria in the hands of the child / servant nos. 405–407, 410. Piriform unguentaria were recognized in stele no. 924 in distinction from the others.

62 For the unguentaria depicted together with mirror and cosmetic containers see Pfuhl and Möbius 1977. For the unguentaria depicted together with umbrellas and combs see Silverio 1990: 54.

63 Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 106; Hellström 1965: 24; Berlin 1997: 58.

64 Kurtz and Boardman 1985: 191–193.

65 CVA 62, Deutschland, Berlin 8, pls. 39–45.

66 Aristoph. Eccl. 1107–1111.

67 Ath. 4.129a.

68 The Necropoleis as a part of the third degree archaeological site of the Kyme Ancient City were located in the landed property of İzmir Iron Steel Industry Co., registered at parcel 877 and 879 of Samurlu Village, Aliağa Town of Izmir city. Izmir Museum Directorate conducted testing trench and salvage excavations covering an area of 28020m^2, between March 20th, 2012 and August 24th, 2012.

graves unearthed in Samurlu 877 and 879 Necropoleis have common characteristics in terms of burial customs. One of these characteristics is that lots of cosmetic materials and at least one cosmetic container were unearthed in the grave contexts. These containers were earthenware and glass *unguentaria* except for a few samples. Along with cosmetic containers and vials, a considerable number of bronze or silver cosmetic spatulas were also found among the funeral gifts. The examples presented here among the 164 graves are from different grave types and dates. The grave contexts under discussion are briefly introduced below in chronological order.



Figure 2. Grave 879/88 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)



Figure 3. Pyxis of Grave 877/6 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)

In the Samurlu necropoleis of Kyme, a number of cosmetic containers were unearthed together with other funeral gifts dated as early as the Early Hellenistic Period, in other words the earliest grave contests in the necropoleis. Regarding these graves dated between the end of the fourth and third century BC, there is no common grave type and that there is no correlation between the quantities of cosmetic containers placed in the grave and certain grave types. On the contrary, there are many examples in Samurlu necropoleis, in which quite rich findings occurred in inexpensive types of graves. The grave no. 879/88 is of simple inhumation type (fig. 2). The funeral gifts were placed one on the top of the other in the feet section of the deceased lying in supine position. The fact that especially a large iron scissors and a bronze strigilis were among the nineteen gifts, suggests that the deceased could have been a male tailor. In addition thereto the fact that there found four *unguentaria* among the nineteen gifts must be an indication of the level of importance attached to scent in this grave in terms of the cult of dead and the afterlife beliefs. The stroter[69] grave no. 77/6 is very poor in terms of grave findings. The only gift for the deceased is a pyxis left near to the head section (fig. 3). The pyxis, with the cover section in the form of an *unguentarium*, is one of the unique findings of the excavation. It is understood that the main section, i.e. the pyxis, of this combined cosmetic container had solid balm, and the cover section, i.e. the *unguentarium*, contained liquid perfume. This unique container alone is an indication of the level of importance attached to the deceased, scent, and beauty. Despite almost the entirety of the skeleton was destroyed in the pithos type grave no. 79/76, it is understood the burial was in hocker position. Nine funeral gifts were left to the feet section of the deceased. The fact that several female figures included among the gifts and the small size of the pithos suggested that it was a grave for a young

69 "Stroter" is the name given to the type of tile (such as kalypter i.e.) used in this tomb. Therefore, this name is used in the description of these type tomb in the study.



Figure 4. Grave 879/83 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)

woman or a child. The fact that a moulded bowl (megara), which was one of the most expensive bowls of its period, was also included in the nine funeral gifts shows that the deceased belonged at least to the middle class of the society. Occurrence of an *unguentarium* among the gifts, albeit at a minimum level, must be an indication of the importance attached to the scent of the deceased. It was seen that the urn grave no. 79/83 (fig. 4) belonged to a child, due to the skull found in the grave and the earthenware puppet figure placed in the outside rim of the grave. Found as leaning to the stone plate used to cover the opening of the urn, the aryballos is an indication of both the fact that the cosmetic containers were also left for the children, and that such containers could have been placed outside (on) the grave during the Early Hellenistic Period in Samurlu Necropolis.



