Among the many ceramic forms discovered at Viminacium, there is a group of vessels usually referred to as balsamaria. Although they are often similar to glass balsamaria in shape, the term bottle seems better suited for most of those discussed in this paper, chiefly on account of their size. Of several proposed suggestions about their basic function, the most plausible seems to be that their primary use was as containers for products packed in small amounts. Although most published finds come from burials, the question of their significance and use in funerary rituals remains inadequately elucidated. It is impossible to say with certainty whether the larger-sized vessels of a later date had the same function as the smaller Hellenistic and Early Roman ones. What is certain is that they are usually found in cremation burials, as shown by both Viminacium’s Southern Necropolis, the necropoleis of Poetovio and Emona, and individual graves on other sites. To judge from the clay fabric and colour and the manner of manufacture, the ceramic bottles from Viminacium come from different and as yet unidentified production centres. From the stratigraphic data and the grave goods they were found in association with they can be dated to the end of the first and first half of the second century, tentatively regarded as a later phase in their production.

Key words. – ceramic balsamarium–bottle, Viminacium, necropolis, grave, function, dating

Abstract. – The earliest balsamaria to appear in the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, are ceramic and seldom over 10 cm in height. On the Southern Necropolis of Viminacium (sites Više grobalja and Pecine) 21 vessels of this type have been found. The features they have in common are a long slender neck and the absence of handles. Based on the shape of their bodies nine groups have been identified. Although they are similar to glass balsamaria, the term bottle seems more appropriate chiefly on account of their size. Of several proposed suggestions about their basic function, the most plausible seems to be that their primary use was as containers for products packed in small amounts. Although most published finds come from burials, the question of their significance and use in funerary rituals remains inadequately elucidated. It is impossible to say with certainty whether the larger-sized vessels of a later date had the same function as the smaller Hellenistic and Early Roman ones. What is certain is that they are usually found in cremation burials, as shown by both Viminacium’s Southern Necropolis, the necropoleis of Poetovio and Emona, and individual graves on other sites. To judge from the clay fabric and colour and the manner of manufacture, the ceramic bottles from Viminacium come from different and as yet unidentified production centres. From the stratigraphic data and the grave goods they were found in association with they can be dated to the end of the first and first half of the second century, tentatively regarded as a later phase in their production.

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Among the many ceramic forms discovered at Viminacium, there is a group of vessels usually referred to as balsamaria. Although they are often similar to glass balsamaria in shape, the term bottle seems better suited for most of those discussed in this paper, chiefly on account of their size.

The earliest balsamaria (ampullae) or small bottles first appear in Hellenistic and Early Roman times and occur throughout the Mediterranean from Palestine to Spain. They are ceramic and seldom over ten centimetres in height. So far the most detailed overview of these earliest pieces has been offered by V. Anderson-Stojanović, who based her discussion about their function and chronology on the examples from the necropoleis of Stobi and the previously published finds from the Athenian Agora, Corinth, Argos and Sardis. She identified two basic shapes: spindle-shaped or fusiform and pear-shaped or bulbous. The spindle-shaped type with its few varieties is the sole shape until the second half of the first century BC, when it begins to be found in association with pear-shaped examples. The emergence of this new bulbous form was explained by V. Anderson-Stojanović as resulting from the influence of glass shapes, i.e. she linked it to the earliest production of glass balsamaria from about 50 BC. Glass balsamaria soon became more numerous than ceramic and pushed them out of the market by the end of the first century BC. Relying on the published finds, she suggested that the use of ceramic balsamaria, though significantly modified in shape and size, had continued into the second and third centuries in Thrace and Cyprus.

The exact purpose and contents of these vessels has not been established. Earlier suggestions that they were used as lacrimaria, for collecting the tears of mourners, have been dismissed long ago. It has also been suggested that they served for transporting perfumes and were manufactured by local workshops located in the vicinity of centres of the perfume industry. V. Anderson-Stojanović did not rule out this theory altogether, but found other liquids, such as wine, oil and possibly honey, more plausible. Given that most of the discovered

1 Hilgers 1969, 233, 265, 298, 376.
2 Anderson-Stojanovic 1987, 105–122, with the cited literature.
3 Anderson-Stojanovic 1987, 113.
pieces come from necropolises, i.e. from burials, she related their function to funerary rituals and proposed several interpretations of their role and significance in that context – that they were placed in the grave by the persons attending the funeral; that they contained wine for a last toast to the deceased and were placed in the grave emptied; or, that they were laid into the grave containing a liquid of some sort.