Figure 5. Grave 877/63 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)

It is observed that while the funeral gifts occurred less in the burials of the second century BC in Samurlu necropoleis, *unguentaria* as cosmetic containers remained to be the indispensable gifts. It is noteworthy that even if only one single gift had to be placed in a grave, it would absolutely be an *unguentarium*. In other words, the importance attached to the scent in the cult of dead as started with the late fourth century continued in the second century without lose its significance. An interesting fact regarding the second century BC graves is that at least one of the *unguentaria* was left to the side of the shoulder, with the rim towards the head of the deceased in supine position. In the stroter grave no. 877/63 (fig. 5), one of the *unguentaria* was left on the abdomen, and the other was placed parallel to the right shoulder. Similarly in the simple inhumation grave no. 879/22, the *unguentarium* was placed parallel to the left shoulder of the deceased in supine



Figure 6. Grave 879/22 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)



Figure 7. Grave 877/31 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)

position (fig. 6). As different from the two above, the stroter grave no. 877/31 (figs. 7), is richer in terms of funeral gifts. The fact that two of the three *unguentaria* among these gifts were left with the other gifts to the leg or feet section of the deceased with only one single *unguentarium* was placed parallel to the left shoulder of the deceased, must be an indication of a tradition. Therefore, placement of *unguentaria* in the way described above in the second century BC may be based, with regard to the cult of dead, on the idea to provide the deceased with convenience in using the perfume container in her or his afterlife voyage. Apart from the foregoing the way the *unguentaria* placed in the graves is common in both the 877 and 879 necropoleis. Thus it is more accurate to attribute this tradition to the majority, if not all, of the Kyme residents, but not to a genos lived in



Figure 8. Context of Grave 877/3 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)



Figure 9. Grave 879/14 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)

Kyme throughout the second century BC.

One of the graves, which indicate that the tradition of placing *unguentaria* next to the shoulders, decreasingly continued in Samurlu necropoleis, is the stroter grave no. 877/3 (fig. 8). It is suggested that the deceased was buried in hocker position in the urn grave no. 879/14, despite the bones were destroyed (fig. 9). Taking into consideration that the great majority of the gifts unearthed in the grave were *unguentaria*, this is an indication of the fact that the importance attached to scent in the cult of dead continued without lose its significance, or even increasingly continued in the Samurlu necropoleis also in the end of the Hellenistic Period. The stone sarcophagus no. 877/66 and the rich findings, indicate that a more-than-average wealthy woman/young woman was buried, despite the skeleton ceased to exist. The funeral gifts of twenty pieces greatly varied from small bone objects to golden earrings and bowls. The cosmetic containers were dominant in this grave context with seven *unguentaria*, one lead pyxis and a glass alabastron. These containers point out the fact that the wealth of the deceased has a direct effect of 50% in relation with scent belief in the cult of dead.

The graves dated to the Early Roman Period in the Samurlu Necropolis (first and second century AD) vary by grave types. Despite this variation, it can be said that the graves were less elaborated and the funeral gifts were poorer. However, the only fact remained change was the continued and abundant use of cosmetic containers (*unguentaria*) in the grave contexts. Even that as for the contexts of many graves with multiple gifts, the only containers found therein was *unguentaria*. In the pithos grave no. 877/53 (fig. 10), the bones of the deceased probably buried in hocker position were completely destroyed, whereas the three *unguentaria* left as gifts for the deceased



Figure 10. Grave 877/53 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)