At Viminacium, where more than 13,000 graves have been excavated, 21 ceramic balsamaria have been discovered, most of them intact. All come from the Southern Necropolis (sites Više grobalja and Pecine) and from 19 (20) graves. As few as five come from inhumation burials (G), while all the others have been

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4 Of 21 balsamaria, 20 come from burials, and one may be assumed to have been a grave offering too, but the assumption cannot be verified: site Pecine, 1978, east section S. XIX, adjacent to G–4, G–6 and G–8 (Excavation records, p. 133).
recovered from cremation burials (G1). The features they have in common are a long slender neck and the absence of handles, while the rim, body and base vary. The clay was well to finely levigated, and occasionally tempered with ground limestone. They were fired to different hues of red (Munsell 2,5YR 5–6/8, 5YR 7/6), with their surfaces either untreated, partially burnished or, rarely, painted. They range from 13.6 cm to 22.3 cm in height, and from 90 ml to 600 ml in capacity.

They have been classified into nine groups by shape. Two groups are represented by eight and five examples respectively, one by two and six by a single piece.7

I Balsamaria with onion-shaped body (fig. 1/1–8) occur in a few varieties defined by the rim and base profile, and by the width of the neck. The outward-turned rim is slanted or horizontal, and the base is either flat and ribbed in outline, or slightly concave and rounded in outline, in a few cases decorated with concentric circles. They are made of well-levigated clay and fired to red (Munsell 2,5YR 5–6/8). The surface is untreated or painted in red to dark brown. The outline of one example (fig. 1/1) shows low slanted ribs.

The height varies between 16.5 cm and 20 cm. Findspar:
Pecine, 1983, G1 – 676/C: 7438

Vise grobalja, 1985, G1 – 1602/C: 10988
Pecine, 1981, G1 – 214/C: 2630
Vise grobalja, 1984, G1 – 1005/C: 7077
Pecine, 1981, G1 – 253/C: 2562
Vise grobalja, 1985, G1 – 1638/C: 11735
Pecine, 1983, G – 3394/C: 10107
Pecine, 1978, S. XIX (east section) – C: 208

This shape, represented by eight pieces, is the most varied of all. The height of the body is about one-third of the total height of the vessel, and in most cases equal to or slightly different from the width of the base. The capacity ranges from 140 ml to 400 ml. They show much resemblance to the popular glass form Isings 82, Variety A, the so-called «candlestick unguentarium».

With the exception of one or, possibly, two examples (fig. 1/8)8 recovered from inhumation burials, the vessels come from cremation burials.

5 As mentioned in note 4 above, one example is presumed to have come from a skeletal grave.
6 The colour, according to the Munsell colour system, and capacity of the vessels are specified for the available pieces.
7 The fragmentarily preserved pieces have been classified according to their conjectured shape.
8 See note 4 above.

Fig. 2. 1. Pecine 1978, g., G1 – 14/C: 238; 2. Pecine 1982, g., G1 – 373/C: 4529; 3. Pecine 1979, g., G1 – 118/C: 1719; 4. Vise grobalja 1985, g., G1 – 1110/C: 7783; 5. Vise grobalja 1985, g., G – 2025/C: 11278 (R = 1:3)

II Balsamaria with elongated baggy body (fig. 2/1–5), a horizontally flattened rim with a prominent edge, funnel-shaped neck and flat base; they are made of well-levigated clay tempered with ground limestone, and fired to red (Munsell 2.5YR 5–6/8, 5YR/7/6, 5YR/6/8); their surfaces are untreated or unevenly burnished. All have a deep groove below the rim.

The height varies from 18.5 cm to 22.8 cm.

Findspot:
Pećine, 1978, G1 – 902/C: 9855
Pećine, 1982, G1 – 998/C: 7060 (R = 1:3)
Više grobalja, 1985, G1 – 998/C: 7065

III Balsamaria with globular body (fig. 3/1–2) occur in two varieties: with a short slanted rim and flat base, or with a horizontally outward-turned rim, prominent inner edge and low footring. They are made of well-levigated clay and fired to red (Munsell 2.5YR–6/8) with surfaces painted in dark red.

The height ranges from 18 cm to 22.3 cm.

Findspot:
Pećine, 1978, G1 – 14/C: 238
Pećine, 1982, G1 – 373/C: 4529
Pećine, 1979, G1 – 118/C: 1719
Više grobalja, 1985, G1 – 1110/C: 7783
Više grobalja, 1985, G – 2025/C: 11278

With five discovered pieces, this is the second most frequent shape to the onion-shaped one. The capacity of most is 290 ml. With the exception of the smallest one (fig. 2/5), all come from cremation burials.

IV Balsamarium with calotte-shaped body (fig. 4), an outward-turned rim and flat base; it is made of well-levigated clay and fired to red; the surface is untreated.

The height of the vessel is 18.6 cm.

Findspot:
Pećine, 1985, G1 – 1029/C: 11221 (R = 1:3)

Although their rims and bases vary in outline, they have been assigned to one group on account of their similar shape and body height, which is about a half of the total height. One bottle (fig. 3/1) is slightly deformed and, incidentally, of the greatest capacity – 600 ml. Both pieces come from cremation burials.

V Balsamarium with pear-shaped body (fig. 5) and an outward-turned rim. The upper part of the neck is slightly swollen and decorated with parallel flutes,
and the base is flat on a low footring. It is made of levigated clay and fired to dark brown.

Findspot:
Više grobalja, 1984, G1 – 998/C: 7064

The vessel’s body is half the total height and most resembles glass form Isings 28. It has been found in a cremation burial in association with a piece belonging to one of the previous groups. This has been the only grave containing two ceramic balsamaria.

VI Balsamarium with conical body (fig. 6), a horizontally outward-turned rim, prominent inner edge and long slender neck. It is made of well-levigated clay and fired to red (Munsell 5YR 6/6). The upper portion of the body is painted in dark brown.

Findspot:
Više grobalja, 1984, G – 699/C: 4744

A piece of exquisite craftsmanship, it has been recovered from a double inhumation burial. One buried person was a child aged between one and two, the other a male of about 50. The grave has been dated to the first century by coin finds.9

VII Balsamarium with ovoid body (fig. 7), a horizontal rim and flat base. It is made of well-levigated clay and fired to red.

The height of the vessel is 21.5 cm.

Findspot:
Više grobalja, 1984, G1 – 517/C: 4343

The shape is distinct, similar to glass jugs Isings 55. The capacity is about 280 ml. It comes from a cremation burial.

VIII Balsamarium with cone-shaped body (fig. 8), and a slightly concave base. It is made of well-levigated clay and fired to red (Munsell 5YR 6/6) with traces of burning on the surface.

Findspot:
Više grobalja, 1984, G1 – 517/C: 4343

The height of the vessel is 19.8 cm.

IX Balsamarium with drop-shaped body (fig. 9), a horizontally outward-turned rim and flat base. It is made of well-levigated clay and fired to light red (Munsell 5YR 7/3–4); its surface is untreated.

Findspot:
Pecine, 1983, G1 – 993/C: 10728

With a capacity of 90 ml, the vessel is considerably smaller than the rest. It comes from a cremation burial.

As has been mentioned above, in her paper devoted to balsamaria A. Anderson-Stojanović suggested that,
significantly modified in shape and size, they continued in use into the second and third centuries in Thrace and Cyprus. The pieces from Viminacium belong to a period tentatively defined as the later phase in the production of this ceramic shape, and their size makes the term bottle more appropriate. From the published finds it may be inferred that the production of balsamaria/bottles in the later period — the end of the first and the second century — significantly decreased compared to the earlier smaller balsamaria. Namely, unlike the large number of glass balsamaria in most necropolises, ceramic ones are found rarely or not at all. Thus, there is no ceramic balsamaria in the excavated material from the necropolis at Doclea and they have not been found in the excavated burials at Singidunum and Sirmium.10 From Emona only two finds are known, similar in shape to Viminacium’s Group II (elongated baggy-bodied). One of the two has been dated to the mid first century, the other, by other grave goods (Loeschke X lamps), to the first half of the second century.11 To judge by the surviving fragment, the find from Grave 97 on the Western Necropolis in Poetovio is similar in shape but smaller in size, and has been dated to the second half of the first/first half of the second century.12 Poetovio has yielded yet another ceramic bottle, recovered from Grave 332 on the site Rabeljce.13 Identical in shape and technology of manufacture is the find from Celia, from a layer loosely dated to the first to third centuries.14