Figure 11. Grave 877/60 from Kyme (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)

survived until today. The pithos grave no. 877/60 (fig. 11), reveal a common tradition belonging to the Early Roman Period and the strong existence of death – scent relationship based on the same context characteristics in the Samurlu necropoleis. The 0.81m. long grave no. 877/60 and the parallel lower leg bones towards the lower end of the grave suggest that it belonged to a child. This is an indication also of the fact that the importance attached to scent in the cult of dead based on perfume containers as prevalent in the Hellenistic Period was relevant not only for the adults, but also for the children as well. The stroter grave no. 877/55 is important for representing the way the perfume container technology as changed and preferred during the Early Roman Period was reflected to the grave contexts. Only one out of four *unguentaria* found in the grave was earthenware and left singly to the feet section. On the other hand, three glass *unguentaria* were placed together with a bronze mirror next to the right arm of the understandably female deceased lying in supine position. The gifts left in the simple inhumation grave no. 877/45, including cista, hairgrip etc. show that the grave belonged to a woman. The four *unguentaria*, all torn into pieces, except for one, including one earthenware and three glass ones, found in the grave that was preserved in a rather bad condition, indicate that, the importance attached to the death-grave-fragrance relationship strongly continued in the 877 necropolis even in the latest phases thereof.

Şaşal Necropoleis of Colophon

Located 7km. to the North of the Colophon Ancient City, is also 1km. to the northeast of the renowned Tunç Baklatepe Mound. It was named after Şaşal, due to its location of 1.5km. to the northeast of the Eski Şaşal Village. A salvage excavation was conducted in 2000 and 2001 at the necropolis. As for today the Şaşal Necropolis is inundated by the Tahtalı Dam. In two years the salvage excavation covered an area of 550m^2 in the Şaşal Necropolis and a total of 69 graves were unearthed. Majority of the graves in the necropolis, the northern borders of which could not have been accessed, were of stroter type. There are 30 stroter graves and they are the earliest types of graves in the necropolis (fourth – third century BC). The other grave types, with the majority of cists, were urn, pithos, and simple inhumation. It is understood that these graves were started to be used in the Late Hellenistic Period, the frequency of which increased by the Early Roman Period.

The graves included in the Şaşal Necropolis cannot be said rich in terms of their contexts. This is correlated with the anthropological analyses of the deceased in the necropolis. Upon anthropological examination of the skeletons found in the Şaşal Necropolis, it was seen that the deceased were from an undernourished agricultural community. The *gastrointestinal* deformations induced by iron deficiency and the rather high prevalence of *osteoarthritis* were asserted as a proof thereof.[70] The 7km. distance between the necropolis and the main city, Colophon, indicates that the deceased buried in the necropolis were residents of a village/town of the main city. However a review of the 69 grave contexts dated to fourth century BC and second century AD suggests that *unguentaria* were among the indispensable funeral gifts from the earliest to the latest graves. For instance, the most frequently occurring gifts, after *unguentaria*, were the oil lamps (11). Nevertheless, all these belong to the Roman Period. Only the number of *unguentaria* unearthed in situ at the grave contexts were 15, and that they were used from late fourth century BC to second century AD. In other words, the only funeral gift used in all the periods was the cosmetic container *unguentarium*. This shows us that for at least 500 years, the society attached importance to scent in terms of burial customs and afterlife belief in the Şaşal Necropolis.

The early graves, included in the Şaşal Necropolis dated to the end of the fourth and third century BC, were all of stroter type (fig. 12). An overview of the burial traditions revealed that