Similar to Viminacium’s Group I (onion-shaped) is a balsamarium from the necropolis of Thraco-Roman tumuli in the Kazaniško region, the site of Magliš, recovered from a grave dated to the middle or second half of the second century.15

** * * **

In the abundant ceramic material from Viminacium with its 14 functionally different vessel types and more than 600 shapes, ceramic balsamaria make up a negligible fraction. However, in light of the total number of the published finds of the type, they become an appreciable sample.16

To judge by the fabric and colour of the clay and the manner of manufacture, they come from various and as yet unidentified production centres. The only exception is a slightly deformed piece (fig. 3/1) whose technological characteristics (fabric, the firing colour and type of coating) allow the assumption that it was manufactured locally.

From the available stratigraphic data and the grave goods they were associated with — mostly lamps, pottery vessels and coins (Pls. 1–3), the pieces from Viminacium may be dated to the end of the first and first half of the second century.

The earlier suggestion about their use in funerary rituals remains inadequately elucidated. Namely, to judge from the contexts of the Viminacium finds, the presence of bottles and jugs (most often three) in a single grave casts doubts on the assumption that balsamaria were used for pouring a liquid over the grave.17 With all this in mind, above all the shapes and sizes of the vessels, the most plausible assumption seems to be that their primary use was as containers for products packaged in small amounts, such as perfume oils.

It is impossible to say with certainty whether the later larger-sized vessels had the same function as the smaller Hellenistic and Early Roman ones. Namely, unlike smaller ceramic balsamaria, often several in one grave, graves dated to the end of the first and first half of the second century have usually yielded a single example. At Viminacium, the only grave containing two balsamaria is a cremation burial (G1 – 998), which also yielded two jugs, a small glass bottle, a bone pin (needle), a bronze casing and a lamp with an erotic scene. Therefore, the question remains open as to whether the association of ceramic bottles, glass balsamarium and jugs indicates a change in funerary practices and a different purpose of ceramic balsamaria in the later period.

It is a fact that the ceramic bottles recovered from the Southern Necropolis of Viminacium, from those of Emona and Poetovio as well as from individual graves on other sites, usually come from cremation burials. At Viminacium — where the excavated burials make up a sample that is by far larger than at other sites — only five of the excavated 7839 inhumation burials contained

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9 We express our gratitude to M. Arsenijević for this information.
10 Церемони-Куцаñoић 1975; Pop-Lazić 2002, 7–100. We thank A. Premk for the data about the ceramic finds from Sirmium.
14 The find has not been published. We thank J. Krajšek for the information.
15 Getov 1969, 42, обр. 16.
16 The probable reason for such a large number of balsamaria is the large number of excavated graves.
17 At Viminacium, balsamaria were found in association with three jugs in six graves.
ceramic bottles; by contrast, the total of 2727 cremation burials yielded 16 such vessels.

Analysis of skeletal remains from three graves in which four persons were buried shows that two were infants (aged between one and two), one was a young person (aged between 15 and 19) and one an adult male (aged about 50). Unfortunately, analysis of the cremated remains has not been carried out. Considering the fact that most balsamaria come from cremation burials, anthropological analysis of the cremated remains might supply some useful information about the purpose and significance of ceramic balsamaria in funerary rituals.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:**


Резиме: СНЕЖАНА НИКОЛИЋ, АНГЕЛИНА РАИЧКОВИЋ, Археолошки институт, Београд

КЕРАМИЧКИ БАЛСАМАРИЈИ – БОЦЕ: пример Виминацијума

Међу бројним керамичким формама нађеним на простору Виминацијума, особеношћу се издваја група посуда које се у литератури, угледно, називају балсамаријама. Мала су по облику често сличне стакленим балсамарима, већи примерака обрађених у овом раду би, превасходно због већих димензија, више одговара термин боце.