70 Erdal et al. 2002: 1 ff.

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Figure 12. Stroter Graves of Şaşal Necropoleis of Colophon (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)

the gifts were very poor, and even that there was no gift in some of the graves (fig. 13). In all the stroter graves, where the deceased laid in supine position, the occurrence of *unguentaria* was proportionally higher than that of the other gifts. One of the two gifts placed in the grave no. M.26, an Early Hellenistic Period grave, is *unguentarium*. Similarly one of two gifts left in the graves no. M.30 and M.31 are again *unguentaria*. As seen in the stroter grave no. M.32, *unguentarium* is the form of the gift in graves with a single gift. Despite the rareness of the grave contexts dated to the Early Hellenistic Period, the fact that at least one *unguentarium* occurred in graves with gifts must be an indication of the importance attached to scent in the cult of dead. Cist graves began to be used with the second century BC, along with the stroter type of graves. These at the same time are the earliest cist type of graves in the necropolis and constructed by putting up two parallel natural stone series with the head and feet sections left open. Among those the gifts placed in M.41 include two figurines together with an *unguentarium*. In other words, the fact that the scent approach survived in the cult of dead despite the traditions pertaining to the grave types changed by the second century BC, must be indication of how the dead and scent relationship was powerful.



Figure 13. An opened Stroter Grave from Şaşal/Colophon (photograph by Özden Ürkmez)

An overview of the Early Roman Period graves in the Şaşal Necropolis shows that the same tradition remained in force. In this period the variations of grave types and the occurrence of funeral gifts relatively increased. The fact that oil lamps, which never appeared in the grave contexts of the Hellenistic Period, occurred frequently in the Roman Period graves is an example of the traditions changed in the necropolis with the Roman period. Notwithstanding above, the only

feature remained unchanged in the grave contexts can be said to be the placing *unguentaria* in the graves. The grave no. M.36 is a good example of the fact that stroter grave tradition continued in the necropolis also in the Early Roman Period. Especially the fact that three out of four funeral gifts in the context were *unguentaria*, show how important the scent was in the cult of dead during the said period. While the tradition continued the only difference was evident in the form of the *unguentaria*, and that in line with the fashion of the period, the *unguentaria* took the *piriform* without feet. The basic inhumation type of grave no. M.61, belongs to a woman as evidenced with the bronze mirror, oil lamp, and glass *unguentarium* left together to the feet section. As understood from placement of the oil lamp among the funeral gifts, this grave show us the continuance of the scent tradition, perhaps the most important belief regarding the cult of dead, together with the new traditions. The most frequently occurred cosmetic containers in especially the various types of graves in the necropolis dated to the Roman Period were glass *unguentaria*.

Günlük Necropolis of Patara

Located in to the southeast of Anatolia, Patara was one of the most important harbour cities of Lycia Region. There are two necropoleis of Patara to the north of the city center, namely *Tepecik* and *Günlük.* The former, Tepecik necropolis is located along both sides of the northern land route to the city. The necropolis, a 150m. section of which has been unearthed during the excavations, has sarcophagi dated to the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods. Due to the fact that the graves were always in sight, they were exposed to robbery beginning from the late ancient period. However, the Günlük Necropolis, to the north of the city, is different from the Tepecik Necropolis in terms of both the types of graves and the findings. All graves in this site are underground grave chambers placed on the slopes. The untouched in situ context of a part of these graves provided the opportunity to reach important and multi-aspect data with regard to the burial traditions especially in the Lycia Region.

Until today 58 underground grave chambers were excavated and approximately 10% of which were found to have survived until today in situ. Carved into the soft main rock (marn) these graves have a *dromos* type of entrance. It is seen that the doors were closed with a very smoothly processed cover stone following the dromos. The grave chambers are generally in the form of a square or a rectangle. The rectangular pits in the middle of the graves are standard in almost all graves. Three sides of the rectangular movement pits are surrounded by berms. The research showed that the graves were used repeatedly. It was understood that after the berms were brimmed, the bones therein were swept to the rectangular.[71] Several studies on the findings from the graves suggested that the burials could be dated from the end of the fourth century BC to beginning of the second century AD.[72]

The *unguentaria* ranks the first among the findings from the graves. It was seen that the number of *unguentaria* reached approximately to a hundred in certain graves (fig. 14). The earliest artifact was dated to the end of the fourth century BC and the latest to the end of the first century AD.[73] Along with these ceramics, a number of terracotta figurines, glass *unguentaria*, and metal objects as coins, strigilis, and mirrors, and jewellery were found in the graves.[74] However, the research showed that because of multiple and continuous burials, these graves did not have a single context.[75] The fact that a large quantity of *unguentaria* was unearthed in Patara underground grave chambers,

71 İşkan-Yılmaz and Çevik 1995: 189; İşkan and Çevik 1999: 163
72 Uygun 2000; Özüdoğru 2002; Baybo 2003; Işın 2007; Dündar 2008; Şahin 2010.
73 Dündar 2008, 12, 27–30 pls. 1, 23 nos. U5, U184–189.
74 İşkan-Yılmaz and Çevik 1995, 207-210 figs. 6-9.
75 İşkan and Çevik 1999: 187–216.



Figure 14. In-situ finding complex of underground chamber tomb 43 (Patara Excavations Archives)

with a rich context of findings, must be an important indicator of the importance attached to scent and perfume offering for the cult of death.

It was seen that the *unguentaria* findings group continued throughout the Hellenistic Period, also survived the Early Roman Period. The fact that the graves were used for at least 200 years and that *unguentaria* were placed repeatedly with each burial indicates that this belief remained in place during aforementioned periods. It was observed that during the Roman Period, fusiform *unguentaria*, together with the *piriform*, and the Eşen (globular) types, a regional form, found at large quantities in the graves (fig. 15). The fact that above-mentioned new *unguentarium* form that was only found in the Lycia Region upon research until today may indicate that the importance of scent in the cult of dead and the nice-smelling tradition was also strong during the Roman Period.



Figure 15. Fusiform, piriform and the Eşen type unguentaria from underground chamber tomb 48 (Patara Excavations Archives)

The underground grave chambers that could have survived robberies until today and the in situ examples among them made it possible to suggest propositions regarding the place of *unguentaria* in the system of beliefs in Patara. The *unguentaria* as found in the graves, unlike the ceramics for daily use and similar functions similarly left in the graves, were considered special ceramics that are far from functionality, inappropriate for daily use, and produced for funeral ceremonies.[76] The fact the rims of some of the *unguentaria* were broken suggested that the same could have been broken on purpose during burial. The positioning of these poor quality and serial production ceramics in the graves can be related to the funeral rites. The fact that a large quantity of said vials for a burial (an average of 50 to 60 units) was found in graves suggests that these could have been used in liquid offerings during the rites. They were suitable for once only liquid (or perfume?) offering during the funeral rite due to their poor quality paste and permeable grain. The grains and the forms of the paste verify that these artefacts were left in the graves as votive or gifts for the deceased, and that, although, it is not definite, their use might be related with the rites and liquid offering during the burial ceremonies as mentioned above. Nevertheless, the skulls lined up on the brims inside the grave chambers indicate that the graves were family graves and may be a reflection of the respect shown to the ancestors during new burials. Especially the fact that the male and female possessions were all together in the gifts is an indication of the fact that the deceased were buried together without a regard to gender and with strong family ties. Hundreds of *unguentaria* used in the grave chambers must be reflection of the importance attached to the scent within the cult of dead, together with the strong family times above.

General Evaluation

The place of the *unguentaria*, which constitute at least 95% of the cosmetic containers found in Kyme, Colophon, and Patara in the system of belief or in the grave burial tradition during the ancient period, has not been precisely identified. This is because of the fact that the aforementioned ceramics were found in various places (residences, graves, temples, etc.) in many settlements and used in different ways. However, the general opinion suggests that this ceramic group is comprised of vials used for the carriage of perfume and alike balmy substances. Furthermore, the fact that these vials were found in almost all of the necropoleis of excavated ancient settlements suggest that they may be directly related to burial traditions. Here a distinction should be made and that the functions of *unguentaria* and other ceramic groups that had been placed in the graves as funeral gifts should not be confused. Despite the fact that the relevant studies fail to definitely assert the function of *unguentaria* in the graves,[77] it is known that water, oil, or wine were used in the funeral ceremonies,[78] and that the said vials are suggested to be in relation with the use of above liquids. Besides, taking into consideration that perfumes were also used in the funeral ceremonies, it is conceived that *unguentaria* may have been appropriate funeral gifts.[79]