Најрашији балсамарији (ampulla), односно мале боце, јављају се у хелистичком и раноримском периоду, у областима Медитерана, на широком простору од Палестине до Северне Италије. Израђени су од керамике и њихова висина, најчешће приближно 10 cm. До сада најдетачнији преглед ових најрашијих балсамарија урадио је В. Андерсен-Стојановић, при чему су разматрана о њиховој функцији и хронолошкој заснована на примерима нађеним на некрополама Спббија, као и најраније публиковани налази са Атинске Агоре, из Коринта, Агоса и Старе Саламине. Стаклени балсамарији, чији се почетак производње везује за средину I века старе ере, већ крајем другог столећа скоро у потпуности потиснућу са тржишта оне израђене од керамике. Ослављају се на до та-да публиковања налаза, В. Андерсен-Стојановић сматра да је употреба керамичких балсамарија, у значајно изменетом облику и величини, настањена током II и III века у Траки-ји и на Кипру.

На Виминацијуму, где је израђено преко 13000 гробова, керамички балсамарији су заступљени са 21 примерком. Сви су нађени на простору јужне некрополе (локалитети Више гробила и Пећине) и потичу из различитих, за сада непотврђених, производних центара. Изузетак представља благо деформисан примерак балсамаре, као и она о њиховом значају и коришћењу у погребним ритуалима, остаће недовољно разјашњено. Нај-прихватљивим је то дакле и да ли су нађени примерци функције како балсамарија – боце, као и она о њиховом значају и коришћењу у погребним ритуалима, остаће недовољно разјашњено. Нај-прихватљивим је то дакле и да ли су нађени примерци функције како балсамарија – боце, као и она о њиховом значају и коришћењу у погребним ритуалима, остаће недовољно разјашњено. Нај-прихватљивим је то дакле и да ли су нађени примерци функције како балсамарија – боце, као и она о њиховом значају и коришћењу у погребним ритуалима, остаће недовољно разјашњено.

На осnovu stratigrafskih podataka o primercima nađenim na Viminacijumu, može se zaključiti da su, u odnosu na starije balsamarije manjih dimenzija, u kasnijem periodu, izrađeni pretežno u kasnijem periodu. To se odnosi na podelu na kamenjima i staklenim balsamarijima, kao i na grubima sa drugih nalazišta oni izuzetno retki.

У багатом керамичком материјалу из Виминацијума, где је извођено 14 функционално различитих типова и преко 600 облика посуда, керамичке боце су заступљене у занимљивом броју. Међутим, имајући у виду укупан број до сада публикованих налаза ове врсте, чине завидан узорак.

Судећи према структури и боји глине, као и најнижој вероватности претпоставка да су ове посуде у коришћењи у некрозах, као и на њиховом значају и коришћењу у погребним ритуалима, остаће недовољно разјашњено.

На основу постоjećih podataka o stratigrafskoj strukturi i boji gline, kao i na izvršenom izrađenog prilikom sahrane balsamarije – boca, kao i ona o njihovom značaju i korišćenju u pogrebnim ritenalima, ostaje nedovoljno razjasnjeno.
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glass balsamarium |
|       | V.G. 1985. G1 – 1602 C: 10988 | beaker  
fitting and wedge  
pot  
glass balsamarium  
coin |
|       | P. 1981. G1 – 214 C: 2630 | pot  
snail shell  
beaker  
two bowls  
lamp with woman figure |
|       | V.G. 1984. G1 – 1005 C: 7077 | two jugs  
beaker |
|       | P. 1981. G1 – 253 C: 2562 | glass balsamarium |
|       | V.G. 1985. G1 – 1638 C: 11735 | lamp  
VRSIO F  
lock, key and nail of a chest  
censer  
two glass balsamaria |
|       | P. 1978. ist. deo sonde XIX C: 208 | two lamp  
moulds  
lamp  
coin |

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beaker  
coin  
lamp |
|       | P. 1979. G1 – 118 C: 1719 | pot  
lamp with satyr figure  
lamp with two satyrs  
glass balsamarium  
two coins  
three jugs |
|       | V.G. 1985. G1 – 1110 C: 7783 | lamp  
pot  
glass balsamarium  
coin |
three jugs |
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