An overview of Kyme necropoleis provides that the great majority of the grave contexts were composed of cosmetic containers, and the *unguentaria* were on the top of the list. This was continued from the fourth century BC to the second century AD. In addition thereto, it can be said that the workmanship on the containers were very good, when compared to the necropoleis and off-necropoleis findings from other regions. The same situation is also valid for the Colophon necropolis. Despite the fact that the grave contexts are rather poor, it seems that *unguentaria* had been the most important funeral gifts in all the periods the necropolis was used. Although

76 Dündar 2008, 44.
77 Anderson–Stojanović 1987, 120-121; Kurtz and Boardman 1985, 191ff; Dündar 2008: 73–75.
78 Hom. Il. 24.791.
79 Rotroff 2006, 139; Dündar 2008: 73.

the neighboring regions, namely Ionia and Aiolis necropoleis had similar characteristics, it can also be said for Patara that they were the different applications of the same understanding. The *unguentaria* placed in the graves in Patara, unlike the ceramics for daily use and similar functions similarly left in the graves, should be considered special ceramics that are far from functionality, inappropriate for daily use, and produced for funeral ceremonies. The fact the rims of some of the *unguentaria* were broken, and the pieces thereof were next to them in the in situ graves suggested that the same could have been broken on purpose during burial.[80] Early studies assert that until recently in Greece, specially prepared ceramics were broken by throwing to the floor after the liquid offering in front of the residence and at the graveside of the deceased.[81] During excavations broken ceramic pieces were unearthed at the entrance of Mycenaean grave chambers. Liquid offering to the deceased was prevalent especially in Mycenae and Argos.[82] A large quantity of bottomless lekythoi found in the graveyards suggested that they could be ceramics broken during the ceremonies on purpose.[83] In the recent ceremonies considered to be conducted by maintaining the ancient traditions, it is seen that almost all the procedures are based on a common idea. The common aim of the liquid offering at the residence of the deceased, during the transfer to the grave, or at the grave side was the redemption of the spirit of the deceased.[84] It was also thought that the sound of breaking ceramics would scare Charon away.[85]

In conclusion, the Ancient Aegean and South-western Anatolian societies, which had the same vision of world with the Mesopotamian and Egyptian societies, attached great importance to scents and perfume containers as shown by the Kyme, Colophon, and Patara necropoleis. We think that at least the perfume containers in Kyme and Colophon were used during the *prothesis*, perhaps, for the preparation of the deceased and then left next thereto in the grave in order it can be used before appearing in the court in the afterlife. On the other hand in Patara, with a slightly changed understanding, they were broken and left in the graves for at least a certain period of time, so that they would accompany the spirit of the deceased to the afterlife. We think the true aim of leaving these perfume containers as funeral gifts in all necropoleis was trying to keep the body alive, which begins to smell bad after death, with fragrance and affirming by the society the nobility of the deceased before the afterlife judges and gods. This is because of the fact that the road to heaven passes from the said understanding.

80 Dündar 2008: 72–73.
81 Politis 1894: 31; Grinsell 1961: 475ff.
82 Grinsell 1961: 482.
83 Politis 1894: 29; Grinsell 1961: 482–483.
84 The water for these ceremonies was brought from outside the house and pottery employed was called ἀρδάνιον (Poll. 7.65); Politis 1894: 33. This tradition continued during the Roman Period as well as during the Mycenaean Period; Grinsell 1961: 477.
85 Grinsell 1961: 477. There were many curses said during these ceremonies in which the bricks were also broken as well as the pottery; Politis 1894: 39–41.

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